

# MILITARY INSTRUCTIONS OF THE HITTITE KING TUTHALIYA IV. (?)<sup>1</sup>

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Among the documents discovered in the archives of Hattuša, the ancient Hittite capital, there are a number of instructions of the Kings, most of them of a fragmentary nature. Only a few of these documents have been translated<sup>2</sup>. The inscription given below exists in several copies, which have been published in cuneiform characters by different scholars. The principal text is KUB XIII 20 (here designated as A). Other copies are KUB XIII 21 (B), KUB XXVI 11 (C), and KUB XXXI 107 (D). Of these, B has been recognised by Goetze (MVAG 32/1, 128), C by the present writer, and D by Friedrich (AOF XIV 76) as duplicates of A. Another text, which Goetze has recognised as a free duplicate of A (rather a parallel text with a different disposition) is published by him as KUB XXVI 17 (E)<sup>3</sup>. I offer here a composite text.

The document consisted originally of two tablets. Only the second tablet is well preserved in part. B and C, which belong to series different from A and from each other, contain a few lines of the first tablet<sup>4</sup>. From the document we have only the I. Col. of

<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations are those employed in Sturtevant, *A Hittite Glossary*, 2. Edition and Supplement to *A Hittite Glossary*.

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich, *Reinheitsvorschriften für den hethitischen König* (Altorient. Stud. 46-58); Sturtevant, *A Hittite Text on the Duties of Priests and Temple Servants* (JAOS 54, 363-406): Koroşec dealt with the instructions to *bēl madgalti* and translated parts of them in a study written in Jugoslav with a summary in Italian: *bēl madgalti*. Un contributo alla conoscenza della struttura interna dello stato Hittita, Ljubljana 1942.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also KUB XXI 47, where the same subjects are dealt with, but it does not join our texts, neither being a duplicate nor a parallel text.

<sup>4</sup> The I. Col. of C contains a part of a list of the Gods of Oath as in the treaties. Such lists generally occur at the end of those documents except in the *Ḫuqqanā* treaty, where it is nearly at the beginning (cf. Friedrich, MVAG 34/1, 103 and fn. 2). The possibility that the I. Col. of the tablet may

the second tablet in a good condition in A and partly in E. The II. Col. is very fragmentary in A ; in E it is better preserved. The III. Col. is in a very poor condition in A and we possess no duplicate or parallel text for this column. The greater part of the IV. Col. is lost. Here belong the remains of the lines 1 to 8 in B and the remains of the lines 1 to 8 in E and the end of the tablet is preserved in A. The II. and III. Col. in A, the Rev. in B and the IV. Col. in E containing only isolated words or signs are disregarded by me here. Although only a small part of the document is preserved, it deserves treatment as an example of the Hittite military instructions.

The name of the King Tuthaliya occurs as the author of the document in A IV 7. The reason why I want to date the inscription to the time of Tuthaliya IV.,<sup>5</sup> is because we know little about the previous Kings of the same name. Tuthaliya IV., who is possibly the founder, or one of the founders, of the rock sanctuary Yazılıkaya, is well-known through his different inscriptions and we possess from him instructions addressed to <sup>LU2</sup>.MES<sup>S</sup>SAG, to the class of *bēlu* and to princes. In these instructions of Tuthaliya we might see an attempt to hold together the political and military forces of the empire and prevent a coming disaster.<sup>6</sup>

The preserved parts of the inscription deal with the following subjects :

Capture and surrender of the deserted subaltern officers and men. Fighting spirit of the army. Loyal execution of the construction work (pioneering work ?). After the end of the battle or of the (construction) work the privilege of the Great King to determine, which part of the army should be kept in garrison and which part should be released. Appeal of the King to the army to obey the orders of the army commander, chosen by him, as they would obey his own orders, in cases, where the battle is of long duration and the King, because of his religious duties or for any other reason, is prevented from taking part in the operations, or in those cases

belong to another text, and the fact that we do not gather much from the rest of the list, prevents me from offering it in transliteration and translation.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Koroşec, l. c. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. von Brandenstein, MVAG 46/2, 74 fn. 2.

where he does not go at all to the campaign. Should this commander spread bad news in the army or offend the Great King, the obligation of the army to capture him and hand him over to the Great King.

Appeal of the King to have affection for his rules.

Judicial functions (of the army leaders?): Appeal to deliver sentences in accordance with right and justice and to send such difficult cases as they are unable to solve, to the Great King.

The document ends, as in the treaties and in other instructions, with a curse on those, who do not follow the words of the tablet.

For the correspondance of the copies and for the transliteration see p. 386 and 388 ff.

#### TRANSLATION

C IV 1' in (or: to) [.....]  
 2' and he takes [.....If a subaltern officer]  
 3' or [a man of the] low[est rank .....]  
 4' brings [.....] Who knows,  
 5' let him report(about) him [immediately] to the pa[lace].

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A I 1 The Military Governor who has him under his command as a subaltern officer and who (has) not gone to the campaign and if the Military Governor hears of him  
 2 [being a fugitive], let him seize him and send him to the palace. Let him not take (him) for himself.  
 3 [And] let him not release [him]. If a subaltern officer or a man of the lowest rank  
 4 flees back from the campaign, let his captain and (his) major not hide him,  
 5 and let them<sup>a)</sup> report (about) him immediately to the place.

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5a) Verb in singular.

- 6 As [the arm]y (namely) the troops (and) the charioteers  
 come together and if majesty goes himself to the  
 campaign,
- 7 let the agility (?) of all the m[en] there also be (appa-  
 rent) and fight the enemy with determination. If (there  
 is) any performance
- 8 or c[onstruc]tion (pioneering work?) or whatever (other)  
 service, stand there and
- 9 perform it with loyal heart and let it be an endurable  
 performance for the future.
- 
- 10 But when the enemy is defeated or the work is finished,  
 which (are) troops of garrison, (I) my majesty
- 11 leave them in garrison and which (are) troops to be  
 released, (I) my majesty release them.
- 12 But if the enemy in any way (?) causes delay, someone  
 holds the enemy. (I) my majesty come back to worship  
 [my] gods
- 13 or where (it seems) to my majesty good, my majesty  
 goes there. If I comand to lead the army [a prince]
- 14 or any great lord, f[ulfil] his (instructions) also just as  
 the instruction(s) of my majesty
- 15 and let the whole army obey him.
- 
- 16 If (I) my majesty do not go myself to the campaign,  
 which prince or [great] lord
- 17 I comand to the army, he will bring the army to  
 battle. And because (I) my majesty put [the army]
- 18 in his hand, let the whole army obey him and fulfil [his  
 ( instructions ) also just as the instruction(s)] of my  
 majesty
- 19 and let everybody have agility(?) and fight the enemy  
 with determination.
- 
- 20 If (there is) any construction (pioneering work?) or  
 whatever (other) service, stand there
- 21 and perform it with loyal heart and let it be an endu-  
 rable performance for the future.

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- 22 But when the enemy is defeated or the work is finished, when the army comes [before my majesty],  
23 (I) my majesty shall inquire for it by divination and which (are) (troops) to be released, (I) my majesty r[elease] them  
24 and which (are) troops of garrison, (I) my majesty leave them in garrison. If  
25 the army does not come before my majesty, [do it just] as (I) my majesty write from afar.
- 

- 26 But if that prince or lord brings bad word(s) before the army  
27 and offends my majesty, seize him and bring him before my majesty.  
28 Then I shall come (and I) my majesty shall examine the case myself. (You) lords,  
29 who command the troops, the charioteers (and) the strongholds, stand by(?) with loyal heart.
- 

- 30 And as you have affection for your own wives, your own children, your own houses,  
31 just so have affection for the rule(s) of the King and practise them well.
- 

- 32 The law-suits of the country which you decide, decide them well. And let nobody apply it (the sentence)  
33 (to one) of his house (i. e. of the criminals house), (to one) of his brother(s), (to) his wife, to one of his family, to one of his clan, to (his) relative by marriage (and) to his freind  
34 for gain of bread (and) beer. And do not make the case (of) superior  
35 (rights) (become) inferior and do not make the inferior case superior.  
36 Which law-suit you are unable (to solve), bring it also in front of the King, your lord,  
37 and the King will examine it himself.
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E II 1 [ .....]. .. [.....?]

- 
- 2 [Let] the Military Governor [question(??)] them all (about  
the case of the fugitive. Let [this]  
3 be made an instruction [for him] and [let] it b[e] com-  
manded to him.  
4 And who finds a fugitive, let him seize him  
5 and let him deliver him to the Military Governor, and  
let the Military Governor  
6 send (him) before my majesty and [let] him [not] release  
the fugitive  
7 [in the country (?)].

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- 8 [And let] a man [kno]wn [as a fugitive not go] through  
the country.  
9 [And who] finds [a fugitive, let] a question[ing be]  
(made) of him  
10 [and] let him question [the fugitive] well. And he [is]  
either a fugitive  
11 [or.....]. he goes or (he is) someone of the palace  
12 [.....an]d he carries it o[r] the property of the  
mistress (?)  
13 [he carries or he ca]rries [.....] or he carries a stolen  
[hum]an being  
14 [or he carries another fu]gitive or [he carries] oxen  
(and) sheep.  
15 [And let him seize him and let him] deliver him to the  
Military Governor.  
16 [.....]. And [.....]. But the fugitive (acc.)  
17 [.....]s. Of his head [....?]  
18 [.....].

- 
- 19 [..... let him no]t [...] thr[ough] the  
country

- A IV 1 .....[.....]  
2 ..... And [.....]  
3 ... Of the God [..... And who]

- 4 [protects] the words of this tablet, [let the Oaths protect him]  
 5 and who does not protect the words of this tablet,  
 6 let the Oaths destroy [him].

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- 7 The second tablet of the instructions of TutĤaliya  
 8 (addressed) to all people is finished.

## COMMENTARY

A I 1-5 are transliterated and translated by Goetze (MVAG 32,1, 128) without using the duplicate C, KUB XXVI being then not yet published.

A I 1: [(A. NA) <sup>LU 2</sup>(BE.EL MA.AD.KAL.TI) -m] a?-aš?-kan<sub>2</sub>.  
<sup>LU 2</sup> is taken from the same word at the end of the same line. F. R. Kraus from the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul has kindly made a collation concerning the traces on the original. Before -kan<sub>2</sub> he has seen a horizontal wedge, which may be aš and a vertical wedge, which may represent a part of ma. He writes that approximately 12 signs may be missing before -kan<sub>2</sub>, if they are not big ones. Thus with the supplement taken from C IV 6, and with my restoration the gap is filled.

About the translation of *bēl madgalti* (Hittite: *auriṣaš iṣṣaš*, see Goetze, MVAG 32/1, 109 fn. 4): The explanation of *madgaltu* has been given by the same author, *ibid.* 109, as nomen loci of *dagālu* "look,,", thus "look-out,,". The Hittite equivalent *auri-* may stand also in connection with *au-* "look,,". But the element *-ri* is not easy to explain. For the meaning of *auri-* we have now a very important passage in Kumarbi-Mythos. KUB XXXIII 106 II 1 ff. (translation by Güterbock, Kumarbi 25, transliteration by the same author in Transkription \*25 f.): "(1) [Wh]en Tašmišu h[ear]d the words of the Storm God, (2) he stood up immediately, [he took] the sceptre into (his) hand, (3) and he drew the quick shoes on to his feet, (4) he went up to a high *auri-*, [and he] (5) took (place) in front of Hebat (and he spoke): 'On a small place [my(?) lord (?) will stay (?)], (6) until he fills the years, which are assigned to him.' (7) As Hebat saw Tašmišu, (8) Hebat almost fell down from the roof; if (9) she had approached (a step more), she would have fallen

down from the roof, but the palace girls (10) held her and did not let her (fall). As Taşmişu (11) finished his speech, he went down from *auri-*„. Thus Güterbock translates *auri-* by “tower„. This passage shows that it is not necessary that *auri-* should always be at the frontier. Such *auri-*'s may be anywhere in the country. The *auri-* (or *madgaltu*) nearest to the frontier is called “first *auri-* (or *madgaltu*)„, or “first town of *auri-*„ (see KUB XIII 2 I 8 f., 23 f; KUB XIII 28, 9; KUB XIV 17 III 22; KUB XXIII 77 a Rv. 15; KUB XXVI 12 II 12 and Goetze, *ibid.* 109 fn. 3). According to KUB IX 17, 19 also *auri-* is a high place. KUB XXVI 9 (instructions of the King Arnuvanda to *HAZANNU*) I (13) *a-u<sub>2</sub>-ri-ia-aš* LU<sub>2</sub>.MEŠ EN.NU.UN (14) *iš-ga-ri-iš-ki* “Put the watchmen to the *auri-*'s„. In the Annals of Muṣili once the whole town is called *auri-*, which is described as being situated on a rough place (see KUB XIV 17 III 22, Goetze, MVAG 38, 98 translates here “Grenzfort„). Therefore it is perhaps better to translate *auri-* by “fort, fortified place, stronghold„, or perhaps sometimes by “fortress„. Our translation seems to suit the occurrences in KUB XIII 2 and in the parallel texts or duplicates. Thus <sup>LU<sub>2</sub></sup>*auri<sub>2</sub>iala-* is “soldier of the stronghold„. Cf. also *auri<sub>2</sub>aš* <sup>DUTU</sup>: KBo IV 13 I 12; KUB XXVII 1 I 61.

Based on the explanation of *madgaltu*, Forrer translates *bēl madgalti* by “Herr des Beobachtungsdienstes„ (RHA I 153 fn. 32). Although Goetze has pointed out in MVAG 32/1, 109 f. and in Kulturg. 100 f. and 109, that this high official is a kind of Governor, the translation “Grenzschutzkommandant„ given by him for *bēl madgalti*, as he himself writes, emphasizes only the military part of his charge. But his civil duties have much more variety than his military duties, which seem to serve more for defence preparations in peace-time and for the military security of his province (Hittite: *mani<sub>2</sub>aḥhi-*), except in the Annals of Muṣili where he takes part in the operation (KBo II 5 I 11 ff., Goetze, MVAG 38, 180). To his duties (military and civil administration of his province, control of the administration of the royal estates in his province, control of the cult, juridical functions, colonisation of his territory and protection of agriculture) emphasized by Goetze in the studies mentioned above and by Koroşec, *Bēl madgalti* 28 f. are to be added: The control of



the fulfilment of the obligations *šahhan* and *luzzi* (cf. Goetze, MVAG 34/2, 54 ff. and Kulturg. 97, 101 f.; from these, a part of *šahhan*, translated "fief", represents taxes in naturalia, cf. the same author MVAG 34/2, 56, and *luzzi* public labour in the interest of the state and country) and the control of the foreign traders, coming into Hittite territory (see Kaška treaty KUB XIII 27 Rv. 16 ff. + KUB XXIII 77, 87 ff.). Instead of a literal translation like "Commander of the Forts," or "Commander of the fortified area," I prefer to translate *bēl madgalti* by "Military Governor," because he is the head of the military and of the civil administration of a province, probably in the danger zone, and the direct representative of the King there.

A I 1: LU<sub>2</sub> SIG<sub>5</sub> is first treated by Goetze, MVAG 32/1, 128, and he explained it from our passage as representing a military charge as coming after UGULA LIM and LU<sub>2</sub>DUGUD and before *appizziš antuḫšaš*. Sommer, AU 334, 336 and 442, translates it by "officer (?)," or "superior (?)". But this translation is too general and our passage does not favour it. Among military officials LU<sub>2</sub> SIG<sub>5</sub> appears also in Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy tabletlerinden seçme metinler 36 II 48 and 53. The occurrences in KUB XXXIV 1 Obv. are important for the Accadian reading of the ideogram: l. 6: LU<sub>2</sub>.MEŞ SIG<sub>5</sub>-qu<sub>2</sub>-ti ša KUR<sup>URU</sup>Ki-iz-zu-ua-ta-ni, l. 21: LU<sub>2</sub> SIG<sub>5</sub>-qu<sub>2</sub> ša KUR<sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-at-ti<sup>KI</sup> (l. 25: LU<sub>2</sub> SIG<sub>5</sub> ša KUR<sup>URU</sup>Ki-iz-ua-ta-na)<sup>1</sup>, thus the Accadian reading of the ideogram is *damqu*. From these passages, which I had the privilege of discussing with Prof. Landsberger, we can not tell more than that he is an official. For the Hittite reading of the ideogram cf. LU<sub>2</sub>.MEŞ<sub>a</sub>-šu-ša-tal-lu-uš (KBo IV 11 Obv. 22), which may not belong here. Complements of the ideogram: LU<sub>2</sub> SIG<sub>5</sub>(-in?) (KUB XIV 1 Obv. 64, see Sommer op. cit. 336), LU<sub>2</sub> SIG<sub>5</sub>-an-t[i?] (VBoT 88, 3). If the last mentioned complement is correct, the Hittite reading will be *aššuḫanza*. My translation "subaltern officer," is merely an explanation suggested by the context. Cf. also Goetze, KIF I 167.

A I 4: [(*la-aḫ-ḫa-az* KAS-az)]. See Friedrich, Hethitisches Elementarbuch I § 224 a.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also LU<sub>2</sub>.MEŞ SIG<sub>5</sub> ša KUR<sup>URU</sup>Ḫur-ri (KUB III 21 Rv. 30, quoted by Goetze, *ibid.*).

A I 4: <sup>LU2</sup>DUGUD.ŠU. According to our passage (as Goetze points out, MVAG 32/1, 128, but cf. the same author, KIF I 167, 169) <sup>LU2</sup>DUGUD represents a military rank. This leads me to a difference of opinion with Sommer, Bil. 30, who gives a translation in a general sense like "chargiert, Würdentraeger,„. With the increased material, which we have now at our disposal, we can say that <sup>LU2</sup>DUGUD is a military official. Cf. Sommer, ibid. fn. 6 and KUB XXXI 44 I 1 ff. with the parallel text KUB XXXI 42 and 70. According to KUB I 16 II 1 *pal-a[n-ga-u-ua-aš ERIN<sub>2</sub>.MEŠ-ti* <sup>LU2.MEŠ</sup>DUGUD-aš-ša)(restored by Sommer from I 1 cf. ibid. 29 f.) too <sup>LU2.MEŠ</sup>DUGUD may belong to the military sphere, if *pangauaš* is used as an adjective. For this explanation cf. the same text I 22 and II 22 and the restoration made by Sommer, ibd. 5 and Commentary 51 f. My translation "captain,„ is based on the observation that he is below the rank of UGULA LIM "head of the thousand (men)„ (cf. Turkish "binbaşı,„, which will be translated into English by "major,„. For this official, see Friedrich, Altor. Stud. 53 f.). However, I hope to be able to discuss the material about <sup>LU2</sup>DUGUD in detail, very soon in another paper.

A I 6: [tu-uz-z]i-iš. If this supplement is correct, which seems to me very propable, the Hittite reading of ERIN<sub>2</sub>.MEŠ can not be *tuzziš*, as Sturtevant, A Hittite Glossary, 2. Edition 32 writes. About the complements of ERIN<sub>2</sub>.MEŠ s. Drohla apud Sommer, Bil. 30.

A I 7: *kar-ši*. The adverb *karši* is to be connected with the verb *karš-* "cut,„. For its meaning it is advisable to compare with the arabic verb قطع "cut,„ and with the adverb قطعا "assuredly, certainly, definitely,„. The occurrences of *karši* (see Friedrich, MVAG 34/1, 191) seem to suit this translation. For the meaning see also Goetze, MVAG 32/1, 112 and Sommer, AU 109 fn. 1. My translation "with determination,„ is suggested by the context.

A I 10-11 are treated by Goetze, MVAG 38, 200.

A I 10: *a-ki*. About the usage of the active form of *ak-* in the passive sense, see Friedrich, Symbolae Koschaker 1 ff.

A I 12: *za-lu-ga-nu-zi* (E I 9: *za-lu-uk-nu-zi*). See Goetze apud Friedrich, MVAG 34/1, 170 and fn. 3.

A I 12: For *kuiš* see Friedrich, Hethitisches Elementarbuch I § 265 a and b; text: *ku-iš(-ki ?)*.

A I 13: See Friedrich, MVAG 34/1, 85 and Sommer, Bil. 142 f.

A I 23: *ar-ḫa a-ri-ia-mi*. For the translation cf. Zuntz, Ortsadverbien 27.

A I 25: See Friedrich, MVAG 34/1, 87.

A I 26: *uttar* does not here mean "thing," (cf. Friedrich, MVAG 31/1, 72 and Goetze, AOr. V 24) but probably "word," see Zuntz, Ortsadverbien 51 and fn. 5. Cf. E I (14) [*tu-uz-z*] *i-ia pi<sub>2</sub>-ra-an ku-iš ḡa-tar-na-aḫ-ḫa[-an-za na-aš ma-a-an tu-uz-zi-ia pi<sub>2</sub>-ra-an]* (15) [*ar-ḫa i-d*]*a-lu-un ku-in-ki me-mi-ia-[an pi<sub>2</sub>-e-ḫu-te-iz-zi]*.

A I 32-37 are translated by Koroşec, *Bēl madgalti* 15 and 32.

A I 33: *pa-an-ku-na-aš-ši*. For the meaning of *pankur* and for the explanation of the syntax of the sentence, in which it occurs, cf. Sommer, Bil. 76 and fn. 2-3. For the understanding of the sentence cf. also KUB XIII 2 III 25 ff.

A I 34: *ṢA NINDA KAṢ ma-a-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-ia-at-ti* is translated by Sommer, Bil. 104, by "um des Lebensunterhaltes willen," by Koroşec, *Bēl madgalti* 32, by "a motivo del pane (e) della bevanda," *maniāḫḫiatti* is dat.-loc. of \**maniāḫḫiaz* (see Goetze, MVAG 32/1, 79 fn. 7). In our sentence it may stand in connection either with the subject *kuiški* or with *a-pi<sub>2</sub>-e-el ṢA E<sub>2</sub> ṢU ṢA ṢEṢ.ṢU* etc. (if the second alternative is correct, the meaning would be: "as they gain their bread and beer,"). But a similar passage from Telepinu-Text is in favour of the possibility chosen by Sommer. KBo III 1 II 59 ff. (:2 BoTU 32 A II 59 ff.): "And now when any prince commits a crime, let him pay even with his head. But do not do harm to his house and to his son. However, it is not right to give (away) a human being (or) the property of the princes. Whoever execute these injurious plans (whether they are) the <sup>LU<sub>2</sub>.MEṢ</sup> [...], the <sup>LU<sub>2</sub>.MEṢ</sup> *A.BU.BI.TUM*, the chief of the pages, the chief of the Meṣedi (or) the general, [because?] they desire to take (over) the houses of the prince, they will say: 'That town (or: village) would become mine', and he will do harm to the lord of the town (or: village)."

E II 2: [<sup>LU<sub>2</sub>ḫ</sup>]*u-ia-a[n-da-š]a-aš-ma-aš*. <sup>LU<sub>2</sub></sup>*ḫuianza* "fugitive," see Goetze, MVAG 32/1, 114. Beside the occurrences in our text and KUB XIV 1 Obv. 34, which is treated by Goetze *ibid.*, see KUB XIII 26, 4; KUB XXIII 72 Rv. 56.

E II 5: *pa-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-ud-du*. See Zuntz, Ortsadverbien 79.

E II 10 ff. : The restoration and the understanding of the badly mutilated passages are greatly due to a comparison with a similar paragraph in Kaška Treaty, KUB XXIII 79, 52 ff., which is treated by Sommer, Bil. 129 f.

E II 12 :  $\text{\textcircled{A}}$  BE<sup>TUM</sup> *a-aš-šu-u*. The Accadian reading of the ideographic writing BE<sup>TUM</sup> may be *hēltum* or *bēlūtum*. However, I prefer the first alternative. Cf. KUB XXIII 77,53 :  $\text{\textcircled{A}}$  BE. LI<sub>2</sub>.  $\text{\textcircled{U}}$  *a-aš-šu-u*.

[Since this paper went to press Friedrich's Hethitisches Elementarbuch, zweiter Teil, Lesestücke in Transkription, Heidelberg 1946, arrived in Ankara. Prof. Friedrich's book, which has had to wait till the end of the war for publication, supplies a great need. From the point of view of the present study it contains a great part of the text A in transliteration. The present author differs somewhat from Friedrich in the restoration of some points of the mutilated parts of the text and he regrets that he is unable to give references to Friedrich's restorations in their proper place. For this reason the reader is recommended to compare both works].

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