"And I Knew Twelve Languages"

A Tribute to Massimo Poetto
on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday

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Hatti’s Treaties with Carchemish

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Following the Syrian conquests of Suppiluliuma I in the mid-fourteenth century, a cadet line of the Hittite royal house was installed as kings of Carchemish, for whose history in the Late Bronze Age see Klengel 1992: 120-128. The Great Kings of Hattusa concluded several diplomatic agreements with their cousins who reigned in the Syrian city, five of whose texts have survived, four in a very damaged state. Due to their fragmentary condition, I did not include these latter documents in my *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Beckman 1999), but since English translations of them are either lacking or in need of some correction, I present the entire corpus here. All were composed in Hittite, as was usual for communications among the members of the extended Hittite royal family, regardless of where they were resident. I hope that Massimo Poetto will receive this study of a region whose seals and inscriptions he has often concerned himself as a token of my admiration for his work over the years.


**obv.**

1’ [...] *ar*² [...]

2’ [n]*u* ¹ *LUGAL*⁻¹[t*D] XXX-*an* L[U*GAL*-*iz-na-ni ...]

3’ *I-NA* ¹ *Kur-ga-miš* x [...]

4’ *ti-it-<ta->nu-nu-un* nu-*uṣ-*š[i ...]

5’ *me-na-ah-ha-an-da* ku-*u-u*[š *ZAG*♯⁻¹ *uš* te-*eh-ḫu-un ...]

6’ *A-NA* ¹ *URU* Ga-*du ma-aš-*š[i-i][a *A-NA* ¹ *URU* ...]

7’ *t[U*¹ *A-¹-NA* ¹ *KUR* *Mu-kiš* IGI-*an*[-da ... ZAG-aš nu-*uš-ši]]

8’ *IŠ*¬⁻¹ *TU* № ¹ *HUR.SAG* Am-*ma-rī[-ik ... ZAG-aš nu-*uš-ši]

9’ *[I]-NA* ¹[¹] *HUR.SAG* Pé-*di-na ku-*<u>-u*[š *ZAG*♯⁻¹ *uš* te-*eh-ḫu-un ...]

10’ *[p*a-r*a-a-ma-aš-*ši* ¹ HUR.SAG* x [...]

11’ *ZAG-aš* pa-*ra a-ma-aš-*ši* ¹[¹] *HUR.SAG* ...

12’ *ZAG-aš* pa-*ra a-¹ *ma*⁻¹-aš-*ši* ¹[¹] *RU* ...

13’ *ZAG-aš* pa-*ra a-¹ *ma*⁻¹-aš-*ši* [...]

14’ *ZAG-aš* pa-*ra a-ma[-aš-*ši* [...]

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15’ ZAG-aš pa-ra-a-ma[-aš-ši …]  
16’ ZAG-aš pa-ra-a-ma[-aš-ši …]  
17’ ŠZAG [-aš …]  

rev.  
1’ x […]  
2’ pa-[a-ma-aš-ši … ZAG-aš]  
3’ A-[N]A¹ […]  
4’ ŠZAG-aš pa-ra-a-ma-[aš-ši … ZAG-aš]  
5’ pa-ra-a-ma-aš[-ši … ZAG-aš]  
6’ pa-ra-a-ma-aš[š i … ZAG-aš]  
7’ pa-ra-a-ma-aš-ši [UR.SAG … ZAG-aš]  
8’ A-[N] Uru Kar-kum-m[a-aš-ši IGI-an-da … ZAG-aš]  
9’ pa-ra-a-ma-aš-ši [HUR.SAG … ZAG-aš …]  
10’ ku-u-ši HUR.SAG MŠŠ-aš [ŠA² …]  
11’ nu-kân LU⁴ MEŠ URU A-g[a²]-š[a²] … LÜ¹ MEŠ URU […]  
12’ LÜ¹ MEŠ URU Za-ri-pa [LÜ¹ MEŠ URU …]  
13’ LÜ¹ MEŠ URU ŠKar-ga-miš ²¹ x […]  
14’ ŠA²¹ […]  

left edge
1’ […] ma[-a]-a²-an-kán wa-ah-nu-zi nu-kán BA.Ú[Š …]  
2’ […] x x x x ar-[h]a¹ da-[a]-i¹ […]  
3’ […] bKar²-[h]u²-[h]a x tA-N⁴ A-[N]A¹ DINGIR-LIM […]  
4’ […] x bKar³-[h]u-[h]a tD¹ [Ku]-pa-[a²]-pa ¿DINGIR MŠŠ-SA tKUR¹ U¹ [Kar-ga-miš …]  
5’ […] LÜ¹ MEŠ A-N⁴ [mLUGA]L-D XXI ŠDUMU-LA¹ AŠ⁴ URU K[ar-ga-miš …]  
6’ […] nu-ši[-ši] x x x x TUP-PÍ KÜ.SIG₁₇ A-N² [ŠA² …]  

obv. […] Then I installed Šarri-Kušuh [in kingship …] in Carchemish, and confronting his (territory) [I established] these [borders …]. Facing the city of Gaduma, [the city of …], and the land of Mukiš, […] is his frontier. In the direction of Mt. Ammarik, […] is his frontier. In (the land of) the city of Pedina, [I established for him] these [frontiers …]. Further, Mt. […] is his [frontier]. Further, [Mt. …] is his frontier. Further, the city of […] is his frontier. […] is his frontier. Further, […] is his frontier. Further, further, […] is his frontier. […] is his frontier. […] is his frontier. Further, […] is his frontier. Facing …] and […] is his frontier. Further, […] is his frontier. Further, […] is his frontier. Further, […] is his frontier. Further, […] is his frontier. Facing the city of Karkumma, […] is his frontier. Further, Mt. […] is his frontier. […] these mountains […] And the men of the city of Ag[a …(?), the men of …], the men of the city of Ziripa, [the men of the city of …], the men of Carchemish […]  

33
If he alters (this tablet), he will die. [...] will take away [...] Karhuha to [...] And he to the deity will [...] Karhuha, Kubaba, and the gods of the land [of Carchemish]. [...] And to him ... the golden tablet [...] 

Comments
While we would dearly like to have the lost portion of this piece in order to learn more about the geography of Hittite Syria, it is clear from the few preserved place names here that this fragment deals with the western borders of the vice-royalty of Carchemish (see Cohen 2017: 299; Singer 2017: 616). Its eastern frontiers at the time of its creation are described in § 10 of the treaty of Suppiluliuma I with Šattiwaza (CTH 51, Beckman 1999: No. 6A).

obv.: On the divinized mountain Ammarik, known already from the Ebla archives, see Haas 1980: 109.

II. Treaty between Mursili II and Piyassili (CTH 57), KBo 1.28 (edition: Klengel 1965: 53-55; translation: Beckman 1999: No. 29; discussions: Gurney 1983; Mora 1993)

This single-columned tablet from the earliest German excavations at Boğazköy has often been omitted from discussions of Hittite treaties because it does not display the usual structure of texts of this genre (on which see Beckman 1999: 2-4; Devecchi 2015: 31-60), treating only one topic – the relative status of the leading members of the Hattusa and Carchemish lines of the ruling clan – and that in short compass. On the career of Piyassili, known to later generations by his Hurrian name Šarri-Kušuh, see Klengel 2009.

obv.
1  [UM-MA] DUTU-ŠI [mMur-ši-DINGIR-LIM]
2  [LUGAL.GAL] LUGAL KUR [ URUHa-at-ti]
3  [NA-RA-AM] DU N[IR.GÁL]
4  [DUMU mŠu]-up-pí-lu-[i-u-ma]
5  [LUGAL.GA] LUGAL KUR ḫa-at-ti

6  A-NA mPî-ia-aš-ši-l[i]
7  ŠEŠ.DŪG.GA-IA A-NA DUMU mES-ŠU
8  DUMU mES DUMU mES-ŠU zi-la-ti-[i]a
9  šal-la-an-ni ki-i iš-hi-ú-ul
10  i-ia-nu-un (ras.) ŠA mPî-ia-ši-li
11  ku-iš DUMU-ŠU DUMU-ŠU
12  na-aš-ma ku-iš ŠA mPî-ia-ši-li
13  NUMUN-aš I-NA KUR Kar-ga-miš
14  šal-li pé-e-da-an ti-ia-zi
15  nu A-NA DUTU-ŠI ku-iš
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16 LÚ[tu₃-uḥ-kán-ti-iš
17 [na-aš-za A-N]A LUGAL KUR Kar-ga-miš
18 [LÚ[tu-uḥ-kán-t]i-iš-pát 1-aš
19 [šal-li-iš] e-eš-du
20 [...] x

lower edge
21 [...] daⁿ-maⁿ⁻³⁻iš ku-iš UN-aš
22 [...]-*-aⁿ⁻³-x-[i]š

rev.
1 [...] x
2 [...] na-an-k]|án
3 [A-NA D]UTU-ŠI GišŠÚ.A-az
4 'le-e¹ pár-ki-ia-nu-an-zi
5 A-WA-AT Ta-ba-ar-na
6 LUGAL.GAL ŠA LA-A NA-DÌ-IA-AM
7 ŠA LA ŠE-BÉ-E-RI
8 ku-iš-ma-an-kán wa-ah-nu-zi
9 na-aš A-NA DU NIR.GÁL EN-IA
10 DUTU URU-PÚ-na GAŠAN⁻³-IA
11 A-NA DUMUMES⁻ia ḫu-u-ma-an-da-a-aš
12 LÚ DI-ŠU e-eš-du
13 mTa-at-ti-ia LÚ DUB.SAR
14 IŠ-TUR

obv. [Thus says] My Majesty, [Mursili, Great King], King [of Hatti, Beloved] of the [Powerful] Storm-god; [son] of Suppiluliuma, [Great King], King of Hatti:

I have made this treaty for Piyassili, my dear brother, for his elevation, and for [his] sons and grandsons in the future. Whatever son or grandson of Piyassili, or whatever descendant of Piyassili, should ascend the throne of the land of Carchemish – whoever is My Majesty’s crown prince, and he alone, [the crown prince (of Hatti)], shall be [greater than] the king of the land of Carchemish. […] lower edge […] which other(?) man […] rev. […] shall not have to get up from his seat [before] My Majesty. The word of Tabarna, Great King, is not to be discarded or broken. Whoever disregards it shall be the legal adversary of the Powerful Storm-god, my lord, of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and of all the gods.

The scribe Tattiya wrote (this tablet).
Gary Beckman

Comments

rev. 3-4: Collated by Otten 1952: 234.

rev. 5-7: This admonition to respect the measures of the Great King is similar to that found in the earlier land grants. For instance, compare Rüster – Wilhelm 2012: 92-95 (No. 3, 16’-18’):

16’ a-wa-at Ta-ba-ar-na LUGAL.GAL ša AN.BAR
17’ ša la na-de-e ša la še-bē-ri-im ša uš-pa-ah-ḫu
18’ SAG.DU-sú i-na-ak-ki-su

Here the sanction (“they shall cut off his head”) is in human, rather than divine, hands.

lower edge: The photo shows that the ends of these lines were actually written vertically up the right edge. The lower edge itself was apparently entirely lost, since it is not pictured among the Bo-photos on Hethiternet.

III. Treaty between Suppiluliuma II and Talmi-Teššup, (CTH 122.2 [formerly CTH 126.4 and 126.2]), KBo 12.30 (+) KUB 26.25 (editions: Giorgieri 1995: 287-289; 2002 (col. iii'); Singer 2001)

ii

§ 1’ 1 [\textsuperscript{URU} \textit{Kar} \textsuperscript{g}] a'-miš-ši še-er e-eš-ta le-e-an kar-aš-ti

§ 2’ 2 [\textsuperscript{DU}TU-Š] \textit{mŠu-up-pi-lu-li-u-ma-an ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ri-it} ZI-it
3 [pa-aḫ]-ši ka-ta-ta-a NUMUN-IA pē-di-za ku-it ti-it-ta-nu-mi
4 [na-a]\textit{t EN-an-ni an ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ri-it} ZI-it pa-aḫ-ši
5 [NUMU]\textsuperscript{N} \textit{DUU}-Š-ta EN-an-ni PAP-an-zi še-er aq-qa-tar
6 [i]\textit{r-ḫa-aš e-eš-du} LÚ a-ra-aš-ta a-aš-šu-\textit{wa-an-za}
7 [\textit{IŠ-TU} EN-KA ar-ḫa-ia-an le-e e-eš-zı
8 \textit{ZA-RA-TUM}-ta le-e e-eš-zı ma-a-an-ták-kán a-aš-ša-ú-i
9 me-mi-i-an-ni še-er LÚ \textsuperscript{URU} Hat-ti ku-iš-ki EGIR-pa an-da
10 ú-iz-zi nu-uš-ma-aš-zı zi-iq-qa a-aš-šu-uš e-eš
11 tu-\textit{uq-qa-at IG1-an-da a-aš-ša-u-e-eš a-ša-an-du

§ 3’ 12 ma-a-an-ma-ták-k[ān] : ku-up-ia-ti-ma še-er
13 na-aš-šu \textit{Š}[\textit{A}] mšu-up-pi-lu-li-u-ma HUL-u-i : ma-a-li-i
14 \textit{ŠA DINGIR} [\textit{MEŠ}] : za-am-mu-ra-at-ti \textit{U ŠA KUR} \textsuperscript{URU} Hat-\textsuperscript{r}tti
15 GÜB-[a-an-n]\textit{i še-er ku-iš-ki 'EGIR-pa} \textit{a[n-da ú-iz-zi]
16 traces
(large gap)

iii

§ 4’ 1’ [ o o ]-a u-u[n[- …]
2’ [n]\textit{u-ut-ták-kán ki-i} \textit{MA-MIT}\textsuperscript{HL.A} x [… GIM-an]
3’ KAŠ A ku-it ak-ku-uš-ki-ši k[\textit{e-e-ia-ták-kán MA-MIT}\textsuperscript{HL.A}]

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§ 1’ (ii 1) […] was in charge of [Carchemish(?)]. You shall not remove him.

§ 2’ (ii 2-11) [Protect My Majesty], Suppiluliuma, with all your heart! In time, protect with all your heart my offspring whom I install in (my) place! [The offspring] of My Majesty will protect you in lordship. Let death be the limit (of loyalty)! May your beloved friend not be privileged over(?) your lord. May you have no tent! If some men(!) of Hatti should come to you because of a favorable matter, then you be good to them, and let them be good in regard to you.

§ 3’ (ii 12-15) If they(!) should [come] to you in a plot or in an evil plan in regard to Suppiluliuma, an insult to the gods, or to the detriment of Hatti, […].

(large gap)

§ 4’ (iii? 1’-7’) […] And [may] these oaths […] you. [Like] the beer and water that you drink, [let these oaths] hold you down in your heart. [As] you wipe yourself down with oil, let these oaths [likewise] be wiped on you. As you clothe yourself in a garment, clothe yourself likewise in these oaths.

§ 5’ (iii? 8’-14’) If you determine upon evil for Suppiluliuma or for the children of Suppiluliuma beneath the Sun-god of Heaven, at that moment may the Thousand Gods of the oath and the heat of the Sun-god destroy you. If you determine upon it at night, beneath the Moon-god, may the Moon-god and his mace destroy <you>, [together] with your wife, your children, your descendants, your land, [and...].

Comments

Although this fragment has not always been included by scholars in the treaty genre, the mention of the land of the partner in § 5’ shows that the partner is indeed the ruler of a (semi-)independent realm and not a Hittite official.

§ 1’: [URU Kar^2-g]^2-miš-ši is very uncertain, but the sign MIŠ is seldom, if ever, found in Hittite texts except as the final syllable of the city name. On this line see Singer 2001: 636-637.
§ 2’: The reference to a tent is obscure; perhaps something like “you will have no shelter” is intended. The verbs in the final lines of this paragraph and in § 3’ are inconsistent of number. I have opted to render them as plural throughout.


Since this text has been thoroughly treated fairly recently by d’Alfonso, a full transliteration is not necessary here. I have indicated below instances where my reading or restoration differs significantly from his. Surely the most interesting feature of this document is the role played by Talmi-Teššup as literal kingmaker for the main line of Hittite rulers in the capital, Hattusa.

§ 1 (A i 1-7) My Majesty Suppiluliyama, Great King, King [of the Land] of Hatti, Hero; son of Tudhaliya, [Great King, King of the Land] of Hatti, Hero; grandson of Hattusili, Great King, Hero; descendant of Mursili, [Great King, Hero; and] Talmi-Teššup, King of the Land of Carchemish; son of Ini-Teššup, King of the Land of Carchemish; grandson <of Sahuranuwa>, King of the Land of Carchemish; descendant of Šarri-Kušuh, [King of the Land of Carchemish], concluded for themselves a treaty tablet as follows:

§ 2 (B i 5-7) […] were sons of Suppiluliuma […] Šarri-Kušuh […] by heart […] the very treaty [tablet].

§ 3 (B i 8-10) […] Mursili to them […] Suppiluliuma […] [Sun-goddess] of Arinna [and the Storm]-god […]

§ 4 (A i 18ff.) […] Mursili caused […] to revolt […]

(small gap)

§ 5 (A i 2’-3’) too fragmentary for translation

§ 6 (A i 4’-5’) […] to Talmi-Teššup, son of Ini-Teššup […] Tudhaliya […]

(large gap)

§ 7’ (A ii 1-9) […] The men of Hatti [did not] oppose him, and I did not misbehave. If he [had] had [offspring], I would not [have rejected] them. I would have protected his offspring, but he had no offspring. I inquired after a [pregnant] woman, but there was no pregnant woman.

§ 8’ (A ii 10-13) If Arnuwanda had [had offspring], would I have caused misconduct? Would I have rejected the offspring [of my lord]? Would I have made [another] the lord?

§ 9’ (A ii 14-17) Tudhaliya had [another] physical son. [Because he was a physical] son, [I placed] Hattusa – women and men – in [his hand].

§ 10’ (A ii 18-23) And Suppiluliyama […]. Then that one [I …]. Everyone [observed] the regulations, [that only(?)] a son of Tudhaliya [should become] Great King. Suppiluliyama [then became] king in Hatti.
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§ 11’ (A ii 24-25) The land of Hattusa […]

(large gap)

§ 12’ (A iii 1’-3’) […] the place […] not his(?) servant […]

§ 13’ (A iii 4’-9’) If in battle with me […], I […] not to him […] from fear […] the land of Egypt […] I will bring you up to […] I will not install] an outsider in rule.

§ 14’ (A iii 10’-18’) The men of Hatti acted disloyally, [and] I exerted myself therein. I […] him and [placed] him far from me. [If] some man of Hatti [seeks evil] for His Majesty, I will not conceal him. To […] I will take it. [I] will not seek [evil(?)]. If the man is very [dear] to me, I will [turn him over] to His Majesty (with the words:) “They shall not mistreat him.”

§ 15’ (A iii 19’-24’) In this matter, in (regard to) rule, may the gods enforce the regulations! I will protect you, Suppiluliyama, Great [King], son of Tudhaliya, in lordship, [and in time] I will protect [your] progeny in lordship. I will [protect] in lordship the son whom you will install [in kingship].

(large gap)

§ 16’ (A iv 1’-6’) May [all the deities of Hatti: the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god] of Hatti, the War-god [of Hatti, the Storm-god of Aleppo], the Storm-god of Zippalanda, [the Storm-god of Nerik, Taruppasani(?), […]], the Tutelary Deity [of Hatti], Huwassana, […], Hebat, [Hebat of the city of Hupisna(?)]; (and)

§ 17’ (A iv 7’-12’) [the deities of] Carchemish: Kubaba, Karhuhiš, […], the Storm-god of […, Hatahha], Šaušga of […, the Queen] of Katappa, [Heaven and] Earth, stand, [and] may they be witnesses to this [oath].

(fragmentary colophon) (A iv 13’-20’)

Comments

§ 2’: Suppiluliuma had four first-rank sons: Arnuwanda II, Mursili II, Telipinu, and Šarri-Kušuh/Piyassili. It is probable that the latter two were mentioned in the first line of this paragraph, but the fragmentary context makes this uncertain.

§ 7’: Read end of A ii 4: ma[-a-an-ma-na-aš-ši NUMUN], that is, mān=man=a=ši NUMUN.

§ 8’: I interpret the sentences here with the Irrealis particle man as rhetorical questions.

§ 9’: I restore these lines:

10 nu-kán A-NA mTu-ud-la-li-[a ta-ma-iš]
11 DUMU-aš SAG.DU-aš e-eš-ta [DUMU-aš-ma-an ku-it]
12 SAG.DUMU-aš e-eš-ta A-NA [ŠU-i-ma-aš-ši]
13 URU Ḥa-at-ta-ša-an MUNUS.NI[TA MEŠ-ŠU te-eh-ḫu-un]

I understand DUMU-aš SAG.DU-aš as “son of his person,” that is, “physical son.” In A ii 13, the photo confirms the reading NÍ[TA].
§ 14’: Read A iii 16’: ma-a-an-mu UN-aš ZI-ni me-ek[-ki a-aš-šu-uš], lit. “If the man is very [good] in my mind/opinion.”

colophon: For the scribe Mera-muwa, see now Gordin 2010: 167-168.

V. Fragment of Treaty between Hatti and Carchemish (CTH 212.101), KUB 31.126 (comment: d’Alfonso 2007: 204 n. 6)

For the sake of completeness, I include this miserable fragment which certainly belongs to a treaty with the Syrian city.

rev.
1’ [… DINGIRMEŠ LÚMEŠ DINGIRMEŠ] MUNUSMEŠ ŠA1 KURURU Kar-ga-m[iš …]
2’ [… u]š2-kán-d[u? i]š-ta-ma-aš-kán-d[u …]
3’ […] x x x [ o ] x-az-pa Ú-UL pa3)[- …]
4’ […] x [ o o o DIN]GIRMEŠ ar-ḫa ḫar[-ni-in-kán-du …]
5’ […] DUṬUURU A-ri[-in-na …]

The invocation of the gods of Carchemish as witnesses makes it certain that this piece belongs to a treaty (cf. § 17’ of No. IV above), but it does not duplicate any of the fuller texts treated here. In what appears to be the final line of the composition, only the name of the Sun-goddess of Arinna is preserved. Could this be the remnant of a statement that the official copy in metal was deposited in the temple of this patron deity of the Hittite state? The script dates the fragment to the empire period, so it might somehow be related to the Talmi-Teššub treaty, but it could just as well be a late copy of a version of the agreement with Šarri-Kušuh.

Conclusion

The compositions treated here span the arc of the history of Hittite Syria in the Late Bronze Age, from the unilateral restructuring of the political landscape by the Anatolian conquerors in the mid-fourteenth century to the intervention of the junior dynasty of Carchemish in the affairs of the once dominant Great Kings of Hatti in the early twelfth century.

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