

HITTITE KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE. A STUDY
BASED ON THE CUNEIFORM TEXTS FROM 2ND MILLENNIUM BOĞAZKÖY.

BY

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The Preface explains the background and attendant problems to our study, which aims to examine the contextual evidence from Boğazköy for the structure of Hittite kinship in Second Millennium Anatolia, and consequently to argue that this was bilateral with a patrilineal bias. This counters contentions that a matrilineal (even "matriarchal") substructure explains certain facets of Hittite marriage and inheritance and incidents in the dynastic succession.

The eight chapters are followed by three complementary appendices. Chapter I examines the known consanguineal kinship terms, noting particularly that anninniyamis "cousin", designated the matrilateral and patrilateral cousin, with the exception, apparently, of the father's brother's child. This indicates a joint family organised on a patrilineal although bilateral basis. Such bilaterality is corroborated by the examination in Chapter II of terms including those for "family", "clan", and "kindred".

Chapter III provides a link with the ensuing study of various facets of marriage by considering the concepts regarding men and women, and their respective roles in Hittite culture and society. We conclude that, despite an obvious dominance by men in most aspects of Hittite life, there was a notable cooperation of men and women not only in their domestic economy, indicative of a bilateral kinship system, but also in the sphere of socio-religious activity, which resembled marital cooperation.

Chapters IV and V introduce the subject of marriage by examining betrothal, prohibitions against incest, then terms for marriage and affines. Chapter VI discusses mainly the evidence of the Hittite Laws for "Types of Marriage", followed by an assessment in Chapters VII and VIII of examples of marriages in the categories: "Interdynastic", "Equal Status", and "Sacred and Priestly". Among other points in Summary, we note: bilateral exogamy; preference for marriages between same status families; the importance of honour and prestige; concern for the descendant generations resulting from affinity.

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The abbreviations used in the present study may be found in CHD, CAD, HW², HZ, RLA, Szemerényi, 1977, and Buck, 1949, with the exception of the following:

AR(I,II)	= A.K. Grayson, 1991.
ALI	Ancient Laws of Ireland. Vol.VI. Dublin. 1901.
CHS	I. Band 5. 1988 I/II: Die Rituale der Bescwörerinnen ^{sal} SU.GI. V. Haas, I. Wegner.
CLI	= CL (Laws of Lipit-Ištar)
HED	Hittite Etymological Dictionary. by J. Puhvel. Vol.1ff.; Trends in Linguistics. Documentation 1,5ff. Ed. W. Winter. New York. 1984ff.
H-DWz	= J. Tischler, 1982b.
HZ	Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. E. Neu. C. Rüster. StBoT. Beiheft 2. Wiesbaden. 1989.
KOR	= M.N. van Loon, 1980.
RAI	= CRRA
SHV	= N. Oettinger, 1979.
SHS	= N. Boysan, et. al., 1983.
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Ed. O. Kaiser.

General

abstr.	abstract	l.c.	in place cited
acc.	according to	m.	male
approx.	approximate(ly)	MK	Middle Kingdom
AS	Anglo Saxon	NK	New Kingdom
beg.	beginning	OK	Old Kingdom
cit.	citation	pass.	passage(s)
CL	cuneiform Luwian	prev.	previous(ly)
deriv.	deriv(e/es/ed /ative/ion(s))	P-A.	Proto-Anatolian
des.	designat(es/d/ing)	rec.	recent(ly)
Eng.	English	reg.	regarding
est.	establish(ed)	s.a.	see above
f.	female	Ug.	Ugarit
foll.	follow(s/ed/ing)	vb(s)	verb(s)
f.b.	further below	vbl	verbal
Germ.	German		
HL	Hieroglyphic Luwian		
IA	Indo-Aryan		
interpr.	interpret(s/ed /ation(s))		
L(L).	line(s)		

The study of kinship and marital patterns has proved to be a subject of increasing fascination today not only to social anthropologists, but also to students of ancient history and linguistics. Anthropological research tends to concentrate upon contemporary or near-contemporary peoples, often tribal and primitive compared to modern civilisations, where - in all cases - personal interviews and observation of daily life may provide illuminating answers for the student regarding present and recently-past patterns and terminologies of kinship and marriage. By contrast, the ancient historian and philologist can only examine the surviving records of a society and draw conclusions on the basis of this inevitably limited source of information.

The evidence of the Hittite texts for the subject of "kinship and marriage" provides a challenge from the varying aspects of epigraphy, linguistics, historical data, and social anthropology. Hittite studies have advanced considerably since the Czechoslovakian scholar Hrozný in 1917-1918 recognised as a descendant branch of PIE the Hittite language in which the greatest number of clay tablets discovered at Boğazköy in Turkey had been written. The tablets were all inscribed with a cuneiform script evidently borrowed and introduced to Hattusas (modern Boğazköy), from a pre-Old Babylonian North Syrian cultural centre, at the beginning of the Old Kingdom period. We venture an early 16th century BC dating for this process, which is however, subject to revision since it depends upon concordance with events in the broader Near Eastern historical spectrum. Archaeologically the Old Kingdom period ended with Level IVc I, while the New Kingdom period, Levels IVb to IIIa, ended with the violent destruction of Hattusas (c. 1200 BC) which silenced the cuneiform sources in the collapse of the Hittite administration.

Although termed Hittite by modern scholars the scribes of Hattusas called this language nes(um)ili-, that is, belonging to the people of Kanesh/Nesa, modern Kültepe, site

of the citadel of the ruling native princes and the principal karum of the Old Assyrian trading colonies operating there. Such colonies existed also in the close vicinity of other strategic Anatolian cities, early in the 2nd Millennium BC. Clay tablets have been discovered, mainly at Kül-tepe, in great numbers, although comparatively few have been published. They were written in the OA language and script, which did not continue into the OK period. The tablets record many names of native Anatolians who were involved in various OA dealings, and a few non-Assyrian Anatolian terms, which witness the presence of Hittite speakers in Anatolia long before the first texts of OK Hattusas were inscribed. According to the analyses of some philologists attempting to trace chronologically and geographically the movement from the "parent" PIE body, of the Proto-Anatolian language(s), the latter may have been present in Anatolia as early as the 4th Millennium BC.

Hittite, with classical Lydian, represents only one of the branches and descendant languages from P-A. The Luwian branch may be traced through the CL of the Boğazköy texts, and related Palaic, the Luwian of the hieroglyphic script, which is attested at Boğazköy and certain 2nd Millennium sites, but principally in the 1st Millennium HL inscriptions, and the Lycian languages. Apart from Hittite, Luwian, and Palaic, the Boğazköy texts also record the linguistically unrelated: Akkadian, lingua franca of the 2nd Millennium NE; Hattic - language of the indigenous(?) population of North Central Anatolia; Hurrian - attested at Bogazköy from the 15th century, and language of populations spreading west and south from the Lake Van region and Upper Mesopotamia from the 3rd Millennium, and as the medium of the non-Akkadian Amarna correspondence of a 14th century Mittannian King. Two other languages may be added to this already impressive list, namely Indo-Aryan, in traces represented by terms used in ritual texts concerning horse-training, and Sumerian, in bilinguals, and copies of Mesopotamian Vocabulary texts equating Akkadian to Sumerian words, which are further translated by a Hittite word or phrase in

some Boğazköy versions.

However, this apparent wealth of material is often preserved only in a fragmentary state, imposing restrictions upon the reading and interpretation of many texts. Hittite, by far the best preserved of all these languages at Boğazköy, in which numerous contemporary letters, and various categories of texts were written, such as the historical, legal, religious, and bilinguals with other languages noted above, was clearly the official medium of communication for the inhabitants of Hatti, although Luwian may have been the popular tongue(?). Consequently we will restrict our study mainly to the Hittite texts, while reference will be made to the sister, and the linguistically unrelated languages, when necessary for the purpose of interpretation.

While the possibility of identifying certain PIE derivatives among the kinship terms attested in Hittite and its related languages has provided added interest to the philological study of the P-A. descendants and their linguistic relationship to the previously recognised IE languages, the study of the Boğazköy texts soon highlighted another interesting aspect of Hittite kinship. There appeared to be reason to suspect that an indigenous matrilineal descent system had been superseded by the Hittite patrilineal, which resulted in generations of internecine rivalry in the OK royal family, and between the opposed systems. The supposed presence of matrilineality in Hatti seemed to confirm that Herodotus had been describing such a system when he related that the Lycians identified themselves by their mother's name, rather than a patronymic as is usual with patrilineal descent. This suggested further that ancient Anatolia might offer evidence to confirm early "evolutionist" theories in social anthropology that all human society had originated from matriarchal/matrilineal organisations, to evolve into patrilineality with the rise of property ownership as an important social factor.

For some years now social anthropologists have questioned and disproved the "evolutionist" theories, arguing that

matriarchy pure and simple is not only unattested but most unlikely, while matrilineal descent systems arise secondarily in response to specific economic, demographic, and other, causes. There has been increasing research into the "bilateral" kinship systems, of which the hall-mark, as it were, is the importance of both parents' relatives to a person in the kinship system. To the present author, the evidence suggested that the Hittite kinship and marital system was indeed bilateral, with a patrilineal bias, and it is on this premise that the following study is based.

In regard to my analysis of the Hittite texts from the view point of social anthropology I benefitted greatly from lectures I was enabled to attend at University College, 19-81-1982, particularly those of Dr. Burnham on Kinship. The Bibliography makes obvious how dependent my thesis has been upon the works of Keasing, Goody, Rivière, and others, to whom frequent reference is made. Indeed, as a prologue to the study of Hittite marriage I should properly quote Rivière's article (1979) in entirety, but will restrict my reference to note that the title of Chapter III (which attempts to follow Rivière's advice) quotes from "Marriage: A Reassessment". I must add that time and space have imposed limitations upon the scope of this study, which is more a beginning than a final word on its subject. For example, patterns of residence, and ancestor worship, are mentioned only briefly here.

I am also most grateful to Dr. Thea Bynon and Dr. P. Considine, in the University of London, for their interest and encouragement in reading sections of my thesis, and for the advice of Hittite scholars with whom I corresponded. Above all I must thank Mr. David Hawkins, not only for his expert tuition in Akkadian, Hittite, and Hieroglyphic Luwian, but also for his supervision overall of this study. It needs hardly to be said, however, that what errors there may be, are my own. My gratitude is greatly due to my husband, family and friends, for their moral and practical support, with especial thanks to our younger son for initiating me into the art of computers and printers.

§1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Fundamental to the study of the family with its wider and narrower connotations is an understanding of how its various members regard themselves and each other within the complex. We begin with the consanguineal group which includes the nuclear family of father, mother and children,¹⁾ and their blood-related collaterals, antecedents and descendants. The form of this group determines that of the wider complex of the family with its system of linkage with the more distant antecedents and collaterals, affected also by the social interaction of marriage between members of different or even same family complexes. The study of a kinship system, that "system of dyadic relations between person and person in a community",²⁾ should examine the terms of reference applied by one family member to the other, which have proved so revealing of the kinship structure as a whole.

1.2. Alone, kinship terms cannot provide a complete guide to a kinship structure, but they offer a sensitive indication to the attitudes of one family member to another. The use of classificatory terms illustrates this, that is a term "as Morgan defined ... that embraces a plural number of specific relationships which cannot be reduced to a single kind of genealogical connection."³⁾ If several members of a family, regardless of their generation with relation to a person, are called by him or her by the same kinship term, or a derivative such as a diminutive of the term, this reveals that all those relatives are regarded as being of a like category, to which he or she has basically the same responsibilities and emotional responses. With descriptive terms, however, "the collateral lines are maintained distinct and perpetually divergent from the lineal ..."⁴⁾ such as "brother of the father" versus "father of the father", applied to single categories of relatives, which reveals a different response to a kinship relationship, and indicates the structure within which that relat-

ionship operates.

2.1. An assessment of the kinship terms should be evaluated in the light of other evidence regarding family relationships, which we will examine in this present study of Hittite Kinship and Marriage, although the limitations of space must restrict the latter to the more immediate aspects of the subject,⁵⁾ leaving a detailed analysis of, for example, post-marital residence, ancestor worship, and dynastic succession, for later study.

2.2. Moreover, the greatest possible number of consanguineal and affinal (for relatives by marriage) terms, should be collected, ideally, for analysis, and the semantics of each term should be clearly understood with an assured etymological derivation. This ideal has virtually no hope of realisation in the case of the 2nd Millennium Hittites, since the acquisition of data sought mainly from its principal source, the Hitt. cuneiform texts, is subject to the difficulties presented by discovery, preservation, the writing system, translation, and interpretation, as we have noted already in the Preface.

3.1. Some preliminary examples will illustrate how the frequent use of logograms in Hitt. texts for kinship terms presents difficulties in interpretation. A relationship may be specifically denoted by DUMU "child, son", ŠEŠ "brother", etc., but if the Hitt. reading for the logogram is unknown, a descriptive logographic phrase like DUMU.ŠEŠ "son of a brother", may obscure not only the Hitt. term but also its linguistic and kinship type.⁶⁾

3.2. Further, the Hitt. huhha- "grandfather", was often written logographically as ABU ABI "father of the father", which was literally descriptive. Akkadian abu was a core relationship term as "father", and "mother", "brother", "sister", falling within Murdock's definition of a denotative term "which applies only to relatives in a single kinship category as defined by generation, sex and genealogical connections".⁷⁾ Murdock applied denotative in a sense as Morgan did descriptive.⁸⁾ The former regarded the English

"grandfather", applicable to both father's and mother's father, as classificatory.⁹⁾ Here, we will follow White's appreciation of classificatory as a term which disregards the boundaries of both generation and kinship category, and use descriptive according to the definition of both Morgan and Murdock (denotative) for a kinship term, which is exemplified by Akkadian abu abi, mār mārī, or Sumerian DUMU. ŠEŠ, DUMU.DUMU, etc.

3.3. While huhha-, as mother's father as well as the father's father (see §3.vii.1.1.-4.), may refer to a relative in two kinship categories, it designated a person of one denoted generation, second ascending, and only a grandparent of the male sex, as opposed to hanna- "grandmother". As a specific term for a male parent of one's parent it is a core relationship term and denotative. However, if no text had survived which demonstrated huhha- as "grandfather", there would have been no means of deducing its type from the logographic writing alone.

4.1. Admittedly the linguistic analysis of attested Hitt. kinship terms is still mainly tentative and hypothetical. If a corresponding kinship term is found in another Anatolian language, such as C(uneiform) L(uwian), Palaic, H(ieroglyphic) Luwian, or later Lycian or Lydian, this may assist understanding of the etymology of the Hitt. term, or even suggest its linguistic form if that is also unknown.

4.2. Despite difficulties however, there is sufficient evidence for the most important relationship terms and their reference, to justify an analysis and assessment in regard to the kinship structure in which they occur. We begin with terms attested in Hitt. texts which designated a consanguineal relationship, and attempt to establish their meaning whenever possible according to context, supported by other linguistic or available multilingual evidence.

§2 THE NUCLEAR FAMILY.

§2.1. FATHER

1.1. The Hitt. word atta- c. "father", which appears with

copious examples in the recent Hitt. Dictionaries (HW², HEG, HED), is attested in syllabic form in OH to NH texts, and was frequently represented logographically by Akkadian abu "father", less frequently by Sumerian AD "father", and once by A.A.(MU) "(my) father".¹⁰⁾ These semantic equivalences and contexts demonstrate that attas was the pervasive kinship term for a. the bodily male parent, as well as designating b. a divine "father" of gods, King, men etc.; also c. "father(s)" as one of the terms for "ancestor(s)"; d. a legal (adopting) father; e. the Palace official (LÚ) ABU BĪTI "Father of the House; majordomo", f. as a deferential epistolary address for an older addressee.¹¹⁾

1.2. That atta-, attested in certain IE languages as "father, 'daddy'",¹²⁾ and found also in non-IE, for example Hurr. attai- "father", Elam. adda, belonged to the category of nursery terms, is noted in recent Dictionaries, of which HW² (p.569) would interpret atta as "neu eingeführt" to supplant the IE *pātēr "father".

1.3. Szemerényi, however, remarked that while this *pātēr may be reconstructed for Ind., Grk., Lat., Goth., OIr., Tokh., and Arm., it does not seem to be attested in Baltic and Slavic, along with Anatolian.¹³⁾ He noted that

"the everyday Slavic word for father is otcb which derives from an earlier *otikos. Since an IE *atta "father" is attested in various languages, it is clear that *otikos developed from *attikos, a derivative formed with the suffix -ikos from *atta."

Consequently, this informal term replaced *pātēr, described with *mātēr "mother", by Jakobson as: "the intellectualized (IE) parental designations ... built from the nursery forms with the help of the suffix -ter".¹⁴⁾ Szemerényi saw a similar process as having occurred in Anatolian.

2.1. A related concept was expressed separately by Sommer, and Neumann, arguing that Anatolian forms for "father", Hitt. atta-, CL tati-, Pal. papa-, were "verschiedene Reflexe" of *pātēr, in the colloquial speech.¹⁵⁾ HL tati-, Lyc. tedi, and Lyd. ata- (and taada-?), all "father", may be appended here.¹⁶⁾

2.2. Jakobson offered an explanation regarding "the Slavic paternal term ot-" (noting Russian otec "father"),¹⁷⁾ namely that initial p- could have been lost "through an infant-like elimination of consonantal diversity" when *pātēr entered the nursery.¹⁸⁾ Further in this scholar's survey "Why 'Mama' and 'Papa'", of evidence for the development of such parental terms, and the apparently compulsory CV sequence, he makes an interesting observation relevant not only to the atta- form but also to the Hitt.(/Anatolian) anna(/i)- "mother" -;¹⁹⁾

"During the babbling period in the infant's development, many of the uttered syllables consist of a vocalic sound succeeded by a consonantal articulation. The most natural order of sound production is an opening of the mouth followed by its closure. Among Russian interjections, one observes such infantile sound gestures as ['ap] and ['am]; when changed into verbal roots, they are adapted to the Russian phonemic pattern by substituting a fricative velar for the initial aspiration: xapat', xamat', xamkat'. As soon as the child moves from his babbling activities to the first acquisition of conventional speech, he at once clings to the model 'consonant plus vowel'."

2.3. According to the logic of this argument atta- and anna- would have been learnt secondarily during that process, also described by Jakobson, when the formalised nursery term was reintroduced by adults who adapted it to infantile articulatory patterns.²⁰⁾ In answer to the title's question Jakobson produced the results of practical research into the infant's vocalic nasal reaction to the mother/nurse, while the dental or labial stop serves to attract the father/visitor.²¹⁾ The Anatolian terms are exemplifications of the resulting linguistic theory.

3.1. Szemerényi considered that an Eastern form existed of *pātēr without -r, as seen in Indian (and Iranian) pītā, which is reconstructed from an "Eastern IE *pātē".²²⁾ It is impossible to decide whether certain PN, such as Pidda (NH 1025), Pittanza (NH 1029), Pittatta (NH 1031), for example, which occur in the Hitt. onomastica might contain this term.

3.2. The Anatolian "father" terms are sparsely attested as

first or second elements of male PN, while Pal. ^DTaru-papa-mi "My-father-Taru", included papa- in the epithetical god's name.²³⁾ Notably, if correctly analysed, the Lyd. Kings 'Αδύαττης, 'Αλύαττης, Ξαδύαττης, contain -*atta- as second element, with which Tischler compared the name of the 15th century west Anatolian ruler Madduwattas.²⁴⁾

4.1. Many references in Hitt. texts to attas annas "father (and) mother" (or the reverse), denoting "parents",²⁵⁾ such as the HG clauses concerning the betrothal of a "daughter",²⁶⁾ exemplify a type of paternal relationship to his children which appears to be as close and warm as that of a mother with her child. The 13th century prayer of King Hattusilis III to the State deity, Sun goddess of Arinna, compares the King's concern for the city of the goddess's "beloved son", the Storm god of Nerik, to that of a nurse recompensed by parents for her care of their child,

1) KUB XIV 7 +(CTH 383), IV²⁷⁾

11.ma-a-an UKÛ-aš-pát
12. at-ti an-ni DUMU-an šal-la-nu-zi nu-uš-ši at-ta-aš
an-na-aš
13. ŠA ^{MI}UMMEDA Ú-UL im-ma pa-a-i Ú-UL-ma-an-za-an-kán
14. du-uš-ki-ia-zi

"... Surely, if a person brings up a child for (its) father (and) mother, do not the father (and) mother pay her (the fee) of a nurse? Then, do they not rejoice over it (the child)?"

The OH account by King Anitta of his father Pithanas' conquest of Nesa (Kanesh), compares his merciful treatment of the inhabitants to the gentle care of a son for his parents,

2) KBo III 22 (CTH 1.A), obv.²⁸⁾

8. [i-d]a-a-lu na-at-ta ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki ták-ki-iš-ta
9. []x an-nu-uš at-tu-uš i-e-it

"He harmed nobody at all; [them] he treated (like) mothers (and) fathers."

4.2. Also in a few fragments of CL texts, of which the majority record religious activities - rituals and festiv-

als -, the mother and father (anni- tati-) are juxtaposed at the beginning of a short list of family members: mother, father, brother, sister.²⁹⁾ The preserved CL passages of rituals preparatory to the birth of a child describe the mother and father purifying their house territory respectively with wine and pusuri-, indicating their shared concern in and importance to the expected child.³⁰⁾ A comparable passage in an OH Hitt./Pal. text recording a ritual in which tabarnas and Mitawanannas (the King and Queen) honour the agricultural deity Zapparwa, relates: ... an-na-aš / pa-a-pa-aš pa-ar-ku-i-ti "the mother (and) father purify" (KUB XXXV 163, A. II 21'-22'), indicating their mutual participation in a matter of domestic interest.³¹⁾

4.3. First Millennium inscriptions in HL, Lyc., and Lyd., attest similar combinations implying parental unison.³²⁾ As a postscript to this evidence for the Hitt./Anatolian father being generally considered an integral member of the family and a loving, beloved, parent with the mother, we note the description by Andromache of her husband Hector, prince of Ilios (Iliad VI.429),³³⁾

"thou art to me father and queenly mother, thou art brother, and thou art my stalwart husband"

regarding which Gates interpreted the metaphor of "father" as indicative of "the mutual affection between father and child, and protection of the child by the father".³⁴⁾

5.1. It was important to stress this aspect of the Hitt. father in relation to the family since it provides a contrast to the role played by the husband either as a nominal "father" in some matrilineal societies, or, in more typical examples, as a mere genitor of heirs to the head of her family, the mother's brother.³⁵⁾ But there are also matrilineal societies in which the father lives with his wife, taking an active interest in his own children.³⁶⁾ However, when we examine the "lineal" aspect of the Hitt./Anatolian father's relationship in regard to his son, his male descendants, his father, grandfather, and male forebears, the bias towards patrilineality becomes obvious.

5.2. Those terms which refer generally to more distant antecedent and descending relatives will be discussed in Chapter II, while we note here the relationship between father and son. Particularly relevant is the 14th century record of a private ritual (CTH 404) to ameliorate family dissension, performed by an "Old Woman" (^{MI}ŠU.GI), Mastigga of Kizzuwatna, which was occasioned:

3) KUB XII 34 +(CTH 404.1.B), I³⁷)

2. ma-a-an-kán A-BU DUMU^{RU}-ia na-aš-ma ^{LÚ}MU-DU DAM-ZU-
ia

3. na-aš-ma ŠEŠ NIN-ia hal-lu-wa-an-zi ...

"When a father and son or a husband and his wife or a brother and sister quarrel ..."

Notably the relationship of father and son took precedence and in each case the elder/male was mentioned first, with parents preceding the siblings, suggesting that this order was natural to the Kizzuwatnean family and society from which Mastigga came. While recognising that scribes at the command of the royal family in Hattusas were responsible for recording her ritual in Hitt.,³⁸⁾ we note that other Hitt. texts confirm the importance of the "father-son" relationship, indicating that the family order in CTH 404 was natural also to Hatti.

5.3. The OK Testament of the ailing Hattusilis I preserved in NH copies,³⁹⁾ attests the authoritative nature of this relationship. Having adopted young Mursilis I, his grandson(?), as his son and heir,⁴⁰⁾ Hattusilis issued instructions to his officials, and commanded Mursilis to "guard (pahs-) the word of the father".⁴¹⁾ Later, as author of OH KBo XXII 1, Mursilis himself admonished his officials, A-WA-A-AT A-BI-IA / pa-ah-ša-nu-ut-te-en "Guard the word of my father".⁴²⁾ The dire consequences of disobedience were iterated by Hattusilis' referring to himself as "the father" in his Edict: "The man of Zalpa cast aside the word of the father; behold, that (is) [Z]alpa!...The man of Hassu cast aside the word of the father; behold, that (is) Hassu! ...Even the man of Halpa has cast aside the word of the

[fa]ther; and Halpa will perish!"⁴³⁾ The patriarchal nature of Hattusilis' rule is evident here.

5.4. Even royal authoritarianism was tempered with kindness, as illustrated by Hattusilis' treatment of his first adopted son and heir (since his own had rebelled against him),⁴⁴⁾ the later so ungrateful young Labarnas, his sister's son, demoted and banished from Hattusas but provided with a house, cattle and sustenance.⁴⁵⁾ A chronicle attributable to Mursilis I advocated mercy rather than severe punishment or death (as in his father's day) for officials who contravened the King, or "if a son sins against the head of the King".⁴⁶⁾

6.1. Inevitably the most frequent references of son to father are in a royal context, indicating dynastic succession,⁴⁷⁾ for which a traditional expression was: "I sat upon (/took) the throne of my father".⁴⁸⁾ However, the OH Inandik tablet, validating the adoption of a son(-in-law) upon whom and his descendants the father-in-law's property would devolve, since the latter's own son had been taken into state priesthood, demonstrates a bilateral expedient to assure "patrilineal" inheritance in a non-royal context.⁴⁹⁾

6.2. There is sparse evidence for "Hittite" history before Hattusas became the OK capital with its archives, although scholars are now generally agreed that the native Anatolian princes whose names and legal adjudications are found among the OA documents were linguistically related as speakers of "Nesite" to later rulers of Hattusas.⁵⁰⁾ Arguably they were thus culturally, and with a high degree of probability, ethnically related also.⁵¹⁾ Moreover, it is probable that the "Cappadocian" name A-ta-ah-šu (Ata-hsu) contains at(t)a- and (a)hsu, meaning "father('s)-offspring"(?)⁵²⁾

6.3. The patrilineal succession of the above princes has been remarked recently by Beckman, who noted Larsen's suggestion that where a city was ruled by a "princess" according to these texts, she may have been the widow of the previous ruler.⁵³⁾ This would agree with what we observe for the Hitt. family structure and the role of the head wife

vis-à-vis the "father" or head of the household.⁵⁴⁾

6.4. Finally we note that the derivative adj. attalla- (CL dadalla) meaning literally "father-like, fatherly", with the same suffix -(a)l(l)a(/i)- appended to other Hitt. and CL kinship terms such as annalla/i "motherly", huhadalla/i "grandfatherly", has, like these terms also, an adverbial sense of: "in the time of x".⁵⁵⁾

§2.11. MOTHER

1.1. The semantic equivalence and linguistic affinity of the Hitt. word anna- c. "mother", with CL anni(ya)-, HL *anati- (cf. PN? Ana), Pal. anna-, Lyc. ene/i, and Lyd. ena, are well demonstrated.⁵⁶⁾ There are numerous examples which prove the identity in meaning of anna- in Hitt. texts from OH to NH with Sum. (MI) AMA and Akk. ummu, both "mother", by which it was frequently represented logographically.⁵⁷⁾

1.2. The term had a semantic range from biological mother of a human, or divine mother of a god, as one of the "parents" in the anna-atta- (usually the reverse) phrase noted above, to that of a descriptive epithet applied to a god. The recent Dictionaries cite many examples.⁵⁸⁾

2.1. As noted above, anna- (as well as atta-), as a nursery word may owe its form to a secondary development after the formalised *CV (m/n) + the agentive -ter was reintroduced by adults to the nursery, adapting it to the baby's instinctive vocal pattern of VC.⁵⁹⁾ In view of examples of similar nursery forms beyond the IE group such as Hung. anya "mother" (cf. atya "father"),⁶⁰⁾ Turk. anne/ana "mother", it is possible that a "formalised" prototype of anna- may be seen in variations of the nasal ŋ as opposed to m.⁶¹⁾

2.2. The basic relationship between the "Lallwort" anna- and Lat. anna "foster/nursing-mother", anus "old woman", OHG ana "ancestor", Arm. han "grandmother", has long been noted by linguists.⁶²⁾ However, Tischler was not impressed by some attempts to relate anna- to Hitt. hanna- "grandmother".⁶³⁾ There are other variations on nasal ŋ seen in the

related terms listed by Goody in his amusing paper on the origin of the substrate Eng. nanna, an affectionate term for "grandmother".⁶⁴⁾ Cited are the Late Lat. nonna "nun, child's nurse", Welsh nain "grandmother", Russ. nyanya "child's attendant", Skt. nana "mother, little mother", Sicil. nunnu "father", nunna "mother".⁶⁵⁾ The variations on this nasal were most productive in Greek in forming kinship terms, such as νέγνος "matri/patrilateral uncle", νάννα "aunt", νύνη "grandmother, mother-in-law".⁶⁶⁾ Turk. nine "granny", provides a non-IE example.⁶⁷⁾

3.1. The derivative abstract anniyatar "motherhood, ability to produce children", denoted the most desirable state for a woman, well illustrated by an evocation in the Hurro-Hittite ritual to entice the Cedar gods, in which is found what appears to be a late hybrid form in annitalwatar,⁶⁸⁾

4) KUB XV 34 (CTH 483.A), II⁶⁹⁾

17. nu kat-ta tar-na-at-ten A-NA LUGAL MÍ.LUGAL TI-tar
ha-ad-du-la-a-tar M[U^{HI.A}].GÍD.DA

18. DUMU-la-tar DUMU.NITA^{MES} DUMU.MUNUS^{MES} ha-a-aš-šu-uš
ha-an-za-aš-šu-uš LÚ-ni LÚ-na-tar

19. tar-hu-i-la-tar MÍ-ni MÍ-na-a-tar an-ni-tal-wa-a-tar

"Grant (lit. let down) for the King (and) Queen life, health, long y[ears], progeny - sons (and) daughters, grandchildren and great-grandchildren; masculinity (and) heroism for the male (and) femininity (and) motherhood for the female."

3.2. The mother in HG §§28 and 29 shared authority with the father regarding the betrothal and marriage of their daughter.⁷⁰⁾ The oddly located clause HG §171 on the "second Tablet" regulates what must have been either a very ancient or very new custom regarding a mother's authority over her son since the description in their master copies appears to have been unfamiliar to the scribes of our two NH copies, resulting in mistakes with erasures in their texts which add to problems of interpretation.⁷¹⁾ The first two and last lines of §171 in one text, with the variants and erasures of the parallel in double brackets, will illustrate:

5) KBo VI 26, II (3-8) // VI 13, I (13-18)

3. ták-ku an-na TÚG-ZU DUMU.NITA-si ((an-na-~~as~~ DUMU.NITA-iš-ši TÚG-ZU)) e-di na-a-i nu-za-kán DUMU^{MES}-ŠU pa-ra-a
4. Šu-ú-i-iz-zi ((/nu-za-kán DUMU.ŠU pa-ra-a Šu-wa-a-iz-zi))

"If a mother (or her son?) turns aside⁷²⁾ her (or his?) garment in regard to her son (or the mother?), then she rejects her children((child))."

If the son wants to return he(/she?) moves aside the door, moves aside two unidentified items of wooden furniture,⁷³⁾

8. nu-za DUMU.NITA-ŠU EGIR-pa DUMU.NITA-ŠU i-e-iz-zi
((DUMU-ŠU EGIR-pa DUMU-ŠU i-ia-zi))

"And ~~her~~ son(her child) she for herself (-za; or he for himself?) makes again ~~her~~ son((her child))".

The above variations reflect the differences in their translations of a number of Hitt. scholars.⁷⁴⁾

3.3. Korošec thought §171 represented possibly the earliest "kernel" of the Laws with a survival of autochthonous "Mutterrecht" in the disinheritance.⁷⁵⁾ But, if the mother were able to disinherit a son from lineally transferred property, this power must have been especially conferred upon her in lieu of the kinsman in whom the power normally resided, a husband (patrilineage), or brother (matrilineage).⁷⁶⁾ Even in bilateral societies if the mother's father wished to make her son his heir, a practice attested for the Hittites, the power of conferring or withdrawing inheritance lay with the grandfather not the mother.⁷⁷⁾

3.4. Imparati preferred to compare the mother's power in §171 to that of the "fathership" (Akk. ab(b)ūtu) attested at Nuzi, which could be conferred on a wife by her husband.⁷⁸⁾ A recently edited testament in MB Akkadian emanating from ancient Emar (modern Meskene), a NK Hitt. dependency in northern Syria with a small Hurrian element in its population,⁷⁹⁾ might support Imparati's argument. It records that the testator made his wife "father and mother" of his estate, and daughter "woman and man", that is the legal heir.⁸⁰⁾ Further, if this wife were to remarry "let her

put her clothes on a stool and go where she will'", evoking the HG §171 rite of rejection.⁸¹⁾ But, if Hurrian influence were responsible for these legal customs and rites in Emar and Hatti how do we explain why scribes at Hattusas, many of whom were of Hurrian extraction,⁸²⁾ were so unfamiliar with them? It is possible that these customs may have had a more ancient Anatolian origin.

3.5. Another consideration might be that the mother may have possessed the right to dispose of personal property which had not been absorbed into the marital fund.⁸³⁾ Thus, to show her disapproval of a son's behaviour she could actually "disinherit" him. The simplistic ritual with clothing and furniture underlines the domestic nature of the fracas. Nevertheless, §171 demonstrates the Hitt. mother exercising parental authority in her own right.

§2.iii. SON

1.1. The Hitt. word for "son", that is, the direct male offspring of the biological parents, remains unknown, or at least unproven. There is insufficient evidence regarding the hapax uwa- in a context which might indicate "son" as a possible meaning, in contrast to anna- "mother" of the preceding line.⁸⁴⁾ Nor has the argument for ayawalas (KUB XIV 3, I 6-12) as "son", rather than "representative", received confirmation from further texts.⁸⁵⁾

1.2. The Sum. DUMU "child", appears frequently as a logogram in Hitt. texts, with or without the determinative NITA "male" in contexts where its meaning is clearly (male) offspring of the parents, in the OK as well as the NK, as will be demonstrated below.⁸⁶⁾ Akk. māru "son" (mārtu f. "daughter") was usually the word intended by the scribes when DUMU has phonetic complements as grammatical determinatives such as RU/RI or AM appended, although the reading TUR = Akk. sēhru "young, small > child" might be appropriate in context, since DUMU and TUR are alternative readings of the same logogram.⁸⁷⁾ HW¹ (p.269) suggested that TUR.NITA should be read rather than DUMU.NITA, when the context indicates the meaning "boy".

2.1. DUMU(.NITA) with the syllabic complements -(la)-aš), attested with DUMU in OH,⁸⁸⁾ suggest that the Hitt. word for "son" was a derivative form like attalla- "fatherly", with a literal meaning "small/young-(boy-)like".⁸⁹⁾ The Soviet Russian Dvlgjalo argued that DUMU(-(la)-aš) occurring in the Testament (CTH 6) and Edict (CTH 5) of Hattusilis I concealed the word for "nephew", in the line of matrilineal succession.⁹⁰⁾ Dvlgjalo, while admitting that latter Hitt. usage indicates the meaning "son" for DUMU, argued that this resulted from the change from matrilineal to patrilineal succession, motivating dynastic struggles and murders between the reign of Hattusilis I and the Edict of Telepinus (CTH 19).⁹¹⁾

2.2. Other proponents of the "matrilineal theory,"⁹²⁾ have not argued for any specific kinship term other than "son /child" for DUMU(-) in the texts of Hattusilis I. Nevertheless it would be useful to establish whether there is any basis for understanding DUMU(-) as "nephew" in the OK, or whether the notion of "heir" underlay the logogram in the early or later Hitt. periods.

3.0. A pertinent example of DUMU without phonetic complements, either Hitt. or Akk., is found in the OH text,

6) KBo XXII 2 (CTH 3.1), obv.⁹³⁾

1. [MÍ.LUGA]L ^{URU}ka-ni-iš 30 DUMU^{MEŠ} 1-EN MU-an-ti ha-a-aš-ta ...

6. ma-a-an MU^{HI.A} iš-tar-na pa-a-ir nu M[Í.LUGA]L nam-ma 30 MÍ.DUMU ha-a-aš-ta

7. šu-uš a-pa-ši-ila ša-al-la-nu-uš-kat DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} a-
[ap-p]a ^{URU}ne-e-ša ia-an-zi

"[The Que]en of Kanesh gave birth to 30 'sons' in one year..." (she puts them in a basket on the River, which carries them to the sea at Zalpa, where the gods rescue and raise them).

"When the years had passed between, then the Qu[ee]n gave birth to 30 daughters, and she brought them up herself. The boys make (their way) [ba]ck to Nesa."

These lines show that DUMU could designate the biological

offspring of the parent; also that DUMU alone could mean both "child" and "male child", but where it was necessary to distinguish sex, the logograms NITA or MÍ could be attached.⁹⁴⁾ Although it is possible that DUMU.NITA concealed a specific Hitt. word meaning "son", the biological relationship between the parent, here the mother, and the child specified as DUMU is clear. There is no question of DUMU having concealed a kinship term denoting "nephew".

4.1. The Birth Ritual texts, preserved mainly in Hitt. and CL, have frequent attestations of DUMU(-) designating the child in relation to its mother, in antenatal, parturition, or postnatal procedures.⁹⁵⁾ Hitt. KBo XVII 60, considered by its editor to have the characteristics of a MH composition, preserves a ritual performed immediately after the birth which attests DUMU (acc.) with phonetic complement -an.⁹⁶⁾ The mid-14th century(?) KBo XVII 62 + 63, a parturition ritual, has DUMU (nom.) with complement -aš,⁹⁷⁾ while KBo XII 112, a text dated "no later than the early fourteenth century", preserves a preparturition ritual on the rev., with DUMU-la-aš(-ša=) (nom.; rev.12') and DUMU-la-an(-na=) (acc.; rev.15').⁹⁸⁾

4.2. CL ritual texts, including birth rituals, sometimes with Hitt. passages interposed, attest DUMU with the phonetic complements as above, indicating a form in -(l)las,⁹⁹⁾ while the early 14th century CL KUB XXXV 102 (+) 103, attests DUMU-ni-iš (nom.c.), DUMU-ni-in (acc.c.), and DUMU-na-aš-ši-in (gen. adj. acc.c.), in contexts describing the newborn child with its mother.¹⁰⁰⁾ Starke has equated HL (INFANS)niwarani- "'the helpless'(one), child", with the above CL DUMU-ann(i)-,¹⁰¹⁾ analysed as one of the ni- privatives typical for Luw., ni-warra-ann- "keine Hilfe habend, hilflos", thus "child",¹⁰²⁾ with which the above DUMU-ni- forms might also be identified. The well attested HL (INFANS)nimuwiza- "child, son", is another ni- privative with a literal meaning "not powerful".¹⁰³⁾

4.3. The same scholar, pointing to HL wali- "strong", has attributed the derived meaning "child" to (~~š~~)niwalli/a-

etc., of PIE origin, and may also have been represented by the complemented DUMU.MUNUS-la- "daughter".¹¹²⁾ But unbroken and parallel attestations of *pulla- are necessary to assure its reading, and equivalence to DUMU.

5.2. DUMU.NITA "boy, son", may have represented yet another word, since we find it in contexts where it was necessary to contrast male and female children. For example, following the derivative abstract in -tar written DUMU-la-tar "state of being a child, children, offspring", cited as a desired blessing for the King and Queen in KUB XV 34 (CTH 483), II 18, are the specifications DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} hassus hanzassus "(grant) sons, daughters, grandchildren, great-grandchildren".¹¹³⁾ Further illustration that DUMU.NITA meant simply "son" or "boy", not "heir",¹¹⁴⁾ is seen in the MH Land Donation KBo V 7 (CTH 223), in which rev.34-36, typically (for such texts) enumerate individuals belonging to a household;¹¹⁵⁾

- 8) "Household of Pulliyannis; 2 men (LÚ): Pulliyannis, Assartas; 3 boys (DUMU.NITA): Aparkammis, Iriyattis, Hapillus; 4 women (MI): Tesmus, Zidandus, Sakkummillas, Huliyasuhanis; 3 girls (DUMU.MUNUS): Kapassannis, Kapurtis, Paskuwas; 2 old women: Arhuwassis, Tuttuwanis.

In rev.12-13 of this text the sum of occupants of eleven households is listed, beginning with totals of men (LÚ), boys (DUMU.NITA), baby boys (DUMU.NITA.GAB, lit. "suckling boy"),¹¹⁶⁾ where DUMU.NITA as "heir" would be impossible.

5.3. The apparently contrastive passages in the building ritual for a new Palace, OH+ KUB XXIX I (CTH 414), III 45(-48) and 49(-51) state that "The daughters/young girls (DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ}) of the house are seated (by the Hearth)",¹¹⁷⁾ with the next paragraph introduced by "And the pa-ap-pa-ni-ik-ni-eš are seated ...", which implied that pappanikna/i- meant "boy, son", and was thus interpreted.¹¹⁸⁾ But evidence produced by Hoffner indicates that the word should be segmented pappa- (Pal. "father") + neg/kna- "brother" (Hitt.).¹¹⁹⁾ It will be discussed further under BROTHER.

5.4. In regard to DUMU.NITA-la-, as well as DUMU-latar, there are DUMU.NITA-an-ni <*DUMU.NITA-(a)tar, DUMU-an-ni

<*DUMU-(a)tar, to warn us that there may have been more than one word to express the same idea of male youth.¹²⁰⁾ But there is no evidence that "heir" might be interpreted from any of these. In the Treaty (CTH 68) between Mursilis II and Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira and Kuwaliya, the former describes the adoption of Kupanta-Kurunta by Mashuilluwas, his predecessor, in the latter's words:

9) KBo IV 7 (+ KUB VI 41 +), obv.¹²¹⁾

25. ... nu-wa-mu DUMU.NITA ku-it
NU.[(GÁL)]

26. [(^mku-pa-an-ta-^DKAL-aš)-wa]-mu DUMU.ŠEŠ-IA nu-wa-ra-
an-mu EN-IA [(DUMU-an-ni)]

27. [(pa-a-i nu)-wa-ra-aš-(mu DUMU-aš e-eš)-zi]

"... 'Since for me there is no male child (and) Kupanta-Kurunta is my brother's child, let my Lord give him to me as a son(/for sonship), and he will be a son(/child) for me'".

The same event is related by Mursilis II in §7 of this Treaty, but in KBo IV 7 + (CTH 68 A.), obv.61, DUMU-an-ni is written, where KBo V 13 (B.), I 13, has DUMU.NITA-an-ni. Notably, the latter text (IV 19) described Kupanta-Kurunta: A-NA ^mPÍŠ.TUR-wa DUMU-la-aš e-eš-ta "You were to/for Mashuilluwas a son (i.e 'young(-boy)-like')." Although DUMU(.NITA)(-an-ni) in these contexts might suggest "heir", the other evidence for DUMU.NITA shows that this is merely consequential to the basic meaning "male child, son", and that the logogram should not be read IBILA "heir".¹²²⁾

6.1. It is clear that Sommer's translation of DUMU-la-ma-an hal-zi-ih-hu-un in the Testament of Hattusilis I, KUB I 16, II 4, as "(ich) habe ihn meinen Sohn genannt" remains perfectly valid. The corresponding Akkadian of I 4. [al-]ší-šu-ma DUMU-am ... "I called him 'son' (māram), confirms Sommer's interpretation that this represented Hattusilis' adoption as son of his nephew (sister's son) so that the latter might succeed him as King.¹²³⁾

6.2. There are admittedly ambiguities as to the reading of DUMU/TUR in the Testament. In I 2, TUR-am = šehram "young

(Labarna)", would be more appropriate, but in I 4, māram is preferable. Notably, in OA texts from Kültepe/Kanesh, suhrum was quite regularly used for "child(ren)", with suhartum "young (one(s))" attested in texts concerning Anatolians.¹²⁴⁾ Although it seems most unlikely that it was represented by DUMU(-la-), we should note also that the non-Ass. word anarhala occurs also in texts dealing with Anatolians, apparently denoting a child, but one born to the mother after its parents had been divorced.¹²⁵⁾

6.3. There is no evidence whatsoever that DUMU((la)-aš) could mean "nephew" as the natural, matrilineal "heir".¹²⁶⁾ This is just as clear in the other text cited by Døvgjalo, in which the first preserved sections contain the proscription of ^{MÍ}tawanannas by Hattusilis I:

10) KBo III 27 (CTH 5),¹²⁷⁾

- 6' UR-RA-AM ŠE-RA-AM ^{MÍ}ta-wa-na-an-na-aš [ŠUM-ŠU]
 7' li-e ku-iš-ki te-iz-zi ŠA DUMU^{MES}-ŠU[]
 8' ŠUM-ŠU-NU li-e ku-iš-ki te-iz-zi

"In the future let no one speak [her name] of Tawanannas. Of her children [and grandchildren (or sons [and daughters?])] let no one speak [their name(s)].

DUMU^{MES} would scarcely mean "nephews" in the above context.

6.4. Further, in §2 13'-14', the Edict states, "Behold, I, the father, have given Mursilis to you; let him take the throne of his father. And my son (is) not a son" (DUMU-mi-ša NU.DUMU-aš).¹²⁸⁾ The final sentence referred to the demotion of Labarnas from being the (first) adopted son and, as such, appointed heir of Hattusilis.¹²⁹⁾

7.1. Other expressions in Hittite meaning "offspring, son, child, grandchild/son, family, etc.", were formed by means of derivatives from the verb has(s)- "to beget, give birth to", which described both the male and female acts of participation in creation of new human life and its bringing to birth.¹³⁰⁾ Of these we will consider here those derivatives with specific, rather than general, reference:¹³¹⁾ a) the participle hassant- "begotten"; b) -hsu- seen as the final

element of Anatolian PN in OA texts, signifying "'fils, descendant, rejeton de'", c) hassus "King", and d) hassu-mas, recently interpreted as "prince".¹³²⁾

7.2. a) The equivalence of hassant- and DUMU(-) may be seen in variant copies of the Telepinus Edict (CTH 19), describing in §19 the divinely inspired retribution against the usurper King Zidantas who had murdered the son and grandsons of his dying predecessor (Hantilis I).¹³³⁾

11) 67. [(nu-uš-ši ^mam-mu-na-an ha-aš-ša-an-ta-an DINGIR^{MES}
LU^{KUR-SU} i-e-ir)]

68. [(nu-kán ^mzi-dan-ta-an ad-da-aš-ša-an ku-en-ta)]

"For him the gods made Ammunas, (his) begotten (son) his enemy, and he killed his father Zidantas."

At the point where three of the four texts (all NH copies) from which this section is restored preserve hassant/dan, the fragment KBo XIX 96, II 2 (= 67), reads]^mam-mu-na-an DUMU-aš-ša-an "Ammunas, his child/son".¹³⁴⁾

7.3. In an Instruction of Tuthaliyas IV the participle denoted the legitimate sons born of the Queen, who were distinguished thus from the "seed; offspring", generally, of his father,

12) KUB XXI 42 + (CTH 255.1.A), I¹³⁵⁾

12. NUMUN ^mha-at-tu-ši-DINGIR^{LIM} ŠEŠ^{MES} DUTU^{SI}-ia ku-i-e-eš

13. IŠ-TU MÍ.LUGAL ha-aš-ša-an-te-eš ...

(And moreover (those) who (are))... "seed" (NUMUN) of Hattusilis, and (those) who (are) brothers of My Sun, born (hassantes) by the Queen ..."

But the reference was not confined to royal children, as demonstrated by KBo XVII 65, rev.38, in a ritual performed seven days after a birth with "the mala-offering of the new-born (hass[a]ntás)".¹³⁶⁾ The following lines, which determine different intervals after the birth of a male or female child (DUMU.NITA/DUMU.MUNUS) for a cleansing ritual, show that the participle itself did not contain any nuance of sex.¹³⁷⁾

7.4. b) The most satisfactory linguistic analyses of the "Kaneshite" onomastic suffix -(a)hsu-, no longer productive in the Hitt. period, explain it as a syncopated -u- stem adj. derived from has(s)- "beget, etc.", with the passive sense of "(x's)-son, descendant".¹³⁸⁾ Confirmation for this is seen in the HL hapax hasu(-) "offspring, descendance", in the Karatepe inscription: !ā-mi-hāwa/i!DOMINUS-nī-i! (300.TI)ha-su-! "for my lord's family", equivalent to the Phoenician: "to the root (l-šrš) of my lord".¹³⁹⁾

7.5. Some typical examples of such Cappadocian names are, Udניהhsu (NH 1458), Upatiahsu (NH 1429), Nakkiahsu (NH 849), ^(m)Ispuťahsu(s) (NH 473), Niwahsusar (NH 891), where the first element may form part of the vocabulary of the Boğazköy texts, or the name itself recurs (NH 473).¹⁴⁰⁾ Niwahsusar "New-child-female", illustrates both the suffix -sar denoting "female", attested sparingly as a gender determinative for Hitt. words (see Ch.III, §3.i.3.1.ff.), and the semantics of -(a)hsu- which, like DUMU, could designate "child" without denoting sex, but could be read "son".

7.6. While the function of -(a)hsu- has been compared to that of the ethnic/geographic suffix -uman-, still productive in Hittite, the latter conveys the sense "man of X" (LÚ (URU/É)x) for example,¹⁴¹⁾ while the former evokes the Hitt. formulae DUMU (KUR/(URU/É/DINGIR))_x "son of x", which implies a similar, although possibly more personal, relationship.¹⁴²⁾ We might compare the Hitt. LÚ_Hhestum(n)a-/LÚ_Hhesta- "man, employee of the Ossuary",¹⁴³⁾ for which, after DUMU.É.GAL "employee of the Palace",¹⁴⁴⁾ we could postulate a "Hittite" *DUMU_Hhesta-. Reading *Hestahsus for this logographic phrase would be doubly hypothetical.

8.1. c) Represented by the logogram LUGAL (= Akk. Šarr-u(m)), Hitt. *hassus "King", has been seen as a u-stem derivative of has(s)- "beget, etc.", being thus a kinship term "one born (of the family)",¹⁴⁵⁾ which became associated with the scions of the royal family, as opposed to -(a)hsu-.¹⁴⁶⁾ However, despite the Kültepe evidence noted above,

KBo VI 3, II 11 reads DUMU.MUNUS-aš "(If) a daughter ..." in the context of betrothal.¹⁶⁵⁾ The Akk. word for "daughter" should be read here as the logogram MARTUM^{TUM}, concealing yet another word, a Hitt. term for "daughter".

1.3. In Hitt. texts DUMU.MUNUS may be followed by the phonetic complements -aš nom. sg., or -an acc. sg., apparently denoting an -a-stem common gender noun.¹⁶⁶⁾ Notably, the fragmentary KBo XXII 89, has acc.sg. DUMU.NITA-an (2'), and DUMU.MUNUS-an (8'),¹⁶⁷⁾ showing that the two Hitt. -a-stem words differed sufficiently to distinguish the genders. The complement in DUMU.MUNUS-la-an (KBo XX 101 (CTH 738), rev.3'), may be compared to the same appended to DUMU(.NITA).¹⁶⁸⁾ Moreover, DUMU.MUNUS-iš nom.sg. occurs in KUB XXIV 8 + (CTH 360.A.), I 16, denoting an -i-stem, more frequently the stem vowel of Luw. nouns, while the parallel KUB XXXVI 59 + (B.), I 3' has DUMU.MUNUS-aš(-).¹⁶⁹⁾

2.1. That the PIE word for "daughter" (*dhugh₂ter), widely attested in numerous descendant languages as well as Germanic, for example Grk. θυγάτηρ, Myc. tukate, Ind. duhitār- and Av. duq dar,¹⁷⁰⁾ occurs in Lyc. as kbatra,¹⁷¹⁾ and HL as tuwatri- (^{FILIA}tú-wa/i-tara/i-),¹⁷²⁾ demonstrates that the Luw. languages had preserved this kinship term.¹⁷³⁾ The intervocalic velar had been lost, which would have been retained in Hitt.¹⁷⁴⁾ Consequently, Starke has identified the CL form of the inherited "daughter" word as duwattri-* found in Hitt. texts as: a) ^{TUL}du-wa-at-ta-ri-na-aš, the name of a spring (the latter was always conceived as female in the literary sources) in Kizzuwatna,¹⁷⁵⁾ with the (i)n-(n)a- suffix which formed numerous ON and names for springs and rivers mentioned in Hitt. texts, of which ^{URU}TUL(-na)/Arinna was the most renowned;¹⁷⁶⁾ b) and the PN, or title(?) in late Hitt. texts, ^{MI/f}Duttarri- (dat.sg. ^{MI/f}du-ut-tar-ia (Bo 4120 4'),¹⁷⁷⁾ ^{MI/f}Duttarriyatis nom.sg., (KUB XXII 40 (CTH 579), III 18')¹⁷⁸⁾ with gen.sg. ^{MI/f}Duttarri-yatīyas (KBo XXIV 126, 28),¹⁷⁹⁾ indicating the -i/ia-stem for both forms, the latter being a CL ^otti- derivative.¹⁸⁰⁾

2.2. Since kinship terms designate other members of the

family in the context of rituals and oracles,¹⁸¹⁾ and occur also in the onomastica,¹⁸²⁾ it is quite possible that the CL derivatives of *dhugh₂ter reflect the actual term for "daughter", as do the Lyc. and other 1st Millennium Anatolian manifestations, but in a Luw. context. It has been suggested that DUMU.MUNUS-iš in CTH 360 could represent a CL derivative as above,¹⁸³⁾ which seems possible in a late text, although Siegelova detected non-Hitt. influence only in IŠTAR, as sister to the Storm god, and the "fatherly gods".¹⁸⁴⁾

3.1. As remarked by Starke, the survival of this inherited word as a functioning kinship term in Luw. languages is the more notable since other PIE terms with the agentive -ter for "father", "mother", "brother", have been superseded by other terms.¹⁸⁵⁾ The possibility exists therefore that an -a-stem derivative of *dhugh₂ter retaining the velar,¹⁸⁶⁾ may have been the Hitt. word for "daughter", although the writing DUMU.MUNUS-la- indicates that there would have been more than one -a-stem term in use. Other terms for young girl, such as DUMU.MUNUS suppissaras "a young girl, daughter, (who is) a virgin", will be examined in Chapter III, while nek/gas, which Otten suggested may have denoted "maiden, daughter, sister",¹⁸⁷⁾ will be discussed under BROTHER and SISTER.

3.2. Although the semantics of the PIE root word are still obscure,¹⁸⁸⁾ the tenacity of its derivatives in the kinship terminology of the descendant languages suggests that the role description of the "daughter" from the parents' view point continued to be remarkably apt. Since we cannot be sure whether Hitt. participated with those languages in its preservation and use of the term, we can only comment on the relationship between parents and daughter as seen from the texts.

3.3. The birth of a daughter was welcomed, after that of a son, without any apparent dismay.¹⁸⁹⁾ Indeed, the absence of a daughter, after son(s), was a matter of commiseration for Appu (CTH 360),¹⁹⁰⁾ while prayers for royal progeny of-

ten specified daughters as well as, but after sons.¹⁹²⁾ Legally, the daughter was dependent upon her parents, of whom the father was usually the dominant partner, until she was married, and then upon her husband, unless the marriage were of the antiyant-type.¹⁹³⁾ The fact that inheritance might if necessary or desired pass through the daughter to her father's grandson made her an anticipatory heir,¹⁹⁴⁾ and so gave her an importance comparable to that of a son.

§2.v. BROTHER

1.1. Until the recent appreciation by Hoffner that the Hitt. word for "brother" (for which there may have been more than one term) was negnas, this designation in Hitt. texts, in contexts other than the onomastic, had been known only through the logogram ŠEŠ "brother" or allographic Akk. ahu "brother".¹⁹⁵⁾ By such means the kinship term in Hitt., as in Mesopotamia, was used in the social sense of "brotherhood" between equals, with "my brother" as an epistolary address,¹⁹⁶⁾ or, recalling Akk. ahu aha /ahu ana ahi "brother to brother (one to another)", as in Mursilis' (II) description of civil war,

14) KBo II 5 +(CTH 61.10 = AM pp.192-193), IV¹⁹⁷⁾

16. ..., nu-za ŠEŠ-as ŠEŠ-an kat-ta-an pí-eš-ki-it

17. [^{LÚ}a-r]a-aš-ma-za [^{LÚ}a-ra-an ka-ta-an pí-eš-ki-it

18. [nu-kán 1-l]aš 1-an ku-wa-aš-ki-it ...

"And brother would betray brother, [fri]end would betray friend, [and then on]e would kill the other.

1.2. The close contact and solidarity of (at least royal) brothers, which was maintained through life, is intimated through texts such as the OK/OH Zalpa myth,¹⁹⁸⁾ and a Chronicle of OK events,

15)a. KBo III 34 +(CTH 8.A), III¹⁹⁹⁾

15' A-HI LUGAL A-NA P[A-NI A-BI] LUGAL ku-i-e-eš e-eš-kán-ta ^m[am-]mu-na

16' DUMU ^{URU}š-u-uk-z[i-ia] a-ap-pa-an-na ^mpí-im-pí-ri-it
[DUMU/^{LÚ}U]^{RU}ni-na-aš-ša

17' ki-i kar-dí-i[a-aš-ša]-aš DUMU^{MEŠ} e-še-ir nu-uš-ma-

aš [GISŠ]Ú.A
 18' ki-it-ta [GISBANS]UR-uš-ma-aš ki-it-ta

"The brothers of the King who used to sit bef[ore the Father] of the King - [Am]muna, ruler (lit. "son") of Sukziya, and then Pimpirit [ruler] of Ninassa - these were the sons [of hi]s (i.e. the Father of the King) heart. And for them a [thr]one was laid (and) [a tab]le was laid for them."

15)b. The following lines illustrate the close association between brothers and affines within the royal family,¹⁹⁹⁾

20' [mPN] DUMU URU ús-sa ga-i-na-aš-ši-iš e-eš-ta
 21' [nu-uš-ši GISŠÚ.A ki-i]t-ta GISBANSUR-uš-še ki-it-ta

"[PN], ruler of Ussa, was an affine, [and for him a throne was la]id, (and) for him a table was laid"

a solidarity which was eulogised in Telepinus' Edict (§1, 2-3; §5, 13-14; §8, 24-25),²⁰⁰⁾ of the King's,

15)c. ...DUMU^{MES}-ŠU ŠEŠ^{MES}-ŠU LÚ^{MES} ga-e-na-aš-še-iš
 LÚ^{MES} ha-aš-ša-na-aš-ša-aš Û ERÍN^{MES}-ŠU

"... his sons, his brothers, his affines and the men of his family (i.e. his male relatives by marriage and through blood) ..."

Notably, Telepinus' prescription (§29, 40-42) for a united entourage of family and followers of the King, listed "brothers" before "sons, affines, ..." ²⁰¹⁾

1.3. The distinction between brothers and half-brothers, that is sons of the legitimate wife(/Queen) as opposed to those of secondary wives and concubines,²⁰²⁾ was made by Telepinus when he ruled (§28) that the DUMU.LUGAL hantezz-is "premier (ranking) King's son", should be first heritor, but in default, "who (is) a son of second rank" should become King.²⁰³⁾ A similar principle of distinction, as far as his father's brothers and descendants were concerned, was iterated by Tuthaliyas IV in his Instructions, and the Treaty with Šaušgamuwas of Amurru.²⁰⁴⁾

1.4. The phonetic complements appended to the logogram as follows: ŠEŠ-aš (nom.sg.c./gen.sg.), ŠEŠ-an (acc.sg.c.) and

SEŠ-ni d.-l. sg., $\text{SEŠ}^{\text{MES}}\text{-iš}$ nom.pl.c., $\text{SEŠ}^{\text{HI.A}}\text{-uš}$ acc. pl. c., $\text{SEŠ}^{\text{MES}}\text{-n=a}$ old gen.pl., indicate an -a-stem noun with final consonant -n-, with which Hitt. negnas c. clearly accords.²⁰⁵) Not attested (it would seem) is the PIE *bhrā-ter "brother", derived from *bher- "carry, take, bring", which is well represented in non-Anatolian descendant languages.²⁰⁶) Notable is a "nursery" form with -l- suffix, as seen in Lith. brolis.²⁰⁷)

2.1. CL nani/ia- "brother" has been recognised for some time according to the parallel SEŠ-ia-,²⁰⁸) which led Larocche, referring to Lyc. nēni "brother", to query whether nana/i- might be the Hitt. form.²⁰⁹) This found support on the basis of PN such as NH 857: ^mna-na-an-za (KBo III 15 (CTH 295.12), 3', and ^mSEŠ-an-za (KUB XL 91 (CTH 294.2), rev.9'.²¹⁰) Indeed names in cuneiform texts consisting of nan(n)a/i- are well attested (NH 854, 855, 861, 862).²¹¹) Suffixed forms, like NH 857 or ^mna-ni-(in-)zi-i/eš//^mSEŠ-zi-iš (NH 865), also occur.

2.2. The HL FRATER-la-(i-)sa(-) nom.sg., FRATER-la-na acc. sg., FRATER-la-sa-na, dat.sg., poss.adj.,²¹²) could be interpreted as derivatives of nani/ia-,²¹³) although the PN ^mā-ta/i₅-FRATER-la-sa nom.sg.,²¹⁴) and ("INFANS.NI")ā-ta/i₅-la-za acc.pl.c. "younger brothers",²¹⁵) suggest a reading *ata/ila(/i)s "brother" for 1st Millennium Luw., evoking the attalla- "fatherly", forms in Hitt.²¹⁶) The Hitt. PN ^mat-tal-li-(is) (NH 196), at Ugarit may be noted,²¹⁷) while Na-ni-sa in HL (CEKKE B.6), implies the survival of this Luw. kinship term.²¹⁸)

2.3. While HL *ata/ila(/i)s occurs in the context (if preserved) of dynastic succession, and indicates a male sibling, CL nani/ia- designated simply "sibling", usually male, to which asri- "woman" was appended in the CL compound nan-asris "sister".²¹⁹)

3.1. As noted above, Hoffner assembled impressive evidence to demonstrate that negna- was the Hitt. word for "brother", being the counterpart of nek/gas, now clearly determined as "sister", which meanings are further proven by the

comparison/opposition of annanekes//pappa(-!) ŠE[Š^{MEŠ} (/nik /gnes) "sisters by the same mother"//"brothers by the same father".²²¹) CHD (p.431) considers the possibility that nega- may have meant originally "sibling", while "negna- was the form specialized ('marked') for masculinity". While agreeing that the above contexts do permit specific translations, we would suggest that both nek/ga- and negna- would have denoted originally "sibling", and that this meaning is still perceptible in the texts. Cited below are relevant passages for the deduction of negnas "brother", which rely heavily, with a few exceptions, on Hoffner's transliterations and translations:

16)a. KBo XX 31, obv., with parallel KUB LVII 69, obv.II (CTH 438.B),²²²)

4' ma-a-an ĪR-KA wa-aš-ta-i na-an[- (nu-uš-ši a-ap-
pa A-N)A]

5' ku-e-ši-ma-an-kán li-e an-da-ma x[AMA-ša-an(?)
(an-na-an hal-zi)-iš-ša-i?]

6' Û A-HI-KA ne-ik-na hal-zi-iš-ša[-i?

"If your servant sins, and him [(and for him
again t) o]. Then do not kill him, but into [x
; his(?) mother (call 'mother')], and your brother,
call 'brother'".

16)b. KUB XLVIII 109, obv.II, with indirect join to KBo
XXII 178, obv.II (beginning of lines 2'ff.),²²³)

4' a-ra-aš a-r[a-an Ū-UL ka-ni-e-leš-zi

5' an-na-ni-ki-<e>[-eš Ū-UL ka-ni-e-leš-ša-an-zi

6' pa-ap-pa ŠE[Š^{MEŠ} /-es? Ū-UL ka-ni-e-eš-ša-an-zi

7' an-na-aš-za DUMU-a[n-ši-in Ū-UL k]a-ni-e-eš-zi

8' [DUMU-aš-za] AMA-a[n-ši-in Ū-UL k]a-ni-e-eš-zi

"Friend does [not rec]ognise friend; sisters of the
same mother [do not rec]ognise (each other); brothers
of the same father [do not rec]ognize (each other); the
mother [does not re]cognise [her] child; [the child
does not r]ecognise [its] mother."

16)c. KUB XXIX 1 (CTH 414.A.), III

49. nu-za-an pa-ap-pa-ni-ik-ni-eš e-ša-an-ta-ri

"And the brothers of the same father are seated."²²⁴⁾

16)d. VBoT 58 (CTH 323.2), I

36' [] ... nu-wa D^hha-ša-am-mi-li-aš ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}-ŠU
 37' [pa-ap-pa-a]n-ni-ik-ni-eš nu-wa a-pu-u-uš ha-ah-hi-
ma-aš Ú-UL IŠ-BAT

"(The Storm god said: ...) ... 'And his brothers of Hasamilis (were Hahhimas') brothers [of the same father], so Hahhimas did not seize them.'"

The interpretation of the above is Hoffner's,²²⁵⁾ but Lar-
 oche had already restored [pappa]nniknes in his transliter-
 ation of Anatolian mythical texts.²²⁶⁾

3.2. Further, CHD cites textual evidence and commentary to
 explain nek/gas as "sister", contrary to some previous in-
 terpretations ranging from "prostitute", to "maid", or even
 "daughter" as well as "sister".²²⁷⁾ Passages exemplifying
 the relationship of the sister within the family, and to
 her brother, will be noted under SISTER; cited below are
 those which have elucidated the meaning of (anna)nek/gas:

17)a. KBo XXII 2 +(CTH 3.1), obv., continuing the myth of
 the sons and daughters of the Queen of Kanesh, relates how
 the sons in Zalpa hear of the daughters born to their moth-
 er, whereupon they decide to return to Kanesh:

16. nu-uš-ma-aš DINGIR^{DIDL.I.HI.A} -eš ta-ma-in ka-ra-a-ta-
an da-i-ir nu AMA-ŠU-NU
 17. [a-pu-u-uš? na-at-ta ga-ni-eš-zi nu-uz-za DUMU.MUN-
^{MES} US ^{MES} -ŠA A-NA DUMU.NITA^{MES} -ŠA pa-iš
 18. [ha-an-te-i]z-zi-aš DUMU^{MES} ni-ku-uš-mu-uš na-at-ta
ga-ni-eš-šir ap-pi-iz-zi-ia-ša-aš-ša-an
 19. [] x-uš-za ni-e-ku-šum-mu-uš da-aš-ki-e-
u-e-n[i n]u li-e
 20. [] a-a-ra nu k[at-t]i-iš-mi š[e-²²⁸⁾

"And the gods gave them another appearance so their mo-
 ther does not recognise [the]m, and she gave her daugh-
 ters to her sons. The [ol]dest sons did not recognise
 (their) sisters; the youngest [(said)']Let us [not]
 take our sisters []and do not approach (sexual-
 ly).[It (is) not] proper with them [to] sl[ee]p'?"

17)b. HG §191. (NH) KBo VI 26 +, III

32. ták-ku LÚ EL-LUM a-r[(a-u-w)]a?-[(a-ni-u)]š an-na-ne-ku-uš

33. an-na-aš-ma-an-na ú-en-zi ...²²⁹⁾

"If a free man sleeps with free persons, (i.e.) sisters and their mother," (if in different lands, "no crime"; if in the same land, "abomination").

17)c. HG §194. KBo VI 26 +, III

44. ták-ku LÚ EL-LAM(var.LUM) GEME^{HI.A}-uš an-na-ni-ku-uš
an-na-aš-ma-an-na

45. ú-en-zi Ú-UL ha-ra-tar ták-ku a-ra-u-wa-an-ni-in

46. A-HU-U-TIM še-eš-kán-zi Ú-UL ha-ra-tar²³⁰⁾

"If a free man sleeps with slave women, (i.e.) sisters and their mother, no crime. If brothers sleep with a free person, no crime. ..."

The verdicts in the above §194 were determined by the servile status of the women, with whom no legal conjugal relationship with a free man was possible, as it would have been with the "free persons" of §191.²³¹⁾ According to the latter, if intimacy occurred between a man and blood-related free women, it was condemned as incest only if they were all in the same country, when his knowledge of their relationship was assumed.²³²⁾

17)d. HG §195 B., C. KBo VI 26, III

50. ... ták-ku LÚ-aš

51. ^{MI}a-ra-u-wa-an-ni-in har-zi ta DUMU.MUNUS-ši-ia ša-li-ga

52. hu-ur-ki-il ták-ku DUMU(/TUR).MUNUS-za har-zi ta an-ni-iš-ši

53. na-aš-ma NIN-iš-ši ša-li-i-ga hu-u-ur-ki-el [233)

"... if a man holds (as wife) a free woman, and he approaches (sexually) her daughter, abomination. If he holds (as wife) a young woman and he approaches (sexually) her mother or her sister (NIN), abomination."

17)e. KBo III 28 (CTH 9.6), II

7. ... LUGAL-uš A-NA DAM-ŠU ne-ga-aš-š[a]-aš-ša

8. i-it-te-en ...²³⁴⁾

"(And the gods set the ruler (lit. son) of Purushanda

in my hand). (I) the King (said) to his wife and her /his sisters, 'Go! (Eat, drink, but do not look upon the eyes of the King)'"

Possibly "sisters" referred to a female entourage which may have included full sisters as well as young women in attendance.

3.3. Contextually (pappa)neg/kna- and (anna)nek/ga- may be interpreted respectively "brother (of the same father)" and "sister (of the same mother)". However, in each citation the translation "sibling(s) (of ...)" would be equally appropriate, since the context informs us of their sex.

4.1. Regarding the derivation of negna-, Neumann would see a compound of preverb *n > ni(/e)- "in" + *genh₁ "erzeugen", meaning "the one born into (the same family)", to which he compares Ogam inigena and Mlr. ingen "daughter", OInd. ni-ja "inborn, own".²³⁵) To explain Luw. nanis <negna-, Neumann suggests the assimilation of -gn- > (n)n- and its passage to the -i- stem declension, while he admits that an etymological relationship between negna- and nega-, although likely, remains obscure in detail.²³⁶)

4.2. Another analysis seems possible, indicating a common derivation for these terms. The final syllable of negna- may be another attestation in Hitt.(/Luw.) of the -*no- suffix, as in piseni- "man" <*pes-no-.²³⁷) Van Windekens suggested the root word, although the analysis concerned "neka-", which he thought recalled Hitt. nakki- "weighty, important, etc.", leading him to interpret "neka-" as "la femme enceinte", judged "inappropriate" in HEG.²³⁸) Van Windekens, who refers to the refutation in EHS of the "Sturtevant rule" regarding the double spelling of voiceless stops, preferred to derive nakki- from *no^hk-, rather than *ene^hk- "achieve, gain, carry" (as suggested by other scholars), because he thought "nek(a)-" represented *nek^h-, like Lith. nesù and Sl. nesa "to carry, etc.", being semantically equivalent to verbal derivatives of *ene^hk-.²³⁹)

4.3. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that a child might call its baby sister "pregnant woman", because she might

one day carry a child. Rather, the new sibling would have been the object carried, the "weight" which visibly burdened the pregnant mother. By a slight alteration of Van Windekens' analysis we may see nek/ga- as "the weight carried,²⁴⁰⁾ the 'lump'" which emerged into the family as a new brother or sister. Following a familiar pattern in linguistic development, including that of kinship terms, *neg-na-, would have been a secondary derivative with virtually the same meaning as nek/ga-.²⁴¹⁾

4.4. The relationship of Luw. nani/ia- and Hitt. negna- has been suggested by Jasanoff, namely that the former represents the normal loss of the original velar retained in the Hitt. word.²⁴²⁾ But if, as Melchert argues, only voiced velars were lost in Luwian, the velar in nek/g(-na)-, if originally unvoiced, must have been "lenited" in Proto-Anatolian, a process contemplated as possible by Melchert for *sek^w- > *seg^w- attested in Hitt. sakuwa and(?) CL/HL tawa "eyes".²⁴³⁾ The voicing in negna-, but not in nakki-, may have been due to the proximity of the nasal to the velar, by analogy to the very few other attested examples in Hittite, represented by -Vk/g/q-nV- spelling, which surely reflect in laknu-, maknusk-, and dalugnul-, an original voiced velar.²⁴⁴⁾

4.5. As nanasri- demonstrates, nani/ia- meant "sibling", but usually "brother". In Hittite it is possible that the compound anna+nek/ga- tended to identify nek/ga- more with the mother and the female sex, polarising the new derivative towards "male sibling". The linguistic relationship of the Hitt. and Luw. terms for "sibling" may be apparent for the first time, while the onomastic evidence indicates that both terms may have been in general currency in Hatti.

4.6. Remarkably, Anatolian and other PIE descendants may have shared the semantics of the roots, *nek^h- and *bher-, forming the "brother" terms. Could the nursery forms of Lith. brolis and Lett. brālis be semantically close to Anatolian (neka-/negna- "burden, 'lump'", while the "adult" form suffixed in -ter of the other IE languages was not

dissimilar in meaning?

5.0. The relationship of brothers and sisters within the family will be discussed under SISTER below.

§2.vi. SISTER

1.1. Although the syllabically written nek/gas "sister", and (MI) annanek/gas "sister of the same mother", both occur and their meanings are now recognised,²⁴⁵⁾ the Hitt. term was usually represented by NIN (HZ 299),²⁴⁶⁾ or (MI) AHĀTU "sister".²⁴⁷⁾ A few PN may attest this kinship term independently, or as a suffix, such as Ni-ga-an, Ni-ga-(at) "sibling"(?) (NH 877, 878), Hasusarniga "sister of the Queen"(?) (NH 329), and others, mainly from OA texts.²⁴⁸⁾ In regard to the compounds, Laroche's warning should still prevail, that the -ne/ika, -lika/-lka suffixes which formed female names in the OA texts, compared by Landsberger to the IE/Sl. diminutive -ka, should be analysed separately. Laroche noted that these suffixes were attached to different bases, and that -()ka shows no sign at Kültepe of functioning as a diminutive; nor was it used in historically attested Sl. to form exclusively feminine words.²⁴⁹⁾

1.2. The descriptions "full" and "half" sister were expressed logographically in the extract below from the Treaty of Suppiluliumas I with Huqqanas of Azzi-Hayasa, which offers exemplifications of many facets of the Hitt. kinship system. It is cited here with the new line numbering necessitated by the addition of texts to the SV edition.²⁵⁰⁾

18) KBo V 3 +(CTH 42.A), rev.III,

45' nam-ma-[a]t-ta ^DUTU^{ŠI} [(k)]u-in ku-u-un NIN-IA A-NA
DAM-U[T-TI-K]A AD-DIN

46' nu-uš-[(š1)] NIN^{MES}-ŠU ŠA MÁŠ-ŠU ŠA NUMUN-ŠU me-iq-
qa-e-eš a-ša-an-zi

47' [(ŠA DIN)GIR-K]A-at-ta-at²⁵¹⁾ a-pí-e-ia zi-ga-aš-ma-
aš-za NIN-[(ZU ku-)]it har-š1

48' A-NA KUR ^{URU}ha-at-ti-ma-kān ša-a-ak-la-iš du-u[(q-ga-
)]ri

49' ŠE[Š-aš-z]a?²⁵²⁾ NIN-ZU ^{MÍ}a-a-an-ni-in-ni-ia-mi-in ū-

UL [(da-a-i)]

50' Ú-UL-at a-a-ra ku-iš-ma-at i-e-zi a-pí-ni-iš-š[u-u-w]a-an ut-tar²⁵³⁾

51' na-aš URU ha-at-tu-ši Ú-UL hu-u-iš-šu-u-iz-zi a-ki-pa[-aš-š]a-an²⁵⁴⁾

52' šu-me-in-za-an KUR-e dam-pu-u-pí ku-it an-da-at za[(-ah-ha-)]an ŠA

53' ŠEŠ-ŠU-za NIN-ŠU MÍ a-a-an-ni-in-ni-ia-mi-in da-aš-kán-[(zi-pát)]

54' URU ha-at-tu-ši-ma-at Ú[(-UL a-)]a-ra

55' nu-ut-ta ma-a-an ŠA DAM-KA ku-wa-pí NIN-ZU na-aš-ma SA [ŠE]Š DAM-ZU²⁵⁵⁾

56' MÍ a-a-an-ni-in-ni-ia-mi-is kat-ta-an ú-iz-zi nu-uš-ši [(a)]-da-an-na

57' a-ku-wa-an-na pa-a-i nu-za e-za-at-ten e-ku-ut-ten du-uš[(-ki)]-iš-ki-ten

58' da-an-na-ma-za²⁵⁶⁾ li-e i-la-li-ia-ši Ú-UL-at a-a-ra a-pí-e-iz-kán

59' ud-da-na-az ar-ha ak-ki-iš-kán-zi

§29' "Moreover, this sister of mine whom I, My Sun, have given to you as your wife, there are many sisters (belonging) to her, of her (immediate) family (and) of her clan (NUMUN 'seed'). [?] also those. Since you have their sister (as wife), the customs for the Hatti land are important:

49' 'A bro[ther] does not take (sexually) his sister (or his) female cousin. It (is) not allowed. Who does it, accordingly the rule (applies), and in Hattusas he does not live; he is put to death.'

52' Because your land is barbaric, and (there is) contention in it, people are always taking (sexually), of her brother his sister, (or) the female cousin. But it (is) not allowed in Hattusas.

§30' Now if at any time your wife's sister or her brother's wife (or) the female cousin visits you, then give her to eat and to drink. So eat, drink, and be merry, but do not desire to take (her). It (is) not allowed. They always perish from that thing."

1.3. The expression NIN(-) ŠA MÁŠ-ŠU was probably the semantic equivalent of annanekas, since sisters born of the same mother in a legal union would have had the same fath-

er. Both MÁŠ and NUMUN are discussed in Chapter II, but it may be noted here that the latter as "'seed'>descendance", must be interpreted in the present context as the offspring of the patrilineal predecessors of the Hittite princess, forebears of her "clan", not her own offspring and successors. The "sisters of her 'seed'" were half-sisters by the same father, and possibly of his brothers.²⁵⁷⁾ The proscription of brother-sister sexual relationships in this Treaty, if not attested in HG, is supported by ritual fragments as noted earlier.²⁵⁸⁾

1.4. The meaning and implications of (MÍ/LÚ)anninniyamīs will be discussed further under COUSIN, by which this term is generally translated today.²⁵⁹⁾ We note here that a man was forbidden sexual relationships with this relative (either of himself or his wife), who appears to have been associated closely with sisters, but was distinguished from them by the kinship terminology.

1.5. The equivalence of a man's wife's own sister (his sister-in-law) and her brother's wife (her sister-in-law) may be seen in §30' 55' in regard to the proscription of "incest", which is extended in §33' 79'-80' to his own brother's wife, described as a "sister".²⁶⁰⁾ The same pattern may be observed in HG as in this Treaty, namely that the blood relative of a conjugal (or potentially so) partner was regarded as the equivalent blood relative of the other partner.²⁶¹⁾ This pattern may be expressed by means of the following symbols: M = man; W = woman; + = blood relationship; ⊕ = conjugal partners; <> = affinal relationship; < - > = prospective marital(/sexual) relationship;

FORBIDDEN

1. $M \overset{+}{<->} W$ 2. $M \overset{+}{<-->} W$ 3. $M \overset{\oplus}{<-->} W$ 4. $M \overset{\oplus}{<----->} W$

Death of a conjugal partner released the affinal relatives, that is those who were separated in the chain by ⊕ M/W +, or + M/W ⊕, from their quasi blood relationship, as evinced by a comparison of HG §§195A, 192, and 193.²⁶²⁾

2.1. The introductory lines of the Treaty demonstrate the

potestas of the brother, admittedly royal, who "gave" his sister in marriage when her father was no longer alive, which is attested elsewhere in the texts concerned with interdynastic marriages.²⁶³⁾

2.2. The relationship of the brother and sister was clearly integral to the family as a whole, as demonstrated by the Mastigga ritual, and many other references in the texts of which numerous examples are found in CHD.²⁶⁴⁾ To these may be added the directive of Telepinus to the pankus to warn a future King against committing evil against his brother or sister,²⁶⁵⁾ and further,

19) CTH 19, §31²⁶⁶⁾

50. ku-iš ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}-na NIN^{MEŠ}-na iš-tar-na i-da-lu i-ia-zi
nu LUGAL-wa-aš

51. har-aš-ša-na-a šu-wa-a-i-e-iz-zi nu tu-li-ia-an hal-
zi-iš-tin ma-a-na-pa ut-tar-š[e-i]t pa-iz-zi

52. nu SAG.DU-na-az šar-ni-ik-du

"Who commits evil amongst (his) brothers and sisters, (and?) 'pushes' against the head even of the King, then call the Tuliya. When its 'verdict issues' (lit. word goes), let him compensate with his head."

2.3. But these admonitions against dissension between brother and sister and ritual remedies to amend it indicate that such dissension did quite frequently threaten the family harmony of people in Hatti, King and subject alike.

3.1. In such a light may be seen the unfortunate episode of the heirless Hattusilis I's adoption and later rejection of "young Labarnas", his sister's son.²⁶⁷⁾ The deposition of Labarnas in favour of Hattusilis' (grand?)son Mursilis (I) has been interpreted as Hattusilis' rejection of a native matrilineal system of succession for the patrilineal.²⁶⁸⁾

However, like Ahiqar, counsellor and sealbearer to Sennacherib, of later legend, who adopted his sister's son because he had none of his own,²⁶⁹⁾ Hattusilis (who might have been a veritable royal prototype of the Neo-Assyrian) suffered the ingratitude, arrogance and disloyalty, of his chosen heir who resorted to scheming with his mother, brothers

and sisters.²⁷⁰) After the devious youth had been demoted and punished (as in the Ahiqar legend²⁷¹), Hattusilis declared, "Now what? Hereafter let no one bring up his sister's son!"²⁷²)

3.2. Hattusilis' adoption of a sibling's son is an early attestation of a regular practice in patrilineal systems whereby a young blood relative was adopted, failing a natural heir.²⁷³) What we may see possibly in Hattusilis' outburst against the son of a sister, is an assertion of patrilineal bias in the context of royal succession, contrary to the options available in a predominantly bilateral system in which it would be equally possible to choose as heir the son of a male or female lateral relative.²⁷⁴) His sister had hardened Hattusilis's heart against female siblings and their offspring.

§3. ASCENDANTS AND DESCENDANTS

§3.vii. GRANDFATHER

1.1. The term for the paternal grandfather was usually written with the logogram ABU ABI, which literally and descriptively meant "father of the (or my) father", as in KBo III 38 (CTH 3.1.), obv.8' A-NA A-BI A-BI LUGAL ták-šu-ul i-ia-at["he (King of Zalpa) made a friendship with the King's grandfather".²⁷⁵) In KBo VI 28 (CTH 88), Hattusilis referred to his grandfather Suppiluliumas I, as A-BA A-BI-IA,²⁷⁶) ungrammatically, like ŠA A-BU A-BU-NI "of our grandfather", in a NK record of court proceedings.²⁷⁷)

1.2. That the Hitt. word huhha- was equivalent to ABU ABI as "grandfather", is attested in KUB XXXIII 24 + (CTH 325. A), in the mythological account of the Storm god's disappearance. His father (obv.30, [^DIM-aš] at-ta-aš; 34, 39, A-BI ^DIM; 37, ^DIM-na-aš at-ta-aš) "went to his grandfather" (obv.30, ... hu-uh-hi-iš-ši pa-it), that is the Storm god's grandfather, to ask "Who had sinned" (obv.31), to which "his grandfather replied" (obv.32, hu-uh-ha-aš-ša-aš te-e-it), "no one (else) has sinned; only you (the father of the Storm god) has sinned" (obv.32... Ú-UL ku-iš-ki wa-aš-ta-aš 33. [z]i-ik-pát mi-nu wa-aš-ta-at-ta).²⁷⁸)

1.3. Two fragmentary (parallel?) copies among the "Zalpa" texts of CTH 3 refer to hu-uh-ha-aš-mi-iš "my grandfather", the context of which might relate to that of the taksul episode of KBo III 38, cited above.²⁷⁹⁾ Hattusilis I, describing events preceding his reign, referred to his grandfather:

20) KUB I 16 +(CTH 6), B (Hitt.), III

40. ...

41. [u]d-da-a-ar-se-it U[L?] DUMU^{MES} hu-uh-ha-ma-an
na-a-ir hu-uh-ha-aš-mi-iš

42. [la-ba-a]r-na-an DUMU-ša-an URU^š ša-na-hu-it-ti iš-ku
na-ah-hi-iš ²⁸⁰⁾

"(It was thus) as to the words of my grandfather []? Were not his sons made disloyal? My grandfather designated his son (as?) Labarnas in/for Sanahuitta'"

There are many points of historical interest contingent upon this passage and the following lines, but we note for our present context that Hattusilis' grandfather must have reigned as Labarnas himself (in Kussar(a) like Hattusilis), since he had the authority to designate a successor.²⁸¹⁾

The general contexts also of the annalistic texts of CTH 3, and 13, and Chronicles of CTH 8 and 9, indicate patrilineal succession, of the LUGAL(-uš) (Mursilis I), from his (adoptive) father ABI LUGAL (Hattusilis I, descendant of the House of Kussara, but ruling in Hattusas), and his father ABI ABI LUGAL.²⁸²⁾

1.4. In all probability the above examples of huhhas would have referred to the paternal grandfather, as also the reference in KUB XXI 27, IV 2', 4' (cited in 23) in viii below), to the Storm god as the goddess Zintuhis' huhhi (dat.sg.). But the "grandfather(s) Kings" (hu-uh-hi-eš LUGAL^{MES}) in fragment 554/u 5', referred to the forebears of Arnuwandas and Tuthaliyas (1'-3'), Hattusilis I and Mursilis I (6'), whose royal blood had been transmitted through both paternal and maternal grandfathers.²⁸³⁾ The fragmentary KUB XIII 23 (CTH 275), may have alluded logographically to the maternal grandfather (or "father (and) mo-



ther"?) in L.3' A]-BU(?) AMA ku-el-ki[, with 4']a-na-aš É.GE₄.<A> LUGAL [, implying that the context concerned marriage.²⁸⁴⁾

1.5. Once interpreted as another example (gen.sg.) of a reference to "(of) the(/his) grandfather", the] -hu-ha-aš of KUB XIX 5 + KBo XIX 79 (CTH 191), 12, and 14 (] -a?-hu-ha-aš), is restored most plausibly in the recent edition of this letter to the Hittite King from west Anatolia, as a PN [^mxx-(a)]huhas.²⁸⁵⁾ Here huh(h)as forms the final element, whereas it occurs as the first component in compounds such as ^mHuhananis (NH 379) or ^mHuhhazitis (NH 385),²⁸⁶⁾ where the meaning is not immediately apparent, and will be discussed further below. The Luw. (CL and HL) spelling is usually with single h (apart from NH 385), although there is only one example preserved in CL, with hu-u-ha-ti[(KBo IX 141, rev.3')], analysed as a -^otti- derivative.²⁸⁷⁾

2.1. The Hitt. adjectival denominative -ant- derivative, huhhantes nom.pl.c., occurs unfortunately in a context of the Introduction to the Treaty of Muwattallis II and Alaksandus of Wilusa (CTH 76), which is not helpful in establishing any more precise meaning than "forefathers".²⁸⁸⁾ The second half of the line (KUB XXI 5, I 14), and of the preceding lines, is broken away, and no parallel text has offered a restoration here which might lead to a better understanding of the term and its context.²⁸⁹⁾

2.2. However, the use of HL *huha- and (AVUS)huhati- may be analogous to that of huhha- and huhhant- in Hitt. texts. In BOHÇA 3 §6 "fathers and grandfathers" (nom.pl.) is written: tá-ti-zi-i ! AVUS-ha-zi-ha,²⁹⁰⁾ whereas in TELL AHMAR I §14, (AVUS)hu-ha-ti (dat.sg.) meant specifically "great-grandfather".²⁹¹⁾ Hawkins noted that when the latter was used adjectivally (huhatali-), it meant simply "grandfatherly".²⁹²⁾ The phrase "fathers and grandfathers" to indicate "forebears" might be written tati(n)zi AVUS-hati(n)-zi=ha (i.e. *huhatinzi(=) nom.pl.),²⁹³⁾ while the specific reference in MARAŞ 4, 4, (i) tati AVUS-ha=ha (dat.sg.), apparently required *huha=.²⁹⁴⁾ The logographic designation

of forebears beyond the "grandfather" in Hitt. texts reveals a similar imprecision, in ABI ABBA-IA "father of my fathers, ancestor", and ABBA ABBA-IA "fathers of my fathers, ancestors, forebears".²⁹⁵⁾

3.1. Where huhhas occurs in cuneiform religious texts the context relates to the worship of the dead, the ancestral manes. The following lines come from a passage concerning the swearing of an oath by the men of Hattusas to these "ghosts", that is akkantes (participle <ak(k)- "die, be killed") represented logographically as GIDIM^{HI.A}.²⁹⁶⁾

21) ABoT 56 (CTH 256), III

- 7' A-NA É^{MEŠ} GIDIM^{HI.A} ku-e[
 8' ad-da-aš hu-uh-ha-aš ku-e[
 9' ŠA GIDIM^{HI.A} iš-hi-u-ul[

"For the Houses of the manes[; for the fathers (and) grandfathers[]; the contract of the manes[.

3.2. In a fragmentary text belonging to rituals to the Sun goddess of the Earth "forebears" is expressed by the couplet as follows:

22) KUB VII 10 (CTH 448.4.A.), I

7. ma-a-an-kán ták-na-aš-ma ^DUTU-i HUL-lu
 8. KAXU-az ú-iz-zi pí-di-ma-aš ku-it-ki
 9. kap-pu-u-iz-zi tar-pa-al-li-iš-ma
 10. ha-an-na-aš hu-uh-ha-aš pa-ra-a
 11. ti-ia-an-du ...²⁹⁷⁾

"When evil comes from the mouth to the Sun goddess of the Earth, ... let them set forth a substitute for the grandmothers and grandfathers."

3.3. The combination "grandmothers grandfathers", more often in reverse order,²⁹⁸⁾ usually has both words inflected, and is plural with the general sense of "ancestors", to whom offerings were made during a ritual, such as the funerary rites for a dead King, Queen, or royal person.²⁹⁹⁾ Less frequently attested is the compound huhhahannis.³⁰⁰⁾

3.4. The "House of the Grandfather" and the "Palace of the Grandfather", with attendants (LÚ^{MEŠ} É huhhas, LÚ^{MEŠ} É.GAL

huhhas),³⁰¹⁾ were associated with the royal ancestor cult, and could be logographically expressed, for example, as the É ABI ABI ^{DUTU}ŠI, which was established in Samuha.³⁰²⁾

4.1. The derivation of Hitt./Luw. huh(h)a- from the same PIE predecessor of such forms as Lat. avus "grandfather", Goth. awō "grandmother", OIr. áue/háue "grandson", and derivatives generally meaning "uncle" in Balto Slavic, is accepted by the majority of linguists.³⁰³⁾ Szemerényi, combining linguistic analysis of IE kinship terms and anthropological interpretations of the original kinship structure which these would indicate, postulates a PIE joint family, in accordance with which the ambivalence of *HauHos (> Hitt. huhhas) and *(H)ana- (> Hitt. hanna- "grandmother"), would be explained.³⁰⁴⁾ According to this analysis *(H)ana- originally designated "ancestor", and, apart from hanna-, may be seen in OHG anā/ano "grandfather", ana "grandmother", and Lat. anus "old woman" and OPr. ane "grandmother".³⁰⁵⁾ Szemerényi suggests that the PIE terms for grandfather and grandmother were *Hanos and *Hana, the former replaced within the joint family system by *HauHos which originally denoted the brother of either the father or mother. Brothers, on the death of their respective heads of family, might accede to that position, explaining the association of "uncle" with "ancestor; grandfather".³⁰⁶⁾ Since Italic and Germanic indicate *aw- (*Haw-?) for "grandmother" (Lat. avia, Goth. awo), Szemerényi suggested that when *HauHos had replaced *Hanos, the reflex for "grandmother" was *Hana / *HauHi > *awi.³⁰⁷⁾

4.2. The interpretation of annas= and uwas= in KBo III 40 + (CTH 16 b.A.), 14', as "Nesite" *hanna- *huhha- "grandmother" ... "grandfather", by Oettinger,³⁰⁸⁾ has not been verified by further evidence. Other interpretations have been suggested for uwas, namely the unproven "son",³⁰⁹⁾ and according to Melchert, "nurse" from PIE I *eu-h₁- > II *weh₁- "excrete liquid > give milk".³¹⁰⁾ Since another derivative may have been Lyc. uwe "'kin, family'" (following wife and family)", that is the "suckled, nourished", this analysis is more attractive.³¹¹⁾ However Lyc. xuga- "grandfather"

and xñna/i "grandmother" are west Luw. attestations of the Anatolian pair,³¹²⁾ while the Lyd. PN ῥογῆς may also represent a linguistically related "grandfather".³¹³⁾

4.3. The hypothetical PIE kinship structure deduced by Szemerényi may be reflected in the Hitt. family, clan and kindred, which will be discussed in Chapter II. The arguments noted above for the ambivalence of *HauHos and *Hana- should be kept in mind when interpreting the name ^mHuhhazitis for which Luw. (-)zititis "man" indicates its Luw. character.³¹⁴⁾ PN may embody concepts no longer understood by their bearers (or givers) in ages later than the one in which the originals were coined. One interpretation of ^mHuhhazitis could be "a man (who is) a grandfather", but another might be "an ancestor (who is) a man". Thus, by analogy with Luw. nanasris "sister" and the PN ^mNanazitis (NH 860), ^mHuhhazitis would mean "an ancestor - male". The PN ^mHuhananis (NH 379) may well represent a kinship term designating "great uncle",³¹⁵⁾ but the actual generation would depend on how precisely huha- could be interpreted, as "grandfather" or simply "ancestor".

§3.viii. GRANDMOTHER

1.1. By virtue of the association of hannas with huhhas as noted above, and the syndetic phraseology of the prayer,

23) KUB XXI 27 (CTH 384), IV³¹⁶⁾

2' n]u-za ^Dz[i-in-tu-hi]-i-iš GAŠAN-IA

4']nu-kán ^DIM-ni tu-el hu-uh-hi

5' [Û A-NA ^D]UTU URU TÚL-na tu-el ha-an-ni

" ... and Zintuhis, my Lady, and to your grandfather, the Storm god, [and to]the Sun goddess of Arinna, your grandmother, ..."

it is clear that hannas designated "grandmother", which Melchert remarked some time ago, noting also that zintuhis (here deified) was Hattic for "granddaughter".³¹⁷⁾ Lyc. xñna/i- "grandmother", attests a west Luw. equivalent form to the Hitt. hanna-,³¹⁸⁾ while the name ^DHannahannas, also written logographically DINGIR.MAH and ^DNIN.TU, of the great Anatolian goddess of mythology and ritual, is consid-

ered by many Hitt. scholars to be a reduplicated form of hanna-, to which subject we will return below.³¹⁹⁾

1.2. The descriptive "mother of the mother" is found in logographic form in a record of Dream Interpretations for the King,

24) KUB XV 5 +(CTH 583), I³²⁰⁾

11. pa-ra-a-ma ^fa-ru-mu-ra-aš m[e-mi-]iś-ki-iz-zi

12. a-ši-wa-kán AMA.AMA-KA ku-w[a-a]t-pât HUL-lu ti-ia-an
har-zi

"Arumaras speaks forth: 'Why has this (woman), your maternal grandmother, set (up) evil? ...'"

The equivalent AMA ABI has not yet been attested in Hitt. texts. Such descriptive means of designating the maternal grandfather or the paternal grandmother in Hittite could be confused with the expression "father (and) mother"/"mother (and) father",³²¹⁾ however, the PN ^fAnnannas might be interpreted perhaps as "mother of the mother"?³²²⁾

1.3. The presence of a grandmother, and grandfather, in a household may be attested in the perfunctory listing of households and occupants in the Land Donation texts, and indicated by the logographic ^{MÍ}SU.GI and ^{LÚ}SU.GI, as in,

25) KBo V 7 (CTH 223), rev.³²³⁾

12. 11 ^ÉHI.A 26 ^{LÚ} 16 DUMU.NITA 4 DUMU.NITA.GAB 30 MUNUS
11 DUMU.MUNUS 2 DUMU.MUNUS.GAB 1 ^{LÚ}SU.GI 1 ^{MÍ}SU.GI

"11 households: 26 men, 16 boys, 4 baby boys; 30 women, 11 girls, 2 baby girls; 1 old man, 1 old woman.

2.1. Hitt. hanna- has been analysed as an -a-stem derivative,³²⁴⁾ of PIE (H)an- "ancestor", as noted above, being linguistically related to Arm. han, Grk. ἀννίς, OHG ana, OPr. ane, all meaning "grandmother".³²⁵⁾ In the light of Jakobson's observations which were quoted above (§2,1.2.2.), we might consider such a reflex from nursery to polite term (VC > CV(C)) in PIE through the substitution of initial breathing for a laryngeal before *an- (note the prefixing of fricative velars to Russian interjections > verbal roots), which is not far removed from Sturtevant's theory

of the (Indo-Hitt.) prefixed ha-.³²⁶⁾ Consequently *(H)ana- "female ancestor, grandmother" > hanna- would be a derivative of the "mother" term.

2.2. A secondary relationship of Hitt. hanna- to hansatar "begetting, family, etc." was suggested without further comment in HEG,³²⁷⁾ which would imply that the verbal root h₂on-s-/h₂om-s from which has(s)- "beget, give birth", derives, which will be discussed under GRANDSON, was related also to *(H)an-, unless one dismissed the comparability of hanna- and IE terms for "grandmother" as fortuitous. The difficulty lies in the concomitant of a hypothetical relationship of *(H)an- and the well assured *genā- "beget", which yielded for example Grk. γεννᾶω, Lat. gignō "beget", gens "clan", Skt. janitā "genitor",³²⁸⁾ which would involve the relationship of an initial laryngeal versus velar. The problem appears insoluble for the moment.³²⁹⁾

2.3. As remarked above the name of the goddess Hannahannas may have been formed through a reduplication of hanna-, designating her as the female ancestor, the grandmother par excellence. Undoubtedly her prominence among Anatolian deities was due to her role as goddess of creation through fertility and birth, and of wisdom.³³⁰⁾ A mythological passage inserted in a birth ritual, KUB XXX 29, obv., §3, describes the allocation of their "places" to various gods, beginning with the Sun goddess of Arinna, who "seated herself".³³¹⁾ At the end of this list it is stated (obv.14),

"But for Hannahannas there did not remain a place; so for her man<kind> remained as a place."

This may, as the editor suggests, reflect the receiving by Hannahannas of mankind as her sphere.³³²⁾ It may also reflect that she was felt to be of mankind, recalling a dim memory of the "deification" of the female ancestor who was most closely associated with birth in the family, having produced her own offspring and then attended the births of her grandchildren, with increasing expertise until she was greatly venerated in old age.

2.4. However, even if the linguistic relationship of hanna-

and *gen -, hanna- and has(s)-, is not readily proved, the human acolytes of the birth goddess did bear titles derived from has(s)- "beget". The principal Anatolian female practitioner associated with birth and its rituals, had the appellative ^{MI}hasnupallas(/^{MI}ŠA.ZU) "midwife".³³³) Another attendant of these rituals, and midwife, was the ubiquitous "Old Woman" (^{MI}ŠU.GI), whose Hitt. title was also derived from has(s)-, namely ^{MI}hasauwas "woman of birthgiving".³³⁴)

§3.ix. GRANDSON(/CHILD), GREAT GRANDSON(/CHILD)

1.1. The logogram DUMU.DUMU "grandson", semantic equivalent of the Akk. descriptive mār mārī "son of the son",³³⁵) was used consistently in cuneiform royal genealogies when Hitt. Kings from Hattusilis III onwards began to relate themselves in affiliation beyond the father, as for example:

26) KUB XXVI 58 (CTH 224), I³³⁶)

1. UM-MA ^{DUTU}ŠI ^mha-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.[GAL LUGAL KUR URUhat-ti UR.SAG]
2. DUMU ^mmur-ši-li LUGAL.GAL LUG[AL KUR URUhat-ti UR.SAG]
3. Ū DUMU.DUMU-ŠU ŠA ^mšu-up-pí-u-li-lu-ma LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR hat-ti [UR.SAG]
4. NUMUN ^mha-at-tu-ši-li DUMU URUku-uš-šar LUGAL.GAL UR.SA[G]

Thus (speaks) My Sun, Hattusilis, Great [King, JKing of Hatti, the Hero, the son of Mursilis Great King, Kin[g of Hatti, the Hero, and his grandson of Suppiluliumas, Great King, King of Hatti, [the Hero], descendant (lit. 'seed') of Hattusilis, son of Kussar, Great King, the Her[o]."

The logogram DUMU.DUMU.DUMU-ŠU "his great grandson" is also attested in NK genealogies, and will be discussed in Chapter II with NUMUN "seed" and ŠA.BAL.BAL "successor".

1.2. When referring to responsibilities, curses, and blessings, for future generations, of the King (and Queen) of Hatti, Treaty partners, or recipients of favours, texts of various types used the combination DUMU(^{MEŠ}) DUMU.DUMU^{MEŠ}, frequently followed by the formula hassa(-) hanzassa(-). The first element was often not inflected, although there are a number of examples, where both are inflected,³³⁷) too

many it would seem to justify the opinion that this was the exception.³³⁸⁾

1.3. The components of this phrase, generally translated "grandson/child (and) great grandson (child)",³³⁹⁾ are usually found in combination, although exceptions occur, as in KUB XXI 27 (CTH 384), when the goddess Zintuhhis is described as "beloved hassas of the Storm god and Sun goddess of Arinna" (III 43'-44'), who are later termed her "grandfather" and "grandmother", as cited above.³⁴⁰⁾ Although "grandchild" suggests itself as an obvious translation for hassas in this context,³⁴¹⁾ Melchert followed Goetze in arguing that a less specific translation might be appropriate.³⁴²⁾ In view of the obvious tautology in many of the combinations of DUMU (DUMU.DUMU) h.- h.-,³⁴³⁾ and parallel contexts such as KUB XXVI 1 (CTH 255.1.A), I 4-5, 15, and KUB XXI 42 (CTH 255.2.A.), IV 19,³⁴⁴⁾ Melchert believed,

"that the Hittites had two means of expressing 'sons and grandsons':

DUMU^{MEŠ} DUMU.DUMU^{MEŠ}
or (DUMU^{MEŠ}) hassa- hantzassa-"

Consequently, hassa(-) should be translated generally "offspring (of the first generation)", with "offspring (of the second generation)" for hantzassa(-).³⁴⁵⁾ For Zintuhhis' epithet he suggested "beloved descendant".³⁴⁶⁾

1.4. An important facet of Melchert's argument is his comparison of h.- h.- with Grk. γόνος, action noun derived from γεν- "beget", meaning "offspring", and ἑγγόνος "grandson, descendant", paralleled by Lat. (g)natus prognatus.³⁴⁷⁾ Consequently hassa(-) was derived from Hitt. has- "to beget", while hantzassa(-) was analysed as hantz(a)- "in front" + (h)assa-.³⁴⁸⁾ The case form in (katta) hassa hantzassa would be the old directive, the phrase itself preserved as an adverb "to the first and second generation", often preceded by katta with temporal meaning "later".³⁴⁹⁾

2.1. Before remarking other analyses of h.- h.-, particularly of hantzassa(-), we should note the parallels between a) the Hitt. phrase, b) CL hamsi- hamsukkalli-, and c) HL

evidence for the latter terms.

27)a. KUB XV 34, II (NH; s.a., §2.ii. cit. 4),

18. DUMU-la-tar DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} ha-a-aš-šu-uš
ha-an-za-aš-ša-šu-uš LÚ-ni LÚ-na-tar

"(Grant ...) progeny, sons (and) daughters, grandchildren and great grandchildren; for the man masculinity etc."

27)b. KBo XXIX 6 (late 14th century), obv.³⁵⁰)

28' ... ma-al-ha-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš [EN-aš
29' DUMU^{MEŠ}-ti DUMU!.MUNUS^{MEŠ}-ti ha-am-ša-ti ha-am[-šu-
uk-kal-la-a-ti³⁵¹)

"[May the 'owner'] of the ritual [be blessed (or similar) with sons (and) daughters, with grandchildren (and) [great] grandchildren ...]"

27)c. MARAŠ 1, 1-3:³⁵²)

- (i) EGO-wa/i-mi-i ^IHALPA-pa-ru-ti-i-ia-sa ...
- (ii) ^ILA+x-ma-si-i-sa ... INFANS-mu-wa/i-za-sá
- (iii) ^IHALPA-pa-ru-ti-ia-si-sà ... (NEPOS) ha-ma-si-sá-
- (iv) mu-wa/i-ta-li-si-sà ... (NEPOS) ha-ma-su-ka-la-sá
- (v) ^IHALPA-pa-rú-ti-ia-si-sà ... (INFANS) na-wa/i-sa
- (vi) ^Imu-wa/i-zi-si ... (INFANS) na-wa/i-na-wa/i-sá

"'I am Halparuntiyas, son of LA+x-mas ...,
grandson of Halparuntiyas ...,
great-grandson of Muwatalis ...,
great-great-grandson of Halpruntiyas ...,
great-great-great grandson of Muwanzis ...'"

The equivalence of Luw. ham(a)sis "grandson/child" and ham(a)suk(k)al(l)is "great-grandson/child" to Hitt. h. h. is seen from the above, and also that, despite the Pal. context of KBo XIX 152 +(CTH 724), with hamsuqqalati (abl./instr.), this is a Luw. form.³⁵³) It is possible that Luw. ha(m)m(a)si- appears in the late Hitt. KBo X 10 (CTH 235), in a poorly preserved list of functionaries, mentioning ŠA É. GAL ha-am-ma-ša-aš (IV 9'), tentatively interpreted by Laroche as "palais des petits enfants", comparable to the "Palace of the Grandfather".³⁵⁴)

2.2. The derivation of Luw. ham(a)si- "born, successor > grandson/child", as also Lyd. eša, from proto-Anatolian

h₂ons/)h₂om-s- > has(s)- "beget, give birth", is generally agreed,³⁵⁵⁾ with hamsuk(k)al(l)i- "great grandson/child", a secondary derivative.³⁵⁶⁾ According to Georgiev (among others), Lyc. ḫahba "'progenies, Kind'", derived also from has- > ḫah-, with an inherited abstract-forming suffix, as in NBulg. rozba "child", from *rod- "beget".³⁵⁷⁾ In Hitt. the alternation of h₂om-s- > h₂on-s- resulted, it is argued, in hassa- with loss of the nasal under the accent, while hanzassa- may be analysed as hansa- > hanza- + -ssa-, with accent on the proto-Anatolian adj. gen. suffix preserving the nasal.³⁵⁸⁾ This suffix, still highly productive in CL and HL, but no longer so in Hitt., is attested only in a few fossilised forms other than hanzassa-, such as genus-sa/i- "knee joint < pertaining to the knee".³⁵⁹⁾

2.3. The literal meaning of hassa- (ham(a)si-) hanzassa- (ham(a)suk(k)al(l)i-), "offspring (and) belonging-to/descendant of the offspring", would appear to support Melchert's interpretation. However, it is clear that these forms came to be identified with the second and third generations of descendants, even if their original application might have been less specific. The "tautological" combinations DUMU DUMU.DUMU h.- h.- may have resulted from the Hitt. tendency to express a general kinship concept by the juxtaposition of particular terms, such as attas annas > "parents", so that we read (as intended) "son, grandson, "descendants"/((grandson and) great grandson".

3.1. The frequent reference in Hitt. texts to royal, and non-royal, descendants, their desirability, their obligations to observe the strictures of their ancestor(s), and their culpability for his failings, underlines the great importance of family continuity visualised as generations of offspring. In this light we may read two passages from the OH+ Building Ritual for a new Palace, during which a new hearth was established:

28)a. KUB XXIX 1 (CTH 414), IV³⁶⁰⁾

1. na-at-ša-an ha-aš-ši-i ha-li-ih-li-ia-an-da-a-ri
2. nu DUMU.NITA^{MES} DUMU.MUNUS^{MES} ha-an-za-aš-ša-eš ma-

ak-ki-eš-ka-an-du

3. GUNNI-ma te-iz-zi a-pa-at-wa-mu a-aš-šu

"And they kneel down upon the Hearth (saying), 'Let the sons and daughters, the 'great grandchildren(/further descendants)', become numerous!' And the Hearth says, 'That (is) good with me'."

28)b.

24. ... nu LUGAL-un MÍ.LUGAL-un-na ha-aš-še-eš

25. ha-an-za-aš-še-eš an-da QA-TAM-MA ar-ši-ia-an-du

"(They set up an Artartis tree and a Marsiqqas tree, and say as follows: 'Just as they care for these) let the 'grandchildren (and) great grandchildren(/further descendants)' care for the King and Queen.'"

28)c. NH KBo XVII 105 (CTH 433.3),³⁶¹⁾

23. nu-wa tu-uk ha-aš-ša-a-an uk-tu-u-ri-pát LUGAL-wa-
as MÍ.LUGAL-aš DUMU^{MES}.LUGAL

24. ha-aš-še-eš ha-a-an-za-aš-še-eš an-da hu-u-la-li-iš-
kān-du ...

"And may in future the children of the King (and) the Queen, the grandchildren and great grandchildren, encircle you, O Hearth, ..."

Notably, in the section (LL.19-22) preceding these last lines the prayer to the Hearth and other deities was for goodwill towards the King, Queen, and their children (DUMU^{MES}.LUGAL), granting them life and strength.³⁶²⁾ The juxtaposed prayers concerned the present and then the future, in which h. h.- could convey both a general and specific reference to future descendants.

3.2. The hearth, frequently with its "eternal" fire, with many peoples as also with the Hittites, was the centre of family events and the cult of the ancestors.³⁶³⁾ Descendants were essential to perpetuate the cult by making offerings to departed parents when they joined the ancestral spirits.³⁶⁴⁾ In a) and b) above the sense of 'descendants' prevails, although it would not have been incongruous that the "great grandchildren" should be required to care for the royal forebears, that is by maintaining the ancestor cult into perpetuity.

3.3. An interesting example of h.- h.-, each in the d.-l. sg., may be seen in KUB XXVI 43 + (CTH 255.B), rev.60-61 (Chapter II, cit. 15), following "children (DUMU^{MES}) of fTarhundamanawas", where the translation "from grandson (and) greatgrandson" fits the legal context. The reference also demonstrates that h.- h.- could denote "descendants" of a woman as well as a man, whereas NUMUN "seed" referred to patrilineal succession, which, in Tarhundamanawas' case, would have been her father's "clan".

§3.x. GRANDDAUGHTER

1.0. Although the term ^{MĪ}zintuhi- had been identified by Laroche as Hattic for "granddaughter", with zintu- "grandson",³⁶⁵⁾ in Hitt. texts it is once represented by KI.SIKIL "maid", and frequently attested as the designation of a young woman whose principal occupation appears to have been a Palace and Temple "singer".³⁶⁶⁾ There is no evidence to show that zintuhi- was used as a family kinship term in Hittite. By inference we assume that hassas (as in KUB XXI 27, III 43') designated the female as well as male descendant of the second generation.

§3.xi. GREAT GRANDSON/CHILD - SUCCESSIVE GENERATIONS

1.1. Logographically "great grandson" was expressed as DUMU.DUMU.DUMU(-^ŠU) "son of the son of his son", attested in NK royal genealogies.³⁶⁷⁾ The Hitt. equivalent of the logogram would have been hanzassas, as noted above.

1.2. In Hitt. texts reference to descending generations beyond that of hanzassas, was made with the logograms NUMUN, ^{ŠĀ}.BAL(.BAL), DUMU.DUMU^{MES}-^ŠU, all three of which might refer to a present author as descendant of a distant ancestor, but only NUMUN referred also to future descendants. Apparently overlapping with NUMUN in meaning, the CL/HL hartu- "successor", occurs in the Hitt./Luw. context of the ritual of Tunnawi (CTH 409), and also KUB XXVI 43, noted above, designating successive generations after "sons, (daughters), grandchildren, great grandchildren."³⁶⁸⁾ It seems that the Hittites had to make use of such vague terms as "seed, descendants", and the borrowed Luw. expression

for "successor" to express generations beyond the third descending.

§4. COLLATERALS

§4.xii. COUSIN

1.1. Cousin", or explicitly "first cousin", is our term for the male or female child of the paternal or maternal uncle or aunt, which derived via Fr. cousin/cousine from Lat. consobrinus "those who 'shared sisters as their mothers'", which was applied, as well as descriptive terms, first to the Roman mother's sister's child, then mother's brother's, then extended to children of the father's sister and brother.³⁶⁹⁾ English "cousin" is a mere cipher for a collateral or non-lineal relative, having supplanted the Anglo-Saxon derivative terms which distinguished principally the sex of the relative, then the mother's from the father's side of the patrilineally-biased bilateral family.³⁷⁰⁾ Since the one word refers to all the children of one's parents' siblings regardless of whether they are patri- or matrilineal cross-cousins (father's sister's or mother's brother's children) or patri- or matrilineal parallel cousins (father's brother's or mother's sister's children), and because it distinguishes them from "brothers and sisters", our terminology has been labelled the "Eskimo" type. This is frequently, but not exclusively, found with bilateral forms of kinship structure.³⁷¹⁾ For precise definition we also resort to descriptive phrases such as "my mother's sister's son".

1.2. Morgan observed that such descriptive or "individualising" terminologies were "mainly found among the Aryan, Semitic and Uralian linguistic families."³⁷²⁾ Other types of cousin terminology exist, such as the "Hawaiian", in which siblings and cousins are all reciprocally designated "brother" or "sister"; "Iroquois", setting the cross-apart from the parallel cousins, which were usually denoted as "siblings". As Goody described it, in the "Iroquois" type,³⁷³⁾

"cross-cousins are frequently differentiated from one

another. Two of the common ways of effecting this differentiation skew the terms with respect to the generation structure, since they identify persons of an individual's generation."

In the "Crow" (matrilineal) type, the father's sister's son is called 'father', and/or the mother's brother's son is designated "son". In the "Omaha" (patrilineal) type, the opposite occurs, with mother's brother's son = "mother's brother" and/or father's sister's son = "son".³⁷⁴⁾

1.3. Various permutations upon the basic themes may also exist. Although there will always be exceptions to underline a "rule", cousin terminology may be a useful indicator as to the kind of kinship system in which it has developed, reflecting the social and jural relationships of individuals. The existing evidence for Hitt. references to the "cousin" are consequently important to this study.

2.1. The patrilateral parallel cousin was described logographically by Mursilis II in his Annals,

29) KBo V 8 (CTH 61.7.A), II (with parallel),³⁷⁵⁾

18. ...
 19. DUMU.LUGAL DUMU ^mzi-da-a GAL ^{LU}^mhu-u-tu-pi-an-za-an-ma
ME-ŠE-DI ^mzi-da-a-aš
ku-iš
 20. A-NA A-BI-IA ŠEŠ-ŠU e-eš-ta

"... but Hutupianzas (acc.), the prince, son of Zidas, the Commander of the MEŠEDI - Zidas who was (his) brother to my father - ..."

Hutupianzas, designated "son of the King; prince", was clearly not the son of the reigning King Mursilis, nor of Suppiluliumas I, but a descendant from the latter's father. The title "prince", which was apparently accorded to persons who were not sons of the King, has been studied recently by Imparati.³⁷⁶⁾ In regard to the above text we cannot be entirely sure whether DUMU.LUGAL were a kinship term or an honorary title, but favour the former (see 3.1. below).

2.2. We may bear in mind that Mursilis did not use for Hutupianzas a term, current in Hitt. since at least the reign of Suppiluliumas, namely (LÚ/MÍ) anninniyamis. This

term was used by Muwattallis II in his Treaty with Alaksandus of Wilusa, when he described Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira, adopted son of Mashuilluwas, as his (Muwattallis') patrilineal cross-cousin,

30) KUB XXI 1 +(CTH 76.A.), III³⁷⁷)

33. ... nu ^mk[(u-pa-a)ln-ta-^DKAL-aš MĀŠ LÚ ŠA [(LUG)]AL
KUR ^{URU}ar-za-u-wa
34. IŠ-TU MĀŠ MĪ^{TI}-ma-aš ŠA LUGAL K[(UR ^U)]^{RU}ha-at-ti A-
NA A-BI-IA-ma-aš
35. ^mmur-ši-DINGIR^{LI(M)} LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR ^{URU}ha-a[(t-
t)]i DUMU.NIN-ŠU A-NA ^DUTU^{ŠI}-ma-aš
36. a-a-an-ni-in-ni-ia-mi-iš

"...Now, Kupanta-Kurunta (belongs on) the male (side) to the family of the King of Arzawa, but he (issues on) the female (side) from the family of the King of Hatti. He (was) for my father Mursilis, Great King, King of Hatti, his sister's son, and for My Sun he (is) an anninniyamis."

The parallel text KUB XXI 5 +, III 51, has ^{LÚ}an-ni-in-ni-ia-mi-iš, a spelling without initial plene a-, seen also in the broken context of the NH mixed oracle fragment, KUB XVIII 9 (CTH 580), I 5', with]x ^{MĪ}an-ni-ni-ia-mi-iš BA. ŪŠ,³⁷⁸) which simply confirms that the term could be applied to male or female, without adding to the sense of the word. We note also the non-geminate second -n(i)-.

2.3. The relevant passages concerning ^{MĪ}a-a-an-ni-in-ni-ia-mi-iš in the Treaty of Suppiluliumas I with Huqqanas of Azzi-Hayasa, concluded approximately a century earlier, were cited above under SISTER (§2.vi. cit. 18). Suppiluliumas instructed his brother-in-law that Hitt. custom forbade sexual relations between: a man and his wife's sister, of her "family" or her "seed", and her ^{MĪ}anninniyamis; between a man and his sister, or his ^{MĪ}anninniyamis; or between a man and his brother's sister and cousin. In regard to the spelling of the term in the late MH or MH+ texts of CTH 42, we note that the spelling with plene or double plene of the initial a- which appears to have been the more ancient scribal means of rendering a-(a)-an-ni-in-ni-ia-mi-iš.³⁷⁹)

3.1. The CTH 76 passage shows that ($\text{L}\acute{\text{U}}$)anninniyamis, apart from referring to a father's sister's son, and presumably her daughter (as $\text{M}\acute{\text{I}}$ anninniyamis), could denote a collateral member of a person's tri-generational "family" ($\text{M}\acute{\text{A}}\text{Š}/\text{hassat-}\text{ar}$).³⁸⁰) The earlier Treaty demonstrates that the term could refer to non-lineal (female) relatives, that is those not immediately related by having the same father and mother ($\text{NIN}^{\text{MEŠ}}-\text{ŠU } \text{ŠA } \text{M}\acute{\text{A}}\text{Š}-\text{ŠU}$) nor the same father ($\text{NIN}^{\text{MEŠ}}-\text{ŠU } \text{ŠA } \text{NUMUN}-\text{ŠU}$).³⁸¹) The Hitt. Dictionaries have translated anninniyamis as "cousin", assuming the same all-embracing meaning as the English, Germanic and Romance languages' terms for "cousin".³⁸²) However, as NUMUN "seed", may denote succession in the patrilineal clan,³⁸³) it seems possible that daughters of the father's brothers were included as "sisters (of the 'seed')", that is the "patrilineal" cousins. If we are correct in thinking that ($\text{L}\acute{\text{U}}/\text{M}\acute{\text{I}}$)anninniyamis did not include such cousins, then we may interpret DUMU.LUGAL as the kinship term, not merely an official title, for Hutupianzas, with the further implication that the term for "patrilineal" cousins would have been "brother"/"sister", or obvious derivatives of these terms. We will return to the implications of this below.

3.2. Sleeping with an anninniyamis was considered incest. Logically, this term must have applied to other cousins as well as the established father's sister's child. Although the Hitt. Laws do not proscribe sexual relations with a mother's sister's daughter, the implication of attested prohibitions with their identification in such matters of sisters and mothers and daughters (cf. HG §§190, 191), is that such acts would have constituted incest. Similarly we may include the mother's brother's child as an anninni-yamis, which consequently would have designated all but the father's brother's children. The sexual relationship with a patri- or matrilineal parallel or cross cousin may be represented using the same symbols as above (§2.vi.1.5):

FORBIDDEN $\begin{array}{c} +\text{W}/\text{M}+ \\ \text{M}/\text{W} <---> \text{M}/\text{W} \end{array}$

4.1. Although we have excluded the father's brother's son or daughter from the terminology "cousin", they were clearly included within the incest proscription. However, a recent suggestion that the Levirate ruling of HG §193, which recommended the "taking" of a widow by her dead husband's 1. brother, 2. then father, 3. or (if the latter died) "his brother's son" (DUMU.ŠEŠ-ŠU; interpreted by Pembroke as referring to the father's brother's son), meant that these cousins could marry,³⁸⁴⁾ needs consideration.

4.2. Indeed, the text does not make clear whose "brother's son" was intended, whether he would have been a patrilateral cousin-in-law or nephew-in-law of the widow. Also, the other stipulations of HG §193 appear to conflict with prohibitions against incest. However §195, which proscribes sexual relations between a man and his brother's wife during his brother's lifetime, states that once the brother had died, the act ceased to be hurkel. This explains why §193 was included in HG, declaring that the taking of a dead man's wife by his brother, father, or cousin/nephew, was "no crime".³⁸⁵⁾

4.3. Further, despite the assertions of some anthropologists, there seems to be no valid reason to suspect that the existence of the Levirate would have affected the terminology for, as well as the behaviour of, the respective cousins. Murdock argued forcefully against such ideas,³⁸⁶⁾

"By the very nature of things such marriages can constitute only a minority of all unions.

4.4. The family structure of the Hittites appears to have been of a bilateral/cognatic nature according to the proscription of sexual relations between all cousins, indicating that siblings of both parents were felt to be equally close and important to a person, and their children were considered as virtually brothers and sisters.³⁸⁷⁾ However, the Hittites actually distinguished as (LÜ/MI) anninniyamis the child of a mother's brother or sister, or father's sister, but, according to our interpretation, denoted the father's brother's children with sibling terms, at least in the con-

text of the Hitt. royal family. The latter terminology is characteristic of "Omaha" (patrilineal) societies where the distinctive designation of collaterals other than those of the same patrilineage ("siblings"), reflects a patrilineal family organisation.³⁸⁸) But the "Omaha" type also distinguishes paternal (father's sister's child) from maternal collaterals,³⁸⁹) which the Hittites did not.

5.1. The common designation of all cousins, excepting the patrilineal one, indicates that the former were all regarded as having the same cognatic(/bilateral) legal and personal rights vis à vis each other, at least by the NK period, but would not have had similar claims to the patrilineal inheritance enjoyed by the "sibling" exception. An analysis of the term aninniyamis might enlighten us as to its history and that of the Hitt. family organisation. Several analyses understand a first element anni- < Anatolian anna/i- "mother", and postulate some alteration in the Anatolian/Hitt. family structure.

5.2. The HED has recently proposed *anni-nani(ya)- "mother's brother",³⁹⁰) with

"a suffix -mi- indicating filiation, spread by analogy from the originally participial Luw. titaimi- 'nurseling, son', thus 'mother's brother's offspring'".

While comparing the subsequent generalisation of the term to that of consobrinus to "cousin", HED surmises that if the word were of Luw. origin,

"elements of Southern Anatolian avunculate (surviving in Lycian) may have further favoured the generalisation of 'mother's brother's offspring' as 'cousin par excellence'"

However, even if anninni- could be interpreted as a haplology - or even a "dialectal" annin(n)iy+mi- "mother's sister's child"³⁹¹) -, the acquisition by a noun compound of the Luw. passive participle ending -mi-, by analogy to titaimis, even if linguistically possible, would require titaimis to have attained the status of a kinship term in CL by the MH period at latest, for the analogy to operate. Even if this should prove to have been the case, the sense

of anninniyamis should be participial also, since there appears to be no evidence that this -mi- ending was other than that of the Luw. participle.³⁹²⁾ Failing such evidence, the above, and Kronasser's anni- "mother" + (n)ni- + -mi- (derivative suffixes), remain unproven.³⁹³⁾

5.3. Regarding the "avunculate" (matrilineal) theory, we note that the archetypal society may no longer be understood as a Bachofenian "Mutterrecht", of which prehistoric Anatolian female figurines and classical Lyc. customs are supposed to bear witness,³⁹⁴⁾ since matrilineal societies appear to arise secondarily in response to specific conditions.³⁹⁵⁾ Studies by Pembroke and Bryce into the possible reasons for apparent Lyc. matrilineality are more valuable than continued references to this as a "survival".³⁹⁶⁾ Moreover, the matrilineal mother's brother's son could scarcely be a "cousin par excellence". Not belonging to his father's (matri)lineage, he would not be termed "derivative of mother's brother" by his patrilateral cross-cousin, but "son", which that cousin also called his own child who was not his heir.³⁹⁷⁾ It would actually be in patrilineal or agnatically biased bilateral systems that the mother's siblings'/father's sister's children would best represent non-lineal collaterals.³⁹⁸⁾

6.1. Some years ago Laroche analysed *anninniyamis as anni- + niyami-, a compound which "serait défini par une relation féminine",³⁹⁹⁾ remarking elsewhere Luw. niniyami- as the participle of *niniya-,⁴⁰⁰⁾ derivatives of which are now recognised in the CL ^{GIS}niniyal(a-) "cradle?", ^{NINDA}niniya- mis, a bread,⁴⁰¹⁾ and the -sha- derivative in HL CRUS.CRUS (-)ni-ia-sa-ha "procession".⁴⁰²⁾ The semantic equivalence of Luw. *ni-i- to Hitt. neya- "turn, etc.", is at least strongly indicated if not fully assured.⁴⁰³⁾ The Hitt. MP is usually reflexive, and the active forms usually transitive, including reduplicated nanniya- "drive (cattle)".⁴⁰⁴⁾ The examples of niniya- appear to be an iterative transitive, with passive participle.⁴⁰⁵⁾ Starke has noted that the irregular ending -iyami- (as opposed to -imma(/i-)) appears to result from the reduplication.⁴⁰⁶⁾

6.2. Noting Laroche's analyses, Pembroke suggested in regard to anninniyamis, "The Hittite verb nai-, neya-, to turn, might point directly to cross-cousins."⁴⁰⁷⁾ Although it is now clear that the term could apply to cross- and parallel cousins, we might proceed, aided by both scholars' intimations, to an analysis of anninniyamis as a Luw. compound < anni- "mother" + nin(n)iyamis "led, turned" > anni-n<i>i>nyamis "(one) mother-led/turned". Stress on the first syllable, indicated perhaps by the plene a-, attested in the CL writing of anni- "mother",⁴⁰⁸⁾ could explain the syncope of the first -i- of niniya-. A compound formed by noun + participle may be seen in the HL name, ^IDEUS-na-(OCULUS)á-za-mi-sá, that is *^mMassan(a)-azamis "Beloved of the god(s)", with the oblique sense of the first element clear, despite its casus absolutus.⁴⁰⁹⁾

6.3. The Luw. kinship term anninniyamis, thus interpreted, would have been semantically parallel to the logographic IŠTU MÁŠ MÍ^{TI} "on/from the female (side of) the family". It presumably once designated only collaterals on the mother's side, to be extended (at least by Muwattallis II) to the father's sister's children, by a process of thought influenced by the comparability of their jural and family status.⁴¹⁰⁾ The terminology reinforces what was indicated by the incest proscription.

6.4. Why the Hittites borrowed - at latest, by the early NK period - a Luw. kinship term is a matter for speculation. It obviously fulfilled the purpose of designating "cousins" for whom there may have been a number of different, possibly descriptive, or derivative, terms in Hittite. Isolated by the anninniyamis term, the patrilineally extended household apparently comprised parents, brothers and their wives, whose children would have regarded each other as siblings, either of their own parents, or of the "seed", that is male descendants in the patriline.⁴¹¹⁾

§4.xiii. UNCLE AND AUNT

1.1. These Eng. terms now denote ego's father's or mother's brother and sister, who were once distinguished by individ-

ualising kinship terms.⁴¹²⁾ There are few references in the Hitt. texts to an "uncle", and these are logographically expressed. In the passage cited above (xii.2.1. cit. 29), Mursilis II referred to Zidas, his patrilateral uncle as (ANA) ABI-IA ŠEŠ-ŠU "my father's brother", and Tuthaliyas IV referred to his patrilateral uncle, Muwattallis II, in his Treaty with Šaušgamuwas of Amurru:

31) KUB XXIII 1 +(CTH 105.A),⁴¹³⁾

40. GIM-an-ma-za ^mNIR.GÁL-iš ŠEŠ.A-BI DUTUŠI

41. DINGIR^{LIM}-iš ki-ša-at

"But when Muwattallis, brother of the father of My Sun became a god (i.e. died), ..."

The combination of the logogram ŠEŠ and allogram ABI might represent literally Muwattallis' words as translated here, just as we might describe an "uncle" for the sake of clarity. They may have concealed a special Hitt./Luw. term or, the usual way of referring to a patrilateral uncle may have been by such descriptive means.

1.2. Some confirmation for the latter may be seen perhaps in the PN of a court official, ^mTati-ŠEŠ (NH 1309).⁴¹⁴⁾ As the first element is Luw., presumably ŠEŠ concealed CL nanis "brother", the composite being *Tatinanis "father's brother", with a Lyc. equivalent in Ταδινανίς.⁴¹⁵⁾ Another Luw. PN ^mHuhananis "grandfather's brother, great uncle", was noted above, which does not distinguish between the male or female sides of the family (§3.vii.4.3.).

1.3. Since no PN of the type ^mAtta-ŠEŠ (*Atta-negnas) has been attested we do not know whether the Hitt. term followed the Luw. pattern.⁴¹⁶⁾ Moreover, not even a logographic reference to a matrilateral uncle has been noted.

2.1. The Hitt. texts published to date have not apparently yielded an explicit term for "aunt". We would expect to find the logographic expression written: NIN.AMA(-IA/ŠU/ŠU-NU/KUNU) or NIN ABI(-IA/ŠU/ŠUNU/KUNU). None of the PN with anna/i- or atta-/tati- as first element have a second element which is identifiable as "sister".

2.2. However, tentatively we suggest as a possible appellative "mother's sister", the PN (NH 78) of a ritual practitioner (CTH 393) written: ^fa-an-ni-ú-i-ia-ni, ^fa-an-ni-wi₅-ia-ni (VBoT 24, I 1, IV 32) and ^fan-ni-ú-ia-ni (KUB XXX 65 + (CTH 277), II 11).⁴¹⁷⁾ The name has been analysed as Luw. "Anni-~~u~~i₁-ann(i)-" with derivative forming suffix -wi principally attested in the final element -wiya- of female names,⁴¹⁸⁾ and -ann(i)-, a suffix forming adjectives with possessive function.⁴¹⁹⁾ We might interpret (f) anni-wiyan-is as "female belonging to the mother; mother's sister". Such a derivative type of kinship term is attested in other languages, for example IE Lat. matertera, OE mōdrige, OHG muotera "mother's sister", and Navaho Indian simá yáji "my little mother, mother's sister."⁴²⁰⁾

3.1. References to an uncle or aunt in relation to a nephew or niece, without the use of a kinship term, are found in a few texts. Hattusilis III inferred that he was patrilinear uncle, both to Urhi-Tesub, DUMU.ŠEŠ-IA "my brother's son", son of Muwattallis II by a concubine, whom he installed as Great King of Hatti after his brother's death, failing a legitimate heir,⁴²¹⁾ as also [DUMU.ŠEŠ-I]A ^{mD}KAL "Kurunta, son of m]y [brother", installed as King of Tarhuntassa soon after Hattusilis' usurpation of the Great Kingship.⁴²²⁾

3.2. Puduhepa, most probably the Queen in KUB XXIII 85 (see f.b., xv.1.2. cit. 34)), was by inference the matrilinear aunt of the deceased DUMU.MUNUS NIN-IA "daughter of my sister". Muwattallis II referred to his patrilinear aunt in the passage concerning Kupanta-Kurunta (above, xii.2.2. cit. 30)), but he did not describe her as such. Hattusilis I also referred to a patrilinear aunt (see f.b., xiv.1.1. cit. 32)), when he described himself as her nephew.

§4.xiv. NEPHEW

1.1. In the Introduction to his Annals Hattusilis I described himself logographically as the nephew of ^{MĪ}tawan(n)-annas. The Hitt. text, which will be cited further in Appendix I, may be restored according to the parallel Akk. KBo

X 1, obv.1:

32) KBo X 2 (CTH 4.II.A), obv.⁴²³⁾

3. [LUGAL-u-i]t ŠA ^{MÍ}ta-wa-an-na-an-na DUMU.ŠEŠ-ŠU

"He (i.e. Hattusilis) ruled as King in Hatti; her brother's son of Tawan(n)annas."

1.2. The same logogram was used by Mursilis II in his Treaty with Kupanta-Kurunta (CTH 68), to describe in the reported speech of the heirless Mashuiluwas his actual relationship to Kupanta-Kurunta, DUMU.ŠEŠ-IA "my brother's son", whom he wished to adopt as son.⁴²⁴⁾ Mursilis used the same descriptive terms when referring to this event and Kupanta-Kurunta as DUMU.ŠEŠ-ŠU "his brother's son", of Mashuiluwas.⁴²⁵⁾ As noted above (xiii.3.1.), Hattusilis III described Urhi-Tesub and Kurunta, the sons of his brother Muwattallis, by using the same logograms.

1.3. While the logographic writing may conceal a special Hitt. term for "nephew", and even differentiate between the term used by a brother or a sister for the brother's son,⁴²⁶⁾ it may also represent factually a descriptive Hitt. phrase. It is interesting to note such a phrase in HL, seen in the nom.sg. FRATER-la-sa | INFANS-ni-sá (*atalas(a) *niwaranis(a)?) "brother's child/son", in (broken context) TELL AHMAR 2, viii,⁴²⁷⁾ and in the dat.sg. FRATER-la-sa-na | INFANS(-)ni-za-' in the context, "But Kamanis sold (them i.e. houses) to Parisarmas (his?) brother's son, Papi[x]tis' grandson", in KARKAMIS A 4a, 1 ii.⁴²⁸⁾ The word for "child/son" in the latter inscription is presumably an abbreviated *ni<muwi>za,⁴²⁹⁾ demonstrating that the descriptive phrase was a free composition.

2.0. "Sister's son" was also written logographically, in the Testament of Hattusilis I, where he expressed disgust with his adopted son Labarnas,

33) KUB I 16 (CTH 6), II⁴³⁰⁾

9. nu ku-it nam-ma-aš DUMU.NIN^{TI}-ŠU [Ú-UL ku-iš-ki ša-al-la-nu-zi]

"Now what! Hereafter [no one will bring up] his sist-

er's son."

The parallel Akk. text (I 9) has DUMU.NIN-šu (mār ahati-šu), which appears to be the allogram concealed in the Hitt. text.⁴³¹⁾

§4.xv. NIECE

1.1. The patrilateral niece as "his brother's daughter", is logographically expressed as DUMU.MUNUS ŠEŠ-ŠU in the broken context of NH KUB XXIII 54 (CTH 297), obv.16', being a fragment of a legal process (see below, Ch.IV, cit. 7).

1.2. Also expressed as a descriptive logogram, the matrilateral niece is designated in a letter from Puduhepa,

34) KUB XXIII 85 (CTH 180), rev.⁴³²⁾

3' UM-MA MÍ.LUGAL-MA

4' A-NA ^mta-at-ta-ma-ru QÍ-BI-MA

5' zi-ik-za ^mta-at-ta-ma-ru-uš DUMU.MUNUS NIN-IA DAM-an-ni da-a-an har-t[a]

6' [n]u-ut-ta ^DGUL-ša-aš HUL-ah-da na-aš-ták-kán BA.ÚŠ

"Thus (speaks) the Queen. 'Say to Tattamarus: You, Tattamarus, had taken as wife my sister's daughter. Now, the Gulsas god inflicted evil upon you, and she has died (on) you. ...'"

The continuation of this letter will be cited below in Chapter V as 8).

This concludes our examination of the terms for the more closely blood-related members of the family. A summary will be reserved until the end of the following Chapter II.

§1. MÁŠ/hassatar "FAMILY".

1.1. The alternation of the Hittite word and the logogram MÁŠ in KUB IX 34 (CTH 760), IV 13' and the parallel HT 6, I 17' was first noted by Goetze.¹⁾ Despite Sommer's doubt in his study of MÁŠ and NUMUN,²⁾ the spelling (and pronunciation) hansannas (gen.pl.) in the latter text was assuredly a variant of the expected hassannas, with assimilation of the nasal, while hansatar/hassatar was the verbal noun derived from has(s)- "beget, give birth".³⁾

1.2. Its various meanings have been listed in HW¹ as "Zeugung; Zeugungskraft; - Gebärmutter (Körperteil); - Familie, Sippe", and similarly in HED and HEG.⁴⁾ Underlying the extensions of meaning, such as "procreative power", which its translation in various contexts appears to demand,⁵⁾ is the basic sense of "generation, begetting". The latter is illustrated in KUB XIII 4 (CTH 264.A.), IV 35, where ha-aš-ša-an-na-aš m[e-e]-hu-u-ni "at the time of bearing", refers to the time of the year which we would describe as the lambing or calving season.⁶⁾ The equivalence of the LÚ^{MEŠ} ki-im-t[i-šu] in the Akk. text of the Telepinus Edict (KUB III 85, 3') to LÚ^{MEŠ} ha-aš-ša-an-na-aš-ša-aš in the Hittite text (KBo III 67, I 3'), determines hassatar as "family", in such context.⁷⁾ Although HED considers that the genitive was treated apparently in some instances as an a-stem, giving rise to a nom.sg.c. hassannassis, or acc.sg. hassannasan,⁸⁾ it is possible to read the latter as a partitive genitive in the context, KBo III 1 + (CTH 19.II.A), II 45, as hassanna(s)=san(=za=kan) "his (member acc.sg.) of the family",⁹⁾ and the former similarly.¹⁰⁾

1.3. While kimtu is undoubtedly the Akk. word for "family, kin", its logographic representation in Akk. texts was usually by IM.RI.A,¹¹⁾ which could also represent nišūtu and salātu,¹²⁾ "relatives, kin by marriage". According to Sjöberg the Sum. word may have had an original sense of "territory".¹³⁾ The less frequent logogram for nišūtu, in omen-texts, was UZU.SU, denoting "blood-relationship".¹⁴⁾

2.1. According to the editors of the ^fAllaiturah(h)i series of Hitt./Hurr. rituals (CTH 780), ^{UZU}SU occurs in KUB XXIV 13 (= Text 2: Haas, Thiel, 1978; Text 15: Haas, Wegner, CHS 1988, I/ II), obv.II 15' al-wa-an-za-tar MÍ/MÍ(-)an-na-za ha-aš-ša-an-na-za ^{UZU}SU-za 16' gi-nu-wa-az ... 17' an-ša-an e-eš-du.¹⁵⁾ The sequence of ablatives was interpreted as kinship terms: "(The hex, let it be wiped from the) Mutter, Familiengehörige, Sippe, Blutsverwandschaft", parallel to the Assyrian series "(ābu), ummu, ahu ahātu, kimtu und nišūtu" in the incantation BAM III 234, obv.11ff.¹⁶⁾ According to Haas and Thiel genu- may be equated with nišūtu (IM.RI.A in the Assyrian text), since the ritual displays further Mesopotamian motives and, like its author, appears to have a North Syrian/Hurrian origin.¹⁷⁾ ^{UZU}SU "(flesh)bloodrelationship", interpreted as "Sippe" (kimtu) by Haas,¹⁸⁾ followed by genu-, evokes the sequence of MÁŠ (= kimtu) and NUMUN in Hitt. texts, in so far as the use of genu- "knee" associates the word with descentance through the male.¹⁹⁾ This would not be a singular example of the (P)IE "knee" used in a descendant language to denote relationship, whether through the male in the euphemistic sense, or as an "articulation" referring to degrees of kinship.²⁰⁾ But if we follow Haas's interpretation, genu- would express here a type of relationship familiar to the Hurr. sphere of the ritual.

2.2. However, HZ p.200, notes briefly under No.213 that ÚR (No. 124) "Glieð, Penis, Schoss, Lende, Oberschenkel", should be read in KUB XXIV 13, II 15' instead of SU. Indeed, the reading SU here, which would be an aberrant form (cf. HZ 213), appears to be an error since the scribe used the same form to render the second (^{UZU})ÚR in the different ritual procedure recorded in III 15', where the first inscription of (^{UZU})ÚR conforms to HZ 124/4-5. The parallel passage of KBo XXIII 23 (= Text 2: CHS 1988, I), rev.102'!, has (^{UZU})ÚR(-ni) (^{UZU})ÚR(-ni) inscribed with HZ 124/1.²¹⁾ The problem appears to be that the scribe of KUB XXIV 13 was accustomed to using two forms for ÚR, which must be recognised now as the reading in II 15'. In this case Somm-

er's translation for II 15'-16': "von der Vagina, von der Gebärmutter, von der Haut?, von dem Schoss/der Knien", would be correct, in which there would be a series of euphemistic terms for sexual organs, female, then male.²²⁾

2.3. Regarding the terms for the former, we may compare the ablative $M\bar{I}/^{M\bar{I}}(-)an-na-z(a)$, with $M\bar{I}-an-ni$ in KUB XXI 38, obv.55, "for/as a woman/wife", which could be taken as d.-l.sg. either of $M\bar{I}-natar$ (literally "in woman/ wifeship"), or of the -n-stem $M\bar{I}-za/-an-za$, or the NH nom. sg.c., $M\bar{I}-na-as$, "woman".²³⁾ In favour of reading $^{M\bar{I}}an-na-z(a)$ "from the mother" (or "motherhood"), are the attestations of $^{M\bar{I}}AMA$ in some Boğazköy texts.²⁴⁾ The frequent but inconsistent and unnecessary prefixing also of $^{(M\bar{I})}a-ha-ti-ia/ki$ "my/your (f) sister" in letters from Egypt,²⁵⁾ indicates that the female determinative with a kinship term represented a type of formal address in these letters, not a specific title. The same convention practised in Hitt. texts of prefixing AMA occasionally with $^{M\bar{I}}$, makes quite credible the reading $^{M\bar{I}}anna-(/annitalwatar)$ "mother(hood); female organ(?)", in CTH 780.²⁶⁾

2.4. According to Haas's reading, the abl.sg. hassannaz(a) would have denoted the offspring of the mother's begetting, and not the broader concept of "family" usually expressed by $M\bar{A}\check{S}/hassatar$.²⁷⁾ However, since Sommer's interpretation must be accepted, the present context offers an example of the vbl abstract's denoting the "womb" from which the "family" was produced, apart from the elsewhere attested meanings of process and result of "begetting".

3.1. The sign $M\bar{A}\check{S}$ representing hassatar in Hitt. texts presents a problem, since this practice seems peculiar to Hattusas alone, while Mesopotamian scribes never used $M\bar{A}\check{S}$ to denote logographically "begetting" or "family". Among its various meanings, the Mesopotamian $M\bar{A}\check{S}$ could represent the he-goat, usually as $M\bar{A}\check{S}.GAL$, or the kid, usually as $M\bar{A}\check{S}.TUR$.²⁸⁾ It is now clear that the sign which Forrer had thought was actually derived from the OB $M\bar{A}\check{S}$, distinct from the "family" sign which he derived from MUD,²⁹⁾ is UZ_6 (HZ

5.2. The resulting configuration of relationships is such that a father and mother shared the same descendant MÁŠ /hassatar, consisting of their children and what offspring should be born to those children in their lifetimes. Each parent belonged to his or her own collateral and ascendant "families". Their children shared membership in the hassatar instituted by their parents, and they and their own children shared it with their siblings' children. Thus, through each parent the children belonged to that parent's hassatar. Sommer⁵⁸⁾ had suggested that MÁŠ could have the same nuances as the German "Familie", in the narrow and wider senses of the word, including, according to the situation, "die nebenehelichen Verwandschaft." Nephews and nieces may be added to uncles, aunts and cousins.

5.3. However, if MÁŠ/hassatar is to be understood in its precise sense, agnatic half-brothers and sisters, whether they were offspring of a legitimate second wife (after the death of the first) or a concubine, would share with the children of the first marriage only a ŠA NUMUN relationship, although they were also members of the father's own MÁŠ, instituted by his parents. In contrast, the children of a widow's non-leviratic second marriage would only share membership in the MÁŠ instituted by her parents. With the application of the Levirate (HG §193),⁵⁹⁾ the children of both marriages would belong to the same NUMUN, and agnatic MÁŠ, and would belong to their mother's own MÁŠ. Since the purpose of the Levirate was to ensure that future children of the widow would be born as if to the dead man's name and inheritance, these children would regard themselves as belonging to the same MÁŠ/hassatar instituted by their mother with her first husband. Adopted sons were considered to be exactly the same as consanguineal sons. Goetze's argument that ŠA MÁŠ "(member) of the family", referred expressly to offspring of secondary wives and concubines,⁶⁰⁾ was disproved by Sommer and Koschaker,⁶¹⁾ who noted that Kupanta-Kurunta was the legitimate, if adopted, son of Mashuilluwas.⁶²⁾

5.4. On the basis of Muwattallis' statement in KUB XXI 1 +,

III 33'-36', and that of Suppiluliumas I in his Treaty with Huqqanas,⁶³⁾ the MÁŠ/hassatar may be seen as essentially tri-generational, the most distantly related collateral members within it being the grandchildren of the siblings in the first of the three generations, i.e. second cousins according to our terminology. Within the generations only full siblings shared identical "families". Various examples from the texts illustrate the contemporary nature of the relationships within the tri-generational hassatar, which may be contrasted with examples of NUMUN as a conceptual term for a lineage of ancestors and as yet unborn successors, and also a designation for contemporary offspring of a lineage member.

6.1. The description by Telepinus in his Edict of the united support and loyalty afforded Labarna by "his sons, his brother, his male affines, the men of his 'family', and his troops", is found in KBo III 67 + (CTH 19.II.C), I 2'-4', where the Hittite LÚ^{MES} ga-e-na-aš-še-eš-ša LÚ^{MES} ha-aš-ša-an-na-aš-ša-aš in 3' equates with the LÚ^{MES} ha-ad-ni-su LÚ^{MES} ki-i[m-ti-šu] of the Akk. KUB III 85 + (CTH 19.I), 3'.⁶⁴⁾ LÚ^{MES} HAD(A)NU is found in Hitt. texts representing a brother-, son-, nephew-, and father-in-law.⁶⁵⁾ The LÚ^{MES} gaen-as/LÚ^{MES} HADANU "affine", will be discussed in Chapter V, but we note here that "affines" are listed before "men of his family".⁶⁶⁾ All were contemporary relatives and supporters. Similarly, MÁŠ in the following examples refers to contemporary member(s) of the family and must include relatives beyond the range of siblings and immediate offspring:

1) KUB XXI 42 +(CTH 255.1.A), III⁶⁷⁾

7' na-aš-ma ki-i ku-iš-ki DÜ-zí na-aš-šu BE-LU

8' na-aš-ma DUMU.LUGAL na-aš-ma ŠÀ MÁŠ na-aš-ma ŠÀ x[
]píd-di

Or (if) someone does these (things) - either a Lord or a Prince or a member of the family, or ..."

A Hitt. equivalent of (kuiski) ŠÀ MÁŠ is found in the final §50 of the Telepinus Edict, IV 31' [ku-i]š-za ha-aš-ša-na-an iš-tar-na "[W]ho(ever) within the family", with the OH

genitive in -an.⁶⁸⁾

2) KUB XXVI 12 +(CTH 255.1.A), I⁶⁹⁾

- 8' [n]a-aš-m[a]-aš[-ši? (šu-u)m-me-eš ku-i-e-eš MÁŠ
LUGAL nu-uš-ši-kân [hu]-u-da-ak
9' Ú-UL e-ir-te-ni

"[Or] (if) you who)are members) of the King's family, and you do not come immediately to him ..."

3) KBo III 3 +(CTH 63.A), II⁷⁰⁾

- 11' nu-kân A-NA ^mDU-DX
12' ŠEŠ-ŠU ŠA MÁŠ-ŠU A-NA ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA LUGAL-UT-TI É-ŠU
13' Ú KUR-ŠU li-e ku-iš-ki ha-an-na-i

"Then let no one, (neither) his brother (nor one) of his family, sue against DU-Tešub for the throne of Kingship, his house, and his land."

4) KUB XXI 1 +(CTH 76.A), I⁷¹⁾

- 78' ... m[(a)-]a[(-an tu-uk-ma ^ma)]-la-ak-ša-an-
d[(u-u)]n ŠEŠ-KA
79' [(na-a)š-(ma ŠA MÁŠ-KA ku-iš-ki wa-ak-k)]a-ri-i[(a-
za)]

"But if someone, your brother or a member of your family, rebels (against) you, Alaksandus,"

It is evident from the preceding examples that ŠÀ MÁŠ and ŠA MÁŠ are semantically equivalent, and seem to have been interchanged at random by the Hittite scribes.

5) KUB XIV 3 (CTH 181), II⁷²⁾

- 73' ka-a-aš-ma ^{LÚ}KAR-TAP-PU ku-iš
74' ŠA MÍ.LUGAL-za ku-it ŠA MÁŠ^{TI} har-zi I-NA KUR ^{URU}hat-
ti ŠA MÍ.LUGAL
75' MÁŠ^{TUM} me-ik-ki šal-li na-aš-mu Ú-UL im-ma ^{LÚ}HA-
<DA?>-NU

But who (is) this charioteer? As he has (as wife) a member of the Queen's family - in Hatti the family of the Queen (is) very great -, (is) he not indeed my affine?"

6.2. Sommer considered UL imma to mean "not quite",⁷³⁾ but the rhetorical negative was recognised by Garstang and Gur-

ney: "is he not actually a brother-in-law of mine?"⁷⁴⁾ As HAD(A)NU in Hitt. texts could represent affines other than "brother-in-law", the general term seems more appropriate in the present context. Here, the phonetic complements in (ŠA) MÁŠ^{TI} and MÁŠ^{TUM} suggest Akk. kimtu as the hidden logogram but representing hassatar, with which the neuter predicative adj. salli agrees.⁷⁵⁾ It may be noted that the Hitt. King, very likely Hattusilis III,⁷⁶⁾ preserved the distinction that the family even of his wife, the Queen, was separate and not "my family". Nor was the charioteer described as an actual member of the Queen's family. Nevertheless the King obviously felt some identity with his wife's relations since he referred to her affine as his own. The combination of distinction on the one hand of affines as a separate category of persons, and identity on the other of the individual "in-law" with the family member to whom he was married is seen elsewhere, and will be discussed further in Chapter V.

6) KUB XIII 4 (CTH 264.A), I⁷⁷⁾

30. na-aš-ma-an-za-kán DAM-ŠU DUMU^{MES}-ŠU
 31. ŠEŠ-ŠU NIN-ŠU ^{LU}ka-i-na-aš MÁŠ-ŠU na-aš-šu ÌR-Š[U]
na-aš-ma GEME-ŠU-as [I-ŠA-]BAT

"Or he (the master) [seiz]es him(/her): his wife, his children, his brother, his sister, (his) affines (and member(s) of) his family, or his male or female servant."

6.3. The preceding list of relatives comes in the fuller context of the fate described of a servant who angered his master,⁷⁸⁾ and, like the introductory passage of the Telepinus Edict, it placed "(member(s)) of his family" after "his affines". The list itemises "wife", "children", "sister", "brother", with all of whom the servant already shared a "family", indicating that more distantly related members, whoever they might be, were implicated, while emphasising the co-culpability of his nearest relatives. This passage provides an interesting comparison with examples referring to pankur in a similar way.

§2. NUMUN "SEED; LINEAGE; CLAN".

1.1. The logogram appears in Hitt. texts with a similar semantic spread to zēru, which it represents in Akk. texts. Briefly, the meanings listed for the latter in CAD are: seed - of cereals etc., semen, descendants with reference to present or future offspring, member(s) of a lineage.⁷⁹⁾ There is no evidence in Hitt. usage for NUMUN as "member of a class",⁸⁰⁾ but Hitt. texts witness NUMUN in special circumstances, deriving from women as well as men, the latter alone being attested in texts of Mesopotamian origin.⁸¹⁾

1.2. In Hitt. and CL contexts the logogram NUMUN, occasionally with a syllabic complement, frequently designated "seed" in the agricultural sense. That the concealed Hitt. word was an -n-stem neuter is indicated by NUMUN-an nom.sg. in, for example, KBo XI 14 (CTH 395.1.A), I 7 ...nu ku-it-ta NUMUN-an ar-ha-ia-an šu-uh-ha-an "and whatever seed is piled up separately",⁸²⁾ and supported by OH KBo XVII 1 + (CTH 416.1.A), III 24-25.⁸³⁾ The dat. and acc. forms in HG §166, ták-ku NUMUN-ni se-ir NUMUN-an ku-iš-ki šu-u-ni-iz-zi "If someone sows seed on seed,"⁸⁴⁾ are additional evidence. In CL contexts the logogram meaning literally "seed", when followed by a syllabic complement, also suggests an -n-stem neuter, as in KUB XXXV 79, I? 4', NUMUN-an (case?),⁸⁵⁾ KUB XXXII 9 +, obv.25, NUMUN-an⁸⁶⁾ and KUB XXXV 54, II 31, NUM-UN^{HI.A}-na (= KBo XXIX 2, II 9'), nom.acc.pl.n.⁸⁷⁾

1.3. The concealed CL word may be compared to the Luw. abstract war(ru)watar, according to the reading and analysis by Starke of the previously read ()warwalan-.⁸⁸⁾ Marked by Glossenkeil it occurs in the dat.sg. in KBo IV 10 (CTH 106), rev.24, da-me-e-da-ni-ia-at wa-ar-wa-at-ni li-e pi-ia-an-zi "and let them not give it to another 'seed'", in the context of the royal inheritance of Tarhuntassa, which may be compared also with the Hitt. partitive genitive NUM-UN-as in obv.11, n(a)=at damel NUMUN-as le piyanzi⁸⁹⁾

"let them not give it to (one) of the 'seed' of another".

1.4. As listed by Starke, the Glossenkeil "animate" form in

-ant- attested in the nom.sg.c. in KBo IV 10, II 24 ...zi-la-du-wa LUGAL-UT-TA ŠA KUR URU ^DX-ta!-aš-š[a] 25. ŠA ^mul-mi-^DX-up-pát wa-ar-wa-at-na-an-te-eš har-du⁹⁰⁾

"In the future let the 'descendant' of Ulmi-Tesub alone hold the Kingship of Tarhuntassa"

was partly concealed in the NUMUN-an-za nom.sg.c. of a parallel passage in the Tarhuntassa Bronze Tablet Treaty (Bo 86/299), IV 26-27, ziladuwa LUGAL-UTTA ŠA KUR URU X-tassa ŠA ^mDKAL=pát NUMUN-anza har-du,⁹¹⁾ as also in KBo VI 29 +(CTH 85.1.A), III 17', cited further below (§2.5.2. cit. 12)b.)

1.5. In view of the arguably related HL uruwata- n., seen for example in (VINUM) u?!-ru-wa/i-tâ-za,⁹²⁾ Starke has proposed a neuter denominal derivative in -ta- of *war(ru)wa- yielding the denominal verb *war(ru)waii- "sprossen", and also, the abstract *war(ru)wattar and its -ant- derivative, referring specifically to "Nachkommenschaft".⁹³⁾ However, the -n-stem neuter attested for Hitt. and CL, no longer to be interpreted *warwalan, remains unexplained.⁹⁴⁾

2.1. It has long been recognised that in genealogical contexts and those concerned with inheritance, NUMUN-aš, attested in KUB XXI 37 (CTH 85.2.), obv.13' as wa-ar-ru-wa-at-na-aš, is a partitive genitive "(one) of the seed", which may function as a d.-l., acc. or nom., but was not a nom.sg.⁹⁵⁾ The gen. form has specifically lineal reference, as the following will illustrate:

7) KBo IV 10 +(CTH 106), obv.⁹⁶⁾

10. ... É^{TUM}-ma-aš-šī-kán

11. KUR^{TUM}-ia li-e [d]a-an-zi na-at da-me-e-el NUMUN-aš
li-e pī-ia-an-zi ŠA ^mul-mi-^DX-up-pát NUMUN-aš da-ad-
du

"But let them not take (his) house and (his) land from him, nor let them give it to (one) of the 'seed' of another. Let (him who is) of the 'seed' of Ulmi-Tešub alone take it."

An exception may occur in the later Treaty Bo 86/299 of Tuthaliyas IV, in III 10, where har-du-ma-at ŠA DUMU.NITA

NUMUN-aš "but let the 'seed' (*war(ru)watnas?) of the son hold it", may attest the gen. actually treated as a nom.sg. c., since the acc.sg. follows with 11. ŠA DUMU.MUNUS-ma NUMUN-an li-e da-an-zi "but let them not take the 'seed' of the daughter".⁹⁷⁾ The parallel clauses in KBo IV 10, obv. 12, omit NUMUN.⁹⁸⁾

8) KBo VI 29 +(CTH 85.1.A), III⁹⁹⁾

18. DINGIR^{LUM} da-me-el NUMUN-aš pī-ra-[(an)] EGIR-pa li-e
19. tar-na-a-i

"Let the god not countenance (one) of the 'seed' of another" (i.e. for the priesthood of IŠTAR of Samuha).

9) KBo I 28 (CTH 57), obv.¹⁰⁰⁾

10' ... ŠA m^{pī}-ia-ši-li
11' ku-iš DUMU-ŠU DUMU.DUMU-ŠU
12' na-aš-ma ku-iš ku-iš ŠA m^{pī}-ia-ši-li
13' NUMUN-aš I-NA KUR kar-ga-miš
14' šal-li pī-e-da-an ti-ia-zi

"Whatever son (or) grandson of Piyassilis, or whoever of the 'seed' of Piyassilis mounts the high place in Karkamis" (i.e. becomes King).

10) KBo VI 28 +(CTH 88), obv.¹⁰¹⁾

3. ... DUMU.DUMU-ŠU ŠA m^{šu}-up-pī-lu-li-u-ma LUGAL.GAL
4. LUGAL KUR URU^{URU} ha-at-ti UR.[SAG x?x.DUM]U.DUMU-ŠU ŠA m^{ha}-at-tu-ši-li LUGAL.GAL ŠA LUGAL URU^{URU} ku-uš-šar
5. DINGIR^Š ši-ú-ni-it k[a-ne-eš-ša-a]n-da-aš NUMUN-aš

"(Hattusilis) ... (his) grandson of Suppiluliumas, Great King, King of Hatti, He[ro], (his) [x?x(-)gran]dson of Hattusilis, Great King, the (one) of the 'seed' of the King of Kussar, re[cognis]ed(?) by the god."

2.2. The immediately preceding lines have been much discussed, particularly by Güterbock and Otten.¹⁰²⁾ According to these arguments, the restoration in L.4 of UR.[SAG ū? DUMU.DUM]U.DUMU-ŠU would designate a Hattusilis II as the father of Suppiluliumas I,¹⁰³⁾ which has been rendered unlikely by the genealogy (read anticlockwise): "Mursilis II < [Suppiluliumas I] < Tuthaliyas II < [Arnuwandas I] < Tuthaliyas

I" inscribed in hieroglyphs on the obverse of the cruciform seal from Boğazköy;¹⁰⁴⁾ or, Hattusilis III as "Nachfahre des Hattusilis, <des> Grosskönigs, des Königs von Kussar".¹⁰⁵⁾ As Güterbock noted, DUMU.DUMU.DUMU-ŠU in other genealogies, for example of Tuthaliyas IV, does mean precisely "great-grandson", and not merely "descendant", as suggested by Otten. However, with Otten, we must conclude that a comparison of the genealogy of KBo VI 28, I 1-5 with those of Hattusilis III elsewhere (KUB XXI 21, I 1-5; KBo VI 29, I 1-4; KBo IV 12, I 1-4) indicates that the "Hattusilis, Great King" of L.4 was intended as a reference to the King of Kussar, the apical ancestor named in the other genealogies after Suppiluliumas, and of whom Hattusilis describes himself as being NUMUN or ŠĀ BAL.BAL.¹⁰⁶⁾ Poor resort as it may be to explain a difficult text, we must consider the possibility of a scribal lapse, perhaps by a copyist during the following reign, when genealogies of Tuthaliyas IV regularly ran to "great-grandson" (of Suppiluliumas).¹⁰⁷⁾ The copyist would have inscribed DUMU.DUMU.ŠU automatically, remembering the DUMU.DUMU-ŠU of L.3, then realised his error which he tried to correct by rephrasing the usual formula "NUMUN(/ŠĀ BAL.BAL) ŠĀ^m Hattusili LÚ/LUGAL /DUMU^{URU} Kussar (LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG)",¹⁰⁸⁾ so that NUMUN could be included at its end.

2.3. As to NUMUN-aš, the text examples cited above and comparison with other genealogies of Hattusilis III, indicate that as a partitive genitive it referred to the author as a descendant in the "lineage" of related Kings, retraceable to the King of Kussar.

2.4. It is difficult to perceive whether "recognised by the god", if one accepts Goetze's restoration, described the "seed" or the "King of Kussar".¹⁰⁹⁾ The odd construction of the final clause suggests that the participle in the genitive modified NUMUN-aš, but the unusual syntax may have been forced upon the scribe by his earlier lapse, as suggested above. However, the two concepts, divinely favoured founder King, or lineage, are so closely related, that the one is complementary to the other. It is by no means unusual to

find historical record of a royal lineage mythologising or divinising its earliest founder(s). The Germanic Kings, for example, each traced their royal houses back to a god, the early Anglo-Saxon rulers in England being no exception.¹¹⁰⁾

3.1. A sense of dynasty and the importance of succession to Kingship in Hatti by members of the royal house alone, emanating from Kussar, is found already in KUB I 16 +(CTH 6). Hattusilis had suffered a rebellion by his people, high and low, because they had feared the succession of a "servant" (ĪR-iš) to the throne since the King was apparently left heirless after he had deposed his rebellious son Huzziyas and then his thankless nephew, Labarnas, adopted as son and heir.¹¹¹⁾ Hattusilis then presented Mursilis to the pankus and the dignitaries¹¹²⁾ as NUMUN DUTU^{ŠI}-KUNU "the 'seed' of your 'My Majesty'".¹¹³⁾ Young Mursilis was adopted as son to Hattusilis for the purpose of his succession, although possibly Hattusilis' grandson.¹¹⁴⁾ Beal may be correct in his assumption that Mursilis was unlikely to have been the son of the deposed Huzziyas, and was quite probably son of a daughter other than the one whose rebellion is described in KUB I 16 +.¹¹⁵⁾

3.2. The actual filiation of Mursilis I remains uncertain. Of some interest, however, is the possibility that a daughter's child could have been described as NUMUN in the context of the royal inheritance. The viability of such a succession when a male heir in the direct line of father to son was lacking may be illustrated not only in the OH Inandik Tablet, the Telepinus Edict, and the much later texts of Hattusilis III and Tuthalijas IV, but also very likely in the Testament of Hattusilis I itself, at the point where the rebellious populace supported "the daughter" apparently because she had a son, nam-ma DUMU.MUNUS e-ip-pir a-pa-a-ša ha-ša-a-tar.¹¹⁶⁾

3.3. The "strategy of heirship" such as the legal adoption of a son to compensate for the absence of a son of the flesh is well attested historically in Europe and Asia.¹¹⁷⁾ So also was the introduction of the uxori-local son-in-law

whose own family or lineage forfeited to varying degrees its claim to his offspring.¹¹⁸⁾ The OH deed, IK 174-66,¹¹⁹⁾ which authorised Tutullas' adoption of Zidis as son(-in-law) and a property division in his favour, clearly what Tutullas' son Pappas (made a priest by the Great King), and his offspring, might have expected,¹²⁰⁾ ensured that Zidis' children and grandchildren were naturally, as well as legally, successors in the line of their maternal grandfather. Although Hattusilis I does not mention the adoption of a son-in-law the response of the population would reflect a generally held concept, apparent in IK 174-66, that a daughter could transmit her father's inheritance when direct succession from father to son was obviated for whatever reason. Such ideas may be attributed to a bilateral concept of kinship relationships which may operate together with an agnatic principle of lineal inheritance and succession.¹²¹⁾

4.1. At the end of the OK period, the Edict of Telepinus also demonstrates that a daughter could transmit inheritance from her father to his grandson, her son. The "new" order of succession to the throne, which was designed to prevent further interfamilial bloodshed, stipulated: 1. the premier-ranking son of the (deceased) King; 2. the second-ranking son of the King; 3. if no male child of the King existed, then an antiyant- husband for the premier daughter of the King should be taken and made King.¹²²⁾

4.2. In the light of the turbulent accessions related by the Edict, and the relationships revealed,¹²³⁾ we see that Telepinus, if not altering the categories of preferred successors to Kingship, actually limited claims to accession through the King's daughter by reasserting the patrilineal principle, thus curtailing the virtually equal claim to power of the son/brother-in-law, who had in the more ancient days of the OK occupied a "throne" before the King, with honours equal to those of the princely sons and brothers.¹²⁴⁾ By narrowing the first choice to immediate descendants of the previous King, Telepinus apparently intended to limit the pretensions of Kings' affines, although succession through a daughter was still recognised, if relegated

to the last resort.

4.3. Further, Telepinus, by stipulating a son, disallowed brothers of the deceased who would formerly have been eligible for selection as the most able senior male member to succeed as head of the royal family and thus to the throne. Such a mode of succession, in contrast to "primogeniture" which "is simply an aggravated form of lineal transmission",¹²⁵⁾ is characteristic of the joint, or extended, family, where brothers live together with their wives and offspring in the parental home.¹²⁶⁾ This structure was indicated above in Chapter I, for the royal family at least, by the kinship terms for cousins and half-sisters.

5.1. Succession favouring the immediate descendant of the King, but allowing for succession through the daughter is attested in texts of Hattusilis III, and Tuthaliyas IV, regulating in the first case succession to priestly office, and in the second, royal succession to throne and territory. The Treaty of Tuthaliyas IV with Kurunta of Tarhundassa, having stipulated that only descendants of Kuruntas' son, not of his daughter, should inherit his Kingship (see 2.1. above), stated that if Kurunta's successor should fail to please the "god", consequent to which he resigned from the Kingship of Tarhundassa:¹²⁷⁾

"let them take the 'seed' of Kurunta alone, and set him in the Kingship of Tarhundassa."

The text continues,

11)a. Bo 86/299, III¹²⁸⁾

16. da-me-e-da-ni-ma-at wa-ar-wa-at-ni li-e ku-e-da-ni-
ik-ki pí-an-zi

17. ma-a-an-ši NUMUN DUMU.NITA-ma ú-UL e-eš-zi nu NUMUN
DUMU.MUNUS ŠA ^{mD}KAL

18. EGIR-an ša-an-ha-an-du na-at ma-a-an a-ra-ah-zé-ni-ia
KUR-e

19. na-at a-pí-iz-zi-ia EGIR-pa ú-wa-da-an-du nu I-NA KUR
^DX-ta-aš-ša

20. LUGAL-iz-na-ni a-pu-u-un ti-it-ta-nu-wa-an-du

"Let them not give it to (any) other 'seed' whatsoever. If there is no 'seed' of a son (of Kurunta), then let them seek the 'seed' of a daughter of Kurunta. If he (i.e. 'it' (is)) in a foreign country, then let them bring him (i.e. 'it') back and let them establish that one in the Kingship in Tarhuntassa."

NUMUN refers to future descendants, specifically male offspring.¹²⁹⁾ The necessity for a stipulation banning the succession of a daughter's son indicates that in common practice, even when descendants in the male line were living, such a succession could have occurred. The earlier Treaty KBo IV 10 +(CTH 106), with "Ulmi-Tešub", alter nomen of Kurunta,¹³⁰⁾ stipulated similarly, but emphasised "daughter of Ulmi-Tešub alone".¹³¹⁾ Notably Tuthaliyas, whose appreciation of lineality versus clan membership is also apparent in other texts, stated in Bo 86/299,

11)b. III¹³²⁾

4. LUGAL-UT-TA ŠA KUR URU D_X-ta-aš-ša A-NA NUMUN ^mNIR.GÁL
li-e ku-iš-ki
5. ar-ha da-a-i nu a-pa-a-at ku-iš-ki i-ia-zi
6. na-at da-me-e-da-ni wa-ar-wa-at-ni ŠA ^mNIR.GÁL pa-a-i
7. A-NA NUMUN ^{mD}KAL-ma-at-kán ar-ha da-a-i

"Let no one take away the Kingship of Tarhuntassa from the 'seed' (i.e. Kurunta) of Muwattallis (II). Whoever does that, and gives it to another 'seed' of Muwattallis, but takes it away from the 'seed' of Kurunta ... (let the Storm god of Hatti and the Sun goddess of Arinna destroy him)."

5.2. In similar vein Hattusilis III stipulated,

12)a. KBo VI 29 +(CTH 85.1.A), III¹³³⁾

12. am-me-el NUMUN-an-za [^{LÚ}]SANGA-UT-TA
13. A-NA ^DIŠTAR URU ša-mu-ha har-du-pát ...

"Let my own 'seed' alone hold the priesthood for IŠTAR of Samuha ..."

The following lines may be restored and interpreted with Goetze in the light of the above:¹³⁴⁾

12)b.

15. [NUMUN ŠA] DUMU.NITA Ū-[UL ku-]it-ki ^{LÚ}SANGA-UT-TA
16. [ŠA] ^DIŠTAR URU ša-mu-ha ŠA DUMU.MUNUS-IA ^mha-[x x x x

x x-š]a-an-ti-iš

17. har-du-pát da-ma-a-iš-ma-at NUMUN-an-za li-e e-ip-zi

"(If) there (is) no ['seed' of] a son, let (the 'seed') of my daughter (and?) ^mha[x x x x-s]antis hold the priesthood [of] IŠTAR of Samuha; let no other 'seed' hold it."

5.3. According to LL.12-13 it is clear that the "seed" of the daughter was regarded as actually that of Hattusilis himself. We see also that the ideal line of succession and inheritance was conceptualised as purely agnatic, but, for one generation, could be continued through the daughter.

5.4. The preference for strictly patrilineal royal succession excluding collaterals, is demonstrated in an Instruction of Tuthaliyas IV, which also illustrates the concept of a royal clan with its lineages:

13) KUB XXVI 1 +(CTH 255.2.A), I¹³⁵)

8. n[u] ^DUTUŠI pa-ah-ha-aš-tin kat-ta-ma NUMUN ^DUTUŠI
pa-ah-ha-aš-tin

9. A-NA ^DUTUŠI ŠES^{MEŠ} me-i[q-q]a-u[š A?-]BI^{MEŠ}-ŠU-ia-aš-
Ši

10. me-iq-qa-e-eš KUR ^{URU} ha-a[t-ti-kán IŠ-T]U NUMUN LUGAL-
UT-TI

11. šu-wa-an ŠÀ ^{URU} h[a-at-ti NUMUN ^m(šu)]-up-pí-lu-li-u-
ma

12. NUMUN ^mmur-šī-li NUMUN ^mNI[R.GÁL NUMUN ^m(ha-a)]t-tu-
šī-li

13. me-ik-ki nu-uš-ma-aš AŠ-ŠUM E[N-UT-]TI ta-ma-a-i[(n)]

14. UKU^{an} li-e ku-in-ki še-ik-te-ni

15. AŠ-ŠUM EN-UT-TI kat-ta ha-aš-ša h[(a-a)n]-z[(a-a)]š-
š[(a)]

16. NUMUN ^mtu-ut-ha-li-ia-pát pa-ah-aš-[(tin)]

"Defend My Sun! also, defend the 'seed' of My Sun. My Sun (has) many brothers, and his [fore]fathers (were) numerous. The land of Hatti (is) filled with the 'seed' of Kingship. In Ha[t]ti the 'seed' of Suppiluliumas, the 'seed' of Mursilis, the 'seed' of Mu[wattallis, the 'seed'] of Hattusilis (are) many. Regarding them, recognise no other person for the Lo[rdsh]ip. For the Lordship defend the 'seed' of Tuthaliyas alone, down to grandson and great-grandson."

6.1. Contrary to the regulation of Telepinus which permitted a "second-ranking" son to succeed as King, Tuthaliyas IV insisted upon his legitimacy.¹³⁶⁾ In the Treaty with Šaušgamuwa of Amurru he described as "bastards" (LÚ^{MES} pahh-ursis) the tamai NUMUN LUGAL-UT-[TI] "the other 'seed' of the (Hittite) Kingship", which disproves Goetze's contention that NUMUN contrasts with MĀŠ by representing legitimate offspring.¹³⁷⁾ sakuwa(s)sara- "legitimate",¹³⁸⁾ Princes were sons born to the King's legitimate wife, as opposed to those of the esertu/napṭartu women.¹³⁹⁾ That offspring of the latter would be included among NUMUN, may be seen in KUB XXI 42 +(CTH 255.1.A), I 12-13, cited above.¹⁴⁰⁾

6.2. In this light may be understood the "seed" ascribed to Queen Puduhepa when Hattusilis III described his descendants who would continue to assure the privileges accorded to Mittanamuwas and his descendants,

14) KBo IV 12 (CTH 87), rev.¹⁴¹⁾

8' ... kat-ta-ma DUMU^{MES}-NI DUMU.DUMU^{MES}-NI DUMU DUTU^{ŠI}
DUMU.DUMU^{MES} DUTU^{ŠI}

9' NUMUN ^fpu-du-he-pa MĪ.LUGAL.GAL DÜ-an-du ...

... but further, let our sons (and) our grandsons, the son of My Sun (and) the grandsons of My Sun, the 'seed' of Puduhepa, act (accordingly)."

6.3. That "seed" emanated from the husband, but was given birth by the wife is explicit in the Akk. Treaty of Šattiwaza of Mittanni with Suppiluliumas I (CTH 52), where the curse presaging the former's disobedience threatens the extinction of "your (i.e. of Šattiwaza) 'seed' of (your) second wife" (...Û NUMUN-[k]a ša M[Ī] šanīti).¹⁴²⁾

6.4. Another example of "seed" apparently ascribed to a woman is found in a text recording the authentication by Tuthaliyas IV and the widowed Puduhepa of a division of his estate by Sahurunuwas, an important official in the Hittite Kingdom, in favour of his children, grandchildren, and an affine, probably a son-in-law.¹⁴³⁾ The verification applied not only to the property division but also to the tax exemptions accorded to the land gifts which were prin-

cipally devolved upon ^fTarhu(nda)manawas and her sons. As Korošec first noted,¹⁴⁴⁾ the text deals with a type of inheritance which is properly described as divisio parentis inter liberos. The passage of particular interest to our study comes at the end of the first part of the text, KUB XXVI 43, rev., §9. It is cited below with a few tentative restorations enclosed in '...' in the translation, which are additional to those already offered by Korošec and followed by Imparati.¹⁴⁵⁾

15) KUB XXVI 43 +(CTH 225.A.), rev.

60. na-aš-ta ki-i É-ir A-NA ^{fD}X-ma-na-wa A-NA DUMU^{MEŠ}
^{fD}X-ma-na-wa ha-aš-ši-i ha-an-za-a[š-ši ha-ar-du-wa-
aš¹⁴⁶⁾]
61. NUMUN-ni zi-la-du-wa ar-ha li-e ku-iš-ki da-a-i ma-a-
an-ma-kán DUMU¹⁴⁷⁾ ^{fD}X-ma-n[a-wa DUMU.DUMU ^{fD}X-ma-
na-wa wa-aš-ta-i na-aš-šu¹⁴⁸⁾]
62. ku-iš-ki LUGAL-uš kar-tim-nu-uz-zi na-aš-ma-aš-ma-aš-
kán hu-wa-ap-zi ku-iš-ki ku-[it-ki na-aš ma-a-an du-
ud-du-nu-ma-aš]
63. na-an du-ud-du-nu-an-du ma-a-an-na-aš ku-na-an-[na]-
aš na-aš ma-ah-ha-an A-NA ^D[UTU^{SI} ZI-an-za na-an QA-
TAM-MA i-ia-ad-du]
64. É-ir-ma-aš-ši-kán li-e da-an-zi na-at ta-me-i-da-ni
li[-e] pí-i-ia-[an-zi nu-kán zi-la-du-wa ŠA ^{fD}X-ma-
na-wa¹⁴⁹⁾]
65. DUMU^{MEŠ} ha-aš-šu-uš ha-an-za-aš-šu-uš ha-ar-du-wa-aš
ha-ar-du-wa ha-ar-du-wa(-)ha-[ar-du-wa li-e ku-iš-ki
hu-wa-ap-zi(?)¹⁵⁰⁾]
66. [nu] a-pa-at É-ir A-NA DUMU^{MEŠ} ^{fD}X-ma-na-wa ha-a-aš-
ši ha-an-za-aš-ši ha-ar-du-[wa-aš¹⁵¹⁾]
67. [NU]MUN ^{fD}X-ma-na-wa pí-an-du da-me-e-da-ni-[ma-a]t
UKÙ-ši li-e SUM-an-zi

"And so let no one in the future take away this estate from Tarhu(nda)manawas, nor from the children of Tarhu(nda)manawas, from grandson, great-grands[on, 'from the 'seed' [of (her)] successor(s). But if a son of Tarhu(nda)man[awas, 'or a grandson of Tarhu(nda)manawas sins, either'] someone causes the King's anger or someone harms them in some [way - if he is to be exonerated], let them exonerate him, and if he is to be put to

death, as [the Will (is)] for M[y Sun], let him (My Sun) treat him accordingly. But let them not take the estate from him (son of Tarhu(nda)manawas) nor gi[ve] it to another. ['In the future, of Tarhu(nda)manawas'] the children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, successors of successors, successors [of(?) successors, 'let no one harm'.] Let them give that estate to the children of Tarhu(nda)manawas, to the grandson, great-grandson (and) the 'seed' of (her) successors. Let them not give it to another person!"

7.1. Concerning NUMUN, the relationship of Tarhu(nda)manawas to Sahurunuwas has important implications. First mentioned in §3, rev.8, she is nowhere explicitly described as daughter (DUMU.MUNUS) of Sahurunuwas. However, Korošec and Imparati have argued persuasively, that she was included in the generic DUMU^{MES} of rev.4. [^{mš}a-hu-ru-nu-wa-aš-za GAL. NA.KAD A-NA DUMU^{MES} É-ZU kiš-an šar-r[(a-aš... 152)

"Sahurunuwas, Chief Shepherd, has divided his estate for (his) 'children' as follows ..."

Korošec noted that the statement in rev.8. A-NA DUMU^{MES} f^DX-ma-na-wa-ma m^{túl-pí}-^DX-up m^{ku-w[a-l]}a-na-LÚ Û A-NA Š[ES^{MES}-SU, 153) supposes future, as yet unborn, brothers of Tulpi-Tesub and Kuwalanazitis, which would be more appropriate if Tarhu(nda)manawas were a daughter rather than a secondary wife. Moreover, the mention of Alihešnis as LÚ^{LÚ}HA-DANU of Sahurunuwas, to whom he gave a separate gift of territories, begins a section with broken context, in which Tarhu(nda)manawas is mentioned also, twice.¹⁵⁴⁾ This implies such a close relationship between Alihešnis and Tarhu(nda)manawas that one could see him as her husband, and son-in-law of Sahurunuwas.¹⁵⁵⁾ Korošec noted that references to "sons of Tarhu(nda)manawas" (rev.8,10,49,51,60,61,66; obv.5,6,7), were never accompanied by the name of the father, whereas Taddamarus and Duwattannanis, appearing in §2, rev.5,7, obviously as sons of Sahurunuwas, were not accompanied by their mother's name.¹⁵⁶⁾

7.2. The evidence favours an identification of Tarhu(nda)manawas as Sahurunuwas' daughter. That her "seed", being her sons, and their descendants, emanated from Sahurunuwas, transmitted by her through one generation from grandfather

to grandsons, may be demonstrated by the type of property devolution with which the document is principally concerned, and which required royal verification for its legality. Taddumarus and Duwattannanis are recorded briefly as having received their "shares",¹⁵⁷⁾ being a normal division of parental property inter liberos (§2, rev.5-7). Sahurunuwas was establishing in this document a new "patrimony" for the common ownership in their generation of his grandsons, of which their mother, his daughter, could enjoy the usufruct during her lifetime. Thus may be interpreted the few independent references to the "estate of Tarhu(nda)manawas" (obv.17, 25), where both Korošec and Imparati saw a circumlocution in which the mother represented her sons.¹⁵⁸⁾

7.3. The ownership of the various territories, summarised as É "estate" (e.g. rev.60), clearly rested with the sons, confirmed not only by the recurrent references to the "sons of T." as recipients, but also by their holding one copy of the document of royal verification.¹⁵⁹⁾ Despite the intervening centuries the same type of patrimonial property ownership and divisions appears to operate in both IK 174-66 and CTH 225. In the latter however, the son-in-law, although receiving a gift in his own right, played no part in his sons' inheritance from their maternal grandfather, perhaps because they were mature enough to assume its offices and responsibilities.¹⁶⁰⁾ Also, Sahurunuwas already had heritable sons, and had no need to adopt his daughter's husband in order to ensure a "direct" line of inheritance.

8.0. Also of interest concerning NUMUN in its Hitt. context is that the response to the lack of an heir was the adoption of a "son", either a uxori-local son-in-law or a young, close relative of the would-be testator.¹⁶¹⁾ The adoption of a male is the typical response of a society with a patrilineal bias in the matters of descent, whether concerning the inheritance of property or office. It may be contrasted with that of a matrilineally organised system, such as that of the Nayar castes in western India,¹⁶²⁾ in which, if the "property group" found itself without childbearing women through whom their lineages were traced, it¹⁶³⁾

"usually adopted one or more girls from some other branch of the lineage in order to perpetuate itself."

In matrilineal societies where the marital tie is far less enduring than in patrilineal or bilateral societies, so that each sister may have many spouses, thus fathers for her children,¹⁶⁴⁾ the lack of a male heir to the "mother's brother" seldom arises since sister's sons will inherit laterally in succession.¹⁶⁵⁾

9.1. From the above we see that despite the ideal of patrilineal succession with the Hittites, circumstances, combined with a bilateral concept of kinship relations, resulted in a rather different pattern to that of strict agnatic lineality. Since a woman could transmit her father's "seed" to her children, she must have been thought to belong to the lineage of her father, as noted in the previous chapter.¹⁶⁶⁾ Lineage must be the meaning also of NUMUN in ŠĀ NUMUN-ia in the letter (Akk.) of Hattusilis III to Kadašman-Enlil of Babylon, in which he explained that the Babylonian doctor who had come to Hatti during the reign of Muwattallis was in a healthy and prosperous condition,

16) KBo I 10 +(CTH 172), rev.¹⁶⁷⁾

46. [^{LÚ}a-su-ú GAL-ša-^DAMAR-UTU b]a-li-it MÍ ša i-hu-zu ŠĀ
NUMUN-ia šī-i ū É ba-na-a ša-bi-it

"[The doctor, Rabā-sa-Marduk is] still alive. The woman whom he took (as wife) belongs to my lineage (literally, "in the midst of my 'seed'"); and he resides in a fine house."

9.2. As in the case of ŠĀ/ŠĀ MÁŠ, ŠĀ NUMUN and ŠĀ NUMUN appear to have been interchangeable expressions. Edel translated "aus meinem Geschlecht", and "aus meiner eigenen Familie", while another scholar rendered "the woman whom he married is a relative of mine".¹⁶⁸⁾ While both translations are viable, the less precise "relative" seems preferable, since members of a lineage of any depth would constitute a clan, with many individuals far more distantly related to each other than members of the MÁŠ, although in certain cases membership of the same "family" and "lineage/clan" would be mutually shared.

10.1. The description by Tuthaliyas IV of the "seed" of Kingship which filled Hatti (cit. 13), above), gives some idea of the form of Hitt. "lineages" and "ramages", albeit in a royal context. Tuthaliyas could regard himself as a direct descendant in the principal agnatic line from Suppiluliumas I, ignoring his uncle Muwattallis (and his father's usurpation of the throne of Muwattallis' second-ranking son Urhi-Tesub), as also for example in RS 17.35, 15.¹⁶⁹⁾ However, the other "seed" of Suppiluliumas I, contemporary to Tuthaliyas, and excluding that of the intervening Kings Mursilis II, Muwattallis and Hattusilis III, would have been descendants from another legitimate wife of Suppiluliumas (not Mursilis' mother), and his concubines. Each of those descendants could regard themselves not only as "seed" of the illustrious great-grandfather, but also of their own maternal grandfathers' lineages. Only male descendants in an unbroken agnatic line from a son of Suppiluliumas may be seen as related to their ancestor according to patrilineal affiliation. Other descendants would have been related by "complementary filiation" which confounds "two separate principles" of "ties of bilateral kinship; and of cognatic descent."¹⁷⁰⁾

10.2. A text from the end of the Empire period illustrates the possible depth and breadth of a royal clan. The oath of allegiance to Suppiluliumas II by [^mx-x-]LUGAL-ma referred to the "seed" of the first Suppiluliumas and of Kings who succeeded him in Hatti,

17) KUB XXXI 106 + XXIII 44 + XXVI 32 (CTH 124.A), III¹⁷¹⁾

10. ...

ú-uk-ma NUMUN

11. EN-IA-pát ^mKUG.[GA.TÚL]-ma PAP-aš-hi GUR-da-ni-kán
UKÜ-š1

12. NUMUN ^mKUG.GA.TÚ[L]-ma MAH-RU ú NUMUN ^mmur-š1-DING-
IR^LI^M

13. [NU]MUN ^mNIR.GÁL [NUMUN?] ^mtu-ud-ha-li-ia an-da

14. UL [t]i-i-ia-mi kiš-an UL me-ma-ah-hi

15. ki-i-ia-[w]a-k[án] ŠA MA-MIT NUMUN EN-IA-pát PAP-aš-
hi

"...But I shall defend the 'seed' of my Lord alone, (of) Sup[pilulia]mas; I shall not support another person - the 'seed' of Suppiluli[u]mas the First, or the 'seed' of Mursilis, the ['se]ed' of Muwattallis, [the 'seed'] of Tuthalijas. I shall not say thus: 'These belong to the oath.' The 'seed' of my Lord alone I shall defend."

10.3. At first appraisal the omission here of Urhi-Tešub and Hattusilis III, both reigning Kings, might appear a political expediency. However, as in the case of the Tuthalijas IV declaration (see cit. 13) above), all the generations of reigning descendants from Suppiluliumas I have been included. The contemporaries of Suppiluliumas II who were descendants of his eponymous ancestor, but not descendants also of Mursilis II, would have been his "third cousins", while their respective sons would have been "fourth cousins", and grandsons, "fifth", and so on.

11.1. Whether such relationships would have been recognised outside of a royal context is not revealed in the Hittite texts. Nor is the evidence clear as to what practical demands there would have been upon a non-royal individual as regards honouring a distant ancestor, particularly if the descendant were not in the direct line of inheritance.

11.2. Apart from religious connotations it is clear from citations above, particularly 13), 14), 17), that clan membership was recognised in the Hittite royal family, at least in the late Empire period. A clan is defined as:¹⁷²⁾

"A unilineal descent group or category whose members trace patrilineal descent (patriclan) or matrilineal (matriclan), from an apical ancestor/ancestress."

Ideologically for the Hittites the "clan" was patrilineal.

11.3. Since NUMUN "seed" was used to indicate lineal descendants and "lineage", it is possible that "seed" also represented the concept of the unilineal clan, according to the definition above. For comparative purposes it is notable that Rumanian sementie < sămînta "seed" (a borrowing from Lat.), designated "clan", while in OPers. taumā (compare Av. taoxman "seed") meant "family" in the wider sense.¹⁷³⁾

§3. pankur "KINDRED".

1.1. At first, looking for a Hitt. word to render "clan", we would have been lead to the r/n-stem, neut. noun, pankur. In HW¹ (p.157) it is broadly interpreted as "relationship (Verwandschaft)(?), kin(dred), tribe,¹⁷⁴⁾ family, clan (Sippe)(?), (originally "womb" (Schoss)?)". It is further defined in Fasc. 3 (p.25) to HW¹ as "(milk)brotherhood?", following Güterbock's interpretation of pankur in the ritual context of a magic concoction, as "milk".¹⁷⁵⁾ The recent CHD edition has translated pankur as "clan".¹⁷⁶⁾ Bryce opted for "kindred" in his translation of pankur in KUB I 16, §8, 46, but this received no mention in the text commentary.¹⁷⁷⁾ Since the term "kindred" with its proper connotation, rather than "clan", interprets best the Hittite pankur, an explanation and definition of "kindred", often applied in a loose and imprecise manner,¹⁷⁸⁾ is required.

1.2. The word itself, being a ME derivative of OE cyn "blood relatives" and raedan "condition, reckoning", with interpolated d to aid pronunciation,¹⁷⁹⁾ was coined for a form of the Teutonic "kindred" organisation at a time when Anglo-Saxon kindreds had already lost much of their solidarity and social importance.¹⁸⁰⁾ The historically attested Teutonic kindred of Northern Europe consisted of a person's legitimately born (or adopted) blood relatives, for whom the term cognati in Roman law would be apt in so far as¹⁸¹⁾

"They are all those who trace their blood to the legitimate marriage of a common pair."

Although the potential numbers of these agnatic and uterine relatives was very great, depending upon the extent to which contemporary descendants were reckoned from however many generations receding beyond the focal individual,¹⁸²⁾ the actual degree of kinship seldom extended for the purpose of wergeld beyond the fourth cousin, although recognition only as far as the third cousin was more usual.¹⁸³⁾

1.3. The Teutonic kindreds, for which there was no universal particular name,¹⁸⁴⁾ are attested mainly through sagas or legal documents, referring to or enumerating wergeld.

payments by the kindred of the aggressor in the case of injury or slaying of a person, to the kindred of the injured party. Such commutations to money payments¹⁸⁵⁾ of the blood vengeance exacted on his behalf by the rallying members of a person's kindred, represent a particular stage in the history of European kindreds. Nevertheless, these Middle and Late Medieval documents throw such a clear light upon the nature and function of the kindreds, a description of which concurs generally with that of a modern, contemporary kindred,¹⁸⁶⁾ that this may be applied universally (geographically and diachronically) to the "kindred".

2.1. It is characteristic of the active kindred that while it remains always potential, being based upon a cognatic kinship category of persons, "it can only be said to exist when it groups itself round a given kinsman."¹⁸⁷⁾ Never strictly a "corporation", it will form temporary "organisations" or "action groups",¹⁸⁸⁾ the initial motivation being the bonds of blood-relationship which unite the kindred to act on behalf of their kinsman¹⁸⁹⁾

"partly because they have his prospects at heart but mainly because public opinion, the law and their own view of life make them guilty with him, and equally liable to penalty; or, in the event of his death by violence, throw the responsibility for vengeance or satisfaction upon the whole group, not only a few near kinsmen."

2.2. It has been argued that bilateral kindreds and unilineality are incompatible within the one society.¹⁹⁰⁾ It would appear that in Medieval Europe those kindreds that were agnatically biased according to their wergeld assessments, experienced soonest the weakening of their "solidarity".¹⁹¹⁾ However, the early Russian family organisation provides an example of agnatically biased extended families, becoming increasingly patrilineal in the transmittance of authority and property, while¹⁹²⁾

"Large, bilateral kindreds surrounded each individual" and "cooperated in the major rites of transition-birth, marriage, and death."

2.3. Regarding our interpretation of the Hittite pankur as

"kindred", despite the existence of the institution of patrilineal royal succession and the concept of "clan" membership, we might draw support from broad comparisons between the relatively modern kindreds noted above, and the evidence for pankur in the OK and later periods.

3.1. While Benveniste had assumed that pankur derived as an -r/n nominalising extension of the -u-stem adjective panku- "(numerical) totality, all" (<*bhugh-),¹⁹³) doubt has been expressed elsewhere regarding its relationship to panku-. Since problems concerning the semantic and etymological interpretation of pankur arise chiefly from its several contexts, we will consider those first. The most difficult passages are those where pankur must name a part of an animal's anatomy, or an animal product. These citations will follow the passages where pankur designates some group organisation, human or animal.

18) "First Military Oath" (CTH 427.B), III¹⁹⁴)

9. ... na-an-kán DUMU.LÚ.ULÚ.LU
 10. QA-DU D[AM^{MEŠ}-ŠU DUMU^M]EŠ-ŠU pa-an-kur-ši-it
 11. iš-tar-n[a ar-ha har-ni-]in-kán-du

"May they (the gods of the oath) destroy him, the human being, together with [his] wi[ves], his [children], his pankur."

However, in the damaged context of the curse in the passage below, pankur follows "name" and "seed",

19) KUB XXIII 76 (CTH 275), rev.¹⁹⁵)

- 17' [a-pí]-e-el ŠUM-an NUMUN-an pa-an-kur-še-i[t
 18' [har-ni-i]n-kán-[du

"...of [h]im, the name, 'seed', (and) hi[s] pankur [may] they (the gods of the oath) [destr]oy".

A similar curse formula, occurring in a ritual fragment, also lists pankur after "seed":

20) KBo XVI 56 +(CTH 428.2), obv.¹⁹⁶)

- 20' [x na-aš-ta a-pí-e-el-la i-da-a-la-u-
a[š!
 21' [an-tu-uh-ša-aš] NUMUN-an pa-an-kur QA-TAM-MA har-

kán-du

22' [NUM]UN-an ú-el-ku-ia li-e ú-iz-zi

"[]x and of that evil [person] may (his) 'seed' (and) pankur perish in like manner, [and for him?] let not seed nor grass(/plant) come (up)."

The word welku "grass, plant",¹⁹⁷⁾ is also associated with NUMUN-an in LL.9'-18' which record sympathetic magic practised against the sorcerer with evil tongue and evil eye. Whether this association, when compared to that of NUMUN-an pankur contributes to a better understanding of the latter word will be considered later in the light of the accumulated evidence for pankur.

3.2. Examples of curse formulae in which pankur does not follow (ŠUM) NUMUN, may be noted:

21)a. KBo XIX 58 +(CTH 268),¹⁹⁸⁾

9' []DAM^{MES}-KU-NU DUMU^{MES}-KU-NU ar-ha har-ni-in-kán-du

10' [GE₆-az? da-g]a-an-zi-pa-az ŠUM^{MES}-KU-NU NUMUN-KU-NU-ia ar-ha har-[ni-in-kán-du]

"[] may they destroy your wives (and) your children; [from the dark e]arth [may they elim[inate] your names and your 'seed'".

Any apparent tautology of "children"... "seed" is avoided if NUMUN is understood in these curse contexts as representing "descendant(s)" in the lineal sense.

21)b. KUB XXVI 50 +(CTH 225), rev.¹⁹⁹⁾

11. ŠUM-ŠU NUMUN-ŠU har-n[(1)]-in-kán-du

"May they destroy his name (and) his 'seed'"

21)c. "The First Military Oath", II²⁰⁰⁾

17. a-pí-e-da-ni-ia-kán UKÜ-ši ŠUM-ŠU NUMUN^{HT.A}-ŠU

18. É-ŠU GUD^{HT.A}-ŠU UDU^{HT.A}-ŠU QA-TAM-MA har-ak-du

"And for that person may his name, his 'seed', his house, his cattle (and) his sheep, perish in like manner."

21)d. KUB XXVI 41 +(CTH 133), obv.²⁰¹⁾

16. []x QA-DU É-ŠU A.ŠA^{HI}.A-ŠU GI^Š[SAR.GEŠTIN^{HI}.A-
ŠU
17. []X a-pí-e-el ŠUM-ŠU NUMUN-ŠU x[
18. [] har-ni-in-kán-[du]
- 21)e. KUB XXVI 30 (CTH 213),²⁰²⁾
- 7'] a-pí-el ŠUM-ŠU NUMUN-ŠU x[
- 8']x-at [

Conceivably in d. obv.17, pankur might have followed the NUMUN-ŠU, but in e. the traces in the copy suggest h[ar-ni-in-kán-du?].

4.1. Apart from curse formulae, pankur appears in a number of texts where it is associated with kinship terms:

22) KUB XIII 20 (CTH 259. 2nd Tablet.A), I²⁰³⁾

32. ... na-at-za-kán a-pí-e-el
33. ŠA É-ŠU ŠA ŠEŠ-ŠU DAM-ŠU ha-aš-ša-an-na-aš-ši pa-an-
ku-na-aš-ši ^{LU}ka-e-na-an-ti ^{LU}a-ri-eš-ši
34. ŠA NINDA KAŠ ma-a-ni-ia-ah-hi-ia-at-ti li-e ku-iš-ki
i-ia-zi

"Let no one (of you) do it (i.e make a judgement) for (consideration of) a consignment of bread (or) beer for his house - of that (person), for (one) of his brother(s), for his wife, for (one) of his family (lit. for his 'of generation/begetting'), for (one) of his pankur (i.e. 'for his member of the kindred'), for (his) affine (or) for his companion ..."

The nature of King Tuthaliyas' directive implies that every possible category of contemporary person to whom a man might be attached by virtue of blood, marriage, residence and responsibility or affection, was covered by the terms in L.33. Some overlapping is apparent since a man's brother or sister, if the latter is included in a generic ŠEŠ(-ŠU) "sibling",²⁰⁴⁾ would have belonged to his "family" (MÁŠ/hassatar). His wife and children and siblings, some female as well as male, would have belonged to his household. We may understand the first four terms to refer to persons most closely related by blood, marriage and residence. "Affines" and "companions", following pankunassi, leave it

to designate the "middle ground", between close blood relatives and household dependants and persons unrelated by blood and not co-resident. As suggested also by the curse formulae pankur would designate a wider kin group.

4.2. The fact that his pankur might be included in a curse advocating the annihilation of all evidence that a man had ever existed, indicates that his identity might be sought in the midst of his pankur. The latter must have been culturally significant in that its members must have shared common interests, with a corresponding enjoyment of advantages accruing from their relationship and a sharing of responsibilities. Text 22) above, supports this argument and the fact that the members of the pankur were kinsmen.

4.3. As NUMUN and pankur appear to be conceptually distinct, the latter would not have expressed "lineality", but we might expect it to designate a number of contemporary descendants from married pairs ascending from a person's own mother and father and their collaterals.²⁰⁵⁾

5.1. Given the bilateral nature of the MÁŠ and positing that of the pankur, we would expect certain kinsmen to have belonged to both, the latter being in a sense an extension of the former. In the following citation from Instructions to Temple Servants, pankur does not appear, while MÁŠ alone, contrasting with NUMUN, seems to indicate the "wider (bilateral) family".

23) KUB XIII 4 (CTH 264.A), I²⁰⁶⁾

35. na-at-kán DINGIR^{LIM} a-pí-e-da-ni-pát [l-e]-da-ni an-da Š[a-an-ah-]zi

36. UL-at-kán A-NA DAM-ŠU [DUMU-ŠU N]UMUN-ŠU MÁŠ-ŠU
[ì]R^{MES} -Š[U GE]ME^{MES} -ŠU [GU]D^{HT.A} -ŠU

37. UDU^{MES} -ŠU hal-ki-it-ta-an-[ni-ši ša-a]n-ah-zi

"Does the god av[eng]le it (a man's angering of his Spirit) upon him alone? Does he not [a]venge it upon his wife, [his child(ren)], his ['seled', his (wider) family, his servants, male and female, his cattle, his sheep, [his] harvest?..."

NUMUN is not mentioned in the preceding LL.30-31 (see §1

above, cit. 6)). The absence of "seed", representing lineal descendants, and consequently a "lineage", is perhaps understandable since the text deals with an unfree person of low social status.²⁰⁷⁾ The absence of pankur and its apparent substitution by MÁŠ(/hassatar) might be similarly explained, although this argument would not apply regarding the passage in cit. 22) above.

5.2. Despite the overlapping of the designations respectively of MÁŠ and pankur, further texts suggest that pankur described a consistently larger body of kin which could form a social organisation of some importance within the state, contributing to its stability. In two fragmentary passages pankur is described as "numerous":

24)a. KBo XIII 49 (CTH 459.5),²⁰⁸⁾

- 7' ha-aš-ši-i kat-ta-an ti-an-zi pa-an-kur-še-ta [ma-ši-wa-an?]
 8' MÍ ta-wa-an-na-ni MÍ.LUGAL-ri MU^{KAM.HI.A}-še-eš i-ia-an-du?]
 9' ma-ši-wa-an hi-ik-ki-ir-ma-hi-ia pa-an-kur ta-ba-a[r-ni LUGAL]
 10' MÍ ta-wa-an-na-an-ni MÍ.LUGAL DUMU^{MEŠ}-ŠU ha-aš-še-eš
 11' [h]a-an-za-aš-še-e-eš MU^{KAM.HI.A}-ŠU a-ša-an-du

"They stand by the hearth, and as [numerous as?] her pankur, [let them] make her years for Tawannannas, the Queen. May their children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren (and) years (of life) be as numerous for Tab-a[rnas, the King] (and) Tawannannas, the Queen, as a pankur in/for a hikkirmahi."

24)b. KUB XXXVI 107 (CTH 39.10),²⁰⁹⁾

- 4' L]UGAL MÍ.LUGAL DUMU^{MEŠ} URU ha-at-tu-š[a-aš
 5' p]a-an-kur-še-it ma-še-wa-an ma-še-wa-a[n
 6']-ša-an a-ša-an-tu

- 7' -z]i ^mzi-dan-da-aš-ša
 8' -z]i ku-it LUGAL-uš i-e-iz-zi

" [the King, Queen, sons of Hattus[as .] Let the [x] be numerous as pankur. [] and Zidandas [] since the King does."

Whatever hikkirmahi- may mean, the context in both texts makes apparent that a pankur consisted of a great number of persons. For this reason a possible interpretation of pankur as "foster-brotherhood" would be unrealistic.²¹⁰⁾

5.3. The admonitions of Hattusilis I regarding the pankur of his subjects (İR^{MEŠ}-), coming in the wake of the turmoil created by rebellious factions from all levels of persons in Hatti over the royal succession, indicates its social importance in the OK period:

25)a. KBo III 27 (CTH 5), obv.²¹¹⁾

15' [nu šu-]mi-in-za-na İR-am-ma-an UR.BAR.RA-aš ma-a-an
pa-an-gu[r]

16' 1-EN e-eš-tu

"And of you, my subjects, let (your) pankur be united (literally "one") like (that of) the wolf."

25)b. KUB I 16 +(CTH 6), B. Hitt., II²¹²⁾

46. [nu-(?)²¹³⁾ hu-ú-e-it-na-aš ma-a-an pa-an-ku-ur-še-me-i
[t 1-EN] e-eš-du

47. [ku-ru-ur²¹⁴⁾ n]u-wa-an e-eš-tu ši-i-e-el İR^{MEŠ}-ŠU
[I-NA/IŠ-TU(?) 1 AM]A(?) ha-aš-ša-an-te-eš

48. [nu-uš-ma-aš 1-EN UZU NÍG.GIG 1-EN UZU ha-ah-ri-iš
1-EN [SAG.DU(?)²¹⁵⁾ -n]a ha-an-[t]a-an-te-eš

"[And(?)]let your pankur be [united] like (that) of the wild beast(?). No longer let there be [enmity(?)] His (i.e. Mursilis') subjects (are) children [from one mother(?)]. [Thus for you] (are) ordained one liver, one lung, one [head(?)]"

The restoration huetnas gen.sg. < hultar "wild beast", follows Laroche, since ulippana-, not wetna-, is now probably to be read "wolf".²¹⁶⁾ The simile, pankur of a wild animal, is suggested by the previous text.²¹⁷⁾ With such emotive language Hattusilis I urged his subjects, the future subjects of Mursilis I,²¹⁸⁾ to achieve solidarity in their kin grouping, by emulation of the pack behaviour of wild animals.

5.4. Hattusilis' reference to the wolf (UR.BAR.RA) is part-

icularly interesting. Wolves have been scientifically observed to mate monogamously for life; to live in basic family units of parents and cubs, often augmented by one or more "relatives", and/or orphaned cubs of another female; to maintain harmonious relationships with the other inter-related family units within the wider roaming territory of the pack, joining for hunting occasions into cooperative groups.²¹⁹⁾ No doubt the Hittites, for whom the ethos of the hunting existence remained very important, as attested in their art and religion,²²⁰⁾ would have been fully aware of the habits of the wild hunter, the wolf, indigenous then to Anatolia as also to Europe.²²¹⁾ By idealising the characteristics of the wolf pankur, harmony within smaller units and instinctive cooperation of those units in larger mutually supportive groups, Hattusilis was expressing the ideal, the underlying principle and ethic of the pankur of his own people.

5.5. Both ostensibly factual clauses in text 25)b. - in which the metaphoric concept of the second clause warns us against a literal understanding of the former²²²⁾ - state perfect conditions of womb-brotherhood, and consequently, united "hearts and minds", to be desired in the subjects of Mursilis. An interpretation of L.47 as evidence for a matrilineal "clan" (pankur) to which the members of Hattusilis' pankus supposedly all belonged, is not supported by other contextual or linguistic evidence.²²³⁾

6.1. Further examples of pankur with kinship terms are too damaged to add more than general confirmation of the foregoing evidence.²²⁴⁾ We note pankur in a late Empire text recording mixed oracles, KUB XVI 77,²²⁵⁾ since it appears to designate members of a guilty person's pankur for the purpose of compensating a murder. The Hitt. King was involved in the "affair of Piyassilis and Haittilis",²²⁶⁾ concerning which it was established in rev.III 8-9 that the god was intent upon compensation for murder ([INIM?-a]z eshar=pat sarninkuwanzi sanheskisi ... SIG₅).²²⁷⁾ The relevant passage with pankur comes later:

26) KUB XVI 77 (CTH 577), III

18. [x x a-p]i-el pa-an-ku-na-aš ú-wa-da-an-zi
 19. [le-eš-ha-na-az šar-ni-ik-zi-el te-pa-u-wa-az
 20. [-laš-kán FME GAM ap-pa-an-zi ^DUTU^{SI}-ma-za a-
pi-el-pát-za
 21. [-za ar-ha par-ku-nu-zi a-pu-u-uš-ša
 22. [lan-zi

"[men?] (of) the pankur [of tha]t (person), will bring here, [] (as?) compensation for the blood(deed) by/ for a small (amount); [and] then they take down the Tongue. But My Sun, of that (person) alone [] will purify himself, and those (persons) they will []"

The obscure clause regarding the "Tongue" may refer to part of the preceding oracle performance.²²⁸⁾ It is not clear whether a-p]i-el in L.18 refers to the victim or the murderer.²²⁹⁾ Restoration of the verb in the lacuna at the beginning of L.22 would be conjectural. We might compare the preceding L.13, in which sanhanzi governs apus(sa) "those (members of his pankur)" who were being sought (for /as compensation).²³⁰⁾ The circumstances leading to the oracular consultation remain obscure, but consequently members of a person's pankur were designated as personally involved in his actions or fate, in a manner characteristic of kindred.

6.2. The context is religious, and the "option" agreed through the oracle to appease divine wrath and the dead person's spirit,²³¹⁾ may not be compared to secular adjudications on manslaughter as in HG or royal edicts.²³²⁾ The nature of the "compensation" is uncertain so eshanaz sarn-ikzel may not be interpreted literally as "wergeld", a term denoting money payments, usually in strictly regulated amounts to kindred of the slain by kindred of the culprit, according to degree of kinship.²³³⁾ Since the oracle ruling comes within the religious sphere - the King could "purify himself" -, it might reflect traditional practice emanating from ancient "common law". The resort to members of the culprit's kindred to provide compensation in kind, could reflect the more ancient resolution of blood vengeance

attested in the giving of persons in HG §§1-5, commuted to fines imposed on the individual alone for manslaughter in HG §§II-IV,²³⁴⁾ which were contemporary to our text.²³⁵⁾

7.0. The examples of pankur referring to a kinship based social group provide cumulative evidence for its interpretation as "kindred". The following reference to pankur as a symbol in a KIN oracle text should be included,²³⁶⁾

27) KUB VI 3 (CTH 572), obv.

16. ... I-NA UD 2^{KAM} LUGAL-uš-za ZAG-tar

17. TI-tar pa-an-gur-ra ME-an ...

"...On the second 'Day' the King (has) taken for himself Right(sided)ness, Life and (the) pankur ..."

Here, by association with other "symbols" pankur may be recognised as the family-social term,²³⁷⁾ "the kindred", as much a concept as an active reality.

8.1. However, the few examples of pankur which follow below, in which it designates part of an animal's anatomy or an animal product, have added another dimension to this interpretation. The magic ritual of the Old Woman Hebattarakki, has a well-preserved passage describing the ingredients of a flour-based poultice:²³⁸⁾

28) KUB XXIV 14 (CTH 397.A), I²³⁹⁾

3. ... nu ŠA ZÍD.DA.ŠE iš-na-an

4. da-ah-hi nu UR.GI₇-aš šal-pa-an me-na-ah-ha-an-da imi-ia-mi

5. nu tuh-hu-e-eš-šar ŠA ÛZ pa-an-kur^{NA} 4IM.BABBAR

6. kal-wi-iš-na-an^{SAR} ta-pal-ku-uš-ta-na-an^{SAR}

7. ha-ah-ha-ši-it-ti-in^{SAR} e-u-wa-an^{GIŠ} ha-aš-du-e-ir

8. ku-e-el im-ma GIŠ^Š-ru-wa-aš ha-ah-hal-la-aš a-li-il

9. nu ki-i hu-u-ma-an A-NA ZÍD.DA.ŠE iš-ni me-na-ah-ha-an-da

10. im-mi-ia-mi ...

"And I take a dough of barley flour, and I mix in dog's excreta; and incense, pankur of a female goat, gypsum,

(the plants) kalwisna-, tapalkustana-, hahhasitti, euwan grain, brushwood, a flower of a bush of any tree whatsoever - I mix all these into the flour-dough."

Despite the qualification "of a female goat" which encouraged the original translation "goat's milk" here,²⁴⁰) there is no need to interpret ŠA ÛZ pankur as a liquid. The other ingredients must have been processed in some way, by chopping, grinding, or infusion, in order to incorporate them into the poultice. If pankur referred to part of a goat's anatomy it could have been reduced by one of these processes. Another example of "pankur of a female goat" comes in a Hitt. ritual fragment with numerous Luwianisms:

29) KBo XXI 12 (CTH 767.5),²⁴¹)

- 19' UM-MA EN SISKUR.SISKUR KUŠ UR.MAH-wa pa-ap-pār-aš-ki-
<<iz>>-mi KUŠ^{AM}-wa Û xx
- 20' pa-ap-pār-aš-ki-mi pa-a-i-ša-an-mu DUMU.LÚ.ULÛ.LU
KUŠ-an pa-ap-pār-šu-u-wa-an-z[i]
- 21' ÛZ-ša-mu pa-an-kur pī-iz-za-u-wa-an-zi pa-iš ki-nu-na
EN SISKUR.SISK[UR]
- 22' pa-ap-pa-ar-šu-u-wa-an-zi pa-an-kur-ma-aš pī-e-iz-za-
u-wa-an-zi da-x[
- 23' nam-ma al-wa-an-zé-na-an i-e-eš-na-at ^Dx-aš i-wa-
a[r
- 24' []x-an-du ÛZ-aš-ša-an pa-an-k[ur?

"Thus (says) the ritual practitioner: 'I continue to sprinkle the lion's pelt and [] I continue to sprinkle. And he gave the pelt to me, the mortal, to sprinkle. And he gave the pankur of a female goat to me to pizza-.' Now the ritual practitioner <begins> to sprinkle, and he be[gins] to pezza- the pankur. Consequently the sorcerer (acc.) with? the blood(deed), ev[en as] the god x []let them [x]. And the pank[ur?] of a female goat []."

Whatever the hapax pezza- might mean,²⁴²) the function is separate to that of sprinkling. In this context pankur could be a liquid but it might equally well refer to a solid, a part of the female goat's anatomy.

8.2. Other animals also possessed or produced pankur.

30) KUB VII 55 (CTH 470), obv.²⁴³)

- 3' nu har-kán-ta-aš pár-na-aš IM-an da-ah-hi x[
 4' IM-aš ŠAH-an DÛ-mi nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-[an
 5' ŠA NA₄ ^{NI} hur-lu-uš i-en-zi
 6' ŠA ŠAH pa-an-ku-ni-it e-u-wa-aš
 7' [] -ha-al-za-ni-it tu-ik-ku-uš wa-ar-h[u-?
 8' [n]a?-an-ša-an x[]

"And I take clay of the house of the (one who has) perished [. I make a pig of clay and up[on?] it they make hur-lu- of stone. With the pankur of a pig, of euwan grain, with [the? -] halzani-, the hair[y?] limbs []; and upon it [."

Although SAH could refer to the female as well as the male animal,²⁴⁴⁾ nothing in the context suggests that pankur of a pig should necessarily be interpreted as a liquid, that is "pig's milk". Models were made, first of a pig and then of an unidentified part of the body, if hur-lu- and (UZU) hu-war-la- may be variants of the same word, as are the PNN ^mHurlu and ^mHuwarlu.²⁴⁵⁾ Although the end of 6' and most of 7' are obscure, the context appears to refer to substantial forms.

31) KBo XXI 20 (CTH 461), obv.²⁴⁶⁾

- 25' [Š]A MÁŠ.GAL MÁŠ.Î/-ni(?) UDU pa-an-kur za-ma-an-
kur UKU-aš še-e-hu-u[r
 26' [GA.]KIN.AG-pát ^{NA}4KA nu ki-i da-pí-an ša-mi-nu-zi

"Of a buck, a 'goat' (and/or?) a sheep, the pankur, the beard, man's urin[e?]] the cheese only (and) flint: and all these she carries along."

In this "medical" text with a Hurrian incantation,²⁴⁷⁾ the reading of MÁŠ.Î/-ni is difficult.²⁴⁸⁾ The sign Î/ni touches MÁŠ, but Î.UDU "lard", might have been intended. It is difficult to determine whether both pankur zamankur came from all the listed animals, from a choice of one, or each from a specific animal. Again, pankur might or might not have meant "milk".

32) KBo XXI 10 +(CTH 427.D), obv.²⁴⁹⁾

- 2' [] x-wa ku-wa-pí LÍL-ri[UDU-uš-wa-aš-ši-
kán]
 3' [a-wa-an ar-h]a pa-iz-zi nu-wa-aš-š[i

- 4' [hu-i-ti-ia-z]i GUD-uš-ma-wa-aš-ši-kán a-w[a-an ar-
ha pa-iz-zi]
- 5' [nu-wa-aš-ši (...)] pa-an-kur hu-it-ti-ia-zi ku-i-e-
eš (-ku-i ša-r)]a-a ...

"[] Where(/when)ever in the open country [the sheep from him] goes [right aw]ay, and from? i[t he 'draw]s' (?) And the bull(/cow?) [goes] r[ight away; and from? it] the pankur he 'draws'. Who[] ..."

Oettinger translates, "[am], das Rind aber [geht] von ihm [weg und er] reißt [es] am Euter(?)," but admits that the meaning of pankur is difficult to determine - "milk", for example, being uncertain, although this occasioned his translation "Euter?".²⁵⁰ The verb huittiya- may be interpreted in context as "smear (fat); pluck (wool)", as well as "draw, lead",²⁵¹ so once again pankur may have designated a liquid. Notably, the lines immediately following have references to the human, social pankur.²⁵²)

8.3. What part of the anatomy or its product could pankur have designated? We are no closer to a clear answer. The interpretation "milk" appears for the moment unproven. Indeed, galaktar, with IE correspondences, may be one Hitt. word for "milk".²⁵³) Further, the meaning "breast, udder", is made less likely by the existence in both Hitt. and Luw. of the word titan(i)- "teat, breast".²⁵⁴) Although this is not attested directly for (animal's) "udder", the use of the participle of tita- in KBo XXX 3 (CTH 761), I 6', I UDU.GANAM ti-i-ta-an-ta-[aš] "a suckling mother sheep",²⁵⁵) is indicative. However, the apparent equation of "Lyc. uwe to Grk. toîs oikéois 'kin, family'", suggested to Melchert, that uwe might be a derivative (like the argued Hitt. uwas "nurse"?) of *w-eh₁ "water, milk": *eu-h₁ "excrete liquid, suckle" > *oúh₁- "suckling; suckled, nourished" > "family, kin".²⁵⁶) Much more needs to be known about the linguistic and social history of Lyc. uwe,²⁵⁷) before comparisons can be made usefully with Hitt. pankur "kindred", but for the moment we must refrain from dismissing its possible association with "milk, breast, etc.", in case this concept should prove to be both ancient and proto-Anatolian.

9.1. The etymological relationship, of pankur and the -u-stem adjective/substantive panku- "all, 'assembly'", has long been argued by many scholars, deriving the latter from PIE *bh₂gh- "thick",²⁵⁸⁾ or *pnk^W- "all",²⁵⁹⁾ and generally deriving pankur from panku-.²⁶⁰⁾ Considering the social implications of the last analysis, we would argue for the morphological independence of pankur from the nominalised pankus, even if both words stemmed originally from the same inherited root.

9.2. The derivation of both panku- and pankur from *pnk^W- "all" (the labio-velar required on the basis of the Grk. evidence), provides a more satisfactory explanation for the vocalisation -ur/un in pankur than otherwise. The labiovelar may be rendered in Hitt. spelling by KU,²⁶¹⁾ while the cumulative evidence of the paradigm as written,²⁶²⁾ points to the suffix being simple -er/n, that is -r/n, attached directly to the root²⁶³⁾ pnk^W-, written panku-, and not the complex suffix Cer/n.²⁶⁴⁾

9.3. The paradigm as preserved indicates a weak grade suffix, with root accent, probably throughout,²⁶⁵⁾ suggesting o grade of the root: nom.acc.sg. *pnk^W-r, gen. *pnk^W-nos, instr. *pnk^W-nit.²⁶⁶⁾ When both pankur and panku- may be seen as independent derivations from the same root, there is no need to evaluate pankur as semantically as well as morphologically derived from panku-.

10.1. Regarding the pankus, recent studies are in general agreement with Gurney's earlier assessment that it designated "the entire community in so far as it is concerned in affairs of State."²⁶⁷⁾ For example, Beckman explained both the development of the noun and its irregular ablaut: "nominal panku- arose through ellipsis of an adjectival expression such as pankus tuzzis or pankus URU^{Hattusas}, that is 'all troops' > 'the all; totality'".²⁶⁸⁾ pankus was analysed as an inclusive term for "hardly a social class let alone a high one, but rather simply 'totality (of those present on a given occasion)'", although "entry to the assembly (pankus)" was probably "in some way restricted."²⁶⁹⁾

10.2. How representative the pankus actually was, and how it was selected, requires further study.²⁷⁰⁾ What is important for present consideration is that the substantive use of the adj. as pankus with political connotations, denoted a "wholeness" of population, with the King at its head, which differs from the corporate nature of family "kindred", the centre of which was always the individual. pankus and pankur were not virtually synonymous terms, as argued by Ivanov, who saw the former as "issue de l'organisme du régime du clan".²⁷¹⁾ Indeed the former "institution", to use the word in its broadest sense, could operate to undermine the cohesive strength of the family-based pankur. Reciprocally, the weakening of the latter, could threaten the stability of the State as a result of inter-family feuds and factions.

10.3. The -r/n-stem formation of pankur²⁷²⁾ indicates its proto-Anatolian antiquity, while the substantive use of panku- is an inner-Hittite development. According to the earliest Hitt. evidence in OH texts, the corporate nature of the massed pankur, while still within reminiscence, was already greatly diminished. The oldest of the recorded Laws show offenders being held individually responsible for their offences,²⁷³⁾ while the exhortations of Hattusilis I point to the progressive disintegration of the pankur. By contrast, the pankus provided both the ear for the King's will and the means by which it was effected throughout the State. The historical evidence complements the linguistic to indicate the comparative antiquity of the pankur.

§4. ŠÀ BAL.BAL

1.1. This MB logogram²⁷⁴⁾ occurs in Hitt. royal genealogies, first with texts pertaining to Hattusilis III, then of Tuthaliyas IV and Suppiluliumas II, where it relates the contemporary King of the text to an eponymous royal ancestor as his consanguinous, legitimate successor in the royal office. In the case of Hattusilis III, ŠÀ BAL.BAL alternates in parallel texts with NUMUN, that is, as ŠÀ BAL(.BAL) ŠA ^mHattusili LUGAL URU Kussar.²⁷⁵⁾ The cuneiform genealog-

ies of Tuthaliyas IV, when relating this King beyond his royal grandfather Mursilis II or great-grandfather Suppiluliumas I,²⁷⁶⁾ described him as ŠÀ BAL.BAL ŠA ^mTuthaliya LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR URU^{Hatti} UR.SAG.²⁷⁷⁾ Suppiluliumas II was related to his great eponymous ancestor as ŠA BAL.BAL ^msu-up-pi-lu[-li-u-ma].²⁷⁸⁾ The erroneous (as interpreted) ŠA here,²⁷⁹⁾ gives us perhaps some insight to what the scribe of the day felt that the logogram expressed.

1.2. Although the general meaning of the logogram in Hittite texts has long been recognised as "successor, descendant",²⁸⁰⁾ it is important to stress this generalised aspect rather than a particularised "grandson"²⁸¹⁾ or "great-grandson", which might be suggested by certain MB lexical equivalents.²⁸²⁾ ŠÀ BAL.BAL is not strictly, in Hittite usage, the logographic rendition of a kinship term. Replacing NUMUN "seed", it underlines the legitimacy in orderly succession, reign upon reign, (ideally) of son to father, of the Hitt. Kings with whom the texts were concerned.

2.1. The MB ŠÀ BAL.BAL represented a confusion of the meanings and of ideas inherent in two etymologically quite unrelated Akk. words. These are a) līp(i)līpi, of which ŠÀ BAL.BAL is properly the logogram,²⁸³⁾ reduplicated derivative of lī/ēpu 1. "offspring, descendant", 2. "generation" (CAD L p.205); b) libbi libbi/liblibbi, of which the logogram was properly ŠÀ(G),²⁸⁴⁾ 1. "offspring, descendant" 2. "offshoot of the datepalm" (CAD L pp.179). the confusion is apparent in the late spelling ŠA-pī li-pī.²⁸⁵⁾ The common denominator of the reduplicated words is that of repeated generation of offspring, "offshoots", like the bud at the "heart" of the datepalm, which is resurgent with new life, the repetitive sense of which is seen also in lēpu ana lēpī, as in atta māruka mār mārīka lēpu ana lēpē ... iktarbūka "(Aššur and Šamaš) have blessed you yourself, your son, your grandson, generation after generation".²⁸⁶⁾

2.2. The logogram (ŠÀ) BAL.BAL itself adds further to the sense "repetition of life", since with the original meaning of pala "turn, rotate", came the (Sum.) idea of rotation of

office, that is reign upon reign of rulers who were not necessarily affiliated.²⁸⁷⁾ For the Amorites however, and the Hittites who adopted the logogram for genealogies, Dynasty did incorporate the idea of legitimate succession according to blood and birth. The interesting "mistake" of the Hitt. scribe of ABoT 56 (and of KBo III 6),²⁸⁸⁾ in writing ŠA rather than ŠĀ, the alternation of which is found also with ŠĀ/ŠA NUMUN, ŠĀ/ŠA MÁŠ, without any obvious difference of meaning,²⁸⁹⁾ suggests that he appreciated the logogram, and whatever Hitt. expression it concealed, as implying principally that sense of "rotation of office". Presumably the Akk. words had already acquired this sense by the time the logogram appears in MB documents.²⁹⁰⁾

§5. hart/dus "SUCCESSOR; GREAT-GREAT-GRANDSON?"

1.1. While other case forms and derivatives occur in 2nd Millennium cuneiform Hitt. and Luw. texts, the nom.sg.c. hartus has been attested apparently only in the HL inscription of the son of Laramas II, Halparuntiyas III, on the 9th century Lion stele at Maraş.²⁹¹⁾ He described himself: La+ra/i+ā-ma-si-sā "LEPUS+RA/I"-ia-li-sa "INFANS"ha-ra/i-tu-sā "hartus of Laramas, the Governor".²⁹²⁾ The latter was the 7th and most remote forebear named in this exceptionally long HL genealogy, and may indeed have been the great-great-great-great-grandfather of Halparuntiyas III, or a more distant forebear yet, founder of the dynasty,²⁹³⁾ to whom he related himself in the manner of the Hitt. Kings who were NUMUN/ŠĀ BAL.BAL of an illustrious ancestor. The possibility exists that hartu- c., had become a precise kinship term in HL for this very distant relationship.

1.2. Apart from the Maraş inscription, hartu- is attested in the CL, but fragmentary, context of KBo XXIX 49, obv.7', as harduwattinzi nom.pl.c., a -tti- derivative.²⁹⁴⁾ As further indication of its Luw. rather than Hitt. ancestry, case forms of hartu- are found in the MH+ text of the Ritual of Tunnawī, which was devoid of Glossenkeil markers despite numerous Luw. words and forms.²⁹⁵⁾

33) KUB VII 53 +(CTH 409.A), IV²⁹⁶⁾

12. IŠ-TU DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} ha-aš-še-it ha-an-
za-aš-ši-it [har-tu-u-w]a-t[i?]

13. har-tu-u-wa(-)har-tu-wa-ti QA-TAM-MA šu-un-ni-id-du

"So let him fill up (his house) with sons and daughters, with grandchild(ren) (and) great-grandchild(ren), wi[th successor(s)] (and) successor(s) upon successor(s)."

The transcription with restoration follows Starke, where Goetze had restored [har-tu-wa-aš-(?)har-t]u-[u-w]a[-az?] according to comparisons with the NH KUB XXVI 43, rev.65, 66, and 60 (see cit. 15 above, §2.6.4). Starke translated as Luw. abl. [hartuw]at[i] hartuwahartuwati "(mit) Ururenkeln (und) Urururenkeln", while Goetze rendered "descendants(?) in successive generations(??)!", noting that the reduplicated harđuwa forms recalled liblibbu/ŠÀ BAL. BAL.²⁹⁷⁾

1.3. In HEG (I p.189) hartuwahartuwati "in regelmässig aufeinander folgender Nachkommenschaft", is analysed as an adverbial dat., with an extension of the stem-forming element at the beginning of this "Iterativkomposition".²⁹⁸⁾ HED (3, p.202), listing harđu- as a Hitt. neut. noun, and analysing hartuwati as "Luwoid instr.-abl.", restores hartuwa<<s>>hartuwati, with *hartuwas analysed as gen. after hartuwas hartuwa, in KUB XXVI 43, rev.65-67, which was interpreted as gen. followed by the neut.acc.pl. It seems possible, that hartuwas in the latter text was a dat.pl., while the "nom.acc.pl.n." hartuwa resulted from scribal interpretation of the CL compound. Notably, Hitt. OH/MH KUB XLIII 23 (CTH 820), obv.15', has har-du-wa-har-du-wa-t[i?, with hassa h]anzassa in the preceding obv.14', apparently in the directive case.²⁹⁹⁾

2.1. The compound (if that is the correct reading) hartuwahartu(wa)- conforms to an inherited and productive Anatolian type of expression in which repetition of the form, substantive or verbal, meant repetition of the thing or action.³⁰⁰⁾ Unfortunately KUB XLIII 23, obv.14'-15' is too damaged to let us see whether this were a Luw. or Hitt. inflected form, but in MH+ KUB VII 53 +, the CL compound is

attested while the only clear Hitt. example in KUB XXVI 43, does not conform to the ancient model of reduplication, but attempts to express the same idea by fully developed morphological means.

2.2. Where hartuwahartu(wa)- may be compared to Akk. libbi libbi, hartuwas hartuwa could be a Hitt. translation of lēpu ana lēpī. It seems something of a coincidence that these infrequently attested Hitt. and CL expressions, which may occur with NUMUN, but are not attested with ŠÀ BAL.BAL, should resemble so closely both the semantics and grammatical forms of the respective Akk. phrases, attested from the OB period. Plausibly, the latter could have been their models even before the development of the early MB logographic ŠÀ BAL.BAL, which was adopted in Hattusas.

2.3. The sense of "offspring, descendant" in the Akk. phrases derived from the vegetative meaning "bud of the datepalm, offshoot".³⁰¹⁾ Etymologies recently offered for hartu- are indicative of a similar, if secondary vegetative meaning for the Anatolian word. Ivanov pointed to *Hordh- > Russian rod "family, birth", *Hort- > Arm. ordi "son",³⁰²⁾ which Weitenberg followed with the suggestion that hartu- might refer to descendant metaphorically, drawing a comparison with Lat. ortus "Gebürt, Abstammung".³⁰³⁾ As "rising", ortus may also refer to plants, stars, rivers, as well as persons.³⁰⁴⁾ For comparative purposes we note also the derivatives from *sta- "stand", in various IE languages used for "stem, bud, stock", etc., and for "family" and its members.³⁰⁵⁾

3.1. Although we cannot prove as yet that hartu(wa)- meant "offshoot", the fact that it designated "successor, descendant", separately from NUMUN "seed", is at least indicative. There are examples from Hitt. texts of unambiguous simile and metaphor relating human and vegetative life which may have parallels elsewhere,³⁰⁶⁾ but are specifically pertinent to Hittite family life. A significant evocation occurs in OH+ KUB XXIX 1 (CTH 414), when the King with the Queen and family are gathered before the Hearth for a

ritual to promote fertility and abundant offspring:³⁰⁷⁾

- 34) "(They place a branch of a grapevine and say as follows:) Just as the grapevine sends down root(s) and sends up branch(es), let the King and Queen also send down roots and send up (branches)".

Then follows a prayer that the royal couple will flourish, their affairs will be eternally enduring as the eya- tree which never sheds its leaves - the eya- being very plausibly the yew tree with its lifespan of centuries.³⁰⁸⁾

3.2. The concept of descent which could symbolise the royal couple as a tree, actually its trunk, from which emanated the roots and the branches in continuous growth, differs from that which is perceived in NUMUN, lineality, which carried to its logical extreme is the single "seed" which perpetuates the line of descent, ideally through the male parent. The "tree" and the "seed" represent the bilateral and patrilineal concepts of family organisation and descent respectively, which may coexist in practice if the patrilineal aspect is simply tendency to prefer male succession, or is restricted to specific areas of succession, such as high office. Indeed, the Hitt. texts indicate that lineality and clanship were particularly concentrated within the royal family.

3.3. Whether or not hartu(wa)- may be understood literally or metaphorically as "offshoot", it clearly designated the more distant successor(s) who might be poetically conceived as the roots and branches of the parent "tree". Such symbolism would concur with that of a person's NUMUN and pankur as represented in KBo XVI 56 +(CTH 428.2), obv.? 20'-22' (cit. 20), above). According to Oettinger, the analogic magic here owes nothing to cultural influences beyond Anatolia, and belongs chronologically with the "First Military oath".³⁰⁹⁾ Hitt./Luw. represented symbolically the lineal descendant as "seed", the pankur "kindred", as the verdant growth of the meadow land, and quite plausibly the distant descendant as an "offshoot" of the parent stock.

§6. SUMMARY. A. Kinship Terms.

1.1. Since such a limited number of kinship terms are known for Hittite and Luwian, the description below of the emergent "pattern" from those which are actually attested, must be regarded as tentative. Nevertheless, below the level of distant ancestors who were defined as to sex but not differentiated as to father's or mother's relative, we perceive a quite well defined "patrilineage" from huhhant- "grandfather(s)" through huhhas "grandfather", to attas "father", to DUMU(.NITA)(-) "son", and DUMU.MUNUS "daughter", continued to hassas hantzassas hartu(wa)- "grandson, great-grandson, *great-great-grandson". However, the terms for "grandson" etc., could include generically the female descendants as well.

1.2. The brother of the grandfather (Huh(h)ananis), and father (ABI(-IA) ŠEŠ(/Tatinanis)), appear to have received individualising descriptive terms denoting both sex and family relationship, while our suggested PN/kinship term Anniwiyanis "mother's sister"(?), would refer to that relative simply as an extension of the mother. Further, in regard to "cousins", the children of the mother's sister and brother, as also the father's sister, were (LŪ/MÍ) annin(n)iyamis "mother-led/turned", and consequently set away not only from ego's immediate family (ŠA MĀŠ) of brothers and sisters, but also from those of the father's brother, whose children, while receiving "descriptive" terms in the texts, were also regarded as members of the patrilineage (ŠA NUMUN). The children of ego's brother and sister, themselves defined as Hitt. negnas, nek/gas, Luw. nanis, nanas-ris "sibling" (male or female), were also referred to descriptively, as far as we can see from the logographic terms, although the latter are by no means sure indicators.

1.3. Consequently, the "trunk" of this patrilineal "tree" included to some extent the families of brothers although the individual's own nuclear family appears distinct. Also, while a distinction between sexes is not inherent in terms for the descendant generations, and only incidentally so

for siblings, the daughter, mother, grandmother (the same term for mother's or father's mother), were designated by terms quite distinct from their male counterparts. The deification, which we considered possible, of the venerable ancestress to become the great ^DHannahannas, would imply a higher degree of honour for a woman in the family than to be expected in a stereotyped patriarchy where the principles of male authority and succession were dominant. In fact, various facets of the "strategy" of succession, with inheritance through a daughter's son, disposed us to see the Hitt. family and kinship structure as basically bilateral, in which the mother and her family could exert considerable influence over her children.³¹⁰⁾

§6. SUMMARY. B. Family Structure.

1.1. The NUMUN "lineage", descended by means of its male (ideally) successors (ŠA/ŠĀ BAL.BAL), through the generational and bilateral MĀŠ/hassatar "family", beyond which extended the pankur of numerous bilaterally-related persons, actively interested in and responsible each for its members, which we have termed the "kindred". The texts indicate that for the MĀŠ.LUGAL "royal family",³¹¹⁾ at least, the importance of the narrow patrilineage increased towards the end of the Hittite Empire at the expense of both the pankur and the fraternally-extended joint family.

1.2. The contrary however is indicated for the more ancient period of Hittite history, when the usually patrilocal family would have consisted of brothers, wives and children, unmarried sisters and brothers, and occasionally a sister whose husband had chosen uxorilocal residence for whatever reason.³¹²⁾ With the royal family the presence of brothers-in-law would have been more frequent,³¹³⁾ and the resulting complex and ethic would have resembled that of the joint or extended family to be observed in past and present cultures. However, we note that the NH(?) expression sallai hassannai (dat.) "great family", referred to the elevated status of the royal family, not its size.³¹⁴⁾

1.3. For such an environment it is arguable that the roles

of the family leaders, and rules regarding succession, would have resembled those of the male and female leaders of historically attested extended families, such as the south Slavic zadruga,³¹⁵⁾ and the Russian family, which we have remarked as exemplifying the coexistence of patrilocal, patrilineally-extended household, with kindreds.³¹⁶⁾ Although the subject requires a study in much greater detail than is possible here, it seems appropriate to nominate the Hittite l/tabarnas and ^{MI}tawanannas as the male and female heads respectively of the royal Great Family, which titles, originally kinship terms in so far as they designated the leaders of a family organisation, were borne as honorifics by the later Great Kings and Great Queens of the Hittite Empire.³¹⁷⁾

§1. INTRODUCTION.

1.0. Responding to Rivière's advice,¹⁾ we preface our study of marriage with the Hittites by considering "the categories of male and female, and the relationships between them". Firstly, we examine the words in general use to designate and distinguish "man", "masculinity", "woman", "femininity", and related terms. Then we will consider the symbolic character in regard to the sexes of clothing, and also of agriculture, after which we discuss the "division of labour" according to the sexes, particularly concerning cultic personnel, and conclude by noting some anomalies in the texts reflecting attitudes to male and female, on the human and divine levels.

§2. MAN AND RELATED TERMS.

§2.1. THE WORDS FOR "MAN".

1.1. The correspondence of LÚ-tar(-) with syllabically written pí-is-na-tar(-) was established by Neu and Otten, in contexts which allowed them to relate pesna(-tar) "man(-hood)" in form and meaning to IE counterparts, thus analysing it as a derivative in *-no- from the PIE *pes-.²⁾ The cited parallel passages, OH KUB XLIII 30, III 10'-11' and KBo XI 32, 36-37, demonstrate the equivalence of the nom. pl.c. (DINGIR) pí-še-ni-eš(/iš) in the former with (DINGIR).LÚ^{MES} (-aš) of the latter, "male (gods)",³⁾ and the existence of the nominal form "male, man", as well as its abstract derivative in -atar. The incongruent determinative -aš is explained as indicating a comparatively late form, (DINGIR).LÚ^{MES} -aš.⁴⁾

1.2. Further, the i-stem in the singular is attested in the OH Edict of Telepinus as the name of King Hantilis' son, ^mPÍ-ŠE-NI (acc.sg. in Akk. KBo I 27, II 12)⁵⁾, also borne in the MH Madduwattas text by the son of its royal author.⁶⁾ Not all the case endings are attested, nor are all the contexts clear and undamaged in which pes(e)na/i- occurs.⁷⁾ However, the attested acc.pl.c. pisenus(-)⁸⁾ indic-

ates the a-stem alternative.

1.3. The presence of the i-stem forms may have resulted, as Neu and Otten have suggested, from the influence of Luw. zida/is "man", also known as a PN.⁹⁾ The intrusive vowel -ē-, absent only in nom.pl. pi-es-ne-eš (vs. pi-es-ni-eš), the oblique pesnas and derivative pesnatar, was interpreted as a "Sprossvokale" by Neu and Otten.¹⁰⁾ This -ē-, and the apparent treatment of forms containing it as if they belonged to an ablauting n-stem, might be explained by assuming that the presence of the i-stem ^mpiseni- led to a confusion of forms obscuring the original -na- derivation. There are further examples where the intrusive vowel in other nouns with stem final -sn(a)- is written e, as noted by Neu and Otten for (GIŠ) kalw/misna-.¹¹⁾ While this noun, which is possibly not to be considered a -na- derivative, has both i- and a-stem case endings like pi/es(e)na/i-,¹²⁾ pars-(i/e)na- "buttock, cheek", and the acc.pl. with (s)e- and plene e.¹³⁾

1.4. The suffix -na-, as also its morphologically identical thematic counterpart, -e/ono-, has the same semantic value as the suffix -to-, and, being "functionally equivalent" in all respects,¹⁴⁾ was capable of forming verbal adjs. with the passive sense of, for example, "full, filled", as OInd. purna-s, Lith. pilnas, Lat. plenus, <*pl-no-s,¹⁵⁾ ordinals when suffixed to numbers, or when suffixed to a nominal stem, meaning "provided with" whatever the stem denotes. Neu and Otten have assigned pesna- to the final one of the preceding categories.¹⁶⁾ Hitt. evidence suggests that the writing of e in pe/is(e)na/i- which appears to represent a stressed anaptyctic vowel, is rare but not exceptional among Hitt. derivatives in *-no-, while those in e/ono- apparently vocalised the suffixes as -an(n)a-.¹⁷⁾

2.1. There is no doubt that the meaning of pi/esna/i- was "male, man, membrum virile." Although the other IE descendant words are neuters, Hitt. pesna-, according to its nom., acc., sg./pl., forms, was clearly common gender. The neuter nominal derivative, forming abstract pe/isnatar(/LÚ(-na)-

tar), represented the concepts of "masculinity", in two related but somewhat distinct ways: 1) as masculinity opposed to femininity; having the characteristics of the male in regard to virility; looking and behaving generally as a man; 2) as masculinity expressed in terms of valour in warfare, of the warrior, the "lion", in military conquest.

2.2. Further to earlier studies of typically male characteristics,¹⁸⁾ we note an example of the Hittites' association of masculinity with virility. In the Hitt. version of the "Elkunirsa" myth, in KUB XXXVI 35 + (CTH 342.I.A), obv. 17, where the remedy against Asertu's "impugning" of her husband's "manhood" is that Ba'al should sleep with and thus humiliate her, *pesnatar=tet must be the reading for LÚ-x-UT-KA "your manhood, virility".¹⁹⁾ The Akk. equivalent term represented by this Sum./Akk. logogram would be zīkarūtu (zīkartu, zīkrūtu), "manliness, heroism", an abstract derived from the adj. zīkaru (zīkru), "male, virile", which included the sense of "warrior", and which was usually represented by NITA "male, man".²⁰⁾ There is one noted example where LÚ was written for the Akk. adj., namely in the Akk. version of the Treaty between Suppiluliumas I and Šattiwaza of Mittanni.²¹⁾

2.3. It is indicative of Hittite ideas concerning masculinity, that the word for military achievement and virility should be the same.²²⁾ The "title" found in the preserved colophons of the annalistic reports of the military conquests by Hitt. Kings attests the genitive of the abstract, LÚ-natar(/pesnatar), as written, for example, at the end of the Annals of Hattusilis I,

1) KBo X 2 (CTH 4.II.A), IV,²³⁾

D[UB

LÚ-na-an-na-aš ŠA m^ha-at-t[u-š]i-l[i

"Tab[let x] of the manly deeds (lit. 'manhood') of Hattusilis."

It is found similarly as the title of the Annals of his father Suppiluliumas I, written by Mursilis II, as well as characterising his own Annals, and being the description

chosen by Hattusilis III for his military feats when he came to "manhood".²⁴⁾ The use of this "title" cannot be dated surely to the OH period of the Annals of Hattusilis I. The preserved Hitt. text is probably a 13th century copy,²⁵⁾ while the Akk. version, KBo X 1, has been shown to be a translation far closer to the sense of the original Hittite than once believed.²⁶⁾ This text does not have a colophon inscription nor, consequently, the Akk. equivalent of LÚ-nannas, *ša zikrūti?

3.1. The Hitt. "Annals" are generally considered to represent the earliest of their genre in the ancient NE, being distinct from the narû and šar tamhari literature so characteristic of the Dynasty of Akkad.²⁷⁾ It has been suggested that Hattusilis's "Annals" constituted a "triumph inscription" similar in type to, and obviously inspired by the Sargon and Naram-Sin compositions, exemplars of which have been discovered at Boğazköy, translated into Hittite.²⁸⁾ Evident in his Annals' text is Hattusilis' admiration for, and emulation of Sargon, šar tamhari, who crossed the Euphrates, as well as the "lion" motive, which formed a common symbol of power and military strength in ancient Mesopotamia and Hatti.²⁹⁾

3.2. While the "title" may not have been found on an OH ms, such as an "original" of the Hattusilis I document, a Boğazköy Hitt. fragment of Naram-Sin's (narû) account of his battles against great hosts of enemies, has the clause in broken context, KUB XXXI 1 + (CTH 311.2.A), II 2' [c.12 signs L]Ú-na-tar-mi-it u-uh-hi[, translated "meine [Mann]-estat(?) sehe ich", where the traces favour the reading L]Ú-.³⁰⁾ The equivalent passage in Akk. is not known. It seems quite possible that the inspiration for the title of the Hitt. Annals came from Mesopotamia. OB compositions described the pre-Sargonic legendary King of Adab as nita-kala-ga "strong (young) man, warrior", glossed in Akk. as zi-ka-ru, and ^{Dx}Šulgi as ni-in-ta ka-la-ak-ka// zi-ka-ru-um dannum.³¹⁾ Remembering that Hattusilis I favoured the simile of the lion, we note the appearance of qarradāku labb-āku ù zikarāku, "I am a hero, I am a lion, and I am a (vir-

ile) warrior", among the epithets in the Annals of the 1st Millennium Assyrian Kings Adad-nārārī II, and then Ashurnasirpal II,³²⁾ While the intervening centuries preclude direct borrowing between Hatti and Assyria, we might assume a common Mesopotamian source of inspiration.

4.0. The literature from Hattusas further demonstrates the identification of manliness and military competence. For example, the ritual in KUB VII 58, obv.I 6'ff., without colophon, but in the context of other rituals, with Hitt./Hurr. passages, to allay misfortunes to the Army, juxtaposes in LL.6'-7', "(your) manliness" (LÚ-na-tar-te-it) and the terms for "combat (and) reconnaissance ability" (zāhh-ai(s)=smis haluga(s)=smis), and in L. 17', "striking(ability)" (walkiyauwar).³³⁾ The "Military Oath" texts are notable for their predominant metaphor of "manliness" as military loyalty (to the King and his family), competence and bravery, which is contrasted to the opposites represented by characteristic female traits.³⁴⁾

§2.11. OTHER MALE CHARACTERISTICS.

1.1. The Boğazköy texts echo the association of "hero, heroism", with the above concepts in Mesopotamian literature, illustrated by the epithet NITA KALAG(A) of Šulgi, and later ^mNabu-apla-iddina.³⁵⁾ In the Hitt. account of Sargon's campaign in Asia Minor he is described by Enlil to the King of Purushanda, as LUGAL-ginas=wa=ta UR.SAG-is, "Sargon, the Hero (to/for you)", where the variant text has tar-hu-i[-li-iš] in the place of UR.SAG-iš.³⁶⁾ Moreover, "die (speziellen) Krieger", as Güterbock has interpreted it, are found in this text, as in the Amarna šar tamhari exemplar, termed LÚ^{MES} UR.SAG.³⁷⁾ This logogram which represented Akk. qarrādu, "strong, hero", also concealed Hitt. *hastali-, since abstract UR.SAG-tar represented hastaliya-tar in at least one instance, while syllabically written hasta/iliya(nta)tar is well attested.³⁸⁾ Although both *hastali- and tarhuili- may be rendered "hero", there is some difference in meaning, since the former may derive from hastai- "bone", being associated with the idea of

"hardness", and so "heroism".³⁹⁾ The latter, deriving from tarhu-, also the Proto-Luw. name of the great Weather god,⁴⁰⁾ has the sense of "capability" of the powerful and potent conquistador, successful in battle.⁴¹⁾

1.2. Tarhuilatar is well illustrated as a typically male characteristic by the ritual evocation for long life for both King and Queen, but gimri tarhuilatar "heroism in the field (of battle)", for the King alone, and success against enemies.⁴²⁾ Not surprisingly the adj. tarhuili- qualified weapons of war, such as tarhuili ^{GIS}turi, the "victorious lance",⁴³⁾ or LÚ-as tarhuilin para ney[antan] ^{GIS}TUKUL-in, "(donne-leur) une arme d'homme, héroïque, brandie",⁴⁴⁾ or the troops as ERIN ^{MES.HI.A}tarhuilaus, "heroic soldiers."⁴⁵⁾

1.3. The description of a woman or goddess as "heroic", attested in the Akk. texts of Mesopotamia,⁴⁶⁾ is found in Hitt. (as tarhuili-), it would seem, only where tarhuilis qualifies IŠTAR as the god(dess) of battle. The relevant texts belong to the Boğazköy Akk. prayer to IŠTAR, KUB XXXVII 36 + 37 (CTH 312.I), which demonstrates the antiquity of the composition previously known only from the NB STC II copy, and the Hitt. version, KUB XXXI 142.⁴⁷⁾ Where the NB (L.5) text describes IŠTAR as "heroic daughter of the Moongod", the Akk. feminine forms in ma-rat ^DXXX qa-rit-ti, show that the deity is referred to here in her female aspect.⁴⁸⁾ The Boğazköy Akk. describes her as "sublime" (te-li-tum), while the Hitt. has šar-ku-uš ^DIŠTAR-iš "mighty IŠTAR."⁴⁹⁾ However, some lines further, after IŠTAR has been depicted as the god of war and weapons, (s)he is described as "heroic among the gods, her brothers," where the adjective is qa-ri-it-ti in Akk. and tar-hu-i-liš in the Hitt.⁵⁰⁾ The well known sexual ambivalence of IŠTAR in her various hypostases, in Mesopotamia and also in Hatti, is illustrated in the rock reliefs at Yazılıkaya, at least for the Hurrian IŠTAR/Šauška, by her appearance in both processions, of male and female gods respectively.⁵¹⁾

1.4. Notable also are passages where *pesnatar and tarhuilatar are immediately associated. The first of these evokes

ISTAR of Nineveh (CTH 716) on behalf of the Hitt. King and Queen to remove from the men of nearby enemy lands their "masculinity, heroism, health, plenitude, weapons - bows, arrows and the sword", replacing all these with (the weakness of) femininity.⁵²⁾ In another royal ritual (CTH 483), apart from "life, health, long years, procreative ability, sons, daughters, grandchildren and great-grandchildren", the gods were evoked to bestow "masculinity (and) heroism upon the man, femininity (and) motherhood upon the woman", which will be remarked further below.⁵³⁾

1.5. A Hitt. text KBo X 37 (CTH 429.1.A), which records a ritual against the effects of sorcery and curses and juxtaposes hastaliyatar and tarhuilatar (written UR.SAG-tar), in a typical series of desirable qualities to be bestowed upon the child-participant, demonstrates both the distinctness and similarity of these terms.⁵⁴⁾ Hastaliyatar was a quality which the Sun god of the blood(deed) and the Storm god were entreated to bestow on King Tuthalijas and his wife and children, together with "life" and "(youthful-)maturity", in MH KBo XV 10 (CTH 443), I 35-36.⁵⁵⁾ The prevailing sense of physical strength implied by hastai- and its derivatives, is underlined by the inchoative verb hastales- in its (late, NH) male and military contexts.⁵⁶⁾

1.6. The earliest attested use of UR.SAG in the cuneiform titular royal epithets appears to be in seals and texts of Suppiluliumas I, while the earliest clear example of the corresponding HL symbol (L.21), HEROS, is in the title of Muwattallis II, son of Mursilis II, in the Sirkeli rock inscription.⁵⁷⁾ Since the Neo-Hitt. examples of HEROS are normally followed by the phonetic determinatives -li-(i-) sa/sá, indicating the gen.adj., it has been surmised that the symbol conceals a derivative in -li-, being the Luw. equivalent of Hitt. *hastali-, or even tarhuili-.⁵⁸⁾

2.1. Another term associated with ideal masculinity, was (LÜ) mayan(n)tatar/LÜ GURUS-tar: "youthful maturity, young manhood".⁵⁹⁾ The abstract is derived from the verbal adj. mayant-, of mai-/miya- "grow", ultimately from the same

prolific *mē- /mā- as mehur "time", and other PIE descendant terms which demonstrate the basic sense of "measure, set/achieve a measure".⁶⁰⁾ The participle is attested (in EGIR-pā mayantas, d.-l. pl., "rejuvenated") with a woman as referent, i.e. ^{MI}Tawanannas (together with "our Sungod" /the King - KBo XVII 88 + (CTH 591.4.A), III 19-20), while the derived abstract, usually associated with males only, as also Sumerian GURUS and Akk. etlu, "young man", may be found in a list of ideal qualities/blessings to be bestowed on a man, with his wife and children.⁶¹⁾ The female age equivalent(s) of the ^{LU}mayant- was logographically represented by ^{MI}KI.SIKIL (^{MES}) "maiden(s)", concealing perhaps ^{MI}(^{MES}) zintuhhi-.⁶²⁾ Unlike the other two phases of human life expressed by Hitt. derivatives of *mē-, birth (miyari "he is born"), and old age (mi(yah)hu(wa)ntatar /^{LU}/^{MI}SU.GI-tar),⁶³⁾ the "(youthful) maturity" described by mayantatar referred to the floreat of young manhood, which the gods were entreated to restore to Kings,⁶⁴⁾ and to grant to a male child "in the future", together with those ideal male characteristics, "heroism, stalwartness, vigour", i.e. *tarhuilatar hastaliyantatar innaruwatar.⁶⁵⁾

2.2. Neither innara(u)watar, tarhuilatar, nor hastaliyatar, had direct implications of sexual virility, as Laroche has remarked.⁶⁶⁾ Innara(u)watar, although found in lists of blessings evoked when a woman, together with her husband and children, would be one of the recipients,⁶⁷⁾ was associated otherwise with a distinctively masculine and, in CL contexts, often bellicose type of strength and vigour. Puhvel would relate the Hitt./Luw. i/annar-, to a sexually neutral PIE Hner- attested (?) in RV sūnara- "rich in vital strength", Vedic nrmnam "keenness, forcefulness", and Grk. ἄνθρωπος "man".⁶⁸⁾ The Anatolian derivative adjectives emphasise the male nature of such vigour, by virtue of describing male deities, such as "the cedar gods",⁶⁹⁾ the Innarawant- Protector god who supplants "effeminacy",⁷⁰⁾ or the blood-stained, girt for battle companions of "le furieux" Santas, deity of war and plague, whose name was very likely the participle to sae-/saije- "to rage (with anger)".⁷¹⁾ Indeed

the nature of these ^DAnnarummenzi⁷²⁾ implies that the CL abstract annarum(m)ahi)t- denoted a vital force,⁷³⁾ more violent and irrepressible than its Hitt. counterpart in Hitt. contexts.

2.3. Looking for a concurrence of "blessings" evoked in similar contexts of CL to those of Hitt. rituals, we find comparable lists. For example, the EN SISKUR.SISKUR/malhas-sassis(-) EN-as "ritual offerant",⁷⁴⁾ would be blessed, "through grandchild, great-grandchild, long years (of life), future time, health, favour and life of the gods,"⁷⁵⁾ or through "life, (manly) vigour (annarummahit-at), future years, etc."⁷⁶⁾ One passage in the Hitt./Luw. texts concerned with the Festival rites for the Storm god and Sun goddess of Arinna, records an evocation, KUB XXXV 133 (CTH 772.5.A), obv. II 29' "... for Hattusas bring future time, (manly) vigour and life."⁷⁷⁾

3.1. Notably, in a similar passage in a fragmentary Festival text, KBo XXIX 33, IV 9' [m]u-u-wa-at-ta-al-la-ti GIŠ[TUKUL-ti(?) "through the undaunted we[apon",⁷⁸⁾ follows the sequence "life, (manly) vigour, [long years?]", which may be compared to the Hitt. contexts where muwattalli-/NÍR.GAL qualifies GIŠ^{TUKUL} ^{HI.A.79)} CHD warns that the Anatolian word should not be interpreted as "noble, brave", on the basis of the logogram NÍR.GAL, with its Akk. reading muttallu "noble",⁸⁰⁾ while Otten denied an etymological relationship between the Akk. and Luw. words.⁸¹⁾ The verb muwa/i- in the 13th century Ilgin HL inscription is contextually equivalent to tarh- in Hitt. texts,⁸²⁾ which places muwa- unequivocally in the same semantic field.

3.2. Starke derives CL muwattalli- (borrowed into Hitt. as muwa(t)a(l)la/i-) from the -tti- c. extension of muwa-, meaning: "courage; defensive ability", attested similarly for the 1st Millennium HL muwat(t)a- n.⁸³⁾ In the 2nd and 1st Millennium, muwattalli/a-, as an equivalent of tarhu-ili-, could describe the Storm god,⁸⁴⁾ serve as the PN of two Hitt. Great Kings,⁸⁵⁾ as the DN of the Kizzuwatnean ^DMuwattallis (with ^DMuwanus),⁸⁶⁾ while its derivative ab-

stract attested in the Hitt. borrowing (gen.sg.) muwaddala-hidas ^dKAL-1 "for the Protector god of intrepidity", expressed also an attribute of the Storm god.⁸⁷⁾

3.3. Accordingly, the quality denoted by the derivatives of muwa- would appear to be distinctly masculine, but the name of Suppiluliumas I's daughter, ^fMuwattis, was an -tti- derivative, as also that of the Spring ^{TUL}Muwattinn(a) (acc.), with its -ann- diminutive suffix, which often formed names of Springs and Rivers, which might be female.⁸⁸⁾ However, the deified quality seen in ^DMuwattis,⁸⁹⁾ was attributed to a ^{NA}4hegur "Rock Peak(-sanctuary)", like annari- in the same context, vital force of the battle-proven companions of Santas.⁹⁰⁾ Such anomalous use of the derivatives of Luw. muwa- may be added to the various anomalies noted at the end of this chapter regarding male and female with the Hittites.⁹¹⁾

§2.111. THE FIGURATIVE USE OF MILITARY WEAPONS.

1.1. Such symbolism of masculinity has not been confined to the Hittites.⁹²⁾ It is interesting to note however that in most of the Hitt. contexts in which these symbols occur, their "opposites", being the symbols for femininity, are also named, sometimes, but not always, to emphasise the undesirability of femininity, that is, its weakness in contrast to the robust nature of the "warrior" male. A classic example is the frequently cited passage, KBo VI 34 +(CTH 427.A), II 42-III 1, of the "First Military Oath", the purport of the composition being that the soldier who broke his oath of fealty to the royal family could expect the divine oath to deprive him of his manhood, II 48-49, na-an ki-e NI-IŠ DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ-an MÍ-an i-e-en-du, symbolised by his being dressed in women's robes and headdress, and by the replacement of the bows, arrows, and weapons (of war), broken in his hands, by the distaff and spindle.⁹³⁾

1.2. The ability of the "warrior" to sire progeny was also a necessary testimonial to his masculine virility, exemplified by the ritual of Paskuwatti, woman from Arzawa (CTH 406), to cure a man of infertility, lack of desire or imp-

otence.⁹⁴⁾ The ritual involved the removal of a distaff and a spindle from the suppliant's hands and their replacement by the bow and arrows, that is the symbols of femininity by those of masculinity,⁹⁵⁾ the outcome of which would be a symbolic marriage with the deity, blessed with sons and daughters born to the suppliant and his human wife.⁹⁶⁾ The dual naming of characteristics exemplifies the belief of the authors and referents of the texts that men and women were absolute opposites in nature and behaviour.

2.1. The most frequently occurring symbol for masculinity, GIS_{BAN}, GIS_{KAK.Ú.TAG.GA^{HI}.A}, the bow with arrows,⁹⁷⁾ could be a symbol for the hunter of wild animals as well as for the warrior, while those for a woman were the "spindle and distaff" (GIS_{hu(e)sa-}/GIS_{BAL(.TUR)} GIS_{hulali-}).⁹⁸⁾ These symbols represent an economic division of labour between the sexes of much greater antiquity than the periods in which they are still attested, although the spinning-woman, of wool fibre,⁹⁹⁾ would have presented a later and more contemporary figure in Anatolia, for example at Karatepe, as also in Mesopotamia,¹⁰⁰⁾ than the Hunter-male. As Güterbock remarked, the concept of the latter was emotively perpetuated in Hitt. pictorial scenes in seal engravings, rock reliefs, and in literature, long after that way of life had been superseded by husbandry and agriculture.¹⁰¹⁾ The preserved titles in Hitt. texts of women engaged in crafts include the MÍ(MEŠ)UŠ.BAR(ulkissarus) "(skilled) weaver-women" (there were also male weavers), but not specifically *MÍ(.MEŠ)BAL/hu(e)sa(t)al(l)a-(?) "spinning-women".¹⁰²⁾ Notably, the Luw. GIS_{hattarati}, instr., has been interpreted as "spindle".¹⁰³⁾

2.2. An example from records of Luw. ritual practice may be noted, which illustrates the identification of the Hunter deity and the warrior. The ritual of Zarpiya to appease the Luw. god Santas, includes a ceremony described in Hitt., KUB IX 31 (CTH 757.B), II 8-14, in which the leader of eight pre-pubescent boys who were participants in a sacrificial meal, wore a goat's skin and howled like a wolf, before the boys fell to the feast.¹⁰⁴⁾ The symbolism seems

clear: the virgin youth(s), like the Mesopotamian Enkidu, represented the wilderness, unblemished by urbanity and civilisation, hailing Santas, the savage and indubitably male Hunter, in the guise of the victim with the voice of the wolf, the natural hunter of the wild.¹⁰⁵⁾

2.3. Clothing, the other, virtually universal, symbol of sex and gender, appears in our texts notably in regard to women and what was "feminine", so we will defer a discussion of this symbol until after a consideration of terms for, and directly associated with, "woman".

§3. "WOMAN" AND RELATED CONCEPTS AND TERMS.

§3.1. THE WORDS FOR "WOMAN".

1.1. Until recently the independent word for "woman" in Hitt. had been conjectured solely on the basis of the logogram MÍ(/MUNUS), accompanied by one or two syllabic signs as grammatical determinatives, which will be discussed further below. The Luwian forms of the word for "woman" have been recognised by Starke, written syllabically in CL texts as wana- and wanatti-, deriving from *g^wenā with expected loss in Luw. of the initial velar, while Gusmani has argued for an original *g^uonā on the basis of Lyd. kāna, interpreted as "(Ehe)frau".¹⁰⁶⁾ IE descendants of the PIE stem are numerous, including Grk. γυνή "woman, wife", Skt. gnā "goddess", Goth. qīnō "woman", as also OE cwēn, cwene, mod.E. "queen".¹⁰⁷⁾ Wa(/u)natti- c., suffixed with -^otti-, which formed denominative and verbal derivatives, including kinship terms,¹⁰⁸⁾ may be recognised now in the logographic MÍ with i-stem determinatives in CL contexts, nom.sg. MÍ-iš, acc.sg. MÍ-in, acc. pl. MÍ-attinza,¹⁰⁹⁾ and HL FEMINA-(na)ti-.¹¹⁰⁾

1.2. On the basis of the Luw. evidence, the Hitt. word underlying MÍ, with determinatives indicating a common gender n-stem of the inner Hitt. extended type, was interpreted by Starke as *guenanz (nom.sg.), also derived from PIE *g^wena, with normal retention of the inherited velar.¹¹¹⁾ Puhvel preferred to understand *kuanza <*g^won-s.¹¹²⁾ NH examples of a nom.sg. MÍ-(na-)aš indicate an a-stem.¹¹³⁾

1.3. Recently Neu has argued that the Hitt. word for "woman" may be read in KUB XII 60 (CTH 322.A.), I 24, in the acc.sg.c., *kuinn[a(n>)s]=sañ "his *woman/wife", of an a-stem *kuinna-.¹¹⁴⁾ The passage, discussed further here in Chapter VI, §4.A., occurs in the mythological context of the Storm god's response to Hannahannas' requested advice following the Sea's demand for compensation to the Storm god after the latter's son Telepinus had abducted the Sea's daughter, and had made her his wife.¹¹⁵⁾ Neu thought that a noun should have followed LIM.¹¹⁶⁾ Reluctant also to see the vb pa-a[-iš] at the end of I 24, since non-plene pa-iš occurs in I 13, 25, he read PA-A[-].¹¹⁷⁾ Arguably, an historic present could be understood:¹¹⁸⁾

- 2) 24. n]u-uš-ši ku-in-na-[aš]-ša-an LI-IM pa-a-[i
 25. [1 L]I-IM GUD^{HI.A} 1 LI-IM UDU^{HI.A} pa-iš nu[

"And he give[s](?) to him, whatever (was) his(/his(/her) whatever) a thousand(-fold)[; [1 th]ousand oxen, 1 thousand sheep he gave, and["

Since Telepinus had already taken the Sea's daughter as his wife, "*woman" is less likely to be the acc. in L.24, which is why, after Stefanini, we tentatively interpret *kuinna=(s)sañ as the (attested) acc. of the indefinite pronoun ku-issa "each, whoever", despite the lack of support from a parallel example with a possessive pronoun.¹¹⁹⁾

1.4. However, this expression would find a parallel in the Akk. masc. noun + possessive pronoun, mimmû-šu(/šunu etc.) "his possessions; everything, something", which is found in Bogazköy Akk.¹²⁰⁾ We conjecture that kuissa=(s)sis would have been the Hitt. translation of mimmû-šu in the Vocabularies, indicated by the preserved Hitt. neut. indefinite ku-id im-ma [ku-id] "whatsoever", translating Akk. neut. mimma "something, anything, everything", in KUB III 105, obv.1'.¹²¹⁾ The presence of Mesopotamian scribes in Hattusas is attested, as also phrases in Hitt. texts with parallels in Akk.,¹²²⁾ which indicate at least how such an Akk. type of expression could have been used to describe "what was his/her-belonging", that is, due compensation as a form of "honour price" for the girl's abduction.¹²³⁾

1.5. While it would have been most satisfactory to read the Hitt. word for "woman" in syllabic form, apparently attesting its derivation from the same PIE stem as recognised for Luw. wana-, the evidence seems yet to present itself unequivocally. Indeed, Neu himself has expressed some reservation regarding his present interpretation.¹²⁴⁾

2.1. There is another term for "woman, female", found in CL as the base form of nominal and verbal derivatives, and as the second element in compounds, and in Hitt. as a suffix only. This is the Luw. (-a)s(a)ri-, Hitt. -(s)sara-, arguably related to PIE *-sor as seen in *swesor- "sister" or *har- in Av. hāirisi- "female".¹²⁵⁾

2.2. The CL *nanasri- "sister", that is "sibling-woman/female", contrasted to nani- "brother(/sibling)", is found in the partially preserved syllabic spelling of its d.-l. in KUB XXXV 39 (CTH 759), I 28....na-a-ni-e-ia 29. na-a-na-aš-ri[-e-ia].¹²⁶⁾ The meaning may be deduced by comparisons with other similar evocation passages, such as KUB XXXV 45, II 2, where the forms of "(mother, father), brother, sister", here accusative, have the logographic ŠEŠ-ia-an NIN-ia-an, while KUB XXXV 49, I 7', as restored by Starke, has the mixed [na-a-ni-ia-an (NIN-i)a-an].¹²⁷⁾

2.3. It has been argued recently that the second element may represent a zero grade *-sr-, although a *-sar- < *-sor-, reduced by syncope after stress on the first syllable notated by the plene -a-, is also conceivable,¹²⁸⁾ since the intermediate vowel -a(sri-) could be compositional, as in massana-ura- < massani- "god" + ura- "great".¹²⁹⁾ The i- stem extension in *nanasri- is comparable to the a- stem extension in Hitt. of the suffix -(s)sara- "female", written -sar in the OA texts, which indicates that the consonant stem was the more ancient form.¹³⁰⁾

3.1. The above is the only example attested for this CL final element, "-female". The Hitt. suffix -(s)sara-, meaning also "(x)-(who/which is) female",¹³¹⁾ may be seen in: ishassara- c. "lady, mistress", to isha- "lord, master";¹³²⁾ suppissara- "virgin, lit. pure-female", with spel-

ling variant suppiyassara-, influenced by that of the -ess-
ar abstract (e.g. s_lunpiessari^{HI.A} "purity"), nom.acc.n.
 pl.;¹³³⁾ GEME-assara- "female slave", to İR-na- "slave
 (male)",¹³⁴⁾ where the logographic writing in both cases
 conceals any possible relationship to Luw. hutarli/ia-
/İR-i/ia- or GEME-i/-ia-¹³⁵⁾ (but we note that the latter
 form might contain -(a)s(a)ri-¹³⁶⁾); *hassus(s)ara-/MÍ.LU-
GAL-ri d.-l. sg. "Queen", to hassu-/LUGAL "King",¹³⁷⁾ in
 which the full phonetic spelling may be deduced from the
 Kaneshite female PN in the OA texts, Ha-Šu-Šar, Ha-Šu-
Šar-na and Ha-Šu-Šar-ni-ga,¹³⁸⁾ and the HL "MAGNUS.DOMINA"
ha-su-sa₅+ra/i- "Queen", in 1st Millennium inscriptions,
 where it is unclear whether the HL ra/i indicates an i- or
a-stem.¹³⁹⁾ While Kronasser suggested that the HL word was
 a "borrowing", Laroche considered that it had passed into
 that dialect from the 2nd Millennium Kaneshite/(Hittite)
 official title.¹⁴⁰⁾ Two divine names, ^DSahassaras and ^DDam-
 nassaras in contexts indicating female referents, by anal-
 ogy with other -(s)sara- forms, should designate goddesses
 in, or of, some special social category or status.¹⁴¹⁾

3.2. A number of points may be noted: Oettinger must be
 correct when he interprets -(s)sar(-) rather than assara-
 for the female suffix, indicated by the Hitt. and HL evid-
 ence, together with that of the Kaneshite PN in -sar and
-(a)hsu-sar,¹⁴²⁾ but not -a-sar. It would seem that Kronas-
 ser was correct in thinking that the suffix was no longer
 productive in Hittite after the OA period.¹⁴³⁾ Among the
 compositions with -sar in (Ka)neshite PN, and it is only
 in Cappadocian texts that -sar is attested, Lihsu-sar (NH
 695) "woman of Lihsu", illustrates the type "locale+person
 /man/woman", which has equivalents not only in *Lihsu-uman
 > Lihsuman (NH 694) ^{mGI}PA-LÚ-iš/*Hattusazitis (NH 347),
 but also ^fHurmawanattis (NH 407), where "Hurma-woman" is
 composed with the Luw. word for "woman" of PIE origin.¹⁴⁴⁾
 This counters the argument that -sar(-) could not have been
 of PIE origin since it is found in compounds supposedly of
 non-IE type.¹⁴⁵⁾

4.1. One reason why the Hitt. suffix ceased to be produc-

tive may have been due to its specialisation in forming terms indicating the social status of the women in question, in regard to which three are derived from and in some opposition to male terms. Hittite appears to have designated females rather in the manner of modern Eng., principally by separate lexemes, e.g. mother, - as opposed to father -, mare, ewe, etc., or by prefixing a "determinative", for example, "my female cousin", "a woman doctor", equivalent to the logogram MÍ in Hitt./Luw. cuneiform texts.¹⁴⁶⁾ The logographic forms which contain MÍ, and which designate animals, such as UDU.SÍG+MÍ "ewe", ŠAH.MÍ.AL.LAL "sow", UR.GI₇.MÍ.AL.LAL "bitch", ANŠE.KUR.RA.MÍ.AL.LAL "mare", ANŠE.MÍ.AL.LAL "female donkey", also ANŠE.GÍR.NUN.NA.MÍ.AL.LAL,¹⁴⁷⁾ could conceal either lexical forms for the female, as distinct from the male, or a suffix to the generic term, denoting "x-female". The problem of interpretation applies also to male terms such as UDU.ŠÍR, UDU.NITA, "ram".¹⁴⁸⁾

4.2. One non-grammatical means of indicating the feminine in mod.E., has been compared to Hitt. -(s)sara-, that is with the suffix -ess, e.g. seamstress, authoress, deriving ultimately through Fr. and Lat. from Grk. - ισσα, cf. *Kilik-ya > Κίλικισσα "Cilician", as Laroche has noted.¹⁴⁹⁾ It has a limited application in Eng., new formations being generally discouraged in the modern language, due perhaps to the underlying sense of "derivation" of the original grammatical suffix *-ya from which it arose.¹⁵⁰⁾

4.3. Whereas the Eng. suffix could form occupational terms, such as "authoress", as well as ones designating social status, e.g. "princess", the Hitt. suffix, as noted above, seems to have been limited to terms denoting social status. We can only conjecture how occupational terms which distinguish male and female participants/workers simply by prefixing a MÍ or LÚ in the texts, for example MÍ_{uriyanni-} and LÚ_{uriyanni-},¹⁵¹⁾ or *MÍ_{arzanala-} and LÚ_{arzanala-}, deduced from ... 1 LÚ 1 MÍ ar-za-na-la-aš in KBo XXX 164, 3',¹⁵²⁾ would have been linguistically distinguished, if at all. Was the "determinative" pronounced as it is in the mod.E. instances cited above? In regard to KBo XXX 164, 3', the

answer is presumably affirmative, with the logograms LÚ and MÍ representing independent words. Concerning the terms LU/MÍ anninniyami-, or LU/MÍ *miyahuwandatar "old man/womanhood", for example, there is no answer as yet.

4.4. Such considerations are relevant to the relation of Hitt. (s)sara- to the Luw. (-a)s(a)ri-, since the Hitt. suffix does not have a derivational sense of "belonging to, derived from", nor does it appear to create agent nouns in the guise of *-sar, as argued by Burrow.¹⁵³⁾ Hitt. -(s)sara- has been denoted a "suffix" simply because an independent word is not attested as yet of which it is clearly the compositional representative. While there is an element of doubt as to what word, if any, is concealed by the "determinative" MÍ in Hitt. contexts, the possibility exists that there were two (at least), coexisting independent words for "woman" in Hitt., as there were in Luw., and frequently are in other languages.¹⁵⁴⁾ The similarity in structure of the Hitt. and Luw. compositional forms is too close to be coincidental,¹⁵⁵⁾ indicating their common derivation.

4.5. The Luw. *asri- "woman", has been deduced from its derivatives: the abstract asrahi(t)- "femininity", noted as a gen. adj. in EZEN aš-ra-hi-ta-aš-ši-in;¹⁵⁶⁾ the adj. asrul(i)- "like a woman",¹⁵⁷⁾ occurring in the same, fragmentary context, as the -want(i)- derivative aš-ri-wa-an-tin-zi, interpreted by Starke as "Ehemänner?" - i.e. "die, welche mit einer Frau versehen sind", which would seem to assure the i/ia- stem otherwise assumed on the basis of nanasri-.¹⁵⁸⁾ The most important derivative is the verbal abstract in -ahi(t)-: aš-ru-la-a-hi-ša "femininity, womanhood", which contrasts in context with zi-da-a-hi-ša "manhood", thereby assuring its own meaning, although the verbal stem *asrulai- has not yet been attested for CL, nor with any certainty, in 1st Millennium HL.¹⁵⁹⁾

5.1. The presence of the independent *as(a)ri- "woman" in CL supports arguments for a PIE *sor "woman, female", generally. According to Oettinger's recent analyses, the relationship of CL (-a)s(a)ri-/*as(a)ri- and Hitt. -(s)sara-

seems apparent, as also their relationship to PIE *esor/sor, meaning "woman".¹⁶⁰⁾ However, certain scholars have analysed the latter as "blood", and Pisani interpreted PIE *swēsōr "sister", as *su- "with" + -esor "blood" > "consanguinea".¹⁶¹⁾ Recently Linke argued that the Hitt. and Luw. forms represented an assimilated *esār from *esōr, possibly cognate with *esōr-/ *ēs-r "blood".¹⁶²⁾ The interpretation of "(inside)blood" (person) as a concept to be associated with, and consequently the term to denote "woman", might be considered viable even in the face of the linguistic arguments that have been presented against it,¹⁶³⁾ were it not for the Anatolian evidence.

5.2. The attestation of the laryngeal h₂ in Hitt. eshar, would argue against common or cognate roots for the "woman" and "blood" words. The spelling with h which characterises this laryngeal in Hitt. is seen not only in OH eshar/e(1)s-hanas,¹⁶⁴⁾ but also in Luw. ashar/ashan- "blood", notable even in HL inscriptions of the 1st Millennium,¹⁶⁵⁾ and may be attested in Palaic e-eš-ha.¹⁶⁶⁾ The plene spelling of e-ēš- in Hitt. (and Palaic?) and a-aš- in Luw., indicates that stress fell on this vowel, conforming to other IE evidence.¹⁶⁷⁾ Consensus of opinion indicates analysis of the PIE stem as h₁ésh₂r.¹⁶⁸⁾ Despite the superficial similarity of *ēs-r "blood" and *ésōr, full grade (according to Oettinger) of *sor- "woman", it would seem from the above that the respective PIE stems must have been quite different, and so also, with all probability, their meanings.

§3.11. THE EARTH AS FEMALE.

1.1. Hitt. texts attest that the personified "Earth" was regarded as female, although the once feminine gender *dhé-gh-ōm "earth", of the parent language, occurs in Hitt. as tekan, declined as a neuter n-stem,¹⁶⁹⁾ while in Luw. the inherited "animate" gender distinction was maintained by the thematic vowel seen in CL tiyamm(i)-, HL tak(a)m(i)-c., suffixed, according to Starke, to the Proto-Luw. stem in the acc.¹⁷⁰⁾ The personification, or "animation" of the Earth was achieved by suffixing -sepa-, declined in compos-

ition as comm. gen., which denoted the "genius, daemon" nature of the first element of the compound: daganzipas "Earth-genius".¹⁷¹⁾

1.2. The mythological designation of the Earth as "Daughter of the Sun god",¹⁷²⁾ would be associated with the Hitt. concept of a "Sun god of the Earth", with whom the personified Earth is named in one text cited by Otten, taganzipas taknas(s)=a ^DUTU-us, "Spirit of the Earth and the Sun god of the Earth."¹⁷³⁾ The title annas taganzipas, "Mother Earth", occurs in lists of infernal deities receiving ritual offerings, next to the Storm god of Heaven and Mezzulla,¹⁷⁴⁾ who is elsewhere termed the granddaughter of the Storm god and daughter of the Sun goddess of Arinna, with whom are equated the Hatt. Lelwani, Hitt. Sun god(dess) of the Earth, Sum. EREŠ.KI.GAL, Akk. Allatum, and Hurr. Allani.¹⁷⁵⁾ Laroche perceived, through the syncretisms of Anatolian earth gods and underworld deities of foreign origin, an opposition of the heavenly, and male, Anatolian Sun god, and the female "Sun" deity of the Earth.¹⁷⁶⁾ The opposition is actually less clear, since the State goddess, Sun goddess of Arinna, with whom Hebat, wife of the Hurr. Storm god Tesub, would be consciously identified, was also worshipped as "Queen of Heaven and Earth."¹⁷⁷⁾

1.3. A simile of the "dark earth" - dankuis daganzipas - as the receptive and fecund female, human or animal, is found in the texts of a ritual (CTH 446) by the AZU priest to exorcise a household, with evocations to underworld gods, including those of Mesopotamia, Hurr. Kumarbi and ^DApi.¹⁷⁸⁾

- 3) "The seer sets up a ram and a ewe before the gods, and he says as follows, 'As the ram 'covers' the ewe, and she becomes pregnant, behold! - let the city and the house become a ram and let it 'cover' the dark earth in the open country; and may the dark earth gestate the blood(deed), the defilement. Then, as a woman and a ewe being pregnant, give birth, behold! - let the city and the house bear evil blood(deed) in the same manner, and let the dark earth receive it."

Despite the curious imagery concerning the city and house, once male then female, the maternal nature of the Earth is well determined.

2.0. Another Hitt. passage, this time from a ritual to cure effeminacy (and infertility), CTH 406, with offerings to a Luw. deity, Uliliyassis, whose name may be analysed as the gen.adj. of ulili- "open country, steppe",¹⁷⁹⁾ appears to reflect the idea of the ploughed and inseminated Earth representing the wife in a fertile human marriage. Paskuwatti, woman of Arzawa, evoked the goddess,¹⁸⁰⁾

- 4) "Appoint your maidservant to him (so that) he may become the yoke; let him take his wife and may they make sons and daughters."

The passage in Judges 14:18, "had you not ploughed with my heifer (that is, 'wife')", was noted in this regard by Hoffner, which introduces a secondary concept of the fertile female plough-beast inducing the fertility of the land.¹⁸¹⁾ This may be what is intended in the Hitt. evocation by Paskuwatti.¹⁸²⁾ We note also the Lat. derivative conjux < *con-iunx "spouse", usually applied to the wife, rarely the husband, but in the plural, descriptive of the married pair.¹⁸³⁾

§3.iii. THE SUFFIX -sepa.

1.1. The Anatolian -sepa-,¹⁸⁴⁾ attested in many similar compositions, for example (HUR.SAG) Asgasepas "Gateway-genius", Ispanzasepas "Night-genius", is found in KBo XI 32 (CTH 645.1), 34, as an independent DN, as GE₆-za^{Dy} še-pa, the OH list having Diš-pa-an-za-še-pa-aš at this point of the text.¹⁸⁵⁾ Unless ^D/an? were a scribal error, the independent form would suggest that late NK scribes of Hattusas did not feel -sepa- to be simply a derivational suffix.¹⁸⁶⁾ According to Čop, -sepa- may have derived from PIE *sei-/ -sei- "to bind" (Hitt. ishiya-), through *soibho-/sei-bh- "spirit, daemon", with Proto-Celtic *soib-s and *seib-ar-, descendants of which refer to magical illusions, spells, charms, and infernal or evil spirits;¹⁸⁷⁾ further, sepa- c. "sheaf, bundle", in HG §158 would be the profane doublet of the "genius" (-)sepa-.¹⁸⁸⁾ There are, however, problems concerning the loss of the laryngeal h₂, preserved in other derivatives of the same root in Hittite.¹⁸⁹⁾

1.2. Neither the Anatolian nor the IE (?) evidence indicates that the "spirits" denoted by (-*)sepa- were specifically female.¹⁹⁰⁾ Where daganzipas, (HUR.SAG) askasepas, and Kamrusepas, divine midwife and spirit of magic ritual,¹⁹¹⁾ are demonstrably female in context, and ispant(+sepas) may continue the feminine gender of PIE *ksepen/on, reflected in Av. sapan- f.,¹⁹²⁾ the Hitt. mountain genius HUR.SAG hal-alazipas was represented in its cult by the iron statuette of a standing man, with an iron eagle and lion of wood,¹⁹³⁾ and is clearly a male daemon. Consequently, it was not the -sepa- element which imparted the feminine characteristic to the "genius", the gender of which was apparently determined by the "natural" sex perceived in the object itself.

§3.iv. THE LUWIAN SUFFIX -wiya-.

1.1. The Luw. -wiya-, noted as a suffix in female PN where the first element may be an ON: ^fŠal-la-pa-wi-ya-aš (NH 1087),¹⁹⁴⁾ DN: ^{fD}*Arma-wi-(i-)ya-aš (NH 140),¹⁹⁵⁾ or other lexeme: ^fPar-ša-na-wi-aš (NH 945),¹⁹⁶⁾ and where a parallel male PN in -ziti- or -muwa- may be frequently attested,¹⁹⁷⁾ is arguably not another lexeme meaning "woman, wife", but morphemic, consisting of the derivational suffixes, -wa- + -ya-,¹⁹⁸⁾ which became associated with female personal names specifically. Such PN were current by the end of the 15th century BC, being attested for that period in ^fZiplan-tawiyas, ^fTunnawiyas, ^fSantawiyas and ^fZamnawiyas.¹⁹⁹⁾

1.2. According to Starke, the final element -ya- of the adjective forming -wiya-, expressed the sense of "belonging".²⁰⁰⁾ The first element -wa-, has been compared to -wa- found in Lyc. derivatives such as the abstract prnn(a)-wa- "housing, accommodation", cf. Hitt. parna- "house"; also Lyc. [-wa], Milyan [-] in xntawata- c./xnta-ba- "ruler", and the CL -tti- derivative ha-an-da-wa-te-eš/en.²⁰¹⁾ This *-wo- > Hitt. -wa-, seen, with "individualising -n",²⁰²⁾ as -wa- in the Luw. ethnicon and derivational -wanni-, with Hitt. equivalent -uman-/umn,²⁰³⁾ formed adj. derivatives in other descendant languages.²⁰⁴⁾ It would seem that -wa- in the CL and Lyc. examples above formed with *ye- or *ae-

a verbal stem, with nominal -(t)t- derivatives.²⁰⁵⁾

1.3. Thus, in -wiya- may be seen a derivational and adjectival conglomerate suffix (-wa+ya),²⁰⁶⁾ forming words with a derivative or diminutive sense. The use of -wiya- to form women's names, from at latest the MH period,²⁰⁷⁾ written in cuneiform and HL, as attested for example in (BONUS.FEMINA) Ku-mi-wa/i-ia on a silver ring seal,²⁰⁸⁾ implies the association by Hitt./Luw. speakers of the "dependent" and "diminutive" with women, a not altogether isolated phenomenon in the designation of the female during the course of world history!²⁰⁹⁾ Perhaps to be included here in the context of diminutive suffixes, are the Cappadocian feminine PN in -n/liga-, -iga-, although they have defied a satisfactory analysis.²¹⁰⁾

§3.v. FEMININE CHARACTERISTICS.

1.1. We noted earlier that the ideal qualities associated with males were often juxtaposed in our texts to characteristics representative of females, for contrast, and because it was obviously considered degrading for a man to be reduced to the "female".²¹¹⁾ This is well illustrated in the evocation to IŠTAR of Nineveh, to bestow favours upon the Hitt. King, Queen, royal progeny and lands, while depriving the enemy, male and female, of its most highly valued attributes and characteristics. The following passage illustrates the concept of military heroism being the ultimate criterion of Hitt. "masculinity", while it includes not only contrastive feminine symbols but also a short list of desirable attributes or capabilities for women.

5) KBo II 9 + (CTH 716.A), obv.I²¹²⁾

25. na-aš-ta A-NA LÚ^{MEŠ} ar-ha LÚ-na-tar tar-hu-i-la-tar
 26. ha-ad-du-la-tar ma-a-al-la GIS^{TUKUL} HI.A GIS^{BAN} HI.A
 GIS^{KAK.Ú.TAG.GA} HI.A
 27. GÍR da-a na-at I-NA URU^{URU} hat-ti ú-da a-pé-da-aš-ma-kán
 ŠU-1
 28. ŠA MÍ^{TI} GIS^{GIS} hu-u-la-li GIS^{GIS} hu-i-ša-an-na da-a-i
 29. nu-uš MÍ^{MI} ni-li ú-e-eš-ši-ia nu-uš-ma-aš-kán TUG^{TUG} ku-ri-
-eš-šar ša-a-i

30. nu-uš-ma-aš-kán tu-e-el aš-šu-ul ar-ha da-a

.....

31. [A]-NA MÍ^{MEŠ}-ma-kán ar-ha an-ni-ia-tar a-ši-ia-tar

32. mu-u-uš-ni-en da-a na-at-kán A-NA KUR ^{URU}hat-ti iš-
tar-na ú-da

"And remove from the men (of the enemy) masculinity, heroism, health 'and mal', weapons, bows (and) arrows, daggers, and bring them (i.e. the aforementioned attributes) into Hatti. Set in their hands (of the male enemy) the distaff and spindle of a woman. Dress them in the manner of a woman, and press upon them the kur-essar (-headdress). Take away from them your favour. Then remove from the women (of the enemy) motherhood, love (and) 'fidelity'(?), and bring them (the aforementioned attributes) into the midst of Hatti ..."

1.2. 1) anniyatar "motherhood", as the most desirable function, state, attribute of women, has been noted above.²¹³⁾ Such thought conforms to widely held beliefs throughout history that begetting children was immensely important for individual men and women, families and the wider society. Texts, such as CTH 716 and many others,²¹⁴⁾ show us that in Hitt. society the biological and social function of the adult woman, ideally, was to bear and nurture children. The claim of Queen Puduhepa in her letter to Pharaoh Ramesses II, to exceptional achievements and notoriety in the sphere of these activities - nu ammel anna[n] tissan LÚ^{MEŠ} PA-ti memiskanzi "And the people of Hatti continually speak (of) my annan tissan", possibly to be interpreted literally as "(having) moved underneath"?, must indicate how highly contemporary Hittites regarded these specifically female capabilities.²¹⁵⁾

2) as(s)iyatar "love", is found in Hitt. texts associated with both men and women, as the affection of husband and wife for each other, bestowed by IŠTAR.²¹⁶⁾ This "love" must be the erotic as(s)iyatar, intriguingly described in a mythological text as running "like hounds" after the sweetly annointed and ornamented deity,²¹⁷⁾ and for whom, according to a trilingual hymn from Boğazköy, the Mesopotamian Storm god IŠKUR created the "flower of Springtime".²¹⁸⁾ By contrast, the deverbative "love of the gods" assiyauwar

DINGIR^{MES}-aš, evoked from "the male Cedar gods" for all Hatti, seems to be equivalent to "favour, beneficence", generally dispensed by deities to mortals.²¹⁹⁾

3) musnen "fidelity"(?): the tentative translation here of the final attribute is based on its possible identity with the epithet muš(u)ni- in Hurr./Hitt. texts, of the goddess Hapat, rivers and roads, which Laroche interpreted as "juste, ferme" on the basis of its equivalence in an Ug. vocabulary text to Akk. [kē/īnu], of that meaning.²²⁰⁾ That the same goddess should grant "fidelity", who was depicted in turn as fickle, vain and far from honourable, should not surprise in view of the summation of opposites composing the nature of IŠTAR as deity of Love and War,²²¹⁾ and also the Hurr./Hitt. ritual extolling her favour to marital households which she "loved" (CTH 717).²²²⁾

1.3. While reflecting Hurrian/Mesopotamian ideas these texts obviously represent Anatolian concepts concerning the ideal qualities and attributes associated with women. We need only look to HG (§§197-198) for stipulations of death for the adulterous wife and her lover, but exoneration of the husband if he should kill them himself in outrage,²²³⁾ to find support for Hittite subscription to the wider ancient NE expectation of fidelity by the wife.²²⁴⁾ This is altogether usual for basically patrilineal societies which tend to the patriarchal, but would have been quite unexpected with a matrilineal family organisation in which marital ties were usually weak and successive "marriages" or liaisons constituted the norm.²²⁵⁾

1.4. Regarding the dating of HG §§197-198, we note that despite the late redaction of the text copies in which these clauses were preserved, the immediately preceding §196 is recorded on the OH fragment KUB XXIX 35, 13-15, which suggests that §§197-198 had existed also in the older collection, thus reflecting earlier legal practice and ethics with the Hittites.²²⁶⁾

2.1. According to the texts there was another "state" of the female, namely that of DUMU.MUNUS suppi/essara- "daugh-

ter imbued with purity, virgin", which was not eulogised like that of being a wife and mother, but was nevertheless imbued with certain magical power and symbolism.²²⁷⁾ In the ritual performed by ^fAnniwiyanis, the virgin's function was to attract the deities, one no longer wanted, the other desired, to the house of the offerant,

6) VBoT 24 (CTH 393.A), I²²⁸⁾

25. ...na-aš-ta ŠÀ É^{TI} DUMU.MUNUS šu-up-pí-eš-ša-ra-an

26. pí-e-hu-da-an-zi na-an-kán KÁ-aš an-da

27. ti-it-ta-nu-an-zi nu ŠU-it iš-ša-na-aš MUŠEN har-zi

28. nu DUMU.MUNUS hal-za-a-i pa-ra-wa-kán e-hu ^DKAL lu-li-mi-eš

29. an-da-wa-kán ^DKAL in-na-ra-u-wa-an-za ú-iz-zi

"... and they bring a young virgin from within the house and stand her in the gate(way); she holds a bird (made) of dough in (her) hand. The young girl calls out "Come forth lulim(m)is protector god, then the strong protector god will enter!"

2.2. Contrasted to ^DKAL innarauwanza, (^DKAL) lulim(m)is is generally interpreted as "effeminacy", the other "strong protector deity" being associated with masculinity.²²⁹⁾ A recent analysis of lulim(m)is as the CL participle of the denominative vb. lul₁i- derived from lulu- "wellbeing", "gedeihen, wohl(ergehen)", suggests that lulim(m)is embodied the idea of "ease, luxury", which was secondarily associated with the feminine in contrast to masculinity.²³⁰⁾

2.3. The latter is represented also in our ritual by ^DKAL kursas whom the DUMU.MUNUS suppissara- hails to enter the offerant's house.²³¹⁾ Notably, the kuressar, headdress worn exclusively by women and discussed further below, was suspended from a table in the inner chamber of the house (III 21-22) as another attraction for the deity, a practice found also in rituals to "draw" the gods upon the "roads" towards Hatti and the supplicants.²³²⁾ Female deities could be included here, as in the CTH 449 evocations,²³³⁾ which suggests that the virgin in ^fAnniwiyanis' ritual symbolised femininity in such a potent manner as to provide an additional, irresistible, enticement for the respective Protect-

or gods, the "soft", thus effeminate, and the masculine.

3.1. Another ritual in which a DUMU.MUNUS suppissaras plays a similar role is that of ^fPaskuwatti of Arzawa, to entreat ^DUliliyassis to provide male potency, with wife and offspring, to the suppliant.²³⁴⁾ Possibly the group of young "virgins", the šu-up]-pí-iš-ša-ra-aš DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} in a mu-gawar/ritual to effect the return of an angry, "missing god" (CTH 328), served the same purpose, although the text is too damaged in this context for clarity.²³⁵⁾ Their multiple appearance suggests that the phrase referred rather to "young girls", as did the logographic MÍ^{MEŠ} KI.SIKIL, than more precisely to "virgins". In CTH 393 DUMU.MUNUS alternated with DUMU.MUNUS suppissaras,²³⁶⁾ indicating that suppissara- was appositional, "a young girl, (who is) a virgin".

3.2. The logogram MÍ^(MEŠ) KI.SIKIL, translated in Akk. by ardatu "'young woman (girl or adult)'" ,²³⁷⁾ despite its original sense of "pure place > virgin", represented in Hitt. texts "young woman/women" in opposition to the LÚ^(MEŠ) GURUŠ "young man/men", in the prime of youth, while it occurs in parallel texts as equivalent to Hatt. ^(MÍ) zintuhi- "maiden, granddaughter"(?).²³⁸⁾ Both DUMU.MUNUS "young girl, daughter", and DUMU.NITA "boy, son", occur in ritual contexts as participants.²³⁹⁾ We gain the impression that these logograms referred to individuals who took part occasionally in such activities, whereas MÍ^(MEŠ) KI.SIKIL, denoted groups of young women who regularly performed duties in a religious context.²⁴⁰⁾

3.3. There are a few references to a MÍ^(MEŠ) KI.SIKIL in the singular, for example in the poorly preserved and late Empire "omen" text, KUB XLIII 22 (CTH 832), I 10', IV 5', where it appears to be a question of her marriage, in the latter instance at least: [ma-]a-an-za LÚ-aš MÍ^(MEŠ) KI.[SIKI]L-an MÍ-an DAM-a[n-ni(?) da-a-i] "If a man [takes] a "KI.SIKIL" woman as a wife".²⁴¹⁾ The inclusion of this term before "woman" suggests either an unusual (compared to the HG marriage clauses) emphasis upon her virginity, or, more

plausibly, that the term had come to designate a form of State dependant, very likely a Temple servant, with the status of KI.SIKIL noted also in Mesopotamian contexts.²⁴²⁾

3.4. The ^{MÍ}KI.SIKIL in Hitt. contexts appears thus to have denoted an age class or category, participating in religious functions, as did the "young men", the "old women", or "old men",²⁴³⁾ rather than a girl whose virginal purity was her predominant characteristic. This logogram may also have concealed the Hitt. ^{MÍ}*mayas, another derivative of the productive root that yielded ^{LÜ}mayant-.²⁴⁴⁾

4.1. It is with DUMU.MUNUS suppissaras that "virgin" was properly designated. According to CTH 393 and 406 she symbolised the essence of femininity and its attraction in a particularly poignant manner, indeed even more so apparently than the adult woman whose ideal characteristic was the eulogised state of motherhood, in fulfillment of the female biology. We observe the opposition of ideas operating in regard to virgin youth: the young male, as in the Zarpiya ritual (CTH 757), who represented the untamed natural wilderness, and only with maturity entered the state of civilised culture synonymous with the possession of ideal, ethical and specifically male, characteristics such as tarhu-ilatar "heroism".

4.2. Notable in this context is the participation of a DUMU.MUNUS suppissaras in the Festival of Tetewatti (CTH 639), whose red robe she tended, during a series of actions where the other personnel included the priestess of the god, the Prostitutes and the Wolfmen, which suggests that her presence, and theirs, responded to a symbolism of attributes, functions and myths, associated with this infrequently attested Hattic deity, in a "kind of cultic masquerade".²⁴⁵⁾ The original significance may have been blurred by time, but must have involved similar concepts of the wild and innocent, civilisation and the prostitute, which are found in Gilgames.²⁴⁶⁾

§4. CLOTHING AS A SYMBOL OF GENDER

1.1. When one looks at the numerous, if often fragmentary,

Hittite lists of objects delivered to individuals, or the Palace stores for royal persons, one cannot doubt the interest in clothing displayed by their owners.²⁴⁷⁾ Both men and women, whom circumstance permitted, obviously revelled in wearing brightly coloured garments ornamented with embroidery, gold, silver, various semi-precious stones, as well as jewellery itself,²⁴⁸⁾ while images of the deities were adorned with, at least, equal brilliance.²⁴⁹⁾ Some years ago Goetze compiled lists of names of garments which were consistently associated in our texts with one sex only, or were worn by both men and women.²⁵⁰⁾ In recent years the names for items of clothing have been augmented with the discovery, publication and edition of further texts.²⁵¹⁾ However, when we try to establish precisely what garments were typical of men as opposed to women, and vice versa, we find that they remain comparatively few in number and type, but as such were obviously considered so distinctive as to be representative of the male or the female, masculinity or femininity. The textual evidence may be illustrated to some extent by artistic and iconographic representations.

1.2. One item of clothing which immediately marked its wearer as female was the ^{TUG}kariulli-, as demonstrated in the following passage from a Hitt./Hurr. ritual:

7) KUB XLV 22, III²⁵²⁾

3. 2 še-e-ni-eš-ša ŠA GAB.LAL i-ia-an-te-eš
4. 1 LÚ nu ^{TUG}GU.É.A wa-aš-ša-an har-zi
5. ^{TUG}IB.LAL pu-tal-li-ia-<an> har-zi nu-uš-ša-an
6. TA-HAP-ŠI iš-hu-uz-zi-ia-an har-zi
7. ^{KUŠ}E.SIR^{HI}.A -ia ^{TUG}GAD.DAM šar-ku-wa-an har-zi
8. MÍ-ma 2 ^{TUG}wa-aš-ša-an har-zi ^{TUG}ka-ri-ul-li-ia-aš-ša-a[n
9. ši-i-ia-an har-zi nam-ma-aš-ša-an IŠ-TU TA-HAP-ŠI
10. iš-hu-uz-zi-ia-an-za ^{KUŠ}E.SIR^{HI}.A
11. ^{TUG}GAD.DAM šar-ku-wa-an har-zi ...

"And two figurines of wax are made. One (is) a man; he has put on a shirt, has fitted a kilt, and over (that) he is girt with a belt(?), and he has on shoes and gaiters. The woman, however, wears two garments; she

has the kariulli- fixed on, and she is girt with a belt and she has on shoes and gaiters."

1.3. The verb sai-, siya- "implant, impress", is used regularly to mean also "press (on a cap or headdress)",²⁵³⁾ which may have resulted from the use of pins to achieve this, actually attested with another verb, in the ritual passage concerning the magical treatment of a dough "head" simulating the goddess Huwassannas of Hubisna:

8) KUB XXVII 49 (CTH 692.6.A), III, with duplicate,²⁵⁴⁾

16. MÍ.MEŠ_{hu-wa-aš-ša-an-na-al-li-iš} ku-in ŠA NINDA an-tu-uh-ša-aš
17. SAG.DU-ZU me-nu-uš-ša i-ia-an har-kán-zi na-aš-ta A-NA MÍÉ.GE₄.A
18. 1 TÚG_{ku-ri-eš-šar} 1 TÚG ZA.GÌN URUDU_{Z[I.K]IN.BAR} HI.A IŠ-TU SAG.DU-ŠU
19. ar-ha da-an-zi nu a-pu-u-un UKÙ-an ŠA NINDA SAG.DU-ZU a-pi-e-iz-pát
20. IŠ-TU TÚG_{HI.A} QA-TAM-MA ú-nu-wa-an-zi MÍÉ.G[(E₄.A ma-ah-ha-an]
21. TÚG_{ku-ri-eš-ni-ma-aš-ši-kán} an-da-an a-pu-u-uš-p[(át URUDU_{ša-pí-ik-ku-uš-du-uš})]
22. pa-aš-kán-zi na-an-za ŠA DINGIR_{LIM} SAG.DU-ZU [hal-(zi-iš-ša-an-zi)]

"The Huwassannallis women - (for) the head and face of a person which they have made of bread - they remove from the bride's head a kuressar, a blue cloth and copper pins, and they adorn that person('s) head of bread with those very clothes accordingly, like the brid[e ?]. Then they push those same copper pins into the kuressar on her (head), and they proclaim it the god's head."

2.1. The interpretation of kariulli- as a "garment which drapes the head of women and covers their whole figure to the feet" was made by Goetze on the basis of its obvious derivation from kariya- "cover, veil", and the use of the verb siya-.²⁵⁵⁾ Very likely the enveloping robe worn by the female of the two seated divine(?) figures in the "portico" of the uppermost register of the painted relief decoration on the Bitik vase illustrates the kariulli-, which the male

figure appears to lift away from his bride's face with his right hand.²⁵⁶⁾ The dating of this vase and similar relief works on stylistic and archaeological criteria to the OK period by Özgüç, as also the Inandik vase with its sacred bridal scene,²⁵⁷⁾ suggests that the kariulli- was already a traditional bridal robe for Anatolian women, at least within the cultural orbit of Kültepe/Kanesh.²⁵⁸⁾ Later it formed part of the wardrobe of the "Black goddess" in Samuha (as recorded in the 14th century),²⁵⁹⁾ or the dedication to the foreign goddess "of Arusna" (late 13th century).²⁶⁰⁾

2.2. There are indications that a "sacred marriage" formed part of the Festival rituals for the goddess Huwassannas (CTH 690ff.), such as depicted on the relief vases,²⁶¹⁾ which will be discussed further in Chapter VIII. If our supposition were correct, it would seem that the kariulli- had yielded to the kuressar as bridal headdress, unless the latter were simply a variation, a development, of the former? As remarked by Hoffner, the kariulli- may be seen also worn by women, always sculpted in profile, on Neo-Hittite monumental reliefs.²⁶²⁾ However, excepting the relief of the sitting woman on a stele found at Maraş, which shows a head-hugging full length veil, embroidered at the face edge,²⁶³⁾ the Neo-Hitt. body-veil is depicted as fitted over and suspended from a high, polos-type, headdress, of which there are numerous examples.²⁶⁴⁾ The polos shape is seen in Empire period rock reliefs at Yazilikaya, of the goddesses in profile, in train behind Hepat, all of whom wear the high "bonnet" with crenellated upper edge, with ankle-length veil or scarf suspended down the back.²⁶⁵⁾

3.1. Other shapes of headdresses are depicted on 2nd Millennium female figurines from Boğazköy, Alaca Hüyük, and environs, which may be viewed in the round, such as the small "tiaras" without veils,²⁶⁶⁾ and comparatively huge "Sun goddess" cowled discs,²⁶⁷⁾ or those seen only in profile on seals and rock reliefs, as in the HL DOMINA symbol (L.15), or the simple diadems worn by Ninatta and Kulitta at Yazilikaya.²⁶⁸⁾ They pose a problem as to which might be the typically female ^{TUG}kuressar of the texts, worn by

deities and mortals as the quintessence of femininity:

9) KUB VI 34 (CTH 427.A), II²⁶⁹)

42. nu ^{TÚG}.NÍG.MÍ ^{GIŠ}hu-la-a-li ^{GIŠ}hu-e-ša-an-na
 43. ú-da-an-zi nu ^{GI}an du-wa-ar-na-an-zi
 44. nu-uš-ma-aš kiš-an te-ši ki-i-wa ku-it Ú-UL-ia
 45. ŠA MÍ ^{TÚG}.NÍG.LAM^{MEŠ} nu-wa-ra-aš li-in-ki-ia har-u-e-ni
 48. . . . na-an ki-e NI-IŠ DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ-an MÍ-an
 49. i-en-du tu-uz-<zi> uš-šu-uš MÍ^{MEŠ} -uš i-en-du
 50. nu-uš MÍ^{LI} wa-aš-ša-an-du nu-uš-ma-<aš> ša-an
^{TÚG}ku-ri-eš-šar
 51. ši-ia-an-du ^{GIŠ}BAN^{HI.A} ^{GI}HI.A ^{GIŠ}TUKUL^{HI.A}
 52. I-NA QA-TI-ŠU-NU du-wa-ar-na-an-du
 53. nu-uš-ma-aš-kán ^{GIŠ}hu-la-a-li ^{GIŠ}hu-u-e-ša-an-na

III

1. <I-NA> QA-TI-ŠU-NU ti[(-an-du)]²⁷⁰⁾

"And they bring female garment(s), a distaff and spindle, and they break a reed. Then they say as follows to them, 'What (are) these? (Are) they not the outer robes of a woman? We hold them for the oath.... Let this divine oath make a man (who transgresses it) a woman (and) let them make his army women! Let them dress them in female fashion and let them fix the kuressar (upon) them. Let them break the bows, arrows (and) weapons in their hands; then let them set the distaff and spindle in their hands!'"

3.2. The kuressar could be large or small,²⁷¹⁾ coloured red, blue or white.²⁷²⁾ It consisted, partly at least, of flowing material which could be plaited and trailed to entice the gods,²⁷³⁾ and could be worn by ordinary women:²⁷⁴⁾

10) KBo XI 12 +(CTH 402.D), I²⁷⁵⁾

3. 5 ALAM^{HI.A} ŠA^{BA} 2 LÚ^{MEŠ} nu kur-šu-uš kar-pa-an har-kán-zi
 4. na-aš-ta an-da EME^{HI.A} IM 3 MÍ^{MEŠ} na-at ^{TÚG}ku-ri-eš-na-an-te-eš

"5 statuettes; among (them) 2 men, and they hold aloft (leather) hunting bags, and inside (them are) clay tongues; 3 women, and they are wearing the kuressar."

This headdress could be worn also by female deities such as (the image of) IŠTAR or Huwassannas.²⁷⁶⁾

3.3. That it was not simply a piece of fine veiling is implied by the use of another term, ^{TUG}hubiki n., for a head covering which included a veil which "ran" down over the face, also down from the back of the head, as worn in disarray by the irate goddess Anzilis.²⁷⁷⁾ A common derivation of hubiki and other Hittite terms for nets, webs, such as hupala- <*webh-, seems likely in view of Grk. ὤφην "web", OInd. ubhnati "lace together".²⁷⁸⁾ Laroche thought that the Hitt. hubiki meant the veil "qui recouvre et garnit le polos, ou le bonnet pointu, et tombe jusqu'aux pieds",²⁷⁹⁾ while interpreting the verbal adj.(?) hubit/gauwant- in the descriptions of cult statues as referring to a veiled head-dress, worn for example by the Eflatun Pinar goddess.²⁸⁰⁾ The hubiki should not be confused with the "eye-cloth" designated by the logogram GAD.IGI^(HI.A), featuring in lists of clothing and accessories for both men and women.²⁸¹⁾

3.4. It would seem that kuressar, verbal abstract < kuer-/kur- "cut",²⁸²⁾ properly described the "hat" itself, fashioned perhaps from stiffened material, to which veiling of various lengths was attached,²⁸³⁾ but which came also to denote the headdress as an ensemble. The Neo-Hitt. kariulli- over a polos shaped hat, represents a variation upon a millinery theme, of which the most important feature was the veil to cover, hide, protect, its wearer. The veil was obviously the distinctively female habit in Hitt. Anatolia, as also throughout time in various other regions of the world.²⁸⁴⁾ Men were depicted wearing various forms of head-gear, from the flat "cap" to the high peaked royal "crown", but none exhibit a "veil". The differing shapes of women's headdresses would accord, as for men, with the different social function, status and dignity, of the wearer.²⁸⁵⁾

3.5. Notably, the circlet or crown, GILIM = Akk. kilīlu, Hittite harsanalli-, could be worn by priestesses as well priests, as also the cloth headband, designated ^{TUG}BAR.SIG, possibly Hitt. ^{TUG}ishial,²⁸⁶⁾ while the ^{TUG}lupanis, the priestly cap worn by the Hitt. King, formed part of the wardrobe of the Black deity, that is IŠTAR/Šaušga.²⁸⁷⁾

4.1. Apart from the body-veil and hat with veil, the other specifically female item of clothing appears to have been the ^{TUG}k/galu(p)pas, an equivalent to the male "shirt", the ^{TUG}GÚ.È.A.²⁸⁸⁾ Generally translated "Unterkleide", "vest" (of women), and derived from the same root *kél- "conceal", as Grk. κέλυφος "shell, husk", καλυπτω "cover", OHG helan "conceal", etc.,²⁸⁹⁾ it could be brightly coloured, red, blue or even gold,²⁹⁰⁾ and may have been the "bodice" or "blouse" worn above the girdled, long skirt, which is itself a distinctively female attribute, but noted also for the robes of priests and certain male deities.²⁹¹⁾ In the later depictions of Yazilikaya and of the Sun goddess on a seal from Ras Shamra, the long skirt of the latter and the goddesses of the former, are pleated, in various ways, in contrast to the long robes of the male gods.²⁹²⁾

4.2. The short robe, worn either above or below the knee, belted or hanging loose, of deities of war and hunting, military and cultic personnel, was typically male; women are never apparently depicted dressed in this manner.²⁹³⁾ However, the warrior ISTAR may be seen in both Mesopotamian and Anatolian representations, such as Yazilikaya No.-38, wearing a "slit garment" exposing one leg, which may be identified with the ^{TUG}iskallis(/les)sar, literally "a slitting", other examples of which are worn by males on the Inandik vase.²⁹⁴⁾ The garment is named in a fragment of the Huwassannas texts which mentions "the head (of the god?)" and the kuressar, suggesting that the deity was female.²⁹⁵⁾ This may indicate that Luw. ^DHuwassannas, evoked as BE-LÌ-IA "my Lord",²⁹⁶⁾ was of ambivalent sex, like ISTAR. At Yazilikaya and Malatya ISTAR is depicted wearing a full-length slit garment covering one leg and pleated like a woman's robe, suggesting ambivalence in dress also.²⁹⁷⁾

4.3. The difference between male and female dress is the least obvious in the religious sphere, where the priest wore long robes, and where women played a prominent part, occupying roles and performing functions that quite frequently overlapped with those exercised by men, or appear at least to rival them in importance.²⁹⁸⁾

§5. THE SYMBOLISM OF AGRICULTURE ALIGNED WITH FEMININITY.

1.1. The symbolism of male versus female apparent in modes of dress, and in ideal qualities, indicates a marked opposition when the former belonged to the military sphere of war and hunting. There was another category of human activity, the agricultural, in which the farmer or peasant was ideologically cast in the same non-military mould, and so might be derided scornfully, along with women and their feminine characteristics, as the antithesis of the noble and heroic.

1.2. The word kulessar, which was previously interpreted in its context of the OK Akk. text of the "Seige of Ursu", as a phonetic variant of kuressar, symbolising "femininity", is now understood to mean "hesitation, inertia", being an abstract derivative of kule- "vacant, unproductive".²⁹⁹⁾

However, in our passage cited below - composed in a curious mixture of Akk./Hitt. - another word occurs which follows the Hitt. King's reprimand of his officer (II 10-13) for not engaging the enemy. He concluded: I-NA-AN-NA KU-LA-U-TAM TE-PU-UŠ "now you have behaved in the manner of a ku-lu'u".³⁰⁰⁾ Contrary to recent attempts to derive kula'ūtū from Hitt. kule-, this term is interpreted in CAD as an Akk. abstract noun rendering "behaviour of a kulu'u", that is, a member of the cultic impersonators in Mesopotamia, thought to be changed by IŠTAR from men to women.³⁰¹⁾ While kula'ūtū appears to mean "shamming, duplicitous behaviour", its derivation implies also "effeminate behaviour", although this may not have been its true meaning.³⁰²⁾

11) KBo I 11 (CTH 7), II³⁰³⁾

14. DUMU^{MES} la-ri-ia ^mla-ri-ia-aš hu-us-ki-wa-an-te-eš
ZA-MA-RA ^DZA.BA₄.BA₄ IZ-MU-RU

15. KISLAH la-ah-ni-it še-hu-wa-en UR.TUR KUR/kur-zi-wa-ni-eš GUD.SAG.KISLAH

16. UB-LU-NIM LA ZI LA IT-BA-LU PÍ-LA-QA UB-LU-NI
GI^{HI.A} IT-BA-LU KI-RA-AŠ-ŠÀ

17. UB-LU-NIM SAG.GUL IT-BA-LU ku-li-e-eš-šar MU.IM.MA
^mtu-ut-ha-li-ya

18. I-PU-UŠ I-NA-AN-NA AT-TA E-PU-UŠ KU-LA-Ú-TAM

"The sons of Lariya and Lariya were delaying. They sang the battle song of the War god. The threshing floor with lahni- we have sehu-(?) - 'puppies' (i.e. vassals) of the KUR/kurziwani-. The lead-ox of the threshing floor they have brought (and) they have carried away the LA ZI LA. The spindle they have brought (and) they have carried away the arrows. A hairclasp they have brought (and) they have carried off the bolt. Last year Tuthaliyas exercised delaying (tactics); now you have behaved 'effeminately'!"

1.3. The identification of KISLAH in Hitt. contexts as the threshing floor, open to the sky and essentially the same as that which may be seen today below Büyükkale,³⁰⁴) allows this reading not only of the first "KI.UD" in L.15, but also the final one after GUD.SAG. The "lead-ox" drawing the thresher to separate the grain - compare ŠA KIS[LA]H GUD.APIN.LAL^{HI.A} "plough oxen of the threshing floor (of the gods)",³⁰⁵) would be the first cited replacement for a symbol of military masculinity, playing no doubt upon the derogatory impression created by the first clause with KISLAH, the nuance of which can only be suspected. Obscure as the following term rendered here LA ZI LA, may be, the implication of the succeeding clauses is clear, with the replacement of male symbols by the spindle and hairclasp, which, with the comb, were pre-eminent in the Mesopotamian repertory of emblems typical of woman and femininity.³⁰⁶)

2.1. A passage in the Edict of Telepinus would support the thesis advanced above, namely the reduction by King Telepinus of the assassins of royalty, Tanuwas, the Staff-bearer (LÚ^{GIŠ}PA), Tarhuwailis, the Man of the Golden Lance (LÚ^{GIŠ}SUKUR.GUSKIN), and Taruhsus, the Courier (LÚ^{KAŠ}₄.E), from their high military offices to "ploughmen":³⁰⁷)

12) KBo III 1 +(CTH 19.II.A), II

29. . . . nu-uš LUGAL-uš kar-š[a-uš]

30. [LÚ^M]^{ES} APIN.LAL i-ia-nu-un GIŠTUKUL^{HI.A}-uš-šu-uš-ta
ZAG.UDU-za da-ah-hu-un nu-uš-ma-aš maš-du[-uš?] pí-ih-
-hu-un

"...And I the King have made them veri[table] farmers. I have taken the "weapons" from their shoulders and to

them I have given bonds(?)."

2.2. This was clearly a punishment, although less severe than the death sentence, waived by Telepinus.³⁰⁸⁾ It demonstrates that whatever other evidence there might be that agricultural life, essential to the maintenance of their economy, was considered a noble existence,³⁰⁹⁾ the Hittites also saw it as servile and demeaning compared to that of high state, and consequently military, office. Together, the notions of being a peasant and of effeminacy and femininity opposed those concepts associated with masculinity, ideally represented by symbols of war and hunting.

§6. THE "DIVISION OF LABOUR" BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN.

1.1. Many reasons for the association of farming and femininity suggest themselves, mainly the close partnership of men and women in cultivating farm land, and in the production of food and other necessities of life from the fruits of the soil. We will survey briefly attestations in the texts for male and female workers in various roles, government, temple, agricultural and others, and then attempt a tentative assessment of the relative importance of men and women in these spheres.³¹⁰⁾

1.2. The evidence from published State documents such as civil and military Instructions to officials, Oaths of loyalty to the King and family, "Chronicles", Edicts, Annals, Treaties, Letters, for example,³¹¹⁾ points to the domination of all the departments of government by male officers, an exception being the Queen who could, like Puduhepa, assume an important role in the "domestic" administration of the state.³¹²⁾ It would be surprising, in texts of later discovery, to read of a female Treasurer (cf. LÚ^{ŠÀ}.TAM), Chamberlain (cf. LÚ^{É.ŠÀ}),³¹³⁾ or female occupants of the rank and positions of the "Body Guard(s)" (LÚ^(MEŠ) MEŠEDI, the "Notable(s)" (LÚ^(MEŠ) DUGUD), or the senior "Attendant(s) on the King" (LÚ^(MEŠ) SAG).³¹⁴⁾ Present evidence makes it unlikely that Hitt. texts will ever allude to female Border Commanders,³¹⁵⁾ Mayors of Hattusas,³¹⁶⁾ District Administrators,³¹⁷⁾ Store(house)keepers and Wine-dist-

ributers,³¹⁸⁾ military officers, including enclaves of higher and lower personnel concerned with the horse, chariot and "cavalry",³¹⁹⁾ scribes, who might be Princes, and /or occupy other positions of State importance.³²⁰⁾

1.3. Moreover trades such as smithying, carpentry, joinery, masonry, ploughing and occupations demanding considerable physical strength and endurance would be expected to have employed only male workers, as testified by the texts.³²¹⁾

2.1. However, such evidence provides us mainly with functional titles, which are not necessarily accurate indications of the work, or all the work, performed by the persons designated - nor do they preclude that some worker might have performed an actual labour, without official recognition. For example, in the list of (male) "baker" terms, LÚNINDA.DÙ.DÙ, LÚNINDA.ŠE, and LÚNINDA.KUR₄.RA(/LÚharsiyal-li-),³²²⁾ published texts do not record *MÍNINDA.DÙ.DÙ, etc., although the quite frequently attested MÍ^{MES} NA₄ARÀ, literally "women of the millstone", were described in KUB XXIV 3 (CTH 376), II 9', as "the miller-women who [used to make] the (daily) risen loaves of the gods", which must mean that they baked the bread as well as grinding the flour.³²³⁾

2.2. According to the texts it would seem that the latter was traditionally women's work. The LÚ NA₄ARÀ does occur, but far less frequently.³²⁴⁾ In the present context it would be nice to accept Hoffner's interpretation of KBo 2 (CTH 4), III 16-17, as an illustration that Hitt. women milled the grain while the men harvested the fields with the sickle, rendered KIN.³²⁵⁾ But we must note not only that Hattusilis I referred here to women and men "slaves" of the conquered Hahha in North Mesopotamia, whence he brought its gods back to Hattusas,³²⁶⁾ but also that "sickle" is usually written URUDUKIN, while KIN alone may represent "work, service", or even "ritual paraphernalia" and the oracle practice of the MÍŠU.GI.³²⁷⁾

2.3. Such an apparent division of labour for Hitt. Anatolia cannot be accepted unequivocally. We follow Otten, *Imparati*

and Bryce, in translating KIN here as a generalised "Tage-werk, lavoro, toil,"³²⁸⁾ and note also that no specific title has yet been attested for the person who wielded a sickle, that is *LÚ/MÍ^{URUDU}KIN. According to HG §158 a, and b, harvest workers could include women as well as men. The latter are described as being hired for three months' work binding sheaves, filling the hayloft with waggon-loads of straw, cleaning the threshing floor, for 30 bushels of barley, while the woman (who) offered herself for hire was paid 12 bushels of barley for two months' labour.³²⁹⁾

2.4. No doubt the women's work at harvest was less demanding physically than that of the men, apart from occupying a shorter period of the season. Nevertheless, HG §158, while dealing with special conditions of hire, must reflect the cooperation of men and women in the agricultural community to ensure their own and their families' survival.³³⁰⁾

3.1. Another consideration arising from the evidence for women's baking of sacrificial loaves, is that they must have been subject to the same rules in the Instructions of CTH 265, which demanded stringent cleanliness of kitchen personnel who handled food offerings to the gods, particularly in preparing bread in the "bakery" (É L^Ú]NINDA.DÙ.DÙ).³³¹⁾ The implication of these Instructions is that the personnel addressed are male, with wives and families.³³²⁾

3.2. There are other examples in which women may be included in a "trade" category usually associated with male functionaries. The MÍ.MEŠ^{katras} of KBo XIX 28 (CTH 237.7), rev. 3, were listed with male Temple personnel as DUMU^{HI.A} É. GIS.KIN.TI "members of the Craft Association",³³³⁾ while 26 MÍ^{AMA.DINGIR}LIM "mother(s)-of-god", listed after a variety of male Temple functionaries in KUB XXXVIII 12 (CTH 517.A), IV 15', appear to be included in "the grand total of 775 LÚ.MEŠ^{hilammattes}."³³⁴⁾ Notable are mentions of the MÍ^{MUHA-LDIM} "(female) cook" in contexts of Palace and cult, although they are few in comparison to those of the LÚ^{MUHALDIM}. They suggest that she may have been included in the trade categories of GIS^{TUKUL}(MEŠ) or the BĒLU^{MEŠ} UTÚL, with her

male counterpart.³³⁵⁾ The regulations of HG §42 which stipulated that if someone were to hire a "person" (antuhsan acc.sg.c.),³³⁶⁾ for a "(non-military) campaign",³³⁷⁾ the hire price would be 12 shekels of silver, but for a woman 6 shekels,³³⁸⁾ illustrate further that women could be subsumed under a category with a male identity.

3.3. The same clause, while establishing the value of a woman's services as half that in silver of a man, lower than the 10 bushels/6 per month rate of §158, sets the restoration rate as person for person, in case of death before the hire had been paid.³³⁹⁾ This agrees with the principle established of equal compensation by means of "heads" in case of manslaughter of a person of either sex, in HG §§1-4, and 6.³⁴⁰⁾ Moreover, §§7ff., dealing with compensation by silver for a physical injury demanded the same rate regardless of the sex of the injured person.³⁴¹⁾

3.4. We must allow not only that there was recognition of the equal "value" of the man or woman in human terms, but also that the economic return for a woman's hire was frequently not so great as for a man. Women tended not to be employed officially in what were obviously and predominantly male occupations.

4.1. Considering the traditional association of spinning with women, it is not surprising to note women in occupations dealing with cloth and thread, such as "weaver", "fuller".³⁴²⁾ However, very few such occupational terms are attested with the feminine as well as masculine determinative, which do not have an association with religious practice. It is apparent that such practice dominated Hittite life. All, from King and Queen, officials, family members, to the poorest person, participated in some way in honouring the deities through Festivals or in private ritual.³⁴³⁾

4.2. Despite the importance of women in the State worship of the gods, ultimate authority lay with the Hittite King as both high priest and monarch. His power is demonstrated in the Prayer (CTH 71), in which Mursilis II begs the gods not to direct him to re-install his stepmother ^fTawannan-

nas, whom he had deposed from the ^{MÍ}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}-UT-TIM "mother-of-god-ship", to the gods, following an oracular judgement which would have enabled him, morally, to put her to death for her alleged crimes, principally of killing his own wife through sorcery.³⁴⁴⁾

4.3. The interpretation of the logogram as a gen., and its reading as (^{MÍ}(.MES))^{siwanzanna-}, is assured by the occasional writing of the logogram ^{MÍ}.MES^{DINGIR}^{LIM}.AMA in KBo XI 29 (CTH 670), obv.10', as Watkins has observed.³⁴⁵⁾ The (administrative) power within the cult entailed with this priestess-office must be associated with the Great Queen, first lady of Hatti, even if widowed.³⁴⁶⁾ It was not enjoyed by numerous other "mothers-of-god" who, for example, were listed under ^{LÚ}.MES^{hílamattes} of the Temple precinct in the cult of ^DKAL of Karahna, while their superior(?) ^{MÍ}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} was listed finally after the ^{LÚ}SANGA.³⁴⁷⁾

4.4. Although there appears to be no evidence for a priestess in the Mesopotamian cultural sphere actually called AMA.DINGIR(^{LIM}), the Ur III texts attest a priestess of the goddess Inanna termed ama.^dinanna, "mother(-of-)Inanna", an epithet also for the deity herself as "protective" Inanna.³⁴⁸⁾ Consequently, the description of Ninhursag in the inscription on Gudea's statue, nin an.ki.a nam.tar.re.dé^d nin.tu ama.dingir.re.ne.ge "lady who determines the fate in Heaven and upon Earth, Nintu, mother of the gods",³⁴⁹⁾ could indicate how a priestess term such as "mother-of-god(s)" may have been formulated, which could refer to the cult of Ninhursag, or indeed that of any other deity.³⁵⁰⁾ The general meaning would have been "protector-, tender-of-god(s)", with the duties of the priestess including domestic administration within the temple. While we cannot as yet determine the precise origin of the "mother-of-god(s)" in Hatti, the above supports general considerations concerning the administrative nature of the ^{MÍ}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}-UT-TU when held by the ^{MÍ}tawan(n)annas.³⁵¹⁾ The "gift" of the highest office of the ^{MÍ}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} obviously lay with the Hittite King, to whom she was subordinate.

5.1. The NIN.DINGIR priestess, as also the logogram in Hitt. texts, may be identified with the cult of Hattic deities such as ^DTeteshapi or Zithariya.³⁵²⁾ In the former cult she appears to represent the god in the promotion of fertility, possibly in the form of the "sacred marriage" in the purulli- "New Year", Festivals, which would link her function to that of her Mesopotamian namesake.³⁵³⁾ But, unlike the latter, she does not seem to have been at the pinnacle of priestly hierarchy in her god's temple.³⁵⁴⁾ For example, a ^{LÚ}SANGA of Teteshapi, is frequently attested, who handled the god's image during cult processions.³⁵⁵⁾

5.2. We note a ^{LÚ}SANGA of Telepinus in texts also concerning the NIN.DINGIR,³⁵⁶⁾ while regarding with caution the apparent absence of a "priest" in the cult of the deity described as ŠA NIN.DINGIR ^DZithariya, attested principally as the god whose temple in Hattusas was visited by the King during the AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival.³⁵⁷⁾ The ^{LÚ}.GIS^{PA} "Staff bearer", in the Teteshapi cult, and the ^{LÚ}.MEŠ^{hapes} in the KI.LAM Festival texts, are cited as "belonging to the Lady (who represents) the god",³⁵⁸⁾ which indicates that the NIN.DINGIR could exercise administrative superiority over categories of male personnel. In the case of a deity such as Zithariya, and his temple, both subsidiary in the cult of the Hittite gods, she may have been the senior "priest", in the manner of the Mesopotamian NIN.DINGIR.³⁵⁹⁾

5.3. A priestess designated by the Akk. reading of NIN.DINGIR as ēntu, appears with far less frequency in our texts, associated with cult in the Hurr./Luw. sphere, as in KUB XL 2 (CTH 641) and KUB XX 1 (CTH 719).³⁶⁰⁾ A few observations may be made despite the paucity of evidence: 1) in both the above texts she is attested with a ^{LÚ}SANGA, who receives a large bequest of territory from the King in the former,³⁶¹⁾ along with the ēntu, and who participates in the ritual meal with her in the latter;³⁶²⁾ 2) although the Hitt. word concealed by NIN.DINGIR has not been established, the phonetic complements show it to be an a-stem, of which ^{MÍ}da-(a)-ni-ti-iš may be the i-stem equivalent in CL;³⁶³⁾ 3) our texts indicate that the ēntu, or the NIN.DINGIR, could

serve male or female deities, following the custom of the OB priestess, but not that of the Sumerian en, priest or priestess, who served a god of the opposite sex;³⁶⁴⁾ 4) according to KUB LVI 19, II 15-16, 26-27, a ^{MI}danitis might be dedicated to Šarruma, the son of the Hurr. Storm god, or the Storm god himself,³⁶⁵⁾ while her Neo-Hittite counterpart, termed in HL (FEMINA.PURUS.INFRA) ta-ni-ti-na, acc.sg.c., could serve the "celestial Tarhunzas".³⁶⁶⁾

5.4. While the Hitt. and Luw. words must be related, the status and function of the women referred to respectively as NIN.DINGIR and ēntu, must have differed. The threat that he would dedicate his enemy's daughter as a taniti-, by the regional King, author of the Tel Ahmar I inscription,³⁶⁷⁾ would indicate a lower status in the 1st Millennium of this "hierodule" than that of her professional ancestor, the Babylonian NIN.DINGIR/ēntu. The Hitt. NIN.DINGIR and ēntu at least shared power within the temple and cult with a male priest, while KUB LVI 19, illustrating that the ^{MI}Danitis might be a relative of the King, exemplifies that her appointment was the prerogative of the King.³⁶⁸⁾

6.1. The ^{MI}SANGA, supervised by the UGULA ^{MI}.MEŠ SANGA,³⁶⁹⁾ offers an enigma. The evidence for the importance of the ^{LU}SANGA, on the one hand, is overwhelming. He was obviously the most senior priest in the hierarchy, not only in the administration of the Temple, but also in the cultic sense, like the OB sangûm.³⁷⁰⁾ The King assumed the title as high priest of the State gods of Hatti, while appointing Princes as "Priest", such as Telepinus, son of Suppiluliumas I, in Kizzuwatna.³⁷¹⁾ The Instructions for Priests and Temple Personnel (CTH 264), do not mention the ^{MI}SANGA, who is known only from comparatively few texts, often fragmentary, recording certain Festival procedures in which the ^{LU}SANGA is usually prominent. She must have been included in the category ^{LU}.MEŠ É.DINGIR(LIM), although the designation ^{MI}(MEŠ) É.DINGIR^{LIM} is attested, and the specification of the deity whose temple she served, for example, the Storm god or his consort.³⁷²⁾

6.2. Where the ^{MÍ}SANGA appears in a text with an unbroken context, her presence and the procedure in which she is involved are balanced by those concerning the ^{LÚ}(^{MEŠ})SANGA, exemplified here by reference to the "giving of garments" in KBo IX 132 (CTH 650.10), IV 9'-15';³⁷³) the "removal of clay" in KUB X 99 (CTH 669.6), VI 5'-10';³⁷⁴) the "kissing of hands, and lips", of the ^{LÚ}/^{MÍ}.^{MEŠ}SANGA.GAL "Great-Priests /Priestesses", in:

13) KUB XX 88 (CTH 647.5.), I³⁷⁵)

1. [3 ^{LÚ}.^{MEŠ}]SANGA.GAL ^{LÚ}a-ra-aš ^{LÚ}a-ra-an ZAG-a[n
ŠU-an]
2. KAxU-ŠU-NU-ia ku-wa-aš-ša-an-zi 2 ^{MÍ}.^{MEŠ}SANGA[.GAL]
3. a-ra-aš a-ra-an ZAG-an ŠU-an KAxU-ŠU-NU-ia
4. ku-wa-aš-ša-an-zi

"[3] Great-Priest[s], the one (in regard to) the other, kiss the right hand and their mouth(s); the 2 [Great-Priestesses, the one (in regard to) the other, kiss the right hand and their mouths."

A description follows of the reciprocal actions of "giving the hand" and "bowing" by the priest of the Storm god to the priests respectively of Telepinus and Kattahha "the Queen", and then to the priestesses of these gods.³⁷⁶)

6.3. While illustrating the "balance" in the performances of the male and female SANGA, the above text shows also that the ^{MÍ}SANGA was not restricted to worshipping female deities alone, nor the ^{LÚ}SANGA to male gods. Although we have examples of the "priest of the Storm god" and the "priestess of Hebat" in the same context,³⁷⁷) the ^{LÚ}SANGA and ^{MÍ}SANGA of Tettewatti both appear in the Festival to honour of that deity.³⁷⁸) The attestations of the "priestess" are very few in comparison to those of her male counterpart, while her title is connected with only four deities, according to published texts, compared to more than forty texts, in regard to the ^{LÚ}SANGA.³⁷⁹)

7.1. The syllabic ^{LÚ}sa(n)kun(n)is/^{LÚ}sa(n)k(k)uni(ya)anza, is attested, borrowed from Akk. sangûm,³⁸⁰) but not so far an equivalent with the female determinative, nor any app-

arent syllabic reading for the ^{MÍ}SANGA. Considering the nature of the contexts in which she appears it seems unlikely that the logogram was simply a substitute for another such as ^{MÍ}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} or NIN.DINGIR, although the former is frequently mentioned with, usually following, the ^{LU}SANGA.³⁸¹⁾

7.2. Despite the "balance" noted between the cultic actions of the ^{LU}SANGA and the ^{MÍ}SANGA, the former leads and takes the more important part. In KUB XX 88 (+), obv.I 5ff., the priests outnumber the two priestesses while the latter play a passive role, receiving the hand and being bowed to. Only in LL.18-22 do they "give the hand", and kiss and bow. In the Tetewatti Festival, the ^{LU}SANGA is given a flesh offering by the "Wolf man", which he sets on a table before the (image of the) god, but the ^{MÍ}SANGA joins the Chief of the Prostitutes and runs before the Wolfmen and the Prostitutes dancing before the god, and then they dance.³⁸²⁾ "Dancing" is not attested for the ^{LU}SANGA, although frequently performed by lower ranking personnel.³⁸³⁾

7.3. The term ^{MÍ}SANGA may have been interchangeable with ^{MÍ}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}, since they are both frequently mentioned in the plural and with the ^{LU}GUDU, and, unlike the ^{MÍ}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} and NIN.DINGIR, they have not been attested as yet acting in immediate context together.³⁸⁴⁾ Even if evidence should arise to equate the "offices" of the first two, that of the NIN.DINGIR appears distinct, since the term is regularly attested in the singular, like the OB ēntum, indicating the special nature of her office, although subordinate to that of the ^{LU}SANGA.

8.1. Many syllabically written designations of cultic personnel are not yet clearly understood; however a brief survey of the latter and the logographic terms, allows the following observations:

1) designations of male "offices" exceed those of female "offices";³⁸⁵⁾

2) when the same term is preceded by ^{LÚ} or ^{MÍ}, the attest-

ations of male personnel usually outnumber the female, although there are functions, such as the ^{LÚ/MÍ}tapri-, tapri-tassi-, "Chair/throne attendants", where the representations of both sexes are virtually equal in number;³⁸⁶⁾

3) where the female designations outnumber the male, as with the ^{MÍ}SU.GI, as opposed to the ^{LÚ}SU.GI,³⁸⁷⁾ the function of the two "office" bearers differs considerably;

4) where there appears to be no obvious difference in function, this may point to that occupation having been associated more with women than men;

5) when the designated "office" applied only to women, the function indicated would have been particularly associated with women;

6) it follows that "offices" attested as yet only with the male determinative, or where male personnel greatly outnumber the female, should indicate functions thought better performed by men, for whatever reason.

8.2. The last category includes the ^{LÚ}SANGA KÙ.GA/suppi- "pure priest",³⁸⁸⁾ the ^{LÚ}GUDÚ "anointing priest",³⁸⁹⁾ a variety of seers, magicians, exorcists, augurers, such as the ^{LÚ}HAL, ^{LÚ}AZU, ^{LÚ}(apisi-/)AŠIPU, ^{LÚ}MUŠEN, DÙ,³⁹⁰⁾ as also the ^{LÚ}SAGI(.A) "cupbearer",³⁹¹⁾ the ^{LÚ}ALAM.KAXUD "actor, comedian",³⁹²⁾ and personnel who dressed as animals: wolf, lion, dog, bear and panther.³⁹³⁾ Included were musicians such as the ^{LÚ}GI.GÍD "flautist",³⁹⁴⁾ the ^{LÚ}GALA/halliyari-, player of the IŠTAR instrument,³⁹⁵⁾ the ^{LÚ}NAR "singer", who not only sang in various languages according to the ethnic origin of the Festival/ritual, but also played a musical instrument,³⁹⁶⁾ unlike the ^{LÚ}ishamatal-la-, the ^{MÍ(.MEŠ)}zintuhi- and ^{LÚ/MÍ(.MEŠ)}SĪR "singer(s)", who appear mainly to "sing", in Hattic.³⁹⁷⁾

8.3. Further, there were the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}EN/BE-EL DINGIR ^{LIM.MEŠ} "owners/caretakers of the images(?) of the god(s)", always expressed as male,³⁹⁸⁾ priests in the Hurr./Luw. religious sphere, such as the ^{LÚ}patili-, officiating particularly in birth rituals,³⁹⁹⁾ ^{LÚ}purapsi- "seer",⁴⁰⁰⁾ and a list of

syllabically written "office" terms without apparent logographic equivalents, of which a limited number have been interpreted, such as the LÚkita- "recitation priest",⁴⁰¹⁾ LÚzup(p)ari(yala-) "torchbearer",⁴⁰²⁾ and men who prepared beverages.⁴⁰³⁾ The LÚhapiya-, who characteristically "dances", is frequently attested in cultic texts.⁴⁰⁴⁾

8.4. Our second category does rely upon the hazard of numerical attestations, but such references in descriptions of cultic activity would, we believe, reflect actual frequency of participation of certain personnel. However, new text discoveries may reverse present indications. Another hazard is the uncertainty in some cases of identifying a logogram with a syllabically spelled Hitt. word. For example, the (LÚ/MÍ) GIŠBALAG.DI which has been interpreted as the equivalent of (LÚ/MÍ) arkammiyala- "harpist"([?]),⁴⁰⁵⁾ with numerous attestations for the LÚ(MES) GIŠBALAG.DI, who also blew a horn during one Festival,⁴⁰⁶⁾ and only one dubious example of a MÍ GIŠBA[LAG.DI(?).⁴⁰⁷⁾ The male and female arkammiyala- are attested with virtually the same frequency, in mainly fragmentary contexts. In the KI.LAM festival the MÍ.MES arkammiyales run before the King with the GALA men, "striking" the "harp([?]) (and) tambourine ([?])",⁴⁰⁸⁾ while the GIŠ arkammi GIŠ huhupal GIŠ galgalturi "harp, drum ([?])(/cymbal) (and) tambourine([?])" are "struck" in KBo IV 9 (CTH 612.1.A), I 39-41, by the LÚ ALAM.KAxUD, "actors", in context with whom the male harpists ([?]) are elsewhere attested.⁴⁰⁹⁾ The MÍ.MES arkammiyales also follow the zintuhi- "singers", in the NIN.DINGIR Festival texts of CTH 649.⁴¹⁰⁾ The impression gained is that male and female "harpists" ([?]) were employed with similar frequency, if not in the same Festivals. The explanation for the OK depiction on the Inandik vase of male figures only, in above-knee robes, playing lyres, while female figures, wearing long, girdled, robes, play the cymbals,⁴¹¹⁾ may lie not in an actual increase of women harpists during the later period, but in the nature of the cultic celebration, or even the provincial origin of the vase,⁴¹²⁾ the artists subscribing to traditional concepts in which the lyre or harp was played by male

musicians.

8.5. Concerning the $LÚ/MÍ$ tapri-/tapritassi- a recently published text provides an indication of the status of such personnel. It records the installation of "his (illegitimate?) daughter" by the author's father, possibly the Hittite King himself, as a "Throne attendant" for the Storm god, in which, or from which, capacity apparently, she might be dedicated as a $MÍ$ danitis to the Storm god or to Šarruma.⁴¹³⁾

9.1. Judging from the comparatively few attestations of male and female personnel in the categories of allawanti- and the $LÚ/MÍ$ ispunnala-, both of uncertain function,⁴¹⁴⁾ men and women were thus employed with equal frequency. The male personnel are more frequently attested among the $LÚ/MÍ$ DIM , $LÚ/MÍ$ D_X "man/woman (devotee) of the Storm god",⁴¹⁵⁾ and $LÚ/MÍ$ ur(ay)ianni-/uriya|nni- "highpriest(ess)/Temple functionary".⁴¹⁶⁾ Among cult personnel, but not necessarily in a "Temple" context, such as the quite frequently attested $LÚ$ TIN.NA(/arzanala-) "innkeeper", the designations have occurred, respectively, once only of $MÍ$ TIN.NA/MÍ arzanalas. The associations of the Arzana House suggest that she may have been a prostitute.⁴¹⁷⁾

9.2. The $MÍ$ $GIŠ$ BAN, "woman with bow", is found in very few, cultic, contexts,⁴¹⁸⁾ while the $LÚ$ $GIŠ$ BAN occurs only once, in HG §54, in an appropriate military context in which the use of bows and arrows as weapons by personnel, if not usually termed "archers", is assured by other texts, rock reliefs and seal engravings.⁴¹⁹⁾ A counterpart of the "Diana"-like priestess was the $LÚ$ meneya-, with ambience in Hattic cult, in which he held the god's bow.⁴²⁰⁾

9.3. Concerning the $LÚ/MÍ$ hazziwiyas/hazziwitassis "ritual personnel", it is notable that the former might include female personnel, such as $MÍ$. MES AMA.DINGIR LIM (KUB XXXVIII 12, II 1-3), but it is unlikely that persons other than women were described in KBo II 8 (CTH 519), I 19, IV 22', as $MÍ$. MES hazziwiyas, with the male counterparts designated in the same text.⁴²¹⁾ The practice of including females un-

der a general heading of "males" is seen with LÚ.MEŠ^hilamm-at(t)es "Temple staff, incumbents".⁴²²⁾ Of the latter the LÚ/MÍ^hpalwatalla- "clapper" were designated by an agentive derivative of palwai- "clap".⁴²³⁾ The male "clappers" are frequently attested in both the Hatt./Hitt. and Hurr./Hitt. cultural spheres, while the MÍ^hpalwatallas is mentioned in these and also the Huwassannas Festival/rituals, with far less frequency.⁴²⁴⁾ The "clappers" may appear in the same context as musicians and their instruments,⁴²⁵⁾ suggesting that they also wielded an instrument, although none has been attested. Whatever the action, it seems to have been associated mainly with male agents.

9.4. The MÍ^hhuwassan(n)alla/i- "claps" frequently in the cult of Huwassannas, in which she appears as one of the most important priestesses, while the LÚ^hhuwassanalla- was seldom mentioned, being less important in the Festival proceedings.⁴²⁶⁾ This was not her only cultic act; her importance must have been due to other duties, which mainly consisted in receiving from the Cupbearer the beer or wine to offer to the god, after which she stood, holding the containing vessel.⁴²⁷⁾

10.1. The LÚ/MÍ^hhuwassan(n)alla/i- would come within our category 3). So also do the LÚ/MÍ^hSU.GI, in those very many instances when the latter is attested, not merely as an "old woman", but as an exceptionally important author and officiant of rituals and oracles, in the Hittite, Luwian, Hurrian, and Hattic cultural spheres.⁴²⁸⁾ LÚ(.MEŠ^h)SU.GI was the official designation of the "Elder(s)" who might partake in Festivals and rituals as political representatives of their locality.⁴²⁹⁾

10.2. The following would fall probably within categories 3/4. The single attestation of LÚ^hdammaras gives no indication as to the meaning of this "office", while one of the three oracle texts in which the MÍ^hdammaras is mentioned, implies that she was an hierodule, according to the query of KUB XVI 16 (CTH 570), rev.26'-27' "All who (are) the Dammaras women, will they continue to sleep with the men of

Arzauwa?"⁴³⁰) The MÍtaptara- "keener, Klagesweib", is frequently attested in funerary texts, while the LÚŠĀ.NE.ŠA₄, also "lamerter", is found in fragmentary context in the Hymn to IŠTAR.⁴³¹) The MÍUMMEDA, who is not noted as a "Temple" dependant, does appear in cultic and mythological contexts, and is generally associated with the usual functions of childcare.⁴³²) The LÚUMMEDA, attested as a "guardian, watcher", was a member of the Temple personnel.⁴³³)

10.3. Further "offices" with cultic associations, although not all directly related to the Temple were: 1) LÚ/MÍ_A.ZU "doctor", a designation once attested with a woman, but with such frequency with male practitioners as to suggest a male occupation;⁴³⁴) 2) the Anatolian "Old Woman" healer by means of magic rituals; 3) LÚ/MÍ(ĒPIŠ) BA.BA.ZA, "preparer of gruel", an infrequently attested occupation for either men or women; the male personnel were listed among Temple servants for the Protector god of Karahna, while the women appear as Palace servants or belonging to a private houseowner.⁴³⁵)

10.4. The final category, of "offices" attested only for women, is headed by the "mother(s)-of-god", the "lady (who represents) the god", whom we have noted already, as well as, for example, the ENSI "seeress",⁴³⁶) the Ishara priestess,⁴³⁷) with others of apparently lowly rank, such as the MÍ.GIŠ_{irhutalli}- "basket-bearer", the MÍkatras, who served beneath the patili-, and MÍkanqatitalla- "one who prepares vegetable soup".⁴³⁸) The MÍ(.MES)_{KAR.KID} "prostitutes", and MÍ(.MES)_{KI.SIKIL} "maidens", participated in rituals and Festivals according to their particular female characteristic, while the Hitt. MÍ(.MES)_{SUHUR.LAL} may not have been an "hierodule", as usually translated, but a "(Palace) lady attendant".⁴³⁹) The official organisation of the first two categories may be assumed by virtue of their supervision by both an UGULA, "overseer", and GAL "chief", attested also for the MÍ(.MES)_{SUHUR.LAL}, who were presumably women themselves, as appears to have been the case with the GAL MÍ(.MES)_{ŠU.GI}.⁴⁴⁰)

11.1. Particularly notable are the number of female personnel who appear in the Festival rites for the Luwian deity Huwassannas, and who are not attested elsewhere.⁴⁴¹⁾ Despite the prominence of the female personnel, particularly the ^{MÍ}huwassannalla/i- and the ^{MÍ}alhuitras, in this particular Festival series, the male personnel and important participants, such as "the male owners of the gods", are more numerous and dominant, as even the passages referring to the ^{MÍ}alhuitras demonstrate.⁴⁴²⁾

11.2. In other Luwian cult celebrations, such as those of the "men of Istanuwa" and the "men of Lallupiya", the King, Queen and "children of the King", were the principal celebrants together with the inhabitants of these towns, the "Cupbearer", the "Cook", the "Priest" and the asusatalla-people.⁴⁴³⁾ It should be remembered that in most Festivals and rituals, whatever the cultural sphere, the Temple personnel were complemented by Palace, military and state officials, all predominantly male.⁴⁴⁴⁾ Even when priestesses played important roles, the Priest is evidently superior and the impression gained is of men in charge but with female personnel often enjoying a measure of controlled power.

11.3. However, since cultic observance apparently dominated the lives of all men and women in the Hittite state, even limited power enjoyed by women would have been an important factor influencing the relationship of men and women in the society as a whole. The emphasis on "family" participation increased during the later Hittite Empire with dedications of whole estates to Temples, and to mausoleums, with strictures against "marrying out" of the sacred domain.⁴⁴⁵⁾

11.4. The participation is well attested of the ^{MÍ}AMA ^{LÚ}SANGA "priest's mother", or wife (DAM ^{LÚ}GUDÚ, DAM ^{MES}^{LÚ}MES É. DINGIR^{LIM}), and children of the ^{LÚ}SANGA, or the ^{MÍ}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}, and of family members with the ritual offerant, male or female, in Festivals and other rites.⁴⁴⁶⁾ The cooperation and interaction of cultic personnel of both sexes in the service of State and local gods seems not unlike a form of "marriage", and offers an indication of the balance of

relationships in marriage itself.

12.1. There are two further notable aspects of the "division of labour" between men and women in Hatti, involving the practitioners who presided over birth, who belonged to separate cultural spheres, according to various birth rituals.⁴⁴⁷⁾ The practitioners in Hitt./Luw. rituals were principally women, the MÍŠU.GI/hasauwas "woman concerned with birth", and the MÍhasnupallas "woman skilled in causing birth",⁴⁴⁸⁾ while the CL rituals in which the LÚA.ZU "doctor", might appear, have the predominant mythological theme of Kamrusepas, the divine midwife, an alter ego of the Mesopotamian Nintu, and patron of the MÍhasauwas.⁴⁴⁹⁾

12.2. On the other hand the Hurr./Luw. rituals of Kizzuwatnean origin with the LÚPatilis as main priest, using the harnau- "birthstool", and associated equipment, demonstrate the predominance of this male practitioner, and "seers", in a comparatively specialised antenatal, parturitional and postnatal, regimen.⁴⁵⁰⁾ The rituals emphasise the preeminence of the Hurrian Tešub, with whom his consort Hepat is occasionally mentioned, and the need to evoke and placate the "(male) gods of the city" and the "father gods".⁴⁵¹⁾

12.3. While there does appear to have been some cultural conflict between the differing methods, practitioners, and ideologies concerning birth, with the MÍŠU.GI/hasauwas representing the more ancient, traditional practices of the "Wise woman", the latter's expansion in the practice of divination and healing rituals is more remarkable. Her divinatory technique called KIN, was favoured officially as much as those of the (male) augurers and haruspices, and enlisted to determine the divine will in a wide field of State and private interests, as also, to a lesser degree, were her lecanomantic MUŠ oracles.⁴⁵²⁾ Moreover, since the OK when Hattusilis I complained that Hastayara was "always consulting the Old Women" at court,⁴⁵³⁾ the MÍŠU.GI had become in the later Empire years the preeminent healing consultant, practising rituals of analogical magic against bodily and spiritual ills, which were frequently thought the

result of sorcery, and patronised as much by the royal family as by less socially elevated sufferers.⁴⁵⁴⁾ Her practice was so distinctive that a certain healer called ^mHattusilis son of ^mZuwakippi, was described as the LÚ. MÍ^xSU.GI "Old Woman-man".⁴⁵⁵⁾ The ubiquitous "Wise Woman" may be a familiar figure in both ancient and more recent history, but elsewhere than Hatti, even when the divinatory priestess was highly respected, she remained merely on the fringes of science in her culture.⁴⁵⁶⁾

12.4. An entry in an inventory text, KBo XVI 83 (CTH 242. 8), III 10. [x x x ^f]a-ru-mu-ra GAL MÍ^xSU.GI SISKUR 1 URUDU PISÀN x[, adds a PN to examples of a GAL "Chief", of the "Old Women", which has been interpreted as female by the text editors.⁴⁵⁷⁾ Also, we may have here (URUDU)PISÀN representing "pail", transliterated as Sumerian alal, rather than the more frequent PISÀN "pipe".⁴⁵⁸⁾ The incentive for this reading comes from evidence that Nintu carried a copper water pail as a characteristic part of her birth-ritual equipment.⁴⁵⁹⁾ This swings the balance in favour of seeing the Chief(s) of certain female personnel as women also, enjoying the same rank as the male GAL of many offices.⁴⁶⁰⁾

§7. ANOMALIES

1.1. The above are two of many anomalies that we perceive synchronically or diachronically in attitudes and affairs concerning men and women in Hatti. Very probably encouraged by Hittite Queens of Kizzuwatnean extraction as early as the MH period, Hurr./Luw. birth practices, together with the patilis priest, were promoted in the area of parturition, in which midwives had reigned virtually supreme, according to the evidence of Hitt./Luw. rituals.⁴⁶¹⁾

1.2. A few more examples of "anomalies" will illustrate the complexity of contemporary ideas. Thus, Queen Puduhepa, originating from Kizzuwatna, could remonstrate in her correspondence with Ramesses II that he must remember her dignity as a sister,⁴⁶²⁾ while the popular literature recorded the story of the childless Appu who spurned his wife's advice with "You are (only) [a wom]an of the usual female

sort and (consequently) don't know anything!"⁴⁶³) Where the Hitt./Luw. ritual of the $\text{MÍ}^{\text{Š}}\text{ŠA}^{\text{ZU}}$ suggests that male and female children were equally welcome,⁴⁶⁴) the Hurr./Luw. "regimen" indicates that male babies were considered more valuable, receiving special purificatory rites at three months after birth while girls waited for four months.⁴⁶⁵)

1.3. Segregation at meal times is stipulated in the Hurr./Luw. antenatal "regimen" for husband and wife.⁴⁶⁶) In a ritual of the same provenance, KBo XXIV 45 (CTH 479?), obv.? 20'-21',⁴⁶⁷) we read,

14) "However, if the god (is) male, then (it is) not permitted (for) a woman to enter. So the Seer takes a pure taluppis and wool thread(?), and he performs the Temple (ritual), and he stands inside the Temp[le.]"

The previous LL.17'-19', stipulate that if it were permitted for a woman to enter (the Temple) of that god, then she would perform the ritual acts inside the Temple; the deity is not described as female, although we may assume so.⁴⁶⁸) However, there are numerous examples of priestesses serving in the Temples of male gods, while the King and Queen participated in Festivals and rituals within the Temple.⁴⁶⁹)

2.1. The "male god(s)", written $\text{DINGIR}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{LÚ}^{\text{MEŠ}} (-\text{aš}/\text{iš})$ or $\text{DINGIR } \text{pí-še-ni-}$, noted at the beginning of this Chapter, are attested from OH and later texts, referring in the plural usually to the recipients of ritual sacrifices, often as the entourage of deities such as the Storm god and the Sun god (of the blood), while the $\text{DINGIR}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{MÍ}^{\text{MEŠ}}$ "female gods", were associated in a Hurr./Luw. ritual with Hepat, or were listed among deities following Pirwa.⁴⁷⁰) Hattusilis III evoked as divine witnesses to KBo VI 28 (CTH 88), and thus as avenging gods in the event of its contravention, the collective $\text{DINGIR}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{LÚ}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{DINGIR}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{MÍ}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{ŠA KUR URU}$ ha-at-ti "the male gods and female gods of Hatti", echoed in the curse formula of the HL Sultanhan inscription, evoking "the heavenly gods and the earthly male and female (gods)".⁴⁷¹)

2.2. Although not actually termed "female", ^Dgulses "Fate goddesses", and $\text{DINGIR.MAH}^{\text{MEŠ}}/\text{HI.A}$ "Mother goddesses", des-

cribed groups of female deities,⁴⁷²⁾ while Luwian Santas, for example, was accompanied by his entourage of warlike and obviously male Lulahhi gods.⁴⁷³⁾ Anatolian deities like Pirwa and Maliya, often associated with IŠTAR, appear also in both male and female representations.⁴⁷⁴⁾

3.0. Curiously, in a ritual performed by Ashella of Hapalla to rid the army of plague, the officers and men were represented by either a black or white ram, ornamented with earrings, while the substitute for the King was a "decorated" woman, both "scapegoats" being sent off to convey the plague into enemy territory.⁴⁷⁵⁾ In another ritual of similar purpose by Pulisa, because the sex of the enemy god who had caused the plague was unknown, a male prisoner and a woman were appropriately dressed in fine garments and dispatched into enemy land with an ox and a ewe to run before them, as substitutes for the King, his officers and Hatti.⁴⁷⁶⁾ In a fragmentary ritual text mentioning the LÚSANGA and MÍpalwatallas, an ox was made the substitute if the god were male, but a cow if female.⁴⁷⁷⁾ The ritual of KUB VII 60 (CTH 423), states the sacrifice of one sheep respectively to the male and female deities of the enemy's city,⁴⁷⁸⁾ while one sheep was sacrificed to the male gods and a buck (1 MÁŠ.GAL) to the female, in the ritual of KUB IX 28 (CTH 442).⁴⁷⁹⁾ In other rituals, such as that of Mastigga, MÍŠU.GI, to counteract interfamilial cursing, the colour, not sex, of the animal substitute was stipulated, black apparently representing guilt and the underworld.⁴⁸⁰⁾

4.1. As a postscript we append an anomaly in the context of grammatical gender, for which Hittite had only two categories, neuter or inanimate, and common or animate, without distinction of male and female.⁴⁸¹⁾ The extremely complex problem as to whether the Anatolian languages lost, or never developed, the grammatical feminine gender as attested for other PIE descendants, may only be noted here.⁴⁸²⁾ Despite the inability of Hittite to distinguish sex and gender by grammatical means, even in regard to the pronominal "he/she", rendered by demonstrative apas c.(/apat n.) "that one",⁴⁸³⁾ the scribes of Hattusas were quite aware of

grammatical gender, since the Akk. feminine (in -t-) was registered in the trilingual vocabularies even in the simulated ahurūtu "woman not wishing to act", not found in Akkadian.⁴⁸⁴⁾ This was translated into Hittite by the phrase: MÍ-za numan DÜ-anza, which follows ahuru "(one) not wishing to act" = numan DÜ-anza.⁴⁸⁵⁾ Where the Akk. entries for le-e/!-ú "expert", were translated by walkissaras, the feminine lētu, was interpreted as: MÍ-za walkissaras "expert woman".⁴⁸⁶⁾

4.2. It is notable therefore for such a language, that the Hitt. word for "sin, failing, omission", usually wastul (= Akk. hittu), a neut. abstract substantive adj. in -l,⁴⁸⁷⁾ had an etymologically related synonym in the "animate" wastais c., and that in the context of HG §197, the former designated the "(man's) sin" (rape/adultery), and the latter the "(woman's) sin" (adultery).⁴⁸⁸⁾ Both forms derived from a root wast(a)- seen also in the verb wast(a)- "sin", related to CL waskuit- n. (< adj. *wasku(i)-) "sinful", and wasta- n. "sin".⁴⁸⁹⁾ Starke noted that 13th century Hittite scribes derived a c. gender waskui- "sin", from the substantive form with -i- suffix, of the CL adj.⁴⁹⁰⁾

4.3. As remarked by Otten, a further synonymous use of was-tais/wastul comes in the prayers of Hattusilis III and Puduhepa in which the former noun appears as nom.sg. subject of the verb, and the latter as acc. object.⁴⁹¹⁾ Where sall-is wastais "great sin", designates the death of a member of the royal family in HTR, a neut. salli wastul is recorded in a KIN oracle as a symbol "taken" by the King.⁴⁹²⁾ Without assuming too much from these indications we might note with interest for the whole difficult problem regarding the development of the feminine in PIE, that Hittite scribes apparently tried to distinguish for HG §197 a male and female "sin", by the simple and grammatical expedient of using the synonym to wastul with its "animate" ending.

§8. CONCLUSION

1.1. We could continue to list "anomalies" occurring throughout the various literary categories of the texts, but

what has been cited should suffice to show that it is probably impossible to come to a definitive conclusion regarding attitudes to "male and female" in Hatti. In so far as we may judge, there seems to have been a strong bias in favour of the male and what were regarded as the truly masculine characteristics and qualities, but respect for the female, human as well as divine, particularly in her capacity as wife and mother, is a phenomenon which pervades the literary evidence, despite the disgruntled Appu.

1.2. Although this accords with universal stereotyped attitudes regarding men and women there are certain distinguishing features which mark Hittite attitudes as having some individuality among the rest, and which are significant in relation to their system of kinship and marriage. The most remarkable of these is the cooperation evident in the worship of and service to the deities honoured in Temples and local cults throughout Hatti. Despite greater power exercised by male personnel and their more numerous representation in religious offices, considerable numbers of women were engaged, working side by side with men, in many cases sharing offices and functions, in a sphere of socio-religious activity which became increasingly important in the Hittite State.

1.3. Also notable is the cooperation of men and women in their domestic economy, including agricultural activities, while the contribution of women not only to the domestic but also the State economy in the area of spinning, and production of cloth, cannot be clearly estimated, but must have been considerable, according to our evidence.

2.0. It might be expected, and may actually be observed, that when men and women tend to work side by side, or to complement each other's labour in support of their daily and domestic needs, such conditions would be at the same time conducive to the development of, and inherent to, a bilateral kinship system.⁴⁹³⁾ Consequently, we may consider as yet another Hittite anomaly, the increasing tendency towards patrilineal succession and clan membership, as oppos-

ed to that of the kindred, which may be observed in the Empire period from Suppiluliumas I, while religious as well as economic factors, countering to some extent the influence of the bureaucratic and military State, encouraged the persistence of conditions conducive to a bilateral system.

§1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The present and following chapters will examine the evidence for marriage among the Hittites. In the light of what was found in the previous chapter regarding the "categories of male and female" in ancient Anatolian society, we note a clause in HG §27, apparently offering a general definition of Hitt. marriage which determines the woman's role as passive object of the husband's act: "If a man takes his wife and conducts her to his house..."¹⁾ The existence of other forms of marriage, however, in which the balance of "power" - the Lat. manus²⁾ - shifted towards that of equality between the spouses, or even in favour of the wife in her natal family, may well reflect, or be reflected in, the varying degrees of importance, economically and professionally, of women with regard to men in the Hittite society of our texts.

1.2. The difficulty in formulating a universal definition of marriage compounds those imposed by the limitations of the ancient texts for a comparative study of Hittite marriage.³⁾ Despite these limitations, we have found that some comparisons with other ancient or modern societies do offer possible explanations where the Hitt. material resists obvious interpretation. The cultural links between Anatolia and Mesopotamia must be remembered in view of the resemblance of Hittite legal clauses concerning "brideprice" to the regulations of the tirhatu(m) in §§159-160 of CH.⁴⁾

1.3. Another problem imposed by the nature of the subject itself is that of choosing the particular facet of "marriage" with which to begin, since each facet is dependent upon the other for its overall meaning and importance. However, concentrating upon the terminology designating people, events and institutions concerned with "marriage", we will arbitrarily enter the study at a point where negotiations very frequently begin with marriage in view, the Betrothal, and then continue to enumerate the prohibitions against marriage with relatives within certain degrees of

kinship.

§2. BETROTHAL

1.1. According to information regarding other peoples and cultures, it would seem that the Betrothal preceded, but might not always be a separate occasion from, another stage towards marriage itself. The latter stage was characterised by a contract, oral or written, agreeing the economic concomitants such as brideprice, dowry, inheritance, etc. Sometimes the whole process was encompassed in a single occasion, concluding with the completion of the marriage.⁵⁾ The Eng. term, as also its Germ. equivalent, Verlöbniß,⁶⁾ designates the solemnising of promises to marry, either by the man and woman themselves, or on their behalf by their family representatives, which was usually the case when potestas was invested in the father, pater familias, or the heads of the respective families of the future spouses.⁷⁾ A selection of (O)Germ., Fr. or Icelandic terms for this occasion, illustrates their reference to the "promising" aspect, e.g. Verlobe, Verspreche, fiancailles, heitorð, or to that of "affirmation", such as Handfeste, Stuhlfeste, fermalyè (Old Provençal fermalhas), accord, accordailles.⁸⁾

1.2. The Hitt. evidence for the preliminary stage, involving a "promise", and a "contract", is limited, coming principally from §§28 and 29 in HG, which will be cited below. As with other stipulations dealing with marriage, family relationships and prohibitions regarding sexual behaviour, §§27-37, 175, 187-200, which certainly do not represent a comprehensive "code", these clauses offer us merely a small window of access to what must have been a far greater body of Common Law regarding marriage and its concomitants.⁹⁾ Consequently, we must question the reasons lying behind the inclusion of each stipulation, which might indicate that a disruptive influence, such as cultural borrowing leading to change, had required the particular attention of the judges in these matters,¹⁰⁾ which had prompted in turn regulatory advice from the Palace to judges.¹¹⁾ Tentative as may have been the State's intervention in the legal regulation of

family affairs, these clauses do represent an erosion of the autonomy of the kindred in such matters.¹²⁾

1) HG §28a = KBo VI 3, II¹³⁾

5. ták-ku DUMU.MUNUS LÚ-ni ta-ra-an-za ta-ma-i-ša-an
pít-te-nu[-u]z-z[(i ku-uš-ša)-a(n)]
6. pít-te-nu-uz-zí-ma nu ha-an-te-iz-zí-ia-aš LÚ-aš ku-
it ku-it [pí-eš-ta]
7. ta-aš-še šar-ni-ik-zí at-ta-aš-ša an-na-aš Ú-UL šar-
ni-in-ká[n-zí]

"If a daughter (is) declared to a man and another (man) causes her to run away (with him), at such time as he causes (her) to elope, whatever the first man [had given], he will compensate to him, and the father (and) mother (of the girl) will not make compensation."

2.1. The passive participle taranza of te-/tar- "speak, say",¹⁴⁾ variously rendered "declared, proclaimed, promised", is translated by Friedrich, "(Wenn ein Mädchen einem Manne) versprochen (ist)",¹⁵⁾ Neufeld suggested that the use of this verb in legal terminology to denote public proclamation, as in HG §40,¹⁶⁾ could be paralleled by the use of Akk. šasû "cry out, hail", in a context also concerned with land ownership, of MAL §6.¹⁷⁾ Indeed, šasû occurs in an idiomatic phrase, in LE §25 and OB texts, arguably meaning "declare the (onset of) the wedding",¹⁸⁾ but qabû "say, order, promise," etc., found in the Akk./Hitt. bilingual Testament of Hattusilis I (CTH 6), as the equivalent of both te-/tar- and memai- "speak, say", apparently did not denote a "proclamation" of betrothal or marriage.¹⁹⁾

2.2. However, qabû is the semantic equivalent in Hittite Treaties of te- in the "declaration" of his heir to the throne, by the ruler. This is exemplified by a comparison of the parallel passages in the Akk. Treaty KBo I 5 (CTH 41), I, (a) 52-54, ... ayume DUMU.UŠ=šu ša ^mSunassura ana šarrūtīm ana ^DUTU^šī iqabbī=šu "...which son of his whom Sunassura declares for the Kingship to My Sun...", and (b) 57-59, ...ayume ^DUTU^šī DUMU.UŠ=šu ana šarrūtīm ša ana ^mSunassura iqabbī ... "which son of his - My Sun - whom he declares for the Kingship to Sunassura ...", with (c), Hitt.

KBo V 3 (CTH 42), obv.9. DUMU-IA-ia kuin ^DUTU^ŠI temi kun=wa
=za humanza sakdu "And my son, whom I, My Sun, declare (as
 heir), (saying) 'This one let everyone recognise!'"²⁰⁾

2.3. A contrast is illustrated in the Treaty of Muwattallis with Alaksandus of Wilusa, in the same context of declaring an heir, between a legal "order" by the ruler, expressed by the verb tapar(r)iya- "stipulate, order", and a statement of intent, expressed by te-.

2) KUB XIX 6 +(CTH 76.A.), obv.²¹⁾

65' [DUMU]-KA-ma ku-in LUGAL-iz-na-an-ni zi-ik ta-pár-ri-
ia-ši n[a-aš

...

67' [n]a-an-za-an KUR-an-za Ú-UL me-ma-a-i nu kiš-an te-
iz-zi NUMUN-wa-ra-aš DU[MU.LUGAL e-eš-du]

"But which(ever) [son] of yours you designate (by order) for the Kingship (whether the son of the legal wife, or a concubine, or ...)

...the Land, however, rejects him, and declares as follows: '[Let him be] (legal) issue, son [of the King]'

2.4. Comparison and contrast of the terms of speech in the above passages underline the noncontractual nature of the "statement" implied by te-^{mi}. Following Oettinger's analysis of this verb as belonging to the same class of root aorists as *d^heh₁- "to fix, set, lay down", with a suppletive *d^her- "hold firm, fixed" > "say authoritatively",²²⁾ we perceive a combination of the meanings illustrated above by later IE terms for the event of betrothal. These would express very well what must have been the intention of the parties concerned - to assert a verbal promise for a future marriage. The sense of public proclamation alone, if tar- were related to Grk. τοπέω, as suggested by Benveniste, is not so happy; but this etymology seems unlikely.²³⁾

3.1. Another stage may be recognised in the Hitt. state of hamenkanza, in HG §29, which will be cited below, again referring to the young girl, which appears to correspond to the contractual stage. First we should ask why the taranza state became the subject of HG §28, what it might entail

for the parties concerned, and whether there is evidence for it in other Hitt. texts.²⁴⁾

3.2. The answer to the first question - in which we can perceive the answers to the last two, must be, surely, the resolution of problems arising over who would compensate a suitor for "whatever [he had given]", if another man eloped with the young girl - a term we use deliberately, rather than abduct, since this seems to be what pittenuzzi actually meant.²⁵⁾ Leaving a discussion of the type of marriage involved with pittenuzzi in §§28, 35, and 37, until Chapter V, we note that as the text of §28 continues, it becomes obvious that it attempted to lay the responsibility for compensation upon the person(s) guilty of breaking the betrothal, and that dissension over these issues might have been sufficient cause for the official intervention of the lawgiver, recorded in all the periods from OH to late Empire from which we have copies of the Laws, into a dispute customarily resolved within the family.

3) HG §28 b and c, = KBo VI 3, II (parallel, 2, II 2; 4, II 11-12; 5, II 14-III 1-5;)²⁶⁾

8. ták-ku-wa-an at-ta-aš an-na-aš-ša ta-me-e-da-ni LÚ-ni pí-an-z[i

9. nu at-ta-aš an-na-aš-ša šar-ni-in-kán-zi ták-ku at-ta-aš-ša an-na-aš

10. mi-im-ma-i na-an-ši-kán tu-uh-ša-an-ta

Cf. KBo VI 5, III

3. ták-ku at-ti-ma an-ni Ú-UL a-aš-š[u

4. na-an-za-an pít-te-[nu-uz-z]i ku-iš na-an-ši-k[án]

5. tuh-ša-an-zi

(b) "If (her) father and mother give her to the other man, then (her) father and mother will make compensation."

(c) "If (her) father (and) mother refuse (to pay), they will separate her from him."

Compare the later text,²⁷⁾

"If [it is] not pleasing to (her) father (and) mother [to make the compensation?], then they will separate her from him, who [caused] her to run away".

3.3. In (a) the parents obviously oppose the elopement, whereas in (b) they actually give their daughter to the second man, the eloper, since the later text (c) is at pains to emphasise that it is still he who has come between the young girl and the man to whom she was "promised". The separation of the girl from the second man,²⁸⁾ and presumably her return to the first suitor was the "compensation" to the latter when he was denied compensation for his gift by both the eloper and the parents.²⁹⁾ Despite Korošec's argument that the Hittite State could not have had officers to enforce the law at the early date of the first preserved copy of HG, it seems reasonable to interpret the 3rd pers.pl. of tuhsanta/tuhsanzi "they will separate", as referring, not to the parents, but to some form of officially recognised authority.³⁰⁾ Even if the parents were to effect the separation themselves, some official supervision would have been required to assure their compliance. We may conjecture that "they" were either Palace officials or even representatives of the family or wider kindred, legally recognised and charged to maintain the customary law within the family.³¹⁾

4.0. According to §28 it is obvious that the parents organised the betrothal of their daughter, who was passively "declared/promised to the man", as noted already by Korošec.³²⁾ The inclusion of the mother as well as the father had been remarked by Korošec as differing from Babylonian and Assyrian legal stipulations which cite only the father, but the OB Code of Ešnunna in §§27-28 regarding marriage contracts, does cite both parents in the proceedings.³³⁾ There are numerous examples from different countries and cultures, where either the father acted alone, or the parents together, possibly with other relatives, or even the "community", to arrange a daughter's future marriage.³⁴⁾ It is apposite to the Hitt. practice to note that, whereas the respective fathers of bride and groom in ancient Rome arranged the sponsalia,³⁵⁾ Tacitus relates in his Germania that the parents and close relatives of the girl were present to approve the Germanic suitor's (bride)gift,³⁶⁾ while

Briseïs in Iliad xix 246-300, describes her first husband who was killed in Trojan Lyrnessus by Achilles, as "husband, to whom my father and lady mother gave me."³⁷⁾ The OIr. legal texts speak of the "acknowledged wife, contracted/betrothed by her family," to which we will refer further in regard to the hamenkanza state of betrothal.³⁸⁾ The inclusion of the mother in HG §28, and its recognition of her authority, may reflect the importance of the mother's side of the family in a bilateral system where inheritance could pass from her parental family to her children, and theirs, in specific instances.³⁹⁾

5.1. Despite the subordination of the daughter in Hitt. law to her parents' will in the matter of her betrothal, it would seem that she did have some opportunity to escape an arrangement which displeased her, if another man, who did please her, "persuaded her to elope".⁴⁰⁾ Balkan, commenting recently on evidence from Kültepe for OA child betrothals, was inclined to read DUMU.MUNUS in HG §28 as TUR.MÍ "young /little girl", and to associate the later attested Hittite taranza state with such arrangements.⁴¹⁾ Indeed, Westermarck has described "abductions" or "elopements" by which a girl avoided marriage with someone to whom her parents had betrothed her as a young child, and whom she disliked.⁴²⁾ However, considering that "little/young girl" ought to be written MÍ.TUR, and DUMU.MUNUS in §28 apparently represented not only the girl who was "promised" but also the one who might be given by her parents to another, as well as the girl in §§29 and 30, who, in all these instances, would be on the brink of marriage, we will continue the traditional reading of DUMU.MUNUS as "daughter".

5.2. Landsberger, while preserving the terminology "Raub-ehe", noted that elopements with the consent of the girl as envisaged in HG §28, were well known amongst various peoples, being still practised in Turkey.⁴³⁾ Haase's assertion that the parents decided whom their daughter should marry, is obviously correct.⁴⁴⁾ But the concomitants of the elopement as detailed in §28 - the compensation of the first suitor for his gift by the second man, and the poss-

ibility that the parents might sanction the resulting union with the eloper -, suggest that Hitt. customary law might have accepted a fait accompli elopement/abduction and the marriage to which it led, unless there were outstanding claims by the first suitor for the return of his property.⁴⁵⁾ The subsidiary element, consent of the girl, either to betrothal or to the elopement which could cancel it, while neither legally required nor stated in the Laws, must have been an important underlying factor determining the outcome of these arrangements.

6.1. Unfortunately the terminology of betrothal according to HG §28 remains incomplete since the "gift" from the first suitor was elliptically described as "whatever [he gave]", as restored by Friedrich.⁴⁶⁾ Although the Akk. biblu(m) "betrothal gift" (lit. "what is brought"), is translated in the Vocabulary text KBo I 35 (CTH 301), I 17' as kusizza, followed in L.19' by the paralleled terms terhatum/kusata, this is a hapax, which could be analysed as a nominal derivative of kus- "pay", from which was derived also kusata "brideprice".⁴⁷⁾

6.2. The OB biblum and/or terhatum in CH §160, which had been delivered to a father by his daughter's suitor, and which required double compensation if the father refused to give his daughter in marriage,⁴⁸⁾ are not attested as constituting in either case a large amount of goods or silver.⁴⁹⁾ Although the "gift" of HG §28 required only simple compensation to the first suitor, the impression given by the concern of the lawgiver that a compensation should be made, is that the Hitt. "gift" was certainly more valuable than small comestibles or simple tokens of good will. Precious metals and stones, grain and sheep, included in the biblu or zubullû "present", are attested in MAL,⁵⁰⁾ which may serve as some indication of what the Hitt. betrothal gift might have been.

7.0. An example of how the "promise" may have operated, establishing a commitment to future marriage, may be seen in the last tablet of a longer letter from an Anatolian

ruler, most likely Tarhundaradu, the King of Arzawa and recipient of VBoT 1/EA 31 from Amenophis III, to whom the present letter was very probably addressed.⁵¹⁾

4) VBoT 2 (CTH 152) = EA 32,

1. [k]a-a-ša-mu ki-i ku-it ^mkal-ba-ia-a[š]
2. [u]t-tar me-mi-iš-ta ma-an-wa-an-na-aš
3. iš-ha-ni-it-ta-ra-a-tar i-ia-u-e-ni

-
4. [nu?]^mkal-ba-ia-an Ū-UL ha-a-mi
 5. INIM-ia-at me-mi-iš-ta A-NA tup-pi-ma-at-ša-an
 6. Ū-UL ki-it-ta-at

-
7. nu ma-a-an ha-an-da-a-an am-me-el DUMU.MUNUS-IA
 8. ša-an-hi-iš-ki-ši nu-ut-ta Ū-UL im-ma⁵²⁾
 9. pī-ih-hi pī-ih-hi-it-ta

-
12. ... ku-u-un-na-mu me-mi-an tup-pī-az
 13. EGIR-pa ha-at-ra-a-i
-

"Behold: this matter which Kalbaya has spoken (about) to me, 'Let us make a blood-relationship between us!' [Now], I do not believe Kalbaya. He spoke the word(s), but they have not been set on a tablet. Well, if you continue truly to seek my own daughter, shall I not indeed give (her) to you? I shall give (her) to you! ... reply to me (regarding) this matter on a tablet."

The interpretation of ishanittaratar as "blood-relationship", is discussed in Chapter VII.⁵³⁾

8.1. The "promise" stated in L.9, "I shall give (her) to you!", is emphasised by the rhetorical question preceding it. In the mythological KUB XII 60 (CTH 322), I 21, the "promise", this time of a compensatory and belated "bride-price", is echoed by the wavering words of the Storm god,

5) pīhhi=wa<r>=at=si man=wa=(s)si UL pīhhi

"Shall I give it to him (i.e. the Sea, whose daughter had been abducted by Telepinus, son of the Storm god), or shall I not give (it) to him?"

to which the Mother goddess replied: paī=wa=(s)si

"Give (it) to him!"⁵⁴⁾

The rhetorical question and answer by the promisor himself may indeed reflect an ancient formality, necessary to Hittite agreements, which inevitably call to mind the Roman formality required in the stipulatio, deemed to be of great antiquity, wherein the expected order was inverted by the promisee actually posing the "question" in full, to which the other party replied "I do promise" - that is to do or give whatever formed the subject of the agreement.⁵⁵⁾ That the rites essential to agreements prior to the stage of written contract included stereotyped statements and dialogue has been argued by scholars in the history of law, and has been suggested also by Kienast for the Anatolian purchase/sale formula recorded in OA texts.⁵⁶⁾

8.2. We find, in KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), rev.1, the reported "promise" of Queen Puduhepa to Ramesses II, her correspondent, described by the latter, ŠEŠ-IA=ma=mu kuit kisan TAŠ-PUR GIM=an=wa=mu DUMU.MUNUS para pesti⁵⁷⁾

"But, my Brother, what you have written to me as follows: 'Since you will give forth (your) daughter to me ...'"

Further, we may understand in the same text, obv.17', Puduhepa's "promise" of dowry for the Hitt. princess, when she says, ANA ŠEŠ-IA=ma kuit kisan AŠPUR ANA DUMU.MUNUS=wa kuin
NAM.RA^{MES} GUD^{MES} UDU^{HI.A} peskimi ...⁵⁸⁾

"But (concerning) what I wrote to my Brother, as follows:

'What civilian prisoners, cattle (and) sheep, I shall be giving to/for my daughter...'"

Here, the iterative present of pai-, with future sense, serves to emphasise that this is a "promise".

8.3. In the terminology of marriage the subject of pai- indicates the one in whose power of disposal the bride-to-be was held. That a woman, Queen Puduhepa, described herself, even hypothetically, as having given or, about to give, a "daughter" in marriage,⁵⁹⁾ is only surprising in that she appears to have acted entirely on her own initiative in certain cases - although other texts show that Hattusilis

III was equally involved in these negotiations -⁶⁰⁾, whereas HG §§28 and 29 state the joint activity of the parents.

8.4. As Korošec remarked, the terminology of the Hittite Treaties suggests that it was only the father, the King, who "gave" his daughter or sister as wife to vassal rulers, a subject which will be discussed in Chapter VII.⁶¹⁾ Despite the patriarchal language of the Treaties concerning these marriages, we may suspect the activity of other Hittite Queens, even if they are not mentioned in the preserved texts, in view of HG §§28 and 29, and of Puduhepa's negotiations.⁶²⁾ In this regard we recall from Chapter III that women working in trades or professions might be subsumed under a title preceded by the male determinative.⁶³⁾

9.0. Finally, with reference to the Hittite evidence, it should be stressed that the taranza state was simply that of being "bespoke", and does not appear to have been contractual, if we may adopt here the Roman concept of a contract as an "actionable pact".⁶⁴⁾ The purpose of HG §28 does not appear to have been to punish either of the actual parties to the promise, if they should dishonour it, but rather to assure the return of his "gift" to the first suitor.⁶⁵⁾ Nor does the request by the author of VBoT 2 that the proposal to marry his daughter from the Pharaoh some long distance away in Egypt, should be expressed in writing rather than announced by a messenger, imply that all "proposals" in Hitt. Anatolia had to be stated on a tablet. The disbelief of Suppiluliumas I and demand for confirmation concerning the Queen of Egypt's request that the Hitt. King should send her one of his sons as husband and future Pharaoh,⁶⁶⁾ may be compared to that of the author of VBoT 2.

10.1. hamenkanza: meaning literally "tied (on)to, attached, knotted",⁶⁷⁾ is the legal terminology for the state of the "daughter, young girl", expressed by the (M)P participle of hamank-/hame/ink- in HG §29:

6) KBo VI 3, II (parallel texts KBo VI 5 III, 6-10; 4, II 13-16(= §XXII)),⁶⁸⁾

11. ták-ku DUMU.MUNUS-aš⁶⁹⁾ LÚ-ni ha-me-in-kán-za nu-uš-
ši ku-u-ša-ta píd-da-iz-zi
12. ap-pi-iz-zi-na-at at-ta-aš an-na-aš hu-ul-la-an-zi
na-an-kán LÚ-ni
13. tuh-ša-an-zi ku-u-ša-ta-ma 2-ŠU⁷⁰⁾ šar-ni-in-kán-zi

"If a daughter(/woman) is "contracted" to a man, and he delivers the 'brideprice' for her, and afterwards the father (and) mother contest it, and they separate her from the man, they will compensate the 'brideprice' twofold (in later §XXII L.16, 'threefold')."

10.2. Translations of hamenkanza in this context are usually rendered as "bound", "verbunden", "legata", with "betrothed" in HED.⁷¹⁾ Recently, while contesting a derivation of hamank- from *angh- "constrict, narrow, etc.", which is now favoured again by Puhvel,⁷²⁾ Melchert argued that "bind" was an unsatisfactory meaning for hamank-, given its Akk. equivalent kussuru "knot together".⁷³⁾ In view of other attestations in Hitt. texts, he preferred the latter translation, and "intertwine, intermingle", to one involving the sense of "tie, attach".⁷⁴⁾ Clearly, the verb ishiya fulfils the semantic function of "bind", often taking the means of binding together with one or more objects, in the instr., while, in Melchert's words,⁷⁵⁾

"hamank- typically takes as its object suwil 'thread', wool twine of various colors, or uzu SA 'sinew',... with a dat./loc. of the object or person to which these were attached."

10.3. However, a survey of texts with hamank- used both in the concrete and abstract sense, shows that the basic meaning was "tie (on)to" (not "mingle, intermingle"), which would naturally imply making a knot or hitch with twine, or cord, etc.,⁷⁶⁾ and it was the extension of the concrete that allowed the development of the meaning "contracted", as we would argue for hamenkanza in HG §29. It is important to remember the sense of tying down (by prescription) which is conveyed by (katta) hamank- in abstract contexts, for which HED has chosen the rather milder term "mandate".⁷⁷⁾

11.1. The significance of hamenkanza in HG §29 could well be that it referred not only to a legal "tying-on", but may

have described also what was originally a more ancient formality of literally tying the girl by some means to her intended husband, as the visible expression of their union. Such a ceremony, a progression beyond the clasping of hands or joining of fingers,⁷⁸⁾ has widely attested counterparts even in the modern world, as recounted by Westermarck for European countries, such as Poland, Bulgaria and Portugal,⁷⁹⁾ southern India, where the hands of bride and groom were bound together with a handkerchief, a string of flowers, twine, or, as with the Sinhalese, the little fingers of the bridal couple were joined by a chain.⁸⁰⁾

11.2. Whether such a formality, reflecting possibly a very ancient custom, actually is implied by the terminology of §29, cannot be proven without further evidence. It has been argued, by Korošec for example, that this clause, absent from the older redaction of HG, represents a later development in Marriage practice, particularly in regard to the giving of kusata "brideprice", not mentioned in the earlier clauses, although Korošec also argued that taranza and ham-enkanza were two separate states of betrothal, the latter representing the contractual stage immediately before the parents gave the girl to the groom.⁸¹⁾

11.3. Although "brideprice" will be examined later in the context of various types of Hittite Marriage, we note here that the evidence suggests that §29 was included in the later, that is MH, redaction of HG, in response to a need to institute and clarify the punishment for breaking the contract, in terms of the kusata given, very likely on the guide lines of the OB CH §§159-160, where the girl's parent also had to compensate the groom two-fold for the tirhatu if he failed to yield his daughter.⁸²⁾ The 13th century parallel text to HG §29, which required three-fold compensation of the kusata,⁸³⁾ emphasised the financial aspect of this clause. This is not to say that the practice of paying brideprice was adopted from Mesopotamia, but rather that the Anatolian custom was "modernised" according to a legislative model provided by the former, since, as we shall argue, the intention of the Hittite law giver was to outlaw

older practices operating for breach of contract, countenanced by customary law.

12.1. The failure of the earlier redaction of HG to mention the betrothal contract designated by hamank-, should not argue against its antiquity, although its origin may not be clearly identified. Interestingly, apart from its semantic equivalence to Akk. kašāru, hamank- finds parallels in the legal terminology of two ancient descendants of PIE, namely OIr. and Lat., in which (ur)naidm and nexum, respectively, designate "contract", among other meanings, with substantive and verbal equivalents to those of hamank-, such as "tie, knot, bond, etc.". ⁸⁴⁾ It would seem that a type of purchase/loan "contract" which could apply also to premarital agreements involving manus over the girl betrothed, may have operated among early Anatolian, Celtic and Latin peoples, as also the Germanic. Certain early Scandinavian practices, remarked by Koschaker in relation to the question of "Raubehe" in Hitt. marriage, ⁸⁵⁾ serve to illustrate how failure to honour the betrothal contract could lead to seizure by the groom and his helpers of the girl herself, who was, as Koschaker had argued, treated as a material object in this legal context. ⁸⁶⁾

12.2. According to the OIr. evidence which comes principally from the Dire tract concerning wergeld payments by and for women of varying marital status, ⁸⁷⁾ the object of the (ur)naidm, "binding", was the woman, as with Hitt. hamenk-anza in HG §29, although a single exception was noted by Thurneysen, where the man was described as "belonging to the woman". ⁸⁸⁾ However, the contract actually bound both sides, the bride's father and the groom, to obey the rules, coir nurnadhma, rendered by Thurneysen "das Ordnungsmässige des naidm". ⁸⁹⁾ Moreover a legitimate marriage required not only the establishment of a contract, but also the payment of coibche, the brideprice, ⁹⁰⁾ requirements which applied both to the cétmuinter, "first (lady/wife) of the household", ⁹¹⁾ and to the secondary wife, glossed as adal-trach, for whom "recognition/acknowledgement" was also essential, before she might be betrothed by her family. ⁹²⁾

Thurneysen considered there was no evidence to indicate that the (ur)naidm took the form of a document, its development and practice long preceding the custom of committing legal documents to writing.⁹³⁾

13.1. Turning to nexum we note that Maine described it as originally signifying in ancient Roman Law a "Conveyance of Property", which "came insensibly to denote a Contract also".⁹⁴⁾ According to the sources, the state of nexum, which bound the debtor to repay at an appointed time, came into being when a debt was incurred, before witnesses, with the proper statement of words and "by means of copper and scales", a ceremony similar to that required for purchase, which no doubt led to the close association, even confusion, of nexum and mancipatio in the ancient authors, and indeed by Koschaker, who interpreted nexum mancipiumque as hendiadys.⁹⁵⁾

13.2. The most remarkable feature of nexum was that it permitted the creditor, without resorting to a juridicial decision in his favour, to exercise what Jolowicz has described as "a form of legalised self-help", in that he could seize by manus iniectio the person of the debtor whom he might put to service or even to death, if he failed to pay the debt as stipulated.⁹⁶⁾ Later Roman legislation, by insisting upon a judgement, undermined the advantage of nexum, which was apparently obsolete by the period of classical law, while the semantically equivalent (ob)ligare and its derivatives superseded those of nectere in the formation of legal terms.⁹⁷⁾

13.3. Roby's comment, "In the Digest and Codes we find nexus, nexum, used as equivalent to obligatus, obligatio, but especially of pledge",⁹⁸⁾ is particularly interesting, since this usage highlights an important conceptual aspect in nexum, in regard to which we note Koschaker's observation that it is simply a matter of personal preference whether one designates nexum as "Selbstverpfändung oder Selbstverkauf eines Freien".⁹⁹⁾ In this context it may be noted that whereas neither nexum, nor it seems any of its related

forms, figured in the legal terminology of Roman marriage, coemptio, described by Buckland as "essentially a modified form of bride purchase",¹⁰⁰⁾ was regarded by Gaius in antiquity as a sale of the wife to the husband per aes et libram,¹⁰¹⁾ that is, by the same formal method found in mancipatio and nexum. Although the wording in this ceremony reveals the woman as "selling" herself, with the authority of her father, Buckland considered that in more primitive times at Rome she would have been sold, as the passive object.¹⁰²⁾ Nevertheless, the later idea of self-sale into marriage could be interpreted as a development in legal thought, based upon a more ancient conceptual element present in transactions "by copper and scales", which, as we have seen, appear to have been inextricably associated with the earliest Roman concepts of conveyance and "contract".

14.1. We note that, although there is no evidence for the use of "scales" in the context of Hittite betrothal and brideprice, there are attestations in rituals for the symbolic weighing of the human life, represented in a burial ritual by a lump of mortar, on the GIŠ.RÍN/GIŠ³elzi "balance(s)", against precious metals and stones as redemption before the gods, principally the Sun god.¹⁰³⁾ Before this deity also in late Babylonian practice cult objects were set on the scale within the temple.¹⁰⁴⁾

14.2. Whereas the OIr. and Lat. terms considered above contain the idea of tying, binding, ON terms pertaining generally to contract and betrothal, are based upon the verb festa- "make fast, fasten", with subsidiary meanings "settle, stipulate, make a settled agreement; pledge oneself ...; betroth".¹⁰⁵⁾ Festa- was derived through Lat. facere, very probably, from *dhē- (with -k- extension) "fix, set", as indeed was Hitt. taranza.¹⁰⁶⁾ In addition to festa f. "bail, pledge", we note the following terms: festar-kona "bride", festar-maðr, "groom", festar-mál "betrothal",¹⁰⁷⁾ while the "fee" or "gift" given by the groom at this time was designated faestninga fae, fest-arfé, or festargjof, being remarkably similar to faesti paenniger, the term for "price" in the purchase of movable and immovable goods.¹⁰⁸⁾

Koschaker thought there was a close semantic relationship between this "consolidate, festigen", and "bind", and suggested that the same juristic concept is to be found in Hittite, in hamank- of HG §29.¹⁰⁹⁾

14.3. The same scholar concluded that, when the groom with his friends was permitted by the Old North Swedish Law to seize the bride from her father's house without any legal retribution, if the father had accepted the brideprice but refused to yield his daughter as agreed,¹¹⁰⁾ we see in operation the Germ. styled "dingliche Recht", phrased by a late Latinist as ius ad re(m), with "direct completion". This, Koschaker considered, was a stage in the development of law no longer evident in the ancient NE, according to the marriage clauses of both CH and CLI.¹¹¹⁾

15.1. At this point we must distinguish between our own conclusions based on the present study, and those of Koschaker, since, in many respects, we have covered the same ground in research. In regard to the Old Swedish law we see the operation of a similar type of obligation to the nexum incurred in early Roman law, the liability incurred being neither clearly "personal", nor that of the "dingliche Recht" noted above.¹¹²⁾ Further, considering the evidence from HG §29, and the literal and abstract meanings of hamank-, we do not agree with Koschaker that its connotations of "rituell binden" moved the redactor to a choice between it and ishiya-, in order to distinguish between "dingliche (Recht) Haftung" and personal liability.¹¹³⁾ Rather, we consider hamank- to have been a more ancient Hitt. term, as was nexum in Lat., to designate the "'bond' or 'chain'" of obligation incurred by a "contract",¹¹⁴⁾ operating in the period before state authority began to legislate on matters previously ruled by common or family law.

15.2. Moreover, we dissent from Koschaker's interpretation of the brideprice as a form of pledge.¹¹⁵⁾ Driver and Miles have argued convincingly that the ancient NE tirhatum was certainly the full, and only "price" paid by the suitor before the completion of the marriage, and consequently could

not have functioned as a "pledge",¹¹⁶⁾ an argument which could apply also to the Hitt. kusata, equated with the former in a Vocabulary text.¹¹⁷⁾

15.3. In the latter context, we consider that the bride-price "paid", literally "rendered (a prescribed allotment)", in Hittite,¹¹⁸⁾ by a man to the family of his intended wife, had the nature of a "price", the business being a conveyance of ownership, in consideration of which the debtor pledged himself to deliver the goods at the appointed time. In ON law that person could be seized by the creditor for failure to render as agreed. Koschaker argued that, since the father who received the brideprice was not himself seized if he did not yield his daughter, this indicated the operation of a "dingliche Recht" in respect to the woman, who was treated as an object.¹¹⁹⁾ This was also the case, he maintained, in the more advanced stage of legal development seen in CH, and Hitt. law, where the suitor could reclaim his "pledge", with a fine, from the girl's father; by failing to honour the agreement to take her in marriage, he would forfeit his "pledge".¹²⁰⁾

15.4. The argument that the brideprice was a "pledge" has been, in our opinion, satisfactorily refuted. But, the legal terminology and other evidence considered above intimate that the girl herself, apparently treated in HG §29 as a passive object in a matter of purchase, was regarded as the "pledge" in an agreement negotiated by others on her behalf, which involved the yielding by her family to the groom in marriage of future rights to her reproduction of heirs, who would belong to him and his family. Nevertheless, as noted earlier in regard to the daughter in HG §28, her acquiescence to her parents' arrangements, although not legally required, may be understood for the happy outcome of the marriage plans.

15.5. Moreover, the grammatical construction in both HG §§28 and 29, suggests that the girl was felt in some way to be participating in the action, whether "being promised" or "being tied, contracted", since "daughter/woman", with the

qualifying pass. participles, is nominative, whereas another construction might have been used:

"If the parents have promised/contracted (their) daughter to a man".

The latter construction may be seen from 1st Millennium HL texts concerning one Taksalas, and child-betrothal(?), in which the child is the grammatical object of the verb.¹²¹⁾

16.1. Thus, according to our interpretation, in the ON laws and in HG §29, the girl herself was the "pledge". We see the inclusion of this clause in the Hittite legislations, with penalties imposed upon the parents for non-completion of the "contract", which closely follow the lines of compensation laid down in CH, as an attempt by the Hitt. King and his judges to outlaw a resort to "self-help" in such cases, which might lead to private vendetta. This may be illustrated not only by comparison to the Old Swedish custom, but also to HG §§37 and 38, which will be discussed further in Chapter VI.¹²²⁾

16.2. The evidence as presented above would indicate that the betrothal "contract" and the institution of rendering "brideprice" were interdependent, involving the participants in a legal "chain" of obligation which bears a close resemblance to that incurred by the nexi in the Roman texts. There is no indication that such Hittite "contracts", implied with hamank-, were written documents.¹²³⁾ However, in the context of 13th century interdynastic marriages, ishiu may have described a (written) contract regarding marriage, which will be discussed further in Chapter VII.¹²⁴⁾

17.1. The conclusions reached above concerning the relationship of hamank- to urnaïdm and associated terms in OIr., and to Lat. nexum, have been based on their semantic identity, or close similarity, as "tie, knot, etc.", and the relevant derivatives in those languages and in Hittite. But we should remember that the Akk. repertoire of terms for "contract" was derived mainly from rakāsu, with its basic meaning "tie, bind; etc.", which included riksātu (pl.),

well attested in OB contexts in which it designated "contract(s)", also specifically the "marriage contract".¹²⁵⁾ Another verb e'ēlu "bind, coagulate", denoted "binding" in magic spells and "liability" in the context of debt and obligation, but it was not apparently equated with either hamank- or ishiya- in the Vocabularies.¹²⁶⁾

17.2. However, although it might be argued that the legal practices based on the idea of "tying" reflected in Anatolian contexts, resulted from Mesopotamian contacts and influences, there is evidence that they differed sufficiently to indicate independent Anatolian traditions. One pertinent example could be the nature of the personal liability as recorded in the OA texts.¹²⁷⁾ Another would be that while contract and brideprice were both necessary for a "legal" marriage according to OB and Hitt. marriage "law", the emphasis in the former was already fixed upon the "contract", but in Hittite contexts the paying of kusata assumed the greater importance.¹²⁸⁾

17.3. In regard to ceremonies associated with "betrothal", there is scant evidence. The NE rite of pouring (fine) oil on the head of the girl to be married, is attested in Hitt. texts in the context of interdynastic marriages, which will be the subject of discussion in Chapter VII. The Hitt. celebration called the "Festival of(?) Kusat[a]" is known to us only from these words which comprised a colophon record on a tablet fragment.¹²⁹⁾ At least we may be sure that rendering the "brideprice", which was essential to betrothal and legal marriage, was celebrated with religious rites, honouring the deities in the manner of all attested Hittite Festivals.¹³⁰⁾

§3. PROHIBITIONS AGAINST INCEST

1.1. It is an unusual society or section of society which does not have some restrictions regarding sexual union generally between certain closely related persons, which might be interpreted as prohibitions also against marriage.¹³¹⁾ The mores and customs inherent to and regulating the behaviour of family members would prevail in the major-

ity of cases to prevent unsuitable or incestuous marriages, although what one society considers to be "incest" would not necessarily apply in another.¹³²⁾

1.2. According to the Hitt. texts, the injunctions to Huqqanas of Azzi-Hayasa, who had been given his sister by Suppiluliumas as his principal wife, would seem to be the only preserved passages which forbid a man's marriage to a particular woman, using the terms ANA DAM-UTTİM le datti "do not take as a wife", DAM-an(-)=za le iyasi "do not make her a wife".¹³³⁾ The circumstances were exceptional in that the Great King wished to ensure his sister's dignity as the only legal wife of his vassal. The Akk. Treaty of Suppiluliumas with Sattiwaza of Mittanni, to whom he had given his daughter as wife (ana DAM-utti-šu) contains injunctions to Sattiwaza not to set another woman (Mī^{tum} šanī^{tum}) in a more elevated or equal position to her,¹³⁴⁾ which amounted to a prohibition against (legally) marrying anyone else.

2.1. To find evidence in the texts for the prohibition of marriage to closely related kin we must resort to interpreting as such the stipulations in HG regarding certain relationships between men and women termed hurkel, which was applied in cases of disapproved sexual acts in HG or rituals,¹³⁵⁾ or designated UL ara "not Right; not allowed", and had merited death as punishment according to Huqqanas' Treaty.¹³⁶⁾ These may be described generally as incest, when involving blood-relations, or incest-adultery between affines.¹³⁷⁾ While the documents which supply this information are few in number, they do compensate to some extent for the deficiency by representing three types of texts, the Laws, the Huqqanas Treaty, and fragments of purification rituals, which allow some correlation of their respective statements regarding the prohibited categories of persons, and indicate the relevance of these prohibitions to actual circumstances.

2.2. The subject of incest prohibition has been discussed by Hittite scholars, and is mentioned above in Chapter I.¹³⁸⁾ Here, we will list the prohibited relatives and the

source of the evidence, with discussion where required. It has been noted that the recorded injunctions and punishments were directed only against men, an exception of a kind being in HG §196 when male and female slaves who committed hurkel were to be punished equally.¹³⁹⁾ The fragmentary introduction to a purification ritual performed by the Old Woman (obv.I 7),¹⁴⁰⁾

"If a person [sleeps] with [his] mother, [his daughter? ,] or one of (his) immediate family (hassannas) [..."],

indicates that intimacy with blood-related women of any close degree was frowned upon. Designations of kinswomen follow below on the left, those included by inference being marked with an asterisk; the most important texts in which they are attested are in the right column:

2.3. Prohibited women, related to a man by blood ties

- | | |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A. mother: | HG §189 (KBo VI 26 +, III 26-27);
KBo XII 115 +(CTH 445), rev.2'-3'; ¹⁴¹⁾ |
| B. daughter: | HG §189 (KBo VI 26 +, III 27-28);
KBo XII 115 +, 2'-3'; ¹⁴²⁾ |
| C. sister: | KBo V 3 +(CTH 42), III 45'-59',
full and half sister; III 79'-75'; ¹⁴³⁾ KBo XII 115 +, 2'-3'; ¹⁴⁴⁾ |
| D. cousin: | both cross- and parallel - KBo V 3
+, III 48'-59'; ¹⁴⁵⁾ |
| E. *aunt: | a) patrilateral - by inference from
the Levirate stipulation, HG §193,
as noted below under aunt-in-law.
b) matrilateral - by inference from
1-3. above; |

2.4. Prohibited women related to a man through a marriage

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| F. stepmother: | during lifetime of the man's father,- HG §190 (KBo VI 26 +, III 30-31); ¹⁴⁶⁾ |
| G. stepdaughter: | HG §195 B (KBo VI 26, III 51-52); ¹⁴⁷⁾ |

- H. *daughter-in-law: assumed for son's lifetime, by extension of the hurkel relationship of father and son according to HG §189 (KBo VI 26 +, III 28); after a son's death the Levirate according to HG 193 permitted this marital relationship.¹⁴⁸⁾
- I. mother-in-law: HG §195 C (KBo VI 26+, III 52-53);¹⁴⁹⁾
- J. sister-in-law: a) wife's sister - HG §195 C (KBo VI 26 +, III 53; KBo V 3 +, III 55'-59';
b) brother's wife, during lifetime of the brother - HG §195 A (KBo VI 26 +, III 49-50); KBo V 3 +, III 55'-594', 79'-80';¹⁵⁰⁾ according to the Levirate a brother took his dead brother's widow;¹⁵¹⁾
- K. cousin-in-law: KBo V 3 +, III 55'-59'; without specifying whether she were daughter of the wife's mother's or father's sister or brother;¹⁵²⁾
- L. *aunt-in-law: assumed, on the basis of the Levirate inheritance by his nephew of the uncle's widow, according to HG §193 (KBo VI 26 +, III 40-43.¹⁵³⁾

3.1. Extra-marital relations reflecting the rules of marriage

According to HG §191, in the hypothetical case of a free man's having casual sexual relations with free women who were sisters, or with their mother, he was guilty of hurkel if they were in the same place and he were aware of this relationship, but not so if they were in separate lands and he (consequently) did not realise the relationship.¹⁵⁴⁾ Expressed here, it would seem, was the concept of incest-adultery, forbidding access to a wife's immediate blood-relations, who were treated during her lifetime as if they were equivalent to the husband's blood relations of the

same category, sister or mother. This may have reflected a prohibition against marriage in such circumstances.

3.2. According to KUB XXIX 34, 17-18, the stipulation which followed HG §191, but was either not preserved, or not contained in §192 of KBo VI 26, III 37-39, apparently permitted marriage to a deceased wife's sister.¹⁵⁵⁾ The licence accorded by HG §194 to brothers to sleep with the same free woman without punishment,¹⁵⁶⁾ appears to agree with a principle of treating extra-marital relations as if they were covered by rules of marriage, echoing in this instance the Levirate which itself reflected the principle that a wife belonged to her husband's lineage.¹⁵⁷⁾

3.3. By contrast, the first stipulation of HG §194 declared that a free man could have casual relations with female slaves who were sisters, or with their mother, or a father and son might both sleep with a slave girl or a prostitute, all without punishment.¹⁵⁸⁾ The determining factor was obviously the unfree status of the women, with whom marriage would not have been contemplated without a special act by the man to "take/make her (as) his wife".¹⁵⁹⁾ So these clauses are further indication to those concerning affines themselves, that the prohibitions were not based primarily on the actual family relationships of the affines to each other, for example of a man's wife to her sisters or mother, but on their relationship by marriage to the family of her husband. This could be dissolved by the death of the linking member, except in the case of the Levirate, which was mainly concerned with inheritance.

4.1. Apart from the Laws there are a few examples which show an active concern to prevent improper relationships. The prohibitions cited above in the Šattiwaza and Huqqanas Treaties regarding the vassal's taking other wives to equal or surpass the Hitt. princess in status, are examples from special circumstances. In the later Copy A of the latter Treaty we read an injunction to Huqqanas: A-NA^m ma-ri-ia-ia-kán DUMU.MUNUS-KA ar-ha da-a na-an ŠEŠ-ni pa-a-i

"take your daughter away from Mariyas and give her to

a(?) brother!"

Copy B, contemporary to the original text, has LÚ-ni here rather than ŠEŠ-ni, with the more probable reading "to a man(/husband)".¹⁶⁰⁾

4.2. The Mariyas who figures with the "men of Hayasa" as vassal partner in the earlier Treaty recorded in rev.IV of CTH 42. A.,¹⁶¹⁾ was either the same person or a predecessor of the Mariyas who incurred the death sentence for "looking in/at, ogling(?)" the ^{MI}SUHUR.LAL in Hattusas on the unfortunate occasion when the "father of My Sun" was looking out of the window.¹⁶²⁾ The former Mariyas would have been the one selected by the father of Suppiluliumas I as representative of Hayasa after the defeat of ^mKar?(/La-a?)annis, King of Hayasa, who fought Suppiluliumas and his father in Hayasan territory.¹⁶³⁾ The Mariyas associated with Huqqanas' daughter, may or may not have been an eponymous successor. However, Suppiluliumas' strictures upon Huqqanas in CTH 42 indicate that the marriage with the Hitt. princess was contemporary to this document, and had not occurred many years previously. It is unlikely therefore that Huqqanas' daughter was the issue of that marriage, thus being Suppiluliumas' niece - a fact he would surely have mentioned(?).¹⁶⁴⁾ We cannot be sure why Mariyas was considered an undesirable partner. Possibly the relationship with the daughter of Huqqanas was not marital, since the latter could "take her away".¹⁶⁵⁾ If ŠEŠ in KBo V 3, III 81' should prove to be the logogram originally written in this context, it might indicate that a form of Levirate was being advocated, although the circumstances remain obscure at present.

4.3. Another example, catalogued under CTH 297 among records of legal proceedings, may be dated orthographically (e.g. late LI) to the 13th century BC, the period to which many texts of this genre belong.¹⁶⁶⁾ Our text is fragmentary, with the result that the damaged context does not allow a proper understanding of the issues involved, but it is clear that family relationships formed the principal

content of the suit, and were considered sufficiently important to justify legal action. The following lines will illustrate:

7) KUB XXIII 54 (CTH 297), obv.¹⁶⁷⁾

- 3' [^mG]E₆-LÚ-iš DUMU-an i[i? -
 4' []x ku-it-ki A-NA ^mGE₆-LÚ[
 5' [UM-]MA ^mna-na-an-za LUŠÀ.TAM ^m[PN
 6' [LÚ]HA-DA-NU ŠA NIN-IA 2 NIN[^{MEŠ} MÍPN?
 7' [MÍ? x]x-ik-ki-in-na da-a-aš am-m[u-uk
 8' [ú-]e-ri-ia-an-te-eš ^maš-ha-pa-la-aš x[
 9' [^m?x?-š]a-ar-pu-la-ša-na e-x[
 10' [Z]I-ma ša-ku-wa-aš-šar e-eš-t[a
 11' A-NA ^maš-ha-pa-la ŠEŠ-ŠU KUR(-)an/D[¹⁶⁸⁾
 12' GIM-an-ma ^maš-ha-pa-la-aš BA.[UG₆
 13' BA.UG₆ ^mlu-ul-lu-uš-ma-za DA[M ^mPN¹⁶⁹⁾
 14' AŠ-ŠUM DAM-UT-TIM da-a-aš[
 15' ÌR ^mte-li-pi-nu ^mma-x[
 16' DUMU.MUNUS ŠEŠ-ŠU ša-ku-w[a-
 17' ZI-aš IŠ-TU 3 x[

4.4. The broken context does not permit a useful translation, nor an interpretation beyond what is immediately apparent from the preserved text. From other texts we note the PN: of Nananza, a scribe, "son of Adda[s]";¹⁷⁰⁾ of Ashapalas, which belonged to a priest and a scribe;¹⁷¹⁾ Arma-zitis, also the name of a scribe,¹⁷²⁾ while Lullus was the name of a Patili-priest.¹⁷³⁾ KUB XXIII 54 appears to be the only text which associates the bearers of these names, who were otherwise linked only through possible professional relationships. The lacuna at the end of 5' makes it unclear whether the person named there were the affine (^{LÚ}HADANU) of Nananza (the "Chamberlain"?),¹⁷⁴⁾ or of his sister, since ŠA might indicate the possessive relationship of "my sister" to the "2 sister[s]" following. "He took" in obv. 7', referring to these sisters, may be contrasted to "he took on account of wifeship(/as a wife)", since the first da-a-aš might not refer to taking in marriage.¹⁷⁵⁾

4.5. In consequence of the death of Ashapalas, and another

person?, which disturbed existing ties through blood and marriage, a new network of relationships, with its problems, appears to have been formed, involving the marriage of Lullus to Ashapalas' widow(?) (12'-14'), and some action regarding a niece (16'). We do not know what the misdemeanor was which demanded the court's attention, nor whether it involved an irregular type of marriage. It would seem however that official adjudication was required and could operate over such family affairs.

5.1. Obviously, before a marriage would have been arranged according to the processes of betrothal, customary mores would have dictated that certain persons should not be chosen as partners. The prohibited relationships (enclosed in brackets) may be expressed using the symbols noted in Chapter I: M = man; W = woman; + = blood-relationship; \oplus = conjugal relationship; $\langle \rangle$ = affinal relationship; it may be understood that M may be substituted throughout for W, and vice versa, to achieve the mirror-image pattern.¹⁷⁶⁾

PROHIBITED

1. $M_{\langle}^{(+)}W_{\rangle}$ 2. $M_{\langle}^{(+M\oplus)}W_{\rangle}$ 3. $M_{\langle}^{(\oplus W+)}W_{\rangle}$ 4. $M_{\langle}^{(\oplus W+M\oplus)}W_{\rangle}$.

This indicates that only bilaterally exogamous marriages were permitted, except in the special case of the Levirate, although there is no evidence of how far the prohibitions extended beyond the attested close degrees of kinship - in regard to "cousins", for example. The symbolic representation of the marriages arranged by Hattusilis III in the 13th century for his daughter and son with the royal House of Amurru, which will be discussed in Chapter VII below, attest the following permitted (in brackets), pattern:

PERMITTED

5. $M/W_{\langle}^{(+W/M\oplus M/W+)}W/M_{\rangle}$

This may be contrasted to the forbidden 4. above, for which we can only offer the explanation that the crucial conjugal relationship in 5. was sufficiently disjunctive to nullify any quasi blood-relationship being felt between the aff-

ines, who could consequently marry? Was the foreign origin of the blood-relative's spouse conducive to Hattusilis' disregard of mores which would have operated when both partners were Hittite? Whatever the explanation, for the offspring of these marriages the actual blood-relationships would have prohibited intermarriage.

5.2. Although not expressly stated, a social as opposed to moral disincentive operated to prevent marriages between free men and women, and slaves. As noted above (3.3.) for HG §194, marriage between the free and unfree was obviously not the norm, although a number of stipulations in HG, which will be discussed in Chapter VI below, which regulate such unions, show that they did occur with some frequency.

§1. TERMS FOR MARRIAGE.

1.1. Our word "marriage" derives from Fr. (se) marier, Lat. maritare, meaning "to match, join", as also Eng. "marry", and represents a comparatively late semantic development, since, as remarked by Benveniste, there was no original common IE term to designate "marriage".¹⁾ Similarly, in Hitt. texts no specific word for "marriage" may be found. However, the state of marriage is made evident in the Boğ-azköy texts by the logogram DAM ("spouse") or Akkadogram AŠŠATU, meaning "(legally contracted) wife".²⁾ They are frequently followed by the Akk. poss. prons. DAM^(MEŠ) SÚ (/ŠU)/ŠUNU "his/their wife(/wives)",³⁾ or DAM^(MEŠ) -KA/KUNU "your wife(/wives)",⁴⁾ or by Akk. or Hitt. phonetic complements designating the abstract "wifeship", usually as d.-1. DAM-UT-TI/DAM-an-ni.⁵⁾

1.2. DAM-UTTU obviously represents Akk. aššūtu which had the derived meaning "marriage" from its abstract sense "status of (legally contracted) wife".⁶⁾ In OB and later sources aššūtu is found also in combination with the abstract mutūtu "position of a husband; heroism, masculinity", from mutu(m) "man, warrior; husband",⁷⁾ as aššūtu u mutūtu, "wedding; marriage".⁸⁾ The Hitt. DAM-anni, which has not yet been attested in such a combination, indicates an -atar abstract noun but yields no information regarding the Hitt. word concealed by DAM, which must have denoted "(legal) wife", with a sense closely similar to that of Akk. ašša-tu.⁹⁾ As with the latter and its abstract in Akk. contexts, the Hitt. expressions ANA DAM-ŠU "for his wife", and ANA /AŠŠUM DAM-UTTI(M) "for/in/on account of wifeship", appear to have had virtually interchangeable meanings, although the abstract may generally be translated "marriage".¹⁰⁾

1.3. Although the Akk. (LÚ) mutu "husband", appears quite frequently in Hitt. texts as an allogram, clearly with the same meaning,¹¹⁾ it is only in the recorded speech of the Egyptian Queen, widow of Tutankhamun, pleading through her messengers to Suppiluliumas I that he should send her one

(§195b) or the daughter (§195c), according to the general context as well as the choice of hark-, is obviously regarded as being married to the woman in each case, although neither is actually termed DAM here.¹⁶⁾ However, a passage from the Treaty of Suppiluliumas I with Huqqanas of Azzi-Hayasa shows that the type of marriage indicated might not necessarily be recognised as fully legal:

2) KBo V 3 (CTH 42), III (and parallel KBo XIX 42 +, rev. 47-49)¹⁷⁾

82' . . . ŠA KUR URU az-<zi->i[(a-za MÍ)] nam-ma A-NA DAM-
UT-TIM

83' li-e da-at-ti a-pu-u-un-na-za [(ar-ha da-a-li)] ka-
ru-u-za

84' ku-in har-ši MÍ NAP-TIR!-<(TI)>-ma-at-ta a-a-ra e-eš-
kân-zi

85' DAM-an-ma-an-za li-e i-ia-ši

"Moreover, do not take a woman of Az(z)i in marriage, and leave aside that (woman) whom you already hold. They will treat (her) legally as a concubine for you, but do not make her a wife!"

2.2. Like MÍ concealing the Hitt. word for "woman", DAM "wife", receives phonetic complements, but has not yet been identified in full phonetic form.¹⁸⁾ Examples of such complements are few. The acc. -an(-) seen above indicates a consonant or a- stem word, while an i-stem acc. may be seen in the MH text of HG §32, with restoration:

3) KBo VI 3, II¹⁹⁾

21. ták-ku İR-iš MÍ-an D[AM-i]n da-a-i ...

"If a slave takes a woman as a w[if]e ..."

2.3. The CL context of the badly damaged fragment KBo XXIV 56, obv.? II 1'-9' offers in L.7' DAM-na-an ^DUTU-uš har-ki-
iš[, which cannot be surely interpreted.²⁰⁾ Despite the abstract d.-l. MÍ-anni "in wifeship", in KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), obv.55, where DAM might have been expected,²¹⁾ certain contexts in HG and other texts do distinguish MÍ and DAM with sufficient clarity so as to suggest that the logograms were not representing the same word, such as "wo-

man" designating "wife" in the manner of German Frau.²²⁾

2.4. However, the Levirate clause (discussed below in Chapter VI) states: "And if secondly his father dies, then the woman (MÍ-na-an-na) whom he held (har-ta), his brother's son will take."²³⁾ Twice within this stipulation, and again in HG §195, as we noted above, the verb hark-, in the context of a man "holding" a woman, appears to express a state of marriage between them, without the scribe's having felt the need to represent them, logographically at least, as "husband" and "wife".

3.1. The logogram MÍ(-) might be understood in the context of §195 as "wife". Notably, in certain HL inscriptions the symbol L.79 "woman", followed by phonetic complements, FEMINA(-na-)ti-(ia-)sa (nom.sg.), could be read as the Luwian word for woman, *wanati-, but interpreted according to context as "wife", or even *anati- "mother".²⁴⁾ In the inscription KARKAMIS A.1.b, "Watis, beloved woman/wife (FEMINA-ti-ia-sa) of Suhis, Lord of the Land", referred to the latter as mi-i-sa VIR-ti-sa/*zitis "my man/husband".²⁵⁾ In HG §192, a similar interpretation of the word concealed by LÚ seems to be invited by the context:

4) KBo VI 26, III²⁶⁾

37. ták-ku IÚ-aš MÍ-ni a-ki LÚ-aš HA.LA-ŠU DAM-ŠU da-a-i

"If the man(/husband) dies (on) a woman, his wife takes the share of the man(/husband)"

3.2. It seems likely, therefore, that "husband" could be expressed simply by the word for "man", piseni/as (or zitis in CL contexts),²⁷⁾ which is the basic meaning not only of Akk. mutu, but also of many terms found in IE languages, ancient or modern, to express "husband", either "exclusively" or concurrently with "man".²⁸⁾ This does not seem to apply to DAM in Hitt. texts where it appears to be distinguished from MÍ "woman", in the same line, or general context, as in examples cited above. The terms "mother" and "wife" are also clearly distinguished within the same context by means of the logograms AMA and DAM, for example, ABU-ŠU AMA-ŠU ŠEŠ-ŠU DAM-ŠU LÚ gainas=sis LÚ aras=sis ... "his

father, his mother, his brother, his wife, his affine, his companion ..."²⁹⁾ For scribal purposes DAM appears to have had the juristic meaning "legal wife", whatever may have been the word concealed by it.

3.3. Recently, the nom.pl. aš-ri-wa-an-tin-zi in CL has been interpreted as "Ehemanner"?, that is "die, welche mit einer Frau versehen sind," being analysed as a -want(i)- derivative based on asri- "woman".³⁰⁾ There is not sufficient evidence to determine whether asri- actually had the more exclusive meaning "wife" in CL texts, and consequently might have been concealed there by the logogram DAM.

4.0. The words noted indicate the state of marriage, whether fully "legal" or not. Associated terms such as ^{MI}E/É. GI₄(.A) "bride, daughter-in-law", ^{LU}antiyant- "man who enters in (to his wife's natal home)", ^{LU}pupas "lover, adulterer", and terms for the secondary wife or concubine, will be discussed in their appropriate categories in the following chapters on various types of Hittite marriage.

§2. AFFINAL RELATIONSHIPS

§2.1. STEPMOTHER, STEPFATHER.

1.0. Like CL tatawannis "stepfather" (< tati- "father"), we may analyse Hitt. annawannas and CL annawannis "stepmother", as derivations of the basic term anna/i- "mother", by means of the composite suffix -wan(n)a/i- (< -wa+anni/a-), which, according to Starke, denoted "having the position of".³¹⁾ Apart from the example just cited, special terms for women related by marriage have not yet been attested, suggesting that they may have been referred to usually in descriptive terms such as ^{MI}^{MEŠ} ŠA ŠEŠ-KA "women/(wives) of your brother", or DAM-ŠU ne-ga-aš-ša-aš-ša "(to) his wife and her sisters".³²⁾

§2.11. FATHER-IN-LAW: Akk. emu.

2.1. The Akk. emu which refers principally in Akk. contexts to "father-in-law" or "son-in-law",³³⁾ is found in a Hitt. text as an allogram referring to the former, and again in another, very damaged context, where only the form may be

noted and not its referant:

5)a. KUB XIV 3 (CTH 181), I³⁴)

- 61' ... nu-kân ^mpí-ia-ma-ra-du-uš ^{GIŠ}MÁ-za
 62' [ar-h]a ú-it na-an A-NA A-WA-TE^{MES} ku-e-da-aš har-ku-
un
 63' [na-a]t ^mat-pa-aš-ša iš-ta-ma-aš-ki-it ^ma-wa-ia-na-
aš-ša
 64' [iš-]ta-ma-aš-kir nu-uš-ma-ša-aš ^{LÚ}E-MI-ŠU-NU ku-it
 65' [nu-u?-]wa me-mi-an ku-wa-at ša-an-na-an-zi

"Then Piyamaradus went off by ship; and (those) matters for which I held him (responsible), Atpas heard them and Awayanas heard them. Because he (is) their father-in-law (is) why they are [stil]l(?) concealing the matter."

According to the context "father-in-law", referring to Piyamaradus, would be the only possible interpretation here.³⁵) The Hitt. word represented by emu remains unknown.

2.2. The tablet recording the next example has its top broken away, with the sides damaged also, leaving only a few signs in the centre. After a blank space of approximately seven lines in depth and another ruling, begins the letter, catalogued as CTH 180, part of which is cited below as 8), which appears to be unconnected to any previous text on the tablet.

5)b. KUB XXIII 85, rev.?,³⁶)

 3' [E-MI-IA-ia ^{LÚ}GAL^{LÚ} x

"]and my father-in-law, the Chief (of) x["

§2.111. BROTHER(/FATHER/SON)-IN-LAW: (^{LÚ})g/kai/enas.

3.1. Usually, male relatives by marriage were covered by the Hitt. generic term (^{LÚ})g/kai/enas, in the spelling of which the frequency of the ga and i signs in OH and later texts prevails over that of the ka and e.³⁷) The general meaning of this term is established by its equivalence to Akk. (also Amorite), (^{LÚ})hat(a)nu, spelled (^{LÚ})HA-DA-(A)-NU

in Hitt. contexts, meaning "son-in-law, brother-in-law; bridegroom" in Akk. contexts, including an instance in an OA text from Kültepe, and also from Mari.³⁸⁾ The Akk. text of the Telepinus Edict, in KUB III 85, obv.3. has LÚ^{MEŠ}ha-at-ni(-ma) "(and) affines", as equivalent to Hitt. LÚ^{MEŠ}ga-e-na-aš-še-eš(-ša) "(and) his affines" in KBo III 1 +, I 3, in the context of relatives and troops whose combined loyalty was necessary to maintain peace in Hatti, as the following better preserved passage also relates:

6) KBo III 1 +(CTH 19.II.A), II³⁹⁾

13. [(EGI)]R-pa ^mha-at-tu-š[(i-l)]i-iš ha-aš-šu-u-e-it
 na-pa a-pí-el-la DUMU^{MEŠ}-ŠU
 14. [(ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}-Š)]U LÚ^{MEŠ}ga-e-n[(a-aš-še)]-iš LÚ^{MEŠ}ha-aš-
 ša-na-aš-ši-ša Û ERÍN^{MEŠ}-ŠU
 15. ta-ru-up-pa-an-te-eš e-š[ir] ...

"Afterwards Hattusilis reigned as King; and his sons, his brothers, his affines and his blood relatives and his troops were united ..."

3.2. The formulaic series of relatives occurs three times in CTH 19, always in the same order, with relatives by marriage following sons and brothers, but preceding "men of his family", who were related by blood,⁴⁰⁾ and the fighting men. It illustrates the close nature of the link with his "in-law", perceived by the King in the present context, and by individuals in other examples, which resulted from marriage to a female relative. The male determinative does not always precede the term, whether Hittite or allographic, but the contexts indicate that the references were always to male relatives, although women could refer in the same terms to their male "in-laws".⁴¹⁾

3.3. The following example in a fragmentary 13th century text illustrates not only the equivalence of the (LÚ)⁴²⁾ HADANU and (LÚ) gaina-, but also the temporal nature of this relationship, which seems to have been ended through divorce in the present case?

7) KBo XVI 58 (CTH 297.18), II⁴²⁾

1. UM-MA ^ma-li-mu-ut-ta ^mzu-zu-wa-aš-wa-mu IQ-BI

2. ^mUR.MAH-i-iš-wa-mu me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi
 3. UL-wa-za ŠA É la-bār-na A-NA GAL LÚ^{MES}DUB.SAR.GIŠ-ri
 4. LÚ^{HA-DA-NU} nu-wa-mu-kán ka-ru-ú ku-wa-pi
 5. A-NA GAL LÚ^{MES}DUB.SAR.GIŠ LÚ^{ka-i-na-an-ni}
 6. ar-ha da-a-ir ŠA É la-bār-na-ma-w[a]UL

 "Thus (spoke) Alimutta, 'Zuzuwas said to me: *Walwis keeps saying to me - '(Was I) not affine to the Chief of the Scribes on wood of the House of Labarna? And previously when they had removed me from affinity to the Chief of the Scribes on wood, (I was) not, however, (removed) from (lit. of) the House of Labarna.'"

Although the omitted vb "to be" should be pres. tense, context suggests the preterite for L.3, confirmed, it would seem, by the past tense of the omitted vb in L.6., which would have been a repetition of (arha) dair.⁴³⁾

3.4. Whereas this passage appears to support the stipulations in HG which indicate that the relationship of "in-law" ended when the marriage, which brought it into being, had ended, a 13th century fragment of a letter from "the Queen" to Tattamarus, described as having been married to her sister's daughter, who had since died, suggests that there was a feeling also to the contrary. The translation of suwaru, as "fully, truly", which has been determined in other contexts, seems assured today.⁴⁴⁾

8) KUB XXIII 85 (CTH 180),

- 7' [kiš-a]n-ma ku-wa-at me-ma-an-zi ak-ka-an-ta-aš-wa
 LÚ^{HA-DA-NU}
 8' [x? š]u-wa-ru-pát LÚ^{HA-DA-NU} zi-ik-ma-mu-za LÚ^{HA-DA-NU}
e-eš-ta

.....

- 12' [zi-ik-ma-mu-za LÚ^{HA-DA-NI-IA} e-eš-ta

"Why do they say as follows: 'An affine through a deceased person (remains) indeed fully an affine'; and you were an affine to me. ...[yo]u were my affine."

4.1. The Hitt. and Akk. words could be substituted for each other, although (LÚ) gaina- appears to have had a more

general and the latter a more specific application, with ^{LÜ}HADANU occurring more frequently in later texts, and particularly in records of interdynastic marriages.⁴⁵⁾ But, even when the allogram referred in such contexts to "son /brother-in-law", it is still possible to envisage that the word actually spoken was the Hitt. term with its general reference to "affine". As in the passages from CTH 19, the following examples of (^{LÜ})gainas in various contexts, demonstrate the importance of this kinsman in the structure of the family and the state of Hatti, and of named neighbouring lands.

4.2. A. Referring to people of Hatti:

9)a. KBo III 34 (CTH 8.A.), III 20'-21'. These lines and the preceding 15'-18' of this OK "chronicle" were cited in Chapter I above in order to illustrate the solidarity of princely brothers in the OK, and the close association of the affine (ga-i-na-) with brothers in the royal family, since he was similarly entitled to a "throne" and a "table" in the presence of the King.⁴⁶⁾

In cryptic style the same text related the punishment of officers of the King: Nunnus, who had confiscated (royal) silver and gold in Arzawa, the recalcitrant Sarmassus, and the apparently more culpable "affine of Nunnus".

9)b. KBo III 34 (CTH 8.A.), I⁴⁷⁾

15. ... ^mšar-ma-a-aš-šu-un ^mnu-un-nu-un-na
 16. HUR.SAG ta-ha-ia-i pī-hu-te-ir nu-uš GUD-li tu-ri-ir
^mnu-un-nu-uš-ša
 17. ^{LÜ}ka-i-na-aš-ša-an e-ip-pir ša-an ^mšar-ma-a-aš-šu-u-
ⁱ
 18. ^mnu-un-nu-ú-i-ia ša-ku-wa-aš-ma hu-e-ik-ta

"They conducted Sarmassus and Nunnus to Mt. Tahaya, and they yoked them like an ox; and they seized Nunnus' affine, and (t)he(y) slaughtered him before the eyes of Sarmassus and Nunnus."

9)c. KUB XIII 20 (CTH 259: 2nd tablet.A.), I 32-33, cited in Chapter II above as 22), in which "affine" (^{LÜ}ka-e-na-an-ti) preceded "companion", but followed other relatives.

9)d. KUB XIII 4 (CTH 264.A), I 30-31, cited in Chapter II as 6), in which "affine" (^{LÚ}ka-i-na-aš) followed wife, children, brother, sister, but preceded "men of his family" and servants.

9)e. KBo VII 28 +(CTH 371), I⁴⁸)

19. ... na-aš-ta ŠUM-MI LUGAL ták-na-a-aš ^DUTU-i pí-ra-an
a-aš-šu tar-aš-ki [ták-ku-an]
20. A-BU-ŠU AMA-ŠU ŠEŠ-ŠU NIN-ŠU ^{LÚ}ga-i-na-aš-ši-iš ^{LÚ}a-
ra-aš-ši-iš
21. ku-uš-du-wa-a-iz-zi zi-ga-an li-e tar-na-at-ti

"...and continue to speak well the name of the King before the Sun god of the Earth! [If] his father, his mother, his brother, his sister, his affine, his companion, revile [him], do thou not abandon him (i.e. 'release' him to the above)!"

9)f. KUB XXXVI 109 (CTH 275), obv.⁴⁹)

- 5' ki-nu?-]na ka-a-ša A-NA DUMU^{MEŠ} LUGAL iš-tar-na x[
6' LUGAL]-u-iz-ni lam-ni-ir na-an-za ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}-ŠU NIN^{MEŠ}-
Š[U
7' pa-]an-ku-uš-ša ^{LÚ}MEŠ URU ha-at-ti še-ik-ka-an-du
nu x-[
8']ku-i-ša ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}-ŠU ^{LÚ}MEŠ ga-i-na-aš-ši-iš na-at[-
ta?
9' A-NA]^mha-at-tu-ši-i-li me-na-ah-ha-an-da SAG.DU-
Z[U
10']LÚKÚR-ŠU e-eš-du na-an par-ha[-an-du

"[... no]w behold! In the midst of the children of the King [for King]ship they have named [him], and may his brothers, h[is] sisters, [] and [the co]mmunity (of) the men of Hatti, recognise him! Now, []who- ever (of) his brothers, (or) his affines [does] no[t recognise him, [] against Hattusilis, the person (lit- erally 'his head') [] let him be his enemy, and [let them] (the gods of the oath) pursue him!"

9)g. KUB XXIX 1 (CTH 414.A), I⁵⁰)

10. [nu LUGAL-u]š ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti te-iz-zi e-hu pa-a-i-wa-ni
11. [HUR.SAG-]i nu HUR.SAG^{MEŠ} -aš EGIR-an ti-i-ia
^{LÚ}MEŠ(!) -aš-mi-iš
12. [li-]e ki-iš-ta ga-a-i-na-aš-mi-iš li-e ki-iš-ta

36' [] ^DUTU^{ŠI} a-ša-aš-hu-un ^mSUM-^DKAL ^mku-uk-
kul-li-in

37' [^mma-la-z]i-ti-in ŠA ^mSUM-^DKAL ^{LÚ}ka-e-na-an nu a-pu-
u-uš-ša

38' [^{URU}KU.BABBAR-Ši u-]wa-te-nu-un ...

"[and them] I, My Sun, have settled. ^mSUM-^DKAL, Kukkul-
lis (and) [^mMalaz]itis, the affine of ^mSUM-^DKAL, even
those [to Hattusas] I have brought ..."

11)c. KUB XXIII 72 +(CTH 146), rev.⁵⁸⁾

41. [ŠA ^{LÚ}KUR ^{LÚ}TE-MI I-N]A KÁ-KU-NU li-e tar-ši-ki-it[-
ten ŠA ^{LÚ}KUR ^{LÚ}ku-ú-ša-an ^{LÚ}ga-i[-na-an]

"[the enemy's messenger i]n your (city)gate do not
allow! [Of the ene]my, the "tribute/rent-payer(?)",
the aff[inedo not x? "

11)d. KUB XXIII 68 +(CTH 133), I⁵⁹⁾

23. na-aš-ma-aš an-tu-uh-ši A-BU-ŠU AMA-ŠU ŠEŠ-ŠU DAM-Š[U
n]a-aš-ma DUMU-ŠU ^{LÚ}ga-e-na-aš[

"Or he (i.e. someone who might speak an evil word) to a
person, his father, his mother, his brother, his wife[,
o]r his son, [his] affine[... ."

11)e. KBo V 3 (CTH 42), IV⁶⁰⁾

41' nu-mu m[a-a]-an I-NA EGIR.UD^{KAM} šu-me-eš ^{LÚ}MEŠ
[^{UR}]U ha-ia-ša aš-š[u-l]i

42' pa-ah-ha-aš-[t]e-ni am-mu-ga šu-me-eš ^{LÚ}MEŠ ^{URU}ha-ia-
ša ^mma-ri-ia-a[n]

43' ^{LÚ}MEŠ ga-e-n[i]-eš ŠA KUR ^{URU}ha-ia-ša aš-šu-li pa-ah-
ha-aš-hi

"And if in the future you men of Hayasa defend me with
good will, indeed I will defend you, men of Hayasa,
Mariyas (and) the affines of Hayasa..."

11)f. KUB XXXVI 67 (CTH 362.1), III

6' [] ^{LÚ}ga-i-na-an-ni

" [in/for affineship [] "

Obverse II of this fragment of a myth, located in Akkad,
mentions in L.16' gur-pa-a-ra-an-za-hu-un a-pí-el ^{LÚ}HA-AT-
NI-Š[U "Gurparanzahus (acc.), the son-in-law of that (pers-

on)", without actually naming the referent of apel. However, as deduced by Güterbock from the context, the father of Gurparanzahus' wife, Tatizuli, must have been Imparakus, Gurparanzahus' companion in battle, and in Akkad.⁶¹⁾

5.1. In summary, we see from the citations above that the affine within Hatti was counted both collectively and individually, whatever the specific relationship by marriage, as an important and responsible member of a person's family, whether it were the King's family or that of an ordinary inhabitant. Indeed, 6) and 9)a. and f., illustrate how necessary was his affine's loyalty to the King, in maintaining peace and order in the land.

5.2. The "in-law" was associated most frequently with "brothers" according to 6), 9) a., d., e., f., and by implication also in 9)b. It is notable that the LÚgaina- might precede blood relatives, 6), 9)d., although in the context of 9)c., which referred to all conceivable associates of a person,⁶²⁾ the LÚkaenanza follows the blood-related family and kindred, while preceding the LÚaras "companion, friend, equal". The -ant- suffix, serves to generalise the category of "affine", in much the same manner as the neuter -atar suffix would have done, as in 11)f., while maintaining the emphasis on personality.⁶³⁾ Although a man's pankur "kindred", might be expected to include affines, according to evidence regarding "kindreds" generally,⁶⁴⁾ this Hitt. passage appears to underline the comparatively impermanent nature of the relationship incurred through a marriage, which was dissolved through death or by divorce.

5.3. The association of "affine" with the social category of "companion, equal" may be seen also in 9)g.,⁶⁵⁾ and e., listing the people of greatest importance in a man's life, "his father, mother, brother, sister, affine, companion." The picture presented here, and generally from the other passages cited, is of the bilateral family surrounding each person who achieved contact with the rest of the community principally through marriage links and association with his social "equal".

5.4. A particular aspect of being an "in-law" is evident in 9)g., in which the desired relationship of the Throne and the King as equals⁶⁶⁾ is contrasted to the other relationships of the latter to his "men(/people)" (subject and/or family?) or affine. Apart from the obvious interpretation that all affines of the King in Hatti would be in a subordinate relationship to him, it is possible that the first two of these three categories were equivalent to those preceding the ^{LÜ}aras in other contexts, thus symbolising all relationships through blood, marriage and social subordination.

6.1. "Affinity" is regarded in examples 11)a.-e. subjectively, according to the nature of these texts, relating or presupposing hostile military action against the Hittite King. The relationships of the West Anatolians in 11)b. are immediately recognisable within the "Hittite" family context. In 11)d., representing apparently family relations of the Ismerikkans, the order suggests a family structure based more on generational divisions, than in Hatti. According to 11)e., asyndetically contrasted to the "men of Hayasa" were the "affines of Hayasa", suggesting that the former belonged to an exogamous clan, traditionally marrying members of another (or more) clan(s). If such a clan were identifiable as the people of Azzi, we might have an explanation for the prohibition by Suppiluliumas I of Huqqanas from taking a woman of Azzi in marriage - an eventuality to be expected if it were the custom for Hayasans to marry women of Azzi.⁶⁷⁾

6.2. In 11)a. are listed categories of persons who might be met on the battlefield of a hostile uprising, where brother, affine, another category possibly, lost in the lacuna, and companion, are found with the acquaintance and "man on the spot". Since 10)c. presents a rather similar context of enemy personnel to be rebuffed, we have hesitated before rendering ^{LÜ}kusas as a kinship term per se, that is, as "one who pays the 'brideprice' (kusata)'".⁶⁸⁾ Further evidence for this word, will be presented below.

§2.iv. LÚ(MEŠ)HAD(A)NU IN BOĞAZKOY TEXTS.

1.1. This had a generalised application like the Hitt. (LÚ/LÚ.MEŠ) g/kai/ena-, as seen in 6) above. Further, in KUB XIV 3 (CTH 181), II 73'-75', which was cited above in Chapter II, Hattusilis III described a charioteer, Dabala-Tarhundās, who was married to a member of the Queen's family, na-aš-mu ū-UL im-ma LÚHA<-DA>-NU "(is) he not indeed my affine?"⁶⁹⁾ The Akk. text of the Treaty concluded by this King with his vassal, King Bentešina of Amurru, required the latter to come to the aid of Hattusilis' son, grandson, brother, brother's son, "or to my affine" (lu-ū LÚha-da-a-an-[ni-ia]),⁷⁰⁾ which allows as broad an interpretation as in the preceding examples.

1.2. In other cases, either the precise relationship is not specified, as in citations 5)b. 3', 7) 4, 10)c. 17', and the vocabulary text KUB III 101 (CTH 309), 8, or too little remains of the damaged context to permit interpretation, as in the fragmentary KUB LVII 2, with]x LÚHA-DA-NU-KA in 9', or Akk. KUB III 39 (CTH 170), obv. 11' with]a-na LÚha-ta-ni.⁷¹⁾

2.1. Apart from the example of nephew-in-law cited in 8) above, Hitt. texts could use LÚHADANU with reference to a specified affine, such as son-in-law:

12)a. KUB XIV 1 (CTH 147), obv.⁷²⁾

80. [nu-wa-as-]ši ŠA ŠÀ-ŠU [DUMU. MUN]US-ZU A-NA DAM-ŠU har-zi nu-wa a-pa-a[-aš] A-NA LÚHA-AT-NI-ŠU ŠA ŠÀ-ŠU-ia

81. [DUMU.MUNUS me-na-ah-ha-an-ta i-da-a-lu ša-an-hi-iš-ki-zi]

"... 'And] he (Kupanta-^DKAL) holds his (Madduwattas') own (i.e. 'of his heart(/flesh)), [daugh]ter as his wife. Now, he (Madduwattas) [seeks harm against] his affine(/son-in-law) and his own [daughter..]

12)b. KUB XXXVI 67 (CTH 362), II 16; see 11)f. above.

12)c. KUB XIV 15 +(CTH 61.2.B), IV - concerning Mashuilu-was of Mira, fugitive to Suppiluliumas I, as described by

Mursilis II,⁷³⁾

39. ... nu-wa-at-ta A-BU-IA ša-ra-a da-a-aš
 40. nu-wa-du-za ^{LÚ}HA-TA-NU i-ia-at nu-wa-at-ta ^fmu-u-wa-
at-tin a-pí-el DUMU.MUNUS-ZU
 41. NIN-IA A-NA DAM-UT-TI-ŠU pí-eš-ta ...

"... and my father took you up and made you an affine (/son-in-law); he gave to you his own daughter, Muwatt-is, my sister, as a wife(/for her/his wifeship)."

2.2. To the above may be added the following examples in which the relationship designated is very likely to have been son-in-law, but the nature of the respective texts allows uncertainty;

12)d. KUB XXVI 43 +(CTH 225), obv.⁷⁴⁾

22. [^mša-h)]u-ru-nu-wa-aš GAL NA.KAD A-NA ^ma-li-hi-eš-ni
^{LÚ}HA-DA-N[I-ŠU]

"Sahurunuwas, Chief Shepherd, to Alihešni, [his] affine(/son-in-law?) [has given ..."

referring to a gift of land, over and above the property already given to the former's daughter(?) Tarhu(nda)manawas, and her children, according to this document, discussed above in Chapter II.

12)e. KUB XIX 13 + 14 (CTH 40.V.34-37),⁷⁵⁾

- 1' [... ^{LÚ}]HA-DA-A[-NU(?)
 2' []x ku-en-nir

"[.....]affine(son-in-law?),[] they killed ..."

Güterbock suggested that this very damaged fragment of DS may have referred to Šattiwaza of Mittanni, whom Suppiluliumas I had made his son-in-law.⁷⁶⁾

2.3. A recent interpretation of KUB XXVI 1a, 10'-11', part of the "Instruction" text requiring loyalty to King Tuthalijas IV from senior officials, would translate ^{LÚ}HADAN(U) as "brother-in-law".⁷⁷⁾ Indeed, the scribe(s) who wrote the text of the Treaty of Tuthalijas IV with Šaušgamuwa of Amurru used this allogram in two separate contexts when referring to a vassal made an affine, described further as

a brother-in-law.⁷⁸⁾ However, the logogram could be interpreted as referring to "sons-in-law" in the "Instruction" passage with its damaged context, restored variously for the beginning of L.10' by Laroche (=a.) and Otten (=b.):

13) KUB XXVI 1a (CTH 255.III.E),⁷⁹⁾

- a.10' [^{LÚ}a-an-ti-ia-an-ti-eš-ma-aš ku-i[-e-eš I-NA? É?
 b.10' [pí-r]a-an-ti-ia-an-ti-eš-ma-aš ku-i[-e-eš I-NA? É?
 11' [^{ŠA} LU]GAL ^{LU.MEŠ}HA-DA-AN LUGAL[

- a. "Those wh[o] (are) [male] 'entrants')
 b. "Those wh[o] stand [be]fore them) [in the house]
 c. of the Ki]ng (as) affines(/sons-in-law) of the King["

The ^{LÚ}antiyant-, who entered into the household of his father-in-law,⁸⁰⁾ will be discussed in Chapter VI. Despite the difficulties in reading L.10', the reference to "affines of the King" follows the sequence of King's sons, brothers, the friend(?), the Lord, Prince, with which the preceding paragraphs are concerned.⁸¹⁾ The following very damaged L.12' [x x?]-ša-aš QA-TAM-MA ^{LÚ}H[A-DA-AN?, as restored by von Schuler,⁸²⁾ may refer to an "af[fine (of the King)]", while the lacuna at the beginning might be restored [^{LÚ}ku-ú?]-ša-aš, to be interpreted as the opposite of the ^{LU}antiyanza, but if married to the King's daughter, an affine "in the same manner" (QATAMMA) as the former.⁸³⁾

3.1. As noted above, Tuthaliyas IV's Treaty with Šaušgamuwa of Amurru used ^{LÚ}HADANU when describing the kinship status of the vassal after he had married the sister of the Hitt. King, thus becoming a brother-in-law.⁸⁴⁾ The Treaty tablet Bo 86/299 of Tuthaliyas with Kuruntas of Tarhundassa, names Bentešina, King of Amurru, as one of the witnesses, while his son, also a witness, is not only listed above his father but is designated ^mša-uš-ga-mu-u-wa ^{LÚ}HA-DA-A-AN LUGAL.⁸⁵⁾ The Treaty CTH 105, following Šaušgamuwa's accession, evoked events in the reign of Tuthaliyas' uncle, Muwattallis:

14) KUB XXIII 1 +(CTH 105.A), II⁸⁶⁾

16. [^mma-aš-tu-ri-iš ku-iš LUGAL KUR ^{ÍD}še-e-ha e-eš-ta

17. na-an ^mNIR.GÁL-iš da-a-aš na-an-za-an ^{LÚ}HA-DA-NU DÙ-at[

18. nu-us-ši ^{MÍ}DINGIR^{MES}-IR NIN-ŠU DAM-an-ni pí-eš-ta

"[M]asturis - who was King of the Seha-River Land -, Muwattallis took him and made him an affine(/brother-in-law); he gave to him ^IMatanazi(/Massanuzzi), his sister, for a wife."

3.2. The wording of this passage and of others of a similar nature, stresses in the first place that the vassal had been made a relative by marriage, and then alludes to the actual relationship, suggesting, as previously remarked,⁸⁷⁾ that gaina- "affine" was the Hitt. word represented by ^{LÚ}HADANU. The following example, however, comes from a letter in Akk. from the King of Karkamis, probably Inī-Tesub, to the King of Ugarit, probably Ibiranu, in which the author says:

15) RS 34.136 (rev.),⁸⁸⁾

25. un-du a-bu-ka

26. ^{LÚ}ha-ta-nu ša ^DUTU^{ši}

27. ù áš-šúm šul-ma-na-ti

28. i-na ^{URU}ha-ka-pí-iš-še

29. ù i-na ^{URU}ki-zu-wa-at-na

30. ki-ki-i e-te-ip-šu-šu

"At the time when your father (was) an affine of My Sun, on account of the courtesy gifts into the city Hakkissa and into the city Kiz(z)uwatna, how did he (the recipient's father) treat him (My Sun)? ..."

3.3. These lines follow a lengthy admonition by the author, "the King",⁸⁹⁾ to the effect that the Ugarit King by way of his "courtesy gifts" to the Great Men in Hatti, had sent very small presents indeed, and had failed to dispatch the requested additional gift to the Great Scribe.⁹⁰⁾ The author now sent the addressee a ^YGIŠ.HUR "wooden order form, list", which had arrived to him from Hatti, with specifications no doubt of the required "courtesy presents".⁹¹⁾ Such demands upon and scolding of an Ugarit King recall similar admonitions of Prince Pihawalwis on behalf of My Sun to Ibiranu for failing to send messengers regularly,

ending with:⁹²⁾

"Now, despatch speedily your messengers to My Sun and deliver the courtesy presents, together with my presents!"

Ini-Tešub, from Karkamis, also wrote a "hastener" in RS 17.289, of Ibiranu's expected delivery of military equipment to Hatti.⁹³⁾

4.1. Marital relations between the royal families of Hatti and Ugarit are known from texts already published. RS 17.226 and 17.355, adjudications by Talmi-Tešub of Karkamis, make known the presence of a Hitt. princess in Ugarit, during the reign of its last king 'Ammurapi, from whose son she was divorced,⁹⁴⁾ but these circumstances do not agree with those indicated by RS 34.136. The very damaged letter from "the King of Karkamis" to the King of Ugarit, RS 20.216, with a precautionary tale as introduction, may refer to the abduction of a Hitt. princess on her(?) territory, with a possible mention of ti[rhat-ša?],⁹⁵⁾ but no more can be deduced from it without further information.

4.2. Although conclusive proof eludes us, certain factors suggest that RS 34.136 might be dated to the reign of Ibiranu, thereby identifying his father, 'Ammistamru, as the "affine" of My Sun.⁹⁶⁾ Firstly, epigraphic and linguistic considerations indicate that this letter was written by a scribe, passing perhaps between Hatti and Karkamis, from the same school and period as the one who wrote KBo I 10 (CTH 172), letter from Hattusilis III to Kadašman-Enlil of Babylon,⁹⁷⁾ and still employed during the reign of Tuthaliyas IV and the continuing reign of Ini-Tešub. Note in RS 34.136 the less frequently used signs, rit_x, lil, šak, áš-šúm,⁹⁸⁾ with phrases, such as a-na pa-ni-ka lil-sú-ú "let them read (the tablets) to you",⁹⁹⁾ or with qâpu "believe", and kasû "bind".¹⁰⁰⁾ Secondly, the concordance of admonitions from Hatti, RS 17.247 to Ibiranu, and from Karkamis in RS 34.136, suggest that the recipient of the latter was also Ibiranu.

4.3. Further, we know from a series of documents that Ib-

iranu's father, Ammistamru, had been married and then divorced from a woman described in the judgement before Ini-Tešub, RS 1957.1, recording her banishment from both Ugarit and Amurru, as (former) wife of Ammistamru, daughter of King Bentešina, sister of King Šaušgamuwa, and also ^Mbi-it-ta/i (acc./oblique sg.) ra-bi-ti.¹⁰¹⁾ Kühne has argued cogently that the latter should be interpreted as "daughter of the Great Lady" and not as ^fPN with title "the rabiti", and that the woman so designated was the one who appears in other RS texts concerning the divorce of Ammistamru, including adjudications by Tuthaliyas IV, which refer to her as DUMU.MUNUS rabiti, and by one other or more of the above terms.¹⁰²⁾

4.4. According to these arguments also, Ammistamru's divorced wife as "daughter of the Great Lady", may have been the daughter of the Hitt. princess, Gassulawiyas, daughter of Hattusilis III, whom he married to Bentešina of Amurru.¹⁰³⁾ Through his marriage, Ammistamru would have become a grandson-in-law of Hattusilis III, and a nephew-in-law of Tuthaliyas IV. He would also have been a brother-in-law of Šaušgamuwa.¹⁰⁴⁾ However, it seems less likely that Šaušgamuwa, despite his "Luwian" name and HL inscribed seals,¹⁰⁵⁾ was a full brother of ^Mbitta/i rabiti, whom he set in the care of her brothers,¹⁰⁵⁾ since he would then have been a blood relative of Tuthaliyas IV, scarcely requiring the marriage arranged by the latter to attach him through kinship as ^{LU}HADANU to the Hitt. King. Since Bentešina, still reigning at the time of Bo 86/299, was not termed "affine" there, while his son was,¹⁰⁷⁾ it is arguable that Gassulawiyas had died by then, so that Bentešina had ceased to be legally a ^{LU}HADANU.

4.5. If further evidence should substantiate our arguments that Ammistamru had married the granddaughter of Hattusilis III, and that it was to him that RS 34.136 referred as "affine of My Sun", we would have another example of ^{LU}HADANU referring to a nephew-in-law, and being applied with as extensive a field of reference by a scribe in Karkamis as may be seen in the Hitt. texts.¹⁰⁸⁾ Also, if Ammistamru

may be seen as the affine of both Hattusilis III and Bentešina, this would help to explain the reference in RS 34.136 to "presents" being delivered in his time to Hakpis(sa), where Hattusilis had been King, and where he had installed Bentešina in a house during the latter's exile from Amurru,¹⁰⁹⁾ and further, to Kiz(z)uwatna, Puduhepa's original home, in which both she and Hattusilis maintained special interests.¹¹⁰⁾

§2.v. LINGUISTIC SUMMARY OF THE AFFINE TERMS

1.1. While the infrequently attested ^{LÚ}EMU apparently referred in Hitt. texts specifically to "father-in-law", as most commonly in Akk. contexts, Hitt. (^{LÚ})gaina- and the logogram ^{LÚ}HADANU both have a general application as "affine". Although there remains uncertainty in both cases, the actual meanings of the last two words appear to differ, arriving at "relative through marriage" by different processes. Seligman noted regarding hat(a)nu that the cognate noun in Arabic means generally "affine (on the wife's side)", while the verb in its 3rd form meant "to ally oneself by marriage", whereas the 1st and 8th forms were active and passive respectively of "to circumcise", which Seligman suggested was a later semantic development due to social causes.¹¹¹⁾ The Ugaritic vb htn means "to marry", and the noun, "son-in-law",¹¹²⁾ as does hātna in Aramaic, while Hebrew hoton referred to "daughter's husband, bridegroom; son-in-law", and the reflexive vb "to form an alliance with; make oneself a daughter's husband".¹¹³⁾

1.2. Huffmon noted the frequency of kinship terms in Amorite names, together with the incidence of hatn-, either as an appellative or theophorous element.¹¹⁴⁾ Although htn¹ "son-in-law" has been associated with htn² "protect",¹¹⁵⁾ Huffmon thinks the latter was possibly a later development than the kinship term, from which it may have derived its meaning.¹¹⁶⁾ It has been suggested that hat(a)nu "son-in-law" meant "protected one", in contrast to emu, which derived from the common root ham, yielding also Amorite hammu "master, head of the family", with basic meaning "guard-

ian".¹¹⁷⁾ However, as hat(a)nu, a paras form, appears to be active,¹¹⁸⁾ and could overlap with emü semantically in later texts, the sense of "protector" seems common to both terms. Goetze noted that where hatani appears in the Assur tablet of Gilgames, hā'ir (<hāwiru(m)) "(first) bridegroom, husband" (equated in the vocabularies with mutu(m)), occurs in the Nineveh text.¹¹⁹⁾ This would negate any sense of weakness or "being protected" implied in the term hat(a)nu. 1.3. Consequently, we might interpret the root htn tentatively as referring to alliance, from which could be derived the other meanings attested in the cognate languages, together with the sense of "protect(or through alliance)".

2.1. The derivation of the Hittite term for "affine", for which a cognate in Lydian kāna was once suggested,¹²⁰⁾ has not yet been determined unequivocally. Tischler, noting that gaina- is "ohne Überzeugende Etymologie", lists a few of the analyses advanced by linguists since Hrozný,¹²¹⁾ including that of Mezger, who derived it possibly from *koin-, like Gothic jains "that one", being an old "Instrumental-Soziativ" in n-, from the deictic particle *ke, *ko, attested already in the Hitt. demonstrative pronoun ka- "this (one), here."¹²²⁾ Mezger compared the instrumental formation in the kinship term with, for example, Lith. sváinis "wife's sister's husband" (*suoinios), <*suoin-o (<*se, *s(e)ue) "the one who belongs to the family".¹²³⁾

2.2. Another possibility suggests itself: g/ka/eina- might be derived from the same form as the Grk. κλινός "new, (one) who innovates". Chantraine saw the latter as a reformation of an old root in -n-, attested in Avestan kaⁱni(n)- and Sanskrit gen.pl. kanīnam "of young girls".¹²⁴⁾ Brugmann, however, had suggested its derivation from the same demonstrative pronoun as noted above, which might be seen also in κεῖνος "that one, there".¹²⁵⁾ The Hitt. word for "affine" could thus be interpreted as "newcomer", which would have its semantic counterparts in Ch.Sl. nevěsta "bride", compounded from the negative prefix ne- with the feminine of věstŭ "known", "hence the 'unknown', that is the 'newcomer in the husband's family'",¹²⁶⁾ Nir. nuachar formed from nua

which may have been listed in the lacunae.

1.3. The spelling ku-ú-še- appears to identify this word with a descriptive term applied in a ritual to the goddesses of Fate, although here the sign še appears in an erasure which makes the reading uncertain:

17) KUB XXIX 1 (CTH 414.A.), II¹³¹⁾

2. nu-wa ^Diš-du-uš-ta-ia-aš ^Dpa-pa-ia-aš kat-te-ir-ri-eš

3. ka-ru-ú-e-li-e-eš DINGIR^{MES} ku-ú-še-eš

4. ha-a-li-an-te-eš a-ša-an-zi

"... and Isdustayas and Papayas, the lower, former gods, kuses kneeling down, are there."

Holding the tools of their trade, distaff and spindle, symbols of femininity, these deities were described further as "weaving years for the King", in the manner attributed generally in mythology to such "Parcae".¹³²⁾ The original editor of the text read ku-ú-eš as an emendation for the relative pronoun.¹³³⁾ Since these gods were obviously female it has been suggested that kuses could be interpreted as "brides", being the plural of kusa-, while ^{LÚ}kusa- would have denoted the "man of the bride", the "bridegroom, son-in-law", who paid the kusata "brideprice", which features in HG.¹³⁴⁾ However, there appears to be good reason (despite Weitenberg's attempt, with reference to this passage, to relate kusa- to Grk. ἡμέρα),¹³⁵⁾ for interpreting ku-ú-še-eš here as an aberrant spelling of the intended relative pronoun, as concluded by Tischler.¹³⁶⁾

1.4. Another possible example of kusa- as a divine epithet, this time of the Storm god, is found in the following ritual passage:

18) KBo XXII 116, I

7. 1 MĀŠ.GAL-ma-kán A-NA ^DX ku-u-ša

8. [ši]-pa-an-ti

"They sacrifice one buck to the "kusa" Storm god".¹³⁷⁾

Even if this kusa- were the same word as the one under consideration here, it occurs with variant spelling and with-

out the male determinative, and adds nothing to our comprehension of the term in this or any other context.¹³⁸⁾

2.1. According also to Weitenberg's theory, kusata would be a nominal derivative of kusa- in -ta, not related to kussan- neut., equated in a Vocabulary text with Akk. idu "hire", and attested in HG as "hire, wage".¹³⁹⁾ However, kussan-, with derivatives kussaniya- "hire", and kussan-(iyat)talla- "mercenary", has been related by many scholars to linguistically comparable terms for "hire, price, etc." in IE languages, and ultimately derived from a common PIE root.¹⁴⁰⁾ The legal clause HG §55, describing the complaint of the "sons (inhabitants) of Hatti", "liegemen", who came to make obeisance to "the father of the King",¹⁴¹⁾ introduces either a) a variant spelling of this kussan- "hire", in the accusative, or b) another instance of kusa- with spelling as attested above in 11) c., 16) and 17)(?):

19) KBo VI 2, III (+ KBo VI 3, III 20'-23')¹⁴²⁾,

17. [(nu tar-)]ši-kán-zi ku-ú-ša-an-na-aš-za (erasure)
na-at-ta ku-iš-ki i-e[(-iz-zi)]

18. [(nu-wa-a)]n-na-aš-za mi-im-ma-an-zi LÚ^{MES} IL-KI-wa
šu-me-eš ...

"And they declare, 'No-one will use (lit. 'do') us for himself (for) a wage, and they refuse us (saying): You are liegemen.'"

2.2. The translation depends obviously on the linguistic interpretation of ku-ú-ša-an-na-aš-za in the older copy, where later KBo VI 3, III 20' has ku-ú-ša-an-na. In HED 2 (p.337) this clause is translated "nobody makes a payroll", which agrees with previous interpretations according to a),¹⁴³⁾ while Starke (1977, p.144), reading "Niemand macht uns zum kusa", interprets this word according to b), as a "directive"(?), but prefers not to translate it, without question, as a relationship term.¹⁴⁴⁾ The most recent translations of HG offer, with some hesitancy, "Als Gevatter behandelt uns niemand", and "Zu Versippten (?) macht uns keiner", being interpretations according to b).¹⁴⁵⁾

2.3. kusanna in the later copy might be read as a dative/

directive.¹⁴⁶⁾ It seems likely that the copyist was trying to clarify the archaic phraseology of the earlier text, according to the meaning of the clause as a whole. Here, the plaintiffs were spurned for socio-economic reasons, because they were ILKI men, thus owing allegiance already to the King or some institution within the overall surveillance of the Palace, and being required to deliver special service and/or tribute in return for land granted as a concomitant.¹⁴⁷⁾ While further evidence is necessary to confirm or deny the following argument, according to present indications it seems reasonable to interpret the ku-sa(n)- term of §55 as belonging rather to the socio-economic sphere, than to that of family relationships. The complaint seems to hinge upon the right of persons committed to the central authority, to render their labour, and thus loyalty to some extent, to a private individual for hire.

2.5. If ku-ú-ša-, according to b), may be understood above in cit. 19) L.17., and if its linguistic relationship to kussan- "hire" may also be assumed, both deriving from the same stem (see below), then we might interpret ku-ú-ša-an(-na-aš-za) (acc.) ... iezzi in the older copy of §55 as being semantically close to if not exactly equivalent to formations with verb kussani(ya)- + acc. obj., e.g. in HG §152 (OH, q₄, 26') [(ták-ku ANŠE.K)]UR.RA ANŠE.GIR.NUN.NA ANŠE-in ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ša-ni-iz-zi "If someone hires a horse, a mule (or) a donkey."¹⁴⁸⁾ If ku-ú-ša-(an)- were in the dative/directive, as ku-ú-ša-an-na of the later copy, being the copyist's approximation to kussan(n)a "for hire", the formation would have its parallel in the expression, as in HG §150: ták-ku LÚ(-eš) ku-uš-ni ti-ia-zi "If a man stands for hire ...", where the older copy has ku-uš-ša-ni,¹⁴⁹⁾ and where the person for hire is the grammatical subj. as opposed to being the obj., as we surmise, in §55.

3.1. Apart from the two nouns, kussan-, neut. "price, hire, wage", and (LÚ)kusa- c., for which the cumulative evidence indicates, we believe, the meaning "pay; (man of)pay",¹⁵⁰⁾ it is probable that a verbal root kus- is attested also in Hitt. texts, which would support our hypothesis. HW¹ act-

ually lists three examples, of which two, *ku-uš-zi in KUB XII 60 (CTH 322), I 6, and KUB VII 53 (CTH 409), I 5, have been corrected to ma-uš-zi.¹⁵¹⁾ But the emendation of MP *kushahat to maushahat in Hatt. III 24 (CTH 81), has been questioned,¹⁵²⁾ and translates less happily in the context of the legal defeat of Hattusilis' great enemy, Arma-Tarhundadas:

20) KUB I 1, III (+ KUB I 7, II 17'-19'; + KUB XIX 67 + 1513/u, I 14-17),¹⁵³⁾

22. ... nu-mu ŠEŠ-IA ku-it

23. [mar-ma(-^DX-an DI-eš-n)]a-az ša-ra-a-az-z[(i-i)]a-ah-ta

24. [(nu-uš-šī-kān i-da-la-a-u-wa-an-ni EGIR-an Ū-UL n)]am-ma ku-uš-ha-ha-at

"And since my brother had raised me to the superior position from the court case in regard to Arma-Tarhundadas, I consequently did not in malice exact a price from him."

3.2. The MP kushahat has been translated elsewhere as "I did not repay (in malice)",¹⁵⁴⁾ which may be the correct interpretation. However, since Hattusilis' merciful reaction consisted in releasing his elderly blood relation and the innocent son Sippha-zitis, but banishing his wife and other son to Alasia, while depriving Arma-Tarhundadas of only half his estate,¹⁵⁵⁾ the context suggests that Hattusilis' enemy might have expected a severe punishment and higher compensatory "costs", which could have been exacted by his victor. The MP kushahat appears to express the latter process aptly.

3.3. In conclusion, we find the evidence continues to support the readings ku-uš- in this text, and the presence in Hittite of a verb kus- "pay, rent, hire", being, as noted by Petersen, an isogloss shared with the Germ. languages (note OE, NE hyr "pay, hire").¹⁵⁶⁾ From kus- the verbal abstr. kussan- was derived, like nahhan- "fear, reverence" from nah- "fear, revere."¹⁵⁷⁾ The relationship to kus- "pay", of the term kusata, which denoted "brideprice", seems inevitable. This will be discussed further in Chapter

VI.

4.0. With the exception of the enigmatic examples of ku-ú-še-eš and ku-ša as epithets(?) in 17) and 18) above, the differing spellings of which might indicate different words, the evidence of the texts indicates that (^{LŪ})kusa- also derived from the vbl root kus- "pay, etc.". ¹⁵⁸⁾ We would interpret the term with male determinative to denote the man who paid rent, tribute, brideprice, while the nominal derivatives of kussaniya- designated those who received "pay" for their service. ¹⁵⁹⁾ The description "affine" might be used in apposition to ^{LŪ}kusas, having delivered the brideprice, just as it might be to ^{LŪ}antiyanza, as one who entered another's family - often as an affine, as we shall argue further, - but in neither case, it would seem, was this the original meaning of these social terms.

LEGALISED MARRIAGE

§1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Whereas the terminology with definitions in regard to different types of marriage is found well established in the classical texts of Lat., Grk., Skr., and the OIr. legal tracts, for example,¹⁾ no such helpful definitions may be found in the Hitt. texts. Nor has Boğazköy provided the numerous private documents recording and regulating marriage contracts and divorce which are attested in the ancient Mesopotamian cuneiform sources, which considerably expand the information gained from the various collections of Laws.²⁾

1.2. The principal sources in Hittite from which we can form a picture of the different types of marriage are: certain clauses in HG, diplomatic documents, that is Treaties and letters between the rulers of Hatti and other NE states, concerning interdynastic marriages, together with some evidence afforded in mythological and festival texts, and the representations in relief decoration of a "sacred marriage" on the Inandiktepe and Bitik vases, which will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

§2. LEGALISED MARRIAGES

1.1. Despite their cryptic style, we perceive in certain clauses in HG dealing with marital associations between men and women in the free and unfree categories, a process of transition during which such unions came to be recognised as legitimate marriages, providing proper customs were observed, which would have been associated previously only with persons of free status. The inclusion of these clauses in earlier and later copies of HG resulted in each case, it would seem, from some social or economic factor, or matter of inheritance, which could not be easily regulated according to the tenets of family common law.³⁾ Consequently, the problems arising from such unions drew the attention of the Palace administration which would have been concerned to maintain stability of family organisations within Hatti and

loyalty to its central authority.⁴⁾

1.2. The older copy of HG in its §"33", records an adjudication of a case which exemplifies the matrimonium non justum when unfree men and women cohabited, establishing a household and producing children:

1) KBo VI 2, II⁵⁾

7. tāk-ku ĪR-aš GEME-an da-a-i nu-uz-za [DUMU^{MES} i-en]-
z[(i)] ma-a-an É-ŠU-NU šar[(-ra-an-zi)]
8. a-aš-šu-uš-še-me-it ha-an-ti h[a-an-ti] šar-r[(a-a)n-
zi me-ik-ku-uš [DUMU^{MES} GEME-aš da-a-i]
9. Û 1 DUMU-AM ĪR-aš da-a-i

"If a slave takes a slave-woman and they [produce children], when they divide their household they will divide their goods respectively (lit. separately-separately), (but) [the slave woman will take] the majority (of) [the children] while the slave(man) will take one child."

1.3. The restorations of this passage, according to Friedrich and Imparati, for example, are virtually assured from the preceding §"32a" in the older copy, KBo VI 2, II 3-5, and §31 of KBo VI 3, II 16-20.⁶⁾ The former is a case described in nearly identical terms, excepting that a slave "takes a (free)woman", - as MĪ-n[a-(an da-a-i ...)] must indicate, if contrasted to GEME-an in §"33", where he also takes (only) one child after the division of their respective property.⁷⁾ A similar principle to that of Roman irregular marriages involving unfree persons appears to have operated with the Hittites, namely that the children followed the mother in an illegitimate union such as the contubernium of slaves, or of a free woman with a slave,⁸⁾ but in HG we see that the father's interest in his offspring and rights to at least one child were recognised, although those rights would have belonged actually to the master of the unfree person, whether male or female.⁹⁾

2.1. That unions of unfree persons were not recognised as completely legitimate, despite the use of dai "he takes", is underlined by the failure to insert the phrase ANA DAM-ŠU "as his wife", which occurs in §§31 and 34, regarding a

free man and a slave woman in the former and a slave man and free woman in the latter, both clauses found in the later copy, KBo VI 3, II.¹⁰⁾

2.2. Possibly ma-a-an, with OH temporal meaning "when, as",¹¹⁾ introducing the second protasis in §§"32a" and "33", might indicate that such unions, unlike legally recognised marriages, were not expected to endure. The circumstances leading to the division of property and children in the above clauses suggest that economic conditions and social change had improved the position of some, at least, unfree persons in Hatti, so that they could enjoy a type of marital union, acquiring property and producing children, which mirrored the expectations of free persons.¹²⁾

3.1. The complex evidence for the status of the "unfree" against the "free" in the Hitt. texts, which has already received much attention,¹³⁾ cannot be examined here. We note that marital unions between the social categories of free and unfree persons, and between the latter themselves, are well attested in the records of other ancient societies, even if regarded, as in Rome, as irregular.¹⁴⁾

3.2. It has been remarked by some scholars that in "slave-owning" societies, the stock of slaves was maintained less by their own interbreeding but necessarily by constant importation, only a few being born also of irregular unions between masters and slave women of the household.¹⁵⁾ A broken passage in the left column of KBo XII 3 (CTH 2.1), which Otten considered to be a legendary introduction to an account (obv.II?) involving Anum-herwa, troops, cavalry, and troops of Zalpa, thus predating the OK period,¹⁶⁾ appears to relate the setting in a "pure place" in a cattle pasture (which implies exposure) of a male child born after a liason with a slave woman.¹⁷⁾ By contrast, the OH Laws provide evidence for unions between slaves, with offspring, while clauses in the MH and later copies of HG regulated the conditions under which unions between the free and unfree would be regarded as legitimate marriages.

4.1. Another interesting facet of these "transition" claus-

es is their reflection of some types of marriage which find their expression in the definitions mentioned earlier in certain other IE texts. We examine first §31 in copy B, not present in A, which deserves a full citation despite its frequent treatment elsewhere,¹⁸⁾ since each of its statements and conditions is particularly interesting for this study:

2) KBo VI 3, II¹⁹⁾

16. ták-ku LÚ-aš EL-LUM GEME-aš-ša [š]i?-e-li-eš na-at
an-da a-ra-an-zi
17. na-an-za A-NA DAM-ŠU da-a-i nu-za É-ir Ù DUMU^{MES} i-
en-zi
18. ap-pí-iz-zi-an-na-at-kán na-aš-šu i-da-a-la-u-e-eš-
ša-an-zi
19. na-aš-ma-at-kán har-pa-an-ta-ri nu-za É-ir ták-ša-an
šar-ra-an-zi
20. DUMU^{MES} -az LÚ-aš da-a-i 1 DUMU^{AM} MÍ-za da-a-i

"If a free man and a slave woman (are) lovers(?), and they move in, and he takes her for a wife and they make a household and children, but afterwards they either become disaffected or they separate, and they divide their household in half: the man takes the (majority of) the children (but) the woman takes one child."

4.2. The translation of the first line follows what has been established as the most probable interpretation, according to context, of [š]i-e-li-eš, which remains a hapax, being unrelated, it would seem, to seli- "barn".²⁰⁾ The restoration <aš>-š*i*-e-li-eš was suggested by Hoffner, and the possible relationship of this word to assiya- "be dear to".²¹⁾ The abstract of the verb appears in the context ŠA
LU MUDI D[A]M assiyatar "the love of husband and wife", in the "Apology" of Hattusilis III,²²⁾ which may support that interpretation.

5.1. The clause is concerned principally with the allocation of the children after the dissolution of this marriage; we are not told precisely how the unfree woman became a legitimate wife - by what legal and, possibly, ceremonial means. The cryptic statement anda aranzi "they enter, move

in", while very likely referring to the entry of the couple into the marital home,²³⁾ may have denoted a legally necessary stage towards the completion of the marriage, like the domum deductio in Rome.²⁴⁾ However, the terminology of HG §31 suggests a common action, while in Roman law, as in HG §27, the groom lead his bride into their new home.²⁵⁾

5.2. There is no mention of kusata, the payment of which could establish a legal marriage according to HG §§34 and 175, which deal with slaves' marrying free women, nor is there reference to any form of compensation paid to a previous owner, if that were not the husband himself.²⁶⁾ Moreover, there is no indication that the woman was released from her slave status before such a marriage, a practice attested in the ancient Near Eastern sources, and actually a requisite at Rome for the marriage to be legal.²⁷⁾ §41 of the MAL does state that a (free) man could make a concubine his legal wife (aššat awīlim) by veiling her before witnesses, and by saying "She (is) my wife", but there is no mention of the concubine's actually being of slave status.²⁸⁾ Without further evidence to the contrary, we must assume from HG §31 that a slave woman could become the legal wife of a free man, although it cannot be assumed that her children, born to a free man in a legitimate marriage, would nevertheless have been unfree.²⁹⁾

5.3. There may be a fine distinction in meaning intended in this clause by its choice of taksan "equally, in half", for the division of household property acquired in a legal marriage, as opposed to hanti hanti "separately, respectively", in §"32a" and §"33",³⁰⁾ where the unions are irregular, and where the intention may have been that the partners took away only what was clearly their own property. The regulation of §31 recognised the superior claim of the father to the children of a legitimate marriage, although the woman's right to one child matched those of the man in the irregular union, according to the oldest copy of HG.

6.1. Here also in this clause was expressed the fulfillment of the purpose of the legally married couple, to form a

household and produce offspring, the orderly division of which claimed the attention of the central authority. The sentiment motivating the intervention of the latter in Hatti is well expressed many centuries later in the words of Stobaeus (apud Aristotle), regarding a citizen's duties within the state,³¹⁾

The principal relationship (is) the union of a man and a woman, according to the law, for the procreation of children and for the sharing of (their) life in common."

6.2. The ideal purpose of marriage is expressed also by Hattusilis III at least a century later than copy B of HG, in his "Apology" when he describes how he and Puduhepa came together in agreement, and with the blessing of the goddess IŠTAR who gave them marital love, they produced sons and daughters. This description of idyllic circumstances and correct behaviour was intended to depict Hattusilis as a truly worthy King, although he had usurped the throne.³²⁾

6.3. It would have been surely in the interests of the Hittite King and his officers, attempting to maintain order in a state frequently subject to the disruptions of rebellions and interfamily feuds,³³⁾ to encourage such a philosophy of marriage, not only by regulating marriage dissolutions to follow an orderly pattern, but also by extending the ability to enter a legitimate marriage to unfree persons to whom this had been previously denied by customary law.

7.1. As a rider to the preceding clause HG §32 states that the case concerning a slave who took a (free)woman as a wife would be the same as the above (§31).³⁴⁾ Further, §33 states that "If a slave takes a slave woman, their case (will be) the same as the preceding", where we should note that the word "wife" does not occur and that the ascription of the majority of the children to the woman in the parallel cases of §§"32a" and "33", was now reversed, favouring the man, and the principle of patrilineal inheritance, although the slave's owner, whether an individual or institution, would have had manus over the children.³⁵⁾

7.2. According to §32 an unfree man could take as his leg-

itimate wife a free woman, or so one may interpret MÍ(-an/TIM) in §§32 and 34, in contrast to GEME-an in §33.³⁶⁾ It is not entirely clear as to whether there is any distinction intended between "woman" in §§32 and 34, and the "free woman" of §35 MÍ-an EL-LUM and MÍ-na-an EL-LI-TAM in OH §"33", where the Akk. allogram would conceal the Hitt. adj. ara(u)wa- "free", in the acc.sg.c.³⁷⁾ The circumstances described in the later §§34, 35 and OH §"33" suggest that the adj. was added simply for emphasis, the contrast between MÍ and GEME being sufficient usually to indicate free and unfree status.

8.1. According to §34, without parallel in the older copy, a slave could marry legally a (free)woman,

3) KBo VI 3, II³⁸⁾

23. ták-ku ĪR-iš A-NA MÍ^{TIM} ku-ú-ša-ta píd-da-a-iz-zi
na-an-za

24. A-NA DAM-ŠU da-a-i na-an-kán pa-ra-a Ú-UL ku-iš-ki
tar-na-i

"If a slave renders the kusata for a (free)woman and takes her for his wife, then let no one release her (from the status of being his wife)."

8.2. The interpretation of this clause, with its implications concerning social status, depends mainly upon the interpretation and translation in this context of tarna-, which has a basic meaning "loose, let", with preverb para adding the sense "forth", thus "release, freilassen", as interpreted by Neu in a separate context.³⁹⁾ The latter is found in the recently discovered Boğazköy bilingual texts from the MH period in Hittite and Hurrian, in the "Song (SĪR) of the para tarnumar", discussed by Neu, where the Hitt. phrase translates the Hurr. verbal abstract kiren-zi.⁴⁰⁾ The equivalence of this Hurr. expression in Nuzi texts, dealing with the manumission of slaves, to Akk. andurāru "release: from service, of slaves; remission of debt", which occurs with šūdūtu "proclamation", makes a strong case for the the Hurr. verb kir- to mean "freilassen, release (slaves)".⁴¹⁾ Despite the damaged contexts of

the Boğazköy bilingual, the words "slave" and "slavewoman" appear in such close connection with the Hurr. and Hitt. kir- and para tarna-, respectively,⁴²⁾ that there seems no doubt that the "song" celebrates a manumission such as the Arrapha material attests, comparable to those of the biblical Sabbatical and Jubilee Years.⁴³⁾ Note also the "Festival of the para tarnumar", "Ritual of the para tarnumar", and the "time of the para tarnumar", referred to in unenlightening contexts of late Hitt. texts.⁴⁴⁾

8.3. Through its Hurr. equivalent kireenzi, para tarnumar appears to correspond also to Akk. andurāru which translates Sum. ama-ar-gi₄ "release (from slavery, bondage)".⁴⁵⁾ The Akk. text of the (OH+) Hitt./Akk. Annals of Hattusilis I, states AMA.AR.GI-šu-nu aš-tá-kán "I established their freedom", referring to slave men and women of Hurr. Hahhum, which is expressed in Hittite as (-aš-) a-ra-wa-ah-hu-un "I made them free".⁴⁶⁾ The Akk. text of the Hitt. Treaty with Sunassura of Kizzuwatna uses a-na an-tu-ra-ri ú-ta-aš-še-ir-šu-nu-šu "(My Sun) has released them ((the people of) the land Kizzuwatna) to freedom", to express its new state, under Sunassura, made "a true King" in his contracted relationship to Hatti, as opposed to the previous one with the Hurri, who "had called Sunassura a slave".⁴⁷⁾ In these contexts, as also in those of the Hitt. denominative arawahh-, the verbs denote official acts of freeing persons, usually from the performance of "service" as a slave or dependent.⁴⁸⁾

8.4. To the examples of the verbal abstract in Hitt. texts noted above, we add KUB XL 2 (CTH 641), rev.11-12, where para tarnu[mmas-] actually follows arauwahhun contextually, heading the next clause,⁴⁹⁾

"I (the Hittite King) have freed (from service) [the priests of] al[1] the gods, and the servants of the god; [who(ever) was of (i.e. participated in)] the releas[ing ...]".

Further, para tarna- is found in a variety of contexts, in which the subject is either a deity or a human, even unidentified third person, while the direct object could be a

prayer, a person, animal or plot of land.⁵⁰⁾

8.5. That para tarna-, not arawahh-, translates kir- in the bilingual texts, suggests a nuance of meaning which emphasised the personal rather than official aspect of "release" from (debt?) bondage.⁵¹⁾ Also, the use of para tarna- in certain Hitt. legal texts, including HG, may result from its association with "release" from a type of detention, even belonging, which is arguably the dominant meaning in all its attestations in well-preserved contexts, rather than the sense of überlassen "abandon, hand over (to/in-to)", with which it is quite frequently translated.⁵²⁾

9.1. In regard to HG §34, we follow Hrozný, and more recently Freydank, in their perception of the "release" here meaning a freeing of the woman by an interested third party, possibly her paterfamilias, from her new status of legitimate wife, according to which she belonged now to her husband.⁵³⁾ There seems to be no reason why we should interpret para tarna- as referring to an alteration of the woman's social status as free or unfree.⁵⁴⁾ Her retention of free status was dependent upon the payment of kusata by the man. This is clear from §35 in which a free woman became a slave after three years if the kusata were not paid following her elopement with either a ^{LÜ}AGRIG, an overseer of local grain stores, or ^{LÜ}SIPAD "herdsman", both of unfree status at this period.⁵⁵⁾ The OH copy in §"32b" states simply:⁵⁶⁾

"If a herdsman causes a free woman to elope, then she will become a slave (with)in three years".

9.2. The inference of these clauses is that after three years of cohabitation a type of irregular marriage ensued by usus,⁵⁷⁾ as in the case of unfree persons where the father did not have prior claim to the children, and that the "wife" assumed the social status of her "husband" unless, as the later §35 indicates, kusata were paid, which legalised the marriage.

9.3. The late copy KBo VI 26, II 17-20, records as §175,⁵⁸⁾

4) "If a shepherd or an AGRIG takes a free woman, then

either in the second year or in the fourth year she will become a slave; they will degrade the children and no one will take hold of (her) girdle."

This affirms that a marital union achieved by usus of a free woman with an unfree person resulted in loss of status for her and her children. The periods, two or four years, the former referring to the "shepherd" and the latter to the AGRIG,⁵⁹⁾ no doubt specify the time within which some event might occur, such as cessation of cohabitation which rendered the original act of "taking" null and void, or a legalising action, such as payment of kusata.⁶⁰⁾

9.4. The implication of ishuzziyas(s)-a UL kuiski epzi "and no one will take hold of (her) girdle", might be that the woman should not be freed from her new status, which was signified and symbolised perhaps by the girdle which a slave would wear, such as those loosed from the slaves in conquered Hahhum, by Hattusilis I.⁶¹⁾

9.5. The para tarna- passage referred, however, to the status of legitimate wife which did not demean the woman, nor the children we assume, in social terms. The attraction of such a marriage for an unfree man of some means would be, not only that his offspring would inherit in the patrilineal line, but also that they would be of free status, and consequently would not belong automatically to their father's owner.⁶²⁾

10.0. In regard to the usus type of marriage between slaves and between a slave and free woman for whom kusata was not paid, and who thus became a slave also, the manus over the woman remained in the earlier period of §"32a", in the former case with her owner, but later, according to §33, the situation was confused by the husband's claim, and thus his owner's, to the majority of the children, while in the latter case - §34 -, the manus would pass from her family to the woman's slave husband's owner.⁶³⁾

§3. LÚ antliyanza

1.1. Another example of kusata paid to effect the legal transference of persons from their natal family into that

of another, comes in §36, which has been interpreted variously:

5) KBo VI 3, II⁶⁴⁾

27. ták-ku îR-iš A-NA DUMU.NITA EL-LIM ku-ú-ša-ta píd-
d[a-iz-]zi

28. na-an ^{LÚ}an-ti-ia-an-ta-an e-ip-zi na-an-kán pa-ra-a
[Ú-U]L ku-iš-ki tar-na-i

"If a slave renders kusata for a free son and he takes him as an "entrant", then let no one release him."

1.2. Here, "free son" is simply another way of expressing "son of a free man".⁶⁵⁾ The clause is concerned with the acquisition by an unfree person of the authority normally exercised by a free man over his son, and his future children, by means of paying a "price", in a manner comparable to the acquisition of potestas over a woman as a wife, by the groom's rendition of kusata.⁶⁶⁾

2.1. The term (^{LÚ})antiyanza has been analysed as a compound of anda "in(to)" with the MP participle iyant-, meaning "one who enters", first by Balkan, who compared it to the Turkish term iç-güvey "inside-son-in-law", which has been generally accepted as the correct interpretation,⁶⁷⁾ while the word is even translated per se as "son-in-law".⁶⁸⁾ An alternative analysis of the term as an adjectival derivative of possession in -ia-+-ant- based on ant - (?), related perhaps to antu- "Hab und Gut"?,⁶⁹⁾ appears to be negated by other evidence for the antiyant-, who is not attested as bringing wealth to his new household. We prefer simply "entrant, Eintretende", for reasons given below, although it is clear that the ^{LÚ}antiyanza could be married to his adoptive father's daughter.⁷⁰⁾

2.2. The practice of augmenting a man's family, for one or more of a variety of reasons, by the introduction of another man's son, who might become a son-in-law of the former, is well known from ancient and contemporary records, as we shall note further. However, the element of paying a price is unusual.⁷¹⁾ Although there may be other parallels, we have found only one, in the early Roman practice in private

law, developed from a provision in the Twelve Tables, of adoptio, in which a pater freed his son from his own potestas in favour of the adoptor, by a process involving a triple mancipation, that is by means of a "sale".⁷²⁾

2.3. Whereas the earliest form of adoption in Rome, adrogatio, was a public and official process, without mancipation, which resulted in the adoption not only of the new son but of his whole family, if there were one,⁷³⁾ adoptio was concerned with the release of one person alone from all claims over him by his natal family, and may have been a means originally of acquiring cheap labour for the adoptive father's family, as well as, perhaps, a son-in-law.⁷⁴⁾ A comparison of the Roman adoptio involving payment for the transfer of potestas and the practice with which HG §36 is concerned is useful, since it adds some support to our consideration that the latter was dealing primarily, not with a type of marriage, but with the transfer of parental authority, from a free man to an unfree one, and that the ^{LU}antiyanza was simply an "entrant" to the new family, from which no one should "release" him despite the slave status of his new pater familias.⁷⁵⁾

3.1. Apart from HG §36 there are only two other well preserved attestations of this term, or its derivative denoting the state of being an "entrant".⁷⁶⁾ Chronologically the first appears in the MH+ text of the Telepinus Edict in the frequently discussed passage concerning the method of selecting the future heir to the Hittite throne, already noted above in Chapter II.⁷⁷⁾ The decree stated that, if there were no male child of the (late) King, of first, or second rank, who would become King:⁷⁸⁾

6) KBo III 1 +(CTH 19.II.A), II⁷⁹⁾

38. ... nu ku-iš DUMU.MUNUS ha-an-te-iz-zi-iš

39. nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an ^{LU}an-ti-ia-an-ta-an ap-pa-a-an-du
nu LUGAL-uš a-pa-a-aš ki-š[(a-ru)]

"... then who(ever is) a first-ranking daughter, for her let them take an 'entrant', and let that one become the King."

3.2. The phraseology "take an 'entrant'" echoes that of HG §36, although the plural "let them", while seeming vague to us, must have referred to those members of the royal family or officials, perhaps in the absence of the former, who would assume authority over the princess after her father's death. The terminology, with the present/future tense, indicates that this "entrant" would be selected and married to the princess on the death of her father. Since the specification of a ^{LU}antiyanza shows that a spouse was required who would cede all future claim for his resulting offspring to patrilineal succession within his natal family, the decree apparently contemplated the divorce of an existing but unsuitable husband. One might compare the situation of the Attic Greek heiress, the ἐπίκληρος, who, on the death of her father, and even if already married, was required to marry his nearest agnatic relative in order to preserve the patrimony, setting aside a previous husband.⁸⁰⁾

3.3. There is no evidence indicating a blood-relationship of the ^{LU}antiyanza to his adoptive family, and we can only assume that the choice of a suitable husband for the Hitt. princess would have been dictated by the mores prohibiting the marriage of close relatives, which were discussed in Chapter IV. As noted above in Chapter II, Hitt. patrilineal inheritance could be continued in the absence of sons, through the father's daughter to her sons by means of the adoption of a son-in-law as a "son".⁸¹⁾ In the case of the Tarhundassa Treaties, however, there is no mention of the husband of the inheriting daughter who might have married outside her natal country, but whose son could be brought back to inherit his grandfather's throne.⁸²⁾

4.1. The second example of ant/diant- is found in a derivative form, in the d.-l. of the verbal abstract, in the context of Great Queen Ašmunikal's endowment of a rock sanctuary with its own great estate of towns, skilled craftsmen, farmers, herdsman, and other service personnel, with their estates, the constant or increasing population of which she intended to preserve:

7) KUB XIII 8 (CTH 252), obv.⁸³⁾

13. A-NA LÚ^{MEŠ} É.NA₄-ia-kān AŠ-ŠUM É.GI₄.A^{TIM} an-da-an
pī-eš-kān-du

14. pa-ra-a-ma-kān DUMU.NITA DUMU.MUNUS AŠ-ŠUM É.GI₄.A^{TIM}
LÚ an-da-i-ia-an-da-an-ni-ia li-e

15. ku-iš-ki pa-a-i

"And let them continue to give (young women) as brides (literally, 'in brideship') to the men of the rock sanctuary, but let no one give forth (i.e. beyond the confines of the sanctuary) a son or a daughter as a bride (or) an 'entrant'."

4.2. Here, the spelling andaiyandanni- appears to confirm the analysis anda + iyant-.⁸⁴⁾ The pairing of the "brides" and "entrants" might seem to support the interpretation of the latter as always being "in-going" sons-in-laws/husbands, but the point of the prohibition was to prevent the loss of persons and their future children, and the economic value of their labour within the closed community.

4.3. The Hitt. evidence for the ^(MÍ)É.GI₄.A, translated in Akk. as kallatu "daughter-in-law, wife of a son living in his father's household, bride, sister-in-law",⁸⁵⁾ will be noted in §6.B. below. The most important aspect of the paired categories for the purposes of the above text was that the young men and girls would have left their natal homes within the community to become, both legally and residentially, members of other households beyond it.

5.1. Before considering the examples in Hitt. texts which have been interpreted as "antiyant-" marriages, although the term itself has not been used, we should note that the latter, and these marriages, and the instances where ^{LÚ}antiyanza does appear, have been seen as the Hitt. equivalents of the so-called errēbu marriages attested in Mesopotamian texts.⁸⁶⁾ The modern concept of the latter was based mainly on: a) the MAL in which a few clauses are introduced by the statement "If a wife resides in her father's house ...",⁸⁷⁾ and further in §27 in which it is said "her husband continually visits her there", using e-ta-na-ra-ab, Gtn of erēbu "to enter", to express this action;⁸⁸⁾ b) the entries in

the scholarly text ana ittišu, the original composition of which is dated to the OB period immediately after the conquest of Nippur by Hammurabi,⁸⁹⁾ where, in the context of phrases concerning "sonship, heirship", the Sum. entry of Tablet 3, col.IV 17. [nam.]ga.an.tu.ra "status of a permanent entrant", is translated by Akk. er!-ri-bu-ti.⁹⁰⁾

5.2. It has been argued that the latter actually expressed repetitive action like the Gtn form in MAL §27.⁹¹⁾ While the statement in the following L.19 of Ai. 3, IV, [nam.ga.an.]tu.ra.ni in.gar / er!-ri-bu-šu iš-kun "Seine Stettung eines ständig Hereingehenden hat er gemacht",⁹²⁾ suggests an element of permanence, this could be interpreted as referring to the status itself of being a "visiting husband". Such types of marriage are elsewhere attested, with other peoples and in later as well as ancient times, for example among the various Old Irish forms of marriage,⁹³⁾ as also in the OA period when an Assyrian merchant who married a local Anatolian girl, entered her parents' home, explained, no doubt, by the itinerant nature of his trade.⁹⁴⁾

5.3. Moreover, it has been noted recently by Gordon that the verb erēbu is used also in MAL to express the wife's entry to virilocal residence, with her husband; we cannot properly, therefore, identify a specific type of marriage involving the husband only, under the heading "errēbu".⁹⁵⁾ The same scholar, examining the Nuzi evidence for such marriages among the Hurrians, found that a young husband might begin married life in his wife's natal home, but later the couple would move to another house, their residence pattern thus becoming virilocal.⁹⁶⁾ Certain Nuzi tablets deal with the adoption of a "son", by a man without a naturally born son and heir, who was then married to the daughter of his adoptive father, which was a device to assure the continuation of patrilineal inheritance, as attested in the Hitt. texts.⁹⁷⁾ However, the Nuzi texts illustrate also the contractual means by which the adoptive father tried to exclude the natal family of his new son from acceding to any of his property through the adopted member, a necessary and not always successful measure as other documents attest.⁹⁸⁾

6.1. Further, it has been suggested that the term ^{LÚ}anti-yanza might be explained as a Hitt. translation of such a foreign word as errēbu, given the apparent similarity of the respective types of marriage.⁹⁹⁾ However, the above brief summary of the Assyrian and Nuzi evidence indicates that errēbu was scarcely a definitive term for a separate form of marriage, since the circumstances associated with the "entry" of a son-in-law could vary with individual cases. Moreover, in MAL §27, in contrast to HG §36, the visiting spouse had brought a marriage gift to his wife,¹⁰⁰⁾ an act which marks also §29 of CLI, which has been seen as a Sum. example of uxori-local residence.¹⁰¹⁾ That the latter was an optional form of marriage attested in Sum. seems clear also from the expression describing the son-in-law in LI §29, mī.ús.sá.tur "he who follows the woman" (? = Akk. emu sehru),¹⁰²⁾ as opposed to murub₅ = mī.ús.dam (= Akk. emu rabû), which could also represent the (husband's) "father-in-law".¹⁰³⁾

6.2. Since it would have been chronologically possible for the Hitt. scribes to be aware of the Babylonian reference work, ana ittišu, it is possible that antiyanza "entrant", was a composition translating the Sum./Akk. phrases above in A1., for the legalistic purpose of clear expression in HG, the Telepinus Edict and the formal bequest by Ašmunikal. However, this would have been a linguistic, not a cultural borrowing, since the Hitt. "entrant" according to HG §36 seemingly had social characteristics peculiar to Hatti.

7.1. The phenomenon of the son-in-law who enters the home of his father-in-law is widespread, chronologically, geographically, and ethnically, responding to a variety of social pressures, with a common link in that the societies in question are patrilineal or bilateral with a patrilineal bias.¹⁰⁴⁾ It will be useful to note the reasons listed by Pehrson for such a choice by a young Kōnkāma Lapp man in a bilateral society of this type, since they have a general application: 1) "relative wealth", - the poor man moved, often with all or some members of his family, into his

wife's home, thus not only saving her rich father from giving away her dowry, but also adding to his labour force; 2) this might be a consideration even if the families possessed equal wealth, but the groom had several brothers and his wife few or none; 3) the higher social status of the wife's family, which factor might be independent of relative wealth.¹⁰⁵⁾

7.2. When, however, the inheritance of not merely personal but also landed property assumes significance (lacking for example with the nomadic bilateral Lapps), together with inheritance of status, family name and possibly ancestral manes, the principal purpose of the "patri-uxorilocal" husband would be to assure succession through the daughter for a sonless father-in-law, a well attested device in ancient and modern Europe and Asia.¹⁰⁶⁾ We compare and contrast for example: the old Fr. custom in Paris-Orléans, contrary to the predominantly patrilineal primogeniture of the north and south,¹⁰⁷⁾ which allowed the home-abiding child, often a married daughter, to inherit the family house, a custom similar to contemporary Javanese practice.¹⁰⁸⁾ Also, with patrilineal societies with markedly patriarchal features, we may compare the man who married into the south Sl. zadruga, who was called priselica, doselica "Zugesiedlte",¹⁰⁹⁾ or among modern Serbian peasants, uljez "intruder", domazet "house son-in-law",¹¹⁰⁾ and his equivalent in China, frequently the son of a poor family and of lower status than his wife's, called chui-fu "married-in son-in-law".¹¹¹⁾ In the first case the husband was totally severed from his natal family and even took as his personal name his bride's Christian name in the form of a possessive adj.,¹¹²⁾ while in China the chui-fu usually allowed his first son to bear the father-in-law's surname, but a second son might take the surname of his father's own family.¹¹³⁾

7.3. This digression may explain why we consider that the LU antiyanza and the various manifestations of the (patri)-uxorilocal son-in-law in Anatolia and the ancient NE, simply share characteristics of a general phenomenon. The latter is atypical of matrilineal societies, but typical of the

bilateral or patrilineal, in which it will occur as an alternative to virilocal marriage, but not as the prevailing form of marriage.¹¹⁴⁾

8.1. Such an interpretation has been applied recently, however, to the mythological marriage of antiyant- type, although this term does not occur in the preserved text, of the semi-human son of the Storm god, in the context of the latter's ultimate defeat of Illuyankas, "the Serpent", who stole his heart and eyes.¹¹⁵⁾ Written in language revealing an OH prototype, and enacted during the purulli- Festival in the Spring for the Storm god of Nerik, the myth relates, on one level at least, the supremacy of Life over the subterranean forces of Winter.¹¹⁶⁾ The relevant passages come in the alternative version of Illuyankas' defeat, following the brief statement of his theft;¹¹⁷⁾

8)a. KBo III 7 +(CTH 321), III¹¹⁸⁾

- 4' nu-za DUMU.MUNUS ŠA ^{LÚ} a-ši-wa-an-da-aš
 5' A-NA DAM-ŠU da-a-aš nu-za DUMU.NITA ha-aš-ta
 6' ma-a-na-aš šal-li-eš-ta-ma
 7' nu-za DUMU.MUNUS ^{MUŠ} il-lu-ia-an-ka-aš
 8' DAM-an-ni da-a-aš

- 9' ^DIM DUMU-an wa-tar-na-ah-hi-eš-ki-iz-zi
 10' ma-an-an-wa A-NA É DAM-KA pa-a-i-ši
 11' nu-wa-aš-ma-as-ta ^{UZUŠ} ša-ku-wa-ia
 12' ú-e-ik

"Then he took the daughter of a poor man for his wife, and he sired a son. When he, however, had grown up, then he took for wife the daughter of the Serpent.

The Storm god instructs his son, over and over again,

'When you go to your wife's house, then ask them for (my) heart (and) eyes.'

8.2. The son dutifully asked, first for the heart, then for the eyes, which were given to him and delivered to his father, who was now complete again in form and power, so that he could set in train the conquest of the Serpent. At this point the son of the Storm god, who was with Illuyankas by

the sea, called up to Heaven to his father,¹¹⁹⁾

8)b. KBo III 7 +, III¹²⁰⁾

29' am-mu-ug-ga-[z]a-pa an-da e-ip

20' li-e-mu gi-en-zu-wa-i-š1

31' nu-kán ^DIM-aš ^{MUŠ} il-li-ia-a[n-ka-an]

32' Û DUMU-ŠU ku-en-ta¹²¹⁾

"Include me. Do not be merciful to me.' And so the Storm god killed the Serpe[nt] and his (own) son."

8.3. This text, with its banal prose, served as a scribal outline, we believe, of a "magic play" to be performed, during the Festival of the Storm god at Nerik.¹²²⁾ Since our present purpose is to exam the types of marriage portrayed here, we will confine further comments to the marriage strategy of the Storm god, apart from noting the poetic potential of the tragic story, which deserved the dramatic skill, at least, of an Aeschylus or Euripides.

9.1. Obviously the Storm god's strategy must have been self-evident to the "audience". He could not have married the daughter of the Serpent, and requested his own heart and eyes for himself, when he went to her house. Why not? The ensuing elaborate plan reveals the answer - his status as great divinity was too high. In order to acquire an emissary who would qualify as an "entrant", while initially obeying the Storm god's commands, of necessity, with absolute devotion, the latter had to beget a son of lowly status. The achievement of this object, an outcast-child, as it were, from both divine and human worlds, by marriage with the daughter of a "poor" human being, offers further evidence for the state of deprivation implied by ^{LÚ}asiwan-za, already recognised, through its equivalence in other texts to logographic ^{LÚ}MÁŠDA (MÁŠ.EN.GAG) and Akk. lapnu "poor".¹²³⁾

9.2. The Storm god's marriage was clearly of patrilineal type, with patriarchal authority over his son exercised up to the moment when effectively his potestas was terminated by receipt of the strange goods demanded. With his last act of obedience to his father, the young man came to be part

of his father-in-law's household, his henchman, and so to die tragically.

9.3. This marriage also belongs firmly within the social structure of a patrilineally organised society, which may reflect that of the Hattic population with whom the origin of this myth in CTH 321 has been associated.¹²⁴⁾ As noted earlier in this study, our incomplete understanding as yet of the preserved Hattic texts does not permit a proper appreciation of the kinship and social structure of the people who spoke hattili.¹²⁵⁾ However, the contrivance of marriages on different social levels by one of the conflicting forces, the Storm god, with the acquiescence of the other, the Serpent, implies familiarity for both with marriage options pertaining to patrilineally-biased societies, to meet both corporate (the family), and individual requirements. Whether the myth may represent also an ethnic conflict between the "autochthonous" (Hattic) Serpent and the Hittite (IE) Storm god, cannot be debated here.¹²⁶⁾

10.1. Another Anatolian myth possibly of Hattic origin, occurring in the ritual context of the texts comprising CTH 322, has been interpreted as exemplifying an antiyant- marriage, when Telepinus, son of the Storm god, went down to the Sea to release the captured Sun god, whom he carried off back to Heaven together with the daughter of the Sea, as his wife.¹²⁷⁾ The release of the Sun god has been interpreted as the price paid to Telepinus for his initial entry into the house of the Sea, with marriage to his daughter, explaining the consequent angry demand by the Sea to the Storm god for compensation for his abducted daughter.¹²⁸⁾

10.2. This myth depicts an ancient form of "marriage by capture", with its commutation to legitimacy with kusata "brideprice", and will be discussed in §4. below.

11.1. Other instances from historical texts have been explained also as antiyant- marriages, of which IK 174-66 from Inandik was mentioned above in regard to patrilineal inheritance from daughter's father to grandson, and exemplifies a more complex situation than that of the ^{LÜ}antiyanza as

seen in HG §36.¹²⁹⁾ It involved a deed in Akk., similar in style and format to the "Land Donations", under the Tabarna seal of the Great King in Hattusas, ratifying the adoption and consequent transfer of inheritance, from the consanguineal son and his future progeny, designated as DUMU.DUMU-šu, "his grandson", to the adoptee and his descendant(s), also DUMU.DUMU-šu, in the presence of five witnesses, if the named scribe is included.¹³⁰⁾ Singer has remarked on the probable identity of the adopted ^mZidis and the ^{LÚ}ZAB-AR.DIB "wine supplier", of the Palace Chronicle, being thus of similar function and status to his father-in-law Tutulla, ^{LÚ}AGRIG "store keeper" (of Hanhana), which indicates that the adoption and marriage were arranged between equal status families.¹³¹⁾ The document states that Tuttulla:

9) IK 174-66, obv. (in the center of which is impressed the seal),¹³²⁾

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| 4. ^m <u>zi-i-di</u> | <u>iš-ba-at-ma</u> | <u>a-na</u> | D[UMU- <u>š</u>]u |
| 5. <u>i-</u> | <u>pu-</u> | | u[<u>š</u>] |
| 6. ^f <u>zi-iz-</u> | | <u>za-at-[ta]</u> | |
| 7. DUMU.MUNUS- <u>šu</u> | | <u>a-na</u> | <u>aš-š[u-ti-šu ?]</u> |
| 8. <u>id-di-in</u> | x [| |] |
| 9. <u>id-di-in(-)</u> | x [| |] |

"...has taken Zidi and made (him) for a son. He has given (to him) his (Tutulla's) daughter Zizzat[ta] as [his] wif[e]. He has given [to him x as his inheritance share?]"

11.2. While the restoration of the lacunae in obv.8-9 remains uncertain, and may have included reference to a payment to Zidis' family,¹³³⁾ the following lines make it clear that he himself received what Tutulla's own son Pappas would have expected as his inheritance, since obv.10-14, relate that the Great King had taken Pappas and given him to the "Queen of the House of Katapa". This may be interpreted as a dedication to the priesthood in the Temple precinct of the goddess, with the prohibition in rev.15-21 against his future claims against Zidis, as noted above.¹³⁴⁾ It appears that the King's decision regarding Pappas had precipitated this adoption and marriage, in order to pres-

erve Pappas' patrilineal inheritance from being absorbed after Tutulla's death into the Temple community.¹³⁵⁾

11.3. The situation differs, as far as we can deduce, both from the Roman adrogatio and the Nuzi adoption contracts, where the claims of the natal family of the adopted son were recognised, if only, in the latter case, to be obviated by legal means.¹³⁶⁾ It does, however, share with them the need for public proclamation and official ratification, neither of which was required apparently for the antiyant-transaction, but is characteristic of the adoptions as "son" by Hattusilis I, first of his nephew Labarna, then of Mursilis, his grandson.¹³⁷⁾ Both these instances concur with the well recognised device in patrilineal societies of adoption as son by a man without an available natural heir, of a close male relative, who shares the same genetic inheritance as his adopted parent.¹³⁸⁾ It would seem that the official procedure represented by IK 174-66 was necessitated by the act of adoption and transfer of inheritance, and not by the antiyant- marriage itself.

12.1. The obvious advantage of taking an "entrant" type of son-in-law, would be, not only that he was not closely related by blood to the adoptive father, with relatives who might raise co-lateral claims, but also that his own natal family could make no further claims upon him once the transaction of the potestas was concluded, which may indeed be one reason why Telepinus advocated in his Edict this alternative method of assuring the patrilineal inheritance of the Kingship, rather than the adoptions practised by his predecessor. As remarked earlier, Telepinus actually limited claims to accession through the King's daughter, by reasserting the patrilineal principle to the possible detriment of the son/brother-in-law.¹³⁹⁾

12.2. In this context may be noted recent arguments that Telepinus himself, already married (with a son) to Istapariyas, "first-ranking" sister of Huzziyas, was very probably the son-in-law of King Ammunas, whose legitimate heirs, Titiyas and Hantilis, had been murdered through the instig-

ation of Zurus, the GAL LÚ^{MES}ME-ŠE-DI (and so brother to Ammunas?), to make way for their lower-ranking brother(?) Huzziyas.¹⁴⁰⁾ This would explain Telepinus' claim that he had seated himself "upon the throne of my father".¹⁴¹⁾ We cannot tell whether Telepinus' long-established marriage had been originally of the "entrant" type. However, it is at least arguable that the co-regnant MK couple whose seals proclaim them: Great King Arnuwandas, son of Tuthaliyas, the Great King, and Ašmunikal, ^{MI}tawanannas, Great Queen, daughter of Great Queen Nikalmati and Great King Tuthaliyas,¹⁴²⁾ were partners in an antiyant- marriage, following Tuthaliyas' adoption of Arnuwandas, which would obviate an interpretation of this union as incestuous.¹⁴³⁾

§4.A. MARRIAGE BY CAPTURE

1.1. Legendary and historical sources beyond Anatolia attest variations in a type of marriage which, in its extreme form might be termed "marriage by capture".¹⁴⁴⁾ These range from the actual capture of a woman as the spoils of war, or her forced removal without her parents' consent - the rāks-asa marriage permitted the OInd. "warrior class" (ksatriya),¹⁴⁵⁾ through gradations of force on the part of the "groom" and consent by the "bride", to what was actually a mutually agreed elopement,¹⁴⁶⁾ or merely a symbolic recognition of abduction in traditional marriage ceremonies.¹⁴⁷⁾

1.2. According to the damaged RS 20.216 from Ugarit, an abduction, presumably by force, may have occurred in the 13th century of a Hittite princess, for which the King of Ugarit was apparently held responsible and chided by the Hitt. author for not having delivered the terhatu which would have regularised the affair.¹⁴⁸⁾ However, the Hitt. texts themselves do not witness this form of "capture" as a recognised type of marriage in the historical period. Korošec has argued for Raubehe in consequence of HG §§28, 29, 37, but the translation, and interpretation, of pittenuzzi as "he causes (the girl) to run away", that is "to elope", seem preferable, and indicate an element of choice for the girl as to her future.¹⁴⁹⁾

2.1. However, the memory of abduction by force as a viable form of marriage in an ancient period, karu kuwapi "Formerly, when ...", may be perceived in the Hitt./Anatolian myth of CTH 322.¹⁵⁰⁾ Elsewhere, the myth in the introductory paragraphs of the text has been interpreted as an illustration of antiyant- marriage,¹⁵¹⁾ and further, as an aetiology of "brideprice" as represented by the Hitt. payment of kusata.¹⁵²⁾

2.2. This, it is argued (although unnamed in the text) must have been intended in the demand, "[What] will you give me?" by the Sea to the Storm god, when the latter's son Telepinus - having achieved his mission to free the imprisoned Sun from the Sea who was so terrified by the approach of Telepinus that he yielded also his daughter¹⁵³⁾ - had carried them both off to his father's realm.¹⁵⁴⁾ According to the words of the Sea a legal marriage had ensued:

10) KBo XII 60 +(CTH 322.A), I¹⁵⁵⁾

16. a-ru-na-aš ^DX-ni pí-i-e-it ^Dte-li-pí-n[u-uš-wa-za]

17. tu-el DUMU-KA DUMU.MUNUS-IA DAM-ŠU [da-a-aš]

18. nu-wa-ra-an-za-an pí-e-hu-te-it

"The Sea sent to Tarhun(n)as (saying), 'Your son, Telepin[us has taken] my daughter as his wife; he has conducted her (to his house).'"

According to the ensuing words of the Mother goddess (Hannahannas), she had become a bridal daughter-in-law (^{MIÉ}E. GI₄.A) of the Storm god.¹⁵⁶⁾

2.3. Since it required Hannahannas' persuasion before the Storm god would acquiesce to the payment, the type of marriage associated with "brideprice" has been seen as possibly foreign to the Hittites, who sought a mythological explanation for the origin, or at least adoption, of a practice attested in Hatti through HG and other texts, and widely known in the ancient NE.¹⁵⁷⁾

3.1. The passages of CTH 322 form part only of a much longer mythological recitation within a ritual, the object of which may not have been an aetiological explanation of kusata, as recounted above.¹⁵⁸⁾ In its immediate context the

story of the price demanded by the Sea for his daughter yielded under duress, indicates the following:

a) The roles, dominant of Telepinus, exhibiting his terrifying aspect as a Storm god, rather than deity of vegetation and fertility,¹⁵⁹⁾ and suppliant of the Sea, from the moment of their contact, preclude antiyant- marriage.

b) Telepinus had actually abducted his future bride, like a conqueror bearing home his spoils of war. He had then made her a legitimate wife.

c) The counterbalancing compensations: girl handed over along with the Sun to mitigate Telepinus' wrath; then goods demanded by the Sea after the marriage, meeting with the Storm god's remarkably generous response by the "thousand (fold)" of what the text appears to say (cited above in Chapter III),¹⁶⁰⁾ was the property of the Sea (such as cattle), lift the matter beyond "brideprice" or a materialistic economic compensation. The Storm god's response constituted an "honour price", commensurate with the status of the Sea, intended not only to compensate him for the humiliating loss of his daughter,¹⁶¹⁾ but also, according to the nature of such altruism, to place him under a moral obligation,¹⁶²⁾ in this case presumably to recognise the marriage properly in friendship and gratitude.

3.2. The underlying theme seems to be the necessity for reciprocity in social relationships with particular emphasis upon those involved in establishing a marriage.¹⁶³⁾ Notably, among the examples for "marriage by capture" presented by Westermarck, there are instances where the man or his family compensated the girl's father or family after her abduction.¹⁶⁴⁾ However, whether the principal object of this myth were aetiological or not, and without interpreting it to signify in universal terms that marriage by abduction preceded and developed into marriage with brideprice, which is a controversial subject among historians and sociologists,¹⁶⁵⁾ we surmise that "marriage by capture" remained in the cultural memory as a possible form of marriage in Anatolia.

§4.B. "HE CONDUCTS HER (HIS BRIDE) TO HIS HOUSE"

4.1. The type of marriage discussed above has been interpreted as a means by which a man gained exclusive ownership of the woman.¹⁶⁶⁾ But it has been argued that historically most "captured" women were kept as slaves or concubines, and legalising acts were required to establish a proper marriage.¹⁶⁷⁾ The description of this process in the myth of CTH 322 is virtually identical to that of the relevant passage of HG §27, which is partially preserved in MH KBo VI 3, with later duplicates. HG §27 is dedicated to ascertaining the ownership of a married woman's iwaru "gift, dowry", after her death. HG §27 is cited below, with restorations from later texts, to illustrate the husband's possession of his wife and rights to her property, although he apparently provided the objects for her funerary ritual:¹⁶⁸⁾

11) KBo VI 3, I, II (+),

75' [(ták-ku LÚ-aš DAM-ŠU da-a-i na-an (pár-na-aš-š)a] pí-e-hu-[(te-iz-zi)]

1. i-wa-ru-uš-še-it-az an-da p[í(-e-da-)]a-i ták-ku MÍ-za a[-pí-ia a-ki nu((/na-aš) LÚ-aš)]

2. a-aš-šu-še-it wa-ar-nu-an-zi i-wa-ru-še-ta-az LÚ[(-aš da-a-i)]

3. ták-ku-aš at-ta-aš-ša-ša É-ri a-ki Ù DUMU^{MEŠ}-Š[U a-ša-an-zi?]

4. i-wa-ru-uš-še-it LÚ-aš na-at-ta [da-a-i]

"[(If a man takes his wife and) cond(ucts her to his house)] and she brings in her dowry - if the woman [dies] th[ere, (then)] they will burn his goods [(of the man)]; and the man [(will take)] her dowry. but if she dies in her father's house and her children [exist?], the man will not [take] her dowry."

4.2. Apart from using the past tense, the statements of the Sea (in cit.1)), differ from L.75' only in emphasis - "(he) has taken my daughter as (his) wife". As seen from HG §27 and evidence above, a legal wife could reside in her father's house with her husband, adopted and/or antiyanza; in the latter case her children were her father's heirs, and according to §27 her dowry remained with them.¹⁶⁹⁾

4.3. The clause posits two further conditions: a) that the husband "conducts" his wife to his house, and b) that she (or he?) then conveyed her dowry into that household, in which case her own family inheritance, like herself, was alienated in favour of the husband, who assumed full possession of his wife, her children, and of her inheritance after her death. Like the Roman in domum deductio, this conveyance did not itself result in a legal marriage,¹⁷⁰⁾ but was instrumental in the husband's assumption of manus.

5.1. The relevant verbs pehute- "(eine Person) hinbringen" and pēda- "(einen Gegenstand) hinbringen",¹⁷¹⁾ are both compounded with the adverbial prefix pe- "there",¹⁷²⁾ as opposed to the parallel couplets uwate- "(eine Person) herbringen" und uda- "(einen Gegenstand) herbringen" with prefix u- "here".¹⁷³⁾ As the prefixes indicate, the former verbs mean the separation of the grammatical objects, person(s) and thing(s) respectively, to a place apart from the speaker and/or the place of origin of the object. The pehute-/uwate- verbs, deriving from *d^heh₁ "set(firm)",¹⁷⁴⁾ imply solemnity or importance in the "conducting", in the contexts: 1. of leaders or officials leading troops; 2. a single person being conducted by all the latter on campaign; 3. guilty persons being lead (to trial); 4. ritual personnel; 5. in "abduction".¹⁷⁵⁾

5.2. The choice of pehute- in the specialised context of the in domum deductio suggests that in Hatti this was a ceremonial event, for which a train of persons, who could serve as witnesses, accompanied the groom leading home his bride. Whether or not the "taking" of a wife, and her removal to the house of the groom has distant echoes of a "marriage by capture" cannot be determined objectively, although the result was the same - the ownership of the wife.

6.1. According to HG §27 an additional feature of the virilocal marriage was the entry of the wife's dowry into the husband's house and his ultimate ownership, which received no mention in the CTH 322 myth. Would the ancient listener have understood that the moral obligation instituted by the

Storm god's largesse would have been a reciprocal largesse in the anticipated dowry of the daughter of the Sea? This would have been commensurate with her status which derived in turn from her father's, which her new father-in-law had recognised as worthy of the thousand-fold compensation?

6.2. Another point to be noted is that HG §27 does not mention the process of betrothal with payment of kusata, nor does the myth of CTH 322.¹⁷⁶⁾ But, the difference between the compensation paid for an abducted woman and a "bride-price" paid in anticipation of the transference of rights over a woman from one family to another, is not so great. The concept of reciprocity is apparent in both. This has been aptly expressed by Levi-Strauss whom we cite, in anticipation of the discussion of "brideprice" and "dowry" in §§5 and 6:¹⁷⁷⁾

"it must be noted that the 'compensation' which initiates the matrimonial exchanges, represents an indemnity for the bride's abduction. Even marriage by capture does not contradict the rule of reciprocity."

However, Levi-Strauss continues, in a poetic vein:

"... It would then be false to say that one exchanges or gives gifts at the same time that one exchanges or gives women. For the woman herself is nothing other than one of these gifts, the supreme gift among those that can only be obtained in the form of reciprocal gifts."

We have remarked above that according to the Hittite Laws, the woman in a pre-arranged marriage was bound by a betrothal contract for which she herself was a kind of pledge, with the obligation engendered by the gift-giving having assumed both practical and legal importance.¹⁷⁸⁾

§4.C. ELOPEMENT

7.1. The evidence in the Hitt. texts for this subsidiary type of "marriage by capture" comes from HG §§28, 35, and 37, of which §28 was cited and discussed above in the context of betrothal, and §35 in that of determining the social status of a free woman and her children, after marriage to an unfree man.¹⁷⁹⁾ The significant vb in these clauses, of which the woman was the object, is nít-te-nu(-uz)-zi "he

causes to fly", being the (3.sg.pres.) causative in -nu- of piddai- "run, fly", as listed in HW¹, which must be dissociated from piddai- "pay, render tribute".¹⁸⁰) The causative of the former verb may be noted in other contexts than HG, of which KUB XLI 8, II 15-17, izzan GIM-an IM-anza pittenu-zzi n(a)=at=kan aruni parranta pedai

"even as the wind causes the chaff to fly and then carries it over the sea",

is an expressive example of its basic meaning.¹⁸¹) The simple verb piddai-, with derivatives ^(LÚ)pittiyanza "fugitive", ^{LÚ}pittiyantili "like a fugitive", which were substantives equivalent to Akk. ^(LÚ)munabtu, had acquired the specialised meaning when applied to human beings in the context of international relations and treaties, of "flee, run away as a fugitive".¹⁸²) Whatever physical or political pressure may have instigated the "flight", it is evident that there was some personal choice with independent action. This distinguishes also the condition of the woman "caused to flee, run away", from that of one "captured, abducted".

7.2. In all three clauses of HG in which elements of "elopement" marriage are subject to regulation, it is clear that this was an accepted form of marriage. HG §28 was concerned with recompense to a first suitor who had paid kusata for an intended bride who then eloped with another, and punishment of the latter if he failed to make the compensation.¹⁸³) HG §35 regulated that a free woman whom an unfree man had caused to run away with him would lose her free status within a specified period if he did not pay kusata for her, which would have the same result as an usus marriage, according to HG §175, between an unfree man and free woman.¹⁸⁴) In HG §37, recorded in OH and MH texts, the regulation denied compensation for death incurred during an attempt, unauthorised by the state, to rescue her:

12) KBo VI 2, II (parallel, KBo VI 3, II 29-30),¹⁸⁵)

10' ták-ku MÍ-na-an ku-iš-ki pít-ti-nu-u-zi n[u-kán šar-d]i-i-e-eš a-ap-pa-an an-da pa-a-a[n]-z[i]

- 11' ták-ku 3 LÚ^{MEŠ} na-aš-ma 2 LÚ^{MEŠ} ak-[(kán-zi šar-ni-ik-zi-il NU.GÁL)]
- 12' zi-ik-wa UR.BAR.RA-aš ki-iš-ta-at

"If someone causes a woman to elope, an[d then h]elpers pursue (them): if three or two men di[(e, there will be no compensation)]. 'You have become a wolf!'"

7.3. The MH copy differs mainly in the stipulation regarding "helpers", where EGIR-an-da-m[a-aš-ma-a]š-[kán] [šalr-di-ia-aš pa-iz-zi suggest either that a single "helper" only was envisaged, or that the sg. sardiyas (with sg. verb) could refer to a collective band.¹⁸⁶⁾ Broadly in agreement with previous interpretations, we perceive here the expectation of the central administration that the woman's kinsmen, or even her first suitor, might resort to "self help" to retrieve her, against whom the supporters of the (second) man would defend themselves,¹⁸⁷⁾ although the parties objecting to the elopement are not actually specified.

7.4. The general situation of §37, with the "cry" in L.12', has been compared to that of the OE stipulation that a thief caught in the act might be killed with impunity as an outlaw by anyone, providing the cry wulfes hēafod "wolf's head" was made before,¹⁸⁸⁾ and further, to the Lex Salica in which a graverobber was condemned wargus sit hoc est expulsus eodem pago "let him be a warg('were)wolf'), that is expelled from this territory".¹⁸⁹⁾ However, as a recent study of varg "(were)wolf" as a terminus technicus for the outlaw in old Germ. laws has made clear, it designated specifically those who committed a particularly heinous crime beyond the mores of their society, which might be characterised by the behaviour of a (were)wolf, such as exhuming carrion flesh, or secret slaying.¹⁹⁰⁾

7.5. Elsewhere in HG, §§28 and 35, elopement is not condemned as heinous,¹⁹¹⁾ nor as the act of an outlaw. According to HG §37 therefore, it would seem that a claimant was denied compensation for a kinsman's death if the latter had been a participant in such a *melée* of at least "2 or 3", engaged in a dangerous affray which led to killings,¹⁹²⁾

which could devolve into blood-feud and so threaten the authority of the state. As such the miscreant was characterised as an outlaw, evoking the explicit "You have become a wolf". Contrary to many earlier interpretations, we do not think that this had designated per se the man who initiated the elopement, since that act itself was apparently not considered unlawful in HG.¹⁹³⁾

8.1. However, the officially sanctioned separation of the couple in HG §28c, if neither the eloper nor the girl's parents would reimburse the first suitor for his kusata, shows that a marriage with its legal and social side effects was not instituted when a man eloped with a woman.¹⁹⁴⁾ Since the "laws" were concerned apparently with instances of elopement which could not be regulated easily on the basis of common law, we may at best deduce the "normal" procedure from the evidence of the difficult cases.

8.2. Thus, when a free man persuaded a free woman, not yet promised nor betrothed to another, to elope with him, presumably because her parents objected to their union for some reason, the fait accompli, somewhat on the lines of the myth in CTH 322, would have led in most cases to a post-marital payment to the woman's parents to compensate for their injury and loss, by the man and his family. This would have been matched by dowry from the woman's parents. If all now proceeded happily there would have been no divergence from the normal marriage between free persons.

8.3. If the compensation had not been paid, the social status of the children born to the couple would not have been diminished, but they may well have suffered economically by not enjoying the share of their mother's family property, which actually became part of their patrilineal inheritance after their mother's death. Failure to pay the compensation would have reflected the lack of support for the marriage from the man's family also, which would very likely have resulted in even greater economic hardship for the couple, but to what degree it is difficult to say, since private documents recording the legal minutiae of inheritance, or

disinheritance, have not survived.

8.4. The principal difference between the marriage organised by the parents of both parties and an elopement would have been the predominance in the latter case of personal choice exercised by the younger as opposed to the older generations, and the uncertain future for interrelations between families. Neither common law nor the Hitt. state refused to allow elopement as a basis for marriage, but the state feared and consequently outlawed independent militant groups, composed in this case of supportive kinsmen and friends come together to separate the couple by force, and others, similarly, to resist them.¹⁹⁵⁾

§4.D. RAPE AND ADULTERY

9.1. Unlike the Sumerian YOS I 28, from OB Ur according to Landsberger, our Hitt. texts yield no information concerning casual ("in the street") rape of an unmarried (free) "daughter of a man", nor its outcome. In the stipulation of the above text, LL.40ff., the parents might give their daughter in marriage to the rapist.¹⁹⁶⁾ MAL §55 stated that if a (free) virgin had been overwhelmed and raped in one of specified public places, her father should seize in vengeance the wife of the rapist, to whom she would not be returned, while the rapist should marry the violated girl, or, if unmarried, the rapist should pay a triple (bride)price to the father, who could choose to give his daughter in marriage to him, or to another man.¹⁹⁷⁾ The predominant consideration was clearly the vindication of the girl's status as her father's daughter, whose normal expectation would have been a legitimate marriage. According to Sum. and OB sources, the vindication of a virgin slave girl was achieved by a fine paid to her owner by the rapist.¹⁹⁸⁾

9.2. The rape of a betrothed or married woman, who was considered to belong to the (future) husband, was regarded differently, since it was his property and honour which the rapist had wounded. The single clause of HG concerning rape, §197, extant only in later copies, one of which may have emanated from an OH text,¹⁹⁹⁾ echoes the Sum., OB, MAL

and Biblical laws, which punished with death the rapist who seized a betrothed or married woman where her screams could not be heard, while exonerating her:²⁰⁰⁾

13) KBo VI 26 (CTH 292 II.a) B), IV, with parallel KUB XXIX 37 + 34, (CTH 292 I.b.D), 9-11,²⁰¹⁾

6. ták-ku LÚ-aš MÍ-an HUR.SAG-1 e-ip-zi LÚ-na-aš wa-aš-túl na-aš a-ki

7. ták-ku É-ri-ma e-ip-zi MÍ-na-aš wa-aš-ta-iš MÍ-za

8. a-ki ták-ku-uš LÚ-iš ú-e-mi-ia-zi

9. tu-uš ku-en-zi ha-ra-a-tar-še-it NU.GÁL

"If a man seizes a woman in the mountain(s), the sin (is) the man's, and he will be put to death. But if he seizes (her) in the house, the sin (is) the woman's; she will be put to death. If (her) husband finds them, and kills them, his offence does not exist."

9.3. Although the logogram MÍ might denote an unmarried woman, LL.8-9 of this clause, referring to the husband's finding the adulterers, and the prescriptions of §198,²⁰²⁾ show that the whole of §197 concerns a wife, either raped in open country and thus innocent, or taken "in the house", where her consent was presumed to what was then regarded as adultery.²⁰³⁾ The inclusion in "Tablet II" of the clauses, suspected by Korošec to be later stipulations than §§27-37 of "Tablet I",²⁰⁴⁾ may have resulted from a need to clarify what punishment for adultery was sanctioned by the central administration, at a period when this was assuming greater control over certain areas of private law. This could explain why there were two forms of death sentence: a) spontaneous killing by the husband; b) resort to "the gate of the Palace" by the husband who could ask for a reprieve for his wife and consequently the ^{LÚ}pupu- "seducer, lover",²⁰⁵⁾ or advocate the death sentence, the execution of which depended, however, upon the King's decision.²⁰⁶⁾

10.1. The fact that the death sentence was not passed in HG §28 on a man guilty of persuading an already betrothed girl to elope, is further indication that elopement was not regarded as a crime, neither as rape nor adultery. Also, §197 offers sufficient indication that the actual rape of a bet-

rothed girl would have merited the same punishment as that of a married woman, as it did in the Mesopotamian laws.²⁰⁷⁾

10.2. May we surmise, however, that the common law which concerned casual rape of an unbetrothed or unmarried girl was apparently not subject to new thinking, and thus did not require regulation?²⁰⁸⁾ Since the HG clauses in regard to the punishment for rape and adultery reflect the thinking of the OB law codes,²⁰⁹⁾ may we also consider that the silence in HG on casual rape of the unmarried woman implies that Hitt. common law dealt in a similar fashion to the Mesopotamian law with this assault upon a girl's virginity and consequently her marriage "value"?²¹⁰⁾ But, even if this were so, there is no indication that "Rape marriage" in Hittite Anatolia was a recognised practice.²¹¹⁾

§5.A. kusata

1.1. In Chapter IV we noted the Akk./Hitt. Vocabulary entries equating biblu:kusizza / terhatu:kusata.²¹²⁾ Further, in Chapter V we concluded that the verb kus- "pay" was not only attested, but the source of the derivatives kussan "hire", and ^{LU}kusa- "man: (who pays) rent, etc.", and that the relationship of kusata to other derivatives of kus- "pay", seemed inevitable.²¹³⁾ Some scholars have analysed kusata as a vbl abstract in -°tar with loss of the final -r,²¹⁴⁾ while it is remarked in HEG that the "endungslose Nominativ" is assured by §30 in the MH copy of HG,²¹⁵⁾

14) KBo VI 3 (parallel, NH KBo VI 4, II 17'-18'), II²¹⁶⁾

14. ták-ku LÚ-ša DUMU.MUNUS na-ú-i da-a-i na-an-za mi-im-
ma-i ku-ú-ša-ta-ma

15. ku-it píd-da-a-it na-aš-kán ša-me-en-zi

"If a man has not yet taken (in marriage) a girl (lit. daughter), and he rejects her, he will forfeit what kusata he rendered."

1.2. Problems remain, however. Although ku-u-ša-at-tar is attested, which might indicate a late restoration of the -r, the context, in a "medicinal" ritual of CTH 461, is too damaged to permit a proper interpretation.²¹⁷⁾ Moreover, in two NH texts the genitive kusatas (sg./pl.?) is attested,

as if kusata were comm.sg, or neut.pl.:

15) KUB XXX 74 (CTH 283.5),²¹⁸⁾

tup-pa^{HI.A} ku-ša-ta-aš

"Tablets of the kusata"

16) KUB XV 35 + KBo II 9 (CTH 716.A), I²¹⁹⁾

35. ... nu-ut-ta KUR ^{URU}hat-ti

36. ku-ú-ša-da-aš ha-šu-um-ma-ra-aš-ša pār-ku-i KUR-e
e-eš-du

"... and for thee (IŠTAR) may the land Hatti be the pure land of kusata and procreation!"

while the damaged colophon [EZ]EN+ŠE ku-u-ša-t[a(-)as?] "kusat[a Fe]stival", may have been another instance.²²⁰⁾

Such genitives are not attested, it seems, for the numerous neut. abstracts, written with or without final -r, apart from those in -w/mar (-w/mas).²²¹⁾ This suggests that another explanation for kusata may be required.

1.3. Although Weitenberg's analysis of the noun kusa- is less attractive,²²²⁾ his analysis of kusata as a denominal derivative in -ta-, infrequently attested suffix in Hittite,²²³⁾ appears to be the most satisfactory solution. Accordingly, kusata "payment", was formed as a secondary derivative of kus-, with the specialised meaning "bride (/spouse)price". kusizza, on the other hand, could be a Luw. deverbative adj. in the diminutive(?) suffix -iz(z)a-, attested in HL nimuwiza- "child",²²⁴⁾ appropriately equated with the comparatively small betrothal biblu(m) "gift".²²⁵⁾

2.1. The legal equivalence of kusata to Akk. terhatu has long been recognised, not only through KBo I 35, 19',²²⁶⁾ but also the correspondence of HG §30 to CH §159, in which a man forfeited the terhatu he had given to his (incipient) father-in-law's house if he then refused to marry the daughter,²²⁷⁾ as also of HG §29²²⁸⁾ to CH §161, in which the father had to return twice the terhatu if he then refused to yield his daughter to the (first) suitor.²²⁹⁾

2.2. The conclusion of the terhatu payment led to a state

of "inchoate" marriage for the OB girl who was regarded as already the wife of the suitor, although still a virgin, if another man should rape her.²³⁰⁾ Above, in §4.D. 10.1.-10.2, we saw that the inclusion of HG §§197 and 198, on rape and adultery, indicated that Hitt. common law was basically similar to that of Mesopotamian law in these respects. Consequently, a betrothed girl would have been already the legal property of the man who had paid the kusata and was thus committed to finalise the marriage. But before the consummation and progress to his house his (future) wife remained in the manus of her parents who could prevent the marriage by returning the kusata two-fold, a restitution and fine matching to that of CH §160, and possibly motivated by it.²³¹⁾

3.1. The nature of the kusata appears to differ from the terhatu however, which is attested in the OB period as a refundable (to the bridegroom), token payment, usually in silver.²³²⁾ Hitt. kusata could be of such quantity that a person obligated to perform a seasonal festival, which implies that he provided the offerings,²³³⁾ could beg the Temple priests and priestesses to be lenient with him, since

17) KUB XIII 4 +(CTH 264.A), II

58. ... BURU₁₄^{MEŠ} -wa-m[u]-kán

59. pí-ra-an na-aš-šu ku-ša-a-ta na-aš-šu KASKAL-aš na-aš-ma ta-ma-i

60. ku-it-ki ut-tar

"'... the harvest(s are) before me, or a kusata, or a journey, or some other matter; ...'"

after which he would perform the festival as required.²³⁴⁾

3.2. The inclusion of kusata in the context of heavy, time consuming labour, harvests and journeys (mercantile?), suggests that "brideprice" might have consisted of great quantities of goods, raw materials or artefacts perhaps, such as farmers or merchants would produce, and may even have included labour itself for the future father-in-law, as "brideservice", if the suitor were unable to produce such abundance.²³⁵⁾ This would be compatible with the kusata

that an unfree man might render to legitimise his marriage to a free woman.

3.3. Moreover piddai-, which is used consistently in HG for "rendering" kusata, and always found in the MH copy with spelling pīd-da-(a)-i(-),²³⁶⁾ must be distinguished from both piddai- "run, fly", and peda- "convey (an object) there".²³⁷⁾ In its other contexts this piddai- means "deliver, pay as a duty", the object usually being "tribute" from a vassal to his overlord.²³⁸⁾ This implies that the suitor was thought to be under an obligation to his future wife's family, which may not have been simply because the bride was, in the words of Levi-Strauss quoted above, "the supreme gift ...". There may have been an underlying cultural awareness that "wife-takers" were inferior to "wife-givers", which might be borne out by marriages arranged by Hittite Kings for their sisters or daughters with vassal rulers, but is not apparent in the equal status unions, for example, between the royal houses of Hatti and Babylonia, although the Pharaohs were avowedly "wife-takers" only.²³⁹⁾

3.4. Unfamiliarity with Hittite by the Egyptian scribe may not have been the sole reason, therefore, why VBoT 1 (CTH 151), letter from Amenophis III to Tahundaradu of Arzawa, has the comparatively neutral verb uda- "convey (an object) here", with kusata.²⁴⁰⁾ This occurs in the context of the marriage being negotiated between the latter's daughter and Amenophis, who would scarcely have regarded himself as obligated, or inferior, to the Arzawan King.²⁴¹⁾

4.1. Sturtevant translated kusata in KUB XIII 4, II 59, as "marriage", which obscures its proper meaning although the event of rendering the kusata appears to have been celebrated as a "festival", and may have formed part of the marriage rites on certain occasions.²⁴²⁾ In cit. 16) above, from a hymn to IŠTAR which extolled virtuous wives and mothers,²⁴³⁾ kusada could be interpreted as synonymous with "marriage", being the means by which men acquired wives, and mothers for their legitimate children.

4.2. However, in HG and in the texts concerning interdynas-

tic marriages such as VBoT 1, noted above, it is clear that the delivery of kusata was usually a preliminary formality, but it could also follow the "marriage", thereby ensuring its legality (which could effect the social status of the wife and her children), and the husband's uxorial and patrilineal rights.

§5.B. (MÍ)É.GI₄.(A)

5.1. This Sum. kinship term which is generally translated "bride, daughter-in-law" according to context, occurs in Hitt. texts as a logogram representing an unknown Hitt. word.²⁴⁴) In Akk. contexts (also at Boğazköy) the equivalent Akk. term kallatu(m) is translated in CAD: "daughter-in-law, wife of a son living in his father's household, bride, sister-in-law".²⁴⁵) While the Akk. word is found less frequently with the specific meaning "bride",²⁴⁶) it clearly designated a relationship established within the institution, well known in Mesopotamia and also in Nuzi, of the kallatūtu(m) (/ kallūtu(m)), when²⁴⁷)

"a young woman ... was acquired by the master of a household as a wife for his son living in this household."

"...Only the Sum. designation refers to her virginity. When several persons refer to their kallatu, the reference is to their sister-in-law ..."

5.2. The reservation expressed by Finkelstein as to the identity of (MÍ)É.GI₄.A = kallatum with Sum. é/a.gi₄.a; é/a.nu.gi₄.a (= Akk. la naqpatu), "deflowered; undeflowered", is not found in CAD.²⁴⁸) Earlier explanations of the Sum. term were based on the root meaning of kallatu(m) <ka-lû, as "one enclosed (in the father-in-law's house)", from é "house" and ge₄.(a) "= nashiru and târu 'to turn (round)' and kalû 'to enclose'".²⁴⁹) If Finkelstein is correct, the latter may yet prove to be the preferred explanation.

6.1. There are comparatively few instances of (MÍ)É.GI₄.(A) in Hitt. contexts and an evaluation of its meaning here is obviously dependent upon the Mesopotamian evidence. Concurring with references to the veiled kallatu(m): mušītu kallatum kuttumtu "the night, the veiled bride", and iktum-

ma ibri kima kallati(/É.GI₄.A) panūs "my friend has veiled his face like a bride",²⁵⁰⁾ are the following examples from ritual texts, where a precise term such as "daughter-in-law" seems less appropriate than "bride". A late and damaged Kizzuwatnean ritual on a Sammeltafel, composed to remove the defilement resulting from an act of bestiality, begins with the statement:

18)a. KUB XLI 11 (CTH 456.5),²⁵¹⁾

2. [ma-a-an LÚ-a]š UDU-i na-aš-ma ÙZ-i GAM w[a]-aš-t[a-i
nū UDU?-un da-an-zi]
3. [na-an-kán ^{MI}É.GI₄.A-aš i-wa-ar an-[d]a ka[-ri-ia-
an-zi x x x]
4. [x x x x L]Ú^{LIM} 1 MUŠEN hur-ri-li-in SUM-an-z[i x x x
x x x]

"[If a ma]n s[i]ns with a ewe or a she-goat, [they take a ewe? and then they] vei[l it] like a bride [x x x x for the man they give one hurli bird [x x x x] ..."

The ritual proceeded with sheep and bird offerings (LL.6-12) and the specification of precious metals (each of 3 shekels weight) and garments, including a ^{TUG}kuressar, cosmetics, ornaments, grain, honey and wine, in the paragraph LL.13-18, concluding with the verb i-wa-ar-wa-an-ni[-eš?-kán-zi], restored and interpreted by Hoffner to mean "they customarily give as a dowry."²⁵²⁾ There is further mention of dowry:²⁵³⁾

18)b.

23. -a]n-kán ka-a-ša i-wa-ru-wa-za IŠ-TU KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN
24. [AN.NA URUDU hu-u-ma-an-d]a-za aš-ša-nu-nu-un

"I have 'made it good' for him by (the payment of) [al]l(this) dowry of silver, gold, [tin and copper]"

6.2. Hoffner's restoration and interpretation of ka[riyanzi] as "[they] vei[l]" is supported by evidence for the veiled human as well as divine "bride" from a ritual passage in the Festival honouring Huwassannas.²⁵⁴⁾ The veiling "like a bride" of the ewe destined above for sacrifice indicates that purification of the bestial act, which merited death in HG §188, required the elevation of the latter to a sex-

ual act with a young woman, with a double turn of thought according to which the sheep could then substitute for the violated woman.²⁵⁵⁾ The analogy of the bride in this context could suggest that $\text{MÍ}\acute{\text{E}}.\text{GI}_4.\text{A}$ did mean originally "deflowered (one)". The presentation of the dowry, presumably to the god of the ritual as additional compensation by the sinner, appears to be part of the same curious thinking, whereby the analogy of the "bride" would become more convincing - the ewe had really been a woman since it was veiled and a dowry had been given with it.²⁵⁶⁾

6.3. Since Hitt. and Akkadographic grammatical determinatives to the logogram in Hitt. texts indicate the semantic agreement of $\text{*MÍ}\acute{\text{E}}.\text{GI}_4.\text{A-atar}$ "bridship" with kallatūt-u(m),²⁵⁷⁾ and since Mesopotamian evidence shows that the future father-in-law paid a terhatu for the kallatu(m) whom he chose for his son,²⁵⁸⁾ the analogy of the dowry suggests the above ritual, despite some Kizzuwatnean influence, may confirm that the "bride" in Hatti was betrothed with kusata, and also took a dowry from her family into her husband's (/father-in-law's) household. The clauses of HG deal separately with problems regarding kusata or iwaru,²⁵⁹⁾ implying perhaps two types of marriage, one with brideprice and the other with dowry. Marriages between Anatolian princesses and Pharaohs of Egypt exhibit both elements,²⁶⁰⁾ but these transactions might not reflect customary practice. Consequently, KUB XLI 11 provides what may be important evidence that marriage with both kusata and iwaru was indeed customary, a subject to which we will return in §6.

7.1. Among further examples of $\text{MÍ}\acute{\text{E}}.\text{GI}_4.\text{A}$ in Hitt. texts are the references, to giving (of girls) "in bridship" ($\text{AŠ-SUM } \acute{\text{E}}.\text{GI}_4.\text{A}^{\text{TUM}}$) to men within the closed community of the rock sanctuary being endowed by Queen Asmunikal, but forbidding the countermovement, that of a son or daughter being given out of that community "as an 'entrant'", or "as a bride, daughter-in-law".²⁶¹⁾ From this we conclude that, as the female equivalent of the $\text{*}^{\text{(LÚ)}}\text{antiyandatar}$, the $\text{*}^{\text{(MÍ)}}\acute{\text{E}}.\text{GI}_4.\text{A}^{\text{TUM}}$ (Akk. *kallatūtum) in Hatti was the cultural equivalent of the Mesopotamian institution.

7.2. According to evidence for the latter the girls given or taken in kallatūtīm could vary from the very young to women of marriageable age, and the institution merged into that of adoption into "daughtership" or "sistership", particularly at Nuzi.²⁶²⁾ In the comparatively few Hitt. texts which attest the term MÍÉ.GI₄.A, we observe that in some instances the girl was probably quite young, as in the disposition by Queen Puduhepa of estates and personnel in her dedication of them to the (temple of the) goddess Lelwani:

19) KUB XXXI 53 +(CTH 585.G+I), col.I²⁶³⁾

11. 1 DUMU.MUNUS f_{ti}-ta-i ŠUM-ŠU A-NA m_a-pal-lu-ū
MÍÉ.GI₄.A-an-ni pí-ih-hu-un

12. 1 DUMU.NITA m_{ta}-ti-li-iš ŠEŠ f_{ti}-ta-i A-NA m_a-pal-lu
-ū šal-la-nu-ma-an-zi

13. AD-DIN EGIR-an-ma-an-ši-kán Ú-UL tar-na-ah-hu-u-un

"One girl, Titai (is) her name, I have given in "brideship" to Apallu. One boy, Tatilis, brother of Titai, I have given to Apallu to bring up; but I have not released him to him."

The texts belonging to this part of the dedication list numbers of children, boys and girls, some apparently without parents, being given out to fosterage, as sallanumanzi pai- indicates,²⁶⁴⁾ and "widows" with their children.²⁶⁵⁾ That the parents, particularly fathers, had died as victims of some military venture is indicated by summaries in Col. II and III, stating numbers of persons, including "widows" with children and babies, who had been sent from a campaign (KASKAL) against Zikessara.²⁶⁶⁾ Puduhepa retained ownership of specified boys, including Tatilis, brother of Titai.²⁶⁷⁾

7.3. While some of the girls were babies (DUMU.MUNUS.GAB), and others were given into fosterage,²⁶⁸⁾ Titai may have been near to marriageable age, and consequently was given to Apallu to marry at some future date to a son or younger brother in his family. If Titai had been intended for Apallu himself, she would have been "given as a wife" (DAM-an-ni), which was the customary expression.²⁶⁹⁾

8.1. Another hymn to IŠTAR(/Šaušga), KUB XXIV 7, obv.I-II

26 (CTH 717), whose attendant deities reveal its Hurro-Kiz-zuwatnean background, sings of the happy household beloved by the goddess, where the occupants perform their tasks with joy.²⁷⁰⁾ Contributing to this domestic economy by activities typical of their respective sexes,²⁷¹⁾ and in mutual harmony, according to Güterbock's transliteration and translation,²⁷²⁾ were the "brides" and young men:

20) Obv.I²⁷³⁾

- 19' ... ha-an-ta-ir-ma MÍ.MEŠÉ.GI₄.A-uš
 20' nu TÚG-an ša-ri-iš-kán-zi ha-an-da-ir-ma DUMU^{MEŠ} É-TI
 21' nu A.ŠĀ-an IKU-lī har-ši-iš-kán-zi

"The young brides have been in harmony,
 and (so) they keep weaving cloth;
 and the sons of the house have been in harmony,
 and (so) they continue plowing the field by the
 acre."

8.2. These young men and women are not described as "husbands and wives" (and are not mentioned further in this hymn), but it may be assumed that the destiny of each MÍÉ.GI₄.A was to be the wife of one of the scions of the household. Moreover, since no mention is made of sisters nor of daughters of the house, we conclude that the adult women had left the paternal home for their husband's house, and their place had been taken in terms of economic production by the "sisters-in-law". The institution of "bridship" provided a means by which the head of a joint family or extended household of this kind,²⁷⁴⁾ could assure future wives for his sons, thereby compensating for the loss of female labour through the marriage of daughters.

9.1. Regarding the OB kallatūtum it has been remarked that such a "bride" may have been of humble extraction.²⁷⁵⁾ From the Hitt. CTH 585 one might well conclude that Tital and her brother were of unfree status.²⁷⁶⁾ Other texts show that the girl might be of the highest status, mythologically (CTH 322) the daughter of a deity - "of the Sea"²⁷⁷⁾ - or a princess, illustrated by the damaged extract below from the Chronicles of Mursilis I:

21) KBo III 28 (CTH 9.6), II²⁷⁸⁾

- 21' ... a-ši MÍ.LUGAL URU^{hu-ru-ma} <MÍ>É.GI₄.A
 22' e-eš-ta ad-da-aš-mi-ša-mu ki-e-da-ni a-ra i-ia-an
har-ta

- 23' [ka-a-š]a? MÍ.LUGAL-aš DUMU.MUNUS É^{TIM} ku-wa-ta-an
pi-ta-at-te-ni x[
 24' []-ni ku-in LUGAL-uš GIŠŠÚ.A-mi aš-aš-hé
 MÍ.LUGAL[

"(Now, I the King have seen much evil; do not transgress my word - of the King!) This Queen (of/from) Hurma was a "bride"; my father had done right to this (woman). [Loo]k! The Queen's daughter (of) the House-at what time you bring her here x[]x whom I, the King, will seat on my throne (as?) the Queen[]"

The translation remains uncertain to some degree, but the status of the "bride" is indisputably royal.

9.2. Later, in the 13th century, the princess Matanazi/*Massana/uz(z)is/^fDINGIR^{MEŠ}-IR(-is), sister of Muwattallis II, was given by her brother in marriage to King Masturis of the Seha River Land,²⁷⁹⁾ being the culmination of an arrangement described by Mursilis III (Urhi-Tešub) as follows, and translated according to the theme of the other assertions in this text of uncertain category:²⁸⁰⁾

22) KUR XXI 33 (CTH 387),

- 12' [] EN-IA ^fDINGIR^{MEŠ}.IR-in A-NA ^mma-na-pa-D_X AŠ-ŠUM
 É.G[I₄.A]
 13' [x-it] ^mmur-ši-DINGIR^{LIM}-iš-ma-an-ši AD-DIN

"My Lord [did not give] Massanuzzis to Manapa-Tarhundadas in "bri[deship"]; I, Mursilis, gave her to him."

9.3. Masturis, contemporary of Muwattallis II and Hattusilis III,²⁸¹⁾ was the successor, and presumably the son of Manapa-Tarhundadas, who had been a contemporary of Arnuwandas II and Mursilis II.²⁸²⁾ As Houwink ten Cate has remarked, the claim of her nephew, Urhi-Tešub, to have arranged the "bridship" of his aunt, makes strange reading, which becomes credible only if we understand the statement to refer to past events, and assume that Muwattallis' sister had been much younger than he, which would mean also that Hatt-

usilis III and Urhi-Tešub were of much the same age.²⁸³⁾ It may be that Urhi-Tešub's claim was based simply on his role in organising the affair, when Massanuzzi was first handed over to Manapa-Tarhundadas with the purpose of becoming the wife of Masturis when he also reached a marriageable age.

10.1. Rather as Driver and Miles concluded for the OB kall-atūtu(m),²⁸⁴⁾ the equivalent institution in Hatti could be seen as an alternative to the system of betrothal when the girl remained with her parents until the bridegroom led her away to his house and the marriage was consummated. The young "daughter-in-law" could presumably be married to whomsoever of his sons the father-in-law chose, and when he chose. This arrangement would have avoided the danger of an "elopement" or the girl's parents' changing their minds in favour of another suitor. The poorer households would benefit from the girl's labour for the domestic economy even before marriage, while her natal home was relieved of the expense of providing for her until that time.

10.2. The economic factor would not have been an important consideration with interdynastic marriages. Where the giving of a young princess "in brideship" approximated to the kallatūtu(m), the principal object would presumably have been to assure good relations between the royal houses for the years before the marriage itself could take place.

10.3. Finally, it seems quite possible that $\langle \text{MÍ} \rangle \text{É.GI}_4.(A)$ could denote a young woman on the verge of marriage, or newly married, with a connotation very similar to "bride" in Eng., as in the Huwassannas Festival text.²⁸⁵⁾ But, the term could be applied properly only to the girl who left her natal home to enter that of her (future) husband, and was typical of the patrilocal household and patrilineality.

§6. iwaru

1.1. The translations of this neut. noun as "gift, inheritance-grant, dowry" in HED 2, (p.502), and "Gabe; - Feldanteil, den der Vater bei Lebzeiten dem Sohne zur Bewirtschaftung überlässt; - Mitgift" (Vok. KBo I 38, II 8 - Akk. [še-r]i-ik-tu)" in HW¹ (p.94), indicate some of the diffic-

ointed when a natural heir was lacking.²⁹⁰⁾

2.2. One can appreciate that the spelling resemblance and references to inheritance in HG §46 and §XXXVIII,²⁹¹⁾ as well as §27, lead to these assumptions for iwaru-. While Beal's argument is convincing that ku-li-(e-)i(//harkanza) is descriptive of "vacant, etc." land in HG §§46, XXXVIII, his translation of iwaru- as "inheritance portion" is not demanded by the contexts.²⁹²⁾ The parallel OH, MH and NH clauses in question regulated that luzzi "feudal service", should be rendered by a man receiving an iwaru of land, with sahhan "'feudal' dues" entailed (in MH and NH texts), only if the allotment were "entire", but not if the fields were few or "not entire",²⁹³⁾ in which case the luzzi would be raised from his father's house (IŠ-TU É A-BI-ŠU).²⁹⁴⁾ As a concomitant, the OH and MH clauses stipulated that if "the owner of the gift" (iwaruwas ishas/EN-as) "cut(s) up/off" (arki) "vacant land" (A.ŠA^(HI.A) ku-le-(e-)i),²⁹⁵⁾ or the "men of the city" give the fields, he should render the luzzi. The NH clause also specified this duty: "If the field (and/or) pasture of the owner of the gift is waste (harkanza), or the men of the city give the field (and/or) pasture to him (as) his field".²⁹⁶⁾ Consequently, the iwaru- was not necessarily a "gift, grant" from family property alone. Its semantics lay more in the direction of a "giving", than of "inheritance". The derivative iwarwalli-, a nomen agentis, attested in KBo V 7 (LS 1), obv.25, was presumably the technical term for the holder of a "gift(ed)" field.²⁹⁷⁾

2.3. Moreover, in the OH and MH §53 of HG, concerning division of an estate, between a "craftsman and his shareholder/partner" (LÚ GIS^{TUKUL} Ū LÚ HA.LA-ŠU), Hitt. expressed this by sarra- "divide, separate, break, transgress".²⁹⁸⁾ The logogram HA.LA = Akk. zittu "share: of an inheritance, income, booty, jointly owned property",²⁹⁹⁾ designated not only a "shareholder" (LÚ HA.LA(-ŠU) in HG,³⁰⁰⁾ but also in the NH copy of §192 as HA.LA-ŠU "his/her share", which the wife inherited on her husband's death.³⁰¹⁾ The immediately preceding and following clauses regulated sexual conduct,

§193 being concerned with the levirate (see §7 below). It is debatable, given the context, whether the "share" in §192 came from the marital fund alone, or whether it denoted what the husband would have expected as an inheritance from his father's house.

3.1. Considering further the implication of HA.LA "share", and that sarra- was used specifically in KUB XXVI 43 + (CTH 225), to express the division of his "house" by Sahurunuwas in favour of his two sons,³⁰²⁾ we feel justified in restoring obv.5. as follows:³⁰³⁾

23) 5. [n]a-at-kân A-NA m^{ta}-ad-da-ma-ru Û A-NA m^{du}-wa-at-ta-a[n-n(a-ni A-NA 2 AT-HU-TIM A-NA) HA.LA-ŠU-NU pī-eš-ta]

"And then he (Sahurunuwa) [gave] that as [their shares] to the two brothers, to Taddamaru and to Duwattannani"

3.2. The purpose of the document (CTH 225) was to record before King Tuthaliyas IV and dowager Queen Puduhepa, with witnesses, not only the fait accompli of the above transaction, being a normal division of property inter liberos, as the terminology indicates, but also, mainly, the donation of territories "in whole and in part" (lit. "by much (?), by few") from estates at the disposal of Sahurunuwas³⁰⁴⁾ to his daughter Tarhu(nda)manawas, in trust for her sons and their descendants, which lands had been absolved for them from all dues, sahhan and luzzi.³⁰⁵⁾

3.3. In contrast to the division for his sons, the donation to Tarhu(nda)manawas, with a gift also of land for her husband Alihešni,³⁰⁶⁾ was clearly exceptional. Since she already had sons,³⁰⁷⁾ this was not a "dowry" at the time of marriage. However, the donation bears a strong resemblance to the iwaru of HG §§46/XXXVIII, particularly that of lands from the paternal house, which might be given "whole" or "in part".³⁰⁸⁾ In both HG §§46/XXXVIII and CTH 225, iwaru may be seen as a true "gift" from the father's property, without its "giving" having been necessitated by common law or written stipulation regarding inheritance, although in the case of CTH 225, the donation became expressly part of

the donees' and their descendants' inheritance.

4.1. Regarding the nature of the iwaru as a gift, we recall its Akk. equivalent šeriktu <šarāku "give, present; schenken" (with logographical equivalents in RU or RIG₇), which denoted in CH the dowry a girl took from her father's house at marriage.³⁰⁹) In contemporary documents, nudunnū "gift" <nadānu "give, pay, allow", could replace šeriktu as the legal term for dowry.³¹⁰) But, particularly in later documents, šarāku and its derivative noun could substitute for qāšu "give", and its derivative qīštu, "gift, offering to gods; gift by a father while living to his favourite son (CH §165); gratuity, baksheesh, honorarium, fee, compensation", written logographically as NÍG.BA.³¹¹) Notably, the Akk. correspondence of King Tušratta of Mittanni to Amenophis III, used NÍG.BA(= qīštu) to express "bridal gifts" sent to the groom.³¹²) There was obviously a semantic overlap of the Akk. words for "gift", although the respective logograms did not overlap apparently in usage.³¹³)

4.2. In Hittite there is no ascertainable instance when iwaru is expressed by a logogram. NÍG.BA occurs with some frequency, designating the content of land donations, consisting of households belonging to named individuals, with other territories, given to favoured officials and princes, which were documented and sealed by the Great King, Tabarna, and which might be classed as honoraria.³¹⁴) In other contexts, such as HG §§53, the NÍG.BA LUGAL also designated the King's "gift" of land, recorded on a tablet.³¹⁵)

4.3. There is clearly some similarity between the stereotyped formulae in Akk. which marks both the Tabarna land donations and the document of CTH 225.³¹⁶) However, the latter records a donation by Sahurunuwas of estates belonging to other persons, which may have come recently into his possession by means of a royal NÍG.BA, since they are not included in his "house" which he divided for his sons. As previously noted, his own donation appears to have been an iwaru to Tarhu(nda)manawas.

5.1. The distinction between the various kinds of "gifts",

as in Akk., was probably very fine, but enough to determine the use of different terms in different circumstances.³¹⁷⁾ Contrary to the NÍG.BA as an honorarium - rewarding previous loyal services, or an overture to promote friendly interdynastic relations, with the expectation that these would continue -, the iwaru appears to have been motivated by familial affection, like the qīštu in CH §165, or by high regard in the case of the giving of an iwaru by the men of the city in HG §46. The latter indicates concern for the care of the land, as a gift into the right hands.

5.2. The dowry a woman received from her father's house at the time of her marriage was called "her iwaru" (iwarusset) in HG §27, which establishes her expectation of it; it might consist of movable goods. Hoffner thought the dowry of KUB XLI 11 might be atypical since the circumstances were so extraordinary,³¹⁸⁾ but possibly it was actually typical, since that ritual was seeking to establish the reality of the "bride". While there must have been variations in the weights of precious metals, quantities and qualities of luxury items for the female wardrobe, etc., such an iwaru would not have diminished the most important, immovable, family asset where it existed, that of land.

5.3. Indeed, with the apparently co-existent institutions of kusata and an iwaru of this type, we might see a system of "bridewealth" in operation, marriage transactions where the former payment from the groom to the bride's family was returned in whole, and possibly complemented by her family, or in part, commensurate with the wealth and inclination of her father, as a dowry for the bride at marriage.³¹⁹⁾

5.4. The primary purpose of the iwaru would have been to assist the wife's maintenance from the proceeds, while preserving the original dowry.³²⁰⁾ Concomitant with that and scarcely of less significance would have been the status value of the iwaru for the bride as a member of her natal family whose interest in her did not cease completely on her marriage.³²¹⁾ In this system of reciprocal bridewealth, possibly with "indirect" dowry, and despite the patrilineal

bias associated with the virilocal residence, we may see a form of "equal status" marriage reflecting a basically bilateral kinship structure.³²²⁾ However, the higher the status of the bride, that is, of her father, the greater the emphasis on the "direct" dowry, which is exemplified by the interdynastic marriages between Hatti and Egypt.³²³⁾

6.1. Implied in HG §27 was the circumstance when a wife entering her husband's house did not bring her dowry with her; nor would her husband have inherited it after her death. We can only surmise that, unless the woman brought nothing to the marriage, her dowry may have consisted of the usufruct of property, land or cattle, etc., retained and managed by her natal family.

6.2. There is evidence for the direct grant of land to women, specifically the NÍG.BA received by the MÍ¹SUHUR.LAL, Kuwattalla, "their maidservant" of Arnuwandas and Ašmunikal;³²⁴⁾ the sufficient property given his errant daughter by Hattusilis I for her maintenance after he had confiscated what she had previously possessed;³²⁵⁾ the donation to Tarhu(nda)manawas, actually in trust for her sons. However, these are exceptional cases involving women enjoying high patronage or status. There is no indication in HG §27, nor in other texts, of a direct grant of land as dowry to a free woman who left her family on marriage, nor indeed, of such a grant to the daughter who remained in it with her antiyant- husband, who may also have been adopted as her father's "son". Even in the latter case, the true heirs were the grandchildren between whom and their grandfather the mother served as a link in the chain of hereditary, while their father acted as a custodian of his father-in-law's "seed" and his property.³²⁶⁾

6.3. If the foregoing considerations are correct, and in view of the final stipulation of HG §27, we could not see an antiyant- husband (for whom kusata had been paid) of a childless marriage, actually inheriting land as his deceased wife's iwaru. Since it is highly unlikely that a mirror-image of the "bridewealth" exchanges occurred in the case

of the antiyanza, the wife's dowry would have come entirely from her own family, who presumably would have had first claim to it after her death if she had not left children. The "entrant" son-in-law would have remained in the household, where he received the same sustenance as before.

§7.A. THE LEVIRATE AND SORORATE

1.1. Evidence for the leviratic institution in Hitt. texts is confined to HG §193, the later version of which, ending in Ú-UL ha-ra-tar "no crime", was noted above.³²⁷⁾ However, a poorly preserved parallel section without that ending occurs in OH q₆, with the left side of the column broken away, tentatively restored after the later texts:³²⁸⁾

24) KUB XXIX 35 + 36 (parallel KUB XXIX 34; KBo VI 26), IV

2' [(ták-ku LÚ-iš MÍ-an har-zi ta LÚ-iš a-k)]i(?) DAM-
Z[(Ú ŠEŠ-ŠU da-a-)]i [(ta-an at-ta-aš-ši-iš)]

3' [(da-a-i ma-a-an ta-a)]n-na at-ta-aš-ši-i[š (a-ki
MÍ-)]na-an-na

4' [(ku-in har-ta DUMU.ŠEŠ-ŠU)] [(da)]-a-i

"If a man holds a woman (as his wife) and the man dies, his brother takes his wife (of the deceased brother); then his father (of the dead man) takes her. And then when his father dies his brother's son takes the woman whom he held."

Set down in the OK period of the first written compilation, this copy attests that clarification regarding the persons involved with the widow's future was thought to be necessary at that time. HG §193 has long been recognised as according in general principles with the practice whereby a widow was inherited by her brother-in-law, mainly to produce offspring in the dead man's name if he had died childless, which is attested not only for ancient Israel, Assyria, parts of India and the Far East, but also as an early Germanic custom, exemplified in pre-Christian AS.³²⁹⁾

1.2. The alternative, or successive inheritance of the widow by the dead man's father according to HG §193 was probably a cryptic expression of the possible path of inheritance when the most favoured was unavailable.³³⁰⁾ This agr-

ees in principle also with MAL §§33 and 43, where the father exercised his potestas by giving his bereaved daughter-in-law to another of his sons.³³¹⁾ After the father in §193 came "his (of the deceased or of his father?) brother's son", which has been interpreted to mean either the nephew of the deceased, or his patrilineal first cousin.³³²⁾ Since the inheritance of the widow followed in either case a distinctly patrilineal progression, naturally excluding any sons living of the dead man and his widow, the ambiguity of (1) DUMU.ŠEŠ-ŠU may have been intentional, as either relative could take her.³³³⁾

2.1. Although the OH §193 does not end with the statement "(there is) no crime", in contrast to its later parallels, Koschaker's argument remains valid that the context of sections preceding and following HG §193, which regulate sexual behaviour of men with women of blood or affinal kinship, would explain its inclusion.³³⁴⁾ OH KUB XXIX 35 + 36, IV x+1' is preserved only at the end of the line (Ú-UL ha-r) a-tar), conforming at least to the final statement of §192 in the later texts, both damaged after the initial stipulation:

25) KBo VI 26 (parallel KUB XXIX 34, 17'-18'), IV³³⁵⁾

37. ták-ku LÚ-aš MÍ-ni a-ki LÚ-aš HA.LA-ŠU DAM-ZU da-a-i
 38. []
 39. [(Ú-UL)] ha-ra[(tar)]

"If a woman's husband (lit. a man to a woman) dies, his wife takes his/her share. [

] (there is) no crime."

2.2. According to Koschaker's interpretation, §192 should be read in conjunction with the second clause of §190 forbidding sexual intercourse of the stepson with his stepmother during his father's life, while §193 was the counterpart of §195A which forbade intercourse with the sister-in-law while a man's brother was alive.³³⁶⁾ Thus, the missing stipulation of §192 could have specified the sexual relationship of the stepson with his father's widow as "no

crime", since this section, concerned with the fruitful marriage, would have dealt with the widow who had borne sons who received their own share of their father's property when the widow received "her share", while HG §193, following leviratic precepts, would have regulated the case of the childless marriage and widow.³³⁷⁾

2.3. While it is apparent that the redactors of these stipulations were clarifying common law concerning hurkel "incest", there is no indication in HG, or elsewhere in the Hitt. texts, that the childless widow was treated in a different way to the one who had borne children.³³⁸⁾ Koschaker's interpretation of §§190-193, 195A, was influenced considerably by MAL, particularly §43 in which it is stated that the widow's stepson should take her in marriage if her father-in-law and his son(s) had died.³³⁹⁾

3.1. Discovered in 1933 and published in 1938 is the NH fragment KUB XXIX 34(+37), with right side of col.IV broken away, which contains a section 14'-18', divided by rulings from §§190 and 193, parallel to these clauses in the other copies. The intermediate paragraph is parallel to §191 in 14'-17' with hu-ur-ki-il at the beginning of 17', followed by a different stipulation to §192, which appears to have been omitted altogether:

26) KUB XXIX 34 (+ 37), IV³⁴⁰⁾

17' ... ták-ku LÚ-aš DAM-ZU a-ki A-HA[-AZ-ZU/ZA-ia da-a-
1]

18' Ú-UL ha-ra-a-[tar

"... If his wife of a man dies, [and he takes her] sister[er], (there is) no crime."

3.2. On this basis we might see the above prescription for the sororate as having formed part if not the whole of the missing stipulation(s) in the other NH and OH copies of §192, since it precedes the counter-supposition in §193, that the husband had died.³⁴¹⁾ Indeed, we do not know whether the older redaction did mention the widow's inheritance from her husband. The levirate may have obviated any problems regarding her future maintenance. However, we can-

not substantiate that suggestion, nor its concomitant, that the levirate had become less usual in the later period, indicated by the inclusion of §192, which could reflect measures taken to support the widow in response to that change.

4.1. Whether or not leviratic marriage had been a practice indigenous to the Hittites, or adopted from neighbours or immigrants, we may be reasonably sure that it was not a borrowing from Babylonia, since no mention of it is found in CH, which regulated moreover against the sexual relationship of a stepson and widowed senior wife of his father.³⁴²⁾ Nor is there convincing evidence of a Levirate in Nuzi.³⁴³⁾ There are still unanswered questions, such as the status of the brother-in-law in HG who "took" the widow—was he a new husband or was he identified so closely with his dead sibling that it was as if the latter's marriage had simply continued?³⁴⁴⁾

4.2. In Chapter I we decided that the leviratic marriage of the father's brother's son to the cousin's widow would have been too infrequent to have affected this "cousin" terminology. However, according to all the evidence we may see the structure of the early Hitt. family as extended, with kindreds and a patrilineal bias, which would have influenced the terminology for a "cousin" who frequently lived under the same roof, and was regarded as a "brother".³⁴⁵⁾ In such an environment it would be natural for a brother's widow to continue to reside in the patriarchal household, entering into a type of marital relationship with her brother-in-law, patriarchal father-in-law, or other males in the household in descending order of succession.³⁴⁶⁾

4.3. Our evidence for the OK to NK period points to the breaking down of kindreds, greater emphasis on the patrilineal clan, and the smaller nuclear family, which would have militated against an automatic levirate, although the inclusion of §193 in the NH copies of HG indicates that this inheritance of the widow was still an option.

§7.B. THE WIDOW

5.1. Due no doubt to our lack of legal records concerned

with daily life there is very little information in texts other than HG regarding the woman whose husband had died. In the majority of such cases the family, associated with the type of marriage into which the woman had entered, may have provided her with support and maintenance, which would presumably have been afforded the widowed slave, who belonged still to her owner. However, evidence from other ancient societies shows that the bereaved wife was often set apart, forbidden to remarry (Rome and China), or expected to follow her husband on the funerary pyre (OInd.).³⁴⁷ The PIE word from which "widow" and its many IE cognates were derived has been analysed consequently as a term which marked her as a deprived and isolated woman.

5.2. The Hitt. equivalent of this term has been recognised in MÍudatis which occurs several times in the dedication of estates and persons by Queen Puduhepa to the temple of Lelwani (CTH 585), in a context - not without its linguistic problems - which indicates a woman with young children but apparently without an adult male.³⁴⁸ (MÍ)udatis was compared by Laroche to IE words for "widow", such as Skr. vidhava, Lat. vidua, Goth. widuwo, Ir. edb,³⁴⁹ while Szemerényi suggested that the extension of *widhewā in -ti observable in udati- corresponded to the similar process of *widawā-ti- in Ossetic idædz "widow".³⁵⁰ Semantically, the derivation supported by P. Friedrich of these terms from a *wydh- "be empty, inadequate", appears satisfactory, although Szemerényi had expressed doubt.³⁵¹

5.3. Attestations of the term MÍudatis are found mainly in the context of CTH 585. The designated women had been sent from the town Zikessara by one Á^{MUŠEN}-zitis ("Eagleman") following a campaign (KASKAL), in which their husbands and other adult male relatives may have died or become military prisoners,³⁵² which would have produced the otherwise unusual circumstance of so many unprotected women.³⁵³ This may explain why the "widow" was not styled by her own personal name but identified by a male name with a suffix in -eni, seen for example in column I, according to the Otten and Souček edition of CTH 585 (pp.20-23):³⁵⁴

27) 18. 1 MÍ^{TUM} MÍ^u-ta-ti pí-ta-ga-at-ti-e-ni) ŠUM-ŠU 1
DUMU.NI(TA? ^mnu-ha-ti ŠUM-Š)U]

8. 1 MÍ^{TUM} ^fkat-ti-it-ta-hi ^mta-ti-li-e-ni Š[UM-ŠU
9. 1 DUMU.MUNUS ŠEŠ-ŠU ^fkat-ti-it-ta-hi-pát Š[UM-ŠU
... p(i-ih-h)u-un?]

10. 1 MÍ^{TUM} MÍ^u-ta-ti ^mte-me-it-ti-e-n[i (ŠUM-ŠU 1
DUMU.MUNUS ^fu-da-ti ŠUM-ŠU]
11. [(DUMU.MUN)]US [(ŠE)]Š ^LU MU-DI-ŠU

22. 1 MÍ^{TUM} MÍ^u-ta-ti ta-ti-li-e-[(ni ŠUM-ŠU 1 DUMU.
NITA E-TE-NU)]

23. ^mpal-lu-wa ŠUM-ŠU šal-la-nu-um-ma-an-z[i (AD-DIN)]

"One woman, the "widow" Pitagatteni, [her name; one so]n, Nuhati, his name.

One woman, Kattittahi (belonging to?) Tatileni, [her] n[ame;] one daughter of her brother, also Kattittahi, [her] n[ame, to x to bring up] I(?) have given.

One woman, the "widow" Temetteni, her name; one young girl, Udati, her name, daughter of the brother of her husband.

One woman, the "widow" Tatileni, her name; one boy on his own, Palluwa, his name, I have given to bring up."

5.4. Notably a young girl bore the PN "widow", which would have been not so unusual in the context of kinship terms used as names in Hittite and Luwian.³⁵⁵⁾ As comparison with the other passages with MÍ^udati shows, the more frequent combination is with a name not preceded by the male determinative, although the fact that they are male names with -eni suffix is also clear.³⁵⁶⁾ Otten suggested that this was a suffix of "belonging", while Laroche listed it among -(n)ni suffixes, of which the Hitt. and Luw. -(n)ni formed derivatives>diminutives like armanni "lunula" from arma- "moon".³⁵⁷⁾ As noted above, derivative/diminutive suffixes in IE often came to designate the female of a species etc., being the origin of Eng. -ess, for example, while the Luw. -wi(ya) which formed distinctively female names, was simply a combination of derivative suffixes.³⁵⁸⁾ Accordingly, we may interpret Tatileni, for example, as "little Tatilis <

of Tatilis", which would designate here a dependant, his widow, or his wife, since Kattittahi is not specified as "widow", but the naming construction indicates that the diminutive Tatileni did apply to her.³⁵⁹⁾ Although Laroche considered the -eni names were in the genitive, he interpreted them as feminine,³⁶⁰⁾ with which our explanation is essentially in agreement.

5.5. An example from the damaged context of a legal suit concerned with "sorcery", in the speech of Hílamaddu, the ^{MI}SUHUR.LÁL, as ŠA?] ^mKa_u-zi-e-ra-ia ^{MI}ú-da-ti-iš "and the widow(?) [of] Kazera",³⁶¹⁾ apparently attests the social term, not necessarily used as a personal name.

6.1. The Akk. adj. ēdēnū "only, solitary, single", was recognised by Otten as descriptive of the boy Palluwa in cit. 27), L.23. above, written E-TE-NU, and translated "alleinstehende".³⁶²⁾ From the cumulative evidence of a number of attestations in Hitt. texts, a similar meaning, or "bereaved, orphan", has been conjectured for wannum(m)ias, of unspecified etymology,³⁶³⁾ once thought to signify "widow", since it appeared in a parallel text of the passage in DS where the Egyptian Queen, described by her messengers as bereaved of the Pharaoh who had died childless, was termed DAM BE-LÍ-NI-ma-wa-an-na-aš [w]a-an-nu-um-mi-ia-aš "The wife of our Lord (is) wannummiyas".³⁶⁴⁾

6.2. As Laroche had noted, in two further contexts, KUB XII 63 (CTH 412), II 7, and KUB XVII 4, 3', 6', 12', wannummiya precedes and describes DUMU-aš/an "child".³⁶⁵⁾ None of the passages was well preserved enough to allow a clear perception of the meaning of wannummiya-, which obviously must have been less specific than "widow". However, in his recent edition of KUB XVII 4 with parallels (CTH 364.3.A.B.C.), in the "Song of Silver", Hoffner has suggested "abandoned" (that is without a "male adult protector"), as a suitable translation for wannummiya-, which described the child who upbraided "Silver" for striking him, since he (Silver) was wannummiyas also.³⁶⁶⁾ As the weeping Silver could ask his mother for an explanation, he was not liter-

ally an "orphan", but had been "abandoned" like his mortal mother, by his divine father Kumarbi(?).³⁶⁷⁾

6.3. "Bereaved" was the translation for wannummiyas chosen by Güterbock in his recent edition of the Prayer to the Sungod, described in variant texts as "father and mother" to dammishandas kurimmassa or kurimmas dammishandas/ wannummiyas(sa) antuhsas "the (oppressed,) lonely (and bereaved) person)".³⁶⁸⁾ Following Starke's analysis of kurimma- as an early borrowing from Luw., being a participial derivative of kurii "cut off",³⁶⁹⁾ kurimma- may be interpreted as "bereaved", while wannummiya-, which alternates with dammeshanda- "oppressed", would have meant "defenceless, unsupported, alone, abandoned(?)".³⁷⁰⁾

7.1. There are a few examples of wannummiyas Mí-za which may be noted,³⁷¹⁾ but only in the Instructions to the Commander of the Borderguards, is the context indicative of the state of this woman so described:

28) KUB XIII 2 +(CTH 261.A), III,³⁷²⁾

30. ... nu ku-e-da-ni DI-NAM e-eš-zi

31. na-at-ši ha-an-ni na-an-kān aš-nu-ut ĪR LÚ GEME LÚ wa-an-nu-mi-ia<<-aš>>?³⁷³⁾

32. Mí-ni ma-a-an DI-ŠU-NU e-eš-zi nu-uš-ma-ša-at ha-an-ni na-aš-kān aš-nu-ut

"(And in whichever town you arrive, call out all the people of the town), and for whom there may be a legal case, judge it for him, and satisfy him. For a man's slave, a man's slave woman, (or) for a woman on her own, if their suit exists, then judge it for them, and satisfy them."

Assessing the situation of the wannum(m)iya- woman above, more defenceless than the slave woman in her "case", and the other examples noted, we see that a wannummiya- state resulted, as Hoffner also concluded, from the lack of male relatives or patrons to provide support and protection. Among persons most likely to fall into this category may well have been the widow and the orphan, recognised from early antiquity as the weakest in society.³⁷⁴⁾ Notably, the lack of an adult male in some households of CTH 585, was

perceived by the Queen, who then assigned a "military prisoner" to the woman at the head of such houses.³⁷⁵⁾

7.2. The weakness of a woman without male protection is reflected also in the OB and MA terminology, whereby almattu could designate not only the "widow", but also the woman without financial support from any male member of her family; such a woman could (re)marry, or enter a profession.³⁷⁶⁾ No sure evidence exists as to whether such avenues, apart from the levirate, were open to women in Hatti, although the female personnel employed in Temple and Palace may have included such otherwise unsupported women.³⁷⁷⁾

8.0. Remarriage by a widower was obviously permitted, whether through the sororate or not, if the successive marriages of King Suppiluliumas I were indicative of the practice generally. From the prayer of his son Mursilis II, whose wife he believed had been killed by the curses of his stepmother Tawannannas, we learn of the grief which a bereaved husband might feel:³⁷⁸⁾

"throughout the days of life [my soul] goes down to the dark netherworld [on her account]".

A reigning King, assured of all his life's needs, and thus incapable of experiencing the social and economic deprivation of the unsupported widow, Mursilis illustrates that the sharpest pain might come from the loss of the spouse's company. This underlined in turn the importance of the institution of marriage with the Hittites, not merely as a means to produce legitimate heirs, or to promote family alliances, but also as a union of mutually supportive persons.

INTERDYNASTIC MARRIAGE

§1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. When we seek legal records of actual marriages in Hatti we must look back to the OA period. The OA legal documents regarding "mixed" marriages and cases of divorce, involving native Anatolian women as primary (aššatum), or secondary (called amtum "slavewoman"), wives and their husbands, who were Assyrian traders, have survived on clay tablets from Kanesh/Kültepe.¹⁾ The few published documents demonstrate equal treatment of the spouses since each one incurred the same fine if responsible for the breakup of the marriage, a facet also of the marriage documents where both spouses were Assyrian.²⁾ According to Bilgiç, an unpublished contract of marriage for an Anatolian couple states:³⁾

"If they become poor or rich, it will be so for both. Should Abarasna leave Kulsia (the wife), they will both divide the house(hold)".

1.2. For the Hitt. period in Hattusas we have no such documents per se, which might be explained by the argument that marriage contracts or judicial rulings concerned with marital affairs were never committed to writing.⁴⁾ However, cumulative evidence regarding the judicial process in Hatti, biased though it may be for us by its concentration on affairs affecting the rulers and their administration, indicates that the people of Hatti were of a litigious nature equal to that of their contemporaries in ancient Mesopotamia. The more elevated the status of the contractants therefore, the more likely that a marriage would have been accompanied by legal assurances, which, with adjudications regarding divorce, remarriage, division of property, would have had written records.⁵⁾

1.3. Their absence from the epigraphic finds from Hattusas is probably to be explained by the traditional use of a perishable material, the medium of the frequently mentioned "scribe on wood", of whom the "Chief" might come from the upper levels of society close to the royal family.⁶⁾ That

a variety of records for state, temple, and private use, were stored on the also frequently mentioned, but archaeologically unattested at Boğazköy, GIŠ.HUR,⁷⁾ is an indication that this may have been the medium for marriage contracts and the like.

1.4. The evidence for marriages of named non-royal persons and their respective family affiliations is slight and fragmentary, which prevents the establishment of family "trees" of more than minimal depth, with few exceptions.⁸⁾ Difficulty exists also in establishing from preserved texts a wider spectrum of named relationships for the royal House within Hatti. One question we must attempt to answer is whether marriages of high-status persons conformed generally to the legal prescriptions of the "Laws", or whether there were elevated forms of marriage, such as those prescribed for the OInd. Brahman and ksatriya castes, or seen in the patrician marriages in Rome?⁹⁾

2.1. The interdynastic marriages of Hitt. Kings, princes and princesses, are mentioned in a number of documents concerned with the political and military relations of Hatti with Anatolian and NE states. No "contract" devoted to a particular marriage has been preserved. However, a fragmentary letter, possibly from Ramesses II to Queen Puduhepa on the subject of the Pharaoh's marriage to a Hitt. princess, apparently refers to such.¹⁰⁾ Treaty texts, which were actually "contract tablets" between the Hitt. King and his subordinate or equal status contemporaries,¹¹⁾ stipulated certain legal conditions pertaining to a marriage between royal houses. From these, and the incidental ceremonies involved in the betrothals, the marriage gifts and dowries, and the relationships which may be seen to have linked these royal houses, we perceive or surmise the circumstances of marriages between Hittite high-ranking families, which must have involved also members of the royal family.

2.2. As we might expect, the political importance of the interdynastic unions was paramount, with indifference on the whole for the personal wishes of the princesses whose

marriages would enhance the honour and status of their parents at home and abroad. The union of royal families was the principal objective, with its calculated immediate and future advantages.

§2. THE OLD AND "MIDDLE" KINGDOMS

1.1. The device of the interdynastic marriage had long been recognised for its diplomatic efficacy, and practised in ancient Mesopotamia.¹²⁾ Just prior to the Amarna period Amenophis III had stated its purpose succinctly in his reported request to Tarhunradu, King of Arzawa, for his daughter in marriage, man=wa=(n)nas ishanittaratar iyaueni "Let us make a blood-relationship between us".¹³⁾ The derivation from eshar "blood" of ishanittaratar remains preferable, despite the attractive argument that it was an abstract derivative of a verbal noun from iterative "*ishanai-or *ishaniya-, related to ishiya-, ishai- 'bind'", translated "(marital) alliance".¹⁴⁾ As Kammenhuber noted, one would expect the iterative to be, correctly, *ishanna-.¹⁵⁾

1.2. Although the immediate "alliance" created by the marriage would have been affinal, as remarked in (CHD), the offspring would be linked by bloodties. Lancaster said regarding Anglo-Saxon kinship and bilateral systems, marriages of which may be comparable to that which Amenophis III was contemplating:¹⁶⁾

"In a bilateral system, a man's affinal kin are the consanguineal kin of his child: through this relationship legal ties may be set up."

The Pharaoh referred to a whole state of future consanguineal relationships resulting from this union of the royal houses of Egypt and Arzawa.

2.1. Although there are no preserved references to Hitt. interdynastic marriages later in the Old Kingdom, for the earlier period there is the difficult passage from KBo III 28, II 21'-24', cited above (Ch.VI, §5.B. as 20), in which the King related that his father had introduced the "Queen of Hurma" - or her daughter? - as a "bride" for him.

2.2. Further, there is the King's (Mursilis'(?)) descript-

ion in OH+ KBo III 38, obv.7'-8', of the hostility between Zalpa and his grandfather, presumbaly King in Kussara, after which the King of Zalpa A-NA A-BI A-BI LUGAL ták-Šu-ul i-ia-at[] "for my grandfather made a friendship".¹⁷⁾ Then, implied by the events related in the damaged lines 9'-14', the grandfather gave his daughter in marriage to the King of Zalpa. These lines describe the murder of "the daughter" by Alluwas, the King of Zalpa's Chamberlain, who was consequently pursued and killed by her father.¹⁸⁾ Whether the "daughter" here might be understood as the "fDagazipas(sa) daughter of the Sun god" in what appears to be a mythological insertion in which "the Sun god" uttered a blessing (obv.1'-6'), is uncertain and depends on whether ^DUTU could represent here the King of Kussara?¹⁹⁾

2.3. The interpretation of the above passages from KBo III 28 and 38 is hindered by their poor state of preservation. Cautiously, we suggest that both examples illustrate interdynastic marriages between families of comparable status, and in the latter case the diplomatic expedient may be seen of giving away a daughter (or sister) as wife to a former enemy in order to assure future good political relations.

3.1. The "Middle Kingdom" period, from Telepinus to the accession of Suppiluliumas I, yields no direct evidence for interdynastic marriage concluded by the royal house of Hatti. However, Otten had remarked that Queen Nikalmati, the wife of Great King Tuthaliyas, with her Hurrian name, may have been a "foreign princess".²⁰⁾ On the basis of recently discovered land donations with seal impressions, the reigns are confirmed of the MK Kings, Hantilis II after Alluwamnas, then Zidantas II, Huzziyas II, together with the newly attested Muwattallis I, who "killed Huzziyas".²¹⁾ We would identify Nikalmati's husband, who appears with her on the "obverse" lower wing of the recently discovered impressions of a cruciform seal, before [Arnuwandas - Asmu]nikal (on the left wing), and who follows Huzziyas (II) in the Royal Offerings lists, with the Great King Tuthaliyas of the Annals (CTH 142, 143),²²⁾ and the Great King Tuthaliyas with whom, on his accession to the throne, the

King of Halab made a pact of friendship (CTH 75).²³⁾

3.2. Since the ethnic composition of the North Syrian Kingdom of Halab was partly Hurrian, it would help to explain the entry to Hatti of Hurrian-mediated cults, particularly those associated with the Syro-Hurrian goddess Nikkal(u), recorded later as one of the Hurro-Kizzuwatnean gods worshipped in the sacred city Kummanni in Kizzuwatna,²⁴⁾ if there had been a marriage arranged between Hatti and Halab of Tuthaliyas and Nikalmati. However, early in the reign of Tuthaliyas, Kizzuwatna must have been annexed to Hatti, affording free passage not only for military campaigns to the east but Hurrian culture into Hatti,²⁵⁾ so Kizzuwatna may have been the birthplace of Nikalmati, as of the NK Queen Puduhepa, and source of the Syro-Hurrian cult.

3.3. Clear evidence for a dynastic union is elusive, but the increase in things Hurrian, particularly pertaining to the royal family, such as rituals, literary texts, from this MH period,²⁶⁾ and personal names,²⁷⁾ could be explained by a royal marriage linking the ethnic groups. Laroche's conclusion that the lower social strata in Anatolia, yielding little evidence of Hurr. PN, remained virtually unaffected by the Hurr. incursion, is supported by the apparent disappearance in the 1st Millennium of Hurr. influence.²⁸⁾

§3. THE NEW KINGDOM. SUPPILULIUMAS I.

1.1. Documentary evidence for Hitt. interdynastic marriages is greatly augmented by the texts pertaining to the reign of Suppiluliumas I which introduced an era during which the power of Hatti and its newly extended empire, bound to the Hitt. royal house and land by Treaties of various political types, was a determining factor in the history of Anatolia and the Near East.²⁹⁾ By an astute response to the diplomatic and military challenges of the Amarna Age, Suppiluliumas won overlordship in Northern Mesopotamia and Syria where Mittanni and Egypt previously had maintained their own protectorates and interests.³⁰⁾

1.2. There are attested five interdynastic marriages, arranged or intended by Suppiluliumas I, namely of: a) a dau-

ghter, Muwattis, to Mashuilluwas, refugee from Western Anatolia; b) a sister to Huqqanas, vassal ruler of Azzi-Hayasa; c) the daughter of Burnaburiaš, King of Babylon, to Suppiluliumas himself; d) a daughter to Šattiwaza, vassal ruler of Mittanni; e) a son, Zannanza, to the widow of Pharaoh Tutankhamun. Suppiluliumas' efforts in this field of diplomacy may be appreciated the more for a survey of the inter-dynastic marriages in Anatolia and the Near East in the period preceding his arrival on the historic scene as commander of the Hitt. forces for his ailing father.

2.1. The MH Indictment of Madduwattas, KUB XIV 1 (CTH 147),³¹⁾ relates the expulsion of Madduwattas from his Kingdom within Arzawa by Attarissiyas, "man of Ahhiya"; his support and protection by the Hitt. King; the consequent hostility between Madduwattas and one Kupanta-DKAL/Kurunta, who appears to have won control of Arzawa with the support and connivance of Attarissiyas.³²⁾ The earlier events of CTH 147 occurred during the reign of the "father of My Sun".³³⁾ These Great Kings are now identified with Tuthaliyas I/II and Arnuwandas I of the Annals' texts, specifically KUB XXIII 21 (CTH 143), in which Kupanta-Kurunta also appears, as the ruler of Arzawa who escaped the onslaught of the Hitt. army.³⁴⁾ At this time Madduwattas, with his "wives and children", was an older contemporary of Kupanta-Kurunta, and possibly also of Arnuwandas I who campaigned with his father(-in-law).³⁵⁾

2.2. Madduwattas had been allowed to occupy and so guard for his Hitt. saviour and benefactor the mountain territory Zippasla, between the later known Hitt. "Lower Land" and Arzawa.³⁶⁾ He was sworn to a contract of loyalty, oral if not written, to the "father of My Sun", and commanded not to seize further territory for himself, nor to contact Attarissiyas.³⁷⁾ Madduwattas flouted the Hitt. King's orders to restrain his military forays, but even so he was rescued by Hitt. generals on each occasion from the retaliation of Attarissiyas and Kupanta-Kurunta.³⁸⁾ Unrepentant, Madduwattas claimed Hitt. lands, making them swear allegiance to himself.³⁹⁾ He devised a stratagem to entice Kup-

anta-Kurunta. Having concluded a friendship with the latter, he told the Hitt. King:⁴⁰⁾

"I shall write to him as follows: 'Come here to me, and I shall give you my daughter in marriage!' [But when he comes [to me] I shall seize him and kill him!"]

Arnuwandas received Madduwattas' letter with what seems to be amazed resignation, and a final comment, "As it seems good to you, accordingly do!"⁴¹⁾

2.3. Kupanta-Kurunta apparently survived the intended murder, an idle threat perhaps by Madduwattas to justify his "friendship" with an enemy of the Hitt. King,⁴²⁾ and the marriage was concluded, since Arnuwandas referred to it in the past tense.⁴³⁾ Madduwattas' imperious tone suggests that he considered himself superior to Kupanta-Kurunta, who could scarcely have refused his offer. In view of this marriage, Kupanta-Kurunta and Madduwattas were probably not close consanguineal relatives, but members of rival families ruling states within the broadly termed Arzawa, where Madduwattas had been the premier King before the intervention of Attarissiyas.⁴⁴⁾

3.1. Against the background of hostility between Hatti and Arzawa during the reign of Arnuwandas I, the "concentric" invasions of Hatti, and the early career of Suppiluliumas as the increasingly successful military arm of his father, the overtures by Amenophis III to Tarhunradu, King of Arzawa, to establish the "blood-relationship" between their two houses has particular diplomatic significance.⁴⁵⁾ The correspondence on this marriage in EA 31, 32, refers to customs and ceremonies observed in the betrothal.⁴⁶⁾ The transportation to Amarna of these letters, written in a script with signs approximating to forms familiar from Arnuwandas I texts, indicates that the Arzawan marriage actually took place, with the letters providing a basis for reference in later diplomatic exchanges.⁴⁷⁾

3.2. In the eastern theatre of his interests in this pre-Amarna period, Amenophis III courted and maintained inter-dynastic relations with the rulers of Mittanni and Babylon,

by marrying Giluhepa, daughter of Šuttarna II, and the daughter of the Kassite Kurigalzu I.⁴⁸⁾ In the next generation both Tušratta of Mittanni and Kadašman-Elīl I of Babylon complied with the same Pharaoh's requests by sending a daughter respectively to the Egyptian court, although the Babylonian princess was referred to as an ahūzatu, indicating a similar status to the kallātu, without it would seem the titular honour of "royal wife".⁴⁹⁾ Burnaburiaš II/III also dispatched a daughter upon the same route, to Akhenaton, although he insisted upon greater pomp and courtesy - more than merely five chariots! - for her escort to Egypt.⁵⁰⁾

3.3. The marital ties desired by Egypt were initiated by a request for a princess as "wife", which might include women from Mittanni, Gasga country, as well as Ugarit, and other Syro-Palestinian states in Egypt's political orbit, although their ultimate destiny would be the royal harem.⁵¹⁾ Dominating the procedures were the sheer quantity and quality of the "gifts" which changed sides in the marital transactions, forming a veritable trade in the greatly desired Egyptian gold for Eastern artifacts and produce, which enhanced the Pharaoh's stature in Egypt.⁵²⁾ However, as Amenophis III explained to Kadašman-Elīl I when he asked for an exchange of princesses, it would have been contrary to custom for the Pharaoh to give away his daughter.⁵³⁾ The transaction in this respect was notably one-sided. Even the Babylonian King's alternate request was refused, for the substitution of "a beautiful (Egyptian) woman" to pass as a royal daughter.⁵⁴⁾

3.4. In this light may be seen the exceptional honour bestowed on Niqmadu II of Ugarit whose marriage to an Egyptian noblewoman, or even a young princess from the Pharaoh's harem, was commemorated by the engraving of an Egyptian scene, partially preserved, with a lady in the attitude of a wife, and Niqmadu's name in hieroglyphs, on two alabaster vase fragments discovered in the Palace of Ugarit.⁵⁵⁾ The name ^fNeseti, attested in the line below that of Niqmadu in a ritual Ugaritic text, not to be ascribed to Niqmadu III, and in RS 12.33, as "lady of Ugarit", may have been the Eg-

gyptian lady's Ugaritian name, or that of a successor after her death, or even divorce.⁵⁶⁾ Desroches-Noblecourt's stylistic analysis of the decorative elements of the "marriage vase" leaves no doubt as to its dating late in Akhenaton's reign, even if the archaeological context, that is vase fragments with the names of Akhenaton, Nefertiti, and the Aton, as well Ramesses II, and a tablet of Ammistamru II, is not conclusive.⁵⁷⁾

3.5. The Egyptian marriage must have taken place before Suppiluliumas concluded his Treaty with Niqmadu II as a valuable ally and favoured vassal,⁵⁸⁾ when Egyptian and Mittannian interests in north Syria were threatened by the diplomatic encroachment of the Hitt. King, reinforced by his military capability.⁵⁹⁾ The bonds created by the marriage could not withstand the stress of Ugarit's immediate need for protection from neighbouring states in the Hurr. camp, which threw Niqmadu, perhaps literally, to the feet of Suppiluliumas.⁶⁰⁾

§3.1. ARZAWA

1.1. The marriage of Mashuilluwas to Muwattis, daughter of Suppiluliumas I, would have occurred after the latter acceded to the throne. His involvement with Arzawa was recorded in the surviving DS tablets in two broad contexts: in the former "my grandfather" of Mursilis II was still alive, while "my father" in the latter, which mentions also the land Mira, appears to be in sole command.⁶¹⁾ Moreover, Suppiluliumas' cession of the people of Puranda as subjects to Uhhazitis, King of Arzawa, probably as part of a contract under oath between Hatti and Arzawa, later violated by Uhhazitis (according to Mursilis II), indicates that Suppiluliumas was then King of Hatti.⁶²⁾ We learn of the marriage from Mursilis describing how, in his successful campaign against Arzawa, he returned Mashuilluwas "man of Arzawa" to his Kingdom of Mira from which his brothers had expelled him at the time of Suppiluliumas, to whom he had fled.⁶³⁾ The latter had made Mashuilluwas his son-in-law, bound him by oath of loyalty to himself and his sons, and provided

him with political shelter but not military support, because he, Suppiluliumas, was occupied in the Hurri lands.⁶⁴⁾

1.2. The union with Muwattis failed to produce a son.. Consequently Mursilis agreed that Mashuilluwas might adopt his brother's son, Kupanta-Kurunta, as heir, with whom as King of Mira and Kuwaliya, despite his adoptive father's rebellion, Mursilis concluded a Treaty.⁶⁵⁾ The Treaty of the son and successor of Mursilis, Muwattallis II, with Alaksandus of Wilusa, informs us that Kupanta-Kurunta was "on the male side a member of the family of the King of Arzawa".⁶⁶⁾ The Annals of Mursilis report for the beginning of his Arzawan campaign, that "my gods" aided Mashuilluwas to defeat ^mSUM-^DKAL who was besieging him in Impa, a city of Mira.⁶⁷⁾ The assailant was a son of the oath-breaking Uhhazitis, whose city Apasas (classical Ephesus) was later conquered by Mursilis, although Uhhazitis himself and his sons, ^mSUM-^DKAL and Tapalazunawalis, escaped across the sea "to the islands".⁶⁸⁾ After Uhhazitis' death Tapalazunawalis, as successor no doubt, returned to the mainland to occupy Puranda against Mursilis, but was forced to take flight, saving his own life, but abandonning his wife, children, and people, to be captured by Mursilis.⁶⁹⁾ Thereafter he may have been extradited by the King of Ahhiyawa to Mursilis who conveyed him and prisoners to Hattusas.⁷⁰⁾

2.1. So ended, ostensibly, the "family of the King of Arzawa", when also "Arzawa" ceased to specify a Kingdom in its own right. It occurs later as a generic term "(greater) Arzawa", with its "4 Kings" in Hitt. vassalage, as named by Muwattallis II: Alaksandus, Manapa-Kurunta, or -Tarhundas?, Kupanta-Kurunta, and Urahaddusas.⁷¹⁾ Since Kupanta-Kurunta continued a branch line of the royal family of "Arzawa", conceivably other later rulers stemmed from this House.

2.2. Rulers' names recur in the later history of western Anatolia. The ^mPiyama-^DKAL, son of Uhhazitis, who escaped to the Aegean islands, may have had a namesake and descendant in the Piyama-radu who was the scourge of Hattusilis III, since he attacked the Lukka lands (Lycia), then slipp-

ed away by ship into the protection of the King of Ahhiya-wa, abetted by his sons-in-law, his representatives in Millawanda (Miletos).⁷²⁾ The element -radu may have been a dialectal variant of Luw. Kurunta, suggested by Neo-Hittite forms such as Ru(n)da.⁷³⁾

2.3. Now that the redating of the Annals of Tuthaliyas and Arnuwandas and the Indictment of Madduwattas to the "MK"/MH period is generally accepted, we recognise the Kupanta-Kurunta of these texts as the forebear, and not a late 13th century successor, of the Kupanta-Kurunta, contemporary of Mursilis II, Muwattallis II, and possibly Urhi-Tešub and Hattusilis III, who continued his ancestor's name if not a direct line of succession.⁷⁴⁾ The appearance of Alantallis of Mira as a witness to Bo 86/299, being thus a contemporary of Tuthaliyas IV, demonstrates that he was related to the Hitt. royal family, most likely as a descendant of this Kupanta-Kurunta.⁷⁵⁾ Tarhunaradu (EA 31 and 32) and Uhhazitis may be placed chronologically between the two namesakes.

2.4. A later Tarhunaradu is attested in connection with incitement to rebellion in the Seha River Land in the reign of a Hitt. King, possibly Hattusilis III, who conquered him and made "the seed of Mu[wa-UR.MAH]" his vassal King of the territory.⁷⁶⁾ Muwa-UR.MAH was the father of the Manapa-Tarhundadas installed by Mursilis II as ruler of the Seha River Land after his brothers had expelled him.⁷⁷⁾ His successor was made a brother-in-law of Hattusilis III when his sister was given in marriage to Masturis, son and successor of Manapa-Tarhundadas.⁷⁸⁾ The relationship of Muwa-UR.MAH to the contemporary King of Arzawa is not known.

2.5. The bid by Suppiluliumas to link the Hitt. throne with that of Arzawa by bestowing the honour of being his son-in-law upon Mashuiliwas, should be evaluated in regard to manoeuvres in western Anatolia, not only by its local rulers who sought to gain territorial and political ascendancy over each other, but also by the rulers of Ahhiyawa and Egypt. The frequent and often hostile appearances of the King (or "man") of Ahhiya(wa) in the west is recorded

in texts from the period of Tuthalijas I, inciting and profiting from the anti-Hittite factions on the western seaboard.⁷⁹⁾ Egypt, aware of the increasing influence of Ahhiyawa (Achaea or Mycenaean Greece), played its own game of diplomatic intervention.⁸⁰⁾ No doubt Amenophis III sought through his marriage to the daughter of Tarhunaradu of Arzawa to assure Egyptian access to western Anatolia, and so to maintain prestige at home and abroad.

§3.11. AZZI-HAYASA

1.1. The next recorded marriage arranged by Suppiluliumas for a dependent, was that of his sister to Huqqanas, elevated by the Hitt. King from a lowly status to become a "noble" and representative of Azzi-Hayasa.⁸¹⁾ Chronologically this may have followed his own marriage to the daughter of Burnaburias II/III, since the list of deities witnessing the Treaty with Huqqanas includes for the first time in such a list, it would seem, the Babylonian god Marduk, while the Luw. god Santas is logographically represented as ^DMARDUK in the contemporary Luw./Hitt. ritual of Zarpiya.⁸²⁾ The latter marriage obviously followed the death of Great Queen Henti who presided with Suppiluliumas and the prince Arnuwandas when their son Telepinus was installed as priest in Kummanni, and preceded the Treaty with Niqmadu II of Ugarit, tablets of which were impressed with the joint seal of Suppiluliumas and Tawan(n)annas, daughter of the King of Babylon.⁸³⁾

1.2. However, according to an analysis by Neu of the copies of the Huqqanas Treaty, various characteristics show that the original was written down apparently in the scribal MH period, the texts being closer in linguistics and spellings to the Treaty with Sunassuras of Kizzuwatna (CTH 41), than to the Treaties of Suppiluliumas with Aziru of Amurru and Šattiwaza of Mittanni.⁸⁴⁾ The Hitt. King who contracted the Sunassuras Treaty has been identified as Tuthalijas II, father of Suppiluliumas I.⁸⁵⁾ This Tuthalijas, "my grandfather" of Mursilis II in DS, very likely defeated a King Karannis(/Lannis?) of Azzi, and installed "Mariyas" as the

ruler of (Azzi-)Hayasa with whom, and the "men of Hayasa", a Treaty had been concluded.⁸⁶⁾ If the same scribe(s) had been responsible for both Treaties, that is with Mariyas and Huqqanas respectively, we might have an explanation for the "MH" similarities between the latter document and that of CTH 41, although Suppiluliumas' own activity in Hayasa according to DS, which led to the installation of Huqqanas and the marriage, followed his Arzawan campaigns, and was thus comparatively late.⁸⁷⁾

2.1. The first paragraph of the Treaty refers to the elevation of Huqqanas and his receiving of My Sun's sister as wife:

1) KBo V 3 +(CTH 42.A), I⁸⁸⁾

- §1 1. [U]M-MA DUTUŠI mšu-up-pí-lu-li-u-ma LUGAL KUR
URU_{ha-at-ti}
2. ka-a-ša tú-uk mhu-uq-qa-na-a-an ap-pí-iz-zi-in UR.
[GI₇]-an
3. ša-ra-a da-a-ah-hu-un nu-ut-ta SIG₅-in [i-ia-nu]-
un
4. nu-ut-ták-kán URU_{ha-at-tu-ši} A-NA LÚ^{MEŠ} URU_{ha-ia-}
ša-ia aš-šu-li iš-tar-na
5. te-ik-ku-uš-ša-nu-nu-un nu-ut-ta am-me-el NIN-IA
AŠ-ŠUM DAM-UT-TIM AD-DIN

"Thus (speaks) My Sun, Suppiluliumas, King of Hatti, "Behold, I have taken you up, Huqqanas, a lowly "do[g]", and I have [ma]de you a "noble". I have made you known for good will in Hattusas and among the people of Hayasa, and I have given my own sister to you as a wife."

Huqqanas' gratitude for these honours would be manifested in enduring loyalty to the Hitt. King, his sons and brothers, for the sake of "brotherhood and friendship".⁸⁹⁾ As husband of My Sun's sister, Huqqanas was bound under oath to conform with Hitt. customs regarding incest, adultery, and decorous behaviour regarding court women, such stipulations being necessary in the opinion of Suppiluliumas owing to Huqqanas' "barbaric" ethnic origin.

2.2. In their particular context they may be interpreted as

forming part of a "marriage contract" within the Treaty itself. Despite earlier reference to these strictures we list them below (in their order in the Treaty), as examples of the mores to which we would expect the foreign husband in other Hitt. interdynastic marriages had to conform:

1. Huqqanas was forbidden: to take sexually a sister or cousin of his wife (§§29'-30');⁹⁰⁾
2. forbidden: to sleep with his own sister (§29');⁹¹⁾
3. forbidden: to confront (rather than leap out of her way) a free woman or a ^{MÍ}SUHUR.LAL in the Hitt. Palace, or to let his servant do so (§31'); the precautionary tale regarding Mariyas forbade "ogling" at a ^{MÍ}SUHUR.LAL (§32');⁹²⁾
4. forbidden: if in Hayasa, or in the Palace in Hattusas, to take sexually his brother's "women", i.e. his sister(s-in-law) (§33');⁹³⁾
5. forbidden: to take a woman of Hayasa as a wife; consequently he must put aside any such woman he might have already (§33');⁹⁴⁾
6. forbidden: to make a NAPTIRTU woman (concubine) his wife, although he might keep such a woman (§33').⁹⁵⁾

2.3. The final stricture is found in similar form in the Treaty of Šattiwaza of Mittanni (see below), and reflects Hitt. royal custom according to which concubinage was normal practice, although the rank of the "legitimate" wife, the Queen, was never challenged.⁹⁶⁾ We understand the instruction to divorce a previous wife from Hayasa in this context since Suppiluliumas would have regarded his daughter alone as the legitimate bearer of the title.

2.4. It would seem that the command in §31' "do not step near" to a "free woman" or ^{MÍ}SUHUR.LAL was actually prohibiting any attempt to seduce these women who belonged to the Hitt. Palace. In Chapter III we noted Güterbock's assessment of the Hitt. evidence indicating that the ^{MÍ}SUHUR.LAL (Akk. kezertu) "woman with curled hair", was an "attendant woman" or "lady's maid" (although she might serve

male as well as female deities) rather than "prostitute", according to the later texts from Mesopotamia, and that she may have been a "hairstresser".⁹⁷⁾ The reason why decorous behaviour was demanded from male visitors to Hattusas, not even to "ogle, look at", in regard to a woman of her profession "in the Palace", may have been due to her intimate access to royal persons, including the King.

3.1. Huqqanas' elevation from UR.GI₇ (Akk. kalbu) "dog", must have been necessary before he could become both a ruler and the husband of the Hitt. princess. The term "dog" was used in a derogatory and often self-deprecating manner in Mesopotamian texts.⁹⁸⁾ For the present context it is notable that the OA letter of Anum-hirbi referred to a vassal as a "slave" and a "dog".⁹⁹⁾ From a state of common servitude Huqqanas was made a ^{LÚ}SIG₅(-in) "good man", which, like the Akk. counterpart LÚ^(MES)SIG₅-qutu (damqūtu) found in the Paddatissu Treaty (CTH 26) and at Mari, denoted a man of comparatively high rank, responsible, reliable, well-trained, and often occupying a military role.¹⁰⁰⁾ Although SIG₅ conveys the general sense of "good, favoured, etc.", the concealed Hitt. word is not the nominal adj. as-su-,¹⁰¹⁾ but may be an i-stem derivative of the vb ass-, assiya- "be favoured, be dear, be good."¹⁰²⁾

3.2. A translation "noble, ennobled (one)" may be justified on the basis of the Hitt. and Akk. evidence alone, but some further confirmation may be offered by a passage in the Madduwattas text which finds an echo in the Homeric descriptions of individual heroes contesting in battle.¹⁰³⁾

2) KUB XIV 1 +(CTH 147), obv.¹⁰⁴⁾

64. na-aš-ta ŠA ^mat-ta-[ri-iš-]šī-ia-ia 1^{LÚ}SIG₅-in ku-e-nir an-zi-el-la-kán 1^{LÚ}SIG₅ ^mzi-da-a-an-za-an ku-e-nir ...

"And (in the course of the battle) one "noble" of Attarissiyas (of Ahhiya) they slew, then one "noble" of ours, Zidanzas, they slew".

The most probable identification of Ahhiya(wa) with Greek Achaea allows us to compare the Hitt. quality attributed

by SIG₅ with that of Greek ἀγαθός, which designated Agamemnon as a noble with power over other men (μήτε σὺ τοῦδε ἀγαθὸς περ ἔωσ' ἀποαίρεο κούρη), or Diomedes as "good at the warcry", while the ἀγαθὸς could be contrasted to lowly persons, like ^{LU}SIG₅ in Hittite: man=kan ^{LU}SIG₅ na=at apiz-zis antuwahhas.¹⁰⁵⁾

4.0. The further history of relations between Hatti and Azzi-Hayasa, riven by hostility and warfare at the time of Mursilis II, is unremarked in texts after that period.¹⁰⁶⁾ No more is heard of Suppiluliumas' sister, nor is there any hint in Mursilis' later dealings with King Annis of Azzi that these had been influenced by considerations of kinship.¹⁰⁷⁾ We may doubt that Huqqanas, whose loyalty was questioned in an oracle text,¹⁰⁸⁾ concurred with the stringent regulations imposed by Suppiluliumas, which conflicted so diametrically with the sexual mores of his native land.

§3.iii. BABYLONIA

1.1. As Goetze suggested, the purpose of Suppiluliumas' marriage to the daughter of the Babylonian King, probably Burnaburiaš II/III, already attested by their seals on the Treaty texts of Niqmadu II of Ugarit, was to assure Babylon's friendship during Hitt. wars against Mittanni and Syria.¹⁰⁹⁾ This Queen was more frequently designated by the title ^{MÍ}tawan(n)annas than by her personal name, *^fMalnigal, attested only in seal inscriptions.¹¹⁰⁾

1.2. Contrary to stipulations regarding legal marriage in the Mesopotamian Laws and attested marriage contracts, there is no evidence that the latter were essential to premarital negotiations in NE interdynastic marriages of this period.¹¹¹⁾ Nor is there sure evidence for such a contract between Suppiluliumas and the Babylonian King, despite the appearance of ishiu in the following passage of the prayer of Mursilis II concerning his deposition of his father's widow, ^{MÍ}tawan(n)annas, whom he blamed for the death of his own wife, ^fGassulawiyas:

3) KUB XIV 14 (CTH 70), I¹¹²⁾

- 12' [. . . A-NA PA-NI ^{LÚ}IMU-TI₄-ŠU-ia-aš-ši ku-iš
ša-ak-la-a-iš
- 13' [ZI-ni e-eš-ta(?) A-NA PA-NI ^{LÚ}MU-TI₄-ŠU-ia-aš-ši
ku-e Ū-UL a-a-ra e-eš-ta
- 14' [xxxxxxxx]x ša-ak-la-in-na-kán is-hi-ú-ul-la
- 15' [xxxxxxxx] iš-hi-]ú-li-ia pa-ra-a pí-e-da-an har-ta

"[... in the time of]her husband, what custom [was in accordance(?)] with her/him, and [in the time of her husband] what was not right for her/him, []and then custom and contract /[] and [contrary to(?) custom?) and cont]ract (s)he had [x] carried forth".

The terms "custom and contract" above, could refer to the regulations of one (or more) cultic establishment(s).¹¹³⁾ Mursilis' complaint, continuing in obv.II, 3'ff., and concerning ^{MÍ}tawan(n)annas' denuding of the King's residence to enhance the mausoleum,¹¹⁴⁾ suggests that his earlier complaint was also with his stepmother's contravention of Hitt. mores and regulations governing Temples, Palace and property.¹¹⁵⁾

2.1. However, it is conceivable that Suppiluliumas' installation of ^{MÍ}tawan(n)annas in the ^{MÍ}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}-UT-TIM "mother-of-god(s)-ship",¹¹⁶⁾ an office in which she served "all the gods", probably in an administrative role over the Temples with their economic resources and cultic practices, and which she was the first attested Queen to hold,¹¹⁷⁾ resulted from a pre-marital agreement to honour the princess with title and office befitting her rank by birth and marriage. Evidence is lacking for royal custom regarding the cultic participation of Kassite Queens, but we note the diligence with which the 14th century Kings restored the derelict temples of Ur III deities,¹¹⁸⁾ and presumably their rites and offerings over which Queens of that earlier period had exercised considerable control.¹¹⁹⁾

2.2. Suppiluliumas had indeed yielded special powers of State administration to this Queen, an authority which she retained after his death through the short reign of Arnuwandas and into the reign of Mursilis II, which the following passages demonstrate:

4) KUB XIV 14 (CTH 70), obv.I¹²⁰)

- 5' [GIM-an-ma-za A-BU-IA DIN] GIR^{LIM}-iš ki-ša-at
MI^Ita-wa-an-na-an-na-an-m[a] mar-nu-wa-an-[da-aš]
- 6' [ŠEŠ-IA am-mu-uk-ka₄] Ú-UL ku-it-ki i-da-la-u-wa-ah-
hu-u-en te-ip-nu-mi-na-an
- 7' [Ú-UL ku-it-ki ...]
- ...
- 10' [...] ... É.LUGAL Û KUR ^{URU} ha-at-ti
- 11' [A-NA PA-NI A-BI-IA Û A-NA PA-N] I ŠEŠ-IA ma-ah-ha-an
ta-pa-ar-ta a-pí-ia-ia-at
- 12' [QA-TAM-MA-pát ta-pa-ar-ta ...] ...

"[But when my father] became [a g]od, [my brother] Arnuwan[das and I] did not in any way harm Tawannannas; we did [not in any way] curtail her (powers).

... As she had governed the King's residence and the land Hatti [in the time of my father and in the ti]me of my brother, then (i.e. in the reign of Mursilis II) [she governed] them [in just the same way ...]..."

Mursilis' reiteration of his forbearance concerning his stepmother in this respect suggests that he was actually intensely irritated by her possession of such wide powers of administration, apparently assigned her by his father, which must have curtailed his own authority as King of Hatti. Quite possibly the pre-marital correspondence concerning the Babylonian princess, unfortunately not preserved, had established her status as Great Queen of Hatti in a manner satisfactory to her father's concept of his own and his Kingdom's honour. Correspondence between Kadašman-Enlil I and Amenophis III in which the Babylonian King complains of the poor treatment of his sister, married to that Pharaoh, in contrast to that accorded his daughter married to another King, who had been visited by his messengers with exchange of gifts, illustrates the importance placed upon the status of the Babylonian bride after her marriage.¹²¹⁾

3.0. When Mursilis II demoted his stepmother for witchcraft and stripped her of religious and civil power he acted in the knowledge, no doubt, that diplomatic relations between Hatti and Babylonia would be strained. Within the

next or following generations of rulers expediency, however, demanded that Hatti court again the goodwill of Babylonia, with resort to interdynastic marriages (§4.iii.7.1.-9.0.).

§3.iv. EGYPT

1.1. The unusual circumstances which resulted in the proposal by a recently widowed Queen of Egypt, the dahamunzu "wife of the King",¹²²⁾ whose husband had died without an heir, to Suppiluliumas, that he should send her one of his many sons so that she might marry him and make him King of Egypt, have been intensively researched for many years, as also the identities of the persons involved.¹²³⁾ Egyptian sources do not record this proposal, which is known to us through the account by Mursilis II of his father's "Deeds", and a mention in one of Mursilis' "Prayers".¹²⁴⁾ The arguments of many scholars, most recently Kitchen and Bryce, that the deceased Pharaoh was Tutankhamun, are convincing. The latter's prenomen Nb-hpr.w-r was rendered erroneously as ^mpf-ib-hu-ru-ri-ia-aš (L.7) in KBo V 6 (CTH 40), III 1ff., relating the first request through an Egyptian messenger, but correctly as ^mni-ib-hu-ru-ri-ia-aš (L.18) in the parallel passage KBo XIV 12, IV 1'ff., recording the second message to Suppiluliumas conveyed by the Egyptian Hani, and which should not be confused with the cuneiform rendition (EA) of Akhenaten's prenomen Nfr-hprw-r, where nap represents Nfr.¹²⁵⁾

1.2. Sturm's logic has stood the test of recent research, namely, that no other Pharaoh of this time would have died without a designated heir, but leaving a Queen who could in her own right make her chosen husband the new King, and who must therefore have been of royal blood.¹²⁶⁾ Also, Ankhesenamun, daughter of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, and only wife of the childless Tutankhamun who died at 18 years, was later married to the latter's vizier Ay, who thus became Pharaoh, while she suffered the fate abhorred by the Queen who wrote to Suppiluliumas:¹²⁷⁾

"I do not wish to select a servant of mine and make

him my husband ... I am afraid".

Bryce's presentation of the archaeological evidence of the spring flowers present in Tutankhamun's burial and the consequent chronology of his death, mourning and burial periods, would finalise these arguments in favour of Tutankhamun.¹²⁸⁾

1.3. Suppiluliumas, on receiving the first request during his seige of Karkamish expressed amazement and doubt to his assembly of Great Men, "Such a thing has never happened to me before!", and consequently sent Hattusazitis (^{mGIS}PA.LÚ-in) to Egypt to investigate the matter.¹²⁹⁾ The delay during winter while Hattusazitis pursued his mission was sufficient apparently to alert those Egyptians opposed to Ankh-esenamun's plan. He returned in the Spring to confirm that her request had been genuine, to which Suppiluliumas now responded by sending prince Zannanza on his journey to Egypt during which he was murdered by unknown assassins.¹³⁰⁾ Ay married Ankhesenamun, performed Tutankhamun's burial rites, and thus became Pharaoh, receiving Suppiluliumas' letter of protest regarding the death of his son.¹³¹⁾

2.1. We recall Suppiluliumas' stringent regulation of his vassal and brother-in-law Huqqanas' sexual behaviour and his indictment generally of the Azzi-Hayasan people for incestuous practices. It is illuminating of Suppiluliumas' concerns regarding the proposed marriage of Zannanza to Queen Ankhesenamun to consider her interfamilial marriages of which Hattusazitis must have learned something during his investigative months at the Egyptian court.

2.2. Ankhesenpaaten, later Ankhesenamun, was the third daughter of Amenophis IV/Akhenaten and Nefertiti.¹³²⁾ Her elder sister Merytaten became Queen of Egypt and her father's wife after the fall from grace of Nefertiti.¹³³⁾ When Smenkhkare acceded to the co-regency with Akhenaten, Merytaten became his wife and mother of his daughter.¹³⁴⁾ Smenkhkare was almost certainly the full brother of Tutankhamun,¹³⁵⁾ and consequently either the son of Akhenaten, if the inscription on the Hermopolis block actually designates

Tutankhamun as son of the latter,¹³⁶⁾ or Akhenaten's brother by the same father, Amenophis III.¹³⁷⁾

Ankhesenpaaten succeeded her sister as Akhenaten's wife, bearing him a child.¹³⁸⁾ Then after the deaths within a brief period of Akhenaten and Smenkhkare, she married the young Tutankhaten to whom, before his death at approximately eighteen years old, she may have borne two stillborn infants whose miniature coffins were interred with the Pharaoh, whose name, like hers, now honoured the god Amun after the return to Thebes from Akhetaten.¹³⁹⁾

2.3. In view of the above it becomes obvious that Suppiluliumas' fears regarding the veracity of Ankhesenamun's plea were centred upon the safety of his son and the maintenance of his honour and prestige, not upon the sexual mores of his future affines. Reassured that Zannanza would actually attain the status of King of Egypt, Suppiluliumas agreed to the marriage without demanding (apparently) that the Egyptian royal family should cease the incestuous practices which marked the reigns of Akhenaten and his successors. A contract of mutual friendship between Hatti and Egypt would have ensued, as implied by Suppiluliumas' jubilant words to the messengers, recalling the "Kurustama Treaty",¹⁴⁰⁾

"Of old, Hattusa and Egypt were friendly with each other, and now this, too, on our behalf, has taken place between t[hem]! Thus Hatti and Egypt will continuously be friendly with each other!"

§3.v. MITTANNI

1.1. After this ill-fated affair, Suppiluliumas gave a daughter in marriage to Šattiwaza, who had sought his protection when his life was threatened after the murder of his father Tušratta, King of Mittanni, by a conspiracy led by another son.¹⁴¹⁾ The latter did not achieve independent rule since Tušratta's brother Artatama II and nephew Šuttarna III yielded Mittanni to despoliation by Assyria and Alse, previously subject to Mittanni.¹⁴²⁾ Suppiluliumas represented his incorporation of the ravaged land (with protectorate status) into his new Empire, in his Treaty with Šattiwaza as follows:

5) KBo I 1 (CTH 51.I.A (Akk.)), obv.¹⁴³⁾

56. ki-i-me-e ^mšat-ti-ú-a-za DUMU ^mtu-uš-rat-ta LUGAL a-na ŠU-ia aš-ša-bat i-na ^{GIS}GU.ZA ša a-bi-šu ú-ši-šib-šu
57. ki-i-me-e KUR ^{URU}mi-it-ta-an-ni KUR.GAL la-a i-hal-[1]ik ū LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR ^{URU}ha-at-ti KUR ^{URU}mi-it-ta-an-ni aš-šum DUMU.MUNUS-šu
58. ub-ta-al-li-iš-šu ^mšat-ti-ú-a-za DUMU ^mtu-uš-rat-ta i-na ŠU-ia aš-ša-bat-ma DUMU.MUNUS a-na DAM-ut-ti-šu at-ta-din-šu

59. ū ^mšat-ti-ú-a-za DUMU.LUGAL i-na KUR ^{URU}mi-it-ta-an-ni lu-ú LUGAL šu-ú ū DUMU.MUNUS ša LUGAL KUR ^{URU}HA-AT-TI a-na KUR ^{URU}mi-it-ta-an-ni
60. lu-ú MÍ.LUGAL šī-i

"When I took Šattiwaza, son of King Tušratta, with my hand, I sat him upon the throne of his father, and that the land of Mittanni, the great land, might not perish, indeed the Great King, King of Hatti, has caused the land Mittanni to live, for the sake of his daughter. Šattiwaza, son of Tušratta, I have taken with my hand, and I have given to him my daughter as his wife. And Šattiwaza, the prince, let him (be) King in Mittanni, and the daughter of the King of Hatti, let her (be) Queen for Mittanni."

1.2. Despite Šattiwaza's descent from the Kings of (Hurri/)Mittanni Suppiluliumas implied that the saving of Mittanni and its Kingship had been principally for the honour of his daughter who had become Šattiwaza's wife. The immediately following lines stipulate a) that her status as principal wife should never be undermined by a secondary wife elevated to a position of superiority; b) that she should (continue) to exercise the Queenship in Mittanni; c) that her sons, grandsons and greatgrandsons, should have equal status to the sons of Šattiwaza.¹⁴⁴⁾ The last statement could imply, not only that Šattiwaza might take a secondary wife¹⁴⁵⁾ in the future, but also that he may have had children already by a legitimate wife who had been set aside or demoted for the purpose of this marriage of political importance to both Hatti and Mittanni.

1.3. Although the same scribes must have been involved in drawing up this Treaty document and that of its counterpart (CTH 52) couched in the words of Šattiwaza (and the Hurri people), which depicted the prior events according to his own involvement, and swearing loyalty to Suppiluliumas as saviour of himself and Mittanni, there is greater emphasis in CTH 52 upon the dynastic advantages for Šattiwaza himself who had acquired a Kingdom to which Šuttarna III laid claim.¹⁴⁶⁾ Šattiwaza's version of his flight to Suppiluliumas and the latter's promise to spare him when he conquered Šuttarna and Mittanni, refers only to the marriage in terms of his being made a-na DUMU-ut-ti-ia "'as my son'", by the King of Hatti.¹⁴⁷⁾ His Hurr. PN Kili-Tešub appears in the colophon of this "tablet of his contract and his oath", by contrast to Šattiwaza, a throne name in the linguistic tradition of the Mittannian Kings, by which he is otherwise addressed in both texts.¹⁴⁸⁾

1.4. Further, while the CTH 52 contract, echoing similar passages in CTH 51, does recognise the marriage by virtue of the "curses", in case of transgression, threatening only the offspring of Šattiwaza and "another wife",¹⁴⁹⁾ and the "blessings" for loyal behaviour which cite Šattiwaza, the daughter of the Great King, and their offspring,¹⁵⁰⁾ it is only in the final lines of this (Akk.) text that the Hitt. princess is actually referred to as his "wife":¹⁵¹⁾

6) KBo I 3 +(CTH 52.I), rev.¹⁵²⁾

59. ki-me-e ^{DUTU}ŠI ^mšu-up-pi-lu-li<<-ū-ma>> LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG LUGAL KUR ^{URU}ha-at-ti
60. na-ra-am ^DX ki-ma ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-šu KUR.KUR ^{MEŠ}-šu ^{ÉRIN}MEŠ-šu DUMU ^{MEŠ}-šu ū DUMU ^{MEŠ} DUMU-šu i-ra-am-šu-nu-ti
61. ū a-na ia-ši ^mšat-ti-ū-a-za qa-du DAM-ia DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR ha-at-ti ū ni-e-nu DUMU ^{MEŠ} hur-ri
62. KUR ^{URU}mi-it-ta-ni qa-du KUR.KUR ^{MEŠ}-ni qa-du mi-mu-ni ki-i ša-a-šu-nu li-ir-i'-ma-an-na-šu-in

"'As My Sun, Suppiluliumas, the Great King, the Hero, King of Hatti, beloved of the Storm god (i.e. Tešub), loves his Table, his lands, his army, his sons and his grandsons, so may he also love me, Šattiwaza, with my

wife, the daughter of the Great King, the King of Hatti, and us, the Hurrians, (and) Mittanni, with our lands (and) our possessions.' "

1.5. "Love" clearly meant protection and support from the King of Hatti for Šattiwaza and his country, and for Šattiwaza with his wife if the population of Mittanni should rebel against them (CTH 51, obv.64-65). Entrenchment of the dynastic position of a Hitt. princess's husband was an important facet of the interdynastic marriages arranged by Suppiluliumas and his successors which had an obvious appeal for the chosen prince.¹⁵³⁾ For Šattiwaza, whose heritage raised him above the status of a mere vassal and whose Kingdom offered a prestigious gain for his father-in-law, ostensibly as a Kingdom for his daughter and her offspring, there was also the promise of equal status with the sons of Suppiluliumas, which would apply successively to their respective children and grandchildren.¹⁵⁴⁾

§3.vi. ILLEGITIMATE SONS AND CONCUBINES

1.1. Although not stated, it is clear from the above that only a son of Šattiwaza and his Hitt. wife should succeed to the Kingship of Mittanni. This resulted naturally, not only from the marriage to a Hitt. princess but also from Šattiwaza's adoption by Suppiluliumas, if the phrase "as a son; in sonship" should be so interpreted, and not simply as "in son-in-law-ship".¹⁵⁵⁾ The 13th century Treaty of Hattusilis III with Bentesina of Amurru, to whom he had married his daughter, stipulated that she should reign as Queen and in the future her son and then grandson would exercise the Kingship in Amurru.¹⁵⁶⁾ Inheritance by the first-ranking son, that is of the King and his legitimate wife and Queen, reflected the principle underlying the Hitt. dynastic succession itself,¹⁵⁷⁾ but was not imposed by Muwattallis II (CTH 76), upon Alaksandus of Wilusa, who had not married into the Hitt. royal family. Alaksandus was promised that his choice of son as heir would be supported by the Hitt. King, whether he were the child ŠA DAM-KA "of your wife", or ŠA MÍ⁵ NAP-<TIR₅->TI-GA "of your concubine".¹⁵⁸⁾ This may illustrate the principle dominant in

Anatolia, that a ruler could exercise personal choice in his selection of an heir.¹⁵⁹⁾

1.2. The Treaty with Huqqanas does not preserve a stipulation regarding succession in Azzi-Hayasa by the son of Huqqanas and Suppiluliumas' sister, but, as in the Šattiwaza Treaty, the stricture appears that concubines were permitted to the contractant, but he was forbidden to elevate another woman as a wife superior to the Hitt. princess.¹⁶⁰⁾ The term for concubine in CTH 42 is expressed Akkadographically as ^{MI}NAP-TIR₅-TI,¹⁶¹⁾ as in CTH 76 (Alaksandus), but as sinnišāti(^{MI}MES) eš-ri-tum in CTH 51 (Šattiwaza).¹⁶²⁾ The latter Akk. term esirtu(m) "concubine", possibly derived from esēru "enclose, confine",¹⁶³⁾ occurs Akkadographically elsewhere in Hitt. texts designating a consort of the King whose son, like Urhi-Tešub, would be selected as his father's heir only in the absence of one born to the legitimate wife.¹⁶⁴⁾ An Instruction text of Tuthalijas IV (CTH 255) and his Treaty with Šaušgamuwa of Amurru (CTH 105), use napṭartu and esertu respectively as Akkadograms in comparable passages to denote women of the Hitt. King whose sons should not command loyalty owed exclusively to the offspring of the Queen as legitimate wife.¹⁶⁵⁾ Akk. napṭi/aru (with f. napṭartu) "substitute, replacement", which could be used of a man or a woman, and might denote a person with certain privileges, appears to derive from the N stem of paṭāru "redeem, loose, etc.", but was not specifically used for "concubine",¹⁶⁶⁾ although this is clearly what was intended by the Boğazköy examples. We cannot tell whether nuances of meaning dictated their choice of these terms by Hitt. scribes, nor if the esirtu women were higher in rank.¹⁶⁷⁾

2.1. Although the Hitt. word or words concealed by the Akk. terms are not known, there is a semantic relationship between these terms and the Hitt. pahhursis c., which could be preceded by male or female determinatives, as seen in the following examples:

7)a. KUB XXIX 1 (CTH 414.A), III¹⁶⁸⁾

41. ...nu-za-an É-aš BE-LU^{MES}-TIM
 42. LUGAL-uš MÍ.LUGAL-ša DAM^{MES} pa-ah-hu-wa-ar-še-eš
 43. e-ša-an-ta-ri

"... and the owners of the house, the King and the Queen (and) the pahhu(wa)rses wives sit (at the hearth)"

7)b. KBo III 27 (CTH 5), obv.¹⁶⁹⁾

- 16' ... nu ku-i-e-ša hu-ur-ta-li-an-zi
 17' A-WA-A-AT LUGAL LÚ^{MES} ME-ŠE-DI-eš LÚ^{MES} pa-ah-hur-zi-e-eš

"... and whoever confounds the word of the King - the royal bodyguard (or) the pahhurzis men,"

7)c. KBo III 28 (CTH 9.6), II

- 27'] LÚ^{MES} pa'-ah-hur-zi-es-s[a

at the end of the damaged last preserved section of a "Chronicle" of Mursilis I, in which LL.23'-24' refer to "the Queen".¹⁷⁰⁾

7)d. Bo 6873, 8]MÍ^{MES} pa-ah-hu-re-iš x[; an unpublished fragment, cited by Otten, which establishes the u vowel for the sign HUR/HAR in pahhur(e)s(-), and provides another example with the female determinative.¹⁷¹⁾

7)e. KBo XIV 109 (CTH 500), a ritual fragment naming also a goddess in the entourage of IŠTAR,

- 3']-as? LÚ pa-ah-hur-ši-ia-aš-x[
 4']x-tar-ra me-hur D ni-na-at[-ta

"...]... of the pahhursis man x[/]... time, Ninat[ta

7)f. KUB XXIII 1 +(CTH 105), II¹⁷²⁾

8. tu-uk-ma-a [m]^D IŠTAR-A-A-an LÚ HA-DA-A-NU ku-it DÜ-nu-u[n]
 9. nu DUTU^{ŠI} AŠ-Š[UM E]N-UT-TI pa-ah-ši kat-ta-ia DU-MU^{MES} DUMU.DUMU^{MES}
 10. NUMUN ŠA DUTU^{ŠI} AŠ-ŠUM EN-UT-TI pa-ah-ši ŠEŠ^{HI.A}
DUTU^{ŠI}-ma
 11. ku-i-e-eš [š]a-ku-wa-šar-ru-uš DUMU^{MES} MÍ^{MES} I-SAR-TI-ia ku-i-e-eš

12. ŠA A-BI DUTUŠI^{ŠI} nam-ma-ia ku-it ta-ma-i NUMUN LUGAL-UT[-TI]
 13. LÚ^{MES} pa-ah-hur-ši-iš-ta ku-i-e-eš nu-za a-pí-ia
 14. AŠ-ŠUM EN[-U]T-TI li-e ku-in-ki i-la-li-ia-ši
 15. Š[A^m]a-aš-tu-ri i-wa-ar li-e i-ia-ši

"Since I (i.e. Tuthaliyas) have made you, Sausgamuwas, my affine (brother-in-law), then defend My Sun in regard to the Lordship, and accordingly defend the sons, grandsons, the "seed" of My Sun in regard to the Lordship. But, of My Sun, (those) who (are) legitimate brothers, and (those) who (are) sons of concubines of the father of My Sun, and moreover, what other offspring of royalty, who (are) for you (as) pahhursis men, then do not seek there anyone for the Lordship. Do not behave like Masturis!"

Tuthaliyas then described how Masturis, King of the Seha River Land, whom Muwattallis II had made his brother-in-law, refused to support the latter's son Urhi-Tesub when Hattusilis III deposed him from the (Great) Kingship:¹⁷³⁾

7)g. II¹⁷⁴⁾

28. nu-kán ✕ ku-pí-ia-ti-in ✕ ku-up-ta na-aš A-NA A-BI-IA EGIR-an ti-ia-at
 29. LÚ^{LU} pa-ah-hur-ši-in-pát pa-ah-ha-aš-hi (above the line in smaller script: LÚ^{LU} pa-hur-ši-ia-aš-ma-wa DUMU-x ku-it DÜ?-mi)

"Then he (Masturis) joined in the conspiracy, and he supported my father (saying): 'Shall I defend a pahhursis man? Why(?) should I act(?) for a pahhursis-son?'"

2.2. The translation of LÚ^(MES) pahhursis in CTH 105 as "bastard(s)",¹⁷⁵⁾ would be the most accurate interpretation of this word and its implications at this late date of the Hitt. Empire. Despite Tuthaliyas' listing of the pahhursis after the sons of the esertu, Masturis' description of Urhi-Tesub as a pahhursis suggests that it could serve as a sweeping term for all offspring of the King other than sons of the Queen, with an acquired derogatory sense not unlike that of the English word, which has the literal meaning (?) "child of the packsaddle" (and not the marriage-bed).¹⁷⁶⁾ As an affine of the Hitt. King Masturis, unlike Alaksandus of Wilusa, was no doubt subject to stipulations regarding

the superiority of the Hitt. princess as his legitimate wife and Queen, and the succession rights of her children. When he refused to support the pahhursis son of Muwattallis, he was adhering to the spirit of his contract with the Great King, which must have existed even if it failed to survive. On the other hand, Šaušgamuwa had been commanded by Tuthaliyas IV to defend the latter's own offspring while disregarding all descendants, legitimate and illegitimate, of previous Kings. Tuthaliyas wished to ensure that whatever son of his came to the throne he would have loyal support regardless of the legitimacy of his birth.

2.3. Since pahhursis could refer to women as well as men, inferring illegitimacy, this word must have denoted a person associated with some object, abstract, or circumstance, perhaps all three, which evoked sexual union and its issue outside legitimate marriage. There is no firm basis for a linguistic analysis of pahhursis. However, the similarity of the pahhur(-) element to the Hitt./Luw. -r/n- stem pah(h)ur "fire",¹⁷⁷⁾ which provides an example of a derivative based on the nom./acc. stem, in ^{LU}pahurulas "fire-attendant",¹⁷⁸⁾ suggests a derivation from this word.¹⁷⁹⁾

2.4. Whether there is any foundation or not in pahhursis <pah(h)ur-, we could use such an hypothesis as a model for the way in which a word + formative with a literal meaning, such as "(f/m)¹person-of-fire(/whatever)" could acquire in time a derogatory sense. We could suppose that ^fpahhursis was applied to women whose principal duty in the Palace was to tend the sacred hearth fire, under the supervision of the principal wife, providing also sexual services to the King in accordance with the association of the deities of fire and the hearth with procreation and continuity.¹⁸⁰⁾ Indeed, marriages in ancient Rome, Greece, India, and elsewhere, included special rites involving the hearth and fire of the bride's new home.¹⁸¹⁾ The OH ritual for the building of a new Palace (see 7)a.) actually referred to pahhuwarses "wives" who sat at the hearth with the King and Queen,¹⁸²⁾ indicating not only that the status of such women was higher in the OK period, but that their unions with the King

must have been regarded as a (lower) form of marriage. Their son(s), *^mperson(s)-of-fire", were available in the absence of a first-ranking son, as heir. It is not clear from the OK Edict (see 7)b.) whether the pahhurzes were cited after the MEŠEDI because they were of comparable or opposite status. However, by the 13th century, with concubinage to the King of women of apparently higher status, the pahhursis and her son had been demoted, while the term had the meaning simply of "illegitimate".

§4. AFTER SUPPILULIUMAS I TO THE END OF THE EMPIRE

1.0. The end of Suppiluliumas' reign followed by the accession then death soon after of his son Arnuwandas II, left real or potential insurrection threatening the existence of his hard-won Empire, which the young Mursilis II re-established after many years of campaigning.¹⁸³⁾ Although its geographic and political boundaries fluctuated, the basis on which the Empire was organised and administered by Suppiluliumas' successors reflected a similar pattern of vassal and protectorate states bound by contracts of loyalty to the Hitt. King and state, with a network of interdynastic marriages stemming from the royal family of Hatti. Continuing Suppiluliumas' policy, such unions were arranged with the obvious purpose of melding by family ties the interests and loyalties of rulers of his subject and allied states, with those of the Hitt. King, and Hatti. An aura of glory which enhanced the honour of the Hitt. Kingship was associated also with particularly advantageous marriages between the royal houses of Hatti and great lands such as Babylonia and Egypt. We will survey these marriages and attempt to assess their long term efficacy according to the above criteria, on the basis of existing evidence.

§4.1. WESTERN ANATOLIA

1.1. The Hitt. princesses, Muwattis, daughter of Suppiluliumas I, and Matanazi/*Massana/uz(z)i, daughter of Mursilis II, whom the texts name as having married respectively Mashuilluwas of Mira in Arzawa and Masturis of the Seha River Land,¹⁸⁴⁾ were apparently sterile or at best unable

to produce a male heir for their husbands' Kingdoms. In regard to the former case Mursilis II related that Mashuiluwas asked him as overlord for permission to adopt a brother's son, Kupanta-Kurunta, whom Muwattallis II later described as related to the Hitt. royal family through his "mother" Muwattis, as if she were his natural parent.¹⁸⁵⁾ In his later years Kupanta-Kurunta, by representation to Rameses II supported Muwattallis' natural son and heir, Urhi-Tesub, after his uncle, Hattusilis, had usurped the throne.¹⁸⁶⁾

1.2. Concerning Masturis' Hitt. wife we have a letter from Ramesses to Hattusilis, responding to the latter's request for an Egyptian physician with medicines to help his sister to conceive.¹⁸⁷⁾ The Pharaoh found this incredible since she was at least "60 years", and past childbearing!¹⁸⁸⁾ While the apparent simplicity of the Hittite, leading him to believe that potions could reverse nature for his sister, might have caused Pharaoh to smile, it was the need for support in the west against Ahhiyawa which made Hattusilis clutch at straws to seek a "Hittite" heir for his brother-in-law and loyal ally, Masturis.¹⁸⁹⁾

2.1. Following Hoffner's join of Bo 3287 (KUB XLVIII 90) to the reverse of the main text KUB XIX 55 of the "Milawata Letter" (CTH 182),¹⁹⁰⁾ a more recent study has suggested that the unnamed recipient (called M by Hoffner) of the letter from an unnamed Hitt. King (here, H) was the latter's son-in-law.¹⁹¹⁾ The basis for this claim is that throughout the text H, i.e. ^DUTU^{ŠI} "My Sun", refers to M as DUMU-IA "my son", "whose status was clearly more exalted than the typical Hitt. vassal ruler."¹⁹²⁾ There is frequent reference also to the actual father of M who had been an enemy of H, desiring "evil" for him, which included the non-return of hostages from Utiya and Atriya, towns belonging to H in western Anatolia.¹⁹³⁾

2.2. However, at the end of L.1 of the tablet's left edge may be read tentatively (with Sommer), lkán ^DUTU^{ŠI}?? am-mi?-el DUMU?? x x x(?), and interpreted: "Da habe ich,

Meine Sonne, meinen Sohn(?) ausgesandt, und er hat sie geschlagen".¹⁹⁴⁾ This might refer to the actual son "of mine" of H, in contrast to a son-in-law or the younger subordinate addressed as "my son" by his elder superior, indicating M's vassallage to Hatti.¹⁹⁵⁾ There would seem to be some evidence to support both interpretations; but, we cannot perceive an interdynastic marriage, which receives no external support, from the evidence of CTH 182 alone.¹⁹⁶⁾

§4.11. MITTANNI

1.1. Mursilis II recorded the disaffection of this Kingdom early in his reign, which Hittite and NE texts of the post-Suppiluliumas I period, with few exceptions, called by its alternate name of Hanigalbat.¹⁹⁷⁾ The Akk. fragment (KBo XXVIII 71) in "Hittite" script, and thus from ^DUTU^{ŠI} (obv. 9'), referring to KUR ^{URU}mi-it-ta-an-ni and the enmity of the addressee, may be an archival copy of a letter from Mursilis II, possibly to Šattiwaza or his successor, since the author says he concerned himself with Mittanni after "my father [went] to [his] fa[te]".¹⁹⁸⁾ Its resumption of allegiance to Hatti must be assumed since troops from Nahr-ina (Mittanni/Hanigalbat) fought with Muwattallis at Qades against Ramesses II.¹⁹⁹⁾ Šattiwaza is not named in texts referring to events later than Suppiluliumas,²⁰⁰⁾ nor is there mention of his Hitt. wife, nor specifically of a son who would have been a first cousin of Mursilis, to whom he would have been a "brother" and equal, according to his grandfather's promise. However, Muwattallis did refer to the King of Hanigalbat in CTH 76 as being of equal status to himself and a potential enemy.²⁰¹⁾ This King, presumably his ally at Qades, would have been Šattuara I,²⁰²⁾ who bore an Indo-Aryan throne name as had his forebears, and later also his son Wasašatta and grandson Šattuara II.²⁰³⁾

1.2. Although Hitt. texts are silent regarding the succession to Šattiwaza, the inscriptions of the Assyrian King Adad-narari I, relate that he had reduced to tribute-paying vassalage the aggressive Šattuara I, King of Hanigalbat, which must have occurred when Hatti could not provide def-

ensive aid, after Qades and during the difficult years of Urhi-Tešub's reign?²⁰⁴⁾ Later, in response to a rebellion by Šattuara's son and successor Wasašatta, who had vainly sought the protection of Hatti, Adad-narari captured and destroyed cities of Hanigalbat, including Wasašatta's "royal city" Taide, and carried off as booty to Assur "the accumulated (wealth) of his (fore)fathers (ab-be-šu)".²⁰⁵⁾ Accordingly, Šattiwaza may be seen as the paternal ancestor of Šattuara I, Wasašatta, and Šattuara II, "King of the land Hanigalbat", whose conquest was recorded by Adad-narari's son and successor, Salmaneser I, although Šattuara actually escaped to the west.²⁰⁶⁾ Whether Šattuara had been the "brother's s]on of Wasaš[atta", depends on an interpretation of the trace after the first lacuna in KUB XXIII 102, I 2(!), restored by Otten DUMU.ŠE]Š ŠA ^mwa-ša-š[a-at-ta.²⁰⁷⁾ The Assyrian records for the 13th century do not mention Hanigalbat again (which was noted later only as the land of Aramaean tribes), while the Hurrian name of King Ari-Tešub, associated with Subartu, indicates that his was not a Mittannian dynasty.²⁰⁸⁾

2.1. Despite the adoptive, affinal and future blood relationships hopefully established by Suppiluliumas with Mittanni, later texts are uninformative as to the development of those relationships. The letters found at Boğazköy from Kings of Hanigalbat, in Akk., differ in their address of the recipient King of Hatti, either as "my brother" or "my father", which might reflect simply the status and age of the respective authors vis à vis "My Sun", expressed according to diplomatic convention, or conceivably refer to recently established ties of affinity.²⁰⁹⁾ Weidner thought that KBo XXVIII 65 and IBoT I 34, addressed to "my father", might have been written by Wasašatta, implying that he had become a son-in-law of Muwattallis, or Urhi-Tešub, with whom he had contracted a Treaty, as we might interpret the Assyrian record of his seeking Hitt. aid.²¹⁰⁾ Since IBoT 34, naming the contemporary Kings Halpa-zitis of Halap and Ehli-šarrumma of Isuwa, dates itself to the reign of Tuthalijas IV, it should be ascribed to Šattuara II, before his

conquest by Salmaneser I.²¹¹⁾

2.2. However, KBo XXVIII 66 from Hanika]lbat, discovered in the same archival area as No.65 (see below), which addresses the recipient as an equal, "my brother", and refers to "the tablet of the] oath and another tablet", for which ^mNariggaili seems to have been responsible, could have been written by Wasašatta to Hattusilis III, whose son Neriqqaili was already adult at the time of his father's accession, and was designated tuh(u)kanti.²¹²⁾ If Šattuara I had been the son of the Hitt. princess, and consequently both (adoptive) patrilateral and (blood-related) matrilateral first cousin to Mursilis II, then Wasašatta was quite entitled to call Hattusilis III "brother", according to the terms of his grandfather's Treaty. This seems the better explanation for the "address", since, recently having refused tribute to Assyria, Wasašatta was scarcely on equal terms with the Great King of Hatti in regard to international power and status, since he needed the latter's agreement, by means of a "tablet of the oath" as above(?), to protect him from Assyrian retribution.

2.3. The protection was not forthcoming - was Hattusilis too preoccupied with the Egyptian threat in Syria, and disinclined to court Assyrian hostility?²¹³⁾ Nor does there seem to have been a marriage then between Hatti and Hanigalbat. Not only was there a close blood, as well as adoptive, relationship between the Houses, debarring marriage, but also the capture of a Hittite princess was not recorded by Adad-narari, of which he surely would have boasted when he stated that he carried off Wasašatta's D[A]M É.GAL-šu "his 'wife of the Palace'" to Assur. This must mean that Wasašatta's Queen had been deported together with "'his sons, his daughters, and his people'".²¹⁴⁾

3.1. Wasašatta's fate is uncertain. His son(?) and successor Šattuara II of Hanigalbat, aided by the armies of Hatti and tribal Ahlamu, was recorded as an enemy defeated by Salmaneser I, implying that Šattuara had thrown off the yoke of vassalage to Assyria reimposed after Wasašatta's

conquest.²¹⁵⁾ Hitt. military aid to Hanigalbat must have resulted from a Treaty of mutual defence and loyalty, of benefit to both the weaker partner and the Hitt. King, that is Tuthaliyas IV, contemporary of Salmaneser I.²¹⁶⁾ He would have been the recipient of IBoT 34, which calls the King of Assyria "my enemy", of KBo XXVIII 65, mentioning URUta-i-te,²¹⁷⁾ and possibly also of KUB III 80, a fragmentary letter which mentions Isuwa and shares with the former text the unusual scribal "error" of writing ^DUTUŠI with the male determinative DIŠ, as if it were a PN.²¹⁸⁾

3.2. All three letters call the addressee "My Sun, my father"; KUB III 80, obv.1, follows "My Sun" with "Great King, my father", while it is possible that ^mDUTUŠI in KBo XXVIII 65, obv.1, might be followed by L[UGAL.GAL]. The author's name in KUB III 80 has been emended to read ^mšá?-at-[d]u-a[-ra], which seems plausible, since an ascription to Šattuara II is suggested by other factors.²¹⁹⁾ The author of this letter had been commanded to appear before the Hitt. King, his "father", to which he agreed, and to the next demand that he should send his (own) son,²²⁰⁾ whom we might see either as a hostage in Hattusas or given protection against deportation in the event of Assyrian aggression, such as Wasašatta's sons had suffered. The humble and acquiescent tone of these letters suggest a relationship of dependence by Šattuara II upon Hatti, not unlike that of Šattiwaza upon Suppiluliumas I, and may have involved an adoption and marriage whereby Šattuara became "son(in-law)" to Tuthaliyas IV. However, without further evidence we can neither confirm this arrangement nor trace the later relationship of Šattuara's(?) son to the royal House of Hatti.

§4.iii. BABYLONIA

1.1. Diplomatic relations between the royal Houses of Hatti and Babylon are attested for the reigns of Hattusilis and Kadašman-Turgu, who wrote to the former (KUB III 71; CTH 174) concerning the incantation priest he had sent to his "brother".²²¹⁾ Later Hattusilis wrote to Kadašman-Enlil II, his friend's son and successor (KBo I 10+; CTH 172), refer-

ring to a pact of friendship and agreement between himself and Kadašman-Turgu to support the other's heir should that partner die.²²²⁾ The same letter refers also to a Babylonian medical practitioner, who, having arrived in Hatti during the reign of Muwattallis, had married a member of Hattusilis' family, and settled in a "fine house" in his new homeland.²²³⁾ By implication, such traffic of personnel between Hatti and Babylonia attested from the reign of Muwattallis may have been in progress since earlier times, but increasingly so from the time of Hattusilis III.²²⁴⁾

1.2. During the latter period, an incensed Queen Puduhepa, anxious that Ramesses II should accord her the courtesy due to an equal in their negotiations for the marriage of her daughter to the Pharaoh, declared that the King of Babylonia had married a daughter of the Hitt. Great King,

8) KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), obv.²²⁵⁾

53' ... ŠEŠ-IA-ma-at-kān Ū-UL am-me-el ŠEŠ-an-ni NIN-ni
 54' na-ak-ki-ia-an-ni i-ia-at na-at ma-a-an i-ia-at-ia
 na-at-kān A-NA LUGAL KUR URU kar-an-du-ni-ia-aš im-ma
 55' ha-an-da-an-z[a] Ū-UL-za ŠA LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR
 URU PA-ti LUGAL KALAG.GA DUMU.MUNUS MÍ-an-ni da-a-aš
 ma-a-an te-ši LUGAL KUR URU kar-an-du-ni-ia-aš-wa
 56' Ū-UL LUGAL.GAL nu-za ŠEŠ-IA KUR URU kar-an-du-ni-ia-aš
 Ū-UL I-DI ku-e-da-ni-ia-at i-li-iš-ni

"But you, my brother, have not acted according to my importance in the brotherhood-and-sistership. If indeed you did so, you (would) correspond even (in regard to) it, to (the behaviour of) the King of Babylonia. Did he not take the daughter of the Great King, the King of Hatti, the hero king, for wife? If you say, 'The King of Babylonia (is) not a Great King', then my brother does not know the land Babylonia, and in what rank it (stands)."

Although Puduhepa must have been responsible for the marriage, as she implied, it is conceivable that the princess was the daughter of Muwattallis, being one of the princesses whom Puduhepa found already resident in the Palace.²²⁶⁾ Could a (half?-)sister of Urhi-Tešub, married through the offices of Puduhepa after Hattusilis' usurpation, have en-

couraged her brother to seek refuge in Babylonia, which was prevented in any case by Hattusilis, surely with the full sympathy of Kadašman-Turgu who was later prepared to take up arms against Egypt on Hattusilis' behalf when Urhi-Tesub fled to Ramesses II?²²⁷)

2.1. Puduhepa's matchmaking was the subject of the preceding lines of the same letter to Ramesses II, which have been translated variously, according to the interpretation of the negated rhetorical questions:

9) KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), obv.²²⁸)

- 47' MÍ.LUGAL-aš-za ku-i-e-eš DUMU.MUNUS KUR URU ga-ra-an-
du-ni-ia-aš [DUMU.MUNUS] KUR URU a-mur-ri-ia da-ah-hu-
un
- 48' na-at-mu A-NA LÚ^{MEŠ} KUR URU PA-ti pí-ra-an Ú-UL im-ma
wa-al-li-ia-tar Ú-UL ku-it e-eš-ta
- 49' na-at am-mu-uk i-ia-nu-un nu-za a-ra-ah-zé-nu-un ŠA
LUGAL.GAL DUMU.MUNUS AŠ-ŠUM ^{MÍ}É.GI.A da-ah-hu-un
- 50' nu ma-a-an A-NA ^{MÍ}É.GI.A ku-wa-pí a-pí-el ^{LÚ}TE-MU
EGIR-an-da mi-iš-ri-wa-an-da ú-wa-an-zi
- 51' na-aš-ma-aš-ši ŠA ŠEŠ NIN^{TI} EGIR-an-da ú-iz-zi na-at
Ú-UL im-ma wa-al-li-ia-tar

"What daughter of Babylonia and [daughter] of Amurru, I, the Queen, have taken (for the purpose of marriage) - for me, before the people of Hatti (is) it not indeed a praiseworthy thing? (Is that) not what (it) was? I, myself, have done it; I have taken the foreigner, daughter of a Great King, as a bride(/daughter-in-law). And if at some time her envoys return to the bride ceremoniously, or the messenger of the brother to the sister returns, then (is) it not even a praiseworthy thing?"

A new statement is made in L.52, which shows that na-at(-) (...) UL imma walliyatar in both LL.48 and 51 are complete sentences, with "is" understood. Like UL imma "not even?", UL kuit esta in L.48 is another rhetorical question with the negative at the beginning of the sentence, expecting the reply "yes".²²⁹) Puduhepa wanted Ramesses to appreciate her expertise in acquiring a foreign princess as a bride for the Hitt. royal family, which brought her renown before the population. There is no reason to think that the acq-

uisition of a Babylonian bride in that era would have damaged Puduhepa's reputation, since "the Queen" was recognised as a royal matchmaker for Kurunta of Tarhundassa.²³⁰⁾

2.2. There is no precise information concerning the fate of the Hitt. princess who travelled to Babylonia to become wife of its Great King, perhaps Kadašman-Turgu? Possibly the partially preserved introductory lines of a letter from a Hitt. King to the Queen of Babylonia could be attributed to this period.²³¹⁾ We are equally uninformed as to the intended husband for the "daughter of Babylonia" introduced by Puduhepa to the Hitt. royal family. Was this marriage the subject of the letter KBo XVIII 19; did the "daughter" promised (obv.11', rev.30'), marry the Hitt. heir to the throne, Tuthaliyas (IV), named in damaged context (rev.36') following reference to the ^{LÚ}]tuhukantis (rev.15')?²³²⁾ Was this an attempt to win favour again for Hatti after the cool relations with Babylonia during the early years of Kadašman-Enlil II dominated by his vizier Itti-Marduk-ba-laṣu who preferred to court Assyria, apparently, rather than Hatti?²³³⁾ Was this princess the DUMU.MUNUS KUR Karandunias whose illness was the subject of an augury recorded in KUB VI 5 (CTH 572), 27', 29'?²³⁴⁾ The damaged letter to "My Sun", KUB LVII 123, which mentions the "[matter of the daughter of Babylonia", may have been addressed to Tuthaliyas, since the names of the author, Taki-šarrumma, and Samuha-zitis, a scribe mentioned in the text, would date it to this King.²³⁵⁾ If this "daughter of Babylonia" were the object of a later marriage than the one arranged by Puduhepa, then it probably occurred before Tukulti-Ninurta I conquered Babylonia?²³⁶⁾

2.3. Such exchanges of women across territorial borders, contrary to Egyptian royal custom for example, indicate the similarity of the Babylonian and Hitt. marriage practices. The marriage noted above of Hattusilis' relative to the "doctor" Rabâ-ša-Marduk, who was personally known to Kadašman-Enlil II, reminds us that Hitt. girls of royal birth could not always find a husband of equal status. Exogamy, operating across ethnic and state boundaries in the manner

of interdynastic marriage itself could link "foreign" families with affinal and later consanguineal ties.

3.0. Hattusilis' successors evinced continued interest in the fortunes of the Babylonian royal family, according to letters found at Boğazköy from an Assyrian source (KBo XXVIII 60-64).²³⁷⁾ The author may have been Tukulti-Ninurta I, who had usurped the Kingship in Babylonia of Kaštiliaš IV, son of Šagarakti-šuriaš, during the reign of Tuthaliyas IV, whose name appears in KBo XXVIII 61, obv.2', as also, perhaps, that of his son Suppiluliumas II in the preceding line.²³⁸⁾ A coherent translation of the damaged letters is impossible, but the mention of the "12 sons of Šagara[kti-šuriaš], the murder of children, seizure of the throne, and phrases such as "from Kuri[galzu]", "from Kudur-i[llil]", "son of Kudur-illil[1]", "seed of Šagarakti-šur[iaš]",²³⁹⁾ declare their main topic to be the dynastic succession in Babylonia prior to the Assyrian conquest.

§4.iv. EGYPT

1.1. Following the disastrous outcome of Queen Ankhesenamun's plans to marry a son of Suppiluliumas I, there were no more attempts to arrange a royal marriage between Hatti and Egypt until the reign of Hattusilis III, after the Treaty in Year 21 of Ramesses II, which intended friendship and brotherhood for the rulers of these lands forever.²⁴⁰⁾ Our sources for the conclusion of the marriage of the daughter of Hattusilis and Puduhepa to Ramesses in his Year 34, are this Pharaoh's commemorative inscriptions.²⁴¹⁾ The Abu Simbel stele is engraved with a well preserved scene depicting the presentation of the Hitt. princess already crowned as an Egyptian Queen, standing right of center, by her father who stands behind her, to Ramesses who is seated on her left between the deities Seth and Ptah-Tatonen.²⁴²⁾ The accompanying cartouche of her new name, Maat-Hor-Neferure "She who beholds the Falcon (King) that is the visible splendour of Re", with the description "Great Royal Wife", appear also on a number of Ramesside monuments.²⁴³⁾ Thus, she was proclaimed a superior wife of Pharaoh, a position

she enjoyed in Ramesses' palace for a time at least before being set aside in the Harem.²⁴⁴⁾

1.2. Also attested by Egyptian sources was the marriage of another daughter of Hattusilis III, who followed her sister's path to become a spouse of Ramesses.²⁴⁵⁾ According to these inscriptions, she also was escorted on her route to Egypt by a marvellous entourage conveying her dowry from Hatti of persons, precious metals, products, cattle and game, to gladden the heart of Pharaoh,²⁴⁶⁾ and, no doubt, to predispose him to the cause of her land and its King.

2.1. Reading between, as well as the actual lines of the Egyptian texts, and of Hattusilis' letter to Kadašman-Enlil II, for example, we perceive that the real reason for the first of these marriages and the largesse of dowry was not merely a desire of the two Kings for closer "brotherhood", nor of Hattusilis to impress Ramesses with his altruism by providing a dowry greater even than that of the princess of Babylonia.²⁴⁷⁾

2.2. On the one hand the Egyptian accounts bombastically depict "the Great Chief of Hatti" suing to no avail for peace with tribute to Ramesses after years of devastation at the mercy of this mighty conqueror.²⁴⁸⁾ Finally the Hittite persuaded his army and chiefs of his lands to provide "honourable gifts", with his eldest daughter as the ultimate gift, which indeed won the Pharaoh's heart and cemented his "brotherhood" with Hattusilis.²⁴⁹⁾ All this, attributed to Ramesses' conquests, produced such a state of peace and security that journeying from Egypt to Hatti through Syria was no longer fearful for man or woman.²⁵⁰⁾

2.3. Hattusilis, however, had referred delicately in KBo I 10 +(CTH 172) to the young Babylonian King's letters to Egypt - to which of course he had no objection! - in contrast to Kadašman-Turgu's loyalty to Hattusilis concerning Urhi-Tešub.²⁵¹⁾ An alliance between Egypt and Babylonia, indicated by these embassies and the marriage of the Babylonian princess, threatened to isolate Hatti, exposed by the loss of its vassal-ally Hanigalbat to an increasingly pow-

erful Assyrian King, who sought influence in Babylonia via the anti-Hittite vizier Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, and looked west for lucrative trade.²⁵²⁾ Despite the great Treaty, it is conceivable that Ramesses had been encouraging dissidence in Hitt. Syria and had done little to protect Hitt. merchants and messengers through the Egyptian Levant, all of which is suggested by the joyful account of safe-passage after the marriage.²⁵³⁾ This event, which accrued glory for Ramesses and won some peace of mind for Hattusilis, was no doubt of economic importance for both their lands, since the connecting roads were protected by the interested powers. These routes served not only the free passage of messengers between royal courts and other persons to Egypt, such as Prince Hišmi-šarrumma and possibly Hattusilis himself, but also the merchant caravans.²⁵⁴⁾

3.1. This achievement must have seemed of greater significance to Hattusilis than the precarious future of the daughter whom he had bestowed upon the Pharaoh. Despite assurance from Ramesses that "the Sun god and Storm god" would "give her to the House of the King, your brother, and they will ordain her in Ladyship of Egypt",²⁵⁵⁾ we know of no insistence upon her status as the one and only legitimate wife and Queen of Ramesses, an idle demand as Hattusilis and Puduhepa whose messengers had frequented the Egyptian court would have realised. Before the arrival of Maat-Hor-neferure, the Queens Neferari and Istnofret, who fade from history at this point, were both termed contemporaneously "Great Royal Wife".²⁵⁶⁾ Although this title was accorded to the Hitt. princess while she lived in Ramesses' Palace in Pi-Ramesses, she shared it with the royal daughters Meryetamun, Bint-Anath - borne respectively by Neferari and Istnofret to Ramesses II -, and later Nebttawy, all of whom were married to their father.²⁵⁷⁾

3.2. Despite the inauguration of the Ramesside dynasty, unrelated by blood ties to its predecessor, the practice of marrying close kin persisted.²⁵⁸⁾ The birth of a daughter to Ramesses II and Bint-Anath attests the consummation of that marriage.²⁵⁹⁾ Once again the prospect of political

advantage and international honour for the Hitt. royal House outweighed such moralistic considerations which had prompted the regulations of Huqqanas' conduct.²⁶⁰⁾

4.1. Absent from Egyptian sources, information regarding the preliminary negotiations concerning the betrothal ceremony, collection of the dowry and escort of the Hitt. princess to Egypt, has been supplied by letters discovered at Boğazköy, exchanged between Ramesses II and the Hitt. King and Queen on these subjects. As references within the texts to previous letters indicate, the surviving material forms a small part only of the original copious correspondence, for which Akkadian was the lingua franca.

4.2. This correspondence differed from that of the Amarna Pharaohs with Hatti and other Near Eastern rulers, since the preserved Akk. texts indicate that Hattusilis and Puduhepa each received (and wrote) a copy, or at least a similar version of the other's letter,²⁶¹⁾ while Ramesses hesitated to act (in a case of extradition):²⁶²⁾

"until the tablet of the Great King, the King of Hatti, together with the tablet of the Queen has arrived".

An exception to the above appears to have been the Hitt. draft (KUB XXI 38) of Puduhepa's reply, in the absence of Hattusilis from Boğazköy, to Ramesses' letter partially preserved in a Hitt. copy, KUB XXVI 89.²⁶³⁾ Other Hitt. Queens were concerned with domestic and religious administration within Hatti,²⁶⁴⁾ but lack of evidence regarding their international activity suggests that Puduhepa's role was quite exceptional, like this Queen herself.²⁶⁵⁾ While the assumption of powers and importance which were usually male attributes by a woman of such calibre would have been consistent with the Hitt. type of kinship and family structure, we will argue that Puduhepa had acquired exceptional status through her "priestly marriage".²⁶⁶⁾

5.1. Texts pertaining to the Hittite - Egyptian royal marriage have been extensively analysed since they provide, together with the correspondence of the Amarna Pharaohs with Tarhundaradu of Arzawa, Tušratta of Mittanni, Kadašman-

Enlil and Burnaburias of Babylon, and various Syrian rulers, an insight to the procedure involved in interdynastic marriages with Egypt,²⁶⁷⁾ which reflects in turn certain procedures prior to marriages in the NE upper-strata generally. In view of the existing literature the Hitt. texts will be cited here under the relevant category within the observed procedure, with reference to their order of composition and receipt, and with discussion only where it is necessary to emphasise or clarify a point.

5.2. First we should note that, because the earlier letters have not survived, there is no precise record as to whether the Egyptian King asked Hattusilis to give his daughter, which would have conformed to the pattern observed for EA marriages,²⁶⁸⁾ or whether, as the Abu Simbel stele suggests, Hattusilis made the first move by offering her to Ramesses.²⁶⁹⁾ This would agree with the Hitt. royal practice of giving a daughter or a sister to a chosen husband. Both the Egyptian and Hittite typical patterns were demonstrations of the superiority assumed in the one case by the Pharaoh/future husband, and in the other, of the dominant Hitt. father/brother-in-law. Regarding this marriage we would expect diplomatic and procedural manoeuvres by the respective "partners" to gain the greater honour and prestige without damaging the concord which was the principal objective.

5.3. Hattusilis had complained soon after the Treaty to Ramesses, "[Why did you, my brother, wr]ite to me as (if I were) a subject of yours?", to be assured by Ramesses that he did regard him as a Great King, whom the Sun god and Storm god had permitted "[to be seated in] Hatti in the place of your grandfather."²⁷⁰⁾ Puduhepa required Ramesses to act according to her importance,²⁷¹⁾ to which he surely had acquiesced already by writing in duplicate to her as well as to Hattusilis. Ramesses, confident perhaps of his (divine) superiority, appears anxious to ameliorate and comply in his letters, although he took issue with accusations which he regarded as slurs upon his honour.²⁷²⁾ Whether he had asked for the princess, or whether she had been

offered to him, Ramesses gallantly responded with delight to the news that his messengers could perform the betrothal ceremony, and to the prospect of the grand dowry.²⁷³⁾

5.4. One reason, if not the most serious, for the delay in delivering the princess and her dowry, which irritated Ramesses and caused Puduhepa to make sharp response that he was demanding too much,²⁷⁴⁾ was the Hitt. couple's determination to provide such a magnificent dowry despite their difficulty in amassing it.²⁷⁵⁾ In this way, presumably, they intended to impress the watching world with the honour and importance of their daughter, which was a reflection of their own. However, Ramesses may have had the last word, in literary terms. According to Kuentz, the Egyptian word used on the stele for the dowry collected from the property of the Hitt. King and his chiefs, which was related through a Canaanite borrowing to Hebrew בְּרָכָה "blessing", could designate tribute from foreign people, and should be translated "présents d'honneur", that is gifts given in all humility to gain Pharaoh's favour.²⁷⁶⁾ Touché. There may be truth in the Egyptian narrative, since Puduhepa's letter describes how, failing grain, the "lords of my land" would yield personnel and cattle for the dowry to the "flyers" of Ramesses on presentation of her written verifications.²⁷⁷⁾

6.0. The various stages and components of this marriage are listed below. The first preserved letters of the negotiations are most probably KBo XXVIII 23 (CTH 158 +) addressed to Puduhepa, and 21, which was apparently the original, to Hattusilis.²⁷⁸⁾

I. Proposal accepted: No.23 refers in §8:obv.30-36, to a letter received from Puduhepa referring "on account of the daughter" to the delivery of "my presents" ([š-bi-i]l-ti-ia) by the Sun god (Ramesses), as asked, and her joyful appreciation of what the Sun had done and given in response to additional requests.²⁷⁹⁾ Unlike the EA correspondence on interdynastic marriages, there is no specification here of a "brideprice" (Akk. terhatu or Hitt. kusata).²⁸⁰⁾

II. Idealistic brotherhood and peace: The preceding §7:obv.

26-29, expresses the concord and brotherhood (not "sisterhood" - this suggests that No.23 was the "copy"), ordained by the Sun god and Storm god, with "this good news" promoting the traffic of messengers regarding brotherhood and peace between them (Egyptian and Hittite) forever.²⁸¹⁾

III. Status of the bride: §9: obv.39-41, agreed the status of the princess in Ramesses' palace in "ladyship of Egypt", to the mutual joy of Ramesses and Puduhepa.²⁸²⁾

IV. Retrothal ceremony, that is the purification by "pouring of (fine) oil on the head" of the bride-to-be, by messengers from the future husband:²⁸³⁾ Ramesses referred in (a) AO 9408 addressed to Hattusilis, and in (b) KUB III 63 to Puduhepa, to a letter from Hattusilis welcoming this ceremony for his daughter, after which the messengers might convey her to the Pharaoh's palace ((a) obv.14-16), with the permission of the gods, leading to the unity of their "great lands" ((b) obv.14-20).²⁸⁴⁾ The fragment KUB III 24 + (CTH 160), 5'-8', refers in the past tense to the accomplishment of the above in (b), and the brotherhood of the "Great Kings".²⁸⁵⁾

V. Dowry: The constituents of the "dowry" (Akk. nudunnu), that is, what Hattusilis wrote "I shall give to my daughter ... within this year",²⁸⁶⁾ according to the texts from Boğazköy, a. written by Ramesses, KUB III 37 + KBo I 17 (CTH 159.I.A) to Hattusilis, with copy to Puduhepa, KUB III 57 (CTH 159.I.B), citing Hattusilis' statement of intent, and b. written by Puduhepa, KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), were specified as follows: "civilian prisoners" (NAM.RA^{MES}),²⁸⁷⁾ cattle, large and small, and horses (only in a.),²⁸⁸⁾ without mention of the precious metals named on the Abu Simbel and other stele.²⁸⁹⁾ By contrast, the "marriage gifts" (NÍG.BA^{MES} MÍ.US^{MES}) which accompanied Tusratta's daughter Taduhepa to Egypt as bride of Amenophis III, included 4 horses at the beginning of a list on EA 22, from which the top had broken away, a chariot, its equipment and equine apparel, followed by a long list of objects and jewellery, made of, or plated with precious metals, together with decorative

and precious stones.²⁹⁰⁾ Thus, the dowries consisted respectively of produce and artifacts typical of territories belonging to Hatti and Mittanni, which were valued most highly by the Pharaoh, and certainly in the case of Hatti one cannot interpret a form of "indirect dowry".²⁹¹⁾

VI. Ishiul "binding", with consequent legalistic meanings of "obligation, injunction; statute; Treaty," or "contract":²⁹²⁾ this term occurs in Ramesses' letter of protest to Puduhepa (KUB XXVI 89), where it referred (obv.7') to her statement in a preceding letter, lx DUMU.MUNUS^{TI} a-pa-a-at iš-hi-ú-ul a-pí-ia i-ia-mi "I shall make that contract then for my daughter".²⁹³⁾ The intended regulation of the treatment of the Hitt. princess after her marriage, had specific reference to her accessibility to Puduhepa's envoys, whom she insisted she would send continuously,²⁹⁴⁾ since - as the context indicates - she feared her daughter might suffer the same fate as the "daughter of Babylonia who was sent to Egypt" (as a bride), only to be hidden from sight of her country's envoys who wished to see, and speak to her (obv.9'-10'). In response to Ramesses' outraged denial (obv.11'ff.), Puduhepa apologised in KUB XXI 38, rev. 7ff., attributed the story to the Babylonian messenger ^mEnlil-bel-niše, and appears to yield on the subject of the "contract", although the damaged context makes it unclear whether ishiul of rev.14. refers to the great Treaty or a "(marriage) contract".²⁹⁵⁾

Another passage in which the interpretation "contract" might apply, comes at the end of Puduhepa's dramatic query, when she appears to be responding again to a complaint by Ramesses in the general context of the same contretemps:
10) KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), obv.²⁹⁶⁾

12' ... am-mu-uk-ma A-NA ŠEŠ[-IA] ku-in DUMU.MUNUS ne-pí-ša-aš KI-aš-[ša]

13' pí-ih-hi na-an-kân ku-e-da-ni ha-an-da-mi A-NA DUMU. MUNUS KUR ^{URU}ka-ra-an-du-ni-ia-[aš KUR] ^{URU}zu-la-bi KUR ^{URU}aš-šur ha-an-da-mi

14' a-pí-e-da-ša-an-kân ku-wa-pí UL GAM-an iš-ha-[an-

n]a(?) tar-ah-mi na-aš du-wa-an-ma pa-ra-a[

"But which daughter in heaven or earth shall I give to my Brother? To whom shall I marry him - to the daughter of Babylonia, of Zulabi, or of Assyria, shall I marry him, since I am unable to con[tra]ct(?) him to those? And he ... "

Despite Pintore's argument that handai- should be interpreted as "compare" in this context, with enclitic -an- referring to the Hitt. princess in 12'-13', the translation "marry"²⁹⁷⁾ is required by the whole context, in which these enclitic pronouns together with -an- before -kân in 14', refer to Ramesses. Puduhepa, if our interpretation is correct, was saying: If you take exception to my making a contract of your good behaviour to my daughter, to what daughter shall I marry you - a distant one to whom I can't contract you?

Since these circumstances were unusual we cannot conclude that a form of "marriage contract" accompanied most interdynastic, let alone equal status marriages, although regulations regarding the former were included in the State Treaties. In the present case the marriage followed the Treaty with Egypt by several years. That some form of contract actually existed is indicated by KBo I 23 (CTH 170), self-termed: mihir šiterti "copy of the document (i.e. Treaty)", which was "made by the god Tešub between Egypt and Hatti".²⁹⁸⁾ The text recorded concern with the birth of a daughter to Pharaoh, and her future: "deliver her to us and we will ordain her as Queen of another land, and the land to which we ordain her ... will be made with Egypt [an ally]".²⁹⁹⁾ This suggests that the mother was one of the Hitt. princesses married to Ramesses II, on behalf of whom and her offspring Hattusilis and Puduhepa had established some contractual right to intervene.³⁰⁰⁾ While the Vocabulary equivalent of Hitt. išhiul was Akk. riksu, "treaty" in MB might be expressed by riksu, rikistu, or pl. riksātu, attested since OB as designating "contract(s)", including "marriage contract".³⁰¹⁾ šitertu(m) was semantically closer to "instruction, regulation", also denoted by išhiul.³⁰²⁾

VII. Conducting the bride: The delay in implementing the dowry and the delivery of the princess into Egyptian hands as promised (CTH 159), may be attributed also to Puduhepa's reaction to the Babylonian story.³⁰³⁾ KUB XXI 36 (CTH 209) appears to have been Ramesses' response to her apology,³⁰⁴⁾ after which the marriage arrangements progressed smoothly according to the Egyptian sources.³⁰⁵⁾ Puduhepa would have travelled as far as Amurru with the royal entourage (KUB XXI 38, rev.1-4), where she received gifts promised by Ramesses for delivery of the princess.³⁰⁶⁾

Thence to Pi-Ramesse the vast procession comprised cavalry, army and other personnel, of Hatti and Egypt, mingling "like brothers ... (and) peace reigned among them".³⁰⁷⁾ Protection of the future bride as she travelled to Egypt, or whichever land might be her marital destination, would have been a practical as well as diplomatic necessity, attested also for the Amarna age.³⁰⁸⁾ The magnitude of the entourage with the Hitt. princess reflected the international importance of the event, repeated to some degree with the later marriage.³⁰⁹⁾ The conduct of the bride from her home by family and supporters, to be joined and augmented at some determined point by those of the groom, indicates a wedding "march" applicable to patrilocal marriage.

VIII. Marriage ceremony: the Egyptian sources alone depict the arrival of the princess and the principal "scene" of the marriage, although the actual presence of Hattusilis on this occasion is doubtful.³¹⁰⁾ As Pintore noted, the Hitt. marriage coincided with a "jubilee" of Ramesses, which explains the recorded festivities, which would not necessarily have accompanied the marriage alone; apart from the "pouring of oil on the head" in the bride's homeland, no more is known of Egyptian weddings for this period.³¹¹⁾

IX. Succession rights of children from the marriage. Ramesses II was succeeded by a younger son of Istnofret, Merenptah, after whom the direct line was obscured in Amenmesses, then resumed with Sethos II, son(?) of Merenptah.³¹²⁾ Apart from KBo I 23, noted above, there is no record of the

children of the Hitt. princesses, nor intimation of their involvement in the royal succession.

§4.v. AMURRU

1.1. The marriages arranged by Hattusilis III between his son, Neriqqaili, elsewhere known as the tuh(u)kanti, with the daughter of King Bentešina of Amurru, together with that of his daughter Gassuliyawiya and Bentešina himself, were the first dynastic unions between Hatti and its vassal state, which formed the border between Hittite and Egyptian territorial rights in Syria and the Levant. They are attested in the document which ratified the fealty of Bentešina to the Great King Hattusilis and his successors upon the reinstatement of Bentešina as the ruler of Amurru:

11) KBo I 8 + KUB III 8 + KBo XXVIII 116 (CTH 92) + 117, obv. 313)

16. ki-i-me-e ^mNIR.GÁL LUGAL.GAL E[GIR-ki] ši-im-ti-šu
il-li-qù a-na-ku ^mha-at-tu-ši-li a-na ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA a-bi-
ia at-ta-šab
17. [^mZA]G.ŠEŠ ša-nu-ut-ti-šu ša K[UR ^{URU}a-mur-r]i um'-
te-še-ir-šu É a-bi-šu ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA LUGAL-ut-ti uk-te-en-
na-aš-šu i-na be-ru-ni

-
18. [x-n]i at-te-ru-ut-ta' [lu-ú ni-te-pu-uš] DUMU-ia ^mne-
ri-iq-qa-DINGIR ^{lim}DUMU.MUNUS ^mZAG.ŠEŠ ša KUR ^{URU}a-
mur-ri
19. [a-n]a DAM-ti-šu li-iq-[qi a-na-ku DUMU.]MUNUS ^fga-
aš-šu-li-ia-ú-i-e i-na KUR ^{URU}a-mur-ri i-na É.LUGAL
a-na ^mZAG.ŠEŠ
20. [a-n]a DAM-ti-šu at-t[a-din-šu i-na KUR ^{URU}a]-mur-ri
ši-i-it MÍ.LUGAL LUGAL-ut-ta i-na KUR ^{URU}a-mu-ri
DUMU-šu DUMU.DUMU-šu ša DUMU.MUNUS-ia
21. [i-n]a EGIR UD ^{m1}lu-[ú it-te-ni-ip-pu-šu]

"When Muwattallis, the Great King, went to his fate, I Hattusilis seated myself on the throne of my father. [Bent]ešina for the second time I returned to Amurru; (and) in the house of his father, I established him in the Kingship. [We made a pact of (?)] and friendship between us. My son Neriqqaili took the daughter of Bentešina of Amurru for his wife. [I] have gi[ven] the

[pri]ncess Gassuliyawiya to the Palace in Amurru to Bentešina for his wife. She will (have the status) of Queen [in A]murru. Her son, her grandson - of my daughter - [will exercise] the Kingship in Amurru in the future."

1.2. The cryptic first two lines of this passage overlook the reign of Urhi-Tešub before Hattusilis' usurpation. The preceding obv.11-15 outlined Bentešina's succession to the throne of Amurru, his deposition by Muwattallis, who took him prisoner to Hatti where he was released into Hattusilis' care in Hakkamissa (i.e. Hap/mis(sa)), to be reinstated as above.³¹⁴⁾ Bentešina's (enforced?) complicity in the Egyptian advance into Amurru before the battle of Qades receives no mention.³¹⁵⁾ In §5 of KUB XXI 33 (CTH 387), the author, apparently Mursilis III(/Urhi-Tešub), whose action in other sections is expressed by a verb in either 1st or 3rd person,³¹⁶⁾ attributed, with 3rd person verbs, the reinstatement of Bentešina in Amurru to someone whose name is lost at the beginning of L.16', who deposed Sapilis, established by "my Lord" (Muwattallis) as King of Amurru in Bentešina's place.³¹⁷⁾ The restoration of Hattusilis' name in L.16' seems preferable to that of Mursilis, but he seems an unlikely author of this text, the purport of which is unclear.³¹⁸⁾ Perhaps obv.14'-17' might be correlated to Hattusilis' statement in CTH 92 that he "returned" Bentešina for the "second time", implying that Urhi-Tešub reinstated Bentešina, only to depose him again for loyalty to Hattusilis, his first patron and protector.³¹⁹⁾

1.3. Indeed Hattusilis' patronage of Bentešina, which included the house in Hakkamissa,³²⁰⁾ and the unusual exchange of women which made him the son-in-law of Hattusilis and the father-in-law of his father-in-law's son, exceeded the favour normally afforded a Hitt. vassal.³²¹⁾ But, in view of Amurru's important role as a border state between Egypt and Hatti, this kindness may be seen as political expediency. Sapilis' lineage is unknown,³²²⁾ but Bentešina was father to Šaušgamuwa, the attested descendant of "your ancestor" (A-BA A-BI-KA) Aziru, King of Amurru and vassal of Suppiluliumas I, whose son and successor DU-Tešub was the

father of his successor, Duppi-Tešub, who was succeeded by the patrilineally related Bentešina.³²³⁾ The latter's survival into the reign of Tuthalijas IV suggests that he acceded as a young man, being the son of his predecessor.³²⁴⁾

2.1. Although the Hitt. princess, with whom Bentešina's marriage was not yet a fait accompli, was established in CTH 92 as the premier wife and queen, that is the MÍ.GAL/rabītu "Great Lady", of Amurru whose offspring should inherit the throne (obv.20-21), a further section (obv.30-33) recognised the prior existence of sons to Bentešina (by a previous wife, or wives) who would, together with Bentešina's brother(s), as well as the offspring of Hattusilis' daughter, have a just claim to the succession.³²⁵⁾ Šaušgamuwa, whom Tuthalijas IV made an "affine" (LU^UHADANŪ) while still a "prince" by giving him his sister in marriage, a union recorded in the later CTH 105, would not have been a son of Hattusilis' daughter since Tuthalijas need scarcely have assured Šaušgamuwa's loyalty by affiliating him as a brother-in-law if he had been already his sister's son.³²⁶⁾ Also, if the intended bride had been Šaušgamuwa's maternal aunt the union would have been precluded by the Hitt. prescription of incest.³²⁷⁾

2.2. As argued below (vi.2.1.-3.3.), the divorced wife of Ammistamru II of Ugarit, the (half-)sister of Šaušgamuwa, daughter of Bentešina and of the "Great Lady", may be seen as the daughter of the Hitt. princess.³²⁸⁾ It would have been Ammistamru's temporary relationship through this woman which was referred to in RS 34.136, a letter addressed to Ibiranu of Ugarit from Ini-Tešub of Karkamis, by: "When your father was an affine of My Sun ..." ³²⁹⁾

2.3. Neriqqailis did not succeed to the Hitt. throne, and we hear no more of his bride from Amurru, nor of their children. However, the marriage itself, coupled with that of the Babylonian princess (to Tuthalijas?), was considered by Puduhepa to have merited her much renown for her match-making efforts (§4.iii.1.2.). Bentešina's duplicate(?) letters to Hattusilis and the Queen, naming Pihasdu, a messen-

ger active in the Hittite-Egyptian marriage correspondence,³³⁰⁾ suggest Bentešina's involvement also in those negotiations. These may have been concerned with the royal entourage due to pass through Amurru on its way to Egypt—an event demanding loyalty and support for the Hittite royal family. Indeed, Bentešina maintained unswerving loyalty, apparently, to Hattusilis and his family.

2.4. The continuing geographical and political importance of Amurru attested by the Šaušgamuwa Treaty,³³¹⁾ had led no doubt to Tuthalijas' re-affiliation of its royal house to that of Hatti. Although his Treaty with Šaušgamuwa refers to the latter's existing "wives and children" who must also be loyal to the Hitt. King and his family,³³²⁾ there are no preserved passages on the future status of the Hitt. princess as Šaušgamuwa's wife, nor of their children, possibly because this had been established at the time of the marriage, before the death of Bentešina.³³³⁾ With the invasions of the "Sea Peoples" which overwhelmed Amurru as well as Ugarit, the dynasty of Aziru fades from history without intimation of any successor to the last interdynastic union between Hatti and Amurru.

§4.vi. UGARIT

1.1. The theme of interdynastic marriage runs through the history and legendary history of Ugarit, illustrating the desire of foreign rulers to align themselves with the ruling family of such an advantageously sited and rich city state on the North Syrian coast.³³⁴⁾ During the last two centuries of the Hitt. Empire brides came to Ugarit's royal House from Egypt, Amurru, and Hatti,³³⁵⁾ not always with the happiest outcome regarding the latter two lands.

1.2. The first reasonably well-attested union between the royal Houses of Ugarit and Amurru,³³⁶⁾ is that of Ahat-milku, "Queen of Ugarit", whose dowry was listed in RS 16.146 +161, under the anonymous seal impression described in the text as "seal of DU-Tešub, the King", which is identical to the impression described on a later text, bearing also the seal of Šaušgamuwa, as "seal of Aziru, King of Amurru".³³⁷⁾

Thus, the daughter of DU-Tešub (and the lady Ulmi of RS 16.111?), Ahat-milku, apparently the wife of Niqmepa II of Ugarit, participated as his widow in the adjudications by Tuthaliyas IV and Ini-Tešub of Karkamis, against her sons Hišmi-šarruma and ĪR-^Dšarruma.³³⁸⁾ Given their "shares" by their mother, they were banished to Alasiya for their "sin" against Ammistamru II, son and successor of Niqmepa.³³⁹⁾

1.3. The wording of these texts, which refer to Ahat-milku as "their mother" of the erring sons, and Ammistamru as "their brother", but avoided, it would seem, reference to the latter as son of Ahat-milku, suggests that Ammistamru was not her son by Niqmepa, and consequently not a grandson of DU-Tešub.³⁴⁰⁾ However, she may have been the "Queen, my mother" to whom (as stepmother) Ammistamru(?) addressed a letter, preserved as the Ugaritic RS 34.124, on the subject of bitti malki 'amurri "daughter of the King of Amurru", whose fault he had apparently forgiven, making part of the dossier perhaps concerning a daughter of Bentešina.³⁴¹⁾

2.1. The marriage of Ammistamru II to the daughter of the Hitt. princess Gassuliyawiya, as we interpret DUMU.MUNUS ^{MI}rabīti, ^{MI}bitta/i ^{MI}rabīti "daughter of the Great Lady", in texts from Ugarit,³⁴²⁾ and Bentešina, who was thus the greatgranddaughter of DU-Tešub, would not, according to existing evidence, have been a union between blood-related kin. The adjudication by her matrilinear uncle Tuthaliyas IV and distant "cousin" Ini-Tešub of Karkamis, according to which she was divorced from Ammistamru (for adultery?), ruled that their son Utri-šarruma, the crown prince, could decide whether to remain in Ugarit or to follow his repudiated mother, thereby losing his succession rights.³⁴³⁾ Tuthaliyas stated that in the latter case Ammistamru, or if he had died "My Sun" himself, would nominate another of Ammistamru's sons - presumably by another wife - as heir.³⁴⁴⁾ Utri-šarruma, greatgrandson of Hattusilis III, obviously yielded to discretion - and pressure? -, leaving the throne to Ibiranu who is attested as "crown prince" and actual successor of his father Ammistamru.³⁴⁵⁾

2.2. From letters, judgements, and agreements dealing with the affair of this woman, it would appear that Ammistamru may have accepted her back from her (half-)brother Šaušgamuwa,³⁴⁶⁾ only to suffer further injury by her, after which she fled to Amurru, to be surrendered by Šaušgamuwa who agreed that Ammistamru might put her to death, with due compensation to himself of 1000 (shekels) of "good gold".³⁴⁷⁾

2.3. Texts belonging to Šaušgamuwa's agreement as to this lady's punishment, are informative of the relationships in the royal house of Amurru. They designate (the litigations concerning) the "Great Lady" (DI^{MEŠ}-ti MÍ.GAL(rabIti), RS 17.318+, 22'), whose sons (DUMU^{MEŠ} MÍra-bi-ti, RS 17. 318+, 19', 26', 29', 32'; RS 17.82, 10', 16') must not, with Šaušgamuwa, King of Amurru (son of Bentešina, King of Amurru), litigate against Ammistamru regarding her daughter (DUMU.MUNUS MÍra-bi-ti) - Ammistamru's wife (DAM^{ti}, 17. 318+, 24') -, who was the perpetrator of his wrongs (l.c., 13'-15'). Šaušgamuwa, although legally responsible for his sister, the daughter of Bentešina and the Great Lady, was not included among the latter's sons.³⁴⁸⁾ He claimed, however, eternal brotherhood by agreement with Ammistamru, and had stated at an earlier stage of their tribulations that they were "brothers, sons by the one man", referring no doubt to their affinal relationship through the daughter of Gassuliyawiya, according to which Ammistamru was also "the affine of My Sun" in RS 34.136.³⁴⁹⁾

3.1. Earlier, we referred to two unhappy events which marred the interdynastic relations of Hatti and Ugarit during the last generations of their respective Kings: a) the abduction of an unnamed Hitt. princess from Hitt. territory for which the King of Ugarit was held to be legally responsible by the King of Karkamis, who wrote the partially preserved admonishment of RS 20.216, which may mention payment of "brideprice";³⁵⁰⁾ b) the divorce of Ehlinikkalu, daughter of My Sun, from Tanhuwatassa, King of Habisse, who may have been a son of 'Ammurapi, Ugarit's last known King, who had given property to Ehlinikkalu, namely a house (which was returned to him) and movable goods (which she retain-

ed), which became subject to the adjudication of Talmi-Teš-ub, King of Karkamis.³⁵¹⁾

3.2. Nougayrol suggested that both the events and persons of a) and b) might be related.³⁵²⁾ Pintore, for want of decisive evidence, offered the following "novelette" to explain the disparate information found in these few texts: the abduction of the "frivolous" Ehlinikkalu, daughter of Arnuwandas III or Suppiluliumas II, by a low-ranking person of Ugarit from whom she had been recovered, led to her marriage of convenience to the princelet, King of Habisse, whose principal recommendation was his royalty. Ehlinikkalu was then divorced from him with some dignity and family honour preserved after the incidence of her "rape".³⁵³⁾

3.3. Unless additional evidence emerges no more may be said on the subject. Following Ammistamru II the last Kings of Ugarit, Ibiranu, his son and successor Niqmadu III,³⁵⁴⁾ and 'Ammurapi, maintained relations with their Hitt. overlord which were sometimes strained by their failure or inability to deliver adequate material homage.³⁵⁵⁾ No further records indicate a marriage linking the Houses of Hatti and Ugarit before the end of the Late Bronze Age.

§4.vii. ASSYRIA

1.1. According to one or two intimations there may have been a marriage arranged between the royal families of Hatti and Assyria during the later reign of Hattusilis III. Firstly, Puduhepa's declaration to Ramesses II, "my brother ... shall I marry him to the daughter of Babylon, Zulabi (or) Assyria?", may imply that princesses from the last two lands - Zulabi was a Syrian state probably located in the region of modern Salba -, had been taken as brides to the Hitt. court, since Puduhepa had actually introduced a Babylonian princess as a bride to Hatti.³⁵⁶⁾

1.2. Possibly a second indication may be linked to the above, namely the assertion by Tuthalijas IV(?) to an Assyrian official on the damaged KUB XXIII 103 (CTH 178, with duplicates), that his father and the King of Assyria had been "friendly", evoking also the phrase ŠA 1-EN A-BI AMA

kiš-dum-ma-at "you have become (as) of one father and mother".³⁵⁷⁾ This might lead us, tentatively, to see an interdynastic union designed (by Hattusilis?) to establish "brotherhood" through marital affinity as well as by Treaty.

§4.viii. ISUWA

1.1. Whether Hatti and Isuwa were linked by interdynastic marriage is uncertain, depending upon our interpretation of damaged contexts. As studies of Isuwa, relevant texts, and some recently determined MH/MK datings have shown,³⁵⁸⁾ this strategically important region centered upon Elaziğ in the Upper Euphrates, was the object of campaigns by Tuthaliyas I/II and Arnuwandas I,³⁵⁹⁾ and then bound by the oath of the "Elders of Isuwa" in the MH/MK "Mitas of Pahhuwa" contract (CTH 146), to the Hitt. King and state.³⁶⁰⁾ Incorporated into the wider Hitt. administration and cultic observance after the conquests of Suppiluliumas I, Isuwa, with its predominantly Hurrian population,³⁶¹⁾ emerges in 13th century texts as a designated "Kingdom" according to references to a "King of Isuwa", the earliest of which may belong to the period of, or just preceding, Urhi-Tešub, and the latest to the reign of Tuthaliyas IV.³⁶²⁾

1.2. Seal impressions from Korucutepe(/Isuwa) and Hitt. texts naming Ehli-šarruma and Ari-šarruma as Kings of Isuwa, and the reference in the fragmentary KUB XXI 40 (CTH 209) to a King in this satellite Hitt. state, have indicated a close relationship between the Hitt. royal family and that of Isuwa; KUB XXI 40 has been attributed to Hattusilis III since it names Urhi-Tešub.³⁶³⁾ The lines most relevant to our problem are as follows:

12) KUB XXI 40 (CTH 209), III³⁶⁴⁾

- 7' [am-m]u-uk-ma ZI-ni na-ak-ki-e-[eš-ta-
at
8' [k]u-it LUGAL KUR i-šu-wa e-eš-ta nu[
9' am-mu-uk-ma ku-ua-ia-an-ta ha-an-da-aš UKÜ-š1[
10' ^mur-hi-^DX-up-ma-mu a-pu-u-un-na EGIR-an ar-h[a
11' na-an-za-an ^{LÜ}HA-DA-NU e-eš-še-eš-ta nu Ú[-UL?

"... but I was heavy at heart (lit. it was heavy in spirit (as for) me). [PN? b]ecause (he) was King of Isuwa, and []. But I, fear (case?) in regard to (that) person[]. But Urhi-Tešub [took?] even that one away from me[], and he made him his affine, and n[ot?]."

The text introduces with namma=kan in L.12' another concern of the author, "Moreover, those who [have attached?] evil to Bentešina", followed by reference to the "esirti daughters" (13'), and in L.15' states, "[Let] the name of the daughter be laid down on a tablet",³⁶⁵⁾ which subject may or may not be connected to that of the "King of Isuwa". We are left wondering whether Urhi-Tešub, as Great King, gave a daughter in marriage to the King of Isuwa in order to ensure future support against his powerful uncle Hattusilis?

2.1. We do learn that there was a King of Isuwa contemporary to Urhi-Tešub, although there is no indication as to how many, if any, such rulers had preceded him nor when the "Kingdom" had been established, presumably by the King of Hatti. The only Kings of Isuwa known to us by name are Ehli-šarruma of IBoT I 34, which names Halpa-zitis as King of Halap and was addressed presumably to Tuthaliyas IV,³⁶⁶⁾ and the "Ari-šarruma King of Isuwa" who stood as a witness to the Treaty of KBo IV 10 +(CTH 106) of Hattusilis III, ratified by Tuthaliyas IV, with Ulme-Tešub as King of Tarhundassa.³⁶⁷⁾ According to recent arguments, this Ulme-Tešub had also contracted the later Treaty of the bronze tablet, Bo 86/299, named as Kurunta (a son of Muwattallis II), King of Tarhundassa, with Tuthaliyas IV.³⁶⁸⁾

2.2. The list of witnesses to Bo 86/299, in which some names concur with those of witnesses to CTH 106 (and of CTH 225, a deed and document of similar legal intent and format),³⁶⁹⁾ differs from the latter by the absence of others such as Ari-šarruma and the GN Isuwa, while including names missing from CTH 106, such as "Ehli-šarruma, prince (DUMU. LUGAL)".³⁷⁰⁾ This prince is attested also in one of a group of "inventory" texts in the company of persons whose names agree with those of witnesses in both Treaties.³⁷¹⁾ There is no sure indication of this Ehli-šarruma's identity with

the homonymous King of Isuwa, nor as to whether he were a "prince" of Hatti, or of an allied state such as Karkamis, Seha River Land, Mera, or Amurru, all of which were represented by their named Kings in Bo 86/299.³⁷²⁾ However, according to the assumed order of accession in Isuwa: Ari-šarruma followed by Ehli-šarruma,³⁷³⁾ we could argue that the latter witnessed Bo 86/299 on behalf of an elderly father. If Güterbock's suggestions (see below) should prove correct, the title "prince" may have marked Ehli-šarruma's relationship as much with the royal family in Hatti as with that of Isuwa.

2.3. The tentative readings by Güterbock of HL names on the Korucutepe seal impressions, 3, and 1A,B, 2A,B, as "Ehli-šarruma" and "Ari-šarruma" respectively,³⁷⁴⁾ while still to be confirmed, have some corroboration from the Hitt. texts. Further, on one of the "Ari-šarruma" impressions (and partially on another) may be read with Güterbock, an additional name with title, MAGNUS FILIA ki-lu-us?-he-pa "Great Daughter, Kilušhepa".³⁷⁵⁾ Since the latter PN is attested in Hitt. texts recording dreams and dedications by the Queen-Puduhepa it would seem - in close context with a vow for the recovery of the ailing son of the King of Isuwa,³⁷⁶⁾ Güterbock proposed that Kilušhepa may have been the daughter of Puduhepa and Hattusilis, a DUMU.MUNUS.GAL, married to the King of Isuwa, which would accord with the inclusion of her name on his seal at Korocutepe.³⁷⁷⁾ Ehli-šarruma may have been their son.

3.1. But Klengel has sounded a warning note on these identifications. Kilušhepa and her death are mentioned in a legal text (KUB XL 80; CTH 297), with PN also found on Korucutepe seals and associated with Isuwa in Hitt. texts, such as Šaušgazitis and Lupakkis.³⁷⁸⁾ An ma-li-LUGAL-ma is named in close connection with Kilušhepa, and in the related KUB XL 90 (CTH 295) recording the death of his wife, which suggests that Kilušhepa's husband was this Ali-šarruma(?)³⁷⁹⁾ The votive text KUB LVI 14, attributable to Puduhepa, contains the statement, IV 1. [n]u MÍ.UMMEDA ku-iš MÍ.LUGAL fki-lu-us-hé-pa-an-na 2. [ša]l-la-nu-uš-ki-it

"[An]d the nurse who raised the Queen and Kilušhepa"

which suggests that the latter was a related contemporary of Puduhepa herself, or her daughter, or possibly the child of a close relative of Kizzuwatnean extraction?³⁸⁰⁾ The same text mentions an Alalimi (I 13'), name of the "Cup-bearer" who acted as Hitt. messenger to Ramesses II before the royal marriage, and who as "Chief Cupbearer" witnessed CTH 106, while perhaps the same Alalimi witnessed Bo 86/299 as "Overseer of a Thousand".³⁸¹⁾ Moreover, a "dream of the Queen in Anasipa" recorded in KUB LVI 28, rev.5'ff., continues "the King of Isuwa to Kizzuwatna []I shall pray for him", then mentions "My [Lad]y (IŠTAR) for Tuthaliyas",³⁸²⁾ thereby indicating a personal interest of the King of Isuwa in Kizzuwatna in the period following Hattusilis' death when Puduhepa still reigned as Queen, and before Ehli-šarruma had acceded in Isuwa.³⁸³⁾

3.2. Also notable is the letter KBo XVIII 4 from an unnamed King of Isuwa with an address which may have been deferential or actually filial, to "my dear father", the Chief Charioteer (GAL ^{LU}KAR-TAP-PI).³⁸⁴⁾ "Charioteer" was the occupation of a Lupakkis appearing in the legal text KUB XXXI 68 (CTH 297), with a "King of Isuwa", an Alalimis, one Hesnis, name of a "prince" witness in CTH 106, a Nanizi (cf. ^mŠEŠ-zi in Bo 86/299, IV 41), and a Halpazitis, which evokes "Halwa-zitis, Scribe, son of Lupakkis, man of Ukkia" who wrote Bo 86/299, as well as Halpazitis of Aleppo and other contexts.³⁸⁵⁾ A Lupakkis was named in the Tašci inscription as a contemporary (servant?) of Hattusilis.³⁸⁶⁾ The PN occurs also in the fragmentary KUB XXIII 45 (CTH 209), 22'.³⁸⁷⁾ Written in the first person, it refers to My Sun (4'), Urhi-Tešub (21'), one Lissa-^DX (11') - also in the context of Tarhundassa and rebellion (20') -,³⁸⁸⁾ and relates in direct speech, 4'-6', "'I, [My Sun, whensoever to Ehl[i-šarruma(?)]]; and for him my son in his place [] let them [take?]'".³⁸⁹⁾ Whether the statement later in the text, [A-NA ^{LU}MU-DI-ŠU AD-DIN na-aš-ma IŠ-TU (17'), "[] for her husband I have given, or with[], is connected with this action, is impossible to say. We gain

the impression that Lupakkis, in the service of Hattusilis, was involved with the royal family of Isuwa, possibly through kinship, but there is no certainty.

3.3. Disparate as the evidence may be for dynastic links between Hatti and Isuwa, their existence is surely indicated, and may be proved by further discoveries. The strategic significance of Isuwa had obviously demanded its administration through the centralised authority of a King directly aligned to the Great King, rather than by the local government of "Elders". The former arrangement would be particularly effective when the new King might be affinally related to the Hitt. crown, or even be a Hitt. "prince" in his own right, following in either case a pattern familiar from the time of Suppiluliumas I.

§5. FURTHER INDICATIONS OF INTERDYNASTIC MARRIAGES

The following damaged texts represent letters or copies found at Boğazköy in which certain words and passages indicate an interdynastic marriage as the principal subject without informing us as to the identity of the participants in the negotiations, for example KUB LVII 125, obv.19. [ha-at-r]a-nu-un DAM-ZU na-a-wi pi-x[20 []e-zi DUMU.NI-TA-ma ^{LU}KAL[.³⁹⁰) These letters have been edited recently in transliteration and translation (where possible) with previous references, in Hagenbuchner, 1989, 2. They are listed below briefly, with reference only to their CTH number, language of composition, and number in the Hagenbuchner volume, with countries named, apart from Hatti.

KBo VII 11: CTH 208; Akk.; No.226; Egypt, Babylon, Hatti[galbat.

KBo XII 54: CTH 832; Hitt.; No.384.

KBo XVIII 23: CTH 209; Hitt.; No.221.

KBo XXVIII 72: Akk.; No.239.

KBo XXVIII 80: Akk.; No.314.

KBo XXVIII 125: Akk.; No.245.

KUB III 50: CTH 216; Akk.; No.317.

KUB III 60: CTH 216; Akk.; No.344; Amurru?

KUB XXIII 93: CTH 210; Hitt.; No.310.

KUB XXIII 105: CTH 215; Hitt.; No.230.
KUB XXVI 53; CTH 209; Hitt.; No.232; Egypt.
KUB XXVI 88: CTH 210; Hitt.; No.312; Babylon.
KUB LVII 2: Hitt.; No.178.
KUB LVII 125; Hitt.; No.225.
HT 97: CTH 210; Akk.; No.233.
VBoT 7: CTH 832; Hitt.; No.234.

EQUAL STATUS. SACRED AND PRIESTLY MARRIAGE. SUMMARY.

§1. EQUAL STATUS MARRIAGE

1.1. This statement does not imply literally an equal status between the spouses within a marriage, but rather that the respective families of the bride and groom could match each other in social status, wealth and power, which would be reflected usually in the marriage payments from either side with legal stipulations as to the respective rights and responsibilities of the partners, and the superior position of this wife to other women in the household. The woman would enjoy a comparably less inferior position vis à vis her husband than when she came from a family of lower and poorer standing. When other societies have defined such marriages the above seems generally to be the case.¹⁾

1.2. Hittite interdynastic marriage demonstrates at least a principle that "like should marry like", with the marriages of Hittite princes and princesses to spouses who belonged to another country's royal family, or had been elevated like Huqqanas to the status of ruler by his overlord and future affine. However, since vassal husbands, even if they were of royal descent, were always inferior to the Hittite King, the marriages were not truly equal status. We are not informed as to how the princesses fared in their marital households in which, theoretically, they were of higher status than their husbands. Nor were the marriages of the daughters of Hattusilis to Ramesses, although arranged between Great Kings, strictly equal status, since they were not regarded as such by the Pharaoh who relegated his Hittite wives eventually to the Harem. However, the marriage of the Babylonian princess to Suppiluliumas I could well be described as equal status,²⁾ in that she enjoyed as principal royal wife a civil and religious power comparable to that of the King, and also to that of Queen Puduhepa whose marriage will be discussed further below.³⁾

1.3. We may suspect that marriages within the Hitt. Kingdom between "professional" families were the norm, particularly

where the husband and father-in-law occupied the same or similar rank and office, but evidence is difficult to find. The OK equal status marriage arranged by Tutulla the LUGRIG "store keeper", for his daughter with Zidis, the LUGRIG "wine supplier", was noted earlier,⁴⁾ but the relevant document dealt with property and inheritance rights and not with the marriage itself.

2.1. Whereas the description of a man with "profession" might be augmented by the name of his father, with his profession also in the case of scribes,⁵⁾ a woman would be described as, for example, DAM LUGUDU "wife of the anointing priest", or DAM MASIM.URU^{KI} "wife of the Inspector of the City",⁶⁾ without further indication of kinship, unless she were connected to the royal family, as the AMA MI.LUGAL DAM mi-id-du "mother of the Queen, wife of Iddu".⁷⁾ Such royal references allow us to trace a few NK marriages between families of high rank in the Hittite Kingdom.

2.2. According to KUB XXVI 43 +(CTH 225) for Sahurunuwas, who must be distinguished from the homonymous King of Karkamis, a certain Alihešnis, married to Tarhundamanawas, was his son-in-law.⁸⁾ In this document, which demonstrates royal patronage in return for loyal military service,⁹⁾ Sahurunuwas bore three titles, GAL NA.KAD "Great Shepherd", GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ "Great Scribe-on-Wood", and GAL LUGUKU.UŠ "Great Officer (of) the Armed Force".¹⁰⁾ In Bo 86/299 and CTH 106 his titles as witness were respectively GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ and GAL LUGMES DUB.SAR.GIŠ "Chief of the Scribes-on-Wood",¹¹⁾ selected perhaps since they were his highest honours. Alihešnis would appear to be the homonymous LUGhalipis who was "recognised" by Hattusilis and Puduhepa, together with other sons of Mittannamuwas, including UR.MAH-zitis the "Chief (of) Scribes".¹²⁾ That title, bestowed upon another son, Burandamuwas,¹³⁾ was accorded also to Mittannamuwas himself, who had been rewarded by kanissuwar "recognition", of the Great Kings, Mursilis II, Muwattallis II, and Hattusilis III, for his loyal service to the Crown, which included the government of Hattusas when Muwattallis moved his capital to Tarhundassa.¹⁴⁾ Sahurunuwas was described as FILIUS

REX "prince", on his seal impressions from Boğazköy, which may reflect an actual relationship to the royal family, or "recognition" by the Great King, which may have distinguished also Alihešnis, DUMU.LUGAL, of RS 15.77.¹⁵⁾ This title, and MAGNUS SCRIBUS "Great Scribe", occur also on the impressions of Sahurunuwas' seal at Tarsus, implying that he had served the Hitt. king in Kizzuwatna.¹⁶⁾ Although Mittannamuwas' service was centered in Hatti, both these highly honoured scribal families appear to have been native to the southern province,¹⁷⁾ and were united consequently by the marriage of Tarhundamanawas and Alihešnis.

2.3. Sahurunuwas' son, Tattamarus, whose titles as an Army officer, and a "prince", have been remarked,¹⁸⁾ would have been the same Tattamarus who married the daughter of Puduhepa's sister, who died leaving him still her "affine" according to the sentiment of the Queen.¹⁹⁾ Hattusilis declared: "in Hatti the Queen's family (is) very great".²⁰⁾ This was recommendation enough in his estimation for his addressee, the King of Ahhiyawa, to regard with respect the Hitt. emissary, Dabala-Tarhundadas, the Charioteer, who had married a relative of the Queen.²¹⁾ It is possible that this relative of Puduhepa was her sister and so mother-in-law of Tattamarus, who would have been the son-in-law of Dabala-Tarhundadas, but proof eludes us. Nevertheless, on the basis of existing evidence we can imagine a network of marital relationships between persons of official and honoured status in Hatti and its provinces, and members of the Hitt. royal family. But we cannot perceive as yet the degrees of kinship within which these unions were permitted or even favoured.

§2. DIVORCE

1.1. The order to Huqqanas by Suppiluliumas I: "Take your daughter away from Mariyas",²²⁾ demonstrates that divorce (for non-Hittites) could be recommended under special circumstances, while the affair of Ehlinikkalu shows that Hittite Kings recognised interdynastic divorce in the late NK, even when a Hittite princess was involved.²³⁾

1.2. Another example of marriage between the professional classes during the 13th century, in KBo XVI 58 (CTH 297), II 1-6, cited in Chapter V,²⁴⁾ shows that divorce occurred within Hatti itself in the upper echelons of society. The Hittite Laws were concerned only with divorce when partners were unfree or of differing social status.²⁵⁾

1.3. The division of property between the separating pair and the future of any children of the marriage were regarded as the most important issues in HG, and occupied Tuthaliyas IV and Ini-Tešub of Karkamis concerning Ehlinikkalu. The Hitt. sources do not mention a "fine" payable to the authorities by the divorcing partner, such as stipulated in OA "marriage contracts".²⁶⁾

§3. SACRED AND PRIESTLY MARRIAGE

1.1. The description "Sacred Marriage" is applied to the wedding of deities, often represented in cult by the human devotees, with a symbolically enacted marriage of a King, priest or priestess, to a god(dess), with the aim of ensuring fertility for man, beast and land.²⁷⁾ Hitt. evidence for sacred marriage will be discussed below as possible exemplar for ceremonies which may have accompanied the higher forms of human marriage attested in the texts.

1.2. Puduhepa, the daughter of a priest of IŠTAR in Lawazantiya, was dedicated herself to that goddess, and to Hebat, spouse of the Kizzuwatnean Storm god Tešub.²⁸⁾ Anxious later to claim the patronage of IŠTAR of Samuha, Hattusilis described his marriage at the dictum of the deity, while his brother was still Great King,

1) KBo VI 29 +(CTH 85.1.A), I²⁹⁾

16. ... ^fpu-du-hé-pa-áš-ma
 17. ŠA ^DIŠTAR URU₁ la-wa-za-an-ti-ia GIM-aš DUMU.MUNUS ^mpí-
en-ti-ip-LUGAL
 18. LÚ₁ SANGA ^DIŠTAR e-eš-ta nu-za a-pu-u-un-na
 19. AŠ-ŠUM DAM-UT-TIM mar-ri Ú-UL da-ah-hu-un
 20. IŠ-TU INIM DINGIR^{LIM} za-an da-ah-hu-un DINGIR^{LIM} an-
mu Û-it

21. hi-en-ik-ta

"But since Puduhepa, (devotee) of IŠTAR of Lawazantiya, was the daughter of Bentip-šarri, priest of IŠTAR, I did not take her as a wife selfishly. I took her at the command of the goddess; the goddess assigned her to me in a dream."

1.3. Further, Hattusilis referred not only to the blessings conferred by the goddess with the "love of husband (and) wife" and the consequent issue of sons and daughters,³⁰⁾ but also to the dedication of the members of the household to her service at her command, and the entry of the deity to this house which she honoured with her recognition.³¹⁾

1.4. Hattusilis, who had been dedicated as a child to IŠTAR of Samuha,³²⁾ was anxious to impart a sacred aura to his union with Puduhepa, although his motive in enlisting the loyalty of the IŠTAR priesthood in Kizzuwatna may have been more political than religious. However, this was a true marriage between priests, and priestly families. Hattusilis' emphasis upon this aspect suggests that it may not have been a dominant factor usually in the marriage of a King's son, who would have been heir not only to a tradition of priestly service, but, predominantly, to that of the "hero" leading his men to war.³³⁾

2.1. In her letter to Ramesses II (CTH 176), Puduhepa claimed, without strict regard for chronological accuracy, that her personal deity, - as the Sun goddess of Arinna, the Storm god and Hebat, and IŠTAR, had made her Queen of Hatti -, had "married" her with Hattusilis.³⁴⁾ Her prowess in producing and nurturing children followed in natural consequence of the divine favour.³⁵⁾ Again, Puduhepa referred to the goddess who would deny her nothing, who had set her in "this place", in which no doubt she enjoyed am-me-el DUGUD-ni "(my) eminence", in regard to which Ramesses had (at last) shown due respect.³⁶⁾

2.2. Puduhepa's insistence upon the equality of respect by the Pharaoh for their "brotherhood and sisterhood", declares her confident estimation of her status. Her notable participation in the correspondence on her daughter's marri-

age, and in legal, religious, and administrative activity in Hatti, may be accredited in part to the high standing of the Hitt. ^{MĪ}tawanannas/Queen in the state.³⁷⁾ But Puduhepa enjoyed remarkable prominence among Queens in the international as well as domestic field,³⁸⁾ which must have been due to more than charisma or a dominant personality. We propose that according to the mores of the "priestly" marriage which Puduhepa contracted under the aegis of IŠTAR she would have been recognised automatically as a wife and later Queen of exceptionally high status.

2.3. Regarding this status the words chosen by Puduhepa and Hattusilis to describe their union are notable. In her prayer to the Sun goddess of Arinna, Puduhepa declared,

2)a. KUB XXI 27 +(CTH 384), I³⁹⁾

9. nu-mu GASAN-IA ša-ra-a da-at-ta

10. nu-mu A-NA ^mha-at-tu-ši-li İR-KA ku-e-da-ni

11. a-ra-al-la-a-it ...

"And, my Lady, you took me up, and to Hattusilis, your servant, with whom you associated me (in marriage)..."

using the verb arallai-, which has been analysed as a denominative of ara- "'belonging (or: proper) to one's own social group,'" and similar,⁴⁰⁾ which implies an equality of the partners in the association. This may be compared with Puduhepa's words to Ramesses II,

2)b. KUB XXI 38 (CTH 176), rev.⁴¹⁾

58. nu-mu IT-TI ŠEŠ-KA ha-an-da-it

"And she (my personal deity) 'married' me with your brother"

and Hattusilis' description of their marriage,

2)c. KUB I 1+(CTH 81), III⁴²⁾

2. [IŠ-T]U INIM DINGIR^{LIM} DAM-an-ni da-ah-hu-un nu ha-an-da-a-u-en

"I took (Puduhepa) as a wife at the command of the goddess, and we came together in (equal status) marriage."

Recent translations of handai- in such contexts, including

the Hymn to IŠTAR of CTH 717, have recognised the nuance of setting up personal relationships rather than making practical arrangements.⁴³⁾ The present author is most grateful for the considerations of two eminent scholars that this verb, usually to be translated "'(sich) zuordnen/beiordnen'" (for example in IBoT I 36 (CTH 262)), has the distinctive meaning "'(sich) zum gleichgestellten Ehepartner machen'" when used by Hattusilis or Puduhepa in the general context of marriage, and is characteristic of this royal couple.⁴⁴⁾ It should be remarked that Hattusilis used the conventional words "I took as wife", and had thus acquired manus over Puduhepa.

3.1. We might suspect that such a "priestly" marriage of devotees to IŠTAR would have been validated by special rites to invoke the deity's recognition and blessing, but the only Hitt. evidence for wedding rituals belongs to the category of sacred marriage, in which, moreover, other deities than IŠTAR were honoured. While hesitant of inferring too much from the models of sacred marriage, we refer to OB marriage rites which do reflect aspects of divine weddings,⁴⁵⁾ and also to the Roman confarreatio in which the rites for priestly partners in a human marriage are remarkably reminiscent of those we note below (I.-III.) attested for Anatolia and the NK Hittite North Syrian dependency Emar(/Meskene), which reflect in turn the Heilige Hochzeit of ancient Mesopotamia.⁴⁶⁾

I.1. The OH Inandiktepe vase with its painted relief depiction in four registers of a festive celebration of a sacred marriage has been beautifully presented, illustrated and analysed by Özgüç in his edition of this vase, which is "the earliest example of Anatolia to show all the details of a cult".⁴⁷⁾ We simply emphasise the particular aspects of the celebration, not necessarily in the order of their presentation, namely: the food preparation; the liquid offering to a goddess; the processions of musicians with lyres, saz, and cymbals, and of acrobats, of swordbearers, and a lituus-bearer; an erotic scene; the sacrifice of a bull with the Storm god honoured as a bull statue on an

altar; the bearing of altars by attendants; the appearance on the roof of a temple of a goddess (or representative priestess?) in black robes flanked by two musicians; the wedding scene of a goddess in an enveloping black kariulli which the "groom" lifts from her face, while both sit on a draped bed with bull's legs, before which stands a vase similar to ours.⁴⁸⁾

I.2. Food, drink, music, processions, altars, sacrifice and offerings, are well known features of Hitt. Festival-rituals described in the texts, and need no specific references. The bed itself closely resembles depictions of the Mesopotamian sacred marriage bed, as Özgüç has noted.⁴⁹⁾ The principal god is the Storm god, but female deities are represented, including the "bride". Although the find place of the Inandik vase attests the cult for the OK period in northern Hatti, other related relief fragments such as the Bitik vase, indicate that the cult, or similar manifestations, were common to central Anatolia.⁵⁰⁾

II.1. A passage from the texts of the Festival-rituals of MH(?) inscription, in honour of the apparently bisexual deity Huwassannas (CTH 690-694), describes the adorning of a loaf image of the god with the kuressar headdress taken from "the bride" in her house, and fastened with copper pins, after which it was declared to be the god's head, of Huwassannas.⁵¹⁾ According to the mention in the following broken context of: an Huwassanallas priestess, a Temple attendant, musical instruments, the "inner chamber", "they set her on the bed" (which must refer to the god's image), "the head", "the lady of the house", "to the bride",⁵²⁾ the inference is that this episode belonged to a sacred marriage cult, which is supported by recently published further texts of this category. They associate the god with the bed (ŠA DINGIR^{LIM} GIŠ^{NÁ}), the interior of the house, and the ^{MI}alhuित्रas.⁵³⁾

II.2. The latter appears more important in many respects than the Huwassanallas, since she was offered beverages to toast the deity, recalling similar treatment in other rit-

uals of the NIN.DINGIR/ENTU and LÚSANGA.⁵⁴⁾ In the light of the Akkadian ritual discovered at Emar/Meskene for the enthronement and sacred marriage of the Entu priestess of the Stormgod,⁵⁵⁾ we are tempted to interpret the role of the Alhuitras as the "bride" in the enactment of a sacred marriage of Huwassannas. Due possibly to the damaged state of the texts in CTH 690-694, there is not a clear statement that this priestess was the "bride", but we may deduce it from the following:

a. At the beginning of the preserved rev.III of KUB XXVII 49 (CTH 692.6.A), noted above for the adornment of the bread image of Huwassannas, a "drinking" ceremony is described, familiar in its essentials throughout the Huwassannas series, in which usually the Alhuitras is named first in the list of persons to whom the Cupbearer "gives to drink":⁵⁶⁾

- 3) 3. ... LÚSA[G]I.A A-NA GAŠAN
 É^{TI} MÍÉ.GI₄.A-ia
 4. a-ku-wa-an-na pa-[a]-i

"(and the Huwassannallis keeps hold of the beaker of wine), and the Cupbearer gives to drink to the Lady of the house, the bride".

The parallel text in KBo XXIX 98, 9'-10', omits the connective -ia- altogether, which suggests that the scribe understood "bride" to be in apposition to "Lady of the house", who is mentioned first where the title ^{MÍ}alhuitras could be expected.⁵⁷⁾

b. The identification of the Alhuitras with "the Lady/owner of the house" is found in KBo XXIX 65, "the first tablet" of one of the Huwassannas Festival-rituals described as "belonging to the (^{MÍ?})alhuitras".⁵⁸⁾ The ritual is enacted outside and inside the house of the Alhuitras, with an evocation to Huwassannas, and listing grain, storage jars, a sheep, beer, breads, and cheese, among the offerings.⁵⁹⁾ The relevant lines are found in rev.IV,

- 4) 7' nu ku-u-un BE-EL É ^{MÍ}al-hu-it-ra-an ku-in i-ia-a[n-
zi] na-an-kán É.ŠÀ-ni

- 8' an-da pí-e-hu-da-an-zi na-an-kán wa-ar-ap-pa-an-z[i
nu-za(?) ^{TUG}]NÍG.LAM^{HI.A} pár-ku-i
 9' wa-ši-i-e-iz-zi a-pí-e-ma-az ^{TUG}NÍG.LAM^{HI.A} MÍ^{hu-}
wa-aš-ša-a[n-na-al-li-iš da]a-i

- 10' na-an-kán wa-ar-pa-an-zi ku-e-da-ni É.ŠÀ-ni [
 NINDA^{HI.A}(?)]hi-im-ma-a[š⁶⁰
 11' 1 UDU 1 ^{DUG}hu-u-pár KAŠ 1 ^{DUG}UTUL an-da pí-e-da-an-
zi
 12' [n]u A-ŠAR UDU 1 GA.KIN.AG pí-e-da-a[š⁶¹) 7 GIŠ^{BAN}[
 ŠUR
 13' an-da pí-e-da-an-zi

"And this owner of the house whom they mak[e] the Alhu-
itras (priestess), they lead into the inner chamber and
 wash her. She dresses (herself) in pure ceremonial robes;
 then the Huwassa[nnallis t]akes those robes.

And then into which inner chamber (where) they wash
 her, []the cultic [breads?], a sheep, a flagon
 of beer, a dish of meats, they carry in. In place of
 the sheep he brings a cheese. They carry in 7 tables,
"

The text describes more bread offerings, then the setting
 of seven tables, for the first of which the title of occup-
 ant, possibly the "owner/sponsor of the ritual", is lost,
 followed by six titles headed by the Alhuitras.⁶²⁾

c. The cumulative evidence suggests that the lady chosen
 to become an Alhuitras priestess underwent the initial
 phase of her induction in her house, where she was washed
 and splendidly robed, and veiled as a bride, recalling not
 only similar rites for Inanna before her marriage to Dum-
 uzi, but also those in the preparation of the Emar Entu in
 her initiation to priestesshood, as we shall note. The
 recording of a "new Alhuitras" may be seen in the colophon
 of the tablet of the "Festival of sahhan", which involved
 also the (GAL-li/Šal-la) ^{GIŠ}hassalli- "(great) footstool"
 (logographically rendered elsewhere ^{GIŠ}GÌR.GUB),⁶³⁾ while
 the presence of an existing Alhuitras may be noted for KBo
 XXIX 65, IV 7'-8', with the "owner of the house", who would
 undergo the ensuing ceremony. Further in this text, but in

broken context, there is mention of 4 TA-PAL NÍG.BA^{HI.A}["four pairs of gifts".⁶⁴⁾

d. Unconnected specifically to the Alhuitras or to the "god on the bed" ceremony, due possibly to the damaged nature of these texts, are references to Ì.DÙG.GA "fine oil", once for anointment,⁶⁵⁾ to some rite in the É.ŠĀ "inner chamber" involving a wool headdress, and a single reference to pahhur "fire".⁶⁶⁾

III.1. The recent publication of the texts of the ritual for the enthronement and marriage of the Entu at Emar has not been followed as yet by an analysis of its importance in establishing cultural links between Mesopotamia, North Syria and Anatolia.⁶⁷⁾ Here, we will remark briefly, with line references in brackets, on the more striking aspects of the cult, reminiscent of those we have noted for Hatti.

III.2. The Storm god was the principal god, among others, of the cult (1ff.) but his spouse Hebat also received offerings, and was represented(?) like him by a gold statue (34-35, 49-52). Hebat's sacred stone was anointed with fine oil by the incipient Entu, (35) whose head had been similarly anointed by the ^{LU}HAL (20-21), perhaps establishing her representation of Hebat in the sacred marriage. The scenes of the cult included Temples (4, 7, 20, 21, 32, 36-37, 49, 51, 61, 67-69), but were also located in the house(s) of the Entu (15, 39) and (?) her father's house (21, 23, 40, 43, 46, 78). Here, she was "enthroned" and crowned with a red wool turban (40ff.), to emerge sashed and veiled as a bride (63-64). Other "houses" included that of the owner (/sponsor) of the ritual(?)(14), site of the nuptial chamber (71ff.). Here, she was given a bed with coverlet, a chair, a stool (^{GIŠ}GĪR.GUB), and a table (^{GIŠ}BANŠUR) to honour Hulelu with offerings. Here also her feet were bathed before the night (76). She received a gift (NÍG.BA) (among others) from the "Elders" (44), who, with the "sons of Emar" dedicated her (1ff.). The sacrifices included bulls, sheep (two for Hebat (49)), breads, fruitcake, barley-meal, beer, wine, cedar oil, while the ceremony ended with a

banquet (89ff.). Numerous tables were set up in the cult locations, in particular for: the previous Entu, other priestesses and the King of Emar (16-17). Cultic processions were headed by a bearer with the "weapon (divine axe) of the gods" (7, 10, 29, 33, 45), which was held once by the Entu's father (10).

III.3. There are additional features in this cult absent from those noted from the Inandik vase and the Huwassannas rituals, but the similarities between them all are impressive, suggesting a common cultural influence, certainly emanating from Mesopotamia, regarding the celebration of the sacred marriage. We are tempted to see in the black-robed figures of the Inandik vase, on the bed and the Temple roof, a priestess in her initiation, representing a goddess who may have been an earlier manifestation of the "Black goddess" of Samuha, an IŠTAR-deity venerated by Hitt. Kings and Queens from the MK period?⁶⁸⁾

3.2. In contrast to these examples of divine marriages from Hatti and its North Syrian dependency, the Roman confarreatio, abolished in 394 A.D. by Theodosius, was a sacred form of marriage for patricians in which the husband gained manus over his wife, and which naturally included the high priests of the principal gods, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, and the Kings and Queens of the sacrifice, who had necessarily to be born of such a marriage and could only marry by its rites.⁶⁹⁾ Of these, or of their origin, very little is known.⁷⁰⁾ The institution of the confarreatio was attributed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to the legendary founder of Rome, Romulus, in order that its men might acquire wives by the ritual of the far "spelt", which would result in the common ownership of all goods and identity of cultic worship for man and wife,⁷¹⁾ that is an equal status marriage. We may not assume a Near Eastern origin for the confarreatio. However, for comparison with the above we offer a brief survey of what is known about it.

3.3. In the presence of ten patrician witnesses, with the son(s) of confarreatio- married parents acting as torch-

bearer(s), the high priest and the priest of Jupiter⁷²⁾ presided over the "complicated rites", with "formulaic and solemn words",⁷³⁾ with the sacrifice of a sheep and offering of a cake made from spelt (an archaic and honoured grain according to Dionysius), fruits and salt cake,⁷⁴⁾ principally to Jupiter.⁷⁵⁾ Rossbach deduced that the far cake was baked in the house of the bride's father, with a procession from left to right to an altar for the offerings, which was changed before the (blood) sacrifice.⁷⁶⁾ The Camillus bore the wedding fire and water.⁷⁷⁾ The veiled bride and groom, who may have eaten the far, were made to sit with right hands joined upon two juxtaposed chairs spread with the fleece of the slaughtered sheep.⁷⁸⁾ Children of this marriage were termed matrimes et patrimes, and served among religious personnel on festive occasions and in ritual, while girls chosen as Vestal Virgins were necessarily born of confarreatio marriages.⁷⁹⁾ Dissolution of the latter, originally not permitted, became possible (as recorded by Gaius) provided the diffarreatio was performed by the same priesthood, with the offering also of a panis farreus "spelt cake".⁸⁰⁾

4.0. Despite our limited knowledge of the Roman rites, it seems obvious that there were remarkable similarities here to the Hitt. and NE sacred marriage rites, which permit us to imagine that wedding ceremonies of Hittite priests of all grades⁸¹⁾ may have incorporated some, if not all, of the ritual necessary to the celebration of a divine marriage. The more elevated the priesthood, the more solemn and similar to the latter would have been the marriage rites, particularly when both partners had already served an important deity. Despite the "Festival of Kusata" noted in Chapter VI (§5.A.1.2), we cannot be sure whether some form of religious ritual may have been required for the wedding of "laity" in Hatti, of whatever social echelon.

§4. SUMMARY

1.1. Regarding Hittite interdynastic marriage present evidence indicates that the mores concerning incest did prev-

ail. We have not perceived any marriages between persons of close consanguineal relationship, although expediency apparently persuaded the King to ignore the incestuous behaviour of his affines if they were sufficiently regal and internationally important, as were the rulers of Egypt. The cross-generational exchange of marital partners between the royal families of Hattusilis and Bentešina begs the question whether Hittite custom would have countenanced within Hatti the marriage of a man to his sister's stepdaughter, which was also that of a woman to her brother's father-in-law. If the foreign origin of Bentešina and his daughter was not the reason (or excuse), then we might interpret that the affinal distance, greater than that of a man from his mother's or wife's sisters or his brother's wives, was apparently sufficient to permit marriage (or sexual relations) since no immediate blood nor (established) conjugal relationship was involved with the affine at the end of the chain. This might be expressed in general terms by using the following symbols noted in Chapters I and IV:

1. FORBIDDEN a. $M \begin{smallmatrix} + \\ < \end{smallmatrix} W \begin{smallmatrix} + \\ > \end{smallmatrix} W$ b. $M \begin{smallmatrix} \oplus \\ < \end{smallmatrix} W \begin{smallmatrix} + \\ > \end{smallmatrix} W$
2. PERMITTED a. $M \begin{smallmatrix} + \\ < \end{smallmatrix} W \begin{smallmatrix} \oplus \\ > \end{smallmatrix} M \begin{smallmatrix} + \\ > \end{smallmatrix} W$ b. $W \begin{smallmatrix} + \\ < \end{smallmatrix} M \begin{smallmatrix} \oplus \\ > \end{smallmatrix} W \begin{smallmatrix} + \\ > \end{smallmatrix} M$

This suggests that, for example, a woman might marry her father's step-son or her sibling's brother-in-law, and a man his mother's step-daughter etc., increasing the number of possible unions.

1.2. Although Babylonian princesses came as brides to the Hitt. royal family and at least one Hitt. princess married a King of Babylon, we cannot, for lack of evidence, perceive a recurrence of the pattern of exchange observed above although we cannot discount it. The usual Hitt. procedure involved singularly the giving of a Hitt. princess as wife to a foreign prince, of equal status or vassal relationship to her father, with the purpose of assuring loyalty through affinity in the first, and through the consanguinity of successive generations. Obviously when an "exchange" could

be effected these useful relationships would be multiplied, forging stronger chains of loyalty and common interest. The marriages arranged by Hattusilis and Puduhepa with Amurru (and Babylonia?) may demonstrate an astute exploitation of possible unions which would not flout the mores prohibiting incest.

1.3. While enhancement of honour and the assurance of loyalty through affinity were achievements sought by Hitt. Kings in the first generation of the interdynastic marriages, their concern for the offspring of these marriages underlines the importance of this aspect of their diplomatic policy, although the only affiliated state in which a descendant of the Hitt. King actually came to the throne appears to have been Mittanni, a Kingdom which was lost to Assyria in the 13th century.

1.4. However, the affinal and consanguineal links established by the Hitt. royal House with Anatolian and NE states, and the other interethnic marriages noted above, must have engendered an exchange of cultural ideas and practices, including the specifically "Hittite", which would have survived the collapse of the administration from Hattusas after its destruction at the end of the 13th century. With the continued progress of research into the Iron Age of the NE, with particular reference to the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms of eastern Anatolia and the Greek colonies in the west and south, the extent and importance of this influence may eventually be properly evaluated.

2.0. As noted above, the interdynastic marriages demonstrate the principle of marrying within the same social and professional grade which was characteristic of the equal status marriages. The former would have been necessarily patrilocal however, whereas the case of Zidis in the Inandik tablet shows that an antiyant- type of marriage was possible for reasons of inheritance rather than the superiority of the bride's father to the groom. Princesses who did not marry abroad might remain within the Palace with their effectively antiyant- husbands, or reside separately

with estates endowed by the King. The Babylonian doctor and his Hittite wife of royal birth lived in a "fine house" of their own, although we may suspect that it too was a gift of the King. In the case of Tarhundamanawas and Alihešnis whose possessions and connections were extensive, the locality of their mutual residence - on his land or hers -, which we do not know, may well have been a matter of choice for aesthetic as well as practical reasons.

3.1. In regard to the "priestly" marriage for which there is evidence, we conclude that it epitomised the patriarchal and patrilocal type while demonstrating that the wife (as well as her father) could claim a certain equal status to the groom prior to marriage, namely in priestly office. This fact and very likely the ceremony and ritual which authorised the marriage under the aegis of IŠTAR, accorded her exceptional power and status as a wife and Queen.

3.2. It is notable that the holding of an important religious office after marriage was a factor shared by the other powerful NK Queens, Tawan(n)annas and Danuhepa, while the MK Ašmunikal no doubt owed her administrative powers in authorising land donations with Arnuwandas, and endowment of a religious foundation in her own right, to her birth-right status as daughter of the Hitt. King and mother of his heir in the following generation.

3.3. As observed above in Chapter III, texts from the NK witness the power and importance achieved by women in some form of religious service, as priestesses or Temple personnel. Accorded a special status by virtue of her dedication to a god, Puduhepa serves as a prominent example of the female partner whose ability to contract and conduct an equal status marriage resulted principally it would seem from the divine blessing and protection which it was believed that the deity afforded her and the marriage.