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# Was the Mitanni a Suzerain or in a Coalition of States?

Master's thesis for Classical and Ancient Civilizations (Assyriology).

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# Contents

Introduction	2
Chapter 1 – Kizzuwatna	5
Chapter 2 – Alalakh	19
Introduction	19
Suzerain Theory	21
Coalition Theory	24
Conclusion	28
Chapter 3 – Other States	30
Introduction	30
Suzerain Theory	31
Coalition Theory	37
Evidence for the Suzerain and Coalition Theories	39
Conclusion	40
Conclusion	43
Bibliography and Suggested Reading	45
Maps	50
Fig 1. The Mitanni 1500 BC.	50
Fig 2. Extending Assyrian control through the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC.	51
Fig 3. The Hittite Empire 1350-1300 BC.	52
Fig 4. Change in the Mitanni's Influence over time.	53
Fig 5. Changing Hittite and Mitanni relations over time.	54
Fig 6. The Mitanni State in the fifteenth and early fourteenth centuries.	55
King List	56

# Introduction

The Mitanni Kingdom was in existence between 1650 – 1275 BC (these dates are an estimate) and was centred on the Habur Triangle (Fig 1), in the region that is currently known as Syria. The Mitanni were a strong kingdom from the end of the seventeenth century BC through to the middle of the fourteenth century BC followed by a weakening period lasting approximately one hundred and fifty years until their destruction. Due to the traditional assumption the Mitanni were a strong state, modern scholars believe that the Mitanni was the suzerain of many states which appear to be under Mitanni influence.

The exact placement of the Mitanni capital city, Wašukanni, remains undiscovered<sup>1</sup>. The first attestation of the Mitanni appears to have been in Hattusili I's annals<sup>2</sup>, where the Hittites defended themselves from an attack from the politically unified group in the Habur Triangle whom they frequently called Hanigalbat, an alternative name to Mitanni<sup>3</sup>. In early Hittite texts, Mitanni, Hanigalbat and Hurrian were used interchangeably but all appear to refer to the same social group residing in the Habur Triangle<sup>4</sup>. Von Dassow argues that the Mitanni people must have entered the area at least fifty years before the Old Babylonian Empire fell (circa 1595)<sup>5</sup>.

CTH 4 <sup>6</sup> . The Annals of Hattusili I.	
22. MU.IM.MA-an-ni-ma I-NA URU.Ar-za-u-wa pa-a-un	22. In the following year I went to Arzawa
23. nu-uš-ma-aš-kán GUD.MEŠ-un	23. I took away their oxen and sheep.
UDU.ḪI.A-un ar-ḫa da-aḫ-ḫu-un	24. But later the Hurrians came into
24. EGIR-az-ja-za-ma-mu-kán LU.KUR ŠA	25. my land, and all my enemies made war
URU.Ḫur-ri KUR-e an-da ú-it	against me.
	26. By now only one city, Hattuša,
	remained.

<sup>1</sup> For more information Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 327 is a good starting point. Fig. 3 indicates Wašukanni on its map. This is Tell al-Fakhariyeh, the most likely position for Wašukanni to be. Tell al-Fakhariyeh has not been excavated to the level of the second millennium material as it is underwater due to a high water-table in the region and political unrest has further set back any possible archaeological activity in the area.

<sup>2</sup> Hattusili I ruled the Hittites from 1650-1620 BC (Van de Mieroop 2007: 307).

<sup>3</sup> Liverani 2014: 290

<sup>4</sup> Von Dassow 2008: 19

<sup>5</sup> Von Dassow 2008: 20; Van de Mieroop 2007: 306

<sup>6</sup> Imparati and Saporetti 1965: 45-46

<p>25. nu-mu KUR.KUR.MEŠ ḫu-u-ma-an-da me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da ku-ru-ri-aḫ-ḫi-ir</p> <p>26. na-aš-ta URU.Ḫa-at-tu-ša-aš-pat URU-ri- aš 1-aš ...</p>	
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My hypothesis is that the Mitanni were not in fact a suzerain to these states but predominantly a coalition partner. The best way to test this hypothesis is to use the primary sources extant and analyse the text to try and gain an understanding of whether this hypothesis is accurate. The two central, and competing, theories are the suzerain theory and the coalition theory as they shall be called through this thesis.

The suzerain theory is the traditional view of historians. The suzerain theory refers to the Mitanni being the suzerain over the states purportedly under Mitanni influence. For this to be the case, the Mitanni would have had to have been in total control of the state as the term suzerain suggests. During the second millennium BC, vassal states in the region generally were not allowed political freedom or even the ability to communicate with other states. This will be one of the key criteria when reading primary sources to understand if the sources are aligned with the suzerain theory. Another area which one would expect to see an indication that the Mitanni were a suzerain is in the use of language indicating the state knows it was subservient when corresponding with the Mitanni or in treaties. As will be seen in the Idrimi inscription, Alalakh appears to fully understand that it is the vassal of the Mitanni and it was a “loyal vassal” (line 57). There is no logical reason for this to suggest that Alalakh was anything but a vassal to the Mitanni. Finally, one would expect to see retribution for any state that did try to communicate with another state. On the other hand, a violent attack from the Mitanni on a state communicating with an external state does not categorically mean that the Mitanni were trying to reinforce suzerainty over them. It could also mean that the Mitanni saw the only way to keep the state from becoming an ally of one of the Mitanni’s enemies was to take it and exercise suzerainty for a period to protect the Mitanni position, even if the state had been a coalition partner before the move away from Mitanni alliance and subsequently reverted to a coalition partner.

I have created the coalition theory over the course of the last two years from my readings of extant contemporary textual evidence concerning the Mitanni and the surrounding geographical states. It is my belief that there was a coalition of some kind between many of the states in the region and no one suzerain. It is also possible for the Mitanni to have been the centre of the coalition hence its appearance as the suzerain of the other states around it. I have come to this conclusion because

many of the states supposedly under Mitanni suzerainty sent letters to other states in the region<sup>7</sup>, or even fought amongst themselves while there was no reprimand from the Mitanni<sup>8</sup>, an unusual result if the Mitanni were their suzerain. Although it is possible that this could show a loose form of governing with little influence over local affairs, as is suggested by Van de Mieroop<sup>9</sup>, the freedom allowed of the Mitanni 'vassals' would be better redefined as a coalition group of states.

Traditionally, the Mitanni have been referred to as an empire. I believe this to be a misnomer because it does not seem likely the Mitanni ruled the states around them as modern scholars believe. The *Collins English Dictionary* defines 'empire' as "an aggregate of peoples and territories under the rule of a single person, oligarchy, or sovereign state"<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand, kingdom is defined as: "a territory, state, people, or community ruled or reigned over by a king or queen"<sup>11</sup>. The definition of kingdom certainly fits more appropriately, especially with the aid of the coalition theory.

Throughout the course of this thesis, the Mitanni will be referred to in such a way as to represent that the Mitanni were a people and not a geographical region. This must be seen as when Suppiluliuma I (1344 – 1322 BC) swept through Mitanni lands in his second campaign, the capital moved outside of the Habur Triangle, most likely to Irridu<sup>12</sup>. Through this time period, the name Mitanni never changes illustrating that the name Mitanni addressed the people of Mitanni and not the geographical region of the Habur Triangle (the most likely place for Wašukanni)<sup>13</sup>.

This thesis will be broken down into three evaluative chapters as laid out in the 'Contents' page. The first chapter will solely address the question of Kizzuwatna and whether it was a in a coalition with the Mitanni or under Mitanni suzerainty. The second chapter will look at the same question for Alalakh. The final chapter will be focused on 'Other Sources'. It will look at some of the extant materials available for Amurru, Aleppo, Nuhashshi and a source focused on Turira. The selected excerpts are the only sources which offer support for the coalition or suzerain theories for the states they address. I will try to define their status as clearly as the extant material will allow.

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<sup>7</sup> The letters sent from Kizzuwatna to the Hittites in chapter 1 show this clearly.

<sup>8</sup> The fight between Alalakh and Kizzuwatna for control over Alawari (an area between these two states).

<sup>9</sup> Van de Mieroop 2007: 154

<sup>10</sup> Collins English Dictionary 2006: 384

<sup>11</sup> Collins English Dictionary 2006: 659

<sup>12</sup> Collins 2007: 48

<sup>13</sup> Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 327

# KIZZUWATNA

Kizzuwatna is a good state to begin this difficult topic because of its proximity to Mitanni and Hittite lands. Due to its proximity both the Hittites and Mitanni fought for the alliance of this state through this period of 1650-1300 BC. Furthermore, it was strategically very important. Kizzuwatna was an area which had a high iron production rate for the region and even in this period iron was very important to success of military materials<sup>14</sup>. Furthermore, it was geographically important in regards to military ventures because Kizzuwatna could cause huge difficulties for an army trying to pass through, especially if the army passing through was under the banner of a state which Kizzuwatna was opposed to. Fig 5 illustrates how Kizzuwatna could prevent a Hittite or Mitanni army reaching the each other's lands without have to take a huge detour outside of Kizzuwatna's lands. Furthermore, if one of these states decided to attack the other, Kizzuwatna offered a large and highly inhospitable buffer zone. Kizzuwatna had a strong army to defend itself which can be seen in KBo I 14 and the debate which follows.

Kizzuwatna was situated in the south of Anatolia (Fig 3 and Fig 6). The area named Kizzuwatna through 1650-1300 BC had been an important state for regional politics long before this time period. The area had previously been known as Adaniya and was a vassal state of the Old Hittite Empire<sup>15</sup>. A period of very little textual evidence followed from the Old Hittite Empire but when extant textual evidence reappears, the name had changed to Kizzuwatna<sup>16</sup>. At this point, it appeared as though Kizzuwatna was self-sufficient. It is quite clear Kizzuwatna had rid itself of Hittite shackles as can be seen in KBo I 14. It appears this letter was sent from Hattusili III (1267-1237 BC) to Adad-nirari I (1305-1274 BC)<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Goetze 1940: 27

<sup>15</sup> Beal 1986: 425

<sup>16</sup> The relatively unknown period is 1550-1450 BC.

<sup>17</sup> Beckman 1999: 147. The rulers proposed by Goetze (Goetze 1940: 31-32) were Hattusili III and Shalmaneser I. These rulers appear highly unlikely due to line 8 and 9 (stated below). By the reign of Shalmaneser I, there is very little left of Mitanni and what remains was under Assyrian or Hittite control. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that Hanigalbat (as it is called in this treaty) would be making claims on a city such as Turira as it was a huge distance from Hurrian and Mitanni lands. Beckman's suggestion of Hattusili III and Adan-nirari I appear to be far more likely and better suited to the text extant now.

CTH 173. KBo I 14 <sup>18</sup> .	
15. šum-ma āl.Tu-u-ri-ra ku-a-ú ḥu-bu-us ardē.meš-ia ša libi āli.li aš-bu	15. If Turira is yours, smash (it)! But you shall not claim the possessions of my subjects who are dwelling in the city. If Turira is not yours, write to me, so that I may smash it. But the possessions of your troops who are dwelling in the city shall not be claimed.
16. mi-im-mu-šú-nu la-a ta-qár-ri-ib šum-ma āl.Tu-u-ri-ra la-a ku-a-ú	
17. šu-up-ra-am-ma a-na-ku lu-uḥ-bu-us šābē.meš-ka ša i-na lib-bi āli.li aš-bu	
18. a-na mi-im-mu-šú-nu la-a iq-qá-ar-ri-ib	
20. a-na parzilli damqi.qi ša taš-pu-ra-an-ni parzillu damqu i-na āl.Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na	20. In regard to the good iron about which you wrote to me about, good iron is not available in my armoury in the city of Kizzuwatna. I have written that it is a bad time for making iron. They will make good iron but they have not yet finished it. When they will have finished, I will send (it) to you.
21. i-na bit aban.kunukki-ia la-a-aš-šu parzillu a-na e-pé-ši li-mi-e-nu	
22. al-ta-pár parzilla damqa.qá e-ip-pu-šu a-di-ni la-a i-gám-ma-ru	
23. i-gámma-ru-ma ú-še-bi-la-ak-ku i-na- an-na a-nu-um-ma lišān paṭar parzilli	

The passage above clearly shows two individual states who appear to be equal status trading partners. Furthermore, there appears to be mutual respect between the two states. This can be seen from lines 15-18. Kizzuwatna asks for mutual respect between the Hittite and the population of Kizzuwatna residing in Turira. The respect was asked to extend over civilians and military force personnel. If Kizzuwatna believed their military was not strong enough to defeat Turira, the letter would have been asking for the Hittites to destroy it. Alternatively, Kizzuwatna could have asked for military aid so the army of Kizzuwatna could destroy it. Neither of these options are probable, leading to the relatively secure belief that Hittites and the people of Kizzuwatna were amicable towards each other at the very least.

Furthermore, the lines 20-23 do not show any sign of fear from a suzerain such as the Hittites or the Mitanni. This can be seen because they are honest about the lack of high quality iron being produced at that moment in time. Although the letter promises better quality iron soon, it is not in the style one would expect of a vassal expecting to incur the wrath of their suzerain. KBo I 14 further portrays the coalition theory because this letter was sent to the Hittites in the time period when Kizzuwatna has traditionally been perceived to be under Mitanni rule, early in the fourteenth century BC (Fig 4).

<sup>18</sup> Goetze 1940: 26-31

This reinforces the coalition theory because it would not have been suitable for a vassal state to send a letter to a foreign power<sup>19</sup>. This treaty also allows a brief insight into how the Mitanni perceived some of the cities in the region including Turira.

KBo I 14 <sup>20</sup> .	
8. [iḫ- ta-nab-bá-]tu šar māt Ḫa-ni-kal-bat il-ta-nap-pa-ra	8. ... the king of the country Hanigalbat writes constantly
9. [ma-a āl.Tu-u-]ri-ra ia-a-ú ma-a ul-tu a- ma-ka al-ta-nap-pa-ra	9. [as follows]: ‘Turira is mine!’ from there I write constantly:
10. [māt āl.]Tu-u-ri-ra ia-a-ú āl.Tu-u-ri-ra ku-a-ú	10. [‘The country] Turira is mine, (but) Turira is yours!’
11. ša la-a ša šar māt Ḫa-ni-kal-bat a-ba-at āl.Tu-u-ri-ra	11. ... as (an affair) of the king of the country of Hanigalbat upon the Turira affair
12. la-a tū-ut-ta-a	12. You must not chose the side of ...

This passage clearly shows some sort of amicability between Kizzuwatna and the Hittites because it says ‘but Turira is yours’. This shows that there was a strong sense of amicability because Kizzuwatna freely gives a quote from a received letter from another power. From this section alone, it would appear that Kizzuwatna was a vassal of the Hittites. Fortunately, the rest of the text offers more information clarifying the political situation between the Hittites and Kizzuwatna. The fact that Mitanni believed Turira was a vassal of theirs has misled historians, as can be seen by Fig 6. If one is to believe what is written in KBo I 14, Turira belonged to the Hittites or Kizzuwatna. The fact that Kizzuwatna does not know who rules Turira illustrates the confused political situation in the region. With three states claiming Turira is theirs, it is obvious that no single state was dominant in the region in the beginning of the fourteenth century. This contradicts what many historians say but it cannot be denied that there appears to be complete confusion in the region over who holds the most influence.

It is also apparent, from this passage, that Turira is considered a possession by the Mitanni. This indicates the Mitanni believed they ruled over the area. This statement offers support for the suzerain theory of the Mitanni because if Turira was under Kizzuwatna’s control, Turira would

<sup>19</sup> Goetze 1940: 32

<sup>20</sup> Goetze 1940: 26

therefore belong to Mitanni due to the hierarchy of states. On the other hand, the Mitanni clearly do not have a strong hold over Turira, if any control, therefore making the argument for the suzerain theory very weak. Furthermore, it would seem likely that KBo I 14 was written after Mitanni had been taken by Šuppiluliuma, although not as late as Goetze would suggest. This portrays the image that Mitanni had delusions of grandeur even after they were a vassal of another state.

By evaluating names from Kizzuwatna it is suggested the origins of the state of Kizzuwatna were Hurrian<sup>21</sup> or the Hurrians had infiltrated the land in the seventeenth century<sup>22</sup>. Beckman states that Kizzuwatna had been integral to the Old Hittite Empire<sup>23</sup>. It seems unlikely that the Hurrians arrived in the region before 1650 BC, as stated above in the introduction. The arrival of the Hurrians in the seventeenth century gives ample opportunity for a Hurrian infiltration of Kizzuwatna by the time sources re-emerge in the fifteenth and fourteenth century's<sup>24</sup>. If this were true, it would help support a motive for Kizzuwatna to join the coalition of Hurrian states as the personnel who ruled appear to have been Hurrian (from their names). Furthermore, the Hittites would have been shamed by losing this area of land and would have sought after the land greatly if it were as important as Beckman indicates.

The first time Kizzuwatna attempted to break free was recorded in the Annals of Hattusili I who probably reigned c.1650-1620 BC<sup>25</sup>. The period of freedom granted by this period of Hittite weakness would have given a great opportunity for Hurrian people to infiltrate Kizzuwatna without Hittite knowledge.

CTH 4 <sup>26</sup> . The Annals of Hattusili I.	
27. MU.IM.MA-an-ni-ma I-NA URU.Ar-za-u-wa pa-a-un	27. In the following year I went to Arzawa
28. nu-uš-ma-aš-kán GUD.MEŠ-un	28. I took away their oxen and sheep.
UDU.ḪI.A-un ar-ḫa da-aḫ-ḫu-un	29. But later the Hurrians came into
29. EGIR-az-ja-za-ma-mu-kán LU.KUR ŠA	30. my land, and all my enemies made war
URU.Ḫur-ri KUR-e an-da ú-it	against me.
	31. By now only one city, Hattuša,
	remained.

<sup>21</sup> Goetze 1940: 46

<sup>22</sup> My own theory based on the migration theory of the Hurrian migration theory.

<sup>23</sup> Beckman 1999: 11

<sup>24</sup> Hurrians arrived in the seventeenth century and settled all through the region and through the generations gained power.

<sup>25</sup> Van de Mieroop 2007: 307

<sup>26</sup> Imparati and Saporetti 1965: 45-46

30. nu-mu KUR.KUR.MEŠ ḫu-u-ma-an-da me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da ku-ru-ri-aḫ-ḫi-ir	
31. na-aš-ta URU.ḫa-at-tu-ša-aš-pat URU-ri- aš 1-aš ...	

The Annals of Hattusili I claim that all cities except Hattuša were taken during his reign. Kizzuwatna appears to have been part of the Hittite Empire during this period. If the Annals of Hattusili I are correct, this would imply that Kizzuwatna either broke free or became a vassal of another state (most likely a Hurrian state). There is no account of the Hittites regaining Kizzuwatna after the passage from Hattusili I's Annals (stated above) until the subjugation of Kizzuwatna in the Šunaššura Treaty.

The Išmerika Treaty was created between the men of Išmerika (a province of Hittite land) and the Hittite King Arnuwanda I<sup>27</sup>. The treaty has certain clauses which specifically deal with Kizzuwatna. Kizzuwatna was supposedly under Mitanni suzerainty at this point. This treaty supports the notion that the Mitanni were head of a coalition because it states Wašukanni was under Kizzuwatna's control.

Išmerika Treaty KUB 23 68 <sup>28</sup> . CTH 133.	
12. [I-NA KUR U]RU.Ki-iz-zu-ḫa-at-ni-ma-aš- ši EGIR-an URU.Za-az-li-ip-pa-aš URU-aš e-eš-ta-ma-aš I-NA URU.ḫa-aš-šu-uq- qa-an-ni-n[i]	12. Zazlipa is his city [in the land] of Kizzuwatna. He had been in Wašukanni.
13. –i]š LÚ KUR URU.Iš-mi-ri-ga I-NA KUR URU.Ki-iz-zu-ḫa-at-ni-ma-aš-ši URU.ḫa- aš-šu-ga-an-na-aš URU-aš m.ḫa-ar-ra- la-ḫa-LÚ	13. ... the Išmerikan Wašukanni is his city in Kizzuwatna. Warla
14. [LÚ KUR URU.I]š-mi-ri-ga URU-aš-ma[- aš-ši URU.Zi-ya-zi-ya-aš I-NA KUR	14. the Išmerikan; Ziyaziya is [his] city, [but] Wašukanni is [his] city in Kizzuwatna.
	15. ... the Išmerikan; Ziyaziya is his city, but Wašukanni is his [city] in Kizzuwatna.
	16. ... the Išmerikan; Zizziya is his city, but he is in Wašukanni. <sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Exact reigning dates are unknown but it seems highly likely he reigned at some point during the period Beckman 1999: xiv

<sup>28</sup> Kimpinski and Košak 1969-1970: 192-198

<sup>29</sup> The set phrases are repeated so regularly to apply to a multitude of different people.

<p>URU.Ki-iz-zu-ya[-at-ni-ma-aš-š]i  URU.Ḫa-aš-šu-uq-qa-na-aš URU-aš  15. ... ]X LÚ KUR URU.Iš-mi[-ri-g]a URU-aš-  ma-aš-ši URU.Zi-ya-zi-ya-aš /-NA  URU.Ki-i[z-z]u-ya-at-ni-ma-aš-š  URU.Ḫa-aš-šu-uq-q[a-na-aš URU-aš]  16. ] LÚ KUR URU.Iš-mi-r[i-g]a URU-aš-ma-  aš-š URU.Zi-iz-zi-ya-aš e-eš-zi-ma-aš /-  NA URU.Ki-iz-zu-ya-at-na URU.Ḫa-aš-  šu-uq[-qa-an-ni]</p>	
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The text states that Wašukanni resides within Kizzuwatna's territory. Modern scholars accept that Wašukanni was in the Habur Triangle (as stated above and visible on Fig 1 and Fig 4). The probability that this was an entirely separate Wašukanni in Kizzuwatna's territory is negligible. Therefore it must be assumed this treaty is referring to the Mitanni capital, Wašukanni (Fig 4). From the textual and material evidence we have, there is no evidence whatsoever that Kizzuwatna ever conquered or controlled the Mitanni. Consequently, for Wašukanni to be considered a city belonging to Kizzuwatna, the Mitanni and Kizzuwatna must have been part of a coalition and therefore to a non-coalition member state appeared as if Wašukanni could belong to Kizzuwatna. This appears to be the only possible explanation because if Wašukanni is to be considered part of Kizzuwatna, the Mitanni must have been considered equal or lower in status than Kizzuwatna. As we are sure Kizzuwatna was not of higher status than the Mitanni, they must have been of equal status in Arnuwanda's perspective. It appears unlikely that Kizzuwatna was of equal status to the Mitanni as the Mitanni were a key member of the Amarna correspondence but Kizzuwatna is not even mentioned.

The fact that Wašukanni is considered to belong to Kizzuwatna raises serious questions about the communication between Kizzuwatna and the Hittites because it seems likely Kizzuwatna was hyperbolising the extent of its land or there had been a severe break down in communications in which wrong information was being given to the Hittite King. This seems to be unnecessary as it is widely accepted that Kizzuwatna was the centre of iron production for the Old Hittite Empire and would have, therefore, been considered of very high importance to the Hittites<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> Goetze 1940: 27

Wašukanni is not the only city which is said to have been under Kizzuwatna's suzerainty but has traditionally been considered Hurrian. The other two cities are: Irrita and Urušša.

KUB 26 41. Šunaššura Treaty <sup>31</sup> . Reverse side. CTH 41.	
22. [... LÚ KUR URU. ...-]pu-ri-ia /-NA KUR URU.Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni-ma-aš-ši URU.U- ru-uš-ša[-aš URU-aš]	22. [... of the country...]puriya; in the country Kizzuwatna (is) Urušša his [city].
23. [... LÚ KUR URU.]Ir-ri-ta /-NA KUR URU.Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni-ma-aš-ši URU.U[- ru-uš-ša-aš UR]U-aš	23. [... of the country] Irrita; in the country Kizzuwatna (is) U[rušša] his [city.]

This short excerpt is from the Šunaššura Treaty which was created between Šunaššura, King of Kizzuwatna, and an unknown Hittite King. It was probably created during the first half of the fourteenth century BC<sup>32</sup>. This passage further exemplifies the naivety of the Hittites in regards to the political status to the lands south of Anatolia because there is no evidence to suggest these two cities were ever under Kizzuwatna's suzerainty<sup>33</sup>. This evidence supports the coalition theory as it would have been far easier to persuade the Hittites that Kizzuwatna controlled Wašukanni, Irrita and Urušša if they did maintain a small level of control over the states through a coalition treaty. With regards to complete suzerainty over these three Hurrian cities, with the evidence we currently possess, there is no possibility that Kizzuwatna actually ruled these cities.

Beal argues that if Wašukanni had fallen, there could have been no possibility that some western parts of the Mitanni had persevered, such as Aleppo<sup>34</sup>. As can be seen from Fig 1 and Fig 4, Aleppo is to the west of Mitanni heartlands and to the south of Kizzuwatna and Hittite lands. Despite Beal's hypothesis, his own footnote to accompany states that the Aleppo Treaty spoke of a Tudhaliya who had conquered Aleppo and the city had remained under Hittite control in the reign of Hattušili II<sup>35</sup>. This footnote means that Beal negates his own point because the Šunaššura Treaty was created in the first half of the fourteenth century but most likely around 1370-1360 BC<sup>36</sup>. Conversely, it seems most likely the Aleppo Treaty was created earlier in the fourteenth century although the exact date

<sup>31</sup> Goetze 1940: 44

<sup>32</sup> For more information on the date of the treaty, see Beal 1986.

<sup>33</sup> Although Urušša was near the Hittite border; Gurney and Blegen 1973: 679

<sup>34</sup> Beal 1986: 438-439

<sup>35</sup> There was only one Tudhaliya before Hattušili II and that was Tudhaliya I who was a Hittite King and reigned at some point early in the fourteenth century.

<sup>36</sup> From my own research.

is currently impossible to deduce. As a result, Aleppo would have been under Hittite control already before the alleged inclusion of Wašukanni into Kizzuwatna<sup>37</sup>. Despite this, Beal ends up at the hypothesis which appears to be most likely, the Mitanni were not controlled by Kizzuwatna.

Furthermore, the fact the treaty exists is a symbol that the Mitanni was not a true suzerain but was a coalition member. Vassal states were not permitted to communicate with other states let alone create treaties with them. The brief historical introduction to the treaty gives a clear, but brief, outline of the relations between Kizzuwatna and the Hittites.

KUB 26 41. Šunaššura Treaty <sup>38</sup> . Obverse side. CTH 41.	
5. pa-na-nu-um a-na pa-n[i a]-bi a-bi-ia māt āl.Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni	5. Previously, in the days of my grandfather, the country Kizzuwatna
6. ša māt āl.Ḫa-at-t[i i]b-bá-ši arka.ar-ká.- nu-um māt āl.Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni	6. Had become (part) of the Hatti country. But afterward the country Kizzuwatna
7. a-na māt āl.Ḫa-[at-t]i ip-ṭú-ur a-n[a m]āt Ḫur-ri iš-ḫu-ur	7. Separated from the Hatti country and shifted (allegiance) to the Hurri country.
8. šum-ma [i-na-an-]na māt āl.l-šu[-wa ardū.meš] DINGIR.Šamši.ši it-ti DINGIR.Šamši.ši	8. When [now] the (people of) the country Išuwa, subjects of the Sun <sup>39</sup> ,
9. nu-kúr-ta[(m) iṣ-ša-ab-tú DINGIR.Šamši.ši a-n[a ta-ḫa-]zi-šu-nu al- li-ik	9. [Star]ted hostility against the Sun, I, the Sun, went to fight with them
10. māt āl.[l-š]u-wa el-‘e-e-šu ù ... [...]. a-na pa-ni DINGIR.Šamši.ši	10. (and) I defeated the country Išuwa. But [the people of Išuwa]
11. ip-pár-ši-du i-na māt Ḫur-ri ú-ri-i-du DINGIR.Šamši.ši a-na awēl Ḫur-ri	11. Fled before the Sun (and) descended to the Hurri country. I, the Sun, sent word
12. um-te-‘e-er ardēšùēḪ	12. To the Hurrian: ‘Extradite my subjects!’ but the Hurrians sent word back
13. a-na DINGIR.Šamši.ši ki-e-a-am um-te- ‘e-er la-a	13. To the Sun as follows: ‘No!’
14. ālāni.aš.aš.ḫá an-mu-ut-tì pa-na-a-nu a- na pa-ni a-bi a-bi-ia a-na māt Ḫur-ri	14. ‘those cities had previously in the days of my grandfather, come to the Hurri country

<sup>37</sup> Further discussion of the fall of Aleppo will come later in this thesis.

<sup>38</sup> Goetze 1940: 36

<sup>39</sup> The Sun is the Hittite King.

15. il-li-ku-um-mi aš-ra-a-nu uš-bu-um-mi ù ap-pu-na-am-ma	15. (and) had settled there. It is true,
16. arka.ar-ká a-na māt āl.Ḫa-at-ti a-na awēlū.meš.mu-un-na-ab-tù-ti	16. They later went back to the Hatti country as refugees.
17. il-li-ku-um-mi i-na-an-na-mi ap-pu-na- am-ma alpū.ḫá	17. But now, finally, the cattle
18. bīt alpē.ḫá-šu-nu ú-wa-ad-du-nim-mi ap-pu-na-am-ma	18. Have chosen their stable, they definitely
19. i-na māti-ia il-li-ku-um-mi	19. Have come to my country.'
20. awēl Ḫur-ri ardē.meš DINGIR.Šamši.ši ú-ul ú-te-er-ma šābē.meš.-šu	20. The Hurrian did not extradite my subjects to me, the Sun.

It appears from the beginning section of the Šunaššura Treaty that Kizzuwatna had never been securely captured by the Mitanni or the Hittites<sup>40</sup>. Therefore it adds to the impetus of the argument that the Mitanni was in a coalition with Kizzuwatna. This can be seen from the above passage due to the ease of which Kizzuwatna changed to become a Hittite ally. There does not appear to be any textual evidence of coercion or violence in capturing Kizzuwatna and therefore it appears most likely Kizzuwatna voluntarily became a Hittite ally. The act of becoming a Hittite ally naturally meant enmity with the Mitanni as the Hittites and Mitanni were traditional enemies through this period until Šuppiluliuma I took Mitanni lands in the second half of the fourteenth century BC. If the Mitanni had been the suzerain of Kizzuwatna, there would surely have been a military campaign to recapture Kizzuwatna.

Despite this, there may have been omissions through the opening section of this treaty. Kizzuwatna may have found being captured by the Mitanni disgraceful and therefore omitted the event. By omitting this, it could have saved Kizzuwatna some honour. Another possible omission could have been a coalition treaty amongst the Hurrian and/or surrounding states. By putting the coalition in the historical preamble of the treaty it may have caused a loss of honour and may have appeared to show a preference (due to equality) for the Mitanni. Furthermore, the coalition treaty may have seemed disrespectful to the Hittites which would not have been a good way to start relations between Kizzuwatna and their new suzerain, the Hittites. Finally, the Hittites capturing Kizzuwatna by force may have been omitted. This may have been omitted in the interest of a close alliance

<sup>40</sup> This is obviously not accurate as can be seen by the role played of Kizzuwatna/Adaniya in the Old Hittite Empire.

against the Mitanni. Although this would have been highly irregular for the Hittites to omit a victory such as this, it is possible that this was left out in an attempt to ensure Kizzuwatna did not refer back to the coalition treaty with the Mitanni. The importance of iron and a buffer zone between Hittite heartlands and the Mitanni lands was imperative to the Hittites as they feared another campaign similar to the one stated in the Annals of Hattusili I<sup>41</sup>.

On the other hand, we can categorically see that Kizzuwatna had to violently break free from Hittite suzerainty. The passage below was a treaty between Telipinu (Hittite King 1525-1500 BC<sup>42</sup>) and Išputaḫšuš (King of Kizzuwatna)<sup>43</sup>.

KUB 11. 5. Obverse <sup>44</sup> . CTH 21.	
14. [(KUR-e-ma-aš-ši ku-u-ru-ri-e-et URU)...]x-la-aš URU.Gal-mi-ya-aš KUR.URU.A-da-ni-y[a-aš (KUR.URU.Ar-za-u-i-ya URU.Šal-la-pa-aš...)]	14. The lands revolted against him (Ammuna). (These included) ... the city of Galmiyaš, the land of Adaniya (Kizzuwatna), the land of Arzawiya, the city of Šallapa etc.

This treaty holds many similarities to the Annals of Hattusili I in that there was a mass revolt from which the Hittites lost territories. Furthermore, there is no record of the recapturing of some of the provinces. This leads to the question of whether there is some plagiarism in the Telipinu and Išputaḫšuš Treaty from the Annals of Hattusili I. On the other hand, if this treaty is accurate, it must clearly illustrate the weakening of the Hittite Empire through the period.

The treaty between Telipinu and Išputaḫšuš shows that there was a mass revolt against the Hittite Empire by many of the external provinces. Kizzuwatna, on its own, would not have been militarily strong enough to fight off the Hittite Empire but in a coalition of other provinces simultaneously revolting, Kizzuwatna would have stood a chance. Furthermore, with military aid from Mitanni, Kizzuwatna would have stood a far greater chance of becoming a free state. This treaty gives perfect opportunity for Kizzuwatna to have created an alliance with Mitanni; or gained partnership into the Hurrian coalition; or to have subjected itself to vassal-ship of the Mitanni. What remains clear is that Kizzuwatna did not return to Hittite alliance or vassal-ship until the Šunaššura Treaty.

<sup>41</sup> Fig 5 illustrates the geographical placement of Hittite lands, Kizzuwatna and Mitanni lands.

<sup>42</sup> Van de Mieroop 2007: 307

<sup>43</sup> Goetze 1940: 73

<sup>44</sup> Beal 1986: 426

The animosity stated in the Telipinu and Išputaḫšuš Treaty can be seen in the Zidanta and Pilliya Treaty as well<sup>45</sup>. The treaty stated below is between Kizzuwatna and Zidanta, a Hittite King. Although only a small section of the treaty remains, it is clear this is a treaty. Zidanta was a Hittite King who probably reigned at some point between 1500 – 1360 BC<sup>46</sup>. Pilliya was the King of Kizzuwatna at the same time. At this point it seems highly likely that Kizzuwatna was under the suzerainty of the Mitanni or in the coalition with the Mitanni. This can be presumed because of Fig 4 indicating the size of the Mitanni influence during the reign of Barattarna<sup>47</sup>.

KUB 36.108. Treaty between Zidanta and Pilliya. <sup>48</sup> CTH 25.	
1. DINGIR.UTU.Š/ LUGAL.GAL m.zi-da-an-za LUGAL KUR URU.ḫa[-at-ti ... ]	1. My Majesty, the Great King Zidanta, and the King of the land of Ha[tti; and Pilliya],
2. LUGAL KUR URU.ki-iz-zu-ḡa-at-na ták-šu-ul i-e-e[r ... ] ki-iš-ša-an ták-še-er URU.ḫI.A-uš ku-i-uš [ ... ]	2. King of the country of Kizzuwatna have a (peace) agreement concluded and they have agreed as follows: the cities [Pilliya has taken]
4. ne ŠA DINGIR.UTU.Š/-pát a-ša-an-tu m.pi[l-li-ya-... ] e-ep-pu-un ne m.pil-li-ya-aš-pát a[-ša-an-tu ...]	4. From My Majesty, the cities will remain Pilliya's ... I took ... and Pilliya's they will remain.
6. DINGIR.UTU.Š/ ú-i-ta-an-tu-uš URU.DIDLI.ḫI.A-uš ku-i[-uš ... ] ku-e ar-ḫa tar-na-an-ta nu DINGIR.UTU.Š/ le[-e ... ]	6. My Majesty should not ... [rebuild?] the fortified cities which my majesty left.
8. ú-i-ta-an-tu-uš URU.DIDLI.ḫI.A-uš ku-i-uš ḫar-k[u-un ... ] nu m.pil-li-ya-aš na-at-ta ú-e-t[e-ez-zi ... ]	8. Pilliya will not fortify the fortified cities that I destroyed
10. na-aš-ta li-in-ga-en šar-ra-at[-ti] LUGAL.GAL URU-an na-aš-m[a ... ]	10. nor break the oath. The Great King a city or [ ... ]
12. ya-az-zi x[ ... ] le-e x[ ... ]	12. makes ... may not [ ... ]

<sup>45</sup> This can be seen by the destroyed towns on the border lands between Kizzuwatna and Hittite lands, a debate which will be explored fully, below.

<sup>46</sup> Research from Beal (1986) and Van de Mieroop (2007) has lead me to this conclusion.

<sup>47</sup> Barattarna is the most likely Mitanni King of the period for which this treaty was created. Fig 4 illustrates the extent of his influence.

<sup>48</sup> Otten 1951: 129

This treaty further supports the notion that the Mitanni was part of a coalition. This can be seen because if Kizzuwatna was truly under Mitanni suzerainty, Kizzuwatna would not be allowed to create treaties with foreign powers. The fact that Kizzuwatna was creating a treaty with the long standing enemy of Mitanni, the Hittites, illustrates the very weak bonds between Kizzuwatna and the Mitanni. If Kizzuwatna was merely in a coalition with the Mitanni, it would be much easier for Kizzuwatna to create a treaty with Kizzuwatna's past suzerain<sup>49</sup>. The Hittite military would not have been as feared, as it came to be, because the Hittite military had been weak for at least two centuries<sup>50</sup>. Therefore, it can be deduced that Kizzuwatna had free reign to make treaties with whomever they chose. If Kizzuwatna had been a vassal, as is traditionally believed, the Mitanni would not have allowed Kizzuwatna to make a treaty with a weak but ascending Hittite Empire. Subsequently, this treaty between Kizzuwatna and the Hittite Empire would have seemed to be an insult to the Mitanni. In reality, this treaty probably saved Kizzuwatna from complete destruction when Šuppiluliuma led his attacks on the Mitanni. The relationship between the Hittites and Kizzuwatna is exemplified in line 1 of this treaty in that Kizzuwatna was placed second and therefore of a lower status than the Hittite King. It was traditional for the more powerful state to be named first and this treaty follows this tradition: "... Great King Zidanta, and the King of the land of Ha[tti; and Pilliya], King of the country of Kizzuwatna ...". This illustrates the future of relations between these two states for as long as the Hittite Empire existed.

In lines 4 and 5, Pilliya was allowed to keep the cities he had captured from the Hittites. This seems highly irregular because the treaty created between these two states was certainly Kizzuwatna submitting itself to the growing prowess of the Hittite Empire. Therefore, if one compares this treaty to the Šattiwaza Treaty, there are clear differences. In the Šattiwaza Treaty, the Mitanni concede all land west of the Euphrates to the Hittites, and this land had not previously been ruled by the Hittites<sup>51</sup>. Yet in the treaty between Zidanta and Pilliya, Pilliya (the King of Kizzuwatna) is allowed to keep all cities he has captured from the Hittites. The most likely reason for this is that Kizzuwatna was a strong state at this time and the Hittites needed to gain Kizzuwatna as an ally more than they needed the lost territories. The treaty further adds gravitas to the notion that Kizzuwatna was part of a coalition with the Mitanni. History has led scholars to believe that the Mitanni were a true suzerain but this could not have been the case if states like Kizzuwatna were capable of creating treaties, such as the one above, with a regional power, and a Mitanni enemy, such as the Hittites.

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<sup>49</sup> For more information, see Beal 1986: 425.

<sup>50</sup> For unknown reasons but exemplified by the Annals of Hattusili I and the treaty between Telipinu (Hittite King) and Išputaḫšuš (King of Kizzuwatna).

<sup>51</sup> Yener and Akar 2013: 265

In line six and seven of the above passage, it refers to leaving towns which have been destroyed in the hostilities between Kizzuwatna and the Hittites. Bryce has come to the conclusion that these towns must have been situated on the border region of Kizzuwatna and Hittite lands. Therefore, it seems probably that these towns were garrison towns and built to protect Kizzuwatna against Hittite invasion<sup>52</sup>. As a result of the treaty between Zidanta and Pilliya, the towns which had been used to repel armies were no longer necessary. This astute observation by Bryce seems highly probable.

To lead successful campaigns into Anatolia or Mitanni heartlands, either Yamhad or Kizzuwatna would have had to have been neutralised<sup>53</sup>. This was because there was a small channel of neutral ground between Yamhad and Kizzuwatna from which it would have been easy for both states to cause serious damage to a Hittite army moving south. Without neutralising one of these states, supply lines and moving soldiers would have been very exposed for the Hittites hoping to resupply their soldiers in the Mitanni heartland. Similarly, due to the importance of trade and defence, Kizzuwatna was highly sought after by Hittites and Mitanni alike.

The pivotal location of Kizzuwatna can be seen in Fig 5 (most clearly). Kizzuwatna was probably the most ferociously fought over state in the region in this time period. From the above sources, it is clear that Kizzuwatna mainly allied itself with Hittites or Mitanni Kings by treaties though, and not by force. This strongly supports the notion that Kizzuwatna was in a coalition with the Mitanni during the periods when these treaties were made. If Kizzuwatna had been overrun by a Mitanni army, it would suggest that Mitanni were a suzerain (as the Mitanni and modern scholars seem to have been duped into believing). However, this scenario is not one we find from the extant written record. The written record we possess indicates the state of Kizzuwatna could freely chose who to ally itself with. The notion of traditional alliance (Old Hittite Empire) or infiltrated elite class (Hurrian named elites in Kizzuwatna) appear to not have swayed the decisions of the King of Kizzuwatna through this time period. The ability of Kizzuwatna to alter its alliances as and when it wanted to would suggest that Kizzuwatna was a stronger state than it appears in modern scholarship but this is a topic for another paper.

The strength of Kizzuwatna can be seen in the Annals of Hattusili I as well as the treaty between Telipinu and Išputaḫšuš. These treaties depict the strength which Kizzuwatna appears to portray through the rest of the time period 1650-1300 BC. This is further supported by the treaty between Zidanta and Pilliya as the treaty shows Kizzuwatna breaking away from Mitanni alliance to gain an alliance with the ascending Hittite Empire. Due to the power of Mitanni early in the fourteenth

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<sup>52</sup> Bryce 1986: 95

<sup>53</sup> Beal 1986: 426

century (Fig 4), it would have been almost impossible for Kizzuwatna to have broken away from a strong suzerain such as the Mitanni. Despite this, the treaty we possess, although largely destroyed, does not appear to indicate any kind of panic or begging to the Hittite King for defence against an impending Mitanni attack. This would strongly suggest there was a coalition between the Mitanni and Kizzuwatna, from which Kizzuwatna was permitted to create treaties with whomever it saw appropriate. Therefore, it would have been highly dishonourable for the Mitanni to attack Kizzuwatna after Kizzuwatna created a treaty with Mitanni's long standing enemy, the Hittites.

# Alalakh

## Introduction.

The focus of this chapter will be on finding out whether the city of Alalakh conforms to the coalition theory or the suzerain theory most succinctly. Alalakh was a city based in the west of the lands traditionally considered to have been under Mitanni influence. Alalakh is a city based in the west of what is believed to then be the empire of the Mitanni. Alalakh was never identified as a major city; however, it did have some strategic and geographic significance and was, therefore, a political bargaining tool as shown by the Šattiwaza Treaty and consequently worthy of the focus in this chapter. This chapter endeavours to establish whether Alalakh was vassal of or part of a coalition of states. On balance this could have been a changing position as it seems probable that the Mitanni were in a coalition with Alalakh. During the reign of Idrimi (king of Alalakh<sup>54</sup>), it could well have been a suzerain-vassal relationship but by the time Niqmepa, Idrimi's son, came to power it appears to be a coalition.

Alalakh was based to the west of Wašukanni and to the south of Carchemish (Fig 4)<sup>55</sup>. Alalakh was not a key city of the Mitanni Kingdom except for its role as a buffer state between the Syrian plains and the Anatolian highlands<sup>56</sup>. In the Šattiwaza Treaty, the Mitanni ceded all of their cities to the west of the Euphrates to the Hittites:

CTH 51 <sup>57</sup> . Reverse.	
14. šarru rabû šar māt āl.Ḫa-at-ti mātātē ša māt āl.Mi-it-ta-an-ni al-te-qe-šu-nu-ti a- na tar-zi m.[Šat-ti-ú-a-za]	14. I, Great King, the King of the Hatti-land, the territories of the land of Mitanni, conquered. Not in the time [of Šattiwaza],
15. mār šarri ul el-te-qe-šu-nu-ti a-na tar-zi m.Tu-uš-rat-[t]a el-te-qe-šu-nu-ti ù nār.Pura[tta ...]	15. the King's son, did I conquer them; (but) in the time of Tušrat[ta] did I conquer them. And the Euphrat[es (?)] I crossed]

<sup>54</sup> See King List.

<sup>55</sup> Fig 4 names Alalakh, Alalah but this is the same city.

<sup>56</sup> Yener and Akar 2013: 267

<sup>57</sup> Kitchener and Lawrence 2012: 374-375

<p>16. a-na ku-tal-li-ya šadû.Ni-ib-la-ni a-na mi-iš-ri-ya aš-ku-un ù mi-nu-me-e ālāni ša [...]</p> <p>17. āl.Mur-mu-ri-ik āl.Ši-ip-ri āl.M-zu-wa-ti āl.Šu-ru-un ù ālāni an-nu-ti ḫal-ši ša [m.Pi-ya-aš-ši-il-lim]</p> <p>18. mārī-ya at-ta-din mi-mu-me-e ālāni ša māt āl.Aš-ta-ti e-bi-ir-ti ša māt āl.Mi-it-ta-an-ni šaknu.nu [ā].I-kal-[te]</p> <p>19. āl.A-ḫu-na ù āl.Ter-qa ālāni an-nu-ti ša māt šl.Aš-ta-ta un-du m.Pi-ya-aš-ši-il-lim mār šarri it-ti m.Ša[t-ti-ú-a-za mār šarri]</p> <p>20. nār.Puratta e-te-ib-ru i-na āl.Ir-ri-te e-te-ir-bu mi-nu-me-e ālāni ša e-bi-ir-ta-an ša m.Pi-ya-aš-[ši-il-lim ...]</p> <p>21. ú-ga-al-lu ša m.Pi-ya-aš-ši-il-lim-ma šú-nu</p>	<p>16. (and made it) my rear line; Mount Lebanon, I made my boundary. And all the towns of [...], which [...]</p> <p>17. Murmurik, Šipri, Mazuwati, Surun, and these towns, the fortress of [...] I have given [to Piyashilli]</p> <p>18. my son. All the towns of the land of Astata which formed the border area of the land of Mitanni; Ikal[te],</p> <p>19. Ahuna and Terqa, these towns belonging to the land of Astata, since Piyashilli, the King's son, with Ša[ttiwaza, the King's Son], crossed</p> <p>20. the Euphrates and reached the city of Irrite. All the towns of the border-area which Piyas[hilli ...]</p> <p>21. holds, these belong to Piyashilli.</p>
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An interesting observation to be made from this short passage is the fact that Alalakh is never directly mentioned by name but due to its geographical placement, it appears highly likely it was one of the cities which was transferred to be under Hittite suzerainty. From this, it seems probable that the Mitanni was the suzerain of Alalakh prior to the transfer under Šattiwaza's auspices. The fact that the Alalakh was omitted from the list of cities given in the excerpt above illustrates how the city was not considered to be of great importance. Despite this, there is evidence to suggest that the city of Alalakh, and its surrounding region, was in fact merely part of a coalition of states and the purpose of this chapter will be to look at all of the examples available to create the best judgement possible on whether Alalakh was part of a coalition of states or merely a vassal of the Mitanni.

This chapter will start by looking at the supporting evidence for the theory of the Mitanni's suzerainty over Alalakh. This will include the Idrimi inscription due to part of this text suggesting Alalakh was a vassal of the Mitanni under Idrimi (king of Alalakh). Another example which will be evaluated will be the official elevation of a man to mariyannu status, a Mitanni designation, while he was a man from Alalakh. This will be followed with examples from a treaty made between Alalakh and Kizzuwatna; and a court case which presided over the ethnicity of a man from Alalakh. It will

also review a treaty created between Alalakh and another state without any notion of the king of Mitanni being involved. This would not have been allowed of a vassal state. These all support the case for the coalition theory.

### Suzerain theory.

The Idrimi inscription is the best place to start to make the case supporting the suzerainty theory because it offers the most evidence based comprehensive argument. Idrimi became King of Alalakh during the reign of Barattarna. The Idrimi inscription was written on a statue of Idrimi, the founder of the dynasty which ruled Alalakh during the height of Mitanni power, as far as modern scholars can discern. It seems likely that Barattarna (king of the Mitanni) endorsed Idrimi so that he would be loyal to the Mitanni Kingdom<sup>58</sup>.

The Idrimi inscription <sup>59</sup> .	
42. ... appūna	42. ... Now
43. šebi šanāti Barattarna šarru dannu	43. (for) seven years, Barattarna, the
44. šar šābē Hurri unakkiranni	mighty king
45. ina šebi šanāti ana Barattarna šarri	44. the king for the Hurrian warriors,
46. šar Ummān-wanda aštapar u adbub	treated me as an enemy.
47. mānaḥāt[e ]ša abbūteya inūma	45. In the seventh year, to Barattarna, the
48. abbūte ana muḥḥišunu innahū	king,
49. u [awa]tīni ana šarrāni ša šābē Hurri	46. the king of the Ummān-wanda I wrote
damiq	and spoke
50. [u] ana birišunu māmīta danna	47. of the efforts of my ancestors when
51. [iš]kunūminNA (ma!) šarru dannu	48. they laboured for them,
mānaḥāte	49. and our word was pleasing to the kings
52. ša pānūtini u māmīta ša birišunu	of the Hurrian warriors,
išmema	50. and between them, a binding oath
53. u itti māmīti iptalaḥ aššum awat	51. they placed. The mighty king
54. māmīti u aššum mānahāteni šulmīya	(concerning) our earlier efforts,
55. imtaḥar u KI.BU ša RI.DU.Ú ša SIZKUR	

<sup>58</sup> Van de Mieroop 2007: 152

<sup>59</sup> Oller 1977: 12-13

<p>56. ušarbi u bīt halqu utēršu  57. ina amēlūtiya ina kinūtiya PÀD annâm  58. ašbatšu u šarrāku ana āl Alalaḥ</p>	<p>52. and the oath (sworn) between them,  heard.  53. And with (regard to) the oath, he had  respect. Because of the content  54. of the oath, and because of our efforts,  my “peace overture” (lit. greetings)  55. he accepted. And ... sacrifices  56. I increased. And I returned (his) lost  household to him.  57. As to my status as a loyal vassal, that  “oath”  58. I swore to him. And I was king in  Alalakh.</p>
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The overwhelming majority of this text indicates that Alalakh was a vassal state to the Mitanni. This can be seen explicitly in line 57: “as to my status as a loyal vassal”. This very clearly shows that Idrimi was portraying himself and Alalakh as totally subordinate to Barattarna, the Mitanni King. Despite this, there is one line which would indicate that there was not total Mitanni dominance here: “and our word was pleasing to the *kings* (my italics) of the Hurrian warriors” (line 49). The fact that there are ‘kings’ in the plural is very interesting. Although this in its own right is not enough to prove that the Mitanni did not have total power, it does seem peculiar that the Mitanni would continue to allow captured lands to keep their own kings. Conversely, there were Hurrian areas which were not under Mitanni influence through this period which could mean that ‘kings’ refers to kings which were not influenced by the Mitanni. Despite this, the evidence supporting the claim that the Mitanni were a suzerain over Alalakh is far too strong to be overturned by this single line of text. It seems probable that during the reign of Idrimi, the Mitanni were the suzerain of Alalakh due to the pledge of allegiance by Idrimi to help him gain power over the Alalakh throne.

The other source which supports the notion of the Mitanni being a suzerain is AT 15. This source is dated to the reign of Niqmepa, king of Alalakh after the reign of his father, king Idrimi of Alalakh. The source specifically looks at the elevation of status of Qabia, a man from Alalakh, to mariyannu status.

AT 15 (ATT/8/49) <sup>60</sup> .	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. (aban)kunuk (m)Niq-me-pa LUGAL [Seal impression of Abba-il]</li> <li>2. iš-tu u(d)-mi an-ni-i-im</li> <li>3. (m)Niq-me-pa LUGAL mar Id-ri-mi (m)Qa-bi-ia</li> <li>4. a-na ma-ti-ia-an-na wa-šar-šu</li> <li>5. ki-me-e mare (pl) ma-ri-ia-an-nu</li> <li>6. ša (al)A-la-la-aḥ <i>KI</i></li> <li>7. u (m)Qa-bi-ia qa-tam-ma</li> <li>8. mar ma(r)-ri-šu a-na da-ri-ia</li> <li>9. ma-ri-ia-an-ni</li> <li>10. u šangi ša (il)En-lil</li> <li>11. (il)En-lil ?-še-ku-uk(?)-še</li> <li>12. ša mar mari-šu a-na da-ri-ia</li> <li>13. ki-me-e amele(pl) šangi ša (il)/M</li> <li>14. u ša (il)He-pat šu-nu qa-tam-ma</li> <li>15. mahar I-lim-ilim-ma mar šarri</li> <li>16. mahar Šar-ra mar Ir-kabtu</li> <li>17. mahar A-ki-(il)/M</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Seal of Niqmepa, the king. As from this day forth, Niqmepa, the king, son of Idrimi, has released Qabia to (be a) mariannu. As the sons of mariannu-men of the city state Alalakh (are), Qabia and his grandsons in perpetuity, and priests of Enlil. Enlil is the [protector? Or the like; a Hurrian word] of his grandsons in perpetuity, as they are also priest-nobles of Teshup and of the goddess Hepat likewise. Witness: Ilim-ilimma, the king's son, Sharra, son of Ir-kabtu, Aki-Teshup.</li> </ol>

This passage aids the argument of the suzerain theory because mariyannu status is a recognised Mitanni status and, therefore, would not have necessarily been awarded to anyone in a coalition agreement. It probably would have remained solely designated in the Mitanni's lands. Smith says: "the existence of such a rank in Alalakh points to a Hurrian nobility, which would imply the acknowledgment of the overlordship of the king of Mitanni"<sup>61</sup>. It could be argued that this hypothesis makes a grand assumption: Alalakh and the Mitanni were from Hurrian descent, and therefore the people of Alalakh would accept a Mitanni suzerain. The only way this could be justified though is by assuming that Hurrians would accept a suzerain because their suzerain was a Hurrian as well. This seems unlikely. I believe this to be too vague and in need of more evidence to fully support this claim but the hypothesis of the people of Alalakh accepting Mitanni suzerainty could be true, especially if one takes into account Idrimi probably gained power through the aid of Barattarna in

<sup>60</sup> Smith 1939: 43

<sup>61</sup> Smith 1939: 44

return for Idrimi submitting himself as a vassal to the Mitanni. The notion of pledging allegiance to the sovereign who endorsed a campaign to seize Alalakh's throne is a far more logical explanation for the vassal-ship of Alalakh.

On the other hand, this passage does hint towards there also being a coalition. The fact that it was Niqmepa who raised Qabia to mariyannu status rather than a Mitanni king would imply that the mariyannu status could have been bestowed by local rulers on the people who they saw fit. It could be argued that this should have been reserved as a kingly prerogative which fits more suitably with the coalition theory. Although Niqmepa held the status of king of Alalakh, it appears he was a vassal king rather than a great king such as the kings of Mitanni were in this period. Further research will need to consider how much power the vassal kings actually held as the debate cannot yet be started due to the lack of understanding of whether the kings were vassals or lesser kings in a coalition. The fact that Qabia was awarded a Mitanni status of mariyannu illustrates that there is a high possibility of Alalakh being the vassal of the Mitanni and therefore adding weight to the suzerain theory.

#### Coalition theory.

The evidence supporting the coalition theory has to be inferred from documents created between Alalakh and states other than the Mitanni. The first example below is from a treaty created between Tunip and Alalakh<sup>62</sup>.

AT 2. AT.211 + AT.212	
73. [...] šabē(meš) ḫur-ri-en-ni šumma it-ti šar šabē(meš) ḫur-[ri ú-]na-kir ù a-na-ku	73. (If) either with the Hurrian-warriors or with the king of the Hurrian warriors I am in opposition
74. [ma]-mi-it-šu ša šar šabē(meš) ḫur-ri bêl-ia [l]a? a-ḫa-ap-pí	74. I will not break (the oath). The oath of the king of the Hurrian-warriors, my lord ... I
75. [a]-na šummu (ú) a-wa-te(meš) iš-tu ma-mi-ti lu-ú i-pá-aš-šar-[ru-ni]	75. According to the terms from the oath they shall indeed free (me?)
76. (aban) kunukku ša (m)Níq-me-pa šar (al)A-la-la-aḫ(KI)	76. Seal of Niqmepa, king of Alalakh

<sup>62</sup> Created with Niqmepa as king of Alalakh and Mukiš.

The text is unclear whether it refers to Niqmepa or the king of Tunip as the adversary of ‘the Hurrian warriors’. This text strongly supports the notion of a coalition theory for many reasons. The first of which is that a treaty was created between Alalakh and another state without any notion of the king of Mitanni being involved. This would not have been allowed of a vassal state. Furthermore, the treaty itself speaks of what would happen if one of the co-creators were to go to war with the king of the Hurrians, the supposed suzerain of Alalakh if we infer that this is the Mitanni king. On the other hand, “the king of the Hurrian warriors” (line 73) is an interesting phrase because it refers to a king of the Hurrians in the singular. This would imply that there is one ruler of all the Hurrians. This supports the notion of the suzerain theory. Despite this, the evidence would suggest that the coalition theory is more likely because of the nature of this excerpt of this document which appears to be centred on mutual aid if one were to go to war with the king of the Hurrians.

Similarly, there is a treaty between Alalakh and Kizzuwatna which was created just after their short war. It would appear to have been created between Idrimi (king of Alalakh) and Pilliya (king of Kizzuwatna). It discusses the returning of escapees and fugitives as can be seen below.

AT 3. ATT/8/198.	
1. [ṭup]-pi ri-ik-ši	1. Idrimi is to seize and return the fugitive
2. i-nu-ma (m)pil-li-ia	(slaves) belonging to Pilliya.
3. ù (m)Id-ri-mi ni-iš ilāni(meš) iz-ku-ru	2. Pilliya is to seize and return the
4. ù ri-ik-ša-am an-ni-e-im	fugitives belonging to Idrimi.
5. [i-na b]i-ri-šu-nu ir-ku-šu	3. The redemption reward for a male
6. [mu-un-na]-ba-ti i-na bi-ri-šu-nu	(slave) is given as 500 (shekels of)
7. [ut-ta]-na-ar-ru	copper and for a woman 1000 of
8. mu-un-na-ba-ti ša (m)Pil-li-ia	copper.
9. (m)Id-ri-mi iṣ-ša-bat-ma	4. If a fugitive belonging to Pilliya shall
10. ù a-na (m)Pil-li-ia	enter the land of Idrimi and anyone
11. ut-ta-na-ar	else shall not seize him and then his
12. ù mu-un-na-ba-ti	owner shall seize him, then he shall not
13. ša (m)Id-ri-mi (m)Pil-li-ia	pay a reward to anyone.
14. iṣ-ša-bat-ma ù a-na Id-ri-mi	5. If a fugitive belonging to Idrimi shall
15. ut-ta-na-ar ù ma-an-nu-um-me-e	enter the land of Pilliya and no-one else
16. mu-un-na-ab-ta iṣ-ša-bat	shall seize him and then his owner
17. ù a-na be-li-šu ú-ta-ar-šu	seizes him, he shall not pay a reward to

<p>18. šumma amêlum(lum) ù 5 ME erū  19. [m]i-iš-ta-an-na-šu i-na-an-d[i]-in  20. ù šumma sinništum(tum)  21. ù 1 li-im erū  22. mi-iš-ta-an-na-šu  23. i-na-an-di-nu ù šum-ma mu-un-[na]-ab-  ta  24. ša (m)Pil-li-ia i-na māt(at)  25. ša (m)Id-ri-mi i-ir-ra-ab  26. ù ma-am-ma-a-an ú-ul i-ša-bat-šu  27. ù be-el-šu-ma i-ša-bat-šu  28. ù mi-iš-ta-an-ni a-na ma-am-ma  29. ú-ul i-na-an-din ù šum-ma  30. mu-un-[na-ab-t]a ša (m)Id-ri-mi  31. [i-ŋ]a māt(at) ša (m)Pil-l[i-ia]  32. i-ir-ra-ab ù ma-am-ma-a-an  33. ú-ul i-ša-bat-šu be-el-šu-ma  34. [iš]-ša-bat-šu ù mi-iš-ta-an-na  35. [a-na] ma-am-ma-a-an ú-ul i-na-an-din  36. ù i-na a-i-im-me-e URU.KI  37. mu-un-na-ab-ta ú-ba-sa-ru  38. ù (amêl) ħa-za-an-nu it-ti 5 amêlē(meš)  damqūti  39. ni-iš ilāni(meš) i-za-ga-ru  40. i-na a-i-im-me-e ūmi(mi) (m)Pa-ra-tar-  na  41. it-ti (m)Id-ri-mi ni-iš ilāni(meš)  42. iz-ku-u[r] ù iš-tu ūmi(mi) šu-wa-ti  43. mu-un-na-ab-tú qa-bi a-na t[u]-ur-ri  44. ma-an-nu-e a-wa-ti ša ṭup-pí  45. an-ni-e-im i-ti-iq  46. (d)IM (d)UTU (d)Iš-ħa-ra ilāni(meš) ka-  li-šu-nu  47. li-ħal-li-[qú-šu]</p>	<p>anyone. In whichever city-area they declare a fugitive (to be), the (ħazannu-official) with 5 witnesses shall swear an oath of the gods. On whatever day Barattarna shall have sworn an oath of the gods with Idrimi, then from that day it is decided to return the fugitive. May the gods IM, UD, Išħara and all the gods, destroy whoever transgresses the words of this document.</p>
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Once again, Alalakh can be seen to have been creating treaties with other states, an act strictly forbidden as a vassal state. As has been seen in the previous chapter, Kizzuwatna at this time was frequently changing between a Mitanni ally and a Hittite vassal. It would appear that the war which went on between Kizzuwatna and Alalakh was fought during the period of time when Kizzuwatna was under Mitanni influence as it was most likely fought during the reign of Barattarna (Fig 1). It could be argued from this that as the two states were both Mitanni vassals, the treaty between the two would have been considered more acceptable than if it had been made with a state which was not under Mitanni influence. On the other hand, one would assume that there would be no need for a treaty between fellow vassal states if they are both bound to the same suzerain, the Mitanni. The treaty was necessitated because two of the Mitanni's vassals were fighting each other. From this, it could be seen that the Mitanni was a very weak suzerain which gave its vassal states the freedom to fight each other as well as make treaties with each other. However, to the extent the Mitanni allowed its vassals freedom, it would be far more logical to assume that both of these states were bound by a coalition treaty at the time and were therefore able to conduct themselves in this autonomous way without any repercussions one would expect from a suzerain fight, such as Mitanni is purported to be.

Another example can be seen from AT 13, the following example, which is from a court case brought before Sauššatar (king of Mitanni). It clearly shows the divided nature of the lands which are usually considered to be under Mitanni control.

AT 13. ATT/8/52.	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. i-na pa-ni</li> <li>2. (m)Sa-uš-sa-(ta)tar LUGAL</li> <li>3. (m)I-ri-ib-ha-zi</li> <li>4. aš-šum Ha-ni-gal-ba-tu-ti-šu</li> <li>5. it-ti (m)Ni-iq-me-pa</li> <li>6. di-na iṣ-bat-ma</li> <li>7. u (m)Ni-iq-me-pa [run over to second line] i-na di-nim</li> <li>8. (m)I-ri-ib-ha-zi</li> <li>9. il-te-e-šu-ma</li> <li>10. a-na ardu-ti ša (m)Ni-iq-me-pa</li> <li>11. it-tu-ur</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Before Saushsatar, the king, Irib-ḫazi brought a case against Niqmepa in the matter of his Hanigalbat-ship (i.e. of his being a citizen of Hanigalbat, a province of the conglomerate state Mitanni, a political, not a geographical, entity) and Niqmepa won (the case against) him, Irib-ḫazi, and he (Irib-ḫazi) returned to the service of Niqmepa.</li> </ol>

This final example can be seen to be contradictory in regards to the purpose of this thesis. The fact that the treaty was taken to Sauššatar as King of the Mitanni illustrates that he was considered of higher power to both conflicted parties involved. The fact that the king of Alalakh is involved only supports the notion of the suzerain theory. On the other hand, the fact that a person has to be distinguished between a person from Alalakh and a person from Hanigalbat (an alternate name for Mitanni) illustrates that there was an obvious distinction between the two, something modern scholars would not expect to find if Alalakh was totally ruled by the Mitanni. This would suggest that the coalition theory has some support from this document. Furthermore, there is a clear mark of respect through the above stated passage from which Sauššatar declared Irib-ḫazi to be a person from Alalakh and not a Hanigalbatean. This clearly shows respect on a level one would expect partners in a coalition would share.

### Conclusion.

The city of Alalakh is a very difficult city to categorise in regards to distinguishing whether it solely supports the suzerain theory or the coalition theory. There is evidence aiding both lines of argument. Despite this, it seems probable that the city of Alalakh supports the coalition theory slightly more than the suzerain theory. This can be seen because AT 2, 3 and 13 all support the coalition theory. Between these three documents, the topics covered include: the return of fugitives and slaves; a treaty between two supposed vassal states for if they go to war with the Mitanni; and a court case to distinguish whether a man was a Mitanni man or from Alalakh. This shows a wide range of topics from which this conclusion can be drawn.

The respect given to Alalakh from the Mitanni is the strongest indicator that there was a coalition. There would have been no need to be so courteous to a vassal state, yet the Mitanni (especially in AT 13) show how accommodating they could be.

Further supporting the idea of the coalition theory, both of the examples given for the suzerain theory can be explained. The Idrimi inscription was based on the life of Idrimi who needed and used the Mitanni to gain power and as a result would have been indebted to them for as long as the Mitanni could maintain that position. On the other hand, during Idrimi's reign, Alalakh may have been under Mitanni suzerainty but it would appear Niqmepa was able to rid Alalakh of this vassal position and raise the city's status to coalition partner. Unfortunately, it is currently not possible to gain a clearer image than this from the Idrimi inscription.

Similarly, AT 15 refers to the promotion of a man to mariyannu status by Niqmepa. Due to the importance of the mariyannu status, it appears to have been a great honour to have been able to bestow this position on a person due to the importance of the mariyannu status. For Niqmepa to do it, as we see in AT 15, it illustrates a high mark of respect for Niqmepa, by the Mitanni king. On the other hand, and far more likely, the ability to raise a person up in status was the prerogative of the king of that area, Niqmepa (king of Alalakh) in this example. This would appear to be the more logical reason behind it. If all people who were to be raised in status had to be done by the Mitanni king, it would be very difficult for the king to keep up with everyday tasks due to the size of the Mitanni's influence as can be seen in Fig 1.

Due to the above reasons, it seems most probable that the Mitanni were in a coalition with Alalakh. During the reign of Idrimi, it could well have been a suzerain-vassal relationship but by the time Niqmepa, Idrimi's son, came to power, it appears to be a coalition. This once again proves that history has been misguided into believing the Mitanni were a huge empire which loosely controlled its extremities but in reality, it appears the extremities were accorded respect by the Mitanni to such an extent that they appear to be free to make their own decisions and policy consistent with our view of what a coalition would look like.

# Other States

## Introduction.

This final content chapter will evaluate sources from the other regions, purported to be under Mitanni influence, to create the best idea of whether the Mitanni was a suzerain or merely in a coalition of states. Due to the lack of extant material for any one of the following states, I have chosen to compile a chapter consisting of texts from multiple states. This chapter will include texts sent from or to: Nuhashshi, Aleppo, Amurru and Turira<sup>63</sup>. As can be seen in Fig 1., all of these selected states are perceived to have been under Mitanni suzerainty but with closer regard to the sources, history does not appear to be so clear cut on the role of Mitanni as a suzerain. Despite the limited amount of resources which give any indication as to whether the Mitanni was their suzerain, this chapter will try and gain the best possible understanding of the political situation between the Mitanni and the area supposedly under Mitanni control. At this point it is worth stating that this chapter differs from the Kizzuwatna and Alalakh chapters because it is a compilation of states rather than focusing on an individual state. Therefore, there is the potential for each state to align with the suzerain and coalition theories differently. The likelihood of finding that all texts agree with one of the theories is highly unlikely and, therefore, this chapter will appear more open ended than the two previous.

This chapter will first look at the texts from Aleppo, Nuhashshi and Amurru which all align with the suzerain theory. The text from Aleppo is written after the fall of the Mitanni but it gives an historical introduction which includes the troubles which Aleppo had survived over the past century. This means that modern speculators have to read this evidence with utmost caution as there could be demonization of Mitanni to make the new suzerain (the Hittites) appear as a better suzerain. The text from Nuhashshi is one where we see Nuhashshi requesting aid against an aggressive attack from the Mitanni who were attempting to recapture their lands. The final source supporting the suzerain theory is from Byblos to the king of Egypt. The letter has a section which looks at Amurru and how it had been captured and booty carried off to Mitanni.

The second section of this chapter will evaluate the only source, in this chapter, which supports the notion of the coalition theory. This source was from Turira and was discussed in the Kizzuwatna

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<sup>63</sup> Nuhashshi, Amurru and Aleppo can all be seen in Fig 1. Turira resided in the south east of the Kizzuwatna region which can also be seen in Fig 1.

chapter due to its contents addressing issues surrounding Kizzuwatna. This source must also be evaluated from the perspective of Turira which this thesis is yet to do.

Finally, a source from Amurru will be evaluated. This text was written in the second half of the thirteenth century and so it was written a long time after the events of which it notes. The historical introduction to this treaty is invaluable for a modern scholar to create an idea of Amurru and Mitanni relations yet it does not give a decisive indication as to whether Amurru was one of Mitanni's vassals or part of a coalition.

### Suzerain Theory.

With a view towards the amount of evidence available to modern scholars, there appears to be more evidence in regards to the support of the suzerain theory for this chapter looking at the states other than Kizzuwatna and Alalakh. Aleppo will be the first city addressed in this chapter and can be seen in Fig 1. Aleppo had been a great city before the rise of Mitanni but was destroyed by the Hittites which allowed the creation of a new power in the region, which became the Mitanni<sup>64</sup>. The first text to be dealt with here is a treaty between Muwattalli II (King of the Hittites between 1295-1272<sup>65</sup>) and Talmi-Sharrumma (King of Aleppo<sup>66</sup>).

CTH 75. KBo 1.6; KUB 3.6; KUB 3.5; KBo 28.120; KUB 48.72 <sup>67</sup> .	
11. [i-na] pa-n[a š]arrâni.pl šá mâť al.Ħa-la-ap šarru ut-ta rabî-tam.tam za-ab-tum ù šarru-zu-nu	11. Formerly the kings of Aleppo possessed a Great Kingship, but Hattusili, Great King, King of Hatti, brought their kingship to fullness. After Hattusili, King of Hatti, Mursili, Great King, grandson of Hattusili, Great King, destroyed the kingship of Aleppo and the land of Aleppo.
12. m.Ħa-at-tu-ši-li ša-rru ra]bû šar mâť al.Ħa-at-ti ul[-ta]m-li arki m.Ħa-at-tu-ši-li	
13. šar mâť al.Ħa-at-ti m.Mu-ur-š[i]-li šarru rabû mâť mâť-[š]ú šá m.Ħa-at-tu-ši-li šarri rabî	
14. šar-ru-tam šá mâť al.Ħa-la-ap ù mâť al.Ħa-la-ap uĦ-tal-liĦ	15. When Tudhaliya, Great King, ascended to the throne [of kingship], the king of

<sup>64</sup> Van de Mieroop 2007: 150

<sup>65</sup> Van de Mieroop 2007: 308

<sup>66</sup> Specific dates are unknown but ruled in the first half of the thirteenth century BC according to Beckman 1999: xiv.

<sup>67</sup> Weidner 1923: 82

<p>15. ki-me-e m.Du-ut-ḥa-li-ja šarru rabû a-na iṣ.kussî š[arru-ut-ti] i-[l]u-ú</p> <p>16. šar mât al.Ḥa-la-ap it-ti-šú [...]-li-[...] it- ta-as-ḥur-ma šar m[ât al.Ḥ]a-la-a[p]</p> <p>17. it-ti šar mât al.Ḥa-ni-gal-bat i[t-táš-kán] ù šar mât al.Ḥa-ni-gal-bat ù šar mât al.Ḥ[a-l]a-ap</p> <p>18. áššum a-ma-ti šá-a-ši k[a-du...] uḥ-tal- liḳ-šú-nu ù alam.lam al.Ḥa-la-ap iḳ-ḳur</p> <p>19. šar mât al.Ḥa-la-ap ḥi-i-t[a šá] šar mât al.Ḥa-m[i-g]al-bat iḥ-ti</p> <p>20. ù it-ti m.Ḥa-at-tu-š[i-li šar mât a]l.Ḥa-at- ti [ma-gal] iḥ-ti-ma</p> <p>21. mârê.pl mât al.Áš-ta-ti ... [...al]âni[ḥal- zun] ù pâṭâni.zun-ni</p> <p>22. šá mât al.Ḥa-la-ap [ù šá mât al.Nu-ḥaš- ši a-na] šar [mât al.Mi-it-ta-an-ni ú-š]ak- ni-šú</p> <p>23. ù šar mât al.Mi-it-ta-a[n-ni ... a-na mârê]pl [mât al.Ḥa-la-ap] ù a-na mârê.p[l m]ât al.Nu-ḥaš-ši</p> <p>24. alâni.ḥal-zun ù pâṭâni.zun-[ni.šú-nu ...] il... it-ta-ta-ad-din</p>	<p>Aleppo made peace with him. But the king of Aleppo turned around and settled with the king of Hanigalbat. Then because of this matter he destroyed them – the king of Hanigalbat and the king of Aleppo, [together with their lands(?)]. And he dismantled the city of Aleppo.</p> <p>19. The king of Aleppo committed an offense [against] the king of Hanigalbat, but he also committed an offense against Hattusili, [King] of Hatti.</p> <p>21. The people of Ashtata and [the people] of Nuhashshi requested [cities] and border districts of the land of Aleppo [from] the king [of Mitanni].</p> <p>23. And the king of Mitanni [came] and gave [these] cities and border districts [to the people] of Ashtata and the people of Nuhashshi [as] as benefaction for the sake of friendly relations.</p>
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This passage was taken from the historical preamble at the beginning of the treaty, a common feature of treaties at this time. Lines eleven to fourteen support what Van de Mieroop says, in as far as, Aleppo had been crushed by the Hittites. From line fifteen onwards, it is clear that the Mitanni (named Hanigalbat through much of this passage) were attempting to crush and subdue the city of Aleppo. The Mitanni king destroyed Aleppo for making peace with the Hittite king Tudhaliya (III). Tudhaliya III was king 1360-1344 BC. By this point, the Mitanni had been in the region for up to three hundred years. This can be further seen from Fig 1, where Aleppo was already under Mitanni influence by 1500 BC, and Fig 4 where Aleppo is consistently under Mitanni influence until after the

reign of Tušratta, who probably died in the 1340s BC<sup>68</sup>. The most useful segment of text from this passage in regards to the debate between the suzerain and the coalition theories is “the king of Aleppo committed an offence against the king of Hanigalbat” in line 19. This line suggests that Aleppo was in an agreement with the Mitanni king in which Aleppo was not allowed to contact, or make peace with, the Hittite king. This lends itself to the conclusion that Aleppo was under Mitanni suzerainty because vassals were not permitted to make treaties with other states.

In further support of this, lines 21-24 show the Mitanni to be a suzerain with a huge amount of power over Aleppo because the Mitanni king divided up cities and districts which had been under Aleppo’s control or influence. The text does not give any indication of Aleppo retaliating against the Mitanni decision or calling for Hittite aid in an attempt to win back taken lands by force. This would advocate for the notion that Aleppo knew it was a subdued state from which it could not recover its lands against such a strong suzerain.

If we regard line 24 though we see that Nuhashshi may have been considered an ally rather than a vassal because Nuhashshi asks for cities and districts from Aleppo to be granted by the Mitanni but this is the only piece of evidence to suggest Nuhashshi was part of a coalition. The following passage clearly depicts that Nuhashshi was a vassal due to the Mitanni’s actions towards it.

CTH 53. KBo 1.4 KUB 3.10; KUB 3.2; KBo 1.16; KUB 3.3; KBo 28.98 <sup>69</sup> .	
1. um-ma d.Šamši.ši m.Šú-ub-bi-lu-li-u-ma šarru rabû	1. Thus says My Majesty, Suppiluliuma, Great King, King of Hatti, Hero: When
2. šar mât al.Ḫa-at-ti ḳarradu i-nu-um-ma m.Šar-ru-up-šá	the king of the land of Mitanni sought to kill Sharrupshi, and the king of the
3. šar mât al.Mi-it-ta-an-ni a-na ta-ki-šú ub-te-’e	land of Mitanni entered the land of Nuhashshi together with his infantry
4. ù šar mât Mi-it-ta-an-ni ḳa-du šabê.pl ḫu-ra-ti-šú	levies and his chariotry, and when he oppressed him, Sharrupshi sent his
5. iṣ.narkabâti.pl.-šú i-na mât al.Nu-ḫaš-ši i-te-ru-ub ù ki-i-me-e	messenger to the King of Hatti, saying: “I am the subject of the King of Hatti.
6. ú-uz-za-aḫ-ḫi-iz-zu ù m.Šar-ru-up-šá mâr šipri-šú	Save me!” And I, My Majesty, sent infantry and chariotry to his aid, and they drove the king of the land of

<sup>68</sup> Van de Mieroop 2007: 307

<sup>69</sup> Weidner 1923: 58

<p>7. a-na muḫ-ḫi šar mât al.Ḫa-at-ti iš-pur lù.ardum.tum</p> <p>8. šá šar mât al.Ḫa-at-ti a-na-ku-me ù šú- uz-zi-pa-an-ni-me</p> <p>9. ù d.Šamši.ši šabê.pl sisê.zun a-na ti-el- lu-ti-šú áš-pur</p> <p>10. ù šar mât al.Mi-it-ta-an-ni қа-du [u]mmâ-nâte.zun.-šú</p> <p>11. iṣ.narkabâti.pl.-šú iš-tu mât al.Nu-ḫaš-ši e-tab-ku</p>	<p>Mitanni, together with his troops and his chariotry out of the land of Nuhashshi.</p>
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This treaty was created between Suppiluliuma I (king of the Hittites) and Tette (king of Nuhashshi)<sup>70</sup>. The precise date of this treaty is very difficult to discern because the Mitanni would have only had the military strength to attack Nuhashshi in the early part of Suppiluliuma I's reign from our knowledge of Mitanni military affairs yet, Klengel argues that Nuhashshi became a Hittite ally after the fall of Carchemish<sup>71</sup> which happened at the end of the Hittite invasion of Mitanni's lands. It can be deduced that this passage was from Suppiluliuma's reign because of line 1. Nuhashshi is a region and can be seen in Fig 4<sup>72</sup>.

From this treaty, it appears the Mitanni were trying to oppress Nuhashshi with force. There is no indication here that there was an attempt at diplomacy which one would expect if there had been a coalition treaty in place before Nuhashshi managed to exorcise itself from Mitanni influence. Furthermore, the text states that Sharrupshi sent a message to Suppiluliuma stating: "I am the subject of the King of Hatti". This indicates that the Nuhashshi people had no desire for Mitanni influence on themselves. It is unclear if this was the first time Nuhashshi had called for Hittite suzerainty or if this was the result of previous discussions. The breakaway of Nuhashshi from Mitanni, whether as a vassal or as a coalition partner, could well have elicited a violent response from Mitanni. Therefore, the sole fact that the Mitanni exerted military pressure on Nuhashshi does not offer much guide as to Nuhashshi's position in regards to the suzerain or coalition theories prior to the breakaway of Nuhashshi. What it does depict to a modern viewer is that the Mitanni was prepared to fight for the region which was allied with Suppiluliuma and the Hittites, who were a far

<sup>70</sup> For more information on Tette, see Klengel 1992: 154-155

<sup>71</sup> Klengel 1992: 154

<sup>72</sup> Fig 4 uses the name Nuhashe rather than Nuhashshi but this is the same region.

stronger adversary than the Mitanni could beat, but this is something which should be explored at a later time, outside of this thesis.

Altman argues that the text strongly indicates that there had been no previous alliance between the Hittites and Nuhashshi (Nuḥašše as he writes it). The treaty was one created at the time the Mitanni attacked Nuhashshi because if there had been an alliance already in place, there would have been no need to send a letter to the Hittites to request military support<sup>73</sup>. While this is a strong argument, it is not conclusive. Altman estimates that this event occurred just after Suppiluliuma's campaign through Mitanni lands. It is possible that the message telling Suppiluliuma of a Mitanni military advance had not yet reached him or he was merely being slow to respond to the threat as Suppiluliuma knew he could beat the Mitanni forces with ease as he had done through his recent campaign.

Altman has created an intuitive theory which states that Sharrupshi was not actually king of Nuhashshi but was attempting to gain the throne from Addu-nirari<sup>74</sup>. Addu-nirari appears to have been a good vassal or (coalition) king and when Sharrupshi rose against him, the Mitanni sent an armed force to aid Addu-nirari with his defence of Nuhashshi. At this point, Sharrupshi contacted Suppiluliuma and requested military aid of his own in exchange for Nuhashshi to become a vassal. This, highly probable, theory would suggest that the Mitanni was supporting one of its vassals or coalition partners which is equally as likely as the Mitanni trying to retake a lost ally. There is no definitive evidence for either argument unfortunately.

The treaty between Suppiluliuma I and Tette of Nuhashshi as well as the treaty between Muwattalli II and Talmi-Sharrumma of Aleppo have another thing in common which is important to the reading of these two documents. Both of the excerpts shown above were taken from the historical introduction which many treaties of this time had. The historical introduction often sets the scene for why the treaty is being made but this section can sometimes be used for propaganda by the more powerful state as well as to ensure they can show their dominance over a vassal. Due to this, these passages must be read with caution as we cannot know their accuracy.

The final source supporting the suzerain theory was a letter sent from Byblos to Egypt (Fig 1). The letter (EA 86) is one of a small group (EA 85, 90 and 95) which speak of the potential threat of the Mitanni to Byblos. The King of Byblos, Rib-Addi, is requesting further military aid in EA 85, 86, 90 and 95. The only one of these sources which aids in the question of the suzerain or coalition theories is EA 86 which offers support for the suzerain theory. The other three sources from Amarna specifically

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<sup>73</sup> Altman 2001: 33

<sup>74</sup> Altman 2001: 44

look at the attacks that were focused on Rib-Addi's lands. This also leaves us with no indication of whether Amurru was at any point under the Mitanni's suzerainty or part of a coalition with them. This can be deduced because if the Mitanni were to lead a campaign against Byblos, they most likely would attack through Amurru regardless of whether Amurru was an ally or a vassal state.

EA 86.	
5. LUGAL.ri EN-ka mi-ma i[a-ši nu.KÚR]	5. The king, my lord; listen to m[e: the
6. KALAG.GA ù ku-uš-da g[a-du]	hostility] is severe; therefore come
7. ERÍN.MEŠ pí-tá-ti ù [ti-il-qé]	tog[ether with] an archer host, that [it
8. KUR.A-mu-ri ur-ra m[u-ša]	may take] Amurru. Day (and) ni[ght...]
9. ...-ši a-na ka-tam [ù]	... to thee. [Moreover,
10. [ti-i]q-ta-bu ma-ad MA.[GAL]	10. They have s]aid (that) ve[ry] great in
11. [mi-im]-mu ša yu-ul-qú i[š-tu]	quality is [the prop]erty that has been
12. [ša]-šu-nu a-na KUR.Mi-ta-na [ù]	taken f[rom the]m to Mitanni.
13. [a-nu-m]a i-na-na la a ta...	[Moreover, alrea]dy now ... not [...
14. [ù] a-mi-ni tu-ša(-)na...	also], why does there come out ...?

This passage was sent from Rib-Addi (the king of Byblos) to the Egyptian King (currently unknown). As far as modern scholars know, Byblos was never under Mitanni influence as can be seen in Fig 1, 4 and 6. This letter was a loyal vassal requesting aid against a potential aggressor, from its suzerain, Egypt. According to Rib-Addi, the Mitanni had successfully attacked and captured Amurru and carried off booty. This clearly depicts the Mitanni as a suzerain. This is not an act that would allow Amurru and the Mitanni to become coalition partners as a result of this Mitanni attack or subsequently after this. There is the possibility that Rib-Addi had exaggerated events in Amurru in an attempt to persuade the Egyptian king to send a large number of soldiers and quickly in defence of one of his vassals. However, this does not seem likely because Rib-Addi is not trying to persuade the Egyptian king that Byblos is about to fall. It merely appears to be an update of military affairs in the region. Consequently, this letter is probably quite an accurate report of what Rib-Addi knew of the situation in Amurru. Unfortunately, we cannot know if Rib-Addi had been given accurate information.

Coalition Theory.

The only piece of evidence from Mitanni influenced states, excluding Kizzuwatna or Alalakh, supporting the coalition theory is a passage which has already been discussed in the first chapter of this thesis (the Kizzuwatna chapter). In the chapter on Kizzuwatna, the below passage was evaluated because its contents address the role of Kizzuwatna in this debate. For the purposes of this chapter, this passage can be re-evaluated for its contents regarding Turira. It appears this letter was sent from Hattusili III (king of the Hittites from 1267-1237 BC) to Adad-nirari I (king of Assyria from 1305-1274 BC)<sup>75</sup>.

CTH 173. KBo I 14 <sup>76</sup> .	
19. šum-ma āl.Tu-u-ri-ra ku-a-ú ḥu-bu-us ardē.meš-ia ša libi āli.li aš-bu	16. If Turira is yours, smash (it)! But you shall not claim th
20. mi-im-mu-šú-nu la-a ta-qár-ri-ib šum-ma āl.Tu-u-ri-ra la-a ku-a-ú	17. ] possessions of my subjects who are dwelling in the city. If Turira is not yours, write to me, so that I may smash it. But the possessions of your troops who are dwelling in the city shall not be claimed.
21. šu-up-ra-am-ma a-na-ku lu-uḥ-bu-us šābē.meš-ka ša i-na lib-bi āli.li aš-bu	21. In regard to the good iron about which you wrote to me about, good iron is not available in my armoury in the city of Kizzuwatna. I have written that it is a bad time for making iron. They will make good iron but they have not yet finished it. When they will have finished, I will send (it) to you.
22. a-na mi-im-mu-šú-nu la-a iq-qá-ar-ri-ib	
24. a-na parzilli damqi.qi ša taš-pu-ra-an-ni parzillu damqu i-na āl.Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na	
25. i-na bit aban.kunukki-ia la-a-aš-šu parzillu a-na e-pé-ši li-mi-e-nu	
26. al-ta-pár parzilla damqa.qá e-ip-pu-šu a-di-ni la-a i-gám-ma-ru	
27. i-gámma-ru-ma ú-še-bi-la-ak-ku i-na- an-na a-nu-um-ma lišān paṭar parzilli	

<sup>75</sup> Beckman 1999: 147. The rulers proposed by Goetze (Goetze 1940: 31-32) were Hattusili III and Shalmaneser I. These rulers appear highly unlikely due to line 8 and 9 (stated below). By the reign of Shalmaneser I, there is very little left of Mitanni and what remains was under Assyrian or Hittite control. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that Hanigalbat (as it is called in this treaty) would be making claims on a city such as Turira as it was a huge distance from Hurrian and Mitanni lands. Beckman's suggestion of Hattusili III and Adan-nirari I appear to be far more likely and better suited to the text extant now.

<sup>76</sup> Goetze 1940: 26-31

From this passage, one can see that there is no obvious indication of who was the ruler of Turira. Unfortunately, the exact placement of Turira is unknown making it very difficult to estimate whether the city should be considered to be under Mitanni influence. It would seem probable that the city had been under Mitanni influence before this because the city was most likely placed in the south eastern part of Kizzuwatna which had been under Mitanni influence prior to this period. The above passage shows the confusion held between Assyria and the Hittites. One explanation for this would appear to be that the Mitanni had relinquished control over Turira very recently beforehand but this information had not become common knowledge. It is also conceivable, though unlikely, that Turira was such a small state, it is possible that it was self-governed and so the larger powers discussing it overlooked the fact that it had remained free for so long.

The only way that Turira could have kept its autonomy was if it had been part of a coalition of states where it could receive mutual aid from the other states in the coalition. Furthermore, due to the animosity between Mitanni and Kizzuwatna, which has been briefly touched on in the chapter on Kizzuwatna<sup>77</sup>, it would seem highly probable that Turira would have been taken to gain a tactical starting point for any campaign attacking the other. If the city had been taken by either the Mitanni or Kizzuwatna, it would have been ruled by the Hittites by the time this letter was sent (as the Hittites were the suzerain of the Mitanni and Kizzuwatna by the thirteenth century BC).

Unfortunately, there is no definitive evidence for either argument.

Furthermore, this passage appears to be from the first half of the thirteenth century BC. By this period, the Mitanni did not control most of its own lands as can be seen in Fig 2 (especially if this is compared to Fig 1). Therefore, it makes this political situation very difficult to decipher because one would expect there to be no Mitanni influence in the region for circa thirty years (assuming the document was written in the 1270s<sup>78</sup>), yet if one merely looks at this document, it would appear the Mitanni had only recently relinquished control over Turira (as stated above). Could it have been possible that despite the fall of most of Mitanni, Turira still remained under Mitanni influence into the early thirteenth century BC? A question that cannot be answered with extant material.

Apart from this source, there is very little evidence in regards to Turira. As a result, it is very difficult to make a comprehensive analysis of the city in question but it appears to align more closely with the coalition theory.

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<sup>77</sup> For more information, see Goetze 1940

<sup>78</sup> This appears to be the most likely date of the creation of this treaty because of the two kings who are most likely to have been its creators.

Evidence for coalition and suzerain theories.

The final text of this chapter has evidence supporting both of the theories presented throughout this thesis. The treaty was created between Tudhaliya IV (king of the Hittites 1237-1209) and Shaushgamuwa (king of Amurru). It is worth stating here that this text was written long after the Mitanni lost influence<sup>79</sup>. The selected passage below was part of the historical introduction which accompanies many treaties.

CTH 105. KUB XXIII.1 <sup>80</sup> .	
13. ...KUR URU.A-mur-ra Ú[-UL (IŠ-TU GIŠ.T)]UKUL [	13. [Earlier] the land of Amurru had not been defeated by the force of arms of Hatti. When [Aziru came] to the (great-)grandfather of My Majesty, [Suppiluliuma], in Hatti, the lands of Amurru were still [hostile]. They [were] subjects of the King of Hurri. Aziru accordingly gave him (Suppiluliuma) his allegiance, although he did [not] defeat him by force of arms. And Aziru, your (great-great-)grandfather, protected Mursili as overlord, and he protected Hatti. In no way did he commit an offense against Hatti.
14. [(ŠA KUR URU.Ḫa-)]at-ti tar-aḫ-ḫ[a-an] e-eš-ta	
15. ku-ḫa-pí IT-TI A-BI A-BI D.UTU.ŠI	
16. [m.Šu-up-pí-lu]li-[(u-m)a] I-NA KUR URU.Ḫa-at-ti	
17. KUR-KUR.ḪI.A URU.A-mur-ra nu-u-ḫa	
18. [ku-u-ru-u]r e-eš-ta ÌR.MEŠ ŠA LUGAL Ḫur-ri-at	
19. nu-uš-ši m.[A-]zi-ra-aš QA-TAM-MA	
20. [(pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-t)]a-at IŠ[(T)]U GIŠ.TUKUL-ma-an-za-an	
21. [Ú-UL tar-]aḫ-ta nu [m.A-]zi-ra-aš A-BA-A-BI-KA	
22. [m.Šu-up-pí-]lu-li-u-ma-an AŠ-ŠUM EN-UT-TA PAP-aš-ta	
23. [KUR URU.Ḫa-a]t-ti-ya pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ta	
24. Kat-ta-ya m.Mu-ur-ši-li-in AŠ-ŠUM EN-UT-TA	

<sup>79</sup> The Mitanni most likely lost influence very near the end of the fourteenth century BC. Potentially as early as the mid 1320's with the successful attack of Suppiluliuma I, although the Mitanni did continue to fight on after this attack for a few more decades. The Mitanni were generally used as a buffer between the Hittites and the rapidly expanding Assyrian Empire in this period though.

<sup>80</sup> Kuhne and Otten 1971: 6

<p>25. Pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ta KUR URU.Ḫa-at-ti-ya PAP-aš-ta</p>	
<p>26. Nu-IT-TI KUR URU.Ḫa-at-ti Ú-UL ku-it-ki ya-aš-ta-aš</p>	

This passage offers evidence which supports the suzerain and coalition theories. The excerpt which supports the suzerain theory is the section which states: “They (Amurru) [were] subjects of the King of Hurri”. This quote very clearly indicates to a modern viewer that Tudhaliya IV perceived the Mitanni to be the suzerain of Amurru. This does not categorically prove the suzerain theory though as this document was written roughly one hundred years after the events of which it reports. Due to this length of time, there is a plethora of inaccuracies which may have caused for an inaccurate understanding of the power relationship between Mitanni and Amurru.

However, when one reads on, the very next sentence supports the notion of the coalition theory: “Aziru (king of Amurru) accordingly gave him (Suppiluliuma) his allegiance, although he did not defeat him by force of arms”. There is no indication after this that the Mitanni attempted to re-incorporate Amurru under their influence. From this, it would appear, although not definitively, that Amurru was in a coalition with the Mitanni at this point. Furthermore, if the Mitanni had attempted to recover Amurru by force, it would have been prestigious for the forces to have beaten off Mitanni forces and, therefore, it most likely would have been incorporated in the historical introduction of this treaty along with the other information presented. The fact that Amurru was allowed to become a Hittite ally as easily as this treaty would suggest to people, strongly indicates that Amurru was in a coalition with the Mitanni. Unfortunately, this hypothesis cannot be proven because the Mitanni may have needed to centralise their military strength in preparation to defend themselves against Suppiluliuma or the Mitanni feared Hittite retribution for retaking a newly formed Hittite ally.

### Conclusion.

From the states where we have fewer sources, modern scholars are left with a variation of results. Unlike the previous two chapters, the suzerain theory is the theory with the most support when considering the sources from Amurru, Aleppo, Nuhashshi and Turira. Through the Kizzuwatna and Alalakh chapters, there were sources which appear to strongly suggest the Mitanni was a suzerain as well, but there are other sources which suggest there was a coalition during the Mitanni period. It is possible that the texts which would have shown a more balanced argument (similar to in the

previous two chapters) have not been found or have been destroyed. On the other hand, it is also possible that this small corpus of texts may happen to give an accurate portrayal of the complicated political environment at the time. With the amount of extant material, it is currently impossible to make an informed judgement on the precise situation of whether each of the states were under the suzerainty of the Mitanni or there was a coalition for each of the individual cities evaluated in this chapter.

The texts supporting the suzerain theory (Aleppo's and Nuhashshi's treaties with the Hittites as well as the letter between Byblos and Egypt regarding Amurru) present compelling evidence that these three states were under Mitanni suzerainty. None of the sources give any support to the coalition theory. It must be remembered with all of these sources that they are prime targets for hyperbole by the Hittites as Aleppo and Nuhashshi were to become the vassals of the Hittites and Byblos was a loyal vassal to Egypt and feared for its own safety. The Hittites would have wanted to make their suzerainty appear far more appealing than the Mitanni alternative. Byblos would have wanted military support from a potential attack from the Mitanni army and so hyperbole would be an effective tool in an attempt to scare Egypt into sending soldiers to defend one of its vassals. Furthermore, the letter Byblos was sending to Egypt was not regarding Byblos' affairs, it was regarding Amurru's affairs. This means the information would have been, at least, second hand by the time the Egyptian king knew of it leaving ample opportunity for inaccuracies to have crept into the information. It would appear from the selected sources that Aleppo, Amurru and Nuhashshi were vassals of the Mitanni.

The text supporting the coalition theory (Turira being discussed in a letter between Assyria and the Hittites) is a very difficult text to analyse because it is hard to ascertain the context it was written in. The modern understanding of the political environment in the 1270s (the time this text was most likely written) and in the region of west of Mitanni heartland was that the Mitanni was a vassal and held no power of its own, yet this letter between Assyria and the Hittites would suggest that Turira had only recently been released from suzerainty by the Mitanni. Turira may have been a self-governed city but it is highly unlikely such a small state could have kept its freedom without alliances with other states. This notion supports the idea of the coalition theory very strongly. It would appear that Turira was part of the coalition of states from the source available to us.

The final source looked at in this chapter is a source from Amurru which, unfortunately, offers as much merit to the suzerain theory as the coalition theory, typifying the difficulty modern scholars have in discerning whether the Mitanni was a suzerain or a coalition partner. The source was written

circa one hundred years after the Mitanni stopped having large amounts of influence over any other states. This leaves a source which must be read with utmost caution.

When looking at whether Amurru supports the coalition or suzerain theories, modern scholars can tentatively say that Amurru supports the suzerain theory. It must be said tentatively because of the sources available and the unreliability of them. Both sources must be considered unreliable because both author states (the Hittites and Byblos) would have used hyperbole to achieve their countries own aims.

This chapter shows that there is a real diversity of sources and if there is to be a categorical definition of whether the Mitanni was a suzerain or part of a coalition with Amurru, Aleppo, Nuhashshi and Turira then we will need more sources to further this debate. The sources that have been presented through this chapter offer a good starting point for the debate to be continued when there are more sources available.

# Conclusion

Throughout the course of this thesis, I have evaluated the way in which different states, purportedly under Mitanni influence, interacted with the states around them. From this, I have drawn conclusions which support or reject the notion of the suzerain and coalition theories. It has been my belief that the Mitanni was not an Empire as the Mitanni has been considered over the past century, but that the Mitanni was a kingdom which entered into a coalition with many of its surrounding states allowing the appearance of an empire to modern scholars. This appearance is portrayed because the Mitanni was the strongest partner in the coalition and, therefore, we see the Mitanni lofted above other kings in examples such as legal cases where the Mitanni king was the judge.

The study of Kizzuwatna's literature was the most suitable place to begin the task of comparing the suzerain and coalition theories because it has the largest corpus of extant literature from the states purportedly under Mitanni influence. The sources evaluated through the Kizzuwatna chapter did not solely conform to one theory but gave examples of both suzerain and coalition theories. Despite this, there was more cogent support for the coalition theory. Kizzuwatna was a fiercely fought over region and yet it appears from the sources that most of the time Kizzuwatna could choose who it wished to ally itself with. This would only have been possible if the state was in a coalition with the Mitanni as if Kizzuwatna had been a vassal, the Mitanni would have brought violent retribution on Kizzuwatna when they chose to ally themselves with the Hittites. From what modern scholars can see, there was no violent retribution, which strongly supports the argument that Kizzuwatna could choose who to ally itself, due to it being in a coalition with the Mitanni rather than a relationship of suzerainty.

The debate over whether Alalakh was part of a coalition or under the suzerainty of the Mitanni was very similar to that of Kizzuwatna. Despite there being some evidence to suggest that the Mitanni was the suzerain of Alalakh, I have concluded that overall the evidence shows that Alalakh was in fact part of a coalition. This must be the final conclusion because the evidence supporting the suzerain theory can all be explained unlike the evidence supporting the coalition theory. This can be seen in the Idrimi Inscription where modern viewers can see the role of Alalakh change over the period of Idrimi's to Niqmepa's kingship. In AT 15, the suzerain theory can be disproven if one reconsiders the amount of power kings would have had when they were supposedly under Mitanni influence. With the readjustment of our view of local rulers, the level of power they appear to have had certainly supports the notion that they were in a coalition with the Mitanni. Furthermore, the

sources which support the coalition theory are a lot harder to refute. These texts illustrate many of the traits one would expect to see of a coalition partner.

The final chapter of this thesis addressed the states of Amurru, Aleppo, Nuhashshi and Turira. Unfortunately, very few texts are extant from these states. Except for Amurru (which had two), there was only one text for each of the states included in this chapter. As a result, it is very difficult to create a full picture of the states included. By collectively using these sources though, we can gain the best possible idea with the information we have for this complex topic.

This small corpus of evidence has given a range of outcomes though. The texts from Aleppo, Amurru and Nuhashshi suggest that the Mitanni was a suzerain over them. On the other hand, the Turira source suggests that Turira must have been a coalition. As there was only one source from each of these states, it is hard to know if these texts accurately portray the political balance between themselves and the Mitanni. It is quite possible though that this selection of results was accurate and the Mitanni had a coalition with some states and was the suzerain over other states. One would expect the coalition states to be the larger and/or more powerful states because they would demand more respect from the other states around them; however, Turira (which seems to be in the coalition) appears to be one of the smallest cities or regions discussed in this thesis. As a result, we must wait for other sources to allow a clearer image to emerge.

I do not believe that the Mitanni was the suzerain of Kizzuwatna, Turira and Alalakh as is the traditional view (seen in Fig 1, 4, 5 and 6). The evidence currently available strongly suggests that these states were in fact in a coalition with the Mitanni from which they could break free when they chose. This is most clearly seen with the case study of Kizzuwatna. All of these states show their own signs of being free to choose their allies, one of the key marks of being in a coalition. From here, I believe it is important that there is further research on the extent of power the rulers of these states had. Questions such as: were these kings of equal status to the Mitanni King? And if not, to what extent did they have power? How much power did each ruler have in the coalition? Was it centred on the Mitanni and radiate out or was it an equal agreement between all the states? These questions go into too much depth and too far removed from the set topic of this thesis for them to have been answered here.

Based on the available evidence, I believe I have demonstrated that on balance the relationship of the Mitanni with other states was predominantly one of coalition rather than suzerainty. Further research will be able to define the relationship of power and whether the relationship varied over time or depending on the size of some states or another criteria altogether.

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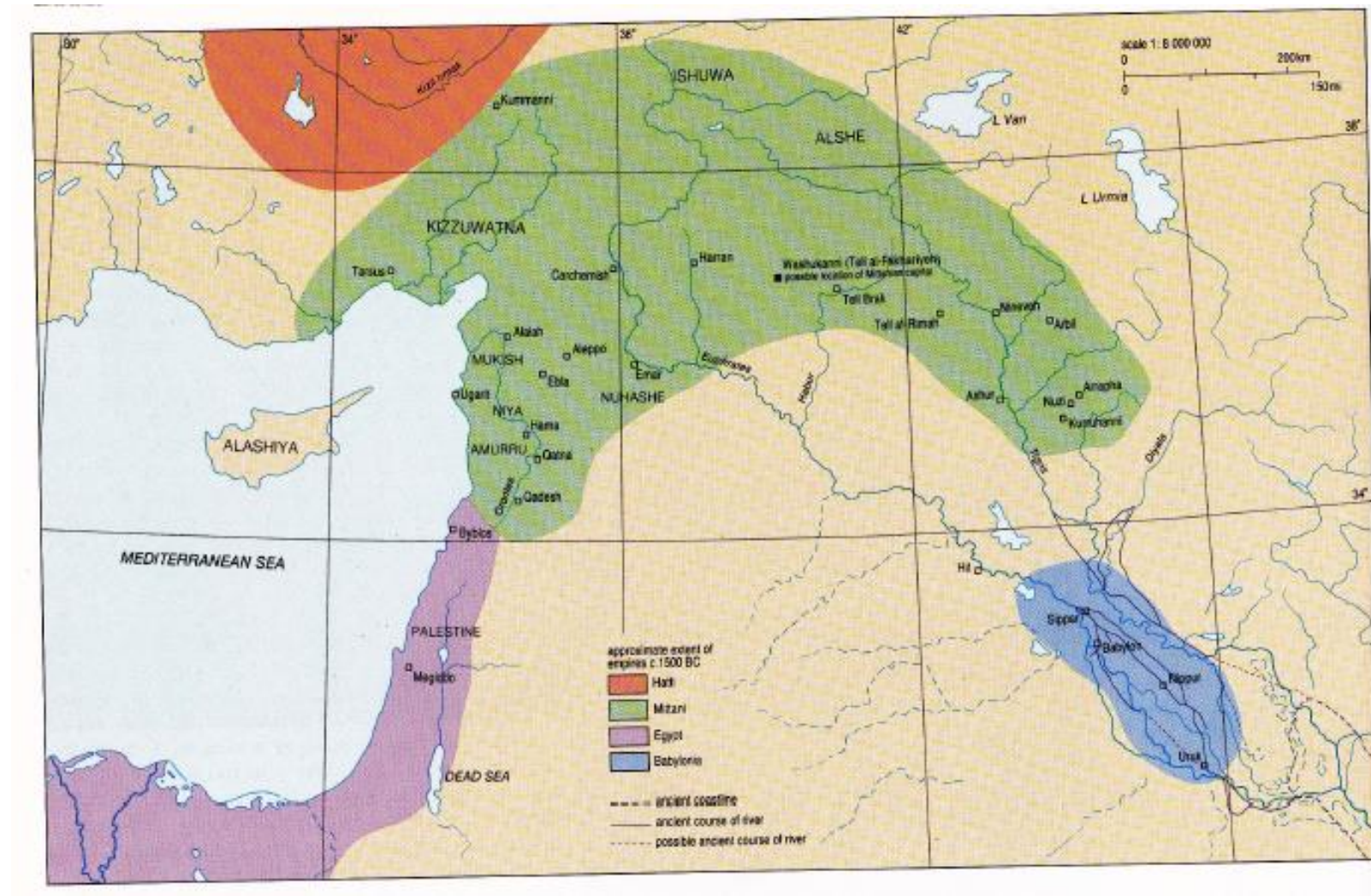


Fig 1. The Mitanni in 1500 BC. Roaf 1990: 134

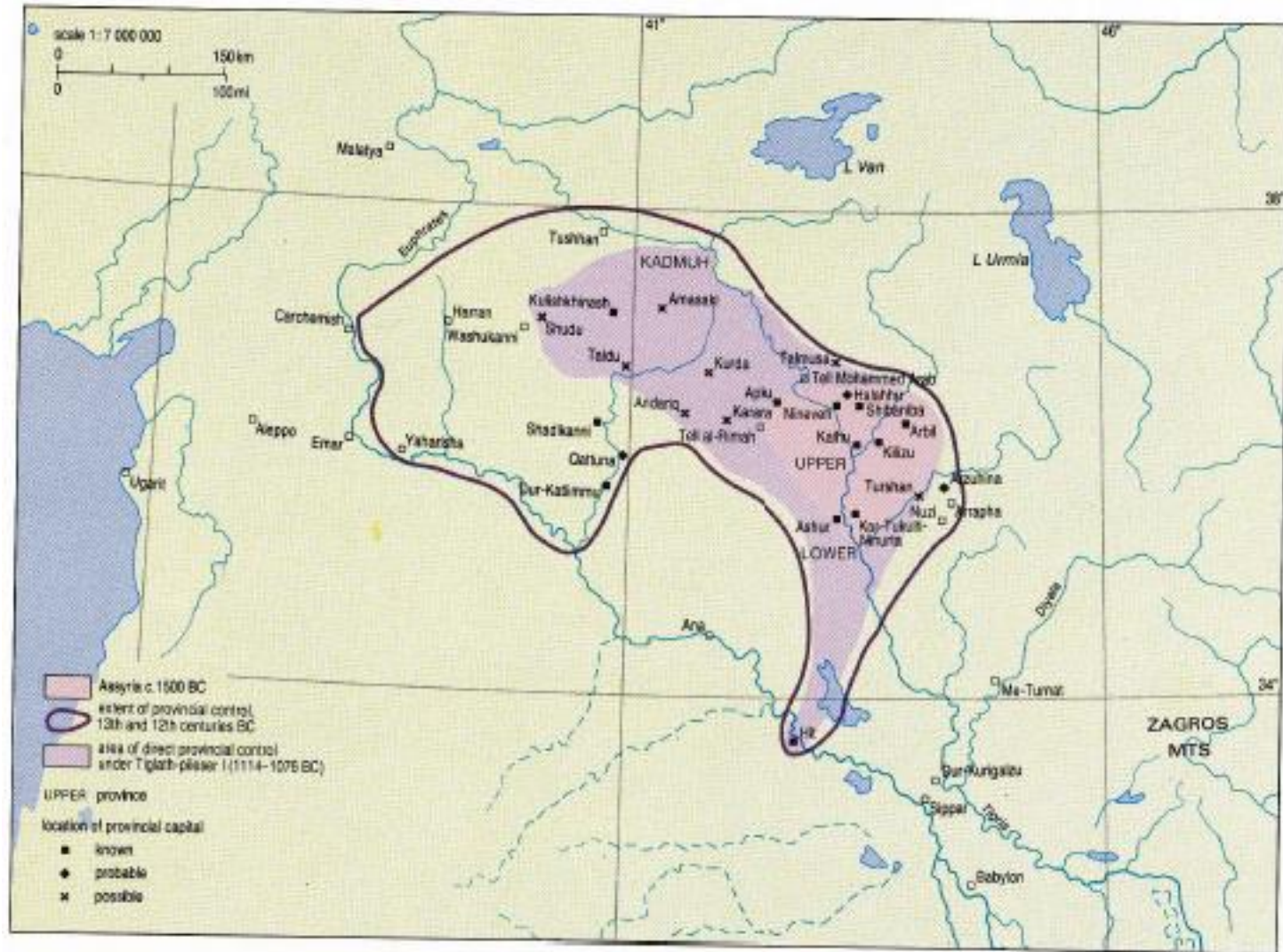


Fig 2. Extending Assyrian control through the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC. Roaf 1990: 140

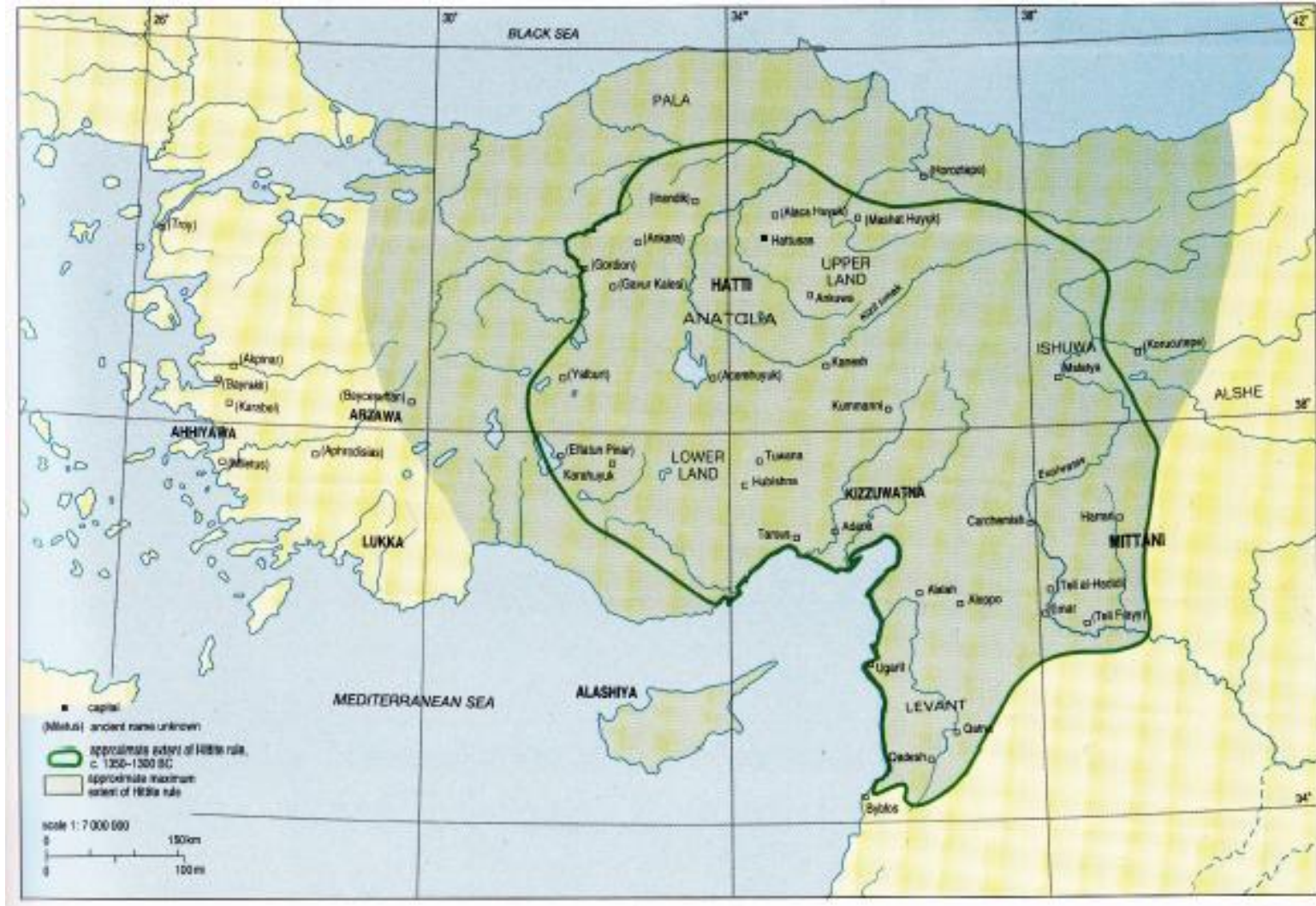
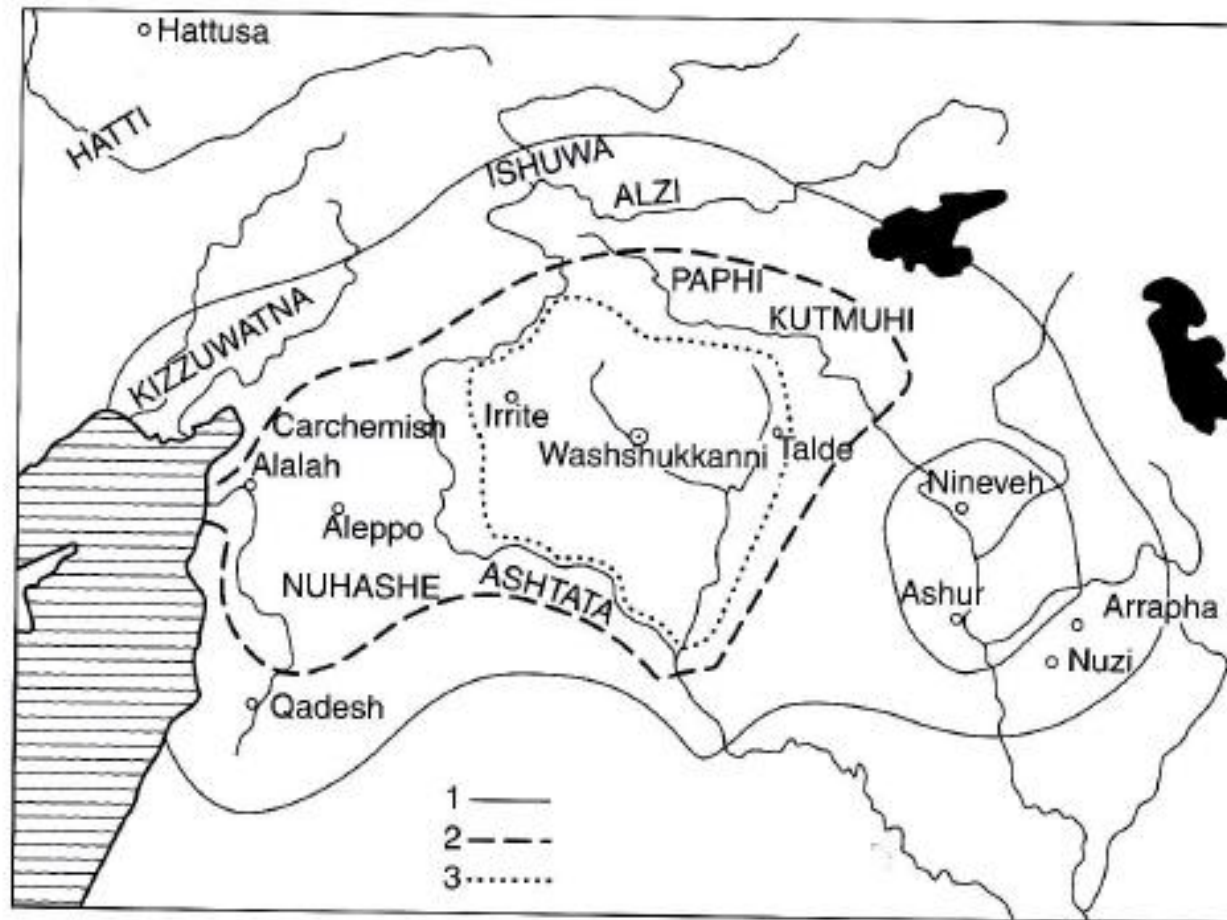
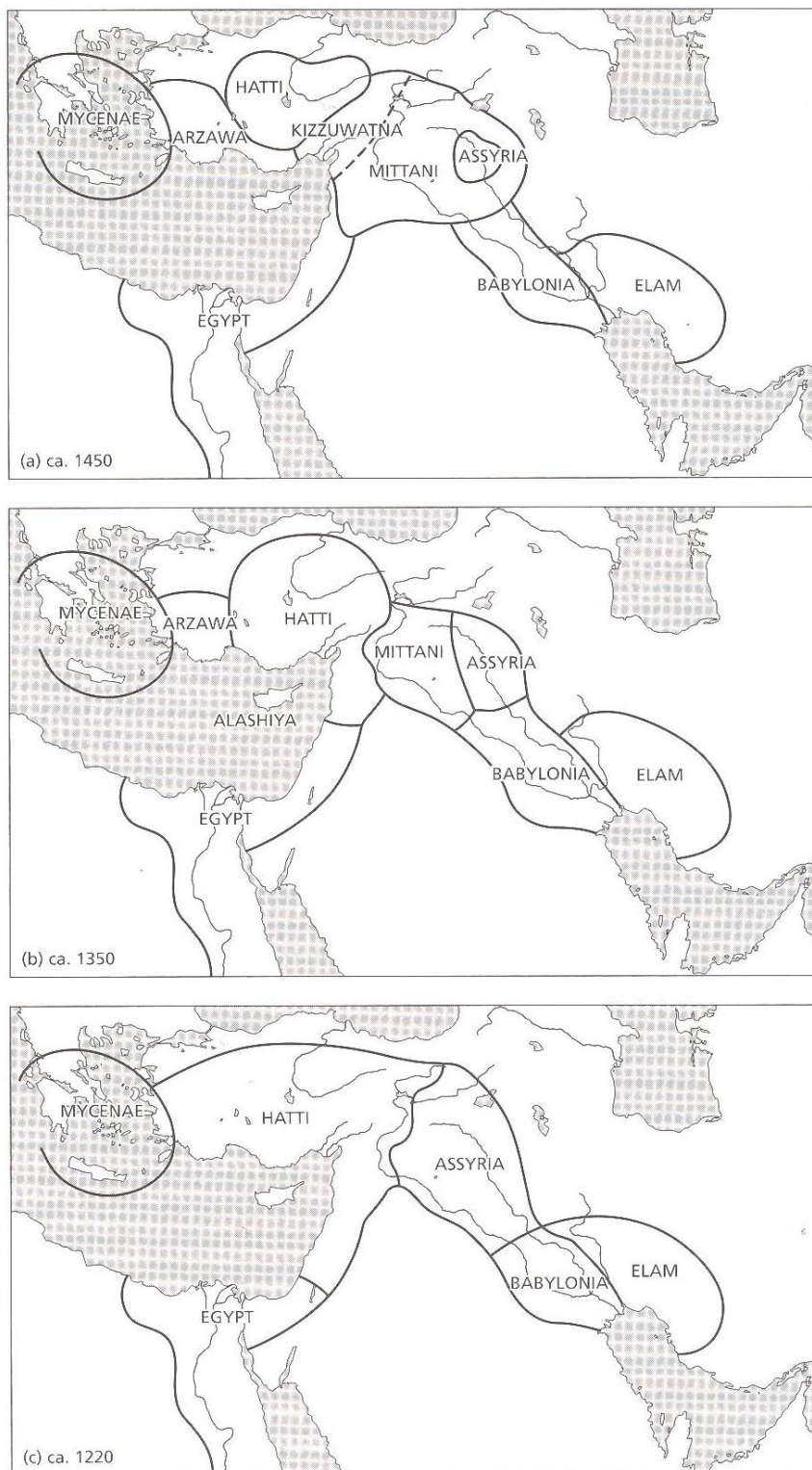


Fig 3. The Hittite Empire 1350-1300 BC. Roaf 1990: 139



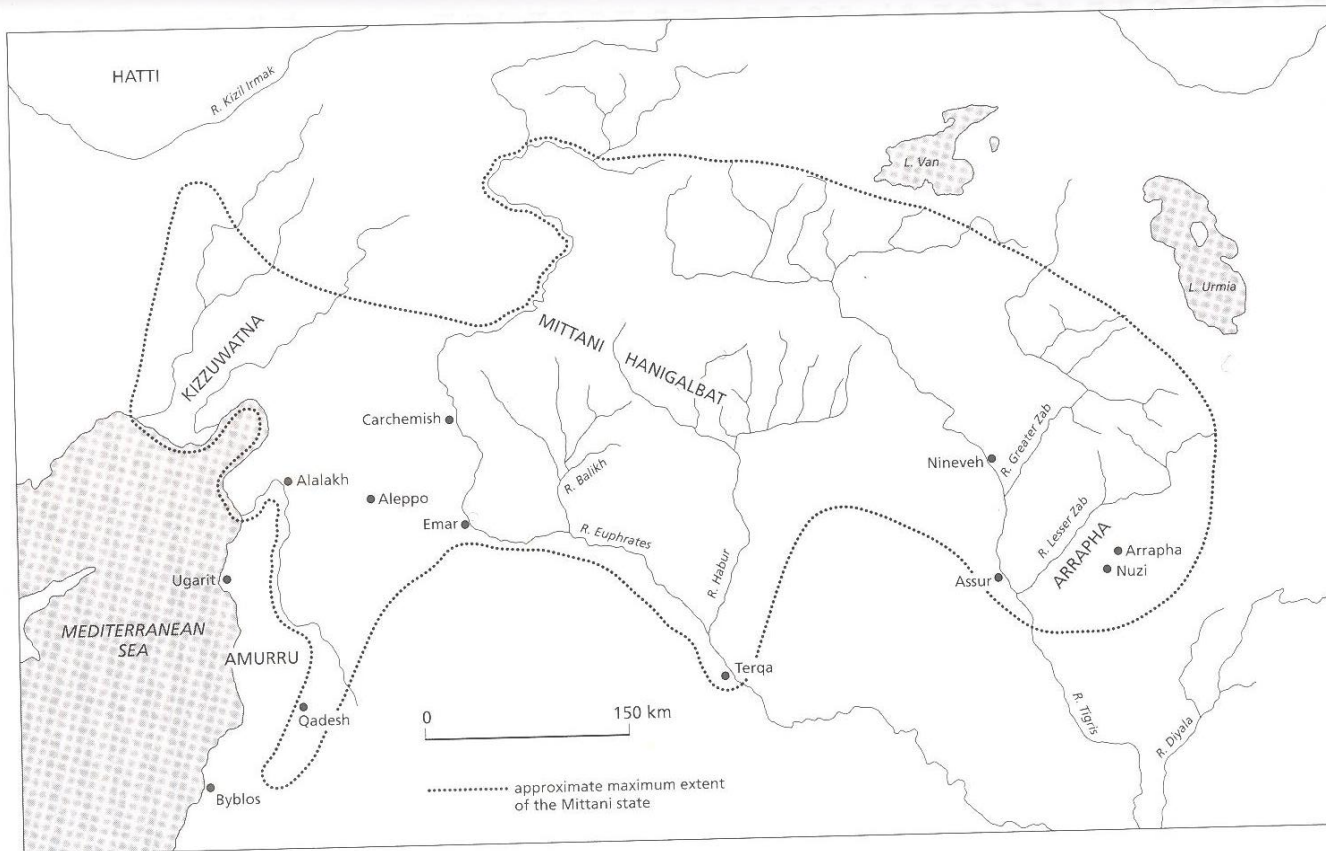
Map of the kingdom of Mitanni (1: maximum expansion of Barattarna; 2: territories held by Tushratta; 3: territories held by Shattiwaza).

Fig 4. Change in the Mitanni's Influence size over time. Liverani 2014: 290



**Map 7.1** The political systems of the Near East in the second half of the second millennium (after Mario Liverani, *Prestige and Interest* [Padua: Sargon, 1990], pp. 299–300)

**Fig 5.** Changing Hittite and Mitanni relations over time. Van de Mierop 2007: 132



Map 8.1 The Mittani state (after Volkert Haas, ed. *Hurriter und Hurritisch* [Konstanz: Universitatverlag, 1988], p. 295)

Fig 6. The Mitanni state in the fifteenth and early fourteenth centuries BC. Van de Mieroop 2007: 151

Table 1: Kings List

Mitanni <sup>i</sup>	Carchemish* † <sup>ii</sup>		Hittite <sup>iii</sup>		Assyria <sup>iv</sup>		Egypt <sup>v</sup>	
	Unknown		Unknown		Vassal State		Thutmose III	1479-1425
Artatama I (c.1400 BC)							Hatshepsut	1473-1458
Šuttarna II							Amenhotep II	1427-1400
Tušratta (son of Šuttarna II)			Tudhaliya III	1360-1344			Thutmose IV	1400-1390
Tušratta (son of Šuttarna II)	Piyashshili (Viceroy under Hittite suzerainty and son of Suppiluliuma)	c. 1315 – unknown death date	Suppiluliuma I	1344-1322	Ashur-uballit	1363-1328	Amenhotep III	1390-1352
Artatama II possibly also known as Šuttarna III (Tušratta's son)							Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten	1352-1336
Shattiwaza (Tušratta's son)			Arnuwanda II	1322-1321	Enlil-nirari	1327-1318		

	Piyashshili	Unknown	Mursili II	1321-1295	Arik-den-ili	1317-1306		
Šattuara I (Tušratta's grandson, son of Shattiwaza or Šuttarna III)	Shahuruwuwa (Viceroy under Hittite suzerainty)		Muwatalli II	1295-1272	Adad-nirari I	1305-1274	Tutankhamun	1336-1327
Wasašatta (son of Šattuara I)			Urhi-Teshup (throne name was Mursili III)	1272-1267	Shalmaneser I	1273-1244	Ay	1327-1323
Šattuara II (son of Wasašatta)	Ini-Teshup (King and rival dynasty to Hittite throne)	c. 1230s	Hattusili III	1267-1237	Tukulti-Ninurta I	1243-1207	Horemheb	1323-1295
Vassal state			Tudhaliya IV	1237-1209			Ramesses I	1295-1294
							Seti I	1294-1279
							Ramesses II	1279-1213

<sup>i</sup> Ascalone 2005: 354-355

<sup>ii</sup> Harrak 1987: 178-179

<sup>iii</sup> Van De Mieroop 2007: 308

<sup>iv</sup> Van De Mieroop 2007: 315

<sup>v</sup> Van De Mieroop 2011: 365

\* = uncertain dates for rulers but they roughly correspond with the kings they horizontally align with.

† = Carchemish is harder to make an accurate kings list than any other due to the lack of source material.