

MURSILI II'S DICTATE TO TUPPI-TEŠŠUB'S SYRIAN ANTAGONISTS *

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Introduction

The initial impetus for this paper was the discovery¹ that KUB 19.31, traditionally assumed to constitute the first preserved portion of the 7th year of the *Extensive Annals of Mursili II*,² in fact directly joins KBo 3.3+KUB 23.126+KUB 31.36 (CTH 63.A), a tablet on which two distinct but related dictates of Mursili II concerning Syrian disputes are recorded, the

- * I would like to dedicate this paper to Prof. Dr. Heinrich Otten, a portion of whose life's work, in the form of the archives in the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, has been such an inestimable benefit to me in my research, and in particular during the preparation of the present article. I would also like to thank L. d'Alfonso and I. Singer for reading and commenting on an early draft of this paper, H.C. Melchert and E. Rieken for discussing some linguistic matters, and R. Akdoğan for joining and photographing Bo 7539+1713/u in the museum in Ankara.
1. How this join was found may be of interest to some readers. Seeking further joins to KUB 19.15++ (see Miller, in press a and b), I was searching through all fragments with its key elements (e.g. Amurru, Mizri, etc.), but had come to the conclusion that none could join KUB 19.15++ directly. So I decided to look at them all again to see if any might show the same distinct handwriting of KUB 19.15++ and thus be a candidate for an indirect join. I indeed found a few possibilities (Miller, in press a, n. 20), including KUB 19.31, but it did not seem to belong to KUB 19.15++. It then occurred to me that I had already noted that the hands of KUB 19.15++ and KBo 3.3++ were strikingly similar (Miller, in press a), so I decided to see if any of the candidates might join KBo 3.3++, and indeed, KUB 19.31 does. This in turn would appear to strengthen my suggestion (*ibid.*) that the hand which wrote KUB 19.15++ is the same that wrote KBo 3.3++, i.e. Tatigganna's. Incidentally, that KBo 50.95 (1456/u) might belong to KBo 3.3++ or KUB 19.15++, which I once thought might be the case on the basis of content and photos (Miller, in press a, n. 20), now seems to me unlikely after comparing and photographing the originals in Ankara.
 2. Götze 1933, 80-83; for two discussions based on the assumption, see Spalinger 1979, 57; Bryce 1988, 25-28.

first running to col. ii 38,³ the second beginning with ii 39. As I began to prepare my presentation of the join, however, I realized that, even apart from the new information provided by the added fragment, I might be able to advance somewhat our understanding of the second of the tablet's two texts, in particular regarding Tuppi-Teššub's alleged infraction of his treaty obligations and the status of his antagonists, and I therefore decided to present a revised edition of it. As my work progressed, though, I found that 1) KUB 31.21, listed by Güterbock (1956, 115) among his "Isolated and Doubtful Fragments" of the Deeds of Suppiluliuma (CTH 40.VI.44), in fact belongs to the same portion of the tablet, and further, that 2) KUB 40.29, previously booked under the fragments of unknown nature (CTH 832),⁴ as well as 3) KBo 50.77, hitherto assumed to be a fragment of a royal letter (CTH 187), in fact bridge the gap between KUB 19.31 and KUB 31.21 (see Fig. 1).⁵ All of the newly won text belongs to the second composition. This paper, then, will present the text in transliteration and translation, along with philological commentary and discussion of its historical setting.

In his edition of the two compositions, Klengel (1963) designates this second text as Mursili's "Übereinkunft mit Duppi-Tešup von Amurru", though this title is not an accurate description of his own understanding of the text expressed in his commentary (*ibid.*, 53), in which he rightly recognizes that Mursili in fact addresses not Tuppi-Teššub, but persons who were interfering in the affairs of Amurru "wohl unter der Vorgabe eines Handelns im Auftrage und Sinne des Grosskönigs".⁶ Indeed, nowhere is it apparent that the text constitutes any kind of agreement with Tuppi-Teššub. Thus, a more accurate description of the text, and thus the title of the present paper, would be "Mursili II's Dictate to Tuppi-Teššub's Syrian Antagonists".⁷

3. For earlier treatments of the two texts, see Klengel's (1963, 32-33) introduction; for the latest translation, Beckman 1996, 155-158; for discussion of and literature on the first of the two texts, Altman 2004, 165-173; for a further recent join to the first text, Miller 2006b, 235.
4. A comment in Košak 2005, 199, fn. 3364, suggests that it might be an Annals fragment (CTH 211).
5. The tablet now consists of VAT 7428+Bo 7396+Bo 9613+Bo 9690+Bo 9546+Bo 4739+Bo 3903+Bo 7539+1713/u. As I was able to determine during my work in the Museum in Ankara in Sept. 2006 — and I would like to express again my thanks to Dr. R. Akdoğan, I. Aykut and Ş. Yılmaz for their assistance there — the three fragments published as KUB 23.126, where they are given the pseudo inventory number "VAT 7428 Zusatzstück", are in fact Bo 7396+9613+9546; cf. Košak 2005, 197, *sub* Bo 7396, where, incidentally, the direct joins known to date are listed as indirect. The join with Bo 3903 now yields the full line count of col. ii, while that with 1713/u provides the provenience of the tablet, the Temple I complex. Duplicate to this second composition are KBo 50.45+KUB 19.41 iii (CTH 63.B); KUB 19.44 (D); KBo 16.23 ii 8'ff. (F); and KBo 45.271 (H).
6. It seems, though, that while Tuppi-Teššub's antagonists may well have been claiming to have acted "im Sinne", they hardly would have been acting "im Auftrage" of the Great King; see presently.
7. Von Schuler 1959, 469, fn. 67, comes closer to this description with his "Urteilsspruch zugunsten Duppi-Teššubs von Amurru"; cf. also d'Alfonso 2005, 36, 42 ("tavoleta dei casi controversi" and "sentenza provvisoria") and below, fn. 33. Though the term "dictate" has been deemed most appropriate, the text also contains elements of a normative "edict" (iii 53' ff.) and is structured as a sort of "judicial verdict" (e.g. ii 39-55, iii 38"-46"), although the actual judicial proceedings are to take place in the future (iv 6' ff.).

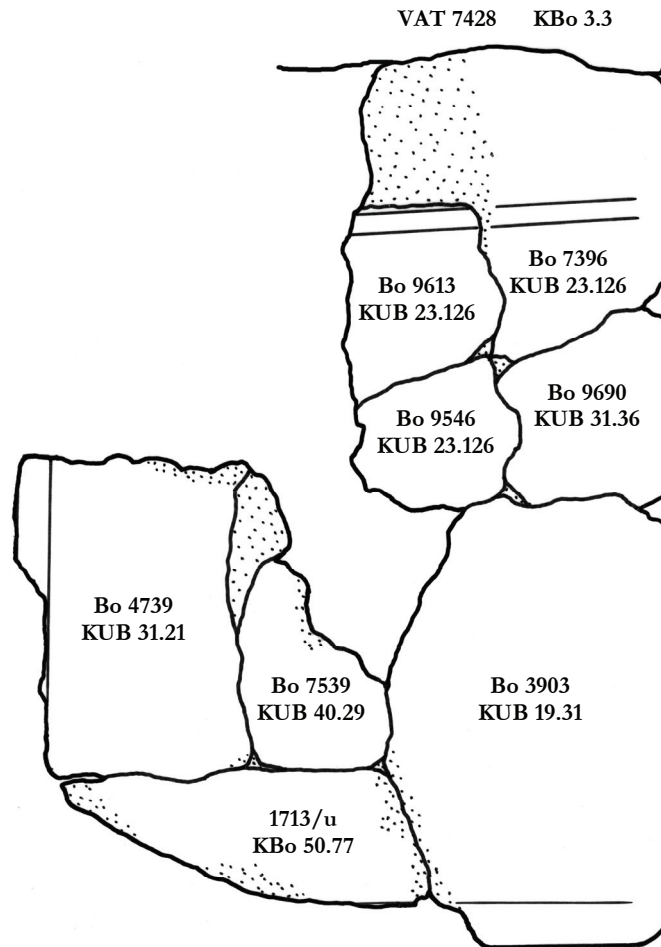


Fig. 1. Join sketch of KBo 3.3++ obv. ii.

KBo 3.3++ ii 39ff.⁸

A ii 39	$[(^m\text{Tup-pi}^{\text{d}}10\text{-up-}\check{z}a \text{ LUGAL KUR } ^{\text{U}}\text{R}^{\text{U}})]^{\text{U}} A\text{-mur-ri } A\text{-}^{\text{r}}\text{NA}^{\text{r}} \text{ } ^{\text{d}}\text{UTU-}\check{S}I$
F ii 8'	$*^m\text{Tup-pi}^{\text{d}}10\text{-up-}\check{z}a^* \text{ LUGAL KUR } ^{\text{U}}\text{R}^{\text{U}}$
A ii 40	$[\quad \quad \quad \textit{me-mi-ia-an ki-i\check{s}-\check{s}a-a}]n \textit{i-ia-at}$
F ii 9'	$\textit{ki\check{s}-an i-ia-a}[t$
A ii 41	$[\text{LUGAL KUR } ^{\text{URU}}\text{Kar-ka-mi\check{s}-wa-mu } ^{\text{m}}] \textit{Du-ut-}\check{h}a\text{-li-ia-a\check{s}}$
F ii 10'	$^{\text{m}}\textit{Tu-ut-}\check{h}a\text{-li-i}[a\text{-a\check{s}}$
A ii 42	$[^{\text{m}}\textit{Hal-pa-bi-i\check{s}-\check{s}a dam-me-e}]\check{s}\text{-}\check{h}i\text{-i\check{s}-ka}\check{n}\text{-}\check{z}i \textit{na-an } ^{\text{d}}\text{UTU-}\check{S}I^{\text{r}}$
F ii 11'	$\textit{na-an } ^{\text{d}}\text{UTU-}\check{S}[I$

8. Preserved variants are highlighted with bolding.

A ii 43	[	<i>pu-nu-uš-š</i>	<i>u-un</i>	<i>ku-e-e</i>	<i>ez-wa</i>	<i>-at-ta</i>
F ii 12'						<i>ku-e-e-uz-wa-at-[ta</i>
A ii 44	[	<i>dam-me-eš-ḫi-iš-kán-zi</i>	[U]	<i>M-MA</i>	<i>ŠU-Ú-MA</i>	<i>NAM.RA</i> ^{MEŠ}
F ii 13'						<i>NAM.RA</i> ^{MEŠ} [
A ii 45	[					<i>]-e-eš^mA-zi-ra-aš</i>
F ii 14'						<i>[^mA-zi]i[?]-r[a[?]-aš</i>
A ii 46		<i>ʿA-BI A¹-B[I-LA</i>	<i>^mE/ Ir-^d1]</i>	<i>0-ub</i>	<i>A-BU-LA</i>	<i>am-mu-uk-ka₄-wa</i>
A ii 47						<i>ku-i-e-eš pa-ra-[a ...]x-eš-ke-u-en</i>
A ii 48						<i>nu-wa-ra-aš am-m[u-uk ...]-nu-un, ʿkš¹-nu-un-ma-wa</i>
A ii 49						<i>ma-ab-ḫa-an x[...]-ʿu¹-wa-wa-ar</i>
A ii 50						<i>iš-ta-ma-aš-š[ž]r n[a-at-wa š]a-ra-a ti-i-e-er</i>
A ii 51						<i>nu-wa ku-iš I-NA₁ KUR^U[^{RU}Kar-ga]-miš pa-it</i>
A ii 52						<i>ku-iš-ma-wa I-NA₁ KUR^{UR}[^Ux x]x pa-it</i>
A ii 53						<i>ku-iš-ma-wa I-NA KUR^{URU}[Hal-p[a p]a-it ma-ab-ḫa-an-ma-wa-ra-aš-ma-aš</i>
A ii 54						<i>EGIR-an-da u₁-i-ia-nu-ʿun¹ nu-wa-ra-aš-mu EGIR-pa</i>
A ii 55						<i>Ú-UL pi-e-an-zi⁽¹⁾ nu^dUTU-ŠI ke-e-el</i>
A ii 56						<i>ŠA NAM.RA^{MEŠ} ŠA KUR^{URU}Ki-na-ab-ḫa iš-ḫi-ú-ul</i>
A ii 57						<i>[k]i-iš-ša-an ʿi¹-ia-nu-u[n] ma-a-an-wa LUGAL KUR^{URU}Mi-iž-ri</i>
A ii 58						<i>[am-m]u-uk-ka₄ ták-šu-la-a-u-ʿe¹-[n]i nu-wa-mu ma-a-an</i>
A ii 59						<i>[NAM.RA^M]^{ES} ŠA KUR^{URU}Ki-na-ab-[ḫi]⁹ LUGAL KUR^{URU}Mi-iž-ri</i>
A ii 60						<i>[kat-ta] u₁-e₁-ek-zi nu-wa-ra₁-at-ši EGIR-pa</i>
A ii 61						<i>[x x x x x-n]a-ra-aš ku-ʿe¹-[d]a-ni-ik-ki pé-eb-ḫi</i>

Col. III

A iii 1	]x ^d UTU-ŠI me-na-ab-ḫa-an-da ¹ (NA)
A iii 2	N]AM.RA ^{MEŠ}
A iii 3	]x <i>ku-i-e-eš</i>
A iii 4	]x Ú-UL
A iii 5	-n]a-ra-at-kán
A iii 6	ma]- ₁ a ₁ -an-ma-wa
A iii 7	]x- ₁ an ₁ -da
A iii 8	]x <i>pa-ri-ia-an</i>
A iii 9	]x-ri

9. From the preserved surface and the way the pieces fit together here one might expect to see some trace of ḪA, but none is visible. It therefore seems likely that the scribe opted for *-ḫi* here, despite the writing of the gen. with *-ḫa* in ii 56.

A iii 10	] a_3 - $pé-el$
A iii 11	]x $ki-ša-ri$
A iii 12]
A iii 13	]x- an
A iii 14 ⁽¹⁾]x x ¹⁰
A iii 15 ⁽²⁾]
A iii 16 ⁽³⁾]x
A iii 17 ⁽⁴⁾]
A iii 18 ⁽⁵⁾	$m]a^2-^r a^2-an^{\text{ḫ} 11}$
A iii 19 ⁽²⁾	- $]k-ta$
A iii 20 ⁽³⁾]
A iii 21 ⁽⁴⁾	- $u]n/-z]a$
A iii 22 ⁽⁵⁾]x
B iii 1'	] x x [
A iii 23 ⁽⁶⁾	(x ^{H1.A} UR)]U ^{DIDL1.H1.A}
B iii 2'	]x ^{H1.A} URU ^{DIDL1.H1.A}
A iii 24 ⁽⁷⁾	(^d UTU- $šI$ $ku-i$)] t
B iii 3'	] ^d UTU- $šI$ $ku-it$ EN[
B iii 4'	]x
A iii 25''	($pé-eš-ki-šī$)] ¹²
B iii 5'	] $pé-eš-ki-šī$
A iii 26'' ⁽⁸⁾	$a-p(é-el šA URUDIDL1.H1.A) ...-a(n-z)]i^?$
B iii 6'	$a-p]é-el šA URUDIDL1.H1.A$
B iii 7'	- $a]n-z]i$
A iii 27'' ⁽¹⁾	x[($te-ez-zī$) ...]x-x- ^r $mu-kán^r$
B iii 8'	] $te-ez-zī$
A iii 28'' ⁽²⁾	$ar-ḫa ^r da-aš-kán^r -z[i nu-wa-ra-aš-zā I-N]A URU-šU-NU$
A iii 29'' ⁽³⁾	EGIR- $pā a-šī-ša-nu-uš-^r kán-zī^r nu ^r ku^r -[u]-^r un^r me-mi-ia-an$
B iii 9'	URU- $š]U-^r NU EGIR-pā^r a-šī-ša-nu-uš-ke[án-zī]$

10. The transition from Bo 3903 (KUB 19.31) to Bo 9690 (KUB 31.36) occurs at l. 14, and it would appear that no line is lost. Still, since I had no opportunity to examine the fragments themselves in the museum in Istanbul, this remains uncertain and is reflected in the prime line numbering henceforth. The numbering of the separately published fragments is also provided in parentheses beginning here.

11. Following what seems to be a paragraph divider, l. 5' of Bo 9690 (KUB 31.36) would appear to align with l. 1' of Bo 7396 (KUB 23.126), i.e. l. 18' of the joined text, but this is likewise uncertain and cannot be examined directly, as the former is housed in Istanbul, the latter in Ankara.

12. Line not numbered in KUB 23.126, but likely to be counted.

- A iii 30⁽⁴⁾ *ku-wa-at i-ia-at-tén* QA-TAM-MA nu-uš-ši-kán a-ḫu-u-uš
 B iii 10' *k]u-wa-at i-ia-at₁-tén* QA-TAM-M[A]
- A iii 31⁽⁵⁾ NAM.RA^{MEŠ} A-NA^m Tup-pí^d10 ar-ḫa da-aš-ke-et-te-ni
 B iii 11' N]AM.RA^{MEŠ} A-NA^m Tup-^rpí^r-^d10[]
- A iii 32⁽⁶⁾ EGIR-an-ma-an ku-wa-pí a-pé-e-da-aš A-NA NAM.RA^{MEŠ}
 B iii 12' *da-aš-ke-et-]e-ni* EGIR-an-ma-an ku-wa-₁pí[]
- A iii 33⁽⁷⁾ *ti-ia-nu-un ma-an* ^dUTU-ŠI EGIR-an ti-ia-nu-un
 B iii 13'] NAM.RA^{MEŠ} ti-ia-nu-un
 B iii 14' EGIR]-an ti-ia-nu-un
- A iii 34⁽⁸⁾ *ma-an-za* ^dUTU-ŠI a-ḫu-u-uš NAM.RA^{MEŠ} da-ab-ḫu-un
 B iii 15']₁a₁-ḫu-u-un NAM.RA^{MEŠ} da-ab-ḫu-u[n]
- A iii 35⁽⁹⁾ *ma-a-na-aš* ^{URU}Ha-at-tu-ši ar-ḫa ú-wa-te-nu-un
 B iii 16' ^{URU}Ha-a]t-tu-ši ar-ḫa ú-wa-te-nu-u[n]
- A iii 36⁽¹⁰⁾ *šu-me-eš-ma-aš-ma-aš* ku-e-ez me-mi-ia-na-az EGIR-an
 B iii 17' *ku]-e-ez me-mi-ia-na-az* EGIR-a[n]
- A iii 37⁽¹¹⁾ *ša-an-ḫi-eš-kat-te-ni* nu-uš-ma-aš šu-me-el ZI-**az**
 B iii 18' [*ša-an-ḫi-]š-ka*[t-te]-ni nu-uš-ma-aš šu-me-el ZI-**za**-x[
- A iii 38⁽¹²⁾ *ar-ḫa da-aš-kat-te-ni* a-pé-el-ma ŠA NAM.RA^{MEŠ}
 B iii 19' [*ar-ḫa d]a-aš-ka*[t-]e-ni a-pé-el-ma ŠA NAM.[RA^M]EŠ
- A iii 39⁽¹³⁾ *me-mi-ia-aš* A-NA PA-NI A-BI ^dUTU-ŠI **ki-iš-ša-an** e-eš-ta
 B iii 20' [*me-mi-ia]-aš* A-NA PA-NI A-BI ^dUTU-^rŠI^r **kiš-an** ^re^r-[e]š-ta
- A iii 40⁽¹⁴⁾ ŠA^m A-zi-ra iš-ḫi-ú-ul A-NA TUP-PÍ **ki-iš-ša-an**
 B iii 21' [ŠA^m]^rA^r-zi-ra-**aš** iš-ḫi-ú-ul A-NA TUP-PÍ **k[iš-a]**n
- A iii 41⁽¹⁵⁾ *kat-ta-an* GAR-ri ma-a-an-wa-kán ^dUTU-ŠI KUR^{LÚ} KÚR
 B iii 22' [*kat-ta-a]*n **ki-it-ta-ri** ma-a-an-wa-₁kán₁[
- A iii 42⁽¹⁶⁾ *ku-it-ki an-da* ḫa-at-ke-eš-nu-mi NAM.RA^{MEŠ} -ma-wa
 B iii 23' [^dUTU-ŠI] KUR^{LÚ} KÚR *ku-it-ki an-da* ḫ[*a-at-ke-eš-nu-mi*]
- A iii 43⁽¹⁷⁾ *a-pé-el* ŠA KUR^{LÚ} KÚR ša-ra-a ti-ia-zi
 B iii 24' [NAM.RA^M]EŠ^r-ma-wa a-pé-e[₁] ŠA₁[] i-ia-zi
- A iii 44⁽¹⁸⁾ *nu-wa-ra-at-kán* I-NA ŠÀ KUR-KA *x x x* ú-wa-an-zi
 B iii 25' [*nu-wa-ra-a]*t₁kán₁-N[A¹³

13. The traces in this line that look like wedges in the copy are clearly remnants of the heads of horizontals, as can be seen in the photos.

- A iii 45¹⁹⁾ *z̄i-ik-ma-wa-ra-aš an-da e-ep nu-wa-ra-aš pa-ra-a*
 B iii 26' *pa-r]a-a pa-a-i*
- A iii 46²⁰⁾ *pa-a-i ki-nu-na ma-a-an a-pu-uš NAM.RA^{MEŠ}*
- A iii 47²¹⁾ ^m*A-z̄i-ra-aš A-NA* ^d*UTU-ŠI EGIR-pa* ^{Ú-UL} *pa-iš*
 B iii 27' ^m*A-z̄i]-ra-aš*
- A iii 48²²⁾ *ma-a-na-aš EGIR-an ku-wa-pí ša-an-ab-ḫu-un*
 B iii 28' *š]a-an-ab-ḫu-un*
- A iii 49²³⁾ *ma-a-na-aš *x*^dUTU-ŠI EGIR-an ša-an-ḫu-un ma-a-na-aš-za*
 B iii 29' *š]a-an-ab-ḫu-un*
- A iii 50²⁴⁾ ^d*UTU-ŠI da-a*ab-ḫu-un šu-me-eš-ma-aš-za** **ZI-az** *ku-wa-at*
 B iii 30' *d]a²-ab-ḫu-un*
 B iii 31' *š]u-me-eš-ma-aš-za ku-wa-at*
- A iii 51²⁵⁾ *da-aš*kat*-te-ni ki-nu-na-kán a-pu-u-uš NAM.RA^{MEŠ}*
 B iii 32' *a-pu-u-u]š NAM.RA^{MEŠ}*
- A iii 52²⁶⁾ *A-NA* ^m*Tup-pí-^d10 ar-ḫa le-e da-aš-kat-te-ni*
 B iii 33' *d]a-aš-kat-te-ni*
- A iii 53²⁷⁾ *ma-a-an DI¹(KI)-NU-ma ku-it-ki nu-uš-ma-aš-kán* ^{LÚ}*SANGA*
- A iii 54²⁸⁾ *A-NA DI^{H1.A} iš-tar-na ti-eš-ki-id-du nu-uš-ma-aš DI¹(KI)^{H1.A}*
- A iii 55²⁹⁾ *pu-nu-uš-ke-ed-du ma-a-an DI¹(KI)-NU-ma ku-it-ki*
 H, 1' *]x[*
- A iii 56³⁰⁾ *šal-le-eš-zi na-at ar-ḫa e-ep-pu-u-wa-an-zi*
 H, 2' *šal-le-eš-zi]i na-a[t*
- A iii 57³¹⁾ ^{Ú-UL} *tar-ab-te-ni na-at-kán du-wa-a-an*
 H, 3' *tar-a]b-te-ni [*
- A iii 58³²⁾ *MA-ḪAR* ^d*UTU-ŠI pa-ra-a na-iš-tén*
 H, 4' ^d*UT]U-ŠI pa-r[a-a*
- A iii 59³³⁾ *na-at* ^d*UTU-ŠI ar-ḫa e-ep-zi*
 H, 5' *]r^{dh}UTU-ŠI a[r-ḫa¹⁴*

14. A paragraph divider follows in H, perhaps inspired by the transition in A from col. iii to iv, after which some traces are visible in H, 6'.

Col. IV

A iv 1'	^r na-aš ^a -ke[án [?]]x ^r KASKAL-š ^r [] ^r da ^r -a-i
D iv 1'	]x KASKAL-š ^r x[
<hr/>	
A iv 2'	ki-i- ^r ma ku ^r -it TUP-P[U Š]A DI ^{HLA} ki-nu-un Ú-UL
D iv 2'	ku- ^r it TUP-PU ŠA DI ^{rHLA} [
A iv 3'	š ^r -ia-ir nu LUGAL KUR ^{URU} K[a]r-ke ^a -miš ^r ku-it ^m Du -ut- ^h a-li-ia-aš ^r
D iv 3'	[Ú-UL š ^r -ia-ir]r nu LUGAL KUR ^{URU} Kar-ke ^a -miš ^r ku-it ^m T [u-ut- ^h a-li-ia-aš ^r]
A iv 4'	^m Hal-pa- ^h i-iš-ša MA- ^H AR rd UTU-ŠI Ú-UL e-š ^r
D iv 4'	[^m Hal-p]a- ^h i-iš-ša MA- ^H AR ^d UTU-ŠI Ú-UL ^r e ^r -[š ^r]
A iv 5'	nu ki-i *TUP-PU* ki-nu-un a-pád-da Ú-UL š ^r -ia-ir
D iv 5'	[nu ke ^r]-i TUP-PU ^r ki-nu ^r -un a-pád-da Ú-UL š ^r [i-ia-ir]
A iv 6'	GIM-an-ma LUGAL KUR ^{URU} Kar-ke ^a -miš ^r ^m Du -ut- ^h a-li-ia-aš ^r
D iv 6'	[GI]M-an-ma LUGAL KUR ^{URU} Kar-ke ^a -miš ^r ^m Tu -ut- ^h [a-li-ia-aš ^r]
A iv 7'	^m Hal-pa- ^h i-iš-ša ^m Tup- ^r pi ^r - ^d 10-ša MA- ^H AR ^d UTU-ŠI
D iv 7'	^m Hal-pa- ^h i-iš-ša ^m Tup-pi ^r - ^d 10- aš -ša MA- ^H A[R
A iv 8'	ú-wa-an-zi na-at PA-NI ^d UTU-ŠI ták-ša-an
D iv 8'	[na]-at PA-NI ^d UTU-ŠI ták-ša-an [
A iv 9'	ti-*ia-an*-zi na-aš ^r ^d UTU-ŠI A-NA DI ^r (KI) ^{HLA}
D iv 9'	[na-a]š ^r ^d UTU-ŠI A-NA DI ^{rHLA} pu-nu-u[š ^r -mi]
A iv 10'	pu-nu-uš-mi nu-za ku-iš ku-it ar-ku-wa-ar
D iv 10'	[nu-za k]u-iš ku-it ar-ku-wa-[ar
A iv 11'	DÜ-zi na-at ^d UTU-ŠI iš- ta -ma-aš-mi
D iv 11'	] ^d UTU-ŠI iš- dam -ma-[aš-mi
A iv 12'	nu ke-e TUP-PU ŠA DI ^r (KI) ^{HLA} a-pí-ia
D iv 12'	TU]P-PU ŠA DI ^{rHLA} ,a _r]-[pí-ia
A iv 13'	š ^r -ia-an-zi
<hr/>	
A iv 14'	ŠU ^m Ta-ti-i[g-g]a-an-na
D iv 13'	[D]UB 1 ^{KAM} ŠA LUGAL KUR [
D iv 14'	[i]š- ^h i-ú-la-aš [
D iv 15'	[] ^{md} 30-SUM-a[š ^r
D iv 16'	[] ^{d?} UTU [?] ,š[^r ?
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Translation

(ii 39^f) Tuppi-Teššub, King of the Land of Amurru, made the following [... statement] to My Majesty: ⁽⁴¹⁾ “[The king of the land of Karkamiš], Tudḫaliya ^(42^{ff}) [and Ḫalpaḫi] are [trou]bling [me].” And I, My Majesty, [questio]ned him [concerning ...]: “How [are they trou]bling you?” He (explained) [as f]ollows: “The [...] civilian captives which Azira,¹⁵ my grandfat[her, Ari-Teš]šub, my father, and I always [...]ed for[th], ⁽⁴⁸⁾ I mys[elf ...]-ed. But now, ^(49^f) as soon as t[hey]¹⁶ heard of the [...], they arose, ⁽⁵¹⁾ and the one (group) went to the land of [Karka]miš, ⁽⁵²⁾ another went to the land of [GN], ^(53^{ff}) while another [w]ent to the land of Ḫala[b]. But when I sent them¹⁷ after them,¹⁸ they *were* not *giving* them back to me.” So I, My Majesty, made the [fo]llowing decree concerning¹⁹ these civilian captives of Kinahḫa: “If the king of Egypt ^(58^{ff}) and I conclude peace, and if the king of Egypt [de]mands from me the [civilian captiv]es of Kinahḫa, they [will ...] to him; I will [...] give them to someone (else). ^(iii 1) [...] against/toward My Majesty ⁽²⁾ [...] civilian captives ⁽³⁾ [...] those which ⁽⁴⁾ [...] not ⁽⁵⁾ [...] they ^(6^f) [...] but if/when ^(8^f) [...] across ⁽¹⁰⁾ [...] of that ^(11^{ff}) [...] it becomes/ happens.”²⁰

⁽¹⁸⁾ [...] if²/when[?] [...] ^(19^{ff}) [...] he²¹ [...]ed ⁽²³⁾ [...]s (and) cities ⁽²⁴⁾ [...] which/ because My Majesty ^(25ⁿ) [...] ^(26^{ff}) “[...] you ^(sg.) keep giving [...] cities of [th]at [...] they take away from me, they keep resettling [them i]n their city.” So, why have you ^(pl.) handled this matter in this way, in that you ^(pl.) keep taking those civilian captives away from Tuppi-Teššub? ^(32^{ff}) Had I ever gone after those civilian captives, I, My Majesty, would have gone after (them). ^(34ⁿ) I, My Majesty, would have taken those civilian captives myself, ^(35ⁿ) (and) I would have brought them away to Ḫattusa. ^(36^{ff}) So on whose authority are you ^(pl.) dealing with *them yourselves* and taking *them* away for yourselves of your own accord? The agreement concerning²³ those civilian captives during the reign of my father, His Majesty, was as follows, ^(40^{ff}) (i.e.) the Azira treaty was set down on a tablet thus: “If I, My Majesty, beset some enemy land, and the civilian captives ^(43ⁿ) of that enemy land arise ^(44ⁿ) and come into your land, ^(45^{ff}) you shall take them captive and extradite them.” And had Azira not turned over those civilian captives to My Majesty *by now*, ^(48ⁿ) I would have dealt with them at some point. ^(49^{ff}) If I, My Majesty, would have dealt with them, then I, My Majesty, would have taken

15. As Singer 2003, 93 fn. 1, has pointed out, Hittite scribes consistently treat the name as an a-stem.
16. I.e. the civilian captives.
17. Presumably [the king of Karkamiš], Tudḫaliya and [Ḫalpaḫi] from l. 41f.
18. Again, the civilian captives, i.e., to paraphrase, “But when I asked PN, Tudḫaliya and PN to pursue the civilian captives for me, ...”.
19. Lit. “decree of these civilian captives”.
20. Where exactly Mursili's quote from his decree concerning the civilian captives of Kinahḫa ends cannot be ascertained for certain, but it presumably comes to an end with what seems to be a paragraph divider following l. 17'. The ensuing paragraph probably resumes Mursili's narration.
21. Or “you”.
22. Where exactly Tuppi-Teššub begins speaking again is uncertain.
23. Lit. “of”.

them myself. So why are you^(pl.) taking them away of your^(pl.) own accord? Stop^(pl.) taking those civilian captives away from Tuppi-Teššub now! ^(53^{ff.}) But if some judicial matter (arises), the Priest²⁴ shall mediate for you^(pl.) in (those) judicial matters, and he shall question you^(pl.) (concerning) the judicial matters. But if some judicial matter ^(56^{ff.}) becomes (too) grave, and you^(pl.) are not able to handle it, then you shall refer it here to My Majesty, ^(59ⁿ) and My Majesty will handle it.

(approximately the upper half of col. iv, some 30 lines, is entirely missing)

^{(iv 1⁾} [...] and he will place [...] on the road.

^(2^{f.}) But regarding the fact that they have not, *till now*, sealed this tablet of the judicial matters, (it is) because the king of the land of Karkamiš, Tudḫaliya ⁽⁴⁾ and Ḫalpaḫi have not appeared before My Majesty, ⁽⁵⁾ and therefore they have not, *till now*, sealed this tablet. ⁽⁶⁾ When, however, the king of Karkamiš, Tudḫaliya ^(7^{ff.}) and Ḫalpaḫi, as well as Tuppi-Teššub, come before My Majesty, they will appear before My Majesty together, and I, My Majesty, will question them concerning the judicial matters. And whoever argues a case, I, My Majesty, will listen to it. ^(12^{f.}) And at that point, they will seal this tablet of the judicial matters.

Colophon: A: ⁽¹⁴⁾ Hand of Tati[gg]anna.

D: ⁽¹³⁾ [T]ablet 1: [...] of the king of the land [of ...] ⁽¹⁴⁾ of the [ag]reement [...] ⁽¹⁵⁾ [Hand of?] Arma-piya ⁽¹⁶⁾ [...] My Majesty? [...].

Commentary

ii, 39-45: For a similar understanding of these opening lines, see already Meriggi 1973, 208; cf. d'Alfonso 2005, 124-125, who considers restoring *arkuwar* in ii 40, as in iv 10^f.

ii, 41f.: The restoration of the two missing persons, taken from iv 3^{f.} and 6^{f.}, fits the space quite nicely and is too obvious to ignore.

ii, 42: 1) As the traces immediately following the break consist of one clear wedge and the intimation of another,²⁵ they could well be -e]š-, and one might thus consider *damme]šbiskanzī*, as the other -e/ishai- verbs — *ishai-*, “bind”, and *sešai-*, “arrange, determine” —

24. The Priest (^{LÚ}SANGA) was the commonly used title of the Hittite chief priest of the storm-god in Aleppo; see Bryce 1992; d'Alfonso 2005, 67. Whether the Priest was at this point Telipinu, who had died by Mursili's 9th year, or Telipinu's son and successor, Talmi-Šarruma (see, e.g., Klengel 1992, 128-129), cannot be ascertained beyond doubt, but if the texts of this tablet constitute mopping-up activities after Mursili's handling of the rebellions of his 7th and 9th years (see presently and Miller, in press a), then it would seem likely that Talmi-Šarruma should be preferred.

25. Meriggi's (1973, 208) *san]hiskanzī* is thus excluded.

would seem to offer little sense in the context. 2) One key to understanding the exchange in the first 8-10 lines is the absence of the quoted speech particle in l. 42. Tuppi-Teššub's initial statement can thus only run from the beginning of 41 through *damme]šbiskanzi* in 42. If so, then ^dUTU-ŠI in 42 is likely the subject of the 1st sg. pret. in 43, which immediately suggests that he questioned Tuppi-Teššub regarding his claim, concerning which the latter elaborates beginning in 44.

ii, 45: Though *ku]es*, as in Meriggi (1973, 208), seemed reasonable before the joins were found, it must now be assumed that]-eš represents a pl. adj. describing the civilian captives, since the expected *kuies* occurs in l. 47.

ii, 46: Or ^mDU-^d1]0-*ub*; for what must be the same name (but designating a different person), cf. A ii 6, 9, 10, 11, 15, 17, 21, 24, 28, 31, 35; B ii 9, 13, 14, 15, 19, 21, 25, 28; F ii 1', 5'. It seems that the most likely explanation for the alternating writings ^mDU- and ^mE/Ir-Teššub would be to read DU as GUB, and to see in it a Sumerographic writing for Hittite *ar-*, “stand (up)”, representing Hurrian *ar(i)*, i.e. a playful Hittite innovation. *E/Ir-* would be nothing more than phonetic variation on *Ari*; cf. Laroche 1966, Nos. 127, 1736, 1756; Singer 1991, 159, fn. 32; and the discussion of the name Iri²-Addu in Wilhelm 1973, 75. That the name was in fact read *Ari-Teššub*, known at least since Weidner (1923, 78 fn. 5; 125, fn. 13), is suggested by the writing in KBo 1.1 obv. 8 as ^mSUM-^d10-*ub*. The main counterarguments would be 1) the fact that a writing with GUB for *Ar(i)* is known for no other PN, though this objection would lose much of its weight when one considers that such a writing would be possible only in Hittite language texts; and 2) the fact that GUB would in fact have to represent the stem form *ar-* rather than any attested form.

ii, 47: One might consider *pa-ra-[a pē]-^re¹-eš-ke-u-en*, “(which) we always extradited”, but the traces following the break are not entirely convincing as an]-^re¹-, and the writing with the plene vowel would be quite unexpected (but cf. *pé-e-an-zi* in ii 55). Still, it would fit the context quite well, the space tolerably well, though perhaps a little short. Other possibilities would of course be verbs for transporting.

ii, 48: Possible restorations might be *am-m[u-uk a-še-ša-nu]-₁nu-un*, “I settled”, or perhaps *am-m[u-uk-ka₄ pé-eš-ke]-₁nu-un*, “I also regularly gave (up)”, though both would seem to be just slightly too long for the space.

ii, 49: Of the attested -(u)*war* abstracta from *-wai-* verbs, *balluwawar*, “confrontation” (only in vocabulary KBo 1.42 iii 23) would appear to make the most sense, while *innarawawar*, “might, power” (of Egypt?) might also be a possibility. Of course, the scribe could have formed the abstract from any of the numerous semantically eligible *-wai-* verbs. Of interest is the spelling with *-ú-*.

ii, 51ff.: For the usage “the one ... another ... while another”, here presumably to be understood collectively, see HED K, 218.

ii, 52: ^{UR}[^UAš-ta-]a would fit the space and traces perfectly. ^{UR}[^UQatn]a might be a second possibility (suggested to me by I. Singer, pers. comm.), but as far as I can judge, the traces

seem to suggest rather a $-āa$ than a $-n]a$, and of the attested Boğazköy spellings (*Qà-at-ta-an-na*, *Qá-ta-an-na*, *Qât-ta-an-na*, *Qât-na*; see RGTC 6, 197, 203), none would fit the space well, though one can not exclude the possibility of spellings attested elsewhere, e.g. of *Qa-at-n]a*, or *Qât/Qa-ta-n]a*, which likely would. ^{UR}[^UŪ-ga-ri-ā]t would certainly be too long.

ii, 53f.: 1) As shown by the writing with $=war=$, one must apparently parse the enclitic chain *mabhan=ma=war=as=(s)mas*, which represents an exception to the rules detailed in Hoffner 1986, 93-94, and Rieken 2006, 119. This is not the forum to address the issue of the order of these elements in the enclitic chain, but the present attestation may perhaps have repercussions for iii 36". 2) While it seems clear that the civilian captives fill the role of indirect object here ($=smas$), it is not entirely clear who the direct object of *appanda uiya-* would be ($=as=$). The only antecedents that would appear to be likely candidates are the [king of the land of Karkamiš], Tudḫaliya [and Ḫalpaḫi] of 41f.²⁶

ii, 54: Apart from this attestation, *appanda uiya-* is found only in Mursili II's Annals: KBo 3.4 ii 74; KUB 14.16 iii 36'.

ii, 55: The only other attestation of the writing *pé-e-an-zī* is in KBo 22.235 obv. 4' (CHD P, 41b-42a).²⁷ One might argue for a formal present with an imperfective aspect, as reflected in the translation given. The usage of formal presents in past narratives as found in OH texts is briefly discussed in Melchert 1998, 416-417, where the NH examples in historical texts are dealt with rather summarily. Alternatively, the spelling might lead one to suspect that the scribe originally intended the oft-occurring 3 pl. pret. *pí-e-er*, but for some reason errantly finished the verb with *-an-zī*, hence: "But when I sent them after them, they <did> not give them back to me".

ii, 60-61: A likely reconstruction which would fit the space very well would be *nu-wa-ṛ-ra-at-šī EGIR-pa / [pa-an-zī Ū-UL-m]a-ra-aš ku-ṛ-e-[d]a-ni-ik-ki pé-eb-ḫi*, "they [will] re[turn] to him; I will [not] give them to someone (else)."

iii, 1ff.: Mursili's quote from his own decree seems surely to continue at the top of col. iii, but the state of preservation does not permit one to ascertain how far it goes or who speaks thereafter. Almost certainly belonging to the citation are $=m]ar=$ in 5 and *m]an=ma=wa* in 6. In any case, 27"-29" likely represent the end of Tuppi-Teššub's final word on the matter.

iii, 19': An obvious candidate would be *ḫarni]kta*.

26. Alternatively, since the passage may be quoting from previous correspondence, one might consider whether a missing antecedent would have been found in Tuppi-Teššub's original, fuller explanation, but left out during the process of selecting the citations for the present text. Such an explanation, however, does not appear to be necessary.

27. Conceivably, the verb could be *pīya-* rather than *pai-*, but such a writing is never attested for *pīya-* (CHD P, s.v.).

iii, 27": Since there appears to be some space after the break and before *te-ez-zi* in B iii 8', in which one would perhaps expect to see some traces if *]-tezzi* represented the ending of a broken verb, I am inclined to see here the 3 sg. pres. of *te-/tar-*. If so, it would seem that up until this point Mursili has continued with his narrative, which he ends perhaps with "[But Tuppi-Teššub] says, 'They are [still] taking [them] away from me, and they keep resettling [them] in their city.'" In other words, he may be saying that despite the decree which he had issued in regard to the civilian captives of Kinahḫa (ii 57ff.), the problem, at least according to Tuppi-Teššub, continues.

iii, 29"f.: Cf. CHD L-N, 272b; Hoffner 1995, 98, ex. 97.

iii, 32"ff.: Cf. CHD L-N, 141b.

iii, 36"ff.: As implied by Melchert (1977, 355, ex. 246), the two clauses appear to be oddly constructed. 1) The first he emends to *šumes=ma=šmas=<aš> kuez memiyanaz EGIR-an šan-ḫeškatteni*, translating "For what reason do you pursue them for yourselves?" However, *appan sanḫ-* is not otherwise attested with a reflexive construction, so one might want to consider whether the scribe may have mistakenly employed *-smas* as a 3 pl. acc. Alternatively, one might want to regard the trailing *-ma-aš* as a dittograph,²⁸ yielding the expected 3 pl. acc. in *šumes=ma=as*. If, on the other hand, one accepts the construction as a unique reflexive, then one might suggest, in light of the fact that in at least one other passage in this text (ii 53) the scribe clearly inverts the order of slots 3 and 4 in the enclitic chain (see Rieken 2006, 119), that such is the case here as well and thus parse *šumes=ma=as=(s)mas*, yielding the expected acc. object. Of course, one could simply accept the omission of the acc. object as well as the unique reflexive construction. 2) The second clause Melchert emends to *nu=šmas=<aš> šumel ZI-aḫ / arḫa daškatteni*, "and (why do you) take them away for yourselves on your own authority?" In this case, parallel phrases are indeed constructed with the reflexive, thus accounting for *=smas*. Hence, one must either accept that the object remains unexpressed (as does Kammenhuber 1964, 202), or parse *nu=us=(s)mas*, though older 3 pl. acc. *-us* would hardly be expected at this point for younger *-as*. In B iii 18' the acc. enclitic may have been added to *šumel ZI-za-x[* (perhaps taken together as a unit), where a further trace is visible before the break. Cf. the parallel clauses in iii 48"ff., where the acc. object of the *appan sanḫ-* construction is indeed expressed, as expected, and where the *da-* clause takes reflexive *-za*.

iii, 46": It would seem that the sense "until now" would be appropriate here (as well as in iv 2', 5') — despite the fact that Aziru is already dead, the name functioning perhaps metonymically for Amurru — rather than "Now, ...", as in CHD Š, 168a, which after all is functionally and semantically no more than an interjection in English and does not convey the temporal aspect of the Hittite. (Whether *kinun(a)* functioned in Hittite in a similar manner would have to be the object of further study.) In any case, the usage "until now" is assum-

28. As suggested to me by E. Rieken (pers. comm.).

ed in HED K, 183, and some of Puhvel's (and other) examples indeed appear to require such an interpretation.

iii, 48": *kunwapi* seems to be used temporally; cf. CHD Š, 168a, "anyhow", which fits neither the temporal nor the spatial nuance generally associated with *kunwapi*.

iv, 1': For the phrase "to set (someone) on (his) way", cf. KUB 14.3 ii 57, 65, iii 6 (Tawagalawa Letter; see Miller 2006a); CHD P, 71b.

iv, 2', 5': See commentary to iii 46"; cf. CHD Š, 16a.

iv, 3', 6': Clearly three persons (king of Karkamiš, Tudḫaliya, Ḫalpaḫi) in the first list, four (king of Karkamiš, Tudḫaliya, Ḫalpaḫi, Tuppi-Teššub) in the second, as has traditionally been understood, e.g. by Güterbock (1954, 105) and Klengel (1963, 44-45). Recently, however, d'Alfonso (2005, 58, fn. 164) has argued that "Una traduzione 'il re di Karkemiš Tudḫaliya' è in realtà grammaticalmente più corretta," basing his conclusion primarily on the placement of the conjunction *-ia*. This leads him to suggest that this Tudḫaliya might be equated with J-Šarruma (KBo 4.4 i 12, iii 16), whom Mursili placed upon the throne after the death of Šarri-Kušuh, but who is more commonly equated with Šaḫurunuwa.²⁹ In fact, however, the placement of the conjunction in these two lists has no bearing whatsoever on whether "king of Karkamiš" stands in apposition to Tudḫaliya or not; that is to say, *-ia* would be appended to Ḫalpaḫi in the first list regardless of whether it contains two or three members, while the appearance of *-ia* twice in the second list is in any case anomalous and requires an extragrammatical explanation, regardless of whether it consists of three or four members. Enclitic *-ia* is as a rule appended to the last item in a list, not "al termine del secondo nome". Thus, in 3'-4' it is found as expected, while in 6'-7' its appearance is exceptional in that it is placed at the end of the list of three persons, as in 3'-4', but then is appended again to the last member of the list, who appears to have been tacked on as somewhat of an afterthought.³⁰ There are, however, further indications suggesting that Tudḫaliya should not be regarded as the king of Karkamiš in this paragraph. First is the position of *kuit* in 3', which would not be expected to intervene between "king of Karkamiš" and Tudḫaliya if they in fact stood in apposition, and which, as it stands, fills its normal position, i.e. generally after the first accented element in the sentence. Second, the expected word order if the two were in apposition would be Tudḫaliya LUGAL KUR^{URU} Karkamiš.³¹ Third, one

29. E.g. Klengel 1992, 123 and fn. 187; Hawkins 1976-80, 430a; Beal 2002, 57 and fn. 16; cf. Heinhold-Krahmer 2002, 372-375, who suggests that [...]Šarruma and Šaḫurunuwa would have been sons of Šarri-Kušuh who reigned one after the other. Cf. below and fn. 70. For a neo-Hittite Great King of Karkamiš named Tudḫaliya, see Hawkins, CHLI Vol. I, 76-77, 82; Vol. II, 590-591.

30. It may be that the usage is in fact grammatical, and functions to distinguish the first list from the second, i.e. "When, however, the king of Karkamiš, Tudḫaliya (^{7ft}) and Ḫalpaḫi, along with Tuppi-Teššub, come before My Majesty ...", which indeed would fit the fact that these three individuals are to be distinguished conceptually from Tuppi-Teššub, but I am not aware of any study of this phenomenon.

31. See already Güterbock 1954, 105a, for whom this point alone was enough to categorically exclude the alternative interpretation.

would not necessarily expect the name of the king of Karkamiš to be mentioned at all in such a text, just as the Priest of Aleppo is referred to not by name but merely by title, ^{LÚ}SANGA (iii 53"), as it was clear to all parties involved who was intended by the titles King of Karkamiš and Priest.

iv, 7': The name, of course, is Hurrian, Ḫalpa=ge, "the Ḫalabean".

Discussion

Though somewhat more than half of the text of this second of Mursili's dictates is still entirely or mostly missing, some matters can now be seen more clearly, the first quarter of it becoming generally intelligible, even if some details are still lost to the breaks.

With the beginning of the text it is clear that Tuppi-Teššub, the vassal king of Amurru, had complained to Mursili that [the king of Karkamiš], Tudḫaliya [and Ḫalpaḫi] had been giving him headaches (ii 39-42). Interestingly, this cursory statement is not immediately followed by a further exposition of what exactly his adversaries were doing that so troubled him, but by an equally succinct question posed by Mursili (ii 42-44). This might, of course, be no more than Mursili's way of summarizing the correspondence between them in which Tuppi-Teššub had made his case, but perhaps one should consider the possibility that this stylistic feature reflects rather a face to face conversation between the two, either when Mursili was in Syria during his 9th year or perhaps during some prescribed visit of Tuppi-Teššub in Ḫattusa.³²

Fortunately, the new joins appear to provide the lands with which Tudḫaliya and Ḫalpaḫi of ii 41f., iv 3'f., 6'f. were associated. If, as seems likely, [the king of Karkamiš], Tudḫaliya [and Ḫalpaḫi] in ii 41f. are to be associated in parallel fashion with Karkamiš, [GN] (perhaps Aštāt[a]) and Ḫalab in 51ff., then this question is answered, though new and perhaps equally challenging questions are raised (see presently). These three persons can now be seen to have gained control of the captives when the latter fled Amurru (ii 50), probably due to some imminent threat (ii 49), emigrating in a north-easterly direction to these three lands (ii 50ff.). Tuppi-Teššub appears to have requested of these three individuals that the captives be returned to him, if ii 53-55 can be so understood.

That Mursili's entire dictate is directed against these three individuals is suggested by their occurrence in ii 41f. as the characters who were troubling Tuppi-Teššub,³³ as well as

32. Cf. commentary to ii 53ff.

33. Meriggi (1973, 208), seems to have been the first to see that the text constitutes a decree against these three persons, as is clear from his description of it as an "Urteil, das zugunsten Duppi-tesups gegen den König von Kargamis nebst seinem Anhang (Tudḫaliya und Halpahi) ... gefällt wird", even if, as argued below, Tudḫaliya and Ḫalpaḫi were probably not *Anhänger* of the king of Karkamiš. E. von Schuler (1959, 469, fn. 67) understood the text similarly in his description of it as an "instruktionsähnliches Verbot für [Vasallen], dem D(uppi-Teššub) Gefangene fortzunehmen, die ihm aufgrund eines mit seinem Großvater Azira geschlossenen Vertrags (III 13 ff.) zustehen (III 1ff.)." It does not seem, however, that

the fact that in col. iv it is these three persons who are to appear, along with their accuser, Tuppi-Teššub, before Mursili in order to finally lay the matter to rest by sealing an agreement.³⁴ The reference to “cities” in iii 23' and 26", and (presumably) Tuppi-Teššub's accusation in iii 27"-29" that “[... the civilian captives which] they take away from me, they keep resettling [them i]n their city,”³⁵ point to Tudḫaliya [and Ḫalpaḫi] being mayors or governors³⁶ of some cities in GN (perhaps Aštata) and Ḫalab. That they would not have been the kings of their lands, but merely subordinate governors or mayors, is suggested first and foremost by the fact that neither is designated king, as is the king of Karkamiš.

Ḫalpaḫi is unfortunately otherwise unattested, so any attempt to ascertain his role must proceed from this text alone. It is highly likely that he is to be associated with Ḫalab, not only because of his name, but also because of the apparent parallel between the list of Tuppi-Teššub's three adversaries (ii 41f., iv 3'f., iv 6'f.) and the list of three lands to which the captives had fled (ii 51ff.). Just what role he played in Ḫalab, though, is more difficult to ascertain. He clearly was not the highest authority there, since disputes involving Ḫalpaḫi and other Syrian vassals and governors were to be decided by the Priest (of the storm-god of Ḫalab) (iii 53"ff.), a role filled by Telipinu until some time shortly before or during Mursili's 9th year and by his successor, Talmi-Šarruma, thereafter. That leaves at least two possibilities. First, that Ḫalpaḫi would have been the civilian governor and/or puppet king of Ḫalab, who ruled under the watchful eye of the Priest, the true authority in the land. This, however, seems unlikely, since Ḫalpaḫi is otherwise entirely unknown. If the Hittite overlords had retained such a puppet ruler, surely they would have made some use of him,

the captives belong to Tuppi-Teššub on the basis of the Aziru treaty — indeed according to that treaty he must turn them over to Ḫatti — but rather because Mursili had made a specific exception and decided to leave them in Amurru. It appears that von Schuler was also correct in his assumption that the king of Karkamiš should be included among the list of Tuppi-Teššub's antagonists (see below), based on the final section of the text in which it is stated that the king of Karkamiš, Tudḫaliya and Ḫalpaḫi, as well as Tuppi-Teššub, are to appear before Mursili to seal the tablets. Oddly, though, by several years later, von Schuler (1965, 458) had regressed in his understanding of the text, which he summarized thus: “Der Kontrahent (Mursilis) des anderen Urkundenteils ist Duppi-Tešub von Amurru. In ihm werden, unter Hinweis auf einen früheren Vertrag mit des Vasallen Großvater Azira, etliche strittige Punkte geregelt.”

34. From this “Schlussvermerk”, Klengel (2001a, 261) concludes that “für die Siegelung der Tafel auch die Zustimmung des Königs von Karkamiš notwendig sei,” but this is clearly not the intent of this addendum. Rather, it is the king of Karkamiš, Tudḫaliya and Ḫalpaḫi who are together to appear before Mursili, along with their accuser, Tuppi-Teššub, in order to accede to Mursili's dictate. The king of Karkamiš is given no special role here, despite his well-known position.
35. For thoughts on a more precise understanding of these lines, cf. commentary to iii 27".
36. This point was understood already by Bryce (1992, 16); cf. Freu 2002, 79.

and perhaps drawn up a treaty with him.³⁷ Second, and perhaps most likely, Ḫalpaḫi could have been the governor of some cities of the land of Ḫalab.³⁸

Ḫalpaḫi's status as a governor within Ḫalab might go some way in explaining another curious feature of this text, i.e. Mursili's command that such judicial matters were to be decided by the Priest, and only if they got out of hand were they to be referred to Ḫattusa (iii 53"-59").³⁹ This might suggest that Tuppi-Teššub originally attempted to attain the return of those captives which had fled to Ḫalab by writing to Ḫalpaḫi, but when this track failed, by appealing directly to Mursili, perhaps because he feared that an appeal to the Priest, the obvious next step in the situation as described, might not have favoured him, possibly because of the Priest's potentially vested interest in his subordinate's situation.

In light of what (admittedly little) can be said of Ḫalpaḫi, one might seek to ascribe a similar role to Tudḫaliya, i.e. that of governor or mayor within the land now missing from ii 52 (perhaps Aštatja).⁴⁰ That he bears a distinctively Anatolian name, however, indeed one often associated with the ruling family, gives one pause. In this case, then, the possibility that Tudḫaliya would indeed have been an agent of the Great King in the GN of ii 52 must be taken into account. It is known, of course, that such subordinates of the Great King were

37. And of course the only known treaty between Ḫatti and Ḫalab is that between Mursili and his nephew Talmi-Šarruma (in the replacement version prepared by Muwattalli II; see Beckman 1999, 88-90), suggesting that there would have been scant place for any native dynasty.
38. That Ḫalpaḫi would have been a second name of the Priest seems highly unlikely, *inter alia*, due the fact that this would result in the absurd situation in which the Priest was asked to adjudicate in a legal case in which he himself was implicated, though it must be granted that such travesties of justice are hardly unheard of when no adequate controls are in place.
39. More precisely, Mursili first instructs that the Priest is to mediate in judicial matters, whereupon one would expect that Mursili would say that if these matters are too serious for *him* (the Priest), then they were to be referred to Ḫattusa. Instead, he says that if they become too serious for *you* ^(pl), i.e. the three antagonists, then the matters are to be referred to Ḫattusa. In any case, this command is strikingly reminiscent of a passage in the *Instructions for Provincial Governors*, and suggests that Mursili was in fact conceptualizing the Priest's position in relation to Syria along the lines of a governor's responsibility to his province: "But if someone brings a law case, sealed with a wooden (or) a clay tablet, then the military governor shall decide the case properly, and he shall settle it. If, however, the case gets out of hand, he shall send it to My Majesty" (KUB 13.2 iii 21-24: *ma-a-an DI-NU-ma ku-iš / GIŠ.ḪUR tup-pi-a-az ši-ia-an ú-da-i nu a-ú-ri-ia-aš EN-aš DI-NAM / SIG₅-in ḫa-an-na-ú na-at-kán aš-ša-nu-ud-du ma-a-an-kán DI-NU-ma / šu-wa-at-ta-ri na-at MA-ḪAR^d UTU-ŠI up-pa-ú*); see similarly d'Alfonso 2005, 53-61.
40. Woolley (1955, 241) suggested that the Tudḫaliya on a relief found in Alalakh be equated with Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti (see also Klengel 1965, 254-255), but Güterbock (1954, 105 and fn. 15) opted for a Hittite prince in some office in Alalakh, even wondering if this official, called "great-[...], King's Son", could be equated with the Tudḫaliya of the present text. Unfortunately, Alalakh, as well as Mukiš, are excluded by the traces in ii 52, and therefore seem unlikely candidates for Tudḫaliya's revier. In this context the Tu(d)ḫaliya read by Mayer (2001, 15) in a text from Munbaqa should be mentioned, but the reading, identification and dating of this PN are quite uncertain (see e.g. Pruzsinszky 2004, 45-46), and any attempt to identify him with the Tudḫaliya of the text under discussion would be rash to say the least.

in fact sent to vassal states in Syria,⁴¹ but their precise roles are generally not known to us (cf. also fn. 39).⁴² It is known, though, that Mursili personally fortified Aštata in his 9th year and placed a garrison there (Götze 1933, 119-120), and one might speculate, assuming that ii 52 were indeed to be restored Aštata, that Tudḫaliya could have been the military governor in charge of it.⁴³

In any case, Tuppi-Teššub proceeds to explain that he had done something with those civilian captives that his grandfather, Aziru, his father, Ari-Teššub, and he himself had earlier dealt with in some manner (ii 44-48). Unfortunately, the operative words in both cases are broken away, and one can only suppose that he had perhaps either settled or extradited (ii 48) captives that Aziru, Ari-Teššub and he had previously transported or extradited (ii 47). It may be that Tuppi-Teššub is claiming⁴⁴ that he had always acted in accordance with his treaty obligations. Up to this point Tuppi-Teššub appears to be describing the situation as it had long been,⁴⁵ with the implication that everything was to the satisfaction of all parties involved. From this point (ii 48ff.), however, the situation changes decidedly when these captives hear of some event (ii 49), probably of a martial nature, which causes them to flee north-eastwards to Karkamiš, to [GN] (perhaps Aštata) and to Ḫalab.

41. E.g. in the treaty between Suppiluliuma and Aziru: “[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” (iii 4’ff., trans. by Singer 2003, 94b); and in Mursili’s treaty with Tuppi-Teššub: “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” (ii 30’ff., *ibid.*, 97a).
42. For the Hittite administration in Syria, see recently d’Alfonso 2005; Klengel 2001a; 2001b; Yamada 2006.
43. That Mursili’s campaign to Karkamiš and Aštata in his 9th year would have been due to an Assyrian threat is based entirely on Götze’s (1933, 117, 247-248; cf. del Monte 1993, 94) unlikely restorations to KBo 4.4 ii 34ff. The defeat of Karkamiš is restored in l. 40 at the hands of the Assyrians restored in l. 43, and is by no means necessitated by the context. On the contrary, the beginning of the paragraph (KBo 4.4 ii 34ff.) may well return to the scene in Kizzuwatna and the death of (and burial rites for?) Šarri-Kušūḫ and/or relate the report of unrest in Syria in its wake rather than the continuation of the events of the preceding paragraph (cf. del Monte 1993, 94); ll. 40f. might just as well be restored “[But my father had defeated the land of] Karkamiš and [pacified] it” (cf. ii 44f.), or similarly; and the context of l. 43 would allow for practically any land or person to be restored, or perhaps more likely, simply, “if [(all) the lands]” or “if [the enemy lands] had heard about it.” Further, the paragraph does not suggest that Mursili campaigned to Karkamiš and fortified Aštata in the face of any military threat, but because he was afraid of the derision that would come his way if he were to be perceived as so weak that he was obliged to fight battles in his own back yard instead of personally taking charge in Syria after the death of Šarri-Kušūḫ. Unfortunately, the imaginative scenario of an Assyrian invasion and defeat of Karkamiš, for which there exists no evidence whatsoever, has become common knowledge among Hittitologists and, despite del Monte’s recent prudence, has been uncritically followed in recent histories, e.g. Bryce 1998, 221-222; Klengel 1999, 198.
44. Or rather that Mursili is asserting that Tuppi-Teššub had claimed so; this is, after all, Mursili’s tendentious (re)telling of the matter.
45. Though “long” in this case may be only a matter of a couple years, if one assumes that most of these events occurred during the upheavals in Syria from Mursili’s 7th to 9th years; cf. below and fn. 69.

However the following sentence is to be understood precisely (ii 53-55), it seems that Tuppi-Teššub felt frustrated that his diplomatic efforts at regaining these civilian captives had been to no effect, and it is in response to this situation that Mursili had formulated an initial decree or agreement (ii 55ff.). To whom the decree was directed is not stated explicitly, but most likely it would have been to those who were frustrating Tuppi-Teššub's repatriation efforts. It is highly interesting that Mursili had issued this first decree, presumably aimed at solving the problem just described, despite of which he must issue the dictate of the present text, as if no one had paid any attention to him.⁴⁶ Presumably the ensuing events and statements now lost from the upper half of col. iv would have shed light on this curious situation.

From Mursili's citation of his decree within a decree (ii 55ff.) we also learn that the civilian captives at issue were from Kinahḫa.⁴⁷ While the usage of this term varies to some degree in cuneiform inscriptions of the Late Bronze Age,⁴⁸ the most obvious interpretation for present purposes is that it refers to the land(s) immediately south of Amurru, at this time the northernmost Egyptian territories. It would seem likely that the term is employed here in a rather vague manner — as opposed to a specific city-state with a single vassal rul-

46. Perhaps explaining Mursili's bold decision to crack down on the king of Karkamiš; cf. below and fn. 54, as well as the commentary to iii 27".
47. Now that it is seen that the refugees were from Kinahḫa, it seems possible that KBo 18.88, a letter of which only the upper right of the obv. and lower right of the rev. are preserved (Hagenbuchner 1989, Nr. 93), might touch on the same or related events. It is from a servant, perhaps a vassal, of the Great King in which Kinahḫa also occurs, along with traders who had apparently been the topic of previous correspondence, and Sutean troops. Of course, it would be quite brazen to assume that this letter represents a missive (or a Hittite copy thereof) from Tuppi-Teššub to Mursili, and one certainly cannot simply assume that the NAM.RA of Mursili's dictate and the DAM.GAR of KBo 18.88 are to be equated, but one might consider the possibility that among the refugees were also traders, and that these were the topic of this portion of the correspondence. As far as I can gather from photos of the fragment, nothing in its palaeography would militate against a dating to the reign of Mursili II. Unfortunately the state of preservation of the letter allows scarcely more to be said. Another possibility, albeit equally speculative, is that the Zirtaya episode of KUB 19.15++ col. i, in which an Egyptian vassal sought asylum with the Hittites, might be connected with these civilian captives from Kinahḫa. As suggested in my presentation of that text (Miller, in press a), Zirtaya's defection would likely have happened in Mursili's 7th year, which would fit well the assumption that the present text was composed shortly after his 9th year. And of course the Egyptian vassal Zirtaya hailed most likely from the northernmost part of Egyptian territory, since only if his land bordered on Hittite territory would it make much sense for him to ask to be taken into the Hittite fold. Of course, if this Zirtaya of KUB 19.15++ can indeed be equated with either Zitriyara of EA 211-213 (and perhaps 214) or Zirdamyašda of EA 234, a former subordinate of Damascus (Miller, in press a), then his placement in the northernmost Egyptian territories would be assured. Also of interest is the fact that in an evocation ritual (CTH 483; KUB 15.34++ i 54f.) Iyaruwatta, i.e. the subject of the first composition of KBo 3.3++, is followed by Qatanna, Alalah and Kinahḫa; cf. Forlanini 1999, 12-13.
48. See Weippert 1976-80; RGTC 12/2, 162-163, where the territory is defined as "das Gebiet und die Provinz südlich von Amurru. Ein Territorium, das nördlich bis Byblos, südlich bis Gaza, westlich bis ans Mittelmeer und östlich bis an den Jordan reichte."

er — referring to a geographical region encompassing perhaps the lands of Upe and Amqu, or parts thereof. This would appear to match the usage of the name just a generation later as found in the correspondence between Ramses II and Ḫattusili III, in which a meeting of the two Great Kings in Kinahḫa is proposed.⁴⁹

It is intriguing that Mursili in this citation of his earlier decree appears to hold the prospect of a peace agreement with Egypt as a real possibility (ii 57f.), despite Egyptian attempts to regain, or at least intervene in the affairs of, Amurru under 'Arma'a in Mursili's 9th year (KUB 19.15++ ii; Miller, in press a), which cannot have occurred all that long before the present text was written. Depending on what exactly stood in the last line of the column (ii 61), it would seem that Mursili recognized that the civilian captives from Kinahḫa were in fact rightfully Egyptian subjects, and that a peace agreement with Egypt would likely entail having to return these captives to their homeland. Indeed, this fact might even provide (some part of) the rationale for Mursili's decision to leave them with Tuppi-Teššub in Amurru instead of having them deported to Ḫattusa, as was his prerogative according to the treaties with Amurru. It may be that Mursili hoped to use the captives as a bargaining chip of sorts in the event of peace negotiations with Egypt. A further element in his rationale was likely the vital importance of Amurru in its function as a buffer state between Ḫatti's Syrian possessions and the major threat to them, Egypt. Mursili thus might have been well aware of the potential of losing Amurru to Egypt if Tuppi-Teššub was not satisfied with the reaction to his plea. As I. Singer has phrased it, "returning some Canaanite refugees to Duppi-Teššub was a petty price to pay, even at the cost of scolding the Viceroy of Karkamiš and his companions. A similar policy was pursued *vis-à-vis* Emar, where the Hittite king ruled in a local dispute in favour of Zu-Ba'la and against his own governor" (pers. comm. 7.12.06).⁵⁰

From this point the orphaned words of the upper half of col. iii yield too little context for one to be able to reconstruct the narrative. It would appear that Mursili's quote from his decree concerning the civilian captives of Kinahḫa continues, though for how far is difficult to say, perhaps through l. 17', after which the historical narrative seems perhaps to be resumed. Judging from the context of the lower half of col. iii, it may be that Mursili continues his decree by saying that if no peace is concluded with Egypt (note ^dUTU-ŠI *menahḫanda* in iii 1), then the captives will remain in Amurru as subjects of Tuppi-Teššub. Lines 19'-25" may perhaps constitute further narrative by Mursili, judging from the past tense verb form and the ^dUTU-ŠI.

By iii 25" at the latest it seems clear that Tuppi-Teššub is again speaking. If so, then he refers to something, presumably the civilian captives, that "you", probably Mursili, "keep giving [me³]" (B iii 5), perhaps a reference to Mursili's decision to allow these captives to remain in Amurru, and it seems clear that they were being settled by Tuppi-Teššub's adversaries in their own cities to which the captives had fled (B iii 6'; A iii 28"ε). This is the last

49. See overview and further refs. in Klengel 1999, 260-261.

50. For the situation concerning Zu-Ba'la, based on the letters Msk. 73.1097, from the Great King to Alzi-yamuwa, and BLMJ-C 37, from the king of Karkamiš to the same, see Singer 1999, 65-72.

scrap of information from Tuppi-Teššub himself describing the problem at hand. Any further understanding of it must be gleaned from Mursili's resulting rebuke of Tuppi-Teššub's antagonists.

As intimated above, it is primarily in the assumption of a treaty infraction on the part of Tuppi-Teššub that I believe most earlier interpretations have gone awry. Klengel (1963, 53), e.g., writes, "Gemäss einer Klausel des Vertrages zwischen Šuppiluliuma von Ḫatti und Aziru von Amurru, die wörtlich wiedergegeben wird, war Amurru zur Auslieferung von Flüchtlingen an Ḫatti verpflichtet. Obwohl das bislang versäumt worden war, stellt sich Muršili hier auf die Seite des Duppi-Tešup." Similarly, Beckman (1999, 170) assumes that, "Apparently the rulers of Amurru had been tardy in turning such persons over to the local Hittite authorities, who had finally taken matters into their own hands. Surprisingly, the Great King here takes the side of his vassal, disavowing an immediate interest in the captives and chastising his own subordinates for their independent action in taking possession of them." And Bryce (1992, 16) writes, "The Amurru king's failure to hand over transportees to Muršili was clearly in breach of the treaty which Muršili (sic) had drawn up with his grandfather Aziru (lines 14-20). And, on the surface at least, the intervention by the third party may have been prompted by Duppi-Tešub's illegal detention of the transportees."⁵¹

I would like to suggest, in contrast, that Amurru had in Mursili's estimation at no time failed to live up to its treaty obligations with regard to the extradition of civilian captives. Admittedly, some of Mursili's argumentation does not at first glance seem to aim at demonstrating this point, but this potential objection appears to be surmountable. It seems clear that Mursili composed this dictate with the reasoning of his addressees in mind, whether they had written to him attempting to explain their actions or since he only imagined what they must have been thinking. Apparently, judging from Mursili's train of argumentation, Tuppi-Teššub's antagonists had been claiming that he was holding civilian captives that he should have turned over to Mursili, and that they were therefore justified in retaining them and settling them in their own cities. Mursili rejects this reasoning by emphasizing several points.

First, he claims that if the issue had needed to be addressed, he would have done so himself, i.e. he does not need anyone usurping his authority and deciding how he deals with such matters (iii 32"ff., 49"ff.). Second, he says that if it had been his desire that the matter be addressed, he would have taken the captives to Ḫattusa (iii 35"), an argument perhaps intended to highlight the fact that his addressees' explanations were not entirely convincing, since if they had indeed been acting with Tuppi-Teššub's obligations to Ḫatti as their main concern, they would have extradited them to Ḫattusa rather than settle them in their own

51. A rather different, perhaps somewhat inexact, interpretation of the dictate was offered by Cornelius 1973, 191-192: "Etwas später mag der Text fallen, in welchem Mursilis dem Duppi-Teschup von Amurru und zwei anderen sonst nicht bekannten Dynasten vorschreibt: Wenn sie sich gegenseitig die Einwohner von Orten wegschnappten, so sollten sie darüber nicht Krieg anfangen, sondern es der 'Sonne' melden; dann werde er den Fall untersuchen und das Recht wiederherstellen. Das heißt, Mursilis will anstelle des herrschenden Faustrechts in diesen Gegenden den Landfrieden durchführen."

cities. Third, he emphasizes that they simply had no authority to interfere in such matters (iii 36"ff.). Fourth, and certainly the most decisive indication that Mursili in no way regarded Tuppi-Teššub as in violation of his treaty obligations, is the sentence following the quote from the Aziru treaty, according to which Aziru had indeed turned over, or at least offered to turn over, the civilian captives in question to Mursili (iii 46"ff.). Here he makes it clear that the kings of Amurru had offered to hand over the captives in full accord with the requirements of their treaties, and the implication is that Mursili either sent them back to Amurru at some point or, perhaps more likely, decided at the outset that Amurru should retain control of them.

That said, the quotation from the treaty between Suppiluliuma and Aziru (iii 41"ff.) does not initially appear to advance Mursili's otherwise clear chain of argumentation. While I can offer no authoritative solution as to why Mursili chose to include precisely this passage in his rebuke, it might be that it was intended as more of a rhetorical concession to the claims being made by the antagonists than as part of his argumentation per se. That is to say, it may be that Tuppi-Teššub's antagonists were referring, either explicitly or only implicitly, to such a clause in some Amurru treaty in explaining why they had interfered, and Mursili may be saying, to paraphrase, "Yes, of course, his treaty obligations require him to turn over such civilian captives, and if he had not done so, or offered to do so, I would have dealt with the matter in my own good time and in my own way."⁵² Still, it should perhaps be emphasized again that Mursili presents the situation as such that Amurru in general and Tuppi-Teššub in particular had never in any way been in violation of their treaty obligations in regard to these civilian captives.⁵³

In any case, Mursili's essential dictate, the text's climax and central message for Tuppi-Teššub's antagonists (at least insofar as is it is preserved for us), comes with iii 51"f.: "Stop taking those civilian captives away from Tuppi-Teššub now!"

If the interpretation of the text thus far is correct, then we must deal with the striking conclusion that Mursili rebukes not only some subordinate governors of [GN] (perhaps Aštatja) and Ḫalab, but also the viceroy in Karkamiš. This might suggest that the text was composed after Mursili's 9th year, as it would be more difficult to imagine that the relatively young Mursili would rebuke his older brother and long-reigning king of Karkamiš, Šarri-Kušuh, perhaps easier to imagine if it is a matter of Mursili's nephew, Šarri-Kušuh's son,

52. Alternatively, though this seems somehow less likely, perhaps Mursili's emphasis in this particular quote from the Aziru treaty is on "If I, My Majesty" beset some land, then the civilian captives belong to me, as opposed to "if you, of your own accord," do so, or "if (e.g.) the king of Egypt" does so. I.e. perhaps Mursili is saying, paraphrasing again, "According to the Aziru agreement, only if I myself beset some land is Amurru required to turn over any resulting civilian captives to me; if Amurru's own conflict with some Egyptian land results in the taking of civilian captives, or if the king of Egypt's actions have such a result, then Amurru can keep them."

53. Whether this was indeed the case or not is another question.

Šaḫuruwuwa, whom Mursili himself had installed on the throne in his 9th year.⁵⁴ Regardless of who currently occupied the throne in Karkamiš, Mursili's bold decision to rebuke him could be seen in at least two ways. It may have been a rash, irresponsible act with the potential to drive a bitter wedge between Ḫattusa and what must have been politically, strategically and economically an increasingly powerful kingdom. In view of what is now known about the dangerous conflicts toward the end of the Empire period between Ḫattusa and its appanage kingdoms, particularly Tarḫuntassa, this had the potential of being a disastrous misstep. On the other side of the same coin, it may have been a calculated attempt aimed at making an explicit statement of authority in order to stunt any grandiose ambitions on the part of the king of Karkamiš, and this seems not unlikely in light of the fact that Mursili's initial decree regarding the captives from Kinahḫa (ii 57ff.) appears to have been entirely ignored by the parties involved, prompting the second dictate and the demand that the parties appear before Mursili in Ḫattusa to submit to it.

It is no less surprising that the Priest (of the storm-god of Ḫalab) — i.e. the recently installed Talmi-Šarruma if, as seems likely, the text is to be dated to shortly after Mursili's 9th year (see above and fn. 24) — was entrusted at this point even with such politically weighty matters as disputes among the viceroy of Karkamiš and other Syrian governors on the one hand, and Syrian vassals such as the important land of Amurru on the other (iii 53"ff.). This is obviously not the picture we are accustomed to.⁵⁵ In seeking for an explanation for this state of affairs, two possibilities come to mind. First, it may be that this was the pecking order shortly after the essentially simultaneous appointments of the two young rulers of Karkamiš and Ḫalab toward the end of Mursili's 9th year, but that this hierarchy was inverted soon afterward to favour Karkamiš. Second, it may be that the king of Karkamiš, despite appearances in this text, was nevertheless the highest authority in Syria, but due to the particular circumstance of the king of Karkamiš being implicated in the case brought by Tuppi-Teššub, a deciding judge had to be found, and the Priest in Ḫalab was the obvious choice. Still, iii 53"ff. does leave one with the impression that it is the Priest who is to act as the arbiter and final authority in Syrian disputes in general — unless they are so grave that they must be referred to the Great King himself — not merely in the particular case at hand. Hence, the precise status of the Priest of Ḫalab in relation to the king of Karkamiš as reflected in this text and its implications for the relationship in general are questions which must apparently remain open for the time being.

54. On the other hand, one could, with similar reasoning, argue that these characters completely ignoring Mursili's first decree could more easily be reconciled with the assumption that they, including the established Šarri-Kušuḫ, held the young Great King in contempt, and that the second dictate as preserved for us constitutes a final showdown, in which Mursili eventually proved victorious. This, however, would not correspond with what is otherwise known of the relationship between Mursili and Šarri-Kušuḫ. It is possible, of course, that Mursili's first decree was ignored by Šarri-Kušuḫ, who would thus have been testing the limits of the relationship between them, and that the second dictate was directed to the new king, Šaḫuruwuwa, but the evidence is too slight, the chronology of events too uncertain, to warrant such a conclusion.

55. E.g. Klengel 2001b; Imparati 2003; d'Alfonso 2005, 41-63, 195-196.

Summary

The addition of four further fragments to the second composition of KBo 3.3++ adds significantly to our understanding of Mursili II's dealings with Syria, likely shortly after his 9th year. First, it is now clear that the text as a whole constitutes a dictate by Mursili directed at the king of Karkamiš, likely Šaḥurunuwa, Tudḥaliya, probably the governor of [GN] (perhaps Aštat]a), and Ḫalpaḫi, apparently a governor of some cities in the land of Ḫalab. Mursili formulated his decree in response to complaints about or a suit levelled against these individuals by Tuppi-Teššub, the new king of Amurru. As can be gleaned from the remnants of his indictment, quoted at length (and likely tendentiously) by Mursili, Tuppi-Teššub claims that his grandfather, Aziru, his father, Ari-Teššub, and he had consistently dealt with certain civilian captives or refugees from Kinahḫa, i.e. Egypt's northernmost territories, in full accord with Amurru's treaty obligations with Ḫatti. Difficulties began, though, when these captives fled Amurru, probably due to an impending conflict, to Karkamiš, [GN] (perhaps Aštat]a) and Ḫalab. Tuppi-Teššub's efforts to convince the king of Karkamiš, Tudḥaliya and Ḫalpaḫi to return these refugees, however, were to no avail, prompting Mursili to issue a first decree, presumably directed at the same three individuals. In this first decree, cited within the text of his dictate, Mursili stipulated that if he were to succeed in attaining a peace agreement with Egypt, then — assuming the broken text at this point is correctly understood — the captives would have to be returned to Egypt. One can assume that the following break related what was to be done with the captives if no peace with Egypt could be concluded, and it may be speculated that in this case, they were to remain in Amurru. Whatever it was that Mursili stipulated in this first decree was apparently largely ignored, since, once the text becomes legible again, Mursili quotes Tuppi-Teššub as claiming that his antagonists continue to resettle the captives in their cities, a situation which leads to Mursili formulating the dictate constituted by the text at hand.

Apart from the new information yielded by the joins, it is further suggested that some previously known portions of the text should be understood differently than they traditionally have been. In the bottom half of col. iii Mursili makes it clear to the king of Karkamiš, Tudḥaliya and Ḫalpaḫi that Tuppi-Teššub and his predecessors had never in any way abrogated their treaty obligations toward Ḫatti, that their retention of the Kinahḫean captives was therefore not in Ḫattusa's interests, and that they should desist immediately. Though the formulation is somewhat odd (see fn. 39), it seems clear that they are further instructed no longer to decide on such weighty matters on their own, but to refer them first to the Priest in Ḫalab, by this time probably Talmi-Šarruma, and if the matter was graver still, to Mursili himself. And in fact the matter reached Mursili, indeed for a second time, becoming serious enough that all parties involved, the king of Karkamiš, Tudḥaliya, Ḫalpaḫi and Tuppi-Teššub, were to appear before Mursili in order to signal their acquiescence to Mursili's dictate.

As briefly intimated already, it seems likely enough that the two judgements of this tablet, the so-called *Barga Arbitration* and *Mursili's Dictate*, can be associated with events of Mursili's 7th and 9th years, respectively. From these two arbitrations, from Mursili's Annals, including the new join to year 7 (Miller 2007), and from KUB 19.15++ (Miller, in press a and

b), a clearer picture of the situation in Syria between Mursili's 7th and 9th years can now be constructed.⁵⁶

Whether the *Barga Arbitration* deals with Mursili's conflict with Tette before his flight to Egypt or after his release (see presently) cannot be ascertained for certain on present evidence, but it may be suggested that its events are to be placed at an early stage of Tette's rebellion, before his escape to Egypt. If so, then it is seen from the *Barga Arbitration* that Tette's (and EN-urta's) insurrection consisted above all of attempts to expand his sphere of influence at the expense of neighbouring Hittite vassals. Mursili responded at this stage by encouraging Tette's Syrian opponents, and perhaps members of his own family (see Miller 2007, fn. 8), to act against him, whereupon a large gap in the text ensues.⁵⁷ The last portion of the *Barga Arbitration* makes it clear that Mursili had either campaigned to Syria himself or, perhaps no less likely, that he had sent a military expedition to deal with the situation, and this might be a reference to his sending of Kantuzili and Šarri-Kušuh as related in the 7th year of the Annals (see presently).

The former option, i.e. that Mursili campaigned personally in Syria early in his 7th year, was favoured by Bryce (1988, 25-28). His preference was based 1) in large part on the assumption that KUB 19.31 constituted the first preserved portion of the Annals of Mursili's 7th year, which must now be discarded; 2) on a literal understanding of Mursili's claim in the *Barga Arbitration* that "I, My Majesty, completely destroyed EN-urta along with his house and his land. His kingship, his throne, his house and his land which I spared, I gave to Abiradda. Then I made him king in the Land of Barga" (KBo 3.3++ ii 1-5); 3) and on the possibility that §§4 and 13 of the treaty between Mursili and Tuppi-Teššub might also be literally interpreted as suggesting that Mursili acted personally in Syria, and that these events might be related to those of his 7th year. Unfortunately, it seems that this question must remain open.⁵⁸ While Bryce's suggestion remains a possibility, it might also be the case that the passages in the *Barga Arbitration* and especially in the treaty⁵⁹ can be interpreted as Mur-

56. This brief sketch attempts first and foremost to place the information from these newly won texts or text passages within a historical framework for these years. Since this article postdates Miller in press a, in press b, and 2007, it should be viewed as superceding the former in those few points in which they diverge slightly. For further events and discussion, see Bryce 1998, 216-223; Klengel 1999, 196-200.
57. Following this gap is found, in B (KUB 19.41++ ii 1-3), "... he was his brother ... he turned to the land of Ḫatti, and he became a vassal of My Majesty," which could conceivably be understood as a reference to a brother of Tette, perhaps Šummittara or Ḫuya, having deposed the rebel and submitted to Ḫatti. While this remains a distinct possibility, it is not necessitated by the fragmentary passage.
58. As must the question of whether Tette would have been able to stage a counter-coup after having been released, as suggested by Bryce 1988, 28. That said, it remains the case that, "we have no surviving evidence of a coup" (Bryce 1998, 218, fn. 34).
59. It seems that particularly in regard to Mursili's claim in the treaty one should exercise caution, since in the prologues of these treaties it is always the relationship of the vassal and his family to the sovereign and his family that is related, and should not be taken as an indication of whether or not a Hittite king campaigned personally or not in any given historical episode. The formulation in the *Barga Arbitration* would seem perhaps more likely to indicate Mursili's personal involvement.

sili taking credit for successes in Syria that were not necessarily his personal handiwork.⁶⁰ If Bryce's suggestion does turn out to be correct, Mursili's campaign presumably would have found mention in the missing portions of the 7th year of his Annals before KUB 14.17+KBo 50.30 ii, in which he is seen dealing with the Syrian situation from afar.⁶¹

The next events of Mursili's year 7 are likely those of KUB 19.15++ col. i, in which he relates that Tette of Nuḫḫašše had appealed to one 'Arma'a, likely Haremhab in his role as commander of Egypt's Asian possessions (Miller, in press a and b), to provide him an escort to safety in Egypt. 'Arma'a complies by sending forces to accompany him, Tette flees with them, and Mursili's ensuing extradition requests are simply ignored. Mursili is thus delighted when, in parallel fashion, Zirtaya, an Egyptian vassal presumably from the northernmost reaches of Egyptian territory, appeals to Mursili for his protection, which he naturally grants, bringing him to "Ḫattusa".⁶² 'Arma'a is quite irked by this turn of events and demands that Zirtaya be turned over to him, which Mursili rejects, happily pointing out that 'Arma'a never bothered to respond to his similar request for Tette's extradition.⁶³

The first preserved paragraph of the 7th year of Mursili's Annals (Miller 2007) appears essentially to continue the narrative from KUB 19.15++ col. i.⁶⁴ This paragraph contains what seems to be Mursili's recollection of Egypt's, likely 'Arma'a's,⁶⁵ refusal to extradite

60. As suggested in Miller (in press a, fn. 24). Another possibility would be that Mursili's claim in the *Barga Arbitration* to have destroyed EN-urta is made retrospectively, i.e. that he dealt with Tette's rebellion in year 7 from afar, then destroyed EN-urta as part of his Syrian campaign in year 9. Nothing in the *Barga Arbitration* necessitates that all its events occurred in the same year.
61. Moreover, if Mursili in fact campaigned to Syria personally in year 7, there would be little reason to attribute the events of cols. i and ii of KUB 19.15++ to years 7 and 9, respectively, as opposed to attributing the events of both columns to year 7 alone or to year 9 alone (cf. Miller, in press a). This, however, would have only a negligible effect on the chronological scheme I presented based on that text (Miller, in press a, Fig. 3; in press b, fns. 92 and 118).
62. Whether Mursili literally brought Zirtaya to Ḫattusa, perhaps in order to negotiate a vassal treaty with him, or whether Ḫattusa here is to be understood as Ḫatti, i.e. Hittite Syria, cannot be determined from Mursili's curt description, but I suspect that the latter is the case.
63. Surely 'Arma'a's perception of events would have been quite different, and it can be assumed that Mursili's version is a mixture of half-truths and tendentious distortions.
64. While it does not seem that KUB 19.15++ belongs to the Annals themselves, neither can the possibility be categorically excluded.
65. This contrasts with my earlier interpretation of the initial paragraph of KUB 14.17+KBo 50.30 ii (Miller 2007), where I assumed, following earlier commentators (e.g. Bryce 1998, 217), that it would have been some Syrian vassal or vassals, perhaps some of the other kings of Nuḫḫašše, who refused to extradite the prisoner. The suggestion that this Egyptian with whom Mursili quarrelled may have been 'Arma'a is based on KUB 19.15++ i, in which Mursili is attested as corresponding with him concerning Tette (cf. fn. 66). The remnants of ll. 3'-4' of KUB 14.17+KBo 50.30 ii would thus consist of Mursili quoting 'Arma'a speaking of himself and Mursili in the 1st pl. (alternatively, but less likely, of himself as part of Egypt) and their dealings with the Syrian vassals, which recalls Mursili's use of the 1st pl. at the end of KUB 19.15++ i. One would thus want to understand ll. 5'-7' as Mursili quoting 'Arma'a saying, "The prisoner, the *Nuḫašše*an, whom I *had held* [a]s^(?) a prisoner, I released back to his wife (and) his sons," though I am still unable to make sense of the sign at the beginning of l. 6', and the syntax of *appan*[a²]

Tette to Ḫattusa following his flight, though it must be emphasized that the name Tette nowhere appears in the Annals; it remains an assumption that the reference to “the prisoner” relates to Tette. It was thus Egypt that refused to extradite the prisoner, releasing him to his clan instead, leaving to Mursili the task of neutralizing him. Tette's and the Nuḫḫaššeian kings' rebellion, along with Egypt's refusal to extradite the prisoner and its decision to essentially release him,⁶⁶ amounted to a *casus belli* for Mursili, and in the following paragraph of the Annals (KUB 14.17++ ii 21'-29') Mursili therefore sends his brother Šarri-Kušuh and his general Kantuzili to meet the threat,⁶⁷ which is apparently banished for the

barkun remains elusive. Mursili's response, “The prisoner in no way would have complained/conspired,” is thus seen in new light as well. It seems that 'Arma'a elected to return the prisoner to his own clan rather than to Mursili directly, though the reasons for his wariness are lost in this all too terse summary, and Mursili's line of reasoning remains largely opaque. The following lines might be interpreted as suggesting that Mursili, 'Arma'a and even the prisoner had come to terms regarding the latter's extradition to Ḫattusa (perhaps in exchange for Zirtaya of KUB 19.15++ i?), but that the agreement was scuttled by 'Arma'a's renegeing and his release of the prisoner (at least in Mursili's skewed view), apparently with the intent that the extradition be (re)negotiated between the prisoner's clan and Mursili: “They will take up again that matter of the prisoner.” This interpretation, however, remains uncertain due to some difficulties in understanding the precise intent of Mursili's formulation. However these details are to be understood, it is clear that Mursili blamed his failure to get his hands on the prisoner on his Syrian vassals and on Egypt, and saw this failure as sufficient grounds for considering his vassals renegade, cursed by the oath deities. Perhaps speaking for the earlier interpretation, i.e. that it is other Syrian vassals who are refusing to extradite the prisoner, are 1) the last lines of col. i of the *Barga Arbitration*, as noted earlier (Miller 2007, 528-529 and fn. 8), where Mursili speaks of the possibility of some of Tette's Syrian rivals and/or family capturing and extraditing him: ⁽²⁶⁾ “If not (i.e. if Mursili does not conquer Iyaruwadda), however, then as long as I, My Majesty, have not yet conquered the city Iyaruwadda, and they, Tette's son or Tette's brother, *get the upper hand* (*peran wahnumwanzi*), ⁽²⁹⁾ and they kill Tette, or he grabs him, ⁽³⁰⁾ and he extradites him to me, but he says, ‘Here in this place I am the servant of My Majesty’, then I, My Majesty, will not take the city [Iy]aruwatta away from him. ⁽³³⁾ I will take [...] If not, however, [...] before/forth [...] ⁽³⁴⁾ someone [...] they kill Tetti, ⁽³⁵⁾ [...] Tetti [...] in the Land of [...]” (KBo 3.3++ i 26-36); and 2) the passage from the treaty between Mursili and Tuppi-Teššub in which Mursili forbids his vassal exactly the kind of prevarication that so irritated Mursili in the first preserved portion of the 7th year of the Annals (Miller 2007): “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: ‘[...], go where (you want to) go; I do not know you’ — (thereby) you will break the oath of the gods” (A ii 38'-45'; Singer 2003, 97a).

66. If this is indeed the case, it may be that the first paragraph of KUB 14.17+KBo 50.30 ii and KUB 19.15++ i present two entirely different versions of Mursili's attempts to obtain Tette's extradition and 'Arma'a's refusal. In the former, Mursili repeatedly makes his case for the extradition, and 'Arma'a repeatedly offers excuses for failing to comply. In the latter, Mursili makes his request and is simply ignored.
67. Whether the Hittite forces actually engaged the Egyptians and how the cryptic messages of the following paragraph (“«Die ägyptischen Truppen sind geschlagen, [und sie] sind heimgezogen.» Und zunächst kamen die ägyptischen Truppen nicht”) are to be understood remain uncertain; see Klengel 1999, 197 and fn. 271). I tend to assume that the truth lies closer to the latter statement, i.e. that the Egyptian

remainder of year 7. Šarri-Kušuh's request for the aid of Niqmaddu II, the king of Ugarit, in subduing Tette's rebellion (RS 17.334) is likely to be associated with these events, since Šarri-Kušuh died early in year 9, before the rebellion broke out anew. The rest of the Annals of year 7 tells of campaigns in Anatolia, the only further reference to Syrian affairs being the mention of Šarri-Kušuh's coming to Anatolia to aid his brother, perhaps indicating that the Syrian situation had been stabilized rather quickly, significantly before the end of the campaigning season.⁶⁸

Though admittedly speculative, it seems not unlikely that it would have been these events of Mursili's 7th year — Tette's troublemaking, Kantuzili and Šarri-Kušuh's campaign, and above all 'Arma'a sending troops to escort Tette to Egypt — which led to the Kinahḫeans, perhaps including Zirtaya and his people, fleeing their homeland and settling in Amurru, at which time Aziru, still king in Amurru, would have settled them in his land, presumably with Mursili's consent.⁶⁹ His son, Ari-Teššub, would have maintained the policy during his ephemeral reign, likewise Tuppi-Teššub at the beginning of his.

Year 8 seems also to have been devoted to Anatolian affairs, in which Šarri-Kušuh was again able to participate, perhaps suggesting that things remained calm in Syria during this year. That said, the Annals are obviously too poorly preserved at this point to allow any definitive statement.

Year 9 of the Annals begins in Anatolia where Year 8 had left off before relating that Šarri-Kušuh died while consulting with Mursili in Kizzuwatna. This — along with the death of Telipinu, which must have occurred at roughly the same time, though no account of it is preserved — was likely the catalyst for the renewed Syrian rebellion (see e.g. fn. 43), which finds mention in the ensuing paragraph. Instead of campaigning himself in Syria, though, Mursili first sends his general Kurunta to Nuḫḫašše, which he subdues. Nuḫḫašše was apparently supported by Aitakkama of Qadeš, but Kurunta's success led Niqmaddu, Aitakkama's son, to kill his father and attempt to reconcile his land to Ḫatti, a gesture which Mursili initially spurned, allowing Qadeš likewise to be taken. After entrusting his generals with the continuation of the Anatolian expeditions, and after a break of some 15 lines, Mursili treks to Syria himself in year 9, to Karkamiš and to Aštata, which he fortifies and garrisons. Here he also receives the submission of Niqmaddu of Qadeš, which he had initially refused out of a now apparently superfluous piety. Mursili relates that he had rectified the situation in Karkamiš, installing]-Šarruma, the son of Šarri-Kušuh, on the throne of

troops, perhaps sent merely in a show of force or as a prophylactic measure, were never actually engaged, and that Mursili here pretends to have interpreted their caution as having defeated them.

68. This, in turn, would seem to leave little time for a personal campaign of Mursili to Syria early in year 7, but cannot categorically exclude it either.
69. Alternatively, these Kinahḫeans may have been resident in Amurru for much longer, perhaps having fled Kinahḫa during the struggle between Egypt and Ḫatti toward the end of the reign of Suppiluliuma.

Karkamiš, understood by many to be identical with Šaḫurunuwa.⁷⁰ At the same time he installed Talmi-Šarruma as king (and presumably Priest) in Ḫalab. Nothing else is related of Mursili's involvement in Syria in his 9th year, and no further hint of any intervention in Syria can be found in the remainder of his Annals.⁷¹

Since only in his 9th year is Mursili unequivocally attested as marching personally to Syria,⁷² it seems that this rather cursory account in the Annals can be supplemented first and foremost by the events related in col. ii of KUB 19.15++. Here it is seen that the Egyptian threat was still very current, and that Mursili himself, or so he claims, pushed back the Egyptian attempt to regain Amurru, taking the opportunity to grace 'Arma'a, likely Haremhab as governor of Egyptian's Asian holdings, with a lesson in (the Hittite (in)version of) history, emphasizing in col. iii that the borders as they stood (being so agreeable to the Hittites) were sanctioned by the storm-god. As is the case with the Annals of his 7th year (see above and fn. 67), nothing in KUB 19.15++ ii suggests that the Egyptian forces were actually engaged, Mursili's claims that the Egyptians fled before him and that he heroically pursued likely reflecting nothing more than Egypt's choosing to limit its troop movements to a show of force rather than an actual invasion. Importantly, it seems that Haremhab is not yet pharaoh in KUB 19.15++, though he presumably would have taken the throne soon afterwards, which, if true, would have significant repercussions for Amarna Age chronology and the question of the identity of Nibḫururiya (Miller, in press b).

This Egyptian threat to Amurru in Mursili's 9th year may well have been the event that spooked the Kinahḫeans, who had been living in Amurru for (at least) the last couple years (see above and fn. 69), to flee once again, this time to Karkamiš, [GN] (perhaps Aštata) and Ḫalab, where they were subsequently settled by the king of Karkamiš, Tudḫaliya and Ḫalpaḫi, who then refused Tuppi-Teššub's repeated extradition requests. This state of affairs apparently prompted Mursili's initial decree, which likewise went unheeded. These poor refugees may have been exploited as pawns in Mursili's brinkmanship with Egypt and his efforts to retain Amurru's loyalty, since it appears that he allowed them to remain in Amurru, contingent on whether or not he would be able to reach a peace accord with Egypt, which he apparently still considered a real possibility, despite the tense situation.

The retention of these refugees by Tuppi-Teššub's antagonists triggered a heated response from Mursili, in which he forcefully rebuked not only the governors of some cities in [GN] (perhaps Aštata) and Ḫalab, but also the viceroy in Karkamiš, presumably the

70. Rather than assuming, with most researchers (see above and fn. 29), two names for this individual, which is certainly a possibility, I wonder if]-LUGAL-*ma* in KBo 4.4 iii 12 is nothing more than an anticipatory scribal error conditioned by the occurrence of ^m*Tal-mi-LUGAL-ma-an-ma* just two lines later.

71. So that in fact Mursili is never seen to have engaged in any military activity in Syria in his Annals in any year, not in year 2, in which he sends Nuwanza to guard against the Assyrian threat, not in year 7, in which he sends Kantuzili and Šarri-Kušuh to deal with the Nuḫḫašše rebellion and the Egyptian threat, not in year 9, in which he appears personally in Syria, but undertakes no action other than the coronations of his nephews in Karkamiš and Ḫalab and the fortification of Aštata.

72. Cf. above and fns. 58-60.

young Šahurunuwa, emphasizing the importance he attached to keeping Amurru satisfied with its status as a Hittite vassal. Also of interest is the fact that at this stage, soon after the installation of Talmi-Šarruma in Ḫalab and Šahurunuwa in Karkamiš, the former seems to have filled the role of governor of all of Syria, including Karkamiš, a situation which stands in stark contrast to what is known of Syria otherwise. In any case, Mursili's efforts in his 7th and 9th years appear to have been quite successful, as no further troubles in Syria are known during the remainder of his reign.

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