

KUB 22.70: Tawannanas and the Dynamics of Hittite Dream Interpretation

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ABSTRACT

The Hittites' complex, multi-tiered set of divinatory practices were employed to help run the Empire, including its cults, administration, and military campaigns. For the head queens of the Bronze Age Hittites, the interpretation of royal, prophetic dreams afforded opportunities for political gain, but, due to the complex nature of, and interplay between, dream interpretation, oracular inquiry, and palace administration, divination was an uncertain strategy. There were many factors involved, as well as multiple individuals, and each element in the system had the potential to undercut another. Even a queen's high political and religious rank did not guarantee that she could control the interpretation of a dream or the outcome of an oracular test. In the oracle report known as KUB 22.70, a Hittite queen uses dreams sent from the gods to play both offense and defense.

Keywords: Bronze Age, Hittites, Queens, Tawananna, Puduhepa, divination, oracles, dreams

KUB 22.70: Tawannanas y la dinámica de la interpretación de los sueños hititas

RESUMEN

El complejo conjunto de prácticas adivinatorias de varios niveles de los hititas se empleó para ayudar a administrar el Imperio, incluidos sus cultos, administración y campañas militares. Para las principales reinas de los hititas de la Edad del Bronce, la interpretación de los sueños reales y proféticos brindaba oportunidades para obtener ganancias políticas, pero, debido a la naturaleza compleja y la interacción entre la interpretación de los sueños, la investigación oracular y la administración del palacio, la adivinación era un tema incierto. estrategia. Hubo muchos factores involucrados, así como múltiples individuos, y cada elemento del sistema tenía el potencial de socavar a otro. Incluso el alto rango político y religioso de

una reina no garantizaba que pudiera controlar la interpretación de un sueño o el resultado de una prueba oracular. En el informe del oráculo conocido como KUB 22.70, una reina hitita usa sueños enviados por los dioses para jugar tanto en ataque como en defensa.

Palabras clave: Edad del Bronce, Hititas, Reinas, Tawananna, Puduhepa, adivinación, oráculos, sueños

神谕报告“KUB 22.70”：塔瓦纳安娜与赫梯人梦境解释的动态

摘要

赫梯人复杂的、多层次的占卜实践被用于协助帝国运作，包括其宗教信仰、行政与军事行动。对于青铜时代赫梯人的首席王后而言，皇室的预言梦境解释提供了获取政治利益的机会。不过，由于梦境解释、神谕询问和宫廷行政都存在复杂性且相互影响，占卜是一个不确定的策略。其中涉及诸多因素和个体，并且系统中的每个要素都有可能削弱另一个要素。即使王后的政治和宗教地位很高，也不能保证她可以控制梦境解释或神谕测试的结果。在名为 KUB 22.70 的神谕报告中，一位赫梯王后利用众神传递的梦境来获取或保护政治利益。

关键词：青铜时代，赫梯人，王后，塔瓦纳安娜，普度赫帕，占卜，神谕，梦境

Introduction

The Hittites (c. 1650–1190 BCE) were one of the superpowers of the Bronze Age, alongside the Egyptians, Assyrians, the Babylonians, and the Mycenaean Greeks. They were located in Anatolia—present-day Turkey—and had a strong central monarchy, one in which both kings and queens played a key role in the state. The head queen was typically married to the king

and was the mother of the heir. Under the title Tawananna, she had important administrative and religious duties. Part of the royal ideology that held the Hittite kingdom together was the belief that the king and queen had a special relationship to the gods. Excerpts from various hymns to the Sun-god and to the Sun-goddess Arinna demonstrate the belief that the deities had installed the queen and that she was under their protection.¹ The queen was identified

in particular with the Sun-Goddess of Arinna. As chief priestess of the gods, the Tawananna had to play a part in the state cult festivals, sometimes operating alongside the king and sometimes carrying out various rituals apart, on her own. She was also partially in charge, as will be discussed below, of the disposition and distribution of cult offerings. But the complex nature of the Hittite religious system, and the number of individuals involved, meant that the Tawananna could not wield religion as a political tool without constraints. In what follows, an oracular inquiry from the Hittite state archives, KUB 22.70, will be analyzed to demonstrate the parameters within which the Tawananna operated within the Hittite divinatory system.

When a Tawananna outlived her husband, she remained head queen even if his successor were married. In other words, there were occasions when two women in the imperial court had a claim to a position of high authority and influence, though only one of them could be the head queen. One can imagine that the wife of a reigning king might well be resentful of the power of a Tawananna, particularly if the Tawananna lived to a ripe old age. The tablet known as KUB 22.70 (CTH 566), a record of an oracular inquiry, reflects just such a situation.

KUB 22.70 is a record of an oracular inquiry, or rather set of inquiries. The king had fallen ill, and in this tablet we see the record of the various religious practitioners who had consulted the gods in order to find out why this

had happened and how to remedy the situation. In Bronze Age Hatti, the land of a thousand gods, the usual response to misfortune was to identify the offended deity and determine how to appease it. In this case the deity in question was the deity of the city of Arušna, though as the inquiries continued, it became clear that more than one deity was to be appeased (as was commonly the case). Although the text of KUB 22.70 does not provide names, scholars today believe the king in question is Tudhaliya IV (c. 1237–1209 BCE).²

At the time of these inquiries, Tudhaliya was king but his mother, Puduhepa, widow of his father, Hattusili III (c. 1267–1237 BCE), was still living and was thus the Tawananna.³ KUB 22.70 refers to Tudhaliya's wife as the "Great Princess" or "Great Daughter," the DUMU.SAL GAL.⁴ The definition of the term as given by Itamar Singer is as follows:

'Great Princess' is the title given by the Hittites to daughters of Great Kings ... of Hatti or of other great powers. As a rule, the Great Princesses were given in marriage to foreign rulers, of great powers or important vassal states, thus serving the purposes of Hittite foreign policy. ... Hittite Great Princesses were married to the kings of Egypt and Babylon, Išuwa, Amurru, and the Šeḫa River Land. At the same time, a Great Princess of Babylon most probably married to Tudhaliya, the next king of Hatti.⁵

Typically, when the daughter of a Great King married the monarch or heir of another country, the understanding was that she was to be the mother of the heir and chief wife.⁶ For anyone who married a Hittite king however, this this would be complicated by the presence of the Tawananna. Based on a letter written by Queen Puduhepa in which she refers to a marriage between a daughter of the Great King of Babylon and the court at Hatti, Singer suggests that the Great Daughter referred to in KUB 22.70 is most likely a daughter of the Great King of Babylon.⁷

In KUB 22.70, a series of questions is asked by the diviners running the inquiries—their names are not provided—and the answers they received from the divine realm are recorded. Occasionally, a direct witness statement is included and the name of the individual who contributed information to the diviners will be recorded, but in such cases the individual in question is not described or introduced. There is consequently much that must be inferred. Though several sections remain obscure, we can reconstruct enough to see that much of what is in KUB 22.70 pertains to a rivalry between Puduhepa (the Tawananna) and the wife of Tudhaliya (the Great Daughter). Reading between the lines, one can infer that opposing factions had developed within the palace, with one group of followers supporting the authority of the Great Daughter and another set supporting the Tawananna. It is evident also that divination was being used as a means of conducting this rivalry, with accusations and counter accusations being

made on the basis of dream interpretations. The oracle report states that the deity of Arušna had demanded a golden crown of the Tawananna in a dream, and that the queen had failed to fulfill this dream vow. But the oracle report goes on to include additional dreams of Queen Puduhepa, which play a role in the events that follow. Other divinatory operations (an omen, various oracular tests) are also mentioned in the course of the record, all of them used by the Hittites to help them understand and deal with the illness of the king and the tensions in the court. In what follows the interplay between these elements and the resulting dynamic between dreams and political power will be examined with a view to showing that though the religious authority exercised by the Tawananna was robust, it was not unassailable, and that to triumph at court the queen had to sharply and continually maneuver in order to retain her prestige and reign in her detractors.

In the past scholars have given limited attention to KUB 22.70 due to its cryptic nature. Ahmet Ünal conducted the most extensive study of this text. His primary interest lies in establishing an accurate transcription and translation of the text, as well as providing a general background for the understanding of the text. He offers an overview of Hittite oracular inquiries as well as of themes and people mentioned in the text.⁸ Annelies Kammenhuber (whose work preceded that of Ünal) includes a brief excursus (approximately three pages long) on KUB 22.70 as an illustrating example as part of her work on oracles, dreams, and

omens. Her study of these practices focuses on their point of origin, seeking to identify foreign influences on Hittite practices and beliefs.⁹ Richard Beal, in his 2002 work, “Gleanings from Hittite Oracle Questions on Religion, Society, Psychology and Decision Making,” includes KUB 22.70 as an illustrating example of the mechanics of oracular inquiries and what this practice says about Hittite culture. Beal chose this text because it was largely intact. He focuses on the question-and-answer format of oracular inquiries.¹⁰ Alice Mouton, *Reves Hittites*, translates portions of the text but has little commentary and discussion; Johan de Roos also mentions KUB 22.70 as an illustration of a text in which there is a close relationship between vow and oracle and as part of a discussion of individuals named in Hittite votive texts (with respect to the Great Daughter).¹¹

One scholar who has overtly discussed the connection between dreams and power in KUB 22.70 is Shoshana Bin-Nun. Bin-Nun produced the first full-length study of the role of the Tawannana. Bin-Nun, briefly discussing KUB 22.70, connects it with a different conflict in the imperial court. Bin-Nun suggests that the Tawannana in KUB 22.70 is the widow of Suppiluliuma I (c. 1350-1322 BCE) a queen who was also from Babylonia (a typical place for royal Hittites to find their brides) and who had also had tension with the wife (Gassuliyawiya) of the present king (Mursili II; c. 1321-1295 BCE). Suppiluliuma’s wife cursed Gassuliyawiya, thereby, according to Mursili, causing her death. Gassuliyawiya may have

been asserting herself within the court, as her name had begun to appear on some official state documents, a practice that was usually reserved for the Tawannana. Bin-Nun writes, “[KUB 22 70] gives a true picture of the tyranny which this old lady exercised on the king and on his family by her continuous threats with divine anger, and by her demands to punish the daughters of the royal house. Her priestly office enabled her to rule the people with the terror of divine oracles.”¹² For Bin-Nun, this was no exception; of a later Tawannana she writes, “Danuhepa is portrayed as exercising the same type of rule by ‘divine demands’ as her predecessor.”¹³ In Bin-Nun’s construction then, the head queen’s role as priestess equates to an ability to wield prophetic dreams like weapons; there is a straightforward relationship between the two entities of dreams and power.

A closer read of 22.70 will show that the matter is more complex than Bin-Nun suggests. Since the publication of Bin-Nun’s book there have been developments in the field of Hittitology. More specifically, work on dreams, oracular inquiries, and the nature of Hittite administration have contributed to a growing sense of the complex nature of palace decision making.¹⁴ The application of this research has a bearing on the understanding of power dynamics and religion with respect to the role of the Tawannana and an analysis of this text, KUB 22.70, will show that the simultaneous operation of multiple religious components created a dynamic of negotiation rather than the ability to act unilaterally.¹⁵

KUB 22.70 begins with inquiries concerning offenses against the deity of Arušna but like other oracle reports the series of questions and answers leads the inquirers in many directions, to other potential offenses not only against this deity but also against another god called the protective deity or the Tutelary Deity. Consequently, although the opening lines mention the king's illness, the focus moves away from him almost immediately.

In regard to the fact that His Majesty ... became ill, [...] have not you, [O deity] of (the town of) Arušna, somehow been provoked [in connection with the illness of His Majesty? If you, O deity, are angry about this, let the first extispicy be favorable and the latter] unfavorable. First extispicy: favorable... unfavorable. Latter [extispicy: ...] Unfavorable. (obv. 1-3)¹⁶

The accusations against the Tawananna, Puduhepa, made by the opposing faction, concerning the fulfillment of a dream vow and the resulting fall-out, are the primary focus of the tablet.¹⁷ The court faction comes into view in line 7 with the introduction of an individual named Ammatalla.

In regard to the fact that you, O deity of Arušna, were ascertained to be angry with His Majesty, is this because the queen (Puduhepa) cursed Ammattalla before the deity of Arušna? Because Ammattalla began to concern herself with the deity, yet did not go back and forth (in service to the deity)? Because the son of Ammattalla has dressed himself in garments entrusted to his mother and was summoned to the palace? If you, O god, are angry about this, let the extispicy be unfavorable ... Unfavorable. (obv. 7-10)

We learn from this section of the text that the queen had cursed one Ammattalla because she had behaved improperly to the deity. Her son also had done something improper; he had repeatedly come into the palace wearing his mother's clothes—for what purpose is not clear.¹⁸ With respect to the offense by Ammattalla, the translations do differ so the precise meaning is uncertain; all we can say is that she did something offensive, either deceiving the deity and/or having a lack of respect and showing no care for the deity.¹⁹ It is possible that it was in her role as priestess that the Tawananna, Queen Puduhepa, denounced Ammattalla. In any case, this cursing, along with the actions that

led to it, are all laid out in the oracular inquiry as three possible reasons for the deity's anger. The results of the inquiries reveal that the deity was indeed offended by all three. But the oracular consultants did not stop there. They wanted to be sure that they had identified all possible causes of offense, that there was nothing else offending the deity.

Hittite oracular inquiries proceeded in a formulaic style and in the surviving oracular reports there are references to different types of oracular tests. This reflects the fact that there were several types of divinatory practices among the Hittites, and that they used one type to cross-check another.²⁰ For instance, if they consulted the gods through a flesh oracle (extispicy, examination of an animal's liver), they might then put the same question to the gods through augury (tracking the flight path of birds). If they received the same answer twice, then they could be sure they had understood correctly.²¹

Oracular inquiries had a limited number of themes. They might be instituted to inquire about such things as the confiscation or misappropriation of imperial property and cult property, murder, activities of the king such as his accession, the taking on or firing of staff, imperial building projects and military campaigns, or ill health.²² But most oracular inquiries were attempts to find out why something had gone wrong in the kingdom or with an important member of the court or administration.²³ The questions asked of the gods were all yes-or-no questions. This meant that they had to keep asking question after question in an effort

to identify the real cause or causes, and, as noted above, even once they had an answer it had to be checked for accuracy by putting the same question again, this time using a different form of divination. This made for very long oracular inquiry sessions or multiple sessions. It also meant that a variety of practitioners were involved; some types of oracular test were performed by just one type of practitioner, and others could be performed by more than one type of practitioner.²⁴

In addition to having multiple oracular tests and multiple practitioners whose duties sometimes overlapped, there was also overlap between oracles and other types of divination as Hittites would use oracular inquiries to help them interpret the meaning of omens and dreams as we see in the following examples.²⁵

(i. 12-14) Dream of the queen. In my dream Hebat asked for a necklace with sun-disks and lapis lazuli. We inquired further by oracle, and it was determined that (this Hebat was) the Hebat of Uda.

(i. 15-18) Dream. 2 In the dream the king said to me: "Hebat says, 'In the land of Hatti let them make zizzahi for me, but in the land of Mukis let them make wine for me.'" Further investigation by oracle will be made. (KUB 15.1 (CTH 584.1))²⁶

The first reference to a dream of the Tawananna appears fairly early in KUB 22.70:

In regard to the fact that it was once more unfavorable, is this because Mala spoke as follows: “The queen made for herself a crown of gold in the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity. In a dream the deity of Arušna demanded it from the queen, but the queen did not give it. She set it aside in the storehouse of the treasurer, and in its place the queen made two other crowns of silver for the deity of Arušna.” (obv. 12-14)

In the section above, the Tawananna had been told in a dream to give a crown of gold to the deity of Arušna. But instead, she held back the gold crown and substituted two silver crowns in its place. Given the attention and care that the Hittites paid to divine powers, it may seem surprising that the queen did not turn over the votive. But this was not uncommon in Hittite society. Sometimes, via a dream, a god would demand a votive offering that had been promised but had not been delivered, or that was inadequate. “God of the storm of Hakpiš. ... for the matter of the dream ... are you angry because of the votive offerings?” (KUB 52.55 (CTH 570)).²⁷ KUB 15.5+ iii 9 records a dream in which the king is accused by his wife, Queen Danuhepa, of having given an inferior golden rhyton to the Storm god.²⁸ As de Roos demonstrates, Hittite vows were often conditional (only if the god made X happen would the vow be executed) or the vower might leave themselves some wiggle room in the costliness and effort they were to put into the votive, by leaving the weight and dimensions of the object to be dedicated unspecified.²⁹ “The queen made the following vow to the Stormgod of Heaven: “If the city of Ankuwa survives, i.e., it isn’t to-

tally burned, I will make for the Storm-god of Heaven one silver (model of a) city of unspecified weight, and I will give one ox and 8 sheep” (KUB 15.1 (CTH 584.1)) iii.22-26).³⁰ The Hittite directives to priests and temple personnel also make it clear that the Hittites were aware of the propensity of substitution of inferior goods, or even of pilfering from the gods, and tried to take measures against it.

§5’ Or if you at some point take them, the provisions, and do not deliver them to the deities themselves, and you keep them apart in your own houses, and your wives, your sons, (and) your servants consume them, or rather a relative or some favorite foreign guest comes to you, and you give them to him, so that you take them from the deity himself, and you do not deliver them to him at all, and you give (only) the half part of them, then this matter of your dividing (them) up shall be considered as a capital (offense). So do not divide them up! Whoever does divide them up shall die! There will be no turning back for him.

§6' ... "Whoever has taken from your divine bread loaf (and) from your wine pitcher, you, my god, my lord, shall [tor(ment)] him! May he seize his household below (and) above!" ...

§7' [When] some [cow or] sheep is driven (to the temple) for the deity to eat, [(and)] you pick out either a fattened cow or a fattened sheep for [yours(elves)], and [(you tu)rn] over (to the temple) a haggard one [(tha)t] you had slaughtered for yourselves, ... and [(you) arg(ue) th[(us)]: "Because he is a deity, he will not [(say)] anything [(and)] he will not do anything [(to us)];" [(consider, too,)] that man who lets your desired sh[(are)] disap[(pear before your e)]yes! [Aft(erwa)]rds, as soon as it oc[(cu)]rs, the w[(ill)] of a deity is indeed [(fi)]rm. He does not hasten to seize (the offender), [(but w)]hen he does seize (him), he does not let go again. [(So)] be extremely

reverent with regard to the will of a deity!

§8' Moreover: You are the custodians of the silver, gold, clothing, (and) bronze utensils of the deities [(th)]at you keep. It belongs to the silver, gold, clothing, (and) bronze utensils of the deity. (As far as you are concerned) it does not (even) exist! What is in the temple (simply) does not exist! Whatever (is there) belongs exclusively to the deity, so be extremely reverent! (CTH 264).³¹

In substituting two silver crowns for one gold crown, Puduhepha was clearly in good company.

In KUB 22.70, the court obviously knew about Puduhepha's dream vow. It seems that significant dreams, at least those of important people such as members of the court and administration, were reported, interpreted, and recorded for the state archives.³² In the example below, the queen is clearly narrating her dream to someone else.

Obv. 2?

1' [
2' [Dream of the qu]een. In Urikina she s[aw (a dream)
3' [] through a dream someone spoke to me:
4' [] this (person) is ill in his knees
5' and he is ill through (the god) Zawalli
6' like the knees of me however and further [
7' There comes a mouse. And the mouse and a little dog [
8' When he (= the mouse?) came all the way up behind [
9' I, the queen, took fright and I sai[d
10' [the mouse co]mes [all t]he way up behind [
11' []....[(KUB 48.125 (CTH 590))³³

Various official persons interpreted dreams such as a seeress called the ^{MUNUS}ENSI, the ritual expert and diviner called the “Old Woman,” or the chief of the *haruspices*.³⁴ Like other forms of divination, dream interpretations were cross-checked for accuracy.

The criteria for determining

which dreams were “significant” is unknown, but for dream vows, it is possible that the state wanted to keep track of any costly items pledged. de Roos suggests that those texts that refer to votives as “already given” or “not yet given,” as in the following example, are signs that someone was keeping track.³⁵

Obv. 1

1 Regarding the fact that AMAR MUSEN -i through a dream [

2 Thus (said) Hepapiya: “On[e shall give it] to the great god.”

3 Already given.

4 The matter of the jasper. A dream. The jasper (of) the (river) La[rsa?]

5 they shall mount (in metal). Thus (said) Hepapi[ya:]

6 “They shall give it to the great god.” [they] shall give.

7 When through a dream one said: [To] Danuhepa a garment they must also

8 give, thus (said) Hepapiya: “A garment

9 they must give to the great god.” Not yet (given). (KUB 15.5 + KUB 48.122)³⁶

The evidence seems to indicate that the administration and oversight of votives was controlled, as were so many aspects of Hittite administration, by the palace. One individual who must have been involved was the Tawananna. Hittite records indicate that the queen was among those who had supervision over the luxury goods in the storehouse. A good example is in IBoT 1.31 (CTH 241).³⁷ This is a detailed list of tribute and in lines 12-15 the queen appears: “[T]ribute from Ankuwa, the garments are accounted for on the wooden writing board. The queen said: ‘When I send it into the seal-house, then they will make final tablet’” (IBoT 1.31, lines 12-15).³⁸

The queen (as well as the king) oversaw the collection of items for cult and ceremonies. This is clear from the following text.

2 minas of silver, the weight of 1 eagle, have UR.MAH-ziti and Pupuli (in their possession) and that the queen has already taken up and Lullu, the *patili*-priest had brought 1 mina of silver to the midwife and they will mount (in metal) 1 mina of silver for the gods of Urikina. Later they sent (or gave) it. (KUB 22.66 (CTH 242))³⁹

However, other people were also part of the system as see in the case of Hepapiya in the example above (KUB 15.5 + KUB 48.122), and as also seen in the following court testimony:

(§1) With respect to the fact that [the queen] on several occasions turned to Ura-Tarhunta, the son of Ukkura, the Overseer

of Ten, various items—namely, chariots, items made of bronze and copper, linen garments, bows, arrows, shields, maces (or, perhaps ‘weapons’), civilian captives, large and small cattle, horses and mules, (the charge is that) he regularly failed to indicate on a sealed tablet what was issued to whom. He also had no manifest(?) or receipt. The queen says: “Let the ‘Golden Grooms’, the queen’s *šalašhā*-men, Ura-Tarhunta and Ukkura proceed to make comprehensive statements under oath in the temple of Lelwani” (KUB 13.35 + (CTH 293)).⁴⁰

Matteo Vigo, in his study of women in Hittite administration, summarizes the evidence for these other administrators. From the evidence of palace inventories and clay bullae, it is clear that several people were involved, both men and women.⁴¹ The presence at so many stages of many other individuals, some of them of quite high rank, makes it unlikely that the queen could act unilaterally.

To return to KUB 22.70, the queen had a dream, it was interpreted (or perhaps, alternatively, was thought to require no interpretation, being a straightforward directive) and was recorded. When the vow was improperly executed, “Mala” reported the matter. Consequences followed for Puduhepa:

And as long as she had not
sent it (the crown of gold) to the deity of Arušna,
the matter brought trouble for the queen, and she
was expelled from the palace. (obv. 15-16)

Having offended the deity and been expelled, the Tawananna then acted to rectify matters, writing to King Tudhaliya telling him where the golden crown was and directing that it be sent to the deity along with the other precious materials left over from its manufacture (obv. 16-18).

Despite the queen’s directive, however, the dedications to the deity of Arušna were not carried out. This was because all of the votive material could not be found, and some items were sent off to the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity. Obverse 25-27 reads:

Is it because we did not know about the single falcon of gold, the grape cluster (made up of) precious stones, the eight rosettes, the knobs(?), the eyebrow(s) and the eyelid(s), and because they were taken to the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity, to the statue of the queen? (And because) they did not find the inlay pieces? If you, O god, are angry about this, let the extispicy be unfavorable ... Unfavorable.



Seated Goddess with a Child, ca. 14th-13th century BCE. Her disk-like headdress probably represents the sun, which would lead to the conclusion that this may be the sun goddess, Arinna, a major Hittite divinity. [The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, New York, New York.]

Though dedications of statues to the gods, including imperial statues, were common, the deity still indicates initial displeasure with this disposition of votives.⁴² In what follows, however, it becomes clear that this was a turning point, because from this point on, it is those who oppose Queen Puduhepa who come under fire, and the deity in the end approves her division of votives: both the deity of Arušna and the Tutelary Deity will receive votives.

Ammattalla, her son, the Great Daughter (wife of Tudhaliya), Pattiya, Palla, and King Tudhaliya—we learn from KUB 22.70 that all of these people had either accused the queen of wrongdoing or had disrespected her in some way. By the end of the tablet, all of them

are accused in their turn of angering the deity and all are either convicted by oracular inquiry or else an inquiry about their actions is pending.⁴³ In particular it is the Great Daughter, head of the rival faction, who is said to have made an inappropriate substitution of votive offerings for the deity of Arušna (obv. 84).

The figure of “Naru,” who is recorded as relaying the accusation against the Great Daughter, is proof of the complexity of the divinatory system. Naru, who had participated in earlier oracular inquiries, reports late in the tablet that the Tawananna had told “Uba-ziti” these things—and now she relays them. The sequence of events appears to have been as follows: the Tawananna made



Close up text of KUB 22.70, Oracle of the Cult of the Goddess Arušna.
[Mainzer Fotoarchiv, N02899]

an initial accusation against the Great Daughter and it was reported up the chain, until, as was potentially the case with everything that went on in the palace, the matter was to be subjected to oracular inquiry (obv. 84).

Naru also played a role in the case of Pattiya. Pattiya, who may be the king's mother-in-law, was accused by Puduhepa of interfering in the business of the palace (obv. 76-77 and rev. 6).⁴⁴ When Puduhepa complained to the king about it he did nothing, nor

did he even apologize for his negligence (obv. 79-81). As a consequence, penance was imposed (obv. 76-77 and rev. 6-8). Having been expelled from the palace and being intended to be made over as a slave to the god, Pattiya was still allowed to linger on. Because of this, additional compensation would have to be given to the god when they finally sent her off (obv. 35 and 44-45; rev. 4-8). Specifically, the impact on the Tawananna of her overstay is singled out in the text.⁴⁵

In regard to the fact that it was once more unfavorable, (is this) because the affair of Naru was postponed? Because Naru was brought and spoke of (the affair of the woman) Pattiya? (obv. 34-35)

... In regard to the fact that it was once more unfavorable, (is this) because Naru [...] said: "Because Pattiya has stayed too long up in the palace, two women shall be included as reparation when she is given to the deity. They shall be clothed in palace garments. And although the queen might die because of that deity, they (still) have not put away (that is, satisfied?) the deity on her account." Because of [that, the reparation was determined upon]. Some [furnishings] will be left behind in the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity. Those of the royal household will be kept separate. (obv. 44-46)

Here the queen's wellbeing and the decision of the disposition of the votives are explicitly connected, with Pattiya (of the rival faction) being on the wrong side of the divine, acting against the Tawananna, and Puduhepa now being on the side of the right.

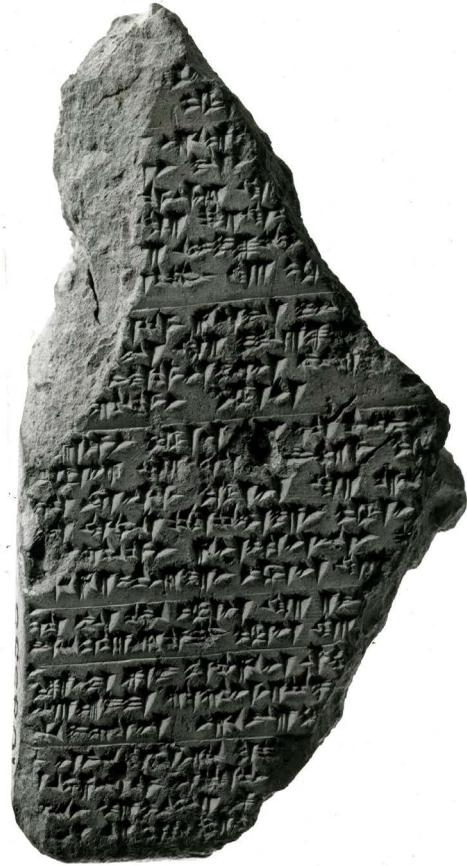
But it is not Puduhepa herself who gets to make this judgment but

rather Naru who provides the interpretive key that explains what has happened to displease the god and what compensation is to be made. Naru appears three times in the course of KUB 22.70. She provides information about things that needed to be subjected to oracular testing (the affair of Pattiya (in obv. 34-35 and 44 and then later on in the text, the

affair of the Great Daughter, obv. 82-84); she also is the one who determines what the god requires in compensation (“Naru [...] said: “Because Pattiya has stayed too long up in the palace, two women shall be included as reparation when she is given to the deity. They shall be clothed in palace garments,” obv. 44-45).⁴⁶ Mala, Naru, the nameless diviners who make the recorded inquiries—all of these people were part of the process and make it clear that the Tawananna was but one actor among many.

In obv. 44-46, it appears that Queen Puduhepa’s original cause of offense (not wanting to take from the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity to give to the deity of Arušna) is now being upheld: “Some [furnishings] will be left behind in the mausoleum of the Tutelary Deity.” This is further confirmed later in the tablet when there is yet a third recorded dream of Queen Puduhepa that puts the final seal on things. In obv. 73-74 it is briefly stated: “dream of the queen” followed by “The Devices, which (are) in the rock sanctuary of the patron deity ... we will leave them (as they are).”⁴⁷ That is, what has been given to the Tutelary Deity by the Tawananna will stay with him. In regards to the disposition of votives, this third dream is the clincher; the queen, though it had taken much time and maneuvering, at last had the final word.

The question is whether it was always Puduhepa’s intention to give a precious crown and materials to the Tutelary Deity or whether that was something that she came up with after the fact, a revised commentary on her



Bottom left-hand corner of large clay tablet with parts of six and eight sections of inscription; Hittite version of ritual of the ŠU. GI - woman ('old' woman). [©Trustees of the British Museum]

earlier actions, intended to make her look better after being caught reneging on her vow to the deity of Arušna. The answer is unattainable. What we can say for certain is that the complexities of divine communication and its interpretation, with multiple players involved interpreting and checking divine messages, created multiple avenues for both attack and defense.

The analysis of KUB 22.70 demonstrates that divination, and spe-

cifically dream interpretation, though potentially effective, was yet an imprecise political tool. Apart from KUB 22.70, there are only a few instances from Hittite records that suggest divination was sometimes utilized as a political weapon. In the record of his deeds, the *Apology* (CTH 81), which is commonly seen as a justification for his takeover of the throne, King Hattusili III, the husband of Puduhepa, includes several references to dream messages from the goddess Ishtar.⁴⁸ Dreams are clearly used in this text as imperial rhetoric, as a means of showcasing Hattusili's close connection to the divine.⁴⁹ As Mouton notes, this self-promoting use of dreams does not have to be a deliberate lie because dreams are often vague and open to interpretation—so why not interpret in one's best interest?⁵⁰

Another incident, this time in the reign of Mursili II, indicates a more cynical use of divination. In this case what is in question is an omen, rath-

er than a dream. The text is KUB 14.4, an imperial prayer. Peter Huber argues that the occurrence of a solar eclipse provided an opportunity for Mursili's stepmother, the widow of Suppiluliuma I, Suppiluliuma's last wife, who came to him from Babylon, to attack him.⁵¹ In a matter similar to the events behind our text, in the time of Mursili II, his stepmother was still living, still the Tawananna, and there was tension between her and his wife, Gassuliyawiya. This Tawananna too, had been accused of misbehavior with respect to money and a cult (the cult of Ashtata). But a difference in this case is that the wife of Mursili died. Mursili accused his stepmother of having caused Gassuliyawiya's death by cursing her. The wife is mentioned in the text below and the fact that she is no longer alive, and therefore there is no chance of an heir, seems to have prompted the Tawananna to attempt a coup.

Huber translates it in this way:

24. [When] I was marching [toward the land A]zzi-now the Sun-god (had?) made an omen-but the queen 25. [acted with malice and] repeatedly said: "That omen which the Sun-god made- 26. [did it concern [the king's wife?] Did it not rather concern the king himself? Now, if 27. [it is so, ... the great] ones of Hatti, with regard to the lordship, [shall select] another 28. [man as king and shall gi]ve [him] Amminnaya or(?) of Amminnaya 29. [her daughter as his wife]." (KUB 14.4)⁵²

The Tawananna here tries to start an uprising against Mursili by spreading the idea that a recent solar omen was a sign that the gods wanted a new king on the throne. In Huber's reconstruction of events, the Amminnaya in the text is a daughter of the former king, Suppiluliuma I; according to the Hittite

succession law as laid out in the *Proclamation of Telipinu*, when there was no male heir, the nobility were to choose a husband for the eldest daughter of the kin, and they together were to rule the state.⁵³ In the translated passage, the Tawananna is here repeating the interpretation of the court, the king's sup-



Vessel terminating in the forepart of a stag, ca. 14th-13th century BCE. Cult scenes or religious processions are commonly represented in the art of the Hittite Empire, and texts make frequent reference to trees and plants associated with rituals or festivals. The texts also tell us that spears were venerated objects, so it is possible that the stag, killed in hunt, as is suggested by the quiver and bag, was being dedicated to the stag god. Hittite texts also mention that animal-shaped vessels made of gold, silver, stone, and wood, in the appropriate animal form, were given to the gods for their own use. Though the precise meaning of the frieze on this vessel remains a matter of conjecture, it is possible that it was intended to be the personal property of the stag god. [The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, New York, New York]



Puduhepa. Hittite relief from Firaktin, copy in the Museum of Kayseri: Puduhepa and Hebat. Photo: Klaus-Peter Simon. <creative commons.org/licenses/by/3.0/legalcode>

porters, who had presumably suggested that the eclipse was a divine response to the death of the king's wife. She offers an alternative interpretation of her own (no, this is rather about the king!), but, as Mursili continued to rule, it is clear that her competing interpretation did not gather enough steam to succeed.⁵⁴

In this reconstruction of the events in the reign of Mursili, there were competing interpretations of an omen, but, despite her status, the interpretation of the Tawananna did not prevail. In KUB 22.70 we see that a later

Tawananna, Queen Puduhepa, facing a somewhat similar set of circumstances and having to meet it with the same set of tools, fared better, but it was not an easy victory. She was the head queen, the chief priestess, and had a supervisory role in the disposition of expensive cult objects. But the several overlapping and perhaps we may say competing elements within the Hittite religious system (omens, dreams, oracles, votive inventories) made it difficult to use these tools unilaterally. There were many people involved in deciding which of these elements would come to the fore at any given point in time (dream recorders and interpreters, oracular practitioners, other members of the court). There were many gods, each of which could have legitimate demands or directives (a Tutelary Deity and the deity of Arušna). Consequently, divination was a double-edged sword; a source of authority that could be turned against one. The complexity and interplay between its several parts meant that divination could only ever afford the potential for success, rather than a guarantee.

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Endnotes

1 See for example the following prayers:

§8' (ii 16-26) Mercy, O Sun-god of Heaven, whose mind(?) is brilliant(?), whose sunbeams are luminous. Protect in the future the *labarna*, your priest, and your *tawannanna*, your priestess, together with his sons and his grandsons! Rejuvenate them and make them eternal! (CTH 385.10; translated by Itamar Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, ed. Harry A. Hoffner (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), no. 3, p. 26).

§1 (i 1-13) You are the one who rules the kings and queens of Hatti. The one whom you look on with favor as king or queen is right with you, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady. You are the one who chooses and the one who abandons. (CTH 383; trans. Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, no. 21, p. 97).

2 On the dating of the text there is some debate, as the personal names of the imperial

court, the king, queen, and “Great Daughter,” mentioned in the text, are not included. Proposed dates range from the time of Mursili II to that of Tudhaliya IV. I follow Ünal, Kammenhuber, and other scholars who place it in the 13th century, with the Tawananna being Puduhepa and the events described likely occurring in the time when her husband Hattusili III had already died and her son Tudhaliya IV, was king; Ahmet Ünal, *Ein Orakeltext über die Intrigen am hethitischen Hof (KUBXXII 70 = Bo 2011)* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1978), 36-52; Annelies Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis, Träume und Vorzeichenschau bei den Hethitern* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1976), 147, 150-152. For a summary of the dating debate and bibliography see Johan de Roos, *Hittite Votive Texts* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2007), 66 and Itamar Singer, “The Title ‘Great Princess’ in the Hittite Empire,” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 23 (1991): 327-38; reprinted in *The Calm before the Storm: Selected Writings of Itamar Singer on the Late Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Levant* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 264-266.

- 3 Hattusili III died around 1237 BCE. If a letter of Queen Puduhepa’s dates to the reign of the Ugaritic king, Niqmaddu III (reigned 1225 to 1220 BCE) (Ugaritic letter RS 17.434 (KTU 2.36+)), then she lived into her nineties.
- 4 For definition of the term see Ünal, *Orakeltext*, 51; Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis*, 147-149; de Roos, *Hittite*, 66-68.
- 5 Singer, “Great Princess,” 270.
- 6 As seen for example in the letter of Queen Puduhepa to Ramses II, KUB 21, 38 obv. 47-56; translated by Gary Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), no. 22E, p. 134; on diplomatic marriages in the Bronze Age in general see Amanda Podany, *Brotherhood of Kings: How International Relations Shaped the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 217-242.
- 7 KUB 21, 38 obv. 47-56; trans. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* 22E, p. 134; Singer, “Great Princess,” 265-266.
- 8 Ünal, *Orakeltext*, oracular inquiries: 11-13; themes: 14-21; people: 24-29.
- 9 Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis*, 150-152.
- 10 Richard H. Beal, “Gleanings from Hittite Oracle Questions on Religion, Society, Psychology and Decision Making,” in *Silva Anatolica: Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Piotr Taracha (Warsaw: Agade, 2002), 14-19.
- 11 Alice Mouton, *Rêves hittites: Contribution à une histoire et une anthropologie du rêve en Anatolie ancienne* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 172-176 (Mouton’s Text 47); discussed 41-42; Roos, *Hittite*, 4 and 66.
- 12 Shoshana Bin-Nun, *The Tawananna in the Hittite Kingdom* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1975), 187-188.
- 13 Bin-Nun, *Tawananna*, 193, citing KUB 15.5, discussed below.

- 14 Mouton, *Rêves*; Livio Warbinek, “Hittites and Their Oracles: They Believed in Them, Although They Did Not Trust Them,” *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 23, no. 1 (2022): 13-25; de Roos, *Hittite*, and Matteo Vigo, “Sources for the Study of the Role of Women in the Hittite Administration,” in *The Role of Women in Work and Society in the Ancient Near East*, eds. Brigitte Lion and Cécile Michel (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 328-353. The work of these scholars will be discussed and integrated below.
- 15 A necessary caveat must be stated: the author does not read Hittite. The analysis that follows is based on a synthesis of translations from the Hittite into German, French, and English. Ünal provides the only complete transcription of the original Hittite and the only full translation into a modern language (German) of both the front and back sides of the tablet (Ünal, *Orakeltext*, 53-99). In citations of KUB 22.70 in this article, the front side is designed as obverse (obv.) and the back side is designated reverse (rev.). For citation of Hittite texts, the side, section and/or line numbers are included where possible, though it must be acknowledged that due to working in translation the line numbering is sometimes approximate. With respect to the placement of such information, in particular when quoting from a text, readability (rather than strict uniformity) is the guiding principle. For block quotations, the formatting in the translation has been retained where it is necessary to reflect the spacing of the original. Alice Mouton in her comprehensive 2007 study of Hittite dreams includes a transcription and French translation of portions of the front side of the tablet (Mouton, *Rêves*, 172-176 (Mouton’s Text 47); discussed 41-42; for a quick overview of this book in English, including some translated excerpts of Hittite texts mentioning dreams, see Mouton, “Portent Dreams in Hittite Anatolia,” in *Perchance to Dream: Dream Divination in the Bible and the Ancient Near East*, eds. Esther J. Hamori and Jonathan Stökl (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2018), 27-41. Gary Beckman provides an English translation of the majority of the first 60 lines of the front side in the sourcebook *Context of Scripture*, but this includes most of the sections that are relevant for our purposes (“Excerpt from an Oracle Report (1.78),” translated by Gary Beckman in *Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions, Monumental Inscriptions and Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, eds. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1.78, pp. 204-206). Hereafter, *Context of Scripture* will be abbreviated as COS and full citation for its translations reserved for the bibliography. Where two or more of these authors translate the same section of the text, the differences are minor and are noted in what follows where applicable. It should be noted that Richard Beal has also provided an English translation of large portions of this text, but whereas his translation does not always match with that of Ünal, Mouton, and Beckman, and whereas he seems to have made several interpretive leaps, as well as leaving out some parts that pertain to our analysis, it will not be relied upon for the analysis (Beal, “Gleanings,” 14-19. Interpretive leaps are perhaps unavoidable given the obscure nature of many of the passages).
- 16 Beckman’s translation of KUB 22.70 will be used throughout unless otherwise noted.
- 17 Although some names and themes seem to repeat, and there are indications of cause and effect in parts of the text, it is not certain that all the inquiries included in the record were asked in the sequence in which they appear. There may also have been a lag in time between some questions. Because of the recurring themes and the logical

relationship between them, scholars today do tend to see a series of connected events behind large parts of the text, namely in regards to the Tawananna and a faction that sought to work against her.

18 Ünal suggests that it was to spy on the queen on behalf of his mother (Ünal, *Orakeltext*, 24).

19 To deceive the deity (so Ünal, *Orakeltext*, 205) or not providing proper service to the deity (Beckman, *COS* 1.78, p. 205).

20 Hittites believed in omens—signs spontaneously provided by the gods. These could take many forms but a common one throughout the ancient world and in Anatolia as well were natural phenomenon such as earthquakes, or sudden changes in the weather, or the movement or appearance of the sun, moon, and stars (Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis*, 41-58 and Richard H. Beale, “Hittite Oracles,” in *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*, eds. Leda Ciruolo and Jonathan Seidel (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 57). Beal’s overview is followed here. Warbinek, “Hittites,” 16-17 also has a brief overview; for bibliography see 16, n. 17. The Hittites believed that certain kinds of dreams were messages sent by the gods. They had several types of oracles including *extispicy* (also called flesh oracles), which involved the examination of certain parts of the liver of animals or other organs to read marks, number of creases, or turns, etc. thought to be significant; the bed or sheep oracle, which examined the behavior of sheep on the way to slaughter; augury or the observation of the movements and flight of birds; the ḪURRI-bird oracle, the details of which remain unclear but which was distinct from the other bird oracles; snake oracles, in which a serpent was loosed into a basin and its movement traced, both the snake and the basin being assigned symbolic names; and the KIN oracle, which also relied on symbolism. Several objects were assigned symbolic names and the relationship between them determined the outcome. Flesh oracles: Beal, “Hittite,” 59-64; bed or sheep oracles: Beal, “Hittite,” 64-65; augury: Beal, “Hittite,” 65-71 and 73; ḪURRI-bird oracles: Beal, “Hittite,” 71-72; snake oracles: Beal, “Hittite,” 74-76; KIN oracles: Beal, “Hittite,” 76-80; Beal refers to these as “symbol” oracles.

21 Warbinek, “Hittites,” 18-22. Hittite oracle reports record that results were either “favorable” or “unfavorable.” As Warbinek has demonstrated, in order to determine the answer to the inquiry, three different things had to be taken into account, and these were 1) the inquiry (that is, the question put to the deity), 2) the result (of the oracular manipulation—i.e., how the birds, the sheep, the snake, etc. moved), and 3) the answer itself (that is, how the god responded). The phrasing of the initial inquiry was significant as it could be a simple query (as in: is this, Deity, why you are angry?) or it could include negatives (as in: is it not that you don’t want the priest to make recompense?). A generic example would be:

Initial question: if the reason for [fill in the blank] is due to X, let the [oracular test type] be unfavorable

Results of the oracle test: unfavorable

Answer: yes, as in, yes X was indeed the problem.

If, on the contrary, the initial question desired that the outcome “be unfavorable!” and the result was instead “favorable,” then they would know that they had not yet hit upon

the crux of the matter and needed to keep going. See Warbinek, “Hittites,” 17-18 which includes a handy table.

22 Ünal, *Orakeltext*, 14-19.

23 Beal, “Gleanings,” 13.

24 The practitioners who performed flesh and sheep oracles differed from those who carried out the bird oracles; the “Old Woman” performed the KIN oracles; the diviner in the case of the HURRI-bird oracle was yet a different practitioner (Beal, “Hittite,” 59, 64-65, 71, 74, 76). But there could be overlap. For example, the same type of practitioner performed the bed (or sheep) oracle as performed *extispicy* (Beal, “Hittite,” 59 and 64). In the example below there was first a flesh oracle test which was then followed by a symbol test, each performed by a different person.

(30-31) Will the road accident happen to His Majesty due to the negligence of a person? Let the flesh oracle be unfavorable. The gallbladder was *hilipšiman*. Unfavorable.

(32-33) The question by the female diviner/exorcist is the same. Let the symbol (oracle) be unfavorable. ‘The gods’ arose and took ‘an evocation ritual’ and gave it to ‘the assembly.’ Unfavorable. (KUB 5.3 + KUB 18.54 i 23-iii; trans. Beal, *COS* 1.79, p. 210)

25 Mouton, *Rêves*, 18 identifies three ways in which oracles and dreams were related. Oracles were used to check the “ominous” significance of a dream (was it indeed a message from the gods?), to help interpret the meaning of the dream, or to elicit more details from the gods about the problematic situation or issue that was revealed in the dream.

26 Trans. Hoffner, *COS* 3.36, p. 66.

27 The author’s translation from the French: Mouton, *Rêves*, Text 54, p. 186. Johan de Roos (1937-2020) was perhaps the foremost scholar on Hittite vows. His *Hittite Votive Texts* is a reworking and expansion of his 1984 dissertation (de Roos, *Hittite*, 2). de Roos describes vows as promises made to deities to give them objects, animals, or people. They could be made in dreams by the human dreamer or could be demanded by the god in the dream. “Regarding the fact that in a dream one said to His Majesty: ‘On behalf of yourself, make Yarri (represented as) a veiled woman, thus (said) Hepapiya: ‘Yarri, (represented as) a veiled woman, they shall make, and they shall give her to the great god’” (KUB 15.5 + KUB 48.122; obv. 2, lines 46-51; trans. de Roos, *Hittite*, 84).

28 Trans. de Roos, *Hittite*, 84; discussed n. 203 p. 44.

29 de Roos, *Hittite*, 42-48.

30 Trans. Hoffner, *COS* 3.36, p. 67. Compare KUB 56.13 (CTH 590) (Mouton, *Rêves*, Text 118), in which, though the text is not intact, we can read if-then clauses and see that the votive’s weight in gold is explicitly unspecified. The language is even more explicit in KUB 15.3, where the queen pledges one silver goblet and one of gold, regarding which

she states, “I will determine the weight thereof according to my own judgment” (KUB 15.3 obv. 1, line 12; trans. de Roos, *Hittite*, 107).

31 Translated by Jared L. Miller, *Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), no. 20, pp. 251, 253.

32 Although we assume that any Hittite may have had a significant dream it is only the dreams of the imperial court, priests, priestesses, or administrators such as “the commander of the 10” which are recorded in the extant records. Mouton, *Rêves*, 47, compare Oppenheim, “Interpretation,” 193; for an example of a priestess receiving a dream see KBo 8.62; “the commander of 10” also receives dreams (KUB 48.124 rev.? line 13; trans de Roos, *Hittite*, 228). The first major study of Hittite dreams formed part of the work of Oppenheim, who did a study of dreams in the Ancient Near East (with some comparative material from Greece). He divided dreams into symbolic and “message” dreams; the latter category, however, was not well-defined (A. Leo Oppenheim, “The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, with a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series 46.3 (1956): 179-373). Mouton feels this division does not work well for the Hittites. (For her critique of Oppenheim, see Mouton, *Rêves*, 29. For examples of where the categories of Oppenheim break down see “Interpretation,” 192, 206).

Mouton notes that not all dreams were believed to come from the gods, and those that did might have messages that were clearly expressed or might on the contrary require interpretation. Dreams might come unbidden, or one might intentionally invoke a dream, participating in a ritual to prepare to receive the dream; this is called an incubation dream. Although Mouton also distinguishes between message dreams (that is, dreams that were thought to convey a message from the gods) and bad dreams (29, 54-62), her overall approach is to categorize dreams as 1) those which were sent without being asked for or 2) those which were requested (Mouton, *Rêves*, 2-4). Warbinek summarizes her approach in this way:

According to Mouton (2007, 2), dream interpretation can be of two different typologies referring to the difference between the *oracle*, as the form of communication by which men actively search for information from the deities (*divinatio artificiosa*), and the *omen*, as unsolicited signs from the gods (*divinatio naturalis*). In this regard, Hittite dreams could have belonged both to oracle and omen genres: if dreams were actively sought, they belonged to oracular practice, whereas if they arose spontaneously, they were omens. (Livio Warbinek, “Was the Hittite ^{MUNUS}ENSI a Dream Interpretress?” *Kaskal, Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 16 (2019): 54-55; for bibliography of those who have written on Hittite dreams see n. 9, p. 54).

Incubation dreams occurred in particular at religious festivals; see for example KUB 31.77 (CTH 584) (Mouton, *Rêves*, Text 100) in which the queen performed rituals in the city of Zithara and has dream on the night of the ritual of tears.

Dreams could be therapeutic, bringing healing or explaining how one might go about being healed. Examples of these would be KUB 9.27+ (CTH 406) (Mouton, *Rêves*, Text

- 29) in which a ritual to guard against sexual impotence involves a goddess coming to the sleeper in a dream, or dreams in which Queen Puduhepa is given information about her husband's disease and the plant that may heal his eyes (KBo 24.124 (CTH 580) (Mouton, *Rêves*, Text 72); KUB 22.61 (CTH 578) (Mouton, *Rêves*, Text 66)). They could be ominous, warning the sleeper of impending danger or doom (Mouton, *Rêves*, 29, 54-62).
- 33 Trans. de Roos, *Hittite*, 230.
- 34 Mouton, *Rêves*, 53. The ^{MUNUS}ENSI was for a time understood by modern scholars as referring specifically to a female interpreter of dreams. Hence in KUB 48.118, where the word appears, de Roos translates it as “the wife of Gazzuwalla w[ho] was dream-[interpreter] of the queen,” (trans. de Roos, *Hittite*, line 7, p. 124). But more recently, Warbinek has shown that this figure was not confined to the function of dream interpretation. Warbinek provides an updated list, categorization, and translation of all the Hittite textual references to this figure. Warbinek, “^{MUNUS}ENSI,” 56 provides a table listing the variety of translations of the term as found in modern-day translations (English, German, Italian, and French). Hittite texts are listed on pp. 56-57; see 57-71 for English translations. Of the 36 nearly 63% of them have an oracular context but only six sources (17%) indicate a connection to dreams (Warbinek, “^{MUNUS}ENSI,” 71). Consequently, Warbinek suggests using the term “seeress” rather than dream interpreter (Warbinek, “^{MUNUS}ENSI,” 72).
- 35 de Roos, *Hittite*, 7; for another example of those noted “given” and “not yet given” see also KUB 31.69, discussed in de Roos 8, translated 205.
- 36 Trans. de Roos, *Hittite*, 80. de Roos suggests seeing the individual Hepapiya in this text as an interpreter of dreams or a priestess (de Roos, *Hittite*, 8). Mouton, building on the work of Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, believes that it would be better to see Hepapiya as a priestess of some rank, perhaps even (on the basis of an existing seal, “Hepapiya princess,” NH, 68 n°365), a royal princess, who is here overseeing the distribution of votives (Mouton, *Rêves*, 25. She further notes that the dreams mentioned in this record would seem to be clear and so would not have required interpretation).
- 37 Discussed in de Roos, *Hittite*, 11; Michele Cammarosano, in an article on queen Tanuhepa (“Tanuhepa: a Hittite Queen in Troubled Times,” *Mesopotamia* 45 (2010): 47-64), cites in addition to IBoT 1.31, several other texts as evidence, and concludes, “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 gifts” (50; citing in n.20 the following: KBo 16.83+ (CTH 242), KBo 18.153 (CTH 242), KUB 13.35+ (CTH 293)); Matteo Vigo, who has written on the role of women in Hittite palace administration, examines the evidence of palace inventories which also demonstrate that the queen supervised the inventory process and sealed up the bags containing luxury goods (Vigo, “Sources,” 337-338; see also KUB 18.180 below).
- 38 Translated by S. Košak, *Hittite Inventory Texts (CTH 241-250)* (Universitätsverlag Winter: Heidelberg, 1982), 5-6. Compare KUB 18.180 lines 3-4 where the queen seals

the bags containing luxury goods.

39 Trans. de Roos, *Hittite*, 12.

40 Trans. Hoffner, *COS* 3.33, p. 57.

41 We know little about these individuals except that they played some part. Vigo, "Sources," 345-350; see also KUB 40.95 II 1-4 translated in A. Kempinski and S. Košak, "Hittite Metal "Inventories" (CTH 242) and Their Economic Implications," *Tel Aviv* 4/1-2, (1977): 88-89 in which items are handled over to the scribe Pihamuwa and checked by Takišarruma and Zuzuli).

42 See for example KUB 15.23, trans. de Roos, *Hittite*, 117; KUB 48.126 (CTH 590), trans. de Roos, *Hittite*, 127; KUB 15.15 (CTH 590), trans. de Roos, *Hittite*, 172; KUB 15.28 + IBoT 31.25, trans. de Roos, *Hittite*, 194-195; KUB 31.69, trans. de Roos, *Hittite*, 205; 1506/u, trans. de Roos, *Hittite*, 297. Theo van den Hout, "Death as a Privilege: The Hittite Royal Funerary Ritual," in *Hidden Futures: Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical and Arabic-Islamic World*, eds. J.M. Bremer, Th. P. J. van den Hout and R. Peters (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994), 49, thinks that the statue was for her own *ḫekur*-temple, where cult would be offered to her upon her demise (as was customary for the imperial family). This assumption is not necessary as we see that statues of the king or queen were often offered as a gift to various deities.

43 Pattiya will be taken up below. Ammattalla is accused of having disrespected the deity (obv. 8 and 78-79). She also let her son dress in her clothes when he entered the palace (obv. 9 and 77-78; rev. 31 and 35-37) and was brought secretly into the palace by the Great Daughter (obv. 29-30 and 71-72). All of these things angered the deity. The matter of the secret entry with the Great Daughter was yet to be investigated (obv. 31 and 72). Over the issue with the son wearing his mother's clothes, the king too, was made to repent, as well as the son (rev. 31-33).

Another person mentioned in the oracle report is "Palla." The text is unclear, but it appears that Palla had made some offense against the god, which was still to be examined (obv. 36-39 and 72-73).

Concerning the affair of Palla
she [Naru] said: "The queen said: 'May you, O deity, take
cognizance of that which I gave to Palla, so that
you will keep after Palla (about it).'" We interrogated
the associates of Palla, and they said: "We
do not know about that affair." And that affair will
(therefore) be postponed, (but) we will make inquiries
about it. (obv. 36-39)

The king was also found guilty of wrongdoing and made to repent and the offenses he had committed were all connected to the Tawananna in some way, either directly or indirectly. As already noted, he was made to repent over the actions of her opponent's son and the fact that he had not listened to her when she complained about Pattiya and

had allowed Pattiya to stay on in the palace even after having been promised to the god, an act which endangered not only his own health but also that of the queen. In addition to these things, he did not listen to the queen when she told him about people being oppressed (“stepped on”) and this offended the deity and the deity required penance for this, too (obv. 61-64 and 75-76; also in rev. 30 and 44-45). Beal, “Gleanings,” 17 has it that she sent them to the king, as persons needing justice, but that the king refused to act.

Obscure references to the activities of the Great Daughter, the presumed instigator of the accusations against Puduhepa, seem to indicate that she had behaved improperly herself. As discussed above, Singer suggests that the Great Daughter or Princess in KUB 22.70 is a daughter of the Great King of Babylon, who was given in marriage to the King of Hatti, Tudhaliya IV (Singer, “Great Princess,” 265-266). Obv. 19-20, 25 and 26 list a golden crown and other objects such as a falcon of gold and other items made from precious stones. They are part of the votive offerings given to the Tutelary Deity and to the deity of Arušna. The Great Daughter is said to have brought them secretly into the palace (obv. 71-73). The precise meaning cannot be determined but clearly the implication is that the Great Daughter has acted in bad faith. Later in text she is explicitly accused of having substituted inferior objects for superior ones and sent them off to the deity of Arušna (obv. 82-85).

44 On Pattiya as the mother-in-law of Tudhaliya, see Ünal, *Orakeltext*, 28 and 52. The identification is based on obv. 85 where the queen is described as having sent the daughter of Pattiya to the king “in kindness.”

45 In rev. 14-16, though the text is difficult to read, it appears that Pattiya had been cursed. In rev. 64 she is given over to be slave of the god but in 65-68 it is not clear that this was the end of the matter. Frustratingly, the text ends there.

46 Ünal, *Orakeltext*, 27, 65, 67 consistently describes Naru as a witness, one who gives testimony (65) but the translations by Beckman and Beal for this particular section of the text (obv. 44-46) do not convey this idea. Beckman’s translation is quoted in the body of the article. Beal, “Gleanings,” 16, has it as: “Is it because Naru had said: ‘Because Pattiya stayed too long up in the palace, when they give her to the deity, let them put two women in with her as compensation. [Let them] dress them with palace garments’” where it is clear that Naru is the agent determining the compensation.

47 The translation is the author’s synthesis of the translations by Ünal, *Orakeltext*, 77-79 and Mouton, *Rêves*, 176.

48 Trans. Th. P. J. van den Hout, COS 1.77, pp. 199, 200, 202. In §3 the goddess Ishtar tells Hattusili’s father to give his son into her service; in §4 she appears to Hattusili himself in a dream to reassure him that she will see him through the challenge he was facing from envious rivals; in §9 she appears to Hattusili again in a dream to command that he and his household devote themselves to her service; she appears also to his wife Puduhepa with an assurance of Hattusili’s success, and to the generals telling them that Hattusili has her support (§11).

49 Mouton, *Rêves*, 13-14.

50 Mouton, *Rêves*, 14.

51 Peter J. Huber, "The Solar Omen of Muršili II," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121.4 (2001): 640-644. This is the same queen who was thought by Bin-Nun to be the Tawannana from KUB 22.70.

52 Trans. Huber, "Solar," 641.

53 Huber, "Solar," 642.

54 Huber, "Solar," 644 lists the possible solar eclipses it could have been.