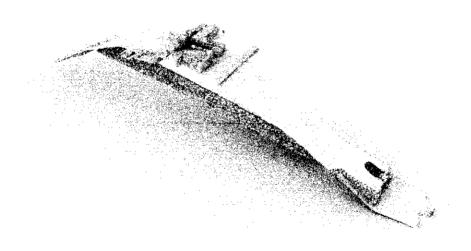
# News from the Lands of the Hittites

# Scientific Journal for Anatolian Research

Donum ab amicis et collegis Italicis ad Fortem-Cum-Hasta Gulielmum in octogesimum diem natalem suum



Edited by Stefano de Martino – Massimiliano Marazzi – Clelia Mora

Volume 8 2024

# The Hittite Tablet KUB 31.68 and the Conspiracy Against King Tuthaliya IV<sup>1</sup>

# Stefano de Martino Università di Torino

#### ABSTRACT

The Hittite tablet KUB 31.68, which we present here in an updated edition, records the statements given in the court proceeding against prince Hešni, a brother of Tuthaliya IV. Hešni conspired against the king and tried to involve some of the most important members of the court in his coup d'état. The conspiracy was denounced by an official by the name of Malaziti, who is the main witness and would have played an important role in Hešni's plan.

#### 1. THE MANUSCRIPT

The Hittite tablet KUB 31.68 (Bo 5069) was discovered at Hattuša, although the exact findspot remains unknown. It is written in one column, with script continuing over the lower edge.<sup>2</sup> The tablet is fragmentary and preserves only fifty lines. It belongs to the textual corpus of the "court depositions",<sup>3</sup> and like the other tablets of this corpus it can be dated to the late imperial age.<sup>4</sup> This tablet shows erasures and scribal mistakes. It may be a copy made by an unskilled scribe, or the tablet on which the original scribe recorded the statements of the witnesses.

This text, which was published by Stefanini in 1962, is often quoted in the secondary literature, and scholars are divided over its value. Some trust it without hesitation, while others do not consider it a valuable historical source, mostly due to its fragmentary state. Thus, for example, Bryce wrote, "We learn of a conspiracy plotted against him (= Tuthaliya IV), probably early in his reign, by his brother or half-brother Heshni, another of the sons of Hattusili III. Joined by a group of high-ranking dignitaries of the land, Heshni planned to assassinate Tudhaliya and a number of his most loyal supporters during a royal visit to the city of Hattina (in the region of Nerik)". Miller, however, considered this text in an opposite manner and argued that "the so called 'Hešni Conspiracy' derived from KUB 31.68 ... is based largely on the restorations made by the text's various editors and interpreters".

Hence, an updated edition of KUB 31.68 and an analysis of its content may yield a more objective assessment of what may have happened, as well as of the role played by Hešni and the other individuals mentioned in the text.

This essay originates from the research project PRIN 2020 "Networks of Power: Institutional Hierarchies and State Management in Late Bronze Age Western Asia". I am indebted to Prof. Craig Melchert for his valuable comments and suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> See Waal 2015, 195-196.

<sup>3</sup> See Werner 1967; Waal 2015, 262-264.

<sup>4</sup> See Werner 1967, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Bryce 2005, 299-300.

<sup>6</sup> MILLER 2020, 241 n. 5.

# 2. THE MAIN CHARACTERS: HEŠNI AND MALAZITI

The preserved part of KUB 31.68 contains the testimony of a certain Malaziti who was summoned to testify during the proceedings against Hešni.

Although several individuals named Hešni are known from the Hittite texts,<sup>7</sup> it is generally assumed that the person accused in KUB 31.68 was the son of Hattušili III. Hešni is mentioned in other Hittite texts, and he is styled as a "prince" (DUMU.LUGAL) in the list of witnesses in the treaty concluded by Hattušili III with Ulmi-Teššob/Kuruntiya of Tarhuntašša (KBo 4.10).<sup>8</sup> Prince Hešni indeed had means, motive and opportunities for planning a conspiracy against his brother or half-brother Tuthaliya IV.

We do not know much on this individual; anyhow, Hešni was involved in administrative operations and acted as an overseer, according to a tablet that records the disbursement of goods, KUB  $40.96 \pm \text{KUB } 60.1$  rev iii? 1'-11'. Hešni was asked to confirm that the operation of melting one talent of copper into sixty minas had been performed correctly. The name of Hešni, without any title, also occurs in another record of disbursement, KBo  $23.26 \pm \text{KBo } 16.83.9$ 

In addition to these administrative responsibilities, Hešni may also have been a military commander, as we infer from two passages in KUB 31.68. When Malaziti meets Hešni and first learns about the conspiracy, Malaziti is in his tent (l. 48'), thus likely in a military camp. Furthermore, Malaziti states in another passage of his deposition (l. 17') that he encountered Hešni while the latter was standing in his chariot.

IJešni's name also occur in the fragmentary tablet KBo 71.43 where Armaziti, Tattamaru, Halpašulubi and Piḥaššamuwa are mentioned. This text seems to be related to the loyalty oath imposed by Tuthaliya IV to the courtiers.<sup>10</sup>

As far as Malaziti is concerned, this name is documented in some Hittite texts and sealings from different time. Obviously, the individual of this name who is mentioned in KUB 31.68 cannot be the official who lived more than half a century earlier, at the time of Muršili II, and has been identified as the homonymous GAL.GEŠTIN documented from the sealing BoHa 22 no 241.<sup>11</sup>

An official by the name of Malaziti, without any title, is documented in the fragmentary tablet KUB 40.93 l. 4', a list of goods that were either given or taken by some Hittite officials. The seal of a scribe by the name of Malaziti was impressed on a *bulla* from Nişantepe (Bo 90/991 a). This *bulla* preserves the impressions of three other seals belonging to Alalimi the "courtier" (EUNUCHUS), to an individual who is titled "prince" and whose name is written á-\*507-*na-ni*, and to another scribe named VITA+*RA/I*. As we will see later, an individual by the name of Alalimi is documented from KUB 31.68; thus, the names of both Alalimi and Malaziti occur in the Nişantepe sealing as well as in KUB 31.68.

<sup>7</sup> See Mora – Balza – De Pietri 2023.

<sup>8</sup> See van den Hout 1995, 48-49.

<sup>9</sup> See Burgin 2022, respectively: 274-275, 256-257.

<sup>10</sup> I thank Daniel Schwemer for having drawn my attention to this text.

<sup>11</sup> DINÇOL - DINÇOL 2008, 53. On Malaziti GAL.GEŠTIN, see MARIZZA 2007, 163-164; BILGIN 2018, 127-128.

<sup>12</sup> See HERBORDT 2005, no. 4.

<sup>13</sup> See Herbordt 2005, no. 94. On the possible reading of this name, see Hawkins 2005, 251.

See Herbordt 2005, nos. 671 and 677. On this personal name, see HAWKINS 2005, 287.

The name of Malaziti, without any title, also occurs in KUB 8.77 + KUB 42.2 i 2', a fragmentary text that mentions an individual by the name of Tarhuntaziti. According to Marizza, 15 the latter could be a scribe, a son of Piddu, who is known from the cuneiform texts and one sealing. 16

The Malaziti documented in KUB 31.68 seems to have been a military official, as explained below, and he may be identified with Malaziti the scribe. In support of this assumption, we mention the case of the well-known high-ranking official and "prince" Šaḥurunuwa, who bears the title of GAL LÜMEŠDUB.SAR.GIŠ in the treaty concluded by Ḥattušili III with Ulmi-Teššob/Kuruntiya (KBo 4.10 rev. 30), as well as in the Bronze Tablet (iv 37), but is titled GAL LÜMEŠDUB. SAR.GIŠ, GAL LÜUKU.UŠ "chief of the heavily armed troops", and GAL NA.GAD "chief of the herds-men" in KUB 26.43 + obv. 49,<sup>17</sup> In this case there is no doubt that the same individual bore all these different titles.<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, Penti-Šarruma, an official known from the letter RS 94.2523 and active at the time of Šuppiluliuma II,<sup>19</sup> bears the titles MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS "prince" and MAGNUS.SCRIBA in some of his seals,<sup>20</sup> but another sealing from Nişantepe (HERBORDT 2005 no. 327) documents the same personal name accompanied by the titles of "prince", "chief scribe", and "chief of the chariot drivers" (MAGNUS.AURIGA). HAWKINS (2005, 268) argued that the latter Penti-Šarruma was a different individual; nevertheless, the presence of both titles, namely, "prince" and "chief scribe" in all the sealings of Penti-Šarruma could support the assumption that we are dealing with one and the same official, as BILGIN (2018, 240) proposed.

# 3. THE BACKSTORY

As we read in the first part of the deposition given by Malaziti, he and Hešni were travelling together toward a town whose name falls in the gap in 1. 2'. Stefanini<sup>21</sup> argued that this town was Hattena, which is mentioned in 1. 15', but in our opinion Hattena was the ultimate destination of the two officials, and not the intermediate stop that this passage refers to.

When Malaziti and Hešni arrived at their stopping place, a royal message was delivered exclusively to the former. We share Stefanini's assumption that the name Malaziti is grammatically and logically connected to the personal pronoun -mu in the sentence in 1. 3', nu-wa-mu-kán DUTU-ŠIA-NA Malaziti". The occurrence of the personal name and of the first-person pronoun likely aims to stress that the message sent by the king was exclusively addressed to Malaziti, although the latter was travelling together with Hešni.<sup>22</sup>

The king ordered Malaziti to escort a group of courtiers and join the king; thus, Malaziti and the courtiers who were travelling with him went to Tapašpa. This town was likely located south of Hattena,

<sup>15</sup> MARIZZA 2007, 164.

<sup>16</sup> See GORDIN 2015, 197.

<sup>17</sup> See Imparati 1974, 30-31.

See BILGIN 2018, 222-224. On the title "scribe" and "chief scribe" borne by some members of the élite in the late imperial age, see VAN DEN HOUT 2020, 287-313.

<sup>19</sup> See BILGIN 2018, 168-171.

<sup>20</sup> See Herbordt 2005, nos. 322-326.

<sup>21</sup> STEFANINI 1962, 23.

<sup>22</sup> See Stefanini 1962, 24.

and thus it was an intermediate stop on Malaziti's itinerary.<sup>23</sup> As we infer from the very concise presentation of Malaziti, Hešni was not with him on his journey to Tapašpa.

When Malaziti was at Tapašpa, he received a message from Hešni, who asked Malaziti to come to him along with the high-ranking officials whom he was escorting, instead of going to meet the king. Hešni had sent the same message to another official by the name of Lilawanda, whom we do not know from any other source.

We assume that Lilawanda was in Tapašpa, where Malaziti also was. The message sent by Hešni to Lilawanda differed from the one that Malaziti had received; specifically, Hešni indicated that Lilawanda should not bring a certain Tatta before the king together with the unnamed high-ranking officials.

Malaziti and Lilawanda conferred and decided that disobeying the king's command would be much more dangerous than contravening Hesni's request. Thus, the two officials carried out their mission and led the escorted officials to the town of Hattena. This town was situated north of Tapašpa and Hanhana and bordered the region of Nerik.<sup>24</sup>

As for Tatta, he can be identified with the individual of the same name who gives a deposition in the fragmentary court proceeding KUB 23.106, where Hešni is also mentioned (obv. 4).<sup>25</sup> Hittite evidence mentions a scribe by the name of Tatta, who was the father of the scribes Pikku and Pihhuniya;<sup>26</sup> nevertheless, there is nothing to clinch the identification of the scribe Tatta with the individual who accompanied Malaziti to Hattena.<sup>27</sup>

Afterwards, Malaziti joined Hešni, who tried to convince Malaziti to take his side, stating that all the high-ranking officials had gathered in the town of Karaḥna<sup>28</sup> to form an alliance and had sworn loyalty to him. Hešni said that many princes had also taken his side (II. 19'-20'), and this may mean that some of his brothers, half-brothers, and members of the nobility were involved in the conspiracy.

The role played by the courtiers and the officials in either supporting the ruling king or opposing him is clearly documented, for example, in a passage in the decree KBo 6.29+ (ii 18-28), which was issued by Hattušili III<sup>29</sup> and narrates the conflict between himself, before he gained the throne, and his nephew King Muršili III.

# 4. THE PLAN OF THE CONSPIRACY

Lines 21'-31' are fragmentary, but they allude to a *coup d'état* that would have been organized in the spring. Malaziti, if he had taken part in the conspiracy, would have been responsible for mobilizing some military contingents in support of Hešni.

We assume that the sentence preserved in I. 28' refers to what Malaziti heard when he met with Hešni and is reporting in his deposition. If this interpretation of the passage is correct, then Taškuili and another individual whose name falls in the gap also attended the meeting.

<sup>23</sup> See Corti 2017, 222.

<sup>24</sup> See Kryszeń 2016, 311-323; Corti 2017. 220.

<sup>25</sup> See van den Hout 1995, 210.

<sup>26</sup> See Gordin 2015, 102, 186-187.

See Marizza 2010, 38-39. The name of a priest by the name of Tatta occurs in the tablet catalogue KUB 31.1 + iii 4, but he cannot be the individual mentioned in KUB 31.68, because the tablet catalogue is dated to the Middle Hittite Period; see Dardano 2006, 194-195.

<sup>28</sup> On this town, which was likely located east of Hattuša, see Kryszeń 2016, 270.

<sup>29</sup> See DE MARTINO 2023a.

We know two individuals by the name of Taškuili: one who was active at the time of Ḥantili II,<sup>30</sup> and one who is mentioned in the Maşat tablets.<sup>31</sup> Thus both lived much earlier than the time of Tutḥaliya IV.

Taškuili is also named in HFAC 7 (ll. 5'[, 7'[),<sup>32</sup> a fragmentary tablet that preserves only the first few signs of eleven lines. It contains no useful information on Taškuili, apart from the fact that he appears here in close contact with the king and the queen.

According to Malaziti's statement, Taškuili was charged with the provision of equipment for the infantry soldiers, likely those who would have supported Hešni.

At this point, Malaziti refers to what Hešni arguably said to Taškuili, though we cannot exclude that he was addressing Malaziti himself. Hešni said that he would have brought the king's chariot, and that the king himself would have been there. Hešni warned his interlocutor about the terribly embarrassing situation he would have faced by virtue of being in the presence of the king when the conspiracy was about to be executed.

Starting with I. 38, the text reports the following part of Malaziti's deposition. According to him, Hešni intended to recruit an official whose name is not given and who bore the title of *ABUBĪTI*.<sup>33</sup>

Hešni had planned that an individual by the name of Lupakki, a  $^{10}KARTAPPU$  "chariot driver", would kill someone, a "chief of ...," but the full title is not preserved.

There are several individuals who bore the name of Lupakki.<sup>34</sup> Lupakki the "chariot driver," who is mentioned in KUB 31.68, may be identified with the author of a *post-scriptum* in the letter sent by the Hittite king to the queen, KBo 18.1. The former has been identified as Tuthaliya IV and the latter as his mother, Pudu-Heba.<sup>35</sup> Lupakki brings news of the "Great Daughter", who likely was Keloš-Heba, queen of Išuwa.<sup>36</sup> We also mention here the court proceeding KUB 40.80, where the names of Lupakki and Keloš-Heba occur.<sup>37</sup> In addition, a letter sent by the king of Išuwa (KBo 18.4) is addressed to the "chief of the chariot drivers", who likely was Lupakki.<sup>38</sup> Finally, Lupakki is the owner of a seal impressed on a sealing discovered at Korucetepe, a site in the region of Išuwa.<sup>39</sup> Thus, Lupakki was the "chariot driver" and "chief of the chariot drivers". He was in close contact with the court of Išuwa, and the king of this country is also mentioned in KUB 31.68.

The second victim in Hešni's plan would have been Halpa-ziti. Since Hešni does not state that Halpa-ziti would have been assassinated but employs a metaphor to describe his fate—"we will [treat (?)] Halpa-ziti [like (?)] an empty straw barn"—we argue that the conspirators would simply have prevented this official from defending the king.

It was necessary to neutralize Ḥalpa-ziti because he was a high-ranking military official.<sup>40</sup> Ḥalpa-ziti's name occurs in the treaty concluded by Ḥattušili III with Ulmi-Teššob/Kuruntya, KBo 4.10, where he bears the title "chief of the heavy infantry of the right" (GAL LÜMEŠUKU.ÚŠ ZAG-naš).

<sup>30</sup> See BILGIN 2018, 180.

<sup>31</sup> See ALP 1991, 100.

<sup>32</sup> In this text the name Taškuili is written as Tàš-ku-DINGIR<sup>IM</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> On this title, see V1GO 2023.

<sup>34</sup> See Bilgin 2018, 155-157.

<sup>35</sup> See Marizza 2009, 160-161.

<sup>36</sup> See DE Roos 1985-1986, 74-83; 2005.

<sup>37</sup> See DE ROOS 1987; DE MARTINO 2010; GLOCKER 2011, 270-271.

<sup>38</sup> See Marizza 2009, 158-159.

<sup>39</sup> See the sealing KRC68-285 in GÜTERBOCK 1973, 142.

<sup>40</sup> On this personal name, see VAN DEN HOUT 1995, 186-193.

Halpa-ziti is also documented in the fragmentary text KUB 31.32, which reports the content of a dream. It mentions a conversation between Halpa-ziti, who bears the title of "chief of the heavy infantry", and an individual by the name of Tattamaru.<sup>41</sup> The latter is known from several Hittite texts, and he bears the title of "chief of the heavy infantry of the left" (GAL LÚLMES UKU.ÚŠ GÙB-laš) in the treaty concluded by Tuthaliya IV with Kuruntiya, as well as in the act in favour of the heirs of Šahurunuwa (rev. 30). Thus, both Tattamaru and IJalpa-ziti commanded the infantry. As was already said, Tattamaru and Hešni are mentioned in KBo 71.43.

Halpa-ziti's name does not occur in the witness list in the Bronze Tablet, where the office of "chief of the heavy infantry of the right" was held by Šalikka (iv 39). We assume that Halpa-ziti, who had started his career during the reign of Hattušili III, had grown old or even died by the time the treaty was concluded. The absence of Halpa-ziti's name from the Bronze Tablet supports the assumption that Hešni's conspiracy was hatched before Tuthaliya IV had signed the treaty with his cousin Kuruntiya.

The interpretation of the following passage (II. 41-43) is controversial. Following Stefanini's translation, <sup>42</sup> we assume that Hešni had asked four courtiers—namely the king of Išuwa, whose name is not given, Alalimi, Taškuili, and Huzziya—to take part in the conspiracy. According to IJešni's plan, the four of them would not only have seized Halpa-ziti but would also have imprisoned an individual by the name of Nanizi in a barn. Malaziti's deposition indicates that Hešni was not sure that the four courtiers would assist him, and in fact, he added that he would have carried out both tasks himself if necessary.

We have already mentioned Taškuili. As for Alalimi, this personal name is widely documented in Hittite texts.<sup>43</sup> We argue that the Alalimi who is mentioned in KUB 31.68 may be identified with an official who was among the witnesses of the treaty concluded by Tuthaliya IV with Kuruntiya,<sup>44</sup> and who bore the title "chief of the overseers of the clansmen" (GAL UGULA *LĪM*<sup>MEŠ</sup>). This same individual is titled "overseer of the clansmen" in the administrative text KUB 60.102 (l. 8'), where the name of Hešni also occurs. This text likely refers to a previous stage in the career of Alalimi.

We reject the possibility that the Alalimi mentioned in KUB 31.68 was the "cupbearer" known from some texts of the time of Hattušili III. A certain Alalimi did reach the position of "Chief of the cupbearers", as documented in the treaty concluded by Hattušili III with Kuruntiya (KBo iv 10 rev. 32).<sup>45</sup> But this Alalimi would have been an old man in the first years of the reign of Tuthaliya IV, if indeed he was still alive. Furthermore, Hešni mostly recruited officials with military duties for his plan, and Alalimi the "chief of the overseers of the clansmen" belonged to the Hittite army.<sup>46</sup>

As far as the other individuals whom Hešni tried to involve in the conspiracy are concerned, Huzziya may be identified with the royal prince and brother of Tuthaliya IV whose name occurs in the witness list of both the treaty with Ulmi-Teššob/Kuruntiya (rev. 29) and the Bronze Tablet (iv 30).<sup>47</sup> The anonymous king of Išuwa mentioned in KUB 31.68 may have been Ari-Šarruma, who likely was Ali-Šarruma's son and direct follower, as Glocker argued.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>41</sup> See MOUTON 2007, 98-99.

<sup>42</sup> STEFANINI 1962, 28-29; differently, see TANI 2001, 35.

<sup>43</sup> On Alalimi, see de Martino 2023b.

<sup>44</sup> See Otten 1988, 26-27.

<sup>45</sup> See van den Hout 1995, 48-49.

<sup>46</sup> See BEAL 1992, 92-104.

<sup>47</sup> On Prince Huzziya, see van den Hout 2022, 326.

<sup>48</sup> See GLOCKER 2011.

Finally, Nanizi was one of the designated victims in Hešni's plan. The personal name Nani(n)zi is documented in several Hittite texts.<sup>49</sup> The official mentioned in KUB 31.68 may be identified with Nani(n)zi the "scribe" and "overseer of litigations" (UGULA *MUBARRĪ*),<sup>50</sup> one of the witnesses of the treaty signed by Tutḥaliya IV and Kuruntiya (iv 41),<sup>51</sup> as already proposed by Siegelová. A network of relationships binds Nani(n)zi, Lupakki, and the royal court of Išuwa, as documented in the court deposition KUB 40.80, which mentions the king of Išuwa, Ali-Šarruma, his wife Keloš-Heba, the daughter of Naninzi, and Lupakki.

A network of relationship binds quite all the officials mentioned in KUB 31.68, thus, it was not by chance that Hešni tried to enlist precisely these individuals in his conspiracy.

Yet we cannot infer from the aforementioned passage in KUB 31.68 that the king of Išuwa, Alalimi, Taškuili, and Huzziya indeed took Hešni's side. In fact, if the conclusion of the treaty with Kuruntiya indeed followed the conspiracy, as we argued, the presence of Prince Huzziya and Alalimi among the witnesses of this royal act leads us to assume that they remained loyal to Tuthaliya IV. On the other hand, no king of Išuwa is mentioned in this text, and instead the name of Prince Ehli-Šarruma, the son and heir of Ari-Šarruma, occurs (iv 34). Tuthaliya IV may have chosen to mention Ehli-Šarruma rather than his father not because he did not trust the latter anymore, but because he was tied to the former by personal relations. Analogously, the name of Prince Šauška-muwa of Amurru (iv 32) occurs in this witness list before that of his father Pente-šena (iv 36). Since Hešni's conspiracy was discovered before it could be realized, Nanizi suffered no harm, and his name too occurs in the Bronze Tablet (iv 41).

We argue that Hešni planned to keep Halpa-ziti and Nanizi far away from the king when the final act of the conspiracy was about to be carried out. The last lines in the deposition of Malaziti (ll. 44'-46') do not refer to poisoning the king, as Bryce assumed.<sup>53</sup> Instead, Hešni was again trying to convince Malaziti to take his side, adding that he knew that Malaziti was guilty of some indiscretion connected to a silver cup: "You are rashly going to end up in disgrace. His Majesty has regrets because of just that silver cup. If not, (in any case) join me!". Hešni was likely intimating that Malaziti had already fallen into royal disfavour and thus could freely abandon his loyalty to the king.

# 5. A FLASHBACK IN MALAZITI'S DEPOSITION

Malaziti's deposition, as preserved in KUB 31.68, does not always follow the chronology of events, and the last preserved lines in the tablet refer to the moment when Malaziti first became aware of the conspiracy.<sup>54</sup> Malaziti was asked to visit Hešni in his tent and found him when he was washing himself.

We argue that Hešni shared with Malaziti the plan that he was hatching and tried to involve him in the conspiracy. Thus, when Hešni requested that Malaziti disobey the king's order and escort the high-ranking officials to the place where he was waiting, Malaziti already knew that Hešni was plotting against the king. Malaziti decided to remain loyal to Tuthaliya IV, and we assume that he was among those who denounced the conspiracy.

<sup>49</sup> See van den Hout 1995, 180-186.

<sup>50</sup> See BILGIN 2018, 303-304 for this title.

<sup>51</sup> See Siegelová 1986, 145.

<sup>52</sup> See Otten 1988, 26-27.

<sup>53</sup> Bryce 2005, 299-300.

<sup>54</sup> See Stefanini 1962, 35.

Thus, Tuthaliya IV was not killed, and Hešni was likely punished for his rebellion. We do not know whether he was put to death or exiled. As a matter of fact, Hešni disappeared from the court: he is not listed among the witnesses in the Bronze Tablet, nor in the edict issued by Tuthaliya IV in favour of the heirs of Šahurunuwa.

### 6. THE TEXT

Obv.

1'. ] x x x [

- 2'. GIM-an-ma- wa "He-eš-ni-iš am-mu-ug -qa I-N[A
- 3'. e- er-u-en nu-wa-mu-kán DUTU-ŠI A-NA "Ma-la-z[i-ti
- 4'. i-it-wa-ra-aš ar-nu-ut nu-wa-ra-aš ar-nu-nu-un nu-wa-ra-aš in-na [-ra]55
- 5'. pé-ḫu-te-nu-un nu GIM-an I-NA URUTa -pa -aš-pa 6 ar-ḫu-un
- 6'. nu-mu GišHUR ŠA m!He-eš-ni ú-te-er MA-HAR DUTU-5'-wa le-e pa-a-i[t-ti]
- 7'. LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> GAL<sup>BLA</sup>-wa am-mu-uk ú-wa-ti *A-NA* <sup>m</sup>Li-la-u-wa-an-ta-y[a]
- 8'. Gis HUR ú-te-er nu-wa a-pé-e-da-ni-ya QA-TAM-MA ha-at-ra-eš
- 9'. "Ta-at-ta-an-wa LÚMES GALIII.A-ya MA-HAR DUTU-SI le-e pé-e-hu-te-si
- 10', ma-a-an-ma-wa-ra-aš \*ras\* pé-e-hu-te-ši-ma nu-wa i-da-la-u-wa-ah-ti
- 11'. UM-MA A-NA-KU-MA A-NA "Li-la-u-wa-an-ta nu-wa  $MA^!$ -ḤAR "UTU- $\S^j$
- 12'. ku-wa-pí  $\{U-UL\}^{57}$  pa-a-i-mi <sup>m</sup>He-eš-ni-iš $\{-$ ni-iš $\}$ -wa-mu ku-it i-ya-zi
- 13'. Ú-UL-wa-mu za-a-hi <sup>D</sup>UTU-<sup>S/</sup>-ma-wa-mu-kán SAG.DU-an-pát ku-ir-zi
- 14'. ma-a-an-wa Ú-UL pa-a-i-mi nu-wa "Li-la-u-wa-an-da-aš am-mu-uk
- 15'. LÚ<sup>MES</sup> GAL<sup>HLA</sup>-ya *I-NA* <sup>URU</sup>Ḥa-at-ti-na *MA-ḤAR* <sup>D</sup>UTU-<sup>SI</sup> pa-a-u-en
- 16'. nu-wa A-NA "He-eš-ni kat-ta-an pa-a-u-un nu-wa-mu-za-kán A-NA GIŚGIGIR
- 17'. kat-ta hal-za-a-iš *UM-MA* "He-eš-ni-ma ki-nu-na-ya-wa-za *Ú-UL* ha-a-ši
- 18'. L $\acute{\mathbf{U}}^{\mathrm{MES}}$  GAL $^{\mathrm{HLA}}$ -wa hu-u-ma-an-du-uš  $\mathit{I-NA}$   $^{\mathrm{URU}}$ Ka-r[a-h]a-na li-i[n-
- 19'. 1<sup>E</sup>[N-w]a-kán Ú-UL ar-ha ki-it-ta-ri DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> LU[GAL-] ya-wa [-ma]
- 20'. [ša-ku-w]a-, šar-ra, -aš<sup>58</sup> ka-ru-ú am-me-da-az ne-an-[ta-at
- 21'. [ki-nu-na-ya-wa-za U-U]L ḥa-a-ši nu-wa GIM-an ḥa-mi-iš-ḥa[-an-za ki-ša-ri]
- 22'. [ÉRIN<sup>MES</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>ME</sup>]<sup>Ś</sup> ni-ni-ik nu-wa-za an-da x
- 23'. ] ú- wa-mi nu-wa-at-ta me-m[i-u-e-ni (?)

We propose to restore this word partially in the gap. Stefanini restored the word *I-NA*....., but there is no space for a place name on the right edge, as shown from the tablet photograph available on the Hethitologie Portal Mainz.

See DEL MONTE 1978, 400. STEFANINI (1962, 23) reads this town name as Tahurpa, but this reading is incompatible with the trace of the cuneiform signs on the tablet.

As Stefanini (1962, 25) argued, the negative  $\acute{U}$ -UL is here a scribal mistake; in fact, it is clear from the context that Malaziti intends to reach the king and does not fear Hešni's reaction, whereas he is sure that the king will severely punish him if he does not obey the royal request. Differently, see RIEKEN - SASSEVILLE 2012, 126.

<sup>58</sup> See van den Hout 1995, 209.

```
low.e.
24'.
                  k]u-i-e-eš an-da nu-wa-a[t
25'.
                 i]š-ta-m[a-aš-ši (?) nu p]í-ra-an EGIR -pa p[a-
              -] zi (-)x[ ]x nu-wa zi-iq-qa uš-k[at-ti (?)
26'.
           zi-la-] tu-wa ku-in :e-ek-ta-an ha-ma-a[n-kán-zi (?)
27'.
                ]x-pu-pu<sup>59 m</sup>Ta-aš-ku-i-li-eš-ša kiš-an me-mi-i[r (?)
28'.
rev.
29'.
            1x-x-pu-pu A-NA^{-10}E,KAŠ.!-UT-TI^{-m}Aš-k[a-(??)^{60}]
          ]x TUG LÜMFSUKU.UŠ am-mu-uk nam-ma e- eš-z[i
30'.
31'. [ na]m-ma-pát-wa a-pé-el ANŠE.KUR.RAMES MA-HAR "He-eš-ni[-i
32'. UM-MA "He-eš-ni-i in-na-ra-wa-kán lu-ri-in [
33'. *ras*
34′. *ras* DUTU-ŠI -wa-kán A-NA GIŠGIGIR za-am[-ma-an (?)
35'. zi-ik-ma-wa-za IŠ-TU KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.R[A<sup>MEŠ</sup>
36'. GIM-an-wa GISGIGIR LUGAL a-pí-ya ar-nu-u[m-mi
37'. a-pí-ya LÚ e-eš-
                                [du]
38'. UM-MA "He-eš-ni-i LÜA-BU BI-TI-wa-za hal-zi-ih-hi nu[(-)
                                                                          -]-x i-_ya-_mi[
39'. "Lu-pa-ak-ki-iš[-m]a-wa-kán <sup>LU</sup>KAR-TAP-PU UGULA LÚ/ <sup>LÜ</sup>[
                                                                              ] ku-en-zi
40'. "Hal-pa-LÚ-in-wa É IN.NU.DA ša-an-na-pí-li-i[n GIM(?)-an(?) DÙ(?)-]-u-e-ni<sup>61</sup>
41'. LUGAL KUR URU Išu-wa-ma-an [-wa-ma] "A-la-li-mi-iš "Ta-aš-ku-i-li-iš ["Hu-uz-z]i-ya-aš-ša
42'. ma-an-wa-ra-an a-pu-uš an-da e-ep-pir <sup>m</sup>Na-ni-zi-in-m[a-ma-an <sup>URU</sup>K]a-iš-ša-an-ta (??)
43'. GUD.MAḤ-an-ni pí-ya-[i]r a-pa-a-at-wa a-pa-at ú-ki-la ˌi.[-ya-m]i
44'. [zi-]ik-ma-wa-kán! in-na-ra-a lu-u-ri an-da ti-ya-ši PUTU-ŠI-wa-, za-, kán
45'. a- pé-e-da-ni-pát A-NA GAL KÙ.BABBAR še-er ú-wa-it-ta-ri
46'. [ma-a-]an UL-ma nu-wa-mu an-da ú-e-ri-ya-hu-ut
47'. "He-eš-ni-i-in-wa ku-wa-pí URU KÙ.BABBAR-ši IGI-zi pal-ši INIM-ni e-ep-pu-u[n]
48'. nu-wa-aš-ši I-NA <sup>ė</sup>ZA-RA-TI pa-a-un nu-wa-za ar-ri-eš-ki-iz[-zi]
49'. nu-wa-kán an-da hal -zi-i-er *ras* nu-wa-kán GIS ZA.LAM.GAR (?) [
50'. an-da ar-ha ha-x- [
                                  ] x [
```

We are unable to propose a restoration for this broken word. We exclude the term *dampupi* because it is consistently spelled *dam-pu-u-pi*; I thank Ch. Sleiter for this information. Furthermore, the enclitic conjunction -a, which is attached to the personal name Taškuili, leads us to assume that the signs x-x-pu-pu are the last syllables of a personal name.

<sup>60</sup> See Stefanini 1962, 29. Cf. Rieken – Sasseville 2012, 127.

<sup>61</sup> Sec CHD Š.1, 160-161.

```
]...[
1'.
2'. "[When] Hešni and me i[n the town...
3'. arrived, His Majesty to me, Malaziti, [sent a message:]
4'. << Come on! Bring them (= a group of high ranked officials)!>>. And I willin[gly] brought them.
5'. I conducted them to [Tapašpa], and when I arrived at Tapašpa,
6', they brought me a message<sup>62</sup> of Hešni (which read): << Don't go to His Majesty!
7'. Bring the Greats (= high officials) to me!>>.
8'. They also brought a written message to Lilawanda, and he (= Hešni) wrote to him too in the same
manner:
9'. << Do not take Tatta and the Greats to His Majesty!
10'. On the contrary, if you take them (there), you will do a bad thing>>.
11'. I (said) to Lilawanda this:
12'. << In case I go to His Majesty, what will Hešni do to me?
13'. He cannot hit me. Will not His Majesty cut off (my) very head, instead,
14'. if I do not go (to him)?>>. Thus, Lilawanda, me,
15', and the Greats went to Hattena at the presence of His Majesty. 63
16'. And I went to Hešni, and
17'. hc ordered me (to go) to his chariot, and so Hešni (said)): << Do you not believe (it) even now?
18'. All the Greats sw[ore ?] in Karahna.
19'. No one stands apart. Even the princes
20'. [en ma]sse to[ok] my side.
21'. Do you not even believe (it) now? And when spring comes,
22' you shall mobilize [infantry and chariotr]y, into .[
23'
                  ] I will come and [we] will tell you [
24'.
                  those who (are) involved and this [
25'.
                 you shall lis[ten to him (?) and | glo black and forth [
26'.
                           ] . . and even you [will] s[ee (?)
27'.
            in the fulture the net that [they] ti[e^{64} ....>>
28'.
                    ]... and Taškuili sai[d (?)] in this manner [: <<
29'.
       1.... in the position of messenger Ašk[a- (?)
30'.
         ]. I finally ha[ve] the equipment for the infantry soldiers [
31'. right [after th]at his chariots in front of Hešni [....>>
32'. So Ḥešni (said):<< Surely [you will experience (?)] a discreditable situation [
33'. *ras*
34'. *ras* His Majesty on (his) chariot har[m
35', but on your own you with the cavalr[v
36', when [I] bring the chariot of the king there [
37'. a man shall be there.>> []
```

We interpret the logographic expression <sup>GIS</sup>HUR as a reference to a written message, independently of the writing medium (see VAN DEN HOUT 2020, 188-195); differently, see WAAL 2011: 27, who argued that the expression here refers to a letter written on a wooden tablet.

<sup>63</sup> See Goedegebuure 2014, 460.

This metaphor likely refers to the plot that Hešni and other member of the court were hatching.

- 38'. So Hešni (said): <<I'll call the ABUBITU. and [ ]. I'll do,
- 39'. Lupakki, the chariot driver, instead, will kill the Chief of the [
- 40'. we will [treat (?)] Halpa-ziti [like (?)] an empty straw barn,65
- 41'. the king of Išuwa, Alalimi, Taškuili, and Huzziya should (already be there),66
- 42'. they should have seized him (= Halpa-ziti)67, and
- 43'. they should have handed Nanizi over in the town of K[aiššanta (??)] into a bull-pen, (if not) I myself wi[ll d]o the one and the other thing.
- 44'. You are rashly going to end up in disgrace. His Majesty
- 45', has regrets because of just that silver cup. 68
- 46'. If not, (in any case) join me!>>.

<sup>47&#</sup>x27;. << When in Hattuša, I found for the first time Hešni (involved) in this affair,

<sup>48&#</sup>x27;. I went to his tent; he w[as] washing himself,

<sup>49&#</sup>x27;. and they called (me)69 inside, and the tent (?) [

<sup>50′.....&</sup>quot;

<sup>65</sup> See CHD Š.1, 160-161.

So Stefanini 1962, 29. Differently see Tani 2001: 158: "if Alalimi, Taškuili, and [Ḥuzz]iya, the king of Išuwa, if those capture him (= the king of Išuwa).

<sup>67</sup> See HW<sup>2</sup> II:E, 65.

This passage likely refers to the fact that Malaziti could have been responsible for the theft of a silver cup. See HEG IV.15, 171: "Die Majestät ist wegen dieser Silberschale bekümmert"; GOEDEGEBUURE 2014, 241 n. 271: "will His Majesty feel pity for himself because of just that silver cup (of yours??)?".

<sup>69</sup> See HW<sup>2</sup> III:H, 108.

# **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

ALP 1991

S. Alp, Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük, Ankara.

BEAL 1992

R. Beal, The Organisation of the Hittite Military, (THeth 20), Heidelberg.

**BURGIN 2022** 

J. Burgin, Studies in Hittite Economic Administration, (StBoT 71), Wiesbaden.

**BRYCE 2005** 

Tr. Bryce, The Kingdom of the Hittites, Oxford.

**CORTI 2017** 

C. Corti, The North: Hanhana, Hattena, Ištahara, Hakpiš, Nerik, Zalpuwa, Tummana, Pala and the Hulana River Land, in *Hittite Landscape and Geography*, M. Weeden and L.Z. Ullmann (eds), Leiden – Boston, 219-238.

Dardano 2006

P. Dardano, Die hethitischen Tontafelkataloge aus Hattuša (CTH 276-282), (StBoT 47), Wiesbaden.

**DEL MONTE 1978** 

G. del Monte, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte, (RGTC 6), Wiesbaden.

DE MARTINO 2023a

S. de Martino, The Edict Issued by the Hittite King Hattušili III Concerning the Priesthood of the Goddess Ištar/Šaušga, in *Administrative Practices and Political Control in Anatolian and Syro-Anatolian Polities in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and I<sup>st</sup> Millennium BCE, Studia Asiana 13, C. Mora – G. Torri (eds), Firenze, 9-23.* 

DE MARTINO 2023b

S. de Martino, Alalimi: One Name, How Many Officials?, *Mesopotamia*, 58, 63-71.

DE Roos 1985-1986

J. de Roos, Who was Kilušhepa?, Ex Orient Lux 29, 74-83.

**DE ROOS 2005** 

J. de Roos, DUMU.MUNUS GAL Reconsidered, Anatolica 31, 211-215.

Dinçol – Dinçol 2008

A. Dinçol – B. Dinçol, Die Prinzen- und beamtensiegel aus der Oberstadt von Boğazköy-Ḥattuša vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende der Grossreichszeit, (Boğazköy-Ḥattuša 22), Mainz.

GLOCKER 2011

J. Glocker, Ališarruma, König von Išuwa. Altorientalische Fosrchungen 38, 254-276.

Goedegebuure 2014

P. Goedegebuure, The Hittite Demonstratives, (StBoT 55), Wiesbaden.

**GORDIN 2015** 

Sh. Gordin, Hittite Scribal Circles, (StBoT 59), Wiesbaden.

Hawkins 2005

J.D. Hawkins, Commentaries on the Readings, in Herbordt 2005, 248-313.

Herbordt 2005

S. Herbordt, Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel der Hethitischen Grossreichszeit auf Tonbullen aus dem Nisantepe-Archiv in Hattuša, (Boğazköy-Hattuša 19), Mainz.

IMPARATI 1974

F. Imparati, Una concessione di terre da parte di Tuthaliya IV, Revue Hittite et Asianique 32, 5-208.

Kryszeń 2016

A. Kryszeń, A Historical Geography of the Hittite Heartland, (AOAT 437), Münster.

Marizza 2007

M. Marizza, The office of GAL.GEŠTIN in the Hittite Kingdom, KASKAL 7, 153-180.

Marizza 2009

M. Marizza, Lettere ittite di re e dignitari, Brescia.

Marizza 2010

M. Marizza, Le cariche di GAL DUB.SAR<sup>MEŜ</sup> e GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ nel regno ittita, *Mesopotamia* 45, 31-45.

**MILLER 2020** 

J. Miller, Are There Signs of the Decline of the Late Hittite State in the Textual Documentation from Hattuša?, in *Anatolia between the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> Century BCE*, (Eothen 23), S. DE MARTINO — E. DEVECCHI (eds), Firenze, 237-255.

Mora - Balza - De Pietri 2023

C. Mora – M.E. Balza – M. De Pietri, The Court and Administration of Karkemish in the Late Bronze Age, in *Administrative Practices and Political Control in Anatolian and Syro-Anatolian Polities in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium BCE, C. Mora – G. Torri (eds), Firenze, 93-126.* 

**MOUTON 2007** 

A. Mouton, Rêves hittites, (Culture and History in the Ancient Near East 28), Leiden – Boston.

**OTTEN 1988** 

H. Otten, Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy, (StBoT Bh 1), Wiesbaden.

RIEKEN - SASSEVILLE 2012

E. Rieken – D. Sasseville, Hethitisch kuwapi UL, kattan išhaššarwahh- und KUB 21.38 Vs.14', Altorientalische Forschungen 39, 124-129.

Siegelová 1986

J. Siegelová, Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis im Lichte der Wirtschafts- und Inventardokumente, Prague.

STEFANINI 1962

R. Stefanini, Studi Ittiti I, Athenaeum 40, 3-36.

**TANI 2001** 

N. Tani, More about the "Hešni Conspiracy", Altorientalische Forschungen 28, 154-164.

VAN DEN HOUT 1995

Th. van den Hout, Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag, (StBoT 38), Wiesbaden.

van den Hout 2020

Th. van den Hout, A History of Hittite Literacy, Cambridge.

VAN DEN HOUT 2022

Th. van den Hout, Elites and the Social Stratification of Ruling Class in the Hittite Kingdom, in *Handbook Hittite Empire*, S. DE MARTINO (ed.), (Empires through the Ages in Global Perspective 1), Oldenburg 313-354.

Vigo 2023

M. Vigo, Power and Economic Administration at the Dawn of the Hittite Kingdom: A Close Look at LúABUBĪTUM from a Broad Perspective, Aula Orientalis 41, 97-108.

WAAL 2011

W. Waal, They wrote on wood. The case for a hieroglyphic scribal tradition on wooden writing boards in Hittite Anatolia, *Anatolian Studies* 61, 21-34.

**WAAL 2015** 

W. Waal, Hittite Diplomatics, (StBoT 57), Wiesbaden.

**Werner** 1967

R. Werner, Hethitische Gerichtsprotokolle, (StBoT 4), Wiesbaden.