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**The Kings of Nuḫḫašše and Muršili's *Casus Belli*:
Two New Joins to Year 7 of the Annals of *Muršili II***

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It is a pleasure to be able to contribute this paper to these *Beiträge* for my friend and colleague, Silvin Košak, with whom I have had the good fortune to work daily for nearly three years now. I believe the contribution just had to be one presenting a join or two, since this primary stage in the work of a philologist has so often been the topic of our discussions, which have been such a benefit to me.

While preparing the remaining historical fragments from the post-war excavations for publication in KBo 50, *Texte historischen Inhalts*, I discovered that 249/v

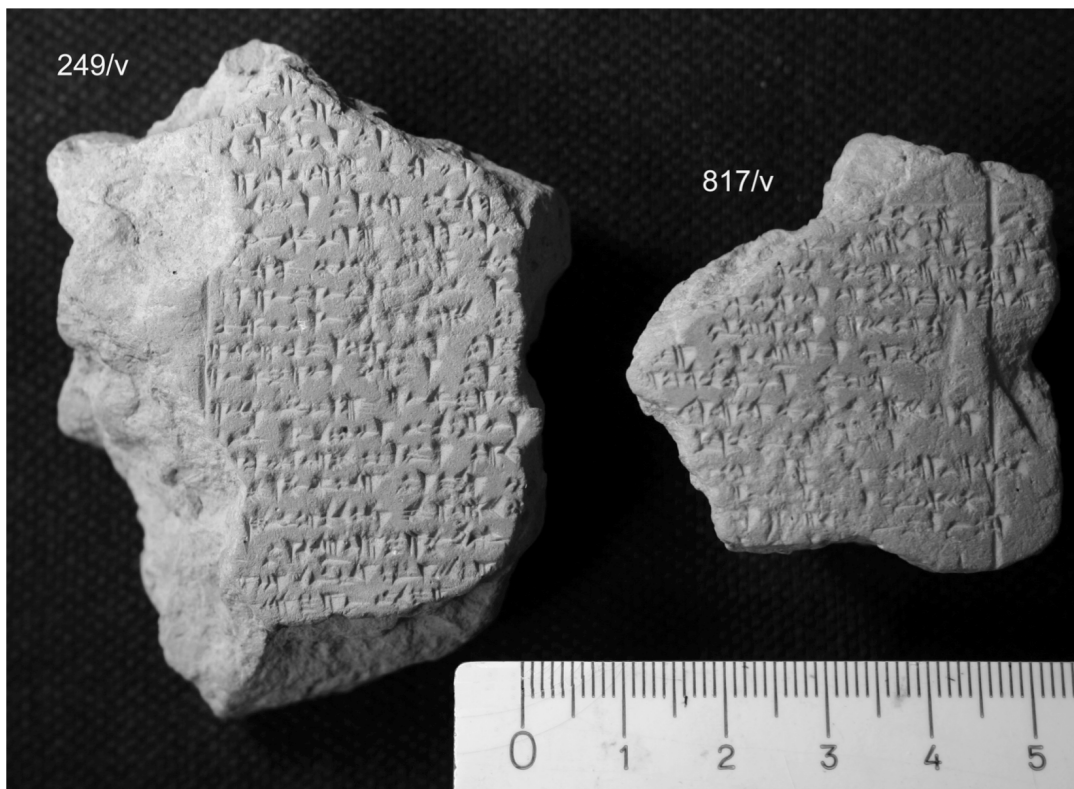


Fig. 1: Photo of 249/v (KBo 50.30) and 817/v (KBo 50.29).

(now KBo 50.30) directly joins KUB 14.17 II x+1-17' (CTH 61.II.4; 7th Year of the Extended Annals of Muršili II), that 1415/u (KBo 50.21) is a duplicate to the last six lines of the resulting paragraph¹, and that 817/v (KBo 50.29) very likely belongs to the same tablet as KUB 14.17 + KBo 50.30², as a mere glance at the originals KBo 50.29 and 30 (cf. Fig. 1) makes clear³. This paper will present these pieces in transcription and, as far as is possible, in translation, along with philological commentary, and will discuss their contribution to an improved understanding of the events to which they pertain⁴.

KUB 14.17 + KBo 50.30 obv. II⁵

- x+1 [KUR] ^{URU} Ka[r-ga-miš^(?)
 2' LUGAL ^{MEŠ URU} N[u-ḫaš-ši^(?)
 3' nu-ya-^{ra} -an ku-i[š[?]
 4' e[?] -šu-u-e-en nu-ya-an-n[a-aš] x x- iš a-pa-a[?] -a[š...] x x [... u-ni]
 5' [m]e-mi-an ku-iš EGIR-p[a me-ma]-^{a[?]-i[?]} nu ^{LÚ}ŠU.DIB ku-in[?] ^{LÚ}
^{URU?} Nu[?] -ḫaš-ši {x x}
 6' [Aš-š]UM^(?) ^{LÚ}ŠU.DIB ap-pa-an-n[a^(?)] ḫar-ku-un na-an A-NA DAM-ŠU
 DUMU^{MEŠ} -^{šU}
 7' EGIR-pa tar-^{na-aḫ} -ḫu-un ^{DAM} -ŠU[?] ma-an-za DUMU^{MEŠ} -ŠU
^{URU} ḫa-at-tu-ši ú-ya-te-et
 8' a-pa[?] -a-aš-ma-aš-ma-aš u-ni me-^{mi} -an pé-ra-an me-ma-a-i^d UTU^š-ya
 ú-iz-zi
 9' nu-ya-aš-ma-aš[?] ar-nu[?] -zi ad[?] -du ^{LÚ}ŠU.DIB-ma-an Ú-UL ma-an-ka₄
 ta-aš-ta-ši-^{ja-it}
 10' a-ar-nu-ma-ša-^{aš-kán} ku-^{it} KASKAL-ši ar-ta-at nu-kán ka-ru-ú
 a-ar-nu-mar
 11' a-aš-ši-ja-an im-ma ku-^e -da-ni-ik-ki e-eš-ta ma-a-na-at-kán e-da-ni-ja
 12' A-NA ^{LÚ}ŠU.DIB a-aš-ši-ja-^{an} e-eš-ta nu-uš-ma-aš ma-^{aḫ-ḫa} -an
 a-ši^{LÚ}ŠU.DIB-un
 13' ^u -ni me-mi-an pé-ra-an [me]-ma-a-i nu u-ni ŠA ^{LÚ}ŠU.DIB me-mi-an
 EGIR-an
 14' [a]p-pa-an-zi ad-du Ú-U[L-m]a ŠA ^{LÚ}ŠU.DIB me-mi-an EGIR-pa e-ep-pir
 15' [an]-tu-uh-ši-iš ku-it a[n-d]a[?] ḫur-ta[?] -an-te-eš e-šir ke-e-ez-zi-ma-kán

1 1415/u was previously booked in S. Košak's *Konkordanz* (www.hethiter.net) as an indirect join to 249/v.

2 KBo 53.282 likely belongs to this same episode of Muršili's 7th Year.

3 Sincere thanks are due to Dr. R. Akdoğan and her colleagues I. Aykut and Ş. Yılmaz for their helpful and patient assistance during my work at the museum in Ankara in Sept. 2005.

4 I would like to thank S. de Martino and I. Singer for reading an early draft of this paper and offering several helpful comments.

5 Variants in KBo 50.21 are highlighted in bold.

- 16' [l]i-in-ga-u-uš šar-re-eš-[┐]**kir**[┐] na-aš[┐] li-in[┐] -ga-ja-aš DINGIR[┐]MEŠ[┐]
 ḫar-ni-in-ki-iš-ke-er[┐]
- 17' [n]u ku-u-ru-ri-ja-aḫ-ḫi-ir ad-du DINGIR^{MEŠ}-ma ki-nu-u-na EGIR-an
 uš-ka[[┐]n-du/zi[┐]]
- 18' [m(a)]-a-an **u-ni-uš** LUGAL^{MEŠ URU} N[u-ḫa]š-ši ar-nu-ma-an-zi ku-ṽa-[┐]at-ka₄
 ša-an-ḫu-un^{(?)┐}
- 19' [(aš-š)]u-li-ja-aš pí-ja-n[a-u-ṽ]a-an-zi ša-an-ḫe-eš-ke-nu-un
- 20' [(a-pu-u-uš-ma ku-ru-ri-ḫ)]a-aḫ-ḫi-ir
-

KBo 50.21

- x+1 ḫur-ta-a]n-te-eš[
 2' š]ar-re-eš-ke-[┐]**er**[┐] [
 3' ḫa]r-ni-in-ki-iš-ke-er [
 4' a]d-du DINGIR^{MEŠ}-ma ki-nu-[┐]u[┐] -[na
 5' m]a-[┐]a-an[┐] **ku-u-uš** LUGAL^{MEŠ} [^{URU}Nu-ḫaš-ši⁶
 6' š]a-an-ḫu-un aš-šu-li-aš pí-ja-n[a-u-ṽa-an-zi
 7']a-pu-u-uš-ma ku-ru-ri-a[ḫ-ḫi-ir
-
-

Translation

(x+1) ... Ka[[┐]rkemiš^(?) ...] (2)the kings of N[[┐]uḫḫašše^(?) ...] (3)‘[...] whi[ch[┐] ...] him^(acc.), (4)we were [...], and he/you [...]-ed u[s].’ [That m]atter [...] which he re[pea]ts: ‘The prisoner, the *Nuḫḫašše*an, whom I *had also captured* [for the s]ake of the prisoner, I released back to his wife (and) his sons;’ he should have brought his wife (and) his sons to Ḫattuša himself. (8)But he says (about) that matter before them: ‘My Sun will come, and (9)he will deport you.’ *addu!* The prisoner in no way would have complained/conspired. (10)Since he was *on the way with the extradition*, then hitherto/earlier the *extradition* was *preferable to at least someone*. If it was *preferable* to this prisoner, too, then how does he speak (about) the prisoner, of that matter, before them (saying): ‘They will take up again that matter of the prisoner?’ *addu!* But they did not take up again the matter of the prisoner. (15)Since the people were thereby accursed, *and they thus* transgressed the oaths, the oath deities destroyed

6 As there is significant space between LUGAL^{MEŠ} and the break, ^{URU}Nu-ḫaš-ši may well have been placed at the beginning of l. 6’.

them. ⁽¹⁷⁾They became hostile. *addu!* Then [let] the gods *punish* (them) now! (or: So the gods [will] *punish* (them) now.) ⁽¹⁸⁾If I somehow sought to *extradite* those kings of N[uḫḫa]šši, I always sought to re[wa]rd them for good. ⁽²⁰⁾But they became hostile.

Philological Commentary

A comparison of the joined text with the restorations in Goetze's treatment of KUB 14.17 alone should serve as a strong caution against restoring text without the aid of a duplicate or close parallels. Many other similar examples could be noted, but perhaps mention of the clarifying join published by Otten (1990: 224ff.) will suffice here.

Since KBo 50.30 is housed in the museum in Ankara, KUB 14.17 in Istanbul, it was impossible to physically join them. My readings are based on viewing the original fragments 249/v, 1415/u and 817/v, photos of the same, as well as a scaled virtual join of KBo 50.30 + KUB 14.17, created with Adobe Photoshop from photos at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. The photo of KUB 14.17 available to me, however, is not the clearest.

x+1-3' It is not entirely certain where the quoted speech begins, but it seems not unlikely to be the kings of N[uḫḫašše^(?) of l. 2' who are speaking.

2', 18' Other attestations of LUGAL^{MES}/LÚ^{MES} (KUR) ^{URU}Nuḫḫašše are found in KBo 4.4 obv. I 12, 41, 45 (CTH 61); presumably in KBo 53.282, x+1 (CTH 61[?]); KUB 3.14 obv. 3, 13, 15, KUB 3.119 I 4 (CTH 62); and in RS 17.227, 4, 7 (CTH 47); cf. also DUMU^{MES} KUR ^{URU}Nuḫḫašše in KBo 1.6 obv. 23, 28, 31 (CTH 75).

3' *ku-i[š* or *ku-u[š*- seemingly more likely than *ku-i[t*, since the remaining trace of the vertical would make an IT much shorter than other ITs in this text.

4' The traces following the break and preceding *apāš* seem likely to be an IŠ, suggesting a 2/3 sg. pret. verb form.

5' (1) In the photo I am able to see only a single vertical before the *-i* of *me-ma-a-i*, as opposed to two in the edition. (2) The reading *ku-in*[?] ṚLÚ[?] ^{URU}?Nu[?]Ṛ-ḫaš-ši is not beyond doubt, as the *-in* of *ku-in*[?] (as collated on the photo) shows a rather odd composition compared to other INs in these fragments, the space available after *ku-in*[?] and before *-ḫaš-ši* is quite tight, and since there appear to be some traces between *ku-in*[?] and what would have to be ṚLÚ. The traces at the end of the line (an erased AŠ-ŠUM, which the scribe then placed at the beginning of 6'? Or rather an erased LÚ^{MES}?) add another element of uncertainty.

5', 8', 13' Despite the lack of the direct speech particle in the first and third quoted passages, it seems clear that *memai* in ll. 5', 8' and 13' introduces quoted speech each time.

6' (1) [AŠ-Š]UM is quite uncertain, as there would not appear to be sufficient space for AŠ, since the traces could but do not unreservedly fit Š]UM, and because AŠŠUM does not yield an immediately transparent sense. Purely graphically one would think first of [ŠU]KUR, then perhaps of [D]IM. If [ŠU]KUR were to prove to be the correct reading, which may be considered practically out of the question due to the omission of LÚ, might one imagine that the speaker was employing this term for a low-level military position appositionally in a derogatory fashion? Might one think rather of [T]AG as a Sumerogram für Akk. *lapātu*? Much speaks against the possibility, including (a) the fact that TAG is otherwise not found at Boğazköy as a Sumerogram for Akk. *lapātu*; (b) that one would expect some phonetic complement; and (c) that it would also not readily yield indisputable sense. (2) The translation assumes *appann=a*, i.e. a participle with the conjunction, followed by the auxiliary *ḥarkun*, which is wholly unsatisfying, among other reasons because one can hardly tolerate the conjunction on the participle. One would want to restore *ap-pa-an-n[a-aš]* for reasons of space in the break, but how would one make sense of the gen. of *appatar*? Are we dealing rather with the infinitive, *appanna*? Moreover, the edition shows the trace of the head of a vertical after the break, which I cannot see in the photo. (3) It is clear that a proper -ŠU never actually stood at the end of the line, as the damage or erasure is nowhere near large enough to cover a ŠU, though the assumption that this would have been intended seems reasonable enough.

8', 13' For this usage of *uni memian*, see Goedegebuure 2003: 141ff.

9', 14', 17' Judging from the contexts in which *addu* occurs in this text, one might conclude that it is an interjection with an adversative and/or sarcastic nuance, something along the lines of 'whatever; rubbish' or perhaps Italian 'ecco'. Other occurrences of *addu* are: KUB 22.70 obv. 65; KUB 40.77, 16' // KUB 23.103 obv. 26' (Mora and Giorgieri 2004: 161, 164, 166f.); KUB 14.4 III 16 (de Martino 1998: 27 and n. 58, 35); KBo 18.57 + KBo 18.57a rev. 42' (here *a-ad-du*; Hagenbuchner 1989: 104-106); KUB 33.52 II 2; KUB 43.22 IV 16; and perhaps also HT 35 obv. 4'; see first and foremost HED A, 228, for the best discussion of the matter, even if a simple 'further' does not necessarily seem to fully account for each of the occurrences in the present text; see also Hoffner 1989: 88-89; Ünal 1978: 121; cf. unconvincingly, Tischler 1980: 208.

Cf. discussion of the phrase *uḫad duḫaddu* by Alp (1991: 305): '(Gottes) Gnade soll (über dich) kommen'; HEG III, 475f.; cf. HHW 29, 189, where Tischler offers a different explanation, i.e. *uḫaddu=ḫa addu*, 'Heil soll kommen', though it must be

noted that this locution is always written with the space between *uṣad* and *du-ṣaddu*, the two words even written on two separate lines in HBM 33 Rs. 27'-28', thus making Tischler's later interpretation highly unlikely. Given the similarities, I wonder if *addu* might be yet another form of *duṣaddu/duḍdu*, in which case one might want to translate 'Mercy!' in the text under discussion.

10' I am aware of no comparable locution with *palša-*. Here the meaning seems to be inchoative, similar to the English, 'He's on his way to ...'.

15' The only other example of *anda hu(ṣa)rt-* I was able to find is in KUB 29.7 obv. 61 (CTH 480, Šamuḥa ritual; not recognized as such in Lebrun 1976: 121; cf. Archi 1977: 298): ⁽⁶¹⁾...*du-up-ša-ḥi-ti-kán ku-it an-da hu-ṣa-ar-ta-an na-aš-ta* ⁽⁶²⁾*a-pa-a-at hu-u-ur-[di]-aš ut-tar / ša-r[a-a ḥ]u-it-ti-ja-an-zi*.

16' The reading *har-ni-in-ki-iš-ke-er* comes as much from the dupl. KBo 50.21, 3' as from the barely readable traces in KUB 14.17, which would seem perhaps to suggest *har-ni-in-ki-ir*.

17' (1) The space at the beginning of the line would seem a little long for *[n]u*. A mistaken *[u-n]i* for *[u-n]i-uš* would be a possibility. (2) The only other occurrence of *appan ušk-* is in KBo 4.14 II 44, INIM *al-la-al-la-a-aš-ta* DINGIR^{MES} EGIR-*an [u]š-kán-du*, which Stefanini (1965: 42) translates 'Atto di tradimento in te puniscano gli dèi!'

18' Again, the reading at the end of the line comes as much from KBo 50.21, 6' as from the traces themselves. Judging from Goetze's copy, KUB 14.17 may have had *ša-aḥ-hu-un*.

KBo 50.29

x+1	<i>ṭa[?]-ni[?]-nu-nu-un</i>
2'	^{URU} <i>Ha-at-tu]-ši ar-ḥa ú-ṣa-nu-un</i>
3'	<i>-ṭ]a-mu LUGAL^{URU} Kar-ga-miš</i>
4']x <i>kat[?]-ta-an gi-im-ma-an-da-ri-ja-at</i>
5']x <i>kat-ta-an e-eš-ta</i>
6']ja <i>ku-u-ru-ur ku-it</i>
7'	<i>-i]š-ša-nu-ṣa-an ḥar-ta</i>
8'	<i>ḥa]l-ki[?] H^{1.A}-uš NU. GÁL[?] e-eš-ta</i>
9']x-ŠU-NU x x x- <i>kán</i>
10']x- <i>na[?]-an[?]-za ŠA[?] KUR^{URU} KÙ.BABBAR^{TI}</i>
11'] <i>A-NA[?] x x^m LUGAL-^dSÎN-uḥ</i>
12']x x x x- <i>aš[?]-ma-aš-ša</i>
13']x x x

'Translation'

^(x+1)[...] I pacified [the Land of ...] ⁽²⁾[...] I returned to [Ḫattu]ša ⁽³⁾[...] the king of Karkemiš [...] me ⁽⁴⁾[...] he stayed the winter down/with ⁽⁵⁾[...] he was down/with ⁽⁶⁾[...] because/which [...] hostile/hostility ⁽⁷⁾[...] he had [se]ttled/[bu]rned ⁽⁸⁾[...] the [gr]ain^(acc.) there was not ⁽⁹⁾[...] their ⁽¹⁰⁾[...] of the Land of Ḫatti ⁽¹¹⁾[...] to [...] Šarri-Kušuḫ ⁽¹²⁾[...] and (to) them/you^(pl.) [...]

Philological Commentary

x+1 In the other occurrences in the annals (KUB 14.15 IV 34, 50, KBo 4.4 III 17, IV 39, KBo 5.8 II 38), *taninunun* refers to pacifying a land, and it may be assumed that the same is the case here.

4' I could find no other occurrence of *kattan gimmantarija-*, and the first sign does not seem to compare overly well with the *kat-* directly below it, in spite of which it seems to be the best reading. This is the only occurrence in the annals of a third person spending the winter, and the *kattan* may indicate that the subject is the king of Karkemiš, Šarri-Kušuḫ, wintering 'down' in Kizzuātna?, the Lower Land?, in Karkemiš itself?

7' One thinks of *a-še-i]š-ša-nu-ya-an* or *ša-me-i]š-ša-nu-ya-an*. If the latter, one might be tempted to connect it with the lack of grain mentioned in the following line.

11' 「A-NA PA-NI」 would be a possibility, but does not seem to be unquestionably amenable to the traces.

12' Perhaps 「ar^{??}-ḫa[?]-ja^{??}」 -aš-ma-aš-ša?

*Discussion**Mušili's casus belli*

Götze (1933: 82ff.) rather freely restored KUB 14.17 II to suggest that Mušili had turned the Nuḥḥašše prisoner over to his brother, Šarri-Kušuḫ, who in turn freed him, handing him over to his wife and children (II 2-4). Mušili then angrily declares that Šarri-Kušuḫ should instead have brought them to Ḫattuša, essentially creating a rift between Mušili and the king of Karkemiš (II 4). Further, Götze re-

stored the text to suggest that since his lords were all on campaign, none of them was at that time able to send troops on any further campaign (II 7-8)⁷.

Bryce (1988), for obvious reasons, questioned this reconstruction, and especially the assumption that Šarri-Kušuh had done something to create division between him and his brother. Even in this properly skeptical mood, however, Bryce (p. 23, 28) accepts the reconstruction according to which Muršili had no troops to deal with the situation, which goes to show once again just how damaging and misleading such attempts at restoration can be, since it is so very difficult to ignore them. Del Monte (1993: 86) has since provided a translation that avoids these pitfalls, and thus, comes impressively close to the meaning of the paragraph now restored by the join.

It is now seen, even if the interpretation of some passages remains uncertain – *inter alia* due to the fact that the antecedents to the several pronouns in the passage are nowhere preserved and because Muršili's responses to the quoted passages of the conspirators often do not seem to follow logically – that the situation indeed is quite another. Muršili is venting his frustration regarding some persons who were using any and every excuse they could think of to avoid deporting the Nuḥḥaššeian prisoner, whoever this may have been, and this intransigence and obfuscation amounted to a *casus belli* in Muršili's estimation.

The first argument (presumably) concerning why the persons involved could not extradite the prisoner in question is largely lost (ll. 3'-4'), but is spoken in the first plural, which would seem to indicate that more than one person was involved in the conspiracy to frustrate Muršili's extradition request. The rationale behind this argument is, due to its poor state of preservation, not transparent, but it seems reasonable to assume that it is voiced by the kings of Nuḥḥašše mentioned in l. 2'.

Indeed it may be the same actors at issue in the last preserved lines of the first column of the Barga arbitration (KBo 3.3 I 26-36 // KBo 16.23 I 14'-25'; see Klengel 1963)⁸: ⁽²⁶⁾‘If not (i.e. if Muršili does not conquer Iḫaruḫadda), however, then as long as I, My Majesty, have not yet conquered the city Iḫaruḫadda, and they, Tette's son or Tette's brother, *get the upper hand* (*peran uḥnuḫanzi*), ⁽²⁹⁾and they kill

7 His further restoration and translation of II 8-11 is not intelligible to me.

8 I wonder if one should not rather translate lines 27-28: ‘... and they *turn forth* (*peran uḥnuḫanzi*) Tette's son or Tette's brother, and they kill Tette ...’. The traditional translation, e.g. that of Beckman (1999: 171), sees Tette's son and/or Tette's brother as the actors of lines 27-28, but one would expect an accusative object in the sentence if that were the case, depending, of course, on the still uncertain sense of *peran uḥnu-*. Against my alternative translation speaks the fact that there is no recognizable antecedent for ‘they’. See discussion and translations of other scholars in CHD P, 302a. If my alternative translation turns out to be acceptable, then it would be interesting that the same change from 3rd pl. to 3rd sg. regarding who is to extradite or kill Tette or his son in the Barga arbitration is found also in KBo 50.30 + KUB 14.17 regarding who is making excuses for not extraditing the prisoner.

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 [Ii]aruḡatta away from him. ⁽³³⁾I will take [...] If not, however, [...] before/forth [...] ⁽³⁴⁾someone [...] they kill Tetti, ⁽³⁵⁾[...] Tetti [...] in the Land of [...].’ In any case, it is clear that rather than campaigning personally to Nuḥḥašše, or even sending a military expedition under the leadership of one of his commanders, Muršili chose at this stage to attempt to deal with the situation by intrigue and by attempting to pit the various persons involved against one another.

Muršili seems to offer no reply to this argument before referring to a second excuse, this time made by a single individual, presumably one of the kings of Nuḥḥašše, who claims to have turned over the Nuḥḥaššean prisoner to his wife and sons, i.e. essentially released him. If my understanding of the argument is correct, which is not at all certain (see commentary to ll. 5’-6’), then the speaker seems to want to imply that he took the prisoner into custody ‘for the sake of’ the prisoner, perhaps to protect him. Muršili counters by saying his release was not justifiable, and that he (assumedly the person who had turned the prisoner over to his wife and sons) should have extradited his wife and sons to Ḥattuša instead, surely along with the prisoner himself, though this is not made explicit.

Muršili then refers to what he must have seen as yet a third delay tactic, again attributed to ‘that person’, probably again one of the kings of Nuḥḥašše, who explains apparently to the prisoner and his entourage that the Great King is to come personally and deport them. To this Muršili responds that the prisoner in no way could/would have complained/conspired, which does not seem at first to constitute a logical response to the statement made. Perhaps the argument and the response is to be understood by assuming that the Nuḥḥaššean king is claiming that he did not feel that he was in a position to deport the prisoner himself, without having Muršili come to take him personally, because the prisoner would have complained or reacted negatively to such treatment. Muršili then responds by saying that this excuse was not convincing, as the prisoner would certainly not have complained or reacted negatively to such an extradition process, indeed, Muršili even seems to want to imply, if I understand the passage correctly, that the prisoner was quite amenable to the extradition arrangement. It may be that the refusnik was worried that the prisoner could/would conspire (with Muršili?) in some way which would affect his own interests, and Muršili in his response was attempting to assuage these fears.

Despite the prisoner’s acquiescence, at least in Muršili’s version of events, ‘that person’ seems to have introduced yet a fourth excuse for the delay, according to which ‘they’, perhaps the kings of Nuḥḥašše, were to reconsider the matter of the extradition. To this claim Muršili responds bluntly that ‘they’ in fact never did get

around to reconsidering the extradition, which was apparently the last straw and reason enough for Muršili to regard them as accursed for their breaking of their oath, which would seem to indicate that these persons, probably the kings of Nuḥḥašše, were up until this point bound by vassal treaties to the Hittite empire. Interestingly, Muršili exclaims first that they have thus been destroyed by the oath deities, then seems in the next breath to call, either with a present-future or a third person imperative, for their future punishment. Perhaps the preterite is to be understood as indicating practical certainty rather than a true past tense.

Finally, at the end of the paragraph, Muršili washes his hands of any suspicion of guilt for what must be taken as his declaration of war by claiming that he had always merely sought the best interests of the Nuḥḥaššeian kings, but that they had rebelled nonetheless. In the ensuing paragraph in KUB 14.17, after KBo 50.30 breaks off, it is clear that war had resulted, and moreover, that Egypt had intervened.

The lame excuses, as Muršili apparently saw them, for failing to extradite the prisoner are strikingly similar to those mentioned in the treaty between Muršili and Duppi-Tešsub, and it would not be surprising if Muršili had in mind precisely the intransigence of the Nuḥḥaššeian kings when structuring the treaty: ‘Whatever deportees of the land of Nuḥḥašše 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 Ḫatti, 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’ (Singer 2003: 97a). If, as I have tried to show elsewhere (Miller, forthcoming a), the treaty between Muršili and Duppi-Tešsub would have come about as the result of Muršili’s pacification of Syria in his 9th year, then these statements in the treaty would come some two years after Muršili’s frustrating experience with the Nuḥḥaššeian kings.

In any case, it seems that Muršili’s *casus belli* for his war in Syria – whenever it eventually occurred – was the refusal of the kings of Nuḥḥašše, who apparently were bound by treaty to Ḫatti, to turn over some prisoner that Muršili wanted to get his hands on. The new join unfortunately yields no further clue as to the identity of the prisoner, who has often been identified with Tette, who indeed seems to remain a leading contender.

Wintering at Ḫattuša

Though KBo 50.29 preserves only a few words at the end of either column I or IV of KUB 14.17 + KBo 50.30, some useful information can be gleaned from them. It

is clear that the fragment indicates the end of one year of campaigning and perhaps some events during the winter and/or the beginning of the following year's campaign. Unfortunately, I presently see no way of determining for certain whether the piece belongs to col. I, thus preserving the transition from year 6 to 7, or to col. IV, thus containing the transition from year 7 to 8⁹.

It seems that the first line of the fragment can be interpreted as indicating that Muršili had finished up his campaigns of that season and that he had thereby supposedly pacified some land. If belonging to the first column, the land Ziḥarrija, i.e. the last land pacified in year 6, would perhaps be the land in question, if to the fourth, then perhaps the land Azzi, i.e. the last land preserved from year 7.

In any case, Muršili returned to Ḫattuša for the winter in question, and his brother, Šarri-Kušuḫ may have stayed the winter 'down' (*kattan*) in some land below Ḫattuša, such as the lower land, Kizzuātna or somewhere in Syria, or perhaps even 'with' (*kattan*) Muršili in Ḫattuša. The winter did not seem to pass without difficulty however, as mention is made of some hostility, perhaps something being burned, and a lack of grain, presumably in the land of Ḫatti, which is mentioned again in l. 10¹⁰. Finally, Šarri-Kušuḫ is mentioned again before the text breaks off.

Summary

The Syrian events of Muršili's 7th year, described in his annals, in KUB 19.15 ++, Col. I (Miller, forthcoming a) and in the first of the arbitrations of KBo 3.3 ++ (Klengel 1963; Miller, forthcoming b), can now be more clearly understood. At least as far as Muršili's reports can be believed, so long as his quarrel was with the prisoner alone, the other kings of Nuḥḥašše were not yet regarded as being in a state of war with Ḫatti. Their repeated delaying tactics, though, were interpreted by Muršili as refusal to fulfill his demand for extradition of the prisoner, and this amounted to a *casus belli*. Whatever Tette's role in these events thus far, whether as the prisoner whose extradition was being demanded, or as one of the Nuḥḥaššean kings essentially refusing Muršili's demands, once Muršili declared war, Tette saw the writing on the wall and turned to Egypt for protection, the general and vice-regent Haremhab gladly obliging.

Though Tette's name does not appear here in the annals, it is tempting to link the events of KUB 19.15 ++, I and of KUB 14.17 + KBo 50.30 II with those of the

9 KUB 19.31 cannot be used in an attempt to place KBo 50.29 in its proper place, since it does not constitute part of the annals, but rather joins KBo 3.3 ++ (see Miller, forthcoming b).

10 Such a fiery destruction of grain cannot be connected to the fires that destroyed the grain silos on Buyükkale, as they burned in the 16th century (Seeher 2002: 77f.).

Barga arbitration in the following manner: Tette and EN-urta acted in some way¹¹ that caused Muršili to regard them as in a state of hostility with him (KBo 3.3 ++, I 8), perhaps by attempting to increase the extent of their kingdom at the expense of those of neighbouring Hittite vassals. The EN-urta issue was at least initially managed without Muršili having to intervene, as Abiradda drove him from his land (KBo 3.3 ++, I 9-11). The problem of Tette's hostility, however, was not so easily dealt with, and Muršili made Abiradda's reward for his loyalty contingent on the resolution of this outstanding matter (KBo 3.3 ++, I 18ff.). In the last preserved lines of col. I of the arbitration, Muršili speaks of Tette in a similar manner to that in which he speaks of the prisoner in the passage presented in this paper, though it does not seem that by the time col. I breaks off that Tette has yet been captured.

Presumably the remainder of col. I of the Barga arbitration detailed how Tette was indeed captured by his Nuḫḫaššeian associates, and how instead of being extradited to Ḫattuša, he was turned over to his wife and sons and eventually fled to Egypt under military escort sent by Haremhab, an event which severely soured Hittite-Egyptian relations. His fate after this point is unknown. It is probably against these Nuḫḫaššeian associates that Muršili then declared war, as seen in the passage of the annals presented here. He then sent his general Kantuzili to prosecute the war, which ended with the total defeat of EN-urta. Perhaps it is this campaign that induced Tette's flight to Egypt, and it might also be this campaign to which Muršili refers when he recalls in KUB 19.15 ++ that he had sent troops to escort Zirtija to Ḫattuša, just as the Egyptians had sent troops to escort Tette to Egypt. One can only assume that Šummittara and Ḫuḫja, whoever they may have been – perhaps one of them was the brother (of Tette?)¹² mentioned in B II 1 of the arbitration – immediately saw the light upon the first sign of Hittite troop movements and decided to side with Muršili, for which they were duly rewarded by becoming the successors of Tette in Nuḫḫašše.

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11 It is presumably not the case that 'Tette and EN-urta fought a war with My Majesty', as Beckman (1999: 170) translates KBo 3.3 ++ I 7-8. Rather, *kururijaḫḫir* is to be understood as 'they became hostile', meaning that they had behaved in some way, most likely by attacking other Hittite vassals, that put them in Muršili's black book.

12 Klengel (1963: 51f.) suggests that Šummittara may have been the brother of Tette, while Ḫuḫja would have been Šummittara's son.

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Addendum: For discussion of the possibility that Muršili's correspondent in this text is Egyptian rather than a Syrian King, see now Miller, forthcoming b.