

*Talmi-šarruma judge? Some thoughts on the jurisdiction of the kings
of Aleppo during the Hittite Empire**

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As it is well known, after the Syrian campaigns of king Suppiluliuma I the Lands of Karkemiš and Aleppo acquired a key role in the Hittite administration of the new territories. In particular, King Suppiluliuma installed one of his sons, prince Telipinu, as king in Aleppo, and another son, prince Piyasili, as king at Karkemiš. In this way two Hittite dynasties governed the two important Lands¹.

It is at the same time well known that an overall analysis of the sources indicates that the new dynasty of Karkemiš achieved a more prominent position than that of the Hittite dynasty of Aleppo. The kings of Karkemiš acted as Hittite viceroys in Syria during the 13th century BC and the Hittite administration in Syria was under their control; on the other hand, the position and the activity of the dynasty of Aleppo remain somewhat obscure². If one considers separately the sources from the Hittite capital and the sources from the periphery, fine differences emerge.

1.1. The Syrian archives of Emar and Ugarit offer few indications as to the first sixty years after the Hittite conquest: the references to Aleppo and Karkemiš date mostly to the second half of the 13th century BC³. Concerning this time, they mention only the kings of Karkemiš and their officials. Neither the legal documents nor the correspondence from these two cities refers to the court of Aleppo as a centre of the Hittite administration in Syria, and the references to Aleppo are in general very few⁴. One letter sent by the king of Karkemiš to

* Abbreviations in this paper follows CHD. The abbreviations of the texts from Emar and its vicinities follows L. d'Alfonso, *Le procedure giudiziarie ittite in Siria (XIII sec. a.C.)*, StMed 17. Pavia 2005, 14-7. I am grateful to Dr. J. Miller for assistance with the English text. All responsibility for the contents remains of course with myself.

¹ S. H. Klengel, *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches*. Leiden - Boston - Köln 1999, 165-6, with references to the sources and the secondary literature.

² S. lastly H. Klengel, "Einige Bemerkungen zur hethitischen Herrschaftsordnung in Syrien", in: *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999*, G. Wilhelm Ed., StBoT 45. Wiesbaden 2001, 255ff.; idem, "Nochmals zur Rolle der Herrscher von Halab und Karkamiš in der hethitischen Großreichszeit", in: *Kulturgeschichte. Altorientalische Studien für V. Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, Th. Richter - D. Prechel - J. Klinger Eds. Saarbrücken 2001, 191ff.

³ Exceptions are: RS 17.334 (PRU IV, 53ff.), RS 17.335+379+381+235 and RS 17.368 (PRU IV 71ff.), RS 17.382+380 (PRU IV 80ff.), Emar VI 31, Emar VI 201, SMEA 45 1 and ETJ 32. All references refer to the court of Karkemiš.

⁴ The references at Emar are related to the month name Ba'lu Ḫalab: see J. A. Belmonte Marín, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jt. v. Chr.*, TAVO B 7. Wiesbaden 2001, 109 (on this name and his possible relation to ⁴Halma see also D. Fleming, *Time at Emar. The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner's House*, MesCiv 11, 2000, 168-73). The reference in the Akkadian texts from Ugarit relates again to the Stormgod of Aleppo, with the exception of one

the king of Ugarit possibly at the end of the 13th century BC⁵, which has been recently published, reads as follows: *Thus speaks the King. Say to the king of Ugarit: May everything be well with you! I hold the [individual]s which are inhabitants of Aleppo, servants of the man of my father, for the legal case.* (RS 86.2216, 1-7: RSO XIV, n.5)

These lines make clear that an official under the authority of the father of the king of Karkemiš had some servants among the citizens of Aleppo. One could interpret this fact as hinting that officials of the court of Karkemiš were living and acting in Aleppo. This would corroborate the hypothesis that during the second part of the 13th century BC the Land of Aleppo came under the control of the king of Karkemiš⁶.

1.2. The archives of Hattusa provide few references to the Hittite dynasty of Aleppo, but still more than those in the Syrian archives. As for the middle part of the century only the mention of a Ḫalpa-ziti, king of Aleppo, in a letter, informs us about the existence of a king in Aleppo at that time⁷. However, no proof exists that this Ḫalpa-ziti belonged to the dynasty originating with Telipinu⁸. More information is available for the first two kings of the Hittite dynasty, Telipinu and Talmi-šarruma, who reigned between approximately 1325 and 1285. While no sources exist which would allow one to consider these two kings *pares* to the contemporary kings of Karkemiš, some elements suggest that during the reigns of Suppiluliuma I, Arnuwanda II, Mursili II and at least the beginning of that of Muwatalli II, they still had a prominent position in Northern Syria. The most significant source in this regard is CTH 75⁹, the treaty renewed by Muwatalli II of Hatti with Talmi-šarruma of Aleppo, on the model of the previous treaty stipulated by Mursili II. Although the middle portion of the text is lost, the clauses on the mutual assistance between the two dynasties of Hatti and Aleppo at the end of the text define the status of the latter with words which find

reference in the treaty between Mursili II and Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66, 18; see G. del Monte, *Il trattato tra Muršili II di Hattuša e Niqmepa di Ugarit*. Roma 1986, 16-7). In this reference the Land of Ḫalpa is referred to together with Nuḫašše among the Lands under the control of the Hittites, which could become hostile.

⁵ The tablet contains no direct elements to be dated: The dating follows the criteria by M. Yamada, "Reconsidering the Letters from the 'King' in the Ugarit Texts: Royal Correspondence of Carchemish?", *UF* 24 (1992), 441-5.

⁶ One should even consider the possibility that the syntagm: ʾR.MEŠ ša LÚ abū=ya, refers to all inhabitants of Aleppo. In this case, the Sumerogram LÚ would refer to the king of Aleppo itself, who would be under the political control of the King of Karkemiš, as was for example the King of Siyannu-Ušnātu.

⁷ See on this king Th. P. van den Hout, "Ḫalpa-ziti, König von Aleppo", *AoF* 25 (1998), 68-74; the attribution of the attestations of Ḫalpa-ziti Priest to this king are however under debate: see S. Alaura, "Review of Theo P. van den Hout, *The Purity of the Kingship*. Leiden 1998", *OLZ* 94 (1999), 487-90.

⁸ See already H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z. Teil 1 – Nordsyrien*. Berlin 1965, 199.

⁹ Edition: E. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, BoSt 8. Leipzig 1923, 80-9, with a more recent fragment in H. Klengel, "Ein neues Fragment zur historischen Einleitung des Talmi-šarruma-Vertrags", *ZA* 56 (1964), 213-7. Last translation: G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Second Edition. Atlanta 1999, 93-5.

no parallel in any other subjugation treaty: a re-evaluation of this treaty as a half-parity treaty, to be compared with the treaties with Karkemiš and even with those with Mittanni is therefore suggested¹⁰. Furthermore, two passages of the treaty remind to Talmi-šarruma that the new dynasty installed at Aleppo shall not aspire to achieve the past glory again, when the king of Aleppo was a Great King. This seems to be the correct way to interpret the prologue of the treaty and the closing clause of the text. I quote: *[In] earlier times the kings of the land of Aleppo detained a Great Kingship. Hattusili, Great King, king of the Land of Hatti let them pay (to maintain) their (own) kingship*¹¹. *After Hattusili, king of Hatti, Mursili, Great King, son of the son of Hattusili, Great King, made the kingship of the Land of Aleppo and the Land of Aleppo itself disappear.* (KBo 1.6, CTH 75, I 11-4)

In the following da[ys] the [king]ship of the Land of Aleppo shall not expand at the expense of the king of the Land of Hatti. Talmi-šarruma, king of Aleppo, shall protect the Sun Mursili, Great King, king of the Land of Hatti, as well as the Sun Mursili, Great King, shall protect Talmi-šarruma, the king of the Land of Aleppo (KBo 1.6, CTH 75, IV 3'-14')

The Great King must have written these words after considering that the king of Aleppo was powerful enough to claim such an important role¹². This paper aims re-examining the position of the kings of Aleppo in the first decades after the campaigns of king Suppiluliuma considering one peculiar aspect of their kingship: jurisdiction.

2. The administration of the justice in Syria can be reconstructed first of all on the basis of the verdicts which have been found in the archives of Ugarit, Emar and Hattusa. Beside the verdicts, normative texts, further juridical texts and letters dealing with legal cases complete the horizon of the sources on the Hittite justice in Syria¹³. As to the verdicts, beyond a small number on local cases which were brought in by local authorities like the king of Ugarit at Ugarit and the King of Emar at Emar, the majority of them was brought in by either the Great King, or the King of Karkemiš or the highest officials of the two courts of Hattusa and Karkemiš¹⁴. In general, the verdicts show a trend in which the court of Karkemiš slowly assumed the competence of the court of Hattusa. The last interventions of the latter dates to the reign of Tuthaliya IV, but these verdicts of Tuthaliya deal already only with disputes of political relevance, the consequences of which could have brought the end of Hittite hegemony over the region. After some 1250 BC the "normal" cases became the competence of the Hittite court of Karkemiš¹⁵.

¹⁰ See on this L. d'Alfonso, "Die hethitische Vertragstradition in Syrien (14.-12. Jh. v.Chr.)", in *Die deuteronomischen Geschichtswerke*, M. Witte et alii Eds. Berlin – New York 2006, 319-325, § 4.

¹¹ For the difficult rendering of the sentence *šarrum=sunu Hattusili ... ultamli* see G. Steiner, "Was bedeutet LUGAL-zu-nu ul-tam-li im Aleppo-Vertrag?", *AoF* 26 (1999), 13-25. Translation here follows H. Otten, "Der Weg des hethitischen Staates zum Großreich", *Saeculum* 15 (1964), 122. In fact, in the Akkadian texts of the 13th century BC drafted by the Hittite courts of Hattusa and Karkemiš *malûm* either refers to the wrath of so. (G-Stamm, to be(come) angry: see CAD *malû* 4a), or it refers to the fulfilment of a payment (normally with D-Stamm: see CAD *malû* 6e). The latter would provide parallel to the semantic area adopted for this translation.

¹² For the considerations on the mention of Aleppo in CTH 66 see fn. 4 above.

¹³ For the sources to the Hittite justice in Syria see d'Alfonso, *Procedure*, 29-50.

¹⁴ See d'Alfonso, *Procedure*, § 4.1.1.

¹⁵ See d'Alfonso, *Procedure*, 95.

2.1. Between the some 50 verdicts found in Syria, only one has been eventually attributed to a king of Aleppo. This verdict was published by Jean Nougayrol in *Palais royal d'Ugarit IV* under the item number RS 17.232 (PRU IV, 239). Nougayrol introduced the text as a record of an international lawsuit held before a certain Talmi-šarruma. Klengel suggested later on, though with some scepticism, that this Talmi-šarruma could have been the homonymous king of Aleppo¹⁶. The transcription and translation offered hereafter differs slightly from the one offered by Nougayrol, and lead to a different evaluation of the verdict¹⁷.

RS 17.232

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. [ṁ]ar ¹ - ^d U-ub | Ar-teššub and Habiri stand before the |
| 2. ù ṁḥa-bi-ri | mākisu against Ḥišmi-šarru(wa) for a |
| 3. [a-n]a [mu]ḥ-ḥi | legal case. |
| 4. [ṁB]U-mi-LUGAL-[w]a | A legal dispute does not exist. Ḥišmi-šarru(wa) |
| 5. [aš-]šum di-ni | will take/has taken some 11[...] from |
| 6. [a-n]a ^{LU} NÍG.KUD.DA | Ar-teššub. Witnesses: Zazzalla, the mākisu, |
| 7. [i]-za-az | ṁPAB- ^d 30, the scribe, Hi-..., Tup-... |
| 8. [ū] di-nu | |
| 9. mi-im-ma i-ya-nu | |
| 10. 11 [...] a-na | |
| 11. ṁar ¹ -te- ^d U | |
| 12. ṁBU-mi-LUGAL | |
| 13. mi-im-ma | |
| 14. i-ša-bat | |
| 15. IGI ṁza-az-za-la | |
| 16. ^{LU} NÍG.KUD.DA | |
| 17. IGI ṁPAB- ^d 30 | |
| 18. ^{LU} DUB.ŠAR | |
| 19. IGI ṁḥi- [...] | |
| 20. IGI ṁtup- [...] | |
| 21. [...] x [...] | |

Notes

¹⁶ See Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens I*, 202. Contra see also M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici*. StSem 6. Roma 1960, 144.

¹⁷ The tablet has been collated with other verdicts found at Ugarit. I am grateful to Prof. Bordreuil, Dr. Calvet, Prof. Fales, Prof. Muhezen and Dr. Yabroudi, who allowed and helped me to collate the tablets.

4. The fragmentary traces of the name at l. 4, which Nougayrol transcribed as [ṁtal]-mi(?)LUGAL-[w]a, are transcribed [ṁB]U-mi-LUGAL-[w]a and read Ḥišmi-šarru(wa), after l. 12.

11. The line offers a different writing for the same name attested at l. 1. The theophoric element is preceded by the phonetic complement TE, instead of the more common complement UB at the end. This writing is already attested in a Syro-Hittite document: see Emar VI 325, 18'.

12. Nougayrol reads the last sign as IL, but the sign is very similar to the traces of the penultimate sign of l. 4, and is better read as LUGAL. The lack of WA or MA at the end of the name in this line, as well as the lack of the determinative before LUGAL both here and at l. 4 makes a reading Ḥišmi-šarru, "The-king-is-bright", also possible.

15. On the basis of the shape of the last sign of the name, the reading ṁza-az-za-la is to be preferred to the one suggested by Nougayrol, ṁša-aš-ša-at. The latter name is a hapax, while Zazzalla is a name already attested in the Syrian archives of Ebla and in the Hittite prosopography, although here, until now, only as a literary name¹⁸.

The most relevant difference is that the name Talmi-šarruma, or even -šarru(wa), does not occur in the text. The fragmentary traces of the name at l. 4, which Nougayrol read Talmi-šarruwa, are to be read Ḥišmi-šarru(wa). Ḥišmi-šarru(wa) was the second party in the process, to whom Ar-teššub and Habiri were opposed. This interpretation is corroborated by the mention of the same names at l. 10-14, which refer to the fulfilment of a payment by Ar-teššub to Ḥišmi-šarru(wa). The judge of the case was a collector of customs dues (akk. mākisu)¹⁹. His name, Zazzalla, is given in the first line of the list of the witnesses (l. 15).

2.2. After this new reading of the verdict, the sealing impressed on it must be reconsidered. The tablet bears on the centre of the Recto the impression of a circular stamp seal with a diameter of 24mm. The composition is very simple: a ring with a band of triangles defines the central field, in which four Anatolian hieroglyphs are engraved (see Fig. 1a). Laroche and Schaeffer, who published the seal impression, did not offer any reading of the hieroglyphs, because the signs are badly preserved, and because the name that Laroche was trying to read in it was that of Talmi-šarruma²⁰. A collation of the tablet at the museum of Damascus made possible a better view of the signs.

On the upper part of the field two identical juxtaposed signs are engraved, which look like two animal heads with two ears (or one hear and one horn), one eye and a tongue. Under these signs is seen a simplified form of the sign *la*, similar to that of some attestations found

¹⁸ On the possible Hurrian etymology of the name see R. Pruszkinsky *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Emar*. SCCNH 13. Bethesda 2003, 248-9, with references to the bibliography. For the references in the Ebla texts see M. Krebernik, *Die Personennamen der Ebla-Texte. Ein Zwischenbilanz*. Berlin 1988, 302. The name is attested in the Hurro-Hittite bilingual, on which see E. Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I*. StBoT 32. Wiesbaden 1996, in particular 480.

¹⁹ On this official see D. Arnaud, "Études sur Alalah et Ougarit à l'âge du Bronze récent", *SMEA* 37 (1997), 63. Cases as those of Aballa and Walwa-ziti, beside this very case of Zazzalla, show that Hittite collectors were active at the customs of Ugarit: see on this C. Mora, "Riscossione dei tributi e accumulo dei beni nell'impero ittita", in: *Atti del convegno: Fiscalità in Mycenaean and Near Eastern Archives*, M. Perna Ed. Napoli 2006, 140-142, § 2.2.2 and 2.2.3.

²⁰ See E. Laroche, "Documents hiéroglyphiques hittites provenant du palais d'Ugarit", in: *Ugaritica III*, C. Schaeffer Ed. Paris 1956, 157; and C. Schaeffer "Recueil des sceaux et cylindres hittites imprimés sur les tablettes des archives sud du palais de Ras Shamra", in: *Ugaritica III*, C. Schaeffer Ed. Paris 1956, 58.

at Emar (see Fig. 1b)²¹. A working hypothesis is to read the two signs on the top as ZA-ZA, finally obtaining a legend ZA-ZA-la, corresponding to the name of the judge of the legal case. In this respect one should note that the verdicts are normally sealed by the legal authority who decided the case, sometimes in association with other witnesses present either to the lawsuit or to the drawing up of the verdict²².

However, a reading ZA-ZA-la is possible only if the two signs in the upper part are transcribed za₄-za₄, referring to a sign (*112) whose phonetic value is attested only at Karatepe and possibly Karkemiš, some 500 years later²³. In fact, the sign commonly used for ZA in the Empire period was the arrow *376 and, as far as I know, the use of za₄ would result in a hapax. On the other hand, one should consider the fact that the use of *376 with the syllabic value ZA is attested in the Empire period mostly in the writing of the Luwian demonstrative pronoun za-, but in these cases an ideographic value HIC for *376 seems very likely²⁴. If one excludes these attestations, *376 with a syllabic value za is attested only once in the glyptic, at Emar (hier. a-ma-za-*hi* corresponding to the cun. am-za-*hi*)²⁵, resulting in definitiveness in a hapax too.

Under the three signs which render the personal name a fourth sign complete the legend, which I would interpret as the title of Zazalla. The sign is composed by a forearm, a hand and a kind of object pendig under it. The sign finds no sure parallel as a title, although the use of a somehow similar sign on seals, identified as *53 it is not unknown²⁶, and already Meriggi and Salvatori in 1978²⁷ proposed to identify it as an ideogram which would render a title. After our text, one could suggest as a working hypothesis that we are not dealing with a variant of *53, MANUSxCULTER, but with another sign representing a hand which keeps a silver pocket. This interpretation would fit well with the title of Zazzalla: akk. mā₂kisu and sum. LÚ NÍG.KUD.DA.

3. If the new translation of RS 17.232 presented above is accepted, then no verdicts remain that attest the jurisdiction of the kings of Aleppo. The other sources, such as letters and other legal texts, do not offer references to the king of Aleppo as judge. However, it exists an important passage of a verdict by Mursili II in favour of Tuppi-teššub, the king of Amurru, (CTH 63.2)²⁸, which assigns to the king of Aleppo the competence to judge the

²¹ See H. Gonnet, "Les légendes des empreintes hiéroglyphiques anatoliennes", in: D. Arnaud, *Textes syriens de l'âge du Bronze Récent, AuOrS 1*. Barcelona 1991, 198-214 and 1*-17*.

²² See d'Alfonso, *Procedure*, 135-6.

²³ See J. D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*. Berlin - New York 2000, 33.

²⁴ See M. Marazzi *Il geroglifico anatolico. Problemi di analisi e prospettive di ricerca*. Roma 1990, 240.

²⁵ See E. Laroche, "Les hiéroglyphes de Meskene-Emar et le style 'Syro-hittite'", *Akkadica* 22 (1981), 13, and now D. Beyer, *Emar IV. Les sceaux*. Fribourg 2001, 121.

²⁶ I wish to thank Natalia Bolatti-Guzzo helping me concerning the attestations of *53 in the inscriptions of the II Millennium BC.

²⁷ P. Meriggi - S. Salvatori, "Nuovi sigilli geroglifici etei", *SMEA* 18 (1978), 243-7. See also on this Marazzi, *Geroglifico anatolico*, 225.

²⁸ For a new edition of the text with new joins s. J. Miller, "Mursili II's Dictate to Tuppi Teshub's Syrian Antagonists", *KASKAL* 4, in print. I wish to thank Jared Miller for kindly providing me a draft of this article.

legal cases of Northern Syria between the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 13th century BC. I quote:

Should some legal case arise, the Priest has to occupy himself with the legal cases for you, and for you he (is the one who) has to investigate them. If a case gets too big, so that you are not able to settle it, then you have to refer it to here, to the Sun, and the Sun will settle it. (CTH 63 III 27'-33')

The passage does not refer directly to the King of Aleppo, but it is well known that the title ^{LÚ}SANGA, the Priest, was used by King Telipinu and sometimes also by his son Talmi-šarruma instead of the title "King of Aleppo". The above mentioned Priest is likely to have been Telipinu, although an identification with his son and successor Talmi-šarruma can not be excluded²⁹.

The passage makes clear that the king of Aleppo was charged by the Great King to judge the legal cases if they did not become too big. The area of his jurisdiction is defined in this passage through the enclitic 2nd plural pronoun (*nu=smas=kan*; for you, as far as you are concerned). The pronoun surely refers to the two parties of this very case, who were the king of Amurru and representatives of the Great King in the Syrian region, but it seems likely to refer also, more generally, to all the inhabitants of the region of the three parties, that is the whole Northern Syria. If this interpretation of the passage is accepted, it follows that in the first phase of the organisation of the Hittite administration in Syria, the competence to decide legal cases was assigned by the Great King to the Hittite court of Aleppo. The court of Karkemiš already played a prominent role in the Empire, as CTH 57 clearly shows. However, the court of Karkemiš did not have full control of the Hittite administration in Syria, and, more, it did not play an important role in the administration of justice, which characterised his activity from the central decades of the 13th century to the end of the Hittite empire. It is my opinion that this change is not a simple episode, but rather a trace of a reform which involved the Syrian region, a reform which took place during the first decades of the 13th century BC.

4. A further element which suggests a real reform of jurisdiction in Syria is the existence of two textual models to draft the verdicts pronounced by the Hittites for the Syrian region. The Hittite verdicts which have been found in Syria are very similar one another, and they are drafted on two textual models, each corresponding to one of the two law procedures which the Hittites used³⁰. The models can be briefly sketched as follows:

I model

ana pāni JU PN1 itti/u PN2 ana dīni isniqū

PN1 akanna iqbi mā ...

(PN2 akanna iqbi mā ...)

SENTENCE (JU dīn = šunu akanna iprus mā ...)

FULFILMENT

urram šeram / ina arki ūmi PN1 ana muḫḫi PN2 lā iraggum

²⁹ See on this T. R. Bryce, "The Role of Telipinu, the Priest, in the Hittite Kingdom", *Hethitica* 11 (1992), 5-18, and lastly d'Alfonso, *Procedure*, 64, with references to the previous literature.

³⁰ See d'Alfonso, *Procedure*, cap. 4.

*u PN2 ana muḫḫi PN1 lā iraggum
ša iraggum, tuppu annū ile''ē=šu
SEALING(S)*

II model

ana pāni JU

SUMMARY OF THE DISPUTE

SENTENCE

EXECUTION

urram šeram / ina arki ūmi PN1 ana muḫḫi PN2 lā iraggum

šumma iraggum, tuppu annū ile''ē=šu

SEALING(S)

Although some variants are attested, the structure of the text, the formulae, the technical terms and often also the series of signs which were used to write formulae and technical terms, all these elements are normally found in the different texts. All the scholars who have dealt with this topic agree in locating in Karkemiš the scribal school which created these models. The models were used not only in that Land, but were adopted also at Ḫattusa and Emar.

The date of the Hittite verdicts can be ascertained only through the synchronisms among the individuals attested in each text. Using this prosopographical approach, one sees that the verdicts built on these two models all date between 1270 and 1185 ca. (see Fig. 2). Only three verdicts were drafted before this time, during the reign of Mursili II: CTH 63.2, RS 17.237 and duplicates (PRU IV, 63-70) and RS 17.335+ (PRU IV, 71). These three verdicts concern all disputes of political relevance between the representatives of either two countries, or one country and the central administration. That is, they do not concern disputes between private citizens, as later verdicts do. Some differences emerge also from the formulary. The comparison with CTH 63.2 is quite difficult, because the text is drafted in Hittite while all other verdicts are in Akkadian. Furthermore, the text is a provisional verdict, and this causes further differences in the textual structure. On the other hand, the comparison of the later verdicts with RS 17.237 and RS 17.335+ shows some relevant differences. The following examples concern the formulae which introduce the verdict and those against the appeal. Introductory formulae³¹:

1/1a *ana pāni JU PN1 itti/u PN2 ana dīni isniqū*³²

1b *ana pāni JU + SUMMARY OF THE DISPUTE*³³

³¹ All the formulae of the Hittite verdicts have been studied in cap. 4 of my PhD dissertation: L. d'Alfonso, *I verdeti ittiti in Siria*. Università di Firenze 2001/2002, unpublished. Numeration of the formulae here follows that of the PhD.

³² The formula is attested in the following verdicts: ETJ 1, ETJ 2, Hir. 44, TSBR 36, TSBR 83, RS 17.110 (PRU IV 108), RS 17.128 (PRU IV, 179), RS 17.129 (PRU IV 166); RS 17.133 (PRU IV, 118: slightly different because the verdicts stay in a letter), RS 17.145 (PRU IV 172), RS 17.299 (PRU IV, 182), RS 17.337 (PRU IV, 168), RS 17.346 (PRU IV, 176), RS 27.051+19.63 (PRU IV n. 35); RS 27.052 (PRU VI n. 36).

RS 17.237, Ro. 1-9: [*umma*] *JU + INTRODUCTION TO THE DISPUTE + u inanna PN1 ana JU kī imtaḫar mā PN2 aššum X itti PN2 ina dīni iššabtūni=ni*

RS 17.335+, Ro. 1-11: *umma JU + INTRODUCTION TO THE DISPUTE + PN1 ana muḫḫi X PN2 ana pāni JU ana dīni išbas=su*

Formulae against the appeal:

11a. *šumma iraggum, tuppu annū ile''ē=šu*³⁴

11b. *ša iraggum, tuppu annū ile''ē=šu*³⁵

RS 17.237 Vo. 8', [*š*]a *iraggum tuppu annū ippal=šu*

RS 17.335+: the formula lacks

This comparison makes clear that the introductory formulae and the formulae against the appeal found in the later verdicts differs from those of the verdicts of the time of Mursili II. Therefore, it seems likely that these two models were ideated *after* the reign of Mursili, between some 1285 and 1270ca.

5. Conclusion. The creation of a juridical system in the new acquired territories of Northern Syria can be seen as a process, which counts two major phases: a first one, which dates to the reign of Mursili II, and a mature one, which started at some 1270 BC. From the few sources dealing with the first, it seems that one feature of this phase was the prominent role of the court of Aleppo as bench for the Syrian legal cases. After some 25 years, about which little is known, the situation under the reign of Ḫattusili III yields quite a different picture. The leading role in the jurisdiction shifted from Aleppo to the court of Karkemiš; this court not only exercised juridical power, but even created two textual models for verdicts, which remained in use until the end of the empire. Since such a change cannot be happened without the intervention of the Great king of Ḫatti, one has to relate it either to the reform of the State promoted by Muwatalli II between some 1290 and 1280 BC, which led to the foundation of the new capital Tarḫuntassa, or to the restoration during the short reign of Mursili III / Urḫi-teššub.

³³ The formula is attested in the following texts: Emar VI 18, Hir. 46, RS 17.035 (PRU IV, 123), RS 17.059 (PRU IV, 150), RS 17.108 (PRU IV, 165), RS 17.159 (PRU IV, 126), RS 17.341C (PRU IV, 161), RS 17.352 (PRU IV, 121), RS 17.355 (PRU IV, 209), RS 17.396 (PRU IV 127), RS 1957.1 (L. Fisher, *The Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets*. AnOr 48, Roma 1971, 1ff.).

³⁴ The formula is attested in the following verdicts: Emar VI 257, TSBR 84, RS 17.108 (PRU IV, 165), RS 17.159 (PRU IV 126), RS 17.248 (PRU IV 236), RS 17.352 (PRU IV, 121), RS 17.396 (PRU IV, 127).

³⁵ The formula is attested in the following verdicts: Hir. 44, Hir. 46, TSBR 36, TSBR 83, RS 17.110 (PRU IV 108), RS 17.128 (PRU IV, 179), RS 17.129 (PRU IV 166), RS 17.145 (PRU IV 172), RS 17.158 (PRU IV, 169), RS 17.234 (PRU IV, 173), RS 17.337 (PRU IV, 168), RS 17.355 (PRU IV, 209), RS 27.051+19.63 (PRU IV n. 35).

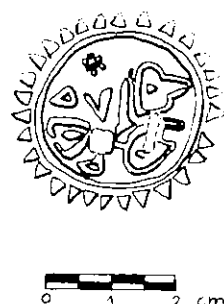


Fig. 1a. The sealing of RS 17.232


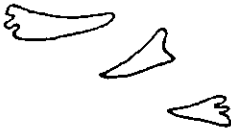

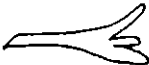



H. H. I	VALEUR	CLASSIQUE	MOYEN-EUPHRATE	n° d'édition
175	1a		     	21c, 26a 21g, 26b 31b 56 71c 72c 96 91, [36b, 76a]

Fig. 1b. Shape of some attestations of *175 (*la*) at Emar (from Gonnet apud Arnaud, *AuOrS* 1, 4*).

	a. 1270	1270-60	1260-50	1250-40	1240-30	1230-20	1220-10	1210-00	1200-190	1190-80
Rs 17.335										
CTH 63.2										
E VI 127										
Rs 17.346										
Rs 17.108										
Rs 17.110										
Rs 17.128										
Rs 17.145										
Rs 17.158										
Rs 17.234										
Rs 17.317										
Rs 17.341										
Rs 27.051										
TSBR 83										
E VI 257										
Rs 17.314										
E VI 18										
Rs 17.229										
ETJ 1										
Rs 17.133										
Rs 17.129										
Rs 27.052										
Rs 17.035										
Rs 17.352										
Rs 17.362										
Rs 17.367										
Rs 17.059										
Rs 17.135										
Rs 17.337										
Rs 19.081										
E VI 33										
E VI 252										
smca30.13										
Hir 44										
TSBR 36										
TSBR 84										
E VI 212										
Rs 17.159										
Rs 17.396										
Rs 1957.1										
sem41/2.1										
RS 18.006										
Rs 17.248										
Rs 17.299										
ETJ 2										
Hir 46										
Rs 18.020										
Rs 17.355										
Hatti	Muw	U-t	Hattusili III		Tuthaliya			Ar.	Suppiluliuma	
Karkemiš	Šah.	Ini-tešup						Talmi-tešup		K
Ugarit	Niqmepa			Ammistamru			Ibiranu	Niqma	Ammu.	
Amurru		Šapili	Bente-šina			Šaušga-muwa				
Emar	II gen.		III gen.		IV gen.			V gen.		

Fig. 2. Relative and absolute chronology of the Hittite verdicts (from d'Alfonso, *Procedure*, 209).