

Tanuḫepa: a Hittite Queen in Troubled Times

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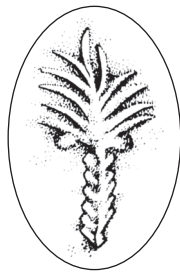
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MICHELE CAMMAROSANO
TANUḪEPA: A HITTITE QUEEN IN TROUBLED TIMES

Abstract

The aim of the present paper is to draw a portrait of the Hittite queen Tanuḫepa, by taking into consideration all sources at our disposal and focusing on the recently edited royal seal impressions from the Niṣantepe “archive”. In particular, the much debated question whether Tanuḫepa was indeed the wife of Muršili II is discussed. Textual evidence suggests that she was the mother of Kurunta and hence the first-rank wife of Muwatalli II. Moreover, a thorough analysis of the glyptic pertaining to Muršili II and Muršili III is conducted in order to argue that all the seals mentioning Tanuḫepa together with Muršili can be attributed to Muršili III. Thus, the paper corroborates the interpretation developed by I. Singer in 2002, suggesting that Tanuḫepa joined the royal court as wife of Muwatalli, to whom she gave Kurunta. A court case promoted by Muwatalli led to the queen’s ruin and perhaps to her exile, in the context of a deeper division within the royal court. The paper also argues that Tanuḫepa was rehabilitated as “Great Queen” during a period of coregency between Muwatalli and Muršili III. The relationship with Urḫi-Teššub and cult offerings to the dead queen are examined as well.

1. Sources

Glyptic evidence coming from the so-called Niṣantepe “archive” now provides further information about the Hittite queen Tanuḫepa, a figure who has often been the focus of scholarly debate in recent times¹. This paper aims at presenting a comprehensive study of this character, with a particular focus on two points: 1) whether Tanuḫepa was indeed the last wife of Muršili II; 2) which of Tanuḫepa’s sons are those mentioned in certain cuneiform tablets and, in particular, whether Urḫi-Teššub could be one of them.

The occurrences of the name Tanuḫepa, meaning “Ḫebat made (her)”², are the following:

Texts³:

- (a) KBo 9.151 (CTH 569.II.2): 5’
(b) KBo 23.114 (CTH 570): Obv.⁴ 17, 18
(c) KUB 21.19 + KUB 52.17 (+) KUB 14.7(+) (CTH 383)⁴: I 16’ (-n[u-], 17’ (^{MUNUS}AMA.DIN-

GIR^{LM}), 20’; II 4, 11, 12, 16, 21

(d) KUB 15.5 + KUB 48.122 + KBo 43.66 (CTH 583): I 7, III 4, 9

(e) KUB 16.16 (CTH 570): Rev. 1

(f) KUB 16.32 (CTH 569.II.3.A): II 1’, 4’ (-ḫé[-])

(g) KUB 21.33 (CTH 79): 19’

(h) KUB 22.35 (CTH 569.II.1.A): I 4’ (-]pa-aš)

(i) KUB 31.66(+)IBoT 3.122 (CTH 387.1): III 15’ (MUNUS.LUGAL)

(j) KUB 48.120 (CTH 590): 1

(k) KUB 50.6+KBo 54.99+KBo 52.101+KUB 16.41 (CTH 569.II.3.B): II 48’, 56’ (-nu[-], 57’ (†)

Glyptic (provisional)⁵:

a) *Alone*: photo: NEVE 1992, 314 Abb. 7.c = NEVE 1993, 58 Abb. 157; drawing: BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1996, 48 Abb. 15 (Hier.: ta_x-nu-ha-pa).

b) *Together with Muwatalli (II)*: SBo I, no. 42 (Hier.: ta_x-nu-[ha-pa]); HERBORDT *et alii* 2010, Kat. 46-50 (s. HERBORDT 2010, 124-125) (Cun.: ‘Ta-nu-ḫé-pa MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL / Hier.: ta_x-nu-ha-pa MAGNUS.DOMINA).

c) *Together with Urḫi-Teššub*: B 226 (Hier.: ta_x-nu-ha-pa MAGNUS.DOMINA); B 227; NEVE 1993, 57 Abb. 148 (Hier.: ta_x-nu-ha-pa MAGNUS.DOMINA).

d) *Together with Muršili (III)*: Three versions of the same *Siegeltyp*, s. BAWANYPECK 2007, 57 Abb. 8 [*Dubletten* of B 221-225, cf. BAWANYPECK 2006, 121]

¹ S. especially VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 44-53; HOUWINK TEN CATE 1994, 238-243; SINGER 2002.

² On such nominal formation s. GIORGIERI 2000, 285-286.

³ Revised and updated from VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 45 (for the orthography s. pp. 45-46).

⁴ On the classification of KUB 40.94 + KUB 21.19”a” (Bo 4222) + KBo 57.19 as CTH 70/71 rather than as CTH 383 s. MILLER 2007, V (ad no. 19) and *Idem* 2008, no. 42. Unclear CORTI 2009, V ad no. 17 “CTH 383 [...] oder CTH 70/71”: KBo 52.17 obviously belongs to CTH 383.

⁵ Label “B” will refer to the catalogue numbers of BERAN 1967, label “SBo I/II” to those of GÜTERBOCK 1940 and *Idem* 1942. Following HERBORDT 2010 I will refer to the forthcoming volume by S. Herbordt, D. Bawanypeck and J. D. Hawkins on the royal glyptic from Niṣantepe as “HERBORDT *et alii* 2010”.

(Cun.: ^fTa-nu-^dhé-pa MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL MUNUS.LUGAL KUR ^{URU}Ha-at-ti / Hier.: ta_x-nu-ha-pa MAGNUS.DOMINA); B 228 (Hier.: ta_x-nu-ha-[pa] MAGNUS.DOMINA); at least three other seals (cf. BAWANYPECK 2006, 121: “79 Abdrücke mit gemeinsamen Siegelungen von Muršili und Tanuḫepa gehören zu sieben verschiedenen Siegeln”). Finally, it is probably Tanuḫepa who appears – together with Muršili – in the so-called “Malignal” seal (= B 159)⁶ (Cun. ring: ^mMur-ši-li ₁[^fTa-nu²]-[^hé²-pa²] ₁LUGAL.]G[AL MU]NUS.LUGAL<.GAL> / Cun. central field: ma-al-ni MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL [collation & reading: M. Salvini]).

With the exception of tablet (j), these texts clearly refer to a single woman. We are quite well acquainted with queen Tanuḫepa thanks to various documents dating back from Muwatalli II to Tuḫaliya IV. Tanuḫepa played a primary role in such troubled times, extending her influence even after her death. Her name appears in a great number of seal impressions, sometimes alone and sometimes paired with the royal names “Muwatalli”, “Muršili” and “Urḫi-Teššub”. One crucial point is still unclear: whereas some of the “Tanuḫepa+Muršili” seals undoubtedly refer to Muršili III, it has been argued that some others date from the reign of Muršili II (s. § 4.2). In other words, it is not clear whether she married Muršili II, Muwatalli II or both of them. Moreover, her relationship with Kurunta is still debated. Textual evidence suggests that she was the first-rank wife of Muwatalli II and the mother of Kurunta. The current *communis opinio*, according to which she was the last wife of Muršili II, relies on a questionable interpretation of some seals and will be discussed in § 4. Therefore, I will first deal with textual evidence.

2. Rise and fall: the Tanuḫepa trial

Most textual evidence concerning Tanuḫepa deals with the trial which took place at Muwatalli’s time and led to her ruin. Before discussing the trial in detail we should keep in mind three points:

1) Kurunta, son of Muwatalli, left the Royal Palace while he was still young, and was handed over to his uncle Ḫattušili for his upbringing. Since we find this piece of information in the Kurunta treaty, there is no reason to doubt it. The Bronze tablet, which tells us of this event, provides no information about the reasons behind such a strict measure (Bo 86/299, 12-13)⁷. According to T. Bryce, Kurunta was “presumably” a second-rank son – like Urḫi-Teššub – and Muwatalli entrusted him to Ḫattušili so that he would be prepared for a “distinguished career within the kingdom” and to ensure that at least *one* of his sons would be protected from the “intra-family disputes” culminating in the Tanuḫepa case⁸. I don’t agree with this view:

the fact that the king sent his *own son* away from the royal court when he was still young is more likely, in my opinion, to have been a banishment rather than an educational entrustment; instead, the action’s aim seems more likely to have been an attempt to “neutralize” Kurunta, with his potential future royal claims. Moreover, this information quite probably corresponds to what the prayer of Ḫattušili III CTH 383 seems to tell us (s. below).

2) When his father died, Muršili III was already an adult. Indeed, he played a major role in the political life of the kingdom during the last years of the reign of his father, who, in my opinion, appointed him as coregent⁹.

3) In his so-called *Apology*, Ḫattušili III claims that (parallel text), “When my brother died, and since my brother did not yet have a *ḫuiḫuiššuwali*-son of his wife, out of regard for my brother I took up Ur[ḫi-Tešub, the son of a secondary wife]” (transl.: SINGER 2002, 744-745). The text has been discussed in detail by S. Košak, who discovered the important *join* Bo 760/v (now KBo 50.59). The relevant passage reads (CTH 85.1.A - KUB 21.15 + KBo 50.59a I 5’-9’¹⁰ with dupl. KBo 6.29+ I 33-37):

5’ ... GIM-an-ma ŠEŠ-Y[(A BA.ÚŠ)]

6’ nu A-NA ŠEŠ-YA ku-it ŠA DAM-ŠU [ḫu-u-i-(ḫu-iš-šu-wa-li-iš)]

7’ DUMU-aš na-a-ú-i ku-iš-ki e-eš-ta [nu Š(A ŠEŠ-YA)]

8’ na-ak-ki-ya-an-ni :ḫa-an-da-aš ^mUr[-ḫi-^dU-an DUMU E-ŠE-ER-TI]

9’ ša-ra-a da-aḫ-ḫu-un ...

CTH 81.1.E 9’: GIM-an[-ma ḫ]u-u-i-ḫu-i/u[š-šu-wa-l]i-iš DUMU-aš Ú-U[L e-eš-ta]

CTH 81.1.F 11: [k]e-e-ez-za-ma ma-aḫ-ḫ[a-an-ma...]

12: ḫu-u-i-ḫu-uš-šu-wa-l[i-iš...]

⁶ On this remarkable impression s. now SALVINI 1990, 455-463 and *Idem* 1992, 155-156 with Tav. II (in the transcription on p. 156 read ₁[^fTa-nu²]-[^hé²-pa²] instead of ₁Ta-nu²]-[^hé²-pa²]). The reading and interpretation of this peculiar seal remain uncertain, but now is clear that *Malignal is *not* the name of a queen.

⁷ OTTEN 1988, 10-11. The text reads: “an-ni-ša-an-pát-an ^mNIR.GÁL-iš LUGAL-uš A-NA A-BU-YA ^mHa-at-tu-ši-li / šal-la-nu-um-ma-an-zi pí-ya-an ḫar-ta... ”.

⁸ BRYCE 2005, 245 and 269.

⁹ CAMMAROSANO 2009. Even though the coregency hypothesis may be wrong, his role as *tuhkanti* and the fact he was an adult by the time of Muwatalli’s death are certain.

¹⁰ GOETZE 1925, 46 and *Idem* 1930, 46; KOŠAK 1996, 95-96.

In KUB 19.64, 11 (CTH 81.F) the precisation “ŠĀ DAM-ŠU” may or may not fill the gap at the line end, whereas it is certainly missing in 1194/v + KUB 19.68 + 922/v (CTH 81.E). Thus, “Beispiel Nr. 3 zeigt, dass die Aussage auch mit nur einem Begriff noch deutlich bleibt” (KOŠAK 1996, 97); cf. also SINGER 2002, 745: “From the four attested occurrences of this word (in two texts of Ḫattušili) it appears that the qualifier «of his wife» (ŠĀ DAM-ŠU) is not an indispensable element of the expression”. True: however, it should be also pointed out that the “shorter” text is *stricto sensu* inaccurate, since at the time there was, in fact, an adult son of Muwatalli, namely Urḫi-Teššub¹¹. On the other hand it is the logic of the text itself that leads to such a conclusion, in that it was the lack of an *adult* first-rank son which forced Muwatalli to choose a second-rank one. It goes without saying that the chosen son had to be an adult: otherwise, why discard the other? (Of course these observations pertain to the *intrinsic* logic of Ḫattušili’s text. I’m not discussing its truthfulness here.) Thus, CTH 81.1.E seemingly constitutes a slightly “abridged” version; here, the precisation “ANA ŠEŠ-YA” is lacking too. In KUB 21.15+ 6’ (CTH 85.1.A) the word *ḫuiḫu(i)ššuwali-* should fill the gap at the line end (as rightly pointed out by KOŠAK 1996, 97); in KUB 1.1 (CTH 81.A) it may or may not fill the gap at the beginning of line III 41’.

* * *

To our knowledge, queen Tanuḫepa owes her fame to the court case which led to her own and her faction’s ruin. Documents dealing with the case are KUB 21.19 + KUB 52.17 (+) KUB 14.7 (+) (c) I 16’-21’, II 1-22¹²; KUB 31.66(+) (i) III 3’-23’¹³ and possibly KUB 21.33 (g) 21’-22’¹⁴. For a thorough examination of the “Tanuḫepa trial” s. my 2009 paper, with further bibliography. In short, the case was brought against her by Muwatalli, in a similar way as Muršili II had done for the babylonian *Tawananna*. The case¹⁵ arose “in the Palace” (ŠĀ É.LUGAL: in Tarḫuntašša?), in the context of a deeper division within the royal court, and Ḫattušili and Urḫi-Teššub, two of the most influent characters after the royal couple, also took part. In particular, the latter subsequently maintained (text (i)) that he had been involved against his own wishes and, in a sense, driven by his own inner conflict. On the same occasion, he lamented the pressures he had to face in those troubled and dangerous times. It is not clear, however, whether Urḫi-Teššub eventually took his father’s side or not¹⁶. As for Ḫattušili, he went to great lengths to stress that the case had not started from him, that his actions had not ruined anyone and that the person responsible for that “evil” was already dead and had paid for it with his head, adding: “In any case, I was not involved in that matter of the ruination of Danuḫepa’s son. On the contrary, when I passed judgement over him, he was dear to me [lit.:

«he was on my lap» (*ge-en-zu-ya-aš-mu e-eš-ta*)]” (II 3-7, transl. SINGER 2002, 743 with fn. 10). Whatever Urḫi-Teššub’s and Ḫattušili’s roles, the trial led to the disgrace of Tanuḫepa as well as her sons¹⁷ and “all her men, lords and subordinates” (I 18’-19’). This point in particular shows how strong the image of the queen was and how secure her leadership on a whole part of the court. The transfer of the capital from Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša, which would soon be reversed by Muršili, was only the most striking episode (and the best documented) among the measures taken by Muwatalli and opposed by rival factions. Within the framework of these divisions Tanuḫepa clearly played an important role on the opponents’ side. Elements referring to the conflict can be found especially in KUB 21.33 (g) and in the group of tablets linked to KUB 31.66(+) (i). Text (g), which according to my interpretation dates back from the coregency period, deals with political measures taken by Muwatalli and reversed by his son Muršili, who apparently tried to balance between the two factions. Among these measures we also find mention of an issue which supposedly involved Tanuḫepa in allegations of sorcery (EME), which will be discussed below (§ 6).

The trial resulted in the queen’s “disgrace” (*ḫargaš*), which probably consisted in her exile, as is typical of such episodes (s. below, § 6). What about her son? According to the *Bronzetafel* Kurunta was handed over by his father Muwatalli to his uncle to bring up – hence, he had to leave the Royal Palace. Moreover,

¹¹ Of course all this makes sense only if *ḫuiḫu(i)ššuwali-* indeed means “adult” (KOŠAK 1996, 97; SINGER 2002, 745), which is highly probable, but not confirmed by further occurrences. Other interpretations are conceivable, at least in principle. According to SINGER (*ibidem*), “the traditional translation «legitimate» may be disregarded, because it would be redundant to append it to the son of a principal wife”. However, if Kurunta had been expelled from royal Palace and thus most probably excluded from royal lineage, meanings like “legitimate”, and “apt for succession” cease to seem so inappropriate. The presence of *nāwi* is a good hint in favour of the “adult” meaning, but the matter still presents some degree of uncertainty.

¹² SINGER 2002, 742-743.

¹³ CAMMAROSANO 2009, 182-183. Correct misprint on p. 183: read «Would befall me!” Why».

¹⁴ On this document s. again CAMMAROSANO 2009, with further bibliography.

¹⁵ *DINUM*, but note the plural form *DI^{III.A}* in KUB 31.66 III 9’ probably referring to the same episode; *ivi*, III 3’: *ḫa[nneššar*.

¹⁶ Depending on restorations in KUB 31.66(+) III 13’ and 15’; cf. also KUB 21.33 IV 22’: the trial (*DINUM*) mentioned in l. 21’ is probably the same as in KUB 31.66(+).

¹⁷ Note here the plural form *DUMU^{MEŠ}.ŠU* (I 18’), in contrast with the single “son” who had been dear to Ḫattušili (II 4). The plural form might be a scribal mistake or might have collective value (“offspring”); we already found an analogous variance regarding *DINUM* / *DI^{III.A}* (s. above, fn. 15). Of course it is not unconceivable that Tanuḫepa had more than one son (all from Muwatalli?), about whom we would know nothing.

Ḫattušili remembers in his prayer (CTH 383) how he tried to mitigate the queen's ruin by showing mercy for her son. In fact, these texts appear to be two pieces of the same jigsaw puzzle, leading to the scenario proposed by I. Singer in his 2002 paper¹⁸. Following Singer's interpretation, I suggest that Tanuḫepa was the mother of Kurunta and hence the first-rank wife of Muwatalli II. Urḫi-Teššub was born him by a different wife, before Kurunta was born. Urḫi-Teššub's mother might have been a second-rank wife, as claimed by Ḫattušili in his *Apology*, but might also have been a first-rank wife who died before Muršili II and therefore had never been queen: this fact and the intention of discrediting Muršili III might be the reasons that led Ḫattušili to call Urḫi-Teššub a "bastard" and a "son of a secondary wife". Within the framework of the court division, contrasts with Muwatalli led to the trial and eventually to the ruin of the queen and her supporters. Tanuḫepa was allegedly exiled whereas Kurunta, thanks to his uncle's *carità pelosa*¹⁹, did not share his mother's fate. It seems to me that Ḫattušili was ingenious enough to gain the sympathy of the opponents' party, whilst avoiding, at the same time, an explicit contrast with his brother.

This picture may be largely fictitious, however the core question is simple. Available textual evidence clearly suggests that the wife of Muwatalli and the mother of Kurunta were the same person and this person was Tanuḫepa. Other views are conceivable but, in my opinion, would lead to highly improbable consequences (s. § 4.2).

3. Tanuḫepa as priestess of the Sun Goddess of Arinna

As the babylonian *Tawananna* before her, Tanuḫepa was Great Priestess of the Sun Goddess of Arinna. She was labelled *šiwanzanna* priestess of this deity in the prayer of Ḫattušili III CTH 383 (text (c), I 17': ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}). This office is now dealt with by TAGGAR-COHEN 2006, 335-368 (s. especially pp. 363-367). Whether or not due to her religious position, the Hittite queen played a key role in the administration of palace and temple goods (collected in the form of taxes, war booty *etc.*) which could be offered to the gods as votive gifts²⁰. Considering her position as priestess and her major political role, we can argue without hesitation that also Tanuḫepa had such competences, although this is explicitly confirmed only by a single text. In the votive text KUB 15.5+ (d) she appears in a dream of "His Majesty" questioning the king's attitude towards the Storm God (s. below, § 7). In any case, the Sun Goddess of Arinna would not have been happy about the queen's ruin. The goddess' wrath is attested by the fact that both Muršili III and Ḫattušili III addressed the deity with a prayer,

claiming their noninvolvement in the trial. Tutḫaliya IV was accused of *šallakartatar* by the Sun Goddess of Arinna "of Progeny" (DUMU-*annaš*). Negligence concerning cult offerings to the spirit of Tanuḫepa and those of her ancestors might have been the reason behind this allegation, as rightly pointed out by Th. van den Hout²¹. The remarkable seal of Tanuḫepa appearing alone bears witness to the importance of this queen (photo: NEVE 1993, 58 Abb. 157; drawing: BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1996, 48 Abb. 15). Below the winged Sun a female silhouette is portrayed, with the name *Tanuḫepa* appearing on both sides in hieroglyphic writing. The figure can be compared to Hittite depictions of goddesses (especially the Sun Goddess of Arinna), but it probably features the queen herself as priestess – in all likelihood with an intentional ambiguity (cf. BÖRKER-KLAHN 1996, 48-50).

4. Glyptic evidence

4.1. Muršili II and III: criteria for the distinction

Among seal impressions Tanuḫepa appears both alone and paired with the royal names Muwatalli, Urḫi-Teššub and Muršili (s. above, §§ 1 and 3)²². The latter combination, which appears in a great number of impressions pertaining to various seals, turns out to be the most problematic. Since royal genealogy is missing, which Muršili are we talking about? A *resumée* of the much debated question can be found in VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 46-47. Three options are conceivable, already listed by E. Laroche²³:

1) Two Tanuḫepa(s) existed, who were the wives of Muršili II and Muršili III respectively. This option, which implies the bizarre coincidence of there having been two homonymous royal couples in such a short time, has always been dismissed by scholars.

2) Tanuḫepa was Muršili II's last wife and ruled as queen also alongside Muwatalli II (who, according to Laroche, might have been her own son; s. below) and Muršili III.

¹⁸ S. especially pp. 744 and 747.

¹⁹ "Shaggy pity", i.e. "self-interested charity". Cf. MOZART - DA PONTE, *Le nozze di Figaro*, Act I, Scene I.

²⁰ Hints at this can be found e.g. in KBo 16.83+ (CTH 242), IBoT 1.31 (CTH 241), KBo 18.153 (CTH 242), KUB 13.35+ (CTH 293). A comprehensive study on the role of palaces and temples concerning supplies for festivals and votive gifts is yet to be written (cf. DE ROOS 2007a, 9-12).

²¹ VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 53 with fn. 48.

²² I will not discuss the so-called "Malnigal" seal here (s. references above, § 1). According to M. Salvini, who collated the piece, Muršili would be here paired with Tan[ḫepa]. *Malni* (central field) might be a good omen addressed to the queen.

²³ LAROCHE 1956, 105.

3) All “Tanuḫepa + Muršili” seal impressions refer to Muršili III.

E. Laroche opted for the second hypothesis, which gained further support since Beran’s study on the Boghazköy royal glyptic appeared. Within this systematic study, Th. Beran developed a distinction of the seal impressions of Muršili II and III on the basis of certain criteria, mostly stylistic in nature (BERAN 1967, 74-76). In detail:

1) *Iconography of the winged Sun*. According to Beran, “Die Zeichnung der Flügelsonne wirkt bei Muršili II graphischer, mehr geschrieben als plastisch gestaltet; besonders die Flügel sind – genau wie die übrigen Schriftzeichen auf den Siegeln – mit dem Schreibgriffel in ganz linearer Weise gezeichnet”. In Muršili III’s seals, on the contrary, the winged Sun allegedly presents “ein stärker plastisches, sich vom «Schreibstil» Muršilis II abhebendes Aussehen”; moreover, “die beiden Flügel, zur Mitte hin mit einer doppelten, geschwungenen, unten schwach eingebogenen Linie begrenzt, haben keine Verbindung miteinander” (BERAN 1967, 74-75). The reliability itself of these criteria is, in my opinion, problematic *per se*, given the difficulty of determining the “graphic” or “plastic” qualities of seals by means of seal impressions (with the exception of one, no seal has survived to this day). Th. Beran himself observed (BERAN 1967, 75 with fn. 20) how the impressions B 226-227 (dating to Urḫi-Teššub) present the same “graphic” style he linked to Muršili II. Like most purely stylistic criteria, the argument on the linkage of the wings seems to me to be also quite weak. Let me draw attention to a “case study”, namely the seals of Ḫattušili III. In the *cartouche* of this king the wings are mostly wide apart from each other; however, in some of the seal impressions they touch each other, as in RS 18.03 and RS 17.229²⁴.

In my opinion there is no reason to rule out the possibility that the royal workshops might have produced slightly different seals for a single king. Minor stylistic variation might have occurred as a result of factors ranging from chronology to craftsmanship, from workshop location to commissioners’ demands. Dating seal impressions on stylistic grounds requires a systematic convergence of all relevant elements (s. also below).

2) *The small vertical sign (L 383) under sign L 225*. In Beran’s view, these two signs are joined together in Muršili II’s seals and separated in those of Muršili III. This has proved to be false: in RS 17.380 + 382 (dupl.: RS 17.237), dating to Muršili II, the two signs are separated, as already pointed out by Otten²⁵. Moreover, this very idea is incoherent with another point in Beran’s system: he assigned seal impression B 228, which shows the two signs touching each other, to Muršili III due to the direction of sign *li* (s. below).

3) *Form and direction of “li” sign (L 278)*. According to Beran, the “dagger” points to the right in Muršili II’s seal impressions, to the left in Muršili III’s²⁶. Moreover, according to him, in the seals of Muršili II, this sign shows an “eigentümlich geschwungene Form besonders an der unteren Kante”. This second observation takes us back to the problem of the poor reliability of purely stylistic criteria, as was the case for the winged Sun iconography. May as it be, if indeed the “*li*” sign is often particularly curved in the Muršili II seal impressions, it nevertheless presents a similar shape in some of the impressions pertaining to Muršili III such as Bo 90/266, Bo 90/1199²⁷, and NEVE 1993, 57 Abb. 151. Once again, the seal impressions of Ḫattušili III allow a revealing comparison. Here, the same sign (as part of L 197) has in most occurrences a straight, rigid shape, however in some cases it becomes rather curved: see e.g. Bo 90/484 and RS 18.03²⁸. Among the seals of Muwatalli II, too, the “dagger” appears in different shapes: compare e.g. HERBORDT 2010, 124 fig. 1.b (= HERBORDT *et alii* 2010, Kat. 38) with figs. 1.a and 1.c (= Kat. 37 and 47 respectively).

More poignant is the first observation. As a matter of fact, in all the seals where one Muršili appears alone, and which we can undoubtedly date through genealogy, the “dagger” follows the pattern observed by Beran, always pointing to the right in Muršili II’s case (RS 17.380 + 382 with dupl. RS 17.237²⁹; RS 14.202³⁰; Bo 91/460³¹), and always to the left in Muršili III’s (Bo 90/266, Bo 91/852, Bo 90/1199³² [=B 180], B 181). In recognising this pattern, however, I suggest that the following points should be kept clearly in mind:

a) In the first place, it is possible to test this “rule” on these seals only. All the attributions done by Beran on the basis of this criterion for other seals should be regarded as conjectural. This is the case for B 169-171, 173, 176-178 (allegedly dating to Muršili II) and B 182 (allegedly dating to Muršili III)³³.

²⁴ SCHAEFFER 1956, 12 figs. 13 and 15; 13 fig. 17; 16 fig. 21.

²⁵ OTTEN 1995, 26 fn. 61.

²⁶ BERAN 1967, 74 with fn. 14.

²⁷ OTTEN 1993, 23 Abb. 16; 26 Abb. 21.

²⁸ OTTEN 1993, 30 Abb. 25; SCHAEFFER 1956, 13 fig. 17.

²⁹ LAROCHE 1956, 104; SCHAEFFER 1956, 8-9 figs. 7-8 and 10 figs. 9-10.

³⁰ SCHAEFFER 1956, 89-92 figs. 109-112.

³¹ OTTEN 1995, 40 Abb. 38.

³² OTTEN 1993, 23 Abb. 16; 25 Abb. 20; 26 Abb. 21.

³³ BERAN 1967, 74 fn. 14. Also Laroche’s assumption that SBo I, 21-23 and SBo II, 2 [= B 174-179] are “répliques exactes” of RS 17.380 + 382 was rightly contested by OTTEN 1995, 26 with fn. 63. Laroche’s idea on the “common mould” of RS 17.235 + and SBo I, 12 [= B 212] is, too, far from certain (s. OTTEN 1995, 27).

b) Secondly, this “rule” only applies to the seals in which a Muršili appears alone, not to those where the king appears together with the queen, as Th. van den Hout rightly pointed out³⁴.

Actually, there is no seal *undoubtedly* attributed to Muršili III + Tanuḫepa where the “dagger” appears at all; hence, the supposed “rule” cannot be checked. Moreover, a closer examination of the matter reveals, in my opinion, that **another, different rule governs the usage of *li* in the seals of royal couples**. In the seals of Ḫattušili III, the “dagger”, as part of sign L 197, points to the left in all occurrences of “king alone” seals (B 184-189; Bo 484, Bo 90/998, Bo 91/1, Bo 90/1036³⁵). However, the occurrences of his *gemeinsame Siegel* with Puduḫepa show that in this case **the dextroverse or sinistroverse direction of *li* is dependent from whether the king stands to the right or to the left of the queen respectively**. See RS 18.03 (with RS 17.130)³⁶, RS 17.229³⁷, NEVE 1993, 57 Abb. 152, B 233 (king standing to the right, dextroverse *li*) vs RS 17.238³⁸ and B 229-232 (king standing to the left, sinistroverse *li*). Note also that the sign *tu* (L. 88) seems to follow the same pattern, pointing to the left when the relevant name is in a central position or written on the right side (standard location), but always pointing to the right in the rare occurrences which feature the relevant name on the *left* side (s. NEVE 1993, 57 Abb. 152 [Ḫattušili III with Puduḫepa]; Bo 91/560 (with Bo 91/1781 and Bo 90/487)³⁹ [Tutḫaliya IV (with Puduḫepa in the cuneiform rings): mirror writings]). Now, let us consider the sign *tā* on one particular seal of Muwatalli II with Tanuḫepa (HERBORDT 2010, 124 fig. 1.g = HERBORDT *et alii* 2010, Kat. no. 50.1). In this case, the usual order is reversed, with Muwatalli’s name written on the right side and Tanuḫepa’s on the left: the sign *tā* points here to the *left* and not, as usual, to the right. The seals of Muršili II with (babylonian) *Tawananna* or with Gaššulawiya further corroborate this view: see B 213, 216, 217, 220 and Bo 85/147⁴⁰ (king standing to the right, dextroverse *li*) vs the well-known Cruciform Seal which bears a sinistroverse Muršili II standing to the left of Gaššulawiya. The latter occurrence should be regarded as a true exception by the advocates of what we may call the “rough” Beran’s rule. On the other hand, it perfectly fits the “refined” scheme which implies that the direction of *li* follows on from the king’s position, **independently of the ruler’s identity**⁴¹. If correct, this argument should invalidate “royal couples-seals” attributions, in so far as they are based on the sinistroverse or dextroverse *li*. However, we may well retain the assumption that Muršili III might have used the sinistroverse *li* in his seals, when “alone”, to distinguish himself from his grandfather. In other words, although Beran’s “rule” *could potentially* be valid for the seals of Muršili alone, it certainly does *not* apply in the case of the seals where the king appears together with the queen. Apart from

this single case, I would like to stress once more how this kind of criteria are always weak unless supported by systematic, regular stylistic evidence based on a wide enough number of occurrences. In referring to some of Ḫattušili III seals, H. Otten rightly underlined how “Die Zusammenstellung dieser Siegel [...] zeigt, in wie großem Umfang Ausführung und Beschriftung der einzelnen Stücke variiert und daher mit vielen in Einzelheiten abweichenden Originalsiegeln zu rechnen ist”; and again he warned against the risks of ascribing a seal on the basis of stylistic criteria alone⁴².

4.2. How many Muršili for Tanuḫepa?

According to the aforementioned criteria Th. Beran assigned seal impressions B 221-225 to Muršili II (dextroverse *li*), and B 228 to Muršili III (sinistroverse *li*). On these impressions the cuneiform legend is not preserved. Until this was questioned by van den Hout⁴³, there had been no further discussion on the matter and Tanuḫepa’s later marriage with Muršili II became a *communis opinio*, although P. Neve in his 1992 preliminary report on the Nişantepe “archive” ascribed *all* “Muršili + Tanuḫepa” seal impressions to Muršili III⁴⁴. Th. van den Hout, although questioning the reliability of Beran’s criteria, judged the available evidence to be too contradictory to solve the riddle. Things changed as I. Singer devoted his 2002 paper to the Tanuḫepa *affaire*. Although Singer did not discuss the glyptic issue, his interpretation applied very well to textual sources. Tanuḫepa thus became the mother of Kurunta and the principal wife of Muwatalli II (s. § 2). However, the debate was far from being over. The last step was taken by J. D. Hawkins and D. Bawanyeck in the forthcoming edition of the Nişantepe royal glyptic *corpus* (HERBORDT *et alii* 2010). They, too, claim that Tanuḫepa was Muršili II’s last wife. This view (anticipated in previous papers⁴⁵ and presented in a quite conclusive manner⁴⁶) has been generally

³⁴ VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 47.

³⁵ OTTEN 1993, 30-33 Abb. 25-28; cf. his statement on p. 34.

³⁶ SCHAEFFER 1956, 12 fig. 13; 14 fig. 18.

³⁷ SCHAEFFER 1956, 12 fig. 15.

³⁸ SCHAEFFER 1956, 12 fig. 14.

³⁹ OTTEN 1993, 38-39 Abb. 32-34.

⁴⁰ NEVE 1986, 378-379 with Abb. 14.

⁴¹ Mirror symmetry seems to govern the usage of many Anatolian hieroglyphs and symbols (cf. now MARAZZI 2010, 241 and *passim*). This subject is still in need of a comprehensive analysis.

⁴² OTTEN 1993, 34 and 16-17 with fn. 19.

⁴³ VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 47-48.

⁴⁴ NEVE 1993, 54 and 87; *Idem* 1992, 315.

⁴⁵ S. especially BAWANYECK 2006 and *Eadem* 2007.

⁴⁶ S. e.g. BAWANYECK 2007, 58: “Die Regentschaft der Tanuḫepa unter den drei Herrschern [...] dürfte durch die Befunde des Nişantepe-Corpus als gesichert anzusehen sein”.

accepted by scholarship even before publication of the 2010 (?) volume⁴⁷.

Thanks to the Niṣantepe impressions, J. D. Hawkins and D. Bawanypeck were able to reconstruct three (slightly) different seals bearing the same cuneiform legend and featuring the couple Muršili-Tanuḫepa (s. above, § 1). The attribution to Muršili III is based by D. Bawanypeck on the following arguments⁴⁸:

1) In the outer cuneiform ring, the seals bear the same legend as one *Siegeltyp* of Muršili II⁴⁹. The text reads: “^{NA4}KIŠIB ^mMuršili LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR ^{URU}Ḫatti NARAM ^dU NIR.GÁL”. The “mighty” Storm God would be “ein spezieller Schutzgott dieses Königs, der sonst auf den Siegellegenden nicht auftritt”.

2) The location of the cuneiform legend is the same as in the seal of Muršili II, i.e. with “^{NA4}KIŠIB” at the top of the outer ring.

3) The “dagger” (i.e. the *li* sign, L 278) is dextroverse.

4) All seal impressions whose original location in the so-called *Westbau* is certain, belong to room no. 3. Many seal impressions of Muršili II belong to this same room, whereas Muršili III’s bullae mostly come from room no. 1.

These arguments may be convincing, however, once the analysis of written sources begins to point toward the fact that Tanuḫepa was the wife of Muwatalli II rather than Muršili II, every conjecture must consequently be subjected to strict examination. That done, it seems to me that none of them is conclusively convincing or, rather, that none of these arguments *forces* us to rule out the possibility of dating these seals to Muršili III. In detail:

ad 1) It is true that the Storm God NIR.GÁL (*muwatalli*) turns out to be the tutelary god of Muršili II (s. POPKO 2001). But this doesn’t mean that the king had the exclusive right to his *patronage*. In particular, we shouldn’t be surprised if Muršili III, who is the first king whose seals show an exceptional number of tutelary gods, were described as “beloved” by this deity too. A tendency towards having an increasing number of tutelary gods can already be noticed in the glyptic concerning Muwatalli II, and reaches a climax under Muršili III, who appears:

- in the embrace of god Šarruma (HERBORDT 2005, Kat. 504-508);

- in the embrace of one Storm God of Heaven⁵⁰ and as “beloved of the Storm God and of the Sun Goddess of Arinna” (Bo 90/266, Bo 90/492, Bo 91/852)⁵¹;

- with the Storm God of Aleppo (s. HAWKINS 2003;

photo: NEVE 1991, 329 Abb. 29.c = *Idem* 1993, front cover);

- as “beloved of the Storm God and of the Sun Goddess of Arinna” (Bo 90/1199⁵² [=B 180]);

- as “beloved of the Storm God *piḫašašši* and of the Sun Goddess of Arinna” (NEVE 1993, 57 Abb. 148; my provisional reading).

In the light of these elements, we cannot rule out *a priori* the hypothesis that Muršili III might have “wanted” the “mighty” Storm God as well among his tutelary deities. Moreover, this may be an intentional and explicit reference to his homonymous grandfather, perhaps with the aim of boosting his own shaky legitimacy. The remarkable similarity with the seal of Muršili II may be the result of purposeful reminiscence of such a glorious predecessor: and a sort of taste for “playful writings”, well attested among his seals, might even have played some role. To sum up, Urḫi-Teššub appears in the seals as “beloved” or embraced by at least five different deities, one of which was his father’s tutelary god: couldn’t the tutelary god of his grandfather be the sixth?⁵³

ad 2) I believe that the argument concerning the location of the cuneiform legend is not strong enough to corroborate the attribution of the piece. In first place, we are talking about two different seals, and just as the cuneiform legend can be in a different position in relation to the central field in two Muršili II seals, the opposite can just as well be true, i.e. that the location might be the same in the seals of two different kings. This might have happened by chance, or it might be a case of intentional imitation. Above all, the textual *incipit* (^{NA4}KIŠIB) is right on top of the winged sun’s icon, on the vertical axis of the seal: the “obvious” and most common position, at least within the Niṣantepe *corpus*.

As for the cuneiform text, it is as a matter of fact identical to the text in Muršili II’s seal. In any case, the following key principles should be kept in mind. In first place, once again we cannot rule out *a priori* that an older seal didn’t serve as model for the new

⁴⁷ S. e.g. ALPARSLAN 2007, 35-37; HAAS 2008, 87; GIORGIERI 2008, 361-362 with fn. 62 (rightly cautious); HERBORDT 2010, 128.

⁴⁸ BAWANYPECK 2007, 57-58.

⁴⁹ Bo 90/1135, Bo 91/1932, Bo 91/1079: OTTEN 1995, 41 Abb. 39, 41, 42; cf. RS 235 and 335: SCHAEFFER 1956, 11 fig. 11.

⁵⁰ On the reading of this god’s name s. now HERBORDT *et alii* 2010 (cf. HAWKINS 2003, 175 fn. 29).

⁵¹ OTTEN 1993, 22-25 with Abb. 16-20.

⁵² OTTEN 1993, 26-27 with Abb. 21.

⁵³ Last but not least, it is worth quoting the following statement by J. D. Hawkins: “Urḫi -Teššub [...] is showing a tendency towards theological promiscuity which is hardly paralleled in the dynasty of Ḫattuša” (HAWKINS 2003, 175).

one. Secondly, this is anyways a “standardized” legend in its genre, which weakens the argument of its exact similarity to the other text. What’s more, strictly speaking the two legends are only *partially* identical, if anything, because the one in Muršili II’s seal continues with the king’s genealogy. On the other hand, attention must be paid to the fact that, as far as we know from other impressions, all of Muršili III’s seals contain the king’s genealogy, which may be a point in favour of dating these seals to Muršili II. However, this cannot be considered to be a convincing element.

ad 3) This argument, in my opinion, does not hold. See above the discussion about Th. Beran’s criteria.

ad 4) This argument, in my opinion, is very weak. We found seal impressions of Muršili III also in room no. 3 and, on the other hand, some seal impressions of Muršili II were found in room no. 1 (cf. HERBORDT 2005, findspots chart). The fact that the *majority* of impressions pertaining to one king was found in this or that room is no convincing evidence for their attribution.

Conclusions

If on the one hand it may well seem correct – although not *necessary*, and *on the sole basis of the glyptic evidence* – to attribute these seals to Muršili II, on the other hand **there are in my opinion no convincing arguments against their attribution to Muršili III**. As I already pointed out, the information about the destiny of Tanuḫepa’s son after the trial that led to her ruin, and the fact that Kurunta was handed over to his uncle Ḫattušili for his upbringing are clearly complementary to each other; more so if we consider that Tanuḫepa was the only queen, to our knowledge, to appear together with Muwatalli in seal impressions.

I therefore suggest to go back to the scenario depicted by I. Singer. Without accepting this interpretation, there are – I think – only two possibilities left:

a) Tanuḫepa was the last wife of Muršili II, to whom she did not bear any children; or if she ever bore any, we don’t know anything about them. At the king’s death she was given in marriage to Muwatalli, whom she bore Kurunta, that son of hers described as “dear to Ḫattušili”.

b) Tanuḫepa was the last wife of Muršili II, from whom she had at least one son who eventually became “dear to Ḫattušili” at the time of the trial; Muwatalli had Kurunta from a first-rank wife of whom there is no mention.

We should reject other theoretically conceivable scenarios, like homonymy or marriage with Muwatalli

coupled with accession to queenship *before* Muršili II’s death. These constitute *ad hoc* options, not supported by any evidence and developed with the sole purpose of sustaining the assumption that the sinistroverse Muršili paired with Tanuḫepa is Muršili II. Thus, I will now closely examine the first two options.

Both these possibilities are conceivable, but in my opinion each of them presents some critical points. As far as the first scenario is concerned, we know of no other cases in which a widowed queen would have married her step son. It is not an impossible situation; we know for instance of the Mittanian princess Taduḫepa, who was both one of the “wives” of Amenhotep III and, after the pharaoh’s death, wife of Amenhotep IV. But of course this is a very different situation. With regard to Hittite customs, the *Laws* prescribe that, in case of death of the husband, the widow be taken as a wife by the husband’s brother. If the husband had no brother, she could be married to his father, or, in the absence of the father, by an uncle⁵⁴. Furthermore, a man who “sins” (*waštai-*) with his stepmother (^{MU-NUS}*annawanna-*) committed an *illicit* act (*ḫūrkiḫil*) only if his father was still alive, but otherwise, this was not illicit (*ŪL ḫaratar*)⁵⁵. This doesn’t mean, however, that a widow marrying her step son would have met the approval of the onlookers. The use of the verb *wastai-*⁵⁶ shows, on the contrary, that this was considered to be an *impure* act. This is confirmed by the comparison with § 200a/86a, which state that it was not illicit to “sin” with certain animals, but that those sinners were no longer allowed to approach the king or to hold religious positions⁵⁷. As F. Imparati had to say precisely regarding sexual intercourse between a woman and her step son, “si può pensare che da un punto di vista morale l’atto sia tollerato, piuttosto che permesso”⁵⁸. We have now solid reasons, I believe, to consider the idea that Muwatalli would have married one of his father’s former wives quite unlikely.

As for the second option (b), it would imply the existence of a queen, first-rank wife of Muwatalli and mother of Kurunta, of whom no seals, no documents, no information regarding brothers, uncles, first- and second-rank children – in short, *no source* at all attests the existence. How bizarre! What’s more, this idea would also imply that, on the one hand, the departure from the Royal Palace of Kurunta and his entrustment

⁵⁴ HOFFNER 1997, 152: § 193/*79.

⁵⁵ *Ivi*, 150: § 190/*76.

⁵⁶ On the value of this verb within Hittite *Laws* s. *ivi*, 2 with fn. 5.

⁵⁷ *Ivi*, 158 with fn. 569.

⁵⁸ IMPARATI 1964, 315 fn. 4 (transl.: “from a moral point of view, this act can be regarded as tolerated, rather than allowed”).

to Ḫattušili, and – on the other hand – the information given by Ḫattušili III about a son of TanuḪepa whom he tried to protect from his mother’s ruin, are two completely unrelated facts, and that their apparent linkage represents only a bizarre, random coincidence. Moreover, this interpretation would leave us with no information on the events that led one of the king’s son to leave the Palace, which must have occurred for very serious reasons, and to be entrusted to his uncle. An *argumentum e silentio* is always weak: however, it still is an argument, if supported by other clues.

Undoubtedly, the problem is open to various solutions; but we still have to ask ourselves which is the most likely one, or if we prefer, the less unlikely. In a nutshell, the question is: does the fact that we find the same wording “Seal of Muršili, Great King, King of the Ḫatti Land, beloved of the Mighty Storm God” both in a seal of Muršili II and in another of Muršili with TanuḪepa constitute an element strong enough to attribute that seal to Muršili II, against the remaining evidence suggesting another scenario?

4.3. The so-called *Doppelabdrücke* as a hint at coregency

Among the Niṣantepe *corpus* there are eight bullae (one of which is shaped like an ox-head) which bear a double seal impression, both of Muwatalli II and of Urḫi-Teššub with TanuḪepa (NEVE 1991, 328 and 327, Abb. 28.a & 28.b; NEVE 1993, Abb. 149 & 148 respectively). These pieces constitute an *unicum* within Hittite glyptic⁵⁹. How should we account for this? The fact that Urḫi-Teššub appears as LUGAL.GAL implies that they must date to *after* his accession. To explain such a curious case, Hawkins tentatively suggests that the *Umarmungssiegel* of Muwatalli were impressed posthumously⁶⁰ – perhaps to boost Muršili’s legitimacy? Or because the pertinent documents or agreements were sealed during the transition period between the two rulers, or “bridging” their reigns? However, this solution features an otherwise unattested and in my opinion quite unexpected custom. An alternative scenario might better explain these *Doppelabdrücke*. As I argued elsewhere, the only completely satisfying interpretation of the enigmatic text KUB 21.33 (g) implies the existence of a coregency involving Muwatalli II and his son Urḫi-Teššub/Muršili III. Independently from KUB 21.33, this hypothesis finds corroboration in another group of documents, i.e. KUB 31.66(+) (i) with some related texts, and seems to be able to provide a very adequate explanation for the twice-sealed bullae under examination. Obviously, this would imply that TanuḪepa’s comeback to the royal court and office took place *before* and not *after* the death of Muwatalli, an assumption which may be supported by KUB 21.33, ll. 18’-22’ (s. below, § 6) itself. On these bullae Urḫi-Teššub’s tutelary deity

turns out to be the Storm God *piḫašašši* (with the Sun Goddess of Arinna), a clear link to Muwatalli – might the king have still been alive, as co-regent and watchful father? Be that as it may, the assumption that “the *Umarmungssiegel* of Muwatalli II are from the later part of his reign” retains all its validity (HERBORDT 2010, 128, with references).

4.4. Appendix: a provisional distribution of the Muršilis’ seals

(IMPRESSIONS AND) SEALS SURELY BELONGING TO MURŠILI II:

- Bo 91/460, Bo 90/1135, Bo 91/1124, Bo 91/1932
- B 213-220, Bo 85/147⁶¹, Bo 90/597 (with Bo 91/1963, Bo 91/485), Bo 91/727, Bo 91/254 (with Bo 90/672 ?) (Muršili II + queen)
- RS 17.235 + 335 + 379 + 381
- RS 17.380 + 382 with dupl. RS 17.237
- RS 14.202 (original seal)

(IMPRESSIONS OF) SEALS SURELY BELONGING TO MURŠILI III:

- Bo 90/266 (with Bo 90/492), Bo 91/852 (with Bo 91/233, Bo/1214, Bo/1811, Bo/1813, Bo/2198)
- B 180 = Bo 90/1199
- B 181

(IMPRESSIONS OF) SEALS WITH TANUḪEPA (HENCE TO BE ATTRIBUTED TO MURŠILI III):

- Three versions of the same *Siegeltyp*, s. BAWANYPECK 2007, 57 Abb. 8 [*Dubletten* of B 221-225, cf. BAWANYPECK 2006, 121]
- B 228
- At least three other seals (cf. BAWANYPECK 2006, 121: “79 Abdrücke mit gemeinsamen Siegelungen von Muršili und TanuḪepa gehören zu sieben verschiedenen Siegeln”)
- B 159 (“Malnigal” seal, s. above, §§ 1 and 4.1)

(IMPRESSIONS OF) SEALS WHOSE ATTRIBUTION IS UNCLEAR (MURŠILI II OR III):

- B 168-179
- B 182-183
- B 212

5. TanuḪepa as stepmother of Urḫi-Teššub

As we all know, the sources that arrived to us concordantly define Urḫi-Teššub “son of a concubine, of a second-rank wife” (DUMU *EŠERTI*) of

⁵⁹ In addition to these, consider Bo 90/487 which bears impressions of two seals of Tuḫaliya IV with PuduḪepa (OTTEN 1993, 38-40 with Abb. 34-35). However, in this case both seals belong to the same king: this case is peculiar, but not at all astonishing.

⁶⁰ HERBORDT *et alii* 2010, Chapter VI.4.1 [referred to in HERBORDT 2010, 128]; cf. also HAWKINS 2001, 176.

⁶¹ NEVE 1986, 378-379 with Abb. 14.

Muwatalli, “bastard son” (^{LÚ}*paḥḥurši*)⁶². Given that these texts come from Ḥattušili III, i.e. from somebody that wanted to delegitimize Urḫi-Teššub (or from his successor), and given that thanks to other documents we can contradict them on some topics (for instance on the deposition of Šapili in Amurru or on Urḫi-Teššub’s position as heir apparent), it is legitimate to question this information, and to speculate whether Urḫi-Teššub could not instead have been the son of a first-rank wife, i.e. of Tanuḥepa.

There are few considerations, I believe, that make this hypothesis highly unlikely. In the extensive passages dedicated to the Tanuḥepa *affaire* within his prayer CTH 383, Ḥattušili insists on how the whole of her party and of her offspring fell together with her. Furthermore, Ḥattušili claims his own innocence, and instead informs us of his pity towards the “son” of the Queen, and of how he tried to shelter him. Why would he ever omit the existence of the only son who had not been ruined? In order to hide the existence, one might say, of another, more uncomfortable son of Muwatalli and Tanuḥepa, who was also heir to the throne. But Ḥattušili does not omit the existence of such a son; not only, he even affirms that this son was “dear to him” during the trial (most likely, as we saw, this son is Kurunta). To whom may object that Kurunta was harmless by then, having fallen into disgrace, we may answer that at the time when Ḥattušili was writing, Urḫi-Teššub was the one who had been “ruined”; while Kurunta could still potentially have caused some trouble, given his genealogic position and as demonstrated by his (subsequent?) self-appellation as “LUGAL.GAL”. Suppose that Urḫi-Teššub was Tanuḥepa’s son: not only would Ḥattušili be hiding the truth, he would even be *corrupting* it by affirming, in his *Apology*, that Urḫi-Teššub was the son of a concubine. Could we expect such a behaviour of him? I think this is unlikely. At the time when Ḥattušili was writing, the whole political establishment knew the true version of things. Of course this is true also for the case of the “Šapili *affaire*” and so on, but on such a key point even Ḥattušili’s propagandistic agenda would have had to be very careful. Moreover, there is no hint at all to the fact that Urḫi-Teššub was son of Tanuḥepa. In my opinion, Ḥattušili’s aim was not so much to delegitimize Urḫi-Teššub *per se*, so to say *ab origine*, but, rather, to prove how his *sinful actions* destined him to ruin⁶³. Further evidence supporting this view, I believe, is to be found in the treaty between Tuḫaliya and Šaušgamuwa (CTH 105.A). In the well-known passage on the *malum exemplum* of Mašturi (II 24-29) we are told how the latter, instead of “protecting” Muwatalli’s heir, unlawfully took Ḥattušili’s side, exclaiming: “Should I protect a bastard son? What will I ever do with a bastard son?” (l. 29: ^{LÚ}*paḥḥuršin*=*pat paḥḥašḫi* ^{LÚ}*paḥḥuršiyaš*=*ma=wa DUMU-x kuit DUMI*)⁶⁴. Given the text’s implicate reproach of Mašturi’s behaviour, we would expect such a document to un-

derline, rather than omit, Urḫi-Teššub’s descent from a first-rank wife.

Further support for the idea that Tanuḥepa was not Urḫi-Teššub’s mother can be found in KUB 31.66(+) (i), where we would expect to find expressions such as “My father and my mother”, and not, as is the case, “My father and the queen” (l. III 5’; s. analogously ll. III 12’ and 15’)⁶⁵.

Overall, when we examine information on Urḫi-Teššub coming from Ḥattušili (or from sources to him related), although it is desirable to use a certain prudence, nevertheless I believe it is correct to agree with the sources on the following point: Urḫi-Teššub was most likely the son of a concubine, not of Tanuḥepa. Otherwise, he might have been the son of a previous wife of Muwatalli who died before holding the title of queen, in other words before Muršili II’s death. This would have authorised Ḥattušili to call his nephew “a bastard”, on the basis of his own “biased” agenda. This, however, is mere speculation, unsupported by any evidence.

6. After the trial

While her son Kurunta was entrusted to his uncle Ḥattušili, Tanuḥepa was probably exiled, although there is no evidence to confirm this, nor geographical information on where she might have been sent. We can nevertheless formulate some hypotheses. One fragment suggests that she might have been exiled in Aḫḫiyawa. The fragment in question is KUB 14.2 IV 1-6 (CTH 214.2, *ductus*: NS)⁶⁶, which appears to indicate that writer’s father might have exiled the writer’s mother in the Aḫḫiyawa Land. However, the document is largely incomplete and cannot support reliable interpretations. The “writer” is probably a king, and we only know of two episodes involving a queen’s exile: the case of the babylonian Tawananna, who was exiled under Muršili II, and the (supposed) case of Tanuḥepa, banished under Muwatalli. Jasink interprets this passage in relation to the “eventuale esilio della

⁶² I refer to the so-called *Apology* of Ḥattušili III, with the *Paralleltext* KBo 6.29+ (CTH 81, III 40’-42’; CTH 85.1.A, I 34-37) and to the Šaušgamuwa treaty (CTH 105.A, s. below). In the prayers CTH 383 and 384 Urḫi-Teššub is only referred to as “son of my/his brother” (s. KUB 21.19 II 26 and KUB 21.27 I 39’ respectively).

⁶³ Cf. KUB 21.37 (CTH 85.2), especially Obv. 21’-32’, 35’; on this text s. GIORGIERI 1995, 268-273 (with bibliography), SINGER 2001, 399-403 (in particular on ll. Obv. 37’-44’).

⁶⁴ KÜHNE - OTTEN 1971, 10. The sign following DUMU may be AN, surely not AŠ.

⁶⁵ This was already pointed out by SINGER (2002, 746).

⁶⁶ SOMMER 1932, 298-306 (edition and detailed discussion); cf. HEINHOLD-KRAHMER 2007, 198. We are probably dealing with a prayer or a “historiographic” text. The highly fragmentary Obv. deals with gods and tribute (*arkamman-*) related to them.

moglie di Šuppiluliuma (probabilmente Tawananna) in Ahhiyawa”⁶⁷, while Houwink ten Cate and Haas believe this exiled queen might be TanuḪepa instead⁶⁸. It seems strange, however, that Muwatalli would refer to the babyonian Tawananna as “mother”, nor is it clear why Muršili III would refer this way to TanuḪepa (he always calls her “Queen”, and never “mother”). Either way, the use of this term still needs to be adequately explained, and the many gaps in the document prevent us from reaching a solid conclusion.

What we know, is that TanuḪepa was somehow “rehabilitated” after some time, and was eventually allowed to return to the Royal Palace: as MUNUS LUGAL.GAL she appears on royal seals, both alone and next to Urḫi-Teššub/Muršili III (§§ 1 and 4). It is usually assumed that the comeback took place after Muwatalli’s death, but I believe it occurred earlier, when the king, too old or too sick, ruled alongside his son Muršili. Such a conclusion can be inferred from the interpretation of several documents. One of them are the *Doppelabdrücke* which were examined above (§ 4.3). It is possible to explain these “twice-sealed” bullae, a unique case in Hittite glyptic, by supposing a coregency. Evidence in support of this can also be found in KUB 31.66(+) with some related texts. The main document corroborating this hypothesis, however, is KUB 21.33 (text (g); on this document s. above, § 2). This fragment lists a series of steps taken by a certain “Muršili” to counteract some other person’s decisions; this person is referred to by the writer as “My Lord”. Among other topics, it mentions the comeback of Manapa-Tarḫunta to “his own land”, the marriage of Maššanauzzi and the reinstatement of Bentešina in Amurru. Elsewhere, I have argued that this document pertains to a period of coregency between Muwatalli and Muršili III (who turn out to be the “Lord” and the “Muršili” mentioned in the tablet, respectively). This text proves that Muršili ruled with complete freedom, counteracting his father’s decisions even on major issues of the latter’s political *agenda*. Lines 18’-22’ have been convincingly restored by Th. van den Hout⁶⁹. His restorations are conjectural, of course, but as a matter of fact some *rituals celebrated in Perana*⁷⁰, *TanuḪepa*, some *mantalli rituals*, a *curse* (EME) and a *trial* (DINUM) are all mentioned in the context of the struggle between Muršili and the “Lord” (i.e. Muwatalli). We cannot be sure whether this “trial” refers to the same events that led to the queen’s disgrace, or if we are dealing with some sort of “rehabilitation trial”. It is likely, however, that Muršili took part in the rehabilitation of his step-mother, and evidence of this may be provided by the celebration of *mantalli rituals*, which had a purifying and reconciling function⁷¹. The queen’s rehabilitation and comeback took place, in my opinion, within the framework of this kind of political “reversal” which began, as suggested by KUB 21.33, during the coregency period,

whilst Muwatalli was still alive. Muršili III was clearly balancing between the two factions, and TanuḪepa probably still enjoyed conspicuous support within the royal court.

We cannot precisely date the death of TanuḪepa, and it is uncertain whether it occurred before or after Ḫattušili III became king. If it is true that KUB 15.5+(d) dates from the reign of Muršili III, this would mean that TanuḪepa died under his reign: the tablet mentions a dream where cult offerings are demanded for TanuḪepa, i.e. for her spirit, suggesting that the queen was already dead at the time. However, the dating of this document is uncertain (s. § 7).

Ḫattušili III instituted festivals and cult offerings to the “gods of TanuḪepa”, i.e. to the spirits of her ancestors, and to TanuḪepa herself, as we learn from some *Orakelprotokolle* dealing with the accession of Tuḫaliya IV. These rituals and offerings, however, were already partially neglected during Ḫattušili’s reign: a fact which caused the gods’ wrath. This is precisely the subject of the *Orakelprotokolle* CTH 570 and 569, which aim at establishing who was responsible for such negligences and at prescribing measures apt to calm the gods’ wrath. I will now summarize the relevant passages⁷².

a) CTH 570.

KUB 16.16 (CTH 570)⁷³ is an *Orakelprotokoll* included by Th. van den Hout in the inquiries preceding those grouped under CTH 569. The first paragraph of the Rev. (ll. 1-23) enquires about the anger of the *Zawalli* deity “of TanuḪepa”. An inquiry among temple personnel eventually established that offerings had been partially neglected since Ḫattušili III’s times (l. 5: *IŠTU ABI* ^dUTU^{šl} *karšan*). The personnel claimed, however, that the fault was with the farmers, part of

⁶⁷ JASINK 2005, 211.

⁶⁸ HOUWINK TEN CATE 1994, 251; HAAS 2008, 88.

⁶⁹ VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 50-52.

⁷⁰ The queen may have been exiled here, as suggested by VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 52. To my knowledge, this geographical name is not attested elsewhere. R. Stefanini suggested that it might be identical with *Pariyana*, which is mentioned in the *Annals* of Tuḫaliya I/II (STEFANINI 1964, 29).

⁷¹ CHD L-N, s.v. (:): (SISKUR) *mantalli*-; HAAS 2003, 580-581. The *Tontafelkatalog* KBo 31.6, Rev.³ III 11’-13’ is also worth mentioning: “(11’) [Eine längliche Tontafel: Wort der NIG.GA.GUŠKIN. Wenn vor der Königin jemand (12’) [fei]ndlich (ist), aber (sie) das² *mantalli*-Opfer noch nicht ausgeführt ha[t], (13’) [w]enn sie stirbt, führt man (es) wie ein Ritual aus. Beendet” (text and translation: DARDANO 2006, 183; for a slightly different interpretation s. also MILLER 2004, 32-33).

⁷² I will closely follow the text edition provided by VAN DEN HOUT 1998.

⁷³ VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 142-145; cf. also HAAS 2008, 90-91.

whom had fled to Araūnna⁷⁴ and part to the mountains, making it impossible for those remaining to provide for all needs. The text goes on to establish the causes of further omissions.

KBo 23.114 (CTH 570)⁷⁵ may represent the continuation of the inquiry⁷⁶. The Rev.² is almost completely lost but for a few signs, while the Obv.² is pretty much complete until l. 30. It deals with a *Zawalli* deity “of the temple” (the place turns out to be Zithāra). The inquiry continues, and it eventually turns out that the *Zawalli* deity is the one of Urḫi-Teššub and Tanuḫepa (ll. 12-20)⁷⁷. Since the Obv.² concerns the wrath of the *Zawalli* deity of Urḫi-Teššub, the lost Rev.² probably dealt with the *Zawalli* deity of Tanuḫepa.

b) CTH 569.

Paragraphs §§ 1'-2' and §§ 10'-14' of CTH 569 (as restored by Th. van den Hout) deal with queen Tanuḫepa. The relevant tablets are: KUB 16.32 II 1'-7' (§§ 1'-2'); KUB 50.6+ II 48'-57'-III 1-31⁷⁸, with the parallel texts KUB 49.93 1-9 // KUB 22.35 II 4'-17' and with the additional passage KUB 50.5 r. col. 1'-15' (§§ 10'-14')⁷⁹. According to van den Hout's *Synopsis* (1998, 168 and 170) the content is the following: “[lost paragraphs about Danuḫepa?]”⁸¹ Out of each city given to Danuḫepa they will assign one household to her ancestor cult and they will bring back Danuḫepa's gods.⁸² The cities will give tribute to the ancestor cult. [...] ⁸¹⁰The curse of Danuḫepa is ascertained (→§11'); her soul is angry because her estate was squandered (→§12'); her deities were “locked in” (→§13'); her estate was given to others (→§14').⁸¹¹ Like they regularly undid the curse of Danuḫepa before, they will undo it now likewise once and for all.⁸¹² As to her estate: they will send somebody to inspect any cultic shortcomings and do penance.⁸¹³ As to her “deities”: they will regularly give the offerings which were established by His Majesty's father.⁸¹⁴ As to the cities given to Danuḫepa: fragmentary, something about tribute”.

Thus, it was Ḫattušili III who instituted festivals and rituals in honour of the dead queen: “...and just as [the father of the Majesty instituted?] festivals for them likewi[se will they...] and [will they] likewise [start] celebra[ting] them?”⁸⁰; “And [the ritual] which the father of His Majesty [insti]tuted for them, will they be[g]in to [giv]e it back to them?”⁸¹.

The king, we argue, determined the cult offerings and the settlements and – on a smaller scale – the production units which were responsible for supplies – in the texts' terminology, “cities” and “houses” respectively (URU^{LUM}; É^(T)). After some time, however, her estate was “squandered”, her deities “locked in” (so to say, the figurines were stored away), her provisions dedicated to someone else: “[Because] her estate (has been) dispersed, because her gods (have been) “locked up”, (and) because her estate (has been) hand(ed)

over to others, she [was] a[scertained] later for that as well”⁸².

Clear evidence of the “corrective” measures taken by Tutḫaliya is still missing. It seems that one “city” was repopulated: there the “gods of Tanuḫepa” were brought back. Moreover, other settlements had to give tribute to the queen's soul (GIDIM): “The cities of Tanuḫepa which [the]y [will hand] o[ver?], out of *one* city one estate they? [will start?] taking and they will give it to the deceased and the one city [which?] to them [...], they will repopulate it and bring the gods of Tanuḫepa back in. (§-slash) *And*, what cities they have, those [they will make?] trib[utar]y? and to the deceased they will start offering tribute” (italic: see footnote)⁸³.

⁷⁴ This place was probably in the northern or western marches, within an area under kaškean influence (s. BEAL 1992, 83-84 with fn. 297). It is mentioned in KUB 15.5+ (d) II 34', as the target of a military campaign. This document may date back from Muršili III's reign (s. § 7), as does KUB 26.69 VI 6-15: according to the latter text, the population of this settlement had been accused of cattle robbery (TANI 1999, 87-88). Hence, settlements responsible for the cult offerings should be located not too far from Araūnna.

⁷⁵ VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 147-149.

⁷⁶ VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 81 with fn. 28.

⁷⁷ Correct missprint on p. 147, l. 15: read “of the [m]other of His Majesty as well” (cf. p. 81). The deity “ŠA AMA 4UTUŠI 4Zawalliš” is also mentioned in KUB 18.2 II 9, a fragment of which dating is uncertain.

⁷⁸ Lines III 26-31 of KUB 50.6+ join with KUB 52.101. S. in particular ll. 30-31: [GIDIM-ya IT-TI 4UT]UŠI... / [BAL-u-wa-an-zi] SIxSÁ-at.

⁷⁹ On these passages s. VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 159-164 and the *Synopsis* on pp. 168-172; cf. also HAAS 2008, 91-92.

⁸⁰ 1nu EZEN₄MEŠ GIM-an [A-BI 4UTUŠI da-a-iš?] / nu-1uš₁-ma-ša-aš QA-1TAM₁-MA ... / na-aš QA-TAM-MA e<-eš>-š_u-u[-wa-an ti-an-zi ... (KUB 50.5 r. col. 5'-7'; text & transl.: VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 184-185).

⁸¹ [n]-u[-u]š₁-ma-aš-kán A-BI 4UTUŠI ku-it / [SISKUR M]E-iš nu-uš₁-ma-ša-at₁ EGIR-pa / [pé-eš]-ki-u-wa-an ti[-ya]-an-zi (KUB 50.6+ III 19-21; cf. KUB 49.93 8-9, KUB 22.35 II 4'. Text & transl.: VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 186-187).

⁸² É-ir-ši [ku-it?] / ar-ḫa ša'-ak-ku-ri-an DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš-ši-k[án] / ku-it EGIR-pa iš-tap-pa-an-te-eš É[-ir-ma] / ku-it ta-me-e-da-aš pa-ra-a 1SUM₁[-an] / na-aš a-pé-da-ni-ya EGIR-an S[1xSÁ-at] (KUB 50.6+ II 51'-55'; text & transl.: VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 182-183).

⁸³ ŠA 1Ta-nu-ḫé-pa ku-i-e-eš URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A pa¹⁷[-ra-a SUM-an-z(i)] / nu-kán IŠ-TU 1 URU^{LUM} 1 É^{TUM} da-aš-ki₁[-u-an ti-ya-an-(zi)] / na-at A-NA GIDIM pí-an-zi nu-uš₁-ma-aš 1 URU^{LUM} (x x x) / na-an a-še-ša-an-zi nu-kán DINGIR^{MEŠ} 1Ta-nu-ḫé₁-pa / EGIR-pa an-da pé-e-da-an-zi // nu URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A-ma ku-i-e-eš ḫar-kán-zi na-aš ar-kam-1ma₁[-(x-ti)] / nu A-NA GIDIM ar-kam-ma-an BAL-eš-ki-u-wa-an 1ti₁[-ya-an-z(i)] (KUB 50.6+ II 1'-7'; text: VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 178). I have slightly modified van den Hout's translation of ll. 2' (“out of each city one estate they? will start taking *etc*”) and 6' (“Or, what cities they have, *etc*”): in my opinion, “1 URU^{LUM}” (l. 2') refers to a single settlement, i.e. the one that would be subsequently repopulated and where the “deities” would eventually stay. Thereafter, remaining available settlements were made tributary to the queen's soul with the aim of better providing supplies.

The expression “gods of TanuḪepa” refers to the queen’s soul and to those of her ancestors. We don’t know *where* the tributary settlements were located. Since expressions such as “they will repopulate...”, “they will bring the gods *back*...” are used, it could be argued that these “cities” were the same as those referred to before, i.e. those mentioned in KUB 16.16 and thus not too far from the “city” of Araūna (s. above, fn. 74). Finally, recall how some angry *Zawalli* deities “of Urḫi-Teššub and TanuḪepa” inhabited a temple in the city of Zithar(iy)⁸⁴.

7. TanuḪepa in the votive text KUB 15.5+ (d)

A woman named TanuḪepa, who can be identified with the homonymous queen, also appears in the votive text KUB 15.5+ (d) (CTH 583). Interpreting this document is not an easy task. Almost each line of it, in particular those concerning TanuḪepa, has been variously interpreted⁸⁵. Terms typically occurring among votive texts as *mald-*, *malteššar*, *KARABU*, are missing in this document; only once the “queen” (MUNUS.LUGAL) is mentioned⁸⁶. The text is labelled in the colophon as *wekuwar* (literally “demand(s)”), and it lists a series of dreams, mostly by the “Majesty”. Such dreams concern demands – mostly coming from deities – for figurines and various objects. All paragraphs end the same way: a woman named Ḫepapiya assigns the requested object(s) to the “Great Deity”, sometimes “taking it away” from another deity⁸⁷. TanuḪepa appears twice. Some observations follow which address the issue of dating the document and examine the role played by TanuḪepa.

1) Dating of the document:

a) On the basis of the personal names mentioned in the text, the document probably dates from a period ranging from the reign of Muwatalli II to those of Muršili III and Ḫattušili III⁸⁸. These names are ^mAMAR^{MUS^{EN}}-iš, ^ʿArumura, ^ʿdU-IR, ^mEḫli-^dSIN, ^mUR.MAḪ-ziti.

b) The “father of His Majesty” is mentioned twice (II 43’, IV 34’), but this does not make a more precise dating possible. The mention of a past military campaign in Araūna (on whose location s. § 6, fn. 74) and of a forthcoming campaign against the Kaškeans (II 32’-38’) *might* refer to operations led by Ḫattušili (as king of Ḫakpiš or Great King); this, however, is far from certain.

c) The interpretation of I. IV 36’ and the identification of the queen mentioned here (MUNUS.LUGAL) remain obscure. Does “ANA MUNUS.LUGAL” mean that offerings are made to the queen’s soul? Or is the queen still alive? If so, what does the expression

mean? Maybe “on behalf of the queen” (so MOUTON 2007, 75-76)? Secondly, which queen are we dealing with? Is she TanuḪepa? This is possible, but merely conjectural. According to J. de Roos, “The last queen before Puduhepa was probably Danuhepa”⁸⁹. However, Urḫi-Teššub had some sons (as we know from CTH 569); if he had these sons *before* being deposed, his wife would have been a queen.

d) Feeble evidence against dating the text to the time of Ḫattušili III is provided by the absence of expressions typical of votive texts linked to this king (s. above) and by the absence, among such a great number of theonyms, of his most beloved tutelary deities: *IŠTAR* of Šamuḫa and the Storm God of Nerik.

e) If indeed II. I 7-9 imply that TanuḪepa was already dead at the time of writing (s. below), dating the text to Muwatalli II should be ruled out (cf. § 6).

f) All these considerations lead us to consider the possibility of dating the text to the time of Muršili III as the *least unlikely* hypothesis. But a *positive* argument can be added, too. Whatever the precise identity of the “Great Deity”⁹⁰, a link seems to exist between this document and KUB 21.38 (CTH 176),

⁸⁴ KBo 23.144, s. above. This settlement was located “wohl im Halys-Becken nicht zu weit entfernt von Ḫattuša” (DEL MONTE - TISCHLER 1978, 513-514); cf. now also FORLANINI 2008, 168.

⁸⁵ On this text s. DE ROOS 1984, 12-13, 55-62, 203-214, 341-348; *Idem* 2007a, 8-9, 33-36, 71-88 (without the *join* KBo 43.66); *Idem* 2007b, 633-636 (on the *join* KBo 43.66); MOUTON 2007, 24-26, 75-76, 244-255 (partial edition). On the passages mentioning TanuḪepa s. also HOUWINK TEN CATE 1994, 251-254; VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 48-49.

⁸⁶ DE ROOS 2007a, 35.

⁸⁷ Who was Ḫepapiya? This personal name also occurs in the fragment KUB 52.15 (CTH 582) and in two seal impressions from Tarsus where she is labelled FILIA.REX (GELB 1956, 248-249 nos. 14 and 17). Was she a dream interpreter? A priestess? Since she was allowed to explain and decide upon the king’s dreams, her role within the royal court must have been a major one.

⁸⁸ DE ROOS 2007a, 33 with fn. 152; 55-59. To the list of occurrences for ^ʿArum(m)ura add Bo 2828 13’ (edition: LEBRUN 1976, 216-217).

⁸⁹ DE ROOS 2007a, 35.

⁹⁰ On this s. HOUWINK TEN CATE 1994, 255-259, with bibliography. This scholar considers this deity to be a chthonian one similar to Nergal. Singer suggested that it may be identical with Tarḫunta *piḫaššašši* (SINGER 1998, 538; s. also *Idem* 2006, 45). KUB 15.5+ would then supposedly give evidence of offerings made by Urḫi-Teššub, in the context of the transfer of the capital from Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša. In my opinion, however, the *join* KBo 43.66 undermines this hypothesis, since here the offerings requested for Tarḫunta *piḫaššašši* (^ʿU ḪI.ḪI-aš-ši) are assigned to the “Great Deity” as well - it is unlikely, I believe, that a single deity should be referred to by two different names in the same paragraph.

the well-known letter addressed by Puduḫepa to Ramesses II. Here (Obv. 10'-12'), the Hittite queen tells the pharaoh that Urḫi-Teššub gave the "Great Deity" the remains of the "House of Ḫatti-Land": our text may refer precisely to this episode⁹¹.

2) Role of Tanuḫepa:

The name of (queen) Tanuḫepa appears in two different paragraphs. The first one (I 7-9) concerns a dream in which someone demands a dress to be offered to Tanuḫepa (the restoration [ANA] is very likely). In my opinion "Tanuḫepa" refers here to the queen's soul: unless "[ANA] Tanuḫepa" means "on behalf of Tanuḫepa", which seems to me hardly acceptable since this would not explicitly state for whom the offering is sought⁹², the passage implies that the queen was already dead – otherwise we would have to assume that she could get cult offerings while still alive, which is unlikely. The following paragraph (I 10-17) describes a dream of His Majesty. Here, a woman named Arumura⁹³ asks "why then has that grandmother of yours (AMA.AMA-KA) done evil?" and suggests that an offering should be made to pacify her soul. Th. van den Hout pointed out that this is "one possible hint at Tanuḫepa having been the last wife of Muršili II", but rightly concluded that "this remains conjectural"⁹⁴. That Tanuḫepa and the "grandmother" are the same person is in my opinion far from certain. The link between the two paragraphs is not a fact but a hypothesis. This finds support in the restoration *da-[m]a-i-iš* (l. 10) which is likely, but not certain⁹⁵. Above all, the mention of the "grandmother" may have no relation to that of Tanuḫepa in the preceding paragraph: there were probably many souls of angry grandmothers haunting the Hittite Royal Palace! Moreover, the dating of the text is not certain. If it dates back to Ḫattušili III's reign, then the "grandmother" would presumably be the babylonian *Tawananna*. Finally: even if the document dates back to Muršili III, can we indeed rule out the possibility that the text might *imprecisely* refer to the babylonian *Tawananna*?

Tanuḫepa appears also in another paragraph (III 4-14)⁹⁶. A curious dream of His Majesty is described here: he, Tanuḫepa and the "king of Ḫakpiš" (i.e. Ḫattušili or, less likely, Tuḫaliya) appear, squabbling over the suitability of certain offerings. Tanuḫepa, in particular, warns His Majesty against an allegation of *šallakarta <tar>* from the Storm God and criticizes His Majesty's attitude towards this deity. The episode gives further evidence of the major role the queen played within the royal court – even in the king's dreams!

Conclusions

KUB 15.5+ dates most likely from the reign of Muršili III, although a dating to the time of Ḫattušili III cannot be ruled out. The mention of a "grandmother"

in l. I 12 doesn't *necessarily* refer to Tanuḫepa, and is in no way a proof that the latter was the wife of Muršili II.

8. Other occurrences which may refer to queen Tanuḫepa

A possible reference to Tanuḫepa has been found in two different fragments.

1) KBo 36.111 (CTH 819) is a small fragment preserving a list of "trials". It reads:

II

- 1 *DI-NU ŠA* ^mx[
- 2 *DI-NU ŠA* ^tTa-a-t[i-wa-aš-ti-
- 3 *Ù DI-NU ŠA* DUMU^{MEŠ}-.[ŠU]
- 4 *DI-NU ŠA* ^tTa_J-wa-[na-an-na(?)]
- 5 *Ù DI-NU ŠA* DUM[U^{MEŠ?}-.ŠU]
- 6 *DI-NU ŠA* ^mT[a[?]-

The name *Tātiwašti* is attested only twice, in two oracular fragments seemingly dating back to Tuḫaliya IV⁹⁷. "Tawananna" probably refers to the babylonian

⁹¹ On this passage s. EDEL 1994, vol. II, 329 and SINGER 1998, 537-538. The possible link with KUB 15.5+ is examined by HOUWINK TEN CATE 1994, 253-254. The latter has also suggested that a further link with KUB 22.38 (CTH 575.3) may exist (HOUWINK TEN CATE 1996, 71-72). This oracle inquiry deals with the "Great Deity" 's wrath (Obv. 1-4). Many vows (*IKRIBI*^{III-A}) had already been made to this deity by the *persona loquens*. According to Howink ten Cate, KUB 22.38 may be a MUŠ inquiry aimed at setting guidelines for future inquiries and may have originated KUB 15.5+. This indeed seems to be a realistic possibility, but it is far from certain. KUB 22.38 might date e.g. from a later phase of Muršili III's reign. In favour of the dating to Muršili III s. also DE ROOS 2007a.

⁹² On the basis of the same argument, I would discard the restoration [ŠA] instead of [ANA].

⁹³ On this woman, who played a relevant role at the royal court under Ḫattušili III and who probably was GAL MUNUS ŠU.GI, s. DE ROOS 2007a, 56-57.

⁹⁴ VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 48-49. This was already noted by HOUWINK TEN CATE 1994, 252.

⁹⁵ DE ROOS 2007a, 71 with fn. 6 reads *da-₁a₁-i-iš*, which however seems less likely. Van den Hout's restoration *da-[m]a-i-iš* is accepted by MOUTON 2007, 244.

⁹⁶ DE ROOS 2007a, 76 and 84-85.

⁹⁷ KUB 18.3 21', alongside His Majesty:]^dUTU^{Št} ^tTa-a-ti-wa-aš-ti-iš-ša; cf. KUB 5.6+ II 26': ^tTa-a-ti-wa-aš-ti-in-na: both occurrences are fragmentary. The dating of KUB 5.6+ is uncertain: s. VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 19-24 (dating to Tuḫaliya IV; according to him KUB 22.8 and KUB 18.3 might be part of the "comprehensive version" which led to the "intermediate version" represented by KUB 5.6+). As for KBo 36.111, the restoration proposed by G. Wilhelm (WILHELM 1991, VII ad no. 111) is the most likely, since *Tātiwašti* is the only attested feminine personal name beginning with *Ta-a* (thus, also the restoration "Tanuḫepa" should be ruled out).

Tawananna, but Th. van den Hout brought forward the hypothesis that, here, the name could refer to TanuḪepa⁹⁸. This would be the only occurrence of TanuḪepa as “*tawananna*”. In my opinion, this hypothesis is most unlikely: in the time of Ḫattušili III and Tuḫaliya IV, the word “Tawananna” – preceded by the determinative for feminine personal names – usually refers to the babylonian *Tawananna* (cf. e.g. KUB 50.6 II 35’ (EME ¹*Tawannana*) vs II 48’ (INIM ¹*TanuḪepa*))⁹⁹.

2) KBo 41.153 (CTH 572) is a small fragment of a KIN oracle text. It reads:

1’-9’ (too fragmentary)

10’]x- <i>e-da-ni</i> A-NA ZÁḪ DUMU.NITA [
11’] EME ARAD GÉME- <i>ya</i>] <i>pa</i> ’ [?] -x-x[
12’] ₁ <i>a</i> ’- <i>pí-liš-ma</i> EME AMA.AMA-ŠŪ-y[<i>a</i>
13’	-] <i>an-za nu</i> KIN SIG ₅ - <i>ru</i> ḪUL- <i>lu</i> x[
14’]x x x- <i>an</i>
15’]x- <i>ni</i> A-NA ZÁḪ DUMU.NITA MUŠEN x[
16’]x EME AMA A-BI-ŠŪ x[
17’]x- <i>ra-an-za</i> x-x[

(end of column)

V. Haas suggests a dating to the time of Tuḫaliya IV and notes that “Wenn auch «die Mutter seines Vaters» höchstwahrscheinlich Gassuliyawiya gewesen ist, so dürfte hier aber doch die TanuḪepa gemeint sein” (HAAS 2008, 88). Actually, the expression “the mother of his father” does *not* appear to refer to the mother of Tuḫaliya’s father, for which one would expect “AMA ABI ^dUTU^š”. Be that as it may, the context is too fragmentary to enable us to formulate trustworthy hypotheses¹⁰⁰.

9. *TanuḪepa in the rock relief of Keben?*

Near to the village of Keben – a place which was located within Tarḫuntašša borders – there is a rock relief showing a standing woman¹⁰¹. On the right side the relief, which is exceptional for its depth, slopes down to the natural surface of the rocky wall and becomes as worn down as the wall itself due to atmospheric agents. There is no trace of inscriptions¹⁰². Like other scholars, Ehringhaus believes that there are valid elements to date the relief back to the late Hittite empire (for a different view s. KOHLMAYER 1983, 102). According to Ehringhaus, we are dealing probably with a queen, rather than with a goddess. If this hypothesis is correct, it cannot be ruled out that the relief might represent TanuḪepa. Although there is no way to be certain about this, the curved outline of her back might corroborate this interpretation, since on

the basis of the “TanuḪepa-alone” seal this seems to be an iconographic *Merkmal* of our queen¹⁰³.

⁹⁸ VAN DEN HOUT 1998, 52.

⁹⁹ However, it must be pointed out that the mention of a trial “of his/her/their son/-s” on l. 5 might refer to TanuḪepa’s offspring: the prayer CTH 383 mentions TanuḪepa’s offspring and *not* Tawananna’s offspring. But this link is mere conjecture; moreover, a mention of the son(s) of TanuḪepa might fill the gap at the end of l. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Of course, the mention of “the son’s ruin”, “curses” of “servants” and “his grandmother” closely reminds us of the “ruination of TanuḪepa” as depicted in the prayer CTH 383. However, we do not know to whom the pronoun “-ŠŪ” refers: hence, a variety of hypotheses can be made. E.g., the text might refer to one of Muršili III’s sons (Urḫi-Teššub’s offspring frequently appears in the context of CTH 569), or to a person who had been just mentioned in the text - possibly that very [Ša-]₁]*a*’-*pí-liš* of Amurru who was deposed by Muršili III?

¹⁰¹ EHRINGHAUS 2005, 112-118.

¹⁰² “Die darunter liegende Fläche rechts des Reliefs [...] hat sicher keine Beischrift getragen” (EHRINGHAUS 2005, 117); more cautiously on the following page: “Eine Beischrift [...] ist nicht vorhanden” - the inscription(s) might have been lost due to atmospheric erosion.

¹⁰³ This hypothesis was suggested by St. de Martino in the context of a lecture on Hittite rock reliefs held at the University of Naples “L’Orientale” on May 18th, 2009. Note that local people call the relief *Çolak Kız*, i.e. the “crippled girl” (EHRINGHAUS 2005, 116). Such a curved back, however, is a common feature among Hittite depictions of goddesses.

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