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The Closing Paragraphs of Letter KBo I 10

Since its publication in 1916, letter KBo I 10 was the focus of some detailed works, and scholars transliterated, translated and discussed selected parts of it.¹ In 1967 Oppenheim offered the first complete translation of the letter, (except the last thirty lines).² In her work on the correspondence of the Hittites, Hagenbuchner suggested a transliteration, translation and philological notes for the letter, thereby combining all former partial studies into one comprehensive text.³ Recently, Beckman published a new translation of the letter, improving Hagenbuchner's work in some details.⁴

The final four paragraphs of the letter (lines 67–82) are quite damaged, and none of the above-mentioned scholars restored it convincingly. Oppenheim and Beckman left it out of their translations, and Hagenbuchner transliterated the remaining signs, and offered a translation of only a few lines.

It seems to me that parts of the damaged text may be reasonably restored, and that a coherent translation may be offered for each of the four paragraphs. In what follows, I will suggest a transliteration, translation and a commentary for these paragraphs. I will also propose a restoration of the damaged paragraph in rev. 9–13. Finally, I will add a list of some other readings for other lines of this important document.

I.

As will be argued below, rev. 62–66 is part of the five-paragraph unit that closes the letter. I shall introduce the discussion by translating the first paragraph, and then proceed to discuss the following four damaged paragraphs.

¹ For the list of literature, see R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur I*, Berlin 1967, 121; A. Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter II*, Heidelberg 1989, 295; G. Beckman, *WdO* 23 [1992] 177–178.

² A. L. Oppenheim, *Letters from Mesopotamia*, Chicago 1967, 139–146 (No. 84).

³ Hagenbuchner (above, n. 1), 282–300 (No. 204).

⁴ G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Atlanta, Georgia 1996, 132–137 (No. 23).

[Furthermore, my brother]: Send me tall stallion foals. The stallions which your father [sent me and the horses which] my brother has [up until] now sent me are good but too short. Old horses [are rare[?], for in Ḫatti] winters are harsh and an old horse will not survive. Send me, [my brother, stallion] foals. There are already many short horses in my land. [Ask your messenger, my brother], and he will tell you.

This paragraph opens a three-paragraph unit, in which Ḫattushili III discusses the greeting-gift (*šulmānu*) of horses and lapis-lazuli that he has received from Kadashman-Enlil II. First he expressed his satisfaction with the horses he received, and then requested the dispatch of taller stallion foals.

In the following two paragraphs Ḫattushili complains about two unsatisfactory aspects of the greeting-gift. The first of these passages goes as follows:

67. [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma i-na-an-na[?]] ^{NA4}ZA.GÌN [l]a-a
ba-na-a am-mi-ni ú-še-bi-la ^{NA4}ZA.GÌN ša tu-še-eb-bi-la
68. [līb-bi[?] . . . ú-ul i-ša-a]k-ka-nu am-mi-ni an-na-a ÌR^{MEŠ}
ša a-bu-ka ul-te-bi-la i-na-an-na du-ul-lu
69. [ša . . . ú-ki]i^[i]-in ù ^{NA4}ZA.GÌN ma-a-a]a-ša
[a-bi-k]a-a ú-še-bi-la ba-ni-ma
70. [ù at-ta-a[?] ŠEŠ-ú-a ^{NA4}ZA.GÌN] la ba-na-a
tu-ul-te-bi-[la am-mi-ni la-a-am a-na ŠEŠ^{MEŠ} ni-tu-ru
71. [. . . ù i-na ka-ba-a]ti-ti-i[?] a-i-ti-im-ma [ú-ul . . .]
^{NA4}ZA.GÌN ú-ul ul-tu KUR Kar-an-du-ni-ia-aš-ma-a
72. [. . . ù i-na-an]-na[?] ul-tu ana ŠEŠ^[MEŠ] ni-tu-ru]
^{NA4}ZA.GÌN la ba-na-a ul-te-bi-la

[Furthermore, my brother: Now[?]], why did he send me lapis lazuli of poor quality? The lapis-lazuli which you send me [cannot be s]et [within[?] a . . .]. Why did the servants of your father bring it to me? Now, the work [that . . . was prepared, and the lapis-lazuli that your father brought was indeed of good quality. [But you, my brother], brought [lapis-lazuli] of poor quality. [Why even before we became brothers [. . . whereas I have] by no means [. . . to my thou]ghts^{??}? Does not the lapis-lazuli [arrive[?]] from Babylonia? [And no]w, after [we became] brother[s] you brought me lapis-lazuli of poor quality.

The restoration of line 71 is based on a general comparison with obv. 33 (see CAD A/1 237a) and is quite tentative.

Ḫattushili expresses his dissatisfaction with the quality of the lapis-lazuli he received. Kadashman-Enlil's letter, referred to in KBo I 10, and his greeting-gift were the first exchange between the two kings after Kadashman-turgu's death and the crisis that followed Ḫattushili's harsh letter to Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, who

must have acted as co-regent during the young ruler's early years (obv. 7–35).⁵ The Hittite king complains that the lapis-lazuli sent by Kadashman-Enlil was of inferior quality compared with that which his father sent. Similar complaints, based on a comparison of the received presents with those that were sent by the addressee's father, are well known from other letters exchanged between members of the 'club of great powers' in the 14th–13th centuries B.C.⁶ These international relations were guided by the principle of continuity from father to his heir, and the quality of the father's present had to be matched by that of his heir. Whether these complaints were effective is unclear, but it did not stop rulers from expressing their dissatisfaction throughout this period.

The next passage goes as follows:

73. [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma KÙ.GI⁷ a-na du-ul-li-ia ḫa-aš-ḫa-ku
[ù i-na-an]-na⁷ šu-bi-la
74. [ša a-bi⁷]-ka [UGU-ia iš-ta-pa]-ar a-šap-[pa-ra-ak-ku
um]-ma-a ū-še-eb-bi-la
75. [. . . KÙ.GI⁷] [un-nu-ta⁷ . . . i-n]a DUB^{HLA}
[labirūti⁷ ša-ṭe]-er⁷ i-na-an-na DUB^{HLA}
76. [a-na⁷ mah⁷]-ṛi⁷-ka⁷] [il⁷]-s[u⁷-ū⁷ ū⁷
iš-ša]-ak-kan-ma ma-la šu-du-' ša [(x)] a-bi-ka tu-še-eb-bi-la
77. [ù šul-ma]-a-na ša a-bi⁷-k[a iq-bi⁷ ša⁷] ŠEŠ-ia
e-te-ri-iš ŠEŠ-ū-a a-na KÙ-GI un-nu-ta la ta-[x-x]-ma-a

[Furthermore, my brother]: I need [gold for] my [wo]rk, [and] send (it) [no]w. [What] your [father wrote] [me], I am wr[iting to you as fo]llows: "I will send [soon⁷ go]ld⁷ [plate⁷ for your greeting-gift⁷]." [All⁷ this⁷ is writtlen⁷ i]n the [old⁷] tablets. Now, [let them read⁷] the tablets [before⁷ yoy⁷ and it will be establi]shed⁷, and you will send everything stated by your father. [And] I requested [of] my brother y[our] fa[ther's promised⁷ greeting]-gift. My brother, will you not [. . .] to the gold plate?

⁵ A close reading of letter KBo I 10 indicates that this is the first letter addressed by Ḫattushili III to Kadashman-Enlil II. Ḫattushili sent an earlier letter to the magnates of Babylonia immediately after Kadashman-turgu's death, when Kadashman-Enlil was still young and Itti-Marduk-balaṭu was acting on behalf of the young king (KBo I 10:7–35). I would question Houwink ten Cate's recent suggestion ("The Hittite Dynastic Marriages of the Period between ca. 1258 and 1244 B.C.", *AoF* 23 [1990] 58), namely, that Ḫattushili sent an earlier letter to Kadashman-Enlil in which he sought to persuade him to marry a Hittite princess. Assuming that the letter was addressed to Kadashman-Enlil, it should be dated later than KBo I 10.

⁶ For the term 'the club of the great powers', see H. Tadmor, *The Decline of Empires in Western Asia ca. 1200 B.C.E.*, in F. M. Cross (ed.), *Symposia Celebrating the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Cambridge, MA 1979, 3–7.

The correct meaning of the passage was recognized by CAD D 175a; see AHW 1421b s.v. *unnutu*. For the tentative restoration of lines 75–76 see obv. 20; *šu-du-UH* (line 76) is possibly a hiphil-form of *idû*; for the final *-ma-a* in line 77, see Karduniash-*ma-a* in line 71.

Hattushili recalls that Kadashman-turgu sent him a letter (or letters) in which he promised to send him gold plate. He apparently (or ostensibly) expected his heir, Kadashman-Enlil, to deliver it, but the gold was missing from the greeting-gift he received. He therefore cites the words of Kadashman-turgu's letter, and asks his 'brother' to look for the tablet and let it be read before him, and then fulfil his father's promise.

The need for gold is linked by Hattushili with work that he is engaged on. A similar link between work and the request for either an expert (a sculptor) or an object (lapis-lazuli) appears in two other passages of the letter (rev. 58–59, 67–70). The link has many parallels in international correspondence in the 14th–13th centuries BCE. For example, when the rulers of Babylonia, Mitanni and Assyria requested gold from Egypt, they emphasized that it is needed for the completion of work being done at that time. The implication is that there is no total lack of the requested object at their court, but only a temporary shortage. Thus great kings avoided losing face in the international correspondence, for the land of the ruler of an empire should be able to supply him with whatever he needs (compare EA 7: 33–39).⁷

A ruler's complaint that an heir did not fulfil his father's promise also has parallels in the international correspondence of the 14th–13th centuries. The best-known example are the bitter complaints of Tushratta, king of Mitanni, that the solid gold statues prepared as a bride-price for him by Amenophis III, were replaced by gold-plated wooden statues (EA 26–27, 29).

The promise to dispatch gold plate from Babylonia to Hatti is remarkable, since in the Late Bronze Age Egypt was the source of gold for the entire Near East. One may assume that Babylonian goldsmiths produced gold objects from the exported Egyptian gold, and that Babylonian merchants traded them abroad. This may explain the appearance of Babylonian merchants in northern Palestine (EA 8), in southern Syria (EA 7), in northern Syria (KBo I 10:14–33), and apparently in Hatti (KBo I 10:56–57; line 56 should be restored [. . . LÚ^{URU} *ak-ka-di-i 1-en*]).⁸ We may assume that objects made of gold were part of

⁷ C. Zaccagnini, *Lo scambio dei doni nel Vicino Oriente durante i secoli XV–XIII*, Rome 1973, 68–69; M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest. International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600–1100 B.C.*, Padova 1990, 226.

⁸ Since the letter was sent to the king of Babylonia, the person referred to must have been a Babylonian citizen. For the restoration, see rev. 27 LÚ^{MEŠ} URU *ak-ka-di-i*. We may assume that a Babylonian family firm was established in Hattusha and traded in the Hittite kingdom. A member of the family quarrelled with his father, who must have been the head of the firm, and was sent back to Babylonia. Since the king of Babylonia protected his merchants in foreign countries, Hattushili reported to him about the incident and its outcome.

their merchandise.⁹ However, since the passage is badly damaged, we must avoid drawing far-reaching conclusions from such a broken text.

The fourth passage goes as follows:

78. [um-ma-a] a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma š[a lib-bi' kī]-i-na ša ŠEŠ-ia
a-na-ku i-de₄ ū šul-ma-nu ma-a-al-t[um (xx)]
79. [ū xx]^{MES} ŠEŠ-ū-a ša ḫa-aš-ḫa-[ta ša i-n]a É-ia i-ba-aš-šu-ū
a-na ŠEŠ-ia lu-še-bi-la
80. [ū le?]-qē? ri-i-qa ŠEŠ-ū-a la-[x x KUR?]-ia DÙG.G[A]?
ū mi-im-ma ša-na-a-am-ma ša ŠEŠ-ū-[a]
81. [i-ḫa-ši-ḫ]u? li-iš-pu-ra ḫa-a'-x-[x š]a i-na É-ia
i-ba-aš-šu-ū a-na ŠEŠ-ia ul a-pa-[ar-ra-as]

[Furthermore], my brother: I know ab[out the lo]yal [heart?] of my brother. And a greeting-gift, a bed [(of . .) or . . .]s, my brother, that you desire (and) which is in my house, I will bring you. [Or ta]ke? herbs, my brother, the swe[et . . . of] my [country?]. And everything else that my brother [desir]es please write me. . . [. . whi]ch is in my house I will not with[hold] from my brother.

The text may be interpreted against the background of the three previous passages. Provided that the Babylonian king will send everything requested of him, he will receive an appropriate recompense. While the passage has many parallels in the international correspondence, its unusual trait are the examples of particular objects that may be requested of the king of Hatti.

At the close of the letter, Hattushili gives details of the greeting-gift that he sends with his letter.

22. [ū a-na] šul-ma-an ŠEŠ-[ia x (x)] GAL it-t[a-x x x x-b]ur-ra
[x DÙG.G]A Ì DÙG.GA [. . . ul-te-bi-la-k]u

[And for] the greeting-gift of [my] brother [I am sending y]ou a large [. , fin]e [. .], fine oil, [. .].

Although the text is badly broken, it seems that the greeting-gift sent by Hattushili was quite modest. The last two paragraphs fit well into the five-paragraph unit that closes the letter. Hattushili was dissatisfied with the present he received. He therefore sends a modest greeting-gift, but promises to send whatever his 'brother' requests, provided that he obtains his own requests as outlined in the first three paragraphs.

⁹ For the dispatch of large quantities of Egyptian gold to Babylonia in this period, see D. O. Edzard, *Die Beziehungen Babyloniens und Ägyptens in der Mittelbabylonischen Zeit und das Gold*, JESHO 3 [1960] 38–55.

II.

In the Amarna letter EA 8:25–29, Burnaburiash, king of Babylonia, wrote to Akhenaten as follows:

Canaan is your country, and its kings are your servants. In your country I was despoiled. Bring them to account and make compensation for the money that they took away. Put to death the men who put my servants to death, and so avenge their blood.

The paragraph in rev. 9–13 opens a two-paragraph unit (rev. 9–25) which answers accusations and demands similar to EA 8. Kadashman-Enlil accused Hattushili that three times were Babylonian merchants murdered in kingdoms under his rule, and demanded compensation for the murdered merchants and for their lost property, and the death penalty for their murderers.

The text of rev. 9–13 may be reconstructed as follows:

9. [um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma aš-šum ^{LÚ}DAM.GAR^{MES} (de-ku-ti) ša
ŠEŠ]-ú-a iš-pu-ra ki-i ^{M.D}IM.LUGAL.DINGIR^{MES} té-ma
aš-ku-nu-ma
10. [(KÙ.BABBAR) mu-ul-le-e ša xx MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR a]-pil-šu
ki-na-a-ti ša ^{LÚ}DAM.GAR^{MES} LUGAL KUR kar-ga-miš
11. [. ù di-ni-šu-nu li-di-i]n-šu-nu-ti ŠEŠ-ú-a DUMU šip-ri
ša-na-a-am-ma ha-mut-ta šup-ra
12. [di-ni-šu-nu ša ki-na-a-ti ša ^{LÚ}DAM.GAR^{MES} lu-d]i-in
ia-nu-um-ma-a EN^{MES} di-ni-šu-nu lu-uš-pu-ra-am-ma
13. [ù a/i-na pāni-ka ŠEŠ-ú-a di-ni-š]u-nu li-di-in

[Furthermore, my brother: concerning the (murdered) merchants that my [brother] wrote me about, when I made the decision to Adad-shar-ilani, [the compensatory silver of xx mina is] paid to him. The colleagues of the merchants [may submit? their claim?] to the king of Carchemish, [and he will decid]e for them [their lawsuit]. Or conversely, let me send their litigants, and [before you, my brother] may decide their [lawsuit].

For the restoration of line 9, see rev. 24; for the beginning of line 10, see rev. 18, 20; for *kinatti*, see CAD K 382a; for the restoration of line 12, see rev. 10.

In an answer to Kadashman-Enlil's accusations, Hattushili first reports that he has decided the matter of compensation for the murdered merchants, and paid the silver to Adad-shar-ilani, the Babylonian messenger. The lawsuit of the colleagues of the murdered merchants, which apparently referred to the lost merchandise, should be decided either before the king of Carchemish, or before the king of Babylonia.

In the next passage (rev. 14–25), Ḫattushili discusses at length Kadashman-Enlil's demand to execute the murderers.¹⁰ He quotes the Hittite law concerning the murder of merchants,¹¹ and explains that, contrary to Babylonian law, it is not permitted in Ḫatti to execute the murderer.

Finally Ḫattushile refers to the claim that Babylonian merchants were murdered in the land of Subaru (in rev. 15 restore [ù KUR *su-ba-ri-i i-du*]-*uk-ku*; see rev. 24).¹² He answers that he has never heard about this incident, and asks his 'brother' to send him the colleagues of the murdered merchants (rev. 23–25). In this light, it seems that the compensatory silver delivered to Adad-shar-ilani (rev. 9–10) was payment for the murder of Babylonian merchants in Ugarit and Amurru (rev. 14).

III.

Enclosed is a list of some other restorations offered for KBo I 10:

Obv. 13 [*ḫa-mu-ut-ta al*]-*tap-ra*; see rev. 11.

43 [*l*u-*š*]ak-*ši-da-aš-šu* . . .

45 [*a-na e-ti-qa-ma*] *ú-ul* . . .; see obv. 47.

66 [ù *ša ŠEŠ-ú*]-*a* . . .

Rev. 16 [*ki-i i-na* KUR *ḫa-at-ti na-p*]u-*ul-ta* . . .

18 [*i-na-di-nu-šu* ù KÙ.BABBAR] *mu-ul-le-e* . . .; see CAD M/2 189b.

19 [*uballaṭu* ù *aš-r*]a . . .; the reading was suggested by Klengel (above, n. 10), 195 n. 7.

22 [*innabbi*(*ma*) *išabbi*]t . . .; see rev. 17.

36 ù UD *š[a] š[i-im-ṭi-i-š]u' ki-i ik-šu-da* . . .

41 ù *a-na [ši-im-ti-š]u ki-i ik-šu-da-aš-šu* . . .

56 [*um-ma-a a-na ŠEŠ-ia-ma LÚ^{URU} ak-ka-dī-i 1-en* . . .; see note 8.

59 [*i-šap-pa-ru* ù *i-nu-ma du-ul-lu š[a] ALAM.ALAM^{MES}* . . .

¹⁰ For discussions of the passage, see H. Klengel, *Mord und Bußleistung im spätbronzezeitlichen Syrien*, in B. Alster (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia*, Copenhagen 1980, 189–197; Liverani (above, n. 7), 97–100.

¹¹ For the Hittite law, see R. Haase, *Zur Tötung eines Kaufmanns nach den hethitischen Gesetzen* (§§ 5 und III), *WdO* 9 [1978] 213–219; H. Klengel, *Handel und Kaufleute im hethitischen Reich*, *AoF* 6 [1979] 71–72.

¹² Klengel (above, n. 10), 195 n. 7.