

The rebellion of Ḫatti's Syrian vassals and Egypt's meddling in Amurru

Jared L. Miller

Mainz

*Introduction*¹

Recently, during my work at the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz I was able to reconstruct from seven fragments approximately the lower third to one half of what is apparently the obverse of a four-columned tablet in Hittite (see Fig. 1 and Fig. 3)². Several lines of rev. iii are also partly preserved. I was then able to collate, join and photograph the fragments in the Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi in Ankara in Sept. 2005, with the exception of Bo 2442, which is housed in the museum in Istanbul. A copy of the reconstructed tablet will appear shortly in KBo 50.

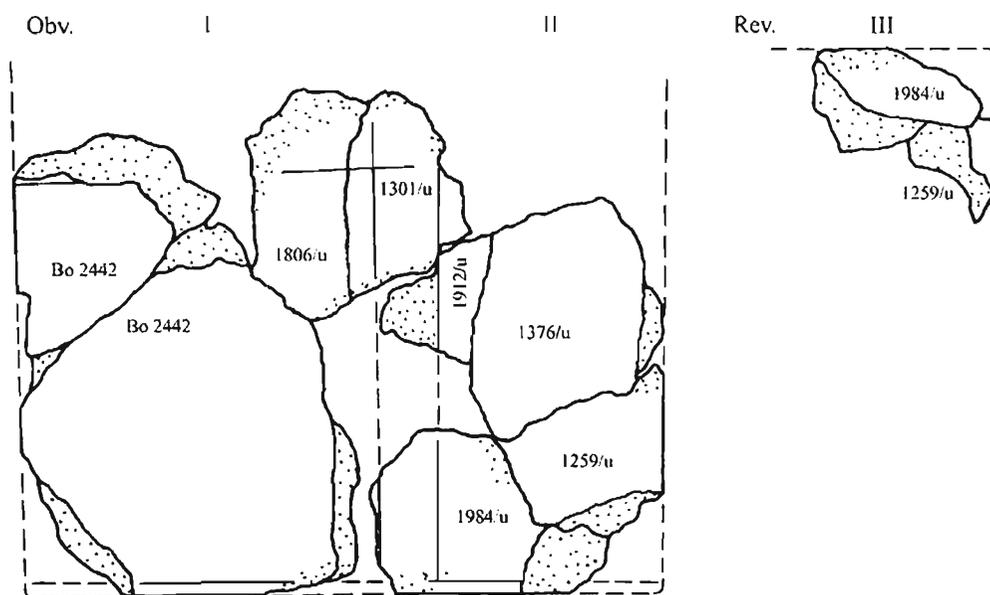


Fig. 1: Join sketch of Bo 2442+1301/u+1806/u+1376/u+1912/u+1259/u+1984/u

¹ I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. R. Akdoğan and her colleagues I. Aykut and Ş. Yılmaz for their friendly and patient assistance in the museum, to G. Wilhelm, who read and commented on an early draft of this paper — but who still favours the identity of Nibhururiya with Semekhère — and to I. Singer, who read and offered several helpful comments on this paper.

² The joins 1376/u+1912/u and 1259/u+1984/u were already known by the time I began my study.

Only one of the fragments, Bo 2442, has hitherto been published, as KUB 19.15. This piece was treated in 1962 by R. Stefanini³, who suggested that it represents a letter from the king of Karkamiš during the reign of Mursili II (cf. note 37), and this has been followed by H. Klengel⁴, who has also described the document as ‘Briefwechsel mit einem gewissen Arma’⁵, a name which shall be further discussed presently.

This paper will present a transliteration and translation of the text, along with a short philological commentary, then discuss the historical issues raised by it⁶.

KUB 19.15++

Vs.⁷ (I)

1']x -[zi²] [
 2']x
 3']-[it¹
 4' [tar²- na²] (-)[]

5' nu-mu x x A[N x x x x]x ku-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ḫi-ir
 6' nu ^mTi-it-ti-i[š ÌR-IA A-NA L]Ú[?] KUR ^{URU}Mi-iz¹-ri IŠ-PUR
 7' ÉRIN^{MEŠ}-wa ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} [u-i-ia nu-wa]-mu pa-ra-a x-iš²/zu²-du
 8' nu-wa ša-ra-a ti-i[a-mi nu-wa] [Γ-NA KUR ^{URU}Mi-iz-ri
 9' ú-wa-mi nu ŠA KUR ^{URU}Mi-[iz-ri É]RIN^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} ú-it
 10' nu ^mTi-it-ti-iš ša-ra-¹a¹ [t]i-ia-at
 11' na-aš I-NA KUR ^{URU}[M]i-iz-ri¹ p[a-i]t ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma ¹am¹-m[u-uk]
 12' [A-NA¹ ^mAr-ma-a AŠ-PUR ^mTe-it-ti-iš-wa ÌR-I[A]
 13' [k]u-it e-eš-¹ta¹ tu-el-ma-wa ÉRIN^{MEŠ} [ANŠE¹ KUR.R[A^{MEŠ}]
 14' [k]u-wa-at ¹u¹-i-ia-at nu-wa-ra-an a[r-ḫa ú-wa-te-et^(?)]
 15' [Ì]R-¹IA¹-ma-wa-ra-an-mu EGIR-pa pa-a-i ^m[Ar-ma-a-ma-an-mu]
 16' [EGIR]-pa Ú-UL pé-eš-ta EGIR-pa-ia-mu Ú-U[L-pát]
 17' [IŠ]-PUR nu ú-it ^mZi-ir-ta-ia-aš ÌR-[ŠU]
 18' [a]m-mu-uk IŠ-PUR ÉRIN^{MEŠ}-wa ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} u-¹Γ¹-[ia]
 19' nu-wa ša-ra-a ti-ia-mi nu-wa ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-š[i ú-wa-mi]
 20' nu ÉRIN^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} u-i-ia-nu-un nu ^m*Zi-ir-t[a-ia-an ÌR-ŠU]
 21' [^URU]KÙ.BABBAR-ši ú-wa-te-er nu-mu ^mAr-ma-a-aš I[Š-PUR]
 22' [^mZ]i-ir-ta-ia-aš-wa ÌR-IA ku-it nu-wa-ra-a[n-mu EGIR-pa]
 23' [pa-a]-¹Γ¹ am-mu-uk-ma-aš-ši EGIR-pa AŠ-PUR []
 24' [zi-ik-m]a-mu ^mTe-et-ti-in EGIR-pa ku-wa- [at]
 25' [Ú-UL p]é-eš-ta nu ^mAr-ma-a-aš ka-ru-uš-ši-[ia-at]-pát
 26' [nu Ú-UL k]u-it-ki me-mi-iš-ta nu-un-na-a[š-kán i]š-tar-ni-šum-mi

³ “Studi Ittiti: 2. Tetti di Nuhassi in XIX 15”, *Athenaeum* 40 (1962), pp. 11-19.

⁴ *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z.*, Teil 2. Berlin 1969, p. 50; *ibid.* *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.* Berlin 1992, p. 155 n. 383.

⁵ *Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches*. (Handbuch der Orientalistik I/34). Leiden 1999, p. 176.

⁶ A more thorough discussion of its implications for the chronology of the Amarna period will be presented at the 52nd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Münster, July 17-21, 2006.

27' [... Ú-UL^(?)] SIG₅-an-te-eš e-eš-u-e-en

28' [nu Ú-UL^(?) SIG₅^(?)-a]n-te-eš-pát e-eš-u-e-en

Vs.[?] (II)

1' x [ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma-za-kán]
 2' m_x[] ḠA[?]Ḡ-[NA^{GIŠŠÚ}.A/GU.ZA]
 3' LUG[AL-UT-TI] Ḡe-ša¹-at []
 4' nu Ḡú¹-[i]t^mAr-ma-a-aš KUR^{URU}ḠA¹-[mur-ri EGIR-an]
 5' Ḡša¹-an-ḥi-iš-ke-u-wa-an ti-i[a-at]
 6' nu ÉRIN^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} I-NA KUR^U[^{RU}A-mur-ri^(?)]
 7' GUL-aḥ-ḥu-wa-an-zi u-i-ia-[at]
 8' ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma am-mu-uk iš-t[a-ma-aš-šu-un]
 9' nu wa-ar-re-eš-ša-aḥ-ḥu-un []
 10' nu-mu ÉRIN^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} []
 11' ŠA KUR^{URU}Mi-iz-ri pé-ra-an []
 12' ar-ḥa tar-na-aš na-an-kán []
 13' [da]-ma-aš-šu-un nu-^{*}uš^{*}-ši ú-w[a-nu-un]
 14' [EGIR]-an-da AŠ-PUR KUR A-mur-ri-w[a]
 15' [EGIR-a]n ša-an-ḥi-iš-ke-ši []
 16' [KUR^{URU}] ḠA¹-mur-ri-wa-ták-k[á]n am-mu-uk Ḡim-ma¹
 17' [ar-ḥ]a da-aḥ-ḥu-un
 18' Ḡna-aš-ma¹-wa-ra-at-ták-kán A-BU-IA-ma
 19' tu-u[k a]r-ḥa da-a-aš
 20' KUR^{URU}A-[mur-r]i-wa-kán LUGAL KUR^{URU}Ḥa-ni-gal-bat
 21' A-NA LUGAL KUR^{URU}Mi-iz-ri ar-ḥa da-a-aš
 22' A-BU-IA-ma-wa-^{*}za^{*} LUGAL KUR^{URU}A-mur-r[i]
 23' tar-Ḡaḥ¹-ta nu-wa-kán KUR^{URU}ḠA¹-[mur-ri]
 24' ḠA-NA LUGAL KUR^{URU}Ḥur¹-r[i ar-ḥa da-a-aš]
 25' [] x []
 26' []x ḠAN¹ x x[]
 27' [] ḠIŠ¹-BAT^(?)ḠKUR¹^(?) []

Rs.[?] (III)

1' -r]i-i[a-
 2']x -BI ki-i[t[?]-
 3' ^dIŠK]UR-Ḡaš-wa¹ ku-wa-pí te-et-ḥ[a-i
 4']x ŠA ^dIŠKUR ḥa-lu-ga-aš x[]

(6') Whe[re/Wh[en(ever)], then, the Storm-god [thun]ders, (8') [it] shall be the border [of the Land of Amu]rru. [...] [...] someone/something^(acc.) [...] the/a word/affair^(acc.) [...]

Philological Commentary

The more fully preserved side is designated as the obv. (cf. the Rs.² in the edition of KUB 19.15) for two reasons: first, one would expect the rev. iv to have a colophon; second, the few lines of rev. iii seem to be a continuation of the historical lecture at the end of obv. ii to which Mursili treats 'Arma'a; and this would indeed seem to be confirmed by what little curvature is preserved on the rev. as opposed to the flatter obv.

At one point I doubted the join between cols. i and ii because col. i (ca. 12 cm.) is quite a bit wider than col. ii (ca. 8.5 cm.). The column divider is ca. 2.5 cm. wide. But then I looked at several other tablets, and it is actually common (perhaps even the rule) that col. i is wider than col. ii. It seems that the scribe first divided the tablet evenly by drawing a line down the middle, then placed the right line of the column divider to the right of the first; hence, the left column is wider than the right by about the same width as the column divider. And indeed, that is approximately so with the present tablet.

It is not entirely clear how the beginnings of the four lines preserved in 1301/u should line up with the preserved text from the rest of col. ii preserved in 1912/u+1376/u, since the /u fragments are in Ankara, Bo 2442 in Istanbul. 1301/u seems in fact to directly join 1912/u as reflected in the transliteration and join sketch presented here, but too little of the joining surfaces remains for one to be absolutely certain.

As far as I see, nothing in the palaeography of the text speaks against the assumption that the document is contemporary with the reign of Mursili II.

Obv. I

5' Following *nu=mu* presumably came the designations of the rebels, but I am unable to see in the traces any convincing representation of the possibilities (e.g. LUGAL^{MEŠ URU} *Nu-ħa-aš-ši*; ^{URU} *Ki-in-za*; Tette or Aitaqqama; KUR-*e ħumanda*).

6' The traces seem to suggest LJÚ or LUG]AL immediately after the break. It must be noted that 'Arma'a is otherwise referred to by name, not title.

7' For the restoration, cf. i 14'. The verb at the end of i 7' presents a surprisingly difficult obstacle, especially considering that the context is relatively clear. I am unable to suggest a plausible reading or convincing emendation.

9'-11' In the photos of Bo 2442 available to me the small piece visible in the copy in KUB 19.15 between the two larger fragments is no longer (or not yet?) present, and I have taken these signs from the edition.

14' For the restoration of the verb, cf. i 21'.

16' Whether the scribe felt that emphatic *-pát* would have been appropriate can hardly be definitively ascertained, but seems not unlikely. Cf. usage in i 25' and 28'.

19' For the restoration of the verb, cf. i 9'.

24' One might consider emending [zi-ik-m]a-<wa>-mu, but since -wa is not always consistently employed in such texts⁷, perhaps emendation is not strictly necessary, though this would be the only quoted speech passage in this text which omits it.

26' (1) For discussion of *istarni=summi* and related forms, see F. Starke, *Die Funktionen der dimensionalen Kasus und Adverbien im Althethitischen* (StBoT 23). Wiesbaden 1977, pp. 189-191. The present passage seems to show, *pace* Starke, that the locution could be used in everyday speech at this point, perhaps indicating that it was a frozen form, and thus, that one need not posit from the linguistic point of view that the occurrences in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma discussed by Starke were copied directly from the MH Kurustama text. See also HW², A, 402a. (2) The particle -kán is likely to be restored in the break in order to fill the space available, which it does perfectly, and as suggested by comparison with the passages discussed by Starke and in HW².

27'-28' What exactly is to be restored is uncertain, but the sense of the passage seems clear. One might, for example, want to restore a -kán in i 28' in light of the fact that -kán is likely to be restored in i 26'. Anyway, SIG₅ in i 27' is certain and practically undamaged⁸. I. Singer has suggested (pers. comm.) that one might want to restore an antonym, e.g. *kururihḫantes* or *idalawantes*, which indeed is very enticing. The only reason I have not done so is that I was unable to find these participles used in a similar way in any other text⁹. Still, the suggestion may well be preferred to mine.

Col. II

2' (1) The vertical at the beginning of the line, as well as the rest of the context, implies that a PN stood in the break. That it was not 'Arma'a is suggested by this name's occurrence in ii 4', where one would probably expect a pronoun if the name had been written in ii 2'. On the other hand, the sign following the vertical in ii 2' clearly begins with a wedge, which of course would be quite amenable to a reading ^mA[r-ma-a. (2) Whether the trace interpreted here as the A of 「A」-[NA is actually the trace of a sign or just damage is not certain.

1'-3' For the suggested reconstruction, cf. e.g. KUB 1.1 i 23: (ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-za A-BU-IA ^mMur-ši-li-iš DINGIR-LIM-iš ki-ša-at) ŠEŠ-IA-ma-za-kán ^mNIR.GÁL-iš A-NA^{GIŠ}GU.ZA A-BI-ŠU e-ša-at.

4' For a recent study on the phraseological construction, see Th. van den Hout, "Studies in the Hittite Phraseological Construction I: Its Syntactic and Semantic Properties", *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr.* G. Beckman et al., edd. Winona Lake 2003, pp. 177-203. For the restoration of EGIR-an, cf. ii 15'.

5' For the usage of (*appan*) *sanḫ-*, see CHD Š, s.v. and especially pp. 167b-168a. While I am not entirely satisfied with the translation 'to take vengeance upon', it seems clear

⁷ Cf. e.g. 249/v+KUB 14.17; see J.L. Miller, "The Kings of Nuḫḫašše and Mursili's *Casus Belli*: Two New Joins to Year 7 of the Annals of Mursili", *Tabularia Hethaeorum: Hethitische Beiträge für Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag* (DBH 25). D. Groddek and M. Zorman edd. Wiesbaden 2007, pp. 521-534.

⁸ Cf. Stefanini, *Athenaeum* 40 (1962), p. 12: -x]-ja¹-an-te-es.

⁹ Cf. *kururiahḫan ḫarta* in KBo 3.4 i 49 and iv 24' (CTH 61, Annals of Mursili). A writing *ku-u-ru-ri-ia-aḫ-ḫa-a]n-te-eš* would seem far too long for l. 28' here, and KÚR seems not to be used for the participle.

that Mursili felt that 'Arma'a was trying to retake Amurru intending to right an old wrong, i.e. the Egyptian loss of Amurru to Suppiluliuma.

12' 3. sg. acc. comm. *-an-* presumably refers to 'Arma'a, last mentioned in ii 4', not to the troops and chariots of ii 10'. It seems less likely to refer to *tuzzi-*, sg. comm., which would thus represent the troops and chariots of ii 6' and 10' in their entirety.

13'-14' (1) The phrase 'right back' as well as 'thereafter' are attempts to render the combination of the phraseological construction of *uw[anun]* along with [*app*] *anda*, respectively. (2) Cf. *appa hatrai-* in i 23'. The only other example of *appanda hatrai-* in the Hittite texts comes from KUB 14.4 iv 30', also a Mursili II document, which I. Singer, *Hittite Prayers*. (WAW 11). Atlanta 2002, p. 77, translates 'responded'.

15' Cf. ii 4'-5'.

18' The traces at the beginning of the line are amenable to either $\lceil na-aš-ma \rceil$ or $\lceil na-aš-šu \rceil$. For the rhetorical question with *nasma*, cf. KUB 1.4++ iii 34-35: $[(na-an-kán A-NA^{Gl})]^{š}GIGIR wa-ag-ga-ri-ia-nu-un na-aš-ma-an-kán ŠÀ É-T[I] / [(wa-ag-g)]a-ri-ia-nu-un$; 'Did I rise against him in the chariot, or did I rise against him in the interior of (his) house?' (CHD L-N, 403b).

Col. III

3' For the restoration ${}^dIŠK]UR-\lceil aš-wa \rceil$, cf. iii 6'.

4' The locution ŠA ${}^dIŠKUR ha-lu-ga-aš$ is unique in the Hittite corpus.

5' The *-za* presumably indicates a nominal sentence ending with a participle. The *A-* is not entirely certain, and depends in part on the occurrence of Amurru in col. ii and again here in iii 8'.

6' The restoration of *ZAG-aš* depends on comparison with iii 8', while the restoration of *kuwapi* depends in part on comparison with iii 3'.

8' The restoration of the beginning of the line is rather conjectural.

Author, Genre and Dating

The text clearly must be attributed to Mursili II, not Piyasilli/Šarri-Kusuḫ, the king of Karkamiš, as assumed by Stefanini on the basis of KUB 19.15 alone. Its authorship is apparent first and foremost from the mention of the writer's father as the one who took the Land of Amurru from Mittanni (ii 16'-24'). This, of course, does not rule out Šarri-Kusuḫ, who was also a son of Suppiluliuma I. It seems, however, that the author is speaking as a Great King, not as the Hittite vassal king of Karkamiš in the name of the Great King of Hatti. Further, the author refers to Tette as 'my servant' (i [6'], 12', 15'), who became hostile 'to me' (i 5'); the author corresponds with the great power Egypt; and Zirtaya, the Egyptian vassal, writes to the text's author, asking to be brought to Hattusa, where he is indeed eventually brought (i 17'ff.).

The text is clearly a historiographical document, rather than a letter¹⁰, as assumed by Stefanini and followed by Klengel, and such Hittite texts are known to us essentially only from Great Kings, not from any of the vassal kings. I was even initially tempted to ascribe the document to the annals of Mursili, but was unable to insert it into any of the gaps in a

¹⁰ Among other indications, letters with more than one column per side are very rare, as A. Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter I*. (TdH 15). Heidelberg 1989, 29 and n. 2, has noted.

convincing fashion. And if the text was written shortly after Mursili's restructuring of Syria in his 9th year along with the arbitrations concerning Barga and Amurru (CTH 63), as suggested below, then it could not constitute a part of his annals per se, which must have been compiled at or toward the end of his reign.

The dating of the events, on the other hand, was most likely correctly ascertained by Stefanini (cf. note 37), who suggested that they (i.e. the events of KUB 19.15 alone) should be linked to the Egyptian-supported Syrian rebellion in Mursili's 7th year¹¹. It may, however, be a useful exercise to specify exactly what indications relevant to this conclusion can be found in the textual sources (as well as which can not) and what assumptions must be made in reaching it, as the distinction is not always clear in the secondary literature.

Indications in the Texts

Years 1-6 of the annals of Mursili¹² are relatively well preserved and indicate no rebellions or campaigns in Syria. In his 7th year a rebellion broke out in the Nuḥašše lands, and Mursili experienced difficulty in regard to the extradition of one of the Nuḥašše leaders¹³. No names of the Nuḥašše rebels are mentioned. Egypt seems to have supported the trouble in Syria, and Mursili sent his general Kantuzili to deal with the matter. Šarri-Kusuḥ was also involved in some way. While Mursili was still in a town called Ziluna he received the news that the Egyptians had been repulsed and had retreated, and he therefore did not campaign personally to Syria¹⁴. At some subsequent point in year 7, Šarri-Kusuḥ campaigns in support of Mursili in Anatolia¹⁵.

In year 9 of the annals it is related that Šarri-Kusuḥ died while consulting with Mursili in Kizzuwatna. At this point the Nuḥašše rebellion resumed, and Mursili sent his general Kurunta to destroy the Nuḥaššeans' store of grain and subjugate them. At the same time Niqmaddu of Qadeš arose and killed his father Aitaqqama, assumed the throne and offered to (re)submit to Ḫatti. Nevertheless, Kurunta marched on and took Qadeš. Mursili responded by entrusting his Anatolian campaign to his generals and personally marching on Karkamiš via Aštata, which he fortified. While there, the troops which Kurunta had led against Nuḥašše and Qadeš brought Niqmaddu to Mursili, who made him his vassal despite his reg/patricide. Mursili then installed J-Šarruma on the throne of his late father Šarri-Kusuḥ.

Years 10-11 and the beginning of 12 are essentially completely preserved, and no mention is made of any trouble in Syria, suggesting that the rebellion was suppressed at least for the present with the campaign of year 9. Nowhere in the ensuing years of the annals is

¹¹ Of course, a precise anchor for the dating of the document may well have been provided in obv. ii 2', which dates 'Arma'a's intervention in Syria to immediately after the accession of the king whose name is no longer preserved; cf. commentary and note 64.

¹² A. Goetze, *Die Annalen des Mušiliš.* (MVAeG 38). Leipzig 1933.

¹³ See Miller, *Beiträge Košak*, pp. 521-534.

¹⁴ A.J. Spalinger, "Egyptian-Hittite Relations at the Close of the Amarna Period", *BES* 1 (1979), pp. 58ff., emphasizes that no direct Hittite-Egyptian confrontation is evidenced for year 7, and this seems to hold true still.

¹⁵ This would seem to suggest that the Hittites felt that the rebellion was under control; indeed the situation may have remained stable if it had not been for the death of Šarri-Kusuḥ two years later.

any trouble or any campaign in Syria mentioned, but of course, there are large gaps in the text, sometimes of many years.

Nowhere in the annals does Mursili campaign personally against Nuḫašše, Amurru or the Egyptian forces. Nowhere in the annals is Amurru mentioned at all. Neither does the name Tette appear anywhere in the annals¹⁶. Further, the reconstruction according to which Tette rebelled, was captured and handed over to Šarri-Kusuḫ, who then released him, allowing him to rebel again in Mursili's year 7, was rightly shown by Bryce¹⁷ to be based on no more than Goetze's overly imaginative restorations¹⁸.

In RS 17.334 Šarri-Kusuḫ, who died (early) in Mursili's year 9, recalls his request for the aid of the king of Ugarit, Niqmaddu II, in subduing the rebellion of Tette of Nuḫašše, providing an important *terminus ante quem* of (early in) Mursili's year 9 for Tette's rebellion¹⁹.

In the first column of KUB 19.15++ it is related that Tette rebelled against Ḫatti and threw in his lot with 'Arma'a, who responded by sending a force to escort him to Egypt, presumably indicating the end of Tette's reign. Mursili's extradition requests were ignored. His only other response was to send a contingent to lead the wayward Egyptian vassal

¹⁶ The name Tette is found in the following documents: (1) the treaty between Suppiluliuma I and Tette (CTH 53); (2) the arbitrations concerning Barga and Amurru (CTH 63); (3) KUB 19.15++; (4) a (copy of a) letter from Šarri-Kusuḫ to Niqmaddu (RS 17.334 = CTH 77); (5) the otherwise fruitless fragment Ras Ibn Hani 77/17, D. Arnaud and D. Kennedy, "Les textes en cunéiformes syllabiques découverts en 1977 à Ibn Hani", *Syria* 56 (1979), p. 318. It is often assumed that Tette would have been the Nuḫaššeian prisoner discussed in the annals, but while obviously a leading candidate, it could just as well have been any of the other Nuḫaššeian kings; see, e.g. Klengel, *Syria*, p. 155.

¹⁷ T.R. Bryce, "Tette and the Rebellions in Nuḫassi", *AnSt* 38 (1988), pp. 21-28; see also idem, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*. Oxford 1998, pp. 216-219; G.F. del Monte, *L'annalistica ittita*. Brescia 1993, pp. 85-86 and ns. 38-39.

¹⁸ Confirmed unequivocally by the join presented in Miller, *Beiträge Košak*, pp. 521-534.

¹⁹ G.F. del Monte, "Niqmadu di Ugarit e la rivolta di Tette di Nuḫašše", *OA* 22 (1983), pp. 221-231, has shown that RS 17.334 is not a (copy of a) letter sent to Niqmaddu requesting that he attack Nuḫašše, but rather a (copy of a) letter sent some time later confirming the promises made in that request. I fail to see, though, how del Monte (p. 229) derives a *terminus ante quem* of Mursili year 7 for Tette's rebellion, leading him to conclude that the request in RS 17.334 must refer to a Nuḫašše-Qadeš rebellion during the latter years of the reign of Suppiluliuma I (The clause 'if in the future Tette demands his subjects ...' likely also belongs to the time when the initial approach was made to Niqmadu, not the time of its confirmation). Clearly the letter must have been written some time between a/the rebellion of Tette and the death of Šarri-Kusuḫ (early) in Mursili's year 9 (similarly Spalinger, *BEA* 1 [1979], p. 66). Thus RS 17.334 could as well refer to Tette's rebellion in Mursili's year 7 as to a rebellion during the last years of Suppiluliuma's reign. Further, I am not certain one can assume that a Nuḫašše rebellion took place toward the end of Suppiluliuma's reign based on the prologue of the Tuppi-Teššub treaty. The mention of Nuḫašše's and Qadeš' hostility during the reign of Aziru (§2) could refer to their resistance before being brought into the Hittite fold (similarly Klengel, *Syria*, pp. 151-156), and their becoming hostile 'again' (§3) during Mursili's reign is likely referring to the rebellion of his own 9th year. Moreover, when Suppiluliuma speaks of Nuḫašše and Mukiš reneging on their treaties (RS 17.132, §3), he may well be referring to pacts ratified under Tudḫaliya I (cf. CTH 41 and 131, with Kizzuwatna; CTH 135, with Tunip; KUB 57.18+KBo 50.134, with Aštata², all likely from the time of Tudḫaliya I, with e.g. A. Altman, *The Historical Prologue of the Hittite Vassal Treaties*. Bar-Ilan 2004, pp. 73-74).

Zirtaya to Ḫattusa in parallel fashion. In col. ii the Egyptian 'Arma'a initiates hostilities against Amurru, and Mursili responds by personally campaigning against the Egyptians there, though whether a full-fledged battle between the great powers was fought might be doubted. As far as I am aware, this is the first indication in any source that Mursili tussled with the Egyptians over Amurru.

In the first of the arbitrations concerning Barga and Amurru (CTH 63)²⁰ it is related that Tette and one EN-urta, whose lands are not named, rebelled against Ḫatti, while Abiradda of Barga remained loyal and drove EN-urta from his land. Mursili seemingly hopes that internal struggles in Nuḫašše would solve the problem in Ḫatti's favour²¹. However, no further statements that can be confidently related to Tette (or Nuḫašše) are found in the document²². Mursili continues by stating that he completely crushed EN-urta and gave his kingdom to the loyal Abiradda, who installed his son Ari-Teššub on the throne. Further, Šummittara and Ḫuya, about whom no further information is preserved, are said to have stood with Ḫatti, and thus, are not to be persecuted by Abiradda and Ari-Teššub and vice versa. The second arbitration in the document is an injunction to some Syrian vassal, whose name and city are not preserved, to stop taking deportees from Tuppi-Teššub, the king of Amurru²³.

While it is explicitly mentioned that EN-urta has been vanquished, nowhere in the arbitration is it made clear that Tette's rebellion has already been put down — though it may well be that such was related in the break at the end of col. i — and nowhere is it clearly indicated that Mursili campaigned personally in Syria²⁴. It is also of interest that the scribal

²⁰ At a late stage in the preparation of this article, I discovered that KUB 19.31, which Goetze, *Annalen des Muršiliš*, pp. 80ff., assumed represents the beginning of year 7 of Mursili's annals, in fact joins directly KBo 3.3+KUB 23.126+KUB 31.36 (CTH 63.A), the results of which I intend to publish shortly. Fragments which may relate to the same events as narrated in KUB 19.15++, indeed could perhaps belong to the same tablet or to KBo 3.3++, are 1456/u, soon to appear in KBo 50, and KBo 9.74, where one might possibly want to read ^mAr-m[a²-a in line 2'. At this point it seems that the mention of Karkamiš, the king of Egypt and a treaty in KUB 19.31 would indicate that the events of the second decree of CTH 63, which deals with an unnamed vassal's unfriendly behaviour toward Amurru and Tuppi-Teššub, are to be related to the events of the second column of KUB 19.15++, and further, that cols. i and ii of KUB 19.15++, respectively, and the two arbitrations in CTH 63, respectively, parallel the 7th and 9th years of Mursili's annals, respectively. See now J.L. Miller, "Mursili's Dictate to Tuppi-Teššub's Syrian Antagonists", *KASKAL* 4, in press.

²¹ KBo 3.3++ i 26-34 read: 'But if not, and if before I, My Majesty, have conquered Iyaruwatta, a son or brother of Tette should anticipate and kill Tette, or capture him and [turn] him over to me, saying "I am the subject of Your Majesty in this place," then I, My Majesty, will not take Iyaruwatta away from him. [...] I will take. But if [no] one [anticipates] and kills Tette [...]'; G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (2nd ed.). (WAW 7). Atlanta 1999, p. 171.

²² In KUB 19.41++ ii 1-3 is found, '... he was his brother ... he turned to the land of Ḫatti, and he became a vassal of My Majesty,' which could conceivably be understood as a reference to a brother — perhaps Šummittara or Ḫuya — of Tette who deposed the rebel and submitted to Ḫatti. While this remains a distinct possibility, it is not necessitated by the fragmentary passage.

²³ And with the join of KUB 19.31 (see note 20), it is now clear that Egyptian influence was a factor and that Karkamiš became involved; in essence, that it parallels year 9 of the annals and KUB 19.15++ ii.

²⁴ Bryce, *AnSt* 38 (1988), p. 25f., assumes that the arbitration concerning Barga in fact indicates that Mursili campaigned personally against the Nuḫašše lands, leading him to conclude that the events in

hand of KUB 19.15++ is strikingly similar to that of the main recension of the arbitrations (KBo 3.3++), written by Tatigganna²⁵.

Further passages which may be relevant for the issue of dating KUB 19.15++ are found in the treaty between Mursili II and Tuppi-Teššub of Amurru. First, one finds: 'Whatever deportees of the land of Nuḥašše and deportees of the land of Kinza my father carried off, or I carried off – if one of these deportees flees from me and comes to you, and you do not seize him and extradite him to the king of Hatti, but instead you tell him thus: "[...], go where (you want to) go; I do not know you" – (thereby) you will break the oath of the gods'²⁶. And further, Mursili admonishes Tuppi-Teššub against conspiring with a resurgent Egypt: 'But [if] you commit [treachery], and while the king of Egypt [is hostile] to My Majesty you secretly [send] your messenger to him [and you become hostile] to the king of Hatti, and [you cast] off the hand of the king of Hatti becoming (a subject) of the king of Egypt, [thereby] you, Tuppi-Tešub, will break the oath.' Mursili also claims that the Nuḥašše-Qadeš rebellion had been crushed: 'I, My Majesty, destroyed those [enemies]'²⁷.

Interpretation

These passages, then, constitute the textual basis upon which a reconstruction of the events can be attempted. The next step is to discuss the assumptions and inferences that one must make in order to arrive at a dating of KUB 19.15++.

It might first be assumed that Tette's rebellion did not occur during Mursili's years 1-6, since his 10-year annals, as well as large portions of his extensive annals, are nearly complete for these years, and no mention of any trouble in Syria is found in them²⁸.

It is known from RS 17.334, though, that Tette rebelled prior to Šarri-Kusuḥ's death early in year 9. Further, since Šarri-Kusuḥ's death apparently occurred before the renewed rebellion in year 9, and indeed seems to have been the or a catalyst for it, it may be inferred that Tette's rebellion about which Šarri-Kusuḥ wrote to Niqmaddu of Ugarit is not to be equated with the rebellion in year 9, but took place before that. Obviously, the Nuḥašše

this text cannot have taken place at the same time as those described in the 7th and 9th years of Mursili's annals, where Mursili does not campaign in this part of Syria. (Bryce eventually suggests that the Barga episode occurred earlier in the 7th year, and that Mursili would thus have campaigned personally to Nuḥašše early in his 7th year.) But nowhere in the arbitration is it clear that Mursili personally campaigned there. At most he says, 'And I, My Majesty, completely destroyed EN-urta along with his house and his land. His kingship, his throne, his house and his land which I spared, I gave to Abiradda. Then I made him king in the Land of Barga' (KBo 3.3++ ii 1-5). But whether this indicates that Mursili personally led the troops that carried out the military campaign or whether he merely presents himself as the king who was responsible for the new order in this part of Syria, does not seem certain.

²⁵ On the dating of Tatigganna, see J. Klinger, *Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der hattischen Kultschicht*. (StBoT 37). Wiesbaden 1996, p. 38f.

²⁶ In I. Singer, *The Context of Scripture II*. W.W. Hallo ed. Leiden-Boston-Köln 2000, p. 97a.

²⁷ Singer, *CoS II*, p. 96a.

²⁸ Similarly del Monte, *OA 22* (1983), p. 229f. Even this assumption, however, must be treated with caution, since the 10-year annals clearly represent a selection of events and omit some major actions. The entire Syrian rebellion of year 7 found in the extensive annals, for example, finds no mention in the 10-year annals, though the section where one would expect to find these events is fully preserved.

rebellion of year 7 thus suggests itself, though one cannot categorically exclude year 8²⁹, which is almost entirely missing from the annals³⁰.

The next step would be to infer that since Nuḫašše is known from the annals to have rebelled in year 7, and since it can be concluded that Tette rebelled in year 7 (or 8), that the rebellion in the annals is indeed that led by Tette, whether Tette is actually the Nuḫaššeian prisoner at issue in the annals or not.

It thus seems reasonable to assume that Tette's rebellion in col. i of KUB 19.15++ should be equated with this rebellion, and thus, dated to year 7. Both are supported by Egypt, and to both Mursili responds from afar. This of course assumes that (1) the first 6 years of the annals do not omit a Syrian rebellion which occurred prior to year 7 (but cf. note 28); (2) Mursili's moves to crush the rebellion in year 9 in fact succeeded and that the rebellion thus was not allowed to drag on for several years, which is indeed implied by the fact that no further mention of the Syrian rebellion is made in the annals years 10-11 and the beginning of 12; (3) Tette, after having been defeated, would not have been allowed to remain on the throne of Nuḫašše — which would allow for a later rebellion that might have been recorded in one of the major gaps in the later years of Mursili's annals — after having so blatantly rebelled, and this seems to be confirmed by his flight to Egypt in KUB 19.15++ col. i³¹.

This dating of the events of col. i of KUB 19.15++, where Mursili addresses the situation through diplomacy directed from Ḫattusa, fits well with the fact that nowhere in the available documentation does Mursili himself campaign to Syria in year 7.

Col. ii of KUB 19.15++, on the other hand, might best be dated to the crushing of the rebellion in Mursili's 9th year, since the annals witness him campaigning to Syria himself at this point, even if the sphere of his action in the annals is Karkamiš, that of KUB 19.15++ ii Amurru, which, needless to say, are not mutually exclusive (both col. ii of KUB 19.15++ and year 9 of the annals are far from complete), and even if no Egyptian support for the rebellion is mentioned in year 9 of the annals³². That Mursili at this point employs troops which had been assigned to his general Kurunta for the purpose of subduing Nuḫašše and Qadeš — as well as the fact that the nearly complete first 12 years of the annals contain no reference to further Syrian rebellion — seems to suggest that the matter of Nuḫašše had by this time been settled³³.

²⁹ That the rebellion may well have raged during year 8, too, might perhaps be suggested by the mention of 'my brother' in what little is preserved of year 8, suggesting perhaps that the Syrian scene was still an active one. On the other hand, Mursili often mentions his brother campaigning with him in Anatolia.

³⁰ Indeed, neither can it be categorically excluded that RS 17.334 refers to a rebellion toward the end of Suppiluliuma's reign, but this seems unlikely; see note 19.

³¹ There are of course examples (e.g. that of Manapa-Tarḫunta; see Klengel, HdO I/34, 195f.), though rare, in which rebels are allowed to continue ruling their kingdoms after their insurrections are crushed. Indeed, though it is nowhere related what role Tette may have played in the Nuḫašše-Qadeš rebellion or resistance during the reign of Suppiluliuma, as related in the prologue of the treaty between Mursili II and Tuppi-Teššub (cf. note 19), he may have had at least some hand in it, and if so, could also be counted among those who had rebelled but were forgiven.

³² The join with KUB 19.31 (see note 20) seems to provide confirmation.

³³ Similarly Bryce, *AnSt* 38 (1988), p. 25f. On the other hand, it is often the case that in any given year of an annalistic document a king describes the situation giving the impression that the lands had been eternally pacified, only to have to march to the same land again in some following year to again

Further support for the dating might be found in the passages of the treaty between Mursili II and Tuppi-Teššub quoted above. In the first, Mursili warns the new king of Amurru about activities that seem to reflect precisely those experiences described in the 7th year of Mursili's annals, i.e. troubles with the extradition of rebels from Nuḥašše (and Qadeš). His warning includes quotes that seem to echo the Nuḥaššeian equivocation and prevarication which so frustrated Mursili as recorded in the annals³⁴. In the second, Mursili admonishes Tuppi-Teššub against conspiring with a resurgent Egypt in a way which recalls strikingly the situation found in col. i of KUB 19.15++³⁵.

Finally, that the Nuḥašše-Qadeš rebellion had been crushed by this time would seem to be supported by Mursili's claim in the treaty that he had destroyed his Syrian enemies. Naturally, caution toward such statements is called for (cf. note 33).

That the same scribe, Tatigganna, likely produced the main recension of the arbitrations (KBo 3.3++) as well as KUB 19.15++, if my assessment of their handwriting is correct, might suggest that both tablets were written following Mursili's apparently final restructuring of Syria in the wake of his personal intervention in his 9th year and strengthens the assumption that the respective events of both should be dated to the 7th and 9th years of Mursili's reign. The arbitrations would thus represent mopping-up activities after his campaign(s) had essentially reinforced the order in Syria.

³Arma'a = *Haremhab, the Last Ruler of Egyptian 18th Dynasty*

Obviously, the next and perhaps central question to be addressed is: Who is *Ar-ma-a*? The name is likely to be read ³Arma'a or Armaya, or similarly, as suggested by its plene writing. It occurs only in this letter (but cf. note 20). Stefanini observed that the name initially recalls Luwian Arma, but already noted that the plene writing might indicate that the name should be read Armaya, and he suspected that this could represent the Anatolianization of an Egyptian name³⁶. That Stefanini was correct in thinking of an Egyptian name rather than an Anatolian one is supported first of all by the fact that Arma, as such, never occurs as a personal name in Anatolia — not in the cuneiform texts, not in hieroglyphic Luwian — but only as an element in *Satznamen*, such as Arma-piya, Arma-ziti, Arma-nanni, etc.

I would like to suggest that ³Arma'a indeed represents an Egyptian name, in fact, none other than that of Haremhab, who became the last pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty of Egypt³⁷.

subdue it. Hence, one should not necessarily conclude that the Nuḥašše rebellion was at a conclusive end just because one gains such an impression from the description of events in year 9.

³⁴ See Miller, *Beiträge Košak*, pp. 521-534.

³⁵ If these stipulations can indeed be read as reflecting Mursili's experiences in his 7th year, then it would support the dating of Tuppi-Teššub's accession to around Mursili's 9th year rather than his 3rd or 4th; see discussion of the two possibilities by I. Singer, 'A Concise History of Amurru', in S. Izre'el, *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study*. (HSS 41). Atlanta 1999, pp. 162f. Further, if the second arbitration in CTH 63 can indeed be linked to the 9th year of the annals and to KUB 19.15++ ii, as suggested above (see note 20), then the arbitration would provide further confirmation of the dating.

³⁶ *Aethenaeum* 40 (1962), p. 18 n. 64.

³⁷ After I had come to this conclusion concerning the identity of ³Arma'a with Haremhab and its consequences, I discovered, to my great chagrin, that I was not the first to have suggested it. (Slight consolation could be derived from the fact that I arrived at the conclusion independently, perhaps lending support to its credibility.) In a short note published as a two-page appendix to a long article

While the spelling is initially surprising, it should be noted that the name of this pharaoh is found as Armais in the excerpts of Manetho's history in Eusebius, as well as Harmais in Josephus, Armesis in Africanus and Armaios in the Sothis book³⁸. Thus, it may have had some basis in how the name was actually vocalized³⁹.

If one accepts this identity, one must merely explain how it is that the name 'Arma'a /Armais appears in a Hittite historical text from the 14th century and in much later classical literature, but as Haremhab in the Egyptian material. This obstacle seems surmountable. In addition to phonetic considerations, one should note other shortened names found in the Hittite (and other) texts, such as Tuniya for Tunip-Teššub, king of Tikunani⁴⁰. Further, the Amarna (and Hittite) spellings of Egyptian names are quite liberal and abbreviated representations of what one would expect from the Egyptian writings, such as Naphurreya (and variants Naphureya, Naphu]rureya, Naphu'rure[ya, Naphu]rar[eya, Naphururea and Namhurya) for Nefer-cheprurê(-wa-en-rê) or Nimmureya (and variants Nibmuarea, Nibmuareya, [Nim]u'wareya, Mimmuwareya, Mimmureya and Immureya) for Neb-maat-rê.

If, on the other hand, one rejects the identity of 'Arma'a with Haremhab, then one must assume that 'Arma'a is some other Egyptian personage and is thus forced to accept several disconcerting coincidences and incongruities: First, that both 'Arma'a and Haremhab were high Egyptian officials during approximately the same period and for some time apparently a kind of governor in charge of the Syrian realm, and that both acted in stead of the king; second, that this extremely important individual, 'Arma'a, appears nowhere in the Egyptian literature; and third, that these two individuals whose careers overlap so conspicuously⁴¹ just happen to have practically identical names in the Hittite and classical literature. To me, Occam's razor forces one to accept that 'Arma'a is Haremhab.

about the letter from Puduḥepa to the king of Alasiya in an obscure journal two years after his treatment of KUB 19.15, Stefanini considered the equation in his article, 'Haremḥab in KUB XIX 15?', *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere "La Colombaria"* 29 (1964), pp. 70-71. The identification was summarily rejected by Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens II*, p. 29 and n. 21 (cf. idem, pp. 50-57; *ibid.*, *Syria*, p. 155 and n. 383; *ibid.*, *HdO I/34*, pp. 176, 196-200), and by Spalinger, *BES 1* (1979), pp. 61, 85, without serious discussion, and the matter was thereafter apparently forgotten. Though Stefanini (in my view) correctly concluded that 'Arma'a plays in KUB 19.15 the role of general under the successor(s) of Akhenaton, his assumption that Mursili and Haremhab must have begun their reigns at about the same time (or that Mursili ascended the throne some time after Haremhab became pharaoh) led him to redate, in contrast to his 1962 article, the events of KUB 19.15 to the end of the reign of Suppiluliuma I, which certainly must be rejected.

³⁸ See Krauss, *Ende der Amarnazeit*, 1978, 20f.; von Beckerath, *HÄB 39*, 1994, p. 54ff. Spalinger, *BEA 1* (1979), p. 61 and n. 22, expresses scepticism about the worth of the later sources for the discussion of the issue.

³⁹ The proper discussion of this spelling and its relationship to the spellings in the Egyptian sources I will leave to others. Initial thoughts on the matter can be found below and in Stefanini's 1964 article (see note 37, above). A conventional spelling 'Arma'a will be adopted here.

⁴⁰ See M. Salvini, "Una Lettera di Ḫattušili I relativa alla spedizione contro Ḫaḫḫum", *SMEA 34* (1994), pp. 63-80.

⁴¹ The degree of overlap is seen, e.g. in Spalinger, *BEA 1* (1979), where he in fact has both 'Arma'a and Haremhab fighting in Syria against Nuḫašše at the same time while serving under the reigning pharaoh.

Zirtaya = Zitriyara of EA 211-214?

Stefanini already considered identifying Zirtaya, the Egyptian vassal who offers his submission to the delighted Hittite king, with a certain Zitriyara, the author of Amarna letters 211-213 (and perhaps also 214). Unfortunately, none of the four Amarna letters nor the newly constructed text under discussion contains any further information on him or his kingdom. Thus, I had hoped that the petrographic studies of the Amarna letters by Yuval Goren⁴² might point us at least to the geological region in which one would want to place Zitriyara's kingdom and perhaps allow us to confirm or refute the proposed identity. This, in turn, might have helped us better understand what regions in Syria played the pawns in the great powers game. Unfortunately, all of Zitriyara's letters to the Amarna pharaoh were, according to Goren and his colleagues, written from Gaza. They conclude (p. 307): 'In the light of their (i.e. EA 211-213) script and text, which resemble other north Canaanite letters, the only possible interpretation of their southern provenance is that he (i.e. Zitriyara) appeared before the Egyptian officials in the administrative centre at Gaza and wrote his letters from there'⁴³. Thus, while Stefanini's suggested identification of Zirtaya in our text and Zitriyara of Amarna Letters 211-213 (and possibly 214) seems possible⁴⁴, perhaps even likely in consideration of the letters' northern provenance, confirmation of the identity and the localization of his kingdom must await further evidence.

Finally, as I. Singer has pointed out to me (pers. comm.), the name Zirdamyašda from EA 234 might be reconciled with the name Zirtaya as easily as Zitriyara could be, and it is known that he at one point deserted his overlord, Biryawaza of Damascus, a vassal of Egypt. Thus Zirdamyašda might also be considered a candidate for identity with Zirtaya.

The Status of Amurru

A further interesting novelty in the text is Mursili's assertion that his father, Suppiluliuma I, had taken the land of Amurru away not from Egypt, but from Ḫanigalbat, which had previously taken Amurru away from Egypt. This claim presents a stark contrast to other statements in Hittite historical texts, which stress that Amurru switched directly from the Egyptian to the Hittite camp and often emphasize the loyalty shown by Aziru to Ḫatti when all around him turned traitor. How is Mursili's statement to be reconciled with the other historical data?

I do not think this new claim should come as a total surprise, as there are certainly hints in other texts that suggest that Amurru before and during Suppiluliuma's campaigns to Syria had tried to play its several masters off against each other. Amurru hedged its bets and

⁴² Y. Goren, N. Na'aman and I. Finkelstein, *Inscribed in Clay. Provenance Studies of the Amarna Letters and other Ancient Near Eastern Texts*. Tel Aviv 2004, pp. 306-308.

⁴³ Thus, Zitriyara was presumably on his way to visit the pharaoh, or at least his representatives in Gaza. Similarly, EA 168, from Aziru, was sent from Gaza, probably as he journeyed to Egypt, as he is known to have done.

⁴⁴ Since the Amarna archive ends with the first year or so of the reign of Tutankhamun (W. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore - London 1992, p. xxxiv; R. Krauss, "Nefretitis Ende", *MDAIK* 53 [1997], pp. 209-219), Zirtaya/Zitriyara would have already been on his throne for some 15-20 years by Mursili's 7th year.

waited to see which of the great powers would come out on top before finalizing its allegiance. And though the Egyptian king likely would not have agreed with Mursili's claim in KUB 19.15++, Mursili undoubtedly felt that his viewpoint was solidly anchored in reality. And of course, he was not the only one to have held this opinion, so presumably there was at least some factual basis for his interpretation.

For example, Rib-Hadda, the prolific, if not exactly objective, author of dozens of Amarna letters from Byblos, writes⁴⁵: 'Moreover, that [*do*]g (i.e. 'Abdi-Aširta) is [i]n Mittana, but his eye is on [Gub]la.' Here we see that already before Suppiluliuma's conquest, at least Rib-Hadda was of the opinion that the leader of Amurru had been two-timing it behind Pharaoh's back. Further, Rib-Hadda writes⁴⁶: '[*No*]w, the ships of the army are not to enter the land of Amurru, for they have killed 'Abdi-Aširta, since they had no wool and he had no garments of lapis lazuli or MAR-stone color to give as tribute to the land of Mittana.' The implication, of course, is that the normal state of affairs was the delivery of tribute to Mittanni, and that the failure to deliver brought about the dire turn of events. Further, Rib-Hadda writes⁴⁷: '...The king of Mitta[ni] visited the land of Amurru itself, and he said, "How great is this land! Your⁴⁸ land is extensive."' Finally, Rib-Hadda informs pharaoh of a Mittannian military campaign to the region⁴⁹: 'Moreover, the king of <Mi>tana came out as far as Šumur, and though wanting to mar[ch] as far as Gubla, he returned to [h]is own land, as there wa[s n]o water for him to drink.' Thus, at least in the opinion of Rib-Hadda, the Mittannian king was not averse to emphasizing with military force whatever claims he might have had in the region. Again, while Rib-Hadda's psychological state and ulterior motives hardly need be repeated⁵⁰, it was in all probability exactly such indications that allowed Mursili to feel justified in making his claim.

And of course, Mursili's assertion is not the only indication in the Hittite texts which might be understood to support such a notion. In the preamble to the treaty between Tudḫaliya IV and Šaušgamuwa of Amurru we read⁵¹: '[In the past] the land of Amurru was not defeated by the force of arms of the land of Ḫatti. At the time when [Aziru] came to the forefather of My Majesty, [Suppilul]iuma, in the land of Ḫatti, the lands of Amurru were still [hostile]; they [were] subjects of the king of Ḫurri'⁵².

It is clear that the Hittite sources themselves are not entirely consistent, as can be seen by the contrasting statements '[In the past] the land of Amurru was not defeated by the force

⁴⁵ EA 90, 19ff. All Amarna letters are quoted according to Moran, *Amarna Letters*.

⁴⁶ EA 101, 3ff. The interpretation of the passage is disputed, e.g. by A. Altman, "The Fate of Abdi-Ashirta", *UF* 9 (1977), pp. 7f.; M. Liverani, "How to kill Abdi-Ashirta: Ea 101, Once again", *IOS* 18 (1998).

⁴⁷ EA 95, 27ff.

⁴⁸ G. Kestemont, "La société internationale mitannienne et le royaume d'Amurru à l'époque amarnienne", *OLP* 9 (1978), p. 29 and n. 13, reads 'Mon(!?) pays...'

⁴⁹ EA 85, 51ff.

⁵⁰ See, e.g. M. Liverani, "Rib-Adda, giusto sofferente", *AoF* 1 (1974), pp. 175-201.

⁵¹ Based on Singer, *CoS* II, p. 99.

⁵² The passage has been interpreted variously; cf. Kestemont, *OLP* 9 (1978), pp. 27-32; C. Zaccagnini, "A Note on Hittite International Relations at the Time of Tudḫaliya IV", *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*. (Eothen 1). F. Imparati ed. Firenze 1988, pp. 295-299; Singer, "The 'Land of Amurru' and the 'Lands of Amurru' in the Šaušgamuwa Treaty", *Iraq* 53 (1991), pp. 69-74.

of arms of the land of Ḫatti' in the treaty just cited and 'My father, though, defeated the king of the Land of Amurru' in KUB 19.15++. Rather, the statements are tailored to the current circumstances and audience, as indeed would be expected. Given that 'Abdi-Aširta and Aziru had for years expanded their territory at the expense of Egyptian vassals, surely Mursili could be forgiven for understanding this as their working in the interests of Mittanni. Indeed, I do not think it can be excluded that Amurru's expansion was supported by Mittanni, whether it was officially a vassal with the requisite signed and sealed treaty or not.

One should also distinguish between the perspectives of the various parties and whatever the historical reality was likely to have been. Rib-Hadda certainly took any and every possible event to indicate that his nemesis was a traitor working with the enemy. The Egyptian king probably viewed the Amurru kings as wily hooligans and hillbillies willing to prostitute themselves to the highest bidder. The Hittites apparently recognized that Amurru had played the great powers against each other, but were so delighted with Aziru's eventual voluntary submission and snubbing of Egypt⁵³ that they chose to emphasize this, at least in the treaties, rather than Amurru's previous promiscuity. In historical reality, Amurru, perhaps not always in a wholly united manner, attempted to maintain as long as it could as much freedom of action as it could by maintaining the best possible ties with each of the great powers that it could, likely trying to give each of them the impression that it was eternally loyal to them, until finally recognizing that it would be the Hittites who would be the ones to reckon with for decades to come, and in this Amurru turned out to be correct.

In light of the several strands of evidence, including that in which the Hittites themselves hint that they knew the situation was more complex than they admitted, it seems that the preambles to the Amurru treaties attempt to gloss over this very complex history, seeking to simplify the situation and emphasize Aziru's rejection of Egypt⁵⁴, his voluntary turn to the Hittites and his constant loyalty. It now seems increasingly clear, however, that the situation was more complex and that the Hittites knew it.

Finally, it seems that the Hittites altered significantly their understanding of history, or at least presented it differently, depending on the audience. The version for internal consumption, i.e. between the king and his vassal in Amurru, was that Aziru happily chose of his own volition Suppiluliuma as his master. The version for international consumption, i.e. for the king of Egypt, was that neither Ḫatti nor Amurru could be held accountable for the Egyptian loss, but rather that Mittanni was to blame, which was, of course, agreeably convenient for Mursili at a time when Mittanni no longer existed.

Wherever the Storm-god Thunders

If I understand correctly what little is preserved of rev. iii, where Mursili apparently continues his history lesson for 'Arma'a's edification, it seems that the storm-god is seen here as the one who had set the borders of Amurru, and thus presumably the border between Ḫatti and Egypt, letting his decision be known by his lighting and thunder. A literal reading of this passage, i.e. that the geographical borders of Amurru were set by keeping an eye out for lightning strikes, would seem inordinately arbitrary, at least to the modern mind.

⁵³ Cf. Mursili's apparent delight at Zirtaya's defection in KUB 19.15++ col. i.

⁵⁴ The occasional emphatic statements to the effect that Aziru came straight from the gate of Egypt to submit himself to Suppiluliuma should be seen in this light.

Presumably the idea is rather that the establishment of the borders of Amurru enjoyed the divine sanction of the storm-god, and hence, that 'Arma'a's attempts to regain Amurru were acutely illicit. A very similar concept, indeed likely referring to the same sanction of the same borders, is found in Mursili's Prayer to All the Gods or 'Fifth' Plague Prayer⁵⁵: 'To this tablet (concerning Egypt) I did not add a word, nor did I remove [any]. ... I did not concern myself with those borders which were set for us by the Storm-god. Those borders that my father left me, those borders [I kept]. ... Neither [did I take anything] from his borderland.' It may well be, therefore, that the traces in col. iii of KUB 19.15++ refer in a similar way to Suppiluliuma's redrawing of the map of Syria, which at least in the Hittite view enjoyed the divine sanction of the storm-god⁵⁶.

Amarna Age Chronology

I would now like to turn briefly to the implications of this document for Amarna Age chronology. Granting that, first, 'Arma'a is to be identified with Haremhab, and second, that the events of KUB 19.15++ took place in the 7th and 9th years of Mursili's reign, then the document has significant repercussions for Amarna Age chronology in general and the question of the identification of Nibhururiya in particular. In the well-known and much-discussed 'dahamunzu episode', the widow of a recently deceased pharaoh, Nibhururiya, writes to Suppiluliuma asking him for a son to become her husband and the ruler of Egypt. It has for decades been hotly debated whether Nibhururiya should be identified with Akhenaton or Tutankhamun⁵⁷, and no definitive resolution to the chronological muddle could be seen on the horizon.

Before beginning the discussion proper, though, perhaps I should note what seems to me to be a general maxim: The less certain a claim is, the more dogmatically that claim will be held. The tenacity and virulence with which many hold to their specific religious convictions is perhaps the best illustration. The issue of whether Nibhururiya be Akhenaton or Tutankhamun is similar in that many proponents of the one or the other hypothesis seem to claim with unerring certainty that their interpretation is correct, repeatedly emphasizing their conviction with (in)appropriate hyperbole. I am fully aware of the fact that there are serious objections to both possible interpretations, even if I will advocate one of the two options in this paper.

The interpretation of the evidence in the present document for the issue of Amarna Age chronology depends on one more crucial factor in addition to the identification of 'Arma'a with Haremhab and the dating of the events to the 7th and 9th years of Mursili's reign, and

⁵⁵ CTH 379; KUB 31.121(+)|21a+KUB 48.111 §§7'-9' in Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, p. 66.

⁵⁶ The fact that Mursili berated 'Arma'a in this manner with reference to the storm-god's sanctioning of the border might even suggest that at some point Hatti and Egypt had reached agreement on the newly drawn borders following Suppiluliuma's conquest and that they had formalized this agreement with a treaty. Bryce, *AnSt* 38 (1988), pp. 26f., has suggested on the base of the traces in KUB 19.31 (cf. note 20, above) that Mursili may have had some dealings, perhaps even a treaty, with Ay or Haremhab.

⁵⁷ G. Wilhelm and J. Boese, "Absolute Chronologie und die hethitische Geschichte des 15. und 14. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.," *High, Middle or Low I*. P. Åström ed. Gothenburg 1987, pp. 74-117, even opt for Semenhere.

that is, whether 'Arma'a in this document is already pharaoh or still a viceroy under one of his predecessors.

There are several points in the text that seem to indicate that 'Arma'a is not yet pharaoh. First, Mursili never refers to him as LUGAL or LUGAL.GAL⁵⁸, nor does he ever say that he writes to the LUGAL or LUGAL.GAL of Egypt, but always that he writes to 'Arma'a⁵⁹. As is well known, to the aggravation of all Hittitologists, the Hittite kings, and Mursili in particular, all too rarely refer to the other great kings by name, but only by their title. In Mursili's annals, for example, he refers to the king of Assyria merely as 'the Assyrian'; he repeatedly mentions the king of Ahhiyawa, but never by name; and he refers to the pharaoh of Egypt without ever naming him. Mursili does, however, consistently give name and title to subordinates, vassals and minor kings, for obvious reasons of clarity. Therefore I am tempted to assume that 'Arma'a is acting in our document in the name of the pharaoh, including handling the international correspondence, but that he is not recognized as king. Mursili, then, addresses him as a subordinate to the pharaoh⁶⁰.

Further support is found in the fact that 'Arma'a appears to represent Haremhab's birth name, not his throne name, Djoser-chepru-rê sotep-en-rê⁶¹. Presumably, if Mursili were to refer to the pharaoh by name, he would use his throne name, as is the case with Nibhururiya in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma. And finally, as Schulman has pointed out, the majority, if not all, of Haremhab's supposed military activity occurred during the reign of his predecessors, for the most part under Tutankhamun⁶². Indeed, the only purported evidence for military activity in Syria by Haremhab during his own reign, according to Schulman, should actually be dated to the last year of Akhenaton (see note 65).

If, as suggested, 'Arma'a is not yet pharaoh in this text, then the identification of Nibhururiya with Tutankhamun is excluded, an identification with Semenkhre extremely unlikely (see Fig. 2, Likely Hittite Synchronism)⁶³. That is to say, if Haremhab is not yet

⁵⁸ Cf. commentary to obv. i 6', above. If LUGAL is indeed to be read in obv. i 6', it might be interpreted in one of (at least) two ways: It could be that Tette actually wrote to the king of Egypt, Tutankhamun according to the reconstruction suggested in this paper, but that 'Arma'a responded and was in fact the one to be dealt with at this time. Alternatively, LUGAL could conceivably refer to 'Arma'a, in which case he would already have been king in Mursili's 7th year.

⁵⁹ Cf. Spalinger, *BES* 1 (1979), p. 61 and n. 22, who takes this as disproving the equation rather than considering the possibility that it could refer to Haremhab before he was pharaoh, and this despite his later discussion (p. 86), based on the Egyptian documentation, of how Haremhab must have fought against the Hittites in Syria under Aya, i.e. when he was not LUGAL.GAL.

⁶⁰ If one is inclined to assume that 'Arma'a is already pharaoh, one might attempt to explain the fact that he is never designated LUGAL or LUGAL.GAL in this document by suggesting that Mursili intended with his usage to deny Haremhab's legitimacy and to demean him, since he was certainly not the son of a pharaoh.

⁶¹ This point was also noted by Stefanini, "*La Colombaria*" 29 (1964), pp. 70-71.

⁶² A.R. Schulman, "Ankhesenamun, Nofretity, and the Amka Affair", *JARCE* 15 (1978), p. 46 and n. 17.

⁶³ In the figure, 1 cm. = 4 years (scaling may have occurred for printing). Dates for the pharaohs essentially follow J. van Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten*. (MÄS 46). Mainz 1997, but reject a coregency between Akhenaton and Semenkhre, as per W. Helck, "Ägyptologische Bemerkungen zu dem Artikel von J. Freu in 'Hethitica XI 39'", *Hethitica* 12 (1994), p. 20f., and are taken for this period from R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*. (HÄB 7). Hildesheim 1978. Obviously, some time should be left following Akhenaton (or Semenkhre) or Tutankhamun for a

pharaoh by Mursili's 9th year, then the death of Suppiluliuma is pushed back to the first half of Tutankhamun's reign, and Nibhururiya can only have been Akhenaton⁶⁴.

If, on the other hand, 'Arma'a is already pharaoh in KUB 19.15++, which seems unlikely, then Nibhururiya could conceivably be identified with either Akhenaton or Tutankhamun (or Semenkhre). The first possibility, that Nibhururiya is to be identified with Akhenaton (see Fig. 2, Alternative 1), would demand that Mursili's 7th and 9th years fall within the first couple years of Haremhab's reign as pharaoh. Otherwise, the length of time between the death of Akhenaton and the death of Suppiluliuma grows beyond all current estimates. Placing Mursili's 7th year in the first year of Haremhab's reign yields a minimum of about 10 years between the death of Akhenaton and that of Suppiluliuma, and this is already the 'high' number proposed by Wilhelm and Boese. The second possibility, that Nibhururiya is to be identified with Tutankhamun, would demand that Mursili's 7th and 9th years fall in about the middle of Haremhab's reign as pharaoh (see Fig. 2, Alternative 2)⁶⁵.

Still, it seems to me quite likely that 'Arma'a is not yet pharaoh in this document, which would exclude the identity of Nibhururiya with Tutankhamun and cinch the identity with Akhenaton. In any case, the text certainly provides new evidence which cannot be ignored in future discussions.

short 'reign' of the *dahamunzu*. The anchor for the Likely Hittite Synchronism line is the placement of Mursili's years 7-9 shortly before Haremhab's accession; the anchor for Alternative 1 is the placement of his years 7-9 shortly after Haremhab's accession; the 'anchor' for Alternative 2 is the placement of Suppiluliuma's death about 10 years after that of Tutankhamun.

⁶⁴ Chronologically and grammatically this would make it quite feasible that Aya should be restored in KUB 19.15++ ii 2', yielding in ii 1'-5': ⁽¹⁾ ... [But when] ⁽²⁾ [Aya] sat [upon the throne of] ki[ngship], ⁽⁴⁾ 'Arma'a began t[hereup]on to take [ve]ngeance upon A[murru]. While initially enticing, the traces of the sign before the break hardly seem amenable to an A (see commentary). Since the trace suggests a wedge, ^mA[r-ma-a would be the most graphically satisfying restoration, but one would then expect a pronoun instead of the repetition of the PN in ii 4'. On the other hand, since Amurru is at stake, one of its kings would be a leading candidate, but the name of neither of its kings from this period, DU-Teššub and Tuppi-Teššub, is attested with a first sign beginning with a wedge. One might want to (1) assume that DU-Teššub is to be read Ar(i)-Teššub (cf. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens II*, p. 300f. n. 1) and (2) propose that ^mA[r-^d10/IŠKUR should be read here as yet another variant for the name (cf. ^mDU-^d10/IŠKUR for the king of Amurru and both ^mDU-^d10/IŠKUR and ^mIr-^d10 for the son of Abiradda in CTH 63), but it seems that one should perhaps be cautious about suggesting this on such slim evidence. And of course, the reference may be to some other ruler entirely, e.g. Ar-Ḫalba of Ugarit, who must have come to the throne at about this time. It seems that the question should be left open for the time being.

⁶⁵ Due to the suspicious nature of the inscription published by D.B. Redford, "New Light on the Asiatic Campaigning of Horemhab", *BASOR* 211 (1973), pp. 36-49, it will be considered no further here. For brief deliberations, see my discussion in the published version of a lecture first presented at the 52^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Münster, July 17-21, 2006 and to appear shortly in *Altorientalische Forschungen* under the title 'Amarna Age Chronology and the Identity of Nibhururiya in the Light of a Newly Reconstructed Hittite Text'.

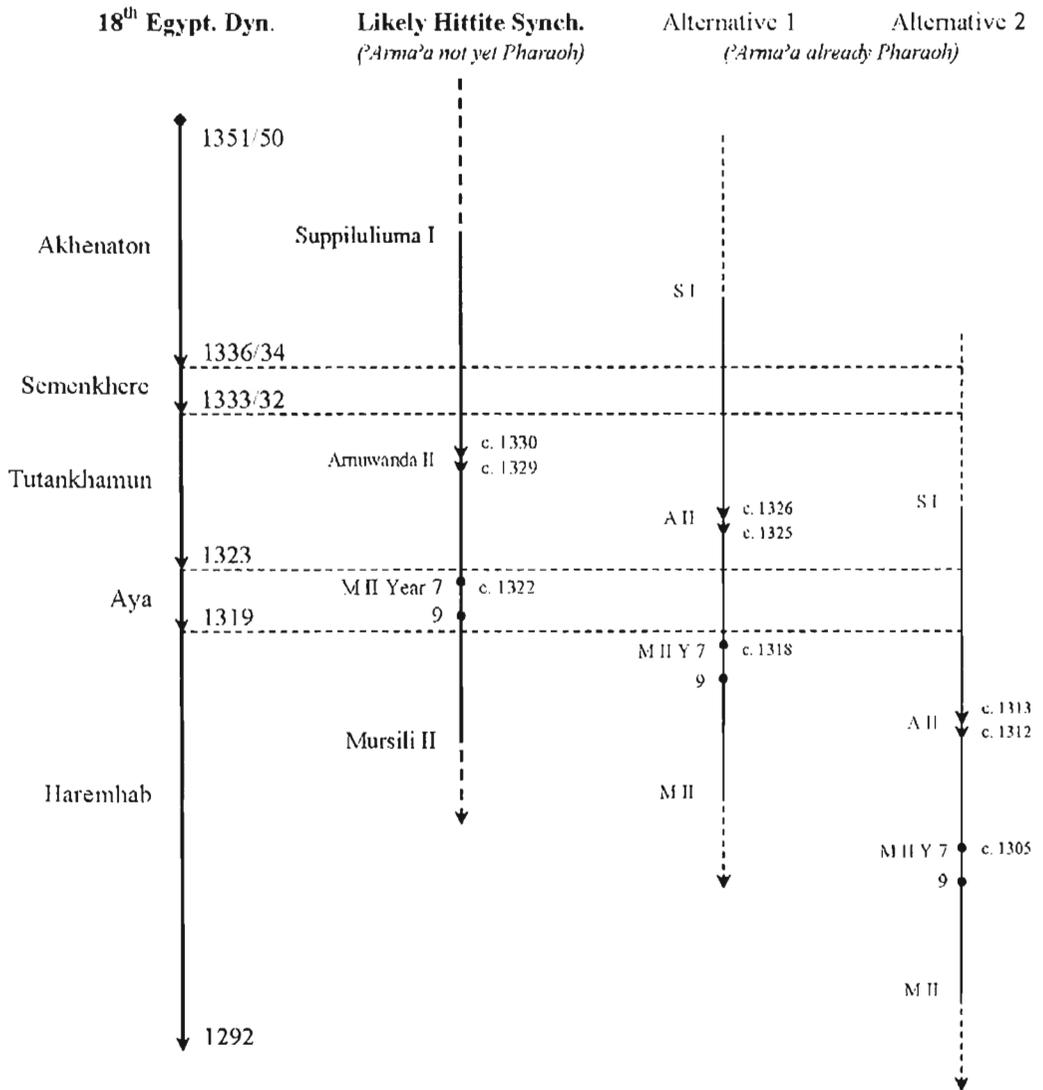


Fig. 2: Synchronization of Amarna Age Chronology in Light of KUB 19.15++

Addendum: While this paper was in press I was informed that M. Liverani, *International Relations in the Ancient Near East, 1600-1100 BC*. New York 2001, p. 69 f., p. 215 n. 15, translates and briefly discusses a passage from KUB 19.15, and that he also assumes that ²Arma'a would have been Haremhab; cf. n. 37, above.

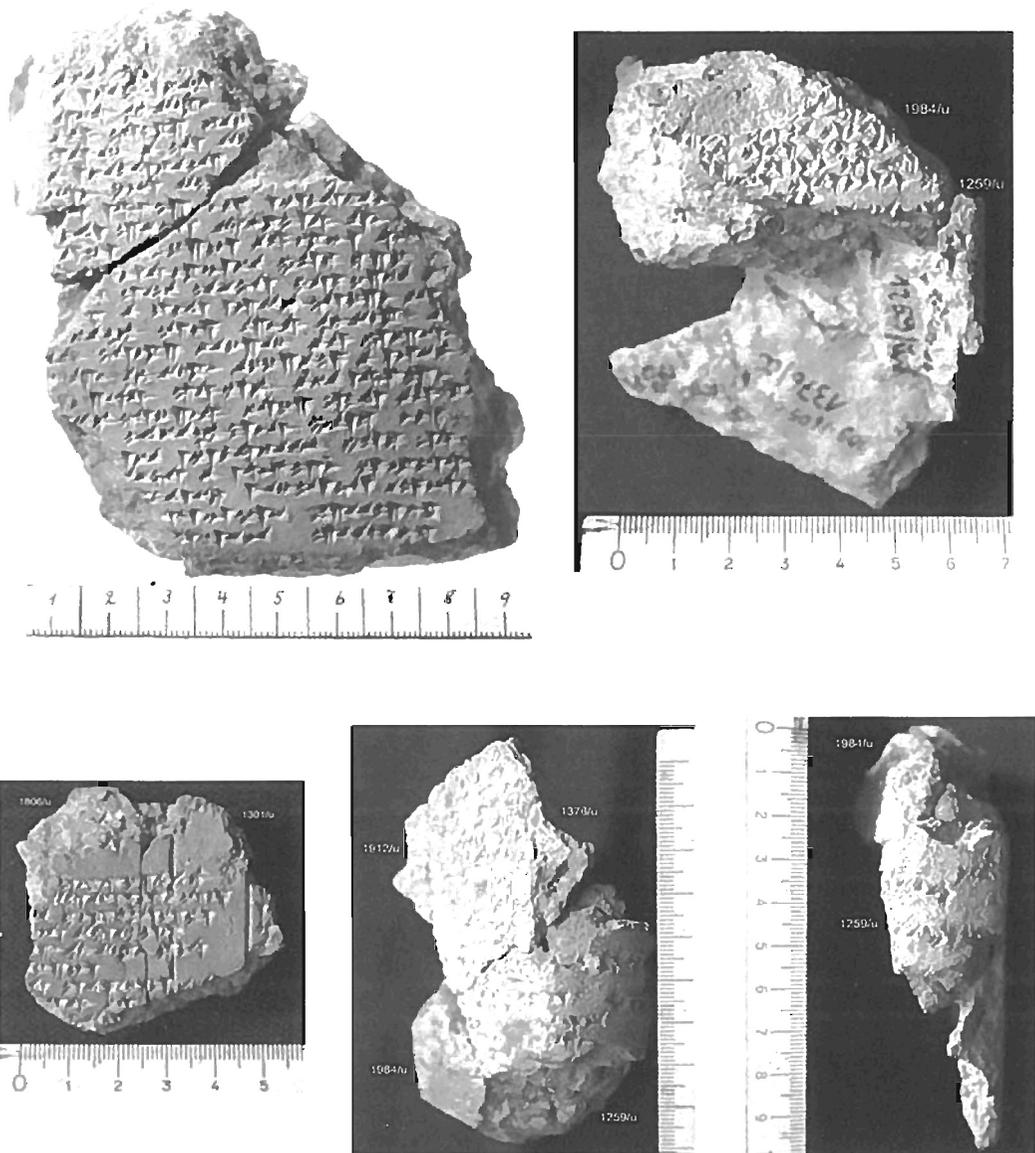


Fig. 3: Photos of Bo 2442+1301/u+1806/u+1376/u+1912/u+1259/u+1984/u