The downfall of Danuḫepa, the Tawananna-widow

In this article the identity and downfall of queen Danuḫepa will be examined. The position of a Tawananna-widow in the New Hittite kingdom will be described also. Danuḫepa was condemned in a lawsuit at the palace during the reign of Muwattalli II probably in Tarhuntassa.¹ The texts mention that she was condemned and that her sons, her entire retinue, lords as a lower (people) were destroyed. The whole part of the court, which supported and belonged to the Tawananna Danuḫepa died or had been eliminated. There is much uncertainty to which women king Muwattalli II was married, and one has wondered if there was just one royal woman, with the name Danuḫepa in that time-period. There was a discussion if Tanu-Ḫeba (Danuḫepa) was the wife of Muwattalli or of his father Mursili II, or whether they both had a queen Danuḫepa. The discussion is well described by Trevor Bryce in his book The kingdom of the Hittites (2005: 211). He stated that most scholars favour the option of one Danuḫepa, however he does warn his readers: “while acknowledging that the question is still not finally resolved”.

¹ Shoshanna Bin-Nun (1975: 277) assumed that the trial was during the reign of Uhri-Tesub (Mursili III), the son of Muwattalli. This is not likely because Hattusili reported it in his prayer that the concerned king has become a god (died) already, Singer 2002:99.
In 2010 Michele Cammarosano made a thorough study of the texts and seals which concern Danuḫepa.² Itamar Singer has written a suggestion that queen Danuḫepa might be the mother of Kurunta.³ Very useful is the book of Theo van den Hout The purity of kingship (1997), chapter 2 Materials for the historical background and an article form Metin Alparslan, in which he analyzed to which wives king Mursili II was married according to the texts(2007).⁴ Often the book the Kingdom of the Hittites by Trevor Bryce, gives a structure to handle the historical events.

**Hattusili III described the Danuḫepa affair.**

The prayer of Hattusili to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (CTH 383)⁵ is very clear and remarkable, it appears that Danuḫepa was the priestess of the Sun-goddess of Arinna:

“When it came to pass that the case against Danuḫepa, your priestess, took place in the palace [how he (?) curtailed the power of Danuḫepa until she was ruined together with her sons (children) and all her men, lords and subordinates, that which was inside the soul of the goddess, my lady, nobody knew, [my lady], whether the ruination of Danuḫepa was the wish of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, [my lady], or whether it was not her wish. In any case, I was not involved in that matter of the ruination of Danuḫepa’s son. On the contrary, when I passed the judgment over him he was sitting on my lap (= he was protected by me/was dear to me)”.

One can read that the father of Danuḫepa’s son is not mentioned; in other texts the father of Danuḫepa’s sons/children were also not revealed. Therefore it seems that the sons of Danuḫepa were not a son of Mursili II or Muwattalli II. They are not called at all a “son of a king”, they are missing the DUMU.LUGAL title in the texts, although they were certainly the sons of a queen. The ruination of the sons/children occurred, when Hattusili had an active function in the judgment, probably in his function as commander of the security of the royal family (GAL. MESEDI). And Hattusili wrote the prayer at the moment that the king, who was responsible for the ruination, was already dead, so this one could not be king Uhri-Tessub. Therefore Muwattalli II had ordered the punishment of the son(s) of Danuḫepa. It was normal that after a judgment of a court or an oracle, probably in his function as commander of the security of the royal family (GAL. MESEDI). And Hattusili wrote the prayer at the moment that the king, who was responsible for the ruination, was already dead, so this one could not be king Uhri-Tessub. Therefore Muwattalli II had ordered the punishment of the son(s) of Danuḫepa. It was normal that after a judgment of a court or an oracle, probably in his function as commander of the security of the royal family (GAL. MESEDI). And Hattusili wrote the prayer at the moment that the king, who was responsible for the ruination, was already dead, so this one could not be king Uhri-Tessub. Therefore Muwattalli II had ordered the punishment of the son(s) of Danuḫepa. It was normal that after a judgment of a court or an oracle,

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² Michele Cammarosano 2010, “Danuḫepa a Hittite Queen in Troubled Times”, Mesopotamia XLV, 47-65. He had to choose on the basis of some very fragmentary sources which woman Danuḫepa would have been and which position she may have had. He concluded that in his opinion only two possibilities are left : 1. Danuḫepa was the last wife of Mursili II. To whom she did not bear any children; or if she ever bore any, we do not know anything about them. At the kings death she was given in marriage to Muwattalli, whom she bore Kurunta, that sons of hers described as “dear to Hattusili”; or 2. Danuḫepa was the last wife of Mursili II, from whom she had at least one son who eventually became “dear to Hattusili” at the time of the trial; Muwattalli had Kurunta from a first-rank wife of whom there is no mention.

³ Itamar Singer 2011, Danuḫepa and Kurunta, the Calm before the Storm, 641.


⁵ Itamar Singer Hittite prayers 2002, CTH 383, 97.
the king decided which punishment a member of the royal clan had to accept. According to Bin-Nun the prayer of the Hattusili text mentioned that Danuḫepa was killed after the decision of the court, other scholars assumed that she was banned, because one was thinking that there were several seals of Danuḫepa was pictured together with king Mursili III (Uhri Tessub). Today this is doubted and one is thinking that Mursili II was pictured on the seals, the grandfather of Uhri Tessub. Therefore the seals cannot be used at the moment as a proof that a Danuḫepa was a queen of Mursili III (Uhri Tessub) and that therefore she was not killed by Muwattalli. But it can certainly not be excluded that she was only “destroyed” and banned and returned during the reign of Mursili III. If Danuḫepa had been killed, then the great queen of Mursili III (Uhri-Tessub) had become the new Tawananna. It is remarkable that neither her name or another Tawananna than Danuḫepa have been found on the seals of Mursili II or III, after the death of the Babylonian Tawananna. The reign of Mursili III was at least 7 years and so the absence of another Tawananna then Danuḫepa on the seals of Mursili, which still remain, is perhaps an indication that Danuḫepa was kept alive. But on the other hand the capital Tarhuntassa and her tablet collections have not been found, as well.

In the text of Hattusili III (CTH 383) after the lawsuit of Danuḫepa the verb ḫaṛ-ga-āš was used, which was translated as the disgrace of Danuḫepa by several hittitologists. Johannes Friedrich dictionary (1990-57) translates harga- = decay, abolition, perdition, danger. Also the verb harganu (1990-57) means to destroy, to kill, to demolish, to annihilate, to ruin. In the Hittite instruction texts the expression ‘ḫar-ni-kān-du’ is often used and it is translated as “destroy”. So to translate ṭḥar-ga-āš as the “the disgrace” of Danuḫepa is just a choice between other available various choices. The translation to destroy or kill gives more substance to the words of Hattusili III: “the one who did the evil thing”. Theo van den Hout translated in 1998 ḫar-ga-āš in CTH383 with “the downfall” of Danuḫepa, because one was convinced that she stayed alive, according to the seals of Mursili III, as mentioned above. Van den Hout translated also “(her) entire retinue, lords as well as lower (people), (that is her) retinue died”, so “harkatka” in the text part was used to express that many of her retinue were killed.  

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6 Bin-Nun 1975:193, Da-na-ḫe-pa-na-ḫu-ToolTip-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4-4 = the death of Danuḫepa is mentioned in KUB XIV 7 I 20.
7 Volkert Haas mentioned an oracle text, in which it is asked if the (swalli-)ghosts of Urhri Tessub and of Tanuheba are both angry (2008, Hethitische Orakel, Vorzeichen und Abwehrstrategien, 103).
8 She and their children are mentioned but her name is never mentioned in texts or seals.
We have no evidence that Muwattalli II had destroyed his own son by executing the son of Danuḫepa. It seems from the text that Muwattalli was not married to Danuḫepa, an observation which would fit, when Danuḫepa was a widow of Mursili II and had the function as Tawananna (see next page the explanation that a Tawananna-widow did not remarry the new king). There are seals of a Danuḫepa with Mursili II (and perhaps of Mursili III), and of Danuḫepa with Muwattalli II and Uhri-Tessub (when he was the Tuhkanti !). Then Danuḫepa is written with the title Great Queen.

In the scenario that Danuḫepa was the wife of Mursili II, there might arise a motive for Muwattalli to get rid of her sons, who could claim to have rights to sit on the throne. And also the whole bunch of the royal clan and servants, who supported Danuḫepa and her apparently important son. However the only facts we really know concerning this son is, that he is one of the sons/children of Danuḫepa. When he was young he was protected by Hattusili (‘sat him on his lap’ = protected him), nevertheless he had condemned him guilty in a trial on behalf of his king. Hattusili was the GAL.MESEDI, when king Muwattalli ruined or killed the son of Danuḫepa. Hattusili mentioned in his ‘hymn to Ištar’: “The one who did the evil thing, has already become a god.”

It is also important that Danuḫepa, the priestess of the Sun goddess of Arinna had apparently considerable (ancestor) cult possessions, her own estate and her own men.11

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A Tawananna widow usually did not remarry the successor of her husband!

In many seals of Mursili II and Muwattalli II Danuḫepa is written with her name and title great queen. That she was a queen of Mursili II and that she re-married Muwattalli II, when she was a widow, is at the moment the most likely explanation in Hittitology.\(^\text{12}\)

Shoshana R. Bin-Nun\(^\text{13}\) has argued in her book about the Tawananna, that Danuḫepa could not have been the wife of Mursili II. Bin-Nun reported that Hattusili III described her death and the death of her sons and all her people (CTH 383). Bin-Nun stated: "If Danuḫepa had been Mursili’s wife then her son would have been the brother of Hattusili and Muwattalli. But he is never mentioned as such nor is Danuḫepa referred to as Mursili’s wife or as having lived in the palace".

I think it is quite possible that Danuḫepa had already become a Tawananna at the end of the reign of Mursili II. And therefore she is mentioned as great queen in the seals of Muwattalli II and not because she had married him. There are no indications or evidence that a tradition existed that a Tawananna-widow remarried the new king, although she kept the office as ruling Tawananna.\(^\text{14}\)

During the New Kingdom time period it became the probable rule that the main wife of the king became the new Tawananna after the ruling old Tawananna had died.\(^\text{15}\) One can see that the Tawananna of Šuppiluliuma I is mentioned as Great Queen in the seal of Šuppiluliuma I, and in the seals of his sons Arnuwanda I and Mursili II.

Mursili II mentioned in a prayer to the gods (CTH 70): \([\text{when my father became a god, Arnuwanda my brother and I] did not harm Tawananna at all, nor did we curtail her power [in any way]. As [she has governed the palace] and the land of Hatti during the reign of my father, in that same way she governed them during the reign of my brother.} \ldots\text{ the privilege [ and rights?] that she had [at the time] of her husband, and that which was forbidden to her, she carried on. As with her man [she had ruled Hatti, so in the way as a widow] she ruled Hatti in the same way.}\]

In other words Arnuwanda and his brother Mursili did not describe the old Tawananna as their wife, but as a widow. More explicitly Mursili described the difference between his wife Gassuliyawiya and the Tawananna in his prayers to the Sun goddess of Arinna.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{12}\) Michele Cammarosano 2010, Tanuḫepa a Hittite Queen in Troubled Times, Mesopotamia XLV, 47-65.  
\(^{13}\) Shoshana R. Bin-Nun 1975, The Tawananna in the Hittite Kingdom, 277-278.  
\(^{14}\) The old tradition in the Land of Hatti was that the daughter of the Tawananna queen became the new Tawananna. Her husband chosen by the king would become the new king (antiyant-marriage). Therefore the rule that the new king made a wife of him the Tawananna was not a long-established tradition.  
\(^{15}\) If the new king had married the Tawananna of his father, then a son from this marriage would become the son with the most prestige: a first rank son of the king!  
\(^{16}\) Itamar Singer 2002, Hittite Prayers, 74-75.  
\(^{17}\) Shoshana R. Bin-Nun 1975, The Tawananna in the Hittite Kingdom, 74.
He described Gassuliyawiya as his wife (in CTH70 § 2) and as the Great Daughter (in CTH380 § 1), while he mentioned the Tawananna as the queen (in CTH70 § 4). In the crucifix seal Gassuliyawiya is pictured with a title great queen (MAGNUS, DOMINA) D. Bawanypeck 2011:73. Uhri-Tessub (Mursili III) wrote in a prayer concerning the trial of Danuḫepa: “May my father (Muwatalli II) and the queen not been opponents (in court)” and “…to Danuḫepa, the queen”. Supposedly Arnuwanda and Mursili II considered the Tawananna (the Babylonian princess), and Uhri-Tessub (Mursili III) Danuḫepa, as a kind of grandmother.

A king of the land of Hatti normally had more officially wives, and it was in the Near East an old acceptable custom that the widow of a brother remarried another brother. Also the Hittite “collection of law-texts” shows this: text 193 of the Law collection “If a man has a wife, and the man dies, his brother shall take his widow as wife. (If the brother dies) the father shall take her. After the father dies his brother shall take her”. Therefore it would in accordance with the tradition that, when the king died, his wife, who had became the Tawananna, would marry his brother and not his son. Law text 190 says that there was no punishment for intercourse with a stepmother after the death of the father, but by this statement, it apparently was an impure act. Intercourse with his own mother or his own daughter was an illicit act (ḫurkel), whether with the daughter, sister, or daughter (by a former marriage) of his wife.

Actually there are no texts which indicate that a Tawananna-widow remarried at all. Her cultic and political position as ruling Tawananna, supposedly did not allow that she remarried another man. The law texts support the narratives of Mursili II, that the Tawananna ruled the country like before, when her husband was alive. According to the text she was “the widow of the king”, during the reign of Arnuwanda and Mursili II. The law texts supports the statement that Muwatallili II, the son of Mursili II, probably did not marry the widow Danuḫepa and that her sons/children were not his children.

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19 Ibidem 76. There is one seal remaining of Mursili II and Gassuliyawiya, this seal is damaged, therefore a title of Gassuliyawiya on the seal does not been remained. D. Bawanypeck 2011, Die Siegel der Grosskönige und Grossköniginnen, 124
20 Theo van den Hout, 1998, The purity of kingship, 51 tablets XXI 3(g) and XXXI 66+(i).
21 Professor O. R. Gorney described the custom in the Near East that widows married again with a brother of her deceased husband. Even of cultures where sons could marry widows of his father, when they were not his own mother (O.R. Gorney 1961, The Hittites, 102)
22 Michele Cammarosano 2010, Tanuḫepa a Hittite Queen in Troubled Times, Mesopotamia XLV, 54.
24 Although there is no proof that Puduḫepa was a Tawananna, it is clear that she kept her position as Great Queen and as the main priestess of Arinna. There are no indications that she remarried after the death of Hattusili III.
Why Danuḫepa would be a Tawananna?

1. The name Danuḫepa means “Ḫebat made her” (tan-ḫ-ešbat) 25. In a tiny fragment is the remainder of a vow or oracle text (XI VIII 120) starting out with the words ū-TUM ḫ-da-nu ḫ-ep-a-as, literally it means “dream of (woman) ḫanu (god) ḫepa”. This unique spelling seems to point emphatically to Danuḫepa as a priestess of the goddess Ḫepa. 26 During the reign of several kings she is mentioned as the Priestess of the Sun goddess, she is called an AMA.DINGIR priestess in the same way as the Tawananna of Šuppiluliuma I. 27

Ada Taggar-Cohen stated that: “The title AMA.DINGIR-priestess is known, so far, only in relation to two women of the royal family, who served both in the offices of Tawananna and queenship. Both were queens of the New Kingdom, who were banished from the court by the ruling king. Both were priestesses to all the gods of the kingdom, while Tawananna Danuḫepa was associated especially with one goddess, the sun goddess of Arinna”. Shoshanna Bin-Nun tried to show that the queens of the New Kingdom were all associated with this goddess, according to a ritual performed by the queen in the town Tahurpa during the nuntarriyasha festival. Bin-Nun raised the question: “why would the queen share a title with the regular temple priestesses?” Ada Taggar-Cohen remarked: “There is a simple answer to this question. The queen is given this title just as the king is given the regular title of SANGA-priest. It should also be noted that the king is never given the title in combination with his name, and his position as priest is mentioned only in specific contexts such as prayers”. The title of a priestess was not given regularly, and it is mentioned only in invocations (prayers) or in special cases of her banishment from the palace, when her cultic activity was severed.

The important position of Danuḫepa is confirmed by her own seal, in which she is pictured as the priestess of the sun goddess or the sun goddess herself was pictured on her seal. This is difficult to explain, when Danuḫepa was just the last queen of Mursili II. Her considerable (ancestor) cult possessions might indicate a Tawananna position, as well. 28

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25 Stefano de Martino 2013, Hurrian Royal names, 14.
26 Theo van den Hout (1998:46) has translated and described the text fragment. He remarked that the spelling of her name with the divine determinative preceding the second element Ḫepa is unique. One can see that in the text fragment she is not called a queen, while in the texts of ‘Dreams of the Queens’ and in fragments of other votive texts (CTH 590), the title of the queens has always mentioned (Johan de Roos 2007, Hittite votive texts, 249).
27 According to Theo van den Hout one text (KBo XXXVI 111 ii) seems to mention that Danuḫepa was a Tawananna (1998:52). In Hittite texts usually a P.N. after a eterangan was not written. In the Offer lists to the Ancestors several queens are called a Ḫawan(anna). KBo XXXVI contains a list of trials, therefore Tawananna Danuḫepa could have been mentioned as a Ḫawananna in the text.
28 Theo van den Hout 1998, the purity of the kingship, 168. S. Bin-Nun suggested that in offering list F could have been written MUNUS D[anuhepa] and not D[aduhepa] after the offering to Piyašili (Sarrī-Kusuh) king of Kargamis, ThT heft 5, 1975, 290.
Seals from the "Westbau Buyskkale" in Hattusa, the citadel/palace of the Hittite kings. From left to right: Muwattalli and Danuḫepa, Mursili II or III (Uhri-Tessub) and a seal of Danuḫepa, Peter Neve 1992, Hattusa, Stadt der Götter und Tempel, 57-58. J. Börker Klähn wrote that the name Danuḫepa on both sides of the seal was written in hieroglyphic writing. The figure can be compared to the Hittite depictions of goddesses (in particular the Sun Goddess of Arinna), but it probably features the queen herself as priestess, in all likelihood with and intentional ambiguity (SMEA XXVIII 1996:48, Abb.15).

2. Many kings like Hattusili III, Uhri-Tessub and Tudhaliya found the affair very important to purify, in fact it often became at least the same priority in texts as the affair of the impeachment of the Tawananna of Šuppiluliuma in the prayers of these kings. If Danuḫepa was just a queen of Mursili II, who had remarried the new king, one can wonder why the affair got so much priority? Both Hattusili III and Uhri-Tessub feared the anger of the Sun goddess by "the evil thing" king Muwattalli had done. We can suppose that Mursili II had many official wives at the same time, especially because during his reign the plague was still growing wild.

3. And most of all, what could be another reason that Muwattalli II had let the picture of Danuḫepa appear on his seals? If she was just the last queen of his father, why would she have gotten the position of great queen during the reign of Muwattalli? It had become the rule that a wife of the new king became the new Tawananna, there was not a tradition that a wife of his father, who was not a Tawananna, became this position. Muwattalli II was probably already married, when his father died, he was older than his brother Hattusili III. When Mursili II deposed the Tawananna, the daughter of the king of Babylon, it is known that Hattusili was a child.30 So when their father Mursili II quite some years thereafter died, his older brother Muwattalli was certainly a royal-adult for a long period of time, who had more wives. Because he was the heir of he king, I think one can assume that he had already had officially married a first rank wife. Therefore the most likely reconstruction is, that Danuḫepa had became the Tawananna during the reign of Mursili II, after the old Tawananna, the daughter of the king of

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29 One can observe as well several royal successions by an antiyant marriage with a daughter of the king in the New Kingdom time period, for instance Tudhaliya I and Šuppiluliuma I.

Babylon, had died. And that will have been the reason she had kept her position, when Mursili II died. As the female ruler of Hatti, she is mentioned on the seals of Muwattalli II. Her important position, might be one of the reasons that the wives of Muwattalli II are not mentioned by name in texts, whether in narratives, from or about Muwattalli.

The sons (and queens) of Mursili II and the sons of Danuḫepa.

It is known that Danuḫepa had more children by the text of tablet CTH 383 and at least one son. These children were not from Muwattalli, so the question arises who was their father? Hattusili III, the brother of Muwattalli II, wrote: "My father Mursili had four children Halpa-sulupi, Muwattali, Hattusili and Massana-uszi, a daughter. I was the youngest child of them".

I suppose that Hattusili has mentioned the children of his father who were first in rank, the group to which he belonged. We have to assume that Mursili had many more children by wives of second rank and by concubines. In the time period of the plague (decades long) many royal children will have died, but also, I suppose have born as a natural reaction to keep the royal clan alive. Trevor Bryce described a letter of Puduḫepa to Ramses II in which she speaks about her royal household full of little princes and princesses, many of whom were probably the offspring of secondary wives and concubines. Such a household could also have excised at the court of Mursili II.

Trevor Bryce stated that Mursili II probably married Danuḫepa at the end his reign, when she was young in age, but not too young, it seems, to have presented him with offspring before his death. It is not known why Hattusili III did not mention this royal offspring of his father.

Is perhaps another scenario possible, in which Arnuwanda, the successor of Šuppiluliuma, had married Danuḫepa? Theo van den Hout pointed to an offering list KBo XXIII 42 6 (CTH 66.1. 9) in which a son of Arnuwanda was described: Tulpi-sarruma DUMU.NITA | Ar-nu-w[a-an-da] next to him Šuppiluliuma and Danuḫepa are mentioned. Danuḫepa is mentioned according to Bin-Nun in the line after Tulpi-sarruma: A.NA [f|da]-nu-he-pa 1 UDU SA Š MUHALDIM. Shoshana Bin-Nun had referred to the option in which Danuḫepa would be the wife of king Arnuwanda II, Mursili II’s elder brother, who died in the beginning of his reign probably by the

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32 Paul Koschacker 1933, Fratriarchat, Hausgemeinschaft und Mutterrecht in Keilschriftrechten, ZA Band 41, 4: The Hittite king (of the New Kingdom) had besides his legal wife in his harem other wives, with different ranks. The number of these women were perhaps larger, when he had taken over the harem of his predecessor or women from harems of his kinsfolk.
33 Trevor Bryce The kingdom of the Hittites 2005:264.
34 Shoshana R. Bin-Nun 1975: 279–280. She was pointing also to a sacrificial list KBo XIII 42, in which appeared Arnuwanda II had a son(Tulpi-Lugal-ma) and in which the queen [MUNUS | Da]-nu-he-pa is mentioned.
plague. Bin-Nun left this option, because she thought that this would have the consequence that Mursili II would have usurped the throne, and she stated that this was not likely at all.

However that the son of Arnuwanda was probably very young, when their father died. In the Ten Years Annals of Mursili II, the king stated\textsuperscript{35}: “When I had not yet sat on the throne of my father, all the surrounding enemy land had begun hostilities. When my father became a god, Arnuwanda, my brother, sat on the throne of my father. But later he also became ill. And when the enemy lands heard of the illness of Arnuwanda, my brother, they began to make war”.

The plague was an epidemic illness, so the illness of Arnuwanda came on very suddenly and probably fast. It is possible that he had a young queen, with very young children, who were not able to sit on the throne of their father. According to the tradition and the text 193 of the Law collection it would be proper that Mursili II the younger brother had Danuḫepa taken as his wife.

There is an argument for this scenario by the tradition that the heir of the king would have made his main wife the new Tawananna, when the old Tawananna died. Therefore Šuppiluliuma I and the Tawananna, the daughter of the king of Babylon could have planned that this wife of Arnuwanda would be the intended successor of the Tawananna. Seals of king Arnuwanda and the (old) Tawananna have been found, in which the old Tawananna bears the title Great Queen.\textsuperscript{36}

Arnuwanda had certainly a wife of 1\textsuperscript{st} or 2\textsuperscript{nd} rank, because his son is described as a child (DUMU) of the king. On the other hand the title of his favorite wife Gassulawiya, the Great Daughter, indicates that Mursili had a preference to make her the new Tawananna.

Intriguing are the acts of the old Tawananna and the words of Mursili II after a solar eclipse (CTH70):\textsuperscript{37} “When I marched to the land of Azzi, the Sungod gave a sign. The queen, however, in Hatti-land said: “this sign which the Sungod, what did it predict? Did it not predict (something) about the king alone? And if it predicted something about the king, will the people of Hatti-land then [demand someone] else in power? Will they [...] Ammanaya and Amminaya’s S(on?)”.\textsuperscript{36}

According to the words of Mursili II (in his 10\textsuperscript{th} year of reign\textsuperscript{38}) it appears that the Tawananna-widow took the solar omina as predicting the downfall of king Mursili II. It is likely that the king would “be not amused”, in particular because the immense cultic power of the ruling Tawananna and her position as the main priestess of the Sun goddess. The text suggests that Ammanaya and

\textsuperscript{36} Henti was at the first Tawananna- queen of Šuppiluliuma. The daughter of the king of Babylon became at first great queen and got later the function of a Tawananna.
\textsuperscript{37} Theo van den Hout 1998: 42-44.
\textsuperscript{38} Volkert Haas 2008: 84 and 134.
Ammanaya’s son could become the new rulers of the land of Hatti, so were potential rivals of Mursili II. Van den Hout suggested that Ammanaya was perhaps the name of the old Tawananna and Bin- Nun proposed that she might be the wife of the deceased brother king Arnuwanda.

At least it seems that a son of royal family member of Mursili II had apparently more rights or chance to become the successor than his own sons. If Ammanaya would be the name of the old Tawananna, then her son would have been a half-brother of Mursili II, but there are no texts which confirm the existence of a son of the Tawananna. One can even think that the mentioned Ammanaya was perhaps a daughter of the Tawananna. Actually we have no information if the Tawananna had born any child. Perhaps the immense plague in Hatti was responsible for the absence of the information of children of the Tawananna, who had married Šuppiluliuma as a young bride from Babylon. Tulpi-sarruma the son of Arnuwanda died perhaps early, because he is almost never mentioned in texts.

One can establish there is no evidence that the Danuḫepa was the wife of Arnuwanda. Therefore we have to assume that Mursili II was the father of the children of Danuḫepa. Hattusili III mentioned in his prayer to the sun-goddess: “I was not involved in that matter of the ruination of Danuḫepa’s son. On the contrary, when I passed the judgment over him he was sitting on my lap (= he was protected by me/ was dear to me)”. If Danuḫepa had born this child at the end of the reign of Mursili II, then her son would have been young. Arnuwanda died when Mursili was still “a child”. When king Arnuwanda had been the father then the son had been at least ca. 30 years old till he was destroyed by Muwatalli (the time period of the rule of Mursili II + the time period of the rule of Muwattalli till the trial of Danuḫepa).

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39 Shoshanna Bin-Nun has argued that Danuḫepa was probably the wife of Sarri-Kush, the king of Karkamish and the elder brother of Mursili II. This suggestion was rejected by Theo van den Hout 1998:44 note 35. It would also not explain why Danuḫepa became the Tawananna after the dead of the old Tawananna. Tudhaliya IV wrote to Puduḫepa in a letter: “Say to the Queen, to Queen(-mother), my lady, my dear mother’. Harry A. Hoffner Jr. Letters from the Hittite Kingdom, 327.

40 According to his own statement in his Deeds, however one can establish as well: not an adult, but already old enough to be a commander of an army and to have the important function as GAL MESEDI. See also Richard H. Beal, N.A.B.U. 2001 no 4 décembre, 85 Mursili II, previously GAL MESEDI.
Relief of king Kurunta near Hatip

Kurunta, Great King, Hero son of Muwattalli, Great King, Hero
Pictures May 2016:
above: up the rocks of Hatip
left: relief, almost fade away.
below: a cave near the relief ca. 20 m. to the right.
The Tawananna-widow and her succession.

After the death of Šuppiluliuma the Tawananna could maintain an enormous impact in the rule of the Land of Hatti. Her acts show the acts of a grieving widow, who eagerly wanted to get support of mighty men to be able to stay in the centrum of the power. She has an impressive cultic and political position, and her other tools were a lots of possessions and the ability to explain what the gods of Hatti wanted. Mursili II the new young king has to deal with her surprising and dangerous acts, while he actually had to concentrate himself mostly to win the many wars, to defend the kingdom. Remarkable are his statements in his prayer to the sun goddess: “Do you gods not see how she has turned the entire house into the ‘stone house’ (mausoleum) of the Tutelary god and the ‘stone house’ of the God? Some things she brought in from the Land of Shanhar (i.e. Babylon). Others in Hatti [ ] to the populace she handed over (?). She left nothing…. My father’s house she destroyed”

Mursili held the illness and death of his wife Gassulawiya, the Great Princess, against the Tawananna. In a prayer he stated: “My punishment is the death of my wife. Has this become any better? Because she killed her, throughout the days of life my soul goes down to the dark netherworld. For me it has been = unbearable. She has bereaved(?) me. Do you gods not recognize who really has to been punished?”

The Tawananna, the daughter of the king of Babylon, was condemned by an oracle and deposed from the gods of the office of the AMA.DINGIR priestess and banned from court. But in a way she kept her function and a part of her power, but she was not anymore the ruling AMA.DINGIR priestess. I think we can assume that the last office did not become vacant. The (temple) office of the Sun goddess of Arinna would not have accepted that they were treated in this way. It would be obvious that Mursili II and his administration had thought to make the curtailing of the Tawananna as acceptable to the Sun goddess as possible. Mursili II stated in his prayer (CTH71): “Now because I deposed [the queen] from priesthood, I will provide for the [offerings] of the gods, and I will regularly worship the gods”. So it seems that Mursili II had taken over the duties of the Tawananna, at least directly after the punishment of the Tawananna.

Supposedly many members of the royal clan had belonged to the offices of the Tawananna, the queen and the NIN. DINGIR (or ERRES.DINGIR = the Lady of the God in Hattusa). I assume that the high priests of gods and goddesses for the greater part must have belonged to the royal clan, otherwise a substantial control of the king of the cult in Hatti was probably not to maintain.

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41 Citrates from Trevor Bryce’s book 2005:208-209, who referred to the prayers of Mursili.
42 Itamar Singer 2002, Hittite Prayers, 78.
In the prayer of Hattusili to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (CTH 383) it is very clear and remarkable, that Danuḫepa was consequently mentioned as the priestess of the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Usually in prayers only the names of the royals, whether only their function like king or queen are mentioned. Therefore we must not doubt that the mentioned Danuḫepa in the prayer would have been another person than the Tawananna queen of Mursili II and Muwattalli.

The long absence of the old Tawananna from Hattusa will have made the necessity greater to replace her in cultic happenings and the important festivals by another important priestess, and probably therefore his new young queen. After the death of the old Tawananna, queen Danuḫepa will have become the ruling Tawananna in the kingdom of Hatti. After some years Mursili became fatally wounded in a war against the Kaka’s. The death of her husband, king Mursili II would have been an immense problem for Danuḫepa and her children. The conflicts of Mursili II with the old Tawananna and her banishment from the court was not an attractive example for both Danuḫepa and the successor king Muwattalli for their new political relations. Muwattalli was the second eldest son of Mursili II, his elder brother Ḥalpaššulupi must have died at a young age. Danuḫepa became the new Tawananna widow, without support of a husband and with the concern about her young offspring from Mursili II. There is no text which gives an indication how the relations between Muwattalli and Danuḫepa developed in the beginning. We can suppose, that Muwattalli was very busy to recover the country from the terrible calamity of the plague and with his efforts to rediscover and restore neglected cult, especially in the south.

45 Some years ago I thought that it was possible that in the text two Danuḫepa’s at the same time were described: a priestess and a queen. By writing my book about the bloodline of the Tawanannas, it became very obvious to me that it was very normal that in such religious text to names no titles were mentioned. Therefore also kings are often described as a simple Sanga priest.
46 Itamar Singer 2011, Failed Reforms of Akhenaton and Muwattalli, The calm before the storm, 597.
47 Volkert Haas mentioned that Egyptian texts described the “Asian disease” in the 16th and 14th century BC, which was epidemical and probably the bubonic plague or leprosy. The symptoms are described as the skin becoming dark colored, like charcoal, by internal bleeding and the urine had a red color (2008, Hethitische Orakel, 128).
48 Itamar Singer: From Hattusa to Tarhuntassa (2011 tChtS 614) and Muwatalli’s Prayer 1996, 192.
And he had to spend his time and energy in the defense of the kingdom, the rising confrontation with Egypt and the guerrilla wars of the Kaskeans. In the beginning of his reign there were supposedly no serious problems between king Muwattalli and the Tawananna Danuḫēpa. In Tarhuntassa, his new sacral capital, he started a new court perhaps together with his favorite queen, who was the mother of Uhri-Tessub (Mursili III).

The last was a ‘Son of the King’, however of second rank, because the rank of his mother. From the narratives of Hattusili it is known that Muwattalli had decided that Uhri-Tessub would become his heir and that he counted rightly on the support of his brother Hattusili, the Commander of the security (GAL.MESEDI) and his commander of the army in the North. The brother who had always supported him and had obeyed, and who he had rewarded by making him king of Hakmis, to which the sacral cities Samuha, Nerik and Hakmis belonged. There in Tarhuntassa, the city of his protector stormgod Piḫaššašši, situated anywhere in the Lowerland, there arose an immense conflict, which led to a bloodbath.

A text reveals that a queen was banned to Ahhiyawa. It might be possible that the queen in person was the old Tawananna, whether Danuḫēpa, after she was condemned in a trial:59

One can wondered if it was possible to transport such old Babylonian lady to Ahhiyawa and in texts it is written that after she was banned from the court she continued with her curses. Mursili II wrote that he gave her an estate after he had dethroned her.50 Henti the first queen of Šuppiluliuma was also mentioned as a possible queen for the banishment.51 In particular because a conflict between two royal women are mentioned. But her sudden disappearing from texts was perhaps just because she had died. Nothing is really known why in texts she is not mentioned anymore. We do not know if the Old Tawananna had children, either, and we can assume that between Tawananna Danuḫēpa and the mother of Uhri-Tessub was also a conflict at the court of Tarhuntassa. Therefore the statement of Trevor Bryce that there was a diplomatic understanding with Ahhiyawa during the reign of MuwattallII gives more grip to decide which queen was mentioned: Danuḫēpa.

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59 Volkert Haas described that it is possible that queen Danuḫēpa was banned to Ahhiyawa (Volkert Haas 2008, Hethitische Orakel, Vorzeichen und Abwehrstrategien, 88). See also The Ahhiyawa Texts 158-161 G.M. Beckman, T.R. Bryce, E.H. Cline.
50 Itamar Singer 2002, Hittite Prayers, 78 (CTH 71).
If so, then probably Uhri-Tessub is telling his narrative about the conflict between his mother and Danuḫepa. The Tawagala letter confirms the good personal relations between Hattusili III and the king of Ahhiyawa during the reign of Muwattalli: “But is not the TARTĒNU, my son, the proper representative of the king? He had my hand.” Later the king sent Dabala-Tarhunta, the KARTAPPU (the Charioteer) to Piyamaradu “Dabala is not of inferior rank. He sat since his childhood as crown prince with me on the chariot. He used to mount the chariot alongside your brother, Tawagalawa, too.” This prince is an important person.” “He has a wife of the queens family. In Hatti the family of the queen is very highly regarded.” The Hittite name is: Ḏa-ba-li-[a]-U-an 12 KAR-TAP-PU (translated: Dabala-Tarhunta) according to Harry A. Hoffner Jr. 2009, The Letters of the Hittite Kingdom 307.

There is no narrative which indicates why the Tawananna Danuḫepa was investigated at the court, humiliated and condemned. 52 But the emphatic mentioning of the destroying or killing of the son of Danuḫepa in the context of the decision to make Uhri-Tessub the heir of Muwattalli leads to the assumption that this conflict was most of all a succession struggle. Also the statement of Hattusili III that “(her) entire retinue, lords as well as lower (people), (that is her) retinue died” 53 is striking. It appears that the whole faction at the court was eliminated, who had supported Danuḫepa’s son of Mursili II and therefore had not sustained Uhri-Tessub as the heir of the king.

Apparently Muwattalli was not afraid to destroy the Tawananna; he had seen how the Tawananna of his grandfather had lost her position. It is possible that he had learned not to give a deposed Tawanannas too much room to act and that he did not have a taste for cultic fights together magic practices,’ evil sorcerous tongues’ and curses to him, his queen and his favorite son.

Perhaps it was not a matter of being afraid, but just an action of a ruler who had over won or had resisted all his enemies. Who had succeeded in removing all the temples of gods of Hatti, the gods of Arinna and of the Cedar woods from Hattusa to Tarhuntassa. He had also taken the deads (probably the statues and the bones of his ancestors, who had became an ancestors deity) and all the silver and gold of all the gods to his new sacral city. In brief, Muwattalli had supposedly became a too mighty autocrat, and perhaps even a tyrant, who usually in their rule and actions try to suppress their fear.

He humiliated the priestess of the sun goddess and destroyed her. It is likely that in an oracle he had asked the access or at least the admission of the Sun goddess of the city of Arinna. Hattusili is pointing to this aspect, because in the prayer to the sun goddess it is said that “one does not knew if the condemnation of Danuḫepa was the wish of the Sun goddess, whether not.”

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52 Theo van den Hout 1998, The purity of kingship, 45. On page 75 he reported that Danuḫepa is mentioned in texts with the Sumerogram EME= curse., which indicates the use of magic spells and curses.
Itamar Singer stated that Muwattalli changed the decorative style of his royal seals after the expulsion of the Danuḫepa from the palace. Then the king is pictured being embraced by his god, the Storm god of Piḫaššaššī, which is a Stormgod of Lightning.

**Kurunta, the son of Muwattalli had a royal mother of first rank.**

There had to be another queen of Muwattalli and one of first rank. It is not known if she was alive during the conflict with the Tawananna Danuḫepa. Kurunta himself was, when he was young, on behalf of Muwattalli adopted by Hattusili III his uncle. It is not known why it was the wish of Muwattalli, but it fits in his politics to make Uhri-Tessub his heir. There are no texts of Muwattalli himself which explain what his motives could have been. Even the name of the mother of Kurunta does not remain, but Itamar Singer wrote an article in which he suggested that Kurunta would have been the son of Danuḫepa. ⁵⁴

According to the rules of heritage of king Telipinu, a son of a secondary wife of the king is a legitimate heir, when there is no son of a first rank queen available. The mother of Uhri-Tessub is called an *ESERTU* woman. A prince of the first rank was the son of the king’s legitimate wife, sometimes called sakuwassar or referred to as DAM (= wife of the king). A prince of the second rank was the son of an *ESERTU* or a *NAPTARTU*. These were the respected secondary wives of the king, ⁵⁵ who did not have the same rights as the sakuwassar, though, according to Telipinu, their sons were legitimate heirs, if the first wife had no son.

In the treaty of Tudhaliya IV with the king of Amurru the *pahhurzes*, the sons of lower rank, are defined as “damai NUMUN LUGAL.UT.TI = other offspring (seed) of kingship” after the sons of the first wife and of the *ESERTU*. According to Shoshanna Bin-Nun these *pahhurzes* do not seem to have been written as princes. The term always has the addition LÚ = man, and never DUMU.LUGAL = son of the king. ⁵⁶

**Not yet an adult prince of the first rank.**

S. Košak improved in 1996 the translation of a text part into “since my brother did not have a ḫuḫuiššuwali son”. The old translation of the “Apology text” pointed that Muwattalli would not

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⁵⁵ In Suppiluliuma’s treaty with Hukkana of Hayasa (CTH42) and in the instructions for the kings officials, the free women (MUNUS ELLUM) are distinguished from the hierodules (MUNUS.SUHUR.LAL) of the palace. The sons of the lower rank were pahhurzes, who had no right to the throne according to Telipinu and to later documents.

have had a legitimate son of first rank. However the noun ḫuḫḫuššušuwiššu means adult, which translation is strengthened by the word name nawi = “not yet” in the text. Singer stated: “What the passage seems to imply that when Muwattalli died he must have had at least a son of his principal wife, but this son was not yet old enough or capable of ruling.” Singer found it likely that the text pointed to Karunta, who was adopted by Hattusili III. Karunta was the son of Muwattalli and he is never mentioned as a son of a secondary wife of the king. His brother Urhi-Tessub was made the heir and Karunta was therefore the second in the succession. He was raised up by Hattusili and operated for Hattusili III. From seals is known that Urhi-Teshub had the title tuhkanti, before he became king. The tuhkanti was the first in the hierarchy after the king in the Kingdom.


It is quite possible that Kurunta was the TARTĒNU58, the one who was sent to Piyamaradu by king Hattusili III in the text of the Tawagala letter. Piyamaradu was complaining that the king did not send the tuhkanti to him. In the Tawagala letter the king asked: “Didn’t I send my son, the TARTĒNU to him?” It seems that Kurunta, the brother of Urhi-Teshub was here described as the

57 David Hawkins, Urhi-Teshub, Tuhkanti-172-173 Seal 1.1. from the ruins of the Westbau on Nişantepe. Cuneiform : Seal of Urhi-Teshub, Tuhkanti, Great Son of the King. Hieroglyphic legend: TONITRUS. LOZENGE TUHKANTI = Teshub-Urhi, tuhkanti.

58 Who would have given this title TARTĒNU to Kurunta? because Hattusili III did not mention that he gave this title to Kurunta in his “Apology”, it is plausible that he got this title from his father Muwattalli. Karunta was not the highest army commander after the king and perhaps young when he became TARTĒNU. Hattusili III was already the experienced Lord of the army (EN KARAS) under Muwattalli II. Because Kurunta got Tarhuntassa as a kingdom from Hattusili III and, later on, again from Tudhaliya IV, he was in a way (and certainly formal) a ‘vassal king’ of the Kings of Hatti. This corresponds with the texts that sons of Hittite vassal kings sometimes got the title TARTĒNU, but it is in contrast with the fact that Kurunta probably got his title from his father. Apparently the intended heirs for the kingship of the Land of Hatti didn’t get this title, normally. The king of the Tawagala letter mentioned himself what the meaning was of this title: The TARTĒNU had the hand of the king! In the text is also described that the TARTĒNU was equal (aywala) of the king. The TARTĒNU appeared as a substitute of the King. Probably the second substitute of the king, because the tuhkanti was the heir of the king. The tuhkanti was the first in the hierarchy after the King in the Kingdom, so as the Bronze treaty with Kurunta, and other treaties and documents state consistent.
The other important sons of Hattusili were Nerikkaili (the tuhkanti, and he is also known with the title the Charioteer) and Tudhaliya IV, which was his GAL MESEDI. In the CTH275 text Kurunta is listed together with Nerikkaili and Ḫuzziya as the offspring of Hattusili. 60

It appears that the TARTĒNU was the one who follows his first brother, the one who once will replace the first son. Inge Hoffman pointed already at the unusual linguistic construction to mention the TARTĒNU as a son of the king in the Tawagala letter, this construction indicates an adopted son 61. Theo van de Hout has also argued strongly that Kurunta was most probably adopted by his uncle Hattusili III according to the cuneiform text KUB XXI37. The title TARTĒNU was probably given, because Muwatalli II decided that Kurunta was his second man. He had made Uhri-Tessub the tuhkanti, the heir.

The word TARTĒNU in Hittite originated from an Akkadian language, perhaps by mediation of the Hurrian culture of Kizzuwadna. It is intriguing to read about the terms “terdennu and turtānu” in an article by the law-historian Paul Koschacker. 62 He analyzed a text found in the city Arrap of the land Nuzi, which sets out the rights of inheritance of the oldest and the other sons. First the inheritance was divided in as many parts as the amount of sons plus one. The oldest son (the maru rabu) gets of these two parts and then the second son (who is the only one who is called the terdennu) gets a part and next the others another part. In time the difference fades away in texts of the city Arrap between the terms maru rabu and terdennu, both words mean the successor. Terdennu is derived from the verb to follow. Paul Koschacker stated that this can be further explained as: “the one, who follows the first, like the successor Assyrian title Turatānu’, the one who follows the king. It is possible to wonder why the terminology of the second son was used in the Nuzi text. The Sumerian noun ‘inbilia ’ = inheritance, with the Ideogram DUMU-US (US = redū) explains according to Koschacker that the next son is the successor (‘nachfolgberechtiger’). The term terdennu = the one who follows was not only used while he is the second son, but probably also because he will be the one who can replace the first son. The expression of the text according Paul Koschacker certainly means that the terdennu (the second and the one who follows)

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60 Itamar Singer 2011, The Calm before the Storm, 631 note 33.
is not used in relation to the father, but in relation to the oldest brother, the *mauru rabu*, who is the presumptive heir of the father.

Up to now, no text or seal reveals the name of a Hittite prince, who is called the TARTĒNU. At this time there is no clear evidence which son Hattusili III had sent to Piyamaradu. Although Jared L Miller proved that in the Tawagalawa letter Kurunta was presented in the city Millawanda.

It is remarkable how well the position of TARTĒNU would fit to Karunta. Also after Hattusili and his queen made their adoptive son Karunta king in Tarhuntassa. In the bronze tablet treaty of Tudhaliya and Kurunta is written “*that only the tuhkanti shall be greater than the king of Tarhuntassa, no one else shall be greater than he*”. In a way he kept the same succession position as when he was a young prince of Muwattalli. He is the second after the presumptive heir of the king.

Fortunately some TARTĒNU are known in vassal kingdoms of the Hittite kings. A text was found which described that Abirattas, the Hittite vassal-king of Amurru, got the land of Braga from the Hittite King Mursili II. Abirattas appointed his son as TARTĒNU and that he will be the heir in his kingdom. What is remarkable in this text is, that after the appointment to TARTĒNU, apparently it had to be described that he became the heir, when Abirattas would die (KBo III 3 II If. = Friedrich, AO 24, 3 S. 19f - the Braga document also Klengel Orientalia NS 32, 1963 page74). From Ugarit Utrisharruma the tartenu (second in command) is known, he was the son of the pitiful Piddu, sister of the king of Amurru and married with Amistamru I, king of Ugarit. Cyrus H. Gordon describes that RABITU means Great Lady, but also the queen mother (to be), and that the successor of the king had to be a son of the RABITU. The king had the advisory right and the veto on which son of the queen-mother would become the heir. H. Gordon 1988, Ugaritic RBT/RABITU, A scribe to the Lord: Biblical & Other Essays in Memory of Peter C. Craigie, 128.


Although according the treaty the king of Tarhuntassa had the same protocol rights as the king of the land of Karkemish.
The mother of Kurunta.

I think that Danuḫepa was not the mother of Kurunta. I have already argued in this article that a Tawananna widow usually did not marry the successor of her husband. But there are certainly more arguments. Danuḫepa and her son were ruined by Muwattalli. Kurunta, a son of first rank, was sent to Hattusili III to be raised as his son. I do not think this can be called a ruination and it would be quite dangerous to ruin first the mother and the position of her son, and subsequently let him (a potential rival for the succession of the throne!) become an adopted son of a very mighty person of the kingdom. Muwattalli was a man who knew the rules of power, pre-eminently.

And the words of Tudhaliya IV in the bronze tablet treaty to his adopted-brother does not fit well in the events of a ruination: “While I, Tudhaliya Great king had not yet become king, the god even then brought Kurunta and myself together in friendship, and even then we were esteemed and beloved by another”.

It is remarkable that in the prayer the name of the son of Danuḫepa not is mentioned, whether his position is described. 67 According to the hypothesis, Kurunta would have been ruined before he was sent to Hattusili, to the one who had condemned him guilty in a previous trial. And in his prayer to the Sun goddess of Arinna, together with Puduḫepa (as the maid of the Sun goddess), they tried to persuade the goddess that he was not to blame for the ruination of the son of Danuḫepa. However Hattusili did not say that he had taken up the son of Danuḫepa, he only mentioned that he protected this son before the trial, he did not say what he had done after the other did “the evil thing”. If this son was Kurunta, then probably Hattusili would have pointed 66

Road near the Karadağ to the village Madenşehir, May 2016.

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67 Why was neither the name of the son of Danuḫepa mentioned, nor the fact that he was a son of a king? One can say that it is not necessary or not proper in a prayer to a goddess, however in the same prayer Uhri-Tessub is mentioned by his name and described as the son of the brother of Hattusili.
emphatically to his nursing, investments and adoption of the son of Danuḫepa in his house, to make clear in his prayer to the Sun goddess of Arinna that he was not to blame. At the moment that the prayer was written Muwattallli was already dead, this means that Kurunta belonged already a long time to the house of Hattusili as his adopted son. And Kurunta was probably already king of Tarhuntassa in the Lowerland, which he had become as a reward for his loyalty to Hattusili III.

The crater of the Karadağ, May 2016.

Millennia before the rise of the kingdom of Hattusa the volcano eruption of the Karadağ had formed a landscape with many tops in all kind of “attractive” forms. The Karadağ is a strato-volcano. There must have been at one time an enormous explosion on top which was of a large size. A wide crater of ca. 1 km remained. According to the website Volcano Discovery the Karadağ had no volcano eruption in historical times, and the eruption style is explosive. Almost certainly already in ancient times people were impressed by the sleeping volcano and the enormous crater. It is conceivable that mountain gods and the “Ancient Gods” had been connected with this area and their battles. A text was written “in this place/ precinct”, which according to David J. Hawkins refers to a mountain-top sanctuary at the entrance of which the texts of king Hartapu were placed. David J. Hawkins 1995, SÜDBURG Hieroglyphic Inscription, 107: zi/a-ti LOCUS – i(a).

Later this kingdom was enlarged by his ‘brother’ king Tudhaliya IV in a new pact. Hattusili III wrote “I was Prince and became GAL. MESEDI. But (as) GAL. MESEDI I became King of Hakpis. But (as) King of Hakpis I became even Great King. DINGIR Ishtar, my Lord gave me the Kingdom of the Land of Hatti”. “I admit my [……..] Karunta and I made him King of the territory where my brother Muwatalli has extended the city Tarhuntassa”.

In the treaty of Muwattallii II with Alaksandu the “earlier gods” are mentioned in a group of 9 deities: Nara, Na[pšara], Amunki, Tuḫšši, Amezadu, [Alalu], Kumorbi, Enril, Ninlil- Volkert Haas 1994 HGA : 115. Normally there are 12 underworld gods described, since the reign of Šuppiluliuma I their names are often written. The Akkadogram A-NUN-NA-KE “the ancient gods” and in a Luwian text XII DINGIR KLIN has been used by the scribes of Hattusa (In Hittite: ka-ru-ú-li-us DINGIR). Gernot Wilhelm 2009, Die Götter der Unterwelt als Ahnengeister des Wettergottes, JHWH und die Götter der Völker, 63/64.)
Urhi-Tessub, the later king Mursili III, had tried as well to prove to the Sun goddess of Arinna, that he was not to blame for the downfall of the Tawananna Danuḫepa. In a rapport of the trial of Urhi-Tessub, he seems eager to lessen his responsibility in the condemnation of Danuḫepa:

“And I kept [ref]using: ‘May my father and the queen not be opponents (in court) and may it in no way out bad for me! Why would I have passed judgment on that trial? That if[s] a trial pertaining to a god! If my father had in no way been superior to the que[en] through the trial, w[ould] I have made [him] succumb to Danuḫepa, the queen, through the trial? This is said for (the benefit of) my own soul: ‘May it in no way turn out bad for me! I have done it, however, at someone else’s behest.”

The rehabilitation of Danuḫepa.

If one ever can prove that on a seal of Mursili III great queen Danuḫepa is pictured, than there would be a clear evidence that Danuḫepa was not executed. Are there indications that she returned from her location of banishment (perhaps the court of Ahhiyawa)?

1. One has wondered would Danuḫepa have not been too old to be the Tawananna of Mursili III?

Let us say she was 17-20 when yes married the old king Mursili II, we can edge ca.5-10 years before she became the Tawananna of Muwattalli II. The reign of Muwattalli was ca. 30 years. Therefore she was ca. 55 - 60 years old, when she returned to Hattusa and was rehabilitated by her step-grandson Mursili III. Of interest is the letter from Ramses II to his ‘brother’ Hattusili III, who had asked for his sister Massanauzzi (in Egyptian Matanazi): “May my brother send to me a man to prepare medicines so that she may bear children.’ So my brother has written. And so to my brother: ‘Look, Matanazi, the sister of my brother, the king your brother knows her. She is said to be 50 or even 60 years-old!”. 70

So apparently a royal woman up to 60 years-old woman, from the Land of Hatti could be still strong and lively in that time period.

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70 According to Trevor Bryce she must have been at least 60 years, when Hattusili asked Ramses II to send a doctor for his sister, who was the wife of the old king Masturi of the Seha River Land — 2003 Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East, 123.
2. It is not known when the trial of Danuḫepa was during the reign of Muwatalli. But if she had of been executed, then a wife of Muwatalli would become the new Tawananna and Great Queen. No seal or text of Muwatalli confirms that another Tawananna had taken over the position of Danuḫepa. There are many seals found from Muwatalli, in not one another women is mentioned (as his great queen).

3. The execution of a Tawananna would have been a great deviation from the trend not to kill kings, queens and successors anymore. A banishment would better fit in the tradition, even the Babylonian Tawananna was not put to death, although an oracle had given permission to kill her. To kill the main servant of the Sun Goddess would have been a great risk; the plague in Hatti was explained by the offences of king Šuppiluliuma against the gods of Hatti.

4. Hattusili III and Uhri-Tessub, the most mighty men of the kingdom, did not really support the decision to ‘destroy’ the Tawananna Danuḫepa according to texts. Both men were concerned about the possible revenge by the Sun goddess of Arinna to them, because her priestess was destroyed. So both would have a motivation to rehabilitate Danuḫepa in her position, when of course this had no serious disadvantages for their own position or rule.

   Before the reign of Tudhaliya IV they had already “undone the affair” with Danuḫepa. In the text is mentioned that in an earlier stage a king had cleansed (the curse of) the affair,  

   Which can perhaps indicate a rehabilitation, at least after her death. A kind of rehabilitation of Danuḫepa under the reign of Tudhaliya IV was not actual, only the wrongdoing to her cults and her angry ghost had to stop, to cleanse and stringent measures were necessary that her ancestors cult and her ghost was henceforth treated well and respectfully. No measures are known to have been done which rehabilitated her descendants and servants or to give back possessions to the family of Danuḫepa.

   In the text of CTH 569 it is mentioned that during the reign of king Tudhaliya IV, there was a reinstatement of wrong (cultic) acts and a reinstitution of mainly cult property of Danuḫepa. She then is already dead and one can see that the measures are taken to appease the angry ghost of Danuḫepa. The text (tablet CTH 569 of king Tudhaliya IV) mentioned that the soul of Danuḫepa is angry because her estate was squandered, and her deities were ‘locked in’ , and her estate was given to others. Mentioned is that curse of Danuḫepa was already undone,

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71 Van den Hout 1998:53: “undoing of her curses in front of the gods of kingship took place in the past”.

72 Theo van den Hout 1998, The purity of kingship, 226 : locking the gods up means in this context putting an end to her cult.
the tablet text[^73] says: “concerning te Danuḫepa affair [which] was ascertained [ because of ] the curse, (when) a live, [just as they have undone the ] Danuḫepa affair [ at earlier stage], [in] front of the gods of kingship, will they now, too, likewise undo in front of the gods of kingship, will the cleanse, the places of kingship [and the thrones] and will UTU ( the king with his title My Sun) el[eanse] , himself”.

On the other hand the text of (CTH 569) of king Tudhaliya IV mentioned that: “her soul (from Danuḫepa) is angry because her estate was squandered; her deities were ‘locked in”; her estate was given to others. Like they regularly undid the curse of the Danuḫepa before, they will undo it now likewise once and for all.”[^74] This could mean that she was not rehabilitated after her trial and banishment and that therefore her possessions were not given back and that her ancestors cult was disturbed. But perhaps the shortcoming to her ancestors cult started a long time after her death during the reign of Hattusili.

[^73]: Ibidem 183, CTH tablet 569. The tablet shows that the cities of Danuḫepa had the obligation to nurse and worshipping of her (ancestors ?) deities. They had to pay tribute for her ancestors cult.

[^74]: Theo van den Hout in his book 'The purity of Kingship' (1995, 43-53). Theo van den Hout informed us that the text describes: “Out of each city given to Danuḫepa they have to assign one household to her ancestor cult and they will bring back Danuḫepa’s gods. The cities will give tribute to the ancestors cult (of Danuḫepa). The curse of Danuḫepa is ascertained; her soul is angry because her estate was squandered; her deities were ‘locked in”; her estate was given to others. Like they regularly undid the curse of the Danuḫepa before, they will undo it now likewise once and for all. As to her estate: they will send somebody to inspect any cultic shortcomings and do penance. As to her’ deities’: they will regularly give the offerings which were established by his Majesty’s father. As to the cities given to Danuḫepa: fragmentary something about tribute “.
The possible rehabilitation would fit in a range of decisions of king Uhri-Tessub, in which he nullified his father decisions: Hattusha became again the capital of the kingdom and the statutes of the deities of Hatti, Arinna and the Cedar Lands returned to its temples; the king of Seha River Land was allowed to return from exile, the deposed king Benteshina was put back onto the throne of Amurru. Theo van den Hout pointed to a text in which Uhri-Tessub (Mursili III) and Danuḫepa are acting together in a cultic ritual in the City Perana (location not known). 75 It was according to Van den Hout possible that Danuḫepa tried to reconcile with the reigning king Uhri Tessub through a mantalli-ritual with the meantime deceased Muwatalli. A mantalli ritual was a specific conciliation ritual, probably closely related with the Ritual of Ban, which had the function to neutralize the curses of hostile persons, who were already deceased 1 (Volkert Haas 2008:96).

The text says: /When [the queen] performed offerings in the city of Perana, [the Great King, my Lord] and Danuḫepa [brought] mantalli-offerings (to each other?). [Mursili], however, of his own accord, [cleansed] the affair from the curse [and he made the Great King] my [lord win/lose] through the lawsuit. Already is mentioned the statement of Tudhaliya IV that: “they regularly undid the curse of the Danuḫepa before” (CTH 569). Therefore we can see that a rehabilitation of Danuḫepa as Great Queen and as a Tawananna during the reign of Mursili III would fit well in the remained texts and seals.

75 Theo van den Hout 1998:52 KBo XXXVI66 iii ‘4-21’.
2288 meters high Mahalaç (Mahalıç) hill. It is about 13 km southeast of Kızıldağ. On the hill are the ruins of a Byzantine church with a chapel and monastery. On the eastern side of the church, there is a rock-cut corridor from Hittite times. Whatever the corridor was leading to has now disappeared under the ruins of the church. On the northwest wall of the corridor, there is a 2 meter long, one-line inscription in hieroglyphic Luwian with a partially damaged end on the left. Hawkins reads it as: "In this place (to/for?) the celestial Storm-God, the divine Great Mountain (and) every god, the Sun, Great King, Hartapu ..., (he) who conquered every country, (to/for?) the celestial Storm-God and every god ..." Diagonally opposite of the inscription, on the southeast wall of the corridor is a second short inscription that only says "Great King Hartapu" (info www.Hittite Monuments).

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The sacred pool of Eflatun-pinar (spring of Eflatun-village), built ca. 13th century BC near lake Beyşehir in the Land of Tarhuntassa,
Appendix:


Karahöyük near Konya, May 2016
Western city Uda before Mount Sarpa near village Emirgazi.

View to the south from Göllü Meke Area; below down from Karadağ to the south, direction Karaman.
Area south of the Karadağ
May 2014.
Jak Yakar stated: “Looking at the geographical distribution of monuments bearing the royal names of Kurunta and Hartapus, one gets the feeling that the borders of Tarhuntassa in the late 13th century were probably not similar to those in early 12th century BC. … As for the Karadağ massive with its highest summit, the 2271 m Mahalaç (Mahalıç), which is situated ca 13 km southeast of Kazıldağ and ca 35 km north of the Karaman, could have been an important spiritual center. The Mahalaç summit was transformed by the rulers of Tarhuntassa into a cult place with a religious edifice. A Byzantine church with a chapel and monastery cover the earlier ruins. On the eastern side of the church, there is a rock-cut passage from the late Hittite period probably leading to a religious edifice under the ruins of the church.” (The Territory of the Appanage kingdom of Tarhuntassa, 1999, 718 and also in The Archaeology and Political Geography of the Lower Land in the Last Century of the Hittite Empire, 2014: 505).
These pictures are from internet Karadağ-Karaman
Muwattalli Relief Sirkeli Höyük © Professor Ehringhaus 2005. The other pictures are from the arch. Website of the Sirkeli-project. Garry Beckman stated that the king appears in priestly garb. We may call this the luppanauwant-mode, or that of "wearing a close fitting cap" 2012, Organization, Representation and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East, 606. In 2013 Massimo Forlanini stated that Sirkeli is probably Kummanni, which was often called the city of Kizzuwatna during the New Kingdom time period. Muwattalli II is presumed to have resided in the beginning of his reign in Samuha, along the Mazassantiya river before moving the capital from Hattusa to the city Tarhuntassa. Mari Elena Balza, Clelia Mora 2011, And I built this everlasting Peak for him, AoF 38/2, 214. Volkert Haas (2000, Hethitische Bestattungsbräuche, AoF 27/1, page 53) was pointing in a Hittite text to the funeral of dead kings: "the souls of the king and his descendants were settled inside a mountain." When Suppiluliuma, my grandfather arrived the mountain"
At the Kızıldağ near the Karadağ, the city of King Hartapu, who was a Great King and a Son of Mursili.
Fig. 66. Aerial photograph of Konya Karahıylık (KAM Archive, Photo by Konya Belediyesi)