# On the Lineage of King Telepinu

# Siim MÕTTUS<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract**. Sources on the reign of the Hittite king Telepinu, including the principle source in the form of an edict issued by the king himself, are unfortunately taciturn about his relationship to previous kings. Such information that we do have hints at two possibilities: he was either a son or a son-in-law of Ammuna, a previous ruler. He is tied to Huzziya I, a usurper, but the latter's position in the dynasty is uncertain as well. This article makes the case for the view that Telepinu married into the royal family rather than being born into it, and Huzziya I was a lower-rank son who had to eliminate higher-standing candidates in order to ascend to the throne.

**Rezumat**. Surse despre domnia regelui hitit Telepinu, inclusiv izvorul principal sub forma unui edict emis de însuși regele, sunt, din păcate, tăcute cu privire la relația sa cu regii anteriori. Astfel de informații pe care le avem oferă indicii asupra a două posibilități: el era fie fiul, fie ginerele lui Ammuna, un conducător anterior. El apare în conexiune cu Huzziya I, un uzurpator, dar poziția acestuia din urmă în dinastie este, de asemenea, incertă. Acest articol discută punctul de vedere conform căruia Telepinu s-a căsătorit în familia regală mai degrabă ca fiind născut în această familie, iar Huzziya I a fost un fiu de rang inferior, care a trebuit să elimine candidații cu funcții superioare pentru a urca pe tron.

Keywords: Telepinu, Huzziya I, Hittites, royal succession, genealogy.

### Introduction

Best known for the effort to stabilize and normalize the succession of Hittite royal powers, the lineage of king Telepinu (ca 1525-1500 BC)<sup>2</sup> is still under question. Research into his connection with the dynasty helps us to better understand the principles of Hittite succession and the instrument by which these rules were established: the edict (or proclamation) of Telepinu (CTH 19).<sup>3</sup>

The only information we have on his lineage is obtained from the edict itself. The focus of this text is the attempt to stop years of bloodshed over succession rights, stipulating that:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This article follows the middle chronology after BRYCE 2005, xv-xvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For editions and translations of the document see for example BECHTEL and STURTEVANT 1935, 175–200; HOFFMANN 1984, ; GILAN 2015, 137–158; KNAPP 2015, 79–100. See also translations cited in note 17.

LUGAL-uš-ša-an ha-an-te-iz-zi-ja-aš-pát DUMU.LUGAL DUMU-RU ki-ik-k[i-iš]ta-ru ták-ku DUMU LU[GAL] ha-an-te-iz-zi-iš NU.GÁL nu ku-iš ta-a-an pi-e-da-aš [(DU)]MU-RU nu LUGAL-uš a-pa-a-aš ki-ša-ru ma-a-an DUMU.LUGAL-ma IBILA NU.GÁL nu ku-iš DUMU.SAL ha-an-te-iz-zi-iš nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an <sup>Lú</sup>an-ti-ja-an-ta-an ap-pa-a-an-du LUGAL-uš a-pa-a-aš ki-š[(a ru)]

King shall become a son (who is a) prince of first rank only. If there is no first rank prince, he who is a son of second rank shall become King. If there is no prince, (no) male, she who is a first rank princess, for her they shall take an in-marrying (son-in-law) and he shall become King.<sup>4</sup>

Telepinu also established some countermeasures and punishments in order to avoid further illegal usurpations. The edict begins with an historiographical prologue<sup>5</sup> which remains one of the most important sources on the history of the Hittite Old Kingdom from the reign of king Labarna (1680–1650 BC) up to the reign of Telepinu. The latter also describes, though very scantily, the circumstances of his own accession and is unfortunately not very forthcoming about his parentage either.

Modern scholars are divided into two camps on the matter. Some see him as the son of king Ammuna (1550–1530 BC) who had ruled some years before him, while others see him as his son-in-law.<sup>6</sup> This view usually depends on which succession principle (for example, patrilinearity or avuncularity) they theorize to have been true for the pre-Telepinu Hittite kingship, making the underlying inheritance system take priority over each specific case. This article reviews the available evidence to help to resolve this dilemma.

# Ascension and the position of Huzziya I

To understand the lineage of king Telepinu one must start with his predecessor Huzziya I (ca 1530–1525 BC). Unfortunately we do not know much about Huzziya; our knowledge about him is almost completely derived from texts attributed to his political opponent and dethroner Telepinu. Information on Huzziya's reign comes from the edict itself and from a few other, quite fragmentary texts — CTH 20 for example.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> CTH 19 §28. Following the translation of VAN DEN HOUT 2003, 196–197. First-rank princes are those born of the king's main wife, the queen, and second-rank princes are those born of concubines (*EŠERTU*-wives). The third option is a kind of uxorilocal marriage, resembling the Mesopotamian *erebu* marriage, whereby the father of the bride would pay the bride price to the future son-in-law rather than vice-versa. This son-in-law (*antiyant*) would become a member of the bride's family and could also be adopted by the father-in-law: see BECKMAN 1986, 17; BEAL 1983, 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The use of an historical introduction is quite common in Hittite texts, especially in Hittite vassal treaties, in which previous relations between the Hittite kingdom and a vassal are put forth. But historical reviews are also seen in other texts; for example, the so-called testament of Hattušili I, the edict of Telepinu, and the apology of Hattušili III. These texts offer a complementary view to the Hittite annalistic texts. Their purpose is to give an account of events that led to the necessity of issuing these texts and show the reason for political action. See ALTMAN 2004, 43–63 for the Hittite historiographical prologue tradition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See notes 33 and 34 for advocates of different views.

#### Siim Mõttus

Huzziya stepped into the political arena after the passing of his predecessor Ammuna. The edict depicts this death as a natural one, otherwise Telepinu would have certainly emphasized in the edict that Ammuna had been taken from the world by violent means. The text says that Ammuna had "become a god." This phrase was generally used for the natural deaths of Hittite kings and queens.<sup>7</sup>

Immediately after Ammuna's death a man named Zuru, chief of the royal bodyguard (GAL  $L\dot{U}^{ME\check{S}}$  *MEŠEDI*<sup>8</sup>) at that time, sent his son<sup>9</sup> Tahurwaili who bore the title "Man of the Golden Spear"<sup>10</sup> to kill "Titti's family, together with his sons." Zuru also sent Taruhšu, a courier, to kill "Hantili together with his sons." After that, Huzziya became king. He then moved against his brother-in-law Telepinu but was dethroned and exiled.<sup>11</sup>

Those who were killed were most certainly heirs, and probably the sons of Ammuna, who must have had a legitimate right to the throne. Otherwise, these eliminations would make no sense in this context. One curious aspect is that the text does not directly say that Titti himself was killed, but only his family together with his sons.<sup>12</sup> Many authors, however, draw this conclusion.<sup>13</sup> This may only be a peculiarity of the wording and mean nevertheless that Titti was also killed along with his family; but if not—Titti was possibly already dead—then this may show a situation where the grandsons of the old kings were potential heirs and therefore already a threat to the usurper. The line of succession could in that case skip a generation. When we take the sequence of the events into account, i.e., Titti's family being eliminated before Hantili, then it can be argued that Titti's grandsons had a paramount right to the throne over Hantili. However we cannot be entirely sure about Titti's and Hantili's relations to the dynasty.

Although not directly stated, it is reasonable to see Huzziya as instigator of these murders because he came out of this as the main beneficiary. Why Zuru, one of king Ammuna's highest officials and possibly his own brother, would betray his lord and side with an alternative claimant is another question, especially if Huzziya's place in the royal line might have been quite modest.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For analysis of the phrase, see HUTTER-BRAUNSAR 2001, 267–277.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> He led the royal bodyguard (*MEŠEDI*) which was responsible for the safety of the king. The duty of this band of perhaps twelve men was to prevent threats against the king's life and avert any possible conspiracies; see BIN-NUN 1973, 6–8; BURNEY 2004, 234–235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Haššannassas DUMU-ŠU – "natural son" or "son of his begetting", meaning son of a prostitute; see BIN-NUN 1974, 115.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  LÚ <sup>GIŠ</sup>ŠUKUR.GUŠKIN. The Men of the Golden Spear were a kind of auxiliary unit of the royal bodyguard *MEŠEDI* who guarded the royal courtyard and the gates of the palace. BURNEY 2004, 235; COLLINS 2007, 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> CTH 19 §21–22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Nu-za-kán <sup>m</sup>Ti-it-ti-ya-aš ha-aš-ša-tar QA-DU DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠU ku-en-ta – "and he killed Titti(ya)'s family together with his sons."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Bryce 2005, 103; Klengel 1999, 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> SÜRENHAGEN 1998, 91. The office of GAL MEŠEDI was usually reserved for the king's brother; see MLADJOV 2016, 22.

The position of Huzziya and the basis of his accession are clouded with uncertainty; no data on his lineage is given. Telepinu may have left out Huzziya's genealogical link to the previous king Ammuna for a reason; he did not want to display himself as a person of lower status, compared to Huzziya. Mentioning the fact that Telepinu's rank was inferior to the person he overthrew would undoubtedly put his own legitimacy into question. On the other hand, this clarification may have been omitted from the text because these events had only recently taken place and the audience of the edict was already familiar with the situation and its participants.

The only meaningful relation of Huzziya that the text reveals is that he had a sister (NIN) named Ištapariya whom we unfortunately cannot tie firmly to the previous kings either.<sup>15</sup> The sumerogram NIN is supplemented with the adjective *hantezzi(ya)* which is used both for "first, oldest, firstborn" and "first rank"<sup>16</sup> and various authors have also used it differently when translating this passage.<sup>17</sup> The second possibility seems more likely as the term *hantezzi(ya)* is also used later in the focal point of the edict, the succession rule where the meaning "first rank" is unquestionable.<sup>18</sup> The edict also points out Huzziya's five nameless brothers, and in another text about Telepinu's reign<sup>19</sup> seven nameless relatives are mentioned who are banished and later killed along with Huzziya himself.<sup>20</sup> Would not these brothers also be a threat to Huzziya's accession? The situation would make more sense if Ištapariya was Huzziya's half-sister from a rival line which was ranked higher and had priority in succession.<sup>21</sup> She may even have been a full sister of Titti and Hantili who were assassinated.

Huzziya may have therefore been Ammuna's son with a lower status — a second-rank son from the king's EŠERTU wife (concubine). He may even have been the son of an unfree woman —  $pahhurzi^{22}$ , meaning "bastard, extramarital progeny" who were third-tier offspring and,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> CTH 19 §22; Beckman 1986, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> PUHVEL 1991, 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> "Oldest, first" — ВЕСНТЕL and STURTEVANT 1935, 187; НОFFMANN 1984, 27; РUHVEL 2005, 206; "first rank" — VAN DEN Hout 2003, 196; КÜммеl 2005, 467; Goedegebuure 2006, 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> CTH 19 §28. Otherwise the succession rule would state that if there is no older son the younger son is to become the king, which defies logic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> CTH 20 25'-26'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Bin-Nun suggests that these five brothers included Huzziya himself and the other four were also named in the edict: Zuru, Tahurwaili, Taruhšu and Tanuwa; BIN-NUN 1975, 219–220. It is doubtful that Zuru, chief of the king's bodyguard, was Ammuna's lower-rank son as a brother of the king usually filled this position. See COLLINS 2007, 102; BRYCE 2002, 22. Tahurwaili is said to be Zuru's son in §22. Bin-Nun's idea that in the phrase "his son", "his" stands for Ammuna is not very convincing. Another problem lies with Tanuwa. Edict §26 clearly states that Tanuwa was sent by the higher dignitaries to kill Huzziya and his brothers, in which he was successful. It also says right after that Tanuwa, Tahurwaili and Taruhšu were banished by Telepinu; this means they could not have been Huzziya's brothers who were dead by this point.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Gurney 1973, 663.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Puhvel 2011, 26–27.

according to Telepinu's edict, excluded from succession after the sons of the first wife (*tawannanna*) and *EŠERTU* wives.<sup>23</sup>

There are also alternative possibilities. Riemschneider proposes and Sürenhagen expands the theory that Huzziya was not the son of Ammuna at all but a son of Ammuna's sister (and the GAL LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> *MEŠEDI*, Zuru), supporting the theory of matrilineality.<sup>24</sup> But this would mean that Telepinu's (who we know to be Huzziya's brother-in-law) position in relation to the core of the dynasty would have been even more distant. He would be too far removed from Ammuna to ascend to the throne, as king's nephew's brother-in-law. Of course, this problem could be resolved with a little incest; Telepinu could still have been the son of Ammuna and wed his first cousin Ištapariya. But Hittite customs were very strict about marrying one's relations,<sup>25</sup> making Telepinu's marriage to his cousin possible, does not quite follow. The law code is very detailed on the subject of incest. Eight of the fifteen clauses on sexual behaviour deal with this matter,<sup>26</sup> so it would be only natural to assume that marrying one's cousin was also taboo.<sup>27</sup> There is also a treaty from over a century after Telepinu which confirms that having intercourse with female cousins was regarded as a crime punishable by death.<sup>28</sup>

Forlanini, who has identified papponymical traditions in the Hittite court, puts forward the assumption that Huzziya of Hakmis, a son of earlier king Hattušili I (1650–1620 BC) who is mentioned in the latter's so-called testament (CTH 6), would be a suitable candidate for Huzziya I's grandfather. In his opinion, an unnamed Chief of the Winesteward (GAL.GEŠTIN) who was in the service of Hattušili I could be the father of Huzziya I.<sup>29</sup> But Forlanini provides no compelling evidence for his argument. In all cases, Huzziya's lineage depends on Telepinu's parentage, which is discussed below.

Establishing for how long Huzziya reigned is also problematic. The precise years of his rule are not important in this case, but the duration is. Most chronologies give an approximate five-year period for his sovereignty,<sup>30</sup> which seems too long in the light of the events described in the edict. Of course, Hittite chronologies are rudimentary at best<sup>31</sup> due to poor use of temporal values in Hittite texts, so these dates must be taken with a grain of salt. The edict depicts the events as running their course over a shorter time span; the only deed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> BIN-NUN 1975, 217–218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Riemschneider 1971, 93; Sürenhagen 1998, 90–91

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Sürenhagen 1998, 79, note 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Hittite laws §189–195, 200. See also Peled 2015, 287–291.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Mladjov 2016, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Beckman 1996, 27–28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> FORLANINI 2010, 124–125. See also his proposed family trees on pages 119–120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> MCMAHON 1989, 64 – ca. 1530–1525 (middle chronology) or ca. 1470–1465 (low chronology).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> For problems concerning the chronology of Hittite history, see Beckman 2000, 23–25; Bryce 2005, 375–382; WILHELM and BOESE 1987, 74–109; WILHELM 2004, 71–79.

by Huzziya during his rule described in the edict is the move against Telepinu. How can it be that Huzziya took years to try to eliminate Ištapariya and Telepinu, his rivals in succession? There is no hint of lengthy civil war for which Telepinu probably did not have enough political power anyway. It is also doubtful that Huzziya only started to consider his sister and her husband Telepinu as threats to his rule some time after his ascension. While the edict does not connect Huzziya with the murders of Titti and Hantili directly, it does tie him to the plot against Telepinu. It is uncertain if Huzziya himself tried to kill him and his wife or delegated the matter to his subordinates. In the cases of previous assassinations, the edict describes these acts in a manner that hints at the usurper's more "hands-on" approach they themselves did the killing, but this could also be mere rhetoric. Use of the plural personal pronoun -uš meaning "them" in the line does suggest that Huzziya had some co-conspirators in the plot.<sup>32</sup>

## Genealogy of Telepinu

As implied previously, determining the genealogy of Telepinu is tricky as researchers are faced with a dilemma. There are two mainstream views: firstly, Telepinu may have been the son of Ammuna;<sup>33</sup> secondly, he may have been the son-in-law of king Ammuna.<sup>34</sup> Both theories have their strong and weak points.

To start with the former (see Figure 1), the strongest evidence for this opinion is one line in the edict where it is explicitly said that Telepinu "sat on the throne of his father" — ma-anša-an  $^{\mathrm{m}}Te-li-pi-nu-uš$  I-NA  $^{\mathrm{Gl}S}$ GU.ZA A-BI-YA e-eš-ha-at. <sup>35</sup> This is a very common phrase in Hittite texts; at least ten instances are known. <sup>36</sup> In most of these cases the kings who used the term were indeed the sons of previous kings, and in at least one case the adopted son. But they may not have inherited the throne directly after their fathers; sometimes they were preceded by a brother or another relative. Also, the name of Telepinu's son and expected heir Ammuna, mentioned in §27, may hint at Telepinu's connection if we believe papponymical traditions to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> CTH 19 §22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> This opinion is represented by GURNEY 1973, 663–664; RIEMSCHNEIDER 1971, 93–95; SÜRENHAGEN 1998, 76, 90–91; BRYCE 2005, 103, 417–418, note 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> This view was adopted by Goetze 1957, 56–57; Hoffner 1975, 51–53; Beckman 1986, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> CTH 19 §24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> For example (some with slight alternations), KBo III 27 obv. 14' (CTH 5); KUB XXVI 71 i 8' (CTH 1); KBo III 1 ii 16' (CTH 19); KBo X 34 iv 12' (CTH 700.1); KBo III 4 i 5' (CTH 61); KUB III 14 obv. 12' (CTH 62); KBo VI 29 i 23' (CTH 85.1.A); KUB XXI 17 ii 17' (CTH 86); KBo I 8 obv. 16' (CTH 92). For other terminology used for describing ascension, see BECKMAN 1986, 26–31.

Siim Mõttus

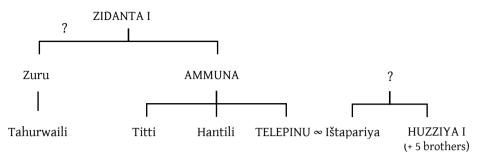


Figure 1. Telepinu as a son of Ammuna

have been present in Hittite royalty as Forlanini does.<sup>37</sup> But if it was possible for Telepinu to claim royal descent, why did he refrain from doing so in the edict? One could argue that Telepinu chose to distance himself from Ammuna because of the latter's violent and unsuccessful past described in the edict. It would be counterproductive for Telepinu to say "Ammuna was unsuccessful" and follow that with "I am his son." Telepinu wanted to differentiate himself from the unsuccessful rulers and present himself as a spiritual heir to the first three kings. He may even have chosen his throne name for the purpose of stressing this point.<sup>38</sup>

However, this genealogy would make Huzziya's ascension to power quite difficult. Would it be possible to seize the throne from such a distant position as the king's daughter-in-law's brother? Despite frequent usurpations of the throne in the Hittite Old Kingdom, these *coups d'état* were always conducted by someone from the king's immediate circle. Of course, when Telepinu said that Huzziya was Ištapariya's brother this does not necessarily imply that this was Huzziya's only tie to the dynasty as royal houses tend to be rather exclusive institutions. Huzziya did, however, come to power right after the deaths of Ammuna's possible sons Hantili and Titti, and before Telepinu, suggesting a proximate position to the king. Huzziya came into conflict with Telepinu only after the former had already entered kingship. Telepinu was therefore a problem for Huzziya, but one that could be dealt with later. One would also expect condemnation of Huzziya in that part of the edict if he had come to power from a lower position, but there is none. The edict is more concerned with how, not from which position, he rose to the throne.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Forlanini 2010, 126–127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> HOFFNER 1975, 53. The god Telepinu, Hattic by origin, was associated with fertility and assumed the role of a "missing god", like for example Dumuzi and Persephone. Choosing a name after a god whose absence meant stagnation and wilting in nature and whose reappearance brought about the revival of such natural forces would have stressed king Telepinu's similar role as a ruler who brought an end to instability in the kingdom.

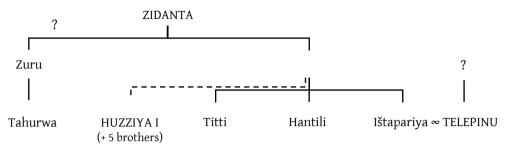


Figure 2. Telepinu as a son-in-law of Ammuna

The point of view that Telepinu was related to Ammuna only by marital ties also has its merits and demerits (see Figure 2). Not presenting his genealogy may not only have distinguishing himself from previous kings as a purpose; it may also imply that he simply could not claim to be descended from a king and his parent may have come from a more modest background. As mentioned previously, Huzziya seems to be a better fit as (a lowerrank) son of Ammuna rather than Telepinu. This would explain how Huzziya came to power before Telepinu was considered a threat. As a son-in-law of the king, Telepinu would be qualified to become king. Sons-in-law were considered eligible heirs in Hittite law and this was sanctioned by the edict itself. With this so-called antiyant marriage, adoption of the sonin-law was sometimes practised.<sup>39</sup> This would explain Telepinu's statement that he "sat on the throne of his father." It would not be the only time when the son-in-law of a Hittite king called himself the son of the king. For instance, both Arnuwanda I and his wife Ašmunikal name Tudhaliya I/II as their father on their seals.<sup>40</sup> But as brother-sister marriage was considered hurkel (an abomination) in Hittite society, Richard Beal has therefore proposed that Arnuwanda was an *antiyant* and merely the adoptive son of Tudhaliya I/II. Similarly, Hattušili I called his heirs "sons" although they were not necessarily so.<sup>41</sup>

The fact that Telepinu's son shared his name with king Ammuna does not necessarily mean that Telepinu was Ammuna's son, as Forlanini believes. Telepinu's son Ammuna could still be named with the papponymical tradition in mind because king Ammuna was still his grandfather, only from his mother's side. The son Ammuna was undoubtedly only born after Telepinu became an *antiyant* and the adoptive son of king Ammuna, so he could still name his new-born son after his step-father.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Haase 2001, 394–396.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> GÜTERBOCK 1967, 31–32, no. 60: <sup>[N]A</sup><sub>4</sub>KIŠIB *ta-ba-ar-na* <sup>m</sup>*Ar-nu-an-ta* LUGAL.GAL DUMU <sup>m</sup>*Du-u*[*t-ha-li-ia* LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG?] – "Seal of the tabarna Arnuwanda, the Great King, son of Tudhaliya, the Great King, the hero", <sup>[NA</sup><sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>KIŠIB <sup>SAL</sup>*ta-ua-na-an-na* <sup>f</sup>*Aš-mu-ni-kal* SAL.LUGAL GAL D[UMU.SAL <sup>f</sup>*Ni-kal-ma-ti* SAL.LUGAL GAL] Ù DUMU.SAL <sup>m</sup>*Du-ut-ha-li-i i*[*a* ...] – "Seal of the Tawananna Asmunikal, the Great Queen, daughter of Nikalmati, the Great Queen and daughter of Tudhaliya the Great King, the hero."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Beal 1983, 115, 117.

Mladjov states that the fact that Huzziya sought to kill Ištapariya may also indicate that her status was more troubling for Huzziya than Telepinu's.<sup>42</sup> This may be true, but Ištapariya could still produce an heir for Telepinu, even shortly after his death, and she was therefore a danger to Huzziya. Although there were rebellions throughout the land at the start of Telepinu's reign, according to the edict, we are not aware of any direct plots against Telepinu's life. There is one plot, however, against Ištapariya and her son Ammuna in which they are killed.<sup>43</sup>

The understanding that Telepinu was Ammuna's son-in-law also has its counterpoints. Why did Huzziya not consider his own five-to-seven other brothers a threat? Would they not also have been in the same position as Huzziya regarding their ascension to the throne? They seemed to be working instead *with* Huzziya. This problem could be resolved if we consider Huzziya and his brothers to be Ammuna's lower-rank children born from concubines or even from unfree women. The struggle for power may thus have been between different lines of Ammuna's descendants.

### Conclusion

King Telepinu's relation to the preceding Hittite rulers has been ambiguous. One thing is certain; Telepinu had to fall into one of the three categories mentioned in §28 of the edict: first-rank son, second-rank son, or adopted son-in-law. Otherwise, he would have delegitimized himself with the edict and its law of succession. Based on the limited information we have, the view that Telepinu was a son-in-law and perhaps an adopted son, and Huzziya I a lower-rank son of Ammuna, fits the evidence better. That is why Telepinu did not present his genealogy at the beginning of the document; he did not have anyone who was worth mentioning. The phrase he "sat on the throne of his father" could be somewhat true nonetheless because he could have been adopted by king Ammuna. Sons-in-law were accepted as heirs as far back as in the Old Kingdom and Telepinu sought to strengthen his (and possibly his successor's) legitimacy even further with the help of the edict. Huzziya I's ascension also makes better sense according to this reconstruction.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Mladjov 2016, 23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> CTH 19 §27.

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