

The Calm before the Storm

SELECTED WRITINGS OF ITAMAR SINGER
ON THE END OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE
IN ANATOLIA AND THE LEVANT

Itamar Singer

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Society of Biblical Literature



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Billie Jean Collins
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Atlanta

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INTRODUCTION

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY B.C.E., THE AGE OF COMPLACENCY

There are no dull periods in history but people usually find some periods and some topics more exciting than the others. Like most boys, I suppose, I was first fascinated by heroic figures such as Alexander the Great and Napoleon, but soon my interest turned to periods of turmoil and disaster, influenced perhaps by the fate of my own family. What intrigued me most was the question how could a relatively calm and prosperous period transform, often promptly, into a time of precariousness and disaster. Were the signs really written on the wall, as it is often claimed in retrospect, and if so, what could have been done to prevent the fateful events to come? I spent hours daydreaming what would I have done in such and such situation and the answers became less and less evident the older I grew.

As a student of archaeology my initial attraction to periods of crisis naturally steered me into the world of the “Sea Peoples.” One of my first seminar papers attempted to take stock of the various theories concerning their origins and destinations, a topic that has continued to captivate me since. However, various circumstances during my post-graduate studies drew me into the orbit of another fascinating discipline, Hittitology, which would become the main focus of my scholarly pursuits for the decades to come. In due time I came to realize how intimately the two subjects are interconnected; in fact, I believe that only an integrated study of the two domains, ancient Anatolia and the “Sea Peoples,” can provide satisfactory answers to some of the pressing questions.

Despite my strong historical inclination, as the topic for my doctoral dissertation I chose, following the advice of my supervisor Professor Heinrich Otten, the philological study of a large festival text, the KILAM. Anatolian religion indeed proved to have a strong appeal for me, but soon after my return from Marburg to Israel, the muse Clio lured me back to her discipline in a most persuasive way: a remarkable Hittite seal impression was found at Tel Aphek, near Tel Aviv, and the excavator asked me to publish it. This required me to plunge into the intricacies of Hittite glyptics and thirteenth-century international relations in order to explain how this princely bulla turned up in an Egyptian governor’s residency in

Canaan. This investigation paved the way for my major scholarly pursuit during the next thirty years—the political history of the late Hittite Empire, its means of domination in the Syrian and Anatolian provinces, and its intricate connections with the other contemporary members of the Club of Great Powers—Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria and Ahhiyawa.

The thirteenth century B.C.E. was truly an international age of grandeur and opulence, whose epistolary network extended for the first time also to the Aegean realm, known as Ahhiyawa. To a certain extent the thirteenth century is the natural continuation of the Amarna Age, but now, after the fall of Mittani, the fragile borderlines between the great powers were stabilized and consolidated. This does not mean of course that the new “world order” was readily accepted by all competing hegemonies. On the contrary, some of the fiercest battles in antiquity were fought in this era—between Egypt and Hatti, Hatti and Assyria, Assyria and Babylonia, and Hatti and Ahhiyawa. Yet, these confrontations did not lead to a fundamental change of the geo-political map of the ancient Near East, as the relatively short episodes of enmity and warfare were followed by extended periods of détente and cooperation. With or without official peace treaties, diplomatic contacts between the royal courts flourished, with an opulent exchange of luxury goods, mutual visits of royalty and experts, and marriage alliances tying together the great royal houses. The overall image of the thirteenth-century ancient Near East always reminded me of pre-World War I Europe, with its delicate balance between half a dozen dominating powers, intricately tied together by marriage alliances between their royal houses. The analogy extends into the aftermath of the Great War, when some of the multi-national empires disintegrated into a myriad of nation states.

I have designated this period as “The Age of Complacency” because underneath the façade of splendor and stability lurked strong destabilizing forces that were either ignored or unsuitably fended off by the self-confident emperors and their advisers. Each great power had its own set of inner problems, but, upon closer examination, they all shared similar difficulties: internecine rifts within the royal houses, schisms within the ruling elites, regional attempts to secede from central rule, overextended supply lines, and restless ethnic groups operating on the fringes of the states, increasingly undermining the authority of the central powers: Arameans on the fringes of Assyria and Babylonia, nomadic Shasu groups in Egyptian Canaan, and “Sea Peoples” subverting both Hittite and Ahhiyawan control in western Anatolia. These unconventional forces proved to be the hardest to deal with. The great powers knew how to recruit enormous armies and resources in order to fight each other, but when it came to dealing with these elusive rebels on the fringes of the kingdom they were at a loss. Repeated campaigns to quell the insurrections turned increasingly ineffective.

The boastful great kings had fatally underestimated the detrimental forces of disintegration, which intensified towards the end of the century because of an increasing shortage in basic food supplies. Instead, they poured immense resources into extravagant building projects and cult reforms: grandiose new capitals were built at Piramesse, Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta and Tarhuntassa, and numerous new temples were erected throughout the kingdoms while others were lavishly renovated. Especially in Hatti self-aggrandizement and accreditation of divine status to the Great King seem to have increased in inverse proportion to the actual political clout of the central power. It is hard for us to understand whether such frivolous excesses resulted from obliviousness to the gravity of the situation, or, on the contrary, through such lavish means the troubled rulers tried to camouflage their military and economic failures and to call the attention and the support of their gods. Extreme piety is typical for times of dire straits. The costly cult reforms undertaken by the last kings of Hatti also concealed a deep sense of malaise and remorse caused by Hattusili's usurpation of the throne and the ensuing schism between two branches of the royal house.

The forty-two articles assembled in this volume were written over a period of thirty-five years and, understandably, they exhibit different levels of updating. Yet, I believe that by and large they can still provide a coherent picture of this fascinating era. There have not been any major archival discoveries pertaining to this period, on a par with the Boğazköy or the Ras Shamra archives, though several smaller and less spectacular thirteenth-century tablet collections were found at sites such as Meskene/Emar, Tell Sheikh Hamad/Dur-Katlimmu, and Tell Chuera/Harbe in Syria, and at Tel Aphek/Antipatris in Israel.¹ The integration of the new textual data is steadily expanding our understanding of the period, but quantum leaps in the interpretation of the evidence are quite few.

More abundant are the latest archaeological discoveries throughout the ancient Near East and the Aegean, in particular those pertaining to the end of the period, that is, the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Despite the paradigmatic shifts in the interpretation of the evidence propagated by some "processual archaeologists" ("indigenist" or "anti-migrationist" theories), I still conceive of this period as one characterized by large-scale upheavals, some of them bearing a cataclysmic character. In addition to the internal breakdown of the imperial systems and the palace economies of the Late Bronze Age, the ultimate collapse of the delicate thirteenth century equilibrium, in particular of the Hittite Empire, was accelerated by a severe famine, probably affected by natural causes such as prolonged periods of drought. These drastic circumstances, which find

1. Regrettably, two important archives of the thirteenth century B.C.E., each with some 400 tablets, still remain unpublished: the bulk of the so-called Urtenu archive at Ugarit (found in 1994) and the Middle Assyrian texts from Tell Sabi Abyad (found in 1997–1998).

growing support also in climatological studies,² in addition to the explicit textual evidence, set off a cascade of population movements across large parts of the central and the eastern Mediterranean Basin. The “Sea Peoples” in general, and the Philistines in particular, remained a second focus of my scholarly interests over the past thirty years,³ but this enthralling subject is only marginally touched upon in this volume, the focus of which is the thirteenth century B.C.E., “the calm before the storm.”

I wish to thank Billie Jean Collins for her dedication, time and effort invested in editing this volume, and to the SBL for accepting it in the Writings from the Ancient World Supplement Series.

2. See, e.g., B. Weiss, “The decline of Late Bronze Age civilization as a possible response to climatic change,” *Climatic Change* 4/2 (1982), 173–98; see further the references cited by S. Riehl in *Tell Atchana, Ancient Alalakh. The 2003–2004 Excavations Seasons* (ed. K. A. Yener; Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2010), 124–25.

3. For my latest articles on the subject see: “‘Old Country’ ethnonyms in ‘New Countries’ of the Sea Peoples’ diaspora”, in *AMIAA: The Quest for Excellence. Studies in Honor of Günter Kopcke on the occasion of his 75th Birthday*. (ed. R. B. Koehl; Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press, 2011); “The Philistines in the North and the Kingdom of Taita,” *The Ancient Near East in the 12th–10th Centuries B.C.E.. Proceedings of the International Conference Held in the University of Haifa, 2–5 May 2010* (ed. G. Galil et al.; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2011).

HITTITE DOMINATION IN SYRIA

SYRIA AFTER THE BATTLE OF QADESH

THE SOURCES

The century between Ramesses II's Battle of Qadesh (1275 B.C.E.) and Ramesses III's battle against the Sea Peoples (1175 B.C.E.) is one of the best-documented periods in the history of the ancient Near East. The two empires, which shared between them the rule over the Levant, have yielded rich sources, almost exclusively of royal derivation. The Egyptian pharaohs depicted and described their exploits in Asia on stelae and on the walls of their great temples. A few historical and literary papyri supply additional information. The state archives of Ḫattuša, the capital of the Hittites, provide a plethora of cuneiform texts relating to their rule of Syria, in particular treaties, edicts and letters (written in Hittite and/or Akkadian).

Obviously, these sources of the overlords portray a tendentious picture, which is rectified to some extent by sources from vassal kingdoms in Syria. By far the richest and most informative are the texts from Ugarit (Ras Shamra), the large majority of which belong to the thirteenth century. Several thousand tablets (still many unpublished) written in Akkadian and Ugaritic were found in the palace archives and in several other buildings belonging to leading officials. A few tablets were also discovered at the coastal site of Ras Ibn Hani in a residence belonging to the kings of Ugarit. The diversified sources from Ugarit throw light not only on the political history of the region, but also on the social and economic structures of a cosmopolitan Late Bronze Age metropolis. The city of Emar (Tell Meškene) on the Middle Euphrates has produced several hundred Akkadian (and a few Hittite) texts reflecting upon the history and economy of this easternmost outpost of Hittite Syria. A few tablets were also found at Qadesh (Tell Nebi Mend) but remain as yet unpublished. The Egyptian-dominated regions of the Levant have so far produced very few thirteenth century documents (Aphek, Hazor), but, on the other hand, the exceptionally rich archaeological record

This article was originally published in Italian in M. C. Guidotti and F. Pecchioli Daddi, eds. *La battaglia di Qadesh. Ramesse II contro gli Ittiti per la conquista della Siria*. Livorno 2002, 198–205.

supplements the written sources with important information relating mainly to various socio-economic aspects.

Documents from outside Hatti, Egypt, and Syria rarely add anything to our knowledge of the Levant in this period. Some indirect information is provided by the newly discovered Middle Assyrian archives east of the Euphrates (Tell Sheikh Hamad, Tell Chuera), whereas the Babylonian sources are practically uninformative. The same applies to contemporary Aegean documents (in Linear B), whereas the second-millennium documents from Cyprus (in Cypro-Minoan), a few of which have also been found at Ugarit, remain undeciphered.

THE IMMEDIATE RESULTS OF THE GREAT WAR

The Battle of Qadesh had failed to secure for Egypt the initial territorial gains achieved in central Syria shortly before. Not only were the kingdoms of Amurru and Qadesh promptly returned to the Hittite fold, but according to Hittite sources, the retreating Egyptian armies were pursued deep into the province of Upi (cuneiform Apa) in the Damascus Plain. The Hittite king's brother, Ḫattušili, was first put in control of this Egyptian province, but very soon after the Hittite garrison pulled back to the acknowledged international border south of Qadesh (Tell Nebi Mend).

Muwatalli replaced the treacherous ruler of Amurru, Bentešina, with a certain Šabili, about whom we know practically nothing. However, contrary to the Egyptian custom, he did not execute the deposed king for his treason, but rather deported him to Hatti and put him under the protection of his brother, Ḫattušili. Indeed, when the latter usurped the Hittite throne, not only he placed back his "reeducated" protégé on the throne of Amurru, but he also gave him his daughter Gašuliyawiya for wife, whereas his son Nerikkaili married a daughter of Bentešina. Ḫattušili's exceptionally lenient attitude towards Bentešina can only be comprehended in the context of his overall international policies, its pillar stones being the reconciliation with the great powers and the consolidation of his rule by granting a privileged status to strategically located vassals on the borders of the Hittite Empire. Controlling the strategic coastal frontier between the Hittite and the Egyptian Empires, the future loyalty and cooperation of Amurru was ascertained by this intricate net of royal marriages and by other important privileges. Significantly, a generation later, amongst the nobles assembled to witness the signing of the treaty between Hatti and Tarḫuntašša (Bronze Tablet) the only Syrian representatives, besides the king of Karkamiš, were Bentešina and his son Šaušgamuwa. The political privileges bestowed upon Amurru were matched by a corresponding rationalization observed in Hittite historiography. In the historical preamble to the Šaušgamuwa Treaty the defection of Amurru from the Hittite to the Egyptian camp is blamed on the rather abstract "Men of Amurru," tactfully

omitting Bentešina's role in the apostasy. How the Egyptians took the reinstatement of their ex-collaborator on the throne of Amurru is difficult to tell, but in any case, Bentešina played a very active role in the rapidly expanding diplomatic and commercial ties between the Hittite and the Egyptian Empires. His kingdom became the hub of a lucrative trade not only between North and South, but also between East (Mesopotamia) and West (the Aegean).

Not much is known about the subsequent history of the other disputed Syrian territory, the kingdom of Qadesh (Hittite *Kinza*), but, no doubt, it also was kept firmly in Hittite hands till the end of the Bronze Age.

The defeat at Qadesh was a serious blow to Egypt, not only for the final loss of claimed territories in central Syria, but also for the loss of face in the eyes of her vassals in Canaan. In the following years (especially in his eighth and tenth years) Ramesses conducted a vigorous military and propagandistic campaign to restore Egypt's authority and prestige in Asia. It is hard to establish the historicity of the numerous victories depicted on the walls of the the Amun temple and the Ramesseum. An inscription dating to Ramesses's tenth year carved into the rock face at Nahr el-Kalb north of Beirut confirms Egyptian authority in coastal Canaan, but there is no evidence for the claims of victories deep in the heart of Hittite Syria (Tunip and Dapur). Neither can the designation "Šumur of Sesy (i.e., Ramesses)" in a literary text (Papyrus Anastasi I) be taken as a proof for a regained Egyptian control of Šumur (Tell Kazel), the strategic port town of Amurru. Perhaps some concessions were granted by the Hittites to Egypt for the continuation of the maritime trade with the northern Levant after the signing of the Peace Treaty.

Eventually, when peace was reached between Hatti and Egypt sixteen years after the Battle of Qadesh (1258 B.C.E.), the international border ran more-or-less along the same frontier line as the one established by Muwatalli's grandfather, Šuppiluliuma I, some seventy years earlier. The Hittites never attempted to capitalize on their victory in order to annex other Egyptian-controlled territories to their realm. Nevertheless, the Egyptian concern of further political setbacks is clearly reflected in an inscription of Ramesses in which the Moabites are accused of conspiring with the wicked Hittites.

"ETERNAL PEACE" BETWEEN HATTI AND EGYPT

During the remaining few years of Muwatalli II and those of his son Muršili III/Urhi-Tešub, Hatti witnessed turbulent events (the trial of Queen Danuḫepa, the retransfer of the capital from Tarḫuntašša to Ḫattuša, etc.) and the relations with the defeated southern neighbor were somewhat neglected. Perhaps this Hittite reclusion encouraged Egyptian aspirations to regain some foothold in the lost territories of Syria. However, after the usurpation of the throne by Ḫattušili III

a new era was ushered in to the fluctuating Hittite–Egyptian relationships. Both sides realized that the perpetuation of hostilities could only burden further the enormous logistic efforts invested in the war and both lands had to keep a watchful eye upon other, more troublesome enemies. The Hittites were increasingly concerned with Assyrian aggression and the Egyptians encountered growing difficulties on the Lybian front and in the defense of Canaan against recurring razzias of various tribal elements (such as the Shasu). Intensive peace talks between Hittite and Egyptian delegations led to an agreement, which was laid down in writing in Year 21 of Ramesses II (1258 B.C.E.). The so-called Silver Treaty (the original text was carved on a silver tablet), preserved in Egyptian and Akkadian copies, includes provisions of non-aggression, mutual military assistance, guarantee of legal succession, and extradition of fugitives and rebels. It tactfully omits any reference to the consented borders between the two empires. It is of course possible that these were laid down on an unpreserved supplement, but, more likely, this sensitive issue was purposely left out by the Hittites, who were the ones responsible for the formulation of the treaty.

Another sensitive matter, which is only indirectly touched upon in the treaty, is the fate of the exiled king Urḫi-Tešub. In conformity with Hittite ethical codes, the dethroned king was not imprisoned or executed, but was rather exiled to Nuḫḫašši in northern Syria. However, this honorable exile, which carried with it some authoritative powers, did not satisfy Urḫi-Tešub and he began to explore ways to gain back his throne. When rumors reached Ḫattušili that Urḫi-Tešub had attempted to recruit Babylonian assistance for his cause, he gave orders to transfer his nephew to another location “alongside the sea.” This may well refer to Amurru whose king, Bentešina, was a trusted proxy of Ḫattušili. Indeed, his name appears in several fragmentary letters of the Hittite–Egyptian correspondence which also mention Urḫi-Tešub. Eventually, the most notorious political exile of antiquity found asylum in Egypt and spent the rest of his life at the court of Ramesses. Everything considered, the safe distance of Egypt must have been preferable to Ḫattušili than some closer venue of exile. Still, he and his queen Puduḫepa kept raising this thorny matter time and again in their international correspondence.

Once the problematic political issues faded out, the fierce enemies of yesterday became the best of partners in the remaining decades of the thirteenth century. The Peace Treaty was followed by a royal marriage between Ramesses and a daughter of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa (1245 B.C.E.). Both occasions were accompanied by a fervent exchange of letters and valuable presents, and leading members of the two royal houses and other high-ranking officials paid mutual visits to each other’s country. The details of this cordial exchange of goods and ideas are provided by the Akkadian letters (and some Hittite drafts) preserved in the royal archives of Ḫattuša, the capital of the Hittites. Complementary data,

especially some valuable pictorial representations, are provided by Egyptian reliefs dated to the long reign of Ramesses.

Under the veil of gift exchanges a lucrative trade circulated between Hatti and Egypt, both on land—through Syria and Palestine—and on sea. Naturally, the letters are more elaborate in their description of spectacular luxury items, such as golden jewels inlaid with precious stones, furniture made of ebony, clothes of byssus, and cuirasses of bronze for soldiers and horses. The Egyptian consignments also included some more “exotic” items, such as a monkey and a few hundred Nubian men and women (from the Land of Meluhḫa). The Hittites reciprocated with Kaška men, fierce warriors from the Pontic region, and with teams of chariot horses and breeding studs. The texts from Ugarit also provide various details about the horse trade in the Hittite Empire. Horse breeding was a traditional expertise of the northern lands inhabited by Hittites and Hurrians. Occasionally, Hatti also sent luxury items, such as golden cups and a golden statue of the Hittite king.

The vassal states on both sides of the international border played an active role in this lucrative trade, and occasionally some of the luxury items were “dropped behind,” so to say, along the road. Such, for example, is the exquisite Hittite ivory discovered at Megiddo, one of the important stations on the international thoroughfare connecting Hatti and Egypt.

THE NEW GEO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE LEVANT

The territorial division implicitly consented in the Silver Treaty re-affirmed in fact the centuries-old division of the Levant between a northern and a southern great power. The Syrian territories which belonged to Mittanni in the fourteenth century were inherited by Hatti, and the inland areas were further extended by Amurru and Ugarit, two coastal kingdoms which voluntarily joined the victorious Hittite camp. The frontier line ran from the region of Tripoli on the coast to the sources of the Orontes River (near Baalbek) in the Lebanon Valley, closely corresponding to the northern border of Canaan as demarcated in the biblical description (Num 34).

The division of the Egyptian province of Canaan is referred to in a letter of the Egyptian–Hittite correspondence dealing with the reception of the Hittite bride of Ramesses. Her retinue was first to be met by the governor of Upi (the province of Damascus) whose jurisdiction covered the inland areas, and was then to be accompanied to Egypt by the governor of Gaza, the city that served as the central seat of the Egyptian administration of Canaan.

The Hittite administration of central and northern Syria underwent some changes after its initial consolidation by Šuppiluliuma I and his son Šarrekušuh/Piyašili, the viceroy of Karkamiš. The role of Ḫalab (Aleppo), a revered religious

center, gradually faded out, whereas the authority of Karkamiš steadily increased, especially when the great kings of Hatti became more and more preoccupied with internal problems. Thus, the kings of Karkamiš became the *de facto* rulers of Hittite Syria, especially under the long and able reign of Ini-Tešub. From the numerous petty kingdoms of fourteenth century Syria only a few kept their autonomous status, whereas others were fully or partially integrated in the centralized jurisdiction of Karkamiš.

Mukiš, with its capital at Alalakh (Tell Atchana) on the lower Orontes, was ruled by a Hittite governor. The Nuḫḫašši Lands, a loose term covering the central-Syrian regions comprised between the Orontes and the Euphrates, were administered directly by the kings of Karkamiš, and the same applies to the territory previously occupied by the kingdom of Qatna (Tell Mishrife), northeast of Qadesh. Siyannu (Tell Siano), previously an appanage kingdom of Ugarit, was recognized by Muṣili II as a separate kingdom under the supervision of Karkamiš. This was a wise political step intended to create a directly-controlled buffer zone between the influential Levantine kingdoms of Amurru and Ugarit. The Land of Aštata on the Middle Euphrates, with its capital at Emar (Tell Meskene), enjoyed a special political status. Although it was allowed to keep its local dynasty, important matters were directly supervised by a Hittite governor appointed from Karkamiš. In the last analysis, it seems that the only vassal states in Syria that kept a quasi-autonomous status were Ugarit, Amurru and Qadesh, that is, the kingdoms that had promptly joined the Hittite camp in the Amarna Age and were therefore granted special political privileges. This political organization of Syria was maintained until the final breakdown of the Hittite Empire.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN THE AGE OF *PAX HETHITICA*

The peaceful relations between the two great powers ruling the Levant greatly facilitated the inter-regional trade along the Levantine coast and also to more distant regions. Commercial ships and caravans traversed almost freely from Hittite- to Egyptian-dominated areas and joint ventures fared to ever-more-distant destinations in the Mediterranean. The texts, especially from Ugarit, cover only a fraction of the overall compass of Late Bronze Age Mediterranean trade, but archaeological finds round out the picture. The shipwrecks from Ulu Burun and Cape Gelidonya on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey shed exciting new light on the navigation systems and on the international nature of the cargoes carried by merchant ships in this cosmopolitan age.

Most of the recorded trade reflects upon the palace level, that is, royal gift exchanges (sometimes portrayed as tribute-giving for propagandistic purposes). This followed strict ideological codes reflecting the relative rank of the corresponding parties, whether great or minor kings. Whereas earlier direct contact

between a vassal king and a great king other than his own master was considered inappropriate, the new era of peace suppressed to a certain extent these formal barriers. Thus, for example, Ugarit, a Hittite vassal, corresponded and traded with Egypt and with Egyptian vassals along the Phoenician coast (Akko, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Byblos).

Merchants first depended entirely on the palace administration, but in the course of the thirteenth century they gradually supplemented their institutional duties with more private activities, thus acquiring great personal wealth and a significant level of autonomy. Some of the great merchants of Ugarit (Sinaranu, Šipti-Baal) maintained lucrative contacts with their business associates along the Levantine coast, from Byblos to Ashkelon and beyond. Their tax-exempted ships also called upon the ports of Cyprus and Crete. These merchant firms and their dependents survived more easily the decay of the Late Bronze Age palace economies and constituted the backbone of the new political elites of the great Phoenician trading centers.

The traded goods included mainly metals, dyed textiles, timber, and various luxury artefacts, but food products, such as oil, wine, and spices also played a significant role. Towards the end of the thirteenth century grain exports from Egypt to the Hittite Empire acquired an increasingly strategic role.

The main supplier of copper was Cyprus (Alašia), but smaller quantities were also extracted from mines in Anatolia (Ergani), the Araba Valley (Punon, Timna), and Oman (Magan). Egypt exploited the largest quantities of gold from mines in Nubia and Punt, but the Hittites also had access to sizable sources of gold and silver. The relative importance of iron smelting on the verge of the new era is still debated, but at least one text documents the role of Hatti as an exporter of iron objects.

The Levant had little to offer to the market of raw materials, but it developed sophisticated workshops for specialized craft industries. Some of the exquisite metal objects discovered at Ras Shamra were locally manufactured, and the vassal treaties of Ugarit also document her ability to produce considerable quantities of objects made of gold and silver. Ivory carving was another skill mastered by the craftsmen of Ugarit and other Levantine centers. But most of all, the Syrian port towns were famous for their industry of linen and wool textiles and garments dyed with purple extracted from murex shellfish.

WAR AND PEACE BETWEEN ASSYRIA AND HATTI

While Egypt and Hatti were exhausting their forces at Qadesh, the vigilant Assyrians used this golden opportunity to extend their dominion westwards. Han-igabat, the Hittite-controlled buffer state east of the Euphrates established by Šuppiluliuma after his defeat of Mittanni, was captured by Adad-Nirari and was

turned into an Assyrian vassal state. Neither Urhi-Tešub nor Ḫattušili were up to rescue their Hurrian vassal, Wasašatta, or even to protest against the Assyrian aggression. Ḫattušili, who was anxious to gain international recognition of his new regime, even addressed amicable letters to the Assyrian king. Even when the constant raids of the people of the town Turira on territories of Karkamiš became insupportable, all that the Hittite king dared to demand from his Assyrian correspondent was his collaboration in suppressing the troublemakers. On the death of Adad-Nirari the king of Ḫanigalbat, Šattuara II, counting on Hittite support, tried to break off the Assyrian yoke, but Šalmaneser crushed the rebellion and annexed the buffer kingdom to Aššur. From now on the Assyrian frontier ran close enough to the narrow Hittite strip striding both sides of the Euphrates to pose a constant threat on Karkamiš, the hub of Hittite Syria.

When the energetic new king of Assyria, Tukulti-Ninurta, sat on the throne, there came a last Hittite attempt to settle the differences through diplomatic means. But in fact, King Tuḫaliya had already started to prepare his Syrian vassals for the unavoidable clash with the strongest military power in Western Asia. The vassal treaty with Šaušgamuwa, king of Amurru, includes a clause of strict sanctions against Assyria, including a naval blockade on her maritime trade with Ahḫiyawa (the Akheans/Mycenaeans) through Syrian ports. The earlier exemption of Ugarit from military duties (bought by large amounts of gold) was now abolished, and hectic letters were addressed to its king, Ibiranu, demanding the immediate mobilization of his troops. Probably, other Syrian vassals, including Amurru and Qadesh, were also called up urgently for military duty. But all these feverish preparations were to no avail, and when the Assyrians attacked at Niḫriya in 1233 B.C.E. the Hittite armies of Tuḫaliya IV were utterly crushed. The Assyrian king lost no time in spreading the news in Syria, and in a letter sent to the king of Ugarit he described at length the circumstances that led to the decisive battle. The way was open now to achieve the age-old strategic target of Assyria, the Mediterranean, but through some odd political twist, Tukulti-Ninurta did not fully capitalize on his victory against the Hittites. Instead, he turned his aggression against Babylon, and defeated her as well. Towards the end of his reign he even resumed diplomatic and commercial relations with the Hittites, as we now learn from the Middle Assyrian tablets discovered at Ḫurbe (Tell Chuera) and Dur-Katlimmu (Tell Sheikh Hamad).

THE FADING POWER OF THE WESTERN EMPIRES

The humiliating defeat of the Hittites at Niḫriya only stepped up the process of alienation of their Syrian vassals. Ugarit is time and again reprimanded by her Hittite overlords for not keeping up her vassal duties: appropriate yearly tribute, wholehearted participation in military and corvée tasks, and respectful treatment

of the growing number of Hittite representatives sent to Ugarit to inspect the performance of her obligations. These reprimands become outright threats or implorations as we get nearer the end of the thirteenth century, when the Hittites became increasingly dependent on Ugarit's navy for their food supplies and for the defense of their long Mediterranean shores. Other Syrian vassals must have shared similar experiences in their dealings with Ḫattuša and Karkamiš, but written evidence is still lacking.

The weaker the Hittite grip the more patent became Ugarit's flirting with other potential patrons. Her reaction to the Assyrian overtures after the Battle of Niḫriya is not documented, but, on the other hand, there is growing evidence for a full-fledged renaissance of her political ties with the last Nineteenth Dynasty Pharaohs. To be sure, Ugarit's traditional close ties with Egypt, going back to the Amarna period at least, were only severed during the period of Hittite–Egyptian hostilities (from Šuppiluliuma I to Ḫattušili III), but were soon resumed after the signing of the Peace Treaty. Now, however, the lucrative commercial ties were enhanced by a surprising political overture. A recently discovered long letter of Merneptah to the (last?) king of Ugarit contains his response to the unusual request to set up his own statue in the temple of Baal, Ugarit's patron god. Merneptah's polite refusal (probably in order not to overly provoke his Hittite allies) is mitigated by an unusually rich consignment of luxury goods, which could not have failed to demonstrate to Ugarit the advantages of a distant patron over a close but feeble suzerain. More Egyptian missives (from Merneptah and Seti II) were found at Ras Shamra, and this surprising new evidence shows that shortly before its fall, Ugarit was seriously exploring the possibility of intensifying her political relations with more-prosperous and less-demanding patrons.

Whether Ugarit's political calculations were justified is another question. As it happened, Egypt also was not in its prime at the end of the thirteenth century and her hardships were not dissimilar from those of Hatti. During the very long and stagnant reign of Ramesses II Egypt's traditional foes became increasingly troublesome and Merneptah was obliged to lead vigorous campaigns to pacify the outlying provinces of his empire. In his Victory Stele of Year 5 (1207 B.C.E.) he celebrated the defeat of some Lybian tribes, of several Canaanite city kingdoms (Ashkelon, Gezer, Yenoam) and, for the first time, of an ethnic group named Israel. Merneptah also fortified his positions further north, in the province of Upi, and probably centralized the administration of Egypt's Asiatic provinces. After his death (1202 B.C.E.), however, the inner stability of Egypt deteriorated rapidly, which eventually led to the rise of a new dynasty. Ramesses III tried to restore Egyptian authority in coastal Canaan, but the inland provinces in southern Syria were irretrievably lost.

UNRULY ELEMENTS ON LAND AND SEA

The lucrative Late Bronze Age trade over land and sea became increasingly susceptible to robbery and theft. The texts of Ugarit abound in references to such razzias on caravans and to the relentless efforts of the Hittite authorities to contain the problem and to regulate the payment of compensation for the victims. Quite often the identity of the marauders could not be established and in such cases the nearest community was demanded to pay amendments. Egyptian sources are less specific about individual cases of robbery, but clearly, during the Nineteenth Dynasty the security forces became increasingly busy guaranteeing the safe passage of troops and caravans through the main arteries of Canaan.

The unruly elements threatening the urbanized societies of Late Bronze Age Syria and Palestine are designated by different terms in various geographical orbits, but they all share some typical social characteristics during the period under consideration and also in the subsequent Early Iron Age.

The most common generic term designating pastoral nomads throughout the ancient Near East is Sutu (Shasu of the Egyptian sources). The Suteans are occasionally encountered in settled areas as well, but most of them made their living in the steppe regions on the fringes of the urban and agricultural lands. In times of drought and distress they often raided the better-faring lands, but normally they maintained a balanced economic symbiosis with the established communities. Like the Ḫabiru, they also rented occasionally their services as mercenaries to the rulers of city-kingdoms and to the imperial authorities. During the course of the thirteenth century the Sutu/Shasu are often qualified by more specific, ethnic or area-bound designations, which anticipate the geo-political map of the Early Iron Age. In the southern Levant the Shasu nomads of the Egyptian sources become the future Israelites, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Midianites, and other groups who settled in the highlands of Canaan and the steppe lands of Transjordan. In the Syrian Desert the semi-nomadic pastoralists designated as Ahlamu in thirteenth-century sources are later known as the Aramean tribes who settled large parts of Syria and northern Mesopotamia.

An entirely different social designation is *ʿapiru* (*ḫabiru* or SA.GAZ of the cuneiform sources), a term that has fomented endless discussions because of its alleged association with the biblical Hebrews. The *ʿapiru* were outcasts and run-aways from the established urban and rural societies who found refuge in remote and hardly accessible areas, banded together, and made a dire living from highway robbery or from providing mercenary services to various overlords. They are attested throughout the second-millennium Near East, from Assyria to the Levant and from Anatolia to Egypt, and, contrary to earlier assumptions, they are not associated with any specific ethnic group.

The established political forces of the Near East were increasingly challenged not only by these uncontrolled semi-nomadic groups, but also by various sea-borne marauders, generically designated as Sea Peoples in modern research. Actually, the late-nineteenth and early-Twentieth Dynasty Egyptian sources name and depict altogether nine different sea-borne groups who attacked the shores of Egypt. The northern sources provide only very sparse data on the sea-borne enemies, but the long shores of the Hittite Empire were no less susceptible to their sudden attacks. Although the main onslaught of the Sea Peoples, who inflicted the coup-de-grace on the dwindling Hittite Empire and gravely injured the Egyptian one, only occurred in the early-twelfth century, their predecessors were already responsible for piratical activities in the eastern Mediterranean centuries earlier. The exact origins of the various groups of Sea Peoples (including the Philistines) is still a much-debated issue, but the Aegean basin, with both its eastern and western shores, covers most of the scholarly views.

All these unruly elements (and many others) were active on the Near Eastern scene for many centuries, but the deteriorating living conditions in the late-thirteenth century, especially the severe food shortage, impelled them in growing numbers to hit the roads in search for a better life. Their growing pressure contributed substantially to the final disintegration of the enfeebled palatial systems of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean realms.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE IMPERIAL SYSTEM AND ITS AFTERMATH

The relative weight of internal versus external causes for the fall of states has fomented endless debates. The symptoms of decline are not always easy to recognize by the future victims of an impending catastrophe. A transient look at late-thirteenth century Hittite documents does not immediately reveal signs of awareness of the forthcoming collapse, and the same applies to contemporary Egyptian sources. Only a penetrating scrutiny of the usual boastful hyperbole may discern the growing difficulties faced by the royal administrations in holding together their rapidly disintegrating imperial structures. The sources from Syria (Ugarit and Emar) are far more outspoken in identifying the hardships and dangers of the era. A balanced examination of all the sources leads to the conclusion that, as in many other cases in history, only a combination of internal and external causes may explain the collapse of the Late Bronze Age palace systems in the eastern Mediterranean basin. These are so closely intertwined as to make it extremely difficult to distinguish between cause and effect. External causes, such as meteorological cataclysms and seaborne enemies, were easier to identify and thus played a dominant role in past assessments, but more recently the inherent problems of the various palace systems receive more attention.

The Hittite state in the last three generations of its existence was profoundly preoccupied with the dynastic dispute following the civil war between Urḫi-Tešub/Muršili III and his uncle Ḫattušili III. Despite all efforts towards reconciliation, the dispute eventually brought about the division of the kingdom into two parts, both of them claiming supremacy: Hatti (Ḫattuša) in the north and Tarḫuntašša in the south. This deep schism had affected all aspects of Hittite existence, not only the political agenda, and it seriously incapacitated the ability of the Hittite kings to effectively rule their huge empire. Military and economic concessions granted to Tarḫuntašša (and perhaps to other sub-kingdoms) in order to gain their deference seriously weakened the Hittite defense capability. The atmosphere at the palace of Ḫattuša was imbued with a constant fear of treason, and even the highest state officials were suspected of disloyalty. Faced with these moral consequences of Ḫattušili's usurpation of the throne, his son Tuṭḫaliya initiated a sweeping religious reform in order to appease the angry gods. The vast building and renovation activities in the capital and throughout the kingdom adduced an impossible burden on the already impoverished treasuries. In short, the last decades of the Late Bronze Age saw the Hittites investing more energies and resources in the endearment of their gods than in the consolidation of their crumbling empire and the defense of its borders. The loyal and stable viceroys of Karkamiš did their best to preserve law and order in Hittite Syria, but, facing the raising Assyrian power on their threshold, could hardly replace the Hittite Great Kings in defending their long maritime frontlines.

As if the severe internal problems and the outside enemies were not enough, the Hittites were also punished from heaven by a severe famine ravaging their kingdom for several decades. Some information is found in documents from Hatti and Egypt, but the most dramatic reports on the "life and death situation" come from the latest letters from Ugarit. The grain-laden ships urgently procured from Egypt and Canaan were often ravaged or sunk by the swift vessels of the Sea Peoples swarming around Cyprus and the northern Levantine coasts. The situation in the inland regions of Syria was not much better, including the fertile areas along the river valleys. The Emar tablets document a staggering inflation in barley prices, forcing impoverished families to sell even some of their children in order to pay back their debts and to feed the remaining members of their families. The primary causes for the food shortage that affected the entire eastern Mediterranean basin in the late-thirteenth and the twelfth centuries remain to be investigated. A growing number of studies, however, seem to point towards climatological cataclysms, such as a series of dry years, that triggered the phenomenon. Large tracts of arable land were turned into pastures barely nourishing half-nomadic populations.

Unable to supply their armies sufficiently and gradually abandoned by their allies, the Hittites eventually caved in and their huge empire disintegrated, parts

of it run over by enemy hordes. Only Karkamiš and its dependencies along the Middle Euphrates survived the cataclysm and carried on the torch of Hittite civilization in northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia.

The actual course of the dramatic events that took place across the vast domains of the Hittite Empire is almost impossible to reconstruct. Only Ugarit has supplied us with some scattered reports from battlefields, which, together with the archaeological evidence, prove beyond any doubt that vehement last-ditch battles were fought along the long Mediterranean coasts. It would seem that the seaborne enemies had first established a bridgehead in Mukiš, at the mouth of the Orontes, and thence they advanced on land and sea towards Ugarit and its harbors. It is hard to tell whether Karkamiš kept to its promises to send reinforcements to its beleaguered vassals on the coast, but in any case, the fall of Ugarit (between 1190 and 1180) could not be prevented. Most of the inhabitants managed to escape inland, some burying their valuables in caches. Except for very few traces of a short-lived squatter occupation Ugarit was deserted and was never again settled on a similar scale. Inland settlements in the kingdoms of Ugarit and Siyannu were probably spared the ravages of the coastal centers, and many of them have even guarded their names throughout the ages into the present toponymy of the region.

Unlike the city of Ugarit itself, some of its harbors (Ras Ibn Hani, Ras Bassit) were soon reoccupied by new settlers who produced the typical pottery of the Sea Peoples, as found all along the Levantine and the Cypriot coasts (LH IIC). The continuation of local ceramic traditions shows that, as in other parts of the Levant, remnant groups of the previous populations mingled together with the newcomers.

At about the same time that Ugarit surrendered to the Sea Peoples, Emar on the Middle Euphrates suffered from a similar cataclysm, but imposed by other enemies. After years of “distress and famine” the city and its vicinity were sacked by the Hurrians (coming from the other side of the Euphrates) and the *tarwu-*, the latter term possibly referring to the Ahlamu/Aramean tribes.

After taking the northern Levantine coasts, thus bringing to an end a century and a half of Hittite domination of northern Syria, the hordes of the Sea Peoples continued to stream down towards the northern confines of the Egyptian Empire. Ramesses III attempted to ward off their advance at the mouth of the Eleutheros River (in Amurru), but the sea and land battles depicted on the walls of his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu must have ended in a Pyrrhic victory (1175 B.C.E.). Shortly thereafter we find the Philistines, the Sikila, and the Sherdani settled down along the coasts of Palestine. Still, Egypt had managed to prevent the worse fate of Hatti, although she lost her Asiatic provinces after four hundred years of rule.

Freed from the imperial domination of Egypt and Hatti, the Levant was left in the hands of its old and new inhabitants. The struggle for the political inheritance must have started right away, but contemporary written sources for the next three hundred years are extremely sparse. The biblical stories reflect the struggle between Philistines and Israelites, but the historicity of these late retrospectives is much debated. In Syria, the Neo-Hittite survivors and the Aramean settlers blended into a complex cultural and political fusion, the evidence for which is mainly preserved in the archaeological record. Finally, the heirs of the ancient Canaanite culture held the fort in the Phoenician cities along the Lebanese coast and due to their technically improved trading ships soon became the new masters of the seas.

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A POLITICAL HISTORY OF UGARIT

1 PRELIMINARY REMARKS

1.1 HISTORY OF RESEARCH

With seventy years of nearly continuous excavation, Ras Shamra-Ugarit qualifies as the most intensively explored city in Syria. In the last two centuries before her downfall it is also the best-documented city in the Levant, due to a rare combination of a sizeable excavated area which remained mostly uninhabited in later periods, and the discovery of the largest and most diverse archives between Ḫattuša and Amarna. The importance of Ugarit's history exceeds by far the local and the regional level, and for the complex questions concerning the transition between the Bronze and the Iron Age, it is a main landmark, providing a unique combination of archaeological and textual sources.

The first steps towards the reconstruction of Ugarit's history were made by the illustrious epigrapher J. Nougayrol, who classified the texts and provided concise commentaries in the Akkadian text volumes (*PRU* 3, 4, 6 and *Ug* 5). Similar, though shorter, comments were appended by C. Virolleaud in the volumes of Ugaritic texts (*PRU* 2, 5). These early efforts have been continued by the present epigraphic teams of the expedition in their publications of the new texts (*RSO* 7).

The first comprehensive histories of Ugarit were published in the sixties: Liverani's Italian monograph (Liverani 1962) and the more general surveys of Rainey (1965) and Drower (1975) are limited to the age of Ugarit's archives in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. Klengel's chapter on Ugarit (Klengel 1969) includes the earlier evidence as well. The publication of numerous new texts, especially relating to the final phases of Ugarit's history, has prompted a new compendium by Liverani (Liverani 1979a), which remains till now the only full-scale history of Ugarit. It covers not only political history, but also various demographic, socio-economic, and cultural topics. Klengel has also updated his chapter on Ugarit in his latest handbook on Syria (Klengel 1992). Many historical

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studies have since been written, mostly restricted to a specific period or topic.¹ It seems, however, that Ugarit's political history received in recent years less attention than its society, economy and administration,² not to mention its religion and literature.

The present attempt (which has already surpassed the space limitations set by the editors of this Handbook) deals primarily with the political history of Ugarit throughout the second millennium B.C.E. Socio-economic and cultural issues are only occasionally mentioned, although the chapter dealing with Ugarit's foreign relations is mostly concerned with international trade.

1.2 SOURCES

The main source for the history of Ugarit are its own archives. Several thousand cuneiform tablets written in Akkadian and Ugaritic were found in the palace archives and in several "private" archives throughout the city, as well as at Ras Ibn Hani on the coast, perhaps a summer residence of the kings of Ugarit.³ The most valuable texts for the reconstruction of the political history of Ugarit are the international letters, the treaties concluded with Hatti and Amurru, and the various decrees and legal verdicts issued by the Hittite authorities. There is also, of course, a wealth of historical information to be extracted from legal, administrative, and even literary texts.

Most of the relevant texts are written in syllabic Akkadian, but some, especially letters, are written in alphabetic Ugaritic which is far less well understood.⁴ Due to inherent difficulties in the correct rendering of non-formulaic phrases, a difficult passage may sometimes produce diametrically opposed interpretations and historical reconstructions, which are then perpetuated in general textbooks.⁵ As a rule, it seems advisable to adopt far-reaching interpretations based on difficult Ugaritic texts only if they are supported by more reliable Akkadian evidence.

1. Various articles on the history of Ugarit are included in the proceedings of conferences dedicated to Ugarit and to the end of the Bronze Age: Young 1981; Ward 1992; Brooke et al. 1994; Dietrich and Loretz 1995; Yon et al. 1995. See also Dupont 1987 on the late history of Ugarit, and Izre'el and Singer 1990 on the "General's Letter."

2. See, e.g., Heltzer's monographs on the rural community (1976), on trade (1978a), and on the internal organization (1982). See further Miller 1980 and Libolt 1985 on the juridical texts, Amico 1989 on the status of women, Aboud 1994 on the royal family, and Vita 1995a on the army.

3. For the archives and scribal activity in Ugarit, see Rainey 1969; van Soldt 1986; 1991a: 47–231; Liverani 1988b; Lackenbacher 1995a. The texts and other inscribed objects found up to 1988 are conveniently listed in the catalogue of Bordreuil and Pardee 1989.

4. There are also some Hurrian texts, mostly of religious character (n. 58), a few Hittite texts, half a dozen undeciphered Cypro-Minoan inscriptions (n. 234), and several Egyptian inscriptions on stone. The contribution of these texts to Ugarit's history is marginal at present.

5. As an example may serve Astour's widely quoted article on the end of Ugarit (1965), which includes some far-reaching historical reconstructions based on poorly understood Ugaritic letters (e.g., KTU 2.40 = RS 18.040 = PRU 5, 63).

It is not surprising to find a cosmopolitan city that has been described as “probably the first great international port in history” (Culican 1966: 46) mentioned in several foreign archives, including (in chronological order) Ebla(?), Mari, Alalah, Amarna, Hattuša, Emar, Aphek, as well as various inscriptions from Egypt. The Cypro-Minoan documents from Cyprus and from Ras Shamra must also contain evidence reflecting on Ugarit, but they have so far resisted decipherment.

Although most of this study is obviously based on written sources, some use is also made of the rich archaeological evidence, especially with regard to Ugarit’s urban development and its destruction by human and natural forces. Of particular importance are the archaeological data pertaining to the city’s final destruction at the beginning of the twelfth century, and the Iron Age resettlement of the port-town of Ras Ibn Hani. The combination of textual and archaeological data will no doubt become increasingly important in the coming years thanks to the meticulous and reliable investigations conducted by the new excavation teams of Ras Shamra and its vicinity.⁶ Finally, a word of caution should be added on the limitations of this study with regard to its sources. Though it is often the fate of the historian that his reconstructions are invalidated by fresh discoveries, in this case the new relevant documents have already been unearthed and await publication. I refer mainly to the 134 letters (about twenty in Ugaritic) found in 1994 in the “House of Urtenu.” The preliminary reports (Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995; Malbran-Labat 1995a; Lackenbacher 1995a) provide an appetizing glance into the richness of this treasure trove, and obviously the history of the last decades of Ugarit will have to be rewritten once these texts (and those of subsequent seasons) are fully published.

1.3 SPELLING OF NAMES

A note is due on the reading of PNs in syllabic and alphabetic texts. Many of the names occurring in Akkadian texts are spelled logographically and their reading is open to speculation. It was customary in the past to normalize these names as much as possible, by deciding, sometimes quite arbitrarily, in which language to read them: Akkadian, West Semitic, Hurrian, Hittite. As a rule, Nougayrol’s readings were uncritically accepted and perpetuated in Ugaritic studies. Although in most cases these readings are probably correct, some of them are certainly not, and they can lead to mistaken prosopographies and historical interpretations. To give one example: a certain GUR-DINGIR-*lim* is the author of a letter “sent to the king of Ugarit dealing with some border incidents (RS 17.394 + 427 = *PRU*

6. For an up-to-date general survey on the site of Ras Shamra (with ample refs. to specific literature), see Yon 1997: 1998a–b.

4, 220; see n. 192). Nougayrol rendered the ideogram GUR, “return,” with its Akkadian value *Itur* (see also Grøndahl 1967: 328). A king *Itur-lim* is not otherwise attested at Ugarit, and thus he remained in splendid isolation with a dossier of his own (IX A 4). However, if we apply a West Semitic value (see n. 190), we obtain the reading *Šāb-ilim*, which is borne by a king of *Siyannu-Ušnatu* (*Ša-bi-DINGIR-lim*; RS 17.341 = *PRU* 4, 161ff.), probably identical with the author of *PRU* 4, 220. The document may now be evaluated for its historical information (see n. 192). As a rule, I have abstained from unproven normalizations and have adhered to the logographic spelling, indicating the suggested reading in parentheses. The same applies to Ugaritic names whose vocalization is not certain. Here also, I have given the original spelling, indicating in parentheses the possible vocalization: e.g., *Iwrkl* (*Ewri-kili?*), *Trgds* (*Tarḥundišša?*), etc.

1.4 CHRONOLOGY

The relative chronology of the last two centuries of the history of Ugarit is by now well established.⁷ The line of eight kings from Ammištamru I in the first half of the fourteenth century to Ammurapi at the turn of the thirteenth is safely set,⁸ but we lack direct information on the length of each individual reign. For the long centuries preceding the Amarna Age we have practically no chronological data, and the few early kings of Ugarit who are known to us from the Ugaritic King List and from other isolated sources⁹ cannot be set into a controlled chronological framework. The absolute chronology of Ugarit in the LBA is dependent on synchronisms with the great powers of the era. As the hub of a lucrative international trade, Ugarit’s contacts reached out to most of the ancient Near East, and there are indeed good synchronisms with Egypt, Assyria, and of course Ḫatti and its Syrian dependencies. Ugarit still has much to contribute in linking together the absolute chronological systems of the ancient Near East, and important data keep streaming out from the new Urtenu archive.

The absolute chronologies followed in this study are laid down below, but obviously a justification for their acceptance cannot be presented here.¹⁰ For New Kingdom Egypt there is a growing preference for the low chronology, based on 1479 for the accession of Tuthmosis III and 1279 for the accession of Ramesses

7. For the evidence for the chronological framework of the archives of Ugarit, see van Soldt 1991a, Part I.

8. For the elimination of the alleged “Niqmaddu IIa” (inserted between Niqmepa and Ammištamru II), see p. 95.

9. *Ibira<nu>* in RS 4.449 (n. 54), and possibly *Puruqu* in AT *358 (p. 30).

10. The dates given in the table of synchronisms for the kings of Egypt and Assur are quoted from Kitchen 1987: 52, and Boese and Wilhelm 1979: 38, resp. The approximate dates for the kings of Ugarit are mine.

II.¹¹ In Mesopotamia the Old Babylonian middle chronology, with Hammurapi's accession in 1792, is followed, although there is not much reference to this period in the history of Ugarit. More relevant are the still-debated dates of the Middle Assyrian kings, where I follow the lower chronology, with 1233 for the accession of Tukulti-Ninurta, suggested by Boese and Wilhelm (1979).¹² Like the Levant, Anatolia does not have an independent chronological system, and the dates of the Hittite kings depend on synchronisms with Mesopotamia and Egypt. The major recent development in Hittite chronology is the drastic lowering and reduction of Šuppiluliuma I's reign from about forty to about twenty years (1343–1322/18) suggested by Wilhelm and Boese (1987; Wilhelm 1991). It seems that this low chronology, which tallies with the low chronologies of Egypt and Mesopotamia, has won increasing support in recent Hittitological studies,¹³ though some scholars would add a few more years at the beginning of Šuppiluliuma's reign.¹⁴ The approximate dates assigned to the kings of Ugarit have taken into account the recently suggested synchronisms with Assur (Ibiranu) and with Egypt (Ammurapi). It must be remembered, however, that exact dates cannot be assigned, and even these relative approximations may change with the publication of new data from the Urtenu archive. It seems to me, however, that the recent accumulation of prosopographic data from the archives of Ḫattuša, Ugarit, and Emar, will lead, before too long, to a more accurate chronological framework for the last century of the Hittite Empire.¹⁵

2 UGARIT IN THE EARLY AND THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGES

2.1 UGARIT IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.E.

The excavations of Ugarit have revealed a continuous stratigraphy of the site from the eighth through to the second millennia B.C.E. (Yon 1997b: 19, 25, 34).¹⁶ The Early Bronze Age city (Level III A) on the acropolis was of considerable size. Its last phase witnessed a rapid development in bronze metallurgy. The

11. Wente and Van Siclen 1976; Krauss 1978; Hornung 1987; Kitchen 1987; Von Beckerath 1994a, 1994b. Cf. also Helck 1987 and 1995 for the Ramesses II date. For a different view, see Astour 1989: 4–5.

12. See further Kühne 1982: 224, 229–30; Wilhelm 1991; Freydank 1991a: 11, n. 3, 32; van Soldt 1991a: 44. These dates are about ten years lower than those suggested by Brinkman (1977) in combination with Middle Babylonian chronology. See also Brinkman *apud* Houwink ten Cate 1996: 40.

13. E.g., Bryce 1989: 30; Gurney 1990: 181. Klengel 1992: 132, n. 244, does not take a stand on the new chronology. For a total refutation, see Astour 1989: 51ff., 77.

14. E.g., Freu 1992: 39; Klinger 1995: 247; Na'aman 1996: 257.

15. For prosopographical studies on thirteenth-century Hittite nobles and officials, many of whom are attested in the archives of Ugarit, see van den Hout 1995 (with further refs. quoted on p. 1, n. 2; see also Singer 1997).

16. For the prehistory of Ugarit, see De Contenson 1992.

site was deserted around 2200 B.C.E. and remained abandoned for a period of a hundred years or more (Yon 1997a: 258; 1997b: 26).

In third millennium written documents Ugarit has not yet been identified with certainty. Both proposed identifications of Ugarit in the texts from Ebla (Archi 1987)—*U₉-ga-ra-at* in a list of geographical names and *U₉-gu/gu-ra-at/tum* in economic texts—have been contested on both phonetical and contextual grounds (Bonechi 1993: 309; Astour 1995: 57, n. 11). Unlike Byblos, Ugarit is not mentioned in the Ur III texts, which conforms to the archaeological record. There is no certainty that the new settlement of the second millennium bore the same name as the Early Bronze Age city.

2.2 UGARIT IN THE AMORITE AGE AND THE UGARITIC KING LIST

At the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E., Ras Shamra was resettled by tribal groups designated by Schaeffer as the “necklace wearers” (*porteurs de torques*) after the rich metal ornaments discovered in their tombs (Courtois 1979: cols. 1151ff.). No architecture is known as yet from this first phase of the MBA settlement (Yon 1997b: 26). The new urban civilization of Ugarit developed in spectacular fashion from the nineteenth century onwards (Level II). The city covered almost the entire surface of the mound and was fortified with a massive rampart covered with a glacis. Schaeffer dated to this period the two temples on the acropolis and the so-called Hurrian temple in the palatial quarter (Courtois 1979 cols. 1195–96). However, more recent studies tend to lower their date to the very end of the MBA, or even to the beginning of the LBA.¹⁷ Sporadic traces of the MBA city were also found in other areas of the city (Mallet 1990; 1997; Callot 1994: 203–4; Yon 1998a: 127ff.) On the other hand, a trial pit made in the so-called North Palace in 1994 has shown that this edifice was first erected in the early part of the LBA (Callot 1986; 1994: 204; Yon 1997: 258; 1998a: 26, 72), and not in the MBA as suggested by Schaeffer (Schaeffer 1970: 209–13; 1972). The exact nature of the transition from the Middle to the LBA at Ugarit has yet to be determined (Yon 1998a: 28; cf. also Arnaud 1997: 155), but the marked continuity in material culture and the preservation of ancient ancestral traditions seem to speak against drastic changes in the city’s population throughout the second millennium B.C.E.

There are no independent sources from Ugarit on its history in the first half of the second millennium. The documents of the Amorite Age have not

17. Yon 1998a: 26. Note in particular the reservations expressed by Callot (1994: 203 and n. 1) with regard to an early dating, calling attention to the fact that the Temple of Ba’al was partly built over a cemetery of the MBA.

been discovered as yet,¹⁸ and there are no references to Ugarit's early history in the LBA archives. A notable exception is the text known as the King List of Ugarit, a most important Ugaritic text which was found in 1961, but was fully published and discussed first in the late seventies.¹⁹ The very poorly preserved obverse seems to deal primarily with music, and its relationship with the king list on the reverse is not clear.²⁰ The reverse is written in two columns,²¹ the left one almost entirely lost. The names of the kings listed in the right-hand column are all preceded by the divine lexeme *il*, the significance of which is debated. Liverani (1974: 340–41; see also Schmidt 1996) considered it to be a generic *ilu* referring to the (unnamed) personal god of each of the listed kings, or to a single dynastic deity repeated in each entry, i.e., “the god (of) PN.” Most commentators, however, maintain that the lexeme *ilu* deifies the deceased kings of Ugarit who are ritually invoked (Pardee 1988: 173, n. 25, with further refs.). This interpretation is supported by similar lists of deified kings in the ancient Near East, for example the King List from Ebla, which has the names of ten kings preceded by the divine marker DINGIR (*ARET* VII 150; Archi 1986; 1988; 1996: 14–15). A further parallel with the Eblaite list is the retrograde order of the royal names, the last name on the right-hand column being that of the founder of the dynasty, *Yqr* (*Yaqarum*). Since the tablet is damaged both at the top and at the bottom it is impossible to reconstruct the exact number of the listed kings. Earlier estimates, however, which reckoned with about thirty names altogether (Kitchen 1977; see also Aboud 1994: 7; Schmidt 1996), are probably too small. Pardee's (1988b: 173) thorough reexamination of the tablet resulted in at least twenty-six names in each column, i.e., a total of more than fifty kings. Most of the fifteen well-preserved names recur in the LBA royal line of Ugarit (Ammištamru, Niqmaddu, Niqmepa, Ibiranu, Ammu<ra>pi), the only names without parallels being *Y^crdrd*

18. Ugarit plays a prominent role in the Mari correspondence (see below) and it is inconceivable that no written documents of this period remained at the site. Note, for example, that Mari Age tablets have been discovered at Hazor, at the southern end of the commercial network operating along the Levant (Horowitz 1996, with refs.). For the possible location of the pre-Amarna Age archives, see n. 87.

19. KTU 1.113 = RS 24.257; Pardee 1988: 165–78. The obverse was already published by Vroilleaud in *Ug* 5: 561–62, but the reverse had to await the 1976 edition of KTU¹. A full re-edition, with photographs, was provided in Pardee's study on the “para-mythological” texts (Pardee 1988: ch. 5). From the vast secondary literature on the text, see in particular those studies which have attempted to reconstruct the list of kings (Kitchen 1977, Pardee 1988; Dijkstra 1989; Schmidt 1996). Other treatments concentrate mainly on its religious aspects, especially on the cult of deceased kings; see refs. listed in Schmidt 1996: 289, n. 1, and Younger 1997: 356–57; Wyatt 1998: 399–403.

20. Schaeffer (1963: 215) noted that the two sides of the tablet exhibit two distinct scripts, with the king list on the reverse written in a smaller, less careful handwriting. Pardee (1988b: 165), however, thinks that the same hand wrote both sides, the smaller script on the reverse being dictated by limitations of space.

21. The dividing line between the two columns is only partially presented, and Schmidt (1996: 298–89) maintains that most of the lines span the entire width of the tablet in one, not two, columns. This would, of course, considerably reduce the number of listed kings.

(*Yaḡuraddu*?) and *Yqr* (*Yaḡarum*).²² This conservatism in royal namegiving²³ may indicate that ancient dynastic traditions were strictly preserved by the rulers of Ugarit for many centuries. However, it should immediately be added that we have no way of examining the credibility of this list, and one cannot entirely rule out the possibility that it was artificially extended to enhance the respectability of the ruling dynasty of the LBA (Pardee 1988: 175, with n. 37).

Obviously, any attempt to calculate the total time span of the Ugaritic king list is highly speculative and remains unwarranted unless corroborated by other independent evidence.²⁴ Using an average reign of some twenty years²⁵ for each of thirty kings, Kitchen arrived at ca. 1800 B.C.E. for the date of Yaḡarum (Kitchen 1977: 136). The same average with the fifty-two kings assumed by Pardee would push us back deep into the third millennium. A more restricted average reign span of some fifteen years²⁶ would place Yaḡarum at the very beginning of the second millennium, which would agree better with the date of his dynastic seal. The dynastic cylinder seal was used by the kings of Ugarit in the fourteenth–thirteenth centuries, sometimes together with their own personal seals.²⁷ It had in fact two copies: an original finely cut cylinder dated to the MBA, and a much inferior duplicate which was probably manufactured at a later stage.²⁸ The Akkadian inscription identifies the original seal owner as “Yaḡarum, son of Niḡmaddu, king of Ugarit,” who must be identical with *Yqr* of the Ugaritic King List.²⁹ The typical presentation scene portrays a seated deity (perhaps the deified king) who is worshipped by a standing male figure followed by a supplicant goddess. On the basis of iconography and ductus Nougayrol dated the dynastic seal to

22. As in most studies on the history of Ugarit, the numbering of the kings of the LBA will not take into consideration these earlier homonymous kings of Ugarit. Cf., however, Aboud 1994.

23. As pointed out by Liverani (1978: 152), the names of the LBA kings of Ugarit are linguistically archaic, and do not recur in the regular onomasticon of the period.

24. The restoration of the name [*Pr*]*q* in the last line of the left column, and its association with “Puruqqa, the man of Ugarit” in a Level VII text from Alalah (AT *358.6–7; see p. 32), is, as stressed by Pardee (1988b: 175–76), tempting but extremely fragile.

25. Eight kings ruled in Ugarit during the ca. 160 years extending between the Amarna Age and the fall of Ugarit, i.e., an average of twenty years for each reign.

26. See, e.g., the cases cited by Dijkstra 1989: 148, n. 51.

27. Nougayrol 1955: xli–xliii; Schaeffer 1956: 66–77. There is a rare report on the falsification (or the unauthorized use) of the “great seal of the king,” i.e., the dynastic seal (RS 16.249 = *PRU* 3, 97; idem, p. xxv). A similar case of stealing the royal seal, apparently by a citizen of Ura, is reported in a Hittite court protocol (Otten 1967: 59–60).

28. Schaeffer 1956: 73, fig. 96; Nougayrol 1955: pls. XVI–XVII. The two cylinders were impressed (for the sake of comparison?) on an anepigraphic tablet found in the palace archive (RS 16.393A = *Ug* 3, 76, fig. 99; *PRU* 3, pl. XVII, fig. 25).

29. Yaḡarum’s father in the seal and his successor in the King List are both named Niḡmaddu, which indicates that papyponymy was already practiced at the outset of the dynasty. Since Yaḡarum’s father does not appear in the King List, apparently he was not considered to be a king in the historical tradition of Ugarit.

the early-second millennium (Nougayrol 1955: p. xli).³⁰ The prolonged use of dynastic seals for enhancing the political legitimacy of the ruling royal families is well-known in the Amorite realm of northern Syria.³¹ Some difficulty with this early dating for the founder of the dynasty is posed by a legal document which quotes a decree issued by Yaqarum, king of Ugarit, in favour of a certain Ilu-qarradu³² son of Talmiyanu (RS 16.145 = *PRU* 3, 169). The sealed document is presented to the court by (the same) Ilu-qarradu in a later lawsuit, which would apparently indicate that Yaqaru reigned shortly before.³³ Confronted with the apparent discrepancy between this lawsuit and his dating of the dynastic seal, Nougayrol suggested that Yaqarum became a sort of dynastic title borne by the kings of Ugarit, like Tabarna in Hatti and Caesar in Rome (Nougayrol 1963: 111, n. 10; *ibid.*, 1955: xxviii, xliii, n. 3). Another explanation could be that the name of Yaqarum was simply copied from the dynastic seal and quoted as a source of authority (van Soldt 1991a: 14, n. 130). This possibility is supported by a very fragmentary legal text in which the dynastic seal is designated as both “the seal of Yaqarum” and as “[the seal (of Niqmepa, son) of Niqmad]du, king of Ugarit” (RS 17.053 = *PRU* 6, 27, no. 25).

Despite the deplorable scarcity of data on the earliest phases of Ugarit’s history, the combined evidence of the dynastic seal and the Ugaritic King List seems to indicate that the kings of fourteenth–thirteenth century Ugarit traced back the origins of their royal house to the outset of the second millennium B.C.E.³⁴ Unless both documents reflect an ingenious late attempt at an artificial extension of the dynasty’s history,³⁵ the foundations of the kingdom of Ugarit seem to be firmly set within the context of the Amorite expansion in Mesopotamia and Syria at the turn of the second millennium B.C.E. This conclusion is also supported by vari-

30. Arnaud (1997: 158ff.) has recently questioned Nougayrol’s dating and suggested a mid-fifteenth century date instead, in conformity with his new dating of Yaqarum on the basis of unpublished material (see n. 33). He compares the iconography of the seal with the yet unpublished cylinder seal of Uri-Tešub, and claims that the cuneiform sign forms are archaizing.

31. To the inscribed dynastic cylinder seals from Ugarit, Alalakh, and Emar listed by Auerback (1991) one may add the anepigraphic cylinder seal of Aziru, which is also fashioned in a typical Amorite style (*Ug* 3, figs. 44–45).

32. This reading of the name is proposed by Arnaud 1996: 48, n. 6, replacing Nougayrol’s “Qarradu.”

33. Arnaud (1996: 48, n. 6; 1997: 155: n. 28) has noted in passing that according to unpublished documents Yaqarum was a contemporary of Idrimi of Alalakh who ruled at the turn of the fifteenth century. Until the evidence for this drastic change in Yaqarum’s dating is presented we follow the traditional view based on *Yqr*’s relative place in the Ugaritic King List.

34. To be sure, this does not necessarily mean that an unbroken dynastic line remained in power for eight centuries or so, a possibility which was already questioned by Nougayrol 1955: xli–xlii. See also Dijkstra 1989: 148.

35. For the function of genealogies and the problem of their historicity, see the references quoted in Pardee 1988: 175, n. 37.

ous cultural elements, such as Ugaritic language,³⁶ religion and mythology.³⁷ An intriguing reference to the ancestors of the dynasty is found in a late-thirteenth century liturgical text lamenting the death of Niqmaddu III and hailing the new king Ammurapi (KTU 1.161 = RS 34.126 = RSO 7, no. 90). The spirits invoked include the “Council of the *Ddn*” (*qbs ddn*), who also occur in the Krt epic (*qbs dtn*; KTU 1.15 = RS 3.343+ iii 4, 15). Ugaritic *Dtn/Ddn* has convincingly been identified with Didānum/Ditānum/Tidānum, an Amorite tribal group inhabiting northeastern Syria from the late-third millennium B.C.E. onwards (for refs. see Levine and De Tarragon 1984: 654–55). They are also encountered as ancient eponyms in the Assyrian King List, a further indication for the common ancestry of the various Amorite tribes.

Many attempts have been made to locate the original homeland of the Ugaritians more exactly on the basis of various cultural and linguistic traits. A survey of these laborious quests, extending from the Euphrates to the plains of the Bashan, is beyond the scope of this historical overview.³⁸ However, mention should be made in passing of the latest current of theories hinging upon the recent discovery at Ugarit of a cuneiform abecedary arranged in the order of the South Semitic alphabet (Bordreuil and Pardee 1995a; Havajneh Tropper 1997). This prompted a re-examination of the relationship between the Ugaritic and (proto-)Arabic languages leading to the suggestion that southern ethnic elements migrated to Ugarit towards the middle of the second millennium B.C.E. (Dietrich and Loretz 1989: 111–12; Dietrich and Mayer 1995: 39). Other explanations for the appearance of two different orders of the alphabet at Ugarit may also be suggested (see e.g. Röllig 1998), and the whole issue needs to be further investigated. At any rate, it is well to note that there seems to be nothing in the archaeological record of Ugarit that would point to a sudden change in its material culture during the second millennium B.C.E. On the contrary, the marked continuity of Ugarit’s culture seems to speak against any major changes in the composition of the city’s population.

2.3 THE LEVANT AND THE EGYPTIAN MIDDLE KINGDOM

The question of the nature of Egyptian involvement in Asia during the twelfth and the thirteenth dynasties is one of the recurring problems arousing

36. For the place of Ugaritic among the Semitic languages, see Pardee 1997c, with refs. to the vast literature on the subject. He concludes (p. 131) with the statement that “Ugaritic shows archaic features characteristic of old Canaanite and it may be a remnant of a western ‘Amorite’ dialect.”

37. For the Amorite sources of Ugaritic mythology, see, e.g., Durand 1993; Bordreuil and Pardee 1993.

38. For the location of places mentioned in Ugaritic myths and rituals, see, e.g., Margalit 1981; van Soldt 1994: 369 (with extensive refs.).

arduous debates.³⁹ The early view, as stated for example by Albright (1935: 221), was that “the Pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty claimed, and -often held, the suzerainty over Palestine and Phoenicia, extending their influence as far as Ugarit and Qatna.” It has also been argued that the Egyptian officials took their sculptures to their outposts for eventual burial in the Levant (Giveon 1981: 57). A closer scrutiny of the archaeological evidence has shown that the Middle Kingdom statues of Egyptian kings and nobility excavated in the Levant, including Ugarit, were deposited in their findspots decades or centuries after their manufacture, and therefore could not provide evidence for Egyptian occupation (Weinstein 1975: 1–16).

Moreover, the inscriptions on these statues clearly indicate that they were originally erected in temples and graves in Egypt itself and have no connection whatsoever to their secondary findspots (Helck 1995: 88–89). The alternative explanation is that the Middle Kingdom statues found throughout the Levant, and even as far as southern Anatolia and Crete, owe their provenance to a vast pillage of royal and private tombs by Hyksos rulers, who then traded their prestigious loot at foreign courts (Helck 1976: 101–14; 1995: 87–90; see also Courtois 1979: cols. 1155–66). Other scholars have fully rejected this alternative theory (e.g., Giveon 1981: 57), or have taken a “middle road” by suggesting a distinction between royal and private statues, the former being indeed sent as diplomatic presents by Middle Kingdom Pharaohs (Warf 1979: 799; Scandone and Matthiae 1989: 135ff.).

The controversy over this early Egyptian presence in the Levant received an additional boost with the publication in 1980 of an inscription of Amenemhet II describing the dispatch of a sea-borne military force to *Khenty-she*, i.e. the Phoenician coast.⁴⁰ The main problem is the identification of two fortified towns, *Iw3y* and *I3sy*, which were destroyed by the Egyptian task force, capturing 1554 Asiatics and a very large amount of booty, including weapons, copper ingots, and luxury vessels of gold and lapis lazuli. The second name is identified by some with Alašia/Cyprus, but the evidence is questionable.⁴¹ For the first name Helck (1989: 28) suggested an identification with Ura on the Cilician coast, which is most unlikely. From the presently available evidence it would seem that the Twelfth Dynasty kings carried out occasional military operations in the inland of Palestine and maintained a more permanent presence along the Lebanese coast, especially at Byblos. There is no evidence, however, for an Egyptian presence as

39. For an updated state-of-the-art survey, with extensive references to primary and secondary sources, see Redford 1992: ch. 4.

40. See Redford 1992: 78–79 (with earlier literature). The inscription was published by Altenmüller and Moussa 1991; Malek and Quirke 1992.

41. Helck first argued for a location of Asiya in southwest Anatolia (1983), but later (1989: 109; 1995: 90) identified *I3sy* in the Amenemhet II inscription with Alašia/Cyprus.

far north as Ugarit, neither of a diplomatic, nor of a military character. This also tallies with the geographical horizon of the Egyptian Execration Texts, where the northernmost localities are Ullaza and Arqata in the area of Tripoli (Redford 1992: 87ff.). As for the Middle Kingdom statuary, both the archaeological and the inscriptional evidence lend strong support to Helck's suggestion that we have to do with one of the earliest examples of the "antiquities trade," distantly recalling the Roman pillage of Greek statuary.

What does Ugarit contribute to this vexed issue? First, it yielded one of the largest collections of Middle Kingdom statues and objects in Asia: two sphinxes of Amenemhet III, a statue of the vizier Sesotris-Ankh with his mother and sister, a statuette of the princess Khenemetnefer-khedjet, the wife of Sesotris II, and a bust of an unidentified Twelfth Dynasty queen (for refs. see Giveon 1981: 56–57; 1986: 839). In addition, there are inscribed seals, pearls, and beads, and a large quantity of uninscribed objects. The second significant point is that the statues were found beheaded, and they were probably deliberately mutilated (Schaeffer 1939b: 13; Courtois 1979: cols. 1155–56; Yon 1997b: 28). It is hard to tell, however, whether this was simply a consequence of their being stolen and carried over long distances, or whether it was due to a violent action performed in Ugarit itself. Schaeffer even blamed this "clumsy barbarian" act on "a rising of the natives, amongst whom were Hurrites ... who were now in power at Ugarit" (Schaeffer 1939b: 13). Lastly, it is highly significant that many of these objects were found in the area of the temples of Ba'al and Dagan (Yon 1991a: 275–56, 278ff.), and may very well have been ex-votos presented to the gods of Ugarit by whoever brought them there.

2.4 MARI AND UGARIT

In the Amorite Age the kingdom of Yamḥad, with its capital at Ḥalab (Aleppo), replaced Ebla as the dominant power in northern Syria. It is usually asserted that Ugarit belonged to the sphere of influence of the kings of Yamḥad (e.g., Klengel 1997: 365), but direct evidence about the exact nature of this bond is lacking. Our information on Ugarit in the Amorite Age comes primarily from the archives of Mari, first a close ally, later an enemy of Yamḥad.

The most prominent event relating to Ugarit is the well-documented journey of Zimri-Lim to Ugarit (Villard 1986; see also Beitzel 1997: 135–36). In the ninth year of his reign (1765), probably in the winter months (Sasson 1984: 248), Zimri-Lim set out from Mari, accompanied by a grand entourage of courtiers, merchants, and artisans. Some eighty preserved documents, written *en route*, describe in unusual detail the course of this journey, which advanced along the Lower Ḥabur and the Lower Baliḥ, and then traversed the Euphrates towards Ḥalab. Here Zimri-Lim was probably joined by his father-in-law, Yarim-Lim,

and the two continued together to Ugarit, via Muzunnum, Layasum, Ḥazazar, and Maḥrasa (see map in Villard 1986: 395). This grand tour of the West served both ideological and practical purposes. Although it was certainly nonmilitary in character (Villard 1986: 393, n. 46; contra Sasson 1984: 251), the voyage fitted well into the long Mesopotamian tradition of reaching the edge of the Great Sea, a ritual act symbolizing the victory of the Storm-god over the Sea (Durand 1993; Malamat 1998, with previous refs.). On a more “mundane” level, the journey enabled Zimri-Lim to strengthen his western alliances, just before a projected military campaign in the east against Larsa (Villard 1986: 408–9). Last but not least, during his stay in the various Syrian localities, Zimri-Lim and his men were engaged in lucrative commercial exchanges, both with the local authorities, and, through messengers, with distant rulers. The Mariote expedition received numerous golden and silver vessels, but also less valuable presents, such as wine and honey. In return, they distributed precious textiles, jewelry studded with lapis-lazuli, and, most significantly, large quantities of tin which was brought by Elamite merchants from the east (Villard, 404–5). Consignments of tin were sent out from Ugarit as far as Qatna and Hazor, and were also sold to Cretan merchants.⁴² The information on Ugarit, where the expedition spent at least one month (for the dates, see Villard 1986: 390–91), is disappointingly meager. Not even the name of its ruler is indicated, unlike that of many other localities mentioned in this prolific documentation. More than twenty texts were written in Ugarit itself, documenting the exchange of presents with Crete and various Syro-Palestinian destinations. It seems that Mari had a special depot in Ugarit from which this voluminous flow of goods was controlled. It is less clear what was traded with Ugarit itself. One document records the purchase of gold in Ugarit for the manufacture of a golden seal mounted in lapis lazuli, presented to the queen of Ḥalab (ARMT 25.340: 16–17; Villard 1986: 406). Another ring that was sold in Ugarit was made of iron and gold, with a lapis-lazuli seal (ARMT 25.48+: rev. 3’–5’; Villard, 1986: 406). Perhaps artisans of Ugarit assisted their Mariote colleagues in manufacturing some of these exquisite *objets d’art*.

A glimpse into the nomadic countryside of Ugarit is provided by the letter exchange between two tribal leaders from the region extending between Ḥalab and Ugarit (A 2094; Villard, 1986: 411–12, Annexe no. 2). The chief of the *Uprapi* is accused by the chief of the Benê-Sim’āl of pillaging his territory and of jeopardizing “the *ḥa-a-ri-ni* of Ugarit [leading to(?) the templ]e(?) of the Storm-

42. Astour 1973: 21 (with refs.); Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 122. Note also the year-name “when the Cretans (*Kapitariyu*^{K1}) built a ship” (Villard 1986: 402, n. 106), which is explained by Villard as a visit of Cretans to Mari. For the Middle Minoan pottery found in Ras Shamra, see Schaeffer 1948: 66; Astour 1973: 19; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 69–70; Yon 1994b: 430–31; Caubet and Matoian 1995: 103–4. Chemical analysis of the Canaanite jars found at Kommos in Crete may indicate that some of them were made in Ugarit (Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 69).

god of Ḫalab.”⁴³ Villard thought that the obscure vocable must designate some ritual related to a peace agreement concluded between the two groups before Addu of Ḫalab. I wonder whether it could rather stand for the Hurrian word for “the road” (with article).⁴⁴ If so, the angered chief was simply expressing his concern that the unruly Uprapeans might block the roads between Ugarit and Ḫalab.

Shortly after his journey to Ugarit, Zimri-Lim’s father-in-law and ally Yarim-Lim died and was succeeded on the throne of Ḫalab by Hammurapi. The latter showed far less cordiality towards Zimri-Lim, and eventually collaborated with his famous namesake in Babylon in bringing about the downfall of the last king of Mari. But before this happened, Hammurapi of Ḫalab transmitted a short message to Zimri-Lim, in which an unnamed king of Ugarit (lit. “the Man of Ugarit”) expressed his wish to visit the palace of Mari.⁴⁵ Is there anything in the archaeological record of Ugarit that relates to the lengthy stay of Zimri-Lim and his entourage in the city? There are certainly objects of eastern origin at Ugarit;⁴⁶ but it would be hard to establish a connection specifically to Mari. There is, however, an intriguing fragment of a cuneiform inscription incised on a polished green stone which was found in 1932 at the entrance of the Temple of Baʿal.⁴⁷ All that remains are a few signs written between neatly prepared division lines (three lines are uninscribed). In view of its archaeological context,⁴⁸ the fragment could perhaps belong to an object offered by the Mariote expedition to the local god, or vice versa, something prepared in Ugarit in anticipation of the forthcoming visit to Mari. One can only wish that more pieces of this intriguing inscription would turn up in the future. For the next two centuries or so there is only a single mention of Ugarit in an Alalaḥ tablet of Level VII (AT *358; Wiseman 1954: 27). Puruqu,⁴⁹ “the man of Ugarit,” who made a delivery of wool to the palace of Alalaḥ, does not have to be a ruler of Ugarit, although

43. Lines 9–10: [šu]m-ma ḫa-a-ri-ni ša Ū-ga-ri-tim^{K1} [i-n]a(?) É(?) dIM [š]a Ḫa-la-ab (followed by a large gap).

44. For *ḫari* = *ni*, see Laroche 1976–77: 94, and esp. the obscure *ḫa-a-ri-e-ni* in KBo 15.72 i 6.

45. Literally, “the house of Zimri-Lim” (Villard 1986: 410, nn. 160–62, with previous refs.). It seems that Dossin’s original interpretation that the visit was intended to reach the palace of Mari itself is preferable to other suggestions, such as a visit to a Mariote domain in the west.

46. For the MBA cylinder seals from Ras Shamra, see Courtois 1979: cols. 1194–95; Amiet 1992: nos. 19–44; 1995: 239–40; Arnaud 1997.

47. RS 4.458; Thureau-Dangin *apud* Schaeffer 1933: 120, n. 1; see photograph in RSO 5/1, 35 (a).

48. According to Virolleaud (1936a: 21) the inscription was found next to the sphinx of Amenemhet III and it is engraved on the same kind of green stone as the Egyptian statue. The same area produced more Middle Kingdom statuary, as well as other Egyptian small finds, such as beads, figurines, and scarabs, which were all given as ex-votos to the temple (1936a: 15). This rare cuneiform inscription may have had a similar dating and function (Arnaud 1996: 47–48, n. 6; 1997: 151–52).

49. Arnaud reads the name as Burruqu, a name attested in the texts from Alalaḥ and Ugarit (Arnaud 1997: 153–54, with refs. in n. 18). For the suggestion to restore this name in the King List of Ugarit, see n. 24.

this possibility cannot be entirely ruled out. There is nothing in the Hittite record to indicate that the campaigns of Ḫattušili I and Muṣšili I to northern Syria had any direct effect on Ugarit, but, in the long run, the drastic changes in the geo-political structure of the region had also been felt in the Levantine kingdom.

2.5 UGARIT AND THE MITTANNIAN CONFEDERACY

The geo-political void left by the Hittite destruction of the old Amorite centers of Syria, in particular Yamḥad/Ḫalab, was gradually filled in during the sixteenth century by the growing power of Mittanni. For the next two centuries or so most of Syria and southern Anatolia formed part of a loose confederacy controlled from Waššukkanni. For a short while the Mittannian domination was threatened by the campaigns of the Egyptian kings of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, but already by the mid-fifteenth century⁵⁰ the two empires agreed on a division of Syria, with Qadesh on the Orontes marking the borderline. Ugarit was never directly integrated into the Mittannian confederacy,⁵¹ but it maintained close neighborly relations with one of Mittanni's vassals, Alalaḥ/Mukiš. A small fragment from Alalakh IV contains a stipulation concerning the judgment and extradition of runaways crossing from one kingdom to the other (AT 4; Wiseman 1953: 32).⁵² It could belong to an accord between the two lands comparable to the treaties concluded between Alalaḥ and its other neighbors, Tunip (AT 2) and Kizzuwatna (AT 3).⁵³ An actual case of theft (of three horses) and the extradition of the thief is dealt with in a letter found in the courtyard of the Temple of Ba'al in Ugarit.⁵⁴ It was sent by Niqmepa, most probably the successor of Idrimi on the throne of Alalaḥ, to Ibira<nu>, an otherwise unknown fifteenth century king of Ugarit.⁵⁵ The limited Mittannian influence on the north-

50. For Mittannian overtures for peace already in the seventh year of Amenophis II, see Spalinger 1983: 94; Singer 1988a.

51. Astour 1981a: 10. Other scholars have pleaded for a stronger political influence of Mittanni on Ugarit (Drower 1975: 133; Liverani 1979a: 298).

52. Another fragment from Level IV contains little more than the otherwise unknown name "Tanuwati of Ugarit" (AT 442e; Wiseman 1954: 3).

53. Cf., however, the different interpretation of Arnaud (1996: 54, n. 37; 1997: 157), who suggests that AT 4 is a letter sent to the king of Alalaḥ by the king of Mittanni or one of his "officers."

54. RS 4.449 (Virolleaud 1936a: 21ff.) is the only tablet found in the area of Temple I (Arnaud 1996: 47, n. 1), which has also yielded Middle Egyptian inscriptions and statuary, as well as a small fragment of a cuneiform inscription incised on green stone (RS 4.458; see p. 30). RS 4.449 has often been discussed in later studies, some of which have improved over the readings of Virolleaud's *editio princeps*. See Lettinga 1948: 112–13; van Soldt 1991: 215ff.; Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1991: 197; Arnaud 1996: 47–54; Márquez Rowe 1997: 192.

55. But cf. Arnaud 1996: 48, n. 6, who mentions unpublished sources according to which Ibiranu succeeded Yaqarum, the founder of the dynasty of Ugarit (see n. 33 above).

ern Levantine coast is reflected in the toponymy⁵⁶ and the onomasticon of Ugarit (Astour 1978: 13; Salvini 1995b: 92–93). Whereas in neighboring Alalah more than half of the population bore Hurrian names according to the Level IV texts (Kilmer 1959), only a few of Ugarit's permanent residents had names that can positively be analyzed as Hurrian. This is all the more prominent in the royal line of Ugarit which only includes one possibly Hurrian name.⁵⁷ In that respect Ugarit differs sharply from its southern neighbor, where "Hittite-Hurrian" names became the rule after Amurru's defection from Egypt to Ḫatti (Liverani 1978: 150–51; Singer 1991a: 182ff.).

On the other hand, Hurrian impact was more extensive in cultural domains, such as religion and literature.⁵⁸ Lexicographical texts often have a Hurrian column in addition to the Sumerian, Akkadian, and Ugaritic ones. Ugarit has also produced a fair number of Hurrian religious texts, both syllabic and alphabetical, some of which consist of divine lists. An Akkadian-Hurrian bilingual text belongs to the genre of wisdom literature. Finally, the Hurrian texts with musical notation, the oldest in western civilization, have raised special interest.

An intriguing Hurrian letter found in the royal palace seems to contain valuable historical information, but its understanding is further hindered by the fragmentary state of preservation (RS 11.853 = *PRU* 3, 327; *RSO* 5/1: 61). Both Ugarit and Carchemish are mentioned, and the address "my lord" (rev. 13) discloses the hierarchical relationship between the correspondents. Salvini's tentative translation (Salvini 1995b: 96) of several phrases may hint at a military context "you will *smite* Carchemish" (l. 7), "entering Carchemish" (l. 8). However, the repeated occurrence of *pašš-* "to send" (ll. 3, 9, 14) and *paššitē* "messenger" (l. 4) may also indicate a commercial or diplomatic context.⁵⁹ Laroche (1955: 329) assumed that the letter was sent to Ugarit by a high official of Carchemish, but this fails to explain its language. A better alternative would be that the letter was sent from Mittanni or from the successor state of Ḫanigalbat, but the full significance of this rare Hurrian epistle remains to be revealed.

56. According to Astour (1978: 13) the Hurrian toponyms attested in the Ras Shamra texts are mostly located in the territories beyond the Orontes, which were annexed to Ugarit by the Hittites.

57. For Ar-ḫalba, see pp. 47–48. Liverani (1978: 152–53) noted that members of the royal family of Ugarit who did not become kings often bore Human names. However, most of the quoted examples are the sons of Amurrite princesses who married kings of Ugarit: Hišmi-Šarruma and ʾIR-Šarruma were the sons of Aḫat-Milku (p. 82), and Utri-Šarruma was the son of the *bittu rabīti* (p. 49). Therefore, these cases may have been influenced by name-giving practices current in Amurru, rather than in Ugarit. Of more weight would be the case of Talmiyanu, if this is indeed the name of Niqmaddu III before his coronation (see p. 100).

58. For some recent discussions (with refs. to the texts), see Salvini 1995b: 93ff.; Dietrich and Mayer 1995; 1997; Meyer 1996; Pardee 1996b.

59. Gernot Wilhelm, personal communication.

3 UGARIT UNDER EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE

3.1 THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY OF EGYPT

The Egyptian campaigns of the early Eighteenth Dynasty kings reached as far as the Euphrates and the Ḥalab area. Along the coast the northernmost strongholds fortified by Tuthmosis III were Ullasa and Ṣumur on both sides of the Eleutheros River (Singer 1991a: 139), whereas inland, he attempted to consolidate a defensive line centered on Tunip and Qadesh on the Orontes. There is no evidence whatsoever for Egyptian involvement further north on the Syrian coast. A vase with the cartouche of Tuthmosis III allegedly found in the palace of Ugarit (*PRU* 4, 28) has never been published, and its existence is doubtful (Astour 1981a: 13 n. 53; Giveon 1986: 839). The annals and the geographical lists of Tuthmosis III contain numerous Syrian localities, none of which is located west of the Alawite range. An alleged identification of Ugarit in Amenophis II's Year 7 campaign has been convincingly refuted on both phonetic and geographical grounds (Drower 1975: 133; Astour 1981a: 13–14, with previous refs.).

Ugarit first enters firmly into the orbit of Egyptian interests under Amenophis III. Its name appears in Egyptian geographical lists (Karnak and Soleb in Nubia; Giveon 1986: 839), and the correspondence between the two lands is partly preserved in the Amarna tablets.

3.2 AMMIŠTAMRU I (?–CA. 1350)

The earliest document emanating from Ugarit is EA 45 sent by [Amm] iṭtam[ru]⁶⁰ to Egypt, either in the late reign of Amenophis III,⁶¹ or in the first years of Akhenaten.⁶² The very damaged letter opens and ends with emphatic promises of allegiance to Egypt. The occasion for this declaration of loyalty seems to be the repeated threat to Ugarit by the king of a land whose name is unfortunately broken off. Ever since Knudtzon, the standard restoration of the name has been Ḥatti, and the threat has been associated with an early foray of Šuppiluliuma I. Another candidate, suggested by Liverani (1962: 24), could be Abdi-Aširta of Amurru, whose hostile actions against Ugarit are mentioned in the treaty between Aziru and Niqmaddu (RS 19.068.8; *PRU* 4: 284–86). But then, as pointed out by Astour (1981: 17), it is unlikely that the renegade Abdi-Aširta

60. The name of the sender was first correctly restored by Albright 1944.

61. Kitchen 1962: 34–35; Klengel 1969: 340; Drower 1975: 133; Astour 1981: 171–72.

62. Na'aman (1996) has recently put forward a daring restoration and interpretation of EA 45. He suggests that the letter refers to an incident in which Ammištamru detained messengers sent from Amurru to Ḥatti and intended to extradite them to Egypt. When the news reached the king of Ḥatti he repeatedly threatened Ammištamru, and the anxious king of Ugarit turned to Akhenaten for assistance. See further n. 77 below.

would be designated as a “king,” especially in a letter written to Egypt.⁶³ Mitanni was on friendly terms with Egypt in this period and Ammištamru would hardly have reason to complain about this overture. It thus seems best to follow Knudtzon’s intuition, but if one accepts the revised chronology of Šuppiluliuma’s reign (see p. 23), then the Hittite king in question could only be one of his predecessors, possibly his father Tuḫaliya.⁶⁴ Indeed, a fragment in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (fig. 8; Güterbock 1956: 62) describes a military campaign led by his father to Mount Nanni (probably the Anti-Casius)⁶⁵ on the northern border of Ugarit: Klengel 1970: 35; Astour 1981a: 18–19). His adversaries in this operation appear to be Sutu-troops (ERIN.MEŠ *Sú-te-e*), i.e., tribal groups in the highlands of Ugarit who were often employed as mercenaries.⁶⁶ Two further very fragmentary letters, EA 46–47,⁶⁷ also claim Ugarit’s ongoing loyalty to Egypt, and may belong to the same correspondents.⁶⁸ The Ugaritian king’s statement that “my ancestors did service [for] your [ancestor]s ...” (EA 47: 8–9; Moran 1992: 119) is occasionally quoted as a proof for Ugarit’s submission to Egyptian overlordship in the early-fifteenth century. However, such hyperbolic expressions do not necessarily reflect real historical circumstances (see below).

An intriguing reference to Ugarit in the Amarna Age is found in EA 1, sent by Kadašman-Enlil I to Amenophis III (see Liverani 1990: 274, with further refs. in n. 1). In his long letter dealing with royal marriages, the Babylonian king, quoting from an earlier letter, expresses his doubts about the identity of the girl who was shown to one of his messengers in Egypt. Was she really his sister, or rather “the daughter of some poor man (*muškēnu*), or of some Ga<š>gean(?), or the daughter of some Hanigalbatean, or perhaps someone from Ugarit?” (ll. 37ff.; Moran 1992: 1). I wonder whether this is merely an arbitrary list of possibilities,⁶⁹ or

63. For Abdi-Aširta’s quest for recognition see, recently, Singer 1991a: 141ff. (with further refs.).

64. For the now unequivocal identification of Šuppiluliuma’s father, see Otten 1995: 8.

65. For the identification of the twin mountains Ḥazzi and Nanni, attested in Hittite texts, with Mt. Casius (Šapunu) and Mt. Anti-Casius, respectively, see Klengel 1969: 354, 410, n. 29; 1970: 34ff.; Bordreuil 1989b; van Soldt 1994: 367. For the proposed vocalization Šapunu, see Wyatt 1995. For other identifications of Mt. Nanni, see Dijkstra 1991: 133ff., 137; Popko 1998: 124.

66. The two persons mentioned in the fragment, Zittara and Ḥalpamuwa, are otherwise unknown. (Ḥalpa-A.A in the tribute list KUB 42.29 ii 15’ belongs to the thirteenth century; Siegelová 1986: 141ff.).

67. A third fragmentary letter, EA 48, was sent by a certain [...-Ḥ]eba to her lady (with a present of balsam). The two are usually identified as a queen of Ugarit and a queen of Egypt respectively (Albright 1944: 33; Drower 1975: 134; Moran 1992: 120). In fact, the only reason for Knudtzon’s attribution of this letter to the correspondence of Ugarit was the similarities of its clay and script to those of the other letters (Albright 1944: 30–31). For two Ugaritic letters traditionally dated to the Amarna Age, KTU 2.23 = RS 16.078+ and KTU 2.42 + 43 = RS 18.113A, [B], a late-thirteenth century dating is claimed in this study. See pp. 111 and 81 respectively.

68. The mention of the Egyptian envoy Ḥanya in EA 47:23, also known from other Amarna letters, does not provide an accurate chronological clue, since he probably kept his office during the reigns of both Amenophis III and Akhenaten (Campbell 1964: 127).

69. That “the daughter of some poor man” (*muškēnu*) precedes the princesses from three lands does not necessarily imply, as usually assumed, that these lands are viewed upon in a derogatory way. I think that the writer

rather the Babylonian king had in his mind actual cases of foreign princesses sent to Egypt. The first name is corrupt,⁷⁰ but Mittannian princesses were indeed present in Amenophis III's harem (for refs. see, Röllig 1974: 19; Pintore 1978: 15ff.). Admittedly, we have no direct evidence for royal marriages between Egypt and Ugarit in the Amarna Age, but perhaps the Egyptian alabaster vase on which Niqmaddu is portrayed with an Egyptian lady (see below) may show that the bond between the two lands was indeed cemented by an "exchange" of noble brides. In this respect, it is interesting to observe that Ugarit is the only site outside Canaan that has yielded a large scarab issued to commemorate the marriage of Amenophis III with Tiye in the second year of his reign (*Ug* 3, 223: fig. 204). Amenophis III's cartouche also appears on at least five alabaster vessels,⁷¹ on one of them (RS 17.058) together with Queen Tiye.

3.3 NIQMADDU II (CA. 1350–1315)

The exact date of Niqmaddu's accession to the throne is not known, but he must have been a contemporary of both Akhenaten and Tutankhamun. Ugarit's cordial relations with Egypt continued for a while, at least until its submission to Šuppiluliuma I around 1340 B.C.E. (see p. 43). In EA 49 Niqmaddu requests an Egyptian physician and two palace attendants from Cush (Moran 1992: 120). The Egyptian envoy to Ugarit, [*H*]ramassa, is also known to have represented his country at the court of Tušratta of Mittanni (EA 20).

The flow of prestigious presents from Egypt went on as before, as shown by the hundreds of pieces of alabaster vessels, many of them inscribed, found throughout the city and in the port of Minet el-Beida (Caubet 1991a: 209–14; Yon 1994b: 427). One of them carries the cartouches of Akhenaten and Nefertiti (RS 15.202 + 15.203; *Ug* 3, 167, fig. 120).

Another inscribed fragment depicts "Niqmaddu the Great One of the Land of Ugarit" (*wr n ḥ3st ik3riyty nyk3m'dy*) in the presence of a lady dressed in Egyptian style (RS 15.239; *Ug* 3, 165, fig. 118; Desroches-Noblecourt 1956). Although the artist exhibits a high degree of familiarity with Egyptian conventions, minute details in the iconography and the Egyptian script disclose that the vase was probably of local manufacture, probably imitating Egyptian prototypes (Desroches-Noblecourt 1956: 218–19). Unfortunately, the name of the lady portrayed in a bridal posture, if it was ever indicated, is not preserved. This opens

simply wanted to distinguish between two categories—a girl of inferior birth, or a princess from a country other than Babylon.

70. If indeed KUR *Ga-ga-ia* refers to the Kaška (von Schuler 1965: 80), perhaps the author confused it with another Anatolian land which sent a princess to Amenophis III, namely Arzawa (EA 31–32).

71. RS 11.329: RS 1–11.[116]; RS 16.340: RS 17.058; RS 17.[476]. See refs. in RSO 5/1.

a whole range of possibilities with regard to her identity, from a daughter of Akhenaten to a Syrian princess depicted *à la égyptienne*.⁷² The truth may lie in between. As clearly stated in EA 4: 9ff., Egyptian kings were not in the habit of marrying their own daughters to foreign rulers. They could, however, send other ladies of noble rank to fulfill this important diplomatic task. This is exactly what the Babylonian king asks for: "Send me a beautiful woman as if she were [you]r daughter" (Moran 1992: 9). In view of Kadašman-Enlil's incidental mention of Ugarit in EA 1: 37ff. (see pp. 36–37), I would opt for the possibility that there was indeed an exchange of royal brides between the courts of Egypt and Ugarit.

If the Egyptian lady depicted on the vase was indeed Niqmaddu's bride,⁷³ one is faced with the difficult question of her relationship with Queen Pišidqi, who is usually identified as Niqmaddu's spouse.⁷⁴ One possibility would be to equate the two ladies (cf. van Soldt 1991a: 13, n. 115), assuming that the Egyptian bride was given a Semitic name when she came to Ugarit.⁷⁵ In that case, she must have been very young when she married an already aging Niqmaddu. Pišidqi still appears as the queen of Ugarit in a legal text dated to Ammištamru II (RS 15.086 = *PRU* 3, 54–55), who succeeded Niqmepa after his half century long reign. Perhaps it is better to separate the two spouses of Niqmaddu II (Aboud 1994: 27–28), although it would not be easy to explain how a prestigious Egyptian bride could deteriorate to a humiliating secondary rank in the court. Could this be connected to Ugarit's political shift from the Egyptian to the Hittite camp?

In concluding this chapter of close Egyptian-Ugaritian contacts in the Amarna Age, we may attempt to define the political nature of this relationship more closely. On the basis of the same sources, most scholars have maintained that Ugarit was a vassal of Egypt,⁷⁶ whereas others have argued for her full independence (Altman 1976). There are of course many definitions that fall between the two extremes, simply describing Ugarit as belonging to the Egyptian sphere of influence without a more definite geo-political definition (e.g., Drower 1975:

72. For the former possibility, see Desroches-Noblecourt 1956: 204ff., and esp. p. 219, n. 2; see also Giverson 1986: 839. There is a general agreement that the Niqmaddu depicted on the vase is identical with the fourteenth century king, but Pintore (1978: 78–79) preferred to identify him with Niqmaddu III, for reasons that are no longer tenable (van Soldt 1991a: 13, n. 115).

73. It is not clear to me on what evidence Röllig (1974: 19) categorically states that the wedding took place in Amenophis III's 36th year. The vase is usually dated to the reign of Akhenaten (or even later) on both stylistic and historical considerations (Liverani 1962: 31).

74. In the legal text RS 16.277 (= *PRU* 3, 50–51) ratified by Niqmaddu, "Pišidqi the Queen" exchanges real estate with Nuriyanu, Niqmaddu's brother. See van Soldt 1991: 7.

75. Gordon (1956: 129) analyzed the name as *Bi-Šidqi* < *Bit-Šidqi*, "Daughter of Justice."

76. Liverani 1962: 24–25; 1988a: 566; 1990: 142; Kitchen 1962: 35; Campbell 1964: 121; Astour 1981b: 15ff.; Zaccagnini 1990: 68.

133). Nougayrol even spoke of a Hurrian-Egyptian condominium in Ugarit (Nougayrol 1956: 57).

Having refuted the flimsy evidence for an Egyptian takeover of Ugarit in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the decision really rests on the evaluation of the Amarna correspondence and the Egyptian finds from Ugarit. Considered without bias, nothing in these two bodies of evidence argues for a state of vassalage. The expressions of subordination and loyalty in the epistles of the kings of Ugarit are hardly more than polite hyperbole anticipated from a state of inferior political status in its dealings with a great power (Altman 1976; cf. also Klengel 1992: 133, n. 250). Actually, various elements of style and content clearly distinguish these letters from those of real Egyptian vassals in Canaan, who regularly paid taxes and fulfilled corvée duties. To give one example, Niqmaddu's demand for an Egyptian physician and Cushite attendants (EA 49) would be considered as a brazen breach of etiquette on the part of a simple vassal state. The same applies to Niqmaddu's "Wedding Vase," which shows, if anything, that Ugarit enjoyed a privileged status. "Independence" is perhaps too modern a political concept to describe the status of a relatively small ancient Near Eastern state, but an autonomous status with strong Egyptian influence could be the best way to describe Ugarit's position before its submission to Šuppiluliuma I. Egypt had free access to the ports of Ugarit, and thence to the rest of the northeastern Mediterranean. This lucrative maritime trade was probably valued too highly to endanger it by excessive interference. The Hittites, who were to become far more demanding overlords, nevertheless adopted a similar policy towards Ugarit.

4 UGARIT UNDER HITTITE RULE

4.1 THE LEVANTINE ALLIANCE OF UGARIT AND AMURRU

The bond with Egypt, although economically lucrative and culturally influential, could hardly secure Ugarit's borders and its autonomous political status. Probably the first to exert considerable pressure on Ugarit in the changing political conditions towards the mid-fourteenth century was its southern neighbour Amurru. This newly established kingdom on the northern confines of the Egyptian Empire promptly accumulated considerable military strength under the able leaderships of Abdi-Aširta and his son Aziru (see Singer 1991a: 141ff., with further refs.). In their recurring complaints to the Pharaoh, the rulers of Byblos, Rib-Haddi and Yapaḥ-Addu, claim that the entire coast from Byblos to Ugarit banded together with the resented Amurrites, against Egyptian interests (EA 98; cf. EA 126: 6).

Ugarit's siding with Amurru against Egyptian interests could hardly have been voluntary. According to the accord between Aziru and Niqmaddu, the ani-

mosity between the two kingdoms went back to the days of Ammištamru I (RS 19.068.8), although its background is not specified.⁷⁷ Aziru, having thrown in his lot with the Hittites quite early in his reign (Singer 1991a: 155ff.), could not risk confronting hostile neighbors on both his southern and northern flanks and must have exerted considerable pressure on Ugarit to come to terms with him. His accord with Niqmaddu is unique in the context of ancient Near Eastern treaties (RS 19.068 = *PRU* 4, 284ff.; Kühne 1971). Formally, it has the appearance of a treaty between equal states, but the actual stipulations bring it closer to a vassal treaty between a stronger and a weaker party. Ugarit consented to pay the considerable sum of 5,000 silver shekels for her military protection⁷⁸ and for Amurru's renunciation of all future claims on Ugarit's client states of Siyannu and Zinzaru. The relative dating of this accord is open to speculation (Liverani 1962: 36–37; Klengel 1969: 284–85; Singer 1991a: 156–57). It most probably predates Niqmaddu's treaty with Šuppiluliuma, and could be more or less contemporary with Šuppiluliuma's treaty with Aziru.⁷⁹

Against the background of the new alliance between the two Levantine kingdoms and the stormy developments on the political scene of the Near East, one should be able to find a suitable historical context for one of the most intriguing documents discovered in Ugarit, the so-called “General's Letter” (RS 20.033 = *Ug* 5, no. 20). The long Akkadian letter, about a third of which is missing, was sent by the military commander *Šumi*[—] to the King, his lord. He asks for urgent reinforcements to complete his mission, guarding a strategic pass between the sea and Mount Lebanon in the Land of Amurru, in anticipation of an impending Egyptian attack. The dramatic situation described in this rare document of military intelligence may fit into several historical contexts, and indeed, different datings have been suggested, ranging from the mid-fourteenth to the early-twelfth centuries (for refs. see Izre'el and Singer 1990: 14ff.). Almost half a century after its discovery the “General's Letter” still defies an unequivocal interpretation, but the possibilities are gradually being reduced, especially through linguistic criteria. Schaeffer's far-fetched setting of the events (Schaeffer 1968: 638–91) within the context of the invasions of the “Sea Peoples” in the early-twelfth century (partly based on the findspot of the tablet in the

77. Recently Na'aman (1996) suggested that the claims of Ba'aluya (Aziru's son) against Niqmaddu mentioned in the accord refer to a political entanglement between the Levantine states, in which the king of Ugarit detained messengers of Amurru who were sent to Hatti and intended to extradite them to Egypt (see also n. 62 above). According to Na'aman, the 5,000 shekels were paid to Amurru as a compensation for the damages caused by Ugarit and Siyannu to members of Aziru's family.

78. This sum is more than half of what Ugarit paid to the Hittites for her exemption from military duties: 50 golden minas, equalling some 8,000 silver shekels (see p. 85).

79. For an entirely different chronological reconstruction of the events relating to Amurru's and Ugarit's contacts with the Hittites, see Freu 1992 (with table on p. 98).

Rap'anu archive) has generally been refuted.⁸⁰ Many have found an appropriate historical setting in the era before or after the Battle of Qadesh.⁸¹ But after all, Nougayrol's initial conviction (Nougayrol 1968: 69–79) that, despite its archaeological context, the letter's script and language place it within the Amarna Age, has recently received strong support through linguistic and historical reevaluations.⁸² The resulting historical reconstructions agree on the occasion for the General's mission: Amurru's defection to the Hittite camp and an anticipated Egyptian retaliation. However, the identity of the correspondents is still open to speculation. Two of the suggested possibilities are: a pro-Hittite Syrian prince (possibly Šumit[tara]) posted in Amurru, whose letter to the Hittite king or viceroy travelled through Ugarit⁸³ (Singer in Izre'el and Singer 1990); or, an 'Apiru commander writing to the ruler of Amurru who was visiting the king of Ugarit (Márquez Rowe 1996). Whether the prospected Egyptian campaign to Amurru ever took place is questionable. After the sudden death of Akhenaten the Egyptian retaliation was postponed until the Ramesside era.

4.2 FIRE IN THE PALACE OF UGARIT

In its heyday the palace of Ugarit, covering an area of nearly 7,000 m² (Yon 1997b: 46), was no doubt one of the most spectacular edifices in the Levant.⁸⁴ When Rib-Hadda of Byblos wanted to describe the wealth of the king of Tyre he compared his residence to that of Ugarit (EA 89: 51). No wonder that when the palace of Ugarit was (partly) destroyed by a fire the rumor spread swiftly throughout the Levant and the event was promptly reported to Egypt by Abi-Milku of Tyre (EA 151: 55): "Fire destroyed the palace of Ugarit; (rather), it destroyed half of it and so hal<f> of it has disappeared. There are no Hittite troops about" (Moran 1992: 238).

The passage raises several problems of interpretation (Liverani 1962: 27ff.). First, the repetition of the information about Ugarit is odd and most interpret-

80. Cf., however de Moor 1996: 232–33, who relates the letter to an alleged flight of Queen Tausert and Beya to Syria in 1190.

81. E.g., Liverani 1962: 76ff.; Cazelles 1970; Rainey 1971a: 1973; Stieglitz 1992; Klengel 1992: 137.

82. Izre'el 1988; Izre'el and Singer 1990. See also Liverani 1992; Delcor 1992; Röllig 1993; Lackenbacher 1995a: 70; Márquez Rowe 1996. Cf., however, Stieglitz 1992, who suggests that the letter was sent to the king of Ugarit by Šumiyānu, father of Rap'anu, in the early-thirteenth century.

83. That the correspondence between Amurru and Carchemish occasionally passed through Ugarit is also shown by a courtesy letter sent by Bentešina to the King, his lord (RS 19.006 = *PRU* 6, 2). This address can only refer to the "King" par excellence, i.e. the king of Carchemish (Klengel 1969: 214, 375; Singer 1983b: 13, n. 16; 1990: 173) and not to the king of Ugarit (Nougayrol 1970: 2).

84. For the palace of Ugarit, see Courtois 1979: 1217ff.; Margueron 1995; Yon 1997b: 45ff. The new palace apparently replaced the Northern Palace which was built in the sixteenth century and went out of use around 1400 B.C.E. (Yon 1997b: 70ff.).

ers have corrected it to mean that one half of the palace was burnt whereas the other half was not. Of more weight is the question whether the subsequent mention of the Hittite troops is related to the fire in Ugarit, and if so, how.⁸⁵ The passage goes on to report on other news from Canaan (clashes between Etak-kama and Aziru), and most commentators tend to disconnect the various pieces of information reported by Abi-Milku (e.g., Liverani 1962: 30). However, it is difficult to fathom the sense of the phrase concerning the Hittite army unless the sender sought to emphasize its relevance to the calamity in Ugarit. The letter is dated to the last years of Akhenaten (Campbell 1964: 127), and it coincides with Šuppiluliuma's "one year campaign" (or "First Syrian War") to Syria around 1340 B.C.E. (Freu 1985: 41; Bryce 1989: 30; Singer in Izre'el and Singer 1990: 155ff.). From the later record we know that Ugarit was never militarily attacked by the Hittites and it is unlikely that they were responsible for this fire. There is, however, a much better candidate for causing this calamity in Ugarit. The Šuppiluliuma-Niqmaddu treaty reports a joint attack of the anti-Hittite confederacy of Mukiš, Nuḥḥašši, and Niya on Ugaritian territory, which may very well have culminated in a destructive raid on the capital itself. Abi-Milku's report may refer exactly to the fact that "there are no Hittite troops about" who could rescue Ugarit from its enemies. Only later, when Niqmaddu gave in to the growing pressures on him and asked for Hittite intervention did the army of Šuppiluliuma come to the rescue and expel the Syrian enemies from its territory.

Conclusive archaeological evidence for this conflagration has not yet been identified, but there are certain indications in the palace area which may perhaps be related to it. Schaeffer noted an early destruction level which separated two building phases (Schaeffer 1937: 137ff.; 1938: 194–95; 1948: 9). He attributed this destruction to an earthquake followed by a raging fire dated to ca. 1365 B.C.E., but both his archaeological data and his historical conclusions have been questioned (see, e.g. van Soldt 1991a: 220). Recent investigations, however, seem to bear out his distinction between two conflagrations, the later one certainly marking the final destruction of Ugarit (Margueron 1995: 191–92). As for the earlier destruction, which is discerned only in the western part of the palace, two possible datings have been considered in recent studies: either the Amarna Age fire reported by Abi-Milku (EA 151), or a mid-thirteenth century earthquake whose effects can also be discerned in other parts of the city (Callot 1986: 748; 1994: 204–5).⁸⁶ When the palace was rebuilt the ruined parts were probably

85. *CAD*, I–J: 230b implausibly places the Hittite troops near the fire: "Fire has consumed Ugarit, that is, it consumed half of it but did not consume the other half nor the Hittite troops." Moran's translation (above) is no doubt preferable.

86. Arnaud (*apud* Callot 1994: 205) refers to an alleged mention of (this) earthquake in a verdict of Ini-Tešub (RS 27.052.6 = *PRU* 6, no. 36), but the evidence is doubtful.

covered and levelled, which may perhaps explain the fact that no documents earlier than Niqmaddu II⁸⁷ were discovered in the palace area.⁸⁸ Another possibility could be that the conflagration mentioned in EA 151 refers to the Northern Palace (Liverani 1988b: 128), which was abandoned in the fourteenth century (Yon 1998a: 72).

4.3 UGARIT JOINS THE HITTITE CAMP

An early contact between Ugarit and the Hittites may be referred to in the opening lines of Šuppiluliuma's letter to Niqmaddu: "As previously your forefathers were at peace with Ḫatti ..." (RS 17.132. 7-9 = *PRU* 3, 35). This may mean nothing more than the fact that there was no enmity between the two parties in the past (Klengel 1969: 350), but it could also refer to more concrete circumstances. The era of the Old Hittite kings' campaigns to Syria (Astour 1981a: 11) must probably be excluded. On the other hand, a campaign of Šuppiluliuma's father near the northern border of Ugarit, at Mt. Nanni, is actually recorded in a Hittite text (see p. 36). Perhaps it was this early show of arms that led Ammištamru I to conclude a peace agreement with the Hittites. There is, however, no direct evidence for this alleged early submission of Ugarit to the Hittites.

The first clear record of Ugarit's passage from the Egyptian sphere of influence to the Hittite fold is connected to Šuppiluliuma I's "One Year Campaign" in Syria, around 1340 B.C.E. To understand fully the rich Hittite documentation on the circumstances of Ugarit's submission it is necessary to explain briefly the Hittite sense of historical justice in their dealings with other states. The Hittites had a longstanding claim on northern Syria, going back as early as the late-seventeenth century. In the early-fourteenth century Tuḫaliya I reconquered much of northern Syria, but this was a short-term success and Ḫatti fell back into one of its perennial setbacks. The opportunity to regain Syria arose a few decades later when the Hurrians attacked a Hittite vassal on the Upper Euphrates front. This time they were confronted with a brilliant strategist who swiftly brought Mittanni to its knees and took over all its possessions west of the Euphrates. For the Hittites this was a clear case of self-defence which justified their mili-

87. For the lowering of the dates of KTU 2.23 = RS 16.078+ and KTU 2.42 + 43 = RS 18.1 I3A[B], the only allegedly pre-Niqmaddu II tablets from the palace archives, see n. 67. For RS 4.449, the only tablet discovered in the temple area on the acropolis, see n. 54; it was sent by a king of Alalakh to a fifteenth-century king of Ugarit, which may indicate that the pre-Niqmaddu II archives may still be discovered somewhere outside the palace area (cf. Nougayrol 1956: 57).

88. For the refutation of Schaeffer's reconstruction of a two-level archive (before and after the fire mentioned in EA 151), see Liverani 1988b. The two levels may perhaps correspond to two stories of the building, but joins made between tablet fragments found in both levels seem to disprove this explanation as well (van Soldt 1991a: 72; Lackenbacher 1995a: 73).

tary occupation of the central Syrian kingdoms. Amurru and Ugarit, however, did not qualify for this manifestation of historical justice, for they were never Mittannian vassals.⁸⁹ Therefore, other explanations were necessary to justify their joining the Hittite fold. Amurru was an acknowledged Egyptian vassal,⁹⁰ and therefore the treaties concluded with her repeatedly stress the fact that Aziru appealed for Hittite vassalship out of his own initiative, and his country was never taken by force (Singer 1990: 144ff.). As for Ugarit, whose ties with Egypt were less binding, a ready legitimization for Hittite intervention was supplied by Niqmaddu's request for protection from his aggressive neighbors. The recurrence of the "deliverance motif" in many Hittite treaties (Altman 1984) calls for caution in reconstructing the actual course of events. On the other hand, it should not automatically deny the historicity of these accounts. Even if, as stated by one authority "... the Hittite chancery had no difficulty at all in 'reconstructing' the past in such a way as to arrange a suitable basis for an optimal organization of the present and the future" (Zaccagnini 1990: 71), the basic elements of the "narrative" can usually be demonstrated to rest on real facts, even when these are compromising to Hittite interests.

The first Hittite overture is recorded in Šuppiluliuma's letter to Niqmaddu II (RS 17.132 = *PRU* 4, 35–37; Beckman 1996c: 119–20). The Hittite monarch, recalling the good relations between Ḫatti and Ugarit in the past, offers military assistance in case of an attack on Ugarit from Mukiš and Nuḫḫašši. The anti-Hittite Syrian coalition⁹¹ must have countered with an offer of its own, or indeed, with an open threat on Ugarit. Between "hammer and anvil," Niqmaddu's decision was anything but easy. His energetic southern neighbor, Aziru, had already cast in his lot with the Hittites, and he exerted pressure on Ugarit to follow his example.⁹² Niqmaddu could not hope for much assistance from his weakening Egyptian ally, and with Hittite forces on both his northern and southern borders he could not for much longer sit on the fence. The final push towards the Hittite camp was probably given by the joint attack of Mukiš, Nuḫḫašši, and Niya on

89. For this reason Ugarit and Amurru are not mentioned in the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Šattiwaza (CTH 51; Beckman 1996c: no. 6), since the historical introduction of this document only covers lands that formerly belonged to Mittanni.

90. Contrary to an often-quoted view (see, recently, Redford 1992: 177), the Hittites never claimed that Amurru once belonged to Mittanni. On the contrary, in the treaties with Amurru it is repeatedly stated that Aziru defected from the camp of Egypt. For the seemingly aberrant statement in the Šaušgamuwa Treaty, see Singer 1991c. Cf. also Zaccagnini 1988.

91. Note the absence of Niya, which is mentioned later in Niqmaddu's treaty as the third member of the anti-Hittite confederacy. In the time interval separating the two documents the pro-Hittite ruler of Niya, Takuwa, was replaced by his brother Aki-Tešub who, as reported in the Šattiwaza treaty, conspired with the kings of Mukiš and Nuḫḫašši (Beckman 1996c: 39, obv. 30ff.).

92. On the early dating of Aziru's submission to the Hittites, probably in the wake of Šuppiluliuma's "One Year Campaign" to Syria, see Singer in Singer and Izre'el 1990: 155ff.; 1991: 153ff.

Ugaritian territory, which is reported in the historical preamble to the Niqmaddu treaty (RS 17.340.1ff. = Beckman 1996c: §§1–2). It has been suggested above that the fire that partially destroyed the palace of Ugarit (EA 151) was caused by this sudden raid. Šuppiluliuma responded immediately to the call for help and sent his generals to drive out the enemy from the territory of Ugarit, leaving the rich booty to Niqmaddu as a prize for his loyalty. Now it was time to conclude the promised treaty, which was symbolically signed at Ḫalab, the capital of the defeated enemy.⁹³

4.4 THE FIRST VASSAL TREATY OF UGARIT

The treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Niqmaddu has been preserved in several Akkadian duplicates and an Ugaritic version (*PRU* 4, 37–52; Beckman 1996c: 30ff., 151ff.).⁹⁴ Besides the regular treaty stipulations, it included a detailed list of Ugarit's tribute, and a list of towns delineating Ugarit's northern border with Mukiš. This rich documentation shows that all copies of important political documents were meticulously collected and kept for future generations.⁹⁵ When a tablet was broken new copies were immediately prepared, as shown by Šarre-Kušuh's letter to Niqmaddu which was ratified and sealed by Ini-Tešub (RS 17.334.20–23 = *PRU* 4, 54ff.; Beckman 1996c: 120–21).

The stipulations of the treaty itself are unusually scanty and deal only with Ugarit's right to retain fugitives from neighboring lands. The standard demand for the prompt dispatch of auxiliary troops is missing. Probably the Hittites were content with the huge amount of yearly tribute comprising gold and dyed wool and garments (RS 17.227+ = *PRU* 4, 40ff.).⁹⁶ In addition to the main tribute

93. Probably Šuppiluliuma had already turned Mukiš from a kingdom ruled by a local dynasty into an administrative unit ruled by a Hittite governor who stood under the direct jurisdiction of the viceroy of Carchemish (Nougayrol 1968: 92–93, n. 3; Klengel 1965: 252–53; Liverani 1979a: 1306). When the “people of Mukiš” appealed to Muṣili to restore their lost territories (see p. 49), their land was no longer a separate kingdom. The Hittite prince Šukur-Tešub, probably the appointed governor of Mukiš, sent his letter of introduction to Ammištamru II (RS 20.003 = *Ug* 5, no. 26).

94. All the Akkadian duplicates (RS 11.732, 17.227+, 17.340, 17.369 = *PRU* 4, 40ff.) were found in the so-called “Hittite archive” in the Southern Palace, Rooms 68 and 69 near Court V. The Ugaritic version (KTU 3.1 = RS 11.772+) was found in the Western Palace Archive. It is noteworthy that not even a single fragment of an Ugarit treaty has turned up as yet in the Boğazköy archives, whereas we have copies of four successive Amurru treaties. This may have something to do with the observation made by Neu (1995: 125–26), that the ductus of RS 17.340 (= *PRU* 4, 48) differs from the one employed in Ḫattuša in this period, and it rather points to Syria, probably Carchemish, as the chancellery where the treaty was written down. This again conforms perfectly with Otten's observation (Otten 1995: 24, 27) on the place of manufacture of the seals of the Hittite kings that were used in Ugarit (see n. 109).

95. Relevant documents were deposited in the “Hittite archive” at least as late as the mid-thirteenth century as shown by RS 17.33+ with the seal of Ini-Tešub (n. 99).

96. For the yearly tribute sent by Ugarit to Ḫatti, see Eissfeldt 1950; Korošec 1960: 65ff.; Dietrich and Loretz 1966.; Zaccagnini 1973: 155–56; Pardee 1984b: 245; Liverani 1990: 269–70.

consisting of 500 shekels of “heavy” gold (compared with only 300 imposed on Aziru), Ugarit sent gold and silver cups to the king, the queen and six other Hittite high officials (*PRU* 4, 38). Combined with the 5,000 silver shekels paid to Aziru for future military assistance, it is quite obvious that the treaties with her neighbors weighed heavily on Ugarit. No doubt, Niqmaddu would have preferred to keep his loose, far less demanding, alliance with Egypt had the political circumstances allowed him to do so.

The economic burden exerted by the bonds concluded with Šuppiluliuma and with Aziru was somewhat compensated by the territorial gains granted to Niqmaddu as a reward for his loyalty. The list of towns given to Ugarit by Šuppiluliuma I (RS 17.340 = *PRU* 4, 48) was later reconfirmed by Muršili II in his treaty with Niqmepa (RS 17.237 = *PRU* 4, 63ff.), despite the protests of the citizens of Mukiš (see p. 49). The forty-two toponyms are located in the northernmost part of the kingdom, bordering on Mukiš, and they stretch from the Orontes to the Mediterranean (Nougayrol, *PRU* 4, 14). Astour has attempted to show that some of these places are situated east of the Orontes, even as far as the region south of Ḥalab (Astour 1969: 404; 1981a: 21; 1981b; 1995: 57–58). This would vastly increase the size of the kingdom of Ugarit at the expense of the rebel kingdoms of Mukiš, Nuḥḥašši and Niya.⁹⁷ More realistic estimates, however, tend to limit the territory of the kingdom within the bend of the Orontes, with a territory of about 2,000–2,200 km², comprising the area between Jebel al-Aqra (Šapa/unu/Mt. Casius) in the north, the Alawite range (Jebel Ansariyah or Mt. Bargylus) in the east, and Nahr es-Sinn in the south, which preserves the name of the ancient kingdom of Siyannu. It corresponds largely to the area of the modern province of Lattakiyeh.⁹⁸

4.5 THE LOYALTY OF UGARIT TESTED

The loyalty of the Levantine allies of Ḥatti was put to the test a generation later when the inner-Syrian states, led by Tette of Nuḥḥašši and Aitakama of Kinza, repeatedly revolted against the Hittites (Del Monte 1983; Bryce 1988). The aging Aziru sent out his son DU-Tešub to help the Hittites (CTH 62 II B obv. 13ff.), and Niqmaddu was also summoned to attack Tette in a letter sent to him by Piyašili/Šarre-Kušuh, king of Carchemish (RS 17.334 = *PRU* 4, 54–55; Beckman 1996c: 120–21).⁹⁹ As in the earlier documents of Šuppiluliuma, Niq-

97. According to his 1969 study the size of Ugarit almost quadrupled. In later studies Astour (1981b: 21; 1981a: 11; 1995: 55) reduced his estimate to about 5,425 km², still a territorial state of considerable size.

98. Bordreuil 1989b: 269–70; Liverani 1990: 84, n. 16; Saadé 1979: 33; Pardee and Bordreuil 1992: 715–16; van Soldt 1994: 366, n. 13; Yon 1997b: 19.

99. RS 17.334, found with the rest of the Hittite political documents in the Southern Palace Archive, is actually a copy made by Ini-Tešub, after the original tablet signed by his grandfather had broken (II. 20–23).

maddu was promised as a reward that he could keep for himself all the captives that he would take from the enemy's army. Whether Niqmaddu fulfilled his military duty is not known, but the secession of the kingdom Siyannu-Ušnatu from his jurisdiction in the reign of Niqmepa is often seen as a punishment for his half-hearted stance when called to duty (e.g., Liverani 1988a: 567; Klengel 1992: 134). The anti-Hittite insurrections were no doubt instigated by the Egyptians, whose interventions in Syria are reported in the seventh and ninth years (ca. 1316–1314) of Muršili II's annals (Goetze 1933: 80ff.; Klengel 1969: 169). The Syrian rebellions were suppressed in Muršili's ninth year, but the resurgent Egyptian activities against Hittite interests in Syria, initiated by Horemheb,¹⁰⁰ gradually gained momentum and finally culminated in the Battle of Qadesh forty years later.

Niqmaddu II¹⁰¹ witnessed the most important political development in the LBA history of Ugarit: the shift from the loose hegemony of Egypt to full integration into the Hittite Empire. Niqmaddu played his cards carefully, most of which were kept in his opulent treasuries rather than on the battle front. With the exception of a brisk raid by his neighbors which probably destroyed part of Ugarit, Niqmaddu wisely managed to keep his kingdom far from the stormy events that brought havoc upon his neighbors in the east and north. The new tripartite political axis linking Ḫatti, Ugarit, and Amurru held out until the very end of the Hittite Empire.

4.6 AR-ḪALBA (CA. 1315–1313)

Two of Niqmaddu II's sons succeeded him on the throne, one after the other. Very little is known about the short reign of Ar-ḫalba who is attested in only six juridical texts (RS 16.344, 15.91, 16.144, 16.160, 16.278, 16.142 = *PRU* 3, 75–77). The most telling of these is his "last will" in which he warns his brothers not to marry his wife Kubaba after his death, contrary to the levirate custom.¹⁰² This intriguing document has given place to plenty of speculation on the circumstances of Ar-ḫalba's end (see Liverani 1962: 64; 1979a: 1306, with refs.). The mystery is further enhanced by his non-Semitic name, which stands out in the otherwise uniform picture of Ugaritic royal names. It has even been suggested

100. For the revival of Egyptian militarism in Asia under Horemheb, see Redford 1992: 179, and the literature cited by him in n. 258. Ugarit appears with other Syrian localities in a topographical list from Karnak dated to Horemheb (Simons 1937: 47, 50ff.). For the alabaster vase with the name of Horemheb allegedly found in Ugarit, see p. 48.

101. For the redating of the seal ring of a Niqmaddu to Niḡmaddu III in the late-thirteenth century, see p. 94.

102. RS 16.144 (= *PRU* 3, 76). I follow van Soldt's translation of lines 4–9 (1985–86, 70, n. 13), which is entirely opposed to previous interpretations of the passage: "If in the future I will die, then the one from among my brothers who marries Kubaba daughter of Tak'ānu, my wife, may Ba'lu wash him away"

that this name indicates that the legitimate heir to the throne was not Ar-ḫalba, but rather his brother Niqmepa who bore a normal Amorite name (Liverani 1978: 152).

The standard historical scenario incriminates Ar-ḫalba with collaboration with the pro-Egyptian insurrection of Tette of Nuḫḫašši.¹⁰³ Support for this is ostensibly provided by an unpublished alabaster vase with the cartouches of Horemheb, mentioned in preliminary reports, but never seen since.¹⁰⁴ After the suppression of the mutiny the Hittites supposedly forced Ar-ḫalba to abdicate his throne in favor of his brother Niqmepa (Nougayrol 1956: 57; Astour 1981a: 24). A forced change on the throne of Ugarit is purportedly hinted at in the fragmentary opening lines of the Muršili-Niqmepa treaty:¹⁰⁵ “[I have joined you] Niqmepa with your brothers, and I, the King, have placed you upon the throne of your father and returned the land of your father to you.” Comparison with the Šuppiluliuma-Aziru treaty (which also supplies the restoration) shows that the reference is not to Niqmepa’s blood brothers but rather to his peers in Syria, that is, all the vassal kings who have been granted treaties with Ḫatti (Klengel 1969: 275; Kühne 1975: 240; Singer in Izre’el and Singer 1990: 148). The rest of the sentence is also standard in the terminology of Hittite treaties (for parallels see Kühne 1975: 241–42, n. 8; Del Monte 1986: 46ff.). The only unusual thing is the lack of the customary historical introduction summarizing the past relations between the contracting parties. Whether this is a tactful omission intended to cover up recent grievances in the relations between Ḫatti and Ugarit (Liverani 1962: 69; Kühne 1975: 241, n. 7) is also questionable (cf. also Del Monte 1986: 7–8 and n. 3, 46ff.). As a rule, the Hittites did not hesitate to denounce disloyal elements in vassal countries and eagerly stressed their own intervention in support of loyal partners.¹⁰⁶ In short, although the standard reconstruction of the political circumstances which led to the quick changes on the throne of Ugarit may make good sense, the evidence for it is entirely circumstantial. Ar-ḫalba’s prompt disappearance could simply have been caused by non-political circumstances, such as sudden illness and death. The only solid conclusion concerns the brevity of his reign, probably not more than a couple of years extending between Muršili’s seventh and ninth years (Klengel 1969: 359–60; van Soldt 1991: 4–5).

103. Nougayrol 1956: xxxvii–xxxviii; 1956: 57; Liverani 1962: 58ff.; 1979a: 1306; Klengel 1965: 254; 1969: 360; Drower 1975: 139; Dijkstra 1989: 150.

104. RS 17.477; Schaeffer 1954: 41; Nougayrol 1956: 57. According to Bordreuil and Pardee 1989: 152 the inscription is mentioned in a letter of J. Vandier. Cf. also Givon 1986: 841, n. 14.

105. RS 17.349B+ = PRU 4, 85ff.; Kestemont 1974b; Kühne 1975b; del Monte 1986; Beckman 1996c: 59–64.

106. See, e.g., the historical introduction to Muršili’s treaty with Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya (Beckman 1996c: 69).

4.7 NIQMEPA (CA. 1313–1260)

We return to more solid historical ground with the coronation of Niqmadu's second son, Niqmepa. His half-century-long reign stretches from Muršili II's ninth year into the reign of Ḫattušili "III."¹⁰⁷ Most historical reconstructions tend to find some connection between Niqmepa's accession to the throne and the suppression of the pro-Egyptian insurrection in Syria. According to this scenario Niqmepa was not involved in his brother's rebellious policy and may even have been forced to flee temporarily from Ugarit. After the suppression of the mutiny, Niqmepa was ostensibly rewarded by the Hittites with the throne of Ugarit, after the elimination of his treacherous brother. As already stated above, nothing in this scenario is based on solid evidence and the circumstances of Niqmepa's coronation remain unknown.

4.7.1 Territorial Issues

The numerous fragments of the treaty with Niqmepa,¹⁰⁸ ratified with the seals of Muršili II,¹⁰⁹ have been reconstructed as belonging to at least three Akkadian copies of the text. The structure closely resembles that of Šuppiluliuma's treaties with Aziru of Amurru and with Tette of Nuḫḫašši, which may point to an early date for its composition, immediately after Niqmepa's accession to the throne (Del Monte 1986: 5ff.). Its structure already follows the "classical" type of Hittite treaties, which includes stipulations of loyalty to the Great King and his descendants, offensive and defensive alliances, and detailed instructions on the extradition of fugitives. The treaty is concluded with a full list of divine witnesses (compared to the brief list in the Niqmadu treaty), and with the standard curse and blessing formulae.

Like the Niqmadu treaty, the Niqmepa treaty also has supplements dealing with Ugarit's tribute and with the delineation of its northern border. "The sons of Mukiš" sued Ugarit at law to return to them the territories annexed by

107. van Soldt 1991a: 5ff. See p. 67 for the decree issued by Ḫattušili "III" to Niqmepa concerning the men of Ura (RS 17.130 = *PRU* 4, 103–5).

108. *PRU* 3; 84–101, 287–89; *PRU* 6, 127–29; Korošec 1960; Kestemont 1974b; Kühne 1975; Del Monte 1986: 4–5; Beckman 1996c: 59–64. Del Monte (1986: 8, n. 2) observed that copy B was written in Ugarit, whereas copy A exhibits unmistakable (ortho)graphic features of a Hittite scribal school.

109. The treaties are ratified with two royal seals of Muršili II, which, as recently demonstrated by Otten (1995: 26–27), are not identical with the seal impressions from Boğazköy. Since the same applies to the seals of Šuppiluliuma I, Otten suggests that the Hittite royal seals employed in Syria were locally manufactured, probably by the court of Carchemish (*ibid.*, 24, 27; cf. n. 94 on the ductus of the Niqmadu treaty). This important observation throws new light also on the unique stone seal of Muršili II discovered in 1950 (RS 14.202; *Ug* 3, 87–93; 161–63), which some consider to be an ancient forgery (Neu 1995: 124–25, with previous refs.; cf. Mora 1987: 211–12). For the interpretation of this seal, see also Salvini 1990: 423–26; 1995b: 96–97.

Šuppiluliuma to Ugarit, but after carefully weighing the case, Muršili decided to reconfirm the borders established by his father and repeated the list of northern toponyms belonging to Ugarit (RS 17.237.3–16 = *PRU* 4, 63–70; Astour 1969: 398–405; 1981a; Beckman 1996c: 159–60; van Soldt 1997).¹¹⁰ Niqmepa fared less favorably on his southern border. Here Muršili accepted the petition of the client state of Siyannu-Ušnatu to be separated from Ugarit, and he placed its king Abdi-Anati under the direct jurisdiction of the Hittite viceroy of Carchemish (RS 17.335+, 17.457, 17.344, 17.368, 16.170, 17.382+ = *PRU* 4, 71–83; Astour 1979; Beckman 1996c: 160–62). The loss of about one third of its territory was a serious blow to the economy of Ugarit, but at least the Hittites agreed to reduce her yearly tribute accordingly (RS 17.382+ = *PRU* 4, 79–83; Klengel 1969: 368). The demarcation of the new border between Ugarit and Siyannu-Ušnatu (somewhere south of Gibala/Jebleh) was a complicated matter and was to keep the Hittite foreign office occupied in the next generations.¹¹¹ It is usually assumed that Muršili's decision to the detriment of Ugarit was in retaliation for her behavior at the time of the Syrian insurrection (Liverani 1962: 60; 1988a: 567; Drower 1975: 139). The real reason may have had more to do with *divide et impera* politics than with the punitive mood of the Hittite monarch. It was in his best interest to keep the Syrian provinces as partitioned as possible, without drastically breaking the traditional geo-political division lines.¹¹²

The annexation of Siyannu-Ušnatu to Ugarit was an outcome of the Aziru-Niqmaddu treaty, and the Hittites were in no way obliged to sanction a political accord which did not best serve their interests. The creation of a buffer kingdom tucked in between Amurru and Ugarit was a wise pre-emptive step intended to prevent the development of an excessively large geo-political union controlling the Levantine coast all the way from Mukiš to the Egyptian border. The con-

110. Liverani (1979a: 1306; 1990: 83–84) assesses the evidence differently, claiming that Muršili displaced the border again, this time at the advantage of Mukiš.

111. For the various stages of the border demarcation, which continued at least as late as the reign of Tuthaliya “IV,” see Astour 1979; van Soldt 1998. A further document has recently been added to this dossier through the cleaning of a tablet that was previously illegible, except for the seal impression at its center (RS 17.403 = *Ug* 3, 137–39). Eleven lines of the obverse were almost fully recuperated, and they contain a donation deed of a border area (NÍG.BA ša qanni) to Ugarit (Malbran-Labat 1995b: 37–38). Mention is made of Muršili (with the unusual spelling *Mu-ur-zi-i-li*) and a division of fields between the king of Ugarit and the king of another country whose name is unfortunately not preserved. As suggested by Malbran-Labat (38), all these indications point towards a late ratification of the decree of Muršili II dividing the border territories between Ugarit and Siyannu. Two Hittite officials are mentioned in the tablet: Hišni DUMU.LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ka[rgamiš] (Singer 1997: 420) and Tagi-Šarruma GAL L[Ú^{MES} DUB.SAR], a restoration that corresponds with the title on his seal impressed on the tablet.

112. A similar political step was taken by Muršili in western Anatolia. In order to prevent the re-emergence of a strong Arzawa he divided it into several kingdoms, which were in constant competition with each other (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 121ff.)

stantly strengthening political bond between the royal houses of Amurru and Ugarit shows that in the long run this was not an ungrounded political whim.

4.7.2 Strengthening the Bond with Amurru

The political bond established between Amurru and Ugarit in the Amarna Age was continuously cultivated in the following generations. Two royal marriages in succession, in both cases an Ugaritic king wedding an Amurrite princess, established intimate contacts between the two royal houses, as well as close commercial and cultural contacts between their lands.

The first marriage was Niqmepa's with Aḥat-Milku, one of the best known queens of Ugarit. Her exceedingly wealthy dowry list carries the anepigraphic dynastic seal of Amurru, identified in the text as "the seal of king Du-Tešub" (RS 16.146 + 161 = *PRU* 3, 182–86). The only plausible way to account for this signature is that the wedding occurred in the reign of DU-Tešub, most probably her father.¹¹³ This dates the event towards the end of Muṣili II's first decade, that is, at about 1314 (van Soldt 1991a: 14; Singer 1991a: 159; Aboud 1994: 30). According to standard Near Eastern custom, girls were given in marriage at a very early age, sometimes even before they reached puberty (Lipiński 1981: 81, n. 8). Aḥat-Milku must have been in her early teens when she arrived at Ugarit and began her long and eventful career. She gave birth to several sons, including the next king of Ugarit, Ammištamru II. The latest documents mentioning Aḥat-Milku deal with the deportation of her sons Hišmi-Šarruma and Abdi-Šarruma to Alašia (RS 17.352, 17.35, 17.362, 17.367 = *PRU* 4, 121–24). These verdicts are ratified by Ini-Tešub and by Tuḥaliya "IV," the latter providing a *terminus post quem* after 1239 (Edel 1976: 29). Thus, Aḥat-Milku must have been at least 90 years old when her sons were transferred from Ugarit to Alašia. Some scholars raised doubts whether the "early" and the "late" Aḥat-Milku could be one and the same person.¹¹⁴ But there are many examples of similar longevity in antiquity (e.g., Puduḥepa) and as long as there is no positive evidence for the

113. In order to solve the chronological problems raised by the apparently excessively long period of Aḥat-Milku's activity, van Soldt (1985–86: 70; 1991a: 14–15) suggested that her marriage took place during the reign of Duppi-Tešub or even Bentešina, i.e., at an advanced stage of Niqmepa's reign. Firstly, this would differ from other kings of Ugarit who married early, even before their accession to the throne (Aboud 1994: 30). More importantly, this would squarely contradict the whole sense of the statement that the document was signed by the seal of DU-Tešub. The case of RS 17.360+ (= *PRU* 4, 139ff.) is quite different because it carries both the dynastic seal (identified in the text as the seal of Aziru) and the personal seal of Šaušgamuwa. Whether Du-Tešub was Aḥat-Milku's father or not does not affect the chronological calculations.

114. Whereas Nougayrol (1956: 10, 295) still hesitated, Liverani (1979a: 1308) distinguished between the early Aḥat-Milku, spouse of Ar-ḫalba or even Niqmaddu in his old age, and the late Aḥat-Milku, spouse of Niqmepa and mother of Ammištamru II.

existence of two queens named Aḥat-Milku, it is better to reconstruct one long queenship, which extended into the reign of Ammištamru II.

Amurru's highly paid protection services were no doubt fully employed by Ugarit, but we learn details of such interventions only in rare cases. In a letter sent to Ammištamru II (RS 17.286 = *PRU* 4, 180), the king of Amurru, probably Šaušgamuwa,¹¹⁵ refers to a previous incident in which Bentešina was asked to mediate between Ugarit and the hostile Manda troops. A generation later the same situation recurred and the troops were again sent from Amurru to Ugarit to settle their problems.¹¹⁶ The Umman Manda (ERIN.MEŠ *Man-dá*^{MEŠ}) are better known from first-millennium contexts, where the term usually refers to northern warriors of Indo-European origins, such as Scythians, Cimmerians, and Medes (Liverani 1962: 121–24; 1988c). In the second millennium they appear as military men from the Old Babylonian period onwards, including Old Hittite sources (Beal 1992: 72–73). Whether already at this stage the Umman Manda consisted of Indo-European tribesmen¹¹⁷ is impossible to prove. In LBA Ugarit the term most probably refer to tribal groups from the highlands, who were sometimes recruited as mercenaries, like the *Sutu* or the *ḫabiru*.

The relation of protector and protected between Amurru and Ugarit finds its appropriate expression in the courtesy terminology used in their letter exchange. The Amurrite senders address their Ugaritian correspondents as “son” and “daughter.” In some cases this may indeed reflect real familial relations,¹¹⁸ but in others this terminology can only be explained as status ranking between the two kingdoms.¹¹⁹ Although Ugarit as the “rich relative” was begged for luxury goods (pp. 71–72), there is a constant reminder of who was the stronger partner in the union of “Amurru and Ugarit who are but one (country).”¹²⁰

115. The sender could theoretically also be Šabili: who was placed on the throne by Muwatalli after the Battle of Qadesh. Note that he does not refer to Bentešina as his father, whereas he refers to the father of his correspondent without mentioning his name.

116. It is quite possible that this letter was given by the king of Amurru to the chiefs of the Umman Manda who presented it to the king of Ugarit. Perhaps the mysterious single sign IGI at the end of the letter (following a division line) conveys some sort of (secret?) message from one king to the other (related to the verb “see”?). For lack of a better solution Nougayrol suggested (n. 2) that the scribe who was used to write juridical texts automatically inserted “witness” (IGI) when he finished writing the letter, but I find this explanation difficult to accept.

117. Klengel 1969: 414, n. 85; 1992: 137, n. 278 (with further literature).

118. E.g., Ulmi in RS 16.111 (= *PRU* 3, 13) could very well be the mother of Aḥat-Milku (Singer 1991a: 160).

119. As in the letter of the governor of Amurru sent to his “son,” the governor of Ugarit (Fales 1984). Another letter (RS 15.024 + 15.050 = *PRU* 3, 18) is sent by a certain Abušga to his “brother,” the governor [of Ugarit]; it contains a mere declaration of mutual assistance between the two lands, without any specific request. A somewhat similar declaration is found in the Ugaritic letter RS 18.075 (= *PRU* 5, no. 65), but there is no evidence that it was sent from Amurru (Singer 1991a: 162, n. 38).

120. RS 20.162.18–99 (= *Ug* 5, 115); for parallel expressions of unity, see Malbran-Labat in Bordreuil (ed.) 1991: 48.

4.7.3 The Battle of Qadesh

With the seizure of power by military men after the failed bid of Tutankhamun's widow to Šuppiluliuma, Egypt renewed its aggressive policy in western Asia, preparing to revenge her humiliating defeat by the Hittites and the loss of Amurru and Qadesh. First attempts to instigate disorder in Hittite Syria are attributed to Horemheb (see n. 100), but the decisive move was left to the Pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Sety I, after quelling disorders in Palestine, advanced up the Phoenician coast to Amurru, and then crossed over to Qadesh and captured the strategic city in ca. 1290 (KRI I, 24; Spalinger 1979: 34; Murnane 1985: 80ff.; Redford 1992: 181). Bentešina of Amurru had little choice but to surrender to the approaching Egyptians, and returned his land to his previous overlord after half a century of Hittite rule (Singer 1991a: 165–66).¹²¹ Distant Ugarit had less to fear from an Egyptian military operation and Niqmepa probably remained loyal to the Hittites. He even sent his contingents to the Battle of Qadesh (1275) in accordance to his treaty with Muṣṣili II.¹²² After Muwatalli's decisive victory, Bentešina was deposed and deported to Ḫatti, but not for long. After a short period of “re-education” at the court of Ḫattušili “III” in the Northern Land, he was reinstated on the throne of Amurru and remained a loyal and highly appreciated agent of Hittite interests for the rest of his reign (Singer 1991a: 167ff.). Amicable relations with Ugarit were also resumed and fostered, but sometimes the good intentions led to deplorable results, as in the case of the ill-fated princess from Amurru, the *bittu rabīti* (pp. 83–84).

Another converted ally of the Hittites was Niqmaddu of Kinza/Qadesh. After the assassination of his father Aitakama he was captured by Muṣṣili II, but was reinstated on the throne and became a faithful defender of Hittite interests in Syria. He also kept good relations with Ugarit.¹²³

4.7.4 Urḫi-Tešub in Syria

When Ḫattušili “III” captured his nephew Urḫi-Tešub in Šamuḫa, he deported him to Nuḫḫašši and gave him fortified cities there (Apology § 11 = iv 7–40; van den Hout 1997: 203). However, when the famous exile sought to

121. The “General’s Letter” (RS 20.033), which was usually considered to reflect conditions on the eve (or immediately after) the Battle of Qadesh, has been redated to the Amarna Age (see p. 40).

122. Gardiner 1960: 58; *Ikri* is listed (in the longest enumeration of allies in P 43ff.) after *Krkms* and before *Qd* and *Nwgs* (Nuḫḫašši). For the battle of Qadesh, see the refs. cited in Redford 1992: 184, n. 284. For the identification of *Qd*, see n. 428.

123. Niqmaddu (NIG.MA.4IM) is the addressee of two letters discovered at Tell Nebi Mend/Qadesh, one of which was sent by a king of Ḫalab (Millard 1979–80: 202). He is probably the author of a letter sent to Niqmepa of Ugarit (RS 17.315; see n. 202).

recruit Babylon to support his cause he was transferred to a place “alongside the sea” (iv 36). Various locations have been suggested for this unnamed place on the seashore, the most plausible being Ugarit.¹²⁴ Perhaps an even better possibility would be to locate Urḫi-Tešub’s last place of exile in Syria in Amurru,¹²⁵ which would explain Bentešina’s appearance in RS 17.406 (see below).¹²⁶ Bentešina was a protege of Ḫattušili “III” (CTH 92 §§ 4–5; Beckman 1996c: 96) and he would have been trusted to keep a vigilant eye on the royal exile. In any case, both in Ugarit and in Amurru it would have been easy to catch a boat or a caravan descending to Egypt, and indeed Urḫi-Tešub is last heard of in the correspondence between Ramesses II and the Hittite royal couple before the royal marriage in 1245 (Helck 1963; Edel 1994, ch. ii D).

Urḫi-Tešub’s period of exile in Syria in the sixties of the thirteenth century raises the possibility of attributing to him some of the occurrences of the name Urḫi-Tešub in documents from Ugarit. However, it is now clear that at least one further person bore the same name, namely a Hittite official operating from Carchemish at the very end of the thirteenth century. In a letter found in the Urtenu archive this Urḫi-Tešub (without any title) addresses the great ones and the elders of Ugarit, including Urtenu and Yabinina, promising the dispatch of rescue forces from Carchemish (RS 88.2009; Malbran-Labat 1995b: 39–40). Perhaps this same official is the author of a courtesy letter in Ugaritic addressed “to the queen, my lady” (KTU 2.68 = RS 20.199; Pardee 1984a: 213–15; Cunchillos 1989a: 359ff.). A further Ugaritic occurrence of an *Urg-Tšb*, in a fragmentary list of rations (KTU 4.410 = RS 18.250.30 = *PRU* 5, no. 162), cannot be readily attributed to one of the two candidates, and may perhaps belong to a third namesake.

We are left with two legal documents which may reasonably be attributed to the deposed Hittite king. RS 17.346 (= *PRU* 4, 175–77) is a verdict delivered by Ini-Tešub in a financial dispute between Ugarit, represented by its governor, and the merchant Mašanda who accused the king of Ugarit of appropriating from his caravan 400 donkeys worth 4,000 silver shekels. Reference is made to an earlier verdict given by Urḫi-Tešub in favor of Mašanda, in which he made the king of

124. Liverani 1962: 79; Cunchillos 1989a: 361, n. 3. Other suggestions that have been put forward for locating this “seacoast” (A.B.BA *tapuša*) were Alašia and Mira in western Anatolia (for refs. see Houwink ten Cate 1974: 139).

125. Of particular interest in this connection is a letter of Ramesses with the report that the people of Amurru and two other lands asked the Egyptians for a safe passage for Urḫi-Tešub and his party (Edel 1994, I: 64–65; II: 102). The implications of this intriguing document deserve a separate study.

126. It is perhaps of interest to note in this connection that at Tell Kazel, possibly the royal residence of Amurru (Singer 1991a: 158), a Hittite seal impression was found. Unfortunately, the legend is unreadable in the published photograph, but the three concentric rings around the central field indicate that the owner was a very important person, probably of royal descent. The same building has also produced two Hittite button seals (for refs. see Singer 1991a: 185).

Ugarit pay a fine of 1 1/3 talent of silver. If this Urḫi-Tešub is indeed the ill-fated successor of Muwatalli II, we must conclude that during his exile in Syria he was given some authoritative powers as an arbitrator in local disputes (Nougayrol 1956: 175; Liverani 1962: 78–79; Klengel 1969: 416, n. 123). Alternatively, the verdict could have been given during his short reign in Ḫatti (Houwink ten Cate 1974: 138).

The second alternative is perhaps supported by another, very fragmentary, legal text mentioning Mašanda (RS 17.406 = *PRU* 4, 181).¹²⁷ This is a rare name (Grøndahl 1967: 342; Laroche 1966: 115) and the high probability that the same person is referred to in both texts is further supported by the few remaining data in the fragment, which mentions Ugarit, Bentešina, and most significantly, the phrase “(I) the Great King have written a tablet [...]” (frgm. A, 10’). Could this be the very verdict of Urḫi-Tešub mentioned in RS 17.346.10–11?¹²⁸ If so, the title “Great King” would date this document to his short reign in Ḫatti, since Urḫi-Tešub would hardly have dared to use it during his exile in Syria. It is also possible that the complicated financial lawsuit of Mašanda, probably a wealthy Hittite merchant, lingered on into the following reign of Ḫattušili “III,” who would then be the author of RS 17.406.

5 UGARIT IN THE AGE OF “*PAX HETHITICA*”

Sixteen years after the Battle of Qadesh Ramesses II and Ḫattušili “III” decided, each for his own reasons, to bring to an end the century-long enmity between their countries. The peace treaty concluded in 1258 after lengthy negotiations inaugurated a period of unprecedentedly close connections between the two empires. The new age of cooperation was particularly beneficial for Ugarit, who resumed her role as the hub of eastern Mediterranean trade. Except for the troubled years before and immediately after the Battle of Qadesh, Ugarit never really severed her traditional ties with Egypt. Now, however, the cosmopolitan city became the main stage for trade between Ḫatti and Egypt, a role that brought her unsurpassed prosperity.

The exact dating of the growing number of late-thirteenth century documents is notoriously difficult. Kings, queens, and governors¹²⁹ were not usually addressed by name in their letters, and other absolute criteria are also conspicu-

127. *Ma-ša(?) -an-dā* (fragm. A, ll. 5’, 8’; fragm. B, l. 5’). There is some doubt with regard to the second sign (*ša* or *ta*), but the reading of the name is practically certain. Both RS 17.346 and 17.406 were found in the so-called Hittite archive in the rooms located south of Court V.

128. Mašanda testifies that he had broken the sealed tablet with Urḫi-Tešub’s verdict (RS 17.346.12–13). If so, RS 17.406 must be the copy kept by the governor of Ugarit.

129. The logogram MAŠKIM, “governor” (“*préfet*” in the French translations) must be read at Ugarit as *sākinu*, rather than *rābišu*. See Huehnergard 1989: 67, 360, 378 (with refs.); Lackenbacher 1995a: 69, n. 17.

ously missing (van Soldt 1991a: 1). The evaluation of these late sources will follow two separate tracks. The individual reigns of the last kings of Ugarit will be discussed individually wherever possible, especially with regard to succession, marriages, and foreign relations. But before that, subjects of less transient character, such as international trade, will be surveyed as a whole for the entire age of "*Pax Hethitica*." Cross-references will be generously provided.

Better to understand the mechanism of Hittite rule in Syria in general, and their special relations with Ugarit in particular, a brief description of the political climate in the Hittite Empire after the victory at Qadesh is necessary. As often happens in history, what appears to be the apex of success turns out in reality to be the beginning of the end. The economic burden of the "Great War" with Egypt, and even more so the civil war that broke out shortly afterwards between the factions of Urḫi-Tešub and Ḫattušili mark a decisive turning point in Hittite history. Although in many respects the age of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa is characterized by successful measures at home and a conciliatory policy abroad,¹³⁰ the moral consequences of Ḫattušili's usurpation weighed heavily on the Hittite state and eventually contributed to its ruination. To atone for his sin before gods and men Ḫattušili appointed his other nephew Kurunta as king of Tarḫuntašša, the capital founded by Muwatalli in southern Anatolia (see pp. 66ff.). Numerous concessions were made to the benefit of the sister state, first by Ḫattušili and then by Tuthaliya, but nothing could appease the rival king's legitimate yearning for superiority. It is not yet clear whether the political rivalry led to outright warfare between the competing "Great Kings,"¹³¹ but, in any case, the problem dominated the political agenda of Ḫatti in the last decades of its existence. In religious and political documents issued from Ḫattuša there is a growing preoccupation with problems of dynastic legitimation and loyalty, which eventually develop into an obsessive fear of treason and betrayal even from the king's closest allies and associates (Otten 1963). External circumstances, with serious military threats from east and west and an increasing food shortage, only aggravated the burdened atmosphere of concern and pessimism. In this state of mind it was only natural that the last kings of Ḫattuša sought to keep their only quiet border in the south as peaceful and cooperative as possible. The Syrian tribute was also the biggest source of income for the impoverished treasuries of Ḫatti.

Ugarit was the "Jewel in the Crown" of Hittite Syria and the point of entry for the desperately needed grain bought in Egypt. As long as Ugarit complied with her vassal obligations most of her wishes were willingly granted. In her

130. For the foreign policy of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa, see recently Houwink ten Cate 1996 (esp. pp. 73–75), with extensive refs. to previous literature.

131. For the various views on the results of the rivalry between the royal houses of Ḫatti and of Tarḫuntašša, see Singer 1996b.

complaint against the abuses of the merchants of Ura (see pp. 66–67), and in other lawsuits (e.g., in the *bittu rabīti* affair; see pp. 83–84), the court of Ḫatti repeatedly took the side of Ugarit against her adversaries, including Hittite officials and merchants. A special decree issued by Ḫattušili provided the extradition of Ugaritian fugitives from Hittite frontierlands, contrary to normal vassal treaty provisions (see pp. 84–85). Clearly, in the first stage of *Pax Hethitica* Ḫatti was eager to gratify her wealthy vassal as much as she could. To be sure, this positive disposition towards Ugarit was not insensitive towards consecutive developments in the political arena, not to mention individual moods of the respective monarchs. There even came a time when Ugarit became so assertive towards her overlord that harsh reprimands became necessary, though quite ineffective.

In sharp contrast to its Anatolian relatives, the dynasty of Carchemish kept a remarkable stability which continued unshaken from the foundation of the empire to well after its collapse (Hawkins 1988; Güterbock 1992). Already at the time of Syria's conquest Carchemish on the Euphrates was chosen to become the hub of Hittite rule in Syria. Ḫalab's military and administrative role gradually faded, though she remained a revered religious center. The more Ḫatti was preoccupied with internal problems, the more authority was assumed by Carchemish, an inverse ratio clearly reflected in the documents from Ugarit (Liverani 1960). Already in the fourteenth century some of the most important state documents relating to Ugarit were prepared in Carchemish, including the royal seals ratifying them (Neu 1995: 129; Otten 1995: 27; see n. 109). This tendency probably culminated in the able reign of Ini-Tešub, probably the Hittite monarch most frequently mentioned in Ugarit. By the early-thirteenth century Carchemish developed a centralized government in most of Hittite Syria, either in the form of fully integrated territories ruled by Hittite governors (such as Mukiš), or as subordinate kingdoms directly controlled from Carchemish (such as Aštata/Emar). The only vassal states which kept a more-or-less autonomous status were Ugarit, Amurru, and Kinza/Qadesh, that is, the kingdoms which in the age of the "Great Game" for the control of Syria had promptly joined the Hittite camp. But even the borders of these usually loyal kingdoms were not guaranteed. When opportunity arose Carchemish carved away from Ugarit the sub-kingdom of Siyannu/Ušnātu, thus creating a buffer state between the strong kingdom of Amurru and the wealthy kingdom of Ugarit (see p. 49–50).

The special type of political condominium in Syria shared by Ḫattuša and Carchemish, compared by Nougayrol to the double-headed Hittite eagle (Nougayrol 1956: 149), needs to be more closely defined, especially with the recent increase in late-thirteenth century documents. The general impression one gets is that, although the appearance of Ḫattuša's superiority was scrupulously maintained, for example in the clear distinction between the titles of the "Great King" or the "Sun" (^dUTU-ŠI) of Ḫatti and the "King" of Carchemish, in practice the

everyday government of Syria, including its military defence, was organized by the Viceroy of Carchemish and a host of royal princes who travelled between the vassal courts solving local disputes and securing the interests of the central government. It seems that in their dealings with Syria the rulers of Ḫatti concentrated mainly on the enforcement of imperial etiquette (e.g., regular visits of the vassal rulers to His Majesty), the tightening of dynastic bonds through royal marriages (first with Amurru and later with Ugarit), and, most importantly, with securing the constant flow of high-quality tribute and presents to Ḫatti (see pp. 94ff.). According to the vassal treaties set down in the fourteenth century, the yearly tribute of Ugarit went directly to Ḫatti where it was distributed between the king, the queen and their leading officials (see p. 46). There is nothing in the prolific thirteenth-century correspondence to indicate any change in this policy. On the contrary, when the kings of Carchemish reprimand the kings of Ugarit for not sending sufficient presents, the destination of the dispatches, whenever clearly stated, is to Ḫatti, never to Carchemish (e.g., RS 34.136 = RSO 7, no. 7; p. 95). It is possible, of course, that the king of Ḫatti shared some of his Syrian income with the Viceroy of Carchemish, but there is nothing to suggest a direct flow of tribute from Ugarit to Carchemish. Strange as it may seem, Carchemish and the adjacent areas dependent on her, such as Emar, traded with Ugarit on a regular basis of give and take (see pp. 61–62).

Finally, a brief remark should be added on the cultural impact of Hittite rule in Ugarit (Neu 1995). A century and a half of close political and economic ties have yielded surprisingly little evidence for Hittite influence upon the cultural life of the people of Ugarit. Only a handful of Hittite texts have been found: a legal text probably originating from Ḫattuša,¹³² a few literary fragments found in 1992 (Neu 1995: 127), and a trilingual fragment of a well-known literary text (“Message of Ludingirra to his mother”) which was also brought to Ugarit from Ḫattuša (*Ug* 5, 319ff., 773ff.). In other words, probably nothing was written in Hittite in Ugarit itself, a conclusion also supported by the quadrilingual vocabularies (Sumerian-Akkadian-Hurrian-Ugaritic) that did not bother to add a Hittite column. Even the Hittite hieroglyphic seals which became very fashionable among the upper classes of Hittite Syria (Amurru, Emar), were not adopted at the court of Ugarit (Singer 1977: 184). The explanations for this apparent lack of interest in Hittite culture must be discussed in a broader context, but one of the reasons could be the fact, that, in sharp contrast to Amurru (Singer 1991a: 177; 1992), the royal house of Ugarit did not marry into Hittite royalty until the very end of the thirteenth century, and even then with very limited success.¹³³

132. RS 17.109 = *Ug* 5, 769, For a drawing and a photograph of this tablet, see Salvini 1995a.

133. To “even out” the record, one may observe the surprisingly few mentions of Ugarit in the Boğazköy texts: in two inventory texts (see n. 325), in a small historical fragment (KBo 16.39, 4’), in Ḫattušili’s letter to

5.1 SECURITY PROBLEMS

Prosperity often brings with it chronic problems of security, and the late documentation in Ugarit is abounding with references to theft, robbery, and caravan hijacking. The identity of the marauders was not always known, but in any case, compensation for the loss of life and property was demanded from the ruler in whose jurisdiction the casualty occurred. The matter was settled in a legal procedure in which all parties involved appeared before a royal arbitrator, usually the king himself or an official appointed by him for this occasion.

A typical lawsuit is RS 17.229 = *PRU* 4, 106, ratified by the seal of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa. The merchant Talimmu sued the inhabitants of Apsuna, a town in the northern part of the kingdom of Ugarit (see n. 403), for killing his associates. The citizens of Apsuna were required to compensate Talimmu with one talent of silver.¹³⁴ The town must have been notorious for its insecurity, for we find another fragmentary lawsuit where Apsuna is associated with a case of murder.¹³⁵

The king of Carchemish, Ini-Tešub, was very active in setting up a supportive legal framework for trade in Syria, guaranteeing proper compensation for the families and the business associates of the ill-fated merchants who were killed in his jurisdiction. An accord between Carchemish and Ugarit, witnessed by the main deities of the two kingdoms, sets a compensation of 3 mina of silver each for merchants killed in each other's territory (RS 17.230, 17.146, 18.115, 18.019 = *PRU* 4, 152–60). This very law was applied by Ini-Tešub in his verdict against the citizens of Ugarit who were responsible for the murder of a merchant of the king of Tarḫudašši (RS 17.158, 17.042 = *PRU* 4, 169–72); they were condemned to pay a compensation of 180 silver shekels to Ari-Šimiga, a “brother” of the murdered merchant. In another verdict of Ini-Tešub, the citizens of Ugarit were sentenced to pay 1,200 shekels to a certain Aballa whose domicile is not known (RS 17.145 = *PRU* 4, 172–73). The perils of travel within the kingdom of Ugarit must have cost its treasury a fortune.¹³⁶

A case of highway robbery with international implications is reported in the long letter of Ḫattušili “III” to Kadašman-Enlil II (KBo 1.10+; Beckman 1996c:

Kadašman-Enlil (KBo 1, 10 rev. 14; see pp. 59–60), in another small fragment of a letter (KBo 28, 91, 9'; Hagenbuehner 1989: 353), and in the evocation texts with the *mappa mundi* (KUB 15, 34 i 53; KUB 15, 35 + KBo 2, 9 i 27).

134. Probably the same Talimmu is mentioned in passing in a lawsuit (arbitrated by Ini-Tešub) in which the king of Ugarit claims that the tablet dealing with Talimmu's compensation was allegedly broken by a certain Mašanda (RS 17.346.1421 = *PRU* 4, 176–77). For the Mašanda affair, see pp. 54–55.

135. RS 17.369B + 17.069 = *PRU* 4, 239–40. The two texts could perhaps refer to the same incident, but here the claimants are apparently listed by their names (ll. 12' ff.).

136. For other verdicts of Ini-Tešub, see the refs. listed in Klengel 1992: 143, n. 311. For RS 17.346 (referring to a verdict of Urḫi-Tešub), see p. 54.

132–37). The king of Babylon complained that his merchants were killed in Amurru, in Ugarit, and in a third land whose name is not preserved (§ 10; rev. 14–25). In his reply the Hittite king exonerates himself from all blame by giving a lengthy discourse on the interdiction of homicide in Ḫatti (Klengel 1980; Liverani 1990: 99–100). Finally, he puts the blame on some Subarians who do not fall within his jurisdiction. Nevertheless, he proposes that his correspondent send the relatives of the dead merchants to Ḫatti in order to investigate their lawsuit. Security problems on the roads leading from Babylon to Ḫatti, crossing through the land of Suḫi, are also discussed in a letter sent by Ini-Tešub to Šagarakt[i-Šuriaš] found in 1994 in the Urtenu archive (Malbran-Labat 1995a: 111; Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 445, 448).

As in the Mari period (see pp. 31–32), most of the problems on the roads were caused by tribal groups such as the Sutu, the *ḫabiru*, and the Manda.¹³⁷ In a letter to Ammištamru the king of Carchemish (Ini-Tešub) announces that he is about to send (to Ugarit) a certain Arwašši to decide the case of the *ḫabiru* (SA.GAZ) who are not in Carchemish (RS 16.003 = *PRU* 3, 4).¹³⁸ According to another letter the Suteans have taken a hostage who was later ransomed for 50 silver shekels (RS 8.333 = *PRU* 3, 7–8; cf. Albright 1941: 44–46). A servant of the king of Ugarit reassures his lord that he will inform him about anything he finds out about the Suteans (RS 34.151 = *RSO* 7, no. 13). The instability caused by tribal groups became in due time one of the main factors that brought about the collapse of the traditional LBA states, in particular in the inland areas of Syria.¹³⁹

5.2 THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF UGARIT IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Despite the perils of highway robbery and similar problems, the Age of *Pax Hethitica* was an incomparably lucrative era for the entire Levantine Crescent, and especially for Ugarit, the hub of international trade. In the following entries the evidence for Ugarit's foreign relations will be classified according to her main trading partners. As already mentioned, it is very difficult to establish a chronological order for this type of economic documents. An entry on Ḫatti is not included because no trade in the regular sense of the word is involved, but rather payment of taxes to an overlord (described in the respective chapters). On the other hand, with Carchemish (and Emar) Ugarit maintained normal trade

137. For Amurru's mediation between Ugarit and the Manda troops (RS 17.286), see p. 52.

138. Ḫattušili "III"'s edict pertaining to fugitives from Ugarit seeking refuge in the *ḫabiru* territory of His Majesty (RS 17.238; see pp. 84–85).

139. See, most recently, Freu forthcoming, with refs. to the new evidence supplied by the texts from Meskene/Emar, Tell Šeiḫ Ḥamad and Tell Ḥuera.

exchanges based on reciprocal interests. Too little is known about Ugarit's trade contacts with Assur and Babylon, although they surely must have existed, at least in peaceful times.¹⁴⁰

5.2.1 Carchemish and Emar

Ugarit's commercial relations with Carchemish should presumably have been different from her relations with other foreign lands with whom the exchange was based on unadulterated reciprocal interests. However, a closer look at the relevant documents reveals that, beyond the obvious protocol between suzerain and vassal, when the correspondence gets down to actual business it follows the same principles of supply and demand as with other lands. As pointed out above, all Ugarit's yearly tribute went to the court of Ḫatti and none to Carchemish. In the documents dealing with commercial transactions, the representatives of Ugarit usually state what they expect to receive in return for the goods they are sending to Carchemish, and, as far as one can tell, the exchanged goods are more or less equivalent. Although citizens of Carchemish were probably exempted from the high custom tolls demanded by Ugarit from merchants of other lands,¹⁴¹ even this prerogative occasionally required perseverance on the part of Hittite officials. In his letter to the king of Ugarit, Piḫa-ziti¹⁴² protests that some workers¹⁴³ of the king were required to pay taxes and threatens to bring up the matter at the court (RS 25.461; Lackenbacher 1989: 317–18).

The trade with Ugarit was mostly held in the hands of the royal family of Carchemish. Ḫešmi-Tešub (RS 20.184 = *Ug* 5, no. 28) was Ini-Tešub's brother,¹⁴⁴ Upparamuwa, Mišramuwa (RS 17.423 = *PRU* 4, 193), Aliḫešni (RS 15.077 = *PRU* 3, 6) and Tili-Šarruma¹⁴⁵ were his sons, and Piḫa-^dIM was his grandson.¹⁴⁶ Other Hittite dignitaries active at the court of Carchemish, such

140. On trade with Assyria, see n. 291.

141. See, e.g., the strong protest aired by a king of Tyre(?) concerning the high customs his agents were required to pay by the harbormaster of Ugarit (RS 17.424c+ = *PRU* 4, 219; see p. 76).

142. Perhaps identical with Piḫa-ziti, an official of the king of Carchemish, who demanded compensation from Ugarit for the losses of Maššana-ura, probably a Hittite official active in Ugarit (RS 17.248 = *PRU* 4, 236). Note the clay bulla with the impression of the governor Maššana-ura (GREAT.GOD, CITY.LORD) which was found in Court V (RS 18.070 = *Ug* 3, 62, fig. 87; 156–57). This Piḫa-ziti should probably be distinguished from the merchant of Ura in RS 17.319.22, 32 (= *PRU* 4, 182–84).

143. For the LÚ.MEŠ *šariputi*, see Houwink ten Cate 1983–84, 50: “presumably workers of a relatively low social standing.”

144. Arnaud 1974; Klengel 1975: 60–61; Singer 1985b: 8; Hagenbuchner 1989: 18ff.

145. RS 18.114, 17.028 (= *PRU* 4, 108–10); Klengel 1969: 363, 365. Prince Tili-Šarruma appears in a legal transaction from the Emar region (HCCT-E 5; Tsukimoto 1984). Probably the same Teli-Šarruma is also attested in a tablet from Ḫurbe/Tell Chuēra dated to the second half of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign (Kühne 1995: 211, 217–18); he is a Hittite diplomat bringing tablets and presents to the king of Assur.

146. RS 17.148 (= *PRU* 6, no 7). On Piḫa-^dIM, see Imparati 1987: 192ff., and n. 158 below.

as Zulanna (RS 17.144 = *PRU* 6, no. 6), Ҳesni,¹⁴⁷ Taki-Šarruma, and Tulpi-Šarruma (RS 17.251 = *PRU* 4, 236), were also members of the royal family.¹⁴⁸ Some of these Hittite nobles are also known from the archives of Meskene/Emar, where they fulfill top administrative functions (Beckman 1995). Thus some of their letters may have actually been sent to Ugarit from their “offices” in Emar or from other centres in the vicinity of Carchemish.¹⁴⁹

Ugarit maintained a regular mission in Carchemish, a sort of diplomatic corps representing the interests of the vassal kingdom at the court of the overlord. Obviously, the diplomats sent out to Carchemish were most competent and influential persons. Takuḫlinu, for example, after the completion of his mission in Carchemish, climbed to the topmost posts in the administration of Ugarit (Singer 1983b: 6–18). In his letters to his lord (RS 17.383; 17.422 = *PRU* 4, 221–25), no doubt Ammištamru II, Takuḫli(nu) reports that the king of Carchemish (Ini-Tešub) was infuriated when he was presented with some simple stones (*kamma*) instead of the requested lapis lazuli (*ugnu*). He implores his king to find the genuine stones wherever he can and send them urgently lest people become hostile towards him in the Ҳatti land.¹⁵⁰ In these letters there is no indication what goods were sent by Carchemish in return, but from another letter we know that Takuḫli was active in transporting horses from Carchemish to Ugarit (RS 20.184; see below). Besides genuine lapis lazuli, Takuḫli asks his king to send him also dyed wool for his own needs, namely, the presentation of an offering to the deity Apšukka of Irḫanda who saved him from a serious illness.¹⁵¹

Takuḫlinu was probably replaced by Amutaru¹⁵² as the ambassador of Ugarit in Carchemish. Ammištamru turned to Ҳešmi-Tešub to intercede on behalf of Amutaru at the court of his brother Ini-Tešub (RS 20.184 = *Ug* 5, 97ff., no. 28). The king of Ugarit desired two exquisite horses and one quality bow from Ҳanigalbat and sent to Ҳešmi-Tešub in return one large linen garment of high quality and one ordinary linen garment.

147. RS 17.403; Malbran-Labat 1995b: 37–38; Singer 1997: 120. For Prince Ҳešni see also Houwink ten Cate 1996: 61ff. (with further refs.).

148. For the debate over the meaning of “king’s son” (DUMU.LUGAL), see Singer 1997: 418–19 (with previous refs.).

149. For an attempt to date the letters sent from Carchemish on the basis of their epistolary formulae, see Yamada 1992.

150. Contrary to Nougayrol’s assumption, the letters were probably sent from Carchemish, and the remark on the hostility of the land of Ҳatti must refer to the Hittite realm in general (Singer 1983b: 8). There are other similar indications that the region of Carchemish was already considered to be (part of) the Ҳatti Land before the fall of the Hittite Empire (see n. 170).

151. A city Irḫanda appears in Hittite sources (Del Monte and Tischler 1978: 143), but its location cannot be established.

152. This Amutaru is probably identical with the merchant Amutarunu who was richly endowed by Ammištamru II (Singer 1983b: 8, n. 10).

Another envoy to Carchemish was PU-Šarruma,¹⁵³ the author of a letter addressed to the king of Ugarit, his lord, found in the Urtenu archive (RS 34.140 = RSO 7, no. II).¹⁵⁴ The fragmentary text seems to deal with the payment for horses that had been delivered by PU-Šarruma to his lord: 100 silver (shekels), 4 talents of copper, and one *muttiru* stove.¹⁵⁵

The importation of equids to Ugarit is also dealt with in two letters sent to the governor of Ugarit by Hittite nobles who were active in Emar.¹⁵⁶ In the past Zulanna had supplied an iron blade and a garment to his correspondent (RS 17.144 = PRU 6, no. 6). Now he was asked to send a horseman (lit.: “chief”), a mule and a horse, but he can only comply with a mare and an excellent boy who can be trained in horsemanship. He does not have mules to hand, but he promises to send a good one as soon as he can get it. In return Zulanna asks for gold, raw glass(?),¹⁵⁷ and a bronze *alallu*.

A double letter to the governor of Ugarit was sent by Lady Yabinenše and Piḫa-ḏIM (RS 17.148 = PRU 6, no. 7).¹⁵⁸ The former sends a scarf, an embroidered belt, two *mašḫuranna* and 100 (shekels) of red purple-dyed wool; she asks for much silver. The latter sends a mare for which he expects to obtain 30 silver shekels and a bronze *alallu*. He offers to send more quality horses in the future. Another prince who demands to be reimbursed for a horse he had delivered last year is Tapa’e (RS 34.155 = RSO 7, no. 21). He leaves it to his correspondent (Ea-ḏGAL) to determine the proper price.

Evidently, quality horses were one of the most expensive items traded by nobles and merchants from Carchemish and Emar in return for their voluminous imports from the west.¹⁵⁹ That this horse trade extended beyond the frontiers

153. The reading *Hešmi* for PU that was suggested by Güterbock and Laroche (*Ug* 3, 117ff.) is no longer tenable (Singer 1985: 113–14; van den Hout 1995: 128ff.). For another possible reading (Taki-), see van den Hout 1995: 136. The material from Ugarit could allow for several other identifications of PU-Šarruma as well: e.g., Anani-Šarruma, a messenger employed in the commercial firm of Šipti-Ba’al and Urtenu (RSO 7, nos. 32, 34), or *Irr-ṭrm* who asks for horses in KTU 2.33 = RS 16.402 (see pp. 120–21). None of these readings, however, can be substantiated at the moment.

154. According to the opening address this PU-Šarruma must have been a servant of the king of Ugarit. Representatives from Carchemish, who were usually of royal blood, address the kings of Ugarit as their subordinates (e.g., *Hešmi-Tešub* in RS 20.184 and *Kila’e* in RS 19.070).

155. This is a simple commercial transaction and not a demand for troops, as indicated in the title of RSO 7, no. 11.

156. For the Hittite administration of Emar, see Yamada 1993; Beckman 1995; Singer 1999.

157. *meku*: *eḫlipakku*. For *mekku*, “a type of (raw) glass,” see CAD M/2, 7. For the Hurrian gloss *eḫlipakku*, see Laroche 1976–77: 76 (who compares NA₄ TI “stone of life”).

158. The fact that Yabinenše and Piḫa-ḏIM share a tablet in their letters to the governor of Ugarit could indicate that they are mother and son; the husband/father is Upparamuwa (see p. 61). Their addressing the governor of Ugarit as “my son” and “my brother,” respectively, should not be taken in a literal sense (as assumed by Nougayrol 1956: 10, n. 1), but rather as an indication of their relative hierarchy (Singer 1997: 421).

159. To the examples already cited add RS 16.180 (= PRU 3, 41), where Pillaza; the equerry (*huburtanuru*) of the king of Carchemish, sells a horse for 200 silver (shekels). Cf. also RS 34.152 (= RSO 7, no. 39), where

of the Hittite Empire is shown by the Egyptian correspondence (pp. 77ff.), as well as by a rare letter from a man of Mari found in the Urtenu archive (RS 34.142 = RSO 7, no. 47).¹⁶⁰ Whether the horses were locally bred in the kingdom of Carchemish, or whether they were brought from more northerly areas, is not stated in these documents. It remains the task of experts to reconstruct the parameters of horse breeding and horse trade in this period of long-distance mercantile connections.¹⁶¹

Less is known about other items travelling from Carchemish and Emar to the west. Mention is occasionally made of rare objects¹⁶² and plants,¹⁶³ whose exact nature often escapes us.¹⁶⁴ Another source of income for the Hittite nobility was the sale of slaves to wealthy Ugaritians. Princes Taki-Šarruma and Tulpi-Šarruma sell to Uzzinu, the governor of Ugarit, a man (Taršazida) for forty shekels of silver (RS 17.251 = *PRU* 4, 236–37). Seventy shekels are paid by the queen of Ugarit to redeem “her compatriot” (DUMU KUR-*sa*), Uri-^dIM,¹⁶⁵ from the hands of the palace official Tabrammi (RS 17.231 = *PRU* 4, 238).¹⁶⁶

Ugarit exported to the east dyed wool, linen garments, oil, *alun*-stone, lead, copper, and bronze objects.¹⁶⁷ Some of these products were no doubt imported to Ugarit from other lands, such as Cyprus and Egypt. The valuable merchandise coming from the west was used for local consumption in the land of Carchemish, but surpluses were further traded with the Assyrians. There is growing evidence both in Hittite and Assyrian sources that the bellicose encounters between Ḫatti and Assur in the early reign of Tukulti-Ninurta gave way in the latter part of

Mut-ra'i offers to send ^dIM.SÌ.MU (*Adad-nādin-šum?*) 200 sheep as an advance payment for requested horses and mules.

160. The details of this intriguing but difficult letter, which mentions among other things an “enemy” who has pillaged the sender’s house (ll. 36ff.), need further investigation. It seems that the letter refers not to conditions in Ugarit, but rather to those in the Euphrates region.

161. For the breeding and training of quality horses in Ḫatti, see now Starke 1995, with previous literature on the subject. For the hippiatric texts from Ugarit, see Cohen and Swan 1983; Pardee 1985; Cohen 1996. See also Caubet 1990 and Yon 1995: 440ff. for archaeological evidence on horses and chariots in Ugarit.

162. E.g., the exquisite bow mentioned in RSO 7, no. 30: 31, 34. A special piece of linen fabric for a garment was sent by the author of RS 20.227 (*Ug* 5, no. 57) to the queen of Ugarit (left edge 3–4).

163. NU.LUḪ.ḪA (*nulḫurtu*) in RS 34.133.40 (= RSO 7, no. 36) is probably *asa foetida*, a bad-smelling resin used as an antispasmodic. It also appears among the presents sent from Qadesh to Ugarit (n. 205).

164. *pānu* in RSO 7, no. 30: 37 and *uban* in RS 34.133.41 (= RSO 7, no. 36) are unidentified.

165. Perhaps identical with Ur-Tešub, a business associate of Eḫli-Tešub and Aḫi-Milku (ŠEŠ-LUGAL) and Urtenu (Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 446; Malbran-Labat 1995a: 105; see p. 76).

166. For this influential Hittite official, see Hawkins 1993. In RS 17.337 (= *PRU* 4, 168–69), a lawsuit decided before Ini-Tešub, he claims from the king of Ugarit the households of three of his servants.

167. Occasionally the merchandise was bought in Ugarit itself, e.g., “Šunailu, son of Ḫayamuli, the *kartappu* of His Majesty, who has bought bronze objects in the land of Ugarit” (RS 17.244.5–8 = *PRU* 4, 231–32). The domicile of Lady Aruṣ-Ḫeba who asks the governor of Ugarit (who used to be a good friend of her deceased husband) to send bronze in exchange for a *mašīyanmu*-garment (*CAD* M/1: 398b; *CHD* 3/2: 205–6) is unknown (RS 25.131 = Lackenbacher 1989: 318).

his reign to a political detente accompanied by extensive trade contacts (see n. 291). The Assyrians were eager to buy from Carchernish large quantities of linen (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 117ff.), which may originally have come from Ugarit and from other western lands. There is also an interesting reference to a convoy from Carchemish trading east of the Euphrates in oil and in bronze utensils (*ibid.*, no. 6).

A special dossier from the archive of Urtenu covers the correspondence of a large business enterprise operating between Ugarit and Emar (Arnaud, RSO 7, nos. 30–36).¹⁶⁸ The firm was headed by Šipti-Ba'al, the son-in-law and commercial agent of Queen Šarelli (p. 97), who was also active in the trade with Egypt and the port towns of Phoenicia (p. 75). The everyday management of the caravan procedures, including the prolific correspondence revolving around it, was carried out by Urtenu and his business associates Dagan-bēlu and Tuna. The caravans themselves were accompanied by their sons and subordinates—Anani-Šarruma, Uri-Te, Uzziltu, Bišu, Ba'al and Purru. Business was not restricted to Emar; some of the caravans continued their voyage along the Euphrates to Carchemish and further north. For example, Tuna announces to his correspondent Uzziltu¹⁶⁹ that he is about to descend to “the land of the King” (RS 34.133.30–31 = RSO 7, no. 36). Thereafter he lists the products that are needed “in the Land of Ḫatti” (l. 32), which appears to be a mere synonym for the previous geo-political term.¹⁷⁰

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between “native” Ugaritians and Emariotes in this correspondence, although most of the persons mentioned were probably citizens of Ugarit, at least originally. An exception could be Zu-Aštarti of RS 34.153 (= RSO 7, no. 35), a very popular name in Emar (see, e.g., Beckman 1996c: 138) but not in Ugarit. In his letter to Urtenu, Zu-Aštarti recounts his mishaps on a trip that brought him to Sidon and Ušnatu (see further p. 71).

To conclude this survey of trade between Ugarit and Carchemish mention should be made of a particular topic which may be classified under both “commercial” and “military” contacts. I refer to the shared control by the two states over the fleet moored in the ports of Ugarit. Most commentators agree upon the fact that Ugarit did not possess a separate military fleet (Vita 1995a: 159ff., with refs. in n. 2). Rather, some of the commercial ships were used in times of war

168. Two more texts from earlier excavations must be added to the Emar dossier: RS 20.227 (= *Ug* 5, no. 57) addressed to Šipti-Ba'al, and the very fragmentary letter RS 12.005 (= *PRU* 3, 16–17). Another letter sent from the Euphrates region to Ugarit is RS 92.2007, discussed by Arnaud 1996: 58ff. (see p. 107). Unfortunately, the extant tablets from Meskene/Emar do not contain any letters sent from Ugarit.

169. Uzziltu may well be identical with Urtenu's son 'zlt who writes in RS 92.2005 to “my master and my mother” (Bordreuil 1995a: 2).

170. It would seem that the term “Ḫatti Land” already comprised within it the domains of Carchemish in the late-imperial period, anticipating the full shift of the term to northern Syria in the Iron Age (n. 150).

for the transportation of troops and for fighting the enemy. Because of the vital strategic importance of this fleet, both in times of peace and in war, the Hittites insisted upon keeping a careful eye upon the movements of Ugarit's ships.

In his response to the queen of Ugarit, the king (of Carchemish) sets a limit on the distance to which some ships are allowed to sail as far as Byblos and Sidon but no further away (RS 34.145.9–14 = RSO 7, no. 9). The letter from the Urtenu archive must be dated to the troubled times of Ugarit's last period.¹⁷¹ Another document from the Urtenu archive lists the ships of the king of Carchemish that are no longer in a condition to sail anywhere (RS 34.147 = RSO 7, no. 5). The fourteen ships are identified by their owners or captains, including a Sidonian and a man of Akko. The document is ratified with the seal of Kummawalwi son of Upini, probably the representative of the king of Carchemish.¹⁷²

Ships of other lands were also moored in the ports of Ugarit on a long-term basis. Amurru agrees to put some of her ships at the disposal of Ugarit in anticipation of an enemy attack (RS 20.162 = *Ug* 5, no. 37; see p. 118). Other ships are leased from Byblos (KTU 4.338 = RS 18.025; see p. 74). The evidence for the role of Ugarit's fleet in the transportation of grain from Egypt to Anatolia will be discussed separately (pp. 113ff.).

5.2.2 *Tarḫuntašša*

When the Hittite king Muwatalli II, the illustrious victor of the battle of Qadesh, transferred his capital from Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša, he laid the foundations of an appanage Hittite kingdom which stretched along the Mediterranean coast from Cilicia Aspera to Antalya and as far north as the Konya Plain. This kingdom, which competed with Ḫattuša over dynastic legitimacy, maintained close commercial ties with Ugarit until the very end of the Hittite Empire (see n. 177).

The evidence from Ugarit refers mainly to the port of Ura in western Cilicia,¹⁷³ which was the main terminal for the ships sailing from Ugarit to Anatolia. The rich Hittite merchants of Ura, who were the main entrepreneurs in the voluminous trade flowing from and into Hittite Anatolia, started to invest in real estate and posed a growing threat to the delicate social fabric of Ugarit

171. Zuzuli in l. 7 must be the *kartappu* of the king of Carchemish who presides in a lawsuit between Niqmadu III and a merchant from Ura (RS 18.020 + 17.371 = *PRU* 4, 202–3; see p. 93). Yamada (1992: 444) tentatively dates the letter to the reign of Ibiranu according to its epistolary style.

172. It seems that Ugarit also possessed at least one ship in Carchemish, but the evidence is not entirely clear (KTU 4.779 = RIH 83/22.8–13; Bordreuil et al. 1984, 433).

173. For an up-to-date survey on Ura and its localization at Silifke, see Lemaire 1993. The Hittite merchants are variously designated as “merchants of Ura” (RS 17.319 = *PRU* 4, 182–83), “merchants of His Majesty” (RS 17.316 = *PRU* 4, 190), and “merchant(s) of the king of Tarḫuntašša” (RS 17.158; 17.042 = *PRU* 4, 169–71).

(Rainey 1963; Heltzer 1978: 153ff.; Vargyas 1985). Responding to a complaint of Niqmepa, Ḫattušili “III” issued a decree forbidding the men of Ura to acquire real estate in Ugarit and ordering them to return to their homes in the winter season.¹⁷⁴ A quasi-duplicate found in the house of Urtenu adds to Ura another Anatolian town, Kutupa.¹⁷⁵ If an Ugaritian is unable to pay back his debt, the king of Ugarit must turn over that man together with his family to the merchant of Ura, but his property cannot be claimed. The fact that the text is preserved in (at least) four copies (in two versions) testifies to the importance of the decree, which probably had to be ratified periodically.

Legal disputes between citizens of Tarḫuntašša and Ugarit were judged fairly by the king of Carchemish and his representatives. Ini-Tešub imposed a compensation on the citizens of Ugarit who were found responsible for the murder of a merchant of the king of Tarḫudašši (RS 17.158, 17.042 = *PRU* 4, 169–72; see p. 59). On the other hand, the lawsuit between Niqmaddu III and Kumiya-ziti, probably a rich merchant from Ura, was decided by Zuzuli in favour of Ugarit (RS 18.020 + 17.371 = *PRU* 4, 202–3; see p. 93). Prince Anna-ziti was also condemned to a large compensation to Ugarit in a lawsuit witnessed by four citizens of Ura (RS 17.316 = *PRU* 4, 190; see p. 88). Perhaps we should add to this group of legal cases the letter of His Majesty to Ammištamru (signed with the seal of Puduḫepa), in which the damage caused by a certain Šukku to the ship and cargo of an unnamed citizen of Ugarit was acknowledged and reimbursed (RS 17.133 = *PRU* 4, 118–19; Beckman 1996c: 164).¹⁷⁶

To the last period of Ugarit belong the documents which refer to the shipment of large quantities of grain to Ura. In an Akkadian document the king of Ugarit is asked to supply a ship and its crew for the transportation of 500 (measures) of grain from Mukiš to Ura (*Ug* 5, no. 33; see p. 114). In a Hittite draft the sender expresses his anger over the fact that a grain-laden ship was held up and urges his correspondent to dispatch the ship immediately either to Ura or to *Lašti*[- (Klengel 1969: 324–25; see p. 115).

There is no information on other merchandise that was traded between Ugarit and Tarḫuntašša. The only exception is the fragmentary letter of an

174. *PRU* 4, 103–5. Three duplicates of this text were found in close proximity in the palace archives (room 68), and a fourth quasi-duplicate in the Urtenu archive (RSO 7, no. 1). The main text, RS 17.130, carries the seal impression of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa; the large duplicate RS 18.003 carries the seal of Ḫattušili alone; RS 17.461 is a small fragment. It is noteworthy that both impressions were applied on the edge of the tablet (*Ug* 3, 16, fig. 21), rather than in the center of the obverse as is customary in other Hittite political documents. The fragmentary tablet from the Urtenu archive (RS 34.179 = RSO 7, no. 1) does not carry a seal impression, but this could have been applied on the missing edge of the tablet.

175. RS 34.179 (= RSO 7, no. 1). Kutupa can hardly be identical with Katapa or with Kutpa (as suggested by Malbran-Labat 1991: 15, n. 4), both of which must be situated in northern Ḫatti. It should rather be another Anatolian port trading with the Levantine coast

176. Cf. also n. 27, on a Hittite text mentioning a citizen of Ura involved in the theft of the royal seal.

unnamed king of Tarḫu(n)tašša to Ammurapi in which he requests small ropes or belts.¹⁷⁷

Finally, it should be noted that there is nothing in the texts from Ugarit to reflect animosity between the competing kingdoms of Ḫatti and Tarḫuntašša. A smooth importation and distribution of the vital shipments of grain was obviously in the best interest of both kingdoms. At the same time, it is only fair to admit that the evidence from Ugarit is too meagre to play any serious role in the reconstruction of the relations between the two Hittite kingdoms in Anatolia at the end of the thirteenth century.¹⁷⁸

5.2.3 *Siyannu–Ušnatu*

The double kingdom of Siyannu-Ušnatu¹⁷⁹ was probably the state most closely related to Ugarit, and yet, as often happens, the two lands were in constant dispute with each other. At the time of the Hittite takeover of Syria, Siyannu was an appanage kingdom of Ugarit and it remained so throughout the reign of Šuppiluliuma I (p. 40). For the political reasons explained above (p. 50), Muršili II supported Siyannu's aspirations to secede and transferred the kingdom to the direct supervision of Carchemish. The territorial division between the two kingdoms proved to be a complicated matter which periodically had to be re-examined and ratified by the imperial administration.¹⁸⁰ The border between Ugarit and Siyannu twisted around in a rich agricultural region of the coastal plain, and quite often minor border incidents between farmers flared up into serious conflicts which could only be settled through the arbitration of the Hittite overlords. Special delegations were sent from Carchemish to delineate the border and set up border stones (RS 17.368 = *PRU* 4, 76–77; see p. 87). Special attention was also paid to a fair division of economically important resources. For example, the salt fields of Atalig were divided by Muršili II, who gave one and two-thirds of iku to Ugarit and one and a third iku to Siyannu (RS 17.335 + .57–63 = *PRU* 4, 74). An accord signed by Padiya king of Siyannu¹⁸¹ divided

177. RS 34.139.19 (= RSO 7, no. 14): *i-bi-ḫi* tur.meš. Could these objects be somehow connected to ship building or navigation? In this case they would have been essential for the shipping connection with Ugarit, and would not be as “carefree” as they seemed to Neu (1995b: 124).

178. For the later history of Tarḫuntašša and its relations with Ḫatti, see Singer 1996b (with further refs.).

179. The names Siyannu and Ušnatu are used intermittently, but they are never juxtaposed to each other (Astour 1979: 13). For similar ancient Near Eastern “personal unions,” see Buccellati 1967, ch. III.

180. One of the latest ratifications of this decree must be the one preserved in the recently recovered tablet RS 17.403 (= *Ug* 3. 137–39) sealed by the Chief Scribe Tagi-Šarruma (see n. 111).

181. The cylinder seal impressed on the tablet belongs to a certain Sassi who must have been the founder of the dynasty.

the sacred vineyard of *ḏIštar ḥurri*¹⁸² between the *marzi'u*¹⁸³ of Siyannu and the *marzi'u* of Ari, a coastal town that belonged to Ugarit (RS 18.001 = *PRU* 4, 230; Astour 1979: 22; 1995: 63–64).¹⁸⁴

Despite these careful precautions the borders were often violated by both sides. Besides verdicts and letters from the Hittite authorities, most of the relevant documents can be defined as formal complaints sent from Siyannu to Ugarit, or, more rarely, vice versa. Often, but not always, Ugarit appears as the superior side in the introductory formulae of these letters (van Soldt 1991a: 78, n. 210). The name of the sender from Siyannu is usually indicated, but that of the addressee, either the king or the governor of Ugarit, is not. This complicates the construction of a chronological order of the dossier, one of the largest in the foreign correspondence of Ugarit. The recurring subjects provide a typical cross-section of problems occurring along a hostile borderline within an ancient Near Eastern imperial system: violent razzias and annexation of territories, stealing or destruction of agricultural produce, and even abduction of people and selling them into slavery.

A verdict of Ini-Tešub¹⁸⁵ imposes upon the people of Siyannu a threefold compensation in case they are found guilty of the following grave offences:¹⁸⁶ the demolition of a (watch-)tower,¹⁸⁷ the pruning¹⁸⁸ of vineyards belonging to Ugarit, and the selling of the (stolen) wine to merchants from Beirut.¹⁸⁹ Also, the King made provisions for an exchange of citizens resident in each other's lands and made the two parties swear not to sell these foreigners to a third party. The king of Ugarit is not named in this verdict; the king of Siyannu is Šābilim.¹⁹⁰

182. For the various interpretations of *ḥurri* in this context, see Puech 1993 (with refs.).

183. Probably identical with *marziḥu/mrzh*, for which see, most recently, Pardee 1996a.

184. Ḥebat of Ari figures prominently in texts of Ugarit as a divine witness (e.g., *PRU* 4, 137ff., 239). Was she perhaps assimilated with *ḏIŠTAR ḥurri* to whom the vineyard of Ari was dedicated?

185. RS 17.341 (= *PRU* 4, 161ff.). RS 20.174A (= *Ug* 5, no. 25), with a warning to the king of Ugarit about the consequences of his violation of the borders of Ušnatu and the capture of one town, may also be ascribed to Ini-Tešub (Yamada 1992: 444–45). As suggested by Yamada, the town in question may well be Šuksi, an enclave of Siyannu within the territory of Ugarit.

186. Note the pejorative use of the designation *ḥabiru* for the criminals who have committed the crimes. For the same usage in the Amarna correspondence, see the refs. cited by Liverani 1990: 103, n. 28 and by Rainey 1995.

187. For *dimtu* (ÉAN.ZA.GÀR), “tower, castle”, see Nougayrol 1955: 217–18.

188. Lit. “cutting,” which could also mean the destruction of the vineyards (so Nougayrol 1968: 126, n. 2). However, since in the next paragraph the Siyannites are accused of selling the wine to Beirut, it is more logical to think that they were stealing from the vineyards rather than destroying them.

189. The so-called “wine war” (Nougayrol 1968: 126, n. 2) is probably also referred to in RS 21.183 (= *Ug* 5: no. 41), a letter sent by the king [of Siyannu] to the king of Ugarit. The last fragmentary passage mentions the men of Beirut who take *namzaku* (“beverages”) from Ugarit. See further Heltzer 1990.

190. The name *Ša-pi-ilim* (DINGIR) is usually read as *Šapilim* and is analyzed as an Akkadian formation meaning “according to the pronouncement of the God/El,” (e.g., Grøndahl 1967: 47). However, a West Semitic analysis of the name, i.e., *Šāb-ilim* (cf. *Ug. Tbil*), “God has returned (to) me,” as suggested by Gordon and endorsed

Probably the same king of U[šnatu]¹⁹¹ is the author of a complaint sent to the king of Ugarit.¹⁹² Šābilim protests against the trespassing of some Ugarian farmers into his territory, probably under the protection of *maryannu* troops. They had already started to sow grain in the occupied fields, but Šābilim threatens to harvest it himself unless the king of Ugarit removes his men. Besides the crops of the field and of the vineyards, cattle was perhaps also stolen by infiltrators.¹⁹³

The grimmest aspect of the “economic war” between Ugarit and Siyannu was the abduction of people, probably wealthy merchants, and their subsequent sale into slavery. Two documents prove that the provisions made by Ini-Tešub in this respect were not merely theoretical.¹⁹⁴ As already observed by Nougayrol (1968: 127, n. 3), it is not without interest to note that the human “merchandise” was purchased by Egyptians, as in Gen 37.

Apart from the reciprocal “repatriation” of citizens as decreed by Ini-Tešub, there was apparently no agreement for the extradition of outlaws. Rather, each state was expected to judge its own criminals according to the testimony of witnesses who were sent to appear at the trial. In his letter to Ugarit, a certain ŠUKUR-^dU¹⁹⁵ announces that he personally went to Siyannu to punish the person(s) who had transgressed against his correspondent’s authority (RS 20.219 = *Ug* 5: no. 44).¹⁹⁶ A similar message is conveyed by a certain Eppiqu to the governor of Ugarit, his lord (RS 17.393 = *PRU* 4, 226–27). In his letter to the king of Ugarit (“my father”), the king of Ušnatu volunteers to serve as the arbitrator in a financial dispute between subjects of the two lands (RS 17.083 = *PRU* 4, 216); alternatively, he suggests sending the opponents to appear before the king of Ugarit.

by Rainey (1971b: 164), is also supported by the new reading of the name GUR-DINGIR-*lim* as *Šāb-ilim* suggested below, n. 192.

191. The traces of the first sign in the name of the land could belong to an *uš*.

192. RS 17.394 + 427 (= *PRU* 4, 220). Nougayrol read the name GUR-DINGIR-*lim* as Itur-*lim*, deriving it from the Akkadian reading of GUR, “to return” (*iāru*). However, a “West-Semitic reading, *Šāb-ilim* (see n. 190), is preferable in this case since this name is found both in Siyannu-Ušnatu and in Amurru (Singer 1991a: 183 with n. 73).

193. Two “unclassified” documents dealing with stolen cattle share the characteristics of the dossier of the “economic war” between Ugarit and Siyannu. In RS 20.239 (= *Ug* 3, no. 52) Mada’e categorically demands that the governor of Ugarit look into the matter of the cattle stolen from him by the men of Rakba. The author of the fragmentary letter RS 15.018 (= *PRU* 3, 11–12) threatens to turn to the King (of Carchemish) if he is not given proper compensation for his stolen cattle.

194. RS 20.021 (= *Ug* 5: no. 42) and 34.158 (RSO 7, no. 16). Probably both documents refer to the same case of the sale of Ba’aliya by his business partner, probably a resident of Ugarit.

195. This seems to me a better reading of the name than *Ši-ni-d*U as read by Nougayrol. Cf. *Šu-kūr-d*IM in RS 20.003 (= *Ug* 5: no. 26).

196. The nature of their offence is not quite clear. I wonder whether the alleged “turning of the sceptre (?)” in l. 16 (KAR ^{GI}ŠPA-*ka*) could actually be read as a misconstrued *Kar-ka-mi*š?³

When it came to citizens of a third country, the authorities of Ugarit and of Siyannu made a point of referring the case to the appropriate court. Two documents may be combined to reconstruct the ventures of a citizen of Emar. In his letter to Urtenu, Zu-Aštarti recounts that from Sidon¹⁹⁷ he arrived to Ušnatu where he was detained (RS 34.153 = RSO 7, no. 35); he probably expected his correspondent to intervene on his behalf. Finally, he asks Urtenu to inquire whether the king had already handed over the horses to the messenger from Alašia. From a letter of ŠUM-^dIM,¹⁹⁸ king of Ušnatu, to the king of Ugarit we learn that the king of Carchemish himself had intervened to ensure a proper trial in the lawsuit between a man of Emar (the above-mentioned Zu-Aštarti?) and a man of Siyannu (RS 17.143 = PRU 4, 16). The king of Ušnatu, however, declares himself incompetent in the case, because, as it turns out, the adversary is not a resident of Siyannu but rather of Ari, a coastal town that belonged to Ugarit.

5.2.4 Amurru and Kinza/Qadesh

Among the Hittite dominated lands of Syria, only Amurru and Kinza/Qadesh maintained an independent correspondence with Ugarit on a state level, that is, between kings and governors.¹⁹⁹ These two kingdoms were the first to join the Hittite camp in the Amarna Age, and had consequently preserved, together with Ugarit, a semi-autonomous status. There is also an exchange of letters with Emar (see p. 65), and perhaps with other cities along the Euphrates,²⁰⁰ but this is between individual merchants and not the respective royal courts.

The close relations between Ugarit and Amurru find their expression mainly in the military accords (see pp. 39–40) and in the royal marriages (see p. 51) between the two courts. Much less is known about their economic ties, and the extant letters refer mostly to Amurrite requests for (semi-)precious stones. In two companion letters the king of Amurru and his governor express their wish to buy

197. Zu-Aštarti was moored somewhere in the sea (ll. 14–15: *ina A.AB.BA ašbaku*) when he was taken by a *ša-a-ru* to Sidon (ll. 15–16). Arnaud (RSO 7, 76; 1992: 182, n. 11) compared this *šāru* with Ugaritic *šr* and biblical *šar*, “prince,” suggesting that this might be an early reference to a Philistine ruler (cf. 1 Sam. 18:30). Cf. however Huehnergard (1997), who in his review of RSO 7 translates the respective sentence as following: “I was sitting (immobile) in the sea; when the wind (finally) took me, I reached Sidon.”

198. The name SUM-^dIM is traditionally rendered with Hurrian values, Ar(i)-Tešub. However, since the kings of Ugarit bear Semitic names (with the possible exception of Ar-ḫalba), more caution is advised in reading the ideographic spellings of the names of the kings of Siyannu (see also Goetze 1957: 25). SUM-^dIM could also have a Semitic reading, such as *B’l-ytn*, ^dIM-*mateni*, or the like (see Gröndahl 1967: 147), and until some compelling evidence for the correct reading turns up it is better to keep to the ideographic spelling of this name.

199. There is also a single letter from the king of Barga, a small kingdom in inner Syria (Klengel 1992: 152), but only a few lines are preserved (RS 15.019 = PRU 3, 13).

200. For a possible Mari provenance of RSO 7, nos. 40, 47, see pp. 64, 123.

parrišhi/parrušha at any price.²⁰¹ In a letter found in the Urtenu archive a certain GAL-gina attempts, on behalf of the king of Amurru, to urge the transport by ship of a building stone (*algamišu*) needed for the repair of his king's residence (RS 34.135 = RSO 7, 46ff.). Less specific are the requests of Ulmi, probably the queen of Amurru, from her "daughter," the queen of Ugarit (RS 16.111 = *PRU* 3, 13–14). The same applies to the letter of Abušgama (of Amurru) to the governor (of Ugarit) in which he proposes mutual assistance between their respective lands (RS 15.024 + 50 = *PRU* 3, 18). The dating of all these documents is difficult to establish (Liverani 1962: 146; Singer 1991a: 160ff.). In any case, the cooperation between the two Levantine kingdoms seems to have continued to their very end, and Amurru sent ships to assist the fleet of Ugarit (RS 20.162 = *Ug* 5: no. 37; p. 118).

Qadesh lost some of its strategic importance after the peaceful settlement of the long-standing struggle between Egypt and Ḫatti. Still, as an important stage on the inland route to the north, its participation in the defensive system of Syria was highly treasured by the Hittites. Two letters from the Urtenu archive relate the efforts of Carchemish to mobilize the armies of Qadesh and Ugarit for a large manoeuvre perhaps directed to fend off an Assyrian offensive (p. 89).

Some half dozen letters may be attributed to the correspondence between Ugarit and Kinza/Qadesh. The earliest is the letter of Niqmaddu, probably the king of Qadesh,²⁰² to his "brother"²⁰³ Niqmepa (of Ugarit), dealing with the extradition of a runaway. Three letters are addressed to Uzzinu, one of the last governors of Ugarit (see p. 100). Two of them are related to each other and deal with the settling of a complicated financial dispute.²⁰⁴ The third is almost entirely broken (RS 20.200B = *Ug* 5, no. 40). A letter sent by the king of Qadesh to the king of Ugarit, his "brother," should probably be dated to the same period;

201. RS 17.152 (= *PRU* 4, 214) and Fales 1984. For the possible identification of the stone, see refs. in Singer 1991a: 161, n. 36.

202. RS 17.315 (= *PRU* 4, 111). Since no land is mentioned in the letter, the identity of the correspondents is open to speculation. Because of the provenance of the tablet, it is usually assumed that Niqmepa was the king of Ugarit. Various identities have been suggested for Niqmaddu: the predecessor of Niqmepa on the throne of Ugarit (Gordon 1966: 6, n. 28); a blood brother of Niqmepa (Lipiński 1981: 81); the king of a neighboring land, either Mukiš (Nougayrol 1956: 111, n. 1; van Soldt 1991a: 216–17), or, more probably, Qadesh (Kitchen 1962: 37; Millard 1979–80: 202). An entirely different interpretation has recently been put forward by Arnaud (1996: 48, n. 6), who suggests that the tablet is a copy that was kept in Ugarit, in which case Niqmaddu would be the king of Ugarit (the successor of Ibiranu of RS 4.449) and Niqmepa would be the king of Alalah.

203. This "brotherhood" indicates that the correspondents were of equal political status. I do not understand Millard's statement (Millard 1979–80: 202) that the address reflects the relationship between an inferior and a superior king.

204. Both letters were sent to Ugarit's governor Uzzinu, one by the king of Kinza (RS 34.146 = RSO 7, no. 15) and the other by its governor Betilum (RS 20.158 = *Ug* 5, no. 51); strangely, they were found in different archives, Urtenu's and Rap'anu's, respectively (Lackenbacher 1995a: 73). Betilum, the governor (MAŠKIM) of Kinza, is also mentioned in RS 20.172.23 (see below).

in this he announces the dispatch of his governor Betilum with offerings to (the temples of?) Ugarit: 30 he-goats, 3 donkeys, and *asa foetida*.²⁰⁵

The most substantial information on commerce between the two kingdoms is found in the letter of Padiya, the governor of Qadesh, to the king of Ugarit (RS 20.016 = *Ug* 5, no. 38). In an exceedingly flattering manner, going as far as describing his correspondent as a “great king,”²⁰⁶ the governor politely but firmly exposes the reduced weights of the large metal consignment that he had received from Ugarit: the ostensible 20 talents of bronze are short by one talent and a thousand and [x-] hundred (shekels); the 8 talents of tin (*annaku*) are actually only 700 (shekels?); and a bronze basin (*agannu*) that should weigh one talent is 100 (shekels) short. According to his calculation, the king of Ugarit still owes him 10 talents of bronze for five donkeys. Ugarit’s role as an intermediary in the trading of tin and bronze goes back at least to the Mari period (p. 73ff.).²⁰⁷ Padiya also mentions the prices for sheep, head coverings, eagles(?), and *asa foetida*, which were probably sent to Ugarit.

5.2.5 The “Phoenician” Port Towns

The borrowing of this first millennium geo-political term serves merely as a convenient framework for the characterization of Ugarit’s ties with the Levantine coast south of Amurru (Arnaud 1992; Xella 1995). Ugarit’s commercial ties were naturally stronger with the Lebanese coast, that is, the kingdoms of Byblos, Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre, and weakened considerably further south along the coast of Palestine. Still, there is ample evidence that seamen and merchants from Akko, Ashdod, and Ashkelon maintained commercial ties with Ugarit (for refs. see Arnaud 1992: 192). This geographical orbit is also reflected in a late letter of the King (of Carchemish) to the queen of Ugarit in which he authorizes her to send her ships only as far as Byblos and Sidon but not to more distant destinations (RS 34.145.9–14 = RSO 7, no. 9). There are very few chronological indications in the correspondence with the “Phoenician” port towns, but most of the material must probably be dated to the last period of Ugarit (Arnaud 1992: 179–80). The majority of the epistles contain little more than the customary

205. RS 20.172 (= *Ug* 5, no. 39). Perhaps N]U.LUḪ.Ḫ[U (l. 22), a variety of *asa foetida*, see n. 163 (Nougayrol 1968: 121, n. 4, with refs.). The same plant is mentioned in another letter from Qadesh (RS 20.016.34), and in a letter belonging to the correspondence between Emar and Ugarit (RS 34.133.40; see n. 163).

206. I agree with Nougayrol that in this context “Great King” refers (in an exaggerated manner) to the king of Ugarit, and not to the Hittite king, as suggested by Liverani 1962: 150.

207. For the Ugaritic terminology for “copper/bronze” (*tlṭ*) and “tin” (*brr*) and their prices in Ugarit, see Zaccagnini 1970: 317ff. A new text from the Urtenu archive, which specifies the quantity of *brr* needed for the manufacture of forty frames (*krkb*; Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 447, 451), may perhaps throw some doubts on the identification of *brr* as “tin.”

greeting formulae between “brothers.” Only occasionally is a business transaction or some other concrete event more specifically discussed.

Byblos (Gubla) received from Ugarit twenty-five textile and clothing items, including “seven removable ship-covers(?)” (Arnaud 1992: 159), through the intermediation of a certain Abihilu.²⁰⁸ A case of the “leasing” of Byblian ships by Ugarit is apparently recorded in an economic text which has received extensive attention.²⁰⁹ From the fact that it was found in the so-called “baking oven” in Court V, some have concluded that it reflects the acute political situation characterizing the last years of Ugarit (e.g., Hoftijzer 1979: 383). However, this find-place can no longer be used as a dating tool (see n. 705), and the “leasing” may actually reflect normal mercantile procedures (Dietrich and Loretz 1990d, 96).

Beirut²¹⁰ sent four letters to Ugarit: one from king to king (RS 86.2212; Arnaud 1992: 192); two from the king of Beirut to the governor of Ugarit (RS 11.730 = *PRU* 3, 12–13; RS 34.137 = RSO 7, no. 37); and one from Ewri-kili to the king of Ugarit (Arnaud 1992: 192). In RS 34.137 the king of Beirut wishes all the best to his brother (the king of Ugarit) who is on a voyage outside Ugarit. Could this trip refer to Niqmaddu III’s visit to Ḫatti implied from other documents (see p. 100)? Beirut was also involved in the “economic war” between Ugarit and Siyannu revolving around the trade in wine (RS 17.341.14’, 17’ = *PRU* 4, 161; see p. 69). In addition to these Akkadian documents there is also an Ugaritic legal text recording the redemption of seven men from Ugarit from the hands of the men of Beirut for one hundred silver shekels (KTU 3.4 = RS 16.191 + 16.272 = *PRU* 2, no. 6; Kienast 1979: 449–50); it is ratified with the seal of Niqmaddu (III?; see p. 94). The benefactor is a certain *Iwr-kl*, possibly identical with Ewri-kili (CK 7; Arnaud 1992: 192).

Sidon seems to be the foremost amongst the “Phoenician” kingdoms (Arnaud 1992: 184–85).²¹¹ The letters from Ugarit and some seals provide the names of some of its rulers, but as yet these do not fit into a clear chronologi-

208. RS 19.028 = *PRU* 6, no. 126. The same agent, Abihilu/*Abḡl*, may be attested in other economic texts, in connection with oil and with animal hides (see refs. in Loretz 1994: 118). The assumption that he originated from Ashdod rests on a dubious restoration.

209. KTU 4.338 = RS 18.025 = *PRU* 5, no. 106; see Loretz 1994: 118ff., with further refs. The Ugaritic translation of a letter sent by the king of Byblos, found near KTU 4.338 = RS 18.025, is too fragmentary to provide any information (KTU 2.44 = RS 18.134 = *PRU* 5, no. 159; Loretz 1994: 124).

210. Arnaud (1984; 1992: 182, n. 9) attempted to distinguish between two Beiruts; the other he identified with Ras Ibn Hani.

211. The importance of Sidon in the thirteenth century is also demonstrated by a tablet from Tell Chuera (dated to the second half of Tukulti-Ninurta’s reign) according to which a Sidonian diplomat (Milku-ramu) forwarded some letters from Egypt to Assyria (Orthmann 1995: 216).

cal framework.²¹² A dossier of documents is consecrated to the “great sin,” a highly interesting source for the religious practices of the period.²¹³ It seems that some citizens of Ugarit have committed a great offence against the Storm-god of Sidon, probably by entering the holy of holies of his temple without authorization. The enraged citizens of the city demand that the offenders (designated as “dogs”) be stoned and impaled (Arnaud 1992: 190–91; Bordreuil 1995a: 3), whereas the king of Sidon would be content with expiatory offerings (including fine oil brought from Egypt) to all the gods of the kingdom and a large monetary compensation.

The epistles from Tyre (*Šurri*) are perhaps the most variegated in the “Phoenician” dossier, but their interpretation is often very difficult (Arnaud 1992: 194; Xella 1995: 260).²¹⁴ A tablet from the Museum of Lattaquieh contains a letter sent by the king of Tyre to the king of Ugarit dealing with an “unpaid bill” (Arnaud 1982b). Two Ugaritians, Ea-rabi and the “harbormaster” (*rab kāri*) Šipti-Ba‘al, have taken “large doors”²¹⁵ from the house of Dadami but failed to pay their price. This is the second appeal of the king of Tyre on this matter; after his first appeal the king of Ugarit responded that the respective persons were presently not in Ugarit. Šipti-Ba‘al must be the well-known son-in-law of Queen Šarelli and her business agent in a wide range of trading activities extending from Emar to Egypt (Arnaud 1982b: 105–7).

Šipti-Ba‘al (*Ṭpt-b‘l*) himself is the author of an Ugaritic letter addressed to his lord (KTU 2.40 = RS 18.040 = *PRU* 5, 63). After the courtesy formula the author announces that: *‘bdk b lwsnd w b šr ‘m mlk*, “your servant (is) in *lwsnd* and in *šr* with the king” (ll. 9–12). In his *editio princeps* Virolleaud identified the second location as referring to the city of Tyre. Astour (1965: 257) emended this reading into [*y*]bšr, “he fortified,” and identified the first locative with the eastern Cilician town of Lawazantiya, identified with Lusanda in a Neo-Assyrian document. From this identification he developed a farfetched historical scenario (cf. Liverani 1979a: 134) according to which Šipti-Ba‘al was “the Ugaritic commander on the northern front” who fortified himself together with the Hittite king in Lusanda “after all of Anatolia had already been lost almost up to the Amanus.”

212. Arnaud 1992: 193; Xella 1995: 259–60; Malbran-Labat 1995a: 104. Imtu (RS 11.723), Yapa-ḏIM (RS 25.430A), and ḏIM-Išme (RS 34.149) appear in letters; Addumu and his son Anni-WA appear on seals.

213. RS 18.054; 86.2208; 86.2221 + 86.2234; Arnaud 1992: 189ff. Arnaud (189, n. 48) tentatively proposes to include in this dossier also RS 20.182A (+) B, a letter to Ramesses II dealing with a lawsuit between “the sons of Canaan” and “the sons of Ugarit” (see p. 78).

214. The “revised edition” (1997) of H. J. Katzenstein’s *History of Tyre* (1973) has not been updated with the new material from Ugarit published since the early seventies. (The “as yet unpublished” document mentioned on p. 58 is RS 19.042 = *PRU* 6, no. 79, published in 1970!).

215. The first sign in IG.GAL^{MEŠ} is somewhat obliterated in the copy. If this reading is valid, I wonder whether it could refer here not to ordinary doors, but rather to writing boards (which are also designated *daltu*) like the one found in the shipwreck from Uluburun.

Taking into consideration the abundant new data on Šipti-Ba'al, and especially the above-mentioned Lattaquieh letter, it may be safer to return to Virolleaud's original rendering and conclude that the letter was probably sent by Šipti-Ba'al from the court of the king of Tyre.

An unusually large tablet (RS 34.167 = RSO 7, no. 25), probably dispatched from Tyre, contains the letter of Ur-Tešub to his "brother" Aḫi-Milku/Malki (ŠEŠ-LUGAL)²¹⁶ recounting the lethal disease (perhaps a plague) of his son who was sent away from Tyre to a relative residing in the Cape of Tyre (URUSAG.DU *Šurri*). In the second part of his long letter the sender requests his correspondent to send to him 50 jars (DUG^{MEŠ} GAL) of [oil?], 30 silver (shekels) and one talent of copper. In return he proposes to send several items, including purple-dyed wool and a talent of (dried) fish, both typical products of Tyre. Ur-Tešub was the head of a large Ugaritian firm trading especially in the export of oil to Ḫatti and to Egypt (Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 446, 449). Four letters addressed to him were found in the Urtenu archive in 1994, two from Aḫi-Milku/Malki and two from Eḫli-Tešub, a scribe who was active under Niqmaddu III (Malbran-Labat 1995a: 105; see p. 93).

One should probably add to the correspondence of Tyre a letter whose author was thought to be a king of Amqi.²¹⁷ dIM.DI.KUD²¹⁸ complains before the governor of Ugarit, dU.ZA.DUGUD,²¹⁹ about the outrageous custom tolls that his agents were required to pay to the "harbormaster"²²⁰ Abdu son of Ayyaḫi: 100 [silver shekels] for 14 jars of oil.²²¹

Finally, we have the much-discussed Ugaritic translation of the letter sent by the king of Tyre to the king of Ugarit concerning the salvation of his fleet

216. For the readings of these names, see Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 446 and Malbran-Labat 1995a: 105.

217. RS 17.424c + 397. (= PRU 4, 219). Instead of Nougayrol's ^{URU}Am(?)*-qi* one should probably read with Arnaud (1996: 63, n. 94) ^{URU}Šur (either in *status absolutus*, or with the omission of the final *-ri*). Amqi/a in the Lebanon Valley was not a unified geopolitical unit ruled by a single king (Aharoni 1953; Singer 1988a: 3).

218. Nougayrol reads the name Addu-dayyanu. This king of Tyre is also attested in a new document from the Urtenu archive (Malbran-Labat 1995a: 104; Arnaud 1996: 63, n. 94). An Amarna Age king of Tyre probably bears the same name (EA 295.3: J-DI.KUD; Moran 1992: 337), which may be a dynastic name.

219. Nougayrol (1956: 219) reads the name as U-zakaptu.

220. UGULA *kāri*, to be read either as *akīl kāri*, or, more probably, *rab kāri* (Arnaud 1996: 61). The Ugaritic equivalent could be either *rb m'ihd* (for which see Virolleaud 1965: 14–15; Astour 1970; Liverani 1979b: 499), or *rb tmtt* (Arnaud 1996: 63, n. 95). The "harbormaster" was responsible for collecting the custom taxes in port towns, whereas the "tax collector" (*mākišu*) did the same along the land borders of Hittite Syria (Arnaud 1996: 61). The collection of various taxes and tolls (*manāḫtu*, *mīksu*) figures prominently in the new texts from the Urtenu archive (Malbran-Labat 1995a: 106).

221. For a new translation and interpretation of this text, see Arnaud 1996: 63. He tentatively suggests (n. 96) that the "oil" coming from Tyre could actually be scented oil, i.e., some perfume (perhaps of Egyptian origin), which would explain the high custom taxes paid for it.

returning from Egypt.²²² Various interpretations have been accorded to this letter (for refs. see Cunchillos 1989a: 349–50). Those who (following Gordon) have connected the vocables *mtt* and *rb tmtt* with the verb “to die” have envisaged a more “tragic” course of events. It seems preferable, however, to follow a more “mundane” interpretation (e.g., Cunchillos 1989a: 349ff.), according to which the fleet was caught up in torrential rain but found refuge in Tyre and in Akko. The *rb tmtt*²²³ had emptied the grain²²⁴ from the ships and the king of Tyre made sure to send the cargo and the crew safely to Ugarit. This interpretation would fit perfectly within the context of the grain exports from Egypt to Ḫatti at the end of the thirteenth century (see pp. 113ff.).

5.2.6 Egypt and Canaan

The “Egyptian alternative” never really vanished from Ugarit’s perspective. With a strong mercantile and maritime orientation, Ugarit’s natural major partner was Egypt, rather than the continental Hittites. The vigorous Syrian policy of the kings of the early Hittite Empire forced Ugarit to curtail for a while her traditional ties with Egypt, especially on the eve of the battle of Qadesh. However, with the advent of the Silver Treaty signed between Ḫattušili “III” and Ramesses II in 1258, Ugarit was among the first to exploit the huge commercial benefits of the *Pax Hethitica*.

The resumption of full-scale contacts with Egypt and her Canaanite provinces is documented both in the written and in the archaeological record of Ugarit. About half a dozen stone and alabaster vases carry the cartouches of Ramesses II, matching more-or-less the quantity of such finds from the Amarna Age.²²⁵

Egyptian merchants were active in the economic life of Ugarit, trading not only in commodities²²⁶ and real estate,²²⁷ but also in slaves. Ḫeḫea, the Egyptian, released an undefined number of persons for 400 shekels (RS 15.011 = *PRU*

222. KTU 2.38 = RS 18.031 = *PRU* 5, no. 59. Arnaud 1992: 194 mentions a further letter sent from a king of Tyre to the king of Ugarit (RS Varia 25).

223. For the various interpretations of the office of the *rb tmtt*, see Cunchillos 1989a: 354–55, n. 17 (“head of team”), and add Arnaud (1996: 63, n. 95), who proposes that it is the Ugaritic equivalent of *rab kāri*, “harbor-master” (see n. 220).

224. For the different meanings of *dr’/dr’*, see Cunchillos 1989a: 355 n. 19 (with refs.).

225. RS 11.261; 11.848; 11.869; 1–11.[115]; 15.201; 34.030 (see Caubet 1991a: 214, and refs. cited in RSO 5.1). Large quantities of alabaster vessels were found in the so-called “House of the alabaster vessels” east of the royal palace (Yon 1997b: 76). On Ugarit’s preference for Egyptian artistic styles, see Yon 1994b: 427–28 (with further refs.).

226. In KTU 4.352 = RS 18.042.4 = *PRU* 5, no. 95 Egyptians receive a large quantity of oil. In RS 16.341 = *PRU* 2: no. 113 Egyptians receive rations of wine from the royal palace.

227. According to RS 16.136 = *PRU* 3, 142 the Egyptian Pa’aḫi received a large domain from king Ammištamru II.

3, 19). In a letter exchange between the kings of Ugarit and Ušnātu it is reported that the Egyptians have released a person who was sold to them by his companion, though they kept his belongings (RS 20.021 = *Ug* 5, I 26ff.; see n. 194).

Canaanites were well distinguished from Egyptians in the documentation from Ugarit (Astour 1981a: 25). A fragmentary letter deals with the settling of a large monetary dispute (one talent and 500 shekels of silver) between the “sons of the Land of Ugarit” and the “sons of the Land of Canaan” (RS 20.182 + 20.181 = *Ug* 5, no. 36; augmented and collated by Lackenbacher 1994). In the fragmentary opening lines the king of Ugarit addresses Pharaoh (Ramesses II) with the flattering epithets, “powerful king” (*šarri qarradi*) and “lord of all the lands.” Burḥanuwa (l. 10) is no doubt the well-known Egyptian messenger Pariḥnawa who travelled between the courts of Egypt and Ḫatti at the time of the Silver Treaty in 1258 and the royal marriage between Ramesses II and a Hittite princess in 1245 (Yoyotte *apud* Nougayrol 1968: 112, n. 3; Edel 1976: 79).

The regulation of the caravan routes linking Egypt and Ḫatti and their passage through the territory of Ugarit is the subject of several documents. A decree of Tuthaliya empowers Ammištamru II to prevent the transfer of horses from Ḫatti to Egypt and vice versa from passing through his territory (RSL 2 = *PRU* 6, no. 179).²²⁸ The full significance of this prohibition is not known, but it may have to do with the lucrative trade in quality horses frequently alluded to in the letters from Ugarit (cf. Nougayrol 1970: 129, n. 3; Singer 1983b: 27, n. 3).

The itinerary of the trading routes between Ḫatti and Egypt is also discussed in the Ugaritic translation of Puduḥepa’s letter to Niqmaddu III (KTU 2.36 = RS 17.435+; see p. 94). The meaning of the fragmentary passage is not entirely clear, but it seems that the king of Ugarit complained that caravans were bypassing his kingdom, probably using an alternative inland artery along the Orontes Valley.²²⁹ The reason for Ugarit’s concern is obvious: the merchants passing through the territory of Ugarit not only traded imported merchandise for local produce, but also paid high custom tolls which enriched the treasuries of the city.²³⁰

In the private correspondence of the great merchants operating the caravan routes along the Levant there is often mention of trips to Egypt. Urḫae, whose regular business was with Ḫatti, eagerly proposes to join his colleague Yabninu

228. Cf. also the small fragment *Ug* 5, no. 47, which seems to deal with commerce with *M[u-uš-ri-i]* (probably Egypt, despite the unusual spelling).

229. The fragmentary passage mentions *Nġu/Nuḥḥašši* (l. 17), *Qdš/Kinza* (l. 27’), and possibly *N[iya]* in the “Valley” (l. 18: *mq*; or perhaps the land of *Amqi?*).

230. See, e.g., p. 76 on the custom tolls paid to the harbormaster of Ugarit by some merchants from Tyre (*PRU* 4, 219). Contrary to the above interpretation of the passage from Puduḥepa’s letter, Dijkstra (1989: 145) assumes that the king of Ugarit sought to divert the caravans away from his kingdom because of some damage caused by them.

on his next trip to Egypt (RS 19.050 = *PRU* 6, no. 14). According to another letter he sends him a horse, perhaps as an incentive for further cooperation (RS 22.006 = *PRU* 6, no. 16). Another entrepreneur who was active along the “Phoenician” coast and in Egypt was Šipti-Baʿal, the well-known agent of the queen of Ugarit (p. 97). In RS 34.173 (RSO 7, no. 33) Dagan-bēlu informs Urtenu that his master (no doubt Šipti-Baʿal) will write to him soon about his Egyptian affairs.

Luxury goods were traded with Egypt throughout the period under consideration, but the last decades of the Hittite Empire added a new dimension to these close commercial ties. The importation of grain from Egypt to Ḫatti and Ugarit’s vital role in this trade will be described in the entries dealing with the last period of the city (pp. 113ff.).

5.2.7 Cyprus and the Aegean

The first commercial contacts between Ugarit and the eastern Mediterranean islands go back to the early part of the second millennium B.C.E. (see n. 42). After a considerable decrease in these ties around the mid-second millennium (LH I and LH II), there is again an upsurge of demand for western products in the fourteenth–thirteenth centuries.²³¹ However, the early theory of the existence of a Mycenaean colony in Ugarit has categorically been refuted (Astour 1973b: 25, with refs.; Courtois 1987: 216–17). In the vast written documentation from Ugarit there is not a single record of an Aegean merchant trading in the city, and none of the hundreds of names can be shown to be of a clear Aegean type (Astour 1981b: 29). Juxtaposed with the evidence for the presence of countless other foreigners in Ugarit—Egyptians, Canaanites, “Mesopotamians,” Alašiotēs, not to mention Hittites—this absence can hardly be accidental and must indicate that most²³² of Ugarit’s lucrative trade with the Aegean was in the hands of Syrian merchants and Cypriot intermediaries. A rare textual attestation of direct sailing from Ugarit to Crete is found in a legal document in which Ammištamru II exempted the merchant Sinaranu from taxes, including those on his ship returning from a voyage to Kapturi.²³³

231. Astour 1973a: 24ff.; Courtois 1979: 1204ff.; 1987; Caubet-Matoian 1995: 104ff.

232. That some ships from the Aegean must have reached the Levantine coast is shown by the clause in Tuḫaliya’s treaty with Šaušgamuwa of Amurru, which imposed a blockade on the trade between Assyria and ships of [Aḫ]ḫiyawa (Kühne and Otten 1971: 16–17). For the refutation of Steiner’s (1989) alternative restoration of the fragmentary name as “[ba] tle ships,” see Singer 1991a: 171, n. 56; Lehmann 1991: 111, n. 11.

233. RS 16.238 (= *PRU* 3, 107–8). As recognized by Nougayrol, the ideographic pun KUR DUGUD-ri (l. 10) must be read as *Kaptu-ri* (see also Astour 1973a: 25–26). It is not entirely clear whether the Ugaritic occurrences of *krty* refer to Crete or rather to a PN (Watson 1994c: 498). For a renewed attempt to identify *Yman* in KTU 1.4 = RS 2.1008+ i 43 with Ionia, see Dietrich and Loretz 1998 (with refs. to previous bibliography). Cf. however, Astour 1995: 60ff., who locates *Yman* in the eastern part of the kingdom of Ugarit.

Contrary to the circuitous contacts with Crete and the Aegean, relations with Cyprus, just over 100 km from the ports of Ugarit, were intense and manifold, especially in the last phases of the LBA. About half a dozen objects inscribed with Cypro-Minoan characters were found at Ugarit.²³⁴ Except for her pivotal role in the maritime trade between east and west, Alašia also served as a place for the banishment of high-ranking political deportees from Ḫatti and from Ugarit.²³⁵

The main export item of Cyprus was of course copper, both as raw material or in the form of manufactured objects.²³⁶ Evidently Ugarit also had a bronze industry of its own, as shown, for example, by the stone mold for casting ox-hide-shaped ingots found in the Northern Palace of Ras Ibn Hani (Bounni et al. 1987: 11, fig. 8; Lagarce 1987: 284). An Ugaritic text mentions a ship from Ala[šia] moored in the town of Atalig with a cargo of 15 talents of co [pper?] and other metal implements (KTU 4.390 = RS 18.119 = *PRU* 5, no. 56). Cyprus also exported to the east large quantities of ceramics, both of local manufacture and brought from the Aegean.²³⁷

Ugarit exported to Cyprus not only her own goods, but many other items brought to her markets from all over the Near East. Horses bred in the east were given by the king of Ugarit to a messenger of Alašia (RS 34.153 = RSO 7, no. 35; see also Malbran-Labat 1995a: 105). A large quantity of oil (660 measures) was allotted to an Alašiot according to an Ugaritic inventory list (KTU 4.352 = RS 18.042 = *PRU* 5, no. 95).²³⁸ The shipment of oil is discussed in a letter of Niqmaddu (III) to his “father,” the king of Alašia (RS 20.168 = *Ug* 5, no. 21; see p. 117). There is no evidence as yet for the participation of Alašia in the vital trade in grains.²³⁹ In a new letter from the Urtenu archive an Ugaritian scribe residing in Alašia asks his king to send him a table and five chairs (Malbran-Labat and Bordreuil 1995: 445). The maritime trade with Cyprus was mostly held in the hands of a few wealthy merchants who possessed the necessary capi-

234. RSO 5/1: 418, to which add a new bulla from the house of Urtenu (Yon 1995: 441, fig. 7).

235. For the deportation of the princes Hišmi-Šarruma and Īr-Šarruma, sons of Aḫat-Milku, see p. 51 (RS 17.352). The brothers Amar-Īm and Yadu-Īm who fled from Alašia were passed on from Ḫattušili “III” to the king of Carchemish, who in his turn gave them to his son Tili-Šarruma (RS 18.114 = *PRU* 4, 82).

236. Malbran-Labat 1995a: 105. A Cypriot bronze tripod was found in the so-called Temple of rhytons, (RS 80.5102; Yon 1994b: 430–31).

237. For the Cypriot and Helladic pottery and figurines from Ugarit, see Courtois 1978: 282–363; Caubet and Matoian 1995 (with further refs.).

238. Persons from Alašia appear in many Ugaritic lists, such as rations distributed from the palace of Ugarit (Knapp 1983: 43; Walls 1996). The fragmentary Akkadian colophon of an Ugaritic census of thirty households (including women and children) reads Alašia (KTU 4.102 = RS 11.857). This solicited various interpretations (Liverani 1962: 92ff., with previous refs.; Macdonald 1978), the most plausible of which is that the list refers to citizens of Ugarit who lived in Alašia (Liverani 1962: 94).

239. The letter of *Pgn* (KTU 2.46 = RS IB.147), which was thought to originate from Alašia, has plausibly been associated with the Hittite official Pukana on a seal from Tarsus (see p. 115).

tal for large-scale and risky investments. One of these must have been Yabninu, probably the last resident of the large Southern Palace which also yielded, in addition to sixty Akkadian and five Ugaritic texts, two Cypro-Minoan documents (Courtois 1990; Yon 1998a: 61ff.).

In concluding this brief overview of trade contacts with Alašia, mention should be made of a much-discussed Ugaritic letter dealing with the purchase of ships (KTU 2.42 + 2.43 = RS 18.113A (+) B = PRU 5, no. 8; Pardee 1987: 204ff.). It contains the intriguing expression *nmry mlk ʿlm*, “Nmry, king of the world/ eternity” (l. 9), which has caused much confusion with regard to the destination of the letter and its dating. Virolleaud took *nmry* as an alphabetic spelling of Nimmuria (*Nb-m3ʿt-rʿ*), the prenomen of Amenophis III, an identification which has been accepted by most commentators.²⁴⁰ If so, this would be the only letter in the palace archives which predates the conflagration mentioned in EA 151 (see p. 41), and, as observed by Liverani (1962: 28, n. 6), this fact in itself raises serious doubts about its early dating. He also called attention to the fact that the tablet was found in close proximity to a group of Ugaritic texts dealing with maritime trade, which can hardly be dated as early as the Amarna Age (Liverani 1979b: 499).

“Nmry, king of the world/eternity” follows after a list of deities invoked by the sender: Baʿal-ʿŠaphon¹ (Liverani 1979a: 1303; Pardee 1987: 206–7), “the Eternal Sun” (*špš ʿlm*), Astarte, Anat, and all the gods of Alašia. It is usually assumed that he is the addressee of the letter and the beneficiary of the blessings (Lipiński 1977; Pardee 1987: 207), but Knapp (1983: 40, 42) has raised the possibility that the Egyptian king is invoked here as a deity. I would go a step further and reject the whole Egyptian connection, adopting a brief remark of Rainey (1974: 188) who derived *nmry* from Ugaritic **mrr*, “to bless, strengthen.” Thus, the last deity in the invocation may perhaps be rendered as “the blessed/strong one, king of the world/ eternity,” which could be an appellative for the supreme god of Alašia.²⁴¹

With the alleged Egyptian connection removed, the letter easily finds its *Sitz im Leben* in the rich thirteenth-century documentation on maritime trade in the eastern Mediterranean (Knapp 1983: 42–43). The anonymous sender of the letter is probably a “harbormaster”²⁴² who serves as an arbiter between merchants

240. E.g., Lipiński 1977; Pardee 1987: 207; Klengel 1992: 149, n. 356. Cf. however, the doubts raised by Liverani 1962: 28, n. 6 (but cf. 1979a: 1303), Rainey 1974: 188, and van Soldt 1991a: 88.

241. Although I cannot suggest an identification of this deity, it is well to remember that we know very little on the theonyms of second-millennium Cyprus. For the epithet “king of eternity,” which seems to imply a chthonian character of the deity, see Pardee 1988: 89–91 (KTU 1.108 = RS 24.252.1; with ample refs. to Egyptian, Phoenician, and biblical parallels).

242. The fragmentary title *rb m ʿi[...]* has variously been restored as *rb m ʿi[hd]*, “harbormaster” (Virolleaud 1965: 14–15; Astour 1970; Liverani 1979b: 499), *rb m ʿi[šmn]*, “chief of the seal” (Lipiński 1977: 214), or *rb m ʿi[t]*,

from Alašia and Ugarit, seeking to obtain the approval of the king of Ugarit for the transaction. It is only natural that in blessing his lord he should invoke the gods of both countries.

5.3 AMMIŠTAMRU II (CA. 1260–1235)

Niqmepa was succeeded on the throne by his son Ammištamru II, who has direct synchronisms with Puduḥepa (RS 17.133), Tuḥaliya “IV” (RS 17.035; 17.159), Ini-Tešub (RS 17.352), and Šaušgamuwa (RS 16.270).²⁴³ His mother Aḥat-Milku survived her husband and continued to be active as Queen Mother till a respectable old age (see pp. 51–52). A legal text dated to Ammištamru (RS 16.197 = *PRU* 3, 150–51) is sealed with her cylinder seal,²⁴⁴ which indicates that she acted as regent for her son during his youth (Liverani 1962: 99–100; 1979a: 1308). Actually, Ugarit shared the custom of Ḫatti where the reigning queen (*tawannanna*) retained her position until her death and participated in various state functions.²⁴⁵ This often caused tension between the dowager queen and the wife of the ruling king, and it stands to reason that Ugarit did not avoid the bitter fruits of this competition.²⁴⁶

Ammištamru had two (older?) brothers who were exiled from Ugarit to Alašia under mysterious circumstances (*PRU* 4, 121–24). The verdicts of Ini-Tešub (RS 17.352) and of Tuḥaliya (RS 17.035 with dupls.) only state that the sons of Aḥat-Milku, (Ḫ)ismi-Šarruma²⁴⁷ and ÌR-Šarruma, have committed an offence against Ammištamru (and against their mother).²⁴⁸ In consequence, their

“chief of the hundred” (Dietrich and Loretz 1976: 21–22; Knapp 1983: 39; van Soldt 1991a: 88). The first restoration seems best to fit the contents of the letter, which deals with the sale of ships.

243. It is needless to postulate an ephemeral “Niqmaddu IIa” between the reigns of Niqmepa and Ammištamru II on the basis of KTU 2.36+ = RS 17.434.36–37; the letter was most probably sent by Ḫattušili’s widow Puduḥepa to Niqmaddu III (see p. 94).

244. Her seal impression is almost entirely effaced (*Ug* 3, 83). Ammištamru’s own Ugaritic seal (*Ug* 3, 81, 83; figs. 103–5) is impressed above the (original) dynastic seal of Ugarit on his agreement with Šaušgamuwa concerning the *bittu rabīti* affair (RS 16.270 = *PRU* 3, 41).

245. This can be demonstrated for several queens of Ugarit (van Soldt 1985–86: 72). The queen mother probably had the same status in Amurru (Singer 1991b: 335, n. 22), and perhaps also in ancient Israel (Kühne 1973: 180–81).

246. Though we are not directly informed, as in Ḫatti, about rivalries between queen mothers and their daughters-in-law, one can still speculate about the real causes for some of the more unfortunate episodes in Ugarit’s history, such as the persecution of the ill-fated *bittu rabīti* (pp. 83ff.), or the Ehli-Nikkalu affair (pp. 100ff.).

247. Ini-Tešub’s text spells *Ḫi-iš-mi-*, whereas Tuḥaliya’s has *Ìš-mi-* (x 2); is this merely a scribal error or perhaps a phonetic difference in the pronunciation of the initial sound?

248. Note that according to Tuḥaliya’s verdict (ll. 7–8) the offenders have sinned both against Aḥat-Milku and Ammištamru, whereas in Ini-Tešub’s verdict (l. 6) only against Ammištamru. Perhaps Tuḥaliya wanted to add more weight to the undefined offence in order to better justify the deportation of the brothers. Note also the difference between the two verdicts in the list of property given to the brothers sent to exile (see following note).

mother gave them their share of inheritance²⁴⁹ and deported them to Alašia. They were made to swear before Istar of the Field that in future they would never challenge this arrangement. Behind these laconic sentences may hide a grievous drama. The nature of the brothers' offence is nowhere stated, but it probably had to do with the struggle for the throne of Ugarit. The aged mother had to give her consent to the banishment of two of her sons in order to safeguard the throne for her third (and youngest?) son. Is it too sentimental to imagine that it was their mother's intervention that saved them from an even harsher destiny and secured for them at least a comfortable exile in Cyprus?

5.3.1 Marital Problems

Once his throne was secured, Ammištamru set out to find a suitable bride, and following his father's example he married a princess from Amurru. His marriage, however, did not meet with a similar success, but turned into one of the most notorious scandals of antiquity (Singer 1991a: 174–75 with previous literature; Arnaud and Salvini 1993).

After the reinstatement of Bentešina, Amurru became the most favored Hittite vassal in Syria. Three royal intermarriages between the courts of Ḫatti and Amurru followed in close succession: Bentešina married Gaššuliyawiya, the daughter of Ḫattušili "III"; the latter's son Nerikkaili married an (unnamed) daughter of Bentešina; and Tutḫaliya gave his sister (another daughter of Ḫattušili) to Šaušgamuwa. The court of Amurru became virtually Hittite, in blood and soul (Singer 1991a: 177; 1992). From the first marriage the daughter who became the spouse of Ammištamru was born. She is never mentioned by name, reference being made only to her noble descent: "daughter of Bentešina," "sister of Šaušgamuwa" and "daughter of the Great Lady" (*bittu rabīti*), referring no doubt to the official title of Gaššuliyawiya, a Great Princess (DUMU.SAL GAL) of Ḫatti.²⁵⁰ Obviously, the troublesome divorce of a princess of such distinguished birth was a most embarrassing matter which occupied the various courts of the Hittite Empire for many years; practically everyone involved in the lawsuit was a close or a distant relative of the divorcees.

249. In Ini-Tešub's verdict their inheritance consists of "silver, gold, their utensils, and all their possessions" (ll. 8–9); Tutḫaliya's verdict is more specific: "their silver, their gold, their bronze, [their] beds, their chairs, [their tables?], their donkeys, their sheep, and all [their possessions]" (ll. 12–16). One gets the impression that Tutḫaliya's more elaborate text is the original verdict and Ini-Tešub's is a summary of it.

250. The equation between "the daughter of Bentešina" and "the daughter of the Great Lady," first suggested by Schaeffer in the fifties (Schaeffer 1956: 32), is by now practically certain (see Singer 1991a: 174–75; 1991b: 334–35, with refs.), although it is still considered with some hesitation by some leading authorities (Liverani 1979: 1309; Lipiński 1981: 91; Klengel 1992: 142; Neu 1995: 120–21; Beckman 1996c: 166). The problem of the exact definition of the title DUMU.SAL GAL in Hittite sources cannot be discussed here. See Singer 1991b; Neu 1995: 121; Klinger 1996: 215–16; Houwink ten Cate 1996 (with further refs.).

The various stages of the case, which fills out a dossier of at least fifteen different documents,²⁵¹ may briefly be summarized as follows. After several years of marriage which produced at least one son (Utri-Šarruma), the daughter of Bentešina and Gaššuliyawiya “sought trouble for Ammištamru.” As in the case of Ammištamru’s brothers, her sin is never specified. Some have envisaged adultery, but political intrigue seems more likely (Kühne 1973: 183ff.; Klengel 1992: 141; Arnaud and Salvini 1991–92: 20). The marriage was dissolved and the estranged wife was sent back to Amurru with her share of property. After a while, however, Ammištamru categorically demanded her extradition and was even ready to resort to force if necessary. His demand was eventually granted, not without the intervention of the highest imperial authorities. Neither her (half-)brother²⁵² Šaušgamuwa, who meanwhile became king, nor her uncle Tutḫaliya, who enforced the final verdict, flinched from this sacrifice in order to restore peace and unity in the Hittite commonwealth. The blood money paid by Ammištamru to Šaušgamuwa for the right to do with the *bittu rabīti* as he pleased was proportionate to her high standing: 1,400 golden shekels!²⁵³

At one point along the ordeal, Utri-Šarruma,²⁵⁴ the legitimate crown-prince, was given the choice, to stay with his father in Ugarit and succeed him on the throne, or to side with his mother and lose all his dynastic rights. His decision is not stated, but another son of Ammištamru, Ibiranu, became the next king of Ugarit.

5.3.2 Concessions from the Overlords

Whereas we possess a full series of Amurru treaties from Šuppiluliuma I to Tutḫaliya “IV,” no comprehensive treaty with Ugarit is known after Muṣṣili’s treaty with Niqmepa. This may be due to the fortunes of excavation, but there is also a possibility that the standard comprehensive type of treaty was partially replaced by a series of more specialized decrees. For example, Ḫattušili “III” issued an edict pertaining to fugitives from Ugarit which echoes similar provisions in standard treaties (RS 17.238 = *PRU* 4, 107–8):²⁵⁵ “If some subject of

251. See refs. to the Akkadian texts in Arnaud and Salvini 1993: 8–9. The Ugaritic letter KTU 2.72 = RS 34.124 (= RSO 7, no. 88), probably sent by Ammištamru to his mother, also deals with one of the stages of the ill-fated marriage (Pardee 1977; but cf. Bordreuil and Pardee 1991: 150).

252. For Šaušgamuwa’s mother, see Klengel 1991: 234; Houwink ten Cate 1996: 53–54.

253. As pointed out by Nougayrol (1956: 130), this high sum probably took into account the property that was confiscated from her in Ugarit.

254. It is interesting to note that the princes born from Amurrite mothers were given names with the theophoric element Šarruma: (Ḫ)ismi-Šarruma and ĪR-Šarruma, the sons of Aḫat-Milku, and Utri-Šarruma, the son of the *bittu rabīti*. Crown princes must have adopted standard Ugaritic (i.e., West Semitic) names at coronation.

255. Note also RS 17.361A (= *PRU* 6, no. 76), a label written in Akkadian: “This tablet concerns fugitives” (see van Soldt 1989a: 380, 384, no. 27).

the king of Ugarit, or a citizen of Ugarit, or a servant of a subject of the king of Ugarit departs and enters the territory of the *ḫabiru* of My Majesty, I, Great King, will not accept him but will return him to the king of Ugarit” (Beckman 1996c: 163). The *ḫabiru* territory may refer to scarcely inhabited highland areas north of Ugarit, but the decree deliberately does not cover the possibility of a citizen of Ugarit seeking refuge in the heartland of Ḫatti. Even so, this edict, which may reflect the basic division of Ugaritic society (Heltzer 1976: 4–5), is exceptionally favorable towards Ugarit. As a rule, the Hittite king demands the immediate extradition of people who fled from Ḫatti, but he reserves to himself the right to keep back fugitives of vassal states who found refuge in his land (Korošec 1960: 70).²⁵⁶ This includes Muršili’s treaty with Niqmepa; the king of Ugarit may ask for the extradition of his runaway citizens, but the king of Ḫatti is in no way obliged to fulfill his request (Beckman 1996c: 62, §§ 9, 12). The significant change in policy to the benefit of Ugarit may in fact be one of the reasons why the Hittite king did not want to lay down such a preferential precedent in a standard type of treaty.

Even more exceptional is the edict issued by Ini-Tešub in which he releases the king of Ugarit²⁵⁷ from his vassal duty to send chariots and infantry to participate in the imminent war against Assyria (RS 17.059 = *PRU* 4, 150–51; Beckman 1996c: 167–68).²⁵⁸ The price paid for this exemption, 50 mina of gold, was obviously not too high for a king who paid more than half of it (1400 gold shekels) for the right to execute his estranged wife. The amount was delivered in ten shipments²⁵⁹ from the sealed storehouse of Ugarit. Soon enough after this payment, however, when the Assyrian danger became more acute, the Hittites went back on their agreement and demanded the mobilization of the army of Ugarit (see p. 88).

256. See, e.g., in the treaties with Aziru of Amurru (Beckman 1996c: 35, § 10), with Tette of Nuḫḫašši (52, § 9), and in all the Arzawa treaties (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 103ff.). In the late treaties with Amurru (Bentešina and Šaušgamuwa) the respective paragraphs are not preserved.

257. His name is broken away (l. 4), but Nougayrol’s restoration Ammištamru seems to have been universally accepted. Theoretically, Ibiranu, in whose reign the war with Assyria flared up (p. 90), cannot be excluded.

258. This restricted edict cannot be considered to be a veritable treaty between Tuthaliya and Ammištamru, as suggested by Lebrun 1995: 87.

259. For *ḫarrānu* (l. 18) in the meaning of “caravan,” see Nougayrol 1956: 151; Klengel 1992: 140, n. 293; Arnaud 1996: 60, n. 75.

6 THE WEAKENING GRIP OF THE HITTITES

6.1 IBIRANU (CA. 1235–1225/1220)

Ibiranu was probably appointed as crown-prince (*ušriannu*)²⁶⁰ already in the reign of his father Ammištamru,²⁶¹ perhaps after his (elder) brother Utri-Šarruma had chosen to follow his mother back to her homeland (see p. 84). It is not known who was Ibiranu's mother, the ill-fated princess of Amurru, or, more probably, another spouse of Ammištamru about whom we have no evidence. His reign must have begun before 1233, if one accepts the attribution of RS 34.165 (= RSO 7, no. 46) to Tukulti-Ninurta (see p. 91).²⁶² Ibiranu is mentioned by name only in relatively few documents (Klengel 1992: 144, n. 319, with refs.), but more texts can perhaps be ascribed to him on circumstantial evidence.

The conciliatory rapports between Hattušili and Ammištamru manifestly changed in the reigns of their successors. With growing difficulties on the eastern front and complicated dynastic problems at home, Tuthaliya and his representatives grew ever more impatient with Ugarit's assertiveness and lack of cooperation (Liverani 1979a: 1311–12).

Several small fragments may arguably form part of a decree issued for Ibiranu by his overlord, but very little can be said about their contents.²⁶³ Of more value is the letter sent to him by Prince Piḥawalwi (RS 17.247 = *PRU* 4, 191).²⁶⁴ Ibiranu, who conspicuously is not designated as king of Ugarit, is scolded for not appearing before the Great King since he ascended the throne of Ugarit. He did not even send his messengers with the obligatory presents, which caused much anger at the court of His Majesty. In a similar letter, a representative of His Majesty invites [the king of Ugarit], either Ammištamru (Klengel 1992: 144, n. 318) or Ibiranu,²⁶⁵ to come on board his ships to his overlord, not forgetting to bring

260. For the equation between *mur'ū ušriyanni* and *mur'ū* of Ibiranu, a group of liaison-men or officers of the king, see Nougayrol 1956: 186; Liverani 1962: 125; Heltzer 1982: 154ff.; van Soldt 1991a: 11–12; Sanmartín 1995b: 460ff.

261. A Hurrian text found in the so-called House of the Hurrian priest may perhaps contain the liturgy of a ritual commemorating the death of Ammištamru II (KTU 1.125 = RS 24.274; Dietrich and Mayer 1997).

262. Clearly, even if one rejects the purported synchronism with Tukulti-Ninurta, Ibiranu's reign could not have started as late as 1213 (van Soldt 1991a: 10). Raising the dates of his reign also conforms to the new information concerning the length of the reigns of Niqmaddu III and Ammurapi.

263. Nougayrol 1956: 289; Liverani 1962: 126. RS 19.122.5'ff (= *PRU* 4, 289) has the appearance of a stipulation instructing the vassal not to heed slander directed against His Majesty; for similar paragraphs in Hittite treaties, cf., e.g., Beckman 1996c: 85 (§ 13), 101 (§ 10). In RS 18.273 (= *PRU* 4, 196) only Ibiranu and His Majesty are preserved, whereas in RS 17.018 (= *PRU* 4, 195) only [Ibi]ranu and his soldiers and chariots.

264. Piḥawalwi is probably identical with Piḥa-UR.MAḤ whose objects were stolen by Maššu according to a lawsuit decided by Ini-Tešub (RS 17.108 = *PRU* 4, 165–66). He may also be identified with the scribe Piḥa-UR.MAḤ attested in Hittite texts and on seals (Laroche 1966: 141).

265. I fail to see on what evidence Lebrun (1995: 86) dates this letter to Ammurapi.

with him the obligatory presents, including gold and [silver] as well as *alkabašu* and *kabdum* stones (RS 20.255A = *Ug* 5, no. 30).

Contacts with Carchemish seem more relaxed and routine. In RS 17.385 (= *PRU* 4, 194) the viceroy asks Ibiranu to send him two juniper logs according to the required measurements.²⁶⁶ In a typical presentation letter, the king (Ini-Tešub) announces that his son Mišra-muwa, brother of Upparamuwa, will take up residence in Ugarit as a guest of PAP-Šarruma (RS 17.423 = *PRU* 4, 193). Perhaps Ibiranu was not too pleased with this visit, if he is indeed the author of the fragmentary letter RS 20.243 (= *Ug* 5, no. 32), which apparently raises a formal complaint to His Majesty (l. 6') about the conduct of Mušra-muwa (sic).

Three letters announce the forthcoming visit of two officials, Ebina'e and Kurkalli,²⁶⁷ who are charged with marking Ugarit's borders in accordance with Arma-ziti's instructions. The letter sent by the King (RS 17.292 = *PRU* 4, 188) and the one sent by Prince Aliḫešni²⁶⁸ (RS 15.077 = *PRU* 3, 6–7) are addressed to Ibiranu; Ebina'e himself addresses the governor of Ugarit (RS 17.078 = *PRU* 4, 196–97). None of these letters refers to the border in question, but the choice is practically reduced to Mukiš or Šiyannu, more probably the latter (see pp. 49–50). Prince Arma-ziti is well-known from Hittite texts dating to Ḫattušili "III" and Tuḫaliya "IV" (Imparati 1987: 197ff.; 1988). He was a scribe who fulfilled important functions in the religious administration. Although his official title is not stated,²⁶⁹ he is often involved in bird oracles which are usually performed by the *uriyanni*.²⁷⁰ According to one of the texts dealing with the border dispute between Ugarit and Siyannu, it was the *uriyannu* who divided the territory and set up the boundary stones between the two kingdoms.²⁷¹ It is quite possible that this complicated matter was taken up again in the reign of Ibiranu: Arma-ziti fixed the borders (through bird oracles?), and two officials, Ebina'e²⁷² and Kurkalli, were sent out to mark them.

266. For *gišdaprānu*, see Liverani 1962: 126, n. 12.

267. A *Gur-ga-li-eš* is connected to the palace of Carchemish in a fragmentary Hittite ritual text, KUB 48.113, 5' (Klengel 1965: 66).

268. For Aliḫešni in the Hittite sources, see Imperati 1975: 115–16; 1987: 196–97.

269. An Arma-ziti (4SIN-LÚ) "chief of the *tapri*-men" appears in fragmentary context in a text dated to Šuppiliuma II (KUB 21.7 iii 3', 5'). Could he be identical with Arma-ziti who was already active in the reign of Ḫattušili "III"?

270. Liverani 1962: 73; Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 266ff. For the various attempts to equate the *uriyanni/u* with other cuneiform titles, see Alp, 1991: 323–24 (with previous refs.). See also Rüster 1993: 68–69.

271. RS 17.368 (= *PRU* 4, 76–77) is usually dated to Muṣili II, but in fact it could be a later ratification of Muṣili's decree quoted *in extenso* in the first part of the text. Note also the label carrying the inscription "Document concerning the borders which the *uriyannu* established for the king of Ugarit" (KTU 6.29 = RS 17.364 = *PRU* 2, no. 171; van Soldt 1989a: 380, no. 30), which could have been attached to RS 17.368 (found in the same room).

272. The fragmentary hieroglyphic seal impression on RS 17.368 is not reproduced in the publication, but, according to Laroche (*PRU* 4, 76), the first and the only preserved sign in the name is I/E (L 209), which could perhaps belong to Ebina'e mentioned in RS 17.078 (= *PRU* 4, 196).

Arma-ziti appears in two other texts from Ugarit. In RS 17.314 (= *PRU* 4, 189) he officiates as judge in a lawsuit between Pušku, the merchant of the queen of Ugarit, and the custom official (*mākišu*) Aballa. In RS 17.316 (= *PRU* 4, 190) Arma-ziti himself is being accused and sentenced to pay 300 silver shekels to the king of Ugarit and to the sons of Muṣṣana. The four witnesses are all citizens of Ura, merchants of His Majesty. Each of the two documents carries a different hieroglyphic Hittite seal of Arma-ziti (*Ug* 3, 37–38, figs. 48–51; Singer 1983b: 5, n. 4).

Other documents within the corpus of the anonymous correspondence between Ugarit and Carchemish may also belong to Ibiranu's reign, including letters written in Ugaritic, probably by messengers of the king of Ugarit residing in Carchemish.²⁷³

6.1.1 Ugarit and the Assyrian War

A group of letters deals with the projected inspection of the troops and the chariots of Ugarit by Hittite representatives. Unfortunately, only one of these letters addresses the king of Ugarit by name as Ibiranu (RS 17.289 = *PRU* 4, 192). The king of Carchemish announces that the *kartappu* of His Majesty, GAL-^dIM,²⁷⁴ will soon be sent to Ugarit to determine whether the number of its soldiers and chariots complies with the demands of the Great King. He concludes his letter with the dramatic exclamation: “(It is a matter of) death (or) life!”²⁷⁵

Several other documents may be related to the same event on circumstantial evidence.²⁷⁶ RS 20.237 (= *Ug* 5, 102–4) is the reply of the king of Carchemish to an inquiry of the king of Ugarit as to the number of chariots and troops he is supposed to supply. Most of the viceroy's answer is unfortunately broken, but he concludes with the order “Go to His M[a]jesty!” In RS 15.014 (= *PRU* 3, 5) I[biranu?] reports to the viceroy that he had sent the requested batch of

273. E.g., KTU 2.75 ; RS 34.148 (= RSO 7, no. 91); KTU 2.20 ; RS 15.158 (= *PRU* 2, no. 11).

274. This could be read either as Ura-Tarḥunta or as Talmi-Tešub (Laroche 1966: 198). Opting for the latter possibility, Lipiński (1981: 89, n. 53) suggested that this *kartappu* may be identical with the future king of Carchemish, Talmi-Tešub son of Ini-Tešub. Although chronologically this might be possible, the two persons should be kept apart (Imparati 1987: 201). A crown-prince of Carchemish would have been presented quite differently to the king of a vassal state. Compare, e.g., the letter of introduction of Mišramuwa to Ibiranu (RS 17.423 = *PRU* 4, 193; see p. 87).

275. The same exclamation recurs in RS 20.121 (= *Ug* 5, no. 33), in which His Majesty orders the king of Ugarit to send him grain-laden ships urgently (see p. 114).

276. A dating of RS 20.237 and 34.138 to the reign of Ibiranu was also deduced by Yamada (1992: 444) on the basis of stylistic considerations.

1600 arrows with his messenger Aḫaltēna.²⁷⁷ Finally, a tiny fragment mentions [Ibi]ranu and 300 [soldiers?] (RS 17.018 = PRU 4, 195).²⁷⁸

The dispatch of another *kartappu* of His Majesty (*Hé-r[u-?]*) is announced in a letter of the king of Carchemish (RS 34.138 = RSO 7, no. 8). He is supposed to carry with him a tablet of His Majesty and only upon its presentation should the king of Ugarit meet his request. Terms related to the army do not occur, but nearly half of the tablet is mutilated.

The forthcoming visit of one of these *kartappu* to Ugarit may well be the subject of another letter from the Urtenu archive, RS 34.150 (= RSO 7, no. 10). EN-^dIM (Ewri-Tešub?) announces to his king that a messenger of the king of Carchemish was sent out to inspect the troops of Qadesh, and will subsequently continue to Ugarit. The well-informed servant advises his king not to show any of his chariots and troops to the messenger of Carchemish, who intends to put them on march with provisions for five [*days?*].²⁷⁹

Perhaps these documents dealing with a projected muster of armies²⁸⁰ in central Syria may be related to a letter found on the surface in 1971 in the area which later turned out to be Urtenu's residence (RS 32.204 = RSO 7, no. 19; Bordreuil 1981: 43). It is a double letter sent by Kila'e to the queen and the king of Ugarit, announcing the departure of the King (of Carchemish) towards Nirabi (Neirab, near Ḥalab) the following day.²⁸¹ Kila'e politely proposes that both the king of Ugarit and a certain Bin-Kabkamma (perhaps a representative of the queen of Ugarit) should come to Nirabi to meet the viceroy in person. In his preliminary notes (quoted in RSO 7, 51) Nougayrol assigned to this letter a legal context, that is, a lawsuit between Kila'e and Bin-Kabkamma; but I doubt whether this alone would have sufficed to summon the kings of Carchemish and Ugarit to this exceptional meeting far from their respective residencies. Rather,

277. But cf. the doubts raised by Liverani (1962: 127, n. 13) concerning the sender of the letter. RS 11.834 (= PRU 3, 17) is a small fragment mentioning "troops" and the "king of Car[chemish]."

278. Two further letters from the Urtenu archive deal with military matters, but they seem to be dated later; RS 34.150 (= RSO 7, 35–36) and 34.143 (= RSO 7, 27–29) will be dealt with under Niqmaddu III and Ammurapi, respectively.

279. Five days could be the time needed to cover at a fast pace the distance of ca. 150 km from Ugarit to Ḥalab. Of course it took Zimri-Lim and his large entourage much longer to cover the same distance, with stopovers of undefined length in four towns (Villard 1986: 395). See pp. 30–31 above.

280. A simultaneous mobilization of the armies of Qadesh and of Ugarit is also dealt with in a letter found in 1994 in the Urtenu archive, in which the *uriyannu* urges Niqmaddu to join forces with the armies of Qadesh and to meet the king of Carchemish at Ḥalab (Malbran-Labat 1995a: 106). If indeed the addressee is Niqmaddu III this letter can hardly be related to the dossier dealing with the military manoeuvre dated to Ibiranu, unless one assumes a prolonged period of activity which coincided with the shift on the throne of Ugarit.

281. Neirab is a common toponym in Syria. Nougayrol (cited in RSO 7, 51, n. 48) opted for the one located near Ma'aret en-No'mān, but the site located 6 km southeast of Aleppo seems to me a better choice. For the exploration of this site in the seventies, see refs. in Klengel 1970: 85.

there must have been a more urgent agenda, probably related to the general military manoeuvre whose purpose remains to be elucidated.

The author of the above letter, Kila'e, appears to have been a very high-ranking Hittite official who was also involved in judicial affairs in Ugarit.²⁸² He presided over a lawsuit between two citizens of Ugarit, Iluwa and Amar-^dU, the son of Mut-^dU the *šerdanu* (RS 17.112 = *PRU* 4, 234). He is described as "the man of Ḫišiššiba"²⁸³ and his office is that of "the *kartappu* who is at the head of the (*ša*) *reši š[arri]*," apparently the topmost functionary in the Hittite "foreign office" (Pecchioli Daddi 1977: 174; Singer 1983b: 10). He is most politely addressed as "our father" in a letter of introduction sent by the king and the queen of Ugarit announcing the dispatch of their messenger Ili-Milku (RS 19.070 = *PRU* 4, 294).²⁸⁴

As for the military context of all these documents, the only major reason I can think of for the urgent Hittite demands for a general mobilization of the armies of their Syrian vassals could be the deterioration in the relations with Assyria and the ensuing outburst of hostilities.²⁸⁵ For quite some time Ḫatti had prepared herself and her allies for the unavoidable clash with the emerging military power in the east. A trade blockade against Assyria was imposed on Šaušgamuwa, including Assyria's maritime trade with [Aḫḫ]iyawa (see n. 232), and he was also ordered to mobilize Amurru's army (KUB 23.1 iv 19–23; Beckman 1996c: 101, §§12–13). With the ascent of Tukulti-Ninurta to the throne of Assyria, there was a brief attempt to cool the tense relations by a diplomatic exchange of letters with Tuthaliya "IV" (Singer 1985: 102–3, with refs.; Beckman 1996c: 141–42). However, Tukulti-Ninurta soon revealed his real plans when he opened a vigorous offensive on the northern front of Niḫriya. As frankly admitted in a Hittite text,²⁸⁶ Tuthaliya was deserted by his ally (probably Išuwa) and was utterly defeated by the Assyrians, who lost no time in spreading the news in Syria. An Assyrian letter (from the Urtenu archive) sent to [Ibira]na king

282. His prominent status is also demonstrated by his fragmentary hieroglyphic seal impression in the centre of tablet RS 17.112, which probably reads *Ki-lá-* (L 446–L 445). For a photograph of the tablet, see *Ug* 4, 62, fig. 46, lower right.

283. Could this name be a variant of the northern Anatolian town of Ḫišaš(h)apa (Del Monte and Tischler 1978: 111–12)?

284. Ili-Milku is the addressee of a letter sent by a certain Belubur asking for a favorable presentation of his case before the Queen (RS 6.198; see n. 289). Both could be identical with the well-known scribe Ili-Milku who was active in the last decades of Ugarit, and not in the fourteenth century as previously thought (Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995b: 447–48).

285. Klengel (1996: 559) tends to connect this event with the situation on the Euphrates frontier, but I doubt that insurrections of tribal groups in this remote region would have led to a full mobilization of Hittite Syria.

286. The redating of KBo 4.14 (CTH 123) to Tuthaliya "IV" suggested by Singer (1985: 109ff.) has been accepted by van den Hout 1989: 273ff.; Hawkins 1995: 58; Klengel 1991: 238 n. 91; CHD, L–N: 372; Freu forthcoming. (Lehmann 1991: 123, n. 28 accepts the re-dating, but erroneously attributes it to Otten, who in all the articles cited tended towards a Šuppiluliuma II dating.)

of U[garit]²⁸⁷ describes in detail the circumstances that led to the decisive battle (RS 34.165 = RSO 7, no. 46; Lackenbacher 1982; Singer 1985). Unfortunately, from the name of the sender only the second element in Shalmaneser's name is preserved (SAG), which must belong to Tukulti-Ninurta's filiation.²⁸⁸ If so, this letter provides an important synchronism between Ugarit, Ḫatti, and Assur. The battle probably took place in Tukulti-Ninurta's first year (1233), which may provide a *terminus ante quem* for Ibiranu's ascent to the throne.

The Assyrian king's very act of reporting his victory to an acknowledged Hittite vassal was no doubt more than a simple act of courtesy. It was an overture for cooperation with Ugarit, practically "over the head" of Carchemish, in a renewed attempt to gain access to the Mediterranean. Ugarit's reaction to this political bid is not known, but probably she was not entirely uninterested.²⁸⁹ The same applies to Amurru, who exchanged messages and presents with the Assyrian king according to a new document from Tell Chuera/Ḫurbe.²⁹⁰

The letters with military content exchanged between the courts of Carchemish and Ugarit may be conceived either as hasty preparations before the battle of Niḫriya, or, more probably, as a defence organized after it, for the eventuality that the Assyrians would want to capitalize on their victory and attack on the Syrian front as well. Fortunately for the Hittites, Tukulti-Ninurta soon turned his aggression towards Babylon (Mayer 1995: 213ff.), and he even resumed normal diplomatic relations with Ḫatti, which seem to have lasted to the very end of the Hittite Empire.²⁹¹

287. Klengel (1992: 140, n. 290) maintains that "it is uncertain which king of Ugarit ruled at this time, but Ammištamru II cannot be excluded."

288. I have also considered the possibility that SAG could belong to the epithet UR.SAG, "hero," but, as far as I can see, this epithet is not attested in the titulary of the Middle Assyrian kings (Seux 1967). The attribution of the text to Tukulti-Ninurta I on the basis of its correlation with CTH 123 (Singer 1985) has been criticized by Harrak (1987: 142, 261), Liverani (1990: 169) and Zaccagnini (1990: 41–42) who prefer dating the letter to Shalmaneser I.

289. RS 6.198 is a letter sent by a certain *Be-lu-bu-ur* to DINGIR.LUGAL (Ili-Milku?). Thureau-Dangin, who published the text (Thureau-Dangin 1935; see also Lipiński 1981: 87–88, n. 44), identified this Belubur with the Assyrian official Bēlu-libūr who was active under Adadnirari I, Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I. This identification has been refuted on phonetic grounds (see van Soldt 1991a: 28, with previous refs.), but is still uncritically cited (e.g., by Mayer 1995: 208, 211). If DINGIR.LUGAL is indeed identical with the well-known scribe and entrepreneur Ili-Milku, who is now safely dated to the late-thirteenth century (Bordreuil 1995b: 448; Pardee 1997a: 241, n. 3), then the identification of Belubur with Bēlu-libūr is practically impossible. The identity and domicile of Bēlu-būr, who asks Ili-Milku to transmit his letters favorably to the queen (Šarelli?), remain unknown. An unnamed Assyrian servant is perhaps mentioned in RS 20.150 (= Ug 5, 149–50).

290. Kühne 1995: 219 (92.G.212: 9–10); the diplomatic journey of Yabna-ilu of Amurru to Assyria took place in the eponym year of Ninu'āyu, in the second half of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign (ibid., 206; Freydank 1991a: 156).

291. Freydank 1991b: 31; Freu forthcoming. This late *détente* in the relations between Hittites and Assyrians is now amply documented by the Middle Assyrian tablets from Tell Chuera/Ḫurbe and from Tell Šeiḫ Ḥamad/Dur-Katlimmu. In the former, mention is made of the Hittite diplomat Teli-Šarruma, who, at the head of a large retinue, brought messages and presents to the Assyrian king (Kühne 1995: 211, 217–18; see n. 145). In the latter,

6.1.2 *Queen Šarelli*

Queen Šarelli (Ugaritic *Šryl*) is prominently documented in texts dated from Ammištamru II to Ammurapi (van Soldt 1991a: 15ff.). At first, when reliable chronological information on her queenship was still missing, some scholars proposed regarding Šarelli as a Hurrian equivalent of Semitic Aḥat-Milku, which was understood to be the “sister of the king” (Nougayrol 1968: 262; Liverani 1978: 153; Lipiński 1981). Various chronological clues gradually started to indicate that Šarelli was active during the last decades of Ugarit and could therefore not be identical with Aḥat-Milku, who was Niqmepa’s spouse. Clinging to the purported meaning “sister of the king,” Nougayrol put forward an alternative explanation according to which Šarelli was not a PN but rather a (Hurrian) title or cognomen that could be assumed by every queen of Ugarit.²⁹² However, the alleged Hurrian meaning of the name has also been questioned on linguistic and cultural grounds,²⁹³ and it seems that the whole theory has meanwhile been abandoned. As for Šarelli’s exact dating, she was considered to be Ammurapi’s spouse because she appears next to him in the liturgical text commemorating his coronation.²⁹⁴ However, she is already attested as queen in texts preceding Ammurapi’s reign and was therefore provisionally “matched” with Niqmaddu III (e.g., Bordreuil 1983: 77). This again had to be revised in view of a text from the Urtenu archive which proves that Niqmaddu III married a Hittite princess (RS 34.136; see pp. 100ff.). Simply by a process of elimination one is left with Ibiranu, as tentatively suggested by van Soldt (1991: 18; cf. also Aboud 1994, 34). At any rate, Šarelli apparently outlived both her husband and her son and was actively involved as dowager queen in various state affairs. This exceptional status may explain why she was hailed at the coronation of her grandson Ammurapi by which time she must have reached a respectable old age. The new documents from the Urtenu archive reveal her deep involvement in the foreign trade of Ugarit, regulated by her son-in-law and commercial agent Šipti-Ba‘al (Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 444). Since most of her dated texts fall into the reign of Niqmaddu III, Šarelli’s manifold activities will be dealt with in the next entry.

the merchants of the king of Carchemish and of his governor Tagi-Šarruma travel in Assyrian-held territory, selling oil and copper vessels (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 117ff., no. 6; see p. 65). Both texts are dated to the latter half of Tukulti-Ninurta’s reign, the one from Tell Šeiḥ Ḥamad to the eponym year of Ina-Aššur-šumi-ašbat.

292. Nougayrol 1968: 261–62; Bordreuil and Pardee 1982: 128 (but cf. their revised view in RSO 7, 162).

293. Laroche 1976–77: 218; Dietrich and Loretz 1983c: 303; van Soldt 1985–86; 1991a: 16, nn. 142–43 (with further refs.).

294. [T]ryl in KTU 1.161 = RS 34.126.32 (= RSO 7, no. 90); Bordreuil and Pardee 1982: 128; Levine, de Tarragon, and Robertson 1997b: 357–58.

6.2 NIQMADDU III (CA. 1225/1220–1215)

Until recently Niqmaddu III was the least-documented king of Ugarit (Liverani 1962: 129; Klengel 1992: 147). This situation has changed drastically with the discovery of the Urtenu archive in which Niqmaddu III appears to be the best-documented king (Malbran-Labat 1995a: 106, 111).

There are four legal documents from the palace archives in which Niqmaddu's filiation to Ibiranu is explicitly mentioned. The only fully preserved text was written by the *sukkallu* and scribe Eḫli-Tešub,²⁹⁵ and was sealed with the (original) dynastic seal declared to be the seal of Niqmaddu (RS 18.021 = *PRU* 6, no. 45). Three other documents are very fragmentary, but the restoration of the king's name and his patrimony is practically certain (RS 17.350B = *PRU* 6, no. 46; 16.198B and 15.113 = *PRU* 3, 168–69), thus refuting the attempts to identify Ibiranu and Niqmaddu as brothers (Healey 1978; Levine and De Tarragon 1984, 654).

Several texts belong to a Niqmaddu without a mention of his patrimony (*PRU* 4, 199ff.), but their attribution to Niqmaddu III is quite plausible, and there is no need to add an alleged “Niqmaddu IIa” to the royal line (see p. 95). RS 18.020 + 17.371 (= *PRU* 4, 202–3) is a lawsuit between Niqmaddu and Kumiya-ziti, probably a rich merchant from Ura. The verdict in favor of Niqmaddu was given by Zuzuli, the *kartappu* of the king of Carchemish.²⁹⁶ The witnesses are from Ura and from Ugarit, and the tablet was written by SIG₅-dNĒ.ERİ₁₁.GAL (Nu‘me-Rašap?) son of Abaya, a well-known scribe who was active from the days of Ammištamru II onwards (van Soldt 1991a: 10, 22). A further legal text, the case of Kiliya the priest of Ištar of Zinzaru, is witnessed by the same scribe and two further witnesses who are also present in the previous document (RS 18.002 = *PRU* 4, 201). An Ugaritic legal text dealing with the liberation of a slave (*Štq-šlm*) is signed with Niqmaddu's seal (KTU 2.19 = RS 15.125 = *PRU* 2, no. 5). Niqmaddu is also the author of a fragmentary letter to Alašia dealing with an oil transaction (RS 20.168 = *Ug* 5, no. 21). The subordinate position of the king of Ugarit with respect to his correspondent is reminiscent of the Alašia letters dated to the last years of Ugarit (pp. 116ff.).

295. In the new documents from the Urtenu archive Eḫli-Tešub appears as a business associate of Ur-Tešub and of Aḫi-Milku/Malki (ŠEŠ-LUGAL), the three of them heading a wealthy firm trading in particular with Tyre and Sidon (Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 446; Malbran-Labat 1995a: 105; see p. 76). Eḫli-Tešub and Ili-Milku, two scribes active under Niqmaddu III, are addressed by their “brother” in the second part of a fragmentary letter found in the Urtenu archive (RS 34.171 = RSO 7, 52–53, no. 20); the first part of the letter mentions the royal messenger Anantenu.

296. The tablet is sealed with the Hittite seal of Zuzuli, “CHARIOTEER” (L 289), the hieroglyphic title corresponding to cuneiform *kartappu*. Probably the same person appears on a seal impression found at Samsat Höyük, north of Carchemish (Dinçol 1992).

Evidently, there were at least half a dozen documents plausibly dated to Niqmaddu III even before the discovery of the Urtenu archive, which has now added some twenty new letters addressed to this king (Lackenbacher 1995a: 70, n. 22; Malbran-Labat 1995a: 106).²⁹⁷ Thus, his reign was not as brief and negligible as had previously been assumed, and may have lasted as much as a decade.

Two legal documents carry the impression of a fine seal ring with the Akkadian inscription “Seal of Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit” and an illustration showing a person (the king?) in kneeling position attacking a lion with a long spear (*Ug* 3, 78–79, figs. 100–102). The seal is usually ascribed to Niqmaddu II who reigned in the fourteenth century, but a better case can probably be made for an ascription to Niqmaddu III. RS 17.147 (= *PRU* 6, no. 29) is a fragmentary land donation deed of Ammištamru, son of Niqmepa, to a certain [Amut]arunu(?). If the seal belongs to Niqmaddu II we have to assume that Ammištamru II used in this document the seal of his grandfather instead of using the dynastic seal, which would be the normal procedure. A better alternative seems to be that an original deed of Ammištamru II was later ratified by Niqmaddu III. An even better case for a Niqmaddu III ascription can be made in the case of the Ugaritic text KTU 3.4 = RS 16.191 + 16.272, which records the redemption of seven Ugaritians from Beirut (see p. 74). A lawsuit between Ugarit and Beirut, ratified with the seal of the king of Ugarit, would suit the context of the late-thirteenth century better. Finally, a glyptic consideration in favor of Niqmaddu III is the fact that all the personal seals from Ugarit, both royal (Aḥat-Milku, Ammištamru II) and non-royal (*passim*), are much later than Niqmaddu II. Perhaps a decisive argument will appear in the new documents of Niqmaddu III found in the Urtenu archive.

6.2.1 Reprimands from the Overlords

The Ugaritic letter of Queen Puduḥepa (*Pdgḅ*) to Niqmaddu has stirred up many debates about the identity of the correspondents.²⁹⁸ Despite its fragmentary state and the usual difficulties with Ugaritic lexicography, the contents of the long letter can more or less be fathomed. After the customary opening formulae, Puduḥepa reprimands Niqmaddu for his reluctance to send sufficient tribute and to pay the obligatory visit to his overlord. These are recurrent themes in Ḥatti’s correspondence with the last kings of Ugarit, but here they seem to be aimed specifically at Niqmaddu’s relations with the Great Queen of Ḥatti. There may even

297. For the letter supposedly addressed to Niqmaddu by the *uriyannu* urging him to join forces with the armies of Kinza/Qadesh and to come to meet the king of Carchemish at Ḥalab (Malbran-Labat 1995a: 106), see n. 280 above.

298. KTU 2.36+ = RS 17.435 + 17.436 + 17.437; Caquot 1978b; Pardee 1983–84; Singer 1987: 414–15; Cunchillos 1989a: 3631–32; Dijkstra 1989: 141–45; van Soldt 1991a: 81–82; Klengel 1992: 139, n. 289.

be some reference to a visit paid by Niqmaddu to the king's palace, in which he failed to appear before Puduḥepa as well.²⁹⁹ In the next paragraph Puduḥepa responds to a complaint of Niqmaddu regarding the itinerary of the caravans travelling to Egypt bypassing his kingdom through inner Syria (see p. 78). The last part of the letter seems to deal again with the unsatisfactory tribute.³⁰⁰ As shown elsewhere (Singer 1987: 414–15; Cunchillos 1989a: 381ff.), the alleged chronological difficulties in identifying the correspondents as the famous Hittite queen and the penultimate king of Ugarit can easily be dismissed³⁰¹ without the need to add an alleged “Niqmaddu IIa” to the well-documented LBA royal line of Ugarit.³⁰²

A new document from the Urtenu archive considerably augments our information on the last kings of Ugarit and their relations with the royal court of Ḫatti.³⁰³ It is a letter sent by the King (of Carchemish) to the king of Ugarit containing the usual complaints about the inadequacy of the gifts sent to Hittite officials. More specifically, he reprimands his correspondent for sending insufficient presents to the “Chief Scribe” (*tuppalanuri*), in defiance of his categorical instructions. To demonstrate what the consequences of this assertive conduct could be, the king of Carchemish recalls an embarrassing incident from the recent past when the messengers of Ugarit were humiliated in Ḫatti for bringing unworthy presents: “At the time of your father, the in-law³⁰⁴ of His Majesty, how was he treated on account of the gifts in Ḫakapiša and in Kizuwatna? Did they not bind his servants? Now, perhaps because of me they did not do anything against your servants, (but) never again act like this!” (ll. 25–38). Van Soldt has

299. See the interpretation of Cunchillos for lines 8–12, but cf. Pardee's translation. If these clues about Niqmaddu's visit to Ḫatti are valid, they could well correspond to the information provided by the Ugaritic letters of Talmiyānu, which could well be Niqmaddu's name before his coronation (see p. 100).

300. Lines 29'ff. (Pardee 1983–84, 329). For *argmn*, “tribute,” in this text, rather than “purple-dyed cloth” (as suggested by Dijkstra 1989: 144), see van Soldt 1990a: 344, n. 164, *DLU* i 48–49. The tribute, which consists of *qnum*, “blue-dyed cloth” and *phm*, “red-dyed cloth,” is comparable to the tribute imposed on Ugarit in Šuppiluliuma's treaty with Niqmaddu. For the interpretation of *qnum* as “blue stone, lapis lazuli” (Akkadian *iqnu/ uqnu*), see the extensive discussion in Cunchillos 1989a: 411ff. See also p. 98 on RS 12.033 (= *PRU* 3, 14–15), which also has the appearance of a tribute list.

301. Puduḥepa married Ḫattušili, no doubt at a young age (Houwink ten Cate 1996: 55, n. 35), immediately after the Battle of Qadesh in 1275. With a probable synchronism between Ibiranu and the beginning of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign (1233; see pp. 91–92), she would have been in her seventies when she wrote to Niqmaddu III.

302. The case of this ephemeral “Niqmaddu IIa” was taken up again by Dijkstra 1989, who seeks support in unwarranted chronological postulates and questionable restorations of the Ugaritic King List. For the refutation of his arguments, see van Soldt 1990a: 344–45, n. 164; 1991a: 8ff.

303. RS 34.136 (= RSO 7, no. 7). Van Soldt (1989a: 390) had already discussed the important implications of this letter before its publication in RSO 7, using the photograph published in *Ug* 7, pl. 18.

304. Van Soldt 1989b: 390 and Malbran-Labat 1991: 30–31, translate “son-in-law,” “gendre,” but *ḫatānu* is any relative by marriage (CAD, Ḫ 148) and could thus refer also to a brother-in-law of His Majesty, like the case of Šaušgamuwa, brother-in-law of Tutḫaliya “IV” (KUB 23, 1+ i 9 and passim; Kühne and Otten 1971: 23–24; Beckman 1996c: 98ff.).

already concluded that the letter was probably written to Ammurapi,³⁰⁵ without however providing any binding arguments.³⁰⁶ Some support for this dating may perhaps be supplied by the prominent status of the Chief Scribe which is also reflected in other very late texts from the Urtenu archive (see below p. 107).

The important implications of RS 34.136 for the problem of the Hittite princess(es) married in Ugarit will be discussed below (pp. 100ff.). At this point it will suffice to observe the growing dissatisfaction of the Hittite authorities with the tribute sent by Ugarit to Ḫatti and the resulting tensions. This tendency, which was first noted in the reign of Ibiranu, must have reached a new peak when the messengers of Niqmaddu III were put in prison (ll. 31–32). The formulation of the letter clearly implies that the king of Ugarit was himself present at this humiliating incident. It has also been noted that in the Ugaritic correspondence of the king (and of *Tlmy*n) with his mother there are indeed indications for a visit to Ḫatti (p. 100). Obviously, Niqmaddu prefers not to mention in his letters to his mother (Šarelli) the hardships of the trip, and comforts her by saying that the face of the “Sun” shone upon him. Eventually, Niqmaddu must have managed to appease the angry Hittite king, for a Hittite princess was given to him in marriage (see p. 102). Marital connections with the imperial family were usually considered as a great privilege for a vassal king, but surely, they were no less in the interest of his suzerain. The Hittite king and his resourceful mother may have thought that a suitable match would provide a good possibility of keeping an eye on this assertive vassal.

An intriguing detail in the letter of the king of Carchemish is the destination of the Ugaritian delegation to Ḫatti: not the imperial capital Ḫattuša, as one would expect, but rather Ḫakapiša and Kizzuwatna (ll. 28–29). Ḫak(a)m/piš(a) was the seat of Ḫattusili’s subkingdom in the Upper Land before his usurpation of the Hittite throne. He later appointed his son and successor Tutḫaliya as highpriest in Ḫakpiša and Nerik (Haas 1970: 13–14). The later history of the town is not known. Kizzuwatna is in this period a synonym for the famous cult-centre Kummanni in eastern Cilicia (Comana Cataoniae). Was the king of Ḫatti at the time of Niqmaddu’s visit celebrating in one of these holy cities?³⁰⁷ Or did perhaps the king of Ugarit meet his future bride Eḫli-Nikkalu in one of them?³⁰⁸

305. Followed by Dijkstra 1990: 99. In her edition of the text Malbran-Labat (1991: 31) suggested that the son-in-law of His Majesty could be either Ibiranu or Niqmaddu III.

306. The only reason given for this dating is that “Ibiranu is possibly attested in one letter, but most prominent is the last king of Ugarit, Ammurapi”

307. The religious activities of a Hittite king (probably Tutḫaliya “IV”) in Kummanni and in Nerik are mentioned in several oracle texts discussed by Houwink ten Cate 1996: 65ff.

308. See pp. 100ff. below, and note that Eḫli-Nikkalu apparently returned to Ḫapišše, which, as suggested by Astour (1980a: 106–8), may be a variant spelling of Ḫakapiša. Cf. however Klengel 1992: 148, n. 348.

These questions remain open for the present, but they may hold the key to a more exact dating of this eventful visit.

6.2.2 *The Correspondence of the Queen of Ugarit*

The important role of the queen of Ugarit in this period finds its best expression in her prolific correspondence, both in Akkadian and in Ugaritic. If Aḥat-Milku was the dominant queenly figure of Ugarit through most of the thirteenth century, Šarelli replaced her in this role in the last decades of the city. It is easy to understand why the two queens were considered for a long while to be one and the same person (see p. 92). Although Šarelli must have started her illustrious career as the queen of Ibiranu, most of her activity falls within the reigns of her son Niqmaddu III and her grandson(?) Ammurapi. Probably, it was she who received most, if not all, the late letters addressed to an unnamed queen, but this premise cannot be conclusively proved. The following discussion will first cover the documents in which Šarelli is mentioned by name, and thereafter the letters that are addressed to an unnamed queen.

The clearest prosopographical evidence for Šarelli is provided by three legal documents dealing with land transactions found together in Room 66 of the Central Archive (*Ug* 5, 261ff.). On one of them “Šar-el-li the queen” is explicitly attested (RS 17.086 = *Ug* 5, 262–63), and on another her name may plausibly be restored (RS 17.325 = *Ug* 5, 264). All three documents carry the impression of a seal ring inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphs (*Ug* 3, 85–86, figs. 106–107). It was logically assumed that the seal should belong to queen Šarelli, but it was impossible to read her name in the hieroglyphs (*Ug* 3, 81, n. 3). It was later realized that the legend actually reads “the seal of the herald *Spd-Bʿl*” (*Ug* 5, 261), and it belonged to the first witness, Šipti-Baʿal, who sealed the document on behalf of the queen.³⁰⁹ This Šipti-Baʿal emerges from the new documents from the Urtenu archive as a very important personage in late-thirteenth century Ugarit, who was both the son-in-law and the main business manager of the queen. His intensive contacts with Egypt and with the “Phoenician coast” (see p. 77) may explain his preference for an Egyptian seal (cf. Vita and Galan 1997).

The special prestige enjoyed by Šarelli is best exemplified by her international correspondence, which covers Ḫatti, Carchemish, some of their Syrian vassals, and perhaps even lands beyond the confines of the Hittite Empire. One is constantly reminded of the outstanding political role played by her contemporary, Great Queen Puduḫepa of Ḫatti.

309. Besides the seal of Šipti-Baʿal, RS 17.325 (= *Ug* 5, 264) also carries the impression of an anepigraphic cylinder seal (*Ug* 3, 86, fig. 107), which must belong to another person mentioned in the document, either one of the witnesses, or the original owner of the property, Yamuna son of Bazute.

In the so-called “Assyrian letter” (RS 6.198; Thureau-Dangin 1935), a certain Belubur³¹⁰ asks his correspondent Ili-Milku³¹¹ to transmit his letters in good spirit to the Queen. A similar request is aired in the Ugaritic letter KTU 2.14 in which *Iwrđn* (*Ewri-šenni?*) demands his correspondent *Iwrpzn* (*Ewri-pizuni?*) to ask Šarelli to recommend his name to the king (Bordreuil 1982: 5ff.; 1983; Cunichillos 1989a: 291ff.).

A most interesting letter to Šarelli is RS 12.033 (= *PRU* 3, 14–15). The name of the “Lady of the land of Ugarit” (l. 2) was read by Nougayrol as *Ne-e-še(?)-ti(?)*, which was then related to *Ntt* in a ritual text (KTU 1.40 = RS 1.002+36). Both readings have meanwhile been corrected and the alleged Nešeti has had to be erased from the list of Ugarit’s queens: the alphabetic word should probably be read *att*, “wife,” whereas the syllabic one is simply *Šar-e-li* (van Soldt 1991a: 13). The letter was written by an important person, who was at least on equal standing with the Lady of Ugarit.³¹² First he specifies the manner in which a consignment of grain had been transported to her, and, after a large gap, he informs the queen about the arrival of a present from Urdanu³¹³ and the consequent dispatch of his own present to her, which consists of one golden cup, one linen garment, 100 shekels of red (*ḥašmānu*)³¹⁴ and 100 shekels of blue (*takiltu*) purple-dyed wool (ll. 5’ff.). Now, this list corresponds exactly with the yearly tribute sent by Ugarit to the queen of Ḫatti according to the provisions of the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Niqmaddu II (RS 17.227.25–26 = *PRU* 4, 42; Beckman 1996c: 152, §3). Who could be the high-ranking person who sent these luxury items to the queen of Ugarit, who would then forward them to the queen of Ḫatti? A clue may be provided by Abimānu, the messenger who transported the valuable objects. The name is quite frequent in Ugarit (Grøndahl 1967: 315, 360), but two candidates readily present themselves: Abimānu mentioned by SUM-^dIM, king of Ušnatu, in his letter to the king of Ugarit (RS 17.083 = *PRU* 4, 216), and Abimānu the owner or the captain of a damaged ship of Carchemish (RS 34.147 = *RSO* 7, no. 5; see p. 66). The two may, in fact, be one and the same person, a seaman operating between Ugarit and Siyannu-Ušnatu. If so, the

310. See n. 289 for the distinction between this Belubur, whose identity remains unknown, and the Assyrian official Bēlu-libūr.

311. Probably identical with the well-known scribe Ili-Milku who was active under Niqmaddu III (see nn. 284, 289, 340).

312. His name or title in the opening line of the letter is obliterated. Nougayrol suggested to restoring LUGAL, but that would imply that the sender was either the King of Carchemish or the King of Ugarit. In view of the letter’s contents (transportation of grain and presents) neither of the two options seems plausible. The author could be a king of Siyannu-Ušnatu (see below).

313. This must be a variant spelling of Urtenu, the well-known business manager associated with Šipti-Ba’al and with the queen of Ugarit.

314. For this spelling see Huehnergard 1989: 354, n. 4. For the color of *ḥušmānu*, see the references cited in *Ug* 5, 136, nn. 1–2.

author of RS 12.033 could be a king of Siyannu-Ušnatu (perhaps SUM-^dIM) who exchanged valuable presents with Queen Šarelli. Alternatively, he could be someone writing from a more distant place, and the grain transport would obviously direct us towards Egypt or Canaan.³¹⁵

In the correspondence of Carchemish with Ugarit there are letters addressed solely to the queen, and a double letter from Kila'e in which the queen is addressed before the king (her son?), a clear indication of her relative status (RS 32.204 = RSO 7, no. 19; see p. 89). In RS 34.145 (= RSO 7, no. 9) the king (of Carchemish) responds to several inquiries of the queen of Ugarit: 1) With regard to the compensation for (the murder of) Ananae³¹⁶ the King had instructed (the *kartappu*) Zuzuli (see p. 93) to take care of the matter; 2) as for the ships (of Ugarit), they may sail as far as Byblos and Sidon but not to more distant places; 3) The requested seals will be sent back to their destination; 4) concerning the taxes of [...]luwa³¹⁷ the Queen should consult her messenger Urtenu; 5) the last intriguing passage apparently deals with some damage inflicted by locusts (BURU₅.ME).

As one would expect, several letters are addressed to the queen of Ugarit by noble ladies from other courts. Foremost of these is the unnamed Hittite princess who addresses the queen of Uga<ri>t³¹⁸ as her "sister" and offers her an exchange of presents (RS 34.154 = RSO 7, no. 18). Could she be the future bride of Ugarit's king, Ehli-Nikkalu (see pp. 100ff.)? Three other ladies who exchange presents with the queen, their lady, are Hebat-azali,³¹⁹ Alluwa,³²⁰ and -]wanna[.³²¹ There is also an Ugaritic letter to the queen written by her (unnamed) "sister" (KTU 2.21 = RS 15.174 = *PRU* 2, 32). The letter mentions a certain 'ibrkd³²² who spoke with the "steward of the vineyard of the queen of Ugarit."³²³

Šarelli or the queen is addressed in three Ugaritic letters sent by a certain *Tlmyn*, her son (KTU 2.11, 2.12, 2.16 = RS 8.315, 9.479A, 15.008; Lipiński 1981: 91ff.). Three more were sent to the queen by her (unnamed) son, the king

315. Cf., e.g., the grain consignment sent from Canaan to Ugarit by Adduya, an intermediary from Akko mentioned in the Ugarit letter found at Tel Aphek (II. 32–33; see p. 113).

316. A messenger called 'Ann'a is mentioned in a fragmentary Ugaritian letter sent by a servant to his king (RS 34.148 = RSO 7, 163–64).

317. Perhaps [A]l-lu-wa(?) as in RS 25.138 (n. 320 below)?

318. The -ri- is twice omitted in the letter (II. 2, 8); is this omission merely accidental or does it perhaps reflect a weak *r* typical for Hittite phonology (Friedrich 1960: 33, § 30b)?

319. RS 20.019 = *Ug* 5, 135–36. For the Hurrian element *azalli*, see Laroche 1976–77: 66.

320. RS 25.138 = Lackenbacher 1989: 318–19. Cf. n. 317 above.

321. RS 20.151 (= *Ug* 5, 138–39). Since -]wanna[- addresses the queen of Ugarit as "my lady" her name cannot be restored as [Ta]wanna[na], a title reserved to queens of Hatti.

322. Perhaps Ewri-Kušu<h>? See Grøndahl 1967: 237; Cunchillos 1981b: 46.

323. *skn gt mlkt ugrt* (II. 8–9). Dijkstra (1987a: 40, n. 14) suggests emending *gr* into *bt*, "house."

(KTU 2.13, 2.30, 2.34 = RS 11.872, 16.379, 17.139). Finally, one letter from Ras Ibn Hani was sent to the queen by her son (KTU 2.82 = RIH 78/12; Pardee 1984a: 221–22 with further refs.). All these letters exhibit a very similar formulation and it is tempting to regard this Talmiyanu as the name of Niqmaddu III before his coronation, still used by him in his letters to his mother.³²⁴ Most of these letters contain little more than the standard greeting formulae, but some of them seem to be reporting the author's visit in Ḫatti and his successful audience with His Majesty (KTU 2.30 = RS 16.379.12–4) and with the queen (KTU 2.13 = RS 11.872.14–5). These reports may well have been sent to Ugarit on the same trip as the one reported in Puduḫepa's letter (KTU 2.36+ = RS 17.435+; see pp. 94ff.). Perhaps Niqmaddu brought to Ḫatti in person the tribute of the Hittite queen which is mentioned in RS 12.033 (= *PRU* 3, 14–15; see p. 98).³²⁵ It could have been on this very occasion that his marriage with the Hittite princess Eḫli-Nikkalu was arranged (see below). This would indeed be a fitting finale for the ageing Puduḫepa, crowning her long and successful career of royal matchmaking.

To conclude this survey on Šarelli's long political career in Ugarit, mention should be made of her fragmentary stele with a dedication to Dagan found in the court of the temple (of Dagan?) on the acropolis of Ugarit (RSO 6, 302–3; figs. 7, 14b; Yon 1997b: 144, no. 19). Next to it was found a similar fully preserved stela with a dedication to Dagan by 'zn, probably identical with Uzzinu, one of the last governors of Ugarit (see p. 72).

6.2.3 The Hittite Princess

Ugarit joined relatively late the circle of privileged vassal states whose kings were granted the right to marry a Hittite princess. Amurru had already exchanged royal brides with Ḫatti after the Battle of Qadesh and consequently her kings were counted among the foremost members of Hittite nobility.³²⁶ Ugarit already had recourse to the institution of political marriages in the fourteenth century, when Niqmaddu II married an Egyptian lady (see p. 37). It is difficult to tell

324. The proposal of Lipiński (1981: 91–92; cf. also Klengel 1992: 140) to identify Talmiyanu with Ammištamru II is refuted by the new data on Šarelli's dating. Talmiyanu could also be a brother of Niqmaddu (van Soldt 1991a: 18, n. 161; Aboud 1994, 39), but in that case the letters sent to the queen by "your son, the king" must be dissociated from those sent by Talmiyanu.

325. The "tribute of Ugarit" is mentioned in a fragmentary Hittite inventory text (KUB 26, 66 iv 5–8; Košak 1982: 67; Siegelová 1986: 108). Unfortunately, from the list itself only "one stone (of) 10 shekels" is preserved. The previous entry has "1x mina and 30 shekels of iron," but the origin of this consignment is unknown. Another inventory text mentions some sort of exchange between Ḫattuša and Ugarit involving Hurrian shirts and two boys (KUB 42.84 rev. 23–27; Siegelová 1986: 128–29).

326. Both Bentešina and Šaušgamuwa were invited to attend the ceremony at the conclusion of the treaty between Tuḫaliya of Ḫatti and Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša (Bronze Tablet iv 30–43; Beckman 1996c: 117, § 27).

whether the Ugaritian court refrained of its own will from marrying into the Hittite nobility, and if so, why this policy was changed towards the end of the thirteenth century. At any rate, this late family connection between the courts of Ḫatti and Ugarit did not meet with the same success as in Amurru.

At first, only one Hittite princess who married a king of Ugarit was taken into consideration: Eḫli-Nikkalu, who allegedly divorced Ammurapi and returned to her homeland (*PRU* 4, 205ff.; Astour 1980). The matter became more complicated when a reference to another royal bride of Ḫatti was discovered in a letter from the Urtenu archive (van Soldt 1989b). In the above-quoted passage from RS 34.136 (= RSO 7, no. 7; see p. 95) the king of Carchemish refers to his correspondent, most probably Ammurapi, as the son of the “in-law” of His Majesty, which inevitably means that Niqmaddu III, if he was indeed Ammurapi’s father, also married a Hittite princess. The search began for this other princess in the sources from Ugarit, and two candidates have readily been suggested: *Tbšr* (van Soldt 1989b) and Anani-^dNIN.GAL (Dijkstra 1990). A reexamination of the evidence may in fact show that there was no other Hittite princess in Ugarit, and RS 34.136 refers to the same Eḫli-Nikkalu who was Niqmaddu III’s widow, rather than Ammurapi’s spouse.

It is best to start this quest for Hittite princesses in Ugarit by briefly recalling the evidence on Eḫli-Nikkalu. Her name is first encountered when her marriage was no longer extant. Two edicts of Talmi-Tešub of Carchemish divide the property between her and the state of Ugarit: the manor of the princess was returned to Ammurapi (RS 17.226 = *PRU* 4, 208), whereas she was allowed to keep all her movable property, including servants, gold, silver, copper utensils, oxen, and asses (RS 17.355 = *PRU* 4, 209–10). A third, related document³²⁷ is a letter sent by the king of Carchemish to the king of Ugarit (both unnamed) concerning the latter’s unworthy treatment of “the daughter of the Sun” (RS 20.216 = *Ug* 5, no. 35). He quotes a fascinating Hittite fable whose sarcastic allusion to the affair of the princess is difficult to fathom.³²⁸

The general assumption has been that Ammurapi was the king who divorced Eḫli-Nikkalu, because the documents recording the division of the property were issued by Carchemish in his name. However, this is by no means the only logical possibility. Nothing in Talmi-Tešub’s decrees necessarily implies that Ammurapi

327. There is also a letter sent to Eḫli-Nikkalu among the tablets found in 1994 in the Urtenu archive (Malbran-Labat 1995b: 109).

328. “One man was detained in prison for five years, and when they told him: ‘Tomorrow morning you will be set free,’ he strangled himself. Now you have acted in the same way.” (II. 5–13; Astour 1980: 104; cf. Beckman 1996c: 170). The rest of the letter is in a deplorable state of preservation, which does not allow a clear picture of the reprimands of the king of Carchemish.

was Eḫli-Nikkalu's husband.³²⁹ She could have been married to Ammurapi's father, Niqmaddu III, in which case she would have maintained her position and property in Ugarit after her husband's death. This would be the normal procedure, as no doubt happened in other cases in which Hittite princesses marrying abroad survived their husbands.³³⁰ However, in this case the royal widow must have chosen (or was urged to choose) to give up her residence in Ugarit, perhaps for the prospect of remarriage elsewhere. Naturally, she had to renounce all her real estate in Ugarit, which was given back to the new king, Ammurapi.³³¹ To my mind, this is at least as logical a scenario as the one that envisages a troublesome divorce between the last king of Ugarit and the daughter of the Great King of Ḫatti. It is well to note that nothing in the available texts suggests that the alleged "divorce" was the outcome of any grave marital problems, as was the case with the ill-fated *bittu rabīti* from Amurru (pp. 83–84). Her alleged abduction and mistreatment are based on a damaged passage,³³² and it is better to refrain from reconstructing far-fetched historical dramas based on it (see, e.g., Lebrun 1995: 86). The same applies to her later destiny. The otherwise unknown Tanḫuwatašša, king of Ḫapišše (RS 17.355.6–8), who is usually assumed to be her next husband, could just as well be her brother or some other relative with whom she stayed after she had left Ugarit.

If our assumption that Eḫli-Nikkalu was Niqmaddu III's spouse is valid, we may speculate further about her royal parentage. Šuppiluliuma II could hardly have had a daughter old enough to be married to Niqmaddu III. His brother Arnuwanda III died after a short reign and left no offspring.³³³ The choice is practically reduced to a daughter of Tuḫaliya "IV," that is, a sister of the last two kings of Ḫatti.³³⁴ Her mother may also be referred to in a very fragmentary letter apparently dealing with the journey of a "daughter of the Sun," who could be Eḫli-Nikkalu, either as a bride travelling to Ugarit, or, more probably, as a widow

329. Dijkstra (1990: 98–99) has already considered this possibility, but then rejected it. After going halfway in proving that Eḫli-Nikkalu need not be Ammurapi's divorcee, he categorically states, without explaining, that "Eḫli-Nikkalu cannot have been this Hittite wife of Ammurapi's father." He then develops his theory on Anani-NIN.GAL, for which see below.

330. A similar situation would have occurred, e.g., if Gaššuliyawiya, the Great Lady (*rabīti*) of Amurru, survived her husband Bentešina (Singer 1991b: 335, n. 22).

331. See n. 347 for a possible reason for Eḫli-Nikkalu's departure from Ugarit.

332. RS 20.216.13–5': "... whoe[ver] exiled the daughter of the Sun, hers[elf], from her land" may simply refer to her passage from her homeland to Ugarit.

333. KUB 26, 33 ii 1'–9'; Otten 1963: 3. The text says that he had no "seed" (NUMUN), but this could arguably refer to male offspring only.

334. Theoretically, a daughter of Ḫattušili "III" would also be possible, but she would probably be too old to marry the penultimate king of Ugarit.

leaving the city.³³⁵ If indeed the “Sun” in this text refers to Tuthaliya “IV,” the Great Queen would be his Babylonian spouse.³³⁶

The existence of other Hittite princesses married in Ugarit is quite doubtful. The label KTU 6.24 = RS 17.072 (= *PRU* 2, no. 175) with the inscription “Document *tbšr* (of) the bride, the daughter of the Sun” (*spr tbšr klt bt špš*) could very well refer to the dowry of Eḫli-Nikkalu returned to her in Talmi-Tešub’s edict.³³⁷ van Soldt attempted to make a case for *Tbšr* being the name of the bride, but as he himself admits (1989: 391) his Hurrian reconstruction of the name (**Tubbi-š¹arri*) is quite problematic and as yet unattested. It is preferable to take *tbšr* as a Semitic verbal noun with the meaning “cutting off, separation, division” (Dijkstra 1990: 97–98), which would be a most fitting designation for Eḫli-Nikkalu’s returned property.

Dijkstra suggested identifying the elusive Hittite bride of Niqmaddu III with a certain *Annpdgl* in a fragmentary liturgical text (KTU 1.84 = RS 17.100.3) which also mentions a *Nqmd*.³³⁸ If the two are queen and king (presumably Niqmaddu III), this **Anani-Peddigalli* would be tentatively equated with Anani-NIN.GAL, the author of a fragmentary letter sent to her lady [... *n*]uwiya (RS 19.080 = *PRU* 6, no. 2). This letter is a touching testament of an ailing lady who seeks to secure the future of her daughter (Ammaya) and her other descendants. Her correspondent (hardly the queen) is asked to intercede with the Chief Scribe to grant asylum to her descendants in the event that their situation in Ugarit worsens (see p. 107). Anani-NIN.GAL may indeed have been a foreigner in Ugarit, or a local citizen threatened by some opponents, but her identification as the Hittite princess married to the king of Ugarit rests on a chain of unwarranted assumptions.

In conclusion, the information presently available unequivocally identifies only one Hittite princess married in Ugarit, Eḫli-Nikkalu, who probably left the city after the death of her husband Niqmaddu III.

335. RS 17.429 (= *PRU* 4, 227–28; Astour 1980: 105, n. 19). The fragment mentions (l. 5') “[the m]en of the Great Queen” (L)JMEŠ SAL.LUGAL GAL) and (l. 7') “the daughter of the Sun, her daughter” (DUMU.SAL 4UTU-ŠI DUMU.SAL-ši).

336. For the Babylonian princess who married Tuthaliya “IV,” see Houwink ten Cate 1996: 64ff., and the refs. quoted by him on p. 43, n. 5.

337. The label was found in Court V in the Southern Palace, not far from the edicts concerning the property of Eḫli-Nikallu (Room 68). It could, in fact, have been attached to them or to some other inventory of Eḫli-Nikkalu’s dowry, comparable to Aḫat-Milku’s trousseau (Dijkstra 1990: 99).

338. Not “together” as stated by Dijkstra, but rather 37 lines later, in a totally destroyed passage.

7 THE LAST YEARS OF UGARIT

Documents belonging to the last period of Ugarit have been found in all the archives of Ugarit and Ras Ibn Hani. In fact, it is becoming increasingly clear in recent years that most of the tablets found at Ugarit belong to the last fifty years of its history (Lackenbacher 1995a: 70). The most significant new evidence is supplied by the archive discovered in the southern part of the city, in the building known as the House of Urtenu.³³⁹ The texts unearthed in 1973 and published in 1991 (RSO 7) have already opened new vistas into the study of Ugarit's late history, and the preliminary information on the finds from the 1994 season, which yielded 134 letters (twenty in Ugaritic), promises exciting new insights.³⁴⁰

Important results have also been achieved through meticulous reexamination of the archaeological data from the earlier excavations. For example, the long-held view about "the last tablets of Ugarit" which were placed in a "baking oven" (*four aux tablettes*) in Court V of the royal palace shortly before Ugarit was destroyed (Schaeffer 1962: 31–37) has been conclusively refuted. It is now evident that the oven was installed by squatters after the destruction of the palace and it has nothing to do with the tablets which probably fell down from an upper floor where they were originally stored.³⁴¹ Thus, none of the more than 150 tablets and fragments found there may automatically be dated to the last years of Ugarit simply on the evidence of their findspot. Information for their dating must be sought painstakingly in the contents of these documents, and the same holds true for the other archives of Ugarit.³⁴² For example, the tablets found in the palace archives span the entire last century and a half of Ugarit's history and it is impossible to date any of these tablets simply on the basis of their archaeological context (Liverani 1988b: 126ff.). There are some promising beginnings, though, in the development of dating tools based on script, orthography, and grammatical features.³⁴³

339. For the circumstances of the discovery and the archaeological evidence, see Yon 1995; Lombard 1995. For the identification of the residence of Urtenu, see Bordreuil and Pardee 1995b; Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995b: 444.

340. Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995; Malbran-Labat 1995a; Lackenbacher 1995a. One of the important discoveries in the new archive is a mythological fragment whose colophon identifies the scribe as Ili-Milku (*Ilmlk*), probably the same scribe who wrote most of the Ugaritic mythological texts (see Wyatt 1997, 1998). Ili-Milku is known to have acted under king Niqmaddu, and it is now evident that this must be the late-thirteenth century king, and not his mid-fourteenth century namesake, as previously assumed (Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 447–48).

341. Calvet 1990: 40, n. 2; Lombard 1995: 228–29; Millard 1995: 119; Yon 1997b: 54. This is demonstrated, among other things, by fragments found several meters away from the "oven" that joined with one of the tablets allegedly found within it (Lombard 1995: 229).

342. For a recent survey on the distribution of tablets in the various archives of Ugarit, see Lackenbacher 1995a (with refs. to earlier studies).

343. Huehnergard 1989: 341–42; van Soldt 1991a; 1995c. See, e.g., van Soldt 1995c: 208, for a differentiation between the spelling of documents from the reigns of the first kings of Ugarit (Niqmaddu II, Arḥalba,

7.1 AMMURAPI (CA. 1215–1190/85)

The coronation of the last king of Ugarit, Ammurapi, was celebrated in a fascinating ritual, the text of which was discovered in 1973 in the area which turned out to be the residence of Urtenu.³⁴⁴ The liturgy proclaimed at the funerary ritual of Niqmaddu III was intended to assure the legitimacy of the new king by invoking the deified ancestors of the dynasty: the spirits (*rpum*) of the netherworld, the council of the Didanites (see p. 28), four individually named *rpum*,³⁴⁵ and two departed kings, Ammištamru and Niqmaddu. The latter must be the dead king Niqmaddu III, who is mourned in the following lines. As for Ammištamru, it is usually assumed that the thirteenth century king is referred to, but then, it is not clear why Ibiranu, Niqmaddu III's father (see p. 93), should have been omitted. Perhaps the ritual invoked a more illustrious forefather of the new king, either his grandfather, or perhaps even a more remote ancestor.

The last king of Ugarit, Ammurapi,³⁴⁶ was a contemporary of Talmi-Tešub of Carchemish (RS 17.226 = *PRU* 4, 208) and, by extension, of Šuppiluliuma II, the last king of Ḫatti. The length of his reign was once considered to be very short (e.g., Lehmann 1983: 89–90; Klengel 1992: 148), but the new documentation, in particular some valuable Egyptian synchronisms, have extended it to over twenty years, spanning the turn of the twelfth century (see p. 113).

Ammurapi's filiation used to be considered problematic, and it was even suggested that, though related to the royal family, he might have usurped the throne of Ugarit (Liverani 1962: 131; 1979a: 1312; Klengel 1992: 148). The only possible mention of Ammurapi's filiation is in the very fragmentary land grant RS 17.322.2' (= *PRU* 6, no. 47), [*A(m)-mu-ra-a*]*p-i*(?) DUMU! *Niq-ma-ḫIM*, but this restoration is far from certain (van Soldt 1991a: 3, n. 29). However, the legitimacy of his royal descent is now rendered more probable by a letter from the Urtenu archive in which the king (of Carchemish) recalls an embarrassing incident which took place “at the time of your father, the in-law (*ḫatanu*) of His Majesty” (RS 34.136 = *RSO* 7, no. 7). If the letter was addressed to Ammurapi, which seems highly probable (see p. 96), his father must have been the king of Ugarit who married a Hittite princess (see p. 102).

Niqmepa) and the last ones (Ammištamru II, Ibiranu, Niqmaddu III, Ammurapi).

344. KTU 1.161 = RS 34.126 (= *RSO* 7, no. 90). The first reliable publication based on a collation of the original tablet was provided by Bordreuil and Pardee 1982. For the extensive bibliography on this text, see the updated list in *RSO* 7, 152, to which add Levine, de Tarragon, and Robertson 1997, and Wyatt 1998: 430.

345. These four *rpum* (*ulkn*, *trmn*, *sdn-w-rdn*, *tr-llmn*) are otherwise unknown.

346. A seal ring bearing the name of Ammurapi written in cuneiform Akkadian has turned up on the antiquity market, but its provenance from Ras Shamra can not be ascertained (Schaeffer 1954, 34, n. 2; Nougayrol 1956: 205, n. 1).

Three of the documents dated to Ammurapi deal with the property division between him and the Hittite princess Ehli-Nikkalu, but, as suggested above, she was not Ammurapi's divorcee but rather Niqmaddu III's widow.³⁴⁷ Nor was Šarelli, who was hailed at the coronation of Ammurapi (KTU 1.161 = RS 34.126.33, [t]ry/), his spouse, but rather his grandmother who lived to a respectable old age (see p. 92). The only candidate for Ammurapi's queen remains a certain lady Ašdadā who appears in a yet unpublished legal document sealed with "the seal of the queen" (RS 22.002; van Soldt 1991a: 18). The tablet was found in a "private archive" dating to the end of Ugarit (19), and if she was indeed a queen she may well be "matched" with Ammurapi, the only "single" king of Ugarit.

The reign of Ammurapi is marked by two drastic developments that accelerated the collapse of the Hittite Empire: the food shortage that had already been felt by the mid-thirteenth century and had now reached devastating proportions, and the destructive movements of the seaborne enemies known as the "Sea Peoples" who were probably driven by the same famine. These topics will be dealt in separate entries after the description of Ugarit's foreign relations.

7.1.1 More Reprimands from the Overlords

The last king of Ugarit received his share of reprimands for disobeying his Hittite overlords, perhaps even more than his predecessors. In an Ugaritic translation of a letter sent to him by the "Sun" (KTU 2.39 = RS 18.038 = *PRU* 5, 60) he is categorically reminded of his position and his duties: "You belong to the Sun your master; a servant indeed, his possession are you.... To me, the Sun, your master, why have you not come for one year, two years?" (Pardee 1981: 152). After this harsh scolding Ammurapi is further reprimanded for being late in sending the much-needed food consignments to Ḫatti (see below p. 114). A similar letter of reprimand was sent to Ammurapi by the King (of Carchemish), but only its opening lines are preserved (RS 13.007B = *PRU* 3, 6).

The Urtenu archive added in 1994 some half a dozen letters to the correspondence of Ammurapi.³⁴⁸ A long letter was sent to him by the "Chief Scribe (and) Chief Equerry (*tuppanura ḫuburtinura*),³⁴⁹ the Great, noble of Ḫatti" to

347. It is inconceivable that Ehli-Nikkalu was Ammurapi's mother. If he was indeed the son of Niqmaddu III, he must have been the son of another wife of his father. This may have played some role in Ehli-Nikkalu's departure from Ugarit.

348. Lackenbacher 1995a: 70, n. 22; Malbran-Labat 1995a: 106, who mentions that one of the topics dealt with in the letters sent from the Great King of Ḫatti is the performance of some rituals.

349. The two terms are juxtaposed and probably refer to the same dignitary (Malbran-Labat 1995a: 106, n. 6). A [*ḫubu*]rtanuri (?) is probably also addressed in a letter sent by Ammištamru (RS 20.200 c = *Ug* 5, no. 29; following the collation by Arnaud 1996: 60, n. 76).

his “good brother” Ammurapi; it deals with various diplomatic and political matters and a quasi-duplicate was sent by the Great King (Malbran-Labat 1995a: 106, n. 6). Another letter mentions the Chief Scribe as the chief authority in matters of custom tolls paid by merchants upon their entrance into Hittite Syria (RS 92.2007; Arnaud 1996: 58ff.). The leading role played by the Chief Scribe in this period is best exemplified by the letter already discussed in which the king of Carchemish (probably Talmi-Tešub) reprimands the king of Ugarit (probably Ammurapi) for sending inadequate presents to the Hittite dignitaries, especially to the *tuppalanuri*³⁵⁰ (RS 34.136 = RSO 7, no. 7; see p. 95). To these letters from the Urtenu archive we may add another from the Southwest archive, in which a certain Anani-Nikkal beseeches her lady [... *n*]uwiya to intercede for her with the *tuppanuri* who is in the position to save her descendants from misery in Ugarit (RS 19.080 = PRU 6, no. 2).³⁵¹ Perhaps all these late texts refer to the same influential dignitary who at the end of the Hittite Empire accumulated considerable political and economic power.

7.1.2 The Rising “Sun” of Egypt

A fascinating letter from the Urtenu archive unveils a yet unsuspected facet of Ugarit’s foreign policy in the last decades of its existence (RS 88.2158; Lackenbacher 1995b). It is the response of Pharaoh Merneptah³⁵² to a previous missive from Ugarit extensively quoted in the long letter. The letterhead with the name of the addressee is unfortunately missing, but the possibilities may be reduced to either Niqmaddu III or Ammurapi, probably the latter. The elaborate greeting formula, partly lost, contains Pharaoh’s approval that “[... your] ancestors (were) indeed the servants of the king, [the excellent son of Ra]; you too (are) the servant of the king, the excellent son of Ra (^dUTU-*a*), like them.” We shall return to this significant statement, but first to the no less remarkable contents of the letter. The king of Ugarit had requested that an Egyptian sculptor be sent to Ugarit to make an image of Merneptah in front of the statue of Ba‘al in his renovated temple in Ugarit (ll. 10’–16’; Lackenbacher 1997). Merneptah responds evasively: “The sculptors who work here in Egypt are engaged in ful-

350. The term appears in Ugarit both as *tuppanura* (> *tuppan+ura*) and as *tuppalanura* (> *tuppalan+ura*). For the Luwian etymology, see Laroche 1956: 27ff.; see also Arnaud 1996: 59–60. It seems that the form *tup-pa-at-nu-ri* in RS 92.2007 *ibid.*) is merely a spelling variant of *tup-pa-la-nu-ri*; for the confusion of the signs *la* and *at* in Hittite texts, see Singer 1996a: 136–37, n. 307.

351. For a tentative interpretation of this letter, see Arnaud 1996: 60–61.

352. Lines 12’–13’: *Mar-ni-ip-[a-ah] ha-at-pa-mu-a*. The second word is the cuneiform rendering of an Egyptian epithet (*ḥtp m3’ t* meaning “he who is content with justice”) (Yoyotte *apud* Lackenbacher 1995b: 78). As identified by Lackenbacher (1994), the same epithet appears in a Boğazköy text which mentions the “son of Mamiptah” (KUB 3.38 obv. 5’–6’).

filling their duty for the great gods of Egypt. Behold, since the king has taken his seat on the throne of Ra, these have worked for the great gods of Egypt. But as soon as they finish, the king will send to you the carpenters that you have asked for in order that they may perform all the tasks that you will command them (by saying): “Do them!”³⁵³ Unless this is a totally groundless excuse, Merneptah’s answer must refer to his own coronation in 1213. Assuming that the letter of the king of Ugarit was sent on the occasion of the change of rulers in Egypt, RS 88.2158 must be dated not too long after this date, a valuable chronological anchor which may perhaps be related to events in Ugarit itself. Recent archaeological investigations have shown that large parts of the city, including the temple of Baʿal, had to be rebuilt in the second half of the thirteenth century B.C.E., possibly as a result of a seismic event (Callot 1994, 197ff.; Lackenbacher 1995b: 78–79).

The polite refusal to meet Ugarit’s exceptional request is counterbalanced by a strikingly rich consignment of luxury goods that is about to be loaded onto a ship returning to Ugarit. It contains various textile and clothing articles totaling 102 items; 50 large baulks of ebony; 1,000 plaques of red, white and blue stones; altogether 12 large packages sealed with the royal seal. After these rather conventional luxury goods, which find good parallels in the Amarna letters and in the Hittite–Egyptian correspondence, the list of presents continues with more exceptional prestige items: 800(!) whips or flails (*ištuḥḥu*^{MEŠ} SÍG^{MEŠ}), 4 ...-fish (*lippatu* ku₆.meš), 2 large *girgû*-cords (Lackenbacher 1996), 8 large ropes with a total length of 1,200 cubits.³⁵⁴

The letter concludes with the announcement that the messenger of Ugarit will soon be sent back to his country in the company of the royal messenger of Egypt, Ammaia, “Chief of the ships of the treasury.”³⁵⁵ The same messenger (bearing the same tide) appears in another Akkadian letter of Merneptah (RS 94.2002 + 2003’ rev. 3), and probably also in an Ugaritic draft of a letter of Ammurapi (RS 34.356.3; see below p. 114). This could indicate that the addressee of Merneptah’s letters was the last king of Ugarit, a valuable synchronism indeed.

353. Lines 17’–25’. It is noteworthy that Merneptah opens by saying that the *sculptors* (lú bur.gul.meš, lit. “stone-cutters”) are busy, and concludes by promising to send *carpenters* (lú nagar.meš). Lackenbacher (1995b: 80) assumes that the reference is to another request from Ugarit, but this sudden switch in subject may simply be a polite way to inform the king of Ugarit that he should content himself with whatever artisans he will get from Egypt.

354. Cf. the list of presents sent from Egypt to the ruler of Byblos according to the Report of Wenamon, which includes thirty baskets of fish and five hundred ropes (Simpson 1973: 151).

355. Lines 31’f.: lú gal giš.má.meš ša é [ú-de-]e. For this messenger and his title (with textual refs.), see the extensive commentary of Lackenbacher, forthcoming.

The list of Egyptian presents in RS 88.2158 provides an excellent example of the continuing demand for fashionable prestige items at the royal courts of the Near East until the very end of the Bronze Age. The valuable construction materials may have served for the adornment of the new temple of Ba'al, but some of them could have been used for other purposes in Ugarit itself or forwarded to other destinations.³⁵⁶ Nothing is said in the letter about the price paid by Ugarit to match such a bountiful Egyptian present in size and quality.³⁵⁷ One may perhaps recall in this context the well-known sword inscribed with a cartouche of Merneptah that was found in the residential quarter east of the palace (Schaeffer 1956; cf. Helck 1995: 93). It may have been a present sent by Merneptah on some other occasion, or perhaps vice versa, a luxury item manufactured in Ugarit that for some reason never reached its destination in Egypt (Yon 1997b: 81, 178).

Whether a statue of Merneptah was ever erected in the temple of Ba'al is hard to say, but it is quite tempting to recall in this context an Egyptian pedestal found in the Southern Palace in 1955 (RS 19.186 = *Ug* 4, 124, fig. 101; RSO 5/1, 226). It carries an offering formula invoking Ba'al,³⁵⁸ but unfortunately the donor's name is broken off. As noted by Vandier (*Ug* 4, 133, 135), the base has a hole into which a statuette, probably of an Egyptian person, was fastened. The piece is dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty, and in view of the mention of a Seth-like deity, Vandier suggested the reign of Sety I, but obviously, a dating to Merneptah is just as possible. Another relevant object is the votive stele found in 1929 in the temple of Ba'al, which carries an inscription of the royal scribe and overseer of the palace treasuries *M3my*, dedicated to Ba'al Šaphon (RS 1.[089] + = AO 13176; RSO 5/1, 39, fig. b; Gasse *apud* Yon (ed.) 1991: 286–88; also 328 fig. 8a).

All in all, this exchange of letters can point to nothing less than a forthright overture to restore the traditional political ties between Egypt and Ugarit, notwithstanding the latter's obligations towards her Hittite overlord. Such an official correspondence could hardly have escaped the notice of the Hittite foreign office which operated scores of diplomats and messengers both in Ugarit and in Egypt. Despite the tolerance with which the Hittites traditionally viewed Ugarit's foreign relations, this explicit overture towards Egypt must have been regarded as crossing the red line of double allegiance,³⁵⁹ especially in a period of growing dissatisfaction with Ugarit's performance as a vassal state. I wonder whether

356. Note, e.g., the small ropes (*ibīlī* tur.meš) requested by a king of Tarḫuntašša from Ammurapi (RS 34.139 = RSO 7, no. 14; see n. 177).

357. Note, however, the 2,000 (shekels?) of silver mentioned in the fragmentary letter KTU 2.81 = RIH 78/3 + 30.12'f., which also belongs to the Egyptian correspondence (see pp. 110–11).

358. The iconography of the relevant hieroglyph identifies the god as Ba'al, rather than Seth. Cf. Giveon 1986: 840; Cornelius 1994, 134ff. I wish to thank Dr. Deborah Sweeney for her remarks on this inscription.

359. Cf. Lackenbacher's (1995b: 83) similar interpretation of the evidence.

Merneptah's polite refusal to set up his statue in Ugarit may be interpreted as a cautious abstention from provoking his Hittite allies with whom he maintained a lucrative trade. At any rate, such a bold political move by Ugarit could hardly have been made a few generations earlier, and it is yet another indication for the waning reverence for Hittite authority in Syria.

The letter of Merneptah, RS 88.2158, is an invaluable addition to a small group of documents belonging to the correspondence between Egypt and Ugarit in the late-thirteenth century. It has recently been announced that a further letter of Merneptah (RS 94.2002 + 2003) was discovered in the house of Urtenu in 1994 (Lackenbacher, forthcoming), and it mentions consignments of grain sent from Egypt to relieve the famine in Ugarit.

The remaining documents in the Egyptian dossier, three in Ugaritic and one in Akkadian, are very fragmentary and add little to our information on the exact nature of these contacts.

Three Ugaritic drafts for letters sent by the king of Ugarit to the "Sun" of Egypt, his lord, were discovered in the seventies. The name of the sender, Ammurapi (ll. 2, 11: *mrpi*), is preserved only in KTU 2.76 = RS 34.356 (Bordreuil 1982: 10–12), which was found on the surface of the mound in the area of the Urtenu archive. The small fragment seems to contain two separate opening formulae (1ff. and 9ff.), which perhaps served as standard models for addressing the Pharaoh. It also contains the name of the messenger (*mlak*) *Nmy* or *Amy* (l. 3). If the latter reading is valid, *Amy* could be the Ugaritic equivalent of cuneiform *Ammaia*, the head of the Egyptian expedition in the letters of Merneptah (RS 88.2158.31'; RS 94.2002 + 2003 rev. 3–4; Lackenbacher, forthcoming; see p. 108).

A very similar elaborate address is better preserved in a fragment from Ras Ibn Rani: "[To the Sun], the great king, the king of Egypt, [the graciou]s [king], the just king, [the king of ki]ngs, the lord of all the land [of Egyp]t."³⁶⁰ The identity of the sender is almost entirely lost,³⁶¹ but the close parallel with RS 34.356 suggests Ammurapi. The fragmentary reverse of the text mentions³⁶²

360. KTU 2.81 = RIH 78/3 + 30; Bordreuil and Caquot 1980: 356–57; Pardee and Bordreuil 1992: 711. For the epithets, see Milano 1983.

361. "Your servant" in l. 5 is preceded by either *jr*, which could be the last letter of Ammištamru, or by *jk* which could be restored as *mlk* "the king" (Bordreuil and Caquot 1980: 357). Although the former possibility cannot be entirely excluded, an attribution of the letter to Ammurapi is far more likely.

362. The isolated *ully* in l. 2' was identified by Bordreuil and Caquot (1980: 357) as the PN Uliliya, but the context is too fragmentary.

some monetary transaction amounting to 2,000 (shekels?) of silver (Il. 12'–13'), some cargo,³⁶³ the sea, and the people of Ugarit.³⁶⁴

The third Ugaritic letter to a Pharaoh, KTU 2.23 = RS 16.078 + 16.109 + 16.117 (*PRU* 2, 18), has traditionally been dated to the Amarna Age. Since the sender solemnly intercedes with Ba'al Šaphon, Amon, and the gods of Egypt to assure a long life for his lord, the letter has been dated either before Akhenaten's reform (Vroloffe 1957: 35; Helck 1971: 194, n. 52; Givón 1986: 839), or after it (Liverani 1962: 32; Cunchillos 1989a: 311, n. 13). The possibility that the letter should rather be attributed to the late-thirteenth century was first raised by Klenkel (1969: 347), who noted that the tablet was found in the same context as KTU 2.33 = RS 16.402, a late letter in Ugaritic dealing with the enemy in Mukiš (see p. 114). This ingenious suggestion gained much in probability after the discovery of the other Ugaritic drafts of letters sent to Egypt. The elaborate opening formulae are missing in this letter, which starts *ex abrupto* with a quotation from a previous letter of Pharaoh (Il. 1–2). The very fragmentary central part of the letter apparently deals with an exchange of messengers (l. 6), and the well-preserved end contains the above-mentioned blessings for the life of Pharaoh. Nothing in this letter provides a reliable dating, but it generally recalls the two smaller fragments mentioned above, one of which is safely dated to Ammurapi. In fact, I wonder whether these fragments could be drafts for the official letter,³⁶⁵ translated into Akkadian, which was sent to Merneptah and was extensively quoted in his response. The intercession of the king of Ugarit with his lord Ba'al-Šaphon to grant long years to Pharaoh (RS 16.117+) curiously recalls his request to erect a statue of Merneptah in front of the statue of Ba'al of Ugarit (RS 88.2158). Needless to emphasize, this tentative suggestion to identify the corresponding monarchs of Egypt and Ugarit as Merneptah and Ammurapi respectively, may add a valuable synchronism which at present cannot be conclusively proved.

The last document in the correspondence with Egypt is the much-discussed letter of Beya found in 1986 in the Urtenu archive (RS 86.2230).³⁶⁶ Unfortunately, only the opening lines are preserved in the Akkadian letter addressed to Ammurapi by Beya, "Chief of the troops of the Great King, King of the land of

363. Ugaritic *dr'* (Il. 3', 5') is usually rendered as "shipment, cargo," but, as suggested by Bordreuil and Caquot (1980: 357), it could also be a variant spelling of *dr'*, "seed (of grain)." Cf. also Dietrich and Loretz 1966b: 129; Hofijzer 1979: 387–88, *DLU* 141.

364. L. 15' *Ugrty* is rendered as either the ethnicon "Ugaritians," or as *Ugrt-ym*, "Ugarit-on-Sea," like *šdn-ym*, "Sidon-on-Sea" in Phoenician inscriptions), which could refer to Ras Ibn Hani where the tablet was found (Bordreuil and Caquot 1980: 357).

365. Note that RS 34.356 seems to consist of models for a letterhead, whereas RS 16.117 skips over the opening. However, the large distance between the findspots of the two tablets precludes the possibility that they once belonged to the same letter draft.

366. Arnaud *apud* Bordreuil 1987: 297; Arnaud 1992: 181, n. 6. Photographs of the fragment were published in Arnaud 1993: 248–49, no. 222; Yon 1997b: 137, no. 4.

Egypt.”³⁶⁷ The greetings open with blessings to Amon, Ra, and Seth, the gods of Egypt: “May they protec[t....]”³⁶⁸

It was immediately recognized that Beya is most probably identical with *B3y*, a renowned figure in late Nineteenth Dynasty Egypt (Arnaud 1986–87, 188; Freu 1988).³⁶⁹ Of northern origin, he adopted an Egyptian name (*R'-mssw-h' m-ntrw*) but continued to use his Asiatic name in his inscriptions and correspondence. He is first heard of under Sety II when he bears the title “royal scribe and royal butler.” After the death of Sety II, Beya played a dominant role in placing Siptah, the young son of a concubine, on the throne of Egypt. In concert with Queen Tausert, Sety II’s widow, he acted as guardian to the young king, and in fact took over the government of Egypt, bearing the exceptional title “Great chancellor of the entire land.” He even built himself a tomb in the Valley of the Kings next to that of Tausert, a privilege granted only to members of the royal family. After the premature death of Siptah, Tausert crowned herself as Pharaoh and *B3y* probably kept his office until her throne was usurped by Sethnakht, the founder of a new dynasty (Kitchen 1995: 87). *B3y*’s enemies later denigrated his memory and depicted the “empty years” of his rule as a period of confusion and anarchy (see refs. in de Moor 1996: 224, n. 17).

The identification of Beya with *B3y*, which has meanwhile been broadly accepted,³⁷⁰ has been sharply criticized by Kitchen (1995: 86), partly on misconstrued evidence.³⁷¹ He claims that the Akkadian title of Beya cannot be reconciled with the Egyptian titles of *B3y*, and “so, it is better to identify the Ras Shamra Beya with some Chief of the bodyguard and/or (northern) Vizier *Piay, otherwise unknown to us—which robs this tablet of any chronological value” (Kitchen 1995: 86–87). The independent correspondence of an Egyptian official, other than the Pharaoh himself, with the last king of Ugarit is hardly imaginable, unless he was the most prominent figure in Egypt. Transmitting official titles from one language to the other is always difficult, and particularly so in the case of Egyptian titles.³⁷² It is most unfortunate that the letter apparently does

367. Lines 2–3: LÚ.GAL ÉRIN.MEŠ *lu-ra-de₄*^{MEŠ} ša LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR *Mi-iš-ri-m[a]* (Arnaud 1992: 181, n. 6; missed by Lehmann 1996: 32, n. 48, who, following Helck 1995: 93–94, erroneously assumes that the cuneiform title of Beya is GAL *mešedi*). *luwādu/hrd* in Ugarit designates groups of soldiers or civilians who perform civil service for the king (Márquez Rowe 1995: 263–64; van Soldt 1995b).

368. Lines 7–9: *a-na-ku a-qa-ab-bi a-na* ^d*A-ma-ni a-na* ^dUTU ^dIŠKUR DINGIR.MEŠ ša KUR *Mi-iš-ri-ma-a li-iš-su-r[u ...]* (Arnaud 1993: 181).

369. For the Egyptological literature on *B3y*, see refs. in Freu 1988; de Moor 1996: 217ff.; Helck 1995: 93–94; Kitchen 1995: 86–87.

370. van Soldt 1991a: 45–46; Yon 1992c: 119; Hoffner 1992: 49; Drews 1993: 6; Helck 1995: 93–94; De Moor 1996: 217ff.; Lehmann 1996: 32; Baldacci 1996: 215.

371. Incorrectly referring to Freu, he implies that the cuneiform title of Beya includes “Vizier.” For the correct title, see n. 367 above.

372. For the cuneiform equivalents of Egyptian titles, see, e.g., Singer 1983b: 20–21; Edel 1994, ii 277ff.

not contain any additional information that might help us to reach a conclusive identification. Even so, there is a very high probability that Beya and B3y are one and the same person,³⁷³ and this provides a most valuable *terminus post quem* for the fall of Ugarit within the reign of Siptah or Tausert, that is, between 1194 and 1186 (see n. 10). Another result of the new Egyptian letters is a considerable extension of Ammurapi's reign, which was once considered to be very short. Assuming that Ammurapi is the addressee of RS 88.2158, his rule must have begun in the first years of Merneptah, and it extended into the period when Beya, the Great Chancellor of Siptah and Tausert, still held office.

7.1.3 Grain Shipments from Egypt

First signs of a grain shortage in Ḫatti already appear towards the mid-thirteenth century. In a letter to Ramesses II the Hittite queen Puduḫepa urges him to take over as soon as possible the horses, cattle, and sheep given to the Hittite princess as her dowry, because, as she says, "I have no grain in my lands" (KUB 21.38 obv. 17–18; Edel 1994, i 216–17). Soon after the signing of the peace treaty in 1258 a high-ranking Hittite expedition went down to Egypt to procure barley and wheat and to organize its prompt shipment to Ḫatti.³⁷⁴ This vital import of food to Ḫatti must have reached sizable proportions towards the end of the century, when Merneptah boasted that he "caused grain to be taken in ships, to keep alive this land of Ḫatti" (KRI IV 5,3).

The port of Ugarit³⁷⁵ and its commercial fleet played a pivotal role in this trade, as shown by various Akkadian and Ugaritic documents.³⁷⁶ An Akkadian tablet discovered at Tel Aphek (some 10 km east of Tel Aviv) contains a letter sent (around 1230) from Takuḫlinu, the governor of Ugarit, to Ḫaya, the Egyptian governor of Canaan (Owen 1981; Singer 1983b). It deals with a transaction of 250 parisu (about 15 tons) of grain, mediated by a certain Adduya of Akko. The grain is paid for with silver, but the governor of Ugarit sends an extra present of 100 (shekels) of blue and 10 of red purple-dyed wool. The efforts invested in procuring such a relatively small amount of grain only emphasize the severity of the situation.

373. According to Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 445 the new documents from the Urtenu archive mention Ramesses, Merneptah and Sety. If the latter is Sety II, this would provide further support for the Beya = B3y equation.

374. KBo 3.34 rev. 15ff.; Edel 1994, i 184–185, ii 281–282; cf. also Klengel 1974, 167.

375. The main port of Ugarit was at Minet el-Beida, ancient Ma'ḫadu, for which see Astour 1970; Yon 1994a; Saadé 1995. Ras Ibn Hani, some 5 km further south on the coast, was probably a secondary residence of the royal family of Ugarit (see p. 20).

376. On the maritime trade of Ugarit, see the extensive bibliography cited in Cunchillos 1989a: 351–52, n. 9, and Vita 1995: 160, n. 2; add Yon 1994b: esp. 431ff.; and Saadé 1995: 222ff.

The cereals bought in Egypt and in Canaan were shipped along the Levantine coast to Ugarit and Mukiš and thence to the ports of southern Anatolia, in particular to Ura. A letter sent from Tyre recounts the adventures of some grain-laden ships returning from Egypt that were caught in a storm near the coast of Tyre (RS 18.031; see p. 77).

An Akkadian letter sent by the “Sun” of Ḫatti to the king of Ugarit reprimands him for disobeying the orders of the King (of Carchemish) in the matter of a vital grain shipment (RS 20.212 = *Ug* 5, no. 33). He reminds his vassal of the obligations he took upon himself in return for his exemption from corvée duties (*ilku*). He is supposed to provide one great ship with its crew for the transportation of 2,000 (*kor*?) of grain from Mukiš to Ura in one or two shipments. Two Hittite messengers, Ali-ziti *reši-šarri* (SAG.LUGAL)³⁷⁷ and Kunni,³⁷⁸ are sent to supervise the transaction. The letter concludes with the dramatic exclamation: “(It is a matter) of death (or) life!”³⁷⁹

The exact dating of the above text is not known, but it may perhaps be inferred from an Ugaritic translation of a similar letter sent by the “Sun” to Ammurapi (KTU 2.39 = RS 18.038 = *PRU* 5, no. 60; see above p. 104).³⁸⁰ “The king of Ugarit is quoted stating that there is no food in his land, which sounds more like an excuse than an actual shortage in Ugarit itself.”³⁸¹ The rest of the letter is quite fragmentary and has been subjected to various interpretations.³⁸²

A state of emergency is reflected in other documents that cannot be dated with any confidence. As pointed out by Klengel (1974), similar conditions of food shortage must have occurred quite frequently on the Anatolian plateau, but the accumulation of documents from the late-thirteenth century leaves no doubt about the unprecedented proportions of this famine. Nor was Anatolia the only region struck by it. There is growing textual and archaeological evidence show-

377. Ali-ziti may well be identical with the “chief palace-attendant” (GAL DUMUMESŠ É.GAL) in the Ulmi-Tešub treaty dated to the end of the reign of Ḫattušili “III” (KBo 4.10 rev. 31; van den Hout 1995: 216; Singer 1983c: 33).

378. Kunni could perhaps be a short form of the name Kuniya-piya (SUM) borne by a person who appears in Hittite court protocols (Werner 1967: 21ff.), once in connection with “a year of famine” (Singer 1983c: 32–33, KUB 40.86 rev. II; cf. KUB 40.91 rev. 5', p. 30; Mengel 1974, 167).

379. The same expression recurs in a letter of Ini-Tešub to Ibiranu concerned with the inspection of military troops (RS 17.289 = *PRU* 4, 192; Nougayrol 1968: 106, n. 2; see p. 88).

380. A small fragment of an Ugaritic letter found in Ras Ibn Hani is probably also sent from the “[Sun], the great [king],” to A[mmurapi] (KTU 2.78 = RIH 77 121A; Bordreuil and Caquot 1979: 307). Almost nothing is left from the contents of this translation of a letter sent either by the Hittite or the Egyptian “Sun,” probably the former.

381. The small fragment RS 20.141B (= *Ug* 5, no. 34), which mentions thirty ships and their crew, may be part of an answer sent from Ugarit (Nougayrol 1968: 107, n. 4), or a quotation thereof in another letter sent from Ḫatti. See also the fragmentary letter RS 26.158 (= *Ug* 5, no. 171), which also deals with the transportation of grain to Ura.

382. Dijkstra 1976; Pardee 1981. It is not clear whether an “enemy” is mentioned in the last paragraph of the letter, or rather a month name (see Pardee 1981: 155).

ing that climatological cataclysms affected the entire eastern Mediterranean region towards the end of the second millennium B.C.E.³⁸³

A fragment of a Hittite letter from Boğazköy deals with the urgent transportation of a grain shipment to Cilicia (Bo 2810; Otten 1967: 59; Klengel 1974, 170ff.). An important Hittite official, perhaps the king himself, urges his “son”³⁸⁴ to hold on to the (rebellious?) lands and let none of them defect (ii 1’–5’). In the second, better-preserved paragraph the sender quotes the message of his correspondent in which he announced the arrival of a grain-laden ship.³⁸⁵ The sender angrily protests that the ship was kept back for even so much as a day by the addressee and orders its immediate dispatch either to Ura or to *Lašti*[- (an otherwise unknown port-town): “My son, do you not know that there was a famine in the midst of my lands?” (ii 11’–12’; CHD 3, 106a). The addressee’s domicile was obviously located in a port town along the seaway from Egypt to Ḫatti, either in Ugarit³⁸⁶ or perhaps in Mukiš (Otten 1967: 59; Klengel 1969: 324–25, n. 3; 1974: 173).

A situation similar to the one described above recurs in the Ugaritic translation of a letter addressed by a certain *Pgn* to the king of Ugarit, his “son” (KTU 2.46 = RS 18.147 = *PRU* 5, no. 61).³⁸⁷ After the salutations and the divine blessings the sender refers to provisions of food³⁸⁸ and to ships, but the context is not clear. Because of the “father–son” address formula, which also occurs in the Alašia letters (pp. 116ff.), it has been suggested that *Pgn* was the name of a Cypriot king (Astour 1965: 255). Klengel (1974, 169; 1992: 149), however, has compared this name to that of Pukana, probably a Hittite official who appears on a Hittite seal impression from Tarsus.

383. See the extensive refs. cited in Drews 1993: chapter 6. To be sure, there may be other, related or unrelated, causes for the general food shortage in this period. Note, e.g., the rare reference to locusts, BURU₅.ME(Š), in RS 34.145.27 (= RSO 7, no. 9; for the reading of the final ME as MEŠ, see Huehnergard 1989: 405; 1997 p. 216).

384. If the letter was addressed to Ugarit (but cf. n. 386), its king could be the son-in-law of the Hittite king, as we now know from RS 34.136 = RSO 7, no. 7 (p. 95).

385. Bo 2810 ii 7’. I doubt that the sign preceding GIŠMÁ *šuwanza* really represents ME, “one hundred” (so Klengel 1974, 173; Otten 1967: 59, with a question mark). I cannot suggest a better alternative (perhaps LAL?), but note that the participle *šuwanza* is in the singular. On the other hand, large numbers of ships are also attested in other texts from Ugarit: a fleet of 150 ships in RS 18.148 (= *PRU* 5, 62; see p. 116); 30 ships in RS 20.141. (= *Ug* 5, 108, no. 34); and a list of damaged ships of Carchemish in RS 34.147 (RSO 7, no. 5; see p. 66).

386. In that case, this would be the only known letter (or draft) from Boghazköy destined to Ugarit. Cf. also the very fragmentary Akkadian letter KBo 28.91, 9’: KUR *U-g[a?]*- (Hagenbuchner 1989: 353); it mentions the killing of an enemy (1. 3’) and the accession to the throne of the addressee (1. 8’), and could perhaps belong to the Assyrian correspondence.

387. The same(?) *Pgn* is perhaps also mentioned in the letter of *Ydn* (KTU 2.47 = RS 18.148.21 = *PRU* 5, no. 62), but the context is too fragmentary.

388. For *lht ’akl*, “tablet of food,” see Astour 1965: 255, n. 21; Hoftijzer 1979: 383–84.

Another Ugaritic letter was sent to the king (of Ugarit) by a certain *Ydn*, probably a military commander,³⁸⁹ who urged him to equip a remarkable fleet of 150 ships (KTU 2.47 = RS 18.148 = *PRU* 5, 88–89, no. 62). It is not clear whether the required ships were needed for commercial or military purposes or both, but if their number is correct, they would represent one of the largest navies of the ancient Near East.³⁹⁰

Finally, a letter from the Urtenu archive provides a vivid record of the desperate pleas for food that must have circulated within the confines of the kingdom in the last years of Ugarit (RS 34.152.9–14 = RSO 7, no. 40): “The gates of the house are sealed. Since there is famine in your house, we shall starve to death. If you do not hasten to come we shall starve to death. A living soul of your country you will no longer see.” The sender seems to be located in a provincial center with no access to the sealed house where the desperately needed food is stored. He implores his lord, who is probably In Ugarit, to rush back and rescue the remaining population.³⁹¹

7.1.4 Seaborne Attacks on Ugarit

The destructive operations of the “Sea Peoples” are attested in the archaeological record and in a few documents from Ugarit and from Ḫatti, most of them revolving around the island of Alašia/Cyprus, the hub of seaborne activity in the northeastern Mediterranean. The text of the “Battle of Alašia” dated to Šuppiliuma II (Otten 1963; 1976: 27–28; Güterbock 1967) and the Alašia correspondence dated to Niqmaddu III and Ammurapi provide the chronological framework for the dramatic events, but the details remain to be worked out.

Until recently the “Alašia dossier” in Ugarit consisted of only four letters from the Rap’anu archive (*Ug* 5, nos. 21–24; Berger 1969; Beckman 1996d). The Urtenu archive has added five more letters sent from the island, two from its king (Kušmešuša), one from each of two “senior governors” (MAŠKIM.

389. According to reverse 1. 4, *Ydn* was placed over the king’s *lrd*, i.e., the mobilized soldiers or civilians (Heltzer 1982: 105ff.; Vita 1995a: 136ff.; Márquez Rowe 1995: 263–64; van Soldt 1995b; cf. also n. 367). Regarding his identity, Vroilleaud (1965: 89) has noted that the opening address does not include the customary prostration formula. I wonder whether he was really a subject of the king of Ugarit, as generally assumed on account of *b’lh*, “his lord,” in l. 2. This word, however, is separated by a paragraph divider from “the king” in the previous line. Could l. 2 perhaps be interpreted as a blessing formula in which *B’lh* is simply the name of the deity: “Let *B’lh* be the guardian of your land!”? If so, *Ydn* could be a Hittite commander, which would put him in a better position to mobilize the fleet of Ugarit.

390. Astour 1965: 256; Vita 1995a: 157ff. Cf., however, the justifiable doubts raised by Lambrou-Phillipson 1993 about the historical significance of this document and about the so-called “Ugaritic thalassocracy” in general, as characterized, for example, by Sasson 1966 and Linder 1981.

391. For the rest of this intriguing letter, see p. 123. Another fragmentary letter from the Urtenu archive containing a request for grain is RS 88.2011 (Malbran-Labat 1995b: 39).

GAL), and one from an Ugaritian scribe residing in Alašia (Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 445). It is not reported whether the new letters contain any references to the enemy, or whether they are restricted to ordinary commercial matters (for which see pp. 79ff.).

The first, very fragmentary Alašia letter in the Rap'anu archive deals with trade in oil (RS 20.168 = *Ug* 5, no. 21; see p. 80). It was sent by Niqmaddu (III) to the king of Alašia, his "father." This address also occurs in a letter of Ammurapi to Alašia (RS 20.238) and should therefore reflect an acknowledged hierarchy between the two royal courts, based not only on the relative age of the correspondents.³⁹² The new Alašia letters may perhaps contribute to the elucidation of this remarkable situation, a clear testimony for the importance of the island.

Probably the most explicit document describing military difficulties is RS 20.238 (= *Ug* 5, no. 24) sent by an unnamed king of Ugarit to the king of Alašia, his "father." The dramatic description of the ravages inflicted by the enemy must date the letter to the very end of Ugarit: "Now the ships of the enemy have come. They have been setting fire to my cities and have done harm to the land. ... Now the seven ships of the enemy which have come have done harm to us" (Beckman 1996d, 27). The relatively small number of enemy ships has often been noted, and it has even been suggested that it should be regarded as a typological number (Klengel 1992: 150). But of course the point is that without a well-prepared defence even seven ships may cause havoc and destruction, and this incident was probably one of a series of repeated attacks along the coastline of Ugarit.³⁹³ The king of Ugarit continues his letter with the well-known statement that his army is in Ḫatti and his navy is in Lukka, whereas his own land remains undefended (ll. 19–25).³⁹⁴ The new evidence from the Urtenu archive may indicate that this information should be taken with a grain of salt (see p. 121). Even if the king of Ugarit reluctantly fulfilled some of his military obligations, the constant reprimands from Carchemish and from Ḫatti leave little doubt that he kept the best

392. Dietrich and Mayer (1997: 84–85) suggest that the courts of Ugarit and Alašia were linked by a royal marriage, which would also explain the invocation of the gods of Alašia, together with the gods of Ugarit and of Amurru, in a Hurrian ritual text (KTU 1.125 = RS 24.274.6). There is, however, no supporting evidence for the alleged marriage of Ammištamru III with a princess of Alašia.

393. Cifola 1994, 11. There is, however, no information in the Alašia letters that Ugarit itself was partly destroyed and looted, as stated by Cifola.

394. Most scholars have followed Nougayrol's assumption (1968: 86, n. 1) that this letter is the response to RSL 1 (= *Ug* 5, no. 23) sent by the King to Ammurapi (see refs. in Yamada 1992: 431, n. 6). However, Alašia is not mentioned in it and the "King" par excellence throughout the documentation from Ugarit is always the Viceroy of Carchemish. Moreover, in all the (published) letters from Alašia the sender clearly states his name or his title. It is therefore preferable to classify RSL 1 with the Carchemish dossier (Singer 1983: 217; Yamada 1992: 438ff.; see p. 124).

part of his army within the borders of his kingdom, as indeed any sensible ruler would do in a similar situation.

The letter of Ešuwara, senior governor (MAŠKIM.GAL) of Alašia, may indeed be a response to Ugarit's quest for military intelligence (RS 20.018 = Ug 5, no. 22). The sender rejects any responsibility for the calamities caused by the enemy ships on Ugaritian territory. In other words, the king of Ugarit should himself take responsibility for the defence of his land, and should not rely excessively on the alarm sounded from Alašia. Thereafter Ešuwara shares the little he knows about the number and the whereabouts of the enemy ships.³⁹⁵

Whereas Ugarit was struggling to get reliable information from Alašia, she herself was requested to pass on the news to Amurru. In an Akkadian letter found in the Rap'anu archive (RS 20.162 = Ug 5, no. 37) a certain Paršu solicits the king of Ugarit to forward information on the enemy to the king of Amurru, as previously agreed between the two lands. Finally, he adds that an undefined number of ships will be put at the disposal of Ugarit.³⁹⁶

The letters from Alašia obviously came to Ugarit at a point when the island (or most of it) was still ruled by the traditional leadership, a king and governors.³⁹⁷ Activities of the seaborne enemy are sporadically reported, but there is no sense of an impending catastrophe. How does this correspondence relate chronologically to the Hittite evidence about Alašia? In the description of the unique naval battle fought by the Hittites in the Mediterranean (KBo 12.38 iii 2'-14') Šuppiluliuma II is confronted by an "enemy of Alašia," which must already refer to the "Sea Peoples" who took over Cyprus or parts of it. An absolute dating of this battle, which would provide a *terminus ante quem* for the Alašia correspondence, has not yet been achieved, despite the considerable progress made in recent years in the reconstruction of the last years of Ḫatti (Hawkins 1995: 57ff.; Singer 1996b).

As a rule, the "enemy" is not identified by name in the documents from Ugarit and Ḫatti, which only enhances the importance of the unique reference to the Šikila-people in a letter from the Urtenu archive found in 1973 (RS 34.129 = RSO 7, no. 12; Dietrich and Loretz 1978c; Lehmann 1979). The Hittite king, no doubt Šuppiluliuma II, addresses the governor of Ugarit because "the king, your lord, is young and does not know anything" (ll. 5-7). This rather pejorative remark must refer to young Ammurapi, who failed to comply with a previous

395. The twenty ships were apparently expected to land "in the mountains" but have suddenly taken off towards an unknown destination. Lehmann (1996: 27, n. 40) tentatively suggests that the reference could be to the rocky shores of Lycia or Cilicia.

396. That this document should belong to the age of Šuppiluliuma I, as tentatively suggested by Cifola (1994, 12), is most unlikely. Another fragmentary Ugaritic letter, KTU 2.41 = RS 18.075 (= PRU 5, no. 65), has been identified by Astour (1965: 256) as a hasty proposal for mutual assistance between Ugarit and Amurru.

397. For the equation MAŠKIM.GAL = *piduri*, see Otten 1963: 15; Singer 1988b: 247.

request of the Great King to extradite a certain “Ibnadušu who was captured by the Šikila people (LÚMES KUR URUŠikalaiu) who live on ships (ll. 10–14).”³⁹⁸ The Hittite king wishes to interrogate this person, who was probably ransomed by the authorities of Ugarit from his captivity, in order to find out more about the elusive enemy.³⁹⁹ For this purpose he sends a special envoy, Nirgaili, to escort Ibnadušu to the Hittite court. This *kartappu* could be identical with the well-known Hittite prince Nerikkaili, son of Ḫattušili “III,” who was often entrusted with important diplomatic missions.⁴⁰⁰ The Šikila “who live on ships” are identified with one of the “Sea Peoples” mentioned in the Egyptian documents, thus providing the first conclusive proof that the same seaborne enemy threatened both the Hittite and the Egyptian empires (Lehmann 1979). The cuneiform name could reflect Egyptian *Šklš* or, more probably, the *Skl/Sikila* who later settled in Dor and the Sharon Plain (Rainey 1982: 134; Edel 1983: 8; Singer 1988b: 246). The settlement of “Sea Peoples” along the coasts of Ugarit will be touched upon in the last entry of this study.

7.1.5 An Enemy Bridgehead in Mukiš?

Two documents refer to military operations in Mukiš on the northern border of Ugarit: the Ugaritic letter RS 16.402 (= PRU 2, 12) found in the palace archives and the Akkadian letter RS 34.143 found in the Urtenu archive.⁴⁰¹

In RS 34.143 (= RSO 7, no. 6) the King (of Carchemish) reprimands an unnamed king of Ugarit on several counts. Although most of the letter is well-preserved its interpretation is not always easy, especially in demarcating the words of the king of Carchemish and the quotations from his correspondent’s previous letter.⁴⁰² First, the king of Ugarit is accused of misleading his master by claiming that his army is camped in Mukiš; according to the King’s sources Ugarit’s army is in fact located in the town of Apsuna in the northern part of the kingdom of Ugarit.⁴⁰³ Second, the king of Ugarit is quoted as claiming that his

398. This description strongly recalls the comment on the tribe of Dan in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:17): “And Dan, why does he live on ships?” (Singer 1988b: 246).

399. A somewhat similar request for the extradition of two persons (inhabitants of the towns Aru and Uškani, respectively) was sent by the King (of Carchemish) to Ammurapi (RS 88.2013; Malbran-Labat 1995b: 39).

400. Singer 1983b: 10, n. 14; van den Hout 1995: 100; Lebrun 1995: 87 (missing my ref.); Houwink ten Cate 1996: 46. Nerikkaili, who married a daughter of Bentešina after the Silver Treaty of 1258, must have been in his seventies at the very beginning of the twelfth century. For his prosopography see van den Hout 1995: 96ff.; Lebrun 1995: 87; Houwink ten Cate 1996: 45ff.

401. Movements of troops in the Alalakh region are also reported in the new documents from the Urtenu archive (Malbran-Labat 1995a: 107).

402. Compare the translation of Malbran-Labat in RSO 7 to that of Zeeb 1992.

403. Astour (1995: 58, 68) identifies Apsuna with Tell Afis east of the Orontes, but the town should rather be sought on the northern frontier of Ugarit bordering on Mukiš.

chariotry is in poor shape and his horses are famished as a pretext for not sending his chariotry as demanded.⁴⁰⁴ Finally, the king of Ugarit is accused of keeping to himself the best *mariyannu*-troops while he sends to the viceroy only worthless soldiers.⁴⁰⁵ His way of thinking is mimicked by the Viceroy as follows: “You must say to yourself: ‘Is the Sun involved? The Sun is not (involved), and therefore it is all right for me to keep them back.’”⁴⁰⁶ What is the sense of this hypothetical statement? Does it mean that the king of Ugarit is purportedly willing to take orders only from the Great King of Ḫatti? The conclusion of the letter, with a demand that both sides should appear and testify before the “Sun” may support this interpretation. Alternatively, the king of Ugarit may think that since the “Sun” himself is not in Mukiš he has no way of knowing whether or not Ugarit sent out her forces. Possibly both thoughts may be combined in the statement.

Ugarit’s reluctance to fulfill her military duties is a recurring theme in her correspondence with Carchemish,⁴⁰⁷ but here her evasiveness reaches a new record. The king of Ugarit artfully refuses to risk the best part of his army in the confrontation, and all that the viceroy of Carchemish is able to threaten with is a trial before the Great King of Ḫatti. Although there may have been more than one instance of such a deterioration in the authority of the Hittite overlord, the best historical context for this and the following document seems to be in the final period of Ugarit.⁴⁰⁸

With the new information supplied by RS 34.143 it becomes easier to understand the situation in the fragmentary and difficult Ugaritic letter KTU 2.33 = RS 16.402 (= *PRU* 2, no. 12) sent by *Irr-Šarruma*⁴⁰⁹ to his lady (probably Queen Šarelli).⁴¹⁰ In the first part of his report (ll. 5–21) the general appar-

404. Following Zeeb (1992: 482), the statement about the poor quality of the chariotry seems to be a quotation from the letter of the king of Ugarit. If so, the only army that was really sent from Ugarit to Carchemish was an incapable unit of infantrymen.

405. All except a certain *Milku-SIG₅* (Na’im); Zeeb (1992: 493) assumes that the king of Carchemish ironically singles out *Mil-ku-SIG₅*, who must have been a notorious flop. A certain *Mlk-n’m* is mentioned in an Ugaritic list of individuals (KTU 4.344 = RS 18.130.15).

406. For the interpretation of these lines (27ff.) as a rhetorical question and answer, see Zeeb 1992: 482–83.

407. Thematically very similar is RS 34.150 = RSO 7, no. 10, which I attempted to relate to the great military manoeuvre orchestrated by the king of Carchemish during the reign of Ibiranu (see above, pp. 89–90).

408. For an Ammurapi dating of RS 34.143, based on stylistic criteria and its comparison with RS 16.402, see also Yamada 1992: 444–45.

409. *Irr-trm* was emended by some into *Iwr-trm* = Ewri-Šarruma (see refs. in Cunchillos 1989a: 327, n. 3), but the emendation cannot be substantiated.

410. The standard interpretation associates the events described in RS 16.402 with the pressures exerted on Niqmaddu II by Suppiluliuma I on the one side, and by the kings of Mukiš, Nuḫḫašši and Niya on the other (Schaeffer 1957: xviii; Liverani 1979a: 1304; Dijkstra 1987: 46; Cifola 1994, 10). An alleged anti-Hittite revolt in Mukiš in the early reign of Ammištamru II was proposed by Lipiński (1981: 87ff.) as the historical background of RS 16.402.

ently describes his position on Mount Amanus,⁴¹¹ with the enemy approaching from Mukiš.⁴¹² In the second, better-preserved, part of the letter (ll. 22–39) he beseeches the queen to intercede with the king to send 2,000 horses to his rescue.⁴¹³ He adds bitterly that he cannot confront the enemy with only his wife and children (ll. 28–29). The situation strongly recalls the accusation of the king of Carchemish in RS 34.143 that the king of Ugarit refuses to send his army to the battlefield in Mukiš. The horses required by *Irr-Šarruma* may in fact be the same “famished horses” kept back by the king of Ugarit under different pretexts.

The combined evidence of the two documents relating to Mukiš may perhaps provide the following tentative reconstruction of the situation. An unnamed enemy had established a bridgehead in Mukiš whence he threatened the kingdom of Ugarit. This enemy column may have advanced southwards along the foothills of the Amanus, or it may have landed from ships at the mouth of the Orontes, or both. A combined seaborne and landborne encroachment on Ugarit’s territory strongly recalls the military tactics of the “Sea Peoples” in the war they waged against Ramesses III a few years later. The Hittite authorities demanded auxiliary forces to confront the enemy in Mukiš, but the king of Ugarit was obviously more concerned with the defence of his own land, which might already have suffered from seaborne razzias. The immediate danger of this elusive enemy seemed more critical than the hypothetical risk of a Hittite punitive action. Therefore he used every possible pretext to avoid sending his best forces to Mukiš, and fortified his positions on the northern frontier of his own kingdom. In a much-quoted letter of Ammurapi to the King (of Carchemish) he claims that his troops and chariots are in Ḫatti (RS 20.238 = *Ug* 5, no. 24; see p. 117), but I wonder how much credence should still be given to this declaration in view of the new data from the Urtenu archive. It would seem that a scenario of “each for himself” better fits the scattered evidence on the last years of Ugarit and her futile attempt to withhold the impending invasion of the “Sea Peoples.”

7.1.6 *Lost Battles and the Fall of Ugarit*

The final hours of a collapsing state are seldom recorded in writing by the protagonists of the drama. Desperate letters for help are only dispatched as long

411. L. 16, *gr Amn*. For the various interpretations of this line, see Cunchillos 1989a: 331, n. 19. A rather similar military situation is described in the so-called “General’s Letter,” when, a century and a half earlier, he fortified his position between Mount Lebanon and the seashore (RS 20.033 = *Ug* 5, no. 20; see above, p. 40).

412. For the identification of *Mgšh* with Mukiš (with the Hurrian formative *-līte*), see Liverani 1962: 39, n. 50; Cunchillos 1989a: 329, n. 13.

413. Lines 24, 32, 38: *alpm ššwm*. The enormous number of horses may perhaps be simply a typological number. In any case, it is difficult to accept Astour’s interpretation (1965: 257) that the author of the letter simply wanted to get rid of the horses that were entrusted to him.

as there is some hope that they will reach their destination and be answered positively. From a certain point on the threatened victims realize the futility of their pleas and contemporary written information disappears almost entirely.⁴¹⁴ Ugarit is the only site in the entire eastern Mediterranean which supplies written testimony almost to the very fall of the Bronze Age city, including direct references to the enemy who is about to cause its ruin.⁴¹⁵

The elite of Ugarit seem to have continued conducting their routine business almost until the very end (Arnaud 1991b: 65; Malbran-Labat 1995a: 107), but they could not have been unaware of the rapidly deteriorating conditions in their kingdom. A recurring lesson of history is that victims of an impending catastrophe seldom recognize the gravity of their situation and prefer to consider it as a passing cloud.

Reference has already been made to the Alašia letters reporting on seaborne attacks on Ugarit and to the documents referring to a frontline in Mukiš. What remain to be surveyed are a few difficult “private” letters with dramatic reports on the hopeless military and economical situation. It is not easy to pinpoint the reported events to definite places and occasions, but they all seem to share the same desperate tone of a last-ditch stand.

The Ugaritic letter of *Drdn*⁴¹⁶ to his lord is perhaps the most dramatic amongst the last letters from Ugarit (KTU 2.61 = RS 19.011 = *PRU* 5, no. 114): “When your messenger arrived, the army was humiliated and the city was sacked. Our food in the threshing floors was burnt and the vineyards were also destroyed. Our city is sacked. May you know it! May you know it!”⁴¹⁷

Another Ugaritic letter that has fomented a voluminous bibliography for its theological connotations is the one sent by *Iwrdr* (*Ewri-šarri*?) to *Plsy* (KTU 2.10 = RS 4.475; Cunchillos 1989a: 275ff.): “Let there be peace to you! I have heard from *Trgds* (*Tarḥundišša*?) and from *Klby* (*Kalbiya*?) that we were beaten. But if we were not completely beaten send me a messenger. The arm of the gods will be greater than the force of the warriors if we resist. Put your reply and whatever you hear there in a letter (addressed) to me.” Unfortunately, the location of the ill-fated battle is not reported, but it is noteworthy that the first informant bears a good Anatolian name (Laroche 1966: 177, no. 1272).

414. A notable exception are personal diaries, which dramatically continue to report until the bitter end, but none of this genre is known to me from the ancient Near East.

415. The last documents from Ḫattuša must be the victory reports carved on Nišantepe and Südburg (Hawkins 1995). In Emar writing continues until the very end of the city (Arnaud 1975), but it hardly reflects on the historical circumstances of its fall.

416. I wonder whether this could be a rare Ugaritic spelling for *trdn/šerdanni*, which is also attested as a PN (Loretz 1995: 131).

417. The translation of the first part of the letter is controversial. See Cunchillos and Vita 1993b; Vita 1995a: 137.

In contrast to these laconic Ugaritic letters the long Akkadian letter of Banniya (or Eniya) to his lord has more to say about the actual mishaps, but unfortunately it is very difficult to fathom (RS 34.152 = RSO 7, no. 40). The dramatic description of the famine (ll. 9–15) has already been quoted above (p. 116). In the first part of the letter (ll. 3–16) the sender quotes from his previous missive to his lord, in which he advised him not to let (his agent?) Ḥaddi-libbašu either trade in “cash money” (silver and gold), or to barter his chariot (and *sakrumaš*), but rather to offer his provisions and his donkeys. Although the exact meaning of this transaction remains to be elucidated, a regression of the economy to bartering is typical in times of distress. In the second part of the letter (ll. 19ff.) Banniya urges his lord to pick his choice men and to hasten to Addaya, who has written to the King (of Carchemish?). The sender himself intended to send his men (and some strangers) to Ḥatti, but these have apparently refused to go. The king of Ḥatti(?) will write to the king of Carchemish instructing him to send his messengers with provisions. Banniya apparently anticipates that the instruction will be passed on to his lord and therefore urges him to flee with his men to Addaya, in accordance with the orders of SUD-^dIŠKUR (Riś-Adad?). The rest of the letter is fragmentary, except for the last line where the addressee is advised to bring a horse to Addaya.

As is evident from the *editio princeps*, this intriguing letter is very hard to interpret, both on the level of simple translation as well as in understanding its overall meaning. I would tentatively venture an interpretation according to which the writer proposes to his lord a prompt escape from his residence to a previously agreed refuge. Several names in the letter have an “eastern” appearance,⁴¹⁸ and the same applies to some of the Akkadian forms. Perhaps Lackenbacher (1991b: 86, n. 9) is right in tentatively suggesting that the letter was sent from Mari.⁴¹⁹ Another provenance could be Emar, which maintained close commercial contacts with Ugarit. A flight from the endangered coastal zone to inland Syria would have seemed a sensible option, even though reports were circulating about unstable conditions along the Euphrates Valley as well.⁴²⁰

The Hittite sources have little to add on the fall of Ugarit. The last written documents from Ḥattuša must be the boasting reports of Šuppiluliuma II’s Pyrrhic victories in Alašia and along the Mediterranean coast (Hawkins 1995).⁴²¹

418. Ḥaddi-libbašu, Sin-šumāti-ušabši (d30.MU.MEŠ.TUKU), Riś-Adad (SUD-^dIM), Eriba-Marduk (SU-*ba*-^dAMAR.UTU), Marduk (MAR.TUK).

419. Another letter probably sent from Mari is RS 34.142 (= RSO 7, no. 47), for which see p. 64.

420. Malbran-Labat 1995a: 107. In a letter sent by Ini-Tešub to Šagarakt[i-Suriaš] of Babylon concern is expressed about the activities of nomadic shepherds in the Land of Suḫi (Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 445, 448).

421. Lebrun’s suggestion (1995: 86) that the Hittite royal couple fled to Ura on the southern coast is based on unwarranted evidence.

In his last letters to Ugarit the “Sun” demands food shipments and information on the Šikila enemy. If there were any later exchanges between the two courts, including reports on the desperate situation, they have not as yet been found. But I doubt that the Hittites (or any declining overlord for that matter) would have informed their Syrian allies about their own failures on the battlefield.

Carchemish was probably not directly affected by the operations of the “Sea Peoples,” and its dynasty continued to rule well into the early Iron Age (Hawkins 1988; 1995; Güterbock 1992). How distant the Viceroy of Carchemish was (or pretended to be) from the dramatic events transpiring along the coastal areas is well reflected in a letter to Ammurapi (RSL 1 = *Ug* 5, no. 23) which is usually attributed to the king of Alašia, but must belong to the “King” par excellence (see n. 394). In his reply to Ammurapi’s worried message about the enemy ships that had been sighted at sea, the King advises his vassal how to overcome the approaching enemy: “Surround your cities with walls. Bring (your) infantry and chariotry into (them). Be on the lookout for the enemy and make yourself very strong!” The covenant between suzerain and vassal had gone a long way since Šuppiluliuma I’s gallant offer of military support to Ugarit. While Ugarit was constantly required to commit her army to the Hittites, all that the overlord in Carchemish could offer in these agonizing times was hollow “moral support.”

A new letter from the Urtenu archive may perhaps indicate that Carchemish at least promised to send reinforcements to her beleaguered vassal (RS 88.2009; Malbran-Labat 1995a: 39–40). A certain Urḫi-Tešub (without any title) informs Urtenu, Yabinina, ^dIM.DI.KUD,⁴²² Danana, the Great Ones (LÚ.MEŠ GAL) and the City Elders (LÚ.MEŠ *šibūti ša* URU.KI) of Ugarit that the King of Carchemish had already left the Land of Ḫatti (*ištu* KUR Ḫatti *ittara*)⁴²³ and that they should defend their city until the arrival of the rescue troops. The first two addressees provide a dating in the last decades of Ugarit,⁴²⁴ which renders most unlikely the identification of Urḫi-Tešub with the illustrious royal exile (Klen-gel 1996: 561), whose throne was usurped by Ḫattušili “III” around 1265 (see p. 53ff.). Rather, the author must have been an important official at the court of Carchemish reporting about the military moves of his king.⁴²⁵ Why this late Urḫi-Tešub addresses his letter most unusually to the nobility and the elders of

422. Several kings of Tyre bore the same name, ^dIM.DI.KUD (see n. 218).

423. In this period the “Land of Ḫatti” was a loose geo-political term which included Carchemish. This is also indicated by other occurrences in the late correspondence from Ugarit (see nn. 150, 170).

424. For Urtenu’s dating, see p. 65; for Yab(i)ninu’s, see Courtois 1990.

425. As suggested above (p. 54), he may be identical with the author of an Ugaritic courtesy letter addressed by *Urḫ-Tīb* “to the queen, my lady” (KTU 2.68 = RS 20.199; Pardee 1984a: 213–15; Cunchillos 1989a: 359ff.). Cunchillos (1989a: 361, n. 3) tentatively suggests that the letter to the queen of Ugarit was sent from Egypt by the exiled king Urḫi-Tešub.

Ugarit remains a riddle.⁴²⁶ Whether the promised rescue troops ever arrived at Ugarit we shall probably never know, but in any case, the city was sacked shortly thereafter.

The exact date of Ugarit's fall remains to be established.⁴²⁷ The letter sent to Ammurapi by the Egyptian Beya/B3y provides a *terminus post quem* between 1194 and 1186 (see p. 113). In 1175 B.C.E. Ramesses III already encountered the "Sea Peoples" near Amurru, after they had run down the coastal areas of the Hittite Empire.⁴²⁸ Sometime in the decade or so separating these two chronological anchors Ugarit was sacked by the enemy, but there is no way as yet to establish the interval between the arrival of Beya's letter and the fall of Ugarit.⁴²⁹

That the immediate cause for Ugarit's destruction was an enemy attack is no longer seriously debated (Liverani 1995b: 115; Yon 1997b: 32). Schaeffer's earthquake theory, which is still occasionally resurrected,⁴³⁰ was based on questionable evidence already when it was first put forward, and it has been entirely refuted by the results of the new excavations conducted at Ras Shamra and at Ras Ibn Hani. There are probably signs of an earthquake that caused considerable damage to the city sometime in the second half of the thirteenth century and necessitated extensive restoration operations (Callot 1994, 203ff.; Callot and Yon 1995: 167; see p. 42). However, the final destruction of the city was due to a huge conflagration caused by an enemy attack, which left a massive destruction level reaching two meters in height in places (Yon 1992: 117; 1997a: 258; Callot

426. In the "Šikila letter," also from the Urtenu archive, the Great King addresses the governor of Ugarit because "the king, your lord, is young and does not know anything" (RS 34.129.5-7 = RSO 7, no. 12; see p. 118). However, if Urḫi-Tešub addresses the dignitaries of Ugarit because of the young age of the king, this letter could hardly be dated to the last years of Ugarit. There may be some other reason for this very unusual type of address.

427. The fall of Ugarit is variously dated in current literature between 1200 and 1175 B.C.E. (for some of the refs., see Neu 1995: 122, n. 25). None of the exact dates can presently be proven, and they merely reflect the general "feeling" of the respective authors. My own guess is closer to the *terminus post quem* supplied by the letter of Beya/B3y than to the *terminus ante quem* of Ramesses III's eighth year, i.e., around 1190/1185 (a few years later than I suggested in 1987: 418). The fall of Emar in ca. 1187 (Arnaud 1975) does not have to be synchronized with the fall of Ugarit, though obviously both are part of the same overall collapse of LBA centers.

428. Ramesses III's famous statement about the destruction of Ḫatti, Qd, Carchemish, Arzawa, and Alašia by the "Sea Peoples" (KRI V 39.14-40.1) does not refer to Ugarit directly, but, as pointed out by Liverani (1995a: 49), this list reflects political entities and not just geographical regions. Carchemish represents the whole of Hittite Syria, even though its eastern parts, including Carchemish itself, were not directly afflicted by the "Sea Peoples." The mysterious land of Qd (variously rendered as Qode, Qadi, etc.) may well refer here to the kingdom of Tarḫuntašša, as suggested by Liverani (1995a: 49).

429. A few Myc. III C sherds found in the latest habitation level show that the fall of Ugarit occurred after the first appearance of this type of pottery (Courtois 1973; 1987: 210ff.; Monchambert 1996).

430. Lehmann (1991: 117; 1996: 19) weighs the possibility for an earthquake catastrophe that might have led to ("auslösenden Faktor") the military defeat of Ugarit, quoting as a parallel the archaeological evidence from the Argolid (Tiryns, Midea, Mycenae). Even more convinced about the plausibility of a final earthquake is Dupont 1987, who attempts to play down the philological evidence for an enemy attack on Ugarit, without however adducing any arguments for Schaeffer's theory. Cf. also Klengel 1992: 151.

1994, 212–13).⁴³¹ The presence of numerous arrowheads throughout the ruins may indicate that fierce fighting preceded the city's surrender (Yon 1992: 117). No corpses were reported lying around in the city (Callot 1994, 212), which may indicate that most of the inhabitants managed to flee the city beforehand, some of them burying their valuables in hiding places in the vain hope of recovering them when the storm was over.

One such hiding place stacked with gold and bronze figurines was discovered in the Southern City (Schaeffer 1966). Similar circumstances led perhaps to the stashing of the small cache of bronze objects, including Merneptah's sword, in a house located east of the palace (Schaeffer 1956: 169–78), and also of the large hoard of 74 bronze objects found in 1929 in the building known as the House of the High Priest situated between the temples on the acropolis (Schaeffer 1956: 251–75). The latter was carefully stacked underneath the threshold of the main entrance and included various weapons, tools, and a fine tripod with hanging pomegranates (Schaeffer 1956: 274, fig. 238). Four axes carry the Ugaritic inscription *rb khnm*, “Chief of the Priests,” and a fifth one adds the PN *Ḥrṣn*, (266, fig. 231).⁴³² The name *Ḥrṣn/Hurāṣānu* appears in thirteenth century texts from Ugarit and Ras Ibn Hani and prosopographical evidence indicates that the Great Priest *Ḥrṣn*, was active in the mid-thirteenth century (Bordreuil 1998). The latest objects in the hoard, such as the tripod which has good Cypriot parallels, are dated to the turn of the twelfth century (Catling 1964, 202–3). This seems to contradict the standard interpretation of this rich hoard as a foundation deposit (Schaeffer 1956: 253; Courtois 1979: 1156–57), and indicates rather that, like other hoards in the town, it was hidden just before the final destruction of the city (van Soldt 1991a: 220).⁴³³ Indeed, the plunderers of Ugarit missed the valuable objects, but neither did the original owners ever return to recover them.

7.2 UGARIT AND ITS REGION IN THE IRON AGE

There are a few traces of an ephemeral reoccupation of Ugarit immediately after its fall at the beginning of the twelfth century (Yon 1992: 118–19). These include some dome-shaped ovens, like the one that was found in Courtyard V of

431. The presence of a yellowish powder that permeated the destruction level was explained by Schaeffer (1968: 760ff.) as a period of extreme drought towards the end of Ugarit's existence. It is now conventionally seen as a result of the burning of brick structures.

432. The standard interpretation considered *ḥrṣn* to be the name of the object carrying the inscription (cf. Hebrew *ḥarīṣ* 2 Sam 12:31; 1 Chr. 20:3), but both the *Personenkeil* preceding the name and the existence of an Ugaritic PN *Ḥrṣn/Hurāṣanu* (for refs. see Bordreuil 1998) conclusively disprove this interpretation.

433. Note that besides the manufactured objects the hoard also included two pieces of cast metal (*Ug* 3, 260, fig. 224, 19; 262, fig. 226, bottom), which would hardly tally with the contents of a foundation deposit. It may indicate that the hoard was hidden by a smith or perhaps the supervisor of a treasury, rather than the High Priest who was the (original) owner of the inscribed axes.

the royal palace and was thought to have been used for the baking of clay tablets. It is hard to say who these squatters were, the plunderers of the city or its refugees. At any rate, this meager epilogue was short lived and the site remained in ruins for nearly a thousand years.⁴³⁴

More substantial evidence for reoccupation was found at Ras Ibn Rani,⁴³⁵ a secondary residence of the royal family of Ugarit, and at Ras Bassit, a northern outpost of the kingdom.⁴³⁶ The LBA palaces at Ras Ibn Rani yielded Akkadian and Ugaritic tablets dating from the mid-thirteenth century onwards (Lagarce 1995: 149ff.). The site was apparently evacuated in an orderly fashion before the final catastrophe, and the inhabitants probably sought refuge within the walls of Ugarit (Yon 1992c: 118). Ras Bassit probably shared the same fate.

The new settlers at Ras Ibn Rani and Ras Bassit produced Myc. III C:1 ware (Badre 1983; Lagarce 1988) of the same type that appears in Cyprus and along the Levant, from Cilicia to Philistia, and is traditionally associated with the new settlement of “Sea Peoples” along these coastal areas.⁴³⁷ It is worth noting that at Ras Ibn Rani, as in Philistia, there is a gradual evolution from monochrome to bichrome pottery (Lagarce 1988: 153), and such similarities should be further explored in the areas of the “Sea Peoples” diaspora. Besides the Myc. III C:1 ware, the Iron Age settlement at Ras Ibn Rani has also produced types of pottery that continue local ceramic traditions (Lagarce 1988: 154–55; Caubet 1992: 127). This shows that, as in Canaan, the reoccupation of the coastal sites was carried out by mixed populations of newcomers and remnant groups of the local inhabitants.

Little is known about the demographic situation in the countryside of Ugarit after the fall of the metropolis. As pointed out by Liverani (1995a: 52), inland villages may have suffered much less from the ravages of the sea-borne enemy, and the remarkable survival of ancient names in the present toponymy of the region (Astour 1979; Bordreuil 1989a) may indicate that some of the smaller settlements of the kingdom survived the cataclysm that put an end to the capital city. This seems to be all the more true in the territory of the former kingdom of Siyannu-Ušnātu, where some of the main sites (Tell Sukas, Tell Daruk) continue well into the Iron Age.⁴³⁸

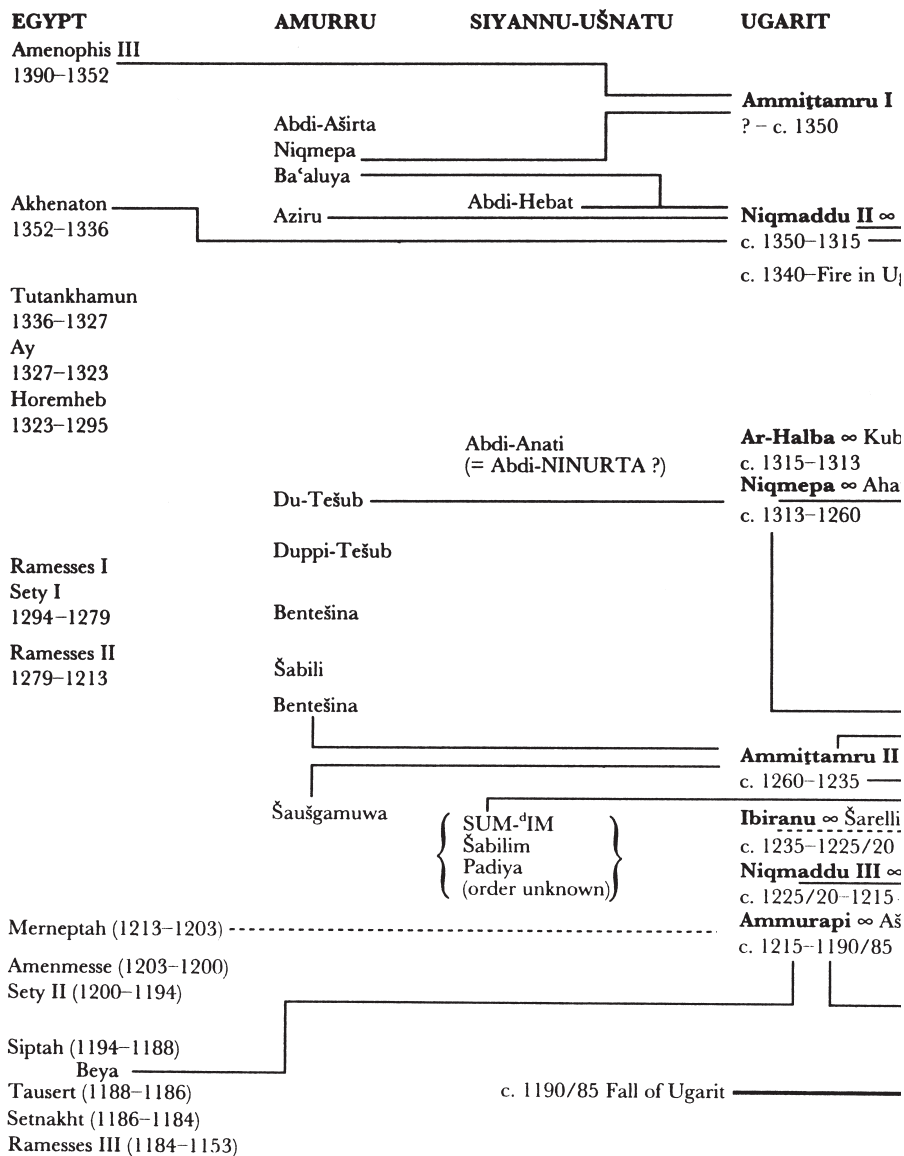
434. The site was partially reoccupied only in the late Persian and the Hellenistic periods (Courtois 1979: 1280ff.; Stucky 1982; Astour 1995: 68–69, n. 97; Yon 1997b: 112–13). A few ninth to eighth century Cypriot sherds were probably left by tomb robbers in the fill of tomb 1069 (Caubet 1992: 123–24).

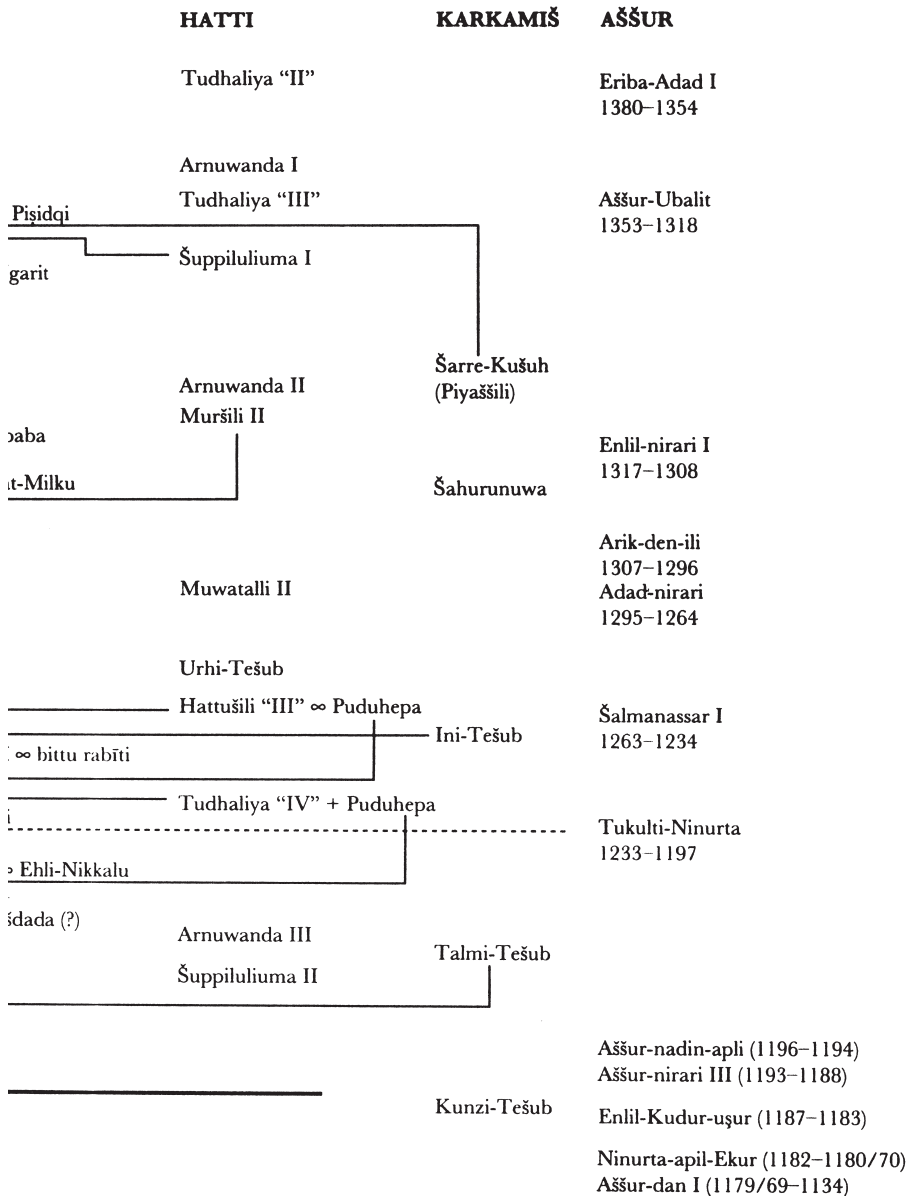
435. Bounni et al. 1987; Lagarce 1988; 1995; Caubet 1992: 124ff. (with refs.). The site has been variously identified as Appu (Bordreuil 1984), as Biruti (Arnaud 1992: 82, n. 9), or as Rêšu (Astour 1995: 68).

436. Caubet 1992: 127 (with refs.). Astour 1995: 58 suggests an identification with ancient Sinaru.

437. See, however, Caubet 1992: 130, who questions this interpretation of the new pottery and considers it to be a local ceramic development.

438. For references, see Caubet 1992: 128; Liverani 1995a: 51. One awaits eagerly the results of the new Syrian excavations at Tell Siano, which probably preserves the ancient name of Siyannu.





These scattered maritime and inland Iron Age settlements cannot obscure the outstanding phenomenon of the total disappearance of the region's major city from the geo-political scene of the Levant for nearly a thousand years. Only Hellenistic Laodicea (present-day Lattaquieh) brought back this once prosperous coastal region to a similar grandeur. The fact that Ugarit never rose from its ashes, as did other LBA cities of the Levant which suffered a similar fate, must have more substantial grounds than the destruction inflicted upon the city by the "Sea Peoples." Those who still envisage a serious earthquake in the sequence of events that led to the fall of Ugarit suggest some drastic change in the tectonic structure of the region, especially in the area of the harbor, which would have deprived the city of its main source of livelihood (Klengel 1992: 151). Probably some of the climatic cataclysms that have been proposed to explain the overall collapse of the palatial systems throughout the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean⁴³⁹ took their toll on Ugarit as well, especially the devastating famine, which could have been caused by an intense drought. But in the final analysis, the main reason for Ugarit's disappearance from the political scene may simply have been the sudden collapse of the traditional structures of international trade, which were the lifeblood of Ugarit's booming economy in the Bronze Age. Gradually, Phoenician harbors such as Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and Arwad replaced Ugarit as the main ports of Levantine trade during the first millennium B.C.E.

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439. For a recent survey of the various theories, see Drews 1993 (with extensive refs.).

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TAKUHLINU AND ḪAYA: TWO GOVERNORS IN THE UGARIT LETTER FROM TEL APHEK

The letter from Ugarit unearthed at Tel Aphek in 1978 (Owen 1981) is the only letter from that kingdom found outside its confines, except for those of the Amarna period sent from Ugarit to Egypt more than a century earlier (*EA* 45–49). The rarity of such a discovery—a chance find out of the vast international correspondence known from the voluminous “incoming mail” found in the archives of Ugarit itself—is what makes the Aphek tablet of such great interest. Its significance increases as one learns that two out of the four persons mentioned in the letter were very important officials in their respective countries and are well attested in other documents. This creates a rare opportunity to establish a fairly accurate synchronism, the only direct chronological correlation known at the present between Ugarit and Egypt in the thirteenth century B.C.E.

The purpose of this study is to explore the prosopography of these two personages, Takuhlinu and Ḫaya, from the available data. In the course of reconstructing their biographies, several terms and subjects related to diplomacy and administration in the Hittite and Egyptian empires will be analyzed. Finally, an attempt will be made to establish as closely as possible the date of the Aphek letter, which is of particular importance for the history of that site.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Before delving into the careers of Takuhlinu and Ḫaya, a few remarks regarding the contents of the letter and its historical background are presented.

The letter deals with a transaction of wheat and its outcome. There are a few damaged lines, particularly on the reverse, that make some of the details difficult to grasp. The letter may, however, be summarized as follows.

At some date in the past, Adduya, probably the representative of the governor of Ugarit, transferred a certain amount of wheat to one Turšimati. (Neither of these persons has yet been identified in any other text.) The transaction probably

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took place in Joppa (*Ya-p]u-u*), an Egyptian administrative center known to have maintained royal granaries.

Since the owner was not repaid with the wheat, Ḥaya the “great one” orders (or is asked to order) the restitution of the same amount of wheat to Adduya.

The continuation of the letter, beginning (after a dividing line) with *šanitam*, may refer to the same transaction. I think, however, that the possibility that a second transaction between Takuhlinu and Ḥaya is referred to here cannot be ruled out. Takuhlinu complains that he has fulfilled the wishes of his correspondent but has not been treated with equal favor. He repeats his demand and sends Adduya to appear before Ḥaya with an unspecified amount of silver. To expedite the matter Takuhlinu sends Ḥaya a present consisting of blue and red wool.

Even if not all the details of the transaction(s) are entirely clear, it is safe to assume that the purpose of the letter was the purchase of Canaanite or Egyptian wheat by Ugarit.

The quantity of wheat requires a brief comment. After the numeral 250 appears the sign PA (lines 14, 19). The editor (Owen 1981: 12), referring to Nougayrol, *PRU* VI 101, RS 19.130, interpreted this as the fraction 2/6 of a GUR. In the ration lists on which Nougayrol bases this assumption (*PRU* VI 101, 107), it is indeed possible that 𐎶 represents 2/6, since it is followed (in *PRU* VI 107, RS 19.25) by 𐎶 , 1/6 (but cf. Owen 1981: 92, n. 1). However, in the Aphek letter, which concerns an international transaction, it is rather unlikely that the unit of quantity would not be specified (the editor assumed that GUR/*kurru* was intended; Owen 1981: 8, line 14). The curious amount of 250 2/6 is even less intelligible. It is more conceivable that PA refers to the dry measure *parsiktu* (Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V:254) or, more likely, to the *parīsu*, which was current in the west (*AHw* 833b; see also Heltzer 1978: 52, n. 5; 73). This unit appears in texts from Alalaḥ (Wiseman 1953: 14) and Ḥattuša (Del Monte 1980: 219–20), both in the full phonetic writing (^{GIŠ})*parīsu*—and, as here, in the abbreviated form PA. It is usually used for the measurement of grain.

In Ḥattuša the *parīsu* is the largest capacity unit and is equivalent to six *sūtu* (Del Monte 1980: 220). If we take this as the basis for our calculation, we arrive at the amount of approximately 15 metric tons (with about 10 liters to a *sūtu*).¹ Although the metrological system of Ugarit is not yet sufficiently known (Nougayrol, *PRU* VI:155), this quantity is at least plausible. If so, this is a not inconsiderable amount of grain. The price of wheat in Ugarit was apparently one silver shekel per *parīsu* (Heltzer 1978: 73), and hence the transaction would have amounted to some 250 silver shekels.

1. According to *AHw* 833b (see also Heltzer 1978: 52, n. 5), the *parīsu* is equivalent to half a *kurru* (GUR). Cf., however, Del Monte 1980: 219 n. 1.

This consignment may have been one of several sent by sea from Joppa/Jaffa to Ugarit.² Against what historical background may this transaction be viewed? International commerce in that period was usually confined to luxury goods, and a transaction in a basic commodity such as grain, particularly considering the great distance involved, must have been the result of unusual circumstances. Indeed, the Aphek letter may conceivably be connected with the manifold documentation in Hittite, Ugaritic and Egyptian sources concerning the increasingly severe food shortage in Hatti that reached its peak towards the closing decades of the Empire in an all-consuming famine. The material on this subject has been collected and evaluated by Klengel (1974), although he seems to prefer a less dramatic interpretation of the evidence (p. 170). The Hittites made a concentrated effort to acquire large quantities of grain in Egypt, directly or through the intermediation of Ugarit, whose merchant fleet must have been essential in its transport. The better known sources on this matter are the inscription mentioning the aid that Merneptah boasts of having given to the Hittites and the desperate letters of the Hittite monarch to Ugarit, urging its king not to delay the sailing of the food ships from there to the Hittite port of Ura. However, the food shortage in Hatti and the attempts to relieve it by buying Egyptian wheat began long before this. A letter of Ramses II, probably dating shortly after the peace treaty (*KUB* 3:34), tells of a Hittite expedition to Egypt headed by the prince Ḫišmi-Šarruma (perhaps the princely name of Tutḫaliya IV; Laroche 1956: 118), whose mission was to organize and expedite a consignment of grain to be shipped by sea. It is of interest to note that one of the Egyptian officials appointed to deal with the Hittites in this matter had the title ^{LU}ŠÁ.KIN (obv. 14'; see Albright 1946: 14, no. 20b; Goetze 1947: 250, n. 7).³

A most instructive passage illustrating the severity of the food shortage in Hatti already around the middle of the thirteenth century is found in a letter of Puduḫepa to Ramses II (*KUB* 21:38; Helck 1963) dealing with the royal marriage. The Hittite queen demands that the dowry of the princess, which was to consist of deportees, cattle and sheep, be handed over to the Egyptian envoys as quickly as possible because "I have no grain in my countries" (obv. 17–18).

2. For a maritime connection between Ugarit and Akko, see Heltzer 1978: 151–52. The port cities of Ashdod, Mah̄hazu, and Ashkelon are also mentioned in the Ugaritic texts.

3. A second official is the "overseer of the horses from the royal stables of Ramses" (obv. 13'–14'; Albright 1946: 16, no. 32), a title that accords perfectly with that of one of Haya's offices (Habachi 1961: 222–23). Klengel (1974: 167, n. 15) tentatively questions whether this might indicate that the Hittites traded horses for Egyptian wheat. According to Egyptian sources, horses were also included in the dowry of the Hittite princess married to Ramses in his 34th year (Edel 1953:48). Perhaps an enigmatic edict of Tutḫaliya IV forbidding the transfer of horses by messengers travelling between Hatti and Egypt (*PRU* VI 179, *RSL* 2) should also be interpreted in this light, even though the restriction was apparently imposed on envoys travelling both to and from Egypt.

A notion of the large quantity of grain involved in this trade is provided by *Ugaritica* V:33, Rs 20.212, a letter in which the Hittite sovereign urges the king of Ugarit to provide and man a vessel for the shipment of 2000 measures of grain from Mukiš to Ura. If the intended unit is the *kurru*, this would amount to about 500 metric tons. Compared with this, the 15 tons dealt with in the Aphek letter seems like a paltry amount, but this only serves to emphasize the efforts invested to obtain it. The urgency of the matter is also seen in the exceedingly polite manner in which Takuḫlinu addresses Ḫaya (“my father, my lord”), which appears to be even more obsequious than what might be required by the difference in rank of their respective countries. Is it not possible that Takuḫlinu, who, as we shall see, had extensive experience in business mediation, was acting here on behalf of some Hittite client? Could perhaps the bulla of a still unidentified⁴ Hittite prince found in the Aphek excavations close to Takuḫlinu’s letter (Singer 1978) point in this direction? (See also Owen 1981: 14–15.) Even if these intriguing questions remain unresolved, the historical context of the Aphek letter provides a valuable contribution to the study of international relations in the thirteenth century B.C.E.

TAKUḪLINU

Takuḫlinu, the sender of the letter, is a well-known personage from Ugarit. Together with the Aphek letter and a text from Boğazköy in which he apparently also figures, his “dossier” includes a dozen documents of various kinds, on which the following attempt to reconstruct his career is based.

The objective of a prosopographical study of this kind is to present an acceptable argumentation that the various occurrences of the name⁵ belong to the same person and not to homonyms, as well as to arrange the documents concerning him in plausible chronological order.

The first problem that arises in consulting Takuḫlinu’s *cursus honorum* is the fact that he is ostensibly connected with two royal courts in the Hittite Empire. He fills posts at the court of Ugarit and he serves as the *kartappu* (see below) of the king of Karkamiš. Although this is not impossible, such a double

4. Kempinski’s proposal (1979: 36) that the bulla might have belonged to the prince Arma-Ziti is unacceptable. The first sign of the name could belong to an *Ar-* (Singer 1977: 182–83), but a glance through the hieroglyphic syllabary (Laroche 1960: 103) or the list of Hittite names (Laroche 1966: 39ff.; 1981: 8–9) immediately reveals that the theophoric element *Arma-* is invariably written with the “moon” sign L193, including the seals of Arma-ziti himself at Ugarit (Laroche 1956: 134–35). Equally unfounded is the statement that Arma-ziti, who was an important Hittite official at the court of Karkamiš with judicial authority in Ugarit (Klengel 1969: 389, 394), “managed commercial and political affairs with the Egyptian governor in Canaan.”

5. For the Hurrian origin of the name, see Laroche 1976–77: 250. Taguḫli is the original form (from *tagi-*, “beautiful”); Tag/kuḫlinu (or Tag/ḫulinu, with metathesis) is obviously an Akkadianization that is more current at Ugarit. Except when another form appears in the source, we shall use Takuḫlinu throughout this study.

career would be most extraordinary, and it immediately raises serious doubts as to whether we are dealing with one and the same person. Indeed, Liverani in his monograph on Ugarit (1962: 145) has chosen the safe way and disassociated Takuḫlinu of Ugarit from his namesake at Karkamiš (see also Klengel 1965: 95, n. 75). On the other hand, the French team of Ras Shamra envisaged a complex career for Takuḫlinu, starting at one court and culminating at the other. Whereas according to Nougayrol (*PRU* III:111) he started as *kartappu* in Karkamiš and then entered the service of the king of Ugarit, Schaeffer (*Ugaritica* III:40, 47) opted for the opposite sequence: after a successful career at the vassal court of Ugarit, Takuḫlinu was promoted to a more important post under the Hittite viceroy at Karkamiš.

There is hardly any evidence that might be of assistance in deciding either for or against the equation of the two persons. However, a reexamination of the evidence regarding Takuḫlinu at Karkamiš may help to solve the problem in a different way. Indeed, it is rather surprising to discover that the only evidence connecting Takuḫlinu with Karkamiš is the fragmentary account of a legal case (*PRU* III:44, RS 6.273) conducted before “Takḫulinu the *kartappu* of the king of the land...” The name of the land is broken except for faint traces of the first two signs. The second sign is -ga-, whereas the first has been identified by Nougayrol (*PRU* III:45, n. 1) as K[ar?], thereby providing Kargamiš. It seems, however, that the first sign could be U- (or less likely Ú-), which would render the reading U²-g[a-ri-it]. Admittedly, the traces (as they appear on the facsimile) do not readily support this reading but neither do they rule it out, and a collation of this line would be highly desirable; on the photograph of the tablet (*Ugaritica* III:45, fig. 62) the sign, which is at the extreme right edge of the tablet, is not visible. If my restoration of the name of the land as Ugarit proves to be correct,⁶ it would provide an excellent solution, since (as will be demonstrated further on), some of Takuḫlinu’s activities in Ugarit are perfectly compatible with being the *kartappu* of that country. But even if not, I think that one damaged occurrence is hardly sufficient to establish a career for Takuḫlinu in Karkamiš.

Even without a Karkamiš phase in his *cursus honorum*, Takuḫlinu’s was a most impressive and varied career. According to the reconstruction here proposed, two main phases may be discerned, in this order: in the first, he served as a representative or ambassador of Ugarit at the Hittite court; in the second he held important posts in the state administration of Ugarit.

To the first phase in Takuḫlinu’s career five documents may be ascribed. First, there are the well known lapis lazuli letters (*PRU* IV:221, RS 17.383; *PRU*

6. Unfortunately, from the contents of the tablet almost nothing is preserved that could help in determining whether the case was heard in Ugarit or in Karkamiš. All that remains are the name(?) [A]mminidagan and the seal impressions, stamped by an uninscribed cylinder seal and (twice) by the hieroglyphic seal of Takuḫli.

IV:223, RS 17.422). Takuḫli writes from the Hittite court to his sovereign in Ugarit. He is caught in the middle of what may be called a diplomatic incident between the two courts. The king of Ugarit has been accused of sending imitation gems instead of genuine lapis lazuli. Takuḫli first asks, then in a second letter implores his master to locate the real stones⁷ and to send them as quickly as possible in order to appease the furious king. His second letter ends on a bitter tone: “Up to now they were not hostile to me in the Land of Hatti!” The outcome of this embarrassing affair is not known, but perhaps some allusions in other documents may be taken to infer that Takuḫlinu’s reputation has suffered from this incident (see below).

Another interesting episode in Takuḫlinu’s life is revealed in the first letter (RS 17.383:32ff.). He reports that he has been mortally ill and was saved only through the intervention of the god Apšukka of Irḫanda. Since this has cost him many offerings to the deity, he asks his sovereign to send him a present consisting of blue wool. The ritual process through which the deity comes to his aid is of much interest in the study of ancient religion (Nougayrol, *PRU* IV:221).

A text of major importance in establishing Takuḫlinu’s range of activities and his chronology is *Ugaritica* V:28, RS 20.184. This is a letter from Ammištamru II, king of Ugarit, to Ḥešmi-Tešub requesting first-class horses and bows from Ḥanigalbat. The addressee is asked to give the Ugaritan messenger Amutaru a favorable introduction before the “king” in order to ensure the successful outcome of his mission. The king of Ugarit reminds him of the fact that in the past he used to receive horses from his overlord through the good offices of Takuḫli.⁸

Ḥešmi-Tešub’s identity was not known at the time that this and another document in which he is mentioned (*Ugaritica* V:27, RS 20.22) were published. Since the king of Ugarit addresses him as his “lord” and requests his “lobbying” services, Nougayrol (*Ugaritica* V:96, n. 1; 98, n.2) plausibly assumed that Ḥešmi-Tešub must have been a high functionary at the Hittite court, probably a royal prince. The recently discovered tablets from Meskene-Emar have revealed his true identity: the brother of Ini-Tešub, king of Karkamiš (Arnaud 1974; see also Hawkins 1980: 433). It is evident now that the “king” to whose court Takuḫli (and later Amutaru) was sent was not the “great king” of Ḥattuša, but the viceroy of Karkamiš, Ini-Tešub. The same applies, in my opinion, to the lapis

7. A request for the consignment of precious stones (NA₄^{MES} *meku*: *ehlipakku*, “raw glass”) from Ugarit (to Karkamiš) is also found in *PRU* VI:6, RS 17.144:40, a letter addressed to the governor of Ugarit.

8. Cf. *PRU* VI 7, RS 17.148:18, where a first-class horse is sent to the governor of Ugarit from Piḫa-^dIM, son of Upparmuwa, a prince from Karkamiš (cf. *PRU* IV:193, RS 17.423; Laroche 1981: 33). In *PRU* III.41, RS 16.180 the equerry (^{LU}*huburtanuru*) of the king of Karkamiš is selling a horse, probably to the king of Ugarit, for the high price of 200 shekels of silver.

lazuli letters sent from the court of the “king.”⁹ Since the reference to the Land of Hatti in the second letter (RS 17.422:38) is of a very general nature, there is no irrefutable argument against applying it to the court of the Hittite viceroy in Karkamiš as well. In view of the foregoing, Takuḫlinu’s biography should be modified along the following lines. In the first phase of his career he served as the representative of the king of Ugarit at the court of Karkamiš. Indeed, this interpretation corresponds far better with our knowledge of the political hierarchy of Hittite hegemony over Syria: the affairs of the Syrian vassal states were coordinated directly from Karkamiš, and only in the most important matters of state—such as the conclusion of treaties—was the intervention of the highest authority in Ḫattuša required. This is especially evident in the late-thirteenth century, when the court of the viceroy, under the able rule of Ini-Tešub and later of Talmi-Tešub, assumed increasing importance in its domination of the Syrian dependencies (Nougayrol, *PRU* IV:20; Liverani 1962: 124). Thus, a permanent Ugaritan diplomatic mission in Karkamiš was even more essential than one in the distant metropolis of Ḫattuša.

So far, according to the documents presented, Takuḫlinu was active mainly in the exchange of luxury articles between the two courts: lapis lazuli was (purportedly) sent from Ugarit to Karkamiš; first-class horses and Ḫanigalbat bows were dispatched from Karkamiš to Ugarit. From *Ugaritica* V:28 it seems that Takuḫlinu vacated his post to Amutaru already during the reign of Ini-Tešub, perhaps after falling into disgrace because of the lapis lazuli affair.

Takuḫlinu’s official title in this diplomatic office is regrettably not preserved. In his letters to his king it is obviously not recorded, whereas in this text the title is, unfortunately, almost completely obscured (obv. 11; see Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V:99, n. 2). In the same letter, his successor Amutaru¹⁰ bears the obscure title LÚ¹¹*zarqu* IGI-ya (98, n. 1),¹¹ but the traces after Takuḫlinu’s name belong to a different word.

It is my contention that Takuḫlinu’s mission to Karkamiš could very well be that of a *kartappu*. A short discussion on this term is now in order (see Pecchioli Daddi 1977 with previous bibliography).

9. It seems that in the correspondence from Ugarit a clear distinction has been made between the “great king” (or dUTU-ŠI “my sun”) residing in Ḫattuša and the “king” residing in Karkamiš, although the issue deserves a more thorough investigation (see Nougayrol, *PRU* III:4, n. 1; Schaeffer, *PRU* III:xix; Hawkins 1980: 433).

10. This Amutaru, who is probably the same person as the merchant Am(u/a)taru(nu), richly endowed by Ammištamru II (Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V: 99, n. 4) is connected with Takuḫlinu in yet another matter. According to *PRU* III:115, RS 16.148 + his son Gamiradu was appointed by the king to take possession of Takuḫlinu’s property after his death.

11. See *CAD* Z:69a (*zarku*) and *AHW*:1029b (*sarku*). The word is attested only in EA 22, in the list of gifts of Tušratta, and in a fragmentary Boğazköy letter from Egypt (KUB 3:51 rev. 6; see Edel 1976: 80). An equation has been suggested with Hittite LÚ.MEŠ *šarikuwa-*, apparently an inferior class of soldiers (*HW* 185 and 2. Erg., 22). Possibly *zarku* is related to *zarīqu*, a functionary of rather low rank in the Assyrian court (*CAD* Z:68; *AHW*:1515).

Originally, the post of the *kartappu* was closely connected with horses and chariotry. The word is derived from Sumerian *kir₄.dab*, “(the one) who holds the nose” (i.e., the rein of the horse; *CAD K*: 225–26). “Groom” or “charioteer” are the current translations. It is in this role that we encounter the *kartappu* in most of the occurrences of the word in the Amarna and Boğazköy texts. This aspect of the office does not concern us here.

As often happens with Hittite titles, the meaning expands and changes considerably with time (compare, for example *GAL GEŠTIN*). In this case it is perhaps possible to follow the evolution of the office. The regular *kartappu* was a rather low official in the Hittite kingdom (Goetze 1952: 6). The situation was different however with regard to the grooms and charioteers who served the royal family and particularly the king himself. These apparently acquired very important and responsible positions and were selected from among the most able and loyal servants of the sovereign, perhaps from the royal family itself. This is excellently demonstrated by the well known passage in the Tawagalawa letter, where Dabala-^dU, the personal *kartappu* of the Hittite king is being offered as a hostage to the king of Ahhiyawa and is introduced in the Hittite monarch’s own words as follows (KUB 14:3 II 58ff., 73ff.): “Dabala-^dU is not a man of low rank; from (my) youth on he rides with me on the chariot (as) *kartappu*; he also used to ride on the chariot with your brother, Tawagalawa.... This *kartappu*, since he has (a wife) from the family of the queen—and the family of the queen in the Hatti land is very important—is he not indeed a ...¹² to me?” The passage not only brings into focus the high reputation of this *kartappu* who has close personal contacts at two royal courts—Hatti¹³ and Ahhiyawa—but also illustrates the natural transition of the *kartappu* from the stable to the diplomatic service.

Incidentally, a strikingly similar process may be observed in the Egyptian foreign service, where the “messengers of the king to every foreign land” come almost without exception from the ranks of the chariotry or the horse attendants (see below).

It is not surprising that with the growing needs of the Hittite foreign service in the thirteenth century, both in the effective administration of the Syrian dependencies and in the increased diplomatic contacts with foreign imperial courts, the services of such trustworthy and well trained *kartappu*, many of whom were probably intimately known to the king himself, were required more and more. Documents from Hattuša and especially from Ugarit show that they acted not

12. The word is not clear. Sommer’s emendation (1932: 10) to ^{LÜ}HA-<DA?->NU is difficult to accept. Pechioli Daddi (1977: 176) suggests, ^{LÜ}A-BU, which is hardly an improvement.

13. If, as I believe, the Tawagalawa letter was written by Hattušili III (Güterbock 1936: 327), this allusion to the king’s youth is in accordance with the statement in his autobiography that as a youngster he served as a groom (KUŠKA.TAB.ANŠU, *Hatt.* I 12; see Laroche 1955: 81–82).

merely as messengers between royal courts—the *tēmu* and the *mar šipri* fulfilled this function—but as special deputies of the king in important and complicated diplomatic missions.

A few examples may demonstrate the rise in the status of the *kartappu*:

Talmi-Tešub, the “*kartappu* of His Majesty” (*ša* ^dUTU-ŠI) is sent to Ugarit to inspect the contingent of troops and chariots to be provided by Ugarit to the Great King (*PRU* IV:192, RS 17.289).

A delicate diplomatic mission, related to the marriage negotiations between Ramses II and the Hittites, is entrusted into the hands of Zuzu, who apparently bears the double title ^{LÚ}*kartappu* and ^{LÚ}SAG (see below). Puduḫepa informs the Egyptian monarch by letter that since the regular Hittite messenger Piḫašdu has not yet returned to Hatti from a meeting planned with the Egyptian envoys, she is sending Zuzu to see into this matter (KUB 21:38 obv. 22; Helck 1963: 89).

No less important is the task of the Hittite *kartappu* in RS 34.129 (Dietrich and Loretz 1978: 53ff.).¹⁴ He is to escort from Ugarit to Ḫatti a person whom the Hittite king wishes to interrogate about the Šikālayū people (see Lehmann 1979). Important international cases are heard before the *kartappu* Kila’e (*PRU* IV:234, RS 17.112), Yaraziti (*PRU* IV:105, RS 17.137) and Šunailu (*PRU* IV:231, RS 17.244). Like Takuḫlinu, Šunailu, who acquires some bronze implements in Ugarit, also seems to be active as a business agent.

In addition to the ordinary *kartappu*, the texts also mention a “chief” *kartappu*. In the lists of tribute paid by Niqmaddu to Šuppiluliuma, the GAL *kartappu* is counted among the top six Hittite officials who receive payments from Ugarit (see Goetze 1952). One chief *kartappu* is known to us by name from two documents from Ugarit (*PRU* IV:234, RS 17.112; 294, RS 19.70). The same person, Kila’e, the man of Ḫiššišiba, could be the addressee of the letter KBo 28:4 sent by the king of Išuwa (Pecchioli Daddi 1977: 169ff.; cf., however, Güterbock 1973: 142, n. 24; Houwink ten Cate 1973). His eminent position is illustrated by the fact that he is addressed by the king and queen of Ugarit as “our father,” and perhaps as “my sweet father” by the king of Išuwa. According to both letters, his position is that of a chancellor who is asked to forward the messages of the vassal kings to His Majesty. Pecchioli Daddi has correctly compared the office of chief *kartappu* to that of the “secretary of foreign affairs.”

In the legal document (*PRU* IV:234, RS 17.112) Kila’e bears the title “the *kartappu* who is at the head of the (*ša*) *rēši š[arri]*” (^{LÚ}*kartappu ša illakam ana pani* ^{LÚ}.MEŠSAG L[UGAL]). From the juxtaposition of Kila’e’s titles, it becomes evident that the chief *kartappu* is, at least in this case, in charge of all the (*ša*) *rēši (šarri)*. This relationship between the *kartappu* and the (*ša*) *rēši* is

14. The editors read his name *Ni-sa-aḫ-i-li* (line 15). I think that *Ni-ir-ga-i-li* provides a better reading. (Cf. Nerikkaili, Laroche 1966: 130, no. 887.)

frequently found in the Hittite sources as well (Pecchioli Daddi 1977: 181ff.). Without entering into the debate whether the Hittite (*ša*) *rēši* (^{LÚ}SAG) was also an eunuch like his Neo-Assyrian counterpart (Pecchioli Daddi 1977: 180, n. 54), it may be briefly summarized that ^{LÚ}SAG in the Hittite sources appears to be a general term for high officials in the entourage of the king who have access to top state secrets (“may enter the inner room”). The same may hold for the (*ša*) *rēši* at Ugarit (Rainey 1967: 53). Persons of different professions bear the title ^{LÚ}SAG; among these are the famous scribes Anuwanza (who is also the “Lord of Nerik”) and Pala (the “Lord of Ḫurma”), Zuzu the *kartappu* (see above), and perhaps Aliziti, the “chief palace attendant” (GAL DUMU^{MES} É.GAL KBo 4:10 rev. 31), provided he is the same person as Aliziti, *rēši šarri*, in *Ugaritica* V:33, RS 20.212:27’.

In conclusion, the *kartappu* and the *ša rēši* both belong to the royal chancellery, but the former’s activities seem to be restricted to the foreign office.

It has been suggested above that Takuḫlinu was the *kartappu* of the king of Ugarit. Now, in another document (the legal case *PRU* IV:202, RS 18.20 + 17.371), which probably belongs to the very end of his career (see below), Taguḫlinu appears in the witness list as ^{LÚ}SAG. The line is broken after SAG and the editor restored *ekallim*(?), probably by relating it to Takuḫlinu’s title in *PRU* III:112, RS 15.114, MAŠKIM *ekallim* (cf. also *PRU* IV:238, RS 17.231, Tabrammi ^{LÚ}ša *re-ši ekallim*). However, if the same person is referred to, ^{LÚ}SAG, i.e., (*ša*) *rēši*, with no further restoration (or perhaps ^{LÚ}SAG LUGAL as in *PRU* IV:236, RS 17.251:22), is more appropriate, especially in view of the connection between the functions of the *kartappu* and the *ša rēši*. If so, ^{LÚ}SAG in this text does not indicate Takuḫlinu’s office, but is a generalized designation of his rank at the palace (see below).

Besides the chief *kartappu* and the *kartappu* of His Majesty (*ša* ^dUTU-ŠI), there are also *kartappū* of the viceroy of Karkamiš, who likewise assume plenipotentiary powers in their diplomatic missions. In *PRU* IV:202, RS 18.20 + 17.371, Zuzzullu arbitrates as the deputy of the king of Karkamiš in a dispute between the king of Ugarit and merchants from Ura (see also *PRU* IV:232, RS 17.252:21’).

The office of *kartappu* is also found at the courts of the vassal states, as shown by *PRU* III:13, RS 15.19, where the *kartappu* of the king of the small kingdom of Barga is sent to Ugarit. The nature of his mission is unfortunately not preserved on the tablet. One would assume that in contrast to the *kartappu* of the suzerain courts of Ḫattuša and Karkamiš, the missions entrusted to the *kartappu* of the vassal kings would consist more of mediating for good offices in the interest of their masters. The transfer of valuable presents would no doubt play a central role in their activities. It is logical to assume that the kings of Ugarit had *kartappū* who represented them at the Hittite court and the courts of other vassal

kingdoms, although no clear evidence has turned up as yet. However, the examination of Takuḫlinu's range of activities has brought together indirect evidence to the effect that this is precisely the post that he may have assumed. If so, the reading "Takuḫlinu, the *kartappu* of the king of the land *U^l-g[a-ri-it]*" in *PRU* III:44, RS 16.273, is not only possible but in fact very probable.

The original connection of the *kartappu* to horses and chariotry decreases and perhaps vanishes altogether with time, although the "rein" designating his office in the hieroglyphic script remains (Laroche 1960: 150, no. 289). Nonetheless, it is perhaps more than coincidence that Takuḫlinu, during his diplomatic mission, transfers first-class horses from Karkamiš to Ugarit.

A further document that may relate to Takuḫlinu's career as a *kartappu* is a passage from a Hittite letter(?) from Boğazköy. The duplicates KUB 8:79 and KUB 26:92 (CTH 209.3) deal with Syrian affairs (see Klengel 1969: 221), including a tribute from Niya (KUB 26:92 obv. 5–7) and certain matters in which Bentešina of Amurru is involved. The account of a murder case and an oath to be taken in connection therewith is in a very fragmentary condition (KUB 8:79 obv.). Klengel tentatively relates this to KBo 1:10, where the murder of Babylonian merchants in Amurru is mentioned.

Another, much-better preserved passage (KUB 26:92, 8–18 = KUB 8:79, rev. 24ff.) deals with the fate of a "palace tablet" that was sent to Bentešina (transliteration and translation in Laroche 1954: 105–6). The entire document is written in the first person and quotes from previous correspondence. It certainly has the appearance of a (draft of a) letter, but the names of the sender and the addressee are not preserved. It could be an account sent by the Hittite monarch (Ḫattušili or Tuḫaliya) to the king of Karkamiš (Laroche 1954: 105, n. 32; Houwink ten Cate 1973: 255), or, less likely, vice versa (Klengel 1969: 221).

The tablet that I had for Bentešina in the palace was with *Ta-ku-x[]*, the man of Ariyanta. He came back and reported to me: "The tablet of the palace, Bentešina had it, and he gave it to Tattamaru (with the following instruction): 'Present [it] to His Majesty!' But the latter has broken it against the wall." If I did not believe [this] man, when the messengers whom I s[ent] not one of them returned, (then) I believed this story and said: "Since Bentešina's word was not received, I will send again another man and (then) his word will be received." For this (reason) I believed the story about the breaking of the tablet. My messenger, Piḫaddu, who was with Bentešina []napili []. But Dakuḫili and Ḫilani [came ?] back.

The person who interests us here, of course, is Dakuḫili (line 18), whom Klengel (1969: 243, n. 128) tentatively suggested identifying with the *kartappu* Takḫulinu in *PRU* III:44, RS 16.273. Although the previous line is broken and the context not clear, it seems that he was one of the messengers who brought the news about the breaking of the tablet in Amurru. Far more significant is what

we learn about the man mentioned in line 8, who may turn out to be the same person. Laroche restored the broken name as *Ta-ku-u-w[a ?]*, a common name in Syria (Laroche 1966: 171, no. 1219). However, collation of the photograph¹⁵ provided the following result: the sign following *-ku-* begins on a small Winkelhaken in the center, which excludes *-wa-*, *-bi-*, or *-u-* but fits very well an *-uh-*. The obvious restoration *Ta-ku-u[h-li]* is all the more plausible because the same man, in a different spelling (Dakuḫili), appears a few lines later.

D/Takuḫ(i)li, according to this passage, is a person important enough to be entrusted with the delivery of a “palace tablet” to Bentešina in Amurru, but his word on the outcome of this affair is not readily trusted, either by the addressee or by the sender of this letter. Only after being vindicated by other messengers is the story accepted and measures taken to send Bentešina another tablet. This apparent mistrust would be easily understood if the Takuḫli of this letter is the same person as the Takuḫlinu of Ugarit whose reputation at the Hittite court may have suffered as a consequence of the lapis lazuli affair, and whose integrity, even in Ugarit, was considered with some reservations (see below). As a *kar-tappu*, Takuḫlinu probably frequented many courts in Hittite Syria. In view of the close relations between Ugarit and Amurru, the court of Bentešina could easily be one of these. Apparently, on one of these journeys Takuḫlinu offered his services as a courier to the Hittite monarch and transmitted a tablet to Amurru.¹⁶ Still another possibility could be that this document was written before Takuḫlinu (who is referred to as the “man of Ariyanta”) entered into the service of the king of Ugarit.

The chronological data on Takuḫlinu will be evaluated at the end of this section, but it may be briefly noted here that the appearance of this D/Takuḫ(i)li alongside Bentešina, Tattamaru and Piḫaddu accords well with the dating of Takuḫlinu of Ugarit.

An important biographical datum provided by this Hittite document that may have direct bearing on Takuḫlinu’s status in Ugarit is his place of origin, Ariyanta (line 9). This place name does not occur in any other text from Ḫattuša or Ugarit, but it appears frequently (as Ariyante) in the Alalah tablets (Wiseman 1953: 154) and is doubtlessly located within the confines of the kingdom of Alalah/Mukiš. Thus, the conjecture based on the Ugaritic documentation

15. I wish to thank Professor H. Otten for his permission to study the photograph of this tablet in the Boğazköy-Archiv.

16. That letter exchanges between Karkamiš and Amurru may have, in some cases, passed through Ugarit (or through the hands of Ugaritan intermediaries) is perhaps shown by the letter *PRU* VI:1, RS 19.06 sent by Bentešina to “the king, his lord.” This form of address, to an unnamed king, would fit better the viceroy of Karkamiš (see n. 9 above) than the king of Ugarit. This conclusion is further supported by *PRU* IV:214, RS 17.152 with n. 1, a letter from the king of Amurru to the king of Ugarit, “his son!”

maintaining that TakuḪlinu was a stranger in that city (Nougayrol, *PRU* III: 111), receives through this Hittite document final confirmation and precision.

The same applies to the Hurrian name TakuḪli, which is very common at Alalaḫ (Wiseman 1953: 148) but exceedingly rare in Boğazköy. In fact, it is known to have belonged to only one other person, a Mitannian military leader who fought the Hittites in Murmuriga in the days of Šuppiluliuma (TakuḪli ^{LÚ}*a-mumikuni*; Güterbock 1956: 93). The fragment KUB 26:85 can also be safely related to this episode (note the appearance of Gili-Tešub = Mattiwaza in rev. 3 and the town Murmuriga in obv. 5', 16'), and TakuḪli in obv. 5' is no doubt the same man. The single occurrence of the name TakuḪli in Ḫattuša in a thirteenth century context lends further support to the equation of TakuḪli, the man of Ariyanta, with his namesake in Ugarit.

We may now turn to the second phase in TakuḪlinu's career. After prolonged diplomatic activity abroad—in which he performed important services for his master but was also involved in some less successful missions—TakuḪlinu settled down in Ugarit and assumed important roles in the administration of this kingdom.

The evidence for this phase comes primarily from a series of documents dealing with land grants bestowed by King Ammištamru on TakuḪlinu. In *PRU* III:112, RS 15.126 TakḪlinu pays an honorarium of 100 shekels to the crown upon receipt of the feudal grant. In *PRU* III:112, RS 15.114 the fief granted to TakḪlinu includes a village that he undertakes to fortify with his own "silver and copper." In return, he is exempted from the feudal obligations (*pilku*) usually connected with such grants.

The conferment of lands by the crown is in many cases accompanied by a feudal appointment (Rainey 1967: 52). The title *mūdu šarrati*, "friend," or "one who goes with the queen" (Nougayrol, *PRU* III:234; Rainey 1967: 52; Heltzer 1969: 41), given to TakḪlinu according to two documents (*PRU* III:113, RS 16.353; *PRU* III:115, RS 16.148+) probably falls into this category (but cf. Vargyas 1981).

According to *PRU* III:113, RS 16.353, TakḪlinu acquires from a certain Yanḫamu, son of Ginatanu, a large estate that includes a mansion, fields, vineyards, and olive groves. He pays the remarkable sum of 1000 shekels, plus a (yearly) fee of five shekels to the crown, which sanctions the transaction.

From all these documents TakuḪlinu emerges as a very wealthy and influential person in Ugarit. One can imagine that during his term of duty in the diplomatic service, a service in which trade is of cardinal importance, TakuḪlinu managed to accumulate great personal wealth. This, and not only his dedicated service, may be one of the reasons for the extensive favors granted to him by the king of Ugarit.

There is, however, another aspect to the attitude of the Ugaritan court towards Takuhlinu, a facet that has been stressed by all who have dealt with this person (Schaeffer, *PRU* III:xxviii; Nougayrol, *PRU* III:111; Rainey 1967: 53). The grants bestowed on him were strictly conditioned upon his loyalty to the crown. According to land deed *PRU* III:113, RS 16.353, if Takuhlinu, or any of his descendants, should ever say to the king of Ugarit, “You are not our lord any more, another king is our lord,” the acquired lands and property would revert to the seller. The deed further stipulates that nothing may leave the country and no other member of his family may enjoy the interest of these lands together with (his wife?) Adatiya and her sons.¹⁷

An even more severe restriction seems to be implied in the fragmentary deed *PRU* III:115, RS 16.148+. Takuhlinu’s inheritance, after his death, is awarded to a certain Gamiradu, son of Amutaru. The latter is most probably the same Amutaru who (according to *Ugaritica* V:28, RS 20.184) succeeded Takuhlinu in his post as the special envoy to Karkamiš. Hence this may be a case of property transfer within the same professional group.

These exceptional restrictions show that despite the special honors and grants bestowed upon Takuhlinu by the Ugaritan court, his loyalty is in doubt and legal steps are considered necessary in order to prevent an undesirable outflow of Ugaritan property if he were to change his allegiance.

Although many pieces in the mosaic of Takuhlinu’s biography are still missing, and perhaps will always be, we may discern here a typical case, not uncommon in history, of a foreigner, a “self-made man,” who by virtue of his own skills climbs to the highest standing in his host country but can never overcome the barriers of mistrust regarding what Schaeffer (*PRU* III:xxviii) calls his “floating loyalty.”

Takuhlinu’s “cosmopolitanism” finds indicative material expression in his personal seal (impressed on the legal document *PRU* III:44, RS 16.273; *Ugaritica* III: figs. 61–62). Whereas Ugaritan glyptics have kept their traditional Syro-Mesopotamian character, unaffected by Hittite influence (Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III:86; see also Singer 1977: 184, n. 10), Takuhlinu, like the Hittite officials visiting Ugarit, uses a Hittite stamp seal with hieroglyphic characters. It is not surprising that this upstart from a provincial town outside Ugarit is among the first to adopt the fashions of his imperial overlords.

After having dealt with Takuhlinu’s status in Ugarit as reflected by the royal land grants, we may now proceed to examine the actual posts held by him in the administration of Ugarit.

17. This last sentence is difficult to interpret. Does it mean that Adatiya and her sons are included in the prohibition, or excluded from it?

Apart from the title (*ša*) *rēši* in *PRU* IV:202, RS 18.20+, which, like *mūdu šarrati*, belongs to the domain of ranks and titles and not to that of professions and posts, we are left with only two attestations: ^{LÚ}MAŠKIM *ekallim* in the land grant *PRU* III:112, RS 15.114 and *šākin māti* in the Aphek letter.

The Akkadian term ^{LÚ}MAŠKIM *ekallim*, “overseer of the palace,” “major-domo,” is found in Ugarit only in this text.¹⁸ There is also the clear attestation of Tabrammi ^{LÚ}ša *rešī ekallim* (*PRU* IV:238, RS 17.231), but this person was a Hittite official who probably resided in Ḫattuša (Laroche 1956: 151–52). It could be argued that ^{LÚ}MAŠKIM *ekallim* (compare Ugaritic *skn bt mlk*; see Heltzer 1976: 50, n. 8) is merely an extended form of the regular ^{LÚ}MAŠKIM, i.e., “(royal) governor,” but on the other hand, there is the parallel job of the “overseer of the palace of the queen”: ^{LÚ}MAŠKIM *bīt šarrati* (*PRU* III: 110, RS 8.208).¹⁹ If indeed ^{LÚ}MAŠKIM *ekallim* and ^{LÚ}MAŠKIM are two different posts, it is logical to assume that Takuḫlinu started as “overseer of the palace” and crowned his career as “governor” of Ugarit.

The “governor” or “vizier” (MAŠKIM, *s/šākinu/šākin māti*) is the second most important person in the kingdom and is accordingly richly documented at Ugarit (Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V:139ff.; *PRU* VI:5ff.; Rainey 1966; 1967: 54–57). Although the final proof for the equation *skn* = MAŠKIM = *s/šākinu* (Buccellati 1963: 224ff.) has still to be produced (Rainey 1966; 1967: 54–57), the full accord between the post of the MAŠKIM and that of the *šākinu* in the Ugaritic texts, renders the possibility of two different offices very unlikely (see Vargyas 1981: 170, n. 32 with further bibliography).

As deputy to the king, the governor of Ugarit had plenipotentiary powers in top state matters, in the legal, diplomatic, and commercial realms, and was particularly involved in the foreign affairs of the kingdom. His connections extended not only to the courts of Ḫattuša, Karkamiš and northern Syrian kingdoms (Amurru, Ušnatu, Qadeš, Barga) but also to regions outside the Hittite Empire, such as Birutu (*PRU* III:12, RS 11.730) and Amqu (*PRU* IV:219, RS 17.424 +). Noteworthy is the letter *PRU* III:19, RS 15.11 dealing with a transaction between the governor and “Ḫeḫea, the Egyptian.”²⁰ The governor had his own envoys who acted on his behalf abroad. Such are Muariḫi in the letter just mentioned and Adduya in the Aphek letter.

Unfortunately, the name of the governor is usually not mentioned in letters sent to or by him, since this was obviously considered unnecessary in the Syrian

18. Rainey (1967: 55) suggests restoring the same title in *PRU* III:109, RS 16.207:7.

19. Cf. the corresponding designation ^{LÚ}ŠĀ.KĪN *bīt šarrati* in *Ugaritica* V 161, RS 17.325:21 (see also *PRU* III:53, RS 15.89:15), which in turn is identical with ^{LÚ}a-ba-ra-ku *ša šarrati* in *Ugaritica* V:159, RS 17.86 + (see Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V:264, n. 1).

20. See also *Ugaritica* V 36, RS 20.182, a most interesting, but regrettably very fragmentary letter addressed to the king of Egypt dealing with an affair between the “sons of Ugarit” and the “sons of Canaan.”

koiné. The Aphek letter is an exception, which can be easily accounted for considering the high position of the addressee and the great distance between the correspondants. Although business connections with Egypt are known to have existed (Weber 1966: 33ff.), an exchange of letters between the governors of Ugarit and Canaan was nevertheless not an everyday occurrence. Among the numerous unaddressed letters in the dossiers of the governors of Ugarit, there must be some that were sent to or from Takuḫlinu. However, an attempt to ascribe to him some of these documents would require a much broader prosopographic examination of the entire Ugaritic (and also Hittite) documentation than is within the scope of the present study.

This concludes the survey of Takuḫlinu's outstanding career in which we discerned two main phases. In the first he served as the *kartappu* of the king of Ugarit, in the second he served at the palace of Ugarit, perhaps in two consecutive posts, "overseer of the palace" and "governor" of Ugarit. It may be assumed that such a varied career covered a considerable range of time, but any attempt to estimate its length would be mere guesswork. What follows is an attempt to adduce all the data pertinent to Takuḫlinu's dating and to evaluate it.

The clearest and best attested synchronism of Takuḫlinu is with Ammištamru II. It is found in the letter *Ugaritica* V 28, RS 20.184 and in three land grants: *PRU* III:112–113, RS 15.126, RS 15.114, RS 16.353. Two other fragmentary land grants of a similar type (*PRU* III:115, 210, RS 16.148, RS 15X) should perhaps also be dated to the same king. In *Ugaritica* V 28 Ammištamru mentions Takuḫlinu as his envoy who, in the past, procured horses for him from the king of Karkamiš. In the land grants Takuḫlinu appears as *mūdu šarrati* and as MAŠKIM *ekallim*. Thus it appears that the major part of Takuḫlinu's career coincides with the long reign of Ammištamru II. This king of Ugarit probably ascended the throne already at the end of Ḫattušili III's reign (Nougayrol, *PRU* IV:9, 117; Liverani 1962: 102; Klengel 1969: 378), but most of his reign was contemporary to that of Tuḫaliya IV. His overlord in Karkamiš was Ini-Tešub. The letter *Ugaritica* V 28 was addressed to a brother of Ini-Tešub, Ḫešmi-Tešub. Bentešina was probably still ruling in Amurru at the time of Ammištamru's accession to the throne (Klengel 1969: 311–12).

Additional correlations to the first phase of Takuḫlinu's career are provided by the Hittite document KUB 26.92. First, there is Bentešina, to whom Takuḫlinu transmits the "palace tablet." Bentešina, like his ally in Ugarit, had a very long reign, beginning prior to the Qadeš battle and covering, after a short interval, the entire reign of Ḫattušili III and probably the beginning of Tuḫaliya IV's.

Second, there are a number of Hittite nobles mentioned in the tablet among whom Tattamaru is the best known. He is most probably the same person as the prince Tattamaru in the Ulmi-Tešub treaty (CTH 106; KBo 4:10 rev. 30) and the Taddamaru, son of Šaḫurunuwa, in KUB 26:43 obv. 5 (CTH 225). According

to a letter addressed to him by a queen, probably Puduḫepa, Tattamaru married one of her nieces (CTH 180; KUB 23:85 line 5).²¹ These, and a few other less instructive occurrences of the name (see Imparati 1975: 43ff.; Laroche 1981: 43), seem to place Tattamaru at the beginning of Tuḫaliya's reign, when the widow queen Puduḫepa was still alive and active.

Finally, KUB 26:92 also mentions the messenger Piḫaddu, a valuable synchronism that connects us with Egypt. He is no doubt identical to the well known Hittite messenger Piḫašdu/Pikašta (Houwink ten Cate 1973: 255) who travels between Hatti and Egypt during the negotiations that preceded the royal marriage (Edel 1953: 35). That on this route he also frequented the court of Amurru is shown by a letter from Bentešina to the Hittite king, where he (Beḫašdu) is designated "messenger of His Majesty" (KBo 8:16 obv. 6–7). The royal marriage took place in Ramses' 34th year, but Piḫašdu continued his diplomatic service after this event. This can now be proved by a valuable observation of Edel pertaining to the chronology of the Ramses letters from Ḫattuša. He demonstrated that the so-called *insibja* letters (Edel 1976: 20, 29–30, 91ff.) have to be dated according to the titular of Ramses between years 42 and 56; Piqašti appears in one of these letters (KUB 3:66 obv. 15).

The latest appearance of Taguḫlinu's name is no doubt in the witness list of *PRU* IV:202, RS 18.20 +, a protocol of a case decided before Zuzzullu, the *kartappu* of the king of Karkamiš. The document mentions a Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, who must be the third monarch of this name (according to the name of the scribe who wrote the tablet). Although the chronology of the last kings of Ugarit is poorly known, the reigns of the two successors of Ammištamru II, Ibiranu, and Niqmaddu III, were probably very short (Nougayrol, *PRU* IV:9; Liverani 1962: 129; Klengel 1969: 397), especially that of the latter.²² Ibiranu, and possibly Niqmaddu III as well, are still contemporaries of Ini-Tešub²³ and Tuḫaliya. Again we have a clear correlation between the last kings of Ugarit, Karkamiš and Hatti: Amurapi, Talmi-Tešub and Šuppiluliuma respectively (Klengel 1965: 87–88; 1969: 391).

21. The question of what brought Tattamaru to Bentešina's court and how to account for his reckless act of breaking the "palace tablet" must be left open. He may have belonged to the royal family of Karkamiš, or was perhaps married to a princess from Amurru.

22. The Ugaritic version of a letter sent to Niqmaddu by a queen named Pdgb (RS 17.434; Caquot 1978) seems to reduce considerably the time interval between Ammištamru II and Niqmaddu III, if indeed the sender is the spouse of Ḫattušili III. This letter could then be one of the last international affairs in which the aging widow queen was involved, and there is no need to surmise the existence of another queen of that name (Nougayrol, *PRU* IV:200). Cf., however, Liverani (1962: 51–52) and Klengel (1969: 409, n. 18) for a different identification of the queen in this text.

23. Ibiranu can be synchronised with several princes of Karkamiš who are loosely dated to the reigns of Ini-Tešub and Tuḫaliya IV (Klengel 1965: 66–67; 1969: 390–91).

This late appearance of Taguhlinu under Niqmaddu III, if indeed the same man is referred to, is somewhat incompatible with the chronological range established by the other documents. This Taguhlinu bears the title (*ša*) *rēši* (^{LÚ}SAG), which, as explained above, is a general designation for dignitaries in the entourage of the king. If Taguhlinu still served as governor of Ugarit at this time, one would expect to find him listed according to his official title, like the rest of the witnesses: the *sukkalu* of the king, the chief of the *mešeda*, the diviner and the scribe. Also, Taguhlinu's place on the list, after the *sukkal šarri* and the chief of the *mešeda*, would be rather demeaning for the second highest official in the kingdom. Perhaps Taguhlinu was already an aged but still honored personage at the Ugaritan court, who was summoned to witness an important lawsuit even though he was no longer the governor.

If we try to integrate all these data, it would seem that—although none of Takuhlinu's synchronisms pinpoints the years—the combined evidence leads to a chronological range that began somewhere at the beginning of Tuthaliya's reign (or possibly at the end of Hattušili's) and lasted about two decades. The date of Tuthaliya's accession to the throne is established by correlations with Šalmanassar I and Tukulti-Ninurta I of Assyria (Ottén 1960: 46); according to the low Assyrian chronology this would have occurred before 1234 B.C.E. (Boese and Wilhelm 1979: 38). Takuhlinu's public service would thus cover approximately the third quarter of the thirteenth century. The Aphek letter was sent from Ugarit at the peak of his career, during the time he was serving as governor (*šākin māti*) of Ugarit. Consequently, a date around 1230 would seem appropriate for the letter.

ḪAYA²⁴

Ḫaya the “great one” (^m*Ḫa-a-ya* ^{LÚ}GAL), to whom Takuhlinu, the governor of Ugarit, addresses himself as “your son and servant,” must be a leading Egyptian official, probably residing in the Egyptian province of Canaan.²⁵

The synchronism with Takuhlinu provides the point of departure in any attempt to identify the Ḫaya of the letter. We must search from among officials of that name who served towards the second half of Ramses II's long reign.

The cuneiform rendering of the name may correspond to Egyptian Ḫ'y or Ḫwy, both of which are frequent hypocoristica in the New Kingdom (Sethé

24. I wish to thank Professor Alan R. Schulman for reading this section and for his valuable comments.

25. To be sure, nowhere in the letter are Egypt or Canaan mentioned, directly or indirectly. The name of the town [Ya]pu is partially restored; Ḫaya is a hypocoristic name found in various regions of the Near East (e.g., at Emar; see Arnaud 1975: 91); the reference to the Great King could theoretically belong to the Hittite king as well. Nevertheless, the fact that the tablet was found in an Egyptian stronghold in Canaan (Kochavi 1981: 78) leaves no doubt concerning the destination of the letter.

1907–1908: 89; for Egyptian officials with this name in the Amarna correspondence, see Albright 1946: 12–13).

Taking into account the high position of Ḥaya in the Aphek letter, the following persons in the Egyptian sources may be considered as possible candidates. Ḥʿy the vizier of Upper Egypt held this office for at least fourteen years during the reign of Ramses II, between regnal years 30–44 (Helck 1958: 321–22). His high rank, second only to that of the king himself, certainly qualifies him for the title “great one.”²⁶ There is nothing, however, in his *cursus honorum*—which includes the posts of “chamberlain,” “royal spokesman,” and “treasurer of the king’s estate”—that would connect him either with Canaan or the diplomatic service. He may therefore be safely discarded as a possible candidate.

The Border Journal from year 3 of Merneptah (*Pap. Anastasi* III, vso. 6, 1ff.; Wilson 1969: 258) mentions (twice) an Egyptian official named Ḥʿy, whose rank is *mr jwʿyt*, “garrison officer” (Schulman 1964: 39–40; Edel 1953: 60 and Helck 1962: 246 render this as “Vorstehrer der Besatzungstruppen”). Helck assumes that this person was the head of the garrison in Gaza, but this cannot be established with any confidence (Wilson 1969: 258, n. 9). Edel even thinks that his residence was in Tyre, since his name appears alongside that of its prince. The garrison officers in the Border Journal appear to have held high positions in the administration of the Egyptian provinces (Edel 1953: 60) but they must have been subordinate to *Imn-m-ip.t*, the “king’s messenger to the foreign lands of Syria (Hurri) from Sile to Upi” (*Pap. Anastasi* III 1, 9ff.; Edel 1953: 56, 60; see further below). For these reasons, and also because of the chronological difficulty in stretching Takuḥlinu’s dating so late, I think that this Ḥʿy must also be dropped from our consideration.

A far better candidate is Ḥwy, the Viceroy of Kush (Habachi 1977). This Ḥwy was previously confused with his namesake serving in the same office under Tutankhamen. Habachi (1957) has redated to him a number of graffiti in the Aswan region. His name also appears in two inscriptions from Buhen (Habachi 1961: 216ff.; Smith 1976: 104). His most important monument, however, is the stela in the Berlin Museum (cat. no. 17332), which also probably originates in northern Nubia (Edel 1953: 61ff.; Habachi 1961: 219ff.). It provides a long list of military and political ranks and titles, testifying to a long and successful career for Ḥwy. Those titles connected with his authority over Nubia (“Viceroy of Kush,” “the highest authority in Nubia,” “overseer of the southern countries,” “overseer of the lands of the gold of Amun” and “fan-bearer on the right hand of the king”) are followed by several important military offices: “brigade commander,” “officer for horses,” “legate of His Majesty in the chariot corps” and

26. His predecessor, the vizier *P3-sjrw* = Pašiyara, together with the other “great ones” of Egypt (LÚMEŠ GALMEŠ), sends a congratulatory letter to Ḥattušili on the occasion of the signing of the peace treaty (Edel 1978). Although the title of Pašiyara is broken, it must have been LÚSUKKAL LUGAL, “vizier” (cf. Helck 1971: 472).

“brigade commander in Tjaru.” The list ends with “messenger of the king to every foreign land,” “the one who comes from Hatti bringing its Great Lady ...,” and “the royal scribe.”

The unique epithet describing Ḫwy’s mission to Hatti clearly refers to his escorting the Hittite princess to Egypt in year 34 of Ramses, a well-attested event in both Hittite and Egyptian sources. A fragmentary inscription in the Louvre also refers to this mission and probably belongs to the same person (Edel 1953: 61).

Ḫwy no doubt had one of the most impressive careers during the entire New Kingdom (Edel 1953: 61ff.; Habachi 1961: 219ff.; Valloggia 1976: 128ff.). His mission to Hatti and two of his offices, “brigade commander in Tjaru” (Edel 1953: 61, n. 2) and “messenger of the king to every foreign land” (see below), clearly associate him with Egypt’s northern dependencies. He thus fills most satisfactorily the requirements for his identification with Ḫaya the “great one” in the Aphek letter.

Before attempting to set up the chronological framework for Ḫaya’s activities, a further reference to a person who accompanied the Hittite princess must be discussed.

Edel (1953: 61ff.) combined the evidence of the Berlin stela of Ḫwy with a famous letter from Boğazköy relating to the royal marriage (KUB 3:37 +). In it Ramses reassures the Hittite court that the princess will be properly received at the border²⁷ and gives instructions to two Egyptian governors (*šākin māti*) to escort the Hittite envoy through their respective territories. The first is Šuta, the governor of Upi, plausibly identified with Sthj, a high official from a Sedment tomb who bears, among other epithets, the title “messenger of the king to every foreign land” (Edel 1953: 57–58, quoting Helck). From the second name only *A-taḫ-* is preserved, possibly followed by *-m[a-*. The land of his residence is also missing but it must have been Kinaḫḫi (Edel 1953: 50–51; Helck 1962: 259).²⁸ The beginning of the name probably contains the element *Pth* (Edel 1953: 58). This person cannot be identified with any certainty.²⁹

27. KUB 21:38 (Helck 1963) is the Hittite draft of the previous letter sent to Ramses II in which queen Puduḫepa specifies her requests in this matter.

28. Edel (1953: 55) points out that the same Egyptian provinces, Upi and Kinaḫḫi, appear in EA 7, line 77 and EA 8, line 17, which mention a caravan from Babylonia passing through these countries on its way to Egypt.

29. Helck (1962: 231, 259–60) restores the name as *Ataḫ-(mašši = Pth-[mšw]*, without giving his reasons. Edel (1953: 58–59), refers to *Pth-mj*, a “royal scribe,” “general” and “stablemaster,” but rejects a possible identification with *Pth-m-wj3* on a statue in the British Museum (cat. no. 167; Valloggia 1976: 133), who bears the titles “stablemaster of the palace,” “scribe of the royal harem,” “scribe of the offering table” and “messenger of the king to every foreign land.” He argues that his offices are too inferior to qualify him for this position. This argument however contradicts Edel’s own conclusion (56) that the term “messenger of the king to every foreign land” is equal to Akkadian *šākin māti*. Thus, there is no reason to discard the possible identification of *Ataḫ[-...]* with *Pth-m-wj3*, who served at the end of Ramses II’s reign (see Valloggia 1976: 133).

From this it would appear that there were two persons (excluding the governor of Upi) who were entrusted to escort the Hittite princess through Canaan, namely, H̄wy and Atah[. A rather far-fetched, but not impossible way to account for this apparent discrepancy is to assume that Atah[...] was the man originally appointed to that mission, but during the time that elapsed between the letter and the arrival of the princess—at least half a year according to Edel (1953: 53)—he had concluded his term of office and was replaced by H̄wy, who is the one who actually carried out the mission. It is much safer however to follow Edel's assumption (1953: 62–63) that one and the same person is referred to in both inscriptions, H̄wy being a frequent hypocoristicon of practically any Egyptian full name. In this case, there is clear evidence in support of the equation between the Akkadian title *šākin māti*, “governor,” and the Egyptian title *wpwtj nsw r ḥ3st nbt*, “messenger of the king to every foreign land” (Edel 1953: 56; Kitchen 1967: 178–79), since this is the only title in H̄wy's *cursus honorum* that would correspond to the title of Atah[...].

I believe that Edel's ingenious solution can now be further corroborated on the basis of the Aphek letter. From it H̄aya/H̄wy emerges as a very important official in Canaan. His diplomatic mission with the Hittite princess is not merely an ad hoc appointment but is a direct result of his permanent position in this province. He is apparently in charge of the granaries in Joppa, and he carries out an independent correspondence and trade with Ugarit. This, together with the fact that a letter addressed to him was found in an Egyptian stronghold in Canaan, makes his identification as the governor (*šākin māti*) of this province (or part of it) practically unavoidable.

Having arrived at this conclusion from internal evidence, we may now add that the designation *rabū* (LÚGAL), “great one,” although sometimes applied generally to persons of high rank, in the Amarna correspondence usually refers to Egyptian governors and appears alongside more specific titles (*rābiṣu*, *sākinu*, *malik*, *pawara*; see Hachmann 1982: 23–25).

The equation of “messenger of the king to every foreign land” with “governor, commissioner” is now conclusive. Helck (1962: 260) doubted this equation on the grounds that messenger is too inferior a rank to be compared with governor. He is certainly right in equating the simple *wpwtj* with the *mar šipri* of the Amarna letters.³⁰ For “governor,” Helck reserves the title “foreman of the northern foreign lands,” which is far less common, especially during the Nineteenth Dynasty. However, it is quite evident that the simple messengers who fulfill diplomatic missions at foreign courts are not on the same level as the “messengers of the king to every foreign land.” The latter are occasionally specified as “messen-

30. This is attested in EA 27 and EA 28, where Tušratta's “messenger” Pirizzi is titled *mar šipri*, whereas a hieratic addition on EA 27 has *wpwtj* (Valloggia 1976: 240; cf. also Edel 1953: 56, n. 2).

ger of the king to Hurri,” or “... to the princes of Hurri from Tjaru to Upi” (*Pap. Anastasi III*: 1, 9–10; Edel 1953: 56; Valloggia 1976: 252).³¹

A similar inner hierarchy is seen in a parallel office in the administration of the Hittite Empire, i.e., that of the *kartappu*. As noted above, some of these are no more than simple grooms or charioteers, whereas at the other end of the scale, one finds persons bearing this title who fulfill major diplomatic missions as fully authorized commissioners of the Hittite king. The parallel is even more striking when it is observed that most of the Egyptian governors were linked at some stage of their careers with the prestigious chariot troops as “first drivers of the king’s chariot,” “superintendents of the stables,” or “overseers of the chariotry.” This is true both for the “governors of the southern countries” (i.e., Viceroy of Kush; see Helck 1975: 108; Habachi 1979a: 635), and for the governors of the northern dependencies (i.e., “messengers of the king to every foreign land”; see Helck 1939: 64, n. 7; Edel 1953: 57; Valloggia 1976: 245, 253–54).³² The connection with the chariot troops as a common denominator in the military background of the Egyptian governors of Nubia and Canaan may serve as one point of departure in the comparative study of the two parallel offices.

We may now turn to the evaluation of the chronological data on Hw̄y. It is still impossible to establish the exact order of the persons (at least eight) who held the office of Viceroy of Kush during Ramses II’s long reign, nor the timespan that each of them held the office. It has been attempted, however, to work out an approximate chronological framework (Schmidt 1970: 173; Helck 1975: 104–5; Habachi 1979a: 633–34; 1981: ch. VIII).

Imn-m-jpt served under Seti I but was still in office at the beginning of Ramses II’s reign. He is followed by Hk3-nḥt, who left a considerable number of inscriptions. At Abu Simbel he is shown in the presence of queen Nefertari and princess Meritamen, i.e., about the year 25 of Ramses. On a door jamb inscription from Buhen he appears together with Hw̄y in a fashion that suggests that Hk3-nḥt was Hw̄y’s immediate predecessor, perhaps even his father (Smith 1976: 104; see also Habachi 1979a: 634). The next viceroy, St3w, left many monuments, including some valuable inscriptions dated to regnal years 38

31. Does this title mean that the traditional division of the Asiatic territories into three provinces, still attested for year 34 of Ramses II (Edel 1953: 60) was centralized during Merneptah’s reign under the rule of one governor only? Cf. now also Hachmann (1982: 45–46), who postulates a fourfold division of Canaan during the Amarna period, Palestine consisting of two administrative units governed from Gaza and Beth-shean respectively.

32. For the Viceroy of Kush the connection is evident from the Amarna period onwards (Helck 1975: 108). St3w is a notable exception. Among the “messengers of the king to every foreign land” we may mention the following persons: in the Eighteenth Dynasty—R’-nfr/Rianapa (Albright 1946: 29–30), Maya (accepting his identification with Mj on British Museum cat. no. 1210; Spiegelberg 1916; Helck 1939: 38; Kitchen 1967: 178; Valloggia 1976: 106) and P3-sr, son of Hw̄y (Valloggia 1976: 109); in the Nineteenth Dynasty—Ramses I (prior to ascending the throne), Sthj and Imn-m-ip.t. A further example, recently discovered by Habachi (1979b: 234ff.), is the Stablemaster and Royal Messenger Nekhtmonthu who served under Ramses II.

and 44 (Helck 1975: 105; Habachi 1979a: 639, n. 104). Four or five more vice-roys served during the remaining years of Ramses (P3-sr II, Jwnj II and possibly Mr-nḏm, ḥn-ḥtp and Ḥrj I; Habachi 1981: 164–65).

A conceivable approximation of the period during which Hw̄y could have acted as Viceroy of Kush would be sometime between the middle of the third and the middle of the fourth decades of Ramses' reign, year 38 being the *terminus ante quem*. However, he may have retained his title after being replaced by St3w in this office (cf. Helck 1975: 102).

Another problem is to establish the order of Hw̄y's *cursus honorum*. His highest posts are undoubtedly governor of Nubia and governor in Canaan,³³ but in which order? Edel (1953: 62) and Helck (1975: 104) placed his activities in the north before his appointment as Viceroy of Kush, which would thus mark the apex of his career (see also Valloggia 1976: 254–55). But there is no reason, I believe, to assume that the office in Nubia was more important than its counterpart in Canaan. If the order of the titles on the Berlin stela is of any significance, it would rather point to the reverse sequence (see also Habachi 1979: 634; 1981: 164). But even if not, there would still remain the difficulty in squeezing Hw̄y's entire range of activities in Nubia into less than four years (at the most!), between Ramses' 34th year, when Hw̄y was still active in Canaan, and year 38, when St3w is already Viceroy of Kush. It is far more likely that Hw̄y was appointed to his missions in the north *after* his Nubian post, perhaps on the very occasion of the arrival of the Hittite princess. If so, the duration of his office in Canaan could extend to any time after year 34. The observation made by Habachi (1961: 224) may perhaps be of some chronological value. As he has noted, three out of four extant copies of the Marriage stela were found in the area controlled by the Viceroy of Kush (Elephantine, Abu Simbel, and Amara; the fourth is in Karnak, which is a national shrine). The Berlin stela dedicated to Hw̄y probably also comes from Nubia, perhaps even from Abu Simbel. This fact could easily be accounted for if, as suggested by Habachi, Hw̄y was the person responsible for the erection of all these stelae at the Nubian sites. He must have chosen these locations because of his past ties with Nubia, where he probably maintained some influence and connections after his transfer to the northern provinces. If these assumptions are valid, one has to assign a considerable period of time for Hw̄y to accomplish all these building activities in Nubia, while at the same time he is occupying a post in Canaan. But apart from this general indica-

33. Hw̄y is not the only person to occupy both these posts. They were also occupied by Ḥq3-nḥt (Habachi 1957: 22), his predecessor (and father?), by the Hw̄y who served under Tutankhamen (Valloggia 1976: 109) and by Ḥrj II. The wall paintings showing the presentation of tribute in Hw̄y's tomb provide an excellent artistic representation of the two parallel posts: the Nubian tribute appears in one scene and the Syrian in another (Valloggia 1976: 247–48).

tion of time span. It remains unknown how long after the royal marriage Hw̄y remained governor in Canaan. Perhaps a thorough prosopographical study on the “messengers of the king to every foreign land” in Egyptian sources could provide the chronological framework of the persons who acted as governors in Canaan.

The chronological data on Takuḫlinu have led us to date the Aphek letter tentatively around 1230 B.C.E. (independently of Egyptian chronology), a date that would fall in Ramses’ fifth or sixth decade according to the recently defended accession date of 1279 (Boese and Wilhelm 1979: 37, n. 66 with bibliography; Hornung 1979: 249). This would assign to Hw̄y a career of about twenty-five years, which certainly does not seem too long for a career as diversified and impressive as his.

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SHIPS BOUND FOR LUKKA:
A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE COMPANION LETTERS
RS 94.2530 AND RS 94.2523

Time and time again, the publication of new texts from the “house of Urtenu” in the south-central area of Ras Shamra (Calvet *apud* Al-Maqdisi 2004: 94) has shown this archive to be the most important corpus pertaining to the very end of the Late Bronze Age. At a time when other centers of scribal activity become increasingly sparse and introspective, the Akkadian letters of this exciting corpus cover an “international” orbit extending from Ḫatti to Egypt and from Aššur to (Aḫ)ḫiyawa, passing by Alašia, Lukka, and the ships of the Šikila-people. Whereas some one hundred tablets unearthed in 1973 (Bordreuil et al. 1991) and some fifty tablets found between 1986 and 1992 (Arnaud et al. 2001) have been published, more than four hundred tablets discovered in 1994 and thereafter still await full publication.¹ To the credit of the Akkadian epigraphists of Ugarit it should be said that they have been referring to the most important texts in general overviews and specific studies, sometimes providing lengthy quotations, but this piecemeal method of publication lacks the necessary scientific apparatus of hand copies, photographs, and complete transliterations. Anyone familiar with the unrivalled expertise of the Ugarit team knows that these partial transliterations can be trusted, but at the same time, all philologists know that even the smallest detail may count in the correct interpretation of a text. One can only hope that those responsible for the publication policy of the Ras Shamra finds will accelerate the final publication of this invaluable epigraphic treasure to the benefit of the entire scholarly community. Meanwhile, scholars without access to the texts will have to rely on these preliminary publications, taking the risk of occasionally reaching a flawed conclusion based on incomplete information.

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1. Y. Calvet and M. Yon in Yon and Arnaud 2001: 8. On the Akkadian tablets found in 1994, see Malbran-Labat 1995; Malbran-Labat and Lackenbacher 2001.

The two tablets forming the centerpiece of the recent article by Sylvie Lackenbacher and Florence Malbran-Labat (henceforth simply “the authors”)² have already been mentioned in preliminary discussions (Malbran-Labat 1995: 106 with n. 6; Malbran-Labat and Lackenbacher 2001: 242), were presented in a lecture held at the Louvre in November 2004, and were preceded by two preliminary notes (*NABU* 2005: pp. 9, 95–97) which treat the author of RS 94.2523, the Great Scribe Penti-Šarruma.

The letters RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2523 were sent to Ammurapi of Ugarit by the Great King of Ḫatti and by Penti-Šarruma, respectively. As stated by the authors (2005a: 230, n. 27), the Hittite king in this very late period, when Ammurapi already had grown-up sons who could be sent to Ḫatti, could only be Šuppiluliuma II.³ The two missives are companion letters covering exactly the same subjects and in the same order, though the letter of His Majesty is longer and more detailed. A neat handwriting and careful formulation is common to both tablets, which might suggest that they were written by the same scribe, perhaps Penti-Šarruma himself (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2005: 97). Following the introduction, the letters are divided into four thematic paragraphs, wisely proceeding from positive and consensual topics to the “bottom line” in which the irreversibility of His Majesty’s treaty and its priority over all other considerations is categorically underlined. The purpose of the present study is to examine the various subjects raised in these letters within the broader historical context, with due attention given to the Hittite perspective. Obviously, the most intriguing topic is the one dealt with in the last section of the letters, the ships to be sent to Lukka, concerning which a different interpretation will be put forward.

PENTI-ŠARRUMA

In preliminary notes on these important tablets, only the titles of the author of RS 94.2523, “*tuppanura ḫuburtinura*, Great, noble of Ḫatti,” were indicated, but not his name (Malbran Labat 1995: 106). I therefore assumed that his name was nowhere mentioned in the tablet and was led by a prosopographical investigation to identify him with Taki-Šarruma (Singer 2003: 345–46). Now, his name turns out to be Penti-Šarruma, a previously unknown official,⁴ whose titles have been discussed by the authors in two complementary notes.⁵ Meanwhile, Herboldt’s monumental study of the Nişantepe bullae has been published, with

2. Ugarit et les Hittites dans les archives de la “Maison d’Urtenu,” *SMEA* 47 (2005), 227–40.

3. For other late letters from Ḫatti and Karkamiš to Ammurapi see Singer 1999: 707ff.

4. The name *Pi-in-t[i-]* in the tiny fragment *KBo* 22.21, 2’, which also mentions a certain Palla (van den Hout 1995: 218), may perhaps be restored as Penti-Šarruma.

5. Malbran-Labat and Lackenbacher 2005; Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2005. I assume that the article of Malbran-Labat 2004 went to press before the publication of Singer 2003 (submitted in 1999), where I dealt in

Penti-Šarruma appearing on six of them (Herbordt 2005: nos. 322–27). The juxtaposition of Penti-Šarruma's cuneiform and hieroglyphic titles is indeed suggestive, but some inaccuracies have crept into Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat's discussion.

When I suggested the equation of *tuppa(la)nuri* (with the Hittite/Luwian(!) suffix *ura/i-*) with GAL.DUB.SAR(.GIŠ) and MAGNUS.SCRIBA(Singer 2003: 347), I pointed out (following Laroche) that hieroglyphic Luwian does not seem to distinguish between the Chief Scribe (GAL.DUB.SAR) and the Chief Scribe on Wood (GAL.DUB.SAR.GIŠ). The authors state, however, that “aucun MAGNUS.SCRIBA n'apparaît comme GAL.DUB.SAR” (2005: 96), which is not entirely accurate.⁶ The reconditioned tablet RS 17.403 (Malbran-Labat 1995b: 37–38) is stamped with Taki-Šarruma's seal showing MAGNUS.SCRIBA, while GAL L[Ú xx(x)], which must be restored as GAL L[Ú.MEŠ DUB.SAR], is found in the text (Singer 1999: 640, n. 111; Malbran-Labat 2004: 79). Also Šaḫrunuwa, who is not represented in the Nišantepe corpus, appears on seals as MAGNUS.SCRIBA and in the Tarḫuntašša treaties as GAL.LÚ.MEŠ.DUB.SAR.GIŠ (Singer 2003: 347, n. 40; Herbordt 2005: 269).

With regard to the equation of *ḫuburtanuri* and MAGNUS.AURIGA, the evidence is less clear than suggested by the authors (2005: 96). Prince Penti(*Pi-ti*)-Šarruma appears on one bulla (323) with the title MAGNUS.SCRIBA, on another with the title MAGNUS.AURIGA (327), and on three (324–326) with two titles, MAGNUS.SCRIBA and MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS. On the face of it, this would seem to speak rather for an equation of the compositum LÚ *tup-pinura ḫuburtinura* and the titles MAGNUS.SCRIBA and MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS which appear on the same seal. MAGNUS.DOMUS.FILIUS equates to cuneiform DUMU.É.GAL and it cannot be the equivalent of “grand (et) digne du Ḫatti” (LÚ GAL-ú DUGUD ša KUR Ḫa-at-ti) which is simply an honorific title. Either the seals belong to several persons named Penti-Šarruma, or, as seems more likely, to the same person at various stages of his career. In any case, these seals can hardly be used as conclusive proof for equating MAGNUS.AURIGA with *ḫuburtanuri* (= *rab qartappi*). This chain of equations is further complicated by the fact that in one of the inventories cataloguing tribute to be sent to Ḫatti the two *ḫuburtanuris* and the *rab kartappi* are listed separately (RS 11.732 = PRU IV: 47–48; Beckman 1999: 168; Lackenbacher 2002: 76). In general, the equation of hieroglyphic titles and cuneiform titles (written phonetically,

detail with the title *tuppa(la)nura* and its bearers (see already Singer 1999: 708). The general conclusions are still valid, but the references must of course be reclassified.

6. The reference to Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005: 308 is inaccurate, as his remark refers only to the Nišantepe bullae, not other attestations of this title.

logographically, or Akkadographically) is not always as straightforward as it might seem, but obviously this subject can not be elaborated on here.

The new evidence on Penti-Šarruma and his titles necessitates a reclassification of the unnamed references to *tuppa(la)nuri* in the texts from Ugarit and to the Chief Scribe (on Wood) in the texts from Ḫatti. It is indeed possible, as suggested by the authors, that Penti-Šarruma replaced Taki-Šarruma in his important post, and that his name should also be restored in the loyalty oath sworn to Šuppiluliuma II (CTH 124).⁷ The unusually high status assumed by this official at the end of the Hittite Empire finds its full confirmation in RS 94.2523.

LAPIS LAZULI

The first subject raised in the letters is the lapis lazuli (^{NA4}ZA.GÎN) sent as present to Ḫatti. This prestige item was highly valued at the Hittite court, as it was elsewhere in the Near East. One is reminded of the incident in which Takuhlinu, an important official at Ugarit, was accused of sending imitation gems to Ḫatti instead of the genuine stones (Singer 1983: 7, with refs.). In contrast to that embarrassing incident, here His Majesty is very pleased with the quality of the stones sent to him, but Penti-Šarruma laments bitterly about not getting his own share of lapis lazuli. This complaint strongly recalls RS 34.136 = RSO 7, no.7, a letter from the king of Karkamiš in which he threatens the king of Ugarit, no doubt Ammurapi, that he might suffer the same fate as his father, who was humiliated in Ḫatti for a similar offence. This well-known letter—which also provided the solution to the problem of to which king of Ugarit the Hittite princess was married (Singer 1999: 702, 707)—shows that the viceroy of Karkamiš was ultimately responsible for the regular shipment of tribute to Ḫatti, and that he was the one with whom Hittite nobles filed their complaints when dissatisfied with their share of tribute.⁸ Therefore, I wonder whether “the king” in His Majesty’s letter (RS 94.2530: 6–10) really refers to the Great King himself, as assumed by the authors (2005a: 232, n. 44), or rather to the king of Karkamiš who administered the tribute sent to Ḫatti. In any case, the lapis lazuli reached the Great King and he was very content, as we learn from Penti-Šarruma’s letter (RS 94.2523: 12–20).

7. The space at the beginning of line *KUB* 26.32 i 2 seems rather small for the restoration of three signs (plus the determinative), but the name might perhaps have been written with the logogram ZAG, as in ^mZAG.ŠEŠ=Pentišina.

8. As noted by Malbran-Labat *apud* Bordreuil 1991: 30 n. 7, the reference to the “wooden tablet” (GIŠ.ḪUR) sent from Ḫatti to Karkamiš is remarkable. In which language and in which script was it written? The king of Karkamiš suggests that this tablet of complaint, perhaps written by Penti-Šarruma himself, should be read out in the presence of Ammurapi. That would either mean that it was written in Akkadian, or that the scribe who brought it to Ugarit was able to read Hittite and translate it into Akkadian or Ugaritic.

AMURRU

The second topic concerns some discord or dispute between Ugarit and Amurru in which the Great King had been asked to intervene (RS 94.2530: 11–16; RS 94.2523: 26–31). The nature of the problem is not disclosed, but only referred to as the matter of “your peace (SILIM-*mi*) and your ...” (or vice versa). The authors hesitate between *NĪŠ* (‘oath’) and *RIM* (‘mercy’) as the reading of the second substantive in this hendiadys (written with a sign resembling GIŠ), eventually preferring the former (‘serment de paix/réconciliation’). The association between ‘peace’ (Hit. *takšul*) and ‘oath’ (Hit. *lingai*-, Akk. *NĪŠ* DINGIR-LIM or *MĀMĒTU*) is indeed found in Hittite treaties and loyalty oaths.⁹ No doubt, the king of Ugarit had asked his master to intercede on his behalf in order to restore the traditional peace and good relations with his southern neighbor.

What could have been the issue between the two Levantine kingdoms that was in need of being ironed out by their Hittite suzerain? We know that the notorious divorce scandal between Ammištamru II and the Amurrite princess, “the daughter of the Great Lady,” lingered on for a long while (Singer 1999: 680–81, with refs.), but it is hard to believe that it could still have preoccupied the two courts at this point. Other issues appearing in the correspondence between Ugarit and Amurru include a verdict over *umman manda* troops and the exchange of precious stones and building materials.¹⁰ None of these issues would seem to justify the involvement of the Great King. What might be more relevant, both thematically and chronologically, is the letter of a certain Paršu (RS 20.162 = Ug. 5, no. 37), in which he solicits information on the enemy and promises to place the ships of Amurru at Ugarit’s disposal.¹¹ The imminent danger posed by the sea-borne enemy might indeed have motivated Ammurapi to strengthen his cooperation with Amurru and even to ask for military aid, under the auspices of the Hittite king.¹²

As it happens, the Hittite king replies that the king of Amurru is staying at his court, regrettably without disclosing his name. Could this information be in any way helpful in elucidating the poorly known late history of Amurru? In

9. Though the combination *riksu u māmītu*, “treaty and oath,” is more common; see refs. in *CHD* L: 64ff. s.v. *lingai*- and Zaccagnini 1990: 64ff.

10. For the correspondence between Ugarit and Amurru, see Singer 1999: 642–43, 666–67; Lackenbacher 2002: 183ff.; Freu 2006: 181ff.

11. Singer 1999: 721; Lackenbacher 2002: 185; Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2006: 8, n. 35.

12. With all due caution it may perhaps be suggested that the fragmentary letter RS 18.54 A = *PRU* 4: 228–30, sent to the king of Ugarit by his “brother,” also belongs to the Amurru correspondence. It deals with the animosity of the king of Ugarit towards his correspondent, caused by a certain “son of Badunu, the dog, who committed a great crime against me here” (ll. 7’–13’). The sender, who could be a king of Amurru, is trying his best to appease the angry king of Ugarit in a manner which resembles the phraseology of Paršu’s letter. For an attempt at translating this document, see Ahl 1973: 289ff.

attempting to address this question, it must be noted that there is another document in which a visit of an Amurrite king to Ḫatti is documented. KUB 3.56 is a fragmentary Akkadian letter to an unknown vassal, probably sent by a Hittite king. The last paragraph preserves: “Now Šaušgamuwa (^{md}IŠTAR-muwa) has come to me. The presents that he took are very good. Thus (he said): “*Present the giving(?) that you have created(?)*.” Thus (I/he said): *You have exceeded(?) the freedom of service.*”¹³ Whatever the meaning of the obscure last phrases, it is clear that Šaušgamuwa’s visit is somehow connected with the presentation of gifts or tribute and with some kind of exemption from duties (*šubarrûtu*). This sounds suspiciously similar to matters discussed in the final paragraphs of RS 94.2523/RS 94.2530 (see below). The coincidence becomes even more striking when one considers the partly preserved first paragraph, KUB 3.56 obv. 2’–4’: “... and those words with regard to the service (*ilku*) that I sent to you, whether they are a command (*qību*) or whether they are not a command, you should be content.”¹⁴

Who could be the addressee of this intriguing letter found at Boğazköy, which is thus either a copy or for some reason was never sent to its destination? Most commentators have suggested Pentišina, mainly on account of the reference to Egypt, to Zulapa and to “the enemy of His Majesty,” who is thought to be Urḫi-Teššub.”¹⁵ If this be the case, Šaušgamuwa in this letter would still be the crown-prince during the reign of his father. Although this still seems to be the best interpretation, I would not entirely exclude another. His Majesty must have had other enemies as well, and Egypt was relevant to Hittite Syria until the very end of the Hittite Empire (Singer 1999: 708ff.). Could this letter have been written to Ugarit and be related to the reconciliation efforts between Amurru and Ugarit? If so, Šaušgamuwa would be here an old king on a visit to his nephew, Šuppiluliuma II. The mention of the *ilku* and the *šubarrûtu* (regrettably in fragmentary and obscure context), might perhaps support such a late dating of the letter (see below). On the other hand, my suggestion that Maḫḫaza in RS 10.046 was the king of Amurru who succeeded Šaušgamuwa, if valid,¹⁶ would weaken the argument.

13. CTH 208.4 (Hagenbuchner 1989: no. 267) rev. (12’) *a-nu-ma* ^{md}IŠTAR-mu-u-wa *muh-hi-ia ik-ta-ša-ad* (13’) *šul-ma-na-ti ša il-te-qà bá-na-a dan-niš* (14’) *um-ma-a na-da-nu ša te-bé-ni-[t]i te-qá-aš* (15’) *um-ma-a šu-bá-ru-ut-ta-ma [a?]-te-kam*. The last two phrases are very difficult to interpret. The translation suggested above (for which I wish to thank Shlomo Izre’el) can only be regarded as a very tentative approximation. For *šubarrûtu*, “status of freedom of service,” see CAD S III: 170.

14. (2’) *ú a-ma-ta ša-a-šu aš-šum il-ki al-tap-ra-ak-ku* (3’) *šum-ma a-ma-ta qī-bu šum-ma la-a qī-bu* (4’) *at-ta lu-ú na-i-ra-ta*.

15. Singer 2006: 33 (with further refs. in n. 31).

16. Singer 2010; Lackenbacher 2002: 181, n. 599; Freu 2006: 183.

A VISIT TO HIS MAJESTY

The regular visit of the vassal to the court of his overlord is a well-known stipulation of vassal treaties. The striking contrast between Penti-Šarruma's laconic directive and His Majesty's polite and circuitous reassurances has duly been emphasized by the authors. Perhaps Penti-Šarruma was more realistic in his approach, anticipating that Ammurapi would not want to go himself to Ḫatti in such exacting times, but would rather send one of his sons. From His Majesty's letter we learn that a son of Ammurapi had already been in Ḫatti and now another visit (of another son?) was solicited. One gets the impression that the Hittite king sought to have around him at all times sons of his vassals, probably as a guarantee for the good conduct of their fathers. He pledges to treat the Ugaritian prince at his court with all due respect, which leads one to think of the hardships suffered by another royal visitor in *f*, probably Niqmaddu III (RS 34.136 = RSO 7, no. 7). Niqmaddu's visit is also recorded in several Ugaritic letters of Talmiyanu to his mother Šarelli (Singer 1999: 695–96).

LÚ.ÉRIN.MEŠ *ILKI* AND THE TREATY (*RIKILTU*) OF UGARIT

As indicated by the authors, the last and the longest section of the letters is the most intriguing and is bound to arouse the continuous interest of the ancient Near Eastern scholarly community. First, a comment is in order on the structure of this long section, RS 94.2530: 30–45 and RS 94.2523: 34–45, which follows the last paragraph divider. I have the impression that the entire passage is dependent on the initial relative clause concerning the “*ilku*-troops.” In other words, the following issues, which concern the mission of Šatalli, the Ḫiyawa in Lukka, and the irreversibility of the “treaty tablet” (*tuppi rikiltu*), must all be interrelated somehow, constituting a coherent chain of thought. I fail to identify such a linkage between the various issues in the interpretation offered by the authors.

The authors hesitate, with good reason, about the interpretation of LÚ.ÉRIN.MEŠ *ilki*. There is plenty of documentation on the *ilku* itself, less on the “men of the *ilku*” (LÚ.MEŠ *ilki*),¹⁷ but LÚ.ÉRIN.MEŠ *ilki*, literally “the troops of the *ilku*,” do not seem to be attested elsewhere. Were these people subordinate to the Hittite king, or, as the authors deem more likely, to the king of Ugarit? In the latter case, the king of Ugarit was simply trying to reclaim his men, but his request was categorically denied by the Great King who reminded him of his

17. To the references provided by the authors in n. 66, add Beal 1988: 300, n. 162 on the *ILKU*-men in Ḫatti. For the *ilku* in Ugarit see, recently, Sanmartin 1995: 137; Márquez Rowe 1993; 1995; 1999. Márquez Rowe has convincingly demonstrated that the laws concerning royal grants and the corresponding obligations had the same evolution in the Hittite Laws and in the legal praxis of Ugarit.

treaty obligations. The authors conclude that, whoever these LÚ.ÉRIN.MEŠ *ilki* might have been, they seem to have played a central role in the treaty (*rikiltu*) written by His Majesty, whether it was an accord of limited capacity covering this issue only, or rather a full-fledged treaty replacing the one concluded between Muršili II and Niqmepa.

The significance of this late treaty, including its relation to the matter of the LÚ.ÉRIN.MEŠ *ilki*, may be elucidated, in my view, by tracking down the various changes in the conditions of Ugarit's vassalage to Ḫatti. It is true, as the authors say, that no comprehensive treaties between Ḫatti and Ugarit have been found later than the one concluded between Muršili II and Niqmepa in the late-fourteenth century. However, as I pointed out some years ago, "the standard comprehensive type of treaty was partially replaced by a series of more specialized decrees" (Singer 1999: 682).¹⁸ Such decrees were periodically issued by the courts of Ḫattuša and Karkamiš throughout the thirteenth century and they had a direct bearing upon Ugarit's obligations towards its Hittite overlords.

One of these *ad hoc* decrees is RS 17.059 = PRU 4,150–151, ratified by Ini-Teššub.¹⁹ Through this important document Ugarit was released from sending its infantry and chariotry to support the Hittites in their war against Assyria. This basic vassal obligation was waived in return for the massive sum of 50 minas of gold, to be paid in ten installments. When the war reaches its end, the decree says, Ugarit would resume all its vassal duties, including the military ones.²⁰

A closely related document is the well-known letter RS 20.212 = Ug. 5, no. 33.²¹ The incipit is missing, but from its contents it is clear that the sender is a high-ranking Hittite official, perhaps the Great King himself, and that the addressee is a king of Ugarit. In the second part of the letter it is demanded of the king of Ugarit that he provide a large ship with crew for the transportation of food rations from Mukiš to Ura.²² Two Hittite envoys, Aliziti SAG.LUGAL and Kunni, are sent to supervise the transaction.²³

In the first part of the letter the sender harshly reprimands the king of Ugarit for disobeying his obligations (11.5'–11'): "The king has released (lit. purified) you from the *ilku* service, but when he sealed and gave you the tablets, was it not

18. The possible reasons for this change in Hittite policy towards Ugarit are discussed there.

19. For a new translation see Lackenbacher 1999: 64; 2002: 101–2. The king of Ugarit, whose name is not preserved, could be either Ammištamru II or Ibiranu (Singer 1999: 682, n. 257; Lackenbacher 2002: 102, n. 304).

20. So according to Lackenbacher's new restoration of lines 9–16.

21. Singer 1999: 716–17; Lackenbacher 2002: 103–4.

22. "Food rations" is spelled out phonetically: *ku-ru-um-ma-ta* (1. 18'). See below on this term and its logographic writing.

23. If Ali-zi[ti] SAG.LUGAL in RS 20.212: 27' is indeed the same person as the "chief palace attendant" (Ali-ziti GAL.DUMU.É.GAL) in the Ulmi-Teššub Treaty (*KBo* 4.10 rev. 31), dated to Ḫattušili III, this would suggest that RS 20.212 would be roughly contemporary with RS 17.059. For the title LÚ.SAG and its hieroglyphic equivalent, see Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005: 303, with references to previous literature on the subject.

said in this regard: ‘Whatever they will write him, he will listen and do it.’ And now, why don’t you do what you were asked to do?”

It is very likely that the release from *ilku* referred to in this letter is the very decree recorded in the above-mentioned text RS 17.059. The significant fact that the vassal duties of Ugarit are defined here as an *ilku*, a term usually referring to land-tenure obligations, is perfectly comprehensible within the context of the Hittite legal conception. The *ilku* relationship between sovereign and vassal has pointedly been defined by Márquez Rowe (1999: 176): “First, according to the vassal-treaties, the conquered territories were absorbed by the Hittite Empire and therefore formed part of its domain and jurisdiction; it was next that the king of Ḫatti granted them back to the local rulers who were constantly bound to certain services (which are significantly called *ilku* as far as Ugarit is concerned in the letter RS 20.212:5’).” In other words, all the vassal duties of Ugarit, including military assistance in case of war, are included within its *ilku* service. If the Great King decided, for his own interest, to temporarily remit the military component of the *ilku*, Ugarit was demanded to provide instead other crucial services, such as maritime transportation.

The Assyrian war ended with a crushing defeat of the Hittite armies, but soon afterwards Hittite–Assyrian diplomatic and commercial relations were resumed. Ugarit’s temporary exemption from military duties was adjourned, and its king was given a new treaty, probably the one referred to in RS 94.2523/RS 94.2530, which stipulated the full resumption of the *ilku* obligations, including the military ones.²⁴ It is now evident who the “*ilku* troops” (LÜ.ÉRIN.MEŠ *ilki*) are, and what their connection is to the new and irreversible treaty tablet: They were the troops supplied to Ḫatti as part of Ugarit’s *ilku* obligations.²⁵ Ammurapi was trying to obtain their release in order to deploy them in the defence of his own country, but the king of Ḫatti kept them back as leverage to obtain from Ugarit the ships needed for the transportation of PAD.MEŠ to Lukka. This is, in my view, the sense of the implicit threat “My Majesty will not repeat (this) for a second time, and I will not send you back the *ilku*-troops”²⁶ (unless, of course, Ugarit would fully comply with her other obligations, notably, to provide full support for Šatalli’s mission).

This brief survey of Ugarit’s vassal obligations in the late-thirteenth century provides, I think, the logical connection between the “*ilku*-troops” in the opening

24. RS 94.2530, 42–45: “The treaty tablet (*tuppi rikilti*) which My Majesty has written for you, nobody can subsequently change your accord.”; RS 94.2523, 41–45: “The treaty tablet that His Majesty has made for you, this is indeed your treaty and nobody can change the treaty.”

25. Compare the military obligations of Ugarit in the Mursili II–Niqmepa treaty, §2 (Beckman 1999: 65).

26. RS 94.2530: 39–41 (paralleled by RS 94.2523: 38–40), following the authors’ preference for the rendering “ne te renverra pas” (2005a: 238).

of the passage and the “treaty tablet” at its end, with Šatalli’s mission in between as the main objective of the companion letters.

Assuming that the requested ships of Ugarit were eventually supplied and that they actually sailed to Lukka, one cannot refrain from recalling the well-known passage in RS 20.238 = *Ug.* 5, no. 24,²⁷ in which the king of Ugarit, probably Ammurapi, deplores his situation to the king of Alašia: “Doesn’t my father know that all of my infantry [...]”²⁸ is stationed in Ḫatti, and that all of my ships are stationed in the land of Lukka? They haven’t arrived back yet, and the land is thus prostrate.” This missive to Alašia and the companion letters RS 94.2523/RS 94.2530 are the only documents from Ugarit that mention the distant land of Lukka,²⁹ and both do so in the same context, the destination of Ugaritian ships. Can this be an extraordinary coincidence, or might these contemporary letters, as would seem apparent, refer to the same event? RS 20.238 may well relate the dire results of the mission that Ugarit was demanded to perform in RS 94.2523/RS 94.2530.

SHIPMENTS FOR THE ḪIYAWA IN LUKKA

Finally, the unique reference to the Ḫiyawa-men will be reconsidered, focusing particularly on the shipments sent to them in Lukka. Let us first reproduce the two parallel passages, following the rendering provided by the authors. His Majesty’s letter says:³⁰ “This time, didn’t I send you Šatalli? Now, I’ve been told (that) ‘the Ḫiyawa-man is in the [land] of Lukka and there are no rations for him.’ Concerning this matter, don’t tell me that there is nothing to do. Provide ships to Šatalli and let them take the rations for the Ḫiyawa-men.’ The much shorter version from Penti-Šarruma has only.³¹ “This time you have ...³² Šatalli from taking the *rations* to the Ḫiyawa-man in Lukka.”

27. Beckman 1996: 27; Singer 1999:720-21; Lackenbacher 2002: 193–94.

28. Beckman 1996: 27 restores “[ch]ariotry” after ÉRIN.MEŠ, but the traces do not seem to correspond either to ANŠE.KUR.RA(MEŠ) or to GIGIR(MEŠ). Lackenbacher 2002: 194, n. 652 suggests *h[upšu]* or *h[urādu]*, rebutting other restoration attempts. I examined the possibility of restoring *ilki*, but the traces do not seem to support this restoration either.

29. The spelling *Lu-uk-ka-a* is common to all three documents.

30. RS 94.2530: 31-38: *i-na KASKAL an-ni-ti ṁŠa-ta-al-li ul āš-pu-ra-ma-ku e-nin-na iq-ta-bu-ū-ni um-ma-a LÚ Hi-ia-a-ū i-[na KUR] Lu-uk-ka-a a-ši-ib ū PAD.MEŠ-šu ia-nu a-ki a-ma-ti an-ni-ti ia-nu na-tù la ta-qa-ab-ba-a GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ a-na ṁŠa-ta-al-li i-din-ma PAD.MEŠ a-na LÚ.MEŠ Hi-a-ū-wi-i lil-qu-ū*

31. RS 94.2523: 35-37 *i-na 1-et KASKAL an-ni-ti ṁŠa-ta-al-li tu-še-er-si-ma PAD.MEŠ a-na LÚ Hi-ia-ū-wi-i a-na KUR Lu-uk-ka-a il-qi.*

32. The authors (2005a: 236, n. 72) hesitate about the grammatical analysis of the hapax verb *tu-še-er-si*, probably derived from *ersū* “ready, prepared.” Comparison with the parallel text and the general context probably require some negative meaning, such as “you have not prepared,” “you have prevented Šatalli from taking...,” or the like.

This categorical order addressed to Ammurapi raises several important questions: 1) Who is Šatalli? 2) Who are the Hiyawa-men in Lukka? 3) What is the cargo to be shipped to them? The first question can be answered succinctly: Šatalli, as far as I can see, is not attested in other documents. He was obviously an important envoy sent from the Hittite court to accelerate the dispatch of the ships and probably to accompany them to Lukka.

The second and the third questions are obviously interconnected. As recognized by the authors, the gentilicon *Hiyau(wi)* is no doubt Aḫḫiyawa of the Hittite texts, attested here for the first time in a text written in Akkadian. This surprising new attestation shows that the typical aphaeresis in certain Luwian dialects developed already in the second millennium, long before the Çineköy bilingual in which hieroglyphic Luwian *Hiya(wa)* is equated with Phoenician Adana.³³ What were these (Aḫ)ḫiyawans doing in Lukka?³⁴ The authors propose that they were some kind of mercenaries or workforce of Aḫḫiyawan origin employed by the Hittite administration. They assume that the food rations (“rations alimentaires”) sent to them came either from Ugarit itself or from some other region of the empire, drawing a parallel with the Ugaritian ships that transported grains from Mukiš to Ura (RS 20.212 = Ug. 5, no 33). On the face of it, the context of the great famine that ravaged the Hittite Empire in the last decades of its existence could indeed serve as the background for Šatalli’s mission. However, upon closer examination this interpretation raises several difficulties, and an entirely different interpretation will be suggested instead.

The documentary evidence for the last king of Ḫatti, Šuppiluliuma II, is notoriously sparse, in particular with regard to his involvement in western Anatolia and his relations with Aḫḫiyawa.³⁵ Although both he and his father Tuthaliya IV include Lukka among the “subjected” or “destroyed” lands in their hieroglyphic inscriptions,³⁶ the historical reality behind these boasting declarations was quite different. From Tuthaliya’s treaty with Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša we know that the southwestern border of the kingdom ran along the Kaštaraya/Kestros river near Antalya (Beckman 1999: 115, §8). The same paragraph adds that the king of Ḫatti may occasionally campaign beyond this line and seize the

33. Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000: 980ff. The evolution of this term into Qawe/Que and the problem of the Akhaean migrations to Pamphylia and Cilicia are beyond the scope of this article. See, e.g., Brixhe 2002: 50ff.; Forlanini 2005: 111–14; Oettinger 2008.

34. The remark of Freu (2006: 215) concerning the Aḫḫiyawans who visited the land of Ugarit in the reign of Ammurapi must be rectified.

35. Singer 1983: 217; 1985: 119ff.; Otten 1993; Giorgieri and Mora 1996: 61ff. The last references to Aḫḫiyawa in Hittite texts are from the reign of Tuthaliya IV (in the Šaušgamuwa treaty and indirectly in the Milawata letter) and they seem to betray a hostile disposition. There is no evidence, however, concerning the nature of Hittite-Aḫḫiyawan relations during the reign of Šuppiluliuma II.

36. For the relevant references in the Südburg inscription of Šuppiluliuma and the Yalburt inscription of Tuthaliya, see Hawkins 1995: 23–24, 68–69.

land of Parḫa (Perge), but does not refer to any permanent occupation, and in any case, it only touches the eastern fringes of the Lukka lands. There were probably deeper incursions as well, such as the one in which the Hittites took prisoners from Awarna and Pina (i.e., Xanthos and Pinara in the Xanthos Valley), which they sought to exchange for their own hostages.³⁷ This indicates that the Lands of Lukka, that is, the southwestern corner of Anatolia (which comprised more than classical Lycia), were not part of the lasting jurisdiction of the Hittite kings, and were normally regarded as enemy territory.³⁸ In other words, the ships of Ugarit that were about to sail to Lukka did not expect to harbour in a Hittite-controlled territory. Quite to the contrary, this notoriously rebellious region must have been in this period under the hegemony of the Aḫḫiyawans who operated from Milawata/Miletos, their main base on Anatolian soil.

That the purpose of this complex maritime operation would be the provisioning of some Mycenaean mercenaries is not impossible *per se*, but is not very likely. The supposition that there were also Aḫḫiyawan elements among the displaced bands that operated in this period in the eastern Mediterranean rests primarily on the identification of one of the Sea Peoples mentioned in Egyptian texts, the *ʾIq3w3š*, with the Aḫḫiyawans.³⁹ This identification is open to criticism, and in any case, I see no concrete support for the supposition that Aḫḫiyawans were serving in the Hittite army or in any other capacity for the Hittite crown.⁴⁰ Of course, there is almost no scenario that can definitely be ruled out, especially in periods of great upheavals such as the one under consideration. That said, the probability of a scenario in which the Hittites sent grain, desperately needed in Ḫatti itself, to some Aḫḫiyawan mercenaries in the far west of Anatolia, seems to me rather farfetched. The outstanding question is thus what exactly was the cargo carried by these Ugaritian ships, in other words, what are PAD.MEŠ in this context?

37. For the so-called Milawata letter, see Bryce 2005: 306ff. (with refs.). For Awarna and Pinara, see Hawkins 1995: 80–81 (with refs.).

38. In an instruction text of Tuthaliya IV Lukka is listed together with Azzi and Kaška as enemy territory (KUB 26.12+ ii 15'). Lukka appears in two inventory texts as the supplier or receiver of silver and gold (Siegelová 1986: 282–83, 402–3), but these references are inconsequential for establishing Lukka's geo-political status.

39. Stadelmann 1984: 815 and n. 14 (with further refs.).

40. There were certainly mercenaries in the Hittite army, but as I suggested in 2005: 448ff., they were probably of western Anatolian (Luwian) origin, rather than Aḫḫiyawan Greeks. Should the hypothesis of (Aḫ)ḫiyawan mercenaries in the service of the Hittites turn out to be valid after all, I would still doubt that PAD.MEŠ refers to food rations. I would then suggest that the “ingots” or “scrap metal” (see below on the meaning of PAD.MEŠ) was employed as payment for mercenaries.

PAD.MEŠ

The sign *MesZL* 746 has the values PAD, “break,” and ŠUG/KURUM₆, “ration,”⁴¹ corresponding to Akkadian *kusāpu* and *kurummatu*, respectively. The basic meaning of the verb is “to chip, to break off a piece, to trim,” from which the nouns *kusāpu*, “a bite, (a piece of) bread, a bread cake” (*CAD* K, 583–84; *AHw* 514; *CDA* 169) and *kurummatu*, “(food) portion, ration” (*CAD* K, 573ff.; *AHw* 513; *CDA* 169) are derived. In most passages cited in the Akkadian dictionaries PAD refers to bread and food allocations.⁴²

There are, however, other materials associated with the logogram PAD/ŠUG, including fields, wood, wool, and metals. When *kurummatu* refers to silver, it is usually in the context of wages paid to various employees, including military men.⁴³ A related logographic compound is KÙ.PAD.DU/DA, Akkadian *še/ibirtum*, which originally denoted lumps or broken pieces of silver, and then evolved into the concept of an ingot that had been formed from “broken” silver.⁴⁴ In most references cited in the dictionaries, *še/ibirtu* indeed refers to silver, but other metals (gold, copper, tin, bronze) are also attested.

A glance at the Boğazköy material immediately reveals that in Hatti the logogram PAD is attested only in connection with metals, designating a metal block or ingot.⁴⁵ Most occurrences come from inventory texts (Kořak 1982; Siegelová 1986), a few from court cases (Werner 1967). For the latter see, for example, KUB 13.35+ iii 3–4, from a testimony: “Of the valuable items in the storehouse I received two linen (garments), two ingots of copper (2 PAD

41. Labat, *Manuel*, 469; Borger, *MesZL*, no. 746; Rüster and Neu, *HZL*, no. 295.

42. Cf. also *MesZL* 579, ŠE-PAD-MEŠ. At Ugarit only the value ŠUG/*kurummatu*, “food ration,” seems to be attested, either logographically (*Ug.* 5, no. 101: 1; PRU 6, no. 152: 3), or written phonetically (*Ug.* 5, no. 33:18’); the latter is a letter sent to the king of Ugarit, probably by the Hittite king. In the published texts from Ugarit (except for RS 94.2523/RS 94.2530), the value PAD/*kusāpu* is apparently not attested (Huehnergard 1989: 403).

43. *CAD* K, 575: mng. 1.2’.b’. e.g.: 5 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR PAD.HI.A-su-nu “five minas of silver is their payment” (YOS 3 21:30); *kaspu ša* PAD.HI.A *ana šābē ša itti šarri* “silver of the payment for the army which is with the king” (YOS 3 153:24).

44. *CAD* Š II, 379ff.; Powell 1978; 1996: 237ff., with reference to other Akkadian words that may denote some form of “ingot”; some of them (e.g., *akalu*, *kakkaru*, *kurummatu*) can refer to loaves of bread or metal bars, presumably because they would have been similarly shaped. *kù-pad/šibirtum* already appears in an Early Dynastic proverb from Abu Salabikh: “The silver pieces that are therein—you do not return what you have taken” (Civil and Biggs 1966: 6; Alster 1991–92: 10, 20; Reiter 1997: 85–86). For the equation *kù-pad-rā* = *šibirtum* in Old Babylonian, see Reiter 1997: 90, with n. 61; cf. also *kù.babbar pad.da* in a lexical text (Limet 1960: 49).

45. *HZL* no. 295: “Broken, Stuck, (Metall)barren.” The Hittite reading of PAD (never with the plural determinative) is not known. Cf. also *HZL* no.109: URUDU.PAD or URUDUPAD, “Kupferbarren.” This PAD should be kept apart from TUGPAD-*imi*-, which designates an unidentified type of garment (Kořak 1982: 134, 270; Siegelová 1986: 338, n. 1, 667).

URUDU), six bows, one hundred arrows, two bronze bands, one veil and one copper *dammuri*.⁴⁶

The PAD mentioned in inventories are made of various metals: copper (KBo 31.50 iii 2', 3'; KUB 40.95 ii 9), bronze (KBo 9.91 rev. B, 6), iron (KUB 42.76 obv. 1) and mainly silver (KBo 18.155, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11; KBo 18.156, 3; KBo 18.157, 4). In KBo 18.155, a list of tribute (*MANDATTU*) provided by various persons and towns, the overall weight of silver ingots is specified. Dividing the weight by the number of ingots shows that they do not keep a unified standard, the average weight fluctuating between 2.29 and 1.5 mina to an ingot, that is, about 1175 to 770 grams.⁴⁷ Another text refers to a "small silver ingot," but its weight is not preserved.⁴⁸ With one exception, the form of the ingots is not indicated. KUB 42.21, a list of chests containing various metal objects, includes the item 6 PAD *TA-YA-AR-TU* (obv. 10). The basic meaning of *tayyartu(m)* is "return, repetition" (*CDA* 402), which may perhaps refer to a crescent-shaped ingot (Siegelová 1986: 139). Copper sickles (*URUDUKIN*) or scimitars are mentioned as rewards or prizes for various participants in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival (KBo 9.91 rev. B, 2–5; Siegelová 1986: 334). Siegelová (330) suggests that these objects are not intended here as serving their original function, but rather as a means of payment. The next line mentions "2 bronze ingots (for) a bathtub of the *zintuḫi*-women" (2 PAD ZABAR *ANA* SAL.MEŠ *zintuhiaš* 1 *URUDUwarpuaš*). Another entry in the same text (obv. 12–14) lists three daggers given to the men of Arauna who serve in the garrison of Nerik,

In short, all the Boğazköy attestations of PAD, without exception, refer to metal ingots used as a form of payment or remuneration (Siegelová 1993–97: 114).⁴⁹ There is not a single attestation of PAD in the sense of food rations, which is the standard meaning in Mesopotamian texts.⁵⁰ Whatever the explanation for

46. Werner 1967: 8–9; Hoffner 2002: 59. Cf. also KUB 31.76 + vi 7': [*nu?*]-*wa-aš-ši* EGIR-*pa* ŠA PAD *pī-tah-hu*-[*un* "I have paid him back <the price?> of the ingot" (Werner 1967: 26); KBo 16.64, 2':] 2 PAD KÙ.BABBAR, "two silver ingots" (Werner 1967: 28).

47. Siegelová 1986: 186, n. 1 (*contra* Werner 1967: 18), calculating on the basis of the silver ingots listed in KBo 18.155 l. 7: 17 PAD weighing 39 mina (2.294 gr. per PAD); ll. 3, 11: 18 ingots weighing 38 mina (2.111); l. 9: 8 PAD weighing 14 mina (1.75); l. 5: 12 PAD weighing 18 mina (1.5). For the Hittite mina, see Th. van den Hout 1990: 526.

48. KBo 18.157, 4' x+4 PAD KÙ.BABBAR ŠÀ.BA 1 TUR (5') [x MA.NA] KILÁ-ŠU. Siegelová 1986: 192.

49. The number of occurrences of PAD may appear to be low, but ingots must be implied also in the numerous cases in which the quantity is followed directly by the metal type, without explicit reference to an object or an ingot, e.g., KUB 40.95 ii 1, 5, 6, 13: 1 URUDU GUN, "one (ingot of) copper (of) one talent" (Kempinski and Košak 1977: 89). This frequent designation (to be rendered simply as "a copper talent") corresponds to the average weight of the so-called "oxhide-ingots" (between 25 and 30 kg.). The copper ingots on the Uluburun shipwreck weigh on the average only 24 kg., probably due to corrosion in seawater (Pulak 2001: 18).

50. I wish to thank Silvin Košak and Jared Miller for checking out the PAD entries in the Boğazköy-Archiv in Mainz.

this restricted semantic field for PAD in Hittite sources might be,⁵¹ the intriguing question in the present context is, what does PAD.MEŠ in RS 94.2530/RS 94.2523 mean? The authors followed the most common *interpretatio Mesopotamica* for this logogram, rendering it accordingly as “rations alimentaires.” I would argue that, unless there is some conclusive evidence to the contrary, a letter sent from the Hittite court should be understood according to an *interpretatio Hethitica*. It is unlikely, in my view, that the scribes of Boğazköy would have used PAD in one sense in inventories and legal texts, and in a different sense in letters written to Ugarit, irrespective of the document’s language. I would therefore assert that the cargo of the ships destined to set sail for Lukka consisted of metal ingots rather than food rations! One could perhaps raise the objection that the texts do not specify the metal composition of these ingots, but then, this information must have been obvious to both correspondents, either from previous contacts and/or from common practice. Another reason could be the variegated nature of the cargo, in which case PAD.MEŠ could be an inclusive designation for all kinds of metal bars. The far-reaching implications of this tentative suggestion are quite obvious, and will be addressed briefly further below. But first, the documents from Ugarit must be scrutinized for possible parallels to this interpretation.

There are numerous references in the Ras Shamra and Ras Ibn Hani texts to ships and maritime transportation, both in Akkadian and in Ugaritic.⁵² Many of them are fragmentary or poorly understood. From the better preserved texts, mainly in Akkadian, it appears that most of them refer to the vital food shipments sent to relieve the famine in Ḫatti.⁵³ The circuit of these ships is well known—from Egypt to the ports of Cilicia (mainly Ura), passing through the port towns of “Phoenicia,” Ugarit, and Mukiš. Noticeably, Alašia does not seem to be involved in this trade in grain, at least not according to the texts discovered so far (Malbran-Labat 1999; Singer 1999: 677).

Alongside this well-documented transportation of food from the south to the north, another commercial track is gradually emerging from the texts of Ugarit, the one in copper, naturally centred at Alašia/Cyprus. The huge quantities of copper exported to Egypt in the fourteenth century are well known from the Amarna letters,⁵⁴ but we now have growing evidence for Alašia’s exports of copper to Ugarit and Ḫatti in the late-thirteenth century as well.

51. It is well known that some Sumerograms (or “pseudo-Sumerograms”) have an idiosyncratic usage at Boğazköy, although this phenomenon has not been systematically researched as yet. See, e.g., A. Kammenhuber 1976: 198ff. (“BoSpezBed”).

52. For the navy of Ugarit, see, e.g., Knapp 1983; Vita 1995: 157–77; Singer 1999: 677–78.

53. For references and discussion see Singer 1999: 715ff.

54. EA 33: 16–18 (2 *me* URUDU.MEŠ; 10 GÚ.UN URUDU [DUG]); EA 34: 18 (1 *me* GÚ.UN URUDU.MEŠ); EA 35: 10 (5 *me-at* URUDU). For refs. see Cochavi-Rainey 2003.

A new letter from the Urtenu archive, RS 94.2475, written by Kušmešuša king of Alašia to Niqmaddu III king of Ugarit, records the shipment of 33 (ingots) of copper weighing 30 talents and 6500 shekels, i.e., approximately one talent per ingot, corresponding to the average weight of an oxhide ingot (see n. 49).⁵⁵ An Ugaritic text, RS 18.119 = KTU 4.390, mentions a ship of Ala[šia] carrying a cargo of “15 talents of co[pper]” (Singer 1999: 676). These quantities may not appear to be very large in comparison to those from Amarna, but one must take into account the fact that these are merely fortuitous references to a trade that probably remained mostly unrecorded.⁵⁶ Ugarit had a considerable metallurgical industry based on Cypriot copper, as shown by the texts⁵⁷ and by a stone mold for casting oxhide ingots from the coastal site of Ras Ibn Hani near Ugarit, the only one of its kind so far discovered (Lagarce et al. 1983: 278, fig. 15). A fragment of an oxhide ingot was also found at Ras Shamra itself (Al-Maqdissi et al. 2004: 123, no. 101). The products of this metallurgical industry presumably supplied local consumption and the needs of Ugarit’s foreign trade,⁵⁸ but some of the copper must have been transferred to her Hittite overlords. Of course Anatolia had sufficient metal sources of its own, but the accumulation of additional capital could well have served the Hittites’ growing needs for imports from distant lands. Alašia also shipped copper and gold directly to Ḫatti as part of her yearly tribute (Güterbock 1967).

One document from Ugarit may be directly related to metal shipments to Ḫatti, but regrettably the relevant part is badly damaged. RS 20.255 A = *Ug.* 5, no. 30 is a late letter whose incipit is missing. From its contents it is clear that it was sent from the Hittite court to a king of Ugarit. After the customary greetings, the sender refers to a repeated request for the dispatch of precious stones⁵⁹ and to a visit of the addressee to Ḫatti on board one of his ships (ll. 13’–left edge 2). There follows a declaration by His Majesty, which unfortunately is almost entirely lost. In the remaining traces (in the first two lines on the left edge) mention is made of a certain amount of “gold and [silver? sh]ekels” and of some “broken pieces” (*še-bi-ra še-bi-r[a]*). J. Nougayrol (*Ug.* 5, p. 101 with n. 5, 102) rendered this expression with “pièce à pièce” or “morceaux,” referring

55. Malbran-Labat 1999: 122; idem, *apud* Al-Maqdissi et al. 2004: 188, no. 177 (with a photograph of the obverse). Since “ingots” is placed by Malbran-Labat (1999: 122) in parentheses, I assume that the text has simply “33 URUDU.MEŠ,” like the Amarna references, without an explicit reference to ingots.

56. One wonders what the contexts of the yet undeciphered Cypro-Minoan inscriptions found at Ras Shamra might be; it would not come as a surprise if copper shipments were mentioned in them.

57. For metalworking in Ugarit, see Zaccagnini 1970; Heltzer 1999: 451–52.

58. See, e.g., RS 20.16 = *Ug.* 5, no. 38, which records a consignment of 20 talents of bronze/copper, 8 talents of tin, and a bronze/copper basin sent from Ugarit to Qadeš; see Zaccagnini 1970: 322ff.

59. Lines 4’–11’; left edge 3–5. For the possible identification of the “dark stone, *alkabašu*” and the “white stone, *kabdum*,” see *Ug.* 5, p. 101, n. 1. Cf. also RS 34.135 (= RSO 7, no. 17), where *algamišu* stone is requested from Ugarit by the king of Amurru.

to the mode of payment in “espèces sonnantes.” Perhaps this *šebiru* is a variant of *šebirtu* or *šibru*, which denotes a broken piece of metal or “scrap silver.”⁶⁰ Perhaps this fragmentary reference to metal “pieces” is insufficient to establish a clear connection with the PAD.MEŠ in RS 94.2523/RS 94.2530, but it is worth noting that three out of four issues dealt with in these companion letters are also taken up in RS 20.255 A, that is, the dispatch of stones,⁶¹ the request for ships, and a visit of the king of Ugarit in Ḫatti. Could this letter be an earlier missive of Penti-Šarruma, or, if sent by a different Hittite official, could it nevertheless be assigned to the same dossier?

Along with these sparse but suggestive references to metal trade in the Ugaritic sources, the archaeological evidence should be mentioned briefly, especially with regard to metals as a means of currency and to the metal trade along the Anatolian coast.

From the earliest of times metals—primarily gold, silver, copper, and tin—served as a principal means of exchange and payment, either as scrap metal traded by weight, or cast as standard objects and ingots from which pieces could be cut off (“Hacksilber”).⁶² Silver was the standard currency in most of the Near East,⁶³ but other metals also served as payment in specific regions or periods (Müller 1982).

The spectacular discovery of the Cape Gelidonya and Uluburun shipwrecks off the Mediterranean coast of Lycia has supplied invaluable information on the maritime transportation of metals and on the shapes and compositions of the ingots.⁶⁴ The Uluburun ship transported around 1300 B.C.E. a precious cargo that included nearly ten tons of copper and one ton of tin in oxhide- and bun-shaped ingots (Pulak 2000a; 2001: 18; 2005: 59ff.). Lumps of gold and silver and pieces of finished objects were also found in some quantity in the Uluburun shipwreck, probably used as bullion in trade or payments (Pulak 2000b: 263; 2001: 24–25; 2005: 66). About a century later, the much smaller cargo of the Cape Gelidonya

60. Powell 1978: 223; CAD S II, 379ff (*šibirtu*), 382 (*šibru* B).

61. While the pair of letters RS 94.2523/RS 94.2530 refer to lapis lazuli, the author of RS 20.255A was mainly interested in receiving his presents in precious stones, their kind being of secondary importance.

62. For the textual evidence, mainly from Mesopotamia, see Oppenheim 1947; Limet 1960; Powell 1978; 1996; Reiter 1997; Joannès 1993–97; Milano 2003; Pomponio 2003. For the archaeological evidence see Moorey 1985: 110–11, 116ff.; Muhly 1993–97; and the articles collected in Pare 2000.

63. See, e.g., from eighth century Zincirli the complete silver “cake ingot” weighing 497.37 g., roughly corresponding to one mina (Lassen 2000: 243). Two silver ingots found at Pyla-Kokkinokremos on Cyprus weigh 1332 and 1296 g., respectively (Karageorghis et al. 1983).

64. See, most recently, the articles collected for the exhibition catalog *Das Schiff von Uluburun* (Yalçın et al. 2005) and the extensive bibliography cited in them. It is generally accepted that most of the metal cargo on these ships was controlled at the highest official level (e.g., Bass 1991: 76; Snodgrass 1991: 18; and the refs. cited in Bachhuber 2006, 351, n. 61; but cf. Sherratt 2000: 87). For the anticlockwise itinerary of the Cape Gelidonya and Uluburun ships (from a home port in the Levant to the Aegean and/or Crete, thence directly to Egypt and back to the Levant) see, e.g., Lambrou-Phillipson 1991; Pulak 2001: 14, 48.

ship consisted of fully or partly preserved copper ingots (weighing more than one ton) and powdery tin oxide (Bass 1967). Bass (p. 82) calls attention to the 19 slab ingots of copper found in the area of the “captain’s cabin,” which most likely served as currency. Most of these weigh about 1.0 kg., which more or less corresponds to the average weight of an ingot (PAD) in KBo 18.155 (see n. 47).

Recent metallurgical studies have established that due to their porous composition the ingots were brittle and could easily be broken up into small pieces by a sharp blow of a hammer or simply by dropping them on a hard surface (Hauptmann et al. 2002: 19). Many oxhide ingots and ingot fragments suitable for melting down in a crucible have turned up all around the Mediterranean basin.⁶⁵ The “breaking” of a copper ingot weighing one talent is also attested in Hittite texts.⁶⁶ In other words, all the metal cargo aboard these ships, whether gold and silver or copper and tin, could easily be broken up into small pieces suitable for payments or for retail trade.⁶⁷

A lot has been written on the provenance of the metals and the technologies involved in the preparation of the various types of ingots.⁶⁸ Although many problems remain, all archaeometallurgical authorities seem to agree that the copper ingots from Cape Gelidonya and the majority of those from Uluburun are made from Cypriot ores.⁶⁹ Of course, the origin of the ores does not necessarily imply that all the ingots were made in Cyprus itself, but Cyprus was no doubt the hub of this lucrative maritime trade. The easternmost segment of this traffic in metals, with transshipments from Alašia to Ugarit and to Cilicia, is reasonably well documented in the texts from Ugarit and Ḫattuša. I would tentatively suggest that RS 94.2523/RS 94.2530 now provide textual evidence for the west-bound transportation of these metals to southwestern Anatolia.

The Aḫḫiyawan(s)⁷⁰ mentioned in these letters were probably merchants and/or representatives of Aḫḫiyawa awaiting the ingot-laden Ugaritian ships

65. For refs. see Gale and Stos-Gale 1986; Budd et al. 1995; Hauptmann et al. 2002; Pulak 2001: 18ff.; 2005: 611.

66. KUB 40.95 ii 13: 1 URUDU GUN *arḫa duwarnir* “they broke up a copper (ingot one) talent (in weight)” (Kempinski and Košak 1977: 89; Siegelová 1986: 270–71); see also KBo 31.50 iii 4’–5’ (Siegelová 1986: 274). This usage of Hittite *duwarnai-* is paralleled by Akkadian *šebērum*, *šebirtum*, etc. (for refs. see Reiter 1997: 98ff.).

67. Nearly all the tin ingots on the Uluburun ship had been cut into halves and quarters before they were taken on board (Pulak 2001: 22).

68. See, e. g., Gale and Stos-Gale 1986; Hauptmann et al. 2002; Muhly 2003.

69. Muhly 2003: 145; Gale and Stos-Gale 2005: 119, 122; Pulak 2001: 21; 2005: 61. The provenance of the other metals on the ships seems to be less unequivocal. The scrap silver from Uluburun probably originates from Taurus Mountains ores (Pulak 2001: 24; Gale and Stos-Gale 2005: 129).

70. In both letters the first mention of the gentilicon is in the singular LÚ *Hi-ia-a-ú*/LÚ *Hi-ia-ú-wi-i*, “the Ḫiyawan man”; only the second mention in His Majesty’s letter switches to the plural LÚ.MEŠ *Hi-a-ú-wi-i*. This might indicate that the scribes had in mind a certain “Aḫḫiyawan” person, the head of the delegation, the merchant, or the like. As he presumably would not have been in Lukka exclusively on his own account, the switch to the non-personalized “Aḫḫiyawans” would have referred to him, to his retinue and to his backers. It is perhaps of interest to

in some port of Lukka. The good harbors of Lycia would have been an ideal meeting point for the Ahhiyawans and the Hittite/Ugaritian delegation, probably headed by Šatalli himself.⁷¹ I deliberately refrain from guessing what the Hittites might have received in return for their ingots, but there were surely plenty of Aegean products that would have been of value to them. I also forbear speculating on the various uses that the Ahhiyawans may have had for the purchased metals, whether as payment to designated recipients, allocations to craftsmen, or exports to regions further northwards and westwards. All this would require a comprehensive discussion of Mediterranean metallurgy and trade at the turn of the thirteenth century B.C.E., which is beyond the scope of this article.⁷² Also, the philological merit of my novel interpretation must first be weighed and evaluated by the scholarly community. I cannot forego, however, emphasizing the remarkable coincidence between the philological evidence concerning Ugaritian ships sailing to Lukka with a cargo of PAD.MEŠ, and the ships that sank off the Lycian coast with their rich metal cargo, in particular the Cape Gelidonya ship, which is roughly contemporary with the companion letters from Ugarit. That it might have been one of the Ugaritian ships that never made it to a port in Lukka is an enticing possibility, but there is no need to stretch the evidence that far. There must have been plenty of ships sailing along the Mediterranean coast of Anatolia in the same period, many of them carrying metal cargoes.⁷³ Suffice it to say that, if my understanding of PAD.MEŠ in RS 94.2523/RS 94.2530 as metal ingots is correct, we may have here the first textual evidence for the shipment of metals to the west at the very end of the Late Bronze Age, for which we presently have only archaeological evidence.

mention in this connection, that the ca. one-century-earlier ship from Uluburun apparently had on board two Mycenaeans of rank, who could have been “emissaries representing the recipients of the precious goods carried on the ship, and whose purpose may have been to provide safe passage through uncharted waters that they were familiar with, assure the ship’s safety in hostile seas, and ultimately to oversee the safe delivery of the valuable goods to their final destination at or near their homeland” (Bass 2001: 49).

71. For Lukka in the thirteenth century, see Lebrun 1995. The port of Limyra, Lycian Zemuri, could well have been frequented by ships hugging the Mediterranean coast, if the identification with second millennium Zumari (Lebrun 1995: 147) is eventually substantiated by the excavations taking place at this site. It should perhaps be added in this connection, that the nearby island of Rhodes was a major Mycenaean entrepôt joining the Aegean to the eastern Mediterranean circuit (Bachhuber 2006: 358, with further refs.).

72. For the extensive literature on the subject see, e.g., Gale and Stos-Gale 1986; Cline 1994; Sherratt 2000; Pulak 2001; Muhly 2003; Bachhuber 2006 (with further refs.). For Mycenaean interest in eastern metal resources, see, e.g., Yakar 1976: 125ff.; Niemeyer 1998: 148–49. For Mycenaean–Anatolian exchanges see recently, Genz 2004; Singer, forthcoming. See n. 40 above for the remote possibility that the metal shipments may have been employed as payment to the (Ah)hiyawan mercenaries.

73. For other Late Bronze Age ingots pulled from shipwrecks by local divers, see Pulak 2001: 16; Bass 2005: 307.

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A CONCISE HISTORY OF AMURRU

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this excursus is to present a brief survey of the history of Amurru in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. It is intended to serve as a ready companion to the readers of this linguistic monograph, who may be interested in some basic information on the period during which the documents studied by Shlomo Izre'el were written.

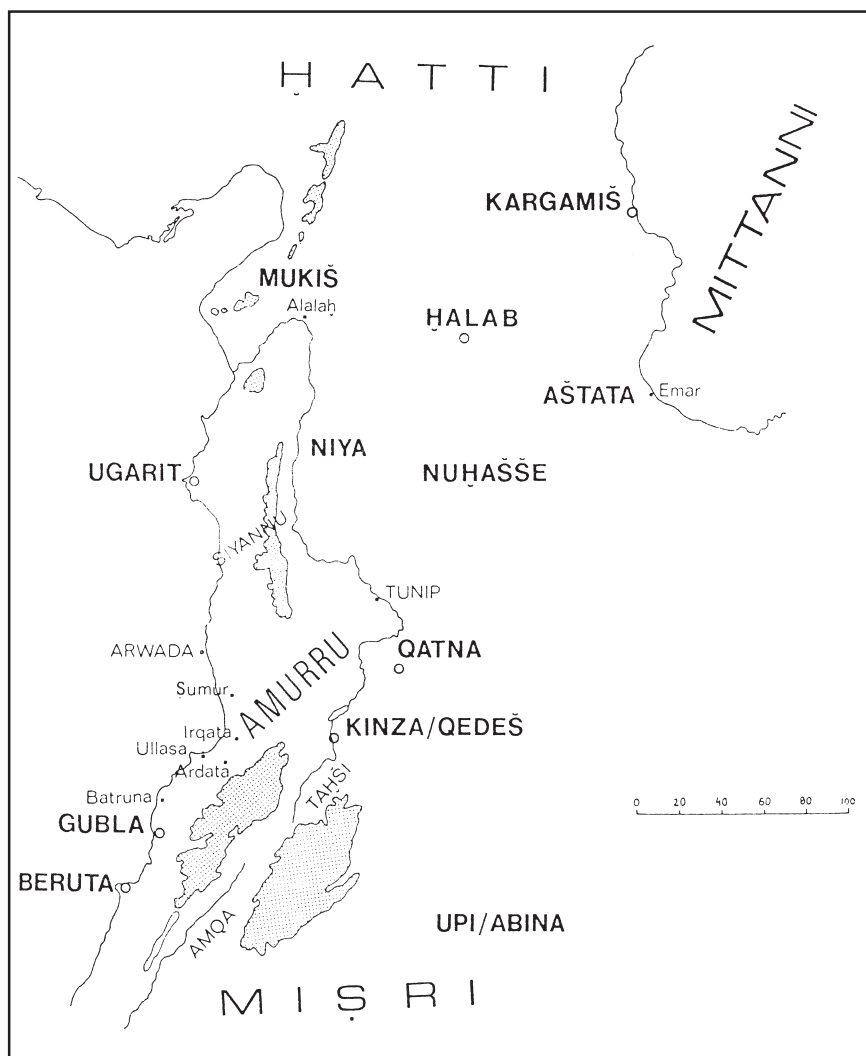
Unlike the history of its northern neighbor Ugarit, which has received a fair share of interest, the history of Amurru has rarely been treated in a comprehensive manner. This disproportionate coverage is a natural result of the fact that the archives of Ras Shamra (and Ras Ibn Hani) have yielded an invaluable treasure of primary sources on Ugarit, whereas the history of Amurru has had to be written solely all the basis of documents discovered elsewhere—in Egypt, Hatti, and Ugarit. The Land of Amurru is one of the most poorly explored regions of the Levant, and the meagre evidence emerging so far from the few archaeological excavations carried out in its territory is of very little help in reconstructing its history and culture.

The most comprehensive studies on the history of Amurru are still the respective chapters in Klengel's *Geschichte Syriens* (1969; 1970), expanded in various articles dealing mostly with the Amarna age (especially 1963; 1964; 1984).¹ Many monographs and articles dealing with Late Bronze Age Syrian history include important chapters and references to Amurru. Notable examples are Helck's *Beziehungen* (1971) and Liverani's studies on Amurru (1973; 1979) and Ugarit (1962). The bibliography covered in this excursus may easily be extended with entries of varying importance.

The general method employed here is to present very brief summaries on better known sources and subjects (with references to current literature), and

Reprinted from Sh. Izre'el, *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), Appendix III, 134–95.

1. Altman's doctoral thesis on the Kingdom of Amurru (1973) is still available only in Hebrew and is in need of extensive updating. Some of its chapters dealing with the Amarna age served as the basis for articles in English (see especially 1978a; 1978b; 1979; 1984).



somewhat more in-depth coverage on lesser known or studied sources, and on controversial issues. This roughly divides the sources on Amurru into two main groups, which also constitute chronological categories. The first group consists primarily of the fourteenth century Amarna documents, one of the most thoroughly studied corpora of the ancient Near East. These sources, which illustrate the formative stages of the Amurrite state, are dealt with in very broad lines, with emphasis on Amurru's role in the international power struggle of the period. A

central issue in this material, the correct order of Aziru's correspondence with Egypt, has already been dealt with in the monograph on the *General's Letter from Ugarit* (Izre'el and Singer 1990). The second group consists of the northern documents, from Hattuša and from Ugarit, which mostly cover the thirteenth century. These less intensively studied corpora (at least with regard to Amurru's history), which continue to expand through ongoing excavations at the respective sites, receive here a larger share of coverage.

Subject-wise, this survey concentrates on the political history of Amurru, touching only in passing on important socio-economical aspects which are intimately associated with the early history of this land. On the other hand, there will be an attempt to consider certain cultural aspects that may have some bearing on the language of Amurru investigated in this monograph. Needless to say, in this short survey comprehensiveness was neither sought nor achieved.

AMURRU BEFORE THE AMARNA AGE

The early history of the term Amurru/MAR.TU is beyond the scope of this study, which concentrates on the kingdom of Amurru in the second half of the second millennium B.C.E.² Suffice it to briefly remark here on the gradual restriction of the term to a specific region of western Syria.

In its earliest usage, in the third and the early part of the second millennium, the term Amurru (written phonetically or with the logogram MAR.TU) refers loosely to the Syrian regions west of Mesopotamia proper and to the inhabitants of these regions, often semi-nomadic tribes living by grazing. This general usage is gradually restricted in texts from Mari and from Alalakh to a certain region of central and southern Syria (see Klengel 1969: 182–83). Probably in the course of the fifteenth century the scope of the term Amurru was further reduced, when it became attached to a region that a century later became the kingdom of Amurru ruled by the dynasty of Abdi-Aširta. It should be pointed out, however, that the broad sense of Amurru, as referring to Syria or the “West” (often in opposition to Akkad, referring to Mesopotamia or the “East”), never disappeared entirely and continued to be used throughout the Near East (and Egypt) alongside the restricted geo-political usage (see Singer 1991).

On the early history of the region, which later comprised the territory of the kingdom of Amurru, we have very limited information. It lay just north of the region of Byblos, and it apparently fell within the orbit of Egyptian interests and influence from early times. In the Execration Texts of the Egyptian Middle King-

2. From the vast literature on the subject see especially Dhorme 1951: 109ff.; Kupper 1957: 147–259; Liverani 1973 and Altman 1978, who deal with the changes in the content of the term throughout the second millennium.

dom the northernmost localities along the Phoenician coast are Ullasa and Irqata (see Helck 1971: 49, 59–60).³

It is only during the early-eighteenth dynasty that the region came under direct Egyptian rule. The earliest evidence is found in the annals of Thutmose III (see Helck 1971: 137–38). In his 29th year (1475 B.C.E.) Thutmose III conquered the fortress of Ullasa, which was defended by troops from Tunip. The next campaign reached the cities of Ardata and Şumur (Helck 1971: 138).⁴ The Egyptians consolidated their hold on the region in further campaigns. Ullasa and Şumur, located on opposite sides of the Eleutheros River (Nahr el-Kebir), were turned into main strongholds, and they were permanently supplied with provisions of food, wood, and military equipment (Helck 1971: 138).

With the *Stützpunkte* on the coast secured, the Egyptian offensive penetrated into inner Syria through the Tripoli-Ḥoms gap (see Alt 1950). The paramount importance of this strategic route lay in the fact that it enabled the Egyptians to rapidly advance seaborne forces to their naval bases and thence to the battle-grounds of inner-Syria, bypassing the long land route through Sinai, Palestine, and the Beqa Valley (see Singer 1988a: 4). The approximately 100-km-long route from the coast to the Orontes ran along the Eleutheros Valley up to the El-Buqʿa Valley (east of Tell Kalakh), where it probably bifurcated—the main route continuing eastwards to Ḥoms and a shorter track cutting through the southeastern ranges of the Ansariyeh Mountains to the region of Ḥama.⁵

In the middle Orontes region the main opponent of the Egyptians was Tunip. This important city, whose hegemony reached as far as the coastal town of Ullasa, must be located west of the Orontes, somewhere in the region of Ḥama (see, e.g., Alt 1950: 136ff.; Klengel 1969: 75ff.; 1984: 10 n. 17; *contra* Helck 1973, who

3. The latter is safely identified with Tell 'Arqa near Ḥalba, a large mound dominating the entire 'Akkar Plain, from Şumur to Ullasa. The French excavations at this important site have revealed a large fortified Middle Bronze Age city (see Singer 1990: 118ff., with literature on the site and its history). As for Ullasa, no definitive localization has been found yet, but it is generally agreed that this important port-town must be sought in or near Tripoli. Hirbet Ras el-Loze, northeast of Ras el-Abiyad, may in fact preserve the ancient name (Alt 1950: 115, 125 n. 2). Whether Ullišum mentioned by Naram-Sin is identical with Ullasa is hard to establish.

4. Ardata can now be located at the village of Ardé north of Zgharta (see literature quoted in Singer 1990: 119–20). Şumur is identified with Tell Kazel, the largest mound in the northern part of the 'Akkar Plain (for the site and its history see Dunand, Bounni, and Saliby 1964; Klengel 1984). Tell Laka, a small mound on the left bank of Nahr el-Abrash, may have served as the riverine port of Şumur (Sapin 1978–79: 175; Sapin apud Elayi 1986–87: 132).

5. Through Qal'at el-Ḥosn (Krak des Chevaliers) and Maşyaf and thence due east to Ḥama. See Dussaud 1927: Map XIV, with the ancient and the medieval roads of Syria. There must have been at least one major station held by the Egyptians along this route (Alt 1950: 136). Along the coastal road in Palestine the Egyptians established a dense network of military strongholds and supply bases located at a distance of approximately 20 kms from each other (Singer 1988b: 3).

locates Tunip at the lower stream of the Eleutheros). A conclusive identification remains to be established.⁶

The territory comprised within the three main *Stützpunkte*—Ullasa and Šumur on the coast, and Tunip on the Orontes—became the northernmost province of the Egyptian Empire. The birth of the geo-political entity later known as Amurru seems to be intimately connected with the Egyptian consolidation in this region in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Whether by this time the term Amurru had already come to be associated with this region cannot be established. The name, in its restricted sense, is first attested in the Amarna letters, and in Egyptian sources only in the early Nineteenth dynasty (Helck 1971: 287).

As elsewhere in their Asiatic realm, the Egyptians were primarily interested in safeguarding the coastal lowlands and the corridor leading to inner-Syria. The densely forested slopes of the Anšariyeh Mountain and the northern ranges of the Lebanon Mountain concerned them only insofar as they posed a threat to the vital strategic routes. Perhaps the Highland was also valued for its provisions of wood, although this commodity was mainly supplied from the more southerly region of Byblos.

The Egyptian interests in the region are the keystone for understanding the history of Amurru in the Late Bronze Age and its exceptional importance in the international power game. Evidently, the rich urban centers in the Lowlands were an irresistible temptation for the Highland tribes of Amurru.⁷ The recorded history of Amurru begins when the Highland rulers managed to take over the Lowland cities one after the other and consolidated a sizable territorial kingdom. This development was tolerated by the Egyptians as long as the new rulers remained loyal to the Pharaoh's authority. However, Amurru's location at the northern extreme of the Egyptian Empire exposed her to the temptation to cross the political lines and join the camp of the northern great power. Twice in a century the domination over Amurru caused major conflicts between North and South, between Hatti and Egypt.

Before we turn to Abdi-Aširta's turbulent age it is well to raise the basic question as to how the old term Amurru became attached to this particular region of the Levant. The connection between the broad and the restricted sense of the term was best defined by Liverani (1973: 117):

6. Astour (1969) suggested that Tunip was the second-millennium name of Tell Ḥama, Hamath of the Iron Age. Hamath is missing in second-millennium cuneiform sources, but a city named *Amada* is attested at Ebla (Archi 1984: 243; 1986: 168). Whether this place may be identified with Tell Ḥama remains questionable in view of the large chronological gap. Incidentally, it seems that the southernmost place-names in the Ebla archives are Arawad and Libanum; contrary to preliminary reports, Byblos (Gubla) is not attested (Archi 1986: 167–68).

7. In EA 74: 19–21 Rib-Addi of Byblos makes a nice distinction between the coast and the highland, the latter supplemented with the Canaanite gloss *ḥa-ar-ri*.

The link can be seen in that the population of the Lebanon range was the direct heir of the Amorite tribes, not having taken part in the historical evolution of the town areas. Or, more simply, the term “Amurru,” previously used of Syria in its entirety, was now free to be used to designate the mountainous part of the interior after the other parts have assumed specific names, just as they assumed a specific political order, namely as kingdoms (Mukiš, Niya, etc.), as confederations of small kingdoms (Nuḥašše), or as Egyptian “provinces” (Kinahḫi, Ube). Consequently the term was adopted by the most recently formed state, which held less attachment than the others to any specific urban center.

A further important observation (Liverani 1973: 118) is that “in addition to this limited sense in which ‘Amurru’ was used, it also seems to have retained its larger sense as a designation of Syria in its entirety” (see also Vincentelli 1972; Singer, 1991; see further below on the Šaušgamuwa Treaty).

ABDI-AŠIRTA (?–CA. 1345 B.C.E.)

The mountainous regions on both sides of the Eleutheros Valley were inhabited by semi-nomadic tribes who subsisted on a grazing economy.⁸ These densely forested ranges also became an ideal haven for various uprooted population elements who often turned to robbery for their living (see Klengel 1969: 248). The dangers faced by the traveller who crossed this perilous zone are vividly illustrated in the Egyptian Satirical Letter in Papyrus Anastasi I (see Helck 1971: 315ff.). The *ʿapiru* bands who were active in this region played a dominant role in the consolidation of the Amurrite kingdom and the rich Amarna evidence on this development has served as one of the main sources for the study of the socio-political history of the Late Bronze Age.⁹

By the time of the mid-fourteenth century Amarna documents the process of Amurru’s consolidation into a well-defined geo-political unit had already reached an advanced stage. The northernmost Egyptian province was already known as Amurru to all parties involved, and the highlanders of the region were led by a certain chieftain named Abdi-Aširta.

Nothing is known of Abdi-Aširta’s origins. It is most unlikely that he came from one of the royal families of the coastal cities. He rather must have attained his dominant position in one of the highland tribes, possibly in southern Amurru (see p. 208 below). It is not impossible that he rose from an even humbler back-

8. For nomadic population groups who inhabited the region of the Homs gap in recent times see Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* V: 678–79 n. 8. For a general description of the region see Dussaud 1927: 88.

9. From the vast literature on these aspects I refer to Liverani 1979 (English translation of three basic articles), where reference is made to the main sources and to previous bibliography.



ground, from one of the *ʿapiru* bands who operated in this region (see Klengel 1969: 247; Altman 1978a: 5).

Evaluating the exact nature of Abdi-Aširta's ties with the *ʿapiru* depends on the correct assessment of the information contained in the polemic descriptions of his arch-enemy, Rib-Addi of Byblos. This is an oft-recurring problem faced by any historian who seeks to reconstruct a sensible picture from "Rashomon-like" contradictory reports of rival parties. This situation is particularly difficult here, where the reconstruction is based almost entirely on the juxtaposition of repetitive, almost stereotyped defamatory letters. In each reported incident taken on its own, it is almost impossible to decide whom to believe, a dilemma first encountered by the Egyptian addressees. The latter, however, must have had additional,

more reliable sources, such as the reports of the Egyptian functionaries active in the field. The modern observer must rely on his own intuition, or rather on cumulative evidence from longer sequences, in which the credibility of each informant can be assessed more accurately. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the evaluation of the Amarna evidence has often resulted in widely differing interpretations of Amurru's early history. In the brief summary to follow an attempt will be made to rely as strictly as possible on unambiguous evidence and to abstain from far-reaching conclusions that are based on obscure passages or unwarranted restorations. To be sure, strict objectivity cannot be claimed.

Concerning Abdi-Aširta's connections with the *'apiru*, even if we assume considerable exaggerations on the part of Rib-Addi there can hardly be any doubt that these uprooted elements, together with discontented groups within the urban centers, greatly assisted Abdi-Aširta's rise to power (see Altman 1978a and the literature cited there on p. 4 n. 7). The coastal cities fell one after the other into Abdi-Aširta's hands and were then followed by the cities belonging to Byblos.

The first large cities that were taken by Abdi-Aširta and his men were Ardata and Irqata (for references see Klengel 1969: 252), situated in southern Amurru at the foothills of the Lebanon Mountain. The rulers of these cities were assassinated in the upheavals incited by Abdi-Aširta's men. Irqata probably became his base for further attacks on northern Amurru, including the most important target, the stronghold of Šumur, the seat of the Egyptian commissioners. The opportunity presented itself when troops from the town of Šeḫlal (for localization attempts see Klengel 1969: 184; Altman 1978b) attacked the stronghold in the city and killed most of its occupants. Abdi-Aširta hastened from Irqata to the rescue of Šumur and saved four survivors a list of whom is included in EA 62. In two letters to Egypt, to the Pharaoh (EA 371) and to the commissioner Paḫannate (EA 62), Abdi-Aširta reported his brave action, which he hoped would earn him the position of deputy to the Egyptian governor of Amurru. In another letter (EA 60) he elaborated on his services to Egypt as the guardian of Amurru and its main cities Šumur and Ullasa.

Obviously, other correspondents, notably Rib-Addi of Byblos, had quite different perspectives on these momentous events (see references in Klengel 1969: 185ff.). In his view Abdi-Aširta took advantage of Paḫannate's absence from Šumur to overrun the city, a flouting of Egyptian authority, which should be punished accordingly. The basic facts are not so different in the reports of the two protagonists, only their points of view on the purpose of Šumur's takeover. Of more interest is the fact that the Egyptians put up with Abdi-Aširta's presence in Šumur for quite a long time, which proves that they were ready to recognize him, at least *de facto*, as a vassal of Egypt. One may assume that after his entry into Šumur, Abdi-Aširta moved his headquarters there from Irqata, and his letters to Egypt were probably written from his new residence.

With all or most of Amurru under his control,¹⁰ Abdi-Aširta continued his victorious offensive southwards, into the land of Byblos. The coastal cities of Ammiya, Šigata, Bitarḥa, and Batruna fell into his hands one after the other, mostly after uprisings of their citizens.¹¹ Deprived of all his dependencies and with Abdi-Aširta closing on Byblos itself, Rib-Addi turned for help to his southern neighbors Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre, only to discover that the rebellious tide had spread as far as Tyre; its royal family, including Rib-Addi's own sister, had been assassinated in a coup. In his distress Rib-Addi was even ready to pay a heavy ransom for his and his city's freedom (an offer that he repeated a few years later to Aziru). At the last moment Byblos was saved when at the height of his success Abdi-Aširta was killed either by his own compatriots (Moran 1969), or, more likely, by an Egyptian task force that landed in Šumur and reoccupied the city (Altman 1979). The exact circumstances of Abdi-Aširta's fall remain mysterious.

This, in brief, is the story of Abdi-Aširta's meteoric rise and fall—a local chieftain who became the founder of a powerful dynasty. What remains to be tackled is the question of Abdi-Aširta's possible involvement in the international power game of his age.

To start with, it is worthwhile stressing the point that, contrary to the impression raised by Rib-Addi's defamatory letters, Abdi-Aširta was not an opponent of Egyptian authority. He sought official recognition within the framework of the Egyptian imperial system, claiming for himself the status of an acting deputy in the absence of the Egyptian governor (see also Klengel 1969: 251–52).¹² In his view, he was entitled to this status on the strength of his being a loyal guardian of Egyptian interests in Amurru, including its defense against a possible onslaught of “all the kings of the king of the Hurrian troops” (EA 60: 13–14; see Moran 1987: 234 n. 4). The Egyptians consented for some time to Abdi-Aširta's self-proclaimed vassalship, probably on the recommendation of the commissioner Paḥa(m)nata (Klengel 1969: 253).

If so, the question may be raised as to why the Egyptians eventually decided to get rid of Abdi-Aširta. The answer, to my mind, is quite simple. Abdi-Aširta's aggrandizement had reached a state in which almost the entire Phoenician coast had submitted to his direct or indirect control. This was beyond the limits of what the Egyptians felt they could tolerate without risking their own authority

10. Although Abdi-Aširta calls himself the guardian of Šumur and Ullasa (EA 60), the takeover of the Egyptian naval base in Ullasa is nowhere explicitly mentioned. Is this merely accidental or did perhaps Abdi-Aširta choose deliberately not to intervene there in order not to further aggravate his relations with Egypt?

11. Most of these places kept their names in the toponyms of coastal Lebanon: Ammiya/Ambi = Enfe; Šigata = Sheqqa; Batruna = Batrun (Klengel 1969: 253–54).

12. This is most clearly expressed in EA 60: 30–32: “So may the king, my lord, recognize me, and may he commit me into the hand of Paḥannate, my commissioner.”

in the northern part of their Asiatic empire. For similar reasons they intervened against Lab'ayu of Shechem, when there was no direct menace from any outside power.¹³

Others, however, have sought the motivation for the Egyptian intervention against Abdi-Aširta in his alleged cooperation with the northern great powers of his age—Mitanni or/and Hatti. I have discussed both these issues in detail elsewhere (for Hatti see 1990: 124ff.; for Mitanni see 1991); it will suffice to refer here briefly to these issues.

The suggestion that Abdi-Aširta cooperated with Mitanni is based on a series of allegations aired by Rib-Addi, the essence of which is the claim that Amurru sent tribute to Mitanni (EA 86: 8–12; EA 90: 19–22; EA 95: 27–30; EA 101: 7–10). Some of these passages are quite fragmentary and obscure, but they indeed seem to convey an accusation concerning Abdi-Aširta's cooperation with Mitanni which works against Egypt's (and of course Rib-Addi's) interests.

The most explicit and significant passage is found in EA 85: 51–55, where Rib-Addi reports about a campaign of the king of <Mi>tanni¹⁴ to Šumur; he intended, according to Rib-Addi, to march on Byblos, but the plan was aborted for lack of water. I have raised doubts about the credibility of this unique report, which, if true, would carry far-reaching consequences for the international scene. From all that we know, Mitanni and Egypt maintained their political alliance, especially when confronted with the growing Hittite menace. Most scholars have therefore assumed that the Mitannian "visit" was merely a show of arms to rally support for the common Egyptian-Mitannian cause (Kitchen 1962: 13; Klengel 1969: 233 n. 29; 256).

Other evidence for the alleged Mitannian–Amurrite cooperation has been detected in the historical preamble to the Šaušgamuwa treaty, where the "Amurru Lands" (sic) are said to have belonged in the past to the Hurrians. This surprising statement, which squarely contradicts the historical data in all the other Amurru treaties, was taken at face value by some scholars, who reconstructed a short (Murnane 1985: 185–86, 235ff.) or even a long (Kestemont 1978) period of Mitannian domination in Amurru prior to its submission to Hatti. I have attempted (1991) to put forward a different interpretation of this statement in the Šaušgamuwa treaty: "Amurru Lands" in this late text should be understood in the broad sense of the term, as referring to Syria in general rather than the kingdom of Amurru.

13. As has often been pointed out, the story of Abdi-Aširta has many points of resemblance with that of Lab'ayu of Shechem. Both leaders carved out for themselves a sizable kingdom using shrewd tactics, and both were eventually eliminated by the Egyptians, only to be followed by equally ambitious sons.

14. The initial *Mi-* is omitted. In EA 75: 38 the final *-ni* is omitted, whereas the *-tt-* is reduplicated (see Moran 1987: 254 n. 8).

Rib-Addi's sensational report on the Mitannian king's campaign or "visit" to Şumur is, to my mind, a figment of Rib-Addi's notorious polemics,¹⁵ which was intended to drum up Egyptian support against the rulers of Amurru. In this case the false alarm may have worked out for him, since the long-awaited Egyptian task force arrived at last in Amurru and removed Abdi-Aširta from the scene.

Even less substantial is the evidence for an alleged submission of Abdi-Aširta to the Hittites (Kitchen 1962: 20 n. 8; Waterhouse 1965: 2–3; Schulman 1988: 60–61). This theory is based on the obscure passage EA 75: 35–42, where Rib-Addi juxtaposes the acts of Abdi-Aširta to those of the king of Hatti, who apparently captured all the lands that had been subject to Mitanni (see Singer 1990: 124ff.). This, however, does not prove that there was a cooperation between the two, and even less that Abdi-Aširta submitted to Hatti. The founder of the Amurrite dynasty is totally absent from the Hittite historiography, which is strong silent evidence.

In conclusion, although Abdi-Aširta may have closely followed the rapidly unfolding international situation and may even have explored the possibility of crossing the political lines, there is nothing to show that such a policy was actively followed by him. An active involvement in international politics was first pursued by his resourceful son Aziru.

The chronology of Abdi-Aširta's period is difficult to establish, the only clear synchronism being with Rib-Addi of Byblos. The range of his recorded activities must fall (together with the whole of the Amarna correspondence with the Syrian rulers) within the reign of Akhenaton, after the transfer of the capital to Akhetaton in Year 5 (Kitchen 1962: 41; Klengel 1964: 58 n. 6; but cf. Campbell 1964: 134). The reference to the Hittite victories in Syria in the above-mentioned letter of Rib-Addi (EA 75: 35ff.) could refer to a foray of Šuppiluliuma. According to the newly suggested chronology for the early Hittite Empire (Wilhelm and Boese 1987; Bryce 1989; see also Gurney 1990: 181) the entire reign of Šuppiluliuma falls within the lifetime of Akhenaton, which would conform with the above statement. It should be noted, however, that Abdi-Aširta's activities in Amurru may have started long before his first appearance in Rib-Addi's and in his own letters.

AZIRU AND HIS BROTHERS (CA. 1345–1315 B.C.E.)

The Egyptian intervention in Şumur that brought an end to Abdi-Aširta's meteoric career did not curb for long the hectic political activity in Amurru. Abdi-Aširta's sons, three (or four) of whom are known to us by name (Aziru, Pu-Ba'la,

15. For Rib-Addi's rather free usage of historical information see Weber *apud* Knudtzon 1915: 1207; Klengel 1969: 253.

Ba'luaya and perhaps Niqmepa), soon reappeared on the scene and began a concerted effort to restore their father's authority in Amurru.

Aziru was perhaps not the eldest, but certainly the most influential of Abdi-Aširta's sons. He is no doubt the best-known political figure from the Land of Amurru.¹⁶ The sources on his age (see Klengel 1969: 191–208) include some fifteen letters of his correspondence with Egypt; numerous other references to him and to his land in other Amarna letters, notably in Rib-Addi's correspondence; an accord with Ugarit; a treaty with Hatti; and references in other Hittite texts. The exact chronology of his reign in the second half of the fourteenth century depends on several synchronisms discussed in the following.

The earliest phases in the reconsolidation of the Amurrite state, which apparently had disintegrated after Abdi-Aširta's disappearance from the scene, are only known from Rib-Addi's reports to Egypt. At this stage, the exact length of which is difficult to establish, Aziru and his brothers apparently refrained from writing to Egypt, cautiously waiting to first consolidate their position.

The first places that succumbed to Abdi-Aširta's sons were Ardata, Waḥliya, Ambi and Šigata (EA 104), all of which are situated in the southern part of Amurru, in the zone bordering the domain of Byblos. It is of interest to observe that Ardata (Ardé) was also one of the first towns to be taken by Abdi-Aširta (EA 75). Could this indicate that the power base (and origin) of Abdi-Aširta's clan was located in the nearby ranges of the Lebanon Mountain, east of Tripoli?

The offensive continued northwards. Pu-Ba'la entered the important naval base of Ullasa in the Tripoli region (EA 104; EA 105; EA 109). Irqata (Tell 'Arqa) was threatened and its elders sent a call for help to Egypt (EA 100).¹⁷ By this stage, all of Amurru except Irqata and Šumur was dominated by Abdi-Aširta's sons (EA 103). With the fall of the former, the belt was tightening on Šumur, the main target of Aziru and his brothers.

The siege on the last Egyptian stronghold was laid from both land and sea and lasted for several months (EA 105; EA 114). In the naval blockade Abdi-Aširta's sons were assisted, according to Rib-Addi, by Arwad (EA 104; EA 105; EA 109) and by other coastal cities south of Byblos (EA 114; EA 118; cf. also EA 149 from Tyre). That Šumur, despite Rib-Addi's rhetoric, was not entirely cut off is shown by the fact that Egyptian officials continued to circulate freely in and out of the city. Perhaps Aziru intentionally left an outlet for the purpose of negotiations with the Egyptian officials of the province. The time was now ripe

16. The major study on Aziru is still Klengel 1964, revised in Klengel 1969: 264–99. For other summaries on Aziru's age see Waterhouse 1965; Helck 1971: 174ff.; Krauss 1978: 59–62; Murnane 1985: 186ff.

17. According to Knudtzon (1915: 1194) the physical features of the tablet and the script are similar to those of Rib-Addi's letters. Perhaps the letter was indeed sent from Byblos and served the purposes of Rib-Addi's propaganda (Klengel 1969: 196).

to write to the Pharaoh and propose submission to Egypt in return for recognition as the official “mayor” (*ḥazannu*) of Amurru.

The first letters of Aziru are undoubtedly EA 156–158 and EA 171.¹⁸ In these letters Aziru reassures the Pharaoh and the high official Tuttu (EA 158) that he has long sought to enter into the service of Egypt, but has been prevented by the “greats” of Šumur (EA 157: 11–12) and by the governor Yanḫamu (EA 171: 5). To this end he even sent to Egypt his messengers (EA 157: 35) and two sons¹⁹ (EA 156: 8ff.). Aziru gives his solemn promise to be loyal to Egypt and to send the same tribute as other “mayors.” He further warns of a possible Hittite offensive against his country and asks for military assistance from Egypt to ward off the danger (EA 157: 28). It is difficult to establish whether these letters were sent before or after the takeover of Šumur. There is nothing in their contents, as far as I can see, that would exclude either possibility. If Aziru had already entered Šumur when he wrote these letters his bargaining position would obviously have been much stronger.

The actual conquest of Šumur is reported in several letters of Rib-Addi (Klengel 1969: 65 n. 47), the first of which may be EA 116. The city must have suffered considerable damage,²⁰ and in his next letters (EA 159–161) Aziru promises to rebuild it as soon as circumstances would permit. Ironically, Aziru’s violent entry into Šumur paved the way for his recognition as an official Egyptian vassal. In EA 161 and EA 162, the latter written by the king of Egypt, Aziru is recognized as “mayor” (*ḥazannu*).

The chronology of the following phases in Aziru’s career depends largely on first establishing the correct order of his remaining correspondence with Egypt. The order first suggested by Knudtzon, i.e., EA 159 successively through EA 171, has so far been followed, with minor changes, by all commentators on Amarna Age history. In this monograph Sh. Izre’el comes to grips with Aziru’s letters and offers new translations that are based on his overall examination of the Amurite dialect of Akkadian. Some crucial passages are analyzed differently than hitherto, notably EA 161: 4–10; 24–34. Aziru discusses here his visit to Egypt—in the future according to the traditional interpretation, in the past according to Izre’el’s (see Izre’el and Singer 1990: 130ff.). This minor change in the interpretation of a verb is of great significance for the historical interpretation of Aziru’s biography. With this passage as a starting point Aziru’s correspondence has been reexamined, together with the relevant Hittite material, and a

18. For Aziru as the sender of EA 171, see Campbell 1964: 90–91.

19. If indeed “my sons” is meant literally, Aziru must have been at least in his thirties at the time of Šumur’s conquest.

20. The excavations at Tell Kazel have not gone below the rich thirteenth-century level (“Couche V”). See Dunand, Bounni and Saliby 1964: 12.

different order for Aziru's letters and consequently for his turbulent career has been suggested (ib.: 128–54). The reader is referred to the detailed argumentation presented there, including a comparison between the traditional and the new interpretations. Here Aziru's dealings with Egypt and with Hatti will be briefly summarized according to the new interpretation.

The official appointment of Aziru as “mayor” was made during a visit to the Pharaoh's court which, to my mind, took place immediately after the takeover of Šumur. This journey to Egypt is referred to retrospectively in EA 161, in which Aziru recalls how he defended himself before the Pharaoh against the accusations of his enemies. The same visit is also mentioned by Ili-Rapiḫ of Byblos in EA 140, in which Rib-Addi's follower provides a rare list of Aziru's deeds: political assassinations, the takeover of Šumur and Ullasa, and the trip to Egypt which was used for further plotting with (A)itakama of Kinza (Qedeš).

While in Egypt, Aziru received a letter (EA 170) from his brother Baʿluya and his son(?) Betiʾilu, containing an alarming report about a Hittite offensive in Syria: the Hittite general Lupakki, assisted by Aitakama of Kinza, had captured several cities in Amqi, whereas another contingent, headed by Zita(na), was about to arrive in Nuḫašše. In another letter (EA 169), Aziru's son implores the high official Tutu, Aziru's benefactor, to intervene for the immediate release of his father.

Aziru managed to pull the right strings in Egypt and hastened home, having recognized the extraordinary importance of the new developments in Syria. The Egyptians were apparently confident that their newly appointed vassal would loyally defend their interests in Amurru. Soon enough they realized their grave mistake.

In close coordination with Aitakama of Kinza, another Hittite surrogate, Aziru attacked his weaker, pro-Egyptian neighbors—Niya, Qaṭna, and Tunip.²¹ Another victim of Aziru's expansionism was of course Rib-Addi (Klengel 1969: 276ff.). Having already suffered from Abdi-Aširta's aggression, the unfortunate ruler of Byblos had to endure it once again. His renewed efforts to drum up some Egyptian help were equally fruitless, and this time he was forced to abandon his own city. The most prolific correspondent of Amarna, to whom we owe much of our information, finished his life in exile (cf. Izreʾel and Singer 1990: 141 n. 1).

Aziru's most significant territorial gain was Tunip on the middle Orontes. From days of old this important city had had close ties with the Amurrite coast and clearly belonged to the Egyptian orbit. After the heyday of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, however, Tunip lost much of its power and nestled between

21. The complicated and changing pattern of relationships between the various central Syrian states and Amurru cannot be elaborated on here. For the contacts with the Land of Ube (and Damascus) see Hachman 1970: 65ff.

the Egyptian and the Mitannian spheres of influence. With Aziru at the gates of Tunip, the concerned citizens of the city sent an urgent letter to the Pharaoh (EA 59) reminding him of their bondage to Egypt from the times of Thutmose III (Manahpiria). Their request to return to them a son of a certain Aki-Tešub, probably to become their king, was of no avail. Aziru took the city and turned it into his headquarters during the following crucial period. His next letters—EA 161, EA 164–68 (possibly also EA 159–60)—were written from Tunip.

The city was ideally situated near the theater of operations in central Syria, and Aziru immediately opened negotiations with the Hittites who were campaigning in nearby Nuḥašše. In EA 165: 28ff. he openly admits his planned meeting with the king of Hatti, who is staying two days distance from Tunip. This is a most valuable chronological clue that may most probably be related to Šuppiluliuma's "One Year" campaign to Syria, dated to ca. 1340 B.C.E. (see Bryce 1989: 23). I assume that in this historical meeting between Šuppiluliuma and Aziru, the terms of Amurru's submission to Hatti were negotiated (see below). All during this time Aziru maintained a facade of loyalty towards the Egyptians. He was repeatedly summoned to Egypt to explain his increasingly suspicious conduct, but he kept postponing his (next) trip on the pretext that his country was threatened by the Hittites and their surrogates. In his letters to the Pharaoh (EA 159–161; EA 165; EA 168) and to leading Egyptian officials (EA 164; EA 166–167), Aziru emphatically reasserts his loyalty, promises to rebuild Šumur (EA 159–161), and even prepares his tribute consisting of eight ships loaded with wood and oil (EA 160: 33ff.; EA 161: 54ff.).²²

It appears that Aziru was actually paid for his "tribute" to Egypt. A certain Ḥatip was supposed to hand over gold, silver, and other supplies to Aziru, but Aziru maintains that Ḥatip took the payment for himself (EA 161: 41–46). It is interesting to compare this episode to a reference in EA 126. Rib-Addi, the last defender of the Egyptian cause, deplores that his ships cannot reach Ugarit and the Salḫi lands to procure wood for the Pharaoh because Aziru's navy blocks his way.²³ He further asks the Pharaoh not to listen to his officers who had given all the gold and silver to Abdi-Aširta's sons, who in their turn handed it over to the "mighty king." The latter must be the Hittite king (Murnane 1985: 206; Moran 1987: 342 n. 12), whose troops are mentioned earlier in the letter,²⁴ rather than the king of Mitanni (Weber *apud* Knudtzon 1915: 1227; Klengel 1969: 200).

22. It is nowhere stated that he actually sent these ships to Egypt. In fact, he asks for a messenger to be sent to collect the tribute. (See also next note.)

23. It seems that with Amurru about to cross the political lines, and with most of the territory of Byblos sacked by Aziru and his brothers, the Egyptians were short of wood and attempted to buy the much-needed commodity in the region or Ugarit

24. Rib-Addi maintains that Hittite troops are mobilized against his own land (EA 126: 58ff.). If this is not just another sample of his notorious rhetoric, it recalls the stationing of General Šumi[- and his troops at the south-

This could very well be a rare reference to Aziru's submission to Šuppiluliuma. Could the gold and silver mentioned here by Rib-Addi be the same as that referred to by Aziru in EA 161? If so, and if Rib-Addi's claims are true (rather than Aziru's), it would seem that Aziru paid his first tribute to Hatti with money that he received from Egypt! This would not come as a major surprise to anyone who is familiar with Aziru's shrewd tactics.

After a while the Egyptians finally realized their grave error. In a strong ultimatum (EA 162) they compiled a list of all of Aziru's misdemeanors and threatened him and his family with capital punishment. But this obviously came too late. Aziru never risked another visit to Egypt, and chose instead to consolidate his ties with the Hittites and to establish regional alliances with other Hittite surrogates in Syria — Aitakama of Kinza and Niqmaddu of Ugarit (see below).

The vassal treaty with Šuppiluliuma (CTH 49) marks the beginning of the second part of Aziru's long career, as a vassal of the Hittite "Sun" instead of the Egyptian "Sun." The exact date of the treaty cannot be established with certainty, but from several clues of chronological value it may be assumed to fall a short time, perhaps a year, after Aziru's return from Egypt (Singer 1990: 155–59). The meeting with Šuppiluliuma and the subsequent signing of the treaty probably occurred in the wake of the "One Year" war in Syria (ca. 1340 B.C.E.) or very shortly after.

The treaty has been preserved in one Hittite and several Akkadian versions.²⁵ It opens, unusually, with a concise summary of Aziru's duties as a Hittite vassal: an oath of allegiance, a yearly tribute of 300 shekels of pure gold, and a commitment to present himself yearly before the king of Hatti. The historical review that follows (see Singer 1990: 144ff.) duly emphasizes Aziru's voluntary submission to Šuppiluliuma at a time when the rest of Syria was still hostile to Hatti. This motif, which recurs in the later Amurru treaties, was obviously necessary in order to legitimize the annexation of an acknowledged Egyptian dependency to the Hittite Empire. The remainder of the treaty contains the usual stipulations concerning the extradition of fugitives and enemies of His Majesty and the subjection of Amurru's foreign policy to that of Hatti. The list of potential friends or foes includes Hurri, Egypt, Babylon, Alši, and Aštata; the first and the last names are clear indications of the early date of the treaty. Aziru is further required to intervene militarily in case of a revolt in the neighboring lands of Niya, Kinza, and Nuḫašše. In return, Aziru is given guarantees of Hittite military aid in case of a threat to his kingdom. This explicit provision (which is also

ern border of Amurru. For the military situation in the "General's Letter" (RS 20.33) see Singer 1990: 117ff. and further below.

25. For bibliography on the text see Singer 1990: 144 n. 2. A recent transliteration and translation of the treaties with Aziru, with Duppi-Tešub, and with Bentešina is found in Del Monte 1986.

found in the treaties with Tette of Nuḥašše and Niqmepa of Ugarit) was probably put to the test shortly after the signing of the treaty.

The painful treason of Aziru finally put the complacent court of Amarna on the alert. There is cumulative evidence in late Amarna letters that a military expedition to Syria was organized in the last years of Akhenaton (see literature cited in Singer 1990: 162). Whether the vigorous preparations eventually led to a campaign is still a disputed issue (164ff.). Perhaps Akhenaton's death interrupted the plans, and the counteroffensive was postponed until Tutankhamun's reign. In any case, the Hittites and their newly recruited allies had no doubt anticipated a massive Egyptian counterattack and prepared themselves accordingly. As one preemptive step, the Hittites, in coordination with Aziru, sent an army contingent under the command of a certain Šumi[- to the southern border of Amurru (RS 20.33 = *Ugaritica* V, no. 20; see Izre'el 1991: 92ff.; for the dating of the text and its historical setting see Izre'el and Singer 1990).

Any Amarna Age Egyptian attempts to recover their lost provinces failed and for the next century and a half Amurru remained (except for a short while) firmly in Hittite hands. With a vigilant eye on his southern border, Aziru could at last rest and organize his kingdom and his court.

Amurru's northern flank was secured by an agreement reached with Niq-maddu II of Ugarit (RS 19.68 = *PRU* IV: 284ff.; see Izre'el 1991: 88ff.). The accord, which on the evidence of its physical features was probably written in Amurru (Nougayrol, *PRU* IV: 282; Izre'el, 1991, I: 21), opens with a solemn renouncement of past enmity between Amurru, on the one hand, and Ugarit with its client kingdom of Siyannu on the other. Surprisingly, we discover in this section that in the leadership of Amurru, Ba'luya and Aziru were preceded by a certain Niqmepa who was a contemporary of Ammištamru I in Ugarit. This otherwise unknown figure must have been another son of Abdi-Aširta, perhaps the eldest, who for a short while was the foremost among his brethren.

On his part Aziru renounced all claims to the client states of Siyannu and Zinzaru,²⁶ which flanked Ugarit on the southwest and the southeast respectively (for the former see Astour 1979). He further committed himself to bringing his army and chariots to the help of Ugarit in case of an enemy attack. In return Aziru received the considerable sum of 5000 silver shekels.

This first accord between the two Levantine kingdoms characterizes the nature or their relationship to come. The rich mercantile kingdom of Ugarit to a certain extent relied for protection on its southern neighbor, which under the leadership of Aziru became the "strongman" of the entire Levantine coast (cf. EA

26. Nougayrol (*PRU* IV: 282) plausibly suggests that the name Zizzaruwa must belong to the ruler of the small kingdom of Zinzaru, also known from Amarna and Egyptian sources (Helck 1971: 299–300).

98). The amicable relations were further cemented in the following generations through marriages arranged between the two courts.

Concerning the date of the Aziru–Niqmaddu accord in relation to the treaties of Šuppiluliuma with Aziru and with Niqmaddu, two sequences have usually been suggested. Nougayrol (*PRU* IV: 283) dates the accord after the Šuppiluliuma–Niqmaddu treaty (and before the Šuppiluliuma–Aziru treaty). Liverani (1962: 36–37), followed by Klengel (1962: 456; 1969: 284–85), regards the Aziru–Niqmaddu accord as the earliest among the three, arguing that if Ugarit were already included within the Hittite imperial system it could probably not sign a separate accord with another state. To my mind, the strength of this argument is limited.²⁷ but one might offer support for this order through another observation. In their vassal treaties with Hatti the two kingdoms are both mutually excluded from the list of potential Syrian enemies, which may show that they had already settled their relations through an accord.

Although the correct order of the three treaties remains uncertain,²⁸ the important point is that the triple agreement endowed the Hittite imperial system with a strong and stable axis. The two Levantine kingdoms stood at the side of their suzerain in the recurring rebellions of the inner-Syrian states east of the Orontes.

The border between the kingdoms of Amurru and Ugarit (and Siyannu) must have passed somewhere in the latitude of Tartus, at the northern edge of the ʿAkkar Plain. This raises the question of the political status of the island town of Arwad (Ruad). This important trading post, which later became one of the leading Phoenician city-states, assisted Aziru during his naval blockade against Šumur (EA 98; EA 105). Since it is not mentioned in the Aziru–Niqmaddu accord or in the records of the Hittite administration, we may assume that it became a client kingdom of Amurru, perhaps with a semi-independent status.

In the east, Amurru seems to have kept its hegemony over Tunip and its region (cf., however, Klengel 1969: 86–87 n. 11; 287). Although the inhabitants of Tunip had signed a vassal treaty with a Hittite king (CTH 135), probably Šuppiluliuma (Klengel 1969: 83), in later times the town does not seem to have had independent status under the Hittite administration of Syria. That the traditional ties with Amurru continued under Hittite rule is also hinted at by the

27. In the vassal treaties prepared by Muṣṣili for the Arzawa lands of Mira, Hapalla, and the Šeḫa River Land there is a stipulation stating that the rulers of these states are sworn not only to the Hittite king, but also to each other (see, e.g., CTH 67: rev. 9ff.). This may indicate that neighboring vassal states concluded bilateral treaties between themselves, with the approval of the Hittite suzerain. However, copies of such treaties have not yet been found in Hattuša. A parallel case from another imperial system is the treaty between Niqmepa of Alalaḫ and Ir-Tešub of Tunip (AT 2), both members of the Mitannian confederacy.

28. I would not even exclude the possibility that the Šuppiluliuma–Aziru treaty (for which I suggest an early date, see 1990: 155ff.) was the earliest of the three.

appearance of the Storm-god of Tunip in the list of oath gods of the Duppi-Tešub treaty (KBo XXII 39 III I5'). Tunip is also mentioned in a fragmentary letter of Bentešina (see below).

Under the leadership of Aziru, Amurru developed from a loosely defined chiefdom, ruled collectively by the sons of a charismatic figure (who was never considered a king), into a (more-or-less) ordinary Syrian kingdom, with a centralized royal court and well-organized foreign relations. Still, its non-urban origins found expression in the hesitation in locating the capital of the kingdom, the seat of its kings for the next century and a half (see Klengel 1969: 287–88; Kestemont 1971; Stieglitz 1991). There are a few occurrences of a “City of Amurru,” but it is most improbable to see in it a separate place-name (Kestemont); it is rather a designation for one of the known and well-attested cities (cf., e.g., Alalah = “the City of Mukiš”). The most obvious choice would be Šumur (Stieglitz), but there may be other candidates, such as Irqata or Tunip. In any case, one can hardly doubt that the kings of Amurru had a permanent court from which they conducted their correspondence,²⁹ and the imposing building unearthed in “Couche V” at Tell Kazel may well be the royal palace of Amurru.³⁰

Aziru died at a very old age, around the eighth year of Muršili. As repeatedly emphasized in the vassal treaties of Amurru, he remained loyal to his Hittite overlords and fought on their side against the rebels in Kinza and Nuḥašše until he was no longer able to go out to the battlefield (CTH 62 II B obv. 13ff.).

DU-TEŠUB (CA. 1314–CA. 1312)

The reign of DU-Tešub, which falls in the first decade of Muršili's reign, must have been very short. He is the only king of Amurru (except Šapili) whose vassal treaty has not (yet) turned up at Ḫattuša. This could be merely accidental, but perhaps because his rule was short he did not have sufficient time to present himself before his master (Klengel 1969: 300–301).³¹

DU-Tešub³² is the first Amurrite king to bear a Hurrian name, a tradition that continued down to the end of the dynasty. This is a clear indication of the

29. The palace of Šaušgamuwa in Amurru is explicitly mentioned in RS 1957.1 (the Claremont tablet)

30. See Dunand, Bounni, and Saliby 1964: 11ff. and pl. XV–XVI. The rich finds uncovered in the monumental building include a Hittite button seal (pl. XX:1–3), a royal seal impression (pl. XX:4; see further 235–36 below), two scarabs, bronze figurines, and a wealth of local and imported pottery (pls. XIV, XVII–XXII). It is to be hoped that new excavations will provide more information on this important site.

31. Incidentally, the hazards of preservation of state documents in the Hittite archives are quite puzzling. Whereas the treaties of no less than four kings of Amurru have been preserved, some of them in several duplicates in Hittite and Akkadian, none of the treaties with Ugarit has so far turned up at Boghazköy. Fortunately this strange gap is filled by the archives of Ugarit.

32. The phonetical value of the first element in his name is not certain (Laroche 1966: 221). It could be *Ir* on the evidence of CTH 63, where *Ir*-Tešub and DU-Tešub seem to interchange (Klengel 1963: 41 n. 3; Singer 1990:

beginning of Hittite influence on the culture of Amurru (see further below, in the section on name-giving). It is possible that he took this name with his coronation and earlier bore a Semitic name. If Beti'ilu, mentioned in EA 161 and in EA 170, is a son of Aziru (Izre'el 1991, I: 18), rather than a brother (Moran 1987: 578), he could well be DU-Tešub. At any rate, the author of EA 169, a son of Aziru who wrote to Egypt to rescue his father, is quite possibly DU-Tešub (Klengel 1969: 281; Moran 1987: 409 n. 1).

The only document clearly dated within the short reign of DU-Tešub is the so called "trousseau" inventory of Queen Aḥat-Milku (RS 16.146+161 = *PRU* III: 182ff.; Izre'el 1991: 68ff.). Aḥat-Milku was the first of two Amurrite princesses who were given in marriage to kings of Ugarit (the second was the ill-fated *bittu rabīti*). The dowry which she brought to her husband Niqmepa is amazingly rich, consisting of more than 330 luxury items (Nougayrol, *PRU* III: 178). No wonder that a generation later in the troublesome divorce case of the Amurrite princess (*bittu rabīti*), the division of the common property had to be confirmed by the highest imperial authorities.

The inventory of Aḥat-Milku was sealed according to the text with the seal of DU-Tešub.³³ The most logical way to account for this is by assuming that Aḥat-Milku was the daughter of DU-Tešub (Nougayrol, *PRU* IV: 10; Liverani 1962: 99). Although this would give Aḥat-Milku, the best-known queen of Ugarit, an unusually long life span of nearly ninety years (see van Soldt 1987: 70), in the era of Methuselahs like Ramses II, Puduḥepa, and Bentešina such longevity should not come to us as a surprise.

Another group of documents (some of) which may possibly be dated to this period are letters sent from Amurru to Ugarit asking for various commodities or simply affirming the good relations between the two kingdoms.

In RS 16.111 (= *PRU* III: 13–14; Izre'el 1991: 66ff.) a certain lady named Ulmi asks for help from "the queen of Ugarit, my daughter" because her own house had burnt down. Since the gods of Ugarit and of Amurru are invoked, Ulmi could well be the queen of Amurru. If the appellation "my mother" is taken in a literal sense,³⁴ Ulmi could only be DU-Tešub's wife, Aḥat-Milku's mother.³⁵

176). In the Bentešina–Hattušili treaty DU-Tešub is referred to as SUM-Tešub, the Hurrian reading of which is Ar(i)-Tešub (Laroche 1966; 1976–1977: 52).

33. What we actually see on the tablet, however, is the unepigraphic dynastic seal of Amurru (*Ugaritica* III, figs. 45–47).

34. See, however, Zaccagnini 1973: 158ff. for the various possible circumstances for terminology involving differences of rank. See also below.

35. The other queen of Amurru who had a daughter in Ugarit was Gaššuliyawiya. It is not clear to me why RS 16.111 is listed by Klengel (1969: 223) among the texts dated to Šaušgamuwa. Elsewhere (243 n. 134; 376) he raises the possibility that Ulmi is Aḥat-Milku's mother. RS 8.315 (= UT 95) could be a letter sent to her by her daughter Aḥat-Milku (see n. 80 below).

A similar text, but with more problematical dating, is RS 17.152 (= *PRU* IV: 214; Izre'el 1991: 75ff.) and its companion letter OA 23 (Fales 1984; Izre'el 1991: 77–78). The former is a request sent by an (unnamed) king of Amurru to his “son,” an (unnamed) king of Ugarit. The latter is an identical request from the governor (*šaknu/šākinu*) of Amurru to his “son,” the governor of Ugarit. The request in both letters is that the chief merchant of Ugarit (LÚ.GAL DAM. GÀR) be instructed to sell to a certain Addarya, probably a merchant or a messenger from Amurru, as much *parrišhi/parrušha*³⁶ as he has at his disposal. If the “father–son” formulation is taken at face value, the sender of RS 17.152 could be either DU-Tešub writing to his son(in-law) Niqmepa, or Bentešina writing to his son(-in-law) Ammištamru. However, it is peculiar that the same appellation is repeated in OA 23, the governor’s letter. Should we assume that the rank gradation between the monarchs was symmetrically transferred to the respective governors as well?

If indeed the choice is reduced, as indicated above, to DU-Tešub or Bentešina, the language of the letters may be of some help. Sh. Izre'el (1991: vol. I. §6.3) places these letters, as well as the Ulmi letter and the Abušga letter (see below), to the period preceding Bentešina. All four epistles lack the “Assyrianisms” characteristic of the correspondence of Bentešina and Šaušgamuwa. All in all, dating these letters to the reign of DU-Tešub would seem to agree with both the linguistic analysis and the historical circumstances of the amicable relations between the two courts after the royal marriage between Aḫat-Milku and Niqmepa.

A fourth letter, which may perhaps be included in this group is RS 15.24+50 (= *PRU* III: 18; Izre'el 1991: 64ff.) sent by a certain Abušg[a] to the governor (LÚ.MAŠKIM³⁷) [of Ugarit?], his “brother.” This courtesy letter simply contains a declaration of mutual assistance in the future with no special requests at present.³⁸ Abušg[a] evokes “the gods of Amurru, of Ugarit and of the king, your lord.” Abušg[a] could thus be a governor (MAŠKIM) of Amurru. He cannot be

36. The identification of this commodity remains unclear. Nougayrol (*PRU* IV: 214 n. 2) indicates two options, of which the precious stone *parašhi* seems the more likely; perhaps it is identical with *marḫušu*, a precious stone also found in the “trousseau” of Aḫat-Milku. For the identification of the mineral (a kind of quartz) see Polvani 1988: 69ff. (with further literature).

According to another letter (RS 34.135; see *Ugaritica* VII, pl. XVII) the king of Amurru was interested in procuring from Ugarit a building stone (^{NA}*algaššī*).

37. For the equivalence of the terms *šaknu* and MAŠKIM in Ugarit see Singer 1983: 15 (with previous bibliography).

38. Astour (1965: 256) suggested that RS 18.75 (= *PRU* V, no. 65), an Ugaritic letter with a similar statement of cooperation between two unidentified correspondents, could also belong to the correspondence between Amurru and Ugarit. The tablet was found in the oven and thus belongs to the last years of Ugarit. There is nothing to support the attribution of this letter to the correspondence between Ugarit and Amurru, which was invariably conducted in Akkadian (see also Dupont 1987: 219ff.).

identical with the sender of OA 23 who addresses his correspondent in Ugarit as “my son.” There are no clues for the dating of this document except for its language which is close to that of the previously discussed epistles (Izre’el, 1991: vol. I, §6.3).

DUPPI-TEŠUB (CA. 1312–1290/1280)

Duppi-Tešub’s reign runs parallel to that of Muṣšili II. There are two clues that help establish the time of his ascent to the throne, but they seem to contradict each other.

According to Duppi-Tešub’s treaty with Muṣšili, Aziru was still alive when a second revolt broke out in Nuḥašše and Kinza (CTH 62 II B obv. 13ff.). The aging Aziru was no longer able to go to the battlefield to help the Hittites and sent his son DU-Tešub in his stead. This revolt of the Syrian states is usually dated to Muṣšili’s seventh year, coinciding with some sort of Egyptian intervention in Syria (Klengel 1963: 54–55; 1969: 169). If so, Aziru must have died around Muṣšili’s eighth year (1969: 293). Allowing a year or two for DU-Tešub’s reign, Duppi-Tešub would thus have ascended the throne in Muṣšili’s ninth year (1969: 302).

A somewhat earlier date seems to be indicated by a fragmentary letter of Bentešina to Ḫattušili (KBo VIII 16 rev. 2’–4’ = Bo 141m; Izre’el, 1991: 103–4; Hagenbuchner 1989b: 370–71): “As the king wrote thus: ‘When your father came to the Land of Arzawa [and your father established] relations(?)³⁹ with His Majesty in the camp (KARAŠ)’.” The agreement referred to could only be the signing of a treaty between Duppi-Tešub and Muṣšili.⁴⁰ This would date Duppi-Tešub’s ascent to Muṣšili’s third or fourth year, when he is known to have campaigned in Arzawa. To avoid this conclusion one has to assume that Duppi-Tešub was sent to meet Muṣšili in Arzawa on a mission of his still reigning father, DU-Tešub. But then what sort of agreement does the letter refer to? Perhaps the (unknown) treaty of DU-Tešub himself? It would seem that one of the two clues for dating Duppi-Tešub’s ascent is misleading.

According to his treaty, Duppi-Tešub was a sick man when he ascended the throne, but was nevertheless acknowledged by Muṣšili out of respect for his father’s explicit wish.⁴¹ He faithfully continued his grandfather’s and his father’s

39. For *ṭēma epešu* in Boghazköy see AHw: 1387; CAD E 223b: “to establish (diplomatic) relations.”

40. “His Majesty” (DINGIR.UTU³⁵) is a general title for any Hittite monarch, in this case Ḫattušili’s father. There is no need to restore an *abi* before it (Hagenbuchner 1989b: 372).

41. Duppi-Tešub must have been a determined person to go all the way to Arzawa to meet Muṣšili (see above) despite his illness.

policy of actively supporting the Hittites in crushing the recurrent rebellions in Nuḫašše and Kinza.

A significant portion of Duppi-Tešub's treaty with Muršili (CTH 62; one Akkadian and four Hittite duplicates; Del Monte 1986: 156ff.) is dedicated to the way Amurru should deal with fugitives and deportees from neighboring lands, a subject which is also dealt with in detail in a ruling of Muršili (CTH 63; Klengel 1963). Amurru's topography and position on the border between two empires made it an ideal asylum for all kinds of discontented population elements fleeing from the imperial authorities, a tradition that goes back to the days of Idrimi's exile in Ammiya in the region of Tripoli (see Klengel 1970: 14). Duppi-Tešub is warned not to "turn their eyes (i.e., direct them) towards the mountains," a most appropriate definition for this important social phenomenon. It is of interest to observe how the kingdom of Amurru, which was born from the consolidation of marginal population elements remained throughout its history a sought-for location for similar groups.

In the Duppi-Tešub treaty we have the first allusions to resurgent Egyptian enmity, which may plausibly be associated with the fragmentary references to Egypt in the seventh and ninth years of Muršili's annals. The king of Amurru is explicitly warned not to act as his forefathers who sent their tribute to Egypt. Muršili indeed read the "writing on the wall" and foresaw the possible desertion of Amurru to Egypt. However, when the moment arrived, the oath of allegiance witnessed by the gods of Hatti and Amurru did not prove a sufficient deterrent and Amurru was forced to take the side of the Egyptians.

BENTEŠINA (CA. 1290/1280–1235 B.C.E.) AND ŠAPILI (1275–1264 B.C.E.)

With the possible exception of Aziru, Bentešina⁴² is no doubt the best-documented king of Amurru. In addition to the Akkadian (only) version of his treaty with Ḫattušili (CTH 92), he is mentioned in about a dozen other documents from Ḫattuša and Ugarit (see Klengel 1969: 212ff.). We also have several fragmentary letters of his correspondence with the court of Hatti (Izre'el, 1991: 100–108; Hagenbuchner 1989a: 173–74; 1989b: 370–82) and probably one letter from Ugarit (RS 19.06 = *PRU* VI: 2; but cf. Izre'el, 1991: vol. I. p. 23).

Bentešina ascended the throne of his father Duppi-Tešub either during the reign of Muwatalli or perhaps even before the end of Muršili's reign. No treaty of his with these kings has turned up, which may perhaps be explained by the

42. The etymological form of the name should probably be *P/Wandi-šeni*, composed of Hurrian *wandi*, "right" (Laroche 1976–1977: 293) and *šeni*, "brother" (225). In Ugaritic the name is spelled *Pndqn* (Grondahl 1967: 405); in Boghazköy *Be-en-te-ši-na*, with the rare spelling *Ba-an-ti-ip-še-i-in-ni* in Ḫattušili's letter to Kadašman-Enlil. Here the traditional spelling from Boghazköy is kept for convenience.

short interval between his coronation and his desertion to the Egyptians (Klengel 1969: 307). When this important event in Amurru's history occurred is difficult to establish. The clearest Egyptian intervention in Amurru was shortly before the battle of Qadeš. In his fourth year (1276 B.C.E.) Ramses II led a preparatory campaign along the Phoenician coast and left an inscription at Nahr el-Kalb, north of Beirut. It is reasonable to connect Bentešina's desertion to the effects of this Egyptian move (Klengel 1969: 308).

On the other hand, there is enough evidence to suggest that an Egyptian occupation of Amurru already occurred in the wake of Seti I's northern campaigns (for recent evaluations see Spalinger 1979; Murnane 1985: 80ff.). His battle descriptions from Karnak mention an attack on the Land of Qadeš and on the Land of Amurru (Helck 1971: 287; Spalinger 1979: 34). Incidentally, this is the earliest mention of Amurru (*Imr*) in an Egyptian document. These claims seem to be supported by Seti's victory stela from Tell Nebi Mend and by his topographical lists, which include several localities in Amurru—Ullasa, Šumur, and Tunip (Helck 1971: 193; Spalinger 1979: 32–33). There are no serious grounds to doubt the historicity of this Syrian campaign of Seti I, which accords with the traditional Egyptian strategy of first occupying the coast and then penetrating to inner Syria. The more difficult question is whether the Egyptians maintained their control over Amurru for more than a decade between the campaigns of Seti I and Ramses II. Otherwise we would have to assume two successive occupations by the two Pharaohs. The Hittite texts give no evidence for two desertions of Amurru, but these accounts are generally quite laconic. The event, however, is clearly placed within the reign of Bentešina, and not in that of his father. Unless the retrospective Hittite accounts are wrong on this point, a lengthy Egyptian occupation would be an indication of a rather long reign of Bentešina, of more than half a century.⁴³ Considering the longevity of his great-grandfather Aziru, this is by no means impossible. The beginning of Bentešina's reign remains to be determined.

Bentešina's desertion is dealt with in the Hittite sources in rather mild terms. This, of course, is hardly surprising, since we only have the accounts of Ḫattušili III, Bentešina's benefactor, and of Tuthaliya IV, his brother-in-law. Had there been any reports from Muwatalli⁴⁴ or Urḫi-Tešub on this issue, they would

43. From Seti's Syrian campaigns (ca. 1290 B.C.E.) until sometime within the reign of Tuthaliya IV. Bentešina appears as king of Amurru in the Bronze Tablet, which may be dated to ca. 1240 B.C.E. (see Otten 1988: 8 n. 23; van den Hout 1989: 114).

44. It has been suggested that KUB III 56, a fragmentary letter from a Hittite king, contains a warning to Bentešina not to give in to the Egyptians (Hagenbuchner 1989a: 174; 1989b: 379ff.; see especially II. 5'–8'). However, the text mentions a certain Šaušgamuwa who brought presents to the king of Hatti. Bentešina could hardly have had a grown son before the battle of Qadeš. Unless some other Šaušgamuwa is meant, which is most unlikely, this letter should rather be related to Bentešina's correspondence with Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa.

surely be much harsher. In the Šaušgamuwa treaty Bentešina is not even held responsible for his betrayal. It is rather the “Men of Amurru” who sent the letter of defection to the king of Hatti. Were this a more “objective” source, one might even raise the possibility of inner strife in Amurru, with a pro-Egyptian party pressuring Bentešina into surrender to the approaching Egyptians. There is no need, however, to search very far for extenuating circumstances for Bentešina’s desertion. Confronted with a formidable Egyptian buildup on the threshold of his kingdom, and with no Hittite assistance in sight,⁴⁵ Bentešina had little choice but to surrender. In doing so he was only following in the footsteps of his ancestors who always knew how to adjust their policy to reality.

A Hittite vow dealing with Amurru (KBo IX 96; see Klengel 1969: 213) should probably be dated before the decisive encounter between the imperial armies. The suppliant must be Muwatalli, who vows gifts to various deities⁴⁶ if he succeeds in defeating Amurru.

Amurru, however, remained in Egyptian hands and its territory served as a vital bridgehead for the elite troops of the *Nʿrn* who eventually saved Ramses from total disaster.⁴⁷ Whether Amurrite troops participated on the side of the Egyptians is not known, but the name of Amurru does not appear in the long list of Hittite allies.

The outcome of the battle is well known. The attempt of Ramses to regain the age-old Egyptian grip on Amurru failed utterly, despite some early successes. Amurru returned to the Hittite fold and remained there until the very end.

According to Egyptian sources, it seems that Ramses made some further attempts to regain a foothold in central Syria and conducted campaigns to Tunip and *Dpr* in the Land of Amurru (Helck 1971: 208ff.; Kitchen 1982: 68ff.). There is no supportive Hittite evidence for these claims,⁴⁸ but this may be due to the turbulent events in Hatti following the death of Muwatalli. In any case, even if this evidence is accepted, these Egyptian moves could not have had any lasting effect. Perhaps of more avail were the Egyptian efforts to regain some foothold in the naval base of Šumur. This may be indicated by the fact that in the Satiri-

Another fragment which may perhaps be related to Bentešina’s activities at the time of the Battle of Qadeš is KUB XXI 39 (see Cornil and Lebrun 1975–1976: 85–86). The fragmentary letter mentions besides Bentešina, the king of Egypt, the land of Zula[bi] and the land of Ni[ya].

45. The “General’s Letter” from Ugarit, which was thought to provide some evidence for a Hittite defensive line in Amurru (see, e.g., Klengel 1969: 213), is now firmly dated to the Amarna Age (Izre’el and Singer 1990; see also Izre’el 1991: vol. I, §6.1).

46. Including a deity of the town Irqata (in Amurru). See further below on the Pantheon of Amurru.

47. Cf., however, Schulman 1981: 14ff., who maintains that the *Nʿrn* troops were stationed on the west bank of the Orontes. For the stationing of these troops see also Zuhdi 1978; Stieglitz 1991: 47.

48. Unless we relate here the fragment KBo XXVIII 57, which mentions Bentešina, Aziru, and Tunip (spelled with both Du and Tu₄, the latter recalling Amarna). Could this be a letter exchanged between the Hittite court and Ramses discussing the fate of Tunip?

cal Letter in Papyrus Anastasi I, the city is called *Šumur of Ssy*, i.e., Ramses II (cf., however, Klengel 1969: 319 n. 13). If indeed the Egyptians did regain some influence in coastal Amurru, this achievement may have been a goodwill concession awarded by *Ḫattušili* to his valuable ally.

After the Hittite victory Muwatalli deposed the treacherous king of Amurru, he crowned in his stead a certain *Šapili* of whom we know nothing.⁴⁹ The event is reported both in the *Šaušgamuwa* treaty and in the parallel texts KUB XXI 33 and HT 7 (see n. 50 below). *Bentešina* was taken as a prisoner to Hatti, but he soon became the protégé of the king's brother, *Ḫattušili*. The treaty between the two (CTH 92) provides the details of *Bentešina*'s further destiny. *Ḫattušili* asked his brother to place the deposed king of Amurru under his aegis, then took him to *Hakpiš*, the capital of his northern sub-kingdom, and gave him a house(hold). In short, as the text concludes, "*Bentešina* did not have a bad life." What was the purpose of *Ḫattušili*'s warm treatment of the Syrian deserter? At this stage did he already foresee his own usurpation of the throne and the ensuing reinstatement of *Bentešina* in Amurru? Was he simply motivated by personal friendship? We shall probably never know. In any case, his comfortable exile in Hatti must have had a considerable impact on *Bentešina*, not only on his "political re-education," but also on his cultural disposition. Indeed, from this period on, Amurru came under strong Hittite influence, far more than its more northerly neighbor Ugarit (see below in the section on culture).

As soon as *Ḫattušili* seized the throne in Hatti he reinstated *Bentešina* in Amurru.⁵⁰ The close ties between the ambitious statesmen, both of whom (re-)assumed power in unusual circumstances, were further strengthened by a double marriage: a son of *Ḫattušili*, *Nerikkaili*, married an (unnamed) daughter of *Bentešina*, and his daughter *Gaššuliyawiya* was given to *Bentešina* himself. Naturally, she was to become the first lady of Amurru, whose descendants would assume the throne after *Bentešina*'s death. The vassal treaty between *Ḫattušili* and *Bentešina* (CTH 92) is characterized by an exceptionally familial character. *Bentešina*'s Egyptian "affair" is skipped over, just as is *Urḫi-Tešub*'s short reign in Hatti. Moreover, *Bentešina* was given the privilege of formulating a stipulation of his own, in which he guaranteed his and his offspring's legitimate right to the throne of Amurru.

The highly privileged status enjoyed by the royal house of Amurru after the restoration of *Bentešina* is clearly demonstrated by the witness list in the treaty

49. For the name see below in the section on name giving.

50. In KUB XXI 33 the name of the king who reinstated *Bentešina* is missing. The interpretation of this intriguing text (and the parallel text HT 7) cannot be discussed here (see Houwink ten Cate 1974: 127ff., with earlier literature). Some scholars have suggested that the overall understanding of the text would favor the restoration of the name *Muršili* (III), i.e. *Urḫi-Tešub*. Although this possibility cannot be ruled out, the restoration *Ḫattušili*, in conformity with the report or the *Šaušgamuwa* treaty, seems to me more likely.

between Tuthaliya and Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša inscribed on the Bronze Tablet from Boghazköy (Otten 1988: 26ff.). In this important state ceremony, for which the creme of the imperial administration assembled, Bentešina is the only Syrian ruler.⁵¹ Moreover, his son Šaušgamuwa is also present, already bearing the title “the king’s brother-in-law” (see further below).

A further corollary of Bentešina’s intimate ties with Hatti is his correspondence with his in-laws at the Hittite court (see Hagenbuchner 1989a: 173–74; 1989b: 370–82; Izre’el, 1991: 100–108). Like the correspondence from Egypt, the letters from Amurru (written in Akkadian) were probably also “double-tracked”—a copy to Ḫattušili and a copy to Puduḫepa. Unfortunately, with few exceptions, the state of preservation of Bentešina’s correspondence with Hatti (about eight to ten fragments) does not facilitate a clear picture on the subjects discussed (but see Izre’el 1991: 162–63 on KBo VIII 16). It seems that one recurring subject is the diplomatic traffic between the courts of Hatti and Egypt passing through the territory of Amurru.

After the signing of the Peace Treaty (1258 B.C.E.), the scope of the diplomatic and trade contacts between the two empires expanded considerably, and the territory of Amurru became a hub of this busy traffic.⁵² It seems that Bentešina was asked to report to Hatti about the arrival and departure of such diplomatic missions (see, e.g., KBo VIII 16 obv. 6ff. (= Bo 141m, Izre’el 1991: 103–4); KBo XXVIII 54 obv. 4ff.).⁵³ Perhaps in some cases he even assumed the role of a middleman, transferring mail to Egypt through his own messengers.⁵⁴ From Amurru one of the routes continued northwards to Ugarit, and from there to Hatti or to Kargamiš.⁵⁵

The royal marriage between Ramses II and the Hittite princess (1245 B.C.E.) brought the cordiality between the two great powers to a new highpoint, and again the Land of Amurru played a central role. In a letter to Ramses, Puduḫepa announced that she would personally accompany her daughter to Amurru (KUB XXI 38 rev. 1ff.; Helck 1963: 92–93). The large retinue of the princess, including her dowry of livestock, were received by Ramses’ emissaries at Aya, an otherwise

51. Except of course, the viceroy of Kargamiš; from Anatolia the rulers of Išuwa, Mira, and the Šeḫa River Land were present. It is noteworthy that in the treaty with Ulmi-Tešub the king of Amurru is not mentioned.

52. Another important meeting point of Egyptian and Hittite messengers was Megiddo in northern Palestine (Singer 1988a).

53. One of the best known “shuttle diplomats” who frequented Amurru was Piḫšadu/Pikašta/Piḫaddu (all variants of the same name). See Singer 1983: 17.

54. The king of Amurru is most probably the addressee of the “docket” KUB XXVI 90 in which he is instructed to inform the king of Hatti about any matters concerning Egypt that might come to his attention and to forward a letter addressed to the king of Egypt (see Cornil and Lebrun 1975–1976: 88–89).

55. This is indicated by RS 19.06 (= *PRU* VI. no. 1), a “lettre de politesse” from Bentešina to the king, his lord. The latter must be the king of Hatti or the viceroy of Kargamiš. See further Singer 1990: 173 (but cf. Izre’el, 1991: vol. I, p. 23).

unknown bordertown between the two empires (KUB III 37 obv. 23; Edel 1953: 41).

The golden age of the Pax Hethitica must have brought an unprecedented prosperity to Bentešina's kingdom. Due to its privileged geographical situation on the crossroad of the coastal route and the main artery leading to inland Syria, Amurru became the hub of a lucrative trade not only between North and South, but also between East and West, i.e., between Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean. Ironically, we learn about the benefits of this international trade from two negative incidents.

In the long letter of Ḫattušili to Kadašman-Enlil II of Babylon (KBo I 10 + KUB III 72) an embarrassing incident of murder is recounted at length: some Babylonian merchants were killed in the lands of Amurru and Ugarit. The king of Babylon complained that Bentešina (Bantipšenni) had not only refused to consider his complaint but had also cursed him. The king of Hatti assumed responsibility for the deeds of his vassal, but when he looked into the matter, he was told by Bentešina that the "Men of Akkad" (i.e., the Babylonians) owed him three talents of silver. This considerable sum was perhaps paid to Bentešina as a toll for the free passage of the merchants in Amurrite territory. Ḫattušili concluded the matter by a promise to convene an international court where the representatives of both sides would be able to put their case.

At the other end of the latitudinal route traversing the Middle East were the ports of Amurru and Ugarit and the Mediterranean trade centers beyond. In a famous passage from the Šaušgamuwa treaty, the king of Amurru is required to prevent the ships of [Ah]ḫiyawa⁵⁶ from unloading merchandise destined for Aššur. By the time of Tuḫaliya the Assyrians had become a feared enemy, but in earlier times the ports of Amurru must have profited greatly from this prosperous trade between East and West.

One could perhaps anticipate that the prosperity brought by this international trade would arouse rivalry between Amurru and its wealthier northern neighbor. It seems, however, that the *entente cordiale* between the Levantine kingdoms endured and even became stronger. In the spirit of the accord signed between Aziru and Niqmaddu, Amurru kept its status as the protector of its mercantile ally. When Ugarit faced certain problems with the Umman-manda warriors (see Liverani 1962: 121ff.; Klengel 1962: 460ff. n. 3) Bentešina served as the mediator and led the parties to an agreement which was later ratified by Šaušgamuwa (RS 17.286 = PRU IV: 180; see Izre'el 1991: 81ff.).

The cordial relations culminated, as usual, in a royal marriage: Ammištamru II of Ugarit took an (unnamed) daughter of Bentešina. But alas, this marriage,

56. The restoration of "battle-ships" ([*lah*]ḫiyawaš GIŠ.MÁ) instead of "[Ah]ḫiyawan ships" recently suggested by Steiner (1989), is, in my view, most unlikely.

which should have perpetuated the peace and brotherhood between Amurru and Ugarit, turned sour, and the ensuing scandal threatened to undermine the traditional friendship between the two courts. The unpleasant task of appeasing the enraged husband was left to Šaušgamuwa, the brother of the ill-fated princess.

ŠAUŠGAMUWA (CA. 1235–1200?) AND THE FALL OF AMURRU

Šaušgamuwa ascended the throne during the reign of Tuḫaliya IV, sometime in the forties of the thirteenth century. In his vassal treaty the Assyrians already appear as fierce enemies, and this atmosphere would best fit either the beginning of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign (1234 B.C.E.) or the very end of Shalmaneser's. Assuming that he was the son of Gaššuliyawiya (Klengel 1969: 313), the first lady of Amurru, and that he was born shortly after her marriage with Bentešina, Šaušgamuwa must already have been in his thirties at the time of his coronation.

According to his treaty (CTH 103; Kühne and Otten 1971), Tuḫaliya took him by the hand and gave him his sister in marriage. Since in the Bronze Tablet (Otten 1988) Šaušgamuwa is called "the king's brother-in-law" (*HADAN LUGAL*) he must have married the Hittite princess before he became king.⁵⁷

Šaušgamuwa's marriage with Tuḫaliya's sister, the third intermarriage between the courts of Hatti and Amurru, served no doubt to reinforce the absolute loyalty of the Amurrite court to the ruling dynasty at Ḫattuša. By this time the rivalry with the other branch of Hittite royalty, the descendants of Muwatalli in Tarḫuntašša, had become a real menace to Ḫattuša (see Otten 1988: 3ff.), and Tuḫaliya was eager to guarantee the "correct" orientation of the important vassal kingdom. This may explain the unusually outspoken manner in which Tuḫaliya sought to indoctrinate the Amurrite king by citing the precedent of Mašturi. This king of the Šeḫa River Land married a sister of Muwatalli, but when civil war broke out in Hatti he (wisely) stood at Ḫattušili's side and betrayed the legitimate heir of his benefactor. Tuḫaliya warns Šaušgamuwa not to act like Mašturi.⁵⁸ In other words, he implicitly admits the illegitimacy of his father's and of his own rule!

57. It is surprising that the name of the princess is nowhere stated. Perhaps her name appears on the side of Šaušgamuwa's fragmentary hieroglyphic seal impression on RS 17.372 (*Ugaritica* III: figs. 41–42). Only the first sign of the name is preserved, in all probability *Mal-* (for the reading of the sign see Laroche, *Ugaritica* III: 100). The adjacent sign KING should be restored accordingly to PRINCESS (KING + DAUGHTER), parallel to Šaušgamuwa's title PRINCE. This princess must have been a (much) younger sister of Gaššuliyawiya. This created the unusual situation that Šaušgamuwa's mother and wife were apparently sisters (see Kühne 1973: 182 n. 68!).

58. Of course, Mašturi himself was never punished by Tuḫaliya for his treachery and he appears in the prestigious list in the Bronze Tablet.

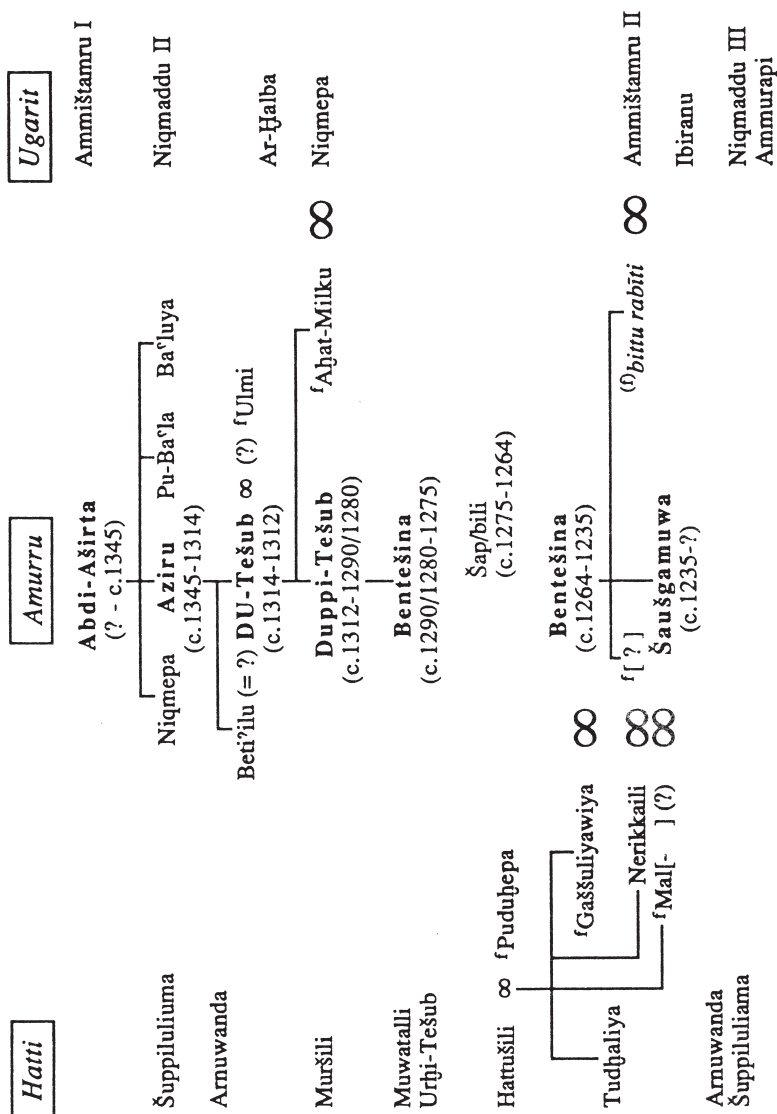
Šaušgamuwa's treaty duly reflects the rapidly deteriorating political situation of Hatti. Gone were the prosperous days of the *Pax Hethitica*, and the dark clouds of war with Aššur were gathering. Whereas the other great powers of his age, Egypt, Babylon⁵⁹ (and Ahḫiyawa⁶⁰), are still considered as either friends or foes, Aššur is the enemy of Hatti. Merchants of Amurru should no longer trade with Assyria, and Assyrian merchants should not be allowed to traverse Amurrite territory. The embargo is also extended to maritime trade with [Ahḫ]iyawa (see n. 56 above). The troops of Amurru should be put unhesitatingly at the disposal of Hatti in case of a military confrontation.

The unavoidable clash between Hatti and Aššur occurred probably in the first year(s) of Tukulti-Ninurta (1234 B.C.E.; see Singer 1985b). It broke out in the mountainous region of the upper Tigris, far away from Amurru. It is quite unlikely that troops from Amurru (not to mention Ugarit) participated in this battle in which Tuthaliya was deserted by his closest ally (probably Išuwa).

The sour defeat of Tuthaliya presented the Assyrians with a golden opportunity to realize their age-old dream of reaching the Mediterranean. Indeed some have imagined a large-scale Assyrian offensive to the Levantine coast which brought to an end the dynasty of Aziru (Forrer 1932: 273; Helck 1971: 223 n. 80). The evidence for such a campaign, however, is far from convincing. A Middle Assyrian legal document dating to the very beginning of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign (see Harrak 1987: 240) contains a list of livestock and personnel that were brought to Aššur, including fifteen blind men from the Land of Amurru (KAJ 180, I. 14; Weidner 1959–1960: 36; Klengel 1969: 227). As suspected by Klengel (ib.), Amurru is most probably already used here in the general sense in which it appears a century later in the texts of Tiglath-Pileser I, i.e., as referring to all of Syria (see further Singer 1991). In any case, fifteen blind men (LÚMEŠIGI.NU.DU₈MEŠ) from Amurru (whatever the meaning of this strange transfer may be) hardly make a case for a full-fledged Assyrian offensive and conquest of the kingdom of Amurru. From all that we know from other sources, Tukulti-Ninurta's pursuits west of the Euphrates were limited to northern Syria, in the region designated by him as Hatti (see Singer 1985b: 103 n. 20 for bibliography; see also Harrak 1987: 240–41). Tukulti-Ninurta did not take full advantage of his early victories over the Hittites, and in the later part of his reign he concentrated upon internal matters in Assyria.

59. The mention of Babylon as an independent power dates the treaty before its conquest by Tukulti-Ninurta.

60. On the famous erasure of Ahḫiyawa from the list see the literature cited in Steiner 1989. To my mind, the Mycenaean power was erased because of its distance from the theater of events and the improbability of its direct involvement in the political and military developments in Syria.



The Dynasty of Abdi-Aširta
and the Royal Marriages with Hatti and Ugarit

In all probability Amurru continued to exist after the Assyrian raids in Syria, and its end must be associated, like that of Ugarit, with the invasion of the Sea Peoples.

In the early part of his reign Šaušgamuwa was preoccupied with the scandalous divorce case of his sister who was married to the king of Ugarit. The large “dossier” revolving round this matter contains one Ugaritic (RS 34.124; see Pardee 1977; Brooke 1979) and about a dozen Akkadian documents (for a list of references see Kühne 1973). Much has been written on this notorious affair, perhaps the best-documented matrimonial scandal in early antiquity (for more recent discussions see Fisher 1971: 11–19; Nougayrol 1972; Rainey 1973: 57ff.; Kühne 1973; van Soldt 1983; Dupont 1987: 92ff.). For quite some time the very identity of the drama’s personae was obscured by the ambiguity of the designations found in the texts. A tablet from the Claremont collection (RS 1957.1) was most useful in disentangling the complicated issue. It proved beyond any doubt that there was only one Amurrite princess married to Ammištamru (see already Schaeffer in *Ugaritica* V:31–32), rather than two as had previously been thought. What was considered to be her name, Pidda, turned out to be nothing more than the West Semitic word *bitta/bitti*, “daughter” (first recognized by Nougayrol 1972: 89).

The issue may be very briefly summarized as follows: An Amurrite princess, the daughter of Bentešina and Gaššuliyawiya, was given in marriage to Ammištamru II of Ugarit. Her name is never mentioned in the extant documents (but cf. van Soldt 1987: 71). She is referred to alternatively as “the daughter of Bentešina,” “the daughter of the king of Amurru,” “the sister of Šaušgamuwa,” or as “the daughter of the great lady” (*bittu rabīti*). The latter title refers no doubt to her being the daughter of the great lady of Amurru, the Hittite princess Gaššuliyawiya. The unnamed princess committed a “great sin” in Ugarit, the exact nature of which is not clear (adultery is the usual assumption, but see Rainey 1973: 58ff.; Kühne 1973: 183ff.). The marriage was dissolved and the princess returned to her homeland with her original dowry. Later, however, the angry husband demanded her extradition, and after lengthy negotiations and the arbitrations of the highest authorities in Kargamiš and Hatti (Ini-Tešub and Tuḥaliya), she was eventually put at the mercy of Ammištamru in return for 1400 shekels of gold. The sacrifice of the unfortunate princess was a “cheap” price for the restoration of peace and order in the Hittite commonwealth of Syria, a price that her brother Šaušgamuwa and her uncle Tuḥaliya were ready to pay. The fate of the children born from this hapless marriage adds further “color” to the melodrama. The crown prince Utri-Šarruma, in whose veins ran the mixed blue blood of the Hittite, the Amurrite and the Ugaritic royal houses, was given the difficult choice between the future crown of Ugarit if he stayed with his father and the loss of all his rights if he followed his doomed mother. It would

seem that he heroically chose the latter option, since someone else (Ibiranu) became the next king of Ugarit.

The cordial relations between Ugarit and Amurru were fully restored. Šaušgamuwa ratified an accord between Ugarit and the Umman-manda warriors, which had been negotiated by his father Bentešina (RS 17.286 = *PRU* IV: 180; see Izre'el 1991: 171).

The last years of Amurru are very meagerly documented. In fact, the only relevant document that may be dated with any probability to this period is the letter of Paršu (RS 20.162 = *Ugaritica* V, no. 37; see Izre'el 1991: 98ff.). It comes from the archive of Rap'anu, which contains primarily documents from the last period of Ugarit (see van Soldt 1986: 1: 182ff.; Izre'el and Singer 1990: 9–11). Paršu writes to the king of Ugarit reminding him of his commitment to send to Amurru information about the (unnamed) enemies. The king of Ugarit apparently did not keep to his promise, despite the fact that, as put by Paršu, “the lands of Amurru and the lands of Ugarit are one.” Nevertheless, an (unspecified) number of ships were put at the disposal of the king of Ugarit.

The letter of Paršu has the character of the last correspondence of Ugarit, which deals with the menace of the approaching seaborne enemy, the Sea Peoples (see Astour 1965). Ugarit, which was closer to the scene of the momentous events, was requested by her southern ally to share vital information on the elusive enemy. In return, Amurru sent her ships, perhaps to replace the navy of Ugarit, which had sailed to distant Lukka (*Ugaritica* V: no. 24).

If correctly interpreted, this seems to be the only direct reference to Amurru's involvement in the dramatic events marking the end of the Hittite Empire. This paucity of records, in contrast with the relative abundance of data from Ugarit, does not indicate, to my mind, that Amurru fell before Ugarit. It rather reflects the gradual disruption of the communication systems between the members of the empire. Since Amurru has not (yet) produced any independent sources of its own, we have no information on its last years.

The same argument is relevant to the fact that Šaušgamuwa is the last-known king of the Aziru dynasty, whereas in Hatti we have one and in Ugarit two further generations of kings. Šaušgamuwa was younger than his contemporaries, Tuṭḫaliya and Ammištamru, and he could easily have lived until the end of the thirteenth century.”⁶¹ To be sure, there may have been more king(s) in Amurru [cf. below pp. 287–91] about whom we have no knowledge (for *Zkrb'l* see below). In short, until some fresh evidence turns up, perhaps from one of its sites, the last period of Amurru remains shrouded in the mist.

61. Even if he was born immediately after his father's marriage with Gaššuliyawiya he would still have been in his sixties in 1200 B.C.E.

AMURRU IN THE IRON AGE

The next information we have on Amurru is already after the fall of the kingdom. According to Ramses III's inscriptions from Medinet Habu, the Sea Peoples set up their camp in Amurru, in preparation for a further onslaught on Egypt (Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 53). The broad 'Akkar Plain was an ideal assembly point for the troops and the chariots of the Sea Peoples, and the flat coastline an easy landing place for their swift ships.⁶² "The ensuing clash in Ramses III's eighth year (1175 B.C.E.) provides a *terminus ante quem* for the fall of Amurru, but it is not possible to tell how much earlier this event actually occurred. Neither do we know whether there was a permanent settlement of the Sea Peoples in Amurru as in other parts of the Levantine coast.⁶³

An intriguing object dated to the Early Iron Age is the arrowhead of "Zakarba'al king of Amurru" (*hš zkrb' l mlk 'mr*; Starcky 1982). On the evidence of its script Starcky dated the object (of unknown origin) to the eleventh century. The name of the king recurs on another arrowhead from the Beqa' Valley, and in the Wen-Amon tale as the name of the ruler of Byblos. Assuming that the object is authentic (cf. the doubts raised by Mazza 1987), the name proves that the rulers of the Amurru region again took up Semitic names after a century and a half of "Hittite-Hurrian" names (see below on name-giving). It is of course impossible to tell where this mysterious king of Amurru had his court. By this time the name Amurru had already returned to its original geographical connotation, as referring to an extensive region of Syria.

During his campaign to the Mediterranean around 1100 B.C.E., Tiglath-Pileser I conquered the entire Land of Amurru and received the tribute of Byblos, Sidon, and Arwad (Weidner 1957–1958). From Arwad he sailed to Šamuru (Šumur) in the Land of Amurru, a distance of three *bēru* (see Klengel 1984: 13 n. 35). The orbit of Amurru comprised not only the Phoenician coast, but also Tadmor (Palmyra) in the Syrian desert.

Although the term Amurru acquired a constantly expanding connotation in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian sources (for a survey see Dhorme 1951: 152ff.),⁶⁴ it is interesting to observe the survival of the territorial nucleus of

62. For a good description of the terrain of the sea and land battles see Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* V: 678ff. For arguments against locating the sea battle in the eastern Nile delta see Singer 1985a: 109 n. 1.

63. It is worth noting in this context a few late Mycenaean sherds that are portrayed in the preliminary publication of Tell Kazel (Dunand, Bounni, and Saliby 1964: pl. XIV). Perhaps the situation here will turn out to be similar to that in other sites along the Phoenician coast, such as Ras Ibn Hani, Tell Sukas, Byblos, Beirut, and Sarepta (see Hankey 1982).

64. For the biblical uses of the term Amurru see Liverani 1973: 123ff. It is noteworthy that the border description in Josh 13: 4–5 preserves the memory of the situation in the Late Bronze Age, fixing the border between the lands of Byblos and Amurru at Aphék/Afqa. On the other hand, in the Table of Nations in Gen 10 the region of Amurru is represented by two of its main cities—the Arkites (Irqata) and the Šemarites (Šumur).

“little Amurru” many centuries after the fall of the Abdi-Aširta’s dynasty. When Tiglath-Pileser III consolidated the Assyrian grip on western Asia, one of the district capitals was located at Šimira (Šumur), the traditional administrative center of Amurru (for Šumur’s history see Klengel 1984). The province extended from Asnu and Siyannu in the north to Mount Sawe and Kaspuna in the south, a territory slightly larger than the extent of Aziru’s kingdom some 600 years earlier.

SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE CULTURE OF AMURRU

The mental and the material culture of a land and its people(s) can be satisfactorily reconstructed and evaluated only on the basis of its own sources. The Land of Amurru, probably the least explored region along the Levantine coast, is still a long way from providing the requisite evidence for this purpose.

The archaeological record available so far from two major urban centers—Tell Kazel/Šumur and Tell ‘Arqa/Irqata—offers only a glimpse into the potential interest of these sites. In particular Tell Kazel, with the monumental architecture and the rich deposits of “Couche V” (Dunand, Bounni, and Saliby 1964: 11–13), promises to be instrumental in reconstructing the Late Bronze Age culture of coastal Amurru. From a third mound, Ardé, barely enough material has been recovered for its identification with Ardata (see references in Singer 1990: 119–20). The exact location of the important coastal stronghold of Ullasa is still unknown. Practically nothing is known about the hinterland of Amurru, which is particularly lamentable in a kingdom whose very formation is intimately connected with the non-urban populations of the highland.⁶⁵

As for the products of the mind, our only sources are the documents relating to Amurru’s relations with its suzerains—first Egypt and later Hatti—and with its northern neighbor Ugarit. Lacking any literary, religious, or mythological sources on Amurru, the best we can do is extract occasional and indirect clues on Amurru’s culture from these external sources. Under these circumstances the highly tentative character of the following observations hardly needs to be stressed. Nevertheless, some preliminary remarks on Amurru’s culture can and should be ventured in a companion to a book devoted to a central aspect of a culture, its (written) language (Izre’el 1991).

PANTHEON

The only aspect of the religious life of Amurru on which some preliminary remarks can be made is its pantheon. With only a few cult objects from

65. For an archaeological survey of the gap of Homs see Sapin 1978–1979.

excavations (Dunand, Bounni, and Saliby 1964: pl. XVII) and no religious or mythological text at all, the cult and religion of Amurru remain to be discovered.

The list of witness gods in the Hittite state treaties provides an invaluable glimpse into the pantheons of the peoples with whom they concluded these treaties. Unfortunately, from all the extant treaties with Amurru only one such list, in the Duppi-Tešub treaty, has been relatively well preserved (CTH 56 D III 15'–17': see Del Monte 1986: 172). At the end of the paragraph listing all the Storm-gods, we encounter, after one missing name,⁶⁶ the Storm-god of Arqata (Irqata), the Storm-god of Tunip, [the Storm-god of Ḫal]ab of Tunip, and Milku (*Mi-il₅-ku*) [of the, Land of Amur]ru. On comparison with the treaties of Niqmepa and Tette, which open the list with the Storm-gods of Ugarit and Nuḫašše respectively, we may perhaps restore the missing first name as the Storm-god of Amurru. Alternatively, since this deity is followed by two local Storm-gods (Irqata⁶⁷ and Tunip),⁶⁸ the gap may have contained the Storm-god of a third town, perhaps Šumur.⁶⁹ The fourth name on the list belongs to the Storm-god of Ḫalab, probably the most important Storm-god of Syria (see Klenkel 1965). He was worshipped in many localities in and outside Syria, in local hypostases of his image (Singer 1981: 120). Tunip, the most important cult center of Amurru (see below), was a natural haven of this important cult.

The last name on the list of the Storm-gods belongs to Milku, one of the main deities of Amurru.⁷⁰ His name probably appears as a theophoric element in the name of the Amurrite princess Aḫat-Milku.⁷¹

Another group of Syrian deities includes NIN.PISÀN.PISÀN of Kinza (Qadeš) and the mountains of Lablana (Lebanon), Šariyana (Anti-Lebanon), and Pišaiša. This group appears in other Syrian treaties as well and is therefore not exclusively associated with Amurru. The list of local deities is concluded with the stereotyped formula “(all) the gods and the goddesses of Amurru.”

66. On comparison with parallel lists in the treaties of Tette and Niqmepa (Del Monte 1986: 100) it is certain that the Storm-god of Išupitta is the last god in the Hittite list and therefore the missing name here undoubtedly belongs to a Storm-god of Amurru.

67. A deity of the town Irqata is also mentioned in a Hittite vow (KBo IX 96 I 11; see p. 221 with n. 46 above). Irqata is preceded by the name of the town Nineveh (^{URU}*Ne-nu-wa-aš*), but the name of the deity is broken. It should probably be restored as Ištar of Nineveh (see Laroche 1946–1947: 95–96 and cf. Klenkel 1969: 213). For similar hypostases of major deities see below on the Storm-god of Ḫalab of Tunip, and see Singer 1981: 120).

68. In the treaties of Niqmepa and Tette no local Storm-gods are mentioned (other than those of Ugarit and Nuḫašše).

69. On the problem of the separate existence or non-existence of a town called Amurru see above, p. 215.

70. This is not the place to investigate the origins and the avatars of this important deity. He is now amply attested at Emar (see Arnaud 1987: 18).

71. Cf. the names Abi-Milku (Moran 1987: 575; cf. also Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V: 60) and especially Aḫi-Milku (see Grondahl 1967: 319); the latter may be compared to the theophoric name Aḫi-^{ŠEŠ}-^{MAŠ}. ^{MAŠ}). Another assumption is that the name should be rendered as “king’s sister” (Grondahl 1967: 55; Huehnergard 1987: 147; van Soldt 1987: 71; Izre’el, 1991: p. 20).

Another source on the Amurrite pantheon is the document in which Šaušgamuwa accedes to the extradition of his unfortunate sister, the *bittu rabīti* (RS 18.06 + 17.365 = PRU IV: 137–138). Among general deities of supplication (Sky and Earth, Storm-god of the enclosure, Heavenly Storm-god, Sin, Išhara), the list of gods invoked also includes three local gods: Ištar of Tunip, the Storm-god of Mount Ḥazi and Ḥebat of Ari. The two latter are gods of Ugarit (at the northern and southern extremes of the kingdom), whereas Ištar (or Šaušga) of Tunip must represent Amurru (cf. n. 67 above on the Ištar of Irqata). This is a clear indication of the central position of this city in the Land of Amurru, after its annexation by Aziru.

NAME GIVING

Name giving is a practice that may readily reveal the changing fashions and influences to which a culture is exposed. Although the onomasticon of Amurru consists so far of only about a dozen names and is almost restricted to royalty, the sharp transition from Semitic to (etymologically) Hurrian names (see below) after Amurru's defection from Egypt to Hatti may serve as a master example for cultural transformation subsequent to political change.

Abdi-Aširta and his sons (Aziru, Pu-Ba'la, Ba'luya and Niqmepa) bear good West Semitic names constructed on the appellations of West Semitic deities.⁷² After Aziru's defection all his successors on the throne of Amurru were given Hurrian names, mostly deriving from Hurrian deities: DU/SUM-Tešub, Duppi-Tešub, Bentešina, Šaušgamuwa. The only exception to the rule, Šap/bili, whose name is probably Semitic,⁷³ actually confirms it. Although we know nothing about his origins, the very fact that he was installed on the throne instead of Bentešina may indicate that he did not belong to the (ruling) royal house of Amurru.

It has been suggested that Aziru himself took up a new name (Abiradda) after his submission to Hatti (Cavaignac 1932: 191), but this remains highly questionable (Klengel 1963: 49; Singer 1990: 175–76). Of more weight is the possibility that Aziru's son DU-Tešub formerly had a Semitic name. This rests on his possible identification with Beti'ilu, the co-author of EA 170, who is also

72. Perhaps we should add to the onomasticon of Amarna age Amurru the persons who are greeted in the postscript to EA 170 (ll. 36–44), a letter sent by Ba'luya and Beti'ilu to Aziru in Egypt. All six persons (the identities of whom are unknown) bear Semitic names: Rab(i)i-ilu, Abdi-^dURAŠ, Bināna, Rabi-Šidqu, Amur-Ba'la, 'Anatu. On the other hand, the persons listed in EA 162: 55–77, who must be extradited to Egypt, seem to bear mostly Egyptian names.

73. A similar name is attested in a letter of Abdi-Aširta (EA 62: 26; Šab-Ilū (see Moran 1987: 585) is one of four persons who remained in Šumur when the town was attacked by the men of Šeḫlal. Another Šapili was the king of Siyannu at the time of Ini-Tešub. There is no reason to believe that he was the same person as his homonym in Amurru.

mentioned in EA 161 alongside Aziru's brothers. If the equation is valid, this would highlight the cultural watershed in the royal onomasticon of Amurru.

Whether Hurrian name-giving also extended to the female members of the royal family is less evident. Aḫat-Milku, probably DU-Tešub's daughter, was given a Semitic name (see n. 71); on the other hand Ulmi, probably DU-Tešub's wife, apparently bore a Hurrian name (Laroche 1976–1977: 280).

The Hurrian name-giving is clearly an adoption of a contemporary Hittite custom, best exemplified by the royal house of Carchemish. It has obviously nothing to do with Mitannian influence and should not be confused with the age-old Hurrian influence in inner-Syrian states (such as Niya, Nuḫašše, Qatna, Qedeš), which goes back to the Hurro-Mitannian expansion in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries. In Amurru, Hurrian, or rather, "Hittite-Hurrian" names only appear after the fall of Mitanni. It is interesting to compare the royal names of Amurru with those of Ugarit. In the latter kingdom "Hittite-Hurrian" names were not adopted, and the kings of Ugarit continued to bear Semitic names under Hittite rule.⁷⁴ This marked difference between the two Levantine states⁷⁵ may probably be attributed to the nature of their ties with the imperial court of Hatti. Whereas the royal houses of Hatti and Amurru were closely tied by several intermarriages (two initiated by Ḫattušili and one by Tutḫaliya), only the last king of Ugarit married (unsuccessfully) into Hittite royalty (see Astour 1980 with references).

As already stated, this cultural phenomenon is only relevant to the royal onomasticon of Amurru. It must not be imputed to the lower social strata who may well have continued to use local (Semitic) names. Since we have no documentary evidence on the non-royal names of Amurru,⁷⁶ this conjecture rests solely on numerous historical analogies for similar situations, in which the ruling class adopts the name fashions of the suzerain whereas the lower classes stick to "national" names.⁷⁷

After the fall of the Hittite Empire the rulers of the region resumed Semitic names, as shown by the arrowhead of "Zkrb^cl / king of Amurru."

74. The same applies to Emar (see Arnaud 1987: 16).

75. It is interesting to observe the names given to the sons of the Amurrite princess Aḫat-Milku who married Niqmepa of Ugarit. Two of her sons, Hišmi-Šarruma and İR-Šarruma, were given Hurrian names, but the successor to the throne, Ammištamru, bears a Semitic name (see Liverani 1962: 101; Klengel 1969: 387).

76. The only exceptions could be Addarya (RS 17.152 and OA 23; see p. 217 above) and possibly Paṣu (RS 20.162; see p. 229 above), both of whom are involved in the contacts between the courts of Ugarit and Amurru.

77. E.g., the Hellenization in the upper classes of Judea during the Hellenistic period.

GLYPTICS

Amurru's close ties with the Hittite court and with Hittite culture were probably forged during Bentešina's stay in Hakiš as a protégé of Hattušili and Puduḥepa and his ensuing marriage with their daughter Gaššuliyawiya. The Hittite influence at the court of Amurru is clearly shown in the glyptical domain, again in sharp contrast with Ugarit (see Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III: 86; Singer 1983: 15). The dynastic (unepigraphic) cylinder seal of Aziru (*Ugaritica* III: figs. 44–45), which is used (like the dynastic seal of Ugarit) until the end of the Amurrite kingdom, was still fashioned in a typical Syrian style. On the other hand, the seals of Šaušgamuwa (*Ugaritica* III: figs. 38–44), the only king of Amurru whose seals are known to us, are typical Hittite stamp seals with hieroglyphic legend (see n. 57).

The importance attached to Šaušgamuwa's familial contacts with the Hittite court is clearly demonstrated by his seal impressions (*Ugaritica* III: 30ff.). In the tablets on which these seals are impressed (dealing with the affair of the *bittu rabīti*), Šaušgamuwa appears as the ruling king of Amurru, but in the hieroglyphic legend of the seals he bears the title "prince." This relates, no doubt, to his status within the Hittite royal hierarchy and not to his status in Amurru. In other words, through his marriage with Tuḫaliya's sister he became a "royal prince" of Hatti(!), a status that was considered by him even more important than his royalty in Amurru, which is only expressed by the (unepigraphic) dynastic seal also impressed on the tablet.⁷⁸

The excavations at Tell Kazel have so far only produced a fleeting glimpse into the glyptical art of Amurru. From the monumental building in "Couche V" (Dunand, Bounni, and Saliby 1964: 11ff.), which may perhaps be a royal palace of the Amurrite kings (see n. 30 above), two Hittite button seals and a seal impression on a sherd were published (in a preliminary manner), alongside a cylinder seal and two scarabs (pl. XX). One of the button seals has on one side the name ?-wa—Storm-god, most probably a (Hittite-)Hurrian theophoric name constructed on Tešub;⁷⁹ its other side shows a bicephalic eagle, a frequent motif in Hittite glyptics.

The seal impression on the pottery sherd is of much interest, but unfortunately the legend is unclear (at least in the published photograph, pl. XX 4). It apparently has three concentric rings (p. 12), which most probably indicates royalty (cf. the bulla from Aphek in Singer 1977). It is to be hoped that a proper publication of these finds and further discoveries in the region will make it pos-

78. Kühne 1973: 182 n. 68. Singer 1977: 185 and n. 13. For the seals of other vassal kings of similar status within the imperial hierarchy (Išuwa, Mira) see Singer 1977: 184.

79. Masson 1975: 229 suggests the reading Å for the first sign, but the name Awa-Tešub is not attested.

sible to extend these preliminary remarks on the glyptical art of Amurru. One may assume that a marked Hittite influence, especially in the thirteenth century, will also be detected in other domains of the material culture of Amurru.

LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT

The history of a people is reflected in the changes that occur in its language(s) and script(s). When the historian has identified the major cultural turning points, the linguist may attempt to detect their mark on the spoken and written language(s). And vice versa: marked changes in the usage or language and script may give us some clues on historical processes.

The written language of Amurru, which was used for foreign affairs was Akkadian, in a local variety that is investigated and described in Izre'el 1991. The influence of the spoken language, a West Semitic dialect, is clearly felt in the Akkadian of the Amurru scribes. Were there other influences on Amurru Akkadian that may be related to the history of the land?

The recorded history of Amurru has only two major phases that may represent, to my mind, corresponding cultural divisions: a relatively short period of Egyptian hegemony under Abdi-Aširta and the early years of Aziru, followed by a century and a half of Hittite domination. In the historical sections of this excursus I have attempted to refute the possibility of alleged Mitannian rule over Amurru in the Amarna period (see p. 206 above).

To be sure, this clear turning point in the geo-political orientation of Amurru would not necessarily have had immediate cultural effects. Moreover, there are innumerable known and unknown factors that may have influenced the scribal practices employed at the court of Amurru, some of which may be entirely unrelated to the political orientation of the kingdom.

A known factor, for example, is the annexation of Tunip after Aziru's return from Egypt. Tunip became an important center of the Land of Amurru, and several letters were sent to Egypt while Aziru was sojourning in the town. For a long time, prior to Aziru's intervention, Tunip was situated between the Egyptian and the Mitannian spheres of influence, and one would anticipate a marked Hurrian influence on its culture (see Klengel 1969: 88ff.). This is clearly felt in EA 59, the only letter from Tunip in the Amarna archive (see Izre'el 1990: 80). On the assumption that scribes from Tunip were employed at one stage or another at the court of Amurru, it is not surprising to discern a Hurrian influence in some Amurru letters (e.g., EA 170).

In a more general vein it should be stressed that we know nothing about the origin and the education of the scribes who were active in Amurru. Unlike the documents from Ḫattuša and Ugarit that were occasionally signed by scribes, none of the texts originating from Amurru was signed by a scribe. Any obser-

vation concerning foreign influences on Amurru Akkadian rests entirely on linguistic analysis, with no supportive external data.

Given all these uncertainties one may ask if there is anything at all in which the history of Amurru may be of help for the linguist. I believe there is. In the long run, a century and half of Hittite domination, and in particular the exceptionally close ties between the courts of Amurru and Hatti in the thirteenth century, must have left their mark on the language. Bentešina spent several years in northern Hatti as a guest of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa. Both he and his son Šaušgamuwa married Hittite princesses. One may reasonably assume that when he returned to Amurru, Bentešina brought from his exile not only a strong commitment to his benefactors, but also (a) scribe(s) who later conducted his prolific correspondence with his in-laws. Izre'el has indeed detected some external linguistic influences in these letters, which may reflect a Hittito-Akkadian scribal education (1991: vol. I, §§6.1, 6.3). A marked "Assyrianization," or better said "northernization," is also characteristic of Šaušgamuwa's correspondence with Ugarit and especially of the letter of Paršu (Izre'el 1991, 1: 360, 385). Thus, linguistic analysis independently confirms the assumptions made on the basis of historical developments.

Besides Akkadian, the only other script whose usage is attested at the court of Ugarit is hieroglyphic Hittite. However, its employment on seals (see the section on glyptics) probably reflects only a stylistic fashion rather than a real adoption of a foreign writing system (cf. Arnaud 1987: 14, on Emar).

Of more import is the question as to whether, like its neighbors Byblos and Ugarit, Amurru also developed an independent script used for writing the native language. Without sufficient archaeological exploration this question will remain unanswered. Neither can we tell whether the scripts of the neighbors were adopted at all in Amurru. The question is especially relevant in the case of cuneiform Ugaritic, which has a rather wide (though very sparse) distribution outside Ugarit itself, from Tell Sukas (Šuksi) in the north to Beth-Shemesh in the south. One would expect that Amurru, Ugarit's closest neighbor, with whom close ties were maintained over a long period, will produce some traces of the Ugaritic script in the future. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that the diplomatic and commercial contacts between Amurru and Ugarit (letters, agreements, dowry lists) were all conducted in Akkadian,⁸⁰ despite the fact that Ugaritic is well attested as an epistolary language (Ahl 1973).

80. With the possible exception of RS 8.315 (= UT 95), a letter sent by Talmiyanu and Aḫat-Milku to their mother. Aḫat-Milku's mother was probably Ulmi, DU-Tešub's queen (see p. 217 above). If so, the letter may have been sent from Ugarit to Amurru (RS 8.315 being a copy),

After the fall of the Hittite Empire, Amurru, like the rest of the Phoenician coast, began to employ the Phoenician alphabet, as shown by the arrowhead of “Zkrb’l king of Amurru.”

In conclusion, it would be well to emphasize once again the highly tentative character of these preliminary notes on the culture of Amurru. It is to be hoped that future explorations in this important region will provide a firmer basis for in-depth investigations.

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THE “LAND OF AMURRU” AND THE “LANDS OF AMURRU” IN THE ŠAUŠGAMUWA TREATY

The original meaning and the changes in the content of the term Amurru in the course of the second millennium B.C. have been one of the most intensively discussed and debated subjects of Near Eastern history.¹ The name appears from the late-third millennium on, both in phonetic spelling and in the logographic writing MAR.TU. It is now generally agreed that in the early part of the second millennium the term refers loosely to the Syrian regions situated west of Mesopotamia proper and to the inhabitants of these regions. The more difficult questions under debate are concerned with the original meaning of Amurru, whether ethnic or geographical, and with the exact nature and origin of its equation with MAR.TU. These important questions however are of little concern for the issue discussed in this paper.

The broad sense of Amurru as indicated above, often used in opposition to Akkad, is gradually restricted to a more limited region of central and southern Syria. A Mari text has the “Land of Amurru” in a sequence after the lands of Yamhad and Qatna, whereas another text mentions “the messengers of four kings of Amurru” alongside the messengers of Hazor. Texts from Alalakh VII and IV mention individuals from the “Land of MAR.TU,” without however any clues to its whereabouts.²

The sparse attestation during the mid-second millennium is eventually overhauled by the rich Amarna Age documentation. By that time, in the mid-fourteenth century, Amurru had already acquired a clearly defined geopolitical content, referring to the region extending on both sides of the Eleutheros River, between the middle Orontes and the central Levantine coast. The territory is loosely comprised within a triangle formed by the three main Egyptian strongholds established during Thutmose III’s campaigns to Syria—Ullaza and Šumur on the coastal plain and Tunip in the middle Orontes Valley. In fact, it seems that

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1. For the changes in the content of the term see in particular Dhorme 1951: 109ff.; Kupper 1957: 147–259; Liverani 1973. For other aspects see the literature cited in Groneberg 1980: 16, and Buccellati 1990: 240–46.

2. For the references from Mari and Alalakh see Klengel 1969: 182–83.

this territory had acquired its geopolitical definition in the wake of the Egyptian consolidation of their Syrian empire, when it became their northernmost province. However, the name Amurru itself does not occur in Egyptian sources before the Amarna Age.

The Egyptians, in conformity with their general strategy in Asia, were primarily interested in safeguarding the naval bases along the coast and the strategic corridor leading into central Syria along the Eleutheros Valley. In the highlands flanking this corridor a geopolitical entity had gradually developed, the first known leader of which was Abdi-Aširta. The turbulent developments that followed, as aptly documented in the Amarna correspondence, need not be summarized here. It should however be emphasized that both Abdi-Aširta, the founder of the Amurru dynasty, and his resourceful son Aziru had first of all striven to obtain Egyptian recognition as “mayors” (*ḥazannu*) of Amurru. In other words, they clearly functioned within the framework of the Egyptian imperial system. Any overtures they made or may have done towards other great powers were secondary developments, conditioned by the unfolding international situation and by their keen sense of “Realpolitik,” which in the case of Aziru proved to be quite rewarding. I emphasize these basic points because, as will be discussed below, some doubts were raised with regard to Amurru’s original appurtenance to the Egyptian realm. First, however, the evolution of the term Amurru must be further followed.

At the time of Aziru’s defection to Hatti, the confines of the Land of Amurru were already clearly established and they remained more-or-less unchanged for the next century and a half, except for the short-lived Egyptian takeover before the Battle of Qadesh.

With the fall of the Hittite Empire at the turn of the twelfth century the sources on the kingdom of Amurru are extinguished. Amurru must have shared the same fate as its Hittite overlord and its northern neighbor Ugarit. In 1175 B.C.E. its coasts served as the battleground between Ramses III and the invading hordes of the Sea Peoples.

The name Amurru reappears towards the end of the twelfth century,³ this time in Assyrian records. Tiglath-pileser I conducted a campaign to Amurru, which by this time included not only Arwad and Šumur on the coast but also Tadmor in the Syrian desert (Weidner 1958: 344ff.). It seems that the term Amurru has once again regained its broad geographical scope, encompassing central Syria as a whole, bordering on the north with the Land of Hatti of the Assyrian sources. This broad scope of Amurru seems to become even more gen-

3. See, however, the inscribed arrowhead of “*Zkrb’l* king of Amurru,” whose exact date cannot be established (Starcky 1982).

eralized in later Assyrian sources, when it becomes a loose designation for the "West."⁴

This brief survey on the geographical scope of Amurru (which obviously does not exhaust all sources⁵) reveals an unusual pattern. From a broad, unclearly defined notion in the first half of the second millennium it shrank into a much smaller geopolitical unit in the second half, only to swell up again in the new world of the Iron Age.

Alongside this unusual variation in the geographical reference of Amurru, which will be dealt with later on, there seems to have coexisted also the old sense of Amurru, as a designation of Syria in its entirety (Liverani 1973: 118). The evidence for the survival of this broad sense of Amurru is scattered and rather equivocal, but its cumulative weight is conclusive.

Perhaps the clearest case for a broad sense of Amurru is in its use as a qualification of various materials and products (Vincentelli 1972 with references). Considered in itself, "the wine from Hurri and the wine from Amurru" listed in the eleventh century onomasticon of Amenemope may be thought to refer to Canaanite provinces. However, the same juxtaposition of products of "Hurri" and products of "Amurru" is also found in texts from Ḫattuša and from Ugarit, some of them dating after the disappearance of Hurri/Mitanni. Evidently, the two juxtaposed qualifications do not refer to the kingdoms of Hurri and Amurru but rather to a broad differentiation between (northern) Mesopotamian and Syrian products respectively, in other words, between "East" and "West."

The same broad sense is probably meant in Middle Babylonian documents referring to "donkeys of Amurru" (see Liverani 1973: 131 n. 65 for references). Finally, a Middle Assyrian text dated to the early reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I mentions fifteen blind men of Amurru who were taken with other loot to Assyria (*KAJ* 180: 14; Weidner 1959–60: 36; Klengel 1969: 227). Some have reconstructed on this evidence an Assyrian campaign that brought to an end the kingdom of Amurru (Forrer 1932: 223; Helck 1971: 223 n. 80). This is difficult to accept, since from all the other sources it appears that Tukulti-Ninurta's campaign was limited to northern Syria, in the region called by him Hatti.⁶ As suggested by Klengel (1969: 227), Amurru is most probably used here in the general sense in which it appears a century later in the texts of Tiglath-pileser I.

In conclusion, the combined evidence from these sources of the second half of the second millennium shows that alongside the younger and restricted sense of Amurru, referring to the Levantine kingdom of the fourteenth–thirteenth

4. For Amurru in the Neo-Assyrian and later sources, see Dhorme 1951: 152ff.; Liverani 1973: 119ff.

5. For the "Amorite" in the biblical sources see Liverani 1973: 123ff. (with further literature).

6. On Tukulti-Ninurta's wars with the Hittites see Singer 1985 and the literature cited there on p. 103 n. 20.

centuries, the broad sense, as referring to Syria in general, continued to be used occasionally throughout the Near East.

A further significant case in support of this conclusion may be adduced, I believe, from a Hittite historical text, the correct interpretation of which has important implications for the early history of Amurru.

In the historical preamble to the treaty between Tuthaliya IV and Šaušgamuwa of Amurru, in the passage relating the earliest Hittite–Amurrite contacts (CTH 105 I 13–27; see Kühne-Otten 1971), we find two terms which at first sight appear to be identical: “the Land of Amurru” (1. 13: KUR.URU *Amurra*) and “the Lands of Amurru” (1. 17: KUR.KUR 𐎶.A URU *Amurra*).

- 13 (In the past(?)), the Land of Amurru was not
- 14 conquered by the weapon of the Land of Hatti.
- 15 Wh[en Aziru] came to the Land of Hatti to the
- 16 ‘forefather’ (lit.: ‘grandfather’) of His Majesty, Šuppiluliuma,
- 17 the Lands of Amurru were still [hostile];
- 18 they [were] vassals of the king of Hurri.
- 19 Nevertheless, Aziru remained loyal to him
- 20 and he did [not def]eat him by weapon.
- 21 Aziru, your ‘forefather’ (lit.: ‘grandfather’),
- 22 protected Šuppiluliuma in his lordship,
- 23 and he also protected the Land of Hatti.
- 24 Thereafter, he protected Muršili in his lordship,
- 25 and he also protected the Land of Hatti.
- 26 Against the Land of Hatti
- 27 he had not sinned at all.

The “Lands of Amurru” (in plural), which were subject to the king of Hurri before Aziru’s submission to Šuppiluliuma, has generally been conceived as a mere variant of the “Land of Amurru” (in singular) mentioned a few lines earlier. This interpretation entails of course a drastic revision of the early history of Amurru, which apparently squarely contradicts all the earlier accounts on these events. In all the other extant Amurru treaties (Aziru, Duppi-Tešub, Bentešina) Aziru is clearly said to have defected from the camp of Egypt, and nowhere in the Hittite record do we find any information that Amurru may have belonged to Hurri/Mitanni before its submission to the Hittites.⁷

No satisfactory explanation has been suggested for this sudden change of standpoint in Hittite historiography, a century after the fall of Mitanni. One may perhaps offer a farfetched explanation for this gross distortion of history

7. For a juxtaposition of the relevant passages see Singer 1990: 144ff. The clearest statement in this respect is found in the Duppi-Tešub treaty, where the (fore)fathers of Duppi-Tešub are said to have brought their tribute to Egypt (CTH 62 II A I 33’–34’).

by saying that it may have served the purpose of improving relationships with Egypt (by eliminating a sensitive issue from past relations). But then, one would expect that such a step would already be initiated in the days of Ḫattušili, the architect of cordial relations with Egypt. In his treaty with Bentešina, Aziru's first master is clearly stated to be Egypt, not Hurri (CTH 62 obv. 4–5). Moreover, the Šaušgamuwa treaty itself provides a most realistic description of the events leading to the Battle of Qadesh, which could hardly have flattered the Egyptians. In short, there appears to be no logical reason for replacing Egypt with Hurri in this late account of Hittite–Amurrite relations and it would be quite unwarranted to assume a simple scribal error.

Another option, of course, is to give credibility to this late account and disregard all the earlier Hittite references to the history of Hittite–Amurrite relations (Kestemont 1978). This course has indeed been taken by some commentators who posit some sort of Mitannian rule over Amurru prior to Aziru's submission. Whereas Murnane, e.g. (1985: 185–86, 235ff.), thinks in terms of only a short-lived submission to an invading Mitannian army, Kestemont (1978) goes as far as to maintain that Amurru was initially part of the Mitanni Empire rather than the Egyptian one.

The cornerstone of these historical reconstructions of Amurru's early history is the respective passage from the Šaušgamuwa treaty, which is ostensibly supported by several allusions in the Amarna correspondence of Rib-Addi of Byblos. In several passages, some of them quite fragmentary and obscure,⁸ Rib-Addi accuses Abdi-Aširta of conspiring with the king of Mitanni against Egyptian interests. In EA 90:19–22 Abdi-Aširta is said to be in Mitanni but his eyes being set on Byblos. In EA 95:27–30 Rib-Addi reports that the king of Mitanni surveyed the Land of Amurru and had exclaimed his admiration over its greatness. EA 86:8–12 apparently reports about the spoil taken from Amurru to Mitanni. In a similar vein, in EA 101:7–10 Rib-Addi claims that Amurru was not able to send to Mitanni a tribute consisting of wool and colored textiles.

By far the most direct and significant information is contained in EA 85:51–55, where the Pharaoh is notified that the king of <Mi>tanni has arrived in Šumur, planning to march on Byblos itself, but was forced to return to his land for lack of water. This unique piece of information, if taken at face value, does indeed have important bearing on the international political scene. From all that we know from other Amarna sources, Mitanni and Egypt kept to their political alliance, especially in view of the growing Hittite menace. There is, of course, undeniable

8. For updated translations of the relevant passages see Moran 1987. These differ considerably from the translations on which Kestemont (1978: 28ff.) based his thesis. In his argumentation for a Mitannian overlordship over Amurru, Kestemont makes use only of the Amarna material and the Šaušgamuwa treaty, but does not refer to the rest of the relevant Hittite sources (the treaties of Aziru, Duppi-Tešub and Bentešina).

evidence for a Mitannian offensive to Syria in this period, but it was directed against Hittite surrogates, such as Šarrupši of Nuḥašši (CTH 53 I 2–11). However, a far-flung Mitannian penetration as described by Rib-Addi, not only into the Egyptian sphere of influence, but to its very heart, the naval base of Šumur, is quite a different matter, which must have drastic repercussions upon the amicable relationships between the two allies (see already Sturm 1933). Most scholars have therefore assumed that the Mitannian “visit” was only devised as a show of arms to rally support for the common Egyptian-Mitannian cause (Kitchen 1962: 13; Waterhouse 1965: 23; Klengel 1969: 233 n. 29, 256).

Taking into account Rib-Addi’s notorious polemics, I would go a step further and regard with much scepticism the very credibility of this report. It is quite remarkable that this sensational event is mentioned by Rib-Addi just in passing, tucked into a lengthy discourse concerning a grain transport which he strives to procure for himself. Kestemont has suggested a connection between this transaction in grain and an assumed drought which forced the Mitannians to turn on their heels, but this is carrying the evidence too far. It is quite surprising that no one else except Rib-Addi reports about this exceptional event, not even Abdi-Aširta across whose country the campaign supposedly swept.⁹ All evidence taken into account, it seems to me safer to regard Rib-Addi’s alarming report as just another attempt to drum up Egyptian support against his arch-enemy Abdi-Aširta. Although he must have known that this disinformation had short wings, the alarm might just have worked out for him, since shortly afterwards the long awaited Egyptian task force arrived and removed Abdi-Aširta from the scene.

In any event, even if one does give full credit to Rib-Addi’s report, it is still difficult to see in this exceptional episode and a few other obscure allusions of Rib-Addi a definite proof for a Mitannian domination over Amurru in the early Amarna Age. If such a situation had existed, the Amurru treaties (of Šuppiluliuma, Muṣili and Ḫattušili) would surely have referred to it, just as other Syrian treaties do. This would justify the Hittite domination over Amurru much better than the apologetic argument about Aziru’s voluntary defection from the Egyptian camp. Though Abdi-Aširta, like his resourceful son, probably kept a vigilant eye on the unfolding international situation, and may even have explored his prospects in allying himself with one of the other great powers of his age,¹⁰ in the last analysis both the Amarna and the Hittite sources prove beyond any doubt that Amurru was an acknowledged Egyptian dependency before the Hittite takeover (see, e.g., Klengel 1969: 245; Liverani 1973: 118).

The seemingly aberrant statement in the Šaušgamuwa treaty on the early history of Amurru has to my mind a totally different explanation. The “Lands of

9. Although he expresses his concern over a possible attack on his land by vassals of Mitanni.

10. For arguments against the alleged submission of Abdi-Aširta to the Hittites see Singer 1990: 124ff.

Amurru" that belonged to the king of Hurri does not, as generally assumed, refer to the Land of Amurru in the restricted sense (i.e., Aziru's land), but rather to the broad geographical entity of the Syrian states west of the Euphrates that were indeed controlled by Mitanni prior to Šuppiluliuma's takeover. This interpretation would readily account for the sudden change from singular to plural, which is otherwise unexplained. Through this resourceful formulation the author managed to remain loyal to historical reality while leaving the question of Amurru's allegiance vague. His main interest was obviously not directed towards a penetrating scrutiny of Amurru's history, but rather in praising Aziru's positive attitude towards Hatti, in contrast to the other Syrian states which had to be subjected by the force of arms. This motif of Aziru's voluntary submission to Šuppiluliuma and his exceptional loyalty to Hatti runs through all the Amurru treaties and is especially emphasized in the Aziru treaty itself (Singer 1990: 146–47).

In short, the suggested reinterpretation of the passage not only solves the serious historical difficulties in assessing Amurru's position in the early Amarna Age, but also brings the Šaušgamuwa treaty in line with the rest of the documentation on Hittite–Amurrite relationships.

With the significant addition of a late-thirteenth century Hittite occurrence, we may now return to reexamine the origins of the term Amurru in its broad sense, as referring to Syria in general. Whereas in its cultural-geographical connotation (qualifying various Syrian products) it probably never ceased to exist, it seems that in its more specific geopolitical connotation it was only revived in thirteenth-century Hittite and Assyrian texts.

This development may clearly be related to the changing political scene of the region. Following the Hittite campaigns of Ḫattušili I and Muršili I to Syria and Babylon, the system of Amorite kingdoms was brought to an end and was replaced by the supremacy of the Hurrian state of Mitanni. By the time of the Egyptian campaigns to Syria in the early-eighteenth dynasty, the current Egyptian term to denote the Asiatic regions was "Hurru." The parallel cuneiform term "Hurri Lands" (KUR.KUR.MEŠ *Hurri*) was an appropriate designation for the entirety of states comprised within the Mitanni Empire. With the demolition of this empire by Šuppiluliuma I the term "Hurri Lands" had lost its relevance and another designation was needed for a general reference to the Syrian states.¹¹ The revival of the old term "Amurru" in its geopolitical sense was a natural development, only that it now acquired a plural marker to differentiate it from the Land of Amurru in the restricted sense.

11. Logically the term "Hatti Lands," on analogy with "Hurri Lands," would have been an apt designation for the Hittite controlled states of Syria. However, this term was restricted to denote the inner-Anatolian regions. With the fall of the Hittite Empire the term Hatti was indeed transposed to northern Syria.

Changes in geo-political terminology develop gradually. For a considerable period of time old and new designations may coexist side-by-side. This seems indeed to be the case in Hittite texts dated after the fall of Mitanni, especially in retrospective accounts of past events. An author may feel free to employ old terms, which were current at the time of the described events, or he may choose to update his terminology. He may even do both. A good case to test are Ḫattušili's retrospective accounts of Šuppiluliuma's accomplishments (CTH 83; CTH 88). At first sight it seems that these much-discussed texts only employ the traditional terminology, i.e., Hurri Lands (KBo VI 28+ obv. 19; KUB XIX 9 obv. 11). However, two obscure occurrences do not readily comply with this observation.

KBo VI 28 refers to both the "Land" and the "Lands" of Amurru. The former (obv. 22, 23) appears as the (southern) border of Šuppiluliuma's realm and is clearly referring to Aziru's country. The latter appears a few lines later unfortunately in badly damaged context (obv. 25: KUR.KUR.MEŠ *Amurri*). I would assume that this second reference is used in the same general sense as in the Šaušgamuwa treaty, but the context precludes any interpretation.

KUB XIX 9 obv. 20 has the famous statement that it took Šuppiluliuma six years to subdue the "Land of *A-mur-ri*" (sic) because the lands were strong. This important reference, which is thought to provide the duration of the Second Syrian War, has generally been taken as a scribal error for *Hur-ri* (e.g. Klengel 1964: 440).¹² I wonder whether the emendation in this text is really necessary. Perhaps what the author had in mind was again a general designation for the whole of the Mitanni realm, not just the Land of Hurri east of the Euphrates.¹³

The ambiguity in the usage of this complex terminology—Land of Amurru and Lands of Amurru, Land of Hurri and Lands of Hurri—may indeed be quite confusing for both ancient and modern readers. But, of course, this is not a rare occurrence in geopolitical nomenclature.¹⁴

After a century and a half of coexistence between the terms Lands of Amurru and Land of Amurru the ambiguity was "resolved" with the fall of the

12. With a superfluous initial *A*-, the second sign can be read both *hur* or *mur*. It is not claimed, of course, that this confusion does not occur in the Hittite texts. A clear example is found in KUB XXI 17 I 14–17, restored from the duplicate KUB XXXI 27 (CTH 86; see Edel 1950: 212): "At the time that Muwatallis fought against the king of Egypt and the Land of Amurru, and when he then defeated the king of Egypt and the land of <*A*>*murru*, he returned to the Land of Apa." Another case is found in the parallel Hittite and Akkadian versions of the Aziru treaty (see Singer 1990: 145 n. 3).

13. The possible chronological implications of this interpretation cannot be elaborated here. We may briefly note that, if accepted, this would mean that Ḫattušili's statement refers to the duration of both Syrian wars and not just the Second Syrian War conducted against Mitanni proper.

14. For some modern comparisons one may think of the broad or restricted usages of terms like "America" or "Russia," not to mention the ambiguity of the English terms "India," "Indian," and "Indies," which refer to three entirely different ethno-geographical entities.

Hittite Empire and its vassal kingdom of Amurru. The term Amurru was again “free” to be used in Assyrian texts mainly in its original broad connotation—the Lands of the West.¹⁵ Some new ambiguities were born with the southward migration of the term Ḫatti, but this is another issue.

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15. Although occasionally the more restricted sense may still be found in some Assyrian texts, and even in the border description in Josh 13:4–5 (see Liverani 1973: 119–20).

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HITTITE CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN THE KINGDOM OF AMURRU

I would like to dedicate this paper to the memory of Emmanuel Laroche

When Aziru left “the gate of Egypt” and threw himself at the feet of His Majesty, Šuppiluliuma, he ushered in not only a radical political shift on the international scene of his age, but also a consequential turning point in the cultural history of his country. After a century and a half of Egyptian domination in Amurru, in the course of which the region, like other parts of Canaan, absorbed extensive Egyptian influence, it suddenly became a pivotal member of the Hittite commonwealth in Syria. Aziru’s shift of allegiance occurred around 1340 B.C. (a few years before the death of Akhenaton), as one continuous development, rather than in two separate stages with a visit in Egypt sandwiched between, as has hitherto been assumed. This is one of the main conclusions of my study on the age of Aziru, which appeared recently in a monograph on *The General’s Letter from Ugarit*, co-authored with Shlomo Izre’el (Tel Aviv 1990). Aziru’s submission to Hatti is characterized throughout the Hittite documentation as one irreversible act, after which Aziru became an example of loyalty for future generations of Amurrite kings. The ensuing cultural transformation at the royal court of Amurru was not long in coming.

NAME-GIVING

One of the most revealing aspects of cultural influence is in the domain of name-giving. Whereas Aziru and his brothers (Pu-Ba’ala, Ba’luya and Niqmepa)

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This is a written version of the paper presented at the 38^e Rencontre Assyriologique. The following short comments are elaborated in my chapter on the history of Amurru, appended to Shlomo Izre’el’s *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study* (Harvard Semitic Studies). The equation of DUMU.SAL GAL in the Hittite texts and ^{SAL}-*rabītu* in texts from Ugarit is suggested in my article entitled “The Title ‘Great Princess’ in the Hittite Empire.” This research was supported by the Basic Research Foundation administered by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

bear good West Semitic names, all the successors to the throne of Amurru were given Hurrian, or rather “Hittite-Hurrian” names (DU-Tešub, Duppi-Tešub, Bentešina, Šaušgamuwa). The only exception to the rule, Šap/bili, actually confirms it. He probably bears a Semitic name, also shared by a king of Siyannu and a person from Šumur at the time of Abdi-Aširta. It is analyzed by Moran as Šab-ilu, “Ilu has come back/pardoned.” We know nothing about the origins of this person, who was installed on the throne instead of Bentešina after the battle of Qadeš, but we may assume that he did not belong to the ruling dynasty of Amurru.

The cultural watershed in the royal onomasticon of Amurru must already be placed in the age of Aziru. In the past it has been suggested that Aziru himself took up a new name after his submission to Hatti, Abiradda. However, this interesting proposal of Cavaignac, which rests on a ruling of Muršili II (CTH 63), entails serious difficulties. Of more weight is the possibility that Aziru’s son, DU-Tešub, formerly had a Semitic name. This rests on his possible identification with Beti’ilu, probably a son of Aziru mentioned in two Amarna letters (EA 161, EA 170).

Whether “Hittite-Hurrian” name-giving was also extended to the female members of the royal family is less evident. Aḫat-Milku, DU-Tešub’s daughter who married Niqmepa king of Ugarit, bore a Semitic name, probably construed from the theophoric element Milku. On the other hand, Ulmi, who was probably DU-Tešub’s wife, apparently bore a Hurrian name.

The Hurrian name-giving is clearly an adoption of a contemporary Hittite custom, best exemplified by the royal house of Carchemish. It has obviously nothing to do with Mitannian influence and should not be confused with the age-old Hurrian influence in inner-Syrian states such as Niya, Nuḫḫašše, Qatna and Kinza. Here the Hurrian influence goes back to the Hurro-Mitannian expansion in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries. In Amurru, so-called “Hurrian” names only appear after the fall of Mitanni. It is instructive to compare the royal names of Amurru with those of Ugarit. At Ugarit (and also at Emar) “Hittite-Hurrian” names were not adopted, and the kings of Ugarit continued to bear Semitic names under the rule of the Hittites. One of the reasons for this marked difference between the two Levantine states is the nature of their ties with the imperial court of Ḫattuša. Whereas the royal houses of Ḫatti and Amurru were closely tied together by a series of political marriages initiated by Ḫattušili and Tuṭḫaliya, only the last king of Ugarit married into Hittite royalty, and he too eventually divorced his Hittite princess.

It is interesting to observe the names that were given to children born from the inter-marriage between the royal houses of Ugarit and Amurru. Niqmepa of Ugarit and Aḫat-Milku of Amurru had three sons: two of them, Ḫišmi-Šarruma and ʾĪr-Šarruma, were given Hurrian names, but the crown prince, Ammištamru,

bore a Semitic name. It is not known whether he was given this name at birth or whether he adopted it after his succession to the throne of Ugarit. Another inter-marriage between the two courts ended in a notorious fiasco: Ammištamru II divorced the *bittu rabīti*, the Daughter of the Great Lady, to whom we shall return later. Their son, in whose veins ran the mixed blue blood of the Hittite, the Amurrite, and the Ugaritic royal houses, was given a Hurrian name, Utri-Šarruma. It seems that the deity Šarruma became the favorite theophoric element whenever a son was born to a king of Ugarit and a princess of Amurru.

Name-giving is a very useful tool in revealing the changing fashions and influences to which a culture is exposed. However, it should be stressed that the known onomasticon of Amurru is restricted almost entirely to royalty, and the observations based on it must not be imputed to the lower social strata. To judge by numerous historical analogies, ordinary people may well have continued to use local (i.e., Semitic) names, while the ruling class adopted the fashions of their suzerains.

In concluding this short resume on name-giving in Amurru, mention should be made of an intriguing inscription which should be dated after the fall of the Hittite Empire. An arrowhead of unknown provenance that was published by Starcky in 1982 carries the alphabetic inscription *ḥṣ zkrb' l mlk 'mr*, "arrow of Zakarba'al king of Amuru." Assuming that the object is authentic, the name shows that the rulers of the Amurru region again took up Semitic names after a century and a half of "Hittite-Hurrian" names. It is of course impossible to tell where this mysterious king of Amurru had his court.

GLYPTICS

Another domain in which the Hittite influence at the court of Amurru is strongly felt is glyptics. Unfortunately, not much can be learned on this subject from the archaeological record. The Land of Amurru is probably the least-explored region along the Levantine coast. So far only the excavations of Tell Kazel, probably ancient Šumur, have provided any glyptic evidence. The rich thirteenth-century deposits of "Couche V" have yielded two Hittite button seals and a seal impression on a pottery sherd. The latter is of much interest, but unfortunately the legend cannot be made out from the photograph in the preliminary publication. It has three concentric rings, which probably indicates royalty; it may be compared to the bulla found at Aphek in Israel. It is to be hoped that a proper publication of these finds and further discoveries in the region will extend our knowledge on the glyptic art of Amurru.

Important data on the glyptic fashions at the court of Amurru are provided by the seal impressions applied to tablets sent from Amurru to Ugarit. The dynastic cylinder seal of Aziru was used, like the dynastic seal of Ugarit, until the end

of the Amurrite kingdom. It has no inscription on it, and is fashioned in a Syrian style. On the other hand, the seals of Šaušgamuwa are typical Hittite stamp seals with hieroglyphic legend. Šaušgamuwa, the last known king of Amurru, was the son of Bentešina and the Hittite princess Gaššuliyawiya. In addition to his half-Hittite parentage, he also married a Hittite princess, a sister of Tuḫaliya IV. This, incidentally, created the unusual situation that Šaušgamuwa's mother and his wife must have been sisters! The highly privileged status enjoyed by the royal house of Amurru due to its familial contacts with the Hittite court is clearly demonstrated by the witness list on the Bronze Tablet which contains the treaty between Tuḫaliya and Kurunta king of Tarḫuntašša. In this important state ceremony, for which the elite of the imperial administration of the Hittite empire assembled, Bentešina and his son Šaušgamuwa are the only representatives from Syria (except, of course, the viceroy of Kargamiš). Bentešina is the king of Amurru, whereas Šaušgamuwa is designated *ḪADAN LUGAL*, "the king's brother-in-law." In view of all this, it is hardly surprising that Šaušgamuwa had chosen to use purely Hittite seals. Moreover, the title he uses on these seals is *PRINCE*, although in the tablets on which these seals are impressed he appears as the ruling king of Amurru. Obviously, this apparent discrepancy should not be explained by the usage of old seals. The title *PRINCE* relates, no doubt, to his status within the Hittite royal hierarchy and not to his status in Amurru. In other words, by both his parentage and his marriage he acquired the status of a "royal prince" of Ḫatti, and this status was considered by him to be even more important than his royalty in Amurru. The latter is expressed by the dynastic seal also impressed on the tablet.

ROYAL TITLES

The Hittite royal title employed by Šaušgamuwa brings up the problem of another, much-debated designation utilized at the court of Amurru—*bittu rabīti*. She is the ill-fated princess of Amurru who married Ammištamru, king of Ugarit, and after a troublesome divorce case she was eventually put to death. Much has been written on this notorious affair, perhaps the best-documented matrimonial scandal in early antiquity. For quite some time the very identity of the drama's personae was obscure, until a tablet from the Claremont collection proved beyond any doubt that there was only one princess from Amurru who married Ammištamru. What was considered to be her name, Pidda, turned out to be nothing more than the West Semitic word *bittu*, "daughter." Throughout the large "dossier," which consists of about a dozen Akkadian and one Ugaritic document, the name of the princess is never mentioned. She is referred to as "the daughter of Bentešina," "the daughter of the king of Amurru," "the sister of Šaušgamuwa," or as *bittu rabīti*, literally "the daughter of the Great Lady."

The identity of this Great Lady of Amurru is open to question: She could either be the Hittite princess Gaššuliyawiya, or another spouse of Bentešina. I think that a good case can be made for the first possibility, namely, that ^{SAL}*rabītu* is a designation for the principal consort of Bentešina, the daughter of Ḫattušili king of Hatti. If so, there is a distinct possibility that the otherwise unattested Akkadian title ^{SAL}*rabītu* may simply be a disguised Hittite royal title. Indeed, an exact correspondence may be detected in the logographic title DUMU.SAL GAL, literally Great Daughter or Great Princess, which occurs in cuneiform and in hieroglyphic texts from Hatti.

On the face of it, the correspondence between the two titles seems obvious, and it is somewhat surprising that it has not been utilized in previous discussions devoted to each of the two. The burden of a conclusive proof, however, is far more complicated. It depends first on a thorough investigation and definition of the title DUMU.SAL GAL in the Hittite sources, which cannot be presented here. I can only briefly present the bottom line of my study, which will be presented elsewhere in full.

After checking all the occurrences of the title in Hittite sources, I have reached the conclusion that whenever it is clearly associated with a known person, DUMU.SAL GAL always refers to daughters of the Great King of Ḫatti who were given in marriage to foreign monarchs and were expected to become principal consorts in their new lands. The same definition is also valid for those cases in which the identity of the DUMU.SAL GAL is not known. I have found no evidence for another current view, which defines DUMU.SAL GAL as the king's spouse who has not yet become the *tawananna*, i.e., at a time when the Queen Mother is still alive. It is possible to show that the Great Princess Gaššuliyawiya is designated DUMU.SAL GAL in Hittite sources, and at the same time she is most probably the ^{SAL}*rabītu* of Amurru, the mother of the unfortunate spouse of Ammištamru. Thus, the equation of the two titles, which seemed *a priori* quite manifest, is proven by their coincidence in the person of Gaššuliyawiya.

Future explorations in this much neglected part of the Hittite Empire will no doubt reveal further evidence for the cultural influences between Ḫatti and Amurru. One obvious place to look for such circulation of ideas is in the domain of language. The exceptionally close ties between the two courts in the thirteenth century must have left their mark on the language(s) of Amurru. Bentešina spent several years in comfortable exile as a guest of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa in Ḫakpiš. It stands to reason that when he returned to Amurru to re-assume the throne, he brought with him not only a strong commitment to his benefactors, but perhaps also scribes who later conducted his correspondence with his in-laws in Hatti. Furthermore, both he and his son Šaušgamuwa were married to Hittite princesses, which adds further weight to the search for Hittite influence in the

language of Amurru. Traces of such an influence on Amurru Akkadian are discussed by Shlomo Izre'el in the following paper.

THE TITLE “GREAT PRINCESS” IN THE HITTITE EMPIRE

The purpose of this article is to define the Hittite royal title DUMU.SAL GAL and to establish its relationship with two other feminine royal titles pertaining to the late Hittite Empire: *s3t wrt*, the Egyptian designation of the Hittite princess who married Ramses II; and Akkadian ^{SAL}*rabītu*, denoting the mother of the ill-fated Amurrite princess, *bittu* (DUMU.SAL) ^{SAL}*rabīti*, who divorced Ammištamru II of Ugarit. The correspondence between the three titles seems self-evident, but establishing the relationship conclusively proves to be far more complicated and depends on an accurate definition of each of the three separately. I will attempt to demonstrate that the three titles may be equated and that both the Egyptian and the Akkadian designations are in fact literal renderings of the Hittite royal title DUMU.SAL GAL, “Great Princess.”¹

DUMU.SAL GAL

The definition of the title DUMU.SAL GAL² in Hittite texts has been addressed especially since the seventies. Two main interpretations have been suggested:

(a) The spouse of a king at the time when the queen-mother still acts as the queen/*tawananna* (Güterbock 1971: p. IV, Nr. 1; Houwink ten Cate *apud* Güterbock 1973: 137; Bin-Nun 1975: 255–56).

(b) “Great Daughter”/“Great Princess”/“Crown Princess,” i.e., the eldest royal princess who, according to the Hittite succession law, was entitled to assume the throne if there were no male heir available (Friedrich 1925: 19; Kammenhuber 1976: 147).

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1. The main conclusions of this study were presented (without detailed discussion) at the XXXVIIème Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, July 1991). This research was supported by the Basic Research Foundation administered by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

2. The Hittite reading of the logogram is unknown; any assumption in this respect is obviously dependent on an accurate definition of the term. DUMU.SAL GAL should be distinguished (contra Laroche 1985:195) from the title carried by regular princesses—DUMU.SAL LUGAL, “King’s Daughter.” For the hieroglyphic notation of the titles PRINCE and PRINCESS see Güterbock 1973: 137; Singer 1977: 180, 184–85; Laroche 1985.

Some commentators have refrained from a clear preference for one or the other definition and have attempted to find a compromise between the two (Ünal 1978:51; De Roos 1985-86:82).

The key to an accurate definition of the term is the identification of the persons who are titled DUMU.SAL GAL in the Hittite texts.

KILUŠHEPA

The best point of departure for a discussion on DUMU.SAL GAL may be two hieroglyphic seal impressions from Korucutepe, in the region of Išuwa (Güterbock 1973: 137ff.). On these bullae (2A and 2B, impressed by the same seal) a certain Kilušhepa is associated with the title GREAT + DAUGHTER (L 363 + L 45 + L 79). Following a suggestion made by Houwink ten Cate, Güterbock identified this hieroglyphic compound with cuneiform DUMU.SAL GAL, which he defined as “a king’s wife who is not reigning as Tawananna, as is the case with Kaššul(iy)awi(ya), the wife of Muṣili II” (1973: 137).

On this seal Kilušhepa appears at the side of a king whose name may be read Ari-Šarruma (1973: 140–41). The latter can be identified with Ari-Šarruma, king of Išuwa, who is mentioned in the Ulmi-Tešub treaty. The obvious conclusion, that Kilušhepa was the spouse of Ari-Šarruma, is apparently contradicted by KUB 40.80, where Kilušhepa is associated with a certain Ali-Šarruma, probably her husband (Klengel 1976: 88; De Roos 1985–1986: 76). However, I would not exclude the possibility that Ari-Š. and Ali-Š. are simply phonetical variants of the same name.³

Some basic data on Kilušhepa’s biography may be extracted from her appearance in cuneiform texts (see De Roos 1985–1986). She was most probably the daughter of Puduhepa and Ḫattušili, a conclusion derived from several vow texts in which the Hittite queen prays for the health of a sick boy, the son of the king of Išuwa (KUB 15.1 III 48ff.; KUB 15.3 IV 5ff.; see Güterbock 1973: 139–40). It stands to reason that the boy was her grandson and that Kilušhepa, who is mentioned immediately thereafter, was his mother (Güterbock 1973). Another text implies that the same children’s nurse (^{SAL}UMMEDA) brought up both Puduhepa and Kilušhepa (KUB 56, 14 IV 1ff.; De Roos, *ibid*: 81). Finally, Kilušhepa’s death is mentioned in KUB 40, 90 line 2’, a text which also mentions other persons whose names are found on the bullae from Korucutepe (Lupakki and Šaušgaziti).

To sum up the evidence on DUMU.SAL GAL so far: the title is carried by Kilušhepa, a daughter of the Great King and the Great Queen of Ḫatti, who was

3. Cf., e.g., the list of deities in the Emar text Msk. 75.175, where Ḫurraš and Šeliš (followed by Ḫazi and Nani) stand for the usual Šerri and Ḫurri, the sacred bulls of Tešub (Arnaud 1987: 17).

given in marriage to the king of a vassal state. On analogy with similar situations (e.g. in Amurru, for which see below), Kilušhepa undoubtedly assumed in her new country the role of the principal consort, whose descendants were expected to inherit the throne. Puduhepa’s interest in the sick boy was more than a grandmother’s natural concern for her grandson. It was a prayer for the health of the future king of Išuwa, whose loyalty to the emperor of Ḫatti was of utmost political importance.⁴ Whether her prayer was of any avail is not known, for the sick boy’s identity with the next king of Išuwa, Eḫli-Šarruma, cannot be established.

GAŠŠUL(IY)AWIYA

A closely parallel status to that of Kilušhepa, queen of Išuwa, was shared by her (half-)sister Gaššul(iy)awiya,⁵ queen of Amurru. It is more difficult, however, to assess the evidence on this Great Princess because she bore the same name as her grandmother, the spouse of Muršili II. Sorting out the sources belonging to each of the two Gaššul(iy)awiya’s, separated from each other by only about half a century, has become a rather controversial matter.⁶

As in the case of Kilušhepa, it is helpful to depart from the glyptic evidence. On KBo 1.37 Gasulawi(ya) appears at the side of the GREAT KING Muršili. On this seal her title is almost entirely obliterated, but Güterbock (SBo I, p. 18), comparing it with SBo I 104, thought he recognized traces of PRINCESS (KING + DAUGHTER). He was followed by Tischler (1981: 62–63, 67–68), who used this evidence to raise doubts concerning the common assumption that Gaššul(iy)-awiya was Muršili’s wife, and suggested instead that she might have been his daughter. This can conclusively be refuted now on the basis of the newly discovered cruciform seal impressions, where Gasulawi(ya) appears at Muršili’s side as GREAT QUEEN (Neve 1987: 401 n. 18).

The cuneiform evidence on the first Gaššul(iy)awiya, Muršili’s spouse, seems to be quite limited. KUB 36.81 is a prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna on behalf of Gaššul(iy)awiya (see Tischler 1981: 48ff., with earlier literature). The obverse is a duplicate of KUB 24.3 I, a prayer attributed to Muršili II; on the other hand, the reverse is closely paralleled by KBo 4.6, also a prayer for the health of Gaššul(iy)awiya (and DUMU.SAL GAL), which on the basis of its ductus must be dated to the thirteenth century, i.e., to the second Gaššul(iy)awiya (see recently the conclusive arguments of De Roos 1985–1986: 79 and 1985: 133, with a critical review of the text edition of Tischler 1981). It may perhaps

4. For the crucial role of Išuwa in the struggle between Ḫatti and Aššur, see Singer 1985: 109ff. (with previous bibliography).

5. For the various spellings of the name and its etymology, see Tischler 1981: 30ff.

6. For a list of references to the relevant literature, see Tischler 1981: 65.

seem remarkable that similar prayers were dedicated to both Gaššul(iy)awiya's, but this is by no means impossible. Also, it is well to recall that royal prayers often depended upon earlier compositions that were transposed and adapted to fit new situations (see, e.g., Güterbock 1958; Houwink ten Cate 1969:88).

In KBo 4, 6 the name of Gaššul(iy)awiya and the title DUMU.SAL GAL are used interchangeably. It has generally been assumed that the two must be identical, either the first Gaššul(iy)awiya (Laroche 1966: 89; Güterbock 1973: 137 n. 6; Bin-Nun 1975: 254ff.; Gurney 1977: 55; Tischler 1981: 6,66,68), or the second (Friedrich 1925: 19 n. 2; 1967: 73; Kammenhuber 1968: 45; 1976: 147; Ünal 1974: 421 n. 28). Recently De Roos (1985; 1985–86: 77) has suggested separating between the name and the title, attributing them to two separate prayers, for (the second) Gaššul(iy)awiya and for an unnamed DUMU.SAL GAL, whom he identifies with Kiluṣḥepa. I find it difficult to accept this suggestion. The formal differences between the two parts of the prayer do not support the separation, and they can be explained differently. The substitute effigies were sent by Gaššul(iy)awiya herself (rev. 14' *uppešta*) and by another person on her behalf, probably Puduḥepa, the author of the prayer (obv. 12' *uppaḥhun*). The two (preserved) parts of the prayer may represent the measures taken to counteract two assumed offences of Gaššul(iy)awiya. The second is stated in obv. 21'–23', namely, that Gaššul(iy)awiya failed to present offerings to Lelwani in Šamuḫa. The nature of the first offence was probably stated in the missing beginning of the obverse. All in all, it seems better to return to the traditional interpretation which considers the alteration between Gaššul(iy)awiya and DUMU.SAL GAL as an interchange between her name and her title.

The dating of KBo 4, 6 to the age of Puduḥepa dislodges the last argument for an association between the first Gaššul(iy)awiya, the spouse of Muršili II, and the title DUMU.SAL GAL. Consequently, the interpretation which rests primarily on this association (namely, that DUMU.SAL GAL was the king's spouse who has not yet become *tawananna*) cannot be supported on the evidence presented so far.

We may now turn to the second Gaššul(iy)awiya, the DUMU.SAL GAL. In addition to KBo 4, 6, she is also mentioned in two oracle texts. In KUB 5, 20 + 18, 56, a Hittite king, most probably Hattušili, enquires whether the lives of his children—Tašmi-Šarruma, Huzziya and *Ka-šu'-la-wi₅-ya*⁷—are in danger. KUB 50, 103 rev. 3' is too fragmentary to provide any information (see Tischler 1981: 56–57). It is probably the same Gaššuliyawiya who is referred to in the historical fragment KBo 22, 10 III 7', which also mentions the names Hannutti and Duthaliya (Tischler 1981: 58–59).

7. I 36, with emendation of the second sign (*al*); see Kammenhuber 1976: 31 (but cf. Tischler 1981: 31).

The most important information on the biography of the second Gaššul-(iy)awiya is provided by the Ḫattušili-Bentešina treaty (KBo 1, 8 obv. 18–21; Akkadian):

My son Nerikkaili has tak[en a]s his wife the daughter of Bentešina of the land of Amurru, [and I] have gi[ven] the [pr]incess Gaššuliyawiye in the land of Amurru, in the royal house, to Bentešina for marriage. [In the land of A]murru she (will be) of the queen(ship).⁸ The son and the grandson(s) of my daughter shall [hold] the kingship in the land of Amurru forever.

After a comfortable exile in Ḫatti, Bentešina returned to his land with his noble bride Gaššul(iy)awiya.⁹ Unless she was still a child when she married the Amurrite king, Gaššul(iy)awiya must have been born from an earlier marriage of Ḫattušili, preceding that with Puduḫepa.¹⁰ This is also supported by SBo I 104, a seal of the PRINCESS Gasulawi(ya). If this was indeed her seal (rather than her grandmother’s), one would assume that she was a grown-up princess in Ḫatti before she married Bentešina. Upon her arrival in Amurru, Gaššul(iy)awiya assumed the role of the first spouse of the king, taking the lead from a previous spouse of Bentešina (the mother of his daughter who married Nerikkaili). As attested by KBo 4, 6, her official title was DUMU.SAL GAL, Great Princess, the same as the title of her (half-)sister Kiluḫepa. This title derived from her distinguished origin in the royal family of Ḫatti, a descent which accorded her priority over all other women at the court of Amurru.¹¹

Gaššul(iy)awiya probably gave birth to the crown prince Šaušgamuwa and perhaps to other children, including *bittu*(DUMU.SAL) *SAL-rabīti*. We shall return to her later, but first we should consider two texts in which the identity of DUMU.SAL GAL is not disclosed.

8. [i-na(?)/ša(?)] KUR URU A]-mur-ri šī-i-it ša SAL.LUGAL LUGAL-ut-ta ... etc. The division between the sentences is usually placed after SAL.LUGAL. An alternative division (suggested to me by Sh. Izre’el) would append SAL.LUGAL to the next sentence: “She is/will be [in(?)/of(?)] the land of A]murru. Concerning the queen(ship), the son ... etc.”

9. For Bentešina’s intimate connections with the Hittite court, see Singer 1991: 168ff.

10. Calculating about a decade between the marriage of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa (immediately after the battle of Qadeš) and Bentešina’s reinstatement of the throne. See also Kammenhuber 1976: 149 (but cf. Otten 1975: 29).

11. Unfortunately, no seal impressions of Bentešina and Gaššul(iy)awiya are yet known from Ugarit. On the analogy of the seal of Ari-Šarruma and Kiluḫepa from Korucutepe, I assume that Gaššuli(ya)wiya’s title on her seals would be GREAT PRINCESS. That the familial ties to the Hittite royal family were considered in official documents of Amurru as the most valued lineage is shown by the hieroglyphic seals of Šaušgamuwa (Ugaritica III: 30ff.). On these he carries the title PRINCE, despite the fact that he was already king of Amurru (as stated in the sealed documents). He enjoyed the privileged status of a Prince of Ḫatti(!) by virtue of both his descent and his marriage to the sister of the Great King Tuḫaliya (Singer 1991: 172, 185).

TUTḪALIYA'S SPOUSE(?)

KBo 18, 1 is a double letter sent to a Hittite queen by her son, the king, and by her servant, Lupakki. The queen is generally identified as Puduḫepa (for references see Hagenbuchner 1989: 3–4). Of the message from Tutḫaliya nothing is preserved except the greeting formula. The message of Lupakki contains besides the greeting formula only a short statement saying that everything is well with His Majesty and with DUMU.SAL GAL. It has been suggested that the latter was either a daughter of Puduḫepa (Kammenhuber 1976: 149; but cf. *idem apud* Ünal 1978:51; De Roos 1985–86: 79) or her daughter-in-law, Tutḫaliya's (otherwise unknown) spouse (Güterbock 1971: p. IV. Nr. 1; Bin-Nun 1975: 256).

KUB 22, 70 is a lengthy report of an oracular inquiry concerning the illness of a Hittite king. The royal personages are mentioned only by their title (the king, the queen and the DUMU.SAL GAL), whereas the other persons are not known from other texts. The record has traditionally been dated to Muršili II on the evidence of its content: discord within the royal family, which bears some resemblance to the notorious affair of the dowager queen Tawananna, Šuppiluliuma's Babylonian widow (see, e.g., Imparati 1977: 26ff., with previous references in n. 29; Archi 1980: 19 n. 2). In his comprehensive edition of this difficult text, Ünal (1978: 36–52), following Kammenhuber (1976: 150ff.), argued for a thirteenth century dating, relying on several linguistic and thematic criteria. The ensuing critical reviews of the book differ on the question of this dating. Arguments for a Muršili II dating have been reiterated by Archi (1980); several reviewers have endorsed Ünal's dating (Beckman 1981; Starke 1981; cf. also De Roos 1985–86: 80–81), whereas others have refrained from a conclusive judgment (Haas 1979: 58ff.; Klengel 1981: 51–52). Following Starke's convincing argumentation (1981: 467ff.; see also Beckman 1981), I believe that first preference should be given to the ductus, which clearly points to a thirteenth-century dating (see especially the late *li*). It is *a priori* most unlikely that an oracular inquiry would be copied down from a much earlier record,¹² and various other dating criteria (e.g. the “Glossenkeil” words) confirm that the text was not only written down, but also composed in the age of Puduḫepa. She must therefore be the queen (SAL.LUGAL, ^{SAL}*tawananna*) who figures as the main protagonist in the text, and who is apparently opposed by most other participants, including the king and the DUMU.SAL GAL.

Concerning the identity of DUMU.SAL GAL in KUB 22, 70, Ünal thinks that it is not likely that a (step-)daughter of Puduḫepa would dare involve herself in intrigues against the powerful Hittite queen. Although I would not entirely

12. Although the tablet itself seems to be a “clean” copy and not the draft of the oracular protocol (Ünal 1978: 22–23).

exclude the possibility of a dispute between Puduḫepa and one of her (step-) daughters, the possibility that DUMU.SAL LUGAL refers here (and in KBo 18, 1) to the spouse of Tuthaliya is admittedly more likely. If so, the definition of DUMU.SAL GAL must be broadened to include the king’s spouse who has not yet become a *tawananna* (as conceded by Kammenhuber *apud* Ünal 1978: 51). There is one way, however, to avoid this conclusion, which, in my view, unnecessarily obscures the semantic range of DUMU.SAL GAL. The required person could be, according to the hypothesis suggested below, both a Great Princess and the elusive spouse of Tuthaliya!

In the Hittite draft of a letter of Puduḫepa to Ramses II, the Hittite queen discusses the status of her daughter who is about to be sent to Egypt. She brings up the subject of foreign princesses who have come to Ḫatti and married Hittite noblemen (KUB 21, 38 obv. 47–56; see Helck 1963: 91; Beckman 1983: 109–10; CHD 3/3: 299 s.v. *mišriwanda*):

The daughter of Babylon and [the daughter] of Amurru whom I, the Queen, took—they were indeed not a source of praise for me before the people of Ḫatti.¹³ But still, I did it. I took a foreigner(?),¹⁴ the daughter of a Great King, as a daughter-in-law. Is it not a praiseworthy thing if at some point his (i.e., the foreign king’s) messenger comes in full array after (my) daughter-in-law or (one) of (her) brother(s) (or) sister(s) comes after her? Did I not have any women (i.e., brides) within the land of Ḫatti? Did I not do it for the sake of my reputation? Did not my brother have any women? Did not my brother do it for the sake of my brotherhood (and) sisterhood? And if he (i.e., Ramses) did it (for me), does this not apply also to the king of Babylon? Did he (i.e., the king of Babylon) not take as wife the daughter of a Great King, the king of Ḫatti, the valiant king? If you say “the king of Babylon is not a Great King,” then you do not know the status of Babylon.

Puduḫepa is concerned about the prospects of future visits to the Hittite princess in Egypt and raises the precedent of a Babylonian princess in Egypt who was not allowed to meet messengers from her homeland (rev. 7ff.; Helck 1963: 93). In the passage quoted above the Hittite queen seeks to convey to the Pharaoh her views concerning the significance of royal marriages in general and, particularly, the position of Babylon in this respect. She duly emphasizes the status of Babylon as a great power that has maintained close familial ties with the Hittite court. A Hittite princess was given in marriage to the king of Babylon and a Babylonian princess was married in Ḫatti. To whom? Beckman (1983: 110)

13. An affirmative proposition seems to me preferable (Sommer 1932: 106, 253; Edel 1953: 37; Goetze *apud* Helck 1963: 91) to a rhetorical question (Helck 1963; Beckman 1983: 109).

14. It is questionable whether *aralzenun* is indeed a defective adjectival form (*HW*: 28) or rather a verb in the first person, sg. pret.

has raised the possibility that her husband was Tuthaliya IV, who followed the example of his ancestor Šuppiluliuma. I would support this suggestion with more confidence. Of the two princesses mentioned in the above quoted passage, “the daughter of Amurru” is known to have married prince Nerikkaili. The latter was, at the time of the Ulmi-Tešub treaty and the Šahurunuwa deed, the crown prince (*tuhukanti*), i.e., second in rank only to the Great King himself. The Babylonian princess, whom Puduḥepa emphatically ranks as the daughter of a Great King, could only have married Tuthaliya, either before or after he became king. By her descent, the Babylonian princess was no doubt entitled to the title DUMU.SAL GAL, Great Princess, i.e. the daughter of a Great King. I suggest that she is the anonymous DUMU.SAL GAL mentioned in the letter of Lupakki (KBo 18, 1) and in the oracular inquiry KUB 22, 70.¹⁵

This solution would readily explain the involvement of the DUMU.SAL GAL, i.e. the Babylonian Great Princess, in the intrigues described in KUB 22, 70 (see the short characterizations of the persons involved in Ünal 1978: 24ff.). She appears to be the leader of a group that plotted against the Hittite queen and perhaps even brought about her expulsion from the palace. Moreover, she attempted to conceal the misdeeds of her accomplices (Ammattalla and Pattiya) who, among other things, were found guilty of misappropriating some cult objects belonging to the deity of Arušna.¹⁶ Perhaps Pattiya, who apparently enjoyed a privileged status at the court, was the mother of the DUMU.SAL GAL, i.e., the mother-in-law of the king (Ünal 1978: 28). Although many details in this difficult text remain obscure, the overall atmosphere of tension between the queen (i.e. Puduḥepa), on the one side, and the king (Tuthaliya) and his spouse (the Great Princess of Babylon), on the other, is quite evident. The full implications of the suggested identification of Tuthaliya’s spouse must be investigated in light of the abundant documentation from the late Hittite kingdom.¹⁷ Suffice it to observe here that if this proposal is valid, there is a remarkable similarity between the conditions which prevailed at the courts of Muršili II and Tuthaliya IV, with Babylonian princesses hatching plots against their local rivals. The difference lies in the inversion of their roles: the first Babylonian princess was

15. She could be identical with “the daughter of Babylon” whose illness is the subject of the oracular inquiry KUB 6, 5 rev. 27 (Beckman 1983: 110 n. 58). Another oracle text which may perhaps be related is KUB 6,13+KUB 18,62, 5ff. (see Kammenhuber 1990: 194); an *āšipu* priest seeks to appease an angry ^DMARDUK, whereas an unnamed girl/daughter (DUMU.SAL) is asked for forgiveness.

16. This immediately brings to mind a similar offense committed by Tawananna, the Babylonian spouse of Šuppiluliuma I, who misappropriated the silver objects belonging to a temple of Aštata (see Laroche 1977: 240ff.).

17. The antagonism between the domineering queen mother and her foreign daughter-in-law, with Tuthaliya himself caught in between, may perhaps explain the peculiar fact that no reference to Tuthaliya’s spouse has so far been found in the contemporary sources, including the numerous seals of this monarch. It is no doubt more than a simple coincidence that Puduḥepa is the last Hittite queen known to us (Ottén 1975: 33).

the *tawananna*, but was deposed by her step-son Muršili II; the second perhaps aspired to this post, but her way was blocked by her mother-in-law, Puduḫepa.

We may now sum up the evidence on DUMU.SAL GAL in the Hittite sources. Whenever the title is clearly associated with a known person (Kiluḫḫepa, Gaššuliyawiya), it refers to daughters of the Great King of Ḫatti who were given in marriage to foreign kings. The same definition, i.e., the daughter of a Great King married abroad, is valid for the cases in which the identity of the DUMU.SAL GAL is unknown, provided that her suggested identification with the Babylonian Great Princess, Tuḫaliya's spouse, is accepted. In all these cases (and in those presented below), a Great Princess, by virtue of her supreme descent, was expected to assume a leading role in her new land; it was hoped that she would become the mother of the successor to the throne. No evidence has been found to support any association between DUMU.SAL GAL and the king's spouse who has not yet become the *tawananna*. The hieroglyphic sign which corresponds to DUMU.SAL GAL, GREAT PRINCESS (attested so far only on a seal from Korucutepe), further affirms that the title was construed on the same principle as GREAT KING (LUGAL GAL) and GREAT QUEEN (SAL.LUGAL GAL), and should in fact be conceived as an abbreviation of DUMU.SAL <LUGAL> GAL, "daughter of a Great <King>" (Kammenhuber 1976: 147ff.; Tischler 1981: 20).

In the following, two foreign renderings of the Hittite title will be presented, in Egyptian and Akkadian.

S3T WRT

In the 34th year of his reign (1245 B.C.E.) Ramses II married a Hittite princess, the daughter of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa (see Edel 1976: 27ff.; Kitchen 1982: 83ff.). Her Hittite name is unknown; in Egypt she was called *M3t-Ḫr-nfrw-R^c*, "She who beholds Horus who is the beauty of Re." Her departure to Egypt was preceded by prolonged negotiations which were conducted mainly by Puduḫepa (Edel 1953; Helck 1963). The letters exchanged between the two courts deal mainly with the dowry and the bride price, with meticulous arrangements for the reception of the princess and her retinue at the border, and with guarantees for future visits to the princess by messengers and family members. Although her status at the court of Ramses does not seem to be dealt with directly (in the preserved parts of the correspondence), there are sufficient indirect clues to show that the Hittite princess was expected to assume a leading position in Egypt. When the Hittite queen refers to the treaty and the alliance between Ḫatti and Egypt, "which have become one land" (e.g., KUB 21, 38 rev. 13–14), and expresses her wish that her daughter will possess "the fertility of a queen" (obv. 63–64), this can only mean that she was demanding that her daughter be accorded the honor due to the Pharaoh's principal consort. This claim was

all the more necessary since among the numerous consorts of Ramses there was at least one princess from another great power, Babylon (KUB 21, 38 rev. 7ff.).¹⁸ It seems that at first Puduḥepa's persistence served its purpose, and the Hittite Queen of Ramses enjoyed the favor that her high status warranted (Kitchen 1982: 88–89, 110). Later, however, she was sent away from Pi-Ramesse and lived in the great Harim near Fayum (Kitchen 1982: 110).

In the Marriage Inscription, the Hittite princess¹⁹ is designated (*s3t wrt*, literally Great (Daughter) (KRI II 246–47; Edel 1953: 62 with n. 1). De Roos (1985–1986: 81 n. 60) has already called attention to this designation, which in this context may simply represent a “mot-à-mot” rendering²⁰ of the Hittite title DUMU.SAL GAL, Great Princess, rather than “eldest daughter” as one would usually translate this Egyptian expression (Edel 1953; Kitchen 1982: 86).²¹ Further on in the same text (KRI II 250ff.) her full designation is given as “the daughter of the Great (Lord) and/or the daughter of ihe Great (lady) of Ḫatti” (*s3t p3 wr ʿ3 m Ḫ3ty / s3t t3 wrt ʿ3t n Ḫ3ty*). The same applies to the Berlin stele of Ḫwy (Edel 1953: 61–62; see also Singer 1983a: 18ff.), where, among other titles, the Egyptian official is designated as “the one who comes from Ḫatti bringing its Great (feminine *wrt*).” Although in the Peace Treaty *wrt* refers to the Hittite queen (Edel 1953: 62 n. 1), here it must designate the bride of Ramses, the Great Princess of Ḫatti. This shortened designation is conspicuously similar to the Akkadian title *SALrabītu* discussed in the next section, both referring to Great Princesses of Ḫatti married to foreign kings.

SAL_{RABĪTU}

The textual evidence on the notorious affair of Ammištamru's Amurrite spouse has often been discussed and need not be reviewed here (for more recent discussions see Kühne 1973; Pardee 1977; van Soldt 1983; Dupont 1987: 92ff.; Singer 1991: 174–75). Throughout the large “dossier” revolving around this affair the princess is never mentioned by name. She is referred to alternatively as “the daughter of Bentešina,” “the daughter of the king of Amurru,” “the sister of

18. The daughter of the king of Ka[randuniyaš(?)] is probably also mentioned in the “Heiratsbrief” KUB III 37+ obv. 10, unfortunately in a fragmentary context (Edel 1953: 31). The reference to her is followed by the mention of the daughter of another land, perhaps Barga or Zulabi (38–39). The lack of sufficient context is particularly deplorable because a few lines later mention is made of “all the Great Kings” (1. 17: *gab-bi* LUGAL.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ).

19. Literal translation of Hittite expressions into Egyptian is best exemplified by the Silver Treaty of Year 21 (see Edel 1983). For the Egyptian rendering of the list of Hittite witness gods, see Singer 1986–87.

20. According to Egyptian sources, in his later years Ramses married a second Hittite princess, but her name or title is unknown (Kitchen 1982: 92ff.).

21. *M3t-Ḫr-nfrw-R'* could hardly have been the eldest daughter of Ḫattušili. At least Gaššul(īy)awiya was older than the Hittite bride of Ramses.

Šaušgamuwa,” and *bittu*/DUMU.SAL ^{SAL}*rabīti*. The otherwise unattested Akkadian title ^{SAL}*rabītu* (AHw 936a) is usually rendered as “the Great Lady”; the preceding element, which was first considered to be her name, Pidda, has turned out to be nothing more than the West Semitic word *bittu*, “daughter.”

The Great (Lady), who was the mother of the unfortunate princess, also had several sons (DUMU.MEŠ ^{SAL}*rabīti*; RS 17.318+349 A = PRU IV:145–146). The identity of this Great (Lady) of Amurru is open to question. She could either be the Hittite princess Gaššul(iy)awiya or another wife of Bentešina, possibly the mother of his daughter who married Nerikkaili. On the evidence of the text mentioned above, where Šaušgamuwa is apparently mentioned separately from the sons of the Great Lady (1. 18’–19’: Šaušgamuwa DUMU Bentešina LUGAL KUR Amurri ù DUMU^{MEŠ} ^{SAL}*ra-bi-ti*), Nougayrol (PRU IV:131) has argued for the second possibility. That is, if, as is generally assumed, Šaušgamuwa was the son of Gaššul(iy)awiya, then the ^{SAL}*rabītu* must have been another person.

However, Kühne (1973: 181–82) has convincingly refuted this argument by showing that not only does the separate mention of Šaušgamuwa not contradict his being a son of the Great Lady, but this is actually the most logical formulation for the statement in question. In other words, there is no objection to identifying Šaušgamuwa and the ill-fated princess with the same mother — Gaššul(iy)awiya. This conclusion is further supported by the preeminent position enjoyed by the princess in Ugarit, before she committed the offences that led to her downfall. It is easier to see why she became the queen of Ugarit if she was not only Bentešina’s daughter but also the daughter of a Great Princess of Ḫatti.

In conclusion, it is highly probable that Gaššul(iy)awiya is designated ^{SAL}*rabītu* in the texts from Ugarit and DUMU.SAL GAL in the texts from Ḫatti. The equation of the two titles, which had seemed a priori quite manifest, is proven by the coincidence of both titles in the person of Gaššul(iy)awiya, the Great Princess of Ḫatti, Bentešina’s spouse. Her daughter, who married Ammištamru, acquired nobility from both her parents and could therefore be designated as either “the daughter of Bentešina, king of Amurru,” or “the daughter of the Great Princess.” But alas, her blue blood did not save her from a cruel destiny. For the sake of peace and order in the Hittite commonwealth in Syria, her sentence was eventually ratified by both her brother Šaušgamuwa and her uncle Tutḫaliya.

In complete agreement with (logographic) Hittite DUMU.SAL GAL (and Egyptian *s3t wrt*), the Akkadian title ^{SAL}*rabītu* reflects on its bearer’s lineage, i.e., descent from a Great King. As in the case of DUMU.SAL GAL, no evidence has been found for the prevailing association between ^{SAL}*rabītu* and the office of the Queen Mother, including biblical *gebīra* (see Kühne 1973: 180–81, with further references in notes 52, 53). There is no conclusive evidence for the

assumption that Gaššul(iy)awiya outlived her husband Bentešina.²² But even if she did, and thereby became the Queen Mother during the reign of her son Šaušgamuwa, this does not reflect on the origin of her title which she inherited by descent. That an originally Hittite designation may have eventually been conflated in a Semitic milieu with a different term is in itself not impossible, but the evidence is missing.

CONCLUSIONS

DUMU.SAL GAL, “Great Princess,” is the title given by the Hittites to daughters of Great Kings (LUGAL.GAL) of Ḫatti or of other great powers. As a rule, the Great Princesses were given in marriage to foreign rulers, of great powers or important vassal states, thus serving the purposes of Hittite foreign policy.²³ They were expected to become the principal consorts of their wedded kings, certainly in vassal states, preferably in foreign powers. The network of royal weddings set up by Puduḫepa and Ḫattušili reached its peak during the Golden Age of the *Pax Hethitica* in the mid-thirteenth century. Hittite Great Princesses were married to the kings of Egypt and Babylon, Išuwa, Amurru, and the Šeḫa River Land.²⁴ At the same time, a Great Princess of Babylon most probably married Tuḫaliya, the next king of Ḫatti.

Outside Ḫatti, the title DUMU.SAL GAL was rendered into other languages: Ramses’s Hittite spouse is referred to as (*s3t*) *wrt*, whereas Bentešina’s wife, Gaššul(iy)awiya, is the ^{SAL}*rabītu* mentioned in the texts from Ugarit. Further investigation may reveal yet other renderings of DUMU.SAL GAL in foreign countries that maintained close relations with the Hittite court.

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22. It stands to reason that, like the *tawananna* in Ḫatti, a Great Princess who married a vassal king maintained her status as the ruling queen after the death of her husband. In this case, if Gaššul(iy)awiya outlived Bentešina, she probably remained the queen of Amurru at the side of her son Šaušgamuwa, a situation closely resembling that of Puduḫepa during the reign of her son Tuḫaliya. Šaušgamuwa himself married a Hittite Princess who was probably a (half-)sister of his mother. Her identity is unknown, unless she is Mal- who appears at Šaušgamuwa’s side on the fragmentary seal impression RS 17.372 = *Ugaritica* III, figs. 41–42 (Singer 1991: 172, n. 57). Her title on this seal is presumably PRIN[CESS] (Singer 1991), which is reasonable if Gaššul(iy)awiya was still the acting queen.

23. For diplomatic marriage in the ancient Near East see Rölig 1974; Pintore 1978; Schulman 1979.

24. Mašturi, the king of the Šeḫa River Land, was married to a sister of Ḫattušili, Matanazi/DINGIR.MEŠ. IR-*iš* (KBo 28, 30; see Edel 1976: 31ff., 67ff.; Singer 1983b: 208). Clearly, through royal marriages the Hittites sought to strengthen their ties with the strategic vassal states at the bounds of their empire—Išuwa in the east, Amurru in the south, and the Šeḫa River Land in the west.

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THE TREATIES BETWEEN HATTI AND AMURRU

The Amurru treaties represent the largest series of Hittite vassal treaties with a Syrian state: four separate treaties extending from the mid-fourteenth to the late-thirteenth centuries B.C.E. In comparison, Carchemish and Ugarit are represented with two treaties each (plus royal decrees), whereas only one each is attested from Aleppo, Mitanni, Tunip, Nuḥḥašše, Alašia, and Mukiš(?). This state of preservation is in itself indicative of the relative importance of the strategic kingdom of Amurru flanking the southern border of the Hittite Empire. The treaties, especially their historical introductions, contain invaluable information on the troubled history of this Levantine state during the century and a half of its existence (Singer 1991a; Klengel 1992: 160–74; Bryce 1998: 181–89, 249–51, 262–63, 344–47). Although they in fact dealt with the same historical background of Hittite–Amorite relations, the resourceful legal draftsmen of the Hittite chancery did not mechanically repeat the same narrative time and again but, rather, skillfully adapted their discourse to the changing needs of the imperial political propaganda.

The decisive political act that shaped the development of Hittite–Amorite relations was Aziru's voluntary submission to Šuppiluliuma at an early stage of the Hittite penetration into Syria (Singer 1990: 155–59). As an acknowledged Egyptian dependency for many generations, Amurru's defection to the Hittite camp remained an open wound in the pride of the Pharaohs, and sixty-five years later Ramesses II attempted unsuccessfully to reverse the course of events at the Battle of Qadesh. With the advent of peace, the former frontierland turned into one of the main hubs of amicable contact between the Hittite and the Egyptian empires. New problems agitated the Hittite court in its last decades—the growing Assyrian danger from without and dynastic rivalries from within. All these dramatic developments are vividly echoed in the Amurru treaties: the emphasis on Amurru's voluntary joining of the Hittite camp and its treacherous *volte-face* to Egypt before Qadesh, the deposition and restoration of Bentešina on the throne of Amurru, the military and trade embargo on Assyria, and the concern to ensure Amurru's ongoing support for the ruling line of Hittite kings.

Another aspect that may be followed in these treaties is the growing “Hittitization” of Amurru through reciprocal royal marriages and their resulting cultural impact (Singer 1992). A typical Canaanite state under Egyptian influence in the Amarna Age, Amurru gradually opened up to northern influences brought in by two Hittite princesses and the ensuing close ties between the two royal courts. The last document in the series was already composed for a king whose mother and wife were both Hittite princesses, and his father Bentešina absorbed “Hittite values” in his reeducational sojourn in Hatti. An Akkadian translation may have become superfluous, which may explain why the Šaušgamuwa treaty only came down to us in two Hittite copies (Beckman 1996: 99).

TREATY BETWEEN ŠUPPILULIUMA AND AZIRU

There are six duplicates of the Akkadian version of the treaty but only one in Hittite. The following is a composite translation based primarily on the better-preserved Hittite text. Significant variants in the Akkadian version are indicated in the footnotes. Additional restorations are afforded by parallel Syrian treaties, notably those between Šuppiluliuma I and Tette of Nuḥḥašše (CTH 53), and between Muršili II and Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66), and also by the later treaties with Amurru (Duppi-Tešub, Bentešina, and Šaušgamuwa). The paragraphs correspond to the original division lines of the text.

PREAMBLE AND MAIN STIPULATIONS OF THE TREATY

(i.1–13): [Thus says My Majesty, Šuppiluliuma, Great King, king of Hatti], hero, beloved [of the Storm-god:] I, My Majesty, have taken you in vassalage and [I have seated] you upon [the throne of your father]. If you, [Azira,¹ from this day on] until the end of days do not protect the king of Hatti, your lord, and the land of Hatti; and as your soul, your head, [your wives, your sons] and *your land*² [are dear] to you, in the same way may the king’s soul, the king’s head, the king’s body and the land of Hatti be likewise dear to you [forever]! Until the end of days you should keep [the treaty and the peace] of the king of Hatti, [of his sons and grandsons], and of the land of Hatti. Three hundred shekels [of refined gold] of first-class quality shall be your [annual] tribute [to the king] of Hatti; it shall be weighed out [with the weights] of the merchants [of Hatti]. [You] Azira [must appear] yearly before My Majesty, [your lord], in the land of Hatti.

1. Both the Hittite and the Akkadian versions use the form Azira throughout the text.

2. The Hittite text actually has the curious form “his(!) land (and ?) city.”

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

(i.14–26)³ Previously, suddenly [all the kings, (namely)]—the king of Egypt, the king of Hurri,⁴ the king of [Qatna(?) / Aštata(?)], the king of Nuḥḥašše, the king of Niya, the king of [Kinza(?)],⁵ the king of Mukiš, the king of Ḫalab, the king of Karkamiš—all of these kings suddenly became hostile [towards My Majesty]. But Azira, king of [Amurru], rose up from the gate of Egypt and submitted himself to My Majesty, king of Hatti. And I, My Majesty, Great King, [accordingly(?) rejoiced] very much. Should I, My Majesty, the Great King, not have accordingly rejoiced very much, as I [...] to Azira? When Azira [knelt down] at the feet [of My Majesty]—(indeed) he came from the gate of Egypt and knelt down [at the feet of My Majesty]—I, My Majesty, Great King, [took up] Azira and ranked him among his brothers.⁶

MILITARY CLAUSES

(ii.9'–24') Whoever is My Majesty's friend should also be your friend; whoever is My Majesty's enemy should also be your enemy. If the king of Hatti (goes) to the land of [Hurri], or to the land of Egypt, or to the land of Kara(n)-duniya (Babylon), or to the land of Aštata, or to the land of Alši, [or to whatever enemy lands that are] close to your border and are hostile [towards My Majesty], or to whatever friendly lands that are friends to My Majesty and are close to your border—(namely) the land of [Niya(?),⁷ the land of Kinza] and the land of Nuḥḥašše—(who) turn and become hostile [towards the king of Hatti, and if the king of Hatti goes to war] against that enemy, and if you, Azira, do not mobilize wholeheartedly with troops and chariots and do not fight him wholeheartedly—

(ii.25'–39') Or if I, My Majesty, send to you, Azira, to your aid either a prince or a high-ranking lord with (his) troops and his chariots, or if I send to attack another land, and you, Azira, do not mobilize wholeheartedly with troops and chariots and you do not attack that enemy, and you commit some [evil by saying as follows]: “Although I am under oath, I do not know at all whether he will defeat the enemy or whether the enemy will defeat him”; and if you write to

3. For the restoration of the list of kings and the rest of this passage, see Singer 1990: 145.

4. Instead of Hurri the Akk. version has *A-mur-[ri]*. This could be a scribal error, or perhaps a confusion between two parallel geopolitical terms, for which see Singer 1991b.

5. Kinza is the cuneiform writing for Qadesh on the Orontes.

6. In the Hittite version there follow one or two very fragmentary paragraphs in the remainder of the first column and in the first eight lines of the second.

7. Beckman 1996: 34 suggests restoring Mukiš(?), but this land is quite distant from Amurru's border. Cf. also §8 for the same group of lands (Kinza, Niya, Nuḥḥašše) in a similar context.

[that] enemy (saying): “[Behold! The troops and the chariots] of Hatti are coming to attack. Be on guard!”—thereby you will break the oath.

(ii.40’–46’) [...] troops and chariots of Hatti, [...] of] Hatti, they should [no]t seize a single person [...]. [If] you [do not seize(?) him and do not] deliver him to the king of Hatti—thereby you will break the oath.

(ii.47’–56’) [If some] other [enemy] rises up against the king of Hatti and [attacks] the land of [Hatti], (or if) someone starts a revolt [against the king of] Hatti, [and you], Azira, hear about it but do not come wholeheartedly to the aid of [My Majesty] with troops and chariots; if it is not [possible] for you (to come), Azira, send to the aid of the king of Hatti either [your son] or your brother with troops and chariots.

(ii.56’–iii.3’⁸) Or if someone oppresses Azira, either [...] or anyone else, and you send to the king of Hatti (saying): “[Come] to my rescue!” then I, My Majesty, will [come to your] aid, or I will] send either a prince or a high-ranking [lord] with troops and chariots and they will defeat that enemy [for you].

(iii.4’–16’) [Now(?)], because Azira has turned of his ow[n will to] My Majesty’s servitude, I, My Majesty, will s[end him] lords of Hatti, troops [and chariots from the land of] Hatti to the land of Amurru. [And since] they will go up to your cities, you (must) protect them and provision them.⁹

They should walk like brothers before you. You must protect [the king of] Hatti, but if some man of Hatti seeks evil against you, Azira, and he seeks to get h[old of either] a city or your(!)¹⁰ land—thereby he will break the oath.

EXTRADITION OF DEPORTEES, CONSPIRATORS, AND FUGITIVES

(iii.17’–28’) Whatever deportees of that land [My Majesty] has carried off—deportees of the land of Hurri, deportees of the land of Kinza, deportees of the land of Niya and deportees of the land of Nuḫḫašše—if some man or woman flees from Ḫattuša and enters your land, you should not say as follows: “Although I am sworn to the treaty, I (don’t want to) know anything. [Are they(?)] in my land?” [You], Azira, should rather capture them and send them to the king of Hatti.

(iii.29’–34’) [If] someone speaks [evil words about] My Majesty to you, Azira—whether [a man of Hatt]i or your own subject—but you, Azira, do not seize him and send him to the king of Hatti—thereby you will break the oath.

(iii.35’–44’) Whatever men of Amurru reside in the land of Hatti—whether a nobleman or a slave of Azira’s land—if you request him from the king of Hatti

8. Most of this paragraph is lost in the Hittite version; the translation follows here the Akk. version A obv 27’–30’.

9. The sense of the rare Hittite verb *išḫaššarwahḫi*—is provided by the parallel section in the Duppi–Tešub treaty (A ii.32’–33’): “... give them regularly to eat and to drink.” Cf. Beckman 1996: 57; Friedrich 1926: 18f–19.

10. The text actually has “his land” (followed by an erasure).

and the king of Hatti [gives] him back to you, then take him. But if the king of Hatti does not give him back to you and he flees and comes to you, and you Azira take him—thereby you will break the oath.

(iv.1'–5'; F 1'–3') [If] some [people(?) rise and come to the land of Azira, and you, Azira, speak unfavorable things before them and you direct them] towards the moun[tains or towards another land, and if] you, [Azira, do not seize and extradite hi]m to the king of Hatti—thereby [you will break the oath.]

(iv.6'–11') If a man of H[atti] comes as a fugitive [from the land of Hatti] and he turns to [you, Azira, seize him and extradite] him to the king [of Hatti]. But [if you do not extradite him—thereby you will break the oath.]

(iv.12'–14' = F 8'–9') [If a fugitive flees] from the land of Amurru [and comes to the land of Hatti, the king of Hatti does not (have to) seize and extradite him. It is not right for the king of Hatti to return] a fugitive. [But if a fugitive flees from the land of Hatti and comes to the land of Amurru, you, Azira, [should not detain him], but should release him to the land of Hatti. [If you detain him]—thereby you will [break the oath.]

(iv.15'–18'') If you, [Azira, want something(?) you should request it] from the king of Hatti. [If the king of Hatti gives it to you], take it, but you should not take what [the king of Hatti does not give to you].

TREASON

(iv.19'–26''): You, Azira, [I have taken to vassalage (?) and I have placed] you on [the throne of your father (?)]. If you, [Azira, do not seek] the wellbeing [of Hatti and] the hand of Šuppiluliuma, [Great King, king of Hatti], but (rather) you seek the well-being of another [land—either the land of Hurri(?)] or the land of Eg[ypt]—and [you seek] another's [hand]—thereby you will break the oath.¹¹

SUMMONING THE DIVINE WITNESSES

(iv.30'–32'') Behold, I have summoned [the Thousand Gods to assembly for this oath and I have called them to witness. Let] them be witnesses!¹²

(A rev. 1'–11') ... ̪uwaššana of] ̪upišana, [Tapišuwa of Išhupita, the Lady of Landa], Kuniyawani [of Landa, NIN.PÌSAN.PÌSAN of] Kinza, Mount Lablana,¹³ [Mount Šariyana,¹⁴ Mount Pišaiša,] the *lulahhi* gods, the *habiru* gods,

11. There follows a very fragmentary short paragraph (iv.27'–29').

12. The rest of the Hittite tablet is uninscribed, but copy A of the Akk. version adds three more paragraphs: a list of witness deities (partly restored from similar lists in other Syrian treaties), a curse and a blessing.

13. Mt. Lebanon.

14. Mt. Sirion (the Anti-Lebanon).

Er[eškigal, all the male] deities [and all the female deities of the land of Hatti], all the male deities and all the female deities [of the land of Kizzuwatna], all the male deities and all the female deities of Amurru, [all the primeval gods]: Nara, Namšara, Minki, [Tuḫuši, Ammunki, Ammizzadu], Alalu, Antu, [Anu, Apantu, Enlil, Ninlil], mountains, rivers, springs, great [sea, heaven and earth, winds and clouds]. Let them be witnesses to this treaty [and to the oath]!

CURSES AND BLESSINGS

(A rev. 12'–16') [All the words of the treaty and of the oath which are inscribed] on this tablet, [if Azira does not keep these words of] the treaty and of the oath [and he breaks the oath], let these oath gods destroy Azira [together with his head, his wives, his sons, his grandsons, his house], his town, his land, and all [his possessions]!

(A rev. 17'–20') [But if Azira keeps these words of the treaty] and of the oath which are [inscribed on this tablet], let these oath gods protect [Azira together with his head, his wives, his sons, his grandsons], his house, his town, his land, [and his possessions] !

REFERENCES

Text: *CTH* 49: Akkadian: A. KUB 3.7 + KUB 3.122 + KUB 4.94. B. KUB 3.19 (+) KUB 48.71. C. KBo 28.140. D. Bo 9200. E. KBo 28.118. F. Bo 9201. Hittite: KBo 10.12 (+) 13 (+) 12a. Editions: Weidner 1923: 70–75, 146–49 (Akkadian); Freydank 1959 (Hittite); del Monte 1986: 116–41 (both). Translations and Studies: Goetze 1955: 529–30; Klengel 1964; 1977; Singer 1990: 144–50; 1991a: 154–58; Beckman 1996: 32–37; 1997: 96–97.

TREATY BETWEEN MURŠILI AND DUPPI-TEŠUB

The Akkadian version is preserved in one text, the Hittite in four duplicates. The composite translation is based primarily on the Hittite version, with restorations afforded by the Akkadian version and other Amurru treaties. Significant variants in the Akkadian version are indicated in the footnotes. The paragraphs correspond to the original division lines in the text.

PREAMBLE

(B i.1–2) [Thus says] My Majesty, Muršili, Great King, king [of Hatti, hero], beloved of the Storm-god, [son of] Šuppiluliuma, [Great King, king of Hatti, hero].

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

(B i.3–12) Duppi-Tešub! Your grandfather Azira¹ submitted to my father.² When it came about that the kings of Nuḫḫašše and the king of Kinza³ became hostile, Azira did not become hostile.⁴ When my father fought his enemies, Azira likewise fought them. Just as Azira protected my father, my father protected Azira together with his land. He did not seek to harm him in any way, and Azira did not anger my father in any way. He kept delivering to him⁵ the 300 shekels of refined gold of first-class quality that had been decreed.⁶ My father died⁷ and I sat on the throne of my father. And just as Azira had been in [the time of my father], so he was in my time.

(B i.13–21) When it came about that the kings of Nuḫḫašše and the king of Kinza became again hostile in my time, Azira, your grandfather, and Du-Tešub, your father, [did not join] them. They supported only me in (my) overlordship.⁸ [And when Azira became old] and was no longer able to go on military campaign, [just as Azira] went to battle with troops and chariots, DU-Tešub likewise went to battle [with the troops and the chariots of the land of Amurru]. And I, My Majesty, destroyed those [enemies ...] Azira, your father, to my father [...] came [...] I gave to DU-Tešub [...]⁹

(A i.11'–18') When your father died, according [to the request of your father] I did not reject you. Since your father during (his) *lifetime*(?)¹⁰ had often mentioned yo[ur na]me before me, therefore I took care of you. You fell ill and became sick, but even though you were sick, I, My Majesty, still installed you in the position of your father and for you I made [...], your brothers, and the land of Amurru swore allegiance to you.

MAIN STIPULATIONS OF THE TREATY AND RELATIONS WITH EGYPT

(A i.19'–34', B obv. 9'–10') When I, My Majesty, took care of you according to the word of your father, and installed you in the place of your father,

1. Both the Hittite and Akkadian versions use the form Azira throughout the text.

2. Akkadian version has: "He c[ame] to my father, [and] my father made him his subject." For this restoration of the first verb (instead of the traditional "he was hostile"), see Singer 1990: 150–51.

3. The cuneiform writing for Qadesh on the Orontes. Cf. *COS* 2.16, n. 46.

4. Akkadian version adds: "As he was friendly (before), he remained friendly."

5. Akkadian version adds: "year by year."

6. Akkadian version adds: "... by my father for your grandfather. He never withheld (his tribute) and he never angered him."

7. Lit., "became god" in Hittite; "went to his fate" in Akkadian.

8. Akkadian: "As they (Aziru and Du-Tešub) held to the hand of my [father], likewise they held to my hand."

9. The Akkadian version breaks off. The Hittite version resumes after a large gap.

10. See Starke 1990: 543–44.

behold, I have made you swear an oath to the king of Hatti, to the land of Hatti, and to my sons and my grandsons. Keep the oath of the king and the hand of the king, and I, My Majesty, will protect you, Duppi-Tešub. When you shall take your wife and if you produce a son, he shall later be king in the land of Amurru. And as I, My Majesty, protect you, I will likewise protect your son. You, Duppi-Tešub, protect in the future the king of Hatti, the land of Hatti, my sons, and my grandsons. The tribute which was imposed upon your grandfather and upon your father—they delivered 300 shekels of refined gold of first-class quality by the weights of the land of Hatti—you shall deliver likewise. Do not turn your eyes towards another (land)! Your ancestors paid tribute to Egypt, [but] you [should not pay tribute to Egypt because E]gypt has become an enemy [...¹¹]

(D ii.1'–3') If [the king of Egypt(?) will become My Majesty's friend, you too] should be his friend, [and] you may keep sending your messenger [to Egypt(?)].

(D ii.4'–9') But [if] you commit [treachery, and while the king of Egypt [is hostile] to My Majesty you secretly [send] your messenger to him [and you become hostile] to the king of Hatti, and [you cast] off the hand of the king of Hatti becoming (a subject) of the king of Egypt, [thereby] you, Duppi-Tešub, will break the oath.

MILITARY CLAUSES

(D ii.10'–17', A ii.1'–12') [Whoever is My Majesty's] enemy shall be your enemy, [and whoever is My Majesty's friend] shall be your friend. [And if any of(?) the protectorate¹² lands [becomes hostile] to the king of Hatti, and if I, My Majesty, go [to fight] that [land], and you do not mobilize whole[heartedly with troops and chariots, or do] not fight [the enemy] without hesitation [or ..., or you say] as follows: "[Although I am a sworn] man, let them defeat [the enemy or let] the enemy [defeat] them," [or if] you send a man to that [land] to warn [him as follows]: "Behold, the troops and the chariots of the land of Hatti are coming. Defend yourselves!"—(thereby) you will break the oath.

(A ii.13'–24') As I, My Majesty, protect you, Duppi-Tešub, be an auxiliary force to My Majesty and the land of [Hatti]. And if some [evil] matter arises in the land of Hatti, and [someone] revolts against My Majesty, and you hear (of it), lend assistance with your [troops] and chariots. Take a stand immediately to help [the land of Hat]ti. But if it is not possible for you to lend assistance, send either your son or your brother with your troops and chariots to help the king of

11. About four lines are entirely lost.

12. For the meaning of *kuriwana*–, see, e.g., Otten 1969: 28–29.

Hatti. If you do not send your [son] or your brother with your troops and chariots to help the king of Hatti—(thereby) you will break the oath.

(A ii.25'–29') If someone oppresses you, Duppi-Tešub, in some matter, or someone revolts against you, and you write to the king of Hatti, and the king of Hatti sends troops and chariots to help you, < ... >¹³—(thereby) you will break the oath.

(A ii.30'–37') If sons of Hatti bring you, Duppi-Tešub, troops and chariots, and since they will go up to (your) cities, you, Duppi-Tešub, must regularly give them to eat and to drink. But if (any Hittite) undertakes an evil matter against Duppi-Tešub, (such as) the plunder of his land or of his cities, or if he seeks to depose Duppi-Tešub from the kingship in the land of Amurru—(thereby) he will break the oath.

EXTRADITION OF DEPORTEES, CONSPIRATORS, AND FUGITIVES

(A ii.38'–45') Whatever deportees of the land of Nuḫḫašše and deportees of the land of Kinza my father carried off, or I carried off—if one of these deportees flees from me and comes to you, and you do not seize him and extradite him to the king of Hatti, but instead you tell him thus: “[Carry on(?)], go where (you want to) go; I do not know you”—(thereby) you will break the oath of the gods.

(A ii.46'–iii.11) If someone should bring up before you, Duppi-Tešub, evil words about the king or about the land of Hatti, you shall not conceal it from the king. If My Majesty should somehow confidently give orders to you: “Do this or that thing,”¹⁴ that one among those things which is not possible to perform make an appeal about it right on the spot: “I cannot do this thing and I won't do it”; it (will happen) according to what the king decides. But if you won't do a thing which is possible to perform and you repulse the king, or if you do not observe the matter that the king tells you confidently—(thereby) you will break the oath.

(A iii.12–22) If (the population of) some land or a fugitive rebels and goes to the land of Hatti, and passes through your land, you must set them on the right track and show (them) the road to the land of Hatti, and tell them favorable words. Do not direct them elsewhere. If you do not set them on their way, and you do not conduct them to the road (leading) to Hatti, but rather you turn their eyes towards the mountain, or if you speak evil words before them—(thereby) you will break the oath.

(A iii.23–29) Or if the king of Hatti beleaguers some land and he causes them (i.e. its inhabitants) to flee, and they enter your land, if you want to take anything,

13. The scribe left out the rest of this entry, which is in fact continued in the next paragraph. Cf. the parallel entry in the Aziru treaty, ii.56–iii.16' (see *COS* 2.17A).

14. Lit., “Do these things or this thing.”

ask the king of Hatti for it. Do not take [it as you wi]sh. If you take [anything] as you wish and you conceal it—<(thereby) you will break the oath>.¹⁵

(A iii.30–33) Furthermore, if a fugitive en[ters your land in flight], seize him and extradite him. [But if a fugitive flees from the land of Amurru and comes in fli]ght [to the land of Hatti, the king of Hatti does not (have to) seize and extradite him.]¹⁶

SUMMONING THE DIVINE WITNESSES

(D iii.5'–6') [Behold, let the thousand gods sta]nd by for this oath! Let them observe and listen!

(D iii.7'–17') [Sun-god of Heaven, Sun-goddess] of Arinna, Storm-god of Heaven, Storm-god of Hatti, [Šeri (and) Hur]ri, Mount Nanni and Mount Ḫazzi,¹⁷ [Storm-god of the Gate-house, Storm-god of] the Army, Storm-god of Ḫalab, Storm-god of Zippalanda, Storm-god of Nerikka, Storm-god of Liḫzina, Storm-god of the Ruin Mound, [Storm-god of Ḫišš]ašpa(!), Storm-god of Šaḫpina, Storm-god of Šapinuwa, [Storm-god of Pittiyar]igga, Storm-god of Šamuḫa, Storm-god of Hurma, [Storm-god of Šari]šša, Storm-god of Rescue, Storm-god of Uda, [Storm-god of Kizz]uwatna, Storm-god of Išḫupitta, [Storm-god of Amurru(?)]¹⁸, Storm-god of Argata, Storm-god of Dunippa, [Storm-god of Ḫal]ab of Dunip, Milku [of the land of Amur]ru.

(D iii.18'–23') [Tutelary-god, Tutelary-god] of Hatti, Zithariya, Karzi, [Ḫapantal]iya, Tutelary-god of Garaḫna, Tutelary-god of the Field, [Tutelary-god of the *kurša*]¹⁹, Aya (Ea), Alladu, [Telipinu] of Turmitta, [Telipinu] of Tawiniya, Telipinu [of Ḫanḫana], Bunene, Ašgašipa.

(D iii.24'–A iv.3) [Moon-god Lord of the Oath, Išḫara] Queen of the Oath, [Ḫebat Queen of Heaven, Ištar Lady of the Field, Ištar of Ninuwa, Ištar of Ḫattarina, Ninatta], Kulitta, War-god of Hatti, War-god of Ellaya, War-god of Arziya, Iyarriš, Zampana.

(A iv.4–20) Ḫantidašu of Hurma, Aparu of Šamuḫa, Kataḫḫa of Ankuwa, [the Queen] of Gatapa, Ammamma of Taḫurpa, Ḫallara of Dunna, Ḫuwaššana of Ḫuḫišna, Tapišuwa of Išḫ[upitta], Lady of Landa, Kunniyawanni of Landa, NIN. PĪSAN–PĪSAN of Kinza, Mount Lablana,²⁰ Mount Šariyana,²¹ Mount Pišaiša,

15. The recurring closing formula is omitted.

16. Restored from the parallel clause in the Aziru treaty (iv.12'–14'') (see COS 2.17A). There follows a break of uncertain length concluded by the very fragmentary first four lines of D iii.

17. The Casius (*Saphōn*) and Anti-Casius Mountains.

18. For the restoration of the list of the gods of Amurru, see Singer 1991a: 180–81.

19. Either “fleece” or “hunting bag,” for which see Güterbock 1989.

20. Mt. Lebanon.

21. Mt. Sirion (the Anti-Lebanon).

lulahḫ]i gods, *ḫabiru* gods, [Ereškigal], the male deities (and) the female deities of the land of Hatti, the male (and) the female deities of the land of Amurru, [all] the primeval gods—Nara, Napšara, [Minki], Tuḫušī, Ammunki, Amizzadu, Alalu, Anu, Antu, Apantu, Enlil, Ninlil, mountains, rivers, springs, great sea, heaven and earth, winds, clouds. Let them be witnesses to this treaty and to the oath!

CURSES AND BLESSINGS²²

(A iv.21–26) All the words of the treaty and the oath which are written on this tablet—if Duppi-Tešub [does not keep these] words of the treaty and of the oath, then let these oath gods destroy Duppi-Tešub together with his head, his wife, his son, his grandson, his house, his city, his land and together with his possessions.

(A iv.27–32) But if Duppi-Tešub observes these words of the treaty and of the oath which are written on this tablet, let these oath gods protect Duppi-Tešub together with his head, his wife, his son, his grandson, his city, his land, your(!) house, your(!) subjects [and together with his possessions!] Colophon

(C rev. 11') [First tablet of Duppi-Tešub's treat]y. Complete.

REFERENCES

Text: CTH 62: Akkadian: KUB 3.14; Hittite: A. KBo 5.9. B. KUB 3.119 (+) KUB 14.5 (+) KUB 19.48 + KUB 23.6 (+) KBo 22.39. C. KUB 21.49. Editions: Weidner 1923: 76–79 (Akkadian); Friedrich 1926: 1–48, 179–81 (Hittite); del Monte 1986: 156–77 (both). Studies: Goetze 1955: 203–5; Cornil and Lebrun 1975–76: 96–100; del Monte 1985b; Singer 1990: 150–51; Lebrun 1992: 17–26; Beckman 1996: 32–37.

TREATY BETWEEN TUTHALIYA AND ŠAUŠGAMUWA (EXCERPTS)

This treaty has come down to us only in two Hittite duplicates. The main text (A) has numerous erasures and insertions, some of them quite telling. The excerpts presented below include the historical introduction and other fragments dealing with Amurru's foreign relations, past and future. The remaining text includes the regular repertory of stipulations as also found in the Aziru and the Duppi-Tešub treaties. The paragraphs correspond to the original division lines in the text.

22. These paragraphs are written entirely in Akkadian in the Hittite version.

PREAMBLE

(A i.1–7) [Thus says *tabarna* Tuthaliy]a, Great King, [king of] Hatti, hero, beloved of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, [son of Ḫattušili, Great King, king of] Hatti, hero, [grandson of] Muršili, Great King, king of Hatti, hero, [descendant] of Tuthaliya, [Great King, king of] Hatti, hero.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

(A i.8–12) I, My Majesty, [have taken you], Šaušgamuwa, [by the hand and] have made [you (my)] brother-in-law. You [shall not alter the words] of the treaty tablet which [I have made] for you!

(A i.13–27) [In the past,] the land of Amurru had not been defeated by the force of arms of the land of Hatti. At the time when [Aziru] came to the (great) grandfather¹ of My Majesty, [Šuppilul]iuma, in the land of Hatti, the lands of Amurru² were still [hostile]; they [were] subjects of the king of Hurri. Even so, Aziru was loyal to him, although he did [not def]eat him by force of arms. Aziru, your (great-great-)grandfather,¹ protected Šuppiluliuma as overlord, and he also protected the land of Hatti. Thereafter, he protected Muršili as overlord, and he also protected the land of Hatti. In no way did he commit an offense against Hatti.

(A i.28–39) But when Muwatalli, the brother of My Majesty's father, reigned, the men of the land of Amurru committed an offense against him and announced to him as follows: "We were voluntary³ subjects, but now we are no longer your subjects." And they went after the king of the land of Egypt. The brother of My Majesty's father, Muwatalli, and the king of the land of Egypt fought over the men of the land of Amurru, and Muwatalli defeated him. He conquered the land of Amurru by the force of arms and subjugated it. And he made Šabili king in the land of Amurru.

(A i.40–48) When Muwatalli, the brother of My Majesty's father, died, the father of My Majesty, Ḫattušili, became king. He deposed Šabili and made Bentešina, your father, king in the land of Amurru. He protected the father of My Majesty and he also protected the land of Hatti. In no way did he commit an offense against Hatti.

1. Lit. "grandfather" (written over erasure).

2. The "lands of Amurru" (in plural) refers to the Syrian states ruled by Mitanni before the Hittite takeover. See Singer 1991b and cf. Zaccagnini 1988.

3. Lit. "out of love."

LOYALTY TO THE HITTITE DYNASTY

(A ii.1–7) I, My Majesty, Great King, have taken you, Šaušgamuwa, by the hand, and have made you (my) brother-in-law. I gave you my sister in marriage and have made you king in the land of Amurru. Protect My Majesty as overlord, and thereafter protect the sons, grandsons, and offspring of My Majesty as overlords. You shall not desire another overlord⁴ for yourself. This matter should be placed under oath for you.

(A ii.8–19) Because I have made you, Šaušgamuwa, (my) brother-in-law, protect My Majesty as overlord. Thereafter protect the sons, the grandsons, and the offspring of My Majesty as overlords. But you shall not desire anyone (else) as overlord from among those who are brothers of My Majesty, (or) those who are legitimate sons of secondary wives of My Majesty's father, (or) any other royal offspring who are bastards for you. You shall not behave like Mašturi: Muwatalli took Mašturi, who was king of the Šeḫa River Land, and made him (his) brother-in-law; he gave him his sister Maššanauzzi⁵ in marriage, and he made him king of the Šeḫa River Land.

(A ii.20–38) But when Muwatalli died, Urḫi-Tešub, son of Muwatalli, became king. [My father] took away the kingship from Urḫi-Tešub.⁶ Mašturi committed treachery. Although it was Muwatalli who had taken him up and who had made him (his) brother-in-law, Mašturi did not protect his son Urḫi-Tešub,⁷ but went over to my father (thinking): “Should I protect a bastard? Should I *act on behalf of* a bastard's son?”⁸ Will you perhaps behave like Mašturi? If someone brings difficulties upon My Majesty, or upon the sons, the grandsons, or the offspring of My Majesty, and you, Šaušgamuwa, together with your wives, your sons, your troops and your chariots, do not help wholeheartedly, and are not ready to die for him, together with your wives and your sons—this shall be placed under oath for you.

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND EMBARGO ON ASSYRIA

(A iv.1–18) The kings who are equal to me (are) the king of Egypt, the king of Karanduniya (Babylon), the king of Assyria < and the king of Aḫḫiyawa. >⁹ If the king of Egypt is My Majesty's friend, he shall also be your friend; but if he is My Majesty's enemy, he shall also be your enemy. And if the king of

4. Written over the erased “another offspring.”

5. For the reading of the logographically written name DINGIR.MEŠ-IR, see Edel 1976: 32–33.

6. This sentence was added over an erasure.

7. The sentence “He committed a treachery” was erased, but can still be read on the tablet.

8. This sentence, the sense of which is not quite clear, was added above the line.

9. The last name has been erased, but is still clearly readable on the tablet.

Karanduniya is My Majesty's friend, he shall also be your friend; but if he is My Majesty's enemy, he shall also be your enemy. Since the king of Assyria is My Majesty's enemy, he shall also be your enemy.¹⁰ Your merchant shall not enter into Assyria and you shall not allow his merchant into your land. He shall not pass through your land. But if he enters into your land, you should seize him and send him off to My Majesty.¹¹ This matter should be placed under oath for you.

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

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

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Text: *CTH* 105 (only Hittite versions): A. 93/w (+) KUB 23.1 + KUB 31.43 (+) KUB 23.37 (+) 720/v (+) 670/v. B. 1198/u + 1436/u + 69/821 + KUB 8.82. Editions: Kühne and Otten 1971. Studies: Sommer 1932: 320–27; Ranozek 1950; Zaccagnini 1988; Steiner 1989; Singer 1991a; 1991b; Beal 1992; Klengel 1992: 173; 1999; Beckman 1996: 98–102; Cohen 1997; Bryce 1998.

10. The sentence on Assyria is written over erasure.

11. This sentence and the remaining paragraph was squeezed in the column divider.

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

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

14. The rest of the column is lost.

MAḤḤAZA, KING OF AMURRU

Professor Erich Neu, an eminent scholar and a generous colleague, dealt with the Hittite presence at Ugarit a few years before his untimely death (Neu 1995: 115–29). I dedicate this study of an obscure letter found at Ugarit to his memory.

Historical textbooks and chronological charts referring to Amurru usually list Šaušgamuwa as the last king of the Late Bronze Age Levantine kingdom (see, e. g., Klengel 1969: 455; Liverani 1991: 553; Singer 1991: 177; 1999: 732). The beginning of Šaušgamuwa's reign must fall sometime between 1235 and 1223 B.C.E. (Singer 1991: 172; van den Hout 1995: 114), but no specific data to fix its end are available. Theoretically, he could have witnessed the fall of Amurru in the early-twelfth century, but in fact, his contemporaries in Ugarit, Hatti, and Karkamiš were succeeded by two more kings. Thus, it is quite possible that Šaušgamuwa was also succeeded by (at least) one more king, of whom the current histories of Amurru have not yet taken cognizance.

Indeed, the archives of Ugarit preserve evidence for a monarch who may conceivably be recognized as a previously unidentified king of Amurru. RS 10.046 was found in 1938 near the city gate at the northwestern corner of the mound. It was first published by Virolleaud (1941: 1–4) who noted its rather unusual handwriting (p. 3, n. 2). The letter was republished by Nougayrol (PRU III, pp. 9–10) who modified some of Virolleaud's readings:

obv. 1	<i>a-na</i> LUGAL KUR URU <i>Ú-ga₅-r[i-i]t</i>
2	ŠEŠ DUG.GA- <i>ia qí-b[i-m]a</i>
3	<i>um-ma</i> ^m <i>Ma-aḥ-ḥa-za</i> ¹ ŠEŠ- <i>ka-[m]a</i>
4	<i>a-na muḥ-ḥi</i> LUGAL KUR URU <i>Ú-ga₅-ri-it</i>
5	<i>a-ḥu-ia dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu</i>
6	<i>a-nu-um-ma a-[n]a</i> ŠEŠ- <i>ia</i>

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1. For the reading and possible etymologies of the name, see below.

- 7 *mA-bu-uš-ga-m[a] x(-x)-ri-ia²*
 8 *il-tap-ra-ak-ku*
 9 *ù a-ḥu-a a-na muḥ-ḥi a-bu-ia*
 10 *ki-it[?]-tam[?]3 DÜG.GA-ut-ta*
 11 *na-ša-ta i-na-na a-na muḥ-ḥi-[i]a*
 12 *a-kán-na-ma DÜG.GA-ut-ta*
 13 *uṣ-ṣú-ur*
 14 *a-nu-um-ma a-na šul-ma-na*
 [The other side of the tablet contains six illegible lines.]

- 1–3 To the king of the land of Ugarit,
 my good brother, say:
 Thus says Maḥḥaza, your brother:
 4–5 May all be very well with the king
 of the land of Ugarit, my brother.
 6–14 Now, with you, my brother,
 Abušgama, my ... ,
 had corresponded.
 And my brother, just as you have truly(?)
 borne good friendship to my father,
 now, towards me
 likewise
 keep good friendship.
 Now, as a greeting-gift [...]

The address “brother” is usually used in a non-literal sense, simply indicating a status of equality between the author and the addressee (Ahl 1973: 519, n. 29; Kristensen 1977: 147). The king of Ugarit is addressed as “brother” by his peers, the kings of Tyre (RS 18.31 = *PRU* V, p. 81), Qadeš (RS 20.172 = *Ugaritica* V, p. 120f., 390), Amurru (RS 17.286 = *PRU* IV, p. 180), and Beirut (Arnaud-Salvini 2000). Indeed, both Virolleaud (1941: 3) and Nougayrol (*PRU* III, p. 2) identified Maḥḥaza as the king of a small, unidentified kingdom.⁴ Nougayrol (*PRU* III, p. 10, n. 1) indicated a possible connection between the Abušgama of this letter and Abušg[ama] in RS 15.24+50, a letter which was probably sent from Amurru (see Izre’el 1991: 64ff.). However, he concluded his footnote by allowing for a

2. For the reading, see below.

3. The reading of the second and third signs is problematic, but Virolleaud’s *ki-it-tam* “indeed, truly” (*CAD*, K: 472b), seems preferable to Nougayrol’s *ki-i(!) damqī* “de belle façon.”

4. *PRU* III, p. 2: “(roi) d’un petit royaume indéterminé”; cf. also *PRU* III, p. 18, n. 1. Huehnergard’s tentative identification of this Maḥḥaza as a place-name (1999: 384) must definitely be ruled out.

distinction between the two homonyms, a position also held by Liverani (1962: 147).

The uncertainty regarding Maḥḥaza's kingdom results, in my opinion, from the misreading of Abušgama's title in line 7. Both editors read *šar-ri-ia* "my king," but the phonetic spelling of *šarrum* with the sign SAR (*ABZ* 331e) is found at Ugarit only in lexical texts (Huehnergard 1989: 383–84; see also Izre'el 1991: 121) and in personal names, e.g. ^m*Iš-mi-šar-ri* (RS 16.131: 8, 10) versus ^m*Iš-mi-LUGAL* (ibid. 13, 17, 22; see *PRU* III, pp. 138–39). In fact, "king" is written twice in the text (ll. 1, 4) with the regular sign LUGAL (*ABZ* 151). The reading "my king" is also peculiar from a logical point of view. If indeed Maḥḥaza were the son of Abušgama, as suggested by Virolleaud (1941: 3), he would probably have referred to him as "my father" not as "my king." In short, we must seek an alternative reading⁵ for Abušgama's title, and I would tentatively suggest DUMU.KIN-*ri-ia* (*mār šipri=ia*), "my messenger."⁶ Mme. Sylvie Lackenbacher has kindly collated a cast of the tablet upon my request and has confirmed the plausibility of the proposed reading. In any case, Abušgama was certainly not a king, but rather a subject of Maḥḥaza, who was a king indeed. But of which land? The ready answer is supplied by RS 15.24+50 (*PRU* III, p. 18; see Izre'el 1991: 64–65), a letter sent by Abušg[ama] himself:

- obv. 1 *um-ma* ^m*A-bu-uš-g[a-ma]*
 2 *a-na* LÚMAŠKI[M KUR *U-ga-ri-it* (?)]
 3 ŠEŠ-*ia qí-[b]i-ma*
-
- 4 *lu-ú šul-mu a-na muḥ-ḥi-ka*
 5 DINGIR.MEŠ *ša* KUR *A-mur-ri*
 6 DINGIR.MEŠ *ša* KUR *U-ga-ri-it*
 7 ù DINGIR.MEŠ *ša-a* LUGAL EN-*ka*
 8 *a-na šul-ma-ni PAB-ru-ka*
-
- 9 ŠEŠ-*ia ki-i-me-e*
 10 LÚ *a-na* LÚ *tap-pí-šu*
 11 *il-ta-nap-pár ù*
 12 *at-ta* ŠEŠ-*ia*
 13 *a-na muḥ-ḥi-ia*
 14 *a-na mi-ri-il-ti-ka*

5. A reading MAŠKIM or ŠÁ-KÍN, "governor," seems to be ruled out.

6. Cf. RS 16.111: 28 (= *PRU* III, pp. 13–14), a letter sent from Amurru. For references to DUMU.KIN in letters sent from Ugarit, see Huehnergard 1989: 369. Note in particular the label RS 20.04 (= *Ugaritica* V, p. 193) mentioning a jar of wine given to a messenger from Amurru.

- 15 *ù ší-bu-ti-ka*
 16 *šu-up-ra a-na-ku*
 17 *lu-ú a-na-din-na-ak-ku*

-
- rev. 18 *ù a-na-ku mŠEŠ-ia*
 19 *a-na muḥ-ḫi-ka a-šap-pár*
 20 *mí-ri-il-ti-ia ù ší-bu-ti-ia*
 21 *ta-na-din-mi ù EN-ia*
 22 *lu-ú i-de₄*
-

1–3 Thus says Abušg[ama]:
 To the governor [of the land of Ugarit(?)],
 my brother, say:

4–8 May it be well with you.
 May the gods of Amurru,
 the gods of Ugarit
 and the gods of the king, your lord,
 guard you safely.

9–17 My brother, as
 a man to his fellow man
 customarily writes,
 you, my brother,
 write to me
 concerning your request
 and desire.
 I shall
 indeed give (it) to you.

18–22 Also I, my brother,
 will write to you.
 May you grant me
 my request and desire. My lord
 indeed knows.

Although the land of the sender is not indicated and the land of the addressee is not preserved, their respective domiciles are unequivocally indicated by the invocation of the gods of Amurru and Ugarit. The third component, “the gods of the king, your lord” (obv. 7) could either refer to the personal gods of the king of Ugarit, or to the gods of the king of Karkamiš, the overlord of both countries.

If the land of Abušg[ama] is Amurru, the same must apply to his lord, Maḥḥaza. In fact, the two epistles can now be recognized as companion letters sent by the king of Amurru and his representative to their counterparts in Ugarit.

A similar case is represented by the companion letters RS 17.152 (= *PRU* IV, p. 214) and OA 23 (see Fales 1984; Izre'el 1991: 77–78), sent by a king and a governor of Amurru, respectively. The main difference is that in the latter pair of letters the unnamed authors address their correspondents in Ugarit as “my son” (Singer 1991: 160–61).

The companion letters of Maḥḥaza and Abušgama have the appearance of introductory letters seeking to reestablish cooperation with Ugarit. Maḥḥaza recalls the fruitful cooperation between the two lands at the time of his (unnamed) father, and it stands to reason that he sent his letter to Ugarit on the occasion of his enthronement. The succession of the Late Bronze Age kings of Amurru is quite well known, and it seems impossible to squeeze Maḥḥaza into this line anywhere between Abdi-Aširta, the founder of the dynasty, and Šaušgamuwa, its last known king.⁷ He must, then, have followed Šaušgamuwa in the late-thirteenth century B.C.E.

The exact reading of the king's name and its etymology are open to deliberation.⁸ The signs for *ʾaleph* (*ABZ* 397: *ḥi+an*) and *aḥ* (*ABZ* 398: *ḥi+an+2*) are usually distinguished in texts written at Ugarit (Huehnergard 1989: 394 with nn. 74–75), but not in the texts sent from Amurru (Izre'el 1991: 125). Accordingly, the name of the author of RS 10.046 may be read either as *Ma-aḥ-ḥa-za* (Virolleaud 1941: 3), which may have a Hurrian etymology,⁹ or as *Ma-a'-ḥa-za* (Nougayrol, *PRU* III, pp. 9–10), in which case a Semitic etymology would be preferable.¹⁰ After Aziru (ca. 1345–1314), the kings of Amurru bore “Hittite-Hurrian” names (Singer 1991: 183–84). However, the inscribed arrowheads of “Zakar-ba'al king of Amurru” (Starcky 1982; Deutsch-Heltzer 1994: 12–13) show that sometime in the Early Iron Age the kings of Amurru again bore Semitic names.

7. The only king who apparently did not belong to this dynasty was Šabili, who was placed by the Hittite king Muwatalli on the throne of Amurru following Bentešina's surrender to the Egyptians (Singer 1991: 167–68, 183 n. 73). For the Semitic etymology of his name, see Singer 1999: 664 n. 190.

8. Gröndahl 1967: 306 lists *Ma-a'-ḥa-za* under names of unknown origin.

9. The quadrilingual vocabulary from Ras Shamra (*Ugaritica* V, pp. 242–43, no. 137 II 21') lists Sum. KAR = Akk. *ka-a-ru* = Hurr. *ma-ḥa-[z]i* = Ugar. *ma-aḥ-ḥa-[du]*, “quay, harbour” (on the restoration *-[du]* instead of Nougayrol's *[-zu]*, see Tropper 2000: 149, 266; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2004, II: 513–14, s.v. *ma/iḥd*). Hurrian *maḥazi* is probably a loan from Akkadian *māḥāzu* (Laroche 1976–77: 165; Huehnergard 1987: 83, 105; André-Salvini and Salvini 2000: 332).

10. Cf., e.g., the biblical names אֶחָז (Ahaz), אֶחָזִיָּה (Ahaziah) besides יְהוֹאָחָז (Jehoahaz) “may Y. seize,” or “Y. has seized” (see Koehler and Baumgartner et al. 2001, I: 32–33, 393) which is also attested in Tiglath-pileser's Summary Inscription 7 (= K 3751) rev. 11' *mJa-ū-ḥa-zi* ^{KUR}*Ja-ū-da-a+a* (see Tadmor 1994: 170, 273–74, 277). On the Semitic root **ḥz* “to seize, to hold, to take” (Akk. *aḥāzu*, etc.) see Cohen et al. 1994: I, 15.

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A NEW HITTITE LETTER FROM EMAR

Among the approximately 700 tablets from Meskene/Emar on the Middle Euphrates, about 250 of which originate from clandestine digs (Beckman 1996c: 3), until recently only a single letter written in Hittite was known (Msk. 73.1097). It was never fully published, but photographs of its two sides and a translation by Emmanuel Laroche were included in the catalogue commemorating ten years of French excavations at the site, published in 1982 (Laroche 1982: 54). It is a letter sent by His Majesty, the king of Hatti, to a Hittite official named Alziyamuwa, ordering him to restore the property of the Emariote diviner Zu-Ba'la, and to reconfirm his exclusion from tax and corvée duties.

A second Hittite letter (BLMJ-C 37) dealing with the same topic has turned up in the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem, housing the collection of Elie Borowski.¹ It is part of a group of 32 tablets originating from the Emar area.² The new Hittite letter from Emar is a kind of an accompanying document to the one published by Laroche. The addressee is the same Alziyamuwa, but the sender is the king, that is, the Hittite viceroy of Karkamiš. This is a rare case in which we can actually follow the channels of Hittite administration and law enforcement in the Syrian provinces. A similar case is provided by the parallel edicts of Tuḫaliya IV and Ini-Tešub concerning the divorce case of Ammištamru of Ugarit and the princess from Amurru (Beckman 1996b: 165–67).

I consider it expedient to present the two Hittite letters from Emar in juxtaposition, accompanied by a concise philological and historical commentary. I have obtained permission to make use of Professor Emmanuel Laroche's transliteration and preliminary notes on Msk. 73.1097, including the three lines on the lower edge which are not visible in the photographs, and are consequently missing in the inaccurate transliteration included in A. Hagenbuchner's corpus of Hittite letters (1989: 40–41, no. 23).

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1. I wish to thank Joan Goodnick Westenholz for permission to utilize the tablet in this article. The photographs were made by David Harris.

2. Goodnick Westenholz et al. 1999 (with an appendix on the Hittite seals by I. Singer). The present treatment of BLMJ-C 37, based on a renewed study of the tablet, supersedes the one included in the above volume.

Comparison of the physical appearance of the two tablets shows that the one from Karkamiš is smaller but thicker (70 x 60 x 30 mm) than the one sent from Ḫattuša (95 x 70/80 x 25 mm). Both tablets are written parallel to the narrow side, thus defying the traditional classification of the Emar tablets into a so-called Syrian and a Syro-Hittite type (Arnaud 1991: 9–10; cf. Wilcke 1992).

The Ḫattuša tablet is almost fully preserved. Some of its lines are quite crooked, and in the center of the reverse the scribe left his fingerprint pressed over some of the signs. In line 6 the scribe continued to write around the tablet in order to keep the information on Zu-Ba'la's parentage on the same line.

The tablet from Karkamiš is unfortunately in a much poorer state of preservation (fig. 1). The clay is very gritty and part of the surface is quite degraded. Small parts on the obverse and almost half of the reverse are broken. The dealer attempted to fill in the broken parts with modern clay on which he scribbled pseudo-cuneiform signs, thus causing additional damage to the original script. Nevertheless, most of the text may reasonably be restored with the help of the Ḫattuša letter and other parallels.³

King of Hatti to Alziyamuwa

Msk. 73.1097

1. *U[M-M]A^d[UTU]-ŠI-MA*
2. *[A]-NA^mal-zi-ia-mu-wa QÍ-BÍ-MA*
3. *ka-a-ša-mu ka-a-aš*
4. *mzu-ú-ba-a-la-aš LÚAZU*
5. *LÚURUaš-ta-ta ar-wa-a-it*
6. *É-ir-wa-mu-kán ŠA LÚiš-ḫa-ni-it-ta-ra-aš ŠA^man-da-ma-li*
7. *GIŠKIRI₆.GEŠTIN-ia^mal-zi-ia-mu-wa-aš*
8. *ar-ḫa da-aš-ki-iz-zi*
9. *nu-wa-ra-at A-NA^mpal-lu-ú-wa*
10. *pé-eš-ki-iz-zi ša-aḫ-ḫa-an-na-wa*
11. *an-na-az Ú-UL ku-it-ki*
12. *iš-ša-aḫ-ḫu-un ki-nu-un-ma-wa-m[u]*

King of Karkamiš to Alziyamuwa

BLMJ-C 37

1. *[UM-MA] LUGAL-MA*
2. *ṚA-NA^mal-zi-ia-m[u-wa QIBI=MA]*
3. *ka-a-ša ka-a-aš*
4. *mzu-pa-Ṛla¹-a-aš LÚAZU*
5. *A-NA^{Ṛd}UTU¹-Š[I a]r-ku-wa-i[t]*
6. *GIŠKI[RI₆.GEŠTIN-w]a-m[u]ṚA¹.ŠA<A>GÀRḪ¹.A*
7. *ma^Ṛl-zi-ya¹-m[u-w]a-aš*
8. *ar-[ḫ]a da-a-aš*

3. I first studied this tablet with my former student Mr. Masamichi Yamada, who recently published a prosopographical study on the family of the diviner Zu-Ba'la (Yamada 1998). However, I assume final responsibility for the opinions expressed in this article.

13. *ša-aḫ-ḫa-ni lu-uz-zi-ia*
 14. *kat-ta-an ti-i-ir*
 15. *nu-wa ša-aḫ-ḫa-an lu-uz-zi-in-*
n[a]
 16. *e-eš-ša-aḫ-ḫi*
-
17. *ki-nu-na-aš-ši-kán a-pa-a-at É-ir*
 18. *GIŠKIRI₆.GEŠTIN-ia ar-[ḫa] le-e*
 19. *ku-it-ki ta-at-[t]i*
 20. *ma-a-an-ma-at-š[i]-kan ka-ru-ú-*
ma
 21. *ar-ḫa ta-at-[t]a*
 22. *na-at-ši EGIR-pa pa-a-[i]*
 23. *ša-aḫ-ḫa-an-na ku-it an-na-az*
 24. *Ú-UL ku-it-ki e-eš-ši-iš-ki-it*
 25. *ki-nu-un-ma-an ša-aḫ-ḫa-an lu-*
uz-zi
 26. *ku-wa-at kat-ta-an da-iš-ten*
 27. *ki-nu-un-ma an-na-az ku-it*
 28. *e-eš-ši-iš-ta ki-nu-un-na a-[pa-a-*
at]
 29. *e-eš-ša-ad-du*
 30. *ta-ma-i-ma le-e ku-i[t-ki]*
 31. *i-ia-zi [n]a-an le-e*
 32. *ku-iš-ki da[m]-mi-iš-ḫa-iz-zi*
-

9. *nu-mu ^dUTU-ŠI IQ-BI*
 10. *le-e-wa-ra-an ku-iš-ki*
 11. *[da]m-me-eš-ḫa-iz-^rzi^r*
 12. *[x x[A.ŠA.A.G]ÀRḪI.A*
 13. *[x LÌL[*
 14. *[GI]ŠKIRI₆.GEŠTIN-i[a*
 15. *pa-ra-a pa-^ra^r-[i ku]-it-ma-an*
ú-wa-mi
 16. *na-an-kán [tar-n]a-aḫ-ḫi*
-
17. *lu-uz-zi-ia*
 18. *ša-aḫ-ḫa-an ^rle-e^r [e-eš-š]a-i*
-
19. *ka-a-ša ma-[*
 20. *A-NA DINGIR-LI[M*
 21. *na-an-ši x[EGIR-pa pa]-a-i (?)*
-

King of Hatti to Alziyamuwa

Msk. 73.1097

1. Thus (says) His Ma[jesty],
2. to Alziyamuwa say:
3. Behold, this
4. Zu-Ba^cla, the diviner,
5. the man of Aštata, prostrated
before me (saying):
6. “The house(hold) of (my) parent,
of Andamali,
7. and the vineyard Alziyamuwa
8. is taking away from me

King of Karkamiš to Alziyamuwa

BLMJ-C 37

1. [Thus] (says) the King,
 2. to Alziyam[uwa say]:
-
3. Behold, this
 4. Zu-Ba^cla, the diviner,
 5. pleaded with His Majesty (as
follows):
 6. “The vine[yard] (and) the lands
 7. Alziyamuwa
 8. has taken away from m[e].”

4. The Akkadian-language documents written at the Hittite courts employ a different handwriting. See Beckman 1983: 98ff.

As for the orthography, we should note the different spellings of the theophoric element in the name of Zu-Ba^cla. The scribe from Ḫattuša appropriately used a long interconsonantal *ā* (*zu-ú-ba-a-la-aš*), whereas his colleague from Karkamiš moved it to the last syllable (*zu-pa-la-a-aš*); he also dropped the *ú* and replaced *ba* with *pa*. In the Akkadian texts from Emar this common name is spelled either as *zu-ba-la* or as *zu-ba-aḫ/ḫ^c-la* (see, e.g., the refs. in Beckman 1996a: 138).

His Majesty's letter contains some important information on Zu-Ba^cla, which is not repeated in the letter from Karkamiš. He is introduced as the Man of Aštata, and his property is described as the "house(hold)" (É) of Andamali, ^{LÚ}*išhanittaraš*. The etymology of this term and of its cognate *išhanittaratar*, which appears in the letter from Arzawa (EA 31, 3), has been the subject of repeated debates. The Hittite etymological dictionaries opt for a connection to *išḫiya-*, "to bind" (Tischler 1978: 381–82; Puhvel 1984: 395–96), refuting B. Hrozný's original preference for *ešḫar*, "blood," which was supported by E. Benveniste (1962: 101–2). In his concise notes on this text, Laroche also opted for this etymology and translated *išhanittaraš* as "consanguineus, parent par le sang."

The prosopographical study of Zu-Ba^cla's family lends strong support to the "blood etymology," since Andamali turns out to be none other than Zu-Ba^cla's father (Yamada 1998: 326–27). A lexicographical text (*Emar* VI, 548H) is signed by the diviner [*zu*]-*ba-la*, son of ^dIM-*ma-lik*, who according to Yamada is identical to our Andamali. The omission of the final consonant is a recurring phenomenon in the Hittite spelling of Emar names (Laroche 1981: 10), and *Anda-* could simply be a nasalized form of the theophoric element *Adda/Addu*, as in the Hittite spelling of the name Niqmandu, king of Ugarit (Nougayrol 1956: 248). The very document in which Adda-malik bequeathed his "houses and lands" to his eldest son Zu-Ba^cla is preserved as *Emar* VI, 201, which was ratified by Ini-Tešub himself.

Adda-malik is the first in a five-generation line of priests who held the office of "the diviner of the gods of Emar" until the very end of the city (Yamada 1998). His son Zu-Ba^cla was a contemporary of both Šaḫunuruwa and Ini-Tešub, but his complaint was probably answered by the latter. The diviners of Emar practiced their profession in Temple M₁ where they kept their personal and professional library, including many literary texts. Their close ties with the Hittite authorities are evident not only from their legal documents, some of which were ratified directly by the kings of Karkamiš, but also from the incorporation of Hittite deities and Hittite cult practices into the local Syrian cult (Laroche 1988; Lebrun 1988; Fleming 1992: 266ff.).⁵ That the professional skills of the Emariote diviners were highly appreciated by the Hittites is also evident from a Boğazköy

5. The Emar tablets kept in the Bible Lands Museum include one further so-called Anatolian ritual (C 30), similar to the ones published in *Emar* VI.

document in which an ailing Hittite king sent a priestly expedition to Aštata to consult the oracle and to fetch the local deity to Ḫatti (KUB 5.6 + 18.54 i 20ff.; del Monte and Tischler 1978: 49).

The subject of the two letters is a petition of the diviner Zu-Ba‘la to His Majesty in the matter of two grievances done to him by the otherwise unknown person Alziyamuwa, who must have been the local Hittite commander: part of his property had been confiscated, and he has been subjected to the *šahḫan luzzi* duties. The letter from Ḫattuša is longer and more detailed, and the letter from Karkamiš appears to be an abridged version thereof.

Zu-Ba‘la’s pleading is expressed with different verbs in the two letters: *ar(u)wait*, “he prostrated (himself),” in the Ḫattuša letter; *arkuwait*, “he pleaded,” in the Karkamiš letter. The same alternation has already been noted in two duplicates of a ritual text (Otten-Rüster 1977: 61–62). The semantic conflation of the two near homophones was facilitated by the circumstance that pleading before the king usually entailed proskynesis (Puhvel 1984: 151). Does this mean that the diviner Zu-Ba‘la actually appeared in person before the Great King in Ḫattuša? Although this is not impossible, I assume that the same terminology would be used if his appeal was presented in writing and was read out aloud by a messenger.

In the reply of the king of Hatti iterative verbal forms are used to describe the act of confiscation (*arḫa daškizzi*, *peškizzi*), whereas the letter of the king of Karkamiš uses the past form (*arḫa dāš*). The iterative *-ski-* form can be used in Hittite to express an action that unfolds in several stages or stretches over a lengthy period of time (Friedrich 1960: §269). Probably the king of Karkamiš had his own sources to verify that Alziyamuwa’s action, still in the making when Zu-Ba‘la pleaded to His Majesty, had already been fully carried out during the time that had passed.

There seems to be a discrepancy between the two letters in the description of Zu-Ba‘la’s property. His Majesty speaks of a “house(hold)” (ll. 6, 17: É-*ir*) and a “vineyard” (ll. 7, 18: GIŠKIRI₆.GEŠTIN), whereas the king speaks of a “vineyard” (ll. 6, 14) and “fallow lands” (ll. 6, 13: A.ŠĀ<A.>GĀRḪI.A).⁶ In the second part of the Karkamiš letter the description of the property (ll. 12–14) is in a deplorably bad state of preservation. It seems to add at least one item, “(uncultivated) land, steppe” (l. 13: LÍL), to the “[fallow la]nds and the vineyard,” but the context is unclear. Perhaps the “house(hold)” of the Ḫattuša letter should be understood to comprise the various kinds of land specified in the Karkamiš letter. The king of Karkamiš had no doubt a better knowledge of the exact composition of Zu-Ba‘la’s property.

6. For this rendering of A.ŠĀ.GĀR (with A.ŠĀ serving as a determinative for A.GĀR), see Hoffner 1997, 191.

That not all of Zu-Ba'la's property was confiscated by Alziyamuwa is obvious from his second complaint concerning his subjection to the tax and corvée duties from which he had been exempted in the past. The nature of the corvée duties *šaḥḥan* and *luzzi*, and their relation to the *ILKU* and the ^{GIŠ}TUKUL obligations, has often been discussed, among others by F. Imparati (1982), R. Beal (1988), S. Alp (1991, 333–34), and M. Yamada (1995). In this context I would merely draw attention to two exceptional forms occurring in these letters: the unusual common gender accusative in the Ḫattuša letter (l. 15: *luzzin*), and the reversal of the regular order of the two vocables in the Karkamiš letter (l. 17–18: *luzzi=ya šaḥḥan*).

His Majesty's categorical decision is that nobody should oppress Zu-Ba'la (ll. 31–32). This order is repeated *mot-à-mot* in the Karkamiš letter and is marked with the quotation particle (ll. 10–11). Most probably the king of Karkamiš had before his eyes the very letter of His Majesty to Alziyamuwa, or perhaps a companion letter addressed to him directly. He added to His Majesty's decree his own command that the confiscated property must be returned to its rightful owner until he himself comes and releases Zu-Ba'la from his duties (ll. 15–16).⁷ Whereas His Majesty's prudent verdict is that Zu-Ba'la should pay the same taxes as he used to pay in the past, the king of Karkamiš, who knew better the fiscal situation in Emar, orders, short and clear, to release Zu-Ba'la from all *luzzi šaḥḥan* duties (ll. 17–18).

Up to line 19 all the information contained in the Karkamiš letter is merely a concise summary of His Majesty's more elaborate letter. In the last paragraph, however, the Viceroy of Karkamiš adds a significant remark, which is unfortunately badly mutilated. The occurrence of *ANA DINGIR-LIM*, “for/to the god” in l. 20 must indicate that he explained the grounds for the verdict with reference to the sacred status of Zu-Ba'la and his property. In various Hittite texts dealing with the exemption of religious institutions from the *šaḥḥan luzzi* obligations we find the expression *ANA DN appa pai-* or/and *ANA DN (appa) arawaḥḥ-*, “to release/remitted/set free for the (sake of the) god”; for example, §§ 23–24 of the Bronze Tablet, which release Kurunta from all his duties for the sake of the gods of Tarḫuntaša.⁸ We may tentatively restore the verb [EGIR-*pa pa*]-*a-i* in l. 21, and the verb *arawaḥḥ-* in l. 20, but the latter is more doubtful.⁹ A clue for the

7. The restored verb *tarna-* (at the end of line 16) usually takes a preverb to provide the meaning “restore” (*appa tarna-*) or “release” (*parā tarna-*), but the space here seems too small, and the simplex *tarnaḥḥi* is probably sufficient to express the idea of releasing Zu-Ba'la from his duties (see Tischler 1993: 192ff.).

8. Otten 1998: 22ff., III, 56: *A-NA DINGIRMEŠ URU-ṭašša=aš=kán EGIR-an arawaḥḥun*; III, 67–69: *n=at=ši ANA ʾU piḥaššašši ʾŠarrumma DUMU ʾIM ʾU ANA DINGIRMEŠ URU-ṭašša ḫumandaš EGIR-an peḥḥun n=an=kán arawaḥḥun*.

9. The available space is somewhat small for *A-[NA DINGIR-LIM EGIR-pa pa]-a-i*, but, taking into account the minuscule size of the last signs on the edge, it could be squeezed in.

restoration of l. 19 is perhaps provided by the annotation appended to the record of the lawsuit *Emar* 6, 33, 32–34 (cf. Beckman 1995, 27–28): *ù ki-i lugal il-la-ka ù di ku₅ an-na-a a-na pa-ni lugal i-šak-ka-nu*, “When the King comes, they shall set this case before the King.” The king of Karkamiš apparently paid a periodic visit to the towns under his jurisdiction, on which occasion he acted as supreme judge in important cases. Perhaps the end of our letter contained a Hittite parallel of this Akkadian formula, with the King speaking in the first person: “Behold, w[hen I come I will set him free] for (the sake of) the god. [Ret]urn it (the property”) to him [...¹⁰]!” Although the overall gist of this last paragraph of the Karkamiš letter is quite evident, its exact restoration remains uncertain.

Quite significantly, the benefactor of the illegal confiscation of Zu-Ba‘la’s property is mentioned only in the letter from Ḫattuša. We have no information on this Palluwa, but he must have been a most influential person to dare to benefit from the paternal property of the leading religious authority of Emar. It is quite tempting to connect him with the Hittite prince Palluwa who appears as a COUNTRY LORD (DOMINUS REGIO) on two seals from Alalaḫ (AT 39.38; 39.322) and on a seal impression from Ḫattuša (Boğ. III 13); there is also an exquisite silver seal of a Palluwa, without titles, in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (BN 1972.1317. 147; Masson 1975: 215–16). The hieroglyphic title COUNTRY LORD (L 390–228) on second millennium seals may very well correspond to cuneiform UGULA.KALAM.MA, “Overseer of the Land,” one of the highest authorities in the Hittite administration of Syria. His duties are strikingly similar to those of the *BĒL MADGALTI*, the “district governor,” in Anatolia (Hoffner *apud* Beckman 1992: 47–48; 1995, 28), as recently confirmed by the documents from Maşat Höyük. One document, in particular, provides a close parallel to Zu-Ba‘la’s case (Mšt. 75/57; Alp 1991: § 52, 215ff., 333–34). In a double letter sent from the capital to the “district governor,” Ḫimuili, the exemption of the scribe Tarḫunmiya from his *šaḫḫan luzzi* duties is demanded, first by Ḫattušili, an important adviser at the royal court, and then by Tarḫunmiya himself. The argumentation is almost identical to the one used in the Emar letters: it is claimed that the only scribal house(hold) in Ḫimuili’s jurisdiction had never paid the *šaḫḫan luzzi* taxes in the past, and should therefore continue to be exempted from it. Moreover, Tarḫunmiya demands “police” (LÚUKU.UŠ) protection for his house which is threatened by his countrymen (rev. 25–33). It goes to the credit of Hittite justice that in both cases the ill-treated parties—the scribe Tarḫunmiya and the diviner Zu-Ba‘la—had recourse to the highest legal authorities who decided in the favor of the plaintiffs.

10. *na-an-ši* in l. 21 is followed by a vertical wedge that could either be the masculine determinative (followed by Zu-Ba‘la’s name or the beginning of *A-NA* (“[f]or the god?”)).

If Palluwa, who was about to benefit from Zu-Ba'la's property, was indeed an Overseer of the Land,¹¹ this may explain why the king of Karkamiš tactfully avoided mentioning him in his accompanying letter. Very often the persons appointed to the highest offices in the imperial administration of Syria were close relatives or associates of the viceroy of Karkamiš. It would be quite embarrassing for him to admit that this blunt case of corruption was committed by one of his protégés.

This consideration also raises the question of the theoretical reconstruction of the circulation of letters in this case. Did Zu-Ba'la first appeal in person or in writing to the king of Karkamiš, and only when refused a positive answer (or any answer at all), take his case to the highest authority in Ḫattuša? This is possible, but an equally logical assumption would be that Zu-Ba'la appealed directly to His Majesty, fearing that in Karkamiš he would not be granted a fully impartial hearing. Upon reaching his verdict, the Hittite emperor sent back a letter to Alziyamuwa (Msk. 73.197), and perhaps another letter addressed directly to the King of Karkamiš. This was not necessary, however, since the letter addressed to Alziyamuwa must have travelled through Karkamiš. The viceroy of Karkamiš added his own companion letter (BLMJ C-37) and both were sent to Alziyamuwa in Emar. This is a minimalistic reconstruction of the dossier, but, of course, a more prolific reconstruction of the letter exchange is also possible.

The two Hittite letters from Emar provide an important insight into the Hittite judicial system in the Syrian provinces. It is remarkable that a clergyman from a distant city had the possibility to appeal directly to the emperor, and be granted not only a hearing, but also a just verdict against the abuses of the very administration that served the Hittite state. One is reminded of another coveted vineyard that became the symbol for the abuse of power in Near Eastern monarchies and in other despotic regimes. When Naboth of Jezre'el refused to sell his paternal land to Ahab, Queen Jezebel solved the problem in a far more common way: she had Naboth executed upon a perjured charge of blasphemy and then sent her husband to confiscate the vineyard (1 Kgs 21). The prophet Elijah's immortal words of denunciation have echoed time and again throughout history: "Have you killed and inherited as well?" Some four hundred years earlier, the Hittite emperor did not furnish occasion for prophetic condemnation. He performed his basic duty as Just King.

11. In the documents from Emar there are about half a dozen persons bearing the title Overseer of the Land, most of them bearing Hittite or Hurrian names (Beckman 1995: 36; Singer 1995, 63).

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BORROWING SEALS AT EMAR

Discrepancies between the names of witnesses mentioned in a text and the names appearing on the seals themselves have been noted in sealing procedures of the ancient Near East. The common explanation given for this practice is that on occasion people used seals belonging to their fathers, their masters, or other related persons.¹

The extent of this phenomenon in the glyptic corpus of Emar and the Middle Euphrates (*ME*) is considerable. A random sample of discrepancies between the cuneiform legends and their hieroglyphic sealings amongst the *ME* tablets published by Arnaud and Gonnet (*TBR*) shows that over 20% of the cases fall into this category (16 out of 72). The distribution across the thirty-three tablets is not at all even. Whereas on most tablets there is a full, or almost full correspondence between cuneiform and hieroglyphic legends, in text No. 26 three out of four names, and in text No. 23 two out of two names do not match each other. Only in a few cases is an explanation readily available, e.g., where a witness used his father's seal. In the great majority of cases, in this and in other *ME* corpora, the nature of the relationship between the owner of the seal and its user is simply unknown. Needless to say, in order to get to the heart of the matter there are some obvious prerequisites: first, a full and accurate publication of the tablets *together* with their sealings, which so far has seldom been done, and second, prosopographical studies which would reveal various familial, professional, and other sorts of ties within the Emariote community.

In this article I present a preliminary list of seal borrowings, based on the material from Meskene/Emar² and from some private *ME* collections (BLMJ,

Reprinted from *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Symposium Held on September 2, 1993, Jerusalem, Israel* (ed. Joan Goodnick Westenholz; Jerusalem: Bible Lands Museum, 1995), 57–64.

1. See, e.g., D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 27; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975), 156; idem, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* (London 1987), 116. Dynastic seals reused for many generations, which demonstrate political legitimacy, should not be considered in this context. See E. Auerbach, "Heirloom Seals and Political Legitimacy in Late Bronze Age Syria," *Akkadica* 74–75 (1991): 19–36.

2. The references are to seal numbers in the doctoral dissertation of D. Beyer (1988), who compared the cuneiform readings of D. Arnaud with the hieroglyphic readings of E. Laroche. A full publication of the material is anticipated. This number is followed by reference to the publication of the texts in *Emar VI* (abbr. as *E*).

Hirayama, Moussaief, Rosen, Sigrist, TBR).³ In the majority of the thirty-two listed cases⁴ the legends on the seals (hieroglyphic or cuneiform) are quite clear. There are, however, several cases where the hieroglyphic legend is either fragmentary or difficult to read.⁵

Seal user	Seal owner	References
1 Aḥi-Dagan s. Kuttabi	<i>I(a)-ka+r(?) -ta-ti (?)</i>	A 53 (E 5)
2 Aḥi-malik LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA	<i>La-ḥi</i>	HC 12, seal 1
3 Aḥi-malik s. (f)Adaia	(f) <i>Tá-ka-zi-mi+ri</i> (Dagan-zimri)	TBR 31a
4 Aštar-lit s. Dagan[-	<i>Pi(?) -ia(?) -mi-sà (?)</i>	B 44 (E 79)
5 Ba'al-malik s. Tūra(GUR)-Dagan	<i>Tu+ra-tà-ka</i> (Tūra-Dagan)	TBR 20c
6 Ba'al-qarrad, Priest	Dagan-aḥu (cun.)	A 62 (ME 109)
7 Baba s. Bēlu(EN)-malik	(f) <i>Pa-pa-li</i>	A 67 (E 214)
8 Bulali s. Ili	<i>Pa!-li-tà-ka</i> (Ba'al-Dagan)	Sigrist 1; <i>Hirayama</i> 37
9 Burāqu s. Madu-ka	<i>Ḥi-la+ri-zi</i> ⁶	A 15 (E 205, 211; TBR 36b,91)
10 Dagan-taliḥ s. Izkur(MU)-Dagan	<i>]-pa-x-x[</i>	A 58 (E 76)
11 Dagan-taliḥ s. Izkur(MU)-Dagan	<i>Ta-ki-ia (?)</i>	TBR 23a
12 Dagan-taliḥ s. (Tūra-Dagan s.) Qurda	<i>Tu+ra-tà-ka</i> (Tūra-Dagan) ⁷	A 60 = TBR 23b
13 Dagan-taliḥ s. Tūra-Dagan s. Qurda	<i>Pu-ḥi-še-ni</i> ⁸	B 16 = TBR 71b
14 Ḥuzzu s. Mali	Imitti(ZAG.LU)-Dagan (cun.)	B 66 (E 240,241)
15 Iaḥšu-Dagan s. Zimri-Dagan	<i>]-à-pi-[</i>	A 86 (=TBR 21f)
16 Iamūt(BA.UG ₆)-ḥamaḏī s. [Ša'l]i	<i>Tu-i(a)-sà (?)</i>	TBR 26d
17 Ikki-Dagan s. Še'i-Dagan	<i>Šei-^dKUR /Sa-i(a)-tā-ka</i> (cun.+hier.)	<i>Hirayama</i> 24
18 Ilī-abī s. Luḥra	<i>x x à? -x-tà?</i>	A 77
19 Imlik-Dagan s. Kapi-Dagan	<i>[Ka]-pi-tà-[ka]</i> (Kapi-Dagan) ⁹	C 4 (E 93)

3. I wish to thank Gary Beckman, Akio Tsukimoto, and Joan Westenholz for their permission to refer to some of the sealings on the Rosen, the Hirayama, and the BLMJ tablets, respectively.

4. Only those cases are included where the name of the witness is explicitly mentioned beside the seal impression. To these one could add cases in which there is no apparent connection between the persons mentioned in the text and the name appearing on the sealing: TBR 97, for instance, is a list of items given to the priest Ba'al(^dU)-gamil; the name on the impressed ring seal is *[Pa]-lu-tā-ka* (Bēlu -Dagan), PRIEST(?).

5. The second witness on Hirayama 11 should be excluded from this list (A. Tsukimoto, *Acta Sumerologica* 12 [1990], 198ff.). There is actually a full correspondence between the hieroglyphic seal legend. LUNA-FRATER (L 193-276), and the cuneiform name, ^d30-ŠEŠ = Šaggar-ahu. (According to the photograph on p. 249 the first part of the name is ^d30 rather than ^dKUR.)

6. For this reading (rather than *HI-ZITI^d*), see H. Gonnet, TBR, 202, No. 36b.

7. This is not the same seal as that used by Ba'al-malik (No. 5).

8. For the reading of the third sign as *še*, see H. Gonnet and F. Malbran Labat, "Un contrat akkadien avec sceau hittite: AO 28366," *Anatolica* 16 (1989-1990), 4-5.

9. The impression of the stamp seal is fragmentary, but there is hardly any space for the name of Imlik-Dagan besides that of his father Kapi-Dagan. The stamp seal of a certain Imlik-Dagan is impressed on *Emar* VI 211, 23

20 Imlik-Dagan s. Še'i-Dagan	<i>Á-la-á-pu</i> (Ala<1>-abu)	TBR 26b
21 Ip ¹ -ku-Dagan s. [x]-li-[]	<i>Pi-ti-TEŠUP-pa</i> (Penti-Tešub)	B 8 (E 243)
22 Marianni s. Ba'al(dU)-manadu	TONITRUS-tà-mi-k[i?] (Ba'al-damiq?)	TBR 37
23 Panaia s. Nana	<i>La-i(a)-tà-ka</i> (Laia-Dagan)	B 58 (E 216)
24 Šaggar(d30)-abu s. Tūra(GUR)- Dagan s. Qurda	<i>Pa-tu+ra/ri?-ka?-x</i>	Moussaief 1, seal 2
25 Šaggar(d30)-tali s. Ĥimaši-Dagan	Egyptian scarab (!) ¹⁰	Hirayama 24
26 Sata s. Itūr(GUR)-zibī	<i>Sà?-ru?-sà</i> (?)	A 61 (=TBR 73)
27 Takiya s. Malisi	<i>Pa-l[a?]-x</i>	Moussaief 1, seal 1
28 Tūra-Dagan s. Namarti	<i>À-ḥa[-</i>	TBR 46
29 Tutu s. Ša-aḥ-li	<i>Pa-la-ki-mi</i> (Ba'al(a)-kimī)	B 59=TBR 26a
30 Ugini s. Duqqani	<i>[I]-pi-ni-tà-ka</i> (Ibni-Dagan) ¹¹	TBR 44b
31 Zu-aštarti s. Nini	<i>Tu?+ri(-ia)</i> (?) ¹²	A 47 (E 91)
32 Zulanna GAL LÚ.MEŠ.DUB.SAR	dUTU.DINGIR-[i] (Šamas-ili) (cun.)	E 212,26

In only four ascertained cases do people use their father's seals (5, 12, 17, 19). The rest of the borrowings are not readily interpretable. There are also two cases where men use the seals of women (3, 7), perhaps their wives or mothers? One borrowing (2), which is discussed in detail below, falls clearly in the domain of professional ties.

The tablet HC 12 (BLMJ 1986, Fig. 1) is a legal decision made before the "overseer of the land" (UGULA.KALAM.MA) and the elders of Emar, concerning the exemption of a servant from the *ilku*-service. There are four witnesses whose hieroglyphic ring seals are impressed on the tablet. Three of them—Šaggar-abi (Fig. 3), Ba'al-malik (Fig. 4) and Abi-lali (Fig. 5)—used their own seals. The first in the list, the "overseer of the land" Aḥi-malik, used the ring seal of a certain *La-ḥi* (Figs. 2, 6).¹³

The same borrowing occurs on *Rosen* 12, the sale contract of a house. Here too, the first witness¹⁴ is the "overseer of the land" Aḥi-malik, who uses another seal with the name *La-ḥi*—a hieroglyphic cylinder seal (courtesy G. Beckman).

(Beyer, Diss., C 16). For another stamp seal of the priest Kapi-Dagan, see BLMJ 1128 (C 19), seal 6.

10. J. Huehnergard, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 77 (1983), 18 (Text 3 = Hirayama 24). The use of another Egyptian scarab is noted by Beyer, Diss., 698 (K 1).

11. The same name also appears as the first witness, Ibni-Dagan son of the priest. His ring seal (44a), bearing the hieroglyphic inscription *I-pi-ni-ta'-ka*, differs from the seal used by Ugini.

12. I will discuss the reading of this seal in the forthcoming volume, *Cuneiform Tablets in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem*, in the section dealing with text BLMJ 1129 (C 20), seal 6 (Tūra-Dagan).

13. The ring seal was impressed twice, upside down. It shows double-headed eagles, griffins, and floral symbols symmetrically flanking the hieroglyphic legend written from top to bottom. The same seal appears (also impressed twice) on a tablet published (in Arabic) by M. Yabrudi in *Annales Archeologiques Arabes Syriennes* 36–37 (1986–1987), 87–93 (upper left seal on Pl. 2, p. 91).

14. The second witness is also identical in both documents: Šaggar-abu, son of Dagan-tariḥ.



Fig. 1. Tablet HC 12 (BLMJ 1986).

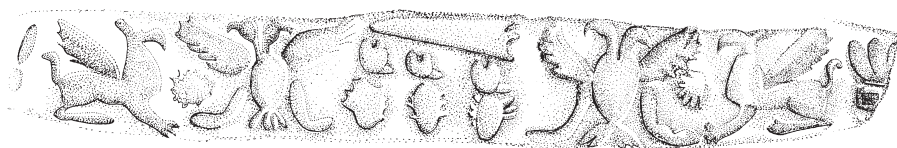


Fig. 2. Seal impression 1, of *La-hi*.

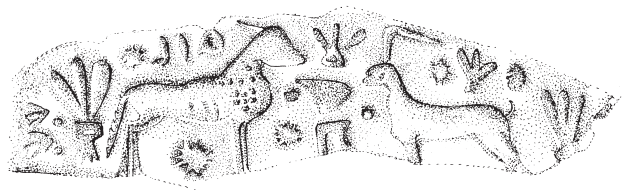


Fig. 3. Seal impression 2, of Šaggar-abī.



Fig. 4. Seal impression 3, of Ba'al-malik.



Fig. 5. Seal impression 4, of Abi-lali.



Fig. 6. Detail of HC 12, showing seal impression of *La-hi*.

The owner of these seals is probably identical to the “overseer of the land” Laḫe(ia), who is mentioned in several Emar documents. In addition to the above-mentioned seals, he possessed two other hieroglyphic seals: a cylinder seal (different from the one on *Rosen* 12), with the title “prince,” is impressed on *Emar* VI Nos. 90, 217–220 (Beyer, *Diss.*, A 17). No. 90 is the sale contract of an orchard. The first witness is the “overseer of the land” Laḫeia (*La-ḫé-ia*). Nos. 217–220 belong to a single juridical dossier dealing with Zadamma, son of Karbu, a resident of Šatappa. No. 217 is a contract in which Zadamma and his wife Ku’e sell four of their children to Ba’al-malik, son of the priest Ba’al-qarrād. The witness Laḫeia appears here with his patronym, Mutri-Tešub. Nos. 218–219 are the footprints on clay of three of these children, made on the occasion of their birth in order to ensure their correct identification.¹⁵ The procedure is witnessed by three important officials, whose hieroglyphic seals are impressed on all three prints: Ea-damiq, Dagan-bēlu and Laḫe (*La-ḫé-e*). For some unknown reason, Laḫe’s name appears in the cuneiform legend of No. 220 only.¹⁶

A round stamp seal of Laḫeia is impressed on *TBR* 72 (72c), a decree in which Ba’al-wapi’ adopts Tae as his son and marries him to his daughter. The cuneiform legend again gives the filiation, Mutri-Tešub.

There is a very high probability that all four seals belong to one and the same person, the “overseer of the land” Laḫe(ia). His father, prince Mutri-Tešub, who held the same post, also owned several seals: two ring seals (Beyer, *Diss.*, B 46 and B 49) and a stamp seal (C 20), all with hieroglyphic legends. Both father and son seem to have valued Hittite seals of various shapes—stamp, cylinder, and ring seals.

The name *La-ḫi* is also attested on two stamp seal impressions from Boğazköy (BoHa 185, 186) and on the Karga inscription (*HHM* No. 377). It is invariably spelled with L 306, *ḫi*.¹⁷ This seems to conform with the regular cuneiform spelling of the name with the sign *ḫi/kan* (*HZL* 113), which in Hittite normally has the value *ḫé* (as in *Ḫé-pát*). Could this remarkable correspondence between cuneiform and hieroglyphic spellings indicate an *e*-vocalism for both signs? The etymology of the name remains unknown. There seems to have been a Hittite noun *lahḫi-*, whose meaning is unknown (*CHD* 3/1: 7); the name Laḫḫa occurs in the late Old Kingdom (*NH* No. 673).

15. See E. Leichty, “Feet of Clay,” H. Behrens et al. (eds.), *DUMU.E2-DUB-BA-A; Studies in Honor of A. W. Sjöberg*, Philadelphia 1989, 349–56.

16. Correct Leichty’s remarks, *ibid.*, 356.

17. The origin of the curiously shaped sign L 306 has recently been suggested by H. Gonnet, “Remarques sur le *himma* et le hiéroglyphe L. 306,” *Il Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia*, Pavia 1993 (forthcoming). It is an acrophonic value derived from *himma*, a blood substitute performed in rituals, represented by three connected jugs with drinking straws stuck in them. The shape of the sign in the Emar examples looks quite different from those from Hatti and is no longer reminiscent of the original imagery.

Aḫi-malik, who uses Laḫeia's seals on HC 12 and on *Rosen* 12, was also an "overseer (of the land)" according to the inventory *Emar* VI, 289, 4 (cf. also *Emar* VI, 239,2'), the house sale *Rosen* 12,14 and the legal decree *Hirayama* 36 (Tsukimoto 1991, 300ff.). On *Hirayama* 36 he uses a ring seal with his name written in cuneiform. The accompanying legend identifies him as the son of Ea-damiq (dÉ.A-SIG₅). The combined evidence suggests that Aḫi-malik assumed his post after Laḫeia son of Mutri-Tešub. Perhaps he used his predecessor's seals at first and only later ordered a seal of his own.

The "overseer of the land" was responsible for the entire region of Aštata, and carried out various administrative, military, and legal activities.¹⁸ Most of the attested holders of this office¹⁹ bear Hurrian or Anatolian names,²⁰ and must have been appointed by the Hittite authorities in Kargamiš. Aḫi-malik is a notable exception, not only for his Semitic name, but also for his cuneiform seal. Only further research into his prosopography can reveal the circumstances of his appointment to this important post. At any rate, the new evidence shows that a personal seal could be used by a holder of the same office even if he was not his (biological) son.

These preliminary observations on seal borrowing at Emar are intended to call attention to an interesting practice which may shed light on social life and legal procedures at Emar. That the practice was quite routine is shown not only by the high percentage of borrowings, but also by multiple borrowings of the same seals by the same users. The most consistent "borrower" appears to be Burāqu son of Madukka, who uses the seal of Ḫīlarizi on no fewer than four tablets (*Emar* VI 205, 211; *TBR* 36b, 91); Ḫīlarizi himself uses his seal on only one known tablet (*TBR* 76a). The nature of the relationship between the two individuals remains to be discovered. Finally, it should be stressed again that a comprehensive approach to the cuneiform, hieroglyphic, and iconographic evi-

18. See G. M. Beckman, "Hittite Administration in Syria in the Light of the Texts from Hattuša, Ugarit and Emar," in *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria* (ed. M. W. Chavalas and J. L. Hayes; Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 25; Malibu 1992, 48; with references and further bibliography); idem, "Hittite Provincial Administration in Anatolia and Syria: The View from Mashat and Emar," *II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia*, Pavia 1993 (forthcoming).

19. None of the attested seals of the "overseers" carries any sign which may represent this office. This is somewhat surprising because a similar office, that of the "lord of the land" (EN KUR-TI = *bēl mātīm*), is represented on Hittite seals with a special hieroglyphic sign, REGIO.DOMINUS (L 228–390). See, e.g., Prince Paluwa on Alalakh Nos. 8–9 (Woolley, *Alalakh*, 266–67 and pl. LXVII) and Zaza on Korucutepe No. 12 (Güterbock, *JNES* 32 [1973]: 143).

20. Mutri-Tešub, Laḫeia, Puḫi-šenni, Tuwariša. The last name is attested on several seals from Boğazköy. Naḫeia, a contemporary of Kunti-Tešub son of Talmi-Tešub, King of Kargamiš (*Hirayama* 46; A. Tsukimoto, *Acta Sumerologica* 14, [1992], 294ff.), also bears a name which could be Hurrian or Anatolian. Another "overseer of the land," Mama (*Rosen* 56,1; courtesy Beckman), has an atypical name, but his children all bear Semitic names.

dence is imperative for a full evaluation of the information stored in the Emar tablets.²¹

21. The important contribution of the hieroglyphic legends on seals to the onomastics of Emar has been duly emphasized in the preliminary articles of E. Laroche. See especially *Akkadica* 22 (1981), 5–13 and *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions* 1983, 12–23.

A LATE SYNCHRONISM BETWEEN UGARIT AND EMAR

with Yoram Cohen

1. INTRODUCTION

The lucrative commercial contacts between the major centers of Hittite Syria seem to have continued uninterrupted until the very end of the Late Bronze Age. The most important evidence of this fact derives from Ugarit, with its prolific international correspondence. The so-called Urtenu archive, discovered in the southern part of the city, contains several dossiers pertaining to various locations. One of these covers the business transactions of a large enterprise operating between Ugarit and Emar (RSO 7, nos. 30–36; RSO 14, nos. 8–9). Daniel Arnaud, who published this dossier, reconstructed the three-level hierarchy of this commercial firm, which was headed by Šipti-Ba'al, Queen Tarelli's son-in-law, and run by his agent, Urtenu. The main office was located in Ugarit, but some of the business agents were stationed in Emar, and their activities often took them to Carchemish as well. As noted by Arnaud (RSO 7, p. 65), there is nothing in these letters to indicate any sense of peril or consciousness of impending catastrophe.

An altogether different tone is evident in another letter from the Urtenu archive, RS 34.152 (RSO 7, no. 40), which contains a dramatic reference to the famine ravaging the addressee's household (lines 10–14). Despite the deplorable condition of the tablet (large parts of the surface have worn off), its editor, Sylvie Lackenbacher, was able to read most of the text, including several indicative personal names.¹ The name of the sender is somewhat damaged: it reads either *E²-ni-ia* or, more likely, [*Ba*]n-ni-ia. It is clear that he was subservient to

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We wish to thank Stephanie Dalley, Irving Finkel, John Huehnergard, Sylvie Lackenbacher, and Leonard Sassmannshausen for their helpful comments; naturally, they bear no responsibility for the conclusions presented here.

1. RSO 7, pp. 84–86; a photo of the tablet was published in *Ugaritica* 7, pl. 33. There is not much to add to Lackenbacher's meticulous transliteration, made on the basis of the photograph and the plaster cast of the original tablet which was collated by Arnaud on the original tablet.

the addressee, because he calls him “my lord.”² Lackenbacher (RSO 7, p. 86 n. 9) tentatively suggested, on the basis of the Akkadian personal names and the greeting formula, that the letter was sent from the region of Mari. The formula opening the letter, *ana dinān(i) bēlīa lullik* “may I be a substitute of my lord,” is found in contemporary Babylonian (and some Assyrian) letters (see Tsukimoto 1992: 37 and CAD D, 148–49), including two other letters in the Urtenu archive.³

Another possible origin of the letter, the Emar region, was tentatively suggested by Itamar Singer (1999: 727). At the time, this proposal was based on circumstantial evidence, such as the place-names Hatti and Carchemish (lines 29, 32) and certain personal names. Our in-depth prosopographical study coupled with investigation of the script and language in this essay may lend further support to this suggestion and may even provide a fairly accurate date for the letter.

2. PERSONAL NAMES SHARED BY RS 34.152 AND THE EMAR DOCUMENTS

There are seven legible names in RS 34.152.⁴ Adaya, who is mentioned repeatedly (lines 20, 24, 26, 40, and 48: *A-da-a-a*), has a West Semitic name (see Hess 1993: 19–21). The rest of the individuals—Ḫadi-libbašu (line 6), Sīn-šumāti-ušabši (line 18: ^d30-mu.meš-tuku), Eriba-Marduk (line 18: *su-ba-d*Amar.utu), Rīš-Adad (line 38: *sud-d*Iškur), and Marduk (line 44: *Mar-dūk*)—all bear Akkadian names.

Two of the names in the letter are also found in the Emar documents: Marduk and Eriba-Marduk. Their names are conspicuously Akkadian, unfamiliar from the onomastics of Ugarit and northern Syria. There is a priori a good chance that we are dealing with the same individuals, an impression that will be strengthened in our prosopographical investigation. We will argue that these men were foreign merchants who resided and traded in Emar but whose place of origin was elsewhere, perhaps the Middle Euphrates region or Babylonia.

2.1. MARDUK AND EMAR 75

As already recognized by Lackenbacher (RSO 7, p. 86 n. 10), the personal name Marduk is also attested in an Emar document, with the same spelling.⁵ This document was Marduk’s promissory note for the 272 shekels of silver that

2. Compare with the familial terms (“father,” “brother”) employed in the correspondence of the firm run by Urtenu (Arnaud, RSO 7, pp. 65–78).

3. RS 34.142 (RSO 7, no. 47) and RS 92.2007 (RSO 14, no. 7).

4. Lackenbacher suggests *Šā-li-iq-d*Is₈-tār in line 47, but as she admits, this reading is far from certain.

5. Emar 75:4: ^mMar-dūk; 10: na₄ kišib ^mMar-dūk. See Baker (2001: 704) for this type of name.

he borrowed from Dagan-kabar, son of Ḫima. The note was stored in Dagan-kabar's own archive in *Chantier T*.⁶

It is important to observe that the note specifically mentions the fact that Marduk's loan of silver was weighed using Emar's weight standard.⁷ This is a clear indication that the loan involved an individual who was a foreigner in the city. The foreigner must have been Marduk himself, because the creditor, Dagan-kabar, was a well-known citizen of Emar. There is further evidence of Dagan-kabar's dealings with foreign merchants in another promissory note, *Emar* 87. According to this note, five talents of alum (a commodity frequently traded with Ugarit) were given as security for a debt of 150 shekels of silver.⁸ The alum was weighed using the weight standard of the *kārum* "the trading station" (line 8: *i-na* na₄.meš *ka-a-ri*). It may very well be that the business activities of this trading station are documented by the tablets of House 5 found in *Chantier A* at Emar, as we will argue in §4.

On the reverse of *Emar* 75, we see Marduk's Kassite-style seal impression; its cuneiform legend is, unfortunately, damaged (Beyer 2001: 279 [seal H3]). Kassite seals are rare at Emar—a further clue of Marduk's foreign origin.⁹

Marduk's father, according to *Emar* 75, was Ḫazannu (line 4); Marduk's son was *x-ni-ia* (line 11). The first sign in the name is unfortunately damaged, but what remains looks suspiciously similar to the name of the sender of RS 34.152, [*Ba*]n-ni-ia. Could the name of Marduk's son be restored as ^mB[*a*]-ni-ia,¹⁰ and could he be the same person as the desperate author of RS 34.152?

2.2. ERĪBA-MARDUK AND EMAR 27

The second name shared by RS 34.152 and the Emar documentation is Erība-Marduk. He is mentioned in a short memorandum, *Emar* 27, regarding his donkey caravan.¹¹ His name is written (line 2: su-^dAmar^l-utu) almost identically

6. See Skaist 1998: 53 on Dagan-kabar, and see further below.

7. *Emar* 75:3: *i-na* na₄.meš uru^l *E-mar*. See Faist 2001: 217 n. 82, and further below.

8. Consider restoring the name of the debtor in *Emar* 87:5 as ^m<E>-ri-ba-^d[Amar-utu] (= <E>ri^ba-[Marduk]; there are faint traces of a sign before the *ri* sign that could be 'e']; see §2.2 below for this person; note that there are no *Ri^ba-^dDN names at Emar, only Ri^bi-^dDN names.

9. Beyer (2001: 278–81) lists, in all, six Kassite-style seal impressions.

10. As the copy of *Emar* 75 (= Msk 74732) shows, the first sign of this PN is partly broken, but what remains can be restored as the sign b[*a*], yielding ^mB[*a*]-ni-ia. Other Emar names ending in -ni-ia are *Ga-ni-ia*, *Ḫa-ni-ia*, *Ḫi-in-ni-ia*, *Ib-ni-ia*, *Na-ni-ia*, and *Nu-ni-ia*. Only ^mG[*a*]-ni-ia or B[*a*]-ni-ia could fit the traces in *Emar* 75:11.

11. The name Erība-Marduk, written both syllabically and logographically, is well attested in the MB period (see Hölscher 1996: 71–72). Durand (1989a: 178 n. 53) remarked that the signs amar-utu looked more like ^dAlammuš (LAL) but preferred to read the name as Erība-Marduk². Pruzsinszky (2003: 132 n. 624) went along with the reading of the signs as LAL and rendered the name Erība-^dAlammuš (for the value of LAL, see Borger 2004: 81–82 and 288, no. 170; and Gong 2000: 184). However, the deity ^dLAL, or ^dAlammuš, is a very minor god (see Litke 1998: 121) and his sign is never found as a theophoric element in personal names. The Akkadian reading of

to the spelling found in RS 34.152:18: su-*ba*-^dAmar-utu. Erība-Marduk's appearance in *Emar* 27, a document belonging to the archive of House 5 in *Chantier A*, indicates that he too was a foreign merchant at Emar (see further in §4 below).

Obviously, we cannot entirely dismiss the possibility of a coincidence, but there is a very good chance that Marduk and Erība-Marduk in RS 34.152 are the same individuals as their namesakes at Emar. The probability that they are the same is all the more likely in light of our examination of the ductus and the grammatical features of RS 34.152, which will show that the tablet was probably written in the foreign trading post in Emar.

3. DUCTUS, ORTHOGRAPHY, AND GRAMMATICAL FEATURES

The photo of RS 34.152, published in *Ugaritica* 7, pl. 33, reveals the tablet's unusual handwriting. The cuneiform signs are written extremely close to each other with a strong slant to the right. The individual signs do not resemble the writing styles employed in the western periphery at all.¹² They do, however, bear a striking similarity to the signs found on several tablets from the cache in House 5, *Chantier A*, in Emar. *Emar* 24, 25, 26, and 27 stand apart from the rest of the Emar documents in shape, size, and most notably the script, which differs from both the Syrian and the Syro-Hittite script employed in the city.¹³ The script in these tablets is slanted to the right, and the signs are written *à la babylonienne*, as Arnaud puts it, sometimes in a simplified manner.¹⁴ Table 1 demonstrates the unmistakable similarity between the script of RS 34.152 and the script of the cache tablets of House 5, as opposed to the scripts found on other tablets from Emar and Carchemish.¹⁵

In addition to the distinctive ductus of the signs, there are a few orthographic and grammatical features that are shared by RS 34.152 and the cache tablets from House 5. Although these features are not unique to the documents in question

the sign LĀL (without a DINGIR determinative) in MB personal names is still unclear, but, as proved by names such as LĀL-Šamaš, it cannot stand for a deity (see Borger 2004: 288 and Hölscher 1996: 130).

12. As pointed out to us by L. Sassmannshausen, RS 34.163 (= RSO 7, no. 39; *Ugaritica* 7, pl. 42) is another letter exhibiting similar signs, although not as slanted as in RS 34.152. Its orthography suggests the influence of MB writing conventions.

13. See Adamthwaite 2001: 77, 81–82 (with photographs of *Emar* 24 and 26). For the so-called Syrian and Syro-Hittite scripts in Emar, see Wilcke 1992 and Ikeda 1999.

14. See Arnaud's remarks throughout his edition of this cache (*Emar* 23–27); see also Durand and Marti 2003: 164–68, which includes a reedition and a discussion of the tablets following collations.

15. The documents originating from Carchemish—RS 17.346, 17.230, and 17.128—were found at Ugarit. Notice in particular what Arnaud (1985–87: 3.37 n. 2) says about the execution of the sign SU in the House 5 tablets: “SU écrit à la babylonienne et se distinguant de ZU par le nombre d'horizontaux (et non de verticaux comme dans l'écriture indigène).” We drew the signs of RS 34.152 in this table on the basis of a digitally enhanced image of the tablet's photograph, *Ugaritica* 7, pl. 33. We wish to thank Boaz Stavi for compiling the information in Table 1.

TABLE 1

	House 5	RS 34.152	Carchemish	Emar Syro-Hittite	Emar Syrian
SU	27:2 	line 18 		3:3 	
KA	24:2  24:9 	line 22 	RS 17.346:10 	194:15  77:20 	150:30 
NA	24:6  25:14  25:16 	line 28 	RS 17.230:5 	201:14  75:3 	130:5 
TI	24:5  24:16 	line 29 	RS 17.230:11 	202:5  76:2 	110:8 
UM	25:4  24:16 	line 33 	RS 17.128:13 	201:31  75:5 	110:5 
A	24:9  24:19 	line 1  line 26 	RS 17.230:6 	216:6  75:6 	110:22 

and are occasionally found in other contemporary documents from the western periphery, their cumulative effect lends further support to the comparison.

These documents exhibit a rather extensive use of Middle Babylonian (MB) values, some rarely used at either Ugarit or Emar;¹⁶ an almost consistent avoidance of doubling the consonants;¹⁷ plene spelling where unexpected in western peripheral Akkadian;¹⁸ and dissimilation, which is typical of but not exclusive to MB scribal conventions.¹⁹ A number of nonstandard verbal and nominal forms that are not normal in the typical western peripheral Akkadian morphology but may be associated with the Babylonian dialects are also used in both RS 34.152 and the cache tablets (in particular, *Emar* 24).²⁰ Although neither RS 34.152 nor the cache of House 5 can be considered a prime example of MB compositions, and although they both include features that do not strictly conform to the MB dialect,²¹ they share enough characteristics to support our proposal that the letter originates from Emar and that it derives from the environment of a trading post in the city represented by the cache of documents from House 5 in *Chantier* A. It is worthwhile taking a closer look at this exceptional group of tablets.

16. Notice in RS 34.152: šak (42: *šak-nu-ma*), tak (= šum) (12: *tak-tal-da*), šap (33: *i-šap-pa-ra*), meš (= šid) (38: *ta-meš*), āš (15: *āš-pu-rak-ku*; also in RS 34.142:28; see Lackenbacher in RSO 7, p. 102 n. 80), kir (7, 16: *i-ma-kir* [with Lackenbacher] or perhaps *i-ba-qir*), šip (= me) (34: *šip-ri*; usually written ideographically), and rak (= sal) (15: *aš-pu-rak-ku*). Compare with the cache tablets of House 5: nam (*Emar* 24:10, 14), hē (*Emar* 24:11, 25), pi (*Emar* 24:11, 16), tām (= dam) (*Emar* 25:4, 24), lam (*Emar* 26:5; in a PN). Compare with the inventory of signs from Ugarit provided in Huehnergard 1989: 351–415.

17. Notice in RS 34.152: *i-ta-šu-ni-ni* (30; → *ittašūninni*; an Assyrian subjunctive), *i-ma-gu-ru* (31), *šu-da-am-ma* (34; → *šuddāmma*), *a-nu-ti* (36), and *mi-ma* (41). Compare with *i-hē-pi* (*Emar* 24:11; → *iheppi*), *a-ka-ša-da* (*Emar* 25:5), *ū-se-ši* (*Emar* 25:7; → *ušeši*).

18. Notice: *um-ma-a* (RS 34.152:16, 27, and 33 and *Emar* 25:3, 4, 8); this is a MB spelling (see AHw: 1413); in the periphery, it is almost always spelled *um-ma*; see, e.g., *Emar* 258–69 and RSO 7, nos. 6–25 (mostly letters from Carchemish); *be-lī-ia-a-ma* (RS 34.152:3 and 17); and *na-a-ad-nu* (*Emar* 25:12 and 15).

19. Notice: *li-in-da* (RS 34.152:22; → *lamādu*), *ʾRa-in-du* (*Emar* 24:3, 8; FPN → *rāmu*; cf. Aro 1955: 76), and *i-nam-din* (*Emar* 24:10 and 14; a sole occurrence of -dd- → -md- in the Emar corpus; see Seminara 1998: 226). See also Huehnergard 1989: 114–15; Woodington 1982: 24.

20. Nonstandard forms include: (1) an overhanging vowel at the end of the form: RS 34.152:42: *tu-še-zi-bi* (→ *tušezzib*), and *Emar* 24:5: *ma-ḥa-ra-ti* (→ *maḥrat*). Overhanging vowels are typical of NB writing conventions (see Cole 1996: 12, summarizing Hyatt 1941), but they can also be found in MB texts (Aro 1955: 74–75). For example, see Sassmannshausen 2001: 221, 18:13: *i-ta-na-pa-li* (→ *ītanappal*), 397, 345:9: *maḥ-ra-ta* (→ *maḥ-rat*); and Dalley and Teissier 1992: nos. 7 (a MB *padānu* omen compendium, allegedly from Emar), 13: *ū-la-ad-di* (→ *ullad*), 20: *a-da-ak-ki* (→ *adāk*); (2) an avoidance of the syncopation of the second short vowel: RS 34.152:48: *ma-ḥa-ru* (→ *maḥru*), 28: *na-ka-ru-tu₄* (*nakrūtu*); and *Emar* 24:5: *ma-ḥa-ra-ti* (→ *maḥrat*; cf., however, Durand 1989a: 178). These forms have an anaptyctic vowel before /t/; see GAG §12b and also Seminara (1998: 153–54) for examples in the scholarly texts of Emar. Nonsyncopated forms or forms in which the usual syncope is not reflected in the writing are typical of NB writing conventions; see Woodington 1982: 83; Weisberg 1967: 107; and the comments of Luukko 2004: 102–9; and (3) the reduplication of the final radical: RS 34.152:14: *ta-mar-ru* (→ *tammaru*, although syntactically the form should not be in the subjunctive). See Aro 1955: 73–74.

21. Notice in RS 34.152:1, *dī-na-an-ni* (→ *dinān*; cf. RS 34.142:1: *dī-na-ni*), and 17, *a-du* (→ *adi*). The form in RS 34.152:30, *i-ta-šu-ni-ni* (→ *ittašūninni*), is Assyrian. The difficult form in RS 34.152:17, *ta-ta-ri-bu* (→ either *erēbu* or *riābu*; Lackenbacher, RSO 7, p. 86 n. 6), is not normative.

4. THE CACHE OF TABLETS IN HOUSE 5, *CHANTIER A*, IN EMAR

The cache of House 5 in *Chantier A* near the palace area consists of seven tablets, *Emar* 23–29, which were found scattered near the threshold of the house (see further below).²² As described above, some of the tablets are distinguishable from the rest of the Emar documentation by their script and grammatical features. Other idiosyncrasies include the frequency of foreign names, the dating system, and the metrology.

As noted by most commentators, the foreign names that appear in these tablets are evidence of a variety of origins:²³ Alazaia and his wife, Ra^cindu/Tattašše, may have been Hurrian;²⁴ Ali-nani came from the city of Salḫu, somewhere in northern Syria;²⁵ the name Aḫlamû itself is a gentilic;²⁶ Nabunni, who had an Akkadian name, was a resident of Anat on the Middle Euphrates;²⁷ finally, Kidin-Gula was a scribe who lived in Emar but was probably from somewhere else.²⁸

As shown in detail elsewhere (Cohen 2005), it is quite probable that this very same Kidin-Gula is also mentioned in three colophons of lexical lists found in the Zu-Ba^cla archive in “Temple M₁.” In one of them, Kidin-Gula is identified as the teacher of a student whose name is unfortunately broken but who is clearly associated with Ba^cal-malik of the eminent Zu-Ba^cla family. This establishes a valuable synchronism between Ba^cal-malik and Kidin-Gula (see further under §5 below). We also suggest that Kidin-Gula, who was competent enough to instruct students in the Emar scribal school, may have written some of the documents found in the cache of House 5.

The second important feature that distinguishes the cache tablets is their use of Babylonian month names.²⁹ One document, *Emar* 26, also provides a valu-

22. As Cohen argues in detail (2004), all the documents of the cache except for *Emar* 25 (which was a letter sent to the city) were written in Emar. See further below.

23. Arnaud 1977: 256; Dietrich 1990; Adamthwaite 2001: 76–83.

24. *Emar* 23, 24, and 25. The woman’s name, Ra^cindu/Tattašše, means “Beloved” in Akkadian and Hurrian, respectively; see Durand 1989b: 37; Pruzsinszky 2003: 76, 94 n. 255, and 240 n. 154. As for the husband, Alazaia, a connection to Alašia/Cyprus is usually suggested (Durand 1989b: 37 and Pruzsinszky 2003: 76). An alternative etymology, however, could link him with the land of Alše/Alzi, a Hurrian-speaking region on the upper reaches of the Tigris in Anatolia.

25. *Emar* 23:3. Arnaud (in Beyer 2001: 126) locates Salḫu east of Alalakh; see also Belmonte Marin 2001: 349–50.

26. *Emar* 28, passim: ^mAḫ-la-mu-ú; see Pruzsinszky 2003: 75 (“der Aramäer”).

27. *Emar* 26:4, 10; thus Bassetti 1996; Durand and Marti (2003: 167) read Nabunni’s city as Āl-ilī-abī. Nabunni’s seal, stamped several times on the edges of *Emar* 26, is one of the few Kassite-style seals from the city; see Beyer 2001: 280 [seal H5] and pl. 3. According to Bassetti 1996, Nabunni is apparently also mentioned in an unpublished Emar document.

28. *Emar* 25:6: ^mKi¹[-din]-^dGu-la and *Emar* 26:2: ^mKi-din-^rd[Gu-la] (with Bassetti 1996 and Durand and Marti 2003: 167).

29. *Emar* 24:6, 26:9–12, and 28:23. See further below.

able date of the second regnal year of the Kassite king Meli-Šipak/-Šihu (for which, see further below). Emar documents, whenever dated, usually employ an indigenous dating system based on local eponyms and month names (see Fleming 2000).

The third foreign feature exhibited by this cache of tablets is the weight standards used in business transactions. A clear distinction is made between “the weight of the City” (Emar)³⁰ and “the big weight of Subari” (the regions north and northeast of Emar).³¹

All these features leave no doubt that the cache of House 5 provides evidence of the activities of foreigners in Emar who may have lived in a trading station at the edge of the mound. Perhaps the *kārum* mentioned in *Emar* 87 (of the Hima archive) should be identified with House 5 in *Chantier* A (see also Sassmannshausen 2001: 4 n. 35). It is difficult to say who the actual owner of the house was. It has been suggested that the building was the “office” of a merchant couple named Alazaia and Ra’indu/Tattašše who conducted business outside the city (Arnaud 1977: 256; Dietrich 1990: 31–32), but we cannot exclude other possibilities such as, for example, that it was the residence of Kidin-Gula.

In §5, we will examine the activities of some of the individuals mentioned in the House 5 tablets and in RS 34.152 in order to establish the chronological relationship between this foreign trading post and the rest of the Emar documents.

5. DATING THE HOUSE 5 TABLETS AND RS 34.152

It has been claimed by some scholars that the House 5 tablets from Emar are isolated from the rest of the Emar documentation and may have derived from a group of people who settled there for a short time after the destruction of the city.³² We will demonstrate that this view is unfounded, and in fact, the House 5 tablets can be synchronized with other Emar documents that refer to individuals who were fourth- and fifth-generation residents of the city.³³

Three people who are mentioned in the House 5 tablets are also found in other Emar documents: (1) Dagan-kabar or Dagan-tali’, both being the sons of Hima; (2) Abī-lalu, son of Abannu; and (3) Kidin-Gula.

1. In one of the House 5 tablets, a certain Dagan-[x], son of Hema, is mentioned as a witness to a loan transaction (*Emar* 24:24–25). The patronym

30. *Emar* 24:1: na₄ uru; cf. *Emar* 75:3 and CM 4:8: na₄.(meš) ^{uru}*E-mar*^(ki).

31. *Emar* 23:2: na₄ gal kur *Su-ba-ri-i*.

32. Skaist 1998: 57; Pruzsinszky 2003: 33; cf. Adamthwaite 2001: 79–80.

33. The generation count follows Skaist (1998: 58) and D’Alfonso (2000), with King Elli and his son, Ba’al-kabar II, and Ba’al-mālik of the Zū-Ba’la family and his sons belonging to the fourth and fifth generations, respectively. Recently, Skaist (2004) has proposed adding another king, Zū-Aštarti, as the sixth generation of the Emar royal dynasty. An analysis of this proposal is outside the purview of this essay.

accompanying this person, Hema or Hima, requires that his name be restored as either Dagan-[kabar] (who was encountered above as Marduk's creditor) or his brother Dagan-[tali']. The two brothers, sons of the well-known Hima, appear many times in their own archive in *Chantier T* (*Emar* 75–88) and were contemporary with a member of the third generation of the Zū-Ba'la family.³⁴ The mention of Marduk together with Dagan-kabar, son of Hima, in *Emar* 75 indicates that this document should also be dated to about the same time as the House 5 tablets, because (as noted) in one of them (*Emar* 24) either Dagan-[kabar] or his brother Dagan-[tali'] is mentioned. It is also important to add that King Elli, the next-to-last king of Emar, is mentioned in a document belonging to the brothers' (*Chantier T*) archive, *Emar* 95.³⁵ In spite of the fact that this fragmentary document does not mention names from the Hima family, it may nevertheless be safely assigned to one of Hima's sons, Dagan-kabar or Dagan-tali', or to Dagan-tali''s son, Dagan-kabar.

2. Abī-lalu, son of Abbanu, is mentioned in *Emar* 23:11–12, another one of the House 5 tablets.³⁶ The same person appears in *Emar* 128:25 (from the *Chantier V* archive) and is the sender of the missive *AulaSupp* 94.³⁷ Prosopographic evidence shows that Abī-lalu was a contemporary of Ba'al-malik of the Zū-Ba'la family.³⁸

3. Kidin-Gula was the foreign teacher who resided in Emar (*Emar* 25 and 26). He was contemporaneous with Ba'al-malik of the Zū-Ba'la family, both of whom were mentioned in a scholarly colophon—Kidin-Gula as the teacher and Ba'al-mālik as the student's father (see in detail Cohen 2005).

Table 2 provides an overview of the synchronism between the Emar archives, demonstrating that the cache of House 5 is not an isolated archive. It can confidently be placed within the same time frame as two other major archives from Emar—the Hima and the Zū-Ba'la archives. It is now clear that Hima's sons Dagan-kabar and Dagan-tali', Ba'al-mālik of the Zū-Bala' family, Marduk, and Erība-Marduk were all contemporaries who lived during the fourth and into the fifth (last) generations at Emar.³⁹ If Erība-Marduk and Marduk in the Ugarit

34. See Skaist (1998: 51–53) for this family and its synchronism with the Zū-Ba'la family. Habu, son of Pabaḥu, is mentioned in *Emar* 82:17, a document of Dagan-tali', the son of Hima; and in *Emar* 205:24–25, a document belonging to Ibni-Dagan, the son of the diviner Zū-Ba'la, of the third generation.

35. As indicated by Dietrich 1990: 36.

36. In *Emar* 23:12, the father of Abī-lalu is Abbanu ([A]b-ba-ni; thus with copy), not Hīmanu, as was read by Arnaud. This reading was corrected by Beyer (2001: 128 [seal B20]) and Pruzsinszky (2003: CD index, p. 49).

37. His personal seal is impressed on all three documents; see Beyer 2001: 128 [seal B20].

38. Šaggar-abu, the (dumu/lú) *tartānu*, is found in: (1) *Emar* 128:25 with Abī-lalu, and in (2) *Emar* 221:12, which mentions Ba'al-malik of the Zū-Ba'la family.

39. There is no problem in supposing that some people spanned the last two generations at Emar, especially because the fifth and last generation at Emar was very short, not longer than ten or so years and in all likelihood even shorter. The documentation from the fifth generation shrank drastically in comparison with the archives from the fourth and third generations. See details in Cohen 2004.

letter RS 34.152 are indeed the same persons as their namesakes in Emar, a valuable synchronism between this Ugarit letter from the Urtenu archive and the latest Emar documents is established.

TABLE 2

	House 5					Chantier T	Chantier V	“Temple M1”	
<i>Emar</i>	23	24	25	26	27	75–83	128	221	i zi = i šātu colophon ^a
Kidin-Gula			+	+					+
Marduk						+			
Erība-Marduk					+				
Abī-lalu, son of Abbanu	+						+		
Dagan-[kabar/tali?], son of Hima		+				+			
Šaggar-abu (dumu/lú) tartānu							+	+	
Baʿal-mālik, son of Baʿal-qarrād								+	+

a. See here Cohen 2004. The text in question is Emar 567+, ...

As already established by Arnaud (1975a), the Babylonian year name inscribed on *Emar* 26 provides an invaluable chronological anchor. The archaeological context leaves no doubt that this tablet must have been written a very short time before the fall of Emar.⁴⁰ It was found with the rest of the tablets on the floor near the threshold of House 5 in *Chantier* A together with fragments of a jar embossed with nude female figurines. The tablets were probably stored in the jar prior to being scattered on the floor of the house. Because the area shows signs of extensive conflagration, we can imagine that someone tried to rescue the jar and tablets while fleeing, at the time of the destruction of the city. Given the

40. The cache was described in the preliminary excavation reports by Arnaud (1975a: 88–89; 1975b: 90–91). See also Adamthwaite 2001: 79–80; Beyer 2001: 6–7; and Margueron 1982: 234. Finkbeiner and Leisten (1999–2000: 6) indicate that, as of the 1998 excavation season, the northwestern corner of the site was an island and the “palace” area was “hardly discernible any more.”

small size of this cache, we can assume that its duration as an active “archive” was very short, probably not more than one year.

The dated documents from the cache are promissory notes that contain the following months:

Emar 26:9–12: kin-2-kám mu-2-kám *Mi-li-ši-pak/ḥu* lugal-e
 Elūlu, intercalated (= month vi, 2), the 2nd year of Meli-Šipak/-Šiḥu
Emar 28:23: iti-kám *ša Ta-aš-ri-ti* [u]d.16.kám
 Tašritu (month vii), the 16th day
Emar 24:6: gan.gan.è
 Kisilimu (= month ix)

The juxtaposition of the month names in the House 5 tablets reveals the significant fact that they all belong to the second half of the year—that is, the (second) sixth, the seventh, and the ninth months. We can presume that by the end of the year these documents would have been moved from their temporary storage in the jar to a larger archive; unnecessary tablets would have been discarded.⁴¹ If this is correct, the cache may represent a very short sequence of time, perhaps not more than the second half of Meli-Šipak/-Šiḥu’s second year—that is, 1185 B.C.⁴²

On the assumption that RS 34.152 was indeed sent from Emar, we have established a valuable synchronism with Ugarit. Of course, the letter need not have been sent in the second year of Meli-Šipak/-Šiḥu, but its chronological horizon should not be too different from the date of the House 5 tablets. This conclusion is also supported by the subject matter of the tablet,⁴³ especially the cry of distress in face of the devastating hunger:

10 . . i-na é-ku-nu 11 bu-bu-tu i-na bu-bu-ti ni-ma-at 12 šum-ma ḥa-an-ṭi-iš ul
 tak-tal-da ni-nu 13 i-na bu-bu-ti ni-ma-at lú ša kur-ka 14 bal-tá ul ta-mar-ru

... there is famine in your (pl.) house, we will die of hunger. If you do not quickly arrive here, we ourselves will die of hunger. You will not see a living soul from your land.

41. Our knowledge about the organizational procedures for ancient archives is quite limited, but we do know that tablets were constantly being reorganized, archived, and discarded. See Postgate (in Veenhof 1986: esp. pp. 171–72) and Veenhof (1986: esp. pp. 11–21) with regard to the storage of documents in short-lived archives; see also van Lerberghe, Postgate, and Veenhof in Brosius 2003.

42. The accession date of Meli-Šipak/-Šiḥu has still not been established with certainty. See Brinkman 1993–97; Boese 1982: 22ff.; and Sassmannshausen 2004: 62. A valuable new synchronism between Meli-Šipak/-Šiḥu and Assyrian chronology may have been discovered in a (so far unpublished) document that was found in the 2001 excavation season at Assur (http://assur.de/Themen/new_excavations/Ashur2001/inscribed/inscribed.html).

43. In view of the fragmentary state of the tablet, we have refrained from dealing with the other topics raised in the letter. For tentative analysis of these topics, see Singer 1999: 727. The quoted phrases about the hunger, however, are clearly readable on the tablet.

Where is this hunger-stricken house of the sender and his master? Is the sender, [Ba]n-ni-ia, referring to his residence in the Emar trading post, or to his hometown farther down the Euphrates? In either case, his desperate cry is a vivid testimony to the deteriorating conditions in inner Syria, which so far we have only inferred from circumstantial evidence. The Emar year names, for example, bear witness to a staggering rise in grain prices in the “year(s) of hardship/famine,” culminating in one shekel of silver being charged for a single *qû* (ca. 6 liters) of grain (Singer 2000: 24–25). Impoverished families were forced to sell their children to wealthy merchants in order to sustain themselves for a few more months.⁴⁴ Needless to say, the sender’s master, who was apparently on a business trip to Ugarit, was not ignorant of the grave situation, because the famine had affected the coastal areas of Syria in an equally severe manner (Singer 1999: 715–19). However, we should not conclude that the grim fate shared by Ugarit and Emar in the early years of the twelfth century B.C. indicates that the two centers of Hittite Syria were brought down by the same enemy⁴⁵ at precisely the same time.⁴⁶

TEXTS CITED

Emar	Ugarit
<i>AulaSupp</i> 94	RS 34.142
CM 4	RS 34.152
<i>Emar</i> 23	RS 34.163
<i>Emar</i> 24	RS 86.2230
<i>Emar</i> 25	RS 92.2007
<i>Emar</i> 26	
<i>Emar</i> 27	
<i>Emar</i> 28	
<i>Emar</i> 75	
<i>Emar</i> 82	
<i>Emar</i> 87	
<i>Emar</i> 95	
<i>Emar</i> 128	
<i>Emar</i> 205	
<i>Emar</i> 221	
<i>Emar</i> 567+	

44. Zaccagnini 1995; Adamthwaite 2001: 150ff.; and Cohen 2005.
45. As suggested, for example, by Bierbrier 1978 and Boese 1982: 18. For the identity of the people who destroyed Emar, see, for example, Singer 1987: 418–19; Freu 1997: 22, with n. 23.
46. The best evidence for dating the fall of Ugarit is still the letter from the Egyptian Great Chancellor Beya (RS 86.2230 = RSO 14, no. 18). He was executed in the 5th year of Siptah, ca. 1190 (Grandet 2000).

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THE TREATIES BETWEEN KARKAMIŠ AND HATTI

The earliest treaty with the Hittite *secundo-genitur* is the poorly preserved accord between Šuppiluliuma I and his son Šarre-Kušuḫ, KUB 19.27 (CTH 50). It contains a lengthy description of the western “borders of Karkamiš, of which unfortunately only a few names are clearly preserved, including that of the Land of Mukiš (obv. 7’). The badly effaced left edge contains what is probably a curse formula, including the names of the main deities of Karkamiš (l. 4), to which we shall return. As mentioned at the end (l. 6), the original treaty was probably inscribed on a golden tablet.

The next document is the concise accord between Piyaššili and a son of Šuppiluliuma, probably Muršili II (KBo 1.28; CTH 57). The much-discussed text establishes the relative status of the king of Karkamiš vis-a-vis the crown prince (*tuhkanti*) of Hatti.¹

From the reigns of the next two kings of Karkamiš, Šaḫurunuwa and Ini-Tešub, no treaties with Hatti have come down to us. Documents relating to the political ties between the Great King of Hatti and the Viceroy of Karkamiš reappear only in the last period of the empire.

Until now, only two treaty fragments between Šuppiluliuma II and Talmi-Tešub have been identified (CTH 122). KBo 12.41 (434/t), which was found in the so-called House on the Slope (Square L/18), preserves only the preamble with the elaborate genealogy of the two partners on the obverse and part of the colophon on the reverse. The deplorably effaced KUB 40.37 (Bo 4839) could be a duplicate, but not necessarily. In addition to the genealogy it has remnants of seven more lines which probably contained the historical preamble, mentioning the “sons of Šuppiluliuma” (l. 5), Šarre-Ku[š]uḫ (l. 6) and Muršili (ll. 8, 11).

To the corpus of late treaties between Hatti and Karkamiš I suggest to add two further texts, each augmented by indirect joins.

The first is KBo 12.30 (+) KUB 26.25, which belongs to the middle column of a large three-column tablet. KBo 12.30 (433/s), which was found in the House

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1. Detailed treatment of the text can be found in Gurney 1983, with previous literature, to which add now Mora 1993; Beckman 1996: 154; Imparati in Klengel 1999: 375.

on the Slope, is kept in the Ankara Museum. The provenance of KUB 26.25 (Bo 77), which is kept in the museum of Istanbul, is not known. Dr. Silvin Košak, who kindly compared for me the two fragments from the photographs kept in the Boğazköy Archive, has confirmed that their handwriting and size match well and that “an indirect join is very much possible.”

KBo 12.30 was translated and discussed by Laroche (1964: 563) and Otten (1969: 52–53), both of whom dated it to Šuppiluliuma II on the basis of its style and language:²

(ii 2–11) [Prot]ect [My Majes]ty, Šuppiluliuma, with loyal intention. Also, protect with loyal intention the overlordship of my descendant whom I will put in my place. Concerning the protection of the overlordship of My Majesty let only death be your limit. You should not have a beloved friend except your lord. You should not have a tent. If some man of Hatti approaches you concerning a good matter, you should be benevolent toward them and let them also be benevolent toward you.

(ii 12–15) But if someone ap[proaches] you for the sake of a plot, either for an evil thought (or: suggestion) concerning Šuppiluliuma, an insult to the gods, or (lit.: and) a detriment to the Hatti land, [do not listen to him].

Following a very short gap KUB 26.25 follows with further stipulations of a loyalty oath to Šuppiluliuma II. These exceptionally figurative entries have been partially translated by Otten (1963: 4) and in the *CHD L–N*: 66b:

(ii 2'–7') [Let] these oaths [...] to you. As the beer (and) water that you drink, let [these oaths] be kept inside your heart. [Just as] you anoint [yourself with oil, so also] let these oaths be smeared [on your body]. Just as you put a garment [on your body], so also put these oaths on yourself.

(ii 8'–14') When you commit an evil against Šuppiluliuma or an evil against the son of Šuppiluliuma under the Sun-god of heaven, at that time let the thousand gods of the oath destroy you (with) the blaze of the Sun-god. And if you commit it at night, under the Moon-god, let the Moon-god destroy you with his crescent, [togeth]er with your wife, your sons, your offspring, your land, [...].

Both fragments contain typical provisions of loyalty toward the Great King of Hatti. The identity of the addressee is probably disclosed by the first line of KBo 12.30, which contains the very end of a paragraph continuing from the lost first column: [URU*Kar-g*]a-miš-ši še-er e-eš-ta le-e-an kar-aš-ti. Otten's restoration of the place-name, with a dative-locative ending, is practically certain. As for the adverb *še-er*, an alternative rendering to Otten's “up” could be “over,” in the meaning “responsible for” Karkamiš. A similar expression occurs in the *HAZANNU*

2. Lines 2–4 are also translated in *CHD P*: 5b; lines 10–11 in *CHD L–N*: 281b; lines 12–15 in *CHD L–N*: 128b.

instruction (CTH 257) with regard to the governors “who are over Ḫattuša,” *kuiš Ḫattuši šer* (see Singer 1998: 170, with refs.). The primary sense of the verb *karš-* is “cut (off), separate,” and the like, which is extended to the meanings “stop, withhold, fail to, neglect,” usually expressed by the causative *karšanu-*.³ The resulting phrase could refer either to the neglect of something which was up in Karkamiš, or to the “cutting off,” that is, discharging of someone from his responsibility over Karkamiš. I would opt for the second possibility and render this line as following: “He (who) was responsible over Karkamiš, do not discharge him!” In any case, the obvious candidate for this loyalty oath to Šuppiluliuma II is the king of Karkamiš, probably Talmi-Tešub. I checked the possibility that this second column may indirectly join KBo 12.41, the above-mentioned introduction of Šuppiluliuma’s treaty with Talmi-Tešub, but the handwriting of the latter is somewhat bigger and the column itself is wider. Still, Dr. Cem Karasu, who kindly compared for me the two fragments in the Ankara Museum, did not exclude the possibility of an indirect join between KBo 12.41 (434/t) and KBo 12.30 (433/s), both of which were found in the House on the Slope. At any rate, if, as it seems, these fragments belong to different tablets, there must have been several duplicates or versions of the treaty written by Šuppiluliuma II for Talmi-Tešub.

Yet a further text dated to Šuppiluliuma II may find its “Sitz im Leben” as a diplomatic document exchanged between Hatti and Karkamiš, due to a fortunate indirect join. KUB 26.33 (VAT 13012) is defined in Laroche’s catalogue as “*Serment d’un personnage inconnu*” (CTH 125). It is the upper part of a two-column tablet with substantial parts of columns ii and iii and traces of columns i and iv. Obv. ii, which deals with the succession problems after the death of Arnuwanda III, was utilized by Laroche in his seminal article on the reign of Šuppiluliuma II (1953: 76), and was then translated by other scholars as well:

(ii 3’–9’) [The people(?)] of Hatti [sinned(?)] against him, but I have not sinned. If he had had [any offspring, I] would not have rep[aced] him, but would have protected his offspring. He had no offspring. I asked about a pr[egn]ant woman, but there was no pregn[ant] woman.

(ii 10–13) As [there was no seed] to Arnuwanda, could I have sinned? Could I have replaced [my lord’s(?)] offspring? Could I have made [myself another(?)] lord?

The next two paragraphs are too damaged for a reasonable translation, but no doubt they continue with the circumstances of Šuppiluliuma’s accession to the throne. I think that the compound DUMU-*aš* SAG.DU-*aš* in line 15 could mean “head of sons,” that is, “the first son.” If so, the beginning of this paragraph may

3. Neu 1968: 84 n. 8; HEG, Lfg. 3: 517ff.; HED 4: 100ff.

]x-x ^dKar-[^hu-^ha ^dK]u-pa-pa DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš-ša Š[A KUR URU Kar-ga-miš

Starting from the assumption that this paragraph may indeed open with the supreme gods of Karkamiš, I sought and soon found a candidate for a join: KBo 13.225 (630/u),⁷ found in the House on the Slope. The indirect join was confirmed from photographs by Silvin Košak, to whom I wish to express my sincere gratitude. Line 8' of the rejoined text, with a gap of some three signs between the joins, now reads:

DINGIR^{MEŠ} KUR URU Kar-g]a-miš ^dKu-[pa-pa ^dK]ar-^hu-u-^hi-is

Obviously, what can now be identified in the fourth column of this treaty tablet is a typical division between the deities of Hatti and the deities of the contracting party, in this case Karkamiš. In the first paragraph we encounter ^dZABABA, the Storm-gods of Zippalanda and Neriqqa, Taru[ppašani], the Tutelary-god of the town [...], ^huwaššana [of ^hu-pi-šna], ^hebat, and several broken names.

The second paragraph is in worse condition. Besides the aforementioned gods of Karkamiš, I can only identify the Storm-god of the town [...], ^dIŠTAR (^dLIŠ), and possibly a deity of the town [K]atapa. The local gods are followed by [Heaven and Earth (^šAME ER)-^šÉ-TUM), then by the concluding phrase *na-a]t ke-e-da-ni* [*lingai/linkiya k]u-u[t-ru-wa-ni-eš a-š]a-an-du*, “Let th]em (i.e. the gods) be wi[tnesses to] this [oath].” From the colophon, following a double separation line, only one full sign is preserved, probably belonging to ^lŠ-TUR, “he wrote” (iv 13’).

Despite its fragmentary state of preservation, this list of divine witnesses is of considerable interest for Hittite theology, in that it presents separately the gods of Hatti and the gods of Karkamiš. That this is not a singular late occurrence is shown by the appearance of the same gods of Karkamiš, again in very fragmentary context, in the Šuppiluliuma–Šarre-Kušuḫ treaty mentioned above. The relevant comparison is with treaties concluded with other states ruled by Hittite monarchs, that is, Ḫalab and Tarḫuntašša. In the Talmi–Šarruma treaty there is a distinction between the gods of Hatti and the gods of Ḫalab (KBo 1.6 rev. 9–10; Beckman 1996: 90, §13), but none of the categories is further specified. As for Tarḫuntašša, neither in the Ulmi-Tešub treaty, nor in the Kurunta treaty is the long list of divine witnesses divided between the contracting parties. Rather, the Storm-god of Lightning (*piḫḫaššašši*), the supreme god of Tarḫuntašša, is included at the end of the list of local Storm-gods. The combined list is then concluded with the typical formula “male gods, female gods, etc. ... of Hatti and of Tarḫuntašša (Beckman 1996: 107, 116). Incidentally, the same applies to the

7. Only traces of six lines are left from the obverse of KBo 13.225.

gods of Kizzuwatna, who are occasionally mentioned in state treaties after the gods of Hatti, but are never specified by name (Kestemont 1976: 152). Without delving into the complex structure of the Hittite imperial pantheon, the new evidence on Karkamiš seems to reinforce the distinction between “inland” and “outland” deities (see Singer 1994: 94ff.), the Hittite states in Anatolia belonging to the former category, the Hittite states in Syria to the latter.

Turning finally to the identity of Šuppiluliuma’s protagonist, one must first emphasize the singularity of this text within the corpus of Hittite treaties and loyalty oaths. On one hand, it has the appearance of a personal loyalty oath-comparable to that of [...]Šarruma, Chief of the Scribes-on-Wood (CTH 124).⁸ Both texts are written in the first person and emphasize the personal loyalty of their authors to Šuppiluliuma at a time when the people of Hatti caused him much trouble. On the other hand, as already pointed out, this text (CTH 125) has clear characteristics of a state treaty, such as clauses of military assistance, extradition, and divine witnesses. The author was no less an authority than the kingmaker who installed Šuppiluliuma on the throne after the premature death of Arnuwanda. The only candidate I can think of to fulfill this most influential position is indeed the viceroy of Karkamiš, the highest imperial authority after the Great King and the crown prince. Talmi-Tešub would be the obvious choice, although one cannot exclude the possibility that Ini-Tešub was still reigning in Karkamiš at the time of the succession crisis in Hatti.

If the suggested identification of the texts discussed above is valid, we end up with four fragments containing portions of treaties between Šuppiluliuma II and the viceroy of Karkamiš. His partner is certainly Talmi-Tešub in the parallel preambles, KBo 12.41 and KUB 40.37, and probably also in the two other restored texts, KBo 12.30 (+) KUB 26.25 and KUB 26.33 (+) KBo 13.225. It is worth noting that all those fragments whose findplace is recorded were found in the House on the Slope.

Šuppiluliuma is the speaker in KBo 12.30 (+) KUB 26.25, the king of Karkamiš in KUB 26.33 (+) KBo 13.225. What we may have here are reciprocal treaties between the two contractors, distantly recalling the parallel treaties between Šuppiluliuma I and Šattiwaza of Mittanni (CTH 51–52). But, whereas in the latter the wording of the two documents is very similar, and both were probably composed by the same chancellery on behalf of the Great King (Beckman 1996: 37), the two treaties of Karkamiš are, as far as one can tell from their preserved parts, quite different from each other, and they seem to genuinely represent the formulation chosen by the chancelleries of Ḫattuša and Karkamiš, respectively.

8. For which see Singer 2003.

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THE GREAT SCRIBE TAKI-ŠARRUMA

About a decade ago Professor Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. provided a concise overview of the new discoveries pertaining to “The Last Days of Khattusha” in an international conference dedicated to “The Crisis Years.”¹ In the fourth part of his paper he briefly formulated the questions raised by the new evidence, and aptly concluded that “the first step toward finding answers is to frame the questions.” Meanwhile, more material has been published pertaining to the last period of the Hittite Empire, both from the capital Ḫattuša and from two important centers of Hittite Syria, Ugarit on the coast and Emar on the Middle Euphrates.² As is so often the case, the new evidence helps to solve some questions and raises others. A new direction toward which to look for answers is provided by the small Middle Assyrian archives discovered at Tell Chuera, ancient Ḫa/urbe³ and Tell Sēḫ Ḫamad, ancient Dūr-Katlimmu.⁴ In these texts we find sporadic references to Hittite diplomats and merchants operating beyond the eastern frontier of the Hittite Empire.⁵ Besides the obvious historical interest concerning the resumption of Hittite-Assyrian diplomatic and economic relations towards the end of the thirteenth century B.C.E. sparked by this new evidence,⁶ the Assyrian documents also provide us, through their *līmu*-datings, much needed chronological anchors for the reconstruction of late Hittite history.

A fragmentary letter from Tell Sēḫ Ḫamad recounts, inter alia, the grievous fate of a Hittite trading convoy traveling east of the Euphrates.⁷

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1. *Crisis Years*, 46–52.

2. I. Singer, “A Political History of Ugarit,” in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, ed. W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt (Leiden, 1999), 704ff.; “New Evidence on the End of the Hittite Empire,” in *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment*, ed. E. D. Oren (Philadelphia, 2000), 21–33.

3. C. Kühne, “Ein mittellassyrisches Verwaltungsarchiv und andere Keilschrifttexte,” in W. Orthmann et al., *Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien* (Saarbrücken, 1995), 203–25.

4. E. C. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Sēḫ Ḫamad* (Berlin, 1996).

5. I. Singer, “Political History,” 690 with n. 291.

6. For the Hittite-Assyrian correspondence, see A. Hagenbüchler, THeth 16 (Heidelberg, 1989), 245ff., no. 189; 328ff., no. 224. See also H. Freydank, “Zum mittellassyrischen Königsbrief KBo XXVIII 61–64,” *AoF* 18 (1991): 23–31; “Gewänder für einen Dolmetscher,” *AoF* 21 (1994): 21–33.

7. E. C. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 117–22, no. 6.

The merchants of the King of Kargamiš and of Tagi-Šarruma, the governor of the land, have crossed over below Kumaḥu and they stopped at ẖuziranu, Ayanu, and ẖurranu. They traded (lit. they gave and took). The price they took they set according to demand. (Then) they turned back and set out for the rest of their trip. They took off and did not stop by ẖa/urbe; (rather) they stopped by Penkibe. They rested at sunset(?) and walked a double hour(?) over the field(?). Ten donkeys carried oil (and) bronze vessels. The enemy stole the donkeys, the oil, and the bronze vessels which they carried. Two merchants were wounded and they came to ẖa/urbe and said: “[...] by the enemy, and they [...] their wounded troops.” From ẖa/urbe one man to (W)aššukani [...] I interrogated him [...] He responded: “The King of Kargamiš [...] of Tagi-Šarruma ...” (Il. 16'–39').

After a large gap, the left edge provides the dating of the tablet to the 27th day of the month of Allanātu in the *līmu* of Ina-Aššur-šumi-ašbat, which in absolute date would fall between Year 11 and Year 16 of Tukulti-Ninurta, i.e., either between 1222 and 1217 or between 1218 and 1213 B.C.E.⁸

Without delving into the details of this intriguing incident and its implications, the question which concerns us here is the identity of the governor Tagi-Šarruma, whose merchants traveled with those of the King of Kargamiš to Assyrian-held territory in the upper Balikh region. The name is borne by several persons in the Hittite documentation,⁹ but the title of this Tagi-Šarruma and the accurate dating of the tablet may provide the key for the correct identification of this important personage in the Hittite and Ugaritic material.

A “governor of the land”¹⁰ Tagi-Šarruma has so far not been attested, but the title may have been used by the Assyrian scribe, in a manner familiar to him, in order to represent some other Hittite title(s). The fact that the caravan is described as consisting of merchants of the King of Kargamiš and of Tagi-Šarruma indicates that the latter was a renowned person, probably closely related to the administration of Kargamiš, or to that of Hittite Syria in general. If so, the first place to search for him is in the rich documentation from Ugarit.¹¹ Indeed, the name Tagi-Šarruma is attested in several thirteenth century B.C.E. documents:

Prince Tagi-Šarruma, Chief Scribe, is the owner of the stamp seal impressed in the center of RS 17.403 (*Ugar.* 3, 43, figs. 58–60), a tablet which until recently

8. See E. C. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe*, 14–18, with references to the reconstructions of Middle Assyrian chronology.

9. E. Laroche, *NH* 170, no. 1209; Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 132–36.

10. For the title *šākin māti* (KUR) at Ugarit, see I. Singer, “Takuḫlinu and Ḥaya: Two Governors in the Ugarit Letter from Tel Aphek,” *Tel Aviv* 10 (1983): 15 (with previous literature). The Emar texts frequently mention an “overseer of the land” (UGULA.KALAM.MA), for which see G. Beckman, “Hittite Provincial Administration in Anatolia and Syria: The View from Mašat and Emar,” *2ndHitt.Cong.*, 28. Hieroglyphic COUNTRY.LORD (for which see Laroche, *HH*, 210), could be a parallel title.

11. As far as I can see, the name is not attested in the documents from Emar and the Middle Euphrates region.

remained illegible. After thorough cleaning, eleven lines containing a donation deed of an area bordering Ugarit (NÍG.BA *ša qanni*) have been almost fully recovered.¹² Mention is made of Mursili (in the unusual spelling *Mu-ur-zi-i-li*) in connection with a division of fields between the king of Ugarit and the king of another country whose name is unfortunately not preserved. As suggested by Malbran-Labat, everything points towards the well-known decree of Muṣili II dividing the border territories between Ugarit and Siyannu, a ruling that had to be periodically ratified by the Hittite authorities.¹³ Two Hittite officials are mentioned on the tablet: Ḫišni, Prince of Kargamiš (DUMU.LUGAL KUR URU Ka[rgamiš]), and Tagi-Šarruma, Chief [Scribe] (GAL L[Ú.MEŠDUB.SAR]), a restoration which conforms with the Hieroglyphic title MAGNUS.SCRIBA on his seal. Prince Ḫi/ešni is a well-known late-thirteenth-century official active at the court of Kargamiš¹⁴ who was involved, among other things, in the settling of a border dispute between the kings of Kargamiš and Aššur (KBo 18.48). The fact that only Tagi-Šarruma's seal is impressed on RS 17.403 indicates that his position was at least as high as that of Ḫišni. His involvement in such an important state mission as the ratification of Ugarit's borders may well qualify him for the title Governor of the Land (*šākin māti*) borne by Tagi-Šarruma in the document from Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad.

Another document from Ugarit which may belong to this same influential person is RS 17.251 (= PRU 4, 236f.), a sale document in which Uzzinu, the governor of Ugarit, purchases a man named Taršazida from Tagi-Šarruma and Tulpi-Šarruma for forty silver shekels.¹⁵ This document is also validated by the seal of Prince Tagi-Šarruma, in this case by means of a ring seal impressed three times on the tablet (*Ugar.* 3, 41–43, figs. 54–57). The six witnesses to the transaction and the scribe Burqanu, who wrote the tablet, provide a general dating of this document to the second half of the thirteenth century B.C.E.¹⁶

Tagi-Šarruma and Tulpi-Šarruma are designated in this transaction as DUMU.MEŠ ^m*ḫaštanuri*, a hapax legomenon which has elicited much discussion. The editor of the text, J. Nougayrol, has drawn a parallel between this title and the first witness to the ruling, a certain ^m*Šaggapuru*, a name which he relates to Akkadian *šagapuru(m)*, “le très-puissant,”¹⁷ However, the etymology of this personal name, and even more its connection to the title DUMU *ḫaštanuri*,

12. F. Malbran-Labat, “L'écriture akkadienne. Rétrospective et perspectives,” in *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C.*, ed. M. Yon et al. (Paris, 1995), 37–38.

13. I. Singer, “Political History,” 640.

14. Th. van den Hout, StBoT 38, 206–11; I. Singer, review of StBoT 38, *BiOr* 54 (1997): 420.

15. Taki-Šarruma, father of Alalimi, a merchant from Ura (RS 17.319 = PRU 4, 182), is most probably a different person.

16. W. H. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit* (Neukirchen, 1991), 26–27.

17. PRU 4, 237.

are dubious. Probably the best proposal for the etymology of *ḥaštanuri* is still Laroche's analysis of the compound as **ḥaštanuri*, the first component reflecting a contracted Hittite gen. pl. *ḥaššantan* of the participle *ḥaššantes*, "royal princes of the first rank." *ḥaštanuri* would thus be "grand des nobles," a title situating its owner within the highest imperial aristocracy.¹⁸ DUMU.MEŠ need not be taken literally as referring to the "sons" of a certain *ḥaštanuri*, but rather as an appurtenance marker, as in DUMU.MEŠ *ŠIPRI*, "messengers," and DUMU.MEŠ *É.GAL*, "palace attendants." If so, Tagi-Šarruma and Tulpi-Šarruma need not be brothers, as often assumed,¹⁹ but rather two important Hittite princes involved together in this legal procedure. For dating purposes Tulpi-Šarruma is not very helpful, since the name is quite common in the Hittite documentation.²⁰ There is a Tulpi-Šarruma, son of Arnuwanda, perhaps Muršili II's nephew (KBo 13.42, 6'),²¹ but he is probably too early to be equated with Tagi-Šarruma's partner in this text. A far better candidate would be Tulpi-Šarruma, son of Tutḫaliya, mentioned in a very late text together with Šuppiluliuma II and with [K]uzi(?)-Tešub (KUB 21.7 iv II').

Turning now to the evidence from Hattuša,²² reference should first be made to the almost identical seal impression of Prince Taki-Šarruma, Chief Scribe, recently found in the so-called Nišantepe Archive (Bo 91/2261).²³ Prince Taki-Šarruma who appears as a witness in the Bronze Tablet (iv 35) can hardly be our man, unless he was still a boy.²⁴ As for the remaining attestations of the name Taki-Šarruma at Boğazköy,²⁵ one should adopt a cautious approach, taking into consideration the possibility of the existence of several homonyms. Perhaps the best chance for identity with our man should be reserved for Prince [Tak]i-Šarruma mentioned in the inventory text KBo 31.50 iii 1'.²⁶ Chief Scribes are often encountered as supervising officials in the economic milieu.²⁷

18. E. Laroche, "Noms de dignitaires," *RHA* XIV/58 (1956): 26–27; *Ugar.* 3, 137, 139; *NH* 302. Cf. *HEG* 2, 204; *HED* 3, 238.

19. E.g., by Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 133–34.

20. E. Laroche, *NH*, 188; *Hethitica* 4 (1981): 45.

21. Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 134.

22. In Hittite texts the name is spelled *T/Da-ki-LUGAL-ma* (Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 132–33). Prince Taki-Šarruma also appears on a small button seal of red serpentine in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (C. Mora, *StMed* 6, 293, no. 2.37).

23. S. Herbordt, "Seals and Sealings of Hittite Officials from the Nišantepe Archive, Boğazköy," 3rd *Hitt. Cong.*, 311, 316, no. 1.

24. Rather than an old man, as maintained by Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 134, on the basis of his assumption that the "brothers" Taki-Šarruma and Tulpi-Šarruma were the sons of Arnuwanda, Muršili II's elder brother. For the relative dating of the Tarḫuntašša treaties, see the literature quoted in I. Singer, review of *StBoT* 38.

25. For references see Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 132–36. His suggestion that the logogram BU has the reading Taki needs further corroboration.

26. J. Siegelová, *Verw.*, 274.

27. Th. van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, 133. In two other inventories, the title of Taki-Šarruma is either not mentioned (KUB 40.95 ii 4, J. Siegelová, *Verw.*, 268) or not preserved (Bo 6754, 10', *Verw.*, 272).

Returning now to the evidence from Ugarit, it seems that an unnamed Chief Scribe (*tuppa(la)nura*)²⁸ plays a prominent role in the latest correspondence of the Hittite Empire. A new document from the so-called Urtenu Archive is a letter sent by the King (of Kargamiš) to the King of Ugarit, reprimanding him for sending inadequate presents to the Chief Scribe, in defiance of his categorical instructions (RS 34.136 = RSO 7, no. 72⁹). The letter contains valuable historical clues that date the letter to the last King of Ugarit, Ammurapi.³⁰

At least two further documents discovered in 1994 in the Urtenu Archive reflect the high position of the Chief Scribe in this period. A long letter was sent by the “*tuppanura ħuburtinura*, the Great, noble of Ḫatti,” to his “good brother” Ammurapi.³¹ It deals with various diplomatic and political matters, and a quasi-duplicate was sent to Ammurapi by the Great King himself. In anticipation of the full publication of this important document, suffice it to call attention to the direct involvement of the Chief Scribe in prominent state affairs, apparently in a capacity second only to the Great King himself. The combined title *tuppanura ħuburtinura*³² may indicate a considerable increase in the responsibilities of the Chief Scribe. Another letter mentions the Chief Scribe as the leading authority in matters of customs tolls paid by merchants upon their entrance into Hittite Syria (RS 92.2007³³). Finally, a letter from the Southwest Archive of the palace contains the request of a certain Anani-NIN.GAL to her Lady [...n]uwiya for intercession on her behalf with the Chief Scribe, who was in a position to save her descendants from misery in Ugarit (RS 19.080 = PRU 6, no. 234).

It is unfortunate that none of these documents from Ugarit seems to mention the respective Chief Scribes by name, but taking into consideration their late date (most, if not all of them falling within the reign of Ammurapi), we

28. Spelled either *tuppanura* (< *tuppan+ura*) or as *tuppalanura* (*tuppalan+ura*). For references see D. Arnaud, “Études sur Alalah et Ougarit à l’âge du Bronze Récent,” *SMEA* 37 (1996): 59–60. It seems that the form *tup-pa-at-nu-ri* is merely a spelling variant of *tup-pa-la-nu-ri*. (For the confusion of the signs LA and AT in Hittite texts, see I. Singer, *Muwatalli’s Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm-God of Lightning* [CTH381] [Atlanta, 1996], 136–37 n. 307.) For the composition of this and similar professional terms, see E. Laroche, *RHA* XIV/58 (1956): 27ff. The phonetic spelling is not attested in Hittite texts and therefore Arnaud, *SMEA* 37 (1996): 59 n. 67, suggests that the *tuppa(la)nura* officiated in Kargamiš rather than Ḫattuša. However, the logographic equivalent GAL DUB.SAR is well documented at Boğazköy; see F. Pecchioli-Daddi, *Mestieri*, 525ff.

29. See W. H. van Soldt, *Studies*, 390.

30. I. Singer, “Political History,” 694–95.

31. F. Malbran-Labat, “Le découverte épigraphique de 1994 à Ougarit (Les textes akkadiennes),” *SMEA* 36 (1995): 106 n. 6.

32. The two terms are juxtaposed and probably refer to the same dignitary (F. Malbran-Labat, *SMEA* 36 [1995]: 106 n. 6). The etymology of *ħuburtinura/ħuburtanuri* is still unknown, but the term may perhaps correspond to the office of the ^{LÚ}KUŠ, or to that of the ^{LÚ}KARTAPPU. The latter originally designated a “charioteer,” but in time became a leading diplomatic title in the Hittite foreign office (I. Singer, *TelAviv* 10 [1983]: 9ff.). For the various attempts to analyze *ħuburtanuri*, see references in *HED* 2, 298–99.

33. D. Arnaud, *SMEA* 37 (1996): 58ff.

34. D. Arnaud, *SMEA* 37 (1996): 60–61; I. Singer, “Political History,” 704.

may be justified in suggesting that the high official in question is none other than Tagi-Šarruma, who was active in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, according to the Assyrian document from Tell Sēh Ḥamad. The combined evidence seems to indicate that in the last decades of the Hittite Empire this Chief Scribe accumulated considerable political and economic power. He was seemingly authorized by the Great King of Hatti to intervene in crucial matters of Hittite Syria, apparently with a certain degree of control over the jurisdiction of the King of Kargamiš. Such a dominant role may well explain the title Governor of the Land (*šākin māti*) attributed to Tagi-Šarruma by the Assyrian scribe from Tell Sēh Ḥamad.

Finally, the question may be raised whether the loyalty oath of the Chief “Scribe on Wood” (GAL DUB.SAR GIŠ) [...]Šarruma to Šuppiluliuma II (KUB 26.32, CTH 124) could also be attributed to our Taki-Šarruma.³⁵ This intriguing document recounts how His Majesty adopted the author from his parents and raised him like a puppy (i 5-8). During the reign of His Majesty's brother (viz. Arnuwanda III), [...]Šarruma was already a “Lord,” and he protected the reigning king at the time when the people of Hatti caused him trouble (i 9-17). Finally, [...]Šarruma swears to provide his full loyalty only to the new king, Šuppiluliuma II, and to no other royal offspring of Hatti (iii 10'-15'). At the time of Šuppiluliuma's coronation, [...]Šarruma must have been a promising young nobleman ready to assume whatever responsibilities that his patron might confer upon him. As far as I can see, the only attested Chief Scribe or Chief “Scribe on Wood” whose name ends with Šarruma is Taki-Šarruma³⁶ and the chronological data seem to fit as well.

There remains the apparent discrepancy between the titles of Taki-Šarruma and of [...]Šarruma—Chief Scribe and Chief “Scribe on Wood,” respectively. Without entering into the much discussed problem of the nature of these “wooden tablets,”³⁷ it is well to recall Laroche's observation that well-trained Hittite scribes were able to master both writing systems, and were thus qualified to bear both titles.³⁸ Hieroglyphic Hittite does not seem to distinguish between the two professions,³⁹ e.g., the Chief Scribe Taki-Šarruma and the Chief “Scribe on

35. For partial translations and discussions of this text, see E. Laroche, “Šuppiluliuma II,” *RA* 47 (1953): 71ff.; H. Otten, “Neue Quellen zum Ausklang des hethitischen Reiches,” *MDOG* 94 (1963): 2ff.; C. Mora, “Il paese di Hatti è pieno di discendenti della regalità (KUB 26.1 + 110). Ipotesi sull'ultimo periodo dell'imperio ittita,” *Athenaeum* 66 (1988): 568; M. Giorgieri and C. Mora, *Aspetti della regalità ittita nel XIII secolo a. C.* (Como, 1996), 62–63.

36. There are two scribes named GUR-Šarruma. For references, see L. M. Mascheroni, “Scribi hurriti a Boğazköy,” *SMEA* 24 (1984): 166.

37. See M. Marazzi, “Ma gli Hittiti scrivevano veramente su ‘legno?’” in *Miscellanea di studi linguistici in onore di Walter Belardi* (Rome, 1994), 131–60.

38. *RHA* XIV/58 (1956): 26–32.

39. S. Herbordt, *3rd Hitt. Cong.*, 312.

Wood“ Šaḫuruwu carry on their seals the same title, MAGNUS.SCRIBA.⁴⁰ In fact, the title Chief “Scribe on Wood” is presently attested only for [...]Šarruma in CTH 124 and for Šaḫuruwu in the Tarḫuntašša treaties.⁴¹ In short, I see no serious obstacle in identifying the Chief “Scribe on Wood” [Taki]-Šarruma in CTH 124 with the influential Chief Scribe Tagi-Šarruma of the Ugaritic and Assyrian sources.

It would thus seem that the last decades of the Hittite Empire witnessed some previously unsuspected political developments. Obsessed with problems of internal security and political legitimacy,⁴² the last King of Hatti sought to tighten his grip on the long-trusted viceroyalty of Kargamiš. A good occasion for the introduction of new political measures could have been the transition from the long and able reign of Ini-Tešub to that of his son Talmi-Tešub. On this occasion Šuppiluliuma formulated new state treaties with Kargamiš⁴³ and probably appointed his trusted man, the Chief Scribe (on Wood) Taki-Šarruma, to be some sort of high commissioner in Syria, empowered to supervise and report to his sovereign about the activities of the Viceroy of Kargamiš.

ADDENDUM

Since this article was submitted (Sept. 1999) several studies have been published which deal with Hittite-Assyrian relations in the late-thirteenth century B.C.E.:

Freu, J. 1997. La fin d’Ugarit et de l’Empire hittite. Données nouvelles et chronologie. *Semitica* 48: 17–39.

Faist, B. 2001. *Der Fernhandel des assyrischen Reiches zwischen dem 14. und 11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Münster.

———. 2001. Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Assyrien und Anatolien in der zweiten Hälfte des 2.Jt. v. Chr. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Metallhandels. Pages 53–66 in *Anatolien im Lichte kultureller Wechselwirkungen*. Edited by R. Klinkott. Tübingen.

40. For the seals of Taki-Šarruma see above. A Prince Šaḫuruwu appears on the seals Tarsus 40, Boğ. III 15, SBo II 9, and on a seal from the Nišantepe Archive. The first of these seals also carries the title MAGNUS.SCRIBA, which identifies its owner with the Chief “Scribe on Wood” of the Tarḫuntašša treaties. The other hieroglyphic title appearing on Tarsus 40 and Boğ. III 15 must correspond to one of Šaḫuruwu’s other cuneiform titles, either GAL.NA.KAD or GAL LÚUKU.UŠ. Other Chief Scribes attested on seals are Amilizi (Boğ. III 14) and Šaušga-Kurunti (SBo II 30).

41. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, 528. In the witness lists of the Kurunta and Ulmi-Tešub treaties, Šaḫuruwu assumes the post of GAL.DUB.SAR.GIŠ, whereas UR.MAḤ-ziti is the GAL.DUB.SAR. See Th. van den Hout, StBoT 38, 79.

42. See T. R. Bryce, *Kingdom* 362; H. Klengel, *Geschichte*, 310–11.

43. I. Singer, *4thHitt.Cong.*, 635–41.

A LOST SEAL OF TALMI-TEŠUB

In November 2003 Dr. Amir Sumakai-Fink kindly brought to my attention a letter that was sent to Sir Leonard Woolley in 1937, which came to his attention while browsing through documents kept in the Special Collections of the University College London. In July 2005 I examined the relevant documents at the UCL library services and obtained permission to publish them. I am grateful to Ian Carroll, to Dan Mitchell, and to the Institute of Archaeology, UCL, for the permit and for the scanned photographs reproduced below.

The letter (Fig. 1), dated 6.IX.1937, was sent from Beirut by a certain Dikran A. Sarrafian, Dealer in Antiquities:

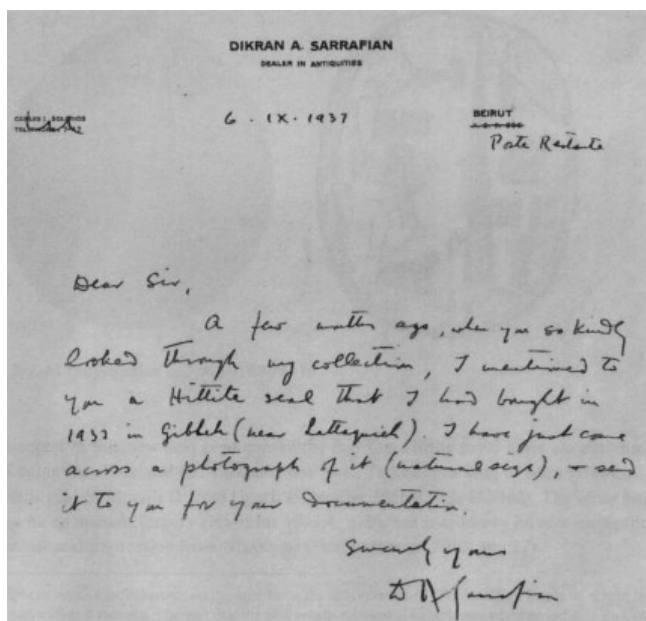


Fig. 1: Photograph of letter from Dikran A. Sarrafian.

Reprinted from *ipamati kistamati pari tumatimis. Luwian and Hittite Studies Presented to J. David Hawkins on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (ed. I. Singer; Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University, 2010), 230–33.

Dear Sir,

A few months ago, when you so kindly looked through my collection, I mentioned to you a Hittite seal that I had bought in Gibleh (near Lattaquieh). I have just come across a photograph of it (natural size), and send it to you for your documentation.

Sincerely yours
(signature)

The black-and-white photograph attached to the letter (Fig. 2 left) shows a slightly concave stamp seal, 4.8 cm in diameter. It belonged to Talmi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš (REX *Tal-mi-TEŠUB-pa* REX *Kar-ka-mi-sà* REGIO). On the back of the photograph is written: “Material: Black soap stone (?); Provenance: Gibleh; Size: life size.” The photograph and the letter were tucked together in a folder with the drawing of two Hittite seal impressions from Tell Atchana (ATT/39/186). The whereabouts of this seal is unfortunately not known.¹ There is no doubt, however, that it is genuine, since in 1937 the seal impressions of Talmi-Tešub from Ras Shamra and from Boğazköy were still unknown.

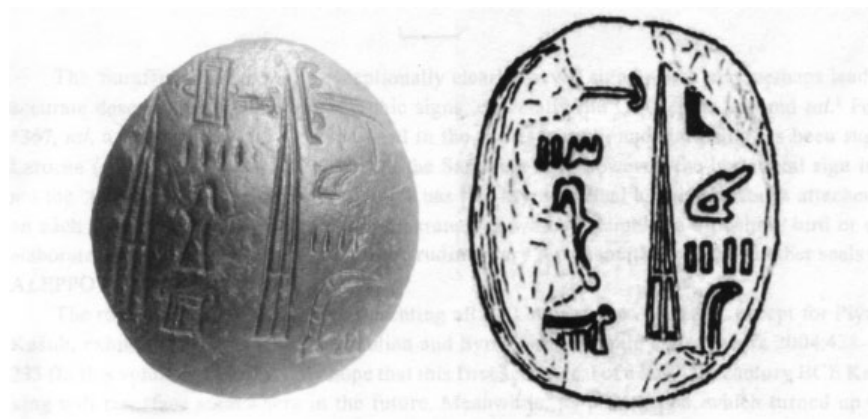


Fig. 2: (left) The “Sarrafian” seal; (right) SBo I 110.

The main interest in this new seal is of course the fact that Hittite royal seals are extremely rare, the only others being the silver seal of “Tarkondemos,” i.e.,

1. My attempts to receive information on the seal from the descendants of Mr. Sarrafian (some of whom live in the US) have not met with any success. The fact that the seal was purchased at Gibleh may perhaps indicate an Ugaritan source, like the seal of Muršili II. Another possibility could be Tell Kazel which also yielded Hittite seals.

Tarkašnawa king of Mira (Hawkins 1998: 2ff.) and the steatite seal of Muršili II from Ugarit (Schaeffer 1956: 87–93, 161–63). The latter has long been suspected to be an ancient forgery (Hawkins 1998: 4, n. 9), but it seems to be now authenticated by an almost identical seal impression from Nišantepe (Herbordt et al. 2010: No. 27).

At present there are two known seal impressions of Talmi-Tešub, King of Karkamiš: SBo I 110 (*Boğazköy* I: Taf. 29, 12) and RS 17.226 (Schaeffer 1956: 29–30).² A third glyptic attestation appears on the elaborate seal of his son and successor Ku(n)zi-Tešub (Hawkins 2000: 574–75; cf. also Poetto 2000).

SBo I 110 (Fig. 2 right) looks very similar to the Saraffian seal and, taking into account some imprecision in the drawing, it could actually have been impressed by it. The eroded surfaces on SBo I 110 could have been caused by insufficient pressure on the seal or by subsequent damage to the seal impression.

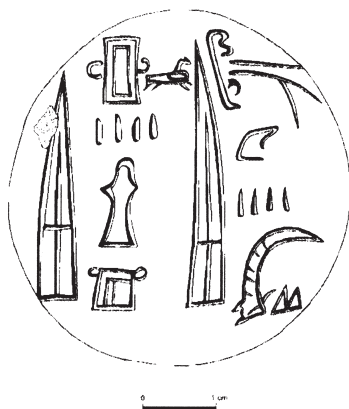


Fig. 3: Drawing of the “Saraffian Seal.”

The “Saraffian seal” exhibits exceptionally clearly carved signs which may perhaps lead to a more accurate description of some hieroglyphic signs, especially the CVC signs *kar* and *tal*.³ For the sign *367, *tal*, a ligature *ta+li*, of the

2. There are many seals bearing the name MAGNUS.TONITRUS (van den Hout 1995: 157–64; Herbordt 2005: 83, 88), but none of them may positively be identified as belonging to the (future) king of Karkamiš whose name is invariably spelled *Tal-mi-TEŠUB-pa*. Cf. also the Neo-Hittite king of Karkamiš MAGNUS.TONITRUS, whose name must be read as Luwian Ura-Tarhunza rather than Hurrian Talmi-Tešub (Hawkins 1988: 104, n. 33; 2000: 81).

3. A north-Syrian origin for the CVC signs, frequently used at the courts of Karkamiš and Halab, has been suggested by Mora (1998: 204).

type used in the names Muršili and Ḫattušili, has been suggested by Laroche (*apud* Schaeffer 1956: 129–30). On the Sarrafian seal, however, the horizontal sign is certainly not the “knife” *278. The vertical rectangle has two asymmetrical handles or hooks attached to it, one on each side, and to its right there is a separate sign which resembles a crouching bird or duck. This elaborate sign is a far cry from the far more rudimentary representations of *tal* on other seals and on the ALEPPO 1 inscription.

The royal seals of Karkamiš, representing all its Late Bronze Age kings except for Piyašili/Šarri-Kušuh, exhibit a wide variety of Anatolian and Syro-Hittite glyptic styles (Mora 2004: 428–32; 2005: 233ff.). One can only hope that this first actual seal of a late-thirteenth century B.C.E. Karkamišian king will resurface somewhere in the future. Meanwhile, its photograph, which turned up in London under unusual circumstances, may be regarded as a distant greeting from Woolley to Hawkins, the two scholars who have contributed more than anyone else to the reconstruction of the history of Karkamiš.

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HATTI AND MESOPOTAMIA

THE BATTLE OF NIḪRIYA AND THE END OF THE HITTITE EMPIRE

Among the important lot of tablets unearthed at Ugarit in 1973,¹ which will no doubt turn out to be of utmost importance for the history of the Hittite Empire, RS 34.165 deserves special attention in that it throws new light on Assyrian-Hittite relations at the end of the thirteenth century B.C.E. The text has recently been edited by Mme. Sylvie Lackenbacher, who managed to augment the large tablet with one direct and one indirect join, together providing part of the introductory formula.²

The text is a royal letter written in Akkadian. Unfortunately, the identity of addressor and addressee cannot be established with certainty on the basis of the few traces left in the first two lines. The preserved part of line 2,]-*na* LUGAL KUR *Ú?*-, probably contains the end of the addressee's name and since the tablet was found at Ugarit, it presumably belongs to Ibiranu, one of its last kings. For establishing the identity of the sender we only have]SAG in line 1, but according to the context of the letter he was undoubtedly an Assyrian monarch. The editor is hesitant as to whether Šulmānu-ašared (= SAG) was the actual addressor of the letter, or whether his name appears in the filiation of his son Tukulti-Ninurta, whose name and titles would thus be written in a lost first line.³

A firmer chronological basis is provided by the mention of Tuthaliya (sic), king of Ḫatti (obv. 21), a contemporary of both Shalmaneser and Tukulti-Ninurta.⁴

The letter contains a detailed report for the king of Ugarit regarding the circumstances leading up to a major battle between the Assyrian and Hittite armies. The sequence of events may be summarized as follows:

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I wish to thank H. Otten for his valuable comments.

1. C. F. A. Schaeffer-Forrer, *Ugaritica* VII (1978): 399ff.

2. *RA* 76 (1982): 141ff.

3. *Ibid.* 154–55.

4. H. Otten, *AfO* 19 (1960): 46.

1. In a letter sent to the king of Aššur Tuṭḫaliya accuses him of laying hands upon his vassal (*bēl mamīti*).⁵ He declares war on Aššur (obv. 12–16).

2. The king of Aššur rebuts the accusations.⁶ At the same time he moves his troops and chariots to Taedi (17–20).

3. Tuṭḫaliya sends his messenger again with three tablets. First he reads out two “tablets of war.” Hearing them, the Assyrian soldiers are eager to fight (21–26). Upon seeing this reaction the Hittite messenger reveals the contents of the third tablet, a “tablet of peace,” in which Tuṭḫaliya reassures his correspondent of his friendly intentions and promises the extradition of some fugitives who escaped from Assyrian to Hittite territory (26–37). The rest of the obverse is in very fragmentary condition.

4. Hittite troops, perhaps headed by a general (line 4 ^{lú}GA.[L[?]/lúNIM[GIR[?]) occupy Niḫriya) upon which the king of Aššur advances his troops (rev. 1–6).

5. The king of Aššur lodges a protest claiming that Niḫriya is in a state of war with him. He threatens to lay a siege on Niḫriya and demands that Tuṭḫaliya withdraw his troops (6–13).

6. Tuṭḫaliya refuses to order the evacuation. He takes an oath before the Sun goddess) (13–16).

7. The Assyrian king sends a “treaty tablet” and calls upon Tuṭḫaliya to ratify it before the Sun god(dess). Tuṭḫaliya refuses (16–20).

8. The king of Aššur withdraws his troops from Niḫriya and stations them at Šurra (20–24).

9. A fugitive informs the king of Aššur that the Hittite army is advancing in battle order. The Assyrian troops are put on alert (24–35).

10. (Fragmentary) The king of Aššur defeats the Hittites (36ff.). The rest of the tablet is missing.

Attempting to correlate this fascinating historical source with the previously known framework of Assyrian-Hittite relations, Mme. Lackenbacher considers two possible periods in which the document could have been drawn up—the end of Shalmaneser I’s reign (1263–1234) and the beginning of Tukulti-Ninurta’s (1233–1197).⁷ This study will attempt to establish more accurately the date and historical setting of the battle of Niḫriya in the light of the Assyrian and the Hittite sources.

5. His name (?) in obv. 13 is missing; see however n. 84.

6. KUB III 73 (E. Weidner, AfO Bh. 12, 40 Text 36), a small fragment of a letter sent by Tukulti-Ninurta to Tuṭḫaliya, deals with a similar incident and could in fact be the very message mentioned here. Tuṭḫaliya complains about continuous raids on Hittite territory. Tukulti-Ninurta answers that “not as much as a splinter of wood had anyone removed from your land” (1. 9’).

7. For the low Assyrian chronology followed here, see J. Boese and G. Wilhelm, *WZKM* 71 (1979) 19–20; Boese, *UF* 14 (1982) 15ff.

Shalmaneser's territorial gains in upper Mesopotamia included two regions; Uruaṭri and Ḫanigalbat. Uruaṭri, a group of countries situated in the mountainous regions around Lake Van,⁸ was defeated in the early years of his reign. Ḫanigalbat, the former buffer state founded by Šuppiluliuma, was already reduced to the status of vassalship by Adad-nirari. Shalmaneser, however, annexed its territory to Aššur after suppressing a Hittite supported rebellion of its king, Šattuara II.⁹ The geographical extent of Ḫanigalbat, on the northern rim of the great Mesopotamian plain, is provided by Adad-nirari's and Shalmaneser's descriptions of the conquered territory¹⁰—from the Ṭūr 'Abdīn westwards, across the upper reaches of the Ḫābūr and the Balīḫ to the Euphrates. Although both Adad-nirari and Shalmaneser claim to have defeated the Šubari lands, north of Ḫanigalbat,¹¹ there is no evidence for any serious attempt to strengthen Assyrian sovereignty in these lands, a task that is left to Tukulti-Ninurta. After the tense Assyrian-Hittite relations during the reign of Shalmaneser, there is a serious attempt to cool off the conflict with the accession of Tukulti-Ninurta to the throne.¹² In letters of congratulation to the young Assyrian king and to his high officials,¹³ Tuthaliya uses an exceedingly conciliatory tone. He goes so far as to exhort his correspondent to protect the borders established by his father, thus tacitly acknowledging the annexation of Ḫanigalbat to Assyria. In an obvious attempt to divert Assyrian aggression to another zone, he incites his addressee to attack a land which is "three or four times weaker than you," a clear hint to Babylonia. Incidentally, Ḫattušili used the same words in his letter to Kadašman-Enlil II of Babylonia, seeking to embroil him in a struggle with Assyria.¹⁴

Only after repeated Aššurances of friendship and even assistance against rebelling subjects, a warning is transmitted to the Assyrian chancellor Babu-aḫu-iddina of the hazards of a projected Assyrian expedition into the land of Papanḫi, whose "mountains, are impassable."¹⁵

The conciliatory approaches are not one-sided, at least not overtly. Replying to a complaint of Tuthaliya concerning some border incident,¹⁶ Tukulti-Ninurta writes: "My father was your enemy ... but I am the friend (*bēl sulummē*) of my brother."¹⁷

8. A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (1957) 191; M. Salvini, *Nairi e Ur(u)at̃ri* (1967) 42 and *passim*.

9. See Weidner, *Ugaritica* VI (1969): 519ff.

10. *Ibid.*, 530.

11. J. M. Munn-Rankin, "Assyrian Military Power," *CAH*, vol. II, ch. XXV, 276, 282.

12. Weidner, *Afo Beih.* 12, 40; Otten, *Fischer Weltgeschichte* 3 (1966) 166–67.

13. H. Otten *apud* Weidner, *Afo Beih.* 12, 64ff.; *idem*, *Afo* 19, 39ff.

14. *Ibid.*, 45.

15. KUB XXIII 103 rev. 20–21; Otten, *Afo* 19, 42–43.

16. See n. 6.

17. KUB III 73, 10'–11'. The same quotation may perhaps be restored in KUB III 125 obv. 11–12, another Akkadian letter probably belonging to the Assyrian-Hittite correspondence (see H. Klengel, *OrAnt* 7 [1968]: 74). If

There may even be an attempt to settle the problems by peaceful means. At least this is the impression that the letter to Ugarit seeks to arouse.¹⁸ The challenge put before Tuthaliya to touch the tablet of oath before the Sun god(dess) (rev. 17) and his refusal to do so, strikingly recall Tukulti-Ninurta's formal complaint to Šamaš about the treaty violations of Kaštiliaš.¹⁹ His ensuing victory is considered, in both cases, as the god's verdict emerging from the ordeal of combat.

The Hittites are soon disillusioned about the real objectives of the Assyrians. While peace negotiations still proceed, Tukulti-Ninurta opens a vigorous offensive against the northwestern Hurrian lands that belong to the Hittite sphere of influence.²⁰

After suppressing rebellions of the Qutu and Uqumeni in the north and northeast, Tukulti-Ninurta turns against a group of lands collectively called the Šubari lands, between the Tūr 'Abdīn and the Upper Tigris Valley. These include Katmuḫi, Alzi (Hittite Alše), Amadani (the later Amedi) and Paphi, i.e. Papanḫi, against whose impending attack Tuthaliya has warned the Assyrian monarch.

This may have goaded the Hittites to an immediate retaliation in an attempt to forestall the Assyrian thrust towards the Upper Euphrates. In two late inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta, composed after the sack of Babylon, he claims that his forces had captured eight *šār* (28,800) Hittites from across the Euphrates.²¹ The number is no doubt greatly exaggerated. The account opens with the report of the campaign of his first regnal year, but it has been argued that this order is not necessarily chronological but was dictated by considerations of prestige and self-glorification.²² It was probably tactfully omitted from the early inscriptions, since Tukulti-Ninurta was interested in re-establishing peaceful relations with the Hittites. Only when these attempts failed was the event included in later reports.²³

so, this could be a further exemplar from the letter exchange between Tukulti-Ninurta and Tuthaliya IV the subject of the border incident (see ZAG^{H1A-ni} in rev. 5 and Išuwa in rev. 9, 15').

18. Note also KBo IX 82, a letter from Maša to the king, reporting on the visit of an Assyrian delegation in the southern Anatolian town of Uda. Maša is probably the same person as Mašamuwa, the Hittite messenger to Aššur under Tuthaliya (Otten, *AfO* 19, 44 n. 43).

19. Tukulti-Ninurta Epic II A 13'-24'; III A 9'-20'. W. G. Lambert, *AfO* 18 (1957/58), 40-41; P. Machinist, *CBQ* 38 (1976) 460.

20. For the Assyrian sources on Tukulti-Ninurta's reign, see Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurta's und seiner Nachfolger*, *AfO* Bh. 12 (1959) =ITn.; A. K. Grayson, *ARI* I (1972) 101ff. For a comprehensive discussion, see Munn-Rankin, "Assyrian Military Power," *CAH*² Vol. II, ch. XXV. See also Klengel, *Das Altertum* 7 (1961) 67ff.; J. A. Brinkman, *BiOr* 27 (1970) 301ff.

21. Weidner, ITn, 26ff. nos. 16:28; 17:23; Grayson, *ARI* I, 117ff.

22. Otten, *AfO* 19, 46.

23. Weidner, ITn, 26; Grayson, *ARI* I 118 n. 246.

As for the significance of this account, some authors have envisaged a full-fledged attack on Syria with far-reaching historical ramifications.²⁴ Others have minimized its import assuming that a minor frontier clash had been magnified into a major victory.²⁵ The exact circumstances and dating of this incident with the Hittites remains unknown.²⁶ In any event, it cannot be taken as evidence for a major campaign of Tukulti-Ninurta to the northwestern Hurrian countries late in his reign.²⁷

With the subjugation of the Šubari lands the Assyrians gained control over the most important routes leading across the Euphrates into Anatolia and also over the strategic copper mines at Ergani Maden. The last important stronghold of the Hittites east of the Euphrates, Išuwa, was now dangerously threatened. Tukulti-Ninurta, however, sought first to secure his northern frontier beyond which lay the troublesome Nairi lands.

The localization of this region is a complex problem. First, we must mention two current equations with Naīri: the first, with Egyptian Nhrn (i.e., Mittani) and Hebrew Aram Naharaim,²⁸ and the second with NiḪriya of the Mesopotamian, Hittite, and Urartean sources.²⁹ The second equation³⁰ is virtually certain, especially in view of the variant *Ni-i-ri*.³¹ Whereas Ni/aīri is first attested in Tukulti-Ninurta's inscriptions, NiḪriya has continuous documentation throughout the second millennium.

In the Old Assyrian tablets³² NiḪria (variants: Naḫiria, Naḫria, Niḫaria) is an important trade center, the seat of a *kārum*, commanding the approaches to Anatolia at the Ergani Pass. Tin is traded in the town for silver, thus it must be located on the strategical tin route from Aššur to Kaniš, Ḫaḫḫum being the next important station.

In the Mari texts³³ NiḪriya appears in Šamši-Adad's correspondence in connection with the towns Šuda and Admum. Bunuma-Adad is the king of NiḪriya in a letter dated to Zimri-Lim.

24. W. Helck, *Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im dritten und zweiten Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (1962) 239 n. 3; W. F. Albright, *Yhwh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968) 235–36.

25. Munn-Rankin, "Assyrian Military Power," *CAH²*, vol. II, ch. XXV, 287; O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (1981) 39; M. C. Astour *apud* G. D. Young (ed.), *Ugarit in Retrospect* (1981) 27.

26. Otten, *AFO* 19, 46, places it immediately after the Assyrian attack on Pap(an)ḫi.

27. So R. Borger, *Einf. in die ass. Königsinschriften* (1961) 82–83.

28. E. Forrer, *RIA* 1 (1928) 257; A. Goetze, *Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrer* (1936) 103; P. Meriggi, *WZKM* 58 (1962) 86.

29. Forrer, *RIA* 1 263; J. Lewy, *Or* 21 (1952) 407.

30. The first equation rests on a supposed etymological connection with Semitic *nāru/nahar*, "river." A Semitic etymology so deep in the Hurrian zone would seem rather doubtful. NiḪriya appears to be a Hurrian toponym (Lewy, *Or* 32, 407), as it recurs as a personal name in Nuzi and Arrapha.

31. Weidner, *ITn*, 63 (index).

32. E. Bilgiç, *AFO* 15 (1945/51) 23; J. Lewy, *Or* 21, 407; *HUCA* 32, 66 n. 201; Goetze, *JCS* 7 (1953) 61–62.

33. M. Falkner, *AFO* 18 (1957/58) 20–21 (with references); B. Groneberg, *RGTC* 3 (1980) 177–78.

Niḫriya is attested in two Hittite texts, a list of deities³⁴ and the treaty KBo IV 14, to which we shall return hereunder.

In Assyrian inscriptions³⁵ the forms Ni'iri and Na'iri have mostly replaced the older form, but Niḫria is still attested, in addition to RS 34.165, in a Middle Assyrian stele from Aššur³⁶ and in a Tell al Rimāḥ tablet.³⁷ According to another tablet from this site, tin is imported from Na'iri.³⁸ This concords with the Old Assyrian evidence on Niḫria and explains the efforts invested by the Assyrians and the Hittites to dominate this difficult region.

In an Urartean text Niḫiriani is a royal city of Arme, the later Armenia.³⁹ Whereas the early form has apparently kept its restricted meaning, referring to a city, Na'iri has become, like in the Neo-Assyrian sources, a more general designation for the northern lands.⁴⁰

The attempts to locate Niḫriya are too numerous to be listed. The evidence is hardly unequivocal. Basically the opinions can be classified into two main groups⁴¹—southern oriented or northern oriented, the Tūr 'Abdīn range serving as an approximate dividing line.

Those who locate Niḫriya in the upper reaches of the Ḥābūr or Balīḥ⁴² are influenced mainly by the Mari occurrences which “pull” southward. The Assyrian, Hittite, and Urartean sources, however, strongly favor a more northerly location, somewhere in the upper Tigris Valley.⁴³ A conceivable geographical progression of the consecutive stages of Assyrian expansion—Ḥanigalbat, Šubari, Na'iri—necessitates, in my opinion, a location north or northeast of Diyarbakır.⁴⁴

34. KUB XLV 41 II 18' (Ottén, *MDOG* 94, 5 n. 18): *URU*Ni-ih,-ri-ya-w[e₂] in a list of deities, next to Ištar of Ammana and Dunta.

35. Salvini, *Nairi e Ur(u)atri*, *passim*.

36. W. Andrae, *Die Stelenreihen in Aššur* (1913) 62–63. The *turtānu* Aššur-šēzibanni is entitled “governor of Nineveh, Katmuḫi and Niḫriya.”

37. D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 30 (1968) 179 (TR 3005).

38. *Ibid.*, 183 (TR 3019). Other tablets mention large amounts of tin, fifty minas and up, without specifying its provenience.

39. Salvini, *Nairi e Ur(u)atri*, 46.

40. *Ibid.*, 21ff.; I. M. Diakonoff and S. M. Kashkai, *RGTC* 9 (1981) 60.

41. The location in Meḫri, east of Katmuḫi (Kh. Nashef, *RGTC* 5 [1982] 205–6), is based on a misinterpretation of Forrer. See n. 62 below.

42. G. Dossin, *Symb. Koschaker* (1939) 116–17; Bilgiç, *AfO* 15, 23; Goetze, *JCS* 7, 61–62; Falkner, *AfO* 18, 20ff.

43. J. Lewy, *HUCA* 32, 66 n. 201; Astour, *Aššur* 2/3 (1979) 5; Diakonoff and Kashkai, *RGTC* 9, 60–61 with references (Piotrovsky, Kapancyan).

44. The localization of Na'iri/Niḫriya is also dependent on the relative location of other places in this archaeologically poorly explored area. For example, if the traditional localization of Taide/Tidu in the Mardin region (Weidner, *BoSt.* 8–9 [1923] 26 n. 2) is abandoned in favor of one north of the Tūr 'Abdīn range (Goetze, *JCS* 7, 59 n. 47; K. Kessler, *TAVO* 26 [1980] 92–93), then Na'iri/Niḫriya must be sought north of Diyarbakır.

The conquest of the “mighty mountains” of Naīri “whose paths no king had known before him” is described as an outstanding achievement of military engineering:⁴⁵ “Their highlands I widened(?) with bronze axes, their untrodden paths I made broad.” Henceforth, the epithet “king of the Na’iri lands” regularly figures in Tukulti-Ninurta’s titulary, alongside the epithet “king of the Šubari lands.”

Forty kings of Naīri and of the lands on the shore of the Upper Sea are taken as captives to Aššur but are subsequently reinstated as vassals in their respective countries. The Upper Sea in this period is most probably Lake Van, and the lands on its shore could be taken as an indirect reference to the Uruatri lands earlier subdued by Shalmaneser.⁴⁶ There is, however, no foundation to the view that Naīri simply replaced the name of Uruatri in Tukulti-Ninurta’s inscriptions.⁴⁷ Although this is surely the case in later texts, when the geographical connotation of the two terms had changed and they were used intermittently, this does not apply automatically to the thirteenth century. Naīri is first mentioned by Tukulti-Ninurta, and there is no reason to ignore his insistence that no king before him had traversed its difficult paths; he is not at all reluctant to admit his predecessors’ achievements in the Šubari lands. This statement is also supported by the Tell al-Rimāḥ tablets where there is evidence of imports from Naīri/NiḪria at the beginning of Tukulti-Ninurta’s reign.⁴⁸

After the Naīri campaign Tukulti-Ninurta turns to the crowning achievement of his military career—the conquest and subjugation of Babylon. This occurs at the end of the first decade of his reign.⁴⁹ In the later part of his reign he concentrates upon ambitious building programs and the founding of his new capital, Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta. His last years are marked by growing opposition to his policies and court intrigues that eventually culminate in his assassination. Weakened by over-extension of its forces, Assyrian military power continues to decline for about a century until its recovery under Tiglath-Pileser I.

Returning now to RS 34.165, all the evidence leads to the conclusion that the NiḪriya battle described therein is a detailed account of Tukulti-Ninurta’s Naīri campaign at the beginning of his reign. Since there is no evidence in the Assyrian records for any other attack on NiḪriya/Naīri, either before or after this campaign, Tukulti-Ninurta is the only possible author of the letter. Thus, we must restore his name and titles in a lost first line.

45. Munn-Rankin, “Assyrian Military Power,” *CAH*², vol. II, ch. XXV, 286.

46. Salvini, *Nairi e Ur(u)atri*, 45.

47. B. B. Piotrovsky, *Urtu* (1969) 43. A similar view is implied by Klengel, *Das Altertum* 7 (1961) 69.

48. During the eponym years of Qibi-Aššur (TR 3005), i.e., the second year of Tukulti-Ninurta (H. A. Fine, *HUCA* 24 [1952/3] 247; C. Saporetti, *OrAnt* 8 [1969] 187), and of Nabû-bēla-ušur (pp. 185ff.).

49. Munn-Rankin, “Assyrian Military Power,” *CAH*², vol. II, ch. XXV, 287.

If we are to trust Tukulti-Ninurta's testimony, we have to insert in our history books a major battle between Hittite and Assyrian armies during the late thirties of the thirteenth century.⁵⁰ Šurra, where the Assyrian army was stationed after withdrawing from Niḫriya, is probably located at Savur on the northern slopes of the Țūr 'Abdin.⁵¹ The armies clashed somewhere between Niḫriya and Šurra, i.e., between the Țūr 'Abdin and the upper Tigris, far away from Hittite bases. With most of the lowlands south of the Tigris already in Assyrian hands, the Hittites apparently descended from the eastern Taurus ranges in a wide outflanking movement, somewhat recalling Šuppiluliuma's sudden descent on Waššukkanni a century earlier. This time, however, fortune turned against the Hittites. In his letter to Ugarit, the triumphant Assyrian monarch boasts of his great victory and blames the Hittites for the outbreak of hostilities. His obvious aim is to shatter the Syrian vassal's loyalty towards his weakening suzerain. As we know from the latest Ugaritic documents, his attempt was not unsuccessful.

Is there any reference in the Hittite sources to this major battle between the imperial forces of Ḫatti and Aššur?

There are indeed many signs of the fervent preparations for the unavoidable encounter. In Syria a trade blockade was instituted against Assyria, and Amurru was reminded of its obligation to furnish aid in the case of an Assyrian attack.⁵² Ugarit's previous exemption from this obligation⁵³ was abrogated.⁵⁴ As an act of political propaganda Tutḫaliya adopted the pretentious title *šar kiššati*, "king of the entirety," as an obvious imitation of Assyrian epithets.⁵⁵

More specifically on projected military operations against Assyria we hear of a vow of a Hittite king, probably Tutḫaliya,⁵⁶ in which he promises to erect stelae and to provide offerings to three deities⁵⁷ in return for their assistance in his struggle against the king of Assyria.

50. If the beginning of trade with Niḫriya, according to the Tell al-Rimah tablets in the second year of Tukulti-Ninurta (see n. 48), may be taken as evidence for Assyrian rule, then the battle took place in 1234 B.C., or a year later.

51. A. T. Olmstead, *JAOS* 38, 237 n.57; Forrer, *Provinzenteilung*, 2; Kessler, *TAVO* 26 (1980) 57ff.; Nashef, *RGTC* 5, 254.

52. KUB XXIII 1 IV 19–23; C. Kühne and H. Otten, *StBoT* 16 (1971) 16.

53. PRU IV 149–50 (dated to Ammištamru).

54. PRU IV 192. A Hittite official is sent to Ugarit to inspect its contingent of soldiers and chariotry (dated to Ibiranu).

55. Otten, *AfO* Bh. 12, 68; Brinkman, *BiOr* 27, 304 (titles of Tukulti-Ninurta).

56. 38/r I 5'–8'; Otten, *MDOG* 93 (1962) 75–76; M. Weippert, *ZAW* 84 (1972) 475–76.

57. Incidentally, I think that the three deities—NIN.URTA, Kumarbi, and a third whose name is broken (Otten suggests to fill in the gap with the god Aššur) need not necessarily be gods of the enemy, but could be gods of the disputed area, the Hurrian lands east of the Euphrates. Kumarbi is a Hurrian god and NIN.URTA could be the ideographic writing for another (Otten, *StBoT* 13, 33–34).

All these signs forecast the approaching war; no direct Hittite reference, however, could be found concerning the actual military encounters reported by the Assyrian inscriptions, and now particularly by RS 34.165.⁵⁸ Significantly enough though, we do have a Hittite source recording a decisive battle fought by a Hittite king against the Assyrians at NiḪriya. This text, however, KBo. IV 14, has been universally ascribed to Šuppiluliuma II, a generation later. Is this dating certain, or can we perhaps synchronize the “two” NiḪriya battles? To answer this question a closer look at this intriguing text is in order.

KBo. IV 14⁵⁹ is a long treaty or protocol between a Hittite king and an unknown ally. Since the beginning and end of the text are broken, both names are unfortunately missing. It contains a dramatic appeal of the Hittite king to the loyalty of his ally who had betrayed him in the past in a critical situation. The ever recurring plea is characterized by a markedly pessimistic tone. The fickle ally is plaintively demanded to commit himself “to die for the king” if similar circumstances should once again arise.

The enemy is the Man of Aššur, who is described as “a foe of long standing who has been lying in wait” for an opportunity to attack (II 66–67). He might once again penetrate into His Majesty’s lands, or he might defeat him first and then raid his lands (II 23ff.).

Regarding concrete historical events⁶⁰ the text reveals the following (II 7ff.):

“As (the situation) turned difficult for me you kept yourself somewhere away from me. Beside me you were not! Have I not fled from NiḪriya alone? When it thus occurred that the enemy took away from me the Ḫurri lands, was I not left on my own in Alatarma?”⁶¹

The circumstances of the vassal’s desertion of his lord, on the enemy frontline, are most severe. If despite this he is pardoned and is given a second chance to

58. Otten, AfO Bh. 12, 68.

59. CTH 123; Forrer, *RLA* I 263, was the first to have made historical use of this text; Meriggi, *WZKM* 58, 84ff.; Otten, *MDOG* 94, 5–6. A full edition of the text is provided by R. Stefanini, “KBo IV 14 = VAT 13049,” *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 20 (1965) 39–79.

60. Another historical event is probably referred to in IV 39–40, unfortunately in very fragmentary context. Babylon (*Karan[duniyaš]*) and Aššur are mentioned in two consecutive lines. Since the verb following Babylon is *kišat*, “became,” the land itself can hardly be the subject of the sentence. On the other hand, “the king of Babylon” is quite possible. Could this be an allusion to Tukulti-Ninurta’s capture of Babylon after which “he became [king of *Karan[duniyaš]*”? In l. 41’ Stefanini restores: *arkamma[nalalḫi]* “he has made tributary (?),” which would fit well the above assumption.

61. The town Alatarma recurs in the text known as “Mita of Paḫḫuwa” (Gurney, *AAA* 28, 32ff.), which is an official address of Tuthaliya II to the elders of Išuwa, Paḫḫuwa, Ḫ[urri] and other eastern Anatolian lands and towns. One of the representatives taking the oath of allegiance is a person called Paḫḫuwa, the man of Alatarma (rev. 34). The town is also attested in KUB II 1 I 45, III 36, a list of offerings to the KAL and Ala deities of Ḫatti. More than a general location east of the Euphrates cannot be suggested on the basis of these occurrences.

prove his loyalty, it only emphasizes the difficult situation in which the Hittite king found himself after his defeat at Niḫriya.

The ruler of an eastern land,⁶² possibly Išuwa,⁶³ has been suggested as a plausible candidate for the ally in KBo. IV 14. Stefanini, on the other hand, thinks he was a high official of the Hittite court with a temporary appointment as the governor of an eastern land.⁶⁴ We shall return to this question later on. Turning now to the dating of the text: ever since Laroche's demonstration of the existence of a second Šuppiluliuma at the end of the Hittite Empire,⁶⁵ KBo. IV 14 has been universally ascribed to this king⁶⁶ or to his brother Arnuwanda III, at the earliest.⁶⁷ The few personal names appearing in the text do not provide binding historical evidence, but nevertheless played a significant role in its dating. Before dwelling on them a few comments on the linguistic and paleographical evidence are in order.

The abundance of glossed Luwian forms, as well as all the other superficial dating criteria of script, spelling and language, readily classify KBo. IV 14 as a very late text, from the last decades of the Hittite kingdom.⁶⁸ The question is, how late? Or to formulate the problem more generally: Is it possible to date a text within the reign of one specific king if we lack unequivocal historical proofs?

Laroche's dating of the text to Šuppiluliuma II was based on his comparison of its style, tone, and language to those of other texts ascribed with certainty to this king.⁶⁹ These resemblances are certainly valid and significant. However, a closer examination of the text, such as that undertaken by Stefanini, reveals numerous affinities with texts dated to Tuthaliya IV as well.⁷⁰ Especially note-

62. Forrer, KBo. IV Vorwort and *RLA* 1, 263, assumed that KBo. IV 14 is a treaty between Ḫattušili III and the land of Meḫri, probably by misinterpreting ^{LJ}MEḪRI "equal person" in III 68.

63. Meriggi, *WZKM* 58, 85.

64. Stefanini, "KBo IV 14," 50ff.

65. *RA* 47 (1953) 70ff. Previously suspected by K. Balkan, *ABOT* (1948) p. IX; Goetze, *JCS* 2 (1948), 237; Otten, *BiOr* 8 (1951) 232.

66. Laroche, *RA* 47, 76 and CTH 123; Goetze, *CAH²* Vol. II ch. XXIV, 265; Otten, *AfO* Bh. 12, 68 n. 26; *MDOG* 94 (1963) 5; more reservedly in *Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgesch. der Univ. Frankfurt a. M.* (1976), 29 ("in die Spätzeit").

67. Stefanini considers Šuppiluliuma as the author throughout his article, but on p. 78 n. 159 he acknowledges the historical difficulties raised by this dating and reckons with a possible ascription to Arnuwanda III. See also Gurney, *The Hittites*³ (1981) 40; A. Kammenhuber, *et al.*, *THeth* 9 (1979) 96.

68. It is now generally felt that within the large corpus of Late Hittite texts it is possible to single out a specific group written during the reigns of Tuthaliya IV, Arnuwanda III, and Šuppiluliuma II ("spätjunghethitisch"; see *THeth.* 9, Kap. II. with previous literature). Since there are practically no texts that can be ascribed to Arnuwanda III, whose reign must have been extremely short, we are dealing with a period of not more than a few decades.

69. These include the expressions *GAM MAMIT*, "under oath" and *awan arḫa tiya-*, "to stand beside," and the use of the ideograms *GUR* for *tarnai-*, "other" and *DUGUD* for *nakkeš-*, "be difficult."

70. E.g.: *LUGAL-i UGU ak*, "die for the king" (II 16), cf. KUB XXIII I II 36 (Šaušgam.); *šakuwaššaraza [ZI-it]*, "with sincere intention" (I 44), cf. KUB XXIII I II 35, IV 21 (Šaušgam.), KUB XXI 42 III 26 (SAG 2),

worthy are a number of paragraphs concerning the conduct of the ally when commissioned to diplomatic assignments abroad, which are closely paralleled in the “Instructions for Princes, Noblemen and Dignitaries” (SAG 2) and in the Šaušgamuwa Treaty.⁷¹

The same observation applies, I believe, to the paleography. A late-thirteenth century dating is the closest one can get to. A more subtle differentiation might turn out to be highly speculative.⁷² Dating based on script, no matter how exhaustive and accurate the data at our disposal, must have its limitations. After all, a scribe could easily be active within the reign of two, sometimes even three, kings and we should hardly expect him to change his handwriting with each new coronation.

In conclusion, it would be extremely difficult to distinguish solely on the basis of superficial criteria between a text written in the reign of Šuppiluliuma II and one written in the reign of his father Tuḫaliya IV, especially in its later part (when Tukulti-Ninurta was his Assyrian contemporary). Historical considerations, if they can be demonstrated to be significant enough, will perhaps enable us to decide the issue. These bring us to the three personal names preserved in the text.

The mention of Urḫi-Tešub (I 54) provides the only safe *terminus post quem*. The context is broken, but the name of the ill-fated successor Muwatalli must figure here in some historical precedent. Of course, any of the last kings of Ḫatti could be referring to this affair, but it is perhaps worth noting that Urḫi-Tešub is mentioned only in texts of Tuḫaliya IV⁷³ and never in those of Šuppiluliuma II.

The second name, BU-LUGAL-*aš*, had, I believe a substantial influence upon the generally accepted post-Tuḫaliya IV dating of the text. The context here is well preserved (III 38–41):

KUB XIX 55+ KUB XLVIII 90 rev. 46 (“Milawata Letter”); *išḫaššarwatar*, “friendship, courtesy” (I 20), cf. KUB XXI 38 obv. 16 (Puduḫepa letter); *kuwayami meḫuni*, “in distressing time” (II 38, 42), cf. Ḫatt. I 51.

71. III 64–66, 72–73 (Stefanini, “KBo IV 14,” pp. 71ff. § 23 and § 25) is parallel to KUB XXI 42 IV 11ff. (E. von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen* [1957] 28); III 67–71 (§ 24) is parallel to KUB XXIII 1 III 8ff. (StBoT 16, 12).

72. Note, for example, that the late form of AL (with an extra horizontal; StBoT 20, col. X) is totally absent in KBo. IV 14, whereas the older form occurs no fewer than 25 times (due to the “Glossenkeil” word *al-la-al-la-a*). The very late form of NA (with the two oblique wedges superimposed), which is considered as diagnostic for Šuppiluliuma II’s texts (Gurney, *BiOr* 34, 200), already occurs in some texts of Tuḫaliya IV together with regular and intermediate forms, e.g., in the “Milawata Letter” (for its dating see Singer, *AnSt* 33, 214ff.; van den Hout, *RA* 78 [1984] 91). [A detailed paleographical and linguistic analysis of KBo. IV 14 by Theo P. J. van den Hout is due to appear soon.]

73. In the Šaušgamuwa treaty (KUB XXIII 1 II 21, 22, 27), in a letter to Tukulti-Ninurta (KUB XXVI 70 obv. 2–3) and in an oracle text (KUB XVI 32 II 14), 27ff.). Especially noteworthy is Tudhaliya’s frank account of his father’s usurpation of the throne in the Šaušgamuwa treaty. Questions of legitimacy of kingship are possibly the subject matter here also. (I 58 LUGAL-*iznaš* and I 52 LUGA]L-*aš* MUD-*tar* “royal descendancy?”).

“... Be a loyal servant to the king. Do not stiffen (lit.: raise) your neck. In the past, when BU-LUGAL-*aš* died, you stiffened your neck. It should not happen again! Let (this matter) be under oath to you!”

According to an ingenious suggestion put forward by Güterbock and Laroche,⁷⁴ BU-LUGAL-*aš* could be the second, “birth-name,” of Tuthaliya IV. These are the main links of the theory:

a) On a royal seal of Tuthaliya found at Ugarit (RS 17.159) the hieroglyphic legend contains in addition to the group ^{MOUNT}*Tu(thaliya)* GREAT KING the group x-Šarruma GREAT KING. This can only mean that x-Šarruma is the second name of Tuthaliya IV, in accordance with the custom of Hittite kings to adopt a “throne name” after their accession to the throne (cf. Urhi-Tesub = Muršili (III); Šarri-Kušul = Piyaššili).

b) Hieroglyphic x(L 418)-Šarruma could correspond to cuneiform BU-Šarruma attested in several texts (see below).

c) BU-Šarruma could be read Ḫišmi-Šarruma; thus BU (Akkadian *napāḫu*, “to shine”) would be the equivalent of Hurrian *ḫišmi*, which means shining.⁷⁵

Tempting as it is, the equation L 418-Šarruma = BU-Šarruma = Ḫišmi-Šarruma = Tuthaliya IV rests, as pointed out by Laroche, on a multiple hypothesis, and, as far as I can see, no decisive arguments have been adduced since it was launched in 1956.⁷⁶

But even if we accept the theory, there is no proof that BU-LUGAL-*aš* in KBo. IV 14 is the Hittite king Tuthaliya IV. The name is quite frequent in the Late Empire; the following occurrences are listed in Laroche’s catalog (+ supplement):⁷⁷

1. Ḫišmi-LUGAL-*ma*, a prince of Ugarit whom Ini-Tesub deported to Alašia.⁷⁸
2. BU-LUGAL-(*rum*)-*ma*, son of a Tuthaliya, in a list of offerings. for deceased kings and other members of the royal family.
3. Ḫišmi-LUGAL-*ma*, a Hittite prince sent to Egypt to provide for the shipment of wheat.⁷⁹

74. *Ugaritica* III, 117–18; H. G. Güterbock, *CHM* 2 (1954) 386 n. 26, 387 with n. 44.

75. E. Laroche, “Glossaire de la langue Hourrite,” *RHA* 34 (1976) 103.

76. The first element in the name Ḫišmi-Tesub is written at Emar/Meskene invariably phonetically, both in cuneiform (D. Arnaud, *RA* 68 [1974] 190) and in hieroglyphic (courtesy Laroche). See however n. 78 below.

77. *Les noms des Hittites* (1966) no. 371; *Hethitica* 4 (1981) 15.

78. Possibly BU-LUGAL-*ma* in RS 34.140 (*Ugaritica* VII, 404), the author of a letter addressed to his lord, the King of Ugarit, is the same person. If so, the equation BU = Ḫišmi is corroborated.

79. Güterbock *apud* Laroche, *Ugaritica* III, 118 suggested that this prince is Tuthaliya IV prior to his accession to the throne. KUB III 34 must be dated shortly after the Hittite-Egyptian peace treaty in Ramses’ 21st year (because the Egyptian envoy Leya is mentioned in it; see Goetze, *JCS* 1, 250 n. 7; E. Edel, *Ägyptische Ärzte* [1976] 125ff.). At that time Tuthaliya was sixteen years old at the most. (Ḫattušili married Puduḫepa on his way back

4. BU-LUGAL-as in the text under discussion.
5. BU-LUGAL[in broken context in KBo. VIII 135 rev. 5.
6. Ḫešmi-LUGAL-aš in KBo. XVI 83 II 5', an inventory list (of votive offerings for Ištar?).⁸⁰

In fact, it would be rather unlikely that a Hittite king would call his predecessor Tuṭḫaliya IV by his Hurrian “birth-name” rather than by his official “throne-name.” Such a practice is attested only in the case of Urḫi-Tešub. His throne-name (Muršili) is avoided intentionally for political reasons.⁸¹

BU-LUGAL-aš, after whose death the disloyal ally in KBo. IV 14 “stiffened his neck,” could easily be a different person, for instance the ally’s father, the king of a neighboring country,⁸² a Hittite high official with a commission in the east, etc. In any case, the occurrence of BU-LUGAL-aš in KBo. IV 14 cannot be used as an argument for a post-Tuṭḫaliya IV dating of the text.

If we put aside this identification, which is not proven, to say the least, it should not be too difficult to abandon, in view of weighty historical arguments, the current ascription of the text to Šuppiluliuma II in favor of a somewhat earlier dating, to the later years of Tuṭḫaliya IV.

The third preserved name, Eḫli-LUGAL (IV 7), could have been a real help in the evaluation and dating of the text, if the context in which it appears had been better preserved. There are two possible readings of this name:

a) Eḫli-Šarri, comparable to Ea-Šarri/LUGAL-ri, Šarri-Kušuḫ, etc.⁸³ This name however is not attested to.⁸⁴

b) Eḫli-Šarruma, assuming that the complement *-ma*, which is usually present in Šarruma names, is omitted here (perhaps because of the following *-kan*). This would be quite plausible in view of the spelling of the other names in the text, BU-LUGAL-aš and Urḫi-ḪU.⁸⁵

Eḫli-Šarruma is the name of a king of Išuwa mentioned in the letter of a king of Ḫanigalbat to Ḫatti (IBoT I 34). The same person, no doubt, is still a DUMU.

from the Qadeš battle in year 5 of Ramses.) Are we really to assume that he was the person sent to Egypt with this cardinal mission?

80. Several names in this tablet also appear in the Ulmi-Tešub treaty and in the Šaḫurunuwā deed: Kam-malia (II 8'), Ḫešni (9'), AMAR^{MUSEN} (10'), ḪU.SUM-aš (III 6), Alalimi (12). Piḫa-ḪU (III 1) may well be the son of Uppar(a)muwa (Laroche, *Hethitica* 4, 33). The text is safely dated to Tuṭḫaliya IV, and Ḫešmi-LUGAL-aš could be identical with no. 3.

81. Güterbock, *Ugaritica* III, 162–63.

82. Names of this type are the rule in the Hurrian states of eastern Anatolia: Ari-Šarruma and Eḫli-Šarruma, kings of Išuwa, Eḫli-Tešub, king of Alzi.

83. Laroche, *Noms*, 52 no. 228; Laroche, *RHA* 34, 217.

84. If this turns out to be the correct reading, could we perhaps restore the name of Tuṭḫaliya’s vassal in RS 34.165 obv. 13, whose name ends on *-ri* (RA 76, 145 n. 22), to [Eḫli-LUGAL]-*ri*. This would open new possibilities, but might lead to unwarranted speculations.

85. Meriggi, *WZKM* 58, 85; Stefanini, “KBo. IV 14,” 77.

LUGAL, “prince,” in KUB XL 96 III 24, and Klengel has shown good reasons to identify him as the son and successor of Ari-Šarruma, king of Išuwa in the Ulmi-Tešub treaty.⁸⁶ IBoT I 34 is firmly dated to the early reign of Tuḫaliya IV and the reign of Shalmaneser I, who annexed Ḫanigalbat to Aššur. Eḫli-Šarruma could still be the reigning king in Išuwa at the time of the Niḫriya battle between Tuḫaliya and Tukulti-Ninurta.

As noted by Stefanini,⁸⁷ Eḫli-LUGAL appears in KBo. IV 14 probably without any title or other specification and in a context of present tense. It is very unlikely that he should be referred to in some admonitory precedent (like Urḫi-Tešub). He rather appears to be a well-known person living at the time of the conclusion of the treaty. According to the current dating of the text to Šuppiluliuma II (or Arnuwanda III), it is very unlikely that Eḫli-LUGAL and Eḫli-Šarruma, king of Išuwa under Tuḫaliya IV, are one and the same person.⁸⁸ The situation is different of course if the text is dated to Tuḫaliya’s reign. Then, they could indeed be identical, but whether this possibility can be regarded as a probability⁸⁹ cannot be said in view of the fragmentary context. It seems somewhat strange that the king of Ḫatti who addresses his partner throughout the text in the second person singular should suddenly refer to his name. Still, this is not impossible, because the imp. pl. 3rd pers. in the next line (IV 72) is surely the predicate of the sentence.⁹⁰

Stefanini, in dealing with the problem of the ally’s identity, has argued that he is not likely to be the king of a vassal state⁹¹ because the stipulations are primarily concerned with the personal safety of the king and with various missions delegated to the ally. This would more likely fit an important dignitary in the entourage of the king than a distant vassal. Also, the text mentions the partner’s wife, children, and servants (III 16, 20), but not his land or troops, as customary in vassal treaties.

Although Stefanini’s observations are valid if one compares KBo. IV 14 to regular vassal treaties, it is nevertheless possible, I think, to apply these rather “familiar” stipulations to a king Išuwa,⁹² a land whose rulers were kin to the

86. *Or* 32 (1963) 288–89; *OrAnt* 7 (1968) 71; Güterbock, *JNES* 32 (1973) 140.

87. “KBo. IV 14,” 77.

88. Goetze, *JCS* 1, 92 n. 21; more hesitantly Klengel, *Or* 32, 288, n. 1.

89. As assumed by Meriggi, *WZKM* 58, 84–85.

90. If *-zi* in l. 71’ is not the end of a verb but the ideogram ZI, the object of the sentence would be “the life (lit. “soul”) of Eḫli-LUGAL” (cf. ZI LUGAL, etc.; Stefanini, “KBo IV 14,” 58–59). Perhaps we should restore something like, “Let [the gods protect] the life of Eḫli-LUGAL.”

91. *Ibid.*, 51–52.

92. Could LUGAL?^{MES} in IV 59 indicate that the ally is a king?

Hittite royal family.⁹³ This eastern kingdom, situated in the Elazığ district,⁹⁴ was considered a Hittite sub-kingdom rather than a vassal state.⁹⁵

Išuwa could indeed be the land of the disloyal ally. In this connection it is of interest to note a letter fragment which apparently refers to the treacherous conduct of a king of Išuwa towards His Majesty.⁹⁶ The names of the correspondents are missing, but “the Queen, My Lady” to whom the letter is addressed could only be Puduḫepa, the only Hittite queen known to have been deeply involved in international diplomacy, particularly after the death her husband.⁹⁷

The better preserved part of the letter may tentatively be transliterated⁹⁸ and translated as follows:

- 6'] *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ka-a a-ri*
 7'] *x-wa-ra-an-kán* ^{UZU}*ku-ut-tar*
 8' [*kat-ta(?)*] *wa-al-ḫu-u-e-ni*
-
- 9' [*ki-nu*]-*un-ma ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* LUGAL ^{URU}*I-ṣu-wa*
 10' [*ka*]-*a a-ar-aš nu-uš-ma-aš-kán a-pu-un*
 11' [EG]IR-*an wa-aḫ-nu-e-ir*
 12' [*nu(?)*] BAL *an-da-pát ḫar-ak-zi*
 13' [*nu(?)*] LUGAL[?] ^{URU}*I-ṣu-wa*
 14' [*I*]-*T-TI* ^{DUTU}*ṣi* *Ú-UL nam-ma*
 15' *ú-iz-zi nu* SAL.LUGAL GAŠAN-*JA*
 16' [*QA-T*]*AM-MA ṣa-a-ak*
-
- 17' *nu* SAL.LUGAL GAŠAN-*JA ku-it i-ja-ši*
 18' *nu* ^{DUTU}*ṣi* *ki-e-da-ni pí-d[i?]*
 19' *I-NA KUR* ^{URU}*Ar-za[-wa*
- 6'] when he arrives here

93. Güterbock, *JNES* 32, 140–41; see also Stefanini, *Athenaeum* 40 (1962) 35 for a case in which a king of Išuwa is near the Hittite king (Tuthaliya IV !).

94. This generally agreed upon localization is confirmed now by the seal impressions found at Korucutepe (Güterbock, *JNES* 32, 140–41).

95. I. Singer, *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977) 184.

96. KBo. VIII 23. See Klengel, *OrAnt* 7 (1968) 72.

97. E.g. KUB XIX 23, a letter of Tuthaliya to the queen dealing with western Anatolian matters (Singer, *AnSt.* 33, 214); PRU IV 118–19, a verdict sealed with the seal of Puduḫepa; RS 17,434, the letter of Puduḫepa to Niqmaddu III (A. Caquot, *Ugaritica* VII [1978] 121ff.). Incidentally, the obscure *'udh* in this letter (fragment A l. 8), if it indeed is a place name with directional suffix as surmised by Caquot (p. 126), could be the southern Anatolian town of Uda, which indeed has connections with the person of Puduḫepa (see *RGTC* 6,466). In the letter, Puduḫepa reprimands Niqmaddu for not having presented himself before her (in Uda?). This is apparently the same complaint as the one raised against Ibiranu in PRU IV 191.

98. Klengel, *OrAnt* 7, 72 n. 29 (ll. 9–16).

7'–8'] (from) behind⁹⁹ we will attack him.

9' But [no]w, when the king of Išuwa
 10' arrived here, they turned him
 11' back to/from them¹⁰⁰
 12' [and(?)] he is also lost in the rebellion.
 13' [The Kin]g(?) of Išuwa
 14' does not follow any longer His Majesty.
 15' Let the Queen, My Lady,
 16' also be informed!

17' The Queen, My Lady, what will you do?
 18' His Majesty in this p[lace(?)]
 19' In the land of Arza[wa]

The first preserved paragraph is a quotation. The quoted person (the Hittite king?) is planning to attack the enemy from the rear, together with his ally. Unexpectedly, however, the king of Išuwa, cowed by the approaching enemy, in this context most probably the Assyrians, deserts His Majesty. The worried author of the letter (a Hittite general or messenger on the battle front?)¹⁰¹ keeps the Queen informed (in the absence of the king?) and asks for instructions in view of the new circumstances. Arzawa is mentioned in the following lines, unfortunately in broken context.

Of course, there is a high risk of reading too much into these fragmentary lines, but isn't the situation reflected in this letter startlingly similar to the one emerging from KBo. IV 14? Is not the treacherous king of Išuwa in this letter the same person as the ally who cowardly fled from the battle at Niḫriya in front of the approaching Assyrians? The geographical background also provides an excellent explanation for the quoted phrase “we will attack him from behind.” The king of Išuwa is expected to join the forces of His Majesty in Niḫriya, way back in the east. He is obviously concerned with a possible Assyrian attack on his own undefended land during his absence. The king of Ḫatti reAššures his ally that in such a case they will surprise the enemy from the rear.¹⁰²

If the resemblance is not purely fortuitous, we must conclude that the ally in KBo. IV 14 is indeed a king of Išuwa, possibly Eḫli-LUGAL. The same person could perhaps be Tuḫaliya's ally in RS 34.165 obv. 13–14, upon whom the king

99. Partitive construction with *UZUkuttar* (= *UZUGÚ* = *kišādu*), literally, “the nape of the neck.” For a very similar usage, cf. Hebrew *oref*.

100. Does this mean that they “won him over”?

101. The same person as in RS 34.165 rev. 4?

102. Does Tuḫaliya seek to repeat Muwatalli's successful manoeuvre against the Egyptians at Qades?

of Aššur “laid his hands.”¹⁰³ If, however, the connection turns out to be purely illusive, the question of the identity of the ally and his land in KBo. IV 14 must be left open.

It should be emphasized however that the presently suggested redating of the battle of NiḪriya in KBo. IV 14 to the later part of Tuḫaliya’s reign is not at all dependent on the above speculations. It is firmly supported by the historical evidence from both Aššur and Ḫatti.

The difficulty in correlating an alleged battle between Šuppiluliuma II and the Assyrians at the turn of the twelfth century¹⁰⁴ has always been felt,¹⁰⁵ since the only attested campaign of an Assyrian king to Naīri/NiḪriya is at the beginning of Tukulti-Ninurta’s reign. Some authors dealing with this difficulty were compelled to reconstruct a major Assyrian offensive against the Hittites in the northwest at the very end of Tukulti-Ninurta’s reign.¹⁰⁶ Such a reconstruction is not only completely unattested, but is also incompatible with what we know about Tukulti-Ninurta’s last years, characterized by self-imposed isolation in Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta.

The suggested redating of KBo. IV 14 not only solves the chronological difficulties concerning Hittite–Assyrian relations, but is also much more consistent with the overall picture emerging from the last years of the Hittite Empire.

The cardinal point is the fact that in all the extant material dated with certainty to Šuppiluliuma II there is no evidence for Hittite involvement east of the Euphrates or for any encounter with the Assyrians. All the material relevant to Hittite–Assyrian relations is dated to Tuḫaliya IV (or earlier). This includes a quite extensive diplomatic correspondence¹⁰⁷ and other contacts,¹⁰⁸ the clause in the Šaušgamuwa treaty prohibiting commercial relations between Amurru and Aššur¹⁰⁹ and the release of Ugarit from its duty to provide troops for a war with Aššur.¹¹⁰ The paucity of sources on Hittite–Assyrian relations under Šuppiluliuma II, in contrast with their abundance under Tuḫaliya IV, should in itself raise serious doubts regarding the current dating of KBo. IV 14.

103. Cf. n. 84 above. See also n. 17 for KUB III 125, a fragment from the Assyrian–Hittite correspondence in which Išuwa is mentioned.

104. For the dating of Šuppiluliuma II see Otten, “Dark Ages” (see n. 111) 23; Singer, “Dating the End of the Hittite Empire,” *Hethitica* 8 (1987): 413–21.

105. Otten, *Jahresbericht* (see n. 66) 29; Stefanini, “KBo. IV 14,” 78 n. 159.

106. Goetze, *CAH* Vol. II Ch. XXIV, 266; Munn-Rankin, “Assyrian Military Power,” *CAH*, vol. II, ch. XXV, 293 writes: “It can hardly be believed that Tukulti-Ninurta abandoned his conquests without a struggle, and the absence of royal records must be interpreted as a sign not of inactivity but of military defeat.”

107. In Hittite: CTH 177, 178, 209.18, 21 (Otten, *Afo* 19, 39ff.; *Fischer Weltgeschichte* 3, 166–67); in Akkadian: KUB III 73 (Weidner, *Afo* Bh. 12, 40 no. 36), KUB III 125 (Klengel, *OrAnt.* 7 [1968] 74).

108. For an Assyrian delegation visiting Ḫatti, see n. 18 above.

109. Above n. 52.

110. Above n. 53.

The majority of the Hittite documents ascribed to Šuppiluliuma¹¹¹ are of the type of protocols and instructions concerned with problems of inner security in the kingdom. CTH 124 is the oath of a certain [...]Šarruma, “the chief of the scribes-on-wood.” CTH 125 is the oath of another very important person, whose identity is unfortunately unknown.¹¹² He was responsible for Šuppiluliuma’s coronation after the death of his childless brother, Arnuwanda. Otten suggests that the unrest prevailing in Ḫatti according to this text reflects court intrigues connected with the question of the legitimacy of Šuppiluliuma’s kingship.¹¹³ Several other fragments, which are closer in appearance to instructions or treaties, are also predominantly concerned with the loyalty towards the king and his descendants.¹¹⁴ Finally, CTH 256 (ABOT 56),¹¹⁵ also belongs to the category of texts dealing with the regulation of domestic affairs, although it is concerned with religious matters. The people of Ḫatti swear to respect the privileged status (exemption from service duties) of estates belonging to the manes, the spirits of the deceased kings (GIDIM^{HI.A}). One such establishment is the “Everlasting Peak” where Šuppiluliuma set up an image of Tutḫaliya (see CTH 121 below),

The scattered allusions found in these texts reflect increasingly severe internal problems, which already make their appearance under Tutḫaliya.¹¹⁶ Without diminishing the role of the outside enemies in the fall of the Hittite Empire, I feel that more weight should be given to the symptoms of inner decline and disintegration. The ruler of an empire who is brazenly disobeyed by his vassals,¹¹⁷ who is distrusted by his own people, and has to put his closest peers to an oath of allegiance, can hardly be unaware of the impending catastrophe. His pious preoccupation with the mortuary shrine of his father and with other similar religious establishments is not uncharacteristic of ominous times. Rather than reflecting self-confidence and security, it is a mute plea to the gods and spirits to grant salvation where the scepter and the sword have failed.¹¹⁸

Texts having some bearing on exterior affairs are very few. Two versions of a treaty with Kargamiš (CTH 122), whose kings had almost completely taken

111. CTH 121ff., 256; for a comprehensive survey see Otten, *MDOG* 94, 1ff.; *Jahresbericht* (see n. 66), 22ff., and *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der “Dark Ages” vom 12. bis zum 9. Jh. v. Chr.* (ÖAW, Phil.-hist. Kl, SB 418, 1983), 18ff.

112. He could not possibly be the same person as the “chief of the scribes-on-wood” in CTH 124, as tentatively suggested by Meriggi, *WZKM* 58, 94, since [...]Šarruma had been adopted by Šuppiluliuma as a small child (Otten, *MDOG* 94, 3).

113. Otten, *Jahresbericht*, 30–31.

114. KBo. XII 30, KBo. XIV 12, KUB XXVI 68, KUB XXVI 25. The latter (see Otten, *MDOG* 94, 4) is probably a treaty with the ruler of a vassal state (see l. 13').

115. Meriggi, *WZKM* 58, 92; Otten, *MDOG* 94, 4–5.

116. Singer, *AnSt* 33 (1983) 214ff.

117. Cf. PRU IV 191; RS 17.434. See n. 97 above.

118. Otten, *MDOG* 94, 5. Cf., however, O. R. Gurney, *Mesopotamia* 7 (1979) 162, 164; *The Hittites*³ (1981)

over the government of Syria in the last decades of the century,¹¹⁹ can hardly be considered as “foreign affairs.”

Thus we are left with only two texts on Alašiya and a few letters from the last days of Ugarit.¹²⁰ As it turns out, all these revolve around the same problem.

The poorly preserved treaty with Alašia (CTH 141) does not contain Šuppiluliuma’s name. Nonetheless, it should probably be ascribed to him,¹²¹ like CTH 121, although an attribution to Tutḫaliya cannot be entirely precluded.¹²² The king of Aššur is mentioned in fragmentary context, but I believe that in the series of rhetorical questions in obv. 15’–18’ Šuppiluliuma glorifies the deeds of his deceased father (as in CTH 121) rather than himself.¹²³ Some of the building projects referred to in the fragmentary list could indeed have been accomplished by Tutḫaliya, hardly by Šuppiluliuma:

“[Who embellished the te]mple of the Sun-goddess of Arinna with silver [and
gold?]”

Who b[uilt] Ḫatti (of) Tutḫaliya?¹²⁴

Who built [the sanctuary0]¹²⁵ of] the Storm-god?

Who [fought(?)] the king of Aššur?

Who crossed [the river]na?¹²⁶

[Who(?)] the gate [. . . .]”

CTH 121¹²⁷ is a long report by Šuppiluliuma on two campaigns against Alašia (one of Tutḫaliya and one of himself), the setting up of an image of his father in the “Everlasting Peak” and the privileges granted to that establishment.

The sea battle fought with the ships of Alašia is the only major military operation known for certain to have been conducted by Šuppiluliuma II. It is best understood in the context of the defensive war against the “Sea Peoples.” This is quite evident when reading through the last correspondence between

119. M. Liverani, *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, fasc. 53 (1979) col. 1311.

120. See also KBo. XVI 35, written by a grandson of Ḫattušili (Singer, *AnSt* 33, 217). The small fragment may belong to the historical preamble of a vassal treaty, perhaps with Mera mentioned in l. 8’.

121. Otten, *MDOG* 94, 13.

122. Güterbock, *JNES* 26, 80.

123. Cf., however, Otten, *MDOG* 94, 13 n. 47.

124. The compound ^{URU}Ḫatti Tutḫaliya (in the absolute state) is difficult to explain. Güterbock, *JNES* 26, 80 n. 12 wonders whether it could refer to the Upper City in Boğazköy.

125. It is most unfortunate that the word identifying the edifice of the Storm god is missing. It does not necessarily refer to his temple, which in fact is the same as the temple of the Sun goddess of Arinna mentioned above (Temple I). It could be a rare reference to the building activities of Tutḫaliya at Yazılıkaya, which I believe is the *ḫurwaši* of the Storm god of Hatti” (StBoT 27, 101; Proceedings of the IXth Turkish Congress of History [Ankara 1981, forthcoming]). The traces before ^{PU} exclude a reading *ḫurwaši*; they could however belong to *ŠJA* (cf. KUB XX 63 I 11 ^{NA4}*ḫurwaši ŠJA* ^{PU}).

126. Perhaps Puruna, if indeed this name refers to the Euphrates (see *RGTC* 6, 543).

127. Otten, *MDOG* 94, 13ff.; *Jahresbericht* (see n. 66), 27–28; Güterbock, *JNES* 26, 73 ff.

Ḫattuša, Ugarit and Alašia,¹²⁸ which is almost invariably concerned either with grain shipments to Ḫatti,¹²⁹ or with the approaching enemy ships that threaten to disrupt this vital supply line.¹³⁰ The emerging picture is one of total confusion and incompetence. Hectic letters compare scraps of information on the elusive enemy, his size, and whereabouts.

Actual frontline reports are very few. There is the famous letter in which the king of Ugarit writes to Alašia that his troops are in Ḫatti, his fleet in Lukka, while his own, undefended land is being attacked by seven enemy ships (*Ugaritica* V 24).

A few letters (from the oven) translated into Ugaritic are too damaged and unintelligible to provide a clear picture of the course of battle. Still, there are a few allusions to the whereabouts of the Hittite army and the contingents from Ugarit. A Ugaritic commander writes to his lord from *Lwsnd* (PRU V 63) reporting about the movements of the king (of Ḫatti?). Astour has correctly recognized here the name of the Kizzuwatnean town of Lawazantiya. In another report (PRU II 12) we hear about an enemy who is in Mukiš (*Mgšḫ*) and near Mount Amanus. Perhaps in the same region is stationed the king of Ugarit who writes to the queen, his mother, that he will inform her when the Hittites arrive (PRU II 13). He may have waited in vain.

Nota bene: There is nothing in these documents of the last years of the Hittite Empire even remotely associated with the Assyrians or with eastern campaigns. Šuppiluliuma's alleged counter-offensive east of the Euphrates, and the far-reaching historical consequences supposedly emanating from it,¹³¹ are based solely on KBo. IV 14, with no additional support, either from Hittite or from Assyrian sources.

From all that we know, Šuppiluliuma II was never capable of campaigning in the west (Arzawa and Lukka),¹³² north (Kaška),¹³³ or east. All his efforts were invested in a last-ditch attempt to halt a most unconventional and elusive enemy, who invaded the long shores of the eastern Mediterranean and gradually cut off Ḫatti from her Syrian allies and from her desperately needed food supplies. At this stage Ḫatti could no longer profit from the temporary weakness of Aššur at the end of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign and immediately thereafter. Starved

128. M. Astour, *AJA* 69 (1965) 253ff.; P. R. Berger, *UF* 1 (1969) 217ff.; G. A. Lehmann, *UF* 2 (1970) 67ff.; *UF* 11 (1981) 481ff.

129. Klengel, *AoF* 1 (1974) 165ff.; Singer, *Tel Aviv* 10 (1983) 4ff.

130. Singer, *AnSt* 33 (1983) 217.

131. Meriggi, *WZKM* 58, 90. Meriggi suggested that the survival of Hittite culture in the southeast, especially at Kargamiš, could partly be attributed to remnant Hittite forces who fought with Šuppiluliuma II in northern Mesopotamia.

132. Singer, *AnSt* 33, 217.

133. Otten, *Jahresbericht*, 29.

and exhausted by the futile struggle against the sea-borne enemy in the south, she became an easy prey for the hordes of the Kaška and the Muški sweeping from north and west.

A HITTITE–ASSYRIAN DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGE IN THE LATE-THIRTEENTH CENTURY B.C.E.

One of the surprising developments in the rapidly unfolding scene of international relations in the late-thirteenth century B.C.E. is the extent of peaceful contacts between the Hittites and the Assyrians.¹ After a stormy offensive at the beginning of his reign, in the wake of which Tukulti-Ninurta I defeated the armies of Tuḫaliya IV,² the Assyrian ruler turned his aggression towards Babylon, establishing at the same time an “entente cordiale” with his western neighbor. A prolific exchange of diplomatic letters between the enemies of yore³ was accompanied by lucrative trade⁴ and by cultural influences, which still need to be investigated in specialized studies.⁵ Whereas in the past the study of Hittite–Assyrian rela-

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1. For a general survey see J. Freu, “De la confrontation à l’entente cordiale: Les relations assyro-hittites à la fin de l’âge du Bronze (ca. 1250–1180 av. J.C.),” *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (ed. G. Beckman, R. Beal, G. McMahon; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 101–18. For the Hittite–Assyrian cooperation towards the end of Tukulti-Ninurta’s reign, see I. Singer, “KBo 28.61–64 and the Struggle over the Throne of Babylon at the Turn of the 13th century BCE,” *VI. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Würzburg, 22.–24. März 2006)*.

2. I. Singer, “The Battle of Niḫriya and the End of the Hittite Empire,” *ZA* 75 (1985): 100–123. For the different opinions concerning the dating of RS 34.165 (Šalmaneser I or Tukulti-Ninurta I), see references in J. Freu, “De la confrontation à l’entente cordiale,” 107, n. 35; M. Dietrich, *UF* 35 (2003): 103–39.

3. These have recently been republished and studied in the masterly monograph of C. Mora and M. Giorgieri, *Le lettere tra i re Ittiti e i re Assiri ritrovate a Hattuša* (Padova 2004; with refs. to previous studies).

4. B. I. Faist, *Der Fernhandel des assyrischen Reiches zwischen dem 14. und 11. Jh. v. Chr.* (Münster 2001), 213–25; eadem, “Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Assyrien und Anatolien in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jt. v. Chr. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Metallhandels,” *Anatolien im Lichte kultureller Wechselwirkungen* (ed. H. Klinkott; Tübingen 2001), 53–66.

5. For possible influences in the glyptic domain, see S. Herbordt, “Die hethitische Glyptik im Lichte der politischen und kulturellen Beziehungen des Hethiterreichs zu Syrien und Mesopotamien,” *Das Hethiterreich im Spannungsfeld des Alten Orients. VI. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Würzburg 2006 (ed. G. Wilhelm; Wiesbaden 2008) 159–72; for monumental architecture, see provisionally I. Singer, “A City of Many Temples: Hattuša, Capital of the Hittites,” in *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land. Proceedings of the International Conference in Memory of Joshua Praver* (ed. B. Z. Kedar and R. J. Z. Werblowsky; Jerusalem 1998), 42.

tions was almost entirely dependent on documents found at Boğazköy, the last decades have brought a welcome increase in documentation from governmental centres in the western provinces of Assyria — Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu,⁶ Tell Chuēra/Harbe⁷ and Tell Sabi Abyad/Amīmu(?).⁸ Also, the continuous publication of tablets from Aššur and Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta in the Berlin Museum adds further glimpses of Assyrian–Hittite relations.⁹ Besides their wealth of historical information, the Middle Assyrian tablets provide most valuable chronological anchors, which are notoriously missing in the Hittite texts. The reconstruction of the sequence of eponyms has reached an advanced stage due to the continuous efforts of H. Freydank, W. Röllig, and others.¹⁰ We are now in the position to narrow down the absolute dates of certain events recorded in the Assyrian documents and to synchronize them with contemporary events reported in documents from Hattuša, Ugarit, and Emar.

In a previous article I dealt with the participants of a high-level Hittite expedition travelling to Aššur in the eponym year of Ina-Aššur-šumi-ašbat (ca. 1215 B.C.E.), as recounted in Dūr-Katlimmu no. 6 (DeZ 3320).¹¹ In the same year a group of merchants from Emar are reported to have arrived at Aššur in another document from Dūr-Katlimmu (no. 13: 5; DeZ 3311+).¹² Dūr-Katlimmu no. 6 also contains a report on the anticipated prospected exportation of large quantities of linen from Karkamiš to Aššur, which in this year could not be met because of a failed crop (II. 1'–15'). This topic, which is also taken up in Dūr-Katlimmu no. 7 (DeZ 3835), deserves a separate study for its potential interest for the economic history of northern Syria.

6. E. C. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrische Briefe aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad* (Berlin 1996); cf. also eadem and H. Freydank, "Addenda und Corrigenda zu BATSH 4," *NABU* 1996/3, 65–68 and the reviews of C. Saporetti, *Or* 66 (1997): 455–58 and M. Streck, *ZA* 87 (1997): 271–76.

7. C. Kühne, "Ein mittellassyrisches Verwaltungsarchiv und andere Keilschrifttexte," in *Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuera im Nord-Ost Syrien* (Saarbrücken 1995), 203–24.

8. The tablets have not been published yet, but their general contents has been indicated in preliminary reports, e.g., A. Kouwenhoven, *Archéologia* 344 (1998): 14–17; P. M. M. G. Akkermans and F. Wiggermann, *Archéologia* 358 (1999): 56–65. For the possible identification of the site with Amīmu, see Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad*, 102; M. Luciani, "On Assyrian Frontiers and the Middle Euphrates," *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 13 (1999–2001): 97.

9. Published by H. Freydank in the series *Mittellassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte* (MARV).

10. See, most recently, W. Röllig, *ZA* 94 (2004): 18–51; H. Freydank, *AoF* 32 (2005): 45–56.

11. "The Great Scribe Taki-Šarruma," Beckman et al., *Studies Hoffner*, 341–48. For the reconstruction of the caravan's itinerary, see map in Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad*, 31. For the dating of the eponym year of (Ina-)Aššur-šumi-ašbat between Tukulti-Ninurta's 11th and 16th years, see *ibid.*, 17–18. Most documents from Dūr-Katlimmu are dated to this year (*ibid.*, 14ff.; 105–6), in which Tukulti-Ninurta defeated the Kassite army and captured Kaštiliašu (cf. text no. 9, II. 36ff.).

12. A few years later, in the eponym-year of Ninu'ayu (ca. 1213/1212), a Hittite diplomatic mission headed by Tili-Šarruma came to Aššur, according to the texts from Tell Chuera (Kühne, *Tell Chuera*, 216–19). On its way back it was joined by emissaries from Sidon and Amurru.

Not everything, however, was as peaceful and lucrative in Hittite–Assyrian relations in the eponym year of Ina-Aššur-šumi-ašbat. According to Dūr-Katlimmu no. 2 (DeZ 3439), a “band” (ERÍN.MEŠ) of people from Karkamiš escaped westwards. It is not entirely clear who these people were, a band of fugitives, as assumed by Cancik-Kirschbaum,¹³ or perhaps a military unit from Karkamiš that violated the Assyrian border in the vicinity of the Balih River. The author of the letter, Sin-mudammeq, who was the governor of (W)aššukanni,¹⁴ excuses himself before his lord Aššur-iddin, the Assyrian viceroy resident in Dūr-Katlimmu, for failing to capture the band, which had meanwhile retreated to Karkamiš. He reassures him, however, that he had fortified his positions along the Balih River all the way from Širda to Tuttul.¹⁵ The strategically important region extending to the west from the Balih was disputed territory, but, as shown by the archaeological evidence, Karkamiš was in control of both sides of the Euphrates.¹⁶

The last paragraph of Dūr-Katlimmu no. 2 (ll. 61–68) introduces a new topic, which will be the main objective of this paper. It deals with the transfer of a certain person from Aššur to (W)aššukanni, where he was supposed to be entrusted into the hands of a certain Amurru-Ašared. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum has already indicated in passing the possibility that this person might be identical with the Assyrian ambassador to Hatti in the reign of Tuḫaliya.¹⁷ This possibility will be further explored in an attempt to correlate it with contemporary Hittite sources.

The reading and rendering of this difficult passage is open to deliberation. As already indicated in the review by M. Streck,¹⁸ in l. 61 the personal determinative does not follow after DUMU, but rather precedes it. It is therefore difficult to accept the reading ... ^{<m>}Še-eh-ri DUMU ^mMu-ta-<ki/>-^dAMAR.UTU, rendered as “(Was den) Šehru angeht, den Sohn des Mutakil-Marduk, ...”¹⁹ *šeḫru* (which does not have a determinative) could very well be an appellative referring to the person’s young age or to his junior rank.²⁰ The reading of the theophoric name remains difficult, but it can hardly be Mutakkil-Marduk (attested in another letter

13. *Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad*, 94 (“Flüchtlinge”).

14. The toponym is spelled consistently with initial A in the Dūr-Katlimmu texts. For the probable identification with Tell Fahariya, see Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad*, 100.

15. As indicated by the dotted line on the map drawn in *Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad*, 31.

16. P. Pfälzner, “Keramikproduktion und Provinzverwaltung im mittellassyrischen Reich,” in *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten* (ed. H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann; Heidelberg 1997), 340; M. Luciani, *SAAB* 13 (1999–2001): 100–101; H. Kühne, “Dūr-katlimmu and the Middle-Assyrian Empire,” *Subartu* VII (2000): 275 and map on 279. See also below on KBo 18.25 (+) KBo 31.69, a Hittite letter apparently dealing with disputed territory between the Euphrates and the Balih.

17. Correct the reference indicated in *Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad*, 36, n. 137 to KUB 23.103 rev. 11: ^mMAR.TU-a-ša-ri-*iš-š(a)*; H. Otten, *Afo* 19 (1959–60): 42.

18. *ZA* 87 (1997): 273.

19. *Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad*, 98, 105.

20. *CAD* Š, 179ff.

from Dūr-Katlimmu). Here is a tentative transliteration and translation of the passage, taking into account Streck's remarks:

(61) *áš-šúm še-eḫ-ri* ^mDUMU-x-ta-^dAMAR.UTU (6) *ša* EN-li *iš-pu-ra-ni*
ma-a i+na ^{URU}dA-šur (63) *e-ta-az-bu-ni-šu al-ta-pár il-te-qe-ú-né-šu* (64) *i+na*
^{URU}Aš-šu-ka-ni *ú-šab a-na* ^{md}MAR.TU-SAG (65) *uk-ta-il-šu a-na ma-ḫa-ri-ia*
la-a im-gúr (66) *ma-a bi-il-tu dan¹-na-at*

Regarding the *young/junior* (one), ^m...-Marduk, about whom my lord wrote to me: "They released him in Aššur," I had written and they took him. He is (now) in (W)aššukani. I had him ready for Amurru-ašared, but he did not agree to take him from me (saying): "the burden is (too) difficult."

It seems that this *young* or *junior* person had been brought over from Aššur and was waiting in (W)aššukani to be fetched by Amurru-ašared and taken to an unspecified destination. If this Amurru-ašared is indeed identical with Amurru-ašariš, the Assyrian envoy to Ḫatti according to KUB 23.103 rev. 11, it stands to reason that their final destination was into Hittite territory. For some unknown reason Amurru-ašared refrained from escorting his *young/junior* companion, citing some difficulties.

Turning now to the Hittite evidence, the most important contemporary document, which deals with a strikingly similar matter, is KBo 9.82 (CTH 197).²¹ This late-thirteenth century letter²² is addressed by a certain Maša to his unnamed lord. The context leaves no doubt that the addressee was a very important person, but not the king himself, who was addressed by his subjects as "my Sun" (^dUTU^{šf}).²³ As for the author, one may readily accept H. Otten's suggestion that Maša is a short form of Mašamuwa, the Hittite envoy to Aššur during the thirteenth century B.C.E.²⁴ My interpretation of the letter differs slightly from previous ones:

(obv. 1–2) To my lord say: Thus says Maša, your servant. / I fall at the feet of my lord two times, seven times. /

21. For (partial) translations see H. Otten, *Afo* 19 (1959–60): 44, n. 43; G. F. del Monte, *RGTC* 6 (1978): 399; A. Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1989), 149–51; M. Forlanini, *Hethitica* 10 (1990): 112–13; R. Beal, *The Organisation of the Hittite Military* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1992), 350, n. 1329.

22. Note the spellings *kiš-an* and *UL*.

23. Hagenbuchner, *Korrespondenz*, 150.

24. KUB 23.102 i 20; KUB 23.103 obv. 6' (*Maša-A.A-a*); Otten, *Afo* 19 (1959–60): 44, n. 43; cf. also Mora and Giorgieri, *Le lettere tra i re Ittiti*, 185, n. 6 (with further refs.). Hagenbuchner (*Korrespondenz*) is more skeptical. A Mašamuwa, Overseer of the Scribes (*Ma-ša-mu-wa* GAL LÚ.MEŠ DUB.SAR [sic]), is the author of a legal document from Emar certified by Ini-Tešub, king of Karkamiš; see D. Owen, "Pasūri-Dagan and Ini-Tešup's Mother," *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, M. Sokoloff edd. Winona Lake 1995, 573–84. It is doubtful, however, that this could be the same person, unless he was still in an earlier stage of his career.

(4–7) As I left Uda did I not say to my lord: “Let the man follow in the morning while the men of Aššur are here!” (8–9) Now, he set out in the morning, (but) your man did not catch up with them.²⁵ (9–13) The Overseer of the Scribes-on-wood (GAL LÚDUB.SAR.GIŠ) said: “Write to him! The man should come down to me to Taparuqa and he should be [met(?)]²⁶ by you!” (13–15) My lord, whatever [you do, send(?)] to me the man in the morning and he should co[me d]own to me! ...

Two lines missing.

(2'–3') ... [Whe]n²⁷ he comes down [to me(?)] I will [send(?)] him the man of Aššur straight away.²⁸ (4'–5') May the gods hand over GUR.LUGAL to me and may His Majesty also stand by me! (6'–8') As soon as I send to you the man of Aššur straight away, send the man to me in the morning and he should come down to me! ...

Despite its relatively good state of preservation, not everything is clear in this interesting letter. As far as I understand, Maša is trying to reschedule a missed meeting between an unnamed “man” (UN-aš) and an Assyrian delegation visiting in Ḫatti. Since this man arrived too late for his *rendezvous*, he is now to be sent urgently to the new meeting place in the city of Taparuqa. Here he is supposed to meet Maša (and the Overseer of the Scribes-on-wood?). Meanwhile, Maša sends “the man of Aššur” to his correspondent. It would seem that the two persons, “the man of Aššur” and “the man” (of Ḫatti), are being exchanged or swapped with each other. This would explain Maša’s concern that the “transaction” not be bungled by the Hittite side once again, after the initial missed meeting with the Assyrian delegation. The place-name Taparuqa is a hapax legomenon.²⁹ There is no need to seek it in the vicinity of Uda in the Lower Land just because Maša was there before he headed towards Taparuqa. As a meeting point between Hittite and Assyrian delegations a location near the Euphrates would be more suitable.

In rev. 4' the name GUR.LUGAL is suddenly introduced and Maša expresses his hope that both the gods and His Majesty will approve of his “handing over” (lit. “leaving behind,” *appan tarnā-*). The best way to integrate this person into

25. For the verb *damašš-* in the sense “to catch up with, to overtake,” see Beal, *Organisation of the Hittite Military*, p. 350, n. 1329.

26. Perhaps [*ú-e-mi-i*]-š-kán-za e-eš-du (l. 13). For *anda wemiya-*, “eintreffen,” see Friedrich, *HW*, 252; “einholen,” see Otten, KBo XI Vorwort (Nr. 14); *HW*, Erg. 3, 36.

27. L. 2' [*k*]u-[wa-p]i. Hagenbuchner, *Korrespondenz*, 149: [*am-mu-u*]q.

28. SIG₅ and *an-da-an* are written, both in l. 3' and 6', attached to each other. Therefore, I wonder whether they should be rendered separately (Hagenbuchner: “gut hineinschicken”), or rather as SIG₅-*an-da-an*, an adverbial expression that may perhaps be rendered *ad sensum* as “straight away,” “aright,” “properly,” or the like.

29. It should probably be kept distinct from Taparuta, which appears in a cult inventory. The toponym Tabbaruḫe appears in an Alalakh IV text (AT 182: 38), but a connection with Taparuḫa is very doubtful.

the matter discussed in the letter is by assuming that he is the very “man” who is eagerly awaited in Taparuqa. From where he should come is not indicated, but in view of his obvious importance—the king himself and the Overseer of the Scribes-on-wood³⁰ are involved in the affair—Hattuša would be the obvious choice. There is no clue in the letter concerning the identity of GUR.LUGAL, except for his importance. There are two GUR-Šarrumas attested in Hittite texts, both of them scribes:³¹ One is the son of Halpaziti (KUB 12.15 l.e.; KUB 51.12 rev. 7'), the other the son of EN-UR.SAG (KUB 37.210 rev. 3). EN-UR.SAG may well be Bēl-qarrad, the Assyrian envoy to the Hittite court during the reign of Hattušili III (KBo 1.14 rev. 11, 18).

The “Assyrian connection” may point to the second GUR-Šarruma, but of course, the identity of GUR.LUGAL in Maša's letter must remain open until more evidence is found.

There are two further documents that may in fact refer to the same event in Hittite-Assyrian relations. I would tentatively suggest that Dūr-Katlimmu no. 2 reports the journey of a *youngster/junior* named DUMU-x-ta-^dAMAR. UTU from Aššur westwards, whereas KBo 9.82 describes the efforts to bring his Hittite counterpart, GUR.LUGAL, to a meeting with an Assyrian delegation. The ambassadors of the two lands, Amurru-ašared and Maša(muwa), respectively, had the duty of conducting these persons to the meeting point where they were about to be swapped with each other. Admittedly, this is a daring reconstruction of the meager evidence, but the similarities in the subject matter, the chronological agreement and the “Assyrian connection” call for imaginative thinking. It remains to speculate about the possible motives of this anticipated “diplomatic swap.” But before doing so, I would like to refer to two further Boğazköy documents that may possibly be related to this same affair. Unfortunately, both of them are in a very poor state of preservation, obstructing any definitive conclusions.

The first, KUB 23.88 (CTH 175), has been considered since its publication by H. Otten³² to be a letter of an Assyrian king. The name]-^ra-ša-re-ed¹ in the damaged opening (l. 2) has been restored as [Šulmanu]-ašared, despite the unique phonetic spelling, and the debate has revolved around the question of whether this Assyrian king is the sender or the addressee of the letter.³³ A.

30. On the importance of the Overseer/Chief of the Scribes(-on-wood) at the end of the Hittite Empire, see Singer, “The Great Scribe Taki-Šarruma,” 347.

31. Strictly speaking, GUR.LUGAL should be read GUR-šarri (Laroche, *Noms*, 222), but there are examples for the spelling of the theophoric element -šarruma both as LUGAL-*ma* and (rarely) as LUGAL. E.g., Ehli-LUGAL(-*ma*), for which see Th. van den Hout, StBoT 38, 124–25.

32. “Korrespondenz mit Tukulti-Ninurta I. aus Boğazköy,” *AfO Beiheft* 12 (1959): 66–67.

33. For refs. see Mora and Giorgieri, *Le lettere tra i re Ittiti*, 150ff.

Hagenbuchner³⁴ was the first to raise doubts about the attribution of the letter, pointing out that it lacks typical features found in royal correspondence. She suggested that KUB 23.88 is a “private” letter, without however attempting to identify [...] *a-ša-re-ed*. Finally, Mora and Giorgieri raised the possibility of restoring the name as [*Amurru*]-*ašared*,³⁵ the Assyrian envoy to Ḫatti, without ruling out the possibility of the letter belonging to the royal correspondence.³⁶

If the name should indeed be restored as [*Amurru*]-*ašared*, who could be his Hittite “brother” (ŠEŠ-*YA*)? The obvious answer would be Maša(muwa), his Hittite counterpart, in which case this letter may also deal with the previously discussed diplomatic exchange. There is in fact a circumstantial indication that strongly supports the attribution of the letter to Amurru-ašared. The tablet³⁷ is made of a very coarse and grainy white clay, which, according to Otten, cannot originate from Boğazköy. For those scholars who took Šalmaneser to be the author of the letter, this clay composition was explained by its Assyrian origin. But then, why is the letter written in Hittite and not in Akkadian? Otten remained puzzled by this apparent contradiction, but with Amurru-ašared as the author, the solution is at hand. The letter was probably written en route by the Assyrian envoy, somewhere near the Hittite border. Here a Hittite translator could easily be found, in case Amurru-ašared did not himself master the Hittite language sufficiently.

On the obverse the author seems to complain about some delays in the correspondence and about some contradictory messages sent to him by his correspondant.³⁸ The reverse seems to address the heart of the letter. A “male child” (l. 21': DUMU.NITA), a “woman” or “girl” (l. 23': SAL-*TUM*) and possibly their(?) offspring (l. 24': NUMUN) are mentioned. The autograph shows a clear LUGAL at the end of l. 21', perhaps preceded by a trace of SAL. However, on the photograph the surface appears to be totally worn at this spot, thus dashing my hopes that the traces might allow the reading GUR.LUGAL, the mysterious protagonist of KBo 9.82.

Any speculation based on these isolated vocables would be futile, but if it turns out that this letter is indeed related to the previously discussed documents, it may provide a clue on the nature of the entire affair, with a boy, a girl and their future “offspring” involved (see below). Needless to say, the letter might deal with a different matter altogether, but in any case, KUB 23.88 should be

34. *Korrespondenz*, 441.

35. Actually, the traces in l. 2 may also be read as]'-*a-ša-ri-ša*', as in KUB 23.103 rev. 11.

36. For *KU-U[Š]-ŠI-ia* in l. 3 (rendered as “Kälte” by Otten) Mora and Giorgieri (pp. 153–54) suggest an alternative reading, *KU-U[Š]-ŠI-IA*, “my throne,” which could be an appropriate vocable in a royal correspondence.

37. Bo 2211(+)Bo 2199 in the Istanbul Museum.

38. L. 4: ŠEŠ-*IA*-*ma-mu* KASKAL-*ši* *ta-ma-i A-W[AT] ḫa-at-ra-a-iš*] “but my brother [writes] to me each time another thi[ng].”

removed from the dossier of the royal correspondence. Instead, it may perhaps be considered a rare example of a letter exchange between travelling diplomats.

The second document which may possibly be related to the diplomatic swap postulated above is the letter KBo 18.25 (+) KBo 31.69. The indirect join established by M. Giorgieri on the basis of some rare spellings has been confirmed by C. Karasu in the Ankara Museum.³⁹ A chronological anchor is provided by the name Taki-Šarruma, which appears in broken context (KBo 31.69 rev. 9'), assuming that he is identical with the Tagi-Šarruma mentioned in Dūr-Katlimmu no. 6 and in texts from Ḫattuša and Ugarit.⁴⁰ The obverse(!) deals with some cities which were given to the king of Karkamiš (spelled *Kar-ga-maš*), apparently by Tukulti-Ninurta (KBo 18.25 obv.! 2'–7').⁴¹ The reverse takes up another subject, which may perhaps be related to the journey described in KBo 9.82. A “man”⁴² is apparently sent out, and an urgent reply is expected from the correspondent (KBo 18.25 rev.! 6'–10'). The previous lines are unfortunately almost entirely lost, but in l. 4' one could, very hesitantly, restore the place name *Ta-p]a'-ru-uk-ku'* [, which could correspond to Taparuqa in KBo 9.82.⁴³ Here too, as in the case of KUB 23.88, the connection with the main body of evidence presented in this article is highly tentative and may eventually turn out to be misleading. This, however, should not invalidate the main theory based on the well preserved letters Dūr-Katlimmu no. 2 and KBo 9.42.

It is now time to speculate about the possible significance of the postulated swap of individuals between Ḫatti and Aššur. Unfortunately, neither Dūr-Katlimmu no. 2 nor KBo 9.82 says anything about the status or the profession of these individuals. Of course, the correspondents themselves knew very well who these individuals were and saw no particular reason to ease the efforts of future readers of the letters. Perhaps the names of the respective protagonists will lead to more definitive answers in the future. Presently, several possible scenarios may tentatively be proposed.

The first thought naturally leads towards a royal marriage, which is quite imaginable in consideration of the exceptionally close relations that developed between Ḫatti and Aššur towards the end of the thirteenth century B.C.E. Keeping in mind the royal marriage(s) between Ḫatti and Egypt, a meeting of the Hittite

39. Mora and Giorgieri, *Le lettere tra i re Ittiti*, 99, n. 1.

40. For whom, see Singer, “The Great Scribe Taki-Šarruma.”

41. For the place names, which must be located in the vicinity of Karkamiš, see Mora and Giorgieri, *Le lettere tra i re Ittiti*, 103, nn. 23–26. Šuruwanna (KBo 31.69 obv. 5') may be identical with Šurun, one of the cities given to Piyašili according to the Šattiwaza Treaty (KBo 1.1 rev. 17'). The implications of this most significant (re) transfer of cities to Karkamiš must be dealt with in a separate study.

42. The first preserved sign in l. 6' is not entirely clear, but I prefer Hagenbuchner's reading UN-an (*Korrespondenz*, 245) over Mora and Giorgieri's KAL-an or MA-A-AN (*Le lettere tra i re Ittiti*, 102, n. 18).

43. Cem Karasu, who collated the fragment in Ankara, informs me that the vertical wedge in the first sign is in fact a small hole or scratch in the clay.

and Assyrian delegations at the border would be quite possible. But then, we seem to have “men” on both sides of the swap.⁴⁴ Still, if both “men” were of royal blood, one may consider a situation recalling the Amurru-Ḫatti swap, with Bentešina marrying a Hittite princess and Nerikaili an Amurrite one. There is, however, no evidence that the exchanged persons were of royal blood.

A second option might be an exchange of some high-ranking prisoners, fugitives or hostages.⁴⁵ The third, and perhaps the best, option could be an exchange of some important professionals, such as diplomats,⁴⁶ interpreters,⁴⁷ scribes, diviners, artists, etc. There would surely have been ample opportunity for employment for skilled professionals within the diplomatic and economic relations unfolding between the two lands. For the time being, all options must be kept in mind until more evidence turns up.

44. Unless one can take the ideogram UN/ÚKU as referring to both genders, which is very doubtful.

45. Perhaps something similar to the *zaršiya* proposed by the Hittite king to his Ahhiyawan “brother” according to the “Tawagalawa Letter” (KUB 14.3 ii 62–63).

46. Such a possibility would strongly be supported if GUR.LUGAL would indeed turn out to be the son of the Assyrian envoy Bēl-qarrad.

47. Deliveries of garments to an “interpreter (*targumani*) of Ḫatti” are mentioned in a MA tablet from Aššur (VAT 19633; MARV III, no. 12); see H. Freydank, “Gewänder für einen Dolmetscher,” *AoF* 21 (1994): 31–33.

KBo 28.61–64 AND THE STRUGGLE OVER THE THRONE OF BABYLON AT THE TURN OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY B.C.E.

There are turning points in history when the members of an international “club” of great powers meddle in the affairs of a weakened member of the “club.”¹ Such apparently was the struggle for the domination of Babylon after the overthrow of the last Assyrian puppet king, Adad-šuma-iddina, who administered the city for Tukulti-Ninurta I until 1217 B.C.E.² Assyrians and Babylonians, Elamites and Hittites, and perhaps other players on the scene, threw in their lot with one of the contenders for the coveted throne of Marduk’s city. Unfortunately, the sources pertaining to this obscure episode in Mesopotamian history are extremely disparate and fragmentary. More than three decades after J. A. Brinkman’s seminal studies on Kassite history (1968; 1970; 1976; 1983) there are still large gaps in the sequence of events and any reconstruction must be deemed tentative and speculative. This also applies to the one presented below, which seeks to patch together various pieces of information from disparate sources in a conceivable way.

TUKULTI-NINURTA’S LETTER TO ŠUPPILULIUMA (KBo 28.61–64)

The starting point of our venture is a fragmentary and much-discussed Assyrian letter from Boğazköy. The four disjointed fragments published as KBo 28.61–64 were found in the 1930s on the Büyükkale.³ They were soon rec-

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1. In modern history one may compare the intervention of the western powers in Russia after the fall of the Tsarist regime or the invasion of Turkey by Allied troops after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

2. The dates of the Babylonian kings are generally based on Brinkman 1977: 338; cf. also Sassmannshausen 2004: 67; van de Mieroop 2004: 288. For the Assyrian kings the Low Chronology of Boese and Wilhelm 1979 is followed; cf. also Freydanck 1991b: 188.

3. According to Mora and Giorgieri (2004: 55), the fragments were originally stored in Building B, Room 5.

ognized as belonging to an Assyrian letter on the basis of their language and their distinctive whitish-yellow clay.⁴ The obverse of fragments 61 and 62 join indirectly providing the beginnings and the ends of the lines, respectively; the isolated fragments 63 and 64 must belong somewhere in the huge gap between the obverse and the reverse. Despite this deplorable state of preservation, the immeasurable importance of this letter has been recognized by various scholars who have mentioned it in passing.⁵ Full treatments have been presented by W. von Soden (1988), A. Hagenbuchner (1989: 270–75, nos. 198–201), H. Freydank (1991), and most recently by C. Mora and M. Giorgieri (2004: 113–27), who collated the fragments on photographs and improved considerably our understanding.⁶ For a detailed philological treatment I refer the reader to the meticulous study of Mora and Giorgieri, which generally follows Freydank's. Here only a brief outline will be presented underlining the main points of interest of this exceptional letter.

It is best to start with the dating. The last line on the left edge has the name Ilī-padā (^mDINGIR-*i-pa-da*),⁷ probably as *limu*. Ilī-padā was a well-known member of an offshoot of the Assyrian royal family who served, like his father Aššur-iddin and his grandfather Qibi-Aššur, as Grand Vizier and “King of Hanigalbat” in the later part of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign and in the reigns of the following kings of Aššur (Freydank 1991b: 141; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 20ff.; 1999: 219ff.; Freu 2003: 115).

Recently, valuable new information on Ilī-padā's career has been adduced by the Middle Assyrian texts from Tell Sabi Abyad (Akkermans and Wiggermann 1999: 61ff.). Ilī-padā's eponym year must fall in the last decade of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign⁸ and his Hittite correspondent must be Šuppiluliuma II.

The obverse contains a lengthy historical retrospective relating to the royal house of Babylon. Mention is made of Kuri[galzu] (l. 4'),⁹ Kudur-Enlil (l. 5'), and a “non-son of Kudur-Enlil” (l. 10': *lā mār Kudur-Ilili*). The following para-

4. Kümmel 1985: p. VI (with refs. to H. Otten's preliminary remarks in *MDOG*). In the Inhaltsübersicht Kümmel refers to a transliteration of B. Landsberger.

5. For refs. see Mora and Giorgieri 2004: 113, to which add now Durand and Marti 2005; Freu 2006: 206ff.

6. I also had occasion to examine the photographs in Mainz in June 2005, for which I am grateful to Gernot Wilhelm and his team.

7. For the possible readings of this name, see Brinkman 1976–1980a.

8. Freydank 1991b: 59ff.; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 20. The eponym year of Ilī-padā does not appear in the texts from Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu and must therefore be dated to the last years of Tukulti-Ninurta (or thereafter), when this governmental center was no longer active (Freydank 1991b: 44ff.; 2005: 52; Wilhelm 1994: 550; Röllig 2004: 48–49). The last eponym represented in Dūr-Katlimmu seems to be Ina-aššur-šumi-asbat (Röllig 2004), who's term must fall after the defeat of Kaštiliašu, but before the capture of Babylon by Tukulti-Ninurta (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 17; Röllig 2004: 48).

9. The general assumption is that the reference is to Kurigalzu II, but Kurigalzu I should not be excluded from consideration as well, especially in view of his importance for the legitimization of the Kassite dynasty (van Dijk 1986: 167; Freydank 1991a: 28, n. 8).

graphs repeatedly mention Šagarakti-Šurias (ll. 12', 14', 21', 24') and his sons (l. 12'; KBo 18.64, 3'), who appear to be the main protagonists in the letter. The Hittite king Tutḫa[liya] (l. 12') and [his son?] are reproached for “keeping quiet” (l. 13': *qālātunu*) and failing to intervene when someone “took [the throne of ?] Babylon” (l. 22'). The general impression is that Tukulti-Ninurta is trying to justify his own takeover of Babylon in the past and decrying a more recent usurpation of its throne by someone who did not belong to the legitimate Babylonian succession. The culprit may well be the unnamed “servant of the Land of Suḫi” (ll. 13', 16', 21', 28': *İR ša KUR Suḫi*) who seems to play a central role in the plot.

In line 8', *Šu-ḫi e-li-am-ma* may also refer to the omnipresent “servant of Suḫi,” but it could be a statement in the first person recounting Tukulti-Ninurta's ascent/campaign to “[the Land of] Suḫi.” In this connection Freydank (1991a: 30) called attention to two ration texts from Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta in which some persons were absolved from work because they had gone on a campaign in Suḫi.¹⁰ Regrettably, the date is not preserved, but it may be inferred from two clues: (1) Both texts refer to the erection of the zikkurat and the palace in Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta;¹¹ (2) one of them (VAT 18068 = MARV IV 30, 17'–18') mentions some Assyrians who escaped from Babylon (Freydank 1991a: 30, n. 13). Both chronological clues may point towards the second half of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign, and the latter may pin down the date to after the collapse of the Assyrian regime in Babylon in 1217 B.C.E. If so, we may have here an additional chronological indicator for the dating of KBo 28.61–64, besides the [*limu*] *Ili-padā*.

The small fragment KBo 28.63 does not provide any useful context, but it probably also mentions a “throne” (l. 4'), as does the much better preserved KBo 28.64 (l. 5'). The latter provides the gist of the letter: the sons of Šagarakti-Šurias were killed or murdered (l. 3'–4'), and someone (whose identity is lost in one of the gaps) seized the throne (l. 5'), presumably of Babylon. Tukulti-Ninurta quotes from a previous letter in which [he had asked] his correspondent to send him “chariots and army troops” (l. 6'). Someone's “weak feet” (l. 8') are mentioned and then follows a surprisingly emotional statement of the Assyrian monarch: “If I am alive, [I will send(?)] a message of/about my life, but if I am dead, the message of/about my death [will be sent to you(?)]” (l. 9'). Prophetic words indeed, for a few years later Tukulti-Ninurta was murdered by conspirators, including his own son, in his palace at Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta.

The reverse of KBo 28.61(+62) preserves only the beginnings and ends of some twenty lines. Mention is made again of “chariots” (l. 6') and “troops” (l.

10. The two texts are now copied in Freydank 2001: nos. 27 (VAT 18058) and 30 (VAT 18068); cf. his *Inhaltsübersicht* on p. 16.

11. For the foundation of Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta after the defeat of Kaštiliašu IV, see Freydank and Eickhoff 1976–1980; Eickhoff 1985: 49; but cf. Wilhelm 1994: 550.

15'), and the remarkable "one hundred years, my brother[...]" (l. 14'); might this refer to the duration of Assyrian-Hittite relations in the past, or is it perhaps wishful thinking about their future longevity? The left edge closes the missive with yet another sentimental phrase: "you have loved me with all your heart" (l. 1'). This is followed by the customary presents of gold and b[ronze] (l. 4') and the dating.¹²

As should be obvious from this brief presentation, any historical reconstruction based on this fragmentary text alone would be futile. Nevertheless, one is tempted to combine this limited information with other Mesopotamian sources pertaining to this eventful but poorly documented period.¹³ Freydank (1991a: 29), followed by Mora and Giorgieri (2004: 117), has already raised the basic questions concerning the identity of Šagarakti-Šuriaš. Is he the 27th Kassite king of Babylon, and if so, was he ousted by his successor Kaštiliašu? Could he have found refuge with his sons in the Land of Suḫi and could he (or his son) have operated from there in order to reclaim the throne of Babylon? Alternatively, could this Šagarakti-Šuriaš be someone else, perhaps an unknown ruler of Suḫi? And what was his role in the struggle for the throne of Babylon? And who is the mysterious "servant of Suḫi" who figures so prominently in the text? Finally, what kind of involvement did the Assyrian king try to solicit from his Hittite "brother"? Difficult questions indeed, but one thing seems obvious: Tukulti-Ninurta's exceptionally emotive language—longing for his "brother's" love and fearing his own imminent death—must be taken into consideration, besides other clues, in reconstructing the historical circumstances of the letter and its dating. It seems to me very unlikely that Tukulti-Ninurta wrote this letter in the glorious days during and immediately after his occupation of Babylon.¹⁴ On the contrary, its ominous atmosphere speaks for a later phase in his reign, after the loss of Babylon, when he remained secluded in his new capital increasingly alienated from his compatriots.¹⁵ Granting these basic inferences, the Mesopotamian sources pertaining to this turbulent period will now be scrutinized.

12. That *Ilī-padā* is preceded by [*limu*] is almost certain, but one cannot entirely exclude the alternative possibility that the presents were delivered "[by the hands of] *Ilī-padā*," whose jurisdiction was close to the Hittite border.

13. A recent attempt to integrate this letter into a broad historical context (published after the Würzburg conference) has been made by Durand and Marti 2005 [2006]: 127ff. I am in agreement with part of their arguments, but not with their general conclusions regarding the circumstances of the letter's composition and the identity of the "servant of Suḫi" (whom Durand and Marti identify with Kaštiliašu IV).

14. To this phase may belong a fragmentary reference to Babylon in KBo 4.14, a text referring to the battle of Nihriya at the beginning of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign; "[...] became [king] of [Karan]duniya" (iv 39 *Ka-ra-an-du-ni-ya-aš ki-ša-at*) may well refer to Tukulti-Ninurta, since in the following line we read *Jl-NA KUR URU Aš-šur* (Stefanini 1965: 49; Singer 1985: 110, n. 60). A further reference to the overthrow of a king of Babylon, probably Kaštiliašu IV, and his survival is probably found in a recently published text from Ugarit, RS 23.025, 12'–13' (Arnaud 2003: 11; cf. Freu 2006: 205–6).

15. The gloomy atmosphere of this late letter distinctly recalls his prayer to the god Aššur, in which he bemoans "the ring of evil" closing upon him (Klengel 1961: 73–74).

BABYLONIAN CHRONICLES

Traditionally, the major source for late Kassite history has been Chronicle P (no. 22), a late copy of a Babylonian composition of the mid-twelfth century B.C.E. (Grayson 2000: 56ff.; Glassner 1993: 223ff.; 2004: 278ff.). The end of the Assyrian occupation of Babylon and the assassination of Tukulti-Ninurta are briefly recounted as follows:

For seven years Tukulti-Ninurta dominated Karanduniaš. After the rebellion of the officials of Akkad (and) Karanduniaš and the installation of Adad-šuma-ušur on the throne of his father, Aššur-nāsir-apli, his son, and the Assyrian officials revolted against Tukulti-Ninurta, who for evil had laid [hands] on Babylon, deposed him from his throne, locked him in a room in Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta, and put him to death (iv 7–11; Glassner 2004: 281).

This laconic report conveys the impression that Adad-šuma-ušur's ascent to the throne of his father in Babylon followed immediately after the Assyrian retreat. The relevant passage in the Synchronistic Chronicle (no. 21) is unfortunately totally destroyed at this point and the narrative resumes only with the battle between Enlil-kudur-ušur and Adad-šuma-ušur (Grayson 2000: 55, 161; Glassner 2004: 178–79). On the other hand, King List A provides the names and the reigns of the three puppet kings who were placed consecutively by Tukulti-Ninurta on the throne of Babylon: Enlil-nādin-šumi, Kadašman-Harbe, and Adad-šuma-iddina, altogether nine years.¹⁶

The publication of a further Babylonian chronicle from the British Museum modified significantly the previous perspective on this tumultuous period in Mesopotamian history (Walker 1982). The left side of the tablet is broken and its restoration is very problematic. The beginning of the text was restored by Walker as referring to Tukulti-Ninurta's victory over Babylon (Walker 1982: 400, followed by Glassner 2004: 282–83), but, in fact, the first preserved names are those of Enlil-kudur-ušur and Adad-šuma-ušur (ll. 3–4), thus referring to events that occurred a decade after the death of Tukulti-Ninurta. A renewed showdown between Babylon and Assyria ended with a resounding victory of Adad-šuma-ušur, in the wake of which Enlil-kudur-ušur was taken captive and some Babylonians who had previously been moved to Assyria returned to their homeland (ll. 3–7). Allegedly, only now did Adad-šuma-ušur “conquer the city”

16. Grayson 1980–83: 91. The duration of their reigns is indicated as “1 year and 6 months,” “1 year and 6 months,” and “6 years,” respectively, which would add up to 9 years. However, if the first entries may be interpreted as “1 year (that is of) 6 months (only),” then the total of 7 years would overlap with the duration of Tukulti-Ninurta's suzerainty according to Chronicle P (Brinkman 1968: 86, n. 444; 1970: 311, n. 125; Wiseman 1975: 443).

(l. 7), that is, Babylon. Next we get a reference to “the son of a nobody, whose name is not mentioned” (l. 8), followed by the successful revolt in Babylon which installed Adad-šuma-ušur firmly on the throne (ll. 9–10).

Walker’s interpretation of Chronicle 25 changed considerably the traditional reconstruction of the period following the Assyrian interregnum in Babylon: “Prior to his defeat of Enlil-kudur-ušur Adad-shuma-ušur had not been in control of Babylon nor recognized as king there. This suggests that for the whole of his twenty five years he had been recognized as king only in southern Babylonia, leaving the Assyrians or their nominees in control of Babylon” (Walker 1982: 405). The reference to “the son of a nobody” (l. 8) is taken by Walker (1982: 407) to refer to an Assyrian puppet king whose name the Babylonian chronicler could not find in the historical sources available to him. In other words, Adad-šuma-ušur’s alleged reign of three decades, the longest in the Kassite dynasty (Brinkman 1976: 89), would now appear to have been only nominal, and in fact, the city of Babylon continued to be ruled by the Assyrians or their proxies for another twenty-five years.¹⁷

Even if one accepts Walker’s innovative understanding of Adad-šuma-ušur’s reign,¹⁸ other aspects of his interpretation seem more questionable. First and foremost, I see no foothold in the text for his categorical statement that during the long period from the deposition of Adad-šuma-iddina until Adad-šuma-ušur’s takeover of Babylon, twenty-five years later, the city was dominated by the Assyrians or their nominees. This may well be one possibility, but there must have been other contestants to the throne, and it is hard to tell who had the upper hand and for how long. The same applies to his identification of “the son of a nobody, whose name is not mentioned” (l. 8) with the Assyrian puppet king whose name was apparently ignored by the chronicler. This description is sandwiched between two references to Adad-šuma-ušur, and I wonder whether it might not refer to Adad-šuma-ušur himself or to his father.

In the following three paragraphs (ll. 11–18) not a single personal name is preserved and the context is also open to argumentation. Someone is killed in l. 11, a rebellion that removed “the king of Mari” is reported in ll. 12–13, and some defensive measures taken to fend off an Elamite threat are described in ll. 14–18. Only then does one again reach solid ground with the mention of Nebuchadnezz-

17. Walker’s assumption (1982: 406–7) that prior to the takeover of Babylon Adad-šuma-ušur was in control of southern Babylonia is based on his early inscriptions from Ur and on a late copy of a bronze statue from Ur (BM 36042), which begins with the sentence: “When Anu and Enlil looked with steady favour on Adad-šuma-ušur, the shepherd who pleased their heart, at that time Marduk, the great lord, named his name as ruler of (all) land[s].” This, according to Walker (1982: 407), shows that “he was chosen by Anu and Enlil in Uruk and Nippur (which he will have controlled from 1216 B.C.), but only became king of the whole land when appointed by Marduk in Babylon (in 1192 B.C.).”

18. Followed by van Dijk 1986: 168; Kuhrt 1995: 356.

zar (I) in ll. 19ff. Walker (1982: 409ff. and Appendix B) tentatively related these fragmentary references of ll. 11–18 to events in the twelfth century B.C.E., but one can not exclude the possibility that these descriptions continue in fact the narrative covering Adad-šuma-ušur's reign. In any case, the evidence provided by this intriguing text (which seems to focus on kings who rebuilt Babylonian edifices) is insufficient to satisfactorily illuminate the eventful period following the deposition of Adad-šuma-iddina and the door is open for various other scenarios.

The same applies to the so-called Adad-šuma-ušur Epic, a late literary text that was previously thought to describe a rebellion by officers and nobles of Babylon *against* Adad-šuma-ušur because of his neglect of Marduk (Grayson 1975: 56–77). The king was nevertheless spared and he made amends to the god through extensive building projects in Babylon and other cities. In the light of Chronicle 25 the epic is now understood as “an account of the revolt in Babylon against the Assyrian nominee and *in favour* of Adad-šuma-ušur” (Grayson apud Walker 1982: 407). The fragmentary text of col. iv contains obscure references to a “Suhæan woman” (iv 10: *ana pāni* ^{SAL}*Su-ḫa-’-i-tum*) and to other “Suhæan(s)” (iv 18: ^{LÚ}*Su-ḫa-’*). How these ethnica fit into the epic remains to be seen.¹⁹

Finally, mention should be made of another poorly preserved Babylonian epic that could also refer to events of this period (Grayson 1975: 47–55). It apparently deals with Elamite-Babylonian encounters, and a clue for its dating is provided by the reference to a certain Enlil-kidinni. There are two known officials bearing this name, one in the fourteenth century B.C.E. and one in the late-thirteenth. Grayson (1975: 47) opted for the former, relating the fragment to the Elamite–Babylonian hostilities in the age of Kurigalzu II (cf. Glassner 2004: 279ff.). However, the Elamites also meddled in Babylonian affairs during and after the Assyrian interregnum and the fragment may well refer to events in the late-thirteenth century B.C.E. The mention of someone who should not be allowed to be set on “my throne” (obv. 11') is quite suggestive, and so is the reference to an Elamite woman whose garment pins are taken away and given to the daughter of Enlil-kidinni (rev. 7'–8'). The garment pins (*d/tudittu*) were an essential part of the jewelry given to the bride at the wedding (for refs. see *RIA* 9: 71). Taking the risk of over interpreting this very fragmentary text, one might suggest that this is somehow related to a diplomatic marriage between Elam and Babylon, which brings us to the last and perhaps the most significant testimony, the so-called Elamite Letter. Before that, the gruesome fate of the Elamite woman (perhaps

19. The Suhæan woman appears in a passage that also mentions various workmen (farmer, potter, launderer), and Grayson suggests that this could be a description of income assigned by the king to temple personnel.

a princess?) should be mentioned in passing: she was murdered and her corpse was flung down the wall (rev. 11'–12').

A ROYAL LETTER FROM ELAM TO BABYLON (VAT 17020)

The text VAT 17020 (= VS 24, 91) from the Berlin Museum, which was published by J. van Dijk (1986; cf. Freydank 1991a: 29, n. 9), is a late copy of a royal letter sent from Elam to the great ones of Babylon. The name of the sender is lost, but it should be either Kutir-Nahhunte (van Dijk 1986: 166) or his son Šutruk-Nahhunte (van de Mieroop 2004: 176–77). The Elamite ruler claims the right of succession to the throne of Babylon as the offspring of the daughter of the Great King Kurigalzu and as the husband of the daughter of Melišihu. He cites several precedents for dynastic marriages between Elamite kings and Babylonian princesses in order to convince his correspondents that the legitimate succession to the Babylonian throne should pass through the Elamite-Babylonian union. The Babylonian answer to this letter is preserved in one of the so-called Kedor-laomer Texts in the British Museum.²⁰ In it the elders of Babylon reject the Elamite claim quoting a series of metaphors underlining the absurdity of such a Babylonian-Elamite coexistence, for example: “Can cattle and a rapacious wolf come to terms with one another?”

Scholars have raised justifiable doubts about the historicity of these literary compositions (e.g. Brinkman 2004: 292), but one has to admit that the author of the “Elamite Letter” had a good knowledge of the Babylonian line of succession, going back as early as Kurigalzu (I). In some details he is even more reliable than the author of Chronicle P (van Dijk 1986: 165; Lambert 2004: 201). He must have had access to historical sources and the information provided by him on three negative precedents in which the Babylonian throne was imprudently given to non-Elamite descendants may contain a kernel of truth.

The name of the first “villain” is very damaged (l. 25), and though his description as “the one who took Babylon, but whose reign until the presentday has not been acknowledged” (ll. 26–29) would best fit Tukulti-Ninurta, but the remaining traces would seem to better fit Kaš[tiliaš] or some other name (van Dijk 1986: 168). The second “villain” is Adad-šuma-ušur (ll. 30–32), who will be discussed in detail below, and the third is “Nabû-apal-iddina, the son of a Hittite woman (DUMU KUR *Ĥat-ti-ti*), an abomination for Babylon, a Hittite (KUR *Ĥa-at-tu-ú*²¹) whom you have chosen for the neglect(?) of Babylon and have placed on the throne of Babylon; his sin, his misdoing, his contempt and his ... you have experienced...” (ll. 33–36; van Dijk 1986: 161–62, 168).

20. Recently re-edited by W. G. Lambert (2004: 200ff.; Spar and Lambert 2005).

21. Cf. the designation *Ĥa-at-tu-ú* in a Nippur text from the Kassite period (Hölscher 1996: 82).

We know absolutely nothing about this alleged king of Babylon whose mother was a Hittite (princess?). But we know of course that the political alliance between Ḫatti and Babylon was cemented by several dynastic marriages in the fourteenth–thirteenth centuries B.C.E.²² In Dūr-Kurigalzu a fragment of a letter was found in which a Hittite king addresses a queen of Babylon, who could well be a relative of his.²³ Therefore, one should not dismiss this reference out of the hand and one should at least take into consideration the possibility of a claimant to the Babylonian throne of mixed Babylonian-Hittite blood.

We may now return to Adad-šuma-ušur (ll. 30–32), whose description is of utmost interest for this investigation:

- (30) ^mdAdad-šuma-ušur mār ^mDu-un-na-^d[Ša]-aḫ šá aḫi (GÚ) ^{ÍD}Puratti^{KI}
 (31) šá [tal-q]a-nim-ma ina ^{GIŠ}kussī māt Kar-an-dun-iá-àš tu-š[e-ši]-ba
 (32) k[i-i?] š[u²-ú mār mār^{ti} ú-qat-t[a-x]

Adad-šuma-ušur, son of Dunna-[Š]aḫ, from the riverbank of the Euphrates, whom you have chosen and placed on the throne of Babylon, h[ow h]e destro[yed] the son of the daughter!

Taken at face value, this description implies that Adad-šuma-ušur was a usurper who seized the throne of Babylon after eliminating another claimant to the throne, “the son of the daughter.” In the context of this letter, the latter must be the offspring of a mixed Elamite-Babylonian marriage. His destruction, perhaps together with that of his mother, recalls the poor Elamite woman who was murdered according to the Babylonian chronicle mentioned above.

Adad-šuma-ušur himself is identified as the son of a certain ^mDunna-Šah, who bears a Kassite name.²⁴ J. van Dijk (1986: 160, n. 17) emphatically claimed that Dunna-Šah must be his mother, despite the masculine determinative. In support of this claim he referred to a bronze dagger from Luristan which bears the inscription “Adad-šuma-ušur, king of the world, son of Kaštiliašu, king of Babylon” (Dossin 1962: 151, no. 1 and pl. xiii; Brinkman 1968: 87, n. 452; 1976: 90). Chronicle 22 iv 9 simply states that Adad-šuma-ušur was installed on the throne of his father (Glassner 2004: 280–81).

Despite the seemingly solid evidence for Adad-šuma-ušur’s filiation, I have some reservations with regard to the emendation of ^mDunna-Šah’s gender, as suggested by van Dijk. Brinkman has already shown that the formulaic filiation

22. For Hittite-Babylonian dynastic marriages, see Hagenbuchner 1989: 281ff.; Singer 1991: 330ff.; Houwink ten Cate 1996: 43ff., 56ff.

23. IM 50966; Baqir 1946: 89–90, pl. xviii, fig. 13; Hagenbuchner 1989: 300ff.

24. For the Kassite theophoric element Š/Zaḫ, see Saporetti 1970: 323–24; Hölscher 1996: 269–70; Sassmannshausen 1998: 833; 2001: 60, n. 917; 2004: 293, n. 45. Cf. in particular the name Tunami-Šaḫ (Hölscher 1996: 222).

statements of the Babylonian Chronicles and King Lists cannot be considered as definitive proof,²⁵ and the dagger from Luristan (assuming that it is authentic) was surely ordered by the king himself who had a vested interest in portraying himself as the legitimate heir of Kaštiliašu. As a matter of fact, it is rather surprising that among the dozens of texts and inscriptions of Adad-šuma-ušur (Brinkman 1976: 89–94) this is the only document providing his filiation. This rather recalls Sargon II, who, except for one inscription, never alludes to his ancestry, with good reason (Lambert 2004: 202).²⁶

In short, one should keep an open mind with regard to the paternity of Adad-šuma-ušur, seriously considering the straightforward evidence provided by the “Elamite Letter,” which contradicts official Babylonian historiography.

The “Elamite Letter” provides yet another important clue concerning the origins of Adad-šuma-ušur and his father Dunna-Šah, that is, the epithet “from the bank of the Euphrates” (*ša aḫi* ^{ID}*Puratti*^{KI}). What might be the significance of this geographical indication? It can hardly refer to Babylon itself, for in that case some more explicit terminology presumably would have been used. It would rather seem that the author sought to single out the origins of this, in his view, evil king. It could refer to a more northerly segment of the Euphrates, beyond the confines of Babylonia proper. One finds indeed the term *aḫ Purattim* in various sources as referring to the narrow irrigated trough of the Middle Euphrates (known in Arabic as the Zor).²⁷ If so, the powerbase of Adad-šuma-ušur, from which he launched his offensive on Babylon, might well have been somewhere on the Middle Euphrates, perhaps in the Land of Suḫi bordering on the Land of Babylon. Such an origin of the “villain” Adad-šuma-ušur would be in line with the Elamite author’s agenda of defaming all “foreign” rulers of Babylon who were not the offspring of Babylonian-Elamite matrimonies.

It is now time to tie together all the disparate pieces of information presented above. But first, a short overview on the Late Bronze Age history of the Land of Suḫi is presented, which should serve as a background for the suggested reconstruction.

25. Brinkman (1976: 204 with n. 11) advocated a critical look at the genealogies provided by the Kinglists, “especially since Adad-šuma-ušur, king No. 32, may have come to the throne only 8+8 years after the accession of his father, Kaštiliašu IV, king No. 28, and because of the perhaps underestimated tradition of fratriarchal succession within the Kassite tribal society (which might have influenced royal succession as well).”

26. A similar case would be Tukulti-Ninurta I’s, should the hypothesis suggested by Lambert 2004 turn out to be valid.

27. For refs. see *CAD*, E: 207–8; Buccellati 1988: 45; Charpin 2002: 86.

THE LAND OF SUĦI IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY B.C.E.

The Land of Suĥi stretched along the Middle Euphrates from Rapiqu on the northwestern border of Babylonia to about Hindanu south of Mari.²⁸ On the northwest it bordered with the Land of Mari (also known as the Land of Hana) and these two adjacent regions on the Middle Euphrates were often combined under the designation “Land of Mari and Land of Suĥi” (or vice versa), a term that survived well into the Iron Age. Throughout its history the region oscillated between the political hegemony of Babylonia and Assyria, but in many periods the so-called “governors of Suĥi” maintained a certain degree of autonomy.²⁹ Culturally, however, Babylonia always managed to project its influence onto the region, irrespective of its geo-political orientation (Rouault 2004: 58).

The economic potential of the Middle Euphrates region is far more limited than that of the broad alluvial plains of Babylonia. The valley is too narrow to allow the development of vast irrigated areas, and its agricultural yield could thus only support a couple of major urban centres at any time, that is, Mari then Terqa in the north, and Ḫana(t)/Anat,³⁰ the capital of Suĥi, to the south. However, the steppe on both sides of the river provided good pasture for an expanding semi-nomadic population, which included, besides various Sutean groups, also Kassite tribes from the early part of the second millennium on (Sassmannshausen 2004) and Ahlamu-Arameans towards its end (Lipiński 2000: 45ff.). These various tribal elements served as an important source for the recruitment of soldiers already in the Mari period (Durand 1997: 456; 1998: 18–19).³¹ The rulers of Suĥi, who controlled the main transportation arteries between north and south, exerted a considerable influence on the political scene of Mesopotamia.

In the early Kassite period the Kingdom of Hana, with its capital at Tell Ashara/Terqa, was the major political center in the Middle Euphrates region. Towards the early-fourteenth century, however, it lost its predominance, as shown by recent archaeological investigations.³² It seems that the political center

28. For refs. to Suĥi, see Groneberg 1980 (RGTC 3): 210; Nashef 1982 (RGTC 5): 235–36; Belmonte Marin 2001 (RGTC 12/2): 242. For general surveys on the geography and history of Suĥi and the Middle Euphrates region, see Brinkman 1968: 183ff. with n. 1127; Háklár 1983; Buccellati 1988: 44ff.; 1990a; Kepinski-Lecompte 1992: 37–41; Massetti-Rouault and Rouault 1993; Massetti-Rouault 1998; 2006; Rouault 2004.

29. As pointed out by Durand (1990: 78, n. 182), the nominal title “šakin of Suĥi” denotes in fact more than a simple “governor” (“préfet”) and must refer to a royal personage.

30. The name is spelled Ḫana(t) in Old Babylonian texts (Groneberg 1980: 90; Podany 2002: 248) and Anat in Middle Assyrian (Nashef 1982: 31) and Emar texts (Bassetti 1996; Belmonte Marin 2001: 24–25).

31. Lower Suĥi was the source of black and white alum according to the Mari texts (Durand 1997: 373) and the region was also exploited for its salt resources (Buccellati 1990b). In the first millennium the land of Suĥi delivered textiles and ivory as tribute (Brinkman 1968: 183–84, n. 1127).

32. IM 50966; Baqir 1946: 89–90, pl. xviii, fig. 13; Hagenbuchner 1989: 300ff. The site was abandoned in the second half of the fourteenth century (Rouault 2004: 57–58), although some ephemeral presence may have

of gravity shifted in this period further downstream to the Land of Suḫi. Unfortunately, the archaeological record of this region is quite limited and much of the evidence has now disappeared with the site of ancient Anat (Qal'at 'Āna) being flooded by the rising waters of the Haditha (Al-Qadisiya) Dam (Northedge et al. 1988: 135).³³

The written evidence on Suḫi in the Late Bronze Age has long been just as meager (Hákálár 1983; Ismail et al. 1983), but the texts from Emar and Tell Sabi Abyad have somewhat improved the situation, especially with regard to the end of the period. Many of the references refer to the dangers posed by the tribal groups on the Middle Euphrates who threatened to disrupt the northbound communications from Babylon.

In his famous letter to Kadašman-Enlil II, the Hittite king Ḫattušili III refers to the Ahlamu, who allegedly prevented his correspondent from sending his messengers to Ḫatti (Beckman 1999: 140). A similar concern is expressed in a yet unpublished letter from Ugarit written by Ini-Tešub, king of Kargamiš, to Šagarakt[i-Šuriaš] (Singer 1999: 652, with refs.).

A Middle Babylonian letter from Dūr-Kurigalzu contains a report on five hundred Hiranu tribesmen who were dispelled by an Assyrian army led by Kibi-Aššur (IM 51.928; Gurney 1949: 139ff. (no. 10); Faist 2001: 234ff.; Freu 2003: 110–11). Half of the band was in the Land of Subartu, in Assyrian-controlled territory, whereas the other half was in the Land of Suḫi and the Land of Mari (Il. 21–27). The author of the letter, Zikir-ilišu, was apparently well informed about the situation in the north for he was able to inform his master about an Assyrian envoy who finally returned to Aššur after being detained in Ḫatti for three years (Il. 14–16).

Under the energetic rule of Tukulti-Ninurta, the Assyrians attempted to exert a more effective rule in this region, in tandem with their conquest of Babylon.³⁴ In a late inscription from Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta the Assyrian monarch boasts of having “brought under one command the lands of Mari, Hana, Rapiqu, and the mountains of the Ahlamu” (Grayson 1987: 273). It is not clear whether all these

resumed later on. There is a significant late Kassite presence at Tell Mashtale, about five kilometers south of Terqa, but it seems to belong to the twelfth century (Rouault 2004: 58). The Late Bronze Age levels at Tell Hariri are very much eroded (Geyer and Monchambert 2003; Margueron 2004: 526ff.; Rouault 2004: 58; Masetti-Rouault 2006), but it is very unlikely that Mari reasserted itself at the end of the Late Bronze Age, replacing Terqa as the main urban center of the region. This decline in the archaeological record of the region fully conforms with the scarcity of contemporary documents in the known corpus of Hana texts (Podany 2002; Dietrich 2001; Charpin 2002).

33. An archaeological survey conducted in the region has located seventeen late-second millennium sites between Haditha and west of Ana (Abdul-Amir 1997: 219, table 2, fig. 3). The rescue excavations on the island of 'Ana, ancient (H)anat, have revealed impressive finds from the Neo-Assyrian period, but apparently no evidence for the earlier periods (Abdul-Amir 1997: 220; Northedge et al. 1988: 55).

34. For various views on the historical background of the war between Kaštiliašu and Tukulti-Ninurta, see, e.g., Mayer 1988; Brinkman 1990: 90ff.; Durand and Marti 2003: 159.

places refer to the traditional locations on the Euphrates or to some homonymous places in the Middle Habur region, as claimed by several scholars.³⁵ In any case, the Assyrian control over the Middle Euphrates must have been ephemeral at best,³⁶ and after the collapse of the Assyrian regime in Babylon, the Land of Suḫi not only regained its autonomy, but was even capable of extending its influence upstream along the Euphrates.

The texts from Emar indicate that in normal times good relations were maintained with the Land of Suḫi, under the watchful eyes of the Hittite governors of Aštata.³⁷ There is one document, however, that anticipates the expansionist tendencies of Suḫi. In Emar VI: no. 263 (Arnaud 1986: 259–60; cf. Durand and Marti 2005) an Emarite official reports to his master, “the overseer of the land” (LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA), the news that he had learned from two Ahlameans from Suḫi. He was told that “the governor of Suḫi” (LÚ^úšakin KUR Sú-ú-*hi*), with his chariots and armies, conducted a massive attack on the Land of ³⁸ The author promises to find out more about the booty taken in the wake of this raid and to report back to his master.

Now, this is undoubtedly a surprising development in the political history of Mesopotamia. Taking advantage of the temporary weakness of both Babylon and Assyria, the rulers of Suḫi, a region of secondary importance throughout most of its history, managed to create a regional power exerting its influence on neighboring regions. There is valuable evidence for this important development in the documents from Tell Sabi Abyad, regrettably still unpublished. From preliminary reports one learns that Aramean tribes from Suḫi conducted raids in the north, pillaging Assyrian- and Hittite-held territories (1999: 64). The northern powers cooperated with each other to fend off these recurring attacks. According to one of the latest documents from the Tell Sabi Abyad, Ilī-padā, the Assyrian governor

35. E.g., Maul 1999; Luciani 1999–2001: 103–4; Charpin 2002: 75–76.

36. The archaeological evidence is also incompatible with an Assyrian rule over the Middle Euphrates region in the thirteenth century B.C.E. See Kühne 1995: 75–76; Pfälzner 1997: 340; Massetti-Rouault 1998: 225ff.; Luciani 1999–2001: 106–7. On the other hand, in the Habur region there is a continuous Assyrian presence also after the death of Tukulti-Ninurta I (Kühne 1995).

37. Two Suheans, Tiri-Dagan and Abdi-ili, appear as witnesses in two legal texts, Emar VI: no. 32: 25 (Arnaud 1986: 46) and no. 120: 18 (Arnaud 1986: 127), respectively. One of the main commodities imported from Suḫi must have been *alum*, which was further transported to Ugarit and other coastal cities by the agents of Šipti-Ba'al (for refs. see Singer 1999: 658). To the very end of the period covered by the Emar archive belong the references to a certain Nabuni, governor of Suḫi. According to Emar VI: no. 26 (Arnaud 1986: 36–37) he was involved in a transaction in the city of Anat (for the reading see Bassetti 1996, but cf. Durand and Marti 2003: 167) in the second year of Meliṣihu (1185 B.C.E.). According to an unpublished Emar tablet (Bassetti 1996: 246), Nabuni of Suḫi received a letter from Talmi-Šarruma of Emar.

38. The editor (Arnaud) read the name *Qa-at-na*, but (as brought to my attention by Dominique Charpin at the Würzburg conference) Durand and Marti 2005: 124 have recently suggested, after collation of the original, the reading *Ma-ri^{KI}* instead.

of Hanigalbat, came to the rescue of the king of Karkamiš, sending him various provisions.

Later developments in the Land of Suḫi are beyond the scope of this study, but it may be mentioned in passing that this exceptional interlude of independence and expansionism came to an end at the turn of the twelfth century B.C.E., when Tiglath-pileser I resumed Assyrian control over the area, engaging the Aramean tribes “from the edge of the Land of Suhu to the city of Carchemish in the Land of Ḫatti.”³⁹ Still, the governors of Suḫi exerted considerable influence in the Middle Euphrates region even in Neo-Assyrian times.⁴⁰

THE CONTEST FOR THE THRONE OF BABYLON

Against this historical background the prominent role played by the anonymous “servant of Suḫi” in Tukulti-Ninurta’s letter to Šuppiluliuma may find its *Sitz im Leben*. Again, the historical reconstruction presented below is highly tentative, but it does explain, at least in its broad outlines, the extant data, until more decisive evidence comes to light.

Chronicle 25 has shown that the developments in Babylon after the removal of the last Assyrian puppet king, Adad-šuma-iddina, were not as straightforward as Chronicle 22 (P) would lead us to believe. Perhaps Adad-šuma-ušur did not seize the reins of power straight away, but, on the other hand, I see no evidence whatsoever for the ongoing Assyrian domination of Babylon for another twenty-five years. I would instead suggest that the expulsion of the Assyrians from Babylon created a power vacuum in which various parties tried to promote their candidates for the coveted throne of Babylon.

Let us start with Elam, whose dominant political influence on Mesopotamia (even nowadays) hardly needs be stressed.⁴¹ Twice during the Assyrian interregnum the Elamites raided Babylon,⁴² and half a century later they brought down the Kassite dynasty. It would indeed be most unusual if the Elamites had not been deeply embroiled in the dynastic strife following the Assyrian interregnum. What may perhaps be a historical reminiscence of this Elamite involvement is preserved in the so-called Elamite Letter and also in the grim fate of an Elamite

39. Lipiński 2000: 35–36 (with refs.). The last mention of a “king of Mari” relates to Tukulti-Mēr who was defeated by Aššur-bēl-kala at the beginning of the eleventh century (Grayson 1991: 89). A strong Kassite presence was still felt in Suḫi as late as the ninth century B.C.E., when Aššurnasirpal fought at Suru, near the town of Anat, against the Babylonian governor of Suḫi with his “extensive Kassite troops” (Grayson 1991: 213).

40. For Suḫi’s position of control on the trade routes to the west in the ninth century B.C.E., see Parpola 1990: 262 and map on p. 260.

41. As stated by Brinkman 1968: 86: “Babylonian history at this point can be understood only in conjunction with its counterpart in Western Iran.”

42. Chronicle 22 (P) iv 14ff., 17ff.; Brinkman 1968: 86–87 with n. 447; 1970: 311, n. 125.

woman described in a Babylonian epic fragment. Could she be the Elamite princess whose son was destroyed by Adad-šuma-ušur according to the “Elamite Letter”? It is quite common in bloody intrigues involving royal succession to eliminate both the rival contestant and his mother.

That the Hittites were most interested in the outcome of the power struggle in Babylon is obvious, not only because of their close political ties with both Mesopotamian powers in this period,⁴³ but perhaps because they entertained some plans of their own for the occupancy of the Babylonian throne. The “Elamite Letter” may preserve a vague memory of a half-Babylonian, half-Hittite prince vying for the throne of Babylon.

That the Assyrians were loath to renounce their grip on Babylon goes without saying, and Tukulti-Ninurta’s emotive letter to Šuppiluliuma provides ample evidence, if any were needed. The crucial importance that Aššur attributed to keeping Babylon at bay proved to be fully justified, for a short while after Tukulti-Ninurta’s assassination the tables turned and the new king of Babylon, Adad-šuma-ušur, became the kingmaker in Aššur (Brinkman 1968: 87, n. 453, with refs.). Last but not least, the inhabitants of Babylon, both of Kassite and local Babylonian descent, must have had some say in determining the fate of their city.

But perhaps none of these contenders achieved his goal. A new player emerged on the international scene, an energetic ruler of the Land of Suḫi. As indicated above, with regard to Adad-šuma-ušur’s filiation I prefer to lend credence to the “Elamite Letter.” He was probably not the son of Kaštiliašu, who was taken captive to Assyria a decade earlier, but rather of an otherwise unknown Dunna-Šah from the “bank of the Euphrates.”⁴⁴ A Suḫian origin of the new king of Babylon may also explain the appearance of various Suhaeans in the Epic of Adad-šuma-ušur.

Finally, I would tentatively suggest that the mysterious “servant of Suḫi” who figures so prominently in Tukulti-Ninurta’s letter to Šuppiluliuma is none other than Adad-šuma-ušur himself.⁴⁵ It is him that the Assyrian monarch tries to defame in the eyes of his correspondent by exposing his lack of any connection to the legitimate Babylonian succession. He may even be the one who is accused of

43. For the political detente between Hatti and Aššur in the late-thirteenth century B.C.E., see Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 38ff.; Faist 2001: 213ff.; Freu 2003; Singer 2003.

44. That this obscure Dunna-Šah, who bears a Kassite name, may have belonged to an offshoot of the Kassite dynasty is not impossible, but he could just as well have had a more modest background, such as a local chief or governor.

45. Cf. Durand and Marti 2005, who identify the “servant of Suḫi” with Kaštiliašu IV. In my opinion, this option would place the occasion for the letter’s writing about a decade too early, at the apex of Tukulti-Ninurta’s victories. Both the eponym date and the letter’s needy formulation speak for a low point in his reign, after the loss of Babylon.

the assassination of Šagarakti-Šuriaš's sons. That the Assyrian monarch should refer to him as the "servant of Suḫi" should hardly come as a surprise, for he would have considered him to be merely a rebellious Assyrian or Babylonian subject. Taking advantage of the temporary political vacuum in Mesopotamia, Adad-šuma-ušur elevated his land to the status of a key political player and eventually captured for himself the coveted throne of Babylon, sometime after the expulsion of the last Assyrian puppet king.

What the Hittite reaction to Tukulti-Ninurta's emotive letter was we shall probably never know.⁴⁶ I assume that Šuppiluliuma had more urgent problems to deal with at this point in time. Besides, the bitter defeat at Niḫriya (Singer 1985) was still fresh in Hittite memory, and this must have curbed any enthusiasm he may have had to rush to help Tukulti-Ninurta. In any case, a few years later both monarchs were gone and their kingdoms sank into an abyss, one of them irretrievably.

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46. There are several Hittite fragments constituting drafts or copies of letters probably sent by Šuppiluliuma II to Aššur (Mora and Giorgieri 2004: nos. 21–24), but their state of preservation does not allow one to establish a connection with the contents of KBo 28.61–64.

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HATTI AND THE WEST

WESTERN ANATOLIA IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY B.C.E. ACCORDING TO THE HITTITE SOURCES

The redating of certain Hittite texts—notably the Indictment of Madduwatta and the annals of Tuthaliya and Arnuwanda—from the end of the thirteenth century to the turn of the fifteenth has been one of the most-discussed Hittitological subjects in recent years.¹ The sudden availability of sources covering a previously poorly known period in Hittite history has naturally brought about an intense preoccupation with the Early Hittite Empire, largely overshadowing the less “fortunate” side of the redating, the “deprivation” of the main body of sources relating to western Anatolia in the second half of the thirteenth century. The situation is aptly demonstrated in the most recent comprehensive study on Arzawa,² where the chapter dealing with the period after Muwatalli to the end of the Hittite Empire barely covers sixteen pages, in contrast to the far more abundant documentation on the fourteenth century.

The small number of texts from this period relating to western Anatolia may in itself be regarded as *argumentum e silentio* for circumstances prevailing in that region. It seems to me however, that the scarcity of documents is not as drastic as it appears at first view, or at least not for the entire period. It is rather the exceedingly fragmentary nature of the material that is in part responsible for that impression. Moreover, I believe that there is cumulative evidence that suggests a lowering of the traditional dating of two of the most important documents, namely, the so-called Tawagalawa and Milawata letters (to the reigns of Hattušili III and Tuthaliya IV respectively). Recently, this source material has greatly benefited from two important contributions, which also stimulate a reas-

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1. See S. Heinhold-Krahmer, et al. *Probleme der Textdatierung in der Hethitologie (Beiträge zu umstrittenen Datierungskriterien für Texte des 15. bis 13. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.)* (THeth 9; Heidelberg: Winter, 1979), ch. 1, and review by O. R. Gurney, *OLZ* 77 (1982): 560ff.

2. Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* (THeth 8; Heidelberg: Winter, 1977), ch. 6. Cf. the critical review by T. R. Bryce, *BiOr* 36 (1979): 60ff. See also Elizabeth Jewell, “The Archaeology and History of Western Anatolia during the Second Millennium, B.C.” (University Microfilms 1974), ch. 14.

sessment of the subject. H. A. Hoffner discovered a join to the “Milawata letter” and the augmented text provides new insights the importance of which can hardly be overestimated.³ H. G. Güterbock reexamined the main Aḫḫiyawa texts suggesting new text interpretations for some crucial passages.⁴

The following attempt to reconstruct a plausible historical picture from these fragmentary and problematical data is partly motivated by awareness of the importance of this region for the history of the ancient Near East in this particular period. In his comprehensive study on the “Sea Peoples”⁵ Dr. R. D. Barnett has duly emphasized the strong western and southern Anatolian connexions of some of these peoples, a view that has since found growing confirmation and support.⁶

Muršili’s final conquest of Arzawa in his third year marks the end of the separate existence of that kingdom,⁷ once a major power in Anatolia. The royal family of Arzawa fled from the capital Apaša, on the Aegean coast, first to an island,⁸ and then to Aḫḫiyawa, where they found refuge. The territory of the kingdom, which always formed the nucleus of the Arzawan confederacy, was probably annexed to other Arzawan lands—Mira-Kuwaliya lying to its east and the Šeḫa River Land with Appawiya to its north. As correctly maintained by Heinhold-Krahmer, later occurrences of the name Arzawa are either in a general geographical sense referring to the Arzawan lands in central and northwestern Anatolia, or in an ethnic-cultural one.

The incorporation of the four Arzawan kingdoms—the Šeḫa River Land and Wiluša on the coast, Mira and Ḫapalla inland—into the Hittite imperial system was regulated by a series of treaties between each land and Ḫattuša and between themselves. The two more important kingdoms of Mira and the Šeḫa River Land were further tied to the Hittite court by marriage alliances with Hittite princesses. Needless to say, these measures were not in themselves sufficient to obtain a lasting stability in the Arzawa lands, which were often seduced by Aḫḫiyawa (the Mycenaean Greeks) to throw off Hittite rule. The intervention of the Hittite overlord was almost always needed in one or the other kingdom to assert his supremacy.

3. H. A. Hoffner, Jr., “The Milawata Letter Augmented and Reinterpreted,” in *Vorträge gehalten auf der 28. Rencontre Assyriologique internationale in Wien, 6.-10. Juli 1981* (ed. H. Hirsch and H. Hunger; AfO Beiheft 19; 1982): 130–37.

4. *AJA* 87 (1983): 133ff. For a summary of the archaeological evidence, applied to the Aḫḫiyawa=Achaians theory, see M. Mellink, *AJA* 87 (1983): 138ff.

5. *CAH* II³, ch. 28 (fasc. 68, 1969).

6. See particularly J. Mellaart, *Mélanges Mansel* 1 (1974), 493ff.; idem, *The Archaeology of Ancient Turkey* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1978), 70ff.

7. See the detailed argumentation in Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa*, 136ff.

8. For a recent assessment of the Aḫḫiyawa = Achaians theory, with which I fully agree, see H. G. Güterbock, *AJA* 87 (1983): 133ff. (especially p. 138). For *guršauwananza* “to the islands” see F. Starke, *KZ* 95 (1981): 132ff.

The only evidence that indicates that Muwatalli was involved in a military campaign to the west derives from §6 of the treaty with Alakšandu, king of Wiluša. It seems to imply that the Hittite king stepped in to help against an enemy, possibly the Land of Maša, and another land whose name is broken off. The same events may perhaps be alluded to in the Manapa-Tarḥunda letter, where the arrival of a Hittite contingent and an attack on Wiluša are reported (KUB XIX 5,3ff.).

The participation of contingents from Maša, Karkiša, Lukka, and Drdny on the Hittite side in the battle of Qadeš obviously does not prove a Hittite control over these countries or ethnic groups.⁹ In fact, the opposite is indicated in the somewhat earlier Alakšandu treaty, in which Karkiša, Maša, Lukka, and Waršiyalla are regarded as potential enemies (§14). These groups could well have fought as mercenaries, in the same way as the Šerdana fought alongside the Egyptians. They can perhaps be regarded as foreshadowing the activities of Carian and Ionian mercenaries of later times. More evidence can be gathered, I believe, for the existence of such western units in the Hittite army.

The turbulent events connected with the dynastic dispute between Urḫi-Tešub and Ḫattušili have left their mark upon western Anatolia as well. Two of the local rulers reacted in opposite ways over the issue.

Kupanta-^DKAL, the aging king of Mira, supported the legitimate heir to the throne and even attempted to intervene on behalf of Urḫi-Tešub at the Egyptian court. Whether he was punished by Ḫattušili after his seizure of the throne is not known, but having ruled since Muršili's twelfth year he could hardly have survived for long the Hittite-Egyptian peace treaty (1258 B.C.E.). He appears in several fragments that also mention Piyamaradu, to which we shall return later on. Another fragment mentions his sons (KBo XIX 80,9').

The land of Mira, which after Muršili's conquests was the most important Arzawan state, gradually disappears from the texts after Ḫattušili's reign. The so-called Tarkondemos seal, which belonged to a king of Mira probably named Targašnamuwa,¹⁰ shows that this kingdom did not cease to exist altogether, but it must have lost in importance, apparently to the benefit of its western neighbor, the Šeḫa River Land.

Mašturi, the king of this strategically positioned land, threw in his lot with the winning party, for which he may have been rewarded by Ḫattušili. In any case, later documents indicate that the Hittites attempted to turn the Šeḫa River Land into their main bulwark in the west against the rival influence of Aḫḫiyawa.

9. See T. R. Bryce, *BiOr* 36 (1979): 63; *Or* 48 (1979): 96 n. 20.

10. H. Nowicki in *Serta indogermanica. Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. J. Tischler; (IBS 40; Innsbruck, 1982), 227ff.

That this was not an easy task is shown by KUB XXIII 13, a text often quoted in studies on western Anatolia and on Ahhiyawa. It may be conveniently titled “the offences of the Šeḫa River Land.” A Hittite king records the historical background for his own punitive campaign to this country. After an opening sentence stating that the Šeḫa River Land has committed for a second time an offence, the people of the land are apparently quoted as arguing as follows:¹¹ “The grandfather of His Majesty did not conquer [us] by armed force. [When the father of His Majesty] defeated the Arzawa lands [he did not defeat] us by armed force. [.] we ‘repented (our) sins(?)’ to him.”¹² If the last sentence can be rendered as suggested above, it can satisfactorily be related to the episode reported in Muršili’s annals and in the Manapa-Tarḫunda treaty, when a delegation of old men and women from the Šeḫa River Land came to beg for Muršili’s mercy. The father of His Majesty who defeated the Arzawa lands, is no doubt Muršili, and the author of the text could be either Muwatalli or Ḫattušili.¹³ The latter seems a better choice to me, if not for other reasons, then simply because similar annalistic fragments can positively be attributed to him.

The text then goes on to describe the recent events. The hostilities started by someone, probably Tarḫunaradu, are mentioned in connection with the king of Ahhiyawa. The verb following after the king of Ahhiyawa (*appa epta*) has traditionally been translated as “retreated,” and the sentence has been quoted as evidence for the presence of the king of Ahhiyawa in Anatolia. Güterbock has now suggested¹⁴ that a rendering “he relied upon (the king of A.)” provides here a far superior sense. As many times in the past, Ahhiyawa instigated an anti-Hittite rebellion in one of the western countries. The Šeḫa River Land bordered in the south on the Ahhiyawan dependency of Milawata. The temptation to throw off Hittite control, encouraged by Ahhiyawa, was thus more decisive than the treaty ties with distant Ḫattuša. The expected Ahhiyawan support either did not come, or was insufficient, for the Hittite king managed to suppress the rebellion

11. F. Sommer, *Die Ahhijava-Urkunden* (ABAW 6; Munich, 1932), 314–15 (henceford *AU*); J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (London, 1959), 120–21. The following restoration of II. 3–4 was suggested by D. Easton in a paper read at the Fifth International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory, Sheffield 1980.

12. For *wašdazza*, a Luwian acc. pl. for “offence, guilt” see E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Louvite* (1959), 109; F. Starke, *Or* 50 (1981): 470–71. For *išhunahh-* “geringschützig behandeln” see N. Oettinger, *MSS* 35 (1976): 94. Literally translated, *nu=wa=ši wašdazza išhunahhuen* would be “(for) him we looked down on the sins.” Could the conjectural rendering suggested above, which provides a sensible meaning in this context, be included in the semantic range of *išhunahh-*?

13. Thus against the traditional dating to Tuthaliya IV. D. Easton (Fifth International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory, 1980) suggested a Muwatalli dating, whereas H. G. Güterbock, *AJA* 87 (1983): 137 n. 26 a Ḫattušili III dating.

14. *Ibid.*, 138.

and deported Tarḫunaradu to Arinna, together with many prisoners and five hundred (teams) of horses.

Tarḫunaradu is not known from elsewhere. It is logical to assume that he was the king of the Šeḫa River Land, or at least a claimant to the throne. His relation to his predecessor Mašturi is also unknown, but an interesting episode concerning Mašturi's Hittite wife may be brought into consideration. Matanazi (= DINGIR^{MEŠ}-IR), a sister of Ḫattušili, is the subject of a Ramses letter reconstructed and published by E. Edel.¹⁵ Ḫattušili had asked the Egyptian monarch to send a physician who could prepare a medicine that would enable her to bear a child. Egyptian doctors were highly esteemed in Ḫatti. But alas, even an Egyptian doctor could not work miracles! Ramses ironically responds, that he knows the woman and she cannot be fifty years of age, as he was informed, but she must be at least sixty. No medicine would help her have a child. He nevertheless sends a physician and suggests that she pins her faith on the gods. We may quite safely assume that Matanazi did not produce an heir to the throne of the Šeḫa River Land, a situation that even in less unstable countries invokes unrest and disorder. These circumstances may perhaps be connected with Tarḫunaradu's actions, but this remains conjectural.

Subsequent developments in the Šeḫa River Land and its neighbors will be followed up later on, but first Ḫattušili's activities in the southwest will be evaluated.

The fragments KUB XXI 6 and 6a (CTH 82), which, according to the edition, may belong to the same tablet, are written by Ḫattušili and deal with campaigns to the Lukka Lands. They have been correctly attributed to an annalistic composition of this king. "Lukka lands" is a loose geographical designation for southwestern Anatolia, used for a group of ethnically and culturally related communities and clans.¹⁶

In KUB XXI 6a a borderline is described delineated by Zallara, the Lower Land, and Harziuna. This is indeed the traditional westward extent of the Hittite land, somewhere in the Konya region. The Ilgin inscription, the westernmost inscription of a Hittite king, may indicate the approximate line beyond which the Hittite control in the southwest was very tenuous. As pointed out by Bryce in his studies on Lukka,¹⁷ these regions had a basically different socio-political character to the Arzawan kingdoms in the west and northwest. The latter had clearly defined political organizations and could as such be incorporated into the Hittite Empire through treaties of vassalhood. The Lukka, and perhaps other similar

15. *Ägyptische Ärzte und Ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshaus* (Opladen, 1976), 31ff., 53ff., 67ff.

16. Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Records of the Early Hittite Empire* (PIHANS 26; Istanbul, 1970), 73 n. 105; E. Laroche, *Revue Archeologique* (1976): 15ff.

17. *JNES* 33 (1974): 395ff.; *Antichthon* 13 (1979): 1ff.

groups, like Karki(š)a and Maša, apparently lived under semi-nomadic tribal conditions. These “Habiru of western Anatolia” were never organized as a political entity and were therefore extremely difficult to control.

There are several more fragments containing indications for a Ḫattušili dating, in which Piyamaradu, the well-known raider from the “Tawagalawa letter,” is mentioned.

KUB XLVIII 80 (Bo 6447), which mentions Ištar of Šamuḫa (obv. II'), Ḫattušili's protective goddess, was already evaluated by Güterbock in 1936. The general situation emerging from this fragment seems to be similar to that described in the “Tawagalawa letter” and therefore Güterbock suggested that Ḫattušili was the author of the latter document,¹⁸ rather than Muršili or Muwatalli.

KUB XIX 78 is a very small, but rather suggestive fragment. The “brother of His Majesty” in l. 5' could only be Muwatalli, mentioned by Ḫattušili. The latter's seizure of the throne may perhaps be referred to in l. 7': “I have sat [on the throne(?)].” Thus Piyamaradu (ll. 6', 8') seems to appear in a context related to both kings, a conclusion that will be substantiated later. The mention of [Kupanta]-^dKAL, king of the land of Mira (l. 4'), perhaps in connexion with his stance in the dynastic dispute in Ḫattuša (l. 3'), is also in accordance with these observations.

In KBo XXVII 4, again a fragment mentioning both [Kup]anda-^dKAL (l. 4') and [Piyama] radu (see also KBo XXVII 3), the latter appears next to a country the name of which begins with Iya[- (l. 7'), most probably Iyalanda. This is precisely the town where the Hittite king came under attack according to the “Tawagalawa letter.” The city of Nerik mentioned in l. 3' has close associations with the person of Ḫattušili.

In view of this evidence, the name beginning with *P[i-* in line 4' of the annalistic fragment KUB XXI 6 could very well be that of Piyamaradu, especially since a few lines later (9') we read: “I sent him the man.” This could perhaps refer to his alleged request for vassalhood in the “Tawagalawa letter” (see below).

This brings us to the so-called Tawagalawa letter (KUB XIV 3). The beginning of this text, which has figured prominently in Aḫḫiyawan studies, records the campaign of a Hittite king to the Lukka lands. It is *a priori* more reasonable to ascribe this letter to Ḫattušili, whom we know to have campaigned in this

18. ZA 43 (1936): 326–27; AJA 87 (1983): 135. Also D. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (University of California Press, 1959), 32–43; Houwink ten Cate *apud* R. A. Crossland and Ann Birchall, *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean* (Duckworth, 1974), 150–51; E. Jewell, “Archaeology and History of Western Anatolia,” 328. S. Košak, *Linguistica* 20 (1980): 41. Sommer, *AU*, 361 also considered this dating possibility.

region, than to Muwatalli, whose only known western campaign is to Wiluša in the far northwest.

The same conclusion may be reached however from internal evidence of the letter. The palaeography is late. For example, the sign *li*, which occurs about twenty times, is invariably written with the new form.¹⁹ The orthography and the vocabulary also exhibit late features,²⁰ which find their best parallels in Puduḫepa's letter to Ramses (KUB XXI 38).

As for prosopography, the least one could say is that it allows for both a Muwatalli or a Ḫattušili dating,²¹ but in fact, it is more compatible with the latter. Šaḫurunuwa, whose son is apparently mentioned as a precedent case in the extradition matter (III 41ff.), could theoretically be either the king of Karkamiš under Muwatalli, or the "chief herdsman, chief of the scribes-on-wood and chief of the UKUŠ-troops" from the Šaḫurunuwa Deed and the Ulmi-Tešub treaty. In both cases Šaḫurunuwa's son would have lived under Ḫattušili. ^DKAL, who is said to have been a powerful king (I 73–74), could not possibly be the general attested in Muršili's ninth year. He could very well be Kurunta,²² who was made king of Tarḫuntašša by Ḫattušili.

A word must be said on what seems to have been the main reason for a Muršili or Muwatalli dating of the "Tawagalawa letter," namely, the occurrence of Piyamaradu and Atpa in the Manapa-Tarḫunda letter as well. I see no compelling grounds for the almost automatic assumption that therefore both letters must be almost contemporary.²³ That Manapa-Tarḫunda, the king of the Šeḫa River Land is trying to drum up Hittite aid against Piyamaradu and Atpa is obvious, but it does not necessarily mean that the Hittite king, in all probability Muwatalli (note the intervention in Wiluša mentioned above), was able or willing to provide it immediately. The insurrectionist activities of Piyamaradu must have stretched over quite a long period to leave such a vivid memory in Hittite documentation. One need merely recall another western freebooter, Madduwatta, who was active throughout the reigns of two Hittite kings.

19. A. Archi, *OrAnt* 14 (1975): 321ff., who examined the various copies of the Alakšandu treaty and the Prayer to the *piḫaššašši* Storm-god, has found that in texts of Muwatalli the old and the new forms still alternate frequently, as in texts dated to Muršili II. A more distinct transition only occurs under Ḫattušili, though obviously it is by no means absolute. See also Heinhold-Krahmer, et al. *Probleme der Textdatierung in der Hethitologie*, 95ff. and Hoffner, "The Milawata Letter," 136 n. 27.

20. See Heinhold-Krahmer, et al. *Probleme der Textdatierung in der Hethitologie*, 255ff.; Hoffner, "The Milawata Letter," 136.

21. See Sommer, *AU*, 34ff. and especially 36 n. 1.

22. Houwink ten Cate, op. cit., 150f.; for Kurunta see also Edel, *Ägyptische Ärzte und Ägyptische Medizin*, 82ff.

23. E. Forrer, *Forschungen* I/2 (1926), 90ff.; Sommer, *AU*, 36; E. Cavaignac, *RHA* II/11 (1933): 101–2; G. L. Huxley, *Achaean and Hittites* (Belfast: The Queen's University, 1960), 2; J. G. Macqueen, *AnSt* 18 (1968): 176 n. 104; Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa*, 176; T. R. Bryce, *Or* 48 (1979): 63.

Thus cumulative evidence in the letter itself, and the historical fragments mentioning Piyamaradu, strongly suggest Ḫattušili as the author of the “Tawagalawa letter.”²⁴

We may now turn to the contents of the letter. Most recently, Güterbock has come to grips again with the text and has reaffirmed two of Forrer’s original conclusions, which are of cardinal importance for the Aḫḫiyawa problem. First, the king of Aḫḫiyawa is clearly called Great King, My Brother and My Equal.²⁵ Second, Tawagalawa is the brother of the king of Aḫḫiyawa.

A major problem in the interpretation of the first column, which also engaged Güterbock in his article, has always been the definition of Tawagalawa’s activities compared to those of Piyamaradu. I would like to put forward a suggestion which may, I believe, solve this problem.

Let us first delineate the problem. The main subject of the third, and the only preserved, tablet of the letter, is Piyamaradu, a freebooter who was carrying out raids on the Lukka lands and other territories. Throughout the letter the Hittite king takes great pains trying to convince the king of Aḫḫiyawa to extradite Piyamaradu, or at least to curtail his activities effectively.

The interpretation is complicated however by the fact that the first column of the tablet apparently deals with another person, Tawagalawa, whose activities are in part similar to Piyamaradu’s. The people of Lukka have been attacked by some unknown enemy and they have approached first Tawagalawa, later the Hittite king, requesting help. While on his way to the rescue, the king received a message from Tawagalawa (according to the traditional interpretation), who was asking for a Hittite vassalhood. When however a Hittite high official²⁶ came to escort him to Ḫatti, he refused to do so with various pretexts. The tantalizing question is, in Güterbock’s words (p. 136), “why should a high ranking Aḫḫiyawan, actually, as just demonstrated, the king’s brother, seek the overlordship of the Hittite king?”

I think that the answer is astonishingly simple. The person who is discussed throughout the first column is not Tawagalawa at all, but Piyamaradu. How is this possible? Let us reexamine the beginning of the column. Someone is said to have destroyed the city of Attarimma (ll. 1–2). Thereafter we are told that the men of Lukka approached Tawagalawa and the Hittite king (ll. 3–5). Then the text goes on saying that when the king arrived at Šallapa he sent a man asking for Hittite vassalhood (ll. 6ff.). It was always assumed, according to sound grammat-

24. Incidentally, this authorship of the letter provides a nice combination between the allusion to Ḫattušili’s youth, when he learned riding on a chariot from Dabala-Tarḫunda the charioteer (II 61–62), and his autobiographical note that as a youngster he served as a groom (KUSKA.TAB.ANŠU Hatt. I 12).

25. Col. II 9–20 (AJA 87 [1983]: 135–36). The same applies, in my view, to I 73 (see below) and perhaps IV 55–56.

26. For the equation of the *TARTENU* and the *tuhkanti* see O. R. Gurney *AnSt* 33 (1983): 97–101.

ical logic, that “he” must refer to Tawagalawa who was just mentioned before. A sudden switch of the subject is indeed quite unusual. Sometimes, however, grammar can be misleading in text interpretation and reason is to be preferred. A whole tablet, no less than 275 lines, deals with the person of Piyamaradu. He must have been the predominant subject of the first two lost tablets as well. Now, in such a context there is really no need to constantly remind your correspondent whom you have in mind when you say “he,” especially if you repeat time and again the same story about his misdeeds. The king of Aḫḫiyawa must have had by now a pretty good idea of Piyamaradu’s acts and his pretended appeal to the Hittite king. He could not possibly have mistaken this to refer to his own brother Tawagalawa.

I have no doubt that it is Piyamaradu who asked for the Hittite king’s overlordship, only to defy it later on. He may have been responsible for the attack on Attarimma, whereas his brother Lahurzi was probably responsible for the attack on the Hittite king at Iyalanda (I. 26). Here I would like to draw attention again to the small fragment KBo XXVII 4, where Piyamaradu appears next to Iyalanda (I. 7’).

The other major obstacle in the correct understanding (in my view) of the first column has been the difficult passage, lines 71ff. We have just heard that when the Hittite king arrived at Millawanda, Piyamaradu fled by boat, probably with the assistance of his sons-in-law Atpa and Awayana. Then the king repeats (for unknown reasons if the traditional interpretation is followed) how he instructed the *TARTĒNU* to conduct the candidate for vassalhood to Ḫattuša (II. 67–70).

His refusal to go to the Hittite king is expected at the beginning of line 71 (as in I 11–13), and indeed, Sommer suggested the restoration [*Ú-U*]L *me-ma-aš*, which is plausible, though not secure.²⁷ Being convinced that it was Tawagalawa who refused to go, they have taken him as the subject of the sentence: “[No!], he said, i.e., Tawagalawa.” This, however, required the beginning of a new sentence after *Tawagalawaš=pát*, and Sommer was forced to emend the following sign into an introductory sentence particle *nu*! This is most unsatisfactory according to the copy and the photograph. The sign is attached to *-pát* without any interval and although it is written over an erasure (like most of the line) it can readily be identified as *-kán*. Thus, *Tawagalawaš(=pát=kán)* is obviously the subject of the next clause (the predicate of which is *uit*).

27. More than half of the line is written over an erasure (AU 84), which makes the reading difficult, especially here. A. Götze, *OLZ* 1930, 289 read [*Ú-U*]L-*ši-ma-aš* mT. and translated “er (war) sich nicht aber T.” Originally I left the damaged beginning of I. 71 unrestored. Professor Gurney has pointed out to me that [*Ú-U*]L *me-ma-aš* is in fact compatible with the suggested interpretation of column I. Although it is unnecessary, there is enough space for a possible *nu* preceding the *UL*; *na-aš* however would be too long.

If one follows the textual evidence without a preconceived view on the identity of the candidate for vassalship, one inevitably comes to the conclusion that a connexion between Tawagalawa in line 71 (see below) and the person referred to in the previous lines is unnecessary, in fact very unlikely. Lines 67ff., with Piyamaradu's pretended request for vassalship, now gain a fully satisfactory sense, as a quotation of the things the Hittite king made Atpa and Awayana swear to report truthfully to the king of Aḫḫiyawa.

In line 73 all the interpreters of the text have chosen rather unusual grammatical deviations from the norm, in order to avoid a historically unlikely situation²⁸ *nu=ta* LUGAL.GAL is an appositional complex, "to you, Great King ...," which must refer to the king of Aḫḫiyawa. Sommer has taken the *-ta* to refer to Tawagalawa, as a "psychological" mistake for "to him" (*nu=ši*), and the LUGAL.GAL to refer to the Hittite king, this being the only exception in the tablet to the rule, that Great King comes with a verb in the 1st person when the Hittite king speaks of himself.

I would tentatively suggest the following interpretation for lines 71ff., seeking to stick to the regular meaning of the sentences:

- I 71 [(*nu*) *Ú-U*]L *me'-ma-aš mTa-wa-ga-la-wa-aš-pát-kán ku-wa-pí* LUGAL.
 GAL *ú'²⁹[w]a-nu-un* (see AU 85)
 72 [*na-aš*(?)]²⁹ URU*Mi-el-la-wa-a-da ta-pu-ša ú-it*
 73 [*ka-ru-ú*(?)-*ma* ^{MD}KAL-*aš ka-a e-eš-ta nu-ut-ta* LUGAL.GAL
 74 [*IGI-an-d*]a(?) *u-un-ni-eš-ta Ú-UL-aš šar-ku-uš* LUGAL-*uš e-eš-ta*
 II 1 *na-aš Ú-UL-ma :za-ar'-šī'-ya'* [
 2 *a-pa-a-aš-mu ku-wa-at Ú-UL* x x x x x x x x

- I 71 [No!] he said. Even Tawagalawa,³⁰ when (I), the Great King, came,
 72 he came aside to Millawanda.
 73 [Previous]y(?) ^{DKAL} was here and to you, Great King,
 74 he drove [in(?)]. Wasn't he a powerful king?
 II 1 And yet, [did] he not [accept(?)] a guarantee?
 2 But that one (i.e., Piyamaradu), why [does/did] he not [] me?

28. Forrer, *Forschungen*, 144; Sommer, *AU*, 89; Götze, *OLZ* 1930, 289.

29. *na-aš* is indicated as a possible restoration by Sommer, *AU*, 86. Forrer, *Forsch.*, 141 restored ZAG KUR; Götze and H. Pedersen, *Mursilis Sprachlähmung; ein hethitischer Text. Mit philologischen und linguistischen Erörterungen* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1934), 25 suggested *nu-kán*. The *-kán*, however, which is required by *tapuša*, is already given in I. 71, attached to the first word of the sentence, Tawagalawa.

30. Cf., e.g., KUB XXI 27 II 15 *ANA DUMU.NAM.LÚ.ULÜ^{LU}-pát-kán anda memian kišan memiškanzi*. H. Hoffner, *Festschrift H. Otten*, 113: "even among mankind they are in the habit of speaking a word as follows."

If I understand the meaning of this passage, it seems to quote two precedents aimed to emphasize Piyamaradu's uncivilized and outrageous conduct. It also may point out that he has nothing to fear from the Hittite king, a subject that is lengthily elaborated in the next column. We are ignorant of the historical context of these precedents, but they appear to represent symmetrical cases: Tawagalawa, the Ahḫiyawan, came near Millawanda, perhaps to meet(?) the Great King of Ḫatti, whereas ^DKAL, possibly Kurunta king of Tarḫuntašša, came to meet(?) the Great King of Ahḫiyawa. Only Piyamaradu, whose status is considerably lower than that of these two persons, ignored the "civilized" codes by refusing to meet the Hittite king.

This interpretation of lines 71ff., although as far as I can see is in agreement with the textual data, may not be accepted. However, it does not affect the suggestion concerning the identity of the person discussed throughout the rest of the first column. It merely demonstrates that it is unnecessary, and most unlikely, to identify him with Tawagalawa in l. 71.

This suggestion immediately resolves the difficulties resulting from the alleged similarity between Tawagalawa and Piyamaradu and the extremely peculiar attitude of a high-ranking Ahḫiyawan towards the Hittite king. We can now sort out what belongs to whom and reconstruct their totally different profiles.

Piyamaradu's role remains basically unchanged, only that now a new facet is added to his reckless figure, that of a shrewd tactician. On the one hand he pretends to accept Hittite overlordship, whereas on the other, he and his men do everything to undermine Hittite hold in the west, exactly as Madduwatta had done more than a century earlier.

More significant however is what is left of the figure of Tawagalawa. There is of course no more question of him accepting Hittite overlordship. He is only mentioned three times in the letter. First when he comes to Lukka (I 3–4); second, in the difficult context just discussed (I 71–72); and third, in the well-known passage where Dabala-Tarḫunda, the charioteer whom the Hittite king proposes to send as hostage to Ahḫiyawa, is said to have ridden with him on the same chariot (II 61–62). These data are more scanty than before, but also much clearer and more intelligible. Tawagalawa is a brother of the Great King of Ahḫiyawa, probably stationed in Millawanda from where he operates in Lukka, in competition with the Hittite king. In other words, he appears to be the highest representative of Ahḫiyawan interests on Anatolian soil. Whether his mission is temporary or permanent cannot be established. A parallel to the role of Muršili's brother, Piyaššili, the viceroy of Karkamiš, would perhaps be too far-fetched, but could provide a notion about a similar practice in the Hittite imperial administration. It would be helpful to know more about his exact responsibilities and the hierarchy between him and Atpa, who seems to be the actual ruler of Millawanda. However, this cannot be learned from the text.

One would hardly think that the Hittite king was well disposed towards his intervention in Lukka, but any resentment is prudently concealed in the letter where his act is reported to his brother in a purely informative manner. This, of course, is in full accord with the general conciliatory tone of the letter. The Hittite king goes out of his way to maintain an agreeable relationship with the king of Ahhiyawa.

The message he is trying to convey has a most significant historical value for us. The real menace to international status quo is not posed by differing interests or occasional clashes between the great powers, but by elements like Piyamaradu who cause instability and who cannot be controlled effectively without the cooperation of the established powers. A few decades later history proved him right.

We may now attempt to sum up the evidence on Hattušili's involvement in western Anatolia. With Egyptian relations normalized and Assyrian pressure not yet critical, he appears to have carried through a relatively successful inner-Anatolian policy, not only against the Kaška tribes in the north, but also in the western regions.

An Ahhiyawan-inspired uprising in the Šeḫa River Land is suppressed and a new king is installed on the throne. There is no mention of Wiluša. The highly conjectural restoration of the name in the "Tawagalawa letter" (IV 8) would better be left aside. Hapalla and later Mira disappear from the texts, which could indicate relatively peaceful circumstances, or perhaps even a more centralized incorporation within the Hittite lands.

As for the southwest, there is clear evidence for at least one campaign of Hattušili to the Lukka countries, probably in connection with Piyamaradu's activities there. Perhaps the creation of the kingdom of Tarḫuntašša, somewhere in western Cilicia, was also connected with these events. It may have served as a buffer state and as a basis for military operations in the southwest, considerably shortening the supply lines for the Hittite armies. This would be even more probable if ^DKAL in the "Tawagalawa letter" is indeed Kurunta, the king of Tarḫuntašša.

The entry into Millawanda, an acknowledged Ahhiyawan dependency, is most significant. It was no doubt intended to be an impressive power demonstration directed towards Ahhiyawa and her partisans in Anatolia. The apologetic and conciliatory wording of the "Tawagalawa letter" should not mislead us, for Hattušili is notorious for his shrewd diplomacy. In fact, there may even be a slight indication that it achieved its purpose, the extradition of Piyamaradu, if the sentence "he brought away Piyamaradu" in a fragment written by a grandson of Hattušili (KBo XVI 35, 7') is referring to the latter. The flattering words bestowed upon the king of Ahhiyawa cannot conceal the fact that Millawanda was occupied by the Hittite king, even if for a very short while, without Ahhiyawa being able to do much about it.

This seems however to mark the end of Hittite dominance in the west. The situation changed radically for the worse during the reigns of the last kings of Hatti.

The death of Hattušili was, as always in these circumstances, followed by serious uprisings throughout the west. But this time the rebellious tide seems to have reached much nearer to the Hittite heartland.

In a letter of Tuthaliya to the queen (KUB XIX 23), written shortly after his father's death (rev. 15'), a rebellion in Lalanda is reported (16') and even the possibility of a general uprising in the Lower Land is considered. Such an eventuality would be, according to Tuthaliya, hardly possible to contain (19'–20'). This alone sufficiently demonstrates the extent to which the Hittite grasp on the west has weakened towards the closing decades of the century.

Another text that can now be ascribed to Tuthaliya, probably in a more advanced stage of his reign, is the so-called Milawata letter. The lower part of the reverse has recently been augmented by a large join, discovered by Hoffner, which greatly improves our understanding of this important text (KBo XIX 55+KUB XLVIII 90).³¹

The Hittite king addresses an unknown vassal in the west. The obverse is in very bad condition. "[I have] treated you as a brother" (*nu-ud-du-za ŠEŠ-ah-h[u-un]*) in l. 10 is noteworthy. Most of the obverse seems to deal with events connected with the addressee's father, who also received letters from the Hittite king (l. 34). The beginning of the reverse deals with the extradition of a fugitive named Agapurušiya. Piyamaradu is mentioned, probably as a precedent. Agapurušiya may thus be another of those "wild westerners."

After a large gap we arrive, at last, at almost complete lines (38ff.), due to Hoffner's join. His translation reads (p. 132):

And when his/its lord [... -ed] the wor[d ... , ...] fled. [And they made(?)] for themselves another lord. I did not recognize [... ,] the wicked one(?). But the documen[ts] which [I/they(?) made] for Walmu Kuwalana-ziti kept. Now behold he is bringing them to (you,) My Son; examine them! Now, My Son, as long as you protect the welfare of My Majesty, I, My Majesty, will trust your good will. So, My Son, send me Walmu, and I will install him again in Wiluša as king. As he was previously the king of Wiluša, so now [let] him [be] (again)! As [he] w[as] previously our *kulawaniš*-vassal, so let him (again) be a k.-vassal!

As we carried off(?) for ourselves the border of the land of Milawata, My Majesty and (you,) My Son, [so] you [must not] omit/neglect(?) your [...]. And My Majesty [will trust] your good will with a true spirit.

31. Hoffner's historical interpretation of the text differs considerably from the interpretation put forward here.

The two recovered paragraphs are of utmost importance for western Anatolian matters. First, Milawata.³² Since the days of Forrer and Sommer it was always assumed that the letter was addressed to a king of Milawata³³ and the sentence about its borders was restored as follows: "When we, My Majesty and (you) My Son [set] the boundaries of Milawata." The resulting historical conclusion was that after a period of Ahhiyawan supremacy (attested in the "Tawagalawa letter") Milawata became a Hittite vassal. It now becomes clear that the territory of Milawata was merely the object for the joint raids, in the past, of the Hittite king and the real addressee of the letter. As far as we can tell from the Hittite texts, Milawata was never ruled by the Hittites.

Not less important is the new insight gained on Wiluša. The events may be reconstructed as follows. There has been an uprising in the kingdom of Wiluša. The ruler apparently fled the country and the people of Wiluša appointed another king, who, however, did not obtain the recognition of the Hittite suzerain. A previous king of Wiluša, named Walmu, probably the runaway ruler just mentioned, had apparently found refuge at the court of the addressee. Documents, probably a new treaty, were prepared for Walmu, and one Kuwalana-ziti³⁴ is about to bring them over to the addressee. He is to examine them, that is, to ratify them, and then send Walmu to Ḫattuša where he would be reinstated as king.

It is quite obvious that the addressee of the letter is in a key position having at his disposal the Hittite nominee to the throne of Wiluša. No wonder that the Hittite king, whose only hope to regain control over Wiluša is in the hands of his correspondent, writes in a very restrained tone to his vassal and acknowledges what appears to be a situation of joint overlordship over Wiluša.

Before continuing to the last paragraphs of the letter, we may now attempt to discover the identity of the addressee.³⁵ His land adjoins both Wiluša (probably in the Troad) and Milawata (probably Miletos).³⁶ The only candidates I can think of would be the Šeḫa River Land or Mira, but in view of what has been said above on the apparent degradation of the latter, the Šeḫa River Land seems to me the obvious choice. The fact that the sea is mentioned in the obverse (l. 13) would also fit better this alternative.

32. Hoffner, "The Milawata Letter," 133; Güterbock, *AJA* 87 (1983): 137.

33. Note however E. Cavaignac, *RHA* II/11 (1933): 103, who already saw that the sentence concerning the borders of Milawata does not necessarily mean that this is the country of the addressee. It only means that his country borders on Milawata.

34. See Güterbock *apud* Hoffner, "The Milawata Letter," 137, with the possible identification with one of the beneficiaries of the Šaḫurunuwa Decree, written in the reign of Tuḫḫaliya IV. For the reading Kuwalana instead of Kuwatna see M. Poetto, *Kadmos* 21 (1982): 101–2. See also D. Hawkins, *RIA* 6: 308.

35. Hoffner, "The Milawata Letter," 133 suggests that Milawata is the land of the addressee.

36. I still consider Garstang and Gurney's localizations as very plausible (*Geography*, 105 and 81, respectively; see also O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* [Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1981], 58ff.).

It is very tempting to associate the mischievous father of the addressee, described as “one who desires the misfortune of His Majesty” (lower edge l. 1) and “who boasted(?) the city of Arinna” (l. 3; whatever that means) with Tarḫunaradu, who according to the text on “the offences of the Šeḫa River Land” was deposed and was brought to Arinna. This remains however entirely conjectural.

The unprecedented situation in which a Hittite king is willing to accept a semi-autonomous status of his main western vassal, with a joint condominium over a third country, clearly shows that he is no longer able to impose his rule with force and is reduced to accept a less effective solution that would at least maintain some of the remaining Hittite hegemony in this region. What we may be witnessing here is a revival of a comparatively strong western kingdom, a heir to Arzawa, which Tuthaliya’s predecessors so fiercely fought to abolish.

There is another letter fragment that may perhaps relate to this same matter. KBo XVIII 18 is written by a Hittite king (the end of Hat[ti] is still left in l. 1) to Mašḫuitta, the king of a land whose name is broken off. After the titulature there follows a typical courtesy formula (ll. 3–5) of the sort “[to me, to my wives, my sons,] my [army], horses, great ones and within [my land all is well!] May [to you, etc.] your horses, your great ones, [etc., all be well!]” This type of elaborate introduction is usually reserved for letters exchanged between Great Kings.

What is left of the subject matter of the letter deals with the Land of Wiluša, but the context is not clear. One broken sentence (l. 6) which has “in that year [I(?)] insta[lled x] as king” recalls the installment of Walmu in the “Milawata letter.” The addressee need not be the king of Wiluša.³⁷ He could very well be the king of the Šeḫa River Land who had risen to a very prominent status and could therefore be addressed in such a courteous manner. Could Mašḫuitta be the addressee of the “Milawata letter” and Tarḫunaradu, the deposed ruler of the Šeḫa River Land, his mischievous father? All this remains conjectural until corroborated by further evidence.

Returning to the “Milawata letter,” the last paragraphs (lower and left edges) deal with an exchange of hostages, who appear to have been taken in previous military actions, in the days of the addressee’s father. The Hittite king complains that whereas he had already returned the hostages of Awarna and Pina, the addressee did not return the hostages of Utima and Atriya. The significance of this very act of negotiating over an exchange of hostages with a vassal king needs not to be pointed out. It further corroborates what has already been said on the deteriorating situation in the west.

37. As assumed by Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa*, 178.

It is worthwhile noting that the towns of Pina and Awarna appear in the block inscription from Emirgazi,³⁸ which is dated to Tuḫaliya. IV.³⁹ This suggests that the “Milawata letter” was sent by this king.⁴⁰

Tuḫaliya’s strenuous efforts to maintain some foothold in Wiluša and the Šeḫa River Land, more by means of diplomatic manoeuvring than by military force, may represent the end of Hittite hegemony over the western and northwestern Arzawan countries.

From the last kings of Ḫatti, Arnuwanda III and Šuppiluliuma II, we lack any evidence for western campaigns or for any contacts at all. The only text dealing with the west, that can definitively be dated to one of these kings, is the small fragment KBo XVI 35, written by a grandson of Ḫattušili (l. 11’). It undoubtedly deals with events from the past because it mentions Piyamaradu.

The turbulent southwest has apparently been given up at an even earlier stage. In an instruction text of Tuḫaliya IV the Lukka land is listed together with Azzi and Kaška as enemy territory (KUB XXVI 12+ II 15’). Lukka also appears in the Ilgin inscription,⁴¹ but the context is not known.

The last that we hear of Lukka is already in the context of the population movements at the end of the thirteenth century. They appear among the so-called Sea Peoples (the term is modern), who together with the Libyans raided the western delta of Egypt in Merneptah’s fifth year (1207 B.C.E.).

Contrary to traditional translations such as “the foreign countries made a conspiracy in their islands,” the “Sea Peoples” were hardly an organized enemy, nor can the specifications on their origins be taken to indicate more than a general northerly direction.⁴² We know that piratical raids on Cyprus and Egypt were conducted from Anatolian shores as early as the fifteenth century. What changed in the late-thirteenth century was merely the scale of the movement and the ability of the established powers to cope with the problem.

The bulk of the Hittite army was at this stage engaged on the eastern front, attempting, not very successfully, to keep back the Assyrians. A severe famine in Anatolia, which had lasted for decades, did not make things easier for them.⁴³ Grain bought in Egypt and Canaan⁴⁴ was shipped to Ugarit and from there to the Hittite port of Ura in western Cilicia. The ships of the “Sea Peoples” operating in

38. E. Masson, *Journal des Savants* (1979): 36ff.

39. E. Laroche, *Rev. Arch.* 1976, 17; E. Masson *ibid.*, 4.

40. Masson, *ibid.*, 37; Gurney, *The Hittites*, 53; H. G. Güterbock, *AJA* 87 (1983): 137. See also n. 34.

41. E. Laroche, *Rev. Arch.* 1976, 17; E. Masson, *Journal des Savants* (1979): 42.

42. W. Helck, *Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt a. M.* 1976, 7ff.

43. H. Klengel, *AoF* 1 (1974): 165ff.

44. I. Singer, *Tel Aviv* 10 (1983): 3–25.

the Gulf of Alexandretta⁴⁵ threatened to disrupt these shipments, which were so vital for the survival of Ḫatti. This may partly account, I believe, for the only sea battle recorded in Hittite sources (KBo XII 38 III 1'–15').⁴⁶ In a final effort, the last king of Ḫatti, Šuppiluliamas, managed to defeat an enemy fleet near Cyprus.

His victory however was very short lived. In a desperate letter to Alašia the king of Ugarit reported that his land was left undefended because his troops are in Ḫatti and his fleet is in Lukka (*Ugaritica* V no. 24). All that the Hittite viceroy of Karkamiš could offer to his defenceless vassal was moral support (*Ugaritica* V no. 23).

The “Sea Peoples” surged down along the Levant coast, on land and sea, without encountering any serious resistance until reaching the border of the Egyptian Empire in Amurru, in Ramses III’s eighth year (1174). Indeed, the Egyptians managed to avoid the fate of the Hittite Empire, and found more efficient ways of coping with the invaders, by recruiting them into their army and settling them in their strongholds in Canaan. But this is another chapter of history.

45. Note now RS 34.129 (*UF* 10, 1978, 53ff.; *UF* 11, 1979, 481ff.), with a first cuneiform attestation of the Šikila.

46. H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 26 (1967): 73ff.; H. Otten, *Jahresbericht ... Frankfurt* 1976, 27–28.

PURPLE-DYERS IN LAZPA

The organizers of this conference should be acclaimed for bringing together scholars dealing with a broad scope of subjects from both sides of the Aegean. It is increasingly recognized (though not in all scholarly circles, regrettably) that an interdisciplinary approach, with a fruitful cooperation between Hittitologists and Mycenologists, archaeologists and philologists, can yield important advances in our comprehension of the complex relationships between Anatolian and Aegean cultures.¹ This paper aims at introducing a previously unsuspected economic factor in the strained Hittite–Ahhiyawan contacts in western Anatolia and the off-shore islands.

ŠARIPŪTU-MEN IN THE MANAPA-TARḪUNTA LETTER

The Manapa-Tarḫunta Letter (CTH 191) is a large one-column tablet, the reverse of which is uninscribed.² The main fragment, KUB 19.5 (VAT 7454 + Bo 2561), was augmented by Laroche (CTH suppl.) with the small join KBo 19.79 (1481/u), which was found in the dump of Temple I. Parts of the text were discussed in early studies (Forrer 1926: 90–91; Sommer 1932: 170, n. 1), but the first comprehensive treatment was presented by Houwink ten Cate (1983–84: 38–64), and this served as the basis for all subsequent studies.

The letter was sent by Manapa-Tarḫunta, king of the Šeḫa River Land, to his Lord, either Muršili II, or, more probably, Muwatalli II.³ After a surprisingly short greeting, Manapa-Tarḫunta presents his reasons (or perhaps pretexts) for

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1. For recent surveys on “Homer and the East” see, e.g., Burkert 1991, Morris 1997: Watkins 1998.

2. Except for two lines incised deeply in the middle of the tablet at an angle of 60° to each other. I am grateful to Prof. Gernot Wilhelm, Director of the research program *Hethitische Forschungen* at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, for permission to study the photographs of the tablet. Dr. Jared Miller kindly collated the text for me in 2004 and I had the occasion to examine the photographs in June 2005.

3. Sommer (1932: 33ff.) and Garstang and Gurney (1959: 95) hesitated between the two datings. For Muršili II, see Forrer 1926: 22; Stefanini 1964: 27; Cornelius 1973: 217–18. For Muwatalli II, see Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 174: 221; Houwink ten Cate 1983–84: 50, 58–64; Singer 1983a, 210; Güterbock 1986: 37, n. 11; Freu 1990: 25; 1998: 103; Starke 1997: 453; Bryce 1998: 246; 2003: 70; Taracha 2001: 419.

failing to participate in a Hittite military expedition to the Land of Wiluša. This important historical reference has attracted the attention of most commentators, but will not be discussed in this paper.

The next paragraph takes up the rest of the obverse, some thirty partly preserved lines. Here we encounter the notorious troublemaker Piyamaradu and his son-in-law Atpa, the ruler of Millawata/Millawanda/Miletos. The two, who acted as the main proxies of Ahhiyawa in Anatolia, humiliated Manapa-Tarḫunta by conducting an attack on the Land of Lazpa and carrying away some prisoners.⁴ This could indicate that the island of Lesbos⁵ belonged to the Šeḫa River Land, situated on the opposite coast, in the valley of the Caicos, the Hermos, or both.⁶

In Lazpa, two groups of ŠĀRIPŪTU-men were forced to “join up”⁷ and were brought by Piyamaradu’s men before Atpa. One group consisted of Manapa-Tarḫunta’s ŠĀRIPŪTU and the other of His Majesty’s (the Hittite king). The latter, or perhaps both groups, were headed by their chief,⁸ a man whose name ends with [...]ḫuḫa.⁹ After their abduction, these persons appealed to Atpa, probably in Millawata, with the following significant words (ll. 15–18): “We are tributaries (*arkammanaliuš*) and we came o[ve]r the sea. Let us [render] our tribute (*arkamman*)! Šigauna may have committed a crime, but we have done

4. In my opinion, the formulation implies a direct connection between Manapa-Tarḫunta’s humiliation and the attack on Lazpa, but cf. Houwink ten Cate (1983–84: 50; but cf. p. 55 n. 48), who assumes that the humiliation refers to a military defeat of the past.

5. The identification of Lazpa with Lesbos, first suggested by Forrer, is now universally accepted. For the conflict between Hatti and Ahhiyawa over the northeastern Aegean islands, see Taracha 2001 (with earlier literature). As noted by Houwink ten Cate (1983–84: 55: n. 48), according to Homeric tradition, Lesbos was the furthest outpost of the Trojans and it was assailed by the Greeks who took human spoils (*Il.* 9.270–276, 663–665).

6. For the choice between the Caicos (Bakir) or the Hermos (Gediz) valleys as the Šeḫa River Land, see Starke 1997: 451; Hawkins 1998: 23–24; Niemeier 1999b, 143; Bryce 2003: 38–39.

7. For *anda ḫandai*-, see Sommer 1932: 348–49 (“mit jemandem paktieren,” “sich jemandem anschliessen”); Garstang and Gurney 1959: 95: “make common cause with”; Houwink ten Cate 1983–84: 44–45: “join in”; *HED* 3, 100. I do not see any grounds for Houwink ten Cate’s assumption (1983–84: 47) that the ŠĀRIPŪTU-men “joined in of their own accord and thus voluntarily.” On the contrary, according to their own testimony, they did not share the guilt of Šigauna, Piyamaradu’s proxy.

8. The reading and rendering of the logographic compound LÚ.AMA.A.TU LÚ.BANŠUR(?) is not clear. Houwink ten Cate’s (1983–84: 40) literal translation “domestic and table man” is not very convincing. The first component, LÚ.AMA.A.TU, corresponds to Akkadian, *illatu*, “band, (family) group, clan” (Friedrich 1926: 79, “Haugenosse”). The second component lacks the GIŠ determinative and should probably be read differently, but I cannot suggest how.

9. Heinhold-Krahmer (1977: 222) suggested *ḫuḫa*- “grandfather,” but this appellative also appears in personal names (Laroche 1966: 70); for the correspondence between Hittite/Luwian *ḫuḫas* and Lydian *Gyges*, see Carruba 2003: 151). Another possible restoration could include the theophoric element [*Kar*]-*ḫu-ḫa-aš* (l. 14), a deity that is already attested in second-millennium cuneiform texts (Singer 2001: 638–39). A king named Maza-Karhuha appears in the Luwian hieroglyphic inscription inscribed on a silver bowl in the Ankara Museum (Hawkins 1997).

nothing.”¹⁰ Who the “criminal” Šigauna might be we do not know.¹¹ It seems that Atpa was willing at first to set free the *ŠĀRIPŪTU*-men, but he was then persuaded by this Šigauna to take advantage of the golden opportunity presented by the Storm-god,¹² and ultimately refused to let them go. At this stage Kupanta-Kurunta, probably the well-known king of Mira, intervened in the matter, and “the *ŠĀRIPŪTU*-men of the gods who (belong) to His Majesty” (l. 27) were released. In the remaining text we only have the ends of lines, which do not provide a context.¹³

Various questions are raised by this intriguing episode, but all depend on the identity of the *ŠĀRIPŪTU* men,¹⁴ who are otherwise not attested in the Boğazköy tablets. They do appear, however, in the Ras Shamra tablets, and these may provide the right answer.

ŠĀRIPŪTU-MEN IN THE TEXTS FROM UGARIT

Ugaritica 5. 26 (RS 20.03) is a letter sent by the Hittite prince Šukur-Tešub to the king of Ugarit, Ammištamru II, in the mid-thirteenth century B.C.E. (Nougayrol 1968: 91–93). The prince had just been appointed as governor in Alalah and he appeals to his southern neighbor in an important matter: The *ŠĀRIPŪTU*-men of Panešta will be sent over the border to Ba’alat-rimi¹⁵ in order to *māš. da.a.ri ana epeši*, rendered by Nougayrol (without commentary) as “to perform the regular offerings” (“pour faire les offrandes perpétuelles”). After complet-

10. (15) ... *an-za-aš-wa-an-na-aš ar-kam-ma-na-al-[i-u]š* (16) [*nu-wa-kán(?)*]’A¹.AB.BA *p[ár-ra]-an-ta ú-wa-u-en* ’*nu-wa-an-na-aš ar-kam-ma’-an* (17) [*i-ua-u]-e-ni(?)* ’*nu-wa* ^{m1}*š-i-ga-ú-na-aš wa-aš-ta-aš* (18) [*an-za-aš-ma-wa*]a(?) *Ú-U[L] ku-ít-ki i-[y]a-u-en*.... For parallels to *-kan aruni parranta pai-*, see Houwink ten Cate 1983–84: 47.

11. For the possible role of Šigauna in the affair, see Houwink ten Cate 1983–84: 53–54. Could he perhaps be the ruler of Lazpa who betrayed his Anatolian overlord and collaborated with Piyamaradu?

12. Lines 22–23: “The Storm-god [ga]ve (them) to you, (so) why should you [give] them back?” Houwink ten Cate (1983–84: 39–40, 49) read *DU-ta[r]*, which he rendered as “a ty[pe of] Storm god.” The sign after *DU* is not clear. Jared Miller suggests a simple *DU-aš* with a superfluous lower horizontal.

13. Houwink ten Cate (1983–84: 52) suggests that the remainder of the letter dealt with the fate of Manapa-Tarhunta’s *ŠĀRIPŪTU*-men. Worth noting is *LÚAD.KID-ta-ra-aš(-wa-aš-kán)*, “basket-weaver” (l. 33). For *atkuḫpu*, “a craftsman making objects of reeds,” see *CAD A/II*, 494–95; sometimes these craftsmen prepared reed boats and reed containers coated with bitumen to make them watertight. The Hittite reading is unknown, but the suffix *-tara* is found in professional terms, such as *LÚakuttara-*, *LÚweštara-*, *SALTaptara-*. See further below on the method of collecting sea snails by lowering baited wicker baskets into the sea.

14. The word is variously spelled as *ŠA-RI-PU-TI* (l. 9), *ŠÍ-RI-PU-TE* (l. 12) and *ŠÍ-RI-PU-TI* (l. 14). Early renderings of the vocable include Forrer’s “Metöken” (1926: 90) and Cornelius’s “Feuerleute” (1973: 217). Sommer and other commentators have refrained from suggesting an exact translation; see, e.g., Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 223; Starke 1997: 453; 2001: 346, “Handwerker”). The Akkadian dictionaries leave open the exact occupation of the *šāripu*-men: *AHW* 1085b: “eine Art von Hofsleuten”; *CAD/Š*, 111a: “a class of persons”; *CDA*, 334: “a kind of court personnel.” See further below.

15. *URUNIN-ri-mi* is not otherwise attested (Belmonte Marin 2001: 51). Is this indeed the name of a town, or perhaps just the sanctuary of a goddess bearing the epithet.

ing their mission they should be sent back to the “mayor” (*ḫazannu*) of Šalmiya. They should be protected on their way through the mountains and should be provided for all their needs.

In his editio princeps, J. Nougayrol associated *ŠĀRIPŪTU* with the Semitic verb *šarāpu*, which has a wide range of meanings, all of them associated with the processing of some material through high temperatures: “to smelt and refine” metals, “to fire or bake” pottery, bricks or tablets, “to dye” textiles and leather, etc.¹⁶ Nougayrol opted for “smelters” (“fondeurs”) and was followed by Houwink ten Cate.¹⁷ A different interpretation, far more fruitful, was put forward by S. Lackenbacher in her recent anthology of Akkadian texts from Ugarit (2002: 95–96, with n. 276). Drawing from other texts, some still unpublished, she concluded that the *ŠĀRIPŪTU* were “purple-dyers.” Another letter, already indicated by Nougayrol (1968: 93, n. 15), mentions the “*ŠĀRIPŪTU* of the king” (Lackenbacher 1989: 317–18; 2002: 97). Piḫa-ziti, a leading official from Carchemish (Singer 1999: 653, n. 142), complains that these had been subjected to custom duties in Ugarit. He threatens to file a complaint with “the king” (of Carchemish). Finally, in an unpublished letter from the Urtenu archive, the Hittite king is explicitly mentioned as sending wool to Ugarit *a-na ṣa-ra-pi*, “for dyeing” (Lackenbacher 2002: 96 n. 276).

Concerning the mission of the *ŠĀRIPŪTU* in *Ugaritica* 5. 26 (*māš.da.a.ri ana epeši*), Lackenbacher pointed to a strand of evidence in a lexical text from Boghazköy in which Sumerian *māš.da.a.ri* is equated with Akkadian *irbu* and Hittite *arkammaš*, “income” or “tribute.”¹⁸ But, according to Lackenbacher, “to make/ perform the tribute” does not provide a satisfactory sense in this text, and she therefore substituted a related Akkadian term, *argamannu*, which in later texts means “purple wool.”¹⁹ In other words, what the *ŠĀRIPŪTU*-men were supposed to do in Ugarit is to dye their wool in purple, a well-known industry of the Levantine coast. From all the references cited above, it is obvious that

16. *AHw*, 1083b–84b; *CAD* Š, 102–3. When referring to fabrics, *še/irpu* (from OB on) is usually defined as “red dyed wool (or fabric)”; see *CAD* Š, 208–9; *CDA*, 336; *AHw*, 1092a; Cassin 1968: 115. Some references, however, show that it may also refer to dyed fabrics in general. For Ugaritic *šrp*, see *DLU*, 421; for *abn šrp*, “alum,” see van Soldt (1990: 321–25). In Mari, NA₄ *širpum* denotes an imitation of lapis lazuli (Guichard *apud* Durand 1997: 275).

17. Who added that their occupational activities may have also included basket-weaving (Houwink ten Cate 1983–84: 45). He also suggested (1983–84: 50) that they were “workers of a relatively low social standing.”

18. *KBo* 1.42 v 17–22 = MSL XIII, p. 143 (Izi Bogh. A, l. 317): *e/irbu* is rendered in the Akkadian dictionaries as “income” (*AHw*, 233; *CAD* I, 174; *CDA*, 76). The next entry (l. 318) equates *māš.da.a.ri* with Akk. *iš-di₁₂-lu*, “profit” (*CDA*, 133), but the Hittite equivalent is not sufficiently preserved (*iš-x-x-x-a-u-wa-ar*).

19. Lackenbacher does not indicate that the meaning “purple wool” for *argamannu* is attested (until now) only in first-millennium texts, whereas in Hattuša and Ugarit, Akkadian *argamannu* means “tribute” (*AHw*, 67; *CAD* A/2, 253). However, this apparent difficulty can now be overhauled in view of the new interpretation of the evidence from Ugarit and Hatti.

representatives of the Hittite crown closely supervised the movements of these itinerant craftsmen and controlled their lucrative revenues.²⁰

PURPLE IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Lackenbacher's ingenious solution opens new vistas in the interpretation of the Manapa-Tarḫunta letter and its relevance to eastern Aegean economy and politics. However, this solution, concisely indicated in her lengthy footnote, needs some further consideration and bolstering in a broader context of what is presently known about the purple-dye industry and its terminology in the Near East and the Aegean.²¹

The meaning of *argamannu* may serve as a good point of departure. As first recognized by Albright (1933: 15), Luwian/Hittite *arkamma(n)*-²² is etymologically related to Akkadian *argamannu* and its West Semitic cognates (Ugaritic *'argmn/irgmn*, Hebrew *'argaman*, Aramaic *'argwan*, Arabic *arjawan*, etc.).²³ A vast literature has been dedicated to the problem of etymology, Semitic, Indo-European, or other, and to the circuitous question of what was the primary sense, "tribute" or "purple."²⁴ Either way, the semantic shift is easily comprehensible. Since the most conspicuous component of the Ugaritic tribute to Ḫatti (and of the Phoenician tribute to Assur) was purple-dyed fabrics, the two meanings became conflated. The difficult question remains whether this semantic shift had already occurred in the second millennium,²⁵ or only in the first.²⁶ With the new data from Ugarit adduced by Lackenbacher an early semantic shift seems preferable.

Akkadian *argamannu* was not the only Akkadian designation for purple-dyed fabrics. It is well known that the terminology for colors in cuneiform literature is notoriously complex. Landsberger's seminal study of Sumerian-Akkadian colors (1967) still serves as the best starting point. The Mesopotamian color palette consists of five basic colors—white (BABBAR=*pešû*), black (GE₆=*šalmu*), red (SA₅=*sāmu*), yellow/green (SIG₇(.SIG₇)=(w)*arqu*), and multi-colored (GÛN(.GÛN)=*burrumu*). "Blue" is expressed only by comparison to the color of lapis lazuli (ZA.GÛN=*uqnû*). Hence, "blue wool" is simply designated

20. On mobile artisans in the ancient Near East who were highly valued palace dependants, see Zaccagnini 1983. Their intentional or forced flight into foreign territory prompted immediate search expeditions in order to bring them back, often bound and chained (1983: 247). The case of the *ŠĀRIPŪTU*-men seems to fall within the first, so-called redistributive category, of the mobility pattern in Zaccagnini's model.

21. For a recent summary on purple in the ancient Near East, see Fales 1992–93; 1998.

22. For which see Friedrich 1942: 483; *HW*, 30; *HW*², 302–4; *HED* 1, 143–46; *HEG* 1, 59–60; *CLL*, 28.

23. See, e.g., Rabin 1963: 116–18; with refs. to earlier literature on the subject.

24. For references, see Goetze 1968: 18; *DLL*, 31; *DLU*, 48–49; *HED* 1, 145–46; Mankowski 2000: 38–39.

25. E.g., Pardee 1974: 277–78 and Dijkstra 1989: 144.

26. E.g., Dietrich and Loretz 1964–66: 218–19; Sanmartín 1978: 455–56; van Soldt (1990: 344–45.

as *šīpātu uqnû* or *uqnātu* (SÍG.ZA.GÌN).²⁷ Blue fabrics are already mentioned in Early Dynastic times (Biggs 1966), long before the advent of the purple dye. With the invention of the new technology sometime during the second millennium B.C.E. (see below), SÍG.ZA.GÌN (occasionally SÍG.ZA.GÌN.GE₆) became the standard designation for wool dyed “blue purple.” At the same time, SÍG.ZA.GÌN, without additional specifications, continued to designate blue fabrics in general, including those tinted with other dyestuffs, of mineral or vegetal origin. For “red purple” the ideogram SÍG.ZA.GÌN.SA₅ was reserved. This chromatic division must be situated within the range of light-red to dark-blue, but the exact hue of each of the two designations is not easy to establish.²⁸ Another problem is the correspondence between the above logograms and their phonetic spellings. Without delving into the various problems involved, it may summarily be concluded that only the terms *argamannu*, *ḥašmānu* and *takiltu* are related to the purple-dye industry, whereas other designations for reddish and bluish shades have probably nothing to do with the dye produced from the marine snails.²⁹ To these three terms for purple colors we must add a fourth, *širpu*, which relates to the industrial process involving high temperatures. Although the verb *šarāpu* may denote the heating of various substances (see above), when *širpu* is associated with dyed fabrics it usually denotes red or purple colors. The same root also generated the professional designation of the purple-dyers, *ŠĀRIPŪTU*.

There might be some scattered earlier attestations,³⁰ but the best evidence for second-millennium purple comes from Ugarit, which also supplied the first archaeological evidence for the industry in the Levant (see below).³¹ The lexical correspondence between the Akkadian and the Ugaritic terms is notoriously

27. For details and references, see Borger, *MesZL*, p. 440 (no. 851). When the determinative is not indicated, as occasionally happens in peripheral Akkadian, there remains an ambiguity between the precious stone and the dyed wool.

28. The occasional confusion between blue and red purple in the texts has been appropriately explained by Cassin (1968: 115–16): the quality of shininess and iridescence (Akk. *namru*) shared by both fabrics was more eye-catching for the ancients than the exact chromatic divisions appreciated by us.

29. This includes *tabarru* (SÍG.HÉ.ME.DA), *ḥašḥūru* (SÍG.ḤAŠḤUR), *ruššu* (ḤUŠ.A), *ḥūratu* (GÍŠ.ḤAB), *inzaḥurētu*, *kinahḫu*, etc., which are probably dyes produced from plants and insects (see, e.g., Oppenheim 1967: 242–43). Occasionally, some confusion was introduced in the terminology, which distinguished between purple dyes of marine origin and other dyestuffs.

30. The designation “cloth of lapis lazuli color” appears in an Old Assyrian text, (Kt 93/k 779, 8’: 2 TÚG *ḫu-sà-ru-um*; Michel 2001: 344, n. 19), but it is very unlikely that this should refer to a purple-dyed fabric. The same applies to the isolated occurrence of SÍG *uqniati ta-ak-la-tim* in an Old Babylonian letter (Kraus 1964: 50–51, no. 60). On the other hand, *takiltu* in some Amarna tablets (e.g., in Tušratta’s dowry list in EA 22) may already refer to blue-purple, although this cannot be proven.

31. For relatively recent studies on dyed fabrics in Ugarit, see Heltzer 1978: 38–41, 81–82; Ribichini and Xella 1985; van Soldt 1990.

difficult and controversial.³² We follow here the conclusions reached by W. van Soldt in his 1990 study on “Fabrics and Dyes at Ugarit.”

The two main categories are “blue (or violet) purple,” SÍG(.ZA.GÌN) *takiltu*, which corresponds to Ugaritic *iqnu* (lit. the color of lapis lazuli), and “red purple,” SÍG(.ZA.GÌN) *ḥašmānu*, corresponding to alphabetic *pḥm* (lit. the color of glowing charcoal).³³ As already mentioned, the generic term for “purple-dyed wool” is SÍG.ZA.GÌN, and in order to specify its color as either “blue” or “red” one had to add the specification *takiltu* or *ḥašmānu*, respectively. The ideogram ZA.GÌN was gradually dropped, leaving only the phonetic spellings.

These designations from Ugarit are matched with Neo-Assyrian *takiltu* and *argamannu*, and with Hebrew *tekhelet* and *argaman*.³⁴ Clearly, the terms *ḥašmānu* and *argamannu* were interchangeable, both referring to “red purple” (SÍG ZA.GÌN SA₅).³⁵ It is regrettable that, relying on some late lexicographical equations, the main Akkadian dictionaries define *ḥa/ušmānu* as “blue-green” (CAD H, 142) or “bläulich” (AHw, 334b), and these translations have been followed by most Assyriologists and Hittitologists.³⁶ The expression “*ḥašmānu* of the sea” in a fragmentary Akkadian text from Boghazköy does not help in solving the problem.³⁷ Does it refer to the color of the sea (whatever that is), or does it rather refer to the murex shells coming from the sea? Either way, it strikingly recalls Homer’s *halipórphyros*, “purple of the sea.”³⁸

Ugarit supplies some valuable data on the prices of purple-dyed wools.³⁹ One talent (ca. 30 kilos) of red purple costed on the average four shekels of silver, and one talent of blue purple more than five silver shekels. A comparison with the prices of untreated wool shows that the dyeing process more than doubled its value. Although these prices are but a far cry from the exorbitant prices paid for Tyrian purple in Classical times,⁴⁰ they were a major source for the prosperity

32. See, *inter alia*, Goetze 1956: 34–35; Dietrich and Loretz 1964–66: 288–91; Landsberger 1967; Ribichini and Xella 1985: 32; van Soldt 1990; Knoppers 1993: 88.

33. Other, rarely attested, kinds of SÍG.ZA.GÌN are *ḥandalatu*, *ḥasertu* and *dupašši* (RS 20.19: 9–10 = Ugaritica 5: 136, n. 1; van Soldt 1990: 344).

34. Translated in the Septuagint as *hyacinthos* and *porphyra*, respectively. For the color of biblical *tekhelet*, see Ziderman (1987; 2004).

35. Cf. Faist (2001: 71, n. 86, with refs.) for the reading of SÍG ZA.GÌN SA₅ (in Middle Assyrian texts) as either *argamannu* or *ḥašmānu*.

36. But cf. CDA, 111, which abstains from defining the color of *ḥa/ušmānu*. Landsberger (1967: 156–57) distinguished between a Mesopotamian and an Ugaritic meaning of *ḥa/ušmānu*, which is hardly a satisfactory solution.

37. KUB 4.90 i 9', 16': *ḥašmani ša* A.AB.BA. Note also the appearance of “slave girls [who manufacture(?) *ḥašmanu* garments]” in an Akkadian Gilgameš fragment from Boghazköy (KUB 4.12 rev. 7; CAD H, 142).

38. Blum (1998: 31, with refs). It also recalls the Greek designation *alourges/alourgos*, “made of the sea,” referring to purple-dyed fabrics (1998: 25–27).

39. Stieglitz (1979: 19), Ribichini and Xella (1985: 16), van Soldt (1990: 345).

40. Jensen (1963: 115). By the sixth century B.C.E., purple dye was worth its weight in silver in Greece (*Athenaeus* 12.526). In Caesar’s time Tyrian purple wool cost above one thousand denarii, and by the time of Diocletian it was literally worth its weight in gold (Stieglitz 1994: 46). Even though some of the prices indicated in classical

of Ugarit and other Levantine cities. Naturally, the great demand for the genuine substance generated cheaper imitations of inferior quality produced from plant and mineral sources (Blum 1998: 31 with notes 51–52).

The Ugaritic information on the textile production is quite limited.⁴¹ The palace personnel (*bnš mlk*) included “shearers” (*gzzm*), “spinners” (*ğzlm*), “weavers” (*mḥšm*; cf. Akk. *mūḥišu* and *ušparu*) and “fullers” or “dyers” (*kbsm/kbšm*). The last term may be the Ugaritic designation for the craftsmen involved in the purple-dye industry. A text published by Thureau-Dangin (1934) lists twenty-nine persons along with⁴² various quantities (from one to four hundred shekels) of purple-dyed wool (ŠIG.ZA.ĞIN), altogether two talents and six hundred shekels of wool (ca. 66 kilos). No further details are provided about these men, but we may perhaps see in them subcontractors allotted with small quantities of dyed wool for the production of fabrics and garments, either for themselves or for export. This could show that as in many other places around the world, dyeing was applied to the yarn before being woven (“dyed-in-the-wool”). Rather surprisingly, female workers are not mentioned in the Ugaritic texts, unlike other places where they constitute the main labor force in the textile industry.⁴³ Unless Ugarit was exceptional in this regard (which is hard to believe), one may assume that at least some of the men mentioned in the texts in relation with the production of fabrics were in fact the heads of households or guilds who managed the transactions, while the actual manufacture was performed by women.

Evidence for the consumption of purple-dyed fabrics at Ugarit is quite limited. There is no direct evidence on the apparel worn by the king and his family, but there are several references to the presentation of purple to deities (Ribichini and Xella 1985: 17). The most interesting is a letter of Takuḥli(nu), governor of Ugarit, in which he implores his king to send him a large quantity of blue purple wool for a thanksgiving offering to the deity who saved his life.⁴⁴ He concludes his letter by exclaiming (rev. 43–46): “If my master does not send me

sources may be exaggerated (Blum 1998: 24 with n. 18), there is no doubt that purple-dyed garments were among the most expensive luxury items of antiquity.

41. Ribichini and Xella 1985: 18; Heltzer 1982: 80–102, esp. n. 64 on pp. 97–98; 1999: 452. There may be some references to sea molluscs in literary texts, but the evidence is quite obscure and inconclusive (de Moor 1968; van Soldt 1990: 346).

42. The laconic formula has only *eli* (UGU), “on, on to, on behalf of,” which is rendered by Thureau-Dangin as “due” (“dus”). He further suggests (p. 140) that these persons were artisans who were given the wool in order to dye it.

43. For the Aegean region, see Barber 1991; 1994; 1997. For Late Bronze Age Cyprus, see Smith 2002. For Mesopotamia, see Van De Mieroop 1989; Donbaz 1998: 183. For Latin America, see Brumfiel 1991; Uchitel 2002.

44. RS 17.383: 32–47 = PRU 4: 223. For Takuḥlinu, the author of a letter sent to Aphek in Canaan, see Owen 1981; Singer 1983b, 6–18; 1999: 655. He sends to the Egyptian governor of Canaan a present consisting of 100 (shekels of) blue wool (ŠIG.ZA.ĞIN) and ten (shekels of) red wool (ŠIG.SA₅ *tabari*). The word *tabari* (preceded by a double Glossenkeil) is a gloss providing additional clarification for the color of the wool. For *tabarru* (ŠIG.ḪÉ.ME.DA), see AHw, 1298.

blue purple wool, who else would give me blue purple wool?" Is this simply a figure of speech, or may it be conceived as an indication for a royal monopoly on the purple-dye industry? Ugarit must have exported large quantities of purple-dyed fabrics abroad, besides the annual tribute given to her Hittite overlords (see below), but the evidence for this is surprisingly meager.⁴⁵

Perhaps the scarcity of evidence for purple exports from the Levant to Mesopotamia in the late-second millennium B.C.E. may partly be explained by the discovery of alternative supplies in the Persian/Arabian Gulf.⁴⁶ A French mission exploring the archaeology of Qatar discovered in the early 1980s clear evidence for a purple-dye industry on a small island in the Bay of Khor (Edens 1986; 1987; 1994; 1999). The site consists of small structures and a shell midden dominated by a single species of marine gastropod (*Thais savignyi*). The break-age pattern of the shells proves that the site was specialized in the production of purple-dye with techniques similar to those developed in the Mediterranean. The pottery assemblage dates the site to the thirteenth–twelfth centuries B.C.E., contemporary to the late-Kassite materials of southern Mesopotamia and the islands of Failaka and Bahrain (Edens 1999: 80). Edens assumes that the purple technology, oriented towards provisioning elite consumption, was transferred from the Mediterranean to Kassite Babylonia and it was controlled by government officials. The logistic effort was worthwhile considering the high price of purple and especially its symbolic association with political power among the elite (Edens 1987; 1994).

PURPLE-DYE PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION THROUGH THE AGES

In view of the detailed descriptions, including recipes, of the production of some materials in cuneiform literature,⁴⁷ it is somewhat disappointing that not a single hint can be found in the ancient Near Eastern sources about the actual processing methods of the purple dye. For this we have to consult the Classical sources and the archaeological evidence. There is a vast literature on "purpurology," including scientific studies on the chemical processes involved.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, it might be worthwhile to provide the readers with a brief abstract

45. For Ugarit's foreign trade, with occasional references to purple-dyed wool or fabrics, see Singer (1999: 653–78).

46. One may also mention in this connection the relatively small quantities of purple-dyed wool and fabric imported from the west in the Neo-Babylonian period (Oppenheim 1967: 246). Perhaps in this period, too, purple was produced for the Babylonian market in the Gulf, at some yet undiscovered site.

47. E.g., colored glass, for which see Oppenheim 1970.

48. For recent studies on the purple-dye industry in general (with refs. to the primary sources), see Jensen 1963; Forbes 1964: 114–22; Bruin 1966; Doumet 1980; Steigerwald 1986; Spanier 1987; Ziderman 1990, 2004; Edmonds (2000). For a literary portrait of the history of purple (violet), see Finlay 2004: ch. 10.

on the technical background and on the later history of purple, including some bibliographical references.

According to legend, the discovery of purple dye is closely tied to the Phoenician coast. A late Greek tale recounts how the dog of Melqart-Herakles (or according to another version, the dog of Helen of Troy) started to chew on a murex shell and his mouth turned purple red.⁴⁹ The Tyrian hero disclosed his discovery to King Phoenix (brother of Kadmos and Europa) who decreed that the rulers of Phoenicia should wear this color as a royal symbol.

The first concrete descriptions on the methods of production of "Tyrian purple," later known as "Royal purple," are found in Aristotle (*Historia Animalium* 5.15.22–25), Pliny the Elder (*Historia Naturalis* 9.62.133) and Vitruvius (*De architectura* 7.13.1–3).⁵⁰ The purpura marine snails (or mollusks) live in shallow waters of warm seas around the world. Two main varieties are found along the Mediterranean coasts: *Murex trunculus*, which produces the red or violet purple, and *Murex brandaris*, which produces the blue purple.

The raw material of the purple-dye industry was produced from the secretion of a small bladder, the hypobranchial gland of the molluscs. The secreted fluid is yellowish, but in contact with air and light it undergoes a photochemical reaction and gradually turns into purple in various hues, from purple red or scarlet (*purpura*) to deep blue violet (*pelagia*).⁵¹ The snails were collected by hand from the shallow seafloor or by lowering baited wicker baskets into the depths. Then, they were collected into metal or pottery tanks. The larger snails were broken open to extract the dye-producing gland, whereas the smaller ones were simply crushed. Salt was added and the mass was exposed to the sun for three days. Then it was slowly boiled for another week or so in a vat (which explains the association with the Semitic root *šrp*). Eventually, the costly liquid was extracted and the wool yarn was dyed in it ("dyed-in-the-wool") before being woven. This resulted in an incomparably color-fast fabric, produced in a wide range of shades, from pale pink to dark violet and black purple. According to the traditional view, the end product was only transported in the form of dyed fabric, but one cannot entirely exclude the possibility that dye dissolved in an alkaline solution allowed transportation in the form of an soluble pigment to be redissolved at the point of destination (Lowe 2004: 47).

The shining iridescent quality of ancient purple explains the confusion in translating the terms used by the ancients to designate the different shades of scarlet, purple, and crimson. Some were puzzled, for example, by Homer's strik-

49. Pollux, *Onomasticon* 1.45–49; Palaephatus, *De incredibilibus*, 62.

50. For the classical sources on purple see, recently, Steigerwald 1986; Blum 1998; Longo 1998.

51. On the chemistry of the purple-dye industry, see McGovern and Michel 1984: 1985; Michel and McGovern 1987; Spanier and Karmon 1987; McGovern 1990b; Ballio 1998.

ing array of figures employing the term “purple”—“purple sea,” “purple blood,” “purple rainbow” and even “purple death.”⁵² Obviously, color terminology varies within the same language, not to mention through translation. We should better give up our modern notion of a “purple” hue and work instead with the ancient concept of a “purple” dyestuff and the technology for its production.⁵³

Usually, the only archaeological evidence for a purple-dye industry is the broken or crushed shells discarded in large quantities, sometimes in separate heaps for each kind of shell. A huge amount of snails was needed to dye a single piece of fabric.⁵⁴ Enormous mounds of discarded murex shells were located in the vicinity of Phoenician cities, disclosing the location of their industrial quarters (Reese 1987: 206 with notes 49–50).

One must consider carefully this evidence, since snails were also eaten and the empty shells were used for lime production, pottery temper and construction fill.⁵⁵ Beautiful shells were also used for decoration, especially in landlocked places, where they were considered a rarity.⁵⁶ A meticulous examination of the shells in their archaeological context is therefore essential, and such information is often missing from excavation reports. A good clue to determine whether the shells belong to a purple-dye industry or are merely kitchen refuse is their location within the site. Since the industry was notorious for producing repulsive smells,⁵⁷ the installations were usually located at some distance from the habitation, taking into account the prevailing wind directions. In any case, contrary to other perishable goods, which seldom leave any archaeological trace,⁵⁸ a purple-dye industry may at least be suspected in murex-rich coastal areas, and a

52. Blum 1998: 28–29. One of Homer’s figurative phrases about purple was already explained by Pliny (*Historia Naturalis* 9.124–141): “Its highest glory consists in the color of congealed blood, blackish at first glance when held up to the light; this is the origin of Homer’s phrase, ‘blood of purple hue’.” On the image of “purple blood,” cf. Longo 1998.

53. Blum 1998: 31; Ziderman 2004: 40–41.

54. For the various figures suggested, see Burke 1999: 81, with n. 42.

55. Reese 1979–1980. Purple snails are still considered as a culinary delicacy in some parts of the Adriatic. Since the shell is cooked whole and the snail is removed without breaking it, a deposit of broken or crushed shells usually indicates a dyeing site (Ziderman 1990: 100).

56. Various Mediterranean shells were found at Mesopotamian sites, and these were probably used as personal ornaments or for ritual purposes (Oppenheim 1963; Aynard 1966; Moorey 1994: 131, 137–38).

57. Tyre became notorious for its smell, as noted by Strabo (*Geog.* 16.2.23, *cap.* 575): “Tyre purple has proved itself by far the most beautiful of all.... But the great number of dye-works makes the city unpleasant to live in. Yet, it makes the city rich through the superior skill of its inhabitants.”

58. For trade in perishable goods see, recently, Palmer (2003). The accumulation of remarkably rich data on organic goods from the Uluburun shipwreck are of course a rare exception to the rule. Incidentally, in early descriptions of this unique discovery it was erroneously reported that the ship carried murex shells or even murex dye. The confusion resulted from the discovery of murex opercula trapped between copper ingots on the Uluburun ship (Pulak 2001: 32–33). This horn or shell-like plate, which is attached to the foot of the gastropod, was probably used for the production of medicines or incense, but has no connection to the purple-dye industry.

careful examination of discarded shells, rarely performed in the past, may prove its actual existence and extent.

The purple-dye industry of Ugarit was situated at the port of Minet el Beida, where Schaeffer found huge heaps of punctured and crushed murex shells and also pottery vessels stained with purple (1951: 188–89 with fig. 1). Other Late Bronze Age evidence, and much better recorded, comes from Sarepta, biblical Šarfāt, an important Phoenician city situated between Tyre and Sidon, whose very name is probably derived from its purple-dye industry.⁵⁹ Further south, purple-dyeing installations were excavated at Akko, Tel Keisan, Shikmona, Dor, and Tel Mor near Ashdod.⁶⁰ Some of these sites also produced pottery vessels with traces of purple color inside them (Karmon and Spanier 1987: 149, fig. 2; 150, fig. 4; 155: fig. 9). Scattered evidence for purple-dyeing was also found in Cyprus.⁶¹

The Phoenicians spread their skill throughout the Mediterranean, and, in fact, the search for new sources of murex may well have been one of the motives for their expansion.⁶² With the Assyrian conquest of the Levant, purple tribute streamed in large quantities to the east and soon became one of the notorious symbols of imperial power.⁶³ Babylonians, Medes, Lydians, Phrygians and

59. For the history of the city, see Pritchard 1972; for its purple-dye industry, see Pritchard 1978: 126–27; Reese 1987: 206.

60. In Pharaonic Egypt, dyed textiles were quite rare, probably because linen, the most common Egyptian textile, is difficult to dye (Germer 1992: 95–96; Nicholson and Shaw 2000: 278). Some of the dyed fabrics and garments discovered in Egypt were probably imported from the Aegean and the Levant (Barber 1991: 224: 351; Burke 1999: 78–79). On the Hellenistic dyeing traditions in Egypt, see Brunello 1973, *passim*.

61. In Late Bronze Age Hala Sultan Tekke (Reese 1987: 205) and in Iron Age Polis-Peristeries (Smith 1997: 90–91; Reese 2000: 645).

62. Ziderman 1990: 98; Faure 1991: 312. For the Phoenician and Punic purple-dye industry, see Acquaro 1998, with refs. For purple-dye production in the western Mediterranean and the Atlantic, see Lowe 2004, with refs. For the naval trade of Tyre as reflected in Ezek 27, see Liverani 1991; Diakonoff 1992; the reference to “the islands of Elisha” as the origin of *tekhelet w’rgmn* garments (Ezek 27:7) is generally related to Alašia/Cyprus, but cf. Diakonoff 1992: 176, who pleads for the identification of Elisha with Carthage and its dependencies in Sicily and Sardinia.

63. For purple-dyed fabrics and trimmings entering Assyria from the west, both as booty and as tribute, see Oppenheim 1967: 246–48; Edens 1987: 286–88; Elat 1991; Moorey 1994: 138. It should be noted, however, that *takiltu* and *argamannu* were captured by the Assyrians in large quantities not only in western lands, but also in Babylonia, Urartu, and elsewhere. This should probably represent accumulation of these luxury items by import or capture rather than a local production of purple-dyed fabrics.

Jews⁶⁴ also indulged in the splendor of purple, but it reached its unrivalled apex under the Achaemenid emperors.⁶⁵

In Greece there was first a fierce resistance to anything Persian or oriental and purple was boycotted for a long time.⁶⁶ According to legend, Alexander the Great refused to wear purple when he conquered and destroyed Tyre, and Darius of Persia exclaimed his astonishment over the Macedonian who only dressed in white. But eventually the Greeks adopted the Persian imperial insignia, which brought a new worldwide expansion of the prestigious color.

The Romans were among the last to adopt purple for status display, but it was in their times that it enjoyed its greatest vogue in antiquity.⁶⁷ First to wear a *toga picta* was Julius Caesar, and consequently, a strong Republican hostility developed to the excessive or even immoral elite display of purple (designated by Seneca as *color improbus*). But, despite repeated attempts to regulate the wearing of purple and restrict it to official and ecclesiastical uses, as the Empire aged, more and more influential groups were permitted to wear stripes or even entire garments of "Royal purple."⁶⁸

Only under Diocletian, the highest quality Tyrian purple became reserved as a privilege of emperors, with the epithet *Porphyrogenitus* appended to their name. Its extraction and preparation became a royal monopoly and the manufacturing methods were closely guarded. Unauthorized possession of "Imperial purple" became a capital offense.⁶⁹ With Constantine, purple was institutionalized by the Christian church and purple became an essential symbol in the sacerdotal vestments of both Oriental church patriarchs and Latin cardinals.

With the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453 C.E., the purple-dyeing craft ceased to be practiced in the Mediterranean basin. Here and there purple-dyeing was continued on a small scale at various places in the world, as distant as Britain and Mexico (Jensen 1963: 117; Spanier 1987: 171), but the three-millennia long predominance of "the most long-lived status symbol of antiquity" (Reinhold 1970: 6) was gone forever.

64. The origin and dating of the biblical sources relating to the use *tekhelet* and *argaman* in the decoration of the tabernacle (Exod 26:1, 31, 36; 27:16; 36:8), in the ceremonial apparel of the high priest (Exod 28: 5–8; 39: 1–5), and in the *tallit* garment (Num 15:38–40), which later became the Jewish prayer shawl, cannot be discussed here (see Danker 1992). The later prophets castigated the use of purple as a foreign symbol of tyranny and sin (Jer 10:9; Ezek 23:6; 27:24), as did the early Christians. On Hebrew and Jewish "purpurology" throughout the ages, see Herzog 1987; reviewed by McGovern 1990a.

65. For a post-Assyrian tribute list specifying large amounts of *takiltu* and *argamannu*, see Wiseman 1967. Cf. also Weisberg 1982 for Neo-Babylonian disbursements of colored wool from the temple. For Achaemenid imports of purple-dyed wool from the West, see Elat 1991: 34–35.

66. On purple in Greece, see Blum 1998.

67. For Roman purple, see Bessone 1998.

68. The earliest use of the term is attributed to Cicero (for refs. see Reinhold 1970: 8, n. 2). In the fourth century C.E., the term "Imperial purple" was introduced.

69. For Late Roman and Byzantine purple, see Bridgeman 1987; Carile 1998.

Before we continue to the Aegean challenge to the Levantine origin of the purple-dye industry, it is well to note that the chromatic qualities of some marine snails were independently discovered in various parts of the world. For example, on the Pacific coast of Mexico, since ancient times, people used to rub the *Plicopurpura pansa* snails on wet cotton mops and then return them to the sea.⁷⁰ This way multiple “milking” of the snails could be obtained every couple of weeks. There has even been a recent revival of the method in Mexico to support a Japanese market for expensive kimonos, and the dye is also used to trim some Mexican basketware.

PURPLE IN THE AEGEAN

The ancient belief in the Levantine origins of purple-dyeing has been adopted, almost unanimously, in modern scholarship as well.⁷¹ Still, some nineteenth-century scholars had the right instinct to doubt this truism and to suggest the existence of a more universal practice of purple-dyeing. George Tyron (quoted in Herzog 1987: 39) wrote in his *Manual of Conchology* in 1880: “It is probable that all ancient peoples inhabiting sea-shores have become accidentally acquainted with this property common to so many molluscs at a very early date.” So, in dealing with the origins of purple-dyeing, the question is less about who invented it, but rather who developed it into a large-scale industry with extensive exports abroad. The Levantine origin of the industry has seriously been challenged in recent years by discoveries in the Aegean, notably on Crete and adjacent islands.⁷²

Already at the beginning of the last century, large quantities of murex shells were found at a Middle Minoan site on the small island of Kouphonisi (ancient Leuke), southeast of Crete, and at Palaikastro in eastern Crete. In 1904, Bosanquet explicitly stated that “it is clear that the Minoan Cretans had anticipated the Phoenicians in the manufacture of purple-dye” and that “sponges as well as purple-juice were among the wares shipped from Crete to her markets in the East” (Bosanquet 1904: 321).

70. Michel-Morfin and Chavez 2000; Michel-Morfin, Chavez, and Landa 2000. According to various accounts, the children at Tyre and Sidon were still using the same method in recent times (see, e.g., Schaeffer 1951: 189, n. 1).

71. Herzog 1987: 39–42; Blum 1998: 42 with further refs. The thorny problem of the origin of the Greek name of Phoenicia (*Phoinikē*) cannot be discussed here (see Speiser 1936: 123; Astour 1965: 348). In any case, the meaning of Greek *phoinix* is “red” (Blum 1998: 32–35), not purple, and is therefore unrelated to our topic. The same applies to the term, *kinahhu*, of Hurrian origin, from which the name of Canaan (*Kinahhi*) is probably derived.

72. Reese 1987; Karali-Yannacopoulou 1989; Faure 1991; Stieglitz 1994.

More conclusive evidence turned up recently in Crete, notably at Kommos,⁷³ and elsewhere in the Aegean, including the islands of Kythera (also known as Porphyroussa), Keos and Thera.⁷⁴ At Akrotiri, besides large quantities of shells,⁷⁵ a small ball of pigment was recently found and laboratory tests prove that it was produced from murex shells (Aloupi et al. 1990). Purple was also used in the magnificent wall paintings, as recently shown by Raman spectroscopy on samples taken from Xeste 3, a public building with evident religious character (Sotiropoulou et al. 2003).

In short, until other evidence turns up, we must get used to the idea that large-scale purple-dyeing started on Crete in the first half of the second millennium B.C.E., and thence it spread to other areas under strong Minoan influence in the Aegean, and also to the Levant, to major port towns such as Ugarit and Byblos.⁷⁶ To the growing list of Cretan export items, including itinerant artists, we should now add purple-dyed textiles, typical luxury objects of high value and very low bulk.⁷⁷ These dyed textiles may have been traded in exchange for Anatolian and Near Eastern metals.⁷⁸

The archaeological evidence may be supplemented with some valuable, though scarce, philological data from the Linear B tablets. Already Ventris and Chadwick (1959: 321, 405) called attention to the adjective *porphyrea* (*po-pu-re-ja*) in the Knossos tablets, corresponding to Homer's *porphyreos*, "purple."⁷⁹ The evidence has recently been reexamined by Palaima (1991: 289–91; 1997: 407–12). There are only four Mycenaean occurrences related to *porphyra* and all come from Knossos. One of them modifies a type of cloth (*pu-ka-ta-ri-ja*). Another intriguing occurrence is unfortunately incomplete (KN X 976 + 8263). It has the adjectival forms *po-pu-re-jo* and *wa-na-ka-te-ro* "of the wanax," that

73. For the Middle Minoan evidence from Kommos on the southern coast, see Ruscillo 1998: 392; Burke 1999: 81. Maria C. Shaw reported on the Aegeanet ("murex," May 13, 1999) that she had "excavated part of what seems to be an installation for extracting purple in a MM IIB context at Kommos.... In the area involved [she] found crushed murex and some channels carved in the ground filled with murex shells."

74. For the Bronze Age evidence, see Reese 1987; for the Iron Age and later evidence, see Reese 2000.

75. Murex shells are particularly abundant at Akrotiri, but the excavators justly warn of the temptation to identify a purple-dye production wherever one finds a larger concentration of shells, pointing out that shellfish are still an important part of the local diet (Karali-Yannacopoulou 1990: 413–14). Industrial installations have not been found as yet, but then, because of the noxious odor, these would have been situated far from the inhabited area of Akrotiri and may still turn up in the future.

76. This would then be an opposite perspective to the one suggested by Morris (1992: 162), namely, that the rich murex deposits might have been one of the things that attracted Levantines to eastern Crete, where they founded cities named "Phoinix."

77. Palmer 2003: 134. For the Aegean textile industry see, e.g., Killen 1964; Wiener 1987: and the papers on Aegean craftsmanship assembled in Laffineur and Betancourt 1997.

78. As recently suggested by Burke (1999: 82). For the metal trade and the Minoan/Mycenaean presence in the southeastern Aegean, see references cited in Niemeier 1999b, 148–49.

79. For the Greek evidence on *porphyra*, see Blum 1998: 28.

is, “royal,” in proximity to each other. However, it is uncertain whether the two refer to a cloth. *po-pu-re-jo* could also refer in this context to “purple-dye workers” or to “a purple-dye workshop” (Palaima 1991: 291; 1997: 407). In any case, the attribute *wanakteros*, “royal,” suggests that the purple-dyeing considerably enhanced the value of the fabrics, and it curiously recalls the millennium-later Roman designation “royal purple.”

In his 1997 article dealing with the “royal” products, possessions and personnel in the Linear B tablets, Palaima draws an interesting parallel to the Hittite *GIŠTUKUL*-men, specialist craftsmen who performed services for royal and religious institutions in Hatti, and were rewarded with land grants (Beal 1988: 410). The Mycenaean “royal” specialists included the “potter” and certain cloth-working specialists, namely, the “fuller,” the “cloth finisher,” and the “purple-dye worker” (Palaima 1997: 412).

As for the etymology of *porphyra* (Latin *purpura*), various proposals have been put forward, but neither the Greek (Faure 1991: 311; cf. Blum 1998: 28), nor the Semitic (Astour 1965: 349–59) ones are sufficiently convincing. Therefore, an argument could be made for a Minoan (Linear A) source, especially since another dyeing substance, *pa-ra-ku* (“blue, bluish green”), seems to be of Minoan origin (Palaima 1991: 289).

From the eastern Aegean, the evidence is less adequate, but still meaningful. The most abundant evidence comes from Troy. Already Schliemann (1881: 318) reported that he found “a whole layer formed exclusively of cut or crushed murex-shells.” In his chapter on the “Zoology of the Troad” (1881: 115) he explicitly states that the “*Murex trunculus* and *Purpura haemastoma* [found at Troy] have probably served for the manufacture of purple.” To this archaeological evidence he appended the information from Aristotle (*Historia Animalium* 5.15.547) on the purple-dyeing industry that flourished near Sigeion on the coast of the Troad.

The American excavations produced more accurate information pertaining to periods VI f and VI g (Reese 1987: 205). According to Blegen (1937: 582),

several of the layers so clearly differentiated were composed almost wholly of crushed murex shells by the thousands, and these strata can be traced continuously some twenty or thirty meters northward into square J 6. There can be little doubt that the passage between the Sixth City wall and the large houses VI E, VI F, and VI G was treated as a repository for rubbish from a purple-factory. Indeed, the establishment may have occupied this open space itself, and it is possible that the diminutive ‘wells’ had some function in connection with the purple industry. Numerous stone grinders and pounders and fragments of worn millstones recovered here were doubtless used to crush the shells.

Fresh evidence for the purple-dyeing industry of Troy was found in the latest excavations, notably at the edge of the lower-city area (Korfmann 1997: 59; 1998: 9; 2001: 503). Some ten kilograms of crushed murex have been recovered in proximity to an installation that may have served for the boiling of the shells (1996: 59). They belong to the middle phase of Troy VI ("Troia VI-Mitte") dated to the Late Bronze Age.

Except for Troy, archaeological evidence for a purple-dyeing industry in western Anatolia is ephemeral.⁸⁰ Perhaps Miletos with its numerous Minoan-type discoid loomweights (Niemeier 1999a, 548) will fill the gap one day.⁸¹

The situation on the offshore islands is unfortunately even less clear. There is abundant evidence in classical sources on purple-dyeing in most of the Aegean islands (for references see Reese 2000: 645), but very limited archaeological information has turned up so far proving Bronze Age industries. One must take into account, of course, that the northeastern islands have been barely explored, except for their large Early Bronze Age settlements. Recently, however, some new investigations have been launched into second-millennium strata, especially on Lemnos (at Hephaestia, Koukonisi and Poliochni), and these may provide some new information.⁸² So far, large quantities of *Murex brandaris* were found in the Early Bronze Age levels at Poliochni⁸³ and in a Hellenistic industrial zone at Mytilene (Williams and Williams 1987: 11).

In anticipation of more archaeological evidence from early western Anatolia and the offshore islands, it may be of interest to underline the fame of the first-millennium purple-dye industries of Lydia, Phrygia, and the Greek cities of Ionia.⁸⁴ The appropriate juncture to begin with is Homer's *porphyreos* (Blum 1998: 68–71, with refs.). The only persons actually to wear purple robes are Agamemnon in the *Iliad*, and Odysseus and his son in the *Odyssey*. There are also other purple fabrics used on special occasions, such as the rugs in the tent of Achilles and the *peploi* enshrouding the urn of Hektor. It is important to note that Homer's royal women (Helen, Andromache, Arete) do not wear purple

80. A large mound of *murex trunculus* shells and rectangular brick tanks have been discovered near the Early Roman-Byzantine site of Aperlae in Lycia (Reese 2000: 645). Other concentrations of murex shells are known from the Classical sites of Pergamon, Didyma, Aphrodisias and other sites, but most of these were food debris rather than the refuse of dye extraction (for references, see De Cupere 2001: 16–17). Note also Aristotle's witness (*Historia Animalium* 5.15.547) that the sea shores of Sigeion, Lekton and Caria were rich in purple shells.

81. Meanwhile, however, as Wolf-Dietrich Niemeyer informed me (28 May 2004), a lot of purple shells were found in the Minoan and Mycenaean levels at Miletos, but no other evidence as yet for the purple-dye industry.

82. Yasur-Landau and Guzowska 2003; see also the papers of M. Cultraro, and E. Greco and S. Privitera at the 10th International Aegean Conference of the Italian School of Archaeology in Athens, 14–18 April 2004, entitled *Emporia, Aegeans in Central and Eastern Mediterranean*.

83. Information courtesy of Massimo Cultraro, who is working on the Italian finds from Poliochni.

84. Forbes 1964: 119; Reinhold 1970: 22–25; Blum 1998: 45–48. For a large quantity of blue wool from Ionia (4 1/2 MA.NA SÍG ZA.GÌN.KUR.[RA] šá KUR *Iamanu*) figuring in a Neo-Babylonian text, see Weisberg 1982: 220; YOS 17253: 1–2.

clothes, but only weave them. What kind of reality is reflected in Homer is of course a much-discussed question, but it is well to note that purple is associated with royalty and prestige, as in Near Eastern and Mycenaean prototypes (Blum 1998: 75).

The first “historical” Greek man attested to have worn purple attire is the poet Magnes from Smyrna in the seventh century B.C.E., and it is perhaps not coincidental that he professed his art mainly at the court of Gyges king of Lydia (Blum 1998: 143). Perhaps he received his attire in Sardis, whose purple industry was known to have inspired the Greek cities of Ionia. King Kroisos dedicated purple coats and tunics to the Delphian Apollo. Xenophanes reports that the inhabitants of his native town of Colophon learned to wear purple garments from the Lydians, and similar statements were later made by Strabo and by Democritus of Ephesos (Blum 1998: 144). The Ionian fashion came to mainland Greece much later and to a lesser extent. For almost a century (490–420 B.C.E.), the use of the luxury color was interdicted in Greece as a result of nationalistic anti-Persian feelings, but after this interlude purple returned to its full vigor in Athens.

The first “historical” Greek woman associated with purple is—how appropriate—Sappho of Lesbos (Blum 1998: 86, 91) at the turn of the sixth century B.C.E. The context is not without interest for our topic. She presented purple veils to her goddess Aphrodite, and this *doron* is considered by experts to be the first attestation of an *anathema*, a “dedication” to a deity.⁸⁵ The custom of dressing up Greek cult statues with purple garments became quite popular from the fourth century on, but the earliest examples again point towards the east, notably Lydia, as the source of influence. As mentioned above, this practice has deep roots in Near Eastern cult. Takuḫlinu of Ugarit vows to present purple-dyed offerings to Apšukka of Irḫanda (RS 17.383, 37–41) and the same purpose may have been served by the visit of the ŠĀRIPŪTU-men in Ugarit and in Lazpa. But before we return to our point of departure from this detour after the origins of purple, let us first throw a glance on the Hittite evidence, which is regrettably quite limited.

PURPLE IN ḪATTI

The best point of departure is the yearly tribute sent by Ugarit to the Hittite court.⁸⁶ The original list was appended to the Šuppiluliuma-Niqmaddu treaty and it was repeated, with slight emendations, in the Muršili-Niqmepa treaty. Besides the Akkadian versions, there is also an Ugaritic one and, as mentioned before,

85. Note also the embroidered Sidonian garments presented by the Trojan women to Athena (*Il.* 6.86–98, 288–310) and the purple garments dedicated to Artemis Brauronia by women after childbirth (Blum 1998: 87–88).

86. Beckman 1996: 152–54; Singer 1999: 635 with biblio., refs. in n. 96; 698.

the terminological equation between the two languages has long been debated until its present resolution (van Soldt 1990: 341).

Besides a yearly tribute of five hundred shekels of gold, Ugarit was required to send golden cups, linen garments and purple-dyed wool to the Great King, to the queen, to the crown prince and to five other Hittite dignataries. The king received five hundred shekels of blue-purple wool (SÍG.ZA.GÌN [*takiltu*]) = *iqnu*)⁸⁷ and five hundred shekels of red-purple wool (SÍG.ZA.GÌN *ḥašmānu* = *phm*). All the others received only one hundred shekels of each. It should be emphasized that the present consisted of dyed wool and not of ready-made garments. Therefore, it is not known whether the colored wool was used by its recipients for their own wardrobe, or whether it was presented as an offering to their gods, as in the above-mentioned case of Takuḫlinu of Ugarit.⁸⁸

In Hittite texts, dyed fabrics are mentioned in rituals, festivals, descriptions of cult images, and mostly in inventories, which have been studied by Goetze (1955; 1956), Kořak (1982) and Siegelová (1986). These lists usually provide the weight of the catalogued objects, their color, and occasionally some indications about their place of origin. The Hittite color palette is unusually well understood, and, as pointed out by Landsberger (1967: 159), the Hittite names are not dependent on the Syro-Mesopotamian terminology.⁸⁹ Hittite “blue” is *antara-*, but most occurrences refer to ZA.GÌN, which, as already noted, is rather ambiguous. It may refer to “regular” blue, produced from some mineral or plant dye, or to the far more expensive “blue-purple,” which is produced from marine snails (*Schneckenpurpur*).⁹⁰ Except for rare cases in which this distinction may be fathomed from the context (see below), the texts leave us in the dark (or rather in the generic “blue”). Surprisingly, *takiltu* is not attested in the Boghazköy tablets, whereas *argamma(n)* means “tribute” (but see below). Only the third Akkadian designation for purple, *ḥašmānu*, is well attested. Its Hittite reading is unknown, unless the term was borrowed from Akkadian.⁹¹ As mentioned above, the color

87. One version provides the full designation SÍG.ZA.GÌN *takiltu*, whereas another has only SÍG.ZA.GÌN (van Soldt 1990: 335).

88. In the preserved descriptions of the ceremonial dress worn by the Hittite king on festive occasions, I could not find any reference to purple-dyed garments. See Goetze 1947; 1955: 50ff.; Singer 1983c, 58. For colored garments mentioned in other contexts, see Siegelová 1986: 77–79.

89. On Hittite colors see also Kořak 1982: 201; Siegelová 1986: 313; Haas 2003: 638–49.

90. A similar situation exists in the Greek usage of *porphyreos*, which denotes not only “sea purple” (Homer’s *halipórrhynos*), but also various imitations thereof (Blum 1998: 31–32).

91. It is quite often spelled *ḥaš-man*, and this can hardly be an omission of the final *-nu*. I wonder whether this (Hittitized?) spelling came about following the model of the *-n* stem *argamman*.

of *ḥašmānu* has been intensely debated, but “red purple” is preferable, in my opinion,⁹² than the obscure “blue-green” (*CAD*) or “bläulich” (*AHw*).⁹³

The items made of *ḥašmānu* include “tunics” (*TÜGE.ÍB*), “long gowns” (*TÜGBAR.DUL₅*), “waist bands” (*TÜGmašši₁šaš*), “luxurious garments” (*TÜGmazaganniš*), “diadems” (*TÜGlupani*), “Hurrian shirts” (*TÜG.GÚ.È.A Hurri*), and an “Ikkuwaniya garment” (*TÜG Ikkuwaniya*). In short, many accessories in the Hittite wardrobe were red-purple or at least were trimmed with purple hems. Perhaps some of the *SÍG.ZA.GÌN* items were blue-purple, but, as mentioned before, there is no way to tell which was tinted by marine dye and which by some cheaper substitute made of minerals or plants. There is one context, though, in which the former option is clearly preferable.

The price list in the Hittite Laws dedicates a separate paragraph to cloth and garments (§182; Hoffner 1997: 145–46). The prices range from thirty shekels of silver for a “fine garment” (*TÜG.SIG*) to one shekel for a “sackcloth” (*TÜG.BÁR*).⁹⁴ The second-most-expensive garment, with the price tag of twenty silver shekels, is *TÜG.SÍG ZA.GÌN*. I doubt that a simple “blue wool garment” (Hoffner 1997: 146) would justify this price, and therefore I prefer Goetze’s (1955: 51) “blue purple-dyed garment.” A comparison with prices at Ugarit and other Near Eastern lands (see Heltzer 1978: 38–50, 90–91) supports this conclusion: clothing items cost no more than a few shekels, unless they were made of expensive purple-dyed fabrics. Also, the fact that there are no other color designations in this price list may indicate that the author was referring to the quality of the material rather than its color.

Regarding the origin of purple, there is one explicit source besides the tribute lists from Ugarit. The Middle Hittite *taknaz dā-* (“take from the earth”) ritual of Tunnawiya provides the following significant passage on the source of different kinds of wool.⁹⁵ Unfortunately, a crucial piece is missing: “They brought white wool (*SÍG BABBAR*) from Hurma; they brought [red wool (?) from ...]; they brought blu[e-(purple) wool] (*[SÍG ZA.]GÌN*) from Ura.” Without delving into complicated issues of magical color symbolism,⁹⁶ the important information for our purposes is the origin of blue-purple in Ura, the well-known port on the Mediterranean coast (probably at Silifke). Does this mean that there was an inde-

92. Following Goetze 1956: 34–35 and Košak 1982: 201.

93. Followed by Siegelová (1986: 78–79) and others. Note, e.g., the first entry in the inventory *IBoT* 1.31 (Goetze 1956; Košak 1982: 4–10), which juxtaposes “blue wool” (*SÍG ZA.GÌN*), “red wool” (*SÍG SA₅*) and *SÍG ḥašmanu*. This implies that *ḥašmanu* was clearly distinguished from both blue and red.

94. I wonder what *TÜGḥappušandaš*, which opens the list, might be. It is a participle in gen. sg. of *ḥappuš-*, “reclaim, resume, make up for,” but a “reclaimed, previously used” garment (*HED* 3, 134) would hardly justify the high price of twelve silver shekels. Could it rather refer to a “double-dyed” garment, similar to the highly praised Tyrian *dibapha* of the classical world?

95. *KUB* 9.34 I 3’–7’ (with dupls.); Hutter 1988: 24; Haas 2003: 650, n. 241.

96. For which see now Haas 2003: 657–58.

pendent dyeing industry on the Mediterranean coast of Anatolia, or is it simply an indication that Ura was the port of entry for purple-dyed fabrics produced elsewhere, or perhaps both? In any case, the marine location of SÍG ZA.GÌN lends strong support to the rendering “blue purple-dyed wool” (Otten 1967: 59) in this context.

The production and processing mode of the Hittite textile industry can only cursorily be perceived through some of the inventory texts.⁹⁷ Bo 6489 (Siegelová 1986: 324–27) is a poorly preserved late text listing large quantities of wool (SÍG)⁹⁸ presented to various persons, some identified by their place of residence, others apparently managers of central storehouses of the kingdom (É.GAL *tupp[as̄, É Gazz]imara*). The type of color of the wool is not defined, which could mean that these were allotments of unprocessed material collected in regional depots, perhaps in anticipation of further processing, dyeing and fitting. Another fragmentary list, with smaller allotments, has women’s names only, perhaps the weavers who would turn the wool into fabric.⁹⁹

Much has been written about the symbolism of red, blue and purple as the colors of gods and kings throughout the ages.¹⁰⁰ Can we detect anything comparable in the status of these colors in the Hittite world? Before we delve into an intensive search for the putative prerogatives of the Hittite *purpurati*, I should add in passing that I did not investigate the premises on which the alleged exclusivity of purple raiment in other ancient Near Eastern societies rests. Such an enterprise would require an in-depth investigation of the entire cuneiform documentation, which is far beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, I would tentatively remark that even in my cursory browsing through the primary and secondary sources, I found ample evidence to the effect that red, blue, and purple garments¹⁰¹ were owned not only by gods, kings, and conjurers fighting against demons,¹⁰² but also by important officials and dignitaries, not necessarily of

97. Cf. Beckman 1988: 5 with notes 18–23.

98. The largest preserved quantity is 78 MA(NA) in 1. 2ff.

99. *KBo* 18.199(+) *KBo* 2.22; Košak 1982: 157–59; Siegelová 1986: 310–12. The descriptive designations *ašara* and *gaši(š)* could refer to the fair color of unprocessed wool; *HED* 4, 119–20 suggests “bright white” and “off white, grey,” respectively.

100. For Mesopotamia, see, e.g., Cassin 1968: 103–19; Waetzoldt 1972: 50–51; Edens 1987: 258–389.

101. Actually, the use of purple wool is usually not for the entire garment, but only for a hem or trimming (*sūmu*) attached to the bottom of the garment, for which see Dalley (1980: 72–73), Donbaz (1991: 78–79).

102. For the “red wrap of *puluhtu*” worn by the conjurer-priest for his fight against demons, see Oppenheim 1943: 33.

royal descent.¹⁰³ In other words, purple clothing, like gold,¹⁰⁴ was definitely designated for elite consumption, but, as far as I can see, there was nothing in the ancient Near East even remotely resembling the strict imperial monopolies imposed on Tyrian purple in Late Roman and Byzantine times, neither in legislation nor in practice.¹⁰⁵ Although the association between color and social rank is certainly valid for oriental cultures as well, one should refrain from automatically replicating concepts and conducts from the classical world to the ancient Near East. A completely different question is whether the lucrative purple industry and trade was closely supervised by the crown, as was the case with other strategic commodities.

In any case, I could not find any evidence for purple as a prerogative of Hittite kings and their families. The purple tribute from Ugarit, for example, is given not only to the king, the queen and the crown prince, but also to five leading state officials. One can argue, of course, that the entire higher echelons of the Hittite administration consisted of princes of various ranks, but this is hardly the point here. Anyone who could afford to buy these luxury items could do so, and I suppose that not only dignitaries of royal blood, but also wealthy merchants, diplomats and others had the necessary means.¹⁰⁶ This is quite a different situation than the one prevailing in Byzantium, where an unauthorized person could lose his head for wearing Imperial purple.

BACK TO LAZPA

Equipped with the diverse information about purple that we have gathered from various sources, we should now return to the mission of the *ŠĀRIPŪTU*-men in Lazpa. The Ugaritic parallels solved the question of their profession: they were itinerant purple-dyers in the service of the Hittite king and of the king of the Šeḫa River Land. In fact, the parallel between the two cases, both of them

103. For some references to colored garments in “private” contexts, see Edens 1987: 296–99. Cf. also van Soldt 1997: 97–98, for belts of red wool given to messengers in a Middle Babylonian administrative text, and Donbaz 1991: 75–76, for blue-purple hems given to a certain Tukulti-Ninurta (who can hardly be the Assyrian king). Note also Ezekiel’s description of Assyrian dignitaries wearing *tekhelet* garments (Ezek 23:6). Even the Achaemenid rulers, renowned for their extravagant purple apparel (see Xenophon’s description of the royal dress of Cyrus in *Cyropaedia* 8.2.8, 8.3.13), distributed purple robes to their functionaries and to allied monarchs, a tradition also reflected in Esth 8:15.

104. For the parallel restriction of golden garments to the wardrobe of gods and kings, see Oppenheim 1949. Isolated exceptions are admitted though (1949: 191, n. 31).

105. Reinhold (1970: 8) reached the same conclusion: “purple was valued and displayed in many societies as a symbol of economic capability, social status, and social rank (both political and sacerdotal)—but it was never in antiquity, as a color, sequestered and reserved as an exclusive prerogative of noble or royal status.”

106. It might be well to recall in this connection Palmer’s pointed statement, still valid nowadays, that “connoisseurship of imported exotic wines, perfumes and textiles was the mark of the true aristocrat” (Palmer 2003: 134).

in coastline provinces of the Hittite Empire, may go further than apparent at first sight.

Let us reconsider the highly significant plea of the abducted *ṢĀRIPŪTU*-men before Atpa: “We are *arkammanaliuš* and we came over the sea. Let us [perform¹⁰⁷] our *arkamman*!” What exactly are they pleading? Do they simply state their status as tributaries, but then, tributaries to whom? And what kind of tribute were they bringing to Lazpa? Or might their explanation be more specific and accurate?

One has to admit that the clear references to *arkamma(n)* in Hittite texts are indeed to “tribute,”¹⁰⁸ and the few references to *arkammanali-* are probably to “tributaries” (“tributpflichtig”).¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, in view of the parallels from Ugarit, I would tentatively suggest that what we have here is actually a rare reference to the other meaning of the Kulturwort *argamman*, “purple-dyed wool,” and that *arkammanaliuš* could simply be the Hittite reading of LÚ.MEŠ *ṢĀRIPŪTU*. It must have been in such concrete circumstances, the preparation and presentation of purple offerings, that the semantic shift from “purple” to “tribute” (or vice versa) developed. And, considering the strong Luwian connections, perhaps even origins of *arkamman*,¹¹⁰ this incident in western Anatolia could very well span the transition from one meaning to the other.

If so, the plea of the *ṢĀRIPŪTU*-men before their capturers becomes more intelligible. They simply state their profession and mission, the preparation and/or presentation of purple in Lazpa. They further emphasize that, unlike the mysterious Šigauna who had “sinned” (*waštaš*), they were not involved in any way in this affair and should therefore be released. Manapa-Tarḫunta, who is quoting their speech, must have received his information from these very purple-dyers who were eventually released.

This new interpretation of the Lazpa incident remains tentative until corroborated by further evidence. Even so, it makes more sense, in my opinion, than an undesignated expedition of tribute-bringers who carried their tribute to the distant Land of Lazpa. Their identification as purple-dyers opens new vistas in our understanding of the interface between the Hittite and the Mycenaean orbits

107. Houwink ten Cate (1983–84: 39–40) restores the verb [*pid-da-u*]-*e-ni*, “let us render (our tribute),” but in view of the clear parallel with máš.da.a.ri *ana epeši* at Ugarit, I would rather opt for a verb expressing performance, such as [*iyau*]*eni*, or [*eššau*]*eni*.

108. Note, however, the association with “cloth, garment” in a Middle Hittite text, unfortunately in fragmentary context: *KBo* 3.23 rev. 2: *ma-a-an TÚG.ḪIA ar-ga-ma[-*.

109. Hatt. iii 51': *na-at-za ar-kam-ma-na-al-li-uš* [*iyannun*], “and [made] them tributaries”; *KUB* 19.8 iii 24: *na-aš-za ar-kamma-na-li-uš* [... (Riemschneider 1962: 117). Both references (in acc. pl.) are dated to Ḫattušili III. Note also the Luwian denominative *arkammanalla-* “make tribute-bearing” (Melchert *CLL*, 28).

110. *HW* 30; Starke 1990: 260–62; *CLL*, 28. For other etymological assessments, see *HW* 2, 303; *HED* 1, 145–46. For the postulated connection with Greek *argemone*, “agrimony, wild poppy,” see Rabin 1963: 117; *HED* 1, 145.

in the eastern Aegean. In classical antiquity this region was renowned for its purple-dye industry, and unsurprisingly, it turns out that this lucrative trade has much earlier origins. The actual remains of the purple-dye industry of Lesbos and the opposite coast of western Anatolia in the late-second millennium B.C.E. have yet to be discovered, but in view of the clear evidence from Bronze Age Troy, this endeavor should not be impossible.

Regarding the origins of the purple-dyers who came “over the sea” to Lazpa, the ready answer should be somewhere on the western Anatolian coast.¹¹¹ Still, I would mention in passing another, more distant, possibility. The texts from Pylos provided the much-discussed reference to western Anatolian women from Miletos (*Mi-ra-ti-ja*), Knidos (*Ki-ni-di-ja*), Lemnos (*Ra-mi-ni-ja*), etc.¹¹² It is usually assumed that these women-workers were slaves who were either purchased or abducted during razzias to the western Anatolian coasts and were then employed in the Aegean textile industry. Stimulating as this may seem, I do not think that the foreign women in Pylos had anything to do with the purple-dyers in our text. But of course, both episodes may be viewed in the general context of the intense Hittite-Ahhiyawan competition over territories, resources and markets in the Aegean realm.

Indeed, the question must be raised whether Lazpa was just another island among many, or does this incident relate to some special role this island played in the eastern Aegean orbit. Once again the text from Ugarit may serve as a springboard. The purple-dyers who cross over the border from Alalah to Ugarit are expected to perform their duty at Belet-remi, creatively rendered by Nougayrol as “Notre-Dame-de-Grâce.” May we assume that the mission of the “purple-dyers of the gods of his Majesty” in the Manapa-Tarḥunta letter (l. 27) had a similar purpose, the dedication of purple-dyed *anathemata* to some important deity of Lazpa? Fortunately, this assumption is supported not only by Sappho’s purple veils dedicated to Aphrodite half a millennium later, but also by a contemporary Hittite text. In a well-known oracular inquiry, an ailing Hittite king (probably Hattušili III) consults the Deity of Ahhiyawa and the Deity of Lazpa.¹¹³ This unique reference shows that Lazpa, the only eastern Aegean island explicitly mentioned in the Hittite texts, was the abode of some important deity, perhaps an early hypostasis of Aphrodite.¹¹⁴ Incidentally, the same

111. Houwink ten Cate (1983–84: 46) assumes that they came from the Šeḫa River Land.

112. See Chadwick 1988; Parker 1999: 499; and the contribution of S. Nikoloudis in this volume.

113. *KUB* 5.6 + *KUB* 8.54 ii 57–65; Sommer 1937: 282–83, 289–91; Houwink ten Cate 1983–84: 44 with n. 26, 53; Taracha 2001: 420–21.

114. For Aphrodite’s oriental origins, see Burkert 1977: 238. If we take at face value Piyamaradu’s quotation in the letter, namely that a Storm-god gave the *ŠĀRIPŪTU*-men to Atpa (l. 22), the Deity of Lazpa could be a Storm-godlike deity, perhaps Zeus (Freu 1990: 21). However, this could simply be a common expression without any relevance to the actual deity of Lazpa.

text also refers to oracular consultations at the other end of the Hittite Empire, at Aštata on the Middle Euphrates (*KUB* 5.6 I 6–13; Laroche 1980: 240). Here too, the name of the deity involved is not specified, but from other references we know that she must have been the goddess Išhara.¹¹⁵

Whoever the Deity of Lazpa was in the Bronze Age, I wonder whether the visit of the purple-dyers on the island, with the postulated mission of presenting their offerings at the local shrine, was simply an act of piety initiated by the Hittite king and the king of the Šeḫa River Land. Since, from time immemorial, religion and politics go hand in hand, I doubt it. It does not take too much imagination to attribute a political purpose to this visit, a statement of the Hittite claim on the offshore islands, and on Lazpa in particular. This issue is ardently debated in *KUB* 26.91, an important letter in the Hittite-Ahhiyawan correspondence (Taracha 2001). Great, and also lesser, kings were in the habit of marking the limits of their authority by sending official expeditions, sometimes disguised under peaceful religious or cultural intents. If indeed such were the circumstances of the Lazpa incident, the result was a resounding fiasco for the Hittite king and his western vassal. He barely saved face by obtaining a negotiated release of his purple-dyers.

The “Lazpa incident,” which apparently stirred up the entire western Anatolian milieu, provides a rare glimpse into yet another economic facet of the strained Hittite-Ahhiyawan relations. It was perhaps “the tip of a purple iceberg” in an intense competition over a lucrative and prestigious industry of the Aegean.¹¹⁶

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115. E.g., *KUB* 14.4 iv 10–23; Laroche 1966; Singer 2002: 73–75: no. 17.

116. For a possible Hittite embargo on Ahhiyawan trade (which could explain the scarcity of Mycenaean objects in Anatolia), see Cline 1991; cf. also Yakar 1976: 126–27. For a concealed reference to the prestigious purple-dye trade in the Argonaut Myth, see Silver (1991, with updates on the Internet). Silver claims that “the ‘golden fleece’ signifies wool or cloth of woollen garments that are dyed with murex-purple and then exchanged for gold.” He finds support in Simonides (sixth–fifth century B.C.E.), an interpreter of Euripides’s *Medea*, who in his *Hymn to Poseidon* stated that the “golden fleece” was dyed with sea purple. In view of this and similar evidence, he maintains that “it is possible to entertain the hypothesis that the underlying meaning of the Argonaut myth is that the *Argo* arrived in Kolchis with a cargo of purple-dyed cloth and returned to Iolkos with their price in gold.”

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AḪḪIYAWANS BEARING GIFTS

Laocoon's famous warning with regard to the credibility of gift-bearing Greeks would have little sense in the context of Hittite-AḪḪiyawan relations in the second millennium B.C.E. Only a handful of objects in the archaeological record testify for exchanges between Ḫatti and AḪḪiyawa,¹ and the same applies to the textual evidence on present exchanges. Various explanations have been put forward for this surprisingly meagre material representation of nearly three centuries of Hittite-AḪḪiyawan relations.² The purpose of this article is to reexamine the Hittite textual evidence for objects originating from AḪḪiyawa, but first I would like to put the record straight with regard to the small corpus of Hittite seals found in the Aegean basin.

About half a dozen seals found in Greece and the Aegean islands have been identified at one point or another as Hittite, but only three of these can positively be recognized as bearing Hittite/Luwian hieroglyphs.

The most significant piece is undoubtedly the Hittite cylinder seal from the lapis lazuli treasure found at Thebes.³ E. Porada suggested that this exquisite seal probably did not arrive to Greece directly from Ḫatti, but rather as part of a rich consignment of lapis lazuli that was sent from Mesopotamia, perhaps by Tukulti-Ninurta after his capture of Babylon.⁴

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1. For Hittite objects in the Aegean, see E. H. Cline, *AnSt* 41 (1991): 133–43, pls. xxi–xxviii. Some of Cline's evaluations as "possibly Hittite" and "not Hittite" are in need of revision, especially with regard to the glyptic evidence (see below). For an updated list of Aegean imports in central Anatolia (including the first Mycenaean sherd from Boğazköy), see H. Genz, *AA* 2004/1, 77–84. For a new text from Ugarit recording shipments of metals to the (Ah)hiyawa in Lukka, see now I. Singer, *AoF* 33 (2006): 242–62 (with refs.).

2. An economic embargo has been suggested by D. H. French, *IX Türk Tarih Kongresi I* (Ankara, 1986), 118; J. Yakar, *AnSt* 26 (1976): 126–27; E. Cline, *Historia* 40 (1991): 1–9. For other explanations, see T. Bryce in G. Beckman, R. Beal, and G. McMahon, eds. *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 59–72; H. Genz, *AA* 2004/1, 82ff.

3. E. Porada, *AfO* 28 (1981): 46–49 (no. 25); H.G. Güterbock, *AfO* 28 (1981), 71–72; idem, *PAPS* 128 (1984), 115.

4. Porada 1981: 68–70.

The second piece comes from the Late Heladic III C cemetery of Perati on the east coast of Attica. This worn haematite button seal, published by S. Jakovidis in 1964,⁵ has immediately evoked a series of arduous debates, mostly published in the journal *Kadmos*. Jakovidis himself sought to identify on the two faces of this button seal a mixture of Hieroglyphic Luwian, Linear A or B, and Cypro-Minoan signs, and suggested that “the whole ‘inscription’ is a meaningless imitation of an imperfectly understood Hittite text, engraved by an illiterate craftsman, for whom letters were no different from talismanic markings.”⁶ This far-fetched suggestion of some kind of Aegean-Anatolian *Mischprodukt* was followed by H. Erlenmeyer⁷ and by E. Cline.⁸ On the other hand, in a brief note P. Meriggi correctly identified this as a typical Hittite seal with the name *Su-mi-ra/i* inscribed on both faces.⁹ The borderline consists of a typical decoration with alternating symbols for SCRIBE, LIFE, and WELL-BEING. To my mind, the sign for SCRIBE is simply decorative and does not reflect upon the profession of the owner. *Šummiri* and *Šummiyara* are well-documented Hittite names, both masculine and feminine.¹⁰ It may be of interest to mention the find circumstances of this seal. Chamber tomb 24 in Perati was the burial place of a young girl wearing a necklace. It consisted of four beads of glass paste, one of rock crystal, a button-shaped steatite sealstone, and the Hittite haematite seal, which was the centerpiece of the necklace.¹¹ Besides the necklace, a stirrup jar and a small straight-sided pyxis were also found in the grave. Was the name of the girl *Šummiri*, or, more probably, did this exotic heirloom simply serve as a prized decoration or an amulet? In any case, I would not necessarily correlate the dating of this Hittite seal with that of the respective grave in the Perati cemetery.

A third allegedly Hittite seal from the Greek mainland comes from a Late Helladic III A2 chamber tomb from Mycenae.¹² I cannot identify any decidedly Hittite signs on this seal and I doubt its “Hittiteness.” The same applies to the seal from Mirabello/Neapolis on Crete.¹³

On the other hand, the red serpentine button seal found in a tomb from Ialysos in Rhodes does seem to be Hittite, although it is difficult to identify the individual signs and to read the names inscribed on its two faces.¹⁴ The only clear combination is the masculine marker on the right hand face, and possibly the

5. *Kadmos* 3 (1964): 149–55, with refs. to preliminary reports in n. 1.

6. S. Jakovidis, *Excavations of the Necropolis at Perati* (Los Angeles, 1980), 86.

7. *Kadmos* 5 (1966): 117–20.

8. *AnSt* 41 (1991): 139, no. B 11.

9. *Kadmos* 4 (1965): 5–6; followed by J. Boardman, *Kadmos* 5 (1966): 47–50.

10. E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites* (Paris, 1966), 165, no. 1173.

11. Jakovidis, *Kadmos* 3 (1964): 149.

12. Boardman, *Kadmos* 5 (1966): 47 (no. 2), with ref. to the original publication; Cline 1991: 136 (no. A 7).

13. Boardman, *Kadmos* 5 (1966): 48–49.

14. Cline, *AnSt* 41 (1991): 136 (no. A 6), with refs.

feminine marker on the left hand one. Such combined seals, probably of husband and wife, are quite common in Hittite glyptics.

Besides these three seals inscribed with Hittite/Luwian hieroglyphs, there might be a few other unepigraphic seals with arguably Hittite motifs, such as a cylinder seal from Ialysos.¹⁵ All in all, the “Hittite glyptic corpus” in the entire Aegean area can be counted on the fingers of one hand.¹⁶ By “Hittite seals” I refer of course to the output of the entire Hittite Empire, including western Anatolia. With the discovery of a Hittite button seal at Troy,¹⁷ one could claim that the few Hittite seals in the Aegean (except for the cylinder from Thebes) may actually have originated from western Anatolian regions, which maintained close relations with Aḫḫiyawa. Speaking of western Anatolia, the early-second millennium clay seal from Beycesultan must certainly be erased from the corpus of Hittite seals.¹⁸

Now we may proceed to the actual topic of this paper, Aḫḫiyawan objects mentioned in Hittite texts. The first reference to a potential exchange of presents between Aḫḫiyawa and Hatti is found in the famous “Tawagalawa Letter.”¹⁹ The Hittite king (probably Hattušili III) complains that the messenger of [“his brother”] had not brought him the customary [greetings] and presents (*uppeššar*) when he came to meet him. The passage, obv. i 53–55, is somewhat damaged, but Sommer’s restoration is in this case quite plausible:

- (53) GIM-an-ma-mu [U^UTE-MU ŠA ŠEŠ-Y]A(?) an-da ú-e-mi-ya-at
 (54) nu-mu Ú-UL aš-šu-la-an ku-in-ki] ú-da-aš Ú-UL-ia?-mu up-pi-eš-šar
 (55) ku-it-ki [ú-da-aš

But when [my brother’s messenger(?)] came to meet me, he brought me no [greeting whatsoever] and [he brought] me no present whatsoever.

The second passage also gives the impression that the Aḫḫiyawan messengers were not always in the habit of bringing the customary presents to their Hittite correspondents. KBo 2.11 is a letter probably addressed to His Maje[sty] (rev. 6’) by an unknown subject.²⁰ The obverse has only the ends of a few lines with

15. Cline, *AnSt* 41 (1991): 136 (A 8).

16. This is even less than the number of Hittite seals found in Israel, for which see I. Singer in A. M. Maeir and P. de Miroschedji, eds. *Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006).

17. J. D. Hawkins and D. F. Easton, *Studia Troica* 6 (1996): 111–18.

18. H. G. Güterbock in J. Mellaart and A. Murray, *Beycesultan III* (Ankara, 1995), 119.

19. CTH 181 = KUB 14.3 i 53–55; F. Sommer, *Die Aḫḫijavā-Urkunden* (München, 1932), 1ff.; J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (Ankara, 1959), 112.

20. The passage was treated by Sommer 1932, 242ff. and by A. Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter* 2 (Heidelberg, 1989), 392ff.

unconnected vocables.²¹ The reverse is better preserved and seems to deal, among other things, with a journey to Egypt (rev. 19', 21')²² and with presents of silver and gold.²³ The passage referring to Aḫḫiyawa may be restored as follows:

(11') [A-NA ŠUL-M]AN(?) LUGAL Aḫ-ḫi-ya-wa-a-ma-mu ku-it TÁŠ-PUR nu a-pa-a-at ku-it UL I-DI (12') [LÚTE-MI-Š]U²⁴ ma-a-an ú-da-aš ku-it-ki ma-a-an UL nu-kán ka-a-aš-ma BI-IB-RU KÙ.BABBAR (13') [BI-IB-RU GUŠKI]N(?) MAŠ-LU IŠ-TU ŠUL-MAN KUR Mi-iz-ri-i ar-ḫa da-aḫ-ḫu-un (14') [nu-ut-ta ki-e up-p]a-aḫ-ḫu-un nu-ut-ták-kán ku-it ZAG-na nu a-pa-a-at up-pi

[With regard to the pres]ent(?) of the King of Aḫḫiyawa that you have written to me, since I do not know whether h[is messenger(?)] brought something or not, behold, I took away a rhyton of silver [and] a trimmed [rhyton of gold(?) from the present of the Land of Egypt and I sent [these to you]. Send whatever seems right to you!

It is not entirely clear who should send what to whom, but clearly Aḫḫiyawa and Egypt appear here as alternative sources for luxury objects of silver and gold. The author of the letter, a subject of the Hittite king, must have been situated in a place which maintained long-distance trade with both of these lands. Ugarit and Amurru, which had maritime contacts with the Aegean realm, seem to be the obvious choices.²⁴

Whereas the two passages mentioned above only deal with the potential dispatch of Aḫḫiyawan presents, the third is the only Boğazköy passage presently known that actually mentions an object from Aḫḫiyawa. KBo 18.181 is an inventory listing mainly textiles and articles of clothing.²⁵ The partly preserved text is divided in five sections by double divider lines, each one concluded by the name of the owner or the keeper. Only the last one has sufficiently been preserved: "from the hand of Apallu."²⁶

21. ²¹U Pi-ša-[in l. 8' could refer either to ²¹Pišanuhi a deity related to the cult of Kummanni or, more probably, to the deified Mount Pišaiša, which appears together with Mounts Lablana and Šariyana in divine witness lists of Syrian treaties.

22. (-p]i²²-ni-iz-zi-iš in rev. 18' and ²²ša[- could be the names of messengers.

23. The city of *Tu-at-ta-aš-ša* in rev. 20' is hapax (RGTC 6: 413). A connection with *Da-ad-da-aš-ši-iš* in the border description of the Ulmi-Tešub Treaty (KBo 4.10 obv. 30) is doubtful. The only way in which Tattašša could be equated with Tarḫuntašša (so H. Klengel, *Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches* [Leiden, 1999], 247, n. 470) would be by assuming an abbreviated writing (such as Barsa for Barcelona or Joburg for Johannesburg).

24. For Amurru, see KUB 23.1+ iv 23; C. Kühne and H. Otten, *Der Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag* (Wiesbaden, 1971), 16–17. For Ugarit, see now RS 94.2523 and RS 94.2530 in S. Lackenbacher and F. Malbran-Labat, *SMEA* 47 (2005): 227–40; cf. I. Singer, *AoF* 33 (2006, 242–62).

25. Transliterated and translated in S. Košak, *Hittite Inventory Texts* (Heidelberg, 1982), 118–25; J. Siegelová, *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis im Lichte der Wirtschafts- und Inventardokumente* (Prag, 1986), 363–77.

26. Rev. 34 ŠA ŠU ²⁶A-pal-lu-ú. For this expression, which probably means "from the property of PN," see Siegelová 1986: 364 n. 2. An Apallu is also attested in the Vow of Puduḫpa to the goddess Lelwani (i 11–12); H. Otten and V. Souček, *Das Gelübde der Königin Puduḫpa an die Göttin Lelwani* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 20–21.

The last section opens with several items made of linen (rev. 25–28), followed by a silver object and an ivory comb (l. 29). Then comes the significant recurring formula *[A-NA LE-U₅ i-pu-r[a-u]-aš* (l. 30, restored after obv. 15). *lē'um* is a “writing-board of wood infilled with wax,” that is, a “record.”²⁷ But what exactly is *ipurawaš*? It appears to be a verbal noun in genetive of *epurai-*, a rare verb denoting “to dam up,” “to pile up earth,” “to build a siege ramp,” or more generally, “to besiege.”²⁸ Although this meaning of the verb is quite well established, the meaning of the verbal noun **ipurawar* is less obvious. Košak took it to refer to the result of a siege and rendered the expression *A-NA LE-U₅ i-pu-ra-u-aš* as “according to the record of booty.”²⁹ I doubt this interpretation, which would assume that the vessels from Aḥḥiyawa and Egypt were amassed as booty on some military campaign. Perhaps *ipurawaš* could mean something more prosaic, such as commodities “piled together,” in which case *A-NA LE-U₅ i-pu-ra-u-aš* would simply denote “a stockpile inventory.” Let us consider now the objects listed in this section:³⁰

(30) *[A-NA^{Giš}LE]-U₅ i-pu-r[a-u]-aš 5 URUDU^{wa}-ar-pu-uš*

(31) *]AN.BAR 1 URUDUNÍG.ŠU.LUḤ.ḤA AN.BAR*

(32) *Š]À.BA 1 AN.BAR 1 URUDUDUG.ŠÌLA.ŠU.DU₈A AN.BAR*

(33) *]URUDUŠU.ŠÈ.LÁ KUR Aq-qi-ya-u-wa-a 1 URUDUUGU la-ḫu-aš*

(34) *] ŠA ŠU^mA-pal-lu-ú 1 URUDUTU₇ KUR Mi-iz-ri*

(30) [According to the reco]rd of the stockpile inventory(?): 5 (copper) bathtubs, (31) [...] of iron, 1 wash-basin of iron, (32) [...] thereof 1 of iron, 1 cupbearer's vessel of iron,³¹ (33) [...] a copper ŠU.ŠÈ.LÁ (from) Aḥḥiyawa, 1 (copper) ladle/scoop (lit. “of pouring up”), (34) [] from the property (lit.: the hand) of Apallu; 1 (copper) pot (from) Egypt.

27. CAD L, 156–59. For wooden writing-boards, see D. Symington, *AnSt* 41 (1991): 111–23.

28. For refs. and various proposals for an IE etymology, see Puhvel, *HED* E/I: 282–83; cf. also *HW²* E, 89: “Erdmassen bewegen, also *terminus technicus* für den Bau einer Rampe, das Auffüllen eines Festungsgrabens (KUB 18.54) und den Bau eines Damms (KUB 36.89).” The translation “flach machen, planieren” suggested by N. Boysan-Dietrich, *Das hethitische Lehmhaus aus der Sicht der Keilschriftquellen* (Heidelberg, 1987), 76, is unacceptable. For a different etymology, based on a Semitic loanword, see I. Singer, “On Siege Warfare in Hittite Texts,” in M. Cogan and D. Kahn, eds. *Treasures on Camels' Humps. Historical and Literary Studies from the Ancient Near East Presented to Israel Eph'al*, Jerusalem 2008. 250–65.

29. Košak, *Hittite Inventory Texts*, 124; cf. also Siegelová, *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis*, 373, n. 10.

30. Košak, *Hittite Inventory Texts*, 124–25; Siegelová, *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis*, 376–77.

31. Siegelová, *Annals of the Náprstek Museum* 12 (1984): 108, n. 9 (followed by HZL no. 162) suggested that the cupbearer's vessel might be some kind of a “scoop” or “ladle” (“Kelle, eines Schöpföffels,” bzw. “Gieslöffels”). However, the characteristic libation vessel held by the cupbearer in Hittite iconography, which also serves as his hieroglyphic symbol (L. 354, URCEUS; see Hawkins *apud* Herboldt, *Die Prinzen- und Beamtsiegel* [Mainz, 2005], 310, 417), is the beak-spouted jug, and I assume that this might be the meaning of URUDUDUG.ŠÌLA.ŠU.DU₈A.

It is hard to tell whether the designation “(from) Aḥḫiyawa” refers only to URUDUŠU.ŠÈ.LÁ, also to the “pouring up” vessel following it, or perhaps to all the objects in the list (except for the Egyptian pot which seems to have been added as an afterthought). It is of interest to note that a similar list of metal objects was included in the generous present given to Šattiwaza when he found refuge at the court of Šuppiluluma: “two vessels of [silver] and gold, together with their cups of silver and gold, silver utensils of the bath house, a silver wash-basin.”³² It would seem that drinking and washing vessels belonged to the basic equipment of a Near Eastern gentleman, and the inventory of Apallu may represent such a collection of prestigious objects.

The copper object(s) from Aḥḫiyawa were first noted by H. G. Güterbock in 1936. He rendered the first object as URUDUŠU.TÚG.LAL,³³ a reading followed by all commentators,³⁴ with the notable exception of H. A. Hoffner. In a footnote referring to the exchange of goods with Aḥḫiyawa he indicated the correct reading, URUDUŠU.ŠÈ.LÁ.³⁵ A metal vessel named šu-šè-lá (also spelled as šu-ša-lá, šu-uš-lá, šuš-lá, šu-lá) is attested in Mesopotamian texts, mainly of the third millennium B.C.E.³⁶ Its literal meaning is “what hangs from the hand,” which may indicate that it was a vessel with handles.

In the Boğazköy corpus this vessel is attested in two other texts.³⁷ KUB 40.2 (CTH 641.1) is a Late Hittite text belonging to the cult of Išhara. Rev. 19–24 contains a list of tribute (*arkammaš*) given to the goddess (every) third year, including garments, metal vessels, fine oil, and a ceremonial bed. The metal vessels include “one bronze pot, one copper cauldron, one bronze ŠU.ŠÈ.LÁ, [...] 10 bronze cups, one mina of silver, [...] of drinking [...].”³⁸ The bronze cups and

32. CTH 52 obv. 33–34; E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien* (Leipzig, 1923), 42ff.; G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*² (Atlanta, 1999), 50.

33. ZA 43 (1936), 321: “wohl etwas zum Binden.”

34. Košak, *Hittite Inventory Texts*, 124; Siegelová, *Annals of the Náprstek Museum* 12 (1984): 376–37 with n. 16; HZL no. 68.

35. In Th. Richter, D. Prechel, and J. Klinger, eds. *Kulturgeschichten. Altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag* (Saarbrücken, 2001), 188, n. 47.

36. E. Sollberger, *The Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1966), 89, 177 (no. 364: 4, 1 šu-ša-lá zabar); P. Steinkeller, *Third-Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 54; W. Sallaberger, *Der Babylonische Töpfer und seine Gefäße* (Ghent, 1996), 108. The name is also found in lexical texts from Emar, namely, in the HAR-ra-hubullu sections listing vessels of copper, bronze, gold and silver; D. Arnaud, *Emar VI.4* (Paris, 1987), 102, 105–6. (I wish to thank Mark Weeden, SOAS, for calling my attention to this reference.) The web page of the Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary equates Sum. šušāla with Akk. *kandu*, a container used mainly for wine. However, no evidence is given and the equation is ignored by the Akkadian dictionaries (*AHW*, 436; *CAD* K, 148–50).

37. Both noted by Siegelová, *Annals of the Náprstek Museum* 12 (1984): 377 n. 16. There are no further references in the files of the Boğazköy-Archiv in Mainz.

38. KUB 40.2 rev. 21: 1 DUG ZABAR 1 URUDU ŠEN 1 ŠU.ŠÈ.LÁ ZAB[AR ... (22) 10 GAL ZABAR 1 MA.NA KÜ.BABBAR a-ku-wa-an-n[a-aš ... It is not clear how the silver mina fits into the list. Could it perhaps indicate the overall weight of the metal objects?

the bronze ŠU.ŠÈ.LÁ may perhaps belong to the same drinking set.³⁹ A Late Hittite inventory text (KBo 18.172) mentions three ŠU.ŠÈ.LÁ containers of silver, one of them with a “golden *hešhi*.”⁴⁰ These references do not add much information on the ŠU.ŠÈ.LÁ-vessel, but they confirm that it was some kind of metal container.

The copper ŠU.ŠÈ.LÁ from Aḥḥiyawa is followed by some kind of copper “ladle” or “dipper,” literally, “of pouring up” (KBo 18.181 rev. 33: 1 URUDUUGU *la-ḥu-aš*).⁴¹ It is quite possible that the two vessels in this line belong together, perhaps as a drinking set of Aḥḥiyawan origin. If so, we should seek for parallels in the rich pictorial and archaeological evidence from the Aegean realm.

The Linear B inventories from Pylos and Knossos provide various lists of vessels that were probably used during feasting activities.⁴² The phonetic rendering of their names is occasionally accompanied by pictograms that provide us with a good notion of the types of vessels involved. In rare cases, such as K 93 from Knossos, the phonetic renderings are left out altogether and the vessels are simply indicated by self explanatory pictograms.⁴³ This fragmentary tablet depicts two sets of vessels placed one inside of the other: the left one shows a pitcher or juglet (205^{VAS}) placed within a triangular “water jar” (212^{VAS}), both placed within a large cauldron or “boiling pan” (200^{VAS}).⁴⁴ The partly preserved set on the right side shows a ewer (200^{VAS}) placed within a large bowl (208^{VAS}). These pictograms, probably representing drinking sets, have their archaeological parallels, many of them in metal.⁴⁵ For example, the bronze sets discovered at Knossos in the North West Treasure House⁴⁶ and in the chamber tomb of Zapher

39. Cf. also rev. 27: GAL KÙ.BABBAR *akuwannaš*. For the circulation of cups made of precious metals in the ancient Near East, see C. Zaccagnini, “Materiali per una discussione sulla “moneta primitiva”: le coppe d’oro e d’argento nel Vicino Oriente durante il II millennio. *Ann. Ist. It.* 26 (1979): 29–49; idem, Ancora sulle coppe d’oro e d’argento nel vicino oriente del Tardo Bronzo. *Scienze dell’Antichità, Storia, Archeologia, Antropologia* 5 (1991 [1994]), 369–79.

40. KBo 18.172 obv. 13’: 3 ŠU.ŠÈ.LÁ KÙ.BABBAR ŠÀ-BA 1 *ḥi-eš-ḥi* GUŠKIN 3-ma ŠA KÙ.BABBAR. The meaning of the “golden *hešhi*” is unknown; it should probably be some part of the vessel (rim?, handles?) or perhaps some sort of application.

41. For the verbal noun genitive *šer laḥuwaš*, see HED L, 22. Besides a “lifting” ladle, there is also a “pouring” vessel (*para laḥhuešna-*), which should resemble a libation jug.

42. For Aegean feasting, see J. C. Wright, *Hesperia* 73 (2004): 133–78; A. Yasur-Landau, *Tel Aviv* 32 (2005): 168–91.

43. M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1973), 325; H. Matthäus, *Die Bronzegefäße der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur* (Munich, 1980), 80; J. Chadwick et al., *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos*, Vol. I (Rome, 1986), 47.

44. The ideograms and the names of the vessels follow Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 324, fig. 16, but are obviously not binding for their functions.

45. Wright, *Hesperia* 73 (2004): 144ff.

46. A. J. Evans, *British School of Archaeology in Athens* 9 (1902–3): 121–28; Matthäus, *Bronzegefäße der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur*, 7–8, 185–86.

Papoura.⁴⁷ Besides large tripod cauldrons, ewers and juglets, these assemblages often contain one-handled ladles or dippers.⁴⁸ There is a high probability that the Aḫḫiyawan vessels listed in KBo 18.181 are of the kind depicted on Mycenaean tablets and found in archaeological excavations. Perhaps even the name of the vessel mentioned in KBo 18.181 rev. 33, literally a copper vessel “of pouring up” (URUDUUGU *laḫuaš*), may echo some Mycenaean designation.⁴⁹ These Aegean parallels suggest that the vessel named ŠU.ŠÈ.LÁ in Hittite texts was some kind of *krater* or mixing bowl for wine, whereas the vessel “of pouring up” was a kind of pitcher or ladle.

In conclusion, the two Aḫḫiyawan vessels in this Hittite inventory may represent a prestigious drinking set for wine, such as the ones depicted on Linear B tablets or described in Greek texts.⁵⁰ The circumstances in which a set of Aḫḫiyawan vessels found its way into a Hittite warehouse are unknown. They could either have been sent from Aḫḫiyawa to Hatti in a consignment of prestigious presents, or they could have been part of the booty taken during some military campaign to western Anatolia. In either case, the function of the set and its aristocratic symbolism would not have been wasted on its Hittite owner.

47. A. J. Evans, *The Prehistoric Tombs in Knossos* (London, 1906), pl. LXXXIX.

48. H. W. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* (Oxford, 1964), 185 (form 32), Matthäus, *Bronzegefäße der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur*, Tafel 70 (Typ 33-34), Tafel 71 (Typ 57); D. N. Tripathi, *Bronzework of Mainland Greece from 2600 B.C. to 1450 B.C.* (Göteborg, 1988), 148: 1282. For similar vessels in clay see P. A. Mountjoy, *Mycenaean Pottery* (Oxford, 1993), 86: 203, 89: 221; I. Tournavitou, *The 'Ivory Houses' at Mycenae* (Athens, 1995), 91–92 (form 91). For the pictographic representation of ladles, see Wright, *Hesperia* 73 (2004): 149 (nos. 228–229).

49. See, e.g., the vessel called *po-ro-e-ke-ri-ja*, consisting of the preverb *pro-* and a verb designating “drawing” or the like; F. Auro Jorro, *Diccionario Micénico II* (Madrid, 1999), 146 (with extensive refs. to suggested etymologies).

50. The chances of discovering such metal objects in Anatolian excavations are rather slim, because such valuable objects were usually recycled or looted. Several copper and/or bronze objects have been found in the Uluburun shipwreck, including several sets of bowls, at least one of which appears to have been stored in a large cauldron whose handle has survived the corrosion; see C. Pulak in L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis, eds. *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity: 1500–450 BC* (Nicosia, 2001), 42–43.

HATTI AND EGYPT

THE KURUŠTAMA TREATY REVISITED

Few fundamental problems of Hittite history were left unexplored by the ingenious Swiss scholar Emil Forrer. One of the first issues to have puzzled biblical scholars and orientalists following the spectacular rediscovery of Hittite culture was the relation between the Anatolian Hittites and the Hittites of the Old Testament.¹ In his seminal article, “The Hittites in Palestine”² Forrer formulated the basic parameters of the problem and distinguished between five different uses of the term “Hittites,” a classification that has been adopted by many scholars since:³ I. Proto-Hattians; II. Kanisians; III. Tabalians; IV. The people of Kuruštama in Palestine; V. Late references to “Hittites” who never actually⁴ existed in ancient times. In the second part of his article Forrer attempted to establish the connection between “the people of Kuruštama” and the biblical Hittites. Scrutinizing second-millennium sources for hints of a possible Hittite migration into Egyptian-held territory, Forrer reached the conclusion that there are no traces of the Hittites in Palestine in the Amarna letters or earlier documents.⁵ Contrary to the commonly held view in contemporary and even later studies, Forrer cogently observed that “the frontier of the Hittite empire stopped short at the northern end of the Lebanon and never came south of it.”⁶ He thus felt obliged to solve the resulting riddle of Hittite presence in the hill country of Judah in the intriguing Kuruštama episode mentioned in the Deeds of

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1. For a recent reevaluation of the problem, see I. Singer, “The Hittites and the Bible Revisited,” in *“I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times”: Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. A. M. Maeir and P. de Miroschedji; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 723–56.

2. *PEQ* 68 (1936): 190–203; 69 (1937): 100–115.

3. E.g., L. Delaporte, “Les Hittites sont-ils nommés dans la Bible?,” *RHA* 4 (1936–1938): 289–96; H. G. Güterbock, “Towards a Definition of the Term ‘Hittite’,” *Oriens* 10 (1957): 233–39; H. A. Hoffner, “The Hittites and Hurrians,” in D. J. Wiseman, ed., *Peoples of Old Testament Times* (Oxford, 1973), 197–200.

4. Forrer, *PEQ* 68 (1936): 196.

5. *Ibid.*, 101–2. Forrer dismissed the assertion that the Arzawa letter, EA 32, indicated a Hittite presence in southern Palestine. For the earliest study of the Arzawa letters and its significance for the birth of Hittitology, see I. Singer, “The 100th Anniversary of Knudtzon’s Identification of Hittite as an Indo-European Language,” in A. Süel, ed. *Acts of the Vth International Congress of Hittitology (Çorum, September 2–8, 2002)* (Ankara, 2005), 651–659.

6. Forrer, *PEQ* 68 (1936): 102.

Šuppiluliuma and in a plague prayer of Muršili II. Though he had already dealt with the prayer in his *Forschungen*,⁷ in his *PEQ* article he presented a new transliteration and translation, which took into account Albrecht Götze's meticulous study of these prayers.⁸

Forrer's historical interpretation of the episode was as follows. The city of Kuruštama was situated in the Kaška zone, not far from Gaziura (now Turkhal).⁹ This region was conquered by Šuppiluliuma I shortly before the fall of Karkamiš, and many of its inhabitants may have fled to escape captivity. The people of Kuruštama managed to reach Egyptian territory by crossing Syria or by sailing along the Levantine coast. Meanwhile, the Egyptian widow had written her famous letter to Šuppiluliuma, and the Great King responded by sending his envoy, Ḫattuša-ziti, to Egypt, which provided an opportunity "to clear up the case of the fugitives from Kuruštama and to conclude a treaty about them with the Egyptians."¹⁰ Thus, their immigration and the ensuing treaty must have occurred in the short interval between Šuppiluliuma's conquest of Kuruštama and the deterioration of Hittite-Egyptian relations following the murder of Zannanza, that is, in 1353 B.C.E.¹¹ The Egyptian king allowed them to settle in the sparsely populated areas of Hebron, Beersheba and Jerusalem.¹² They probably called themselves "people of Kuruštama" or "Kaška-people," but their Canaanite neighbours referred to them as "Hittites" because they came from Hittite-held territory. Forrer concluded his original theory by expressing hope that archaeology would one day discover whether these newcomers continued to produce their utensils as before, or whether they quickly assimilated.¹³

Götze rejected Forrer's theory as "phantasievoll," without, however, suggesting an alternative interpretation.¹⁴ It seems that the first scholar to put forward a different explanation for the movement of the Kuruštama people was the French scholar Eugène Cavaignac.¹⁵ Comparing this episode to that in Amenophis III's

7. *Forschungen* II/1 (1926) 1–37, with reference to the Kuruštama treaty on pp. 13, 21–22.

8. "Die Pestgebiete des Muršilis," in F. Sommer and H. Ehelolf, eds. *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* (Weimar, 1930), 161–251. In the same volume (pp. 125–36) Götze published an exceedingly harsh criticism of Forrer's *Forschungen*.

9. G. del Monte, *RGTC* 6 (1978): 229; *RGTC* 6/2 (1992): 87; D. Sürenhagen *Paritätische Staatsverträge aus hethitischer Sicht* (Pavia, 1985), 37, n. 47.

10. *PEQ* 69 (1937): 111.

11. *Ibid.*, 112.

12. Forrer (*ibid.*) compared their settlement in the sparsely populated regions of southern Palestine to that of the Tsherkess and other Caucasians in Ottoman Turkey.

13. *Ibid.*, 113.

14. Götze, "Die Pestgebiete des Muršilis," 224, n. 4. All he would say about the connection between the Kuruštama people and Egypt was that "das Verhältnis" muß besonderer Art gewesen sein." Cf. also *CAH* II (1965) 11: "[The treaty] had been concluded when people of the Anatolian town of Kuruštama had been transferred (in a somewhat mysterious way) to Egyptian territory to become subjects of the pharaoh."

15. *Šuppiluliuma et son temps* (Paris, 1932) 72.

letter to Tarḫundaradu, King of Arzawa (EA 31), in which he asks for some Kaška men,¹⁶ Cavaignac suggested that the Kuruštama people had been sent as prisoners by the Hittites to Egypt as part of an accord concluded between the two parties. He went on to suggest that once the amicable relations had deteriorated, the Hittite general who attacked the Egyptians brought these prisoners back from Palestine or Egypt. Other interpretations, some of them quite farfetched,¹⁷ were put forward during the following years, but the prevalent views remained those described above: a group of fleeing fugitives, or a dispatch of exotic prisoners.

A new factor was introduced into the discussion with the publication of a small fragment mentioning Kuruštama, Ḫatti, and Egypt, possibly belonging to the very treaty mentioned in the historical sources.¹⁸ More fragments were later identified and catalogued under CTH 134, *Fragments du traité de Kuruštama* (?), *archaïsant*.¹⁹ Subsequent discussions concentrated mainly on the exact dating of these fragments and less on the historical circumstances which brought the Kuruštama people to Egyptian territory. The most comprehensive philological and historical discussion of the Kuruštama affair was presented by Dietrich Sörenhagen in his monograph on parity treaties.²⁰ He redefined CTH 134 and dissociated it from the Hittite-Egyptian treaty mentioned in Mursili's retrospectives.

Before we attempt to unravel the mystery of this intriguing historical episode, it is fitting to present again the relevant sources. The retrospectives of Muṣili II will be followed by an updated treatment of CTH 134.

In the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, Muṣili II recounts how his astounded father reacted to the insistent request of Tutankhamun's widow to marry one of his sons. After a preliminary questioning of the envoy from Egypt, Šuppiluliuma asked for the relevant documents concerning past relations between the two countries:²¹

... nu ABU-IA iṣḫiulaš namma tuppi ŷekta annaz maḥḥan LÚ URUKuruštama
DUMU URUḪATTI DU-aš daš n-an KUR URUMizri pedaš n-aš LÚ.MEŠ URU-
Mizri iṭat nu-kan DU-aš [ANA] KUR URUMizri U ANA KUR URUḪATTI maḥḥan
[iṣḫiul ištarni-šummi iṣḫiṭat ukturi-at-kan [ma]ḥḥan ištarni-šummi aššijanteš
[n]u-šmaš-kan maḥḥan tuppi piran ḫalzir [n]amma-šmaš ABU-IA kiššan IQBI

16. In fact, the reference to the Arzawa letter had already been made by Forrer in *Forschungen* II/1, 22, but he did not suggest similar circumstances for the two events.

17. See, e.g., F. Cornelius, *Geschichte der Hethiter* (Darmstadt, 1973), 129: "Ohne Zeitangabe wird uns noch berichtet: Ein Mann aus Kuruštama sei -vom Wettergott erfaßt nach Ägypten gewandert. Ist damit ein Wirken als Missionar oder eine epileptische Dämmerwanderung gemeint? Jedenfalls wurde dies Geschehen der Anlaß zu einem Freundschaftsvertrag der Hethiter mit Ägypten."

18. KBo 8.37; B. Rosenkranz, *BiOr* 14 (1957): 234; H. G. Güterbock, *RHA* 66 (1960): 58, 62 n.

19. Others suggested identifying these fragments as part of a draft of a letter sent by Šuppiluliuma to the Egyptian widow; e.g., A. Kammenhuber, *MSS* 28 (1970): 62; cf. also C. Kühne, *ZA* 62 (1972): 254, n. 97.

20. *Paritätische Staatsverträge* (Pavia, 1985), 22–39.

21. KBo 14.12, IV 26–39; H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956): 98.

[k]aruiliaz-a-ya-kan URUḪattušaš [UR]UMizraš-a ištarni-šummi aššijanteš [e]šir
kinun-a-ya-naš-kan ki-ia ištarni-š[ummi kiš]at nu-ya-kan KUR URUḪATTI KUR
URUMizr[i-ja ukt]uri namma ištarni-šummi aššij[anteš]

Then my father asked for the tablet of the treaty (in which it was told) how formerly the Storm-god took the man of Kuruštama, a Hittite (lit.: a son of Ḫatti), and carried him to the land of Egypt, and made them²² Egyptians (lit.: men of Egypt); and how the Storm-god concluded a treaty between the lands of Egypt and Ḫatti, and how they were continuously friendly with each other. And when they had read aloud the tablet before them, then my father addressed them as following: “Of old, Ḫatti (lit.: Ḫattuša²³) and Egypt were friendly with each other, and now, this too²⁴ has taken place between us. Henceforth Ḫatti and Egypt will continuously be friendly with each other.”

That the quotation from the old tablet presented before Šuppiluliuma is genuine is shown by its archaic grammatical elements.²⁵ The document clearly refers to two connected events: 1) A group of people from Kuruštama, apparently headed by a foreman, had been transferred through (an accord regulated by) the Storm-god from Ḫatti to Egypt, thereby becoming “Egyptians,” that is, Egyptian subjects. 2) On that same occasion a peace treaty was concluded between Egypt and Ḫatti, an agreement that remained in force until hostilities broke out during Šuppiluliuma’s Syrian campaigns. The circumstances in which this happened are candidly described in Muršili’s plague prayers.

In the “Second” Plague Prayer Muršili recalls the divinatory investigations he had carried out in order to discover the reasons for the terrible calamity that had decimated the population of Ḫatti. He discovered two ancient (*karuila*) tablets, one dealing with the neglect of the sacrifices to the River Mala (the Euphrates), the other with the Kuruštama affair, presumably referring to the very tablet that was read out before Šuppiluliuma according to the Deeds.²⁶

ŠANŪ ṬUPPU-ma ŠA URUKuruštamma LÚ Kuruštamma maḥḥan DIM

22. The passage is usually translated consequently, throughout in the plural, but the text actually switches from a singular “man of Kuruštama” (including the personal pronoun *-an*) to the plural “Egyptians.” This could indicate either a collective noun, or, as suggested by Sørenhagen, *Paritätische Staatsverträge*, 33, a reference to an actual leader (*Stadtoberhaupt*) of the Kuruštama men.

23. In footnote o) Güterbock defined the basic equation between the terms “Ḫattuša” and “Ḫatti,” the first being the Hittite reading, the second an “Akkadographic” writing. For the sake of convenience I will use the term “Ḫatti” when referring to the land.

24. F. Starke, *Die Funktionen der dimensionalen Kasus und Adverbien im Althethitischen* (StBoT 23; Wiesbaden, 1977), 190 with n. 26, renders *kinun-a ... ki-a* in an adversative meaning: “Obwohl jetzt dies zwischen uns geschehen ist ...” If so, “despite this” may refer to the first round of hostilities between the two countries.

25. Especially *ištarni-šummi*, for which see Starke, *Funktionen der dimensionalen Kasus*, 190–91.

26. CTH 378.II obv. 13’–24’; Götze, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, 208; I. Singer, *Hittite Prayers* (Atlanta, 2002), no. 11, § 4 (with refs. to previous translations and studies).

URU_{HATTI} INA KUR URU_{Mizri} pedaš nu-šmaš DIM URU_{HATTI} maḥḥan išḫiul
 ANA LÚMEŠ URU_{HATTI} menaḥḥanda iḡat namma-at IŠTU DIM URU_{HATTI}
 linganuanteš nu LÚMEŠ URU_{HATTI} kuit LÚMEŠ URU_{Mizri}-ya IŠ-TU DIM
 URU_{HATTI} linganuanteš ešir nu Ƴer LÚMEŠ URU_{HATTI} peran waḥnuer nu-kan
 NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM} LÚMEŠ URU_{HATTI} ḥudak šarier nu ABU-YA ÉRIN^{MEŠ}
 ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} Ƴiḡat nu ZAG KUR URU_{Mizri} KUR URU_{Amga} walḥir
 namma-ya Ƴiḡat nu namma walḥir

The second tablet dealt with the town of Kuruštamma: how the Storm-god of Ḥatti carried the men of Kuruštamma to the land of Egypt; and how the Storm-god of Ḥatti made for them a treaty with the men of Ḥatti, so that they were put under oath by the Storm-god of Ḥatti. Since the men of Ḥatti and the men of Egypt were bound by the oath of the Storm-god of Ḥatti, and the men of Ḥatti proceeded to get the upper hand, the men of Ḥatti thereby transgressed the oath of the gods at once. My father sent infantry and chariotry, and they attacked the borderland of Egypt, the land of Amqa. And again he sent, and again they attacked.

The information concerning the Kuruštama affair is basically the same as in the Deeds, but this text proceeds to describe the circumstances of the Hittite breach of the oath, the attack on the Egyptian-dominated land of Amqa. A third reference to the tablet concerning former relations with Egypt is found in another fragmentary plague prayer:²⁷

nu-Ƴar-[at ŠA KUR URU_{Mizri} Ṭ[UPPI ešta (?)]

eda[ni-ma]-kan ANA ṬUPPI me[mijan] amm[uk-ma a]nda UL kuinki teḥḥun
 arḥa-ia-kan UL [kuinki] dahḥun DINGIR^{MEŠ} EN^{MEŠ}-IA uškatten UL šaggahḫi
 karū-ma kuieš LUGAL^{MEŠ} ešir nu-kan ma[n] apiḡa kuiški anda dai[š]
 našma-[aš-z]a-kan arḥa dāš ammuk-ma UL kuitki šag[aḥḫi] memijan-a-kan
 EGIR-anda arḥa UL ištamašan ḥarmi

nu-naš IŠTU DIM-ia kuieš ZAG^{HLA} tiḡanteš nu apedaš-a ANA ZAG^{HLA} EGIR-
 an UL tiḡanun ABU-IA-pat-mu-kan kuieš ZAG^{HLA} katt[an tal]ešta nu-za apuš
 ZAG^{HLA} [paḥšun(?) ila]ḡanun-ma-ši-kan U[L kuitki(?)] nu-ši ZAG KUR-ŠU
 kuin [...

[It was a tablet (?) about] Egypt.

To this tablet I did not add any word, nor did I remove [any]. O gods, my lords, take notice! I do not know whether any of those who were kings before me added [any word] to it or removed any. I do not know anything, and I have not heard a word of it since.

27. CTH 379 II 6'–24': Sürenhagen, *Paritätische Staatsverträge*; Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, no. 14, §§ 7'–9'.

I did not concern myself with those borders which were set for us by the Storm-god. Those borders that my father left me, those borders [I kept]. I did [not] desire from him [anything]. Neither [did I take anything (?)] from his borderland.

From this text we learn that the original treaty with Egypt may have contained some provisions delineating the borders between the two countries, but Muršili claims ignorance about the matter. It is quite significant that in this exculpation he refers to previous “kings,” which definitely rules out the possibility that the ancient (*karuili-*) tablet was composed in the early days of Šuppiluliuma, as conjectured in earlier studies.²⁸ Indeed, a growing number of scholars have dated the Kuruštama affair to the so-called Middle Hittite Kingdom or Early Empire, in particular to Tutḫaliya I, who restored Hittite authority in Syria (see below).²⁹

The fragments classified under CTH 134 are quite amenable to this conclusion. Although their ductus may be later,³⁰ the language is definitely “Middle Hittite.”³¹ The better preserved lines of these fragments have been cited in several studies,³² but a full treatment of CTH 134 is still lacking. The following preliminary presentation brings the reconstruction and the understanding of the text somewhat further, but it does not intend to be a comprehensive philological investigation. Hopefully, further duplicates and joins will be discovered to facilitate the restoration of this intriguing text.³³

- A. KBo 8.37 (+') Bo 3508 (MH/NS)
- B. KUB 23.7 (MH/NS) obv. = A obv. 9'; rev. = A rev. 6'–10'
- C. KUB 40.28 (MH/NS?) = A obv. x + 1–5'

28. O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (London, 1990), 49; A. Malamat, *VT* 5 (1955), 5–7; H. G. Güterbock, *RHA* 66 (1960), 58; K. A. Kitchen, *Šuppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs* (Liverpool, 1962), 22, n. 1; E. von Schuler, *Die Kaskaer* (Berlin, 1965), 38 with n. 224; H. Otten, *Fischer Weltgeschichte* III (Frankfurt, 1966), 144–45; A. R. Schulman, “Hittites, Helmets and Amarna: Akhenaten’s First Hittite War” in *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, Vol. 2 (ed. D. Redford; Toronto, 1988), 65ff.

29. A. Goetze, *CAH* II² (1965): fasc. 17, 11; Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *BiOr* 20 (1963): 274; C. Kühne, *ZA* 62 (1972): 252ff.; idem, *AOAT* 17 (1973): 90 n. 456; F. Cornelius, *Geschichte der Hethiter* (Darmstadt, 1973), 128–29; O. Carruba, *OA* 15 (1976): 303; Sörenhagen, *Paritätische Staatsverträge*, 28; T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford, 1998), 129; H. Klengel, *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches* (Leiden, 1999), 106.

30. C. Kühne, *ZA* 62 (1972): 252ff. KUB 40.28 seems to belong to an older version than do the rest of the fragments. Its ductus has been described by Otten (apud Kühne *ibid.*: 252, n. 86) as following: “Ältlicher Duktus, aber nicht typisch ‘mittelhethitisch’. Zwar hängende Keilköpfe, doch keine gedrängte Schrift.”

31. E.g., *le-e pa-it-ta-a-ni* and *istarni-summi* (for which see Starke, *StBoT* 23, 190). The composite *istarni-summi*, “between us” also appears in KUB 31.25, published as Frgm. 29 of the Deeds (Güterbock, *JCS* 10, 107 with n. 1). The same expression may perhaps be restored also in Šuppiluliuma’s letter to Egypt, KBo 19.20 + KBo 12.23 rev. 36; for which, see Th. P. J. van den Hout, *ZA* 84 (1994): 67, 70.

32. H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10, 107; Kühne 1972: 252ff.; Sörenhagen, *Paritätische Staatsverträge*, 29ff.

33. I wish to thank Silvin Košak for bringing to my attention the fragments KBo 22.15 and Bo 6943 and Cem Karasu for collating the fragments kept at the Ankara Museum. The script and language designations are taken from the CHD.

- D. KBo 22.15 = A rev. 4'–7'
 E. Bo 6943³⁴ = A rev. 7'–10'

C	obv. 1'	]x x (-)ḫa(-)en(-)ta(-)x[
	2'	[n]u(?) ki-ir-šu-me-et kat-kat-ti-i[š-ki-it(?)/ki-iz-zi(?)]
	3'	[n]u nam-ma na-at-ta pa-aḫ-x[
	4'	le-e ú-me-ni na[(m-ma AN)
	5'	le-e iš-ta-ma-aš[-šu-e/a-ni(?)]
	6'	[(me)]-e-ek-ki ^{a)} na-aḫ-ša-r[i-ya-
	7'	[(k)]a-a-ša-aš-ma-aš ^D I[M(?)]
A	obv. 4'	a-ru-na-na-aš-ta[
	5'	[n]u kar-tim-mi-ia-at-t[a-an(?)]
	6'	[nam]-ma le-e uš-kat-te[-ni]
	7'	Ú LÚ ^{MES} URUKu-ru-uš-t[a-ma
	8'	nu-un-na-aš-kán LÚ ^{MES} a-ra-aš [LÚ ^{MES} a-ri(?)]
	9'	[(i)]š-kal-la-at-ta ku-it x[
	10'	[ma]-a-an-na-aš-ša-an pe-e-di-i[-
	11'	[^{DINGI}]RIM-aš-ša-aš-ma-aš EGIR-pa ut[-
	12'	[]x-x x-x-x ^{b)} ut-ne-e[(-)]
	13'	[]x-aš-ša ḫa-lu-kán na-at-t[a
	14'	[na-a]ḫ-ša-ra-at-ta-an-ma-an x[
	15'	[] x x x [] x x x x [
	16'	[]x[]x x[]x x[
	17'	[]x x[]x x[
		Broken

a) A obv. 2': *me-ek-ki* x[

b) I cannot suggest a sensible reading for these traces belonging to two words. According to C. Karasu's collation the last sign looks like a *-mi*.

A	rev. 1'	]x x[
2'	[	-l]u-e-ez-za-aš ² (-)-ta kat ² -x[
3'	[ud-d]a-an-da(?)	LÚMEŠ URUḪA-AT-TI [
4'	[an]-da le-e ú-e-mi-ya-at-l[	a-(a)-ni

34. Cem Karasu informs me that Bo 6943 and Bo 3508 share the same color and ductus and may join indirectly. If so, Bo 3508 cannot belong to the same tablet as KBo 8.37 (246/m).

- 5' [ḪU]L-lu-it ud-da-an-da LÚMEŠ URUḪA[-AT-TI I-NA (KUR
URUMi)-iz-ri]
- 6' [(an-d)a le-e pa-it-ta-a-ni^a) Û? [LÚMEŠ URUMi-iz-ri]
- 7' [I-N]A KUR URUḪA-AT-TI ḪUL-la[-uī/ua-az(?)] le-e pa-it-ta-a-
ni(?)]
- 8' [KUR Ḫ]a-at-tu-ša-aš A-NA KUR Mi-iz-r[i LÚMEŠ šar-te-e-eš
(e-eš-tu)]
- 9' [nu[?] UR]U[!]Mi-iz-ra-an PAP-ši URUM[i-iz-ra-aš A-NA KUR Ḫa-at-
tu-ša-aš]
- 10' [L]ÚMEŠ šar-te-e-eš e-eš-tu [nu URUḪa-at-tu-ša-an PAP-ši]
-
- 11' [LÚ]MEŠ URUMi-iz-ra ka-a-[
- 12' [n]u EGIR-pa a-la-la-an[
- 13' [Ḫ]UL-lu le-e x[

Broken

a) B III x+1: pa-it-te-e-n[i ; D, 4': pa-i]t-te-ni

(+ ?) Bo 3508 (Kühne, ZA 62, 253)

x+1]x x e-e[š-

- 2' URUḪ]A-AT-TI pa-ra-a [le-e
- 3' ša-li-i]k-tu-ma ^DI[M-na(?)-aš(?)]
- 4' ud-da-a-a]r le-e šar-r[a-at-tu-ma
- 5' -]at DIM-na-aš ḫ[a-
- 6' -]a na-at-ta
- 7']x DUMUMEŠ URUKu-ru-uš[-ta-ma
- 8' ^U]RU Mi-iz-ra e-e[š-
-
- 9']e x[

Broken

B (KUB 23.7) obv. = A obv. 9'

2 [] iš-kal-la-ta x[

Broken

B (KUB 23.7) rev. = A rev. 6'–10'

- x+1 pa-it-te-e-n[i-
- 2' A-NA KUR URUMi-iz-r[i
- 3' e-eš-du nu URUMi-i[z-
- 4' A-NA KUR URUḪAT-TI
- End of column

D (KBo 22.15) = A rev. 4'–7'

x+1 -]i[a-

2'	ḪU]L- <i>u-i</i> [<i>t</i>
3'	K]UR ^{URU} Mi[- <i>iz-ri</i>
4'	<i>pa-i</i>]t- <i>te-ni</i> [
5'	]x KUR ^{URU} [
	Broken
E (Bo 6943) II = A obv. (?)	
x+1	L]Ḫ ^{MES} (?) <i>ku-e-ša-šu-x</i> [
2'	]x- <i>it</i>
3'	]x <i>ku-i-ti</i>
4'	]x- <i>u-e-ni</i>
5'	-š]um- <i>me-et</i>
	Broken
E (Bo 6943) II = A rev. 7'–10'	
x+1	] x [
2'	] <i>an-da le-e</i> [
3'	Ḫ]a- <i>at-tu-ša-aš</i> [
4'	] LḪ ^{MES} <i>ša-r-te-eš-mi-iš</i> [
5'	<i>Mi-iz-r</i>]a- <i>an</i> PAB- <i>ši</i> ^{URU} <i>Mi-iz-ra-a</i> [š
6'	<i>ša</i>]r- <i>di-a-mi-iš e-eš</i> [- <i>tu</i>
	Broken
C obv. 2'	Our heart tremble[s/e[d
3'	and [we will (?)] not def[end(?)] anymore.
4'	Let us not see any[more
5'	let us not hea[r anymore
6'	[Be(?)] very conce[rned
7'	Behold, for/to you (pl.) the Sto[rm [?] -god
A obv. 4'	the sea (acc.) [
5'	fea[r/respec[t (acc.)
6'	you (pl.) should not see anym[ore
7'	And the men of Kurušta[ma
8'	between us, one [to the other ^a]
9'	because/which split [between us (?)
10'	When for us [on] the spot [
11'	and the Storm-god [...] to you (pl.)/to them again/back [
12'	... land [
13'	and the [...] message not [
14'	but [f]ear/[r]espect (acc.) [...] him

a) For the reciprocal construction *araš ari*, see *HED* 1, 117.

A rev. 2'	... [
3'	[thi]ng(?) the men of Ḫatti [
4'	[y]ou (pl.) should not find/meet i[n
5'	The men of H[atti], you should not go into
6'	the land of E[gypt] with [ev]il intentions, ^{b)} [and the men of Egypt
7'	should not go (?)] [t]o the land of Ḫatti [with(?)] evil.
8'	[The land of Ḫattuša [should] be allies ^{c)} to the land of Egypt
9'	and you should defend Egypt! Egypt should be allies ^{c)}
10'	[to Ḫattuša and you should defend Ḫattuša!]
11'	[The people(?)] of Egypt th[us
12'	and defection back/again [
13'	evil not [

b) literally: “things”

c) E (Bo 6943) III 4', 6': “allies to them”

(+?) Bo 3508 (Kühne, *ZA* 62, 253)

x+1	] b[e
2'	You (pl.) should [not] in[trude(?) to Ḫ]atti [
3'	[the words(?)] [of(?)] the St[orm-god
4'	[you should] not vio[late
5'	] of the Storm-god [
6'	] not [
7'	] the sons of Kuruš[tama
8'	should] b[e sons of(?)] Egypt [

It is not easy to define the nature of these poorly preserved pieces, but the restorations provided by the new fragments enable some further insight. Sürenhagen rejected the general opinion (held by Laroche, Carruba, Kühne, and others) that CTH 134 may belong to the very Kuruštama Treaty mentioned by Muršili. Instead, he suggested that it is some sort of “farewell treaty” (“*Entlassungsvertrag*”) imposed upon the men of Kuruštama before they left their homeland, in which they assumed obligations towards both Ḫatti and Egypt.³⁵ Thus, he separated the “Kuruštama Accord” (“*K.-Abkommen*”) from the actual

35. *Paritätische Staatsverträge*, 32.

treaty between the two states (“ersten hethitisch-ägyptischen Staatsvertrag”), with an undefined interval between the two.³⁶

The restored passage in A rev. 5’–10” however, seems to lead us back to the initial interpretation of CTH 134. The people of Ḫatti and the people of Egypt are reciprocally called upon to defend each other and to become allies. The expression LÚMEŠ *šarteš eštu* (var. *šardiaš=šmiš*), “let them be allies (to them)” seems to refer to the Hittites and the Egyptians themselves and not to the contingent of Kuruštama men sent to Egypt.³⁷ The same may apply to the second person plural imperatives (*uškatteni*, *paittani*). In short, I see no objection to identifying CTH 134 as the very treaty “made by the Storm-god” for Egypt and Ḫatti as recounted by Muṣili. To be sure, the transfer of the people of Kuruštama was part and parcel of this early treaty between the two countries, and thus the term LÚMEŠ *šarteš* may also allude to this contingent.

The Hittite references to *šardiya*-, “supporter, ally, allied-troops,” have been examined by R. Beal in his monograph on the Hittite army.³⁸ In a lexical text [*ša*]rtijaš is equated with Sumerian [E]RIN.KASKAL.KUR.LÁ (ILLAT.LÁ) and Akkadian *TILLATU*.³⁹ It may refer to different kinds and sizes of supporting troops, from a party in pursuit of an eloping couple (HL § 37) to the mandatory military assistance provided by a vassal to his suzerain. As stressed by Beal, the *šardiya*-/TILLATU troops should not be confused with the *uṛriš*/NARARI troops. The latter are “troops levied from the domestic population,” whereas the *šardiya*-/TILLATU are an army sent by a foreign ally, tributary or overlord.⁴⁰

The circumstances under which such an auxiliary host was sent to an ally are disclosed by the near-parity treaties concluded between Ḫatti and Kizzuwatna.⁴¹ The best preserved one, concluded between Tuḫaliya I and Šunaššura, reads as following:⁴²

If some land begins war against His Majesty, that land is covered by Šunaššura’s oath. His Majesty will request TILLATU-troops from Šunaššura, and Šunaššura must provide it to him. If Šunaššura provides troops and says: “Lead them out against the enemy,” His Majesty may lead them out. If he does not say this, they will remain on guard in his land. If he leads the troops out against the enemy, the troops of His Majesty will take civilian captives which they conquer. The

36. Ibid. 39.

37. Unless the Kuruštama men are designated “Egyptians” already at the time of their transfer, which I doubt.

38. R. H. Beal, *The Organisation of the Hittite Military* (Heidelberg, 1992), 117–27. See now also the entry *šardiya*- in CHD,Š.

39. MSL 17, 111; G. del Monte, *OA* 20 (1981): 210, n. 16.

40. Beal, *Organisation of the Hittite Military*, 121.

41. Ibid. 117–18 (with references).

42. G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Atlanta, 1996), 17.

troops of Šunaššura will take the civilian captives which they conquer. If some land begins war against Šunaššura ... [ditto].

That the Hittites took seriously their obligation to send auxiliary troops to their allies is shown, for example, by the repeated rescue of Madduwatta⁴³ or by the army sent to the aid of Niqmaddu of Ugarit.⁴⁴ As stated in the passage quoted above, such auxiliary troops were either stationed in defensive positions, or they were sent out to the front, in which case they were allowed to share in the booty. It is not clear whether these auxiliary contingents served needy allies only temporarily, or whether they were stationed abroad on a more-or-less permanent basis.⁴⁵

It seems quite likely that the Kuruštama men were sent to Egypt as an auxiliary troop in fulfilment of a specific provision in an early Hittite-Egyptian treaty. That the Egyptians learned to appreciate the services provided by such northern contingents is shown by the Arzawa Letter, in which they require an unspecified number of Kaška men.⁴⁶ The size of the contingent of Kuruštama men is not known, but some general idea of its magnitude may perhaps be inferred from the Hittite-Egyptian exchange of “exotic” people (Kaškeans for Nubians) that was resumed after the Silver Treaty of 1259 B.C.E. The largest recorded number of Kaška people transferred to Egypt are the 500 deportees (NAM.RA) included in the dowry of the Hittite princess married to Ramesses II.⁴⁷ The contingent of Kuruštama men who descended to Egypt about a century and a half earlier probably did not exceed a few hundred soldiers, surely not enough to justify the notion of a sizable emigration of Anatolian Hittites to Palestine.

What remains to be established is the dating of this early treaty between Ḫatti and Egypt, with its provision concerning the Kuruštama men. Unfortunately, neither in the preserved parts of CTH 134 nor in the retrospectives of Muršili II are the names of the kings who concluded the treaty preserved. Nevertheless, the parties may be inferred with a fair degree of probability from an examination of the historical circumstances in the ages preceding Šuppiluliuma I.⁴⁸ An early accord between Ḫatti and Egypt would best be set in a period when

43. KUB 14.1, obv. 44–57, 60–65; A. Götzke, *Madduwatas* (Leipzig, 1928), 10–17; Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 146–47.

44. RS 17.340 obv. 9–19 (*PRU* IV, pp. 49ff.); Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 119–20.

45. Beal, *Organisation of the Hittite Military*, 126. I strongly suspect that the term *šerdani* (the so-called “mercenaries” mentioned in texts from Egypt, Ugarit and elsewhere) is etymologically and semantically related to Hittite *šardiya-*, but this hypothesis will be presented elsewhere.

46. EA 31: 25; W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, 1992), 101.

47. E. Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache* (Opladen, 1994), Band I, 140–41 (Nr. 53, rev. 8').

48. For overviews on Hittite-Egyptian contacts, see O. Carruba, “Le relazioni fra l’Anatolia e l’Egitto intorno alla meta del II Millennio A.C.,” *OA* 15 (1976): 295–309; A. Archi, “Egyptians and Hittites in Contact,” in

Hittite hegemony extended deep into Syria and could have clashed with Egyptian interests in the area. Before the age of Šuppiluliuma this had occurred only twice: in the Old Kingdom and in the reign of Tuthaliya I. The age of Ḫattušili I and Muršili I may safely be ruled out, since Egypt had by this point not yet reached its maximum extension in Asia. We are thus left with Tuthaliya I, who restored Hittite authority in northern Syria and concluded vassal treaties with Halab, Tunip, and Aštata.⁴⁹ Indeed, several scholars have suggested him as the best candidate for the authorship of the Kuruštama Treaty.⁵⁰

The chronology of the kings who ruled between the Old Kingdom and Šuppiluliuma I is notoriously complex. It is mostly based on relative data such as generation counting.⁵¹ Even the few synchronisms with Kizzuwatna, Alalah, or Mitanni provide only a relative chronology.⁵² Thus, the reign of Tuthaliya I (of the Aleppo Treaty) has variously been dated between the early-fifteenth⁵³ and the early-fourteenth century B.C.E.⁵⁴ Only a direct synchronism with Egypt or Mesopotamia would provide a firm basis for the absolute chronology of the two and a half centuries between Muršili I's sack of Babylon and the Amarna Age. Contacts with Kassite Babylonia and Assyria commence only in the age of Šuppiluliuma I, so demonstrating contact with Egypt at this stage could provide an earlier synchronism of considerable value.

Two Egyptian kings of the pre-Amarna Age report about peaceful encounters with the Hittites. On his return from the Syrian campaigns Thutmose III received presents (*inw*) from Babylon, Assur, and "Great Ḫatti" in his 33rd and 41st years⁵⁵ that is, 1447 and 1439 B.C.E., respectively.⁵⁶ Several scholars have pointed to this reference as the occasion on which the Kuruštama Treaty may

L'Impero Ramesside (Convegno Internazionale in onore di Sergio Danadoni), Vicino Oriente-Quaderno 1 (Roma, 1997), 1–15.

49. For references see Klengel, *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches*, 105–6.

50. See n. 29 above.

51. See, e.g., O. R. Gurney *The Hittites* (London, 1990), 181; T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford, 1998), XIII–XIV; G. Beckman, "Hittite Chronology," *Akkadica* 119–120 (2000): 19–32.

52. See, recently, J. Klinger, "Synchronismen in der Epoche vor Suppiluliuma I.: einige Anmerkungen zur Chronologie der mittelhethitischen Geschichte" in *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia* (ed. O. Carruba, M. Giorgieri, C. Mora; Pavia, 1995), 235–47.

53. E.g., J. Freu, *Hethitica* 8 (1987): 155; *Hethitica* 13 (1996): 30.

54. E.g., S. de Martino, *La Parola del Passato* 48 (1993): 230.

55. Urk. IV, 700–701, 727; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1971), 166–67; Schulman, "Hittites, Helmets and Amarna," 57. The gifts consisted of "8 silver discs making 401 deben, a two cubit slab of precious white stone, *ḫgw*-wood [...]." There is also a scene of gift presentation of "the prince of Ḫatti" (between the princes of Keftiu and Tunip) in the tomb of Menkheperre'soneb at Thebes.

56. For the Egyptian chronology followed here, see K. A. Kitchen, in P. Åström, ed. *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology* (Gothenburg, 1987) 37–55, 152–59. See also D. Warburton, *Akkadica* 119–120 (2000) 33–76.

have been concluded.⁵⁷ However, not only would such an early date cause difficulties for current Hittite chronology,⁵⁸ but, more importantly, the Egyptian text contains no indication of an actual agreement between the two states apart from the standard hyperbole of present/tribute presentation.⁵⁹

A far more likely option has so far received little attention from Hittitologists. Amenophis II boasts that after his return from his year 9 campaign (1417 B.C.E.) he received expeditions of northern rulers (*p³ wr*) suing for peace.⁶⁰

Now, when the ruler of Naharin (Mitanni), the ruler of Ḫatti, and the ruler of Sangar (Babylon) heard of the great victory which I had won, each one vied with his peer with every kind of gift of every land. They spoke in their hearts to the father of their fathers in order to request peace (*dbḫ ḥtpw*) from His Majesty in quest of giving to them the breath of life (*ḫw n ḥnh*): “We bring our tribute (*b³kw*) to your palace, O Son of Re^c, Amenophis, God-who-rules Heliopolis, ruler of rulers, lion who rages in every land and in this land forever.”

In early studies this passage was regarded with utmost skepticism, comparing it to the hollow hyperbole of later pharaohs.⁶¹ More recent studies, in contrast, lend more credence to this report, scrutinizing the subtle political allusions couched in the hyperbolic language.⁶² To “request peace” (*dbḫ ḥtpw*) and “the breath of life” (*ḫw n ḥnh*) from Pharaoh are phrases consistent to contexts referring to the instigation of diplomatic relations.⁶³ Indeed, the first overtures for peace between Mittanni and Egypt were made following Amenophis II’s Asiatic

57. E.g., Helck, op. cit., 166; J. Freu, *Hethitica* 13 (1996), 36.

58. J. Klinger, op. cit., 245–46.

59. For the problem of the Egyptian terminology referring to tribute and gifts, see M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest* (Padova, 1990), 255ff.; E. Bleiberg, *The Official Gift in Ancient Egypt* (Norman, Ok., 1996); G. N. Gestoso, *Aegyptus Antiqua* 10 (1999) 49–60.

60. Urk. IV, 1309, 13–20; E. Edel, *ZDPV* 69 (1953): 136; J. A. Wilson, *ANET* (1969): 247; D. Lorton, *The Juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dyn. XVIII* (Baltimore, 1974), 101, 140; P. Der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim, 1987), 227; Schulman, “Hittites, Helmets and Amarna,” 58. The passage appears at the end of the Memphis stele and is not paralleled in the one from Karnak (*contra* E. Bleiberg, *JARCE* 25 [1988]: 160).

61. Edel, *ZDPV* 69 (1953):173: “Das Geschichtchen ist völlig unhistorisch und enthält ein auch sonst bekanntes Motiv: Ein ausländischer Herrscher schreibt dem Pharao einen schmeichelnden Brief und kündigt womöglich einen Besuch zur Huldigung vor dem Pharao an. ... Am ehesten möchte ich annehmen, daß sie nachträglich von Thutmosis IV. auf die Stele gesetzt wurde.” Wilson, ib. n. 52: “the historicity of the frightened submissiveness of distant and independent rulers is out of the question, and represents a literary device for the climax of a swash-buckling account.”

62. A. Spalinger, *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 93; B. M. Bryan, “Antecedents to Amenhotep III.” in *Amenhotep III. Perspectives on His Reign* (ed. D. O’Connor and E. H. Cline; Ann Arbor, 1998) 34ff.; P. Lundh, *Actor and Event. Military Activity in Ancient Egyptian Narrative Texts from Thutmosis II to Merneptah* (Uppsala, 2002) 131ff.

63. Bryan, “Antecedents to Amenhotep III.”

campaigns,⁶⁴ and the same may be true with regard to Ḫatti.⁶⁵ Both northern great powers were interested in establishing good relations with Egypt in anticipation of their conflict for the domination of Syria. A late-fifteenth century B.C.E. date for the so-called Kuruštama Treaty, probably concluded between Tuthaliya I and Amenophis II, would fit well into the geo-political scenery of the period and would provide a valuable new synchronism for Hittite history.

64. I. Singer, *ZDPV* 104 (1988): 1–5; D. B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, 1992), 164ff.

65. Bryan, “Antecedents to Amenhotep III.,” 36 (with refs. in n. 45 to the various datings suggested).

THE URḪI-TEŠŠUB AFFAIR IN THE HITTITE–EGYPTIAN CORRESPONDENCE

Diplomatic contacts between Ḫatti and Egypt are first attested from the second half of the fifteenth century B.C.E.¹ During his Syrian campaigns Thutmosis III received presents from Babylon, Assur, and “Great Ḫatti” (Helck 1971: 166–67). It has been suggested that it was on this occasion that the Kuruštama Treaty was concluded between the two lands, but a far better option might be the Year 9 campaign of his son Amenophis II (1417 B.C.E.), when a Hittite ruler, probably Tuthaliya I, sent an expedition to the Pharaoh suing for peace (Singer 2004).

After the triumphant reign of Tuthaliya I, Ḫatti sank into serious military failure, and the vigilant Egyptians set up diplomatic contacts with its major rival in Anatolia, Arzawa (EA 31–32). The center of power shifted back to Ḫatti only when Šuppiluliuma I seized power in the mid-fourteenth century B.C.E. At first, relations between the Hittite and Egyptian courts were cordial and they exchanged letters and presents.² However, a border dispute in the region of Qadesh and the murder of the would-be Hittite groom of the Egyptian widow disrupted the peaceful relations, and for almost a century Ḫatti and Egypt became fierce enemies.³ The dispute reached its climax at the Battle of Qadesh (1275 B.C.E.), as a result of which the Egyptians were forced to renounce their claims to Qadesh and Amurru.⁴ After extensive negotiations, peace was re-established, the Silver Treaty (1258 B.C.E.) marking the beginning of an era of unprecedented

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1. The Middle Kingdom and Hyksos statuary discovered in Anatolia (Bittel 1970: 115ff.) should probably be attributed to the “antiquities trade” of the Hyksos rulers (see Singer 1999: 614–15, with refs.), rather than to diplomatic contacts during the Hittite Old Kingdom. For a recent survey on Hittite–Egyptian relations, see Archi 1997.

2. To this exchange of presents could belong the Hittite silver pendant discovered at Tell el-Amarna (Bell 1986).

3. Šuppiluliuma’s angry reply to the news of his son’s death is recorded in KUB 19.20+, for which, see van den Hout 1994 and Archi 1997: 4–5.

4. For various aspects of the battle and its results, see the articles assembled in Guidotti and Pecchioli Daddi 2002.

cooperation between the two empires. The extensive exchange of goods, technologies and ideas must have had a lasting effect on both cultures, as well as on their allies in the Levant. The material and intellectual aspects of this mutual impact have yet to be explored in depth.⁵

The most important source for the study of Hittite-Egyptian relations during the *Pax Hethitica* era in the second half of the thirteenth century B.C.E. is the correspondence between the two royal courts. Until recently only the Hittite end of this correspondence was known, but recently an Akkadian fragment was discovered by the German expedition excavating at Qantir, ancient Piramesse, hopefully anticipating more to come (Pusch and Jakob 2003). On the tiny fragment only the end of Ramses's name (Ri-a-ma-¹še²-ša¹) and his title (EN.KUR.KUR.MEŠ "lord of the lands")⁶ are clearly preserved, along with a few disconnected vocables.⁷ The fragment complements previous finds from Piramesse that exhibit Hittite influence, notably the limestone molds for 8-shaped shields (Pusch 1996), found in a large complex identified as the headquarters of the royal chariotry, which could accommodate some 700 horse studs, many of them probably of Anatolian origin.

Other Hittite-related finds were discovered long ago at Gurob (Medinet el-Ghurab) at the entrance to Fayyum (Kemp 1978; Thomas 1981). Sir Flinders Petrie excavated in the late-nineteenth century the Royal Harem structure, which would have housed, among many other women, the Hittite princess who married Ramses in his 34th year, Maat-Hor-neferu-re. Among the administrative papyri found at the site, one fragment (U, recto of b, line 2) refers to a list of garments belonging to her (Gardiner 1948: xi, 23–24; *RITA* II: 155ff.).

A Hittite presence might also be detected in the unusual burial customs attested at the site, according to an intriguing new theory put forward by J. Politi (2001). In his description of the so-called Burnt Groups, which can now be confidently dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty (Bell 1991: 255–56; Politi 2001: 111), Petrie noted a remarkable custom: A hole was dug in the floor of a room, and into it personal objects were lowered and burnt, after which the floor was covered again. The items included various personal valuables, such as necklaces, toilet vases, kohl tubes, a mirror, a stool and articles of clothing. The bodies were buried separately in Egyptian fashion, and since many of them were light-haired

5. For some references to the various aspects of the cooperation between the two states and for the scattered Hittite finds discovered along the trade route connecting them, see Singer in Guidotti and Pecchioli Daddi 2002, and in Singer 2006.

6. For the rare title "Lord of the lands," see Pusch and Jakob 2003: 150. A similar title, "Lord of all the lands," appears in Ugarit's correspondence with Egypt, both in Akkadian (*Ugaritica* 5, no. 36, line 3: [be-l]i gab-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ) and in Ugaritic (Ras Ibn Hani 78/3+30: *bl kl hwt*; Milano 1983).

7. Provided that the tentative restorations are valid, they might contain a highly significant reference to the beginning of a new reign, presumably Tuthaliya IV's (Pusch and Jakob 2003: 150).

and their graves contained Aegean pottery, Petrie (1891: 16) suggested that they might have belonged to Achaeans. Recently, however, Janet Politi (2001) has put forward an attractive comparison between this burial custom and the case described in § 27 of the Hittite Laws: “If a man takes his wife and leads [her] away to his house, he shall carry her dowry in (to his house). If the woman [dies] th[ere] (in his house), then he, the man, shall burn her personal possessions, and the man shall take her dowry for himself.”⁸ In other words, the burnt deposits within the houses at Gurob might have belonged to the Hittite princess and her large retinue in the Royal Harem.⁹

Finally, a recent discovery at Saqqara raises further hopes for new data relevant to Hittite-Egyptian contacts. At the cliff-side cemetery on the eastern edge of the site a French expedition has discovered the tomb of Netjerwymes, the treasurer and great intendant of Memphis during the reign of Ramses II (Zivie 2002). According to the excavator¹⁰ this high functionary bore an additional name, P-*rekh-an*, which is probably the same as cuneiform *Pariḫnawa*, the well-known Egyptian messenger, who, among his several missions, brokered the peace treaty between Ḫatti and Egypt (Edel 1976: 79; Singer 1999: 674). One can only hope that the ongoing excavation of his tomb will reveal some intriguing secrets from his prolific diplomatic career.

Obviously, finds relevant to Hittite-Egyptian relations are not restricted to Ḫatti and Egypt. Along the lengthy caravan routes connecting the two lands various finds have been discovered and more will undoubtedly follow once the important caravan stations in Syria are further excavated. Meanwhile, there are several textual references from Ugarit (Singer 1999: 673ff.) and some scattered finds from Palestine (Singer 2006): an exquisite Hittite ivory from Megiddo, which may perhaps symbolically represent the two Great Kings who signed the “Silver Treaty,” and several seals, one of which belonged to a “charioteer,” that is, a professional diplomat.

Even though the number of Hittite-related finds from Egypt and Canaan is on the rise, the main source of information remains the extensive Hittite-Egyptian correspondence discovered at Ḫattuša. Elmar Edel’s monumental publication of around one hundred letters is a gold mine of information on various aspects of international relations, rivalled only by the Amarna correspondence of a century

8. The translation is based on Beckman 1986: 16 and Hoffner 1997: 36–37, with a slight variation based on dupl. C.

9. No information on the size of the royal retinue that accompanied the Hittite princess to Egypt is extant, but one might recall that Giluḫepa, the Mittannian princess who married Amenophis III, was accompanied by no fewer than 317 ladies (Urk. IV: 1738).

10. Alain Zivie, written communication.

earlier.¹¹ However, with all due admiration for Edel's unparalleled mastery and unfailing efforts, much caution is needed when utilizing his very extensive and often quite daring restorations.¹² In this article I will concentrate on a single dossier, the one related to the infamous Urḫi-Teššub affair, a major international episode in the history of the thirteenth century B.C.E.¹³

Dossier D relating to the Urḫi-Teššub affair contains fifteen letters in Edel's treatment.¹⁴ On closer inspection, however, one finds that the name Urḫi-Teššub is preserved, at least partially, in six letters only. In all other texts his name has been restored by Edel, with different degrees of probability, on contextual grounds. Some of these are certainly justified, especially in the case of the "double-track" correspondence of Ramses, that is, the (nearly) identical letters addressed separately to Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa that mutually complete each other (*ĀHK* II: 19–21). However, in cases in which the restoration is not supported by parallel contexts, Edel's suggestions are tentative at best, sometimes even far-fetched. This should be candidly admitted precisely because of Edel's undisputed mastery of the field, which has led to uncritical adoption of his translations in general studies and anthologies, sometimes without even marking the restorations. The aim of the following survey, then, is to re-examine the information on the Urḫi-Teššub affair extracted from the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence, attempting to separate the established facts from dubious textual and historical reconstructions.

Perhaps the best point of departure is no. 28, Ramses's well-known response to an inquiry by Kupanta-Kurunta, king of Mira.¹⁵ The text has been discussed often because of its importance for the Urḫi-Teššub affair and for inner-Anatolian conditions.¹⁶ Comprehension of the letter, even apart from the many damaged passages, is hindered by the ambiguous use of pronouns and its unusual syntax. Following the introductory formula, the better preserved paragraphs concerning Urḫi-Teššub read:

11. Edel 1994. Cf. the reviews of Haas und Wegner 1996; Beckman 1997; Izre'el 1997; Zaccagnini 2000. Cf. also Archi 1996: 172–74. References in the following pertain to the text numbers in Edel 1994 (abbr. *ĀHK*), namely, to (vol.) 1 (transliterations and translations) and to (vol.) 2 (commentaries).

12. Cf. Zaccagnini 2000: 439–40.

13. I wish to thank Dr. Yoram Cohen for his valuable comments on my interpretation of these letters. The Urḫi-Teššub affair has been discussed repeatedly over the years. See, in particular, Houwink ten Cate 1974 and 1994, and, most recently, Bryce 2003: 213–22. The deposed Hittite king should be distinguished from another Urḫi-Teššub, a late-thirteenth century B.C.E. Hittite official from Karkamiš attested in the documents from Ugarit (Singer 1999: 645–46).

14. Nos. 20–33 in Akkadian, plus the Hittite letter of Puduḫepa, no. *105; cf. Klengel 1999: 221–22.

15. The reading ^mK-^rpa-an¹-[ta-^{PKAL}] has been collated and confirmed by H. Klengel; see *ĀHK* I, Tafel XIX; vol. II, 126–27.

16. To the bibliographical references provided by Edel (1994, 2: 125), add Wouters 1989 and Beckman 1996: 124–25 (no. 22D).

§ 3 (obv. 7–13) Now I, the Great King, King of Egypt, have heard all the matters which [you wrote] to me about. Concerning the matter of Ur̄hi-Teššub, it is not so! I have not d[one(?)] that which you wrote to me about. Now, [the case(?) is] different. [Behold,] the good relationship which I, the Great King, King of Egypt, established with the Great King, [King of Ḫatti], my brother, in good brotherhood and good peace, the Sun-deity and [the Storm-god granted(?) it] forever. Furthermore, behold, the matter of Ur̄hi-Teššub which yo[u wrote] to me about, the Great King, King of Ḫatti, acted according to [...].

§4 (obv. 14–17) Still, he keeps writing to me about him as follows: “[Let] the Great King, King of Egypt, *exhaust* his troops and let him [...], and let him give his gold and let him give his silver, and I[et him give] his horses, and make him give his copper and make him [...], and may he take Ur[hi-Tessub (or: may Ur[hi-Tessub take) [...].

The second paragraph is quite ambiguous because of the cryptic usage of pronouns and the disparate verbal constructions.¹⁷ That “he” who keeps writing to Egypt about Ur̄hi-Teššub must be Ḫattušili is generally agreed upon, but the identity of “his troops, etc.” is disputed, and so is the exact meaning of the verbal form *ana šunuḫi*.¹⁸ Whereas Cavaignac (1935: 26) thought that Ramses is requested to “make weak, wear out” the troops of Ur̄hi-Teššub and to confiscate his valuables, Edel understood that Ramses should rather “exert” (“sich bemühen lassen”) his own troops in search of Ur̄hi-Teššub. Either way, Ur̄hi-Teššub seems to have had at his disposal a contingent prepared to fight on his side, or at least this is what Ḫattušili wanted his correspondent to believe. The following lines (obv. 19ff.) are almost entirely lost. Edel restored the passage as the answer of Ramses in which he announced that he followed Ḫattušili’s instructions and brought Ur̄hi-Teššub to Egypt. This, however, is quite doubtful. According to other letters, including the one sent by Ḫattušili to Kadašman-Enlil II (KBo 1.10+), Ramses probably reneged on complying with Ḫattušili’s request, using as a pretext his ignorance of Ur̄hi-Teššub’s whereabouts (see below). The reverse is also in a bad state of

17. These were explained by Wouters (1989: 229) as a way to enliven the blandness of the enumeration, whereas Edel (1994, 2: 128) simply calls it “schlechtes Akkadisch.” Perhaps one should rather follow the explanation first suggested by J. Friedrich (1924) and elaborated by Z. Cochavi Rainey (1988: § 3.2.2.2; 1990: 63ff.), according to which the prospective causal sentences with *naḏānu* are influenced by Egyptian syntactical constructions.

18. Derived from *anāḫu* I, Š, in the sense “pour calmer” (Cavaignac), “make weak” (Wouters) “bemühen lassen” (Edel), “exert themselves” (Beckman). Y. Cohen has suggested a derivation from *nāḫu*, Š (AHw 717a), which would provide a similar sense, i.e., “to allow to rest.” The reading *a-na šu-nu-ti* suggested by Z. Cochavi Rainey 1988: *177 is unlikely, since the value *tí* for the sign *ḫi* is not attested in this correspondence (Rainey 1988: 27).

preservation, but it is clear that Ramses pledges his loyalty to the peace treaty signed with Ḫattušili.¹⁹

What was the purpose of Kupanta-Kurunta's missive to Ramses inquiring about Urḫi-Teššub? In the past, common opinion used to be that the king of Mira, unlike his neighbor in the Šeha River Land, Mašturi, remained loyal to Urḫi-Teššub and applied on his behalf to Ramses.²⁰ It now seems that Kupanta-Kurunta, the main western ally of Ḫatti, pursued a more expedient policy "designed to get the pharaoh to state his position on Urḫi-Teššub without in any way compromising his own" (Bryce 2003: 92). Perhaps he even acted on Ḫattušili's behalf, skilfully putting to the test Ramses's commitment to the new regime in Ḫatti (Archi 1997: 11). Of course, the experienced Egyptian king did not fall into the trap, and in his unequivocal answer, sent directly to Ḫattuša, he reassured his troubled ally of his loyalty. Whatever its purpose, Kupanta-Kurunta's correspondence, in Akkadian, with the Great King of Egypt is highly significant as an attempt at reinstating western Anatolia on the international scene a century after Arzawa's correspondence with the Amarna court.

The issue of Urḫi-Teššub's whereabouts is expanded in a group of letters included by Edel under the rubric "Urḫitešub in Nordsyrien" (nos. 24–31), the best preserved of which are the duplicates nos. 24 and 25.²¹ This is the famous letter in which Ramses presents his version of the events that took place before, during and after the battle of Qadesh.²² Thereafter he moves on to more recent issues, declaring his commitment to the peace treaty which had been deposited before the Sun-god of Ana/Heliopolis (rev. 3). He protests against Ḫattušili's anachronistic usage of hostile terminology in peace time (§ I = rev. 5–8). In the next paragraph (§ K = rev. 9–12) Edel restores a reference to Urḫi-Teššub, who Ramses allegedly failed to bring to Egypt. In fact, the paragraph deals with the eternal peace between the two lands and the recurring verb *leqû* could well refer to something else. Indeed, the next paragraph (§ L = rev. 13–21) takes up a totally different subject, the dispatch of a contingent of Nubians (LÚMeluhḫa^{MES}). Several persons are mentioned in the passage, including a governor (*šakin* KUR) and a king of Ḫalba (Aleppo), both unnamed. Whatever the meaning of this intriguing section, it is impossible to follow Edel's theory (1994, 2: 101, 118),²³

19. The key phrase is rev. 6'–7': *um-m]a-a mi-nu-i-ia a-na-ku mUr-ḫi-ḫiŠKUR / a-ka-a i-di-šu ...*. Wouters (1989: 228; unaware of the join with KUB 3.23) places the phrase in the mouth of Urḫi-Teššub himself: "What is mine, I, Urḫi-Teššub[....]" Edel (followed by Beckman) has Ramses as speaker and translates: "Was (soll) ich?? Wo sollte ich ihn (den Urḫitešub) (als König) anerkennen?" A sense "to acknowledge" ("anerkennen") for *e/idû* is not registered in the dictionaries, and the parallel supplied by Edel (1994, 2: 129) appears in a fragmentary context. Perhaps what Ramses meant was that he simply did not know Urḫi-Teššub because he had never met him.

20. See, e.g., Archi 1971: 209; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 240–41; Singer 1983: 206.

21. CTH 156; no. 24 = KBo 1.15+19 (+) KBo 1 22; no. 25 = KUB 3.30 (+) 31.

22. §§ A–H; previously discussed by Edel 1949; cf. Liverani 1990.

23. Also criticized by van den Hout 1998: 55, n. 52.

according to which Ramses proposes to Ḫattušili to appoint a certain Egyptian official named Ria as the governor of Ḫalba and to install Urĥi-Teššub himself as the king of Ḫalba.

Urĥi-Teššub's name first turns up in the next paragraphs, which can be partly restored from the parallel text no. 29. In § M (rev. 22–28) is a tantalizing list of four lands enumerated from north to south: Kizwatna, Ḫalba, Subari, Kinza.²⁴ In early studies, in which the recurring word -*jakkuššu* was restored as *nakkuššu*, “escort(?)”, this list was conceived as an itinerary for the voyage of the Hittite princess. On the basis of the duplicate (KUB 3.31 rev. 2'), however, Edel (1949: 206) was able to rectify the reading to *i]l-qa-ak-ku-uš-šu*, “hätte ihn dir gebracht,”²⁵ ostensibly referring to the transfer of Urĥi-Teššub to Egypt. The lands enumerated by Ramses signify, according to Edel, the potential hiding places of Urĥi-Teššub, the kings of which allegedly failed or refused to extradite the fugitive king (cf. also Archi 1997: 11). This would seem to support Ramses's claim that Urĥi-Teššub was not to be found in Egyptian-held territory, and thus, he could not comply with his correspondent's persistent demand.

The mystery surrounding Urĥi-Teššub's whereabouts and actions increases in the next paragraph (§ O = rev. 35–41). Apparently, a group of people²⁶ together with “that man” (rev. 35) came to Ramses and expressed their concern for him. The unnamed person, who was apparently married to a king's daughter (rev. 36), would be, according to Edel, Urĥi-Teššub.²⁷ But if this were the case, how could he have appeared before Ramses, who repeatedly claimed that he had not been able to find the man? Could not the man in question have been someone else, perhaps Nerik(a)ili, who was married to a daughter of Bentešina and who indeed seems to have been in Egypt (no. 26 rev. 15'; see below)? Is it mere coincidence that in the following lines (rev. 39–40) the “sons of Amurru” (DUMU.MEŠ KUR *A-mur-ri*) are mentioned?²⁸

Whatever the exact interpretation of this intriguing passage may turn out to be, it seems safe to say that the Land of Amurru played a pivotal role in the Urĥi-

24. The passage was first discussed by Goetze 1940: 34–35. It is interesting to note in passing that, whereas the geographical sequence is basically correct, the geo-political concepts are quite outdated. A “king of Kizzuwatna” is no longer extant in the mid-thirteenth century, nor is a “king of Subari,” which, according to Goetze, must refer to Nuḫašši.

25. Wouters 1989: 231 restores *li-i]l-qa-a]k-ku-uš-šu*, “he will capture him for you.”

26. Not necessarily “sons of Ḫatti” as restored by Edel in rev. 35; “your [servants]” in rev. 39 is also questionable.

27. Edel (1994, 2: 120) assumes that Urĥi-Teššub was married to a daughter of Kadašman-Turgu, king of Babylon, an assumption for which there is no supportive evidence.

28. Alongside the “sons” of another land whose name begins with *Qa-*. Edel (I, 64 and fig. xxix) restored *Qa-a'-[ú]-e'(?)*, which would provide the only second-millennium attestation of *Qwh* (= Cilicia). Qatna, however, as suggested by Wouters 1989: 232, seems more likely. Edel also restored a third land, *š]u-[ba-ri-i*, from which practically nothing is preserved; note that in the duplicate KUB 3.30 (+) 3.31 rev. 8'-9' he only restores Qaue and Amurru (I, 69).

Teššub affair. As I have suggested elsewhere (1999: 645), Amurru could well be the place “alongside the seashore” (A.AB.BA *tapuša*; Hatt. iv 36) to which Urḫi-Teššub was supposedly transferred after his failed conspiracy with Babylon.²⁹ Bentešina, Ḫattušili’s protégé, was apparently trusted to keep a watchful eye on the notorious exile, but whether he succeeded in doing so or not is far less evident. There seems to be no direct reference to Urḫi-Teššub in the poorly preserved correspondence with Amurru,³⁰ but there are two letters that may indirectly implicate Bentešina in this affair.

The first is KUB 3.56 sent by His Majesty to Bentešina.³¹ The letter deals with various matters, including a successful visit of Šaušgamuwa to the Hittite court (perhaps in search of a Hittite bride?). Rev. 9’–11’ (Houwink ten Cate 1994: 246) contains a well-preserved command of the Hittite king:

(9’) *ša táš-pu-ra ma-a* LÚKÚR *ša* DUTU-ŠI E[N-ia]

(10’) *ú-ul i-di šum-ma i-na ŠÀ KUR Mi-is-ri-i*

(11’) *[šu]m-ma i-na KUR-ti ša-ni-i ku-ul-li bi-la-aš-š[u]*

Concerning what you wrote to me as follows: “About the enemy of His Majesty, [my lo]rd, I do not know whether he is in the land of Egypt or whether he is in some other land,” capture him (and) bring him to me!

Like in Ḫattušili’s letter to Kadašman-Enlil II (KBo 1.10+ obv. 66–70), the unnamed enemy of His Majesty likely refers to Urḫi-Teššub. Bentešina, like Ramses, claims ignorance about Urḫi-Teššub’s whereabouts.

The second letter is KBo 28.86, sent to His Majesty by one of his subjects (Singer 1988). On the reverse he informs his lord about the arrival of Hittite and Egyptian messengers from Makkitta, most probably Megiddo in the Jezreel Valley. The author must have been located somewhere between Megiddo and the Hittite capital, and the land of Amurru, which became after the ratification of the Silver Treaty an important station on the diplomatic route between Ḫatti and Egypt (Singer 1991: 169–70), could well be the origin of the letter. The obverse has a quotation from His Majesty’s letter with a broken reference to “Urḫi-Teššub at M[y] Brother’s,” that is, the king of Egypt.³² The fragmentary context seems to imply that the person in question had not been brought to the

29. Other proposed locations include Alašia, Ugarit, Mira and, most recently, Tarḫuntašša (Bryce 2003: 220–21).

30. Houwink ten Cate 1994: 244ff. For the Amurru correspondence from Boğazköy, see Hagenbuchner 1989: nos. 260–267 and Izre’el 1991, vol. II: 100–108.

31. Hagenbuchner 1989: no. 267; Singer 1991: 165–66, n. 44; Houwink ten Cate 1994: 245–46.

32. Obv. 5’: *-d/t]im?* mUr-ḫi-DIM *a-šar* ŠEŠ-ī[a].

sender,³³ a claim curiously recalling Bentešina's defence quoted in the previous document. In short, there is a good chance that KBo 28.86 should be classified among Bentešina's correspondence with his in-laws, Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa. If so, the suggestion that Amurru played a significant role in the Urḫi-Teššub affair would gain further support.

There remains, however, a tantalizing question. Why did Ḫattušili not mention in his *Autobiography* the actual location of Urḫi-Teššub's second place of exile instead of using the cryptic locution "alongside the seashore" (Hatt. iv 36)? The only answer I can think of is that he himself was not quite sure where Urḫi-Teššub ended up after his failed scheme with Babylon. Therefore, he kept writing incriminating letters to Bentešina and to Ramses, both of whom repeatedly exculpated themselves. The general impression one gets is that nobody was particularly enthusiastic to host this political "hot potato" in his own territory. It seems that, despite what he says in his letter to the king of Babylon (KBo 1.10+ obv. 66–68), Ḫattušili himself was not really interested in the extradition of Urḫi-Teššub to Ḫatti, but rather preferred to keep him as far away from his homeland as possible, preferably under the vigilant eyes of Ramses (cf. also Archi 1997: 10; Klengel 2002: 106). Whether he managed to achieve this aim remains unknown. Puduḫepa's ironical remark in her letter to Ramses—"Since [Urḫi-] Teššub is there, ask him whether it is so or not" (KUB 21.38 obv. 11'–12')—is usually taken as a proof that Urḫi-Teššub ended up in Egypt. In fact, however, the remark only proves that this was the common opinion in Ḫatti, nothing more. As far as can be gleaned from the preserved correspondence, Ramses himself never acknowledged Urḫi-Teššub's residence in Egypt, at least not in the preserved parts of the correspondence. Stimulating and thought provoking as they are, the Urḫi-Teššub letters in the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence, in their present state of preservation, do not yet remove the veil from Urḫi-Teššub's biography as a political exile.

Let us return to the remaining documents of "dossier D". In some of them Urḫi-Teššub is actually mentioned, but the context is too fragmentary for any sensible conclusions. In others, his name has been unnecessarily restored.

In no. 20, a letter sent by Ḫattušili, Edel (I, 50–51) restores the end of the line with a reference to Urḫi-Teššub (obv. 9) as such: ... *a-am-ḫ[ur LUGAL-ut-ta i-na aš-ri-šu]*, "Ich habe [die Königswürde an seiner Statt] empfan[gen]." This would provide a rare confession of Ḫattušili's usurpation, but in fact, all that remains are the first two signs (*a-am-x[]*) of the verb, with practically nothing of

33. Obv. (8') *a-na m[a-an-ni ú-še-bi-lu-ú-[š]u ia-a-ši-ma* (9') *ú-ul(?) ú-še-bi-lu-šu* ... "....to w]hom did they bring [hi]m? To me [...] they did [not(?)] bring him." The reading *ia-a-ši-ma* was confirmed on a photograph by Prof. H. Otten (written communication, 3.2.1989).

the third.³⁴ No. 21 is a small fragment which may perhaps show Urḫi-Teššub's name in broken context (obv. 8). No. 22 obv. 31' has the rare word $L\dot{J}\dot{U}hu-ub-bu-šu$ rendered by Edel (I, 55; II, 82) as "stubborn/obstinate man" ("starrsinniger /starrköpfigen Mensch"), allegedly referring to Urḫi-Teššub. A. Goetze (1947: 245), who first published this text (NBC 3934), translated *hubbušu* as "a cripple,"³⁵ which may indeed be more in line with the rest of the letter dealing with doctors and medicines. Equally unwarranted is the restoration of Urḫi-Teššub's name in no. 23, 10', a Ramses letter dealing with the dispatch of the treaty tablets and their deposition before the Sun-god of Ana/Heliopolis.

The parallel letters nos. 26 and 27 mention Kurunta and Nerikk(a)ili. The former probably appears in connection with physicians sent to him, and this alone should render the insertion of Urḫi-Teššub's name (in no. 26, rev. 17') very unlikely.³⁶ The same applies to Nerikkili, who Edel (1994, 2: 121) places in the role of Urḫi-Teššub's captor. This well-known son of Ḫattušili and son-in-law of Bentešina appears in another letter alongside Tuthaliya (no. 80, 4'–5'). His mission to Egypt (like that of Ḫišmi-Šarruma's in no. 78) could be connected to the shipment of grain at issue elsewhere. No. 26, rev. 6', mentions a ship,³⁷ and no. 27, obv. 6', has "breads for eating" (*a-ka-la* NINDA.MEŠ). The gold, silver, copper and horses (no. 26 rev. 13'; no. 27 obv. 4'–5') could reasonably refer to the Hittite payment for the imported grain rather than expenditures spent on Urḫi-Teššub's search and capture. Such an interpretation is at least no less likely than Edel's audacious scenario (1994, 2: 122–24), according to which Urḫi-Teššub escaped from Egypt hidden in a fisherman's boat and was captured in Syria by Nerikkili, who mysteriously died immediately thereafter, leaving his evasive prisoner free to roam around again!³⁸

34. See drawing in *ÄHK* I, Tafel I and photograph on Tafel XLVII.

35. Cf. *CAD* H, 214–15: "defective" or "describing a characteristic bodily trait"; *CDA*, 118: "swollen up."

36. The topic of the physicians sent to Kurunta recurs in some of the *insibja* letters, to be dated late in Ḫattušili's or even in Tuthaliya's reign. See Edel 1976: 29ff.; *ÄHK* II 257ff. Cf. also van den Hout 1995: 99.

37. *i-na ŠA* ^{GI}ŠMÁ ^{LÚ}ba-a[-, restored by Edel as ^{LÚ}ba-a[-i-ri, "fisherman's boat." *bā'eri* is definitely a possibility, and grain was occasionally transported in Egypt by fishermen (Castle 1992: 249). However, I would like to suggest an alternative possibility: the Egyptian term *bari*-ships, which is listed together with *qerer*-ships and *menesh*-ships in Papyrus Harris I, a passage reporting about the transportation of goods from Canaan to Egypt (ANET, 260; Wachsmann 1998: 10–11). The Egyptian term might also be related to the Ugaritic "*br*-ships," which could simply reflect the Semitic term *br*, "grain, cereal" (see Vita 1995: 165, ns. 1–6, with refs.).

The previous line (rev. 5') has the curious combination *a-i-ri-ú šum-šu* [, "*airiu* is his/its name." Edel assumed that this must be an Egyptian gloss, but could not offer any Egyptian (or Akkadian) parallel (Edel 1994, 2: 122). Neither does it have any Anatolian parallel. Since the passage deals with shipping, I wonder whether this might be a rare reference to an Aegean term; cf. *e-re-e-u* in the Linear B tablets from Pylos, which has tentatively been interpreted as an "official in charge of rowers" (Palaima 1991: 301ff.).

38. Obviously, this imaginative scenario cannot be exploited for the reconstruction of Nerikk(a)ili's prosopography, let alone for a distinction between two Nerikk(a)iliš (Houwink ten Cate 1996: 46, n. 13, with further refs.).

No. 30 is a Ramses letter dealing with [drugs for] the eyes (obv. 14') and the dispatch of "horses from herds" (obv. 20'–21': ANŠÉ.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ša šu-gu₅-ul-la-ti*) and NAM.RA (rev. 1). Both items were exported from Ḫatti to Egypt, and reference has already been made to the royal stables excavated at Piramesse. Again, I fail to see the necessity of squeezing the Urḫi-Teššub affair in the almost completely broken end of the reverse (l. 18). Equally unwarranted is the restoration of Urḫi-Teššub in the tiny no. 31, which has a rare reference to the Land of Danuna (l. 7'), allegedly one of Urḫi-Teššub's hiding places.

Finally, nos. 32 and 33 are probably parallel letters sent by Ramses to Ḫattušili and to Puduḫepa, respectively. In the main, Ramses praises the brotherhood between Ḫatti and Egypt with the following exceptionally amicable declaration: "Are we not as from one father, and are we not as from one mother, and do we not live as in one land?" (no. 32 obv. 20'–22'). The reverse in both tablets may refer to some stumbling blocks in the relationship between the two monarchs, but need these always refer to Urḫi-Teššub (no. 32, rev. 4')? And even if they do, I still fail to see any grounds for Edel's idea (1994, 2: 140–41), according to which Ramses insists that Urḫi-Teššub be "re-transferred" from Ḫatti to Egypt, promising that he would not let him escape again from his land.

In concluding these preliminary remarks on just one dossier of the vast Hittite-Egyptian correspondence, it is important to stress the indebtedness of the scholarly community to Professor Elmar Edel for dedicating a lifetime to the arduous effort of joining, classifying and studying this unique corpus. I believe, however, that this formidable legacy obliges us to continue critical research into the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence with an unrelenting commitment to unbiased re-examination of each and every hypothesis and historical conclusion.

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HITTITE GODS IN EGYPTIAN ATTIRE: A CASE STUDY IN CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

The “International Age” of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.E. is well known as a time of cross fertilization among various cultures of the ancient Near East in a wide array of intellectual realms, from language to mythology and from technology to ideology. The case of Hittite-Egyptian relations after the Battle of Qadesh is particularly well suited to in-depth investigations of mutual cultural influences, due to the wealth of written information and also to some promising new archaeological discoveries.¹ Yet, the tracking down of the path of transmission of a cultural element from one culture to the other is a notoriously difficult and circuitous enterprise, usually involving a Sisyphean search for a putative *Urtext* or *Urbjekt*, its transfer to another culture, and its tradition through the ages (*Überlieferung*). The results can often be rather frustrating. The following study focuses on a rare case in which the transmission of a cultural paradigm is almost direct and is set at a well-defined point in time. I hope that this intercultural Hittite-Egyptian investigation constitutes a fitting tribute to my friend Peter Machinist, who brilliantly captured the spirit and the distinctiveness of ancient Near Eastern cultures.²

In Year 21 of Ramesses II (1259 B.C.E.), sixteen years after the Battle of Qadeš, Hatti and Egypt reached a peace agreement which was probably first drafted by diplomats traveling between the two courts. Thereafter, each side composed its own final version in the name of his monarch, and the parallel

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1. For some refs. see I. Singer, “The Urhi-Tešsub affair in the Hittite-Egyptian Correspondence,” in *The Life and Times of Hattušili III and Tuthaliya IV. Proceedings of a Symposium held in Honour of J. de Roos, 12–13 December 2003, Leiden* (ed. Th. P. J. van den Hout; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2006), 27–29.

2. P. Machinist, “On Self-Consciousness in Mesopotamia,” in *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations* (ed. S. N. Eisenstadt; Albany: Suny, 1986), 183–202; 511–18. Idem, “The Question of Distinctiveness in Ancient Israel: An Essay,” in *Ah, Assyria... Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor*. Scripta Hierosolymitana 33 (eds. M. Cogan and I. Eph'al; Jerusalem: Magnes), 196–212; reprinted in *Essential Papers on Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. F. E. Greenspahn; New York: New York University, 1991), 420–42.

documents were dispatched to each other's court. Accordingly, the Akkadian fragments discovered at Boğazköy as early as in 1906 must be the version written by the Egyptians. They exhibit the typical grammatical style of the Akkadian written at the Ramesside court.³ Although this version has been preserved in three duplicates, all are fragmentary and lack the end of the text containing the list of divine witnesses.⁴

The version written by the Hittites in Akkadian was incised on a silver tablet which was ceremoniously brought to Egypt by an official delegation. There it was translated into Egyptian and was carved onto the walls of the temple of Amon in Karnak and in the Ramesseum. These duplicate versions are also fragmentary, but fortunately they preserve a large portion of the list of divine witnesses which will form the subject of this paper.⁵

A close comparison between the Akkadian and the Egyptian versions of the treaty has always stood at the center of scientific interest and has produced a large array of grammatical and historical studies, including Edel's monumental re-publication of the two juxtaposed texts.⁶ The situation is quite different with regard to the list of divine witnesses. Since it is only preserved in the Egyptian version, it has been investigated mainly by Egyptologists, notably as a source

3. See A. Rainey and Z. Cochavi-Rainey, "Comparative Grammatical Notes on the Treaty between Ramses II and Hattusili III," in *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (ed. S. Israelit-Groll; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1990), Vol. 2, 796-823. See now also M. Müller, *Akkadisch in Keilschrifttexten aus Ägypten: deskriptive Grammatik einer Interlanguage des späten zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends anhand der Ramses-Briefe* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010).

4. For the full text edition see E. Edel, *Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II. von Ägypten und Hattusili III. von Hatti* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1997); henceforth *Vertrag*. For English translations see G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (2nd ed., Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 96-100; Y. Cohen, "The Hittite-Egyptian treaty," in *The Ancient Near East. Historical Sources in Translation* (ed. M. W. Chavalas, Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 244-52.

5. E. Edel, "Der ägyptisch-hethitische Friedensvertrag zwischen Ramses II. und Hattusilis III.," in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*. Band I, Lfg. 2. (ed. R. Borger et al., Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1983), 135-53; idem, *Vertrag*; K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*. Vol. II, Fasc.5. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), 225-32; idem, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated & Annotated*. Vol. II. *Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 79-85.

6. S. Langdon and A. H. Gardiner, "The Treaty of Alliance between Hattusili, King of the Hittites, and the Pharaoh Ramesses II of Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 6 (1920) 179-205; A. R. Schulman, "Aspects of Ramesside Diplomacy: the Treaty of Year 21," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 8 (1977-78) 112-30; A. Spalinger, "Considerations on the Hittite Treaty between Egypt and Hatti," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 9 (1981): 299-358; G. Kestemont, "Accords internationaux relatifs aux ligues Hittites (1600-1200 av. J.C.), Dossier C: Le dossier égyptien," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 12 (1981): 15-78; M. Gutgesell, *Der Friedensvertrag Ramses und die Hethiter: Geheimdiplomatie im alten Orient* (Hildesheim: Bernward, 1984); C. Zaccagnini, "The Forms of Alliance and Subjugation in the Near East of the Late Bronze Age," in *I trattati del mondo antico: forma, ideologia, funzione* (ed. L. Canfora et al., Roma: Bretschneider, 1990), 37-79; A. Rainey and Z. Cochavi-Rainey, "Comparative Grammatical Notes on the Treaty between Ramses II and Hattusili III," in *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Vol. 2.; ed. S. Israelit-Groll, Jerusalem: Magnes, 1990), 796-823; H. Klengel, *Hattuschili und Ramses. Hethiter und Ägypter – ihr langer Weg zum Frieden* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2002), 75-93; Edel, *Vertrag*.

for the study of the so-called Group Writing.⁷ Hittitologists have only cursorily referred to it within the context of general studies on the divine lists in treaties.⁸

Egyptologists who have commented on the divine list – like Wilson (1955: 201), Helck (1971: 216–19), Edel (1983: 150–51; 1997: 66–104) and Kitchen (1996: 83–85; 1999: 143)—have all been versed in cuneiform and some of them consulted Hittitologists on specific problems.⁹ However, I dare say, none of them was sufficiently familiar with Hittite theological concepts and with the vast bibliography on the subject. They picked their cuneiform parallels from early editions of Hittite treaties,¹⁰ but did not make sufficient use of systematic investigations into the structure of the divine lists with their many existing variants.¹¹

In the present study I have purposely refrained from making use of any of the verdicts reached by experts regarding the accuracy and quality of the Egyptian translation of the Akkadian text and the Akkadian translation of the Egyptian text. Opinions differ widely,¹² and in any case, this current investigation has little to do with the grammatical skill of the scribes. Rather, it focuses on some theological issues resulting from the rendering of the Hittite divine world into Egyptian.

Before setting out on this comparative study, it should be reiterated that even though we possess enough Hittite sources to enable a meaningful comparison

7. See, e.g., F. A. K. Breyer, “Anatolisches Sprachmaterial in ägyptisch-hieroglyphischen Inschriften – ein Vorbericht,” in *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens, Nordafrikas und der Ägäis. Akten des Basler Kolloquiums zum ägyptisch-nichtsemitischen Sprachkontakt*, Basel 9.–11. Juli 2003 (ed. Th. Schneider, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2004), 259–70; idem, *Ägypten und Anatolien. Politische, materielle und sprachliche Beziehungen zwischen dem Niltal und Kleinasien im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010).

8. E.g., G. Kestemont, “Le panthéon des instruments Hittites de droit public,” *Orientalia* 45 (1976): 147–77.

9. J. A. Wilson, “Treaty between the Hittites and Egypt,” in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 201; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971), 216–19; Edel, “Friedensvertrag,” 150–51; idem, *Vertrag*, 66–104; K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated & Annotated. Vol. II. Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 83–85; idem, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated & Annotated. Notes and Comments. Vol. II. Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999) 143 (henceforth RITA II/II).

10. E. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1923); J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache. I–II* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926, 1930).

11. Kestemont, “Accords”; idem, “Panthéon”; G. del Monte *Il trattato fra Muršili II di Hattuša e Niqmepa di Ugarit* (Roma: Istituto per l’Oriente, 1986) 100–106; E. Laroche, “The Pantheons of Asia Minor: The Organization of the Hittite Gods” in *Mythologies*, Vol. One, (ed. Y. Bonnefoy, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 221–22; I. Singer, “The Thousand Gods of Hatti”: The Limits of an Expanding Pantheon,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 14 (1994), 90–93; D. Yoshida, *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnengöttern bei den Hethitern* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1996) 7–53; D. Schwemer, „Das hethitische Reichspantheon. Überlegungen zu Struktur und Genese,” in *Götterbilder, Gottesbilder, Weltbilder. Polytheismus und Monotheismus in der Welt der Antike. Band I. Ägypten, Mesopotamien, Persien, Kleinasien, Syrien, Palästina* (eds. R. G. Kratz and H. Spieckermann, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006) 243–53.

12. Compare, e.g., the opinion of Spalinger, “Considerations,” to that of Rainey and Cochavi-Rainey “Grammatical Notes.”

with the Egyptian list, we are *not* dealing here with a direct comparison between two versions of the same text. Without the hoped-for discovery of fragments containing the cuneiform divine list, we simply cannot determine what stood before the eyes of the Egyptian translator. If we find flaws or inconsistencies in the hieroglyphic version, we cannot automatically blame these on the Egyptian scribe(s). Some might have been there in the cuneiform version, although this is an unlikely scenario for the redaction of an official silver tablet. The challenge faced by the Egyptian scribe(s) who transcribed this list into hieroglyphs (perhaps through a hieratic intermediary) was far more difficult than for the rest of the treaty. Here not only was a first-class control of Akkadian required, but also a basic knowledge of everything from phonetic rules of transcription to a basic knowledge of Near Eastern theology. I shall withhold my verdict on the success of the Egyptian scribe(s) facing this challenge to the end of the investigation.

One more preliminary remark remains to be made. My main guiding principle in attempting to explain the difficulties raised by the Egyptian text is utmost fidelity to the principles inherent in the Hittite divine witness lists. Far-fetched and forced explanations which are not embedded in the Hittite evidence should better be left out. In particularly thorny cases, it is better to admit the limits of our understanding and await future discoveries that may yield better solutions.

From the reign of Šuppiluliuma I onwards, the order of the deities invoked as witnesses in the state treaties and other oath texts is more or less fixed, although some variations do occur in the century and half of documentation. The deities appearing in these lists¹³ are divided into several typological categories with the same deities usually classified under the same groups. In partial adherence to the terminology of Kestemont,¹⁴ the following groups appear in the corpus, though not all of them are represented in each individual treaty: the four main gods of the pantheon (two Sun deities and two Storm-gods); dynastic gods (quite rare); acolytes of the Storm-god (sacred bulls and mountains); Storm-god hypostases (“of the gate-house,” “of the army,” “of rescue”); local Storm-gods; Tutelary-deities (^DKAL/LAMMA); Telipinus; Hebats; *IŠTARs*; Oath deities; War-gods (^DZA-BABA); various local deities; *ḫabiru* and *lulalḫi* gods; the totality of male and female gods; primeval gods of the Underworld (of Mesopotamian origin); geographical and cosmological elements. As has been mentioned above, some deities may oscillate between the groups, which shows that their classification had not been finalized. The order of appearance of the groups is not rigid either, although the overall hierarchy, descending from the main celestial gods of Hatti to the gods of the Underworld (of foreign origin) and to all-inclusive definitions of the

13. Who are not necessarily representative of the Hittite pantheon in general; see Schwemer “Reichspantheon,” 250 with n. 30.

14. Kestemont, “Pantheon”; cf. also Laroche, “Pantheon,” 221–22; Schwemer “Reichspantheon,” 244.

divine world and of nature, follows a fixed pattern. Some divergences from this basic structure are no doubt due to scribal lapses, but others are not, and these are arguably the most interesting cases for disclosing theological thought and its development. The following list of divine witnesses in the Egyptian version is based on Edel's transliteration and numeration,¹⁵ to which I added dividing lines separating the various groups of deities.

b 1	p3-R ^c p3-nb n t3-pt	the Re, the lord of heaven
b 2	p3-R ^c n dmj n 'Arnn	the Re of the town of Arinna
b 3	Swth p3 nb n t3-pt	Sutekh, the lord of heaven
b 4	Swth n Ht	Sutekh of Hatti
b 5	Swth n dmj n 'Arnn	Sutekh of the town of Arinna
b 6	Swth n dmj n Dp'alnd	Sutekh of the town of Zippalanda
b 7	Swth n dmj n Piirq	Sutekh of the town of Pi<t>iyariq
b 8	Swth n dmj n Hissp	Sutekh of the town of Hışsaşpa
b 9	Swth n dmj n Sris	Sutekh of the town of Şarişsa
b 10	Sw[th] n dmj n Hlp	Su[tekh] of the town of Halab
b 11	Swth n dmj n Lhsin	Sutekh of the town of Lişşina
b 12	Swth [n dmj n ...]r[...]	Sutekh [of the town of ...]r[...]
b 13	[Swth n dmj n ...]	[Sutekh of the town of ...]
b 14	[Sw]th [n d]mj [n] S[...]	[Su]tekh [of the t]own [of] S[...]
b 15	[Swth] n [...i]ms	[Sutekh] of [...i]ms
b 16	Swth n dmj n Şhipin	Sutekh of the town of Şaḥpina
c 1	'ntrtj n p3-t3 n Ht	'ntrtj of the land of Hatti
c 2	p3-ntr n Dithariy	the god of Zithariya
c 3	p3-ntr n Krdis	the god of Karziş
c 4	p3-ntr n Hapntlys	the god of Hapantaliyaş
c 5	t3-ntrt n dmj Krhn	the goddess of the town Karaḥna
c 6	t3-ntrt n Dir	the goddess of <i>şeri</i> (<i>IŠTAR</i> of the field)
c 7	t3-ntrt n Nnw	the goddess of Ninuwa (Nineveh)
c 8	t3-ntrt n Din	the goddess of <i>şin</i>
c 9	p3-ntr Nint	the god Ninatta
c 10	p3-ntr [K]lt	the god [Ku]litta
c 11	p3-ntr n Hbt t3-ḥmt-nswt n t3-pt	the god of Hebat, the queen of heaven

15. *Vertrag*, 66–81.

c 12	n<3>-n _{trw} nbw ṣ _{nh}	the gods, lords of oath
c 13	t3-n _{trt} t3-h _{nwt} p3-jwtn	the goddess, the lady <of> the earth
c 14	t3-h _{nwt} n ṣ _{nh}	the lady of oath
c 15	Išhr t3-h _{nwt}	Išhara, the lady

d 1–2	<n3-n _{trw} ṣ _{h3wtj} n3-n _{trw} ḥmwt>	<the male gods, the female gods,>
d 3	<n3->ḡww	<the> mountains,
d 4	n3-j _{trwy} n p3-t3 n Ḥt	the rivers of the land of Hatti
d 5–6	n3-n _{trw} n p3-t3 n Qidwdn	the gods of the land of Kizzuwatna

d 7	Jmn	Amun
d 8	p3-R ^c	the Re
d 9	Swth	Sutekh
d 10	n3-n _{trw} ṣ _{h3wtj}	the male gods,
d 11	n3-n _{trw} ḥmwt	the female gods,
d 12	n3-ḡww	the mountains,
d 13	n3-j _{trwy} n p3-t3 n Kmt	the rivers of the land of Egypt

d 14	t3-pt	the sky,
d 15	p3-jwtn	the earth,
d 16	p3-ym ṣ ₃	the great sea,
d 17	p3-t3w	the winds,
d 18	n3-šn ^c w	the clouds.

(1) The four **main gods** of the pantheon (b 1–4) correspond exactly to the cuneiform lists: the Sun-god Lord of Heaven, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god Lord of Heaven, and the Storm-god of Hatti. The Hittite-Egyptian divine equations—Sun-deity equals Pre, Storm-god equals Seth/Sutekh—are straightforward except for the rather complex gender situation of the Anatolian solar deities. The ingenious method by which the Egyptian scribe(s) solved the problem of the equation of the feminine Sun-goddess of Arinna with the masculine Egyptian Sun-god is dealt with in the last paragraph of this study (together with the description of the seals attached to the silver tablet). The figures of the Sun-god and the Storm-god represent in the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence,¹⁶ the heads of the Egyptian and the Hittite pantheons, respectively.¹⁷

(2) Out of twelve **local Storm-gods** (b 5–16), four are irreparably lost (b 12–15) and all attempts at restoring or guessing their identity are futile. This

16. Edel, *Korrespondenz*.

17. Singer, "Thousand Gods," 99 with n. 82.

important group of local manifestations of the Storm-god (^{DU}IM), also including the Storm-god of the Ruins (^{DU} DU₆) and the Storm-god of Rescue (^{DU} Á.TAḪ/ ^{DU} EN RĒṢŪTI),¹⁸ normally consists of a number between 14 to 19 deities.¹⁹ The list never attained full canonization, and the order of the Storm-gods varies from one treaty to the other for no apparent reason. Most place-names recur in all the treaties, but a few are specific to particular treaties (e.g., Hulašša in the Huqqana treaty), probably reflecting local preferences.

b 7: The flawed spelling *Piirq* for cuneiform Pittiyariq(a) is explained by Edel through graphical means involving hieratic script.²⁰ Kestemont reads here “Nerik” without providing any argumentation.²¹

b 8: As observed by Edel, the spelling *Ḫissp* without a second *ḫ* corresponds to the cuneiform spelling Ḫiššaš(ša)pa typical of 13th century texts, replacing the older spelling Ḫiššašḫpa.²² For the chronological significance of this spelling, see the conclusions.

b 12: A single hieroglyphic sign is left from the place-name, an *r* (which can also be read as *l*) in middle position, which leaves too many possibilities for restoration (Edel provides four options).

b 14: Edel places the traces of an *s* in initial position and restores *S[pinw]* or *S[mḫ]*, but in fact, according to his drawing,²³ the *s* is in medial position. Helck places the –śá in medial or in final position.²⁴ Faced with such uncertainty on the position of the only trace left from the toponym, it is better to refrain from any restoration.

b 15: Edel restores the traces of a final *ḫi²ms* (allegedly followed by the determinative of the Seth animal) as the Hittite word *[teth]imaš*, “of thunder,” a suggestion considered by Kitchen to be “highly-ingenuous.”²⁵ This rare manifestation of the Storm-god²⁶ never appears in the witness lists and it would be most unwarranted to grant him a debut here simply on the basis of a daring restoration.²⁷ If indeed the determinative is not the usual “foreign land” but rather a

18. The Hittite reading is probably ^{DU} *šartiyaš*, a deity appearing in Muwatalli's Prayer (KUB 6.46 ii 13) among the deities of Katapa; see Singer “Thousand Gods,” 11, 55 (cf. KBo 17.85, 16 ŠA LUGAL ^{DU} *šard[īyaš]*). In the list of witness gods of the Manapa-Tarḫunta treaty (KUB 19.49 iv 1 = 50 iv 6; Friedrich, *Staatsverträge II*, 14) a flawed URU determinative is added. These references to the Storm-god of Rescue should be supplemented in the *šardi(ya)*-entries of CHD Š/2: 292–94.

19. Kestemont, “Panthéon,” 149, 158; Yoshida, *Untersuchungen*, 14.

20. Edel, *Vertrag*, 99.

21. Kestemont, “Accords,” 48.

22. Edel, *ibid.*; for refs. see C. Kühne and H. Otten, *Der Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971), 49.

23. Edel, *ibid.*, 42*.

24. Helck, *Beziehungen*, 216–17; cf. also Kitchen *RITA II/II*, 143.

25. Kitchen, *RITA II/II*, 143.

26. V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 295.

27. See also Breyer, “Redaktionsgeschichte,” 20.

sitting figure, the only non-toponymic candidates would be the Storm-god of the Ruins or the Storm-god of Rescue (see above), though I am not sure whether the hieroglyphic traces could fit any of these.

(3) The group of five **Tutulary deities** (c 1–5) presents a special challenge for theological interpretation, perhaps the most difficult in the entire list. The basic kernel of this list usually consists of five or six deities to whom additional manifestations and deities may be added: ^DKAL, ^DKAL of Hatti, Zithariya, Karzi, Ḫapantaliya, and ^DKAL of Karaḫna.²⁸ The first generalized Tutulary deity is sometimes dropped, and such seems to be the case here. The gender of each Tutulary deity is not self-evident in the cuneiform texts²⁹ and in this respect the Egyptian version provides valuable information since the scribe had to make a clear choice between a male (*p3-ntr*) and a female (*t3-ntrt*) deity. This differentiation, which will be discussed further in the concluding section, should not be dismissed off-hand. It must represent a basic knowledge of the Hittite divine world, either by the Egyptian translator himself, or, more probably, by some Hittite advisor who assisted him in the translation process.

c 1: The identification of the first deity in this group, ⁿ*ntrtj* of the Land of Hatti, requires a lengthy detour into comparative Near Eastern religion and will therefore be presented in a separate excursus at the end of the paper.

c 2–4: These three Tutulary gods—Zithariya, Karzi, and Ḫapantaliya—are almost universally represented in the Hittite treaties.³⁰ Although the three names are followed by the determinative “foreign land,” the designation *p3-ntr* preceding their names clearly identifies them as gods. (On this supposed discrepancy see more in the conclusive section). The function of the final *-s* in the names *Krdis* and *Ḫ(r)pntlys* remains unclear. It could stand for the Hittite nominative,³¹ but all the other names in the list, including *Dithariy* preceding them, lack it. In the Hittite lists personal names often appear in the nominative, whereas toponyms are in the stem case.

c 5: “The goddess of the city Karaḫna” is clearly distinguished as a female deity (*t3-ntrt*), in contrast to the previous triad of gods. In the Hittite texts, ^DKAL of Karaḫna figures abundantly,³² but in the majority of cases there is nothing to indicate the gender of the deity or its name, i.e., whether the logogram refers to

28. Kestemont, “Panthéon,” 160.

29. *Contra* Edel’s “männlich!”; “Neues zur Schwurgötterliste im Hethitervertrag,” in *Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (ed. U. Luft, Budapest: Innova, 1992), 123.

30. Kestemont, “Panthéon,” 160; G. McMahon, *The Hittite State Cult of the Tutulary Deities* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1991), 14–21.

31. Edel, “Neues Material zur Beurteilung der syllabischen Orthographie des Ägyptischen.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 8 (1949): 44–47; idem, *Vertrag*, 100.

32. G. Del Monte and J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1978), 178–79; McMahon, *Tutulary Deities*, 36–37.

the goddess Inar(a) or to the god Kurunti(ya) (see further in the Excursus). There exists one text, however, which fully corroborates the Egyptian scribe's choice of gender: KUB 2.1 i 43–44 ^{URU}Karaḥnaš=a ^DKAL-ri (followed by ^DKarši and ^DḤabantaliya).³³ Thus, the goddess of Karaḥna was Inara and one wonders how the Egyptian scribe knew that. Once again we are faced with the probability of a Hittite “advisor” who guided the Egyptian scribe(s) through the intricacies of the Hittite pantheon.

(4) The group of *IŠTAR* manifestations and acolytes includes five deities (c 6–10).³⁴ ^D*IŠTAR* functions as a logogram in Hittite texts, representing several goddesses, notably Šaušga³⁵ and Anziliya.³⁶ Two further logograms interchange with ^D*IŠTAR*, namely ^DGAŠAN and ^DLİŠ (the latter unknown in Mesopotamia). We cannot be sure which of these appeared in the cuneiform version, but in any case, all three acquired a general meaning of the “goddess” or the “lady” *par excellence*, and the Egyptian scribe was fully justified in rendering the logogram as *t3-ntrt* “goddess.”

c 6: The first deity, *t3-ntrt n Dir*, was identified with ^D*IŠTAR* ŠĒRI (LÍL), “*IŠTAR* of the Field” at an early stage.³⁷ As pointed out by Edel, the Egyptian scribe did not understand the meaning of Akkadian *šēru*, “field,” and instead of translating it into Egyptian, he simply transcribed the cuneiform *še-ri*, considering it to be a place-name.³⁸ Although in most cuneiform lists the logogram LÍL is used, there exist a few cases with this phonetic spelling.³⁹

c 7: *IŠTAR* of Nineveh (Ninuwa) was one of the main hypostases of the goddess in Anatolia.⁴⁰ The scribe dropped here the city determinative *n dmj* which is attached to all other place-names (e.g., *n dmj Krḫn* two lines before).

c 8: This fragmentary name poses the second difficult crux in the list (besides *ṣntrt*). What one expects here is *IŠTAR* of Ḥattarina who is the second

33. Ibid., 96.

34. There is no need to assume with Edel (“Neues,” 122–23; *Vertrag*, 100) that the Egyptian scribe omitted through homoioteleuton four additional deities who should have appeared between the Tutelary deities and the *IŠTARs* according to cuneiform parallels. This list is considerably shorter than other lists of divine witnesses (see concluding remarks).

35. I. Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981).

36. G. Wilhelm, “Die Keilschriftfunde der Kampagne 2001 in Kuşaklı,” *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 134 (2002), 345.

37. F. Sommer, *Die Ahhiyawa-Urkunden* (München: Beck, 1932), 381; A. Goetze *apud* J. A. Wilson *ANET*, 201, n. 17; E. Edel, “Zur Schwurgötterliste des Hethitervertrags,” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 90 (1963): 31–35.

38. Edel, *Vertrag*, 100.

39. Kestemont, “Panthéon,” 114, n. 200; del Monte, *Trattato*, 28, l. 98'; B. H. L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 937.

40. For the Egyptian rendering of the place-name see Edel, “Schwurgötterliste”; idem, “Neues zur Schwurgötterliste,” 119, n. 2; *Vertrag* 1997: 100.

most popular local manifestation of the goddess and figures predominantly in the divine lists.⁴¹ The name or epithet beginning with *d3-i-n* must be very short. The first two signs are the same as in the Egyptian rendering of *ṣēri* in c 6. Beneath the *-n*- and above the “foreign land” determinative, there is space for one sign, possibly two. Upon repeated collations Edel saw the traces of the feet of an *alef* bird, also visible in the photograph in Max Müller’s early publication.⁴² Restoring an additional *-i*, Edel read the entire group as *d3-i-n*[3-*i*], which supposedly represents cuneiform *ṣēni*, “flock of sheep (and goats).”⁴³ Such a manifestation of *IŠTAR* is unknown, but Edel nevertheless suggested that she might be the goddess venerated in Ḫattarina. The suggestion of Kestemont to restore here the name of the god Šanda seems even less likely.⁴⁴

Assuming that Edel’s restoration of the hieroglyphic name is possible, the question remains: what is the meaning of the resulting cuneiform word and how does it tally with the available information on *IŠTAR* in the Hittite material? Here, as in c 1, I find it difficult to follow Edel’s circuitous explanations.⁴⁵ An “*IŠTAR* of the sheep” (*Ištar des Kleinviehs*) simply does not exist in the Hittite material.⁴⁶ In support of this daring creation of a new deity Edel cites two successive hypostases of the goddess Āla in KUB 2.1 iii 30 f.: *DA-a-la-aš ŠA MÁŠ. ANŠE DA-a-la-aš gi-im!-ra-aš*, “Āla of the Animals, Āla of the Field.” As admitted by Edel, Āla is the consort of a male Tutelary-god and a Tutelary-goddess in her own right.⁴⁷ In the divine witness list in the Bronze Tablet (iii 87) she appears on the side of other Tutelary deities.⁴⁸ As already pointed out, the Tutelary deities and the *IŠTARs* are two different divine categories in Hatti which usually do not mix; they should not be supposed to do so here on the shaky grounds of a restored non-existent hypostasis of *IŠTAR*.

If one is inclined to retain Edel’s hieroglyphic restoration of the name, other possibilities for dealing with its Akkadian transliteration present themselves. For example, *ṣīnum*, “help, assistance,” would be a more appropriate epithet for *IŠTAR*, especially in the context of Ḫattušili’s extraordinary dedication to *IŠTAR*/Šaušga as his personal goddess. However, since such an epithet is apparently

41. Kestemont, “Panthéon,” 162.

42. W. M. Müller, *Der Bündnisvertrag Ramses’ II. und der Chetiterkönigs; Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 5 (Berlin: Peiser, 1902), Taf. XII.

43. Edel, “Friedensvertrag” 151, n. 29d; idem, “Neues zur Schwurgötterliste,” 120–22; cf. Kitchen *RIMA III/II*, 143.

44. Kestemont, “Accords,” 50, n. 100.

45. Edel, “Neues zur Schwurgötterliste,” 120–22; idem, *Vertrag*, 100.

46. Edel compares the obscure biblical *ʾašērôt ṣō(?)n* in Deut. 7:13; 28:4, 18, which can hardly be regarded as an epithet of the goddess.

47. See McMahon, *Tutelary Deities*, 11–13.

48. H. Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy: Ein Staatvertrag Tuthalijas IV.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 24.

not attested in the Hittite material,⁴⁹ I would not insist on it. A good candidate to fill in this slot would be some kind of short spelling or hypostasis of *IŠTAR*/Šaušga of Šamuḫa or Lawazantiya, two local goddesses who rose to primacy under the royal couple Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa and their son Tuthaliya.⁵⁰ At this stage, however, it seems better to leave the goddess in c 8 unidentified, especially since the hieroglyphic restoration is far from certain.

c 9–10: For the restoration of the names of the two maids of *IŠTAR*/Šaušga, Ninatta and Kulitta, see Edel.⁵¹ As in the following case of Ḫebat, the scribe mistakenly transliterated the divine determinative to a masculine *p3-ntr*.

(5) c 11: From the group of **Ḫebat** manifestations only the main one appears here, with all other local hypostases ignored. In early cuneiform treaties, Ḫebat and her circle is usually listed after the Storm-gods, but later she is moved down the list to either before or after the *IŠTARs*.⁵² As in the previous entries of Ninatta and Kulitta, the Egyptian scribe automatically transliterated the divine determinative DINGIR into masculine *p3-ntr*, even though her name is followed by the epithet Queen of Heaven (*t3-ḫmt-nswt n t3-pt*). Perhaps the scribe was not aware that this epithet (reproducing cuneiform SAL.LUGAL AN/ŠAME) stood in apposition to Ḫebat and considered it to be a separate entry.⁵³ It is noteworthy that the scribe correctly spelled here the name *Ḫbt* with the consonant *b*, whereas in the name of Queen Puduḫepa in this same text the theophoric element is spelled *-ḫipa*.⁵⁴

(6) The group of **Oath-gods** (c 12–15) concludes this concise list of individual deities.

A literal rendering of the chain of names and epithets in the hieroglyphic text runs as follows: “the gods, the lords of the oath, the goddess, the lady of the earth, the lady of the oath, Išḫara, the lady.” How this long list should be parsed into separate deities and their epithets depends on each commentator’s interpretation. Edel corrected the Egyptian scribe profusely, as shown by the many parentheses of various kinds in his transcription and translation.⁵⁵ As I will try to demonstrate, such emendations of the text are not necessary at all.

c 12: The list begins with a clear *ntrw nbw ḫnḫ*, which was simply rendered by Gardiner as “the gods, lords of swearing”⁵⁶ and by Wilson as “the gods, the

49. Wegner, *Ištar-Šawuška*, 25–28.

50. Ibid., 168.

51. Edel, “Schwurgötterliste,” 32–34.

52. Yoshida, *Untersuchungen*, 27.

53. Edel, “Schwurgötterliste,” 34.

54. Ibid.; idem, *Vertrag*, 82.

55. Edel, “Schwurgötterliste,” 151; idem, *Vertrag*, 71.

56. Langdon and Gardiner, “Treaty of Alliance,” 194.

lords of oath.”⁵⁷ Gardiner added in a comment that “the only parallel expression in Hittite treaties is ^DSIN *bēl mamîti* “Sin (the moon-god), lord of the oath.”⁵⁸ Building upon this observation, Edel⁵⁹ suggested an ingenious explanation for the alleged errors of both the ancient “Assyriologists” who translated the text and the modern ones (Meissner and Friedrich) who transliterated it: The flaw allegedly finds its source in the marked similarity between the cuneiform signs for ^D30, i.e. ^DSÎN, (AN + three *Winkelhakens*) and for DINGIR^{MEŠ} (AN + vertical + three *Winkelhakens*). Indeed, the error is banal and occurs quite often in cuneiform texts, but there is no need to posit it in this particular case. What was true in 1920 when Langdon and Gardiner wrote their pioneering treatment of the treaty has been superseded by the mass of new texts. Though still quite rare, the entry “the gods of the oath” is documented in several lists of witness gods as a separate entity besides the Moon-god and Išhara.⁶⁰ E.g., in the Šaḫurunuwa Decree (CTH 225), a text composed by Puduḫepa and her son Tuthaliya IV, we read in rev. 19: [(DINGIR^{MEŠ})] *MA-ME-TI* ^DSIN EN *MA-ME-TI* ^DIš-ḫa-ra-aš SAL.LUGAL *MA-ME-TI*.⁶¹ In other words, the unmistakably plural form of the hieroglyphs probably reproduced a plural cuneiform “gods of the oath,” and thereby omitted ^DSÎN from the list.

c 13–14: Who is the “Goddess, the Lady of the Earth, the Lady of the Oath” preceding the goddess Išhara? Certainly not *IŠTAR* of the Field⁶² who has already appeared in c 6. In the Bronze Tablet containing the treaty between Tuthaliya IV and Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša,⁶³ the spot between the Moon-god and Išhara, the oath-gods *par excellence*, is occupied by the goddess NIN.GAL, the consort of the Moon-god: ^DXXX LUGAL *MA-ME-TI* ^DNIN.GAL SAL.LUGAL *MA-ME-TI* ^DIš-ḫa-ra-aš (iii 93–94). Probably the same deities, but in a different order, are listed in the Ulmi-Teššub treaty: ^DNIN.GAL ^D[Iš-ḫa-ra-a]š ^DSÎN EN *MA-ME-TI* (obv. 56’).⁶⁴ As the consort of ^DSÎN, NIN.GAL would be at home among the guardians of the oath, but as shown by Imparati in her study on

57. Wilson, *ANET*, 201.

58. *Ibid.*, 196.

59. Edel, “Zur Schwurgötterliste,” 34–35; *idem*, “Friedensvertrag,” 151, n. 29g; followed by Helck, *Beziehungen*, 218 and Kestemont, “Accords,” 50, n. 101.

60. van Gessel, *Onomasticon*, 1001.

61. KUB 26.43 rev. 19 = KUB 50 rev. 10; F. Imparati, *Una concessione di terre da parte di Tuthaliya IV* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1974), 36. A similar case is found in the Alakšandu treaty, col. iv 12: DINGIR^{MEŠ} EN *NI-EŠ* DINGIR-*LIM* (preceded by Telipinu and followed by *IŠTAR*); Friedrich (*Staatsverträge* II, 78–79, with n. 6) emended DINGIR^{MEŠ} to ^DSÎN, but this seems unnecessary.

62. As suggested by Helck, *Beziehungen*, 218 and Kestemont, “Accords,” 50, n. 102.

63. Otten, *Bronzetafel*, 24.

64. Th. van den Hout, *Der Ulmitesub-Vertrag: Eine Prosopographische Untersuchung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 40, 70.

NIN.GAL, this Moon-goddess is not related to oaths in the Hittite texts.⁶⁵ More importantly, she has no reason whatsoever to be designated “the Lady of the Earth/Underground.”

A better option seems to be the one already proposed by Langdon and Gardiner,⁶⁶ namely, EREŠ.KI.GAL, the well-known Mesopotamian queen of the Underworld who was equated in Hatti with the “Sun-goddess of the Earth.”⁶⁷ EREŠ.KI.GAL appears frequently in the divine witness lists, often heading the list of Underworld (primeval) deities (defined in CTH 51 rev. 51 as DINGIR^{MEŠ} ERŠETI).⁶⁸ From the graphic point of view, the Egyptian scribe could easily have interpreted the cuneiform signs even without a basic knowledge of the Hittite pantheon.⁶⁹ The cuneiform sign EREŠ/NIN (HZL 299), which looks very similar to DAM (HZL 298), was rendered as *t3-hnwt*, “lady,” KI was rendered as *p3-jwtn*, “earth,” and GAL was left out. This “Lady of the Earth” was subsequently credited with the epithet “Lady of the Oath” simply on account of her position between the two guardians of oath, even though in the Hittite texts she does not function in this capacity.

c 15: “Išhara, the Lady” is stripped of her title “Lady of the Oath” just as in the Bronze Tablet cited above. There is no need to erase or add anything, as suggested by Edel,⁷⁰ and the epithet “Lady of the Oath” may indeed apply to both the goddesses preceding and following it. As noted by Edel, the well-known Syrian goddess Išhara⁷¹ is written here with the cobra determinative attached to goddesses adopted in Egypt.

This concludes the very concise list of individual deities of Hatti classified by categories. There is no entry at all of Telipinu and his circle, of the War-god and his circle, of the individual local deities, or of the primeval deities of the Underworld (except perhaps EREŠ.KI.GAL).

(7) d: The **totality of gods** (d) of the contracting party is also significantly reduced. The male gods and female gods are skipped over, leaving only the mountains and rivers and the five cosmic elements: the sky, the earth, the great sea, the winds, and the clouds. The inclusion of the gods of the Land of Kizzuwatna in the list is noteworthy because they appear only in treaties of Šuppiluliuma I, but not later (see further in concluding remarks).

65. F. Imparati, “Une reine de Hatti vénère la déesse Ningal,” in *Florilegium Anatolicum, Festschrift E. Laroche* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1979), 169–76.

66. “The Treaty of Alliance,” 196.

67. See G. Torri, *Lehwani. Il culto di una dea ittita* (Roma: Università degli Studi di Roma, 1999), 85–88.

68. Yoshida *Untersuchungen*, 48–49.

69. Edel, “Friedensvertrag,” 151, n. 29h; idem, *Vertrag*, 100.

70. *Vertrag*, 101.

71. See D. Prechel, *Die Göttin Išhara* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996).

d 7–9: As was already stated by Gardiner,⁷² the main gods representing Egypt—Amon of Thebes, Pre of Heliopolis, and Sutekh of the northeastern delta—were all three worshipped at Pi-Ramesse.⁷³

(8) The divine list is followed by curses and blessings and then by a unique description of the Hittite seals attached to the silver tablet.⁷⁴ Perhaps overwhelmed by the beauty of these seal impressions, the Egyptian scribe found it commendable to provide a lengthy description, which is sufficiently detailed to enable a modern reconstruction of the illustrations by using comparable glyptic material.⁷⁵ This description offers further insight into the scribe's dilemma in facing the gender discrepancy between the Hittite Sun-goddess and the Egyptian Sun-god. In the following I substitute the Egyptian translation of the inscriptions in the border-lines with the postulated cuneiform text:⁷⁶

What is on the silver tablet on its front side: a portrait with the image of the Storm-god (Seth) embracing the image of the Great Prince of Hatti, surrounded by a border-inscription with the words:

NA⁴KIŠIB DU/IM LUGAL AN/ŠAMÊ NA⁴KIŠIB RIKILTI ŠA m^Ḫattušili
LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR URU^Ḫatti UR.SAG DUMU m^Ḫuršili LUGAL.
GAL LUGAL KUR URU^Ḫatti UR.SAG İPUŠŪ

What is within that which surrounds the figures:

NA⁴KIŠIB DU/IM LUGAL AN/ŠAMÊ

What is on its other side: a portrait with the figure of the goddess of Hatti embracing the female image of the Princess of Hatti, surrounded by a border-inscription with the words:

NA⁴KIŠIB DUTU URU^{Arinna} EN KUR(.KUR^{MEŠ}) NA⁴KIŠIB f^{Puduhepa}
SAL.LUGAL KUR URU^Ḫatti DUMU.SAL KUR URU^{Kizzuwatna} [NARĀM?
DUTU] URU^{Arinna} GAŠAN KUR(.KUR^{MEŠ}) GÊME DINGIR-LIM

What is within that which surrounds the figures:

NA⁴KIŠIB DUTU URU^{Arinna} EN KUR(.KUR^{MEŠ})

72. "The Treaty of Alliance," 197.

73. For the absence of Ptah, a fourth major god of Egypt, see I. Singer "The Thousand Gods," 99.

74. J. Friedrich, "Das Siegel des hethitischen Königs Ḫattušili III. Nach der ägyptischen Fassung seines Vertrages mit Ramses II.," *Artibus Asiae* 60 (1937), 177–90; Wilson, *ANET*, 201; Edel, "Friedensvertrag," 152–53; *Vertrag*, 82–83; Kitchen, *RITA II/II*, 85; S. Alp and S. Erkut, "The Seals of the Hittite King Hattušili III and the Queen Puduhepa on a Silver Tablet," *Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi* 5 (2002) 1–6 (in Turkish).

75. Alp and Erkut, *ibid.*, 6.

76. Friedrich, *ibid.*, 184–86.

Contrary to previous assumptions,⁷⁷ it is now clear, in light of the discovery of the Bronze Tablet in 1986, that the divine seals of the Storm-god of Heaven and the Sun-goddess of Arinna were not impressed on the obverse and reverse of the tablet, respectively, but rather on a separate bulla (or bullae) that was hung on the tablet by means of a metal chain.⁷⁸

What the seal of the Storm-god of Heaven must have looked like is quite clear from a comparison with the so-called embracing scene (*Umarmungszone*) that appears on elaborate royal seals from Muwatalli II on.⁷⁹ The same scene is also portrayed on the well-known relief from Yazılıkaya on which the god Šarruma embraces Tuthaliya IV. So far, we do not have a comparable embracing scene featuring the Sun-goddess of Arinna, but her unaccompanied image appears on a beautiful seal of Tuthaliya IV from Ugarit.⁸⁰

With regard to the ring inscriptions, it would seem that the Egyptian scribe rendered separately the outer and the inner rings surrounding the central field. Friedrich⁸¹ suggested that the short inscription is a translation of a Hieroglyphic Hittite (Luwian) caption, but I doubt whether the Egyptian scribe would have known how to read this script. Admittedly, the inner ring inscriptions are quite short, but they could have been written in a larger script. A third, less likely option could be that these short captions of the divine seals were written in cuneiform inside the central field. Only when an analogous Hittite divine seal impression is discovered will we know precisely what the seals on the Silver Treaty looked like.

The main theological difficulty confronting the Egyptian translator was the discrepancy of gender between the male Sun-god of Egypt and the female Sun-goddess of Hatti (a difficulty which did not exist in the case of the Storm-god = Seth). As noted by Edel, the scribe used different words for a “male image” (*twt*) and for a “female image” (*rpyt*).⁸² How could he overcome the difficulty of describing the Sun-goddess of Arinna without insulting the male prowess of Re? His solution was simple but ingenious: in translating the inscriptions, he simply transformed the Hittite goddess into a “Re of Arinna, lord of every land,” but in the description of her figure, which was manifestly of a woman, he merely designated her “the goddess of Hatti” (*t3-nrt n Ḫt*). In this way he practically

77. Still repeated by Edel, *Vertrag*, 103 and Kitchen, *RITA III/II*, 144.

78. Otten, *Bronzetafel*, 1; cf. K. Watanabe, “Mit Gottessiegeln versehene hethitische Staatverträge,” *Acta Sumerologica* 11 (1989), 261–76; F. A. K. Breyer, “Redaktionsgeschichte und Siegelungspraxis des Ägyptisch-Hethitischen Staatsvertrages,” *Discussions in Egyptology* 46 (2000) 13–22; H. Klengel, *Hattuschili und Ramses*, 81–82.

79. S. Herbordt, *Die Prinzen- und Beamtiensiegel der hethitischen Grossreichszeit auf Tonbullen aus dem Nišantepe-Archiv in Hattusa, mit Kommentaren zu den Siegelinschriften und Hieroglyphen von J.D. Hawkins* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 2005) 69–71.

80. RS 17.133; C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica III* (Paris: Geuthner, 1956), fig. 23.

81. “Siegel,” 188.

82. *Vertrag*, 102.

dissociated the two descriptions, thereby avoiding a theological discrepancy between the solar deities of Hatti and Egypt.

CONCLUSIONS

(i) The list of Hittite divine witnesses in the Silver Treaty represents a considerably shortened version of the regular (semi-)canonic lists in other treaties. It consists of only 28 individual deities, compared to some 80 deities in the treaties of Šuppiluliuma I (Šattiwaza, Tette; but cf. Ḫuqqana with only 57) and Muršili II (Niḫmepa, Duppi-Teššub, Manapa-Tarḫunta). Even the treaties of Tarḫuntašša (Ulmi-Teššub, Kurunta), which exclude the primeval gods, include some 50 deities. The closing formula referring to the totality of gods and to the natural forces is also much shorter in the Silver Treaty than is customary. How can this marked brevity be explained? Did the original Akkadian copy sent to Egypt already contain an abridged version of the divine list, or, perhaps was the Egyptian translator responsible for this reduction? Although this second possibility seems as though it would have been rather audacious, perhaps even blasphemous towards some Hittite gods, it should not be excluded altogether. Perhaps space considerations on the inscribed surface, not to mention the difficulties inherent in transcribing the “exotic” Hittite names, could have motivated the Egyptian scribe(s) and stonemasons to make do with a shortened version of the Hittite list, especially in view of their own extremely short “list” of Egypt’s gods.

(ii) The Egyptian translator’s treatment of cuneiform determinatives is remarkable. Although Egyptian uses determinatives generously, which, as in cuneiform, were not meant to be “read out” or “translated,” the scribe nevertheless provided an Egyptian translation for (almost) every place-name determinative URU and divine-name determinative DINGIR. The former is translated *dmj* in the genitive construction “Divine-name of the town of Place-name” (e.g., *Swth n dmj n Sris*, “Storm-god of the city of Šarišša”). On the other hand, he wisely omitted the “town” determinative in translating the names of lands. For these he used *n p3-t3 n Ḫt / Qidwdn / Kmt* “of the land of Hatti / Kizzuwatna / Egypt.” In Hittite cuneiform these names would usually be written as KUR URU Land, rarely skipping the URU determinative. In other words, the Egyptian scribe distinguished between towns on the one hand and (the few) lands on the other, and he correctly ignored the URU in the latter case. It has been claimed that the Egyptian scribe could not distinguish between geographical names and divine names or epithets because he appended to both of them the “foreign land” determinative.⁸³ But the force of this observation should be quali-

83. Edel, “Orthographie,” 45, n. 8; “Friedensvertrag,” 150, n. 28c; Kitchen, *RITA III/III*, 143.

fied. None of the divine names or epithets in the list is preceded by the typical geographical marker *n dmj* “of the town.” (It is also mistakenly missing in the name *Nnw*, Nineveh.) It would thus seem that the determinative “foreign land” (Gardiner N 25) in this list does not necessarily define a name as a place-name specifically, but rather as a foreign entity in general, a category that includes foreign gods.

(iii) The case of the divine determinatives is more complex. Here the Egyptian scribe was obliged to choose between feminine and masculine names by adding the definition *p3-ntr*, “god,” or *t3-ntrt*, “goddess,” respectively. The Hittite script did not help him at all in this choice. Although in rare cases the cuneiform scribe established the gender of the deity by using the double determinative DINGIR.SAL (e.g. KUB 6.45 ii 5: DINGIR.SAL *Alāš*), in the majority of cases he was content with the gender-neutral determinative DINGIR, trusting that the reader knew his gods. Nor does Hittite name formation help the Egyptian scribe (or us) in any way, unlike Egyptian which places an *-at* ending on most feminine words.⁸⁴ Despite these inherent impediments, the translator was relatively successful in distinguishing between male and female deities, in some cases even helping us to become better acquainted with the gods of the Hittites. He correctly identified the male gods and most of the female gods, including the various *IŠTARs*, *Išhara*, *ntrt* and the goddess of *Karaḥna*. This last identification is particularly admirable, since this deity is not particularly well known, unlike the other three, who were not only famous throughout the ancient world but were also worshipped in Egypt itself. On the other hand, the translator or the scribe erred in placing *p3-ntr*, “god,” before the names of *Ninatta* and *Kulitta*, *Ištar*’s maids, and more importantly, before *Ḫebat* as well. This last flaw is all the more peculiar since, as noted above, *Ḫebat*’s name is followed by the epithet “Queen of Heaven.” In these cases he apparently rendered the initial divine determinative DINGIR automatically as *p3-ntr*, “god,” ignoring the real gender of the following deities.

(iv) All in all, I judge the quality of the transcription of the divine list to be quite good, taking into consideration the unusual challenge faced by the Egyptian scribe(s).⁸⁵ From the ingenious identification of the gender of some deities, one may infer that some expert’s assistance was available to the Egyptian scribe(s), either from a Hittite diplomat or one of Egyptian origin in the service of the Hittites. There is no shortage of such candidates;⁸⁶ for the first possibility consider

84. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957) 34, § 26.

85. *Contra* Helck, *Beziehungen*, 219.

86. Edel, *Korrespondenz* II, 46–49.

Tili-Teššub, for the second, Riamašši (Ramose) or Netjerwymes alias Pa-rekh-an (cuneiform Pariḫnawa), whose tomb was recently discovered at Saqqara.⁸⁷

(v) The question of dating only seems simple. Of course, the treaty itself and the divine witness list were incised on the silver tablet shortly before it was sent to Egypt. But the real question is whether the list was copied down from an earlier treaty, as suggested by Edel,⁸⁸ or whether it was rather freshly compiled for the occasion of the peace treaty itself. There exist very few clues for an exact dating within the list itself. As already mentioned, these stereotyped divine lists changed little during the two centuries or so of their existence. Moreover, some indicative spelling variants might have been obscured through transcription from one writing system to the other. Still, the question is worth tackling, especially in view of Edel's confident early dating based on a superficial similarity with the divine list in the Ḫuqqana treaty.⁸⁹

The mention of the gods of Kizzuwatna beside those of Hatti and Egypt seemingly provides a good dating argument. The gods of this land are still mentioned as a separate group in the treaties of Šuppiluliuma I (Šattiwaza, Tette, Niqmaddu), but not after Kizzuwatna was fully annexed to Hatti (Niqmepa, Duppi-Teššub, Manapa-Tarḫunta, Alakšandu, Ulmi-Teššub, Kurunta).⁹⁰ On the face of it, this could support an early dating of the original list, which perhaps is going back to the first Hittite-Egyptian agreement, the so-called Kuruštama treaty.⁹¹ However, there could be another obvious explanation for the mention of Kizzuwatna in this list: the dominant personality of Puduḫepa, who is described as "the daughter of Kizzuwatna" on her seal impression. The Hittite queen was deeply involved in negotiating first the peace treaty and then the marriage of her daughter(s) to Ramesses. The crucial role she played on the side of her husband in crafting this treaty and validating it is shown by the unique double seal of the royal couple that was attached to the silver tablet. Puduḫepa's endless devotion

87. A. Zivie, "Le messenger royal égyptien Pirikhnawa," *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 6 (2006), 68–78. There is also a professional "interpreter" (LÚ *targumanu*) mentioned in one of the Ramesses letters sent to Hatti, but his name (ending on *-ri*) is unfortunately broken (KBo 28.23 rev. 62; see Edel, *Korrespondenz* I, 108; II 176; cf. also KUB 3.27 obv. 6'). For the diplomatic missions of the messengers traveling between the courts of the great kings, see recently J. de Roos, "Die Hethiter und das Ausland" in *Motivation und Mechanismen des Kulturkontaktes in der Späten Bronzezeit* (ed. D. Prechel, Firenze: LoGisma, 2005) 41–45.

88. Edel, "Neues zur Schwurgötterliste," 122, n. 5.

89. Edel, *ibid.*, 122; *idem*, *Vertrag*, 98.

90. Kestemont, "Panthéon," 152, is misleading in his claim that Kizzuwatna reappears under Šuppiluliuma II (ABOT 65), and the same applies to his flawed claim that Kizzuwatna may be present in the Kaška treaty KUB 23.77.

91. For which see I. Singer, "The Kuruštama Treaty Revisited," in *Sarnikzel, Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer* (eds. D. Groddek and S. Röble, Dresden: Technische Universität, 2004), 591–607; D. Sörenhagen, "Forerunners of the Hattusili-Ramesses Treaty," *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 6 (2006) 59–67.

to her homeland may well be responsible for the inclusion of Kizzuwatna's gods on the side of those of Hatti and Egypt.

A minor spelling variant might after all offer some support for a late date of the composition, i.e. shortly before 1259 B.C.E.: the place-name *Hissp* (b 8) is written with a single *h* which corresponds to the form *Ḫiššaš(ša)pa* rather than to the more frequent form *Ḫiššašḫapa*. As observed by Kühne and Otten, the form with a single *h* is later and is typical for thirteenth century texts.⁹² Obviously, one should not put too much weight on this spelling, which may after all be accidental. My preference for a contemporary dating of the list rests primarily on the visible "fingerprints" of Puduḫepa and on the unlikelihood, in my view, that the list was copied from a century-and-a-half-old treaty.

EXCURSUS

AN UNRECOGNIZED HITTITE-EGYPTIAN SYNCRETISM IN THE SILVER TREATY: INARA = 'ANAT ?

The first deity in the group of Tutelary deities (c 1) poses a difficult problem which has not been satisfactorily solved as yet. The hieroglyphic text has a clear "*ntrtj* of the Land of Hatti."⁹³ Max Müller's suggestion to emend this obscure name into *'s'trt*, i.e. "Astarte of Hatti,"⁹⁴ has been followed by a majority of Egyptologists.⁹⁵ On the other hand, Wilson,⁹⁶ relying on Goetze's advice, ruled out this emendation and so did Helck.⁹⁷ The latter pointed out a series of difficulties, including the peculiar spelling which is never otherwise attested for Astarte in Egypt. Another daring interpretation for *'ntrtj* was put forward by Sommer, who proposed that in this peculiar name there is embedded a "group-writing" spelling of Egyptian *ntrt* "goddess."⁹⁸ This suggestion was also dismissed by

92. *Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag*, 49. The development from the earlier to the later form seems to have occurred during the reign of Ḫattušili III, but occasionally one still finds the older form in later texts (del Monte and Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen*, 111). Both Tarḫuntašša treaties have the older form (KBo 4.10 obv. 52; Bronze Tablet iii 83), but the Šaušgamuwa treaty has the later form (KBo 8.82+ rev. 9'). The late form also occurs in KBo 27.1 I 52, which belongs to a festival for Šauška of Šamuḫa probably celebrated during the reign of Ḫattušili (M. Hutter, "Aspects of Luwian Religion" in *The Luwians* [ed. H. Craig Melchert, Leiden: Brill, 2003] 234); KUB 5.6 iv 9, an oracle fragment probably dated to Tuḫaliya IV (Th. van den Hout, *The Purity of Kingship* [Leiden: Brill, 1998] 24–25, n. 25); and ABoT 56 ii 9, a text of Šuppiluliuma II. Several other occurrences are too fragmentary or cannot be dated with certainty.

93. Edel, *Vertrag*, 42*; cf. Helck, *Beziehungen*, 217: *'-n-ta²-ra-tá*.

94. *Bündnisvertrag*, 18, n. 4.

95. Gardiner, "Treaty of Alliance," 196, n. 6; J. Leclant, "Astarté à cheval d'après les représentations Égyptiennes," *Syria* 37 (1960), 6, n. 2; idem, "Astarte," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I (1973) 501, but cf. *ibid.*, 506, n. 40; Edel, "Friedensvertrag," 150 n. 28b; idem, *Korrespondenz*, 119; Kitchen, *RITA II/II*, 143.

96. *ANET*, 201 with n. 16.

97. *Beziehungen*, 217.

98. F. Sommer, *Aḫḫiyawa-Urkunden*, 21, n.2; 380–83.



Helck, who pointed out not only that the spelling with an initial *ayin* remains unexplained, but a few lines later we find the appellative “goddess” correctly spelled in regular Egyptian. Kestemont⁹⁹ tried to address the difficulty of the initial consonant, but his *‘ntrt*, “la déesse du bras, la déesse de la protection,” is also rather far-fetched. In short, as was cogently observed by Wilson and Helck, one cannot avoid the conclusion that *‘ntrtj* must somehow represent the name of the Hittite Tutelary deity (^DKAL) of Hatti who always appears in this third group in the Hittite divine witness lists.

To the Egyptological arguments against the allegedly minor emendation of *‘ntrtj* into *‘s’trtj* one must immediately add a couple of arguments from a Hittite perspective. First, the name opens the section of the Tutelary-deities, and the *IŠTARs* only appear in the next section. These are two entirely different categories in Hatti and there is no reason to switch between them. Second, and more important, an “*IŠTAR* of Hatti” simply does not exist in the Hittite texts.

There is a very simple solution to the problem which has, surprisingly, not been taken into consideration.¹⁰⁰ Before embarking on a long voyage into the stimulating world of Near Eastern warlike goddesses, perhaps I should first briefly indicate my proposed solution. The signs as they are inscribed at Karnak, are very close to the conventional orthography of the name ^ʕAnat, with the consonantal root *‘nt* followed by the feminine ending *-tj* (Gardiner M 17), which is quite common in Late Egyptian writing.¹⁰¹ In fact, the only problematic sign in

99. “Accords,” 50.

100. In fact, I have briefly presented this solution in Singer, “Quelques remarques sur certains synchrétismes égypto-hittites,” *Annuaire de l’École pratique des hautes études. Section des sciences religieuses* 95 (1986–87) 221–22, and in *Thousand Gods*, 100, but apparently it did not solicit any reactions, perhaps due to the limited circulation of these journals.

101. For other exceptional spellings of the name see A. Roccati, “Une légende Égyptienne d’Anat,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 24 (1972): 158 (§ 10).

‘*ntrtj*’ is the *r* (D 21), which seems to be entirely out of place in a spelling of the theonym ‘Anat. Before suggesting a possible explanation for this divergence, let us first examine the question of who might be the deity filling this spot in the Hittite list of divine witnesses.

As stated above (§3), the third group of witness gods is always dedicated to the Tutelary (Protective) deities. Usually the first deity is a generalized Tutelary deity (^DKAL/LAMMA), but sometimes, as in this case, the list begins with its first local hypostasis, the Tutelary deity of Hatti/Ḫattuša. Who exactly is this deity? After many years of deliberation, Hittitology has finally reached a consensus as to the names of the main Anatolian Tutelary deities. Without entering into the complex evidence and history of research, it will suffice to provide here the conclusion.¹⁰² There are (at least) two readings for ^DKAL/LAMMA in Anatolian texts: (1) the Luwian Stag-god Kurunti(ya) and (2) The Hattian goddess Inar and its Hittite folk-etymologized form In(n)ara. How these two different deities came to be indicated by the same logogram is irrelevant for the present discussion. What is essential here is that the distinction between the two is graphically only possible either when the name is spelled out phonetically or when an unambiguous phonetic complement is appended to the logogram (e.g. ^DKAL-*ya* vs. ^DKAL-*ri*). Fortunately, besides dozens of unspecified occurrences of ^DKAL URUḪatti,¹⁰³ we also find a few phonetic spellings of URUḪattušaš ^DInar(a),¹⁰⁴ one of them appearing in a typical Old Hittite text.¹⁰⁵ In other words, the important Tutelary deity of Ḫatti/Ḫattuša¹⁰⁶ is clearly identified as the goddess Inar(a) who figures prominently in Hittite cult and mythology.

The main function of the Old Anatolian goddess Inar(a) is to protect the institution of kingship.¹⁰⁷ She is also associated with wild animals of the steppe-land, such as panthers and stags.¹⁰⁸ Her best known appearance is in the Illuyanka myth, which was recited during the *purulli* festival.¹⁰⁹ In the first version of the story the Serpent (Illuyanka) defeats the Storm-god in battle, whereupon the goddess Inara, his daughter, rushes to his help. In partnership with a mortal man, she tricks the Serpent and kills him. In return for his help, the mortal Ḫupašiya demands to sleep with the goddess and she consents. After

102. See, recently, Hawkins *apud* Herbordt, *Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel*, 290–91; M. Popko, “Zur luwischen Komponente in den Religionen Altanatoliens,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 34 (2007): 66–67.

103. van Gessel, *Onomasticon*, 704–5.

104. *Ibid.*, 189.

105. KBo 17.5 ii 6; H. Otten and V. Souček, *Ein althethitisches Ritual für das Königspaar* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969), 22, 105 with n. 10; cf. also Yoshida, *Untersuchungen*, 291.

106. For whom see McMahon, *Tutelary Gods*, 34–36.

107. F. Pecchioli Daddi and A.-M. Polvani, *La mitologia ittita* (Brescia: Paideia, 1990), 43.

108. I. Singer, *The Hittite KILAM Festival. Part One* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 97.

109. H. A. Jr. Hoffner Jr., *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 10–14; Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani, *La mitologia ittita*, 39–55.

the resuscitation of the Storm-god, Inara builds a house on a rock and settles Ħupašiya in it. The location of this house and its control over underground water sources are considered to be symbolic of Hittite kingship.¹¹⁰ After a while, however, Ħupašiya begs the goddess to let him return home to his wife and children, whereupon the angry goddess probably kills him. This concise plot portrays Inara as a typical “libertine” Near Eastern goddess, completely devoted to a rather weakling Storm-god, open-minded in her choice of partners, but unrelenting in her revenge on those who betray her.

In many respects the Anatolian goddess Inar(a) bears a resemblance to other warlike Near Eastern goddesses, like the Hurro-Mesopotamian *IŠTAR* and the Northwest Semitic ‘Anat.¹¹¹ The latter is best known from Ugaritic mythology, where she appears as the chief ally of her brother Ba’lu.¹¹² Like Inara, ‘Anat also prepares a great feast, and in an act of fury she slays the enemies of Ba’lu and wades in their blood. She is insistent in obtaining the necessary permissions from her father El for the erection of a lavish house for Ba’lu on Mount Šaphon. When Ba’lu is eventually killed by his chief nemesis Mot, a devastated ‘Anat once again takes revenge and then resuscitates her brother-lover. In another mythological fragment, Ba’lu has intercourse with ‘Anat in the form of a cow, and she gives birth to a bull. Finally, in the story of Aqhat we encounter ‘Anat in a love-hate relationship with a mortal prince whose exquisite bow she desires. When Aqhat refuses to comply and insults the goddess instead, ‘Anat brings about his death, without however obtaining the much-coveted bow. As Wyatt succinctly sums up,¹¹³ “‘Anat’s particular form of flesh-devouring savagery is a graphic image of war personified. Her character as a huntress (...) is to be compared with the imagery of her as a war-goddess (...), for the two activities are closely related, especially in royal ideology.” In the absence of written captions on objects, all iconographic identifications are somewhat hazardous, but many scholars tend to identify as ‘Anat (or ‘Aštart) the winged and horned goddess suckling two princes on the exquisite ivory panel found in the royal palace of Ugarit.¹¹⁴ In contrast to Anatolia, at Ugarit the sister goddesses ‘Anat and ‘Aštart became largely assimilated to each other, and this assimilation passed on to Egypt as well.

With the Egyptian expansion into Asia, ‘Anat, together with other Syrian deities, was introduced into the Egyptian pantheon, where her influence peaked

110. Ibid., 43.

111. Ibid., 42.

112. S. Parker, *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997); N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit. The Words of Ilmilku and his Colleagues* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

113. Wyatt, *ibid.*, 248.

114. W. A. Ward, “La déesse nourricière d’Ugarit,” *Syria* 46 (1969) 225-239.

under the Ramesside kings.¹¹⁵ In particular, Ramesses II elevated her to the position of his personal goddess, designating himself “beloved of ʿAnat” and “soldier of ʿAnat” (*mhr ʿnt*). He named his first daughter, whom he later married, *btj ʿnt*, “daughter of ʿAnat.” On several sculptures found at Tanis but originating from Piramesse the goddess is seen embracing or holding hands with Ramesses, and according to the captions they were considered to be mother and son. Through this symbolical parenthood the Egyptian monarch acquired for himself the powers necessary to control the Asiatic territories which were dominated by the Syrian goddess. On another caption she bears the epithet “ʿAnat, lady of the sky, lady of the gods of Ramesses.” In iconography she is depicted as a typical war-goddess with shield, axe, and lance. Her cult was perpetuated under Ramesses III, as shown by a private stele from Beth-Shan depicting the goddess holding a scepter and an *ankh*.¹¹⁶ In Egyptian mythology she is involved with Seth, who becomes her lover and consort.¹¹⁷ Although in Egypt, as in Ugarit, the sister goddesses ʿAnat and ʿAštart were assimilated to a large extent (and both associated with Hathor), their cults were distinct in practice.

The aim of this brief overview on Inar(a) in Hatti and ʿAnat in Ugarit and Egypt is to show that they bear a close resemblance to each other as young warrior goddesses dedicated to the protection of the Storm-god/Seth and the king. As such, their association and equation in the divine list of the Silver Treaty seems perfectly natural and comprehensible, especially in the reign of Ramesses II, the most devoted admirer of ʿAnat and indeed her spiritual son.¹¹⁸ The close similarity between the conventional Egyptian spellings of *ʿnt.it* and *ʿntrtj* in the Silver Treaty (followed by the cobra determinative reserved for Egyptian goddesses) provides further impetus to the equation, leaving behind only the problem of the superfluous *-r-*. I would suggest that the spelling *ʿntrtj* represents some sort of faulty combination between the divine name ʿAnat and the Egyptian appellative *ntr.t*, “goddess.”¹¹⁹ Perhaps the redundant *-r-* also echoes the final consonant in the name of Inar, the Hittite goddess who was equated with ʿAnat.

115. R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) 91–93; Ch. Zivie-Coche, «Dieux autres, dieux des Autres; Identité culturelle et altérité dans l’Égypte ancienne,» *Israel Oriental Studies* 14 (1994) 73–74.

116. A. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930) pl. 50, no. 2.

117. Roccati, “Une légende Égyptienne d’Anat”; Zivie-Coche, *ibid.*, 74 with n. 74.

118. Considering the close similarities between the goddesses ʿAnat and ʿAštart in Egypt, almost to the degree of full assimilation, it is not surprising that Edel (*Korrespondenz*, 123–24) found confirmation for his equation of the Tutelary deity of Hatti with the (emended) “Astarte of Hatti” in Astarte’s iconography and epithets. But of course, this apparent similarity fails to take into consideration the Hittite evidence on these goddesses and their affiliation with different divine categories.

119. I am grateful to Thomas Schneider who suggested (written communication) “a haplology due to the fact that ʿAnat ended in a similar sound sequence as the beginning of Egyptian *ntr.t*, ‘goddess’.”

I am aware that a simple graphic emendation of *ʿntrtj* into *ʿstrtj* may appear *prima facie* easier than a complex cognitive fusion between the names of a Hittite and an Egyptian goddess, but this solution would completely ignore the unequivocal Hittite documentation by inventing a completely unknown “*IŠTAR* of Hatti” who oddly replaced “Inar (^DKAL) of Hatti” in her regular spot in the list. On the other hand, if the theological equation of Inar and *ʿAnat* is accepted, this would add a third pillar to the rationally established matching system between the principal deities at the top of the Hittite and the Egyptian pantheons in the Ramesside Age: Storm-god = Seth, Sun-deity = Re, Tutelary-deity (Inar) = *ʿAnat*.¹²⁰

120. The triad residing at the top of the Hittite pantheon is probably represented by the three exquisite rhyta in the Schimmel collection at the Metropolitan Museum: an anthropomorphic Sun-goddess, the Storm-god in the form of a bull, and the Tutelary-deity in the form of a stag; see K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (München: Beck, 1976) figs. 169, 173, 178.

HATTI AND CANAAN

THE HITTITES AND THE BIBLE REVISITED

The year 2002 marked not only the 60th birthday of an esteemed friend and colleague, Amihai Mazar, but also the one-hundredth anniversary of the identification of Hittite as an Indo-European language. The scientific world is better acquainted with Hrozný's decipherment of 1915,¹ but, in fact, it was the illustrious Norwegian Assyriologist Knudtzon who, thirteen years earlier, had demonstrated that the two Arzawa letters from Tell el-Amarna in Egypt (EA 31–32) were written in an Indo-European language.² While pondering the possible location of the land of Arzawa, Knudtzon almost took a wrong turn, being misled by the name of the Egyptian messenger Labbaya,³ which reminded him of Lab'ayu, the notorious ruler of Shechem. Thus, he first thought of locating Arzawa somewhere in Palestine, a conclusion purportedly supported by the color of the clay. Acquainted with the dense geopolitical map of Cisjordan, he concluded that the mysterious land of Arzawa, which corresponded with Egypt on equal terms, could only be sought in Transjordan, and its inhabitants must have been related to the biblical Hittites.⁴ Eventually, however, Knudtzon gave preference to other, more weighty arguments: first, a letter allegedly sent from the Syro-Palestinian realm would hardly have been written in any other language than Akkadian; second, one of the letters mentions the land of Ḫatti, which, by this time, was already known to have extended deep into Anatolia; and third, the name of Arzawa's ruler, Tarḫundaradu, reminded him of numerous first-

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1. B. Hrozný, "Die Lösung des hethitischen Problems: Ein vorläufiger Bericht," *MDOG* 56 (1915): 17–50.

2. J. A. Knudtzon, *Die Zwei Arzawa Briefe: Die ältesten Urkunden in Indogermanischer Sprache* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902). In collaboration with the Indo-Europeanists Sophus Bugge and Alf Torp, Knudtzon was able to identify some diagnostic case endings, possessive pronouns, and the imperative form *eštu*. For a detailed description of Knudtzon's decipherment, see my "100th Anniversary of Knudtzon's Identification of Hittite as an Indo-European Language," in *Acts of the V. International Congress of Hittitology*, 2002 (ed. A. Süel, Ankara: Balkan Cilt Evi, 2005: 651–659).

3. The first sign in the name may be read as either *lab* or *kal*, and Kalbaya is now the standard reading; see E. Forrer, "The Hittites in Palestine [2]," *PEQ* 69 (1937): 101; W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 382.

4. Knudtzon, *Die Zwei Arzawa Briefe*, 26.

millennium Anatolian names containing the element *tarh/tark*. Thus, he wisely concluded that Arzawa must have been in Asia Minor, not too far from Hatti possibly in eastern Cilicia or southern Cappadocia, its commonly assumed location until the 1940s, when Arzawa was relocated to the Aegean coast.⁵ Knudtzon's ingenious discovery found little favor in scholarly circles and virtually sank into oblivion⁶ until Hrozný's more spectacular decipherment of the tablets discovered at Boğazköy from 1906 onward.⁷

To fully fathom the shock that the scholarly world underwent when it was discovered and proved beyond doubt that Hittite was an Indo-European language, one merely needs to browse through early descriptions of the Hittites in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century books. Following is, for example, a typical passage from the widely circulating books by Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford, who is usually accredited with the first identification of the script on the Hama stones as (Hieroglyphic) Hittite.⁸

The Hittites and Amorites were therefore mingled together in the mountains of Palestine.... But the Egyptian monuments teach us that they were of very different origin and character. The Hittites were a people with yellow skins and "Mongoloid" features, whose receding foreheads, oblique eyes, and protruding jaws are represented as faithfully on their monuments as they are on those of Egypt, so that we cannot accuse the Egyptian artists of caricaturing their enemies. If the Egyptians have made the Hittites ugly, it was because they were so in reality. The Amorites, on the contrary, were a tall and handsome people. They are depicted with white skins, blue eyes, and reddish hair, all the characteristics, in fact, of the white race. Prof. Petrie points out their resemblance to the Dardanians of Asia Minor, who form an intermediate link between the white-skinned tribes of the Greek seas and the fair-complexioned Libyans of Northern Africa.⁹

5. Ibid., 28. My previous comment on the subject in "Review of H. Klengel, *Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches*," *BO* 57 (2000): 636, should be emended accordingly. For the latest update on the historical geography of western Anatolia, see J. D. Hawkins, "Tarkasnawa King of Mira 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel," *AnSt* 48 (1998): 1–31.

6. In the second volume of the edition of the Amarna tablets, Weber maintains that, according to a letter received from Knudtzon, the latter eventually lost confidence in his own discovery; see O. Weber and E. Ebeling, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln. Anmerkungen und Register* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915), 1074.

7. Hrozný, "Die Lösung des hethitischen Problems"; *Die Sprache der Hethiter, ihr Bau und ihre Zugehörigkeit zum indogermanischen Sprachstamm: Ein Entzifferungsversuch* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1917).

8. In fact, the first to suggest, already in 1872, that the Hama inscriptions are Hittite was the Irish missionary William Wright, who convinced the Turkish governor of Syria to remove the stones from the houses into which they were built and to send them to Constantinople. He also sent casts of the inscriptions to England, which enabled Sayce to present his "decipherment" to the Society of Biblical Literature in 1876. See W. Wright, *The Empire of the Hittites* (New York: Scribner's, 1884), 124.

9. A. H. Sayce, *The Hittites: The Story of a Forgotten Empire* (1st ed.; London: Religious Tract Society, 1888; quoted from 4th ed., 1925), 22–23. He further elaborates on the Hittites in *The Races of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Religious Tract Society, 1891), 132–33: "The face is so repulsively ugly that we might have imputed to the Egyptians a desire to caricature their enemies had it not been drawn in precisely the same way on their own

As pointedly stated by Forrer, “a decennium of cleaning up the prejudices of the scientific world was necessary before the idea of Indo-European Hittites remained master of the field.”¹⁰ The new texts streaming in from Boğazköy were enthusiastically studied by devoted scholars of the new discipline, and the problem of the biblical Hittites and their connection to their Anatolian namesake was readdressed from a firmer scientific perspective. First of all, it was realized that the exact name of the land of the Anatolian Hittites was *Ḫatti*,¹¹ as in the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions, quite different from biblical *Ḫeth*, *ḫittî*, *ḫittîm*. Still, the phonetic resemblance was too enticing to be regarded as simply fortuitous.

The first systematic study of the various uses of the term *Ḫatti* in northern sources and their relevance to the biblical Hittites was carried out by the ingenious Swiss scholar Forrer,¹² and the basic parameters of his classification were generally adopted and remain valid to this day.¹³ Before delving into the problem of the connection between the Anatolian Hittites and the biblical Hittites, I will briefly summarize the information on the latter.

THE HITTITES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

As is often emphasized, the various biblical references to *Het*, *ha-ḫittî*, *ḫittîm*, and *ḫittiyyot* are by no means uniform and cannot automatically be assumed to refer to one and the same ethnic or political group.¹⁴ Each reference should be examined in its own specific context using the tools of modern textual criticism. On initial inspection, we may distinguish between two broad categories that may be designated as “inland” Hittites and “outland” Hittites. The far larger “inland” category includes references to an indigenous ethnic group in Palestine and to

monuments.... Mr. Tomkins has called the face ‘snout.’ It is marked by an excessive prognathism, which we look for in vain among the other populations of Western Asia. The nose is straight, though somewhat broad, the lips full, the cheek-bones high, the eyebrows fairly prominent, the forehead receding like the chin, and the face hairless. The hair of the head was arranged in three plaited tails, one hanging over each shoulder and the third down the back, an arrangement which, as Mr. Tomkins has noted (*Rob Roy on the Jordan*, p. 241), still survives among the savages of the Lake of Huleh.” For a similar description of the Hittite Mongoloid type, see J. Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites* (London: Constable, 1910), 318ff.

10. E. Forrer, “The Hittites in Palestine [1],” *PEQ* 68 (1936): 191–92.

11. The Hittites called their own language “Nesite” (*nesili*, *nesumnili*, *kanisumnili*), after the city of Kanes/Nesa (Kultepe), but the flawed name “Hittite” has been used from the earliest days of Hittitology. On the earliest geopolitical organization of the Hittites in Anatolia, see my “Hittites and Anatolians at the Beginning of the Second Millennium B.C.,” *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 9 (1981): 119–34; cf. T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 21ff.

12. Forrer, “Hittites in Palestine [1],” 190–203; “Hittites in Palestine [2],” 100–115.

13. L. Delaporte, “Les Hittites sont-ils nommés dans la Bible?” *RHA* 4 (1936–38): 289–96; H. G. Güterbock, “Towards a Definition of the Term ‘Hittite,’” *Oriens* 10 (1957): 233–39; H. A. Hoffner, “The Hittites and Hurrians,” in *Peoples of Old Testament Times* (ed. D. J. Wiseman; Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 197–200.

14. For a recent summary, see G. McMahon, “The Hittites and the Bible,” *BA* 52 (1989): 71–77; idem, “Hittites in the aT,” *ABD* 3: 231–33.

individual persons belonging to this group. The remaining five occurrences of the masculine plural *ḥittîm* refer to the “kings of the Hittites” or to the “land of the Hittites,” which is clearly situated outside Palestine.

The “outland” Hittites have been conclusively identified with the first-millennium Neo-Hittite kingdoms of Syria and southern Anatolia. The description of the promised land in Josh 1:4 defines the entire territory extending from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean as “the land of the Hittites,” in full consonance with the Neo-Assyrian usage of “the land of Ḫatti” (*māt Ḫatti*).¹⁵ The same applies to Judg 1:26, the story of the man who betrayed Bethel/Luz to the Hebrews and then went to “the land of the Hittites” to found a new city named Luz. “The kings of the Hittites” mentioned in connection with Solomon’s horse trade (1 Kgs 10:29, 2 Chr 1:17) must be the kings of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms, and the same applies to “the kings of the Hittites” who were hired by the king of Israel to fend off an Aramean attack on Samaria (2 Kgs 7:6). The only occurrence of the feminine plural *ḥittiyot*, mentioned in the list of foreign women loved by Solomon (1 Kgs 11:1), must also refer to the Neo-Hittites, since it is preceded by references to Moabite, Ammonite, Edomite, and Sidonian women. In this connection, the convivial relations between David and the king of the Neo-Hittite state of Hamath, To’i (2 Sam 8:9–10) or To’u (1 Chr 18:9–10) should be borne in mind. Perhaps the alliance between the two opponents of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, was enhanced by a royal marriage between their descendants.

The identity of the “inland” Hittites is far more difficult to determine. The generic *ha-ḥittî* (with the definite article) occurs, usually in first or second position, in the lists of the pre-Israelite nations of Canaan, together with the Canaanites, Amorites, Girgashites, Perizzites, Hivvites, and Jebusites.¹⁶ These Hittites seem to be the descendants of the eponymous father *Ḫet*, one of the sons of Canaan, in the Table of Nations (Gen 10:15, 1 Chr 1:13). Other collective forms are *bēnê Ḫet*, “the sons of Ḫeth,” and *bēnôt Ḫet*, “the daughters of Ḫeth,” occurring exclusively in the patriarchal narratives. Several individuals are identified as Hittite in these narratives: Ephron, son of Zohar, who sold the cave of Machpelah near Hebron to Abraham; and the wives of Esau—Jehudith, daughter of Beerli, and Basemath and Adah, daughters of Elon. Two more Hittites are named in the early monarchical period: Ahimelech and Uriah. In all these occurrences, the “inland” Hittites are perceived as indigenous inhabitants of Canaan living in the southern hill country, especially in the region of Hebron (Gen 23).

15. See, most recently, M. Cogan, “Locating *māt Ḫatti* in Neo-Assyrian Inscriptions,” in *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume: Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines* (ed. E. D. Oren and S. Ahituv; Beer-Sheva 15; Beersheba: Ben Gurion University of the Negev, 2002), 86–92.

16. See T. Ishida, “The Structure and Historical Implications of the Lists of Pre-Israelite Nations,” *Bib* 60 (1979): 461–90.

The custom of taking Hittite women as wives is mentioned both in the context of the "Age of the Patriarchs" (Gen 26:34, 27:46) and after the Israelite takeover of the land (Judg 3:56). The antipathy to these mixed marriages persisted into the postexilic era (Ezra 9:1–3) and is also epitomized in Ezekiel's pejorative remark on the parentage of Jerusalem (16:3): "Your origin and your birth are of the land of the Canaanites; your father was an Amorite, and your mother a Hittite."

The identity of these indigenous Hittites has intrigued many generations of biblical scholars.¹⁷ The relatively young discipline of Hittitology has offered new data against which the problem could be reexamined. The basic questions are as follows. (1) Is there any connection between the Sons of Heth in Palestine and the second-millennium Hittites of Anatolia and northern Syria,¹⁸ or did a mere phonetic resemblance between Heth and Hatti lead to a fortuitous conflation of two unrelated ethnic terms? (2) Should the first query be answered positively, the ensuing question would be when and under what circumstances Hittites immigrated into Palestine to settle in its highlands. (3) Finally, should this alleged immigration be deemed plausible, the next question would be whether it left behind any traces in the archaeological or the textual record. Obviously, the three questions are intertwined and cannot be separated from each other. Moreover, they are not necessarily exclusive: even a negative answer to the third question would not entirely disprove the possibility of an early immigration. There are cases in history when newcomers have fully assimilated into their new habitat and left (almost) no distinctive traces of their original culture. Still, the effort is worthwhile, even if it does not produce conclusive answers.

According to the basic questions defined above, the historical record of the second millennium B.C.E. is examined first in order to indicate the main junctures at which a Hittite immigration into Canaan was potentially possible. This is followed by a brief presentation of the archaeological and philological points of contact. Finally, the results are evaluated and the potential contribution of comparative biblical and Hittitological studies is reappraised.

17. The simple, but untenable, solution of replacing "Hittites" with "Horites" in most Old Testament passages was put forward by I. J. Gelb, "Hittites in the OT," *IDB* 615; refuted by Hoffner, "Hittites and Hurrians," 214.

18. O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (Hardmondsworth: Penguin, 1990), 50, raises the remote possibility that an aboriginal Proto-Hattian population once inhabited "a very wide area which included Palestine, and the Hittites of the Judaean hills were a remnant of this people who had remained isolated when northern Palestine and Syria were occupied by Semitic and Hurrian peoples towards the end of the third millennium." This theory, already refuted by Forrer, "Hittites in Palestine [1]," 193, will not be addressed further in the following discussion, which focuses on the historical periods. The same applies to the scattered archaeological finds of Anatolian origin or influence discovered in pre-second-millennium Palestine; see, e.g., H. R. Kaplan, "Anatolian Elements in the EB III Culture of Palestine," *ZDPV* 97 (1981): 18–35. The so-called Khirbet Kerak ware of the late-third millennium B.C.E. has been attributed to the immigration of Hurrian population groups from northeastern Anatolia; see, e.g., C. Burney and D. M. Lang, *The Peoples of the Hills: Ancient Ararat and Caucasus* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 51.

PROPOSED HITTITE MIGRATIONS TO CANAAN DURING THE
SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.E.

THE OLD HITTITE KINGDOM AND THE "AGE OF THE PATRIARCHS"

The strong patriarchal tradition regarding Hittites in Palestine has fomented an intensive search for external confirmation of these early contacts between Hatti and Canaan in the first half of the second millennium B.C.E. Indeed, in the early days of Hittitology, the historicity of this Hittite enclave in southern Palestine during the age of Abraham was rarely questioned.¹⁹ However, an increasing understanding of the Hittite language and culture soon disclosed that none of the Hittites of the patriarchal age bore a Hittite name. Nor does Abraham's purchase of the burial ground from Ephron, the Hittite (Gen 23), reflect an intimate knowledge of Hittite legal procedures, as had formerly been claimed.²⁰

The last lead for the exponents of the traditionalist approach to the patriarchal Hittites is the appearance of the name Tid'al in Gen 14. This unique narrative recounting the invasion of the Dead Sea cities by a coalition of foreign kings and their subsequent expulsion by Abraham contains some names that were thought to be "at home" in the early-second-millennium Near Eastern onomastica. Over the past decades, biblical scholarship has witnessed a sweeping change in the understanding of the "Age of the Patriarchs" and many scholars have rejected not only the historicity of these narratives but also their early-second-millennium *Sitz im Leben*.²¹ Some would lower the historical context of the patriarchal narratives to the early monarchic age,²² while others would put it as late as the exilic or postexilic periods.²³ To be sure, some scholars still retain the early-second-millennium dating,²⁴ and there is even an upsurge of interest in the

19. Sayce even claimed to have found evidence of a Hittite presence in Canaan in an early Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian inscription, but this was readily refuted by J. H. Breasted, "When Did the Hittites Enter Palestine?" *AJSL* 21 (1904): 153–58.

20. M. Lehmann, "Machpelah and Hittite Law," *BASOR* 129 (1953): 15–18. A Neo-Babylonian legal background has been suggested (instead a Hittite one) by G. M. Tucker, "The Legal Background of Genesis 23," *JBL* 85 (1966): 77–84; cf. also H. A. Hoffner, "Some Contributions of Hittitology to Old Testament Studies," *TynBul* 20 (1969): 33ff.; idem, "Hittites and Hurrians," 214. Recently, R. Westbrook, "Purchase of the Cave of Machpelah," *Property and the Family in Biblical Law* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 24–35, has suggested a Ugaritic parallel, which, he claims, points to a greater antiquity of the story than is usually assumed.

21. For an updated overview on the patriarchal age, see, e.g., P. K. McCarter, "The Patriarchal Age: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" (rev. R. S. Hendel), in *Ancient Israel* (rev. and expanded ed.; ed. H. Shanks; Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1999), 1–31.

22. B. Mazar, "The Historical Background of the Book of Genesis," *JNES* 28 (1969): 73–83.

23. T. L. Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974); J. Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975).

24. See, e.g., K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* (London: Tyndale, 1966), 41–56; idem, "The Patriarchal Age: Myth or History?" *BAR* 21 (1995): 48–57, 89–95; A. R. Millard and D. J. Wiseman, eds., *Essays*

Amorite roots of the patriarchal traditions as reflected in the texts of Mari.²⁵ It is not my intention to delve into this complex problem but merely to update the relevant data on one name in the Gen 14 narrative, that of Tid'al, king of Goiim.

As early as 1916, Tid'al was identified with Tuthaliya, a name borne by several Hittite kings.²⁶ The phonetic resemblance was apparently confirmed by the occurrence of the name(s) *Tdgl/Tigl* borne by a commoner (or commoners) in the alphabetic texts from Ugarit.²⁷ This triple correspondence²⁸ opened the way for speculation concerning the Hittite king allegedly alluded to in Gen 14. The exact number of Tuthaliyas in the royal line of Ḫatti is still a thorny issue,²⁹ but for our purposes, suffice it to say that there were two or three Tuthaliyas in the late-fifteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, and another, Tuthaliya "IV," in the late-thirteenth century. The intriguing question is whether these Late Bronze Age kings were preceded by a much earlier Tuthaliya, who supposedly ruled in the first half of the second millennium. At first, this question was answered in the positive,³⁰ then in the negative,³¹ and now the debate has again resurfaced. The relevant data may be summarized as follows:

In one of the offering lists for royal ancestors, a certain BU-Šarruma, son of Tuthaliya, appears near the beginning of the list in a place that should apparently date these persons to the earliest days of the Hittite kingdom.³² However, most authorities have doubted this attribution, mainly because BU-Šarruma is a

on the Patriarchal Narratives (2nd ed.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983); A. R. Millard, "Abraham," *ABD* 1: 35–41.

25. See, e.g., the essays included in the "Actes de la table ronde: 'Les traditions Amorrites et la Bible,'" *RA* 92/1 (1998): esp. 16–20, the discussion by J.-M. Durand on the historical background of Gen 14.

26. F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl, "Die Könige von Genesis 14," *ZAW* 36 (1916): 65–73; see also F. Cornelius, "Genesis XIV," *ZAW* 72 (1960): 1–7.

27. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die Soziale Struktur von Alalah und Ugarit, 1: Die Berufsbezeichnungen mit der hurritischen Endung -huli," *WO* 3 (1966): 201; *KTU*²: *tdgl*: 4.183 ii 20; 4.264,9; *tigl*: 4.147, 4.

28. The name Tudhul was allegedly discovered in the so-called Babylonian "Chedarlaomer Texts"; see M. C. Astour, "Political and Cosmic Symbolism in Genesis 14 and in Its Babylonian Sources," in *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations* (ed. A. Altmann; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 81–100. For the refutation of this reading, see H. Tadmor, "Tid'al," *Encyclopedia Biblica* 8 (1982): 435.

29. See Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 132–33; H. Klengel, *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 103–4.

30. E. Forrer, *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Published by the author, 1926), 23*–24*; W. F. Albright, "Abram the Hebrew: A New Archaeological Interpretation," *BASOR* 163 (1961): 49 n. 66a; Kitchen, *Ancient Orient*, 44; "The Patriarchal Age," 56–57.

31. H. G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200," *ZA* 44 (1938): 135–36; idem, "The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma as Told by his Son, Muršili II," *JCS* 10 (1956): 121 n. 14; P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, "Review of K. A. Kitchen, Šuppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs," *BO* 20 (1963): 276.

32. List C (KUB 11.7); H. Otten, *Die hethitischen historischen Quellen und die altorientalische Chronologie* (Wiesbaden: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1968), 122; K. A. Kitchen, *Šuppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1962), 53.

Hurrian name that is well attested in the imperial period.³³ Consequently, they resorted to the assumption that the list had been garbled by moving late names to the beginning. A recently published text from Kültepe mentions a certain Tuthaliya *rab šaqê*, “great cup-bearer,” and it has been suggested that this person may have ruled around 1700 B.C.E., two or three generations before Hattušili I.³⁴

Others, however, have already refuted this proposal, reiterating the arguments concerning the unreliability of the royal offering lists.³⁵ The dispute over the existence of an Old Hittite king named Tuthaliya will probably linger on until some binding evidence turns up (at Kültepe?), but its relevance to biblical Tidʿal is quite doubtful: needless to say, Tidʿal’s kingdom, Goiim, “Nations,” has nothing to do with second-millennium Hatti.³⁶

The great kings of the Old Hittite kingdom in the late-seventeenth and early-sixteenth centuries B.C.E. extended their dominion into northern Syria and Mesopotamia, but this was a relatively short-lived interlude in the history of the region and there is nothing to suggest that it had any impact on the history or the ethnic composition of Canaan.³⁷ It took another century for the Hittites to return to the Syrian arena, but when they did, they laid the foundations for a powerful empire that lasted for two centuries.

THE EARLY HITTITE EMPIRE AND THE KURUŠTAMA TREATY

The heroic age of the early Old Hittite kings was followed by a long period of stagnation and inner strife that came to an end only in the late-fifteenth century. The king who succeeded in returning the Hittites to the foreground of Near Eastern history was Tuthaliya I, the great-grandfather of Šuppiluliuma I, a figure

33. For the reading of the first element in the name BU-Šarruma, see I. Singer, “The Battle of Nihriya and the End of the Hittite Empire,” *ZA* 75 (1985): 113–14; T. P. J. van den Hout, *Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 128ff.

34. M. Forlanini, “The Kings of Kaniš,” in *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia* (ed. O. Carruba, M. Giorgieri, and C. Mora; Pavia: Gianni Iuculano, 1995), 130.

35. For example, O. Carruba, “Hethitische Dynasten zwischen altem und neuem Reich,” in *Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology* (ed. S. Alp and A. Süel; Ankara: Uium Ajans, 1998), 101ff.

36. Various commentators have interpreted, each according to his/her own conviction, the political reality reflected by the name Goiim, “nations”; For Kitchen, “The Patriarchal Age,” 57, it reflects “the fractured nature of political power in Anatolia in the 19th and 18th centuries B.C. according to archives of Assyrian merchants in Capadocia”; for Van Seters, *Abraham*, 114, “the only period in which ‘Nations’ could represent Hatti is the mid-first millennium, when Hatti meant the whole collection of western petty kingdoms and states.”

37. Hoffner, “Some Contributions of Hittitology,” 31. For a historical and archaeological characterization of this period in the Levant, see A. Kempinski, *Syrien und Palästina (Kanaan) in der letzten Phase der Mittelbronze IIB-Zeit (1650–1570 v. Chr.)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983). See also J. Miller, “Hattušili’s Expansion into Northern Syria in Light of the Tikunani Letter,” in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg, 4.–8. Oktober 1999* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001).

who has emerged in recent years as the real founder of the Hittite Empire.³⁸ He conducted successful campaigns on all fronts of his kingdom, from Arzawa and Wiluša (Troy) to Išuwa (on the upper Euphrates), and from the Kaška lands (the Pontic region) to northern Syria. After the “liberation” of Kizzuwatna (Cilicia) from the Hurrian yoke, the way to the Syrian arena was again opened. Tuḫaliya conquered Ḫalab and concluded treaties with Tunip on the Orontes and Aštata on the Euphrates. For the first time, the Hittite sphere of influence in Syria abutted the Egyptian one, a situation that may have called for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.³⁹

Perhaps this is the appropriate dating of the much-discussed Kuruštama Treaty mentioned retrospectively in several Hittite documents. In the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I, his son, Muṣili II, recounts the reaction of his astounded father upon the insistent offer of Tutankhamun’s widow to marry one of his sons. After a preliminary investigation of this strange business through the offices of his personal messenger in Egypt, Šuppiluliuma sought to investigate the matter more thoroughly by examining the extant records concerning diplomatic relations between the two lands in the past:⁴⁰

After that my father asked for the tablet of the treaty (in which it was told) how, long ago, the Storm-god took the man of Kuruštama [sic], a Hittite (lit. a son of Ḫatti), and carried him to the land of Egypt, and made them [sic] Egyptians (lit. men of Egypt);⁴¹ and how the Storm-god concluded a treaty between the lands of Egypt and Ḫatti, and how they were continuously friendly with each other. And when they had read aloud the tablet before them, my father then addressed them thus: “Of old, Ḫatti and Egypt were friendly with each other, and now this, too, on our behalf, has taken place between us. Thus Ḫatti and Egypt will continuously be friendly with each other.”

The town of Kuruštama was located in the northern frontierland of Ḫatti, in an area constantly threatened by the troublesome Kaška tribes.⁴² Already Forrer

38. See J. Freu, “La ‘révolution dynastique’ du Grand Roi de Ḫatti Tuthalia I,” *Hethitica* 13 (1996): 17–38; Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 131ff.

39. For overviews on Hittite-Egyptian relations, see K. Bittel, *Hattusha, the Capital of the Hittites* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 113–31; O. Carruba, “Le relazioni fra l’Anatolia e l’Egitto intorno alla metà del II millennio a. c.,” *OrAnt* 15 (1976): 295–309; A. Archi, “Egyptians and Hittites in Contact,” in *L’Impero Ramesside. Convegno internazionale in onore di Sergio Donadoni* (ed. A. Archi; Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza,” 1997), 1–15.

40. KBo 14.12 iv 26–39; Güterbock, “The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma,” 98; D. Sürenhagen, *Paritätische Staatsverträge aus hethitischer Sicht* (Pavia: Gianni Luculano, 1985), 22ff.; CHD L–N 105, 400.

41. The passage is usually translated uniformly in the plural, but in fact the text switches from singular to plural. This could be merely a figure of speech but could also refer (as suggested by Sürenhagen, *Paritätische Staatsverträge*, 33) to a leader of the Kuruštama men.

42. G. F. del Monte and J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1978), 229; G. F. del Monte, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte Supplement* (Wies-

called attention to an analogous passage in one of the Arzawa letters, in which Amenophis III asks his correspondent to send him Kaška men.⁴³ An exchange of “exotic” individuals is also attested in the thirteenth century, when hundreds of Nubian men and women (from the land of Meluhḫa) were transferred to Ḫatti in exchange for fierce Kaška warriors.⁴⁴ The available evidence seems to point toward the dispatch of a military corps as part of the alliance between the two countries.⁴⁵ These soldiers were probably recruited into the Egyptian army as mercenaries, a well-known phenomenon throughout the history of Egypt. In any case, there is nothing to suggest that these Men of Kuruštama were fugitives who had fled northern Anatolia⁴⁶ or that they were forcibly deported by the Hittites to southern Palestine.⁴⁷ The fact is that we do not know how many Men of Kuruštama crossed the border of the Hittite Empire, nor do we know in which part of the vast Egyptian Empire they were subsequently stationed. In short, the possibility that they may have been the ancestors of the Hittites of Hebron remains purely speculative.⁴⁸

The peaceful relations between Egypt and Ḫatti continued well into the Amarna period. After the successful reign of Tuthaliya I there followed another grave setback in the military and diplomatic position of Ḫatti, until Šuppiluliuma I wrested the throne for himself in the mid-fourteenth century. At first, relations with Egypt kept their cordial tenor and were accompanied by a fruitful exchange of letters and lucrative presents.⁴⁹ However, when the Hittite army took Qadesh on the Orontes, a strategic city claimed by the Egyptians, a fierce conflict arose between the two great powers that would last for almost a century, culminating in the Battle of Qadesh in 1275 B.C.E. There is no evidence from this period of any developments that could conceivably have led to a migration or a population transfer from the Hittite Empire to Canaan. Although Hittite troops pursued retreating Egyptian armies deep into northern Canaan on at least two occasions

baden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 87.

43. EA 31:15–16; E. Forrer, *Forschungen* (Berlin: Selbstverlag, 1926), 2.21–22.

44. E. Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache* (2 vols.; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994), vol. 2, 294.

45. See my “Kuruštama Treaty Revisited,” in *Sarnikzel: Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer* (ed. D. Groddek and S. Röfle; Dresden: Technische Universität, 2004), 591–607.

46. As suggested by Forrer, *Forschungen*, 2: 21–22; idem, “Hittites in Palestine [1],” 110ff. He compared this phenomenon to the settlement of the Cherkessians and other Caucasian groups in Turkey and suggested that the city of Hebron, which is not mentioned in the Amarna letters, was founded by a few thousand newcomers from Kuruštama in 1353 B.C.E..

47. As tentatively proposed by Gurney, *The Hittites*, 49.

48. Hoffner, “Hittites and Hurrians,” 214.

49. EA 41–44; Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 114–17. Note in this context the Hittite silver pendant found in a hoard at Amarna; see M. R. Bell, “A Hittite Pendant from Arnarna,” *AJA* 90 (1986): 145–51. At the same time, Egypt maintained close diplomatic relations with Ḫatti’s enemies, Arzawa and Mittanni; for the Arzawa letters (EA 31–32), see Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 102–3; Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 160–61.

(following Šuppiluliuma's attack on Amqa and following Ramesses II's defeat at Qadesh), they retreated soon thereafter to the international border south of Qadesh. Hittite foreign policy showed no tendency whatsoever to extend the imperial borders into Egyptian Canaan,⁵⁰ but this did not necessarily ease Egyptian concerns regarding a putative conspiracy between their Asiatic vassals and the Hittites.⁵¹

THE AGE OF "PAX HETHITICA-EGYPTIACA"

A new era in Hittite-Egyptian relations was ushered in with the signing of a peace treaty in 1258 B.C.E. and the subsequent royal marriage in 1245 B.C.E. An unprecedented cordial rapport developed between the two great powers and their vassals in the Levant, which consisted of a prolific correspondence, mutual visits of diplomatic expeditions, and an intense exchange of goods, technologies, and ideas.⁵² These intensive contacts, which lasted for some two generations, not only left behind scattered tangible evidence, but, more importantly, must have had a lasting impact on the participating parties in various cognitive domains, such as language, scribal traditions, law, religion, and mythology. The study of these mutual influences between the two cultures is still in its infancy;⁵³ in any event, it touches only indirectly upon the subjects examined in this article.

The Hittites who passed through Canaan on their way to Egypt included royalty and their servants, diplomats, military men, merchants, doctors, craftsmen,⁵⁴

50. This was categorically stated already by Forrer, "Hittites in Palestine [1]," 194: "At no time did any district south of the northern ends of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon belong to the Ḫatti-empire, either as a federal or a dependent state; all the country south of this frontier remained under Egyptian suzerainty." Still, when a Hittite ivory was discovered at Megiddo a year later, some scholars saw in it proof of a more paramount Hittite influence in Palestine. G. Loud (*The Megiddo Ivories* [Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1939], 10) suggested that the ivory was locally made, "perhaps as a token of respect to a Hittite overlord of Megiddo." On the other hand, H. Frankfort (*The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970], 236) claimed a genuine Hittite origin and assigned the ivory to the fourteenth century, "after Šuppiluliuma's conquest of Syria and Palestine."

51. For the Luxor Temple inscriptions of Ramesses II, in which the Moabites are squarely accused of conspiring with "the wicked Hittites," see J. C. Darnell and R. Jasnow, "On the Moabite Inscriptions of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple," *JNES* 52 (1993): 263–74 (with earlier bibliography).

52. For the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence found at Boğazköy, see Edel, *Korrespondenz*, esp. 2:292ff. for a list of commodities exchanged between the two courts. For the luxury objects, see also Z. Cochavi-Rainey, *Royal Gifts in the Late Bronze Age: Fourteenth to Thirteenth Centuries B.C.E.* (Beersheba: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 1999), 195–210.

53. See, e.g., Carruba, "Le relazioni fra l'Anatolia e l'Egitto," 295ff.; I. Singer, "Quelques remarques sur certains syncrétismes égypto-hittites," *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Etudes* 95 (1986–1987): 221–22.

54. For a provisional list of Hittite princes and princesses who visited in Egypt, see my "Hittite Hieroglyphic Seal Impression from Tel Aphek," *TA* 4 (1977): 187 n. 18. For the persons participating in the diplomatic missions sent to Egypt, see, e.g., Edel, *Korrespondenz*, 46ff. For the exchange of military equipment, see *ibid.*, 295. Note that at Piramesse molds for Hittite-type shields were found that may have been used by the bodyguard of the Hittite princess; see E. B. Pusch, "Piramesse," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (3 vols.; ed. D. B. Redford; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 3: 49. For the trade of Ugarit with Egypt and Canaan, see my

and probably many others who are not mentioned in the documents. Some journeys, especially of trading expeditions, took the seaway, stopping at ports along the Levantine coast.⁵⁵ Others traveled overland through the Lebanon Valley or Damascus (Upi),⁵⁶ passing through the major Egyptian strongholds in Palestine: Beth-Shean, Megiddo, Aphek, Jaffa, and Gaza.⁵⁷ At these stations, the caravans not only spent the night and refreshed their supplies but also exchanged presents and traded merchandise with local governors and rulers. Inevitably, some personal objects, mostly seals, remained in these locations for unknown reasons and were discovered in modern excavations (see fig. 1). That the owners of some of these seals may have moved their domicile to Canaan is not impossible but cannot be established. The same applies to the numerous Kaška deportees (NAM.RA), in one case as many as 500, that were sent to Egypt, usually in exchange for Nubian men and women (from Meluḥḥa).⁵⁸ This “exotic” human trade may have had some impact on Canaan as well, but again, this cannot be proved.

THE FALL OF THE HITTITE EMPIRE AND ITS AFTERMATH

The idyllic conditions in the two Levantine empires after the peace treaty were eventually threatened by the dark clouds of imminent war and famine.⁵⁹

“Political History of Ugarit,” in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (ed. W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 673–75. For Egyptian doctors treating Hittite patients, see E. Edel, *Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1976); idem, *Korrespondenz*, 268–72. For irrigation experts sent from Egypt to Ḫatti, see *ibid.*, 282.

55. See, e.g., D. Arnaud, “Les ports de la ‘Phénicie’ à la fin d’âge du Bronze Récent (XIV–XII siècles) d’après les textes cunéiformes de Syrie,” *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 30 (1992): 179–94; E. H. Cline, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean* (British Archaeological Reports International Series 591; Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1994), 91ff.; D. Arnaud and M. Salvini, “Une lettre du roi de Beyrouth au roi d’Ougarit de l’époque dite d’El-Amarna,” *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 42 (2000): 5–17; P. Artzi, J. Klein, and D. Elgavish, “The Letter of the King of Beirut to the King of Ugarit: A Different Interpretation,” in *Shlomo: Studies in Epigraphy, Iconography, History and Archaeology in Honor of Shlomo Mousaieff* (ed. R. Deutsch; Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publications, 2003), 23–45.

56. For the Egyptian stations in the lands of Upi and Kinahḫi, see Edel, *Korrespondenz*, 228ff.

57. For Megiddo as a meeting point for Hittite and Egyptian messengers, see my “Megiddo Mentioned in a Letter from Boghazköy,” in *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae: Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag* (ed. E. Neu and C. Rüster; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 327–32. For the epigraphic finds discovered at the Egyptian governor’s residency at Aphek, see M. Kochavi et al., *Aphek-Antipatris 1974–1977: The Inscriptions* (TA Reprint Series 2; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1978); D. I. Owen et al., *Aphek-Antipatris 1978–1985: The Letter from Ugarit* (TA Reprint Series 7; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1987). Jaffa (Yapu) is mentioned in the letter from Ugarit found at Aphek as the place at which a transaction of wheat was carried out; see D. I. Owen, “An Akkadian Letter from Ugarit at Tel Aphek,” *TA* 8 (1981): 1–17.

58. Edel, *Korrespondenz*, 294.

59. I. Singer, “New Evidence on the End of the Hittite Empire,” in *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (ed. E. D. Oren; University Museum Monograph 108; Philadelphia: University Museum, 2000), 21–33.

The Hittites became involved in a losing ongoing battle against the expansionist Assyrians,⁶⁰ and their grip on distant provinces in western Anatolia and northern Syria weakened considerably. Equally despairing was the severe shortage of food, which was alleviated to some extent by large imports of grain from Egypt and Canaan.⁶¹

Although hunger must have struck in large parts of the Hittite Empire, explicit descriptions of its debilitating effects have thus far been found mainly in the texts from Emar.⁶² Grain prices were staggering during the “years of distress,” and impoverished families “bloated by hunger” were forced to sell their children and themselves to wealthy families for a small price that would keep them alive only for several months. It is not necessary to dwell in this context on the exact dating of these “famine texts,” which also mention enemy incursions;⁶³ suffice it to say that famine plagued Emar in its final years—perhaps decades—in the late-thirteenth and early-twelfth centuries B.C.E. It is reasonable to assume that some of the afflicted families left this region to seek better fortune in the better-faring southern lands, but it is difficult to find textual evidence of such migrations. An intriguing and fragmentary letter from Ugarit may perhaps be interpreted as a proposal for a hasty flight to some central Mesopotamian destination, but this remains tentative until the text is better understood.⁶⁴

Under these dire circumstances, it is quite possible that uprooted families or even larger population groups may have sought refuge and better living conditions beyond the badly afflicted regions of the eastern Mediterranean. It is in this context, in my opinion, that the vast population movements marking the end of the Late Bronze Age must be understood.⁶⁵ These include not only the “Sea Peoples” but also various peoples that migrated from the vast areas of the disintegrating Hittite Empire, and may perhaps be mentioned in the Old Testament. The theory concerning the northern origins of the Hittites, Hivites, Jebusites,

60. Singer, “The Battle of Nihriya,” 100–123; idem, “History of Ugarit,” 686ff.

61. Idem, “Takuḫlinu and Ḥaya: Two Governors in the Ugarit Letter from Tel Aphek,” *TA* 10 (1983): 4–5; idem, “History of Ugarit,” 715ff.; N. Na’aman, “The ‘Conquest of Canaan’ in the Book of Joshua and in History,” in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel* (ed. I. Finkelstein and N. Na’aman; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1994), 243ff.

62. C. Zaccagnini, “War and Famine at Emar,” *Or* 64 (1995): 92–109; M. R. Adamthwaite, *Late Hittite Emar* (Louvain: Peeters, 2001), 150ff.

63. For the chronology of “the year of distress and war” tablets, see Adamthwaite, *Late Hittite Emar*, 155ff., 227ff., with bibliographical references.

64. S. Lackenbacher, “No. 40 (RS 34.152),” in *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit 7; ed. P. Bordreuil; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991), 84–86 n. 9; Singer, “History of Ugarit,” 727–28. See further Y. Cohen and I. Singer, “A Late Synchronism between Ugarit and Emar” in *Essays on Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to Nadav Na’aman* (Y. Amit et al., eds.), Winona Lake, Ind. 2006, 123–139.

65. Idem, “The Origin of the Sea Peoples and Their Settlement on the Coast of Canaan,” in *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean* (ed. M. Heltzer and E. Lipinski; Leuven: Peeters, 1988), 239–50.

Girgashites, and Perizzites was already suggested long ago by Maisler (Mazar)⁶⁶ and was revived in the 1970s by Mendenhall.⁶⁷ Among the numerous, mostly far-fetched, etymologies proposed by the latter is one that has much in its favor, namely, the connection between the Hivites and the land of Q(u)we mentioned in 1 Kgs 10:28 and in Neo-Assyrian sources.⁶⁸ The phonetic resemblance is further supported by the new Hieroglyphic Luwian-Phoenician bilingual text discovered near Adana, in which the Phoenician *Dnnym* is rendered as Luwian *Hiyawa*.⁶⁹

Not all parts of the Hittite Empire shared a similar fate when the huge state caved in and disintegrated at the beginning of the twelfth century B.C.E. Carchemish and its region were less affected by the cataclysm, and this important Neo-Hittite kingdom carried the torch of Hittite civilization.⁷⁰ Already by the end of the thirteenth century, this region was designated Land of Ḫatti,⁷¹ which in the Iron Age became the standard designation for the regions situated west of the Euphrates. Generally speaking, the center of gravity of Anatolian civilization moved southward into northern Syria, a process undoubtedly caused by significant population movements. Two centuries of Hittite domination in the Late Bronze Age left only few indications of a lasting impact on the Syrian provinces, but after the disintegration of the empire, Syria was exposed to an accelerated Hittitization. This cultural and demographic development is manifested by the adoption of two diagnostic Hittite elements: the Hieroglyphic Luwian script⁷² and cremation burials (see Burial Practices below). The intriguing question is whether these important developments extended only as far south as the region of Hama or whether perhaps they sent some offshoots farther south, into the land of Canaan.

66. B. Maisler (Mazar), *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas* (Giessen: Alfred Topelmann, 1930), 74ff.; B. Mazar, "The Early Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country," *BASOR* 241 (1981): 75–85 (rev. version in *The Early Biblical Period* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1986], 35–48).

67. G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 142–63; see also A. Kempinski, "Hittites in the Bible: What Does Archaeology Say?" *BAR* 5 (1979): 41; Na'aman, "The 'Conquest of Canaan,'" 239ff.

68. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation*, 154; see also J. A. Callaway, "New Evidence on the Conquest of 'Ai,'" *JBL* 87 (1968): 318ff.; M. Görg, "Ḫiwuiter im 13. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," *UF* 8 (1976): 53–55; O. Margalith, "The Hivites," *ZAW* 100 (1988): 60–70.

69. R. Tekoğlu and A. Lemaire, "La bilingue royale Louvito-Phénicienne de Çineköy," *CRAIBL* (2000): 961–1006.

70. J. D. Hawkins, "Kuzi-Tešub and the 'Great Kings' of Karkamiš," *AnSt* 38 (1988): 99–108.

71. Singer, "History of Ugarit," 655, 658 nn. 150, 170. For the last period of Late Bronze Age Carchemish, see my "Treaties between Karkamiš and Ḫatti," in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie Würzburg, 4.–8. Oktober 1999* (ed. G. Wilhelm; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001).

72. See J. D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (3 vols.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 1: 2–3.

PROPOSED ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF HITTITE PRESENCE
IN PALESTINE

In his seminal two-part article on the Hittites in Palestine, Forrer observed that the Hittite settlers in the highlands

would continue to make their utensils, weapons and pottery just as before, that is in the Hittite manner. Their neighbours may have learnt from them, and as a result of such imitation a new mode may have arisen, which the archaeologist can recognize by comparison with the utensils of the Anatolian Hittite civilization as of Hittite origin. But it is also possible that they quickly assimilated the Canaanite civilization. Here the archaeologist must continue the work of the historian.⁷³

This is an accurate definition indeed of the difficult task conferred upon archaeologists, who are expected to detect subtle ethnic changes.

The subject of Hittite features in the archaeological record of Palestine was rarely addressed before the last generation. The discovery of the exquisite Hittite ivory at Megiddo in 1937 (see *Objets d'Art* below) sparked some interest, but this soon subsided. Research stumbled over a flawed lead in 1959, when a burial in two jars facing each other was identified as Hittite (see Burial Practices below). The subject of Hittite influence was readdressed in a more steadfast manner after the discovery of the Aphek bulla and the study of some ceramic styles that exhibit northern influences. A popular article by Kempinski⁷⁴ was followed by a thorough study on decorated cult stands by Beck.⁷⁵ I have (re-) published all of the Hittite seals discovered in Israel (see Seals below) and have reexamined the problem of Hittite burial practices.⁷⁶ The following is not an exhaustive list of all the finds for which Anatolian origin or influence has been claimed but does present the most significant groups of artifacts and associated practices.

73. Forrer, "Hittites in Palestine [2]," 113.

74. Kempinski, "Hittites in the Bible," 21–45.

75. P. Beck, "The Cult-Stands from Taanach: Aspects of the Iconographic Tradition of Early Iron Age Cult Objects in Palestine," in *From Nomadism to Monarchy* (ed. Finkelstein and Na'aman; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1994), 352–81.

76. I. Singer, "On Hittite Burials," in *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume* (ed. Oren and Ahituv; Beer-sheva: Ben Gurion University, 2002), *47–*58 [Hebrew].

SEALS

A bulla impressed with a Hittite royal seal was found in the Egyptian “governor’s residency” at Aphek (Fig. 1a).⁷⁷ It must have sealed some consignment, the nature of which remains unknown.⁷⁸ Four Hittite seals have been discovered thus far in Israel: at Megiddo (Fig. 1e),⁷⁹ at Tel Nami (Fig. 1d),⁸⁰ and two at Tell el-Far’ah (S) (Fig. 1b–c).⁸¹

As indicated above, these seals (and the Hittite ivory from Megiddo) are stray finds related to Egyptian-Hittite diplomatic contacts and do not represent any lasting Hittite presence in Israel. Obviously, it is not impossible that some of these Hittite or Syrian individuals may have settled permanently in their land of diplomatic mission and may have died and been buried there. Such an eventuality comes to mind with regard to the ring seal from the cemetery at Tel Nami, an important port town situated 5 km north of Dor.⁸² It was conspicuously found on the hand of an adult male buried together with some exquisite bronze objects: incense burners, lamps, and pomegranate scepters.⁸³ The ring seal belongs to a type that was popular in Hittite Syria, notably at Emar on the Middle Euphrates.⁸⁴ Could the buried individual, whose name was Ushe,⁸⁵ have been an important official, perhaps a priest, who emigrated from his homeland to Canaan? Alternatively, could he have been a wealthy merchant from Ugarit who found his death accidentally while sailing with his precious cargo from his hometown to Egypt? Perhaps in the future it will be possible to identify this person in a document that sheds light on the circumstances of his burial at Tel Nami or on the circumstances through which his ring found its way to this cemetery. Similar questions may be raised concerning the owner of the stamp seal

77. Idem, “Hieroglyphic Seal Impression,” 178–90. The name of the seal owner remains unknown; for reasons explained in my “Two Governors,” 5 n. 4, the traces cannot be restored to read “Armaziti,” as suggested by Kempinski, “Hittites in the Bible,” 36.

78. Perhaps it sealed the shipment of dyed wool sent to the Egyptian governor mentioned in the letter from Ugarit found at Tel Aphek (lines 39–41); see Owen, “An Akkadian Letter,” 14; Singer, “Two Governors,” 2–25.

79. Republished in my “Hittite Seal from Megiddo,” *BA* 58 (1995): 91–93.

80. Idem, “A Hittite Signet Ring from Tel Nami,” in *Kinattūtu ša dārāti: Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume* (ed. A. F. Rainey; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1993), 189–93.

81. Republished in my “Two Hittite Ring Seals from Tell el-Far’ah (South),” *ErIsr* 27 (Hayim and Miriam Tadmor Volume; 2003): 133–35.

82. M. Artzy, “Nami: A Second Millennium International Maritime Trading Center in the Mediterranean,” in *Recent Excavations in Israel: A View to the West* (ed. S. Gitin; AIA Colloquia and Conference Papers 1; Dubuque, Ia.: Kendall/Hunt, 1995), 17–41.

83. Idem, “Pomegranate Scepters and Incense Stand with Pomegranates Found in Priest’s Grave,” *BAR* 16 (1990): 48–51.

84. D. Beyer, *Emar IV: Les sceaux* (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 2001), 112ff.

85. Singer, “Signet Ring,” 190. The name appears to be of Hurrian origin and is attested at Mari, Nuzi, Emar, and Ugarit.

from Megiddo, which belonged to the “charioteer” Anuziti,⁸⁶ or the pair of ring seals from Tell el-Far‘ah (S), which belonged to Zazuwa and Ana, perhaps husband and wife.⁸⁷ In any case, it is noteworthy that none of these Hittite seals was found in the central highlands where the biblical Hittites are said to have lived. Rather, they all come from lowland sites, most of which were closely linked to the Egyptian administration of Canaan.

OBJETS D’ART

A silver scrap hoard was found in a late-seventeenth–early-sixteenth-century context at Shiloh in the central highlands.⁸⁸ In addition to scrap pieces, the hoard included a crescent-shaped pendant and a large pendant decorated with the so-called “Cappadocian symbol” (alternating straight and wavy horns radiating from a central disc). Both motifs were widespread in Anatolia from the early-second millennium on and may represent the sun-discs (*šittar*) and the moon-crescents (*armanni*) mentioned in Hittite texts.⁸⁹

An exquisite Hittite ivory panel was found at Megiddo in the hoard of ivories from the “Treasury” of the Stratum VIIA palace.⁹⁰ As I have attempted to show elsewhere, this hoard belonged to the Egyptian administration of Canaan during the Twentieth Dynasty, rather than to a local Canaanite ruler.⁹¹ The panel depicts two Hittite kings in an antithetic position supported by several tiers of divine symbols. It must have been produced in one of the great centers of the Hittite Empire, perhaps at Ḫattuša, Carchemish, or Ugarit. As mentioned above, Megiddo served as an important station on the road leading from Ḫatti to Egypt (see above); the site also yielded a Hittite stamp seal belonging to a professional diplomat.

86. Singer, “Seal from Megiddo,” 91. The title “charioteer” (Akkadian *kartappu*) was borne by official diplomats of the Hittite state; see my “Two Governors,” 9.

87. Singer, “Ring Seals from Tell el-Far‘ah,” 133–35.

88. I. Finkelstein and B. Brandl, “A Group of Metal Objects from Shiloh,” *Israel Museum Journal* 4 (1985): 17–26; I. Finkelstein, S. Bunimovitz, and Z. Lederman, *Shiloh* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1993), 243–45.

89. See, e.g., M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion* (Warsaw: Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1976), 121ff.

90. Loud, *Megiddo Ivories*, 10ff., pl. 11; Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, 235ff.; R. D. Barnett, *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1982), 27–28; R. L. Alexander, “Sausga and the Hittite Ivory from Megiddo,” *JNES* 50 (1991): 161–82.

91. I. Singer, “The Political Status of Megiddo VIIA,” *TA* 15–16 (1988–89): 101–12.

CERAMIC TRADITIONS

Several early Iron Age cult stands with applied decorations exhibit typical Anatolian and Syrian artistic features.⁹² Two elaborate stands were found at Taanach: one has five superimposed pairs of winged sphinxes and lions, and the other has four registers depicting (from top to bottom) a bull under a winged sun-disc, a tree flanked by two goats, a pair of winged sphinxes, and a nude female between two lions.⁹³ Other cult stands with relief decoration were found at Megiddo and Pella, and large sherds of similar stands were found at Shiloh and Jerusalem. The example from Shiloh was executed using a relief and incision technique and depicts an ibex attacked by a tiger. The fragment from the City of David depicts a bearded male figure, probably representing the well-known mythological scene of the killing of Humbaba.⁹⁴ In her meticulous studies of these cult stands, Beck indicated a wide range of parallels in the Anatolian and Syrian repertoires.⁹⁵ The closest comparisons are the tower-shaped models from Late Bronze Age Meskene-Emar, Tell Frey, and other Middle Euphrates sites.⁹⁶

Another vessel that displays a combination of local and northern elements is the krater from Khirbet Raddana north of Jerusalem, a typical early Iron Age settlement.⁹⁷ The vessel itself is local, but it is decorated with a hollow channel and spouts in the form of bull-heads attached to the inner wall of the bowl. Similar libation vessels were found in Late Bronze Age Anatolia.⁹⁸

92. For a detailed study of these vessels, see Beck, "The Cult-Stands from Taanach"; see also "The Art of Palestine during the Iron Age II: Local Traditions and External Influences (10th–8th centuries BCE)," in *Images as Media* (ed. C. Uehlinger; Fribourg: Fribourg University Press, 2000), 168–73.

93. R. Hestrin, "The Cult Stand from Ta'anach and Its Religious Background," *Studia Phoenicia* 5 (1987): 61–77.

94. P. Beck, "On the Identification of the Figure on the Cult-Stand from the 'City of David,'" *Erlsr* 20 (Yadin Volume; 1989): 147–48, 199 [Hebrew, with English abstract].

95. Pottery decorated with a molded relief is characteristic of central Anatolia, mainly in the Old Assyrian and the Old Hittite periods (nineteenth–sixteenth centuries), but it also appears in smaller quantities in the Late Hittite period (fifteenth–thirteenth centuries); see R. M. Boehmer, *Die Reliefkeramik von Boğazköy* (Berlin: Mann, 1983).

96. *Ibid.*, 374. For the architectural models from Emar and its vicinity, see J. Margueron, "'Maquettes' architecturales de Meskene-Emar," *Syria* S3 (1976): 193–232; *idem*, "Les maquettes," in *Meskene-Emar: Dix ans des travaux 1972–1982* (ed. D. Beyer; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1982), 87–94; "Emar, Capital of Astata in the Fourteenth Century B.C.E.," *BA* 58 (1995): 134–35. See also M. Fortin, *Syria, Land of Civilizations* (Québec: Éditions de l'Homme/Musée de la Civilisation du Québec, 1999), 282, for two tower-shaped models from Tell Frey.

97. J. A. Callaway and R. E. Cooley, "A Salvage Excavation at Raddana, in Bireh," *BASOR* 201 (1971): 19; Kempinski, "Hittites in the Bible," 38–39, 43; Beck, "The Cult-Stands from Taanach," 376ff.; Z. Lederman, *An Early Iron Age Village at Khirbet Raddana* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1999), 72–73. n. 102.

98. For references to similar kraters from Kültepe, Inandik, and Eski Yapar, see Beck, "The Cult Stands from Taanach," 378

BURIAL PRACTICES

Burial customs are generally considered one of the best indicators of ethnicity due to their markedly conservative character. However, recent ethnographic and anthropological studies exhort much caution in the evaluation of this factor, claiming that other factors—economic, sociological, and cultural—play an equally significant role in burial practices, especially in terms of the acculturation of migrating population groups.⁹⁹

In discussing alleged Hittite burials in Canaan, I must first refute a widely accepted misconception by scholars using data from Israeli archaeology since the 1960s.¹⁰⁰ In 1959, an early Iron Age grave was excavated near Kfar Yehoshua in the Jezreel Valley that contained the remains of a single male inserted into two jars facing each other.¹⁰¹ On the basis of a few parallels from Alishar Hüyük and Boğazköy (but also from Tell Fakhariyeh and Susa), the excavator tentatively suggested that the deceased was of Hittite origin, a view that has since been widely accepted.¹⁰² In the meantime, many more contemporary burials have been added to the corpus of double-jar burials, especially in the lowlands of Israel (Tel Zeror, Tel Nami, Megiddo, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, etc.), which remained under Egyptian domination during the early Iron Age.¹⁰³ A closer examination of this burial custom reveals that, in fact, it was practiced across large areas of the ancient Near East and over extensive periods.¹⁰⁴ It is merely an extension of the almost universal single-jar burial, and no ethnic label can be attached to it. In Anatolia itself, the double-jar burial is actually quite rare, and even at Alishar Höyük, which has the largest concentration, it only represents about one-third of the excavated graves.

On the other hand, there is a distinctive Hittite mortuary practice that may indeed serve as a lead in the search for Hittite migrations. It is the cremation burial, in which the body of the deceased is burned over a wooden pyre, and the bones and ashes are carefully collected in an urn and buried in a cemetery. This practice, with its well-known Indo-European analogues, is widely attested

99. From the vast literature on the subject see, e.g., J. M. O'Shea, *Mortuary Variability: An Archaeological Investigation* (Orlando: Academic, 1984); S. Campbell and A. Green, eds., *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Oxbow, 1995).

100. For a detailed exposé of the subject, see my "On Hittite Burials."

101. A. Druks, "A Hittite Burial near Kfar Yehoshua," *BIES* 30 (1966): 213–20 [Hebrew].

102. See, e.g., E. Stern, "Grave, Burial," *Encyclopedia Miqrail* 7 (1976), 15 [Hebrew]; Kempinski, "Hittites in the Bible," 40; P. A. Bienkowski, "Some Remarks on the Practice of Cremation," *Levant* 14 (1982): 83.

103. See my "Egyptians, Canaanites, and Philistines in the Period of the Emergence of Israel," in *From Nomadism to Monarchy* (ed. Finkelstein and Na'aman; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1994), 309ff.

104. For references, see E. Strommenger, "Grab; Grabgefäß/-behälter," *RIA* 3: 581–93, 609.

in Anatolia from the late-third millennium B.C.E. on.¹⁰⁵ It was practiced alongside simple and cist burials, sometimes in the same cemetery,¹⁰⁶ and it is difficult to discern any ethnic or social criteria for preference.¹⁰⁷ In addition to the archaeological evidence, we have an invaluable textual description of the 14-day ceremony for the cremation burial of Hittite kings and queens.¹⁰⁸

With the expansion of the Hittite Empire in the 14th century, cremation burial gradually spread southward to the cities that became Hittite administrative centers. The Late Bronze Age cemeteries of Carchemish and Halab have yet to be excavated, but Alalakh, the capital of a state ruled by a Hittite governor,¹⁰⁹ provides quite significant data. Alongside the traditional simple burials, there is a gradual increase in the practice of cremation burials accompanied by relatively rich offerings.¹¹⁰

After the fall of the Hittite Empire, there is a marked increase in cremation, a funerary practice that had previously been alien to the native populations of Syria. In the cemeteries of Carchemish and its vicinity, cremation became the standard burial practice,¹¹¹ and the same applies to Hama in central Syria.¹¹² Another typical feature in these early Iron Age cemeteries is the appearance of stone shafts marking the individual burials. A few are decorated and inscribed with short Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, anticipating the elaborate Syro-

105. T. Ozgüç, *Bestattungsbräuche im vorgeschichtlichen Anatolien* (Ankara: Universität von Ankara, 1948); K. Emre, "Cemeteries of Second Millennium B.C. in Central Anatolia," in *Essays on Ancient Anatolian and Syrian Studies in the 2nd and 1st Millennium B.C.* (ed. T. Mikasa; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 1–15.

106. K. Bittel, *Die hethitischen Grabfunde von Osmankayasi* (Berlin: Mann, 1958); A. Öztan, "Preliminary Report on the Aribas Cemetery at Acemhöyük," in *Essays on Ancient Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.* (ed. T. Mikasa; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 167–75.

107. J. Seeher, "Körperbestattung und Kremation: Ein Gegensatz?" *IstMitt* 43 (1993): 219–26.

108. See most recently H. C. Melchert, "Death and the Hittite King," in *Perspectives on Indo-European Language, Culture and Religion: Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polome* (McLean, Va.: Institute for the Study of Man, 1991), 182–88; T. P. J. van den Hout, "Death as a Privilege," in *Hidden Futures: Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Biblical and Arabic-Islamic World* (ed. J. M. Bremer, T. P. J. van den Hout, and R. Peters; Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994), 37–71; B. Brentjes, "Das Bestattungsritual der Hethiter: Ein Erbe aus den eurasischen Steppen?" *AoF* 26 (1999): 58–76; V. Haas, "Hethitische Bestattungsbräuche," *AoF* 27 (2000): 52–67.

109. Singer, "History of Ugarit," 634 n. 93.

110. C. L. Woolley, *Alalakh* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1955), 203–23; Bienkowski, "Practice of Cremation," 80–81.

111. Idem, "Hittite Burial Customs," *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 6 (1913–14): 87–98; idem, "A North Syrian Cemetery of the Persian Period," *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 7 (1914–16): 115–30; idem, "The Iron-Age Graves of Carchemish" *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 26 (1939–40): 11–37; idem., *Carchemish III* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1953), 250–57; P. R. S. Moorey, *Cemeteries of the First Millennium B.C. at Deve Hüyük, near Carchemish, Salvaged by T. E. Lawrence and C. E. Woolley in 1913* (British Archaeological Reports International Series 87; Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1980).

112. P. J. Riis, *Hama II.3: Les cimetières à cremation* (Copenhagen: Nordisk, 1948).

Hittite monuments with funerary scenes that appear in the ninth and eighth centuries.¹¹³

The practice of cremating the dead was later adopted by the Phoenicians along the Levantine coast.¹¹⁴ The earliest grave of this type was found in the cemetery of Azor, southeast of Jaffa.¹¹⁵ A large jar containing the charred remains of two individuals and a few burial gifts, including pottery, a copper bowl, and a gold mouthpiece, was placed in a stone-built cist.¹¹⁶ The excavator attributed this eleventh-century grave to the Danites, one of the Sea Peoples who allegedly settled on this coastal strip. It is difficult to accept this suggestion¹¹⁷ and, in any case, no conclusions should be inferred from a single cremation burial.¹¹⁸

Should this negative evidence regarding the spread of cremation into Palestine be counted as an argument against a Hittite immigration? Not necessarily. First, the Hittites practiced other burial customs as well, and second, they may have expeditiously adopted the funerary customs of their new neighbors. However, this element carries, in my view, considerable weight in the final deliberation.

PHILOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF HITTITE IMPACT ON CANAANITE-ISRAELITE CULTURE

The search for parallels between the Hittite world and the Old Testament is as old as Hittitology itself. A few years after Hrozný's decipherment, Sayce was already drawing attention to the Hittite scapegoat ritual as a parallel of Lev

113. J. D. Hawkins, "Late Hittite Funerary Monuments," in *Death in Mesopotamia* (ed. B. Alster; Copenhagen: Akademisk, 1980), 213–25; D. Bonatz, "Syro-Hittite Funerary Monuments: A Phenomenon of Tradition or Innovation?" in *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age* (ed. G. Bunnens; Louvain: Peeters, 2000), 189–210.

114. See, e.g., M. W. Prausnitz, ("Die Nekropolen von Akhziv und die Entwicklung der Keramik von 10. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. in Akhziv, Samaria und Ashdod," in *Phönizier im Westen* (ed. H. G. Niemeier; Mainz: von Zabern, 1982), 31–44; G. Barkay, "Burial Caves and Burial Practices in Judah in the Iron Age," in *Graves and Burial Practices in Israel in the Ancient Period* (ed. I. Singer; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1994), 101 [Hebrew]. In ancient Israel, burning the dead was considered an abomination.

115. M. Dothan, "A Cremation Burial at Azor: A Danite City," *ErIsr* 20 (Yadin Volume; 1989): 164–74, 200 [Hebrew, with English abstract].

116. A broken slab of basalt (*ibid.*: 168, Fig. 17) was tentatively identified by the excavator as a large bowl that covered the jar, but it may in fact have been the top of a funerary stela marking the burial, like those at Hama and Carchemish.

117. See my "Egyptians, Canaanites, and Philistines," 308; surprisingly, little is known as yet about the burial practices of the Philistines and other Sea Peoples, despite extensive excavations at some of their major cities (see p. 302).

118. Various burials that show some evidence of burning have been erroneously defined as cremations; see Bienkowski, "Practice of Cremation," 89. These burials lack one of the essential features of cremation practices, namely, collecting the charred remains into urns and interring them in a cemetery.

16.¹¹⁹ The subject has been addressed by various scholars over the years,¹²⁰ but the most comprehensive and reliable studies are those of Hoffner, whose contributions from the late 1960s to date combine an unmatched familiarity with both sides of the parallel.¹²¹

The more Hittitology advanced and was set on solid methodological grounds, the more the complexity of the problems involved in the biblical comparisons have been realized. Hittite civilization is an intricate blend of variegated origins. The ancestral Indo-European heritage fused together with local Anatolian traditions, notably with that of the (proto-)Hattians in the north and the Hurrians in the (south)east. In addition, Mesopotamian and Syrian influences were overwhelming, both by means of direct borrowing and through Hurrian mediation. The resulting Hittite “melting pot” produced an extremely rich and motley cultural amalgam, the original ingredients of which cannot be easily separated.

Another important development in the cultural history of the ancient Near East is the increasing perception of a western *oikoumene* spanning Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, a dry-farming “Levantine Crescent” so to speak, which in various ways is distinguishable from the Mesopotamian cultural unity, although it obviously was deeply influenced by the latter. The epoch-making discovery of the Ebla archives and the enormous progress in Mariote studies in the last generation have greatly enhanced our understanding of the Old Syrian and Amorite foundations of this western cultural unity, which had a decisive influence on the early Anatolian cultures. This background calls for much caution in drawing direct Hittite-Israelite parallels, “leaping over” the Syrian intermediate, as it were. As the following survey shows, several Hittite-Israelite parallels suggested in the past have turned out to be already rooted in Old Syrian traditions.¹²²

119. A. H. Sayce, “The Scapegoat among the Hittites,” *ExpTim* 31 (1919): 283–84; see also idem, “Hittite and Mittannian Elements in the Old Testament,” *JTS* 29 (1928): 401–6.

120. F. A. Bruce, *The Hittites and the Old Testament* (London: Tyndale, 1948); Gelb, “Hittites,” 613–15; R. Mayer, “Die Hethiter und das Alte Testament,” in *Mysterium der Gnade* (ed. H. Rossmann; Regensburg: Pustet, 1975), 65–73; J. C. Moyer, “Hittite and Israelite Cultic Practices: A Selected Comparison,” in *Scripture in Context II: More Essays on the Comparative Method* (ed. W. W. Hallo, J. C. Moyer, and L. G. Perdue; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 19–38.

121. Hoffner’s general surveys include: “Some Contributions of Hittitology,” 27–55; “Old Testament Contacts,” in *Peoples of Old Testament Times* (ed. D. J. Wiseman; Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 213–21; “Cultural and Literary Parallels to the Old Testament,” in *Peoples of the Old Testament World* (ed. A. J. Hoerth, G. L. Mattingly, and E. M. Yamauchi; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 152–54; idem, “Hittite-Israelite Cultural Parallels,” in *The Context of Scripture III* (ed. W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger; Leiden: Brill, 2002), xxix–xxxiv. See these for references to publications dealing with specific parallels.

122. These Anatolian-Syrian-Israelite cultural contacts were the subject of an important symposium held in 1990, published in B. Janowski, K. Klaus, and G. Wilhelm, eds., *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1993); reviewed by me in *JAOS* 117 (1997): 604–5.

The methodological dangers bearing on the search for cultural influences are in no other domain more acute than in religion and mythology. As recently emphasized by a specialist on biblical and ancient Near Eastern rituals, “metaphorical thinking” is universal and is not restricted to traditional or preindustrial societies.¹²³ We may thus find similar rituals performed in distant parts of the world and in different periods. In the ancient Near East, where people and ideas circulated for several millennia, the need for a strict methodology is even more imperative, lest the mere hunt for superficial resemblances become a futile “parallelomania.” When similar phenomena are detected, there is always an uneasy choice between general typological resemblance and real genetic relationship, or as pointedly put by Wright: “It is easy to find parallels but difficult to verify an actual hereditary relationship,” and “only when form and content tightly overlap can we begin to think of historical connections.”¹²⁴

The following survey lists some of the best parallels, classified according to major intellectual domains. Many more parallels of varying strength have been proposed, but obviously not all can be included in this general survey.¹²⁵

NAMES AND VOCABULARY

It is very difficult to detect a consequential influence of Hittite in the domains of Hebrew onomastics and vocabulary.¹²⁶ All the individuals designated Hittite in the Old Testament (Adah, Ahimelech, Basemath, Beeri, Elon, Ephron, Judith, and Zohar)¹²⁷ bear good Semitic names, except perhaps Uriah, the ill-fated husband of Bathsheba.¹²⁸ As one scholar pointedly states, “few indeed are the historical personages of any people’s tradition who have been patient to so many willing etymological doctors as has been Uriyyah.”¹²⁹ A short list of the various attempts includes a Hebrew (popular?) etymology, “light of

123. D. P. Wright, “Analogy in Biblical and Hittite Ritual,” in *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen*, 473–504.

124. *Ibid.*, 473, 504, respectively.

125. For a bibliography of publications on the Hittites and the Old Testament through 1995, see V. Souček and J. Siegelová, *Systematische Bibliographie der Hethitologie, 1915–1995* (3 vols.; Prague: Národní Muzeum, 1996), 3.108–14.

126. See Hoffner, “Hittites and Hurrians,” 215.

127. Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmi, “the descendants of the Anak” in the region of Hebron (Num 13:22, Josh 15:14, Judg 1:10), probably bear non-Semitic names, the last of which could be Hurrian; see Mazar, *The Early Biblical Period*, 121 n. 27. For the possibly Hittite name Tid’al (king of Giiim), see above.

128. For the opposite view, see G. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation*, 162, who detects “a clustering of Anatolian names in the regions of Benjamin, Bethlehem-Hebron, and the upper Jordan Valley and Transjordan,” using farfetched etymologies such as *Kenaz* > Luwian *Kunz*; *Ruth* > Luwian *Ruwanda*; *Eglon* > Cappadocian *Hah-haluwan*; *Tir’atim* (1 Chr 2:55) > *Tarhüntimu(wa)*; *Lewi* > *Luwī*.

129. Y. L. Arbeitman, “Luwio-Semitic and Hurrio/Mitannio-Semitic *Mischname*-Theophores in the Bible, on Crete, and at Troy,” *Scripta Mediterranea* 3 (1982): 11.

Yah”; a derivation from Hurrian *ewri*, “lord”;¹³⁰ and a mixed name composed of the Hittite/Luwian element *uri*, “great,” and the Hebrew *nomen dei*.¹³¹ The choice of etymology is anything but easy, as is the question of whether Uriah the Hittite originated from the Jebusite aristocracy of Jerusalem¹³² or from one of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms that collaborated with David.¹³³ It has also been pointed out that his name somewhat resembles that of Arawnah (with the variants Aranyah and the Awarnah), the king of Jebus who sold David the threshing floor where he built an altar to Yahweh (2 Sam 24:18–25). This name, or rather title, certainly reflects Hurrian *ewri* (+ the article *-ne*),¹³⁴ and it has even been suggested that Awarnah and Uriah were one and the same person.¹³⁵

The search for Hittite vocabulary items in Biblical Hebrew is no less problematic. A few dozen borrowed Hittite or Luwian words have been suggested,¹³⁶ but most are either widely attested “culture words”¹³⁷ or Anatolian words that were introduced into Hebrew through Akkadian or other mediators.¹³⁸ A direct linguistic influence of Hittite on Hebrew is most unlikely.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND LEGAL PROCEDURES

In the domain of international law, the best-known parallel is between the Hittite vassal treaties and the biblical covenant between God and his people.

130. M. Vieyra, “Parallèle hurrite au nom d’Urie ‘Le Hittite,’” *RHA* 5/35 (1939): 113–14; S. Yeivin, “The Beginning of the Davidids,” *Zion* 9 (1944): 63–64 [Hebrew]; B. Mazar, “The Scribe of King David and the Problem of the High Officials in the Ancient Kingdom of Israel,” *BJPES* 13 (1947): 112ff. [Hebrew]; *The Early Biblical Period*, 136–37.

131. Arbeitman, “Luwio-Semitic and Hurrio/Mitannio-Semitic *Mischname*-Theophores,” 48. *Uri-Yah* could be compared to abundantly attested Hittite theophoric names, such as Ura-Tarhunda, Uri-Teššub, etc.

132. Yeivin, “Davidids”; Mazar, *The Early Biblical Period*, 41, 136–37; A. Malamat, “The Transfer of Reign to David in Jerusalem,” in *New Studies on Jerusalem: Proceedings of the Seventh Conference* (ed. A. Faust and E. Baruch; Ramat Gan: Ingeborg Rennert Center for Jerusalem Studies, 2001), 35–37, 7* [Hebrew, with English abstract].

133. Arbeitman, “Luwio-Semitic and Hurrio/Mitannio-Semitic-*Mischname*-Theophores,” 45.

134. A Hurrian origin has also been suggested for the name of David’s scribe, which is written with widely divergent spellings: Shisha, Shavsha, Sheva, Seraiah; see Mazar, *The Early Biblical Period*, 133ff. Others have identified this foreign name as Egyptian; see R. de Vaux, “Titres et fonctionnaires Égyptiens à la cour de David et de Salomon,” *RB* 48 (1939): 394–405.

135. N. Wyatt, “Araunah the Jebusite and the Throne of David,” *ST* 39 (1985): 39–53.

136. C. Rabin, “Hittite Words in Hebrew,” *Or* 32 (1963): 113–39; Hoffner, “Hittites and Hurrians,” 215–16.

137. Such as Heb. *yayin* and Hitt. *wiyana*. Besides Hitt. *kubaḫi*, Heb. *k/qôba*’, “helmet, headgear,” has cognates in other ancient Near Eastern languages as well as in Greek; see J. Puhvel, “*kupahi*-,” *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), 4: 257–58. For the suggested Hittite equivalents of Heb. *ôb*, *teraphim*, and *ephod*, see below, Divination; for *kômer*, see State Cult.

138. For example, Hitt. *kullupi*, “pruning knife” (Old Assy. *kulupinnum*), Akk. *kalabu*, and Heb. *keylap*; Luwian *arkamman* (“tribute”), Akk. *argamannu* (“tribute”), and Ugaritic and Heb. *argmn* (“purple”); and Luwian **tarkumanni* (“interpreter”) and Akk. *targumannum* (“translator”). For the last, see F. Starke, “Zur Herkunft von akkad: *ta/urgumannu(m)* ‘Dolmetscher,’” *WO* 24 (1993): 20–38.

Since the idea was first put forward by Mendenhall half a century ago,¹³⁹ a vast literature has been written on the subject, including attempts to give preference to first-millennium Assyrian parallels over the second-millennium Hittite ones.¹⁴⁰ However, as recently reiterated by Mendenhall,¹⁴¹ both the form and the ideological matrix of the Assyrian loyalty oaths differ radically from those of the Hittite treaties, and the Hebrew tradition clearly follows the latter. For example, the historical prologue and the blessings that constitute basic elements in the Hittite and the Israelite treaty formulas are entirely missing in the Assyrian oaths. A discussion of the important historical implications of this parallel with regard to the emergence of early Israelite society is beyond the scope of this article.

A promising sequel to the study of covenant forms is the comparison between biblical border descriptions and the border descriptions appended to some Hittite treaties (e.g., the Tarḫuntašša treaties).¹⁴² There is a marked similarity in both style and form, which is all the more remarkable in light of the fact that Assyrian vassal treaties do not, as a rule, include border descriptions.

Various parallels have been drawn between specific biblical and Hittite Laws (HL).¹⁴³ These include the incapacitation of a person as the result of assault (HL §10; Exod 21:18–19),¹⁴⁴ the killing of a person by an unknown slayer (HL §6; Deut 21:1–9),¹⁴⁵ the determination of guilt (adultery or rape) in

139. G. E. Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," *BA* 17 (1954): 50–76; idem, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh: Biblical Colloquium, 1955).

140. For overviews on the debate with references to the vast bibliography on the subject, see, e.g., Kitchen, *Ancient Orient*, 90–102; M. Weinfeld, "The Common Heritage of Covenantal Traditions in the Ancient World," in *I trattati nel mondo antico: Forma, ideologia, funzione* (ed. L. Canfora, M. Liverani, and C. Zaccagnini; Rome: "L'Erma" di Breitschneider, 1990), 175–91; idem, "The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East," in *Essential Papers on Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. F. E. Greenspahn; New York: New York University Press, 1991), 69–102.

141. G. E. Mendenhall and G. A. Herion, "Covenant," *ABD* 1: 1179–1202; see also M. Weinfeld, "Covenant Making in Anatolia and Mesopotamia," *JANESCU* 22 (1993): 135–39.

142. N. Wazana, *Biblical Border Descriptions in Light of Ancient Near Eastern Literature* (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998); idem, "The Tribal Boundaries in Light of Tarḫuntašša's Border Description," *Shnaton* 12 (2000): 165–66 [Hebrew, with English summary].

143. E. Neufeld, *The Hittite Laws* (London: Luzac, 1951); R. Westbrook, *Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Law* (Paris: Gabalda, 1988); R. Haase, "Deuteronomium und hethitisches Recht: Ober einige Ähnlichkeiten in rechtshistorischer Hinsicht," *WO* 25 (1994): 71–77. For an updated text edition, see H. A. Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites: A Critical Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); idem, "Hittite Laws," in *The Context of Scripture II* (ed. W. W. Hallo; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 106–19.

144. F. C. Fensham, "Ex XXI: 18–19 in the Light of Hittite Law §10," *VT* 10 (1960): 333–35; Hoffner, "Some Contributions of Hittitology," 38–39; idem, *The Laws of the Hittites*, 176–77; "On Homicide in Hittite Law," in *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour on His 80th Birthday* (ed. R. Averbeck, M. W. Chavalas, and G. D. Young; Bethesda, Md.: CDL, 1997), 293–314; E. Otto, *Körperverletzung in den Keilschriftrechten und im Alten Testament: Studien zum Rechtstransfer im Alten Orient* (Kevelaer: Butzon und Bercker, 1991); idem, "Körperverletzung im hethitischen und israelitischen Recht," in *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen* (ed. Janowski, Klaus, and Wilhelm; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1993), 391–425.

145. Hoffner, "Some Contributions of Hittitology," 39–40; idem, *The Laws of the Hittites*, 171–74; Haase, "Deuteronomium," 75–76.

the case of sexual intercourse between a married woman and a man other than her husband (HL §§197–98; Deut 22:23–27), levirate marriage (HL §§192–93; Deut 25:510),¹⁴⁶ and strict rules against incest and bestiality.¹⁴⁷ Although these comparisons provide significant help in elucidating obscure passages from both cultures, a direct Hittite influence on biblical law is not very likely. A comprehensive study within the context of other Near Eastern legal systems may show that both the Hittite and the Israelite laws ultimately originated in a Mesopotamian school of thought.¹⁴⁸

STATE CULT

In the domain of state cult, the most significant comparison has been made between the shared custody of the tabernacle by priests (*kōhānīm*) and Levites and the similar sharing of responsibility for the area around the Hittite temple by “temple servants” (*karimnalesš*) and “keepers” (*ḫaliyatallesš*).¹⁴⁹ Another appealing comparison relating to cult personnel is the derivation of Hebrew *kōmer*, designating a non-Israelite priest, from Old Assyrian *kumru* and Hittite *kumra*, which designate a cult official.¹⁵⁰ Other comparisons in the domain of cult practices have been suggested by Weinfeld,¹⁵¹ but many of these are too general to establish a real parallel, although they may contribute to illuminating obscure biblical passages.¹⁵²

Another source for biblical comparisons are the Hittite prayers, which were profoundly influenced by Mesopotamian prototypes, either by direct borrowing

146. Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites*, 226.

147. Idem, “Incest, Sodomy and Bestiality in the Ancient Near East,” in *Orient and Occident: Essays presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. H. A. Hoffner; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973), 81–90; see also C. H. Gordon, “Father’s Sons and Mother’s Daughters: The Problem of Indo-European-Semitic Relationships,” in *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons* (ed. Averbek, Chavalas, and Young; Bethesda, Md.: CDL, 1997), 271–78.

148. Otto, “Körperverletzung,” 414.

149. J. Milgrom, “The Shared Custody of the Tabernacle and a Hittite Analogy,” *JAOS* 90 (1970): 204–9; cf. M. Weinfeld, “Social and Cultic Institutions in the Priestly Source against Their Ancient Near Eastern Background,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Panel Sessions: Bible Studies and Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1983), 123–24. For a new translation, see G. McMahon, “Instructions to Priests and Temple Officials,” in *The Context of Scripture I* (ed. W. W. Hallo; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 217–21.

150. H. A. Hoffner, “Hittite Equivalents of Old Assyrian *kumrum* and *epattum*,” *WZKM* 86 (1996): 151–54.

151. Weinfeld, “Institutions in the Priestly Source,” 95–129; idem, “Divine Intervention in War in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East,” in *History, Historiography and Interpretation* (ed. H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983), 121–47; idem, “Traces of Hittite Cult in Shiloh, Bethel and in Jerusalem,” in *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen* (ed. Janowski, Klaus, and Wilhelm; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1993), 455–72.

152. For a critical appraisal of these parallels, see Hoffner, “Hittite-Israelite Cultural Comparisons.”

or through Hurrian mediation.¹⁵³ Perhaps the closest parallel is in the attitude toward inherited guilt and collective punishment.¹⁵⁴ An early precursor of the biblical dictum “The parents have eaten sour grapes, and the children’s teeth are set on edge” (Ezek 18:2) is found in one of Muršili II’s plague prayers:

O Storm-god of Ḫatti, my lord! O gods, my lords! So it happens that people always sin. My father sinned as well and he transgressed the word of the Storm-god of Ḫatti, my lord. But I did not sin in any way. Nevertheless, it so happens that the father’s sin comes upon his son, and so the sin of my father came upon me too. I have just confessed it to the Storm-god of Ḫatti, my lord, and to the gods, my lords. It is so. We have done it. But because I have confessed the sin of my father, may the soul of the Storm-god of Ḫatti, my lord, and of the gods, my lords, be appeased again. May you again have pity on me, and send the plague away from Hatti.¹⁵⁵

A protest against the indiscriminate punishment of the good together with the evil, distantly echoing Abraham’s haggling with God over the fate of Sodom (Gen 18), is expressed in another prayer of Muršili II addressed to the Sun-goddess of Arinna:

Whoever is (a cause of) rage and anger to the gods, and whoever is not respectful to the gods, let not the good ones perish with the evil ones. Whether it is a single town, a single house, or a single person, O gods, destroy only that one.¹⁵⁶

MAGICAL RITUALS

Many parallels come from the vast domain of magical rituals, a most prolific genre in the Hittite Corpus.¹⁵⁷ Perhaps the best-known parallel between a bibli-

153. See M. Greenberg, “Hittite Royal Prayers and Biblical Petitionary Psalms,” in *Neue Wege der Psalmenforschung* (ed. K. Seybold and E. Zenger; Freiburg: Herder, 1994), 15–27. For a new translation of Hittite prayers, see my *Hittite Prayers* (SBLWAW 11; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002).

154. Greenberg, “Hittite Royal Prayers,” 22–23; I. Singer, “Sin and Punishment in Hittite Prayers,” in “*An Experienced Scribe Who Neglects Nothing*”; *Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Jacob Klein* (ed. Y. Sefati et al.; Bethesda, Md.: CDL, 2005), 557–67.

155. Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, No. 11, §8.

156. *Ibid.*, No. 8, §10; see also No. 19, §6 (a prayer of Muwatalli II).

157. For a general survey of these parallels, see Moyer, “Hittite and Israelite Cultic Practices.” For Hittite magic rituals, see D. Engelhard, *Hittite Magical Practices* (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1970); O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 44–63; V. Haas, *Magie und Mythen im Reich der Hethiter: 1. Vegetationskulte und Pflanzenmagie* (Hamburg: Marlin, 1977); *idem*, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 876–911; A. Ünal, “The Role of Magic in the Ancient Anatolian Religions according to the Cuneiform Texts from Boğazköy-Ḫattuša,” in *Essays on Anatolian Studies* (ed. T. Mikasa; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 52–85; M. Popko, *Religions of Asia Minor* (Warsaw: Academic Press Dialog, 1995); G. Frantz-Szabó, “Hittite Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination,” in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (4 vols.; ed.

cal and a Hittite ritual is the scapegoat ritual of the Day of Atonement in Lev 16, which closely resembles the Hittite elimination rituals of the practitioners Uḫhamuwa and Ašhela.¹⁵⁸ The goat onto which the priest transfers the sins of Israel is offered to Azazel, a term that has puzzled commentators for centuries. Some parallels have finally been discovered that provide an original setting for the ritual and perhaps also a satisfactory etymology for Azazel. The first “missing link” between Ḫatti and Israel was already provided by a thirteenth-century ritual text from Ugarit found in 1963,¹⁵⁹ but recently a much older prototype has been identified originating from the same North Syrian region.¹⁶⁰ In a late-seventeenth-century text from Alalakh VII (AT *126), birds, kids, and lambs are sacrificed as *azashum* offerings to appease the gods of Heaven and of the Underworld. The term seems to be derived from the Semitic root ‘zz, Akkadian *ezezu*, “to be(come) angry,” with a Hurrian relationship suffix (-*hi/e*).¹⁶¹ Besides demonstrating that the original atonement ritual goes back to a North Syrian tradition, the Alalakh text also proves that Azazel is not a late interpolation in Lev 16 but an integral part of the original text.

The domain of purification rituals has produced several other Hittite-Israelite parallels,¹⁶² but some of these actually originate from a North Syrian or southern Anatolian milieu, such as the rites in which animal blood is used for cleansing (cf. Lev 14).¹⁶³ After its annexation to Ḫatti in the fifteenth century, the hybrid Luwian-Hurrian region of Kizzuwatna (eastern Cilicia) exerted a major religious and cultural influence on Hittite civilization.

A most illuminating parallel has been suggested for the seventh vision of Zechariah (5:5–11), in which a female figure symbolizing evil is placed inside

J. M. Sasson; New York: Scribner's, 1995), 3: 2007–20; B. J. Collins, “Rituals,” in *The Context of Scripture I* (ed. Hallo; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 160–68.

158. See Gurney, *Some Aspects*, 47ff.; Collins, “Rituals,” 162.

159. KTU2 1.127: 29–31; K. Aartun, “Eine weitere Parallele aus Ugarit zur kultischen Praxis in Israels Religion,” *BO* 33 (1976): 285–89; idem, “Studien zum Gesetz über den grossen Versöhnungstag Lev 16 mit Varianten: Ein ritualgeschichtlicher Beitrag,” *ST* 34 (1980): 73–109.

160. B. Janowski and G. Wilhelm, “Der Bock, der die Sünden hinaustragt: Zur Religionsgeschichte des Azazel-Ritus Lev 16, 10.21 f.,” in *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen* (ed. Janowski, Klaus, and Wilhelm; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1993), 109–69 (with the extensive literature on the subject listed on pp. 163–69).

161. Janowski and Wilhelm, “Der Bock,” 152ff.; cf., however, M. Görg, “Beobachtungen zum sogenannten Azazel-Ritus,” *BN* 33 (1986): 10–16; idem, “‘Asaselologen’ unter sich: Eine neue Runde?” *BN* 80 (1995): 25–31, who suggests a late Egyptian etymology related to the chaotic image of Seth in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. For another skeptical assessment of the new etymology, see H. Pfeiffer, “Bemerkungen zur Ritualgeschichte von Lev 16,” in *Kulturgeschichten: Altorientalistische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. T. Richter, D. Prechel, and J. Klinger; Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2001), 313–26.

162. See J. C. Moyer, “The Concept of Ritual Purity among the Hittites” (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1969).

163. V. Haas, “Ein hurritischer Blutritus und die Deponierung der Ritualrückstände nach hethitischen Quellen,” in *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen* (ed. Janowski, Klaus, and Wilhelm; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1993), 67–77.

an ephah-vessel with a lead lid and is carried off to Babylon.¹⁶⁴ Rites for the disposal of impurity are known from all parts of the ancient Near East and also found their way to Greece, where they are best known from the tale of Pandora's box (a pithos in older versions), which contained all of the human ills. In the Hittite prototypes, the contaminated substance, usually the water used for ritual cleansing or the saliva of the purified person, is drained into a jar or a bronze container sealed with a lead lid and is deposited in the Underworld or at the bottom of the sea (like radioactive-polluted material nowadays...). An eschatological remark adds that the seal on this buried vessel will only be removed when the ancient kings return.

DIVINATION

A necromantic function has been ascribed to some obscure biblical terms that are partially illuminated by Hittite parallels.¹⁶⁵ Dispirited by his failure to obtain a divinatory consultation "by dreams, by *urim*, or by prophets," Saul turned to the spiritualist woman at En-Dor, who invoked the spirit of Samuel through an *'ôb* (1 Sam 28). The same term recurs in Isa 29:4: "your voice shall come from the ground like the voice of a ghost (*'ôb*), and your speech shall whisper out of the dust." Whereas these passages have generally been understood to refer either to the necromancer or to the consulted spirit, in Hittite rituals the cognate word *abi* denotes the hole in the ground by means of which the practitioner communicated with underground spirits and ghosts.¹⁶⁶ The cognates of Hebrew *'ob* (Akkadian *abu*, Ugaritic *'eb*, etc.) probably ultimately derive from Sumerian *ab*, which may have entered into Hittite through Hurrian mediation.¹⁶⁷

164. H. A. Hoffner, "Hittite *tarpis* and Hebrew *teraphim*," *JNES* 27 (1968): 65–66; Gurney, *Some Aspects*, 53 n. 4; Haas, "Ein hurritischer Blutritus," 77–83. For a comprehensive study on Hittite elimination rites, see D. P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987). For the Hebrew rites of purification and their Near Eastern cognates, see Weinfeld, "Institutions in the Priestly Source," 111–16.

165. For overviews on biblical and Near Eastern necromancy, see J. Tropper, *Nekromantie: Totenbefragung im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament* (Kevelaer: Butzon und Bercker, 1989); O. Loretz, "Nekromantie und Totenevokation in Mesopotamien, Ugarit und Israel," in *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen* (ed. Janowski, Klaus, and Wilhelm; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1993), 285–318. For a dissenting view on the validity of the Hittite parallels, see F. H. Cryer, *Divination in Ancient Israel and Its Near Eastern Environment* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 260 n. 1, 272 n. 2.

166. M. Vieyra, "Les noms de 'mundus' en hittite et en assyrien et la pythonesse d'Endor," *RHA* 19 (1961): 47–55; H. A. Hoffner, "Second Millennium Antecedents to the Hebrew 'OB,'" *JBL* 86 (1967): 385–401; idem, "אֹב 'ôb," *TDOT* 1: 130–34; see also Gurney, *Some Aspects*, 53. For some Greek comparisons, see G. McMahon, "Comparative Observations on Hittite Rituals," in *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History: Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock* (ed. K. A. Yener and H. A. Hoffner; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 127–35.

167. J. Puhvel, "*api-*," *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (Berlin: Mouton, 1984), 1: 101–2.

Even more ambiguous is the meaning of biblical *teraphim*, which seems to denote some kind of household gods (Gen 31:19–35; Judg 17:5), sometimes consulted for the purposes of divination (Ezek 21:21; Zech 10:2). Occasionally, *teraphim* are paired with *ephod* (Hos 3:4; Judg 17:5)—a priestly garment ornamented with precious metals—for which an Anatolian etymology has recently been suggested (Old Assy. *epattum*, Hitt. *ipantu-*).¹⁶⁸ Perhaps the best common denominator for all usages is to view the *teraphim* as ancestor figurines expected to relay divine messages to the living.¹⁶⁹ Since a convincing Semitic etymology seems to be missing, Hoffner (following B. Landsberger) has suggested that *teraphim* is derived from Hittite *tarpi*, a spirit that is on some occasions benevolent and on others malevolent.¹⁷⁰ A lexical text from Boğazköy equates Akkadian *lamassu* and *šēdu* with Hittite *annari* and *tarpi*, denoting a pair (female and male, respectively) of benevolent spirits. However, when *šēdu* appears alone, it represents an evil demon, and the same seems to apply to Hittite *tarpi*. Some have questioned the derivation of *teraphim* from *tarpi*,¹⁷¹ suggesting Hittite *tar-palli*, “substitute,” instead.¹⁷² Perhaps both the Hebrew and the Hittite terms are ultimately derived (as in the case of *’ôb* and *abi*) from a common Hurrian origin.¹⁷³

Another biblical divinatory term that may have an Anatolian origin is Hebrew *pur*, Akkadian *pūru*, first attested in Old Assyrian texts¹⁷⁴ It designates small inscribed cubes (dice) that were tossed from a vessel as lots in order to choose a deity or an official. The Hittite equivalent is probably *pul*, “lot,”¹⁷⁵ which recurs in the vocable *pulaḫli*, “lot-caster” (with a Hurrian suffix), attested in an Alalakh VII text.¹⁷⁶

168. Hoffner, “Hittite Equivalents,” 154–56.

169. H. Rouillard and J. Trapper, “TRPYM, rituels de guérison et culte des ancêtres d’après 1 Samuel XIX 11–17 et les textes parallèles d’Assur et de Nuzi,” *VT* 37 (1987): 340–61; K. van der Toorn, “The Nature of the Biblical Teraphim in the Light of the Cuneiform Evidence,” *CBQ* 52 (1990): 203–22 (see p. 204 n. 8, for earlier bibliography).

170. H. A. Hoffner, “The Linguistic Origins of Teraphim,” *BSac* 124 (1967): 230–38; idem, “Hittite *tarpi*,” 61–68; idem, “Old Testament Contacts,” 215ff.

171. Rouillard and Trapper, “TRPYM,” 360–61; Loretz, “Nekromantie,” 303.

172. F. Josephson, “Anatolien *tarpa/i*, etc.,” in *Florilegium Anatolicum: Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche* (Paris: Boccard, 1979), 181.

173. Cf. Hurrian *tarwi-yalli* (*taruyali*, *tarwalli*), a divine epithet and a term that appears in omen texts, and the goddess Tar(u)wi, a malevolent consort of Ištar. See V. Haas, “Review of KBo XXIII,” *OLZ* 76 (1981): 28; I. Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška* (Kevelaer: Butzon und Bercker; 1981), 84; J. Tischler, “*tarpi-*; *tarwi-yalli-*,” *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar* (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, 1993), 3/9: 216, 248–50.

174. J. Lewy, “Old Assyrian *puru’um* and *pūrum*,” *RHA* 5/36: 117–24; W. W. Hallo, “The First Purim,” *BA* 46 (1983): 19–29.

175. J. Friedrich, “Hethitisch *pul* und Ableitungen,” *Afo* 17 (1954–56), 92; H. G. Güterbock and H. A. Hoffner, “*pul-*,” *CHD* P/3 (1977): 373–74; G. Kellerman, “Towards the Further Interpretation of the *purulli*-Festival,” *Slavica Hierosolymitana* 5–6 (1981): 35–44; J. Tischler, “*pul-*,” *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar* P, 643ff.

176. Dietrich and Loretz, “Berufsbezeichnungen,” 193.

LITERATURE AND MYTHOLOGY

One of the major contributions of the Hittites to ancient Near Eastern thought is in the domain of historiography, which in many ways is exceptional within the ancient Near Eastern corpus.¹⁷⁷ Some salient features of the Hittite approach to recording the past have been compared with biblical concepts.¹⁷⁸ One particular literary genre was that of autobiography, usually authored by a monarch who felt the need to justify his deeds before gods and men. The best-known Hittite example is the *Apology* of Ḫattušili III, a text often compared with the biblical “succession narrative” explaining David’s rise to power.¹⁷⁹

Common mythological motifs are easily found around the world and in particular in the ancient Near Eastern corpora. Only close similarities both in the general story and in specific details can reasonably be traced back to a common origin.¹⁸⁰ I am not aware of such close correspondences between Hittite and biblical literature, but there of course are various motifs that recur in both cultures.¹⁸¹ Perhaps the best example is the Tale of Appu and His Two Sons.¹⁸²

Appu and his wife were a wealthy but childless couple who lived in a distant land. Eventually, the Sun-god took pity on them and descended to earth disguised as a young man. As a result of his “sexual counsel,” Appu’s wife became pregnant twice and gave birth to two sons: the elder was named Evil and the

177. For Hittite historiography, see A. Kammenhuber, “Die hethitische Geschichtsschreibung,” *Saeculum* 9 (1958): 136–55; H. A. Hoffner, “Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East: The Hittites,” *Or* 49 (1980): 283–332; H. G. Güterbock, “Hittite Historiography,” in *History, Historiography, and Interpretation* (ed. Tadmor and Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983), 21–35; G. F. del Monte, *L’annalistica ittita* (Brescia: Paideia, 1993).

178. A. Malamat, “Doctrines of Causality in Hittite and Biblical Historiography,” *VT* 5 (1955): 1–12. The most comprehensive comparison between Hittite and Israelite historiography is still H. Cancik, *Grundzüge der hethitischen und alttestamentlichen Geschichtsschreibung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976).

179. H. Wolf, *The Apology of Ḫattušilis Compared with Other Political Self-justifications of the Ancient Near East* (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1967); H. A. Hoffner, “Propaganda and Political Justification in Hittite Historiography,” in *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (ed. H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 49–62; P. K. McCarter, “The Apology of David,” *JBL* 99 (1980): 489–504. For an updated translation of Ḫattušili’s Apology, see T. P. J. van den Hout, “Apology of Ḫattušili III,” in *The Context of Scripture I* (ed. Hallo; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 199–204.

180. For the problem of literary origins, see, e.g., my “Some Thoughts on Translated and Original Hittite Literature,” *JOS* 15 (1995): 123–28.

181. See, e.g., M. Tsevat, “Two Old Testament Stories and Their Hittite Analogues,” *JAOS* 103 (1983): 321–26; see also H. A. Hoffner, “A Hittite Analogue to the David and Goliath Contest of Champions?” *CBQ* 30 (1968): 220–25. For the employment of blinded captives in Hittite millhouses, just as the Philistines employed the blinded Samson (Judg 16:21–25), see H. A. Hoffner, “The Treatment and Long-Term Use of Persons Captured in Battle,” in *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology* (ed. Yener and Hoffner; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 61–72.

182. See J. Siegelová, *Appu-Märchen und Hedammu-Mythos* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971); H. A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta: SBL, 1990), 63–65; idem, “Appu and His Two Sons,” in *The Context of Scripture I* (ed. Hallo; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 153–55. For the mythologems found in this myth and their origins, see C. Grottanelli, “Observations sur l’histoire d’Appou,” *RHA* 36 (1978): 49–57; Singer, “Some Thoughts,” 124ff.

younger Just. When they grew up, they parted from their parents and, following Evil's initiative, divided up their estate. Evil tried to defraud his younger brother by taking a good plow ox for himself and giving Just a bad cow. The sun-god, who continued to oversee their fate, turned things around so that the inferior cow became better and vice versa. Angered, brother Evil took his case to the court of the Sun-god in Sippar, but his appeal was overruled. Evil appealed again, this time at the court of Ištar. At this point, however, the text breaks up.

Hoffner considered this tale to have the strongest resemblance to the story of Job, but there are several motifs that strongly recall the patriarchal narratives in Genesis: the childless couple, the deity disguised as a human, the feud between two brothers over their inheritance, etc.¹⁸³ Even the father's name (which in Hittite can also be read as Abu) could be a hypocoristicon resembling the West Semitic name Abra(ha)m.¹⁸⁴

CONCLUSION

Let us now extract some meaning from the accumulation of data. Returning to the three basic questions that I posed following the brief survey on the biblical Hittites, we should be able to admit readily that nothing revolutionary has been discovered in the past few decades that would signal a breakthrough in solving the first question—is there any connection between the “inland” Hittites of the Old Testament and the Hittites of Anatolia? The response depends, as before, on one's appraisal of the cumulative weight of the various strands of evidence. My own opinion is presented at the very end of this essay.

Regarding the second query, which attempts to define the historical junctures at which an immigration of Hittites into Canaan is conceivable, the answers are more definite. There is nothing to suggest a sizable immigration before the late-thirteenth century B.C.E., although, of course, the travels of anonymous individuals at any point in history may have occurred without leaving any trace. On the other hand, the political climate during the decades following the Hittite-Egyptian peace treaty was extremely stimulating for cultural contacts throughout the Levant, including the frequent commuting of professional delegations (diplomats, artists, experts) along the axis connecting the two empires. That some of these persons may have stayed behind in the cities of Egyptian Canaan is not impossible but cannot be proved, and, in any case, this would not effect a significant demographic change. Far more plausible is the old theory regarding refugees from the crumbling Hittite Empire who may have found a haven in Palestine, especially in the sparsely populated highlands. But although such an

183. Hoffner, “Some Contributions of Hittitology,” 52–55; Singer, “Some Thoughts,” 124–25.

184. For the etymology of Abra(ha)m, see Van Seters, *Abraham*, 40ff.

eventuality “makes sense” historically, there is nothing in the written record to support it, except for the very names of the pre-Israelite nations of Canaan that are subjected to examination. Unless some supporting external evidence turns up, one faces the danger of circular argumentation, whereby the biblical Hittites prove that there was an immigration of northern Hittites and, vice versa, the population movements concomitant with the fall of the Hittite Empire add credibility to the suggested northern origins of the biblical Hittites.

The third query is the one to which most efforts have been applied over the last few decades, and with good reason. If an ostensible Hittite immigration into Canaan ever took place, what impact did it have on the material and mental profile of the “new country”? Is this impact weighty enough to prove an actual demographic change or could the Hittite cultural influence have filtered through other channels of transmission? Again, the answers are not conclusive, but the archaeological evidence seems hardly sufficient to prove a presence of northern Hittites in Palestine. After a century of intensive excavations, all that has surfaced is a handful of Hittite seals and about a dozen pottery vessels that exhibit some northern artistic influences. The seals may have belonged to Hittite citizens who passed through Canaan, and the vessels may have filtered gradually into Palestine through various Syrian intermediaries.¹⁸⁵ The paucity of tangible evidence becomes even more conspicuous in the face of the absence of two salient features of Hittite culture—the hieroglyphic script and the cremation burial—both of which seem to have extended only as far south as the region of Hama in central Syria. Having reached this negative conclusion from the archaeological record, we must immediately acknowledge the well-known truism that lack of evidence does not necessarily constitute evidence of a lack. It is not impossible that immigrants from the Hittite Empire fully assimilated into their new habitat, leaving (almost) no trace of their original culture.¹⁸⁶

The philological evidence for Hittite-Israelite cultural parallels seems to be far more substantial and encouraging. There is a steadily growing corpus of comparisons and, as recently stated by Hoffner, “even if some proposals have been unconvincing, there remain far too many points of similarity—especially in legal, ritual and cult matters—between Hittite culture and the Bible for us to dismiss them as coincidental or accidental.”¹⁸⁷ The problem remains, as before, whether these manifold cultural assets reached Canaanite-Israelite culture through the migration of their carriers or rather through other channels of trans-

185. It should be stressed in this connection that the entire area of southern Syria, from the southern borders of the Hittite Empire to northern Israel, is still largely *terra incognita*.

186. Na’aman, “The ‘Conquest of Canaan’,” 242, cites several analogues, including the Hurrians, whose immigration into Canaan is attested through personal names but not in the archaeological evidence. In the case of the Hittites, however, we have neither names nor objects, which makes the decision even more problematic.

187. Hoffner, “Hittite-Israelite Cultural Parallels,” xxxiv.

mission. Since a sizable migration of Hittites into Canaan has not been proved, we must seriously consider the other option, namely, the transmission of ideas, technologies, and creeds by influential individuals over centuries of close contacts between the various civilizations of the ancient Near East. In this respect, Hittite culture was no different from Mesopotamian, Egyptian, or Aegean, all of which exerted a substantial influence on Canaanite-Israelite civilization. Obviously, it is not easy to pinpoint the time of such cultural borrowings, but, as stated by Hoffner, “many cannot be attributed to a late first millennium intermediary. So we must take seriously the possibility of a channel of cultural influence in the late second and early first millennium that allowed influences from Anatolia to be felt in Palestine.”¹⁸⁸

Thus, the intriguing question “who were the biblical Hittites?” is returned to the care of biblical scholars, a discipline beyond my field of competence. Nevertheless, I would venture some basic comments and then briefly state my viewpoint on the subject.

All the biblical sources, whatever their date of composition, share the same basic perception that the non-Israelite population of Canaan was composite, and it consisted of indigenous peoples, such as the Canaanites, Amorites, Hittites’ etc., and immigrant peoples, such as the Philistines and the Arameans (Amos 9:7). Whether we take biblical ethnography seriously or not, it must have made some sense to the authors who composed it. This truism hardly needs proof, but if it did, we might consider the fact that none of the biblical authors arbitrarily includes Egyptians, Babylonians, or Assyrians among the nations of Canaan before the Israelite conquest. Since they insist on including Hittites, Hivites, and others in their description of Canaan, this terminology must have had some historical credibility in the eyes of the biblical authors, unless we reduce their story to a totally nonsensical fairy tale. In other words, the terminology used in describing the ethnic makeup of Canaan must have been creditable at some point during the long history of the Old Testament’s conception. Should it be found not to fit second-millennium circumstances, it should demonstrably fit into some first-millennium reality.

Relying on contemporary ancient sources, both philological and archaeological, we now conceive of the massive migrations that changed the face of Canaan during the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age as part of the same general historical process. Setting aside the difficult questions concerning the origins of the Israelite population, we know that modern research assumes a foreign origin for both the “Sea Peoples,” notably the Philistines, who settled along the coast and for the so-called “Land Peoples,” such as the Hittites, the

188. Ibid.

Hivites, and others, who allegedly settled in the highlands. Yet biblical ethnography considers the Philistines to be newcomers from Caphtor/Crete (e.g., Amos 9:7), whereas the Hittites and the other “nations” are perceived as indigenous inhabitants of Canaan. Unless we are totally wrong in our historical convictions, this discrepancy can only be explained in one of two ways: either the biblical authors ignored the origins of the Hittites who settled in Canaan in the second millennium or what they had in mind were not the second-millennium Hittites of Anatolia.

In the first case, it appears that the collective memory at the time of the composition already confused notions about the origins of the peoples who had inhabited Canaan in the distant past. Besides the lateness of the composition, there might be an additional explanation for the discrepancy: the Philistines retained many traits of their original culture for centuries,¹⁸⁹ whereas the other “nations” who allegedly migrated to Canaan rapidly lost their ethnic identity. The biblical authors may simply have mirrored the realities of their own age.

In the second case, the biblical Hittites have nothing to do with the Anatolian Hittites. Rather, the term “Hittite” served as a synonym for “Canaanite” and “Amorite,” generally denoting the inhabitants of Syria-Palestine, in accordance with the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian usage of the term from the late-eighth century on. This view was already expressed by Clay in 1919¹⁹⁰ and has since found numerous adherents.¹⁹¹ As noted above, the “Land of Ḫatti” designation had already begun to spread from Anatolia into northern Syria by the end of the thirteenth century (see above) and, after the fall of the Hittite Empire, it came to refer to the Neo-Hittite states of Syria, notably Carchemish.¹⁹² When these states were gradually taken over by the Assyrians, the term “Ḫatti” became virtually synonymous with “Amurru,” both referring to the entire area west of the Euphrates, from Asia Minor to Egypt.¹⁹³ In fact, “Ḫatti” gradually replaced “Amurru” during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E. and completely lost its

189. For the survival of Philistine cultural traits, see, e.g., my “Egyptians, Canaanites, and Philistines,” 322ff.; idem, “Towards the Image of Dagon the God of the Philistines,” *Syria* 69 (1992): 431–50; S. Bunimovitz and A. Yasur-Landau, “Philistine and Israelite Pottery: A Comparative Approach to the Question of Pots and People,” *TA* 23 (1996): 88–101.

190. A. T. Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919), 161.

191. E.g., M. E. Dhorme, *L'Évolution religieuse d'Israël* (Brussels: Nouvelle société d'éditions, 1937), 104; Delaporte, “Les Hittites sont-ils nommés?” 294. For a comprehensive presentation of the theory with references to earlier studies, see J. Van Seters, “The Terms ‘Amorite’ and ‘Hittite’ in the Old Testament,” *VT* 22 (1972): 64–81; idem, *Abraham*, 45–46.

192. See J. D. Hawkins, “Ḫatti,” *RLA* 4: 152–59.

193. See, e.g., Van Seters, “The Terms ‘Amorite’ and ‘Hittite’”; G. E. Mendenhall, “Amorites,” *ABD* 1: 199–202. Cf., however, Cogan, “Locating *māt Ḫatti*,” who pleads for a more circumscribed geographical definition of the “Land of Ḫatti,” limited to only the cultural heirs of the imperial Hittites in Anatolia and Upper Syria. For the second-millennium history of the term “Amurru,” see my “‘Land of Amurru’ and the ‘Lands of Amurru’ in the Šaušgamuwa Treaty,” *Iraq* 53 (1991): 69–74.

original ethnic and cultural content. Thus, if the biblical writers who wrote about the “Hittites” in Palestine lived in this late period, as claimed by many, they would naturally have used this archaic term in describing the ethnic makeup of the “Promised Land” from the earliest times.

The choice between the two options is anything but easy, but, as the evidence presents itself now, I tend to prefer the second interpretation.¹⁹⁴ This, of course, does not diminish in the least the importance of Hittite-Israelite parallels. With all due respect to the biblical Hittites, I reason that the main importance of comparative studies lies in what they teach us about the lives and thinking of people on both sides of the comparison.

194. See also Hoffner, “Hittites and Hurrians,” 214; “Cultural and Literary Parallels,” 152–53; “Hittite-Israelite Cultural Parallels.”

A HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC SEAL IMPRESSION FROM TEL APHEK

During the fifth season of excavations at Aphek-Antipatris in 1976, a Hittite bulla,¹ the first to come to light so far in the Land of Israel, was discovered in the Late Bronze Age palace on the summit of the tel. The site, located on the ancient Via Maris about 20 km east of Tel Aviv, has been under excavation since 1972 by an expedition headed by Prof. M. Kochavi of Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology (for the site and its history, see Kochavi 1975: 17ff.). The writer is deeply indebted to Prof. Kochavi for entrusting him with the publication of the bulla.

The Late Bronze Age palace of Area X (Kochavi 1977a, 1977b, 1978) has also yielded six cuneiform fragments to date, including a fragment of a Sumerian-Akkadian-Canaanite lexicon, testifying to the importance of Aphek as a scribal center during the late Canaanite period (Rainey 1975, 1976).

The Hittite bulla (Registration No. 27640/1) was found in a four-meter-wide passage (Locus 2753) separating two units of the acropolis complex. A fragment of a Sumerian-Akkadian literary text, an Egyptian signet ring of the New Kingdom and a Mycenaean IIIB stirrup-jar were found in the same passageway, all apparently having fallen onto the ground from the adjacent palace.

The bulla (Fig. 1:1–3) is of unbaked clay, dark-gray to black in color. One facet of the lump, which forms a 45° angle with the impressed surface, is smooth and without pattern (Fig. 1:2, 3, marking A), having apparently been pressed against a firm surface while the clay was still soft. One of the broken faces bears two parallel cylindrical impressions (markings B, B₁). Similar impressions, which appear to have been made by sticks, thongs or the like, were noted on some bullae

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Hieroglyphs are identified by their numbers in the following sign lists: *G* = Güterbock 1942: 84–104; *L* = Laroche 1960; *M* = Meriggi 1962. Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions are referred to by the abbreviations used in Laroche 1960: pp. xxiff. Additional abbreviations: Beran = Beran 1967a; *Boğ.* V = Güterbock 1975a; Korucutepe = Güterbock 1973.

1. The term bulla is used here in the sense defined by H. G. Güterbock (1942: 1): “a clay lamp used for sealing of strings.”

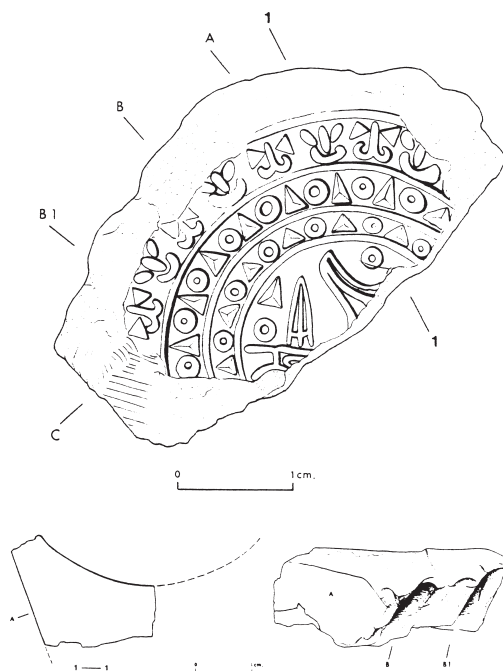


Fig. 1. The Hittite bulla: (1) The seal impression; (2) Section of the bulla; (3) Side view of the bulla.

from Boğazköy (Güterbock 1942: 3). At the left-hand side of the impression may be seen fingerprints partially pressed over the outer ring (Fig. 1:1, marking C). Since the greater part of the bulla is missing, its original shape is unknown;² nor can it be determined to what sort of object it was attached.³

The impressed surface of the bulla is concave. The seal was fully stamped onto the clay, but since the bulla is broken, only the left-hand side of the impression is preserved (Fig. 1:1). The diameter of the reconstructed impression is 40 mm. and its central field is 19 mm. The frame consists of three ornamented rings, their width increasing towards the outer periphery (inner ring: 2.5 mm.; middle

2. The majority of the bullae from Boğazköy, Tarsus, Korucutepe, etc. are conical, but there are also cylindrical, flat or irregular shapes (Güterbock 1942: 3).

3. In his basic work on Hittite sealing procedures, H. G. Güterbock (1939: 33ff.) defines two categories of sealed items: (1) commodities packed into clay vessels, wooden boxes, baskets, hides, textiles, etc. and then tied up, the end of the strings or cords subsequently sealed with a clay bulla and then stamped; (b) documents written on either clay or wooden tablets. Theoretically, our bulla could have been attached to either a container or to a wooden tablet, but the former alternative is the more likely, particularly considering the smoothed face, which indicates that it may have been pressed against a firm surface.

ring: 3.5 mm.; outer ring: 4.5 mm.). Non-royal seals with more than two ornamented rings are quite unusual (Güterbock 1942: 30);⁴ the only other example known to me is Boğ. V 26, which has four rings. The inner and middle rings have a common design: alternating circles and triangles, with equilateral triangles in the former and isosceles triangles in the latter. The outer ring is patterned with two alternating signs: L.155/G 70 (“pomegranate”) and L 441/G 176. Both of these signs are found in varying combinations in borders (Güterbock 1942: 31–32), but an identical combination to that on our seal is unknown to me.

In the central field (of which less than half is preserved) appear: (1) the title KING + CHILD (L 46); (2) the left-hand part of the first sign in the name of the seal owner, and (3) a “secondary group” consisting of two circles and a triangle (L 370), the latter symbolizing HEALTH AND WELLBEING.

The concave surface of the seal and its general design date this bulla to the Hittite Empire period (fourteenth to thirteenth centuries B.C.E.) by analogy with the main seal groups from Boğazköy, Ras-Shamra and Tarsus (Beran 1967a:82, par. V).

The two components of L 46—the “royal cone” (L 17) and the “hand” (L 45) for CHILD—are nearly touching each other, the inner cross of the cone being clearly visible. The “fingers” of the hand are broken off.

The differentiation between SON and DAUGHTER and, consequently, between PRINCE and PRINCESS was not previously demonstrable (Güterbock 1942: 10ff.; Laroche 1960: 33, no. 46). Recently, on the basis of the bullae from Korucutepe, Güterbock was able to suggest a clear differentiation based on which component appears underneath the “hand”; i.e., the “word-divider” (L 386) represents SON, and the pointed oval, the sign for WOMAN (L 79 / M 324.1), represents DAUGHTER (1973: 137 and n. 7; 1975a: 53).

Careful examination shows that the space under the “hand” on our seal is slightly rubbed off; if originally there had been a sign there, it has been completely obliterated. In any case, the identifying element could very well have been located on the broken part of the impression. It should also be noted that this component is sometimes placed somewhat distant from the bottom of the “hand” (SBo II 16; RS 17.372 = *Ugaritica* III: Fig 41; RS 17.228 = *Ugaritica* III: Fig. 38), and at other times almost at its extremity (RS 17.314 = *Ugaritica* III: Fig. 49). There are also a few cases in which the element is omitted altogether.⁵

4. As pointed out by Güterbock, this could be accidental, since frequently the clay bulla has a smaller surface than that of the seal, and the seal runs off the available surface for imprinting.

5. SBo II 7, 10, 26; Tarsus 40; Malatya 6, left. On the grounds of the Malatya inscription, where the sign in question accompanies a female representation, Güterbock (1942: 12) considered the possibility that L 42 without any additional element represents PRINCESS. This interpretation has since been revised on the basis of the new evidence from Korucutepe, as evaluated by Güterbock; it seems that such omissions are purely fortuitous and have no bearing on the reading. The following examples are indicative: SBo II 10 and 11 both belong to Malaziti, although

Consequently, in considering possible candidates for the seal owner, both alternatives, a prince or a princess, must be taken into account.

For the identification of the owner of the seal we have, unfortunately, only part of the first sign of the name. That this actually is the first sign may be established with a fair degree of probability: the central axis of the legend is given by the pointed triangle of L 46, which usually stands upright or is slightly bent outwards (SBo I 104; SBo II 11; Korucutepe 4; Tarsus 54), or inwards (Boğ. III 12, 13). Thus there is hardly any room remaining above the sign in question for an additional sign, since this space is occupied by the small circle of the "secondary group."

The preserved part of the sign consists of three converging lines: two slightly concave, running parallel until shortly before the break, where the lower of the two broadens somewhat and turns downwards, and a third, S-shaped line, also broadening near the break. Above this sign, to the right of the circle and near the edge of the break, there seems to be a small point which may or may not belong to the sign. Although it does not protrude from the surface, evidence that it once existed may be deduced from the narrow crack (clearly visible on the photograph) which runs from the border of the central field through the lower part of the circle but is terminated abruptly at this point. Before we venture to suggest possible identifications of the sign, two general observations should be made: a) In the majority of Hittite seal impressions, the signs of the legend face right; statistically, seven out of ten impressions have a right-facing stance, one faces left and two are symmetrical (Laroche 1960: 249 and n. 3).⁶ It is therefore likely that we have the rear part of a sign, or the lefthand side of a symmetrical sign. b) In more than half of the seals belonging to princes(ses), the L 46 sign appears in antithetic position. Upon calculating the available space left on our seal, such a possibility is almost certainly excluded. On the remaining seals L 46 either appears only once or is accompanied by an additional title on the opposite side, in which case L 46 is usually found on the righthand side (SBo II 16, 21; Boğ. III 12, 13; Tarsus 17), with only one exception (Boğ. III 14). Statistically speaking, there is thus only a very slight chance that the seal of our prince bore

on No. 10 the element is omitted; on Tarsus 40 the L 46 sign appears in an antithetic position, the righthand sign having the element, whereas on the lefthand sign it is omitted.

6. An even higher proportion of right-facing legends was found among the 73 seals and seal impressions of princes(ses) listed below, only one of which has the legend facing left (RS 17.316 = *Ugaritica* III: Fig. 48b):

Alaca H. 5; Boğazköy: SBo I 104, 105, 111; SBo II 5–17, 19, 21–32, 67, 230; Boğ. III 10–15; Boğ. V 8, 9, 28; *MDOG* 89, 46 Abb. 40 left; *MDOG* 93, 66, Abb. 55a; Korucutepe 4, 5; Ortakaraviran; Ras-Shamra: 17.137, 17.228, 17.251, 17.314, 17.316, 17.318+349, 17.433; Tarsus 13, 14, 17, 40, 45 (=53), 46, 54, 59; Tell Açana 2 (biconvex seal); *CIH* XL 5, 8e, 9, 10, 13, 17; Hogarth 195 (gold ring), 325, p. 90 Fig. 114A (bi-convex seal); Newell 386. For occurrences of L 46 on stone inscriptions, see Laroche 1960: No.46 (all except Malatya 6 belonging to the Hittite Empire period).

an additional title. (In any case, the available space enables at the most a short title, such as L 326 SCRIBE.)

Following are suggestions for identification of the sign in question on the Aphek seal:

1) The nearest resemblance that I can find is to the outspread wing of a bird, as depicted on the signs L 130 to L 134.⁷ The closest parallel may be seen in SBo I 160 (= Beran 162), the first sign thereof having only its lefthand side preserved—exactly like on our seal. This truncated sign was originally considered to be part of a winged sun in the Aedicula (Güterbock 1940: 32), but has recently been identified by Beran (1967a: 34, 72) as a bird's wing, viz. the left half of L 130. The general form of the wing resembles that of the sign on our seal, although it is somewhat smaller and does not have an inner partition. The small point above the “wing” on our seal might be the very end of the bird's neck-lock, such as that appearing on Beran 161–62.⁸

The phonetic value of L 130 has been established on the basis of SBo I 64 (= Beran 161) as *ar* (Beran 1962: 53; 1967a: 71 and n. 7; Laroche 1966: No. 148.6). The reading of SBo I 64 (= Beran 161) is *Ar-nu(wa)-tá*; SBo I 60 (= Beran 162) is completed accordingly: *A[r-n]u(wa)-[tá]* LUGAL(?) (= Beran 1967a: 34, 72). According to the cuneiform legend, SBo 160 (= Beran 162) belongs to Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal. SBo I 64 (= Beran 161) is ascribed by Beran on stylistical grounds to Arnuwanda III, successor of Tuthaliya IV (cf. also Otten 1967: 230).

L 132,⁹ L 133, L 134, which also have the value *ar*, depict the spreading wing facing the opposite direction; therefore an identification with the sign on our seal impression is less likely (see n. 6 above). Regarding L 131 (attested only on stone inscriptions), its phonetic value has yet to be established. Admittedly, the above-suggested identification with L 130 or a variant thereof encounters some difficulties. In addition to the differences in shape, the “wing” on our impression is considerably larger: a completed drawing of the “bird” would fill

7. This conclusion is supported by Prof. Güterbock in his letter of April 15, 1977 in which he writes: “Of the various possibilities for identifying the damaged sign, the ‘bird’ seems the most probable to me.”

8. Cf. the improved drawing of SBo I 60 in Beran 1967a: Pl. VI:162, in which traces of the bird's “lock” (?) and “tail” (?) are visible. The wing of the bird on SBo I 64 (= Beran 161) differs considerably from that on our sign.

9. L 132.2 = Boğ. III 14 (see photograph in *MDOG* 87: 23 Abb. 6), the seal impression of a prince and “great scribe” was read by Laroche (1958: 117; 1966: No. 144) as *Ar-na-li-i* (comparable to Arinnil or Arnili). However, following the reading *za/zi* for L 376 in the Empire period (Hawkins, Mörpurg-Davies, and Neumann 1974:161), we are confronted with the name *Ar-ná-li-za/zi*, which has an uncommon ending.

We would therefore suggest reading the name on Boğ. III 14 as *Ar(i)-ná-ZITI¹zi*, a name that is attested in cuneiform (Laroche 1966: No. 124). The third sign admittedly looks more like L 278 (*li*) than L 312 (ZITI), but cf. RS 17.316 (= *Ugaritica* III: Figs. 48b; 50; 51) and SBo II 96, which also have an off-center “handle” (Laroche 1956: 134); for the direction of the legend, cf. SBo II 10, 11, 69–71, etc.; (versus the observation of Beran 1957:46 n. 32). The complex value *ar(i)* suggested here conforms to the well-known attempt of the Hittite seal manufacturers to avoid names with more than four signs (Laroche 1956: 125. 130). Compare also the composite value *ar(a)* of L 133–134. Prof. Güterbock prefers to maintain the reading *li* for the third sign in this seal impression.

more than half of the central field, leaving little space for additional signs. If L 130 was actually the only sign on the seal, it probably represented the name Arnuwanda, as in the Darende Inscription side B (Hawkins 1974: 310) and in Masson 1975: 235, seal no. 8. A prince by the name Arnuwanda is not known, but the seal could belong to one of the kings with this name prior to his accession. (Arnuwanda II appears in Güterbock 1956: 111, Frg. 36 in connection with a journey to an Egyptian dominated territory; the wheat shipped to Hatti in the second year of Merneptah probably falls within the reign of Arnuwanda III.) However, in the aforementioned royal seals, the name Arnuwanda is written with three signs, which could not be easily accommodated on our seal.

If the reading *ar(i)* for L 132 suggested above (n. 9) is correct, theophoric names with the element Ari- are within the range of possibilities. (For a variant writing of Ari-, see Güterbock 1973: 137; 1975a: 48 n. 87.)

2) There is some similarity between our sign and one of the variants of the “antler” L 103. (Compare the third variant from the left in Laroche 1960). The “antler” L 103, as well as the fuller representations of the “stag” (L 102), represents the ideogram ^dKAL/^dLAMA. Both signs stand for the name ^{md}LAMA = Kurunta (see Houwink ten Cate 1965: 120 n. 3), king of Dattaša/Tarhunšašša, in the seal impressions SBo II 5–6 (L 102; PRINCE) and in the Meydançık inscription (RAMURE KING (of) W; Laroche apud Mellink 1974: 111). A letter sent by Rameses II to Ḫattušili III (KUB III 67; see Edel 1976: 46ff., 82ff.) describes the dispatch of Egyptian physicians to treat the ailing Kurunta; as recompense, consignments of some commodity (Obv. 3'; perhaps “[stone of] Ḫupišna” = alabaster?; cf. Laroche 1968: 777) were sent to Egypt. This is noteworthy in our connection if we assume that the consignments could have been sealed with Kurunta's seal. The Egyptian letter KUB III 27 also mentions a prince named Kurunta (Edel 1976: 89). However, the usual representation of the “antler” L 103 differs considerably from our sign (cf. Güterbock 1942: 89 No. 50b; Boğ. V 29).

3) L 88, imperial *tu*, could very well be represented by our sign, but this would require the “boot” to have a left-facing stance, i.e., that the entire legend faces left, contrary to the customary direction of hieroglyphic seal impressions —although a few such instances are encountered: Boğ. III 16; RS 17.159 (= *Ugaritica* III: Figs. 24, 26); RS 17:133 (= *Ugaritica* III: Fig. 23). A further difficulty is that an inner partition of the sign, similar to that on our seal, is not found elsewhere.

4) The “horn” L 108 might be compared to our sign, but its phonetical value *su* is attested only on inscriptions of the first millennium, whereas during the Empire period, the value *su* is rendered by L 370. There may be a slight resemblance to other signs (e.g., L 434) but these would be acceptable only if very unusual variants were involved.

We have considered above some possible identifications of the first sign on the seal, with a preference for L 130. Admittedly, none of these proposals is free from difficulties. The identity of the seal owner therefore remains enigmatic. In an attempt to answer the question when and under what circumstances did the bulla reach Aphek, we must therefore fall back on the title of the seal owner and the historical background.

Who are the persons to be taken into account as possible owners of a Hittite seal bearing the title “prince(ss)”?

Apart from the Hittite court, seals with hieroglyphic characters were used at the courts of the Hittite sub-kingdoms and at least in some of the vassal states. Within the confines of Anatolia, Hittite seals are attested for the “Upper Land” (Boğ. III 9, seal of Ḫattušili III prior to his accession to the throne), Dattaša/Tarḫuntaša (SBo II:5–7) and Išuwa (Korucutepe 1–2; see Güterbock 1973: 136ff.). The “Tarkondemos” seal and Boğ. V 6–7 belong to a king of Mira (Güterbock 1975a: 51ff.; for the Ortakaraviran seal impression see n. 13).

In Syria Hittite seals were in use at the court of the viceroy at Carchemish (*Ugaritica* III: 30ff., 131ff.) and presumably also at Ḫalab and Alalaḫ. (See the title “prince” on the seal Tell Aḩana 2 and on the stone inscription Tell Aḩana, left). Šaušgamuwa, king of Amurru, owned at least three Hittite seals, which he used alongside the dynastical cylinder seal of Aziru (*Ugaritica* III: 30ff.), and there may have been some additional vassal courts in Syria also using Hittite seals.¹⁰ On the other hand, the use of Hittite stamp seals was not adopted at the court of Ugarit (*Ugaritica* III: 66).

The title “prince,” cuneiform DUMU.LUGAL, could be borne by a legitimate offspring of a king or a prince (Bin-Nun 1973: 11). As pointed out by Güterbock (1942: 10), the title was retained by its bearer even when he fulfilled a special state function; thus, on many seals of princes we find additional titles such as “(great-)scribe,” “governor,” “palace attendant.” However, there is one obvious exception to this rule: royal princes appointed to rule in the Hittite sub-kingdoms, as well as their successors on the throne, relinquished the

10. Note the use of Hittite hieroglyphic seals by residents of Syrian towns: RS 19.78 (= PRU VI:52), bearing the seal of Aki-Tesub of the town Armana, and RS 18.02 (= *Ugaritica* III: 47ff., 147ff.) with the seal of Kiliya priest of Ištar of the town Zinzara.

Hittite seals or seal impressions were found at the following sites in Syria and Palestine: Ugarit (for references see Laroche 1960:xxxiv; Alalaḫ (ibid.: xxxiv); Ḫalab (ibid.:xxxi); Carchemish (for references see Buchanan 1967: 21 n. 16); Hama (ibid.); Tell Kazel (unpublished, Laroche, *RHA* 27: 130); Megiddo (Megiddo II: Pl. 162:7); Tell el-Far’ah (BP I: Pl. XXXVI: BP II: Pl. LXXIII: 58, 65 and p. 30; cf. Gelb 1939: 21). Recently Hittite seal (impressions) were found on the Middle Euphrates at Meskene-Emar (Laroche 1975: 212) and at Tel Ashara-Terqa. Although these seals might have belonged to Hittite officials, merchants, etc., some of them may have been in the possession of local residents.

title “prince” in favor of that of “king”;¹¹ their seals are royal in every respect, including the “privilege” of having a cuneiform legend in the frame (Güterbock 1973: 137 and n. 5). Consequently their direct descendants were granted the title of “prince(ss).”¹²

The title “prince” (L 46) borne by Šaušgamuwa, king of Amurru, on his Hittite hieroglyphic seals (*Ugaritica* III: 30ff., 131ff.) shows that princely status could be passed on through the female line to non-Hittite dynasts of vassal states. Šaušgamuwa may have enjoyed this status by right of being a son of the Hittite princess Gaššuliyawiya (Kühne 1973: 182 n. 68) or, alternatively, by his marriage to a sister of the ruling King Tuḫaliya IV.¹³

To sum up the evidence, the prince(ss) on the Aphek seal could have been: (a) a descendant of a Hittite king or prince (but excluding a monarch of a Hittite sub-kingdom); (b) a descendant of the king of a Hittite sub-kingdom (Carchemish being an apt example);¹⁴ (c) a king of a vassal state connected by marriage to the Hittite royal family (e.g., Šaušgamuwa, king of Amurru).

Regarding the destination of the object sealed by the bulla, it is rather improbable that it was intended to be delivered to Aphek. Direct contact between a Hittite prince(ss) and a town in the very heart of the Egyptian-dominated province of Canaan is not consonant with our knowledge of the period. The seal impression must be considered in the context of the relationship between

11. See the seals of Ini-Tešub and Talmi-Tešub, kings of Carchemish (*Ugaritica* III:20ff., 121ff.); Ari-Šarruma, king of Išuwa (Güterbock 1973: 140–41; 1974: 422); Ḫattušili, king of the “Upper Land” (Boğ. III 3) and the stone inscription of Talmi-Šarruma king of Ḫalab (Alep 1.1).

SBo II 5–6 attributed to m^dLAMA king of Dattaša/Tarḫuntašša (Güterbock 1942: 10) is an exception: his title on the seals is “prince” (paralleled by DUMU.LUGAL in the text of SBo II 5). However, these may have been the seals he used prior to his accession, since on the door-jamb inscription from Meydançık (Laroche apud Mellink 1974: 111) he is titled “king” (see above).

12. SBo II 15, seal of Tili-Šarruma, the son of a king of Carchemish (Laroche 1966: No. 1326.1); Korucutepe 4, seal of the prince Šaušgaziti, probably son of the king of Išuwa; Ḫutupiyanza, the son of Zida, Šuppiluliuma’s brother bears the title DUMU.LUGAL in KBo V 8 II 18–19 (AM 152); Ḫešmi-Tešub, the son of Šaḫurunuwā, king of Carchemish, is titled “son of king” on a document from Emar-Meskene (Arnaud 1974: 190).

13. The latter alternative is preferable, in my opinion, judging from the Šaušgamuwa–Tuḫaliya treaty, where it is emphasized that Tuḫaliya made Šaušgamuwa his brother-in-law by marrying him to his sister (Obv. I 8ff., II 1ff.) whereas no mention is made of Šaušgamuwa’s mother. No hieroglyphic seals of Šaušgamuwa’s father Bentešina—which could have settled the matter—were found in Ugarit. A parallel case would be attested by the seal-impression of a prince found at Ortakaraviran near Konya (Mellaart 1959: 32; Fig. 1), for which Mellaart (1954: 240) has suggested a connection with Mašḫuiluwa, king of the vassal-state Mira-Kuwaliya and son-in-law of Šuppiluliuma. However, the second sign in the name is *i(a)* and not *s(a)*. (Unless this is a corruption of L 433 or L 415?). Mattiwaza, to whom Šuppiluliuma married off one of his daughters, is called “son of king” and granted prerogatives equal to those of Šuppiluliuma’s own sons (KBo I 1 Obv. 65ff., Rev. 24). However, as pointed out to me by Prof. Güterbock, Mattiwaza may have borne the princely title in his own right by virtue of being a son of Tušratta, king of Mitanni.

14. Evidence for independent correspondence between the court of the Hittite viceroy in Carchemish and Egypt is supplied by the hieratic transcript of a letter sent by Ini-Tešub to Rameses II, probably on the occasion of the signing of the Hittite-Egyptian peace treaty (Barnett-Černý 1947: 94; Edel 1969: 185 n. 1).

Hatti and Egypt, Aphek being a station, apparently a very important one, on the international route connecting the two empires; the Aphek bulla is therefore a so-called *en route* find, an archaeological vestige of the well-documented Hittite-Egyptian contacts of the Late Bronze Age. At the same time, it is the first Hittite bulla to be found south of the confines of the Hittite Empire.

As noted above, the form and style of the seal date it to the Hittite Empire period. To the best of my knowledge, the present state of research hardly enables a more accurate dating based on stylistical considerations (with the exception of seals belonging to monarchs¹⁵). For a more exact dating within the Empire period we must turn to historical considerations, that is, we must try to establish the periods during which official communication between Hatti and Egypt was most likely. Two such periods may be considered: (1) the greater part of the reign of Šuppiluliuma I, i.e., ca. 1380–1350; (2) Ḫattušili III's reign in the first half of the thirteenth century B.C.E.

During the former period, diplomatic contacts between Šuppiluliuma and Amenhotep III and Akhenaten are attested in the Amarna correspondence (EA 41). Of particular interest is the letter sent by Prince Zida, Šuppiluliuma's brother, mentioning an exchange of gifts (EA 44), evidence that royal princes carried on independent correspondence with the Egyptian court; such a consignment would probably have been sealed with Zida's own seal.¹⁶ To the end of this period belongs the letter sent by Tutankhamun's widow (Güterbock 1956: 94ff.). The murder of Prince Zannanza¹⁷ *en route* to Egypt marks the rupture between the two countries. During the remaining years of Šuppiluliuma's reign and the reigns of Arnuwanda II, Muršili II, and Muwatalli, relations became increasingly hostile, culminating in the battle of Qadesh; the second half of the fourteenth century and the few years of Urḫi-Tešub's reign at the beginning of the thirteenth century may therefore be practically excluded as dating possibilities for the Aphek bulla.

The second period to be considered is the reign of Ḫattušili III, when relations between the Hittite and Egyptian courts were most amicable and correspondence prolific, evolving around the peace treaty (Edel 1974: 105ff.), the royal marriage (Edel 1953a; 1953b; Helck 1963) and a projected visit of Ḫattušili himself to Egypt (Edel 1960). There are a number of recorded instances in which Hittite princes and princesses journeyed to Egypt, although there is no evidence

15. Royal seals can be dated with considerable accuracy on the basis of stylistic and palaeographical grounds (Güterbock 1940, 1942; Beran 1967a: 6 ff., see especially p. 82 par. V; 1967b: 72ff.; Otten 1967: 224ff.

16. SBo II 26 is a seal of a prince (probably) named Zida (Laroche 1966: No. 1552:3). He bears the additional title of L 363 GREAT + L 173 (an upside-down spear (?)) signifying *MEŠEDI* (?). Unless a most exceptional representation is involved, there is no comparison to our seal.

17. No seal of this prince is known. The name, if spelled phonetically, would start with a different sign than that on our seal (cf. also Liverani 1971).

connecting any of them to the Aphek bulla.¹⁸ It may be that there were still other—as yet unknown—diplomatic, commercial or interfamilial exchanges¹⁹ between the countries. Naturally, the owner of the seal did not necessarily have to be the person who passed through Aphek, since the consignment or letter was most likely sealed prior to its dispatch.

The last kings of Hatti apparently remained on good terms with Egypt, as evidenced by the wheat supplies sent at the beginning of Merneptah's reign to relieve the hunger in Hatti (Wainwright 1960: 24ff.). However, the absence of any evidence for Hittite–Egyptian correspondence after Ḫattušili III indicates that the contacts decreased considerably (Edel 1976: 22). A dating of the bulla to this period is less likely.

In conclusion, there are two periods during which diplomatic contacts between Hatti and Egypt are well attested: the reigns of Šuppiluliuma I and Ḫattušili III. Although it is difficult to choose between the two alternatives, the written sources favor dating the bulla to the latter period. This also concords well with the archaeological context in which the bulla was found.

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18. (a) The prince Tiḫi-Tešub, the royal messenger, appears on a tablet from Ugarit (RS 17.137; *Ugaritica* III: 37.135ff.) together with Tili-Tešub, “the messenger in charge of the mission to Egypt.” The latter is one of the Hittite envoys who brought the tablet of the peace treaty to Egypt, and it is reasonable to assume that Prince Tiḫi-Tešub was also involved in these contacts with Egypt.

(b) An envoy from Carchemish, possibly a member of the royal family of that city, whose name is reconstructed by Edel (1969: 183ff.) as Piyaššili, participated in the peace delegation to Egypt.

(c) Two daughters of Ḫattušili were married to Rameses II (the second marriage is only attested in Egyptian sources; Helck 1962: 233), but unfortunately their Hittite names are unknown.

(d) A visit of the prince Ḫišmi-Šaruma, probably the name of Tutḫaliya IV prior to his accession (Güterbock *apud* Laroche 1956: 118–19), is recounted in KUB III 34 Rev. 15, which mentions ships transporting wheat (Helck 1962: 392).

Two Hittite princes, Nerikili and Kurunta are mentioned in the Egyptian letter KUB III 27 (Rev. 15, Obv. 8') in a mutilated context, but there is no basis to identify these as Hittite messengers to Egypt (Edel 1976: 89 and n. 162 contra Helck 1962: 475).

19. In the negotiations conducted prior to the royal marriage, one of the explicit Hittite demands was for the granting of guarantees of free access to the Hittite princess during the visits of her brothers and sisters in Egypt (Otten *apud* Helck 1963: 91).

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MEGIDDO MENTIONED IN A LETTER FROM BOĞAZKÖY

Among the numerous Akkadian letters copied in KBo XXVIII by the late Professor Kümmel, whose tragic death astonished us all, the small fragment No. 86¹ would not attract any special attention if not for a rare mention of Urḫi-Tešub, the ill-fated nephew of Ḫattušili III. Browsing through the letter my eye was caught by the occurrence of the city *Ma-ak-ki-it-ta-a* (rev. 4' and 5'). The toponym is not attested elsewhere in the Boğazköy texts.² On the other hand, it closely resembles the spelling of Megiddo in second-millennium cuneiform texts.³ The possibility that we are indeed confronted with a rare occurrence of this Canaanite city, whose site I excavated as a young archaeology student, gave me the impetus to indulge in a more thorough examination of this letter.⁴ I hope that despite the fragmentary nature of the evidence, the arguments adduced below substantiate the hypothesis and do not deviate from the well-founded and cautious methodology conveyed to me by Professor Otten during my studies in Marburg and ever since.

Obv.?

1'] x x x x [
2']x šum-ma a-na UGU-*hi*-s[u
3'] ù šum-ma a-na ša-a-š[u

4' [ša-ni-tam(?)^D]UTU-ŠI a-kán-na iš-pu-ra-ma[
5' -dī]n?^m Ur-ḫi-DIM a-šar ŠEŠ-i[a?
6' DUM]U.NITA(?) am-ma-tum šu-ku-un[-šu(?)
7']x-ti ša-a a-šar^DUTU-ŠI EN-ya [

Reprinted from *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae: Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag* (ed. E. Neu and C. Rüster: Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 327–32.

1. The fragment (83/g) was found in Büyukkale square m/13-14, south of Archive E.

2. See G. F. del Monte and J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte* (Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, Band 6: Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1978).

3. At Amarna: *Ma-ki-da*, *Ma-gi-id-da*, *Ma-kid-da*, *Ma-gid-da*, see references in J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Leipzig 1915). 1578: Taanach 5 1.15: *Ma-gi-id-da*, see W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 94 (1944): 24.

4. I wish to thank Dr. Shlomo Izre'el with whom I discussed philological questions regarding the Akkadian of the letter

- 8' *a-na m[a-an-ni ú-še-bi-lu-ú-[m]a[?] ia-a¹-ši¹-ma*
 9' *u-ul(?) ú-še-bi-lu-šu DUT[U-ŠI EN-i]a*
 10' *a-ma-t[e-šu(?) li-de₄ ni/i[r-*
 11' *i]-na KASKAL-n[i*

Rev.?

- 1' *^mMa-an-i]a(?) LÚDUMU.KIN[-ri-šu-nu]*
 2' [*qa-du ^mRi-a-maš-š[i¹](?) ù ^mTi-i[l-li-^DIM]*
 3' [*LÚMEŠ š[a¹-a(?) DUTU-ŠI EN-ia i[l-tap]-r[u-ma]*
 4' [*il-la-]ku(?) i-na URUMa-ak-ki-it-ta-a*
 5' *]-ni iš-tu URUMa-ak-ki-it-ta-a*
 6' [*^mMa-an-i]a(?) LÚDUMU.KIN-ri-šu-nu il-tap-ru-ni*
 7' [*ù a-n]a(?) DUTU-ŠI EN-ia ú-še-bi-lu*
 8' [*II (?) LÚM]EŠ ša DUTU-ŠI EN-ia ù II LÚMEŠ*
 9' *]x ú-še-bi-lu-m[a*
 10' *]x*

- 11' *]x[*

Obv.?

- 2' *] whether to him [*
 3' *] or whether for him [*

- 4' [Further(?)] His Majesty has written to me as follows:
 5' “ *] Urḫi-Tešub at m[y] Brother's[*
 6' *] make [him (?)] an ammatum-son!”*
 7' *] who at His Majesty, my lord [*
 8' *to w]hom did they bring? To me*
 9' *] they did [not (?)] bring him. Let His Majesty, my lord,*
 10' *know about his [affai]rs (?). [*
 11' *] on the road [*

Rev.?

- 1' *Mani]a(?), [their] messeng[er]*
 2' *[with Riamašš]i(?) and Til[i-Tešub]*
 3' *[the men o]f(?) His Majesty, my lord, [they have se]nt, [and]*
 4' *[they wen]t(?) to Makkitta.*
 5' *] from Makkitta*
 6' *they sent me [Mani]a(?), their messenger,*
 7' *[and to (?)] His Majesty, my lord, they brought (them).*
 8' *[Two (?) me]n of His Majesty, my lord, and two men*

9'] they brought.

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES

Obv. 5' One may suggest, with much reservation, the restoration *lu-ud-di*]n and render the sentence as follows: “[Let me sen]d Urḫi-Tešub (to stay) at m[y] Brother’s.” This would obviously have far-reaching historical consequences, therefore, it is better to await further evidence.

6' DUM]U.NITA(?) *ammatum* may perhaps be connected with the obscure expression DUMU^{MEŠ} *ammati* that defines various acts of adoption in Ugarit.⁵ The use of the nominative here may indicate a fossilized Akkadian expression. If the connection is valid, some sort of adoption or patronage referred to in this context could perhaps be related to Urḫi-Tešub’s exile at the court of Ramses II (see Historical Commentary). Alternatively, taking into account the indiscriminate use of single and double consonants at Boğazköy, one cannot entirely dismiss the possibility that what the scribe really meant was DUMU.NITA *amatum*, “son of a maid-servant.” If so, this would be an allusion to the fact that Urḫi-Tešub was the son of a concubine.⁶

7' The beginning of the line could perhaps contain the name (ending with *-ti*) of someone who resided at His Majesty’s court. If so, the answer of the author would draw a parallel between Urḫi-Tešub, who is at the court of the Egyptian king, and someone who is at the court of the Hittite king.

8' A collation may confirm the reading *ia-a¹-ši¹-ma* at the end of the line.

9' A negative sentence would perhaps give a better sense.

Rev. 1'–2' For the restoration of the names see Historical Commentary.

4' If the restoration *il-la-]ku* is correct, the initial position of the verb is perhaps intended for emphasis. The lack of the ventive morpheme indicates that the author of the letter is not staying at Megiddo. The locative *ina* is used to indicate that the messengers have already arrived at Megiddo, Cf. S. Izre'el, “The Akkadian Dialect of the Scribes of Amurru in the fourteenth to thirteenth centuries B.C.E.” Diss., University of Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv 1985, 315–16.

5' Perhaps [*am-mi*]-*ni*, “why”?

9' The sense seems to require a restoration “of Egypt” or the like, but this is hardly compatible with the preserved traces (ERÍN^{MEŠ}??).

5. PRU IV 55 (RS 15.92), 6; Ugar. V 173 (RS 21.2307), 4. See CAD A II p. 75.

6. Hatt. III 41; see Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, “The Early and Late Phases of Urhi-Teshub’s Career.” *FsGüterbock* (1974) 127.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY

The only fully preserved name in the fragment, Urḫi-Tešub, fixes the date of the letter to the mid-thirteenth century B.C.E. His Majesty, most probably Ḫattušili III, who is quoted by the author of the letter (obv. 5'-6'), is obviously referring to Urḫi-Tešub's exile at the court of his Brother, Ramses II. As we know from the famous letter of Ḫattušili to Kadasman-ellil, the Egyptian refusal to extradite Urḫi-Tešub to Ḫatti caused considerable tension in the otherwise amicable relations between the two countries.⁷ Nevertheless, it appears that Urḫi-Tešub was still residing in Egypt when the royal marriage of Ramses with the Hittite princess was negotiated.⁸ The context in which the Urḫi-Tešub affair is brought up in this letter depends on the exact meaning of DUMJU.NITA(?) *ammatum*, which, as mentioned above, cannot be established. Thus, we are unable to tell, on the basis of this datum, whether the letter was written about the time of the Peace Treaty in Year 21 of Ramses II (1258), or closer to the Royal Marriage in Year 34 (1245).

The reverse deals with the traffic of messengers (LÚDUMU.KIN-ri = *mār šipri*). ^mTi-i[l- in l. 2' can reasonably be restored as Tili-Tešub, the well-known Hittite messenger, despite the fact that his name is elsewhere spelled *Ti-li*.⁹ The writer's preference for plene writing is clearly evident in his spelling of the toponym *Ma-ak-ki-it-ta-a*. Tili-Tešub was one of the Hittite envoys who brought the silver tablet of the peace treaty to Egypt.¹⁰

On his seal from Ugarit he is explicitly designated "the messenger who was sent to Egypt" (*mār šipri ša iltapru ana* ^{māt}*Miṣri*).¹¹ He is still in this post during the negotiations preceding the royal marriage.¹²

In the peace treaty, as well as in the royal correspondence, Tili-Tešub is accompanied by another Hittite messenger, Riamašši, probably a native Egyptian.¹³ It is tempting to restore his name in l. 2', before his companion Tili-Tešub, but only a collation would establish whether the preserved sign can be read as *-ši*.

7. KBo 1 10 obv. 67ff.; see E. Edel, "Die Abfassungszeit des Briefes KBo 1 10 (Ḫattušili-Kadašman-Ellil) und seine Bedeutung für die Chronologie Ramses' II." *JCS* 12 (1958): 131.

8. KUB XXI 38 obv. 12; see W. Helck, "Urhi-Tesup in Ägypten." *JCS* 17 (1963): 88.

9. See E. Laroche, NH No. 1326; KBo XXVIII, p. XVI.

10. E. Edel, "Die Teilnehmer der ägyptisch-hethitischen Friedensgesandtschaft im 21. Jahr Ramses' II." *Or* 38 (1969): 181.

11. RS 17.137; PRU IV 106, Ugar. III 135-36.

12. KBo XXVIII 23 (1965/c) passim; Edel, "Teilnehmer der ägyptisch-hethitischen Friedensgesandtschaft," 185-86.

13. E. Edel, "Neue keilschriftliche Umschreibungen ägyptischer Namen aus den Boğazköy Texten." *JNES* 7 (1948): 17ff.; "Teilnehmer der ägyptisch-hethitischen Friedensgesandtschaft," 182, 185-86.

Together with these Hittite messengers one often encounters in the royal correspondence the Egyptian messenger Mania.¹⁴ I suggest to restore his name in ll. 1' and 6', where traces of *-ia* are still preserved. If so, Mania is the person designated in the letter as “their messenger,” that is, the messenger of the king of Egypt, who was sent from Makkitta. Unfortunately, it is not known whether Mania had already accompanied his Hittite colleagues at the presentation of the Silver Treaty to Ramses, since the names of two out of three Egyptian envoys are broken.¹⁵ Thus, the question of the exact dating of the letter—whether the second or the third decade of Ramses’ reign—remains open.

After having placed KBo XXVIII 86 within the context of the Hittite–Egyptian contacts in the mid-thirteenth century, there remain two important questions to be asked: Who is the author of the letter and where is the city of Makkitta?

I cannot suggest a plausible answer to the first question. The sender appears to be a subject of the Hittite king.¹⁶ He seems to be stationed somewhere between Makkitta and the residence of His Majesty, the Hittite king. If I understand correctly the situation described in the reverse, the Hittite and the Egyptian messengers are sent, probably from Egypt, and arrive at Makkitta (1.4'). Then Mania (alone?) is sent from Makkitta to the author (5'–6'). The continuation could either contain a repetition, in more detail, of the original information, or some additional information regarding the final destination of the messengers. Such a situation, or one similar,¹⁷ allows for a wide range of possible candidates for the authorship of the letter—from a high-ranking representative of the Hittite king¹⁸ to a ruler of a vassal state in Syria. The historical situation portrayed in the letter, in particular the mention of Urḫi-Tešub, would offer wide possibilities for conjecture, but in view of the fragmentary nature of the evidence it seems advisable to refrain at this stage from further speculations.

The second question can be answered more confidently, I believe. The city of Makkitta, passed by Egyptian and Hittite messengers *en route* to or from

14. Edel, “Neue keilschriftliche Umschreibungen,” 13–14; “Teilnehmer der ägyptisch-hethitischen Friedensgesandtschaft,” 186 n. 3; KBo XXVIII p. XVI.

15. Edel, “Teilnehmer der ägyptisch-hethitischen Friedensgesandtschaft,” 186 n. 3.

16. Theoretically, he could also be an Egyptian subject, who would also address the Hittite king, his superior, as “my lord,” according to accepted epistolary courtesy formulas. However, in that case I would not expect the use of the title “His Majesty” (DUTU-ŠI), but rather “King of Ḫatti”: cf., e.g., the letter of the Egyptian vizier Pašiyara and the “great ones” of Egypt to Ḫattušili, E. Edel, *Der Brief des ägyptischen Wesirs Pašiyara an den Hethiterkönig Ḫattušili und verwandte Keilschriftbriefe* (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. 1. Philologisch-Historische Klasse; Göttingen 1978), 122–23.

17. One cannot rule out entirely the possibility that the author is a special envoy of the Hittite king stationed in Egypt. Especially so if the imperative in obv. 6' is addressed to him. In that case, the messengers would be traveling to Egypt, via Makkittā.

18. Possibly a Hittite prince on a special mission to Egypt; see I. Singer, “A Hittite Hieroglyphic Seal Impression from Tel Aphek,” *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977): 187 n.18; idem, “Takuhlinu and Haya: Two Governors in the Ugarit Letter from Tel Aphek,” *Tel Aviv* 10 (1983): 10.

Egypt, is most probably Magidda/Megiddo¹⁹ situated in the Jezreel Valley on a strategic crossroad of the international Via Maris. It is not without interest to recall that the hoard of ivories discovered in the palace of Megiddo included an exquisite Hittite plaque,²⁰ probably to be dated to the thirteenth century B.C.E. Megiddo has also yielded a rare Hittite seal of a similar dating.²¹

The first occurrence of a toponym from Israel in a Boğazköy tablet again emphasizes the great potential of the Hittite–Egyptian correspondence. It is to be hoped that with Edel’s publication of this important source material for international contacts, the fragment KBo XXVIII 86 will be brought into relation with other letters which may further elucidate its contents and reveal the identity of its author.

19. In view of the indiscriminate use of single and double consonants at Boğazköy, the spelling of the name with a double *kk* does not raise any problem in its equation with Magidda/Megiddo. The same applies of course to the unselective use of voiced and voiceless consonants.

20. G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (OIP LII; Chicago 1939), No. 44.

21. G. Loud, *Megiddo II* (OIP LXII; Chicago 1948), pl.162: 7.

A HITTITE SEAL FROM MEGIDDO

Peter Neve's excavations in Ḫattuša enriched us with thousands of new seal impressions which will open new vistas in the study of Hittite glyptics (Neve 1993: 52–58). I have republished one seal in this modest contribution in honor of a much admired friend and colleague. This seal has hardly any importance *per se*, except for its place of discovery, Megiddo, a town with other connections to the Hittite world.

The seal was found in the excavations of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in the late thirties.¹ It comes from Area CC, Locus 1829, Stratum VII B (Loud 1948: fig. 409). The biconvex seal is made of steatite and measures nineteen mm maximum in diameter, eleven mm in thickness. The perforation runs perpendicular to the inscription on face B. Both faces of the seal are framed by a circular border. This type of Hittite seal is dated to the thirteenth century B.C.E. (Gorny 1993: 191). A photograph of the seal was published in Megiddo II (Loud 1948: pl. 162:7) together with a short comment by I. J. Gleb.² Clelia Mora's corpus of Hittite seals includes a sketch drawing based on this photograph and a tentative reading.³ Collation of the original seal in the Oriental Institute Museum (A20551)⁴ provides, I believe, an improved reading of the name.

Face A depicts a somewhat ill-designed animal, probably a lion, striding to the right (on the impression). Its long, curving tail is similar to that of lions depicted on other seals and the very schematic head seems to represent the open mouth of a roaring lion (so also Mora 1987, but Gelb, above n. 2, thought the animal was a dog). Above the animal there is a large "filler," which resembles

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1. This is, so far, the only Hittite stamp seal found in a controlled excavation in Israel. Two silver ring seals were found at Tell el-Farah (Petrie 1930: pl. XXXVI; Macdonald, et al. 1932: pl. LXXIII 58, 65 and p. 30) and one of bronze at Tel Nami (Singer 1994). In addition, a Hittite bulla was found at Tel Aphek (Singer 1977).

2. "It belongs to the class of perforated button seals. One side is occupied by the name of the owner written in Hittite hieroglyphic characters, the other by a picture of a dog (or panther, according to Bossert) and a few symbols. The form of the seal, the signs, and the pictorial representations are typically Hittite. The seal most probably dates from the time of the Neo-Hittite Empire (i.e., ca. 1400–1300 B.C.)."

3. Mora 1987: 266, XI 3. 4.: x?-ma/i? – VIR?ZI AURIGA

4. I am indebted to Dr. Emily Teeter and Dr. Raymond Tindel of the Oriental Institute Museum for facilitating my study of this seal and for providing me photographs and impressions, and to Ms. Kate Sarther for the drawing.



the floral motif L 152⁵ (rather than a bird, as tentatively suggested by Mora). An additional large “filler” is between the animal’s legs, and there is a smaller one in front of his chest. Face B has the name of the seal owner running from top to bottom, his title on the left, and the combination “WELL-BEING” and “MAN” on the right. It reads:

L 450-395-312-376; 289; 370; 386 = $\dot{A}$ -*nu*-VIR^{ZI} AURIGA; BONUS; VIR

Anu-ziti; Charioteer; Well-being; Man.

Two small “fillers” are on each side of the *zi*. The first V-shaped sign (L 450) usually has its “arms” more closed (see e.g., Gonnet 1991:450), but it seems that the seal carver had difficulties in reproducing accurate signs.⁶ The “a” vocalism

5. L + number refers to the enumeration of hieroglyphic signs in Laroche 1960.

6. There is a slight resemblance between this sign and the first sign on Ankara Museum 8 B, identified by the publishers as L 447, Na5 (Dinçol and Dinçol 1980: 24, Taf. VIII), which is also followed by *nu*, but on our seal the

is more often expressed on Anatolian seals with *a* (L 209) or *á* (L 19), but it is quite common on the Hittite seals from Meskene/Emar, especially in initial position.⁷ The second sign has only seven strokes, one of them very poorly carved. Nevertheless, its identification with *nu* (L 395) is very probable. Quite often this sign appears with less than the “required” nine strokes, with eight or even with seven (Dinçol and Dinçol 1980: 24, no. 8 with further refs.; Dinçol 1983:Taf. XXIII/23 A). AURIGA (L 289) is represented with a large rhomboid attached to two instead of the usual three vertical lines (representing the reins of a chariot). In short, both the inscription and the drawing seem to have been performed by a somewhat inexperienced seal engraver.

The name Anu-ziti is so far unattested, but both its elements are attested in Anatolian names (Laroche 1966: 34, 324–25). The main interest of the seal is in the title or profession of the owner, “charioteer,” which corresponds to cuneiform *kartappu* (Laroche 1956: 29ff.). As I tried to show in a prosopography of Takuhlinu of Ugarit (Singer 1983: 9ff.), the title was born by official diplomats of Hatti and of vassal states. The office was originally connected with horses and chariots (hence the hieroglyphic sign representing reins). Some of the *kartappū* mentioned in texts from Hattuša and from Ugarit functioned as special deputies of their rulers in complicated diplomatic missions. For example, Zuzzu was involved in the negotiations preceding the royal marriage between Ramesses II and a Hittite princess.⁸ Diplomatic envoys were particularly active in the new bond between Hatti and Egypt after the signing of the Peace Treaty in 1258 B.C.E.

Megiddo was an important station on the diplomatic route between the two royal courts. A fragmentary Akkadian letter from Boğazköy demonstrates this with its two-fold mention of the town Makkitta (KBo 28.86; Singer 1988). The context leaves no doubt that this is Megiddo in the Jezreel Valley, frequented by Egyptian and Hittite messengers traveling between their respective courts. The text preserves the name of one Hittite messenger only partly, but it can plausibly be restored as Ti[li-Tešub], who is explicitly designated in an Ugaritic text as “the messenger who was sent to Egypt.” From other texts we learn that the Hittite and the Egyptian diplomatic missions consisted each of several envoys, probably of different rank and qualification.⁹ The best-known Hittite connection with Megiddo is the exquisite Hittite ivory plaque found in the “treasury” of the palace in Area AA, now in the Oriental Institute Museum.¹⁰ Stylistic and his-

first sign lacks the two “thorns” at the bottom.

7. Laroche 1981:10; Gonnet 1991:212; Singer, forthcoming (À-pa-nú; À-pi-la-lu).

8. KUB 21:38 obv. 22; Helck 1963: 89. See now Edel 1994, 2: 147ff., 325, 335 for further occurrences of Zuzzu in the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence.

9. For some of the Hittite missions to Egypt, see Singer 1977: 187 n. 18.

10. Loud 1939: 10ff., pl. 11. For artistic evaluations see in particular Barnett 1982: 28, 34 and fig. 12 and Alexander 1991. For the cultural-political context see Singer 1988–89, where I suggested an Egyptian ownership of

torical considerations point to a late imperial date for the plaque, coinciding with the heyday of Egyptian-Hittite cooperation in the second half of the thirteenth century B.C.E.¹¹ Anu-ziti's seal joins this constellation of indicators of the significance of Megiddo on the political map of the thirteenth century. Perhaps the renewed excavations at Megiddo will provide further evidence for the role of this city in the *Pax Hethitica-Egyptiaca*.

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this extraordinarily rich collection of *objets d'art*. (I have to correct now my statement in 1988–89: 105, that the two figures at the head of the plaque are Hittite kings. Güterbock 1993 has convincingly demonstrated that the image topped by a winged disk can only represent the Sun-god of Heaven; see also Alexander, 1991:164).

11. For the late imperial imagery see Alexander, 1991: 172ff. Still unaware of my article (1988–89), Alexander (p. 182) mentions the possibility that the Hittite plaque reached Megiddo after the fall of the Hittite Empire. I consider this possibility as most unlikely.

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A HITTITE SIGNET RING FROM TEL NAMI

The Late Bronze Age cemetery at Tel Nami, on the central coast of Israel, has produced several rare finds, including a Hittite signet ring made of bronze.¹ The seal was found in 1988 in Area 0, Locus 69, the grave of an adult male, which produced several bronze objects in excellent state of preservation, including lamps, incense burners, and pomegranate scepters (Artzy 1990; 1991: 37). The excavator suggests that the grave belonged to a priest, who was buried together with his cultic implements (Artzy 1990: 51).

This type of signet ring, in which the sealing surface is made by widening one side of the ring, is quite rare in Anatolia, an exquisite example being the golden ring from Konya in the Ashmolean Museum (Boehmer 1975: pl. 377e; Beckman 1988: 68 n. 21). On the other hand, it is quite popular in Syria (see refs. in Beyer 1982b: 182, nn. 3–4), especially in the Middle Euphrates region, where it makes up at least half of the Hittite seals at Emar (Beyer 1980; 1982a: 68; 1982b; Laroche 1983: 16).² Two similar silver signet rings were found by Petrie at Tell el-Farah, in southern Israel (Petrie 1930: pl. XXXVI; Macdonald, a.o. 1932: pl. LXXIII: 58, 65 and p. 30).

The hieroglyphs at the center are enclosed between two animal figures: a seated griffon on the left and a standing animal with bent down head and short tail on the right. It may represent a wild boar, or perhaps a very ill-designed lion. The griffon and the lion are frequent motifs on the seals from Emar, but both are usually shown in a crouching position (for a similar combination see, e.g., Gonnet 1991: pl. IV no. 43a). Behind both animals, a three-forked plant(?) and a double chevron closes the scene, which is framed by a double border line connected by short intersections.

Reprinted from *kinattūtu ša dārāti: Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume* (ed. A. F. Rainey; Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University, 1993), 189–93.

1. I wish to thank the excavator, Michal Artzy, for the permission to publish the seal [Plate IX, Plate X]. The drawings were prepared by Miss Ragna Stidsing. A more detailed description of the find circumstances will be presented in the final publication. For preliminary reports on the cemetery of Tel Nami see Artzy 1990, 1991, and forthcoming.

2. A similar unepigraphic signet ring, probably from the Middle Euphrates region, is found in the collection of the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem.

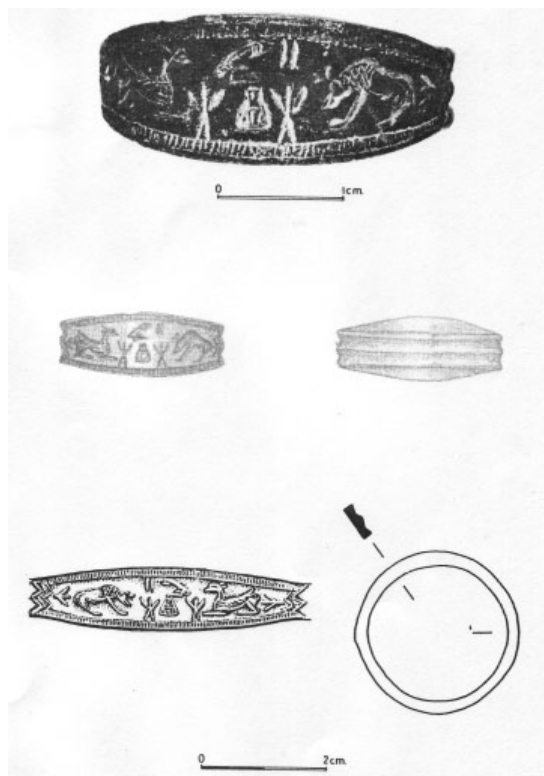
The name of the owner is comprised of two signs: L 105 - L 327 = *u-sa₅*. The male marker (L 386) consists of two lines, without the more customary angle. The second sign is flanked by two identical plant(?) -like fillers, consisting of three upper and two bottom lines. This is probably a simplified form of L 152 (cf. also L 154), identified by Laroche as a symbol of prosperity. It appears, for example, on the seal of Talmi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš (*Ugar.* III: 29), on seals from Emar (Beyer 1982: 67, fig. 12) and on the Hittite seal impressed on the tablet from El-Qitar, south of Til Barsip (Culican 1984: 26; for the tablet see Snell 1983–84). It seems that this motif, whatever its significance, is more common in the realm of Karkamiš and the Middle Euphrates than in Anatolia.³

The vocalization of the seal-like sign L 327 appears to be flexible. It usually denotes *sa/ša* (Laroche 1960: 169), but occasionally it may stand for *si* or *ši*. For example, on seal 24a in Gonnet 1991, the cuneiform name *Ḫi-ma-ši-Dagan* (DKUR) is rendered in hieroglyphs as L 413-391-327-41-434 = *Ḫi-mi-sa₅-tā-ka* (cf. also seal 25b). Thus, the name on our seal may be rendered as *Us/ša* or *Us/šu*, perhaps even *Us/še*.

As far as I can see, none of these names is attested in the Hittite onomasticon; there are names, however, beginning on *Usa-*, such as *Usalla*, *Usapa*, etc. (Laroche 1966: 199–200). It should immediately be added that there is no immediate reason to expect a Hittite name on this seal. Since the discovery of the Emar tablets, it has become evident that the Hittite hieroglyphic script was employed on the seals of various non-Hittite residents of Syria, who bore Semitic, Hurrian, or any other names (Laroche 1983). A name *Ušeli* is attested in Mari (Sasson 1974: 371), Nuzi (Gelb a.o. 1943: 278), Emar (Arnaud 1986: no. 368, 11), and Ugarit (Grondahl 1967: 229–30). It appears to be of Hurrian origin (Laroche 1977: 288; Zadok 1989–90: 50). A derivation from a Semitic root (e.g. *ʾwš*) is less likely. As a rule, short names like this, especially when their phonetic elements are not precisely established, cannot be attributed with any confidence to a specific linguistic group.

The significance of this rare find must be studied within a larger context, after the overall data from Tel Nami are processed and published. For the time being suffice to say that the signet ring is a valuable addition to the slowly growing corpus of Hittite finds from southern Canaan (Singer 1988–89: 105–6). These may roughly be divided into two categories: The first includes finds that must be considered in the context of the Hittite–Egyptian contacts after the Peace Treaty in 1258 B.C.E. Such are the exquisite Hittite ivory from Megiddo (Loud 1939: no. 44; Singer 1988–89) and the Hittite bulla from Aphek (Singer 1977), both originating from royal workshops and connected in some way or another with

3. A very similar sign also appears on a cylinder seal from the Yale Babylonian Collection (NBC 11031; Buchanan 1967: 19, no. 1).



The Tell Nami Seal Ring

the diplomatic exchanges with the Egyptian court. The second group includes private seals—from Tell el-Farah (refs. above), Megiddo (Loud 1948: pl. 162: 7), and Tel Nami—whose owners are otherwise unknown, and their discovery in this southern region remains to be explained. Due attention should be given to the possibility that such objects reached this country through immigration of certain individuals or groups from northern regions, comprised within the confines of the Hittite Empire. The resemblance of the Tel Nami seal to the Hittite glyptics of the Middle Euphrates region may point to the possible origin of this find, and possibly also of its owner.

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TWO HITTITE RING SEALS FROM SOUTHERN CANAAN

During the excavation season of 1927–28 at Tell el Far‘ah (South) in southern Philistia two exquisite ring seals of silver were found together by Sir Flinders Petrie (Petrie 1930: pl. XXXVI; Macdonald et al. 1932: 30; pl. LXXIII: 58, 65; reproduced here as fig. 1). They were found in the Late Bronze Age levels at the southern end of the mound, above and west of the so-called Hyksos Gateway (see area plan in Macdonald et al. 1932: pl. LXXVIII). The architectural remains were too fragmentary to provide a clear picture, but the area (EF, Level 386) yielded a rich assemblage of Egyptian small finds, including two scarabs inscribed with the name of Ramesses II (Macdonald et al. 1932: 30; pl. LXXIII: 21, 31).

It is not known who first identified these seals as Hittite, but I. J. Gelb listed them in his corpus of Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions, attributing the reference to R. M. Engberg (Gelb 1939: 20–21). In her corpus of Anatolian seals, C. Mora attempted to decipher the names of the seal owners, but the quality of the photographs in the *editio princeps* prevented a more accurate reading (Mora 1987: 249, no. 1.6; 250, no. 2.3).

Within the framework of a project aimed at the (re)publishing of all the Hittite seals discovered in Israel (sponsored by the Israel Science Foundation), I examined the ring seals from Tell el Far‘ah at the Institute of Archaeology of the University College in London in May 2000. I am grateful to Mr. Ian Carroll, Collection Manager, and to Dr. Rachael Sparks, Curator of the Petrie Palestinian Collection, for facilitating the cleaning and the restoration of the seals, and for providing me with new photographs and a permission to publish them.¹ Mrs. Rodica Penchas from the Institute of Archaeology of the Tel Aviv University prepared the new drawings, based on these photographs.

This type of finger ring seal was quite popular in Hittite Syria in the thirteenth century B.C.E., especially in the Middle Euphrates region (for refs. see Singer 1993: 189). A similar ring seal, made of bronze, was discovered at Tel Nami on the central coast of Israel (Singer 1993).

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1. A Hebrew version was published in *Eretz-Israel* 27 (2003): 133–35.

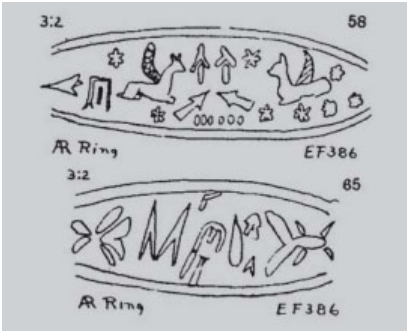


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

The first seal (figs. 2a–c) has a diameter of 23 mm. and a maximal width of 10 mm. Framed between two borderlines, the name of the seal owner is inscribed twice from top to bottom in mirror-like fashion. It reads: *Zi/Za*(L 376)-*zù*(L 285)-*wa*(L 439).² The vocalic value of the first sign can be in this period either *i* or *a*, but a reading *Zazuwa* is perhaps preferable in view of cuneiform *Zazuwa*, the name of a field owner attested in a Hittite text (Laroche 1966: 209). The same name is inscribed on both sides of a biconvex seal from Korucutepe (Ertem 1988: 8–9, kat. 9; Mora 1987 primo suppl.: 80, no. 2.69). The name on the Tell el Far‘ah seal is flanked by two crouching griffons, a frequent motif on the seals from Emar (Beyer 2001: 386ff.). Several rosette-like fillers are dispersed in the field, which is closed on both sides by a three-pronged triangle (resembling L 175).³

The second seal (figs. 3a–c; published upside down in the original drawing) has a somewhat smaller diameter of 20 mm and a maximal width of 11 mm. The borderlines framing the central scene converge as the ring narrows into a wavy pattern with four ridges. The hieroglyphic inscription is flanked by two antithetic figures representing a somewhat ill-designed double-headed eagle, a frequent motif in Anatolian glyptics (Beyer 2001: 386ff.). The name in the center is written from right to left: *Á*(L 450)-*na*(L 35). The sign *FEMINA* (L 79) flanking both sides of the name identifies the seal owner as a woman. Two small fillers are tucked near the lefthand side eagle, and a larger, V-shaped one, appears underneath the sign *na*. *Ana* is often attested as a feminine name, in both cuneiform and hieroglyphic texts (Laroche 1966: 30, no. 58).

The two ring seals from Tell el Far‘ah belong to a growing corpus of Hittite finds from Canaan, mostly from sites with a strong Egyptian connection. These include the bulla from Aphek (Singer 1977), the ring seal from Tel Nami (Singer 1993), a biconvex seal from Megiddo (Singer 1995), and the famous Hittite ivory from the same site (Loud 1939: 10ff., pl. 11; Singer 1988–89: 105–6). These finds must be considered within the context of the expanding diplomatic and commercial relations between the Hittite and Egyptian administrations after the signing of the peace treaty of 1258 B.C.E. (Edel 1994; Singer 1977: 186–87; 1988; 2006).

I dedicate these Hittite silver rings, possibly belonging to husband and wife, to Ali and Belkis, as a token of my appreciation and longstanding friendship.

2. For the reading of L 285, see Mora 1987 primo suppl.: 16; Gonnet 1991: 204, no. 42 (Zu-Ba‘la).

3. Left of the lefthand griffin there is a sign that in the original drawing resembles the hieroglyph for L 326 (SCRIBA). However, after cleaning the seal it turned out to be merely a decorative filler.

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FROM ZENITH TO NADIR:
THE LAST CENTURY OF THE HITTITE KINGDOM

THE FAILED REFORMS OF AKHENATEN AND MUWATALLI

In his fifth regnal year Akhenaten founded his new capital Akhetaten in Middle Egypt, thereby crowning his religious reform intended to promote the cult of Aten to the exclusion of the rest of the Egyptian pantheon. Half a century later Muwatalli founded his new capital at Tarḫuntašša in the Lower Land, as the apex of a religious reform promoting the cult of the Storm-god of Lightning at the expense of other major deities of the Hittites. Both reforms collapsed shortly after the death of the “heretic” kings, but Tarḫuntašša continued to exist as the seat of a competing Great King. The similarities and the differences between these major religious reforms of the Late Bronze Age will be examined in the light of the contemporary sources and some historical analogies.

The foundation of a new capital has always been one of the most radical and subversive steps in the history of a nation. From Akhetaten and Tarḫuntašša to St. Petersburg and Brasilia, the foundation of a new capital derives from a fundamental ideological change in the mind of the reformist, reinforced by an unrelenting commitment to a complicated and risky endeavor.

The Late Bronze Age witnessed an unprecedented wave of new foundations throughout the Near East—Dur-Kurigalzu in Babylon, Akhetaten and Piramesse in Egypt, Dur-Untash in Elam, Tarḫuntašša in Ḫatti, Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta in Aššur. All these new foundations share common traits, yet, as I will try to argue, the most meaningful comparison is between Akhetaten and Tarḫuntašša, despite the tremendous disparity between the amount of documentation on the two cities.

Akhenaten’s is probably the best-documented religious reform in the ancient Near East; in contrast, Muwatalli’s religious reform has only recently been identified as such. The city of Akhetaten at Tell el-Amarna is one of the most extensively excavated sites in Egypt; Tarḫuntašša has not even been located with certainty on the map of Anatolia. Akhenaten, despite the inexhaustible efforts to erase his memory, speaks out loudly from his own inscriptions and pictorial representations; Muwatalli does not even mention his new capital in his preserved documents. Nevertheless, from the records of his successors and from subtle clues embedded in his own prayers and seals, it is possible, I believe, to recon-

struct this important reform that irreversibly changed the course of Hittite history. The emphasis of my paper will be on the lesser-known reform of Muwatalli, within the domain of my own discipline, and I will utilize Egyptian evidence from translations and secondary sources.

AKHETATEN

Though Aten as a form of the Sun-god Re was venerated long before the ascent of Akhenaten, his elevation to a prominent status is clearly associated with the heretic king. There have been many attempts to detect the underlying causes for his avatar, but, as concluded by Barry Kemp (Kemp 1989: 262), “how and why Akhenaten came to step outside the mentality of his time remains a mystery that we are unlikely ever to resolve.” Already at the outset of his reign he built temples for Aten at Thebes and at other places in Egypt and Nubia. However, he soon realized the paradox of promoting Aten to the point of exclusivity within the domain of his main nemesis, Amun, and therefore set out to dedicate to his god a city of his own.

The notion of building a new city was not entirely new to Akhenaten, since he witnessed his father’s ambitious building project at the palace-city of Malqata, ancient Per Hay (“The House of Rejoicing”), a few kilometers west of Thebes. But Akhenaten’s concept of a new residence, for him and for his god, was far more radical and subversive.

Fortunately, we have the actual foundation decree for the city carved on the boundary stelae of Akhetaten. From these inscriptions (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993; Murnane 1995: 73–86), we learn that in the fifth year of his reign, 1348 B.C.E., Akhenaten summoned his officials in Akhetaten and solemnly announced:

Behold Aten! The Aten wishes to have [a House?] made for him as a monument with an eternal and everlasting name. Now it is Aten, my father, who advised me concerning it, nor had any people in the entire land ever advised me concerning it, to tell me [a plan] for making Akhetaten in this distant place. ... Behold, it is pharaoh who found it, when it did not belong to a god, nor to a goddess; when it did not belong to a male ruler, nor to a female ruler; when it did not belong to any people. ... My father, Hor-Aten, proclaimed to me: “It is to belong to my Person, to be Akhetaten continually forever” (Murnane 1995: 75).

This distant place in Middle Egypt, about halfway between Memphis and Thebes, met the prerequisite of not belonging to anyone, either god or man. Other rulers throughout history, including Muwatalli and Tukulti-Ninurta, had chosen to found new capitals on virgin ground.

After receiving the blessings of his courtiers, Akhenaten set the limits of the city by carving boundary stelae at its four corners and pledging his commitment to the new capital:

I shall make Akhetaten for the Aten, my father, in this place. I shall not make Akhetaten for him south of it, north of it, west of it (or) east of it...

Nor shall the King's Chief Wife say to me, "Look, there's a nice place for Akhetaten someplace else," nor shall I listen to her (Murnane 1995: 76–77).

In the following, he lists the various mansions that he intends to build in the city, concluding with the ultimate commitment that any Egyptian could ever make to a locality: his burial place. He establishes the location of the royal tombs in the eastern hills, for him, for Nefertiti, and for their daughter Meritaten. Moreover, he pledges that in the case of his death outside the city, his body should be brought back for burial in Akhetaten. Needless to say, this commitment was far more definitive than all the others, since from an Egyptian point of view a person is far longer dead than alive.

Unfortunately for Akhenaten, his plans to spend "millions of jubilees" in Akhetaten proved to be far too optimistic. A few years after his death, Tutankhamun moved the royal residence to Memphis and Akhetaten was gradually abandoned. The Royal Tomb in which the heretic king was originally buried was terribly depredated in ancient as well as modern times, and his name was mutilated (Martin 1989). What remained of his mummy was probably removed from Akhetaten to somewhere in Thebes. I will not enter into the labyrinthine argument over the ownership of Tomb 55 in the Valley of Kings and the identity of the body that was found within it. Neither will I ponder over the reasons for the failure of Akhenaten's reform and its alleged resurrection in later times.

TARḤUNTAŠŠA

Muwatalli, represented on this rock relief from Sirkeli on the River Ceyhan, was the second eldest son of Muršili II. His elder brother Ḫalpašulupi must have died at a young age. Like that of Akhenaten, Muwatalli's accession to the throne (ca. 1295 B.C.E.) appears to have been a smooth one, and on the face of it, there was nothing to foreshadow his ensuing reform. He inherited a relatively stable empire extending from the Aegean to beyond the Euphrates, and as far as the Lebanon ranges in the south (Bryce 2005: 190ff.). Though the constant incursions of the Kaška tribes from the Pontic ranges caused considerable annoyance, there was nothing exceptionally critical in their activities at this point in time. In any case, to fend off their chronic attacks Muwatalli appointed his brother Ḫattušili as the governor of the Upper Lands, supplanting the previous admin-

istration in this frontier land. There might have been additional reasons for this appointment, which proved to be a very successful one, at least from a military and administrative point of view. But despite the apparently normal circumstances of Muwatalli's accession and reign, there were at least three problems that must have blemished the king's disposition:

1) Since the days of his grandfather a terrible plague, probably spread by Egyptian soldiers, decimated the population of Ḫatti and caused a constant sense of self-accusation at the royal court. This calamity must have weighed heavily on the conscience of Muwatalli as well, bringing about a deep sense of penitence and piety.

2) Second, the revengefulness of Egypt. The energetic new kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty were openly preparing a major offensive against the Hittites in Syria and the odds were hardly reassuring for Muwatalli. His grandfather's violation of the Egyptian border was conceived as the major cause for divine irritation, especially since the Storm-god was the one who guaranteed the treaty between the two empires. His renewed support was desperately needed.

3) And third, *cherchez la femme*. Muwatalli was embroiled in a vicious dispute with Danuḫepa, either the last wife of his father or his own wife. This dispute eventually led to a public trial as a consequence of which she was banished from the palace. The exact circumstances of this bitter affair remain to be elucidated, but in any case, the personal problems facing Muwatalli did not contribute to his peace of mind. And yet, here was a king determined to undertake the most radical change in the history of Ḫatti, despite or perhaps because of these pressing problems.

Before we try to reconstruct his reform, it should be recalled that all the evidence for Muwatalli's reform, culminating in the transfer of his capital to Tarḫuntašša, comes from later sources, notably of his brother Ḫattušili. How does one reconstruct a religious reform which is still hidden under the unexplored ruins of Tarḫuntašša? Much as an archeologist restores the course of "robbed" walls from their foundation trenches, so shall we follow the spiritual foundation trenches of Muwatalli's reform in his prayers and seals.

The most explicit source recounting Muwatalli's transfer of the capital is his brother's Autobiography, or *Apology*, and related texts (van de Hout 1997). These references to the transfer precede his laconic report on the Battle of Qadesh, thus providing a *terminus ante quem* before 1275 B.C.E. But how many years before the battle the transfer occurred is difficult to say.

Let us look first at Muwatalli's seals. Nothing predicts yet his change of heart on the seals on which his name appears alone, or together with Queen Danuḫepa, before her expulsion from the palace. A new decorative style is introduced by a seal on which the king is being embraced by his god, the so-called *Umarmungsszene*. (Recently, David Hawkins managed to reconstruct fully the

cuneiform inscription in the outer and inner circles, which confirms the reading of Muwatalli's second name as Šarri-Tešub.) The hieroglyphic inscription above the god's hand identifies him as the Great Storm-god of Heaven. The god is holding with his right hand the king's left wrist, as if he were leading him. Now, exactly the same position is metaphorically described in Muwatalli's great prayer to the Storm-god of Lightning: "*Walk with me at my right hand side, team up with me as (with) a bull to draw! Ascend with me in a true Storm-godly fashion!*" (KUB 6. 45 iii 71–3; Singer 1996a: 42, 68). I think that we may safely identify this Great Storm-god of Heaven on the seals with his personal god, the Storm-god of Lightning (*piḫaššašši Tarḫuntaš*). The new glyptic style, with its intimate contact between the king and his god, ushers in a new theological concept. The embracing scene was later adopted by Muwatalli's successors, both on their seals (Hawkins 2001: 168–69; Herbordt 2005: 69ff.) and on the well-known relief of Tuthaliya IV from Yazılıkaya.

Who is this god of Muwatalli who "teams up with him in a true Storm-godly fashion" and guides him towards a sweeping religious reform? The Storm-god *piḫaššašši* is a special hypostasis of the more generic Storm-god of Heaven (Singer 2006a). The name is Luwian and is derived from the root *piḫa*, "luminosity, splendor." *piḫaššašši* is an adjectival genitive meaning "that which is luminous," hence "the lightning." In a few early occurrences the determinative URU is affixed to the epithet, but a toponym **Piḫašša* is not otherwise attested, and it is doubtful whether such a place ever existed. It has been suggested that the name of the winged horse Pegasus of the Greek tradition is derived from Luwian *piḫaššašši*, but the large gap in time calls for caution, especially in the absence of a Neo-Hittite link.

The Storm-god of Lightning makes his first appearance in texts of Muwatalli. In his famous treaty with Alakšandu of Wiluša, Muwatalli is already designated, "Beloved of the Storm-god of Lightning" (NARAM dU *piḫaššašši*). The most eloquent textual tribute to his god is found in Muwatalli's prayer to the Assembly of Gods, with the Storm-god of Lightning playing the role of the principal intercessor (Singer 1996a). A few excerpts from this impressive poetic invocation will demonstrate the intimate relationship between Muwatalli and his god, not unlike the one between Akhenaten and his Aten:

Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, I was but a human, whereas my father was a priest to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to all the gods. My father begat me, but the Storm-god of Lightning took me from my mother and reared me; he made me priest to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to all the gods; for the Ḫatti land he appointed me to kingship.

... The bird takes refuge in the cage and it lives. I, too, have taken refuge with the Storm-god of Lightning and he has kept me alive.

... In the future it will come to pass that my son, my grandson, kings and queens of Ḫatti, princes and lords, will always show reverence towards the Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, and they will say as follows: "Truly that god is a mighty hero, a rightly guiding god!" The gods of heaven, the mountains and the rivers will praise you.

... As for me, Muwatalli, your servant, my soul will rejoice inside me, and I will exalt the Storm-god of Lightning. The temples that I will erect for you and the rites that I will perform for you, Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, you shall rejoice in them.

... Storm-god of Lightning, glow over me like the moonlight, shine over me like the Sun-god of Heaven! (Singer 1996a: 40ff.: 2002: 91–92).

The sentiment conveyed by these verses, especially the last ones, is not dissimilar from the one conveyed in Akhenaten's hymns to the Aten. Of course, I do not argue for a direct influence. What I refer to is a typical state-of-mind that motivated both innovative individuals to evoke previously unknown or unimportant hypostases of generic deities, to claim an exclusive relationship with them, and to vow to them eternal obedience.

But there are obviously essential differences between the two reforms. For one thing, there is no hint whatsoever in the preserved documents of Muwatalli for the abolishment of rival deities, not to mention iconoclasm. On the contrary, in his Great Prayer to the assembly of gods through the Storm-god of Lightning, Muwatalli invokes an impressive list of 140 deities classified by their places of worship. On the face of it, this long list of theonyms appears as a supreme display of piety. But upon closer scrutiny it reveals some important innovations that may predict the forthcoming reform and the transfer of the capital:

First, Ḫattuša occupies a mere fifth place in the list, preceded by Arinna, Tiwa, Šamuḫa, and Katapa (Singer 1996a: 172ff.). This must anticipate the decline of Ḫattuša during Muwatalli's reform (Singer 1998). Second, the Storm-god *piḫaššašši* occupies a prominent place in the list, replacing the Storm-god of Ḫatti as the consort of Ḫebat and the Sun-goddess of Arinna. And third, there is a disproportionately high representation of cult centers from regions situated southwest of Ḫatti, including the Lower Land, where the future capital is about to be founded (Singer 1996a: 176). Tarḫuntašša itself does not appear in the list.

All these indications may reveal Muwatalli's intentions of moving the political and religious centre of gravity from the northeast to the southwest, from Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša. It has even been suggested recently by the Georgian Hittitologist Irene Tatishvili (2004) that this prayer is some sort of a farewell ceremony from the traditional Hittite pantheon.

And there is a further point in this prayer that deserves to be underlined. The Assembly of Gods is addressed through three intercessors: the main one is to

the Storm-god of Lightning, and the two other are to the Sun-god of Heaven and the sacred bull Šeri. It is not coincidental that all these deities are male, whereas the great goddesses of the kingdom—the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Ištar/Šaušga of Šamuha and Hebat of Kummanni—who dominate the religious scene before and after Muwatalli, are subordinate. Once again we are reminded of the Amarna religion, with its pronounced male orientation, somewhat attenuated by Nefer-titi's prominent presence.

With the religious and political preparations completed, Muwatalli sets out to execute his major move, the transfer of the capital. As already mentioned, the only evidence for this episode comes from the texts of Ḫattušili, a fact that calls for caution in view of the burdened relationship between the two brothers. For unknown reasons, the laconic description of the transfer is repeated twice in the *Apology* (§§ 6, 8), in both cases preceding a list of northern localities placed under the command of Ḫattušili:

When my brother Muwatalli, at the word of his god, went down to the Lower Land, he left Ḫattuša behind. He took up the gods of Ḫatti and the Dead and carried them to the Land of Tarḫuntašša (§ 6).

The first point to note is the reason given for the transfer of the capital: “at the word of his god” (*IŠTU AMAT DINGIR^{LIM}-ŠU*). In the past, this statement has not been taken too seriously, and various political and strategic grounds were suggested for the transfer of the capital to Tarḫuntašša: the Kaška threat, a closer proximity to the Egyptian front, and so on. But I see no reason to doubt Ḫattušili's testimony in this case, especially in view of the following statement about the unprecedented transfer of the entire Hittite pantheon. A parallel text of Ḫattušili, KBo 6.29, specifies that the gods moved to Tarḫuntašša were “the gods of Ḫatti, the gods of Arinna, and the Cedar Gods.” The latter are understood to represent the gods of Kizzuwatna. In other words, all the important divine circles of the Ḫattian north and the Hurrian south. Clearly, this is the opposite tendency of the one professed by Akhenaten who left behind the gods of Egypt, deprived and humiliated.

Now, we can more-or-less imagine what these gods who were transported for several hundred kilometers from Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša might have looked like, but what about “the Dead”? The Sumerogram *GIDIM* corresponds to the Hittite participle *akkant-* “dead,” which may refer to the dead body or to its remains after cremation. It can also refer to the souls of the dead ancestors, hence the customary comparison with the *manes* of the Romans. What exactly did Muwatalli take with him to Tarḫuntašša? Probably not some effigies of his ancestors, for that would more likely be designated as *ALAM*, “statue.” Could he actually have dug out the earthly remains of his ancestors, which must have been

deposited in urns in the “Stone House,” the final resting place of Hittite kings and queens?

Morbid as this may sound, the transfer of graves, indeed of entire cemeteries, is not unheard of in the ancient world and neither in the modern. Royal mummies were moved around in Egypt, either for political reasons or to confuse treasure searchers. When fleeing from Babylon to Elam through the Sea Land, Marduk-apal-iddina II “gathered the gods of the entire extent of his land, together with the bones of his forefathers from (their) graves” (CAD E, 342a). And so did Aeneas, who in Virgil’s story (2.385ff.) takes the Penates of Troy with him to Italy. Throughout the ages, the possession of the earthly remains of sanctified individuals was far more than an ultimate act of reverence, and in extreme cases it became a tool for political manipulation. From modern history suffice it to recall the elimination of the Inca mummies by the Spanish *conquistadores*, or the grim fate of Evita Peron’s embalmed body, now resting in peace in the Recoleta cemetery in Buenos Aires.

Where exactly did Muwatalli deposit the transferred Dead is still an open question, and, as indicated in §10 of the Bronze Tablet, the Mausoleum of Tarḫuntašša (lit. the “Eternal rock sanctuary”) became a highly contested place. In any case, when his son Urḫi-Tešub moved back to Ḫattuša, he took with him the Gods, but no mention is made of the Dead. Strictly speaking, the dead Hittite kings also became gods, so the report on the re-transfer of the Gods could be intended to include the dead kings as well, but not necessarily.

It is time now to speculate about the location of Muwatalli’s capital in the Lower Land. Later texts inform us about the extent of the kingdom of Tarḫuntašša in south-central Anatolia, but there are no indications about the whereabouts of its capital. The place name does not occur before Muwatalli, and we may safely conclude that he chose, like Akhenaten, to establish a new city on virgin ground. From the various suggestions put forward, I still consider Sedat Alp’s (1995) localization at Kızıldağ, north of Karaman, as the most plausible. Kızıldağ, “Red Mountain,” is a rocky outcrop situated on the edge of Lake Hotamış, a land-locked drainage basin that dries out in the summer. Its slopes are rather steep and the best access is from the southern side, where dense architectural remains are visible on the surface. The site is best known for the so-called “throne” on the northern slope with its carved relief of Hartapu. Incredible as this may seem, this intriguing site has never been excavated, but various visitors have found ceramic and architectural evidence for a Late Bronze Age occupation (Bittel 1986: 108; Gonnet 1983; 1984; Dinçol et al. 2000: 7–8).

The summit of the mountain is fortified by a circular rampart (90 m. in diameter) with eleven towers (Bittel 1986: 107, fig. 10–11; Karauğuz, Bahar, Kunt 2002: figs. XVI, XVII). Inside the fortress there are remains of a large edifice, possibly a palace compound, built of large stone blocks, typical for Hit-

tite architecture. The same applies to the complex associated with the inscription KIZILDAĞ 4 on the southwestern slope. It is usually referred to as the monumental “entrance” to the fortress, but Hatice Gonnet (1984) has convincingly identified it as a typically Hittite open air sanctuary consisting of a rock-cut throne and an altar. The inscription, which intersects the rock-cut altar, was probably added at a later stage. There are also rock-cut chamber tombs that cannot be dated presently. In short, a thorough excavation is urgently needed in order to confirm the identification of this exciting site with Muwatalli’s capital.

But Kızıldağ is only part of the mystery surrounding this unexplored corner of Hittite Anatolia. About 12 kilometers southeast of it rises the far more impressive summit of Karadağ, the Black Mountain, with its “One thousand and one Byzantine churches” (Binbirkilise). This is how Karadağ is described by Gertrude Bell who visited the site in 1905 and discovered its “very queer inscriptions”: “... a huge volcano the crater of which is about half a mile across, a ring of rocky peaks round the lip of it and the great plain stretching away to snow ranges behind” (Bell 1927: 222). Indeed, the view from the 2271 m.- high peak is unequaled, overlooking the Karaman and Konya plains, that is, the entire Lower Land of the Hittites. The summit itself is occupied by a massive church, and the nearby Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription leaves no doubt what must be hiding under it: “In this place (for) the Storm-god of Heaven, the divine Great Mountain (and) all the god(s), the Great King Hartapu, who conquered all the lands, for the Storm-god of Heaven and all the god(s)[...]” (Hawkins 1992: 265; 1995: 105). Muwatalli could hardly have chosen a more appropriate location for the new abode of his god, the Storm-god of Heaven, alias the Storm-god of Lightning, in close proximity to his own residence.

If the identification of Tarḫuntašša at Kızıldağ is valid, we may now put Muwatalli’s great move into a larger perspective. Since the very beginning of the Hittite kingdom, after Ḫattušili I’s move of his residence to Ḫattuša, Hittite religion and ideology were heavily dependent on the great (proto-)Ḫattian tradition of the north. Besides Ḫattuša, other sacred cities, such as Arinna, Nerik, and Zippalanda, were also situated in this northernmost part of the kingdom. After the incorporation of Kizzuwatna and other southern and eastern regions, another important layer was added to Hittite religion and ideology, the Hurrian. Places such as Kummanni and Šamuḫa came to play a prominent role in Hittite history and religion. There remained, however, one extensive region of Hittite Anatolia that had never played a decisive role in the consolidation of Hittite religion: the vast plains in the southwest. None of the great cities of the Lower Land and other southwestern areas ever played a dominant role in Hittite ideology and politics. Yet, this centrally located Luwian-speaking region looked back into a reputable history in the distant past, with the city of Purušanda, for example, being the seat of a “Great Ruler” in the Old Assyrian period. This neglected third corner

of Hittite Anatolia suddenly leapt into the foreground of Hittite history under Muwatalli's reform.

A Luwian orientation of Muwatalli has always been suspected, and, without overstating this "ethnic" aspect in Muwatalli's reform, we should nevertheless acknowledge the following facts. His previously unattested god has the clearly Luwian epithet *piḫaššašši*, and the new capital, wherever one prefers to locate it, was certainly situated in a Luwian-speaking area (Melchert 2003: passim; Singer 2006b). To this we may add Muwatalli's own name, which is of Luwian origin. Muwatalli (logographical NIR.GÁL) is "valiant" or "mighty" in Luwian (Starke 1990: 173; Melchert 1993: 151). The "Valiant Storm-god" (dU NIR.GÁL) was the personal god of his father Muršili, which may explain Muwatalli's choice for a throne-name. It would seem that from the day of his birth Muwatalli was pre-disposed to the adoration of a Luwian Storm-god, or as he puts it in his prayer, *"the Storm-god of Lightning took me from my mother and reared me"* (KUB 6.45 iii 28–29).

So much for the Luwian connections of Muwatalli, which are not insignificant. Still, I would assert that the choice of the southwest as his new residence was not so much dictated by "ethnic" concerns, but rather by more general geo-political and cultural considerations, that is, a more centrally located focal point for his huge kingdom. Although the western kingdom of Arzawa was finally subdued and partitioned by his father Muršili, this vast region continued to pose a constant threat on the stability of Ḫatti, and a shift of the kingdom's centre of gravity towards the southwest seemed a timely solution.

Throughout history, a recurring tendency in choosing the location of a new capital was a shift to the center of the country, as a statement of a more balanced and equitable policy. I could bring plenty of examples, but suffice it to mention again Akhetaten in Middle Egypt and Brasília in Brazil. It is quite instructive to have a brief look at the foundation decree of Brasília, as presented in 1957 by Lucio Costa:¹

Founding a city in the wilderness is a deliberate act of conquest, a gesture after the manner of the pioneering colonial tradition ... It should not be envisaged merely as an organism capable of performing adequately and effortlessly the vital functions of any modern city, not merely as an "urbs," but as a "civitas," possessing the attributes inherent to a Capital.

Indeed, Tarḫuntašša was better situated to serve as a "civitas" of the Hittite commonwealth than Ḫattuša. Incidentally, the nearby city of Karaman also served as the capital of a large kingdom in the fourteenth century C.E., the Emirate of the

1. "Report of the Pilot Plan for Brasília," http://www.infobrasilia.com.br/pilot_plan.htm.

Karamanids, who were eventually subdued by the Ottoman Turks. Thereafter the capital of the central Anatolian plateau was moved to Konya. And, one may also add, that Atatürk's transfer of the capital from Istanbul to Ankara was also aimed, among other things, to achieve a more equitable political structure for the Republic of Turkey.

But alas, Muwatalli's courageous reform was short-lived, like Akhenaten's. It first seemed that the Storm-god of Heaven had indeed compensated Muwatalli with a sweeping victory over the Egyptians at Qadesh. But shortly afterwards Muwatalli died, and his son and successor Urḫi-Tešub, like Tutankhamon, cut short the reform and moved the capital back to Ḫattuša.

Why he did so is difficult to tell. As in Egypt, there must have been strong pressures from privileged circles of the established clergy and aristocracy to return to the traditional capital. But I think that Urḫi-Tešub's decision had more to do with envy of his ambitious uncle than with penetrating political and theological reasoning. Before Muwatalli left Ḫattuša he entrusted the city to the able hands of the Chief Scribe Mittanamuwa. Contrary to previous assertions, Ḫattuša was not included in Ḫattušili's large jurisdiction in northern Anatolia (Singer 2001). But, despite this prudent move, intended to diminish the importance of Ḫattuša at a time when a new capital was being established, Muwatalli's reform initiated a *de facto* division of the land. Urḫi-Tešub must have been pretty concerned about the intentions of his uncle, perhaps rightly so. He moved the gods back to Ḫatti and started to curtail Ḫattušili's jurisdiction and influence, until the latter revolted and usurped the throne of his nephew.

When exactly were the gods moved back to Ḫattuša, and who remained in charge of Tarḫuntašša during the remaining years of Urḫi-Tešub is not known. Independent sources of Urḫi-Tešub, besides his seals, are missing, and we must again rely on the testimony of Ḫattušili and his wife. In her famous letter to Ramses II, Queen Puduḫepa sarcastically explains the reasons for Ḫatti's impoverishment: "*As you, my brother, knows the palace of Ḫatti (É KUR ^{URU}Ḫatti), should I (myself) not kn[ow] it? [...] the palace [has been tra]nsferred(?), and whatever remained, Urḫi-Tešub gave to the Great God (DINGIR.GAL). Since [Urḫi-]Tešub is there, ask him whether it is so, or whether it is not so*" (KUB 21.38 obv. 10–12; Singer 1998: 537–38). It is quite obvious that this unnamed Great God is the Great Storm-god of Heaven, and if we accept Puduḫepa's witness, it would appear that Urḫi-Tešub continued his worship, at least for a while.

This is also supported by his seal on which he is embraced by the Storm-god of Heaven. In the cuneiform legend, however, he presents himself as the "Beloved of the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna," which marks the return to the traditional concept of a divine couple. On another elaborate seal Urḫi-Tešub appears in the company of the Storm-god of Aleppo (Hawkins 2003). This marks the dissolution of Muwatalli's revolutionary perception of a

favored universal Storm-god of Heaven and a return to the traditional multiplicity of territorial deities. This tendency will continue even more vigorously after Hattušili's takeover. His theology had a marked feminine inclination, perhaps due to the dominant influence of Queen Puduḥepa. The great goddesses and their sons reappear in the foreground of the Hittite pantheon, with a strong tendency towards syncretism: the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Ḫebat, and most of all, Ištar/Šaušga of Šamuḫa, the personal goddess of the royal couple.

The story of Tarḫuntašša could have ended here. Like Akhetaten, the new capital could have been pillaged, abandoned, and covered with sand until its rediscovery in modern times. Yet, it had a different fate, mainly due to the moralistic stance of an usurper. A short while after his successful coup, Hattušili took Muwatalli's younger son Kurunta, who grew up on his lap, and installed him on the throne of his father in Tarḫuntašša. Why he did this belongs to the domain of "psychological history," a domain that is viewed with skepticism by some historians. If we believe Hattušili's own testimony, he did this "*out of regard for the love of his brother.*" In any case, through this crucial decision he perpetuated the division of Anatolia, perhaps unconsciously. Already in the next generation the two Hittite states, each ruled by a Great King, competed fiercely over political supremacy, a competition that weakened the Hittite Empire and contributed to its dissolution (Singer 1996b; 2000: 26).

And what happened to Muwatalli's new god before and after the counter-reform? Well, he certainly befell a better fate than Akhenaten's god. Once established in Tarḫuntašša, the cult of the Storm-god of Lightning spread to other areas of Anatolia. On the 18th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival the Storm-god of Lightning is celebrated alongside the Sun-goddess of Arinna. He even seems to have enjoyed a certain revival during the cult reforms of Tutḫaliya IV. In Tarḫuntašša itself, that is in complex of Kızıldağ and Karadağ, the only deity mentioned by name in Hartapu's inscriptions is the Storm-god of Heaven, which cannot be coincidental. The only exceptions are the Divine Great Mountain in KARADAĞ 1, and the deity in KIZILDAĞ 2. On the latter Hatice Gonnet (1983) identified the epithet of the Storm-god as the bent arm holding a dagger, which represents "Valiant" or "Mighty," Luwian Muwatalli, perhaps as a tribute to the founder of the city. In short, the last king of Tarḫuntašša, Hartapu, apparently remained loyal to his grandfather's god until the very end.

Retrospectively, I would say that the failed reforms of Akhenaten and Muwatalli are perhaps the most fundamental religious transformations in the Late Bronze Age. The new capitals that they founded are the only ones that were called after the names of their respective gods, Aten and Tarḫunta, and that were actually destined to replace the old capitals. Other new cities were named after their founders and were not intended to replace the traditional capitals: Dur-Kurigalzu was not intended to replace Babylon; nor did Dur-Untash replace

Susa; Pi-Ramesse did not replace Thebes and Memphis; nor did Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, Dur-Šarukkin, and Niniveh replace Aššur. Perhaps here lies the reason for the failure of Akhenaten's and Muwatalli's reforms—the irresistible gravitational force of tradition.

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FROM ḪATTUŠA TO TARḪUNTAŠŠA: SOME THOUGHTS ON MUWATALLI'S REIGN

It is a well-known fact that the reign of Muwatalli is poor in contemporary sources. Even this meager documentation needs to be closely scrutinized after the discovery of another king Muwatalli who reigned in the fifteenth century,¹ not to mention still other namesakes.² The texts attributed to the king who fought the Egyptians at Qadeš are few: the treaties with Talmi-Šarruma of Ḫalab (CTH 75) and with Alakšandu of Wiluša (CTH 76), possibly some letters to Assyria,³ and two or three prayers (see below). None of these documents refers directly to the most important events in his reign: the transfer of the capital to Tarḫuntašša and the Battle of Qadeš. Perhaps one day Muwatalli's archives will be found in Tarḫuntašša, but meanwhile we have to reconstruct his reign through other informants, who were not free of bias against Muwatalli: His arch-enemy Ramses II, and his ambitious brother Ḫattušili. Therefore, much caution is required when evaluating Muwatalli's deeds and their motivation.

Some clues to a better understanding of Muwatalli's age may also be found in his prayers. The Great Prayer to the Storm-god of Lightning (CTH 381) has frequently been quoted in the past, but so far no comprehensive philological study was available. Collation of the main duplicates in Berlin has proved how urgently this was needed.⁴ A shorter prayer, which deals with the neglect of the cult of Kummanni (CTH 382), has been dealt with by Ph. Houwink ten Cate and

Reprinted from *Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum, September 16–22, 1996* (ed. S. Alp and A. Süel; Ankara: Uyum Ajans, 1998), 535–41.

1. H. Otten, *Das hethitische Königshaus im 15. Jahrhundert v. Chr. – Zum Neufund einiger Landschenkungsurkunden in Boğazköy* (1986), 28–32.

2. For the difficulties in sorting out the different Muwatallis, see, e.g., R. H. Beal, *The Organisation of the Hittite Military* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1992), 331–32, with nn. 1266–67.

3. KUB 23.102 and KBo 18.24; see H. Otten apud E. Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I.* (AfO Beiheft 22, 1959), 67; *AfO* 22 (1968–69): 112–13. The so-called Tawagalawa Letter (CTH 181) must be attributed to Ḫattušili III, a dating that is now also supported by indirect evidence in an Egyptian letter of Ramses II; see I. Singer, “New Evidence on the Last Decades of the Hittite Empire,” in *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (ed. E. Oren; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 2000), 21–33.

4. I. Singer, *Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm-God of Lightning (CTH 381)* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

F. Josephson.⁵ A fragmentary list of local deities (KBo 9.98+) has correctly been identified by Theo van den Hout as part of a third prayer of Muwatalli.⁶ I believe that careful scrutiny of these texts throws new light on the religious climate anticipating the far-reaching changes introduced by Muwatalli into the geopolitical structure of the Hittite Kingdom. Obviously, I cannot present here the full evidence from Muwatalli's prayers, and the reader is referred to my monograph.

It is well to begin with an examination of the generally accepted views on the subject. Ever since the beginnings of Hittitology, Muwatalli's transfer of the capital from Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša in the Lower Land has been explained in terms of military strategy—the Kaška threat on the one hand,⁷ and a closer proximity to the Egyptian and to the western Anatolian fronts on the other.⁸

I must admit that, even before delving into the subject, I had some doubts about the force of this line of explanation. True, the deep incursions of the Kaška hordes into Hittite territories did pose a serious threat to Ḫattuša, especially at a time when the bulk of the Hittite army was engaged in Syria. But the Kaška were a chronic problem, and none of the previous kings ever ventured a permanent dislocation of the capital, even in more critical situations.⁹ In his sound evaluation of the sources on the Kaška, E. von Schuler advised caution in dealing with this period.¹⁰ Practically all sources are attributed to Ḫattušili, who had a vested interest in overstating the Kaška danger and his own contribution to the defense of Ḫatti. As pointedly put by A. Goetze, "the so-called Kaškean War can hardly have been more than an annoying series of small-scale raids and counter-raids."¹¹ Would an emperor who, according to Egyptian sources, on the eve of the Battle of Qadesh mustered a formidable army of 37,000 infantry and 3,500 chariots,¹² abandon his capital for fear of a Kaška attack? Besides, if the main objective were to flee the Kaška and to get closer to the Egyptian front, why

5. *RHA* 25 (1968), 101–40. See also R. Lebrun, *Hymnes et prières hittites* (1980), 294–308.

6. KBo IV 10 + (CTH 106); *Studien zur Spätjunghetithischen Texte der Zeit Tutḫaliyas IV* (Doct. Diss. Amsterdam 1989), 60–61. For further joins to this text, see Singer, *Muwatalli's Prayer*, 165.

7. E.g., A. Goetze, *CAH²*, fasc. 37 (1965), 36–37 (= *CAH³ II/2A*, 129); H. Otten, *Fischer Weltgeschichte II* (1966), 154; K. Bittel, *Hattuscha* (1983), 30.

8. E.g., Otten, op. cit.; F. Cornelius, *Geschichte der Hethiter* (1973), 224; J. G. Macqueen, *The Hittites* (1988), 55; O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (1990), 28. E. von Schuler, *Die Kaskäer* (1965), 55, adds to the strategic considerations also Muwatalli's sympathy for Luwian-speaking regions.

9. Šamuḫa in the Upper Land served as the temporary headquarters of the royal family during the turbulent period preceding Šuppiluliuma's successful operations against the Kaška (DS frags. 10–11). However, as soon as Ḫattuša had been liberated, Šuppiluliuma restored his residency to the traditional capital. See further A. Kempinski, "Šuppiluliuma I: The Early Years of His Career," in A. F. Rainey (ed.), *Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume*, Tel-Aviv 1993, 81–91.

10. *Die Kaskäer* (1965), 53.

11. *CAH²*, fasc. 37 (1965), 36 (= *CAH³ II/2A*, 128).

12. For the Egyptian data on the size of the Hittite army, see W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* 2 (1971), 205–6.

bother building a new capital if one could much more easily move the palace to an already existing stronghold somewhere in Kizzuwatna or in northern Syria? Unless, of course, the effort of building a new capital concurred with a “grand plan” inspired by other motives.

Incidentally, there is nothing in the texts or in the archaeological record to prove that Ḫattuša was overrun by the Kaška during the age of Muwatalli, as it is often maintained. K. Bittel cautiously suggested that “... we may have to take into account the possibility that the city and the fortress fell victim to the Kashka people” ... who “could have taken advantage of the transfer of the capital and the resulting weakening of the defense. But although such raids are known to have penetrated at that time almost to the heart of central Anatolia, there is no record of a capture and pillage of Hattusha.”¹³ Whereas Bittel spoke merely of the possibility of a raid on Ḫattuša, a “brutal invasion” by the Kaška, which forced the royal family to find refuge in Tarḫuntašša, has become a certainty in some other studies and in general historical overviews.¹⁴ As before, this alleged Kaška raid on Ḫattuša in the age of Muwatalli remains entirely theoretical.

One frequently quoted textual allusion to such an eventuality is in need of philological reevaluation. In her letter to Ramses (KUB 21, 38), Puduḫepa attempts to justify the delay in the dispatch of the Hittite princess to Egypt by blaming Urḫi-Tešub for the lack of resources in Ḫatti. The text was treated by W. Helck,¹⁵ and his restoration of obv. 10’–11’ has more or less been followed by other scholars:

“Wie du, mein Bruder, den Palast von Ḫatti kennst (É KUR URUḪatti), sollte [ich] ihn etwa auch k[ennen]? ver]brannt ist der Palast. Was übrig blieb, gab Urḫi-Tešub den grossen Gott.”¹⁶

The alleged conflagration of the “House of Ḫatti,”¹⁷ is based on the restoration *ar-ḫa wa-a]r-nu-wa-an* in line 10’.¹⁸ Though this restoration is not impossible,

13. *Hattusha, the Capital of the Hittites* (1970), 88; see also *Hattuscha, Hauptstadt der Hethiter* (1983), 130.

14. See, e.g., R. Lebrun, in: H. Limet et J. Ries (eds.), *L’expérience de la prière dans les grandes religions* (1980), 41; id., *Hymnes et prières hittites* (1980), 32, n. 22; J. G. Macqueen, in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. M. Sasson; New York: Scribner’s, 1995), vol. 2:1094; A. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East c. 3000–330 BC* (1995), 264.

15. *JCS* 17 (1963): 87–97 (acknowledging the assistance of H. Otten).

16. ib., 88; Ph. Houwink ten Cate in *Fs. Güterbock* (1974), 126; G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (1996), 126: “As you, my brother, know the storehouse (?) of Ḫatti, do I not [know that it is] a burned-out structure? And Urḫi-Tešub gave what remained to the Great God.”

17. Bittel, *Hattusha* (1970), 88, connects this alleged burning of the palace to the civil war between Urḫi-Tešub and Ḫattušili. See also P. Neve, *Büyükkale, die Bauwerke: Grabungen 1954–1966* (Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 12; 1982), 74.

18. RS 16.111 = *PRU* III 13ff., to which Helck refers, probably deals with a conflagration in the palace of Amurru and has nothing to do with Puduḫepa’s letter. See I. Singer in: S. Izre’el, *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study* (1991), 160.

I would simply opt for the participle *arḫa arnuwan* “taken away,” “transferred,” obviously referring to the transfer of the royal residence to Tarḫuntašša.¹⁹

The act of the transfer of the capital city is expressed with the verb *arḫa arnu* also in the prayer of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna (CTH 383).²⁰ The Hittite monarch seeks to convince the gods that he was not in any way involved in his brother’s decision to move the capital to Tarḫuntašša.²¹

... “[Wh]ether the trans[fer] of the gods (DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš ar-n[u-um-ma-aš]*) was in accordance with [your] wishes [or whether it wa[s] not] in accordance with your wishes, you[, my mistress,] are the one who knew [that in your divine soul, but I] was [not involved] in the order to trans[fer] the gods. [For me it was a matter] of coercion (while) he was my master, but [the transfer] of the gods was not in accordance with [my] wishes [and] I was afraid for that [order]. And the silver (and) gold of all the gods, to which god he gave the silver (and) gold of each of them, in that decision[, too,] I was not in any way involved.”

In fact, Ḫattušili must have known pretty well to which god the silver and gold were given, and his consort Puduḫepa states it openly in her letter to Ramses: to the Great God. Who is this “Great God”? Houwink ten Cate thought that it is “the earth as god of the Netherworld,”²² but, to my mind, it can only be the god who is defined on Muwatalli’s and Urḫi-Tešub’s seals²³ as the Great Storm-god of Heaven.²⁴ It stands to reason that this is basically the same deity as the Storm-god of Lightning (*piḫaššašiš Tarḫuntaš*), Muwatalli’s personal god.²⁵ The Luwian ety-

19. After having dealt with this passage I discovered that F. Starke apud E. Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache* (1994), Band II, 329, also weighed the possibility of reading *arnuwan*, but he eventually reverted to the traditional restoration *warnuwan*, “burnt out.” See also ib., Band I, 216–17.

20. Cf. also KUB 21, 33 iv 24: EGIR-*an ar-nu-wa-an ḫar-ta*, “he had moved back.” Unfortunately, the context is very fragmentary, but I strongly suspect that the subject is Urḫi-Tešub’s re-transfer of the capital to Ḫattuša (cf. KUB 21, 15 + i 10’–12’). É ^{NA}*-ḫe-kur* SAG.UŠ *da-a-aš* in the line above could possibly refer to the Imperial Mausoleum dealt with in the tenth paragraph of the Bronze Tablet, for which see, R. Stefanini, *Arch. Glott. Ital.* 47 (1992), 133–52, and R. H. Beal, *AnSt* 43 (1993), 29–39 (esp. pp. 37ff. for the verb *da-*). This would be quite in line with the contents of this intriguing text. (written by Ḫattušili III or Tuḫaliya IV), which seems to condemn the political errors committed by Urḫi-Tešub/Muršili III.

21. KUB 14.7 + i 3’–15’. See Ph. Houwink ten Cate, in *FsGüterbock* (1974), 125–26, whose translation I quote. Cf. also Sörenhagen, *AoF* 8 (1981): 9–10.

22. *FsGüterbock*, 126.

23. For the seals of Muwatalli II, see H. Gonnet, *Belleten* 209 (1990): 9–13 (in Turkish), and the French version presented at the 34th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Istanbul 1987. For the seals of Urḫi-Tešub/Muršili III with the “Umarmungsszene,” see H. Otten, *Zu einigen Neufunden hethitischer Königssiegel* (1993), 22–27.

24. An association between the Storm-god of Heaven and the Great God (DINGIR-LIM GAL) is also reflected in KUB 15.5 iii 4ff., the report of a dream. For this text see H. G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy I* (1940), 15; A. Ünal, *Ḫattušili III* (1974), Bd. I, 138.

25. For a concise summary on the Storm-god of Lightning, see Singer, *Muwatalli’s Prayer*, ch. 15. See now also M. Hutter, “Der luwische Wettergott *piḫassassi* und der griechische Pegasos,” in: M. Ofitsch und Ch. Zinko

mology and the meaning of the name are well-established by now, and the epithet is also reflected in the hieroglyphic pictogram of the name.²⁶ The Stormgod of Lightning is not attested before Muwatalli. Clearly, this deity was “discovered” (not to say “created”) by Muwatalli and was adopted by him as his personal god. The adoption of the “new” deity, with all its theological corollaries, is intimately connected with the transfer of the capital, and the two events cannot be separated by many years. An analogical situation is Akhenaton’s foundation of a new capital, built in honor of Aten, a hypostasis of the Sun-god Re.

The consort of the Storm-god of Lightning is Ḫebat. The two appear together as the patron gods of Tarḫuntašša in KBo 9.98 + KUB 40. 46 i 6–9, which may be a third prayer of Muwatalli, probably composed after the transfer of the capital.²⁷ I believe that their son Šarruma, who is mentioned in the Bronze Tablet (iii 67) after his father the Storm-god, is also a god of Tarḫuntašša, thus completing a typical triad modelled after the triads of the great cult centers of Kizzuwatna.²⁸ Indeed, according to Ḫattušili’s well-known account, Muwatalli took to the Lower Land the gods of Ḫatti, the gods of Arinna, and the Cedar Gods (DINGIRMEŠ GIŠERIN-aš), who must be the gods of Kizzuwatna (KBo 6. 29+ i 30–31).

This concise profile of the Storm-god *piḫaššašši* and his circle should suffice to show that the pantheon of Tarḫuntašša was modelled after, if not directly adopted from the Hurrian cult centers of Kizzuwatna. This fully conforms with other indications for the marked southern orientation of Muwatalli’s faith, including his only-known rock monument at Sirkeli near Adana. As argued in the Epilogue to my monograph on Muwatalli’s Prayer, the transfer of the capital to Tarḫuntašša was primarily motivated by religious reasons, a deliberate change in the traditional northern (Ḫatti Land) and northeastern (Upper Land) orientation of Hittite cult. The reasons for this change can only be conjectured. They may have had to do with a deep sense of remorse for sins committed against the Storm-god of Heaven, and the resulting punishment of the terrible plague that afflicted Ḫatti for several decades. There may have been additional, more personal, reasons for leaving the intrigue-infested court of Ḫattuša, such as the grievous trial of Queen Danuḫepa, who was banished from the court together with her sons and supporters.²⁹ But all in all, I would take seriously Ḫattušili’s statement in his *Apology* (i 75) that his brother moved his capital “at the command of his god.”

(eds.), *Studia Onomastica et Indogermanica* (Festschrift für Fritz Lochner von Hüttenbach) (Graz 1995), 79–97.

26. D. Hawkins, in: D. J. W. Meijer (ed.), *Natural Phenomena* (Amsterdam 1992), 71ff.

27. Singer, *Muwatalli’s Prayer*, ch. 11.

28. *Ibid.*, 188.

29. For the trial of Danuḫepa, see, provisionally, A. Ünal, Ḫattušili III. (1974), Bd. I, 139ff. Incidentally, I think that Kurunta may have been a son of Danuḫepa, which would explain why Muwatalli entrusted him to his brother to raise.

I have drawn a parallel between the “religious reforms of Akhenaton and Muwatalli, both of which were abolished shortly after their deaths. Obviously, the parallel must not be carried too far. For one thing, Muwatalli did not seek to eradicate other deities and their cults. On the contrary, he made a concentrated effort to re-discover and restore neglected cults, especially in the south. This is clearly shown by the list of local deities in his Great Prayer, which is the longest list of Hittite gods, containing altogether some 140 names.³⁰ Although the Hittite pantheon in its entirety was respected and venerated, there is a definite change in the relative importance of the top-most gods. In both of Muwatalli’s prayers the main protagonist is the Storm-god. The two other intercessories in the Great Prayer are also dedicated to male deities: Šeri and the Sun-god of Heaven. The leading status of the universal Storm-god of Heaven (or Lightning) clearly overshadows the role of the main goddesses, especially that of IŠTAR/Šaušga of Šamuha, who enjoyed a privileged status both before and after Muwatalli’s era. It is well to note that in the age of Hattušili and Puduhepa the state cult focused primarily on the great goddesses and their sons, which, to my mind, is a deliberate departure from Muwatalli’s reform. In short, theology and geography should be considered together. Muwatalli’s move to the south entails fundamental changes in his theological concepts.

What remains to be explained is why Muwatalli chose an unknown locality in the Lower Land for his capital and not one of the well-known cult centers of Kizzuwatna? Some scholars have indeed suggested that the transfer was carried out in two stages—first to Kummanni, and only later to the Lower Land.³¹ I doubt that the scarce evidence can be interpreted in this way, but even so, the question remains: Why the Lower Land? We would of course be in a better position to tackle this question if we knew where exactly the city of Tarhuntašša is.³²

It is of interest to note, that in the list of local gods in the Great Prayer there is a surprisingly large number of localities situated in south-central Anatolia, some forming part of, others bordering on the future kingdom of Tarhuntašša.³³ The reason for Muwatalli’s sudden interest in this poorly explored area of Hittite Anatolia remains to be discovered. Some scholars have sought a “Luwian orientation” in Muwatalli’s move, based on the Luwian etymology of his and his god’s

30. Singer, *Muwatalli's Prayer*, ch. 12.

31. H. Otten, *Fischer Weltgeschichte* 3 (1966), 154; StBoT 24, 15; K. Bittel, *Hattusha* (1970), 20ff. (in the German edition of 1983 this view is no longer maintained). See also Houwink ten Cate, *JEOL* 28 (1983–84): 68–69, who refers to KBo 22, 11, a fragment in which Muwatalli is mentioned in connection to a journey to the Land of Kummanni.

32. From all the extant proposals, I consider Sedat Alp’s localization at Kızıldağ as the most plausible; “Zur Lage der Stadt Tarhuntašša,” in O. Carruba, M. Giorgieri, C. Mora (eds.), *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia*, Pavia 1995, 1–11.

33. Singer, *Muwatalli's Prayer*, 176.

names.³⁴ A strategic consideration—recognition of the growing menace of the West—could also have played some role. Still, I feel that state-of-mind had more to do with Muwattalli's choice of location than calculated strategy. If I can once again draw on Akhenaton as an analogy, it would seem that determined leaders, who are resolute on breaking away from prevalent conditions, sometimes tend to choose new locations for their residences, rather than long-established centers.³⁵ The Babylonian king Nabonidus also chose a remote location, Taima in Arabia, to propagate his new religious beliefs.³⁶ The whole gist of a radical reform is to tread new roads, rather than simply substitute one power center for the other. The Lower Land never rose to a dominant position in Hittite history, and this could be part of its attraction for a reformer king.

Perhaps we will come closer to Muwatalli's mind once his new capital is discovered and excavated. In any case, Tarḫuntašša's role as the new capital of the Hittite Empire did not survive Muwattalli's reign, and already his son and successor Urḫi-Tešub moved the capital back to its traditional location. But unlike Akhetaten, Tarḫuntašša was not abandoned and forgotten. It kept its separate geopolitical status and competed with Ḫattuša over political supremacy, a competition that weakened the Hittite state and brought closer its end.³⁷

34. E. von Schuler, *Kaskäer* (1965), 55; F. Cornelius, *Geschichte der Hethiter* (1973), 223–24: Cornelius's assertion that Muwatalli identifies himself as a Luwian is based on a misreading of KUB 6, 45 iii 26, which actually has DUMU.LU.U₁₉.LU-*aš*. For Luwian *muwattalli*- "awe-inspiring, terrifying," see *CHD* 3/3, 316. See also F. Starke, *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens* (StBoT 31; 1990), 173.

35. See, e.g. W. I. Murnane, "The History of Ancient Egypt: An Overview," in Sasson, *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 705.

36. See, e.g., P.-A. Beaulieu, "King Nabonidus and the Neo-Babylonian Empire," in Sasson, *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 974ff.

37. See I. Singer, "Great Kings of Tarḫuntašša," *SMEA* 38 (1996): 63–71.

THE TOPONYMS TIWA AND TAWA

Within the broad spectrum of his interests, one of Professor Houwink ten Cate's favorite subjects of study has been the Hittite Royal Prayers. In a seminal article¹ he delineated the main characteristics and the basic spirit of this literary genre, tracing its development from the Early Hittite Empire² to the age of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa.³ More specifically, he dealt with two prayers of king Muwatalli, which are considered to be among the finest of their kind. Together with Folke Josephson he presented a full edition of CTH 382, centered on the Storm-god and the gods of Kummanni.⁴ In the same year he devoted a concise article to the redactional history of CTH 381, a prayer addressed to the Stormgod *piḫaššašši*.⁵ A few years later, as a young Hittitology student of Professor Otten in Marburg, I had the rewarding opportunity of first meeting Philo in Amsterdam. I enjoyed his renowned hospitality and discussed with him this exceptional prayer, one of the first texts to arouse my interest in Hittite religion and Anatolian historical geography.⁶ I dedicate these preliminary remarks on an intriguing geographical variant in CTH 381 to our continuing friendship and shared interest in the prayers of Muwatalli.

CTH 381 has come down to us in two main manuscripts (A = KUB VI 45+ and B = KUB VI 46) and a small fragment of a third copy (C = KUB XII 35) which is closer to A. As convincingly demonstrated by Professor Houwink ten

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1. "Hittite Royal Prayers," *Numen* 16 (1969) 81–98.

2. An apt term referring to the generations immediately preceding Šuppiluliuma I, that was introduced by Professor Houwink ten Cate in his paradigmatic monograph *The Records of the Early Hittite Empire* (c. 1450–1380 B.C.), Istanbul 1970.

3. Presently, there are no prayers conclusively attributed to the successors of Ḫattušili, although some fragments of prayers dedicated to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (such as KBo XII 58) may have been composed in the age of Tuthaliya IV. See R. Lebrun, *Hymnes* 422.

4. "Muwatallis' Prayer to the Storm-god of Kummanni (KBo XII)," *RHA* 25 (1968) 101–40.

5. "Muwatallis' 'Prayer to be Spoken in an Emergency,' An Essay in Textual Criticism," *JNES* 27 (1968) 204–8.

6. I studied the list of gods in this prayer in my M.A. thesis, the essence of which was published as "Hittites and Hattians in Anatolia at the Beginning of the Second Millennium B.C.," *JIES* 9 (1981) 119–34.

Cate, B is probably a dictated first draft, while A is a corrected and revised edition of the prayer.⁷ The editorial contribution of A consists of the correction of many errors, a few stylistic changes, and the translation of a Luwian gloss into Hittite.⁸ As often happens in such cases, the scribe, while correcting the flaws of the first draft, introduced a few errors of his own. In addition to these revisions of linguistic character, the scribe of A also introduced a major emendation in the general layout of the text; namely, he moved the long list of gods and their cult centers from the end of the text (after the bread offerings) to immediately after the invocation of the great gods of Ḫatti and the supplication to Šeri, the sacred bull of the Stormgod, to transmit truthfully the words of the prayer (B ii 2–iii 40 = A i 37–iii 3).

Except for spelling variants, differing division lines and the correction of a few errors,⁹ the list of deities is identical in both versions. There is one notable exception, however, which has received almost no attention in treatments of the list to date. In the second entry, immediately following the deities of Arinna, B ii 7 URUTiwa is replaced in A i 40 by URUŠa-mu-ḫa.¹⁰ The full section reads:

dU ḪI.ḪI dḪe-pát URUŠa-mu-ḫa (written over correction in B)
DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ} DINGIR.MUNUS^{MEŠ} ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ} ÍD^{MEŠ} ŠA URUTi-wa (A:
Ša-mu-ḫa)

Stormgod *piḫaššašši-* (ḪI.ḪI), Ḫebat of Šamuḫa, gods (and) goddesses, mountains (and) rivers of (the city) Tiwa (A: Šamuḫa)

Logically, A, the “revised edition,” should have the more accurate version, and the section should enumerate deities of Šamuḫa. However, the two names are entirely different, and this cannot be regarded merely as a correction of an error in B. Besides, the scribe of B also seems to have hesitated with the city of Ḫebat, finally deciding in favour of the more familiar Šamuḫa. Perhaps here too he originally wrote Tiwa and then corrected it to the more familiar Šamuḫa.

A look at the following entries may show that, in fact, the draft version B fits better the general context. The next section, following a division line, lists the divinities of the “Palace of the Grandfather” (É.GAL *ḫuḫḫaš*. And then we are

7. JNES 27 (1968) 208. I still cannot explain why -AT in ^dBE-E-LA-AT A-IA-(AK-)KI is in both versions inserted above the line (A i 44 = B ii 10). Did the scribe of A repeat the mistake of B, or was the text corrected in both versions after their completion? The second possibility would imply that the “revised edition” A was written immediately after the draft B.

8. B iv 53 :*ḫu-u-wa-ja-al-li* dUTU-i is replaced by *ku-ut-ru-i* dUTU-i, “witnessing Sungod.”

9. B ii 63 URUŠuwanzipa is corrected in A ii 23 to URUŠuwanzana. On the other hand, A repeats the erroneous form *La-u-wa-an-a'-ti-ja*, with A instead of ZA (A i 76 = B ii 41).

10. J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *Geogr.* 116, ignores the variant; Lebrun, *Hymnes* 259, notes the variant (correct *Té* into *Ti*) with no commentary. The place-name Tiwa is not recorded in G. F. del Monte, *RGTC* 6 and *RGTC* 6/2 (Supplement).

again confronted, after a division line, with the gods of Šamuḫa, only this time the two versions agree on the name of the city. This section does indeed include some prominent deities of the well-known cult center of Šamuḫa, such as Ištar of the Fields and Apara.¹¹

Unless we assume that the deities of Šamuḫa cover three consecutive entries divided by separation lines, including the middle section of the “Palace of the Grandfather,” we must conclude that the second section originally listed the deities of an otherwise unknown city of Tiwa. This seems to be a case where, as customary in biblical textual criticism, the *lectio difficilior* should be preferred. Why would the scribe of A change the name of this city into Šamuḫa? I suggest that this is due to the influence of Ḫebat of Šamuḫa mentioned at the beginning of the line. At any rate, I would not exclude the possibility that Tiwa, which had a cult of Ḫebat of Šamuḫa, was located in the region of Šamuḫa, and this may have increased the confusion. Šamuḫa rose to a very prominent position in the New Kingdom, and its local Ištar climbed to the zenith of the national pantheon, especially from the reign of Muṣili II on.¹²

Judging by its prominent position in the list, second only to Arinna, Tiwa must have been an important place, despite its anonymity. One could question the significance of order in the list, but it is unlikely that such a solemn appeal to all the gods of the kingdom would be compiled at random in both the draft and the revised version. Gurney observed that “the order in which the cities occur evidently depends partly on the status of the deities worshipped in them and partly on their geographical situation, and it is not easy in any given instance to determine which of these considerations has been decisive.”¹³

That the seat of the Sungoddess of Arinna should open the list is to be expected. In their clerical role the Hittite kings are first and foremost priests of this great goddess who provides legitimacy to their rule. It would be logical to assume that the second entry in the list, that of Tiwa, would be connected somehow to the person of the ruling king. This may be supported by the third entry in the list, the “Palace of the Grandfather,” which in this context can only refer to Šuppiluliuma, the great figure of the ruling dynasty. Next follow Šamuḫa and Katapa, with Ḫatti/Ḫattuša occupying a mere sixth place. This may already reflect the transfer of the political center of gravity to the south.

As indicated above, the place name Tiwa is hapax legomenon, although the names of several places begin with *Tiwa*:- Tiwaliya, Tiwalwaliya, Tiwanzana, Tiwara, Tiwataša.¹⁴ A connection may be suggested between Tiwa and another

11. For the deities of Šamuḫa, see R. Lebrun, *Samuḫa* 15ff.

12. Lebrun, *Samuḫa* 20; I. Wegner, AOAT 36, 160ff.

13. *Geogr.* 116.

14. *RGTC* 6, 431–32; *RGTC* 6/2, 171. The last name, and perhaps others as well, may be related to the name of the Luwian Sungod Tiwat. See E. Laroche, *NH* 283.

isolated name, which has recently turned up in the Bronze Tablet, iv 30: URU*Ta-a-wa*.¹⁵ This is the place where the treaty between Tuḫaliya and Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša was ratified, in the presence of the cream of Hittite aristocracy. Certainly, this must have been a prominent place, despite its absence from other documentation.¹⁶

Could Tiwa of the Muwatalli Prayer and Tawa of the Bronze Tablet be one and the same place? Phonetically there is hardly any obstacle; i/e/a alternations are quite widespread in Anatolian toponymy, in particular in the first syllable: Aštanuwa/Ištanuwa, Kaššiya/Kiššiya, Ka[š]kilušša/Kiškilušša, Liḫzina/Laḫzan, Šapiduwa/Šipiduwa, Tagarama/Tegarama, Zapišḫuna/Zipišḫuna, etc.¹⁷ Geographical evidence is lacking since we have no information on the location of either place.

Tiwa/Tawa, if indeed the equation is valid, did not have to be a large town, which would explain its absence from other texts. It could have been some sort of royal estate used for festive occasions. Tiwa is followed in the Muwatalli Prayer by the “Palace of the Grandfather,” and towards the end of the list we encounter the gods of the father, the grandfather, and the grandmother of His Majesty in connection with the “house/palace of (the city) Gazzimara.”¹⁸ This last entry is also a place which occurs in texts only in connection with its palace.¹⁹ Palaces of the Grandfather are also known to have existed in Šamuḫa²⁰ and in Katapa,²¹ two cities which appear in the list considered here as the fourth and the fifth entries, just before Ḫatti-Ḫattuša. The matter deserves more research,²² but it would seem that the underlying principle dictating the composition of the list, at least its beginning, is the location of leading royal edifices, some of them connected with the dynastic cult. Until further evidence on Tiwa/Tawa turns up we can say nothing on its whereabouts. That it was the venue of the ceremony of signing the treaty with Tarḫuntašša does not necessarily prove a location within the boundaries of that kingdom.²³ A prestigious locality associated with the

15. H. Otten, *StBoT* Beih. 1, 26–27.

16. *StBoT* Beih. 1, 53; a connection with Tawana/Tawiniya seems improbable.

17. See *RGTC* 6, 563.

18. In B iii 24–28 the deities of the ancestors are included within the entry of the “house of Gazzimara,” whereas in A ii 56–59 they are listed as four entries separated by division lines.

19. *RGTC* 6, 205.

20. KUB XII 5 iv 17–18: *INA* URUŠamuḫa É *ABI ABI* dUTUŠ; J. Danmanville, *RHA* 70 (1962) 51ff.

21. HT 2 i 2: É.GAL dUTUŠ; i 3: É.GAL *ḫuḫḫaš*. For further references to the Palace of the Grandfather, see A. Archi, *OA* 12 (1973) 211, n. 12, 222.

22. I intend to prepare a full edition of the text, with special emphasis on the list of deities and cult places.

23. There is not much direct evidence on the location where Hittite state treaties were signed. One documented case is the accord between Šuppiliuma and Niqmaddu of Ugarit which was signed at Alalah (PRU IV 50).

dynastic tradition would have served ideally the purpose of sanctioning this delicate political accord between two rival branches of the Hittite royal family.²⁴

24. For the feud between the royal houses of Ḫattuša and Tarḫuntašša and its consequences, see P. Neve, "Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 1986," *AA* 1987, 403–4; Otten, *StBoT Beih.* 1, 4–5; J. D. Hawkins (Wiesbaden, 1995), *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of Chamber 2 of the Sacred Pool Complex*, *StBoT Beih.* ("Südburg evidence for Šuppiluliuma II").

THE FATE OF ḪATTUŠA DURING THE PERIOD OF TARḪUNTAŠŠA'S SUPREMACY

At the beginning of the thirteenth century B.C.E., King Muwatalli II undertook the most ambitious internal political move in the history of the Hittite kingdom, which would fundamentally change its further development and its ultimate fate. In the wake of a comprehensive religious reform, which may perhaps be best compared to Akhenaton's reform in Egypt, he moved the imperial seat from the centuries-old capital of Ḫattuša to a previously unknown place in the Lower Land, Tarḫuntašša.¹ His reform, like Akhenaton's, was short-lived, for his son and successor Urḫi-Tešub/Muršili III moved the imperial seat back to Ḫattuša.² What happened in the old capital during this relatively short period of Tarḫuntašša's supremacy is somewhat enigmatic, for the relevant passages in Ḫattušili's texts are coincidentally all damaged to some extent. Nevertheless, their juxtaposition, combined with some historical considerations, may provide some tentative answers, or at least refute some unwarranted assumptions. I dedicate these tentative proposals to a good friend and revered colleague, who, like Ḫattušili, "brought up Nerik like a pebble out of deep water."³

CTH 81

In two passages of his *Autobiography* and in a parallel text (KBo 6.29) Ḫattušili lists the lands that his brother entrusted to him to govern:⁴

Reprinted from *Kulturgeschichte: Altorientalistische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*. (ed. T. Richter, D. Prechel, and J. Klinger; Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2001), 395–403.

The much-regretted Prof. O. R. Gurney and Prof. J. D. Hawkins have read an early version of this article and I have greatly profited from their remarks.

1. Singer, *Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm-God of Lightning* (CTH 381) (Atlanta 1996), 191ff.; idem. "From Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša: Some Thoughts on Muwatalli's Reign," in *Acts of the 2nd International Congress of Hittitology Çorum 1996* (ed. S. Alp and A. Süel; Ankara 1998), 535–41.

2. Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, "Urhi-Tessub revisited," *BiOr* 51 (1994): 234 n. 5 with refs.

3. KUB 21.19+ iii 14–15' ^{na}*aku*- is usually translated "seashell" (V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik* [StP 4; Rome 1970], 7; *CHD L–N*, 101 b), but since it is also used to describe roads the sense "stone, pebble" seems preferable.

4. These lands extended over large areas in north-central Anatolia, which were constantly threatened by the Kaška tribes. For their approximate localization, see, e.g., M. Forlanini, "L'Anatolia nordoccidentale nell'impero eteo," *SMEA* 18 (1977): 211ff.

In these countries he left me (behind), and these desolate countries he gave me to govern: the lands of Išḫupitta, Marišta, Ḫiššašḫapa, Katapa, Ḫanḫana, Daraḫna, Ḫattena, Durmitta, Pala, Tumanna, Gaššiya, Šappa, (and) the Ḫulana River Land. Horses and elite chariot fighters I commanded all. The lands of Ḫakpiš and Ištaḫara he gave me in vassalship and in Ḫakpiš he made me king (Hatt. ii 56–63)⁵

Because my [broth]er Muwatalli had [gi]ven [me the lands of ...] ta, Durmitta, Zip[lanta, Ḫat]tena, Ḫakpiš, Išt[aḫar]a [in vassalship], I resettled [... the(se) deso]late (lands) (Hatt. iii 32'–35')⁶

He made me priest of the Storm-god of Nerik in Ḫakpiš, and he gave me the lands of Ḫakpiš, Ištaḫara, Taraḫna, Ḫat[tina] and Ḫanḫana. He set Kuruštama as my border and I governed for him these lands (KBo 6.29 i 25–30)⁷

There are considerable differences in the composition of the three lists, but, significantly, Ḫattuša does not appear in any of them. It is inconceivable that the old capital was accidentally omitted by Ḫattušili. Rather, as he himself informs us in another text, Ḫattuša was put under the authority of the Chief Scribe Mittannamuwa (KBo 4.12 obv. 13–33):⁸

When my father became god, my brother Muwatalli sat himself in kingship, whereas I was Chief Bodyguard. As for Mittannamuwa, my brother Muwatalli favored him, promoted him, and gave him Ḫattuša. Also my favor towards him was patent. He took Purandamuwa son of Mittannamuwa and made him Chief Scribe. When my brother became god, I took my nephew Urḫi-Tešub and installed him in kingship. Mittannamuwa was already ill and other men seized for themselves the office of Chief Scribe. But even though Urḫi-Tešub was hostile toward me, I did not remain silent about the matter of Mittannamuwa and I spoke up for the sons of Mittannamuwa. As for the others, who seized for themselves the office of Chief Scribe, I did not extend it for them. I installed Walwaziti (UR.MAḪ-ziti) son of Mittannamuwa in the office of Chief Scribe.⁹ [And when] I became king, I [...]. [And the matter of (?) Mitt]annamuwa was in (my) heart. [... Mittanna]muwa(?) [...] not [...] away [...].

5. H. Otten, *Die Apologie Ḫattušilis III. – Das Bild der Überlieferung* (StBoT 24; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981), 14–15; Th. P. J. van den Hout, “Apology of Ḫattušili III,” in *The Context of Scripture*, Vol. I: *Canonical Compositions* (ed. W. W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 201.

6. H. Otten, *Die Apologie Ḫattušilis III.*, 18–19; Th. P. J. van den Hout, *COS*, 202.

7. A. Götze, *Ḫattušilis: Der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung nebst den Paralleltexen* (MVAeG 29/3; Leipzig, 1925), 46–47.

8. *Ibid.*, 42–43.

9. For the career of Walwaziti as Chief Scribe, see L. M. Mascheroni, “Scribi Hurriti a Boğazköy: Una verifica prosopografica,” *SMEA* 24 (1984): 160–61.

Unfortunately, the last lines of the column, which apparently describe the ultimate fate of Mittannamuwa, are irreparably broken. However, that which is preserved does not seem to imply that there was any change in the administration of Hattuša, and Mittannamuwa probably continued to exercise his duties as governor until the imperial seat was transferred back from Tarhuntašša. To be sure, Hattušili must have followed with great interest the developments in the old capital, which lay on the fringe of his own jurisdiction. He kept his close relations with Mittannamuwa and his sons and even intervened on their behalf when the influential post of Chief Scribe was given by Urhi-Tešub to someone else. But, to the best of my knowledge, there is not a single passage in which Hattušili or his wife unequivocally state that Hattuša was actually included within his jurisdiction or that he nominated someone else to govern the city in his name. Yet, this is often claimed on the basis of several fragmentary passages in texts of Hattušili and Puduḥepa.¹⁰

The first of these ambiguous passages appears in the *Autobiography* itself (Hatt. iii 36'–39'):

[ŠE(Š-YA) DINGIR^{LIM}-i(š ki-ša-at nu) (x-ša-an ku-it)]
 [t(a-pár-ḫa nu-mu-za-kán) (EN-an-ni)]
 [-a(n-ni-iš-ki-it am-mu-uq-qa ŠA Š)EŠ-Y(A)]
 [na-ak-ki-ya-an-ni(?) (ḫa-an-ta-aš Ū-UL ma-an-qa) i-ya-nu-u)n(?)]

Otten¹¹ renders the passage as following:

[Als aber] mein Bru[der Gott] geworden war, weil ich nun [Hatt]usa [] verwaltete, da mir/mich [] zur Herrschaft [...]te er. Ich aber [tat] in Anbetracht [der Wertschätzung] gegenüber meinem Bruder nichts (Böses).

Van den Hout's English translation¹² follows Otten's:

[When] my [bro]ther became [go]d—because I [co]mmanded [Hattu]sa and (because) he had [...] me in lordship, I di[d] not [do] anything (evil) out of regard for [the love] for [m]y br[other].

The passage, which is immediately followed by an account about the coronation of Urhi-Tešub (iii 40'ff.), is unfortunately too damaged to enable a safe restoration, especially since the size of the gaps cannot be established. Even assuming

10. See, e.g., Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, "Urhi-Tessub revisited," 233–34; T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford 1998), 253; H. Klengel, *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches* (HdO 1/34; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 209–10, 226.

11. H. Otten, *Die Apologie Hattušilis III.*, 20–21.

12. Th. P. J. van den Hout, *COS*, 202.

that the restoration of [Ḫattu]ša in l. 36' were correct,¹³ a negative sentence could just as well have stood in the original (with *Ú-UL* at the beginning of l. 37'). In any case, it is unwarranted to conclude from this damaged passage that Ḫattuša was included *de facto* in Ḫattušili's jurisdiction,¹⁴ especially since this squarely contradicts the recurring list of governed lands in the very same text.

CTH 383–384

The prayers of Ḫattušili (CTH 383) and Puduḫepa (CTH 384) to the Sun-goddess of Arinna contain a phrase referring to the cities of Ḫattuša and Katapa, which is included in a long description of Ḫattušili's dedication to Nerik. Unfortunately, it is only fragmentarily preserved in both prayers, but its gist may be restored with a fair degree of probability. Ḫattušili's prayer has the better preserved text (KUB 21.19+ iii 9'–11'):

m[a-a-a]n-mu ŠE[Š-Y]A mNIR.GAL-iš URUHa-at[-tu-ša-an ...] URUKa-a-ta-pa-an URU-an nam-ma-[y]a ta-ma-a-i¹⁵ [KUR.KUR^{HLA} pe-eš-ta] na-at-za U-UL me-ma-aḫ-ḫu-un ...

When my brother, Muwatalli, [gave] me Ḫat[tuša ...], the city of Katapa, as well as other [lands], I refused them.

Some have rendered this phrase as a rhetorical question; "... did I refuse them?"¹⁶ However, the statement concerning Ḫattuša and Katapa opens a long passage in which Ḫattušili emphasizes his unwavering commitment towards Nerik, and the acceptance of other cities in its stead would run contrary to the sense of the passage, indeed, of the whole prayer.

The parallel passage in Puduḫepa's prayer is even more damaged, but it opens with a hypothetical subjunctive ("irrealis") phrase which provides its sense (KUB 21.27+676/v i 26–32):

... URUNe-ri-iq-qa-an-ma-an URU[-an ap-pa-an-na]

13. This is by no means certain (cf. also H. Otten, *Die Apologie Ḫattušilis III.*, 21). From the sign preceding *-ša-an* (KUB 1.7 iii 6) only the uppermost part of a vertical wedge is preserved, which could also belong to other signs (e.g., [*Ha-ak-m/pi*]-*ša-an*).

14. H. Otten, *Die Apologie Ḫattušilis III.*, 21.

15. The traces of three superimposed horizontals are preserved, probably belonging to an *-i* (CHD L–N, 384b). Cf. Puduḫepa's prayer (i 28), below.

16. CHD L–N, 384b; M. Marazzi, "Inni e preghiere ittite. A proposito di un libro recente," *Studi e materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 49 (1983): 322. For affirmative renderings of this phrase, but without the sense of refusal, see A. Únal, *Ḫattušili III – Teil 1* (THeth 3; Heidelberg: Winter, 1974), 73, n. 127; R. Lebrun, *Hymnes et Prières Hittites* (Collana Homo Religiosus 4; Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980), 320; D. Sörenhagen, "Zwei Gebete Ḫattušilis und der Puduḫepa," *AoF* 8 (1981), 95.

Ú-UL tar-aḫ-ta nu-uš-ši a-pe-e-el Š[EŠ-ŠU]
 [ɾ]a-ma-i KUR.KUR^{H1A} [ma-ni-ya-ḫ]i-eš-ki-it [?]
 [URU]Ḫa-at-tu-ša-an-pát(?) -ši ša-ku-w[a-aš-ša-ri-it ZI-it(?)]
 [URU]Ka-a-ta-pa-an-na pe-eš-k[i-it]

Had he not succeeded [in capturing] the city of Nerik, his [brother would have handed¹⁷] him [over] other lands. He even(?) ga[ve] him Ḫattuša whole[heartedly(?)],¹⁸ as well as Katapa, [but he refused them(?).]

Clearly, what both prayers seek to emphasize is that Ḫattušili could have accepted more attractive offers from his brother, but he preferred to engage his body and soul for the sake of his beloved Nerik. An objection that could be raised against this interpretation is the fact that Katapa indeed appears in the list of lands included in Ḫattušili's jurisdiction (Hatt. ii 58). However, there is a clear distinction there between the long list of lands which he governed (*taparḫa*) in the name of his brother, and the lands which were placed under his direct rule (*İR-anni pešta*), namely Ištaḫara and Ḫakpiš, where he was crowned as king (LUGAL-*un iyat*). What the prayers seem to claim is that he could have had Katapa as the seat of his sub-kingdom, but he preferred to stay as close as possible to Nerik. As for Ḫattuša, the situation is less clear because of the break following the city's name in the Ḫattušili prayer, and due to the fragmentary and enigmatic *šakuwa*-[in the Puduḫepa prayer. In any case, whether Muwatalli indeed offered to his brother the governance of Ḫattuša and Katapa is of secondary importance, since Ḫattušili claims that he turned down the generous offer in order to keep his commitment toward Nerik.

In short, the prayers of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa to the Sun-goddess of Arinna do not suggest that Ḫattušili ruled over Ḫattuša during the shift of the capital to Tarḫuntašša. We may never know the truth behind the claims of Ḫattušili and his wife regarding Ḫattuša, but I assume that the last thing Muwatalli would have wanted at the time of the transfer of the capital to Tarḫuntašša would have been to leave behind a rival capital ruled by his own ambitious brother.¹⁹ He therefore entrusted the old capital into the hands of a loyal state official, who remained in charge until the transfer of the royal seat back to Ḫattuša.

17. For this restoration (differently A. Ünal, *Ḫattušili III – Teil I*, 73, n. 127 and D. Sürenhagen, "Zwei Gebete," 110) cf., e.g., KBo 6.29 i 24, 30 (A. Götz, *Ḫattušilis*, 46; CHD L–N, 166a).

18. Restoration suggested to me by O. Soysal and C. Melchert (written communication). An infinitive of the verb *šakuwai*- "look at, observe, supervise, safeguard" (see N. Oettinger, *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums* [Nürnberg, 1979], 394–95) would also be plausible, but the form seems to be unattested (CHD Š). A. Ünal, *Ḫattušili III*, Teil I, 73, n. 127 restores *šakuwa[ššaraš]*, "rechtmä[ssig??]."

19. F. Imparati, "Apology of Ḫattušili III or Designation of His Successor?," in *Studio Historiae Ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H.J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (ed. Th. P. J. van den Hout and J. de Roos; Istanbul, 1995), 149, n. 32 suggested that Muwatalli entrusted to Ḫattušili dangerous military missions on the northern frontier in order to distance him from the Hittite court.

CTH 85.2

A third text that is considered to be relevant to the fate of Ḫattuša during these turbulent times is KUB 21.37 (CTH 85.2).²⁰ This is a most interesting, though very damaged, text, described by Archi²¹ as a “decree promulgated by Ḫattušili for the population of Ḫattuša, presenting, for their information, the official interpretation of the events, and binding them by means of an oath to the new sovereign and his descendants.” In line 37’ of this single-column tablet, the reverse of which is uninscribed, we read: URUḪa]ttušan ḫumandan ANA mUlmi-Tešub[, “all of [Ḫa]ttuša to Ulmi-Tešub [. . .],” which has been completed by most commentators with a verb of giving, entrusting, or the like. That is, someone, whose name must have stood at the beginning of the line, entrusted “all of Ḫattuša” into the hands of Ulmi-Tešub, the later king of Tarḫuntašša. As for the identity of this generous donor, the opinions have shifted between Urḫi-Tešub (Meriggi, Imparati, Otten, Beckman) and Ḫattušili (Archi, Ünal, van den Hout, Sørenhagen). Both possibilities would bear far-reaching historical consequences, particularly for the debate over the relation between Ulmi-Tešub and Kurunta.²² The perplexity over the meaning of the passage increases three lines later (l. 40’), where the adoption of a son is mentioned.

I would like to put forward a different interpretation of this paragraph (ll. 37’–44’). Admittedly, it is quite precarious to attempt to fathom the sense of these poorly preserved lines, but an even more risky restoration has been followed for decades by most commentators, a restoration that bears far-reaching historical consequences. First, a general survey of this intriguing text is in order.

KUB 21.37 is a loyalty oath decreed by Ḫattušili to the “congregation of Ḫattuša,”²³ concluding with a divine list of witnesses. The closest parallel that

20. For treatments and discussions of this text, see P. Meriggi, “Über einige hethitische Fragmente historischen Inhalts,” *WZKM* 58 (1962): 66–68; A. Archi, “The Propaganda of Ḫattušilis III,” *SMEA* 14 (1971): 203–8; A. Ünal, *Ḫattušili III -Teil II* (THeth 4, Heidelberg 1974), 116–27; G. del Monte, “Le ‘Istruzioni Militari di Tuthalija’,” *SCO* 24 (1975): 130; H. Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV.* (StBoT Beiheft 1, Wiesbaden 1988), 7; G. Beckman, *WO* 20–21 (1989–1990): 290; D. Sørenhagen, “Untersuchungen zur Bronzetafel und weiteren Verträgen mit der Sekundogenitur in Tarḫuntašša,” *OLZ* 87 (1992): 367–68; Th. P. J. van den Hout, *Der Ulmi-tešub-Vertrag* (StBoT 38, Wiesbaden 1995), 194–95; M. Giorgieri and C. Mora, *Aspetti della regalità ittita nel XIII secolo a.C.* (Biblioteca di Athenaeum 32; Como 1996), 45–46.

21. A. Archi, “The Propaganda of Ḫattušilis III,” *SMEA* 14 (1971): 203.

22. For the debate between those who consider Ulmi-Tešub and Kurunta to be different persons and those (including myself) who consider Kurunta to be the throne-name of Ulmi-Tešub, see the bibls. cited in I. Singer, *BiOr* 54 (1997): 417 and S. de Martino, “Ura and the Boundaries of Tarḫuntašša,” *AoF* 26 (1999): 291.

23. LÚMES URUḪATTI pankuš (l. 40’). For the significance and the role of the Hittite *panku-*, see bibl. cited in *CHD* p. 92a and F. Starke, “Zur ‘Regierung’ des hethitischen Staates,” *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische Rechtsgeschichte* 2 (1996): 142.

comes to mind is the loyalty oath decreed by Šuppiluliuma II for the people of Ḫattuša, which is also witnessed by gods (ABoT 56 =CTH 256).²⁴

The beginning of the text is missing, but the edge of the tablet is only a few lines away. No sense can be gained from the meagre rests of the first paragraph (ll. 1'–6').

In the second, much better preserved, paragraph (ll. 7'–17') Ḫattušili makes the congregation²⁵ swear allegiance only to his descendants, but not to those of Urḫi-Tešub. He recalls the wrongs that had been done to him by Urḫi-Tešub and his followers (l. 15'), but that he had nevertheless sought no revenge upon his opponents. Rather, he seeks to reconcile his supporters with Urḫi-Tešub's (ll. 16'–17').²⁶

The third paragraph (ll. 18'–36') elaborates on the theme of the previous, specifying the ungrateful and treacherous behavior of Urḫi-Tešub. The latter's unkept promises are quoted *in extenso*, including the breaking of his oath before the Moon-god (l. 25'). Eventually, Ḫattušili rebelled and the gods pronounced their judgment (ll. 35'–36').

The fourth paragraph (ll. 37'–44'), in which only the ends of the lines are preserved, opens with a statement concerning Ulmi-Tešub. There is no indication of a retrospective, rather, the events seem to follow immediately after the downfall of Urḫi-Tešub described in the previous paragraph. The adoption mentioned in l. 40' (DJUMU-*an* DU-*nun*, lit.: "I made [...] a son") seems to refer to Ulmi-Tešub himself, as suggested by most commentators. The rest of the paragraph solicits the loyalty of the congregation toward this adopted son (ll. 43'–44'). In short, as I understand it, the entire paragraph deals with one and the same subject, Ulmi-Tešub.

The fifth paragraph (ll. 45'–49') contains a provision typical for Hittite state treaties, namely, the duty to report immediately to His Majesty any and all rumors that might circulate about him. The last paragraph (ll. 50'–58') reiterates the oath of loyalty toward the descendants of His Majesty and concludes with the list of divine witnesses.

Returning now to the fourth paragraph, the key expression is *Ḫa]ttušan ḫumandan*, "all of Ḫattuša," which has generally been taken to refer to the capital city, allegedly entrusted into the hands of Ulmi-Tešub. This rendering is no

24. See F. Imparati, "Una concessione di terre da parte di Tuthaliya IV," *RHA* 32 (1974): 161ff. (with refs.); G. del Monte, *SCQ* 24, 130 with n. 12; M. Giorgieri and C. Mora, *Aspetti della regalità*, 64–65.

25. Addressed with the vocative DUMU.NAM.ULŪ^{LU}-*za*, "populace" (Meriggi, "Hethitische Fragmente historischen Inhalts," 68). Note that Ḫattušili's *Autobiography* (i 6) is also addressed to a DUMU.NAM.ULŪ^{LU}-*aš*, translated by A. Götze, *Ḫattušilis*, 7 (also H. Otten, *Die Apologie Ḫattušilis III.*, 5) as "jedermann."

26. Cf. T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, 289.

longer tenable. As claimed long ago by various scholars,²⁷ and as recently reiterated by Starke,²⁸ *ḪATTI* is simply an “Akkadographic” writing of Hittite *Ḫattuša* and both refer to the “Land of *Ḫattuša*,” unless the city is specifically indicated. “All of *Ḫattuša*” can only refer to the Land of *Ḫattuša*²⁹ as evident from a comparison of our reference with the statement regarding *Urḫi-Tešub*’s coronation in the *Autobiography* of *Ḫattušili* (iii 41’–44’):³⁰

nu Urḫi-Tešupan DUMU EŠERTI / šara dahḫun n-an INA KUR URU[ḪA]TTI / EN-anni [teḫḫun URUḪattušan] ḫumandan / ŠU-i teḫḫun n-aš ANA KUR.KUR. MEŠ Ḫ[ATTI LUGAL.GAL] ešta

I took up *Urḫi-Tešub*, son of a concubine, and [I put] him into lordship over the Land of [*Ḫa*]ttuša and laid all of [*Ḫattuša*] in (his) hand, so that he was [Great King] over the lands of *Ḫ[attuša]*.

With this correction in mind it is now clear that, if we accept the restoration of a verb of giving at the beginning of KUB 21.37, 38’, it would follow that either *Urḫi-Tešub* or *Ḫattušili* entrusted the entire Land of *Ḫattuša* into the hands of *Ulmi-Tešub*! Such an eventuality, which can only signify the outright coronation of *Ulmi-Tešub* over the entire Hittite kingdom, is, to my mind, a historical absurdity. All the sources at our disposal are unanimous regarding the sequence of events: *Urḫi-Tešub* became king immediately after his father’s death, and *Ḫattušili* replaced him on the throne as a result of the civil war. There is simply no place for an alleged interregnum of *Ulmi-Tešub* over the Land of *Ḫattuša*, and the solution must lie in a different restoration of the verb at the beginning of l. 38’.

As indicated above, I think that the entire fourth section of KUB 21.37 (ll. 37’–44’) deals with *Ulmi-Tešub* (alias *Kurunta*³¹), and more specifically, with his coronation over the land of *Tarḫuntašša*. *Ḫattušili* is asking the congregation to respect this move and never to reclaim the rights that he had granted to his favored nephew. It would be preposterous to venture a full restoration of this mutilated passage, but a hypothetical reconstruction of its contents in more general terms may prove productive.

27. A. Götz, *Ḫattušilis*, 83; B. Landsberger, “Kommt *Hattum* ‘Hethiterland’ und *Hatti’um* ‘Hettiter’ in den Kultepe-Tafeln vor?,” *ArOr* 18/1–2 (1950), 340, n. 59; H. G. Güterbock, “The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma as Told by His Son, *Muršili II*,” *JCS* 10 (1956), 98.

28. Starke 1996: 153 with n. 54.

29. As hesitantly suggested by D. Sürenhagen, *OLZ* 87, 368, n. 119; however, in the text itself he renders “all of *Ḫattuša*” as referring to the capital city only.

30. H. Otten, *Die Apologie Ḫattušilis III.*, 20.

31. The end of the line, including the name of *Ulmi-Tešub*, is written over an erasure; I wonder whether the scribe initially wrote the throne name, *Kurunta*.

The passage opens with Hattušili's declaration that he made all the [Land of Ha]ttuša swear allegiance to Ulmi-Tešub. A suitable verb taking Hattuša as the direct object and Ulmi-Tešub as the indirect one could be *šer linganu-* "to make someone swear or take an oath" (*CHD*, L–N: 69ff.). "[... I made] all [the Land of Ha]ttuša [swear allegiance] to Ulmi-Tešub" is comparable to a recurring phrase in state treaties and historical texts describing how His Majesty imposed upon (the population of) a land a loyalty oath to its newly nominated ruler.³² The difference is that the congregation of Hattuša is sworn here not only to the king of Hattuša and his descendants, but also to the new king of Tarḫuntašša, Hattušili's protégé. The reason is obvious. Since Tarḫuntašša was a recently formed geo-political unit, Hattušili needed the confirmation and support of the Hittite leadership to maintain its existence as a sub-kingdom and to coronate a son of Muwatalli as its king. In fact, this loyalty oath can now be recognized as involving all of Hattušili's sons, both natural and adopted.³³

In the following three lines (38'–40') Hattušili apparently justifies his choice of Ulmi-Tešub. I take *apašila-pát* (l. 38'), "he himself, on his own"³⁴ to refer to Ulmi-Tešub, perhaps in connection with his support of his uncle during the civil war. *GIŠTUKUL(?) -it tarḫun* in the next line could indeed refer to Hattušili's victory over Urḫi-Tešub, as suggested by most commentators. The adoption [of Ulmi-Tešub] in l. 40' can now be equated with Hattušili's raising of Kurunta, as reported in the Bronze Tablet.³⁵ The congregation of Hattuša (*LÚMEŠ URUḪATTI pankuš*) is now asked to support/stand behind ([*appan?*] *tiyatten*) Ulmi-Tešub, who in the next line is probably installed in kingship (*LUGAL-iznani* / *LUGAL-utti tit[anunun]*)³⁶ [in Tarḫuntašša].

Finally, the congregation is apparently demanded to respect some rights granted to Ulmi-Tešub, but I am not sure what these might be:³⁷ "[...] you should not [take?] it/them back from him [...], you should not carry it back from him" (ll. 43'–44').

It should be emphasized that this is merely a tentative reconstruction of the paragraph and various improvements are possible. However, I believe that it

32. E.g.: "I made the land of Karkamiš/Halab swear allegiance to him" (AM 124–25; cf. *CHD* L–N, 70, with further exx.).

33. Cf. KUB 26.18 obv. 9ff. (CTH 275), where Kurunta is listed together with Nerikkaili and Ḫuzziya as the "offspring" (NUMUN) of Hattušili.

34. Cf. Madd. rev. 44, 48; A. Gotze, *Madduwattas*, 31: "von sich aus."

35. "Previously King Muwatalli had entrusted him (Kurunta) to my father, Hattušili, to raise, and my father had indeed previously raised him" (i 12–13; H. Otten, *Bronzetafel*, 10–11; G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Atlanta 1996, 108–9).

36. Meriggi, "Hethitische Fragmente historischen Inhalts," 67, followed by most commentators, restored here the deposition ([*arḫa tit[anunun]*) of Urḫi-Tešub from the throne.

37. Perhaps "the kingship" (Meriggi, *ibid.*), "the borders of Tarḫuntašša," or "the treaty tablets" (as in 544ff. obv. 12'; G. Beckman, *W0* 20–21, 291).

better conforms with the known historical facts than the standard interpretation, which introduces a totally unwarranted and implausible interlude of Ulmi-Tešub in Ḫattuša.

The consequences deriving from my proposals, which also bear upon other thorny problems relating to the reconstruction of this turbulent period in Hittite history, may be summarized as follows:

1. The fate of Ḫattuša during the short interval of Tarḫuntašša's supremacy appears to have been simpler and more linear than envisaged on the basis of the current restorations of the fragmentary passages dealt with in this article. Mittannamuwa, a non-royal official, oversaw the city until Urḫi-Tešub's restoration of Ḫattuša as the capital. It would indeed seem strange if Muwatalli, on the verge of his radical reform, would risk leaving the old capital in the hands of his ambitious brother. This does not mean, of course, that Ḫattušili did not seek to increase his influence in Ḫattuša by nurturing his relationship with Mittannamuwa and his sons. It would appear even stranger if either Urḫi-Tešub or Ḫattušili, both of whom ruled from Ḫattuša as soon as they could, would have entrusted the city to Ulmi-Tešub/Kurunta, whose claims for the throne of Ḫattuša was stronger than their own.

2. With the elimination of Ulmi-Tešub's alleged administration of Ḫattuša, he is no longer attested as a mature man at the time of Urḫi-Tešub's coronation. This opens the way to render the term DUMU *huihu(i)ššuwali-* recurring in texts of Ḫattušili as "adult/grown-up son," and to relate the following passages to Ulmi-Tešub/Kurunta:

Therefore, since my brother did not have a grown-up son [of his wife(?)], I took up Urḫi-Tešub, the son of a secondary wife, and I put him into lordship over the Land of Ḫattuša (Hatt. iii 40'–43').³⁸

When my brother died, and since my brother did not yet have a grown-up son of his wife, out of regard for my brother I took up Ur[ḫi-Tešub, the son of a secondary wife], and I put him in kingship on [the throne of his father] (KUB 21.15 + 760/v i 5'–10' (with dupl. KBo 6.29 i 33–38).

As I suggest in another article,³⁹ Ulmi-Tešub/Kurunta was a first-rank son of Muwatalli and Danuḫepa who was still not of age to rule over Ḫattuša when his father died. There might have been additional reasons why Urḫi-Tešub, the son of a secondary wife, became king.

38. Restored from two duplicates of the Autobiography: 1194/v + KUB 19.68 iii 1' + 922/v iii 9' (CTH 81.E); KUB 9.64 i 11–12 (CTH 1.F). See H. Otten, *Die Apologie Ḫattušilis III.*, 20–21; S. Košak, "Ein hethitisches ghost word entgeistert," *AoF* 23 (1996), 97.

39. "Danuḫepa and Kurunta," in *Gedenkschrift Imparati*.

3. According to several texts, most clearly in the Bronze Tablet, the coronation of Kurunta as king in Tarḫuntašša followed very soon after Ḫattušili's seizure of the throne: "When my father removed Urḫi-Tešub from the kingship, thereupon my father took Kurunta and made him king in the Land of Tarḫuntašša" (i 14–15).⁴⁰ The first document recording the investiture of Kurunta and his declaration of loyalty to Ḫattušili is probably 544/f (CTH 96), ratified with his princely seal.⁴¹ I suggest that KUB 21.37 is the contemporary document in which Ḫattušili declares his intention to install Ulmi-Tešub/Kurunta on the throne of Tarḫuntašša and demands the loyalty of the congregation of Ḫattuša both to his direct descendants and to his adoptive son.⁴²

40. H. Otten, *Bronzetafel* 10–11.

41. H. G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy II* (AfO Beiheft 7; Berlin, 1942), 10–11, 82, Text 1; H. Otten, *Bronzetafel*, 5, Abb. 2; cf. G. Beckman, *WO* 20–21, 290–91.

42. As noted by P. Meriggi, "Hethitische Fragmente historischen Inhalts," 67, this proclamation for the legitimation of an irregular royal succession is not unlike the Testament of Ḫattušili I.

DANUḪEPA AND KURUNTA

Prof. Fiorella Imparati, a dear friend and colleague, was a leading expert on Hittite prosopography. With unparalleled skill she wove together the various fragmentary threads of information, bringing to life many a Hittite nobleman, cult functionary, or administrator. Reconstructing the biography of an ancient personage may be both exciting and frustrating. The source material is notoriously fragmentary, and some Hittite texts, especially those dealing with court scandals, often conceal the identity of key figures behind cryptic identifications, familiar to the ancients but elusive to us. A lot of creativity is needed to fill in the large gaps in the plot, and one often has the feeling of walking a tight rope between cautious reconstruction and wild imagination. Sometimes, new evidence conclusively proves or disproves a certain biographical reconstruction, but more often its force will remain hinged upon its plausibility.¹

The elusive figure of Queen DanuḪepa has often been discussed over the last sixty years, but still her basic profile remains quite fluid.² In his first comprehensive collection of textual and glyptic data H. G. Güterbock (1940: 11–16, 60) identified her as Muwatalli II's wife, who was deposed by him in the wake of a court trial, but was later rehabilitated by Urḫi-Tešub as the acting queen (*tawannanna*). Some confusion arose when it was discovered that Urḫi-Tešub also bore the throne name Muršili, like his grandfather (Güterbock 1956; Otten 1993: 27). Both kings employed the same hieroglyphs when writing their name on seals, but E. Laroche (1956: 106) observed some minor differences between the seals of Muršili II and Muršili III/Urḫi-Tešub, which were then developed by Th. Beran (1967: 74–75) into an integral classification of the Muršili seals. Since the Muršili seals shared with DanuḪepa seemed to fall into both categories, she was henceforth considered to be the last wife of Muršili II, who survived him and served as *tawannanna* during the reigns of Muwatalli II and Urḫi-Tešub.

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1. The regretted Prof. O. R. Gurney and Prof. J. D. Hawkins have read an early version of this article and I have greatly profited from their remarks.

2. For a recent discussion of the textual and glyptic evidence on DanuḪepa, with references to earlier studies, see van den Hout 1998: 44–53.

Although this was but one of the three theoretical options proposed by Laroche (1956: 105), most scholars have embraced it, and Danuḫepa's marriage to Muršili II has become a rarely questioned common opinion in Hittitology.³

First doubts concerning the validity of this scenario were raised by Th. van den Hout (1998: 47ff.), who pointed out that the criteria for distinguishing between the seals of Muršili II and Muršili III are no longer reliable. But, as often happens, the existing paradigm persists, even though its original grounds are no longer valid. Van den Hout himself has found a possible hint for Danuḫepa having been the last wife of Muršili II in a vow text (KUB 15.5+ i 7–17) in which Danuḫepa and a (step-)grandmother, allegedly Urḫi-Tešub's, appear in two consecutive dreams (1998: 48–49). He admits, however, that “this remains conjectural.” It seems to me that until some binding evidence to the contrary turns up, it is safer to return to the simple scenario formulated by Güterbock some sixty years ago, namely, that Danuḫepa first enters the Hittite courtlife as the wife of Muwatalli II. This position is now maintained by P. Neve in his preliminary reports on the royal seals from Nišantepe, where he attributes all the seals on which Danuḫepa appears together with a Muršili to Urḫi-Tešub/Muršili III (1992: 54; cf. also Börker-Klähn 1996: 49).

Except for her seals, we have no other data on Danuḫepa from texts dated to her husband Muwatalli. Our information comes from later kings, a fact that calls for caution. The most explicit reference to her trial and downfall is found in the prayer of Ḫattušili to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, in which he excuses himself from any responsibility for alleged sins committed by his predecessors.⁴ The relevant passage (i 16'–ii 22) is augmented by an important join, 1193/u, which has occasionally been referred to in the past,⁵ but was never fully published. I use this occasion to provide a transliteration and translation of the augmented passages (along with their context) in iii 33'–45' and in ii 1–12, which will be discussed subsequently.⁶ I wish to thank Prof. Heinrich Otten for his kind permission to utilize this join also in my forthcoming volume of *Hittite Prayers* in translation.

Rev. iii

30' *am-mu-uk-ma ŠA EN-YA TUKU.TUKU-an*

3. See, e.g., Houwink ten Cate 1994: 239 (with previous bibliography); Bryce 1998: 264; Klengel 1999: 208. One of the few dissenting opinions was Bin-nun's (1975: 277), who categorically stated that “she [Danuḫepa] was certainly not Muršili's wife.”

4. CTH 383: KUB 21.19 + 1193/u (+) KUB 14.7+ 1303/u (+) Bo 4222 + 338/v. The text or parts of it have often been dealt with, a.o.: Haas 1970: passim; Archi 1971: 190ff.; Ünal 1974: passim; Lebrun 1980: 309–28; Sørensen 1981: 88–108; Marazzi 1983: 331–40 (with joinsketch); Houwink ten Cate 1987: 21–22; Güterbock 1988.

5. Marazzi 1983: 386; *CHD*, L–N: 272; *HED*, A: 19. Lebrun (1980) and Sørensen (1981) were apparently unaware of the existence of this join.

6. The hymnic introduction in obv. i has the following ends of lines: (1) URU^UḪatti (nothing in ll. 2–4); (5) *ku-iš ta-pa-ar-ti*; (6) GAŠAN-YA; (7) *an-da a-ut-ti*; (8) PUTU URUTÚL-na. Rev. iv is not preserved on 1193/u.

- 31' ŠA LÚ^{MEŠ} TAP-PÍ-YA-ia kur-ku-[li-im-m]a-an Ú-UL iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-un
 32' nu-za-kán ki-i x-x[-(-x)-x] ta-ma-aš-šu-un
 33' ki-i-ma-za-kán x[-x(-x)]-x ta-ma-aš-šu-un nu kiš-an me-ma-aḫ-ḫu-un
 34' ku-it-ma-an-wa URU^{Ne-ri-ik}-qa-an da-me-e-da-ni pí-iḫ-ḫi
 35' nu-wa A-NA URU^{Ne-ri-ik} še-er ag-gal-lu-pát nu-za am-mu-uk
 36' DUMU A-MI-LU-UT-TI e-šu-un nu-kán ŠA DUMU A-MI-LU-UT-TI
 37' NÍG.TUKU-TI an-da Ú-UL da-ri-ia-nu-un nu-za <NÍG.>TUKU-an
 38' Ú-UL ša-an-ḫu-[u]n nu-kán tu-el ŠA DINGIR^{LIM} A-NA KUR^{TI}
 39' ŠA DUMU-KA še-er [x(-x)-u]n nu am-mu-uk GIM-an DUMU A-MI-
 LU-UT-TI
 40' a-pa-a-at i-ya-n[u-un] nu ŠA DU^{URU}Ne-ri-ik DUMU-KA
 41' a-aš-ši-ya-an AŠ-RU^{URU}Ne-ri-ik-qa-an URU-an e-ep-pu-un
 42' DU^{TU} URU^{TÚL}-na-ma GAŠAN-YA <GAŠAN>KUR.KUR^{ḪA} URU^{ḪA}-
 AT-TI DU^{URU}ḪAT-TI EN-YA
 43' A-NA INIM DU^{URU}Ne-ri-ik DUMU-KA a-aš-ši-ia-an-ti še-er
 44' ku-u-un me-mi-an i-ya-at-ten ma-a-an DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš pí-ra-an ku-iš-ki
 45' at-ta-aš-ma-aš an-na-aš-ma-aš wa-aš-ta-is e-eš-zi

Rev. iv

- 1 na-aš-ma-aš ma-a-an ka-ru-ú-i-l[i-aš ...]
 2 wa-aš-ta-iš na-an DINGIR^{LIM} GAŠAN-YA ša-an-a[ḫ-ti]
 3 nu DINGIR^{LIM} GAŠAN-YA a-pa-a-at wa-aš-túl A-NA DU^{URU}Ne-r[i-ik
 DUMU-KA]
 4 a-aš-ši-an-ti še-er ar-ḫa pé-eš-ši-ia

(iii 30'–31') I listened neither to my lord's anger nor to the intimidation of my associates. (32'–33') I repressed this [...] and I repressed this [...], and I said as follows: (34'–35') “Before I give Nerik to another let me rather die for Nerik!” (35'–38') I was but a human, but I did not toil for human wealth. I did not seek wealth(!).⁷ (38'–39') Rather, I [...] ⁸ the land of yours, O Goddess, for the sake of your son. (39'–41') And as [I], a human, did it, (namely,) I took the beloved place of the Storm-god of Nerik, your son, the city of Nerik, (42'–44') O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, <mistress> of the lands of Ḫattuša, O Storm-god of Ḫattuša, my lord, do this thing for the sake of the matter of the Storm-god of Nerik, your beloved son! (44'–45') If before the gods there is some sin of my father and my mother, (iv 1–4) or if it is

7. Assuming the omission of NÍG before TUKU.

8. There seems to be space for only one sign, two at the most. *e-ep-pu-un*, “I took” (cf. l. 41') does not fit, unless spelled [DIB-*u*]n.

[some(?)] ancient sin,⁹ and you goddess, my lady, pursue it, repress that sin
O Goddess, my lady, for the sake of the Storm-god of Nerik, your beloved
[son]...

Obv. i

- 16' *ma-a-an-ma-kán ú-it ŠA É.LUGAL DI-NU ŠA fDa-n[u-hé-pa]*
 17' *ŠA SAL.AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}-KA ki-ša-at fDa-nu-hé-pa-an G[IM-an te-
 ep-nu-ut nu]*
 18' *QA-DU DUMU^{MEŠ}-ŠU UKÙ^{MEŠ}-tar-ra hu-u-ma-an BE-LU^{MEŠ}-[ya]*
 19' *EGIR-iz-zi-uš-ša UKÙ^{MEŠ}-tar ku-wa-pi har-ak-ta*
 20' *ŠA fDa-nu-hé-pa-ma har-ga-aš A-NA DUTU URUTÚL-na [GAŠAN-YA]*
 21' *ma-a-an ZI-an-[z]a e-eš-ta*

Obv. ii

- 1 *ma-a-an-ši-ia-aš Ú-UL ZI-an-za e-eš-ta*
 2 *nu-kán a-pád-da-ia A-NA ZI DINGIR^{LIM} GAŠAN-YA an-da*
 3 *Ú-UL ku-iš-ki ša-ak-ta am-mu-uk-ma-za-kán*
 4 *a-pe-e-da-ni ŠA fDa-nu-hé-pa DUMU-ŠU*
 5 *har-ga-na-aš me-mi-ni an-da Ú-UL e-šu-un*
 6 *še-er-ši im-ma ha-an-ne-iš-ki-nu-un*
 7 *ge-en-zu-ya-aš-mu e-eš-ta am-me-el-ma KAXUD-aš*
 8 *me-mi-ia-ni-it ta-pa-ri-ia-az Ú-UL*
 9 *ku-iš-ki har-ak-ta a-pa-at-ma HUL-lu ut-tar*
 10 *i-ia-at ku-iš nu-kán ma-a-an DUTU URU A-ri-in-na GAŠAN-YA*
 11 *A-NA INIM fDa-nu-hé-pa še-er TUKU.TUKU-iš-ta ku-it-ki*
 12 *nu a-pa-a-at-ta-ia ut-tar ŠA fDa-nu-hé-pa i-ya-a[t k]u-iš*
 13 *nu-za a-pa-a-ša DINGIR^{LIM}-iš ka-ru-ú ki-ša-at*
 14 *na-aš-kán KASKAL-az ar-ḥa ti-ya-at*
 15 *na-at IŠ-TU SAG.D[U-Š]U ka-ru-ú pa-ra-a šar-ni-ik-ta*
 16 *nu DUTU URU A-ri-in-na GAŠAN-YA ŠA fDa-nu-hé-pa ut-tar*
 17 *am-me-el U₄^{H^LA}-aš am-mu-uk A-NA KUR URU HA-AT-TI-ia*
 18 *me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da EGIR-pa le-e [ḥ]u-it-ti-at-[ti]*
 19 *a-pé-e-ni-iš-šu-wa-an ut-tar am-mu-uk [me-n]a-aḥ-ḥ[a-an-da]*
 20 *am-me-el U₄^{H^LA}-aš EGIR-pa hu-it-ti-ya-u-wa-an-z[i]*
 21 *Ú-UL a-ra-a-an ŠA fDa-nu-hé-pa-ma ut-tar [ku-iš]*
 22 *pa-ra-a i-ya-at ka-ru-ú a-pa-a-aš-pát šar-ni-ik-l[a]*

9. So with Otten 1958: 118. Sürenhagen 1981: 96 restores “sin of ancient [kings].”

(i 16'–21') When it came to pass that the trial of DanuḪepa, your priestess, took place in the palace, [how he curtailed the power of] DanuḪepa until she was ruined together with her children and all her men, lords and subordinates, that which was inside the soul of the goddess, my lady, nobody knew, namely, whether the ruination of DanuḪepa was the wish of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, [my lady], (ii 1–5) or whether it was not her wish, In any case, I was not involved in that matter of the ruination of DanuḪepa's son, (ii 6–9) On the contrary, when I passed judgement over him, he was dear to me.¹⁰ Nobody was destroyed by the order of the word of my mouth. (ii 9–15) The one who did that evil thing—if somehow the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, became angry over the matter of DanuḪepa—that one who did that matter of DanuḪepa has already become a god. He stepped down from the road and paid for it with his head, (ii 16–22) O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! Do not drag up again the matter of DanuḪepa against me and the land of Ḫattuša during my days! To drag up again such a thing against me during my days is not right. The one who has carried out the matter of DanuḪepa, that one has already paid for it himself.

Although Ḫattušili tactfully omits the name of the person responsible for the downfall of DanuḪepa and her entire retinue, the relative position of this affair in the prayer—between the transfer of the capital to Tarḫuntašša (i 1'–15') and the death of Muwatalli (ii 23)—leaves no doubt that it took place during the reign of the latter. That the unnamed son of DanuḪepa must have shared the fate of his mother has always been suspected,¹¹ but the new join confirms it, and, more importantly, it adds new insight into Ḫattušili's position in the affair. He stresses that he was not in any way involved in the downfall of DanuḪepa's son, on the contrary, he showed mercy towards him. Who was this mysterious son of DanuḪepa? According to the current view of DanuḪepa's biography, he was a son from her marriage with Muṣili II, a rival candidate to the throne who was pushed aside in order to ensure Urḫi-Tešub's succession (Houwink ten Cate 1994: 240, 243; van den Hout 1998: 50). But if, as suggested above, DanuḪepa was Muwatalli's wife, her unnamed son must have been a first rank son of Muwatalli, who was expelled from the palace together with his mother.

Before we suggest an obvious candidate for the identity of this unnamed son of DanuḪepa, it is necessary to tackle another deeply rooted view in Hittitology,

10. Lit.: “he was on my lap,” taking *genzuja* as a dat.-loc. sg. of *genzu*-, “(lower) abdomen, lap” (HED, K: 154),

11. Güterbock 1940: 13; Sørensen 1981: 92–93; Houwink ten Cate 1994: 240, with n. 16; van den Hout 1998: 50.

namely, that Muwatalli did not have any sons of first rank.¹² This view is based first of all on circumstantial evidence, namely, the fact that the son of a secondary wife, Urḫi-Tešub, inherited Muwatalli's throne. An alleged support for this conclusion was provided by Ḫattušili's explicit statement concerning the circumstances of Urḫi-Tešub's coronation. However, the rendering of this statement in the *Autobiography* of Ḫattušili and in a related text is in serious need of revision after the discovery of a small but important join by S. Košak (1996).

Hatt. iii 40'–43':¹³ Therefore, since my brother did not have a *ḫuiḫu(i)ššuwali*-son [of his wife(?)], I took up Urḫi-Tešub, the son of a secondary wife, and I put him into lordship over the Ḫatti Land.

KUB 21.15 + 760/v i 5'–10' (with dupl. KBo 6.29 i 33–38): When my brother died, and since my brother did not yet have a *ḫuiḫu(i)ššuwali*-son of his wife, out of regard for my brother I took up Urḫi-Tešub, the son of a secondary wife], and I put him in kingship on [the throne of his father].

The new join has eliminated the ghost word **šaḫuiḫu(i)ššuwali*-, which was generally rendered as “legitimate,” and we are now faced with a reduplicated adjective which must be analyzed as *ḫui-ḫu(i)ššuwali*- (Košak 1996: 96). From the four attested occurrences of this word (in two texts of Ḫattušili) it appears that the qualifier “of his wife” (*ŠA DAM-ŠU*) is not an indispensable element of the expression. As for its meaning, the traditional translation “legitimate” may be disregarded, because it would be redundant to append it to the son of a principal wife. Košak (1996: 97) suggested “own” (“*leiblich*”), but A. Götze's “adult” (“*grossjährig*”, *Hatt.*: 47, 109) seems to make more sense, especially in combination with *nawi*, “not yet.” What the passage seems to imply is that when Muwatalli died he must have had at least one son of his principal wife, but this son was not yet old enough or capable of ruling. Ḫattušili's emphatic statement must refer either to Danuḫepa's son, or to another son, born from a second marriage of Muwatalli after the expulsion of Danuḫepa and her son from the palace.¹⁴ Only under these special circumstances did Ḫattušili offer the crown to Urḫi-Tešub, the son of a secondary wife. Actually, we now know that Ḫattušili gives himself too much credit for this coronation, since Urḫi-Tešub appears on the seals from Nišantepe as the officially nominated successor to the throne (see below).

12. E.g., Houwink ten Cate 1994: 233, 243; Imparati 1995: 148; van den Hout 1997: 1109; 1998: 47–48.

13. Restored from two duplicates of the *Autobiography*: 1194/v + KUB 19.68 iii 1' + 922/v iii 9' (CTH 81.E); KUB 9.64 i 11f. (CTH 81.F). See Otten 1981: 20–21; Košak 1996: 97.

14. If so, this hypothetical second wife might have effected her queenship already in the new capital Tarḫuntaša, which would explain her absence from the seals of Muwatalli.

Besides its lexicographical contribution, the new join has removed the last support for the generally held view according to which Muwatalli did not sire any sons of first rank. Perhaps we were too much influenced by the denigrating characterization of Urḫi-Tešub in the texts of Ḫattušili and his followers. But, in fact, none of these texts ever describes in similar terms Muwatalli's other son, Kurunta. As far as I can see, he is never defined as a "son of second rank" (LU *pahḫurzi*-) or the son of a "secondary wife" (SAL *EŠERTU*), although reasons and occasions to belittle his dynastic rights were certainly not lacking. This fact is in itself quite noteworthy, and it gains in significance when we recall the remarkable statement in the Bronze Tablet according to which Muwatalli entrusted Ḫattušili with the upbringing of Kurunta (Bo 86/299 i 12–13; Otten 1988: 10). Now, why would a king send away his own first rank son from the palace to the distant provincial capital of his brother? I would like to offer a general explanation that may clarify at once these strange happenings at the court of Muwatalli. The new seal impressions from Nişantepe provide some crucial hints for the reconstruction of the picture.¹⁵

No doubt one of the most surprising results emerging from the classification of the Nişantepe hoard is the massive presence of Urḫi-Tešub, whose name appears on nearly 600 bullae (Neve 1992: 54; Houwink ten Cate 1994: 235). It is now clear that, contrary to the impression left by Ḫattušili's reports, Urḫi-Tešub was not an obscure bastard discovered in Muwatalli's harem, but rather the officially nominated successor to the throne.¹⁶ On one of his seals J. D. Hawkins (2001) has recently managed to read the cuneiform legend *tuhkanti*. On the basis of the glyptic evidence alone one would even be tempted to follow P. Neve (1992: 54) in considering Danuḥepa to be simply Urḫi-Tešub's mother, in square contradiction to Ḫattušili's testimony. However, the author of the intriguing text KUB 31.66+, most probably Urḫi-Tešub, declares himself reluctant to take sides in the conflict between his father and Danuḥepa (iii 5, 15).¹⁷ This designation would be most unusual if Danuḥepa were indeed Urḫi-Tešub's mother (Houwink ten Cate 1994: 241). Therefore, it seems better to accept in this case Ḫattušili's testimony about Urḫi-Tešub's mother at face value.

Why did Muwatalli appoint as his successor the son of a secondary wife? Perhaps at the time of Urḫi-Tešub's appointment as *tuhkanti* Danuḥepa had yet not borne a son, or if she had, he was not of age to fulfill this high position. This latter possibility could be exactly what the expression "not yet *ḫuiḫuiššuwali*–"

15. For preliminary reports on the Nişantepe glyptic archive, see Neve 1992: 49ff.; Otten 1993: 7–9; 1995: 5–7; Hawkins 1998: 76ff.

16. Houwink ten Cate (1994: 242) has already concluded (on the basis of KUB 21.33) that "already before his accession Urḫi-Tešub played a political role of some importance during the final phases of his father's reign."

17. KUB 31.66+ iii 4'–21'; Güterbock 1940: 14–15, 60; Houwink ten Cate 1974: 132; 1994: 241; van den Hout 1998: 51.

means in the texts of Ḫattušili quoted above. To be sure, there could be other explanations as well, perhaps connected to palace intrigues unknown to us. There are countless similar situations, indeed, a short while later, when Tuḫaliya overtook his older brother in the race for the throne of Ḫatti, no doubt thanks to the machinations of his influential mother, Puduḫepa (Imparati 1995: 151ff.).

For reasons unknown to us, at some point in Muwatalli's reign Danuḫepa lost grace in the eyes of her husband. He conducted a lawsuit against her and expelled her from the palace together with her children and her entire retinue. She must have been a very important personage,¹⁸ for the next kings of Ḫattuša went out of their way to distance themselves from any responsibility for her mistreatment.¹⁹ The unnamed son of Danuḫepa and Muwatalli, as was often the case in such family scandals,²⁰ probably shared the fate of his mother and was sent away from the palace. But, as a royal offspring of first rank, he was spared a grim fate. Ḫattušili himself stresses in his prayer that he treated the boy with compassion and was in no way involved in his downfall. Could this unnamed royal prince be no other than Kurunta who was entrusted by Muwatalli to Ḫattušili? If indeed Danuḫepa and Kurunta were mother and son, Muwatalli's rather unusual fatherly decision to send away his own son from the palace would become somewhat more comprehensible.

Is there any additional support to our tentative suggestion that Kurunta was Danuḫepa's son?²¹ I am not aware of any evidence explicitly associating the two, but reference can be made to two oracle texts in which Kur(unta) is mentioned alongside an unnamed royal couple who may, or may not, be Muwatalli and Danuḫepa. According to KUB 5.13 obv. 1ff. (see van den Hout 1998: 90–91) the Storm-god of Šapinuwa was angry at His Majesty, the Queen, and Kurunta (dKAL). The text may of course refer to Ḫattušili, Puduḫepa and their protégé Kurunta (del Monte 1978: 348), but could also refer to Muwatalli, Danuḫepa, and their son Kurunta. The same applies to the large oracle text KUB 5.24+ which deals with the affair of a certain *Kur*, probably an abbreviation for Kurunta (van den Hout 1998: 94ff., 245ff.). Particularly noteworthy is the report on the dream of the queen (ii 12–14), according to which the Sun-goddess of Arinna took up again the matter of Kur(unta). The following dream of His Majesty (ii

18. As shown, among other things, by a fine seal impression from Nişantepe portraying Danuḫepa alone (Neve 1992: 58, Abb. 157; Börker-Klähn 1996: 48ff.).

19. For a presentation and discussion of the relevant passages in texts of Urḫi-Tešub, Ḫattušili, and Tuḫaliya, see van den Hout 1998: 49ff.

20. E.g., the case of Utri-Šarruma, the son of Ammištamru, king of Ugarit, and of the ill-fated Amurrite princess (*bittu rabiti*), who followed his mother into exile and lost his dynastic rights (Singer 1999: 681, with refs.).

21. I first put forward this tentative suggestion in the discussion that followed my lecture at the Third International Congress of Hittitology at Çorum in Sept. 1996. Cf. also Börker-Klähn 1996: 49 (without any argumentation).

14–16) is more obscure, and the whole matter is thoroughly investigated by various divination experts (ii 17ff.). Could this obscure reference conceal somehow the background for Muwatalli's estrangement from his wife and his son? We shall probably never have a certain answer for this and many other questions relating to the agitated age of Muwatalli II.

Finally, if this tentative reconstruction of the "DanuḪepa Affair" is valid, we ought to examine the attitude of the following kings towards Kurunta. If a first rank son of Muwatalli grew up "on the lap" of Ḫattušili, why wasn't he put on the throne? There are several possible answers, and the truth may include several of them. Perhaps Kurunta was still too young to become king,²² or, as Ḫattušili explicitly says, he respected Muwatalli's choice of Urḫi-Tešub as his successor. Last but not least, perhaps Ḫattušili had already foreseen the ensuing developments, and he estimated that it would be easier to deal in the future with the son of a secondary wife than with a first-rank successor of Muwatalli, for whom he had other plans. That Urḫi-Tešub, the son of a secondary wife, readily accepted the throne prepared for him needs no further comment. His relations with his half-brother Kurunta are not known, but he did rehabilitate his step-mother DanuḪepa, as shown by their shared seals (Neve 1992: 87). And last, Ḫattušili, who emerged from the civil war as the strongest man in the kingdom, found the most convenient compromise between his ambition and his conscience. He put Kurunta on the throne of his father in Tarḫuntašša, thus *formally*, keeping his duty towards Muwatalli and his legitimate heir, while he himself sat on the vacant throne of Ḫattuša and made the necessary preparations for his own succession. As pointed out by F. Imparati in her brilliant analysis of Ḫattušili's political aims in his so-called *Apology*, one of the main purposes of this text was "to point out to Kurunta and any of his followers that he had already been well taken care of and that now he must leave the way free for Tutḫaliya" (1995: 154). The ensuing developments in the Divided Kingdom did not conform with Ḫattušili's wishes.

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22. Prof. O. R. Gurney has raised (letter of 24. 10. 2000) an objection to the possibility that Kurunta could still have been a young boy when his father died, on the basis of a fragmentary line in KUB 21.37, 37', a proclamation of Ḫattušili (CTH 85.2): ... *Ḫa]ttušan ḫumandan ANA Ulmi-Tešub* [... All commentators of this text have followed Meriggi (1962: 67) in restoring a verb of "giving, conferring." This would mean that Ulmi-Tešub, alias Kurunta, was at this time a mature man, able to take over the administration of "all of Ḫattuša." I am dealing with this text in the previous article in this volume.

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GREAT KINGS OF TARḪUNTAŠŠA

The pace of new discoveries relating to the late Hittite Empire is quite astonishing. Not too long ago we barely knew anything about the southern kingdom of Tarḫuntašša and its relations with Ḫattuša. The sensational discoveries of the Bronze Tablet, the Yalbur, and the Südburg inscriptions, the bullae of Kurunta from Boğazköy, and most recently the rock relief of Kurunta from Hatip,¹ have changed entirely our conception of the political developments marking the last decades of the Hittite Empire. It is only natural that adjustments to current historical reconstructions are being introduced piecemeal, step-by-step with each new discovery. It takes more time, however, to shatter a deeply rooted historical paradigm when it no longer fits the evidence. Such is the almost axiomatic concept that in the Hittite Empire, until its very end, there was only one Great King, who resided (after the short episode of Muwatalli) in the imperial capital of Ḫattuša. Ergo, any king who boasted of this exclusive title must either be fitted into the sequence of the ruling kings of Ḫattuša, or, he must be dated after the fall of the Hittite Empire. This concise article will argue that from a certain point in the late-thirteenth century onwards there were two Hittite kings who claimed the title Great King, and they resided in Ḫattuša and Tarḫuntašša respectively. This small but significant modification may help to reconstruct a more plausible sequence of events at the end of the Hittite Empire and immediately thereafter. Most of the inscriptions mentioned in the following have frequently been discussed and summarized over the last years, and there is no need to repeat here the basic information.²

The discovery of the Bronze Tablet in 1986 has unfolded a complex political interaction between the “great throne” in Ḫattuša and the appanage kingdom

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1. The inscribed relief from Hatip 17 kms. south of Konya, discovered in Spring 1996, was presented by Ali Dinçol at the 3rd International Congress of Hittitology in Çorum. See his forthcoming publication in *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen*.

2. For the latest summary of the main thirteenth century sources, see M. Giorgieri and C. Mora, *Aspetti della regalità ittita nel XIII secolo a.C.*, Como 1996, with references to previous studies. I discussed in broader context the “New Evidence on the Last Decades of the Hittite Empire” at the Seminar on the Sea Peoples held at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, 2000. See E. Oren, ed. *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (ed. E. Oren, ed.; Philadelphia: The University Museum, 2000), 21–33.

of Tarḫuntašša, which served for a short time as the capital of Muwatalli II. The latter's son, Kurunta, took Ḫattušili's side in the coup against Urḫi-Tešub, and was rewarded with the throne of Tarḫuntašša. This seemed to be a relatively safe way to keep Kurunta far from Ḫattuša and from his legitimate aspirations for the Imperial throne. In addition, far-reaching political and territorial concessions were granted to Tarḫuntašša, first by Ḫattušili and later by Tuṭḫaliya, in return for a simple recognition of the supremacy of the kings ruling from Ḫattuša. But all these efforts to maintain a delicate political balance between the two branches of the Hittite royal family eventually failed, and Kurunta insisted on his legitimate right to be emperor. On seal impressions found at Boğazköy his name is enclosed in the full royal aedicula, and he bears the title Great King also in the newly discovered relief from Hatip.

That much seems to be certain from the new evidence. However, the outcome of the dispute between Kurunta and Tuṭḫaliya is open to speculation. From the fact that the bullae bearing the seal of Kurunta as Great King were found in Ḫattuša itself it has generally been inferred that he must have temporarily occupied the Hittite capital, either during or, more probably after, the reign of his cousin Tuṭḫaliya.³ It has even been suggested to associate the destruction level that precedes the final fall of Ḫattuša with this alleged attack of Kurunta.⁴

Although such a scenario is certainly possible, I would not exclude a less bellicose outcome of the inner-Hittite crisis in the last years of the Empire. Each of the protagonists may have refused to recognize the supremacy of his rival, but at the same time maintained a cautious *modus vivendi* including military and economic cooperation when it suited their common interests. Similar situations, in which two or more claimants for the imperial crown were obliged to tolerate each other for a considerable period of time, are not unknown in history. One may refer, for example, to Egypt's Second Intermediate Period, when Hyksos, native Egyptian and Nubian rulers shared their dominion of Egypt for almost a century, most of the time in "seductive prosperity and calm."⁵

The contest for the title Great King may have taken a less destructive way of political propaganda, such as the strewing of hieroglyphic monuments face to face with each other's domains. It has already been noted that Tuṭḫaliya's inscriptions from Yalburt, Köylütolu yayla and Emirgazi follow a geographical line that

3. P. Neve, *AA* 1987, 403–4; J. D. Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex (SÜDBURG)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 62; Th. van den Hout, *Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag* (StBoT 38; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 19, 92.

4. Neve, *ibid.*; *Antike Welt* 23 (1992) 19–20.

5. W. J. Murnane, "The History of Ancient Egypt: An Overview," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. (ed. J. M. Sasson; New York: Scribner's Sons, 1995), 702; see also J. Baines and J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*. (Oxford, 1980), 42.

marks the southwestern confines of the Land of Ḫatti.⁶ The full significance of these monuments emerges now even more clearly with the discovery of Kurunta's rock relief at Hatip, south of Konya, which probably marks the northwestern extent of Tarḫuntašša.⁷ It is well to note that, as the son of Muwatalli, Kurunta claims the title Great King, but he does not present himself as King of Ḫatti, as do the kings who resided in Ḫattuša. The rivalry is between two distinct geopolitical entities, each claiming legitimacy and political supremacy. It is not a bid for the throne of Ḫattuša, as had been, for example, the struggle between Urḫi-Tešub and Ḫattušili.

The two Hittite Great Kings had certainly more to lose than to gain from an open warfare over an increasingly theoretical dominance. For one thing, a cooperation in the shipment of grains imported from Egypt was vital for both kingdoms. There is nothing in the texts from Ḫattuša or from Ugarit to reflect a competition, or even a separation, in the consignment of the grain ships sailing to Ura, the main port town of Tarḫuntašša.⁸ From there the shipments must have been further transported to Ḫattuša through the valley of the Calycadnos and the Konya plain, which again required the consent and cooperation of the authorities of Tarḫuntašša. Hostilities against the rival Hittite state would have forced the last kings of Ḫatti to secure a more difficult and dangerous passage for the much-needed grain shipments through a port in Kizzuwatna and thence through the ranges of the eastern Taurus. This might have become a necessity if the port of Ura had been cut off for any reason, but there is nothing in the extant sources to point in this direction. In fact, the maritime links with Tarḫuntašša continued well into the last period of Ugarit. In an Akkadian letter an unnamed king of Tarḫu(n)tašša requests from Amurapi "small ropes" (*i-bi-ḫi* TUR.MEŠ), which must have been used on ships or for some building activities.⁹

6. E. Masson, *Journal des Savants* 1979, 37; H. Otten, *Die 1986 in Boğazköy gefundene Bronzetafel*. Innsbruck 1989, 18. This, of course, should not be confused with the extent of Hittite authority in the west, which extended as far as the Aegean. Therefore, the location of these inscriptions that deal with Tuḫaliya's exploits in the Lukka lands cannot be used to establish the localization of Millawanda and other western toponyms, as attempted by Masson.

7. Incidentally, we may add that, with the River Kaštaraya/Kestros marking the western border of the kingdom of Tarḫuntašša, the Hittite monuments at Eflatun Pinar and Fasilar should also fall within its territory.

8. For an updated overview on the Ugarit texts relating to the trade with Ura, see A. Lemaire, *UF* 25 (1993) 227–36. Two other (port-)towns appearing together with Ura are *Laštu*[-and Kutupa. For the former see H. Klengel, *AoF* 1 (1974), 169ff.; for the latter see RS 34.179 = no. 1 in: P. Bordreuil (ed.), *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville* (Ras Shamra-Ugarit VII; Paris 1991), 15–16. It is interesting to note that the Hittite merchants are variously designated as "merchants of Ura," (RS 17.319 = PRU IV: 182–83), as "merchants of His Majesty (*šamši*)" (RS 17.316 = PRU TV: 190), and as "merchant of the king of Tarḫuntašša" (RS 17.158; 17.42 = PRU IV: 169–71). Whereas the latter proves a distinction between the two Hittite states, there is nothing to indicate a tension between the merchants of Ḫatti and the merchants of Tarḫuntašša, both operating from the port of Ura.

9. RS 34.139 = no. 14 in Bordreuil, op. cit., 41–42.

The above information from Ugarit already falls into the last generation of Hittite kings. In Ḫattuša Šuppiluliuma II ascended the throne, after a very short reign of his brother Arnuwanda III. On his relations with Tarḫuntašša we now have the surprising new information from the Südburg inscription (Kammer 2). The difficult text contains the account of three campaigns, apparently conducted within a single year: to the southwest (Wiyanawanda, Tamina, Masa, Luka, Ikuna), to a mountain whose name is illegible, and to the Land of Tarḫuntašša. The latter is followed by the building or strengthening of three cities, including Tana, which could be Adana, as suggested by Hawkins. It thus appears that the last king of Ḫatti was able to conduct an extensive campaign along the Mediterranean coast. Although his claims may be somewhat exaggerated, they cannot be entirely dismissed. The campaign to the Lukka Lands may be associated with the well-known letter of the last king of Ugarit in which he reports that his ships are in Lukka, whereas his army is in Ḫatti.¹⁰

The difficult question posed by the Südburg evidence is the objective of Šuppiluliuma's campaign to Tarḫuntašša. Hawkins connects this information with the rest of the evidence, which ostensibly points to open warfare between Ḫattuša and Tarḫuntašša.¹¹ A temporary seizure of Ḫattuša by Kurunta was now vindicated by a full-fledged occupation of Tarḫuntašša by Šuppiluliuma.

The possibility for an entirely different historical interpretation was first raised by H. A. Hoffner.¹² Perhaps by this time Tarḫuntašša was already controlled by the Sea Peoples and Šuppiluliuma's campaign was intended to block their further advance inland. However, after weighing this possibility, Hoffner dismissed it and opted for the generally accepted scenario of a military conflict between the two Hittite states. His reason is the assumption that the Südburg inscription must be dated before the Battle of Alašia, because it is inconceivable that Šuppiluliuma would omit such an important event from his Südburg record.

The relative dating of the two hieroglyphic inscriptions of Šuppiluliuma is yet to be established, but I would venture some tentative suggestions. The Nišantaš inscription closely resembles in its elegant script the inscriptions of Tuthaliya from Yalburt and from Emirgazi. On the other hand, the signs on the Südburg inscription are rather roughly and summarily rendered.¹³ This markedly crude style may show that the Südburg inscription was hastily executed with little attention paid to finishing details. This impression is strengthened by the

10. RS 20.238 = *Ugaritica* V: no. 24; see Hawkins, SÜDBURG, 61.

11. AA 1990, 313; SÜDBURG, 61ff.

12. In W. A. Ward and M. Sharp Joukowski (eds.), *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C.* (Dubuque, Iowa 1992), 49, 51.

13. Hawkins, SÜDBURG, 21. While he consents to attribute the peculiarities in the appearance of the inscription to a decline in standards of craftsmanship typical of the very end of the Late period, Hawkins tends to explain the orthographic peculiarities as deliberate archaising imitating the style of the age of Ḫattušili.

two reliefs, which were only roughed out with hardly any inner details. It should also be noted that the other similar structure, Kammer 1, has no reliefs at all, and the surface of its walls indicated that its construction was never completed.¹⁴ I would tentatively suggest that the Nişantaş inscription is somewhat older than the Südburg inscription, and that the latter was hastily inscribed in the last years of Ḫattuša. There is no compelling ground to assume that Šuppiluliamas would have repeated his earlier victory over Alašia in a later inscription, which contains plenty of heroic deeds as it is. In short, a sequence of campaigns to Alašia first, to Lukka and Tarḫuntašša after, would make good historical sense in the context of the last-ditch Hittite defense against the seaborne enemy who invaded Cyprus first, the Anatolian, and Syrian coasts thereafter.

Needless to add, this historical reconstruction will remain tentative until further evidence turns up. It seems to me, however, that it is preferable to one which envisages the two Hittite kingdoms in Anatolia tearing each other apart in their last years, whereas the activities of the Sea Peoples are hardly heard of in the extant Hittite sources. It is quite regrettable that the latest sources of the Hittites are not more explicit with regard to the names and the character of their enemies, but this should not obscure our comprehension of what I would now consider to be the first reports on the Hittite defense against the onslaught of the Sea Peoples.

Finally, when dealing with the last years of Tarḫuntašša one is inevitably confronted with the question of Kurunta's follower(s). Without delving into the vexed problem of the sequence of the Tarḫuntašša treaties, I would merely state in passing that I find the arguments of those who, following Güterbock, identify Kurunta with Ulmi-Tešub as more convincing.¹⁵ In any case, the above-mentioned letter sent to the last king of Ugarit (RS 34.139 = RSO VII 14) proves that Tarḫuntašša maintained its political status until the final days of the empire.

Who was, then, the last king of Tarḫuntašša? We do know of a ruler who proudly bore the title Great King, and his kingdom extended more-or-less in the area of Tarḫuntašša. It is Hartapu, whose hieroglyphic inscriptions at Kızıldağ and Karadağ, north of Karaman, and at Burunkaya, near Aksaray, were recently restudied by J. D. Hawkins, in comparison with the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Tuthaliya and Šuppiluliamas.¹⁶ The resemblance in both paleography and style is so remarkable that Hawkins concludes that Hartapu's inscriptions are "so closely connected with the Empire inscriptions that it can hardly be doubted that they were executed at a date not far removed from the fall of the Hittite Empire".¹⁷

14. P. Neve, *Antike Welt* 23 (1992), 74.

15. For the opposing views on this question see Th. van den Hout, *Der Ulmitesub-Vertrag*, 11ff., 326.

16. In H. Otten a.o. (eds.), *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp* (Ankara 1992), 259–75.

17. *Ibid.*, 264.

His reason for not actually including Hartapu's inscriptions in the Imperial era are even more clearly stated in his monograph on the Südburg inscription: "The dating of the inscriptions to after the fall of the Hittite Empire rests on the employment of the royal aedicula of the Great Kings of Ḫattuša by Hartapu, which should not have occurred while the dynasty still reigned in Ḫattuša".¹⁸ In other words, if, as suggested above, we give up the axiom that only one Hittite monarch used the title Great King during the Late Imperial period, there is nothing to prevent us from dating Hartapu before the fall of the empire, rather than shortly after it. In fact, there are several indications to support an Imperial dating for Hartapu.¹⁹

1. It is well to reiterate Hawkins's observations on the style of Hartapu's inscriptions. Not only are there very close parallels to late Imperial inscriptions, but in fact, some "archaic" usages and "archaic" sign forms are not found at all in post-Imperial inscriptions.²⁰

2. Thematically, Hartapu's discourse closely resembles that of Šuppiluliuma in his Südburg inscription, with almost identical expressions and phrases. Both of them boast of conquering "all the lands," in what appears to be a sequel to the political propaganda initiated in previous generations.

3. The aedicula on the Kızıldağ 2 and 3 inscriptions is executed in typical Late Imperial style, crowned with the winged sun disc. The epithet of the Storm-god on Kızıldağ 2 is the bent arm with the fist holding a spear (L 28, FORTIS), which has been identified by H. Gonnet with the cuneiform epithet *Muwatalli*, logographic NIR.GAL, "valiant."²¹ This epithet of the Storm-god is of Imperial origin, and it may in fact also echo the name of the king who founded Tarḫuntašša.²²

4. In her survey in the Kızıldağ area H. Gonnet has identified cult installations which have good Late Bronze Age parallels, especially in association with Kızıldağ 4.²³ Although the inscription itself may have been added at some later stage, it can still belong to the period of the original construction. Only a few Late Bronze Age sherds have been picked up by K. Bittel at the large fortified

18. SÜDBURG, 63, n. 261.

19. H. Gonnet, *Hethitica* 5 (1983): 21–28, argues that the name should be read Hartapusa, the last syllable being part of the root rather than a nominative case ending. Hawkins, *FsAlp*, 265, defends the traditional reading. The name Hartapu(sa) has no parallels in the Hittite onomasticon, but this is hardly a proof for a post-Imperial dating, as claimed by Gonnet.

20. *FsAlp*, 269. For a differing view, according to which the Hartapu inscriptions also contain "typical Early Iron Age features," see F. C. Woudhuizen, *Talanta* 24–25 (1992–1993): 206–7.

21. *Hethitica* 5, 22.

22. For the Valiant Storm-god see I. Singer, *Muwatalli's Prayer* (Atlanta 1996), 153, n. 338.

23. In R. Donceel et R. Lebrun (eds.), *Archéologie et religions de l'Anatolie ancienne (Mélanges Paul Naster)* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1984), 119–25.

site at Kızıldağ,²⁴ but there is urgent need for a thorough archaeological investigation at this important site, which might have been the seat of Hartapu's court.²⁵

5. In two inscriptions Hartapu names his father, Muršili, who also bore the title Great King. Hawkins resuscitated an incidental remark of J. Mellaart, suggesting that Hartapu's father was Muršili III/Urḫi-Tešub.²⁶ By an approximate calculation of generations he demonstrates that a son of the deposed king could have survived the fall of Ḫattuša and claimed the title of Great King. A slight raising of Hartapu's dating would, of course, facilitate this possibility. Incidentally, we have evidence that Urḫi-Tešub indeed sired sons during his exile in Syria. According to a *mantaliya* ritual dated to Tuḫaliya, Urḫi-Tešub's sons received atonement offerings in Neya.²⁷ One of Urḫi-Tešub's sons could have found a way to return to Tarḫuntašša and to claim the throne of his uncle. The circumstances of such a development are of course unknown. We do not know whether Kurunta had any sons,²⁸ and if so, why his brother's son would become king of Tarḫuntašša. At any rate, it would be much easier to envisage such an eventuality within the historical context of the Hittite Empire than after its fall. Needless to add, we should take into account the possibility that Hartapu's father was not Urḫi-Tešub, but some other Muršili.²⁹

The extent of Hartapu's kingdom is indicated by the inscription from Burunkaya, some 18 km east of Aksaray.³⁰ It is located at a distance of some 140 km north of the Kızıldağ–Karadağ group, in an area that would seem to fall outside the confines of the kingdom of Tarḫuntašša. However, the borders of Tarḫuntašša as described in the Bronze Tablet belong to the previous generation. On the assumption that such rock monuments must represent territorial claims, it appears that Hartapu managed to push his border further north at the expense of Ḫatti. At first sight this might appear unlikely in view of Šuppiluliuma's accounts of far-reaching campaigns in the south, but, as argued above, these campaigns already belong to the last years of the Empire, at the time of the Sea People's raids. In the decades preceding these turbulent events, the power balance

24. In J. V. Canby, a.o. (eds.), *Ancient Anatolia. Aspects of Change and Cultural Development. Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink* (Madison, Wisc., 1986), 108.

25. S. Alp, in K. Bittel, et al. (eds.), *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Istanbul 1974), 21. For the possible identification of Kızıldağ with Tarḫuntašša, see S. Alp in O. Carruba, a.o. (eds.), *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia* (Pavia 1995), 1–11.

26. *FsAlp*, 270.

27. KUB 16.32+ ii 14–18; A. Archi, *SMEA* 14 (1971), 211–12; *CHD* M, 178, 2'.

28. KBo 4.10+ obv. 4'–5', rev. 7, 9–10 speaks repeatedly of Ulmi-Tešub's wife and sons but I doubt whether this should be taken literally, as claimed by Th. van den Hout, *Der Ulmitesub-Vertrag*, 16–17, or rather as a formulaic expression, as shown by R. Beal, *AnSt* 43 (1993): 21–22.

29. I would not entirely exclude the possibility that "son" is used by Hartapu in the general sense of "descendant." Why would he want to extend his descentance to Muršili II is not clear, but it could be related to his preference for the Valiant Storm-god who was also the personal god of Muršili II (see above).

30. S. Alp, *FsGüterbock*, 17ff.; Hawkins, *SÜDBURG*, 103ff. (Appendix 3).

between Ḫattuša and Tarḫuntašša may have gone through various turns that are as yet unknown to us. Besides, the boasting inscriptions of the last kings of Ḫatti may be quite misleading. A swift campaign from Ḫatti to some distant Lukka Land does not necessarily prove a stable control of all the area in between. That the military situation on this front was less than brilliant is disclosed by a letter in which a worried Tutḫaliya warns the Queen that if the Land of Lalanda will fall, it will soon be followed by the Lower Land.³¹

All in all, the inclusion of Hartapu in the Imperial period seems to confirm well with the various philological, archaeological, and historical data.³² He could very well be the successor of Kurunta/Ulmi-Tešub on the throne of Tarḫuntašša, for it is practically impossible to stretch the latter's reign to the end of the thirteenth century. Last but not least, the redating of Hartapu to the end of the Hittite Empire may bring the history of his region more in line with the neighboring areas. I was always puzzled by the survival of Hartapu's "great kingdom" in splendid isolation at a time when all the areas around him suffered destruction and disruption of socio-political structures. We may now conclude that at the end of the Bronze Age Tarḫuntašša shared the same fate as Ḫatti and Ugarit.³³

31. KUB 19.23 rev. 17ff.; see I. Singer, *AnSt* 33 (1983): 214. Hittite Lalanda/Laranda is probably identical with classical Larende/Karaman; see M. Forlanini, *Vicino Oriente* 7 (1988): 136–37; *Hethitica* 10 (1990): 120–21.

32. The problem of the chronological gap between the inscription and the incised figure on Kızıldağ 1 is hardly affected by a slight raising of Hartapu's dating. For the problem and its probable solution, see Hawkins, *FsAlp*, 269.

33. The situation in Carchemish is entirely different, for there we have a continuous line of kings, apparently little affected by the total disruption caused in coastal areas and in central Anatolia. See J. D. Hawkins, *AnSt* 38 (1988): 99–108; H. G. Güterbock, in Ward and Joukowsky, *The Crisis Years*, 53–55.

DATING THE END OF THE HITTITE EMPIRE

The absolute chronology of the Late Bronze Age has in recent years come closer to a full crystallization. The very low chronology in Egypt, with an accession date of 1279 for Ramses II, has met with general acceptance,¹ and the same may be held true for the lower Assyrian chronology postulated by Wilhelm and Boese, dating Tukulti-Ninurta's accession to 1234.² We may not be too distant from finally establishing an absolute chronology encompassing the whole of Western Asia and Egypt.

In attempting to tie together the two absolute chronological systems of Egypt and Mesopotamia, the Hittite Empire situated inbetween plays a leading role, with historical data from three important archives—Ḫattuša, Ugarit and, more recently, Emar on the Euphrates. We have quite a few well-established synchronisms during the mid-thirteenth century, the heyday of the *Pax Hethitica*, which reach out both to the east, to Assyria and Babylonia, and to the south, to Egypt and Canaan.³ Recently, the Ugarit letter found at Tell Aphek provided a valuable synchronism between the governors of Ugarit and Canaan.⁴

Towards the closing decades of the century, however, there is a sharp decrease in recorded international contacts, which duly reflects the gradual decline of the Hittite Empire. Thus, every piece of new evidence with relevance to the chronology of the last period of the Hittite Empire is of the utmost importance. Some new points of reference will be suggested hereafter.

A recently published letter from Ras Shamra⁵ provides an important synchronism between Ḫatti, Aššur, and Ugarit. The introductory formula is unfortunately badly damaged. The editor reconstructed the name of the addressee as Ibiranu, king of Ugarit, which is highly plausible. As for the addressor, who is a king of

Reprinted from *Hethitica* 8 (1987): 413–21.

1. See references cited in J. Boese, *UF* 14 (1982): 16 nn. 8–11.

2. *WZKM* 71 (1979), 19–38 ; Boese, *UF* 14 (1982): 15ff.

3. See, e.g., the chart at the end of W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien* (1971); H. Otten in *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der "Dark Ages" vom 12. bis zum 9. Jr. v. Chr.* (ed. Sigrd Deger-Jalkotzy; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte, 418. Band; Wien 1983), 14.

4. I. Singer, *Tel Aviv* 10 (1983): 3–25.

5. Sylvie Lackenbacher, *RA* 76 (1982): 141–56.

Aššur, only the second component of the name Salmaneser is preserved and the editor hesitated as to whether Salmaneser is the actual sender of the letter, or whether his name appears in the filiation of his son Tukulti-Ninurta. The letter contains a detailed report on the circumstances leading up to a major battle fought near Niḫriya between the Assyrians and Tuḫaliya, king of Ḫatti.

In another article⁶ I attempted to demonstrate that this battle is to be equated with Tukulti-Ninurta's campaign to Nairi in the first or second year of his reign, that is, in 1234 B.C.E. or a year later. The letter to Ugarit must therefore have been written by Tukulti-Ninurta shortly after his victory over the Hittites. For the chronology of Ugarit this means that Ibiranu was already the ruling king in 1233, somewhat earlier than has been previously assumed.⁷

The letter from Ugarit also has important implications for Hittite history in the late-thirteenth century. A battle fought between Hittite and Assyrian armies at Niḫriya is also attested in a treaty between a Hittite king and an unknown ally in eastern Anatolia. This text (CTH 123) was dated to Šuppiluliuma II, the last king of Ḫatti, which raised serious difficulties in correlating the Hittite and the Assyrian historical data. In the same article I suggest raising the date of the treaty to Tuḫaliya IV, which not only solves the chronological problem, but is also more consistent with the historical record from the last years of Ḫatti. For the chronological issue the result is that Šuppiluliuma's dates are no longer dependent on correlations with Assyrian military history.

We shall return to the last king of Ḫatti and his generation but first, another important synchronism that presents itself for the history of Ugarit will be evaluated. This emerges from RS 17.434, the Ugaritic version of a letter from *Pdēb* to *Nqmd*. The text has been known since 1954 from preliminary remarks of Virolleaud⁸ and has now been edited by Caquot.⁹

There has been much debate about the identity of the correspondents.¹⁰ The solution that readily presents itself, that the addressor is the well-known spouse of Ḫattušili and the addressee is Niqmaddu III, the only known king of Ugarit with this name in the thirteenth century, has generally been refuted for the apparent chronological difficulties in synchronizing the two monarchs.¹¹ Instead, other unattested persons have been posited in order to reconcile the alleged problem: an Ugaritic Puduḫpa,¹² a Hittite princess married to Ramses II,¹³ or an addi-

6. "The Battle of Niḫriya and the End of the Hittite Empire," *ZA* 75 (1985): 100–123.

7. M. Liverani, in *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, fasc. 53 (1979), col. 1299–1300.

8. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 1954, 257–58.

9. *Ugaritica* VII (1978), 121–34; see also D. Pardee, *AfO* 29–30 (1983–84): 321–29.

10. For a summary, see *ibid.*, 326.

11. J. Nougayrol, *PRU* IV (1956), 200; M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit* (1962): 51–52.

12. *Ibid.*, 1962.

13. Nougayrol, *PRU* IV.

tional king of Ugarit named Niqmaddu who would have ruled between Niqmepa and Ammistamru II.¹⁴

It seems to me that all these tenuous solutions are unnecessary and it is quite possible to synchronize between the two known monarchs.¹⁵ Puduḥepa, who married Ḫattušili immediately after the Qadesh battle in 1275,¹⁶ outlived her husband and continued to be deeply involved in international diplomacy during the reign of her son Tuḫaliya.¹⁷ If we assume that the letter¹⁸ to Niqmaddu was written say around 1225, Puduḥepa would at that time be in her late sixties. This should not seem unthinkable to anybody who is familiar with the range of activities of that energetic lady.

With a synchronism between Niqmaddu III and Puduḥepa, it would be very difficult to lower the date of Niqmaddu's accession to the throne beyond the late twenties of the century. On the other hand, his reign, as generally admitted, must have been a very short one, judging by the scanty material dated to him in Ugarit.¹⁹ Allowing for a reign of about five years at the most, we arrive at approximately 1220 for the accession of Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit. The length of his reign is obviously dependent on the date of Ugarit's destruction, which introduces us to the complicated problem of the fall of the Hittite Empire.

From the point of view of the Egyptian evidence, this event must have occurred between Merneptah's fifth year, when Ḫatti was still in peace and imported grain from Egypt, and Ramses III's eighth year, when Ḫatti and its allies had already fallen prey to the Sea Peoples—in absolute dates—between 1207 and 1180²⁰ or 1175.²¹ The fall of Ugarit is usually dated shortly before the land battle of Ramses III against the Sea Peoples in Amurru.²² This is apparently supported by the date of the destruction of Emar, which due to unusually fortunate find circumstances was dated by Arnaud to the second year of Meliṣipak,²³ that is, 1180.²⁴

If we accept these historical considerations, we would have to allow for a very long reign of Ammurapi, between thirty and forty years, which seems very

14. Liverani, *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, 1307.

15. Cf. also Otten in Deger-Jalkotzy, *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante*, 31 (tentatively); G. A. Lehmann in *ibid.*, 90 n. 24.

16. For references see Otten, in Deger-Jalkotzy, *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante*, 11, 32.

17. *Ibid.*, 30ff.

18. For the obscure 'udh in line 8 (frg. A), see Singer, "Battle of Nihriya," n. 97.

19. J. Nougayrol, *PRU* IV, 199–200; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens II* (1969), 397; M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit*, 129.

20. R. Krauss, *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 5 (1977), 154; *Das Ende der Amarnazeit* (1978), 203.

21. E. F. Wente and C. C. van Siclen, in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC 39; Chicago 1977), 218.

22. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit*, 132; *idem*, 1979: 1312; Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens II*, 403, 406–7.

23. D. Arnaud, *Syria* 52 (1975): 88–89.

24. J. Boese, *UF* 14 (1982): 22.

unlikely. Lehmann has made the observation that among the documents found in the kiln used for baking tablets there is a letter from the Hittite king reprimanding Ammurapi for not having presented himself at Ḫattuša for two years (RS 18.38). He conceives of this as the obligatory visit of the vassal to his overlord at the beginning of his rule and therefore assigns to Ammurapi not more than four or five years of rule.²⁵ Perhaps this is somewhat exaggerated, but there are more indications that suggest that Ammurapi's reign could not have extended for several decades. In the so-called Šikalayu Letter,²⁶ which no doubt belongs to the final years of Ugarit, the Hittite king turns directly to the governor of Ugarit, because, as he says, the king himself is young and inexperienced. In this context the king referred to must be Ammurapi.

More accurate information on the last king of Ugarit and his contemporaries may perhaps turn up in the recently unearthed tablets from Ugarit and from Ras Ibn Hani. The combined evidence from two letters, written in Ugaritic, seems to imply that Ammurapi still corresponded with Egypt. RS 34.356²⁷ was sent by Ammurapi to a "great king" whose elaborate titles are very similar to those of the king of Egypt addressed in Ras Ibn Hani 78/3+30:²⁸ "The Sun, the great king, king of Egypt, king of kings, gracious king, king of justice, lord of all the lands." The letter from Ras Ibn Hani apparently deals with some seaborne transaction, but unfortunately the nature of the "cargo"²⁹ is not clear. Could this letter be related somehow to the grain shipments from Egypt, which are vividly documented in the last correspondence between Ugarit and Ḫatti?³⁰ In that case, Ammurapi's correspondent would most probably be Merneptah,³¹ which would also conform with the chronological framework of the last Hittite-Egyptian contacts (see below).

In conclusion, unless we discover previously unknown kings in the royal line of Ugarit, it would seem very difficult to extend the present line of kings much beyond the turn of the twelfth century.

25. *Apud* Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy, (ed.) 1983: 89–90.

26. G. A. Lehmann, *UF* 11 (1979): 481–94 ; *idem*, 1983: 90.

27. A. Caquot, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 76 (1975–76): 462; P. Bordreuil, in *Ugarit in Retrospect* (ed. G. D. Young; 1981), 44.

28. A. Caquot, *Annuaire du Collège de France* (1978–79), 484–86.

29. *dr'* (rev. 3', 5', 11') so translated by Caquot following Virolleaud, *PRU* V, p. 82.

30. See I. Singer, *Tel Aviv* 10 (1983): 4–5 (with previous literature). That trade contacts with Egypt and Canaan continued into the reign of Ammurapi (contra Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit*, 132) is also shown by *PRU* V no. 59, a letter found in the kiln, in which the king of Tyre reports about the wreck of an Ugaritian ship that sailed to Egypt. Cf. J. Hoftijzer, *UF* 11 (1979): 383ff. See also n. 31 below.

31. Cf. also the bronze sword engraved with the cartouche of Merneptah found at Ugarit (*Ugaritica* III, 169–78). Perhaps this sword, which for some reason was never delivered to Egypt, and similar objects of exquisite craftsmanship manufactured at Ugarit were sent in exchange for the Egyptian wheat.

The same may be held true for the Hittite royal line. The last international synchronisms are those of Tuthaliya IV, who still corresponded with Tukulti-Ninurta in the late thirties.³² In the Egyptian correspondence Tuthaliya is not mentioned by name, but there is good reason to think that some of the latest of Ramses II's letters were directed to him and to the widow queen Puduhepa.³³

Tuthaliya has a vast documentation in Hattuša. He also carried out extensive building programs, a fact that becomes increasingly evident in the recent excavations in the Upper City.³⁴ A reign of about twenty years, or even more, does not seem exaggerated. That would bring us down to ca. 1220 or somewhat later.

His son and successor, Arnuwanda III, died very early without leaving any offspring.³⁵ After the redating of a large group of texts to the Middle Kingdom, there are practically no documents that can be ascribed to him. His reign must have been very short.

Arnuwanda's brother, Šuppiluliuma II, the last king of Hatti, would have ascended the throne around 1210 at the latest, but probably earlier. He would thus be a contemporary of Merneptah (1212–1202), who sent grain to relieve Hatti from hunger. As mentioned above, this conclusion is in accord with the contents of the last international correspondence of the Hittite Empire. Again, as in the case of Ammurapi, we are posed with the question of how late into the twelfth century we can stretch Šuppiluliuma's reign. Judging from the scope of his documentation in Hattuša, not very long. I would subscribe to the conclusion recently stated by Otten,³⁶ that recorded Hittite history hardly reaches beyond the end of the thirteenth century. Perhaps we can allow for a few more years into the first decade of the twelfth century, at the most, both in Hattuša and in Ugarit.

This means that the fall of Ugarit should have occurred, contrary to the current view,³⁷ some fifteen to twenty-years before Ramses III's war with the Sea Peoples.³⁸ It is quite conceivable, however, to postulate a short period of consolidation before the Sea Peoples attempted to surge down into Egypt.

The historical reconstruction outlined above does not necessarily apply to Karkamiš and Emar on the Euphrates. Although Ramses III included Karkamiš in the list of countries vanquished by the Sea Peoples, alongside Hatti, Arzawa, Qode, and Alašia, the fate of this city is not known, since the excavations

32. H. Otten, *A/O* 19 (1960), 46.

33. H. Otten, apud H. Müller-Karpe (ed.), *Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt*, 1976, 34 n. 10a; Th. P. J. van den Hout, *RA* 78 (1984): 90.

34. P. Neve, *AA* 1984, 349ff.; K. Bittel, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1983, 501ff.

35. CTH 125; H. Otten, *MDOG* 94 (1963): 3–4.

36. Otten in Deger-Jalkotzy, *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante*, 23.

37. See n. 22 above.

38. See also Lehmann in Deger-Jalkotzy, *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante*, 92.

did not penetrate into the Late Bronze Age strata. In fact, there appears to be some continuity into the Iron Age.³⁹ Recently, a Hittite bulla has turned up⁴⁰ on which Talmi-Tešub and a certain Ku(n)zi-Tešub appear together as kings of Karkamiš. On another tablet, Kunzi-Tešub, here still a prince, is identified as the son of Talmi-Tešub. This may indicate that Talmi-Tešub, a contemporary of Šuppiluliamas II and of Ammurapi, who was previously considered to be the last king of imperial Karkamiš, was actually succeeded on the throne by Kunzi-Tešub.

Emar, ca. 100 km downstream, was destroyed not before 1180,⁴¹ a date that coincidentally falls exactly on Ramses III's eighth year (or a few years earlier).⁴² But is it really necessary to correlate the fall of Emar with the operations of the Sea Peoples on the coast, as surmised by J. Boese?⁴³ I think not. As indicated by Arnaud, the fall of Emar should be attributed to non-sedentary tribal groups, who in one text are designated with the general term *Ummān-gāyu*.⁴⁴ It is perhaps better to await further evidence before we accept Arnaud's tentative identification of these groups as the Phrygians,⁴⁵ who appeared on the geographical horizon of the Assyrians half a century later. There are, I think, better candidates who may be responsible for the destruction of Emar, the Arameans for example. There is no need too stress that, seen in a larger historical context, the various population movements, spurred, I believe, by a sweeping hunger and by the weakening of the central power, were related to each other. However, there is no reason to expect an exact chronological correlation between the fall of the different centers of the Hittite Empire, and we should readily allow for several decades for the process.

39. J. D. Hawkins, *CAH*³, vol. 3, ch. 9, 381. Plates to vol. III, p. 65.

40. The bulla belongs to a group of tablets originating from the upper Euphrates region, which is now in a private collection in Japan. Cf. A. Tsukimoto, *Acta Sumerologica* 6 (1984): 71, n. 4. In 1985 an identical bulla has been found by H. Hauptmann in the excavations of Lidar Hoyük.

41. See notes 23 and 24 above.

42. See notes 20 and 21 above.

43. *UF* 14 (1982): 18; see also M. L. Bierbrier, *JEA* 64 (1978): 136.

44. *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique de Haute Études* 90 (1981–82): 210–11.

45. *Ibid.*, 211; idem, apud D. Beyer (ed.), *A l'occasion d'une exposition, Meskéné-Emar* (Paris 1982), 43.

NEW EVIDENCE ON THE END OF THE HITTITE EMPIRE

The wealth of written documentation from the thirteenth century B.C.E. may easily mislead the historian to place excessive confidence in our knowledge of the basic facts relating to the last phases of the Hittite Empire. Yet, time and again, new discoveries reveal previously unsuspected facets of late Hittite history that call for an overall re-evaluation of the “known” facts. The major developments over the last years are related to sources from Anatolia, but I will open this concise survey with the less-spectacular additions to the history of the period from two important centers of Hittite Syria, Ugarit and Emar.

UGARIT

In the philological domain, the most significant contribution of Ugarit in the last decades was the discovery of a new thirteenth-century archive (Schaeffer 1978; Bordreuil and Pardee 1995). The lot of tablets was accidentally brought to light by military constructions in the south-central part of the city. Salvage excavations carried out in 1973 unearthed about 120 tablets and fragments, of which a dozen are in Ugaritic and the rest in Akkadian. The Ugaritic texts were promptly published, but the publication of the Akkadian material suffered a long delay owing to the death of the epigraphist Jean Nougayrol and other circumstances (Bordreuil 1991: 3). Photographs of the casts and a preliminary catalogue were included in *Ugaritica* VII (Schaeffer 1973). Finally, this important material was published as Ras Shamra-Ugarit VII by a joint team (Bordreuil 1991).

Meanwhile, permission was obtained from the Syrian authorities to demolish the military structure and systematic excavation of the area was begun in the late 1980s (Lombard 1995). The large ashlar house yielded a few tablets every season, but the real “treasure trove” was hit in 1994 with the discovery of more than three hundred tablets and fragments. A general survey of this exciting new archive was presented in the Ugarit Symposium held in Paris in June 1993 (Bordreuil and Pardee 1995). In their joint article, P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee reached the conclusion that the archive belonged to a certain Urtenu, a very important

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political figure in the last decades of Ugarit. Preliminary notes on some of the important political documents were presented at the same symposium by F. Malbran-Labat (1995) and S. Lackenbacher (1995).

The texts published in RSO VII include mostly letters, but also some administrative and lexical lists, ritual texts, and a quasi-duplicate of the previously known ruling concerning the merchants of Ura (no. 1 = RS 34.179; cf. PRU IV, pp. 103–5). The geographical scope of the letters covers almost the entire range of Ugarit's foreign relations: Egypt, Beirut and Sidon in Canaan, Assyria, the Land of Suhi on the Middle Euphrates, and of course primarily the main centers of the Hittite Empire: Ḫattuša, Tarḫuntašša, Karkamiš, Ušnatu, Qadeš, and Emar. As stated by D. Arnaud in his introduction to the volume (Bordreuil 1991: 14), the abundant new material does not revolutionize our previous knowledge about Ugarit and its neighbors, but it definitely augments and amplifies several important aspects (Singer 1999).

The growing unruliness of Ugarit in the face of its weakening but demanding Hittite overlords is further demonstrated by several documents. In no. 7 (RS 34.136) the king of Ugarit reprimanded by the king of Karkamiš for sending insufficient tribute to the nobles of Ḫatti. The punishment inflicted on the messengers from Ugarit in an earlier incident is cited as a warning. Even more severe are Ugarit's attempts to evade its military duties, from which the rich mercantile port used to be exempt in better days. In no. 6 (RS 34.143) the king of Karkamiš questions the validity of the information provided by the king of Ugarit about the whereabouts of his army. According to the information held by the Hittite viceroy, the army of Ugarit is stationed in the city of Apsuna on the northern frontier of the kingdom of Ugarit, and not across the border in Mukiš. We can hardly tell who is right in this dispute, but we may perhaps combine the new evidence with a previously published Ugaritic letter in which a dignitary informs his queen that the enemy is in Mukiš (RS 16.402 +; PRU II, no. 12; KTU 2.33). The king of Karkamiš further reprimands his correspondent, charging that the chariots and soldiers sent from Ugarit to Karkamiš are of poor quality and that the horses are starved.¹ The king of Ugarit is accused of keeping back for himself the best *mari-annu* troops, an accusation that is also echoed in previously known letters.

A most interesting new document contains a list of ships of the king of Karkamiš that are no longer in a condition to sail anywhere (no. 5 = RS 34.147). The fourteen ships are identified by their owners or captains, including a Sidonian and a man of Akko. The dependence of the Hittites on the fleet of Ugarit was well known from the documents dealing with the transportation of grain, but this is the first time that we hear about ships of Karkamiš harbored in the port of

1. Trade in horses is the subject of several letters of this archive (nos. 11, 21, 39), including a delivery to the messenger of the king of Alalāia (no. 35 = RS 34.153).

Ugarit, apparently in bad mechanical condition. The Hittite concern to keep the fleet of Ugarit in a constant state of readiness is also reflected in a letter sent from Karkamiš to the queen of Ugarit in which she is allowed to send some ships to Byblos and Sidon, but not to more distant places (no. 8 = RS 34.138).

Perhaps the most interesting aspect revealed by the new archive concerns Ugarit's adaptation of its foreign policy to the changing international situation. Realizing the rapidly weakening and disintegrating condition of her once-powerful Hittite suzerain, the resourceful foreign office of Ugarit explored ways to expand and enhance its diplomatic and commercial ties with other great powers. A surprising letter of an Assyrian king to the king of Ugarit has already been published (Lackenbacher 1982; see also Singer 1985b). It contains detailed information on the circumstances leading to a major battle fought in Niḥriya in the Upper Tigris region between Tuḥaliya IV and an Assyrian monarch, probably Tukulti-Ninurta I. The Hittites were utterly defeated. The Assyrian king's very act of reporting this event to an acknowledged Hittite vassal is no doubt more than a simple act of courtesy. It may mark an opportune detente between Ugarit and the Assyrians, who were always keen to get access to Mediterranean ports.

Whereas this new overture between Ugarit and Assyria, practically "over the head" of Karkamiš, was certainly regarded as treachery by the Hittites, the revival of the traditional close ties between Ugarit and Egypt was more in line with Hittite interests after the conclusion of the Silver Treaty in 1258 B.C. The commercial contacts were naturally extended to Egyptian Canaan as well. A letter probably addressed to Ramesses deals with some transactions between the "sons of the Land of Ugarit and the "sons of the Land of Canaan" (RS 20.182+; *Ugaritica* V, no. 36; augmented by S. Lackenbacher 1994b). The letter from Ugarit found at Tel Aphek in Israel records a grain shipment sent to Ugarit from the port of Jaffa around 1230 B.C.E. (Owen 1981; Singer 1983a).

An overt political overture toward Egypt is documented in a fascinating new letter from the Urtenu archive found in 1986 (RS 88.2158; S. Lackenbacher 1995; 1994a). It contains the cautious response of Merneptah to a request from Ugarit to send Egyptian sculptors who would erect a statue of Pharaoh in the temple of Ba'al in Ugarit. The Egyptian monarch acknowledges his correspondent's pledge of being "the servant of the king, the Son of Re," just as his ancestors before him. The rest of this intriguing new document lists an outstandingly rich shipment of luxury items from Egypt to Ugarit. One is reminded of the well-known sword of Merneptah found east of the palace of Ugarit (Schaeffer 1956; cf. Helck 1995: 93).

The cordial relations with Egypt seem to have thrived until the very end of Ugarit. The Ugaritic draft of a letter from Ras Ibn Hani contains an extremely elaborate courtesy address: "[to the Sun,] the great king, the king of Egypt, [the go]d [king], the just king, [the king of ki]ngs, the lord of all the land [of Egypt]"

(RIH 78/3–30; KTU 2.81; Bordreuil and Caquot 1980: 356–57; Pardee and Bordreuil 1992: 711; for the epithets, see Milano 1983). The name of the sender is almost entirely lost, but the title of the Egyptian king is paralleled in another draft from Ugarit, which was sent by Ammurapi “to the Sun, the great king, the king of kings” (RS 34.356; KTU 2.76; Bordreuil 1982: 10ff.). Very probably this letter was also directed to the Egyptian “Sun,” and not to the Hittite “Sun,” whose brilliance had faded considerably by this time.

A most valuable *terminus post quem* for the fall of Ugarit is provided by a letter sent to Ammurapi by Beya, “Chief of the troops of the Great King, the King of Egypt” (RS 86.2230: Arnaud *apud* Bordreuil 1987: 297; Arnaud 1992: 181 n. 6; Freu 1988; Yon 1992: 119; Helck 1995: 93–94; de Moor 1996: 217ff.). He must be identical with the “Great Chancellor” Bay, a dominant figure in late Nineteenth Dynasty Egypt, who operated well into the reign of Siptah (1197–1192).²

A central theme in the last correspondence of the Hittite Empire is the devastating famine and the attempts to procure some desperately needed food (Klengel 1974; Singer 1983a: 4ff.; Freu 1995: 121–22). A long letter from Urtenu’s archive, sent by a certain *Ban(?)-ni-ya* or *E(?)-ni-ya* to his unnamed “lord,” apparently deals with this problem, but many details in it remain enigmatic (no. 40 = RS 34.152). Its general tone strongly recalls the dramatic letters from Courtyard V of the palace and from the Rap’anu archive: “The gates of the house are sealed, since there is famine in your house, we will starve to death. If you do not hasten to come we will starve to death. A living soul of your country you will no longer see” (ll. 9–14).

Finally, the Urtenu archive has also provided the already well-known letter concerning the Šikila people who live on boats,³ the first mention by name of one of the raiders of Ugarit, who are usually referred to simply as “the enemy” (Lehmann 1985: 29). This cuneiform spelling probably corresponds to *Skil* in the Egyptian texts, one of the Sea Peoples who fought against Ramesses III and then settled on the central coast of Palestine.⁴ The texts from Ugarit also mention the

2. Cf. the slightly lower Egyptian chronology proposed by Helck 1995: 94, n. 94. The new evidence lowers by a few years the date I proposed, before the discovery of the Beya letter, for the fall of Ugarit, although I added, “perhaps we can allow for a few more years into the first decade of the 12th century, at the most, both in Ḫattuša and in Ugarit” (Singer 1987: 418). I fail to see, however, why Freu (1988: 398) insists on lowering the date of Ugarit’s destruction to “sans doute pas avant 1190,” if, as he maintains, the letter was sent around 1995 B.C. We have no evidence whatsoever to establish the interval between the arrival of the letter and the fall of Ugarit.

3. RS 34.129; Dietrich and Loretz 1978; Lehmann 1979; republished by F. Malbran-Labat in Bordreuil 1991: 38–40 (RSO VII, no. 12). Incidentally, the corrected reading of the name of the *kartappu* in l. 15 as Nirgaili (instead of Nisahili), who could be identical with the Hittite prince Nerik(a)ili (for whom see Klengel 1989; van den Hout 1995: 96ff.), was first suggested by Singer 1983a: 10, n. 14.

4. On the transliteration of the name, see Edel 1984; Lehmann 1985: 34–35; Singer 1988: 245–46. On the settlement of the Sikils and other Sea Peoples in Palestine, see Singer 1994: 295ff.

trtnm/šerdanū, but these are no doubt units of mercenaries serving in the army of Ugarit, just as the *ši/erdana* served the king of Byblos in the Amarna period and the *Šrdn* served in the Egyptian army (for a comprehensive discussion, see Loretz 1995).

The texts from Ras Ibn Rani (perhaps ancient Apu) are mostly dated to the late-thirteenth century (Lagarce 1995: 149ff.), and do not seem to provide any substantial information on the last days of Ugarit. On the other hand, the joint Syrian-French excavations at this site have recovered important new data on the reoccupation of the Syrian coast after the fall of Ugarit (Lagarce 1988; Caubet 1995, with further references). The Late Bronze Age palaces had been abandoned and then destroyed, more-or-less at the same time as Ugarit. But whereas the latter remained deserted (except for occasional squatters), Ras Ibn Hani was immediately resettled by people who produced Myc. IIIC:1 ware of the same type that appears along the entire Levantine coast, from Cilicia to Philistia, and in Cyprus (Badre 1983; Lagarce 1988). The traditional association of this Early Iron Age pottery with the settlement of the Sea Peoples along the eastern Mediterranean coasts has recently been questioned by scholars who would rather see in it a basically local ceramic development (Caubet 1992: 130; Noort 1994: 113ff.). To my mind, the introduction of Myc. IIIC:1 ware clearly points to the new settlement of foreign population groups from the Aegean region, more sparsely in the northern Levant than in Philistia (Singer 1985a: 112; 1988). It is worth noting that at Ras Ibn Hani, as in Philistia, there is a gradual evolution from monochrome to bichrome pottery (Lagarce 1988: 153), and such similarities should be further explored in the areas of the Sea Peoples' diaspora. Besides the Myc. IIIC:1 ware, the Iron Age settlement at Ras Ibn Hani has also produced types of pottery that continue local ceramic traditions (Lagarce 1988: 154–55; Caubet 1992: 127). This may indicate that, as in Palestine, new settlers and groups of autochthonous population intermingled.

EMAR

The texts of Ugarit provide the most dramatic descriptions of the impending catastrophe, but the gradual deterioration in living conditions can also be traced in the documents from Meskene/Emar, a kingdom situated on the southeastern frontier on the Hittite Empire.⁵

The juxtaposition of two recently published documents seems to indicate a drastic increase in the yearly tribute paid to the Hittite viceroy, from 700 to 2000 *shekel* of gold (Arnaud 1991: 16, 41ff., nos. 14–15). The corresponding amount

5. For the contribution of the Emar texts to the study of the Hittite administration of Syria, see Beckman 1992; 1995; Yamada 1993.

of silver is only preserved in the former document: 30,000 *shekel*! To raise this formidable sum Emar was forced to sell property of the city and its patron god, Ninurta.

The growing burden of the Hittite tribute came, as it happened, at the worst time, for the general food shortage had already reached this fertile region as well. A series of year names significantly single out the staggering grain prices as the most salient feature of these years: “The year of hardship when three *qa* of grain cost one silver shekel” (Tsukimoto 1988: 166–67, no. E; Sigrist 1993: 169–70, no. 2). Then, only two *qa* could be obtained for the same price (Arnaud 1991: 125, no. 74), and finally, only one *qa* (Arnaud 1991: 58, no. 25). The exact chronology of the Emar texts has yet to be worked out in detail, but it is worth noting that an inflational curve in grain prices is also found in other regions of the Near East (Neumann and Parpola 1987; Cerny 1933–1934; Janssen 1975: 551–52).

The year with the highest price is also characterized as “the year in which the *tarwa*-troops (erim.meš *tar-wa*; previously read *ga-yu*) laid siege on the city (of Emar)” (Arnaud 1991: 58, nos. 25 and 44). The identity of these hordes, probably themselves driven by the general famine, is not known.⁶ For the date of Emar’s fall we are still relying on the fortunate discovery of a legal document dated to the second year of Meliṣipak, i.e., 1185 B.C., in the destruction level of a private house (Arnaud 1975; 1986: 26).⁷ The fact that this date corresponds, more-or-less, with Ramesses III’s battles against the Sea Peoples does not prove, as maintained by some (e.g., Boese 1982: 18), that the latter were also responsible for the destruction of Emar and other inland cities (Margueron 1995: 127). Aramean tribes seem to be much better candidates for the disruption of Late Bronze Age conditions in this area (Singer 1988: 418–19; cf. however, Yon 1992: 117; Caubet 1992: 129).

HATTI

If the new evidence from Syria merely refines our previous conceptions, in Anatolia the discovery of new documents has radically changed the historical picture of the last decades of the Hittite Empire. The new data and their implications have been discussed extensively over the last years, both in specialized articles and in more general presentations at symposia dealing with the end of the Bronze Age in the eastern Mediterranean. In the symposium held in Zwettl (Austria) in 1980, H. Otten dealt with the last phase of the Hittite kingdom (1983).

6. Astour’s belief (1996: 32 n. 28) that this name refers to the same enemies who are elsewhere called “Hurrian troops” is completely unfounded.

7. This is now confirmed by a document that bears a dating by the Assyrian eponym system (Beckman 1996a: 34).

Ten years later, in a symposium held at Brown University (Providence). H. A. Hoffner provided an updated summary on “The Last Days of Khattusha” (Hoffner 1992), and H. G. Güterbock followed up with the “Survival of the Hittite Dynasty” (Güterbock 1992). Finally, two recent monographs offer general overviews of the sources for the Late Hittite Empire (Hawkins 1995a: 57ff.; Giorgieri and Mora 1996). It would be futile to repeat here a full presentation of the new documents. I will instead concentrate on some specific aspects relevant to this series of lectures, namely, the military strategy of the last Hittite kings in the face of the growing problems along their Aegean and Mediterranean coasts.

In an article written in 1983 I attempted to summarize what was known at the time about western Anatolia in the thirteenth century (Singer 1983b). In the Hittite sources that I surveyed, the last king known to have campaigned in the turbulent regions of the Lukka Lands in southwestern Anatolia, appeared to be Ḫattušili III. In the well-known “Tawagalawa Letter” an unidentified Hittite king describes a western journey leading him from Ḫattuša to Millawanda (i.e., Miletos on the Aegean coast). One of the last stations on his itinerary was Iyalanda, described as a formidable mountain fortress inaccessible by chariot. Iyalanda is generally identified with classical Alinda (Demirci-deresi) east of Miletos, one of the strongest fortified positions in Caria (Garstang and Gurney 1959: 78). Following a suggestion of Güterbock, I identified the author of the Tawagalawa Letter with Ḫattušili (Singer 1983b: 205ff.).⁸ Supporting evidence for this dating has now turned up in an unexpected source—a letter of Ramesses II to Ḫattušili, published by E. Edel in his voluminous monograph on the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence (Edel 1994: no. 80 = KBo 28.28). Ramesses quotes from a missive sent from Ḫatti in which the Hittite monarch boasted about his victory over Iyalanta and the booty that he had taken there: captives, cattle, and sheep. Apparently, Ḫattušili attributed much importance to this campaign, which was intended to reduce the potential danger from the “wild west” of Anatolia.

On the evidence of the Hittite sources available at the time, I assumed that the last kings of Ḫatti, Tuthaliya and Šuppiluliuma II, were no longer able to assert their control over the southwestern Anatolian regions and that they were compelled to establish their frontline farther inland, somewhere in the Konya Plain. The new hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Yalburt, in central Anatolia and from the so-called Südburg in Boğazköy (the former first published in

8. An authorship of Ḫattušili “III” is also maintained by Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 97; 1986: 47–48; van den Hout 1984: 91–92; Popko 1984: 202; Güterbock 1990. On the other hand, Ünal (1991: 33) reiterates his earlier ascription of the letter to Muwatalli II (1974: 52–54; see also Smit 1990–1991). It is beyond the scope of this article fully to reexamine the issue, but it may be noted in passing that the passage in the Ramesses letter dealing with the Iyalanda campaign also mentions the princes Nirikili and Tuthaliya, one of whom could be the “crown-prince” at the time of this western offensive.

1988, the latter discovered in the same year), have necessitated a full revision of my earlier conclusions.

The Yalburt inscription (also known as Ilgin) was accidentally unearthed by a bulldozer in 1970. Its extraordinary importance as the longest hieroglyphic inscription of the Empire period was immediately recognized: only in 1988, however, were photographs and a short description of the site published, as an appendix to the excavation report of Inandik.⁹ On the basis of these photographs and visits to the site D. Hawkins (1992: 260–64; 1995a: 66ff.) and M. Poetto (1993) were able to prepare full publications of the inscription. The text is inscribed on nineteen blocks lining three walls of a large, rectangular water basin built over a sacred source. It records a campaign of Tudḫaliya “IV” to several localities in the Lukka Lands, including Wiyanawanda, Talawa, Pinali (or Pinadi), Awarna, and Mount Patara. A major contribution to western Anatolian historical geography is Poetto’s demonstration that these place names correspond with those of Lycian and Greek toponyms in western Lycia along the Xanthos River (1993: 75–84).¹⁰ This important discovery reinforces the equation of Lukka with Lycia,¹¹ and at the same time shows that the Valley of the Xanthos was inhabited in the second millennium, although definite archaeological evidence is still lacking.¹²

Tudḫaliya boasts that with the help of the Storm God he scored a great victory over these places and took captives, oxen, and sheep. The victory inscription from Yalburt is closely paralleled by the block from Emirgazi (Masson 1979: Hawkins 1995a: 86ff.), both sites located at a considerable distance from the place where these events took place. How effective this previously unknown campaign of Tudḫaliya actually was is hard to tell. Surely a decisive military success was badly needed in order to restore the king’s self-confidence and pride after a painful defeat on the Assyrian front (Singer 1985). It is obvious, however, that the restless Lukka Lands were far from being pacified, and continuous Hittite intervention was necessary in the following generation as well.

9. R. Tamizer apud Özgüç 1988: xxv–xxvii, pls. 85–95 figs. 60–63.. For additional photographs and drawings of the inscription, as well as a map showing the location of this and neighboring sites, see Poetto 1993.

10. Wiyanawanda = Gr. Oinoanda; Talawa = Lyc. Tlawā, Gr. Tlos; Pinali/di = Lyc. Pinale, Gr. Pinara; Awarna = Lyc. Arīna (Aramaic > *ʾwrn*), Gr. Xanthos; Patara = Gr. Patara. The sequence of the towns Awarna and Pina also appears in the Millawata letter (CTH 182), another document dated to Tudḫaliya (Masson 1979: 15, 36–37; Singer 1983: 216; Bryce 1985: 18; Poetto 1993: 77). M. Mellink (1995: 36), following an old idea of Garstang, suggests adding to this list a possible equation between the Šiyanta River Land, given by a Hittite king to Madduwatta, and the Xanthos Valley, the principal artery of western Lycia.

11. The equation is still considered philologically unproven by Otten 1993b (with extensive references to earlier literature on Lukka and Lycia, to which add Bryce 1979, 1986, 1992). See also Mellink 1995. To be sure, the second-millennium Lukka Lands extended over an area much larger than classical Lycia.

12. For a sound reevaluation of archaeological conditions in this region, see Mellink 1995: 37–41.

Before we move on to the next and last generation of Hittite emperors, it is necessary to briefly recall the evidence of another major discovery, the Bronze Tablet bearing the treaty between Tuthaliya of Hatti and his cousin Kurunta of Tarhuntašša (Otten 1988).¹³ The relations between the two Hittite states were particularly delicate for they were ruled by competing branches of the royal family—descendants of Muwatalli in the former, descendants of his usurping brother, Hattušili, in the latter. In this treaty Tuthaliya granted far-reaching political and territorial concessions to his older cousin in order to gain his continuous support and at least his nominal recognition of Hattuša's supremacy. But, apparently, Tuthaliya's magnanimous offers were insufficient, and eventually Kurunta chose to assert his legitimate rights to the Hittite throne and issued seals with the title Great King (Neve 1987: 401–3; 1991: 330, Abb. 35, 332). Because the bullae bearing this seal were found at Boğazköy, it was generally inferred that Kurunta must have temporarily occupied the capital of Hatti (Otten *apud* Neve 1987: 403–4; Otten 1985: 4–5, 9; Hoffner 1992: 50–51).

Although this is a possible scenario, I suggested elsewhere a different, less bellicose outcome of the inner-Hittite strife (Singer 1996b). Kurunta's intransigence took the form of political propaganda rather than a military offensive against Hattuša. In other words, there were now two Great Kings sharing the domination of Anatolia, not to mention the king of Karkamiš, who ruled northern Syria. Despite their rivalry, Hattuša and Tarhuntašša continued to cooperate in matters of common interest, such as the import of grain from Egypt through Ugarit.

The cuneiform Hittite documents pertaining to the last generation of Hittite kings are particularly fragmentary and problematical (Laroche 1953; Otten 1963; Giorgieri and Mora 1996: 61ff.). Good command of the sources and, especially, much prudence are required in piecing together the scattered information to form a coherent historical reconstruction. This is hardly the case in M. Astour's recent discussion of late Hittite history (1996: 49ff.). After a concise presentation of the recent discoveries from Boğazköy, he sets out to prove that Kurunta's *coup d'état* took place at the time of Arnuwanda III's ascent to the throne, and that the ensuing civil war in Hattuša prodded Tukulti-Ninurta with an incentive to attack the Hittites. To establish this reconstruction, Astour uses rather free interpretations of fragmentary passages, ignores better-preserved texts that do not fit his purpose, and misrepresents the views of some of the scholars he quotes.¹⁴

13. For the rapidly growing literature on this document, see references in van den Hout 1995: 326 and Singer 1997. For the circumstances of Muwatalli's transfer of the capital from Hattuša to Tarhuntašša, see Singer 1996a: 191ff. and 1998.

14. For example, in dealing with the relative dating of the Tarhuntašša treaties, Astour (p. 51, n. 98) ponders over "the question whether Ulmi-Tešub preceded or succeeded Kuruntaš," totally unaware of the view shared by many Hittitologists (including Gurney, whom he misquotes) that Ulmi-Tešub and Kurunta are identical. The pos-

The alleged battle lost by Arnuwanda III to the Assyrians is based on a misinterpretation of KUB 26.33 iii 4–9 (CTH 125), a fragmentary passage from a loyalty oath or a treaty¹⁵ with Šuppiluliuma II. Astour finds in it a mention “of an unspecified enemy whom the king (Arnuwandas III) could not withstand in battle.” He proceeds by concluding that the Land of Egypt, mentioned in 1. 7’, was certainly not the enemy in this period; therefore, it must have been the Assyrian army, which had invaded Syria. Despite the deplorable state of preservation, I think that the passage must be understood quite differently. Typically for a treaty or an oath, it raises the theoretical possibility (note the conditional *mān*, “if”) that the sworn person would not support wholeheartedly the king of Ḫatti in the eventuality of a war. It is impossible to tell in which context the Land of Egypt is mentioned here, but in any event I fail to see in the passage any allusion to a lost battle against the Assyrians. The treaty between Ḫatti and Alašiya, KBo 12.39 (CTH 141) indeed refers to some involvement with the king of Assyria,¹⁶ but it is not at all clear whether this refers to Šuppiluliuma II, or, more likely, to his father, Tuḫaliya.¹⁷

Whereas he uses, rather forcibly, these fragmentary and oblique references to prove a Hittite-Assyrian military encounter in the short reign of Arnuwanda III, Astour is totally mute about two major sources, one from Ugarit (RS 34.165: Lackenbacher 1982 = no. 46 in Bordreuil 1991) and one from Ḫattuša (KBo 4.14), which refer directly to a decisive battle that was fought at Niḫriya. The former text mentions Tuḫaliya by name, and the latter is probably also attributable to the same king.¹⁸ It would be tedious to repeat in this context the arguments for the redating of KBo 4.14, and the new information on the Hittite-

sibility that Ulmi-Tešub preceded Kurunta, strenuously defended by Astour, can almost certainly be ruled out. See most recently van den Hout 1995: 11, n. 29.

15. The almost completely lost col. IV has the remnants of what appears to be a list of witness gods (II. 2’–3’ *GAZ.BA.A.A*: l. 8’ *ER-ŠE-TUM*), followed by the concluding formula: “They shall [b]e witnesses] to this [treaty and oath!].” This would fit a state treaty better than an oath of allegiance with a dignitary. But on the other hand, the sworn person uses the first person singular (as in CTH 124), and he addresses Šuppiluliuma in a very familiar way (iii 21’) to justify his position on the succession issue. A king of Kargamiš would be a good candidate for the authorship of this exceptional document.

16. An interesting restoration of the passage was suggested by P. Meriggi (*apud* Saporetto 1977: 325): “Il re di Assiria, che [non ha mai] varcato [it ma]re, la porta [di Alašia non ha mai varcato].”

17. The text is attributed to Tuḫaliya by Güterbock 1967: 80 and Beckman 1995: 32; to Šuppiluliuma by Otten 1963: 13; Carruba 1968: 22; Singer 1985: 121–22. However, as I attempted to prove, the series of rhetorical questions must refer to Tuḫaliya.

18. Singer 1985, followed by van den Hout 1989: 273ff.; Hawkins 1990: 313; 1995a: 58; Klengel 1991: 238 n. 91; *CHD* L–N: 372 (but cf. Harrak 1987: 261; Zaccagnini 1990: 42 n. 12). C. Mora’s suggestion (1988: 563ff.) to attribute both this text and RS 34.165 to a hypothetical Tuḫaliya, son and successor of Šuppiluliuma II, has categorically been refuted by Otten 1993a and Hawkins 1995a: 57, n. 207.

Assyrian conflict deriving from these and other sources. Suffice it to say that it completely disagrees with the chronological framework set up by Astour.¹⁹

Most of the documents dated safely to the reign of Šuppiluliuma II point to a continuing instability within the Hittite capital and a growing sense of mistrust (Otten 1953: 3ff.; Giorgieri and Mora 1996: 51ff.). As for his military record, the only remaining cuneiform document is the well-known report on the battle against “the enemy of Alašia” (KBo 12.38; Otten 1963: 13ff.; Güterbock 1967). According to the most plausible understanding of the fragmentary text, in its first part Šuppiluliuma narrates the deeds of his father, Tuḫaliya, namely, the subjection of Alašiya and the imposition of tribute on its king and its *pidduri*. In the second part Šuppiluliuma describes his own deeds in the following words: “... I mobilized, and I, Šuppiluliuma, the Great King. [sailed out(?)] at once to the sea. / The ships of Alašia met me in battle at sea three times, but I smote them. I captured the ships and set them afire at sea. / When I reached dry land again, the enemies of Alašia came in multitude against me for battle, and I fought against] them.” (rev. iii 2’–14’; Beckman 1996: 33).

Though the “enemies of Alašia” are not more closely defined, Otten (1963: 21) suggested, with good reason, that they must have been the Sea Peoples. As for the dry land²⁰ where the battle against the “enemies of Alašia” was continued, both the Cypriot and the Anatolian coasts have been taken into consideration; to my mind, the latter is more plausible. It would seem that despite the alleged victory on the open sea, Šuppiluliuma was followed back to his own haven by the enemy hordes. In fact, there is a remarkable resemblance between this Hittite description of both a sea and a land battle, and Ramesses III’s wars against the Sea Peoples recorded at Medinet Habu.

The manly deeds described in the text were probably drafts or copies of lapidary hieroglyphic inscriptions set up by Šuppiluliuma in “Eternal Peaks” (NA₄hekur SAG.UŠ) of his father and of his own. The former has been plausibly identified with Chamber B at Yazılıkaya (Otten 1963: 22; 1989b: 34), the latter with Nisantas (Güterbock 1967: 81). The beginning of the Nişantaş inscription corresponds perfectly with obverse ii 22–26 of the cuneiform text. In the last years D. Hawkins has attempted to extract something from the rest of the badly eroded surface, but so far the name of Alašiya has not turned up (personal communication).

19. Several fragmentary letters from Boğazköy seem to indicate that, contrary to Astour’s selective reconstruction, under the last kings of Ḫatti peace was resumed with Assyria. For KBo 18, 25 and KUB 57, 8, see Hagenbuchner 1989: nos. 189 and 224, respectively. For further pieces of the Hittite-Assyrian correspondence, see von Soden 1988; Zaccagnini 1990: 40ff.

20. Other occurrences of *ḫadantiya* have fully confirmed Güterbock’s (1967: 80) tentative rendering as “dry land.” See Puhvel 1991: 263.

Surprising new evidence on the military enterprises of Šuppiluliuma II turned up with the 1988 discovery of the so-called Südburg inscription in *Kammer 2*, a cultic installation related to the nearby sacred pool (Otten 1989a; Hawkins 1990; 1995). Though perfectly preserved, the text is difficult to understand because of the frequent use of unknown logograms. It contains three accounts of conquests, two of them followed by the building of cities. In this context, one would rather take these building activities to mean fortifying existing places or constructing military strongholds. Unfortunately, the names of these cities are mostly written logographically and cannot be identified. As observed by Hawkins, the statement of time “in that year” seems to indicate that the text describes the events of a single year. If so, the places mentioned should probably be located not too far from each other. The first campaign is to several southwestern lands: Wiyanawanda, Tamina, Masa, Luka, and Ikuna. Two of these places, Wiyanawanda and Luka, were also defeated by Tuḫaliya, according to the Yalburt inscription. The second campaign is to a mountain whose name is illegible. Finally, the third victory is, surprisingly, over the land of Tarḫuntašša (“Storm God’s City Land”). The latter is followed by the building or strengthening of three cities, one of which is Tana. Hawkins suggests that this could be Adana (attested in Hittite texts), assuming that after the defeat of Tarḫuntašša Šuppiluliuma continued eastward into Kizzuwatna.

All in all, the Südburg inscription provides exciting new information on a formerly blank area: an extensive campaign of the last Hittite king along the whole length of Anatolia’s Mediterranean coast. Even if this is partly self-laudatory propaganda, it must contain a kernel of truth, because we know of joint efforts of Ḫatti and Ugarit to contain the sea-borne enemy in Lukka (RS 20.238 = *Ugaritica* V: 88, no. 24). If so, what was the objective of Šuppiluliuma’s attack on Tarḫuntašša? Was it merely a further and final chapter of the inner-Hittite strife for the imperial throne (Hawkins 1995a: 61ff.)?

H. A. Hoffner was the first to consider a different interpretation, namely, that in his attack on Tarḫuntašša Šuppiluliuma was already fighting Sea Peoples who had landed on the southern coast of Anatolia and were pushing north (1992: 49,51). However, for reasons related to the relative dating of the Südburg and Nišantaš inscriptions, he gave up this interpretation and preferred the inner-Hittite scenario. I think that Hoffner’s original intuition was correct. Nišantaš appears to be slightly earlier than Südburg (for arguments see Singer 1996b); in any case, I understand both attacks, on Alašia and on Tarḫuntašša, as part of the same last-ditch attempt to block the further advance of the Sea Peoples. That Šuppiluliuma’s was, in the best case, a Pyrrhic victory is shown by the last documents from Ugarit, which were already reporting that the ships of the enemy had landed and had set fire to towns in the land of Ugarit (RS 20.238 = *Ugaritica* V: no. 24). Contrary to some recent historical evaluations (e.g., Liverani 1995:

49),²¹ I think that both Ḫatti and Tarḫuntašša collapsed at about the same time at the turn of the twelfth century B.C.²² Only the dynasty of Karkamiš, which held the line of the Euphrates as far as Malatya, survived to carry on the torch of Hittite civilization (Hawkins 1988; 1995b; Güterbock 1992).

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21. I fully agree, though, with Liverani's observation that Ramesses III's account of the advance of the Sea Peoples refers to states rather than simply regions, and that Qode corresponds to the land of Tarḫuntašša.

22. On Hartapu as the last king of Tarḫuntašša, see Singer 1996a.

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“IN ḪATTUŠA THE ROYAL HOUSE DECLINED”: ROYAL MORTUARY CULT IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ḪATTI

The grave political consequences of Muwatalli's *de facto* division of the kingdom, followed by Ḫattušili's usurpation of the throne, have been discussed intensively in recent years (see Bryce 2005: 230ff.; 259ff., with bibliographic references). In this paper I intend to focus on the impact of these far-reaching political developments upon the cult of the royal ancestors. It goes without saying that in traditional societies the ideological foundations of the living are intimately connected, indeed dependent, on a continuous bond with their dead ancestors, and any disruption in the chain of generations might cause catastrophic results.¹

The subject of the royal funerary cult has been investigated repeatedly over the years, both with regard to its ideological matrix and its socio-economic aspects: let it suffice to mention in passing Otten's seminal studies on the so-called King Lists and on the royal funerary ritual in the fifties (1951; 1958), the studies of del Monte (1973; 1975), Imparati (1977), and Archi (1979) on various aspects of the mortuary cult in the seventies, and, more recently, van den Hout's studies on the royal funerary ritual (1994, 1995b; cf. also Kassian et al. 2002) and on tombs and memorials (2002). I do not intend to deal here with the entire scope of this vast domain, but rather to concentrate on the postulated changes that occurred in the royal funerary cult in the last century of the Hittite kingdom.

But before we set out on this journey, which begins with Muwatalli's transfer of his capital to Tarḫuntašša, it is worthwhile to sum up briefly the current views on the Hittite terminology of mortuary institutions, while adding a few comments of my own. With some reservations, I accept the basic distinctions of

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I wish to thank Prof. Jared Miller and Prof. Theo van den Hout for their valuable comments on earlier drafts of this paper. After the Florence workshop, Prof. Alfonso Archi sent me the manuscript of his paper on “The Cult of the Ancestors at Ḫattuša and the Syrian Practices” (published now in *Fs Dinçol*), in which he reached partly different conclusions from those presented in this article.

1. For the importance of mortuary rituals for the survival of society see, e.g., Bloch 1971; Thomas 1985; Metcalf and Huntington 1991.

van den Hout (2002: 86–87), who, following Imparati (1977: 62–63) and others, defines the Stone House (É.NA₄) as a functional term, denoting a “tomb,” that is, “the last resting place of the bodily remains of members of the royal dynasty,” whereas NA₄*hekur* denotes the form of the edifice, that is, a “monument” situated on a “rocky outcrop” or a “mountain peak.” A NA₄*hekur* could accommodate different types of institutions besides a “memorial monument” for a deceased monarch, such as a mountain sanctuary, a palatial complex, etc.² The tomb and the monument of a certain ruler may overlap, but not necessarily, in which case the monument is in fact a “cenotaph,” a honorary tomb for a person buried elsewhere.

The rarely attested late terms É.GIDIM, “house of the dead,” and *ḥaštiyaš pir*, “house of the bones,” obviously refer to tombs, and are therefore semantically equivalent to the Stone House (see further below). Because of the phonetical similarity, *ḥaštiyaš pir* has been associated by some scholars with the important edifice É^h*hešti/a-*, which already figures prominently in OH texts. A third component was added to this chain of equations by Kammenhuber (1972: 300),³ who maintained that “KBo 17.15 bestätigt mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit NA₄-an *parnaš* (Gen. Sg.) ‘der Steine Haus, Steinhaus’ (...) als eine heth. Bezeichnung des hattischen *hešta*-Hauses.” This triple equation, however, which has enjoyed a rather broad acceptance⁴ rests on shaky foundations. Irrespective of the question regarding whether an etymological (Puhvel, *HED* 3: 322) or a folk-etymological (Kammenhuber 1972: 323) connection may or may not (Groddek 2001: 216) be established between *hešta*- and *ḥaštai-*, a functional overlapping between *hešta*- and É.NA₄ must certainly be rejected.⁵ As already established in earlier studies, and recently reiterated by Torri (1999), the É^h*hešta*- was a temple dedicated to the Underworld deities headed by the goddess Lelwani. Like other temples in Ḫattuša, it may have served on occasion also to pay homage to deified kings,

2. For references to the various *hekur*-monuments, see Imparati 1977 and van den Hout 2002: 74ff. The semantic proximity between the *hekur* and the Stone House is demonstrated by Muršili II’s well-known complaint about his stepmother Tawananna who turned over his father’s entire estate “to the *hekur*” of the Tutelary Deity, to the Divine Stone House” (KUB 14.4 ii 4’–5’). See van den Hout 2002: 87–88 for the various interpretations of this phrase, of which the best is probably the one that takes the two locations as being in apposition.

3. The attribution of this equation to Götze and Otten (Puhvel, *HED* 3: 322–23; Torri 1999: 32, n. 79) is inaccurate, inasmuch as they pleaded for an etymological connection between *hešta*- and *ḥaštai-*, but not for a functional equation between *hešta*- and the Stone House.

4. Its main proponents were Haas and Wäfler in their elaborate study on É^h*hešti/a-* (1976; 1977). After several observations on the connection between the É^h*hešti/a-* and the Stone House(s) (pp. 117ff.), their final verdict is given: “Wenn auf Grund der Quellenlage auch nicht definitiv zu beweisen, so scheint es doch sehr wahrscheinlich, dass zwischen dem *hešta*-Haus und dem Ahnenkult ein enger Zusammenhang bestand” (p. 122). Cf. also Puhvel, *HED* 3: 319–23, with further refs.

5. For a clear distinction between the É^h*hešta*- and the E.NA₄, see Taracha 1998: 190; 2000: 195; Groddek 2001: 217. Cf. also van den Hout 2002: 74, n. 3: “The exact relation of the *hešta*-house to both the *hekur* and Stone House remains a problem. Although it seems to have functioned as a temple for chthonic deities and there might be links with the ancestor cult, clear evidence for a funerary purpose is lacking.”

but this secondary function does not justify its equation with the final resting place of the Hittite kings and queens. The appearance of the “men of ^Dḫešta” (in a very fragmentary context) on the reverse of the tablet KBo 9.36, the obverse of which carries an offering list for the royal ancestors, does not lend support to the equation, and neither do a few fragmentary references to ^Eḫešta- (some restored) in similar texts (Haas and Wäfler 1977: 117). In a more general vein it should be noted, that the mere appearance of two or more cult institutions in the same context does not in itself establish a close proximity between them, let alone an equation.⁶ Much more is needed for safe equations and identifications in the complex topography of Ḫattuša, notably a demonstrable functional overlapping. We shall return to the problem of the correspondence between texts and topography later on, but first a few more observations are in order concerning the two main architectural terms dealt with in this paper, the Stone House (É.NA₄) and the NA₄ḫekur.⁷

The “Stone House (of the Gods)”⁸ was the place where the cinerated bones of the deceased kings and queens were brought after the cremation ceremony according to the royal funerary ritual (van den Hout 1994: 56ff.; Kassian *et al.* 2002). This was also the place where the king, warned by a foreboding omen, was taken to hide for seven days among the dead while the substitute king took his place in the palace (Kümmel 1967: 60–63; van den Hout 1994: 46; Haas 1994: 207ff.).⁹ Much importance was attributed to the fact that the texts use indiscriminately both singular and plural forms of É.NA₄. In my opinion, the reason might simply be that this royal cemetery or mausoleum served as the collective resting place for all members of the royal family and was therefore thought of, as in other royal cemeteries throughout history, as a single institution that housed multiple burial monuments of many kings. Thus, when we encounter in the texts a “Stone House of Tuḫaliya,” a “Stone House of Arnuwanda” and so on, these do not necessarily represent separate edifices in different locations, but rather the individual tombs of those kings within the single institution of the royal cemetery, which must have been a sizable complex situated somewhere in Ḫattuša or its vicinity.

6. For example, the mere mention of a Stone House in KBo 17.5, a text that describes various rituals celebrated in the ḫešta-house, has been taken as a proof for the equation between the two edifices (Kammenhuhu 1972: 300; Puhvel, *HED* 3: 322), but this has rightly been criticized by Torri (1999: 31).

7. Other terms that are related to the cult of the ancestors, but are not discussed here, are the House of the Father(s) (É *attaš*) and the House of the Grandfather(s) (É *ḫuḫḫaš*). For these terms, see, e.g., Taracha 1998: 191ff.; 2000: 192ff. (with previous bibliography).

8. For a full catalog of references see van den Hout 2002: 80ff. (with refs. to previous studies on p. 80, n. 44).

9. The bed on which the real king sleeps during this week may be the same bed in the Stone House on which the bones of the incinerated king were placed on the second day of the royal funerary ritual (Otten 1958: 68–69; van den Hout 1994: 48).

There were of course Stone Houses in other cities as well (see refs. in Haas 1994: 244; Taracha 2000: 201; van den Hout 2002: 84–85), but I believe that members of the Hittite royal house were buried, as a rule, in the central cemetery in Ḫattuša. This was the case, for example, with Piyaššili, who died in Kizzuwatna but whose body or remains were brought by Muršili to Ḫattuša.¹⁰ There was even a specific ritual prescribed for such a case,¹¹ which is probably referred to also in the catalog entry: “When they transfer the bones of a dead person”.¹² It is possible, of course, that an immediate transfer of a dead person was impossible and this is probably the situation described in the fragmentary passages adduced by van den Hout (2002: 84–85). But contrary to his view (2002: 85, with n. 76), according to which a burial outside the capital may have been a deliberate choice for manifold reasons, I doubt that the immediate members of the Hittite royal family would have been left permanently far from the central Stone House in Ḫattuša. Throughout the ages, members of royalty have always striven to find their eternal resting place amongst their ancestors, be it in the Valley of the Kings in Egypt, in the Royal Cemetery in Assur, in Westminster Abbey, in St. Denis, in Escorial, or in the nearby Basilica di San Lorenzo.¹³ Just think of the efforts invested in the recent reunification of the Romanoffs under one roof in St. Petersburg.

If some member of a royal family did not enjoy the company of his ancestors, this must have had a weighty reason. Either his contemporaries excluded him from the ancestral graveyard out of contempt, as in the case of Caligula and Nero (Davies 2000: 19, 147), or else an eccentric monarch such as Akhenaton or Muwatalli, may have chosen for himself a new capital and a new burial ground for ideological reasons (Singer 2006). But these were exceptions to the rule, and I think that the Hittites followed the common custom of collective burial of most, if not all members of the same dynasty in one royal cemetery. Therefore, I think that the funerary structure at Gavurkalesi (see refs. in van den Hout 2002: 91) may have been a *ḫekur* monument, but not the Stone House of a Great King or Queen of Ḫatti. Alternatively, if it was a Stone House, it could have served as the final resting place of the king(s) of a secondary or vassal state.

To round out this theoretical introduction on royal burials, we must consider two exceptional situations. The first is when a new dynasty comes to power,

10. *AM* 108–9, restored by the dupl. fragment KBo 10.38,6; cf. del Monte 1993: 92; van den Hout 1994: 56 (with refs.); 2002: 85.

11. KUB 30.27 obv. 7'–9'; Otten 1958: 98–99; van den Hout 2002: 85.

12. KUB 30.65 ii 12; Otten, *ibid.*; *CHD*, L–N: 441a; Dardano 2006: 164, 170.

13. Obviously, the desire to be buried in the company of ones ancestors is not restricted to royalty. This is not the place to deal with the vast ethnographical literature on relevant burial practices (see, e.g., Metcalf and Huntington 1991), but suffice it to mention in passing one of the most conspicuous examples, the spectacular reburial ceremony of the “return *famadihana*” among the Merina in Madagascar, which periodically encapsulates the bond between the living and the dead (see Bloch 1971: 159ff.).

which is not relevant in the Hittite case. In principle, the first kings of a new dynasty can either continue to be buried in the same traditional cemetery, like the Pharaohs of several New Kingdom dynasties, or they can inaugurate a new burial ground, like the Roman dynasties, each with its own mausoleum.¹⁴

The second exception to the rule is quite relevant to Hittite history. What happened when a schism occurs in the royal line of succession and each of the two competing branches claims for itself legitimacy and the right of “possessing” the royal ancestors? This is exactly the situation that occurred after the usurpation of Ḫattušili, and I believe that it bore important consequences for the royal funerary cult.

When Muwatalli transferred his capital to Tarḫuntašša in the Lower Land he took with him the gods of Ḫatti and the GIDIM.ḪI.A. This famous statement, repeated twice in Ḫattušili’s Apology (ii 1, 52), has often been pondered upon. What exactly does GIDIM mean in this context? It is often rendered by the Latin term *manes*, and most scholars assume that it must refer to the statues of the ancestors.¹⁵ However, as shown by Archi in his study on ^DZawalli (1979: 93, n. 30), the term GIDIM is clearly distinguished from ALAM, “statue, image” (Hittite *ešri-*; *HW*², E: 126–27). The Hittite meaning of GIDIM does not entirely overlap with its Akkadian equivalent, *eṭemmu*, the spirit or the soul of a person, which continues to exist after the death of the person.¹⁶ This spiritual concept is better expressed by *ištan(zan)-* and ^DZawalli.¹⁷ GIDIM, with its Hittite reading *akkant-*, usually refers to the “dead” in general or to its earthly remains (Otten 1958: 143–44; Archi 1979: 92–93).

Does this mean that Muwatalli actually dug out the cinerary remains of his ancestors and carried them to Tarḫuntašša?¹⁸ Morbid as this may sound, it is not unparalleled in the ancient Near East. When the Chaldean king Marduk-apal-iddina II (Merodach-baladan) was chased out from Babylon by Sargon and fled to Elam through the Sea Land, “he gathered the gods of the entire extent of his land, together with the bones (İR.PAD.DU.MEŠ = *ešmāte*) of his forefathers from (their) graves” (*CAD*, E: 342a). By doing this he avoided the kind of treatment that Assurbanipal later meted out to the remains of the Elamite kings, by opening their tombs and removing their remains to Assur, thus depriving them of funerary offerings (Bayliss 1973: 117, with refs.).

14. In Rome, for example, each dynasty had its own Mausoleum, but it was not necessarily founded by the first emperor of the new dynasty. Vespasian, for instance, was first buried in the Mausoleum of Augustus with the rest of the Julio-Claudians, and only later were his ashes brought to the Mausoleum of the Flavian Dynasty (Davies 2000: 24).

15. E.g., Otten 1951: 110; Popko 1995: 153; van den Hout 2002: 74, n. 1.

16. For the Mesopotamian concept of the immortal soul, see Bayliss 1973: 116; Selz 2006 (with further literature).

17. Archi 1979: 91ff.; 2001: 5, n. 14; van den Hout 1994: 44; 1998: 83; Collins 2006: 43–44.

18. Archi 1979: 93, n. 30; Haas 1994: 243, n. 37; Börker-Klähn 1994: 365.

If so, Muwatalli followed the general tendency of monarchs to keep the remains of their ancestors, which possessed vital spiritual and political powers, as close as possible to them. I differ in this respect from van den Hout (2002: 73–74), who thinks that “the Hittites did not, on the whole, seem to attach much importance to the physical remains and were more interested in an ancestor cult that made use of statues of various kinds of icons.” Cultural history shows that people, almost everywhere and anytime, do attach great importance to their physical remains, and they often go out of their way to possess even a tiny bit of the real or make-believe relics of a revered personage, be it a king, a saint, or a martyr.¹⁹ I do not think that the Hittites were any different in this respect and the careful treatment given to the bones of their cremated monarchs serves as proof. Van den Hout himself supplied several references for the transportation of human bones over long distances (1994: 50; 2002: 85).

Where Muwatalli may have deposited the transferred remains of his ancestors is another question. Perhaps in the famous ^{NA}*ḫekur* SAG.UŠ of §10 in the Bronze Tablet, probably the first Eternal Peak of its kind?²⁰ In any case, a few years after Muwatalli’s death, his son Urḫi-Teššub moved the capital back to Ḫattuša, taking with him the gods of Ḫatti, of Arinna, and of the Cedar Land. No mention is made of the GIDIM.ḪI.A, but one can hardly imagine Urḫi-Teššub, who did everything in his power to restore his authority over the entire land, renouncing the privilege of his ancestors’ physical proximity as guarantors of his own legitimacy.

Ḫattušili’s coup and the installation of Kurunta as King of Tarḫuntašša created a new and problematic situation. From now on, who would be the official guardian of the royal ancestors? And where would the remains of Muwatalli find their final resting place? Together with his ancestors in the royal Stone House in Ḫattuša, or rather in proximity to his second son Kurunta in Tarḫuntašša? It is generally assumed that the Eternal Peak of §10 was the tomb of Muwatalli and that it must have been located somewhere in the south, perhaps at Sirkeli.²¹ This monument could indeed have been a memorial dedicated to Muwatalli, but I doubt that it contained his earthly remains. According to the Royal Offering Lists (see below) Muwatalli was worshipped together with his predecessors in Ḫattuša.

The *de facto* division of the Hittite Kingdom introduced a highly explosive situation in which the two royal branches competed for legitimacy not only through mundane political means (such as inscriptions and seals), but

19. As epitomized by Metcalf and Huntington (1991: 141) in connection with the enshrinement of royal relics in Thailand: “Stored in the palace, they [the royal relics] formed a kind of charismatic stockpile, distilled from the genius of ancient kings.” Cf. Archi’s statement (2001: 8) in connection with the ancestor cult in Ebla: “It was thanks to the continued presence of ancient rulers that their descendants could claim the throne for themselves.”

20. For the interpretation of this passage see van den Hout 2002: 76 and the bibliography cited in n. 22.

21. Otten 1988: 42ff. with n. 78; van den Hout 2002: 89ff.

also through a contest for accessibility to the cult places of their common royal ancestors. Thus, Kurunta's access to the Eternal Peak (of his father) was initially denied, perhaps by his half-brother Urḫi-Teššub. Later on Ḫattušili and Tuthaliya felt secure enough to return those rights to Kurunta, being confident that Muwatalli's real remains, and thus his divine powers, remained in the Stone House of Ḫattuša. The kings of Tarḫuntašša had to content themselves with effigies or cenotaphs.

In Ḫattuša itself the cult of the deified kings was regulated through the so-called Royal Offering Lists (CTH 660–661).²² In the preserved parts of these texts there is hardly any clue pointing to the location where these offering rituals were carried out, but it stands to reason that they were performed close to the royal tombs, that is, at the Stone House. Taking into account the large quantities of cattle and sheep that were sacrificed in homage to the entire Hittite dynasty, “44 kings” according to one of the lists,²³ I assume that this must have been a wide open location on the outskirts of the city or in its vicinity.²⁴ I find it difficult to accept the currently proposed localizations of the Stone House, either in Yazılıkaya Room B (Imparati 1977: 62–63; van den Hout 1994: 52; 2002: 80) or in the palace area on Büyükkale (Haas 1994: 248). The latter proposal would conform with the widespread funerary custom in the ancient Near East of digging royal tombs beneath the floors of palatial buildings,²⁵ but no indications for this have been found in the area of Büyükkale, which was entirely excavated.²⁶

A location of the Stone House in the northern part of the city, not far from the cemetery of Osmankayasi and Yazılıkaya, would seem plausible, and indeed, such a suggestion has been advocated by Rudolf Opfermann (1982). He pointed towards the lowest city terrace in the northwest corner of Boğazköy, the area called Mihraplıkaya, which serves nowadays as a threshing floor. In the winter

22. Otten 1951; 1968; Haas and Wäfler 1977: 106ff. The “[form]er *labarnas*,” are allegedly mentioned also in the ritual for the substitute king, KUB 24.5+ obv. 6' (Kümmel 1967: 8, 15, with previous biblio.), but, in my opinion, the restoration [*tarpa*]iuš *labarnu*š,” “[substitu]te *labarnas*,” makes more sense in this context than [*karui*]iuš *labarnu*š. Cf. Goetze 1955: 355.

23. One wonders what the total of “44 kings” (ŠU.NIGIN 44 LUGAL.MEŠ) in Text E (KUB 11.8 + 9) iii 14 might be referring to. It must certainly include more than “kings,” for there were no more than thirty Hittite monarchs (Wilhelm 2004: 76). The count must have included all the recipients of offerings, including queens and princes. Indeed, a rough count of all the names figuring in these lists adds up to a total of around forty names.

24. Text E (KUB 11.8 + 9) iii 15 has the difficult form *wa-ar-ḫu-uš-du-wa-na-ti* (Otten 1951: 68). Nakamura 2002: 137 suggests the emendation *wa-ar-ḫu-uš-du-wa-aš*? UD¹⁷-ti, “Tag des *warḫu*šdu,” which he relates to the rare term ^{GI}*warḫu*šdu-. The latter may be etymologically connected to *warḫui*- “rough, bushy, thickly grown.” If so, this might indicate a wooded or bushy area as the location of the ritual, but this remains highly speculative.

25. See Matthiae 1997 with numerous refs.; cf. also Archi 2001. For the *kispu* offerings to the statues of the ancestors (including Sargon and Naram-Sin) in the throne room of Mari, see Jonker 1995: 53–54 with refs.

26. In early reports an identification of Building C with the Stone House was suggested (Bittel 1940: 24–25; but cf. idem 1970: 85), but this attempt was later abandoned and replaced by another identification of Building C, namely, as a shrine for the rain cult (Neve 1971; 1982: 113ff.).

this deep depression is entirely inundated. A trial trench dug by Bittel in 1955 reached the remains of a thick wall and a drainage canal at a depth of over three meters, beneath sterile alluvial deposits (Bittel 1957). Perhaps further investigations in this unexplored area of the city might bring more results.

Not only is the location of the Stone House unknown, but also its form and structure. In order to envisage what the Hittite royal cemetery might have looked like, we might perhaps draw inspiration from other places and periods. For example, the cremation burials in northern Syria in the first millennium B.C.E., notably at Zincirli and at Tell Halaf (Niehr 2006, with refs.). Over the grave, which contained the urn and precious offerings, a life-size seated statue of the deceased was erected (Niehr 2006: 124ff., with Abb. 5–6). From a later period one may compare the Ancestors Gallery of Antiochus I of Commagene at Nemrud Dağ, with its row of standing stones and altars dedicated to his ancestors (Jacobs 2002, with refs.). Each ancestor had his or her name carved at the back of a stele and had an offering table in front. Perhaps the *Ahnenreihen* in the Hittite Stone House had a similar appearance.

If the location and form of the Stone House have yet to be discovered, we have important information on the chronological sequence of the so-called King Lists. Much has been written on their early parts in search of the origins of the Hittite monarchy.²⁷ Much less attention has been given to the final part in these lists and its significance. A glance at Otten's editions (1951; 1968; 1987, Abb. 2–3) immediately reveals the surprising fact that none of the lists goes beyond Muwatalli II. Some of the lists end or break up before the age of Šuppiluliuma I, whereas those that do get to him, provide an exceptionally replete representation of his family, including his wives and his sons Telipinu and Piyaššili. Incidentally, this raises the intriguing question until when did the kings of Karkamiš and Ḫalab continue to be buried with their ancestors in Ḫattuša, and when did they inaugurate their own royal cemeteries in Syria?

Only List C (KUB 11.7+36.122) continues beyond Šuppiluliuma and includes an offering for Muršili (rev. 14 *Mur-ši-DINGI]R-LIM*) and one for Muwatalli (rev. 15 *NIR.GÁL*).²⁸ After the paragraph divider there is an additional offering, but the name is unfortunately missing. If the composition of this new paragraph is similar to the previous one, it should contain the name of Muwatalli's successor, but I would not risk guessing who this might be. Or better perhaps, could this line have provided the name of Muwatalli's mysterious wife?

27. For recent discussions see Carruba 1998: 97ff.; 2007; Beal 2003: 31ff.; Forlanini 2004: 381, n. 50. For comparative material from Syria (see refs, in Taracha 2000: 194, n. 125), cf. the king lists from Ebla (Archi 2001) and from Ugarit (Vidal 2005 and 2006).

28. When Muwatalli I was discovered, there was initially some confusion about the identity of the various Muwatallis mentioned in the lists. But it is now evident that this one is Muwatalli II (Haas and Wäfler 1977: 107; Carruba 1990: 542 with n. 7; 1998: 102; Haas 1994: 243, 247; Beal 2003: 31).

Remarkably, Muwatalli and his anonymous successor receive a “fattened ox and a [fattened] sheep,” whereas Šuppiluliuma and Muṣili receive only regular ones. With regard to the dating of this list, Muwatalli provides a terminus post quem, but this does not necessarily point to Hattušili III as the author.²⁹ The ancestor cult, which goes back to much earlier times,³⁰ must have persisted until the very end of the Hittite kingdom.³¹

Now, is this a most remarkable coincidence that none of the preserved lists carries the line of kings beyond Muwatalli II, or are we confronted with some kind of “structural” break in the sequence? The suspicion increases when we find this same chronological limitation in other offering lists for kings or queens, where it can hardly be blamed on the poor preservation of the text.

There is the well-known list of the Sun-goddesses of Arinna of various queens, which were worshipped at Taḫurpa during the fifth day of the *nuntariyašḫaš* festival.³² It includes Walanni, Nikalmati, Ašmunikal, Duduḫepa, Ḫenti, and Tawananna, stopping short before Muṣili’s unfortunate wife Gaššuliyawiya. There are also the libations and offerings presented to the statues of ancient kings in various temples during the main festivals.³³ Here we find Hattušili, Tuthaliya, and Šuppiluliuma in one list (KUB 10.11 iii 29, iv 2, 21–23), and the same kings plus Muṣili in others (KBo 2.29 obv. 10–14; 30 i 12–15). Although this cult of royal images in temples is an altogether different religious phenomenon, to be addressed in the following, it is nevertheless noteworthy that here too the bottom line does not go beyond the turn of the thirteenth century.

In conclusion, I believe that the composition of the Royal Offering Lists, especially their later part, should be taken more seriously than sometimes assumed,³⁴ and I strongly suspect that the absence of kings and queens after Muwatalli II in these and other lists is not accidental, but marks a deliberate discontinuation of the royal line as represented in offering ceremonies. The possible reasons for this structural break are not too difficult to fathom. If Hattušili III and his successors were to be included in the offering lists, what about Muwatalli’s two sons, Urḫi-Teššub and Kurunta? The easiest way would be to simply ignore them, but that would not be in the Hittite spirit. As shown by the elaborate *mantalli* rituals, a lot of effort and means were invested in order to reconcile

29. As suggested by Otten 1951: 57; 1968: 111; Haas and Wäfler 1977: 107; Haas 1994: 248.

30. Van den Hout 1994: 57; 2002: 86. Although the extant offering lists are all Late Hittite, they certainly go back to earlier originals (Kassian et al. 2002: 12–13).

31. Perhaps the spelling *Šu-up-p[ī]-lu-li-ia-ma* in KUB 11.7+KUB 36.122 rev. 13, referring to Šuppiluliuma I, may indicate that List C is a very late copy (Carruba 2007: 137).

32. CTH 626.IV; Bin-Nun 1975: 197ff., 275; Nakamura 2002: 90, 188.

33. Otten 1958: 110–112; 1968: 126 (Tabelle VI); Archi 1979: 92, n. 28; Haas 1994: 804 f.

34. For an appraisal of the credibility of these lists, see Bin-Nun 1975: 273 f. with n. 194 (with a refutation of Kammenhuher’s excessive skepticism); Carruba 1988: 198ff.; 1998: 102, n. 32; Carruba 2007 and in this volume.

such “public enemies” of the past, lest they took revenge on their wrongdoers. Simply ignoring them in the ancestor cult could become a dangerous offense, to be severely punished by the gods and the dead.³⁵ A more “politically correct” way was to simply “freeze” the offering lists after Muwatalli II, and to transform the funerary cult of Ḫattušili III and his successors into a different *modus operandi*. In other words, I think that the cult of the royal ancestors up to and including Muwatalli II was continued as before, but that subsequent deified kings of Ḫattuša received a different form of worship, a personalized cult in individual funerary monuments.³⁶ In the remaining part of this paper I will try to substantiate this premise and to examine in more detail the evidence for the funerary activities of the last three kings of Ḫatti.

ḪATTUŠILI III

Ḫattušili III is well-known for his generous grants to religious institutions and to individuals, all of them exempted from duties toward the state. Two of these institutions may plausibly be associated with the ancestor cult. The first is the ^{NA4}*ḫekur pirwa*, an important religious and economic institution that figures prominently in texts of Ḫattušili III and Tuthaliya IV. It is indirectly connected to the Stone House through an oracle text (KUB 16.27), which associates the *ḫekur pirwa* with “the men of Stone House” (Del Monte 1975: 334; van den Hout 2002: 83, 88). There is an ongoing debate about the meaning of *pirwa* in this composition, usually written without the divine marker. Several scholars (recently, Tischler, *HEG*, P: 619ff.; Pecchioli Daddi 2005: 575) endorse an etymological connection with Hittite ^{NA4}*peru-/peruna-*, “rock, cliff,” which would fit well the rocky location of *ḫekurs* (but cf. *CHD*, P/3: 313).

CTH 88 (KBo 6.28 + KUB 26.48) is an extensive document granting the *ḫekur pirwa* exemption from all kinds of duties and levies (Imparati 1975: 154–55; 1977: 39ff.). It opens with a lengthy historical preamble, better known as the “Concentric Invasion,” which describes the catastrophic situation of the kingdom before Šuppiluliuma’s accession to the throne. Then it carries down the historical development until Ḫattušili’s own days. What lurks behind this historical treatise is obviously the parallel between the two usurpers who saved their kingdom from collapse. Less clear is the relationship between this lengthy

35. One might argue that other Hittite kings, such as Taḫurwaili and Tuthaliya the Younger, are also missing from the lists, but these belonged to the distant past, whereas his two nephews weighed heavily on Ḫattušili’s conscience, and this moral burden was reassumed by his successors as well.

36. Relying on different arguments, van den Hout (2002: 86) had already reached a similar conclusion in his interpretation of the Stone House. One of the options he put forward is: “It is conceivable that there existed a general É.NA₄ (DINGIR-LIM) where the urns of kings and queens were deposited but that later kings preferred their own (Divine) Stone Houses.” His other option is less convincing.

historical introduction and the subject matter of the text, the *ḫekur pirwa*. Perhaps the answer is hinted at in the final sentence of the historical preamble, according to which even the city of Ḫattuša was burnt down and only the *ḫešta*-house was miraculously spared (obv, 15). Does this indicate some sort of connection between the *ḫekur pirwa* and the *ḫešta*-house (Imparati 1977: 47)? As for the question why this institution received such preferential status, Imparati suggested that the *ḫekur pirwa* and its personnel might have been involved somehow in the civil war on Ḫattušili's side.

In this connection, the intriguing phrase in rev. 18 deserves to be underlined: *Ḫattuši=ma ḫaššuwaš pir* (É.LUGAL) *tepawešta* "In Ḫattuša the Royal House declined." Unfortunately, the following phrase, beginning with *n=at*, is not preserved. Then follows the usual stipulation: "... (the one) who will follow (me), my son, my grandson (who) will become king in Ḫattuša, should [not] carry [away anything] from the *ḫekur* [*pirwa*, and] he should not take anything. But if the *ḫekur pirwa* will be im]poverished, he should compensate it."³⁷

What is the meaning of this exceptional phrase about the "declining royal house?" As already noted by Otten (1963: 19), it establishes a linkage between the future of the dynasty and the welfare of the *ḫekur pirwa*. But it must also hint at some past decline of the Royal House in Ḫattuša. The denominative verb *tepawēš*- basically expresses some kind of reduction, decline, perhaps even impoverishment. Its cognates *tepnu*- and *teṣṣanu*- are used in late texts in the sense of "disgrace" or "humiliate" (Rieken 1999: 221–22). As defined by Güterbock (repr. 1997: 75), "É.LUGAL is literally 'house of the king,' which never means 'palace' but either 'royal house' in the sense of 'royal family' or 'estate of the king'." Whichever sense one prefers, I strongly suspect that this unique phrase can only refer to the civil war against Urḫi-Teššub and its dire effects on the royal house of Ḫatti. It also recalls Puduḫepa's dramatic statement in her letter to Ramses (KUB 21.38 obv. 10'–11'): "As you my brother know the House of Ḫatti (É KUR URUḪatti), do I not kn[ow] it? The House [has been bu]rnt(?)/transferred(?)³⁸ [.....] and whatever remained, Urḫi-Teššub gave it to the Great God." The lesson has been learned by Ḫattušili and he calls upon his successors to faithfully preserve the rights of the *ḫekur pirwa* in order to avoid further disgrace to the royal house.³⁹

The derivatives of *tepu*- bring to mind another intriguing expression, *tepu pedan*, "the small place," apparently an antonym of *šalli pedan*, "the great place," the well-known expression for "throne" or "capital" (CHD, Š/1: 99). Van den

37. Otten 1963: 19–20; Imparati 1977: 39–40; Tischler, *HEG*, P: 619.

38. For the restoration of the verb in question, see Singer 1998: 537–38.

39. KBo 12.140 rev. 12' mentions a *ḫekur pirwa* ^m*Tud[ḫ]aliya*. If this refers to Tuthaliya IV, it may indicate that eventually Ḫattušili appointed his son Tuthaliya to administer this estate as well, like other religious institutions. See further below.

Hout (1994: 57, n. 81; cf. *CHD*, P: 339–40) suggested that “the small/humble place may have to do with the loss of kingship or maybe even with a king’s demise,” a meaning that would fully conform with the “declining royal house” discussed above.⁴⁰

Ḫattušili’s other, more explicit reference to a mortuary edifice is in his Apology (KUB 1.1 iv 75): “I made myself a Bone House (*ḫaštiyaš pir*) and I dedicated it to the goddess.” The only other attestation of *ḫaštiyaš* as a location is in the small fragment Bo 3826,⁴¹ which lists several golden statues or statuettes, at least one of which was deposited “in the inner-room of the Bone House” (É.ŠÁ *ḫaštiyaš*). Leaving aside the complex problem of the etymological connection between *ḫaštai-* and *ḫišta-* (see above), it must be conceded that semantically a Bone House or Bone Inner-room can only refer to a grave, which establishes a clear parallel with the Stone House.

What does Ḫattušili mean by saying that he “made himself” (*-za iya-*) a Bone House, and why the new tenninology? Could this mean that he started to build a new burial chamber for himself and for his family? And if so, was this monument situated in the vicinity of the (old) Stone House or in some other location, perhaps closer to the *ḫekur pirwa*? In any case, this unique reference to the establishment of his own Bone House seems to mark Ḫattušili’s departure from the ancient custom of collective royal burials in the Stone House and the initiation, for the political reasons mentioned above, of a new norm of individual funerary structures, which may have combined the functions of both a Stone House and a *ḫekur*, that is, a monumental resting place for himself and his closest family members. This mortuary institution may be referred to in Ḫattušili’s letter to Kadašman-Enlil II of Babylon (KBo 1.10+ rev. 58–61), in which he asks for a stone carver to set up for him statues (ALAM.ALAM.MEŠ) in the “Family House” (É IM.RI.A = *bīt kimti*), a Babylonian term referring to a family mausoleum (Bonatz 2002: 76).

Another important development in the official cult was the process of “sacralization” of royalty, which has been detected by van den Hout (1995a: 564, 571) in Tuthaliya’s hieroglyphic inscriptions, and more recently by Pecchioli Daddi (2006: 127) in the cult practices of the city of Ḫurma. I would suggest that this sacralization already began in the previous generation. In her prayer for the well-being of her husband, Puduḫepa promises to dedicate to Liliwani a lifesize statue of Ḫattušili should he recover from his illness: “a silver statue of Ḫattušili, as big as Ḫattušili himself, with its head, its hands and its feet of gold, which

40. For the possible meanings of *tepu pedan*, see also Haas 1994: 92, n. 43 (“wahrscheinlich eine Grab-gruft”); Kassian et al. 2002: 338–39; Tischler, *HEG* T/2: 313.

41. Published in Otten 1958: 112; cf. also Haas and Wäfler 1977: 116–17; Börker-Klähn 1994: 366–67; van den Hout 1995a: 554.

I will weigh out separately” (Singer 2002: 104). Also in her vow to the same goddess she promises to dedicate a golden “head” (SAG.DU) of Ḫattušili (KUB 15.17+ i 8; Otten and Souček 1965: 36, n. 5). Perhaps Puduḫepa also made a statue of herself, if the reference to an ALAM MUNUS.LUGAL in the oracle text KUB 22.70 obv. 21 can be attributed to her. The queen’s statue was decorated with a golden wreath “borrowed” from the goddess of Arušna (van den Hout 1994: 49). Through these pious acts the royal couple joined the company of their revered ancestors who were conceived as the guardian spirits of Hittite royalty and their images were worshiped in temples. The first Hittite monarch known to have introduced this practice was Ḫattušili I, who erected his golden statue in the temple of the Sun-goddess of Arinna.⁴²

I mentioned before the offerings to the images of Ḫattušili, Tuthaliya, Šuppiluliuma and Muršili in the temples of Ḫattuša (e.g. KBo 2.30 obv. 12–15). Otten (1951: 58–59) initially thought that the first two were Šuppiluliuma’s grandfather and father, respectively, but it is now obvious that these images represented the “founding fathers” of the Hittite kingdom, who are also evoked in the extended genealogies of late kings. Accordingly, they must represent Ḫattušili I, Tuthaliya I, Šuppiluliuma I, and Muršili II (Haas 1994: 247). This age-old Mesopotamian tradition of setting up effigies of venerated kings in temples⁴³ was first emulated by Ḫattušili I and then by a few other kings who had a justified claim to grandeur. It has little to do with the Royal Offering Lists, which strived for comprehensiveness in representing the royal succession line. According to some Mesopotamian scholars, the dedication of statues in temples had a completely different theological function, that of “permanently reminding the deity of the existence of the donor and, in exchange for gifts, asking for help and attention” (Jonker 1995: 80). I think that such a distinction between “the cult of the dead” (*Totenkult, Totenpflege*) and “the worship of important ancestors” (*Ahnenverehrung*) is also befitting for ancient Anatolia.⁴⁴ The names of glorious kings of the

42. KBo 10.2 iii 21ff. Could this statue of Ḫattušili I have remained in the temple of the Sun-goddess of Arinna until the late imperial period? This may seem unlikely, but not entirely impossible, if one considers that Šamši-Adad made offerings to the statues of Sargon and Naram-Sin in the “throne room” of Mari (Jonker 1995: 53, with refs.). In any case, the statues of revered kings must have been periodically refurbished or sculpted anew.

43. For the offerings made to the statues of living and dead monarchs in Mesopotamia, see Limet 1970: 68 (with refs. in nn. 4, 5); Wilhelm 1972; Kutscher 1974; Tsukimoto 1985: 21 with n. 90, 89 with n. 341; Jonker 1995: 223ff. (with further refs.).

The statues of celebrated Hittite kings set up in temples should not be confused with the seated effigies of the dead king and queen, which were carried around in a cart or chariot during the royal funeral ceremony (for which see van den Hout 1994: 61ff.; 1995b: 199ff.).

44. It also recalls the distinction between “Tomb Cult” and “Hero Cult” in early Greece (Antonaccio 1995; Whitley 1995). Note in particular the penetrating observation of A. Snodgrass (cited in Antonaccio 1995: 6–7) that “the two most important characteristics of a hero are his association with an epoch of greatness, whether distantly past or relatively recent, and his usefulness to later generations.

past—Ḫattušili, Tuḫaliya, Šuppiluliuma—were taken up by Late Hittite kings in the hope that their glory would radiate upon their present namesakes.

Following Neve's original insight, I would classify in the category of *Ahn-enerverehrung* the Tuḫaliya relief (BOĞAZKÖY 19) from "shrine A" within the temenos wall of Temple 5 in the Upper City. In other words, I subscribe to the view that this image portrays Tuḫaliya I of the early Hittite Empire,⁴⁵ rather than Tuḫaliya IV.⁴⁶ The same applies, in my mind, to the figure of Šuppiluliuma from the entrance of Chamber I in Südburg, which must represent Šuppiluliuma I acting as the protecting ancestor of the builder, Šuppiluliuma II (Hawkins 1995: 19).

TUḪALIYA IV

If Ḫattušili III was a great innovator in many respects, some of which were dictated by his usurpation of the throne, his son was a great consolidator of the state institutions and the religious legitimacy of his reign. Tuḫaliya's meticulous "clean up" of the enormous cultic apparatus of the state was stimulated by a deep sense of malaise and remorse over the circumstances of his father's and his own accession to the throne. But, as often happens under similar circumstances, humility and penitence soon led to an excessive campaign for self-aggrandizement and sacralization of the king's person.

In relation to the world of the dead, who posed a constant threat to his kingship through curses and magic spells, Tuḫaliya's "purification" program included an extensive oracular inquiry for possible grievances caused to various deceased persons. The recorded results of this penetrating "soul searching" are collected under CTH 569, in which the *mantalli* rituals and the remunerations offered to six deceased members of the extended royal family are described in detail.⁴⁷

Another oracular inquiry, grouped together under CTH 574, investigated cases of cultic negligence and impurity related to "the Stone House of the fatherly gods" (É.NA₄ DINGIR-LIM *addaš*).⁴⁸ Mention is made of the individual Stone Houses of Tuḫaliya, Arnuwanda, and Šuppiluliuma, who must be the Early Empire kings (Haas 1994: 244, with refs.). The nature of the transgressions established in this inquiry is generally of a neglect of certain offerings and rituals: the meat of oxen and sheep that was literally "snatched away" from the mouth of the divine recipients during the *tahī*-festival (KUB 19.39 ii 36, 41; del Monte 1975: 332–33); ritual offerings for the dead that were discontinued (KUB 22.35

45. Neve 1993: 34–36, Abb. 100–104; Gonnet 1995: 194; Hawkins 1995: 19.

46. Van den Hout 1995a: 556; 2002: 89.

47. For partial discussions see del Monte 1973: 381–82; 1987: 106ff.; Archi 1979: 87. For an edition of the entire group of texts, see van den Hout 1998.

48. del Monte 1975: 330ff.; van den Hout 2002: 83–84.

ii 2'–7'; del Monte 1975: 335–36); the festivals of the *garana*- and *šeli*- that had not been celebrated for three years (KUB 18.16 ii 4–6; del Monte 1975: 336), and so on. Another serious offense had to do with some temple officials who visited the Stone House but did not purify themselves from contacting the dead when they returned to their temple (KUB 16.34 i 5–10; del Monte 1975: 330). The cumulative effect of all these failures may perhaps point to a general neglect of the state cult before Tuthaliya's accession to the throne, recalling the neglect of certain festivals by Šuppiluliuma I and their rectification by Muršili II. However, this impression might be at least partially false or exaggerated. Any investigation as thorough as Tuthaliya's would have "discovered" similar transgressions in the strict rules, and his comprehensive purification program probably reveals more about his own character and agenda than about his father's negligence.

What seems to be rather surprising in Tuthaliya's extensive "cult reparation" program (I prefer this term over "cult reform") is the lack of references to the erection or renovation of mortuary monuments. There is a single reference to a *ḫekur pirwa Tut[ḫaliya]* (KBo 12.140 rev. 12'), but the context is fragmentary. Assuming that the king is Tuthaliya IV, the question remains whether this refers to his own building activities (Imparati 1977: 60–61; van den Hout 2002: 79, 88), or perhaps to his son's, who built a *ḫekur* SAG.UŠ in homage to his father.

In any case, there are no further references to the mortuary cult, notably, to the Bone House (*ḫaštiyaš pir*) built by his father. In short, Tuthaliya seems to have been more preoccupied with the renovation of the cult of the gods throughout the kingdom, leaving the institutions of the dead, including his own mortuary monument, to his pious son Šuppiluliuma.

ŠUPPILULIUMA II

The last king of Ḫatti may perhaps be designated as the ultimate protector of the dead ancestors. Two of his most substantial texts are dedicated to mortuary monuments: the Eternal Peak built in honor of his father (CTH 121) and the treaty imposed on the people of Ḫatti to respect the funerary cults (CTH 256).

The so-called Battle of Alašiya text (CTH 121)⁴⁹ probably consists of cuneiform versions of two hieroglyphic inscriptions: first, a statue of Tuthaliya inscribed with his manly deeds, which was set up by his son in the Everlasting Peak (^{NA}*ḫekur* SAG.UŠ), and second, an inscription in which Šuppiluliuma recounted his own victory over the "enemy of Alašiya." The cuneiform text ends

49. KBo 12.38; Otten 1963; Güterbock 1967; Hoffner 1997: 193; Giorgieri and Mora 1996: 65ff.; Singer 2000: 27; Bolatti Guzzo and Marazzi 2004; de Martino 2007: 489. Torri (KBo 49, Inhaltsübersicht, p. VI) suggests a possible join with KBo 49.245 (487/t), which was also found in the House on the Slope and exhibits a similar handwriting. The only preserved signs on obv. 1 of the tiny fragment are LUGAL.GAL, perhaps preceded by Tuthaliya in Šuppiluliuma's genealogy.

with the endowment of the Everlasting Peak with a domain consisting of seventy villages, followed by a typical warning clause directed against anyone who might take anything away or impose *šaḫḫan* taxes on this institution.

Ever since the discovery of this text there has been an ongoing debate over the identification of his Everlasting Peak in Ḫattuša. Otten (1963: 22–23) suggested that Room B in Yazılıkaya, with its obvious funerary character and its dedication to Tutḫaliya, was the *ḫekur* SAG.UŠ mentioned in this text. Furthermore, the feet of a colossal statue found in the village of Yekbaz originally stood at the northern end of the room and could very well belong to the statue (ALAM) on which Šuppiluliuma inscribed the manly deeds of his father. This view is still maintained by some scholars,⁵⁰ but others⁵¹ follow the alternative identification suggested by Güterbock (1967: 81). On the basis of Steinherr's and Laroche's comparison of the beginning of the hieroglyphic inscription at Nişantepe with obv. ii 22ff. in the cuneiform text, Güterbock suggested to locate the Everlasting Peak built by Tutḫaliya at Nişantepe. Recently, van den Hout (2002: 80) stated that "the identification of Nişantepe as the *ḫekur* SAG.UŠ, 'Eternal Peak', seems assured," although he admits that Neve's excavations at Nişantepe⁵² did not adduce any support for this identification,

I think that there is a third solution, which, as far as I can see, has not been explicitly presented.⁵³ The axiomatic assumption that the *ḫekur* SAG.UŠ built by Šuppiluliuma for his father and his own Alašiya victory inscription should be located in one and the same place (van den Hout 2002: 78) is not only unnecessary, but, to my mind, outright implausible. In fact, the passages in which Šuppiluliuma speaks about his own deeds (ii 22ff. and col. iii) do not mention the *ḫekur* SAG.UŠ at all. Then, after a large gap (the end of col. iii and the beginning of col. iv), the end of the text returns to the operational instructions relating to the estate granted to the Eternal Peak. I see no reason whatsoever for the assumption that "the remains of column iv were also an integral part of the second inscription" (van den Hout 2002: 78). In fact, it would be quite peculiar if Šuppiluliuma would place his own inscription in the mortuary monument of his father. In short, Room B in Yazılıkaya may very well be the *ḫekur* SAG.UŠ of Tutḫaliya, as originally suggested by Otten,⁵⁴ whereas Šuppiluliuma's Alašiya text, *may have*

50. For refs, see van den Hout 2002: 78 with nn. 27–28.

51. For refs. see *ibid.* 78 with nn. 29–30.

52. For refs. see *ibid.*, 79 with nn. 36–37.

53. Although Hawkins (1995: 59) succinctly hinted at it by distinguishing between the Eternal Peak, the identification of which with Yazılıkaya Chamber B he considers as "virtually certain" and the narrative of Šuppiluliuma's naval battle, which "should exist somewhere on NIŞANTAŞ itself."

54. Perhaps Room B was not only a monument dedicated to Tutḫaliya IV, but also the final resting place of his earthly remains. One of the niches on the wall may once have contained his bones and ashes (van den Hout 1994: 52 with previous refs. in n. 63). This possibility, however, was rejected by Neve (1989: 351–52) who suggested that

been inscribed on the Nişantepe rock.⁵⁵ The architectural remains at Nişantepe, with the impressive gate flanked by two sphinxes, “are not necessarily part of a funerary structure” (van den Hout 2002: 78). But even if they are, they could perhaps belong to an Eternal Peak built by Šuppiluliuma for himself, with a fitting inscription below. In any case, the evidence is not sufficient to determine the function of this building, unlike Room B at Yazılıkaya, which perfectly matches the information gathered from the texts.

With the Eternal Peak (*hekur* SAG.UŠ) of Tutḫaliya *redomitus*, I would like to revive another identification within the sacred complex of Yazılıkaya. At the Turkish Historical Congress at Ankara in 1981 (which commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Kemal Atatürk), I suggested that Room A with its assembly of gods was the *ḫuwaši* of the Storm-god of Ḫatti (Singer 1986; cr. also id. 1983: 101). As for Room B, I followed the identification with the *hešta*-house suggested by Güterbock, Otten, and Bittel (Singer 1986: 251–52, with refs.; idem. 1983: 113), but I added that “it is not impossible that in the closing decades of the 13th century this structure may have acquired an additional function as a shrine for the cult of the dead or as a funeral temple of Tutḫaliya IV.”⁵⁶ I still stand behind those identifications, although I am somewhat less confident about the location of the *hešta*-house after Torri’s study on Lelwani (1999). She would rather seek this edifice on Büyükkale (1999: 31), following Haas and Wäfler (1977: 121; Haas 1994: 245) and others (Meyer 1995; cf. also Groddek 2001: 217). Indeed, the temple of Lelwani, with its hearth, window and wooden bolt, does not seem to fit into the narrow corridor of Room B, but the *hešta*-house may have included also the structures in front of the rock chambers. If the *hešta*-house was after all located at Yazılıkaya, this would create a perfect harmony between the ceremony of bringing the New Year to the *hešta*-house on the 11th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival, and the assembly of gods in the Main Chamber, who are probably gathered there to celebrate the New Year together with the head of the pantheon (Otten 1956: 101ff.). That Šuppiluliuma II would have chosen to turn (part of) the *hešta*-house into a memorial dedicated to his father, is in itself not inconceivable.

We finally come to the most dramatic expression of Šuppiluliuma’s dedication to the dead ancestors, a document that can only be described as the ultimate bond between the Living and the Dead. ABoT 56 (CTH 256) is a large two-col-

the three trough-shaped cavities served as receptacles for liquid offerings (*Weihwasserbecken*) for the three divine entities carved on the walls of the gallery (nos. 81, 82 and 69–80).

55. I say cautiously *may have been inscribed*, since David Hawkins has not yet been able to find any reference to Alašiya in the badly weathered inscription.

56. The rare term É(.MEŠ).GIDIM, House(s) of the Dead, must refer to the Stone House (Haas and Wilhelm 1977: 119; Haas 1994: 220, n. 221; but cf. van den Hout 2002: 74, n. 3), or perhaps more generally to all types of funerary institutions.

umn tablet with less than half of each line preserved. There are very few fully restorable phrases and no duplicates are known. This intriguing text has been referred to by many scholars, but a full treatment has first been presented by Giorgieri in his dissertation on oath texts (1995: 292–319; cf. also Giorgieri and Mora 1996: 64–65).

The text is identified by its contents and its colophon as an oath and treaty imposed by Šuppiluliuma on the entire population of Ḫatti. The colophon, written in an oversize handwriting, identifies it as “the first tablet, incomplete, of the oath (*linkiyaš*) of Šuppiluliuma son of Tuḫaliya.” In its overall structure, it does not differ much from regular state treaties, including the customary stipulations of loyalty and the long list of witness gods. But then, the other partner to this unique treaty are the dead (iii 9’: ŠA GIDIM.ḪI.A *išḫiul*), or more specifically “the houses of the dead” (iii 7’: É.MEŠ GIDIM.ḪI.A)” and “the city of the dead” (iii 19’: URU-LUM GIDIM.ḪI.A). This last term (an exact cuneiform rendering of necropolis) appears here in the singular, perhaps referring to the royal cemetery of Ḫattuša, or else, to “which(ever) city (belongs to) the dead,” that is the various towns and villages endowed for the maintenance of these mortuary institutions.

There are many intriguing passages and expressions in this unique text, including the exceptional list of witness gods, but I will focus on §16’ (iii 23’–32’; Giorgieri 1995: 301–2, 313–14), which seems to encapsulate the gist of the entire text.

-
- 21 *nu šu-um-me-eš* LÚ^{MEŠ} URUKÙ.BABBAR [
 22 *A-NA GIDIM^{ḪI.A} kiš-an še-er l[i-in-ik-tén* (?)
-
- 23 LÚ^{MEŠ} KUR.KUR URU^Ḫ*at-ti-ma-aš-ma-aš* LA[?]/AT[?][-
 24 *iš-ḫi-ú-ul ku-wa-at-tin ar-ḫ[a tar-na-at-te-en*
 25 LUGAL-UT-TA ŠA KUR URU^Ḫ*at-ti* DINGIR^M[EŠ
 26 LUGAL-UT-TA ŠA ZAG^{ḪI.A}-*ma ku-[-*
 27 *na-at UN^{MEŠ}-za i-ia-an[-du?*
 28 LUGAL-UT-TA *te-e-pa-u-wa A?*[
 29 *ku-i-e-eš* GIŠ^{al}-*kiš-ta-nu-u[š*
 30 *iš-ḫi-ú-li a-pu-u-uš[*
 31 *ki-nu-na ŠA KUR URU^Ḫ*[*at-ti*
 32 *a-pu-u-uš ḫar-kán-[-*
-

The previous short paragraph (§15’; iii 21’–22’) contains only a warning to the people of Ḫatti to keep their obligations to the dead. Therefore, -*šmaš*, “(to)

them,” in l. 23’ must refer to the dead and *how*⁵⁷ their bonds were not respected by the people of Ḫatti. Lines 25–26 may refer to the divine punishment meted upon the “kingdom (*ŠARRŪTA*) of Ḫatti and the kingdom of the borders(?)”⁵⁸ Then the “population” (UNMEŠ-*za* = *antuḫšannanza*) is called upon to do something.

The next line has again *ŠARRŪTA* followed by the plural *tepawa*. Once again we encounter this adjective expressing decrease or decline associated with the kingship/kingdom (see above on *ḫekur pirwa*). Here too, as in Ḫattušili’s *ḫekur pirwa* text, it must relate to the declining or impoverished kingdom of Ḫatti.⁵⁹ In fact, the motif of degradation or humiliation also appears in another passage of this text, §10’ (ii 35), here with the Luwian equivalent of *tepnu-*, **zantalli-* (Giorgeri 1995: 311).

The following line has the obscure *kuieš* GIŠ*alkištanuš* “those who [...] the bows/branches (acc.).” What are bows or branches of a tree doing in this passage, which deals with declining kingship? Could perhaps “branches” be conceived here in an abstract meaning, that is, “the branches of a royal family?”⁶⁰ In the last three lines of the column the “treaty” is mentioned again in the context of the present situation.

All in all, the comprehension of this passage is still very tenuous, but, as already implied by Otten (1963: 5) and Giorgeri (1995: 311), it must have provided some sort of historiosophical explanation for the decline of Ḫatti as being the revenge of the dead for their negligence and humiliation. Obviously, the misfortunes that shook the Hittite royal house in the thirteenth century are not conceived as the result of human actions and their consequences, but rather as divine punishment for failing piety towards the dead.

To sum up this remarkable but poorly preserved document, it would seem that its all-embracing message of the vital bond between the Living and the Dead is unique in Hittite literature, and I am not aware of clear parallels within the Near Eastern corpus either. Of course, grants to individual funerary institutions are well represented in the Hittite corpus (CTH 252; CTH 88; CTH 121), but this document seeks to guarantee the rights of all mortuary institutions throughout the

57. With the Luwian adverbial form *kuwati(n)*, “how,” as convincingly argued by Giorgeri 1995: 313.

58. For *šarrūtu(m)* as “kingdom,” besides “kingship,” see AHw 1190 (“Königtum, Königsherrschaft, Majestät). E.g., the rendering “great kingdom” fits the expression *šarrūta rabītam* in the historical preamble of the Aleppo Treaty (KBo 1.6 obv. 11) better than “great kingship.” In fact, our distinction between “kingship” and “kingdom” may be non-existent in some Near Eastern languages (e.g. Hebrew *malikut*, which can designate both “kingship” and “kingdom”).

59. Cf. Otten 1963: 4–5 “... hatte das Königtum eine Machteinbusse erfahren.”

60. I could not find support for such a meaning in the Hittite material (*HED* I: 35–36; Haas 2003: 366–67), but it is perhaps worth noting that one of the Akkadian words for “branch” is *ḫuṭāru*, which has the additional meaning of “sacred staff” (*CAD*, H: 265). It is perhaps not irrelevant to recall that its Hebrew cognate, *ḥoṭer*, is the “shoot” in the famous verse in Isaiah 11: “Then a shoot will spring from the stem of Jesse...”

kingdom, or to put it in more dramatic words, to “immortalize” the obligations of the Living towards the Dead and vice versa. What an historical irony—or was it a premonition?—that this extraordinary ceremony, probably carried out near one of Ḫattuša’s funerary monuments, would mark the final throes of a dying empire! The last two kings of Ḫatti desperately strove to win back the support of the divine world: while Tuthaliya invested his efforts in reactivating the cult of the gods, Šuppiluliuma pinned his hope on the divine dead. But neither of these saved Ḫatti from the inevitable collapse.

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ON LUWIANS AND HITTITES

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“History is written by the victors” is well demonstrated in ancient Anatolia. Most authorities would agree that Luwian was spoken by at least as many people as Hittite, yet books on the Hittites can easily fill up a library, whereas the reviewed monograph is the first to be entirely dedicated to the Luwians (except for dictionaries). Two ponderous circumstances have teamed together to create this disproportional picture, one inherent, the other accidental. For much of their common history the Hittites dominated the Luwian-speaking areas of Anatolia and, as a great power, they left behind extensive archives fitting their stature. The effects of this political disparity are further intensified by the fortuitousness of discovery. Not a single tablet was found as yet in the vast territories in which Luwian was spoken (as the main language). To be sure, there must be cuneiform tablets buried in the major sites of western Anatolia, since letters sent from there have been found in Hattuša.¹ Ironically, even the first Anatolian tablet to be published in the late-nineteenth century was sent from the Land of Arzawa in the heart of Luwian-speaking Anatolia. But then, this letter, which was discovered in 1887 at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, was written in Hittite, the lingua franca of second millennium B.C.E. Anatolia. To round out these reflections on history and memory it should be added that the Luwian language survived many centuries after Hittite had already sunken into oblivion, and therefore had a more durable influence on subsequent linguistic and cultural developments.

The task undertaken by Craig Melchert and his four collaborators was not an easy one. How does one define “Luwians” and where does one set the boundaries

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1. The letter of Mašḫuiluwa, king of Mira (KBo 18.15), and the letters of Manapa-Tarḫunta (KUB 19.5+KBo 19.79) and Mašturi (KUB 23.100), kings of the Šeḫa River Land, all in Hittite.

of this fluid subject? In his introduction the editor renounces the burdened terms of “ethnicity,” “nationhood” or the like, and chooses a generally acceptable definition: “Luwians” effectively means “Luwian-speaking” population groups (p. 3). The chronological limits set by this definition extend from the nineteenth century B.C.E., when Luwian personal names are attested in the Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe, to the seventh century B.C.E., when the Assyrians liquidated the last Neo-Hittite state. The geographical definition is more-or-less agreed upon for the Bronze Age—from the Aegean to the Land of Kizzuwatna in Cilicia, where Luwian was spoken alongside Hurrian. For the Iron Age, however, the approaches of the various contributors to the volume differ considerably, from “maximalists” (Hawkins, Aro), who include the Neo-Hittite² (or Neo-Luwian) kingdoms of Syria and southern Anatolia, to “minimalists” (Bryce, Hutter), who find the evidence of monumental Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions as insufficient to prove a Luwian appurtenance. The editor has wisely refrained from imposing an overall viewpoint.

The following review will first survey each chapter separately (not necessarily in the order of the book) and will conclude with some general observations and a postscript suggesting a hypothesis of the reviewer. Needless to say, the length of the discussion dedicated to each chapter here does not reflect upon its importance or quality, but rather upon the interests and the competence of the reviewer.

SCRIPTS AND TEXTS

I begin my review with the written evidence as summarized by David Hawkins (ch. 4) for the simple reason that without it, as admitted by the contributors in the volume, one would hardly be able to distinguish a separate Luwian culture on the basis of the archaeological evidence alone.

Though we have some complementary data from Anatolian personal names attested in external sources,³ the principal evidence on Luwian comes from Luwian-language texts written either in Cuneiform or in Hieroglyphic. Luwian is one of the rare examples of a language simultaneously written in two entirely different scripts. The circumstances that brought about this bigraphic situation are

2. The use of the term Neo-Hittite in the book may seem somewhat confusing for the general reader: Neo-Hittite (without inverted commas) refers to the stage of the Hittite language employed in the imperial period, whereas “Neo-Hittite” (with inverted commas) refers to the Iron Age kingdoms in Syria and southern Anatolia where Hieroglyphic Luwian was written. To avoid this confusion it is commendable to follow the terminology employed by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary and to distinguish between second millennium New Hittite (NH) and first-millennium Neo-Hittite.

3. See, e.g., R. Zadok, “On Anatolians, Greeks and Egyptians in “Chaldean” and Achaemenid Babylonia,” *Tel Aviv* 32 (2005): 76–106.

not easily understandable (see below). “Cuneiform Luwian” (the same script that was used for Hittite and other Anatolian languages) appears mainly in incantations and cult songs within Hittite rituals and festivals of Luwian background. As shown by F. Starke, the bulk of these texts were already composed in the earliest stages of the Hittite kingdom. The Luwian passages are introduced by the adverb *luwili*, the only known ancient designation of this language. In addition, there are many Luwian loanwords, mainly in thirteenth century Hittite texts, either marked with gloss wedges (*Glossenkeile*) or unmarked (see further below, under *Luwianisms*).

“Hieroglyphic Luwian” has a long and exciting history of decipherment, from its first identification on the “Hama stones” in the 1870s (by William Wright and Archibald H. Sayce) to the crucial correction of several misapprehended signs a century later (by Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies, and Neumann), which brought about the recognition that both Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian represent the same language. The few remaining differences are probably dialectal and/or chronological (see under *Language*).

The origins of the Hieroglyphic Luwian script are still veiled in mystery. The earliest appearance of symbols, which later developed into a full-fledged writing system, is found on seals from Karahöyük near Konya, Kültepe, Boğazköy, and Tarsus in Cilicia, variously dated between the eighteenth and the sixteenth centuries B.C.E. A glyptic origin of writing is also found in Crete and several scholars (including Hawkins in the past) have advocated an Aegean connection as an external model, or at least as a source of inspiration. However, the incentive to turn this loose system of symbols (such as “life” or “well-being”) into a genuine writing system more probably came from Kizzuwatna in Cilicia, a highly developed region with close Syrian connections. The “spark” for the invention may have been the idea to “transcribe” the Cuneiform legend in the circular border of a seal into a Hieroglyphic legend in the center-field. Tarsus produced the earliest datable example with the seal of the Great King Išputahšu son of Pariyawatri, a contemporary of Telipinu around 1500 B.C.E. It is not clear how the hieroglyphs “Storm-god” and “King” correspond to the cuneiform legend. They could possibly represent a second (Hurrian?) name of the king, as in later “double names.” In any case, the practice of bigraphic seals was adopted at the Hittite court of Hattuša in the fifteenth century B.C.E. and continued down to the end of the empire. Significantly, the first king presently known to have used a bigraphic seal is Tuthaliya I, who married a Kizzuwatnean princess and subdued her land. The same king may also be the owner of the exceptional silver bowl in the Ankara Museum inscribed with a Hieroglyphic inscription that celebrates his victory over the Land of Tarwiza (possibly Troy). All in all, I subscribe with more confidence to Hawkins’s hesitant conclusion (pp. 168–69) that Cilicia is better suited as the birthplace of Hieroglyphic Luwian than western Anatolia.

As for Güterbock's question, "why if you are already familiar with Cuneiform invent a script like Hieroglyphic?" I would point out that new scripts usually develop in script-supported environments (unless of course there was nothing before to build upon). The case of Hieroglyphic Luwian is truly exceptional in not being graphically influenced by its possible sources of inspiration (in contrast to Ugaritic Cuneiform or Egyptian-influenced Proto-Sinaitic). But then, originality could be the very purpose for inventing a "national" script, an originality best demonstrated by the most unusual choice of writing direction, *boustrophedon*, which has no parallels in contemporary scripts. Be it as it may be, sometime around the mid-second millennium B.C.E. Anatolia invented a script of its own, joining rather late the ranks of the other great cultures of the Near East and the Aegean with writing systems of their own.⁴ The new script appealed to the rulers of Hatti to such an extent that after a while they started to use it not only in their seals, but also in monumental stone inscriptions. Why would a Hittite-speaking king inscribe his boasting military reports in a Luwian script? Again a difficult question, which may find its answer either in the aesthetic and communicative virtues of the script itself (in comparison to cuneiform), and/or in the cultural climate at the end of the Hittite Empire, a subject to be discussed at the end of this review.

The Hieroglyphic corpus is chronologically divided into an early group, dated to the Hittite Empire, and a considerably larger late group of the Iron Age Neo-Hittite kingdoms. Innovations and paleographic developments in the script may thus be followed over a period of nearly eight hundred years. There has been an enormous advance in the last decades in the reading and classification of the Hieroglyphic inscriptions, crowned by Hawkins's monumental *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, vol. I, Inscriptions of the Iron Age* (published in 2000, exactly a century after Messerschmidt's *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettitarum*). Vol. II by Halet Çambel is dedicated to the Karatepe bilingual discovered in 1946, and Vol. III (in preparation) will cover the inscriptions of the second millennium and will also include a signary and a grammar. With these lucidly presented and reliable tomes, Hieroglyphic Luwian is at last accessible to all scholars and students and occupies its appropriate place among the scriptural corpora of the ancient Near East.⁵

4. See I. Singer, "Cuneiform, Linear, Alphabetic: The Contest between Writing Systems in the Eastern Mediterranean," in A. Ovadiāh, ed. *Mediterranean Cultural Interaction* (Tel Aviv, 2000), 23–32.

5. A useful introduction for beginners has recently been published by A. Payne, *Hieroglyphic Luwian* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004). The earlier introduction of R. Werner, *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1991) requires updating.

PREHISTORY AND LANGUAGE

The two chapters (2 and 5) written by Craig Melchert are obviously dependent on each other. His concise grammar of Luwian (with brief remarks also on Lycian, Carian, Pisidian, and Sidetic) provides a very useful state-of-the-art overview of the latest progress in the research of this language complex.⁶ From the outset he takes up the issue of the differences between Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian (e.g., “rhotacism” attested only in Hieroglyphic). Melchert insists that though minimal, these differences cannot be ignored or brushed aside. If they represent different dialects, what would be the relationship between them, spatial or temporal? He opts for the former possibility, tentatively suggesting that the Cuneiform Luwian passages in cult texts represent an archaic dialect of Kiz-zuwatna, whereas the glossed words and other Luwianisms stand closer to the dialect represented by Hieroglyphic Luwian (p. 173–74). A third dialect seems to be attested in the “Iṣtanuwian songs.” No doubt, more evidence will be needed to firmly establish the distribution map of Luwian dialects. Melchert categorically refutes the commonly held view that first millennium Lycian is a direct descendant of Luwian. Rather, the two should be considered as related dialects belonging to a larger branch, which may be assigned the cover term “Luwic” (p. 177, n. 7). Carian, Pisidian, and Sidetic may also be included in the same group, but our knowledge about them is very limited.⁷

From his basic analysis of Luwian, Melchert works his way from the bottom up to the more complex problems of the prehistory of Luwian and its closest relatives in Anatolia (ch. 2). He prudently warns the reader from a simplistic correlation between the spread of language and population movements, and thence to a direct correlation between linguistic data and the prehistoric archaeological record. Only after his basic survey on the Anatolian languages (taking issues with controversial topics such as the language of Troy, the etymologies of *t/ḫabarna*- and *tawananna*-,⁸ and the status of Hittite as a spoken language) does he turn back to the vexed question of Proto-Indo-European origins. He categorically refutes the theories of Renfrew (on Anatolian origins of PIE speakers) and Gamkrelidze-Ivanov (on an Eastern Anatolian-Caucasian homeland), and reinforces the standard view of Indo-Europeans being intrusive in Anatolia. On the other

6. His chapters on Luvian, Palaic, Lycian, Lydian, and Carian in R. Woodard, ed. *Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages* (Cambridge, 2004), were written before this grammar.

7. It might be worthwhile mentioning in this context M. Finkelberg's recent efforts to demonstrate that the Minoan language (Linear A) is closely related to Lycian and may even be its direct ancestor; “The Language of Linear A,” in *Greater Anatolia and the Indo-Hittite Language Family* (ed. R. Drews; Washington, 2001), 81–104 (with previous bibliography).

8. For the latest contribution to the continuing debate on the etymology of *t/ḫabarna* (Ḫattian or Indo-European), see O. Soysal, *Anatolica* 31 (2005): 189–209.

hand, he does not take a firm stand on the question whether the speakers of the Proto-Anatolian languages dispersed within Anatolia, or if they had already differentiated before their entry in several successive waves. As for the direction of their entry into Anatolia (at least a millennium before the first attestation of Anatolian languages), he joins the majority view of linguists who prefer a north-western over a northeastern direction. On the other hand, archaeologists and art historians tend to give preference to the early contacts between Anatolian and Caucasian cultures, as exemplified by the exquisite third millennium silver cup with reliefs found in a cremation burial at Karašamb (north of Erevan), with its demonstrably Hittite parallels.⁹ Burial customs (for which see below), a crucial element in any discussion of origins and ethnicity, are completely ignored in the volume.

HISTORY

Trevor Bryce's chapter on history (ch. 3) draws on his seminal *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (2nd ed. 2005) and on his numerous articles on western Anatolia. It opens with an examination of the much-discussed problem of ethnicity in early second millennium B.C.E. Anatolia. As on previous occasions, Bryce expresses his skepticism over the possibility that the ethnic factor played any significant role in the political developments of the era and categorically states that "we should almost certainly discard the notion that the Old Kingdom began with the dominance of a distinct ethnic group of Indo-European origin who won supremacy over and imposed their authority upon an indigenous Ḫattian population" (p. 30). The present reviewer holds to his opposite view, claiming that in the Old Assyrian period, before Anitta's sweeping conquests, Anatolia was still largely divided along ethno-cultural lines, notably the Ḫattian "Land of Ḫatti" and the Hittite "Land of Kaniš/Neša." This ethno-cultural division is best epitomized in the distinction between "Our God" and "Their God" in the Anitta inscription (see also Hutter, p. 216).

With regard to Hittite attitudes towards inhabitants of Luwiya (substituted by Arzawa in a later manuscript), the Hittite Laws provide the most direct evidence. Several clauses dealing with abduction and runaway slaves inflict a much harsher punishment on a Luwian offender than on a Hittite one. Hoffner takes this as an indication of Hittite domination over Luwiya at the time of the composition, which is also supported by historical allusions in later texts. Bryce, on the

9. R. M. Boehmer and G. Kossack, "Der figürlich verzierte Becher von Karašamb," in *Variatio Delectat. Iran und der Westen. Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer* (ed. R. Dittmann et al.; Münster, 2000), 9–71 (with refs. to the Armenian excavation reports); R. M. Boehmer, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 34 (2002), 195–207. Cf. also H. Klengel, *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 19.

other hand (p. 30), doubts that we can determine the significance to be attached to these differences and suggests that the more frequent appearance of Luwians in the Laws, in comparison with other ethnic groups, may point to a special relationship between Hittites and Luwians that may go back to their common ethnic background. This may be so, but it seems almost impossible to brush aside the inequitable treatment of Luwians in the Laws, a stance that is also echoed elsewhere in Hittite texts. In his chapter on religion, Hutter (p. 217) calls attention to an oracle text according to which some female cult functionaries are the cause of divine wrath because they enter the temple without washing themselves and their clothes after having sexual intercourse with Arzawan men. Of course, purification after sex is a prerequisite for anyone who is about to enter a temple, but the specific mention of Arzawan men in this context seems to intensify the nature of the offense and not only to reflect on the sexual habits of the *dammara*-women.¹⁰

After introductory definitions, Bryce surveys the history of the Anatolian regions that had a significant Luwian component, moving from the west (Arzawa, Lukka) to the east (Kizzuwatna). Building on the recent redrawing of the western Anatolian map, this concise overview presents the reader with a lucid and highly readable picture of the complex evidence. I concur with the majority of Bryce's views and therefore my comments are restricted to a few significant points of disagreement and additions.

With a somewhat poorly documented Hittite presence in the West in the Old Kingdom, the first substantial and clearly documented involvement belongs to Tuthaliya I, the real founder of the Hittite Empire in the second half of the fifteenth century B.C.E.¹¹ Besides his annals and various later references, his victories in the West were also celebrated on dedicatory inscriptions.¹² However, these early successes were short-lived, and already in the next generation Hatti lost its grip on the West and eventually the tables turned. For a short interlude the Luwian kingdom of Arzawa became the dominant power in Anatolia (though the term "Luwian Empire" seems somewhat exaggerated). And again the tables turned towards the end of Tuthaliya II's reign, who together with his son Šuppiluliuma conducted successful campaigns in the West. Such a hectic, "roller coaster-like" course of events was not exceptional in Hittite history (cf., e.g., the rapid decline of Hatti shortly after the conquest of Aleppo and Babylon), and one

10. Cf. also the mock fight between "the men of Maša" and the "men of Hatti," which is won, obviously, by the Hittites (KUB 17.35 iii 1ff.). One prisoner of war is devoted to the god, whatever that means. Strictly speaking, the Land of Maša did not belong to the Arzawa Lands, but it is still noteworthy that from all possibilities a western land was chosen to represent the archetypal enemy.

11. For the dating of Tuthaliya I based on an Egyptian synchronism, see I. Singer in *Šarnikzel. Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil O. Forrer* (ed. D. Groddek and S. Rößle; Dresden, 2004), 606–7.

12. The bronze sword with the cuneiform inscription (p. 49) and the silver bowl with the hieroglyphic inscription (p. 69).

wonders to what might it be attributed. One usually ascribes a sudden victory to the able leadership of a king or a military commander and the subsequent fall to the lack of leadership, but perhaps some additional explanations should be sought for this exceptional dynamism in Hittite history.

What is missing from Bryce's survey of the Early Hittite Empire (or the so-called "Middle Kingdom") is any reference to the interconnected treaties with Ḫuḫazalma (CTH 28) and with the elders of Ura (CTH 144). The former recounts how Ḫuḫazalma was forced to renounce the territories that he had once occupied, namely, the cities of Ura and Mutamutaši along the Mediterranean coast. The latter text contains the treaty concluded between Arnuwanda I and the elders of Ura. M. Forlanini and S. de Martino suggested that Ḫuḫazalma was a king of Arzawa, who must have reigned after Kupanta-Kurunta and before Tarḫuntaradu.¹³ To my mind, a more likely possibility could be that Ḫuḫazalma was a local chieftain who tried, like the contemporary Madduwatta, to carve out for himself a kingdom along the southern Anatolian coast.¹⁴ In any case, these related texts contain, besides historical information, important data on the socio-political organization of the region ("the elders of Ura"), to its religious character,¹⁵ and to its treaty-making customs.¹⁶

With regard to the sections on Lukka, I find it difficult to accept Bryce's assertion that a distinction might be drawn between a narrow use of the term, referring to the southwestern corner of Asia Minor, and a broad one, in which Lukka "may have extended to all Luwian-speaking peoples and Luwian-occupied regions of Anatolia" (pp. 44, 54, 73ff.). The references adduced in support of this general use, mostly in enumerations of enemy lands, do not provide, as far as I can see, any proof for this purported northerly extension of Lukka. Such lists of enemies cannot be expected to be exhaustive and quite often they merely encompass the limits of the intended territory. For example, Azzi, Kaška, and Lukka

13. M. Forlanini, *Vicino Oriente* 7 (1988): 161; *SMEA* 40 (1998): 234, n. 52; S. de Martino, *Eothen* 5 (1996), 63–79; id. in M. Mazoyer and O. Casabonne, eds. *Studia Anatolica et Varia. Mélanges offerts au Professeur Renée Lebrun II* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2004), 105–12.

14. Different locations have been proposed for this Ura. Whereas Forlanini and de Martino tend to identify it with the famous Ura in western Cilicia (probably at Silifke), Hawkins (*AnSt* 48 [1998]: 27 n. 167) maintains that this must be another Ura because of its association with Mutamutaši, which he identifies with Mylasa in Caria. Without delving into the complex problems of Anatolian geography, I would merely remark that Ura and Mutamutaši do not need be adjacent to each other, but could rather mark the extreme ends of Ḫuḫazalma's sphere of activities, i.e., almost the entire stretch of the Mediterranean coast from western Cilicia to Lycia or Caria. If so, this would make him a serious competitor of Madduwatta, whose sphere of activities was in a more northerly area, but extending as far as Mutamutaši/a.

15. For the drinking from (the rhyton of) the god Iyarri in the Ura Treaty, see H. Otten, *Ist Mitt* 17 (1967): 60; M. Giorgieri, *Eothen* 11 (2002): 318–19.

16. For the sheep slaughtering ceremony and its Semitic parallels, see Otten, *Ist Mitt* 17 (1967): 61 with n. 18; M. Weinfeld in L. Canfora, M. Liverani, C. Zaccagnini, eds. *I trattati nel Mondo Antico: Forma, ideologia, funzione* (Roma, 1990), 186–87.

in KUB 26.12 ii 14–15 represent the eastern, the northern and the southwestern limits of Anatolia, respectively. Even the reference in the Alakšandu Treaty (iii 3ff.), where Lukka is listed together with Karkiša, Maša, and Waršiyalla as possible starting points for Hittite campaigns, is inconclusive. As a matter of fact, the continuation of the passage makes a clear distinction between campaigns setting out from “those lands” (Lukka etc.), that is, the outer periphery, and campaigns setting out from “these land(s),” which must refer to the inner circle of Ḫatti and its vassal states. From all that we know, the Hittites distinguished quite clearly between the prosperous northwestern kingdoms of Arzawa and the rugged southwestern Lukka lands. As best described by Bryce himself in his book¹⁷ and his many articles on Lukka(ns) and Lycia(ns), the semi-sedentary population of this region was not organized as a political entity, but rather as an unstable aggregate of communities that were extremely difficult to control, both by the Hittites and the Ahhiyawans.

The sections covering the history of the Arzawa lands under Hittite rule are quite comprehensive, duly emphasizing such important topics as Mira’s emergence as a regional power sharing in authority over weaker kingdoms with the Hittites; Ahhiyawa’s increasing interference in western Anatolian affairs, which might have been more welcome by the locals than the Hittite texts might lead us to believe; the fundamental historicity of the tradition of the Trojan War as reflected in Hittite documents; and many more. Particularly illuminating is the section examining the diffusion of Luwians eastwards and westwards (pp. 84ff.). The substantial numbers of Westerners deported to Ḫatti over two hundred years of campaigning and occupation must have made a major demographic and cultural impact on the regions in which they were resettled, a subject to be discussed in more detail at the end of this review. Western Anatolia was a major source of manpower not only for the Hittites but also for the Mycenaeans, although the evidence for this is more difficult to assess.¹⁸ These long-term demographic developments reached their peak in the late-thirteenth and early-twelfth centuries B.C.E., when, driven by a severe famine, large groups of eastern Aegean sea- and land-raiders, designated in modern scholarship as the “Sea Peoples,” were dispersed throughout the eastern Mediterranean basin.¹⁹

17. *Lycian in Literary and Epigraphic Sources* (Copenhagen, 1986).

18. See J. Chadwick, “The Women of Pylos,” in *Texts, Tablets and Scribes: Studies in Mycenaean Epigraphy and Economy* (ed. J.-P. Olivier, and T.G. Palaima; Salamanca, 1988), 43–95; V. Parker in S. Deger-Jalkotzy et al., eds. *Florent Studia Mycenaea*, Band II (Wien, 1999), 495–502. For the abduction of western Anatolian craftsmen to Ahhiyawan territory, see I. Singer, “Purple-dyers in Lazpa,” in *Anatolian Interfaces: Hittites, Greeks and their Neighbors: Proceedings of an International Conference on Cross-Cultural Interaction, September 17–19, 2004, Emory University, Atlanta, GA* (ed. B. J. Collins, M. Bachvarova, and I. Rutherford; Oxford: Oxbow, 2008), 21–43.

19. The connection between western Anatolia and the “Sea Peoples,” which has been questioned for a long time, is recently returning to the foreground. See I. Singer, in M. Heltzer and E. Lipiński, eds. *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Leuven, 1988), 239–50; A. Yasur-Landau, “Social Aspects of the Aegean Migration

The sections dealing with the Luwians in the Iron Age and later periods cover only the regions of southern Anatolia—Hartapu's kingdom, Tabal, Cilicia, and Lycia (the last in very great detail). The Neo-Hittite states are deliberately excluded on the ground that "the discovery of a [Luwian] hieroglyphic inscription in a particular region is not in itself an unquestionable indicator that this was a Luwian-occupied zone" (p. 125). Whereas in southern Anatolia there is significant onomastic evidence for the survival of Luwian population groups, such evidence is missing in Syria, and therefore, until further indications for a Luwian presence turn up, there is no justification to include these Neo-Hittite states in the historical survey. Perhaps the rationale behind this standpoint (also shared by Hutter) is comprehensible in the case of Syria, but it is less so in the case of the Anatolian kingdoms of Gurgum (Maras), Melidia (Malatya), or Kummuh (Commagene), not to mention Karkamiš, who inherited the designation "Ḫatti" in the Iron Age. To the cogent reasons given by Aro for the inclusion of the Neo-Hittite states of Syria in her survey on Luwian art (p. 282–83), I would like to add two further arguments, the second of which has not been mentioned at all in the volume.

The first is a comment on the extent of the use of Hieroglyphic Luwian in Iron Age Syria. Obviously, almost the entire corpus consists of stone monuments of various types, and these may be regarded, as Bryce says (p. 125), as "one of the trappings of kingship adopted by later and lesser kings." In consequence, these representative or propagandistic inscriptions should not be given undue significance in our quest for ethnicity. Though Bryce, following Hawkins, admits that the inscribed lead strips from Kululu (near Kültepe) containing letters and economic documents indicate a wider use of the script, he prefers to await a greater range of finds of this nature, especially from Syria. In fact, a small but significant collection of non-monumental inscriptions was found in Syria, namely, in the Danish excavations at Hama. They have now been republished in detail in Hawkins's *Corpus*.²⁰ These include a clay tablet bearing the impression of a cylinder seal with numbers and an unintelligible three-line hieroglyphic inscription (HAMA 4); a shell inscribed with the name of "King Urhilana" (HAMA 5; similar to seven fragments found at Nimrud); an ostrakon (inscribed sherd) fragment, perhaps containing a letter (HAMA 6); and a group of bullae with hieroglyphic inscriptions (HAMA 7–10). One of the bullae contains the key word "sheep" and punched numerals, probably a docket with a tally of sheep. Now, this small corpus, in particular the economic text and the letter(?), argues

to the Levant in the End of the 2nd Millennium BCE" (Ph.D. dissertation; Tel Aviv University, 2002); P. A. Mountjoy in *Emporia. Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean* (ed. R. Laffineur and E. Greco; Aegaeum 25; Liège, 2005), 423–27.

20. P. J. Riis and M.-L. Buhl, *Hama II 2: Les objets de la période dite Syro-Hittite (Âge du Fer)* (Copenhagen, 1990); J. D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions I* (Berlin, 2000), 420–23 (abbr. *CHLI*).

for a more widespread use of Hieroglyphic Luwian in Iron Age Syria than merely for prestige display. We should hardly expect to find more than this in excavations, since documents of this kind were probably written on perishable material. In short, a city like Hamat, which may be representative of northern and central Syria, used concomitantly three writing systems (at least) representing three written, and probably spoken languages: Cuneiform Akkadian,²¹ Aramaic,²² and Hieroglyphic Luwian. This reflects on the special blend of ethnic elements in Iron Age Syria, though it would be extremely difficult to establish their relative proportions and their socio-political structures.²³

My second witness, which in my opinion is even more consequential, are the burial customs of the Neo-Hittite cities of Carchemish and Hama.²⁴ Cremation burial is a well-known Indo-European practice, which is attested both textually and archaeologically in second-millennium Anatolia, from Troy in the west to Ḫattuša (Osmankaya) and beyond in the east.²⁵ It stands to reason that this burial practice, which was absolutely abominable in the eyes of the Semitic peoples of the Fertile Crescent, slowly advanced southwards along with the Hittite domination of Syria, especially in places that were turned into Hittite governmental centers. The cemeteries of Late Bronze Age Carchemish and Aleppo remain to be found, but in the city of Alalakh (Tell Atchana), which also became the seat of a Hittite governor, there is indeed some evidence for the gradual spread of the custom, though the absolute numbers are small.²⁶ The massive introduction of cremation into Syria really occurred only after the fall of the Hittite Empire. Sir Leonard Woolley excavated the extensive Iron Age cemeteries of Carchemish (at Yunus and Deve Hüyük) and found exclusively cremation burials deposited in urns.²⁷ There were also a few burial stones decorated with banquet scenes, like the ones from Maraş. One stone and one urn carried Hieroglyphic inscriptions. In short, there can hardly be any doubt that the buried persons were either of Anatolian origin, or if not, they must have adopted Anatolian practices which were totally foreign to them. I assume that cremation was already practiced in Carchemish in the Late Bronze Age, but the evidence has yet to be unearthed.

21. For the small cuneiform archive found in Building III, see S. Parpola in Riis and Buhl, *Hama II* 2, 257ff.

22. For the Aramaic inscriptions (mostly graffiti), see B. Otzen in Riis and Buhl, *Hama II* 2, 266ff.

23. For the Iron Age cultures of Syria, see, e.g., the articles assembled in G. Bunnens, ed. *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age* (Louvain, 2000) and in "Canadian Research on Ancient Syria," *BCSMS* 36 (2001).

24. I have dealt with this topic in detail in an article which appeared so far only in Hebrew: "On Hittite Burials," in *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume* (ed. E. D. Oren and Sh. Ahituv; Beer-Sheva, 2002), 47*-58*.

25. For Anatolian burial practices see J. Seeher, *IstMitt* 43 (1993): 219-26.

26. C. L. Woolley, *Alalakh, an Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana, 1937-1949* (Oxford, 1955), 203-23; P. A. Bienkowski, *Levant* 14 (1982): 80-81.

27. C. L. Woolley, "The Iron-age Graves of Carchemish," *LAAA* 26 (1939-40): 11-37.

The same picture emerges from the Iron Age cemeteries of Hama which were excavated by a Danish team in the 1930s.²⁸ During the four periods of burial, extending from the twelfth century to the Assyrian takeover of Hamat in 720 B.C.E., all the bodies (except for babies) were cremated and the remains were buried in urns. Around Hama several funerary monuments inscribed with hieroglyphic inscriptions were found.²⁹ Now, the Hama evidence is even more significant than the one from Carchemish. Whereas the latter became a Hittite city already in the fourteenth century, central Syria was never "Hittitized" and continued to be ruled by local dynasts. The best way to account for the massive presence of cremation burials in Hama³⁰ is by assuming that Anatolian population groups immigrated in large numbers into central Syria during and after the fall of the empire.³¹ I assume that it was from these Neo-Hittite kingdoms of Syria that the Phoenicians later adopted cremation, despite its original incongruity with Semitic burial practices.

In conclusion, burial customs are one of the most conservative aspects of human culture and may therefore serve as a good diagnostic separator between ethnic groups. All the more so when the distinction is between drastically different practices, such as cremation versus inhumation. One may argue, of course, that even burial customs change over time (as in the case of the Phoenicians), but then, the same could be said, even more emphatically, about personal names, which usually serve as the foremost criterion for ethnicity, including "Luwianness."³² Obviously, we are touching here upon the most fundamental problems of definition of "ethnicity" and this is not the place to delve into this extremely complex issue. But unless one is inclined to follow postmodern-

28. P. J. Riis, *Hama II.3: Les cimetières à crémation* (Copenhagen, 1984).

29. J. D. Hawkins, "Late Hittite Funerary Documents," in *Death in Mesopotamia* (ed. B. Alster; Copenhagen, 1980), 213–25; D. Bonatz, "Syro-Hittite Funerary Monuments: A Phenomenon of Tradition or Innovation?" in Bunnens, *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, 189–210.

30. It is difficult to establish how far south cremation advanced, but it is almost entirely absent in Palestine. See I. Singer, "The Hittites and the Bible Revisited," in *Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. A. M. Maeir and P. de Miroschedji; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2006).

31. But cf., e.g., G. Bunnens, "Syria in the Iron Age: Problems of Definition," in Bunnens, *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, 17, who sees no evidence for an immigration into Syria and claims that "the spread of the Neo-Hittites is best explained in terms of cultural choice."

32. For the notorious deficiencies of the onomastic evidence in establishing ethnicity, see, e.g., the roughly contemporary picture from Kassite Babylonia, as recently analyzed by J. A. Brinkman, *JAOS* 124 (2004): 284–85. One text, for example, lists seventeen persons in a group labelled "Assyrian," but in fact, only one of them has an indisputably Assyrian name, whereas the rest are Hurrian, Babylonian, or undefined. In this case "Assyrian" may indicate domicile rather than linguistic affiliation, but there are many examples of siblings bearing names that are ethnically diverse, Babylonian-named fathers who have Kassite-named children, etc. The situation in Anatolia was probably similar; consider, e.g., Muršili II's four children, who bore (according to Ḫattušili's Apology) a Hurrian, a Ḫattian, and two Luwian names.

ist trends in deconstructing ethnicity altogether,³³ one has to strive at putting together a certain set of criteria for ethnicity, at least as a working hypothesis. In the case of Iron Age Anatolia and Syria, I would argue that a place whose inhabitants cremated their dead and whose ruling classes used Hieroglyphic Luwian on their seals and on their stone inscriptions, is “entitled” to be viewed as a cultural descendant of the Hittite/Luwian Bronze Age cultures of Anatolia, even at the “risk” of taking in some Aramean-speaking, Hurrian-speaking, or “Other”-speaking inhabitants who simply adopted these Neo-Hittite customs.

RELIGION

Manfred Hutter’s definition of the time and space frame for the study of Luwian religion (ch. 6) is similar to Bryce’s: from Arzawa and Lukka in the west to the Lower Land and Kizzuwatna in the east, focusing mainly on the period contemporary with the Hittites (p. 215). On the basic question of whether one may successfully separate a Luwian religion of its own from the large “melting pot” of Hittite state religion, Hutter, with due reservations, provides a more optimistic answer than did for instance, J. Klinger with regard to the Ḫattian religion (p. 216ff.).

Luwian gods already appear in the Old Assyrian texts, and in fact, among the gods to whom the “singers of Kaneš” sing there are several important Luwian deities, including Pirwa and Kamrušepa.³⁴ The gods heading the Luwian pantheon are basically the same as those heading the Hittite one—the Storm-god (Tarḫunta), the Sun-god (Tiwat) and the Protective/Tutelary-god (Kuruntiya)—but their character, epithets and attributes are somewhat different. There is a significant distinction, for example, between the Luwian Storm-god, whose chariot is drawn by horses, and the Syro-Hurrian³⁵ Storm-god, whose chariot is drawn by bulls. Several other Luwian deities are also connected with horses, including Kamrušepa, Malia, and Pirwa.

Several epithets of the Storm-god are clearly Luwian, the most significant of which are *muwatalli-* (NIR.GÁL), “mighty,” and *piḫaššašši-* (ḪI.ḪI), “of the lightning.” Besides their theological and iconographic profile as described by Hutter, (pp. 221ff.), it is well to note the historical dimension of their first appearance in the foreground of Hittite religion. *muwatalli-* first appears as an

33. See, e.g., M. Banks, *Ethnicity: Anthropological Constructions* (London, 1995), but cf. H. B. Levine, “Reconstructing Ethnicity,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 5 (1999): 165–80.

34. See now A. Archi, “The Singer of Kaneš and his Gods,” in M. Hutter and S. Hutter-Braunsar, *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität* (Münster, 2004), 11–26.

35. As recently recognized by J. D. Hawkins in G. Beckman et al., eds. *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr.* (Winona Lake, 2003), 169–75, the Storm-god in the eagle-chariot drawn by bulls on the seal of Muršili III, on the Imamkulu and Aleppo reliefs and elsewhere is in fact the Storm-god of Aleppo.

epithet of the Storm-god in texts of Muṣili II,³⁶ and *piḥaššašši-* in texts of his son Muwatalli II.³⁷ One can hardly avoid the conclusion that Muṣili raised the Mighty Storm-god to prominence on the occasion of his campaigns to Arzawa. His son, who actually took up or was given the name “Mighty,” carried on the tradition of a personalized Storm-god and “invented” his own Storm-god of Lightning, who later became the patron god of his new capital at Tarḫuntašša. Thus, religion joins history and language in indicating the major turning point in the Luwianization of the Hittite heartland, a subject to be discussed further below.

The Luwian Sun-god Tiwad, whose name is etymologically linked to Indo-European *diēu-, “(sky) light,” is clearly a male deity, unlike his Hattian-Hittite counterpart with its complex gender profile. However, Luwian religion shared with other Anatolian religions the concept of a Sun-goddes of the Earth (*tiyammaššiš* DUTU-za). The protective or tutelary gods, whose sacred animal was the stag, were particularly popular in the Luwian realm.³⁸

Although, in true Indo-European tradition, the top of the Luwian pantheon was dominated by male deities, several goddesses play dominant roles especially in ritual and magic. In particular, Kamrušepa, the healing goddess par excellence, stands out through her prerogative of picking out the sacrifice animals from the flocks of the Sun-god.³⁹ I am not fully convinced that Hutter has sufficiently proven his observation that “Luwian religion seems to be closer to early Indo-European thought than “Hittite” religion” (p. 215), but I leave this important question to the inspection of Indo-Europeanists.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Luwian religion is the rich world of magic and ritual as recorded from the mouth of various practitioners, both women and men. Hutter, with good reason, deals separately with each region, from the “purest” expression of Luwian religion in Arzawa, through the “buffer-zone” of the Lower Land, to its most “mixed” form in Kizzuwatna, where it blends with Hurrian and north Syrian traditions. The detailed study of these ritual texts has flourished in recent years, with special attention given to their redactional history, structural analysis, and performative tradition.⁴⁰ Hutter completes his detailed survey by raising the important question of why these magical rituals were meticulously recorded and copied in the Hittite capital. He offers

36. For refs. see CHD 3/3: 316–17; F. Starke, *Untersuchung zum Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens* (Wiesbaden, 1990), 172ff.

37. For refs. see I. Singer, *Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm-god of Lightning* (Atlanta, 1996), 185ff.; RIA 10 (2005), s.v. *piḥaššašši-*.

38. For the recent decipherment of the epithet of the “Stag-god” of the Countryside (*imrassi- Kurunti(ya)-*) in Hieroglyphic inscriptions, see J. D. Hawkins in J. H. W. Penney, ed. *Indo-European Perspectives: Studies in Honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies* (Oxford, 2004), 355–69.

39. See A. Archi, *Or* 62 (1993), 404–9.

40. On the Kizzuwatna rituals, see now J. Miller, *Studies in the Origins, Development and Interpretation of the Kizzuwatna Rituals* (Wiesbaden, 2004).

a distinction between rituals (such as Tunnawiya's *taknaz dā-* ritual) that provided well-being for the royal couple, and as such were fully incorporated into "Hittite political religion," and between rituals aimed at curing sick or bewitched persons. Although these "private" Luwian rituals were thought to be useful for everybody, they were mainly practiced to cure patients of Luwian stock (p. 255). I find this last conclusion debatable. I would rather think that the Hittites, who were exceptionally open and susceptible for the import and absorption of foreign techniques, literary traditions, and even gods, considered these "exotic" rituals of foreign magicians and "Old Women" as yet another manifestation of "cosmopolitan knowhow," which they willingly adopted for their own benefit (anticipating certain "New Age" practices).

In his concise survey of first-millennium religions of Anatolia and northern Syria Hutter finds little evidence for a genuine Luwian legacy, although here and there one comes across upon scattered indications for the "survival" of certain Luwian deities (Šanta, Maliya, Kurunta/Runtiya) and elements of Luwian religion. I find his discussion on second millennium Wiluša (which strangely moved into the first millennium section, pp. 265ff.) to be overly skeptical, but this is not the place to resume this endless debate. All in all, I concur with his general conclusions about the extremely motley (or "globalized," to use Hutter's modernized expression) first-millennium picture, in which it seems almost impossible to disentangle the Luwian, Greek, Hurrian, and West Semitic elements. However, as argued above, I find the Luwian ingredients in the "melting pot" to be more substantial than admitted by Hutter or Bryce. Through the special Luwian-Aramean symbiosis that developed in Syria, some Anatolian traditions and ideas also found their way to ancient Israel, and I fully subscribe to Hutter's suggestion that the southernmost Neo-Hittite kingdom of Hama "may have played a major role in transmitting Anatolian traditions to the biblical world" (p. 277).⁴¹

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Sanna Aro's chapter also opens with questions of definition, pointing out the difficulties in drawing a clear line between Luwians and Arameans in Syria.⁴² Nevertheless, she chooses to include in her survey all those kingdoms of Anatolia and Syria that have produced Luwian Hieroglyphic inscriptions, arguing that "Iron Age rulers using Luwian language in their representational inscriptions did either speak it themselves or otherwise wanted to be identified as representatives of their Luwian-speaking people" (p. 282). The chapter deals with architecture

41. For similar conclusions see I. Singer, *Fs Mazar*, n. 30.

42. See now also M. Novák, "Akkulturation von Aramäern und Luwiern und der Austausch von ikonographischen Konzepten in der späthethitischen Kunst," in H. Blum et al., eds. *Brückenland Anatolien?* (Tübingen, 2002), 147–71.

and monumental art, but not with “small objects” such as seals, ivories, metal-work, or pottery. Although a basic archaeological survey precedes each section, the volume as a whole would have benefited from a separate chapter on archaeology and material culture.

The deplorable state of research into second-millennium western Anatolia is duly emphasized. With only a handful of excavated (and published) sites at hand (Troy, Beycesultan, and a few smaller sites),⁴³ one can hardly elaborate on the characteristics of the early Luwian culture. To the small list of rock monuments (Karabel, Akpınar) one could add the spectacular sites of Eflatun Pınar and Fasılar, which must have belonged to the kingdom of Tarḫuntašša.⁴⁴ Aro’s conjecture that “rock monuments could have a Luwian rather than Hittite origin” (p. 288) remains to be proven. In fact, the earliest dated rock monuments, those belonging to the generation of Muwatalli II (Sirkeli) and Ḫattušili III (Fıraktin), are in Kizzuwatna, a hybrid Luwian-Hurrian region that was annexed to Ḫatti more than a century earlier. Only in the next two generations did the burgeoning new fashion extend westwards into the Luwian heartland.

The sections on Iron Age Luwian art and architecture provide an excellent state-of-the-art survey, with descriptions and photographs of not easily accessible Anatolian monuments.⁴⁵ There is little I can add to this meticulous and sagacious presentation, but I would like to stress one particular chronological aspect that might remain insufficiently noted by non-specialist readers. Until quite recently there was a general consensus regarding an almost undocumented “Dark Age” that covered almost three centuries from the fall of the Hittite Empire to the first Assyrian conquests in the West. The 1986 discovery at Lidar Höyük of the seal impression of Kunzi-Tešub, son of Talmi-Tešub, a twelfth century B.C.E. king of Karkamiš, brought about a chain reaction with far-reaching implications. Two years later David Hawkins announced his ground-breaking discovery of the name of Kunzi-Tešub as the grandfather of two different kings, brothers, on their monumental Hieroglyphic inscriptions in the Malatya region (ISPEKÇÜR and DARENDE, respectively).⁴⁶ Unless “grandson” actually meant no more than “descendant,” these monuments and the closely related monuments from

43. A promising western Anatolian site has recently been excavated by a team from the University of Izmir lead by Prof. Recep Meriç; Badengediği Tepe, west of Torbali (between Ephesos and Karabel), may be identified with Puranda, conquered by Muṣili II in his fourth year. See H. Gonnet, *Orient-Express* 2001/4, 120–21; R. Meriç and P. A. Mountjoy, *Ist Mitt* 52 (2002): 80; R. Meriç, *Ist Mitt* 53 (2003): 79–98; idem., *Metropolis, City of the Mother Goddess* (Izmir, 2004), 31–34.

44. I. Singer, *SMEA* 38 (1996): 65, n.7; Dinçol et al., *Anatolica* 26 (2000): 19. For an updated photographic documentation of these and other imperial rock reliefs, see now H. Ehringhaus, *Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften. Die Felsreliefs der hethitischen Grossreichszeit in der Türkei* (Mainz, 2005).

45. It is a pity though that the photograph of Ivriz on the cover of the book is partly shaded. One could surely have found a better photograph of this magnificent rock monument.

46. “Kuzi-Tešub and the “Great Kings” of Karkamiš,” *AnSt* 38 (1988): 99–108; id., *CHLI* I/1, 286ff.

Malatya itself must be redated to the twelfth–eleventh centuries B.C.E., at least two centuries earlier than the generally accepted date! Obviously, the redating of the Malatya sequence has overall implications on the entire Neo-Hittite corpus, notably on Karkamiš. In short, the notorious “Dark Age” has been “illuminated” to a certain extent, not only along the northern Euphrates Valley, but also through similarly dated finds from Aleppo and Ain Dara.⁴⁷ It is more evident now that the architectural, sculptural and inscriptional traditions of the Neo-Hittite states were directly derived from those of the Hittite Empire, without a considerable gap between them.

LUWIANISMS IN HITTITE TEXTS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

An inclusive monograph like *The Luwians* usually ends with a chapter of General Conclusions or *Rückblick*. In this case, one can understand the editor’s reluctance to impose his own conclusions on the four other experts who in some points express squarely opposing views. My tentative thoughts presented below are obviously not intended to supplement this concluding chapter, but rather to explore some potential directions for further research into the intriguing questions of Anatolian ethnicity. I refer in particular to aspects that are “tucked away,” so-to-say, between the clearly defined disciplines covered in the monograph, for example, demographic trends and their sociolinguistic consequences.⁴⁸ These aspects could perhaps lead to a better understanding of the most intriguing question of them all: Why did Hittite totally vanish after the fall of the Empire, whereas Luwian continued to flourish for another five hundred years?

One conclusion that emerges clearly from the reviewed volume is the dominant role of language in defining the Luwian phenomenon. Despite the unrelenting efforts of Aro and Hutter to define what is specifically Luwian in art and religion, respectively, I doubt it that we would be able to distinguish between the ethnic groups of Anatolia without the evidence of language.⁴⁹ Indeed, when one plunges into the illiterate periods preceding the second millennium B.C.E., the ethno-cultural map of Anatolia becomes increasingly blurred and ill-defined. There is no need to state the obvious that one cannot simply equate language with ethnicity, but (as well understood by the author of Genesis 11) how would we even start discussing ethnicity without the firm evidence of language? Therefore,

47. For the temple of the Storm-god discovered in the citadel of Aleppo, see K. Kohlmeyer, *Der Tempel des Wettergottes von Aleppo* (Münster, 2000). The Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions will be published by David Hawkins.

48. Other aspects which have almost not been touched in the volume are Luwian anthroponyms and toponyms. For some preliminary remarks on Hittite and Luwian names (and the difficult distinction between them), see E. Laroche, *Les Noms des Hittites* (Paris, 1966), ch. VII (pp. 317–33).

49. Cf. also Hutter, p. 211: “It seems that language alone allows us to talk of Luwians at all.”

the main key for a better understanding of the momentous ethno-cultural developments in Late Bronze Age Anatolia is a meticulous diachronic and synchronic study of its languages in contact and their correlation with recorded historical developments.

One of the most telling linguistic phenomena in Late Bronze Age Anatolia is the increasing infiltration of New Hittite texts with Luwianisms, a subject that has only cursorily been addressed in the reviewed volume (p. 170). Rosenkranz and Güterbock have made important observations on the subject in the 1950s, but it is only due to the major improvement in our understanding of Luwian and to a systematic diachronic scrutiny of a much larger textual corpus that meaningful statistical results may be ventured. Besides various references in the seminal books on Luwian by Starke and Melchert, two important recent articles deal specifically with the question of Luwianisms in Hittite texts and their significance: Craig Melchert's article on "The Problem of Luwian Influence on Hittite,"⁵⁰ and Theo van den Hout's article on "Institutions, Vernaculars, Publics: The Case of Second Millennium Anatolia."⁵¹ Since this subject is essential for any discussion on the ethnolinguistic situation of thirteenth-century Anatolia, I found it worthwhile to refer to these articles (with the authors' permission) in anticipation of their forthcoming publication.

Both articles supply valuable lists of Luwian words in Hittite texts, both marked and unmarked. Melchert's list is in chronological order (from Old to New Hittite), whereas van den Hout's two lists (glossed and unglossed) follow the thematical order of the *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*. With some five hundred words altogether, representing more than one-tenth of the Hittite lexicon, these references should suffice for some meaningful observations. But despite this laboriously achieved database, deciphering its rationale is anything but easy, and the two scholars differ in some of their conclusions.

To start with, it should be stressed that the glossing phenomenon in Hittite texts substantially differs from other glossing phenomena in the ancient Near East. In Mesopotamia, Amarna, or Ugarit the gloss words are indigenous lexemes inserted within the sequence of the text either to clarify or to replace an Akkadian word or a Sumerian logogram that might be wrongly interpreted by the reader of the text. In the Amarna correspondence, for example, a scribe would add a gloss in his native tongue, either a Canaanite lexeme in letters from the south, or a Hurrian one in letters from the north.⁵² Whereas such an explanatory function may

50. Presented in 2000 at the XI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft (Halle). The article is accessible online at Melchert's homepage: <http://www.unc.edu/~melchert/index.html> (under Recent Papers).

51. Due to appear in S. Sanders (ed.), *Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures* (Chicago, 2006). I wish to thank Prof. van den Hout for providing me with a preprint of his article.

52. Sh. Izre'el, "The Amarna Glosses: Who Wrote What for Whom? Some Sociolinguistic Considerations," *Israel Oriental Studies* 15 (1995): 101–22.

be detected in a few cases, the Luwian words in New Hittite texts, both glossed and unglossed, are, as a rule, not appended to difficult expressions or to logograms, but are rather “liberally sprinkled” throughout the text, to use Melchert’s expression, with no apparent logical justification. It is also well to recall that other foreign words, such as Ḫattian and Hurrian, which would “justify” glossing even more than the closely related Luwian words, are not marked at all.⁵³ Unlike Luwian, the vocables or loanwords taken from other languages generally belong to a specialized vocabulary, such as ritual objects or architectural terms. Thus, the massive appearance of Luwianisms in late texts must have a completely different *raison d’être* than the customary cases of glossing. The only common denominator between the two phenomena could be the feeling of the scribe that he was writing his text not in his native tongue, a conclusion which, if proven, would have far-reaching consequences for the Anatolian situation.

Melchert submits the corpus of Luwianisms to a strict grammatical test, concluding that “the presence of the Glossenkeil is no guarantee of Luwian origin, and its absence is no argument against” (p. 2). Some unmistakably Hittite words are sometimes marked with a Glossenkeil, probably to call attention to unusual features (which he compares to a modern “sic” or exclamation mark). The next distinction made by Melchert is between true Luwian loanwords (e.g., *\guršauwan-*, “island”)⁵⁴ and Luwianisms, that is, words characterized by uniquely Luwian inflection (e.g. *\taparha*, “I ruled”). Taking into consideration the close relationship between Luwian and Hittite (comparable to Italian and Spanish, for example), there is a considerable overlap resulting in a wide margin of error, especially with nouns and adjectives. I would not even exclude the possibility that in some cases the scribe himself hesitated whether a certain form is Hittite or Luwian, which would explain why the same word may appear in the same text, either with or without the gloss-wedge.

Moving to the diachronic segmentation of the corpus, Melchert stresses, following Starke and others, that a limited influence of Luwian is already found in Old Hittite texts, and this increases steadily from the fifteenth century on. Luwianization really becomes common only from Muršili II onward. However, in Melchert’s view, the evidence is insufficient to establish whether this development was gradual or abrupt, and whether it should be attributed to some dramatic change in ruling hierarchy or more general social conditions (p. 16). In view of

53. With progressively fewer exceptions, such as *\sinahila*, Hurrian “second” (KBo 3.3 ii 7). For other examples, see van den Hout 2006: 222, n. 53.

54. “Island” is a good example for the adoption of a loanword, since the first place the Hittites would have become acquainted with islands was the western Anatolian coastline. For the politically contested northeastern Aegean islands, claimed both by the Hittites and the Ahhiyawans, see P. Taracha in Th. Richter, D. Prechel, J. Klinger, eds. *Kulturgeschichten. Altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas* (Saarbrücken, 2001), 417–22; Singer, “Purple-Dyers in Lazpa.”

the many gaps in our information, Melchert finally forgoes any attempt at characterizing the Luwian influence on Hittite in terms of language-contact typologies.

Building on Melchert's study, van den Hout is more daring in his chronological and sociolinguistic conclusions. For a closer examination of the distribution of Luwianisms he divides the Hittite corpus into texts with a long-term interest, usually preserved in multiple copies (Group A, including historical texts, instructions, mythology, rituals, festivals, prayers, etc.) and texts with ephemeral interest, usually preserved in single copies (Group B, including letters, administration, inventories, oracles, etc.). His results generally reconfirm earlier conclusions about a wide distribution in practically all genres, but the finer tuning of his examination adduces some important observations. One of them is that Luwianisms are more frequently used in the most ephemeral texts of Group B "where there was little or no influence of tradition and where elevated language was the least present" (p. 224). This conclusion should be pondered in combination with another chronological observation of van den Hout, namely, that the gloss-wedges preceding Luwian words and forms were introduced rather abruptly during the reign of Muṣili II (p. 227).⁵⁵ If so, the next step is to find the historical circumstances that may have produced this sudden increase in the use of Luwianisms in Hittite texts. Following earlier observations to this effect,⁵⁶ van den Hout identifies the decisive demographic turning point to be the devastating epidemic that decimated the population of Ḫatti after Šuppiluliuma's victory in Amqa, followed by the mass deportations of Westerners to Ḫatti during Muṣili's campaigns to Arzawa.⁵⁷ The decrease in the population of the Hittite homeland combined with the sharp increase in Luwian-speaking deportees may certainly have tipped the demographic balance in favor of the latter, a development that was bound to have an impact *even* on the Hittite chancellery, let alone in more plebeian segments of Hittite society. There is no need to go a step further and to consider Luwian as the *only* vernacular language of late-thirteenth century Ḫatti, leaving for Hittite the role of the standard chancellery language. The growing Luwian competition with Hittite should suffice to explain the survival of the former and the vanishing of the latter after the fall of the Hittite capital and its royal archives. Whether one accepts this theory or not, it undeniably provides an

55. With one uncertain exception (see n. 59), the earlier use of gloss-wedges may have served other purposes (n. 227).

56. E.g., H. G. Güterbock, *Or* 25 (1956), 138; S. Košak, *Eretz-Israel* 15 (1981), 15*.

57. The numbers of deportees taken by Muṣili II from Arzawa to Ḫatti (some 85,000 people altogether) may be somewhat exaggerated, but since we find similarly large figures in Egyptian and Assyrian records, one cannot entirely dismiss them. See A. Amer, "Asiatic Prisoners Taken in the Reign of Amenophis II," *Scripta Mediterranea* 5 (1984), 27–28 (with refs. to earlier studies); B. Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden, 1979). Of course, plenty of captives were also brought to Ḫatti from other parts of the empire, but nothing comparable to the numbers given for Arzawa.

integrative solution for an important phenomenon in Late Anatolian culture by combining linguistic and historical data.

What remains to be investigated more closely is the impact of this major demographic shift in various domains of Hittite society and culture. Melchert's preliminary analysis of the Luwian loanwords in terms of their semantic fields has not produced significant results. His first impression speaks of a "quite variegated assortment" (p. 10), which includes not only items of food, clothing, and utensils, but also terms relating to hunting/herding, military organization, religion, and social order. While the first three categories could be viewed as colloquialisms, this would hardly apply to the last ones (including the title *t/labarna*). Van den Hout's investigation is primarily focused on the language of the scribes who used Luwianisms and less so on other segments of Hittite society. On this point I have to agree with him that the considerable increase of Luwianisms in texts written in the chancelleries of the Hittite capital must be indicative of the language of the scribes, either through intensive contact with Luwian speakers, or, more probably, as a result of the presence of many Luwians among the scribes of Ḫattuša (p. 227). Indeed, I can hardly see the logic in using ordinary Luwian words and forms which could just as easily be expressed in Hittite, unless, as stated by Güterbock half a century ago (1956: 139), these scribes "were not able to rid themselves from their own Luwian idiom, and this led to the development of a kind of 'Mischsprache.'"⁵⁸ This situation recalls to a certain extent the mixed Canaano-Akkadian language employed by the scribes of Canaan in the Amarna Age, and I believe that there is a lot to learn from a systematic comparison of the two linguistic phenomena.⁵⁹

POSTSCRIPT: LUWIANS IN THE HITTITE ARMY?

If I insist on deepening my quest for the sociological profile of the Luwian influence on Hittite society, this is not originally based on some solid evidence readily visible in the texts. If there were such explicit references, they would surely be well-known by now. Rather, I base my "hunch" on historical analogies, notably those originating from the very same region from which the Luwian captives were brought to Ḫatti. I refer to the scores of choice Carian and Ionian mercenaries who served in the armies of Egypt, Persia, and other Near Eastern

58. Cf. also E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Louvite* (Paris, 1059), 13–14 (§§ 14–15).

59. For Canaano-Akkadian see, in particular, A. F. Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets: A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect Used by the Scribes from Canaan* (Leiden, 1996); Sh. Izre'el, *Canaanite-Akkadian* (München, 1998); idem, "Vocalized Canaanite: Cuneiform-Written Canaanite Words in the Amarna Letters: Some Methodological Remarks," *Dutch Studies - Society of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures* 5 (2003): 13–34.

kingdoms in the first millennium B.C.E.⁶⁰ This well-attested phenomenon had its antecedents already in the second millennium, when various “Sea Peoples,” many of whom originated from western Anatolia, served in elite corps in the Egyptian army.⁶¹ Now, since western Anatolia served throughout antiquity as a primary source for the recruitment of military men to distant lands, it would be strange not to encounter this phenomenon in the Hittite army as well, whose scope of action was constantly expanding and whose functioning was becoming increasingly difficult as the Empire was aging. In short, I strongly suspect that many of the Luwian deportees brought to Hatti ended up in various army units, just as their brethren in the Egyptian army. The preliminary remarks to follow cannot fully substantiate this hypothesis, but may initiate a scholarly discussion on the subject, which must obviously be investigated in-depth and not only through linguistic means.

An early clue for Luwian speakers in the Hittite security forces has already been noted in the past, but it is worth to recall this case due to its exceptional importance. The Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard (LÚ.MEŠ *MEŠEDI*) is a Middle Hittite composition containing a detailed protocol on the daily exit of the king from the palace escorted by a selected group of bodyguards.⁶² The last sections of the text, unfortunately badly damaged, describe the passing on of a command, probably emanating from the inner chamber of the palace (*dun[nakešar]*). The message is first transmitted in Hittite (*udan[du-war-at]*, “[Let] them bring [it]!”) to the “man of the golden spear” (LÚ.ŠUKUR. GUŠKIN), who then passes it on in Luwian (*luwili*) to the “(bronze) spear-men” (LÚ.MEŠ.ŠUKUR). Unfortunately, the content of this Luwian message is not preserved, but the large gap precludes that it was a simple translation of the Hittite message. Thereafter, a “spear-man,” whose bronze spear is apparently “tu[rned]down” (*katta ne[ian]*), goes to the kitchen and announces something from which only the first word, in Hittite, is preserved: “To the inner chamber [...].!” As already noted by the editors, this detailed report seems to indicate that “the person of higher rank is addressed in “literary” Hittite but tells it to the rank and file in the “vernacular” Luwian.”⁶³ Now, if this is indeed the situation in the

60. See, e.g., J. D. Ray, “Soldiers to Pharaohs: The Carians of Southwest Anatolia,” in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. M. Sasson; New York: Scribner’s, 1995), 1185–94.

61. For the origin of the “Sea Peoples,” see I. Singer in *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean* (c. 1500–1000 B.C.) (ed. M. Heltzer and E. Lipiński; Leuven, 1988), 239–50.

62. Last treatment by H. G. Güterbock and Th. P. J. van den Hout, *The Hittite Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard* (Chicago, 1991). Cf. also the translation of G. McMahon in *The Context of Scripture I* (ed. W. W. Hallo; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 225–30. For the personnel mentioned in the text, see R. Beal, *The Organisation of the Hittite Military* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1992), passim; F. Pecchioli Daddi in G. Beckman et al., eds. *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr.* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 83–92.

63. Güterbock and van den Hout, *Hittite Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard*, 59.

innermost circle of the royal security ring, would it not be similar in other units of the Hittite army?

In the same text we find yet another meaningful Luwian clue. In §§6–7 instructions are given to guards who need to leave the palace premises in order to urinate (lit.: “go to the pot”). The request must be passed on to a “third-in-command” (LÚ^U*tarriyanalli*-), thence to a “second-in-command” (LÚ^U*duyanalli*-), and finally to a “commander-of-ten bodyguards” (UGULA.10.*MEŠEDI*) who may finally dismiss the fretful guard. Is it a mere coincidence that the lower echelons bear Luwian designations?⁶⁴ Other military terms built with the Luwian suffix *-alla/-* are LÚ^U*tapariyalli*- “commander” and LÚ^U*kuwalanalla/i*-, “soldier,” both of them derived from well-known Luwian vocables. The latter is particularly important because it seems to be the only attested term for a single “soldier” of rank and file.⁶⁵ Last but not least, I would add here Luwian *upati*- a vocable whose attested history covers an entire millennium, from Old Assyrian *upatinnum* to Neo-Hittite *L. 274 *ubatit*-.⁶⁶ Without entering into the complex problems of interpretation and etymology, I tend to accept R. Beal’s conclusion that it is some kind of military group or association capable of holding land.⁶⁷

Besides the above terms intimately associated with military organization, browsing through the lists of Luwian vocables preserved in Hittite texts I came across several terms related to vehicles of transportation:⁶⁸ GIŠ^U*haršandaḫit*- must be a part of the wagon,⁶⁹ whereas *tiyarit*- could be the very reading of GIŠ^UMAR. GÍD.DA “wagon.”⁷⁰ *māuwani(ya)*- is probably “hitch as a four-span.”⁷¹ Significantly, this last term comes from the horse training instructions of Kikkuli, a text that, according to F. Starke, contains other Luwian clues and was probably composed in Kizzuwatna.⁷² To these vocables we may add Hieroglyphic Luwian

64. For the Luwian suffix in *-alla/-*, see N. Oettinger, *KZ* 99 (1986): 43–53; Melchert, *The Luwians*, 16; “The Problem of Luvian Influence on Hittite,” § 3.2.

65. Beal, *Organisation of the Hittite Military*, 35–36. Luwian *kuwalana*- is a recurring element in personal names, including Kuwalana-ziti, the Hittite messenger who brought to western Anatolia the new treaty tablet for Walmu king of Wiluša (KUB 19.55+ rev. 38’). For this diplomat, who was also active in Egypt, see Th. van den Hout, *Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 91, n. 112.

66. For a comprehensive survey of the sources and the various interpretations, see Beal, *Organisation of the Hittite Military*, 539–49.

67. *Ibid.*, 548. For the question of etymology, see H. C. Melchert, “A Luwian Dedication,” in *Indo-European Perspectives. Studies in Honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies* (ed. J. H. W. Penney; Oxford, 2004), 370–79; I. Yakubovich, “Carian Monument,” in *Festschrift Leonard Georgijevich Gercenberg* (ed. N. Kazanskij; Saint Petersburg, 2005). I wish to thank Ilya Yakubovich for these references and for putting at my disposal preprints of his forthcoming articles.

68. I found only a couple of terms related to military equipment: *putalli(ya)*- “to gird”; *kurudawant*- “wearing a helmet(?)” Cf. also *gurta*- “citadel.”

69. Starke, *Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen*, 174.

70. But cf. *ibid.*, 218–20 (“Spindel”).

71. But cf. Starke, *Ausbildung und Training von Streitwagenpferden* (Wiesbaden, 1995), 44, n. 105.

72. *Ibid.*, 122–23.

zalal-, “vehicle,” and its cognates, including Hieroglyphic Luwian *zalalasa-*, the possible equivalent of cuneiform ^{LÚ}KARTAPPU.⁷³ This small assemblage, surely not exhaustive, could indicate some Luwian expertise and influence in the domains of horse breeding and chariotry.⁷⁴ As noted above, the horse plays an important role also in Luwian religion.

Historical texts may provide the actual background for a Luwian connection to horses and chariotry. Besides massive numbers of infantry men, hundreds of horse teams with their charioteers were also transported from western Anatolia to Ḫatti. For example, Tuthaliya I reports in his annals that he brought from Aššuwa to Ḫattuša ten thousand foot soldiers and six hundred teams of horses together with their chariot drivers.⁷⁵ What did they do in Ḫatti? From administrative texts and letters we mainly hear about the resettlement and the employment of the deportees as agricultural work force,⁷⁶ but I assume that many of the professional persons brought from the West continued to exercise their original occupations, including within the ranks of the army and the chariotry. In the Battle of Qadesh several western Anatolian units participated, both infantry and chariotry.⁷⁷ The list of Hittite allies includes not only vassal kingdoms, who were obliged by treaties to send their auxiliary troops, but also some western Anatolian lands that were never truly subdued by the Hittites—Maša, Karkiša, Luka. I assume that these fighters were recruited into the Hittite armies, either as prisoners of war, or, more likely, as mercenaries. An incised drawing on a fragmentary Hittite bowl from Boğazköy may give us a clue what such a western Anatolian soldier might have looked like.⁷⁸

73. Starke, *Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen*, 337–40 (with refs.).

74. It is interesting to note another semantic field that is abundantly represented in the list of Luwianisms preserved in Hittite texts—the elaborate terminology of (dis)obedience and rebellion, so typical for Hittite relations with western Anatolia: *\ḫarpanuwant-* “rebellious,” *(\)\tarpanallašša-* “become rebellious,” *kappilalli-* “hostile,” *\maršašša/i-* “treacherous,” *(\)\kupiḫati-kup-* “hatch a plot,” *appalā(i)-* “entrap, deceive,” *\zammura/i-* “insult, slander,” *tumantiya-* “obedience,” etc. Also related to subjugation is *\arkammalla/i-* “make tribute bearing,” for which see now Singer, “Purple-dyers in Lazpa.”

75. Lit. “the lords of the reins” (LÚ.MEŠ *išmeriyaš BELŪ^{HI.A}*). KUB 23.11/12 iii 34–35; O. Carruba, *SMEA* 18 (1977): 160–61; Beal, *Organisation of the Hittite Military*, 153–54; T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford, 1998), 135. Probably similar numbers were also brought from Arzawa but the passage (ii 11–12) is damaged. The number of chariots brought by Muršili II from Arzawa must have been even greater, but the exact figures are not indicated.

76. See S. Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* (Heidelberg, 1977), 144–45; H. A. Hoffner, “The Treatment and Long-Term Use of Persons Captured in Battle according to the Mašat Texts,” in *Hittite Archaeology and History. Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock* (ed. K. A. Yener and H. A. Hoffner Jr.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 61–72.

77. A. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford, 1975), 8, 57–78.

78. K. Bittel, “Tonschale mit Ritzzeichnung von Boğazköy,” *Revue Archéologique* 1976, 9–14. After analyzing the various elements of the warrior’s equipment Bittel concluded (p. 14): “Die namentlich beim Helm spürbaren westlichen Bezüge könnten darauf zurückzuführen sein, dass sich der Zeichner an Vorbilder aus dem kleinasiatischen Westen oder Südwesten gehalten hat, aus Bereichen, in denen sich Anatolisches und Ägeaisches berührten.”

In short, what I would like to put forward as a working hypothesis is the assumption that a considerable part of the Hittite army consisted of men originating from western Anatolia, perhaps serving, as in Egypt,⁷⁹ in special combat units. Like their first-millennium counterparts, these were probably fierce fighters whose martial abilities were greatly valued by their commanders. However, quite often throughout history mercenaries and foreign troops became a broken reed in times of distress and disarray and sometimes they even turned against their masters of yore.⁸⁰ In his last article on the Hittites, Emil Forrer envisaged “a slave mutiny of the Luwian lower classes in Ḫatti.”⁸¹ Although such a scenario might be overly dramatized, it does not take one too much imagination to conceive of the final disintegration of the Hittite army and state as following along ethno-cultural fault lines, besides other feuds and rifts.⁸² It should again be stressed that these tentative reflections on the Luwians in the Late Hittite society must be further explored and corroborated by using all possible means of investigation.⁸³

In conclusion, the editor and the contributors of this excellent volume should be congratulated for erecting a durable monument for the Luwians, one of the most important yet elusive peoples of the ancient Near East.

79. For the Sherden and other foreign troops in the Egyptian army, see, e.g., A. Kadry, *Officers and Officials in the New Kingdom* (Budapest, 1982), 173–81; O. Loretz and J. Kahl in M. Yon et al., eds. *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C.* (Paris, 1995), 125–40. For a possible etymological connection (which remains to be proven) between the Šerdani and the Hittite term *šardiya-*, “allied-troops,” see Singer in “The Kuruštama Treaty Revisited,” in *Šarnikel* (*Gs Forrer*), 604, n. 45.

80. As did the Philistines in Canaan to their Egyptian masters. See I. Singer, “The Beginning of Philistine Settlement in Canaan and the Northern Boundary of Philistia,” *Tel Aviv* 12 (1985), 109ff.

81. “Der Untergang des Ḫatti-Reiches,” *Ugaritica* 6 (1969): 222: “... ein Sklavenaufstand der luvischen Unterschicht des Ḫatti-Landes....”

82. It is interesting to note in this connection Niccolò Machiavelli’s warnings, supported by historical examples, against the employment of mercenaries and auxiliary troops in the twelfth and 13th chapters of *The Prince*.

83. A possible course would be through an onomastic investigation of the army personnel, although I have some doubts about the validity of this method for a trustworthy reconstruction of ethno-cultural situations (see n. 32 above). Perhaps archaeology may supply more reliable clues on demographic shifts in Late Bronze Age Anatolia. Note, e.g., Tuḫaliya’s sword discovered at Ḫattuša, which commemorates his victory over Aššuwa. Contrary to earlier assessments of an Aegean origin, it now appears that the sword was manufactured in (western?) Anatolia. For refs. see H. Genz, *AA* 2004/1, 80, and add P. Taracha in Beckman, Beal, and McMahon, *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr.*, 367–76.

EPILOGUE

BETWEEN SCEPTICISM AND CREDULITY: IN DEFENCE OF HITTITE HISTORIOGRAPHY

«Cependant le scepticisme de principe n'est pas une attitude intellectuelle plus estimable ni plus féconde que la crédulité...»

Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l'Histoire ou métier d'historien* (Paris 1949), 48.

"Just because an intellectual trend seems irresistible is no reason for not resisting it."

Richard J. Evans, *In Defense of History* (New York/London 1999), 11.

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of postmodernist thought in the 1960s and 70s has posed the most formidable epistemological challenge to the historical discipline in recent times. Since the concept of 'postmodernism' is extremely fluid and controversial, any definition to be reproduced here will necessarily be considered unsatisfactory by some. However, as a practicing historian, I will utilize the characterizations of another historian, Richard J. Evans, a leading authority on modern German history. In his balanced survey of historians' responses to postmodernism he thoughtfully distinguishes between radical and moderate versions of postmodernism.¹ He describes the radical approach as follows:²

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1. As observed by Evans 1999, 222, n. 6, 'postmodernism' is a convenient general label which covers a variety of sometimes contradictory and conflicting ideas. To a large extent it can only be defined by what it is not, i.e. 'modernism.' Quite often scholars are reluctant to define themselves as 'postmodernists', even if their views include typical hallmarks of postmodernist thought (see n. 3). A less burdened term often used in this context is the 'linguistic turn', which refers to various language-based modes of historical criticism. For a useful volume of readings on the history and narrative debate see Roberts 2001; see also the first two chapters in Barstad 2008 for a brief introductory survey on the development of historical thought from 'modernism' to 'postmodernism' (with special attention to biblical studies). Some culture analysts have already proclaimed the death of 'Postmodernism' and the advent of 'Pseudo-modernism' or 'Digimodernism' (Kirby 2006; 2009); I fear to think what kind of repercussions this new amnesiac cultural climate might have on the historical sciences.

2. In his contribution to the "Great Debate on History and Postmodernism," University of Sydney, Australia, 27 July 2002; see <http://www.butterfliesandwheels.com>.

The idea that language is arbitrarily constructed, and represents nothing but itself, so that whenever we read something, the meaning we put into it is necessarily our own and nobody else's, except of course insofar as our own way of reading is part of a wider discourse or set of beliefs. It must be obvious that this idea has a corrosive effect on the discipline of history, which depends on the belief that the sources the historian reads can enable us to reconstruct past reality. ... The ultimate test of any historical statement is the extent to which it fits with the evidence, but just because no fit is ever perfect, just because no fact can be established as anything more than an overwhelming probability, does not mean that we can naively and impatiently discard all historical statements as mere inventions of the historian.

The confusion, indeed the outrage that the radical new paradigm stirred up among traditional historians was anticipated by Hayden White, one of the iconic figures of the 'literary turn' in America:

All of this is highly schematic, and I know that this insistence on the fictive element in all historical narratives is certain to arouse the ire of historians who believe that they are doing something fundamentally different from the novelist, by virtue of the fact that they deal with 'real', while the novelist deals with 'imagined' events. ... It does not matter whether the world is conceived to be real or only imagined; the manner of making sense of it is the same.³

No less an authority than Arnaldo Momigliano worriedly retorted: "I fear the consequences of his [White's] approach to historiography because he eliminated the research for truth as the main task of the historian."⁴ Indeed, if "meaning comes into being at the meeting point of text and reader, or, in a more extreme form, is created by readers in the act of reading,"⁵ then text interpretation becomes arbitrary and any interpretation can be taken as being equally valid as any other. The choice between them becomes more a matter of taste and inclination rather than a carefully chosen stance on a valid scale between fact and fiction. In postmodernist parlance the words 'true' and 'objective' have been put into the quarantine of scare quotes or were simply eliminated altogether from the vocabulary. The reactions of traditional historians to postmodernism were indeed vehement, denouncing it as destructive, frivolously nihilistic and menacing the very legitimacy and *raison d'être* of modern historiography.⁶

3. White 1978, 98 = White 2001, 235. Although White is considered by many to be a magisterial spokesman for relativist postmodernism, he himself denies being a postmodernist or an anti-realist, asserting that the reality of events in the past is not contradicted by literary portrayals of those events (White 1999, 22; cf. also Barstad 2008, 31–33).

4. Momigliano 1981, 49.

5. Clines and Exum 1993, 19.

6. See Evans 1999, 6–8 for a long list of quotations, some of them quite caustic. It is interesting to note in this context the prophetic warning of Marc Bloch against "the injury to our profession" caused by such mind-

At the same time, as readily admitted by Evans, postmodernism has also brought a number of important benefits to humanistic studies:

Postmodernism in its more moderate guises has thus helped open up many new subjects and areas for research, while putting back on the agenda many topics which had previously seemed to be exhausted. It has forced historians to interrogate their own methods and procedures as never before, and in the process has made them more self-critical and self-reflexive, which is all to the good. It has led to a greater emphasis on open acknowledgment of the historian's own subjectivity, which can only help the reader engaged in a critical assessment of historical work.⁷

I openly acknowledge my lack of scholarly competence to delve into the philosophical and literary intricacies of postmodernist theory, but I am inclined to steer, like Richard Evans and Carlo Ginzburg,⁸ a middle course between postmodernist reflexivity and the traditional historical-critical approach. As any theory taken to an extreme, radical postmodernism has brought the discipline of historiography to an impasse. In this article I intend to focus on what I see as some of the postmodern excesses and errors in the domain of ancient Near Eastern historiography in general and Hittite historiography in particular.

I. LIVERANI'S SEMIOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

I.1. New intellectual trends are usually slow to penetrate the precincts of ancient Near Eastern studies, but the work of the renowned Italian historian Mario Liverani defies this generalisation. Already in the early 1970s he responded

sets, written in 1941, more than a generation before the actual advent of postmodernism (Bloch 1953, 15–16): “The other school of inquirers took a quite different point of view. Unsuccessful in cramming the stuff of history into the legalistic framework of physical science, and particularly disturbed, because of their early training, by the difficulties, doubts, and many fresh beginnings required by documentary criticism, they drew from their inquiries the moral lesson of a disillusioned humility. In the final reckoning, they felt that they were devoting their talents to a discipline which promised neither very positive conclusions in the present, nor the hope of progress in the future. They tended to view history less as truly scientific knowledge than as a sort of aesthetic play, a hygienic exercise favorable to health of mind. They have sometimes been called *historiens historisants*, possessing the truly ‘historical’ point of view; but such a judgment does injury to our profession, for it seems to find the essence of history in the very denial of its possibilities. For my part, I should prefer to find a more expressive symbol for them in the moment of French thought with which they are associated.”

7. Evans 1999, 216

8. Ginzburg 1999, 25: “Sources are neither open windows, as the positivists believe, nor fences obstructing vision, as the skeptics hold: if anything, we would compare them to distorting mirrors. The analysis of the specific distortion of every specific source already implies a constructive element. But construction ... is not incompatible with proof; the projection of desire, without which there is no research, is not incompatible with the refutations inflicted by the principle of reality. Knowledge (even historical knowledge) is possible.” See also McCullagh 1998; 2004a and 2004b for a defence of the practice of history against the postmodernist assault on any notion of the reality of the past.

to structuralist and post-structuralist intellectual currents arriving mainly from France. Notably, he attempted to apply the methods of semiotic ‘counter-information’ developed by Roland Barthes, Umberto Eco and others to the decoding of the political discourse of ancient Near Eastern royal inscriptions.⁹ In his seminal “Memorandum on the approach to historiographic texts” (1973) Liverani suggested:

to view the document not as a ‘source of information’, but as information in itself; not as an opening on a reality laying beyond, but as an element which makes up that reality¹⁰... In this type of approach our attention is no more centered on the events, but on how they are narrated. For the event is foreign, to a certain extent, to the author of the text, is independent of his will and does not aid us in characterizing him (ib.)... Only by switching the focus of interest from the *event* to the *pattern* can a total or comprehensive reading of the text be achieved, a reading which seeks to understand not only *why the text was written*, but also *why the text was written in that particular way*.¹¹

Liverani demonstrated his method of reading against the grain of the narrative in order to expose its ideological aims through several examples of thought patterns of mythical character in historiographic texts.¹² His separate studies (on Idrimi, Rib-Hadda, Telipinu, etc.) were woven together and expanded in his magisterial *Prestige and Interest* (1990), where the deconstruction of the *historical event* and the imaginary *historical kernel* was brought to its ultimate conclusion:

Since ideology exerts its influence both on the accounts and on the events themselves, the space left to the physical reality is rather restricted, almost unimportant after all.¹³

If the concept of ‘historical event’ is a pure abstraction¹⁴ and the physical reality is “almost unimportant after all,” then the hope of acquiring some reliable

9. Liverani 1973, 193–94; Liverani 2001, 207 n. 28.

10. Liverani 1973, 179.

11. Liverani 1973, 189–90.

12. It is only fair to add in passing that much of what Liverani prescribed in the 1970s, traditional historians have to a large extent always done, though perhaps without the elaborate theoretical matrix laid out by Liverani; for some references see Bagg 1998, 102.

13. Liverani 1990, 294. The passage containing this statement was removed from the revised edition of the book (Liverani 2001, 202). I wonder whether this subtraction should be attributed to trivial editorial considerations or rather to Liverani’s comment in the Preface (p. viii) that “of course my ideas underwent substantial changes through the period.”

14. Liverani 1973, 185: “I am afraid that the concept of ‘historical event’—but I hesitate entering into a field inaccessible to me—is a pure abstraction, which in all cases implies a choice in interpretation, a way of understanding and of presenting.” ... “We must resign ourselves to recognize that the so-called ‘event’ is, upon objective consideration, so complex as to be impossible to describe and in fact unusable: every use of it implies a drastic simplification which is necessarily biased in one direction.” Cf. Liverani 2001, 119: “The problem is not to sift away

knowledge about the past is all but given up. In accordance with postmodernist doctrine, the very aim of getting as close as possible to the historical truth thus becomes a futile, indeed “an absurd search for the historical kernel.”¹⁵

One of the far-reaching demonstrations of the new paradigm was provided in the symposium on *Akkad, the First World Empire*, convened by Liverani in Rome in 1990, where most participants have embraced the ‘advanced positions’ described by Liverani in terms of “a real Copernican revolution.”¹⁶ In his contributions to the volume of the proceedings Liverani draws a strict line between largely reliable contemporaneous sources (mostly archival texts) and the historiographic literature on the Sargonic dynasty, which Liverani asserts can provide valid clues only on the later period in which it was (arguably) produced.

Liverani has no doubt been one of the most intellectually incisive scholars in the field, paving the way for the implementation of new theories and methodologies in ancient Near East studies, from historical materialism to structuralism, from psychoanalysis and gender theory to postmodernist self-reflexivity.¹⁷ In fact, in many cases he has anticipated intellectual trends before they became fashionable in cultural studies throughout the world.¹⁸ His ‘semiological movement’¹⁹ has been in vogue above all, but not only, in Italian scholarship.²⁰ In their useful volume of Liverani’s articles translated into English, Bahrani and

ideology in order to discover the ‘real facts’, but on the contrary to better appreciate ideology through an evaluation of its factual basis.”

15. Liverani 1993, 6.

16. Liverani 1993, 6. 45. It seems that over the years Liverani gradually embraced a more modest stance: “During these twenty years, my attitude has alternated between enthusiasm for discovering a ‘key’ of great explanatory power, and the feeling that the key was so obvious that everyone should know or could discover it” (Liverani 2001, viii). Cf. also Liverani 2005, 238: “the task of unveiling (and confessing) our own bias is much more difficult than underscoring that which influenced scholars of past generations.”

17. For a concise survey of the development of Liverani’s scholarship, see the introduction of Bahrani and Van De Mieroop to Liverani 2004. It seems that over the years Liverani has become more aware of the dangers of applying too harshly the deconstructive methods of text criticism on the sparse and fragile documentation of the ancient Near East: “In ancient history data are so questionable and rare that a deconstructionist approach to their reading can easily generate a major crisis about the very basic facts. ... For sure, Mesopotamia, too, can and must assimilate a dose of deconstructionism, provided that the dose is not excessive, and above all that it goes hand in hand with more traditional work on the still primary task of ascertaining the fundamental facts. ... Unlike modern historians, who deal with a reality so solid as to allow them to play the game ‘let’s imagine that it didn’t exist’, we are dealing with a period in time when the very ascertainment of the basic facts is still an open problem” (Liverani 2000, 331–32). Cf. also Bagg 1998, 107: “Diese Arbeit [*Studies on the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II*] ist ein deutlicher Beweis dafür, daß Liverani seine ‚nihilistische Phase‘ überwunden hat, und daß für ihn Königsinschriften trotz ihres ideologischen Gehalts historisch relevant sind.“

18. Bahrani and Van de Mieroop in Liverani 2004, viii–ix.

19. Liverani 2008, 33–34.

20. First and foremost, his associates of the “Scuola Romana”—a.o. G. Del Monte, M. Fales, L. Milano, F. Pintore and C. Zaccagnini—who have contributed important studies on the political conceptions of the Ancient Near East, each in his own field of expertise. Among the numerous followers of Liverani’s methods outside Italy suffice it to mention only a few from various subdisciplines: Baines 1996: *passim*; van de Mieroop 1997, 298; Bagg 1998; von Dassow 1999; Brand 2007.

Van De Mieroop²¹ deplored the fact that his Italian articles “have been ignored to a great extent by non-Italian scholars, despite their often fundamental rereading of ancient texts that are the basis of many of our historical reconstructions.”²² My own impression is that Liverani’s influence on ancient Near Eastern studies has been far more decisive than it may appear on the face of it. As noted by the renowned French historian Marc Bloch, co-founder of the *Annales* School, “for a philosophy to impregnate an entire age, it is not necessary that it should act precisely in accordance with a prescribed formula nor that the majority of minds should come under its influence except by a sort of osmosis of which they are often only half aware.”²³

I.2. One of the few historians who directly challenged Liverani’s methods of historical inquiry was the Yale Assyriologist William W. Hallo. In his programmatic article “New Directions in Historiography” (1998) he rejected one by one its basic tenets, most importantly in the present context, Liverani’s total rejection of the ‘burdensome’ notion of a ‘historical kernel’ and his conviction that the only valid reason for studying historiographic literature is “the search for the author and the environment of the text itself, its purpose, its audience, and the historical knowledge that was really available at that time.”²⁴ Rather, a historical document should be explored for useful information *both* about the events it purports to relate *and* about its author.²⁵

In this and in other articles Hallo unnecessarily entangled the discussion on the reconstruction of Mesopotamian history with the long-standing dichotomy between so-called maximalists and minimalists in biblical historiography.²⁶ I am not sure that the comparison of the problems pertaining to the historiographies of the Sargonic and the Davidic dynasties is really helpful for either side. With great vigour and confidence Hallo disputed the increasingly louder voices advocating what they termed a ‘healthy scepticism’, but which was in fact a corrosive and debilitating pessimism.²⁷ His simple plea “to write ancient history by taking the ancient documents seriously without taking them literally” (1998: 110) still reso-

21. Liverani 2004, vii.

22. See also Van de Mieroop 1997, 298.

23. Bloch 1953, 84.

24. Liverani 1993, 6. 43.

25. For the continuing debate on the composition and the historicity of the Akkadian heroic traditions, see now Goodnick Westenholz 2010 (with ample bibliographical references).

26. Hallo 1990, 193–94; Hallo 1998, 121–22. In an entirely different context (of archives before writing), Liverani 1994, 414–15 juxtaposed a ‘maximalist-optimist’ school of thought and a ‘minimalist-pessimist’ one, classifying himself clearly with the latter.

27. This pessimism had of course many early precursors (e.g., in the oeuvres of L. Oppenheim and F.R. Kraus), for which see Hallo 1990; cf. also Bagg 1998, 101, n. 12.

nates compellingly, despite the harsh criticism of his credulity, which was often considered by his opponents as “little more than a euphemism for gullibility.”²⁸

One of the inevitable results of the hyper-critical mind-set permeating historical studies from the 1970s on is a conspicuous transformation in scholarly focus, namely a decreasing interest in political history and a rush towards other historical sub-disciplines, such as socio-economic, cultural and intellectual histories. Of course, this development may have had also other, perhaps more important reasons (e.g., the overwhelming influence of the French *Annales* School), but postmodernist frames of mind are likely to be at least partly responsible, intentionally or unintentionally, for a certain undervaluation of, and perhaps even disdain for political (and military) history. A prominent Egyptologist wrote in his prognosis of ancient history in the twenty-first century that “the aim of interpretation ceases to be simply a search for ‘what happened’—an approach that may not be productive.... the basic goal of reconstructing a historical skeleton is vital, but attempts to create modern-style political history of Egypt or of the ancient Near East are best transmuted into cultural and socioeconomic approaches.”²⁹

Fortunately, not all historians have succumbed to such pessimistic appraisals of political history and many of them still invest their skills and energy in adding flesh and skin to the dry bones of the ‘historical skeleton.’ Due to the lamentable scarcity of archival material (in comparison with its extraordinary abundance in Mesopotamia), Hittite historiography in particular is dependent on a maximal exploitation of narrative sources. In the following pages I intend to provide a brief survey of the development of Hittite historiographic scholarship, focusing on some recent mind-sets of textual criticism.

II. REASSESSING HITTITE HISTORIOGRAPHY

II.1. In the writings of the early masters of Hittitology an exceptional ‘historical consciousness’ or ‘historical sense’ (*Geschichtsbewußtsein*; *historische Sinn*) was attributed to the Hittite historical sources.³⁰ Albrecht Goetze acclaimed their sophisticated portrayal of complex situations for their own sake, unlike the tedious lists of events glorifying the king in other historiographies.³¹ Heinrich Otten maintained that the typical Hittite mentality, illustrated by the ability to

28. Hallo 1990, 187.

29. Baines 1996, 352–53. Cf. also Cowan 2006: “Political historians have to a large degree abandoned the hope that with enough intensive archival study they can obtain a complete understanding of past politics and thus write ‘definitive studies.’ Instead, the history of ‘political cultures’ tends to dominate.”

30. For general surveys see Klinger 2001, 272–276 and Klinger 2008, 30.

31. Goetze 1933/1957², 175: „Sie [die Annalistik] berichtet bereits über Ereignisse um ihrer selbst willen. Dieser Bericht geht weit hinaus über öde Glorifizierung des Königs. Er beschränkt sich auch nicht auf eine trockene Aufzählung von Ereignissen. Vielmehr sind Situationen eindrucksvoll dargestellt und Ereignisse unter einheitlichen Gesichtspunkten geordnet....“

organize disparate events into a coherent account, is already manifested in the historically credible Anitta inscription.³² Annelies Kammenhuber, who considered Anitta to be a Proto-Hattian, attributed this special historical penchant not exclusively to the Indo-European heritage of the Hittites, but to a symbiotic blend between them and their Proto-Hattian predecessors.³³ Alfonso Archi, though admitting the partiality of the Hittite historical sources, distinguished between the strictly religious world view of Mesopotamia and the Hittite worldview, in which history is generated by human action.³⁴ Hans G. Güterbock concluded that “in all its complexity it [Muršili’s annals] gives a vivid picture of events which most probably happened the way they are told here. The description of how the king had to make decisions in difficult situations has the ring of truth.”³⁵ Oliver R. Gurney observed that “the practice [of providing historical examples] seems to show an attitude to history which became a marked feature of all the later royal decrees”; “... the Hittites created their own literary forms and style, which contrast strikingly with those of the other contemporary nations.”³⁶

II.2. The most penetrating literary analysis of Hittite historiography was provided by the renowned classicist Hubert Cancik in two monographs published in 1970 and 1976.³⁷ In the first study, dedicated to ‘mythical and historical truth’, Cancik refuted the commonly held view that ‘proper historiography’ (which provides not only a listing of events but a coherent causalistic composition alluding to some deeper meaning) begins only in ancient Israel and Greece, demonstrating that the Hittite historical texts, with their broad historical and theological perspectives, fully deserve the designation of ‘proper historiography’ (*eigentliche*

32. Otten 1951, 44: “Ich beurteile demnach die im Anitta-Text geschilderten Ereignisse als historisch getreu ...”; “Der wache historische Sinn, der auch diese alte Inschrift in drei Kopien auf uns hat kommen lassen, die Fähigkeit Ereignisse im Zusammenhang zu sehen und darzustellen, so auch die Ordnung des Einzelgeschehens unter einen Leitgedanken ... alles das war seit je als typisch hethitische Geisteshaltung in Anspruch genommen worden.”

33. Kammenhuber 1958, 152: “Man [i.e. Otten] hat in diesem historischen Sinn eine Auswirkung der indogermanischen Eigenart der Hethiter sehen wollen und damit sicher nicht ganz unrecht. Doch wenn man bedenkt, daß andere indogermanische Völker wie vor allem die Inder und ein Teil der Iranier keinerlei historischen Sinn zeigen und ausserdem berücksichtigt, daß in dem Bericht des Protohattiers Anitta ein früher Vorläufer der Annalen bezeugt ist, dann dürfte diese Ansicht doch wohl dahingehend abzuwandeln sein, daß erst die Symbiose zwischen Protohattiern und indogermanischen Hethitern eine solche Frucht zeitigen konnte.” Cf. also Cancik 1970, 48: “Die Vermutung, die hethitische Geschichtsschreibung sei ein Produkt des sogenannten indogermanischen Geistes, ist jedenfalls lediglich mit Hilfe kräftiger Vorurteile und Unkenntnis aufrechtzuhalten.”

34. Archi 1969, 20: “Di per sé la visione del presente condizionato dal passato, e non solo per l’elemento religioso, cosa questa comune anche in Mesopotamia, ma soprattutto per quello politico, è sempre presente nella storiografia ittita...; poichè ciò che fa storia è l’agire umano, è l’azione umana che determina il presente.”

35. Güterbock 1983, 34.

36. Gurney 1990, 143, 147.

37. See also Cancik 1993 and 2002, 74–81 (a brief summary on Hittite and Luwian historiographies in the catalogue of the exhibition *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich*).

Geschichtsschreibung).³⁸ Moreover, he observed that the Hittite concept of 'truth' differs fundamentally from that of other Near Eastern cultures.³⁹

In his second monograph Cancik (1976) went a step further in his detailed comparison of the Hittite and Biblical historiographic narrative styles, focusing on Muršili's annalistic compositions which represent the zenith of Hittite historiography. He again demonstrated that Hittite historiography exhibits a 'historical distance' from the events and reflective thought about the action itself and about its representation.⁴⁰ In this respect it is far superior to Mesopotamian and Egyptian historical traditions and anticipates the rise of the Israelite and the Greek historiographies.⁴¹

Cancik's groundbreaking studies did not go unchallenged, some critics going as far as suspecting him of cultural racism.⁴² In my view, they still constitute the foundation for any comparative research on Hittite historiography. In concluding this short overview on the early stages of Hittite historiographical studies it may be observed that each of the great masters developed his own attitude toward Hittite historiography, but they all seem to have approached the subject with an open mind and without imposing on it rigid theoretical paradigms.

II.3. Though the initial esteem enjoyed by Hittite historiography is still seen sporadically,⁴³ first cracks in its lustre seem to have appeared already in the late

38. Cancik 1970, 71–72: "Würde man diese Kriterien unbefangen auf hethitische historische Texte anwenden, so fände man zahlreiche Texte, die den Namen 'eigentliche Geschichtsschreibung' verdienen, da sie, wie oben an einigen Beispielen dargestellt wurde, militärisch-politische Zusammenhänge sachgemäß, in ihren kausalen Abhängigkeiten, mit bedachter Auswahl, in literarischen Kompositionen darstellen und auf übergreifende geschichtliche oder theologische Verbindungen hinweisen." Cf. also Mendenhall and Herion 1992, 1181: "These prologues [of Hittite treaties] are not unrelated to the question of the origin of history writing in the ancient world (a subject surrounded by obscurity, mystery, and controversy)."

39. Cancik 1970, 78–90, concluding that (p. 90): "... die anderen altorientalischen Kulturen, was die Praxis und 'Theorie' des historischen Wahrheitsbegriffes betrifft, sich nicht mit den hethitischen Historiographen messen können. Diese Feststellung gilt auch für die israelitische Geschichtsschreibung, wenigstens soweit sie uns durch das Alte Testament tradiert wurde." Idem 2002, 76: "Allerdings gibt es Argumentationen, die einen Wahrheitsbegriff verwenden, wie er aus dem Zeugnis vor Gericht und der Sorgfalt im Umgang mit Dokumenten (*fides diplomatica*) bekannt ist."

40. Cancik 2002, 75: "Die Anzahl und der Umfang der Werke, die aus langer Tradition erwachsende literarische Technik, die Ausbildung von "historischer Distanz" zu den Ereignissen, die Reflexion auf das eigene Tun erreichen in dieser Phase der hethitischen Geschichte einen Höhepunkt."

41. Cancik 1976, 59: "Außerdem sei es kein Zufall, daß die israelitische und griechische Geschichtsschreibung sich in der ehemaligen hethitischen Einflußsphäre entwickelt habe; in Juda wie in Halikarnaß sei die Geschichtsschreibung auf dem Nährboden der hethitischen Geschichtsschreibung gewachsen."

42. Liverani 2010, 164: "By the way, the 'Hittite exception' advanced by Cancik (in the 1970s of past century) raises the doubt that the racist approach had not really disappeared, after all." Cf. also van Seters 1983, 105, who accused Cancik of being "rather unfair in his treatment of the Mesopotamian material." Typical of van Seters's evaluation of Near Eastern historiography is the statement: "on balance it seems to me that the Egyptian annals are more sophisticated historiographic works than the Hittite annals, at least within the limits of the genre" (ib., 151); cf. also n. 34 below.

43. One of the most explicit defenders of the traditional approach is Herbert M. Wolf, who concludes his suggestively titled article "The Historical Reliability of the Hittite Annals" (Wolf 1994, 164) as following: "The Hittites

1970s, perhaps not coincidentally with the advent of the ‘literary turn’ in humanistic studies. In the proceedings of a conference on “Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East” held in Toronto in 1976, Harry A. Hoffner Jr. already captured the spirit of the age in his statement that “our concern is not primarily with these sources [historical prologues] as evidence for real happenings but rather as objects of study in their own right, as evidence for the way their authors saw (or would like us to see) the events described.”⁴⁴ This largely coincides with Liverani’s dictum to regard a text not as a source for knowledge on what the document says, but rather as a source for knowledge of itself.⁴⁵ Hoffner still spoke highly of “the unsuspected sophistication of literary technique employed by Hittite author-compilers of historical texts,”⁴⁶ but he called into question the superiority of Hittite historical consciousness: “It seems to me, therefore, gratuitous to speak of a praiseworthy *historischer Sinn* of the Hittites, which was clearly superior to the concepts of the neighboring contemporary peoples and which one must attribute [as per Kammenhuber] to the symbiosis between Hattians and Indo-European Hittites.”⁴⁷

II.4. A year after the Toronto conference on historiography, Liverani published his seminal study on the Telipinu Edict (1977), in which he exposed the schematic binary pattern of successive good and bad reigns, with Telipinu himself as the culmination at the positive end.⁴⁸ Only ‘lazy’ or ‘simple-minded’ historians, claimed Liverani,⁴⁹ would buy into such a forged representation of the past instead of vigilantly deciphering its deeper ideological codes.⁵⁰ Following Liverani’s model, his students put in the pillory of hyper-sceptical criticism not

did not seem to have the same tendency toward exaggeration found among the Assyrians and Egyptians, and this factor places their work in a more positive light. It also indicates that annalistic records may be quite objective and a great help to those who want to study history *per se* in the ancient Near East.”

44. Hoffner 1980, 311.

45. Liverani 1973, 179.

46. Hoffner 1980, 311.

47. Hoffner 1980, 322.

48. Cf. also Devecchi 2008a, 376. In a new study Liverani compares Telipinu’s model of a peaceful and united Old Kingdom to the Biblical reconstruction of the powerful United Monarchy of David and Solomon (Liverani 2010, 183–84). Surprisingly, thirty years after his original article on the Edict of Telipinu, Liverani still repeats his conviction that Labarna I was a “non-existent archetypal king” (Liverani 1977, 110 = Liverani 2004, 33), “who has no historical foundation at all” (Liverani 2010, 183), totally ignoring recent scholarship on early Hittite history following the discovery of the Cruciform Seal (Dinçol et al. 1993, 93–106; Beal 2003, 13, n. 2; Forlanini 2004a, 381–389). As cogently observed by Güterbock 1983, 29 (cf. also Archi 2005, 26–28), the fact that Telipinu’s description follows a schematic form does not necessarily disqualify it as a valuable source on the early history of the Old Hittite kingdom.

49. Liverani 1977, 105 = Liverani 2004, 28, 31.

50. For an even harsher criticism of the “clear *backwardness* of oriental historical studies” see O. Carrena 1989, 18–19. For him “history must be treated by historians and not by philologists,” and “even the contributions by M. Liverani are still general and present the problems in a way that is still too wide.” For a judicious rejection of Carrena’s standpoint, see Bagg 1998, 103: “Nicht jeder Philologe muß ein Historiker sein, aber jeder Historiker des Alten Orients sollte Philologe sein.”

only compositions whose propagandistic nature is widely held (such as Telipinu's Edict and Hattušili's Apology), but also more solid narrative sources, such as annals and historical introductions to state treaties. These were passed through a dense critical sieve in search of rhetorical tropes such as metaphors, archetypes, figurative language, fairy-tale motifs, *topoi*, etc., in short, all kinds of narratological devices that are supposed to undermine the veracity of these historical sources.

The affair of the Egyptian widow was exposed as a fascinating fairy-tale about an anonymous queen seeking a new husband and an anonymous doomed prince lost on his way to Egypt.⁵¹ Counter-reading the episode in this manner, all scholarly efforts invested in the identification of the deceased Pharaoh Niphururiya, thereby establishing a valuable Egyptian-Hittite synchronism, are, and will always remain, futile attempts.⁵² Šuppiluliuma's seven-day siege of Karkamiš is merely a 'mythical number' allegedly corresponding to the duration of the Hittite messenger's trip to Egypt and back, which in its turn emulates the fairy-tale of the "Seven League Boots" (*stivali delle sette leghe*).⁵³ Practically nothing, even in the best of historical sources,⁵⁴ can be trusted; everything must be perceived through the distorted mirror of fictionality and an historian who fails to expose the underlying charade is either naïve or lazy.

Outside Italy the Hittitological world seems to have been "slightly shaken but not stirred" (like James Bond likes his Martini) by Liverani's 'semiologi-

51. Pintore 1978, 46–50; Del Monte 1993, 42–43.

52. Del Monte 1993, 43: "In queste condizioni non è difficile comprendere perché siano sempre rimasti vani, e saranno destinati a restare tali, gli sforzi degli storici moderni di identificare il Faraone defunto (Piphururiya o Niphururiya nelle varianti delle edizioni del testo), identificato alternativamente con Amenophis IV, Smenkhkare e Tutankhamun, e quindi di costruire un sincronismo egizio-ittita per questa via: troppo abile è stato l'ignoto redattore delle 'Gesta' nel costruire una novella affascinante e coerente pescando tra elementi e fonti disperate di varia provenienza e funzionalità." For recent historical reexaminations of this important Egyptian-Hittite synchronism, see Miller 2007; Wilhelm 2009 and Wilhelm forthcoming; Devecchi and Miller forthcoming.

53. Del Monte 1993, 43 maintains that the seven-day duration of the trip is inferred from the text, but in my opinion this is a forced interpretation. The text only says that "until Hattušaziti returned from Egypt my father conquered the city of Carchemish" (A iii 26–27); this indeed establishes a contemporaneity but not a chronological overlapping of the two events. In fact, a few lines later the text explicitly states that Hattušaziti returned from Egypt only in the spring (E3 24 *hamešhanza*), long after Karkamiš had already been conquered and Šuppiluliuma had spent the winter in Hatti (E3 21–23); Güterbock 1956, 95–96; Del Monte 2009a, 89. 94. In his studious new edition of the Deeds, Del Monte 2009a, 115, n. 51 is aware of the apparent contradiction between the two passages, but he nevertheless insists on a seven-day trip in the first, allegedly fable-like, passage. His grammatical argumentation is hardly conclusive: the combination of *kuitman* and *appezziyaz* has indeed a temporal connotation of contemporaneity, but by no means requires a full overlapping of the time-span of the two actions. The seven-day conquest of Karkamiš indeed happened *during* Hattušaziti's trip to Egypt, but that certainly does not mean that the trip itself lasted only seven days.

54. Such as Muršili's annals, for which see Del Monte 2009b (see further n. 45 below). For a more positive view on Muršili's annals see, e.g., Polvani 2005, 283: "un testo con una struttura narrativa solida che racconta con precisione azioni militari e politiche...."

cal revolution.⁵⁵ Most historical studies, including general surveys,⁵⁶ touch only sporadically, if at all, on theoretical and methodological issues, concentrating instead on the painstaking philological work of text restoration, dating problems and the reconstruction of a plausible historical narrative. Historians, especially Hittitologists, generally prefer to write narratives than to write *about* narratives.⁵⁷ Recently, however, it seems that the postmodernist tide has also reached, with considerable delay, the more introverted field of Hittite historiography. Two leading Hittitologists on either sides of the Atlantic (apparently unaware of each other's studies) have called into question the 'conventional wisdom' on Hittite historiography, notably its reputation of relative credibility.

II.5. In a paper presented at the 4th Congress of Hittitology in Würzburg, Jörg Klinger (2001) reexamined the basic questions of Hittite historiography—its origins, its development, its relationship to Assyrian historiography, and above all, its reputation as more 'advanced' than other contemporary historiographies. He pointed out that Hittitology lags considerably behind Assyriology in the introspective inspection of its methodological premises and laid out the parameters for a comprehensive re-examination of Hittite historiography. The following comments only concern the question of credibility of the Hittite historical sources.

The first insurmountable difficulty in evaluating the credibility of the sources is their unilateral perspective. There are no alternative narratives, even when the historical circumstances cry out for opposite viewpoints (e.g., in the conflict between Muršili III/Urhi-Tešub and Hattušili III). Klinger is certainly right when he says that all Hittite historiography is tendentious and therefore it is imperative to find out the motivation behind each narrative.⁵⁸ (This, by the way, is true of all historiographies before the Greeks, and many would say that after them as well.) I also agree with him that Hittite kings, especially Muršili II, are exceptionally self-righteous and that they go out of their way to legitimize their bellicose actions, in contrast, e.g., to the Assyrians kings, whose world dominion was assumed to be god-given.⁵⁹ Where I cannot follow Klinger is his implicit assumption that the claim of innocence necessarily reflects untrustworthiness. We are here on the slippery ground of fluid philosophical and psychological concepts, but to my mind, the pressing need to prove oneself right and truthful does

55. To be sure, in Italy itself not all Hittitologists have embraced Liverani's interpretative methods, but few have come to grips directly with his ideas. Suffice it to mention the historical studies of Piero Meriggi, Fiorella Imparati and Alfonso Archi, along with their numerous students in Pavia, Firenze and Roma, respectively.

56. E.g., Klengel 1999; Bryce 2005.

57. For the reluctance of ancient historians to deal with recent developments within the philosophy of history, see the pertinent description of Barstad 2008, 8–10.

58. Klinger 2001, 287.

59. Klinger 2001, 289–91; cf. already Hoffner 1980, 313: "Muršili seems always to be defending himself against real or imagined accusations."

not of and by itself prove that one is a liar or a deceiver. Unless one can expose a lie through contradicting evidence, one should grant the ‘culprit’ at least the benefit of doubt.

The rare cases in which conflicting versions of the same episode are recounted are used by Klinger to the detriment of Hittite credibility. The conflict with the Egyptians is blamed on them in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, whereas in the Second Plague Prayer Muršili admits that his father violated the Egyptian border at Amka. For me, this example rather speaks in favour of Hittite integrity. On a literary level, the fact that both texts were written under Muršili only accentuates the ability of the author(s) to present in each text a coherent narrative embedded in its own period, without an artificial attempt to unify the two versions. Between the two narrated events a terrible plague occurred in Hatti, which may well have forced the Hittites to rethink their past actions in order to placate the angry gods.⁶⁰ The oracles also proved their guilt. Apparently, the situation on the disputed Egyptian-Hittite border was not as clear-cut as Klinger infers; in fact, there is yet a third version of the events surrounding Kinza/Qadeš (not mentioned by him), which may be the closest to reality. In Šuppiluliuma’s treaty with Šattiwazza of Mittani he explicitly says: “I went to the land of Apina, but I did not seek to attack the land of Kinza. But (its king) Šutatarra, together with his son Aitaqqama and his chariotry came against me for battle.”⁶¹ Tension along the border may have escalated into a full-fledged conflict between the great powers who blamed each other for the violation of peace. That the Hittites renounced their previously held beliefs when faced with new ‘evidence’ (the plague and its causes as determined by divination) is not a sign of dishonesty. On the contrary, the capability to admit mistakes in retrospect is a rare virtue (even in contemporary cultures).

Klinger’s second argument for casting doubts on the reliability of Hittite historiography is the reluctance of Hittite kings to admit responsibility for defeat on the battle field. As a rule, rulers throughout history are not particularly keen on admitting failure or defeat, but in this respect the Hittite sources are in fact relatively candid.⁶² Klinger claims that even when they do, they attribute the defeat to a general, or blame it on the fact that “the enemy attacked from behind,” a

60. This, by the way, is a clear case of causal relations between the past and the present (cf. Malamat 1955), therefore, I fail to understand Van De Mieroop’s statement to the contrary (2004, 146): “They [the Hittites] did not express causal relations between the past and the present. Just as their contemporaries did, they saw the gods as interfering in human affairs, positively and negatively, but they did not come to the conclusion that a particular earlier act had incited the wrath of the gods and caused a problem in the present.”

61. Beckman 1999, 43–44.

62. For some examples from the annals of Muršili, see Cancik 1976, 120–122. The statement of J. van Seters 1995, 2437 that in the Hittite annals “defeat or mistakes are never mentioned, because these would reflect impiety and divine punishment” simply ignores the clear evidence to the contrary.

typical *topos* aimed at diminishing the responsibility of the king.⁶³ I am not sure that this argument really speaks against the credibility of a source, but even if it does, it overlooks at least one renowned case in which a Hittite king not only admits his own defeat but also his humiliating flight from the battlefield; nor does he fall back on the excuse that “the enemy attacked from behind.” In a startlingly realistic account, a Hittite king⁶⁴ writes to his treacherous vassal about the outcome of a decisive battle against the Assyrians:

As (the situation) turned difficult for me, you kept yourself somewhere away from me. Beside me you were not! Have I not fled from Nihriya alone? When it thus occurred that the enemy took away from me the Hurrian lands was I not left on my own in Alatarma?⁶⁵

The passage is remarkable in that the Great King of Hatti admits his humiliating escape from the battlefield to none other than one of his subordinates. Such a frank admission of military failure would simply be unthinkable in an Egyptian or a Mesopotamian document. By means of hyperbolic language they would transform any defeat into a glorious triumph or at least into a respectable draw, as is the case with Ramses II's ‘singlehanded victory’ over the Hittites at Qadeš,⁶⁶ or Sennacherib's defeat of an Elamo-Babylonian coalition at Halule.⁶⁷

It is obvious that these and similar Egyptian and Mesopotamian descriptions of war are entirely subordinated to cosmic and literary imperatives, creating an insurmountable gap between ideology and reality.⁶⁸ Ramses is likened to Montu and Sennacherib uses language and imagery from the Creation Epic, thereby identifying himself with the victorious Marduk and the defeated Chaldean and Elamite kings with the chaotic creatures of Tiamat.⁶⁹ Like his peers in Egypt and Mesopotamia, the Hittite king was also responsible for maintaining cosmic order, yet he seems to have followed less slavishly obligatory ideological and

63. Klinger 2001, 289–90, n. 47.

64. I still stand by my opinion (1985) that the author is Tuthaliya IV and that the unnamed vassal is a king of Išua. See also Freu 2007, 274, with refs. to the extensive new literature on the subject. For a full translation of the text see Stefanini 1965.

65. KBo 4.14 ii 7ff.; Singer 1985, 110; Bryce 2005, 318.

66. See, e.g., Klengel 2002, 55–70. The persuasive power of Ramesside propaganda has apparently not lost its vitality even after the discovery of northern sources which shed light on the political situation in Syria following the battle. According to Hans Goedicke 1985, 108 (with n. 186) there was merely a ‘minor skirmish’ that ended in a draw: “Ramesses II could not have lost control over Amurru as a result of the events at Kadesh”; rather, “Amurru remained as a kind of buffer between the super-powers.” For recent literature on the textual and pictorial representations of the battle, see refs. in Baines 1996, 349–353 with nn. 27–29; see also the papers assembled in Guidotti and Pecchioli Daddi 2002 and Cavillier 2005, 96, who describes the “Bulletin” as “fondate sul gigantismo di un apparato propagandistico ‘pachidermico’”

67. Grayson 1965, 342.

68. Baines 1996, 340ff.

69. Weissert 1997; McCormick 2002, 154ff.

stylistic conventions, employing a more moderate and ‘down-to-earth’ language in his military accounts, certainly in comparison with the “egotistical boasts”⁷⁰ of contemporary monarchs.⁷¹ Like his peers, he also enjoyed divine intervention in war⁷², yet he did not picture himself as the personification of a supreme god and the narrative of his wars was not elevated to mythological dimensions.⁷³ Finally, the Hittites did not develop a heroic literature about their own victorious kings, even though the model of the legendary Akkadian kings was very well known to them.⁷⁴

In his final verdict on Hittite historiography Klinger concludes that the fact that a military undertaking had to be justified shows that the reported facts are real, but the reasons provided for them are sometimes fictional.⁷⁵ Klinger dealt again with Hittite historiography at a conference held in Marburg in 2005, this time focusing mainly on its literary character. In the published paper (2008) Klinger goes a step further in his deconstruction of the reliability traditionally attributed to Hittite historiography.⁷⁶ Further historical accounts are passed through his fine sieve of literary criticism, thereby detecting various literary *topoi*, stereotyped formulations, inconsistencies and inaccuracies, all of which undermine in his opinion their historical credibility.

The first case is the well-known episode of the “tablet of Egypt” mentioned in three texts written under Muršili. While Šuppiluliuma pondered his response to the Egyptian widow, his counsellors brought an old tablet containing the treaty between Hatti and Egypt and read it out aloud before him and the Egyptian envoy.⁷⁷ This tablet was the so-called ‘Kuruštama Treaty’, some small fragments of which were indeed found at Boğazköy.⁷⁸ In his ‘Second’ Plague Prayer Muršili claims that when the plague continued to decimate the land he performed an oracular inquiry and consequently found two old tablets, one dealing with the

70. Grayson 1980, 191.

71. I refer of course only to genuine historical sources, such as annals, treaties or letters, not to literary-mythological descriptions, such as the Uršu Siege or the Puhanu Chronicle, where the king is portrayed in supernatural terms.

72. Hoffner 1980, 314–15; Güterbock 1983, 34–35; Weinfeld 1983; Del Monte 1986.

73. Raaflaub 1989, 27 defined the key ingredient in ‘political thought’ as the ability to analyze human actions on a human plane, without needing to look to divine causation. On the anthropocentric historical concept of the Hittites, see Cancik 1976, 9. 26.

74. See Gilan 2010, 55.

75. Klinger 2001, 291: “Für die Bewertung der hethitischen Historiographie hat dies m.E. insofern Konsequenzen, als die Tatsache, daß eine militärische Unternehmung erst gerechtfertigt werden muß, den Schluß erlaubt, daß das Faktum als solches real ist, daß allerdings die dafür gelieferten Begründungen u. U. fiktiv sind”

76. Klinger 2008, 46: “Die besondere Wertschätzung, der sich die hethitische Historiographie wiederholt erfreut hat, könnte sich also einem Mißverständnis verdanken. Was ihre vermeintliche Qualität—Qualität im Sinne einer historischen Exaktheit—ausmacht, ist gerade nicht ihr besonderer historiographischer Sinn, sondern vielmehr die Tendenz zur literarischen Ausgestaltung der Fakten mit mehr oder weniger fiktionalen Details.”

77. Hoffner 1997, 19.

78. Singer 2004.

ritual of the Mala River, the other with the same Kuruštama affair.⁷⁹ Now, how could Muršili have suddenly ‘found’ this tablet, asks Klinger,⁸⁰ when he was already aware of it from the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma written down by his own command? The narrative in the Deeds must therefore be a politically motivated and manipulated version, whereas the version in the Plague Prayer is a literary *topos*—‘the surprising discovery of sources’⁸¹—whose purpose is to absolve Muršili of any responsibility.⁸²

Once again, like in the case of the attack on Amka (see above), Klinger casts unwarranted doubts on the credibility of the different accounts provided by Muršili. To start with, we do not know which text was written earlier and which later. If the prayer was written first, then the finding of the Kuruštama tablet and the Mala ritual in the archives is perfectly credible; later, when the Deeds were composed, he would have found out that the tablet was already consulted by his father, when he himself was still a young child. If the Deeds were written before the prayer, then Muršili could not possibly have known already about the oracular inquiry that was supposed to expose the sins of his father. Either way, there is nothing utterly incredible in either account, and even if one insists on some feigned ignorance, one should consider the well-known problem of hindsight narrative, which, surprisingly, Klinger does not take into account. How does one portray past events with the benefit of hindsight when one is already aware of their outcome in the present?⁸³ As stated above, one can only admire the ability of Muršili’s scribes to keep a coherent narrative thread in each individual case. For the cultural historian investigating the preservation of historical memory the really remarkable fact about the ‘Kuruštama affair’ is that a century-old political document was repeatedly consulted by Hittite kings and their archivists for political and religious needs.

Another repeatedly narrated episode scrutinized by Klinger is the submission of Manapa-Tarhunta, king of the Šeha River land. In my opinion, here, too, Klinger is excessively pedantic in comparing the three versions provided by

79. CTH 378.II; Singer 2002, 58. A “[tablet of] Egypt” is referred to in yet another prayer of Muršili (CTH 379; Singer 2002, 67), but without an explicit mention of Kuruštama.

80. Klinger 2008, 40.

81. The Muršili episode has been compared with King Josiah’s famous discovery of a scroll in 2 Kgs 22–23 (Ben-Dov 2008). The parallel is quite interesting *per se*, but it does not reflect upon the historical veracity of either of the two episodes.

82. Klinger 2008, 40: “Die Darstellung im Tatenbericht des Suppiluliuma I. erweist sich damit als eine eindeutig in politischer Absicht manipulierte Version, während die Version in den Pestgebeten sich der literarischen Stilisierung—des überraschenden Fundes - bedient, um Muršili von einer möglichen Mitverantwortung zu schützen.”

83. As pointedly put by the German historian Golo Mann (quoted in Burke 1991, 239), a historian needs “to try to do two different things simultaneously,” to “swim with the stream of events” and to “analyse these events from the position of a later, better-informed observer.”

Muršili II:⁸⁴ According to the Comprehensive Annals Manapa-Tarhunta first sent a submissive letter to Muršili and, when this did not succeed, he sent his mother to beg for mercy. In the Ten-Year Annals he sent not only his mother, but also some old men and women who fell at the feet of His Majesty. Finally, in the Manapa-Tarhunta Treaty the mother is not mentioned at all and only the elders serve as messengers who read out Manapa-Tarhunta's letter before Muršili. I concur with Klinger's conclusion that in this and similar cases the exact course of the event in reality is of secondary importance or even of no import at all. The emphasis on such minute details may indeed have served what Roland Barthes called the 'Reality Effect', an excessively detailed account aimed at convincing the reader that the story is real.⁸⁵ But what does this mean for the overall assessment of a source's historicity? Is the fact that we shall probably never know who greeted Muršili on his way to the Šeha River Land, only Manapa-Tarhunta's mother or also the elders of his land (or neither)—details that might be of great interest from a literary point of view—equally important for the historian who assesses the relative credibility of Muršili's annals? I doubt it. Moreover, is it not a commonplace experience for anyone who has tried to retell a story from memory that small details might be altered or forgotten altogether? I would be much more sceptical if exactly the same narrative would be repeated in all three sources; this would only show me that it was slavishly copied from one text to the other. To my mind, the three slightly divergent versions of the episode do not impinge in any way on the credibility of the central story, Manapa-Tarhunta's surrender after the defeat of Arzawa.

In conclusion, in his two articles Klinger has greatly advanced our understanding of how Hittite historiographic texts are stylistically construed, but has not shaken, in my opinion, the foundations of the traditional premise of a Hittite *Geschichtsbewußtsein*.⁸⁶ This depends not so much on the literary embellishment of the texts, but rather on their approach to the past and its uses in the present.

II.6. Almost concurrently with Klinger's lecture in Marburg, Gary Beckman presented his presidential address to the American Oriental Society on "The Limits of Credulity" (2005), echoing of course Hallo's renowned article on "The Limits of Skepticism" (1990). Both Beckman and Klinger embrace a highly sceptical attitude towards Hittite historiography, but whereas Klinger's main thrust is

84. For the textual refs. see Klinger 2008, 43–44. The same episode is also analyzed by Del Monte 2009b, 98–102, who characterizes it as a 'popular novel' intended to praise the king's kind and merciful character.

85. Barthes 1968, cf. also Ankersmit 1989.

86. His concluding verdict on Hittite historiography (Klinger 2008, 47): "Vielleicht bietet die hethitische Historiographie als eigenständige Literaturform, die die Hethiter vermeintlich nicht vorzuweisen haben, nicht den Anfang des Geschichtsbewußtseins, sondern es sind Geschichten, die anstelle von Geschichte am Beginn der Geschichtsschreibung stehen."

in the literary sphere,⁸⁷ Beckman's approach seems to be more entrenched in his general *Weltanschauung*, the so-called postmodern condition,⁸⁸ a deep mistrust of official texts *per se*.⁸⁹ After a brief examination of three non-annalistic compositions—the Siege of Uršu, the Proclamation of Telipinu and the Apology of Hattušili—Beckman, who declares himself to be “a confirmed skeptic,” “adopting a rigorous and hypercritical approach to the sources,” concludes with the following advice: “Don’t believe everything you read on the tablets. But please note that each of the elements we can now recognize as misrepresentation, in itself tells us something significant about Hittite society or its ideals.”⁹⁰

Beckman knows, of course, that no serious scholar believes *everything* written on the tablets, nor does any judicious person believe everything he reads in books or newspapers. But in our postmodernist era we face the equally grave danger of total disbelief in everything we read or hear, renouncing almost entirely the possibility of acquiring reliable and objective knowledge about the past and the present. As formulated by Marc Bloch in his oft-quoted remark, “Scepticism on principle is neither a more estimable nor a more productive intellectual attitude than the credulity with which it is frequently blended in the simpler minds.”⁹¹

III. REASSESSING THE HISTORICAL INTRODUCTIONS TO STATE TREATIES

III.1. In the third part of this article I would like to reexamine a couple of typical cases in which the veracity of Hittite historical sources has been called into question. The annalistic and biographical literatures have been tackled repeatedly, so I shall take my examples from the corpus of historical introductions to

87. Following the views of Hayden White on ‘emplotment’ (see Klinger 2008, 31, n. 16. 45).

88. For this designation, which denotes a general loss of confidence within Western democratic culture, see Butler 2002, 110–11: “There is a strong feeling, through the work of critics like Barthes to the novels of Milan Kundera and Rushdie, that the political and historical event always reaches us in a fictionalized form, in a narrative, massaged by the more or less hidden hand of political or economic purposes.”

89. Beckman 2005, 348–49: “In dealing with these official texts we come up against a significant inherent difficulty: telling the truth is not a value much honored by governments, but is at best secondary to the pursuit of their policy goals, and above all, to assuring their survival. As illustration here I may simply adduce from our recent experience the Iran-Contra mess or *l’affaire* Lewinsky, both of which eventuated in findings or admissions of mendacity in high places.” (Beckman was apparently still unaware of the far more grave case of Iraq’s alleged weapons of mass destruction.) “Has human nature changed, or should we expect that ancient rulers and their minions had a greater regard for veracity than our contemporaries?” Cf. also Beckman’s 2002 review of Liverani 2001.

90. Beckman 2005, 343. 352.

91. Bloch 1953, 79–80. I followed Beckman 2005 in using this pointed observation as an epigraph for my article, but I think it suits better the more credulous views held by Hallo and myself. Incidentally, the anecdote which prompted Bloch’s remark is quite amusing and is typical to our postmodernist New Age: “In the first war, I knew a worthy veterinarian who, with some justification, refused categorically to believe anything in the newspapers. Yet the fellow swallowed hook, line, and sinker the most nonsensical hocus-pocus which any chance companion might pour in his eager ear.”

state treaties.⁹² This genre has also been closely examined, but usually only with regard to its structural composition or to its legal and propagandistic contents.⁹³ The question of its historical reliability has usually been addressed only in passing, with the notable exception of Amnon Altman's recent monograph entirely dedicated to *The Historical Prologue of the Hittite Vassal Treaties*.⁹⁴ In this study the Israeli scholar sums up his life-long interest in the subject of international law and it may serve as a new reference point for further discussions.⁹⁵ I intend to reconsider in more detail the ideological matrix of the historical introductions elsewhere, whereas here I will focus only on the issue of historical credibility.

III.2. Similarly to other genres of Hittite historiography, the historical introductions to state treaties were highly praised for their reliability in early studies. Probably their most ardent advocate was Einar von Schuler, who maintained that the very fact that historical events had led to the conclusion of a treaty serves as a testament to their objectiveness.⁹⁶ From the late 1970s a clear change in the evaluation of the historical introductions appears in tandem with the reassessment of other historiographic genres. In his survey of Hittite historiography Hoffner wrote: "These rehearsals of events are extremely tendentious. The treaty prologues are at pains to portray the beneficence and wisdom of Hittite imperial foreign policy. One must read between the lines and penetrate behind the façade in order to determine what may have actually happened."⁹⁷ A similar characterization was provided by Carlo Zaccagnini in his seminal study on Late Bronze Age treaties: "It is well apparent that the Hittite chancery had no difficulty at all in 'reconstructing' the past in such a way as to arrange a suitable basis for an optimal organization of the present and the future. To this effect, the historical sections of the treaties are a 'literary' genre in itself, whose function is totally coherent with the ideology and the practical aims of the treaties."⁹⁸ In a recent

92. For the sake of brevity, the references to texts will simply be indicated by the name of the treaty partner (Aziru, Tette, etc.), with occasional references to text numbers in Beckman 1999, where the full textual and bibliographical references can be found. For updates consult the *Hethiter Portal Mainz* under Staatsverträge der Hethiter at <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/TXTsvh/>.

93. For recent studies on the subject see Steymans 1995; Altman 2004a; Weeks 2004; Beckman 2006; D'Alfonso 2006; Devecchi 2008a; Koch 2008a; Koch 2008b.

94. Altman 2004a.

95. For critical reviews of Altman's book see de Martino 2005; Loretz 2005; Devecchi 2008b.

96. Von Schuler 1987–1990, 73: "Die geschichtlichen Ereignisse führen zum Vertrag und müssen gerade deshalb der 'Wahrheit' gemäß berichtet werden. So kommt es hier ebenso wie bei der hist. Einleitung von Gebeten und bei der Lehrsisode zu einer 'objektiven' Geschichtsschreibung, die negative Tatsachen nicht verschweigen kann." Cf., however, Klinger 2001, 288, n. 42: "Diese [von Schuler's] Logik ist mir nicht nachvollziehbar—nichts hinderte bei nicht paritätischen Verträgen den stärkeren Partner daran, die Geschichte vielmehr so darzustellen, wie er ihrer für sein politisches Handeln als Legitimation bedurfte."

97. Hoffner 1980, 311.

98. Zaccagnini 1990, 71

study the historical introductions were even relegated to the realm of the ‘mythical’ past.⁹⁹

III.3. The debasement of the historical introductions as products of a sophisticated political propaganda is often the result of an *a priori* disbelief in a political accord dictated by an authoritarian suzerain to a submissive vassal. By definition, such an imbalanced relationship simply *cannot* be expected to be historically reliable. Few studies have pursued the difficult task of actually demonstrating this claim by pointing out the alleged inconsistencies or full-fledged distortions of the historical truth. It is indeed very difficult to establish the unreliability of a source on the contrary evidence supplied by some other more reliable documents. Very few events enjoy the privilege of being covered by multiple sources emanating from different authors who are not bound together by a uniform political agenda. Altman is one of the few commentators who had actually tried to prove his assertion that the historical introductions of Hittite treaties are rather economical with the truth. He detected a series of allegedly misleading assertions classifying them in escalating order as ‘misleading wording’, ‘inaccurate statements,’ and ‘falsehoods and distortions of factual reality.’¹⁰⁰

The milder cases of alleged distortions concern discrepancies between the various accounts of the Hittite takeover of Syria, namely, the historical prologues of the treaties with Šattiwazza, Tette and Niqmaddu. However, as recently demonstrated by Gernot Wilhelm (forthcoming), these seeming discrepancies are not the result of ignorance or misinformation, but rather of the well-known phenomenon of associative text organization, whereby events which occur over an extended period are retrospectively ‘telescoped’ into one successive narrative, in this case, the ‘One Year Campaign’ of Šuppiluliuma as recounted in the Šattiwazza treaty.¹⁰¹ Naturally, no historical account can gullibly be accepted *mot-à-mot* without a critical inspection, but there is a difference between a ‘narrative license’ of this kind and a deliberate falsification of historical reality for legal or political purposes. Altman’s parade examples for actual falsification of histori-

99. Devecchi 2008a, 377: “La ricostruzione di un passato ‘mitico,’ non necessariamente basato su fatti realmente accaduti, è infatti un altro procedimento storiografico utilizzato abbastanza spesso nei prologhi dei trattati, poichè era determinante fondare su basi favorevoli le relazioni tra due regni.”

100. Altman 2004a, 29–34. He maintains that these distortions of the truth prove that the historical introductions were “addressed not to the vassal king and his court but to the gods, the heavenly judges” (Altman 2004a, 34), “whose ability to know the true facts was limited” (ib., 41). I cannot tackle here the thorny question of what the Hittite gods (or any gods for that matter) knew or knew not, but I mention in passing that the evidence cited by Altman to this effect (Altman 1998, 102, n. 14, with ref. to Steiner 1957–1971) is hardly convincing. All the references to the allegedly limited abilities of the gods to know the true facts come from mythological texts and concern their limited perception of other gods. On the contrary, in their dealings with humans the gods are characterized as omniscient (Steiner, ib.: 567). See Devecchi 2008a, 380–84 for a refutation of Altman’s problematic assumption.

101. Wilhelm forthcoming: “A critical examination of this text and the comparison with the data from other texts reveal that it is not a linear narrative of a sequence of events but a text which follows the principle of association and thus mixes events of the original conquest of Mittanian Syria with associated events from a later period.”

cal reality are taken from the introductions of the Alakšandu and the Šaušgamuwa treaties.¹⁰² These cases, which have also been discussed by other commentators, deserve a closer look, also in the light of new evidence.

III.4. The historical introduction of the Alakšandu treaty covers the longest time span within the corpus, stretching back into the Old Kingdom, i.e. more than three centuries. Despite the many duplicates it is still incomplete, but the overall sense can be reconstructed safely.¹⁰³ An important modification by Frank Starke in the rendering of a crucial phrase (marked in italics) may somewhat alter the implications of the passage:¹⁰⁴

§2 Formerly, when my forefather Labarna had subdued the whole land of Arzawa [and] the whole land of Wiluša, all of them, consequently, the land of Arzawa became hostile thereafter. *As for the land of Wiluša, whether it broke away from any king of Hatti (lit.: withdrew from Hatti, from which king), since the matter is long past, I do not know.* But even if it b[roke away from] Hatti, [its kings(?)]¹⁰⁵ kept the peace with the kings of Hatti from afar, and they regularly sent them messengers. When Tuthaliya came [to battle(?)] in the land of Arzawa, [... in the land of] Wiluša he did not enter. It was] at peace always and regularly sent [him messengers.] They came [.....] and Tuthaliya [.....] the forefathers in the land of [.....].

§3 The king of Wiluša [was] at peace with him, [and] he regularly sent [messengers to him], so that he did not [enter] his land. [And when] the land [of Arzawa began war once more], my grandfather Šuppiluliuma came [to attack it], but Kukkunni, king of the land of W[iluša, was at peace] with him and he did not come against him. [..... regularly sent] messengers.

102. Altman 2004a, 31–32.

103. CTH 76; Beckman 1999, 87–88, §§2–4; de Martino 1996, 35–38; van den Hout 2009, 79–80.

104. Starke 1997, 473–74, n. 79: “Früher einmal hatte der *labarna*, mein Vorfahr, das ganze Land Arzawa [und] das ganze Land Wilussa unterworfen. Später führte deshalb das Land Arzawa Krieg; *jedoch kenne ich, da doch das Ereignis lange zurückliegt, keinen König des Landes Hattusa, von dem das Land Wilussa vom Lande Hattusa abgefallen ist.* [Doch] (selbst) wenn das Land Wilussa vom Lande Hattusa abgefallen ist, ist man indes aus der Ferne den Königen des Landes Hattusa eng befreundet gewesen und hat [ihnen] regelmäßig [Gesandte] geschickt.” Starke comments, „Entgegen Güterbock 1986, 36 (wo “but Wilusa defected from Hatti” darauf beruht, daß die partitive Apposition „vom Lande Hattusa, (d.h.) von welchem König“ im Relativsatz verkannt, infolgedessen der Relativsatz auseinandergerissen und dadurch auch der Aufbau der Periode zerstört ist) geht also die Aussage vielmehr dahin, daß Muwatalli II. *keinerlei* Anhaltspunkt dafür hat, daß Wilussa jemals abgefallen ist, und zwar soweit die Erinnerung überhaupt zurückreicht, da mit der Nennung der bloßen Herrscherbezeichnung *labarna* auf eine vor 1600 liegende Zeit Bezug genommen wird, aus der kein (vollständiges) Archiv-material verfügbar war.“

Cf. the renderings of the relevant phrase in Beckman 1999, 87 and in CHD L–N: 472a: “Because this matter is so remote, I do not know from which Hittite king Wilusa defected. [And w]hen Wilusa [defec]ted from Hatti, it was at peace with the King of Hatti from afar” (KUB 21.5 I 3–8; w. dupl. KUB 21.2 + KUB 48.95 I 6–12).

105. Following the restoration of de Martino 1996, 36, n. 150.

The rest of the introduction is badly damaged, but it is clear that the account continues with Muršili's dealings with the Arzawa lands and then with Muwatalli's own activities in the West.

This long historical retrospect mentions the western campaigns of five Hittite kings over more than three centuries. The connecting thread, which also serves as the overall moral of the historical introduction, is the contrast between the hostile stance of the kings of Arzawa and the peaceful stance of the kings of Wiluša. Gratifyingly, all these western campaigns are attested in other Hittite sources and the information contained in the treaty has been compared with them. The last three kings, Šuppiluliuma, Muršili and Muwatalli, may be left aside in this discussion, since the real challenge of historicity is posed by the first two, Labarna and Tuthaliya, with a large chronological gap between them.

In his third campaign Hattušili I "marched against Arzawa and took cattle and sheep."¹⁰⁶ On account of its brevity, this statement has sometimes been played down into "little more than a raid into Arzawan territory."¹⁰⁷ However, since a Hittite control of Arzawa is also referred to in the so-called Palace Chronicles,¹⁰⁸ I see no reason to doubt the historicity of the account of the campaign of a Labarna (probably Labarna II/Hattušili I) in the Alakšandu treaty. Whatever its extent, this first military intervention was conceived by later generations as legitimating Hittite control in the Arzawa lands. Though included in this broad geopolitical unit, Wiluša followed a different political path from the rest of its constituents.

The next phase in the narrative refers to the long interval of some two centuries between the western campaigns of Labarna (II) and Tuthaliya (I). The author simply admits that he lacks exact information about Wiluša's political stance in this period. The traditional rendering of the passage presupposes that Wiluša deserted Hatti at some point, but the author ignores under which king. To my mind, Starke's rendering, according to which the author claims ignorance regarding whether Wiluša had ever deserted at all, makes more sense and is more consistent with the overall gist of the narrative. Whichever rendering is the correct one, the author confesses here his ignorance of a certain phase in the history of the bilateral relations, a most remarkable feature to which I shall return later on.

The following episode describes at length the intervention(s) of Tuthaliya (I) in Arzawa and Wiluša. Despite the damaged parts, we can safely assume that this passage continues to describe Wiluša's unflagging loyalty as opposed to Arzawa's unruliness. Now, this positive description has been contrasted with

106. KBo 10.1 obv. 10; 10.2 I 22–23; de Martino 2003, 36–37

107. Bryce 2005, 74; cf. also Heinhold/Krahmer 1977, 17.

108. See refs. in Bryce 2005, 410.56.

the annals of Tuthaliya, where Wilušiya figures among the lands of the defeated Aššuwan confederation.¹⁰⁹ Assuming that Wiluša and Wilušiya are the same, and allowing that the same Tuthaliya is referred to in both contexts,¹¹⁰ there may indeed be an apparent contradiction between the two narratives. However, there may be other less rigid interpretations of this alleged contradiction. In the annals of Tuthaliya Wilušiya (followed by Taruiša) appears toward the end of a long list of 22 place names comprising the Aššuwan Confederacy. The text generally states that the Hittite king defeated the joint army of the enemy and then entered their lands,¹¹¹ but there is no specific reference to the conquest of any of the lands making up the confederacy. One can think of a number of scenarios in which Wilušiya itself was not taken by force, for instance, that its king, like his forefathers, may have surrendered to the Hittites. In any case, to glean from the juxtaposition of these two sources that “the drafters of the treaty intentionally distorted the facts”¹¹² is, to my mind, stretching the point too far. If anything is worthy of emphasis in the introduction of the Alakšandu treaty, it is the remarkable ability of its author to provide such a long retrospect of the relations between the two lands.

No less remarkable is the author’s admission of ignorance about a certain period in the distant past, an extraordinary comment which, curiously, has not been given due attention in previous commentaries. I am not aware of any comparable disclosure of ignorance written in the name of a Great King, but even if Near Eastern parallels do exist, they are presumably extremely rare. I would assert that Muwatalli’s admission of his ignorance with regard to a certain period paradoxically lends more credibility to the narrative as a whole. Why would he or his scribes bother to insert this surprising statement? Would it not be easier for him to categorically state that Wiluša *never* defected from Hatti, or at least to tactfully ignore those ‘missing years’? That would have served much better his political purpose of claiming three centuries of uninterrupted Hittite sovereignty over Wiluša. What would he have risked? A strong protest on the part of Alakšandu about the distortion of history?

109. KUB 23.11 ii 19; Carruba 2008, 38–39.

110. The common view maintains that the same Tuthaliya I is referred to in both contexts (e.g., Güterbock 1986, 43), but cf. de Martino 2005, 554, who suggests that the Tuthaliya mentioned in the treaty is Tuthaliya III (Šuppiluliuma’s father), who did not fight against Wiluša.

111. Bryce 2005, 124–25; Carruba 2008, 31–54. The victory over the Aššuwan Confederacy is commemorated on a bronze sword discovered in Hattuša bearing the Akkadian inscription: “As Tuthaliya, the Great King, defeated the land of Aššuwa, he dedicated these swords to the Storm-god, his lord” (Bryce 2005, 125–26, with refs.). On the other hand, the Ankara silver bowl with a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription commemorating the conquest of Tarwiza by a Tuthaliya cannot refer to this early period; see Simon 2009; Durnford 2010.

112. Altman 2004a, 32; cf. also Altman 2004b, 63: “Nevertheless, by using sophistry, yet without employing blunt lies, the Hittite drafters tricked the unfamiliar reader to believe that ever since the past conquest of Wiluša by Labarna II, Wiluša acknowledged the suzerainty of Hatti.”

III.5. The second episode that allegedly demonstrates the deliberate falsification of truth, according to Altman, concerns the early history of Amurru. We are fortunate to possess a series of four treaties covering the period from Aziru's submission to Hatti to Šaušgamuwa about a century later. Each of these treaties opens with a historical introduction describing the circumstances of Amurru's entry into the Hittite fold. These introductions were not copied mechanically from one treaty to the next, but were newly formulated for each document taking into account the unfolding historical circumstances and the requirements of their specific age.

The treaty of Šuppiluliuma and Aziru has the most dramatic opening, emphatically underlining Aziru's voluntary defection from the Egyptian camp to the victorious Hittite camp:

Aziru, king of [Amurru], rose up from the gate of Egypt and submitted himself to My Majesty, king of Hatti. And I, My Majesty, Great King, [accordingly rejoiced] very much. Should I, My Majesty, Great King, not have accordingly rejoiced very much as I [...] to Aziru? When Aziru [knelt down] at the feet [of My Majesty]—he came from the gate of Egypt and knelt down [at the feet of My Majesty]—I, My Majesty, Great King, [took up] Aziru and ranked him among his brothers.¹¹³

The following two treaties—with Duppi-Tešub and with Bentešina—repeat more or less the same information, but less emphatically. In the former, Muršili simply states: “Duppi-Tešub, your grandfather Aziru submitted to my father.” The rest of the preamble deals with circumstances of his own days, notably the growing threat of an Egyptian offensive in Syria. Therefore one of the stipulations explicitly states: “Do not turn your eyes towards another (land). Your ancestors paid tribute to Egypt, [but] you [should not pay tribute to Egypt because E]gypt has become an enemy.”¹¹⁴

Hattušili's treaty with Bentešina opens with the statement:

In the time of my grandfather, Šuppiluliuma, Aziru [king of the land of Amurru] revoked [his vassalage(?)] to Egypt, and [fell] at the feet of my grandfather Šuppiluliuma. My grandfather had [compassion] for him and wrote a treaty tablet for him. He wrote out the borders of the land of Amurru of his ancestors and gave it to him.¹¹⁵

The last treaty, between Tuthaliya IV and Šaušgamuwa, suddenly changes its tune and presents an apparently contradictory version of these events:

113. Singer 2000, 94.

114. Singer 2000, 96.

115. Beckman 1999, 101, § 2.

[In the past(?)] the land of Amurru had not been defeated by the force of arms of the land of Hatti. At the time when [Aziru] came to the (great-)grandfather of My Majesty, [Šuppilul]iuma, in the land of Hatti, the lands of Amurru were still [hostile]; they [were] subjects of the king of Hurri. Even so, Aziru was loyal to him, although he did [not def]eat him by force of arms. Aziru, your forefather, protected Šuppiluliuma as overlord, and he also protected the land of Hatti.¹¹⁶

Egypt is not mentioned at all. The lands of Amurru were allegedly controlled by Hurri when Aziru shifted his allegiance to Šuppiluliuma. Seemingly, this appears to be a gross distortion of history, squarely contradicting all previous treaties. On the face of it the two versions cannot be reconciled.

Sceptical historians had no qualms about explaining this contradiction as “clear evidence for the high level of ‘historical’ manipulations operated by Tudhaliya for the purpose of better ensuring Amurru’s loyalty.”¹¹⁷ Altman has labelled Tuthaliya’s assertion of a Hurrian control over Amurru as “a false claim clearly contradicting historical facts.”¹¹⁸

Other commentators, with more confidence in Hittite historiography, tried to reconcile the contradicting statements. Kestemont (1978) called attention to several references to a Mittanian campaign in Amurru referred to in the letters of Rib-Hadda of Gubla.¹¹⁹ For my part, I have questioned the credibility of Rib-Hadda’s allegations and attempted instead to reconcile the contradicting statements by making a distinction between “the land of Amurru” and the “lands of Amurru” (in the Bentešina treaty), the latter term referring to Mittanian-dominated Syria in general.¹²⁰

This was the state of the matter until a short while ago, when Jared Miller skilfully joined several fragments of a Muršili II text bearing directly on the problem of Amurru’s history in the Amarna Age.¹²¹ In this remarkable historical text the Hittite king justifies his Syrian policies before his Egyptian adversary Arma’a, probably Horemheb. Only the lower part of the two-column obverse and a tiny bit of the reverse are preserved.¹²² The first column deals with the defection of two Syrian vassals, Tetti from the Hittite to the Egyptian camp, and Zirtaya from the Egyptian to the Hittite. The second column deals with the history of Amurru.

116. Singer 2000, 99.

117. Zaccagnini 1988, 297.

118. Altman 2004a, 29–32; cf. also Altman 1998.

119. Cf. also Murnane 1985, 185–86, 235ff.; Altman 2003; Morris 2010, 423–24; Wilhelm forthcoming.

120. Singer 1991.

121. KBo 19.15++; Miller 2008.

122. See join sketch in Miller 2008, 533. There is a striking resemblance in subject matter between this text and CTH 379, Muršili’s ‘Fifth’ Plague Prayer (Singer 2002, 66–68), which contains a detailed account of Hatti’s dealings with Egypt in the past. I suspect that the two fragments form part of the same composition (an exculpation prayer), and I intend to explore elsewhere the nature of the relationship between them.

The latter passage is reproduced from Miller's translation (ii 1'-24'¹²³), with a slight alteration in nuance (marked in bold face):

[... But when PN] sat [upon the throne of] kingship, Arma'a began t[hereup]on to *take [ve]ngeance upon A[murru]*, and he sent troops and chariots to the land of [Amurru] to attack. But when I heard (about it), I came to the rescue, and the troops and chariots of the land of Egypt fled before me, and I [pu]rsued him. Thereafter I wrote right back to him (saying): 'You are *taking [ve]ngeance upon the land of Amurru*, but did I indeed take the [land] of Amurru away from **you**? Or did my father take it away from **you**? It was the king of the land of Hanigalbat who took the land of Amurru away from the king of the land of Egypt, and then my father defeated the king of the land of Amurru and [he took the land] of A[murru away] from the king of the Hurri land.'¹²⁴

At last an integrative document that solves the apparent discrepancy of Amurru's double allegiance. There were, in fact, several consecutive phases in Amurru's relations with the great powers of the Amarna Age: The long Egyptian domination was briefly replaced by Mittani in the last years of Abdi-Aširta, only to be cut short again by Aziru's voluntary submission to Šuppiluliuma. As aptly put by Miller: "In historical reality, Amurru, perhaps not always in a wholly united manner, attempted to maintain as long as it could as much freedom of action as it could by maintaining the best possible ties with each of the great powers that it could, likely trying to give each of them the impression that it was eternally loyal to them, until finally recognizing that it would be the Hittites who would be the ones to reckon with for decades to come, and in this Amurru turned out to be correct."¹²⁵

It now seems that Rib-Hadda's repeated allegations about Abdi-Aširta's collaboration with the Hurrians had a more factual basis than I was ready to admit twenty years ago. When Muršili claimed that the king of Hanigalbat first took Amurru away from the king of Egypt, and only then did his father take Amurru away from the Hurrians, he was saying the truth. At the same time, what Šuppiluliuma claims in his treaty with Amurru was also true, namely, that Aziru came from "the gate of Egypt" and asked for Hittite overlordship. This indeed

123. Miller 2008, 536.

124. The badly damaged continuation in col. iii deals with the setting of Amurru's borders "wherever/when(ever) the Storm-god thunders." This recalls Jupiter Fidius who seals treaties with his thunderbolt (Aeneid xii.197-205).

125. Miller 2008, 549. It seems then that Aziru's 'clever ambiguity' did have a factual basis, after all, despite Zaccagnini's scepticism (Zaccagnini 1988, 299): "It would thus result that, in this case, we are confronted not so much with the ultimate results of Aziru's clever ambiguity, but with another significant issue of the highly sophisticated Hittite 'Historiography.'" It is now evident that Aziru was consecutively the servant not of two (Liverani 2004, Ch. 6) but indeed of three masters. For a thought-provoking comparison between the strategy of Amurru rulers and of Afghan warlords, i.e., of playing several powers off against one another, see Morris 2010.

happened soon after his return from Egypt, where he checked out the feasibility of a renewed submission to Egypt, after his father's failed liaison with Mittani. The swift advance of the Hittites in Syria, about which he learned in a letter from his brothers (EA 170), finally convinced him to switch camps.¹²⁶

I suspect that unrelenting historians will not accept the new evidence as an exoneration of Tuthaliya IV and his foreign office from the accusations of distorting the historical truth. They will argue that each of the versions presents only a partial picture, ignoring either the long Egyptian or the short Mittanian domination of Amurru. But doesn't this set the bar impossibly high for the Hittite historiographer? Which historiographer, ancient or modern, presents a fully comprehensive rendering of history on every single occasion that he evokes some past event? Obviously, the Hittite rulers were no different from any historiographer who tries to present his case in the most favourable light. Nobody would deny that such an instrumental use of the past is still a far cry from the disinterested critical scrutiny of the evidence by a Herodotus or a Thucydides. Still, there is a world of difference between the presentation of a partial truth, within the limits of established facts, and a complete twisting around of reality for propagandistic purposes, as often found in some other Near Eastern historiographies (both ancient and modern).

FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

The two cases discussed under III.4 and III.5 may easily be multiplied. All in all, I would claim that the historical introductions to state treaties, and Hittite historical texts in general, are as a rule quite trustworthy. I am not aware of any statements that are squarely opposed to factual reality, inasmuch as we are able to define it with the standard tools of historical criticism. It seems to me that current moods of excessive scepticism, influenced to a great extent also by Biblical historiography, are much exaggerated.¹²⁷ I would advocate a return to the principle of 'innocent until proven guilty,' rather than 'guilty until proven innocent.'¹²⁸ This is particularly crucial in cases when we only have a single source on a given event, i.e., the large majority of cases.¹²⁹

No doubt, the fundamental paradigm shift introduced by postmodernism has contributed important insights to the study of historical texts, especially by

126. Singer 1991, 151–54.

127. On some of the excesses and errors of postmodernism in Biblical studies, see, e.g., Berlin 2010. For (a by and large flawed) juxtaposition of historical criticism and postmodern interpretations of the Bible, see Aichelle et al. 2009 and the cogent response of Van Seters 2009.

128. Hallo 1990; Hallo 2001, 196.

129. As pertinently observed by Barstad 2008, 36, "doing ancient history includes living with the frustrations that most of our data can never be verified."

challenging historians to write a more reflective historiography with increased awareness of methodological problems.¹³⁰ However, like any theory that is carried too far, the hectic preoccupation with theory and the movement away from the historical context of the subject matter toward the structures of the text itself have resulted in an excessive ‘fictionalization’ of historiography. The total shift of attention from the *story* to the *discourse* (or *plot*) has all but depleted history of its elementary building blocks. Serious historical criticism cannot be reduced to a mere ‘*topoi*-hunting.’¹³¹ For me, *what* the Hittites have to say is at least as important as *how* they say it. The test of historicity depends on much more than a rigorous literary criticism of style and form. There are various other cognitive functions besides narratology, such as the inherent plausibility of an account and the given genre’s overall record of credibility, assessed in a broad comparative perspective.¹³² Above all, Hittite historical consciousness cannot be appraised in isolation, but must be measured up against other contemporary historiographies. To my mind, despite recent attempts to play down its reputation, Hittite historiography remains one of the most distinctive and impressive merits of Hittite culture.¹³³

As Marc Bloch once said, “the historian’s first duty is to be sincere.”¹³⁴ Taking the risk of being castigated as a ‘naïve,’ ‘lazy’ or ‘positivist’ historian,

130. For a balanced assessment of the pros and contras of postmodernism in history see, e.g., Evans 1999 (esp. p. 216). Claiming that even some of the postmodernist historians are “nursed on historicist milk and weaning is hard,” Barstad 2008, 15 pleads for a return to pre-modern “narrative history,” which contains “both fact and fiction at the same time” (Barstad 2008, 21; cf. also p. 14 with n. 40).

131. There seems to be an implicit assumption that anything that can be exposed to reflect a *topos* is per definition unrealistic. Even a banal image like the submissive enemy falling at the feet of the triumphant king (amply depicted in Near Eastern imagery, e.g., on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III) is characterized as a mere *topos* that does not correspond to a truthful description of facts (Devecchi 2008a, 377). Are we supposed to think that in reality proskynesis of subordinate rulers was a mere figment of the author’s or the artist’s imagination? Even a highly sceptical historian like Hayden White explicitly states that “it is absurd to suppose that, because a historical discourse is cast in the mode of a narrative, it must be mythical, fictional, substantially imaginary, or otherwise ‘unrealistic’ in what it tells us about the world” (White 1999, 22).

132. Cf. Potts 2001, 406: “The use of a text for historical reconstruction therefore depends not only on the compositional category to which it belongs, but also on the framework of comparative historical data available to us in the form of other textual or archaeological evidence, and on the analytical tools we are able to bring to bear in its reading.” See also the insightful concluding paragraph in Roberts 2001, 17: “Finally we come to the question of truth. Beyond the question of the validity of narrative form lies the question of assessing the accuracy, adequacy and appositeness of the contents of historians’ stories. The postmodernists urge that the truth of historical narratives is not a matter of fact but of values. Others seek to redirect attention back to the traditional philosophical discussion about ‘objectivity’ in the study of history. The pragmatists, it seems, are content to leave the matter to historians themselves on the grounds that, theoretically impoverished though it may be, a discipline that has produced such a vast and impressive body of knowledge cannot be entirely misguided in its efforts to produce true accounts of the human past.”

133. For contemplations about the reasons for the special historical consciousness of the Hittites, see Forlani-nini 2004b, 249–50; de Martino 2005, 556.

134. Bloch 1953, 4, n. 1.

I still think, following Arnaldo Momigliano, that “the research for truth is the main task of the historian”¹³⁵ Nor have I given up altogether that much battered Rankean ideal of trying to reconstruct the past “as it actually was” (or at least as it most likely was),¹³⁶ which still constitutes, in my opinion, History’s main fascination not only for the general public but also for the majority of practicing historians.¹³⁷

On a more practical level, it is perhaps time to redraw the porous boundaries between the literary and the historical disciplines. By analyzing everything as rhetoric and style, postmodernism has tended to push hitherto autonomous disciplines in the direction of literature, thereby proclaiming the “end of history.”¹³⁸ Granted, Ancient Near Eastern studies seem to have suffered less from this ‘fictionalization’ of history, mainly because they are seldom integrated into History departments, often either constituting (steadily diminishing) departments of (Ancient) Near Eastern cultures (*Altorientalistik*), or being affiliating to other departments, such as Archaeology, Art History, or Linguistics (Semitic, Indo-European, Non-European Languages, or the like).¹³⁹ Even so, the constant proliferation of ‘interdisciplinary programs’ (not only for their real merits but also as a convenient vehicle of employment and the winning of research grants) comes much too often at the expense of the core disciplines and along with the dilution of their traditions of academic excellence.¹⁴⁰ Beyond the important

135. Momigliano 1981, 49.

136. Echoing the dictum of Lucian of Samosata: “The historian’s one task is to tell the thing as it happened. ... For history, I say again, has this and this only for its own; if a man will start upon it, he must sacrifice to no God but Truth; he must neglect all else; his sole rule and unerring guide is this - to think not of those who are listening to him now, but of the yet unborn who shall seek his converse.” (*True History* § 39).

137. This, of course, is my own subjective appraisal of the general ‘mood’ towards the study of history nowadays. The age of Internet, however, allows us to get a pretty fair impression of the public opinion without actually performing in-depth surveys. From the countless views on history that I read in cyberspace, I would like to quote (with permission) a quite representative one from the blog of a British PhD student of modern history (whose blog carries the significant name *Wie es eigentlich gewesen* [ist]): “It seems to me that the role of the historian in cutting through the fog created by innumerable interpretations should not be underestimated. If a modern historian can show their reader the past ‘how it really was’, this may well be more valuable, to the reader, than a critical appraisal of yet another secondary interpretation or contribution to a sterile historical debate.”

138. Butler 2002, 32; cf. also Barstad 2008, 6. For some trenchant remarks on the alarmingly eroding boundaries between historians and belletrists see Van Seters 2009, which concludes with the rhetorical questions: “Is scholarship to write a novel? Is a novel a work of scholarship?”

139. At Tel Aviv University the discipline of “Ancient Near Eastern Cultures” (Assyriology, Hittitology, Egyptology) is affiliated with the department of Archaeology. The Department of History begins its curriculum with Classical Greece, and during my thirty-two years of teaching I can count on one hand the number of times it showed any real interest in the “first half of history” (Hallo’s expression). They usually justified this attitude by claiming that they have too long of a historical span to cover as it is, without adding another 3000 years of history... This may be merely anecdotal, but I think it reflects the state of mind of many History departments throughout the world.

140. For an insightful assessment of the ‘newspeak’ of academic ‘restructuring’, see Anthony Grafton, “Britain: The Disgrace of the Universities,” *The New York Review of Books*, 9 March 2010. Of course, protagonists of the ‘literary turn’ ascribed the recent crisis of history to exactly the opposite reasons, e.g., White 1978 = 2001, 235: “In my view, history as a discipline is in bad shape today because it has lost sight of its origins in the literary imagina-

epistemological questions that they should repeatedly address, historians of the Ancient Near East are also compelled to safeguard their profession as a viable and irreplaceable scholarly and academic discipline. As the ancient Greeks wisely recognized, Clio and Calliope should each be given her due.¹⁴¹

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tion. In the interest of *appearing* scientific and objective, it has repressed and denied to itself its own greatest source of strength and renewal. By drawing historiography back once more to an intimate connection with its literary basis, we should not only be putting ourselves on guard against *merely* ideological distortions; we should be by way of arriving at that 'theory' of history without which it cannot pass for a 'discipline' at all."

141. This refers of course to Hallo's seminal article "Polymnia and Clio" (2001); I think, however, that in the present context Calliope, Homer's muse of heroic poetry, fits better the opposition between 'literature' and 'history' than Poly(hy)mnia, the muse of sacred poetry.

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