



Between Philology and Archaeology

**Studies on Ancient Anatolia and the Near East
Offered to Massimiliano Marazzi**

edited by
**Natalia Bolatti Guzzo
and Rita Francia**

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OFFERED TO MASSIMILIANO MARAZZI

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NATALIA BOLATTI GUZZO

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Preface

It seems it was yesterday when, in the autumn of 1986, the editors of the present volume, at that time students of ancient Near Eastern disciplines at the University of Rome “La Sapienza,” were attracted by the announcement, posted on the notice board of the Department of Glottoanthropological Studies, of new classes on languages of ancient Anatolia in the second and first millennia BCE.

They were going to be held by a young researcher, Massimiliano Marazzi, just returned to Italy after a long training period in Germany. From the very first lesson we were literally overwhelmed by his volcanic personality and lead into a research path that would unfold over the following years through repeated and endless seminar sessions, multiple projects, and stimulating scientific collaborations: an uninterrupted flow of ideas, experiences, and initiatives thanks to which a rich and profound scientific relationship has since been established and consolidated over time, not only on a professional basis but also on a human level.

It is therefore with great pleasure that today we can offer him this collection of essays as a tribute to his scientific career: a small token of gratitude and esteem from students, friends, and colleagues who have been sharing with him—often on the wave of his own enthusiasm—a passion for Anatolian studies and for the diverse territories of investigation, especially the uneven ones “at the border” (in its broad sense), that compose the articulated landscape of ancient Near Eastern cultures.

As a matter of fact, one of the most distinctive traits of Massimiliano Marazzi’s scientific personality has always been represented by his constant interest in phenomena of cultural contact and interaction that occur at the interface between adjacent but different worlds.

The honoree graduated in Greek history at the University of Rome in 1972. He was soon driven by his innate curiosity to follow the traces of the early Aegean civilizations beyond the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, then broadened his horizon of investigation into the Anatolian and Near Eastern cultures. From 1973 to 1975 he was in Berlin, first as a fellow of the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst at the Freie Universität, then at the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.

However, it was mainly at the University of Würzburg—where he initially arrived with a grant of the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung in 1983–1984—that he found fertile ground for cultivating and deepening his interests in the civilizations

of preclassical Anatolia, with special focus on the Hittite world. Relevant in this respect was the mentoring role—which later developed into a relationship of esteem and friendship also on a personal level—played by two prominent scholars, Einar von Schuler and Günter Neumann, who at the time held the respective chairs of *Altorientalistik* and *Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*. This fruitful period represented also the basis for an intense collaboration with the University of Würzburg lasting until today.

In Rome he was first confirmed as researcher at the Department of Ancient Historical, Archaeological and Anthropological Studies, then at the Department of Glottoanthropological Studies. In 1993 he moved to Naples as associate professor of Aegean and Anatolian Philology at the *Istituto Universitario Orientale*, then from 1999 he continued his tenure at the University Suor Orsola Benincasa, where he was full professor from 2001 until the present day. Here he constituted the *Centro Mediterraneo Preclassico*, a research center for the study of ancient Mediterranean civilizations, with particular regard to Aegean and Anatolian cultures, within which he directed and coordinated various scientific initiatives in collaboration with both Italian and foreign institutions. After his retirement, he received the title of “Honorary Professor,” as a final recognition of his distinguished scientific and academic career.

Over the years he held further teaching assignments (among them that of visiting professor at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome), and was also involved as tutor, coordinator, or supervisor in several PhD and higher educational programs in the field of Anatolian languages, Mediterranean archaeology, humanities, and cultural heritage conservation.

At all stages of his academic career, he distinguished himself as an “unconventional” scholar, and in many respects as a forerunner of some innovative trends that characterize modern research in the humanities today.

A noteworthy aspect of Massimiliano Marazzi’s research methodology is that he has generally favored an interdisciplinary approach in evaluating ancient data. This clearly emerges from his parallel interests both in archaeology and in philological studies, and in fact a vivid dialogue between these two domains has been maintained also on the strength of his fieldwork experience as an archaeologist.

In relation to the Anatolian documents, such an integrated approach implies, for example, a special focus on the materiality of the texts—for instance, their contexts of discovery, physical appearance, typology and characteristics of the media, and techniques of execution—elements which all proved to be particularly significant in the study of the composite character of Anatolian hieroglyphic writing.

A further merit of our honoree is to have envisaged from the outset—long before the now familiar notion of “digital humanities” became widespread—the opportunities offered by new technologies applied to the study of ancient records, taking advantage of the tools that gradually became available as research in this area evolved.

In response to the increasing need for systematization of the data, he promptly took to the creation of easily accessible electronic databases and Anatolian documentary corpora.

Thus, based on the bibliographical and lexicological cataloging published in the 1980s in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, he promoted the project *Index anatolicus*—established in 1995 through a cooperation with the Institut für Orientalische Philologie (University of Würzburg) directed by Gernot Wilhelm. This was later incorporated into the Hethitologie-Portal Mainz as a reference tool for bibliographical and lexicological updating. Not to be forgotten is his critical edition—again as part of the Hethitologie Portal—of the Hethitische Königserlässe, a group of texts of considerable complexity that constitutes one of his favorite research subjects in which he offered stimulating suggestions on their historical, ideological, and juridical background.

Another prominent topic in Massimiliano Marazzi's interests are the Anatolian hieroglyphs, about which he conducted extensive scientific investigations based on accurate and up-to-date critical bibliographical overviews. This line of research—still going on—resulted, for example, in some reference works such as *Il geroglifico anatolico* (1990) and the joint publication *Sammlung hieroglyphischer Siegel* (1984, 2nd rev. ed. 2009), and, most notably, the convention of transcriptions—with focus on the main interpretative problems—in *Il geroglifico anatolico: Sviluppo della ricerca a venti anni dalla sua "ridecifrazione"* (1998), which resulted from the roundtable organized by him in Procida in 1995 with the participation of some of the major experts in the field.

Moreover, on a theoretical level, Marazzi also faced the question of the nature and function of graphic systems, developing themes he had the chance to discuss at the beginning of his career in Rome with Giorgio Raimondo Cardona. He thus addressed and gradually deepened crucial issues such as the relationship between writing and language, or that between image and sign, always placing in an adequate historical-cultural and anthropological perspective the analysis of "script" (as a system) vs. "act of writing" (as a communicative phenomenon in its materiality, with its social, ideological, cognitive implications, etc.).

Given the insights that especially the earliest second millennium hieroglyphic material in this regard provides, it is not surprising that the honoree consistently devoted specific attention to it. As a recent example, he enthusiastically undertook the project of analyzing the imperial hieroglyphic monuments based on advanced 3D-scanning procedures that include interpolation and visualization of 3D-models of the inscriptions in a virtual environment in which it is easier to identify elements on the stone surface difficult to detect by a human eye. In this regard worth mentioning are his repeated surveys at the Hittite capital Hattuša, in cooperation with the archaeological mission at Boğazköy and the German Archaeological Institute of Istanbul, as well as his inspection of the rock reliefs at Sirkeli, in collaboration with the University of Bern.

The use of innovative digital technologies is also connected with the broader issue of cultural heritage conservation, which was equally central in Marazzi's

scientific vision, as reflected in his long-standing commitment, through various assignments and contributions, to promoting preservation, knowledge, and accessibility of ancient documents.

Finally, we wish to highlight one last and more private aspect of Massimiliano Marazzi's character that concerns his relation with students and collaborators. Tireless in his work, to which he devoted himself with passion, determination, brilliancy, and even fun, he has always been inclined to create composite work teams, being able to identify and bring out personal talents, professional skills and specializations, creating an atmosphere of participation and friendship.

As witnesses to some of his challenges in the field of Anatolian studies, we hope to please him with this initiative, made possible by the participation of friends and colleagues who warmly subscribed to it. However, we have deliberately chosen to restrict the subject of this volume to the field of Oriental studies, since it would have been too onerous for us to follow his multifaceted work in the realm of Aegean and Mediterranean archaeology. Accordingly, we present here the selected Anatolian bibliography of his contributions listed in chronological order.

Rome, May 2024

Anatolian Bibliography of Massimiliano Marazzi

1976

“Diskussionsbeitrag [zur historisch-religiösen Forschung im Rahmen des ägäisch-anatolischen Gebietes].” Pages 213–14 in *Études sur le Panthéon systématique et les Panthéons locaux. Compte rendu de la XXIème Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale organisée par l’Institut biblique pontifical et l’Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente de l’Université de Rome, Rome, 24–18 Juin 1974* (= *Or* 45). Rome: Biblical Institut Press. 1976.

1978

(with Helmuth Nowicki) “Vorarbeiten zu den hethitischen Gebeten (CTH 372, 373, 374).” *OA* 17 (1978): 257–78.

1979

“Zwei Randbemerkungen zu den *Bél Madgalti*-Instruktionen.” *VO* 2 (1979): 79–86.

1980

“Nota sul testo KBo XXII 61 (= CTH 291).” *SMEA* 22 (1980): 67–78.

“Brevi note su una nuova presentazione delle manifestazioni “letterarie” nel Vicino Oriente Antico.” (Review article of Hans Gustav Güterbock, “Hethitische Literatur,” in Wolfram Röllig (ed.), *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft 1: Altorientalische Literaturen*, Wiesbaden: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion 1978.) *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* NS 6 (1980): 157–64.

1981

“Note in margine ad alcuni testi di preghiera ittiti.” *VO* 4 (1981): 27–35.

(with Nilüfer Boysan) “Die hethitischen Königssiegel mit Hieroglyphenlegende: ein Überblick.” *VO* 4 (1981): 5–17.

Review of “Texte der Hethiter 1-7, A. Kammenhuber edidit: rassegna critica.” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 54 (1981): 255–98 (Tavv. I–II).

1982

“«... e perciò voi convocate il *tulija*»; breve nota all’editto di Telepinu § 31.” Pages 151–53 in *Serta Indogermanica. Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 60. Geburtstag*. Edited by Johann Tischler. IBS 40. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität. 1982.

“«Costruiamo la reggia, ‘fondiamo’ la regalità»: Note intorno ad un rituale antico-ittita (CTH 414).” *VO* 5 (1982): 117–69.

“La stabilizzazione di un potere centrale nel plateau anatolico durante la 1^a metà del II millennio a.C.: riflessi ideologici nella produzione giuridico-letteraria ittita.” *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* NS 12 (1982): 93–98.

Review of Ahmet Ünal, *Ein Orakeltext über die Intrigen am hethitischen Hof*. THeth 6. Heidelberg 1978. *WO* 13 (1982): 153–59.

1983

(with Nilüfer Boysan-Dietrich and Helmuth Nowicki) *Sammlung hieroglyphischer Siegel*. Band I: *Vorarbeiten*. Würzburg: Königshaus-Neumann. 1983.

“Inni e preghiere ittite: A proposito di un libro recente.” (Review of René Lebrun, *Hymnes et prières Hittites*. Homo Religiosus 4. Louvain-la-Neuve 1980.) *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 49 (1983): 321–41.

1984

“Überlegungen zur Bedeutung von *pankuš* in der hethitisch-akkadischen Bilingualis Ḫattušilis I.” *WO* 15 (1984): 96–102.

“Il corpus dei testi cuneiformi ittiti: vecchi e nuovi strumenti di lavoro.” *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* NS 18 (1984): 173–82.

(with Nilüfer Boysan) “Verbesserungen und Nachträge zu *Sammlung hieroglyphischer Siegel*.” *AfO* 29–30 (1983–1984): 605.

1985

(with Nilüfer Boysan-Dietrich, and Clelia Mora) *Supplement zu Sammlung hieroglyphischer Siegel*. Band I: *Vorarbeiten*. Würzburg: Schönigh. 1985.

“Monumenti ittiti ‘supporto’ di iscrizioni geroglifiche: Una survey.” Pages 299–303 in *Studi di Paletnologia in onore di Salvatore M. Puglisi*. Edited by Mario Liverani, Alba Palmieri, and Renato Peroni. Rome: Università “La Sapienza.” 1985.

“Costruiamo la reggia, “fondiamo” la regalità’: note intorno ad un rituale antico-ittita.” Pages 47–81 in *Soprannaturale e potere nel mondo antico e nelle società tradizionali*. Edited by Frederick Mario Fales and Cristiano Grottanelli. Milan: F. Angeli. 1985.

(with Nilüfer Boysan-Dietrich) “Bibliographie zum hethitische Wortschatz.” *AfO* 32 (1985): 204–32.

Review of Onofrio Carruba, Mario Liverani, Carlo Zaccagnini, eds., *Studi orientalistici in ricordo di Franco Pintore*. *Studia Mediterranea* 4. Pavia 1983. *WO* 16 (1985): 167–68.

1986

Beiträge zu den akkadischen Texten aus Boğazköy in althethitischer Zeit. Biblioteca di Ricerche Linguistiche e Filologiche 18. Rome: Dipartimento di Studi Glottoantropologici Università “La Sapienza.” 1986.

“Die Hieroglypheninschrift am Löwentor von Boğazköy: Diskussionsbeitrag.” *OA* 25 (1986): 51–57.

“Repertori archeologici sui traffici micenei nel Mediterraneo orientale: Egitto, Cipro, Vicino-Oriente.” Pages 323–26 in *Traffici micenei nel Mediterraneo: Problemi storici e documentazione archeologica; Atti del Convegno di Palermo (11–12 maggio e 3–6 dicembre 1984)*. Edited by Massimiliano Marazzi,

- Sebastiano Tusa, and Lucia Vagnetti. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia. 1986.
- "Gli 'Achei' in Anatolia: un problema di metodologia." Pages 391–403 in *Traffici micenei nel Mediterraneo: Problemi storici e documentazione archeologica; Atti del Convegno di Palermo (11–12 maggio e 3–6 dicembre 1984)*. Edited by Massimiliano Marazzi, Sebastiano Tusa, and Lucia Vagnetti. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia. 1986.
- "Testimonianze epigrafiche geroglifiche." Pages 89–120 in *L'Anatolia hittita. Repertori archeologici ed epigrafici*. Edited by Massimiliano Marazzi. Quaderni di Geografia Storica 3. Rome: Il Bagatto. 1986.
- (with Massimo Forlanini) *Atlante storico del Vicino Oriente Antico*. Fascicolo 4.3: *Anatolia: L'impero hittita*. Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza." 1986.
- (editor, with Sebastiano Tusa and Lucia Vagnetti) *Traffici micenei nel Mediterraneo: Problemi storici e documentazione archeologica; Atti del Convegno di Palermo (11–12 maggio e 3–6 dicembre 1984)*. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia. 1986.
- (editor) *L'Anatolia hittita. Repertori archeologici ed epigrafici* (contributi di A. Lazzeri, M. Marazzi, L. Re). Quaderni di Geografia Storica 3. Rome: Il Bagatto. 1986.
- 1987**
- "Il concetto di sangue presso gli Ittiti, I: Considerazioni su alcuni testi giuridico-politici." Pages 13–35 in *Sangue e Antropologia, Riti e Culto: atti della V settimana, Roma 26 novembre – 1 dicembre 1984*. Edited by Francesco Vattioni. Rome: Pia Unione del Preziosissimo Sangue. 1987.
- (with Nilüfer Boysan-Dietrich) "Bibliographie zum hethitischen Wortschatz." *AfO* 34 (1987): 328–35.
- (with Hans Martin Kümmel and Nilüfer Boysan-Dietrich) "Bibliographie: Kleinasien (Anfang 1985 – Ende 1986), mit Nachträgen ab 1979." *AfO* 34 (1987): 336–60.
- Review of Richard Haase, *Texte zum hethitischen Recht. Eine Auswahl*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1984. *AfO* 34 (1987): 75–76.
- 1988**
- "Note in margine all'editto reale KBo XXII 1." Pages 119–29 in *Studi di storia e filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*. Edited by Fiorella Imparati. Eothen 1. Florence: Logisma. 1988.
- "Bilinguismo, plurilinguismo e testi bilingui nell'Anatolia hittita: Autopsia dello stato delle ricerche." Pages 101–18 in *Bilinguismo e Biculturalismo nel Mondo Antico: Atti del Colloquio interdisciplinare tenuto a Pisa il 28 e 29 settembre 1987*. Edited by Enrico Campanile, Giorgio Raimondo Cardona e Romano Lazzeroni. Pisa: Giardini Editori. 1988.
- "L'inquadramento sociale del diverso nell'Anatolia del II millennio a.C." *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* NS 29 (1988): 128–54.

1990

Il geroglifico anatolico: Problemi di analisi e prospettive di ricerca. Biblioteca di Ricerche Linguistiche e Filologiche 24. Rome: Dipartimento di Studi Glottoantropologici Università "La Sapienza." 1990.

"sēmainō." Pages 218–22 in *Gedenkschrift Einar von Schuler*. Edited by Massimiliano Marazzi and Gernot Wilhelm (= *Or* 59/2). Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. 1990.

(editor, with Gernot Wilhelm) *Gedenkschrift Einar von Schuler (28. 10. 1930 – 15. 2. 1990)*. (= *Or* 59/2). Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. 1990.

1991

"Il cosiddetto geroglifico anatolico: spunti e riflessioni per una sua definizione." *Scrittura e Civiltà* XV (1991): 31–77 + figs. 1–41.

1992

"Das 'geheimnisvolle' Land Ahhijawa." Pages 365–77 in *Sedat Alp'a Armağan / Festschrift für Sedat Alp – Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*. Edited by Heinrich Otten, Ekrem Akurgal, Hayri Ertem, and Aygül Süel. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. 1992.

1993

"Le implicazioni conoscitive e tassonomiche del sistema geroglifico anatolico nell'ambito dei sistemi scrittori in uso nel mondo egeo-anatolico durante il II mill. a.C." Pages 11–26 in *Ethnos Lingua e Cultura. Scritti in Memoria di Giorgio Raimondo Cardona*. Biblioteca di Ricerche Linguistiche e Filologiche 34. Rome, Dipartimento di Studi Glottoantropologici Università di Roma "La Sapienza": "Il Calamo." 1993.

"Problemi vecchi e nuovi di sintassi hittita: A proposito di una recente pubblicazione." (Review article of Silvia Luraghi, *Old Hittite Sentence Structure*. London/New York: Routledge. 1990.) *Or* 62 (1993): 423–35.

1994

"Tarife und Gewichte in einem althethitischen Königsurteil." *Or* 63 (1994): 88–92.

"Ma gli Hittiti scrivevano veramente su 'legno'?" Pages 131–60 in *Miscellanea di studi linguistici in onore di Walter Belardi*. Vol. 1: *Linguistica indoeuropea e non indoeuropea*. Edited by Palmira Cipriano, Paolo Di Giovine, and Marco Mancini. Rome: "Il Calamo." 1994.

1995

Review of Silvin Košak, *Konkordanz der Keilschrifttafeln I. Die Texte der Grabung 1931*. StBoT 34. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1992. *WZKM* 85 (1995): 285–87.

1996

"Bibliographie Kleinasiens: Autorenbibliographie mit thematischen Listen, kritische Lexemenbibliographie der Hethitischen Sprache (1988-1992)." *AfO* 42–43 (1995–1996): 340–89.

(with Paola Dardano) *Textindex zum Chicago Hittite Dictionary (volume L-N, 1980-1989)*. Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici: Indices 2. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale. 1996.

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“Hethitische Lexikographie: CHD L–N, Fasz. 4.” (Review article of Hans G. Güterbock and Harry A. Hoffner (eds.), *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Vol. L–N, Fasc. 4 (*nai-* to *nutarnu-*). Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1989 [1990].) *Or* 65 (1996): 157–65.

1997

“Problemi per una definizione formale e funzionale della cosiddetta “Cronaca di Palazzo” (o Libro degli Aneddoti).” Pages IX–XVII in Paola Dardano, *L’aneddoto e il racconto in età antico-hittita: la cosiddetta “Cronaca di Palazzo.”* Biblioteca di Ricerche Linguistiche e Filologiche 43. Rome: “Il Calamo.” 1997.

“Mykenen in Vorderasien.” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 8/7–8 (1997): 528–34.

1998

“Il geroglifico anatolico: problemi e scelte.” Pages V–XVI in *Il geroglifico anatolico. Sviluppi della ricerca a venti anni dalla sua “ridecifrazione.”* Edited by Massimiliano Marazzi. Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor 57. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale. 1998.

“Scritture ‘geroglifiche’ e scritture ‘lineari’ fra l’Egeo e l’Anatolia del II millennio a.C.” *AION Sez. Linguistica* 20 (1998): 153–74.

(with Natalia Bolatti Guzzo and Clelia Mora) “Atti della Tavola Rotonda, Procida 6–9 giugno 1995 – L’inventario dei segni e le modalità di traslitterazione.” Pages 3–124 in *Il geroglifico anatolico. Sviluppi della ricerca a venti anni dalla sua “ridecifrazione.”* Edited by Massimiliano Marazzi. Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor 57. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale. 1998.

(editor) *Il geroglifico anatolico: Sviluppi della ricerca a venti anni dalla sua “ridecifrazione”;* *Atti del Colloquio e della Tavola rotonda, Napoli–Procida, 5–9 giugno 1995.* Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor 57. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale. 1998.

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(with Andreas Schachner) “Boğazköy, Türkei – 3D-Scanning in der praktischen Anwendung zur Erforschung architektonischer und topographischer Phänomene.” *E-Forschungsberichte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.*

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Abbreviations

Bibliographical Abbreviations

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
<i>AHw</i>	von Soden, Wolfram. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
<i>ALASP</i>	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens
<i>AnSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>AOAT</i>	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
<i>ARES</i>	Archivi Reali di Ebla. Studi. Missione archeologica italiana in Siria a cura della Università (degli studi) di Roma “La Sapienza.” Rome.
<i>ARET</i>	Archivi Reali di Ebla. Testi. Missione archeologica italiana in Siria a cura della Università (degli studi) di Roma “La Sapienza.” Rome.
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientální</i>
<i>AS</i>	Assyriological Studies
<i>ASVOA 4/3</i>	Forlanini, Massimo, and Massimiliano Marazzi. <i>Atlante Storico del Vicino Oriente Antico</i> . Fasc. 4/3: <i>Anatolia: L'impero hittita</i> . Rome: Herder, 1986
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
<i>Boğazkoy 3</i>	Bittel, Kurt, Rudolph Naumann, Thomas Beran, Rolf Hachmann, and Gottfried Kurth. <i>Boğazköy 3: Funde aus den Grabungen 1952–1955</i> . Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 2. Berlin: Mann, 1957.
<i>BoHa</i>	Boğazköy-Ḫattuša
<i>BoHa 5</i>	Beran, Thomas. <i>Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy 1: Die Siegel und Siegelabdrücke der vor- und althethitischen Perioden und die Siegel der hethitischen Grosskönige</i> . BoHa 5. Berlin: Mann, 1967.
<i>BoHa 14</i>	Boehmer, Rainer M., and Hans G. Güterbock. 1987. Glyptik aus dem Stadtgebiet von Boğazköy: Grabungskampagnen 1931–1939, 1952–1978. BoHa 14. Berlin: Mann, 1987.

- BoHA 19 Herbordt, Suzanne. *Die Prinzen- und Beamtsiegel der hethitischen Großreichszeit auf Tonbulln aus dem Nišantepe-Archiv in Hattusa, mit Kommentaren zu den Siegelinschriften und Hieroglyphen von J. David Hawkins*. BoHa 19. Mainz: von Zabern, 2005.
- BoHa 23 Herbordt, Suzanne, Daliah Bawanyeck, and J. David Hawkins. *Die Siegel der Grosskönige und Grossköniginnen auf Tonbulln aus dem Nišantepe-Archiv in Hattusa*. BoHa 23. Mainz: von Zabern, 2011.
- BSL *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*
- CAD Gelb, Ignace J., et al. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. 21 vols. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010.
- CHANE Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
- CHD Güterbock, Hans G., Harry A. Hoffner Jr., and Theo P. J. van den Hout, eds. *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980–.
- CHDS Chicago Hittite Dictionary Supplements
- ChS Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler
- CRRAI Comptes rendus Rencontre assyriologique internationale
- CTH Laroche, Emmanuel. *Catalogue des textes hittites*. 2nd ed. Paris: Klincksieck, 1971.
- CTU Salvini, Mirjo. *Corpus dei Testi Urartei*. 4 volumes Rome: CNR, Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà dell’Egeo e del Vicino Oriente, 2008–.
- DBH Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie
- DMOA Documenta et monumenta Orientis antiqui
- EDHIL Kloekhorst, Alwin. *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*. IEED 5. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Emar IV Beyer, Dominique. *Emar IV: Les sceaux; Mission archéologique de Meskéné-Emar, recherches au pays d’Aštata*. OBO Series Archaeologica 20. Fribourg: Editions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001.
- HAB Sommer, Ferdinand, and Adam Falkenstein. *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Ḫattušili I. (Labarna II)*. Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 16. Munich, 1938.
- HdO Handbuch der Orientalistik/Handbook of Oriental Studies
- HED Puhvel, Jaan. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984–.
- HEG Tischler Johann. *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar*. Innsbruck Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1977–1983.
- HL1 Hannig, Rainer. *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*. Hannig-Lexica 1. 6th ed. Mainz: von Zabern, 2015.

- HPM Hethitologie Portal Mainz. Online: <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.php>.
- HPMM Hethitologie Portal Mainz—Materialien
- HSS Harvard Semitic Studies
- HW*² Friedrich, Johannes, and Annelies Kammenhüber. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*. 2nd ed. Heidelberg: Winter, 1975–.
- IBS Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
- IEED Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary
- IF* *Indogermanische Forschungen*
- IM* *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
- JANER* *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
- Konk.* *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln*. Online: <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/>
- KRI Kitchen, Kenneth A. 1969–1990. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Bibliographical*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- KUB Keilschrifurkunden aus Boghazköi
- KZ (*Kuhns*) *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*
- LAK Anton Deimel, *Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen*. WVDOG 40. Leipzig: Hinrich, 1922
- LANE Languages of the Ancient Near East
- LD Lepsius, Carl Richard. *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849. <http://edoc3.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/lepsiuss/start.html>.
- MDOG* *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
- MEE Materiali epigrafici di Ebla. Napols, Rome.
- MGBT Middle Babylonian Grammatical Texts. Pages 72–91 in Miguel Civil and O. R. Gurney, *The Sag-Tablet, Lexical Texts in the Ashmolean Museum, Middle Babylonian Grammatical Texts, Miscellaneous Texts*. MSLSup 1. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1986.
- MIO* *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
- MSLSup Supplements to the Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon
- MSS* *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*
- MVAeG Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft
- NABU* *N.A.B.U. Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
- NS New Series
- OA* *Oriens Antiquus*
- OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
- OIC Oriental Institute Communications
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications
- OIP 25 *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*. Vol. 1: *Ramses III's Temple with*

	<i>the Great Enclosure of Amon, Part I.</i> OIP 25. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1936.
OIP 94	<i>Medinet Habu.</i> Vol. 8. <i>The Eastern High Gate with Translations of Texts.</i> OIP 94. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1970.
OIP 107	<i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak.</i> Vol. 4: <i>The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I.</i> OIP 107. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1986.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensa Analecta
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
Or	Orientalia Nova Series
OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul/Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historischarchaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul
PM II	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings.</i> Vol. 2: <i>Theban Temples.</i> Oxford: Clarendon, 1972.
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RAI	Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
RecTrav	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes pour servir de bulletin à la Mission Française du Caire.</i> Paris: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
RHA	<i>Revue Hittite et Asiatique</i>
RLA	Ebeling, Erich, et al. <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie.</i> Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928–2019.
SAMR	Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religions
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SBo II	Güterbock, Hans Gustav. 1942. <i>Siegel aus Boğazköy II – Die Königssiegel von 1939 und die übrigen Hieroglyphensiegel.</i> Berlin: self-published.
SMEA	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo Anatolici</i>
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten
StMed	Studia Mediterranea
StudAs	Studia Asiana
TAPS	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i>
Temizsoy 1992	Temizsoy, İlhan. "1990 Yılı Yesemek Taşocağı ve Heykel Atölyesi Kazı ve Restorasyon Çalışmaları." Pages 299–318 in II. Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri, 29–30 Nisan 1991. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1992.
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
TM	Find siglum Tell Mardikh.

TTKY	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
Urk. IV	Helck, Wolfgang. <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> . Heft 17: <i>Historische Inschriften Thutmosis' III. und Amenophis' II.</i> Berlin: Akademie, 1955.
VO	<i>Vicino Oriente</i>
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
Wb.	Erman, Adolf, and Hermann Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , Bd. 1–5. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–1931.
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>

General Abbreviations

abl.	ablative
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
act.	active
add.	<i>addidit</i> (adds)
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
ah.	<i>althethitisch</i> (Old Hittite)
Akk.	Akkadian
bibl.	bibliography
blk.	block
c.	common (gender) (in the glossary)
ca.	circa
caus.	causative
ch(s).	chapter(s)
cf./cfr.	compare
col.	column
coll.	collective
com.	common (gender)
compl.	complement(ed)
conj.	conjunction
cun.	cuneiform
dat.	dative
det.	determinative
dat.-loc.	dative-locative
dir.	directive
dupl(s).	duplicate(s)
dur.	durative
EA	El Amarna
ed.	edition

e.g.	for example
Egypt.	Egyptian
encl.	enclitic
ENK	early New Kingdom
eras.	erasure
erg.	ergative
esp.	especially
et al.	and others
fem.	feminine
fig.	figure
fr.	fragment
gen.	genitive
Ger.	German
Gr.	Ancient Greek
hier.	hieroglyphic
Hitt.	Hittite
Hurr.	Hurrian
i.e.	that is
IE	Indo-European
imp.	imperative
impf.	imperfective
indef.	indefinite (pronoun)
inf.	infinitive
instr.	instrumental
intr.	intransitive
iter.	iterative
jh.	<i>junghethitisch</i> (New Hittite)
lit.	literally
LMS	Late Middle Hittite Script
LNS	Late New Hittite Script
LSU	Landschenkungsurkunde(n)
loc.	locative
log.	logogram, logographic
Luw.	Luwian
m.	masculine
mh.	<i>Mittelhethitisch</i> (Middle Hittite)
mid.	middle (voice)
m.-p.	middle-passive (voice)
MS	Middle Hittite Script
man(s).	manuscript(s)
n.	note
N	(undetermined number)
neut.	neuter (gender)
no.	number
nom.	nominative
NS	New Hittite Script
obj.	object

obv.	obverse
OS	Old Hittite Script
p./pp.	page/ pages
part.	participle
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pers. comm.	personal communication
pl.	plural
pl(s).	plate(s)
poss.	possessive (pronoun)
pres.	present (tense)
pret.	preterite (tense)
prev.	preverb
pron.	pronoun
r.	reigned
ref.	reference
rel.	relative
rev./Ro	reverse
scil.	<i>scilicet</i> (namely)
sg.	singular
sjh.	<i>spätjunghethitisch</i> (Late New Hittite)
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
Sum.	Sumerian
s.v.	<i>sub voce</i>
trans.	transitive
V	vowel
var.	variant
vb.	verb
voc.	vocative
vs.	versus

Some Observations on the Hittite Decree KBo 6.29+

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1. The Decrees Issued by King Ḫattušili III

Ḫattušili III's decrees are the clearest proof of the king's communicative ability as well as of the intersection among governance, devotion, and securing consent.¹ Although each of the decrees issued by this king had a precise and specific finality, all of them have also been composed with the aim of strengthening the image of the king and giving him a veneer of legitimacy.

One of the best-known texts issued by this Hittite king is the so-called Apology, which is preserved from its main recension KUB 1.1+.² As is well known, this document has been labeled either an “apology” or an “autobiography,” but both definitions are misleading because its specific purpose was the appointment of Prince Tutḫaliya as priest of Šaušga, as well as administrator of the goddess's estate, and eventually heir to the throne.³

The decree KBo 6.29+ assigned to one of the king's sons the office of priest of Ištar of Šamuḫa. The cult of this deity was supported by the income coming from the estates that the king had donated.⁴

Furthermore, we mention KBo 6.28+ and its duplicate KUB 21.15+, which granted the ^{NA4}*ḫekur Pirwa* institution an exemption from all kinds of duties.⁵ We wonder why Ḫattušili III had been so generous precisely toward the *ḫekur Pirwa* institution. Although we cannot exclude that the exemption granted by the king might have been just one of the many donations and grants that Ḫattušili III and Puduḫeba promised to temples and gods in exchange for divine protection (de Martino

1. See Archi 1971; Beckman 2016; Gilan 2019.

2. Otten 1981.

3. See Imparati 1995.

4. See Götze 1925, 45–51; de Martino 2023.

5. See de Martino 2022; Balza 2022.

2017), the privilege assured by the king to the *hekur* Pirwa may also have been motivated by precise political reasons.

Imparati (1977, 47) and Singer (2009, 178) argued that this institution might have supported Ḫattušili at the time of his conflict with Muršili III. Furthermore, both researchers proposed that this sanctuary might have replaced the *hešta*-building that was spared during the destruction of Ḫattuša at the time of Tuḫaliya III, as we will say.

We do not know where the *hekur* Pirwa was located, but the word ^{NA4}*hekur* leads us to assume that it was a monumental architectural structure. Hence, we venture to add that Ḫattušili III aimed to celebrate himself by means of the rock sanctuary of Pirwa that could emulate the mausoleum (^{NA4}*hekur* SAG.UŠ) built by Muwatalli II and was mentioned in the treaty concluded by Tuḫaliya IV with Kuruntiya of Tarḫuntašša.⁶

The Apology, KBo 6.28+ and KBo 6.29+, opens with a long introduction. In KBo 6.28+ it refers to the conquest of Šuppiluliuma I who is presented as a heroic monarch and a model for Ḫattušili III; in fact, both kings were usurpers, but powerful monarchs.⁷ KBo 6.28+ and KBo 6.29+, instead, deals with the youth of Ḫattušili and his contrast with Urḫi-Tešsub.

Furthermore, Ḫattušili III established the expropriation of Arma-Tarḫunta's goods, who had been one of Ḫattušili's political opponents, in the decree KUB 21.17,⁸ and instead the Hittite ruler granted a personage whose name is written logographically as GAL-^DIM⁹ an exemption from various obligations in KUB 26.58.¹⁰ The beneficiary of the decree was the son of a certain Kantuzili who had opposed Ḫattušili during the struggle with Muršili III. Unlike his father, GAL-^DIM had likely supported Ḫattušili and hence was rewarded by the king. Lastly, the decree KBo 4.12 assured the protection of the king and his descendants to the family of Mittanamuwa, who had already been chief scribe during the reign of Muršili II.¹¹

The relative chronology of these decrees is difficult to ascertain. Beckman (2016, 72), who argued that the "Apology" had been issued just at the beginning of Ḫattušili III's reign, wrote: "The detailed account of the career of Ḫattušili contained in the Autobiography along with the powerful case for his virtue found there strongly suggests that this text was composed soon after the coup that brought him to power, when an apology would have been the most necessary and useful."

A different opinion was expressed by Imparati (1995); she assumed that the composition of the Apology followed the issue of KBo 6.29+; in fact, the resolutions taken by Ḫattušili III in the latter decree concern the estate and exemption from all duties granted to the sanctuary of Šaušga and the appointment of a royal

6. See Otten 1988, 14–15.

7. See de Martino 2022, 208–9.

8. See Ünal 1974, 18–31.

9. This name may be read as either Ura-Tarḫunta or Talmi-Tešsub. For the attestations of these personal names, see van den Hout 1995, 157–64.

10. See Imparati 1974, 152–53.

11. See Götze 1925, 41–45; Gordin 2015, 150–51.

prince to the office of priest of the deity, but the name of this prince is not given here. Instead, it is precisely Tutḫaliya who is appointed to this office in the Apology (Otten 1981, 28–29).

A fragmentary passage in KBo 6.29+ (iii 16'–17') seems even to refer to the possibility that the *antiyant*-husband of a royal princess could keep the office of priest in case a prince was not alive (iii 9'–18'). Thus, KBo 6.29+ was clearly written when Ḫattušili and Pudu-Ḫeba's children were little and consequently before the issue of the Apology. Notwithstanding, Ḫattušili III had already decreed in KBo 6.29+ that the royal prince who would have been appointed to the priesthood of Šaušga—whoever he might be—would have held the same offices of his father; in fact this prince would also have been the ruler of Pala and Tummana (KBo 6.29+ iii 2'–5'),¹² and this two lands were part of the region that Ḫattušili III had ruled during the reign of Muwatalli II.

2. The Incipit of the Decrees

In the preamble of all the decrees issued by Ḫattušili III, as well as in his other documents, no mention is made of Muwatalli II and Muršili III; in fact, as is well known, only the relation from father to son is considered.¹³ In this way, Ḫattušili III not only cancelled Muršili III from the memory and the dynasty, but also pretended to be the direct heir to the throne.

In these preambles the king mentions Ḫattušili I as his homonymous and famous predecessor. As Klinger (2017, 72) argued, the lack of legitimacy and the recent conflict with Muwatalli II's son led Ḫattušili III to strengthen his position by stating that he descended from a royal dynasty with a centuries-old tradition.

The mention of Ḫattušili I in the preamble of the decrees KBo 6.28+, KBo 6.29+, KBo 4.12 and in the Apology occurs in different expressions. In the Apology, Ḫattušili III is only said to be “descendant of Ḫattušili, king of Kuššar” (ŠĀ. BAL ŠA ᵐḪattušili LUGAL ^{KUR}Kuššar).¹⁴ The decrees KBo 4.12 and KBo 6.29+ state that the king was the “seed of Ḫattušili” (respectively, NUMUN ᵐḪattušili DUMU ^{URU}Kuššar, and NUMUN ŠA ᵐḪattušili).¹⁵

Yet a different expression is documented in KBo 6.28+ obv. 4–5, where we read:

(4) DUMU.DUM]U.DUMU-ŠU¹⁶ ŠA ᵐḪa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL
ŠA LUGAL ^{URU}Ku-uš-šar (5) ^Dši-ú-ni-it k[a-ne-eš-ša-a]n-da-aš NUMUN-aš

The restoration *k[a-ne-eš-ša-a]n-da-aš*, which had first been proposed by Goetze (1957, 59 n. 75), was shared by Otten (1981, 236) and Güterbock (1973, 102). This verb means “to acknowledge,” “to reward,” and “to favor,” and it also occurs

12. The mention of the other territories given to this prince fall in the gap.

13. See Archi 1971, 196, n. 40; Klinger 2017, 71.

14. See Otten 1981, 4–5.

15. See Götze 1925, 52; de Martino 2023, 14.

16. For this possible restoration of the text see Otten 1981, 237; Güterbock 1973, 101.

in a passage of Ḫattušili III's decree in favour of Mittanamuwa (KBo 4.12 obv. 8–12) where Mittanamuwa is said to have been favored by Muršili II (*IŠTU ABI-YA kaneššanza*). It can also be found in a passage in KBo 6.29+ where Ḫattušili says that he had been favored by his father Muršili II and his brother Muwatalli II due to the constant support that he received from Šaušga (i 12–13). Furthermore, a similar expression is documented in a passage of Muwatalli II's Prayer to the assembly of Gods through the Storm God of Lightning: *IŠTU ʰU kaniššanza* "I (have been) favored by the Storm-god" (iii 74–75, Singer 1996, 24).

In the aforementioned passage of KBo 6.28+ the word ^D*šuni-* occurs with the suffix of the instrumental case that marks agency. As Melchert (2016, 240) argued, the ablative progressively replaced the instrumental also in the agentive function, and hence the use of the instrumental in Ḫattušili III's decree might be either an echo of an older document or an intentional archaism.

Queen Pudu-Ḫeba is not mentioned in the greatest part of the *incipit* of the decrees issued by her husband—namely, the Apology, KBo 4.12, KUB 26.58, and KBo 6.28+. Instead, the queen appears in the first lines in KBo 6.29+ i 1–5:

(1) Thus, His Majesty Ḫattušili, Great King, ki[ng of] Ḫatti, (2) son of Muršili, Great King, king of Ḫatti, (3) grandson of Šuppiluliuma, Great King, king of Ḫatti, (4) descendant of Ḫattušili king of Kuššar, (5) and (this is the) word of Pudu-Ḫeba, Great Queen of Ḫatti.¹⁷

The queen's name also occurs in the preamble of KUB 21.17.¹⁸ As already mentioned, this decree aimed to condemn the behavior of Arma-Tarḫunta, who had opposed Ḫattušili, and to justify the requisitioning of the former's property, which was given to Šaušga.

Imparati (1995, 145–47) argued that Pudu-Ḫeba's name does not occur in the preamble of the Apology because this text was a "a state document, whose nature was essentially political, and whose purpose was not only the conferring of property on Ištar but mainly the explicit nomination of Tuḫaliya." Instead, the strict religious relation between the queen and the goddess Šaušga may be the reason why she is explicitly mentioned in the first lines of KBo 6.29 and KUB 21.7, which had an administrative purpose and concerned the functioning of Šaušga's sanctuary.

Nevertheless, Pudu-Ḫeba is present in the final lines in KBo 6.28+, and the queen's name occurs in a passage at the beginning of the curses: "(This is) the word of Tabarna Ḫattušili, Great King, and Pudu-Ḫeba, Queen of Ḫatti" (rev. 28). Similarly, the queen appears in the curses and blessings in the last two paragraphs of the Apology. The mention of Pudu-Ḫeba close to Ḫattušili III in the latter document might aim to stress that only the progeny born from this royal couple could be appointed to the office of priest of Ištar, and consequently to exclude any other child who was born from other women, as already noted.

17. See de Martino 2023, 18.

18. See Ünal 1974, 18–19.

2. The Miraculous Intervention of Šaušga

The support constantly given by Šaušga to Ḫattušili III is a common theme that occurs in all the documents issued by this king. The deity plays a significant role not only in the Apology, but also in the edict KBo 6.29+. In this latter text, as well as in the Apology, she made sure that Muršili II and Muwatalli appreciated the young Ḫattušili (i 11–13). Furthermore, the marriage to Pudu-Ḫeba was also decided by the deity; in fact, Ḫattušili stated that he did not take his wife in marriage “in the heat of passion” (*marri*), but at the command of the goddess who had shown her will in a dream (i 19–21).

Šaušga also intervened at the side of his protégé on the occasion of the conflict with Urḫi-Teššob. In KBo 6.29+ as well as in the Apology (iii 78–79) the conflict between Ḫattušili III results in a lawsuit that was pending in the divine court. In KBo 6.29+ the judges are the Storm-god and Šaušga, as Ḫattušili said to his nephew:

(ii 2–8) and hence we shall go to trial before the Storm God, my lord, and Ištar of Šamuḫa, my lady, thus, if you have the superior case in the litigation, let them declare you as the winner, if, however, I have the superior case in the litigation, let them declare me as the winner.

The Storm God had already been the judge in the struggle that opposed Muršili II and Uḫḫa-ziti of Arzawa, as it is related in the Ten Years Annals (del Monte 1993, 63). As is well known, the god shot a lightning bolt that struck Arzawa and was seen by the people of this country. The celestial sign forewarned the defeat of Uḫḫa-ziti and the divine judgment in favor of the Hittite king.

A similar episode is narrated in a passage in KBo 6.29+ ii 9–17:

9. *nu-wa A-NA D IŠTAR URU Ša-mu-ḫa GAŠAN-YA ŠU-an*
10. *ša-ra-a e-ep-pu-un nu-mu D IŠTAR URU Ša-mu-ḫa GAŠAN-YA*
11. *wa-ar-ri-iš-ši-iš-ta nu ša-ra-az-zi*
12. *kat-te-ir-ra-ya an-da :ma-ru-wa-a-it. nu ne-pí-iš.*
13. *te-kán-na kat-kat-te-nu-ut*

I held up my hand to Šaušga of Šamuḫa, my lady, and Šaušga of Šamuḫa, my lady, helped me and she blackened¹⁹ (the sky) above and below, she shook heaven and earth.

As Ḫattušili added in the following lines, this prodigious event had significant consequences:

(ii 13–17) Šaušga of Šamuḫa, my lady, took my side, and all the lands to which I wrote: “Let you take my side!,” they took my side, also the lands to which I did not write, precisely all of them were on my side.

19. On the possible meanings of the verb *maruwai*- see CHD L–N, 202a; Kloekhorst 2008, 562–63.

Thus, according to this narrative, the goddess caused an eclipse as well as an earthquake. The astronomical event was a divine sign, and instead the earthquake had a more practical purpose. The eclipse may be interpreted as a sign that announced either the death or the fall of the ruling king—that is, Urḫi-Teššob—and we recall here a passage in Muršili II's prayer on the misdeeds of Tawananna: "(iv 24–26) the sun gave a sign. Did [no]t the queen (= Tawananna), then, [...] keep saying, 'That (sign) that the sun gave, [...] did it [port]end? Did it not portend the death of the king?'" (Miller 2014, 527).

Instead, the earthquake assured Ḫattušili the safe entrance into the city of Šamuḫa where Urḫi-Teššob had taken refuge according to the former's presentation of the events; in fact, in KBo 6.29+ Ḫattušili III stated that, as soon as he arrived in front of Šamuḫa, the wooden wall that surrounded the city came down, presumably as consequence of the earthquake triggered by Šaušga (iii 32–33).²⁰

We wonder why the eclipse and the earthquake caused by Šaušga are not mentioned again in the Apology. We argue that this text, which mostly had a political purpose, avoided introducing attractive, but fanciful, narrative elements. The religious finality of the edict KBo 6.29+, instead, was not at odds with a glorification of the deity whose power terrified her enemies and supported her protégé.

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20. On the fall of the wooden wall see also Gilan 2019, 45.

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