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*The Decree Issued by Hattusili III for the ^{NA4}hekur
Pirwa (KBo 6.28 + KUB 26.48)*

STEFANO DE MARTINO

1. KBo 6.28

The Hittite tablet KBo 6.28+ preserves a decree issued by King Hattusili III. Although this document has often been cited in the secondary literature – specifically its historical preamble and presentation of events during the reigns of Tuthaliya III and Suppiluliuma I – no complete edition of this text is currently available. A few passages have already been published in transliteration and translation.¹

2. The ^{NA4}hekur Pirwa

The resolution taken by Hattusili III in this decree concerns the exemption from all duties that was granted to the rock sanctuary of the god Pirwa² (^{NA4}hekur Pirwa).³ The expression ^{NA4}hekur re-

¹ See Götze 1940: 21-22; Otten 1963; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 40-41; Imparati 1977: 39-41; Christiansen 2012: 294-295. I am deeply indebted to H. Craig Melchert, who read the manuscript of this essay and gave me valuable comments and suggestions.

² The god Pirwa, originally from Cappadocia, had entered official Hittite cult during the reign of Suppiluliuma I. See Imparati 1990; Pecchioli Daddi 2005; Archi 2010; Cammarosano 2018: 329-331; Mouton 2020.

³ Imparati 1974: 154-155; 1977; 1983; 1990.

fers to an architectural structure that might have been erected either on a mountain peak or on a rock platform. This term may be followed by either a place name referring to its location, or the name of the deity to whom it was dedicated.⁴

The ^{NA4}*hekur* Pirwa is documented in a very few texts⁵ that we will briefly mention here. A fragmentary passage in the oracular tablet KUB 16.42 + KBo 58.78 deals with the offerings due to this institution (rev. 1-3). In this text the divine name Pirwa is preceded by the determinative DINGIR, which is usually omitted when it follows the expression ^{NA4}*hekur* (Imparati 1977: 48).

Another mention of the rock sanctuary of Pirwa occurs in KUB 27.13 rev. 18. The obverse of this tablet enumerates offerings to several deities (Wegner 2002: 278-279), while the first lines on the reverse list a series of sacred springs and the cult attendants who took care of them (ll. 4-12, Imparati 1977: 52). As the following lines state, the personnel of the “Palace of Arnuwanda” and the servants of a certain Tarhuntapiya must present the offerings for two *hekur* sanctuaries (rev. 13-18). The mention of Tarhuntapiya, who is attested as a royal official on another tablet, supports the assumption that this document dates to the last decades of the 13th century BC (van den Hout 1995, 214). This passage also documents that the attendants of the *hekur* Pirwa and the king of Ishuwa⁶ were charged with the care of two other sacred places, namely, the sanctuary called *hekur annari* and the sacred spring *muwattinna* (CHD L-N 3: 317). The former sanctuary is defined by the word *annari*, which may be a Hurrian term (Richter 2012: 29), and this assumption is supported by the Hurrian character of the deities listed on the obverse of this text. We cannot say anything about the deified spring *muwattinna* apart from the fact that this term is perhaps related to the word *muwa(t)ta(l)la-* ‘terrifying’ (CHD L-N 3: 316). Hence – as we infer from this passage – the personnel of the rock sanctuary of Pirwa maintained at least one other *hekur*, which might have been located nearby and presumably did not have any other attendants.

⁴ See Imparati 1977; van den Hout 2002; Kapelus 2007; Singer 2009; Mora, Balza 2010; Ünal 2019; 2020. See also HW2 III/2, Lief 18: 556-560.

⁵ See Imparati 1977: 64.

⁶ As Imparati (1977: 55) states, the expression “servants of the King of Ishuwa” presumably refers here to the administration of this polity.

The king of Ishuwa is also cited in the inventory tablet KBo 12.140 (obv. 4, left edge 1),⁷ in which he and other officials are responsible for carrying out the inventorying procedures (Cammarosano 2013: 70 note 23; Waal 2015: 369). This text mentions the *hekur* Pirwa of Tuthaliya (rev. 12'),⁸ which might have been the rock sanctuary devoted to the cult of Tuthaliya IV after his death.⁹ The identification of the Tuthaliya listed in KBo 12.140 with the last Hittite monarch of that name is supported by the fact that the king of Ishuwa also appears in this text and plays a significant administrative role, and we know that the ruler of this kingdom became more extensively involved in the life of the Hittite state during the reign of Hattusili III. The *hekur* Pirwa of Tuthaliya is named in a passage that lists some deified mountains (see rev. 7'-13'). The mention of the city of Hubisna (rev. 10'), which was in the region of Tuwanuwa on the border between Tarhuntassa and Kizzuwatna,¹⁰ might be a clue to the location of this sanctuary.

In addition, the “men of the *hekur* Pirwa” are mentioned in the tablet KBo 14.142 in a list of individuals, officials, and palace personnel of the cities of Sapinuwa and Supassi who are charged with maintaining the cult performed in the temple of the Stormgod of Aleppo (Imparati 1977: 51-52 and n. 115).

3. Observance and Negligence of the Cult of Pirwa

Some Hittite texts document that the cult of Pirwa was neglected during the 13th century BCE. A passage in IBoT 2.131 (obv. 15'-28'; Cammarosano 2018: 262-263) refers to the results of an inspection in the sanctuary of Pirwa that was located in the town of Sippa, and thus in the region of Kültepe.¹¹ The existence of a cult of Pirwa in the town of Sippa is also documented by the inventory text KUB 38.4 (Cammarosano 2018: 329-331).

Text IBoT 2.131 can be dated to the time of Tuthaliya IV (Cammarosano 2018: 256), but it refers also to older events; in

⁷ See Torri, Barsacchi 2018: 151-152.

⁸ See Cognetti 2021: 321-322 note 970.

⁹ See Cognetti 2021: 368-369.

¹⁰ See Forlanini 2017: 240.

¹¹ See Forlanini 2009: 40-42.

fact, one passage (obv. 17'-28') states that Urhi-Teshshob had re-established the cult of Pirwa after a period of neglect¹² and ordered the renovation of the vineyards.¹³ The sealed tablets that regulated the cult offerings and the duties towards the god Pirwa were kept on Mount Lihsa.¹⁴

In any case, the cult offerings for Pirwa were eventually neglected again, leading Tuthaliya IV to order the inspection that led to the drafting of the tablet IBoT 2.131. Indeed, we know from another passage in this text (rev. 26-30; Cammarosano 2018: 266-267) that the servants of Hattusa-^DKAL, who resided in the town Gapiliwanta, had cut down the vineyards of Pirwa and eventually began to cultivate them for themselves.

Hattusa-^DKAL is mentioned in another text, again in connection with the sanctuary of Pirwa, that can also be dated to the reign of Tuthaliya IV. KBo 14.21 preserves the results of a series of KIN oracular inquiries on some neglected cults and offerings (Marcuson 2016, 424-435). Four passages in this text (i 21'-27', 28'-35', 61'-65', ii 55'-75') concern the cult of Pirwa, and one of them refers to the fact that Hattusa-^DKAL and a priest, whose name is not given here, had neglected the offering owed to Pirwa by the town of Hartimika¹⁵ (ii 55'-62'). We argue that Hattusa-^DKAL, who occurs in this passage as well as in the aforementioned document IBoT 2.131, may be identified with the official who bears the title GAL GEŠTIN in other Hittite texts (Imparati 1990: 171; Marizza 2007) and is among the witnesses in both treaties with Tahuntassa.

The divinatory tablet KBo 14.21 also contains an oracular inquiry that aimed to ascertain whether the offering owed by Ali-Sharruma to Pirwa had indeed been given (i 61'-65'). We assume that this personage is the king of Ishuwa, who is known from

¹² For the reading of the name of Urhi-Teshshob in this passage, see Cammarosano (2018: 262), who emends the reading given by Imparati (1990: 168-169).

¹³ See Corti 2018: 289-292.

¹⁴ Imparati (1990: 1880) argued that a storehouse was located at Lihsa and held the goods given to the god.

¹⁵ Forlanini (1992: 172-173) argued that the place name written as Harmikka in this passage should be amended to Hartimika. The latter form is known from the Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe.

other Hittite sources (de Martino 2010) and was a contemporary of Hattusili III (Glocker 2011). If KBo 14.21 indeed dates to the time of Tuthaliya IV, the cited passage presumably mentions events of the reign of his father, as the verb *peškir* ‘they regularly gave’ suggests (i 62’, 63’). As stated above, the king of Ishuwa was among the personages who were responsible for the management of the *hekur* sanctuary of Tuthaliya (see § 2).

4. KBo 6.28+: The *incipit*

The decree opens with the name of Hattusili III and his genealogy. As in the other documents issued by this king, no mention is made of Muwatalli II and Muršili III; in fact, Hattusili III not only condemned the latter to be erased from memory, but also avoided mentioning his brother Muwatalli II. Indeed, Hattusili III did not lie when he stated that he was the son of Mursili II and the grandson of Suppiluliuma I, but he pretended to fashion himself as their direct heir to the throne.

Furthermore, the Hittite king mentioned his homonymous predecessor Hattusili I. The latter also occurs in the genealogy of other documents issued by Hattusili III, although the phraseology differs. Thus, in the “Apology”, the king is only said to be a ‘descendant of Hattusili, king of Kussar’ (ŠA.BAL ŠA ^mHattušili LUGAL ^{KUR}Kuššar).¹⁶ The decrees KBo 4.12 and KBo 6.29+ document the expression ‘seed of Hattusili’ (respectively, NUMUN ^mHattušili DUMU ^{URU}Kuššar, and NUMUN ŠA ^mHattušili).¹⁷ The appellative ‘son (= ruler) of Kuššar’, which occurs in KBo 4.12 obv. 4, might be an intentional archaism intended to recall the most ancient Hittite texts, such as KBo 3.27 (+) 28, in which the rebellious ruler of Purushanda is called DUMU ‘son’ of this city (KBo 3.28 ii 5’).¹⁸

In KBo 6.28+ obv. 4-5, Hattusili III added that he belonged to the Hittite royal family, which had been favoured by the god. The restoration *k[a-ne-eš-ša-a]n-da-aš*, which had first been proposed by Göetze (1957: 59 note 75), was shared by Otten (1971:

¹⁶ See Otten 1981: 4-5.

¹⁷ See Götze 1925: 52.

¹⁸ See Gilan 2015: 111.

236) and Güterbock (1973: 102; Klinger 2017: 72 note 63). This verb means ‘to favour’, and it also occurs in a passage of Hattusili III’s decree in favour of Mittanamuwa (KBo 4.12 obv. 8-12), which states that Mittanamuwa was favoured by Mursili II (*IŠTU ABI-YA kaneššanza*). Furthermore, a similar expression is documented in a passage of Muwatalli II’s Prayers to the Assembly of Gods, in connection with the Storm-god of Lightning: *IŠTU^D U ... kaniššanza* ‘I (have been) favoured by the Storm-god’ (iii 74-75, Singer 1996: 24).

In KBo 6.28 obv. 5 it is said that Hattusili I had been favoured by the god(s), and the word ^D*šūni* occurs here 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 aforementioned passage in Hattusili III’s decree might echo an older document, or it might simply be an intentional archaism.

Although only the name of Hattusili III occurs in the *incipit* of KBo 6.28+, a passage at the beginning of the curse formula also mentions Pudu-Heba: «(This is) the word of Tabarna Hattusili, Great King, and Pudu-Heba, Queen of Hatti» (rev. 28).

5. *The celebration of Suppiluliuma I*

In this narrative Hattusili III depicted the political situation of the Hittite kingdom during the reign of Tuthaliya III in dramatic fashion and exclusively credited his grandfather Suppiluliuma I with saving the state from the so-called “concentric enemy attack”.

This presentation was intended to redeem the character of Suppiluliuma I, who had been a usurper just as Hattusili III was.¹⁹ The Hittite king aimed to prove that his grandfather’s usurpation did not compromise the divine protection of the throne, nor did it impede Hattusili III himself from being a victorious and glorious ruler. Hattusili III certainly did not ignore the claim made by Mursili II in his prayers that Suppiluliuma’s murder of Tuthaliya the Younger had provoked the anger of the gods and eventually triggered the spread of a terrible epidemic

¹⁹ See Singer 2009: 177.

disease. But Hattusili III chose not to mention this dramatic episode and instead trumpeted Suppiluliuma's success in his military expeditions as a clear sign of the god's acknowledgement and protection.

Without diminishing Suppiluliuma I's merit, a careful examination of the Hittite sources now supports the assumption that Hattusili III's historical reconstruction exaggerated the consequences of the enemy attacks. Furthermore, Tuthaliya III had already addressed this difficult situation and re-established Hittite control on both the western and eastern boundaries (Stavi 2013; 2015).

As noted, Hattusili III avoided mentioning Suppiluliuma I's coup d'état, and the latter's accession to the throne is presented in a singular way in this document; in fact, Hattusili III stated that the Great King Suppiluliuma 'rose to prominence' (– *kánšara išparzašta*) and became the sovereign. Our interpretation of this verb differs from the translation given by Götze (1940: 23-24). This scholar argued that the phrase meant 'he came of age' and alluded to the time when Suppiluliuma led the Hittite army together with Tuthaliya III before becoming king. Instead, S. Heinhold-Krahmer (1997: 41) assumed that it referred to Suppiluliuma I's seizure of power and translated it 'empor (ent-?)kam'. The literal translation 'he emerged' has been adopted by the editors of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (CHD Š 2: 215).²⁰

This expression also occurs in the last paragraph of Hattusili III's Apology. The passage (iv 6-88) states that whoever 'rises over' (*šarā išparzi*), whether a son, grandson, or other descendant of Hattusili and Pudu-Heba, shall be devoted to Ishtar of Samuha.

The preverb *šarā* 'up, above, upon, on the top', which occurs in connection with the verb *išpart-* in the passage that refers to Suppiluliuma I, emphasises that this personage was able to rise to the top over the other competitors to the throne, such as Tuthaliya the Younger and his brothers. Analogously, in the Apology, the descendant of Hattusili and Pudu-Heba who prevails over another royal prince will be under the protection of Ishtar.

²⁰ See also Stavi 2013: 135 note 8; 2015: 39.

The same verb *išparšt-*, but without the preverb *šarā*, was intentionally employed in the line that precedes the mention of Suppiluliuma I. Here this verb is used with the meaning ‘to escape’, ‘to come down from a disaster’, and refers to the survival of the *hešta*-sanctuary (obv. 14-15). This sanctuary was a temple dedicated to the cult of Lelwani and of the netherworld deities, and it might have been located at Hattusa at Büyükkale.²¹ Hattusili III stated that the sanctuary *hešta* was spared by the fire that had burnt Hattusa. This monument was presumably mentioned here as a symbol of the endurance of the Hittite dynasty that Suppiluliuma I had assured.²²

6. The Exemptions

Hattusili III established that the ^{NA}*hekur* Pirwa should be exempted from any levies and duties (rev. 22-27). This portion of the text contains a very detailed description of the obligations from which the sanctuary was freed, and we wonder whether the scribe might have consulted a previous document that had introduced all these duties. A comparable list of obligations also occurs in the decree issued by Tuthaliya IV in favour of the grandchildren of Sahurunuwa who were born from his daughter Tarhun(t)amanawa (Imparati 1974: 34-35).

In KBo 6.28 + Hattusili III emphasised that he freed the *hekur* Pirwa, and the verb form *arawahhun* (‘I have freed’) occurs at the beginning of the paragraph (rev. 22) as well as at its end (rev. 27). Thus, the Pirwa sanctuary was exempted from the *šahhan* and *luzzi*. As is well known, it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between these two words. Imparati (1983: 246) argued that in the late imperial period the two terms were no longer distinguished from each other, and that the hendiadys *šahhan luzzi* referred to «des prestations à effectuer et des tributs à verser».²³ These obligations and payments were due from land tenants to the real owners of the land, whoever they might have

²¹ See Torri 1999: 31-32; Groddek 2001; Pierallini 2002; Kapelus 2007.

²² See Mora, Balza 2010: 259-260; Cognetti 2021: 362.

²³ See also Puhvel 2015.

been – the palace, the temple, local communities, or individuals (CHD Š 1: 2).²⁴

These duties supported the Hittite economy, and thus we do not share Lorenz’s statement that they had become economically irrelevant in the 13th century (Lorenz 2017), nor his assertion that «the institution of private land ownership had no further place in Hittite society and most probably vanished» (Lorenz 2021: 438). The latter affirmation is contradicted by the aforementioned decree issued by Tuthaliya IV in favour of the heirs of Sahurunuwa, which documents a huge private land-holding (Imparati 1974).

The sanctuary of Pirwa was exempted from daily farm labour, from providing wooden chariot components, and from the delivery of products of farming and herding, such as cereals, straw, and wool. The *hekur* Pirwa would supply neither trained horses, nor a particular type of sheep. Hattusili III’s decree also prescribes that the *hekur* Pirwa did not have any obligations towards representatives of the central power, such as the “Lord of the Land” and the “Frontier Post Governor”, or to the local authorities, such as the “Commissioner of the town” (Imparati 1983: 245-246). The Pirwa sanctuary was only asked to supply troops in case of war, and these soldiers could not be drafted for construction work. The provisions enacted by Hattusili III could not be changed, and the king explicitly established that no high dignitary or member of the royal family could cancel or reduce the exemptions granted by his decree (Imparati 1983: 249; 1988: 228).

The edict issued by Hattusili III was intended to permanently assure the sustainability of the cult of Pirwa in the *hekur*, which was presumably destined to become the main sanctuary of this deity. Imparati (1977: 47) and Singer (2009: 178) argued that this institution might have supported Hattusili at the time of his conflict with Mursili III. Furthermore, both researchers proposed that this sanctuary might have replaced the *hešta*-building that was spared during the destruction of Hattusa at the time of Tuthaliya III, as was already said. Although it is possible that the priests of the Pirwa sanctuary had indeed supported Hattusili

²⁴ See also von Dassow 2020.

and his accession to the throne, we cannot exclude that the exemption granted by the king might have been just one of the many donations and grants that Hattusili III and Pudu-Heba promised to temples and gods in exchange for divine protection (de Martino 2017).

7. *The Decree*

Obv.

1. UM_2MA ta-ba-ar-na H_2 a-a[t-t]u-ši-li LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR
 $\text{H}_2\text{A-AT-TI}$ UR.SAG
2. NA-RA-AM DU^{URU} A-ri-i[n-na] DU^{URU} Ne-ri-ik U^{D} IŠTAR URU Ša-
mu-ḫa
3. DUMU M ur-ši-li LUGAL.GAL L[UGAL KUR URU H_2]A-AT-TI
UR.SAG DUMU.DUMU-ŠU ŠA M Šu-up-pi-lu-li-u-ma LUGAL.GAL
4. LUGAL KUR URU $\text{H}_2\text{A-AT-TI}$ UR[.SAG DUMU.DUM]U.DUMU-
ŠU²⁵ ŠA M Ḫa-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL ŠA LUGAL URU Ku-uš-šar
5. D ši-ú-ni-it k[a-ne-eš-ša-a]n-da-aš NUMUN-aš

6. ka-ru-ú KUR.KUR MEŠ^{URU} $\text{H}_2\text{A-AT-TI}$ [I]Š-TU L_2 ÚKÚR ar-ḫa ḫar-ga-
nu-wa-an e-eš-ta e-di-iz ku-i[t]²⁶
7. nu L_2 ÚKÚR URU Ga-aš-ga-aš ú-it nu [KUR.]KUR MEŠ^{URU} $\text{H}_2\text{A-AT-TI}$ ḫar-
ga-nu-ut nu-za URU Ne-na-aš-ša-an ZAG-an
8. i-ya-at e-di-iz-ma IŠ-T[U KU]R URU ŠAP-LI-TI L_2 ÚKÚR URU Ar-za-u-wa-
as ú-it nu a-pa-a-aš-ša
9. KUR.KUR MEŠ^{URU} $\text{H}_2\text{A-AT-TI}$ ḫar-ga-nu-ut nu-z[a URU T]u-u-wa-nu-an
 URU U-da-an-na ZAG-an i-ya-at

10. e-di-iz-ma L_2 ÚKÚR URU A-ra-u-un-n[a-aš ú-i]t nu KUR URU Ga-aš-ši-ya
ḫu-u-ma-an ḫar-ga-nu-ut

²⁵ For this possible restoration of the text, see Otten 1971: 237; Güterbock 1973: 101.

²⁶ A. Götze (1940: 21 note 85) wrote that the sign before the gap could be either MA or KU, and the partially preserved sign could be read as DA. S. Heinhold-Krahmer (1977: 40) shared this assumption and transliterated the last words in l. 6 as *e-di-ma-az d[a-*. We argue that the sign before the gap can only be KU; in fact, the sign MA occurs in other passages in this text and shows a different shape. See also below.

11. e-di-iz-ma LÚKÚR URUAz-zi ú-i[t nu KUR.KUR^M JES UGU^{TI} h[u-u-ma-an-da h[ar-ga-nu-ut
12. nu-za URUŠa-mu-ḫa-an ZAG-an i-ya-a[t LÚKÚR URU] I-šu-wa-aš-ma ú-it [nu URU] UTe-ga-ra-ma h[ar-ga-nu-ut
-
13. e-di-iz-ma LÚKÚR URUAr-ma-ta-na-aš [ú-it] nu a-pa-aš-ša KUR.K[UR^{MEŠ} URU] HA-AT-TI h[ar-ga-nu-ut
14. nu-za URUKi-iz-zu-wa-at-na-an URU-an [ZAG-an i-ya-at URU] Ḫa-at-t]u-ša-aš-ša URU-aš ar-ḫa
15. wa-ar-nu-wa-an-za e-eš-ta nu-kán [gur-t]a-aš (?)²⁷ ḫé-eš-ti-ya iš-pár-za-an
-
16. [m]a-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-kán A-BU A-BI-YA mŠ[u-up-pí-lu-li-u-ma LUGAL.G]AL UR.SAG ša-ra-a iš-pár-za-aš-ta
17. [nu]za-kán A-NA GISŠÚ.A LUGAL-UT-TI e-š[a-at IŠ-TUKUR.KUR URU] HA-AT-TI ar-ḫa
18. [ú-i-y]a-at nu KUR URU HA-AT-TI da-a[n-na-at-ta-an / da-a[n-na-ta-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta-an (?)²⁸ EGI]R-pa aše-ša-nu-ut
-
19. [] pa-it nu KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} Ḫur-ri h[u-u-ma-an-da tar-uḫ-ta (?)²⁹ nu URUKar-ga-miš-ša-an IŠ-BAT
20. [nu I-NA URU] Kar-ga-miš-ša mP[í-ya-aš-ši-li-in LUGAL-]an-ni ti-it-ta-nu-ut
21. [nu I-NA URU] Ḫal-pa mT]e-li-p[í-nu-un LUGAL-an-ni t]i-it-ta-nu-ut pa-ra-a-ma-aš pa-it
22. [URU] Nu-ḫaš-š[e KUR(?) URU] A-mur-ri ZAG-an i-ya-at
23. [(-)d]a-ri-y[a-t]a nu-uš-ši-kán KUR URU A-mur-ri
24. []x-iz-za-ya [ar-ga-am-ma-a]l-la (?) KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} i-ya-at
25. [nu KUR.KU]R^{MEŠ} A-mur-ri [] x x x na-aš URU/URU x x x x
-
26. nu K[UR.KUR^{MEŠ} URU] HA-AT-TI [

²⁷ So Börker-Klähn 1995: 79. See Cognetti 2021: 362, for other possible restorations.

²⁸ We owe this possible restoration to Craig Melchert.

²⁹ So Klengel 1965: 34.

27. ħu-u-ma₁-an-ta₁ tar-uḫ-t[a
 28. na-at-za₁-kán₁ p[í-

-
29. nu KUR.KUR^{MEŠ URU}HA-AT[-TI
 30. me-ek-ki da-ri-y[a-
 31. ták-ša-an ták-ša-an[-]
 32. nu-kán ki-iš-š[a-
 33. A₁-NA₁ x[

Rev.

1. KUR^{U[RU}
 2. nam[-ma
 3. na-a[t
 4. ta[-
 5. A₁-NA₁ x[

-
6. nu-za-kán A-BU-YA [
 7. EGIR-an da-a₁-aš-ta₁[
 8. pa-it^mŠu₁-up-pí-lu-li-u-m[a(-)
 9. ku-it EGIR-an da-a-aš nu A-B[U-YA
 10. Ú-UL ki-ša-at A-NA KUR.KUR^{M[ES}
 11. nu-kán A-BU-YA-ya A-NA a[-

-
12. ma-a-an-za-kán ú₁-uq₁-qa A-NA x[
 13. A-NA A-BU A-B[I-Y]A še-er x[
 14. EGIR-an Ú-UL k[u-i]t-ki (?) x[
 15. nu-kán IŠ-TU É/Ē[] x [
 k]u-it-ki x[
 16. kap-pu-u-wa-an-te-eš [NAM.R]A^{MEŠ} x[k]u-e
 G^{IS}TUKUL-it tar-uḫ-ḫi-iš-ki-mi
 17. nu NAM.RA^{MEŠ} ku-e ú₁-e-da₁-a-mi nu-kán x[]x
 IŠ-TUNAM.RA^{MEŠ} an-da šar-ni-ke-eš-ki-mi

-
18. ^{URU}KÚ.BABBAR-ši-ma³⁰ É LUGAL te-pa-u-e-eš-ta *ras* na-at-
 n]u ku-iš ú-iz-zi DUMU-YA DUMU.DUMU-YA

³⁰ Lines 18'-21' have been published by Otten 1963: 19-20, and Imparati 1977: 39.

19. URUKÚ.BABBAR-ši LUGAL-uš ki-ša nu A-NA ^{NA4}ḫé[-kur Pír-wa
-z]a pé-e-da-a-i na-aš-ṭa []x
20. le-e ku-it-ki da-a-i ma-a-an-na *ras* ^{NA4}ḫé[-kur Pír-wa
a-ši-wa-]an-te-eš-zi³¹ na-a[t(-)]
21. ṣar-₁ni-in-ki-iš-ki-id-du
-
22. ^{NA4}[ḫé-ku]r Pír-wa-ma-kán a-ra-u-wa-aḫ-ḫu-un n[a-aš-ta (?) ša-aḫ-
ḫa-ni³²] lu-uz-zi ṣA UD.KAM^M ḫar-šu-wa-an-zi
23. te[-ri-]ip-pu-u-wa-an-zi ^{GIS}ŠA.KAL ^{GIS}BU-BU-TI [^{GIS}wa-ar-ša-am-
ma³³ Š]E IN.NU₁.DA^{SIG}ḫu-ut-tu-ul-li []
24. A-NA É ŠA LÚ^{MEŠ} MÁŠ.GAL ^{UDU}ku -ut-ri³⁴ IL₅-K[IE]N KUR₁^{T/I}
IL₅-KI] EN M[AD-GA]L₉-TI IL₅-KI MAŠKIM URUKI []
25. ANŠE₁.KUR.RA₁^{MEŠ} ú-e-ḫa-an-na-aš le₁e ku-iš-ki p[í-r]a-an EGIR-
p[a e-p-z]i A-NA NA-RA-RI^{LÚ}KÚR-ma-at i[-ya-at-t]a-ru
26. ma-a-an LÚ^{MEŠ} NA<RA>RI *ras* a-ša-an-du-la-an-zi a-pu-uš-m[a-
kán (?) ar-]ḫa tar-na-an-du I-NA KARASŠ[-ma-aš-ma-aš]
27. ú-e-du-ma-aš KIN le-e e-eš-zi da-pí-za-kan a-ra-u-w[a-aḫ-]ḫu-un na-
at a-ra-u-e-eš a-š[a-an-d]u
-
28. A-WA-AT³⁵ ta-ba-ar-na ^mḪa-at-tu-ši₁-DINGIR^{LIM} LUGAL.GAL Ú
^fPu-du-Ḫé-pa MU[NUS.]LUGAL.GAL MUNUS.LUGAL
URUKÚ.BABBAR-^{TI}
29. ŠA LA-A NA-A-DI-YA-AM ŠA LA-A ŠE-[BI]RI-IM ku-iš-ma-an ḫu-ul-
la-i ma-a-na-aš BE-LU ma-a-na-aš DUMU.L[UGAL]
30. ma-a-na-aš EN ^{GIS}ŠÚ.A ma-a-na-aš ku-iš i[m-m]a ku-iš UN-aš nu
LÚ^{MEŠ}^{NA4}ḫé-kur Pír-wa ke-da-aš ša-aḫ-ḫa₁n[a-a]š
31. lu-u[z-z]i-ya-aš ti-it-ta-nu-zi na-a[n A-]NA (??) ^DUTU³⁶ ŠA-ME-E
^DUTU^{URU}₁A-ri-in-na₁ ^DU ŠA-ME-E

³¹ So Imparati 1977: 40 note 67.

³² See Imparati 1977: 40 note 68.

³³ See Imparati 1977, 40 note 70.

³⁴ This word might be either a Hittite term (Weeden 2011: 183) or an unusual Akkadogram (*KUTRI*), as, for example, in Imparati's edition of the text (1977: 40).

³⁵ Lines 28-42 were published by Christiansen 2012: 294.

³⁶ As Christiansen (2012: 294 note 1166) argued, the scribe wrongly wrote ^DU here.

32. ^DU ^{URU}H[A-A] T-TT ^DŠe-ri ^DHur-ri ^DU [KI.]LAM ^DU ^{URU}Pít-ti-ya-ri-
i[k ^DU] ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik ^DU URU.DU₆³⁷
33. ^DU ^{URU}H[a-l]a-ab ^DU ^{URU}Li-iḫ-zi-n[a ^DU ^{URU}Š]a-mu-ḫa ^DU ^{URU}Hur-
ma ^D.[U ^{URU}Š]a-ri-iš-ša ^DU KARÁŠ
34. ^DU ^{URU}Š[a-aḫ-p]í-na ^DU ^{URU}Hi-iš-ša[-pa ^DU(?)
^{URU}KÙ.BAB]BAR^{TI} ^DZi-it-ḫa-ri-ya [^DKar-z]i ^DHa-pa-an-ta-li-ya
35. ^DLAMMA ^{URU}G[a-ra-aḫ-na] D[] ^DAL-LA-AT-TUM
^DÉ.A ^DT[e-li-p]í-nu ^DḪé-pát MUNUS.LUGAL ŠA-ME-E₂
36. ^DIŠTAR ^DI[ŠTAR] ^DGASAN (?) ^{URU}H]a-at-ta-ri-
na ^DNi-na-at-ta ^DKu-li-it-₂[ta
37. ^DIš-ḫa-ra-a[š] ^DZA-BA₄-BA ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR^{TI} ^DZA-BA₄-
BA₄ ^{URU}EH[a-ya ^DZA-BA₄-BA₄ ^{URU}Ar-z]i-y[a]
38. ^DYa-ar-ri [^DZa-ap-pa-na (?)³⁸ ^DHa-ša-am-mi-li (?)³⁹ ^DHa-an-t]i-ta-aš-
šu ^{URU}Ša-mu-ḫa-aš ^DA-ba-ri ^{URU}A[-an-ku-wa-aš ^DKa-ta]ḫ-ḫi
39. ^{URU}Ka-ta-pa-aš M[UNUS.LUGAL ^{URU}Ta-ḫur-pa-aš ^DAm-m]a-am-ma
^{URU}Du-un-na-aš ^DḪa-l-ha-ri ^{URU}Ḫu-u-pé-eš-na-aš₂ [^DGAZ.BA.A]
DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ^{MEŠ}
40. DINGIR^{MEŠ} MUNUS^{MEŠ} ŠA KUR ^{URU}.ḪA-AT-T[I nu-]za ku-iš ke-e
tup-pí-ya-aš ud-da-a-ar EGIR-pa ḫu-ul-l[iz-zi ke-e-da-aš]
41. A-NA LIM DINGIR^M[EŠ] EN DINI-ŠU [e-]eš-du₂ na-an-kán EN-
ZI^{M40} NUMUN-an-na da-an-ku-wa-ya-za ták-na-za ḫar-ga-nu-wa-an-
du₂
42. A-NA ^DU-ma-aš GU₄.MAḪ e-eš-du na-an pár-ḫé-eš-ki-id-du

Obv.

1. Thus, Tabarna Ha[tt]usili, Great King, King of Hatti, Hero,
2. beloved by the Sun-goddess of Ari[nna],⁴¹ the Storm-god of Ne-
rik, and IŠTAR of Samuha,
3. son of Mursili, Great King, K[ing of H]atti, Hero, grandson of
Suppiluliuma, Great King,

³⁷ For this logogram, see Weeden 2011: 195-196.

³⁸ See Christiansen 2012: 294 note 1169.

³⁹ See, for example, the mention of this deity in the treaty concluded by
Suppiluliuma I with Shattiwaza of Mittani, Devecchi 2015: 251.

⁴⁰ The scribe might have written ENZI ‘goat’ instead of MÁŠ ‘family’, be-
cause the latter sign looks similar to UZ₆ ‘goat’. See HW² III 15: 304.

⁴¹ See Cognetti 2021: 62.

45. King of Hatti, He[ro, descenda]nt of Hattusili, Great King, of the seed of the king of Kussar (that had been) f[avour]ed by the god(s). §
6. In earlier days the Hatti lands were sacked [b]y the enemy, what (was) on (any) far side,⁴²
7. the Kaskean enemy came and sacked the Hatti lands, and established Ninassa as the border.
8. And, from another far side, in the direction of the Lower Land⁴³, the enemy of Arzawa came, he too⁴⁴
9. sacked the Hatti lands, and established [T]uwanuwa and Uda as the border. §
10. And from another far side the enemy of Arawann[a ca]me and sacked the whole land of Kassiya. §
11. And from another far side the enemy of Azzi ca[me,] sacked all the Lower [Land]s,
12. and establish[ed] Samuha as the border, and the enemy] of Isuwa came and sacked [the country] of Tegarama. §
13. And from another far side the enemy of Armatana [came], he too sacked the Hatti lan[ds]
14. and [established] the city of Kizzuwatna⁴⁵ [as the border,] even the city of [Hatt]usa
15. had been burned [the cita]del (?) and the *hešti*-house [] (had) escaped. §
16. However, [w]hen my grandfather S[uppiluliuma, Great K]ing, Hero, rose to prominence
17. [and] s[at] on the seat of kingship, [he drov]e out [all the enemies?] from the Hatti lands,
18. and the land of Hatti, de[solated (country) he aga]in settled.§

⁴² We assume that the expression *ēdiz kuit* is a kind of “frame-setting” relative clause. On *ēdiz* see Goedegebuure 2014: 123-128.

⁴³ The expression *IS-T[U KU]R URUŠAP-LI-TI* is translated by Heinhold-Krahmer (1977: 40, 48-49) as “vom Unteren Land her”, and this interpretation is shared by Stavi (2015: 38). Götze (1940: 21-22), however, had argued that it could mean “toward the Lower land”. Indeed, according to KBo 6.28, the Arzawean troops moved from Arzawa in the direction of south-central Anatolia and reached Tuwanuwa by crossing the Lower Land. On the ablative of direction, see Melchert (1977: 358) and Miller (2014: 547).

⁴⁴ See Goedegebuure 2014: 456-457.

⁴⁵ On the identity of the city/land of Kummanni and the city/land of Kizzuwatna, see Hawkins, Weeden 2017: 281.

19. [And] he went [to smash] a[ll] the Hurri lands [and] he took Karkemish,
 20. [and] he appointed P[iyassili] as [king in] Karkemish,
 21. [and] he [a]ppointed [T]elip[inu as king in] Aleppo, and he went forward
 22. [] Nuhas[he] established Amurru as the border,
 23. [] . . . [] . and to him⁴⁶ Amurru
 24. [][] made the lands of Amurru⁴⁷ [trib]ute [bearing] (to him),
 25. [the lan]ds of Amurru [] §

26-33. *fragmentary*

Rev.

- 1-11. *fragmentary*
 12. And my father to .[
 13. to my grandfather . . [
 14. nothing back . [
 15. and from the building [] so]mething / [no]thing . [
 16. numbered (= few) deportees . [] t]hat I conquer by force of arms
 17. and the deportees that I bring, . [] . I'll replace with deportees. §
 18. But the royal palace in Hattusa become impoverished and it [] a]nd whoever, my either my son, or my grandson,
 19. becomes king in Hattusa, and brings to the *hēkur* Pirwa] and [
 20-21. he shall not take anything and if the *h[ekur* Pirwa imp]overishes, he shall replace it. §
 22. And I have freed the [*heku*]r Pí-ir-wa, a[nd] let no one impose (on it)[for the *sahhan*] (and) the *luzzi*, for the daily ploughing,

⁴⁶ The personal pronoun might refer to Aziru, if he was indeed mentioned in the previous line; see Klengel 1969: 298 note 75.

⁴⁷ As Singer (1991: 72-73) argued, the expression “Land of Amurru” refers to Aziru’s country, while the “Lands of Amurru” might instead indicate «the broad geographical entity of the Syrian states west of the Euphrates that were indeed controlled by Mittani».

23. (and) tilling, (for the provision of) wooden chariot axle(s),⁴⁸
[firewood (?), cere]als, straw, wool-tuft []
24. (for the provision of) *ku*tri-sheep (to be given)⁴⁹ to the house of
the goat-herds,⁵⁰ for the *ILKU*-obligation (in favour of) “Lord of
the Land”, [the *ILKU*-obligation (in favour of)] the Fro[n]tier
Post Gov]ernor, the *ILKU*-obligation (in favour of) the “Commis-
sioner of town”,⁵¹ [],
25. (for the provision of) trained horses,⁵² instead it (= the *hekur* Pí-
ir-wa) shall come to (my) aid (against) the enemy,
26. if the auxiliary troops are in the garrison, let them go, [but]
27. (no) construction activities shall be (imposed) on them in the
military campaign, I have freed (them) completely, and they
[sha]ll be free. §
28. (This is) the word of Tabarna Hattusili, Great King, and Pudu-
Heba, Great Queen, Queen of Hatti
29. not be neglected, not to be broken, but whoever opposes it,
whether it be a Lord, or a pr[in]ce],
30. or a person close to the king,⁵³ or else any man, and allocates the
personnel of the *hekur* Pirwa for these *šahhan*
- 31 (and) *luzzi*,⁵⁴ and h[im in fron]t of (??) the Sun-god of Heaven,
the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of Heaven,
32. the Storm-god of H[a]tti, Sheri, Hurri, the Storm-god of the
[Gate-]house, the Storm-god of Pittiyarik, [the Storm-god] of
Nerik, the Storm-god of the mound of the town,

⁴⁸ On the meaning of the words ^{GIŠŠÀ}.KAL and *BUBUTU*, see Weeden 2011: 183-184.

⁴⁹ So Weeden 2011: 183; instead, see HW² III/2 (2012): 792: «für das Haus der Männer (des?) Ziegenbockes (des?) *KUTRI*-Schafes».

⁵⁰ For this interpretation of the expression É ŠA LÚ^{MEŠ} MÁŠ.GAL, see Otten 1988: 46 and note 85.

⁵¹ On this term, see Bilgin 2018: 84 note 263.

⁵² The expression ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} *wehannaš*, which literally means ‘the horses of turning’, could refer to horses that were trained to move in circles. See Starke 1941: 26 note 67.

⁵³ Literally ‘a Lord of the throne’.

⁵⁴ These two terms occur here with the dative plural suffix; see Imparati (1977: 45) and CHD Š 1: 2. See Christiansen (2012: 294) for a different interpretation of this passage.

33. the Storm-god of A[le]p, the Storm-god of Lihzin[a, the S]torm-god of Hurma, the [Storm-god of S]arissa, the Storm-god of the army,
34. the Storm-god of S[ahp]ina, the Storm-god of Hissa[pa, the Storm-god (?) of Hattu]sa, Zithariya, [Kar]zi, Hapantaliya,
35. LAMMA of G[arahna], Allatu, Ea, T[elip]inu, Hebat Queen of Heaven,
36. Ishtar, I[shtar] the Lady of H]attarina, Ninatta, Kulit[ta]
37. Ishara [], Zababa di Hatti, Zababa of Ell[aya, Zababa of Arz]iya,
38. Yarri, [Zappana (?), Hasammili (?), Hant]itassu, Abari of Samuha, [Kata]hha of A[nkuwa,]
39. the Q[ueen] of Katapa, [Amm]amma of Tahirpa, Hallari of Dunna, [Huwassanna] of Hubesna, the male deities (and)
40. the female deities of Hatti (???)⁵⁵ [and] whoever corr[u]pts the words of this tablet,
41. may he become a legal opponent to these thousand gods, and they shall cause him, (his) family and offspring to perish from the black earth,
42. let he be (like) a bull in front of the Storm-god and let (the Storm-god) drive him.⁵⁶

Abbreviations

CHD *The Hittite Dictionary of the University of Chicago*, Chicago: The Oriental Institute of Chicago.

HW² *Hethitisches Wörterbuch 2nd ed.*, Heidelberg: Winter.

⁵⁵ Whatever restoration one might suggest in the gap in l. 31, it is clear that the scribe has here forgotten to supply a predicate after the long list of deities.

⁵⁶ I share the interpretation proposed by the editors of CHD P: 144; see also Schwemer 2001: 479 note 3922.

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