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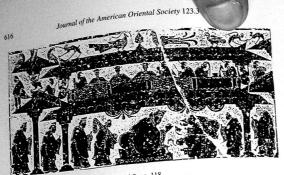


Fig. 12. From Songshan, Jiaxiang, Shandong, Li Song, 118.

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 such as the composite concept zhenjie, that would be more fully realized much later. People of that early of that early era set down basic definitions of Chinese womanhood that later readers invested with a contract of the contract spread and stringent in later eras, subsequent customs elaborated on the nascent separation that had emerged in a 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 exnected 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 Boğazköy, "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 HW2. I also admire the good coverage he gives to secondary literature (editions, etc.). And considering how long it is taking the CHD and HW^2 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 PURVEL-Trends in Linguistics, Documentation, vol. 18. Berlin: MOUTON DE GRUYTER, 2001. Pp. ix + 187. DM 256.

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The following are specific corrections:

labba: Pahvel uses English words (especially in his lemmas) in a playful manner which labha: Puhvel uses Engusu were to my knowledge is exclusively used in the can be quite misleading. The word "warpath" to my knowledge is exclusively used in the can be quite misleading. The word warpen to Amerindian braves. The word seems quite in-phrase "be on the warpath" when referring to Amerindian braves. The word seems quite inphrase be on the warpain which the world seems quite in-appropriate for Hittite kings who did not put on war paint or do dances prior to battle. One finds rather too many cases of incomment of the same words in consecutively cited passages. PUTU-\$I (literally "my sun-god") is rendered, following the consecutively cited passages. PUTU-\$I (literally "my sun-god") is RUB 14.1 rev 13 (both). consecutively cited passages. CLD, "his majesty" in ABoT 14 v 12, but "the king" in KUB 14.1 rev. 13 (both on the same CHD, "his majesty" in ABoT 14 v 12, but "the king" in one passage. CHD, "his majesty" in Apol 17 page, The press sg. 2 verb is rendered "thou goest" in one passage, but "you summon" in page). The press sg. 2 verb is rendered "thou goest" in one passage, but "you summon" in page). The press sg. 2 vero is removed another. (Note that here, without expressed another, Cf. p. 5 "thy majesty, our master, hast been ...," (Note that here, without expressed another, Cf. p. 5 "thy majesty, our master is nost; rather "You your majesty, the state of the same another, Cf. p. 5 "thy majesty, our master, hast been ...," (Note that here, without expressed another, Cf. p. 5 "thy majesty, our master, hast been ...," another, Cf. p. 5 "tny majesty, our limited is past; rather "You, your majesty, our lord, are a pret. e-e5-ta, it is unlikely that the tense is past; rather "You, your majesty, our lord, are a ampaigner.)

Pulwel is quite right that the CHD proposal of two types of journey, one a military cam-

Pulvel is quite right that the Color page and the second a commercial trip, has not withstood the test of time. Were I rewriting paign and the second a common the control of the co the CHU L words (1995), the children in several of the occurrences of the derived noun however, that a non-military sense inheres in several of the occurrences of the derived noun lahhiyala-, as the CHD correctly noted.

I am disappointed that Puhvel refuses to distinguish the (singular) case in a which the CHD terms the "allative" from the dative-locative in -i. I have never seen the cogency of either Kammenhuber's or Puhvel's positions on this matter. Fortunately, most Hittitologists do recognize the distinction, which of course only applies to Old and Middle Hittite, not to the latest phase of the language, when the allative uses were assumed by the locative.

Puhvel's attempt to show how KASKAL (palša-) differed from lahha-, while correct in discarding the civilian connotation for the latter, is unduly restrictive for palša-. It is my impression that "trek" in standard English always refers to a journey which is especially slow and arduous. In my judgment palša- simply means "journey, trip." The bilingual passage from the Proclamation of Telepinu in no way equates Hittite lahha- "campaign" with Sumerian KARAŠ "army camp." Locomotion never inheres in KARAŠ; it is a location, "encampment," or a group of combatants, "expeditionary force, army."

lahhiyai-: Of the eight(!) translations proposed for this verb, the last three—"take on. confront, brave"—can safely be ignored. Since, as the CHD (sub 1 b) correctly notes, the same text clearly distinguishes the acc. URU Kammaman RA-zi from URU Kammama lahiyaizzi, the form URU Kammama cannot be intended as an acc. "stem form." Since the allative is non-productive in NH, one would think that a dat.-loc. of this toponym is intended. Therefore, since "attack GN" in English sounds like an acc., Puhvel would have done better to stick with "operate against GN." Since "leafy mountains" hardly pose a danger to the king and his armed troops, it would be better not to translate here "go brave the leafy mountains," but rather (so CHD) to take the acc. here as acc. of extent ("Go campaign throughout the "A (Mahon). throughout the wooded mountain areas"). The same is true of KBo 12.59 (cf. McMahon. Hittite State Cult 137 Hittle State Chi, 132f., cited by Puhvel), where ID has to be understood as "river country since this is the acceptable Chi. since this is the acc, obj. (of extent of territory) of not only lahhiskizzi "campaigns in but also siyatalliškizi" "husse in the companies of also *Signatulistizi* "hunts in." A translation "braves" for *laḥḥiskizzi* "campaigus sary, it is counter-indicana. sary, it is counter-indicated. No one uses the obsolete transcriptional value tin any more for the DIN sign (cf. P's hand, it is the DIN sign (cf. P.'s la-aḥ-ḥi-ia-at-tin), least of all in rendering the ending of the pret/fimpl. 2, which should always be write. pl. 2, which should always be written -ten (cf. HZL). lah(h)iya(i)-. In KUB 5.1 ii 17, quoted in CHD L-N 9, n=a3 UNU Lihava-usa f an alter in CHD L-N 9, $n=a_s^{\text{URL}}$ Lihaya=ma... the force of nu...-ma is always that of an alternative question: "Or when . . . them in L." Puhvel's "When I take on them [and] L." is impossible grammatically: -ma never joins two nouns within a phrase.

Jaḥanni-: As far as I know, there is no reason one would prefer Puhvel's "flask, flagon" to the CHD's "bottle or pitcher." Its primary use with the verb *šipand-* shows it was used to the Crib's could be pulsed has conflated this entry with extraneous forms. Inst. sg. la-ahfor politing induction in the vessel named lahannalis. Nor has the Hurrian word(!!) in ni-it has nothing to do with the vessel manner angumunt. Nor has the Hurrian word(!!) in VBoT 4:6', which Puhvel reads as "URUDUla-hi-ni-es." The other forms are fairly consis-VB01 4.0 , which to the control of t

lah(h)anza(n)-: I have no quarrel with the summary of evidence from the CHD occurrences or the denotation "migratory waterfowl." The more narrow translation "loon" has, gences of the definition on as so far as I can see, only the etymological supposition to commend it. In Puhvel's contribuso far as a contribu-tion to my festschrift he questions whether the CHD's claim that the lahanza belonged to the duck family could be sustained and note that the lahanza might belong to the family gethe duck running and the duck running are seen as a find no problem with that per se. I do wish, however, that nus Gavia hastena hast (CHD "shelduck") were a generic term for Anatina. To the admirable discussion in the CHD I can only add that the white body coloration indicated by the silver overlay in the models described in HTR is supported also by the Sumerian reading [za-la-ag = UD = l] a^2 . ha-an-za-na-aš in KBo 1.34 obv. 8 assumed by MSL 3:61, namely ZALAG "bright, white."

 $\textbf{la}\underline{h}\underline{h}\textbf{i(t)-:} \ \ Since the \ juxtaposition \ of \ \textit{la}\underline{h}\underline{h}\underline{i}\underline{s}=\underline{a}\underline{s}=\underline{s}ta \ k\underline{i}\underline{s}aru \dots \\ GIS \underline{intaluzzi}=\underline{m}\underline{a}=\underline{a}\underline{s} \ k\underline{i}\underline{s}aru$ "Let him/it become a l.... or let him become an intaluzzi" indicates that both lahhis and GIS intaluzzi denote concrete objects, it is highly unlikely that lahhi- means "relief" or that it is a t-stem. The parallelism with Gisintaluzzi=ma=as, as well as the established rule of Hittite syntax that the clitic 3rd sg. subj. pron. is obligatory with the verb kis-, demonstrate that la-ah-hi-ša-aš-ta cannot be a neut. nom.-acc. sg. lahhisa + -šta, but rather a common sg. nom. lahhiš + -aš + -šta.

A noun laḥlaḥḥa- n. com. has been overlooked. It occurs in [na-]aš-za la-aḥ-la-aḥ-ḥaaš ki-ša-at KBo 42.74;8'.

lahlahhiya-: I would prefer to see the gloss "anxiety" somewhere in this protracted list of synonyms, and I am not convinced by "scurry, scamper," although admittedly the verb is used for an army "milling" around its leader. General disorganized movement is certainly intended, but to me "scurry" conjures up images of squirrels, mice, and other timid ground creatures, which is not intended by this verb. It definitely is applied to large animals like horses. The derived noun lahlahhima- definitely conveys our idea of anxiety. Puhvel boldly states that the CHD is wrong about MUŠEN.HI.A miyanaš, which he translates "birds of proliferation," but he gives no argument to refute the lengthy (and to me convincing) excursus in CHD L-N, 232f. The gen. of miyatar ought to be miyannas, not meyannas (as MUSEN.H.A meyannaš is several times spelled), and "of proliferation" makes no sense at all in a. all in the context. The sole putative ex. of meyannas for miyatar in the CHD is "156/b right coller". col. 8 which is never cited and cannot therefore be verified as a form of miyatar.

lahpa-, lahma-: The CHD cautiously stated that "It is possible that lahpa- 'ivory' and simply as-Jahna- are two spellings of the same word." Puhvel has taken a step further and simply assumed in the same word." Puhvel has taken a step further and simply assumed in the same word." suned that they are without any further argumentation. He has also included many logo-graphic form. graphic occurrences of KAxUD AM.SI, which we did not do in the CHD, since we were

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620 still uncertain about the meaning of lahpa. In the HW^2 or CHD, which specialize in sestill uncertain about the meaning of the logograms would have a purpose. I am still uncertain about the meaning of taupars in the top of CHD, which specialize in semantic investigations, the inclusion of the logograms would have a purpose, I am not sure mantic investigations, the inclusion of the logograms would have a purpose, I am not sure mantic investigations, the inclusion of the logograms would have a purpose, I am not sure manic investigations, the inclusion of the logograms would have a purpose. I am not sure what they contribute to an etymological dictionary such as this. And if *lahpa*-should turn what they contribute to an etymological properties of the logograms have would be misleading. what they contribute to an etymological dictionary agent as this. And it lahpa-should turn what they contribute to an etymological dictionary agent as the contrary to out not to be ivory, the inclusion of the logograms here would be misleading. Contrary to out not to be ivory, the inclusion of the logograms here and Pulvel 2001, the Hittites did not know the electrons agreement here and Pulvel 2001, the Hittites did not know the electrons are agreed to the contract of the c out not to be ivery, the inclusion of the loggether had not know the elephant as pithe summary paragraph here and Pulvel 2001, the Hittites did not know the elephant as pithe summary paragraph here. The identification of the former word is unclear for the summary had a loggether than a loggethe the summary paragraph nere and the former word is unclear (cf. CHD p. e-ri- and as lahpa-lahma. The identification of the former word is unclear (cf. CHD p. e-ri- and as lahpa-lahma. The identification of the former word is unclear (cf. CHD p. e-ri- and as lahpa-lahma. 312, where it is shown that the percentage of the state o labhura: The translation "bench" would only be appropriate if one thinks of a sturdy an animal.

lablura: The translation of the Hittis evidence. One can possess up images of a work-table like a carpenter's "bench." Otherwise the English word conjures up images of a work-table like a carpenter's "bench." work-table like a carpenies as some Hittite evidence. One can now add another material low seat, which is not reflective of the Hittite evidence. One can now add another material low seat, which is not reaccused another manely cedar (KBo 21.14 + KBo 41.32 obv. 6'), from which the lahhura- was made, namely cedar (KBo 21.14 + KBo 41.32 obv. 6').

la(h)huwai: The number of attested forms is enormous, as shown already in the CHD la(h)huwar: The number of acceptance of the variety is bewildering and begs for historical analysis, which unfortunately is article. The variety is bewildering and begs for historical analysis, which unfortunately is article. The variety is become and older, and how do they develop into the later forms? I not provided here. Which forms are older, and how do they develop into the later forms? I not provided nere, which forms under a single stem lah(h)u(wa). It also do not see how one can simply lump all the forms under a single stem lah(h)u(wa). It also do not see not one that the CHDL (1980) that forms like imp. sg. $2\,la\text{-}a\text{-}ah$ demand a stem was already clear to us in the CHDL (1980) that forms like imp. sg. $2\,la\text{-}a\text{-}ah$ demand a stem was already electrons. was arready east to so that the stem or a stem lab(b), and that others plausibly belonged with that stem or a stem lab(w). Id-a-lu-un. The nanco, and the cast, which was published after CHD L was in print, also shows pret sg 3 la-a-lu-us he cast, which was published after CHD L was in print, also shows Pulvel's attempt to make these forms fit under one stem is unconvincing. To say that the final w in imp. sg. 2 la-a-ah is dropped (p. 23) flies in the face of the parallel case of ek^a . "drink," which has pret. sg. 1 e-ku-un (like la-a-hu-un) and imp. sg. 2 e-ku (not *e-ek). The imp. sg. 2 of the stem $l\bar{a}h^w$ - would be *la-a-hu-, not la-a-ah.

The existence of a nominal šer lahuwaš is uncertain: perhaps KBo 18.181 rev. 33 is a valid example, but Puhvel has misunderstood KUB 33.45++ iii 23-26, where *lāḥuwaš* is a finite verb form, and alpaš arāiš a new clause. Likewise embarrassing is his misreading of KUB 41.40 i 19-20, which should be rendered ANA QATI LUGAL watar para [t]uhhuēšnit 3-ŠU laḥūwāi. From this misreading he has constructed a nominal parā laḥḥuešna- "pouring cup"!

laḫ(ḥ)u(wa)rnuz(z)i-։ The various apparent stems and genders are explained by Puhvel differently than I would prefer. Instead of positing heterogenericity (both neut. and com. forms), I would prefer to see the apparently neuter forms as collectives, the com. pl. forms in -es and -us (both serving as nom. subjects of the transitive verb epp-) as non-collectives. and the plural forms in -antes (which are all subjects of transitive verbs) as ergative, not as evidence for an independent stem lahhurnuzziyant-, which would be artificially confined to subjects of transitive verbs. On p. 27 ad KUB 56.39 iv 26–27 the end of line 26 must be read MUNUS MES. read MUNIS MES ha-az-qa-ra[-ia-az], as I show in Hoffner 1998a. This word when the subject of a transitive verb has the ergative ending -anza/-az.

lai: In KUB 31.101:9-10 the CHD (mng. 5) noted that, since there is no word space tween war arm and the control and the contro between wear-pf and la-a-e-er, it is possible that this is a single word. This observation is unfortunately ignored in HEAL 2. unfortunately ignored in HED L. Contrary to HED ("CHD 5, wrongly, 'from'") the CHD also included the possible translation of the CHD 5. also included the possible translation "in."

lak-: It is somewhat rash to assert solely on the basis of one hardly uncontroversial and broken OH passage (KBo 21.22 rev. 46–49) that in OHitt, the active verb lak- has the inbroken Ori passage the character of the intransitive meaning "lie, recline." Over twenty years ago the CHD attempted the translation grain it (i.e., the grapevine) on your back," which admittedly I would now be hesitant to defend. For one thing, there is no "it" expressed as an object. One would have expected nana-pa instead of na-pa, with the -an referring back to the mahla-. But elsewhere, even in OH/OS, the active forms of *lak*- are all transitive, as Puhvel's own cited examples show. If OH/OS, the secretion, I would find a translation "fall on your back" more plausible in view of the massive documentation of the meaning "fall" with the middle of this verb. The lagan of the massive december of the imperative is always to be rendered "keep (something/-one) ...-ed", as even Puhvel's examples usually show ("keep your ear trained"). For thing-time). this reason it is impossible to accept his translation of KUB 36.110 rev. 9–10 as "may every this reason it is many every land lie supine," which he proposes against CHD mng. 2. Regarding the idiom parā lagan land the support har(k), "keep (ears) turned toward," Puhvel's insistence that "Rather than 'perk, prick, hards, received the metaphor resembles keep your car to the ground," the presence of $par\bar{a}$ shows rather that the position of the cocked ears of dog or equid, which incline forward (parā), is what underlies the expression (see already *CHD*). Keeping the ear to the ground is hardly parā. I fail to see where a translation "they lay it at ..." for anda laknuwanzi in KUB 30.19+ i 14 is superior to the CHD's "they bend (i.e., train) it in and around the table of the deceased," which Puhvel labels as "wrong." The iterative-durative force of the reduplicated Illakki was already pointed out in Hoffner 1975: 139-40 with note 34 (as noted also in CHD). Puhvel's surprise at the geminate -kk- in lilakki is strange in view of wewaki and wewakkinun when compared with wekanzi, wekun, wekir and participle wekant-

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 "pea(s)."

lakšai-, lakšena-, lakšina-: The guess "pin, needle" depends on whether the pašk[anza²] in KBo 17.65 rev. 56 belongs to the same sentence (a predicate²) as the *lakšaiš* in the preceding line. The proximity to KUS annanuzin "bridle, halter" indicates the likely semantic range of lakše/ina-, as noted already by Neu.

I miss an entry for KU\$laggašd(a)-, on which see CHD.

lala-: The apparent distributive repetitious la-a-li la-a-li may not be dat.-loc. at all (pace P.), but collective, matching the vocative EME.H.A EME.H.A "Tongues! Tongues!" in KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 rev. 22–24. This would explain the apparent neuter agreement of EME.HI.A in KUB 12.34 + KUB 15.39 i 10, 12, etc., cited in CHD L, 21.

lala(k)ueš(š)a-: The translation "ant" is sufficient. "Emmet" is simply an archaic word for the ant, not a word of differing meaning. Puhvel's account of the origin of lata(k)uešafrom $lala(k)ue\check{s}\check{s}ar$ on the basis of a form without final r stretches credulity. Melchert 1988 (and Mat_{-}). (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 recovered by the second singular would be recovered by the second singular and plural to the second singular to would be no reason in a collective noun like $lala(k)ue\check{s}\check{s}ar$ to have distinct singular and plutal forms r_{ad} forms, and for this reason we have (as yet) no example of loss of final r in this word.

hilla(m)puri(ya). If a word occurs only in Kizzuwatnean rituals, as this does, and exhibit more of the type m—mp—p, it is obviously a Hurrian hilla(m)puritya). It a word occurs map—p, it is obviously a Hurrian, not a Hattic, hibits a spelling variation of the type m—mp—p, it is obviously a Hurrian, not a Hattic, hibits a spelling variation of the type m—mp—p. hibits a spelling variation or use type with folk etymologies of the type indulged word I don't think one should waste one's time with folk etymologies of the type indulged word I don't think one should waste one's time with folk etymologies of the type indulged word. I don't think one should waste the word is a foreign word and possibly a cominher (lale-"nongue" + puri. "lip"). But if the word is a foreign word and possibly a cominher (lale-"nongue" + puri. "lip"). (Hoffner 1974).

lab. Apparently Puhvel is unaware of the precise meaning of Akkadian ichu. Accordlate: Apparently runver is unamental a malformed birth, a fetal anomaly. It has nothing to ing to both major dictionaries it means a malformed birth, a fetal anomaly. It has nothing to ing to both major dictionance at the birth was an abortion. Any normal-term birth might prodo per se with whether or not are the term can refer to either animal or human doc a malformed product. Furthermore, the term can refer to either animal or human duce a malformed produce. I deduction of abortion abortion abortion with 44.61 rev. 19–21 is wrongly births, the former certainly not the result of abortion. births, the former certainty as a second read one should read one should read one should read nu tappin entat[i n=an=kan] / [AN]A UZU JŠARI-ŠU anda zikkizzi "one heats a t., and places it against his penis."

lalukki: Puhvel rejects Calvert Watkins' proposal that there was a class of verbs in Hinte with stems in -e- called by him "denominative statives." Both his argumentation and the considerable number of examples of this verb stem type seem to me wholly convincing. In practice the two stems lalukke- and lalukkess- may have been synonymous to the Hittite seeakers, but historically they arose from distinctly different concepts. See Hoffner 1998b. I see no need to use such coinages as "starswarm" for a group of stars, when a perfectly good term already exists, namely "constellation." The sequence nu-uš-še-eš-ta in KBo 32.14 ii 44–45 can be analyzed either as $n=u\check{s}=\check{s}e=\check{s}ta$ "and them on it" or $nu=\check{s}\check{s}e=\check{s}ta$ "and on it." But in any case the transcription "na-aš-še-šta" is incorrect. The 2 sg. pres. form of lalukkešnu-, ZALAG.GA-nu-ši KUB 56.19 i 13, ii 25, has been overlooked. A second example of la-lu-uk-ke-eš-nu-ud-du is HKM 16:38 (Güterbock in Fs Alkım, 206f.). To lalukkiwant- add the neut. nom.-acc. ZALAG.GA-an KUB 33.71 iii 15. To lalukkima- add the nom. sg. form ZALAG.GA-a KBo 1.34 ii 1 and KUB 57.116 obv. 16. To the acc. sg. also add the many examples of the KIN token ZALAG.GA-an.

laman: Add the verbal subst. lam-ni-ia-u-wa-ar KBo 26.19 obv. 11. The clause in HKM 70 (cited as "Maşat 75/51" 8-10) is mistranslated. The -za in the clause shows that the subject is "you," not "[it]." The kāš in KUB 13.4 ii 33-34 is not to be translated "this." but "such-and-such."

lammar: I find the reading lammar TAR-tan, where TAR has the meaning "cut" (karš-). not attested elsewhere at Boğazköy, quite unconvincing. The word tar-ta-an should be read as fully syllabic, even if we cannot yet identify the verb tart(a)- elsewhere.

lap(p): In KUB 17.8 iv 23 ÎD-ni pehuter cannot mean "they took to the river [apparatly...the fover-than lead to nedd". ently... the fever-heat, lappiyas]." The simple fact is that the pehute- (as opposed to peda-) takes as its object living bair. takes as its object living beings capable of walking, and the correct translation is "to lead-conduct" It is not Rectman. conduct. It is not Beckman (Birth Rituals, 14), but Puhvel who has the wrong translation of KUB 3.35 obv. 4.5 th: of KUB 3.35 obs. deckman (Birth Rituals, 14), but Puhvel who has the wrong trans-of KUB 3.35 obs. 4-5. His reading is incorrect as well, since the signs of the word after [D-at are not [a-a-]an-th-ra base. az are not [a-a-]an-ta-za, but x-ha-an-ta-za, and cannot be translated as "from a heated(?) river." KUB 17.8 iv 14 is also a substantial translated as "from a person" nver." KUB 17.8 iv 14 is also mistranslated, since the -si does not refer back to a person but to an object, and ivascanini. but to an object, and iyowani3kizzi does not mean "is recovering." Neither is lappina- to be translated "tinder, dry veneration with the contraction of the contracti translated "tinder, dry vegetation, underbrush." Nothing in the word's occurrences supports such translations, 1 am totally at a barrentsh." Nothing in the word's occurrences. such translations. I am totally at a loss to know what "overflowing with underbrush" might mean, even if it were a possible translation. mean, even if it were a possible translation of lappinit aršanteš.

lappa: The traditional translation "tongs" followed also in this case by the CHD is vastly to be preferred to "scoop, shovel." Only a preconceived etymology leads Puhvel to prefer his translation. The "remains" (Puhvel) that are transferred with the lappa- are simprefer ins transaction with the used for ashes, but hastai means "bones," while has ply bones (hastai). A scoop might be used for ashes, but hastai means "bones," while has

Japana-: Watkins showed in Fs Puhvel that Luwian lapana- is based on the verb lapgo lick" and that it refers to a salt lick. This obviously eliminated the older translation "gummer pasture" used in the CHD and elsewhere. But it takes time for this discovery to "gunning passace the literature. It is not just "Hout, Ulmitešub" who still has the older trans-

laplappa-: The la-ap-la-pi KUB 24.12 ii 21 that is booked here as nom.-acc. sg. or pl. neut, is probably a collective, since the other forms of the word are all animate. The word neut. Is probably a few for that the determinative would be UZU, not KUŠ. With KUŠ as a determinative we are dealing with an object made of leather or hide. The only passage that would clearly point to a body part is KBo 17.17 i 8, which must be read (with the *CHD*) as la-ap-li- $\langle pi$ - $\rangle ta$ -a[t-ka]n da-a-ii "let him take it with (his) eyelash(es)." This eliminates the need for all the speculation about the relationship between an alleged lapla- "eyelid" and laplipa- "eyelash." I see no reason to assume that there was a "labial suffix having a 'diminutival' function" in kalulupa- "finger, toe, digit," or dampupi- "uncivilized person." And I do not understand how Puhvel connects English "ruffian" (< Italian ruffiano "pimp" < Latin rūfus "red") to English "rough" as a supposed basis for connecting dampu- "blunt" (Puhvel "rough") to dampupi-.

lapruwa-: The proposed meaning "soft parts, flank(?)" is a guess, but is supported by no concrete textual evidence. It is a body part of a he-goat; that's all.

latti: Most of the examples cited are of the logogram ŠU-TUM/-TI and are translated already in the CHD with the same translations used here. They contribute nothing to establishing either the etymology or the morphology of the word latti-

lawatt-: The proposed meaning "mire, slush, muddiness" is only a guess and can claim no support from the occurrences. Nothing in them might contradict it, but neither would there be contradicted a hundred other possibilities. I can see no emendations of the passage KBo 20.21 rev. 1 in the CHD transcription. The hand copy clearly reads: -]meš-ḥi la-a-waat-a-as me-x[-, with the trace after me- being the left side of a horizontal wedge, consonant

lazz(a)i-: The passage cited as "950/c" is now published as KBo 37.23. Five out of the seven food plant names in the list there are wrongly translated here. hassik is not "fig," allowed by the seven food plant names in the list there are wrongly translated here. hassik is not "fig," allowed by the seven food plant names in the list there are wrongly translated here. loyaniš is not "olive," happuriyaš is not "greenery," but some specific fruit or vegetable berg OU. TUR is "lentil," not "pea," and GU.GAL is "chick pea," not "bean." If lazzai- is indeed, the control of the control o indeed the syllabic reading of GLDÙG.GA, which is very uncertain, we would still not be sure that it was specifically "sweet flag, calamus."

lazzai: lazzai: is correctly translated "good, right," but not "straight, prime, sound." Pulvel here simply empties his thesaurus without considering that not all of these related but not idea. but not dentical terms can be fairly documented as meanings of *lazzai*. Similarly in his reprise on 5.22. Pisc on p. 73 he somewhat inaccurately attributes to marša- the meaning "twisted," which has no Suppose: bas no support in any known text. He may realize that he is just extrapolating, but not all bas readers with bis readers will be aware of that. They should not be misled in this way.

lenk: It is true that the CHD incorrectly read li-in-g[a-i]8-ma in KUB 29.7 + KBo lenk: It is true that the CHD incorrectly read li-in-gla-le-ma. But as Puhvel himself must admit 1. tenk: It is true that the CHZ theorem. But as Puhvel himself must admit (p. 93) the ex-21.41 rev. 50 as a neuter li-in-g[a-]e-ma. But as Puhvel himself must admit (p. 93) the ex-21.41 rev. 50 as a neuer n-m-gra-p-minimation" ("ergative") when lingai- is to be the subject of a istence of linkivani- as an "animation" ("ergative") when lingai- is to be the subject of a stance of linkivani- as an "animation" ("ergative") when lingai- is to be the subject of a istence of linkiyani- as an animation posit a neuter *lingai "oath" for Hittite. (All extransitive verb seems to require that we posit a neuter *lingai "oath" for Hittite. (All extransitive verbs.) In the only passage that transitive verb seems to require the contractive verbs.) In the only passage that contains linkiya amples of nom. lingais have intransitive verbs.) In the only passage that contains linkiya amples of nom ungain matter it refers to the subject of the clause, which is the man anda (p. 94) it is unclear whether it refers to the subject of the clause, which is the man swearing, or to the solemn testimony which he brings (-za anda peda-).

lim(m)a: It is true that the CHD incorrectly labeled li-im-ma-as in KUB 12.16 i 2 and fim(m)a- 11 is the man down to be nominative. This does prove that limma-dupl. Bo 3351 as genitive, whereas it seems to be nominative. This does prove that limmadupl. Bo 5551 as genuive, where the common gender). But the form : li-im-ma is not (pace Puhvel) dawas sometimes animate (common gender). was sometimes annual twelforth with gulšan and not in agreement with the animate tive-locative, but neuter in agreement with gulšan and not in agreement with the animate uve-locative, our neutral in age.

subject kāš memiyaš. Either limma- was heterogeneric, having both neuter and common subject kas memission. Surject kas memission and common surject kas memission and common gender agreements, or the form limma is a collective, formally identical to a neuter. Furgender agreements, or the form limma is a collective, formally identical to a neuter. genuer agreements, or an experimental thermore, there is no evidence whatever to suggest that limma- was specifically a type of ale (pace Pulvel). It was a beverage, probably alcoholic, but we have no idea what type. Pulvel has missed one word derived from limma-, namely [l]immuiwant- KUB 33.62 iii 12-13 (cf. nadawant- "having reeds" < nata- "reed"). See Hoffner 1994 and CHD S/1 sub šaknuwant-

lip(ai): Curiously, Puhvel has cited the same passage twice on the same page (p. 102) with different and incompatible readings: KUB 55.35 obv. 7. The correct reading is li-ips[a-an-...], not li-ip-p[a-an-zi]. The word read GIR-as can just as easily be read ANŠEas, and in any event in its context denotes a model of either an animal with hooves or a model of an animal foot. His "foot a bit abraded at the hoof" fails to communicate that important fact

lulim(m)i-: 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 lulimmi- is still unclear to me. But lulu- is something general like "happiness," or "well-being."

lulluri-: Aside from its being a mineral, the only evidence for a more precise identification comes from the glass-making texts published by Riemschneider. Why Puhvel thinks that it must be "hematite" (his rendering of NA₄ KA.GI.NA, Akkadian šadânu, which is not translated by Assyriologists as "hematite") is unclear to me. Neither KA.GI.NA nor šadânu are used in glass-making texts from Mesopotamia. On p. 118 Puhvel concedes that Akkadian lulû might be the basis for the word lulluri-, but he fails to mention that Akkadian lulû is indeed modified. is indeed used in glass-making texts. And the CAD translates this word as "antimony."

lutta(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 luttai requires it to be singular. In all probability singular. In all probability luttai is a collective plural, while luttaus is the non-collective ("count") plural in the context is a collective plural, while luttaus is the non-collective plural. ("count") plural in the accusative case. If Puhvel thinks that "consonant with technology, lattai was in the nature of a charment of the case. hattai was in the accusative case. If Puhvel thinks that "consonant with technic is in-conceivable that GisAR Mer." (shuttered) venthole of wood and (rarely) bronze, "then it is inconceivable that GSAB MES-us arantes in broken context should mean "raised(?) windows." Hittie windows bed maderstander. dows." Hittle windows had no sashes and were not raised or lowered. Nor do I understand how the "repeated mention" (value). how the "repeated mention" (only two times!) of an upper window (*šarazzi*-) "suggests a venthole for smoke." Both of the page venthole for smoke." Both of the passages mentioning an "upper" window (\$arazzi-) "suger stands beside it, which means that it are the stands beside it, which means that it is a standard to the standard to stands beside it, which means that it cannot be in the roof or high up on the wall, but on the level that a person stands. That location does not favor its function as a "venthole" for

Juzzi-: Several new occurrences from the Maşat letters, which were available to Puhvel several years before this volume went to press, have been overlooked: HKM 52:13, 35, 39 several years before and the loc. lu-uz-zi-ia is found in HKM 52:36-37. And a plural locahave tu-uz-2 1000. Land a plutive seems to be found in KBo 6.28 rev. 30–31 ša-alj-ha-ni[-ia-a]š lu-uz-zi-ia-aš.

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JAMES L. FITZGERALD, The Many Voices of the Mahābhārata

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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. 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, Kleinasien, 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 Pahhuwa" 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 Išmerika (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,

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countries. Conquered countries may be further divided into three sub-groups: countries analysis of the Hittite homeone analysis and the most afficials as part of the Hittite homeone. countries. Conquered countries may be further unviocu into unice sour groups countries and countries of the Hittle homeland, 8 annexed and turned into provinces ruled by royal officials as part of the Hittle homeland, 8 annexed and turned into provinces ruled by royal officials as part of the Hittle homeland, 8 annexed and turned into provinces and schallenge countries that had been re-subjection. annexed and turned into provinces ruled by royal oriticals as parton, one attente inometland, 8 pages and turned into provinces ruled by royal oritical state and turned into provinces and rebellious countries that had been re-subjugated by appropriate the provinces of the results of the res appanage and granted countries, and rebellious countries unat national resumpting and differences, force. 10 Differences in the terms of subjugation of self-subjugated countries, and differences to the terms of subjugation are presented in the contribution of the co force. O Differences in the terms of subjugation or self-subjugation are presented in the prologues in the manner in which the circumstances of their subjugation are presented in the prologues. in the manner in which the circumstances of their suppligation are presented in the prologues of the treaties drawn up for them, also suggest a further differentiation within this group. The of the treaties drawn up for them, also suggest a turner americanation waterin units group. The Hittites seem to have distinguished between countries that had been fully sovereign before Hittites seem to have distinguished netween commands to another overlord. ¹² Before dissubjugation, ¹¹ and those that had previously been subject to another overlord. ¹² Before dissubjugation, ¹¹ and those that had previously been subject to another overlord. ¹² Before dissubjugation, ¹¹ and those that had previously been subject to another overlord. ¹² Before dissubjugation, ¹¹ and those that had previously been subject to another overlord. ¹² Before dissubjugation, ¹¹ and those that had previously been subject to another overlord. ¹² Before dissubjugation, ¹¹ and those that had previously been subject to another overlord. ¹³ Before dissubjugation, ¹¹ and those that had previously been subject to another overlord. ¹³ Before dissubjugation, ¹⁴ and those that had previously been subject to another overlord. ¹³ Before dissubjugation, ¹⁴ and those that had previously been subject to another overlord. ¹⁴ Before dissubjugation, ¹⁴ and those that had previously been subject to another overlord. ¹⁴ Before dissubjugation, ¹⁴ and those that had previously been subject to another overlord. ¹⁴ Before dissubjugation, ¹⁴ and those that had previously been subject to another overlord. ¹⁴ Before dissubject to another overlord. ¹⁴ Before diss subjugation, ¹¹ and those that nad previously because the classing the legal differences among these groups, further elaboration substantiating these discussing the legal differences among these groups. tinctions is needed.

The fact that the Hittles indeed distinguished between these two categories of country omes out clearly in the prologue of the treaty drawn up by the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV comes out clearly in the prologue of the design of the historical review of relations between for Sausgamuwa, king of Amurru (CTH 105). 13 The historical review of relations between for Sausgamuwa, king of Amurru (CA) to the Sausgamuwa, king of Amurru opens with the origins of Hittie suzerainty over Amurru, four generations earlier (A i 13-21):14

[Formerly] the land of Amurru had not been defeated by the arms of Hatti. Wh[en Aziru] came to the (great-)grandfather of the Sun, (to) Suppilu]liuma, in Hatti, the lands of Amurru were still [hostile]. They [were] subordinates (IR.MES) of the king of Hurri and to him (the Hurrian

2004), chapter XV, section A. The legal status of some of the countries mentioned in the following notes changed over the course of time and they accordingly belonged to more than one category. The documents given in parentheses in the following notes are those indicative of the specific legal status of a land at a particular time.

6. Ugarit (CTH 46), Amurru (CTH 49, 62, 92), Mittani (CTH 51, 52), and very probably Mira-Kuwaliya before the betrayal of Mashuiluwa (circumstances related in CTH 68).

7. Havaša (CTH 42), Carchemish (CTH 50), Barga (CTH 63a), Hapalla (CTH 67), Mira-Kuwaliya (CTH 68), the Seha-River Land (CTH 69), Aleppo (CTH 75), Wiluša (CTH 76). To this category we should add in all probability Ugarit under Niqmepa (CTH 66), despite the fact that the country was not actually conquered, since there are good indications suggesting that its status was reduced to that of a rebellious country; see the discussion below. Nuhasse may also perhaps be added to this list, if we rely on CTH 51.I.A obv. 38-40. But see CTH 53.A i 3-11, iii 8-9 (for which see the restoration and rendering of Beckman, Hittite Diplomatic Texts, 56), which suggests that this country might have been regarded by the Hittites either as a self-subjugated country or a rebellious country, if CTH 51.I.A obv. 38-40 together with CTH 53.A iii 57-58 are taken into account.

8. Such as the "Upper Land," the "Lower Land," or Hakpis.

9. Appanage countries: Carchemish (CTH 50), Aleppo (CTH 75), Tarhuntassa (CTH 106, StBoT Beiheft 1), and probably Kizzuwatna (CTH 44). Granted countries: Hayasa (CTH 42), Barga (CTH 63a), Hapalla (CTH 67), Mira-Kuwaliya (CTH 68), the Sepa-River Land (CTH 69), Wilusa (CTH 76). Both these types had in fact been granted to members of the Hittite royal family or to local persons. For want of a better designation for the latter group, they have been designated here as "granted countries" in order to distinguish them from appanages.

10. Mira-Kuwaliya after the betrayal of Mathuiluwa (СТН 68), Amurru under the reign of Šaušgamuwa following the betrayal of BenteSina (CTH 105).

11. I include here Mittani under Sattiwaza (CTH 51-52) and Ugarit under Niqmaddu II (RS 17.340 + RS 17.369A = CTH 46; see n. 55 below). 12. Amurru under Aziru.

13. Recent edition: C. Kühne and H. Otten, Der Saufgamuwa-Vertrag (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971):
seen translations 1. Communication of the Communicat recent translations: I. Singer, "Azinu's Apostasy and the Historical Setting of the General's Letter," in Shlomo lare'el and Barner Singer, The General's Letter, "in Shlomo lare'el and Barner Singer, The General's Letter," in Shlomo Izre'et and kanar Singer, 'Azara's Apostasy and the Historical Setting of the General's Letter, in Suna, Hintle Dialonatic Tess, 1910.

14. For this translation and understanding of the text, which differ in certain points from those of Kühne/Otten. Beckman, and Singer, see A. Altman, "The Mittanian Raid on Amurru (EA 85: 51–55) Reconsidered," Altariental itche Foresbauern 30/2 (2011), 326-37. king) (also) Aziru in the same manner was subject. 15 But he (Šuppiluliuma) did [not def]eat him (Aziru) by arms. And Aziru, your (great-great-)grandfather, protected [Suppi]luliuma as overlord, 16 (and) he protected [the land of Ha]tti (as well), (and) afterward he protected also Muršili as overlord, and he protected the land of Hatti, and against the land of Hatti no offense did he

The prologue starts with the emphatic declaration that Amurru before the rebellion of Bentešina, Šaušgamuwa's father, had never been conquered by force. This is immediately followed by reference to the voluntary submission of Aziru, the great-great-grandfather of Šaušgamuwa, to Šuppiluliuma I, the great-grandfather of Tudhaliya IV ("Aziru came to ... Suppiluliuma in Hatti"). These statements are reinforced by the assertion that neither Amurru nor Aziru had been forced into subordination ("But by arms he did not defeat him"). The text then asserts that Amurru and Aziru had previously been subordinate to a Hurrian overlord.

Ignoring the question of the historical veracity of the last statement, 17 this means that when Aziru submitted himself to Suppiluliuma, Amurru had already become a subordinate country, and that Aziru was accordingly a "runaway slave" who defected from one overlord to another. The meaning of this assertion will be discussed below. But we must realize that this assertion, much like the other claims made in the prologue, should have had a legal bearing either on the status of Amurru or on the terms that Sausgamuwa was entitled to expect in this treaty.

Finally, the text asserts that following his submission to Suppiluliuma, Aziru remained loyal to him, to his son Muršili II, and to Hatti. The object of this assertion is to clarify that Aziru was for quite a long period content in his subordination to Hatti. This fact constituted "a lack of protest," which in turn deprived his descendants of the right to protest Hittite suzerainty and to repudiate their obligation to remain loyal to Hatti. 18 Having presented these claims, the next paragraph jumps to Aziru's great-grandson Bentešina, Šaušgamuwa's father (A i 28-39):

But when (my uncle) Muwattalli, the brother of the father of the Sun, became king, the people of Amurru sinned (wašter) against him, communicating to him as follows: "Out of love (= voluntarily) we became (Hatti's) subordinates, but now we are no longer your subordinates." And they went over to (lit. "after") the king of Egypt. Then the brother of the father of the Sun, Muwattalli, and the king of Egypt fought over the people of the land of Amurru, and Muwattalli defeated him. He (Muwattalli) destroyed the land of Amurru with arms and subjugated it, and in the land of Amurru he made Šapili king.

This is not the proper place to go into the details of this paragraph. 19 For our purposes it will be sufficient to note the very clear contrast presented here between the two phases in Amurru's relations with Hatti. Until the rebellion in the days of Bentešina, Amurru was regarded as a self-subjugated country; after it had been re-subjugated by force it was regarded

^{15.} nu-uš-ši [A-]-zi-ra-aš QA-TAM-MA [(pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-t)]a-at. The restoration of paḥḥašta- is based on copy B obv. 7 (Kühne/Otten, Saušgamuwa-Vertrag, 18). The basic meaning of pahš- is "to protect," and the middle pahhastat when combined with a dative means "to place oneself under the protection of someone" (cf. Kühne/Otten, Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag, 29 n. 31; CHD P, 71, sub pahš- 6: "to seek protection with"). 16. AŠŠUM EN-UT-TA. I follow Beckman's rendering here.

^{17.} Amurru and Aziru were at that time subjects of Egypt. See most recently the article mentioned in n. 14

^{18.} For the meaning and importance of this argument as an essential component in the claim of the right of possession in the Hittite vassal treaties see A. Altman, "Claim of Possession over Occupied or Conquered Territory in the Bible and in the Ancient Near East," Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte 7 (2001):

^{19.} See Altman, Historical Prologues, chapter XIV.

Journal of the American Oriental Society 123.4 (2003) as a conquered country. The statement concerning the replacement of the rebellious king by the unidentified 8 and as a conquered country. The statement concerning the replacement of the carlier dynasty) clearly indi-

cates 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. The 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, should Sausgamuwa or his offspring again violate the treaty with Hatti.²² The characterizashould Sausganiuwa of his onspring again to not dealy intended to assert that from the very tion 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

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 selfsubjugated 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 šīmi inaddin): 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 SauSgamuwa treaty (see
- 24. Sunaššura (CTH 41.I.A i 49-52), Huqqana (CTH 42.A i 33, 36-38), Niqmaddu (CTH 46.A rev. 10'-11', B obv. 15'-19'). Aziru (CTH 49.1 obv. 27'ff.; CTH 49.II iii 1'-3'[2]). Tette (CTH 53.A iii 1-7). Duppi-TeSsub (CTH 62.II.A i 23'-24', ii 25'-29'), Abiradda (CTH 63a.A ii 10-18), Niqmepa (CTH 66, §5), Targašnalli (CTH 67 obv. 41'-rev, I), Talmi-Sarrumma (CTH 75.A rev, 5, 13-15), AlakSandu (CTH 76.A i 77'-79', B ii 5-10), BenteSina (CTH 92 obv. 30, 32-33). In the case of Sattiwaza (CTH 51.1, §§7-8) the promise was only implicit.
- 25. SunatSura (CTH 41.I.A i 52-54), Huqqana (CTH 42.A i 33-34, 36-37), Niqmaddu (CTH 46: A rev. 10'-11', B obv. 15'-19'), Deppi-TeSub (CTH 62 II.A i 24'-26'), Abiradda (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: Sarrumma (CTH 75.A. rev. 4-5.7 UC16) Alaxi CTH 61 (CTH 63 a.A ii 8-9), Talmi: 75.A. rev. 4-5, 7, 15-16), Alakkandu (CTH 76.A i 71'-75'), Bentešina (CTH 92 obv. 30-33), Kurunta (H. Otten. Die Bromstafel mer Bekenter im 18-20'), Bentešina (CTH 92 obv. 30-33), Kurunta (H. Otten. 5/BoT Beiheft 1, ii 55-iii 20), Ulmi-TeSsub (CTH 106 obv, 7'-14', rev. 21-27). Note that in some cases the promise was limited to the coast and the coast of the was limited to the soon and did not include grandsons (Sunassura, Huqqana, Duppi-TeSsub, and Abiradda). In the case of Sattiwaza (CTH S1 1 8) case of Sattiwaza (CTH 51.1, $\S7 = A$ 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 Aziru had subjugated himself on his own initiative—and this fact was repeatedly mentioned in the treaties drawn up for him and his successors—in all probability he received no guarantee that the throne of Amurru would pass to his offspring. 26 Later, in the treaty drawn up for his grandson Duppi-Tessub, 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 Bentesina was the promise extended to the grandson (CTH 92 obv. 30–33). This seeming absence of a promise for the son in the Aziru treaty stands in contrast to the case of Niqmaddu II, also self-subjugated, whose throne was promised to his sons and grandsons (CTH 46.A rev. 10'-11'; B. oby. 15'-19'). The case of Aziru also seems contradicted by the experience of Abiradda, whose rebellious country of Barga was (re-)conquered. For Abiradda, its new king, was nonetheless

Another seeming inconsistency appears in the terms of two treaties concluded with the sons of rebellious kings: Kupanta-Kurunta and Sausgamuwa. While neither treaty has survived intact, we are able to distinguish at least one significant difference between them. In the treaty of Kupanta-Kurunta there appears a claim that the Hittite king had granted the country to the vassal king, whereas in the Šaušgamuwa treaty there is no such claim. The meaning of this difference, as will be immediately elaborated, is that the lands of Mira and Kuwaliya were regarded as fully belonging to Hatti and under the full control of the Hittite king. In contrast, Amurru, despite its rebellion and resubjugation, was not reduced to the 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-Sarrumma is promised that his "son (and) grandson . . . shall hold the kingship of the land of Aleppo" (A rev. 14-16). The fact that Talmi-Sarrumma belonged to the Hittite royal family, having been the grandson of Suppilu-

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 Jacunae. Yet, as far as the Hittite version is concerned (H. Freydank, "Eine hethitische Fassung des Vertrages zwischen dem Heithiterkönig Suppiluliuma und Aziru von Amurru." MIO 7 [1959]: 356-81), these lacunae schools affect only the prologue, while almost all of the stipulatory section can be restored. Cf. Beckman, Hintle Data. Diplomatic Texts, 37ff. As for the promise regarding Aziru's offspring, we may have expected such a provision to appear either at the end of §5 or in §6 (iii 4-16') of the Hittite version, or in §3 or §4, at the beginning of the stipularry section, as later in the Duppi-Tessub and Bentesina treaties (CTH 62.II.A i 24-27; CTH 92 obv. 28-33).

Cf. shoots Cf. also the AlakSandu treaty (CTH 76.A i 62'-79', B ii 5-10), as well as the Kurunta treaty drawn up by Tudhaliya IV (SR-rp. We stand treaty (CTH 76.A i 62'-79', B ii 5-10), as well as the Kuruma usery washing V(SBoT) Beiheft 1 iii 67-78), in both of which these promises are given close to the beginning of the stipulatory section

^{27,} CTH 62.II.A i 24'-26'. Actually, it promised only to "protect" that son.

^{28.} CTH 63a.A ii 8-9. For a recent discussion of this document, see A. Altman, "Some Remarks on the Socalled Arbitrage concerning Barga' (CTH 63a)," Ugarit-Forschungen 32 (2000): 1–10.

^{25.} Although the stipulatory section of the SauSgamuwa treaty is very damaged with many lacunae, this assump-n is based on the stipulatory section of the SauSgamuwa treaty is very damaged with many lacunae, this assump-Authorigh the stipulatory section of the Sausgamuwa treaty is very damaged with many taconomics are stored in the observation that in both the Duppi-Tessub treaty and the Bentesina treaty such promises are given immodified. given immediately at the beginning of the stipulatory section, as is also the case in the Alaksandu and Kurunta treatiles (see n. 26 above 1 minediately). the see a. 26 above). Yet while the first paragraphs of the stipulatory section, as is also the case in the Alaxsamus and the stipulatory section did survive in the Sausgamus treaty (A ob., ii 4-min. ii a.). (A obv. ii 4-rev. iii 5), we find here only Sausgamuwa's obligation to guard the Hittite king and his offspring.

imposed on its king. The cases of Mittani under Sattiwaza and of Amurru after its rebellion are very instruction.

In the case of Mitani, we learn from the "Proclamation of Sattiwaza" (CTH 52) 30 that the part of Mittani later ruled by Sattiwaza had actually been taken by force by Hittie troops.

While Sattiwaza had actually been taken by force by Hittie troops. White or Anttam later ruled by Sattiwaza had actually occur (ascered) of the Campaign to install him White Sattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the campaign to install him White Sattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the Campaign to install him White Sattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the Campaign to install him White Sattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the Campaign to install him White Sattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the Campaign to install him white Sattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the Campaign to install him white Sattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the Campaign to install him white Sattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the Campaign to install him white Sattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the Campaign to install him white Sattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the Campaign to install him white Sattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the Campaign to install him white Sattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the Campaign to install him white Sattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the Campaign to install him white Sattiwaza was provided with the façade of leadership of the Campaign to install him white Sattiwaza was provided with the Sattiwa the opportunity of the property of the desired the property of on the Millanian throne, he had no troops of his own. Nevertheless, the situates and not take the opportunity to declare Millania a conquered country, and the "grant argument"—a clear the opportunity to declare Millania a conquered country.

are opportunity to declare Mittani a conquered country, and the "grant argument"—a clear either in indication of the status of a "conquered country" (see below)—does not appear either in indication of the status of a "conquered country". H 51 or 52.
Even more instructive is the case of Amurru. After its rebellion against Muwattalli II, the

Even more instructive is the case of Amurru. After its recompanies and after it, the Great King removed Bentešina and quite possibly lowered the status of Amurru. However, Great King removed Bentesina and quite possibly lowered the shalls of Amurru, and restored Hattuslik III for political reasons restored Bentesina to the throne of Amurru, and restored its Hattuslit III for political reasons restored Bentesina to the under the America, and restored its status, if it had indeed been reduced. Moreover, he not only extended to Bentesina the original status, if it had indeed been reduced. status, il it had indeed been requiced. Moreover, ile in ordinary and in original terms of subjugation granted to Aziru, Bentešina's great-grandfather, but also promised natterms of sunjugation granteetto (2016). Demonstration of the first throne to his sons and grandsons. In the next generation, Tudhaliya IV would have renus turone to his sons and granosous. In the land and the prologue of the treaty for Sausduced the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated in the prologue of the treaty for Sausduced the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated in the prologue of the treaty for Sausduced the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated in the prologue of the treaty for Sausduced the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated in the prologue of the treaty for Sausduced the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated in the prologue of the treaty for Sausduced the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated in the prologue of the treaty for Sausduced the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated in the prologue of the treaty for Sausduced the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated in the prologue of the treaty for Sausduced the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated in the prologue of the treaty for Sausduced the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated the status of Amurru, as is quite clearly indicated the status of Amurru and th gamuwa. But since Hattusili III had already given up the opportunity to reduce Amurru's gamuwa. But since Hattusii III nau an and say status in the wake of its rebellion, and had granted Bentesina favorable terms, and since status in the wake of the repending and and sometime states in the state of the sta neutier pentesina nor oausgamana mas community of subordination. All he could do precluded from modifying the status of Amurru or its terms of subordination. All he could do was limit his own promises to Sausgamuwa. The status of Amurru remained that of a selfwas imit nis own promises to Sausgaman as subjugated country, as may be deduced from the fact that no "grant assertion" appears in the intact prologue of the Sausgamuwa 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. 43], rev. 42; cf. CTH 68.B i 18–19),³¹ Mira-Kuwaliya (CTH 68 [Mašhuiluwa].Bi19, Ci26-27, 32, Ai28, 39), 32 the Land of the Šeha-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 106 obv. 15'-16'), and most probably Hayaša (CTH 42.B obv. 16'; cf. A ii 17-18). To this group we must add Barga (CTH 63a.A, ii 2-5), which was conquered in the wake of rebellion.34 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 revaluation of this document, see A. Altman, "A Revaluation of the So-called 'Sattiwaza-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 Seha-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 Wilusa Ever Defect from Hatti? Some Notes on the Prologue of the Alak-Sandu 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 63a.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 Sarri-Kušuh (CTH 50), Tette (CTH 53), and Talmi-Sarruma TH 75), preside control of the treaties of Sarri-Kušuh (CTH 50), Tette (CTH 53), and Talmi-Sarruma (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 in the case of Barga—resubjugated by force. The legal message of such a claim is that the 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 were contingent on the observance by the grantee of the terms specified in the treaty, which constituted the deed for this grant. By inserting these arguments into the prologue, the drafters 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 a "grant assertion" may therefore serve us as an indicator of this status in a treaty where the 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 Šunaššura of Kizzuwatna and Niqmaddu II of Ugarit, as suggested by RS 17.132 (CTH 45), a letter of Šuppiluliuma 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 chariotry 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]lthough 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-TeSsub), CTH 65 (= RS 17.382 + RS 17.380). In CTH 41.1.A 147–48, Šunaššura 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 these Great Kings 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 my (= 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 Korošec, Hethitische 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 Sausgamuwa 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 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

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subordinate nor any direct authority over his people. 41 The terms of subordination imposed on a self-subiness at 1. on a self-subjugated king very likely followed accepted rules that the suzerain was quite re-stricted in physician. stricted in changing. Moreover, on his part the suzerain also had obligations to his vassal.

He had to generate He had to protect the vassal and his country, and usually also secure the latter's throne for his designated the vassal and his country, and usually also secure the latter's throne for his designated that the vassal and his country and usually also secure the latter's throne for his designated that the vassal and his country and usually also secure the latter's throne for his designation of the current's undertaking the current's tie nad to protect the vassal and his country, and usually also secure the nation of attention of the his designated heir. ⁴² The vassal's obligations, as well as the suzerain's undertakings, were his designated heir. ⁴² The vassal's obligations, as well as the suzerain's undertakings, were uss designated heir.⁴² The vassal's obligations, as well as the augustion a uniform to goods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods, 43 The backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gods. backed by a ceremonial oath taken by both of them before the images of the gous. The implication protection and help the vassal king received from his overlord were regarded as a military protection and help the vassal king received from his overlord were regarded as a minary protection and help the vassal king received from the Submission between the subjugation, and once he had accepted this "payment" for his submissions between the subjugation, and once he had accepted this "payment". consideration for his subjugation, and once he had accepted this payment. For his submission, he was not allowed to retract it. 44 This was all the more true after he had sworn an

ath that put the transaction under divine sanction.

As long as the vassal and his heirs remained loyal, not only were they entitled to enjoy the oath that put the transaction under divine sanction.45

As long as the vassal and his heirs remained to an injection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain's protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain's protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain's protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain's protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain's protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain's protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain's protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain's protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain's protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain's protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain's protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain's protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain and the protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain and the protection and help, but also enjoyed a higher legal status than ordinary subordisuzerain and the protection and the protectio suzerum s protection and neip, our aiso enjoyees are the fact that the suzerain had hardly nate kings. In the first place this status was realized in the fact that the suzerain had hardly nate kings. In the first place this status was realized any freedom of action in the subjugated country. If the subordinate king passed away, the any irection of action in the surgueacte country, succession by either approving or deny-suzerain was entitled to intervene in the hereditary succession by either approving or denysuzeram was entitled to intervene in the intervene to the local dynasty from the throne, nor was ing the heir apparent, but he could not remove the local dynasty from the throne, nor was ing the neir apparent, — but the count included a country at will. Rather, he was bound by he allowed to change the borders of the subjugated country at will. ne anowed to enange the porticis of the southern from internal and external threats solemn promises to protect the vassal king and his country from internal and external threats soremn promises to protect the vassal song and to ensure that the throne passed to the legitimate heir, or at least to one of the vassal's and to ensure that the throne passed to the

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

The demand that Kizzuwatna sever its connections with Mittani (Sunassura treaty, CTH 41.1 §58) does not contradict the above conclusion. This proviso refers to the oath of loyalty that Sunassura 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, Kleinasien, 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 Korošec, Hethitische Staatsvertrüge, 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 King 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 Sungamuwa treaty, CTH 105.A i 30), contradicting all the obligations the vassal undertook in his treaty. explicit prohibitions (CTH 41.1 iii 48-49; see also iv 25-31 [Šunaššura], and CTH 62.11.B ii 4'-9' [Duppi-Teššub]) can easily be explained by the fact that Kizzuwatna and Amurru had previously been subordinated to Mittani and Egypt, respectively. Less explicit are the stipulations in CTH 49.II iv 19"-26" (Aziru), CTH 66 §15, 81-86 (Nigmepa), CTH 68.A i 46 (Kupanta-Kurunta), CTH 92 obv. 41–42 (Bentesina). To these CTH 42.A i 31–33 (Huqqana)

45. Let me make this point clear. The transaction was concluded and the obligations of the subordinate took feet the moment the support of the subordinate took feet the moment the support of the suppor effect the moment open clear. The transaction was concluded and the obligations of the suportunate of the superior of the suportunate of the supor by extending protection or military assistance. The oath sworm by the subordinate party, whenever it took place, only put the transaction under divisor.

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

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

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 Sunassura treaty (CTH 41.1 i 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

- 47. Contrary to what might be inferred from the prologue of the Sausgamuwa treaty, CTH 105.A i 31-32. See
- 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 Korošec, Hethitische Staatsverträge, 41 and 66f.
- 50. See Korošec, Hethitische Staatsverträge, 66f. A clear statement supporting this conclusion is given in the prologue to the Saušgamuwa treaty, CTH 105 obv. 15-30. Here Tudhaliya IV refers to the behavior of Mašturi, the king of the Seha-River Land, as an example of how a loyal subordinate should not behave. Muwattalli II had installed Masturi as king in the Seha-River Land and made him his brother-in-law. Yet when Urhi-Tessub, the son and legitimate heir of Muwattalli II, was removed from the throne by Hattušili III, Mašturi did not support him, but instead acknowledged the usurper as his overlord.
- 51. I understand the qualification "grave" (ma-kal e-eh-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.

Journal of the American Oriental Society 123.4 (2003) legal status before entering Hittite subordination; sovereign countries and subordinate countries. Such a distinction is consequently and the subordination is consequently as a subordinate countries.

tegal status before entering Hittite subordination; sovereign countries and subordination tries. Such a distinction is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the prologue of the SauKamunus and Subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the prologue of the SauKamunus and Subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the prologue of the SauKamunus and Subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the prologue of the SauKamunus and Subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the prologue of the SauKamunus and Subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the prologue of the SauKamunus and Subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the prologue of the SauKamunus and Subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the prologue of the SauKamunus and Subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the prologue of the SauKamunus and Subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the prologue of the SauKamunus and Subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the prologue of the SauKamunus and Subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the prologue of the SauKamunus and Subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the subordination is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the subordination is subordination in the subordination in the subordination is subordination in the subordination in the subordination is subordinated by the emphatic assertion in the subordination is subordinated by the emphatic assertion in the subordination is subordinated by the emphatic assertion in the subor uses. Such a distinction is suggested by the emphatic assertion in the prologue or the Saus-gamuwa treaty discussed above that before Aziru had submitted to Suppiluliuma he had been subordinate to another conditions of the submitted to Aziru as been subordinate to another overlord (CTH 105.A i 17-20). A similar reference to Aziru as a subordinate to another overlord (CTH 105.A i 17-20). A similar reference as a subordinate who had a few and a subordinate who had a few a subordinate to another overlord (CTH 105.A i 17-20). A similar research of a subordinate who had defected from his former overlord appears in the Aziru treaty and again in that of Bentral

again in that of Bentesina (CTH 49.II i 14-26, CTH 92 obt. 4-6).

Such a presentation presumably had a legal bearing on the status of Amurru or on the runs to which these above. owen a presentation presumably had a legal bearing on the status of America of the terms to which these three kings were entitled. Yet this would be understandable only if we take it as inflactions. take it as reflecting a legal distinction between sovereign countries that had become subordinate and subordinate and subordinate and subordinate. dinate and subordinate countries that had merely changed their overlord. That is, the kings of the latter and subordinate countries that had merely changed their overlord. of the latter countries were entitled to less favorable terms than were the kings of formerly of the latter countries were entitled to less favorable terms unan seed on the promise of somethy overlight countries. This accords well the case of Aziru, for he—save for the promise of somethy of the promise of the promise of somethy of the promise of somethy of the promise of somethy of the promise of the pr minary protection (CTH 49.II iii 1/-3)—did not receive any constant to the subjugation treasure in Supplialium. This stands in contrast to what we find in other self-subjugation treasure. sion to Suppituliuma. This stands in contrast to what we find a proper some promises, they ties like those of Sattiwaza or Niqmaddu. And even if Aziru was given some promises, they tres like those of Sattiwaza or Niqmaddu. And even in Azan was Brown section of his treaty, would have been quite limited, as may be inferred from the stipulatory section of his treaty, would have been quite limited, as may be interred from the Supermore and the supermore supermore which, although very damaged, does not seem to have lost much material. S2 Such a conclusion of the supermore supermore

sion would most probably also fit the case of Sausgamuwa. 53 A further argument in favor of the above distinction is that it may well account for the A turner argument in tavoir of the above and Amurru under Aziru and perhaps also differences in the terms of subordination imposed on Amurru under Aziru and perhaps also uniferences in the terms of subodialization in the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niqmaddu II and Miton Nuhasse under Tette 4 on the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niqmaddu II and Miton Nuhasse under Tette 4 on the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niqmaddu II and Miton Nuhasse under Tette 4 on the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niqmaddu II and Miton Nuhasse under Niqmaddu II and Miton Nuhasse under Tette 4 on the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niqmaddu II and Miton Nuhasse under Tette 4 on the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niqmaddu II and Miton Nuhasse under Tette 4 on the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niqmaddu II and Miton Nuhasse under Tette 4 on the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niqmaddu II and Miton Nuhasse under Tette 5 on the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niqmaddu II and Miton Nuhasse under Tette 5 on the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niqmaddu II and Miton Niquasse under Tette 5 on the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niquasse under Tette 5 on the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niquasse under Tette 5 on the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niquasse under Tette 5 on the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niquasse under Tette 5 on the one hand, and those of Ugarit under Niquasse under Niquasse

on under Sautiwaza on the outer.

For countries that had been sovereign before having been subordinated to Hatti, the Hittani under Šattiwaza on the other.55 tite term kuirwana (or kuriwana) may be applied. As was suggested recently, although the kuinwana treaties "granted the partner a few special privileges, . . . in all essential matters they place him under Hittite domination. The kuirwana treaty presents a façade allowing a previously powerful polity to retain a modicum of (self-)respect while surrendering most of its independence." While I am not sure about the "façade" attributed to this kind of trea-

ties, 57 such a pact might have granted some special privileges which do not appear in ordi-

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 Sunassura treaty. While Kizzuwatna certainly belonged to the group of previously sovereign countries, its treaty in the form which reached us in CTH 41.1 may not represent a typical example of this group. I adhere in this point to the interpretation of this treaty by Korosec, who understood it as comprised of two layers or versions, entirely different in nature: an older version presenting almost a parity treaty, and a later ordinary vassal treaty. See V. Korošec, "Über den nichtparitätischen Charakter des Sunasura-Vertrages (KBo I, 5)," in Vorträge gehalten auf der 28. Rencontre assyriologique internationale in Wien, 6-10. Juli 1981, ed. H. Hunger and H. Hirsch (Horn: F. Berger, 1982), 168-72. For the Sattiwaza treaty (CTH 51 and 52), see my paper, "A Revaluation of the So-called 'Sattiwaza-Suppiluliuma 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.I.A obv. 4, 47: ana misriya uttir/uttiršunuti "I turned it/them into my territory"), or that it belonged to the conqueror (e.g., CTH 51.I.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 Hattusili III's edict for the people of Tiliura indicates (CTH 89; translation von Schuler, Die Kaskäer, 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 Suppiluliuma 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]) i 8–12, 18–20. Famous cases in the New Kingdom are those of Carchemish and Alenne. Aleppo, granted by Suppiluliuma as appanage countries to his sons Sarri-Kushi (Piyassiii) and Telipinu.

63. Such was the fate of the Lands of Arzawa. See particularly CTH 68.B i 14–21. Note that in certain cases the Hittle king placed the son of the defeated king on the throne of the conquered country. Such was the experience of Attackers. of Altagamma of Qades, who was installed by Suppiluliuma I sometime after the conclusion of his "one-year cam-paign," during the Control of Altagamma of Qades, who was installed by Suppiluliuma I sometime after the conclusion of his "one-year campaign," during which the city was taken.

^{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 Šaušgamuwa, see The Historical Prologues, chapters XI, XII and XIV.

^{54.} The status of Nuhasse under Tette is quite uncertain since only part of the prologue of his treaty has survived. See n. 7.

^{55.} I reject the common allegation that before Niqmaddu had submitted to Šuppiluliuma I Ugarit had been subordinate to Egypt. See my forthcoming paper "Ugarit's Political Standing at the Beginning of the 14th Century B.C.E. Reconsidered." Egypt never expressed a claim over Ugarit and never attempted to recover it from the Hittites. If some county did claim Ugarit, it was rather Hatti, based on the pretext of Ugarit's subordination to Hatti in the past, as may be inferred from RS 17.132 (PRU IV, 35-37). However, this claim had no solid legal basis, since Suppiluliuma was a usurper. And indeed, that claim was accordingly entirely ignored in the prologues of RS 17.227 and 17.340 (PRU IV, 40-43, 48-52). See my paper, "EA 59: 27-29 and the Efforts of Mukiš, Nuhašše and Niya to Establish a Common Front against Suppiluliuma," Ugarit-Forschungen 33 (2001): 1–25, section III.

^{56.} Beckman, "International Law," 763 with nn. 49 and 51, referring to G. Del Monte, Il trattato fra Muršili Il di Hattuda e Niqmepa' di Ugarii (Rome: Instituto per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino, 1986), 59; Goetze, Kleinasien, 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. Cohen et al. (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press), 56 with n. 20.

split it into separate units or detach parts and transfer them to the jurisdiction of other allied or subordinated kings 64.411. or subordinated kings. ⁶⁴ All these measures reflect the fact that conquered territory came under the full authority of the When a hostile city or country chose to surrender without giving battle, the local king ight be allowed to remain a more constant and his people and under the full authority of the conqueror by virtue of his conquest.

When a boundary of the conqueror by virtue of his conquest.

might be allowed to remain in office after taking an oath as a subordinate, and his people and his country left intact 83 r. at 100 might be allowed to remain in office after taking an oath as a subordinate, and his people and his country left intact 83 r. at 100 might be allowed to remain in office after taking an oath as a subordinate, and his people and his country left intact 83 r. at 100 might be allowed to remain in office after taking an oath as a subordinate, and his people and his country left intact 83 r. at 100 might be allowed to remain in office after taking an oath as a subordinate, and his people and his country left intact 83 r. at 100 might be allowed to remain in office after taking an oath as a subordinate, and his people and his country left intact 83 r. at 100 might be allowed to remain in office after taking an oath as a subordinate, and his people and his country left intact 83 r. at 100 might be allowed to remain in office after taking an oath as a subordinate, and his people and his country left intact 83 r. at 100 might be allowed to remain in office after taking an oath as a subordinate, and his people and his country left intact 83 r. at 100 might be allowed to remain in office after taking an oath as a subordinate with the subordinate and his people and his peop night to allowed to remain in office after taking an oath as a subordinate. An example of the strength of the property of the conqueror's country, property now handed back to the local subordinate king as a grant. 6 The house as a grant. The lower status of the conquered country might also possibly have been exas grant.— The lower status of the conquered country might asse possess, but more cases are needed to verify this suspection. suggestion.

The status of conquered country could have come about in two situations in which the

The status of conquered country could have come aroun in one another in which the 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 receimous country nad aireauy ocen regalice a service no evidence for a status lower than 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 that or a conquered country, but in such a conductive and its population. If the rebellious king taken by the betrayed suzerain against this country and its population. If or his son retained the throne, no promise was likely to be made to them. 67

r his son retained the throne, no promise the second retained the unique. In most of Yet the available evidence for such measures is very scanty and quite vague. In most of the known cases of rebellion, we do not possess the new treaty drawn up for the new king installed by the Hitties. Where we do have the new treaty, its stipulatory section has very often not been preserved intact. 8 Where this section has survived, we lack previous treaties with the same country for comparison. 69 In the few available treaties and documents related to cases of rebellion we also find no explicit declaration as to whether there had been a reduction in legal status, and there is seldom an indication as to whether there had been any modification in the subordination terms. 70 We must infer the required information either from the terms of the new treaty or from steps taken by the Hittite king against the rebellious

- 64. Suppiluliuma detached the district of Kutmar from Mittani and granted it as a gift to the king of AlSe (CTH 51 obv. 25-26). He also cut territories from Mukiš and transferred them to Ugarit (RS 17.237 = PRU IV, 63-65; cf. RS 17.340 = PRU IV, 48-52). Hattušili II removed territories from Aleppo and gave them to Aštata and Nuḥašše (CTH 75 obv. 28-32).
- 65. Cf. the case of the Kaškan city of Timuhala in the "Deeds of Suppiluliuma" fr. 34: 47-51 (H. G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by his Son, Muršili II," JCS 10 [1956]: 110) and that of Manapa-Tarhunta (CTH 69).
- 66. Thus we find in the Manapa-Tarhunta treaty (CTH 69.A i 63-64): "I have now given you the land of the Seha-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-Tarhunta, the land of the Seha-River] and the land of Appawiya." Cf. CTH 68.B i 17-18: "The land of the Seha-River I gave to Manapa-Tarbunta."
- 67. Note the difference between the treaties drawn up in the wake of rebellion or treachery for Kupanta-Kurunta and Manapa-Tarhunta (CTH 68 and 69), where only very limited promises or none at all are made by the suzerain. and the treaty of Targasnalli, whose country is not known to have been rebellious, which does include quite favorable promises (CTH 67 obv. 41'-rev. 1).
- 68. As with the Sausgamuwa treaty (CTH 105).
- 69. As with the Kupanta-Kurunta treaty (CTH 68).
- The Bentesina treaty (CTH 92 obv. 28-30) is an exception in asserting that the terms of this treaty had not sen modified. But note that the: been modified. But note that this treaty also ignores Bentešina's rebellion.

The Kupanta-Kurunta treaty (CTH 68) provides us with the basic principle according to which the Hittite kings treated rebellious subordinate kings (§7 C i 13'-22'). The rebellious royal family might be removed and replaced by a non-affiliated person, its house and (private) land confiscated, and the borders of the country changed. The removal of a rebellious king from the throne may be viewed as self-evident punishment. 71 Such a rebel might have also faced a death sentence. Moreover, the innocent offspring of the rebellious king was also liable to be punished and denied the throne. And yet the very next paragraph (§8) of the prologue reveals that in the case of Kupanta-Kurunta the Hittites deviated from standard practice and returned the country and kingship to the son of the rebellious king. We are not informed about the circumstances under which the Great King was free to install an outsider on the throne, and when he was compelled to replace the removed king only by another member of the local royal family.⁷³ The relevant sources⁷⁴ are not always informative about the precise relationship of the installed person to the rebellious family. 75 And in the few cases where we are informed that he did belong to the rebellious family, we do not know if he had been installed out of special consideration 76 or because of previous promises. 77

The passages from the Kupanta-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 people, with the exception of such troublesome communities as the Kaska in the north or peoples on the eastern border, ⁷⁸ the population of a rebellious country was probably not affected and did not suffer any severe punishment. After all, it constituted a source of revenue and military manpower for the suzerain. Apart from deportation of useful artisans and warriors, particularly chariot-fighters, to Hattusa, 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

As for the legal status of the rebellious country, the Kupanta-Kurunta treaty provides no explicit discussion of this question. Yet it does give an indication that henceforth, the legal status of Mira and Kuwaliya was that of a conquered country, if it indeed had not previously

- 71. These were also the cases with EN-urta of Barga, whom Muršili II replaced with Abiradda; Bentelina of Amurru, who was replaced by Šapili; and very likely also Arhalba of Ugarit, whom Muršili II replaced with 72. See following note.
- 73. Cf. the promises made to Kurunta (StBoT Beiheft I ii 95-iii 20) and Ulmi-Teššub (CTH 106 obv. 4'-14'). Kingship of Tarhuntassa 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, but the kingship would still remain in his family.
- 74. Those concerning the cases of Nigmepa, Tette, Abiradda, Kupanta-Kurunta, Nigmaddu of Qades, Šapili, and perhaps Mašturi (if indeed his father Manapa-Tarhunta was deposed).
- 75. Such is the case of Šapili who replaced Bentešina in Amurru.
- 76. According to CTH 63a.A₁ i 26–32 and B₁ ii 1–3, it seems that Tette was replaced by his brother, but this was due to an earlier promise given by Mursili II that any member of Tette's family who killed him would be installed on the throne. This indicates that Muršili 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 Muršili.
- 77. This seems to have been the situation of Niqmepa, whose appointment was apparently due to a promise
- 78. For the severe treatment of these communities by Suppiluliuma, see the "Deeds of Suppiluliuma," passin; their treatment of these communities by Suppiluliuma, see the "Deeds of Suppiluliuma," passin; To the severe treatment of these communities by Suppiluliuma, see the Deeus of Suppiluliuma, for their treatment by Muršili II, see his Annals (CTH 61; A. Götze, Die Annalen des Muršiliš [Leipzig: J. C. Hinfichs, 1932)
- 79. See the case of Barga in the Abiradda edict (CTH 63a.A₁ ii 1-2) and of Amurru in the Sausgamuwa treaty TH 108 ob. 1 500 (CTH 105 obv. i 38)

Journal of the American Oriental Society 123,4 (2003) had such a rank. Note the repeated statement that the Great King had granted these countries to Kupanta-Kurunta. The Great Kunganta-Kurunta Theory of the land

insusucn a rank. Note the repeated statement that the Great King had granted under the land to Kupanta-Kurunta. Thus CTH 68.C i 26-27. "I have installed you in lordship for the land (and) I have given you then the land shall that the repeated statement that the Great Kingaliya." C i 32: "This land shall (and) I have given you the land of Kingaliya." C i 32: "This land shall (and) I have given you the land of th (and) thave given you the land of Mira and the land of Kuwaliya. C i 32: "This land shall be yours, protected to the sours, protected to the source to be yours, protect it!" A i 28; "Protect for yourself this land which I, the Sun, have given you!" These status of these court. These statements were very likely intended to clarify the new lower status of these countries that is about the first countries. ountries, that is, that they had become the property of the suzerain country under the full

Another indicator of the status of a rebellious vassal country is the measures of punish-

ment taken by the Great King. Most instructive among these are the deportation of the local the unknown by the Great King. Most instructive among uses are used and the detachment of areas from the rebellious country and their transferal to population and the detachment of areas from the recentions country indi-test 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 Yet another sign of the reduction in status of a subordinate country is a worsening of its

teranother sign of the reduction in status of a success of Amurru mentioned above, a 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 nack of communent to protect the vassar king many. But the actual modification for the in itself indicate a reduction in the status of his country. But the actual modification for the in itself indicate a reduction in the status of the addition of new obligations not included in worse of the subjugation terms, such as by the addition of new obligations not included in worse or the subjugation terms, such as by an arrival of a rebellious king, but also previous treaties, may indicate not only punishment inflicted on a rebellious king, but also

reduction of the status of this county.

A case in point is that of Ugarit under Nigmepa. According to the prologue of RS 17,340 a reduction of the status of his country. A case in point is that of Legant under Liquid (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 are good reasons to believe that Arhalba had gravely sinned against his Hittite overlord and was consequently deposed from the throne and replaced by Niqmepa, 81 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 R.C. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1992), 134f.

82. See RS 17.349.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 17.334 (PRU IV, S4f.), a proposal sent to Niqmaddu by Šarri-Kušuh, the king of Carchemish and the Hittite viceroy in Syria, indicates that Niqmaddu's treaty did not include it. In this proposal, Niqmaddu is asked to take an active (military) part in suppressing the revolt of Tette of Nuhasse against Muršili II. The document, which has reached us in a later copy made by Ini-Tessub, the grandson of Sarri-Kusub, 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 Niquanddu 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.

 Although the duplicates of Nigmepa's treaty have survived in a very fragmentary condition, it is still very
city that such a promise a condition. skey that such a promise was not given to him. We would expect such a promise to appear in the Niquepa treaty immediately following the control of the contr immediately following the undertaking to protect Niquepa himself (lines 35-38), but the following lines (39ff.) are devoted to other issues devoted to other issues. 84. RS 17.340 (CTH 46) rev. 8'ff.

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 liberty than in the case of a self-subjugated country. Yet, this very treaty, while stipulating services 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 changes. In such cases, the decision whether and under which circumstances to carry them 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

[mM]a-a[d-du-wa-at-ta-aš-ma] A-NA ^DUTUSt ki-iš-ša-an me-mi-iš-ta [zi-ik-wa-mu EN²-]YA KUR HUR SAGZI-i[p-pa-aš-la] a-ša-an-na pa-it-ta [nu-wa-]za [ki-e-e]! [ŠA KUR.KUR^{TI}]^{M Li}a-ú-ri-ya-

[And Madduwatta] said as follows to the father of the Sun: "You, my [lord], have given [me] the land of Mount Zipašla to settle. [so that I am in these lands] the border guard and the watchman

In rev. 12 Madduwatta is said to have been placed as "a border guard and a scout" (LÚauriyala-, LÚšapašalli-)89 against the foreign lands.

In the light of these statements, we may understand the demand of Muršili II on Kupanta-Kurunta to protect the lands of Mira and Kuwaliya: CTH 68.C i 32'-33' (§9): nu-ut-ta

85. Cf. the documents in PRU IV, 71–78, 230–31, as well as RS 16.170, PRU III, 91. Note also that the documents pertaining to this act offer no explanation or justification. Mursili thus appears as the absolute owner of Ugarit's territory, treating it according to his will.

86. Appanage lands: Aleppo (Talmi-Sarrumma, CTH 75.A rev. 4–5, 7, 13–16), Tarhuntassa (Kurunta, StBoT Betheft 1 ii 95-iii 20. Ulmi-Tesšub, CTH 106 obv. 77-14′, rev. 21-27). Other lands: Hayasa (Huqaana, CTH 42.A1 33.34 26 36 37). 33-34, 36-38), Barga (Abiradda, CTH 63a.A ii 8-18), Hapalla (Targašnalli, CTH 67 obv. 41'-rev. 1), Wiluša (Alaksandu, CTH 76.A i 71'-75', 77'-79', B ii 5-10).

87. Such as the cases of Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66; see n. 83), Kupanta-Kurunta (CTH 68 §§23–24, where Such as the cases of Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66; see n. 8.3), Kupanta-Kurunta (CTH 69), Mursili II only promises not to help any enemy of Kupanta-Kurunta), and Manapa-Taripunta (CTH 69), See E. R.

S. Edition: A. Götze, Madduwattaš (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1927); recent translation: Beckman, Hittite Diplomatic Texts, 154-60.

39, For these expressions, see R. H. Beal, *The Organisation of the Hittite Military* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 192), 264-60 1992), 264-68,

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а-pa-a-ar KUR^{TAU} e-es-du na-at-za pa-ab-si "And this land shall be yours, protect it!" And again A i 28 (§10): па-ик-па п тэтэх эхэг тэргэм AD-DIN пи-za а-ра-а-аг KUR^{TAM} раa-pa-a-at KUR^{TAM} e-e3-du na-at-za pa-ab-si "And this land shall be yours, protect at!" And again A i 28 (\$10): tu-uk-ma ^aUTUS tu-it KUR^{TAM} AD-DIN nu-za a-pa-a-at KUR^{TAM} pa-ab-si "This land which I. the Sun-based state of the part of the state o agant AT28 (\$10): ne-uk-ma *UTU^M ku-it KUR^{MM} AD-DIN nu-za a-pat-a-ut (SCN) publish in This land which I, the Sun, have given you—this land protect! Similar demands are made by Muršili II to Manage To-thouse are the lands of the Scha-River and Appa. made by Muršli II to Manapa-Tarhunta in regard to the lands of the Scha-River and Appa-wiya (CTH 69 A i 63 - 64 sees 1) and the lands of the Scha-River and Expansion of the Scha-River and Expansion of Machinium and Targasanalli (CTH) wiva (CTH 69 A) 63-64 [\$5], B iii [15-16] [\$7]), and of Mashuiluwa and Targashaili (CTH 69 B) iii 17-19 [\$7]). 69 B iii 17-19 [\$7]), as well as by Tudhaliya IV(2) to Ulmi-ResSub (CTH 106 obv. \$3' 15' 16'). Thus there 16°). Thus these grants are only deposits entrusted to the vassal king for the benefit of the Hittite ruler, and the

In case the line of the grantee's family was extinguished, the granted country would re-With those these grants are only deposits entrusted to the vascular linear that the grantee is only entitled to enjoy their fruits.

vert to the granter's country. If the suzerain's dynasty died out or was removed in a coup d'état, the granter's country. d'état, the granted country would revert to the new suzerain, contrary to the case of a selfu crat, the granted country would revert to the new suzgrant, country, were derived from subjugated country. Since the very rights of the grantee over his country were derived from the grantee over his country. sunugated country. Since the very rights of the grantee over instantially were derived from the grantee, once that granter or his heirs were no longer in power the grantee or his heirs were no longer in power the grantee. the grantor, once that grantor or his heirs were no longer in power the grantor or his heirs were no longer in power the grantor or his heirs were no longer in power the grantor or his heirs were no longer in power the grantor. His decivery likely lost these rights, and the new suzerain had the right to remove them. His decivery likely lost these rights, and the new suzerain had the right to remove them. very likely lost these rights, and the new suzeram nau une righted considerations. Accordingly, sion in this regard seems to have been subject only to political considerations. Accordingly, sion in this regard seems to have been subject only to political consistentials. Accordingly, in a case where the suzerain country had been defeated by another country, the victor very

the cituation of	im over the granted country a self-subjugated country	•	
the strain.	S s shair subo	UMMARY ordinate countries may be summed up as follows: 90	
The Hittite sy	stem of ranking then co		
Status of Country	Terms of Subjugation	Main Features	
self-subjugated		Suzerain does not have title over the land; his free dom of action in the land is very limited. When his	
previously sovereign	favorable	dom of action in the land is very immediate dynasty ends, the subjugated land may get back its full freedom. When the local dynasty ends, another	
previously subordinate	less favorable or ordinary	local person is enthroned.	
conquered		Land belongs to the conqueror's country. Suzerain has free hand in the land.	
annexed	?	Suzerain's freedom of action may be limited by customary rules.	
appanage	very favorable	The freedom of the suzerain is limited only	
granted to local person	ordinary	by his own —or his predecessors'—promises to the local dynasty. When suzerain's dynasty ends.	
rebellious country	least favorable	country reverts to the new suzerain. When local dynasty ends, land reverts to suzerain	

Myth, Ritual, and Order in "Enki and the World Order"

RICHARD E. AVERBECK TRINITY EVANGELICAL DIVINITY SCHOOL

"Enki and the World Order" (henceforth EWO) is a long and relatively well-preserved Sumerian mythological composition (ca. 472 lines). It divides naturally into four major sections. First, there is an opening third-person praise to Enki (lines 1-60). Second, Enki praises himself twice in the first person (lines 61–139): (a) in his first self-praise Enki recounts how Enlil commissioned him and gave him the gift of the me's and nam-tar, the various cultural components that made up the core of Sumerian life and culture, and the power to determine destinies, respectively (lines 61-85), and (b) in the second self-praise Enki proposes to take a journey through Sumer on his barge, in order to fulfill his commission to establish proper order and prosperity in Sumer (lines 86–139). Third, the long central section of the composition recounts Enki's journey through the land, decreeing the destiny of the Sumerian world (lines 140–386). In the first part of this section Enki begins with Sumer as a whole, and especially Ur, and moves from there to the surrounding regions of Magan, Meluhha, and Dilmun (lines 140–249). In the second part of the journey he comes back to the Sumerian homeland itself, where in a twelve-cycle series he assigns specific deities to take charge of the functions of various regions and elements of the Sumerian world order (lines 250–386). Fourth, and finally, Inanna complains to Enki that he had not assigned her any special functional powers in his decreeing of destinies, and Enki responds to her com-

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). I proposed there that, although EWO is a complex

S. N. Kramer and J. Maier, Myths of Enki, The Crafty God (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), 38-56, refers to the text studied here as "Enki and Inanna: The Organization of the Earth and Its Cultural Processes." There is no up-to-date critical edition available, although C. A. Benito, "'Enki and Ninmah' and 'Enki and the World Order'" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1969), is still useful. Jerrold Cooper of Johns Hopkins University informs me that he is about to begin work on such an edition. For the time being, there is the unpublished Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary (PSD) manuscript of EWO prepared by M. W. Green, made available to me by Jerrold Cooper. I thank him for this kindness and for reading the manuscript of this essay carefully and making several helpful suggestions for its improvement. Of course, I alone remain responsible for all the ideas and arguments presented here.

There is also a good composite transliteration with translation available from Oxford through The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (ETCSL; http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk), based on the work of Miguel Civil, lossless of Sumerian Literature (ETCSL; http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk), based on the work of Miguel Civil, lossless of Sumerian Literature (ETCSL; http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk), based on the work of Miguel Civil, lossless of Sumerian Literature (ETCSL; http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk), based on the work of Miguel Civil, lossless of the work of the work of Miguel Civil, lossless of the work of the w Joachim Krecher, H. Behrens, and Bram Jagersma. The following discussion utilizes these sources as well as the translation and notes by Kramer and Maier, Myths of Enki, 38–56. Some of the places where readings require fur-ther source. ther collation will be mentioned in the notes below.

 There are a few tantalizing lacunae in the story, some of which will be discussed below, but the large number conies have a few tantalizing lacunae in the story, some of which will be discussed below, but the large number conies have a few tantalizing lacunae in the story. of copies has made restoration of most of the composition possible.

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

^{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.

Journal of the American Oriental Society 123.4 (2003) same concept similarly as a "sequentiality with what precedes [that] arises from an external norm or necessity" (Future at Issue Valo Economic Annual necessity" (Future at Issue, Vale Egyptological Studies, vol. 4 [New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1990]. 55–84 [chapter on the studies]. inar, 1990], 55–84 [chapter on sdm.br=f], at p. 81). However, first, sdm.br=f denotes dependency on conditions (contingency) and state = 100, at p. 81). However, first, sdm.br=f denotes dependency on conditions (contingency) and state = 100, at p. 81). conditions (contingency), not a "necessary consequence" (nonwendige Folge). The author's "then" (dam) is not distinction "Then". (damn) is not distinctive. "Then" denotes both contingency and necessary consequence. Second, necessary consequence (sich aus Rodin. (dann) is not distinctive. "Then" denotes both contingency and necessary consequences, accound, necessary consequences follow from premises and do not "result from conditions" (sich aus Bedingtungen escreben). Accordingly, acc essary consequences follow from premises and do not "result from continuous" cactur ans treatinguagen essary consequences follow from premises and do not "result from continuous cacturations for the case that "in Middle 12 of the case that "in Mid ergeben). Accordingly, neither $s_0^{im}h_r=f$ nor any of its elymological descendants uncluding. Coptic $s_0^{im}h_r=f$ nor any of its elymological descendants uncluding. Coptic $s_0^{im}h_r=f$ nor any of its elymological descendants uncluding. Coptic $s_0^{im}h_r=f$ nor any of its elymological descendant $s_0^{im}h_r=f$ in $s_0^{im}h_r=f$ in $s_0^{im}h_r=f$ nor any of its elymological descendant $s_0^{im}h_r=f$ in $s_0^{im}h_r=f$ nor any of its elymological descendant $s_0^{im}h_r=f$ nor any of its safsom) ever follow from premises (introduced by fr with "it it is use case and a mounte Egyptian after several by esse "if it is the case that" in Coptic). Yet necessary consequences are perfectly to be expected and the recommendation of the control of the con and by esce "if it is the case that" in Coptic). Yet necessary consequences are perfectly to be expected after premises. Third, the conditions on which salm, first depends can be implied. They are not always after premises. Third, the conditions on which salm, first defends to conditions, not to premise the conditions of the condition

after premises. Third, the conditions on which sqhm.hr=f depends can be impaced. They are not all mentioned earlier" (vorher genannt). In sum, sqhm.hr=f relates to conditions, not to premises. mentioned earlier" (vorher genann). In sum, sqm.hr=f relates to conunisms, not to premises.

A simple test exposes the difference between condition and premises (cf. L. Depuydt, "Condition").

The state of the sta A simple test exposes the difference between condition and premises (c), to Depuyot, "Condition and Premise in Egyptian and Elsewhere," Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 126 and 1990 on two independent statements."

and Premise in Egyptian and Elsewhere," Zeitschrift für agyptische oppendent statements "it raing" [1999]: 97–111). From "when(ever) it rains I stay inside," no two independent statements, "it raing" [1999]: 97–111). From "when(ever) it rains I stay inside, no two more contains no assertion of and "I stay inside" can be derived. "[T]he proposition If X is true, Y is true" contains no assertion of the I was a second o and "I stay inside" can be derived. "[T]he proposition in the control of the Laws of Thought the truth of either of the propositions X and Y," writes G. Boole (Investigation of the Laws of Thought the truth of either of the propositions X and Y," writes G. Boole (Investigation of the Laws of Thought the truth of either of the propositions X and Y," writes G. Boole (Investigation of the Laws of Thought the truth of either of the propositions X and Y," writes G. Boole (Investigation of the Laws of Thought the truth of either of the propositions X and Y," writes G. Boole (Investigation of the Laws of Thought the Thought the truth of either of the propositions X and Y," writes G. Boole (Investigation of the Laws of Thought the Thoug the truth of either of the propositions X and Y, writes G, and "I stay inside" a contingent statement, [1854], 171). That makes "whenlever) it rains" a condition and "I stay inside" a contingent statement, [1854], 171). That makes "when(ever) it rains a common many produce both "it is raining." and "I am by contrast, "if it is raining, I am staying inside" does naturally produce both "it is raining." and "I am staying inside" does not stay in a staying inside." By contrast, "If it is raining, I am staying masses and "I am staying inside" a necessary consessarying inside." That makes "If it is raining" a premise and "I am staying inside" a necessary consessary consess staying inside." That makes "If it is ranning a premise and Condition and premise can, however, be quence. A premise is an assumption that something is true. Condition and premise can, however, be quence. A premise is an assumption that sometimes it rains I stay inside as a policy or a directive related to one another. Thus, if one adopts "whenever it rains I stay inside as a policy or a directive related to one another. Thus, if one adopts "whenever it rains I stay inside as a policy or a directive." related to one another. Thus, if one adopts successful (it is the case that) it is raining, then it necessary two premises trigger necessary consequences. If (it is the case that) it is raining, then it necessary two premises trigger necessary consequences. exactly two premises ingger necessary consequences and staying inside, it necessarily follows that I am staying inside. If I am not staying inside, it necessarily follows that I is not uning. F. Lexa first suggested that the contingent tenses sdm.jn=f, sdm.kr=f, and $sdm.k\beta=f$ contain the

F. Lexa first suggested that the contains th generate veros j say, nr say, and say, mar instance, 1901), \$742). The parameters of the been suggested above, quoting Boole, that events tive and has kept it prominent in grammars. It has been suggested above, quoting Boole, that events reported in contingent statements are just said or thought to occur. There is no commitment as to reported in contingent successions are particularly as to whether they actually do or do not occur. It is proposed here that this fact may support and explain Lexa's etymology.

Narrative sdm.jn=f "then he heard" is perhaps less easily recognized as contingent. But then, first, it undeniably alternates with contingent sqm.hr=f in medical texts as a general present or norist. 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 Einstein) 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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Late Hittite Emar: The Chronology, Synchronisms, and Socio-Political Aspects of a Late Bronze Age Fortress Town. By Murray Adamthwaite. Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement 8. Louvain: PEETERS, 2001. Pp. xxiii + 293, illus. €70 (paper).

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-

881 Claude Margueron, and its several hundred tablets were published capably by Daniel Arnaud in 1985– 87. Since the excavations, various collections of tablets acquired on the antiquities market have proved to include large numbers of Emar texts. Some of them were demonstrably taken from the same building that yielded the majority of excavated tablets, the building M_1 , the home of an overseer of much local Emar religious life, a man who took the title "diviner of the gods of Emar," The excavated tablets came from layers that were roughly contemporary with the heyday of excavated Ugarit in the thirteenth century B.C., when all of northern Syria had been taken over by the Hittite empire and was ruled from Carchemish. Adamthwaite gathers many strands of the Emar evidence that illuminate the town's place under Hittite rule. The effort is worthwhile but uneven, and flawed by what I believe is a mis-

Both my own work on Emar and Adamthwaite's suffer from bad timing, insofar as both appeared just as Uwe Finkbeiner and his colleagues proved that Margueron had only excavated the last phases of Bronze Age Emar, which turns out to have been located on the same site back through the Middle and Early Bronze. Adamthwaite occasionally draws larger conclusions from Margueron's hypothesis that the current site was only created after Hittle conquest. For example, he wonders whether thirteenthcentury Emar had ceased to function as a major trading center, given that the new city had been built at a distance from the river (p. 79). It is now clear that this location was not a factor.

Late Illitite Emar is divided into three main parts, on chronology, on the relationship of local to imperial power, and on Emar's "internal history." The opening section on chronology is the most problematic, arguing in detail that all of the Late Bronze texts from Emar date to the thirteenth century. strictly defined. Adamthwaite's particular contribution to the chronological discussion is an extensive list of synchronisms that derive from a useful prosopographical study, anchored mainly to the reigns of thirteenth-century kings of Carchemish. His study of Emar names includes the local Emar kings, the eponyms in dated texts, the "mayors" (hazanna), the family of Zū-Ba'la the diviner, and various Hittite officials. There is a concentration of direct and indirect synchronisms with the reign of Ini-Tessub, who ruled Carchemish through about four decades of the mid-thirteenth century,

Before Adamthwaite, it had been widely agreed that Emar was destroyed in the 1180s, based on a Babylonian business transaction found at Emar dated to the second year of Melišipak (ca. 1187). The author doubts, however, that Emar survived beyond 1200, because of a lack of secure synchronisms with that latest period. In the end, he admits that the Melišipak text probably cannot be treated as a later intrusion, so he raises the possibility that the whole Mesopotamian chronology might need to be adjusted downward. In fact, Adamthwaite offers no fresh evidence for such a revision, especially in terms that would not equally lower the Carchemish dates and remove the necessity for the change. Now that Gary Beckman has published a text with an Assyrian eponym date that also falls in the 1180s (RE 19, discussion pp. 32-34), the Assyrian chronology would also have to be realigned.¹

Adamthwaite resists an early twelfth-century destruction primarily because most of the direct Carchemish contacts come from the reign of Ini-Tessub, in the mid-thirteenth century. He then concludes that none of the characters who would occupy the period after Ini-Tessub could have persisted into the twelfth century, including the last Emar king and the last of the town's "diviners of the gods of Emar." In fact, the distribution of documents with royal witness shows that Emar's last king Elli is as prominent in the archives as his father Pilsu-Dagan, the contemporary of Ini-Tessub. Perhaps we must regard Ini-Tessub's reign as a high-point of Carchemish and Hittite activity in local Emar affairs. It is possible that between the increasing vigor of Emar's kings and the eventual instability of the Hittite imperial center, Emar's last years were marked by a decrease in outside interference.

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'age du Bronze Récent, Aula 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) ** Amaud, Recherches au pays d'Astata, Emar VI.I-4 (Paris, 1985-87); RE = Gary Beckman, Texts from the Victim cinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen (Padua, 1996).

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have preceded those already well known. Skaist's idea is confirmed by a review of the witness lists of the december of the dec have preceded those already well known. Skaist's idea is comment by a rotter or the witness lists are the documents in question, with a specific bridge provided by one of the new texts published by off the documents in question, with a specific bridge provided by one of the thirtocont. of the documents in question, with a specific bridge provided by one of the thirteenth-century Beckman. RE 34 mentions two contemporaries of Yaşi-Dagan, the first king of the thirteenth-century Beckman. RE 34 mentions two contemporaries of Yaşi-Dagan. Beckman. RE 34 mentions two contemporaries of Yasi-Dagan, the mass long of the unrecenth-century dynasty, and a man from the third attested generation of Skaist's proposed dynasty. Adamthwaite dynasty, and a man from the third attested generation of Skaist's proposed in his preparation. dynasty, and a man from the third attested generation of Skaist a proposed of masty. Adamthwaite appears to have incorporated the work of Skaist and Beckman at a late stage in his preparations, withappears to have incorporated the work of Skarst and Beckman, the criticizes Skaist for paying too out adding Beckman's RE texts to his prosopographical evidence. He criticizes Skaist for paying too that adding Beckman's RE texts to his prosopographical evidence. He criticizes Skaist for paying too our adding Beckman's RE texts to his proopographical finds, but there was never little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds, but there was never little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds, but there was never little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds, but there was never little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds, but there was never little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds, but there was never little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds, but there was never little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds, but there was never little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds, but there was never little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds, but there was never little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds at the first little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds at the first little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds at the first little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds at the first little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds at the first little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds at the first little attention to the restricted thirteenth-century date of the archaeological finds at the first little attention to the archaeological finds at the first little attention to the archaeological finds at the archaeological f

Finkbeiner's excavations now prove earlier occupation of the Meskene site.

httle attention to the restricted thirteenth-century outcomes the Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1180), and any reason to doubt that Emar was inhabited throughout the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1180), and

incheiner's excavations now prove earlier occupation.

In the course of his chronological investigation, the author relies on an identification of homonyms. In the course of his chronological investigation, and the course of his chronological investigation in the chronological investigation in the course of his chrono that does not always persuade. Emar (VL3) 90 is used to 3,39-42, 49-51). This conclusion is based in cial, with Pilsu-Dagan, from the mid-thirteenth century (pp. 39-42, 49-51). This conclusion is based in cial, with Pilsu-Dagan, from the mu-tumecran returns, upper on matching a certain Ribi-Dagan in this text with a character who appears in AuOrS 128, which part on matching a certain Kibi-Lagan in any text.

Arnaud had regarded as part of a dossier with AuOrS 1 27, 29–30. Laheya appears only in Emar 90, Arnaud had regarded as part of a dossist with a second by the scribe Ba'la-malik son of Imlik-which Adamthwaite dates to the reign of Pilsu-Dagan by means of the scribe Ba'la-malik son of Imlik-which Adamthwaite dates to the reign of Pilsu-Dagan by means of the scribe Ba'la-malik son of Imlikwhich Adamthwate dates to the reign or russ regard, the base of th Dagan. There is a royal sense named by a manufacture form, written across the short dimension of the always produces legal documents in the local Syrian form, written across the short dimension of the always produces regai occuments in the local system of the state of the system of the tablet and with a distinct formular year consists of the Ba'lla-malik to a partici-chronism to succeed, a chain has to be forged from Pilsu-Dagan to his scribe Ba'lla-malik to a particicurousm to succeed, a chair mass to consequently Laheya, and both of the intermediate links are far pant named Ribi-Dagan to the Hittile functionary Laheya, and both of the intermediate links are far pain named King-Dagan to the Little to the larger many worthwhile observations on various associations from secure. In the end, Adamthwaite makes many worthwhile observations on various associations between characters in the Emar documentation, but his larger conclusions are too often flawed by reasoring that cannot be sustained by the evidence. Joined to his unconvincing hypothesis of an attenuated sount materialise to susaine by the closest dates, his chronological study does not provide a re-thirteenth-century period for the range of tablet dates, his chronological study does not provide a reliable point of reference for those who wish to use the new finds from Emar.

The second part of the book explores a variety of features relating to Emar's place in the Hittite empire and to transactions dated to a "year of distress." Adamthwaite argues that there was no extensive system of illu-obligations and land grants at Emar, especially as defined by service to the local Emar king (pp. 87-90). He finds no direct references either to the Akkadian ilku or to the Hittite šahhan- and luzzi- obligations, and argues against a possible reference to ilku in Emar 1. In fact, RE 90 (from Munbaqa/Ekalte) and BLM 2 include new references to the ilku, and the Hittite letter BLM 32 excuses the family of Zū-Ba'la the diviner from šahhan and luzzi. Adamthwaite nevertheless seems to be right that such obligations relate to Carchemish and the empire. There is no sign of any extensive system of land held by the local Emar king and farmed for him under corvée obligations.

A number of Emar texts refer to men who carry a weapon before the king (pp. 99-114). The author sensibly attributes this to military duty and proposes that the "brothers of the king" who are defined this way in reference to a revolt against Zū-Aštarti may be affiliated with the ruler of Carchemish, not with Za-Astarti himself. This would make the weapon-bearing status another indication of obligations to the imperial Hittite power, whether or not as part of the ilku. Given that there is no sign of largescale royal landholding by either the local or the Hittite rulers, it is possible that the ilku or šaḥḥan/ luzzi obligations were fulfilled either by military service or by work on building projects or the like. rather than by agricultural responsibilities. Overall, I found these sections on Emar's relationship to the empire to be the most important contribution of the book.

The rest of part B gathers various references to real estate transactions during years of distress and war. Adamthwaite concludes that the prices for slaves went down in these circumstances, while the price of real estate went up. The actual evidence for a secure statistical comparison is limited, though both the data and the discussion are interesting. Along the way, the author takes up the stubborn problem of the property called KI-IR-ŞI-TV, to be interpreted as either some kirşitu structure, or as KI "land." He prefers the first alternative, based on full treatment of the evidence, but I still find Beckman's solution the most convincing. Beckman acknowledges that Klersem property is embedded among houses, not fields, and that these sites are to be "built," but he concludes that the category is best applied to "builts but he concludes that the category is best applied. to "buildable lots," which would otherwise not be represented in Emar real estate (RE, p. 6). One of

Adamthwaite's references to "building" a KI^{ergeta} fits the "lot" model particularly well. Emar 181 defines the real property to be inherited by three sons. The oldest receives "the larger house" (£-114, GAL), the second receives "the smaller house" (\cancel{E} - u_4 TUR), while the third is stuck with a \cancel{K} -(with the provision that it be "built" $(ra_3\bar{a}pu)$. Residential property is thus distributed by priority of birth, with the last being only a potential house, needing a guarantee that it will actually be constructed.

Both in regard to the Klersen and the treatments of transactions in times of war and distress, the evidence is gathered and presented effectively, and good observations are made. The purchase of a buildable lot at Emar on the open market by the king of Carchemish, for example, does indeed suggest that the town had no extensive system of ilku-land grants (pp. 128-31). Adamthwaite's conclusions, however, are uneven. The slave purchases by the family of Zū-Ba'la the diviner do not prove that they were especially prominent in such trade, but only reflect the fact that most of the Emar texts came from the offices of this family in the building M_1 (pp. 145–48).

The final section of the book, part C, assembles various evidence for "Aspects of Emar's Internal History." This includes a useful review of kingship at Emar before the thirteenth century, and discussions of thirteenth-century Hittite Emar, towns in the Emar neighborhood, hard times during Emar's final years, the fascinating document from the aftermath of a coup attempt against Zū-Aštarti, and the demise of Emar. Together, these reflect on the main scraps of evidence for specific historical developments during the period documented by the archives, especially for events that affected the town as a whole. Adamthwaite suggests that the nearby town identified by the Hittites as Astata may have been the local base for Hittite control (pp. 222-23). If this had been the case, however, it is somewhat surprising never to hear mention of the town in local Emar texts that reflect dealings with the Hittite

In the case of the attempted coup, Zū-Aštarti refers to opposition from "the brothers of the king" and a well-known group of common soldiery called the hupšu. Adamthwaite interprets the first as a "royal bodyguard composed of palace officials" (p. 235) and the second as the peasants of rural villages who are subject to corvée and draft, so that this revolt would have combined the dispossessed elder leadership of the town and the downtrodden who hated the ruling elite. Emar 17 will not, however, carry the weight of such a reconstruction. First of all, when the term "brothers" represents a local body in legal documents, it is defined by neither the palace nor the king, and such "kinsmen" have no military role. This is no bodyguard, and the point is rather that these are royal "kinsmen," trusted retainers whose family ties, however conceived, should have guaranteed their loyalty. They are cast this way not for social definition but to mark them as betrayers. When we consider their hupšu accomplices, we must remember that our source was drawn up under the auspices of the aggrieved king. His antagonists can only be regarded as hupšu, a lower-class rabble that deserved defeat. We cannot treat this as a reliable description of these people's social background.

Adamthwaite's treatment of the palace coup shares the strengths and weaknesses of the whole volume. It is thorough and well grounded in the concrete evidence, incorporating all of the relevant facts and exploring important terrain with a keen eye for detail and a spirited originality. As elsewhere, however, it attempts to argue too much from too little, magnifying the effect of small errors by their entanglement in larger interpretive problems.

With its historical focus, the book fills a real gap, and future historians of Late Bronze Age Syria should take full advantage of its gathered evidence and discussion. Unfortunately, its conclusions should be approached with more than ordinary caution. Thirteenth-century Emar did indeed remain remarkably free of Hittite cultural influence, but the archives cannot be forced into the narrow chronology proposed by Adamthwaite. In fact, one of the most interesting features of the diviner's archive from the building M_1 is its chronological range of 150 years or more.

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