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

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

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

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

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


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

4 The references at Emar are related to the month name Ba’lu Ḥalab: see J. A. Belmonte Marín, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jt. v. Chr., TAVO B 7. Wiesbaden 2001, 109 (on this name and his possible relation to Ḥalma see also D. Fleming, Time at Emar. The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner’s House, MesCiv 11, 2000, 168-73). The reference in the Akkadian texts from Ugarit relates again to the Stormgod of Aleppo, with the exception of one
the king of Ugarit possibly at the end of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century BC\textsuperscript{5}, which has been recently published, reads as follows: \textit{Thus speaks the King. Say to the king of Ugarit: May everything be well with you! I hold the [individuals] which are inhabitants of Aleppo, servants of the man of my father, for the legal case.} (RS 86.2216, 1-7: RSO XIV, n.5)

These lines make clear that an official under the authority of the father of the king of Karkemiš had some servants among the citizens of Aleppo. One could interpret this fact as hinting that officials of the court of Karkemiš were living and acting in Aleppo. This would corroborate the hypothesis that during the second part of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century BC the Land of Aleppo came under the control of the king of Karkemiš\textsuperscript{6}.

1.2. The archives of Ḫattusa provide few references to the Hittite dynasty of Aleppo, but still more than those in the Syrian archives. As for the middle part of the century only the mention of a Ḫalpa-ziti, king of Aleppo, in a letter, informs us about the existence of a king in Aleppo at that time\textsuperscript{7}. However, no proof exists that this Ḫalpa-ziti belonged to the dynasty originating with Telipinu\textsuperscript{8}. More information is available for the first two kings of the Hittite dynasty, Telipinu and Talmi-šarruma, who reigned between approximately 1325 and 1285. While no sources exist which would allow one to consider these two kings \textit{pares} to the contemporary kings of Karkemiš, some elements suggest that during the reigns of Suppiluliuma I, Arnuwanda II, Mursili II and at least the beginning of that of Muwatalli II, they still had a prominent position in Northern Syria. The most significant source in this regard is CTH 75\textsuperscript{9}, the treaty renewed by Muwatalli II of Ḫatti with Talmi-šarruma of Aleppo, on the model of the previous treaty stipulated by Mursili II. Although the middle portion of the text is lost, the clauses on the mutual assistance between the two dynasties of Ḫatti and Aleppo at the end of the text define the status of the latter with words which find reference in the treaty between Mursili II and Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66, 18; see G. del Monte, \textit{Il trattato tra Mursili II di Ḫattuša e Niqmepa di Ugarit}. Roma 1986, 16-7). In this reference the Land of Ḫalpa is referred to together with Nuḫaššu among the Lands under the control of the Hittites, which could become hostile.

\textsuperscript{5} The tablet contains no direct elements to be dated: The dating follows the criteria by M. Yamada, “Reconsidering the Letters from the ‘King’ in the Ugarit Texts: Royal Correspondence of Carchemish?”, \textit{UF} 24 (1992), 441-5.

\textsuperscript{6} One should even consider the possibility that the sintagma: \texttt{IRMES ša LÚ abū=ya}, refers to all inhabitants of Aleppo. In this case, the Sumerogram LÚ would refer to the king of Aleppo itself, who would be under the political control of the King of Karkemiš, as was for example the King of Siyannu-Ušnatu.

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


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

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

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

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

11 For the difficult rendering of the sentence šarrus=sunu Ḥattusili ... ultamli see G. Steiner, “Was bedeutet LUGAL-zu-nu ... ul-tam-li im Aleppo-Vertrag?”, AoF 26 (1999), 13-25. Translation here follows H. Otten, “Der Weg des hethitischen Staates zum Großreich”, Saeculum 15 (1964), 122. In fact, in the Akkadian texts of the 13th century BC drafted by the Hittite courts of Ḥattusa and Karkemīš malūm either refers to the wrath of so. (G-Stamm, to be(come) angry: see CAD malā 4a), or it refers to the fulfilment of a payment (normally with D-Stamm: see CAD malā 6e). The latter would provide parallel to the semantic area adopted for this translation.
12 For the considerations on the mention of Aleppo in CTH 66 see fn. 4 above.
13 For the sources to the Hittite justice in Syria see d’Alfonso, Procedure, 29-50.
14 See d’Alfonso, Procedure, § 4.1.1.
15 See d’Alfonso, Procedure, 95.
2.1. Between the some 50 verdicts found in Syria, only one has been eventually attributed to a king of Aleppo. This verdict was published by Jean Nougayrol in *Palais royal d’Ugarit IV* under the item number RS 17.232 (PRU IV, 239). Nougayrol introduced the text as a record of an international lawsuit held before a certain Talmi-šarruma. Klengel suggested later on, though with some scepticism, that this Talmi-šarruma could have been the homonimous king of Aleppo. The transcription and translation offered hereafter differs slightly from the one offered by Nougayrol, and lead to a different evaluation of the verdict.

RS 17.232

1. ["]ar\(^{-}^{-}\)U-ub
2. ̄u m\(\text{ḥa-bi-ri}\)
3. [a-n]a [mu]h-\(\text{hi}\)
4. ["B]U-mi-LUGAL-[w]a
5. [aš-]\(\text{sum di-ni}\)
6. [a-n]a ḫN.\(\text{KUD.DA}\)
7. [i]-za-az
8. [ū] \(\text{di-nu}\)
9. mi-im-ma i-ya-nu
10. 11 [...] a-na
11. \(\text{mrar’}_\text{te}_d\)U
12. m\(\text{BU-mi-LUGAL}\)
13. mi-im-ma
14. i-ša-bat
15. IGI m\(\text{za-az-za-la}\)
16. ḫ\(\text{N.\text{KUD.DA}}\)
17. IGI ḫPAB*-30
18. ḫDUB.ŠAR
19. IGI m ḫi-[...]
20. IGI ḫtup-[...]
21. [...] x [...] 

Notes


\(^{17}\) The tablet has been collated with other verdicts found at Ugarit. I am grateful to Prof. Bordreuil, Dr. Calvet, Prof. Fales, Prof. Muhezen and Dr. Yabroudi, who allowed and helped me to collate the tablets.
4. The fragmentary traces of the name at 1. 4, which Nougayrol transcribed as [m]tal-mi(?)-LUGAL-[wa], are transcribed [m]BU-mi-LUGAL-[wa] and read Ḫišmi-šarru(wa), after l. 12.

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

12. Nougayrol reads the last sign as IL, but the sign is very similar to the traces of the penultimate sign of 1. 4, and is better read as LUGAL. The lack of WA or MA at the end of the name in this line, as well as the lack of the determinative before LUGAL both here and at 1. 4 makes a reading Ḫišmi-šarru, “The-king-is-bright”, also possible.

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

The most relevant difference is that the name Talmi-šarruma, or even -šarru(wa), does not occur in the text. The fragmentary traces of the name at 1. 4, which Nougayrol read Talmi-šarruwa, are to be read Ḫišmi-šarru(wa). Ḫišmi-šarru(wa) was the second party in the process, to whom Ar-teššub and Ḥabiri were opposed. This interpretation is corroborated by the mention of the same names at 1. 10-14, which refer to the fulfillment of a payment by Ar-teššub to Ḫišmi-šarru(wa). The judge of the case was a collector of customs dues (akk. mákisu). His name, Zazzalla, is given in the first line of the list of the witnesses (l. 15).

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

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


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

at Emar (see Fig. 1b)\textsuperscript{21}. A working hypothesis is to read the two signs on the top as ZA-ZA, finally obtaining a legend ZA-ZA-la, corresponding to the name of the judge of the legal case. In this respect one should note that the verdicts are normally sealed by the legal authority who decided the case, sometimes in association with other witnesses present either to the lawsuit or to the drawing up of the verdict\textsuperscript{22}.

However, a reading ZA-ZA-la is possible only if the two signs in the upper part are transcribed za\textsubscript{4}-za\textsubscript{4}, referring to a sign (*112) whose phonetic value is attested only at Karatepe and possibly Karkemîš, some 500 years later\textsuperscript{23}. In fact, the sign commonly used for ZA in the Empire period was the arrow *376 and, as far as I know, the use of za\textsubscript{4} would result in a hapax. On the other hand, one should consider the fact that the use of *376 with the syllabic value ZA is attested in the Empire period mostly in the writing of the Luwian demonstrative pronoun za-, but in these cases an ideographic value HIC for *376 seems very likely\textsuperscript{24}. If one excludes these attestations, *376 with a syllabic value za is attested only once in the glyptic, at Emar (hier. a-ma-za-ḫi corresponding to the cun. am-za-ḫu)\textsuperscript{25}, resulting in definitive in a hapax too.

Under the three signs which render the personal name a fourth sing complete the legend, which I would interpret as the title of Zazzalla. The sign is composed by a forearm, a hand and a kind of object pendig under it. The sign finds no sure parallel as a title, although the use of a somehow similar sing on seals, identified as *53 it is not unknown\textsuperscript{26}, and already Meriggi and Salvatori in 1978\textsuperscript{27} proposed to identify it as an ideogram which would render a title. After our text, one could suggest as a working hypothesis that we are not dealing with a variant of *53, MANUSxCULTER, but with another sign representing a hand which keep a silver pocket. This interpretation would fit well with the title of Zazzalla: akk. mākīsu and sum. LÚ NĪG.KUD.DA.

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

\textsuperscript{22} See d’Alfonso, \textit{Procedure}, 135-6.
\textsuperscript{26} I wish to thank Natalia Bolatti-Guzzo helping me concerning the attestations of *53 in the inscriptions of the II Millennium BC.
\textsuperscript{27} P. Meriggi - S. Salvatori, “Nuovi sigilli geroglifici etei”, \textit{SMEA} 18 (1978), 243-7. See also on this Marazzi, \textit{Geroglifico anatolico}, 225.
\textsuperscript{28} For a new edition of the text with new joins s. J. Miller, “Mursili II’s Dictate to Tuppi Tessub’s Syrian Antagonists”, \textit{KASKAL} 4, in print. I wish to thank Jared Miller for kindly providing me a draft of this article.
legal cases of Northern Syria between the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 13th century BC. I quote:

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

The passage does not refer directly to the King of Aleppo, but it is wellknown that the title LUSANGA, the Priest, was used by King Telipinu and sometimes also by his son Talmi-sarruma instead of the title “King of Aleppo”. The above mentioned Priest is likely to have been Telipinu, although an identification with his son and successor Talmi-sarruma cannot be excluded.

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

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

I model

\[
\text{ana pâni JU PN1 itti/u PN2 ana dîni isniqû}
\]
\[
\text{PN1 akanna iqbi mā ...}
\]
\[
\text{(PN2 akanna iqbi mā ...)}
\]
\[
\text{SENTENCE (JU dîn = šunu akanna iprus mā ...)}
\]
\[
\text{FULFILMENT}
\]
\[
\text{urrâm šeram / ina arki ümi PN1 ana muḫḫi PN2 lā iraggum}
\]

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

See d’Alfonso, Procedure, cap. 4.
Although some variants are attested, the structure of the text, the formulae, the technical terms and often also the series of signs which were used to write formulae and technical terms, all these elements are normally found in the different texts. All the scholars who have dealt with this topic agree in locating in Karkemîš the scribal school which created these models. The models were used not only in that Land, but were adopted also at Ḫattusa and Emar.

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

$$\text{I}$$

$$1/1a \ \text{ana păni JU PNI itti/u PN2 ana dini isniqû}$$

$$1b \ \text{ana păni JU + SUMMARY OF THE DISPUTE}$$

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

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

Formulæ against the appeal:

11a. šumma iraggum, ṭuppu annu ilešu =šu

11b. ša iraggum, ṭuppu annu ilešu =šu

RS 17.237 Vo. 8', [š]a iraggum ṭuppu annu ippal =šu

RS 17.335+: the formula lacks

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

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

33 The formula is attested in the following texts: Emar VI 18, Hir. 46, RS 17.035 (PRU IV, 123), RS 17.059 (PRU IV, 150), RS 17.108 (PRU IV, 165, RS 17.159 (PRU IV, 126), RS 17.341C (PRU IV, 161), RS 17.352 (PRU IV, 121), RS 17.355 (PRU IV, 209), RS 17.396 (PRU IV 127), RS 1957.1 (L. Fisher, The Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets. AnOr 48, Roma 1971, lff.).
34 The formula is attested in the following verdicts: Emar VI 257, TSBR 84, RS 17.108 (PRU IV, 165), RS 17.159 (PRU IV 126), RS 17.248 (PRU IV 236), RS 17.352 (PRU IV, 121), RS 17.396 (PRU IV 127).
35 The formula is attested in the following verdicts: Hir. 44, Hir. 46, TSBR 36, TSBR 83, RS 17.110 (PRU IV 108), RS 17.128 (PRU IV, 179), RS 17.129 (PRU IV 166), RS 17.145 (PRU IV 172), RS 17.158 (PRU IV, 169), RS 17.234 (PRU IV, 173), RS 17.337 (PRU IV, 168), RS 17.355 (PRU IV, 209), RS 27.051+19.63 (PRU IV n. 35).
Fig. 1a. The sealing of RS 17.232

Fig. 1b. Shape of some attestations of *175 (la) at Emar (from Gonnet apud Arnaud, AuOrS 1, 4*)
### Fig. 2. Relative and absolute chronology of the Hittite verdicts (from d’Alfonso, *Procedure*, 209).