

(A iv.19-22)¹² Because I, My Majesty, have begun war with the king of Assyria, just as My Majesty, you should (also) go and mobilize (your) troops (and your) chariots. Just as it is a matter of urgency and *diligence* for My Majesty, it shall likewise be a matter of urgency and *diligence* for you. You should mobilize wholeheartedly (your)

troops (and) chariots. This matter should be placed under oath for you.

(A iv.23ff.) [Do not let] a ship of [Aḫḫ]iyawa¹³ go to him." [...] but when he dispatches them [...] the deity of your land [...].¹⁴

¹² This entire paragraph is written in minuscule script; the last line has been erased.

¹³ For a failed attempt to restore "[bat]le ship" instead of "ship of [Aḫḫ]iyawa", see Steiner 1989 and cf. Singer 1991a:171, n. 56.

¹⁴ The rest of the column is lost.

REFERENCES

Text: *CTH* 105 (only Hittite versions): A. 93 / w (+) KUB 23.1 + KUB 31.43 (+) KUB 23.37 (+) 720 / v (+) 670 / v. B. 1198 / u + 1436 / u + 69 / 821 + KUB 8.82. Editions: Kühne and Otten 1971. Studies: Sommer 1932:320-327; Ranoszek 1950; Zaccagnini 1988; Steiner 1989; Singer 1991a; 1991b; Beal 1992; Klengel 1992:173; Beckman 1996:98-102; Cohen 1997; Bryce 1998; Klengel 1999.

THE TREATY OF TUDḪALIYA IV WITH KURUNTA OF TARḪUNTAŠŠA
ON THE BRONZE TABLET FOUND IN ḪATTUŠA (2.18)

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

§1 (i.1-5) The words of the Tabarna, Tudḫaliya, Great King, King of the Land of Ḫatti, Hero, son of Ḫattušili (III), Great King, King of the Land of Ḫatti, Hero, grandson of Muršili (II), Great King, King of the Land of Ḫatti, Hero, great-grandson of Šuppiluliuma (I), Great King, King of the Land of Ḫatti, Hero, descendant (and namesake) of Tudḫaliya, Great King, King of the Land of Ḫatti, Hero.

Ḫattušili III and Kurunta

§2 (i.6-13) When my father, Ḫattušili (III), made war on Urḫi-Tešub (= Muršili III),¹ son of Muwatalli (II), he deposed him from kingship, but no treason was proven against Kurunta.² Kurunta was in no way involved in whatever treasonous acts the men of Ḫatti committed. Even before this, King Muwatalli had entrusted him to my father Ḫattušili to raise, and even before this, my father was raising him.

§3 (i.14-21) But when my father (Ḫattušili III) had deposed (Kurunta's older brother) Urḫi-Tešub from kingship, my father took Kurunta

and installed him in kingship in the land of Tarḫuntašša. And my father made treaty tablets for him (concerning) what obligations my father made for him and how he set boundaries for him, and Kurunta has them.³

Kurunta's Borders

His⁴ boundaries are set as follows: In the direction of the land of Pitašša (to the W?), Mt. Ḫawa and the *kantanna* of Zarniya and the city Šanantarwa are your boundary. But the *kantanna* of the town of Zarniya remains in the land of the Ḫulaya River, while the town of Šanantarwa remains in the land of Pitašša.

§4 (i.22-28) Previously in the direction of the land of Pitašša (to the WNW?) his⁵ boundary was the town of Nahhanta.⁶ But then my father reduced his territory,⁷ so that on the treaty tablet of my father the grotto springs⁸ of the town of Arimmatta were made his boundary. Now I, My Majesty, have reestablished for him the former boundary. So from the land of Pitašša: from the boundary of Arimmatta:

¹ This was the conflict that led to the overthrow of Urḫi-Tešub and the accession of Ḫattušili III. For the sequence of events in this conflict see Bryce 1998:284-288.

² A brother of Urḫi-Tešub. For general discussions of this man Kurunta see Otten 1988:3-5; van den Hout 1995:82-95; Bryce 1998:296ff., 335f., 354f., and Mora 1998. Kurunta depicted himself as "Great King" on a rock relief published by Dinçol 1998.

³ The tablets of the treaty with Ḫattušili III which Kurunta had in his possession at the time this new treaty was being made by Tudḫaliya IV would have been invalidated thereby.

⁴ Ulmi-Tešub Treaty variant (hereafter UTT): "your."

⁵ UTT also: "his."

⁶ The boundary descriptions in §4 differ from UTT obv. 19', which reads: "In the direction of the boundary of the land of Pitašša the grotto springs (KASKAL.KUR.MEŠ) of (the city) Arimmatta are his boundary."

⁷ Lit., "drew in his boundary."

⁸ Or "underground river." The word is the Sumerogram KASKAL.KUR, lit., "(divine) road (of) the netherworld." See Gordon 1967.

Nahhanta and Hauttašša form the boundary. Nahhanta and Hauttašša themselves belong to the land of the Hūlaya River.

- §5 (i.29-42) In the direction of Mt. Huwatnuwanta (to the NNW?), the *hallapuwanza* is its/his border, but the *hallapuwanza* belongs to the Hūlaya River Land. In the direction of Kuwarsawanta up behind, the *huwaši* stone of the Dog is the boundary. In the direction of Ušša (to the N?), Zarata is its/his boundary, but the city Zarata (belongs) to the Hūlaya River Land. In the direction of Wanzataruwa the town Harazzuwa is his boundary, but Harazzuwa (itself) belongs to the Land of Ušša. In my father's first written treaty the town Šuttasna was his boundary in the direction of Mt. Kuwakuwaliya. But later my father himself made the town Šantimma the boundary. Šantimma (itself), however, belongs to the Land of the Hūlaya River. In the direction of the towns Wanzatarwa and Kunzinasa his boundary is Mt. Arlanta and the town Alana. Alana belongs to the Land of the Hūlaya River, but the water which is on Mt. Arlanta belongs jointly to the Land of the Hūlaya River and Hatti.
- §6 (i.43-47) In the direction of the town Šinwanta, Mount Lula and the Damnaššara-Mountains form its boundary. But the city Ninainta belongs to the Hūlaya River Land. The TUKUL of the Gold Charioteer which is behind, belongs to His Majesty. In the direction of Zarnušašša, the city Harmima used to be its boundary. But I, My Majesty, made Uppaššana its boundary. Uppaššana itself belongs to the Hūlaya River Land.
- §7 (i.48-52) In the direction of Zarwiša Mt. Šarlaimmi, the grotto springs, and the water(s) of *hinnaru* are his boundary. In the direction of the high mountain (the city) Šaliya is his boundary. But (the city) Šaliya itself belongs to the land of Hatti. In the direction of Ušaula (the cities) Haššuwanta, Mila, Palmata, Haššaša, Šura and Šimmuwanta form his boundary. But these cities belong to the Hūlaya River Land.
- §8 (i.53-67) In the direction of the territory of Hawaliya (to the NNE?), the cities Walwara, Harhašuwanta, Tarapa,⁹ Šarnanta, Tupiša, Parayašša and the *upati* of Nata form the boundary. But these cities and the *upati* of Nata belong to the Hūlaya River Land. In the direction of the "place" (on) the sea (to the

E?), the cities Mata, Šanhata, Šurimma, Šaranduwa, Ištapanna, the *upati* of Šalluša, Tatta, (and) Daša form his boundary. But these cities belong to the Hūlaya River Land. In the direction of the border-territory of Šaranduwa (to the S?), the sea is his boundary. In the direction of the border-territory of Parha (to the W),¹⁰ the Kaštaraya River¹¹ forms his boundary. And if the king of Hatti should undertake a campaign up against it (Parha?), and should take possession of the Land of Parha also by force of arms, then that (city) too would belong to the king of Tarhuntašša. In the direction of the border-territory of Walma (to the WNW?), the cities Huwahhuwarwa, Alluprata, Kaparuwa, Haššuwanta, Walippa (and) Wala form his boundary, but these cities belong to the Hūlaya River Land.

Hittite Enclaves in Tarhuntašša

- §9 (i.68-90) These are cities of the king of Hatti which were inside the land of Tarhuntašša: Anta, the ruined cities of Anta, Lahhuiyašši, Waštišša, Hudduwašša, Handawa, Daganza, Šimmuwa, Šahita, the men of Kammama (as) Men of the Long Weapon, Walištašša (and its) Golden Charioteers, Inurta, Wattanna, Malhuwaliyata, Kašuriya, Šawiya, Pariyašša, Annaliliya, Puhanta, Gurtanašša, the pomegranate-men, Aralla, the men of Araunna, Uppaššana, the augurs — (insofar as) one resides within the borders of the land, they too are given (to Kurunta). From Mattarwanta (and) Parašša the tent men, from Dagannunta and Munanta the scribes of the *tuppaš* chest, from Ayara the custodians/keepers of *nawilaš*, from Tarapa¹² the spear men, from Wattašša (and) Talwišuwanta two TUKULs. The potters (remain) behind, and also the cupbearers remain behind: they are given to the gods of Tarhuntašša. The *duddušhialla*-men from Iyasanta, the city Azzuwašši, the *huwantala*-men from Wašhaniya remain (or: are present). The *warpatala*-men from Adara as well as the cupbearers remain (or: are present). Respecting whatever *šarikuwaš* troops, craftsmen or Men of the Long Weapon remain in the land of Tarhuntašša and the Hūlaya River Land, my father gave to him (i.e., to Kurunta) these cities with their mud (i.e., without additional population); he did not give them to him with population. Therefore I, Tudhaliya, Great King, made a representation before my father

⁹ Perhaps the Derbe known in the Greco-Roman period.

¹⁰ Classical Perge in the Plain of Pamphylia.

¹¹ Classical Cestrus (modern Aksu) just to the East of Perge.

¹² Perhaps the Derbe known in the Greco-Roman period.

father, and he gave them (i.e., the cities) to him with population. But it is not written (so) on the treaty tablet of my father.

*Kurunta's Access to the Eternal Rock Mausoleum*¹³
 §10 (i.91-101, ii.1-3) With respect to the matter of the eternal rock mausoleum, my father took it from the mouth of Maraššanta, (who had said:) "Kurunta should not approach the eternal rock mausoleum." My father (once) made a tablet for Maraššanta, which Maraššanta (still) has. But my father did not yet know how the wording of the eternal rock mausoleum inside (*andan*) the *kuntarra* of Tešub was (lit. "is") inscribed: how from now on the eternal rock mausoleum will never be taken away from Kurunta. Now when he came to hear the wording, my father reversed his ruling. And when I, Tudḫaliya, Great King, succeeded to the throne, I sent a man who saw how the word of the eternal rock mausoleum inside the *kuntarra* of Tešub was inscribed: "from now on the eternal rock mausoleum will never be taken away from Kurunta." Therefore if Maraššanta ever brings the tablet which he has (which prohibited Kurunta from going up to the eternal rock mausoleum), let it not be accepted.

Changes in Boundaries

§11 (ii.4-20) No goatherd may go into the Ḫulaya River Land, which is the boundary (area) of the land of Tarḫuntašša. And if they drive up from the Ḫulaya River Land to the Great Saltlick Rock,¹⁴ let them not take from him (i.e., Kurunta) the saltlick right(s). It is given to the king of Tarḫuntašša, and he may regularly take the salt. My father Ḫattušili gave to Kurunta, king of Tarḫuntašša, the town of Šarmana, Pantarwanta, and Mahrimma, together with their fields, grounds, meadows, sheep pastures, the whole saltlick, and the whole *liki*.¹⁵ Also I, My Majesty, Tudḫaliya the Great King, have given them to him. Therefore let no other person en-

croach upon the salt of the town of Šarmana. And in Dunna one *kuwappala* has been given to the storm-god of lightning, and (yet) it remains (i.e., still belongs) to [the king] of Tarḫuntašša. If Kurunta, the king of Tarḫuntašša, subsequently "makes"¹⁶ one *kuwappala*, my father Ḫattušili, Great King, allowed it to him, and I Tudḫaliya, Great King, allowed it to him also. So let it be allowed to him.

§12 (ii.21-30)¹⁷ Because all the Hittites supported(?) the gods of Tarḫuntašša,¹⁸ they shall not appropriate those tribute payments and ritual provisions for the gods of Tarḫuntašša from what my father gave to Kurunta, king of Tarḫuntašša, and what I gave to him. But if now I, My Majesty, should choose some place for the (delivery of) cattle and sheep, who will appropriate it (as) the ritual provisions for the gods? They will begin to give to the gods of Tarḫuntašša annually two hundred cattle and one thousand sheep. But if I do not give him any place, let them give annually to the gods of Tarḫuntašša from the *ariyatt(a)*- of Ḫattuša two hundred cattle and one thousand sheep.

Tudḫaliya and Kurunta as Childhood Friends

§13 (ii.31-42) I, Tudḫaliya the Great King, before I became king, the god already previously had brought Kurunta and me together in friendship. Already previously we were dear and good to each other. We even were parties to an oath: "Each shall be loyal to the other."¹⁹ But at that time my father had placed an older brother²⁰ in the rank of *tuḫukanti*.²¹ At that time he had not yet decided that I should become king. But even at that time Kurunta was loyal to me and swore allegiance to me personally as follows: "Even if your father does not install you in kingship, in whatever place your father puts you I will be loyal to you only. I am your servant." I too swore my allegiance to Ku-

¹³ On this section see Beal 1993.

¹⁴ On *lapana*- "saltlick" and its derivatives in Luwian and Hittite see Watkins 1997.

¹⁵ This word *liki*- does not occur in the corresponding passage in the UTT KBo 4.10 obv. 35, but of course MUN does. Melchert 1994:255 (cited with approval by Watkins) must be a native Hittite synonym of Luwian *lapana*-.

¹⁶ HW² 1:220 "(d.h., dem Gott gibt)." But perhaps rather it means "makes the one k. (previously given to the god his own)."

¹⁷ ii.21-80 has no antecedent in the preserved parts of UTT.

¹⁸ Cf. Gordon 1965 §7, obv. 41.

¹⁹ Cf. the friendship, mutual loyalty, and even oath between David and Jonathan (1 Sam 18-23, esp. 23:18).

²⁰ Bryce 1998:299f., who follows the view that Ulmi-Tešub is the same person as Kurunta and that the UTT belongs to Ḫattušili III and therefore precedes the Bronze Tablet, proposes that this "older brother" of Tudḫaliya IV was Ḫattušili III's son Nerikkaili who as *tuḫukanti*- heads the list of human witnesses in UTT. On this man see van den Hout 1995:95-105. The Nerikkaili of the Bronze Tablet witness list, who is called simply "prince" (DUMU LUGAL), might be another man, a son of Tudḫaliya IV, although Otten and van den Hout think it more likely that he is the same person mentioned in UTT.

²¹ The Hittite (or Luwian) word *tuḫukanti*- is generally thought to mean "crown prince", and although Houwink ten Cate 1992:262-63 argues it merely means "heir presumptive" or "second in line," a view that appears to be followed by van den Hout 1995, this would simply be the

Kurunta: "I too will be loyal to you."

The Designation of Tudḫaliya

§14 (ii.43-52) But when my father deposed my brother, whom he had placed in the rank of *tuhukanti-*, he installed me in kingship. And when my father saw the high regard and love which existed between Kurunta and me, my father brought us together and made us swear: "May each (of us) be loyal to the other." And so it was my father too who made us swear (to each other), and we became separately (i.e., independently) parties to a (mutual) oath. Kurunta was loyal to me: he never broke the oaths which he swore before me. And I, My Majesty, on my part promised him: "If the gods recognize me, so that I become king, nothing but good will come to you from me." ^a

The Death of Ḫattušili III

§15 (ii.53-56) But when my father at that time became a god (i.e., died), although (some) lands adopted a wait-and-see policy,²² even at that time Kurunta put his life on the line for me. He was loyal to me and broke none of the oaths which he had sworn.

§16 (ii.57-66) And when the deity took me, and I became king, I made the following treaty with Kurunta. I gave even cities which do not lie on the treaty tablet of my father together with field, fallow and NAM.RA, with everything, to be subjects of Kurunta, king of the land of Tarḫuntašša. (Respecting) whoever dwells in the Ḫulaya River Land, the entire (land)²³ remains subject to Kurunta, king of the Land of Tarḫuntašša. I redrew the boundaries in a manner favorable to him. I gave the eternal rock mausoleum back to him. In the future let no one take the eternal rock mausoleum away from the descendant of Kurunta.

Future Validity of Treaty

§17 (ii.67-78) In the future let this treaty be valid for Kurunta, king of the land of Tarḫuntašša, for as long as Tudḫaliya, (king) of the land of Ḫatti, keeps these. And let the descendant of Tudḫaliya thereafter keep the descendant of Kurunta in the land of Tarḫuntašša in

a 1 Sam 18-23

kingship in the same way. Let him not allow them to be killed or demoted(?).²⁴ As I, Tudḫaliya, Great King, am loyal to Kurunta, afterwards let my son and my grandson be loyal to the descendant of Kurunta in the same way. And as I am loyal to Kurunta— if he lacks something, I will compensate him. And if some difficulty (i.e., crisis)²⁵ befalls the descendant of Kurunta, let my son or my grandson compensate him in the same way; let him not allow him to be either destroyed or diminished.

The Carchemish Treaty

§18 (ii.79-83) Let the protocol of the king of the land of Carchemish be allowed to him with respect to the Great Throne. Let only the crown prince (of Ḫatti) be greater than the king of the land of Tarḫuntašša; let no one else be greater than he. What royal insignia/protocol²⁶ is allowed to the king of the land of Carchemish, let it be allowed also to the king of the land of Tarḫuntašša.

Kurunta's Wife, Heir, Successor

§19 (ii.84-94) Concerning what stands written on the treaty tablet of my father (Ḫattušili III): "Put in kingship in the land of Tarḫuntašša the son of the woman whom the (Hittite) queen²⁷ gives you as a wife," — when they made the treaty tablet during my father's reign, you, Kurunta, had not taken that woman. Whether now Kurunta takes that woman or doesn't take her, that ruling (of my father) will not be enforced. Whatever son Kurunta prefers, whether the son of his wife or the son of some other woman, whatever son is the choice of Kurunta, whatever son Kurunta prefers, let him place him in kingship in the land of Tarḫuntašša. Let no one overrule Kurunta in this matter.

Security of Kurunta's line even in the event of treason

§20 (ii.95-102, iii.1-20) Let this treaty be valid for Kurunta, his son and his grandson. I, My Majesty, will not throw out your son.²⁸ I will not accept (in your son's place) your brother or anyone else. Your descendant alone²⁹ will possess the land of Tarḫuntašša which I have

meaning of "crown prince" in English, "heir apparent to the throne."

²² Hittite: *arša tiyat*, translation after Otten 1988:19.

²³ Or perhaps: "everything."

²⁴ Luwian: *zantalanauna=ya*. Tentative translation based upon the apparent alternation with *tepnunmanzi=ya* in line 77.

²⁵ The same Hittite verb *nakkišzi* occurs below in §21 iii.22, 28. Whereas here in §17 (ii 76) it is parallel to *wakšiyazi* "is lacking" in ii.74, later in §21 it is parallel to *GÜB-lišzi* "something unfortunate happens."

²⁶ Hittite *šaklaiš*.

²⁷ That is, Puduḫepa.

²⁸ Lines ii.96–iii.20 recapitulate §2' (KBo 4.10 + KUB 40.69 + 1548/u obv. 7'-14') of Ḫattušili III's earlier treaty with the king of Tarḫuntašša. For a parallel aligned transliteration see van den Hout 1995:22-25.

²⁹ UTT: "your son and grandson."

given to you. They will not take it away from him. And even if some son or grandson of yours commits treason³⁰ (against Ḫatti), the king of the land of Ḫatti will examine him, and if treason is proved against him, they³¹ shall do to him whatever the king of the land of Ḫatti decides.³² ^b (iii.1) But they may not take from him his 'house' (i.e., his dynasty) and land, nor may he (i.e., the emperor)³³ give it to another descendant (i.e., to a brother or cousin, some other descendant of Muwatalli II). Or if — since the matter of the land of Tarḫuntašša was subsequently formulated as follows: "In the future let no one take the kingship of the land of Tarḫuntašša away from the (primary) line of Muwatalli's descendants" — someone does this thing: he gives it (i.e., the land) to another line of Muwatalli's descendants, thus taking it away from the descendant of Kurunta, let the storm-god of Ḫatti and the sun-goddess of Arinna destroy whoever does that thing. In the future let only the descendant of Kurunta hold kingship over the land of Tarḫuntašša.³⁴ But let only a descendant on the male side hold³⁵ it; let them not accept the descendant of a daughter.³⁶ And³⁷ if some son or grandson of Kurunta exercises kingship over the land of Tarḫuntašša, and some misfortune³⁸ befalls him (lit. "someone") because of a god's decision (lit. word of a god), so that he must relinquish the kingship of Tarḫuntašša, let them take only a descendant of Kurunta and install him in kingship in the land of Tarḫuntašša. Let them not give it to any other descendant. If he has no descendant in the male line,³⁹ let them search for a descendant of the daughter of Kurunta. Even if it (scil. the descendant) is in a foreign country, let them bring it back even from there, and let them install him/her in kingship⁴⁰ in the land of Tarḫuntašša.

b 1 Sam 20;
22:16;
2 Sam 19:23;
1 Kgs 2:42

c 1 Kgs 22

Kurunta's line must ensure the succession and permanence of Tudḫaliya's descendants

§21 (iii.21-31)⁴¹ If some descendant (lit. seed) of Tudḫaliya exercises kingship in the land of Ḫatti, and some difficulty⁴² befalls him, whatever descendant of Kurunta exercises kingship in the land of Tarḫuntašša should be ready to die for him.⁴³ ^c And just as Kurunta was loyal to Tudḫaliya, so afterwards the descendant of Kurunta should also be loyal to the descendant of Tudḫaliya. The descendant of Kurunta should also be loyal to the descendant of Tudḫaliya and should not allow him to die or be demoted. If some difficulty befalls the descendant of Tudḫaliya, and he must step down from the kingship of the land of Ḫatti, what descendant of Kurunta stands in kingship in the land of Tarḫuntašša must make war on the (new) king of Ḫatti; he must not serve (him).

Tarḫuntašša's obligation to provide troops

§22 (iii.32-42)⁴⁴ My father, Ḫattušili, abolished for him (Kurunta) the (providing of) chariotry and infantry of the Ḫulaya River Land which the administration holds for you (Kurunta) in Ḫatti, and I too, My Majesty, Great King, have abolished it for him. In the future a contingent of 100 foot soldiers supplied by him shall march on a campaign of the land of Ḫatti. The administration may not demand further troops from him. Whenever a troop contingent is demanded of him, they shall require no more than 100 foot soldiers and no chariotry at all. But if a king of equal status arises against the Hittite king, or if My Majesty initiates a campaign from the Lower Land,⁴⁵ a contingent of 200 foot soldiers may be recruited from him. But they may not serve as garrison troops.

³⁰ Lit. "sins" (*waštai*).

³¹ UTT: "he."

³² Lit. "whatever is the wish of the king of the land of Ḫatti." UTT then adds: "If he deserves to die, he shall die."

³³ UTT: "nor may they give"

³⁴ UTT lacks "Or if ... destroy whoever does that thing" and instead of "let only the descendant of Kurunta hold ..." reads "let only the descendant of Ulmi-Tešub take"

³⁵ UTT: "take."

³⁶ UTT: "let them not accept a daughter."

³⁷ The next two sentences in my English translation are lacking in UTT.

³⁸ *GÜB-lišzi*; see notes on §§17 and 21.

³⁹ UTT adds: "then let it be retracted, and."

⁴⁰ UTT: "in lordship."

⁴¹ §21 had no antecedent in UTT.

⁴² Hittite: *nakkišzi*. See above note on §17.

⁴³ Cp. the willingness of Jehoshaphat of Judah to risk death in battle to assist his ally, Ahab of Israel (1 Kgs 22).

⁴⁴ iii.32-36 are paralleled in UTT obv. 42'-44'.

⁴⁵ An area adjacent to Tarḫuntašša.

Tarḫuntašša's exemption from taxes and corvée

§23 (iii.43-56) Concerning the fact that the entire land belongs to him and that as a whole it forms his front line of border posts — if now a call for help arises from somewhere, no one may require help from the Ḫulaya River Land. And against the cities in the midst of the land of Ḫatti, in the midst of the territory of Mt. Huwatnuwanta, in the midst of Kizzuwatna, Ḫurniya, Ikkuwaniya, and Pitašša — which belong in whatever land to the storm-god of lightning, the god of Parša, Šauška of Inuita, the cities that belong to the house of the king of Tarḫuntašša — against them no obligation to taxes and corvée shall stand. No call for military assistance is binding upon them. No one shall pester them to require taxes and corvée. For the sake of the gods of Tarḫuntašša I have exempted them.

§24 (iii.57-77) Concerning this which my father (Ḫattušili III) gave to Kurunta, and what I, My Majesty, gave to him, the treaty which we made for him, in the future let no one change it. When I, My Majesty, carefully reviewed the taxes and corvée of the gods of (Kurunta), the king of Tarḫuntašša, (I saw that) it was too burdensome and that he could not manage it. What cult procedure the king of Tarḫuntašša supports in the land of Tarḫuntašša, corresponds to the procedure of Ḫattuša, Arinna and Zippalanda. Because the support of ceremonies and provisions for the gods was too burdensome for him, I remitted what my father and I, My Majesty, gave to Kurunta, for the sake of the Tešub of Lightning, Šarruma son of Tešub, and all the gods of Tarḫuntašša, and I exempted him. Let no one⁴⁶ take anything away from him. Let no one subject him to taxes and corvée. Whoever should take away the kingship of the land of Tarḫuntašša from a descendant of Kurunta or reduce it or command that it be abolished or should take away from him whatever my father and I have given him, or should alter a single word of this tablet,^d may the sun-goddess of Arinna and the storm-god of Ḫatti take away the kingship of the land of Ḫatti from that person.

The divine witnesses to the treaty

§25 (iii.78-98, iv.1-4) The Thousand Gods⁴⁷ have now been called to assembly for (attesting the contents of) this treaty tablet that I have just executed for you. Let them see, hear, and be witnesses thereto — the sun-god of heaven,

d Deut 4:2;
13:1 [12:32]

e Deut 4:26;
30:19; 31:28

f Ezek 6:3;
36:1, 4;
Micah 6:1-2

g Deut 4:2;
13:1 [12:32]

the sun-goddess of Arinna, the storm-god of heaven, the storm-god of Ḫatti, the storm-god of the army, the storm-god of Ḫiššašhapa, the storm-god of Zippalanda, the storm-god of Nerik, the storm-god of Aleppo, the storm-god of Uda, the storm-god of Kizzuwatna, the storm-god of Šamuḫa, the storm-god of Šapinuwa, the mighty storm-god, the storm-god of lightning, the (god) of *lulut*, the patron god, the patron god of Ḫatti, Āla, Karzi, Ḫapantaliya, the patron god of the countryside, the patron god of the hunting bag,⁴⁸ Zithariya, Šarruma, Ḫebat the queen of heaven, Ḫebat of Uda, Ḫebat of Kizzuwatna, Šawuška of Šamuḫa, Šawuška of the countryside, Šawuška of Lawazantiya, Šawuška of Nineveh, Šawuška of Ḫattarina, Ninatta, Kuliitta, the moon-god king of the oath, NIN.GAL queen of the oath, Išḫara goddess of Arušna, the warrior-god, the warrior-god of Ḫatti, the warrior-god of Ellaya, the warrior-god of Arziya, Yarri, Zappana, Ḫantitaššu of Ḫurma, Abara of Šamuḫa, Ḫataḫḫa of Ankuwa, Ammama of Taḫurpa, GAZ.BA.A.A of Ḫubišna, Ḫallara of Dunna, Lelwani, the *lulahḫi*- and *ḫabiri*-gods, (all) the male and female deities, heaven and earth,^e the great sea, the mountains,^f rivers and springs of the land of Ḫatti and of the land of Tarḫuntašša.

(iv.5-15) If you, Kurunta, fail to comply with these treaty clauses, and do not remain loyal to My Majesty and subsequently the descendants of My Majesty as your rulers, or if you should desire for yourself the kingship of the land of Ḫatti, or if you side with someone who causes trouble for My Majesty or for the descendants of My Majesty instead of making war against him, then may these oath-deities destroy you together with your posterity. But if you, Kurunta, take to heart the words of this tablet, and you desire My Majesty and subsequently the descendants of My Majesty as your rulers, and you remain loyal to them, then may these same deities take good care of you, and may you grow old under the protection of My Majesty.

§26 (iv.16-29) But whoever causes trouble for Kurunta in this land and takes it away from him, or subsequently takes it away from the descendant of Kurunta, or reduces his territory, or takes anything away that I have given to him, or alters even a single word of this tablet,^g may these oath-deities destroy

⁴⁶ That is, no future king of Ḫatti.

⁴⁷ The official term for the Hittite pantheon.

⁴⁸ Cf. above COS 2.2.17B, note 19.

him. What I, My Majety, have given to Kurunta, king of the land of Tarḫuntašša, and what borders I have set for him, no one must ever take away from the descendants of Kurunta. Not even the king (of Ḫatti) should ever take them and give them to his son. He must not give them to any other descendant. Let no one contest his right to it. Let only the direct line of Kurunta's descendants possess the kingship of the land of Tarḫuntašša forever. Whoever causes trouble for him and takes something away from him may these oath-deities destroy together with that man's posterity.

^h Deut 10:2

§27 (iv.30-43) Ḫalwa-ziti, the scribe, the son of Lupakki of Ukkiya, inscribed this tablet in the city of Tawa in the presence of the following witnesses: Prince Nerikkaili, Ḫuzziya the chief of the palace guards, Prince Kurakura, Ini-Tešub king of Carchemish, Mašturi king of the Šeḫa River Land,⁴⁹ Šauška-muwa the king's son-in-law, Uppara-muwa the *anduwāšalli*, Tattamaru the chief of the guard of the left side, Prince Eḫli-Šarruma, Aba-muwa chief of the chariot drivers, Prince Ḫešmi-Šarruma, Prince Taki-

Šarruma, Prince En-Šarruma, Alalimi chief of the military tribunes, Alantalli king of the land of Mera,⁵⁰ Bentešina king of the land of Amurru, Šaḫurunuwa chief of the wood scribes, Ḫattuša-LAMMA the field marshal, GAL-^dU chief of the chariot drivers, Ḫuršaniya the field marshal, Zuzuḫḫa chief of the chariot warriors, Šalikka chief of the guards of the right side, Tapa-ziti the decurio, Tuttu commander of the storehouses, Walwa-ziti chief of the scribes, Kammaliya chief scribe of the kitchen staff, Nana-zi chief of the scribes and overseer of the food-servers — and all sorts of military commanders, magistrates and all the royal family.

Colophon⁵¹

(iv.44-51) This (treaty) was made into seven tablets and sealed with the seals of the sun-goddess of Arinna and the storm-god of Ḫatti. One tablet was placed before the sun-goddess of Arinna,⁵² ^h one before the storm-god of Ḫatti, one before Lelwani, one before Ḫebat of Kizzuwatna, one before the storm-god of lightning, and one in the king's house before Zithariya. And Kurunta, king of Tarḫuntašša, keeps one in his house.

⁴⁹ Located on the western end of Asia Minor.

⁵⁰ Located on the western end of Asia Minor.

⁵¹ On this colophon see Börker-Klähn 1993.

⁵² Cp. the keeping of the two tablets of the Sinai covenant in the ark of the testimony (Deut 10:2).

REFERENCES

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2. LAWS

HITTITE LAWS (2.19)

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

The Hittite laws were first written down in the Old Kingdom (ca. 1650-1500 BCE). They are therefore later than the Sumerian law collections of Ur-Nammu and Lipit-Ishtar and the Akkadian laws of Eshnunna and Hammurabi, but earlier than the Middle Assyrian laws and the laws of the Hebrew Bible. A New Kingdom revision (KBo 6.4), called the Late Parallel Version and abbreviated PT for "Parallel Text," contains 41 sections numbered with roman numerals. I have interleaved the Late Parallel Version with the Main Version of Series One in the manner of Goetze 1969. In order to distinguish it more clearly from the copies of the Old Hittite recension I have indented the translation of paragraphs from the Late Parallel Version. Two paragraphs from the Old Hittite Telipinu Edict, edited by Hoffmann 1984, have been appended in order to supply the Hittite law on murder.