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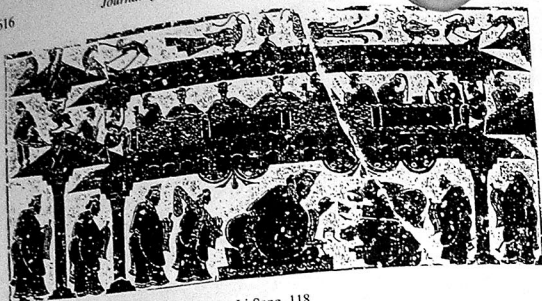


FIG. 12. From Songshan, Jiaxiang, Shandong. Li Song, 118.

The most important question we must confront is whether separation of the sexes was dogma or reality. Were these rules just the wishful thinking of some unusually harsh writers, or did their ideas reflect common social practices? Of course the most extreme stories about separation of the sexes were doubtless false. Tales of women who willingly suffered a horrible death rather than leave their chaste seclusion within a burning building strain credulity. However, it seems likely that a far milder version of separation of the sexes was already quite common by the Han.

There is some evidence that early Chinese actually practiced a degree of physical separation. Most significant are the statements by early writers noting that various foreign peoples allowed the sexes to mix freely. These observations imply that the opposite was the case among Chinese. These authors seem to have thought that their readers would find this sort of behavior unusual, so it deserved comment. Moreover, Shang Yang's discussion of the gradual transformation of the Qin people from foreign nomads into Chinese (or Huaxia) stresses the customs keeping women and men apart. He claims that the Qin had originally not separated the sexes, but by his time they had adopted this important Chinese custom. Then there is the visual evidence from Han tombs showing men and women physically separate on ceremonial occasions. This seems to imply that at least during certain formal occasions, women were expected to remain apart from men.

The time from Warring States through Western Han was probably the most important era in Chinese gender history. At that time, we can see the beginnings of many cultural ideals, such as the composite concept *zhengjie*, that would be more fully realized much later. People of that early era set down basic definitions of Chinese womanhood that later readers invested with enormous authority. Although separation of the sexes became far more widespread and stringent in later eras, subsequent customs elaborated on the nascent separation that had emerged in early China.

On a Hittite Lexicographic Project

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One must certainly admire the pace at which Jaan Puhvel is producing his *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, although in fact volume five (2001) is appearing four years after volume four (1997). This is a much smaller volume than its predecessors, even though with the aid of the *CHD* L volume, which Puhvel quotes at great length, much of his interpretive work was done for him. As in previous volumes, one finds at the end a section of corrections and additions to previous volumes. I will not attempt to evaluate them, since that would mean reviewing more volumes in the set than this one.

The complaints raised by this and other reviewers of earlier volumes as to the general layout and methodology have been largely ignored, or at least rejected in silence. One of the most inconvenient features of this dictionary is the lack of dummy entries with cross reference to the lemmas under which the words in question are discussed. With the appearance of volume five and its section entitled "Index to Volumes 1-5" a user might have expected an index to Hittite words discussed, since many of them are to be found out of their alphabetical order. Alas, many other languages are indexed, but not Hittite itself! This is a grievous mistake, which I sincerely hope can yet be remedied by a small supplement. Another serious flaw is the lack of any attempt to date the forms according to the established dating of the texts. The importance of this has been shown time and again. Later spellings can only be understood in the light of earlier stages. Only rarely does the author write "Old Hittite" by a reference. But even here one doesn't know if he means "Old Hittite composition (in later copy)" or "text written in the Old Hittite script." I have complained in my earlier review of volume four about the non-standard abbreviations used (Hoffner 2000). In the "List of abbreviations (addition to volumes 1-4)" a new one which will cause confusion has been added. "KBoVM" is Puhvel's abbreviation for what most of us are now denoting as "VS NS 12" or "VS 28." Since "KBo" is the standard abbreviation for the series *Keilschrifttexte aus Bogazköy*, "KBoVM" is going to strike many users as a typo for this well-known series.

I realize that not all Hittitologists feel qualified to make independent judgments on the dating of individual texts, but it does appear that enough of a general consensus has emerged to make it mandatory for lexicographers to distinguish spellings of words in Old Hittite manuscripts (*CHD* siglum "OS") from those in later texts. Here the various writings of the "dat.-loc." of *lahha*- are given without any hint of which ones are diachronically anterior.

We all admire Puhvel for his considerable achievement, especially volumes three and four, which covered terrain not yet treated by other projects such as the *CHD* or *HW*?. I also admire the good coverage he gives to secondary literature (editions, etc.). And considering how long it is taking the *CHD* and *HW*? to advance toward completion, Puhvel is to be commended to staying on a good schedule of production. In spite of the criticisms voiced below, all Hittitologists should feel a genuine debt of gratitude to Puhvel for his hard work in producing this dictionary.

This is a review article of *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, volume 5: L, *Indices to volumes 1-5*. By JAAN PUHVEL. Trends in Linguistics, Documentation, vol. 18. Berlin: MOUTON DE GRUYTER, 2001. Pp. ix + 187. DM 256.

lahhura- The translation "bench" would only be appropriate if one thinks of a sturdy work-table like a carpenter's "bench." Otherwise the English word conjures up images of a low seat, which is not reflective of the Hittite evidence. One can now add another material from which the *lahhura-* was made, namely cedar (KBo 21.14 + KBo 41.32 obv. 6').

The existence of a nominal *šer lahuwās* is uncertain: perhaps KBo 18.181 rev. 33 is a valid example, but Puhvel has misunderstood KUB 33.45+ iii 23–26, where *lahuwās* is a finite verb form, and *alpaš arāš* a new clause. Likewise embarrassing is his misreading of KUB 41.40 19–20, which should be rendered ANA QATI LUGAL watar parā [t]lahuḫḫēni 3-ŠU lahuwāi. From this misreading he has constructed a nominal *parā lahuḫḫēna*: “pouring cup”!

lai-: In KUB 31.101:9-10 the *CHD* (mng. 5) noted that, since there is no word space between *wa-ar-pi* and *la-a-e-er*, it is possible that this is a single word. This observation is unfortunately ignored in *HED* L. Contrary to *HED* ("*CHD* 5, wrongly, 'from'") the *CHD* also included the possible translation "in."

lakkarwant- Stefanini's stem in *-ant-* posited for this word and followed by Puhvel is a bit risky in view of the lack of oblique case forms. I will believe it when I see those forms. I also doubt the viability of the translation "podded leguminous vegetable, legume," which corresponds to none of the ubiquitous Sumerograms for vegetable products known as *Boğazköy*. One expects on the basis of them a more restricted meaning such as "peas(s)" "bean(s)," etc.

I miss an entry for ^{KUŠ}laggašd(a)-, on which see *CHD*.

lala(k)jueš(š)a-. The translation "ant" is sufficient. "Emmer" is simply an archaic word for the ant, not a word of differing meaning. Puhvel's account of the origin of lala(k)juešā from lala(k)juešār on the basis of a form without final *r* stretches credibility. Melchert 1988 (and Melchert 1993) has shown that loss of final *r* in such nouns follows a regular phonological pattern and distinguishes plural (with loss) from singular (without loss). There would be no reason in a collective noun like lala(k)juešār to have distinct singular and plural forms, and for this reason we have (as yet) no example of loss of final *r* in this word.

lim(m)a-: It is true that the CHD incorrectly labeled *li-im-ma-aš* in KUB 12.16 i 2 and dupl. B0 335f as genitive, whereas it seems to be nominative. This does prove that *limma-* was sometimes animate (common gender). But the form *li-im-ma* is not (*pace* Puhvel) dative-locative, but neuter in agreement with *gulšan* and not in agreement with the animate subject *kāš mēniyas*. Either *limma-* was heterogeneric, having both neuter and common gender agreements, or the form *limma-* is a collective, formally identical to a neuter. Furthermore, there is no evidence whatever to suggest that *limma-* was specifically a type of ale; moreover, there is no evidence whatever to suggest that we have no idea what type. Puhvel (*pace* Puhvel). It was a beverage, probably alcoholic, but we have no idea what type. Puhvel has missed one word derived from *limma-*, namely [I] *jimnuwaint-* KUB 33.62 iii 12–13 (cf. *naduwant-* “having reeds” < *nata-* “reed”). See Hoffner 1994 and CHD S/I sub *šaknuwant-*.

lulum(m)ji-: The meanings proposed for this word and for *lulu-* in the next lemma are Puhvel's guesses, based apparently on no solid textual evidence. Once again he has proposed as though it were certain only one of quite a few renderings which would not contradict the evidence, but which cannot claim exclusive validity. The precise meaning of *lulummi-* is still unclear to me. But *lulu-* is something general like "happiness," or "well-being."

lutaŋ(i)-. The claim that this word is neuter in the sg. and common gender in the plural is nonsense. Nothing in the context of the so-called neuter form ^{GIS}lutaŋi requires it to be singular. In all probability *lutaŋi* is a collective plural, while *lutaŋs* is the non-collective ("count") plural in the accusative case. If Puhvel thinks that "consonant with technology, *lutaŋi* was in the nature of a (shuttered) venthole of wood and (rarely) bronze," then it is inconceivable that ^{AB}MES-*uš arateŋs* in broken context should mean "raised?" window. "Hitite windows had no shades and were not raised or lowered. Nor do I understand venthole for smoke." (only two times!) of an upper window (*sarazzi-*) "suggests a venthole for smoke." Both of the passages mentioning an "upper" window say that a person stands beside it, which means that it cannot be in the roof or high up on the wall, but on the

luzzi-: Several new occurrences from the Mašat letters, which were available to Puhvel several years before this volume went to press, have been overlooked: HKM 52:13, 35, 39 have *lu-uz-zi* nom.-acc. The loc. *lu-uz-zi-ia* is found in HKM 52:36–37. And a plural locative seems to be found in KBo 6.28 rev. 30–31 *ša-aḫ-ḫa-ni-ia-aḫ* *lu-uz-zi-ia-aḫ*.

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Rethinking the Hittite System of Subordinate Countries from the Legal Point of View

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The Hittite system of subordinate countries is better known to us than any other similar system that existed in the ancient Near East. Thanks to the relatively rich corpus of Hittite subordination treaties and related documents, we have a fairly good general picture of the rights and obligations of vassal kings toward their Hittite overlords and vice versa.¹ This picture also discloses significant differences among these vassal kings² in terms of rights and obligations, suggesting different levels of subordination. There are, however, still some serious gaps in this picture, and the available data allow only a partial reconstruction of the Hittite system of grading the subordinate countries. Many questions pertaining to the differences in the legal status of these countries are still unanswered, either because of the lack of sufficient relevant cases or because almost all the treaties available are copies made on clay tablets that have reached us in various states of preservation. These lacunae in our knowledge can for the time being only be filled to a certain extent by logical reasoning. The present paper presents a summary of what is known or may be assumed, and of what is still unknown, and suggests some criteria for grading the Hittite subordinate countries, as well as definitions of their legal status.³

A. SOME BASIC OBSERVATIONS

On the basis of the available Hittite vassal treaties and related documents,⁴ as well as on what is known about the circumstances of their subjugation, the Hittite vassal countries may preliminarily be sorted into two basic categories:⁵ self-subjugated countries⁶ and conquered

1. The basic work is V. Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge: Ein Beitrag zu ihrer juristischen Wertung* (Leipzig: Theodor Weicher, 1931). For an up-to-date list of the available treaties, see G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 6–8, and 197–211 (bibliography). For a previous treatment of the Hittite dependencies system, see A. Goetze, *Kleinasiens*, 2nd ed. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1957), 96–103.

2. The terms "vassal" and "suzerain," used here interchangeably with the terms "subordinate" and "overlord," respectively, are far from satisfactory, since they are borrowed from a different cultural environment, and their legal definition corresponds only partially to those of the subordinate kings and their overlords in the ancient Near East. Nevertheless, I have employed them here, since they are commonly accepted in the literature, and avoiding them entirely might have led to some misunderstanding.

3. References to Hittite documents will be followed by their catalogue number according to E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971; hereafter *CTH*, followed by the number of the entry). Abbreviations referring to Akkadian documents follow those of *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*.

4. By "related documents" I mean, in the first place, edicts issued by the suzerain to his subordinate kings and communities (tribal societies, not ruled by a king). In the second place I mean decrees, namely juridical decisions by the suzerain on a case under litigation, and such documents as the "Indictment of Mita of Pabbuwa" and the "Indictment of Madduwatta" (*CTH* 146 and 147, respectively).

5. Reference will be made only to those subordinate countries for which treaties or edicts have survived to allow us to define their status. The "treaties" with the Kaška people (*CTH* 138–40) and the "treaty" with the men of Ismerka (*CTH* 133) have not been taken into consideration, since I doubt that they may rightly be considered treaties. See A. Altman, *The Historical Prologues of the Hittite Vassal Treaties* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan Univ. Press,

as a conquered country. The statement concerning the replacement of the rebellious king by the unidentified Šapiti (that is, not necessarily a member of the earlier dynasty) clearly indicates the free hand the conqueror had in Amurru following the conquest.

The role of the so-called "historical prologue" of the Hittite vassal treaties was not to present a literary-historiographic treatise, but rather to marshal legal arguments and facts in order to justify the terms of subordination set forth in the stipulatory section.²⁰ The reason for the presentation of the two phases in the history of Amurru was no doubt the same, and we must therefore assume that these two different manners of subjugation would have resulted in different legal status for Amurru.²¹ The earlier phase was very likely presented in order to explain the more favorable terms that Amurru had enjoyed before the rebellion, in rebellion and the conquest of Amurru were discussed either to justify an actual worsening of the original terms of subordination, or to pave the way for drastic changes in the future, of the original terms of subordination, or to pave the way for drastic changes in the future, should Šaušgamuwa or his offspring again violate the treaty with Hatti.²² The characterization of Aziru as but a "runaway slave" was very likely intended to assert that from the very beginning Aziru was entitled to fewer privileges than a self-subjugated ruler was entitled to expect from his overlord.²³

2. Absence of Correlation Between a Land's Status and its Terms of Subjugation

We would have expected that the higher status of a self-subjugated country would have been expressed through the terms of the treaty, particularly in the promises to the vassal king, the most important of which were to guard the vassal king on his throne²⁴ and to safeguard rule for his offspring.²⁵ Yet not only is it impossible to draw any decisive conclusions from the available treaties, of which practically none have preserved their stipulatory section intact, but it seems from the available material that differences in the obligations of various self-subjugated kings are sometimes greater than contrasts between the terms of self-subjugated countries and those of conquered ones.

20. This assertion is based on the study of these prologues in Altman, *Historical Prologues*.

21. This difference is analogous to the difference in status of the self-sold *habiru*-people as attested in the Nuzi documents. In some of the Nuzi sale-documents we find that if such a person violates the agreement, he is liable to a severe punishment, such as plucking out his eyes and selling him "for a price" (*ana šini inadinu*); JEN V, 449, 452, 457. This indicates that as long as these persons remained loyal to their master they enjoyed a higher status than ordinary slaves and were not salable, but they were still bound to life-long servitude. Cf. I. Mendelsohn, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1949), 18.

22. The very damaged stipulatory section of the Šaušgamuwa treaty does not permit comparison with the terms of the treaties drawn up for Amurru in the previous generations. Further discussion of the question whether Amurru's terms of subjugation were modified to its disadvantage will be given below.

23. I wonder if this is not aimed primarily at justifying the fact that no promise to safeguard the throne of Amurru for future generations is found either in the Aziru treaty (see n. 26 below) or in the Šaušgamuwa treaty (see n. 29).

24. Šanaššura (CTH 41.1A i 49–52), Huqanna (CTH 42.A i 33, 36–38), Niqmaddu (CTH 46.A rev. 10'–11', B obv. 15'–19'), Aziru (CTH 49.1 obv. 27ff.; CTH 49.11 i 1'–3' [7]), Tette (CTH 53.A i 1'–7'), Duppi-Teššub (CTH 62.1A i 23'–24', ii 25'–29'), Abiradda (CTH 63.A i 10–18), Niqmeppa (CTH 66, §5), Targašnalli (CTH 67 obv. 41'–rev. 1), Talmi-Sarumma (CTH 75.A rev. 5, 13–15), Alakšandu (CTH 76.A i 77'–79', B ii 5–10), Bentešina (CTH 92 obv. 30, 32–33). In the case of Šatiwaza (CTH 51.1, §§8–8) the promise was only implicit.

25. Šanaššura (CTH 41.1A i 52–54), Huqanna (CTH 42.A i 33–34, 36–37), Niqmaddu (CTH 46.A rev. 10'–11', B obv. 15'–19'), Duppi-Teššub (CTH 62.1A i 23'–24', ii 25'–29'), Abiradda (CTH 63.A i 8–9), Talmi-Sarumma (CTH 75.A rev. 4–5, 7, 15–16), Alakšandu (CTH 76.A i 71'–75'), Bentešina (CTH 92 obv. 30, 32–33), Kurunta (H. Otten, *SBOT Beihl. i*, 195–200), Umi-Teššub (CTH 106 obv. 7–14, rev. 21–27). Note that in some cases the promise was limited to the sons and did not include grandsons (Šanaššura, Huqanna, Duppi-Teššub, and Abiradda). In the case of Šatiwaza (CTH 51.1, §7 = A obv. 63–67) the promise was only implicit.

A case in point is the treaties with Aziru and Duppi-Teššub, kings of Amurru, and the edicts issued to Abiradda of Barga and to Niqmaddu II of Ugarit. We may note that while in the treaties drawn up for him and his successors—in all probability he received no guarantee for his grandson Duppi-Teššub, such a promise was given, but was restricted to his son.²⁷ Only in the next generation, in the treaty for Aziru's great-grandson Bentešina was the promise extended to the grandson (CTH 92 obv. 30–33). This seeming absence of a promise for whose throne was promised to his sons and grandsons (CTH 46.A rev. 10'–11'; B obv. 15'–19'). The case of Aziru also seems contradicted by the experience of Abiradda, whose re-promised that his son would follow him on the throne.²⁸

Another seeming inconsistency appears in the terms of two treaties concluded with the sons of rebellious kings: Kupanta-Kurunta and Šaušgamuwa. While neither treaty has survived intact, we are able to distinguish at least one significant difference between them. In country to the vassal king, whereas in the Šaušgamuwa treaty there is no such claim. The Kuwalyia were regarded as fully belonging to Hatti and under the full control of the Hittite status of a conquered country. Yet in neither case is a guarantee of the succession of the vassal king found, and in all probability in neither case was one given.²⁹ Contrary to both these cases is that of the Aleppo treaty (CTH 75). The prologue refers to repeated rebellions on the part of Aleppo against Hatti, yet Talmi-Sarumma is promised that his "son (and) Talmi-Sarumma belonged to the Hittite royal family, having been the grandson of Suppiliuma I, accounts for the difference.

These examples strongly suggest that no correlation necessarily existed between the status of the vassal country and the terms of subordination granted to its king. Moreover, there are solid grounds for assuming that political considerations at any given time may have had a decisive effect on both the legal status of a rebellious country and the terms of subordination

26. This treaty has admittedly reached us in both its Akkadian and Hittite versions in very damaged condition with many lacunae. Yet, as far as the Hittite version is concerned (H. Freydank, "Eine hethitische Fassung des Vertrages zwischen dem Hethiterkönig Suppiliuma und Aziru von Amurru," *MIO* 7 [1959]: 356–81), these lacunae seriously affect only the prologue, while almost all of the stipulatory section can be restored. Cf. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 37ff. As for the promise regarding Aziru's offspring, we may have expected such a provision toulatory section, as later in the Duppi-Teššub and Bentešina treaties (CTH 62.1A i 24'–27'; CTH 92 obv. 28–33). Cf. also the Alakšandu treaty (CTH 76.A i 62'–79', B ii 5–10), as well as the Kurunta treaty drawn up by Tudhaliya IV (*SBOT Beihl. i* iii 67–78), in both of which these promises are given close to the beginning of the stipulatory section.

27. CTH 62.1A i 24'–26'. Actually, it promised only to "protect" that son.
28. CTH 63.A i 8–9. For a recent discussion of this document, see A. Altman, "Some Remarks on the So-called 'Arbträge' concerning Barga" (CTH 63A); *Ugarit-Forschungen* 32 (2000): 1–10.
29. Although the stipulatory section of the Šaušgamuwa treaty is very damaged with many lacunae, this assumption is based on the observation that in both the Duppi-Teššub treaty and the Bentešina treaty such promises are given immediately at the beginning of the stipulatory section, as is also the case in the Alakšandu and Kurunta treaties (see n. 26 above). Yet while the first paragraphs of the stipulatory section did survive in the Šaušgamuwa treaty (A obv. ii 4–rev. iii 5), we find here only Šaušgamuwa's obligation to guard the Hittite king and his offspring.

imposed on its king. The cases of Mittani under Šattiwaza and of Amurru after its rebellion are very instructive for this question.

In the case of Mittani, we learn from the "Proclamation of Šattiwaza" (CTH 52)³⁰ that the part of Mittani later ruled by Šattiwaza had actually been taken by force by Hittite troops. While Šattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the campaign to install him on the Mittanian throne, he had no troops of his own. Nevertheless, the Hittites did not take the opportunity to declare Mittani a conquered country, and the "grant argument"—a clear indication of the status of a "conquered country" (see below)—does not appear either in CTH 51 or 52.

Even more instructive is the case of Amurru. After its rebellion against Muwatalli II, the Great King removed Bentešina and quite possibly lowered the status of Amurru. However, Hattusili III for political reasons restored Bentešina to the throne of Amurru, and restored its status, if it had indeed been reduced. Moreover, he not only extended to Bentešina the original terms of subjugation granted to Aziru, Bentešina's great-grandfather, but also promised his throne to his sons and grandsons. In the next generation, Tudhaliya IV would have reduced the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated in the prologue of the treaty for Šauš-gamuwa. But since Hattusili III had already given up the opportunity to reduce Amurru's status in the wake of its rebellion, and had granted Bentešina favorable terms, and since neither Bentešina nor Šaušgamuwa had committed any further transgression, Tudhaliya was precluded from modifying the status of Amurru or its terms of subordination. All he could do was limit his own promises to Šaušgamuwa. The status of Amurru remained that of a self-subjugated country, as may be deduced from the fact that no "grant assertion" appears in the intact prologue of the Šaušgamuwa treaty (CTH 105).

3. The "Grant Argument": An Indication of a Conquered Country

In a quite limited number of treaties we find the claim that the Hittite king had granted the subordinate country to the vassal king. These include the following countries: Hapalla (CTH 67 [obv. 42, rev. 42; cf. CTH 68.B i 18–19]),³¹ Mira-Kuwaliya (CTH 68 [Mašquiliwa] B i 19, C i 26–27, 32, A i 28, 39),³² the Land of the Šeḫa-River and Appawiya (CTH 69.A i 63–64; cf. CTH 68.B i 17–18), Wiluša (CTH 76.A iii 44),³³ and Tarhuntašša (CTH 69.A i 63–64; cf. CTH 68.B i 17–18),³⁴ which was conquered in the wake of rebellion.³⁵ Since such an important claim should have appeared in the first place in the prologue and then have been repeated in the stipulatory section,³⁵ this reduces the chance that other treaties, now damaged, also contained it.³⁶

30. For this designation and a reevaluation of this document, see A. Altman, "A Reevaluation of the So-called Šattiwaza-Suppiluliuma Treaty (CTH 52)," *Acta Sumerologica* 21 (in press).

31. The circumstances that led to the conclusion of this treaty are unknown to us.

32. Note that in CTH 68.B i 19–21 the "grant argument" is preceded in the prologue by the assertion that Mursili had conquered the entire land of Arzawa, that is, with all its subordinated territories, including the Šeḫa-River Land, Hapalla, Mira-Kuwaliya, and that he had "fixed their borders."

33. This claim apparently goes back to the conquest of this country by Labarna II; see the opening of the prologue and the discussion in Altman, "Did Wiluša Ever Defect from Hatti? Some Notes on the Prologue of the Alak-landu Treaty (CTH 76)," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 31 (2004): 57–65.

34. We do not know the exact status of Barga before the rebellion, save that it was subordinated to Hatti. For a discussion of the case with references to further literature see the article mentioned in n. 28.

35. In prologue: CTH 63.A ii 2–5, CTH 68.B i 19–21, and C i 26–27. In stipulatory section: CTH 67 obv. 43, CTH 68.A i 28, CTH 69.A i 63–64, and B iii 15–16, CTH 76.A iii 44, CTH 106 obv. 15'–16'.

36. We may, however, suggest that the treaties of Šarri-Kušū (CTH 50), Tette (CTH 53), and Talmi-Šaruma (CTH 75), possibly contained it. The country involved in each of these cases was a country conquered by Hatti.

It would seem, therefore, that we may confidently take the available treaties and edicts that contain this claim as representing all cases where such a claim was indeed made. The common denominator here involved is that these countries were conquered by Hatti or at least—Hittite Great King is the ultimate source of whatever rights the beneficiary has on the land bestowed on him. These grants, as will be substantiated below, were conditional acts; they constituted the deed for the grantee of the terms specified in the treaty, which forestalled any possibility that the beneficiary could contest the rights of the Great King to the office or land. Since the beneficiary's rights were derived from the grant made by the Great King, such a contestation would subvert the very right of the beneficiary himself to continue to hold this office or land. Being restricted to cases of conquered countries, such prologue is missing or damaged and the circumstances behind its drafting are unknown.

With these observations in mind we may now try to define the status of the various Hittite subordinate countries.

B. THE LEGAL STATUS OF SELF-SUBJUGATED COUNTRIES

1. Self-Subjugated Country

A self-subjugated country was a country whose king, on his own initiative, appealed to a Great King to accept him into vassalage, usually in return for military assistance and protection.³⁷ The rights the suzerain acquired in this case should have been only rights *in personam*. That is, the suzerain's legal relations with the self-subjugated king were contractual relations, as between a creditor and debtor. The suzerain had the right to impose certain obligations on the subordinate,³⁸ including the payment of an annual tribute,³⁹ and to limit the latter's ability to act freely in foreign affairs.⁴⁰ But he had no claim on the territory of the

37. As a matter of fact, such a move might have been initiated by the Hittite king in some cases, such as those of Šunassura of Kizzuwatna and Niqmaddu II of Ugarit, as suggested by RS 17.132 (CTH 45), a letter of Suppiluliuma I to Niqmaddu. But in the prologues of the treaties drawn up for such kings, the Hittite drafters were careful to present the move as initiated by the subordinate party.

38. Noteworthy among these are the obligation to send troops and chariots on request of the Hittite king, the protection of the Hittite king and his legitimate heir from any enemy, and a yearly visit to the Hittite king to pay homage.

39. G. Beckman, "International Law in the Second Millennium: Late Bronze Age," in *History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, ed. R. Westbrook (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 762 with nn. 44–45, correctly notes that "[a]llthough mentioned explicitly in only a few treaties, there can be little doubt that yearly payments of silver, gold, and products of local industry were required of most vassals. Sometimes the amounts due are set down in a separate document." The treaties or edicts that contain such an explicit requirement are: CTH 49 (Aziru), CTH 62 (Duppi-Tešub), CTH 65 (= RS 17.382 + RS 17.380). In CTH 41.A i 47–48, Šunassura of Kizzuwatna is explicitly relieved of this obligation.

40. That is, Hatti's vassal kings were forbidden to have contact either with other Great Kings or with their vassals, if they were not regarded by the Hittites as their "friends," that is, allies by treaty. They were, however, allowed to have contacts with Great Kings allied to Hatti by inviolate treaty. This rule may be deduced from the general obligation on the vassal king to be "at peace with his (= the Hittite king's) friend and hostile to my enemy" (see, e.g., the Tette treaty, CTH 53.A ii 6–7, and for further references Korosek, *Hechtliche Staatsverträge*, 69). One cannot be "at peace" or "a friend" with someone without having any contact with him.

Note also that the Hittite drafters of the Šaušgamuwa treaty found it necessary explicitly to prohibit commercial ties between Amurru and Assyria, which had recently become an enemy of Hatti; see CTH 105 11'. Obviously, before Assyria became an enemy, Amurru had been allowed to trade with it, much the same as Babylonia had

subordinate nor any direct authority over his people.⁴¹ The terms of subordination imposed on a self-subjugated king very likely followed accepted rules that the suzerain was quite restricted in changing. Moreover, on his part the suzerain also had obligations to his vassal. He had to protect the vassal and his country, and usually also secure the latter's throne for his designated heir.⁴² The vassal's obligations, as well as the suzerain's undertakings, were backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods.⁴³ The military protection and help the vassal king received from his overlord were regarded as a consideration for his subjugation, and once he had accepted this "payment" for his subjugation, he was not allowed to retract it.⁴⁴ This was all the more true after he had sworn an oath that put the transaction under divine sanction.⁴⁵

As long as the vassal and his heirs remained loyal, not only were they entitled to enjoy the suzerain's protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordinate kings. In the first place this status was realized in the fact that the suzerain had hardly any freedom of action in the subjugated country. If the subordinate king passed away, the suzerain was entitled to intervene in the hereditary succession by either approving or denying the heir apparent,⁴⁶ but he could not remove the local dynasty from the throne, nor was he allowed to change the borders of the subjugated country at will. Rather, he was bound by solemn promises to protect the vassal king and his country from internal and external threats and to ensure that the throne passed to the legitimate heir, or at least to one of the vassal's

offspring. In case the line of the subordinate king was exhausted, the subordinate country would not have been annexed by Hatti, but its throne would very likely have been granted to some local person.

Whatever the reasons that moved the would-be subordinate king to subjugate himself, once subjugated he usually no longer had the right to change overlords or to terminate his subordination to his overlord.⁴⁷ However, there were certain circumstances that may have allowed him to ignore his promises, to claim the treaty as discharged, and to terminate his subordination. This might have occurred when the suzerain had been removed from his throne, his family line had run out, or he had been defeated in battle and his country conquered by another king.⁴⁸ For in such situations the removed, defeated, or heirless dead suzerain could no longer fulfill his promises to provide protection to his subordinate.⁴⁹ This was particularly true in the case when the former suzerain and his dynasty had been supplanted by a usurper, for the Hittite treaties demand that the subordinate king should treat a usurper as an enemy.⁵⁰

Another situation which entitled the subordinate king to consider himself released from his promissory oaths to his suzerain was when the suzerain had committed a sin against his vassal. That is, when the suzerain had either violated a particular treaty stipulation or had committed a transgression that cut to the core of the treaty relationship. An explicit statement to this effect is given in the prologue of the Šunašura treaty (CTH 41.1:32–33, 35–36). We read that the "grave sin" committed by the Hurrian suzerain against the subordinate land of Kizzuwatna had released the latter from oaths sworn to the former.⁵¹

2. Former Sovereign Countries versus Former Subordinates

No explicit reference can be found in Hittite texts indicating that the Hittites made any further distinction among the self-subjugated countries. Nevertheless, the available Hittite vassal treaties and related documents suggest that the Hittites would also have distinguished between two kinds or levels of self-subjugated countries according to their former

commercial ties with Amurru in the days of Bentešina; see the letter of Hattusili III to Kadašman-Enlil II, CTH 172 §§10–11 (Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 138–43).

The demand that Kizzuwatna sever its connections with Mittani (Šunašura treaty, CTH 41.1:§58) does not contradict the above conclusion. This proviso refers to the oath of loyalty that Šunašura had previously sworn to the Hurrian king as a subordinate, and apart from this Mittani was regarded as a country that had become an enemy, a fact described in detail in the prologue to this treaty. This rule that limited the foreign connections of the vassal kings was apparently the same for all categories of Hittite dependencies.

41. Pace A. Goetze, *Kleinasiens*, 100, who, without making any distinction between a self-subjugated country and a conquered country, maintained that the vassal king received his country back as a *feud* (*lehen*), which upon the death of the vassal would return to the Great King. We indeed have explicit references to such grants (see n. 35), but these references are limited to conquered countries (with the possible exception in the prologue to Niqmepa treaty, CTH 66, for which see below).

42. For the obligations and rights of the vassal king, see Korösek, *Heitische Staatsverträge*, 65–92, and most recently G. Beckman, "International Law," 761–63.

43. For the suzerain also taking such an oath, see D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1978), 80; A. Altman, "Who Took an Oath on a Vassal Treaty? Only the Vassal or Also the Suzerain?—the Hittite Evidence," *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 9 (2003): 178–84. A different opinion was expressed most recently by Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 2.

44. Although very rarely explicitly prohibited in the Hittite vassal treaties, there can be no doubt that such an act would have constituted a grave "sin" (as explicitly designated in the Aleppo treaty, CTH 75.A obv. 19–20, and the explicit prohibitions CTH 41.1:48–49; see also iv 25–31 [Šunašura], and CTH 62.II.B ii 4'–9' [Duppi-Tešsub]) Egypt, respectively. Less explicit are the stipulations in CTH 49.II iv 19'–26' (Aziru), CTH 66:§15, 81–86 (Niqmepa), CTH 68.A:146 (Kupanta-Kuranta), CTH 92 obv. 41–42 (Bentešina). To these CTH 42.A:31–33 (Hattusili) may also be added.

45. Let me make this point clear. The transaction was concluded and the obligations of the subordinate took effect the moment the suzerain accepted the submission of the inferior party and fulfilled his part in the transaction by extending protection or military assistance. The oath sworn by the subordinate party, whenever it took place, only put the transaction under divine sanction.

46. See, e.g., the prologue of the Duppi-Tešsub treaty (CTH 62.II §4), which refers to the intervention of Mušili II in the succession.

47. Contrary to what might be inferred from the prologue of the Šaušgamuwa treaty, CTH 105.A:31–32, see n. 44.

48. For the sake of clarity, let me add that as long as the subordinate king had not been defeated personally on the battlefield, he had no obligation to the one who defeated his former suzerain. Victory over a suzerain by no means entitled the victor to claim suzerainty over the vassals of the defeated, nor over his self-subjugated countries. But it will be argued below that he might have had a claim over the conquered countries of the defeated.

49. Note that the promises made by the parties in the Hittite vassal treaties were primarily personal. However, this did not preclude the new Hittite king from claiming suzerainty over Hatti's previous subordinate countries, particularly when he undertook to honor the promises made by his predecessors. Hittite vassal treaties usually bound the subordinate king and his people not only to the Hittite royal house but also to "the land of Hatti"; see Korösek, *Heitische Staatsverträge*, 41 and 66f.

50. See Korösek, *Heitische Staatsverträge*, 66f. A clear statement supporting this conclusion is given in the prologue to the Šaušgamuwa treaty, CTH 105 obv. 15–30. Here Tudhaliya IV refers to the behavior of Mašuri, the king of the Šeha-River Land, as an example of how a loyal subordinate should not behave. Muwatallili II had installed Mašuri as king in the Šeha-River Land and made him his brother-in-law. Yet when Urpi-Tešsub, the son and legitimate heir of Muwatallili II, was removed from the throne by Hattusili III, Mašuri did not support him, but instead acknowledged the usurper as his overlord.

51. I understand the qualification "grave" (*ma-kal e-eb-ti-ma* "he sinned greatly") as having been added in order to stress that Kizzuwatna no longer had any obligations toward the Hurrians. That it did not actually matter whether or not the sin was really "grave" may be inferred from the fact that in the same lines Hatti is also released from its oaths to the Hurrians because of a mere "sin" (line 32). In all probability, the Hittites did not distinguish between what is today called in English law "condition" and "warranty," that is, between the terms whose violation entitle the wronged party to terminate the contract, and terms whose violation do not justify this.

For countries that had been sovereign before having been subordinated to Hattı, the Hittite term *kairiwna* (or *kuriwna*) may be applied. As was suggested recently, although the title term *kairiwna* (or *kuriwna*) may have a few special privileges, . . . in all essential matters *kairiwna* treaties "granted the partner a few special privileges, . . . in all essential matters they place him under Hittite domination. The *kairiwna* treaty presents a façade allowing a previously powerful polity to retain a modicum of (self-)respect while surrendering most of its independence."⁵⁶ While I am not sure about the "façade" attributed to this kind of treat-

52 See n. 26.

53. See above with n. 29. As for the appearance of that characterization of Aziru in the Bentešina treaty, I understand this as indicating that as the offspring of a "runaway slave," Bentešina was not legally entitled to a favorable treaty. And the fact that he eventually did receive quite a favorable pact was due solely to the grace of his Hittite overlord. For a detailed discussion of the prologues of the treaties of Aziru, Bentešina, and Saušgamuwa, see *The Historical Prologues*, chapters XI, XII and XIV.

54. The status of Nuḥāṣṣe under Tette is quite uncertain since only part of the prologue of his treaty has survived. See p. 7.

55. I reject the common allegation that before Nijamadda had submitted to Suppaliitumma I Ugartu had been subordinated to it. I see from my foregoing paper "Ugarti's Political Standing at the Beginning of the 14th Century B.C.E. Reconsidered," Egypt never claimed a viceroyalty over Ugartu and never attempted to recover it from the Hittites. If only country did claim Ugartu, it was rather Hatti. I see the pretext of Ugartu's subordination to Hatti in the past, as was inferred from RS.17.132 (P.UG.35-37). However, this claim had no solid legal basis, since Suppaliitumma was a usurper. And indeed, that claim was accordingly untenable in the prologues of RS.17.227 and 17.340 (P.UG.40-43, 48-52). See my paper, "EA 9.27-29 and the Efforts of Mukish, Nuhassa and Niya to Establish a Common Front against Suppaliitumma," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 32 (2010) 1: 75, section III.

56. Beckman, "International Law," 763 with nn. 49 and 51, referring to G. Del Monte, *Il trattato fra Muršili II di Hattusa e Nigmeša' di Ugarit* (Rome: Instituto per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino, 1986), 59; Goetze, *Kleinasiens*, 98–99; and G. Beckman, "Some Observations on the Suppiluliuma-Sattiwaza Treaties," in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, ed. M. C. A. Macdonald (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 56 with n. 20.

C. THE LEGAL STATUS OF CONQUERED AND REBELLIOUS COUNTRIES

1. *Conquered Country*

A second major category is that of a country conquered in the course of war. In this case the conqueror acquired rights *in rem* on that country, which means full control of the conquered territory and a free hand in dealing with it. The conquered country became the property of the conqueror's country under the full authority of the conqueror king.⁵⁹ As far as Hittite practice is concerned, cities that rejected an offer of surrender were subjected to burning and destruction, their population to exile and their possessions to confiscation.⁶⁰ As for the conquered country, the conqueror could treat it and its royal family as he wished. He could remove the family from the throne and annex the country, turning it into a province ruled by a Hittite official,⁶¹ or grant it to a member of his own family as appanage land⁶² or to any other person whom he might install as subordinate king.⁶³ Alternatively, he could

57. My doubts arise because this judgment was based mainly on the Śaṇsūra treaty. While Kizzuwatna certainly belonged to the group of previously sovereign countries, its treaty in the form which reached us in *CTH* 41.1 rose, who understood it as comprised of two layers or versions, entirely different in nature: an older version presents the Śaṇsūra-Verträge (KBo 1, 5); in *Vorräge gehalten auf der 28. Rencontre assyriologique internationale* Wien, 6.-10. Juli 1981, ed. H. Hunger and H. Hirsch (Horn: F. Berger, 1982), 168–72. For the Śattiwaza treaty (*CTH* 151 and 52), see my paper, 'A Reevaluation of the So-called "Śattiwaza-Suppiliuma Treaty" (*CTH* 52)', where I interpret it as much less favorable than hitherto understood.

58. Thus there is good reason to assume that the treaty drawn up for Niqmaddu II of Ugarit by Šuppiluliuma I, the full version of which has not reached us, did not include a military obligation. See n. 82.

59. In the Hittite documents there are many statements to the effect that conquered territory has been annexed to the conqueror's land (e.g., *CTH* 51.1.A obv. 4, 47; *ana mišriya turti/utitrusunni* 'I turned it/them into my territory'), or that it belonged to the conqueror (e.g., *CTH* 51.1.A rev. 21). Yet these statements do not enable us to decide whether the conquered territory had become a part of the conqueror's country or the private property of the conquering king. One may note in this regard that in sharp contrast to the free hand the conquering king had in dealing with conquered territories, he was quite restricted in handling his own country. Thus, for example, in order to impose new regulations on a local community he had to take into account its inherited rights, as the prologue of Hatušili III's edict for the people of Tiluira indicates (*CTH* 89; translation von Schulz, *Die Kaskier*, 145f.). This suggests that conquered land did not become part of the conqueror's country, enjoying the same privileges, but rather was given a lower status, equivalent to that of a captured slave in comparison to other members of the household. The issue is, however, complicated and deserves further investigation.

60. V. Korošec, "Warfare of the Hittites—From the Legal Point of View," *Iraq* 25 (1963): 160–63; Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate, "The History of Warfare According to Hittite Sources: The Annals of Hattusilis I (Part II)," *Anatolica* 11 (1984): 69–72.

61. Especially when there was a geographical continuum between the core of the Hittite state and the conquered country. This very likely happened to Kizzuwatna sometime before the reign of Šuppiluliuma or in his first regnal years, as well as to Išuwa immediately after he had conquered it.

62. See already for the Old Kingdom the "Telipinu Edict" (*CTH 19*, Inge Hoffmann, *Der Erlaß Telipinus* [Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1984]) 1–12, 18–20. Famous cases in the New Kingdom are those of Carchemish and Aleppo, granted by Suppiluliuma as appanage countries to his sons Šarri-Kušu (Piyassili) and Telipinu.

63. Such was the fate of the Lands of Arzawa. See particularly *CTH 6.8.B* 14–21. Note that in certain cases the Hittite king placed the son of the defeated king on the throne of the conquered country. Such was the experience of Aitakama of Qadeš, who was installed by Suppiluliuma I sometime after the conclusion of his "one-year campaign," during which the city was taken.

split it into separate units or detach parts and transfer the fact that conquered cities were not to be destroyed to the conqueror's subordinate kings or subordinated kings.⁶⁴ All these measures reflect the fact that the conqueror was not to be regarded as a subordinate, and his people and under the full authority of the conqueror by virtue of his conquest.

When a hostile city or country chose to surrender without giving battle, the local king might be allowed to remain in office after taking an oath as a subordinate, and his people and his country left intact.⁶⁵ In this case too, the territory itself was henceforth regarded as the property of the conqueror's country, property now handed back to the local subordinate king as a grant.⁶⁶ The lower status of the conquered country might also possibly have been expressed in the character of the suzerain's promises, but more cases are needed to verify this suggestion.

2. *Rebellious Country*

The status of conquered country could have come about in two situations in which the rebellious country had been subdued: either in the course of a war or in the wake of a rebellion. We may assume that a rebellious country was liable to be harshly punished, its legal status reduced to that of a conquered country, and the terms of its subordination made more harsh. If the rebellious country had already been regarded as conquered before its uprising, evidently no change could occur in its legal status. At least we have no evidence for a status lower than that of a conquered country. But in such a case harsher punitive measures were probably taken by the betrayed suzerain against this country and its population. If the rebellious king or his son retained the throne, no promise was likely to be made to them.⁶⁷ In most of the cases, such measures are very scanty and quite vague. In most of the cases, the new king was

64. Suppiluliuma detached the district of Kutmar from Mittani and granted it as a gift to the king of Alše (CTH 51 obv. 25–26). He also cut territories from Mukš and transferred them to Ugarit (RS 17.237 = PRU IV, 63–65; cf. RS 17.340 = PRU IV, 48–52). Hattusili II removed territories from Aleppo and gave them to Aštata and Nuḫaše (CTH 75 obv. 28–32).

66. Thus we find in the Manapa-Tarjunta treaty (CTH 69.A i 63–64): “I have now given you the land of the Šeḫa-River and the land of [Appawiya]. This shall be your land—protect [it].” B iii 15–16: “I, the Sun, [have given] to you, [Manapa-Tarjunta, the land of the Šeḫa-River] and the land of Appawiya.” Cf. CTH 68.B i 17–18: “The land of the Šeḫa-River I gave to Manapa-Tarjunta.”

69. As with the Kurants-Kurants treaty (CTH 105).

been modified. But note that this treaty also ignores Bentešina's rebellion.

The passages from the Kupaṇa-Kurunta treaty cited above do not indicate the fate of the local population, nor the legal consequences for the status of the country. As for the local peoples on the eastern border,⁷⁸ the population of a rebellious country was probably not enue and military manpower for the suzerain. After all, it constituted a source of re-warriors, particularly chariot-fighters, to Haṭṭuša, the most the Hittite kings might be expected to do to the local population was to increase their burden of taxes and military duty. Nevertheless, destruction, even if not for the purpose of punishment, might be the lot of some rebellious countries.⁷⁹

71. These were also the cases with EN-urta of Barga, whom Muṣṣili II replaced with Abiradda; Bentešina of Amurru, who was replaced by Šapili; and very likely also Arḫalba of Ugarit, whom Muṣṣili II replaced with Niqmeḫa.

73. Cf. the promises made to Kurunta (*StBoT* Beiheft I ii 95–iii 20) and Ulmi-Teššub (*CTH* 106 obv. 4'–14'). Kingship of Tarhuntašša was pledged to the son and grandson of each, and it was foreseen that if either of them committed an offense he would be subjected to a death sentence.

74. Those concerning the cases of Niqmepa, Tette, Abiradda, Kupanta-Kurunta, Niqmaddu of Qadeš, Šapili, and perhaps Mašturi (if indeed his father Manapa-Tarḥunta was deposed).

76. According to CTH 632 A ii 26-22, Bentešina was

due to an earlier promise given by Muṣṣili II that any member of Tette's family who killed him would be installed on the throne. This indicates that Muṣṣili had found it difficult to overcome Tette. From the same document we learn that the land of Barga was given to Abiradda, a member of the local royal family, in gratitude for his loyalty and help to Muṣṣili.

77. This seems to have been the situation of Niqmepa, whose appointment was apparently due to a promise given to his father Niqmadu. H. J. G. ...

78. For the severe treatment of these communities by Šuppiluliuma, see the "Deeds of Šuppiluliuma," *passim*; for their treatment by Muṣṣili II, see his *Annals* (CTH 61; A. Götze, *Die Annalen des Muṣṣiliš* [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1933]), *passim*.

79. See the case of Barga in the Abiradda edict (CTH 63a.A₁ ii 1-2) and of Amurru in the Šaušgamuwa treaty (CTH 105 obv. i 38).

had such a rank. Note the repeated statement that the Great King had granted these countries to Kupanta-Kurunta. Thus *CTH* 68.C i 26–27: “I have installed you in lordship for the land (and) I have given you the land of Mira and the land of Kuwaliya.” C i 32: “This land shall be yours, protect it!” A i 28: “Protect for yourself this land which I, the Sun, have given you!” These statements were very likely intended to clarify the new lower status of these countries, that is, that they had become the property of the suzerain country under the full control of its king.

Another indicator of the status of a rebellious vassal country is the measures of punishment taken by the Great King. Most instructive among these are the deportation of the local population and the detachment of areas from the rebellious country indicating the authority of neighboring kings.⁸⁰ Changing the borders of the rebellious country indicates that the Hittite king had unrestricted control over it, similar to his prerogatives with a conquered country.

Yet another sign of the reduction in status of a subordinate country is a worsening of its terms of subordination. As may be inferred from the case of Amurru mentioned above, a lack of commitment to protect the vassal king and guarantee his throne does not necessarily in itself indicate a reduction in the status of his country. But the actual modification for the worse of the subjugation terms, such as by the addition of new obligations not included in previous treaties, may indicate not only punishment inflicted on a rebellious king, but also a reduction of the status of his country.

A case in point is that of Ugarit under Niqmepa. According to the prologue of RS 17.340 (*CTH* 46), Niqmaddu II had subjugated himself and Ugarit to the Hittites on his own initiative. Almost nothing is known about the short reign of his son and heir, Arhalba. Yet, there is good reason to believe that Arhalba had gravely sinned against his Hittite overlord and are good reasons to believe that Arhalba had been replaced by Niqmepa,⁸¹ for whom Muršili II was consequently deposed from the throne and replaced by Niqmepa, for whom Muršili II drew up a new treaty (*CTH* 66). Ugarit's terms of subjugation were changed for the worse in at least one important matter: a new obligation of military service was imposed on Niqmepa.⁸² Even more significant is the fact that in the duplicates and fragments of this treaty we find no promise regarding Niqmepa's offspring,⁸³ whereas such a promise was given to his father Niqmaddu II.⁸⁴ Finally, the small kingdom of Siyannu was detached by Muršili II

80. The best example appears in the Aleppo treaty (*CTH* 75 obv. 19–32).

81. Arhalba's reign is known from very few documents (cf. J. Nougayrol, *PRU* IV, 58f.), reflecting the brevity of his reign. It is quite reasonable to assume that his reign was cut short by the Hittites, who replaced him with Niqmepa. For discussion, see M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici* (Rome: Centro di studi semitici, 1962), 62ff.; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z.*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1969), 359–61; idem, *Syria—3000 to 300 B.C.* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1992), 134f.

82. See RS 17.340 B.5–12; RS 17.353: 13–24, RS 17.407: 12–20*, RS 17.357: 5–10*, RS 17.351.A: 1–10* (= *PRU* IV, 87, 89, 91–92, 94). While we cannot definitely ascertain whether the treaty with Niqmaddu included such an obligation, RS 17.340 (*PRU* IV, 54f.), a proposal sent to Niqmaddu by Sarri-Kušuh, the king of Carchemish asked to take an active (military) part in suppressing the revolt of Tette of Nuhašše against Muršili II. The document, which has reached us in a later copy made by Ini-Tešub, the grandson of Sarri-Kušuh, is clearly formulated as a proposal, not as an obligation. It also includes benefits for Niqmaddu should he agree. Lines 15–19, on the other hand, consider the possibility that Niqmaddu might reject the proposal, in which case the offer of the benefits is void. Nothing, however, is said about punishing Niqmaddu if he rejects the proposal.

83. Although the duplicates of Niqmepa's treaty have survived in a very fragmentary condition, it is still very likely that such a promise was not given to him. We would expect such a promise to appear in the Niqmepa treaty immediately following the undertaking to protect Niqmepa himself (lines 35–38), but the following lines (39ff.) are devoted to other issues.

84. RS 17.340 (*CTH* 46) rev. 8ff.

from the realm of the king of Ugarit and placed under the authority of the king of Carchemish.⁸⁵ All these measures point to a reduction in Ugarit's status, and to the free hand Muršili II hereafter enjoyed in his treatment of Ugarit.

3. Granted Country

If the conquered country was given over as a grant, either to a member of the Hittite royal family or to any local person, the granted country continued to belong legally to the conqueror's country. What the suzerain granted was rather the right to use it, namely the right to enjoy, hold, occupy, and profit from the fruits of that political entity. The rights the grantor had over the grantee were rights in *personam*, based on the subordination treaty drawn up for the latter. In dictating the terms of the treaty, the grantor no doubt had much more liberties than in the case of a self-subjugated country. Yet, this very treaty, while stipulating service by the grantee had to provide his suzerain, also limited the latter's ability to deal with the country arbitrarily. Usually, and particularly in the case of a grant of appanage land, the grant was accompanied by promises on the part of the suzerain to protect the grantee in his office and to safeguard his throne for his offspring.⁸⁶ Consequently, as long as the grantee kept to the terms of the treaty and fulfilled his obligations, the suzerain had no right to remove him from the throne, to make any changes for the worse in the borders of that country, or to tighten its terms of subordination. However, if no promises were made by the sovereign, or if those promises were very limited,⁸⁷ the grantor seems to have had the right to make out seems to have been based on political considerations alone.

An idea of the legal nature of the political grants we are dealing with here may be obtained from the so-called “Indictment of Madduwatta” (*CTH* 147).⁸⁸ In §5 obv. 22–23 we find the following argument:

[“M]a-a[d-du-wa-at-ta-aš-ma] A-NA UUTUŠI ki-iš-ša-an-me-mi-iš-ta [zi-ik-wa-mu EN²]-YA KUR HUR.SAGZI-*il-pa-aš-la* a-ša-an-na pa-it-ta [nu-wa]-za [ki-e-e] [ŠA KUR.KUR]U¹U²U³U⁴U⁵U⁶U⁷U⁸U⁹U¹⁰U¹¹U¹²U¹³U¹⁴U¹⁵U¹⁶U¹⁷U¹⁸U¹⁹U²⁰U²¹U²²U²³U²⁴U²⁵U²⁶U²⁷U²⁸U²⁹U³⁰U³¹U³²U³³U³⁴U³⁵U³⁶U³⁷U³⁸U³⁹U⁴⁰U⁴¹U⁴²U⁴³U⁴⁴U⁴⁵U⁴⁶U⁴⁷U⁴⁸U⁴⁹U⁵⁰U⁵¹U⁵²U⁵³U⁵⁴U⁵⁵U⁵⁶U⁵⁷U⁵⁸U⁵⁹U⁶⁰U⁶¹U⁶²U⁶³U⁶⁴U⁶⁵U⁶⁶U⁶⁷U⁶⁸U⁶⁹U⁷⁰U⁷¹U⁷²U⁷³U⁷⁴U⁷⁵U⁷⁶U⁷⁷U⁷⁸U⁷⁹U⁸⁰U⁸¹U⁸²U⁸³U⁸⁴U⁸⁵U⁸⁶U⁸⁷U⁸⁸U⁸⁹U⁹⁰U⁹¹U⁹²U⁹³U⁹⁴U⁹⁵U⁹⁶U⁹⁷U⁹⁸U⁹⁹U¹⁰⁰U¹⁰¹U¹⁰²U¹⁰³U¹⁰⁴U¹⁰⁵U¹⁰⁶U¹⁰⁷U¹⁰⁸U¹⁰⁹U¹¹⁰U¹¹¹U¹¹²U¹¹³U¹¹⁴U¹¹⁵U¹¹⁶U¹¹⁷U¹¹⁸U¹¹⁹U¹²⁰U¹²¹U¹²²U¹²³U¹²⁴U¹²⁵U¹²⁶U¹²⁷U¹²⁸U¹²⁹U¹³⁰U¹³¹U¹³²U¹³³U¹³⁴U¹³⁵U¹³⁶U¹³⁷U¹³⁸U¹³⁹U¹⁴⁰U¹⁴¹U¹⁴²U¹⁴³U¹⁴⁴U¹⁴⁵U¹⁴⁶U¹⁴⁷U¹⁴⁸U¹⁴⁹U¹⁵⁰U¹⁵¹U¹⁵²U¹⁵³U¹⁵⁴U¹⁵⁵U¹⁵⁶U¹⁵⁷U¹⁵⁸U¹⁵⁹U¹⁶⁰U¹⁶¹U¹⁶²U¹⁶³U¹⁶⁴U¹⁶⁵U¹⁶⁶U¹⁶⁷U¹⁶⁸U¹⁶⁹U¹⁷⁰U¹⁷¹U¹⁷²U¹⁷³U¹⁷⁴U¹⁷⁵U¹⁷⁶U¹⁷⁷U¹⁷⁸U¹⁷⁹U¹⁸⁰U¹⁸¹U¹⁸²U¹⁸³U¹⁸⁴U¹⁸⁵U¹⁸⁶U¹⁸⁷U¹⁸⁸U¹⁸⁹U¹⁹⁰U¹⁹¹U¹⁹²U¹⁹³U¹⁹⁴U¹⁹⁵U¹⁹⁶U¹⁹⁷U¹⁹⁸U¹⁹⁹U²⁰⁰U²⁰¹U²⁰²U²⁰³U²⁰⁴U²⁰⁵U²⁰⁶U²⁰⁷U²⁰⁸U²⁰⁹U²¹⁰U²¹¹U²¹²U²¹³U²¹⁴U²¹⁵U²¹⁶U²¹⁷U²¹⁸U²¹⁹U²²⁰U²²¹U²²²U²²³U²²⁴U²²⁵U²²⁶U²²⁷U²²⁸U²²⁹U²³⁰U²³¹U²³²U²³³U²³⁴U²³⁵U²³⁶U²³⁷U²³⁸U²³⁹U²⁴⁰U²⁴¹U²⁴²U²⁴³U²⁴⁴U²⁴⁵U²⁴⁶U²⁴⁷U²⁴⁸U²⁴⁹U²⁵⁰U²⁵¹U²⁵²U²⁵³U²⁵⁴U²⁵⁵U²⁵⁶U²⁵⁷U²⁵⁸U²⁵⁹U²⁶⁰U²⁶¹U²⁶²U²⁶³U²⁶⁴U²⁶⁵U²⁶⁶U²⁶⁷U²⁶⁸U²⁶⁹U²⁷⁰U²⁷¹U²⁷²U²⁷³U²⁷⁴U²⁷⁵U²⁷⁶U²⁷⁷U²⁷⁸U²⁷⁹U²⁸⁰U²⁸¹U²⁸²U²⁸³U²⁸⁴U²⁸⁵U²⁸⁶U²⁸⁷U²⁸⁸U²⁸⁹U²⁹⁰U²⁹¹U²⁹²U²⁹³U²⁹⁴U²⁹⁵U²⁹⁶U²⁹⁷U²⁹⁸U²⁹⁹U³⁰⁰U³⁰¹U³⁰²U³⁰³U³⁰⁴U³⁰⁵U³⁰⁶U³⁰⁷U³⁰⁸U³⁰⁹U³¹⁰U³¹¹U³¹²U³¹³U³¹⁴U³¹⁵U³¹⁶U³¹⁷U³¹⁸U³¹⁹U³²⁰U³²¹U³²²U³²³U³²⁴U³²⁵U³²⁶U³²⁷U³²⁸U³²⁹U³³⁰U³³¹U³³²U³³³U³³⁴U³³⁵U³³⁶U³³⁷U³³⁸U³³⁹U³⁴⁰U³⁴¹U³⁴²U³⁴³U³⁴⁴U³⁴⁵U³⁴⁶U³⁴⁷U³⁴⁸U³⁴⁹U³⁵⁰U³⁵¹U³⁵²U³⁵³U³⁵⁴U³⁵⁵U³⁵⁶U³⁵⁷U³⁵⁸U³⁵⁹U³⁶⁰U³⁶¹U³⁶²U³⁶³U³⁶⁴U³⁶⁵U³⁶⁶U³⁶⁷U³⁶⁸U³⁶⁹U³⁷⁰U³⁷¹U³⁷²U³⁷³U³⁷⁴U³⁷⁵U³⁷⁶U³⁷⁷U³⁷⁸U³⁷⁹U³⁸⁰U³⁸¹U³⁸²U³⁸³U³⁸⁴U³⁸⁵U³⁸⁶U³⁸⁷U³⁸⁸U³⁸⁹U³⁹⁰U³⁹¹U³⁹²U³⁹³U³⁹⁴U³⁹⁵U³⁹⁶U³⁹⁷U³⁹⁸U³⁹⁹U⁴⁰⁰U⁴⁰¹U⁴⁰²U⁴⁰³U⁴⁰⁴U⁴⁰⁵U⁴⁰⁶U⁴⁰⁷U⁴⁰⁸U⁴⁰⁹U⁴¹⁰U⁴¹¹U⁴¹²U⁴¹³U⁴¹⁴U⁴¹⁵U⁴¹⁶U⁴¹⁷U⁴¹⁸U⁴¹⁹U⁴²⁰U⁴²¹U⁴²²U⁴²³U⁴²⁴U⁴²⁵U⁴²⁶U⁴²⁷U⁴²⁸U⁴²⁹U⁴³⁰U⁴³¹U⁴³²U⁴³³U⁴³⁴U⁴³⁵U⁴³⁶U⁴³⁷U⁴³⁸U⁴³⁹U⁴⁴⁰U⁴⁴¹U⁴⁴²U⁴⁴³U⁴⁴⁴U⁴⁴⁵U⁴⁴⁶U⁴⁴⁷U⁴⁴⁸U⁴⁴⁹U⁴⁵⁰U⁴⁵¹U⁴⁵²U⁴⁵³U⁴⁵⁴U⁴⁵⁵U⁴⁵⁶U⁴⁵⁷U⁴⁵⁸U⁴⁵⁹U⁴⁶⁰U⁴⁶¹U⁴⁶²U⁴⁶³U⁴⁶⁴U⁴⁶⁵U⁴⁶⁶U⁴⁶⁷U⁴⁶⁸U⁴⁶⁹U⁴⁷⁰U⁴⁷¹U⁴⁷²U⁴⁷³U⁴⁷⁴U⁴⁷⁵U⁴⁷⁶U⁴⁷⁷U⁴⁷⁸U⁴⁷⁹U⁴⁸⁰U⁴⁸¹U⁴⁸²U⁴⁸³U⁴⁸⁴U⁴⁸⁵U⁴⁸⁶U⁴⁸⁷U⁴⁸⁸U⁴⁸⁹U⁴⁹⁰U⁴⁹¹U⁴⁹²U⁴⁹³U⁴⁹⁴U⁴⁹⁵U⁴⁹⁶U⁴⁹⁷U⁴⁹⁸U⁴⁹⁹U⁵⁰⁰U⁵⁰¹U⁵⁰²U⁵⁰³U⁵⁰⁴U⁵⁰⁵U⁵⁰⁶U⁵⁰⁷U⁵⁰⁸U⁵⁰⁹U⁵¹⁰U⁵¹¹U⁵¹²U⁵¹³U⁵¹⁴U⁵¹⁵U⁵¹⁶U⁵¹⁷U⁵¹⁸U⁵¹⁹U⁵²⁰U⁵²¹U⁵²²U⁵²³U⁵²⁴U⁵²⁵U⁵²⁶U⁵²⁷U⁵²⁸U⁵²⁹U⁵³⁰U⁵³¹U⁵³²U⁵³³U⁵³⁴U⁵³⁵U⁵³⁶U⁵³⁷U⁵³⁸U⁵³⁹U⁵⁴⁰U⁵⁴¹U⁵⁴²U⁵⁴³U⁵⁴⁴U⁵⁴⁵U⁵⁴⁶U⁵⁴⁷U⁵⁴⁸U⁵⁴⁹U⁵⁵⁰U⁵⁵¹U⁵⁵²U⁵⁵³U⁵⁵⁴U⁵⁵⁵U⁵⁵⁶U⁵⁵⁷U⁵⁵⁸U⁵⁵⁹U⁵⁶⁰U⁵⁶¹U⁵⁶²U⁵⁶³U⁵⁶⁴U⁵⁶⁵U⁵⁶⁶U⁵⁶⁷U⁵⁶⁸U⁵⁶⁹U⁵⁷⁰U⁵⁷¹U⁵⁷²U⁵⁷³U⁵⁷⁴U⁵⁷⁵U⁵⁷⁶U⁵⁷⁷U⁵⁷⁸U⁵⁷⁹U⁵⁸⁰U⁵⁸¹U⁵⁸²U⁵⁸³U⁵⁸⁴U⁵⁸⁵U⁵⁸⁶U⁵⁸⁷U⁵⁸⁸U⁵⁸⁹U⁵⁹⁰U⁵⁹¹U⁵⁹²U⁵⁹³U⁵⁹⁴U⁵⁹⁵U⁵⁹⁶U⁵⁹⁷U⁵⁹⁸U⁵⁹⁹U⁶⁰⁰U⁶⁰¹U⁶⁰²U⁶⁰³U⁶⁰⁴U⁶⁰⁵U⁶⁰⁶U⁶⁰⁷U⁶⁰⁸U⁶⁰⁹U⁶¹⁰U⁶¹¹U⁶¹²U⁶¹³U⁶¹⁴U⁶¹⁵U⁶¹⁶U⁶¹⁷U⁶¹⁸U⁶¹⁹U⁶²⁰U⁶²¹U⁶²²U⁶²³U⁶²⁴U⁶²⁵U⁶²⁶U⁶²⁷U⁶²⁸U⁶²⁹U⁶³⁰U⁶³¹U⁶³²U⁶³³U⁶³⁴U⁶³⁵U⁶³⁶U⁶³⁷U⁶³⁸U⁶³⁹U⁶⁴⁰U⁶⁴¹U⁶⁴²U⁶⁴³U⁶⁴⁴U⁶⁴⁵U⁶⁴⁶U⁶⁴⁷U⁶⁴⁸U⁶⁴⁹U⁶⁵⁰U⁶⁵¹U⁶⁵²U⁶⁵³U⁶⁵⁴U⁶⁵⁵U⁶⁵⁶U⁶⁵⁷U⁶⁵⁸U⁶⁵⁹U⁶⁶⁰U⁶⁶¹U⁶⁶²U⁶⁶³U⁶⁶⁴U⁶⁶⁵U⁶⁶⁶U⁶⁶⁷U⁶⁶⁸U⁶⁶⁹U⁶⁷⁰U⁶⁷¹U⁶⁷²U⁶⁷³U⁶⁷⁴U⁶⁷⁵U⁶⁷⁶U⁶⁷⁷U⁶⁷⁸U⁶⁷⁹U⁶⁸⁰U⁶⁸¹U⁶⁸²U⁶⁸³U⁶⁸⁴U⁶⁸⁵U⁶⁸⁶U⁶⁸⁷U⁶⁸⁸U⁶⁸⁹U⁶⁹⁰U⁶⁹¹U⁶⁹²U⁶⁹³U⁶⁹⁴U⁶⁹⁵U⁶⁹⁶U⁶⁹⁷U⁶⁹⁸U⁶⁹⁹U⁷⁰⁰U⁷⁰¹U⁷⁰²U⁷⁰³U⁷⁰⁴U⁷⁰⁵U⁷⁰⁶U⁷⁰⁷U⁷⁰⁸U⁷⁰⁹U⁷¹⁰U⁷¹¹U⁷¹²U⁷¹³U⁷¹⁴U⁷¹⁵U⁷¹⁶U⁷¹⁷U⁷¹⁸U⁷¹⁹U⁷²⁰U⁷²¹U⁷²²U⁷²³U⁷²⁴U⁷²⁵U⁷²⁶U⁷²⁷U⁷²⁸U⁷²⁹U⁷³⁰U⁷³¹U⁷³²U⁷³³U⁷³⁴U⁷³⁵U⁷³⁶U⁷³⁷U⁷³⁸U⁷³⁹U⁷⁴⁰U⁷⁴¹U⁷⁴²U⁷⁴³U⁷⁴⁴U⁷⁴⁵U⁷⁴⁶U⁷⁴⁷U⁷⁴⁸U⁷⁴⁹U⁷⁵⁰U⁷⁵¹U⁷⁵²U⁷⁵³U⁷⁵⁴U⁷⁵⁵U⁷⁵⁶U⁷⁵⁷U⁷⁵⁸U⁷⁵⁹U⁷⁶⁰U⁷⁶¹U⁷⁶²U⁷⁶³U⁷⁶⁴U⁷⁶⁵U⁷⁶⁶U⁷⁶⁷U⁷⁶⁸U⁷⁶⁹U⁷⁷⁰U⁷⁷¹U⁷⁷²U⁷⁷³U⁷⁷⁴U⁷⁷⁵U⁷⁷⁶U⁷⁷⁷U⁷⁷⁸U⁷⁷⁹U⁷⁸⁰U⁷⁸¹U⁷⁸²U⁷⁸³U⁷⁸⁴U⁷⁸⁵U⁷⁸⁶U⁷⁸⁷U⁷⁸⁸U⁷⁸⁹U⁷⁹⁰U⁷⁹¹U⁷⁹²U⁷⁹³U⁷⁹⁴U⁷⁹⁵U⁷⁹⁶U⁷⁹⁷U⁷⁹⁸U⁷⁹⁹U⁸⁰⁰U⁸⁰¹U⁸⁰²U⁸⁰³U⁸⁰⁴U⁸⁰⁵U⁸⁰⁶U⁸⁰⁷U⁸⁰⁸U⁸⁰⁹U⁸¹⁰U⁸¹¹U⁸¹²U⁸¹³U⁸¹⁴U⁸¹⁵U⁸¹⁶U⁸¹⁷U⁸¹⁸U⁸¹⁹U⁸²⁰U⁸²¹U⁸²²U⁸²³U⁸²⁴U⁸²⁵U⁸²⁶U⁸²⁷U⁸²⁸U⁸²⁹U⁸³⁰U⁸³¹U⁸³²U⁸³³U⁸³⁴U⁸³⁵U⁸³⁶U⁸³⁷U⁸³⁸U⁸³⁹U⁸⁴⁰U⁸⁴¹U⁸⁴²U⁸⁴³U⁸⁴⁴U⁸⁴⁵U⁸⁴⁶U⁸⁴⁷U⁸⁴⁸U⁸⁴⁹U⁸⁵⁰U⁸⁵¹U⁸⁵²U⁸⁵³U⁸⁵⁴U⁸⁵⁵U⁸⁵⁶U⁸⁵⁷U⁸⁵⁸U⁸⁵⁹U⁸⁶⁰U⁸⁶¹U⁸⁶²U⁸⁶³U⁸⁶⁴U⁸⁶⁵U⁸⁶⁶U⁸⁶⁷U⁸⁶⁸U⁸⁶⁹U⁸⁷⁰U⁸⁷¹U⁸⁷²U⁸⁷³U⁸⁷⁴U⁸⁷⁵U⁸⁷⁶U⁸⁷⁷U⁸⁷⁸U⁸⁷⁹U⁸⁸⁰U⁸⁸¹U⁸⁸²U⁸⁸³U⁸⁸⁴U⁸⁸⁵U⁸⁸⁶U⁸⁸⁷U⁸⁸⁸U⁸⁸⁹U⁸⁹⁰U⁸⁹¹U⁸⁹²U⁸⁹³U⁸⁹⁴U⁸⁹⁵U⁸⁹⁶U⁸⁹⁷U⁸⁹⁸U⁸⁹⁹U⁹⁰⁰U⁹⁰¹U⁹⁰²U⁹⁰³U⁹⁰⁴U⁹⁰⁵U⁹⁰⁶U⁹⁰⁷U⁹⁰⁸U⁹⁰⁹U⁹¹⁰U⁹¹¹U⁹¹²U⁹¹³U⁹¹⁴U⁹¹⁵U⁹¹⁶U⁹¹⁷U⁹¹⁸U⁹¹⁹U⁹²⁰U⁹²¹U⁹²²U⁹²³U⁹²⁴U⁹²⁵U⁹²⁶U⁹²⁷U⁹²⁸U⁹²⁹U⁹³⁰U⁹³¹U⁹³²U⁹³³U⁹³⁴U⁹³⁵U⁹³⁶U⁹³⁷U⁹³⁸U⁹³⁹U⁹⁴⁰U⁹⁴¹U⁹⁴²U⁹⁴³U⁹⁴⁴U⁹⁴⁵U⁹⁴⁶U⁹⁴⁷U⁹⁴⁸U⁹⁴⁹U⁹⁵⁰U⁹⁵¹U⁹⁵²U⁹⁵³U⁹⁵⁴U⁹⁵⁵U⁹⁵⁶U⁹⁵⁷U⁹⁵⁸U⁹⁵⁹U⁹⁶⁰U⁹⁶¹U⁹⁶²U⁹⁶³U⁹⁶⁴U⁹⁶⁵U⁹⁶⁶U⁹⁶⁷U⁹⁶⁸U⁹⁶⁹U⁹⁷⁰U⁹⁷¹U⁹⁷²U⁹⁷³U⁹⁷⁴U⁹⁷⁵U⁹⁷⁶U⁹⁷⁷U⁹⁷⁸U⁹⁷⁹U⁹⁸⁰U⁹⁸¹U⁹⁸²U⁹⁸³U⁹⁸⁴U⁹⁸⁵U⁹⁸⁶U⁹⁸⁷U⁹⁸⁸U⁹⁸⁹U⁹⁹⁰U⁹⁹¹U⁹⁹²U⁹⁹³U<

In case the line of the grantee's family was extinguished, the granted country would revert to the grantor's country. If the suzerain's dynasty died out or was removed in a coup d'état, the granted country would revert to the new suzerain, contrary to the case of a self-subjugated country. Since the very rights of the grantee over his country were derived from the grantor, once that grantor or his heirs were no longer in power the grantee or his heirs very likely lost these rights, and the new suzerain had the right to remove them. His decision in this regard seems to have been subject only to political considerations. Accordingly, in a case where the suzerain country had been defeated by another country, the victor very likely had a claim over the granted countries of the defeated suzerain, again in contrast to the situation of a self-subjugated country.

SUMMARY

The Hittite system of ranking their subordinate countries may be summed up as follows:⁹⁰

90. The present condition of most of the stipulatory sections in the available treaties does not enable us to expound further on differences in the terms of subjugation.

RICHARD E. AVERBECK
TRINITY EVANGELICAL DIVINITY SCHOOL

In a previous article I treated in some detail the twelvefold cycle of the second part of Enki's journey (lines 250–386), in which Enki establishes the flow and fecundity of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and the canals (cycles 1–4), the tools, principles, and crops of the farmer (cycles 5–6), the tools and practices of brick making and construction (cycles 7–8), the plains and pastures with their herds and flocks (cycles 9–10), and finally the various city states and their industries (cycles 11–12).² I proposed there that, although EWO is a complex

2. Richard E. Averbeck, "Daily Life and Culture in Enki and the World Order and Other Sumerian Literary Compositions," in *Life and Culture in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Richard E. Averbeck, Mark W. Chavalas, and David B. Weisberg (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 2003), 23–61.

Narrative *sdm.jn=f* 'then he heard' is perhaps less easily recognized as contingent. But then, first, it undeniably alternates with contingent *sdm.tr=f* in medical texts as a general present or aorist. Second, narrative *sdm.jn=f* never denotes consequences following with necessity from events mentioned before. In other words, earlier events never directly cause or trigger events expressed by narrative *sdm.jn=f*. Perhaps, then, *sdm.jn=f* is general present also in narratives (thus W. Schenkel, *Tübinger Ein-sdm.jn=f*: *Die klassisch-ägyptische Sprache und Schrift*, 1997 version, p. 121). Contingent *dd.jn=f* 'führung in die klassisch-ägyptische Sprache und Schrift', 1997 version, p. 121). Contingent *dd.jn=f* then means, at least in origin, 'then he says' in the sense of 'when we get to this point in the story (or when the preceding is all said and done), then he says.' 'When(ever)' marks conditions. In sum, events expressed by narrative *sdm.jn=f* only happen *if* and *when* other events have happened before.

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In this well-illustrated volume, Murray Adamthwaite has made important contributions to study of the cuneiform tablets from Late Bronze Age Emar. Emar was excavated during the mid-1970s by Jean-

Adamthwaite's Emar chronology is even less persuasive at its early end. Just before the publication of this volume, Aaron Skaist proposed that a small number of legal documents from Emar must be dated to the fourteenth century, based on the identification of a second dynasty of local kings who must

1. I use the following abbreviations: AuOrS 1 = Daniel Arnaud, *Textes syriens de l'âge du Bronze Récent*, *Asia Orientalis Supplementa* 1 (Barcelona, 1991); BLM = Joan Goodnick Westenholz et al., *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem: The Emar Tablets* (Groningen, 2000); Emar (VL3) = Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Asiata*, *Emar VI.1-4* (Paris, 1985-87); RE = Gary Beckman, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen* (Padua, 1996).

