

**A Letter from Puduhepa Queen of Hatti to  
Ramses II Pharaoh of Egypt (KUB 21.38 = *CTH* 176)**

**Izabella Czyzewska**

**A Thesis**

**In**

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## Abstract

A Letter from Puduhepa Queen of Hatti to Ramses II  
Pharaoh of Egypt (KUB 21.38 = *CTH* 176).

Izabella Czyzewska

This thesis is a new edition of the Hittite letter *CTH* 176 dealing with a royal wedding. Although the names of the author and the addressee are not mentioned, the palaeographical, philological and historical evidence will be presented to support the generally accepted view that the letter was composed by Puduhepa, the Hittite Queen and was intended for Ramses II, the pharaoh of Egypt.

Of particular interest are aspects of the manuscript which have been omitted from previous editions, including the physical features of the clay tablet on which the text is inscribed such as size, shape, the type of clay, etc., and the detailed diachronic and synchronic palaeographical analysis of the manuscript. The main objective of such a study is to date the tablet, establish the writing habits of the scribe responsible for writing down the text and assess Goetze's remark that the hand of more than one scribe can be detected in the text.

Since certain inaccuracies have been detected on the copy of the tablet done in 1928 by Professor A. Goetze, this edition also amends and updates this autograph and provides a new and more accurate transliteration of the text that includes as many palaeographical details of the original cuneiform as possible.

The last part of the thesis is devoted to an interpretation of the letter and a discussion of the words and expressions that are essential for the understanding of the text but whose exact meaning is either unknown or not encountered in other Hittite texts.

## Acknowledgements

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I am also indebted to the staff of the Inter-Library Loans office at Concordia University Library for their high effectiveness in finding the books and articles essential for conducting my research in due time. Without their efficiency it would have been impossible to complete my thesis. I would also like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and Fonds québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture for their financial support. Lastly I thank my husband, Elliot Shapiro for believing in me and for his constant support.

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## Introduction

*CTH 176* is one of the best known and most frequently quoted Hittite royal letters discovered among the ruins of the ancient city of Hattuša (modern Boghazköy, Turkey).<sup>1</sup>

Since its unearthing at the beginning of the twentieth century, the text has attracted the attention of Hittitologists and non-Hittitologists alike, but was transliterated, translated and commented upon in its entirety only in 1963 by Wolfgang Helck. The following year an Italian Hittitologist, Rugiero Stefanini, published his edition of this royal letter, which remained uncontested until 1994, when Elmar Edel included and commented on this text in his monumental work on the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence of the Late Bronze Age.<sup>2</sup>

While each of these three editions focuses on various aspects of the text, none examines the manuscript itself (the clay tablet on which the text was written). My thesis, which aspires to be the fourth edition of *CTH 176*, corrects this omission and includes a palaeographical study of the manuscript, which was autographed by Professor Goetze and published in 1928 as KUB 21.38.

This study is based on the collation of the photograph of the tablet, which has recently been made available on the Mainz Hittite website, and involves careful analysis of the sign shapes and the handwriting of the scribe who was responsible for writing down the text of the letter. The main objective of this palaeographical analysis is the

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<sup>1</sup> Laroche 1971. The exact place of the tablet's discovery is unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Helck, W. „Uri-Tešup in Ägypten“ *JCS* 17 (1963): 87-97; Stefanini, R. “Una lettera della regina Puduhepa al re di Alasiya (KUB XXI 38).” *AttiAccTosc* 29 (1964-65): 3-69; Edel, E. *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache*. Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Abhandlungen 77. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag vol. I, 216-223, vol. II, 324-344.

evaluation of Goetze's annotation, which he made in his autograph, that Vs.14' was written by another hand, an annotation that I observe has not been noticed or commented upon by any previous editors of the text. I present and discuss the results of my palaeographical study in Chapter Four.

My collation of the photograph also shows that Goetze's autograph, which has been regarded as the standard copy of the tablet since 1928, is not as accurate as one could wish, at times misreading some signs. Such imprecision in the autograph has resulted in erroneous transliterations and interpretations of parts of the text by some of its previous editors. Thus, what I intended to be just an appendix grew into Chapter One, in which I not only describe the physical features of the tablet such as size, width, shape and the quality of clay used but also amend and update Goetze's copy.

By careful examination of the photograph I was also able to verify the observation made by the previous editors and other scholars<sup>3</sup> that the text is a preliminary draft of the letter. The physical features that classify the manuscript as a draft include numerous erasures, insertions, words written together, some lines containing careless writing, some lines crooked, etc. To date, none of the transliterations have reflected these palaeographical details. Since I believe that the transliteration of the text should be as faithful to the original cuneiform as possible, I devise a new and more accurate way of transcribing the text, which I present in Chapter Two. I also identify and list the words, lines and single cuneiform signs that I read differently than the previous editors of the text. Naturally, these differences arise from my collation of the photograph of the tablet.

In addition to the discussion and description of the manuscript, my thesis also includes a textual analysis of the letter. In Chapter Three I offer an overview of the

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<sup>3</sup> Beckman 1996: 126; Pintore 1978: 37.



debate concerning the author and the addressee that was spurred on by the fact that the heading of the letter, which would have contained the names of the correspondents, has been lost. Although in the early decades of the twentieth century both the sender and the recipient were searched for among the Late Bronze Age Hittite and Near Eastern rulers, consensus has now been reached that the author of the letter was Puduhepa, Great Queen of Hatti and the addressee Ramses II of Egypt. I provide historical, palaeographical and philological data confirming their identities.

In her letter the queen responds to angry communications from the pharaoh concerning the delay in sending a Hittite princess as a bride to Egypt. Puduhepa attempts to justify her decision, convince Ramses of the exceptional qualities that her daughter possesses, and smooth over the dispute. In doing so she employs expressions and words whose obscure meanings have caused interpretative problems for modern editors of the text. I devote Chapter Five to my own interpretation of the text of the letter as well as my assessment of these ambiguous words and phrases.

## Chapter One: The Tablet

### 1.1. *Description of the Tablet*

The four fragments of *CTH* 176 were probably found in the early years of Winckler's excavations at Boghazköy. They were catalogued as Bo 2045 and Bo 3975, and were joined together horizontally along lines 26'- 28' and 40'- 43', as well as vertically across lines 9'-24' and 48'-65' of the obverse.

The tablet thus reconstructed is rectangular, measuring approximately 28 x 15 cm. and has a porous and matt texture. The tablet, with an almost flat obverse and convex reverse, has a middle section which is thicker than its bottom and upper parts. The obverse side is missing its uppermost piece, which would have contained the introductory paragraph, as well as nearly the entire right side. Only lines 9'-24', 39'- 65', fragments containing the beginning of lines 1'-6', and the central parts of lines 10'- 18', 20'-24', and 39'-47' survive. The bottom part of the obverse has a large, dark, and probably burnt surface. The face of the reverse is broken after line 17, except for small fragments.

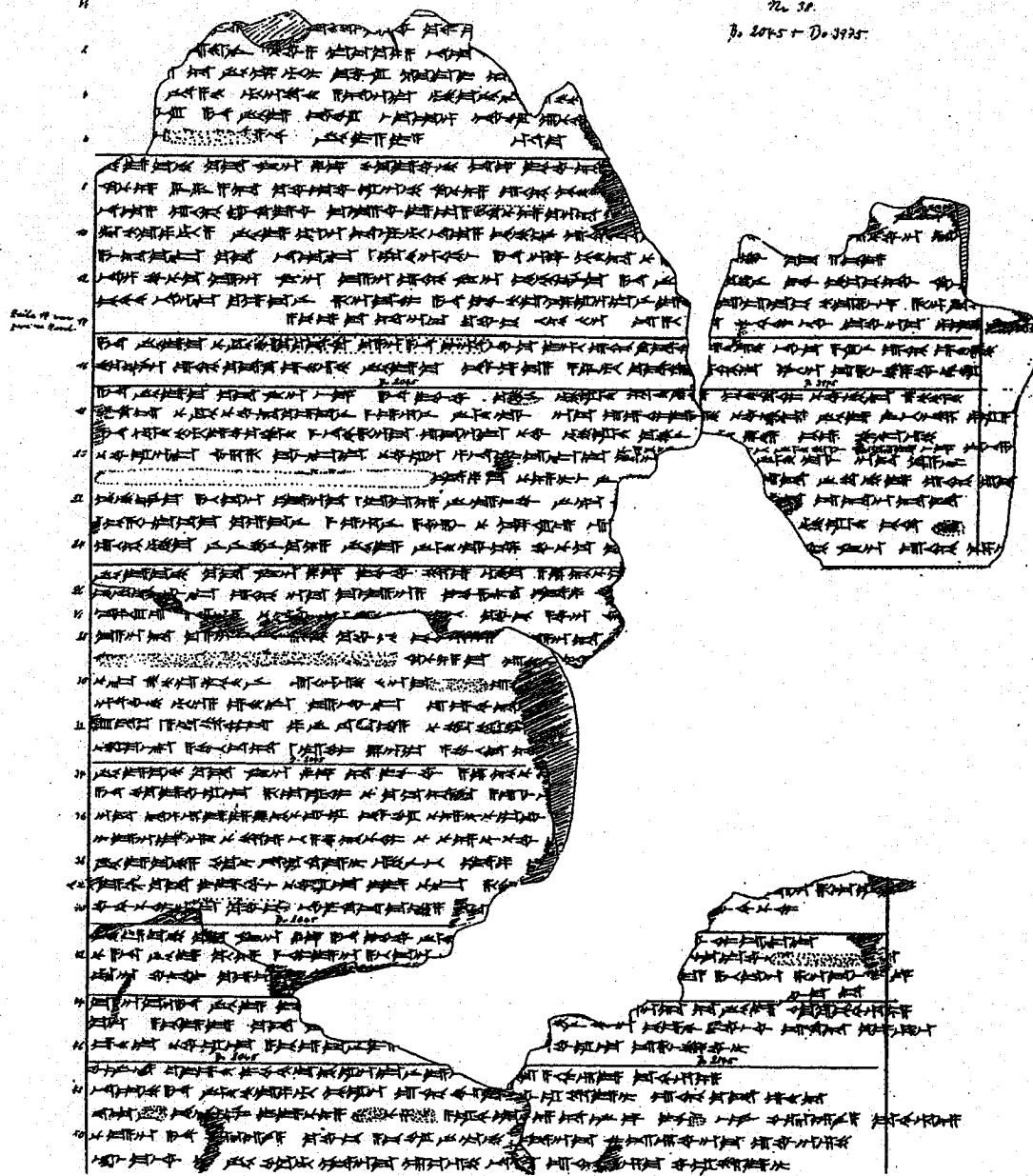
The text is inscribed on both sides of the tablet. The obverse includes 65 lines divided into 11 paragraphs; only 23 of these are complete or nearly complete. The reverse contains 18 complete or nearly complete and four (18-22) fragmentary lines grouped in three paragraphs. A large space before the first paragraph of the reverse side is left blank, as is the rest of the tablet, or rather its small fragments, following line 22. Writing on either side of the tablet often continues onto the right edge of the tablet.

## 1.2. *The Autograph*

Since Goetze made his copy of the tablet near the time of its discovery, he included features that are now lost due to the damage that the tablet has undergone over time. For that reason his autograph is invaluable. Despite its unquestionable merits, however, the autograph cannot be trusted for all the palaeographical details. For instance, Goetze has failed to indicate that all the lines on the original tablet are inscribed very closely together, some of them are crooked and some signs are much narrower than the others. More importantly, Goetze did not include in his autograph the word *tiššān* that is inscribed on the edge of the tablet in line 63' of the obverse side and he misinterpreted some of the signs. Since it is of the utmost importance that the autograph should be an exact copy of the original tablet, in the following sections I will list and discuss all the discrepancies that I have noted between the photograph of the original tablet and Goetze's autograph.

First, I provide Goetze's autograph joined together where possible and reduced in size to match the original measurements of the tablet. In the next section (1.3) I indicate all parts of the autograph that deviate from the photograph of the original tablet and comment upon them. Finally, in section 1.4 I present Goetze's autograph with as many emendations as I can bring to that copy in order to reflect the present state of the tablet.

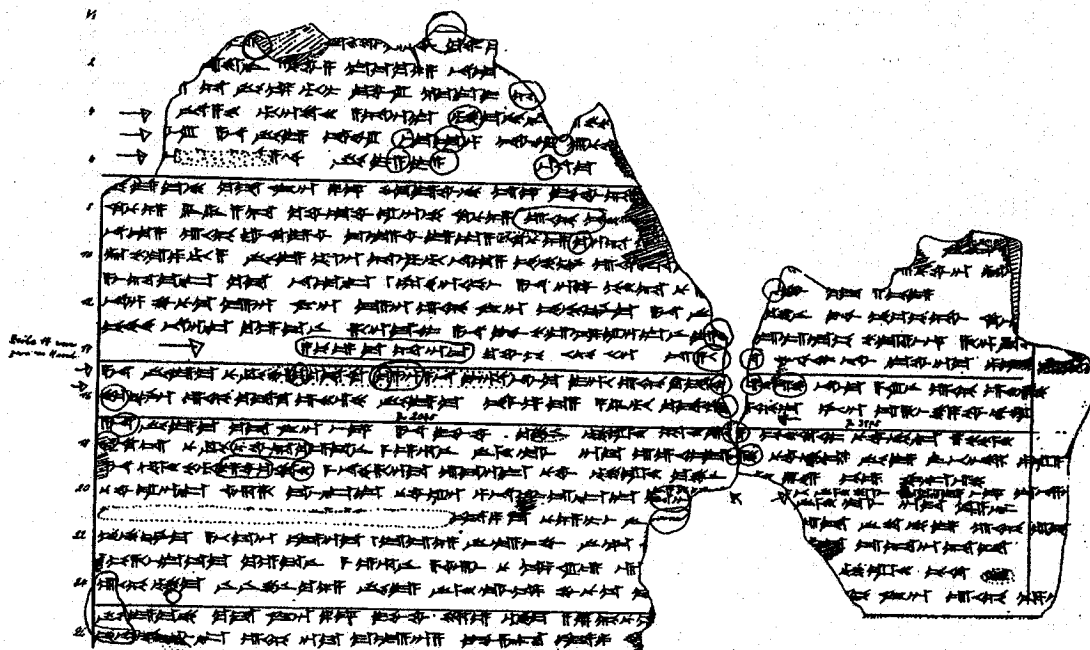
72. 38.  
p. 2045 + D. 3925.



[illegible]

### 1.3 Emendations with a Commentary

Obv. 1' - 26'



Line 1':

- a. A short indentation extends from the first sign in line 1' to the sign *ni* in line 2'.
- b. The paragraph line visible over *wa* and *ku* is drawn directly above these two signs, and not as far up as Goetze has indicated in his autograph.

Line 3':

Only two horizontals with a lower Winkelhaken<sup>4</sup> and a small vertical of the sign *ša* are visible before the break in the tablet.

<sup>4</sup> Winkelhaken- (German "angular hook") is one of five basic wedge elements used in the composition of signs in the cuneiform form of writing. It was realised by pressing the point of the stylus into the wet clay.

Line 5':

- a. A short indentation that appears between signs *el* and *ú* in line 5' extends to the sign *tam* in line 6'.
- b. A fine line runs from the sign *nam* in line 4' through *la* in line 5' and ends just behind *ya* in line 6'. Whether this line was incised or whether it is a crack in the surface of the tablet cannot be determined without checking the original tablet. The same goes for another crack or scratch that extends from the sign *aš* in line 5' until the Akkadogram *YA* in line 6'.

Line 6':

- a. A very fine line is visible between the end of Akkadogram *ANA* and the Sumerogram *ŠEŠ*. The line turns downwards and ends just above the sign *kiš* in line 7'.
- b. Only the head of the horizontal that forms the sign *qa* is visible.
- c. A short line extends downwards from the sign *qa* until the paragraph line.

Line 8'-9':

- a. An erasure in line 9', marked in Goetze's autograph with dots, extends to signs *ú*, *ul* and *pí* in line 8'. The lower parts of those signs are missing.
- b. The signs *ma* and *anof ki-nu-un-ma-an-ta*, the last word before the break in the tablet, are narrower than shown on Goetze's autograph.

Line 11':

The Sumerogram *U* of <sup>m</sup>*Úr-hi*<sup>d</sup>*U-up-aš* is partially visible on Goetze's autograph but not on the photograph of the tablet.

Line 13':

The tablet breaks directly after the sign *ya*.

Line 14':

- a. The signs of line 14', inserted between line 13' and a line demarcating the next paragraph, are smaller and cover most of signs in line 13'.
- b. The signs of the first word in line 14' are written much more closely together than shown on the autograph.
- c. In his autograph Goetze leaves an empty space between the sign *ha* and the break in the tablet. According to the photograph, the tablet breaks immediately after *ha*.
- d. Directly after the break in the tablet, Goetze draws two Winkelhakens and one vertical. Careful examination of the photograph reveals that the ends of two horizontals rather than two Winkelhakens are visible.

Line 15':

- a. Lines 15' and 16' are written very closely together.
- b. Signs *ma* in *im-ma* and in *ma-a-an* have much shorter horizontals than usual.
- c. *ma-a-an* is written much closer to *ku-it-ki* than indicated by Goetze.
- d. The tablet breaks much closer to the sign *ki* than indicated by Goetze.
- e. Only the verticals of the sign *e* appearing immediately after the break can be read.
- f. Only the head of the horizontal of the sign *zi* is visible.

Line 16':

- a. A small crack in the surface of the tablet extends diagonally downwards from the sign *tu* to the sign *na* in line 17' and the beginning of line 18'.
- b. The tablet breaks much closer to the sign *ki* than indicated by Goetze.



- c. A thin crack in the surface of the tablet appears at the bottom of the Akkadogram *UL* and extends until the sign *zi* in line 18'.

Line 17':

Only the last vertical of the Sumerogram *HI.A* is visible immediately after the break in the tablet.

Line 18':

- a. The words *NU.GÁL-nu-wa-ta-ku* are written together, without any sign or word division. The signs *nu wa ta* and *ku* are very narrow.
- b. A break in the tablet that occurs after the sign *ya* is much larger than indicated by Goetze in his autograph.
- c. The sign *zi* that can be seen immediately after the break is much more damaged than indicated in Goetze's autograph; only the two Winkelhakens are visible.

Line 19':

- a. The Akkadogram *YA*, the sign *wa* and Sumerogram *GIŠ* are very narrow due to the fact that they were inscribed into a tight space on the tablet.
- b. The Sumerogram *MEŠ* is more damaged than in Goetze's autograph; a vertical and only the last of three Winkelhakens forming the sign are visible.

Line 20':

- a. Both the sign *an* and the sign preceding it, possibly the Akkadogram *ŠA*, are barely visible, due to the damage to the surface of the tablet.
- b. The horizontal break in the tablet appears just below the two above mentioned signs.

- c. The signs of words added between line 19' and 20' partially cover the Sumerogram MEŠ and sign *ku* (immediately before the break in the tablet) and *har*, *kan*, and *zi* (the third word after the break) in line 19'.

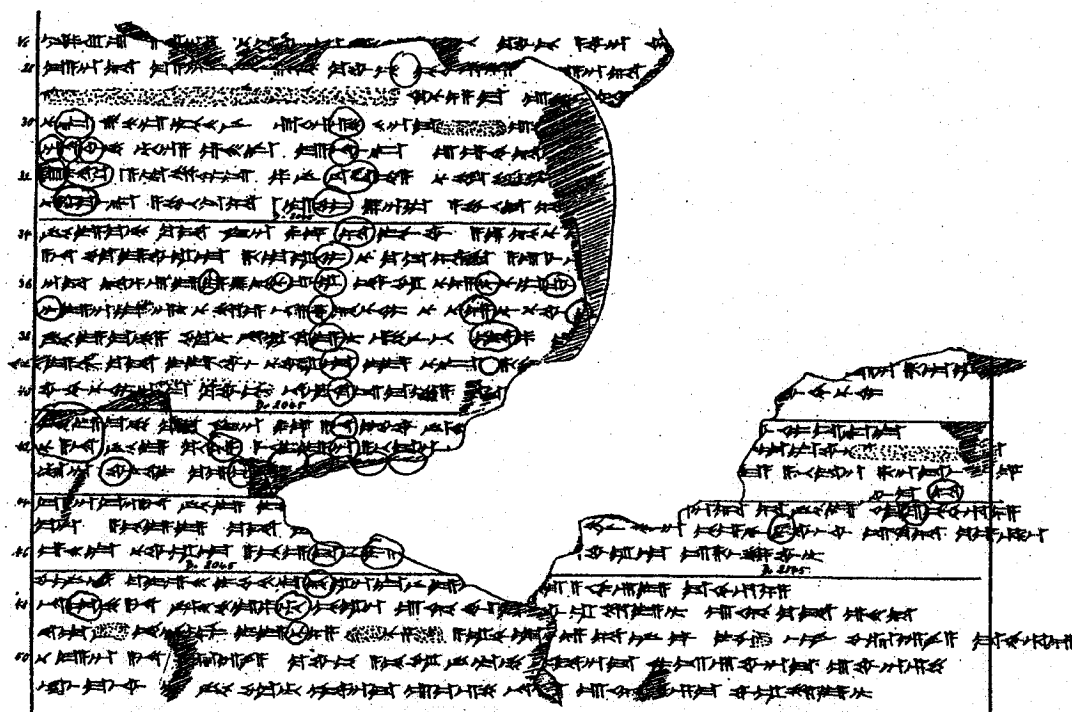
Line 24':

- a. Goetze indicated that the surface of the tablet is damaged at the beginning of line 23'. In fact that damage extends to the beginning of lines 24' and 25', obstructing the Akkadogram *Ú* in line 24' and the Sumerogram ŠEŠ in line 25'.
- b. A small lump of clay is visible at the bottom of the sign *nam* in line 24'.

Line 26':

The surface of the tablet is worn at the beginning of line 26' and 27'. Due to this damage, the sign *am* at the beginning of line 26' is obscured.

Obv. 27' - 51'



Line 28':

- a. The face of the tablet is weathered between the two signs *pí*; the upper Winkelhaken of the first *pí* is damaged.
- b. Starting in line 28' a crack in the surface of the tablet extends vertically until the horizontal break in the tablet in line 43'. It runs across the following signs: *zi* (line 30'), *na* (line 32'), SAGLA (line 32'), *lum* (line 33'), *ša* (line 34'), *mi* (line 35'), *ra* (line 36'), *lu* (line 37'), *ya* (line 38'), *at* (line 39'), *ki* (line 40'), *na* (line 41'), *an* (line 42'). This crack in the surface of the tablet must have appeared after the time Goetze made his autograph, since it is unlikely that he would ignore it in his autograph.

Line 30'-33':

- a. The surface of the tablet is damaged at the beginning of lines 30'-33' encompassing several signs. One of those mutilated signs is *kán* in line 30'.
- b. It appears that the determinative D, Sumerogram UTU and Akkadogram *ŠI* at the beginning of line 31' were partially erased; they are missing their bottom parts. However because Goetze, who saw the original tablet, did not seem to think that there was an erasure, the signs are probably partially mutilated due to the damage to the surface of the tablet mentioned above, in point a.
- c. The photograph is not clear; however, it seems that the beginning of line 32' was plastered over and part of the first sign *ú* was scratched on the surface rather than impressed in the clay. The signs *it* and *ma* appear over the damaged part of the tablet.
- d. The signs *uš* and *ma* in line 33' are partially mutilated.

Line 36':

- a. The scribe has written the sign *i* more narrowly than usual. My impression is that initially he forgot to write it and only added it later, after the following word was already written down. Hence, he had to fit it between the signs *ya* and *za*.
- b. The signs *nu* and *mar* are partially weathered. The second vertical of *mar* is missing, only its head is present. It appears that it is not a result of damage done to the surface of the tablet but rather that the scribe has written it this way. In fact, the scribe frequently leaves signs unfinished.
- c. The sign *tar* is partially mutilated due to the damage on the surface of the tablet that extends from the sign *an* in line 35' through *tar* (line 36'), *un* (line 37') to the Sumerogram EGIR in line 38'.

Line 37':

- a. The sign that is inscribed at the beginning of line 37' is *i* not *tar*, as Goetze seemed to think.
- b. The sign *un* appearing in the last word before the break in the tablet is partially weathered. The lower part of the small vertical is missing.
- c. Traces of a sign appearing after *nu-un-tar-nu-wa-*, present in Goetze's autograph, are not visible in the photograph.

Line 39':

An elongated indentation or a scratch on the surface of the tablet begins between the signs *kán* and *ha* in line 39' and not in line 40' as Goetze indicated.

Lines 41'-43':

- a. In his autograph Goetze showed a break in the tablet that extended from the beginning of line 41' upwards to the sign *an* of line 40 and continued downwards through the signs *it* of line 41', *un* of line 42' and *iz* of line 43', where it ended. At the time Goetze read the tablet, the Sumerogram ŠEŠ at the beginning of line 41' was partially visible and the YA that immediately followed was entirely readable. The signs *nu* A-NA at the beginning of line 42' and *wa* in line 43' were not damaged.

The photograph indicates that the break in the tablet is much more extensive at present. The Sumerogram ŠEŠ and the Akkadogram YA are no longer present; the part of the tablet containing both signs is broken off. The following sign *ma* is damaged as is the sign *ku* in the same line. A new break in the tablet that extends diagonally downwards from the beginning of line 41' breaks the top parts of the signs *nu* and A-NA in line 42' and the middle part of the sign *wa* of line 43'. This break continues horizontally and ends just above the words A-NA ŠEŠ-YA and DUMU of line 44'. The break in the tablet that appeared already at the time Goetze autographed the tablet, extending from line 40' diagonally downwards, is much larger now, breaking the middle part of the sign *un* in line 43' and the vertical of the sign *iz* in line 43'. Also the sign *ku* appearing just before the break in line 43' is badly battered and barely visible.

- b. The signs in line 42' appearing just above the horizontal break in the tablet are more mutilated than at the time when Goetze saw the tablet. The bottom parts of signs *ya*, *an*, *a*, *pád* and *da* are obscured.

Line 44':

- a. The Akkadogram *ZU* that follows the Sumerogram *NIN* is very narrow due to the fact that it had to be fitted into a tight space. It seems to me that it was added after the word *pihhun* was already written down. This insertion of *ZU* may have occurred at the same time as the addition of *našma ŠA* above the line.
- b. The Akkadogram *ŠA* appearing in the added line is missing the small vertical, which should be inscribed between the two horizontals.

Line 45':

Goetze shows that the surface of the tablet is damaged in line 45' where the sign *nu* appears, but in fact this damage extends also to the Akkadogram *ŠA* in line 44'.

Line 46':

The sign *ya* is almost entirely broken. Only the lowest of the three horizontals and the lower parts of the verticals are visible.

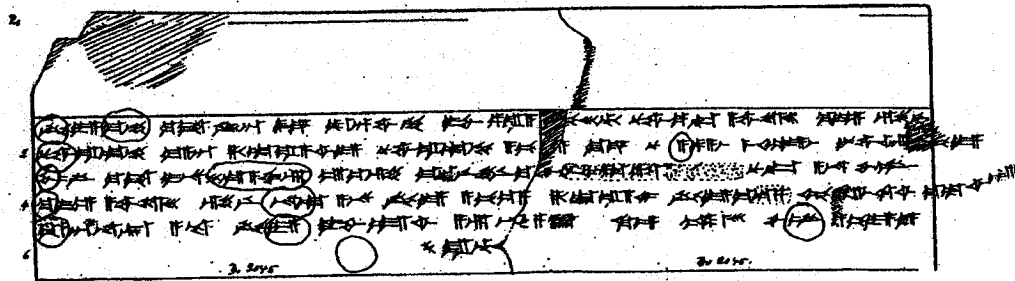
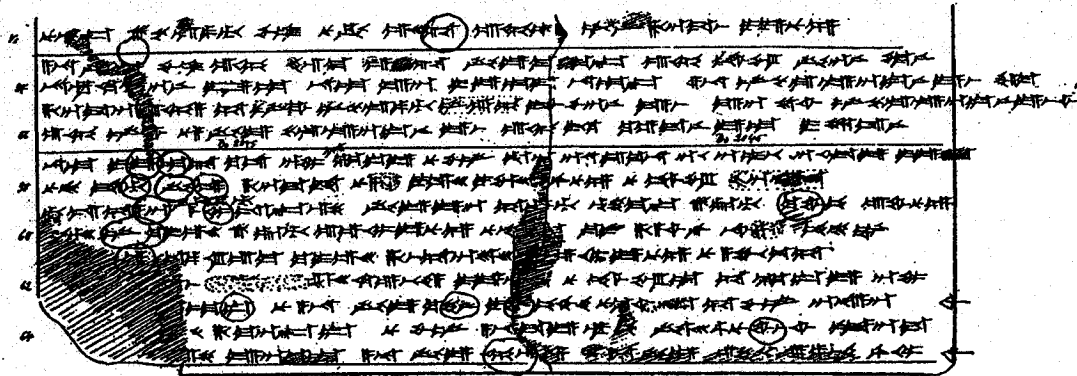
Line 47':

The sign *ga* is partially destroyed by a small indentation in the tablet surface which extends to the sign *ti* in line 48'.

Line 48':

A small oval indentation appears in the upper part of the sign *at*.

Obv. 52' - 65' and Rev. 1-6



Line 52':

- a. An elongated indentation indicated by Goetze in lines 52'-57' extends upwards to the Sumerogram ŠÀ in line 52' partially destroying it. Only the upper part of the sign is visible.
- b. The surface of the tablet is weathered making the heads of the two horizontals of the sign *ta* invisible. The damage to the face of the tablet extends to line 53' of the next paragraph.

Line 57':

The part of the tablet that includes the signs *ya* and *at* (line 57'), *ti* and ŠEŠ (line 58') and *a* and *an* (line 59'), end of LUGAL and *ku* (line 60') and traces of *un* (line 61'), is weathered, making signs *at*, *a*, and *an* only partially visible.

Line 58' - 59':

- a. The added phrase LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> *Hat-ti* overlaps with lines 58' and 59', partially obstructing the Akkadogram KA of line 58' and the sign *mi* of line 59'.
- b. The weathered surface of the tablet which Goetze indicated at the end of lines 58' and 60' also encompasses the signs *ku* and *wa* in line 59'.

Line 63':

- a. A minor oval-shaped gap is indented in the upper part of the sign *du* that forms part of the first word appearing after the scratched part of the tablet.
- b. The word *ti-iš-ša-a-an* is clearly visible on the edge of the tablet; it is then surprising that Goetze did not include it in his autograph.

Line 64':

The surface of the tablet is weathered where the signs *wa* and *aš* are inscribed.

Line 65':

- a. It appears that the scribe ran out of space and wrote line 65' at the very end of the tablet, nearly at its lower edge. For that reason the signs of this line overlap partially with the signs of line 64', particularly *nu*, MUNUS.LUGAL, *a* and *pát*.
- b. The Akkadogram UL and the Sumerogram ZI that appear just before the break in the tablet are partially damaged.



The surface of the first paragraph that was left vacant by the scribe is full of elongated and oval-shaped, deeper and shallow indentations and scratches that were not shown by Goetze in his autograph. One of these extends to the first line of the next paragraph, crossing the signs *ma* and *mu*. Another very thin line stretches across the extreme left side of the empty paragraph and extends vertically downwards until line 6, cutting through the Sumerogram ŠEŠ of line 1, between *nu* and *wa* in line 2, the Sumerogram MUNUS (line 3), the sign *ku* (line 4) and ends with the Sumerogram GIM (line 5). Also, the break in the central part of the vacant paragraph is much larger than shown on the autograph.

Line 2:

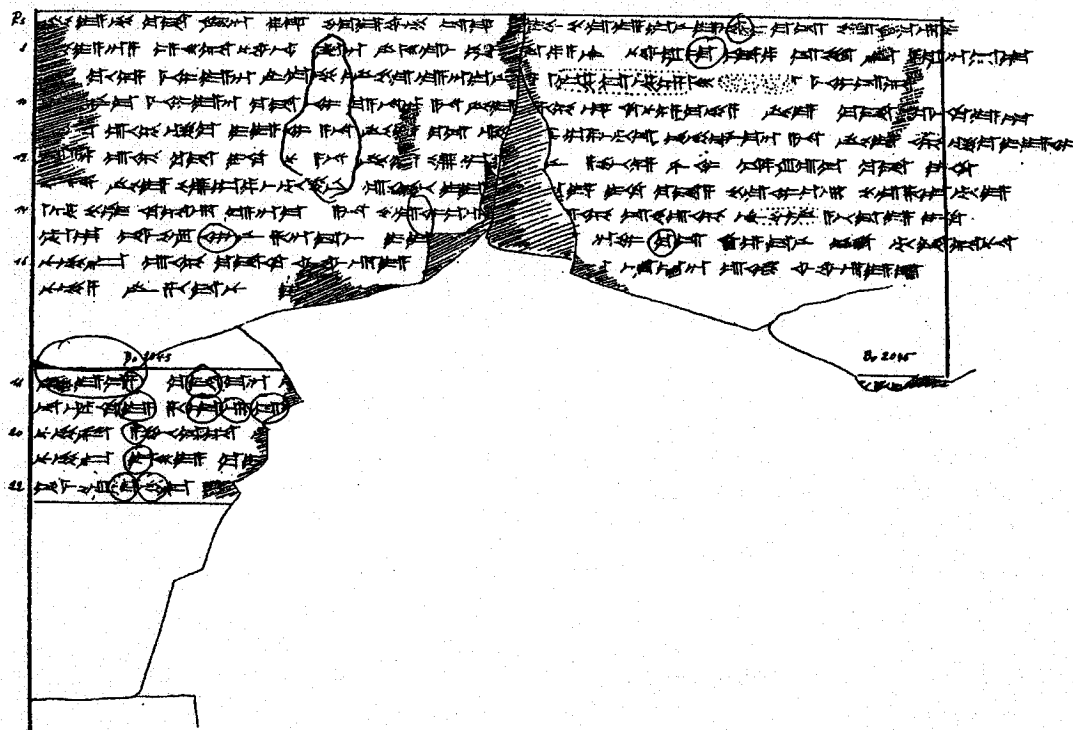
When the scribe was erasing words in line 3, he also erased part of the sign *a* in line 2.

Line 3:

Long diagonal scratches appear on the surface of the tablet starting with the word KUR<sup>URU</sup> *A-mur-ri* and continuing until the Akkadogram *YA* in line 5.

Line 5:

- a. The ideogram LUGAL is partially weathered.
- b. A very fine crack that begins just below the Sumerogram MUNUS extends diagonally downwards, runs through *wa* (line 7) and ends with the Sumerogram MEŠ in line 8.



Line 7:

A thin crack in the surface of the tablet extends from the sign *wa* in line 7 to the sign *at* in line 8.

Line 8:

Starting with the Sumerogram *GAM-an* in line 8, the surface of the tablet is weathered. The damage to the tablet extends downwards to line 14 and encompasses several signs. All the signs on the affected area of the tablet are perfectly visible with the exception of the following three: *na* in line 11 as well as *na* and *nu* in line 12.

Line 14:

A break in the tablet that appears between the ideogram URU and the sign *mi* extends upwards to line 13, partially destroying the Winkelhaken of the sign *mi* in line 14.

Line 15:

The ideogram DUGUD (before the break in the tablet) as well as the sign *ku* of the second word written after the break in the tablet are partially weathered. The Sumerogram DUGUD is missing part of its Winkelhaken, and *ku* is missing its lowest vertical.

Line 18:

- a. A break in the tablet at the beginning of the paragraph is much wider than shown by Goetze. It extends horizontally downwards to the upper parts of the ideogram ŠEŠ, the Akkadogram *YA* and the signs *ma* and *za* in line 18.
- b. A thin crack on the surface of the tablet that starts with the sign *za* (line 18) stretches vertically across the entire paragraph, cutting through the signs *ia* (line 19), *a* (line 20), the Sumerogram DUMU (line 21) and *mu* (line 22). It does not, however, affect the visibility of those signs.
- c. Another, much wider, groove begins in the previous paragraph and runs through the signs *it* (line 18), *at* and *ri* (line 19) ending in line 19.

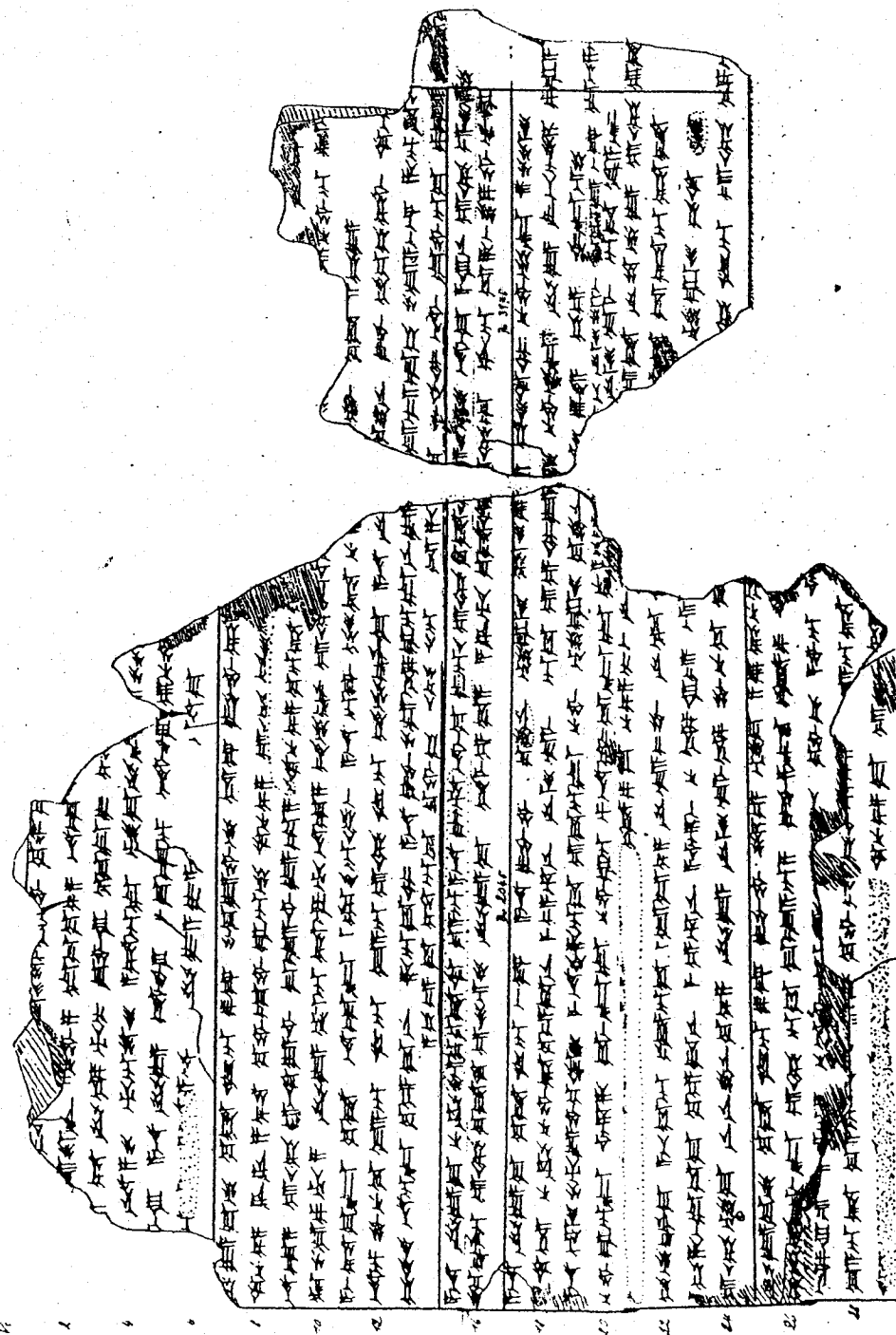
Line 19:

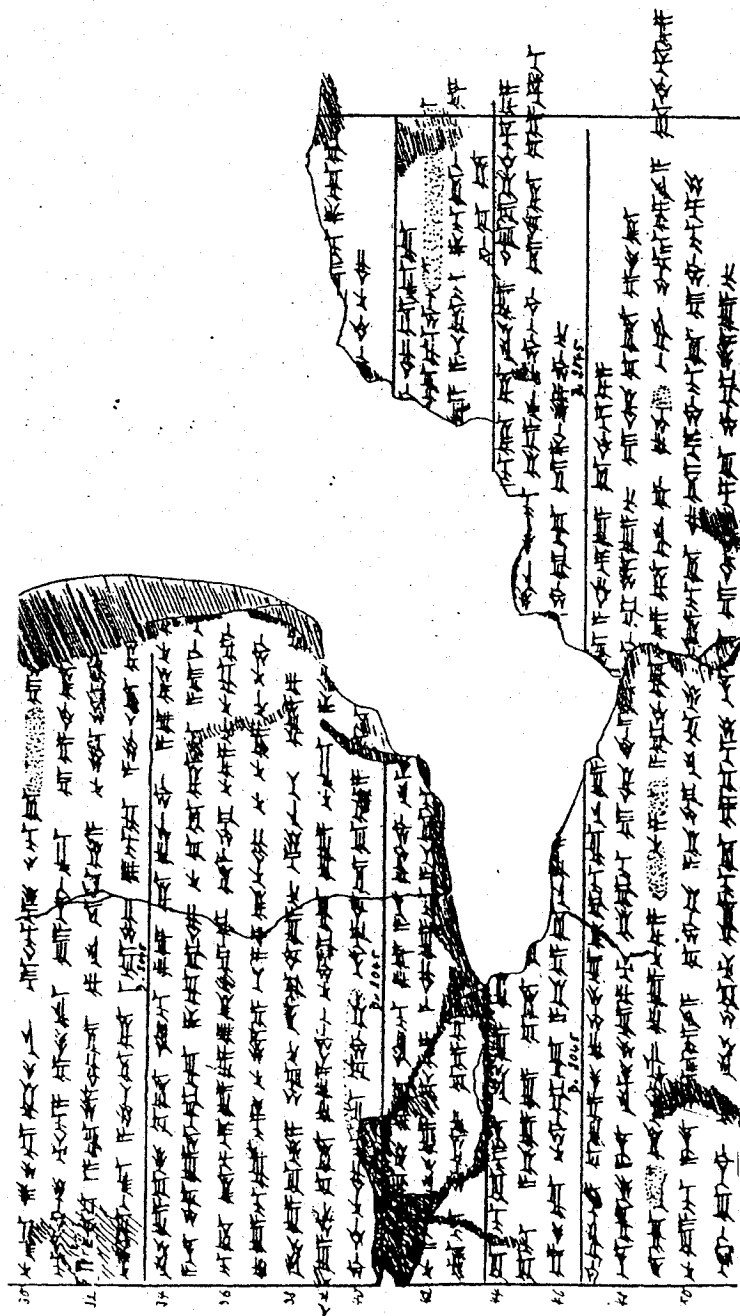
The sign *iš* that appears just before the break in the tablet is damaged and hardly visible.

Line 22:

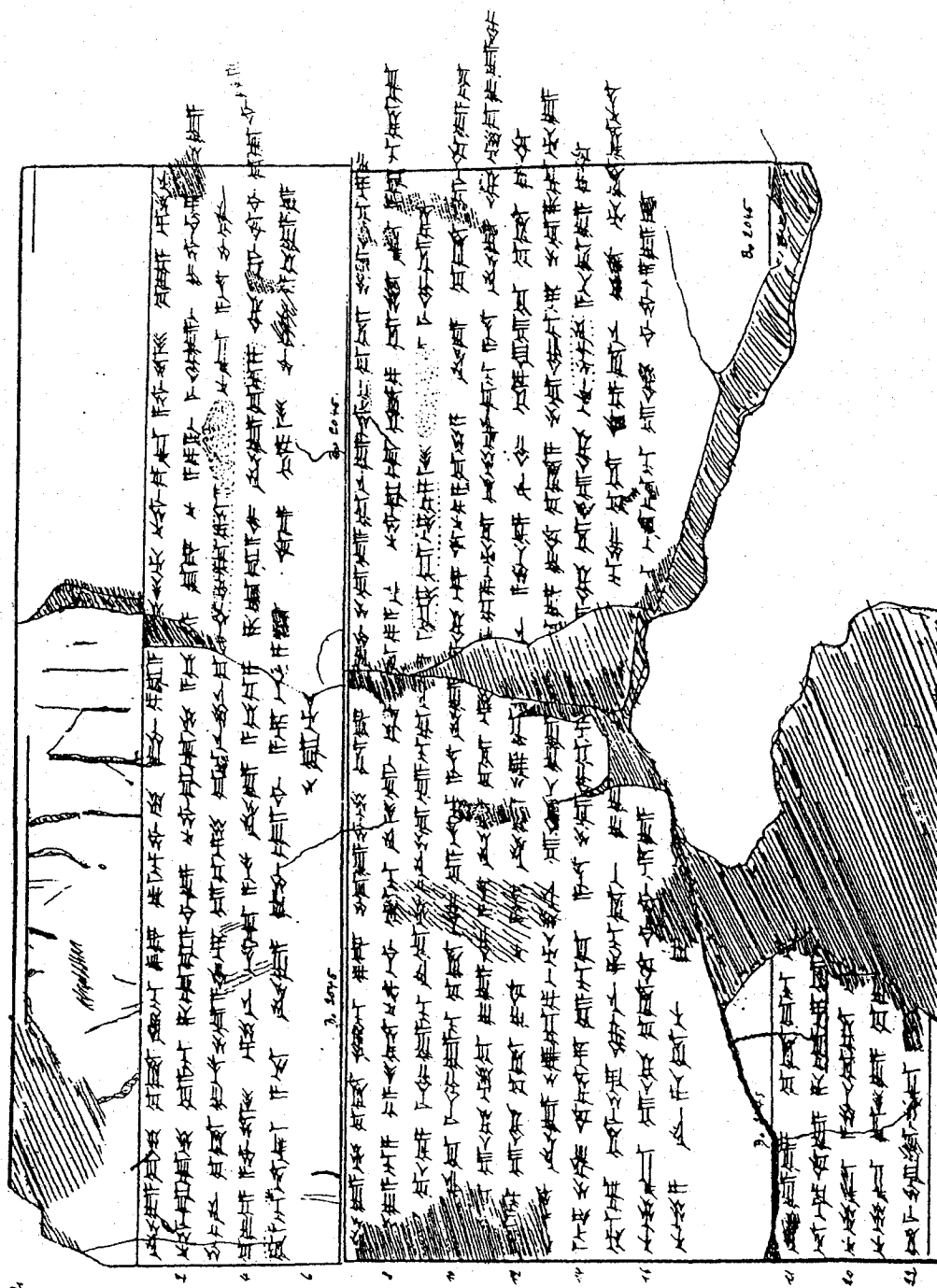
The sign *al* is partially damaged.

# 1.4. Goetze's Autograph with Emendations

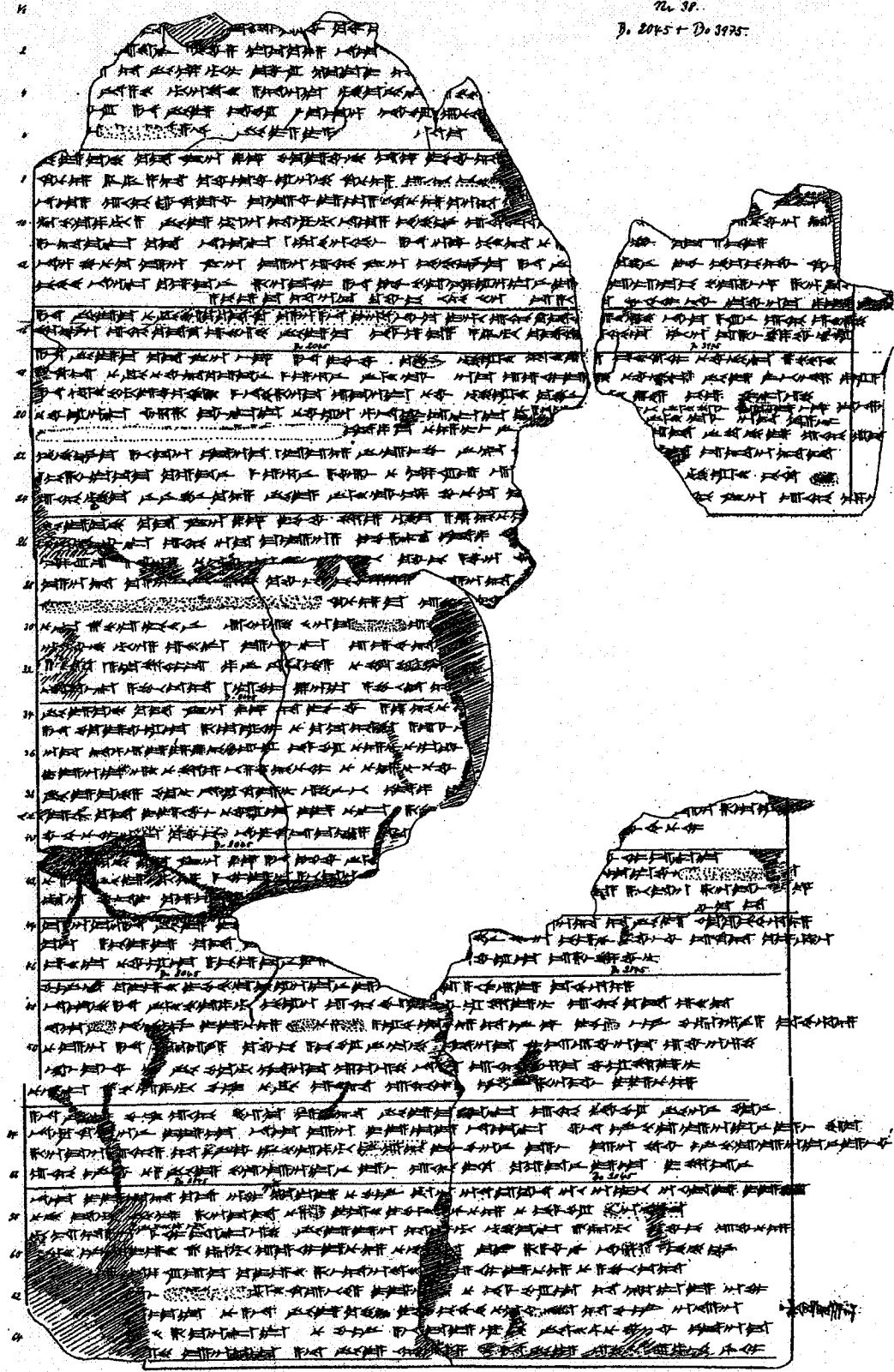


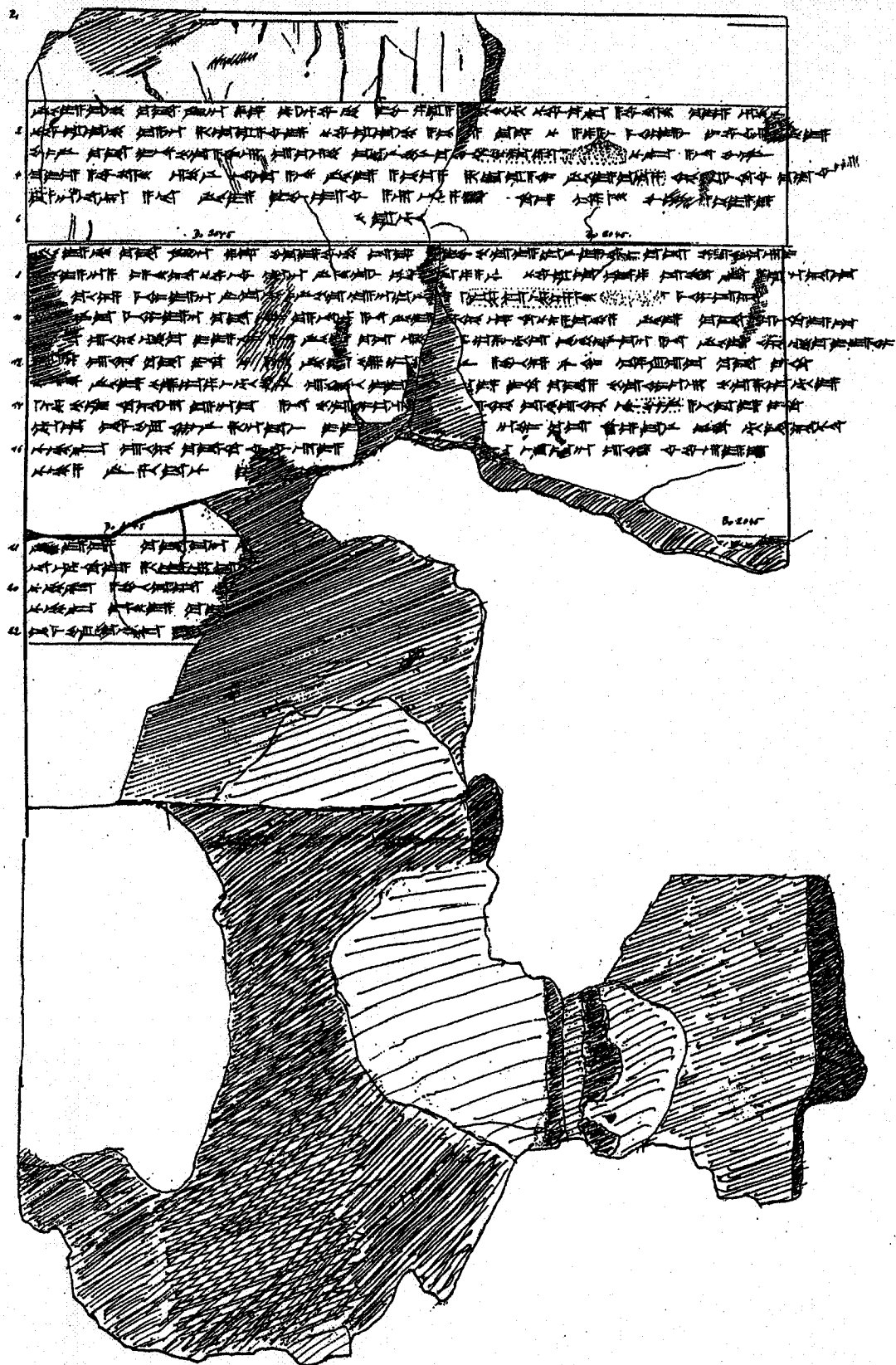


Handwritten text in vertical columns, likely a manuscript or ledger. The text is written in Chinese characters and is organized into several columns. There are some markings and lines that suggest a structured format, possibly a table or a list of entries. The text is dense and covers most of the page area.









## Chapter Two: The Text

*CTH 176* can be best regarded as a preliminary letter draft. It contains numerous erasures,<sup>5</sup> as well as additions of single syllables<sup>6</sup>, words, or even entire lines;<sup>7</sup> some of these additions can be regarded as corrections, others as completions or expansion of already written sentences. The scribe responsible for writing down this text quite often omitted words and syllables that could be easily inserted in the final version of the letter. Whether he did that on purpose as a kind of shortcut or whether it was the result of hasty recording of a dictated text is difficult to decide. Grammatical and stylistic errors also slip into the text, as well as at times exceptionally direct style which would be toned down before the letter reached the final copy stage.

### 2.1. *Transcription and Translation*

My transcription of the KUB 21.38 text, which is based on both the photograph of the original clay tablet and the autograph made by Goetze, preserves as many of the aforementioned philological and palaeographic features of the cuneiform original as possible; in this it differs not only from other editions of this text<sup>8</sup> but also from the conventions of text transcriptions employed in Hittitology.

Words that are written together on the tablet are also written together in my transliteration and are marked in purple. Words or single syllables that are written over an erasure are marked in green and/or are underlined. Words, syllables or entire lines that

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<sup>5</sup> Obv. 6', 8', 9', 15', 17', 21', 23', 29', 30', 37', 39', 40', , 42', 49', 53', 58', 60', 62', Rev. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Obv. 36', 44'.

<sup>7</sup> Obv. 14', 20', 33', 44', 57', 59'.

<sup>8</sup> Helck 1963; Stefanini 1964; Edel 1994.

were added to the text are marked in red; when they are written above a line I also write them above the line in my transcription and indicate with an arrow the exact place in the text in which they appear. A double orange line indicates the end of either an obverse or a reverse face of the tablet; signs written after that line are inscribed on the edge of the tablet. In my transliteration, I place dots under those parts of the text or those syllables which are partly destroyed either by a crack or an indentation in the tablet or which appear on the damaged part of the tablet, even if the signs are visible and easily recognisable. Therefore my employment of dots differs from the use of other editors of the text.

I transcribe Sumerograms employed in the text according to contemporary rules of transcription. Since these have changed over time, I provide a list of those Sumerograms which I read differently than other editors of the text:

- ❖ MUNUS for SAL (also in complex signs DUMU.MUNUS and LUGAL.MUNUS) - obv. 7', 12', 13', 17', 25', 26', 34', 41', 44', 45', 47', 49', 52', 53', 55', 57', 58', 60', 63', 64' rev. 1, 3, 5, 7, 14, 17
- ❖ GU<sub>4</sub> for GUD - obv. 17', 19'
- ❖ SÈD for ŠE<sub>12</sub> - obv. 23', 30'
- ❖ UGULA for PA - obv. 32'
- ❖ <sup>LÚ</sup>SAGLA for <sup>LÚ</sup>SILÀ.ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A/ <sup>LÚ</sup>QA.[Š]U.DU<sub>8</sub>.A -obv. 32'
- ❖ KALA.GA for KALAG.GA – obv. 55'
- ❖ <sup>URU</sup>PÚ for <sup>URU</sup>TÚL - obv. 57'

- ❖ NIN<sub>9</sub> /NIN for SAL+KU - obv. 7', 35', 38', 44', 51', 53', rev. 7. NIN in obv. 7', 35', 38', 53', and NIN<sub>9</sub> in obv. 51'.<sup>9</sup> Helck writes SAL +KU in lines 7', 35', 38', 53' and NIN in line 51'; Stefanini writes NIN in lines 7', 35', 38', 53' and DAM in line 51'.
- ❖ Determinative <sup>m</sup> for <sup>I</sup> – obv. 11', 22', 23', 32' and rev. 9

SAL (including DUMU.SAL and LUGAL.SAL), GUD, KALAG.GA, <sup>URU</sup>TÚL, and the determinative <sup>I</sup> are used by Helck, Edel and Stefanini, PA only by Helck, <sup>LÚ</sup>SILÀ.ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A by Helck and Edel while <sup>LÚ</sup>QA.ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A by Stefanini.

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<sup>9</sup> Rüster, Ch. and Neu, E., *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989.

Obv.

- 1' [- - - - - kul-ij[- - - - -] <sup>10</sup>MES TE<sub>4</sub>-ME-KA-wq ku-wa-p[í  
2' [- - - - -] <sup>10</sup>TE<sub>4</sub>-ME-KA-wq ku-wa-p[í  
3' [- - - - -] x ŠA ŠEŠ-KA TI-tar šu-wa-ru SAG.DU-i Š[A  
4' [IŠ-TU ] <sup>NA</sup>ZAGIN ti-an-te-eš a-ša-an-du nam-ma-mu-ká[n Š]A KUR.KUR[<sup>MES</sup>  
5' [TI-tar šu-w]a-ru A-NA ŠEŠ-YA am-me-el qš-šu-lq-an am-me-el ú-nu-w[a-aš-ha-an  
6' [- - - - -] x...<sup>rasur</sup>.....A-NA ŠEŠ-YA-ya QA-TAM-MA [

- 7' [ŠE]Š-YA-ma-mu ku-it kiš-an TÀŠ-PUR NIN-YA-wa-mu IŠ-PUR DUMU.MUNUS-wa-ta[ pt-ih-hi  
8' ki-mi-un TUKU.TUKU-za-ša ku-wa-at-wa-ra-an-mu ki-nu-un..U-UL pé-eš-ſ[a  
9' na-at-za Ú-UL mar-ki-ya-ši ma-la-a-ši-ya-at-za <sup>10</sup>ki-nu-un-ma-an-ta Ú-UL pé-eš-ſ[a  
10' É KUR <sup>URU</sup> Ha-ti-za ŠEŠ-YA GIM-an ša-ak-ti na-at-za am-mu-uk Ú-UL ša'-al-g'-ga-ah-hi- - - - -a]r-nu-wa-an É-ir  
11' a-aš-ta-ma-kán ku-it na-at-kán <sup>m</sup>Úr-hi<sup>4</sup>U-up-aš A-NA-DINGIR.GAL pé-eš-ta nu <sup>m</sup>Úr-hi<sup>4</sup>U-]up-aš ku-it a-pí-ya  
12' na-an pu-nu-uš ma-a-an kiš-an ma-a-an Ú-UL kiš-an am-mu-uk-ma A-NA ŠEŠ-YA ]ku-in DUMU.MUNUS ne-pí-ša-aš KI-aš-ſ[š[a]  
13' pí-ih-hi na-an-kán ku-e-da-ni ha-an-da-mi A-NA DUMU.MUNUS.KUR <sup>URU</sup>Ka-ra-an-du-ni-ya[-aš KUR] <sup>URU</sup>Zu-la-pí KUR <sup>URU</sup>A-aš-šur ha-an-da-m[í  
14' vacat a-pé-e-da-ša-an-kán ku-wa-pí UL GAM-an iš-ha[-an-n]a!?! tap-ah-mi na-aš du-wa-an-ma pa-ra-a // x-uš-x

- 15' A-NA ŠEŠ-YA-ma NUGÁL un-ma-ku-it-ki mi-a-a-an-A-NA-DUMU<sup>4</sup>UTU na-aš-ma DUMU<sup>10</sup>Ú-UL ku-it-ki ]e-eš-zi na-aš-ma a-ru-ni [- - - - -] e-eš-zi //i  
16' tu-uq-qa Ú-UL ku-it-ki e-eš-zi ŠEŠ-YA-ma am-me-e-da-za NÍG.TUKU-ti ku-it-ki[ ]Ú-UL-at ŠUM-an iš-ha-aš-šar-wa-tar-rq

- 17' A-NA ŠEŠ-YA-ma ku-it kiš-an AŠ-PUR A-NA DUMU.MUNUS-wa ku-<sup>in</sup> NAM.RA<sup>MES</sup> GU<sup>10</sup>MES UDU<sup>10</sup>HA pé-eš-ki-mi nu-wa-mu-kán ŠA KUR.KUR<sup>MES</sup>  
18' [ha]-ki-iš NUGÁL<sup>10</sup>un-ma-ku-it-ki me-e-hu-ni <sup>10</sup>ME an-da ú-e-mi-ya[-an-zi] nu-wa-mu-kán... ŠEŠ-YA <sup>10</sup>PÍT-HAL-LI pa-/ra-a [na-a-ú]  
19' A-NA EN<sup>MES</sup> KUR <sup>10</sup>YA-wa-GIS<sup>10</sup>HAUR me-na-ah-ha-an-da ú-da-an-du nu-wa NAM.RA<sup>MES</sup> ku-in[GU<sup>10</sup>MES UDU<sup>10</sup>HA pé-e har-kán-zi  
20' nu-wa-ra-an-kán ar-ha da-aš-kán-du nu-wa-ra-an pár-na-ú-iš-kán-du] ŠA <sup>10</sup>UTU<sup>10</sup>Š[ - - - - ]x-ta iš-ta-an-ta-i  
21' .....<sup>rasur</sup>.....EGIR-pa-ma nu-un-tar-aš <sup>10</sup>TE<sub>4</sub>-ME an-da KAR-ir  
22' am-mu-uk-ma a-pád-da-an-EGIR-an-da <sup>10</sup>Zu-zu-un <sup>10</sup>KAR-TAP-PU <sup>10</sup>SAG [- - - - ]x-ta iš-ta-an-ta-i  
23' <sup>10</sup>Pí-ha-aš-du-uš-ma ku-e-da-ni me-e-hu-ni a-ar-aš nu ka-ru-ú ŠED[-an-za ki-ša-at ]NAM.RA<sup>MES</sup> pé-di <sup>10</sup>TE<sub>4</sub>-MU-ya Ú-UL //ú-it  
24' Ú-UL nam-ma ni-ni-in-ku-un ŠEŠ-YA <sup>10</sup>ME-KA pu-nu-uš m[a-a-an kiš-an ma-a-an Ú-UL IN/IM-aš

- 25' ŠEŠ-YA-ma-mu ku-it kiš-an TÀŠ-PUR DUMU.MUNUS-wa le-e nam-ma za-lu-ga-nu-u]š-ši

- 26' am-mu-<sup>1</sup>[q-q]a-aš-kán Ū-UL an-da ma-la-a-an-za DUMU.MUNUS-za-kán EGIR-pa il<sup>1</sup>m-ma  
 27' ka-ru-ú q-[r]a-an-za nu-uš-ši-kán [----]pát ku-wa-pí a-wa-an a[r-ha  
 28' ma-a-an-ta ma-a-an DUMU.MUNUS-pát? Ū-UL ku-wa-pí pí-ih-hu-un ma-a-an-ta [   
 29' .....<sup>1</sup>rasur ..... ki-nu-un-ma Ū-UL ]da-x[-  
 30' nu-kán ŠA KUR<sup>URU</sup> Kumi-mian-ni SED-u-an-zi GAM-an-da ...<sup>1</sup>rasur ... ú-w[a-an-zi  
 31' UTU<sup>Ši</sup>-mu TI-an-za e-eš-du ma-a-na-aš-kán ú-e-eh-ta-r[i  
 32' ú-ít-ma<sup>m</sup> A-la-li-mi-iš UGULA<sup>LÚ</sup> SAGLA nu-tu-li-qp[-  
 33' nu-uš-ma-aš-kán a-pu-u-uš-ša I-URU<sup>LUM</sup> DIB-an-du a-pu-u-uš-š[a  
 -----  
 34' ŠEŠ-YA-ma-mu ku-ít kiš-an TÀŠ-PUR ŠA DUMU.MUNUS-wa za-lu-ga-nu-m[ar  
 35' A-NA NIN-YA-wa-ra-at ha-at-ra-mi nu ku-uš-ša-an a-ú-me-n[i  
 36' an-da ta-pát-ni-ya-t-za-lu-ga-nu-mar-ra am-me-el nu-un-tar-nu-un-mar [ ki-ša-ru  
 37' i-ya-an-du<sup>1</sup> ... DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> nu-le-e-pát-za-lu-ga-nu-mi nu nu-un-tar-nu-wa- [al-lu  
 38' ŠEŠ-YA-ma-mu-za NIN-tar na-ak-ki-yq-tar ZI-ni-pát EGIR-pa x  
 39' Ū/L -ya-wq ku-ít i-ya-u-wa-aš nu-wa-ra-at i-ya nu-kán ha-lu-ga-an ku-in A-NA ŠEŠ-YA da-[q-an ha-at-r[a-mi  
 40' wa-ah-nu-mi-qn-kán ku-wa-pí na-ak-ki-iš-ma-da-za ku?-it? [ ---- na-an Ū-UL w[a-ah-nu-mi  
 -----  
 41' [ŠEŠ-YA-]ma-mu ku[-i]t kiš-an TÀŠ-PUR A-NA DUMU.MUNUS-wa<sup>LÚMES</sup> [TE<sub>4</sub>ME-KI ---- m]e-mi-iš-kán-du  
 42' nu A-IN]A ŠEŠ-YA ku-u-[u]n me-mi-yq-an a-pád-da-an[ ha-an-da-aš ha-at-ra-a-mi z[i-la-du-wa .....<sup>1</sup>rasur ..... // x  
 43' GIM-[a]n w[a-ša-i ku-e-i] z----- A-NA ŠEŠ-YA a-pád-da-an ha-an-da-aš [AŠ]-//PUR  
 -----  
 44' ma-a-an-ma-an-A-NA ŠEŠ-YA DUMU.MUNUS nu-un-tar-aš pa-ra-a ne-eh-hu-un ---- ]x-an-ta ŠA ŠEŠ-YA [NIN-ZU-pi-ih-hu-un  
 45' ma-an a-pí-ya-ya ku-ít ŠEŠ-YA me-mi-iš-ta ---- ku]in MUNUS-an pí-e-er-nu-wa-aš-ši iš-ki-ša ku-e-//eq-qa  
 46' e-eš-du nu-wa-ra-at a-pé-e-da-ni-y[a ---- ]x-wa-ra-at iš-ha-aš-šar-wa-tar  
 -----  
 47' MUNUS.LUGAL-aš-za ku-i-e-eš DUMU.MUNUS-KUR<sup>URU</sup> Gá-ra-an-du-ni-wa-aš [DUMU.MUNUS.KUR]<sup>URU</sup> A-mur-ri-ya da-ah-hu-un  
 48' na-at-mu A-NA I<sup>LÚMES</sup> KUR<sup>URU</sup> Hat-ti pí-ra-an Ū-UL im-ma wq-al-li-ya-tar Ū-UL ku-ít e-eš-ta  
 49' na-at.... am-mu-uk i-ya-nu-un<sup>1</sup>rasur nu-za<sup>1</sup>rasur... a-ra-ah-zé-nu-un ŠA LUGAL.GAL DUMU.MUNUS<sup>1</sup>rasur AŠ-ŠUM<sup>MUNUS</sup>É.GI<sub>4</sub>.A d//a-ah-hu-un  
 50' nu ma-a-an A-NA<sup>MUNUS</sup> [É.GI<sub>4</sub>.A ku-wa-pí a-pé-el<sup>LÚ</sup> TE<sub>4</sub>MU EGIR-an-da mi-iš-ri-wa-an-da ú-wa-an-zi  
 51' na-aš-ma-aš-ši ŠA] ŠEŠ NIN<sup>ti</sup> EGIR-an-da ú-iz-zi na-at Ū-UL im-ma wa-al-li-ya-tar  
 52' nu-mu-kán ŠA KUR<sup>URU</sup> Hat-ti MUNUS<sup>LUM</sup> NU GAL e-eš-tq Ū-UL-at ŠUM-ni-ha-an-da-aš i-ya-nu-un

- 53' A-NA ŠEŠ-YA MUNUS<sup>TUM</sup> Ū-UL ini-ma e-[eš]-ta ŠEŠ-YA-ma-qt-kán Ū-UL am-me-el ŠEŠ-an-ni NIN-ni  
 54' na-ak-ki-y[a]-an-ni i-ya-at na-at ma-a-an i-ya-at-ya na-at-kán A-NA LUGAL-KUR<sup>URU</sup> Kar-an-du-ni-u/ta-aš im-ma  
 55' ha-an-da-an-z[a]-Ū-UL-za ŠA LUGAL-GAL-LUGAL-KUR<sup>URU</sup> Hat-ti-LUGAL-KALA-GA-DUMU.MUNUS<sup>an-ni</sup> da-a-aš ma-a-an te-ši  
 LUGAL-KUR<sup>URU</sup> Kar-du-ni-va-aš-wa  
 56' Ū-UL LUGAL-[G]AL nu-za ŠEŠ-YA KUR<sup>URU</sup> Kar-an-du-ni-va-aš Ū-UL I-DI ku-e-da-ni-ya-at i-li-iš-ni

- ŠA  
 57' na-at i-ya-qt-ta ka-iš DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> [SAG.DU-YA nu MUNUS.LUGAL GIM-an ŪTU<sup>URU</sup> pŪ-na <sup>D</sup>U<sup>D</sup> Hé-pat <sup>D</sup>IŠTAR-ya i-ya-q//t  
 58' nu-mu IT-TI ŠEŠ-KA ha-an-da-it nu-za... DUMUNITA<sup>MES</sup> [DŪ-nu-un nu am-me-el am-nu-uk  
 LU<sup>MES</sup> Hat-ti  
 59' ti-iš-ša-a-an]me-mi-iš-kán-zi ŠEŠ-YA-ya-an ša-ak-ti nam-ma-kán ŠA É<sup>TI</sup> ka-wa-pí ū-wa-nu-un  
 60' [DUMU.]MUNUS<sup>MES</sup> LUGAL ku-i-e-eš ŠA É<sup>TI</sup> ū-e-mi-ya-nu-un nu-m[u-za-ká]n ŠU-í ha-a-ši-ir na-aš-am-nu-uk  
 61' [- - - -] x [- - - -] n]u? -un ka-ru-ú-ma ku-i-e-eš ha-aš-ša-an-te-eš[ ū-le-mi-ya-nu-un nu a-pu-u-uš-ša  
 62' [- - - -] n]a-aš...<sup>EN</sup> KARAS<sup>LU</sup> i-ya-n[u-ū]n nu am-me-el-la ŠA SAG.DU-YA DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>  
 63' [- - - -] x-ad-du nu A-NA ŠEŠ-YA ku-in DUMU.MUNUS pí-ih-hi nu-úš-ši-kán ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL an-na-a-an // ti-iš-ša-a-an  
 64' [DINGIR<sup>MES</sup> QA-TAM-MA] GAM ha-ma-an-kán-du nu MUNUS.LUGAL a-pád-da-ya AQ-BI ŠEŠ<sup>MES</sup> ŠU-NU-wa-qš-ši EGIR-an-da  
 65' [- - - -] li ma-a-an-ma-qt A-NA ŠEŠ-YA ŪL ZI-za nu A-NA ŠEŠ-YA ZI-ni lu-pa-qš-tin DŪ-ni



Rev.

1 ŠEŠ-YA-mq-mu ku-it kiš-an TÀŠ-PUR GIM-an-wa-mu DUMU.MUNUS pa-ra-a [ p]f-eš-ti nu-wa-ták-kán A-WA-TE<sup>MES</sup> ku-i-e ZI-ni  
2 nu-wa-ra-at-mu ma-a-an ha-at-ra-a-ši-ya nu-wa-ra-at-mu a-pí-[y]la ŠU-PUR nu a-pa-a-aš me-mi-ya-aš i-wa-ar[ ŠE/ſ]Š-YA  
3 MUNUS.LUGAL ku-it I-NA-KUR<sup>URU</sup> A-mur-ri ú-iz-zi ma-qn-ni-in-ku-[w]q-dh-ni-ct-[d-x]...<sup>PASUR</sup>... nu-kán A-NA MUNUS.LUGAL  
4 ku-i-e A-WA-TE<sup>MES</sup> ZI-ni na-at A-NA ŠEŠ-YA a-pí-iz-za ha-at-ra-a-mi ŠEŠ-YA-ma-ct-[z] UL mar-ki-ši m/a-la-ši-qt-za  
5 GIM-an-na-kán A-NA ŠEŠ-YA DUMU.MUNUS ŪR-ši a-ri nu-za-kán ki-e INIM<sup>MES</sup> MUNUS.LUGAL a-pí-ya-yq  
6 GAM-RA-TI

7 ŠEŠ-YA-mu ku-it kiš-an TÀŠ-PUR NIN-YA-wq-mu IŠ-PUR [ JDUMU.MUNUS KUR<sup>URU</sup> Kar-cti-ni-ya-aš-wa<sup>NA</sup> ku-iš KUR<sup>URU</sup> Mi]-iz-m/-i  
8 [p]i-ya-an-za e-eš-ta nu-wa-aš-ši GIM-an<sup>LU</sup> TE<sup>MES</sup> ME EGIR-[an-d]a pa-a-ir nu-wa-ra-at EGIR-pa IŠ-TU IKU q-ra/-an-ta-at  
9 [nu-nu] ku-u-un me-mi-ya-an<sup>LU</sup> TE<sup>MES</sup> MU LUGAL-KUR<sup>URU</sup> Kar-an-cti-ni-[y]la<sup>me</sup> N.LIL EN.ÜKU.MEŠ...<sup>PASUR</sup>... me-mi-iš-tq  
10 [am-mu-uk] ma me-mi-ya-an ku-it AŠ-MI ma-a-na-qn A-NA ŠEŠ-YA[ Ū]UL AŠ-PUR ki-nu-un-ma-mu-za ŠEŠ-YA ku-it mar/-ki-ya-at  
11 [n]a-la]r Ū-UL nam-ma i-ya-mi A-NA ŠEŠ-YA ku-iš ZI-[ni :]lu-um-pa-aš-ti-iš am-mu-uk-ma-an A-NA ŠEŠ-YA [UL// nam-ma i-ya-mi  
12 [ma]q-an Ū-UL ku-it I-DI nu A-NA ŠEŠ-YA :lu-um-[pa-aš-ti-i]n a-pu-u-un DÜ-mi ka-ru-ú-ma ku-it I/-DI  
13 nu A-NA ŠEŠ-YA :lu-um-pa-aš-ti-in Ū-UL-pat i-[a-mi a-pad-d]a-ya I-DI ku-it-za KUR<sup>URU</sup> Mi-iz-ri KUR<sup>URU</sup> Ha-at-/ti-ya  
14 1-EN KUR<sup>TUM</sup> ki-ša-ri ma-a-an-ma A-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> Mi-iz-ri]i ki-nu-un]Ū-UL iš-hi-ú-ul nu MUNUS.LUGAL a-pad-da-ya I/-DI  
15 GIM-at am-me-el DUGUD-ni ha-an-da-aš i-[a-ši nu-mu-kán] DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> ku-iš ki-e-da-ni pé-d]i ti-it//ta-nu-ut  
16 nu-mu-kán Ū-UL ku-it-ki ši-wq-ri-ya [ ---- ]x aš-š]u-lq-an Ū-UL ši-wa-ri-ya-it  
17 nu-mu-za<sup>LU</sup> HA-DA-NU DUMU.[MUNUS ----]x[ ---- ] [ ---- ]

18 ŠEŠ-YA-ma-za ku-ít-ma-an x[  
19 na-ak-ki-ya ha-qt-ri-iš]-ki  
20 nu-mu-kán q-pu-u-uš-ša x[  
21 nu-mu-kán DUM<sup>MEŠ</sup>-YA ku-i[-  
22 am-me-el-lá-mu-kán [

] x-ha-x [

vacat

1' [...] "When [your] messengers [ ...  
 2' [...] they brought. I rejoiced." That [ ...  
 3' [...] of your brother full life. To the person of [...  
 4' [with ] lapis lazuli may they be set! Furthermore [...] my land[s ...  
 5' [ full li]fe. To my brother my greetings and my ornaments ...  
 6' [...] erasure And to my brother likewise [ ...

7' Since my [broth]er wrote to me as follows: "my sister wrote to me: 'a daughter to you[ I will give'  
 8' And now you are angry. Why have you not now giv[en] her to me?"[...  
 9' You will not disapprove of it; You will approve of it. However, at the moment [I'm not able to give] her to you, my brother.  
 10' The house of Hatti, as you, my brother, know, I don't [...], [...x x -ed structu]re...  
 11' Uri-Tešub gave what remained to the "Great God". Since [Uri-]Tešub (is) there,  
 12' ask him, whether (it is) so or whether (it is) not so. With whom should I compare the daughter of Heaven and Ea[rth] whom I  
 13' will give to [my bro]ther? Should I compare <her> with the daughter of Babylon[ia, of Z]ulabi, and Assyria?  
 14' vacat I can never li[n]k? her to them. Until now she [...

15' Does not my brother not posses anything at all? If the Son of the Sun-god or the Son of the Storm-god has noth[ing], or the sea has  
 <nothing>,  
 16' also you have nothing. But you, My Brother, enrich (yourself) somehow at me expense (lit. from me). That (is) not a lordly repute.

17' Since I wrote to my brother as follows: "What captives, cattle, and sheep will I be giving to (my) daughter? Within my lands  
 18' there is not [bar]ley. At the time that the messengers reach you, [let ] my brother [send] a rider to me.  
 19' May they bring the documents to the lords of my land. May they take away those captives, cattle and sheep which they hold  
 20' in possession and may they make them into property of the royal house." [I myse]lf have sent to th[em] messengers and tablets. Later (?) the  
 messengers arrived at [...] of H[is Majesty?].

21' erasure [Your] ri[der did not] return promptly, also none (of my) messenger(s) came.  
 22' Thereby I [send] after (them) Zuzu, a charioteer and an intimate (friend of the king ?), [ . . ] he was delayed.  
 23' At that time Pihašdu arrived, it [was] already [winter and] I did not transfer again  
 24' the captives from (their) place. My brother, ask your messengers wh[ether it is so or whether it is] not so. The matter is not....

- 25' Since my brother wrote to me as follows: "Do not further del[ay ] the daughter."  
 26' Was she/it (the matter) not approved by me? The daughter for myself back in[deed...  
 27' [...] already arrived. When [...] for her [...] awa[y...  
 28' Had I never given [my own daughter] to you, I w[ould...] to you [...  
 29' erasure But now no[t...  
 30' They w[ill come] down to spend the winter in Kizzuwatna [...  
 31' May His Majesty live for my sake! If he should pass[ away  
 32' But Alalimi, "overseer-of-cupbearers", came and xxx [...  
 33' Let some seize one city for themselves, while the others [...
- 
- 34' Since my br[other] wrote to me as follows: "Withhold[ing] your daughter [...]  
 35' I write to my sister about it." As soon as we see [...]  
 36' it will decide. And [may my] withholding [become] my haste [...]  
 37' may they make, the gods. Let me not delay! Let me hur[ry]!...]  
 38' But my brother [...] in his own mind my status as a sister (and) my dignity [...]  
 39' "Do what should not be done!" When should I change the me[ssage which] I am wri[ting to my brother]  
 40' for the second time? Because I am dear to you [...], should I [ not (?)] change [it]?
- 
- 41' Since my [brother] wrote to me as follows: "To the daughter [your] mes[sengers...] shall speak"  
 42' Thereby, to my brother this word [ I have written: "I]n the future,  
 43' when a favor with which[...]". That is why [I ha]ve written to [my brothe]r.
- 
- 44' If [I have sent] the dau[ghter ] to my brother [...]to you of my brother or of his sister I have given.  
 45' Then what would [...] "May the woman whom they gave [to me] have  
 46' some support, and for her it [...] That [would] (be) lordliness.
- 
- 47' Were the daughter [of] Babylonia and [the daughter] of Amurru, whom I, the Queen, took for [mys]elf,  
 48' not indeed a (source of) praise for me before the people of Hatti? Was that not so?  
 49' I myself did this: I took a foreign daughter of a Great King for a daughter-in-law.

50' If ever his messenger come in full splendor after the [daughter]r-in-law,  
51' or <if a messenger> of <her> brother<s> <or of her> sisters comes after her, is that not a praise indeed?  
52' Was there no woman at all available to me in Hatti? Have I not done it for (my) name's sake?

---

53' Did my brother have no wife at all? Did not my brother do it for my brotherhood, sisterhood  
54' (and) dignity? And when he did it, it was indeed matched

55' to the King of Babylonia. Did he not take in marriage the daughter of the Great King, the King of Hatti, the mighty King? If you should say:  
"The King of Babylonia

56' is not a Great King," my brother does not know Babylonia, and in what rank it is.

---

57' It was my personal deity who did this: When the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god, Hepat and Ištar ma[de] <me> the queen,  
58' she joined me in matrimony to your brother. I produced sons and daughters. The people of Hatti often speak of my *annān*  
59' *tišān*. And you, my brother, know it. Furthermore, when I entered (royal) household,  
60' the daughters of the king, whom I found within the household, gave birth in my hand. Them I  
61' [...] Also those whom I found already born, I

62' [...]. And I m[ad]e them military officers. And may my personal deity

63' [...]. May [the gods likewise] tie queen's *annān tišān* to the daughter whom I will  
64' give to my brother. And thereby, I, the Queen, spoke: "Her brothers for her

65' [...]." But if this (is) not acceptable to my brother, will I displease my brother (lit. will I do anything displeasing to my brother's mind)?

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Rev.

---

1 Since my brother wrote to me as follows: "As soon as you [ha]nd over the daughter to me, would you wish to write to me about those  
2 matters which (are) in your mind, write to me about them!" This message is like my [brother's].  
3 Since the Queen comes to Amuru, I will come near to you. From there, I will write to my brother about the matters  
4 which are in Queen's mind. But you, my brother, will not disapprove of them; you will approve of them.  
5 And when the daughter arrives to my brother's care (?), also then these matters of the queen  
6 will be completed.

7 Since my brother wrote to me as follows: "My sister wrote to me: "When the messengers went after the daughter of Babylonia  
8 who had been given to Egypt, they stood back by an IKU"  
9 The messenger of the King of Babylonia, Enlil-bel-nishe, told [me] this information.  
10 Because [I] heard the information, should I not have written to my brother about it? But I will not do again anything about which my brother  
11 has now expressed disapproval to me. I will not do to my brother again that which is [offe]nsive to my brother's [mi]nd.  
12 That offense, which I might not know about, I might do to my brother. But because I already know,  
13 I will certainly not offe[nd] my brother (lit. "d[o] offence to"). And [thereby] I know, that Egypt and Hatti  
14 will become one country. But if [now] there is not a binding with Egy[pt], the Queen knows thereby  
15 that you will [do] it for the sake of my dignity. The deity, who installed me in this place,  
16 has not den[ie]d? me anything. She has not denied? [me] happiness.  
17 My son-in-law the daugh[ter]...

18 While my brother [...  
19 and to an important keep writi[ng]  
20 And these to me[...]  
21 My children[...]  
22 and my[...]

## 2.2. Variant Readings

The editions by Edel, Helck and Stefanini of the KUB 21.38 text include signs, words and phrases which deviate, at times significantly and at times slightly, from my own interpretation. For the completeness of my edition I will include these differences in the subsequent section of my commentary.

The following transcription practices employed by the above mentioned editors should be acknowledged:

- ❖ Helck and Edel transcribe /s/ with *š*, Stefanini as *s*
- ❖ Helck and Edel transcribe a cuneiform syllabic sign consisting of /p/ and /i/ as *pí*, Stefanini as *pi*.
- ❖ Helck and Stefanini transcribe /ya/ as *ja*, Edel as *ia*
- ❖ Helck and Stefanini transcribe /wa/ as *wa*, Edel as *ua*
- ❖ Helck transcribes /wi/ as *wì*, Edel as *ui*, Stefanini as *wi*
- ❖ Edel transcribes /pat/ as *pát*, Helck as *bat*, Stefanini as *pt*
- ❖ Helck and Edel transcribe /pad/ as *pád*, Stefanini as *pad*
- ❖ Helck and Edel transcribe /kan/ as *kán*, Stefanini as *kan*
- ❖ Helck and Edel transcribe /h/ as *h*, Stefanini as *h*.
- ❖ Helck transcribes the Akkadograms and Sumerograms with Akkadian phonetic complements not with a hyphen but rather with a dot, for instance *A.NA* or *ŠEŠ.JA* instead of *A-NA* and *ŠEŠ-YA*.
- ❖ Stefanini employs square brackets instead of dots to indicate that a given sign is partially destroyed. Helck does not mark the damaged signs, with one exception in line 20'.

- ❖ Edel transliterates the geographical names with italic capital letters: <sup>URU</sup>KA-RA-<sup>d</sup>DU-NI-YA-AŠ, <sup>URU</sup>ZU-LA-PÍ and so on. Stefanini transliterates Babylonia as <sup>URU</sup>Ka-ra-<sup>D</sup>Du-ni-ya-aš.
- ❖ Edel superscripts only determinatives that precede their nouns, for instance <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>TE<sub>4</sub>-ME-KA or <sup>LÚ</sup>PÍT-HAL-LI, but not the ones that follow, for example NAM.RA.MEŠ, GUD.MEŠ, or GUD.HI.A.
- ❖ Helck does not employ rigorous rules in transcribing the determinatives that precede their noun. He writes in line 18' <sup>LÚ</sup>PÍT.HAL.LI but in line 21' LÚ TE.MU.JA. However, he always superscripts determinatives that follow the noun.
- ❖ Stefanini does not use the Sumerogram LÚ as a determinative with TE-MU, PIT-HAL-LI, TE-ME, or with SAG (obv. 22'), he does however, with KAR-TAB-BU in line 22' and QA.[Š]U.DU<sub>8</sub>.A (obv. 32'). Stefanini always superscripts the determinatives I, MEŠ and HI.A
- ❖ Helck, Edel, and Stefanini transcribe vowels *i* and *e* of the consecutive signs as *pí-e*, *li-e*, etc. not as *pé-e* or *le-e*.

## Obverse side

### Line 1':

- a. [ *ku* ]-*it*[ ]; Helck:[ ]-IŠ?[x x x]; Edel: [ŠEŠ-YA *ku*]-*it* [TÀŠ-PUR ]; Stefanini: IŠ[ ]
- b. <sup>LÚ</sup>MEŠ <sup>LÚ</sup>TE<sub>4</sub>-ME-KA-*wá* *ku-wá-p*[í; Helck does not indicate any damage to those signs; Edel shows that the sign *pí* is partially visible; Stefanini marks partial mutilation of the Akkadogram KA and the sign *pí*.



Line 2':

- a. [ ] *ú-te-er*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *ú-te-ir*
- b. *nu-wa-za*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *nu-wa-za*
- c. *du-uš-ku-un*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *du-uš/s-ku-un*.

Line 3':

- a. [ ] *ŠA*; Helck, Stefanini: [ ] *ŠA*; Edel: [A-NA DA]M *ŠA*
- b. *Š[A*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *ŠA* [

Line 4':

- a. *nam-ma-mu-ká[n Š]À*; Helck: *nam-ma-mu-kán [Š]À*
- b. KUR.KUR[<sup>MEŠ</sup>]; Helck, Edel: KUR.KUR.M[EŠ

Line 5':

- a. [TI-tar šu-w]a-ru A-NA ŠEŠ-YA; Edel: [Rasur šu-w]a-ru <e-eš-du> A-NA ŠEŠ-IA
- b. *qš-šu-la-an*; the partial damage to *aš* and *la* is indicated only in my transliteration.
- c. *ú-nu-w[a-aš-ha-an ]*; Stefanini: *Ú-NU-T[E(?)<sup>MEŠ</sup>*

Line 7':

[ŠE]Š-YA-; Helck ŠEŠ.JA; Edel [ŠE]Š-IA, Stefanini [Š]EŠ-JA

Line 8':

*ki-nu-un..Ú-UL pé-eš-t[a*; The partial damage of the Akkadogram *Ú-UL* and the sign *pí/é* is indicated only in my transcription.

Line 9':

- a. *ki-nu-un-ma-an-ta Ú?[-UL ]*; Helck, Stefanini: *ki-nu-un-ma-an-ta [ ]*; Edel:  
*ki-nu-un-ma-an-ta [Ú-UL ]*

- b. ŠEŠ?-YA!/?; Helck ignores these two signs in his transcription ; Edel: ŠEŠ -YA;  
Stefanini: ŠE[Š]-J[A (?)

Line 10':

- a. Ú-UL x-x-[- - - ]; Helck: Ú.UL š[a-ag-ga-ah-hi; Edel: Ú-UL ša-a[g-ga-ah-hi;  
Stefanini: Ú-U[L- x
- b. É-i[r ]; Stefanini: É-n[a (?)

Line 11':

- a. KUR-<sup>URU</sup>Hat-ti-za; Helck, Edel, Stefanini write KUR and <sup>URU</sup>Hat-ti-za separately.
- b. nu <sup>m</sup>[Úr-hi<sup>d</sup>-U-]up-aš ku-ít a-pí-ya; Helck, Stefanini: <sup>l</sup>[Úr-hi<sup>d</sup>U]-up-aš/s ku-it a-pí/i-ja; Edel <sup>l</sup>[Úr-hi<sup>d</sup>]U-up-aš ku-ít a-pí-ya
- c. A-NA-DINGIR.GAL; Helck, Edel, Stefanini transcribe ANA and DINGIR.GAL separately.

Line 12':

- a. A-NA ŠE[Š-YA ]; Helck: A-NA ŠEŠ.[YA ]
- b. KI-aš-š[a]; Helck: KI-aš-[ša]

Line 13':

- a. DUMU.MUNUS-KUR-<sup>URU</sup>Ka-ra-an-du-ni-ya[-aš; Helck, Edel and Stefanini write DUMU.MUNUS, KUR and <sup>URU</sup>Ka-ra-an-du-ni-ya[-aš as separate words in their transcriptions.
- b. KUR-<sup>URU</sup>A-aš-šur; KUR and <sup>URU</sup>A-aš-šur are transcribed separately by Helck, Edel and Stefanini.
- c. second ha-an-dq-m[i]; Helck: ha-an-da-mi

Line 14':

- a. *ku-wa-pí*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *ku-wa-pí*
- b. *iš-ha[-an-n]a!? tar-ah-mi*; Helck: *iš-ha[-an-n]a (?) tar-ah-mi*; Edel: *iš-ha-a[n-n]a(!) tar(!)-ah-mi*; Stefanini: *iš-ha[...t/s]a [ta]r-ah-mi*
- c. *pa-ra-a x-uš-x*; Helck: *pa-ra-a [.....]*; Edel: *pa-ra-a [ ] x x*; Stefanini: *pa-ra-a [x...*

Line 15':

- a. *im-ma-ku-it-ki*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *im-ma ku-it-ki*
- b. *ma-a-an-A-NA-DUMU<sup>d</sup>UTU*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *ma-a-an A-NA DUMU<sup>d/D</sup>UTU*
- c. *[ ]e-eš-zi*; Helck, Stefanini: *e-eš/s-zi*.
- d. *Ú-UL-e-eš-zj*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *Ú-UL e-eš/z-zi*

Line 16':

- a. *ku-it-ki[ ]Ú-UL-at*; Helck: *Ú-UL-at*; Stefanini: *[Ú]-UL-at*

The break in the tablet between *ku-it-ki* and *Ú-UL* is indicated only in my transcription

- b. *iš-ha-aš-šar-wa-tar-ra*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *iš-ha-aš-šar-wa-tar-ra*

Line 17':

- a. *A-NA*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *A-NA*
- b. *GU<sub>4</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup>-UDU<sup>[HI]A</sup>* ; Helck: *UDU.HÁ*; Edel: *UDU.HI.A* ; Stefanini: *UDU<sup>[HI]A</sup>*  
*GU<sub>4</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup>* and *UDU<sup>[HI]A</sup>* are written together only in my transcription.

Line 18':

- a. NU.GÁL-*nu-wa-ta-ku-e-da-ni*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: NU.GÁL *nu-wa-ta ku-e-da-ni*.
- b. *ú-e-mi-ya[-an-z]i*; Helck, Stefanini: *ú-e-mi-ja-zi*; Edel: *ú-e-mi-ja<-an>-zi*
- c. *nu-wa-mu-kán*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *nu-wa-mu-kán/kan*
- d. *pa-ra-a [na-a-ú]*; Helck: *pa-ra-a [na-a-í]*; Stefanini: *pa-ra-a .....*

Line 19':

- a. A-NA; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: A-NA
- b. KUR<sup>TI</sup>-YA-wa-GIŠ.HUR<sup>MEŠ</sup>; Helck, Edel and Stefanini transcribe KUR<sup>TI</sup>-YA-wa and GIŠ.HUR<sup>MEŠ</sup> separately.
- c. [G]U<sub>4</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup>; Helck, Stefanini: [GUD].MEŠ/[GUD]<sup>MEŠ</sup>
- d. *har-kán-zi*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *har-kán-zi/har-kan-zi*

Line 20':

- a. *pár-na-ú-i-š-kán-du*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *par-na-wi-i-š-kán-du/pár-na-ú<sub>5</sub>-i-š-kán-du/par-na-wi-is-kan-su*.
- b. *nu a-pi-e?-[da-aš am-mu-u]k-pát* LÚ.MEŠ *TE-ME túb-bq<sup>HLA!</sup>-ya AŠ-PUR ap-pí-za-x ŠA<sup>d</sup>[* LÚ.MEŠ *TE-ME an-da KAR-ir*]

Helck :

*nu a-pí-e-[da-aš am-mu-uk]-bat* LÚ.MEŠ *TE.ME dúb-bq-a-ja AŠ-PUR ap(?)*-  
*pé-za-aš-[.....] ŠA<sup>d</sup>[UTU.ŠI .....]LÚ.MEŠ TE.ME an-da da(?)*-a-ir

Edel:

*nu a-pí-e-[da-aš am-mu-u]k-pát* <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*TE-ME TUP-PÁ<sup>(HI.)A</sup>-ia AŠ-PUR ap-pí-  
za-a[t] ŠA* <sup>d</sup>*[UTU-ŠI É-ri QA-DU]* <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*TE-ME an-da KAR-ir*

Stefanini:

*nu a-pí-e[-.....]-pt* <sup>LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup></sup>*TE-ME x-x-x-ja AŠ-PUR x-pi-za-a[s (?) (?)]> x-x  
AN[... ..]* <sup>LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup></sup>*TE-ME an-da KAR-ir*

Line 21':

- a. <sup>LÚ</sup>*[PÍT-HAL-LI-KA Ú-UL ]*; Helck Edel: <sup>LÚ</sup>*PÍT-HA[L-LI-KA Ú-UL]*
- b. <sup>LÚ</sup>*TE-MU-ya*; Helck: <sup>LÚ</sup>*TE.MU.JA*

Line 22':

- a. *a-pád-da-an-EGIR-an-da*

All three editors transcribe *a-pád-da-an* and *EGIR-an-da* separately.

- b. <sup>LÚ</sup>*KAR-TAP-PU*; Helck: <sup>LÚ</sup>*QAR.TAB.BU*; Stefanini: <sup>LÚ</sup>*KAR-TAB-BU*
- c. <sup>LÚ</sup>*SAG [        ]x-ta*; Helck: <sup>LÚ</sup>*SAG [        kat]-ta*; Edel: <sup>LÚ</sup>*SAG p[a-ra-a  
...ka]t-ta*; Stefanini: <sup>LÚ</sup>*SAG ... ..-x-s/t]a*

Line 23':

- a. <sup>m</sup>*Pí-ha-aš-du-uš-ma*; Partial damage to the determinative <sup>m</sup> is indicated only in my transliteration.
- b. *SÈ[D-        ]*; Helck: *SUD-[ir ]*
- c. *pé-dī*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *pí/i-dī*

Line 24':

*Ú-UL*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *Ú-UL*

Line 25':

ŠEŠ-YA; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: ŠEŠ-YA

Line 26':

- a. *am-mu-u[q-q]a-aš-kán*; Helck: *am-mu-uk-ma-aš-kán*; Edel: *am-mu-ūq-qa-aš-kán*;  
Stefanini: *am-mu-u[k-w]a-kán*
- b. DUMU.MUNUS-*za-kán*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: DUMU.MUNUS-*za-kán/kan*

Line 27':

*a-[r]a-an-za nu-uš-ši-kán*; Helck: *a-ra-an-za nu-uš-ši-kán*; Edel: *a-ra-an-za nu-uš-ši-kán*; Stefanini: *a[-r]a?-an[-z]a nu-u[s-]si-ka[n*

Line 28':

- a. *ma-a-an DUMU.MUNUŠ-pát? Ú-UL*; Helck: *ma-a-an [DUMU.SAL-bat] Ú.UL*; Edel: *ma-a-an DUMU.MUNUŠ-pát Ú-UL* Stefanini: *ma-a-a[n-ta?-x Ú-U]L*
- b. *ku-wa-pí*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *ku-wa-pí/i*
- c. *pí-ih-ḥu-ṽn ma-a-an-ta*; Helck: *pí-ih-hu-un ma-a-an-ta*; Edel: *pí-ih-ḥu-ṽn ma-a-an-ta*

Line 29':

*Ú-U[L ] da-x[- ]*; Helck: *Ú-[UL] da-[ ]*; Stefanini: *Ú-[UL(?)] d[a?- ]*

Line 30':

- a. *nu-kán*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *nu-kán/kan*
- b. SÈD-*u-an-zi*; Helck: SUD-*u-an-zi*
- c. *ú-w[a-an-zi ]*; Stefanini: ... *ú-w[a?*

Line 31':

- a. <sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup>; A partial mutilation of those signs is shown only in my transcription.
- b. *ú-e-eh-ta-r[i ]*; Edel: *ú-e-eh-ta-r[i ]*; Stefanini: *ú-e-eh-ta-r[i(?)]*

Line 32':

- a. *ú-it-ma*; Helck: *ú-it-ma*; Edel: *ú-it-ma*; Stefanini: *ú-it-m[a]*
- b. <sup>LÚ</sup>SA<sub>4</sub>GI.A; Helck: <sup>LÚ</sup>SILÀ.ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A
- c. *nu-tu-li-qa[- ]*; Helck: *nu-x-x-x[ ]*; Edel: *nu tu-li(?)i[a(!)-an ]*; Stefanini: *nu tu-li-x ....* Edel and Stefanini transcribe *nu* and *tu-li-qa[- ]* separately.

Line 33':

- a. *nu-uš'-ma-aš-kán*; Helck: *nu-uš-ma-aš-kán*; Edel: *nu-uš-ma-aš-kán*; Stefanini: *nu-x-ma-aš-kán*
- b. 1-URU<sup>LUM</sup>; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: 1 URU<sup>LUM</sup>
- c. DIB-an-du'; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: DIB-an-du
- d. *a-pu-u-uš-ša[a ]*; Helck: *a-pu-u-uš-ša[a ]*; Edel, Stefanini: *a-pu-u-uš-ša[*

Line 35':

*a-ú-me-n[i ]*; Stefanini: *a-ú-me-n[i (?)]*

Line 36':

- a. *ta-pár-ri-ya-i-za-lu-ga-nu-mar-ra*; Helck, Edel and Stefanini write both words *ta-pár-ri-ya-i* and *za-lu-ga-nu-mar-ra* separately and without indication that the sign *nu* is weathered and hardly visible.
- b. *nu-un-tar-nu-um-mar*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *nu-un-tar-nu-um-mar*

Line 37':

- a. *i-ya-an-du*; Helck: *i'-ja-an-du*; Edel: *i-ia-an-du*; Stefanini: *tar-ja-an-du*

- b. *nu-le-e-pát-za-lu-ga-nu-mi*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini write all the words separately as *nu li-e-pát/bat/pt za-lu-ga-nu-mi* and without any indication that *lu* is broken.
- c. *nu-un-tar-nu-wa-[al-lu ]*; Helck: *nu-un-tar-nu-wa-a[š ]*; Edel: *nu-un-tar-nu-ua-a[l-lu*; Stefanini: *nu-un-tar-nu-wa*

Line 38':

EGIR-*pa x[ ]*; Edel: EGIR-*pa Ú(?)[-UL ]*; Stefanini: EGIR-*pa [x*

Line 39':

- a. *UL-*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *UL*
- b. *nu-wa-ṛa-at*; Helck, Stefanini: *nu-wa-ra-at*
- c. *ha-x[- ]*; Helck: *ha-[ ]*; Edel: *ha-l[u-ga-an ]*; Stefanini: *ha-[x ]*
- d. *da-]a-an*; Helck, Stefanini: *m]a-a-an*
- e. *ha-at-r[a-mi]*; Helck: *ha-at-ra-mi*; Edel: *ha-at-ra[-mi]*; Stefanini: *ha-at-ra....*

Line 40':

- a. *wa-ah-nu-mi-ṣn-kān*; Helck, Stefanini: *wa-ah-nu-mi-an-kān/kan*
- b. *na-ak-ḳi-iš-ma-da-za ḳu?-it?[ ]*; Helck: *na-ak-ki-iš-ma-du-za [ ]*; Edel: *na-ak-ki-iš-ma-du-za [k]u-it (!) [ ]*; Stefanini: *na-ak-ki-is-ma-du?-za [x-x...]*
- c. *w]a-ah-nu-mi*; Helck: *[ ] wa-ah-nu-mi*

Line 41':

- a. *[ŠEŠ-YA-]mṣ-mu*; Helck: *ŠEŠ-YA-ma-mu*; Edel: *[ŠEŠ-]YA-ma-mu*; Stefanini: *[ŠE]Š-YA-ma-mu*
- b. *ḳu-[i]t*; Helck: *ku-it*; Edel, Stefanini: *ku-[i]t*
- c. *A-NA*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *A-NA*



Line 42':

- a. *nu A[-NA]*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *nu A-NA*
- b. *ku-u-[u]n*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *ku-u-un*
- c. [ *z*]i-la-du-wa; Edel: [ *z*]i-la-du-wa<-wa>; Stefanini: [ ? *z*]i-la-du-wa

Line 43':

- a. **GIM**-[a]n w[a-]ša-i; Helck, Stefanini: *GIM-an wa-š/sa-i*; Edel: *GIM-an wa-ša-i*
- b. [ *A-NA ŠEŠ*]-YA; Helck, Stefanini: [ *A-NA ŠEŠ*].JA

Line 44':

- a. *ma-q-an-ma-an*; Helck: *ma-a-an-ma-an*; Stefanini: *ma-a-an(-)ma-an*
- b. [ ]x-an-ta; Helck, Stefanini: [ ]-an-ta; Edel: [ *Ú-UL-m*]a(?)*-an-ta*
- c. *na-aš-ma ŠA*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *na-aš-ma ŠA*
- d. *NIN-ZU*; Edel: *DAM(!)-SÚ*; Stefanini: *GIR<sub>4</sub>-ZU*

Line 45':

- a. *ma-an*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *ma-an*
- b. *ku-it x[ ]*; Helck, Edel: *ku-it Š[EŠ.JA ]*, *Š[EŠ-IA ]*; Stefanini: *ku-it [ ]*
- c. *MUNUS-an*; Stefanini: *[GA]M-an*
- d. *pí-e-er-nu-wa-aš-ši*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini transcribe *pí-e-er* and *nu-wa-aš-ši* separately. None of the three previous editors indicates the mutilation of the sign *nu*

Line 46':

- a. *a-pé-e-da-ni-y[a]*; Helck, Edel: *a-pé-e-da-ni-ja/ia*
- b. [ ]x-wa-ra-at; Helck: [ *nu*]-wa-ra-at; Edel: [ *ma-q*]n-wa-ra-at; Stefanini: [ ?GIM-a]n-ra-at

Line 47':

- a. MUNUS.LUGAL-*qš-za*; Helck, Stefanini: SAL.LUGAL-*aš/s-za*
- b. DUMU.MUNUS-KUR-<sup>URU</sup>*Ga-ra-an-du-ni-ya-qš*; Helck: <sup>URU</sup>*Ga-ra-an-du-ni-ya-aš*; Edel: <sup>URU</sup>*GA-RA-<sup>d</sup>DU-NI-YA-AŠ*; Stefanini: <sup>URU</sup>*Ga-ra-<sup>D</sup>Du-ni-ya-a[s]*. All three editors write DUMU.MUNUS, KUR and <sup>URU</sup>*Ga-ra-an-du-ni-ya-aš* separately.

Line 48':

- a. *na-qt-mu*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *na-at-mu*
- b. LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-KUR-<sup>URU</sup>*Hat-ti*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini transcribe LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>, KUR and <sup>URU</sup>*Hat-ti* separately.
- c. *im-mq*; Helck, Stefanini: *im-ma*
- d. *wq-al-li-ya-tar*; Helck: *wa-al-li-ja-tar*

Line 49':

- a. *na-at*; Stefanini: *na-at-k[an]*
- b. *am-mu-uk*; Helck: *am-mu-uk*; Edel: *am-mu-uk*
- c. *a-ra-ah-zé-nu-un*; Helck, Edel: *a-ra-ah-zé-nu-un*
- d. <sup>MUNUS</sup>É.GI<sub>4</sub>.A; Helck: SAL.É.GE.A; Edel: SAL.É.GE<sub>4</sub>.A

Line 50':

- a. <sup>M</sup>[<sup>UNUS</sup>]É.GI<sub>4</sub>.A, Helck: SAL.É.GE.A
- b. *mī-iš-ri-wa-an-da*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *mi-iš-ri-wa-an-da*

Line 51':

- a. *nq-aš-ma-aš-ši*; Helck, Stefanini: *na-aš-ma-aš-ši/na-as-ma-as-si*
- b. Š[A]; Helck: ŠA

c. NIN<sub>9</sub><sup>TI</sup>; Helck, Edel: NIN.TI/NIN-TI; Stefanini: DAM<sup>TI</sup>

d. *na-qt*; Helck: *na-at*

e. *im<sub>9</sub>-ma*; Helck: *im-ma*

Line 52’:

a. *nu-mu<sub>9</sub>-kán*; Helck, Stefanini: *nu-mu-kán/kan*

b. ŠÀ; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: ŠÀ

c. <sup>URU</sup>; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: <sup>URU</sup>

d. *Ú-UL-qt*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *Ú-UL-at*

e. *ŠUM-ni<sub>9</sub>-ha-an-da-aš*; Helck, Edel: ŠUM-ni. All three editors transcribe ŠUM-ni and *ha-an-da-aš* separately.

Line 53’:

a. first ŠEŠ-YA; Helck: ŠEŠ.JA; Edel: ŠEŠ-IA

b. *e-[eš]-ta*; Helck: *e-eš-ta*

c. ŠEŠ-YA-mq<sub>9</sub>-qt-kán; Helck, Edel: ŠEŠ.JA-ma-at-kán/ŠEŠ-IA-ma-at-kán;  
Stefanini: ŠEŠ-JA-ma-[a]t-kán

Line 54’:

a. *na-ak-ki-y[a]-an-ni*; Helck: *na-ak-ki-ja-an-ni*; Edel: *na-ak-ki-ja-an-ni*; Stefanini:  
*na-ak-ki-[ja]-an-ni*

b. *i-ya-at-ya*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *i-ja-at-ja/ia*

c. LUGAL-KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Kar-an-du-ni-ya-aš*; All three editors write LUGAL, KUR and <sup>URU</sup> *Kar-an-du-ni-ya-aš* separately.

Line 55’:

- a. *ha-an-da-an-z[a?]-Ú-UL-za*; Helck: *ha-an-da-an-za Ú.UL-za*; Edel: *ha-an-da-an{-za} Ú-UL-za*; Stefanini: *ha-an-da-an Ú-UL-za*
- b. LUGAL.GAL-LUGAL-KUR<sup>URU</sup>*Hat-ti*-LUGAL.KALA.GA-DUMU.MUNUS-MUNUS-*an-ni*. These Sumerograms, written together on the tablet and in my transliteration, are transcribed separately by the three previous editors of the text as: LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR<sup>URU</sup>*Hat-ti* LUGAL KALAG.GA DUMU.SAL SAL-*an-ni*
- c. LUGAL-KUR<sup>URU</sup>*Kar-an-du-ni-ya-aš-wa’*; Helck, Stefanini: LUGAL KUR<sup>URU</sup>*Kar-an-du-ni-ja-aš-wa*/<sup>URU</sup>*Kar-<sup>D</sup>Du-ni-ja-aš-wa*; Edel: LUGAL KUR<sup>URU</sup>*KAR-<sup>d</sup>DU-NI-IA-AŠ-ua(!)*

Line 56’:

- a. LUGAL [.G]AL; Helck: LUGAL GAL
- b. KUR<sup>URU</sup>*Kar-an-du-ni-ya-aš*; KUR and <sup>URU</sup>*Kar-an-du-ni-ya-aš* are written separately in Helck, Edel and Stefanini’s transcriptions.

Line 57’:

- a. *i-ya-qt-ta*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *i-ja/ia-at-ta*
- b. GIM-*qn*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: GIM-*an*
- c. second *i-ya-qt*; Helck: *i-ja-[at]*; Edel: *i-ia[-a]t*

Line 58’:

- a. *IT-TI ŠEŠ-KA*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini *IT-TI ŠEŠ-KA*
- b. *:an-nq-q-qn*; Helck: \ *an-na-a-an*; Edel: *an-nq-q-qn* (no glossenkeil)

Line 59':

- a. *tī-iš-ša-q-qn*; Helck, Stefanini: *ti-iš-ša-a-an/ti-is-sa-a-an*; Edel: *tī-iš-ša-a-an*
- b. LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> *Hat-ti*; Edel: LÚ.MEŠ <sup><URU></sup>*HAT-TI*
- c. *ša-qk-ti*; Helck: *ša-ak-ti*
- d. *ku-wa-pí*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *ku-wa-pí/ku-ua-pí/ku-wa-pi*

Line 60':

- a. [DUMU.]MU<sup>NUS</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup>; Helck: DUMU.SAL-MEŠ; Edel: [DU]MU.SAL.MEŠ;  
Stefanini: [DUM]U.[S]AL.<sup>MEŠ</sup>
- b. LUGAL; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: LUGAL
- c. *ku-i-e-eš*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *ku-i-e-eš/s*
- d. *nu-m[u-za-ká]n*; Helck: *nu-m[u-za-kán]*; Stefanini: *nu-mu-[za-ka]n*
- e. ŠU-*i*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: ŠU-*i*

Line 61':

- a. [- - - -] x [- - - -] *n* *u*?-*un*; Helck: [x x -*nu*]-*un*; Edel: [*šal-la-nu-n*]*u-un*; Stefanini:  
[....-*u*]*n*
- b. *kq-ru-ú-ma*; Helck, Stefanini: *ka-ru-ú-ma*

Line 62':

- a. [ *n* ] *a-aš*; Helck: [.....] *na-aš*
- b. EN<sup>MEŠ</sup> *KARAS*<sup>HLA</sup>; EN<sup>MEŠ</sup> and *KARAS*<sup>HLA</sup> are written together only in my transcription.
- c. *i-ya-n[u-u]n*; Helck: *i-ja-nu-un*

Line 63':

- a. [     ]-*x-ad-du*; Helck: [     ]-*ad-du*; Edel: [     ]*x-ad-du*; Stefanini: [.....?-(n/j)a]-  
*ad-du*
- b. DUMU.MUNUS; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: DUMU.SAL
- c. *nu-uš-ši-kán*; Helck: *nu-uš-ši-kán*; Edel: *nu-uš-ši-[ká]n*; Stefanini: *nu-us-s[i-k]an*
- d. *an-na-a-an ti-iš-ša-q-qn*; Helck does not include this word in line 63' but  
reconstructs it at the beginning of the next line; Stefanini: does not include *ti-iš-*  
*ša-a-an* either in line 63' or 64'.

Line 64':

- a. *a-pád-dq-ya*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *a-pád-da-ja/a-pád-da-ia/a-pad-da-ja*
- b. *AQ-BI*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *AQ-BI*
- c. ŠEŠ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠÚ-NU-*wq-qš-ši*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: ŠEŠ.MEŠ.ŠU.NU-*wa-aš-ši*/  
ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ŠÚ-NU-*ua-aš-ši*/ ŠEŠ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠU-NU-*wa-as-si*

Line 65'

- a. [     -z]i; Helck, Edel: [ti-ja-an-z]i, [ti-ia-an-z]i
- b. *ma-a-an-ma-qt*; Helck: *ma-a-an-ma-at*; Stefanini: *ma-a-an-[m]a-at*
- c. *UL*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *UL*
- d. *ZI-za*; Helck: *ZI-za*
- e. *nu A-NA ŠEŠ-YA*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *nu A-NA ŠEŠ.JA/ nu A-NA ŠEŠ-IA/nu*  
*A-NA ŠEŠ-JA*
- f. *ZI-ni*; Helck: *ZI-ni*, Edel, Stefanini: *ZI-ni/ZI[-n]i*
- g. *lu-pa-aš-tin*; Helck, Stefanini: *lu-pa-aš/s-tin*; Edel: *lu<-um>-pa-aš-tin*

## Reverse side

### Line 1:

- a. ŠEŠ-YA-mq-mu ku-it; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: ŠEŠ.JA-ma-mu/ŠEŠ-IA-ma-mu/ŠEŠ-JA-ma-mu
- b. [p]í-eš-ti; Helck: pí-eš-ti

### Line 2:

- a. a-pí-[y]a; Helck: a-pí-ja
- b. a-pa-q-aš; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: a-pa-a-aš/s
- c. i-wa-ar [ŠE]Š-YA; Stefanini: i-wa-ar(?) .....ja

### Line 3:

- a. MU<sub>NUS</sub>.LUGAL; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: SAL.LUGAL
- b. I-NA-KUR<sup>URU</sup>A-mur-ri are written together only in my transcription.
- c. ma-q<sub>n</sub>-ni-in-ku-[w]q-ah-mi-at-ta-x; Helck, Edel: ma-an-ni-in-ku-wa-ah-mi-at-ta; Stefanini: ma-an-ni-in-ku-w[a-]ah-m[i-]at

### Line 4:

- a. ku-i-e; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: ku-i-e
- b. ha-qt-ra-a-mi; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: ha-at-ra-a-mi
- c. mqr-ki-ši; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: mar-ki-ši/mar-ki-si
- d. ma-la-ši-qt-za; Helck: ma-la-ši-at-za; Stefanini: ma-la-si-at-z[a]

### Line 5:

- a. DUMU.MUNUS-x?-ši; Helck, Edel: DUMU.SAL ÚR-ši; Stefanini: DUMU.SAL.X<sup>LIM</sup>
- b. nu-za-k<sub>n</sub>; Helck: nu-za-kán; Edel: nu-za-kán; Stefanini: nu?-za-[?ka]n

c. MUNUS.LUGAL; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: SAL.LUGAL

d. *a-pí-ya-ya*; Helck, Stefanini: *a-pí/i-ja-ja*

Line 6:

*GAM-RA-TI*; Helck, Edel: *GAM.RA.TI/GAM-RA-TI*; Stefanini: GAM RA-ti

Line 7:

a. ŠEŠ-YA; Helck: ŠEŠ.JA

b. NIN-YA-wa-mu; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: SAL+KU.JA-wa-mu/NIN-IA-ua-mu/NIN-JA-wa-mu

c. DUMU.MUNUS; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: DUMU.SAL

d. KUR-<sup>URU</sup>*Kar-du-ni-ya-aš-wa*; KUR and <sup>URU</sup>*Kar-du-ni-ya-aš-wa* are written together only in my transcription.

e. KUR-<sup>URU</sup>*M[i]-iz-ri-i*; Helck: <sup>URU</sup>*Mi-iz-ri-i*; KUR and <sup>URU</sup>*M[i]-iz-ri-i* are written separately by Helck, Edel and Stefanini.

Line 8:

a. [p]i-ya-an-za; Helck: *pí-ja-an-za*

b. EGIR-[an-]da; Helck: *EGIR-an-da*; Stefanini: EGIR-[an-d]a

c. IŠ-TU IKU; Helck: *IŠ.TU É?*; Edel: *IŠ-TU IKU*

Line 9:

a. [nu-mu]; Edel: [nu-m]u

b. <sup>LÚ</sup>*TE<sub>4</sub>-MU*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: <sup>LÚ</sup>*TE.MU/TE<sub>4</sub>-MU/LÚ TE-MU*

c. LUGAL-KUR-<sup>URU</sup>*Kar-an-du-ni-[y]a*; Helck: LUGAL KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Kar-an-du-ni-ya*;  
Edel: LUGAL KUR <sup>URU</sup>*KAR-<sup>d</sup>DU-NI[-Y]A<-AŠ>*; Stefanini: LUGAL KUR  
<sup>URU</sup>*Kar-<sup>D</sup>Du-ni-[j]a*



d. <sup>m.d</sup>EN.LÍL.EN.ÚKU.MEŠ: Helck: <sup>ld</sup>En-líl-EN.ÚKU.MEŠ; Stefanini:

<sup>ID x</sup>EN.LÍL.EN.ÚKU<sup>MEŠ</sup>

Line 10:

- a. [am-mu-u]k-ma; Helck: [am-mu-]uk-ma
- b. AŠ-MI; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: AŠ.MI/AŠ-MI
- c. ma-a-na-qn; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: ma-a-na-an
- d. [Ú]-UL ; Helck: Ú.UL; Edel: Ú-UL

Line 11:

- a. [n]a-[a]t; Helck: na-at; Stefanini: [na-a]t
- b. i-ya-mi; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: i-ja-mi/i-ia-mi
- c. first ŠEŠ-YA; Helck, Edel: ŠEŠ.JA/ŠEŠ-IA
- d. ZI-[ni :l]u-um-pa-aš-ti-iš; Helck: ZI-[ni] lu-um-pa-aš-ti-iš; Stefanini: ZI[-ni(?)  
lu]-um-pa-as-ti-is
- e. second ŠEŠ-YA; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: ŠEŠ.JA/ŠEŠ-IA/ŠEŠ-JA

Line 12:

- a. [ma]-a-an; Helck: ma-a-an; Stefanini: [ma-]a-an
- b. nu; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: nu
- c. ŠEŠ-YA; Helck: ŠEŠ.JA
- d. :lu-um-[pa-aš-ti-i]n; Helck: lu-um-[pa-aš-ti]-in (no glossenkeil); Edel: ~~lu~~ lu-up[-  
pa-aš-ti-i]n; Stefanini: ~~lu~~ lu-up[-pa-as-ti-i]n

Line 13:

- a. nu A-NA; Helck: nu A.NA; Stefanini: [nu A-N]A
- b. :lu-um-pa-aš-ti-in; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: lu-um-pa-aš/s-ti-in

- c. *Ú-ŪL-pat*; Helck: *Ú-UL-bat*; Stefanini: *Ú-U[L-p]t*
- d. *i-y[a-mi a-pad-d]a-ya*; Helck: *i-ja-[nu-un ki-nu-na]ja*; Edel: *i-i[a-mi ki-nu-n]a-ia*;  
Stefanini: *i-ja[-mi(?) GI]M-ja*
- e. **KUR**-<sup>URU</sup>*Mi-iz-ri* **KUR**-<sup>URU</sup>*Ha-at-ti-ya*; KUR and <sup>URU</sup>*Mi-iz-ri* as well as KUR  
and <sup>URU</sup>*Ha-at-ti-ya* are written together only in my transcription.

Line 14:

- a. *1-EN* ; Helck: *I.EN*; Stefanini: *I<sup>EN</sup>*
- b. **KUR**-<sup>URU</sup>*Mi-iz-r[i ki-nu-na ]Ú-UL*; Helck: <sup>URU</sup>*Mi-iz-ri [     ] Ú.UL*; Stefanini:  
<sup>URU</sup>*Mi-iz-r[i -(i)...]Ú-UL*. KUR and <sup>URU</sup>*Mi-iz-r[i ]* are written together only in my  
transliteration.

Line 15:

- a. **DUGUD**-*ni*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *DUGUD-ni*
- b. *i-y[a-ši nu-mu-kán]*; Helck: *i-ja-[at nu-mu-kán]*; Stefanini: *i-j[a-nu-un .....]*
- c. *ku-iš*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *ku-iš/s*
- d. *kj-e-da-ni*; Helck *ki-e-da-ni*
- e. *pí-dj*; Helck, Stefanini: *pí-di/pi-di*

Line 16:

- a. *ši-wq-ri-ya [ - - - - ]x*; Helck: *ši-wa-ri-ja-z[i .... nu-mu-kán]*; Edel: *ši-ua-ri-ia[-it  
ki-nu-na-ták-]kán*; Stefanini: *IGI-wa-ri-ja... ..*
- b. *aš-šy-lq-an*; Helck: *aš-šu-la-an*
- c. *Ú-ŪL*; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: *Ú.UL/Ú-UL*
- d. *ši-wa-ri-ya-īt*; Helck: *ši-wa-ri-ja-a[t]*; Stefanini: *IGI-wa-ri-ja-[x]*

Line 17:

DUMU.[MUNUS ... ; Stefanini: DUM[U....

Line 18:

- a. ŠEŠ-YA-ma-za; Helck: ŠEŠ.JA-ma-za; Edel, Stefanini: ŠEŠ-IA-ma-za/ ŠEŠ-JA-ma-za
- b. ku-īt-ma-an x[----]; Helck, Stefanini: ku-it-ma-an [ ]; Edel: ku-it-ma-an x[
- c. [ ] x-ha-x [ ]; These signs were ignored by Helck and Stefanini in their transcriptions of the text.

Line 19:

- a. na-ak-ki-ya; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: na-ak-ki-ja/ia
- b. ha-qt-ri-īš[-ki ]; Helck, Edel: ha-at-ri-iš[-ki-.....]; Stefanini: ha-at-ri-iš-[šar(?)].....

Line 20:

- a. nu-mu-kān; Helck, Stefanini: nu-mu-kán/kan
- b. a-pu-u-uš-ša x[ ]; Helck: a-pu-u-uš-ša [; Edel: a-pu-u-uš-ša x[ ; Stefanini: a-pu-u-us-sa ... ....

Line 21:

DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-YA; Helck, Edel, Stefanini: DUMU.MEŠ.JA/ DUMU.MEŠ-IA/  
DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-JA

Line 22:

am-me-el-la-mu-kán; Helck, Stefanini: am-me-el-la-mu-kán/am-me-el-la-mu-kan;  
Edel: am-me-la-mu-kán

## Chapter Three: Date, Author and Addressee

### 3.1. *Date*

Over the four or five hundred years of its recorded history, Hittite, like any living language, underwent a number of changes in its mode of expression, grammar and orthography. Based on these changes the Hittite texts were divided into three chronological periods: Old Hittite (ca. 1570-1450 B.C.E.), Middle Hittite (ca. 1450-1380 B.C.E.) and Neo-Hittite (ca.1380-1220 B.C.E.).<sup>10</sup>

The discovery in the early 1950s of a fragmentary historical text (KBo 7.14 – Zukraši - text) in an Old Hittite archaeological stratum made scholars realise that the Old Hittite manuscripts were characterised by a set of external features called collectively “ductus”, which include the spacing between signs and words, the width of column dividers, the point of the tablet where writing begins, and most of all the shapes of the cuneiform signs. This discovery gave the impetus for the palaeographical investigation of Hittite tablets which resulted in a division of the Hittite manuscripts into Old, Middle and New Script.<sup>11</sup>

As Hittite documents were often recopied after their original composition, we can find texts which, according to linguistic and/or historical criteria, can be dated to the Old Hittite period, but which do not contain any features characteristic of the Old Script. Similarly, some texts which can be dated to the Middle Hittite period exhibit elements typical of Neo-Script rather than Middle Script. Accordingly, the Old Hittite texts can be recorded in Old Script, Middle Script or Neo-Script; the Middle Hittite texts in Middle

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<sup>10</sup> Dates of the periods of the Hittite language taken from Neu and Rüster 1975: vii. Watkins 2004: 554-555.

<sup>11</sup> Melchert 1977: 10; Archi 2003: 6; Watkins 2004: 554-555.

Script or Neo Script; Neo-Hittite in New Script. It should also be taken into account that Hittite scribes had an apparent tendency to “archaize” or to use the linguistic features of earlier periods. Consequently, only through the cumulative analysis of script, orthography, philological and historical criteria, can one arrive at the period in which a given text was originally composed.

### 3.1.1. Historical Criteria

A text can be assigned to a particular Hittite ruler based on the events and/or personal names it records; KUB 21.38 contains both. It deals with the marriage of a Hittite princess and an unknown addressee and although neither party is named, the letter can still be dated based on four personal names mentioned. Two of these belong to men involved in the negotiations over the terms of the marriage settlement, namely <sup>m</sup>*Zu-zu-un* <sup>LÚ</sup>*KAR-TAP-PU* <sup>LÚ</sup>*SAG* “a charioteer and intimate friend (of the king)” (obv. 22’) and <sup>m</sup>*Pi-ha-aš-du-uš* (obv. 23’). Both men were sent to the addressee to inquire about the reasons why he has not dispatched his representatives to collect the livestock and captives component of the dowry that was to precede the main wedding party (obv. 17’-24’). It is probable that these are same *Zuzu* and *Pihašdu* mentioned in the letters of Ramses II<sup>12</sup> and Bentešina of Amurru,<sup>13</sup> in which they are regarded as the envoys of Hattušili III and

<sup>12</sup> The name *Pihašduš*, spelled in all the Egyptian letters as *Pi-qa-aš-ta/ti*, is mentioned in the letters of Ramses II to Hattušili III: KUB III 37+ (Vs.2’), KUB III 36 (Vs. 5), KUB III 69 (Vs. 3’, 10’, 14’) and in a letter of Ramses II to Puduhepa: KUB III 66 (Vs. 15). The alternation *q~h* is also attested in another name *Ka-an-nu-ta* spelled with *k* in letters from Egypt and with *h* (*Ha-an-nu-ut-ti*) in letters from Boghazköy. Edel 1994: vol. I, 52-53, 88-89, 140-141, 172-173; vol. II 336. The name *Zu-uz-z[u]* appears in a letter of Ramses II to Hattušili III: KBo XXVIII 41. Edel 1994: vol. I, 92-93.

<sup>13</sup> The name was spelled *Be-ha-aš-du* in KUB VIII 16 Vs. 6; <sup>m</sup>*Pi-ha-aš-tu<sub>4</sub>* (Vs.4), <sup>m</sup>*Pa-ha-aš-tu<sub>4</sub>* (Vs.12) and <sup>m</sup>*Be-ha-aš-tu<sub>4</sub>* (Vs.7) in KBo XXVIII 54 and <sup>m</sup>*Pi-ha-ad-du-uš* (17’) in KUB XXVI 92. Edel 1994: vol. II, 336; Hagenbuchner 1989: vol.2, 370-372 (text no.260), 375-376 (nr. 263), 402 (nr. 304).

Puduhepa. The third name mentioned in line 11' of the obverse, <sup>m</sup>Úr-hi<sup>d</sup>U-up-aš or Urhi-Tešub, refers to the son of Muwatalli, a short reign Hittite king dethroned and exiled by his uncle Hattušili III. The fourth man <sup>m</sup>A-la-li-mi-iš, designated by the official title UGULA <sup>LÚ</sup>SAGLA “the overseer of the cupbearers” (obv. 32'), also appears in the treaty between Hattušili's son Tudhaliya IV and Kurunta of Tarhuntašša. During the reign of Tudhaliya IV he held an even higher position, that of GAL UGULA LI-MI<sup>MEŠ</sup> “chief overseer-of-thousand.”<sup>14</sup>

The fact that the abovementioned names belonging to men active during the reign of Hattušili III and his son Tudhaliya IV appear in KUB 21.38, assigns the letter to one or the other of these kings.

### 3.1.2. *Palaeographical Evidence*

In 1972, Ch. Rüster distinguished eighteen diagnostic signs that show changes in shape from Old to Middle and New Script: *tar, ak, ik, ni, nam, gi, uk, az, zu, du, al, e, li, šar, SAG, KÙ, URU* and *Û*, and which can be crucial in dating a manuscript to either of these periods.<sup>15</sup> The KUB 21.38 manuscript contains fourteen of the signs singled out by Rüster. Nine of these appear in their younger versions, two signs show both older and younger shapes and four signs appear in the forms characteristic of the Old Script. In the table below I include all fourteen signs arranged in order of and with the numbers assigned by Ch. Rüster in *Hethitische Keilschrift-Paläographie* (Wiesbaden 1972):

<sup>14</sup> Otten 1988: 26-27 (iv 35); Edel 1994 vol.2: 377 (Vs. 32'); Beckman 1996: 117.

<sup>15</sup> Rüster 1972: X.

Table 1. Distribution of the old and new variants of 9 diagnostic signs  
in KUB 21.38 tablet

	Older	Younger
7 tar <sup>a)</sup>	x (hand B)	X
14 ak <sup>b)</sup>		X
26 SAG	X	
41 ik <sup>b)</sup>		X
45 ni	X	
59 nam	X	
75 uk		X
82 zu <sup>c)</sup>	x (hand B?)	X
104 du		X
150 al	X	
158 e		X
177 URU		X
274 li <sup>b)</sup>		X
284 šar		X

- a) The sign *tar* appears eleven times in KUB 21.38. The new version of the sign is employed 10 times; the archaic shape of the sign is used once, in line obv. 14'. Although the *tar* in line 14' is damaged, the traces of the sign suggest that the older version of the sign is indeed used; it has an upright rather than a slanting

vertical. It appears that the obv. 14' and the older shape of the sign *tar* were written by another scribe (hand B).<sup>16</sup>

- b) The younger shape of the sign *ak* was introduced during the reign of Muršili II, the father of Hattušili III; the new forms of signs *ik* and *li* during the reign of Muwatalli, Hattušili's brother.<sup>17</sup>
- c) The sign *zu* appears four times in the text. Three times a new form is employed, once in obv. 44', an older shape is used. In line 44' *zu* was inserted between the Sumerogram NIN and the verb *pihhun*. Because the scribe had to write the sign in a very narrow space, he used the older, more compact sign shape. Perhaps the sign *zu* in line 44' was added by another scribe, possibly the same who added line 14' and who employed the older version of sign *tar*.

The palaeographical evidence, particularly the employment of younger shapes of the signs *ik* and *li*, confirms the mid-thirteenth century date of the text established by the historical criteria.

### 3.1.3 Philological Evidence

The KUB 21.38 text shows a large number of linguistic and orthographic innovations that took place in the Middle Hittite and in the Neo-Hittite period. The most salient of these are:

1. Replacement of the nom.pl.com. and nom.-acc. pl. neut. of the personal enclitic pronoun *-e* "they, them" by *-at*.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> For a detailed analysis of scribal hand/s in KUB 21.38 see Chapter Four.

<sup>17</sup> Reinhold-Krahmer, Hoffmann, Kammenhuber, Mauer 1979: 103, 104.



2. Replacement of the Old Hittite acc.pl.com of the enclitic pronoun *-uš* 'them' by Neo Hittite *-aš*.<sup>19</sup>
3. Replacement of the personal pronoun *ūk* by *ammuk* as the subject "I".
4. Replacement of initial enclitic non-geminating *-a* with *-ma* after words ending in consonant.<sup>20</sup>
5. Generalisation of OH nom. pl. c. relative/interrogative pronoun *kuēš* and acc.pl. c. relative/interrogative pronoun *kuēuš* into nom.-acc. pl. c. *kuiēš*.<sup>21</sup>
6. The replacement of *mān ...-ma* with *mān-ma*. In Neo-Hittite texts *mān...* *-ma* was preserved in genres which had Old Hittite and Middle Hittite traditions such as treaties, festivals or rituals, in other texts *-ma* was enclitically attached directly to *mān*.<sup>22</sup>
7. Replacement of the OH suffixed possessive pronouns by the oblique enclitic personal pronouns that were used in possessive function.<sup>23</sup>
8. Spelling of the dative of the enclitic personal pronoun with *-ši* instead of *-še*.<sup>24</sup>
9. A tendency to replace syllabic writings with their logographic variants. Accordingly we find in KUB 21.38 *Ú-UL* and *UL* instead of *natta*, EGIR-*pa* for *appa*, EGIR-*anda* for *appanda*, GIM-*an* for *mahhan* and so on.<sup>25</sup>
10. Prepositional writing of postposition *iwar* started to appear during the reign of Hattušili III. This reversed word order *iwar* + noun is a typical imitation of Akkadian word order and thus shows that the grammatically unmarked following

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<sup>18</sup> Melchert 1977: 19.

<sup>19</sup> Friedrich 1974: 63 (102)

<sup>20</sup> Melchert 2007: 4-5 and note 9.

<sup>21</sup> Melchert 1995: 270.

<sup>22</sup> Güterbock and Hoffner *CHD* vol. L-N, fasc. 2: 97-99.

<sup>23</sup> Garrett 1990: 163.

<sup>24</sup> Melchert 1977: 20.

<sup>25</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1970: 49-51.

word (which is always either a proper name or a logogram) is understood as a Hittite genitive. Such writing of *iwar* is attested in line 2 of the reverse in KUB 21.38.<sup>26</sup>

11. During the reign of Hattušili III a new Akkadogram *I-DI* meaning “I know” was introduced to Hittite texts. This ideogram is attested in KUB 21.38 five times (obv. 56', rev. 12 (2x), 13, 14).<sup>27</sup>

#### **3.1.4. Conclusions**

The following conclusions arise from the cumulative historical, palaeographical and philological analysis of the KUB 21.38 text and manuscript:

First, the predominant employment of sign shapes characteristic of the Middle and Neo scripts as well as the presence of innovations introduced in the Middle Hittite and Neo Hittite periods can date both the KUB 21.38 manuscript and text to either of these periods.

Second, while the employment of the younger shapes of the signs *li* and *ik* suggests that the manuscript cannot be dated earlier than the reign of Muwatalli, the prepositional writing of *iwar* and the employment of the Akkadogram *IDI* further specify the date of the text and manuscript to the reign of Hattušili III.

This date is verified by the appearance of the personal names belonging to these Hittite officials and envoys that are also known from other documents dated to the reign of Hattušili III and by reference made in the letter to Urhi-Tešub, nephew of Hattušili. The letter must have been written after the dethronement of Urhi-Tešub in circa 1267

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<sup>26</sup> Hoffner 1993: 48.

<sup>27</sup> Reinhold-Krahmer, Hoffmann, Kammenhuber, Mauer 1979: 255.

B.C., since in lines 11'-12' of the obverse, the author of the letter refers to the fact that Urhi-Tesub is in exile.<sup>28</sup>

### 3.2. *Author and Addressee*

Since the early decades of the twentieth century scholars have speculated about the identity of both the unnamed author and the addressee of the KUB 21.38 letter. In 1924, Forrer declared that it was written by a Babylonian king, whom he identified in 1928 as Kadašman-Enlil II.<sup>29</sup> Goetze believed that the author of the letter was Hattušili III.<sup>30</sup> Sommer rightly observed that both suggestions are wrong because of the following facts:<sup>31</sup>

1. The letter is written in Hittite
2. Throughout the text the author refers to herself as MUNUS.LUGAL 'the queen' (obv. 47', 57', 63', 64' rev. 3, 5).
3. In the passages quoted from an earlier letter of the addressee, the queen is called NIN-YA or 'my sister' (obv. 7', 35' rev. 7). She also calls herself thus in lines obv. 38', 44' and 53'. That is not to say that the queen corresponds with her own brother, but rather with a king of equal status.<sup>32</sup>

Even if we did not have the evidence mentioned in points two and three, the following question arises: "Why would the Babylonian king write a letter in Hittite, which he probably did not know, while the language of international correspondence at that time

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<sup>28</sup> For the date of Urhi-Tesub's dethronement see Bryce 2005: 246.

<sup>29</sup> Forrer 1924: 11; 1928: 142. Stefanini 1964: 4 note 1.

<sup>30</sup> Goetze 1928: introduction.

<sup>31</sup> Sommer 1932: 253-254.

<sup>32</sup> Mieroop 2004: 121, 127. Between 1500 and 1200 B.C. rulers of ancient Near Eastern territorial empires in their correspondence called themselves and each other 'brother' and 'sister' to indicate their equal status.

was Akkadian?” Naturally, it could be argued that the original letter was written in Akkadian and that KUB 21.38 is its translation. However, the above question becomes irrelevant in the light of the evidence mentioned in points 2 and 3; neither Hattušili III nor a Babylonian king would call himself MUNUS.LUGAL “the queen” or NIN “sister”!

The letter then was composed by a Hittite Queen, who had the authority to conduct an international correspondence with one of the “Great Kings” of the time. As the historical, palaeographical and linguistic evidence fix the date of the letter to the reign of Hattušili III, the queen in question must be Puduhepa, wife of Hattušili, whose strong and influential position in political, judicial and religious departments of the Hittite Empire is attested by a vast number of documents.<sup>33</sup> Such an identity of the author of the KUB 21.38 letter was first proposed by Sommer<sup>34</sup> and has nowadays been accepted by scholars.<sup>35</sup>

To identify the undisclosed addressee of Puduhepa’s letter, previous editors and other scholars turned to the text itself, which contains three pieces of evidence:

1. The addressee is a king of one of the great empires of the thirteenth century B.C., since Puduhepa calls him ŠEŠ-YA ‘my brother.’
2. In lines obv. 11’-12’ Puduhepa claims that Urhi-Tešub is a guest of the addressee:  
*nu <sup>m</sup>[Úrhi<sup>d</sup>U]upaš kuit apíya n=an punuš mān kišan mān Ú.UL kišan*  
 “Since Urhi-Tešub is there, ask him whether it is so or not.”
3. The addressee’s empire is located in proximity to Amurru, since in line rev. 3 the queen declares: MUNUS.LUGAL *kuit INA KUR<sup>URU</sup>Amurru úizzi*

<sup>33</sup> Otten 1975.

<sup>34</sup> Sommer 1932: 253-254.

<sup>35</sup> Helck 1963; Stefanini 1964; Edel 1994; Pintore 1978; Beckman 1996; Bryce 2005.

*manninku[w]ahmiatt=a* “Since the queen comes to Amurru, and I will come near to you.”

Since it has been established that Puduhepa was the author of the letter, the addressee must have been a king of another territorial empire. Therefore Forrer’s suggestion that the letter was written to either Tudhaliya IV or Hattušili III must be rejected.<sup>36</sup>

Sommer proposed such a foreign king. He argued that in a famous passage from the document called the “Apology” Hattušili III sent Urhi-Tešub first to the lands of Nuhašši, then A.AB.BA *ta-pu-ša*, which Sommer translated as “across the sea” (Hatt iv 32, 36). Sommer reasoned that since Hattušili could freely assign fortified towns in Nuhašši to Urhi-Tešub, the ruler of these lands must have had the status of a vassal rather than a Great King. The addressee of KUB 21.38 therefore must be a ruler residing A.AB.BA *ta-pu-ša* “across the sea.” The only overseas empire/kingdom located in the vicinity to Amurru was Alašiya (Cyprus). Consequently, Sommer concluded that the KUB 21.38 letter was addressed to the king of Alašiya.<sup>37</sup>

Stefanini, who agrees with Sommer, adds another argument in favour of this identification; the fact that the letter is written in Hittite, at a time when all the international correspondence with Assyria, Babylonia, Amurru and Egypt was conducted in Akkadian, implies that the letter must have been addressed to a ruler in the Aegean area.<sup>38</sup> This suggestion requires a comment. Any editor of the text must realise that the KUB 21.38 text bears all the signs of a letter draft.<sup>39</sup> Naturally such a draft would be composed in the language of the author and its final version would be subsequently

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<sup>36</sup> Forrer 1924: 11; 1929: 253.

<sup>37</sup> Sommer 1932: 254-258.

<sup>38</sup> Stefanini 1964: 56-57.

<sup>39</sup> See chapter 2, p. 24.

translated into the language spoken by the addressee, as is confirmed by a number of letter drafts of the Hittite kings to Assyria found in the Hittite royal archives at Boghazköy. They were all written in Hittite despite the fact that the international correspondence with the Assyrian empire was conducted in Akkadian, the *lingua franca* of late Bronze Age Near Eastern diplomacy. Consequently, the argument that the text must be addressed to a king in the Aegean region because it is written in Hittite seems rather naïve.

After this short digression let us come back to Sommer's arguments. According to the evidence presented in point one, during the reign of Hattušili III, the king of Alašiya would have to belong to the "The Club of the Great Powers."<sup>40</sup> Around the time of Šuppiluliuma I, that was indeed the case, as is demonstrated by the so called Amarna Archives (ca. 1365-1335 B.C.), a collection of 350 letters of Akhenaten and his father, Amenhotep III, written to and from their equals and vassals. About forty of these letters are written to Akhenaten by other Great Kings at the time, namely kings of Babylonia, Assyria, Mittani, Hatti, Alašiya, and Arzawa.<sup>41</sup> During the reign of Muwatalli, Hattušili III's brother, the king of Alašiya was no longer regarded as one of the Great Kings by the Hittite monarch. In his treaty with Alakšanduš of Wiluša Muwatalli enumerates rulers whom he considered equal in status; these were the kings of Egypt, Babylonia, Hanigalbat, and Assyria.<sup>42</sup> During the reign of Tudhaliya IV, son of Hattušili III, that situation did not change; Alašiya was still not treated as an equal power. In his treaty with Šaušga-muwa of Amurru, his brother-in-law and nephew, Tudhaliya lists all the kings

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<sup>40</sup> Term coined by Mieroop to describe the Great Kings of the Near East during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. Mieroop 2004: 121.

<sup>41</sup> Mieroop 2004: 128.

<sup>42</sup> Stefanini 1964: note 1 on page 67; Beckman 1990: 85; Friedrich 1930b: 68, 69.

that are his equals in rank as the kings of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and the king of Ahhiyawa (the last one has been erased by the scribe).<sup>43</sup>

Neither Muwatalli, who occupied the Hittite throne before Hattušili, nor Tudhaliya IV, who reigned after Hattušili III, considered the king of Alašiya as equal in status. Consequently, unless the circumstances changed dramatically during the reign of Urhi-Tešub or Hattušili III, the king of Alašiya cannot be considered as one of the Great King's equals.

Stefanini suggests that such a change in circumstances did in fact take place. When describing the political situation in the Near East at the time of Hattušili's accession to the throne, he mentions that the hostilities between Hatti and Egypt caused these two empires to look for a buffer zone that would separate their territories. That is why Alašiya, along with Amurru and Zulapi would grow in importance in the eyes of both empires. To lure these three kingdoms into his own sphere of influence, Hattušili III, or perhaps Urhi-Tešub, bestowed upon the king of Alašiya the title ŠEŠ or "brother".<sup>44</sup>

In view of the fact that neither the Hittite nor the Cyprian archives contain documents that would support the claim that the status of a great power was preserved by Alašiya in the thirteenth century B.C. such a statement must remain purely hypothetical.<sup>45</sup>

Sommer's argument that the phrase A.AB.BA *ta-pu-ša* should be translated as "across the sea" and consequently that Urhi-Tešub was exiled to Alašiya is also very unconvincing. If Urhi-Tešub was indeed sent to Alašiya, why would Hattušili be so hesitant to declare that in his "Apology"? Why would he state that he sent his nephew to the ambiguous place A.AB.BA *ta-pu-ša* while in the same document, the king announced

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<sup>43</sup> Beckman 1996: 101 and 118 note 23.

<sup>44</sup> Stefanini 1964: 66-67.

<sup>45</sup> Similar conclusion was reached by Pintore. Pintore 1978: 157 n.143.

that he exiled his enemy, Armadattas, to Alašiya? Perhaps we are to understand that the place of Urhi-Tešub's exile was not located "across the sea" after all. The answer depends mainly on the correct interpretation of the postposition *ta-pu-ša*, which Friedrich translates as *seitwärts von, neben*.<sup>46</sup> A similar translation of the postposition was offered by Otten, who also read the relevant sentence from the "Apology" as *na-an-kán A.AB.B[(A ta-pu-ša up-pa-ah-hu-un...)]* as *...und schickte ihn am Meer<esufer> hinab*.<sup>47</sup> Singer interprets the phrase A.AB.BA *ta-pu-ša* as "alongside the sea" and proposes that this unnamed location on the seashore was either Ugarit or Amurru where Bentešina, the protégé of Hattušili III, would have been trusted to keep an eye on the royal exile.<sup>48</sup> Houwink ten Cate understands A.AB.BA *ta-pu-ša* as "on the sea-coast" and suggests that this place might have been located somewhere on the Anatolian coast, perhaps the kingdom of Mira.<sup>49</sup>

In view of the interpretations of A.AB.BA *ta-pu-ša* noted above it is doubtful that Urhi-Tešub ever set foot in Alašiya. Rather he was sent to one of the vassal kingdoms of Hatti located near the sea, such as Amurru, Ugarit or Mira, where he would be watched by the Hittite dependent guardians. Perhaps then we should look for the addressee of Puduhepa's letter among monarchs of such dependent kingdoms. Such was the suggestion of Goetze, who proposed that the king of Amurru, Bentešina, was the unnamed recipient of the queen's letter.<sup>50</sup> This idea cannot be supported by the phraseology of the treaty between Hattušili III and Bentešina of Amurru, in which

<sup>46</sup> Friedrich 1990: 212. "beside, next to".

<sup>47</sup> Otten 1981: 101, 25. "...and I sent him down to the seashore/coast".

<sup>48</sup> Singer 1999: 645.

<sup>49</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1974: 137.

<sup>50</sup> Goetze 1928: introduction.



Hattušili calls himself Bentešina's lord, Puduhepa Bentešina's lady, and his son and grandson Bentešina's overlords:

"Since I, My Majesty, have now treated you <well>, and I have installed you in kingship[in the land] of Amurru, if from this day on you, [Bentešina], do not protect Hattušili, Great King, [your lord, and] Puduhepa, great Queen, your lady, as well as the son and grandson of King Hattušili and of [Queen] Puduhepa [as] overlords..."<sup>51</sup>

Similar vocabulary and designations were probably applied to all vassal-kings, even if they were connected to the royal family of Hatti by marriage, as was Bentešina of Amurru.<sup>52</sup> None of these monarchs was treated as equal by Hatti and none was dignified with the title ŠEŠ "Brother".

Since neither the king of Alašiya nor the king of Amurru, Ugarit or Mira, the suggested rulers with whom Urhi-Tešub might have resided during his exile, belonged to the elite group of the Great Kings, perhaps the kingdom located A.AB.BA *ta-pu-ša* was not the place where the addressee of Puduhepa's letter lived. The Hittite archives at Boghazköy preserve approximately seventeen royal letters that can confirm such a suggestion. Three of these letters are of particular interest, namely the letter of Hattušili III to the Babylonian king Kadašman-Enlil III (KBo 1.10 + KUB 3 72), the letter of Ramses II to Kupanta-<sup>d</sup>KAL, the king of Mira (KBo 1.24 + KUB 3.23 + KUB 3.84), and two parallel letters of Ramses II to Puduhepa (KUB III 58 + III 47) and Hattušili III (KUB III 27).

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<sup>51</sup> Beckman 1996: 97.

<sup>52</sup> The same treaty includes a clause in which the marriage of Hattušili's son, Nerikkaili to the daughter of the king of Amurru, and the marriage of a Hittite princess, Gaššuliyawiya to Bentešina is mentioned. Bryce 2005: 268.

In his letter to the Babylonian king Hattušili III describes hostile relations between Hatti and Egypt and mentions an anonymous enemy who escaped his exile and fled to Egypt:

“...My enemy, who [fled] to another country went to the king of Egypt. When I wrote to him[“bring my enemy”], he did not bring my enemy. [Then I and the king of Egy]pt became enemies of one another, and to your father [I wrote: ‘The king of Egypt] went to help my enemy.’ [So your father] kept [the messenger of the king of] Egypt at bay.”<sup>53</sup>

This unspecified fugitive, who caused serious diplomatic problems between Hatti and Egypt and who was of great importance to Hattušili, must have been Urhi-Tešub, the deposed Hittite king trying to regain his throne and searching for powerful supporters who would help him to achieve this.<sup>54</sup> It appears that he escaped A.AB.BA *ta-pu-ša* place and resurfaced in Egypt. After spending some time there, Urhi-Tešub left Egypt presumably with intention to come to Hatti and regain his throne. In numerous letters, Hattusili III requested that Ramses II track down Urhi-Tešub and bring him back to Egypt.

Such incessant demands are quoted for instance in the letter that Ramses II sent to the king of Mira in which Hattušili’s words are quoted verbatim. The Hittite king urges Ramses II to use all his resources and to even bribe Urhi-Tešub’s supporters if necessary, to capture the fugitive and bring him back to Egypt.<sup>55</sup> The same demands are included in two parallel letters sent by Ramses to Puduhepa and Hattušili III. On her part Puduhepa

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<sup>53</sup> Wouters 1989: 230; Edel 1958: 131-132.

<sup>54</sup> Helck 1963; Wouters 1989; Houwink ten Cate 1974; Bryce 2005.

<sup>55</sup> Bryce 2003: 217; Edel 1994: 75; Wouters 1989: 228; Beckman 1996: 124. Beckman observes that it was inappropriate for a vassal of one Great King to communicate with another Great King directly. Therefore letters from Mira to Egypt and from Egypt to Mira were sent through Hattuša.

had reminded Ramses II of Hattušili's request and had urged him to spare no expense to capture the royal rebel, as we see from quotation in Ramses II's letter to Puduhepa.

It is apparent that on the one hand Hattušili had no power to capture his nephew since he was no longer in Hittite territory and on the other hand that the Hittite king and his wife strongly believed that Urhi-Tešub was somewhere in Egypt or in lands under the authority of Ramses II.<sup>56</sup> This belief is also reflected in Puduhepa's letter (KUB 21.38) in Vs 11': *nu<sup>m</sup>[Úrhi<sup>d</sup>U]upaš kuit apíya n=an punuš mān kišan mān Ú.UL kišan* "Since Urhi-Tešub is there, ask him whether it is so or not." Consequently, Ramses II must have been the addressee of the KUB 21.38 letter. This was first argued by Helck and is nowadays accepted by most of the scholars.<sup>57</sup> This identification matches the internal evidence from the KUB 21.38 letter, namely Ramses II was one of the Great Near Eastern Kings of the thirteenth century B.C., his empire shared a border with Amurru, and he acted as a host to Urhi-Tešub.

Only if we accept Ramses II as the intended addressee of the Puduhepa letter can we make sense of the lines 7-14 of the reverse. In lines 7-8 we learn about difficulties that the Babylonian messengers encountered when they were visiting the Babylonian princess at the Egyptian court:

7 ŠEŠ-YA-mu ku-it kiš-an TĀŠ-PUR NIN-YA-wa-mu IŠ-PUR DUMU.MUNUS

KUR<sup>URU</sup>Kar-Du-ni-ya-aš-wa ku-iš KUR<sup>URU</sup>M[i]-iz-ri-i

8 [p]i-ya-an-za e-eš-ta nu-wa-aš-ši GIM-an<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>TE-ME EGIR-[an-]da pa-a-ir

nu-wa-ra-at EGIR-pa IŠ-TU IKU a-ra-an-ta-at

<sup>56</sup> Wouters 1989: 231-232; Edel: 62-63.

<sup>57</sup> Edel 1994; Helck 1963; Wouters 1989.

"Since you, my brother, wrote to me as follows: "My sister wrote to me: "When the messengers travelled to the daughter of Babylonia who had been given to Egypt, they stood back by an IKU"

Apparently, KUB 21.38 was not the first letter that Puduhepa wrote to Ramses II with regard to his prospective marriage with a Hittite princess. In her earlier letter, I shall call it Letter A, quoted in lines 7-8 of KUB 21.38, Puduhepa notified Ramses that she had heard a very worrying piece of information: "The Egyptians forbid any communication between the princesses married into the Egyptian court and their families." It appears that this accusation had angered Ramses and that he communicated this to Puduhepa in his letter (Letter B). In KUB 21.38, a reply to Ramses' letter, Puduhepa explains why she considered the information that she included in her Letter A as trustworthy; she had heard it from a reliable source, <sup>m.d</sup>EN.LÍL.EN.ÛKU.MEŠ, the messenger of the Babylonian king (rev. 9-10). After a profuse apology (rev.10-13), Puduhepa confidently states that now nothing stands in the way of a successful conclusion to the marriage arrangements. This is expressed in lines 13-14 by a phrase "Egypt and Hatti will become one country," KUR <sup>URU</sup>Mizri KUR <sup>URU</sup>Hatti=ya 1EN KUR<sup>TUM</sup> kišari, which, as Wouters notes, has been used in all the letters exchanged between Hatti and Egypt dealing with the prospective marriage between Ramses II and Hattušili's daughter.<sup>58</sup>

The marriage negotiations indeed were finalised and the royal wedding of Ramses II with the eldest daughter of Hattušili III (her Egyptian name was Maat-Hor-Neferure "One who sees Horus, the Visible Splendour of Re") took place in the thirty-third year of

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<sup>58</sup> Helck 1963: 94-95; Wouters 1989: 233-234. Puduhepa uses this expression twice in her letter to Ramses II (KUB 3.24 + KUB 3.59).

Ramses' reign, in the autumn of 1246 B.C.<sup>59</sup> This brings us back to the date of the letter, which must have been written after 1267 B.C., the dethronement of Urhi-Tesub by Hattušili III, and closer to 1246 B.C., the wedding of Ramses II and the daughter of Hattušili.

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<sup>59</sup> Bryce 2005: 282-283.

## Chapter Four: The Scribe or Scribes?

In his commentary to *CTH* 381, published eleven years ago, Singer observed that while our knowledge of diachronic palaeography has increased over the last decades of the twentieth century there is a pressing need for a synchronically oriented study in which the writing habits of individual scribes, and where possible scribal schools, are studied and compared.<sup>60</sup> In this spirit of enquiry I would like to offer some remarks about the scribe/s who wrote the KUB 21.38 manuscript, which, to date, has been examined only from the point of view of diachronic palaeography.<sup>61</sup>

The main objective of my study is to evaluate Goetze's annotation that Vs 14' was added by a second scribe.<sup>62</sup> The authorship of Vs 14' can be properly assessed only through establishing the writing habits of the "main" scribe of the KUB 21.38 manuscript and comparing the signs employed in Vs 14' to the rest of the text. Since all my observations are based on the collation of the photograph, I did not utilize one of the vital factors in scribal identification, namely the depth of sign incision. It would be interesting to see whether the scribe of KUB 21.38 was characterised by what I call 'light hand' or 'heavy hand', meaning whether he pressed his stylus lightly or more forcefully into the clay and whether the signs of Vs 14' are incised more deeply or more shallowly into the clay than signs employed in the rest of the tablet. Accordingly, such a criterion could be decisive in determining whether or not Vs 14' of the obverse side was indeed written by another hand.

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<sup>60</sup> Singer 1996: 122.

<sup>61</sup> Reinhold-Krahmer, Hoffmann, Kammenhuber, Mauer 1979: 103, 104.

<sup>62</sup> Goetze's autograph.

#### 4.1 Handwriting and Sign Shapes

Each cuneiform sign could be drawn only in a limited number of ways; it is therefore expected that Hittite scribes frequently employed the same few variants of a sign. Yet, in my opinion, the probability of finding two scribes who would draw all their signs in the same way is very low. As my detailed analysis of the KUB 21.38, KBo 15.52 and KUB 21.27 tablets shows, some scribes were more versatile in their choice of sign shapes and employed two or more variants of the same sign; others were more consistent and restricted in their selection. More importantly, each scribe had certain signs that he wrote in his own unique way. Consequently, I believe that one of the ultimate aims of synchronic palaeography must be to establish catalogues of sign shapes characteristic of specific scribes, which can only be achieved through a comparative study.

To determine such an inventory of signs idiosyncratic to the scribe of KUB 21.38, I compared this tablet with two aforementioned manuscripts written during the reign of Hattušili III and Puduhepa.<sup>63</sup> KBo 15.52 containing the text of the *hišuwa* festival was written by the scribe <sup>m</sup>KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>, who copied the text under the supervision of UR.MAH.LÚ. Since UR.MAH.LÚ was appointed to the position of a chief of scribes by Hattušili III (KBo 4.12, Vs.30) and since KBo 15.52 was written at the orders of Puduhepa (colophon VI 39' ff), Neu and Rüster dated the text to c. 1270-1260 B.C.<sup>64</sup> With regard to KUB 21.27, which contains the text of Puduhepa's prayer to the Sun goddess of Arinna, Neu and Rüster date the text somewhere between the reigns of

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<sup>63</sup> I based my investigation of KBo 15.52 and KUB 21.27 on the photographs of both tablets and on the charts of sign shapes included in Rüster 1972 (StBoT 20) and Neu and Rüster 1975 (StBoT 21).

















<sup>64</sup> Neu and Rüster 1975: 8.

Hattušili III and of Šuppiluliuma II.<sup>65</sup> Since the names of the scribes who wrote KUB 21.38 and KUB 21.27 are not preserved I will call them respectively Scribe A and Scribe C.

#### 4.1.1 Data

I include the results of my palaeographical study of the KUB 21.38, KBo 15.52 and KUB 21.27 manuscripts in three tables. In Table 2 I give sign shapes idiosyncratic to Scribe A. In Table 3 I include signs that are employed in multiple variants either only by Scribe A or only by KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> and Scribe C. The less frequent variants of the signs are noted in parentheses with the number of times they appear in the tablet. In Table 4 I give the distribution patterns of all the signs included in Tables 1 and 2. All the signs are arranged in the order of and are numbered according to StBoT 20 and 21.

Table 2. Signs idiosyncratic to Scribe A

	KUB 21.38 Scribe A	KBo 15.52 Scribe KALAG.DINGIR <sup>LIM</sup>	KUB 21.27 Scribe C
26 SAG <sup>a)</sup>	 (  ) <sub>1x</sub>	 	
45 ni <sup>b)</sup>	 		 
46 ir <sup>c)</sup>	 (  ) <sub>1x</sub>		
66 zi <sup>d)</sup>	 <sub>7x</sub>  <sub>8x</sub>		
107 ūr <sup>e)</sup>	 (  ) <sub>1x</sub>	—————	

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*






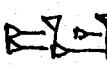

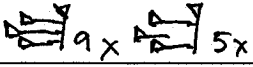
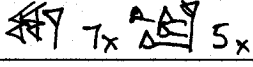

- c) Scribe A employs two unique variants of *ir*: the first variant employed more frequently consists of one horizontal crossed by three verticals and a Winkelhaken written above the horizontal; the second variant employed only once has two parallel horizontals and three verticals. KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> writes his *ir* with a horizontal crossed by a Winkelhaken and with three verticals placed under the horizontal. Scribe C writes his *ir* with two parallel horizontals and four verticals.
- d) Scribe A employs two variants of *zi*: in the first variant with no exact match in either KBo 15.52 or KUB 21.27 the horizontal crosses the two verticals; in the second variant the horizontal touches but does not cross either of the two verticals. The first variant is used 8 times, the second 7 times. The four Winkelhakens of *zi* are arranged in two rows of two. KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> employs the second variant of Scribe A. Scribe C also writes his *zi* very similarly to the second variant of Scribe A but he arranges the three Winkelhakens in one diagonal column and writes the fourth Winkelhaken above them.
- e) Scribe A employs two quite remarkable variants of *úr* with no exact match in KUB 21.27. In Vs 11', the scribe writes the sign with the first of the two verticals smaller and a single Winkelhaken above the two horizontals; in Rs 5 the two verticals are of equal length and above them the scribe writes another horizontal.
- f) Scribe A writes both Winkelhakens of *up* behind the two horizontals; as a result the sign resembles *pí*. This variant of *up* is considerably different from the variants employed by both, KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> and Scribe C. In fact, it has no exact match in the charts of StBoT 20 and 21.

- g) In most cases Scribe A writes small verticals of *ša* (12x) and *ta* (13x) very close to the heads of the two horizontals and he crosses the large vertical with the two Winkelhakens. On three occasions (Vs 33' and 61') Scribe A crosses the vertical of *ša* only with the lower Winkelhaken and on one occasion (Rs 14) he writes the vertical further away from both Winkelhakens. *ša* and *ta* of KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> and Scribe C differ from the variants employed by the scribe A in that their Winkelhakens do not cross the vertical and while their lower Winkelhaken is very small, the upper much larger one is written above the vertical.
- h) Scribe A writes only two small verticals of the Sumerogram É, which makes this sign different from the one employed by Scribe C. The sign is not attested for KBo 15.52.
- i) Scribe A unlike the other two scribes frequently writes DUMU (14x) in the same way as *i*, that is with two double and one single horizontal.
- j) Scribe A has a standard way of writing the sign *ra*, namely three horizontals are followed very closely by two verticals of equal length standing on a large straight horizontal. He employs this variant 17 times; 3 times he writes only two horizontals, 1 time four horizontals. KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> employs three variants of the sign, none of which matches the variants used by Scribe A. Scribe C writes the sign with four horizontals and one lower and one higher vertical on top of a slanting horizontal.
- k) Scribe A nearly always, except two times on the reverse, crosses the vertical of *wa* with both Winkelhakens. Neither KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> nor Scribe C employ such a variant of the sign.

- l) Scribe A employs a unique variant of *šar* with two horizontal wedges crossing both verticals. No exact match is found in KBo 15.52 or KUB 21.27.
- m) Scribe A employs three remarkable variants of *ha* not found in either KBo 15.52 or KUB 21.27. Variant 1, employed mostly on the obverse side, has both verticals covered by a large Winkelhaken, only their heads and their lower parts are visible; the second Winkelhaken follows. Variant 2, found mostly on the reverse side (the same variant appears also in Vs 35' and 61'), differs from the variant 1 in that it has also the second head of the second vertical perfectly visible. Variant 3 used twice in Vs 13' and Rs 17 has both double verticals perfectly visible and only one Winkelhaken.

Table 3. Sign variants shared by Scribe A, KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> and Scribe C

	Scribe A	KALAG.DINGIR <sup>LIM</sup>	Scribe C
7 tar			
13 an, DINGIR <sup>a)</sup>			
14 ak <sup>b)</sup>			
35 kán <sup>c)</sup>			
41 ik <sup>d)</sup>			
55 ti <sup>e)</sup>			
57 na			
59 nam <sup>e)</sup>			
65 en			
75 uk <sup>f)</sup>			

82 zu			
104 du <sup>g</sup>			
150 al			
158 e			
166 da <sup>h</sup>			
167 it <sup>h</sup>			
177 URU <sup>i</sup>			
196 te/TE <sup>i</sup>			
274 li <sup>k</sup>			
283 in <sup>i</sup>			

- a) Scribe A employs two variants of *an*, one with the horizontal crossing the vertical, another with the horizontal touching the vertical. Each variant appears 34 times. When the scribe had to write the sign within a narrow space he employed the variant with crossing horizontal, as for instance in Vs 15', 44' and 58'. KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> never crosses the vertical of *an* with the horizontal, Scribe C always does.
- b) Although Scribe A and Scribe C employ the younger form of *ak*, Scribe A writes his *ak* with one single and one double horizontal. Scribe C uses the variant with two single horizontals.
- c) In most cases Scribe A writes *kán* with two very long horizontal wedges, the upper shorter than the lower, and with three small verticals written very closely to the head of the lower horizontal. The same variant was employed by

- KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>. Two times (Vs 33' and Rs 5) Scribe A writes much shorter horizontals and he places the three verticals between the upper and lower horizontal wedges; the same variant was employed by Scribe C.
- d) While Scribe A and KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> write their *ik* with three Winkelhaken, Scribe C writes four.
  - e) Scribe A employs two variants of *nam* and *ti*: one variant has the vertical ending with a Winkelhaken, another with a horizontal wedge. Scribe A prefers the variant of *ti* with horizontal, which he employs 17 times, while he writes *ti* with a Winkelhaken only once, in Rs 6. On the other hand, he prefers a variant of *nam* with a Winkelhaken (5x) and uses the variant with a horizontal only twice. KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> also employs the same two variants of *ti*, but he prefers the variant of *ti* with the Winkelhaken and he always writes *nam* with a Winkelhaken. Scribe C always writes *ti* with a Winkelhaken and uses a younger shape of *nam* not found either in KUB 21.38 or KBo 15.52.
  - f) Scribe A and KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> write *uk* with a Winkelhaken and a horizontal, Scribe C with two slanting horizontals.
  - g) Scribe A and Scribe C employ almost the same variant of *du* with one difference, Scribe A writes the uppermost horizontal straight, while Scribe C writes it at an angle.
  - h) Scribe A and Scribe C write the middle horizontal of *da* and *it* as single, KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> as double.
  - i) While Scribe A and Scribe C employ the younger shape of URU, only Scribe A employs two variants of the sign. In the first variant the middle horizontal touches

the vertical (9x); in the second variant the middle horizontal is much shorter than the other horizontals (5 x).

- j) Scribe A employs two variants of *te*: the variant with four Winkelhakens arranged in two rows of two is employed 7 times, the variant with four horizontals 5 times. No pattern can be discerned in the distribution of these two variants. KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> also employs the same variants. Scribe C writes only one variant of *te* with Winkelhakens and he arranges them in the same way as the Winkelhakens of *zi*: three Winkelhaken in one diagonal row, one written above them.
- k) Both, Scribe A and Scribe C employ the younger form of *li*, however, Scribe A writes it with 6 Winkelhakens, Scribe C with 5.
- l) Scribe A and KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> write *in* with 6 Winkelhakens, Scribe C with 7 or 8.

#### 4.1.2 Analysis

All the symbols and abbreviations employed in Table 3 are of my invention.

Below I explain their meaning and provide four examples of how to read the table:

##### *Symbols*

- a) 1, 2, 3    number of sign variants employed by a scribe
- b) X        sign variants that match forms employed by Scribe A
- c) NM      sign variants that do not match any sign shapes employed by Scribe A
- d) ----- sign not attested in a given text

### Examples

Row one, the sign *tar*: KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> and Scribe C employ one variant of the sign. The sign shape used by both scribes is an exact match to the variant used by Scribe A.

Row two, sign *an*: Both, KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> and Scribe C employ only one variant of the sign that matches one of the variants employed by Scribe A. Scribe A employs two variants of the sign.

Row three sign *ak*: the sign is not attested for KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>. Scribe C employs one variant which is different from the one variant employed by Scribe A.

Row four, sign SAG: KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> employs two variants of SAG; one is an exact match to one of the variants used by Scribe A, another is not. Scribe C employs one variant of the sign which does not match either of the variants employed by Scribe A.

Table 4. Distribution patterns of all the signs included in Tables 1 and 2

	KALAG.DINGIR <sup>LIM</sup>	Scribe C	Scribe A
tar	X (1)	X (1)	1
an, DINGIR	X (1)	X (1)	2
ak	_____	NM (1)	1
SAG	X (1), NM (1)	NM (1)	2
kán	X (1)	X (1)	2
ik	X (1)	NM (1)	1
ni	NM (1)	NM(2)	2
ir	NM (1)	NM (1)	2



ti	X (2)	X (1)	2
na	X (1)	X (1)	3
nam	X (1)	NM (1)	2
zi	X (1)	NM (1)	2
en	X (1), NM (1)	X (2)	2
uk	X (1)	NM (1)	1
zu	NM (1)	X (1)	2
du	X (1), NM (1)	NM (1)	1
úr	_____	NM (1)	2
up	NM (1)	NM (1)	1
ša	NM (1)	NM (1)	2
ta	NM (1)	NM (1)	2
al	X (1)	NM (1)	1
É	_____	NM (1)	1
e	X (1)	X (1)	1
da	NM (1)	X (1)	1
it	NM (1)	X (1)	1
URU	NM (1)	X (1)	2
ra	NM (3)	NM (1)	3
DUMU	_____	NM (1)	2
te/TE <sub>4</sub>	X (2)	NM (1)	2
wa	NM (1)	NM (1)	2
li	NM (1)	NM (1)	1

in	X (1)	NM (2)	1
šar	NM (2)	NM (1)	1
ha	NM (1)	X (1)	3

### *Scribe A*

The comparative study of the KUB 21.38, KBo 15.52 and KUB 21.27 manuscripts, which I carried out with the view to establishing writing habits typical of Scribe A, yielded the following results.

Scribe A differs from KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> and Scribe C in his employment of the younger and older forms of the 14 signs that were chosen by Ch. Rüster as crucial in dating Hittite manuscripts to Old, Middle or Neo Hittite periods. These signs are: *tar*, *ak*, *ik*, *ni*, *nam*, *uk*, *zu*, *du*, *al*, *e*, *li*, *šar*, SAG and URU.<sup>66</sup> Scribe A employs exclusively younger forms of *tar*, *ak*, *ik*, *uk*, *du*, *e*, URU, *li* and *šar* but the older forms of SAG, *ni*, *nam* and *al*. For *zu* he uses both the younger (3x) and the older (1x) form. KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> employs the younger forms of *tar*, *ik*, *uk*, *zu* and *e*. He uses exclusively older forms of *ni*, *nam*, *al*, URU and *li* and both the older and the younger forms of SAG, *du* and *šar*. The sign *ak* is not attested in KBo 15.52. Scribe C employs exclusively younger forms of *tar*, *ak*, SAG, *ik*, *nam*, *uk*, *du*, *al*, *e*, URU, *li* and *šar*, both older and younger forms of *ni* and an older form of *zu*.

Another feature that sets Scribe A apart from KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> and Scribe C is his employment of the unique sign shapes of SAG, *zi*, *úr*, *up*, *ša*, *ta*, *É*, *ra*, DUMU, *wa*, *šar* and *ha*.

<sup>66</sup> Rüster 1972: x.

Scribe A is much more resourceful in his choice of sign variants than either KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> or Scribe C. While he has a definite preference for certain sign shapes he does not abstain from occasional employment of the other forms. Thus he employs multiple variants of 20 of the compared signs, while KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> only 9 and Scribe C only 4. Accordingly, Scribe A writes multiple forms of *an*, *kán*, *na*, *nam*, *zu*, *ir*, URU, DUMU, *zi*, *úr*, *ša*, *ra*, *wa* and *ha* while the other two scribes confine themselves to only one shape of each.




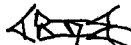


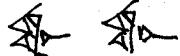

In the case when Scribe A and the other scribes employ the multiple variants of the same signs, either the preferred form employed by each scribe is different or the variants do not match exactly. For instance, Scribe A and KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> write two variants of *ti*; however, Scribe A prefers the variant of *ti* with a horizontal, while KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> shows a clear preference for the variant with a Winkelhaken. Scribe A and KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> employ two variants of the ideogram SAG. While one of the variants is used by both scribes, the other form is unique to each scribe. The idiosyncratic shape of Scribe A is the variant with three horizontals. While Scribe A and KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> employ three variants of *ra*, each of these shapes is distinctive with no exact match. The same can be said of the sign *ni*.







While Scribe A employs 20 of the compared signs in multiple shapes and forms, he uses 13 signs in only one variant. Here again he differs from both KALAG.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> and Scribe C, who employ multiple variants for some of these signs, such as *up*, *šar*, *da* and *in*.

### *Scribe B?*

Scribe A has a very distinctive handwriting whose salient feature includes very large Winkelhakens that not only extend and occasionally cover signs written in lines above and below, but also make his *ša*, *ta* and *wa* very unique in shape. According to my collation of the photograph, Vs 14' also contains large Winkelhakens, but they do not alter in any way the shapes of either *ša* or *wa*; that is, they do not cross the vertical of either of these signs. The shapes of other signs that are written with much thicker strokes than those employed in lines below and above are not consistent with the sign shapes employed by Scribe A. This is particularly true of *pí*, *UL*, *ha*, *wa*, *tar* and *ra*: *pí* and *UL* have very short horizontals and two elongated Winkelhakens, a feature which is not employed by Scribe A; *ha* shows a small Winkelhaken close to the upper second vertical; *tar* appears to have the older version never used by Scribe A; *ra* differs from other variants used by Scribe A, in that its two verticals are inscribed away from the horizontals. Although the sign *na* shows two Winkelhakens inscribed along the vertical and not above the vertical as is usual for Scribe A, the same variant of *na* is also employed by Scribe A later in the text.

Table 5. Signs idiosyncratic to Scribe B

	Scribe A	Scribe B
<i>pí</i>		
<i>UL</i>		
<i>ha</i>		
<i>wa</i>		

ša		
tar		
ra		

Since the aforementioned sign shapes are considerably different from those employed by Scribe A, I will tentatively conclude that Vs 14' was indeed written by another scribe, Scribe B.

Similar “thicker” signs also appear in Vs 6' and 33', which fact may suggest that Scribe B was responsible for writing also those lines. The signs of Vs 6' are much larger and written at a different angle than the signs occurring in the rest of the paragraph. The variant of *na* resembles the one employed in Vs 14', that is the two Winkelhakens are written along the vertical, at least that is the shape the scribe was aiming at, for the sign gives the impression of being written very carelessly. However, as I noted above, the same shape was also employed by Scribe A later in the text. The two signs *ya* employed in Vs 6' have the lowest horizontal much shorter than the other two horizontals, a variant if not characteristic at least employed by Scribe A on more than one occasion. Since the variants of *na* and *ya* used in Vs 6' seem to be employed by Scribe A, it is probably best to assume that the line was written by him and not by Scribe B.

Vs 33' appears to be a later addition to the text, as it is squeezed between Vs 32' and the line indicating the next paragraph. As in Vs 6' the signs are written with “thicker” strokes and the horizontals of some signs are written at an angle. Two signs employed in Vs 33' differ from the standard variants used by Scribe A. The sign *kán* has short horizontals and the verticals written between them, a variant which seems to be also

employed in Vs 14'. The sign *du* instead of two single and one double horizontal has two double horizontals, also a shape not used by Scribe A. On the other hand, the forms of URU with the middle horizontal shorter than the other two horizontals; *an* with a horizontal crossing the vertical; and *ša* with only the lower Winkelhaken crossing the vertical are employed by Scribe A. Based on URU, *ša* and *an* I would ascribe Vs 33' to Scribe A. The employment of different shapes of *kán* and *du* can indicate another scribe but does not have to, particularly if we take into consideration the fact that Scribe A quite often employs multiple variants of certain signs.

Since most signs employed in Vs 6' and 33' are consistent with those used by Scribe A, it is conceivable to assume that these lines were written by the same scribe, only with less care. The signs written with thicker strokes are probably the result of the stylus being held at a different angle.

It appears then, that the entire text was written by one scribe, Scribe A, who drafted some lines very carefully and who wrote most signs elegantly with slender and straight lines. Occasionally, however, he sketched crooked lines that contained clumsy, frequently unfinished and slanting signs that show the mark of carelessness to the point of slovenliness or even sloppiness. Scribe B, perhaps a senior scribe, added one or two lines Vs 14' and 33'. Perhaps the same Scribe B, who employed the older shape of *tar* in Vs 14', also added the older form of the sign *zu* sandwiched between the ideogram NIN and the sign *pí* at the end of Vs 44'. Although I cannot decide, without collation of the original tablet, whether numerous interlinear additions of sentences or phrases were written by Scribe A or Scribe B, I would propose the following scenario: Scribe A, perhaps a younger scribe (hence his inconsistency in using certain variants of 20 signs),

wrote down the letter text from dictation; that would explain his occasionally careless handwriting. Then, in the scriptorium, the text was revised by a senior scribe, Scribe *B*, who employed the older variants of *tar* and perhaps *zu* and who added a line or two and some phrases as part of the editorial process.

## Chapter 5: Notes on the Text

This chapter is not meant to be an exhaustive line by line commentary on the text. The main objective is to expand and correct where possible the already existing commentaries by Helck, Stefanini and Edel, as well as to assess the interpretations of certain verbs, expressions and some of the lines.

### INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH

Although the opening lines containing the name and the titles of the author and the addressee of the letter are not preserved, it has been shown in Chapter Three that the text was composed by Puduhepa and was addressed to Ramses II. The letter forms an integral part of the extensive correspondence exchanged between Hatti and Egypt regarding the royal marriage between the daughter of Hattušili III and Puduhepa and the Pharaoh.

### LINES 1'-6'

This fragmentary paragraph contains the customary greetings and gifts exchanged between the royal courts.

Line 1' *ku-]it*. Goetze's suggested interpretation of the first sign after the lacuna as *iš* (he draws parts of two horizontals, one Winkelhaken and two verticals) is unsure.<sup>67</sup> According to my collation, what appears as the second vertical on Goetze's copy is in fact an elongated indentation that extends to the next line. Thus, I agree with Edel who

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<sup>67</sup> Goetze 1928.



reads the sign as *it*, and the word to which the sign belongs as *ku-it*.<sup>68</sup> I would also lean towards Edel's suggestion that we have here the formula: "X-*ma-mu kuit kiššan ŠAPĀRU*" "Since X has written thus to me." The employment of the particle *-wa* after the Sumerogram <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> *TE<sub>4</sub>-ME-KA*, indicating a direct speech or quotation, seems to confirm that idea. However, because the space of the tablet where *kiššan* and *ŠAPĀRU* would be written is not large enough to accommodate both words, the formula would have to be used in a shortened version, perhaps as reconstructed by Edel [*ŠEŠ-IA-mu ku-]it [TÀŠ-PUR*].<sup>69</sup> Although Helck and Stefanini opt for the sign *IŠ* in their transcriptions, in their commentaries they do not exclude the possibility that the sign in question is in fact *it*.<sup>70</sup>

Line 3': *šu-wa-ru* has been discussed by Güterbock and Stefanini.<sup>71</sup> Güterbock interprets *šuwaru* appearing in KUB 21.38 as either an adjective or an adverb, however he does not offer its translation; in other texts he renders this word as "true, truly."<sup>72</sup> I agree with Stefanini that such a translation of *šuwaru* is not satisfactory in our context.<sup>73</sup> Because the word appears in the paragraph in which greetings and wishes for health and prosperity of the addressee and his family typically appear I would search for the meaning of *šuwaru* in letters that contain such paragraphs. Here I refer to letters written in Akkadian and exchanged between Hatti and Egypt, particularly to the letter of Queen Naptera to Puduhepa (KBo I in 29 + KBo IX 43) that contains the formula "*a-na ia-ši X šu-ul-mu a-*

<sup>68</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 1: 216.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> Helck 1963: 87-88; Stefanini 1964: 5 and 18.

<sup>71</sup> Güterbock 1957: 357-358; Stefanini 1962: 3-10.

<sup>72</sup> Güterbock 1957: 357-358.

<sup>73</sup> Stefanini 1962: 8.

*na KUR-ia šu-ul-ma* “I X am well, in my land all is well” “*a-na X lu-ú šu-ul-mu a-na KUR-ti-ki lu-ú šu-ul-mu* “May you X be well! May your country be well!”<sup>74</sup> It would be conceivable to assume that *šulmu*, which carries the meaning of “completeness, well-being, health, greeting, good wishes (for well-being)”<sup>75</sup>, is reflected in KUB 21.38 in Hittite *šuwaru*. Since the notion of “well-being” or “good wishes for well being” and “greeting” would be expressed in Hittite by the noun *aššu-* (Ideogram SIG<sub>5</sub>) or *aššul-* and “health” by *haddulatar*, *innarawatar*,<sup>76</sup> the only meaning left is “completeness.” Indeed, such a meaning for *šuwaru* has been proposed by Edel, who treats *TI-tar* and *šuwaru* as two nouns in asyndeton, meaning *Leben (und) Unversehrt*.<sup>77</sup> Friedrich takes *šuwaru* to be an adjective and translates the phrase *TI-tar šuwaru* as *volles Leben*,<sup>78</sup> while Stefanini renders the *TI-tar šuwaru* as *vita fiorente*.<sup>79</sup>

Line 5': *ú-nu-w[a-aš-ha-an*. Only two Winkelhakens of the third sign are visible before the lacuna. Helck and Edel read this sign as *wa*, Stefanini as *te*.<sup>80</sup> Now, in one of the two variants of *te* employed by the scribe A and comprising four Winkelhakens and one vertical, the Winkelhakens are always written very closely together. Consequently, if *te* would indeed appear here the traces of two other Winkelhakens would certainly be visible. Since they are not, I agree with Helck and Edel<sup>81</sup> and read this sign as *wa* and the entire word as an accusative of the noun *únuwašha-* meaning “jewellery; decoration; ornament.” In his edition of the text, Stefanini interprets the word as *Ú-NU-T[E* and

<sup>74</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 1: 40–41.

<sup>75</sup> Black, George, Postgate 2000: 383.

<sup>76</sup> Friedrich 1990: 37, 67, 83; Hoffner 1967: 48.

<sup>77</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 1: 217; vol. 2. 326, 328. “life (and) completeness/intactness”

<sup>78</sup> Friedrich 1990: 456.

<sup>79</sup> Stefanini 1964: 5 and 18. “flourishing life.”

<sup>80</sup> Helck 1963: 87; Edel 1994, vol. 1: 216; Stefanini 1964: 5.

<sup>81</sup> Helck 1963: 87; Edel 1994, vol. 1: 216.

translates it as *doni*,<sup>82</sup> although the word is usually rendered as “tools, equipment.” In his commentary to the text, Stefanini refers to his earlier article in which he read the word as *ú-nu...* and he concluded that both *Ú-NU-TE* and *ú-nu-w[a-aš-hu-us/-ha-an* meaning “ornament” are possible here, both implying “gift”.<sup>83</sup>

#### LINES 7' - 14'

Lines 7' - 8' Puduhepa quotes Ramses' letter in which he complains about how long it is taking to send the Hittite princess to Egypt.

Lines 9'-11' Puduhepa gives reasons for the delay.

Lines 11'-12' The queen makes a snide remark about the fact that Urhi-Tešub still resides in Egypt.

Lines 12'-14' Puduhepa attempts to convince Ramses that the Hittite princess possesses exceptional qualities not matched by princesses of any other empire or kingdom.

#### Line 9'

*na-at-za Ú-UL mar-ki-ya-ši ma-la-a-ši-ya-at-za*. The indefinite personal pronoun *-at* employed here twice does not have any grammatical antecedent/s. Rather it refers to all the reasons that Puduhepa will give throughout the letter to explain the decision of the Hittite court to delay the dispatch of the Hittite princess and her dowry to Egypt.

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<sup>82</sup> Stefanini 1964: 5.

<sup>83</sup> Stefanini 1964: 19; *idem* 1962: 7-9, and note 27 on page 8.

Line 10'

Ú-UL x-x[ - - ] The reading of signs that appear after Ú-UL as ša-a[g- ] cannot be supported by the cuneiform. I also cannot find any justification for Stefanini's suggestion that perhaps Ú-UL is followed by a syntactical and semantic figure similar to that employed in line 9' *UL mar-ki-ya-si*.<sup>84</sup>

É KUR-<sup>URU</sup>*Hat-ti-za*...[---a]*r-nu-wa-an* É-i[r ]. Puduhepa gives the first reason for the delay in sending her daughter to Egypt: at the moment, the Hittite treasury lacks the necessary resources for putting together a dowry suitable for the future Great Queen. Such impoverishment of Hatti is due to either a fire in the royal storehouse/treasury or a transfer of the capital city and the royal family to Tarhuntaš. The interpretation depends on reading É KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Hat-ti* "House of Hatti" and reconstructing the participle that appears immediately after the lacuna -a]*r-nu-wa-an*.

The following interpretations have been put forward: first, É KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Hat-ti* or "the royal palace of Hatti" was destroyed by fire (*wa-a*]*r-nu-wa-an* "burned");<sup>85</sup> second, either a "storehouse" or a "treasury" where items suitable for the dowry would have been kept burned down;<sup>86</sup> third, the "royal palace" was transferred (*ar-ha a*]*r-nu-wa-an*) to Tarhuntaš by Muwatalli and back to Hattuša by Urhi-Tesub.<sup>87</sup> The first interpretation is not supported by the archaeological evidence.<sup>88</sup> Although either of the other two

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<sup>84</sup> Stefanini 1964: 20-21.

<sup>85</sup> Pintore 1978: 158, n. 152; Helck 1963: 88.

<sup>86</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1994: 238; Bryce 2005: 282-3; Beckman 1999: 126; Edel 1994 vol.1:217 and vol. 2:328-329.

<sup>87</sup> Stefanini 1964: 6, 20; Edel refers to his communication with Starke. Edel 1994 vol. 2:329; Singer 1998: 537-538.

<sup>88</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 2: 329.

interpretations is possible, the second reading according to which there was a fire in the storehouse of Hatti is more widely accepted and adopted by the editors of the text.

Line 11' *a-aš-ta-ma-kán ku-it na-at-kán* <sup>m</sup>*Úr-hi<sup>d</sup>U-up-aš* *A-NA-DINGIR.GAL pé-eš-ta.*

According to Puduhepa, Urhi-Tesub greatly contributed to the lack of resources in Hatti by offering what remained from either the fire or the transfer of the capital to the “Great God,” the same Great Storm-god of Heaven depicted on the seals of Muwatalli and Urhi-Tesub.<sup>89</sup> The queen suggests here that the present impoverishment of the royal treasury originated during the time when Urhi-Tesub occupied the Hittite throne. However, if that was indeed true, if Hatti was indeed lacking the precious metals suitable for the dowry of the Hittite princess, why would Hattušili in one of his letters quoted by Ramses in KUB III 37 + KBo I 17, declare that he will give his daughter a dowry greater than either the princess of Babylon or Zulabi will ever have (Obv. 7' - 12')?<sup>90</sup> Such a magnificent dowry comprising “gold, silver, and copper in abundance, slaves, spans of horses without limit, cattle, goats, and sheep by ten-thousands”<sup>91</sup> was indeed given to the Hittite princess as is attested by the Egyptian inscription recording her marriage to Ramses II.

*A-NA-DINGIR.GAL.* The scribe writes the Akkadian preposition *ANA* denoting the dative case together with its noun *DINGIR*, since it forms a semantic unit; it would be rendered in Hittite by one word *šuni* “god” (in dative case). Such a writing together of the preposition and its noun is not regularly employed either in this text or any other Hittite text.

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<sup>89</sup> Singer 1998: 538.

<sup>90</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 1: 140-141.

<sup>91</sup> Bryce 2005: 283 quotes Kitchen *KRIT II* no. 66, 94.

End of line 11' *nu*<sup>m</sup>[*Úr-hi*<sup>d</sup>-U-]*up-aš ku-it a-pi-ya*. Puduhepa declares with a bit of a sneer that Ramses surely knows about the difficult situation in Hattuša, since he has Urhi-Tešub at his court! Angered at Ramses' complaint about how long it is taking to send the Hittite princess to Egypt, Puduhepa brings up an issue which has been a thorn in the side of the Hatti-Egypt relationship. The queen cannot forgive Her Royal Brother for refusing to extradite the royal rebel, and hence perhaps also refusing to acknowledge Hattušili as the legitimate king of Hatti. Perhaps that would explain the next three lines in which the queen attempts to put her daughter above the other princesses and make her worthy to be the first wife of the "Great King."

Lines 12'-13'.

1. *am-mu-uk-ma A-NA ŠE[Š-YA ]ku-in DUMU.MUNUS ne-pí-ša-aš KI-aš-š[a] pí-ih-hi*
2. *na-an-kán ku-e-da-ni ha-an-da-mi*
3. *A-NA DUMU.MUNUS.KUR<sup>URU</sup>Ka-ra-an-du-ni-ya[-aš KUR]<sup>URU</sup>Zu-la-pí KUR<sup>URU</sup>A-aš-šur ha-an-da[i]*

The accurate interpretation of these three sentences depends largely on the reading of the first sentence either as a question or a relative clause, on the correct identification of the grammatical antecedent of the personal pronoun *-an-* appearing in the second sentence, and on the proper understanding of the verb *handai-*.

Helck, Sommer and Stefanini read the first sentence as a question, referred *-an* to Ramses and translated the verb *handai-* as “to marry.”<sup>92</sup> As a result, they proposed that Puduhepa attempted to persuade Ramses II to marry one of the foreign princesses. Such an interpretation stands in opposition to the entire text of the letter, which deals with the prospective wedding of the Hittite princess and Ramses II.

Therefore I agree with Edel in reading the first sentence as a relative clause and the other two sentences as resumptive clauses. I also opt for DUMUS.MUNUS *ne-pí-ša-aš KI-aš-š[a]* as a grammatical antecedent of the pronoun *-an*. However, I would translate the verb *handai-* “to compare” rather than *gleichstellen* or “to treat as equal.”<sup>93</sup> I base my interpretation on the birth rituals text (KBo XVII 61, rev. 9'-11') in which the physical activity of arranging or aligning a goat's body parts to the body parts of a child was carried out. In this context Beckman translates the verb *handai* as either “arrange,” “match” or “pair with”.<sup>94</sup> If the ultimate objective of such “arranging” or “matching” was to compare the body parts, it is not difficult to imagine that the verb *handai* assumed such a secondary meaning. The same translation of *handai* as “compare” was offered by Beckman and Pintore.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Helck 1963: 88. „Welche Tochter des Himmels und der Erde soll ich denn meinem Bruder geben? Mit wem soll ich ihn verheiraten? Soll ich ihn denn mit einer Tochter von Babylons, Zulabis oder Assurs verheiraten?“; Sommer 1932: 260. „Welche Tochter des Himmels und Erde soll ich aber meinem Bruder geben, mit welcher soll ich ihn vermählen? Soll ich (ihn) mit einer Tochter von Babylon, von Zulapi, von Assur vermählen? Stefanini 1964: 6. “Ed io d'altronde a mio Fratello quale figlia del cielo e della terra debbo dare? A chi debbo sporsarlo? A una figlia di Babilonia, di Zulapi, di Assur potrei (ben) sporsarlo.”

<sup>93</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 1: 217; vol. 2: 330. „Die Tochter des Himmels un[d] der Erde, die ich aber [meinem] Bruder geben werde, wem (=welcher Frau) soll ich sie gleichstellen? Soll ich (sie) der Tochter des Landes Babylon, [des Landes] Zulabi (oder) des Landes Assur gleichstellen?

<sup>94</sup> Beckman 1983a: 44-45, 56-57. The same activity of “matching” or “pairing with” of blood was carried out in another ritual (KUB IX 34 ii 46-47). Haas 1971: 414; Beckman 1983: 57.

<sup>95</sup> Beckman 1996: 126-7; Pintore 1978: 158, n. 157.

Line 12' DUMU.MUNUS *nepišaš* KI-aš-[ša] "the daughter of heaven and earth." Although the exact meaning of this expression may never be known, several different interpretations have been proposed. For instance, in 1932 Sommer declared that *nepišaš* "heaven" can be ignored as it is a purely emotional/dramatic addition, the real meaning of the expression lies in the noun KI-aš-[ša] "earth" which describes the princesses from the significant earthly kingdoms, such as Assyria, Zulabi, and Babylon.<sup>96</sup>

Edel refers to his communication with Starke who believes that "Heaven and Earth" represents the Weather-god of Heaven and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, who belongs to the chthonic deities and carries an epithet *taknaš* <sup>d</sup>UTU "the sun-deity of earth." These two deities, in turn, represent the royal pair Hattušili-Puduhepa.<sup>97</sup> Edel, on the other hand, understands "Heaven and Earth" as a poetic paraphrasing of a pronoun "whichever/whatever."<sup>98</sup> Pintore considers this expression as an idiom, without any ideological or political allusions, comparable to the Italian "ma che diavolo di figlia."<sup>99</sup>

The same expression NN *nepišaš* KI-aš-[ša] rendered either in Hittite or Akkadian appears in the Hittite texts with reference to gods or rituals, as for instance in KUB VI 45 I 36 DINGIR.MEŠ *ne-pi-ša-aš* KI-aš-ša "gods of heaven and earth" or in KUB XXXVI 97 Vs. 4' f. *ne-pi-ša-aš da-ga-an-zi-pa-aš-ša da-aš-šu-uš* EZEN-aš "important festival of Heaven and Earth."<sup>100</sup> It is interesting to note that Puduhepa employs such an epithet in her prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, whom she calls "the queen of heaven and earth" MUNUS.LUGAL ŠA-ME-E Û ER-ŠI-TIM (KUB 21.27 i 2, ii

<sup>96</sup> Sommer 1932: 260.

<sup>97</sup> Edel 1994 vol 2: 329-330.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, 330.

<sup>99</sup> Pintore 19 : 158, n. 155.

<sup>100</sup> Edel 1994 vol 2: 329.



12).<sup>101</sup> An identical expression appears in the prayer of Hattušili III and Puduhepa to the same goddess (KUB 21.19 i.2).<sup>102</sup>

As far as I am aware, the Puduhepa letter is the only Hittite text that employs the expression NN *nepišaš* KI-*aš*-[*ša*] to describe a human being. I would speculate that since Puduhepa wants to put her daughter on the same level as Ramses II, who frequently calls himself DUMU <sup>D</sup>UTU “the son of the Sun god” in his letters written to Hattušili and Puduhepa, she also needs to call her daughter divine. And she does so by describing her with the epithets of gods, or even, as Starke argued, by proclaiming her the daughter of the Storm God and the Sun-goddess of Arinna.<sup>103</sup>

End of line 12’ KI-*aš*-[*a*]: In his autograph, Goetze shows part of the horizontal of the sign *ša*. Although no traces of *ša* are visible on the photograph, Edel refers to the collation of the original tablet done by Alp, who confirms that the head of a horizontal is indeed present.

Line 14’ *iš-ha-a[n-n]a!? tar-ah-mi*. Edel refers to his communications with Alp who after consulting the original tablet states that the head of a horizontal is visible between the sign *ha* and the break in the tablet. That horizontal could probably be interpreted as *a[n]*.<sup>104</sup> Although the traces of the sign that appears after the lacuna are not consistent with *na*<sup>105</sup> such a reading is suggested by the context. Also, there is little doubt that the

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<sup>101</sup> Lebrun 1980: 330, 332, Singer 2002: 102-103.

<sup>102</sup> Lebrun 1980: 310, Singer 2002: 97.

<sup>103</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 2: 329-330.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 330.

<sup>105</sup> For the discussion and description of the sign see chapter 1.

partially damaged sign following *-na* should be read as *tar*.<sup>106</sup> The above readings give the Hittite construction *tarh-* + infinitive meaning “to be able to do something.”

In lines 12'-13' Puduhepa poses two rhetorical questions: “With whom should I compare the daughter of Heaven and Ea[rth] whom I will give to [my bro]ther? Should I compare her with the daughter of Babylon[ia, of Z]ulabi or Assyria?”, only to answer them in the negative in Vs.14': “I can never *išhai* her to them.” The ultimate aim of this comparison is to establish that the Hittite stands above the other princesses, which is expressed by the verb *išhai*. This verb is usually rendered as “to tie”, “to bind” or “to impose (a service or a fine) upon someone.”<sup>107</sup> However I would opt here for the meaning proposed by Friedrich as “to connect, link” which is rendered by the verb and the preverb *kattan* (GAM-*na*).<sup>108</sup> The implication here is: “I cannot find any links or common threads between my daughter and the aforementioned princesses, for my daughter stands high above them.”

#### LINES 15'-16'

In this short paragraph, which I would consider almost as a digression from the main text of the letter, Puduhepa makes a much discussed sarcastic remark on the wealth of the addressee and his outrageous and disgraceful behaviour in making requests for the dowry. One might imagine that such a sarcastic or even offensive comment would certainly not be appreciated by Ramses II, and therefore would be either completely erased or at least softened in the final version of the letter. Since, however, this is the “uncensored” draft, Puduhepa feels free to let out her emotions.

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<sup>106</sup> For the discussion of the sign see chapter 1.

<sup>107</sup> Hoffner 1997.

<sup>108</sup> Friedrich 1990: 86.

Line 15

*mān ANA DUMU <sup>d</sup>UTU našma DUMU <sup>d</sup>U ...našma aruni*: As in the case of the DUMU.MUNS *nepišaš KI-aš-[ša]* the meaning behind *mān ANA DUMU <sup>d</sup>UTU našma DUMU <sup>d</sup>U ...našma aruni*...remains obscure.

Forrer, Sommer and Hagenbuchner equated DUMU <sup>d</sup>UTU “the Son of the Sun god” with the Pharaoh of Egypt, particularly because, as Hagenbuchner observed, Ramses II calls himself thus on more than one occasion in his correspondence with Hatti (for instance KUB 2.26, KBo 8.14, KBo 28.47 etc). They also understand in DUMU <sup>d</sup>U “The Son of the Storm God” the king of Mitanni.<sup>109</sup> While Stefanini agrees with the equation DUMU <sup>d</sup>UTU = Ramses II, he reads in DUMU <sup>d</sup>U “King of Hatti”. Stefanini argues that during the reign of Hattušili III and Puduhepa the kingdom of Mitanni was already disappearing from the political scene of Anatolia, hence its king is no longer counted as an influential power at the time.<sup>110</sup> *Aruni* was interpreted either as the sea power Ahhiyawa according to Forrer and Hagenbuchner or an unspecified island according to Stefanini.<sup>111</sup> Sommer makes a suggestion that if any allusion to the ruler is indeed hidden in *aruni* it would be the allusion to a “sea-king” or a king whose wealth comes from the sea, but not Ahhiyawa/Greece. However he does not consider this allusion as a serious possibility, for if *aruni* would indeed represent a king or overlord then it would be logical to have \*DUMU *arunaš* “Son the Sea”. He rather prefers to see in *aruni* an emotional/dramatic addition, very much as *nepišaš* in line Vs.12’.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Forrer 1929: 253; Hagenbuchner 1989: 325; Sommer 1932: 259-260.

<sup>110</sup> Stefanini 1964: 7, 23.

<sup>111</sup> Forrer 1929: 253; Hagenbuchner 1989: 325; Stefanini 1964: 7.

<sup>112</sup> Sommer 1932: 259.

If Puduhepa indeed refers in these lines to the real kings/rulers they must be kings famous for their unlimited wealth. If DUMU <sup>d</sup>U is equated with Hattušili III, that would stand in opposition to Puduhepa's claim in Vs.10'-11' that there is a shortage of resources in Hatti. If DUMU <sup>d</sup>U refers to the king of Mitanni, whose power and significance was fading away during the reign of Hattušili and Puduhepa, his wealth must have been legendary. I do not know of any traditions that would support such a claim. Also, if DUMU <sup>d</sup>UTU indeed refers to Ramses II, then it would be rather difficult to claim that he was the addressee of the letter, as Puduhepa declares that only if the wealth of the "Son of the Sun-god" or of the "Son of the Storm-god" or of the "sea" will be exhausted, only then could the addressee be considered poor. Clearly, the DUMU <sup>d</sup>UTU and the addressee are two different personalities.

Helck has approached these three idioms differently. He saw in DUMU <sup>d</sup>UTU and DUMU <sup>d</sup>U the mythical allusions to some unknown gods of wealth, the sons of the divine couple the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Storm-god.<sup>113</sup> However, if that was indeed the right interpretation why would Puduhepa refer to the obscure deities? and second, if the Sun-goddess of Arinna was intended here, why would the scribe write <sup>D</sup>UTU which can be interpreted as either "the Sun-god" or "the Sun-goddess" and not <sup>D</sup>UTU URU<sup>P</sup>Ú-na "The Sun-goddess of Arinna"? After all, that is what he does in Vs. 47'.

Perhaps then it would be conceivable to seek in DUMU <sup>d</sup>UTU, DUMU <sup>d</sup>U and *aruni* deities of nature. As Puhvel observed, the sea is conceived of as a male deity in the Kumarbi and Ullikummi myths.<sup>114</sup> Perhaps then, DUMU <sup>d</sup>UTU, DUMU <sup>d</sup>U and *aruni*

<sup>113</sup> Helck 1963: 96; Edel 1994: 331 vol.II.

<sup>114</sup> Puhvel 1957: 230; Güterbock 1946, 1951, 1952.

indeed represent three deities, perhaps personifications of the natural eternal forces such as sun, storm/wind/rain and sea, forces which bring unending natural wealth?

*na-aš-ma a-ru-ni Ú-UL-e-eš-zi*: It is conceivable to believe that because *aruni* stands in a separate sentence, not with DUMU <sup>d</sup>UTU and DUMU <sup>d</sup>U, even though there is not a necessity for it, the sentence: *našma aruni Ú-UL ēšzi* "...or the sea has nothing" should be treated as an afterthought.

*iš-ha-aš-šar-wa-tar-ra*. Friedrich rendered this noun as *Freundlichkeit, Höflichkeit, Anstand(?)*; - *Beliebtheit (?)*.<sup>115</sup> Stefanini translated *išhassarwatar* as "a quality or behavior proper to *išhaš* "lord", such as *cortesia, cavalleria, buona creanza, signorilità*.<sup>116</sup> Helck reads here an adjective *freundschaftlich* while Edel translates it with *vornehmer Haltung*.<sup>117</sup> Puhvel proposes that *iš-ha-aš-šar-wa-tar* is a verbal noun derived from an extinct verb *išhaššarwai-/išhaššarwiya-* "to practice lordliness" and thus translates *išhassarwatar* as "lordliness."<sup>118</sup> I would opt here for the meaning proposed by Puhvel since in Vs.15'-16', Puduhepa emphasises the fact that Ramses' request for the dowry is not the behaviour that would be expected of such a Great King: *Ú-UL-at ŠUM-an iš-ha-aš-šar-wa-tar-ra* "That (is) not a lordly repute" (lit. "That is neither repute nor lordliness"). To add force and accentuate this "un-lordly" behaviour Puduhepa employs a

<sup>115</sup> Friedrich 1990: 85. "friendliness, kindness, politeness, decency(?), or popularity (?)."

<sup>116</sup> Stefanini 1964: 25. "courtesy, chivalry, good manners, refinement, elegance".

<sup>117</sup> Helck 1963: 88; Edel 1994 vol. 1: 217. "noble position/manner"

<sup>118</sup> Puhvel *HED* vol. 2: 387.

figure of speech that is known in contemporary rhetoric as hendiadys or “use of two nouns coupled by a conjunction for a noun and an adjective.”<sup>119</sup>

#### LINES 17’-24’

In this paragraph Puduhepa explains why the captives/livestock component of the dowry has not been sent to Egypt.

Line 17’-18’ The earlier letter of Puduhepa is quoted: The queen informs Ramses that the captives, cattle and sheep (NAM.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> GU<sub>4</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> UDU<sup>[HIJA]</sup>) that are part of the dowry are a great burden on the food resources of Hatti (ŠÀ KUR.KUR<sup>MEŠ</sup> [hal]-ki-iš NU.GÁL) and it is desirable that they be sent to Egypt. To arrange such transfer Puduhepa dispatches her own messengers (LÚ.MEŠ TE<sub>4</sub> -ME) to Ramses, and she requests that the pharaoh send to her his messenger on horseback (LÚ PÍT-HAL-LI).

I would speculate that the objective of this messenger exchange was the arrangement of the date on which captives and livestock as well as Ramses’ representatives would arrive at the Hittite-Egyptian border. There the handing over of the dowry to the Egyptian side would have taken place.

Lines 19’-20’ The text of the earlier letter of Puduhepa continues: Only when the rider communicates to her the date can Puduhepa arrange the move of the captives and livestock, which are now held by the local governors of the Hittite provinces (EN<sup>MEŠ</sup>), to the collection place from where they would leave for the Hittite-Egyptian border.

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<sup>119</sup>

Kennedy 1979: 219.

Line 20' Added sentence: After sending that earlier letter (quoted in lines 17'-20'), some time elapsed and Ramses' rider has indeed arrived in Hattuša, which allowed Puduhepa to dispatch messengers and tablets to the EN<sup>MEŠ</sup>.

Line 20' The main sentence: The messengers later arrived in Hatti, which implies that the captives and the livestock were already transferred or were in the process of being transferred to the collection point.

Line 21' The rider was sent back to Egypt, probably with the news that the NAM.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> GU<sub>4</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> UDU<sup>[HL]A</sup> are being rounded up and prepared to be sent to Egypt. However, he did not return to Egypt as quickly as he was supposed to (EGIR-*pa-ma nu-un-tar-aš*<sup>LÚ</sup> [PÍT-HAL-LI-KA Ú-UL] *ú-it*), also Puduhepa's messengers did not come back to Hatti (<sup>LÚ</sup>TE<sub>4</sub>-MU-ya Ú-UL *ú-it*).

Lines 22'-24' Puduhepa sends to Egypt two other messengers, Zuzu and Pihašduš. When Pihašduš returned at the onset of winter it was already too late to move the slaves and livestock from their wintering place.

Line 17' GU<sub>4</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup>UDU<sup>[HL]A</sup>: In the Akkadian letters exchanged between Hatti and Egypt and dealing with the dowry of the Hittite princess, the captives/livestock component of the dowry consists of NAM.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup>, ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> GU<sub>4</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> and UDU<sup>MEŠ</sup> "captives, horses, cattle and sheep."<sup>120</sup> In KUB 21.38 only NAM.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> GU<sub>4</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> and UDU<sup>HLA</sup> are mentioned. Edel refers to his communication with Starke, who, based on a Hittite text called "the merchant's tale" (KBo XII 42 iii 4-14), suggests that GU<sub>4</sub> can denote both "cattle" and "horses, donkeys, mules etc."<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 1: 89-167.

<sup>121</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 2: 331.

Line 18' *ú-e-mi-ya[-an-z]i*. The subject of this plural verb is <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>TE<sub>4</sub> –ME “messengers.” Both Helck and Stefanini who presumably consulted Goetze’s autograph, read the verb in the singular as *ú-e-mi-ja-zi*. Stefanini observed that such an omission of *an*, if there indeed is one, is either an anomaly or an omission/grammatical oversight.<sup>122</sup> Edel read the word as *ú-e-mi-ja<-an>-zi*, also implying that –*an* was omitted erroneously by the scribe. According to my collation, the break in the tablet on which this verb happens to appear is much larger than indicated by Goetze. In fact, this lacuna is large enough to fit not only an entire sign *an* but also the beginning of *zi*.

End of line 18'. The part of the tablet where the verb *nai-* would be written is missing, only the preverb *pa-ra-a* written at the end of the line and the right edge of the tablet is visible. The verb has been reconstructed as either *nāu* 3<sup>rd</sup> person imperative singular<sup>123</sup> or *nāi* 2<sup>nd</sup> person imperative singular<sup>124</sup>. Since the 2<sup>nd</sup> person imperative implies command and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person imperative serves the same functions as the optative, I would reconstruct here the form *nāu*. After all, Puduhepa does not order but rather requests that Ramses send her his rider.

Line 19': GIŠ.HUR is usually rendered as “a wooden tablet (document) containing the Hittite Hieroglyphic writing.”<sup>125</sup> I would opt here for a different meaning of either “documents,” “orders” or even “letters of credentials.” These would be given to Puduhepa’s messengers or representatives and would allow them to take over the captives and livestock which until then were held by Puduhepa’s governors (EN<sup>MEŠ</sup>).

<sup>122</sup> Helck 1963: 88; Stefanini 1964: 27.

<sup>123</sup> Edel 1994 vol.1: 216.

<sup>124</sup> Helck 1963: 89.

<sup>125</sup> Friedrich 1990: 274.



Lines 19'-20': I treat the forms *údandu*, *daškándu* and *parnauiškándu*, that appear in the plural and do not have explicitly named subjects, as a stylistic error that could be characteristic of either oral syntax or a rough draft of a text. Similar errors occur on several occasions later in the text.

On the exhaustive discussion concerning the possible grammatical subjects of these three verbs see Edel. For my part, I agree with Edel, who argues that these were Puduhepa's messengers who were supposed to bring the documents to EN<sup>MEŠ</sup> and collect the captives/livestock component of the dowry.<sup>126</sup>

Line 20' the added line *ap-pi-za-*. Edel reads here *ap-pi-<iz>-za* and treats it as a scribal error for an adverb *appezziia* 'later', to which reading I have no objection. However, his addition of *-at* "they" at the end of *ap-pi-<iz>-za-*, which was suggested by Starke (*ap-pi-<iz>-za-a[t]* (?) or *ap-pí-<iz>-za-m[a-at]* (?)),<sup>127</sup> cannot be supported by the cuneiform. According to my collation, only one horizontal is visible after *-za-*, which is not consistent with either the sign *at* that starts with two equally long horizontals or *ma* which consists of three horizontals of equal length.

Line 20' the main sentence: I read here the verb *an-da KAR-ir* "they arrived" not *an-da pa-a-ir* or *an-da da-a-ir*, interpretations offered by Helck or Goetze<sup>128</sup> The sign KAR is consistent with the variant employed by Scribe A, although it is written less carefully than usual.

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<sup>126</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 2: 332-335.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 335.

<sup>128</sup> Helck 1963: 89.

Line 21': <sup>LÚ</sup>[*PÍT-HAL-LI*]. According to Helck's and Edel's transcription *PÍT* and part of *HAL* are visible.<sup>129</sup> My collation of the photograph does not support such a reading. Only the determinative *LÚ* is visible before the lacuna.

<sup>LÚ</sup>*TE<sub>4</sub>-MU-ya*. I follow Edel in reading <sup>LÚ</sup>*TE<sub>4</sub>-MU-ya* in the singular as meaning "also none of (my) messengers" referring probably to the messengers that Puduhepa sent to Egypt with her earlier letter (Vs.18').<sup>130</sup> I should add here that the scribe frequently omits the Akkadian possessive pronoun if the messengers are those of Puduhepa, or after *DUMU.MUNUS* "the daughter". When the messengers are those of Ramses, the scribe usually writes the Akkadian possessive pronoun *-KA* "your" as in line 24'.

Line 23': *SÈD[-an-za*. Helck refers to his communication with Goetze, who is of the opinion that we should read here the Sumerogram *SUD*. This Sumerogram refers to the festival of Evocation. Helck understands here that the participation in this festival prevents the final dispatch of the captives and livestock to Egypt.<sup>131</sup> With Stefanini and Edel, I would rather read here *SÈD* or "winter", particularly because the ideogram is more consistent with *SÈD* rather than with *SUD*.<sup>132</sup>

Line 24' I reconstruct here *pu-nu-uš m[a-a-an kiš-an ma-a-an Ú-U]L kiš-an* after Vs 12' where the same construction appears.

<sup>129</sup> Helck 1963: 89; Edel 1994 vol.1: 218.

<sup>130</sup> Edel 1994: 335.

<sup>131</sup> Helck 1963: 89.

<sup>132</sup> Stefanini 1964: 30; Edel 1994 vol.2: 336.

## LINES 25'- 33'

This paragraph seems to touch upon the following issues:

Line 25' Ramses' displeasure at the delay in sending the Hittite princess to Egypt.

Line 26' Puduhepa's claim that she approves the dispatch of her daughter.

The next few lines (27'-29') are too fragmentary to interpret.

Line 30' The arrival of either the Hittite army or of captives and livestock at Kummani.

Line 31'-32' Puduhepa's concern for Hattušili's life.

Line 33' Either seizing of cities during a military campaign or arrangements for

NAM.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> GU<sub>4</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> and UDU<sup>HIA</sup> to spend the winter.

Line 30' The paragraph is too fragmentary to state with any degree of certainty whether it is the Hittite army<sup>133</sup> or the captives/livestock component of the dowry<sup>134</sup> that will arrive in Kummani for the winter.

I would lean towards the first interpretation, according to which Hattušili with the army will arrive in Kummani. Perhaps Puduhepa implies that the ultimate decision of the dispatch of the daughter to Egypt lies with Hattušili, who at the moment is outside of Hattuša and possibly on a military campaign.

Line 31' *ú-e-eh-ta-[ri]*. None of Friedrich's suggested meanings for the intransitive *weh-* as *umstürzen, rückgängig werden*<sup>135</sup> is satisfactory in this line. Stefanini understands *weh-* as a euphemism for "to die".<sup>136</sup> Helck proposes a similar interpretation of the verb,

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<sup>133</sup> Stefanini 1964: 30-31.

<sup>134</sup> Edel 1994 vol.2: 336.

<sup>135</sup> Friedrich 1990: 250. "overturn, fall."

<sup>136</sup> Stefanini 1964: 31.

which he reads as *verscheiden*.<sup>137</sup> Edel refers to Starke who suggests that this verb should be understood here as “recover”: *Wenn sie (= die Majestät) sich erholt (?)*.<sup>138</sup>

I follow Stefanini and Helck in translating *ú-e-eh-ta-ri* as “he dies.” I would speculate that Hattušili has fallen gravely ill while on the military campaign<sup>139</sup> and Puduhepa, waiting for the news about the king’s health, sets aside the wedding negotiations with Ramses.

Line 32’-33’: *DIB-an-du* (*appandu*). The Sumerogram *DIB* rendered in Hittite by the verb *ep-* is usually translated as “to take, size, capture, occupy.” Such a meaning was adopted here by both Helck and Stefanini.<sup>140</sup> Edel follows Starke in proposing a new meaning *verfügbar machen*.<sup>141</sup> I would be in favor of Starke’s interpretation merely because I do not find any reasonable explanation why Puduhepa would refer here to war activities.

Perhaps we are to understand that after hearing from Alalimi that Hattušili has recovered (Vs. 32’) from his illness, the queen resumed the wedding negotiations. Since the winter was near (Vs. 30’), instead of sending the dowry to Egypt, Puduhepa arranged or assigned places/cities where the caravan comprising captives and the livestock could spend the winter. (*nu-uš’-ma-aš-kán a-pu-u-uš-ša 1-URU<sup>LUM</sup> DIB-an-du’ a-pu-u-uš- š[a* l.)

<sup>137</sup> Helck 1963: 90. “to pass away, expire”.

<sup>138</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 1: 219, vol. 2: 337.

<sup>139</sup> Bechtel and Sturtevant 1935: 64, 65; Otten 1981:4. The king himself talks about his health problems in the document called “Apology”: *A-NA mHa-at-tu-ši-li-ua MU<sup>KAM.HLA</sup> ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an-te-eš Ú-UL-wa-ra-aš TI-an-n[(a-aš)]*<sup>139</sup> “For Hattusilis the years (are) short; he is not to live” (Hatt i. 14-15).

<sup>140</sup> Helck 1963: 90; Stefanini 1964: 10.

<sup>141</sup> Edel 1994 vol.2: 337. “make available”.

## LINES 34'-40'

In this again very fragmentary paragraph Puduhepa seems to give the most important reason for the delay in sending the Hittite princess to Egypt (Lines 35'-37'). The queen also complains about not being treated by Ramses as an equal partner in the negotiations. (38'-40')

Line 35' *kuššan* is usually rendered as "wages, fee, price" or as an adverb "when, as soon as." Helck's suggestion that *kuššan* should be understood as *Brautgabe*<sup>142</sup> is rather surprising, in view of the fact that "bride-price" or "bridal gifts" is rendered by *kušata*.<sup>143</sup> Also Stefanini's reading *la ricompensa*<sup>144</sup> is uncertain in the context. I follow Edel in his interpretation of the word as an adverb "when, as soon as."<sup>145</sup>

*a-ú-me-n[i*. Edel refers here to another letter dealing with a royal wedding (VBoT 1.12), in which the plural form *a-ú-ma-ni* is employed to describe a betrothal ceremony of the Arzawan princess. Based on this Arzawan letter, Edel reconstructs the sentence in line 35' that starts with *nu ku-uš-ša-an* as *nu ku-uš-ša-an a-ú-me-n[i* <sup>LÚ</sup>*TE<sub>4</sub>-MU-KA ku-it ŠA DUMU.SAL SAG.DU-i Ì-an li-el-hu-ua-ni*] meaning *Wann werden wir sehen, [daß dein Bote Öl auf das Haupt der Tochter gießt?]*. "We" refers here to Hattušili and Puduhepa.<sup>146</sup> Although by no means certain, Edel's reconstruction is quite appealing. It would suggest that the Hittite princess will be send to Egypt only after the engagement ceremony.

<sup>142</sup> Friedrich 1990: 120.

<sup>143</sup> Helck 1963: 90. "bride gift"; Friedrich 1990: 120.

<sup>144</sup> Stefanini 1964: 10. "reward"

<sup>145</sup> Friedrich 1990: 120; Edel 1994 vol.1: 219.

<sup>146</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 2: 337. "When we se[*e*] that your messenger pours oil on the head of the daughter"].

Line 36' *ta-pár-ri-ya-i-za-lu-ga-nu-mar-ra*. The editorial work of either Scribe A or Scribe B can be detected here. Scribe A first wrote the verb *ta-pár-ri-ya* and then a noun *za-lu-ga-nu-mar-ra*. When the text was revised the initially omitted *i* at the end of the verb was inserted.

Line 37' *i-ya-an-du*. Edel refers to his communication with Alp and Otten who collated the photograph and the original tablet and read the first sign as *i* because two horizontals of the sign are missing.<sup>147</sup> According to my collation, the sign *i* is clearly visible at the beginning of line 37' and is not damaged in any way. Therefore I transcribe it as *i*.

Line 40':

The sign that appears between *ma* and *za* is badly mutilated. The traces of the sign are more consistent with *da* than *du* proposed by the previous editors of the text. I would suggest that Scribe A spells here the dative case of the second person personal pronoun with the sign *da* rather than the more usual sign *ta*.

LINES 41'-43'

I consider these three lines as a prelude to two other paragraphs Vs 47'-52' and Rs 7-17, in which Puduhepa attempts to secure an unrestricted contact between the Hittite royal family and the Hittite princess, once she is married to Ramses. Here Puduhepa quotes Ramses' letter in which he promised that the messengers from Hatti will be able to maintain communication with the princess. (A-NA DUMU.MUNUS-wa <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>[*TE<sub>4</sub>-ME-KI - - - - m*]*e-mi-iš-kán-du*).

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<sup>147</sup> Edel 1994: 337.

#### LINES 44'-45'

In lines 44'-45' Puduhepa returns to the idea of *iš-ha-aš-šar-wa-tar*. In lines 15'-16' the queen criticised Ramses for displaying a major flaw of character, namely greed, a trait not fit for a Great King. In lines 44'-45' Puduhepa gives an example of how such a king as Ramses should act. The queen describes a hypothetical situation: "If she sent the daughter to Ramses promptly (DUMU.MUN[US *nu-un-tar-aš pa-ra-a ne-eh-hu-un* ]) and she sent her without the dowry suitable for the Great King or a Great Queen ([ - - - ]*x-an-ta ŠA ŠEŠ-YA na-aš-ma ŠA NIN-ZU pí-ih-hu-un*), the Pharaoh should provide for her *nu-wa-aš-ši iš-ki-ša ku-e-eq-qa e-eš-du*. That is what lordliness implies ([ - - - ]*x-wa-ra-at iš-ha-aš-šar-wa-tar*).

#### LINES 47'-52'

Puduhepa compares her taking foreign princesses as daughters-in-law to the prospective marriage of Ramses and the Hittite princess.

Lines 47'-48'. As the princesses of Amurru and Babylonia brought splendour upon the Hittite Royal House so will Puduhepa's daughter to the Egyptian court.

Lines 49'-52' Puduhepa allows unrestricted communication between the Babylonian princess and her family; so will Ramses permit the Hittite royal family to visit their daughter once she is married to Ramses.

Lines 52'-53' Puduhepa chose to ally the Hittite Royal House with the foreign courts to strengthen the international position of Hatti. Although Ramses has many wives already, he chose to ally himself with the Hittite court. He did that not because of

necessity, but because of the desire for his own and most importantly for Puduhepa's dignity.

Line 47'. Puduhepa probably refers here to the same princess who was mentioned in the treaty between Hattušili III and Bentešina of Amurru: "[...] My son Nerikkaili will take the daughter of Bentešina of the land of Amurru in marriage."<sup>148</sup> According to Beckman, the Babylonian princess, mentioned here, might have been the wife of Tudhaliya IV and it might have been her illness that was the subject of the oracular inquiry KUB 65 rev.27 [...] ŠA DUMU.MUNS KUR *Kar-an-du-ni-ya-aš* GIG-an-za.<sup>149</sup>

While Scribe A writes <sup>URU</sup>*Ga-ra-an-du-ni-ya-aš* with the sign *ga* and the CV-CV combination of signs *ga-ra*, in other lines he writes the same word differently. Accordingly he spells the word as <sup>URU</sup>*Ka-ra-an-du-ni-ya-aš* in Vs.13', <sup>URU</sup>*Kar-an-du-ni-ya-aš* in Vs. 54', 55', 56', <sup>URU</sup>*Kar-du-ni-ya-aš* in Rs.7 and <sup>URU</sup>*Kar-an-du-ni-ya* in Rs. 9.

Line 48' In contrast to the previous editors of the text I read *Ú-UL ku-it e-eš-ta* as a separate sentence meaning "was that not so?" I follow here the reading offered by Rost.<sup>150</sup> A similar expression can also be found in the "Apology": DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-mu-za-kán GAŠAN-IA *hu-u-ma-an-da-za-pát da-aš-ki-ši Ú-UL e-eš-ta* "You, goddess, My Lady, dost always rescue me. Has it not been (so)?"<sup>151</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Bryce 2005: 267-268; Beckman 1983b: 109.

<sup>149</sup> Beckman 1983b: 110 and note 58.

<sup>150</sup> Rost 1956: 333.

<sup>151</sup> Otten 1981: 6, 10; Bechtel and Sturtevant 1935: 67.



Line 49' *arhazenun*. *arahzena-* or *arahzina-* belongs to *-a* stem adjectives forming the accusative singular with the ending *-an* = *arahzenan/arahzinan*. Such an accusative is attested in text IBoT I 36 III 35 as *arhazinan-ma kuinki ÉRIN.MEŠ-an* "some foreign group, army" (collective singular).<sup>152</sup> It should be noted that the same adjective forms its plural accusative common with the vowel *u* as *arahzenuš*, although we also find the accusative plural forms *arahzenaš*.<sup>153</sup> I follow Stefanini in considering the form *arhazenun* either as a scribal error or a case of analogy.<sup>154</sup>

Line 49' ŠA LUGAL.GAL DUMU.MUNUS. It is interesting to note that although in Vs 47' Puduhepa mentions two princesses, two lines down she refers to only one of them. I suggest that this DUMU.MUNUS in Vs 49' must be the Babylonian princess, the daughter of a LUGAL.GAL or "Great King". As shown in Chapter Three, the king of Amurru was not regarded as such, and therefore ŠA LUGAL.GAL DUMU.MUNUS cannot refer to his daughter.

Line 49' Stefanini transcribes the particle *kán* at the beginning of the line. Although the traces of *kán* indeed appear after *na-at*, the sign was erased by the scribe hence should not be transcribed.

Line 50' *apel* refers back to LUGAL.GAL in Vs 49'.

*apel* <sup>LÚ</sup>TE-MU ...*úwanzi*. Since <sup>LÚ</sup>TE-MU appears in a singular number and the verb in plural, I consider these two words as a simple error of grammatical agreement.

<sup>152</sup> Puhvel, J. 1984 ( vol. 1-2), 133-134.

<sup>153</sup> Watkins, C. "Hittite" in Woodard, R.D. ed. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*, 561.

<sup>154</sup> Stefanini 1964: 39.

Line 51' I consider *našma=šši Š[A] ŠEŠ NIN-TI EGIR-anda uizzi* an elliptical sentence, which I would reconstruct as follows *našma=šši Š[A] ŠEŠ <MES> <našma ŠA> NIN-TI <LU<sup>1</sup>TE<sub>4</sub>MU> EGIR-anda uizzi* and translate it together with the sentence in line 50' as: "If ever his messenger comes in full splendour after the [daughte]r-in-law, or (if) <a messenger> of her brother<s> <or of her> sisters comes here..."

I agree with Helck who thinks that the verb *uizzi* refers to the unexpressed <sup>LU</sup>TE-MU "messenger."<sup>155</sup>

#### LINES 53'-56'

In this paragraph Puduhepa compares Ramses' prospective marriage to that of the king of Babylonia, who has also married a Hittite princess.

Line 54' *na-at ma-a-an i-ya-at-ya* I regard the form *-ya* of the enclitic conjunction "and" appearing after the consonant as a scribal error. In line 57' *na-at i-ya-at-ta* the correct form *-a* is employed. According to Starke, such erroneous employment of *-ya* after the consonant appears occasionally in Neo-Hittite.<sup>156</sup>

Lines 54'-55' *na=at=kán ... handan[za] Ú-UL*. Edel follows Starke in his reading of the sign that follows *handan* as *za*.<sup>157</sup> Stefanini states that the traces of that sign are *illusori*. Consequently, he prefers to read here *handan*.<sup>158</sup> Although the photograph of the tablet shows traces of a sign after *handan* they are not sufficiently clear to enable me to

<sup>155</sup> Helck 1963: 91. "If at any time his messenger comes to the daughter-in-law, or (the messenger) of brothers or sisters comes".

<sup>156</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 2: 340.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> Stefanini 1964, 12 n. 2.

determine whether or not the sign *za* indeed appears here. However, if it does we have here a scribal error: the enclitic personal pronoun *-at* is in either the accusative neuter singular case, or in the nominative plural common and neuter, while *handanza* appears in the nominative singular case of the common gender. Also Helck says that the masculine *handanza* after the neuter *-at* is *auffallend*.<sup>159</sup>

With regard to the meaning of this participle that is derived from the verb *handai*, Pintore translates it as *esser conforme (a), convenirsi*<sup>160</sup> while Stefanini as “to show, display, expose.”<sup>161</sup> Stefanini, who is of the opinion that the letter is addressed to the king of Alašiya, understands the sentence as follows: if the addressee of the letter would renounce his impossible requests to marry the Hittite princess, who by now has been given to Ramses II, Puduhepa herself would personally present his case (search for a wife) before the king of Babylonia.<sup>162</sup> Helck interprets the verb as *gegenüber*<sup>163</sup> and translates the sentence as *Wenn er es auch (deshalb) getan hat, so gilt das doch wohl auch gegenüber dem König von Babylon*<sup>164</sup> I would opt here for translation offered by Pintore “be similar.” I believe that the ultimate objective of the mention of the marriage of a Hittite princess to a Babylonian king, is to equate these two situations: as another Great King has taken a Hittite princess as a wife, so can Ramses.

#### LINES 57'-65'

Lines 57'-58' According to the divine plan Puduhepa became the queen of Hatti.

<sup>159</sup> Helck 1963: 92. “striking”.

<sup>160</sup> Pintore 1978: 159, n.157. “to be similar, to agree upon”

<sup>161</sup> Stefanini 1964: 13.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*, 41.

<sup>163</sup> “with respect to, regarding”

<sup>164</sup> Helck 1963: 92. “When he had (for this reason) done this, it was really valid with respect to the king of Babylon as well”.

Lines 58'-64' The same gods that made her the queen provided her with exceptional maternal qualities, which will be bestowed also on her daughter.

Line 65' Puduhepa takes a different tone with Ramses, more submissive and apologetic.

Line 57-58' MUNUS.LUGAL GIM-an <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>TÚL-na <sup>d</sup>U <sup>d</sup>Hé-pat <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR-ya *iyat*

Although we have here the plural subject, the verb appears in a singular number. Both Stefanini and Pintore find this error troubling. The former translates the sentences as: *...quando (me) Regina fece(ro) la Dea-Sole di Arinna, il Dio della Tempesta, Hapat ed Ištar...*,<sup>165</sup> the latter as: *Quando...(mi) fece(ro)...*<sup>166</sup> Both translated the verb *iyat* "made" either in the singular or in the plural, as is indicated by the plural ending placed in the parenthesis. There could be three solutions to this "problem". First, <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>URU</sup>TÚL-na <sup>d</sup>U <sup>d</sup>Hé-pat <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR-ya can be treated as a collective singular. Second, since both the relative sentence that appears immediately before (*na-at i-ya-at-ta ku-iš DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> ŠA SAG.DU-YA*) and the sentence that immediately follows (*nu-mu IT-TI ŠEŠ-KA ha-an-da-it*) employ the verb in the singular, the verb in this sentence was also used in the same number via some kind of erroneous 'attraction' in number. Third, the verb *iyat* perhaps refers here to the personal deity of Puduhepa, the goddess Istar, who would be responsible for marrying Puduhepa to Hattušili and thus making her the Hittite Queen. At least this is what Hattušili declares in the "Apology" (Hatt iii 57'-58').<sup>167</sup>

<sup>165</sup> Stefanini 1964: *Ibid*, 14.

<sup>166</sup> Pintore 1978: 159, n. 157.

<sup>167</sup> Singer observes that during the reign of Hattušili and Puduhepa, the Great Goddess appears as the main deity of the Hittite pantheon with the strong tendency to syncretism: The Sun-goddess of Arinna, Hebat and Ishtar of Samuha, the personal goddess of the royal couple. Singer 2006: 45.

Line 58' *handāi*. The verb *handāi*- in this context was read as “to join” by Stefanini,<sup>168</sup> Beckman,<sup>169</sup> Sommer,<sup>170</sup> Helck<sup>171</sup> and Edel.<sup>172</sup>

Pintore objects to such a meaning mainly on factual grounds. He argues that Puduhepa did not become queen when she married Hattušili, but rather when Hattušili became king after the coup d'état. Therefore, according to Pintore, *handāi*- in Vs. 58' cannot mean “to marry” but rather “to establish.”<sup>173</sup>

I opt for the same meaning as most of the editors, “to marry”, based on the fact that in the very next sentence Puduhepa mentions begetting children, which can be seen as the direct result of a marriage. In addition, lines 57'-58' bear a close resemblance to a passage found in the “Apology” where *handāi* is rendered as “to join”.

### III.

- 1 *nu-za* DUMU.SAL <sup>1</sup>*PÍ-EN-TI-IP-ŠAR-RI* <sup>LÚ</sup>*SANGA* <sup>SAL</sup>*Pu-du-hé-pa-an*  
2 *IŠ-TU* INIM DINGIR-LIM DAM-an-ni *da-ah-hu-un nu ha-an-da-a-u-en*  
3. [*nu-un-n*]a-aš DINGIR-LUM ŠA <sup>LÚ</sup>*MU-DI* DA[M-aš-ša] *a-aš-ši-ya-tar pí-eš-ta*  
4. *nu-un-na-aš* DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.SAL.MEŠ *i-ya-u-en*<sup>174</sup>

- 1 And at the command of the goddess I took in marriage Puduhepa,  
2 the daughter of Pentipsarris, the priest. (And) we were married.  
3 The goddess gave [u]s the love of husband [and wi]fe.  
4 And we got for us sons (and) daughters.

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<sup>168</sup> Stefanini 1964: 14.  
<sup>169</sup> Beckman 1983: 9.  
<sup>170</sup> Sommer 1932: 254.  
<sup>171</sup> Helck 1963: 92.  
<sup>172</sup> Edel 1994: 330.  
<sup>173</sup> Pintore 1978: 159, n. 157.  
<sup>174</sup> Bechtel and Sturtevant 1935: 72.

I would speculate that Puduhepa (lines 57'-58' of KUB 21.38) implies that her personal deity "devised a plan", namely she destined Puduhepa to become the Hittite Queen. And the only way to do so was to marry her to Hattušili, which is also more directly expressed in the aforementioned passage of the "Apology."

Line 58'-59' *annān tiššān*. The exact meaning of this expression remains unknown. Beckman and Helck, with Goetze, translate it as "exceptional vitality".<sup>175</sup> Stefanini renders the expression in lines 58'-59' as "maternity, fecundity, fertility" and as "offspring", a secondary meaning tightly tied to the state of maternity and fertility, in Vs 63'.<sup>176</sup>

Stefanini suggests that *annān* is a noun in the accusative case of *annā-*, although he admits that it would be difficult to relate such a noun to either Luvian *anni-*, or Hittite *anna-* 'mother.' Stefanini proposes an archaic form *\*anna-jā-*, with reduction of *-aja*, the same suffix that is found in Greek to form abstract ideas from adjectival formations.<sup>177</sup> In regard to *tiššān*, Stefanini does not think that it can be interpreted as a participle of *teššāi* 'make ready(?)'. He argues that it is rather a Hurrian adverb *tiššan* 'much, very'.<sup>178</sup> Quite the opposite is expressed by Melchert, who argues that the expression: *an-na-a-an ti-iš-ša-a-an* is a Luvian preverb 'below, under' with a Hittite participle of *tiššā(i)-*. However, the meaning of this expression in this passage is not clear.<sup>179</sup> The same translation for *annān* was given by Laroche.<sup>180</sup> Pintore believes that this expression is of Hurrian origin and it should not be understood as "maternal qualities" in the biological sense. He prefers

<sup>175</sup> Beckman 1983: 10; Helck 1963: 92, 58, and note to line 59.

<sup>176</sup> Stefanini 1964: 42-43.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid*, 43 and n. 3.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid*, n. 7. According to Stefanini, the fact that the Hurrian word is found in this text makes it more plausible that the letter should be ascribed to Puduhepa since she came from Kummani, an important center of the cult of Hapat and the center of the Hurrian culture.

<sup>179</sup> Melchert 1993: 14.

<sup>180</sup> Laroche 1959: 26.

to see in this expression the moral qualities of a mother, something like “the great maternal spirit.”<sup>181</sup>

Edel considers *annān tiššān* as two nouns in asyndeton and refers to Starke who believes that this expression is of Luvian origin and can be related to *annaya(i)* and *tiššaya(i)*-. He then connects *annaya(i)* to the Hittite verb *annau* meaning *erfahren machen*<sup>182</sup>, *unterrichten*<sup>183</sup> and translates *annān* as *Erfahrung*.<sup>184</sup> With regard to *tiššaya(i)* he takes it as a basis for the denominal verb *tiššayi-* meaning *führen*<sup>185</sup>, *leiten*<sup>186</sup> and translates the noun *tiššān* as *Erziehen*.<sup>187</sup>

It is difficult to assess the abovementioned interpretations; however, the context suggests that *annān tiššān* is used in a sense that encompasses the maternal qualities. Perhaps if we could see in *annān* the Old Hittite genitive plural of the noun *anna-* “mother”, we could propose that Puduhepa is employing here a fossilized archaic expression “*tiššān* of mothers.” The Queen mentions here that not only was she blessed with many children, but also other women in the palace had shown unusual fertility since she entered the royal household. In addition, the queen declares that she raised and provided for not only her own children but also those princesses and princes whom she already found in the palace. It is conceivable then that *annān tiššān* describes the moral qualities of a mother, something like “the great maternal spirit”; here I agree with Pintore.

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<sup>181</sup> Pintore 19 : 161, n. 177.

<sup>182</sup> “to experience”.

<sup>183</sup> “to teach”.

<sup>184</sup> “experience”

<sup>185</sup> “guide”

<sup>186</sup> “lead, conduct”.

<sup>187</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 1: 341.; “upbringing”.

Line 59' I consider *me-mi-iš-kán-zi* in line 59' and *na-aš-za am-mu-uk* in line 60' as stylistic errors. When Scribe A wrote down the sentence *nu am-me-el :an-na-a-an ti-iš-ša-a-an me-mi-iš-kán-zi*, he did not specify who was the subject of the plural verb *me-mi-iš-kán-zi* "they are talking." However either he or Scribe B corrected this error by adding LU<sup>MEŠ</sup> *Hat-ti* or "people of Hatti" above the verb. In line 60' -aš- the accusative plural of the personal pronoun -a, refers not to the princesses that gave birth under the care of Puduhepa, but rather to newborn children. However the noun DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> 'children' is not mentioned in the text (*nu-m[u-za-ká]n ŠU-ī ha-a-ši-ir na-aš-za am-mu-uk*).

Line 63' GAM *hamank-* The basic meaning of verb *hamank-* is 'to tie, bind' *katta hamank* "to tie down/below." Puhvel believes that this verb is mainly used when a magical action is performed.<sup>188</sup> Such magical activities usually involve tying something to animals, clothes, people or even deities as in the text describing the Kizzuwatnian cult of the deity of the Night (KUB 29.4 I 67-69).<sup>189</sup>

Through employment of this verb Puduhepa magically ties *annān* to her daughter and by doing so she transfers to her the maternal qualities. Puduhepa attempts to convince Ramses that the Hittite princess is worth waiting for, since she would take care not only of her own children but also of other royal offspring she will find in the Egyptian royal household. Stefanini offers a very different interpretation of the verb *hamank*. Because he interprets *annān* in lines Vs. 58' and Vs. 63' as 'offspring/child', he

<sup>188</sup> Puhvel *HED* Volume 3, p. 64.

<sup>189</sup> Miller 2004: 279.



cannot read *katta hamankandu* as ‘tie down’; rather he proposes that the verb assumes a special meaning ‘to marry’.<sup>190</sup>

## REVERSE SIDE

### LINES 1-6

Puduhepa quotes Ramses’ letter in which he promises that as soon as the Hittite princess arrives at his court, Puduhepa can write to him about all the matters *A-WA-TE<sup>MES</sup>* that she has in mind. It is not certain what sort of *A-WA-TE<sup>MES</sup>* these are, but Puduhepa is waiting until she, the queen, will be in Amurru to write about them.

Line 3-4 Unusual here is the employment of *uizzi* “comes” immediately before a verb in the first person *ma-an-ni-in-ku-[w]a-ah-mi* “I will arrive.” It seems that Puduhepa changes the style of speaking from direct to indirect speech. Sommer explains the fact that the third person singular of the verb *uwa-* appears with MUNUS.LUGAL, instead of the first singular, by stating that either the MUNUS.LUGAL is not the subject of the sentence, or this sentence does not reflect the words of the queen.<sup>191</sup> Sommer opts for the first alternative and finds another subject for the verb *uizzi*. He reads the two sentences *nu apaš...* and MUNUS.LUGAL...*uizzi* as one sentence, and translates it in two ways, depending on how he interprets *iwar*. First, *iwar* meaning *wie* is a separate word that depends grammatically and contextually on the next word that ends either with the enclitic particle *-ya* or the Akkadian possessive enclitic pronoun *-YA*. The subject of this sentence is *apaš memiyaš* or “this matter”: *so werde ich, da ja jene Angelenheit wie*

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<sup>190</sup> Stefanini 1964: 45.

<sup>191</sup> Sommer 1932: 255-256.

(?)...*die (oder 'der') Königin ins land Amurru kommt*. Second, if *iwar* is a verb beginning with *iw-* and ending with *-ya/-YA* and if *kuit* in the following sentence is rendered as “that, which,” the whole sentence would read as: “So this message is indeed generally well-known, that the Queen will come to the land of Amurru (??)” or the like. So the subject of *uizzi* is not MUNUS.LUGAL but rather *apaš memiyaš*.<sup>192</sup>

Stefanini offers another explanation for this syntactical wonder. He argues that the sentences MUNUS.LUGAL...*uizzi* and *manninkuwahmi*... can be understood as *anacoluthon*, or a stylistic device according to which a sentence begins in a way that implies a certain logical resolution, but concludes differently than the grammar leads one to expect. Anacoluthon can be either a grammatical fault or a stylistic virtue. In either case it is an interruption or a verbal lack of symmetry. Anacoluthon is characteristic of spoken language or interior thought, and thus suggests those domains when it occurs in writing.<sup>193</sup> Thus, according to Stefanini, *uizzi* is used impersonally, “it happens that” and MUNUS.LUGAL and *INA KUR* <sup>URU</sup>*Amurri* are elements that anticipate and belong logically to the next sentence: *Poichè io, la Regina, nel paese di Amurru si dà il caso che a te mi avvicini*...<sup>194</sup>

I propose that we have here editorial work of Scribe A. Since the reverse side seems to be planned out more carefully, with fewer erasures, I would propose that Scribe A wrote the reverse side in the scriptorium from the notes taken during the interview with the queen. Perhaps during the dictation the scribe had written the queen’s words verbatim “I will arrive in your neighbourhood...” While he wrote the text in the scriptorium he felt that he needed to add some commentary/explanation (as did medieval scribes in the

<sup>192</sup>

*Ibid.*

<sup>193</sup>

<http://rhetoric.byu.edu/Figures/A/~anacoluthon.htm>.

<sup>194</sup>

Stefanini 1964: 47. “Because it happens that I, the Queen, will arrive in your neighbourhood”.

margins of the manuscripts) that the queen was coming to Amurru. And so he wrote first the sentence “Since the queen will be coming to Amurru,” and then wrote the queen’s direct words.

Line 5. ÚR-ši. Stefanini argues that the sign after DUMU.MUNUS is a clear example of the Assyrian sign *zé* or <sup>UZU</sup>*zí* ‘gall-bladder’. Since, however, in the context of the letter such an interpretation does not make sense he argues that this sign must be a part of DUMU.MUNUS and is followed not by the Hittite sign –ši but rather by the Akkadian *LIM*. The whole DUMU.MUNUS.x-*LIM* he translates as *una sposa*.<sup>195</sup> I would argue that such an interpretation cannot be correct, as *una sposa* would be expressed here either by the Sumerogram DAM or by MUNUS.

Neu argues that the sign ÚR-ši hides the Hittite noun of the *r/n-* stem *happeššar* meaning “limb, organ, penis.” The –ši following the Sumerian logogram is the dative-locative of the possessive pronoun of the 3 person singular “his.” According to Neu we have here a construction ANA ŠEŠ-YA...ÚR-ši “to my brother...to his lap” (double dative).<sup>196</sup> The same reading is proposed by Starke, who however understands ÚR-ši as *Schoß/Obhut*.<sup>197</sup> To prove his interpretation he cites two examples: KUB XXXIV 7 IV 40 *na-an-za-kán ÚR-ši da-a-iš* (*Er setzte es (das Kind) sich auf den Schoß*)<sup>198</sup> and KUB XXVI 66 III 16f. (*10 Schekel Silber nahmen wir, und legten sie beim KUŠARU-Fest in den Schoß/Obhut des tuhukanti.*)<sup>199</sup> The problem with this interpretation is that the

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid*, 14 -15, note 3.

<sup>196</sup> Neu 1997: 152-153.

<sup>197</sup> “lap, care”.

<sup>198</sup> “He put the child on his lap”.

<sup>199</sup> Edel 1994: 342. “We took 10 silver shekels and placed them at the KUSARU festival in the care/lap of the *tuhukanti*.”

enclitic possessive pronouns were no longer used in Neo-Hittite. However, it is possible that again as in the case of *annān tiššan* Puduhepa employs here the ossified expression, which would perhaps describe the marriage or the sexual union. Beckman translates the entire sentence as: “When the daughter arrives at my brother’s bed.”<sup>200</sup>

Line 6 *GAM-RA-TI*. These three signs had been read either as nominative plural of an Akkadian adjective *gamru(m)* meaning “complete, total”<sup>201</sup> or as a 2 person present of the verb *RA* ( Hittite *walh-*) with a preverb *GAM* (Hittite *katta*) meaning “to settle.”<sup>202</sup> Both interpretations work in the context.

#### LINES 7-17

Lines 7-8 Puduhepa quotes her earlier letter in which she accused Ramses and the Egyptian court of prohibiting communications between the Babylonian royal family and their princess married to the pharaoh.

Line 9 Now the queen knows that it was just hearsay. She also has Ramses’ promise that there will be unrestricted contact between the Hittite princess and her family (Vs 41’-43’). The queen explains why she believed this information. She trusted it because she heard it from the Babylonian messenger <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL.EN.ÙKU.MEŠ.

Lines 10-13’ The queen profusely apologizes for believing this piece of information.

Lines 14-17 Puduhepa is confident that now nothing stands in the way of a successful conclusion to the wedding negotiations, and that the two countries will be finally bound by family ties.

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<sup>200</sup> Beckman 1996: 129.

<sup>201</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 2: 343; Black, George, Postgate 2000: 89.

<sup>202</sup> Stefanini 1964: 47; Friedrich 1990: 290.

Imparati and de Monte suggest that the “Babylonian incident” reported in Rs 7-8 may not have really happened, but it might have been a motif frequently employed in letters and used as a literary *topos*. They refer to one of the Amarna Letters (Amenophis III to Kadašman-Enlil I) in which reference is made to Babylonian ambassadors who had not been able to recognise their princess in the Pharaoh’s harem. In her letter (KUB 21.38) Puduhepa was just reusing an episode from the past to secure the important position of her daughter in the Egyptian court.<sup>203</sup>

Whether true or not, this “Babylonian episode” can explain lines 47’-52’. Knowing the poor reputation of the Egyptian court with regard to its treatment of the foreign princesses, Puduhepa refers to her conduct towards the Babylonian princess and the daughter of a Great King. She not only allows the unrestricted contact between her daughter-in-law and her family but even encourages it. And that is exactly how Puduhepa wants Ramses to behave once he marries her daughter.

Line 8 *IŠTU IKU* This phrase has been considered to contain either a wrong preposition or a wrong noun. Stefanini read the sentence as: *...come le furono inviati dietro dei messaggeri, (da questi) furono tutti riportati indietro dall'accampamento*,<sup>204</sup> believing that the lines describe first giving to and then taking back a Babylonian princess from Ramses. The princess had already left for Egypt with the wedding procession when the Babylonian court changed its mind and sent messengers to bring her and the wedding procession/caravan back to Babylon.<sup>205</sup> Helck read the line as *nu=war=at EGIR-pa IŠTU*

<sup>203</sup> Imparati and de Martino 1995: 106.

<sup>204</sup> Stefanini 1964: 16. “As soon as the messengers were sent after her, they were all brought back from the camp”.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid*, 46.

É? *arantat* and translated it : *Gesandte gekommen sind, wurden sie aus dem Haus entfernt*<sup>206</sup>. Helck interpreted the verb in passive voice but he was not sure whether the reading É is correct.<sup>207</sup> Edel cites Starke who translates the sentence as an ironic statement: *da standen sie (die Boten) hinten auf dem Acker*.<sup>208</sup>

I would understand IKU as a measurement of length and interpret *IŠTU IKU* “by one IKU”, meaning that when the messengers came to see the Babylonian princess they were prevented from approaching her and were allowed to see her only from a distance.

Line 11 *lupašiš*. The same Luvian noun appears in Rs 12 and 13, as well as in Vs 65'. Melchert translates this Luvian noun as “regret”<sup>209</sup>, while Stefanini citing Laroche as *chagrin*.<sup>210</sup> Helck rendered all appearances of the noun as *Ärger*.<sup>211</sup> I agree with Edel who translates this noun in Rs 11, 12, 13 differently than in Vs. 65'. In Rs 11, 12, 13 he renders it as *Kränkun*<sup>212</sup>, in Vs. 65' as *Verdruß*.<sup>213</sup>

In Rs 11, 12, 13 Puduhepa means that she will no longer listen to any accusations or hearsay which can be offensive to Ramses. Now that the Hittite and Egyptian courts will be joined by family ties, such miscommunications will not happen again. In Vs. 65' she mentions that the brothers of the Hittite princess will come to see the Hittite princess once she is Ramses' wife. Such a visit could hardly be deeply offensive, rather simply annoying or displeasing.

<sup>206</sup> “...the messengers came, and were removed from the house”.

<sup>207</sup> Helck 1963: 93, 8; and note to line 8.

<sup>208</sup> Edel 1994: 343.

<sup>209</sup> Melchert 1993:129.

<sup>210</sup> Stefanini 1964: 16, 45. “worry, torment”.

<sup>211</sup> Helck 1963: 92, 93. “annoyance, anger”.

<sup>212</sup> “insult”.

<sup>213</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 1:123. “frustration”.

Lines 13-14 [*a-pad-d*]*a-ya I-DI ku-it-za KUR<sup>URU</sup>Mi-iz-ri KUR<sup>URU</sup>Ha-at-ti-ya 1-EN KUR<sup>TUM</sup>ki-ša-ri*. All the matters have been settled. Puduhepa explained why she has not sent her daughter to Egypt; she has received the Pharaoh's promise that her daughter will not "disappear" in the Egyptian harem, but that she will hold an important position in the Egyptian court and finally the queen has appeased Ramses' anger by a wordy apology.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, the expression *KUR<sup>URU</sup>Mi-iz-ri KUR<sup>URU</sup>Ha-at-ti-ya 1-EN KUR<sup>TUM</sup>ki-ša-ri* "Egypt and Hatti will become one country" refers to the marriage between Ramses and the Hittite princess. Only when the Hittite princess arrives in the Egyptian court, will the two countries become one.

*KUR<sup>URU</sup>Ha-at-ti-ya*. Scribe A employs here a different spelling of *Hatti*. On the obverse side he consistently spelled it with CVC sequence *Hat* while here he chose the older spelling CV-VC *Ha-at*. The same scribe also spells the following words differently on the obverse and the reverse sides: *ha-at-ra-a-ši-ya/ ha-at-ra-a-mi* (with a plena) on the reverse and *ha-at-ra-mi* (without plena) on the obverse; *mar-ki-ši/ mar-ki-ya-at* (once with and once without *ya*) on the reverse and *mar-ki-ya-ši* on the obverse; *ma-la-ši* (without a plena) on the reverse, and *ma-la-a-ši* (with plena) on the obverse; *:lu-um-pa-aš-ti-in* on the reverse and *lu-pa-aš-tin* (without *um* and with CV-VC *ti-in*) on the obverse side.

If not for the fact that the signs employed on the reverse side are consistent with Scribe A, particularly employment of the idiosyncratic shape of the sign *wa*, and the fact

that Scribe A shows the same inconsistency in spelling of *Karanduniyaš*, I would be tempted to consider the possibility that another scribe wrote the reverse side of the tablet.

Line 14 *iš-hi-ú-ul*, employed here, has been rendered as “treaty” by Helck and Beckman and probably understood as referring to the peace treaty between Ramses and Hattušili.<sup>214</sup> However, since I believe that the wedding of the Hittite princess and Ramses was a result and not a prelude to this treaty, I would translate *iš-hi-ú-ul* as “binding.” Similarly, Edel argued that the word *iš-hi-ú-ul* employed in KUB 21.38 takes on a different meaning which he rendered as *(Ehe-)Vertrag*.<sup>215</sup> He based his interpretation on another letter KUB XXVI 89 where in line 7’ *iš-hi-ú-ul* is used with reference to “marriage-treaty”.<sup>216</sup> Perhaps *iš-hi-ú-ul* can be equated with an engagement ceremony which has not taken place yet (Vs. 35’). In another letter Puduhepa declares that KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Mi-iz-ri* KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Ha-at-ti-ya* 1-EN KUR<sup>TUM</sup> *ki-ša-ri* “Egypt and Hatti will become one country” when the engagement ceremony is performed (KUB III 24 + KUB III 59 Vs.5’-7’).<sup>217</sup>

#### LINES 18-22

Only the first words of each line are present, which precludes any interpretation.

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<sup>214</sup> Helck 1964: 93; Beckman 1996: 129.

<sup>215</sup> Edel 1994 vol.1: 223. “marriage treaty”

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid*, vol. 2: 343.

<sup>217</sup> Edel 1994 vol. 1.:139; vol. 2: 343.



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## ABBREVIATIONS<sup>218</sup>

### 1. Texts, Literature

<i>AfO</i>	Archiv für Orientforschung
<i>AttiAccTosc</i>	Atti dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere "La Colombaria" – Florence
<i>BiOR</i>	Bibliotheca Orientalis - Leiden
<i>BMSAES</i>	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan
<i>CHD</i>	The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago – Chicago 1980-
<i>CTH</i>	E. Laroche, Catalogue des textes hittites, 2nd ed. – Paris 1971
<i>DLL</i>	E. Laroche, Dictionnaire de la langue louvite – Paris 1959
<i>FsOtten</i> <sup>2</sup>	Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae. Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75.Geburtstag – Wiesbaden, 1988
<i>Hatt</i>	Apology of Hattušili
<i>HED</i>	J. Puhvel, Hittite Etymological Dictionary – Berlin 1984-
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>KBo</i>	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> – Leipzig, Berlin
<i>KlF</i>	Kleinasiatische Forschungen, ed. F. Sommer and H. Ehelolf, vol.1 – Weimar (1927-) 1930
<i>KRIT II</i>	K. A. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Translations</i> , vol. II (Oxford, 1996)
<i>KUB</i>	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> - Berlin
<i>MDOG</i>	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin

<sup>218</sup> Abbreviations for Hittite journals, Festschriften, Dictionaries follow the format employed in the Chicago Hittite Dictionary.

<i>OLZ</i>	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung – Leipzig, Berlin
<i>RHA</i>	Revue hittite et asianique – Paris
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi Miceni ed Egeo-Anatolici</i>
<i>StBoT</i>	Studien zu den Boghazköy Texten – Wiesbaden

## 2. General

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
Akk.	Akkadian
c.	common gender
dat.	dative
demonstr.	demonstrative
encl.	enclitic
gen.	genitive
imp.	imperative
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
instr.	instrumental
interrog.	interrogative
iter.	iterative



m.	masculine
n.	neuter gender
nom.	nominative
obv.	obverse
per.	person
pers.	personal
ppl.	participle
prep.	preposition
pl.	plural
poss.	possessive
prev.	preverb
prn.	pronoun
rel.	relative
rev.	reverse
Rs	Rückseite/reverse
sg.	singular
Vs	Vorderseite/obverse

### 3. Symbols

[xxx]	text that is restored
<xxx>	characters erroneously omitted by the scribe and restored by the editor.
[- - - -]	lost characters of an uncertain number
x	illegible sign

x	signs that are partially damaged or that appear over the damaged surface of the tablet
!	indicates a word or a syllable that is not written but is expected from the context
vacat	an empty space of the tablet
rasur	erasure
:	double-wedge marker (“Glossenkeil”)

## GLOSSARY

This glossary contains all fully and partially preserved words of KUB 21.38. Words which appear in this text only as ideograms have been given in the Sumerian and Akkadian sections, even if their Hittite reading is known. Ideograms which appear in the text also in their Hittite versions have been included in both, the Hittite and the ideogram sections.

### HITTITE

-a/-ya	“and, also” enclitic conj.	
	-a (geminating) word-connecting	obv.12',16'
	sentence –connecting	obv. 8', 16', 33', 36',57', 61', 62'; rev. 4, 5, 20, 22
	-ya(-) word-connecting	obv. 20', 47', 57'rev. 13
	sentence-connecting	obv. 6', 9', 21', 39', 45', 46', 54', 56', 59', 64'; rev. 2, 5, 13, 14
-a-	“he, she, it” encl. pers. prn. 3 per.	
	nom.sg.c. -aš	obv. 14', 26', 31'
	acc.sg.c. -an(-)	obv. 8', 9', 12', 14',

		20' (2x), 40', 59'; rev. 10, 11
	nom./acc.sg.n. -at(-)	obv. 2', 9'(2x), 10', 11', 16', 35', 39', 46', 49', 51', 52', 53', 54'(2x), 56', 57', 65'; rev. 15
	dat.sg.c. -šši(-)	obv. 27', 45', 51', 63', 64'; rev. 8
	dat.pl.c. -šmaš	obv. 33'
	nom.pl.c. -at(-)	obv. 48'; rev. 8
	acc.pl.n. -at(-)	rev. 2 (2x), 4 (3x)
	acc.pl.c. -aš-	obv. 60', 62'
<i>ammuk</i>	“I” pers.prn.3 per.	
	nom. <i>am-mu-uk(-)</i>	obv. 10', 20'(?), 49', 60'
	<i>am-mu-uk-ma(-)</i>	obv. 12', 22'; rev. 11
	<i>[am-mu-u]k-ma</i>	rev. 10
	gen.sg.c. <i>am-me-el(-)</i> ‘my’	obv. 5' (2x), 36', 53', 58', 62'; rev. 15, 22
	acc.sg. <i>am-mu-u[q-q]a-</i>	obv. 26'
	abl.sg. <i>am-me-e-da-za</i>	obv. 16'
<i>anda</i>	“in, into” preverb	
	<i>anda wemiya-</i>	obv. 18', 20'
	<i>anda malai-</i>	obv. 26'

		<i>anda taparriya-</i>	obv. 36'
𐎠 <i>annān</i>		“???”	
		: <i>an-na-a-an</i>	obv. 58'
		<i>an-na-a-an</i>	obv. 63'
<i>apā-</i>		“that” demonstr.prn	
		nom.sg.c. <i>a-pa-a-aš</i>	rev. 2
		acc.sg.c. <i>a-pu-u-un</i>	rev. 12
		dat.sg.c. <i>a-pé-e-da-ni</i>	obv. 46'
		gen.sg.c. <i>a-pé-el</i>	obv. 50'
		acc.pl.c. <i>a-pu-u-uš-</i>	obv. 33' (2x), 61'; rev. 20
		dat.pl.c. <i>a-pé-e-da-š(-)</i>	obv. 14', 20' (?)
<i>apadda(n)</i>	adv.	“thereby”	
		<i>a-pad-da-an</i>	obv. 22', 42', 43'
		<i>a-pad-da-ya</i>	obv. 64'; rev. 14
		[ <i>a-pad-d</i> ] <i>a-ya</i>	obv. 13
<i>apēz</i>		“from there” adv.	
		<i>a-pí-iz- za</i>	rev. 4
<i>apiya</i>		“there; then” adv.	
		<i>a-pí-ya(-)</i>	obv. 11', 45'; rev. 5

	<i>a-pí-[y]a</i>	rev. 2
<i>appizziyan</i>	“later” adv.	
	<i>ap-pí-za-x[(?)</i>	obv. 20’
<i>ar-</i>	“to arrive”	
	prs.3.sg. <i>a-ri</i>	rev. 5
	prt.3.sg. <i>a-ar-aš</i>	obv. 23’
	ppl.nom.sg.c. <i>a-[r]a-an-za</i>	obv. 27’
<i>ar-</i>	“to stand”	
	prt.3.pl. <i>a-ra-an-ta-at</i>	rev. 8
<i>arahzena-</i>	“foreign” adj.	
	acc.sg.c.(?) <i>a-ra-ah-zé-nu-un</i>	obv. 49’
<i>arha</i>	“away” preverb	
	<i>arha dā-</i>	obv. 20’
	<i>a[r-ha</i>	obv. 27’
<i>aruna</i>	“sea”	
	dat./loc.sg. c. <i>a-ru-ni</i>	obv. 15’
<i>aššul-</i>	“greeting; happiness”	
	acc.sg.c.	

	<i>aš-šu-la-an</i>	obv. 5'; rev. 16
<i>aš-</i>	"to remain"	
	prt.3.sg. <i>a-aš-ta-</i>	obv. 11'
<i>eš-</i>	"to be"	
	prs.3.sg. <i>e-eš-zi</i>	obv. 15'(2x), 16'
	prt.3.sg. <i>e-eš-ta</i>	obv. 48', 52'; rev. 8
	<i>e-[eš]-ta</i>	obv. 53'
	imp.3.sg. <i>e-eš-du</i>	obv. 31', 46'
	imp.3.pl. <i>a-ša-an-du</i>	obv. 4'
<i>au(š)-</i>	"to see"	
	prs.1.pl. <i>a-ú-me-n[i</i>	obv. 35'
<i>awan</i>	intensifying preverb	
	<i>a-wa-an a[r-ha</i>	obv. 27'
<i>halki-</i>	"barley"	
	nom.sg.c. [ <i>hal</i> ]- <i>ki-iš</i>	obv. 18'
<i>hamank-</i>	"to tie"	
	GAM <i>hamank-</i> "tie down"	
	imp.3.pl. GAM <i>ha-ma-an-kán-du</i>	obv. 64'
<i>handai-</i>	"to compare, to join in matrimony, match"	

	prs.1.sg. <i>ha-an-da-mi</i>	obv.13' (2x)
	prt.3.sg. <i>ha-an-da-it</i>	obv. 58'
	ppl.nom.sg.c. <i>ha-an-da-an-z[a]</i>	obv. 55'
<i>handaš</i>	“in view of, for the sake of ” postposition	
	<i>ha-an-da-aš</i>	obv. 43', 52'; rev.15
<i>haš(š)-</i>	“to give birth”	
	prt.3.pl. <i>ha-a-ši-ir</i>	obv. 60'
	ppl.acc.pl.c. <i>ha-aš-ša-an-te-eš</i>	obv. 61'
<i>hatrāi-</i>	“to write”	
	prs.1.sg. <i>ha-at-ra-mi</i>	obv. 35'
	<i>ha-at-r[a-mi</i>	obv. 39'
	<i>ha-at-ra-a-mi</i>	rev. 4
	prs.2.sg. <i>ha-at-ra-a-ši-</i>	rev. 2
	iter. <i>ha-at-ri-iš[-ki-</i>	rev. 19
<i>iya-</i>	“to make”	
	prs.1.sg. <i>i-ya-mi</i>	rev. 11 (2x), 13[
	DÜ- <i>mi</i>	obv. 65'; rev. 12



	prs.2.sg. <i>i-y[a-ši</i>	rev. 15
	prt.1.sg. <i>i-ya-nu-un</i>	obv. 49', 52'
	DÛ- <i>nu-un</i>	obv. 58'
	<i>i-ya-n[u-u]n</i>	obv. 62'
	prt.3.sg. <i>i-ya-at(-)</i>	obv. 54'(2x), 57'(2x)
	imp.2.sg. <i>i-ya</i>	obv. 39'
	imp.3.pl. <i>i-ya-an-du</i>	obv. 37'
<i>iyauwar</i>	“doing”	
	gen.sg.n. <i>i-ya-u-wa-aš</i>	obv. 39'
<i>ileššar</i>	“rank”	
	dat.-loc.sg.n. <i>i-li-iš-ni</i>	obv. 56'
<i>imma</i>	“indeed” adv.	
	<i>im-ma</i>	obv. 15', 26'[?, 48', 51', 53', 54'
<i>išhaššarwatar</i>	“lordliness”	
	nom.-acc.sg.n. <i>iš-ha-aš-šar-wa-tar(-)</i>	obv. 16', 46'
<i>išhiya-</i>	“to tie”	
	GAM- <i>an išhiya-</i> “to connect, link”	
	inf.	

	GAM- <i>an iš-ha[-an-n]a?</i>	obv.14'
<i>išhiul</i>	“binding”	
	nom.-acc.sg.n. <i>iš-hi-ú-ul</i>	rev. 14
<i>iškiša-</i>	“support”	
	nom.-acc.pl.n. <i>iš-ki-ša</i>	obv. 45'
<i>ištantāi-</i>	“to be delayed, to linger”	
	prt.3.sg. <i>iš-ta-an-ta-it</i>	obv. 22'
<i>iwar</i>	“like, as” postposition with gen. (preposed in Rs 2 of this text)	
	<i>i-wa-ar</i>	rev. 2
<i>kā-</i>	“this” demonstr.prn.	
	acc.sg.c. <i>ku-u-un</i>	obv. 42']; rev. 9
	dat.-loc.sg. <i>ki-e-da-ni</i>	rev. 15
	nom.-acc.pl.n. <i>ki-e</i>	rev. 5
<i>-kán</i>	sentence particle <i>-kán</i>	obv. 4'[, 11' (2x), 13', 14', 17', 18', 20', 26', 27', 30', 31', 33', 40', 52', 53', 54', 59', 60']; rev. 1, 3, 5 (2x), 16, 20, 21, 22
<i>karū</i>	“already” adv.	

	<i>ka-ru-ú(-)</i>	obv. 23', 27', 61'; rev. 12
<i>kinun</i>	“now” adv.	
	<i>ki-nu-un(-)</i>	obv. 8' (2x), 9', 29'; rev. 10
<i>kiš-</i> (with <i>-za</i> )	“to become”	
	prs.3.sg. <i>ki-ša-ri</i>	rev. 14
<i>kiššan</i>	“as follows; thus” adv.	
	<i>kiš-an</i>	obv. 7', 12' (2x), 17', 24', 25', 34', 41'; rev. 1, 7
<i>kui-</i>	“who, what, which, that” interrog. and rel.prn.	
	nom.sg.c. <i>ku-iš</i>	obv. 57'; rev. 7, 11, 15
	acc.sg.c. <i>ku-in</i>	obv. 12', 17', 19', 45'], 63'
	nom.-acc.sg.n. <i>ku-it</i>	obv. 39', 45', 48'; rev. 10, 12
	dat./loc.sg. <i>ku-e-da-ni(-)</i>	obv. 13', 18', 56'
	abl.-instr.sg. <i>ku-e-iz</i>	obv. 43'
	acc.pl.c. <i>ku-i-e-eš</i>	obv. 47', 60', 61'
	nom.-acc.pl.n. <i>ku-i-e</i>	rev. 1, 3

<i>kuiški</i>	“anything; some” indef.prn.	
	nom./acc.sg.n. <i>ku-it-ki</i>	obv. 15' (2x), 15', 15'[, 16'; rev. 16
	nom.-acc.pl.n. <i>ku-e-eq-qa</i>	obv. 45'
<i>kuit</i>	“that” complementizer	
	<i>ku-it-</i>	rev. 13
<i>kuit</i>	“because” conj.	
	<i>ku-it</i>	obv. 1'?, 7', 11'(2x), 17', 25', 34'; rev. 1, 3, 7, 10, 12
	<i>ku-[i]t</i>	obv. 41'
<i>kuitki</i>	“somehow” adv.	
	<i>ku-it-k[i]</i>	obv. 15'
	<i>ku-it-ki</i>	obv. 15', 16', (2x); rev. 16
<i>kuitman</i>	“meanwhile; while”	
	adv. and conj. <i>ku-it-ma-an</i>	rev. 18
<i>kuššan</i>	“as soon as, when” adv.	
	<i>ku-uš-ša-an</i>	obv. 35'
<i>kuwapi</i>	“ever, when, at the time when” adv.	

	<i>ku-wa-pí</i>	obv. 1', 27', 40', 50', 59'
	<i>ku-wa-pí UL</i> “never”	obv. 14'
	<i>Ú-UL ku-wa-pí</i>	obv. 28'
<i>kuwat</i>	“why” adv.	
	<i>ku-wa-at</i>	obv. 8'
<i>lē</i>	“not!”	
	<i>le-e</i>	obv. 25', 37'
<i>𐌽 lumpašti-</i>	“offence, displeasure”	
	nom.sg.c. [:l]u-um-pa-aš-ti-iš	rev. 11
	acc.sg.c. <i>lu-pa-aš-tin</i>	obv. 65'
	:lu-um-[pa-aš-ti-i]n	rev. 12
	:lu-um-pa-aš-ti-in	rev. 13
<i>-ma</i>	“but” conj.	
	<i>-ma(-)</i>	obv. 7', 9', 11', 12', 14', 15', 16', 17', 21', 22', 23', 25', 29', 32', 34', 38', 40', 41', 53', 61', 65'; rev. 1, 4, 10 (2x), 11, 12, 14, 18
<i>malai-</i> (with <i>-za</i> )	“to approve”	
	prs.2.sg. <i>ma-la-a-ši</i> <i>ma-la-ši</i>	obv. 9' rev. 4
	ppl.nom.sg.c. <i>an-da ma-la-a-an-za</i>	obv. 26'

<i>man</i>	particle denoting potential, optative	
	<i>ma-an</i> <i>ma-a-an(-)</i>	obv. 45' rev. 2, 10, 12]
<i>mān</i>	“if, whether; when” conj.	
	<i>ma-a-an(-)</i>	obv. 12' (2x), 15', 24'[, 50', 54', 55', 65'; rev. 14
	<i>ma-a-n-</i>	obv. 31'
<i>mān mān...mān</i>	introducing contrary to fact conditional sentence	
	<i>ma-a-an- ma-a-an</i> <i>...ma-a-an</i>	obv. 28'
<i>mānman</i>	“if” conj.	
	<i>ma-a-an-ma-an</i>	obv. 44'
<i>manninkuwahh-</i>	“to come near, approach”	
	prs.1.sg. <i>ma-an-ni-in-ku-[w]a-ah-mi</i>	rev. 3
<i>markiya-</i> ( with <i>-za</i> )	“to disapprove”	
	prs.2.sg.act. <i>mar-ki-ya-ši</i> <i>mar-ki-ši</i>	obv. 9'
	prt. 3 sg.act. <i>mar-ki-ya-at</i>	rev. 10
<i>mehur-</i>	“time”	

	dat./loc.sg. n. <i>mēhuni</i>	
	<i>ku-e-da-ni me-e-hu-ni</i> “at what(ever) time”	obv. 18’, 23’.
<i>mema-</i>	“to speak”	
	prt.3.sg. <i>me-mi-iš-ta</i>	rev. 9
	iter.prs.3.pl. <i>me-mi-iš-kán-zi</i>	obv. 59’
	iter.imp.3.pl. <i>m]e-mi-iš-kán-du</i>	obv. 41’
<i>memiya(n)-</i>	“word, message; matter”	
	acc.sg.c. <i>me-mi-ya-an</i>	obv. 42’; rev. 9, 10,
	nom.sg.c. INIM- <i>aš</i>	obv. 24’
<i>menahhanda</i>	“before” prev.	
	<i>menahhanda uda-</i>	obv. 19’
<i>mišriwanda</i>	“in full array (or) splendidly” adv.	
	<i>mi-iš-ri-wa-an-da</i>	obv. 50’
<i>-mu</i>	“me; to/for me” encl.pers.prn. 1.sg.acc./dat./loc.	
	dat.sg. <i>-mu(-)</i>	obv. 4’, 7’ (2x), 8’, 17’, 18’, 25’, 31’, 34’, 41’, 48’, 52’; rev. 1 (2x); 2 (2x), 7 (2x), 10, 20, 22

	acc.sg. -mu(-)	obv. 38', 58'
<i>nai-</i>	“to send, dispatch”	
	imp.3.sg. <i>pa-ra-a</i> [ <i>nāu</i> ] (?)	obv. 18
<i>nakki-</i>	“dear, important” adj.	
	nom.sg.c. <i>na-ak-ki-iš-</i>	obv. 40'
	dat.-loc.sg. <i>na-ak-ki-ya</i>	rev. 19
<i>nakkiyatar</i>	“dignity”	
	nom.-acc.sg. n. <i>na-ak-ki-ya-tar</i>	obv. 38'
	dat.-loc.sg.n. <i>na-ak-ki-y[a]-an-ni</i>	obv. 54'
	DUGUD- <i>ni</i>	rev. 15
<i>namma</i>	“further; again” adv.	
	<i>nam-ma(-)</i>	obv. 4', 24', 25', 59'; rev. 11 (2x)
<i>našma</i>	“or” conj.	
	<i>na-aš-ma(-)</i>	obv. 15' (2x), 44', 51'
<i>nepiš-</i>	“heaven”	
	gen.sg.n. <i>ne-pí-ša-aš</i>	obv. 12'
<i>ninink-</i>	“to move, transfer”	
	prt.1.sg. <i>pédi ni-ni-in-ku-un</i>	obv. 24'



<i>nu</i>	“and” conj.	
<i>nu</i>		obv. 11’, 23’, 32’, 35’, 37’ (2x), 42’, 50’, 57’, 58’, 61’, 62’, 63’, 64’, 65’; rev. 12, 13, 14
<i>nu-wa-</i>		obv. 2’, 17’, 18’(2x), 19’, 45’; rev. 1, 8
<i>nu-war-</i>		obv. 20’ (2x), 39’, 46’; rev. 2 (2x), 8
<i>na-aš</i>		obv. 14’, 60’, 62’
<i>na-an(-)</i>		obv. 12’, 13’
<i>na-at(-)</i>		obv. 2’, 9’, 10’, 11’, 48’, 49’, 51’, 54’ (2x), 57’; rev. 4
<i>[n]a-[a]t</i>		rev. 11
<i>nu-uš-ši-</i>		obv. 27’, 63’
<i>nu-uš-ma-aš</i>		obv. 33’
<i>nu-mu-</i>		obv. 52’, 60’[; rev. 16, 17, 20, 21
<i>nu-kán</i>		obv. 30’, 39’; rev. 3
<i>nu-za(-)</i>		obv. 49’, 56’, 58’; rev. 5
<i>nuntarnu-</i>	“to hurry”	
	imp. 1.sg.	
<i>nu-un-tar-nu-wa-[al-lu</i>		obv. 37’
	verbal noun “haste”	
	nom.sg.n.	
<i>nu-un-tar-nu-um-mar</i>		obv. 36’
<i>pāi-</i>	“to give”	
	prs. 1.sg	

	<i>pí-ih-hi</i>	obv. 13', 63'
	prt.2.sg. <i>pé-eš-t[a</i>	obv. 8'
	prt.3.sg. <i>pé-eš-ta</i>	obv. 11'
	prt.1.sg. <i>pí-ih-hu-un</i>	obv. 28', 44'
	prt.3.pl. <i>pí-e-er</i>	obv. 45'
	iter.pres.1.sg. <i>pe-eš-ki-mi</i>	obv. 17',
	ppl.nom.sg.c. <i>[p]í-ya-an-za</i>	rev. 8
	<i>parā pāi-</i> "hand over"	
	prs.2.sg. <i>pa-ra-a [ p]í-eš-ti</i>	rev.1
<i>pāi-</i>	"to go"	
	EGIR- <i>anda pāi-</i> "to go after" (to follow)	
	prt.3.pl. EGIR- <i>[an-]da pa-a-ir</i>	rev. 8
<i>parā</i>	"toward, forth" prev.	
	<i>parā duwan</i>	obv. 14'
	<i>parā nai-</i>	obv. 18' (?)
	<i>parā pāi-</i>	rev. 1
<i>parnawiške-</i>	"to make into the property of the royal house"	

	imp.3.pl. <i>pár-na-wi-iš-kán-du</i>	obv. 20'
<i>-pat</i>	emphasising particle	
	<i>-pát</i>	obv. 20', 27', 37', 38'; rev. 13
<i>pē har(k)-</i>	“to have/ hold (in one’s possession)”	
	prs.3.pl. <i>pé-e har-kán-zi</i>	obv. 19'
<i>peda-</i>	“place”	
	dat.-loc.sg.n. <i>pé-di</i>	obv. 23'; rev. 15
	<i>pé-di ninink-</i> “to take up/from”	obv. 23'-24'
<i>piran</i>	“before” postposition	
	<i>pí-ra-an</i>	obv. 48'
<i>punuš(š)-</i>	“to ask”	
	imp.2.sg. <i>pu-nu-uš</i>	obv.12', 24'
<i>šak-/ šek-</i>	“to know”	
	prs.2.sg. <i>ša-ak-ti</i>	obv. 10', 59'
<i>šiwariya-?</i>	“to deny”?	
	<i>ši-wa-ri-ya</i>	rev. 16
	<i>ši-wa-ri-ya-it</i>	rev. 16
<i>šuwaru</i>	“completeness, full”	

	adj. and noun	
	TI- <i>tar šu-wa-ru</i> “full life”	obv. 3’
- <i>ta</i>	“you; to/for you” encl.pers.prn. 2.sg.acc./dat./loc.	
	dat.sg. - <i>ta</i> - <i>da</i> - <i>tta</i>	obv. 7’, 9’, 18’, 28’ (2x); rev. 1 obv. 40’ rev. 3
<i>dā-</i>	“to take”	
	prt.1.sg. <i>da-ah-hu-un</i>	obv. 47’, 49’
	iter.imp.3.pl. <i>da-aš-kan-du</i>	obv. 20’
	- <i>za</i> MUNUS- <i>anni da-</i> ”to take in marriage?”	
	prt.3.sg.act. - <i>za</i> MUNUS- <i>an-ni da-a-aš</i>	obv. 55’
<i>dāi-</i>	“to set, to place”	
	ppl.nom.pl. <i>ti-an-te-eš</i>	obv. 4’
<i>dān</i>	“second” adv.	
	<i>da-]a-an</i>	obv. 39’
<i>taparriya-</i>	“to decide”	
	prs.3.sg. <i>anda ta-par-ri-ya-i</i>	obv. 36’
<i>tarh-</i>	“to be able to”	
	prs.1.sg.	

	<i>tar-ah-mi</i>	obv. 14'
<i>te-</i>	“to say”	
	prs.2.sg. <i>te-ši</i>	obv. 55'
<i>tiššān</i>	”???” ( <i>an-na-a-an</i> ) <i>ti-iš-ša-a-an</i>	obv. 59', 63'
<i>tittanu-</i>	“to install”	
	prt.3.sg. <i>ti-it-ta-nu-ut</i>	rev. 15
<i>tuppi-</i>	“tablet”	
	nom./acc.pl.n. <i>tub-ba</i> <sup>HLA!</sup>	obv. 20'
<i>duwan</i>	adv.	
	<i>du-wa-an pa-ra-a</i> “up till now, so far”	obv. 14'
<i>dušk-</i>	“to rejoice”	
	prt.1.sg <i>du-uš-ku-un</i>	obv.2'
<i>uda-</i>	“to bring”	
	prt.3.pl. <i>ú-te-er</i>	obv. 2'
	imp.3.pl. <i>ú-da-an-du</i>	obv. 19'
<i>unuwašha-</i>	“jewellery; decoration; ornament”	
	acc.sg. <i>ú-nu-w[a-aš-ha-an</i>	obv. 5'

<i>uwa-</i>	“to come”	
	prs.3.sg. <i>ú-iz-zi</i>	rev. 3
	prs.3.pl. <i>ú-w[a-an-zi</i>	obv. 30’
	prt.1.sg. <i>ú-wa-nu-un</i>	obv. 59’
	EGIR- <i>pa uwa-</i> “return”	
	prt.3.sg. EGIR <i>ú-it</i>	obv. 21’ (2x), 32’
	EGIR- <i>anda uwa-</i> “come after”	
	prs.3.sg. EGIR <i>ú-iz-zi</i>	obv. 51’
	prs.3.pl. EGIR <i>ú-wa-an-zi</i>	obv. 50’
<i>-wa(-)</i>	quotational particle	
	<i>-wa(-)</i>	obv. 1’, 2’, 7’, 17’ (2x), 19’ (2x), 25’, 34’, 39’, 41’, 64’; rev. 1 (2x), 7 (2x), 8
	<i>-wa’</i>	obv. 55’
	<i>-war-</i>	obv. 8’, 20’, 35’, 39’; rev. 2 (2x), 8
<i>wahnu-</i>	“to change”	
	prs.1.sg. <i>wa-ah-nu-mi</i> <i>w]a-ah-nu-mi</i>	obv. 40’ (2x) obv. 40’
<i>walliyatar</i>	“praise”	
	nom.-acc.sg.n.	

	<i>wa-al-li-ya-tar</i>	obv. 48', 51'
<i>wašai</i>	"favor/favorable"?	
	<i>w[a-]ša-i</i>	obv. 43'
<i>weh-</i>	"to pass away, to fall"	
	prs.3.sg.med. <i>ú-e-eh-ta-r[i]</i>	obv. 31'
<i>wemiya-</i>	"to find"	
	prt.1.sg. <i>ú-e-mi-ya-nu-un</i>	obv. 60', 61']
	<i>anda wemiya-</i> "arrive, reach"	
	prs.3.pl. <i>anda ú-e-mi-ya[-an-z]i</i>	obv. 18'
	prt.3.pl. <i>anda KAR-ir</i>	obv. 20'
<i>-za</i>	reflexive particle	
	<i>-za</i>	obv.2', 9'(2x), 10'(2x), 26', 38', 40', 47', 49', 54', 56', 58', 60'; rev. 4 (2x), 10, 13, 17, 18
<i>zaluganu-</i>	"to delay, to hold back"	
	prs.1.sg. <i>za-lu-ga-nu-mi</i>	obv. 37'
	prs.2.sg. <i>za-lu-ga-nu-u[š-ši(?)]</i>	obv. 25'
<i>zaluganumar</i>	"delay"	
	nom./acc.sg.n. <i>za-lu-ga-nu-mar(-)</i>	obv. 34'[, 36'
<i>zik/ziqqa</i>	"you" pers.prm.2.per.	

	dat.sg. <i>tu-uq-q-</i>	obv.16'
<i>ziladuwa</i>	"in the future" adv.	
	<i>z]i-la-du-wa</i>	obv. 42'

## SUMERIAN

DIB	"to take, seize"	
	imp.3.pl. DIB- <i>an-du</i>	obv. 33'
DINGIR	"god, deity"	
	nom.sg. DINGIR <sup>LUM</sup>	obv. 57', 62'; rev. 15
	nom.pl. DINGIR <sup>MEŠ</sup>	obv. 37'
DINGIR.GAL	"great god"	
	dat.sg.c. ANA DINGIR.GAL	obv.11'
DÙ	see <i>iya</i>	
DUGUD- <i>ni</i>	see <i>nakkiyatar</i>	
DUMU	"child; son"	
	dat.sg. ANA DUMU <sup>d</sup> UTU (ANA) DUMU <sup>d</sup> U	obv. 15' obv. 15'
	pl. DUMU <sup>MEŠ</sup>	rev. 21
DUMU.MUNUS	"daughter"	



	DUMU.MUNUS(-)	obv. 7', 12', 25', 26', 44'[, 47', 49', 55'; rev. 1, 5, 7, 17[
	DUMU.M[UNU]S	obv. 63'
	dat.sg. ANA DUMU.MUNUS(-)	obv. 13', 17', 41'
	gen.sg. ŠA DUMU.MUNUS-	obv. 34'
	nom.pl. [DUMU.]MUNUS <sup>MEŠ</sup>	obv. 60'
	acc.pl. DUMU.MUNUS <sup>MEŠ</sup>	obv. 58'
DUMU.NITA	“son”	
	acc.pl. DUMU.NITA <sup>MEŠ</sup>	obv. 58'
É	“house”	
	É <sup>TI</sup>	obv. 59', 60'
	nom.sg.n. É É-i[r	obv. 10' obv. 10'
MUNUS <sup>É</sup> .GI4.A	“daughter-in-law”	
	dat.sg. AŠ-ŠUM <sup>MUNUS<sup>É</sup>.GI4.A</sup>	obv. 49'
	A-NA [ <sup>MUNUS<sup>É</sup>.GI4.A</sup> ]	obv. 50'
EGIR- <i>anda</i>	“behind” adv. and prev.	
	EGIR- <i>an-da</i>	obv. 22', 64'
	preverb EGIR- <i>an-da uwa-</i>	obv. 50', 51'

	EGIR- <i>an-da</i> <i>pāi-</i>	rev. 8
EGIR- <i>pa</i>	“back; behind” adv. and prev.	
	EGIR- <i>pa</i>	rev. 8
	preverb EGIR- <i>pa</i> [	obv. 38’
	EGIR- <i>pa</i> <i>uwa-</i>	obv. 21’
EN	“lord; general”	
	acc.pl. EN <sup>MEŠ</sup>	obv. 62’
	dat.pl.c. ANA EN <sup>MEŠ</sup>	obv. 19’
GAM	“down, below” as preverb:	
	GAM <i>hamank-</i>	obv. 64’
GAM- <i>an</i>	“down” as preverb:	
	GAM- <i>an</i> <i>išhiya-</i>	obv. 14’
GAM- <i>anda</i> ( <i>kattanda</i> )	“down” adv.	
	GIM- <i>an-da</i>	obv. 30’
GIM(- <i>an</i> )	“as; when, as soon as; that” conj.	
	GIM “that”	rev. 15
	GIM- <i>an</i> (-)	obv. 10’, 43’, 57’; rev. 1, 5, 8
GIŠ.HUR	“document”	
	acc.pl.	

	GIŠ.HUR <sup>MEŠ</sup>	obv. 19'
GU <sub>4</sub>	“cattle”	
	pl. GU <sub>4</sub> <sup>MEŠ</sup>	obv. 17', 19']
IKU	land measure length measure	
	abl.sg. IŠ-TU IKU	rev. 8
INIM	“word; matter” c. and n.	
	nom.sg.c INIM-aš (= <i>memiyaš</i> )	obv. 24'
	nom.-acc.pl.n. INIM <sup>MEŠ</sup> (= <i>uddār</i> )	rev. 5
KAR-ir	see <i>wemiya</i>	
KARAŠ	“army”	
	pl. KARAŠ <sup>HLA</sup>	obv. 62'
KI	“earth”	
	gen.sg.n. KI-ašš=a	obv. 12'
KUR	“land”	
	KUR <sup>TUM</sup>	rev. 14
	gen.sg. KUR <sup>II</sup> -YA-	obv. 19'
	pl. KUR.KUR <sup>MEŠ</sup>	obv. 4'[, 17'

	KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>A-mur-ri</i>	obv. 47'; rev. 3
	KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>A-aš-šur</i>	obv. 13'
	KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>Hat-ti</i>	obv. 10', 48', 52', 55'
	KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>Ha-at-ti-</i>	rev. 13
	KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>Ka-ra-an-du-ni-ya[-aš</i>	obv. 13'
	KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>Ga-ra-an-du-ni-ya-a[š</i>	obv. 47'
	KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>Kar-an-du-ni-ya-aš(-)</i>	obv. 54', 55', 56'
	KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>Kar-du-ni-ya-aš-</i>	rev. 7
	KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>Kar-du-ni[-y]a</i>	rev. 9
	KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>Kum-man-ni</i>	obv. 30'
	KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>Mi-iz-ri</i>	rev. 13
	dat.sg. KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>Mi-iz-ri-i</i>	rev. 7
	A-AN KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>Mi-iz-r[i</i>	rev. 14
	KUR] <sup>URU</sup> <i>Zu-la-pí</i>	obv. 13'
LÚ <sup>MEŠ</sup>	"people"	
	pl. LÚ <sup>MEŠ</sup> KUR <sup>URU</sup> <i>Hat-ti</i>	obv. 48'
	LÚ <sup>MEŠ</sup> <i>Hat-ti</i>	obv. 59'
LUGAL	"king"	
	LUGAL	obv. 55' (2x), 60'; rev. 9
	dat.-loc.sg. A-NA LUGAL	obv. 54'
LUGAL.GAL	"great king"	
	LUGAL.[G]AL	obv. 56'
	gen.sg. ŠA LUGAL.GAL	obv. 49', 55'

LUGAL.KALA.GA	“mighty king”	
MUNUS	LUGAL.KALA.GA “woman”	obv. 55’
	acc.sg. M[UNUS]- <i>an</i> MUNUS <sup>TUM</sup>	obv. 45’ obv. 52’, 53’
MUNUS.LUGAL	“queen”	
	MUNUS.LUGAL	obv. 57’, 64’; rev. 3, 5, 14
	nom.sg. MUNUS.LUGAL- <i>aš-</i>	obv. 47’
	gen.sg. ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL	obv. 63’
	dat.sg. A-NA MUNUS.LUGAL	rev. 3
MUNUS- <i>atar</i>	“womanhood”	
	dat.sg.n. MUNUS- <i>an-ni</i> - <i>za</i> MUNUS- <i>anni da-</i>	obv. 55’
NAM.RA	“civil captive”	
	pl. NAM.RA <sup>MEŠ</sup>	obv. 17’, 19’, 23’
NÍG.TUKU	“to enrich oneself”	
	prs.2.sg. NÍG.TUKU- <i>ti</i>	obv. 16’
NIN	“sister”	
	nom.sg. NIN-YA(-)	obv. 7’, rev. 7
	gen.sg. ŠA NIN-ZU NIN <sup>TI</sup>	obv. 44’ obv. 51’

	dat.sg. ANA NIN-YA-	obv. 35'
NIN- <i>tar</i>	“sister-status, sisterhood” nom.-acc.sg.n. NIN- <i>tar</i>	obv. 38'
	dat.-loc.sg.n. NIN- <i>ni</i>	obv. 53'
NU.GÁL	“there is not”	obv. 15', 18', 52'
LÚSAG	“palace official”	
	acc.sg. LÚSAG	obv. 22'
SAG.DU	“head; person”	
	gen.sg. ŠA SAG.DU-YA	obv. 57', 62'
	dat.sg.c. SAG.DU- <i>i</i>	obv. 3'
LÚSAGLA	“cupbearer”	obv. 32'
SÈD	“winter”	obv. 23' [
SÈD- <i>ya-</i>	“to spend winter”	
	inf. SÈD- <i>u-an-zi</i>	obv. 30'
ŠÀ	“within, inside” adv.	
	ŠÀ	obv. 4'], 17', 30', 52', 59', 60'
ŠEŠ	“brother”	
	nom.sg. ŠEŠ-YA(-)	obv. 7'[, 9'?, 10', 16', 18', 24',

		25', 34', 38', 53', 56', 59'; rev.1, 2 [, 4, 7, 10, 18
	gen.sg. Š[A] ŠEŠ ŠA ŠEŠ-KA ŠA ŠEŠ-YA	obv. 51' obv. 3' obv. 44'
	dat.sg.c ANA ŠEŠ-YA(-)	obv. 5', 6', 12', 15'[, 7', 44', 63', 65' (2x); rev. 4, 5, 10, 11 (2x), 12, 13
	A[-N]A ŠEŠ-YA A-NA Š[E]Š-Y[A] ITTI ŠEŠ-KA	obv. 42' obv. 53' obv. 58'
	nom.pl. ŠEŠ <sup>MEŠ</sup> -	obv. 64'
ŠEŠ-tar	“brotherhood, brother-status”	
	dat.-loc.sg.n. ŠEŠ-an-ni	obv. 53'
ŠU	“hand”	
	dat.-loc.sg. ŠU-i	obv. 60'
TI	“to live”	
	ppl.nom.sg.c. TI-an-za	obv. 31'
TI-tar	“life”	
	nom./acc.sg.n. TI-tar	obv. 3'
TUKU.TUKU	“to be angry”	
	nom.sg.ppl. TUKU.TUKU-za-	obv. 8'
UDU	“sheep”	

	pl. UDU <sup>HIA</sup>	obv. 17'[, 19'
UGULA	“overseer”	
	nom.sg. UGULA LÚ SAGLA	
ÚR	“overseer-of-cupbearers” “limb, penis, care”	obv. 32'
	ÚR-ši	rev. 5
URU	“city”	
	acc.sg. URU <sup>LUM</sup>	obv. 33'
<sup>NA4</sup> ZA.GÌN	“lapis lazuli”	
	abl./instr.sg.c. [IŠTU] <sup>NA4</sup> ZA.GÌN	obv. 4'
ZI-ant-	“wish”	
	nom.sg.c. ZI-za	obv. 65'
ZI	“mind”	
	dat.-loc.sg. c. ZI-ni	obv. 38', 65'; rev. 1, 4

#### AKKADIAN

ANA	“to” prep. denoting dat.	
	A-NA	obv. 5', 6', 11', 12', 13', 15', 17' (2x), 19', 35', 41', 44', 48', 50', 53', 54', 63', 65'(2x); rev. 3, 4, 5, 10, 11 (2x), 12, 13, 14
	A[-N]A	obv. 42'



<i>AŠŠUM</i>	“for the sake of” prep. denoting dat.	
	<i>AŠ-ŠUM</i>	obv. 49’
<i>AWĀTU</i>	“word; matter”	
	nom.-acc.pl.n. <i>A-WA-TE</i> <sup>MES</sup>	rev. 1, 4
<i>EDUM</i>	“to know”	
	prt.1 or 3.sg. <i>I-DI</i>	rev. 14
	prt.1.sg. <i>I-DI</i>	rev. 12 (2x), 13
	prt.3.sg. <i>I-DI</i>	obv. 56’
<i>GAMRUM</i>	“complete” adj.	
	pl. <i>GAM-RA-TI</i>	rev. 6
<sup>LÚ</sup> <i>HA-DA-NU</i>	“son-in-law”	
	<sup>LÚ</sup> <i>HA-DA-NU</i>	rev. 17
<i>INA</i>	“in, into” prep. denoting dat.	
	<i>I-NA</i>	rev. 3
<i>IŠTU</i>	‘by’ prep. denoting abl./instr.	

	<i>IŠ-TU</i>	rev. 8
<i>ITTI</i>	“with” prep. denoting dat.	
	<i>IT-TI</i>	obv. 58’
<i>-YA</i>	“my” poss.prn.	
	1.sg.c. <i>-YA</i>	obv.5’, 6’, 7’(2x),9’?,10’,12’[,15’, 16’,17’,18’,19’,24’, 25’, 34’,35’, 38’,42’, 43’, 53’[,57’,59’, 62’,63’, 65’; rev. 1, 2, 4 (2x),5,7(2x), 10(2x),11(2x),12,13, 18, 21
<i>-KA</i>	“your” poss. prn. 2.sg.m. <i>-KA</i>	obv. 3’, 24’, 58’
<sup>LÚ</sup> <i>KARTAPPU</i>	“charioteer”  acc.sg. <sup>LÚ</sup> <i>KAR-TAP-PU</i>	obv. 22’
<sup>LÚ</sup> <i>PÍTHALLI</i>	“rider” acc.sg.  <sup>LÚ</sup> <i>PÍT-HAL-LI</i>	obv. 18’
<i>QABUM</i>	“to speak”  prt.1.sg.c. <i>AQ-BI</i>	obv. 64’
<i>QATAMMA</i>	“likewise”  <i>QA-TAM-MA</i>	obv. 6’
<i>ŠA</i>	“of” akk. prep. denoting gen.	

	ŠA	obv. 3', 3'[, 20', 34', 44'(2x), 49', 51[, 54', 57', 62', 63'
ŠAPĀRU	"to write; to send"	
	prt.1.sg.c. AŠ-PUR	obv. 17', 20', 43'[, rev. 10
	prt.2.m.sg. TĀŠ-PUR	obv. 7', 25', 34', 41'; rev. 1, 7
	ptr.3.c.sg. IŠ-PUR	obv. 7'; rev. 7
	imp.2.sg. ŠU-PUR	rev. 2
ŠEMUM	"to hear"	
	prt.1.sg.c. AŠ-MI	rev. 10
-ŠU (after dentals -ZU)	"his" poss.prn.	
	3.sg.m. -ZU	obv. 44'
ŠUMU	"name"	
	nom./acc.sg.n. ŠUM-an	obv. 16'
	dat.sg. ŠUM-ni	obv. 52'
-ŠUNU	"their" poss.prn.	
	3.pl.m. -ŠU-NU	obv. 64'

LÚ<sub>TE<sub>4</sub></sub>-MU

“messenger”

nom.sg.

LÚ<sub>TE<sub>4</sub></sub>-MU

obv. 21', 50'; rev. 9

pl.

LÚ.MEŠ<sub>TE<sub>4</sub></sub>-ME

obv. 1', 18', 20' (2x); rev. 8

LÚ.MEŠ<sub>TE<sub>4</sub></sub>-ME-KA

obv. 24'

UL

“not”

adv.

UL

obv. 14', 39', 65'; rev. 4, 11

Ú-UL(-)

obv. 8', 9', 10', 12', 15' (2x), 16',  
16'], 21', 24' (2x), 24'] (1x), 26',  
28', 29[, 48' (2x), 51', 52', 53'  
(2x), 55', 56' (2x), 10], 11, 12, 13,  
14, 16 (2x)

Ú?[-UL

obv. 9'

#### DIVINE NAMES

Hepat

<sup>d</sup>Hé-pat

obv. 57'

Ishtar

<sup>d</sup>IŠTAR

obv. 57'

Storm God  
Sun god

<sup>d</sup>U

obv. 15', 57'

<sup>d</sup>UTU

obv. 15'

Sun Goddess  
of Arinna

<sup>d</sup>UTU URU PÚ-na

obv. 57'

“My Sun  
= Majesty”

<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>ŠI</sup>

obv. 31'

## PERSONAL NAMES

Alalimi	nom.sg. <sup>m</sup> A-la-li-mi-iš	obv. 32'
Enlil-bel-nišen	nom.sg. <sup>m.d</sup> EN.LÍL.EN.ÚKU.MEŠ	rev. 9
Pihašdu	nom.sg. <sup>m</sup> Pí-ha-aš-du-uš	obv. 23'
Urhi-Tešup	nom.sg. <sup>m</sup> Úr-hi <sup>d</sup> U-up-aš <sup>m</sup> [Úr-hi <sup>d</sup> -U-]up-aš	obv. 11' obv. 11'
Zuzu	acc.sg. <sup>m</sup> Zu-zu-un	obv. 22'

## GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Arinna	<sup>URU</sup> PÚ-na	obv. 57'
Amurru	KUR <sup>URU</sup> A-mur-ri	obv. 47'
	dat.sg. I-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup> A-mur-ri	rev. 3
Aššur	KUR <sup>URU</sup> A-aš-šur	obv. 13'
Hatti	Hattuša	
	KUR <sup>URU</sup> Hat-ti	obv. 10', 48', 52', 55'
	KUR <sup>URU</sup> Ha-at-ti-	rev. 13
	Hat-ti	obv. 59'
Karandunija	Babylonia	
KUR <sup>URU</sup> Ka-ra-an-du-ni-ya[-aš		obv. 13'
KUR <sup>URU</sup> Ga-ra-an-du-ni-ya-a[š		obv. 47'

KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Kar-an-du-ni-ya-aš(-)*      obv. 54', 55', 56'

KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Kar-du-ni-ya-aš-*      rev. 7

KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Kar-du-ni[-y]a*      rev. 9

Kummanni      KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Kum-man-ni*      obv. 30'

Mizri      Egypt

KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Mi-iz-ri*      rev. 13

dat.sg.  
KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Mi-iz-ri-i*      rev. 7

A-AN KUR<sup>URU</sup> *Mi-iz-r[i]*      rev. 14

Zulapi      KUR]<sup>URU</sup> *Zu-la-pí*      obv. 13'

#### NUMBERS

1      "one"      obv. 33'  
1-EN      rev. 14