

Tel-Aviv University
The Lester and Sally Entin Faculty of Humanities
The Chaim Rosenberg School of Jewish Studies

Department of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Cultures

A Historical Reappraisal of the Reigns of Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma I

A dissertation submitted for the degree Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

by
Boaz Stavi

Under the supervision of
Prof. Jared Miller and Prof. Nadav Na'aman

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גם כי אלך בגיא צלמוות לא אירא רע, כי אתן עימדי.

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Abbreviations:

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> . Berlin.
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> . Berlin/Graz.
AJA	<i>The American Journal of Archaeology</i> . New York.
AHw	von Soden, W. 1965–1982. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden.
AHw II	von Soden, W. 1972. <i>AHw</i> (vol. M–S). Wiesbaden.
AIT	Alalah Tablets (see Weizman 1953).
AM	Goetze, A. 1933 (c. 1967). <i>Die Annalen des Muršiliš (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft 38)</i> . Leipzig.
<i>Amarna Diplomacy</i>	Cohen, R. and Westbrook, R. (eds.). 2001. <i>Amarna Diplomacy. The Beginnings of International Relations</i> . Baltimore.
<i>Amenhotep III</i>	O'Connor, D. and Cline, E. H. (eds.). 1998. <i>Amenhotep III. Perspectives on His Reign</i> . Ann Arbor.
<i>Ancient Near East</i>	Chavalas, M. W. (ed.). 2006. <i>The Ancient Near East. Historical Sources in Translation</i> . Oxford.
<i>Anfänge politischen Denkens</i>	Raaflaub, K. A. and Müller-Luckner, E. (ed.). 1993. <i>Anfänge politischen Denkens in der Antike. Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und die Griechen</i> . Munich.
AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments</i> . Kavelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn/Münster.
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> . Berlin.
AS	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> . London.
AŠ	<i>The Annals of Šuppiluliuma</i> (Šuppiluliuma's own Annals as opposed to the DŠ that were written by Murrili II).
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> . Boston.
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> . Leiden.
BMSAES	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i> . London.
Bo	Inventory numbers of tablets from Boğazköy.
BoTU	<i>Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift</i> (see Forrer 1926).
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago.
CAD A2	Civil, M. Gelb, I. J., Landsberger, B., Oppenheim, A. L. and Reiner, E. (eds). 1968. <i>CAD</i> (vol. A2). Chicago.
CAD I and J	Gelb, I. J., Landsberger, B. and Oppenheim, A. L. (eds.). 1960. <i>CAD</i> (vol.

- I and J). Chicago.
- CAD P* Biggs, R. D., Brinkman, J. A., Civil, M., Farber, W., Gelb, I. J., Oppenheim, A. L., Reiner, E., Roth, M. T. and Stolper, M. W. (eds.). 2005. *CAD* (vol. P). Chicago.
- CANE* Sasson, J. M. (ed.). 1995. *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. New York
- CDA* Black, J., George, A. and Postgate, N. (eds.). 2000. *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (2nd edition). Wiesbaden.
- CDOG* *Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*.
- CDOG 6* Wilhelm, G. (ed.). 2008. *Ḫattuša – Boğazköy. Das Hethiterreich im Spannungsfeld des Alten Orients. 6. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 22.–24. März 2006, Würzburg*. Wiesbaden.
- CHD* *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago.
- CHD P* Güterbock, H. G. and Hoffner, H. A. Jr. (eds.). 1997. *CHD* (vol. P). Chicago.
- CHD S1* Güterbock, H. G., Hoffner, H. A. Jr. and van den Hout, Th. P. J. (eds.). 2002. *CHD* (vol. S1). Chicago.
- CHD S2* Güterbock, H. G., Hoffner, H. A. Jr. and van den Hout, Th. P. J. (eds.). 2005. *CHD* (vol. S2). Chicago.
- ChS* *Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler*. Rome.
- ChS I/1* Haas, V. 1984. *Die Serien itkaḫi und itkalzi des AZU-Priesters, Rituale für Tašmišarri und Tatuḫepa sowie weitere Texte mit Bezug auf Tašmišarri*. Rome.
- ChS I/2* Salvini, M. and Wegner, I. 1986. *Die Rituale des AZU-Priesters*. Rome.
- La Cilicie* Jean, E., Dinçol, A. M. and Durugönül, S. (eds.). 2001. *La Cilicie. Espaces et Pouvoirs Locaux (2^e Millénaire av. J.-C.-4^e Siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes de la table ronde internationale d'Istanbul, 2–5 novembre 1999*. Paris.
- CTH* *Catalogue des textes hittites* (see Laroche 1971¹).
- DBH* *Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie*. Dresden/Wiesbaden.
- DBH 7* see Oettinger 2002.
- DBH 10* see Gs. Forrer.

¹ With completion which appear in Portal-Mainz.

- DBH 25 see *Fs. Košak*.
- DBH 28 see Groddek 2008b.
- Dendrochronology* *Dendrochronology. Guideline on Producing and Interpreting Dendrochronological Dates* (<http://www.helm.org.uk/upload/pdf/Dendrochronology.pdf>).
- DŠ *The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (CTH 40)*.
- Eothen* *Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico*. Firenze.
- Eothen 5* see de Martino 1996.
- Eothen 9* de Martino, S. and Imparati, F. (eds.). 1998. *Studi e testi* (vol. 1). Firenze.
- Eothen 11* see *Gs. Imparati*.
- Eothen 15* see Marizza 2007a.
- Faith, Tradition and History* Millard, A. R., Hoffmeier, J. K. and Baker, D. W. (eds.). 1994. *Faith, Tradition and History. Old Testament Historiography in Its Near Eastern Context*. Winona Lake.
- First Time-Division* see chapter II.C.1.
- Fs. Alp* Otten, H., Akurgal, E., Ertem, H. and Süel, A. (eds.). 1992. *Hittite and other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*. Ankara
- Fs. Dinçol- Dinçol* Alparslan, M., Doğan Alparslan M. and Peker H. (eds.). 2007. *Belkis Dinçol ve Ali Dinçol'a Armağan. VITA. Festschrift in Honor of Belkis Dinçol and Ali Dinçol*. Istanbul.
- Fs. Güterbock* Hoffner, H. A. and Beckman, G. M. (eds.). 1983. *Kaniššuwār. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*. Chicago.
- Fs. Haas* Richter, T., Prechel, D. and Klinger, J. (eds.). 2001. *Kulturgeschichten. Altorientalistische Studien für Volkart Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*. Saarbrücker
- Fs. Hoffner* Beckman, G., Beal, R. and McMahon, G. (eds.). 2003. *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Winona Lake.
- Fs. Košak* Groddek, D. and Zorman, M. (eds.). 2007. *Tabularia Hethaeorum. Hethitologische Beiträge Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag (DBH 25)*. Wiesbaden.
- Fs. Meriggi* Carruba, O. (ed.). 1979. *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata (StMed 1)*. Pavia.
- Fs. Moran* Abusch, T., Huehnergard, J. and Steinkeller, P. (eds.). 1990. *Lingering over Words. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran (Harvard Semitic Studies 37)*. Atlanta.

- Fs. Otten* Neu, E. and Rüter, C. (eds.). 1988. *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae. Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden.
- Fs. Popko* Taracha, P. (ed.). 2002. *Silva Anatolica. Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Warsaw.
- Fs. Singer* Cohen, Y., Gilan, A. and Miller, J. L. (eds.). 2010. *Pax Hethitica. Studies on the Hittites and Their Neighbours in Honour of Itamar Singer (StBoT 51)*. Wiesbaden.
- GM* *Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*. Göttingen.
- Gs. Forrer* Groddek, D and Röble, S. (eds.). 2004. *Šarnikzel. Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer (DBH 10)*. Dresden
- Gs. Güterbock* Yener, K. A. and Hoffner, H. A. Jr. (eds.). 2002. *Recent Development in Hittite Archaeology and History. Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock*. Winona Lake
- Gs. Hallo* Cohen, M. E., Snell, D. C. and Weisberg, D. B. (eds.). 1993. *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*. Bethesda.
- Gs. Imparati* de Martino, S. and Pecchioli Daddy, F. (eds.). 2002. *Anatolia Antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati (Eothen 11)*. Firenze.
- Gs. Kutcher* Rainey, A. F. (ed.). 1993. *kinattūtu ša dārāti. Raphael Kutcher Memorial Volume*. Tel Aviv.
- Gs. Murnane* Brand, P. J. and Cooper, L. (eds.). 2009. *Causing His Name to Live. Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane*. Leiden.
- HBM* see Alp 1991.
- HdO I* *Handbuch der Orientalistik. Section 1: der Nahe- und der Mittlere-Osten*. Leiden.
- HdO I/25* see Rainey 1996.
- HdO I/34* see Klengel 1999.
- HdO I/39* Watson, W. G. and Wyatt, N. (eds.). 1999. *Handbook of Ugaritic studies*. Leiden.
- HdO I/68* Melchert, H. C. (ed.). 2003. *The Luwians*. Leiden.
- HdO I/83* Hornung, E., Krauss, R. and Warburton, D. A. (eds.). 2006. *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*. Boston.
- HDT* Beckman, G. M. 1999. *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (2nd edition). Atlanta.
- HED* Puhvel, J. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Berlin.
- HED I–II* Puhvel, J. 1984. *HED. Words Beginning with A, E and I* (vol. 1–2).

- Berlin.
- HED* III Puhvel, J. 1991. *HED*. Words Beginning with H (vol. 3). Berlin.
- HED* IV Puhvel, J. 1997. *HED*. Words Beginning with K (vol. 4). Berlin.
- HEG* Tischler, J. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*. Innsbruck.
- HEG* I Tischler, J. 1983. *HEG*. A–K (vol. 1). Innsbruck.
- HEG* III Tischler, J. 1993–1994. *HEG*. T/D (vol. 3). Innsbruck.
- HHT* Riemschneider, K. K. 1974. *Hurritische und hethitische Texte*. München.
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- HW* Friedrich, J. 1966 (reprint 1991). *Kurzgefasstes Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Kurzgefasste kritische Sammlung der Deutungen hethitischer Wörter*. Heidelberg.
- HW*² Friedrich, J. and Kammenhuber, A. 1975–1984. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (2nd edition). Heidelberg.
- IKH* *International Congress of Hittitology*.
- IKH* II see *StMed* 9.
- IKH* III Alp, S. And Süel, A. (eds.). 1998. *III. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri, Çorum 16-22 Eylül 1996. Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology. Çorum, September 16–22, 1996*. Ankara.
- IKH* IV see *StBoT* 45.
- IKH* V Süel, A. (ed.). 2005. *V. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri, Çorum 02-08 Eylül 2002. Acts of the Vth International Congress of Hittitology. Çorum, September 02–03, 2002*. Ankara.
- IKH* VI see *SMEA* 49 and 50.
- IM* *Istanbul Mitteilungen*. Berlin.
- JAMA* *The Journal of the American Medical Association*. Chicago.
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Baltimore.
- JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*. New Haven.
- JEA* *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London.
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago.
- KASKAL* *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture de Vicino Oriente Antico*. Rome.

- KBo* *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy*. Leipzig/Berlin.
- KUB* *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy*. Berlin.
- LH* Late Hittite.
- Limits of Historiography* Shuttleworth Kraus, C. (ed.). 1999. *The Limits of Historiography. Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts*. Leiden.
- LS* Late Script.
- LSU* *Landschenkungsurkunde*.
- MDOG* *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*. Berlin.
- Mesopotamian Dark Age Revisited* Hunger, H. and Pruzsinszky, R. (eds.). 2004. *Mesopotamian Dark Age Revisited. Proceedings of an International Conference SCIEM 2000 (Vienna 8th–9th November 2002)*. Wien.
- MH* Middle Hittite.
- MS* Middle Script.
- M.T.* Master Text (the number of line in my synoptic edition of the *DŠ*).
- N.A.B.U.* *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires*. Paris.
- OH* Old Hittite.
- OLA* *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*. Leuven.
- OLZ* *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*. Leipzig/Berlin.
- OS* Old Script.
- Portal Mainz* <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/>.
- PRU IV* Nougayrol, J. 1956. *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit IV. Textes accadiens des archives sud*. Paris.
- RA* *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale*. Paris.
- RGTC* *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes*. Wiesbaden.
- RCTC 4* Nashef, K. 1991. *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altassyrischen Zeit*. Wiesbaden.
- RGTC 5* Nashef, K. 1982. *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittlassyrischen Zeit*. Wiesbaden.
- RGTC 6* del Monte, G. F. and Tischler, J. 1978. *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*. Wiesbaden.
- RGTC 6/2* del Monte, G. F. 1992. *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Hethitischen Texte. Supplement*. Wiesbaden.
- RGTC 12/2* Belmonte Marín, J. A. 2001. *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jt. v. Chr.* Wiesbaden.
- RIA* *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*. Berlin.

- Šat. 1 CTH 51.
- Šat. 2 CTH 52.
- Second Time-Division see chapter II.C.2.
- SBo I Güterbock, H. G. 1940. *Siegel aus Boğazköy I* (Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 5). Berlin.
- SCCNH *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*. Bethesda.
- SCCNH 10 Owen, D. I. and Wilhelm, G. (eds.). 1999. *Nuzi at Seventy-Five*. Bethesda.
- SCCNH 15 Owen, D. I. and Wilhelm, G. (eds.). 2005. *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi* 11/1. Bethesda.
- SCCNH 17 see von Dassow 2008.
- sjh *Spät-junghethitische*.
- SMEA *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*. Rome.
- SMEA 49 Archi, A. and Francia, R. (eds.). 2007. *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Ittitologia. Roma, 5-9 settembre 2005* (part 1). Rome.
- SMEA 50 Archi, A. and Francia, R. (eds.). 2008. *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Ittitologia. Roma, 5-9 settembre 2005* (part 2). Rome.
- StBoT *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten*. Wiesbaden.
- StBoT 11 see Otten 1969.
- StBoT 29 see Beckman 1983a.
- StBoT 30 see Starke 1985.
- StBoT 37 see Klinger 1996.
- StBoT 38 see van den Hout 1995.
- StBoT 45 Wilhelm, G. (ed.). 2001. *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg, 4. - 8. Oktober 1999*. Wiesbaden.
- StBoT 46 see Miller 2004.
- StBoT 51 see Fs. Singer.
- StMed *Studia Mediterranea*. Pavia.
- StMed 1 see Fs. Meriggi.
- StMed 4 Carruba, O., Liverani, M. and Zaccagnini, C. (eds.). 1983. *Studi orientalistici in ricordo di Franco Pintore*. Pavia.
- StMed 9 Carruba, O., Giorgieri, M. and Mora, C. (eds.). 1995. *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia*. Pavia.
- StMed 18 see Carruba 2008.
- Studia Asiana 5 Pecchiolo Daddi, F. Torri, G. and Corti, C. (eds.). 2009. *Central-North*

VIII

Anatolia in the Hittite Period. New Perspectives in Light of Recent Research. Acts of the International Conference Held at the University of Florence (7–9 February 2007). Rome.

- Sub-Division* see chapter II.C.3.
- THeth* *Texte der Hethiter.* Heidelberg.
- THeth 3* see Ünal 1974.
- THeth 5* see Bin-Nun 1975.
- THeth 6* see Kammenhuber 1976.
- THeth 8* see Heinhold-Krahmer 1977.
- THeth 9* Heinhold-Krahmer, S., Hoffmann, I., Kammenhuber, A. and Mauer, G. 1979. *Probleme der Textdatierung in der Hethitologie (Beiträge zu umstrittenen Datierungskriterien für Texte des 15. bis 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.)*. Heidelberg.
- THeth 16* see Hagenbuchner 1989.
- THeth 20* see Beal 1992.
- Third Time-Division* see chapter II.C.3.
- TUATNF* *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge.* Gütersloh
- TUATNF 3* Wilhelm, G. and Jankowski, B. (eds.). 2006. *TUATNF* (vol. 3): *Briefe*. Gütersloh.
- UF* *Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas.* Kevelaer.
- Ugaritica III* Schaeffer, C. F. A. (ed.). 1956. *Ugaritica III (Mission de Ras Shamra VIII)*. Paris.
- WdO* *Die Welt des Orients. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes.* Göttingen/Wupoertal.
- WVDOG* *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.* Leipzig/Berlin.
- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie.* Berlin.

Abstract:

Close to the middle of the 14th century two kings ruled in Hatti, Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma I (*CTH* 40; henceforth Šuppiluliuma). The period during which these two kings ruled over Hatti was fraught with political turmoil and instability. It began with the destruction of Hattuša and ended with a glorious military campaign in which a large part of Syria was conquered and the foundation was laid for a strong and prosperous kingdom. Many studies deal with this epoch since it is parallel with the el-Amarna period. The Hittite aspect of this period was somewhat left behind. Because of this and due to the discovery of several new sources for this period, I decided to conduct my research on this era.

My research is based primarily on two sources. The most detailed Hittite source is "the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma" (henceforth the *DŠ*). The second source is the el-Amarna archive discovered in Egypt. In addition to the correspondance with Hatti, the archive includes many letters belonging to the correspondence between the pharaohs, their Syrian vassals and the rullers of the great powers, from which we can obtain a great deal of information relevant to this study. Historical information can be found in many other Hittite texts of various genres, such as prayers, historical preambles of treaties, retrospectives, etc. Most of these texts have long been studied, but some of them were discovered only recently, thus the archive of Idanda from Qatna, *KUB* 19.15+, *kp* 05.226 and more. In addition, in several cases data from archaeological excavations was utilized.

My study examines primarily the following topics:

The list of the Hittite kings who ruled during the period under discussion is still uncertain. Thus, some scholars have suggested that a king named Hattušili II should be included in this list. It is also unclear whether Tudhaliya 'the Younger' managed to rule before he was murdered. In addition, my research examines new information concerning some new members of Tudhaliya II's family and interprets conflicting information regarding the origin of Šuppiluliuma.

A major part of this study deals with an attempt to identify important historical events that occurred during the reigns of Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma, verify them and examine their details. Consequently, the Hittite conduct toward their vassals, their

neighbors and other great powers are examined. The differences in Hittite practice are analyzed in both temporal and geographic contexts. In addition, the Hittite policy in Syria is compared with that of the other empires.

An attempt is made to match the reigns of the two Hittite kings to the Egyptian chronology. To do so, different synchronisms with Egypt and Mittanni are analyzed. In addition, several absolute dates taken from the Hittite sources and the archaeological finds are examined and compared with the different Egyptian chronologies accepted today.

The *DŠ*, one of the main sources for the period, is very fragmentary. It includes a large number of fragments that belong to different copies and series. This literary composition was fully published by Güterbock in 1956, and recently a second and more updated edition was published by del Monte in 2009. In my work I examine the differences between the two editions, as well as some fragments about which there are doubts regarding their location in or attribution to the *DŠ*.

In order to answer the questions regarding the *DŠ*, I compared the publication of the different copies and their photos in the Mainz archive (*Portal Mainz*) so as to produce as accurate versions of the text as possible. In this analysis I also examined the paleography and orthography of the fragments. The findings of this examination indicate the time of the writing and disclose some information about the work of the scribes. Following the identification of the composition's characteristics it was possible to accept or reject the attribution of different fragments to the text.

It should be noted that utilization of historical data from ancient texts might be considered problematic. Thus, Liverani in different articles (starting from 1973) claimed that texts may reveal the environment in which they were written—i.e. the objectives of their authors, the target audience, etc.—but one cannot use the texts to examine the historical events they describe. Other scholars do not accept this view¹. According to the latter opinion, following a close examination of each and every text, its characteristics and objectives can be identified and consequently the historical events it describes can be analyzed. After this process, the text can be compared with other texts (that have undergone similar analysis), and thus we can confirm or refute the occurrence of the events and reconstruct (at least) their most important details. In

¹ Thus, Klinger 2001, 285f.

my research, the second approach was applied, though Liverani's methods were used to discover the objectives of the texts and the reasons leading to their composition.

My study is divided into four main parts: introduction, discussion of Tudhaliya II's reign, discussion of Šuppiluliuma's reign and summary.

The introduction is divided into two sections. The first (**Chapter I**), which deals with Hatti, examines the order of the Hittite kings who ruled during the 'Early Empire period' and especially with the number of the Tudhaliyas. In addition, this section examines the Syrian campaigns launched by Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma, i.e. with their number, the main sources that deal with them and their different characteristics. It appears from this survey that there is enough information to characterize the First and the Second Syrian Wars, but the date and extent of the so-called Early Foray are problematic and its occurrence, as it is allegedly detailed in *CTH 51*, should be doubted. Later in this section I deal with the *DŠ* and present the main problems related to the structure of this text. The second part of the introduction (**Chapter II**) is devoted to Egypt. This part surveys the chronological details regarding the reigns of the pharaohs who ruled during the Amarna period. The date and contents of the Amarna archive are discussed, and the letters used in my research are divided into three subsequent groups.

Chapter III, which deals with Tudhaliya II, is divided into three parts. The first part (Chapter III.A.) concerns the reigns of two of his predecessors, Tudhaliya I (his grandfather) and Arnuwanda I (his father). This chapter serves as an introduction for Tudhaliya II's reign and for my entire research. Conclusions drawn regarding their policy in Syria and west Anatolia provides a platform for discussion of and comparison with the strategy of Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma in these regions. The second part (III.B.) deals with the wives and descendants of Tudhaliya II, with the identity of Tašmišarri and the possibility that Hattušili II ruled during this period. The last two parts of this chapter examine two important events that took place during Tudhaliya II's reign. Chapter III.C. deals with the 'concentric attack'. According to several sources, it appears that a large part of the Hittite kingdom was conquered by enemies and its capital Hattuša was devastated. This chapter tried to evaluate its extent and possible date. Chapter III.D. considers Hatti's recovery at the end of Tudhaliya II's reign and the outcomes of his counter-attack.

Chapter IV, which examines Šuppiluliuma's reign, is divided into four sections. The first (IV.A.) deals with Šuppiluliuma's origin, his accession and the murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger'. The second part (IV.B.) analyzes the First Syrian War. In this part a comparison is drawn between the Hittite sources and several of the Amarna letters, which possibly deal with the same campaign. The third part (IV.C.) reveals the political situation in Syria during and after the First Syrian War. It appears that during the war Šuppiluliuma conquered the entire northern part of Syria except for the coast, but for unknown reasons he did not manage to maintain the achievements of the campaign. Not long after the war, the Hittite army returned to Anatolia and stayed there for a long period. The reasons for the Hittite retreat and the identification of sources dealing with the long period the Hittites were absent from Syria are examined in chapter IV.D. The last section to deal with Šuppiluliuma (IV.E.) investigates the Second Syrian War and summarizes his reign.

Chapter V presents the summary of this study.

The main conclusions of this study are:

Hatti-Kizzuwatna relations during the reigns of Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I (summarized in chapter V.A.): Since the road from Anatolia to Syria crossed Kizzuwatna, the relations with this kingdom were a priority of the Hittite kings. I examined the main source dealing with Kizzuwatna, the Sunaššura treaty, based on the suggestion to divide it into two separate treaties, early and late. Consequently, Tudhaliya I's reign can also be divided into several parts and synchronized with the reigns of some of the kings of neighboring realms.

The *DŠ* (summary in chapter V.B.): In my research, several details concerning the structure of the *DŠ* became clearer. Fragments 1–17, which belong to the first three or four tablets of this text, detail the reign of Tudhaliya II. The reasons which led Güterbock (1956) to organize these fragments as he did are not clear. In my opinion, their current order was influenced by several texts which deal with the low point of Tudhaliya II's reign (i.e. the period of the 'concentric attack'). Consequently, the period covered by these fragments began with a high point (Hittite attacks on central-west Anatolia and Ugarit) and ended with the devastation of Hatti (e.g. the destruction of Hattuša). However, since it seems there is a contradiction between the objective of the *DŠ* to glorify Šuppiluliuma's deeds and the fact that Šuppiluliuma was one of the people responsible for Hatti's critical situation, I suggested changing the order of the

fragments in such a manner that the plot of the composition matched its objectives. When two of the fragments, Fragments 4 and 8, are taken from the First Tablet and relocated in the Third/Fourth Tablet, this problem (as well as other problems presented in the relevant chapter) is solved. As mentioned below, the implications of this small change on the reconstruction of Tudhaliya II's reign are significant. New insights were gained also regarding the parts of the text that deal with Šuppiluliuma's reign. Thus, it appears that most of the fragments dealing with his reign cannot be dated, except for the ones that mention his activity in Syria. One possible observation of my research is that all the latter are connected with the Second Syrian War, while no record of the First Syrian War was left in the text. One of the most important conclusions regarding the *DŠ* is that despite its fragmentary state, this composition is an exclusive source for many of the events, and for that reason it is one of the most important sources, if not the most important, for this period.

The chronology of the Amarna archive (summary in chapter V.C.): in my opinion, the Amarna letters examined in this work should be divided into three chronological units: the First (the last years of Amenhotep III's reign), Second (Akhenaten's accession until approximately his sixth year) and the Third (end of the Second Time-Division till the end of the archive) Time-Divisions. The First Time-Division, which is rich in events (e.g. four military campaigns and several royal marriages), is usually dated to the last ten years or so of Amenhotep III. Much discussion was devoted to the chronological outline of this time-division and the causes of the escalation on the Syrian frontier. During the Second Time-Division, less influential events occurred. It is characterized by the weakening of Egypt-Mittanni connections, the rise of Assyria and the disappearance of Hatti from the international stage. The first letters of the Third Time-Division are hard to date, but it seems that within this unit we can define a group of letters written close to a long Hittite campaign. This group was designated here as the 'Sub-Division'. I suggested placing it in the last three or four years of the archive. Following the letters' division, new insights were obtained, mainly regarding the relations between the empires and the Hittite presence in Syria.

Tudhaliya II's reign (summary in chapter V.D.): Following the new arrangement of the fragments of the *DŠ* suggested in this study, Tudhaliya II's reign should be understood in a different manner. Thus, Tudhaliya II's reign is frequently described as one of the lowest moments of Hittite history. In contrast, it appears from my study that at the end of his reign, Tudhaliya II ruled the entire kingdom of Hatti, and that at

this stage it was much larger and stronger than the one he had inherited from his father. Chronologically, the beginning of his reign is still uncertain; however, when the Hittite campaign in *EA 17* is identified with Tudhaliya II's raid detailed (among other) in the *DŠ*, the end of his reign can be dated between years 30–35 of Amenhotep III's reign.

Šuppiluliuma's reign (summary in chapter V.E.): First, the matters of Šuppiluliuma's origin, the coup against Tudhaliya 'the Younger' and the contribution of the findings to the understanding of the 'Cruciform Seal' were discussed. The prominent conclusions were that (a) Henti, Šuppiluliuma's first wife, was probably Tudhaliya II's daughter (rather than the commonly held view that Šuppiluliuma was his son), and (b) that at the time of the murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger' the royal family was divided into two parties. The First Syrian War was identified with the Syrian campaign mentioned in *EA 75*, and thus it was dated around year 36 of Amenhotep III's reign. A long period of about 15 years, never previously discussed in research, was identified between the First and the Second Syrian Wars. During this time period (designated here as the 'intermediate period'), the Hittite army did not leave Anatolia's borders, and Syrian rulers who swore allegiance to Šuppiluliuma were deposed or killed when the region was reconquered by Tušratta, king of Mittanni. In light of the recognition of this period, some sources (e.g. *CTH 53* and Idanda's archive) can be better understood. Close to Šuppiluliuma's death, the Second Syrian War broke out. A pharaoh named 'Niphururiya', whose identity is still a subject of controversy, died during this period. My study supports his identification with Akhenaten (or Smenkhkare) and rejects almost unequivocally his identification with Tutankhamun. Allegedly at this stage, Šuppiluliuma's reign could have been dated using the Egyptian chronology; however, there are several possible Egyptian chronologies (with differences of ten years and more). In addition, it is possible that during the tenth year of the reign of Muršili II (Šuppiluliuma's son) a solar eclipse occurred. This event should be dated to 24.06.1312, but unfortunately this date does not fit with any of the existing Egyptian chronologies. Since at present these gaps cannot be bridged, we cannot offer absolute dates for Šuppiluliuma's reign (and the same applies for Tudhaliya II's reign).

The political situation in Syria (summary in chapter V.F.): My conclusions regarding the situation in Syria can be divided into several topics. The relations between Egypt and the realms, which initially were under Mittannian sovereignty,

underwent several changes during the epoch studied. At the beginning of the Amarna period, there is no evidence for connections between the two sides, possibly because the north Syrian rulers feared Tušratta, their sovereign. As a consequence of Mittanni's decline, the north Syrian realms freed themselves from Mittanni's rule, but at that point kept their independence. Only the growing Hittite threat changed the situation dramatically since it forced the Syrian rulers to seek Egypt's support and declare their loyalty to the pharaoh. Liverani (1998–1999), who examined this issue, claimed that during Akhenaten's reign, the Egyptian hold over Syria remained firm even though Akhenaten was much occupied with his religious reform. Liverani suggested that the Egyptian control of Syria was slightly weakened only at the northern fringes of the empire (in the region of Amurru and Qadeš) as a consequence of the growing Hittite pressure in this region. The conclusions of my study only partially support this theory.

The relations between Hatti and west Anatolia (summary in chapter V.G.): Hittite policy toward west Anatolia underwent several significant changes during this period. This study identified several different strategies with which the Hittites aspired to rule over west Anatolia or at least to curb the military threat from this direction. At the beginning of the Old Kingdom, several Hittite kings tried to take over west Anatolia and north Syria. This effort proved futile, since the deployment of the Hittite army over such a large area exposed the heart of the kingdom to enemy invasions. After a long period of weakness, Tudhaliya I acceded to the throne in Hatti. During the early years, he launched several campaigns to west Anatolia, just as his great predecessors of the Old Kingdom did, only to discover that the Land of Hatti was left exposed to attacks. In order to be free to launch campaigns in Syria, Tudhaliya I developed a new strategy that enabled him to reduce the threats from west Anatolia and at the same time minimize the use of his army in this region. By strengthening several central Anatolian kingdoms, he established a buffer zone which separated Hatti from the west. At first this region fulfilled its objectives, but over time it collapsed and was annexed to the growing kingdom of Arzawa, which became the most dominant kingdom in west Anatolia. During his reign, Šuppiluliuma developed a new strategy. He established and strengthened the buffer zone between Hatti and the west, but he also expanded the political involvement of Hatti in Arzawa: he concluded a treaty with the king of Arzawa and at the same time gave asylum to his rival, thereby managing to reduce the threat from Arzawa. The last change in Hatti's policy occurred

during Muršili II's reign. The latter devoted the first years of his reign to launch campaigns to west Anatolia during which Arzawa was conquered and dismantled into its component parts and replaced by the kingdom of Mira. The connection between Hatti and Mira was strengthened through the marriage of the rulers of Mira with Hittite princesses, until eventually the rulers of Mira became the Hittite kings' viceroys in west Anatolia.

I. Introduction: the current state of research and the problems under discussion:

I.A. Terminology:

A.1. *The numbering of the 'Tudhaliyas':*

Since the beginning of Hittitology, the order of the Hittite kings has been broadly debated¹. The current work mostly refers to kings who ruled during the 'Early Empire period'² and so their identity and order will shortly be discussed. The distinction between Tudhaliya I (conqueror of Aleppo) and Tudhaliya II (husband of Nikalmati) is not accepted in the current research³; hence, Tudhaliya I/II will be named *Tudhaliya*

¹ Following are some of the major studies on this subject: Goetze 1952; Otten 1968, 5–17; Houwink ten Cate 1970, 76–78; Güterbock 1970; id. 1973; Carruba 1977a, 137–153; id. 1998; id. 2005; Gurney 1979b, 213–221; Košak 1980b; Haas 1985, 269f.; Dinçol *et al.* 1993; Soysal 2003; to this list we should add some fundamental publications on Hittite history that deal also in the period covered in this research, e.g. de Martino 1996; Klengel 1999 (see also id. 2002a); and Bryce 2005 (see also id. 2003a). In addition to historical texts, the order of kings is based upon the different *Opferlisten* as well. The most important discoveries, which led to the establishment of this order, were the discovery of Šuppiluliuma II and the differentiation between texts that deal with the early pair Tudhaliya I-Arnuwanda I, and those which deal with Tudhaliya IV-Arnuwanda III.

² For the using of this term instead of 'Middle Kingdom' (MK), see Archi 2003. Regarding the MK, see for example Klengel 2002b, 104f.; *Aof* 32 (2005) was devoted to this period; Archi 2010 (summary of the current discussion regarding the linguistic characteristics of this period); etc.

³ The distinction between Tudhaliya 'the conqueror of Aleppo' and Tudhaliya 'husband of Nikalmati' is based upon several sources. Following are some of the most important. According to Carruba's (2005, 190–192; see also discussion in Dinçol *et al.* 1993, 88f.) restoration of the 'Cruciform Seal', this seal impression detailed three Tudhaliyas and one Hattušili, who ruled before Muršili II during the Early Empire period. However, as shown clearly by Dinçol (*et al.* 1993) the setting of the kings, who appeared in this seal, can be analyzed differently, without needing a separation of Tudhaliya I and the existence of Hattušili II. Another support for the distinction between the two Tudhaliyasis is the fact that one of the Tudhaliya's was a **son of Kantuzzili**. This Kantuzzili (I) was responsible for the removal of Muwattalli I, yet according to the stamp-seal *Bo* 99/69 did not replace him as the king of Hatti (only his son, Tudhaliya, who was introduced as "Great King"; for the seal impression, see Otten 2000). From one of the fragments of the annals of Tudhaliya I (*KUB* 23.27 i 1–2) on the other hand, it seems that Tudhaliya's father was a king ("became god"). For that reason (and others) Carruba (2008) divided *CTH* 142 between Tudhaliya 'the conqueror of Aleppo' and Tudhaliya 'husband of Nikalmati'. This is indeed a problem and we may think of several possible explanations for this contradiction (e.g. that Kantuzzili (I) paved the way for kingship to his son; in addition, as can be seen already in Hutter-Braunsar (2001, 271; see also Taracha 2004, 635 n. 21) the phrase "became god" does not refer only to kings but also to other important members of the royal family), but taking into consideration new textual evidence, Carruba's solution should be rejected (see Groddek 2009, and esp. p. 165f.). Carruba (2005, 186f.) claimed that using **prosopography** (esp. in *KUB* 36.118+119) we can distinguish between two groups of people separated by one generation (that is to say, generations parallel with Tudhaliya 'I', Hattušili II and Tudhaliya 'II'). However, it seems more reasonable to connect *KUB* 36.118+119 to Tudhaliya II, son of Arnuwanda (Otten 1990, 225f.; Marizza 2007a, 25–27), and thus to evade the problem presented by Carruba. Some scholars believe that the **Sunaššura treaty** can also be used as a support for the separation of the two Tudhaliya's (Freu 2001, 22–28; Carruba 2005, 182). For different, and in my opinion better,

I⁴ and Tudhaliya II/III (Arnuwanda I's son) will be labeled *Tudhaliya II*⁵. The name Šuppiluliuma (without a figure label) refers to *Šuppiluliuma I*. Finally, this research does not accept the existence of king Hattušili II, or at least his insertion, as an independent ruler⁶, anywhere between Tudhaliya I and Šuppiluliuma⁷ (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1995–1996).

Following is the order and numbering of the relevant kings as they appear herein (see also Miller 2004, 7):

Tudhaliya I (conqueror of Aleppo, husband of Nikalmati, son of Kantuzzili
(I)⁸)
Arnuwanda I⁹
Tudhaliya II (son and successor of Arnuwanda I)
[Tudhaliya 'the Younger' (murdered by Šuppiluliuma; it is unclear whether
he reigned)]
Šuppiluliuma

proposals, see Beal 1986; Wilhelm 1988, 370; for further discussions concerning the Sunaššura treaty, v.i. Chapter III.A.1.3. For **further reading** in the matter of the number of the Tudhaliyas: for supporters of Tudhaliya I's 'unification', see Beal 2002b, 58f.; Bryce 2005, 122f.; Marizza 2007a. For supporters of Tudhaliya I's division, see Taracha 2004 (still supports the idea of the dynasty's Hurrian origin); id. 2007b, 660; Freu 2008.

⁴ We should distinguish between this Tudhaliya and the early Tudhaliya, or 'Tudhaliya 0', who was one of Labarna's predecessors (Beal 2003, 32–35).

⁵ The same chronological conclusions (although with different numbering of the kings) can be seen in: *HDT*, xiv; Klengel 1999, 388; id. 2002b, 104f.; Bryce 2005, xv (marking Hattušili II as uncertain); Marizza 2007a, Table 1.

⁶ See for example, Forlanini (2005), who considers him to be a coregent of Tudhaliya I.

⁷ When the identity of Šuppiluliuma's predecessor was not clear, it was suggested that Šuppiluliuma followed Hattušili II. This claim was supported by *CTH 88*, where Hattušili III refers to himself as great-grandson (DUMU.DUMU.DUMU-ŠU) of a Hattušili (Güterbock 1970; id. 1973; see also Otten 1968, 6f.). Today we know that Šuppiluliuma acceded to the throne after killing Tudhaliya 'the Younger', Tudhaliya II's son. In addition, Šuppiluliuma refers to himself as Tudhaliya II's son (Otten 1993, 10–13). The main support for Hattušili II's existence still lays in the **historical prologue of the Aleppo Treaty** (*CTH 75*, §§6–10) that was concluded in the time of Muwattalli II. From the internal structure of the treaty, it seems that a king named Hattušili (II) ruled in Hatti after Tudhaliya (I). It was claimed that this king can not be Hattušili I, since the geo-political state of Syria in Hattušili I's reign was different; thus, Mittanni, Nuhašše and Aštata did not play a significant role in Syria during the Old Kingdom (Güterbock 1973, 100f.; Na'aman 1980, 38f.), and Aleppo was not a vassal of Hattušili I. Today however, we know that these three kingdoms are well attested and active during the Old Kingdom, and that it is quite possible that initially Aleppo became a Hittite vassal during Hattušili I's reign (Miller 1999, 11f.). In light of these discoveries the aforementioned paragraphs of *CTH 75* can be dated to Hattušili I's reign. For more discussion concerning Hattušili II, see Carruba 1971; Houwink ten Cate 1995–1996; Carruba 1998; id. 2005, 198; Klengel 1999, 125f.; Miller 1999, 11–13; Bryce 2005, 141; Forlanini 2005; v.i. also Chapter III.B., which deals with the identity of Tašmišarri (was also equated in the past with Hattušili II).

⁸ For Kantuzzili (I), see Freu 2002a, 72f.; Singer 2002b, 308f.; Soysal 2003, 48–53 (and Miller's (2004, 5f.) response); Taracha 2004, 634–636; Forlanini 2005, 234f. n. 20.

⁹ Arnuwanda I was probably son-in-law of Tudhaliya I but he was adopted as Tudhaliya's son (Beal 1983, 115–119; Beckman 1983b, 23; etc.). In order to simplify, this work will deal with them using the designations the Hittites authors used, i.e. 'father' and 'son'.

A.2. The numbering of Šuppiluliuma's campaigns:

Šuppiluliuma's campaigns will be further discussed in detail, each in accordance to its related period. However, in order to understand the terminology used herein, the characteristics and main Hittite sources of each campaign will be briefly discussed¹⁰.

There is clear evidence in the Hittite sources for two military campaigns which Šuppiluliuma led to northern Syria (e.g. *CTH* 83.1)¹¹. The primary source for the first campaign, henceforth named '*First Syrian War/Campaign*'¹² are paragraphs §§1–5 of the first treaty with Šattiwaza, *CTH* 51.I¹³ (henceforth *Šat. 1*). During this war, which lasted one year (therefore also known as the '*One-Year Campaign*'), Šuppiluliuma invaded Mittanni, which was ruled by Tušratta at that time, then crossed the Euphrates and conquered the Mittannian vassals in Syria (and thanks to a 'mishap', one Egyptian vassal, the city of Qadeš).

For the date of the First Syrian War we are dependent upon its identification in the corpus of the Amarna letters. Despite the premise assumed in several studies (for example Redford 1967b, 163; Na'aman 1975, 208f., 216; Wilhelm 1993–1997, 295), there is no support for the assumption that Tušratta's murder was a direct outcome of the First War, or that it happened a short while after it¹⁴. In fact, it is more plausible

¹⁰ The terminology is based upon Kitchen (1962, 4) and it is accepted until today (see also Harrak 1987, 15f. and n. 18; Murnane 1990a, 8 n. 39). Concerning Šuppiluliuma's campaigns, see Klengel 1992b, 106–114; id. 1999, 155–167; Parker 2002; Gromova 2007.

¹¹ Some researchers do not accept the division of Šuppiluliuma's campaign into two separate campaigns, and connect them into one continuous military maneuver, which began with the assault against Tušratta and ended with the death of 'Niphururiya', e.g. Klengel 1992a, 349–352; id. 1992b, 109–111; Liverani 1998–1999, 44f; Parker 2002, esp. p. 55 n. 85.

¹² This campaign is also known as the 'Great Syrian War' (see Murnane 1990a, 8 and n. 39 in this page).

¹³ *HDT*, 48–51.

¹⁴ The reference to Tušratta's death was important for contractual reasons; Šuppiluliuma was obligated to Atatama II, with whom he concluded a treaty (*Šat. 1* par. §1). However, after Tušratta's death, Šuttarna III, Atatama II's son and successor (par. 6§ "he brought the dead Artatama back to life"), became the Hittites' enemy and missed his opportunity to be a proper king and ally (par. §6: "the entire land of Mittanni went to ruin"); therefore, Šuppiluliuma was free to support Šattiwaza, Šuttarna III's opponent (v.i. p. 7 n.27 for the objectives of *Šat. 1* and 2). The physical contiguity of paragraphs §5 (describing the end of the First War) and §6 (dealing with Tušratta's death) does not indicate that there was a temporal proximity between the two events, but only that no important event, which related to the relations of the two kingdoms, had taken place between Tušratta's death and the conclusion of the treaties with Šattiwaza. According to a variant of the above-mentioned premise, the First Syrian War ended the correspondence between Tušratta and Akhenaten (Gromova 2007, 279, 294; somehow the four years which appear in *EA* 29 were neglected in her calculation). In my opinion, since the First Syrian War could not happen around regnal year six (or even ten) of Akhenaten (approximately the time at which *EA* 29 was written)—which falls in my Second Time-Division or the beginning of the Third Time-Division (v.i. Chapters II.C.2.–3.)—this proposal should be rejected.

that the First War occurred during an early stage of the Amarna period¹⁵, apparently after Amenhotep III's marriage to Tušratta's daughter (ca. Amenhotep's 35th regnal year)¹⁶, while Tušratta ruled Mittanni at least until year six of Akhenaten's reign and maybe even later (v.i. Chapter II.C.2.).

The main sources for the events of the '*Second Syrian War*' are the Seventh Tablet of 'the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma' (*CTH* 40, henceforth named 'the *DŠ*') and the fragmented historical prologue of *CTH* 52¹⁷ (henceforth *Šat.* 2). Based on these sources we may deduce that this campaign was directed at first against the north Syrian kingdoms, but later, Šattiwaza's arrival from Mittanni was used as an excuse to invade Mittanni and establish there the vassal kingdom of Hanigalbat¹⁸. As opposed to the First War, during this war Mittanni was already ruled by Artatama II and his son Šuttarna III. Its political status was different too, since now it was subordinate to Assyria and Alši (according to *Šat.* 2). At this stage of the war, an unexpected setback delayed Šuppiluliuma's plans as Egyptian forces attacked Qadeš. This attack and the Hittite response^(?) to it provide us with an important chronological anchor, since around the time of the Hittite raid the Egyptian pharaoh 'Niphururiya' died (Fr. 28 of the *DŠ*). Thereafter, his widow negotiated with Šuppiluliuma regarding her wish to marry one of his sons (the so called '*daḥamunzu*- affair'). It is probable that a cease-fire was declared during the negotiations, but it did not last long. When the Hittite prince Zannanza died (or was murdered), the fighting was renewed and the Hittites invaded Syria (*CTH* 378.2).

The duration and date of the Second War can be fixed using *CTH* 83.1. It appears from this text that Šuppiluliuma's war in Amurru (i.e. the Second Syrian War¹⁹) ended approximately when a rebellion in Išhupitta began. Since Arnuwanda II, Šuppiluliuma's heir, began suppressing a similar rebellion in Išhupitta at the beginning of his reign, we may conclude that the Second Syrian War ended closely to

¹⁵ This conclusion is based upon the identification of the First Syrian War with the event described in *EA* 75, one of the earliest letters in Rib-Hadda's dossier (v.i. Chapter IV.B.1.8.2.).

¹⁶ It is hard to believe that Mittanni would have been able to pay such an expensive bride-price after the harsh defeat it suffered and the looting of its capital city; it is equally hard to believe that Egypt was so interested in Mittanni and that it would treat it with equal rights after this defeat (on this matter, see also Murnane 1990a, 117; v.i. also p. 161 and Chapter IV.B.2.2.).

¹⁷ *HDT*, 48–51.

¹⁸ Following von Weiher (1972–1975, 106; Bryce 2005, 256), the name Hanigalbat is used here to designate the Hittite client state in Mittanni.

¹⁹ Kitchen 1962, 3–5.

Šuppiluliuma's death (Parker 2002, 53 n. 83). The duration of the Second Syrian War is harder to determine. Some researchers accept the reference of six years, which appear in *CTH* 83.1, as an indication of the length of this war (Kitchen 1962, 3–5; Bryce 1989b, 27f.; van den Hout 1994, 87f.; Freu 2002b, 102–106). Others believe that this number includes the total sum of years in which Šuppiluliuma fought in Syria (Parker 2002, 55; Klinger 2006a, 318f.) or just a typological number (Liverani 1998–1999, 44f.). Nevertheless, even when we accept the veracity of this reference, it is still hard to determine at what point the six year count should begin²⁰.

There are some letters from the last stages of the Amarna archive that mention Hittite attack, or attacks, on the north Syrian kingdoms and ʿAmqa²¹. Since similar attacks appear also in Hittite sources that describe the Second Syrian War (e.g. *DŠ* Fr. 28, *CTH* 378.2), it is possible that this war is parallel to the end of the archive. In this case, it is possible to identify 'Niphururiya' (from the '*daḥamunzu*- affair') with Akhenaten or Smenkhkare, while his identification with Tutankhamun should be excluded. If we date the First Syrian War to an early stage of the Amarna period as suggested above, these two campaigns are separated by many years²² (cf. Klengel 1992b, 109f.; Liverani 1998–1999, 44–46).

In addition to these two campaigns, an alleged reference to a foray carried out by Šuppiluliuma prior to his First Syrian War (henceforth named '*the Early Foray*'²³) appears in *Šat. I*. Let us examine this passage:

(§1, 1–6) When My Majesty, Šuppiluliuma...and Artatama, king of the land of Hurri, made a treaty with one another, at that time Tušratta, king of the land of Mittanni, called for attention from the

²⁰ Thus van den Hout (1994, 87) began the counting with the '*daḥamunzu*- affair' (which he placed in the first year of the war), while Liverani (1998–1999, 46) places this episode at the end of this time period.

²¹ The Amarna letters that refer to this continuous war belong to the end of the Third Time-Division, to a sub-group which I named the '*Sub-Division*' (v.i. Chapter II.C.3.).

²² Possibly, according to *CTH* 83.1 the Second Syrian War was launched by Šuppiluliuma after twenty years in which he fought in Anatolia (Parker 2002, 53–54). If the First Syrian War is not mentioned in this passage, we may deduce that a long time gap separated the two Syrian wars (see discussion in Campbell 1964, 116–122). The time gap between the Syrian wars is even larger if 'Niphururiya' is identified with Tutankhamun.

²³ Some scholars divided the Early Foray into First (*EA* 17) and Second (preamble of *Šat. I*) Syrian Forays (e.g. Kitchen 1962, 40f.; Freu 2003, 98f. G. Wilhelm discussed this matter lengthily in his lecture in Stuttgart (Qatna conference, 2010)). However, if this passage in *Šat. I* does refer to an Early Foray (and not to the First Syrian War), this foray is probably identical with the operation of Hittite forces described in *EA* 17 (e.g. Parker 2002, 61; see *infra*).

Great King... And I...turned my attention to Tušratta...; I plundered the lands of the west bank of the River (Euphrates) and I annexed Mount Lebanon. A second time Tušratta was presumptuous to me and spoke as follows: "Why are you plundering on the west bank of the Euphrates?"... (HDT, 42).

After this paragraph the text further continues with a depiction of the hostility between Hatti, Išuwa and several other kingdoms (l. 10–13); this situation probably parallels the description of the '*concentric attack*' (CTH 88). In l. 14–16 Šuppiluliuma indicated that he overcame the rebels, yet some of them escaped to Išuwa and even beyond it. In order to punish Išuwa for its disobedience and Tušratta for his second 'presumptuousness', Šuppiluliuma conducted the First Syrian War (par. §§2–5).

Some scholars believe that paragraph §1 describes two different campaigns²⁴; the first (i.e., the Early Foray) was carried out after Tušratta was 'presumptuous' the first time, and the second ('the First Syrian War') occurred the second time he 'offended' Šuppiluliuma (and then Šuppiluliuma overpowered Išuwa "for the second time" (par. §2) and continued to the First Syrian War). However, by accepting this scenario we must address some difficulties. First, we should explain why Šuppiluliuma, who conquered the entirety of Syria as far as the Lebanon Mountains, had to fight Syria not so long after this foray and to conquer the same area again. Second, there is no real evidence in other texts of such an extensive foray by Šuppiluliuma, and the Amarna letters that were considered proof of its implementation (i.e. EA 17 and 75) should be analyzed differently²⁵. A third difficulty derives from examining the objectives of the historical prologue of *Šat. 1*. In general, we should remember that historical prologues were written in order to achieve political goals. As a result, they are not subordinate to a precise description of the events but rather try to detail the

²⁴ Many researchers support the veracity of the Early Foray. Some deduced its existence from *Šat. 1*, and others from different el-Amarna letters. Among these scholars we can mention Kitchen 1962, 40f.; Murnane 1990a, 7f., 11 n. 50; Altman 2001a, 5–7; id. 2003b, 345f, and in n. 3 (there) an up-to-date bibliography; Parker 2002, 61f.; Freu 2003, 98; Gromova 2007, 279f. Discussion about the Early Foray can be found in Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 84; Harrak 1987, 15f. and n. 18 there; Hawkins 1998b, 282f. (concerning this paragraph); Devecchi 2007, 213 n. 36 with bibliographical sources which support the existence of this foray, and n. 35 with sources which disagree; Miller 2007a, 283.

²⁵ Regarding these letters, see Altman 2001a, 5–7; Devecchi 2007, 213; Gromova 2007, 278, 280; Miller 2007a, 283. For EA 17, v.i. Chapter III.D.1.12.1.; for EA 75, v.i. Chapter IV.B.1.8.2.

development of events in a way that will optimally suit Hittite objectives²⁶. In my opinion, the main goal of *Šat. I*'s historical prologue is to explain why the borders of Hanigalbat, the new Hittite vassal kingdom, were outlined in this manner and why several territories, which not so long ago belonged to Great Mittanni, were taken by the Hittites²⁷. Šuppiluliuma's argumentation was based on the reasoning that (a) the areas of dispute were taken due to a justified cause (Tušratta's 'presumptuousness'), and (b) the conquests had already taken place during Tušratta's reign²⁸, before any agreement was reached between Šattiwaza and Šuppiluliuma. If we are to accept this explanation, the following question should also be considered: if it was possible to "generate" this claim using the Early Foray—which is identical to the First Syrian Campaign in both players (Šuppiluliuma and Tušratta) and achievements (excluding the raid over Mittanni itself²⁹)—certainly the Hittite authors would have used it rather than the First Campaign; after all, during this foray the same person (Šuppiluliuma) manifested his sovereignty over the same area for the first time. What we have in *Šat. I* is the exact opposite; the alleged Early Foray is only mentioned briefly, while the larger part of the historical preamble is devoted to the later campaign (i.e. the First Syrian Campaign).

²⁶ Regarding the different reasons for the writing of the historical prologues see van Seters 1983, 117; Altman 1998; id. 2003a; id. 2004a; Haas 2006, 85–87; see also de Martino 2005c and Devecchi 2008 for their reviews of Altman 2004a.

²⁷ In this context we may notice the differences between the historical prologues of the two Šattiwaza treaties. Forepart from Šattiwaza's arrival in Hatti and his submission to Šuppiluliuma, the two preambles differ in the subjects they describe. *Šat. 2* begins with the misdeeds of Artatama II and Šuttarna III (while suspiciously omitting Tušratta's murder) and the preamble of *Šat. 1* mostly deals with the conquest of Syria during the earlier period of Tušratta's reign (i.e. during the First Syrian War). The reason for the differences between the two treaties, which after all were signed on the same occasion, lies in their different objectives. While *Šat. 2* might be termed as an "Apology of Šattiwaza", as rightfully mentioned by Beckman (1993, 55), *Šat. 1* should be considered as the Hittite apologia for the events. The preamble of the Hittite version of the treaty (i.e. *Šat. 1*) attempts to vindicate the Hittite involvement in Mittanni's affairs (i.e. Šattiwaza's appointment and the removal of Šuttarna III) and the conquest of Mittannian territories and their subjugation to Carchemiš. Due to the fact that during the Second Syrian War Šattiwaza was a Hittite vassal and the treaty with Artatama II (and his son) was still valid, the Hittites had no other choice but to turn to an earlier stage of their relationships with Mittanni, i.e. their relations with Tušratta, the former king of Mittanni, in order to defend their conduct during the establishment of their relationship with the new kingdom of Hanigalbat/Mittanni. For a more detailed discussion on this matter, v.i. the beginning of Chapter IV.B.1.1.2.

²⁸ E.g. par. §10 (*HDT*, 45).

²⁹ This episode is less important for the delineation of borders, since Hatti's sovereignty over Mittanni was not achieved by a military campaign, but rather through Šuppiluliuma's agreements with Mittanni's ("lawful") kings, first Artatama II (during Tušratta's reign, par. §1 of *Šat. 1*), and later Šattiwaza (his surrender is expressed by the actual conclusion of *Šat. 2* in general, and by par. §3 in particular).

For these reasons I would like to suggest another solution, which will at least partially solve these difficulties. It seems to me that the Early Foray, as detailed in *CTH 51* (i.e. a Syrian campaign led by Šuppiluliuma), never took place; nevertheless, it is possible that sometime prior to the First Syrian Campaign a Hittite incursion was launched, during which a collision occurred between the Hittite and Mittannian (or Mittannian vassals') armies. The vague description of this event in *Šat. I* gives the impression that this foray happened during Šuppiluliuma's reign; however, based on my examination it is quite possible to date this foray to the time of Tudhaliya II, and in fact, it even seems as a better solution³⁰. The extent of the raid as it appears in *CTH 51* is probably inaccurate and exaggerated. This invasion probably did not reach deep into Syria, yet was carried out in regions lying between Hatti and Mittanni, that is to say, in the area of Išuwa³¹, Kizzuwatna and/or an area in north Syria³².

In conclusion, if we accept this analysis we cannot infer from this paragraph that an extensive Hittite raid was executed against Syria during the early years of Šuppiluliuma. Rather, it seems more likely that it was a limited incursion carried out under Šuppiluliuma's command against a region under Mittannian sovereignty at the end of Tudhaliya II's reign³³.

³⁰ See also Torri 2005, 397; cf. Gromova 2007, 277f.

³¹ E.g. the reference to the first Hittite victory over Išuwa (and other eastern localities) in par. §1 (l. 10–14). V.i. also Chapter III.D.1.3.

³² Other indications for the arrival of Tudhaliya II in Syria can be found in Fr. 8 of the *DŠ* (thus Miller 2007a, 285 n. 142) and maybe also in *kp 05/226* from Kayalipinar (v.i. Chapter III.A.1.11).

³³ Another possibility is that the lines that allegedly deal with the Early Foray are actually a summary of the events, which are narrated in detail later; therefore, they do not deal with an Early Foray but summarize the First Syrian War. For this interpretation, see Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 84f. It was raised again in G. Wilhelm's lecture in the Qatna conference in Stuttgart (2010).

I.B. Aims of research and methodology:

The current research has two objectives. The first is to examine the different characteristics of the *DŠ*¹ (*CTH* 40). In order to achieve this objective, where possible, a comparison was first made between the publication of the different copies and their photos in the Mainz archive and on its portal (*Portal Mainz*). Afterwards, different aspects of the fragments such as paleography and orthography were examined. This allowed us to distinguish between different scribes and date the fragments²; to note the existence of erasures and mistakes which might indicate the level of the scribes and the quality of the text; to examine different duplicates and the differences between them, and so forth.

The second objective is to identify the events which occurred during the reigns of Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma, to examine different aspects of the Hittite foreign policy regarding different regions and its changes throughout this period, and finally, to build a relative and absolute chronological outline encompassing this period.

Prior to our discussion on the methodology used, we should briefly examine certain traits of the main historiographic sources upon which this study is based. We can sort historiographic texts into several genres, each distinguished by its own characteristics

¹ This research does not intend to create a new edition for the *DŠ*, only to deal with the aforementioned questions. Nevertheless, in several cases a comparison will be naturally made with the two editions of this text (i.e. Güterbock (1956) and del Monte (2009), in addition to a great number of studies which dealt with *CTH* 40 in the past.

² The criteria for a dating based on these methods are detailed in Starke (1985) and Klinger (1996); see also Miller's (2004, 9–10) restrictions. Other important studies which dealt with this matter are *THeth* 9; Košak 1980a; Klinger and Neu 1990; de Martino 1992b; Rieken 2001. Lately, there has been lively debate concerning the dating of texts from the older periods. Van den Hout (2009a, 73) claimed that "the distinction between OS and MS is one of ductus...rather than individual sign shapes. And sign shapes that were once seen as solid criteria for paleographic distinction now turn out to be less trustworthy" (see also id. 2009b, 28f., 33f.). He added that the period related to the OS should be expanded and that it covers most of the MS period (id., 74; see also Popko 2007, 578f.). According to a new proposal, an early ductus, 'Ductus I', was in use from the beginning of the OK to the time of Tudhaliya I; a second ductus, 'Ductus II', existed from Tudhaliya I's reign up to Šuppiluliuma; and 'Ductus III' was used from this point to the end of the empire (for this proposal and some variants, see van den Hout 2009a, 74). When we accept this proposal, there is a 250 years period (ca. 1650–1400) that can not be differentiated by means of paleography. Since paleography is not much of a help in this regard, a more accurate dating of a manuscript can be obtained "only when we have true originals where we can observe a chronological coincidence of composition and tablet" (loc. cit.). See, however, Archi's (2010) objections to some of the latter's conclusions. In this context we should add that a parallel process occurred also in the periodization of the Hittite era. Most of the period that was considered in the past as MK is now included in the OK, except for a short intermediate period, i.e. the Early Empire period (for discussion, e.g. Archi 2003, 4f., 9f.; Popko 2007, 575, 578f.; van den Hout 2009a, 72f.).

and objectives³. Nevertheless, on many occasions the texts do not follow the definitions of the genre to which they belong. For example, the accepted definition for annals is 'an official royal text written in first person; records events chronologically, year by year; and mainly deals with the military achievements of the king' (van de Mieroop 1999, 81; Klinger 2001a, 281). However, when we examine the Hittite annals⁴, we can see that although the military activity of the king plays a major role, other topics are also included, such as construction activities, religious ceremonies in which the king participates and so forth. In addition, in some of the events detailed in the annals the king is not involved⁵. Another problem is that one of the basic traits of the annals, the counting of regnal years, does not exist in Hittite annals. For these reasons, it is hard to bring all Hittite works of this genre under the 'classic' definition of annals, or even to assemble them all into one group⁶ (Hoffner 1980, 294f.; van de Mieroop 1999, 81f.; Klinger 2001a, 279f.). As a consequence, when we analyze the different texts we should take into consideration their genres, but should not be surprised if in some cases the framework seems too restrictive and not entirely suited to the text.

The historical data appearing in this research belongs mainly to three genres: annals, historical prologues of treaties and prayers.

A. **Annals:** texts of this genre were written from the beginning of the Hittite history (and even prior to that, if we count *CTH* 1 of Anitta); from a chronological point of view, the Hittite annals are the first example of this genre in the Ancient Near East (Klinger 2001a, 280f.). Due to the complexity already shown in the first pieces, there is disagreement among researchers

³ There are many studies which deal with the *historiographic writing* in Hatti and the Ancient Near East; following are some of the most important among them: Hoffner 1975; id. 1980; Cancik 1976; Güterbock 1983a; van Seters 1983; id. 1995; von Schuler 1987–1990; McMahon 1994; Archi 1995; van de Mieroop 1997; id. 1999; Liverani 2001a; Beckman 2005; Haas 2006; Tadmor 2006; Klinger 2008a. On *annals and chronicles* in Hatti, see Wolf 1994; Klinger 2001a; Roszkowska-Mutschler 2002; Gilan 2005; de Martino 2005a.

⁴ The Hittite term is *pišnatar*, i.e. manly deeds (see also *CHD* P, 328f.). In the *DŠ*, this term appears in the colophon in this manner: *Šuppiliumaš LÚ-nannaš*.

⁵ See for example van Seter's (1983, 109f.) discussion concerning the differences between the Comprehensive Annals and the Ten Years Annals.

⁶ We can see, for example, that *CTH* 1 is designated by some scholars as 'the Anitta Text' since it does not fit the above-mentioned definitions of annals (Roszkowska-Mutschler 2002, 293); also the nature of *CTH* 4, the 'Annals of Hattušili I', actually resembles chronicles more than annals (Klinger 2001a, 276). In order to overcome this problem Hoffner (1980, 332) suggested dividing the texts according to different criteria and not according to the more customary method of division according to genres.

regarding the origin of this genre in Hatti⁷. The annalistic tradition reached its peak in Hatti during Muršili II's reign, when three annalistic pieces (the *DŠ*, the Ten Year Annals and the Comprehensive Annals) describing the deeds of his father and himself were composed (Hoffner 1980, 311–315; van Seters 1995, 2437; del Monte 2009, x–xii, xv).

B. Historical prologues: many treaties include important information in this part of their preamble⁸. Among the most important texts of this group are the treaties of Šuppiluliuma and Šattiwaza (*CTH* 51 and 52) and the decrees issued by Šuppiluliuma to Ugarit (*CTH* 46 and 47). Some of the prologues relevant to the period under discussion were included in treaties from later periods such as *CTH* 62 (Muršili II's treaty with Duppi-Teššub of Amurru) and *CTH* 105 (Tudhaliya IV's treaty with Šauškamuwa of Amurru). Thus, there is a prolonged debate concerning their credibility.

C. Prayers: some texts appearing in this research belong to this genre, e.g. the 'Plague Prayers' series⁹. In the prayers of this series, Muršili II tried to identify the causes led to a plague that spread in Hatti and to the attacks by enemies that devastated the country. Using oracular consultation he identified some of his father's sins and blamed them for these divine 'punishments'. Some events appear almost exclusively in the prayers of this series; a good example can be found in Šuppiluliuma's accession to the throne through the

⁷ The different opinions about the origin of this genre can be divided into three groups (for summary see van Seters 1983, 100–105): **A)** some scholars believe that it arrived from *Mesopotamia*. In this manner van Seters (1983, 106) suggested that it arrived from Assyria and Güterbock (1983a, 24) claimed that it arrived from Babylonia. **B)** Others proposed that the origin of this genre was *Anatolian*, and in fact, Mesopotamian cultures were influenced by the Hittites (for summary of this opinion, see Klinger 2001a, 280–285). **C)** According to the third opinion, this genre began in royal inscriptions in *north Syria* (or Mittanni, as hinted by Uchitel 1999, 56f.) and from there arrived in Assyria and Hatti. Klinger (2001a, 285), who holds the latter opinion, suggested that this genre developed independently in Assyria and Hatti, and in both kingdoms its development, role and objectives were different. In this regard we should mention the discussion concerning the date of the earliest Hittite-written texts. The earliest original Hittite manuscripts that have reached us are written in Akkadian. The question is whether these texts had also Hittite equivalents. Some scholars (Popko 2007, 579; van den Hout 2009a, 74f.; id. 2009b, 33–35) believe that the typical Hittite cuneiform (strongly related to the writing of Hittite compositions), a product of well-established administration, became firmly established only during a long process which started around Telipinu's reign. Other scholars (e.g. Archi 2010) claim that there is evidence that the need for Hittite written texts (as well as the ability to create them) existed from the beginning of the OK period; therefore, there is no reason to assume that there was no early writing in Hittite right from the beginning of the OK.

⁸ About historical prologues in the Hittite treaties, see van Seters 1983, 116–118; id. 1995, 2440f.; von Schuler 1987–1990, 72f.; Beckman 2006, 284. Many studies were published by A. Altman, among them Altman 2003a; id. 2004a; see also de Martino's (2005c) and Devecchi's (2008) reviews of Altman 2004a.

⁹ Concerning this genre, see Hoffner 1980, 327f. About the series of the Plague Prayers, see Singer 2002a, 47–49; van den Hout 2006a; id. 2006b.

murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger', which appears in the 'First' Plague Prayer (*CTH* 378.1). Another example can be found in the attacks of Šuppiluliuma on Egyptian territory that violated an ancient agreement between the two countries. These events are detailed in the 'Second' (*CTH* 378.2) and 'Fifth' (*CTH* 379) prayers of this series.

As stated above, the second objective of this research is to examine the historical events which took place during the period under discussion and analyze their implications. In order to perform this examination we should first discuss the reliability of the historiographic texts serving as our database. Since Liverani's first article (1973) dealing with the historiography of the Ancient Near East, there are divergent opinions regarding this question. Liverani (*id.*, 178f.) claimed that the texts were mainly written for certain needs stemming from the time of their authors. Consequently, we can learn from the texts about the environment in which they were written, that is to say, their authors and their target audience. According to Liverani, we cannot obtain historical data from these texts, since this was not the objective of their composers¹⁰. There are opposing views according to which we can examine the historical events appearing in these texts, as long as we, as historians, are aware of the authors' objectives while examining their texts¹¹ (Klinger 2001a, 285f.; *id.* 2008a, 27–29). Liverani's research methods will be taken into consideration in this research; however, in discussing the historical data in the texts, the second view is preferred.

I would like to explain the differences between these opposing views and to clarify the choice I made by way of an example. In his analysis of the so-called 'concentric

¹⁰ See also discussion in Wolf 1994; van de Mieroop 1997, 304; *id.* 1999; Michalowski 1999, 70, etc.

¹¹ The contradiction between these views is pointed out when we deal with the annalistic genre in Hatti. Thus, Güterbock (1983a, 29–31; the same view held also by Wolf 1994, 161–164; Uchitel 1999, 55, 65) assumed that a certain group of texts, which also include the annals, was written in a way that is close to the "essence" of historical writing, i.e. "the writing of history for its own sake, for telling 'what really happened'". In contrast, Klinger (2001a, 285–291; *id.* 2008a; and also Hoffner 1980, 311–313, 325f.; Hutter-Braunsar 1998, 338; Roszkowska-Mutschler 2002) claimed that the annalistic writing was not free of any objectives as well. As an example, Klinger mentioned that negative events, such as defeats of the Hittite king, are almost unreported (or were 'encoded', e.g. the expression "and behind my back the enemy attacked"). As a result, Klinger inferred that the annalistic writing also gave expression to the royal ideology. One of the interesting implications of this approach is a comparison between the royal ideology as revealed in the Hittite and the Assyrian annals; while in the Assyrian annals the king justifies his conquests by the declaration that the god Aššur granted him the authority to rule over the entire world, imperialistic ideology does not appear in the Hittite annals, and the Hittite historiographers work hard to justify the royal deeds (about the royal ideology in Hatti see Gurney 1979a; Lawson Younger 1990, 128f.; Cancik 1993; Haas 1993; Beckman 1995a, 529–531; Beal 2007, 83, 91f.).

attack' text (*CTH* 88), Liverani (1990a, 115–117) suggested that its purpose is to glorify Šuppiluliuma and apotheosize him as the savior of Hatti, by using the *topos* of 'the one against many'. Nevertheless, even if this text is biased, as is convincingly presented by Liverani, does this necessarily makes its historical data unreliable? In my opinion, when we examine each text carefully in its own right and identify its characteristics (genre, linguistic conventions, audience, reasons for its writing, etc.), we may discover different historical details and events. At a later stage, through a comparison between this text and others, we should, at the very least, be able to verify the events and reconstruct their essence. Accordingly, after close examination and analysis of *CTH* 88, it will be compared with other texts concerning the same period (for example, the *DŠ* and some of the Amarna letters), in an attempt to either find a firm historical basis for the events it describes (repeated attacks on Hatti leading to a crisis and ultimately to the sack of the capital) or refute them (or at least cast doubt on them). We may also use these methods when an essential contradiction is found between several sources. As an example, we may mention the contradiction between certain texts regarding ʿAziru's defection to Hatti. In some of these texts ʿAziru's former master was Egypt¹², while other texts mentioned Mittanni¹³. In order to elicit the reason for the contradiction between the sources and, where possible, find a solution, we should recognize the characteristics of each text and identify its objectives, as well as its designated audience¹⁴. Concurrently, Liverani's methods will be used to tentatively reconstruct the environment in which the text was written and the reasons which led to its writing; and in the case of *CTH* 88, the grounds leading Šuppiluliuma's grandson to glorify him much after Šuppiluliuma's reign.

Many competing 'narratives' of the events were created, and as a result, there are many historical studies dealing with the period under research¹⁵. Through close examination of the known sources and the study and integration of new sources, the current work will try to produce a better interpretation for this era.

The following two chapters contain a short explanation concerning the main two sources of this work, the *DŠ* and the Amarna letters. In Chapter I.C., the outline of the

¹² E.g. par. §2 in the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and ʿAziru (*CTH* 49 (*HDT*, 37)).

¹³ E.g. par. §3 in the treaty between Tudhaliya IV and Šauškamuwa (*CTH* 105 (*HDT*, 104)).

¹⁴ Concerning the identity of ʿAziru's lord, v.i. p. 289f.

¹⁵ Starting with Kitchen (1962) and ending with the most recent article by Gromova (2007), including, for example, Murnane 1990a; Freu 1992; Parker 2002; Richter 2002; Miller 2007a; etc.

DŠ and the different components of this text will be introduced. Chapter II will present an introduction to the Amarna period and to the Amarna archive. At the end of this chapter, a chronological division of the Amarna letters will be suggested.

I.C. The DŠ (CTH 40):

C.1. The discovery of the fragments and their publication:

The *DŠ* is the main source for information regarding the reigns of Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma. This literary piece is part of a comprehensive historiographic trilogy composed during the reign of Muršili II, Šuppilulima's son; the *DŠ*, which includes his grandfather's and father's deeds, comprises the first part of this trilogy, and the 'Annals of Muršili' (i.e. the *Ten Year Annals* and the *Comprehensive Annals*) constitute its second and third parts. Due to the detailed description which appears in the *DŠ*, it is probable that this text was based upon early sources such as the 'Annals of Šuppiluliuma'¹ (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 33; Taracha 2007b, 661; Klinger 2008a, 37).

The fragments belonging to the *DŠ* were mainly discovered in three findspots in Hattuša (Güterbock 1956, 50): during the excavation of Winckler and Makridi in 1906 near and inside Building E (situated in the western side of Büyükkale); during the excavation of these excavators in 1907 in one of the storerooms of Temple 1; and since 1931 during the excavation of Bittel in Building A (south-east corner of Büyükkale) and its area². No other fragments of the *DŠ* were uncovered in later excavations of Bittel in Building E and Temple 1.

The first fragments of the *DŠ* were published by Forrer (1926); however, a full edition containing the majority of fragments we are currently familiar with was made by Güterbock only in 1956. After this publication, different researchers suggested the addition of the following fragments³ to the *DŠ*: *KBo* 12.25+*KBo* 12.26⁴, *KBo* 14.42+*KUB* 19.22⁵, *KBo* 19.52⁶, *KBo* 22.8⁷, *KBo* 22.10⁸, *KBo* 22.54⁹, *KBo* 50.12¹⁰,

¹ This text (hereafter the '*AŠ*') was mainly discussed by Heinhold-Krahmer (e.g. 1977, 60f.; id. 1997, 153f.; id. 2007a), who designated it as '*Šuppiluliumas eigenen Annalen*'.

² In addition to these three findspots, some fragments were discovered in the 'House on the Slope', and in or around Buildings C, D, H, K. In addition there were also some stray finds. For a more detailed description of the places in which the fragments were discovered see Güterbock (1956, 128f.) and *Portal Mainz*.

³ When this study concerns numbered fragments (i.e. the fragments which Güterbock or others designated) their designation is written with a capital F and the number granted (Fragment 1, Fragment 2, etc.). Other fragments (for example duplicates and joins which belong to fragments) are written with small f. Some of Güterbock's fragments were already numbered and organized by Forrer (1926, as *BoTU* x); see Güterbock's (1956, 49) discussion concerning several of the differences between the two scholars (detailed in plate 2 (p. 70)).

⁴ Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 282–286.

⁵ Houwink ten Cate 1966a, 27–31.

KBo 50.16¹¹, *KBo* 50.187¹², *KUB* 23.49¹³, *KUB* 26.73¹⁴, *KUB* 48.91¹⁵ and *FHL* 61¹⁶. Some of these fragments, in addition to new joins and duplicates, were included in the second edition recently published by del Monte (2009).

In his edition Güterbock (1956) introduced 51 fragments; 43 of them (*Fragments* 1–43) were organized in a chronological order determined by him. The remaining fragments (*Fragments* 44–51) were gathered into a separate group: 'Isolated and Doubtful fragments', since their placement within the text is unclear (id., 49f.; see also del Monte 2009, chapter VI). In his edition, Del Monte (2009) kept the general framework suggested by Güterbock. Thus, his first chapter includes the fragments of the First Tablet, his second chapter includes the fragments of the Second and Third Tablets, and so on. However, unlike Güterbock, del Monte discussed the different fragments according to the order of their copies (Copy A, Copy B, etc.) and not according to their numeral (i.e. chronological) order (Fr. 1, Fr. 2, etc.). My research opted for the Güterbock method; the fragments are designated by the numbers assigned by Güterbock, and are also examined in this order. The number of a fragment is not changed even when its location inside the text is replaced¹⁷.

C.2. Colophons:

Some of the fragments are marked with colophons mentioning the number of the tablet, thereby helping us to designate their place within the text. Güterbock identified three colophons belonging to the Second, Third¹⁸ and Seventh Tablets¹⁹. After his publication, the colophons of the Ninth (*KBo* 19.50²⁰) and Twelfth (*KBo* 19.48²¹)

⁶ Heinhold-Krahmer 2007a, 373f.

⁷ Klengel 1992b, 158f. and there n. 403.

⁸ Košak 1980b, 165.

⁹ See discussion in Hoffner 1976, 336.

¹⁰ Groddek 2008a, 115.

¹¹ Groddek 2008a, 117f. This fragment mentions the Kaška and "my father". It is too small to be located in the text.

¹² Groddek 2008a, 118. V.i discussion in Fr. 13.

¹³ See discussion in Klinger 2002, 444.

¹⁴ Heinhold-Krahmer 2007a, 371; discussion id. 371–373, 382.

¹⁵ Marizza in part of his dissertation (p. 206f.) that was not published in *Eothen* 15.

¹⁶ Groddek 2008a, 118f.

¹⁷ The same way Heinhold-Krahmer (1977, 59) did in her book.

¹⁸ *KUB* 19.10 iv 1' (Güterbock 1956, 66 n. 39). The number on this colophon might also be read as '4' (del Monte 2009, 9–11). For the implications of del Monte's suggestion, v.i. p. 19f. and 119. In my opinion Güterbock's proposal should be preferred (v.i. p. 249 n. 2).

¹⁹ Numbered tablets are also designated with capital letters (First Tablet, Second Tablet, etc.).

²⁰ It was identified as the colophon of the Ninth Tablet by Otten, in his introduction to *KBo* 19 (1970).

²¹ It was identified as the colophon of the Twelfth Tablet by Otten, in his introduction to *KBo* 19 (1970).

Tablets were revealed²². These colophons are not homogeneous in form; following are two examples, first, the colophon of the Second Tablet (Güterbock 1956, 77):

8'' [DU]B.2.KAM NU.TIL ŠA^m Šu-[up-pí-lu-li-u-ma]

9'' [LÚ-n]a-an-na-aš

10'' [ŠU^m...]x-šu-LÚ^(?)

This colophon mentions the number of the tablet, the original name of the piece (i.e. the one given by the authors), and (probably) the name of the scribe. It appears from this colophon that the text included more than two tablets (NU.TIL).

The colophon of the Seventh Tablet is of a different type (Güterbock 1956, 97):

16 DUB.7.KAM [NU].TIL

17 A-NA TUP-PÍ [Z]ABAR

18 na-a-ú-i [a]-ni-ia-an

This colophon mentions the number of the tablet as well, yet lacks the title of the text. It is clear from the colophon that the official version of the text should have been written on a bronze tablet; therefore, we can conclude that the fragments, which were connected with this colophon, are not parts of the original, yet only drafts (see also del Monte 2009, xvif.). Other fragments of the *DŠ* as well cannot be part of the official version (which was written upon bronze tablet), but they might be considered as copies of this version.

C.3. The different copies and series:

The numbers of the tablets appearing in the colophons should have been more helpful in evaluating the text's scope; however, here we face another complication, since today it is clear that the *DŠ* has several different **copies**²³. None of them is complete and in many cases there is no physical connection between the fragments that constitute each copy; therefore, their assembly into one copy was made by means of their subject (e.g. identical names appearing in the fragments) and their physical shape (such as form of signs, color of the tablet, etc.). Güterbock identified six copies

²² Güterbock identified additional colophons, but unfortunately they lack the tablet's number; for example, Copy B of Fragment 18 (Güterbock 1956, 79 n. 2; drawing 5 in p. 54). For a comprehensive review of the colophons of the *DŠ*, see del Monte 2009, xxviii–xxx.

²³ The different copies are designated with a capital C and numbered with the designation as assigned by Güterbock (Copy A, Copy B etc.).

(Copies A–F) of the First Tablet (Fragments 1–8), seven copies (Copies A–G²⁴) of the Second and Third Tablets (Fragments 9–17), and between five to seven copies (Copies A–E₃) of the Seventh Tablet (Fragment 28). As opposed to the copies of the First Tablet, the Second and Third Tablets have occasional overlaps between some of the copies; for example, in Fragment 15 an overlap can be sometimes found between three duplicate copies (F, G and H). So far, no correlation has been found between copies belonging to the First Tablet and copies belonging to the Second and Third Tablets, except for the extremely large script which characterized Fragments 2 (Copy A of the First Tablet), 10 and 13 (both belonging to Copy D of the Second and Third Tablets), which might indicate a connection between them (Güterbock 1956, 46). Between the different copies of the Seventh Tablet there is much overlapping, and it is possible that Copy B of this tablet was the original source from which Copy A was made (id., 47).

The copies belong to one of three **series**, which can be differentiated from one another by size of signs and number of lines²⁵. As a consequence, there is also a difference between the size of the columns in each series, a difference from which their names derive: the Short, Medium and Long Columns Series (Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 79–82). This feature may result in a false impression of disorder, such as the ascription of Fragment 13 (Copy E) to the Third Tablet while Fragment 15 (Copy F) is ascribed to the Second²⁶ (when we accept the reading suggested by Güterbock 1956). However, this impression is not true, since the duplicate of Fragment 15 (Copy F) belongs to the Long Columns Series and was therefore written upon the Second Tablet of its series, while the duplicate of Fragment 13 (Copy E) belongs to the Short Columns Series, and was written upon the Third Tablet of its series (Güterbock 1956, 46).

²⁴ Copies A, D, E and G were discovered during the excavation of Winckler and Makridi and Copies B, C and F during Bittel's excavation (Güterbock 1956, 46); it is possible that Copy C and Copy F are in fact part of the same copy (id.).

²⁵ We should add two notes; first, there are many fragments that cannot be ascribed to one of the series; second, the establishment of the columns' length is based upon standardization and it is possible that there were additional series in different lengths. Thus, we can see that column which belongs to the Long Columns Series has roughly 78 lines, a column of the Short Columns Series has no more than 62 lines (Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 81) and a column of the Medium Columns' Series has approximately 70 lines; however it is possible that there was a series with extremely short columns (id., 93).

²⁶ As opposed to Güterbock, del Monte (2009, 9–11) suggested ascribing this fragment and colophon to a Fourth Tablet, located after Fragment 17.

Wilhelm and Boese (1987, 80–83, 91–94) tried to estimate the length of the Long Columns Series of the *DŠ* if it had been complete. According to their estimation, the 'daḥamunzu- episode' was placed in the Sixth Tablet of this series, and after this affair the Seventh Tablet included the description of a one-year campaign against the Kaška, a campaign led by Šarri-Kušuh for the conquest of Harran and Waššukkanni, a campaign of Arnuwanda II against Egypt and an unknown event detailed in its fourth column²⁷. In other words, they suggested that the Seventh Tablet of this series included the events mentioned in the Ninth and Twelfth Tablets, which according to their proposal belong to the Short Columns Series²⁸ (id.). The events which took place from this point on are not clear, since there is only little information regarding the late stages of Šuppiluliuma's reign and Arnuwanda II's reign; this is true also regarding the *DŠ*, since none of its parts that have survived until the present, includes information concerning the immediate time period before and after Šuppiluliuma's death.

The estimations of Wilhelm and Boese regarding the extent of the *DŠ* were based on the premise that the different series were identical, therefore, one may extrapolate from the location of an event in one series about its location in the other (in which it does not appear because of a breach). We cannot verify this assumption because of the fragmentary state of the *DŠ*, yet we can find some reinforcement of its validity through the almost-identical duplicates belonging to different series. Based on this premise, Wilhelm and Boese compared the different series and tried to estimate the length of Šuppiluliuma's reign; however, at this point they added a new component to the reconstruction. They suggested that the length of each column is in fact proportional to the period of time it covers, and following some calculations they have reached the conclusion that each tablet covers at least one to two years (id., 94). Unfortunately, because of the incomplete state of the *DŠ*, this assumption cannot be verified²⁹.

C.4. The order of the fragment:

In addition to the complexity of the *DŠ* (resulting from its length and the long period of time it covers) there are other problems, which make the arrangement of the

²⁷ It is possible that after the campaign of Arnuwanda II against Egypt, a Hittite offensive was launched against Hayaša (Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 93).

²⁸ In that case the Twelfth Tablet probably belongs to a series with extremely short columns (Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 93).

²⁹ On this matter see critique by Astour 1989, 6–8; Bryce 1989b, 20; Freu 1992, 88; Miller 2007a, 277–279. See also Wilhelm's (1991, 473f.) response.

fragments difficult. First, the overall fragmentary state of this composition and the fact that there is no physical connection between its parts. Other difficulties are the lack of several key-events (for example, Šuppiluliuma's accession to the throne, see *infra*), the absence of references to regnal years and the fact that references to beginning and ending of years are rare³⁰. Consequently, Güterbock had to use other methods in order to fix the fragments' order, the most prominent being the use of personal names that appear in (or are missing from) the text. For example, he mentioned that Fragments 1–14 were located at the beginning of the text since they include the name of Tudhaliya (II) or his designation "my grandfather" (Güterbock 1956, 42f.). This assumption is reasonable, but not a necessity. Thus for example, should we accept the assumption of Wilhelm and Boese (1987, 80, 83) concerning the location of Šuppiluliuma's accession in the *DŠ*, the events which are detailed in Fragment 15 are dated to Tudhaliya II's reign, even though Tudhaliya is not mentioned. In addition, when small fragments included the same personal names, Güterbock tried to arrange them in proximity to one another. For this reason Fragments 2 and 3, which mention Kantuzzili, and Fragments 4–6, in which Tuttu is mentioned, were placed close to each other. This supposition is logical but is also not necessarily correct (Güterbock 1956, 43). Finally, Güterbock tried to find parallels for the events of the *DŠ* in other sources; when the order of events in these sources was clear, Güterbock used this for the arrangement of the *DŠ*'s fragments³¹.

C.5. The beginning of Šuppiluliuma's reign in the DŠ:

One of the prominent events in Šuppiluliuma's career, i.e. his accession to the throne, is not mentioned in the surviving parts of the *DŠ*. Güterbock (1956, 43; followed by Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 37–40) suggested that this event was detailed in the gap which appears to exist at the beginning of the Second Tablet's fourth column (i.e. in the eleven lines gap at the beginning of Fragment 15 (Copy F)), since Tudhaliya does not seem to be active in later parts of this piece.

Wilhelm and Boese (1987, 83) disagreed with Güterbock on this matter. They argued that there is not enough space available in eleven lines to detail the next events: the

³⁰ For a detailed description of the difficulties, see Bryce 1989b, 19f.

³¹ "For most of the fragments' arrangement we have, therefore, to rely on considerations of their contents, correlation with whatever evidence is available in external sources for the sequence of events during the reign of Šuppiluliuma" (Güterbock 1956, 42–43). And once more (*id.*, 119): "...we have to stress that most of the fragments' arrangement is based on the sequence of events as has been reconstructed from other sources."

end of the campaign against Arzawa described at the end of Fragment 14, the death of Tudhaliya II, the death of Tudhaliya 'the Younger', Šuppiluliuma accession to the throne and the beginning of a new campaign detailed at the beginning of Fragment 15³². Consequently, Wilhelm and Boese (id., 80, 83) suggested placing Šuppiluliuma's accession somewhere in the beginning of the Third Tablet (that is to say, between Fragments 15–17 (Copy G)).

Based on the disorder of the military campaigns in the Second and Third Tablets, del Monte (2009, 9–11) went one step further and located Fragment 13—which according to him belongs to the Fourth Tablet (in a Short Columns Series)—after Fragment 17. By doing so, he extended the description of Tudhaliya's reign in the *DŠ* with one more tablet, therefore enabling us to place Šuppiluliuma's accession between Fragments 17 and 18 as well.

In my opinion the two latter reconstructions should be preferred over Güterbock's suggestion. The eleven lines gap suggested by Güterbock seems to be too short to include all of the above-mentioned events, especially when some of them are vital for the plot and for the description (and defense) of Šuppiluliuma's reign. However, the exact place of Šuppiluliuma's accession in the text is still hard to determine. The biggest problem is that Fragment 18, which according to del Monte is the first to detail Šuppiluliuma's reign, is actually 'floating' in the composition³³, since the length of the time gap between the last deeds of Tudhaliya II (Fragments 13, 16 or 17) and Šuppiluliuma's Arzawean campaign (Fragment 18) is uncertain.

In summary, Šuppiluliuma's accession and his first appearance as a king should be placed somewhere between Fragments 15 and 18. This statement is correct when we accept the present outline of the *DŠ*, based upon Güterbock's (1956) publication. When we accept my suggested order of fragments (v.i. Chapter III.C.2.1.18.), Šuppiluliuma's accession should be placed between Fragments 8 (in its new location; v.i. p. 119f.) or 17 (the last fragment of the Third Tablet) and Fragment 18, which probably deals with Šuppiluliuma's reign (and in chronological terms, not later than Fragment 28, which is relatively better fixed in Šuppiluliuma's reign).

³² In addition, according to their calculations (based upon the 'space = time' equation) this event should have occurred later than the events of Fr. 15 (Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 83).

³³ Thus, Güterbock named the chapter opening with Fragment 18 "further fragments whose tablet numbers are unknown". The problem is even greater; Güterbock placed these fragments between Fragment 18 (Third Tablet) and Fragment 28 (Seventh Tablet), but nothing prevents incorporating at least part of them after the Seventh Tablet.

II. The el-Amarna archive:

The chronological outline of the period under discussion is mainly a result of my examination of the Amarna letters. The prominent letters will be discussed in detail later in this work. To introduce the discussion, some general questions concerning the Amarna archive and the Egyptian pharaohs who ruled during this period will be examined. Then, I will present a division of the archive's letters (and time of activity) into three sequential parts. The duration and key events of each group will be discussed, and when possible, chronological anchors will be presented.

II.A. Discovery of the site, publication of the tablets and important studies:

In 1887, a local Egyptian peasant digging for *sebakh* (fertile soil) in the archaeological site of el-Amarna, uncovered a cache of over 300 cuneiform tablets which were assembled and sold to museums all over the world¹. Following this discovery an excavation team led by W. F. Petrie excavated at Amarna for one season (1891–1892) and discovered 21 fragments. In the early years of the 20th century (1907–1914) the site was excavated by a German expedition, and later by British archaeologists (several excavation seasons between 1921 and 1937). Excavations and exploration of the site by Egyptian and British teams started again in the 1960s and have continued sporadically until the present. Through these excavations, the city of Akhetaten, which served as the capital city of Egypt during the 14th century BC was discovered.

Today we know about 382 tablets and fragments that originated from the site. 350 of these tablets are letters and inventory lists written by Egyptian vassals, kings of the neighboring kingdoms and by the pharaohs themselves². Originally, the tablets were probably stored in the same building³, which can be identified as the 'Record office' or 'the Archive' of the Egyptian Ministry for Foreign Affairs⁴. It is possible that

¹ For the story of the discovery of the first tablets, see Sayce 1917.

² The tablets are preserved in the Cairo Museum, the British Museum, the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin (<http://amarna.ieiop.csic.es/maineng.html>), the Louvre and several private collections.

³ Unfortunately it is impossible to know it with certainty, since the first tablets were discovered in an illegal excavation which was carried out in an unscientific way.

⁴ Petrie claimed that some of the tablets he discovered (from which a fragment of EA 14, and the letters EA 43, 61, 135, 184, 190 and 236 are relevant to our discussion) were buried in two ancient garbage

documents written in Egyptian were stored in this place too, but they were not preserved⁵.

Following are some of the important studies which deal with the tablets. In 1896 a first edition was prepared by Hugo Winckler. In 1907 and 1915, the Norwegian Assyriologist J. A. Knudtzon published an edition of 358 tablets; the second volume of this publication comprises a historical analysis by O. Weber and glossary prepared by E. Ebeling. Knudtzon's edition is still considered as the tablets' best and most reliable edition. In 1939 Mercer published the already known tablets, adding several new ones published by scholars after the appearance of Knudtzon's edition⁶. In 1978, as a supplement to Knudtzon's edition, A. F. Rainey published *EA 359–379*. In 1996 Rainey published a detailed linguistic analysis of the Amarna tablets. Moran published a new French (1987) and later English (1992) translation of all the Amarna letters and inventory lists⁷. Several years later, Liverani (1998–1999) published a new translation in Italian. His publication includes two volumes; the first is devoted to the vassals' letters and the second to the letters of the 'Great Kings' (the kings of the empires and the independent realms). He presented the letters according to their place of origin and modified the (chronological) order of the letters originally determined by Knudtzon and accepted by Moran and Rainey. In 2005 Cochavi-Rainey published a new translation (in Hebrew), based on A. F. Rainey's collations. Nevertheless, Cochavi-Rainey's translation is less scientific and does not include commentary of the texts; therefore, it is less reliable than the works of Moran and Liverani.

A great number of studies dealing with the general history and chronology of the Amarna period have been published; following are some of the most comprehensive.

In a book published in 1962, Kitchen examined some important chronological problems, such as the length of Šuppiluliuma's reign and its synchronization with the Amarna pharaohs, the order of Šuppiluliuma's campaigns to north Syria and their numbering (which is still in use today), the order of the Hittite kings according to the

pits, but this suggestion is doubtful (Cochavi-Rainey 2005, 5). Concerning the storage of the tablets, see also Campbell 1964, 35f.

⁵ The correspondence in Egyptian was probably written on papyrus and therefore was not preserved.

⁶ For other partial publications since the Knudtzon edition, see Izre'el 1990, 598f.; Moran 1992, xv; Cochavi-Rainey 2005, 3f.

⁷ It was first published in French in 1987 (*Les lettres d'El-Amarna*. Paris). See also Izre'el (1990) review of this book.

different offering lists, etc. This study is one of the most important chronological studies of the Amarna period and it remains quite influential.

Campbell (1964) examined the chronological and historical problems of this period (emphasizing the issue of the assumed coregency between the Egyptian pharaohs) and presented a detailed discussion regarding the order of the vassals' letters, the prosopography (governors, Egyptian administrators, etc.), and critique of earlier researches⁸.

Klengel (1965, 1969 and 1970) published an extensive study of the history of Syria in the second millennium. The first volume dealt with the kingdoms of north Syria. The second volume dealt with the kingdoms of the central and southern regions of Syria. The third volume examined the history of Syria and the involvement of the international powers in this region during this period. In 1992 Klengel published a new revised edition of the third volume.

Kühne's (1973) research concerns the correspondence between the pharaohs and the Great Kings. In this study, Kühne tried to determine the order of letters in each dossier, as well as the duration of time of each dossier and the chronological outline of the period. Although written more than 35 years ago, it is still an important work not to be ignored. In my opinion, some of Kühne's estimations are too definitive and leave no place for the flexibility required. The reason for that is the fact that the current content of the archive is incomplete, and does not reflect its original contents⁹. Some examples for my disagreement with Kühne will be presented during this work.

Na'aman's (1975) study mainly focused on the events which occurred in Canaan and the political disposition of its city-states, yet it dealt with the international relations and their influence on Syrian affairs as well.

The study by Wilhelm and Boese (1987) which discusses the structure of the *DŠ*, also dealt with the length of Šuppiluliuma's reign and the absolute chronology of the Amarna period. Following this research, a lower date for Šuppiluliuma's accession (1343 instead of 1380) that was more compatible with the Lower Chronology, both Egyptian and Hittite¹⁰, was adopted (sometimes with modifications) by many scholars¹¹.

⁸ For critique on Campbell's work, see Redford 1967a; Na'aman 1975, 4.

⁹ See also Campbell's (1964, 34f.) remarks on this matter.

¹⁰ For a convenient comparison between the different chronologies of this period in Egypt, see Kuhrt 2000, 194 (Table 16); for Hatti, see id., 230 (Table 18).

¹¹ E.g. Bryce 1989b, 30; Klinger 1995b, 247; Freu 2002b, 106f.; de Maritno 2004b, 38f.

The study of Singer (1991a) and Izre'el (1991) dealt with the linguistic aspect of the Amurru letters and the history of this kingdom. Amurru was located at a strategic point between Egypt, Mittanni and Hatti, and its kings are mentioned in the Amarna letters more than any other figure.

Ancient Egyptian Chronology (henceforth *HdO* I/83) that was published in 2006 includes researches which examine the Egyptian chronology and the possible ways to synchronize it with chronologies of other Near Eastern kingdoms; it is the most recent and comprehensive study on these issues¹². My research usually relies on this study regarding questions of Egyptian chronology, such as coregency between pharaohs, number of regnal years for each pharaoh, etc.

Finally, we should mention the study of Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman (2004) on the chemical analysis of the Amarna tablets and the historical geography of this period. The importance of this research lies in its identification of places appearing in the letters with archaeological sites and the identification of the writing locations in cases where the name of the writer and/or the name of his kingdoms have not been preserved.

Despite the great number of studies on the chronology of the Amarna period, there are still many open questions. One example concerns the uncertain identity of 'Niphururiya', whose death is mentioned in the *DŠ*. The answer to this question has consequences for the understanding and dating of the last letters of the archive and the end of Šuppiluliuma's reign. Campbell (1964, 53–62), who identified him with Akhenaten, discussed this problem at length. In their extensive study, Wilhelm and Boese (1987, 93–100) suggested identifying him with Smenkhkare. Bryce (1989b, 22) identified this pharaoh with Tutankhamun and ended this discussion for a while¹³. However, recent publications (e.g. Krauss 2007, 295; Miller 2007a), in which 'Niphururiya' was identified again with Akhenaten, demonstrate that this debate is far from being settled.

¹² Among the many researches who deal with this subject, we should mention Redford 1967b; Kitchen 1987; id. 2007; Shaw 2000; Bronk Ramsey *et al.* 2010. Miller's (2007a) edition of *KUB* 19.15+ also includes an up-to-date discussion concerning the Egyptian chronology of the Amarna period.

¹³ This opinion is still accepted; see for example Bryce 1990; Freu 2002b, 94, 99–102; Groddek 2002a, 273–277; id. 2007a; Klengel 2002b, 106.

II.B. The Amarna pharaohs:

In order to establish the chronology of the Amarna period we should first examine the pharaohs who ruled during this period.

Amenhotep III ruled for 37 or 38 years, and Akhenaten, his son and successor, ruled for 17 years (Hornung 2006, 204–206). Formerly, a suggestion was made that Akhenaten was nominated as Amenhotep III's coregent (thus Freu 1992; Giles 1997; etc.). Some scholars restored the hieratic digits that appear in the docket of *EA 27* as [1]2, and suggested that this coregency lasted 12 years¹. However, as already demonstrated by Redford (1967b, 162–169), this hypothesis is problematic since it forces us to include all the letters addressed to Akhenaten (as a sole ruler) in a period of only six or seven years, which is probably too short². We can solve this problem by assuming that the last letters of the archive were not written during Akhenaten's reign, but rather during the reign/s of his successor/s. However, this solution is also unsatisfying, since following this assumption we must explain why these letters were not taken when the royal court moved to the new capital city at Memphis; after all, they belonged to dossiers which were still active. This seems even more problematic when we consider that the letters brought to Amarna cover a period of 11 or 12 years preceding the establishment of the archive³. Consequently we should reject the possibility of 12 years of coregency⁴. When reading the hieratic number in *EA 27* as 2, it leaves us with yet another option: a coregency which lasted several months. The problem with this proposal is that between the death of Amenhotep III and the arrival

¹ Concerning the reading of the docket, see Kitchen 1962, 6–8; Campbell 1964, 24f.; Kühne 1973, 43f., 47 (and n. 221); Giles 1997, 45; id. 2001, 136f.

² I do not accept all of Redford's claims in this matter, since I do not accept his order of events; however according to my calculations as well, the time-span of the correspondence between Rib-Hadda and Akhenaten plus the one held after Rib-Hadda's death are longer than seven years. See also Redford 1967a, 650f.; Na'aman 1975, 215. In addition, the reading [1]2 should probably be abandoned due to collation (Miller 2007a, 266f., and n. 65 there).

³ The archive began in regnal year 30 of Amenhotep III (at the latest), and therefore covers the last seven or eight years of his reign and the first four years of Akhenaten (before he moved to Akhetaten).

⁴ In addition we should examine the appearance of Teye, Amenhotep III's queen, in the last letters of Tušratta (*EA 27* and 29); if we accept the reading [1]2 we should assume that this queen, who stood by Amenhotep's side already in his second regnal year (Berman 1998, 12), was active almost until the end of Akhenaten's reign, i.e. a total of 55 years. The date of her death is not certain (e.g. Schmitz 1986, 307f.), but if we accept Gabolde's (2001, 15) opinion (died in year 14), we should reject the reading [1]2 in *EA 27* (since Teye is mentioned also in *EA 29*, which was written at least four years after *EA 27*); see also Na'aman 1975, 217). Regarding Teye, see also Bryan 2000b, 267f.

of EA 27, several other letters were dispatched between Tušratta and Teye; when the time range between letters in the Great Kings' correspondence is considered (circa one year) we should neglect this suggestion as well⁵ (Redford 1967b, 168f.).

All in all, Akhenaten's successors, king Smenkhkare and/or regnant-queen ʿAnkhetkheprure⁶ (who ruled as a king), ruled for about three years⁷. The order of these two kings is not clear⁸, nor is the question of whether there was a coregency between them. As for the coregency between Akhenaten and the first of these two rulers, my research adopts the view that there is no real evidence for its existence⁹ (Hornung 2006, 205f.; cf. Eaton-Krauss 1990, 551; Kitchen 2007, 168). These questions are crucial for this study and will be further examined in details following the discussion concerning the Second Syrian War and the identification of

⁵ There are other findings not related to the Amarna archive, that do not support the coregency theory; see Kitchen 1962, 6–8; Campbell 1964, 53; Kühne 1973, 126f.; Gabolde 1998, 62–98; Eaton-Krauss and Krauss 2001, 91f.; Hornung 2006, 205f.; Miller 2007a, 267 n. 65; Dorman 2009. Some scholars support the hypothesis of this coregency, e.g. Kitchen 1962, 6–8, 40f.; Freu 1992 (chronological table in p. 94–96); id. 2008, 6, 8; Giles 1997, 2, 93–95, etc.; id. 2001 (see critiques of Giles' views in Liverani 1999b; Rainey 1999; and Dorman 2005). Some of the coregency hypothesis supporters are art historians (e.g. Johnson (1996) and Martín Valentín (1998)).

⁶ The identity of this queen is problematic; the confusion is even greater since she had both masculine and feminine characteristics. Thus, it was suggested that at some point a queen, who succeeded Akhenaten, ruled under the name Smenkhkare (Samson 1982, 51–54). Today it is more accepted to separate them into two individuals, pharaoh Smenkhkare (ʿAnkhetkheprure^c) and regnant-queen ʿAnkhetkheprure^c (Neferneferuaten), a queen who at a certain point of her career (before or after Smenkhkare) ruled as a king (Murnane 1990b, 177; id. 1995, 207; Krauss 1997a, 238f., 247f.; Hornung 2006, 207). For some opinions concerning her identification; see Murnane 2001, 16–18 (refers also to Gabolde's (1998) opinion); Gabolde 2001, 27f.; Hornung 2006, 207f.; Allen 2009, 18–20; Darnell and Manassa 2007; Miller 2007a, 272–275.

⁷ This estimation depends on the division of regnal years one, two, three and an additional year one—which appear upon wine jar docket (and other commodities) in Amarna—between Akhenaten's successors (Hornung 2006, 207f.; Krauss and Warrburton 2006, 477). Although there are allegedly four regnal years documented in Amarna after the death of Akhenaten, the time range of (approximately) "three years" was chosen here, since the third year was (probably) not full; see also the following chapter (Chapter II.C.).

⁸ Thus, some believe that Akhenaten was replaced by ʿAnkhetkheprure^c (e.g. Murnane 1995, 205–207; Miller 2007a, 272–275; Allen 2009, 10–12), while others claim he was replaced by Smenkhkare (e.g. Krauss 1997a, 238f.; Gabolde 2001, 30; Hornung 2006, 207f.).

⁹ There are two arguments which support an independent ruling of these two kings. The first of them is based on the wine jars docket, which documented the existence of between three to four years of reign after Akhenaten's seventeenth year (Krauss 1997a, 230; Hornung 2006, 208). The second argument is based on an inscription discovered on a storage vessel; initially "regnal year 17; honey" was written, but later this inscription was erased and changed to "regnal year 1; wine" (Murnane 1995, 207). However, there are researchers who believe that Smenkhkare was nominated as Akhenaten's coregent and died before him; therefore, it was Tutankhamun who replaced Akhenaten (Kitchen 1962, 8f.; Hachmann 2001, 139–141). Krauss (1997a, 247), who assumed that Smenkhkare ruled independently, indicated too that there is still a possibility that "regnal year 1" belongs to Tutankhamun.

'Niphururiya', since there is an attempt to identify the *dahamunzu*- with 'Ankhetkheprure'¹⁰ (v.i. Chapter IV.E.2.4.).

Following this period, Tutankhamun ruled for eight to ten years¹¹, Ay ruled for four years, and Haremhab ruled between 14¹² to 27 years (Hornung 2006, 208f.).

¹⁰ See Miller 2007a, 272–275.

¹¹ Since we have no dated inscriptions from his first three years (see also Hornung 2006, 208), Redford (1967b, 180) suggested that perhaps he did not recognize his predecessor's/ predecessors' rule (a period of three years; see also Miller 2007a, 259) and started to count his regnal years from Akhenaten's death; therefore, Tutankhamun's fourth year is actually his first regnal year.

¹² J. van Dijk (2008), who excavated the tomb of Pharaoh Haremhab in the Egyptian Valley of the Kings, discovered that there are no wine labels with a higher date than year 14 of his reign. He claims that wine in ancient Egypt had a very limited storage life and that wine jars found in tombs are usually from the last one or two harvests. Therefore, he concludes that Haremhab reigned for a period of 14 to 16 years.

II.C. Chronology of the site and the archive:

Determining the time during which the archive was active depends also on determining the time during which the city of Akhetaten was settled. Based on wine jars dockets discovered at the site, it is clear that Akhenaten and his court arrived in the city during his fifth year¹ (Hornung 2006, 207). The question of when the city was abandoned is more complicated. Items bearing the names of 'Ankhetkheprure', Smenkhkare and Tutankhamun were discovered in Amarna. From the wine jars dockets (and vessels of other commodities) it is clear that after 'year 17' followed years one, two and three (not a full year²), and at the end came an additional 'year one'³, which was the last year a pharaoh was settled in Amarna⁴.

There are several possibilities for the allocation of these years between Akhenaten's successors. The first possibility is to assign the first three regnal years to 'Ankhetkheprure' or Smenkhkare, and the last regnal year (i.e. the additional 'year one') to the second of them. The second possibility is that during the first three years either both or only one of them ruled (while the second was never a king), while the last year of reign belonged to Tutankhamun. That being the case, we can already determine the maximal date for the end of the archive's activity; the royal court left Akhetaten not later than Tutankhamun's first regnal year⁵. For this reason, it is hard to believe that letters, which were addressed to Tutankhamun or one of his successors, were kept in the archive⁶.

¹ However, there are many objects in Amarna which predate this year; for example, some objects carry the name of Amenhotep III (these findings were naturally related to the problem of coregency; see Johnson 1996). In addition, some of the boundary steles, which were placed in Amarna, mention regnal year four of Akhenaten (Uphill 1999, 765).

² Due to the small number of labels of 'year three' we can conclude it was not a full year; on the findings from year three see Krauss 1997a, 231f., 245; Hornung 2006, 208. 'Regnal year three' appear also in a graffiti from the tomb of Pere/Pairy (Murnane 1995, 207f.), yet it is unclear if it belongs to Smenkhkare or to 'Ankhetkheprure'; among Smenkhkare's supporters are Campbell 1964, 50f.; Krauss 1997a, 237f.; Hachmann 2001, 139f. Among the supporters of queen 'Ankhetkheprure', we should mention Gabolde 1998, 161f.; Allen 2009, 12. According to a third group, it is not possible to determine between the two opinions; for this view, see Murnane 2001, 17; Hornung 2006, 207f. (supports Smenkhkare but not decisively); Darnell and Manassa 2007, 46f.

³ Redford (1967b, 156–158) did not yet differentiate between the two groups of 'year one'.

⁴ About the inscribed objects that were uncovered in Amarna, see Murnane 1995.

⁵ To be precise, after the grape harvest of Tutankhamun's first regnal year and prior to the grape harvest of his second year (Krauss 1997a, 248). See also Moran 1992, xxxiv; Eaton-Krauss 2001b, 453; cf. Redford 1967b, 156–158; Gabolde 1998, 89f., 195; id. 2001, 38f.; Uphill 1999, 764; Hachmann 2001, 142; Miller 2007a, 265f.

⁶ See also Campbell 1964, 65; Redford 1967b, 158; Moran 1992, 39 n. 1. For letters ascribed by some scholars (e.g. Giles 1997, 55–56; Liverani 1998–1999, 46; id. 1999a, 133f.; Hachmann 2001, 139–142; etc.) to the reigns of Akhenaten's successors, see Miller 2007a, 266 n. 63.

In light of these conclusions, we can now examine the estimated duration of the archive's activity; but before we do so, we should define the archive's contents as precisely as possible. We can divide the Amarna letters into two groups; the first and larger one (300 of 350 letters) includes the correspondence of the pharaohs and their Canaanite and Syrian vassals⁷, and the second group is comprised the pharaohs' correspondence with the Great Kings (rulers of Arzawa, Assyria, Babylonia, Hatti and Mittanni) and two kingdoms which enjoyed a special status (Alašiya and Ugarit). Each of these two groups has its own typical language and phrases⁸.

Chronologically, the letters can also be divided into two groups: the first group includes letters which were brought to Amarna from Thebes, the former capital city, while the second group includes letters written when Akhetaten became the capital. It is possible to conclude that most, if not all, of the letters were part of '**closed dossiers**' left behind in Akhetaten when the king and his court moved to Memphis⁹ (Redford 1967b, 153; Na'aman 1975, 2; Cochavi-Rainey 2005, 3, 10).

For two reasons, the archive originally included more letters which are absent today (Na'aman 1975, 2f.): some letters were related to dossiers, which were still active at the end of the Amarna period, and for that reason were taken by the pharaoh as he and his court moved to Memphis (not later than Tutankhamun's first year)¹⁰; in addition, from the letters left in Amarna we should subtract letters lost during the peasants'

⁷ From this group, my research will mainly utilize the letters belonging to the correspondence with the kingdoms of Syria and the Lebanese coast, since they are the ones to describe the events in which Hatti was involved.

⁸ For example, the description of family relations that is very common in the letters, the different opening formulas, etc. Among the studies that deal with these subjects we should mention Liverani 1990a; id. 2001b; Zaccagnini 2000a. An example of an interesting case can be found in Mynářová's (2005) analysis of the letters from Qatna.

⁹ I must admit that the criteria according to which tablets were brought and left in Amarna are not clear to me. In this context we may ask the following questions: why did Akhenaten bring so many documents (some of them are allegedly not so important) from the archive of Amenhotep III? Why were so many of Rib-Hadda's letters kept, while from other cities, as important as Gubla, we have many fewer letters (or none at all, see Na'aman 1975, 224f.)? Unfortunately these questions will have to remain unanswered.

¹⁰ The present state of the archive is actually parallel to the definition of van den Hout (2005a, 281) for an 'historical archive'. This kind of archive keeps some of the documents, which lost their immediate relevance and have become inactive (as opposed to a 'living archive', which "is what any administration of current affairs builds up and needs in order to fulfill its administrative functions").

excavation and the tablets' transportation¹¹. For these reasons, argumentation based upon *argumentum ex silentio* is problematic, and our conclusions should be only based upon the preserved material (id.).

In a small number of letters, mainly those belonging to the second group (the Great Kings' group), appear the prenomen of two pharaohs, Amenhotep III (Nibmu(ʿw)areya/Nibmuʿareya) and Akhenaten (Naphurriya)¹². In addition, Niphuriya, Tutankhamun's prenomen¹³, appears in *EA* 9 (and perhaps in *EA* 210 also, but see Moran 1992, xxix n.82). However, due to the above-mentioned consideration—i.e. the time of Akhetaten's abandonment and the assumption that the active dossiers were taken to the new capital—it seems that this Niphuriya should be identified with Akhenaten¹⁴. The names of Smenkhkare and 'Ankhetkheprure', who might have ruled between Akhenaten and Tutankhamun, do not appear in the letters, yet it is possible that some letters were addressed to them. However, because of the above-mentioned considerations, this research will suggest that apart from a small number of possible exceptions, we should date the late letters to the time of Akhenaten. This means that all letters will be dated to Akhenaten's reign, unless there is strong case for not doing so¹⁵.

Most of the documents do not include pharaohs' names or administrative notes concerning the date of their filing. We must therefore use other details in order to date them, such as prosopography (for example, Mayati's name which appears in some of the letters) and different events that can be used as chronological anchors (the wedding of Amenhotep III and the Mittannian princess, the conquest of Šumur, etc.).

¹¹ These events were detailed by Sayce (1917) who estimated that approximately 150–200 tablets were lost as a result of improper treatment. For other opinions about this estimation, see Campbell 1964, 34; Na'aman 1975, 2; Moran 1992, xiii n. 2.

¹² The spelling of pharaoh's prenomen is made according to Moran (1992) and Hess (1993).

¹³ Regarding the different variants of this prenomen see Hess 1993, 115f.

¹⁴ For discussion on this letter and the identity of Nib/phuriya of the Amarna letters, see Campbell 1964, 53–62; Kühne 1973, 72–75, 125; Moran 1992, 137 n. xxxviii; Hess 1993, 116; Giles 1997, 93–95; Miller 2007a, 263–267.

¹⁵ This assumption is based on statistical probability as well, since most of the Amarna period is parallel with Akhenaten's reign. The fact that except for *EA* 33 and 41 there is no evidence for the accession of a new king should be seen as an additional reinforcement, and in both cases we can identify the new king as Akhenaten. On the other hand, excluding these two letters, there is no other reference for the replacement of Amenhotep III with Akhenaten (such as loyalty oath of the Egyptian vassals), an event which definitely occurred during the activity period of the archive. We should also mention that the date of the end of the archive depends on the identification of the Hittite raid on 'Amqa and Nuhašše, which appears in some of the Amarna letters, with the Hittite attack on 'Amqa that is detailed in some Hittite sources (Fr. 28 of the *DŠ*, and the 'Second' Plague Prayer (*CTH* 378.2)). The latter took place close to the death of 'Niphururiya'. The identity of these events will be further examined in details after the discussion about the Second Syrian War and the identity of 'Niphururiya' (v.i. Chapter IV.E.2.4).

The letters provide a great deal of chronological data, which helps us organize the letters and the different events. However, they do not supply information concerning the time gaps between the letters or between the events, and thus it is difficult to date them¹⁶ (Redford 1967b, 152f.). In this context we should mention once again Kühne's (1973) research and its main problem. In most cases it is not possible to establish an exact date, as can be seen in the tablets at the end of Kühne's book, but rather we should use a possible time range, one that is as narrow as possible¹⁷.

Following these points of clarification, the following chapters introduce the arrangement of the Amarna letters according to three time-divisions. In this summary, only the important events and letters of each time-division are presented; when possible, chronological anchors are presented as well. The objective of this summary is to clarify the chronological outline of the present study (which is mainly based upon the Amarna letters); a more elaborate examination of the important letters and events is presented later in this work.

C.1. The 'First Time-Division'; from the beginning of the archive until the end of Amenhotep III's reign:

The First Time-Division includes all the letters composed during the last ten (or so) years of Amenhotep III's reign; from the beginning of the archive until Amenhotep III's death¹⁸. We can learn about the beginning of this unit mainly from the letters of

¹⁶ For example, we can see that some of the letters in the Mittanni's dossier may indicate the warm and peaceful relationships between Mittanni and Egypt, while others present deterioration. In this case it is not hard to deduce that peace preceded hostility, yet it is much harder to determine the duration of each stage and the period of time which separate them.

¹⁷ Let us examine Tušratta's declaration regarding the Mittannian envoy, who arrived in Egypt and was sent back "in 3 months" without delay (*EA* 29, 25–26). Kühne (1973, 113–115) concluded from this statement that it was possible to reach Mittanni from Egypt in three months; however, we should notice that this sentence does not deal with the speed of the emissary but with the time he was delayed in Egypt ("[and with]in 3 months...[he sen]t [him back]"). If we accept Kühne's (*id.*, 118) calculation for the Mittannian envoys' pace (33 days, on average, were required in order to reach Waššukanni from Amarna), and to this time period we add a minimal delay of three months in the Egyptian court (*EA* 9), we may conclude that a full rotation in the Mittannian correspondence lasted (at least) five months. However, the most significant component in the equation, which calculates the time envoys of different kingdoms spent on their way, should be the time they were delayed in their destination; the 20 days' difference in arrival-time between the closest and farthest capital cities (see table, *id.*) is negligible in this equation, since there is no maximum limit for the emissaries' possible delay in their destination (e.g. a delay of two years in *EA* 7, l. 49; see also Redford's (1967b, 165–167) suggestion that kings used to delay the emissaries on purpose in their courts). As a result, when we add to Kühne's estimation possible delays on the emissaries' way (e.g. robbers' attacks, difficult weather conditions, etc.) and a normal deferment in destination, a full rotation in the Great King's correspondence could have lasted one year or even more (thus, the six months, during which the emissaries were held in court, that is mentioned in *EA* 20, l. 23–27 (Redford's (*id.*)).

¹⁸ V.i. Tables 1 (p. 162f.) and 2 (p. 227f.) that deal with this period.

the Great Kings. *EA* 23 (written by Tušratta) was dated by a note of the Egyptian administrators to the fourth month of the winter of Amenhotep III's 36th regnal year. From the analysis of the preceding letters, Moran (1992, xxxiv) suggested that this division began around regnal year 30 of Amenhotep III, but it is possible that it began somewhat earlier¹⁹. In contrast to the Great Kings' correspondence, the vassals' correspondence includes no evidence of Amenhotep's death. However, several letters of this group lead to the assumption that the Egyptian campaign directed against ʿAbdi-Aširta king of Amurru (and which ended with his capture or death²⁰) was carried out close to the end of Amenhotep III's reign²¹. Since this event seals the First Time-Division, all the letters which concern ʿAbdi-Aširta as an active player (i.e. in a present tense) belong to the current time-division. Several letters in this division describe at least one Hittite campaign (*EA* 17 and 75) and a Mittannian raid (*EA* 58, 85, etc.), some of which, for some reason, are not mentioned in the letters of the Great Kings themselves. Another letter that belongs to this unit as well is *EA* 254 written by Labayu of Shechem and dated by Egyptian administrators to "regnal year [3]2 of Amenhotep III"²².

Based on the correspondence with the Great Kings, it appears that during the First Time-Division two kings ruled in **Babylonia**. The first letters of the Babylonian

¹⁹ If we accept Kühne's (1973, 51) proposal that *EA* 1 was written not so long after the accession of Kadašman-Enlil I, who ruled Babylonia for ca. 14 years (Kuhrt 2000, 336, 339), it is possible that this letter was written before the 30 years 'limit'. For the date of *EA* 3 (the *ISINNU* festival), see Kühne 1973, 54 (followed by Moran 1992, 8 n. 8); Berman 1998, 15, 18; Greenwood 2006, 192. It is possible that *EA* 32 was written prior to this year as well (although not around year 20 of Amenhotep III, as Kühne (1973, 98) suggested); v.i. Table 1 (p. 162f.).

²⁰ About the Egyptian raid and the destiny of ʿAbdi-Aširta, see Moran 1969; Altman 1977; Liverani 1998; id. 2002.

²¹ This conclusion is based on the correlation between the Egyptian's operation against ʿAbdi-Aširta and their campaign for the liberation of Šumur from ʿAbdi-Aširta's hands. The latter is described in a group of letters (*EA* 108, 117, 121, 131, 132, 138 and 362)—all dated to the time of ʿAziru (ʿAbdi-Aširta's successor)—in which Rib-Hadda reminded Akhenaten of the campaign of his father (i.e. Amenhotep III), and pleaded with the young pharaoh to treat ʿAziru in the same way. Concerning the campaign and this group of letters, see Campbell 1964, 86f.; Redford 1967b, 166; Moran 1969, 233f.; id. 1992, xxxivf. and there n. 27; Na'aman 1975, 207; id. 1996, 254f.; Freu 2002b, 90 and n. 17. Cf. Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 86; Singer 1991a, 148; and Miller 2007a, 284–287 (esp. n. 140 there). Recently it was suggested that ʿAbdi-Aširta's imprisonment took place at the beginning of his career, and following this act he was promoted and became a legitimate ruler of Amurru. There are, however, two problems with this proposal: (a) If Rib-Hadda gained nothing from this event, why did he bother to mention it? (b) Rib-Hadda is one of the most bothersome and shameless correspondents of the pharaohs; if ʿAbdi-Aširta was captured at such an early phase of the archive, there were probably some protests of Rib-Hadda to Amenhotep III concerning his release.

²² Na'aman 1975, 214; Cochavi-Rainey 2005, 194. Cf. Liverani (1998–1999, 117), who dated this letter to year [1]2 of Akhenaten. For the different opinions regarding the restoration of this number, see Moran 1992, xxxvii.

dossier were composed during Kadašman-Enlil I's reign and were concerned with the wedding of Amenhotep III and Kadašman-Enlil's daughter (*EA* 1–5²³). *EA* 6 testifies that its author, Burna-Buriyaš II, acceded to the throne in Babylonia prior to the death of Amenhotep III. The **Mittannian** letters of this unit report of Tušratta's accession (*EA* 17) and a wedding held between Taduhepa, his daughter, and Amenhotep III. The above-mentioned *EA* 23 is the last Mittannian letter of this division. *EA* 31 and 32 belong to the correspondence with **Arzawa** that reached its peak in the early Amarna period and does not appear as an important player in international relations in later periods. *EA* 31 probably hints at a chaotic situation in Hatti, therefore it will be dealt with in detail in the context of the 'concentric attack' (v.i. Chapter III.C.2.12). It is possible that *EA* 45 written by ʿAmmistamru I/II²⁴, one of two kings of **Ugarit** mentioned in the letters, belongs to this period. The letter is very fragmentary, but apparently indicates an enemy's pressure on Ugarit; some scholars identify this enemy with a king of Hatti²⁵ (Na'aman 1996). In my opinion, the earliest letters of this time-division are parallel with the reign of Tudhaliya II (*EA* 31–32, 45), or at least describe events that took place during his reign (*EA* 17). Šuppiluliuma became king around the middle of this time-division, since *EA* 75 probably testifies to the execution of the First Syrian War. It is possible that the arrogant **Hittite** letter *EA* 42 was written close to this time (or during the Third Time-Division)²⁶. The letters of the First Time-Division will be further subdivided in this work into two groups; one dated to Tudhaliya II's reign, and the other dated to the beginning of Šuppiluliuma's reign.

²³ Despite Moran's (1992, 9 n. 1) caution, it is far simpler to include *EA* 4 in the present time-division. This letter very much resembles *EA* 3 in which Kadašman-Enlil I used the planned wedding to pressure the pharaoh (in l. 7–12 we can see the juxtaposition of portions between the readiness of the Babylonian princess for the wedding and the gifts the former Babylonian king used to receive) and delay the wedding as much as he could (also in *EA* 1 and 2); Burna-Buriyaš II, on the other hand, stressed his swift response to the pharaoh's request (*EA* 11 l. 9–15).

²⁴ The numbering of the kings of Ugarit takes into consideration Arnaud's (1999, 163) proposal. See also Márquez Rowe 2006, 57 n. 35.

²⁵ For different opinions regarding the enemy's identity in this letter, see Singer 1999, 622f.; Gromova 2007, 280 n. 14.

²⁶ In *EA* 42 (l. 15–26) Šuppiluliuma complained that in the former letter, the pharaoh wrote his name over Šuppiluliuma's name. This complaint probably reflects an inappropriate order of greetings which was used by the pharaoh; he should have written the greetings for the addressee's side first, and only then the greetings for the Egyptian side (e.g. *EA* 1 and *EA* 5), but he chose to do the opposite. One support for dating *EA* 41 to the time of Amenhotep III (and therefore to the First Time-Division) can be found in *EA* 31, a letter written by Amenhotep III which displays the same phenomena. For the alienation of the ideology of 'brotherhood' and its accompanying terminology to the Egyptian custom, see Liverani 2001b, 136f.

C.2. The 'Second Time-Division'; from Amenhotep IV's accession until the conquest of Şumur by ʿAziru:

The starting point of the Second Time-Division²⁷ can be easily located in the chronological sequence of the period, since two of the main figures of the former unit are replaced; Amenhotep III is replaced by Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) and ʿAbdi-Aširta, ruler of Amurru, is replaced by his son ʿAziru²⁸. The end of this unit—that is, the conquest of Şumur by ʿAziru²⁹— is much more difficult to date.

The first possibility is that the conquest of Şumur took place during the second decade of Akhenaten's reign. There are three letters belonging to the Third Time-Division that allegedly indicate proximity in time between the conquest of Şumur and events which are dated (at the earliest) to the middle of the Third Time-Division.

The first letter is *EA 67*, a fragmentary letter from north Syria³⁰ which connects between [ʿAziru's^(?)] dwelling in Şumur and an alliance between [ʿAziru] and Ili-Rapih^(?)³¹, the ruler of Gubla.

When accepting the restoration of ʿAziru's name, we may deduce that the conquest of Şumur and Rib-Hadda's exile were close in time. However, upon reviewing the surviving parts of the letter it seems that the major and markedly newsworthy item in this passage is not the conquest of Şumur, but the fact that ʿAziru (still) sits there with

²⁷ I have referred to this period as 'the intermediate period' (since it is situated between the two Syrian wars). The Hittite sources for this period are discussed in Chapter IV.D.

²⁸ Concerning the circumstances surrounding ʿAbdi-Aširta's removal, v.s. n. 45 and 46.

²⁹ It is possible that other people were also involved in this incident; Rib-Hadda (*EA 132*) mentioned Haʿip and Abi-Milku (*EA 149*) added Zimredda as people who were responsible for the fall of the city.

³⁰ The name of the author is broken; however, the letter's style (Moran 1992, 137 n. 2) indicates that *EA 67* originated from north Syria (cf. Galán (1993,175) and Liverani (1998–1999, 185f.), who ascribed it to Rib-Hadda). Following petrographic analysis, Goren, Finkelstein and Naʿaman (2004, 92f.) claimed that it was made in the Niya region. When we accept Knudtzon's (1907–1915, 358) restoration for line 10 (cf. Goren, Finkelstein and Naʿaman 2004, 93; suggested restoring KUR^{Kr}[l-ia]), it is possible that the author mentioned some E[gyptians] who escaped from Şumur and settled in his land. An Egyptian residing in north Syria is also mentioned in *EA 161*, which is dated close to the end of the archive as well. In this letter ʿAziru blamed Hatip, an Egyptian administrator who sat in Nuhašše, in stirring this land against him. Perhaps it is possible to identify the unnamed E[gyptians] from Nuhašše (*EA 67*) with Hatip and his fellows; this proposal could also clarify the reasons for Hatip's enmity towards ʿAziru (the latter forced him to leave Şumur). By accepting this suggestion we may identify the author of *EA 67* as one of Nuhašše's kings (perhaps Addu-nirari^(?)). Quite a similar case appears in *EA 105* (84–85). It appears from this letter that after the conquest of Ullasa by Pu-Baʿlu, ʿAziru's brother, some Egyptians left the city and went to Gubla (*EA 105*, 84–85).

³¹ We should identify the ruler of Gubla with Ili-Rapih, the successor of Rib-Hadda (*EA 137*, 14–26), because this situation seems inconceivable during the reign of Rib-Hadda (ʿAziru's arch-enemy). An alliance between Ili-Rapih and ʿAziru is mentioned for example in *EA 138* (see Moran 1992, 137 n. 2).

his troops, and that the Egyptians, who were forced to leave Şumur (in the past), are (still) dwelling in the author's land. By mentioning these facts, the author probably tried to irritate the pharaoh and stimulate him to act against 'Aziru.

The second letter is *EA 138*. In this letter, which was sent after Rib-Hadda's exile, appears the following passage (Moran 1992, 221f.):

28–58: When 'Abdi-Ašrati seized Şumur I guarded the city by <my>self... **Now** 'Aziru *has ta[ken]* Şumur³² and when the people of Gubla saw this, (they said), "How long shall we *contain* the son of 'Abdi-Aširti"... Then they moved against me, but I killed them... Then the city said: "Abandon him. Let's join 'Aziru!"... Then my brother spoke and [*sw*]ore to the city...*a[n]*d the lords of the city [were] joined to the sons of 'Abdi-Ašrati. I myse<lf> [w]ent to Beirut for a dis[cuss]ion with Hammuni[ri] (i.e. 'Amunira)... We went, [...] and I t[lo the cit]y. They did not pe[rm]it me to enter.

Allegedly, here we can see too that the time gap between Şumur's conquest and Rib-Hadda's exile is not long. However, it is possible that the word "now" (l. 34f.: "**Now** 'Aziru *has ta[ken]* Şumur") does not imply that Şumur's conquest was a recent event. It might be that this sentence was phrased in this manner since Rib-Hadda wanted to create a contradiction to the past, between the first and the second conquests of Şumur³³; using Amenhotep III's immediate reaction to 'Abdi-Aširta's misdeeds in the past, Rib-Hadda emphasized Akhenaten's ignoring of 'Aziru's hostile activity at present³⁴.

³² ù a-[nu-m]a i-na-an-na l[a-ku^U][^UŞ]u-m[u-ri^m]A-zi-ru.

³³ Because of the strong contrast between the two incidents, perhaps it is better to opt for Knudtzon's (1907–1915, 581) translation for l. 34, ù a-[nu-m]a i-na-an-na, "But now".

³⁴ The combination of *anumma* and *inanna*, which appear in our sentence, was intended to put a "special emphasis on the contrast between some new development and the situation that had prevailed up to that time" (Rainey 1996 (vol. 3), 118f.). In our case, the contrast was set between the different reactions of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten for Şumur's conquest by the kings of Amurru. The question is, however, whether we should understand *inanna* as 'right now', 'at this moment', etc. Apparently the answer to this question is negative; "the use of *inanna* in letters is very often more that of an interjection than of a temporal adverb" (*CAD* I and J, 144a). The context of this sentence also supports my reconstruction. From l. 26 onward, Rib-Hadda tells his story. The story begins with Amenhotep III's harsh response to the conquest of Şumur by 'Abdi-Aširta. Our lines (l. 34f.) open the next chapter of the story; the second conquest of Şumur, this time by 'Aziru. This event is contradicted emphatically with the former chapter—since, unfortunately for Rib-Hadda, Akhenaten did not react as he expected—but it still does not belong to the immediate (or even close) present. Between this event and the writing of *EA 138* (i.e. present time), many more events took place (we can see for example that some of the ù were translated by Moran as "then", in order to follow this

The third letter is *EA 155*. According to Murnane (1990a, table in p. 136f.), Abi-Milku³⁵, the writer of this letter, named Tyre 'city of Mayati'. Mayati is identified in research with princess Meritaten (Hess 1993, 106f.), and letters which mention her name should be dated not before regnal year 12 of Akhenaten³⁶ (Campbell 1964, 56). Murnane treated l. 65–71 as evidence for the bad situation of Şumur after its conquest by ʿAziru³⁷. Then, he connected Şumur's conquest with the date of *EA 155* (not earlier than year 12 of Akhenaten) and suggested dating this event to the last years of Akhenaten. Murnane's proposal, however, has two flaws. First, the restoration of l. 65–71 is problematic, and it is not so clear whether these lines deal with the state of the city or with another matter³⁸. Second, there might be another possible explanation to a scenario in which Şumur, or at least its walls, lay in ruins for quite a long time. Hence, Şumur might have been conquered during the first decade of Akhenaten's reign. At first, the conquest of the city and its state did not bother Akhenaten so much (just like the rest of ʿAziru's misdeeds); after all, if he was worried, he could act immediately against ʿAziru, as his father acted against ʿAbdi-Aširta. Only when the first rumors concerning the Hittite invasion of Syria arrived in Egypt (Third Time-Division), the matter suddenly became urgent, because of the strategic importance of this harbor city. At this point the pharaoh renewed his pressure upon ʿAziru to build the city (*EA 160–161*³⁹). That being the case, the conquest of Şumur can be dated to an earlier date.

chain of events). The time gap between Şumur's conquest by ʿAziru and the writing of *EA 138* is not clear and undefined by the letter, but we can see for example that Rib-Hadda's exile and the writing of the letter were probably separated by (ca.) one year (l. 20f.). In my opinion, which will be explained later in this chapter, the time gap between the second conquest of Şumur and the writing of *EA 138* was much longer (circa ten years and perhaps even more).

³⁵ Na'aman (1975 (vol. 2), 83* n.18) suggested that it was the pharaoh, who named Tyre 'city of Mayati', and Abi-Milku just repeated this name.

³⁶ For further details regarding Mayati's career and her appearance in the letters of Tyre, v.i. p. 44–47.

³⁷ "Moreover, [my] lord [...] the king should inquire from his commissioner whether Şumur is [set]tled" (Moran 1992, 241f.).

³⁸ Thus, Liverani (1998–1999, 160) suggested that these lines deal with some Egyptians who lived in Şumur in the past: "... chiedo il re al commissario, (come andavano le cose) quando (gli Egiziani) risiedevano a Sumura!" (in this context see also *EA 67* above). See also Knudtzon 1907–1915, 636; Cochavi-Rainey 2005, 285.

³⁹ *EA 159* is probably earlier than these two letters, since in this letter ʿAziru was still unaware of the religious reform of Akhenaten (l. 5–10; see discussion later in this page). This letter, therefore, should be considered as a reply to an early reproach, right after the conquest of the city. In my opinion, Akhenaten's demands, both early (at the end of the Second Time-Division) and late (at the end of the archive), were eventually ignored by ʿAziru.

Even if we accept this proposal and date the conquest of Şumur to the second decade of Akhenaten's reign, it seems plausible that this event predates ʿAziru's visit to Egypt (the first dated event of the Third Time-Division). After all, it is not so reasonable that ʿAziru was still unaware of Akhenaten's reform following his arrival in Egypt (*EA* 159: 7–10; see also Singer 1991a, 150f.; Miller 2007a, 286).

The second possibility of dating Şumur's conquest—which is probably better and therefore opted for here—is to place it in the middle of the first decade of Akhenaten's reign. The first support for this proposal comes from *EA* 116. This letter, which mentions the siege on Şumur, was written close to the beginning of Akhenaten's reign (Miller 2007a, 285f. and n. 147 *ibid.*). Other support comes from some letters indicating that their authors were unaware of Akhenaten's religious reform⁴⁰ (*id.*, 286). In *EA* 27—written by Tušratta and dated by an Egyptian administrative note to the second year of Akhenaten—the name of the god Amun is mentioned (l. 87). This letter helps us determine the beginning of the Second Time-Division, but it does not mention the siege on Şumur. There are three letters that deal with Şumur's conquest, in which Akhenaten is equated with the Storm-god. The first of these letters is *EA* 108 (l. 9–10, written by Rib-Hadda), which testifies to the beginning of ʿAziru's activity against Şumur; the second and third letters, *EA* 149 (l. 6–7, written by Abi-Milku of Tyre) and *EA* 159 (l. 7–10, written by ʿAziru), were written not long after the conquest of Şumur. These letters mark the end of the Second Time-Division.

Nonetheless, we should notice that these examples (i.e. the equation of Akhenaten with the Storm-god) are problematic (see also Miller 2007a, 286 n. 48). Akhenaten is compared with the Storm-god also in two late letters (from the Third Time-Division). The first is *EA* 147 (l. 5–15) written by Abi-Milku. This belongs to a group of letters that inform the Egyptian vassals about the planning of an Egyptian campaign to Syria (Na'aman 1990a, 398). The delivery of these letters was carried out close to the end of the archive⁴¹. A possible explanation is that Abi-Milku, who is known for his love of poetic language, chose to use the paraphrase, although it is not so 'politically-correct',

⁴⁰ For the appearance of the god Amun in the Amarna letters, see Na'aman (1990b) and Galán (1992) (both exclude *Ea* 164 from this group). See also Miller (2007a, 286) on this matter.

⁴¹ Thus for example, we can deduce from *EA* 142, which belongs to this group of letters, that it was sent after Rib-Hadda went to exile.

just because it is beautiful⁴². This comparison appears also in another late letter, *EA* 52 (Akizzi of Qatna). This letter probably belongs to the Third Time-Division together with all the correspondence with the Mittannian vassals. The fact that Akizzi was formerly a Mittannian vassal and was not knowledgeable about the new customs of the Egyptian court may explain this mistake.

There are two considerations which help us determine the end of the Second Time-Division: between *EA* 102, which indicates the beginning of the siege on Şumur, and *EA* 129 which signifies its end, Rib-Hadda managed to write approximately 20 letters⁴³. It is difficult to calculate the duration of this period based on this data, but we can mention that during the former time-division, which lasted eight to ten years, he wrote 30 letters.

Additional data might be derived from *EA* 106 (l. 13–16). In this letter Akhenaten complained that Rib-Hadda had been sending him many letters regarding the incidents around Şumur⁴⁴; Rib-Hadda answered that he was doing so because of the hostility against him, which began five years ago. We can infer from *EA* 106 that between the beginning of the hostile activity against Şumur (or at least, the hostility between Gubla and Amurru) and the writing of this letter a time period of five years had elapsed. When we try to utilize this data, there are two possible points from which we can start counting those five years:

A. From the first operations of ‘Abdi-Aširta against Şumur (circa regnal year 35 or 36 of Amenhotep III⁴⁵), and then those five years ended during the first or second year of Akhenaten. This possibility is less likely since it means that Amenhotep III, and not Akhenaten, was the recipient of most of Rib-

⁴² "...I am the dirt under the sandals of the king, my lord. My lord is the Sun who comes forth over all lands by day, according to the way of the Sun his gracious father...who establishes the entire land in peace by the power of his arm... who gives forth his cry in the sky like Baal, and all the land is frightened at his cry" (l. 4–15). See for example Murnane's (2001, 17f.) treatment of *EA* 155.

⁴³ According to Na'aman's (1975) order of the letters; when we prefer the order suggested by Cochavi-Rainey (2005) and Liverani (1998–1999) the number of the letters is even higher (between 25–30).

⁴⁴ "Why does Rib-Hadda keep sending a tablet this way to the palace?" He is more distraught than his brothers about Şumur" (Moran 1992, 179). Unlike Moran, Knudtzon (1907–1915, 470f.; also Liverani 1998–1999, 209) referred to both parts of the sentence as quotation from the pharaoh's letter. As reinforcement for Moran we can mention the -ma (line 14), which probably refers only to the first part of the sentence; the fact that the second part of this sentence is written in the third person (and therefore seems to be more of a quotation), reinforces Knudtzon's opinion. Cochavi-Rainey's (2005, 144) translation is closer to that of Moran, but it somehow neglected Şumur's name.

⁴⁵ Based on the date of *EA* 75 (with regard to the letters of Mittanni) which will be discussed later; see also Miller 2007a, 284–287 (although he dated some of the letters concerning ‘Abdi-Aširta to the reign of Akhenaten).

Hadda's complaints (therefore, there is no reason for Akhenaten's reproach); in addition, between the end of Amenhotep III's reign and the beginning of Akhenaten's rule, an Egyptian mission force was sent to halt the hostile activity of Amurru, and quietened the area at least for a while⁴⁶. If we date the beginning of ʿAbdi-Aširta's activity against Gubla and Şumur before year 35 of Amenhotep, this proposal becomes irrelevant (since all those five years fall under Amenhotep III's reign).

B. From the beginning ʿAziru's operation \approx accession of Akhenaten⁴⁷, and then the end of this time-division should be dated circa year five of Akhenaten. This is probably the better solution.

When we accept the above-mentioned order of events and the possibility that the five year count began with the accession of Akhenaten, we should reach the conclusion that approximately five years separated Amenhotep III's death and the writing of *EA* 106. When we add one or two more years until the end of the current time-division (that is, between *EA* 106 and the conquest of Şumur⁴⁸), we may conclude that the Second Time-Division ended circa Akhenaten's regnal year seven. If we prefer the first option (that the five year count began roughly at year 35 of Amenhotep III) and add one or two years, we reach regnal years three or four of Akhenaten's reign.

To sum up, the date of Şumur's conquest falls between years three and seven of Akhenaten's reign. Since not so long after this event ʿAziru was still unaware of the religious reform in Egypt (the above-mentioned *EA* 159: 7–10), and since it is hard to believe that as vivid and observant a man as ʿAziru would miss such a dramatic event that included the relocation of the Egyptian royal court (the most striking ramification of Akhenaten's reform, at least for non-Egyptians), we should prefer the notion of bringing Şumur's conquest as close as possible to Akhenaten's year five (the year this pharaoh transferred his residence to Akhetaten). Therefore, the end of the Second

⁴⁶ See Naʿaman (1975, 154–156); this Egyptian force stayed in Syria also during the first year/s of Akhenaten's reign.

⁴⁷ *EA* 103, one of the first letters of Rib-Hadda in ʿAziru's era, mentioned the beginning of the hostility against Şumur.

⁴⁸ When accepting the order of letters that was suggested by Naʿaman (1975, 154–156), then between *EA* 106 (Rib-Hadda's offer to appoint Yanhamu in Şumur) and *EA* 124 (the conquest of Şumur), Rib-Hadda sent *EA* 105, 112, 114, 116 and 118, which represent different stages of the siege on Şumur and also indicate the fact that the Egyptian governor Yanhamu was replaced by Pawara (or Piwuri/Pawura). It is possible that before and after Pawara, Haʿip (another Egyptian administrator) served also as the governor of the city (Murnane 1990a, 14). As a result, we should allocate these events at least one year (and definitely more than two months; *EA* 114 l. 32–41) and possibly even a longer period.

Time-Division should probably be located within the time range of regnal years four to six of Akhenaten⁴⁹.

Let us examine the letters of the Great Kings that belong to this time-division. It is not clear whether any of the **Babylonian** dossier letters belong here except for *EA* 7 and 8. The last three letters from **Mittanni**, *EA* 27–29, probably date from this period, although it is possible that *EA* 29, which was written not before Akhenaten's regnal year six, slightly exceeds the upper limit of this time-division⁵⁰. *EA* 41, which was written by Šuppiluliuma on the occasion of Pharaoh Huriya's accession to the throne, is perhaps the first letter of the **Hittite** correspondence. Since Šuppiluliuma claimed that peaceful relations existed between him and the father of the addressee, it is quite plausible that *EA* 41 was written soon after Akhenaten's accession⁵¹. Since the text of *EA* 41 is somewhat rude (Murnane 1990a, 35–37; Moran 1992, xxiif.), it is possible that a bluntly phrased response was sent by the pharaoh, and *EA* 42 was written in response to it. Possibly, however, there is no connection between *EA* 41 and 42. *EA* 33 from the king of **Alašiya** also deals with an accession of a pharaoh; the name of the pharaoh is not mentioned, and the letter could be related to this time-division or to the next one.

⁴⁹ See also Miller (2007a, 286, in his discussion in *EA* 108), who mentioned that the evidence for unfamiliarity with the outcomes of the reform should be dated to the first half of Akhenaten's reign (i.e. not later than year nine of Akhenaten).

⁵⁰ *EA* 27 is dated to the second year of Akhenaten and in *EA* 29 (l. 113) Tušratta mentioned that his messengers were delayed for four years in Egypt; therefore, this letter was written not before year six of Akhenaten and perhaps even later (see Kühne 1973, 47f.; cf. Gromova 2007, 294).

⁵¹ According to the scenario suggested in this work, the Hittites attacked Syria twice: at the end of Amenhotep III's reign (*EA* 75) Šuppiluliuma launched the First Syrian Campaign, and close to the end of Akhenaten's reign Šuppiluliuma's Second Syrian War began (Third Time-Division). Although in both wars Šuppiluliuma attacked Egyptian territory, there is still a big difference between them: the conquest of Qadeš in the first war can be defined as a very limited penetration into Egyptian territory and, according to Šuppiluliuma's claim, as a case of self-defense. The attacks on Egyptian soil during the Second Syrian War, on the other hand, lasted several years, and at least from the Amarna letters there is no evidence that they were preceded by any kind of Egyptian provocation. The last events of the war, i.e. Šuppiluliuma's attacks following the death of his son, should be seen as revenge. As a result, it seems unreasonable that *EA* 41 would be written to a pharaoh, who succeeded Akhenaten in the middle of the Second Syrian War, since it mentions the good relationships between the two kingdoms. For this reason, the identification of 'Huriya' with Smenkhkare that was suggested by Wilhelm and Boese (1987, 76f., 97) should probably be rejected. For a new edition of *EA* 41 see Hoffner (2009, 277–279). This letter was discussed also by Bryce 1990, 100f.; Cline 1998, 243; Hachmann 2001, 142; Schwemer 2006a; Miller 2007a, 279–282.

In summary, the starting point of the Second Time-Division is dated close to Akhenaten's accession. The dates of the most important event of this unit, i.e. the conquest of Şumur, and of the end of this division are more problematic.

As mentioned above (v.s. p. 33–36), based on three letters, it is possible to date Şumur's conquest to the second decade of Akhenaten's reign (but before 'Aziru's visit to Egypt; v.s. discussion with *EA* 159: 7–10). When this date is preferred, the transition between the Second and the Third Time-Divisions is smooth and can be dated to the middle of the second decade of Akhenaten's reign (ca. regnal year 13)⁵².

There is, however, some evidence that the conquest of Şumur should be dated around regnal year five, and this date is preferred here⁵³ (v.s. p. 36–39). The problem is that in this case, a big gap is created between the end of this time-division and the first dated event of the Third Time-Division. A possible explanation will be presented below (discussion concerning the beginning of the Third Time-Division).

As for my research, since the Second Time-Division does not include any reference for events in which Hatti was involved⁵⁴ and it has no effect on the date of the Sub-Division (which is dated independently), most of the letters from this unit are not important for their historical value, but only for the purpose of constructing a comprehensive chronological outline for the archive and the period. The absence of Hatti from this time-division might serve as evidence that during this period Şuppiluliuma was more concerned with inner-Anatolian matters and less active in the Syrian and international stages⁵⁵.

⁵² In this case, some of the Great Kings' letters attributed to the Third Time-Division, should be transmitted to the current time-division (e.g. *EA* 44 and some of the letters from Babylonia (v.i. p. 45f.).

⁵³ When 'Abdi-Aširta conquered Şumur, he probably took advantage of the deterioration of the situation in Syria due to the hostile activity of Hatti, and later Mittanni, in this region. A similar explanation can be used if we date 'Aziru's conquest of Şumur to the second decade of Akhenaten's reign (the Third Time-Division anticipated the returning of Hittite forces to Syria). The weakness of Şumur following its first conquest, as well as the internal situation in Egypt (the young age of Akhenaten and the fact that much attention has been devoted to the reform), can be seen as motives for this act, if we date it the first decade of Akhenaten (cf. Moran (1995, 569) and Liverani (1998–1999, 32), who connected the signs for breakdown of discipline among the Egyptian vassals in north Syria with the arrival of the Hittites).

⁵⁴ Except for the dispatch of *EA* 41.

⁵⁵ The first signs of the Hittite retreat from Syria can be traced in the archive of Idanda, which records the period following the First Syrian War (v.i. Chapter IV.C.). The Hittites probably returned to Syria after a long period, i.e. close to the end of the Third Time-Division (see *infra*).

C.3. The 'Third Time-Division' and its 'Sub-Division' (from the visit of 'Aziru in Egypt until the end of the archive):

The beginning of the Third Time-Division⁵⁶ is somewhat vague and depends on the date of the most significant event of the Second Time-Division, i.e. Šumur's conquest by 'Aziru. Since this event should probably be dated to the middle of the first decade of Akhenaten's reign (ca. year five), a large time gap (ca. eight years, possibly more) is created between this event and the first dated events of the Third Time-Division (grouped in the Sub-Division; see *infra*). This long period can be attested to in the archive; however, its documentation is sparse⁵⁷. There is a possible explanation for this phenomenon. As already mentioned, the criteria according to which tablets were brought and left in Akhetaten are not clear; nevertheless, we may suggest that each of the time-divisions we have was constructed around an important event or events which could have implications for the future, and for that reason, these records were kept by the administrators. Less important records were probably thrown out after a short period, and were already non-existent by the time the archive was abandoned (and rediscovered)⁵⁸. As a result, what we have at present is only the documentation of the most important events of the period⁵⁹. An irritating side-effect of this administrative practice is that years without special events are not equally documented in the archive. Thus, it is possible that the events of the major part of the Third Time-Division (i.e. from (ca.) regnal year five of Akhenaten to the first years of the second decade of his reign) were quite ordinary, hence their documentation is almost absent from the archive.

The date of the end of the Third Time-Division will be discussed following an examination of its contents.

⁵⁶ V.i. Tables 4 (p. 309–313) and 5 (p. 314f.) that deal with this period.

⁵⁷ To this time period we can attribute *EA* 44 from Zita (a friendly tone, probably antedated the Hittite invasions to Syria during the Sub-Division), some letters from Burna-Buriyaš II (v.i. p. 45f.), several letters from Tyre (v.s. p. 47 n. 112), etc.

⁵⁸ Concerning archives in this period (though in Hatti), see van den Hout 2005a, esp. p. 201f. (distinction between "living" and "historical" archives).

⁵⁹ A more accurate definition should be restricted as follows: the letters we have today were important enough to be kept in the archive (and not to be thrown out after a short while), but not important enough to be carried away when the Egyptian royal court left Akhetaten.

Some of the important events detailed in the vassal letters are 'Aziru's visit to Egypt, Rib-Hadda's exile from Gubla⁶⁰, the planning of an Egyptian campaign against Syria⁶¹, and the arrival of the Hittite army in north Syria. The order of events is based (among other things) on the new linguistic analysis of Izre'el (1991) and the historical and chronological implications of this research (Singer 1991a). One of the most important conclusions of this research is that 'Aziru's visit to Egypt is described in several letters in the past tense; in other words, there was only one documented visit of 'Aziru in Egypt, and some of the correspondence with Amurru was written after its occurrence (Izre'el 1990, 585f.; id. 1991⁶²; Singer 1991a, 151). In addition to 'Aziru, some of the prominent figures of this time-division are Akizzi king of Qatna, Aitakkama king of Qadeš and Ili-Rapih (successor of Rib-Hadda in Gubla). The date of the Third Time-Division will be discussed later, yet we should already mention that the relative date of this time-division can be established using these names with regards to the First Syrian Campaign⁶³ and Idanda's archive from Qatna⁶⁴.

As for the correspondence with the Great Kings, the majority of the correspondence between Akhenaten and **Babylonia**, which deals with the marriage of Akhenaten and Burna-Buriyaš II's daughter, belongs to this time-division (*EA* 7–14). No letter from **Mittanni** belongs here; this fact might be taken as an indication of the deterioration of the relationship between Egypt and Mittanni, and/or of Mittanni's weakening, a process which ended in the loss of its status and influence. A positive reinforcement for the second explanation can be found in *EA* 15–16, which belong to the correspondence with Aššur-uballiš, king of **Assyria**. Based on these letters, it seems

⁶⁰ Notice that Gromova (2007, 278; following Campbell 1964, 87) estimated that Rib-Hadda's correspondence ended around Akhenaten's regnal year five (i.e. during the Second Time-Division), close to the establishment of the archive (Akhetaten was established around this year).

⁶¹ The group of letters that deals with the planned Egyptian campaign was defined by Na'aman (1990a; for different suggestions, see Reviv 1966, 46 n. 4; Cochavi-Rainey 2005, 267–297. Cf. Liverani (1990b), who claimed that this group actually deals with a routine procedure of tax-collecting; see also Na'aman's (2000, 130f.) response). As far as I understand, there is no evidence in the Amarna letters that the campaign was eventually executed (thus also Reviv 1966, 51; cf. Gabolde 2001, 37).

⁶² Thus for example in vol. 2 p. 33 with regard to *EA* 161.

⁶³ The letters of the Third Time-Division are later than the First Syrian Campaign. One piece of evidence that supports this assumption is that during the first campaign, Šutatarra ruled in Qadeš, while in the Amarna letters (all belong to the current time-division) his son Aitakkama ruled this city (Campbell 1964, 123). Cf. Klengel (1992b, 157) who suggested that Aitakkama's activity appearing in the Amarna letters began when he was a coregent; however, Klengel gave no real support for this supposition (v.i. also discussion in Chapter IV.B.1.81. in this matter).

⁶⁴ Idanda is the last king of Qatna who appears in the inventory lists from that city. Akizzi's name is not mentioned there; therefore, he probably ruled after Idanda (Richter 2002, 607; id. 2005, 111; v.i. Chapter IV.C.1.).

that Assyria was released from Mittanni's burden and aspired to take its place as the leading power in north Mesopotamia⁶⁵. The letters from the northern vassals, who were formerly Mitanni's vassals and suddenly started to write to the pharaoh, reinforce this conclusion as well⁶⁶. The date of *EA* 42 and 43 written by **Šuppiluliuma** is unclear. If there is no connection between *EA* 41 and 42, it is possible that *EA* 42 was written in the current time-division. If the fragmentary *EA* 43 indeed refers to Tušratta's murder and the arrival of Šattiwaza in Hatti (Na'aman 1995⁶⁷), it fits well with the weakening of Mittanni, which seems to characterize the present time-division. The friendly *EA* 44 from prince Zita does not fit so well with the hostile atmosphere characterizing this correspondence⁶⁸, yet it is possible that it was written during a break in the battles, or even better, prior to their beginning⁶⁹.

In order to date the Third Time-Division with regards to Egyptian chronology, we can use three names that appear in several letters of this unit; pharaohs Nibhurrereya (*EA* 9) and Huriya (*EA* 41), and princess Mayati (*EA* 10, 11 and 155).

The name **Nibhurrereya**, which appears in *EA* 9, is the premen of Tutankhamun; however, we should reject this identification for two reasons. First, the beginning of the relationships between Assyria and Egypt should be dated to Akhenaten's reign (*EA* 15–16); therefore, when we date *EA* 9 to the beginning of Tutankhamun's reign it is hard to explain why Burna-Buriyaš II reacted so late to what he considered as a real threat to his status⁷⁰ (Miller 2007a, 267). The second

⁶⁵ It was suggested in the past that *EA* 16's addressee was pharaoh Ay, but this proposal should be set aside since the existence of such a late letter in Amarna is hard to explain (Moran 1992, xxxv n. 23, 39 n. 1).

⁶⁶ The letters are: *EA* 51 from Nuhašše (cf. Gromova 2007, 280f.), *EA* 52–56 from Qatna, *EA* 57 from Qatna or its surroundings, *EA* 59 from Tunip and probably also *EA* 67 (v.s. discussion with this letter in p. 33f.). It seems that all of these letters were written under the same circumstances; the hostile activity of the Hittites and their allies against Egyptian and Mittannian vassals in Syria. Both *EA* 51 (Addu-nirari) and 53 (Akizzi) mention that the Hittite tried at first to conclude a treaty with Nuhašše and Qatna (it is possible that *EA* 161 details a similar event (an arrival of a Hittite messenger in Amurru)). For the late date of *EA* 59 v.i. p. 221.

⁶⁷ See also Liverani 1998–1999, 411f.; Gabolde 2001; Cochavi-Rainey 2005, 95. Cf. Artzi 1993; Nemirovski 2005. Moran (1992) is cautious and does not translate this letter.

⁶⁸ Thus, the testimonies of Hittite threat on Syrian rulers (e.g. *EA* 161–162) and Hittite raids against Egyptian territory (e.g. in 'Amqa) during the last parts of the Third Time-Division are very common (*EA* 126, *EA* 170, *EA* 174–176, etc.).

⁶⁹ See in this context, Campbell 1964, 130f.; Kühne 1973, 102f. (esp. n. 508); Liverani 1998–1999, 410; del Monte 2009, 109 n. 40

⁷⁰ In the letter, Burna-Buriyaš II considered the Assyrians Babylonian vassals who were not allowed to have independent foreign affairs. There is no other indication for Babylonian sovereignty over Assyria at this period (Liverani 1990a, 70f.), so the nature of the confrontation between the two kingdoms was probably different. *EA* 15–16 were written when Assyria, under the leadership of

reason is related to the date of Akhetaten's abandonment (first year of Tutankhamun). If *EA* 9 was addressed to Tutankhamun, it constituted a new and urgent issue; therefore, it is not clear why it (perhaps together with *EA* 15–16) was not taken by Tutankhamun when he moved to his new capital city⁷¹ (Miller 2007a, 265–267). For these reasons it is better to identify Nibhurrereya with Akhenaten (v.s. p. 29).

EA 41 was addressed to pharaoh **Huriya**, whose identity is unclear. The letter can be attributed to the Second (Huriya = Akhenaten) or the Third (Huriya = Smenkhkare⁷²) Time-Divisions. In my opinion, the realia reflected in this letter (peaceful relations between Hatti and Egypt) fits better the atmosphere of the Second Time-Division and the beginning of Akhenaten's reign (v.s. p. 39f.).

The name of **Mayati**—who can be identified as princess Meritaten, Akhenaten's daughter and Smenkhkare's wife (e.g. Hess 1993, 106f.; Liverani 1998–1999, 159 n. 49; Eaton-Krauss and Krauss 2001, 95)—appears in three letters: *EA* 10 and 11, written by Burna-Buriyaš II, and *EA* 155 written by Abi-Milku, ruler of Tyre. These letters can be dated through an analysis of Meritaten's career. The last agreed appearance of Nefertiti (Akhenaten's first wife) in Amarna is dated to (not before) regnal year 12 of Akhenaten⁷³ (Campbell 1964, 56–58). It remains unclear what exactly happened after this year; some scholars believe that Nefertiti died or was dismissed⁷⁴, others are unsure (Murnane 2001, 17; Miller 2007a, 275), or believe that she outlived her husband (Krauss 1997b, 217; Eaton-Krauss and Krauss 2001, 96). All we know is that some of Nefertiti's representations were damaged, and in some

Aššur-uballiṭ, tried to fill the void created after the collapse of Mittanni. Burna-Buriyaš II on the other hand, saw himself as the rightful successor of Mittanni (probably because Babylonia struggled for a long period of time against Mittanni (Kühne 1999, 218f.). Possibly, Babylonia was even involved in the fall of Mittanni; cf. Liverani (2001a, 307–311), who stresses the Babylonian weakness in the Amarna period). *EA* 9, therefore, reflects the struggle between Assyria and Babylonia over Mittanni's place as the leading Mesopotamian power. For the relationship between the two kingdoms in this period, see Kuhrt 2000, 349–352; Ragionieri 2000, 48; Zaccagnini 2000a, 150f. For an analysis of the Babylonian dossier, see Liverani 2001a, 307–310; Westbrook 2000.

⁷¹ We should notice that if *EA* 9 was addressed to the young Tutankhamun, it is not the first but (at least) the second letter from Burna-Buriyaš II written during Tutankhamun's first regnal year (since *EA* 9 lacks the typical greetings for a pharaoh's accession).

⁷² Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 97. We can not entirely reject the possibility that Huriya is Tutankhamun, but since the royal court left Akhetaten during the first year of his reign, the possibility that the letter was addressed to him is not so probable.

⁷³ Some scholars dated her last appearance in Amarna to a later date. Thus, Krauss (1997b, 217) claimed that Nefertiti appears also in a description of queen Teye's death, which is dated by Gabolde (2001, 15) to Akhenaten's regnal year 14. Gabolde (2001, 18–20) himself suggested that the last references for Nefertiti came from year 16, and that she died in year 17, several months before her husband.

⁷⁴ Campbell 1964, 56; Eaton-Krauss 1990, 550f.; Gabolde 2001, 20; Klinger 2006a, 318.

cases her name was deleted, or replaced by Meritaten's name⁷⁵. Despite the disagreement concerning Nefertiti's fate, it seems clear from the aforementioned letters that Meritaten's status rose⁷⁶. It is possible to infer that Nefertiti's disappearance/weakening is connected to Meritaten's strengthening and to date these three letters between regnal year 12 of Akhenaten and the end of the archive, i.e. to the last third of Akhenaten's reign⁷⁷ (Kühne 1973, 63; Murnane 1990a, 122).

We may try to use Mayati's name in order to date the Babylonian letters in which it appears. The first three letters of Burna-Buriyaš II's and Akhenaten's correspondence are probably *EA 7, 8* and *9*⁷⁸, which were written during a period of three⁷⁹ to four

⁷⁵ Campbell 1964, 56–58; Redford 1967b, 173f.; Gabolde 1998, 172–174. An example for the replacement of Nefertiti's name with Meritaten's name (in Nubia) can be found in Porter and Moss 1962, 174.

⁷⁶ *EA 10* (44–47): "and concerning your daughter Mayati, having heard (about her), I send to her as a greeting-gift..." (Moran 1992, 19). *EA 11* (rev. 24–27): "...and to the mistress of the house [I send]... [I know] that Mayati alone did nothing for me by which [I am] res[tored to health], and showed no concern for me" (Moran 1992, 22; for the identification of the 'mistress of the house' with Mayati, see Na'aman 1975 (vol. 2), 83*–84* n. 20; Moran 1992, 23 n. 22). *EA 155* l. 24–30: "Should the king, my lord, give water to drink to the servant of Mayati, then I will devote myself to his service (and that of) Mayati, my mistress, night and day" (Moran 1992, 241); l. 49–50: "the ki[ng charged me] with guar[ding] the ci[ty] of Ma[y]ati, my mistress" (Moran 1992, 242). Murnane (2001, 17f.; in his critique of Gabolde 1998, 174–178) claims that *EA 155* cannot be used as proof of Mayati's rising status, since it is an "'oriental' flattery". However, because we have three letters which refer to Mayati (although usually references in the Amarna letters to Egyptian queens are rare), and since this is the only letter from Abi-Milku which used this flattery toward Mayati, it seems quite reasonable that the three letters give testimony to Mayati's gradual strengthening (see also Gabolde 2001, 28). Allen (2009, 18–20) believes that Meritaten was indeed promoted, but he claims that Neferneferuatn, Akhenaten's fourth daughter, was the one to take Nefertiti's place as Akhenaten's main wife (while Mayati became the coregent's wife). A detailed discussion concerning this problem will be presented in Chapter IV.E.2.4., since it is connected to the problem of the identity of the *dahamunzu*.

⁷⁷ It is possible that Meritaten's strengthening is connected with her marriage to Smenkhkare, either during Akhenaten's reign, or when Smenkhkare became a sole king (Na'aman 1975, 213, vol. 2, 83* n. 18). However, we can also connect her new status to her marriage to Akhenaten (Gabolde 1998, 174–178; id. 2001, 25). For reasons mentioned above (v.s. Chapter II.C.), it is better to date the letters to Akhenaten's reign, and in any case, they are not later than the beginning of Tutankhamun's reign (Na'aman 1975, 213; cf. Giles 1997, 204).

⁷⁸ In my opinion these three letters antedate the marriage of Akhenaten and the Babylonian princess, since Burna-Buriyaš II does not use an argumentation of kin relations in order to stress the good relations between him and Akhenaten, but only a weaker argument concerning the strong connections between their predecessors. These letters probably also preceded the marriage negotiations, because Burna-Buriyaš II does not utilize the wedding to pressure Akhenaten to fill his demands (i.e. shipping gold, not accepting Assyrian emissaries, catching robbers, etc.), as Kadašman-Enlil I did in some of his letters (*EA 3*, l. 7–12; *EA 4*, l. 36–50). This order of letters was suggested by Liverani 1998–1999; Kühne (1973, 72) adopted this order too, except for *EA 9* which he (id., 73) dated to Tutankhamun's reign; cf. also Cochavi-Rainey (2005, 37–40) who placed these letters after the wedding.

⁷⁹ Kühne (1973, 118–124) assumed that the emissaries spent on average a month and a half on the way between Egypt and Babylonia (a distance of 2500 km which they crossed in 40 to 50 days). According to his evaluation, the messengers could have been delayed for one year at their destination; however, there is no doubt that some missions were executed in a much shorter time. When we accept his minimal estimation (a three month delay), we should allocate one year for *EA 8*

years⁸⁰. The order of these letters is uncertain, but if *EA 9* is the first of them, they were written between years six (at the earliest⁸¹) and nine/ten of Akhenaten's reign. If *EA 9* was not the first of them, all we can say is that these letters were written circa year six of Akhenaten. The next letters, *EA 10* and *11*⁸² (in which Mayati is mentioned), were written (at the earliest) in year 12⁸³ or between years 12 and 14 of Akhenaten's reign⁸⁴. It is hard to determine the time of the marriage to which *EA 13* and *14* (perhaps also *EA 12*) testify, yet it is possible that it occurred approximately two years after *EA 11* was sent⁸⁵, that is to say, between years 14 and 16 of Akhenaten's reign (depending on the date when *EA 11* was written, that is, regnal years 12 or 14 of Akhenaten)⁸⁶.

Dating the correspondence of Abi-Milku king of Tyre (*EA 146–155*) is more difficult. Mayati appears in *EA 155*, yet the exact location of this letter inside the Tyre dossier is uncertain⁸⁷; according to Knudtson's ordering, it should be the last letter of this dossier, but there is no real support for this proposal.

and 9 (three months spent on the way and three months delay at the destination for each letter) and to that we should add a two year delay which appears in *EA 7* (l. 49).

⁸⁰ Redford (1967b, 165f.) claimed that we should allocate *EA 8* and *9* at least one year, and to that we should add a two year delay which appears in *EA 7*.

⁸¹ It should not precede this date, since it is not so reasonable that the weakening of Mittanni and Assyrian independence (hinted in *EA 9*) happened before *EA 29*—the last letter of Mittanni—was written, i.e. not earlier than year six of Akhenaten (as mentioned before, *EA 29* was written at least four years after *EA 27* (v.s. p. 39)).

⁸² First, *EA 10* was sent to Egypt; then a letter in which Akhenaten announced the death of his (probably Babylonian) queen was sent from Egypt; in *EA 11*, the response to the last letter, Burna-Buriyaš II offered his daughter to Akhenaten.

⁸³ When we accept Kühne's (1973, 118) minimal estimation, i.e. six months for each letter.

⁸⁴ When we accept Redford's (1967b, 165f.) estimation, i.e. one year for each letter.

⁸⁵ The Egyptian envoys had to return to Egypt and then the pharaoh had to prepare a new delegation to match Burna-Buriyaš II's new requirements. We can estimate the size of this delegation by Burna-Buriyaš II's hint that a similar delegation, which left Babylonia at the time of his father, included 3,000 soldiers (*EA 11* l. 23–28). After the preparations of the new delegation, the provisions and the gifts, the caravan spent at least four months on the way until it arrived in Babylonia (see Murnane's (1990a, 95–97) estimation for the pace of army advance in the ancient world). At that stage, different ceremonies were probably held in Babylonia and only then could the delegation have made its way back to Egypt, which probably took more time, since the delegation now also included the Babylonian princess and her entourage.

⁸⁶ Kühne (1973, 67f.) raised another possibility that *EA 7* was sent after *EA 10* because of Burna-Buriyaš II's disease which is mentioned in both letters. In my opinion this proposal has no real support (let alone that two years separate them), but when we accept it we should date this group of letters between years 12 and 15 of Akhenaten and the wedding between years 16 and 17 of his reign. We should mention that proximity between *EA 7* and *10* can also be retained when we opt for the following order: *EA 8*, *7*, *10* and *EA 9* could be placed before or after *EA 8*.

⁸⁷ The first letter of Tyre dossier is *EA 295*. This letter was written by [Ba'lu]-dānu, who was probably Abi-Milku's predecessor (Na'aman 2005a, 54f.; id. 2005b, 65–68; Na'aman's suggestion to attribute this letter to the Tyre dossier was verified by petrographic examination (Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004, 168). For the reading of the name of this ruler and the possibility that this king wrote a letter (or maybe two) to Ugarit, see van Soldt 2002). Abi-Milku acceded to the throne already during Amenhotep III's reign (*EA 147*: 57–60; see Na'aman 2005a, 54f.; id. 2005b, 68; cf. Campbell

Nevertheless, following an examination of the following three letters we can define a smaller unit, the **Sub-Division**. This group of letters includes the most important events of this period in north Syria (mentioned at the beginning of this time-division). The first two letters that open the Sub-Division are *EA 140* and *170*, which describe a Hittite attack in north Syria during 'Aziru's visit to Egypt⁸⁸. The third letter, *EA 162*, was sent by the pharaoh to 'Aziru. In this letter (l. 42–54), the king quoted 'Aziru's request (from an earlier letter) to postpone his planned visit to Egypt by one year. The pharaoh continued and wrote that 'Aziru's former request for delay was granted, but the year has passed and the time has arrived for 'Aziru to fulfill his obligation. It is possible that these letters testify to the existence of a cyclic visit procedure that 'Aziru was obligated to perform annually⁸⁹. If all the letters dealing with this episode had been preserved, we should conclude that *EA 162* was written approximately two years after *EA 140* and *170*, since the latter describe the last known visit of 'Aziru to Egypt. *EA 162* is not the last letter in 'Aziru's correspondence. The order of *EA 161* and *162* is usually determined according to the references of the Egyptian administrator Hanni's visits to Amurru (Na'aman 1975, 211; Singer 1991a, 154). From *EA 161* we can learn that 'Aziru evaded Hanni (l. 11–23) and asked the king to send a messenger (l. 54–56), whereas in *EA 162* a quotation of 'Aziru's letter appears in which he asked

1964, 71f.). It is possible that *EA 150* was the first of Abi-Milku's letters, and that Amenhotep III was its recipient (l. 33–37; see Na'aman 2005a, 55 n. 5). Another early letter of Abi-Milku is *EA 149* (v.s. discussion in p. 36). This letter should probably be connected with the conquest of Šumur, and was therefore written around the end of the Second Time-Division. The other letters from Tyre can be divided into several groups. To the first belong *EA 154* (11–20: departure of Egyptian troops staying in the city) and *155* (47–54: details Abi-Milku's difficulties since the departure of these same^(?) troops). Since we can only determine that *EA 155* (which mentions Mayati) was written at the earliest in year 12, we cannot precisely date this group. The second group is comprised of *EA 147* (v.s. discussion in p. 37) *153*, and perhaps also *EA 151* (cf. Giles 1995, 142; Gromova 2007, 295; for *EA 151*, v.i. p. 194 n. 44). This group of letters deal with the preparations for the Egyptian campaign, but its position with regard to the former group of letters is not clear. The place and order of the other letters from Tyre, *EA 146*, *148* and *152* which do not belong to either one of these groups, is also not clear.

⁸⁸ It is possible that *EA 168* was written somewhat earlier, when 'Aziru was in his way to Egypt (Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004, 113).

⁸⁹ It is possible that the procedure came into force only when the Hittite threat grew (i.e. close to the end of the Third Time-Division). If this visit was not a cyclic procedure, *EA 162* was written one year + X after the visit portrayed by these letters. However, there are clues that in other places such a procedure was indeed customary; thus for example, a paragraph dealing with the same sort of obligation appears in 'Aziru's treaty with the Hittites (*HDT*, 285; see also Beal 2007, 84. The multiplicity of treaties with Amurru may support this claim (see Klengel 1992a, 351)). It is possible that *EA 149* (l. 28–40) and *151* (l. 4–34) from Abi-Milku, mention a similar procedure as well. For other views concerning these events see Singer 1991a, 148–155; Hachmann 2001, 143; Miller 2007a, 287.

the king to send Hanni once more (l. 55–77). However, in the quotation of ʿAziru in *EA* 162 (l. 56–58) he explains the reason for his request to dispatch of Hanni in this manner:

"May the king...send Hanni...once more, so I can have the enemies of the king delivered into his charge" (Moran 1992, 249).

Contrary to *EA* 162, *EA* 161 does not mention the extradition of the king's enemies as the objective of Hanni's visit to Amurru; therefore, this detail cannot be used to determine the order of the two letters. In other words, it is unclear whether the objectives of Hanni's two missions were identical; consequently, we cannot conclude that the 'second' visit of Hanni (*EA* 162) was carried out due to the failure of the 'first' (*EA* 161). Nonetheless, there are two other criteria which indicate that we should reverse this order. In *EA* 161 there are references to incidents that should have been mentioned in the 'reproach letter' *EA* 162 (e.g. the conquest of Tunip and Niya by ʿAziru). In addition, in *EA* 161 ʿAziru replies to the pharaoh's accusation regarding his contacts with the Hittites, while in *EA* 162 there is only a reference to ʿAziru's condemnation of his relations with Aitakkama. We would expect, however, that if *EA* 162 was written as a reply to *EA* 161, it would also include the more severe accusation concerning ʿAziru's relations with the Hittites. Consequently, we should reconstruct this scenario: sometime after *EA* 162 (the first reproach letter) arrived in Amurru, a second letter was sent by the pharaoh and *EA* 161 should probably be seen as ʿAziru's response for this second letter.

Now, the order of *EA* 160–161 and 164–167 should be examined. In my opinion, the best criteria for this purpose are the events in Nuhašše and the probable deterioration of the situation in north Syria. In *EA* 160 (l. 24–25) and 161 (l. 36–38) ʿAziru was afraid to leave his land, since he feared the attack of the kings of Nuhašše as well as the 'diplomatic initiatives' of Hatip, an Egyptian administrator who stirred Nuhašše against him. From *EA* 164 (l. 18–26), 165 (l. 14–21), 166 (l. 12–13, 21–22) and 167 (l. 11–15, 20–21) it appears that the Hittites are the sovereigns of Nuhašše and that Hatip—who probably had to escape from Nuhašše due to the advance of the Hittite army—is staying at Amurru. Based on this information, we may conclude that *EA* 160–161 were written when Nuhašše was still independent and under Egyptian influence, while *EA* 164–167 were written somewhat later, when this land was already

under Hittite occupation⁹⁰. Therefore, this latter group of letters closes the Amurru dossier.

In summary, after *EA* 162 was sent, several additional letters were written. These letters detail the following events: the conquest of Tunip and Niya by ʿAziru, the arrival of the Hittites to Nuhašše and the establishment of relationships between Hatti and ʿAziru. Through an evaluation of these events, it is possible to estimate that approximately two years⁹¹ elapsed between the writing of *EA* 162 and the end of the northern vassals' correspondence. At the beginning of this period we should add two more years (between ʿAziru's visit to Egypt (*EA* 140 and 170) and the writing of *EA* 162), and thus estimate the period covered by the Sub-Division at three, or probably better, four years.

It seems that the letters of the Sub-Division should be placed at the end of the Third Time-Division⁹². This proposed date is supported by several sources. The

⁹⁰ An opposite order of the letters could be based upon Izre'el's (1991 (vol. 2), 40–43) restoration for lines 29–30 of *EA* 165:

29 ...ka-aš-ṛdā-ku¹

30 p[a²-n]a²-[nu-um⁽²⁾] a-[na] LUGAL KUR Ḫa-ṛat-te¹

First⁽²⁾ I approach the king of Hatti...

When we accept this restoration (e.g. Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2003, 9) we may assume that first ʿAziru confessed his contacts with the Hittites and his intention to meet the Hittite king (*EA* 165), then came a letter (not preserved) in which the pharaoh reproached ʿAziru for his treachery, and later ʿAziru defended himself against the accusation (*EA* 161). On the other hand, even if we accept this restoration (rather than those made by Moran (1992, 253), Liverani (1998–1999, 276) or Cochavi-Rainey (2005, 187) for these lines), we can still reverse the order and suggest that first ʿAziru received a Hittite messenger (*EA* 161) and only later did he meet the Hittite king (*EA* 165).

⁹¹ During this interval, the pharaoh wrote two letters to ʿAziru (*EA* 162 and a second letter to which ʿAziru responded with *EA* 161) and ʿAziru sent back two letters (*EA* 161 and 165). I estimate this time-span, during which the different diplomatic missions (time spent on the way and at the destination) and the movements of the armies of Amurru (conquest of Niya and then Tunip) and Hatti (conquest of Nuhašše) were carried out, at approximately two years.

⁹² Thus, the preparations for the Egyptian campaign against the Hittites were dated by Na'aman (2005b, 68) to the last years of Akhenaten. Gromova (2007, 296f., 306) suggested that ʿAziru returned from his visit to Egypt at the beginning of his reign, i.e. at the beginning of Akhenaten's reign, after staying in the pharaoh's court during ʿAbdi-Aširta's reign. If we accept this suggestion we should date the letters of the Sub-Division (which begins with this event) to the beginning of Akhenaten's reign (my Second Time-Division). In my opinion this suggestion is problematic since the Second Time-Division occupies more or less the first third of this pharaoh's reign, and for several reasons we can not locate the Sub-Division even at the beginning of the Third Time-Division. **First**, there are letters from the northern vassals' correspondence written before the beginning of the Sub-Division— e.g. *EA* 149 (Abi-Milku) and *EA* 129–134 (Rib-Hadda)—which deal with the conquest of Šumur, a key event which occupies the end of the Second Time-Division (between years four to six of Akhenaten's reign); this subject (which is not mentioned in the letters of the Sub-Division) was probably the main issue to be dealt with also at the beginning of the Third Time-Division. **Second**, considering the distress of the Syrian vassals and their repeated requests for Egyptian military support, which appear in the Sub-Division, this unit should be placed after the letters *EA* 150, 154 and 155 of the Tyre

correspondence with the southern vassals ended in the middle of the Sub-Division⁹³; using this data we can place the Sub-Division at the end of the Third Time-Division (see also Na'aman 1975, 113f.). A more accurate date, around year 14/16 of Akhenaten, can be achieved if we synchronize the Sub-Division with the end of the Babylonian correspondence. However, we have no means of verifying this correlation, since these correspondences do not deal with the same subjects. As a consequence, we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that (at least) part of the Third Time-Division is parallel with the reigns of Akhenaten's successors⁹⁴ (Moran 1992, xxxvi; Liverani 1998–1999, 44–46).

We can also synchronize the Sub-Division with external sources. Some letters of the Sub-Division, which refer to Hittite activity in Syria, can be equated with Hittite sources that deal with the Second Syrian War of Šuppiluliuma. When the similarity of these military operations is accepted, we can use the chronological anchors appearing in the Hittite texts, which are the death of 'Niphururiya' and the '*dahamunzu*- episode', in order to date the Sub-Division (v.s. Chapter IV.E.2.4.).

C.4. Conclusions; the archive's time-span of activity and the nature of the different Hittite campaigns:

The maximal time span during which the archive was active could cover the period from year 30 of Amenhotep III to the first year of Tutankhamun; in total, roughly 30 years⁹⁵. When we take into consideration the fact that the archive includes only inactive dossiers and that the city of Akhetaten was abandoned not later than year one of Tutankhamun, it is possible that the letters cover a shorter period (about 25 years).

dossier, which mention the presence of an Egyptian army in the Levantine coast (v.s. p. 47 n. 112). If we accept this suggestion, the Sub-Division should not be dated before regnal year 12 of Akhenaten (because of Meritaten's appearance in EA 155). **Finally**, EA 59, which should be placed at the end of the Sub-Division, mentions a time period of 20 years, during which the people of Tunip wrote persistently to the pharaoh. This is definitely an exaggeration, but it gives some clue as to the (late) date of this letter and the Sub-Division's ending.

⁹³ The correspondence with the Canaanite rulers ended approximately in parallel with the delivery of the letters, which detail an Egyptian plan for a military campaign in Syria (see Na'aman 1975, 228f.).

⁹⁴ Thus, in EA 147, 57–60, Abi-Milku (the writer) referred to his correspondence with the 'father of the king'. Since Abi-Milku acceded to the throne during Amenhotep III's reign (for discussion concerning the Tyre dossier, v.s. p. 47 n. 112), we can identify the 'father of the king' with Amenhotep III, and date the delivery of the aforementioned group of letters to Akhenaten's reign. In my opinion this proposal should be preferred, although we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that Abi-Milku's reign continued into Smenkhkare's reign, and the phrase 'the father of the king' refers to Akhenaten. V.s. also above Chapter II.C.

⁹⁵ The last eight years of Amenhotep III + seventeen years of Akhenaten + three years of 'Ankhetkheprure' and Smenkhkare + first year of Tutankhamun.

As mentioned before, there is not even a single letter that unequivocally followed Akhenaten's death.

In the archive we can find evidence of three Hittite campaigns. The first two are detailed in two letters of the First Time-Division, *EA 17* (unsuccessful raid on Mittanni = a Hittite raid, possibly in the time of Tudhaliya II) and *EA 75* (conquest of the Syrians vassals of Mittanni = First Syrian War). The third campaign is dated to a late stage of the Third Time-Division. Unlike the first two, it is recorded in more than ten letters, and this is probably the result of the fundamental differences of the two campaigns. While the former two campaigns lasted only a short while (actually, it is possible to define them as 'raids'⁹⁶), the third campaign (or actually a war) lasted approximately four years, between 'Aziru's visit to Egypt (*EA 170*) and the end of the northern vassals' correspondence (*EA 165–167*). In addition, the first two campaigns were directed against Mittanni and its vassals (hence the lack of interest on the part of the Egyptian vassals), while during the third campaign, Egyptian vassals were hit hard as well. When we compare the third campaign with the Hittite sources, it is possible to identify it as the Second Syrian War. Since the death of 'Niphururiya' is one of the main characteristics of the Second Syrian War, we can use it to date this campaign. It is thus possible to identify the deceased pharaoh only with Akhenaten or Smenkhkare (the identification of this king with Tutankhamun is, in this case, impossible⁹⁷). Based on *CTH 83.1* (and the 'preferable' identity of 'Niphururiya'), we may even try to calculate the length of the Second War and give it a more precise dating within the Third Time-Division.

All these matters will be addressed in detail later in this work, but first we should start with an examination of the reigns of Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I, which serves as an introduction to Tudhaliya II's reign.

⁹⁶ Thus, Gromova (2007, 280) compared the Early Foray with the German Blitzkrieg.

⁹⁷ Since the city was left at the beginning of Tutankhamun's reign (v.s. p. 28).

III. Tudhaliya II:

III.A. Introduction; the reign of Tudhaliya II's predecessors:

A.1. Analysis of the primary sources:

The first sources are the texts from Hattuša, which will be presented according to their *CTH* numbering. Afterwards, texts from other locations will be presented: several letters from the archive of Maşat-Höyük followed by a peculiar text from Kayalipinar.

A.1.1. The Huhazalma treaty (CTH 28)¹:

KBo 16.47 (MH) is probably a parity treaty between a Hittite king and Huhazalma (Otten 1967, 62; de Martino 1996, 63). From the historical prologue of the treaty (obv. 1'–3') it appears that a ruler named Huhazalma incited the Hittite cities of Ura and Mutamutašša to rebel. Later the Hittite king managed to suppress the rebellion and to bring the cities back under Hatti's yoke (i 4'–6'). After the victory, a treaty was concluded between the two parties, in which they vowed they would not attack each other again (ii 15').

The name of Huhazalma appears in two more texts. The first is *KUB* 40.110² (*CTH* 824.1.A), in which it appears several times in this manner: "the year of Huhazalma"³. In line 6 of the second text, *KBo* 5.7 (designated as *LSU* 1 and *CTH* 223) a land grant text, the name of Huhazalma appears in a similar way, "in year 1 of Huhazalma"⁴ (Riemschneider 1958, 344). These references probably testify that in that year an important event related to Huhazalma, took place. It is possible to identify this event with his conquest of the Hittite cities (Forlanini 1988, 161f.; de Martino 1996, 66), the

¹ Edition: Otten 1967, 56–57; de Martino 1996, 69–72.

² Edition: Otten 1967, 58.

³ obv.

⁵ [ku-i]š²-ma ṀHa-ni-ik-ku-DINGIR-LIM-iš IŠ-TU MU.KAM Ṁ[Hu-ḫa-za-al-ma...]

...

⁹ ki-nu-na a-pí-ia-ia IŠ-TU MU.KAM ṀHu-ḫa-za-al-ma [...]

...

¹¹ nu a-pí-ia-ia ka-ru-ú QA-TAM-MA [...] -an-na-aš IŠ-TU MU.KAM ṀHu-ḫa-za-al-ma Ú-UL ku-it-ki [...]

⁴ ⁶ [.....]x I-NA MU.1.KAM ṀHu-u-ḫa-za-al-ma...

reconquest of the cities by the Hittites, or the conclusion of the treaty between the two parties.

We can identify the area in which Huhazalma was active through the cities he conquered: Ura⁵, Mutamutašša⁶ and Zallawašši⁷. These cities should be located in an area spread over south Anatolia, between Cilicia and Pamphylia. The kingdom of Huhazalma is not mentioned in the text, but in light of the area in which he was active we should probably identify him as a king of Arzawa⁸ (de Martino 1996, 63, 68).

It is possible to date the reign of Huhazalma using *KBo* 5.7, since in addition to his name, it also mentions the names of Arnuwanda, Ašmunikal and Tudhaliya the regnant (*tuhkanti-*); consequently, when all these texts deal with the same Huhazalma, then the abovementioned events should be dated to an advanced phase of Arnuwanda's reign, probably after the events mentioned in Madduwatta text⁹ (de Martino 1996, 67; Beckman 1998, 592; Marizza 2007a, 4f.).

In summation, if we accept the suggested date and scene of activity, we may conclude that in an advanced stage of Arnuwanda's reign, the Hittite grip on west Anatolia was weakened, and as a result a local ruler named Huhazalma (who might possibly be identified as the king of Arzawa) invaded Hittite territories in south Anatolia. As a result of his campaigns, all south Anatolia was united under his reign. His success was significant but short-lived and Arnuwanda managed to reconquer this area.

⁵ There were several cities with this name; in the current case we should identify Ura with the famous harbor city situated in Cilicia (de Martino 1996, 65; id. 2004a, 107; see also Güterbock 1986, 320; Forlanini 1988, map 1 in p. 131, 145, 161f.; Singer 2005, 436). As opposed to this proposal, Otten (1967, 58) located it in north-east Anatolia in the area of Azzi-Ḫayaša, and Gurney (1992, 219) preferred to place it in north-west Anatolia.

⁶ On a west-Anatolian location of Mutamutašša (in Pamfilia), see *RGTC* 6, 276f.; Forlanini 1988, map 1 in p. 131, 162–168; de Martino 1996, 55, 63, 65; id. 2004a. Cf. Gurney (1992, 219), who place this city in north-west Anatolia. Hawkins (1998a, 27 and especially n. 165 and 167) also located the city in south-west Anatolia, in the area of Lycia south of Miletus, but this location seems to be too far from Hatti to cause such agitated responses.

⁷ We should probably identify the city of Zallawašši with Šaluša/Šallawašša situated in south Pisidia or Pamfilia (Forlanini 1988, 161f.; id. 1998a, 237f.; de Martino 1996, 68; id. 2004a, 109f.). Forlanini (1998b, 217; id. 2007a, 293 n. 47) identifies the city with classical Silliyon.

⁸ Another possibility is that Huhazalma succeeded Madduwatta's kingdom, which also became strong during Arnuwanda I's reign (Forlanini 1988, 162), or that he was an independent ruler who established a kingdom in south Anatolia (Singer 2005, 436).

⁹ Since Madduwatta's activity had already begun during Tudhaliya I's reign.

A.1.2. The Aleppo treaty (CTH 75)¹⁰:

CTH 75 is a copy II of a treaty drawn up between Muršili II and Talmi-Šarrumma, king of Aleppo. The historical preamble of this treaty (par. §5) mentions that when Tudhaliya (I) acceded to the throne, the king of Aleppo signed a treaty with him. Later, the king of Aleppo changed his mind and made peace with Mittanni, and in response, Tudhaliya went to war, defeated the king of Mittanni and devastated Aleppo. We should notice that the treaty between Muršili II and Talmi-Šarrumma was concluded more than 100 years after the aforementioned events (and the copy we have at present—made by Muwattalli II—is even later).

A.1.3. The Sunaššura treaty (CTH 41.I and 41.II (known also as CTH 131)):

Several copies of treaties between Hatti and Sunaššura, king of Kizzuwatna, were discovered, some written in Akkadian (*CTH 41.I*¹¹) and others in Hittite (*CTH 41.II*¹²). The Hittite version of the treaty has two copies¹³, A and B, which apparently represent two different treaties with Sunaššura; Copy B, in which Kizzuwatna was granted better conditions, can be probably dated slightly earlier than Copy A and its contemporary Akkadian version (*HDT*, 17–18; Houwink ten Cate 1998; Schwemer 2007, 152). The name of the Hittite king, a certain Tudhaliya, appears only in the Akkadian version of the treaty¹⁴ (Wilhelm 1988, 362–365).

The historical prologue at the beginning of the Akkadian treaty (*KBo* 1.5), gives us a glimpse of Kizzuwatna's interaction with Hatti and Mittanni over the years, which preceded the conclusion of the treaty:

5–7: Formerly, in the time of my grandfather, Kizzuwatna *had become* (that) of the land of Hatti¹⁵, but afterwards the land of

¹⁰ Edition: Weidner 1923, 80–89. Translation: *HDT*, 93–95. Discussion: Houwink ten Cate 1970, 59; Na'aman 1980; Altman 2004, 354–361; Devecchi 2010. Some scholars (e.g. Carruba 2005, 180.) use this text as evidence of the separation between Tudhaliya I (conqueror of Aleppo) and Tudhaliya II (husband of Nikalmati), and the existence of Hattušili II (see discussion in Miller 1999, 11f.; for further bibliography in this matter, v.s. p. 1f. and notes there).

¹¹ Text: *KBo* 1.5, *KBo* 19.40, *KBo* 28.75, *KBo* 28.106, *KBo* 28.110 and *KUB* 3.4. Translation: *HDT*, 18–25. Houwink ten Cate (1998, 34, 37–43) suggested that *KBo* 28.75⁹ and *KBo* 28.110 belong to an earlier version of the treaty, which he designated as '*a simple agreement*' (regarding this matter see also del Monte 1985, 263f.; Freu 2001, 27f.).

¹² Translation: *HDT*, 25f.

¹³ A. *KUB* 8.81+ *KBo* 19.39. B. *KUB* 36.127.

¹⁴ In the past, this treaty was mostly dated to the reign of Šuppiluliuma; e.g. Bryce 1986b, 96f.; see also discussion in Beal 1986, 432–434; id. 2002b, 59f.; Taracha 2004, 632f.

¹⁵ Line 6: ša KUR ^{URU}Ḫa-at-t[i i]b-ba-ši (translation according to Schwemer 2007, 152).

Kizzuwatna freed itself from Hatti and turned to the land of Hurri¹⁶ (*HDT*, 18; Schwemer 2007, 152).

In order to fully comprehend these events we should examine line 6 in detail. When we accept the aforementioned translation, "Kizzuwatna *had become* (that) of the land of Hatti"¹⁷, we may safely assume that during the reign of Tudhaliya's grandfather, Kizzuwatna became an ally of the Hittites (Schwemer 2007, 152). Kizzuwatna's political status, as inferred from this expression, is unclear and ranges from 'Hittite subject' to 'independent ally'. The text does not mention the name of Kizzuwatna's king who 'turned to the land of Hurri'; it could be Sunaššura himself or one of his predecessors¹⁸. In addition, the text does not detail the circumstances surrounding the returning of Kizzuwatna to the Hittite camp. According to par. §7 (*HDT*, 19) it seems that Kizzuwatna chose to make this move; if Hatti was ever involved, it is not evident from the text. It is also unclear from the text which king ruled Hatti during this period; it could have been any king who ruled between the grandfather and Tudhaliya 'x'.

It is apparent from later parts of the text that the struggle between Hatti and Mittanni involves two regions, Išuwa (see map below)¹⁹ and Kizzuwatna. Išuwa rebelled against Hatti and Tudhaliya suppressed the rebellion. Following Tudhaliya's campaign, residents of Išuwa fled into Mittannian territory, and despite Tudhaliya's request the king of Mittanni refused to hand them over. It seems that the king of Mittanni had no claim over Išuwa, but—according to the quotation of his declaration— only over a certain group of people who had fled from Mittanni in the past and whom he considered as his subjects (par. §4²⁰; cf. Altman 2004a, 276–278). However, we should bear in mind that this response is transmitted to us by the Hittite

¹⁶ Or "Kizzuwatna broke away from Hatti and went over to the land of Hurri" (*CAD P*, 297a).

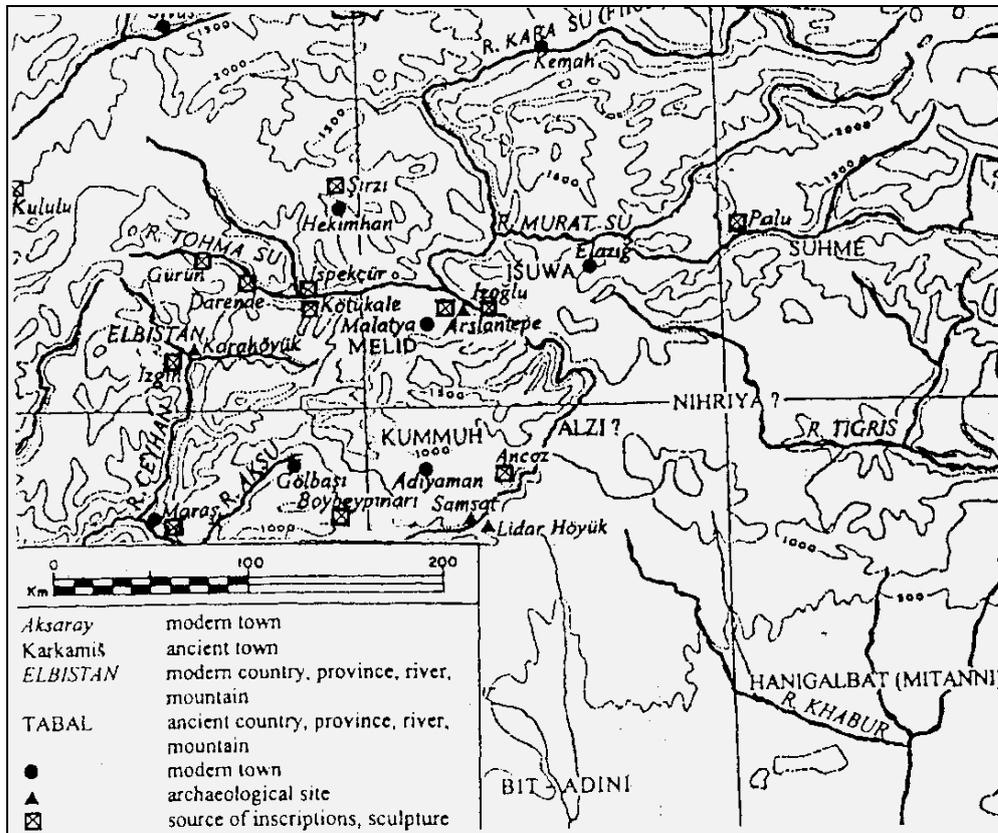
¹⁷ Compare to "Kizzuwatna was part of Hatti" suggested by Weidner (1923, 91; was accepted also by Goetze 1940, 37; Houwink ten Cate 1970, 69). Beal (1986, 433) claimed that the verb *ib-ba-ši* should have been translated as 'belong', but since Kizzuwatna at that period was independent (at least from Hatti) and the earlier treaties between Hatti and Kizzuwatna were parity treaties, we should prefer the translation "Kizzuwatna was (on the side) of Hatti". For more discussions of this matter, see Liverani 2004, 72; Miller 2004, 351–354; Bryce 2005, 428 n. 62.

¹⁸ In addition to Pilliya, we should take Talzu into consideration, since this king ruled Kizzuwatna between Pilliya and Sunaššura (*CTH* 641.1; Goetze 1940, 60–67). His relations with Hatti, as well as his counterpart, remain unknown. For further discussion concerning Talzu see Goetze 1940, 60–71; Kümmel 1976–1980, 629; Beal 1986, 432; Trémouille 2001, 63; Archi 2002, 47f. Cf. Freu (2001, 19, 24), who split Sunaššura into two separate kings, Sunaššura I and II, and placed Talzu between them.

¹⁹ For a discussion concerning the location and history of Išuwa, see Hawkins 1998b.

²⁰ The numbering of paragraphs as it appears in *HDT*.

author²¹. The second confrontation involved Kizzuwatna; this kingdom was a Mittannian subject, but according to the text, during Tudhaliya's reign its king decided to switch his loyalty and to become a Hittite vassal (par. §7).



Išua (in the center of the map) was located on the east bank of the Euphrates, opposite Malatya, and along the south bank of the Murat Su (Hawkins 1998b, 281; map in p. 293).

Two facts were used to establish the date of the treaties: the name of a certain Tudhaliya which appears at the beginning of the Akkadian treaty, and the synchronization between Sunaššura, Niqmepa^c king of Alalah (son of Idrimi) and Sauštatar king of Mittanni (*AIT* 14²²). Nowadays, the more accepted view is that the treaty with Sunaššura should be dated to Tudhaliya I (thus Beal 1986; Wilhelm 1988, 370). When we accept this proposal we may suggest the following scenario²³: During

²¹ Concerning this matter, see also Wilhelm 1993–1997, 290 (Šuppiluliuma's opinion about Mittannian territories west of the Euphrates).

²² For Niqmepa^c (Alalah), see Klengel 2001c, 568; concerning Sauštatar, see Wilhelm 2009b. According to Freu (2008) this is the second king with this name. Concerning *AIT* 14, see: Wiseman 1953, 39. About the involved kings, see Houwink ten Cate 1970, 60; Wilhelm 1989, 29f.; Klengel 1999, 568f.; de Martino 2004b, 37, 40. For Alalah in this period and the tablets from this site, see Klengel 1992b, 89; von Dassow 2002; id. 2008, 61f. When we accept Fink's (2007, 184, 211) reorganization of Alalah's strata, Alalah IVA^F (was probably destroyed by Tudhaliya I; id., 187) should be dated to this period.

²³ Beal 1986, 442–444; Beckman 2000, 24f., 27 (notes to table 1); Miller 2004, 351f.

the reign of Tudhaliya's grandfather (or ancestor) Kizzuwatna was an ally of Hatti. In the time of one of Tudhaliya I's predecessors, perhaps Huzziya II, Kizzuwatna became a Mittannian vassal²⁴. And finally, during Tudhaliya I's reign Kizzuwatna became a Hittite vassal. In this case the grandfather can be identified with Zidanta II, since he concluded a parity⁷ treaty with Pilliya²⁵.

However, it is possible that the description of the events in the treaty's preamble might be a simplification of the reality. Based on the differences between the two copies of the treaty, it is possible to suggest that the different versions of the Sunaššura treaty are actually two separate treaties with this king²⁶ (v.s. p. 54). As a result, we should weigh the possibility that an early treaty was signed with Sunaššura at a certain time between the later version of the treaty with him and the Pilliya treaty. In other words, we may reconstruct two separate treaties with Sunaššura, the first being slightly earlier than the other. As mentioned before, the Hittite king in the late treaty with Sunaššura was probably Tudhaliya I. The Hittite side in the earlier contract with Sunaššura should be identified with a king who ruled in proximity to Tudhaliya I. It could be either Muwattalli I, Kantuzzili (I, if he ever reigned), or in some circumstances even Tudhaliya I himself (probably at an early phase of his reign). If the division of the Sunaššura treaty into two contracts is accepted, we may suggest that Kizzuwatna's 'desertion' should be dated between the conclusions of these two treaties. This possibility can clarify the worsening of Kizzuwatna's condition in the later treaty with Sunaššura.

Another possibility is to date the later version of the Sunaššura treaty to Tudhaliya II (Houwink ten Cate 1998, 51–53); in this case we should date the strengthening relations between the two kingdoms to the reign of Tudhaliya I, Tudhaliya II's grandfather, and Kizzuwatna's defection (which happened "afterwards") to the end of

²⁴ In addition to **Huzziya II** (Beal 1986, 442–444; Miller 2004, 351f.), if **Kantuzzili** (I) ever reigned we should also consider him a candidate. A third possibility is to date Kizzuwatna's desertion to the turbulent time at the beginning of **Tudhaliya I**'s reign. The possibility that Tudhaliya I referred here to **Muwattalli I** should be rejected; if Kizzuwatna's 'defection' occurred during Muwattalli I's reign, considering the bad relations between them, Tudhaliya I would probably be happy to mention it explicitly.

²⁵ Concerning this treaty (*CTH* 25), see Otten 1951; Beal 1986, 428f.; Wilhelm 1989, 24; Freu 2001, 18. In addition to Zidanta II, Pilliya appears also with Idrimi of Alalah (*AIT* 3; Wiseman 1953, 39; Beal 1986, 429; Wilhelm 1989, 25f.; Freu 2001, 18; Schwemer 2007, 152).

²⁶ As mentioned above, Freu (2001, 19, 24) suggested to divide Sunaššura into two separate kings.

Tudhaliya I's reign, the reign of Arnuwanda I, or the beginning of Tudhaliya II's ruling²⁷. This proposal and its implications on the understanding of the relations between Hatti and Mittanni will be examined in the coming chapters.

A.1.4. The Išmerikka treaty (CTH 133)²⁸:

This treaty was concluded between Arnuwanda I and a group of Hittite soldiers from the area of Išmerikka²⁹, who were settled in Kizzuwatna. In the treaty Arnuwanda requested the soldiers to obey the Hittite king and to work in cooperation with the local Hittite authorities in order to maintain the loyalty of the local population (par. §§9–10).

Possibly, this text testifies to the progress of Kizzuwatna's annexation process initiated by Tudhaliya I. The settlement of Hittite soldiers in this land may indicate that Kizzuwatna was annexed to Hatti. On the other hand, it is possible that the implementation of this measure was needed only because the threat to Kizzuwatna was imminent and had the permission of the local king.

Among the cities which appear in the text we should mention Waššukanni³⁰ (capital of Mittanni?), Urušša³¹ and Irrita³². It is possible that these cities were taken from Mittanni during the heydays of Tudhaliya I's reign and given to Kizzuwatna when it was annexed to Hatti (Beal 1986, 437–439). Following this land grant, Kizzuwatna's extent was greatly increased³³. It is clear from the depiction of Šuppiluliuma's

²⁷ Houwink ten Cate (1998, 51–53) allocated the early treaty to Sunaššura I, and the late one to Sunaššura II. Freu (2001, 19, 24) also divided Sunaššura into two separate kings, Sunaššura I and II, and placed Talzu between them. He synchronized Sunaššura I with Tudhaliya 'the conqueror of Aleppo', but later he (id. 2008, 8) changed his mind and synchronized him with Huzziya II (Freu designated him 'Huzziya III', possibly because of the discovery of a Huzziya ('o') in the OK). According to Freu (2001; 2008) Sunaššura II was contemporary with Tudhaliya 'husband of Nikalmati'.

²⁸ Edition: Otten 1967, 56–57; Kempinski and Košak 1970; de Martino 1996, 69–72. Translation: *HDT*, 13-17.

²⁹ For a possible location of Išmerikka, see del Monte 2009, 159 n. 22.

³⁰ Through the petrographic analysis of letters from Mittanni that were discovered in Amarna it seems that Tell Fakhariyeh is the most suitable place for the location of Waššukanni (Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004, 44); therefore, the heart of Mittanni probably lay in the area of the Khabur basin. For further discussions, see *RGTC* 6, 479–480; *RGTC* 12/2, 335–336.

³¹ For the location of this city, see *RGTC* 6, 476. Urušša appears as Hittite property also in Sunaššura treaty (*HDT*, 23 par. §54).

³² Concerning this city, see *RGTC* 6, 144; *RGTC* 12/2, 146; del Monte 2009, 146 n. 26. Irrita and Išmer[ikka] appear in proximity in *KBo* 19.52 (Heinhold-Krahmer 2007, 374f.; del Monte 2009, 158f.).

³³ On the location of these cities and the extent of Kizzuwatna in this period, see Goetze 1940, 47; Houwink ten Cate 1970, 61, 63; Freu 2001, 19, 25f. (and bibliography there).

campaigns that some of these territories belonged later to Mittanni, or were at least under its influence (*Šat. I*, par §3, §10 and §12).

A.1.5. The annals of Tudhaliya I (CTH 142)³⁴:

The annals of Tudhaliya I³⁵ are rather fragmented and were preserved mainly in late copies. The first important event in the text is Tudhaliya's accession. After the usurper Muwattalli I was murdered by Kantuzzili (I, Tudhaliya's father³⁶) and Himuili³⁷, the conspirators were forced to fight against Muwa, who was assisted by the Hurrians (Carruba 2008, 18–21). Later, the Hurrians were probably involved in Tudhaliya's war in Išuwa as well (*id.*, 46f.).

In addition to the campaigns to east Anatolia, the text details several campaigns in the west. In the first of them Tudhaliya fought against Arzawa³⁸, the Šeha River-Land³⁹ and Hapalla⁴⁰, a campaign which was carried out close to his accession (*id.*, 32–35).

³⁴ Edition: Carruba 1977a, 156–165; *id.* 2008, 17–54 (in contrast with his earlier edition, here Carruba divided the fragments of the annals between Tudhaliya 'the conqueror of Aleppo' and Tudhaliya 'husband of Nikalmati').

³⁵ Cf. Taracha (1997) who ascribed these annals to Tudhaliya II; see in this context also Groddek 2009a (response to Carruba 2008).

³⁶ It is not clear whether Kantuzzili (I) became king after Muwattalli I's assassination; thus, Singer (2002b, 308f.) and Bryce (2005, 12f.) assume that he did not. Support for this assumption can be found in the seal impression *Bo* 99/69 ("Tudhaliya Great King, son of Kantuzzili"), in which Kantuzzili is not designated as king (Otten 2000, 375). However, when we accept Carruba's (1977a, 156f.) restoration for *KUB* 23.27 i, l. 1–2 and 14–15, it appears from the text that he indeed became a king. On Kantuzzili (I) and Tudhaliya I and their joint stamp seals, see Otten 2000; Beal 2002b, 61; Freu 2002a, 72f.; Singer 2002b; Herbordt 2003, 23f.; Carruba 2005 (eap.187–190); Forlanini 2005, 234f. n. 20; Marizza 2007a, 1, 17–24 (on the differentiation between Kantuzzili I and II). Cf. Soysal (2003), who identifies 'Tudhaliya son of Kantuzzili' with Tudhaliya 'the Younger' (and Miller's (2004, 5f. and n. 4) response).

³⁷ Concerning Himuili, see Forlanini 2005, 234f. n. 20.

³⁸ Arzawa was the biggest and strongest amongst the kingdoms of west Anatolia. Its location near the Cayster River and the identification of its capital city Apaša with Ephesos are accepted by most scholars. We should notice that the term Arzawa covers two distinctive geo-political units: 'Arzawa proper' (or 'Arzawa minor') and 'greater Arzawa' (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 145–145). The latter was a political federation embracing several western Anatolian kingdoms. For this reason, at least some of these states were designated the 'Arzawa Lands'. The number of these kingdoms is debated, but when we take all of them into account, (in addition to 'Arzawa proper') they included Mira, the Šeha River-Land, Hapalla and Wiluša (Bryce 2003a, 35–40). Following Muršili II's campaign (in years three and four) Arzawa was disintegrated and Mira was consolidated by the Hittites, and became the center of west Anatolia (for the problematic status of Mira before the conquest of Arzawa, see Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 79–82, 135–145; Hawkins 1998a, 15, 21f., 25, Map 2 in p. 31; *id.* 2002, 150; Bryce 2003a, 64f.). From this point on, the name Arzawa was used as geographical or cultural designation for the region of west Anatolia. Following is a short bibliographical list: for the geography and location of the Arzawa Lands (after the discovery and of the bronze tablet (1986), and the deciphering and publication of the hieroglyphic inscriptions in Yalburt (1970) and Karabel (1998)), see Hawkins 1998a; *id.* 1999; *id.* 2009; Bryce 2003a, 35–40. Some scholars still place Arzawa in south and south-west Anatolia; e.g. Forlanini 1988a, 237–239. Concerning the history of Arzawa and the neighboring countries, see (among others) Heinhold-Krahmer 1977; de Martino 1996; Bryce 2003a. Concerning the Luwians, who settled the region of west Anatolia, and their culture (including language and script), see chapters four to seven in *HdO* I/68; Yakubovich 2008. It



The Arzawa lands. The map shows also the location of the two hieroglyphic inscriptions, Karabel and Latmos, and some important cities in this area (Bryce 2003a, 37 (Map 2)). The exact location of Hapalla is controversial.

In another campaign Tudhaliya I fought against the Aššuwean confederacy. This confederacy was probably spread across north-western Anatolia⁴¹ and included the cities of Wilušiya and Tarwiša as well⁴². Aššuwa, which is not mentioned in later

is possible that the term Arzawa replaced an earlier term, Luwiya, which was used during the Old Kingdom (Law 19a, version A (Hoffner 1997a, 19f)); the latter was probably used in a broad ethno-geographical sense (for the term Luwiya, see Hoffner 1997a, 229f.; Melchert 2003, 1f.; Bryce 2005, 52). Recently however, Yakubovich (2008, 297–308) claimed that this term does not parallel with Arzawa also in the geographical sense, and actually it should be equated with the area of the Lower Land.

³⁹ Using different texts (e.g. *CTH* 191, the Manapa-Tarhunta letter) and the Karabel inscription, which was probably placed in the border of Mira and the Šeha River-Land, it is possible to locate the latter in the valley of the Hermos River, although it is possible that it also included the more northern Caicos River (Hawkins 1998a, 23f.; id. 2002, 149f.; Easton *et al.* 2002, 98).

⁴⁰ Several possible locations were suggested for the land of Hapalla. Clearly this land was situated in the interior of Anatolia, west of Hatti and east of Arzawa, but it is not clear whether it was located in inner Pisidia or more to the north, east of the Šeha River-Land (Melchert 2003, 6f.). For further discussions concerning its location, see Košak 1981, 15*; Forlanini 1988, 153; Hawkins 1998a, 14 n. 39; see also tablet in Heinhold-Krahmer 2004, 56.

⁴¹ We should probably neglect the restoration of the name [L]uqqa (*KUB* 23.11 ii 14) and prefer to restore [URU]Ardu]qqa (Garstang and Gurney 1959, 106; Carruba 2008, 36f.).

⁴² Allegedly both names can be connected with the city of Troy (i.e. the classical names Troy and Ilios). For a discussion concerning this duplication and the identification of this kingdom (or kingdoms) with the Homeric kingdom and the modern site of Hisarlik, see Garstang and Gurney 1959, 105f.; Beekes 2002, 233f.; Easton *et al.* 2002, 102; Latacz 2002; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004; etc. The reference to Wiluša in this context contradicts its depiction in Alakšandu treaty (*CTH* 76, *HDT*, 87 par. §2); from the latter it seems that when Tudhaliya (I) fought in the west, his relations with Wiluša remain intact. It is possible that these events were described by Muwattalli II (the Hittite side

texts⁴³, was probably the dominant power in west Anatolia during this period⁴⁴. It is clear from the texts that the campaigns resulted in a success, but during this campaign the Kaška tribes⁴⁵ invaded Hatti, and Tudhaliya had to retrace his steps and turn against them (id., 42–45).

A.1.6. The annals of Arnuwanda I (CTH 143)⁴⁶:

This text too is very fragmentary. The first eleven lines of *KUB* 23.21 details the names of several Kizzuwatnean cities (Carruba 2008, 66f.). The context in which they appear is not clear, but it is possible that this section deals with construction activities of the Hittite king in Kizzuwatna⁴⁷. These activities should probably be dated to the coregency of Tudhaliya and Arnuwanda. The second part of the fragment deals with a military campaign against Arzawa, probably during Tudhaliya I's reign (id., 68–73). Unlike *CTH* 142, in which this kingdom stayed in the shadow of Aššuwa, now Arzawa and its king, Kupanta-Kuruntiya⁴⁸, play a prominent role. After their victory over Arzawa, Tudhaliya and Arnuwanda turned against other kingdoms of the west, among them were Maša⁴⁹, Karkiša⁵⁰ and Arduqqa⁵¹. *KUB* 23.14, which most likely belongs to *CTH* 143 as well, details the war of Tudhaliya I (i.e. "the father of the king") in Išūwa, Aššuwa and against the Hurrians (id., 74f.).

of this contract) in this manner in order to stress the strong connection between the two kingdoms in the past (e.g. Altman 2004b).

⁴³ Except for the late(?) and fragmented letter *CTH* 183, in which the king of Aššuwa and Tudhaliya appear (Sommer 1932, 268; de Martino 1996, 30–33; Klengel 1999, 105; Taracha 2001). On the possible appearance of Aššuwa in Mycenaean texts, see Morris 2001.

⁴⁴ This assumption is derived from the great amount of booty taken from Aššuwa (including 10,000 foot soldiers (ÉRIN^{MEŠ}) and 600 horses), the mention of the names of the Aššuwean magnates who were captured, and the perpetuation of the victory by a law reform (Westbrook and Woodward 1990, 642 (who dated the text to Tudhaliya IV); del Monte 2003, 16f.) and different donations (Ünal, Ertekin and Ediz 1990-1991, 51; Hawkins 1997; but cf. Yakubovich 2008, 359–362). On this matter, see also Houwink ten Cate 1970, 62; Bryce 2003a, 48–51.

⁴⁵ The most elaborated discussion concerning the Kaška appears in von Schuler 1965. Regarding archaeological sites in the area of Paphlagonia (the Hittite 'Upper Land') and the relations between Hatti and the Kaška, see Gorny 1997; Ökse 2001; Klinger 2002; id. 2005; Gurney 2003; Glatz and Matthews 2005; id. 2009.

⁴⁶ Edition: Carruba 1977a, 166–173; id. 2008, 65–78.

⁴⁷ Although it is possible that this passage deals with a military campaign (de Martino 1996, 41).

⁴⁸ For the reading Kupanta-Kuruntiya instead of Kupanta-Kurunta, see Yakubovich 2008, 98 n. 5.

⁴⁹ Concerning the location of Maša, see Garstang 1943, 43; Bryce 1974b, 402–404; Forlanini 1977, 215f.; id. 1998b, 220; *RGTC* 6, 264f.; Košak 1981, 15*; Heinhold-Krahmer 1987–1990b; see also tablet in id. 2004, 56; *RGTC* 6/2, 102f.; de Martino 1996, 42–44; Hawkins 1998a, 29f.; Melchert 2003, 7; del Monte 2009, 43 n. 72.

⁵⁰ On its location see, *RGTC* 6, 182f.; Otten 1982; Forlanini 1998b, 220; Hawkins 1998a, 29; see also tablet in Heinhold-Krahmer 2004, 56.

⁵¹ This place probably appears also in *CTH* 142, v.s. note 41 above.

A.1.7. Indictment of Mita of Pahhuwa (CTH 146)⁵²:

CTH 146 is a MH text written by an unnamed Hittite king. Its genre is not very clear⁵³, but it bears some similarities to the 'Indictment of Madduwatta' (*CTH* 147).

The text details several rebellions that an unnamed Hittite king had to face in the east. The uprising began when rebels captured several Hittite cities. A Hittite force was sent to suppress the rebellion, and consequently Mita of Pahhuwa, one of the rebel leaders, came to swear a loyalty oath in Hatti. When he returned to his land, Mita breached the agreement and married the daughter of Ušpa, one of the heads of the uprising. The Hittites attempted to calm the situation using diplomatic measures. When this failed, they launched a raid on Kummaha⁵⁴ and probably also on Pahhuwa. At that point, the Hittites summoned a group of the neighboring polities' leaders in order to reach a collective treaty. The elders were required to hand over Mita and his allies, and to attack Pahhuwa if another uprising were initiated.

CTH 146 deals with a local rebellion in Pahhuwa and some districts in its area. Pahhuwa⁵⁵, Mita's kingdom, was probably situated between four kingdoms: east of Hatti, north of Mittanni, and west of Išuwa and Hayaša (Torri 2005, 397f.; Kosyan 2006, 92–95). Its exact location is still debated, but it is possible that it should be sought in the area of modern Pingan (Kosyan 2006, 94f.). The role of Mittanni in this event is not clear. Hurla was one of the cities conquered by Mita (obv. 9, 29, rev. 10). Although this name resembles the name of Hurri (that is, Mittanni), they are probably not identical⁵⁶. Elders of the "H[urrian^(?)] Land"⁵⁷ appear among the elders of three kingdoms (the others were the elders of Išuwa and Zuhma⁵⁸), who came to surrender

⁵² Edition: Kosyan 2006; for new joins see: Torri 2005; Groddek 2008b, 58–60. Translation (partial): *HDT*, 160–166.

⁵³ Kosyan (2006, 88) designate it as a 'historical introduction' of a 'collective treaty'.

⁵⁴ Kummaha was located in Hayaša, or on the border between this kingdom and Hatti (Kosyan 2006, 91). For a possible identification, see Garstang 1943, 49f.; *RGTC* 6, 220f. (Kemah); *RGTC* 6/2, 83; Forlanini 2004, 305 n. 43.

⁵⁵ It is possible that it was part of Land Tegarama (Torri 2005, 398). Garstang (1943, 48–50, and pl. 16) suggested locating Pahhuwa in modern Pingan; for further discussion, see Kosyan 2006, 94.

⁵⁶ Thus, Torri (2005, 386) claimed that since Mita was a weak king who ruled a small kingdom, he could not handle the Land of Hurri (i.e. Mittanni), and all the more so to conquer parts of it. Cf. *RGTC* 6, 119–124 (includes this reference of Hurla in the entry that deals with Hurri-Mittanni).

⁵⁷ The restoration "H[urrian] Land" is quite reasonable and support can be found in *KUB* 31.103, which possibly deals with the same events. For the latter text, see Torri 2005, 390–393; Kosyan 2006, 94 and n. 42 there.

⁵⁸ For its identification, see Kosyan 2006, 93; see also map in Hawkins 1998b, 293.

to the Hittite king and hear his decree (rev. 36). This 'H[urrian] Land' should probably be identified with one of the Hurrian principalities neighboring Išuwa (Kosyan 2006, 94 n. 42). We should note that at the same time, other Hurrians were considered enemies⁵⁹. In summation, we can learn from this text that despite local rebellions, the Hittites managed to retain their sovereignty over the eastern kingdoms, i.e. Pahhuwa and (at least) parts of Išuwa and Hayaša.

Due to similarities to other texts, *CTH* 146 is usually dated to Arnuwanda I's reign (Torri 2005, 394). Kosyan (2006) reached the same conclusion based on places names that appear in the text. Some of the cities mentioned were later included in Išuwa, and others were part of Hayaša⁶⁰ (Torri 2005, 393; Kosyan 2006, 91–93). Kosyan (id., 90f.) claimed that the state-formation process of the eastern kingdoms, Išuwa and Hayaša, reached its culmination during the reigns of Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma, or even later⁶¹. Since in *CTH* 146 these kingdoms are still at an early stage of state-formation, we should date this text to Arnuwanda I's reign. The problem with this suggestion is that these kingdoms could have been at the same stage at the beginning of Tudhaliya II's reign as well. In addition, even when we accept Kosyan's dating, his suggestion is based on the supposition that the state-formation process was consecutive and irreversible, yet this assumption is unsubstantiated.

Torri (2005, 397–399) suggested dating *CTH* 146 to the end of Tudhaliya II's reign. She based this proposal on several texts, which detail Tudhaliya II's wars in the region of Išuwa and Pahhuwa. This proposal will be examined in the context of Tudhaliya II's reign (v.i. Chapter III.C.2.6. for the 'concentric attack', and Chapter III.D.1.7. regarding Tudhaliya II's counter-attack). I should mention that in my opinion, the situation prior to Tudhaliya II's counter-attack was much more acute than is evident in *CTH* 146; therefore, its dating to Arnuwanda I's reign should be preferred.

⁵⁹ An oath to become an enemy of the Hurrians appears in *KUB* 31.103, 17'–20' (Torri 2005, 392).

⁶⁰ For the location of Azzi-Hayaša and its surroundings, see Gurney 2003, 121; Torri 2005; Kosyan 2006, 90f.

⁶¹ Thus, the *DŠ* (Fr. 13) and the Hukkana treaty (*CTH* 42) mention Kings from Hayaša. Ari-Šarruma, the first known king of Išuwa (appears in *CTH* 106.B), is parallel with Hattušili III or Tudhaliya IV.

A.1.8. Indictment of Madduwatta (CTH 147)⁶²:

The Madduwatta text is one of the most important sources dealing with the relations between Hatti and the west Anatolian kingdoms. The text is probably a draft of a letter written by Arnuwanda I. It concerns events that began during his father's reign and continued into his own⁶³. The main figure in these events is Madduwatta, who fled from his land as a result of the persecution of Attariššiya 'Man of Ahhiya', and arrived with his family and entourage at Tudhaliya I's court (par. §§1–2). Tudhaliya gave him asylum and granted him the Mountain-Land of Zippašla (par. §4⁶⁴) and the Šiyanta River-Land⁶⁵ (par. §18). Thereafter, Madduwatta attacked Kupanta-Kuruntiya, the king of Arzawa, but suffered a shameful defeat. Even though he violated his treaty with Hatti, Tudhaliya I adopted a forgiving approach toward Madduwatta (as did Arnuwanda I later), and sent an army to help him; Kupanta-Kuruntiya was defeated, his family and possessions were taken, and Madduwatta regained his status and property (par. §§10–18). Later, Attariššiya 'Man of Ahhiya' attacked Madduwatta, but Hittite forces saved him once again (§12). At that stage, Madduwatta began to operate against Hatti; he made the people of Dalawa⁶⁶ (a Hittite city) his own subjects and signed a treaty with Kupanta-Kuruntiya which was then strengthened by marriage (par. §13 and §16). It is possible that par. §17 details the first deeds of Arnuwanda I as king of Hatti. The first action he took was to write to Madduwatta and protest against his offenses. However, Madduwatta carried on his offensive until he had completed the conquest of Arzawa (either by eliminating Kupanta-Kuruntiya or by peaceful means). He conquered other places as well, such as Hapalla⁶⁷, Wallarimma⁶⁸, Iyalanty⁶⁹, Mutamutašša⁷⁰, Attarimma⁷¹, Šalpa⁷² and

⁶² Edition: Otten 1969. Translation: *HDT*, 153–160. Discussion: Bryce 1986a; Freu 1987; de Martino 1996, 47–62. The genre of this text is not clear (Beal 2007, 89; Yakubovich 2008, 100).

⁶³ *HDT*, 153; Bryce 1986a, 2. Cf. Otten 1969, 31–36; Freu 1987, 124.

⁶⁴ The numbering of the paragraphs as it appears in *HDT*.

⁶⁵ The Šiyanta River, which later became the eastern border of the kingdom of Mira, could be identified with the Seydi River (Hawkins 1998a, 22, 25). Cf. de Martino 1996, 29f.

⁶⁶ Dalawa can be identified with the classical city of Tlôs, which was situated in Lycia (Freu 1987, 150; de Martino 1996, 51f.). It is possible that *KBo* 18.86 (MH), in which the cities of Talawa and Huwaršanašši/Huršanaša are mentioned, is also connected with these events (edition: Hagenbuchner 1989, 216–218. Discussion: de Martino 1996, 51–53; id. 2005b, 306f.).

⁶⁷ Concerning its location, v.s. p. 59 n. 40.

⁶⁸ Wallarimma can be identified with classical Hyllarima (Güterbock 1986, 320; Freu 1987, 150; Hawkins 1998a, 27).

⁶⁹ This place, which was probably situated south of Miletus, can be identified with the classical Alinda (Freu 1987, 150; de Martino 1996, 55; id. 2004a, 106; Hawkins 1998a, 27).

⁷⁰ For a discussion regarding its location, v.s. p. 53 n. 6.

Petašša⁷³ (par. §§21–23). Finally, Madduwatta was not satisfied with his conquests in Anatolia, and along with Attariššiya 'Man of Ahhiya' and the ruler of Piggaya implemented an elaborate naval operation against Alašiya (Cyprus). At this stage, Arnuwanda I reproached him regarding his cooperation with Hatti's opponents and for his attack on Alašiya, which, according to Arnuwanda, was a Hittite subject (par. §30)⁷⁴.

The text ends abruptly at this point, and the end of this episode is unknown (see for example Yakubovich 2008, 100). When we summarize Madduwatta's activity, we may notice that he started his career as a Hittite vassal in a small kingdom in the Anatolian hinterland east of Hatti (Šiyanta River-Land)⁷⁵, and according to the latest stage recorded his kingdom encompassed a vast area, bordered on the west by the sea and on the east by Hapalla. The south-eastern border of this kingdom depends upon the location of Mutamutašša (see discussion above).

A.1.8.1. A division of west Anatolia into Hittite and non-Hittite regions (based on CTH 147):

The regions in central-west and west Anatolia during Arnuwanda I's reign⁷⁶ can be divided into two categories: (1) areas which the Hittites (and sometimes also their enemies (see infra)) defined as '*Hittite territory*', and (2) areas that were too difficult to control or influence, and can be defined as '*unattainable territory*'⁷⁷. Using CTH 147 (mainly, but also other texts) we may define these regions and observe the different approach of the Hittites toward each of these areas⁷⁸.

⁷¹ Hawkins (1998a, 26) proposed identifying Attarimma with Telmessos in north-west Lycia, and de Martino (2004a, 106) suggested identifying it with Termessos in north-east Lycia.

⁷² This city was situated at a distance of three days march from Hattuša, probably within the bend of the Kizil Irmak, possibly in the direction of Petašša. In spite of the similarity between their names, this place is probably not identical with Šallapa (Miller 2008b; id. 2008c; cf. *RGTC* 6, 336; de Martino 1996, 43, 56; for the latter toponym, see Miller 2008c).

⁷³ For its location, in an area which bordered on Tarhuntašša, Arzawa and Mira, see *RGTC* 6, 319; *RGTC* 6/2, 127; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 66; Košak 1981, 13*f.; Forlanini 1988, (suggested it could be identified with the classical Πίρα); Hawkins 1998, 22; del Monte 2009, 59 n. 17.

⁷⁴ It is not clear on the basis of what grounds Arnuwanda I based his claim over Alašiya. Hittite victories over Alašiya are mentioned in *KBo* 12.38, which is dated to the end of the 13th century BC, and for that reason the Madduwatta text was dated at first to this period (Klengel 1999, 122).

⁷⁵ Hawkins (1998a, 25) suggested that at this initial stage, Madduwatta's kingdom was parallel with the later kingdom of Mira.

⁷⁶ We should notice that later the status of some of the regions was changed (thus, the ignoring of Arzawa in this period in comparison with its conquest by Muršili).

⁷⁷ In comparison with north Syria, this category can be defined almost as 'undesired'.

⁷⁸ For Hittite objectives in west Anatolia, see Yakar 1976; Bryce 1986a.

We should start by defining the second category (*'unattainable territory'*). In addition to north Anatolia⁷⁹, which is not mentioned in *CTH* 147, this region probably covered west (Arzawa) and south-west Anatolia (Caria, Lycia and part of Pamfilya⁸⁰). It is possible that in other periods the Hittites tried to extend their rule over this area. However, when they focused their efforts on expansion to Syria and struggled with Mittanni (or other enemies such as the Kaška), they could not effectively control the entire region between Syria and the Aegean Sea. At that point the less-desired area was left aside⁸¹. It appears from *CTH* 147 that there was no lack of opportunities to conquer Arzawa; the Hittites won a great victory against Kupanta-Kuruntiya, but there is no evidence that they tried to leverage this success to conquer Arzawa⁸² (par. §10). This could clarify Hatti's goal in establishing Madduwatta's kingdom as a buffer zone between Hatti and Arzawa, enabling the Hittite kings to focus their efforts on Syria⁸³.

The category of 'unattainable territory' can be divided into two geographical sub-groups: over the first—kingdoms situated in south-west Anatolia (the Lukka Lands)—Arnuwanda I did claim sovereignty (par. §21 and §25). This claim, however, was only *de jure*, since there is no evidence that he ever tried to enforce it⁸⁴. As against these

⁷⁹ The latter (north Anatolia) began with the Kaškean habitat, continued with Maša and ended with Wiluša. Most of this area was impossible to control because of its harsh geographical characteristics and the 'barbarian' population it hosted (for the difficulties in controlling north Anatolia, see Glatz and Matthews 2005, 50–52; id. 2009, 53–56; Zimansky 2007).

⁸⁰ Thus, we can see that Kupanta-Kuruntiya's family was found by Tudhaliya I in Šallawašša/i. Forlanini (1998b, 217) identified it with the classical city of Silliyyon, and later claimed that it was the capital of Arzawa (id. 1998a, 237). This proposal is problematic since the city was situated too far from the traditional heart of Arzawa (this region which included Apaša, Happuriya (the letter from Ortaköy/Šapinuwa) and even Mira was located much further north).

⁸¹ I should stress that in my opinion, this phenomenon alone does not indicate weakness, but only (what the Hittites probably believed to be) a temporary delay in plans. During Šuppiluliuma's reign the status of this region remained similar, though Šuppiluliuma's strategy was slightly different (v.i. Chapter IV.D.2.2.). I believe that it is wrong to use *this criterion only*, as an indication for Hatti's weakness during the reigns of Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I. It is true that the status of this area changed during Muršili II's reign (when Arzawa was conquered and became a Hittite vassal), but we should not forget that Mittanni, the fiercest enemy of Hatti, did not exist anymore (and at that stage Assyria has not yet reached its zenith).

⁸² *CTH* 142, which deals with an earlier phase of Tudhaliya I's reign (and therefore probably preceded the discussed strategy), was not counted here. In texts which deal with later phase of his reign (*CTH* 143 and *CTH* 147), when Arnuwanda was already active, there is no evidence that Tudhaliya I attempted to seize control over Arzawa (v.i. also Chapter III.A.2.3. for the differences between Tudhaliya I's approach to Arzawa in earlier and later phases of his reign).

⁸³ In this context, see Zimansky's (2007) explanation for the stabilization of the Hatti-Kaška border in light of the Hittite inability to conquer and effectively control north Anatolia.

⁸⁴ In paragraphs §§13–15 we read about a Hittite campaign toward Dalawa during the reign of Tudhaliya I. Notice, however, that we can not conclude from this section that Tudhaliya I tried to conquer this city. The same applies for the latter's encounter with Arzawa in the region of Šalawašša (*CTH* 147).

territories, there is no indication that Arnuwanda I ever claimed sovereignty over Arzawa. Thus, it appears from *CTH* 147 that Madduwatta took control over Arzawa (par. §19), but no reference is made in the text for Arnuwanda's claiming of it⁸⁵.

The first category (*'Hittite territory'*) included the region the Hittites treated as their own territory, as an extension of the land of Hatti. The kingdoms in this region were under Hittite supremacy and had obligations to the Hittite king (e.g. paying taxes, providing military help when needed, etc.). The Hittites were well aware of the importance of this region for their security⁸⁶. As a consequence, when possible Hittite forces were stationed in this region, and in time of trouble, Hittites troops were sent to help the local rulers. In my opinion, this matter, i.e. the more or less frequent allocation of Hittite troops to this region, should be seen as the best indication to mark the border between regions of the first and second categories. In some of the first category's kingdoms Hittite presence was even more distinct, since they were ruled by governors that the kings of Hatti appointed on their own behalf⁸⁷.

In general, the region of the Hittite territory bordered on Hatti to the east, Arzawa to the west, Maša (and other localities) to the north and the Lands of the Lukka to the south-west. Madduwatta's realm should probably be located at the central front of this region, around the province of Afyon⁸⁸. Madduwatta's status is clearly defined as a Hittite vassal, and when in trouble he was saved by the Hittite army. A major target for Arnuwanda's campaigns was Hapalla (par. §20). This kingdom was located in

⁸⁵ Regions north of Arzawa are not mentioned in this text, either because Madduwatta was not active in them or because the Hittites were not interested in them.

⁸⁶ It is possible that the Hittite kings were concerned about the possibility that a conquest of north Lycia, west Caria and Pamfilya, would enable an Arzawean invasion into the Lower Land and later into Hatti (on the contest between Hatti and Arzawa in the region of the Lower Land, see Forlanini 1998b, 217, 219).

⁸⁷ E.g. Madduwatta. In other regions of Anatolia, which can be categorized in this group, we can find the appointment of Kantuzzili (II) in Kizzuwatna and in a later period (Šuppiluliuma's reign), Hannuti in the Lower Land (*KBo* 14.42 + *KUB* 19.22 (Fr. 52 of the *DS*); see also Houwink ten Cate's (1966a, 31) discussion). It is possible that the Hittites appointed governors in these regions not only because of their proximity to the Land of Hatti, but also because the local population was foreign and sometimes hostile; see for example Börker-Klähn's (2007, 99f.) discussion concerning the Lower Land.

⁸⁸ Madduwatta's realm was established around the Mountain-Land of Zippašla (par. §4) and the Šiyanta River-Land (par. §18; see Map 2 in Bryce 2003a, 37); Madduwatta refused to receive the Hariyati Mountain-Land, since it was too close to Hatti (par. §4; for its possible location, see Forlanini 2007a, 292). The Šiyanta River (possibly identified with the Seydi River) later constituted the eastern border region of Mira, next to its border with Hatti (Hawkins 1998a, 22, 25; cf. de Martino 1996, 29f.).

proximity to Madduwatta's realm, possibly on its southern border⁸⁹. It appears from the same paragraph, that the ruler of Kuwaliya⁹⁰ took part in (or at least witnessed) the campaign to Hapalla; therefore, acting as a loyal Hittite vassal. Later in the text (par. §23), we hear that when the Hittite forces stationed in Šalpa left this land, Madduwatta incited (the neighboring) Petašša to rebel⁹¹. A military force was sent also to Maraša, which was possibly situated not so far from Petašša (par. §25). The most remote place in west Anatolia in which Arnuwanda's army arrived was Mutamutašša (par. §21). In *CTH* 147 there is no indication that Arnuwanda treated Mutamutašša differently than other cities conquered by Madduwatta (though we should remember that the end of the text is missing), but from *CTH* 28 we can learn about his firm and unequivocal response to the conquest of this city (and Ura, probably the Cilician harbor city) by Huhazalma. If we accept Forlanini's (1988, 155, 162–168) suggestion⁹², we should locate Mutamutašša in Pamfilya⁹³, and therefore further to the east than the other cities of its group⁹⁴ (par. §21).

From Madduwatta's answer to Arnuwanda I's demands (par. §26), we can conclude that he acknowledged the Hittite sovereignty over Hapalla, and even promised to return it to Arnuwanda (although it is not clear whether he actually did). However, Madduwatta refused to return the other cities he conquered (in south-west Anatolia). We have no information whether at the end of this episode the Hittites managed to regain their control over the disputed regions of Petašša and Maraša (central Anatolia)⁹⁵.

When analyzing this data, we can see that during Arnuwanda I's reign, Hittite territory (*de jure* if not *de facto*) outside of the Land of Hatti included a wide strip of land in central-west Anatolia (thus Šalpa, Petašša, Maraša, Kuwaliya and Hapalla). Madduwatta's realm was probably located in the central part of this region, in

⁸⁹ See for example the maps of Hawkins (1998, map in p. 31) and Bryce (2003, Map 2 in p. 37), in which Hapalla is located next to the southern border of Madduwatta's kingdom (established around the Šiyanta River-Land). For further discussion concerning the approximate location of Hapalla v.s. p. 59 n. 40.

⁹⁰ For its location, see *RGTC* 6, 232; Heinhold-Krahmer 1980–1983; *RGTC* 6/2, 89; Hawkins 1998a, 31.

⁹¹ For the location of Šalpa and Petašša, v.s. p. 64f. n. 72–73.

⁹² See also de Martino 2004a, 109f.

⁹³ Cf. Hawkins (1998a, 27) who placed it in west Caria.

⁹⁴ We should locate most of these toponyms in Lycia and the south-western part of Caria.

⁹⁵ It is possible that close to the end of par. §23 Arnuwanda mentioned his personal involvement in an event in the area of Petašša.

proximity to Arzawa. It is not clear from the text whether Madduwatta's conflicts with Arzawa were a result of the geographical proximity between his kingdom and Arzawa, or due to his ambitious plans. It seems to me that the Hittites established Madduwatta's kingdom in order to provide a more *passive*⁹⁶ protection, a buffer zone between Hatti and Arzawa, and not to be used as a base for local unofficial military operations, as Madduwatta 'creatively' interpreted his role. Following Madduwatta's initiatives in this Hittite region (as well as in the 'unattainable territory'), some smaller localities adjacent to his realm were gradually swallowed up into his kingdom.

From other texts it appears that the strip of Hittite territory stretched also to south and south-east Anatolia, and included Cilicia⁹⁷ and the Lower Land⁹⁸.

In addition to Arzawa, another enemy appears in the text, Attariššiya 'Man of Ahhiya'. Since the beginning of Hittitology there is a disagreement concerning the identification and location of Ahhiya (or in the later version of this name, Ahhiyawa⁹⁹). Probably the more accepted view today is that this kingdom was located in (Mycenaean) Greece or some islands of the Aegean Sea, and that there is a connection between its inhabitants and the Achaeans of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*¹⁰⁰. In addition to (at least parts of) Greece and the Aegean Islands, Ahhiyawa also dominated several sites on the western coast of Anatolia¹⁰¹. From Attariššiya's title,

⁹⁶ E.g. the warnings to Madduwatta in par. §§18–19.

⁹⁷ E.g. the Sunaššura treaty and *CTH* 133. V.i. also p. 85f. n. 179.

⁹⁸ Since Kizzuwatna was annexed to Hatti during the reign of Tudhaliya I or Arnuwanda I, it seems that the Lower Land, which was located between Hatti and Kizzuwatna, went through a similar process.

See also Goetze 1940, 23.

⁹⁹ E.g. Finkelberg 1988.

¹⁰⁰ A great number of studies deal with these questions. For a comprehensive bibliography, see Taracha 2001, 418 n. 3. For discussion concerning the equation Achaeans = people of Ahhiyawa and the possible Greek origin of the names Attariššiya and Tawagalawa (*CTH* 181), see Vermeule 1983, 142; Bryce 1989a, 4f.; id. 1989c; id. 2005, 57–60; several articles of Güterbock in Hoffner 1997b; Niemeier 1998, 43–45; Heinhold-Krahmer 2007b, 191, 193–195; Yakubovich 2008, 96. There are also many discussions regarding Ahhiyawa's location. Among the supporters of Anatolian location we can mention Košak (1981) and Ünal (1991). Among the researchers who locate Ahhiyawa in (different sites in) Greece or the islands of the Aegean Sea, we can mention Güterbock 1983b; id. 1983c; Bryce 1989a, 5f.; Hawkins 1998a, 30f.; Mountjoy 1998; Heinhold-Krahmer 2007b; etc. For the equation Wiluša = Homeric Troy, v.s. p. 60f. n. 42. Concerning the Mycenaean objectives in this area, see Bryce 1989a, 13f; id. 2003b.

¹⁰¹ Concerning the Mycenaean presence in west Anatolia, see Mountjoy 1998, 50f.; Mee 1998; Yakar 2000, 333–336; Niemeier 2005, 199–203; etc. Concerning Miletus (Hittite Millawanda or Milawata; Hawkins 1998a, 26), the most important Mycenaean settlement in Anatolia, see Greaves 2002, 56–65.

'Man of Ahhiya', it seems that he was not the king of Ahhiya, but rather a high ranking officer that was sent to operate in Anatolia¹⁰².

The Hittites designated both Attariššiya and the ruler of Piggaya as *kure/iwana* (written also as *kue/irwana*). The initial denotation of this term is 'field-related' (Neumann 1961, 93f.) or 'parcel-owner' (Oettinger 2002, 119f.), and from this meaning the semantics of this term led Neumann (1961, 93f.) to interpret it as 'alien'.

Several scholars discussed the diplomatic and political connotation of this expression. Goetze (1940, 78; followed by Beckman 2006, 287) claimed we should interpret it as 'protectorate'. Tischler (*HEG I*, 647) suggested that people and kingdoms who bear this title were 'independent' ('unabhängig' or 'lehenspflichtig'). Puhvel (*HED IV*, 265f.) stated that this term "expresses a status of dependency without actual formal subjugation or incorporation", but in practice, the difference between the ones who bore this title and other 'regular' vassals was insignificant. He added that the *kure/iwana* kingdoms were "internally self-governing but barred from independent foreign relations".

Another possibility is that this term covered a wide range of political statuses; from independent kingdoms and rulers (such as Ahhiyawa)—that were not equal to Hatti but were the sovereigns in their own territory—to states that were 'less than incorporated' (an expression that could be perceived as "diplomatic lip service" (*HED IV*, 265f.)).

In light of what we know about the relations between Hatti and Ahhiyawa and the analysis of the Hittite sphere of interests during this period (as delineated above), it is quite clear that at least in this case we should prefer the second interpretation, that is, a designation of (an) independent kingdom(s).

A.1.9. Prayers of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna about the ravages of the Kaška (CTH 375)¹⁰³:

In this prayer the royal couple lamented about the damage Hatti suffered due to the Kaška attacks. Most of the places mentioned in the prayer were located in north

¹⁰² On the title 'man of GN', see *CHD P*, 327a; Miller 2001, 96. Bryce (1989c, 305) proposed that Attariššiya was a nobleman who established a base, a foothold, in Anatolia. Güterbock (in Hoffner 1997b, 207) suggested that Attariššiya was a 'lesser ruler'.

¹⁰³ Edition: Goetze 1950, 399f.; Lebrun 1980, 132–154. Translation: Singer 2002a, 40–43. Discussion: Neu 1983; Marizza 2007a, 4. For discussion concerning the genre of this 'prayer', see Klinger 2005, 354f.

Anatolia (among them the city of Nerik¹⁰⁴, par. §15"¹⁰⁵); however, par. §27" describes the arrival of the Kaška forces even in the land of Hatti/Hattuša¹⁰⁶ (Singer 2002a, 43).

A.1.10. Three letters from the archive of Maşat-Höyük/Tapikka:

Maşat-Höyük, identified as ancient Tapikka¹⁰⁷, served as a regional administrative center and military outpost in north Anatolia, on the border between Hatti and the Kaška tribes¹⁰⁸. It is situated on one of the most important roads leading to the Kaška region (Özgüç 1978, 61, 63). In the archives discovered in stratum III, 98 letters were unearthed¹⁰⁹, most of which deal with the protection of this area from the Kaška¹¹⁰. The importance of this site is suggested by the fact that many of the discovered letters were written by the king himself. Two of them carry the stamp seals of Tudhaliya II and his queen Šata(n)duhepa¹¹¹. A third impression, which belongs to Šuppiluliuma, was also found at the site¹¹². This sealing, however, is not connected directly with the archive, and possibly belongs to stratum II, built following the destruction of stratum III (Özgüç 1978, 75; Klinger 1995a, 81f.; van den Hout 2007, 388f. n. 10).

There are two questions regarding the date of the archive. The first concerns the length of the period covered by the archive¹¹³. Alp (1980, 57) suggested that the archive was active between 25 to 50 years. Beckman (1995b, 23) suggested that the time span of the archive was much shorter, about a decade. Van den Hout (2007) examined the participants of most of the correspondence and observed the short-term nature of the letters and the book-keeping records. His conclusion was that the archive covered a period of two years at the most, and more likely just one (id., 396–398)).

¹⁰⁴ For Nerik (Oymaağaç Höyük?), see del Monte 2009, 127 n. 79; Glatz and Matthews 2009, 68; Klinger 2008b; id. 2009. For the excavation at the site, see Czichon (2009) and the website of the excavation team: <http://www.nerik.de/>.

¹⁰⁵ Numbering of the paragraphs is according to Singer 2002a, 40–43.

¹⁰⁶ Copy A; *KUB* 17.21+ iv 1: [(*nu ú*)]-e-er ka-a ^{URU}*Ha-at-tu-š[i...]*. "They (i.e. the Kaska) came here, to Hattuša...".

¹⁰⁷ Regarding this identification see Alp 1991a, 42f. Concerning the excavations of the site, see Özgüç 1978; id. 1982.

¹⁰⁸ For a short bibliographical list in regard with the Kaška, v.s. p. 61 n. 45.

¹⁰⁹ Van den Hout 2007, 387 n. 4. The letters were published by: Alp 1991a; id. 1991b.

¹¹⁰ About the identity of the enemies in the letters from Maşat, see Giorgadze 2005.

¹¹¹ Publication: Alp 1980, 53–56 and Abb. 1 ; Otten 1995, 10–11.

¹¹² Publication: Alp 1980, 57 and Abb. 3; Otten 1993, 10–13.

¹¹³ For a summary of the different opinions, see van den Hout 2007, 389.

The second and more important question concerns the relative date of the archive. Using the impressions of Tudhaliya II's seal from this site, Alp (1991a, 52) dated the archive to the latter's reign. If we accept van den Hout's (2007) opinion (the archive covered two years at the most), we should reach the same conclusion¹¹⁴. Based on prosopography, Klinger (1995a, 85, 103) dated the archive to the reigns of Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I. Recently, and based on prosopography as well, Marizza (2007a, 6f.) suggested dating the letters to a later period, from a later phase of Arnuwanda I's reign to the beginning of Tudhaliya II's reign¹¹⁵.

The different opinions and their implications on the period under examination will be studied at the end of this chapter (see *infra*).

Three letters from this site important for our discussion are presented hereinafter according to their numeric order.

A.1.10.1. HBM 74¹¹⁶:

This letter was written by the 'priest' and was addressed to Kaššu. It appears from the letter that previously the 'priest' had requested Kaššu to retrieve his run-away slaves/free subordinates from Ziggašta¹¹⁷, but Kaššu refused to do so, claiming that this place is a border post (*ḥantezzi auri-*)¹¹⁸. In response, the 'priest' threatened Kaššu that he would not hand over his servants, who might flee to Kizzuwatna, since Kizzuwatna had become a border post (*ḥantezzi auri-*) as well.

The author of this letter, the 'priest', should probably be identified as Kantuzzili (II), son of Arnuwanda I, who served as the governor of Kizzuwatna¹¹⁹. Kaššu, the addressee, most likely held the highest position in Tapikka (Alp 1991a, 71). His

¹¹⁴ Because of Tudhaliya II's sealings that were discovered in level III.

¹¹⁵ For further discussions concerning the date of the archive, see Freu 2001, 29; Gurney 2003, 123; de Martino 2005b, 314.

¹¹⁶ Text: Alp 1991b, 78. Edition: Alp 1991a, 262f.; Hoffner 2009, 234–236. Discussion: Klinger 1995a, 85f.; Freu 2001, 29; Trémouille 2001, 59; Marizza 2007a, 18 n. 69, 81f.

¹¹⁷ This is a nominal phrase:

4 I-NA ^{URU}Zi-ig-ga-aš-ta-wa-ša-an

5 tu-el 20 NA-AP-PA-ŠA-DU EGIR-an

"Your 20 people (who are) back in Ziggašta".

According to Alp (1991a, 46f.), Ziggašta (probably identical with Zikkišta, which appears also in the letters) should be situated south of Mašat-Höyük.

¹¹⁸ Hoffner (2009, 235) restored "but because (*my district*) is a primary watchpoint..."

¹¹⁹ For the identification of this priest with the 'priest', Kantuzzili (II), see Klinger 1995a, 93; Singer 2002b, 309f.; de Martino 2005b, 299, 311–312; Marizza 2007a, 17f. For a possible stamp seal of this Kantuzzili, see Herbordt 2003, 21–23.

career probably began in the middle of Arnuwanda I's reign and ended sometime during Tudhaliya II's reign¹²⁰ (Marizza 2007a, 112). If we do not accept van den Hout's (2007) opinion regarding the short time-span of the archive, a more precise dating of the text using the information in the letter alone is impossible.

From the term *ḫantezzi auri-*, 'border post'¹²¹, it is clear that at the time the letter was composed, Kizzuwatna and Ziggāšta constituted part of the border region of the Hittite empire (Trémouille 2001, 59). It is possible that Hittite law 23b (Hoffner 1997a, 32) could be the explanation for Kaššu's refusal to hand over the slaves. It appears from this law that if one captures slaves on enemy land one may hold them without having to extradite them to their former owner. In light of this, we may restore this incident as follows: slaves of the 'priest' crossed the northern border of the empire and somebody (Kaššu or one of his associates) managed to catch them and bring them back across the border to Ziggāšta, the border post. However, since they were caught in enemy land (Kaška), there was no obligation to hand them back to the 'priest'¹²².

An interesting aspect of the letter is the confrontation between Kaššu and Kantuzzili. The fact that Kaššu involved himself in a confrontation with a high-ranking prince (the son/brother of the king, depending on the letter's date) and the fact that Kantuzzili needed the palace's assistance, testify to both the strength of Kaššu and the limited power of the 'priest' (Marizza 2007a, 18 n. 69).

A.1.10.2. HBM 86a–b¹²³:

Apparently, *HBM* 86a and b are two letters and not a letter and an envelope (as previously suggested¹²⁴); 86b is probably an original that was reused in creating the

¹²⁰ For recent discussion concerning Kaššu, see Marizza 2007a, 93–111. Regarding Kaššu and the administration in Mašat-Höyük, see also Beckman 1995b, 23–26.

¹²¹ *HED* III, 108. Trémouille (2001, 59) interpreted this term as a border district far away from the capital city. Hoffner (2009, 234f.) translates this term as 'primary watchpoint'.

¹²² See also Hoffner's (2009, 234) discussion. In *KBo* 18.69, which can be dated to MH, there are also references for the 'priest' and a border (de Martino 2005b, 299; Marizza 2007a, 81f.).

¹²³ For 86a, text: Alp 1991b, 90. Edition: Alp 1991a, 284f.; van den Hout and Karasu 2010, 375. For 86b, text: Alp 1991b, 90. Edition: Alp 1991a, 286f.; van den Hout and Karasu 2010, 375.

¹²⁴ E.g. Alp (1991a, 284), who claimed that 86a is an envelope and 86b is a letter.

new document, i.e. 86a¹²⁵. The texts detail troop movements. Initially, these troops were destined for Arzawa (and perhaps they were already on their way), but for some unknown reason their destination was altered; now, they should not go to Arzawa but return to [n.n.]. If we do not accept van den Hout's (2007) opinion regarding the short time-span of the archive, it is not possible to be more accurate about the date of this text¹²⁶.

A.1.10.3. HBM 96¹²⁷:

The names of the sender and the addressee are missing, but this letter was probably sent by the king to one of the administrators or commanders in Tapikka. In this letter the author orders the addressee to go and restore order in Hayaša (l. 10'–16'). It appears from the letter that alongside the Hittite army, many different forces fought as well, including Išhupitta¹²⁸, Tupazziya¹²⁹, [Lah]uwazantiya¹³⁰ and Išuwa¹³¹ (l. 17'–22').

Line 21' is not clear, but some scholars believe that all these locations, which those forces originated from, were part of the Hittite Upper Land¹³² at that time (Gurney

¹²⁵ Van den Hout and Karasu (2010, 373). A possible reason for this situation is that the content of 86b was no longer appropriate, or simply wrong (id., 374).

¹²⁶ Klinger (1995a, 86) suggested dating this letter to the reign of Tudhaliya I.

¹²⁷ Text: Alp 1991b, 96. Edition: Alp 1991a, 298–301.

¹²⁸ Išhupitta appears alongside Mount Šakdunuwa and Karahna in *HBM* 71 (for these two places see Forlanini 2007b, 267–269), and Šanahuitta was probably also located in the same region (Gurney 2003, 123; for the latter, see Miller 2009 (not far from Hakmiš and Mašat-Höyük/Tapikka, on or within the bend of the Çekerek Irmak)). According to some of the letters, the forces of Išhupitta were under Kaššu's command (Alp 1991a, 13). For further discussion, see Garstang 1943, 53–56; *RGTC* 12/2, 148; del Monte 2009, 69 n. 42 (near Kelkit Çay, between Tapikka and Hayaša).

¹²⁹ From the appearance of Tupazziya in Fr. 15 of the *DS* it is clear that it was situated not so far from Tuwanuwa (classical Tyana), which was located in the Lower Land (Gurney 2003, 123). For the identification of Tupazziya, see Forlanini (1988, 134 and map 1); id. 2004, 303 n. 34; Börker-Klähn 2007, 108f.

¹³⁰ The location of [Lah]uwazantiya (rendered also as Lawazantiya; for the see Goetze 1940, 72f.) is controversial and connected with the debate over the location of Kummanni. Some scholars believe that both cities were located in east Anatolia far from Cilicia, which was the heart of Kizzuwatna. In this case we may identify Kummanni with Komana Cataoniae (Goetze 1940, 9–17; *RGTC* 6, 213) and La(hu)wazantiya could be located in the area of Elbistan (Gurney 2003, 123). By contrast, Trémouille (2001, 62–66), who examined the order of the places which appear in *CTH* 628, suggested placing Kummanni and La(hu)wazantiya in an eastern part of Cilicia (Trémouille presented some possible identifications for both cities in p. 66. We should mention that part of her work is based upon identifications suggested by Forlanini 2001). Forlanini (2004) suggested that there were two cities by the name Kummanni, one in Cappadocia and the other in Cilicia (known also as the 'city of Kizzuwatna'; for their location, see id., 305 n. 43), and probably the same applies also for Lawazantiya (see also id. 2007b, 269 n. 36). When we accept this suggestion, Lawazantiya which appears in *HBM* 96 is probably the one located in the Upper Land (id. 2004, 303).

¹³¹ For the location of Išuwa, v.s. p. 55f.

¹³² For the location of the Upper Land and its main cities, see Bryce 1986b, 89f.; Forlanini 1998b, 220–222; Ökse 2001; Gurney 2003.

2003, 122; Forlanini 2004, 303; del Monte 2009, 33 n. 49). In my opinion, the location of Tuppaiزيا (i.e. its proximity to Tuwanuwa in Fragment 15) makes this suggestion difficult (v.i. p. 113).

Based on this letter, we may conclude that all of the forces sent to assist Hatti in this mission, including Išuwa, were under Hatti's sovereignty. Consequently, if we do not accept van den Hout's (2007) opinion regarding the short time-span of the archive, this letter should belong to a period between the conquest of Išuwa by Tudhaliya I (detailed in his annals) and the early stages of Tudhaliya II's reign¹³³. At this stage, it is impossible to suggest a more precise dating¹³⁴.

A.1.10.4. Discussion:

Using prosopography and the stamp seals of king Tudhaliya II and his queen Šata(n)duhepa, we are able to date the end of the archive to an early phase in Tudhaliya II's reign (Marizza 2007a, 6f.; cf. van den Hout 2007, 389). Somewhat later, stratum III was destroyed.

Even if we believe that the archive was active for a long period (as opposed to van den Hout 2007)—whether it was ten years (Beckman 1995b, 23), 25 years or more (Alp 1980, 57)—it is still possible to suggest a more accurate date for the last letters of the archive. In my opinion, the archaeological record from stratum III might help us achieve this objective. If the site was left in an organized manner, the most recent letters and the 'live' dossiers would probably be missing, since they would have been taken inland. If, on the other hand, the archive was deserted in haste, the very latest letters would comprise the major part of the letters when the archive was deserted, and therefore constitute most of the letters we have today¹³⁵. According to the excavator, there are almost no small finds from the palace of level III, and it seems

¹³³ Since the archive ended in an early stage of Tudhaliya II's reign (v.s. p. 72.). Cf. Gurney (2003, 122f.), who placed the end of the archive in Išuwa's conquest by Šuppiluliuma, which is mentioned in the *DS*. Regarding the Hittite conquests of Išuwa during the Early Empire period, see Torri 2005, 394–399.

¹³⁴ Kosyan (2006, 91 and n. 27 there) dated *HBM* 96 to Tudhaliya II's reign. He based his proposal on the state-formation process of Hayaša. He claimed that we can see the beginning of this process in *CTH* 146, which he dated to Arnuwanda I's reign, and its culmination (i.e. the appearance of Hayaša as a state) in *HBM* 96, which he dated to Tudhaliya II's reign. However, even when we accept Kosyan's proposal regarding the date of the process' starting-point, it is still possible to date also the ending-point, i.e. *HBM* 96, to Arnuwanda's reign.

¹³⁵ Concerning the storage of documents in archives, see van den Hout 2005a, 280f.

that it "was emptied out before conflagration" (Özgüç 1982, 97). It appears that this conclusion supports the first possibility, i.e. that the site and the archive were left deliberately and with planning. In this light, we should categorize all remaining letters as old (or relatively old) documents kept in the archive while it was active due to some relevance they had for the work of the administrators¹³⁶. Consequently, none of these letters belong to the last activity phase of the archive, and therefore, cannot inform us about the immediate reasons for the site's destruction.

An opposite conclusion is obtained if we accept van den Hout's (2007 (esp. p. 397f.)) proposal. In this case, the signs of urgency, the sense of nervousness that some letters convey and the close surveillance of the Kaška's movement (with continuous reports to the king) are indicative of the dangerous situation in Tapikka's surroundings during the last days of the archive, which led eventually to the destruction of the site.

We should add a note concerning the dendrochronological dates discovered in Maşat-Höyük. Kuniholm (*et al.* 2005, 46) calculated the date 1375 +4/-7 using "at least^[2] three pieces of wood" found at Maşat level II. Van den Hout (2007, 397f.) claims that since stratum II was built right after the destruction of stratum III, we can use this date in order to date the corpus of Maşat "in the early 1370's or right around 1375". In my opinion, such a date for stratum II, in which a sealing of king Šuppiluliuma was found, is definitely too high. In addition, we should notice that "dendrochronological analysis provides dates for when trees were felled and not necessarily when their timbers were used" (Moir 2004, 11). Thus, it is quite possible that the trees were cut down for building activities in level III and were reused in level II¹³⁷. For these and other reasons¹³⁸, we can use this date only as a *terminus post quem*; i.e. the destruction of layer III and the construction of layer II did not precede 1375 +4/-7.

¹³⁶ Notice that even in this case it seems that the oldest letters in the archive were probably no more than 25 years old (van den Hout 2005a, 281).

¹³⁷ Thus, Özgüç (1982, 81f.) mentions that the palace of stratum III was not rebuilt, but used as materials' source for the builders of level II.

¹³⁸ Moir (2004, 11) adds that "Where fewer than 4 samples with sapwood evidence or bark are dated [we have only three pieces, all of which without bark], the term "Spot date(s)" is applied to help identify that the dates are derived in isolation and therefore should not be used to indicate a period of construction". See also *Dendrochronology* for further details that should be considered in an extraction of dendrochronological date.

A.1.11. Kp 05/226; fragment of a text from Kayalipinar/Šamuha¹³⁹:

The fragment *Kp* 05/226 was discovered at the site of Kayalipinar, which could be identified with the Hittite city of Šamuha¹⁴⁰ (Müller-Karpe 2000, 363f.).



Location of Kayalipinar/Šamuha (Müller-Karpe *et al.* 2006, 212). The map also shows the location of Maşat and Ortaköy, in which archives related to the period under discussion were discovered.

Excavations at the site began in 2005, but the first fragments had been found on the surface of the mound as early as 1999. *Kp* 05/226 was discovered during the excavation season of 2006. This text is written in Hurrian and contains 52 lines. Its opening and ending lines are missing. The text begins with a description of a military campaign conducted by two commanders bearing Hurrian/north Syrian names, Ehlitenu and Ili-Šarruma¹⁴¹. The campaign traversed Kizzuwatna (Zunnahara and Winuwanda¹⁴²), crossed the mountains (one of them Mt. Zalurbi¹⁴³), arrived at

¹³⁹ Edition: Wilhelm 2006a, 233–236; Rieken 2009, 130–133.

¹⁴⁰ For a detailed report of the excavations in Kayalipinar and the epigraphic findings from this site, see Müller-Karpe *et al.* 2006; Müller-Karpe 2009. For further discussion concerning the location of Šamuha and its surroundings, see Ökse 2001, 505f.; Gurney 2003, 123–125; del Monte 2009, 25 n. 21; de Martino 2009.

¹⁴¹ There are other Hurrian/north Syrian names later in the text; [A]m² milušarra daughter of Ta[...] (l. 27') and [Eḫ]lipadda (l. 50'). All of these figures are not mentioned in other texts.

¹⁴² Both cities were located in Cilicia. The position of Zunnahara in *KUB* 20.52 (Goetze 1940, 54–56) and *KUB* 23.21 (id. 56f.) in proximity with Kummanni and Adaniya might indicate its geographical

Mukiš¹⁴⁴ and continued to Mittanni. The sea is also mentioned in a disrupted context (l. 12'). From line 20' it appears that [n.n. was trapped²] like a bird. In lines 21'–22' someone could not capture [x]¹⁴⁵, but managed to catch several people¹⁴⁶. Ehlitenu and Ili-Šarruma appear for the second time on the reverse of the tablet, together with some gods. It is possible that Hatti is mentioned in line 33'¹⁴⁷.

When discussing this text we encounter several problems. First, the connection between the first part of the text, which details a military campaign, and its second part, in which gods and sacrifices are mentioned, is unclear. Second, the genre of the text is uncertain. Rieken (2009) suggested that this text is a fragment of a letter or of annals. The second possibility is problematic since there are no other examples of Hittite annals written in Hurrian. When the first possibility is preferred, the absence of the sender's and the addressee's names make it difficult to understand why the text was written in Hurrian¹⁴⁸.

The text has **MH characteristics**; however, since the names of the figures in this text do not appear in other texts, it is impossible to be more precise concerning its date. As a result, we should examine the events detailed in *Kp 05/226* in comparison with other texts and take into consideration the other findings from this site. The first detail we can use is the reference to **Kizzuwatna**. It seems that at least in one clear case part of Kizzuwatna was considered hostile territory (obv. l. 20: "Winuwanda ergriffen sie"). During the Early Empire period, only two kings conquered/annexed Kizzuwatna, Tudhaliya I and II¹⁴⁹. Another toponym that is mentioned in *Kp 05/226* is **Mukiš**.

location (see also Kümmel 1976–1980, 627). For a possible identification of this city, see Trémouille 2001, 61, 65; Forlanini 2004, 298. There were probably three cities by the name Winuwanda/Wiyanawanda/ Oinoanda (Lebrun 2002, 163). The one which appears in our text is probably the city located in Cilicia. In *CTH 706* ((Fest)rituale für Teššub und Hebat), Wiyanawanda is mentioned next to Lawazantiya and the 'city of Kizzuwatna', i.e. Kummanni (Lebrun 2002, 167).

¹⁴³ It is possible that this mountain was located near the Saluara River, which flows at the foot of the Amanus range, and near the city of Zalwar, which could be identified with Tilmen Höyük (Wilhelm 2006a, 235). On the city of Zalwar or the north Syrian Zalpa, see Miller 2001, 70–76.

¹⁴⁴ For the location and history of Mukiš (and its relations with Alalah) during this period, see Klengel 1992b, 109; id. 1995, 411f.; von Dassow 2008, 61–67; Casana 2009.

¹⁴⁵ Possibly, this sentence deals with the failure to capture a city or a kingdom, which appeared also in line 19'.

¹⁴⁶ Because of the Hurrian ending [...] *uḫli* it is possible that these people were designated by their profession.

¹⁴⁷ URU *Ha-ad-du-}{ḫu-}uḫ-ḫa-al-la-²[...]*.

¹⁴⁸ In this case it is possible to equate this text with the General's Letter (*RS 20.33*), which was written in Akkadian.

¹⁴⁹ In my opinion we should reject the proposal to date this text to Šuppiluliuma (Wilhelm 2006a, 236), since at the beginning of his reign Kizzuwatna was already annexed to Hatti. Dating this text to

Support for dating the text to Tudhaliya I appears in the Aleppo treaty (*CTH* 75), which details his campaign against Aleppo. In this campaign he probably marched through Mukiš. Tudhaliya II might have also crossed the territory of Mukiš as he marched to Mount Nanni, located on the northern border of Ugarit (Fr. 8 of the *DŠ*). Both Tudhaliya I and II were involved in conflicts with **Mittanni**. Tudhaliya I's campaigns against the Hurrians are described in his annals (*CTH* 142) and in the Aleppo treaty (*CTH* 75). It is possible that a war of Tudhaliya II against Mittanni is detailed in *EA* 17 and *Šat. I* (the description of the so-called Early Foray; v.s. p. 5–8). An additional support for Tudhaliya II is the fact that the city of **Šamuha** (which should be identified with Kayalipinar) acquired an important status during his reign and perhaps even served as his capital city for a while¹⁵⁰. On the other hand, this city was quite an important city during Tudhaliya I's reign as well¹⁵¹. In stratum 3 in which *Kp* 05/226 was discovered, 13 seal impressions were uncovered. One of them (*Kp* 06/13) was made by a seal of Kantuzzili the GAL *MEŠEDI* (Müller-Karpe, 112f.). However, since the identity of this Kantuzzili (id., 113) and the connection between this bulla and *Kp* 05/226 are uncertain, we cannot use *Kp* 06/13 to date our text.

In summary, according to the accepted opinion this text details a military campaign which began in Kizzuwatna, continued toward Mukiš and ended in Mittanni. It is possible that the army returned to Hatti through Kizzuwatna and then the city of Winuwanda was conquered. Since the date of the text is unclear, the text and my conclusions will be presented briefly in the chapter dealing with the counter-attack of Tudhaliya II (v.i. p. 153) as well.

In addition to the attribution of *Kp* 05/226 to one of these two Hittite kings (Tudhaliya I or II), we should consider a third possibility, i.e. that this fragment belongs to a

Arnuwanda I is also problematic, since the process of Kizzuwatna's annexation began during his coregency, and his firm control over this land is indicated by the Išmerikka treaty (*CTH* 133). It is possible to date *Kp* 05/226 to his last years, but since Hatti's sovereignty over its Syrian territories was weakened or even lost (*HBM* 74, v.s. p. 72f., 75f.), and this text describes a comprehensive campaign into Syria, we should prefer to date *Kp* 05/226 to Tudhaliya I or Tudhaliya II.

¹⁵⁰ Thus, it appears from Fr. 10 (i 9'–11') and 13 (Copy E i 9–10) of the *DŠ* that Tudhaliya II moved from the Land of Hatti to the Upper Land (see also Klengel 1999, 132; Bryce 2005, 146f.).

¹⁵¹ E.g. KUB 32.133 (*CTH* 482) which probably refers to **Tudhaliya I's** adlocation of the cult in Šamuha (see Miller 2004, 350–356). See also the MH letter *KUB* 31.79 in which the cities of Šamuha, Pittayarika and Arziya (the latter is mentioned also in the *DŠ* Fr. 3, v.i. p. 100.) are mentioned (edition: Hoffner 2009, 81–84; discussion: de Martino 2005b, 302). In my opinion, this letter could be dated to either Tudhaliya I or II.

foreign non-Hittite text and therefore does not deal with Hittite deeds. This suggestion is based on the obscurity of the military campaign's itinerary. Alalah is mentioned in line 4' between Kizzuwatna (l. 3') and Zunnahara (l. 7'), and the capture of Winuwanda (l. 20') appears after the marching toward Mukiš (l. 15') and Mittanni (l. 16'). Consequently it is possible to suggest a middle or north Syrian kingdom as the starting-point of this campaign, and Kizzuwatna, Mukiš and perhaps also Mittanni and Hatti as its destinations. The fact that no Hittite or Anatolian names are mentioned in this text supports this possibility as well. The designation of Teššub, 'the king' (l. 30'), is also not so typical of the Hittite texts¹⁵².

In light of this, we may suggest that *Kp* 05/226 is a foreign text which arrived in Hatti—directly from where it originated or from a secondary place where it was kept¹⁵³— and was copied by a Hittite scribe¹⁵⁴. It is difficult to determine the origin of this text; if we understand the verb in line 16', *ga-a-pa*, as an aggressive advance toward Mittanni (Wilhelm 2006a, 235), we should rule out this kingdom. In this case, the kingdom threatened Mittanni, Kizzuwatna, Mukiš and Hatti[?] can be identified with Yamhad. Under the assumption that this text is not Hittite, it is also possible that this fragment does not belong to a 'realistic' genre (for example annals or letters) but to an unknown epos or foreign mythological text (hence the references to gods and sacrifice) that found its way to Hatti¹⁵⁵.

A.2. Discussion:

A.2.1. The northern boundary of Hatti during Arnuwanda I's reign:

There is a large group of texts dated to the period of Arnuwanda I dealing with the Kaška. The most important for our discussion is *CTH* 375, a prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal concerning the ravages of the Kaška, in which the royal couple mourn the loss of territories in north Anatolia. Several of the places mentioned in the prayer also

¹⁵² Perhaps also the strange spelling of the name Hatti in line 33' (if it is indeed Hatti). There is one exception, the theophoric name Ilī-Šarruma, which includes the Anatolian god Šarruma. Notice, however, that even this name includes an Akkadian component.

¹⁵³ The text could have been brought by Tudhaliya I from Kizzuwatna, one of the conquered Syrian kingdoms or from Mittanni. It is also possible that this text arrived in Hatti earlier, but since Hurrian influence over Hatti became stronger during Tudhaliya I's reign (Klinger 2001b, 201–203; Archi 2007, 197), the period beginning with his rule should be preferred.

¹⁵⁴ The fact that a Hurrian text is copied by a Hittite scribe is not unusual and even most common (see for example Klinger 2001b, 199f.).

¹⁵⁵ Thus, we may compare it with the diversity of themes and complexity of the Song of Release (*CTH* 789). For the possibility that Hurrian mythological texts arrived in Hatti already during the Early Empire period, see Beckman 1983c, 102f.; Klinger 2001b, 203f.

appear in treaties of Arnuwanda and the Kaška, but there they are still considered as Hittite subjects¹⁵⁶. Consequently, we may conclude that the weakening process along this frontier lasted throughout Arnuwanda's reign. The decline as reflected by *CTH* 375 (par. §27) reached its (temporal) peak close to the end of his reign, since his heir is mentioned in the prayer (see also Marizza 2007a, 4).

In my opinion, this prayer is the first evidence of Hatti's weakening. The lost territories were indeed in Hatti's periphery, but at a later stage of Arnuwanda I's reign the Kaška used them as bases for launching their raids, which reached deep into the land of Hatti (*CTH* 375 §27") and destabilized security in the heart of the empire¹⁵⁷. As we shall see in Chapter III.D (esp. Chapter III.D.2.3.), stability returned to the land of Hatti during Tudhaliya II's rule¹⁵⁸, but at present, all that Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikal could do was to pray to the gods and ask for their mercy.

A.2.2. The struggle between Hatti and Mittanni:

In order to study the relationships between Mittanni and Hatti and the synchronization of their chronology we should examine the activity of the major powers in Syria. The review will begin with Egypt and proceed to Mittanni and Hatti.

In his eighth campaign (during the 33rd year of his reign), Thutmes III (1479–1425¹⁵⁹) began conquering the Mittannian territories in Syria¹⁶⁰. During this campaign he crossed the Euphrates and placed a stela in the eastern bank of this river¹⁶¹. The inscription on this stela details the submission of several kings, who were probably hostile to Mittanni. Among these, the kings of Babylonia, Assyria[?] and Hatti are mentioned. Their names (and the name of the Mittannian adversary of Thutmes) are

¹⁵⁶ Klinger 2002, 445–451. See for example the discussion concerning the city of Kammama (de Martino 1992a, 39; Trémouille 2007).

¹⁵⁷ Concerning the difficulty of controlling the regions north of Hattuša, see Glatz and Matthews 2005. Regarding the dangerous proximity between Hattuša and these regions, see *id.*, 50.

¹⁵⁸ It was a gradual process; Tudhaliya II had to face the Kaška at the beginning of his reign (e.g. *EA* 31; see also Salvini 1990, 266 concerning *ChS* I/1, 52), and also later on (e.g. Fr. 13 of the *DS*). A full recovery of the northern regions can be dated only to the time of Hattušili III, who was the one to reconquer and rebuild Nerik (*CTH* 81).

¹⁵⁹ *HdO* I/83, 429; the dates of his successors' reign were taken from this source as well. For slightly different dates for these kings, see Shaw 2000, 481 (major differences with *HdO* I/83 can be found after Akhenaten's reign). Based on radiocarbon measurements, there was a suggestion to raise the conventional dates of the New Kingdom by ten years or so (Bronk Ramsey *et al.* 2010).

¹⁶⁰ On the Syrian campaigns of Thutmes III, see Klengel 1992b, 91–95.

¹⁶¹ Concerning this inscription, see Redford 2003, 220–228.

not mentioned, but some scholars identify the Hittite king as Tudhaliya I¹⁶². After this campaign, Thutmes launched nine more campaigns into Syria (during his last years he did not fight in Syria). He received gifts from Hatti also in the campaigns in regnal years 35, 41 and 42 (Redford 2003, 250). It appears from the description of Thutmes III's campaigns that they were successful, yet year after year he was forced to fight in order to maintain Egyptian sovereignty over Syria. At the end of his reign, Egypt ruled the coastal plain as far as Ugarit¹⁶³ and inner Syria as far as Homs. In the area north of Qadeš¹⁶⁴, Mittannian dominance remained. During the reign of Amenhotep II (1425–1400), Thutmes III's successor, Mittanni–Egypt relations improved markedly and a treaty was concluded (Kühne 1999, 218; Bryan 2000a, 76–78; Klinger 2006a, 313). This tendency continued during the reign of Thutmes IV (1400–1390), who concluded a treaty with Artatama I and married his daughter. Amenhotep III (1390–1353) also signed a treaty with Mittanni during his tenth regnal year; at that stage, Mittanni was ruled by Šuttarna II¹⁶⁵, son and successor of Artatama I (Wilhelm 1993–1997, 294; id. 1995, 1250; Hornung 2006, 204).

As for the Mittannian aspect of this period, parallel to Thutmes III, Parsatatar and/or his son Sauštatar ruled in Mittanni¹⁶⁶. At first, they did not manage to stop the Egyptian advance. However, already in the course of Thutmes III's Syrian campaigns, Mittanni managed to regain its control over north Syria (as far as Assyria that had been lost earlier¹⁶⁷). Control over the region south of Mukiš (coastal plain¹⁶⁸) and

¹⁶² This question is also connected to the Kuruštama Treaty. Usually, the Egyptian side of the treaty is identified with either Thutmes III or Amenhotep II. It is possible that the Hittite king at that point was Tudhaliya I. For further discussion regarding this treaty and its date, see Murnane 1990a, 31–33; Redford 2003, 250f.; de Martino 2004b, 38f.; Singer 2004; Forlanini 2005, 237; Klinger 2006a, 315f.; Sürenhagen 2006 (claimed that we should distinguish between the 'Kuruštama accord' and the treaty that followed it); Groddek 2008c, 37 n. 1, 42 n. 29; del Monte 2009, 123 n. 71; Devecchi and Miller 2011.

¹⁶³ At this time Egypt probably did not rule Ugarit (Singer 1999, 621f.).

¹⁶⁴ Qadeš is identified with Tell Nebi Mend. The place name is commonly written Kinza in Hittite texts, and K/Qinza or K/Qidša in the Amarna letters (e.g. Beal (2007, 81) who suggested that the name of the city should be pronounced Qids). Recently, five tablets found in the excavation of Tell Nebi Mend verified its identification with Qadeš (Millard 2010). For a historical review of the history of Qadeš, see Klengel 2006b (for further references, see del Monte 2009, 109 n. 37).

¹⁶⁵ For a seal of this king on a tablet from Umm el-Marra, see Cooper, Schwartz and Westbrook 2005.

¹⁶⁶ The survey of Mittanni's history during this period is based upon Kühne 1999, 215–218. In this matter see also Wilhelm 1989, 26f.; id. 1993–1997; id. 1995; Klengel 1992b, 91–95; de Martino 2004b, 37–39.

¹⁶⁷ Kühne 1999, 216f.

¹⁶⁸ For discussion concerning Mukiš, v.s. p. 78 n. 144.

Nuhašše (inner Syria¹⁶⁹) was possibly retained by Egypt (Klengel 1992b, 95). Some Hurrians managed to interfere in Hatti's internal affairs by supporting the followers of the usurper Muwattalli I in their struggle against Tudhaliya I. Perhaps these Hurrians came from Mittanni or were the Mittannian king's (Sauštatar?) henchmen¹⁷⁰.

Kizzuwatna, located in the south-eastern border of Hatti, was quite independent beforehand, and ascertained proper relations with Hatti through a series of parity treaties. However, under Sauštatar, Sunaššura king of Kizzuwatna became a Mittannian subject (*AIT* 14, upon which Sunaššura signed).

Tudhaliya I's reign was probably congruent with Sauštatar's ruling¹⁷¹, but there are no references for his Egyptian counterpart. Some scholars believe that Tudhaliya became a king already during Thutmes III's reign (1479–1425), while others suggest that it only happened during the reign of Amenhotep II (1425–1400)¹⁷². In order to solve this problem we should try to integrate the reign of Tudhaliya I in the aforementioned events. The key for achieving this goal lies in the Sunaššura treaty, one of the most complex sources for this period. In the chapter that deals with this treaty, two different interpretations were presented (v.s. Chapter III.A.1.3.):

A. The **first scenario**, which is widely accepted today, is that at some point after Tudhaliya I had defeated Muwa and the Hurrians, either by force or by other means¹⁷³, he took over Kizzuwatna, a former Mittannian vassal, and this move paved the way for his future enterprises in Syria. According to this scenario, the beginning of Tudhaliya's reign was also the low point of his career, but by the end of his reign he managed to establish a strong empire.

In this case, there are two possibilities of synchronizing Tudhaliya's campaigns with the Egyptian chronology¹⁷⁴:

¹⁶⁹ Nuhašše was located west of the Orontes, between Aleppo and Hama; for discussion, see Klengel 1998–2001, 610; *RGTC* 12/2, 214; Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004, 92.

¹⁷⁰ Perhaps the Hurrians acted this way, since they did not want to lose the influence they wielded over the Hittite royal court during Muwattalli I's reign.

¹⁷¹ Because both were contemporary with Sunaššura. In addition, it might be possible to restore Sauštatar's name in *CTH* 143 (*KUB* 23.14 ii 1; see Carruba 1977a, 172; de Martino 2004b, 37; Wilhelm 2009b, 106) in the context of a campaign led by Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I against the Hurrians.

¹⁷² See discussion above in n. 162.

¹⁷³ E.g. the different opinions concerning *KUB* 32.133 (*CTH* 482): Goetze 1940, 24f.; Beal 2002a; Miller 2004, 259f., 350.

¹⁷⁴ See Wilhelm 1993–1997, 291.

1. Synchronization between Tudhaliya's campaigns and the reign of Thutmes III greatly extends the Tudhaliya's reign. A reign of about 50 years, however, is not so uncommon.
2. We can also synchronize between Tudhaliya I and Amenhotep II.

The second possibility, however, eliminates the main explanation for Mittanni's failure to contest Tudhaliya, since Amenhotep's campaigns (in regnal years seven and nine) were not directed against Mittannian territories¹⁷⁵, and later he even signed a treaty with Mittanni. As a result, at this point it seems that the first solution should be preferred, i.e. that Tudhaliya I's initial success was probably related to the fact that Mittanni was occupied with the yearly campaigns of Thutmes III (see also Klinger 1995b, 244–246; Forlanini 2005, 234–237). For this reason, the beginning of Tudhaliya's war against the Hurrians should be dated between Thutmes III's eighth campaign (regnal year 33, ca. 1446) and his 17th and final one (against Mittanni in regnal year 42, ca. 1437).

B. The **second possible scenario** is based on the division of the Sunaššura treaty into two separate sources. The earliest treaty, i.e. Copy B, granted Kizzuwatna with better terms than the later, i.e. Copy A and its Akkadian equivalent version (*HDT*, 17–18; Schwemer 2007, 152). Based on this division, we should deduce that an earlier treaty (i.e. Copy B) was concluded with Sunaššura between the alliance of Kizzuwatna with 'Tudhaliya's grandfather' (probably the treaty between Pilliya and Zidanta II)—mentioned in the preamble to the Sunaššura treaty in Copy A—and Sunaššura's later treaty with Tudhaliya I (i.e. Copy A itself). This early treaty with Sunaššura is not mentioned in the historical preamble of Copy A. Accepting this, we may deduce that Kizzuwatna–Hatti relations were more complex than their simplistic description in the historical prologue.

There are two possibilities for dating Kizzuwatna's defection:

1. Kizzuwatna deserted sometime between the reign of Tudhaliya's 'grandfather' and the earliest treaty with Sunaššura (Copy B). This scenario, however, does not explain the worsening attitude towards Kizzuwatna as reflected in the later treaty with Sunaššura.

¹⁷⁵ Mittanni is not even mentioned as an enemy in the depiction of these campaigns (Bryan 2000a, 76–78; id. 2000b, 252f.).

2. Sunaššura deserted between the conclusion of his two treaties (i.e. between the completion of copies B and A of the Sunaššura treaty). The second treaty was therefore a measure of punishment imposed upon Sunaššura.

When accepting this proposition, it is quite tempting to reconstruct the events as follows: during the heydays of Thutmes III, Mittanni was engaged in restraining the Egyptian advance in Syria, and as shown above, the effort was indeed successful. However, there was also a price to be paid; neglect of areas located outside the arena of the struggle with Egypt, such as Kizzuwatna. It is possible that the first Hittite contract with Sunaššura (Copy B) was signed at some point during this period. The Hittite king at this stage can be identified as Muwattalli I, Kantuzzili (I, if he ever reigned) or Tudhaliya I himself (at the beginning of his reign). In my opinion, the latter should be preferred¹⁷⁶. However, during the last years of Thutmes III's reign, the Egyptian campaigns against Syria ceased¹⁷⁷ and Mittanni managed to regain its control over the lost territories, including Kizzuwatna. For yet unknown reasons, Mittanni later weakened, and Tudhaliya I managed to win Kizzuwatna back. At that point, a second treaty with Sunaššura was concluded (Copy A), this time with less favorable conditions¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁶ It seems that Tudhaliya I strengthened the relationships between Hatti and Kizzuwatna in three aspects: during his reign Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean customs were acculturated in Hatti (names, religious practices), a treaty with Sunaššura was signed, and most importantly, Tudhaliya married Nikalmati, a Kizzuwatnean[?] princess that became the queen of Hatti (and not a secondary wife). If Nikalmati's Hurrian-name indeed testifies her Kizzuwatnean origin (of which there is no proof) and if her marriage was related to the conclusion of the Sunaššura treaty, it is hard to ascribe this procedure to the second treaty with Sunaššura. At that point, Arnuwanda (I) was already acting as coregent, and therefore was already married to Ašmunikal, the 'outcome' of the marriage with Nikalmati (for the familial connection between Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I see Beal 1983, 115–119; Salvini 1990, 265 n. 21).

¹⁷⁷ Perhaps also the Egyptian attitude toward Mittanni had changed for the better (Bryan 2000a, 76). Another possibility is that the Egyptian campaign continued as before but since they were unsuccessful they were not recorded in the inscriptions (noted by prof. N. Na'aman).

¹⁷⁸ When we date both treaties to Tudhaliya I (v.s. p. 57), his kingship seems to be quite different from the way it was described before. Now, the naive depiction of a continuous success story beginning from the moment of Tudhaliya's accession should be replaced with the more realistic image of a period full of hardships and even failures. Trying to integrate some other events from Tudhaliya's reign in this outline, it is quite reasonable that the events detailed in *CTH* 142 occurred around the time of the first treaty with Sunaššura (because Tudhaliya's accession is depicted). Also the ritual of the dividing of the Goddess of the Night (*CTH* 482) was probably performed at this point (Miller 2004, 355f.). However, the events mentioned in *CTH* 143 (including the activities in Kizzuwatna) and *CTH* 147 (see Houwink ten Cate 1970, 57–59; de Martino 1996, 41–45) are connected to the time of the second Sunaššura treaty (because of the involvement of Arnuwanda I, Tudhaliya's heir). It is also reasonable to assume that Tudhaliya I's campaigns in Syria (Alalah, Tunip, etc.) came after the second treaty, since during the time-period of the first treaty there was an almost constant presence (i.e. during the fighting season) of the strong Egyptian army in Syria.

After a while, perhaps after Sunaššura's death, Kizzuwatna was annexed to Hatti¹⁷⁹. From Kizzuwatna, Tudhaliya was able to send his forces towards Syria; the Hittite army passed through Kizzuwatna (*CTH* 143) and Alalah¹⁸⁰ (*CTH* 136¹⁸¹, *Kp* 05/226³), and reached Aleppo¹⁸² (*CTH* 75) and Tunip (*CTH* 135¹⁸³). Throughout these campaigns Tudhaliya fought not only against the kings of Syria, but also against the Mittannian army which supported them¹⁸⁴ (*CTH* 75, *Kp* 05/226³). As opposed to the past, now the Hittite army was not threatened by the strong army of Thutmes III (or his successor) which, by this stage, was already absent from the regions north of Canaan. Another region where the struggle between Hatti and Mittanni was intensified was Išuwa. The Sunaššura treaty mentioned its conquest, and other texts (*CTH* 133; *HBM* 96) detail Arnuwanda I's sovereignty over this kingdom¹⁸⁵. It is possible that due to Hatti's strengthening, Mittanni's relations with Egypt improved. In approximately 1400 BC the long hostility between the two kingdoms ended, and a treaty was signed between Artatama I and Thutmes IV (Wilhelm 1995, 1249f.; Kühne 1999, 218). The conclusion of the treaty was accompanied by the marriage of the pharaoh and a Mittannian princess¹⁸⁶. The peaceful situation along its southern borders enabled Mittanni to regain its sovereignty over the regions which bordered with Hatti, and gradually, during Arnuwanda I's reign, we can identify a Hittite retreat from these regions. The reasons for this process were probably the aforementioned intensification of Mittanni's activity, as well as the constant attacks against Hatti by the Kaška tribes and the kings of Arzawa. These attacks probably required the Hittites to allocate more and more forces to act against these enemies. Between the end of

¹⁷⁹ It was probably a gradual process which began with the marriage between the two royal families; later, probably after Sunaššura's death, the Hittite kings ruled Kizzuwatna directly; during the final stage, Arnuwanda I appointed his son, Kantuzzili (II) the 'priest', as Kizzuwatna's governor. For this and other descriptions of Kizzuwatna's annexation see Forlanini 2005, 235f.; Marizza 2007a, 3f.

¹⁸⁰ It is possible that the destruction layer IVA^F in Alalah (Tell Atchana) is the outcome of Tudhaliya I's campaigns (Fink 2007, 187). For other possibilities, see von Dassow 2008, 61f.

¹⁸¹ For a recent discussion of this text (*KBo* 13.55), see Devecchi 2007 (who prefers to date it to Šuppiluliuma's reign).

¹⁸² Concerning Aleppo in this period, see Klengel 1992b, 95.

¹⁸³ We should date this text to the MH period (*Portal Mainz*). For discussions concerning the text and its date see del Monte 1985, 264–266; Klengel 1992b, 95; Klinger 1995b, 240; Devecchi 2007, 214; von Dassow 2008, 61. There have also been suggestions to date it to Šuppiluliuma (Singer 1991a, 157).

¹⁸⁴ For further discussion, see Kühne 1999, 216f.

¹⁸⁵ For additional texts and further discussion concerning Hatti's sovereignty in the region of Išuwa during Arnuwanda I's reign, see Torri 2005, 395f.; Marizza 2007a, 5, 40.

¹⁸⁶ This custom continued during the reigns of their successors (excluding a short break following Artaššumara's murder), and ended only during Akhenaten's reign, probably because the relationships of the two realms deteriorated again.

Arnuwanda's reign and the beginning of Tudhaliya II's reign, the Hittite grip over Syria was weakened, and Kizzuwatna, in which Kantuzzili (II) was appointed as governor¹⁸⁷, became the south-eastern border of Hatti (*HBM* 74)¹⁸⁸. During Arnuwanda's reign, Išuwa probably remained under Hittite sovereignty¹⁸⁹.

In conclusion, we can see that until the end of Arnuwanda's reign, most of Tudhaliya I's achievements along this frontier were lost (see also Klengel 1992a, 347f.).

A.2.3. Hittite policy toward west Anatolia (part 1: the reigns of Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I)¹⁹⁰:

After a harsh struggle with the supporters of Muwattalli I, Tudhaliya I could have established his rule over Hatti, and then, shortly after his accession, sent his forces to the west. In his campaigns in west Anatolia, Tudhaliya I fought against two confederacies¹⁹¹. His most important campaign was launched against the Aššuwean confederacy located in north-western Anatolia. The second confederacy he encountered comprised a coalition of kingdoms located in central-west and south-west Anatolia, which included, among others, the kingdoms of Arzawa, Šeha-River-Land and Hapalla.

CTH 143 and *CTH* 147 detail the confrontation with the Arzawean king Kupanta-Kuruntiya. Both descriptions are quite similar, but they differ in some of their components. Based on these differences, de Martino (1996, 41–45; cf. Houwink ten Cate 1970, 59) concluded that Tudhaliya I fought twice against Kupanta-Kuruntiya: at first, in north-west Anatolia in the area of Maša and Arduqqa (*CTH* 143), and later—probably when Arnuwanda I was already serving as his heir—in south-west Anatolia in the region of Šalawašša (*CTH* 147). The two campaigns ended successfully. However, Tudhaliya (and later also Arnuwanda) did not try to annex Arzawa but rather established a kingdom which was supposed to become a buffer zone between Hatti and Arzawa, and installed Madduwatta there. When Madduwatta joined their

¹⁸⁷ When we identify Kantuzzili (II) with the 'priest' (DUMU.NITA SANGA) who appears in 577/u (now appeared as *KBo* 51.16) ii 7' (*CTH* 375.1.A), we may conclude that he was appointed as Kizzuwatna's governor by his father (Arnuwanda I).

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Trémouille 2001, 59.

¹⁸⁹ *HBM* 96 is the last testimony of Hittite sovereignty over Išuwa. Unfortunately it is impossible to date it precisely (cf. de Martino's (2005b, 314) discussion regarding this letter). Another piece of evidence comes from *Šat. 1* (*HDT*, 42); it appears from par. §1 that Išuwa rebelled against Hatti during Tudhaliya II's reign.

¹⁹⁰ This chapter is based also on Chapter III.A.1.8.1. The second part of this discussion, i.e. the Hittite policy toward west Anatolia during Šuppiluliuma's reign, will be examined in Chapter IV.D.2.2.

¹⁹¹ For possible reasons for these campaigns, see Bryce 2003a, 50.

enemies, the Hittite kings (mostly) reacted by expressing their protest, rather than by sending their troops against him. According to *CTH* 147, the kingdom of Madduwatta eventually spread over the larger part of west Anatolia and included Arzawa (including some Hittite areas east of Arzawa), parts of Lycia and at least part of Pamphylia¹⁹². Since the text is broken, the end of Madduwatta remains unknown.

It seems that during a later stage of Arnuwanda I's reign (after the reigns of Kupanta-Kuruntiya and Madduwatta) a man named Huhazalma became the king of Arzawa. The treaty concluded with him (*CTH* 28) indicates that Huhazalma extended the borders of his kingdom to the east, toward Cilicia and the Lower Land. Unlike his previous mild reaction to Madduwatta's misdeeds, this time Arnuwanda's response was swift and harsh; he went to war and conquered the rebellious cities¹⁹³. After his victory, Arnuwanda contented himself with the conclusion of a parity treaty with Huhazalma¹⁹⁴, and did not try to expand the borders of Hatti to the west (even as a punitive measure).

It is clear from *CTH* 147 that in addition to Arzawa, another enemy was active in west Anatolia, that is, Ahhiyawa. This realm was represented in Madduwatta's text by Attariššiya 'Man of Ahhiya'. For the location of Ahhiya(wa) (in (Mycenaean) Greece or in some islands in the Aegean Sea) and the status of Attariššiya, v.s. discussion in p. 69f.

Through an examination of the available texts it is possible to identify several strategies the Hittite kings applied to western Anatolian kingdoms during the Old and Middle Kingdoms. It is clear that since the early days of the Old Kingdom, the Hittites focused their attention on gaining control over Syria, due to its rich cities, wealthy harbors, and the trade routes that crossed it and linked Hatti to Egypt and Mesopotamia. It is possible that during the Old Kingdom the Hittites tried to dominate both Syria and west Anatolia¹⁹⁵, but they soon learned a hard lesson. A

¹⁹² Concerning Madduwatta's realm and Mutamutašša's location, see discussion above (v.s. p. 53 n. 6, 65).

¹⁹³ On the importance of controlling Pamphylia, see Forlanini 1998b, 218f.

¹⁹⁴ It is possible that a treaty with the people of Ura (*CTH* 144) was concluded after the Hittite reconquest of this area, in order to fasten the Hittite sovereignty over this region (de Martino 1996, 73–79). This suggestion depends on the identification of Ura with the Cilician toponym (v.s. p. 53n. 5).

¹⁹⁵ *CTH* 8.A (*KBo* 3.34) details the following event: when Nunnu from the city of Hurma was staying in Arzawiya, some gold that was supposed to be handed to the Hittite king, was stolen. It appears from this text that the thief was appointed by the king of Hatti; therefore, it is possible to conclude

comprehensive involvement in the west paved the way for attacks by the Hurrians on core Hittite territory¹⁹⁶. The result was a change in the status of west Anatolia; from 'Hittite territory' (that should be conquered and controlled by all means) to 'unattainable territory'¹⁹⁷. From this time on, the kings of Hatti kept trying to prevent the establishment of hostile coalitions in west Anatolia, while at the same time, they tried to reduce their military involvement in this region¹⁹⁸ (Bryce 1986a, 3f.).

At the beginning of his reign, Tudhaliya I tried to imitate his great predecessors, and launched several large-scale campaigns against his adversaries. The outcomes, however, were the same; Tudhaliya I gained great victories in the west, but at the same time, other (and probably more vulnerable) borders of Hatti were left open to attack¹⁹⁹. Tudhaliya I learned his lesson. He restored west Anatolia to its former status (i.e. 'unattainable territory') and reinstated the former policy (i.e. achieving maximal security of Hatti's western border with minimal military involvement in this region). Unlike his predecessors, Tudhaliya I also developed a new strategy in order to achieve this goal. We should note that this strategy should be seen in the light of Hatti's objectives in the west, and not as an indication of its weakness. Instead of sending his armies to the west and exposing his flanks to attack, Tudhaliya I tried to avoid the danger by establishing a buffer zone. The role of this area was to separate Hatti from

that the region in which Nunnu was stationed, i.e. Arzaw(iy)a, was under Hittite sovereignty at some point during the OK (cf. Yakubovich 2008, 97). Possibly, Hittite supremacy over Arzawa is manifested also in some of the Hittite laws (for the dating of the oldest version of the laws to the reigns of Hattušili I and Muršili I, see Singer 2001, 288f.; Archi 2010, 42f. For the dating of this text to the time of Telipinu, see Yakubovich 2008, 297; van den Hout 2009a, 76; id. 2009b, 33). Thus, in some laws there is a difference in punishment, when the sinner is Hittite or Luwian; for example, see laws 19–21 (Hoffner 1997a, 29–31, 179f.). Recently, however, Yakubovich (2008, 297–308) suggested equating Luwiya with the region of the Lower Land and not with Arzawa (and West Anatolia). When we accept his opinion (see also his interpretation of *CTH* 8.A, id. p. 97), the Hittites never managed to rule effectively in west Anatolia before this region was conquered by Muršili II.

¹⁹⁶ Thus, we can see that in *CTH* 4 (Miller 1999, 24–33) and apparently also in *CTH* 13 (Kempinski and Košak 1982), both dated to Old Kingdom, the authors connected between campaigns against Arzawa and the exposure of Hittite homeland to Hurrian attacks. In later periods, the Kaška also became a threat, e.g. their attack during Tudhaliya I's campaign in Aššuwa (Carruba 1977a, 160–161). Perhaps the change in the destination of the troops in *HBM* 86a–b, and the great fear and alert mentioned in *HBM* 86b, are also related to these threats. Concerning the Kaška's activity during the 'Middle Kingdom', see Klinger 2002, 441–446.

¹⁹⁷ Concerning the different manners in which the Hittites treated different regions in Anatolia, v.s. Chapter III.A.1.8.1.

¹⁹⁸ According to Forlanini (1998b, 217, 219), most friction between Hatti and Arzawa occurred around the Lower Land region; the Arzawians tried to reach Tuwanuwa and the Cilician Gates, while the Hittites focused their efforts on maintaining their control over Šallapa. For other Hittite objectives in the west, see Yakar 1976; for discussion concerning *EA* 31 v.i. Chapter III.C.2.12.

¹⁹⁹ A possible explanation for Hatti's 'disappearance' between the conclusions of the two treaties with Sunaššura (v.s. p. 57; p. 84–87), might be connected with the Hittites' greater involvement in western Anatolian affairs.

the western kingdoms and to provide a military response to any threat from this direction. Once this region fulfilled its designated goal, it freed the Hittite army from the need to constantly protect the western border and made it available for more important tasks (e.g. glorious campaigns in north Syria and the constant threat from the north). In addition to Madduwatta's realm, the barrier zone possibly included several other kingdoms. In order for this area to fulfill its function properly and not become too strong and threaten Hatti, Tudhaliya I and later Arnuwanda I rejected Madduwatta's attempts to annex more regions to his kingdom (par. §8). They were less decisive regarding his attacks on his western neighbors, although the constant need to help him definitely contradicted their objectives. From time to time, Tudhaliya was required to send forces also to other border regions not included in Madduwatta's realm (e.g. Šallawašši in par. §10).

It seems that at first, this 'experiment' was quite successful (despite Madduwatta's 'overenthusiasm'). However, at some point, Madduwatta ceased to serve Hatti as a loyal vassal and started acting on his own behalf. Nevertheless, being true to the foreign policy principles he developed, Tudhaliya I (as did his successor later) made efforts not to use military forces, preferring diplomacy. When he had no other choice, Tudhaliya made limited use of the army. Thus, he did not try to conquer Arzawa even when he had an opportunity to do so (par. §10); he just raided the land and returned to Hatti. Since *CTH* 147 is damaged, it is unclear whether Arnuwanda I kept expressing his protest verbally, or eventually sent his forces to the buffer zone and subjugated Madduwatta. Close to the end of Arnuwanda's reign, Huhazalma, king of Arzawa (or a ruler of another western Anatolian kingdom), invaded Hittite territories in south Anatolia and conquered Ura and Mutamutašša. To this incident Arnuwanda reacted swiftly, protecting his land and the status quo between Hatti and the west Anatolian kingdoms.

When we summarize Arnuwanda I's reign, it is clear that except for some minor losses, there is no evidence of significant damage along the western frontier. The Hittites probably lost some regions in the buffer zone to Madduwatta²⁰⁰, but the Hittite territory west of the Maraššantiya River remained mostly intact.

²⁰⁰ Except for Madduwatta's realm, it seems that he conquered also Petašša and Maraša (*CTH* 147, par. §23 and §25). However, it is possible that Arnuwanda managed to reconquer them during this episode (e.g. the broken section close to the end of par. §23, in which Arnuwanda possibly mentioned his personal involvement in this event) or after its completion.

However, this strategy, which dictated the principles of Hatti's foreign policy toward west Anatolia, was directly related to the catastrophe that befell Hatti during the reign of Tudhaliya II. Huhazalma's invasion was traumatic for the Hittites, and was even commemorated in their calendar ('the year of Huhazalma'). Nevertheless, Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I failed to see the consequences of their insufficient involvement in west Anatolia, and did not deviate from the aforementioned strategy. If Arnuwanda's reaction to these challenges had been different, it is possible that Tarhundaradu's wide-scale invasion several years later might have been prevented (see also Houwink ten Cate 1970, 70).

III.B. Tašmišarri, Taduhepa and Šata(n)duhepa:

From colophons of two texts it appears that Tudhaliya II was Arnuwanda I's son¹, and that sometime during Arnuwanda's rule he was appointed as his regent (*tuhkanti-*)². Possibly, Tudhaliya II appears alongside Ašmunikal in her seal (AO 29722; see Salvini 1990). It is also possible that there is another seal impression, in which Tudhaliya II's name appears together with his grandfather's name, Tudhaliya I³. The name of Šata(n)duhepa⁴, a queen of Tudhaliya II, appears next to his name in two seal impressions from Mašat-Höyük⁵ and in *KBo* 53.10⁶. In the latter, the entire royal family (i.e. the royal couple, Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikal, together with their sons) appears as well⁷.

¹ *KUB* 11.31 and *KBo* 10.34. A discussion concerning the identity of Tudhaliya the predecessor of Šuppiluliuma, can be found in Kümmel 1967; Otten 1968, 16; Güterbock 1970, 75f. and n. 18 there; Carruba 1977a, 137–174; Haas 1985, 272f.; a more recent discussion can be found in Marizza 2007a, 25–27. In his discussion with *KUB* 45.47 and *KUB* 36.118+119, Marizza (loc. cit.) examined an assumption that Tudhaliya was not the eldest son of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal, but eventually concluded that this suggestion should probably be rejected.

² For the term *tuhkanti-*, see Gurney 1983. Tudhaliya II appears as *tuhkanti-* by the side of his parents in the land grant text *KBo* 5.7 rev. 46–50 and *SBo* I 60, the seal impression upon it; see also Bin-Nun 1975, 175f. It is possible that his becoming an heir (or less probable, a coregent or king) is documented in *KUB* 36.118+119 (edition: Houwink ten Cate 1995–1996, 66); for discussion and different interpretations of the ceremony, see Kammenhuber 1976, 174; Carruba 1977b, 192f.; Gurney 1979b; Beal 1983, 119–122; Otten 1990, 224–226; Houwink ten Cate 1995–1996, 66–69; Marizza 2007a, 25–27.

³ *SBo* I 58 (Otten 1995, 10f.); cf. Soysal's (2003, 51) analysis of this seal impression (ascribing it to Tudhaliya I).

⁴ Some scholars suggested that Šata(n)duhepa and Taduhepa are two names that refer to the same queen (Alp 1980, 54; Haas 1985, 272; Klinger 1995a, 80f.; Carruba 1998, 93–96; Freu 2002a, 68f.), but today it is clear that these names belong to two separate queens (Dinçol *et al.* 1993, 101f. and n. 73 there; Houwink ten Cate 1995–1996, 56f.; Klengel 1999, 128 [A1] and n. 194 there; Marizza 2007a, 6f.).

⁵ *Mst* 75/10 and *Mst* 75/39 (Alp 1980; id. 1991a, 48).

⁶ This is a duplicate of the 'Prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal to the Sun-goddess of Arinna etc.' (*CTH* 375.1.B); following Miller (2004, 9 n. 12) we should prefer the reading [[†]Š]a-*ta-an-du-ḥé-pa* (ii 24') instead of the former reading (Duduhepa). Concerning this matter see also Marizza (2007a, 16f.).

⁷ Other members of the nucleus family were Manninni, Pariyawatra, Kantuzzili (II, the 'priest') and Tulpi-Teššub. The question whether these people were the descendants of Tudhaliya I or Arnuwanda I depends on the restoration of their mother's name in *KUB* 45.47 (and also on the connection between Tudhaliya and Kantuzzili in Fragment 2 of the *DŠ*). Marizza (2007a, 29f.; and also Freu 2002a, 66) suggested restoring Ašmunikal's name, and this suggestion is proffered here. Others suggested restoring Nikalmati's name there (*ChS* I/1, 9; Haas 1985, 273f.; Klinger 1995a, 93–99; Singer 2002b, 309). How Tulpi-Teššub was related to this family is not clear, since in *KUB* 45.47 he appears as the son of the royal couple while in *KUB* 36.118+119 he appears as their grandson (for discussion, see Houwink ten Cate 1995–1996, 65–69; Marizza 2007a, 25–27).

In the past it was not clear which Hittite king should be identified with Tašmišarri⁸, but at present the situation is much clearer. This king appears in many texts of the *Itkalzi* series next to his queen Taduhepa (*ChS* I/1, 7). Two other queens mentioned alongside Tašmišarri are Ašmunikal and Šata(n)duhepa⁹ (as mentioned above, the latter was Tudhaliya II's queen). It is possible that Arnuwanda I is also mentioned in this ritual¹⁰. In summary, we can see that Šata(n)duhepa appeared next to both Tašmišarri and Tudhaliya II (who served as Arnuwanda I's *tuhkanti*- and replaced him after his death), and Taduhepa is mentioned both as Tašmišarri's queen and as the first *tawananna*-¹¹ next to Šuppiluliuma¹², Tudhaliya II's heir (after a possible short reign of Tudhaliya 'the Younger')¹³. In light of this, Tašmišarri's identification with Tudhaliya II seems quite certain¹⁴.

From this analysis we may conclude that Šata(n)duhepa was the first queen to rule beside Tudhaliya II¹⁵, and Taduhepa was his second queen. The latter outlived her husband and continued to serve in this office during the first years of Šuppiluliuma's

⁸ Thus, he was identified with *Arnuwanda I* (e.g. Kümmel 1967, 143; Bin-Nun 1975, 262f.; Kammenhuber 1976, 167, 176), *Šuppiluliuma* (Güterbock 1956, 122) and *Hattušili II* (Houwink ten Cate 1995–1996, 57). Concerning the Hurrian names of the Hittite kings, see Börker-Klähn 1977; Beal 2002b. Concerning the possibility that Tudhaliya I established a new dynasty of a Hurrian origin, e.g. Klinger 2001b, 203; Beal 2002b, 58f. Cf. Taracha 2004.

⁹ *ChS* I/1, 39 (see correction in *ChS* I/2, 481). For more texts in which Šata(n)duhepa and Tašmišarri appear together, see Trémouille 2006.

¹⁰ *ChS* I/1, 54.

¹¹ We should differentiate between the title '*tawananna*-' , the Hittite designation of the Great Queens, and the personal name Tawananna, the name of the Babylonian princess, the second wife (and third *tawananna*-) of Šuppiluliuma (for her real name, see Börker-Klähn 1995). We should notice that the *tawananna*- was not necessarily the king's spouse. Thus, Šuppiluliuma's first *tawananna*-, was Taduhepa, who was Tudhaliya II's wife and the second *tawananna*-, who ruled by the latter's side (after Šata(n)duhepa). The most comprehensive study dealing with the Hittite queens was written by Bin-Nun (1975).

¹² *KUB* 26.57 obv. 9. Concerning the order of Šuppiluliuma's queens, see (among others) Goetze 1952, 71; Kitchen 1962, 1f.; Otten 1968, 18f.; id. 1994, 253f.; Bin-Nun 1975, 167, 261f.; Houwink ten Cate 1995–1996, 54; Bryce 2005, 159f.

¹³ We can learn about the familial connection between Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma from the seal impression *Mst* 76/15 (Otten 1993, 10–13), from the 'Cruciform Seal' (Dinçol *et al.* 1993) and from Tudhaliya's and Šuppiluliuma's designations in the *DŠ* ("my grandfather" and "my father"). For a discussion concerning the exact extent of kinship between Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma, v.i. Chapter IV.A.

¹⁴ It is possible that Taduhepa, Tašmišarri's queen, is mentioned also as Tudhaliya's queen in a stamp seal from Ortaköy/Šapinuwa (in Süel 2009, 199), thus strengthening the identification of Tašmišarri with Tudhaliya. For further discussions concerning the identity of Tašmišarri, see Gurney 1979b, 218–221; *ChS* I/1, 7f.; Dinçol *et al.* 1993, 101f.; Houwink ten Cate 1995–1996; Klengel 1999, 128 (A1); Carruba 1998, 93; Freu 2002a, 68f.; Marizza 2007a, 6.

¹⁵ It is possible that she was his first queen but his second *tawananna*-. Some scholars believe that Ašmunikal outlived her husband and ruled alongside Tudhaliya II as his first *tawananna*-; for a discussion, see Otten 1968, 18f.; Gurney 1979b, 218f.; Salvini 1990, 262–268; Marizza 2007a, 16, 71f. Cf. Kammenhuber (1976, 175), who identified in her analysis to *Bo* 4790 the royal couple *tabarna*- and *tawananna*- as Arnuwanda I and his wife Taduhepa (l. 10: *Ta*]-*du*²-*he*-*pa*).

reign. Because of the Hurrian names of the two queens we may suggest that Tudhaliya II followed in the footsteps of Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I and married Kizzuwatnean princesses as well¹⁶.

Another implication of the identification of Tudhaliya II with Tašmišarri is that there are no more gaps between the Early Empire period's 'definite' kings. Consequently, there is no more room for Hattušili II to rule between them (at least not as an independent ruler between Tudhaliya I and Šuppiluliuma)¹⁷.

We should add one note concerning Tudhaliya II's wives and children. It is not clear when Taduhepa replaced Šata(n)duhepa and under what circumstances. However, it is quite safe to determine that she was not a secondary wife prior to her marriage with Tudhaliya II¹⁸, and this fact may have chronological implications¹⁹. In our discussion of *CTH 378.1* we will see that the nuclear royal family was divided into two groups: on one side stood Tudhaliya 'the Younger' and his brothers, x-x-x-uda and Pirwa, and on the other stood the other princes led by Šuppiluliuma (among them probably Zita). After the examination of the sources dealing with this episode (the murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger'), we will approach the question of whether each of the groups was connected to one of those queens (v.i. Chapter IV.A.2.).

¹⁶ For the possible origin of Nikalmati and Ašmunikal (Kizzuwatna), v.s. p. 85 n. 176.

¹⁷ Cf. (among others) Güterbock 1970, 77; Houwink ten Cate 1995–1996; Beal 2002b, 63. The only remaining possibility is to divide Tudhaliya I and place Hattušili II between Tudhaliya 'the conqueror of Aleppo' and Tudhaliya 'husband of Nikalmati', or to place him as a coregent by the side of Tudhaliya I. V.s. in this context Chapter I.A.1.

¹⁸ There is not enough information concerning how and why Hittite kings chose their primary wives, so I initiated an email correspondence (02.09.08) with Dr. N. Ziegler, who dealt with this subject in Marri. From her answers (as well as her reference to Charpin, Edzard and Stol (2004, 251f.), where Charpin deals with the Babylonian equivalent of this matter) I could draw the following conclusion: when possible, primary wives were taken from foreign countries in order to strengthen the ties between the two courts. As far as I can see, there is no example of a secondary wife being taken out of the harem and promoted to a primary queen. There is, however, (at least) one exception. It is possible that Tawananna, the Babylonian princess, was designated from the beginning to be the future 'Great Queen' (*tawananna-*), yet she was inducted into a temporary status ('Great Princess') until Henti, her predecessor, died/was deposed (Hawkins 2001, 174 n. 33; Bawanypeck 2007, 56f.).

¹⁹ If we assume that Šuppiluliuma was an outcome of this marriage, we should allocate Taduhepa quite a long reign (and Tudhaliya II even longer since she was his second wife), in order for Šuppiluliuma to have enough time to grow up (at least 16 years old?) and become a strong and influential member of the royal court (de Martino 2010, 96–98). However, based on the possible restoration of Tawananna's career (see n. 18 above), we may suggest that perhaps also Tudhaliya and Taduhepa were married before Taduhepa became the *tawananna-* (although contrary to Tawananna's case (the status of 'Great Princess'), this possibility has no support from the texts). In addition, it is possible that Šuppiluliuma joined Tudhaliya II's family by marrying Henti, Tudhaliya II's daughter (v.i. p.178f.). When we accept one of these possibilities (or both) this chronological calculation may be neglected.

III.C. The 'concentric attack':

C.1. Introduction; the situation prior to the 'concentric attack':

Previously (Chapter III.A.), we saw that during the reign of Arnuwanda I Hatti found itself in the midst of a gradual deterioration process; however, it had not yet reached a critical state.

Most of the evidence for Hatti's difficulties along its **northern** borders originated from the letters of Mašat-Höyük, which detail the struggle with the Kaška tribes. At times, this confrontation extended way beyond the border of Hatti; thus, Arnuwanda I's complaints that Kaškean raids reached into the heart of Hatti (*CTH* 375). It seems, however, that Hatti managed to hold its northern border, that is to say, north of Tapikka (Mašat)¹.

The letters of Mašat also provide us with information about the situation on Hatti's **eastern** front. At some point during the activity of the archive², some of the kingdoms east of Hatti (the most important of which is Išuwa) were governed by Hatti, and perhaps were incorporated into the Hittite Upper Land (*HBM* 96). Mittanni put pressure on this area; the rebellion of kingdoms in the vicinity of Išuwa (such as Hayaša's rebellion in *HBM* 96, and the later rebellion of Pahhuwa in *CTH* 146), should probably be viewed in this context. Nevertheless, the Hittites managed to retain their sovereignty over this area³.

The **south-eastern** border of Hatti also suffered from Mittannian pressure, yet in this case, Arnuwanda could not sustain it, and a Hittite retreat can be recognized. Hatti lost all of its Syrian territories and Kizzuwatna became *ḫantezzi auri-*, the most remote Hittite post in this direction (*HBM* 74). In order to halt the retreat and secure his rule on this kingdom, Arnuwanda placed a garrison in Kizzuwatna (*CTH* 133). A second most-dramatic measure he used was to appoint his son, Kantuzzili (II), as governor beside or (better) instead of the local dynasty of Sunaššura.

Along the **western** boundary, Hatti's situation was stable. It had the ability to send forces into Arzawa (*HBM* 86, *CTH* 147), but at this stage, a permanent stationing of Hittite forces in west Anatolia was not considered. Arnuwanda I (like Tudhaliya I

¹ Mašat was not destroyed before the first years of Tudhaliya II's reign (v.s. Chapter III.A.1.10.4.).

² The vague phrasing is a consequence of the fact that we cannot date the letters in an accurate way.

³ The rebellion of Išuwa and other eastern kingdoms against Tudhaliya II is mentioned in *Šat. 1*, §1 (*HDT*, 42).

before him) managed to block the threat posed by the western kingdoms (Ahhiya and Arzawa) and some local kings (Madduwatta and possibly Huhazalma) on Hatti and the Lower Land by establishing a barrier zone that encompassed large parts of central and south Anatolia (*CTH* 28 and its complementary *CTH* 144, *CTH* 147). Arnuwanda's rule was strong and stable enough to claim sovereignty over Alašiya (*CTH* 147).

We do not know for how long the status quo on the different fronts was maintained. A later text, *CTH* 88, describes a catastrophe which befell Hatti during the reign of Tudhaliya II. This text was named the 'concentric attack' (term originated from Carruba 1977a, 141), and gave its name and characteristics to this phase of Tudhaliya II's reign. The goal of the current chapter is to examine whether we have other texts, closer in time, which share *CTH* 88's sense of anxiety regarding this period, or whether this text presents a late distorted mirror of this era.

C.2. Analysis of the sources:

C.2.1. The DŠ (CTH 40):

Fragments 1–17 were divided into three tablets (or four, according to del Monte 2009). Most of these fragments deal with Tudhaliya II's reign. Šuppiluliuma's accession should be placed somewhere between Fragments 15 to 18 (for a more accurate location, v.s. Chapter I.C.5.).

Güterbock (1956, 43) included the first eight fragments in the First Tablet, since they mention Tudhaliya II (either by his name or by his designation "my grandfather"). According to his restoration, Fragment 1 details Muršili II's genealogy, and was therefore located at the beginning of the text. Fragment 2 might describe ancient events, since it mentions Telipinu's name. In both Fragments 2 and 3 Kantuzzili is mentioned, thus, they were placed next to one another. Fragments 4–6, which mention Tuttu's activity, were placed after Fragments 2–3; however, Fragment 5 was later removed from the *DŠ* (Güterbock 1956, 122). Güterbock placed the fragmentary Fragment 7 (probably, since it belongs to the same copy as Fragment 2) after that. Fragment 8, in which a joint attack of the 'father' and the 'grandfather' near Ugarit is mentioned, ends this tablet. As we can see, both the time range covered by the First Tablet and the fragments' order are quite uncertain (Güterbock 1956, 119).

The order of the fragments of the Second and the Third Tablets (Fragments 9–17) is much clearer, yet also presents some difficulties. First, the separation between these two tablets is unclear (Güterbock 1956, 43). Secondly, and more acute in my opinion, the exact point where Šuppiluliuma ascended to the throne is not clear.

All of the above-mentioned tablets are quite fragmentary and their understanding is problematic. It is not always clear what led Güterbock to put Fragments 1–17 in their present order. One consideration which might have guided Güterbock in this task was the assumption that the First, Second and Third Tablets detail a Hittite retreat (this subject is discussed in detail in the summary of this chapter (v.i. Chapter III.C.2.1.18)). Apparently, this picture derives from a comparison Güterbock made between these tablets and later texts such as *CTH* 88 that detail Hatti's catastrophic situation prior to Šuppiluliuma's accession⁴. The next chapters examines the fragments of the first three tablets of the *DŠ*, and attempts to determine whether all these fragments indeed belong to the *DŠ* and whether the order of the fragments determined by Güterbock (and other scholars) should be reconsidered.

My analysis of the important fragments is divided into two parts. In the first part, the text is presented as is, with minimal interpretation. Thus, for example, in cases when the 'grandfather' and the 'father' are mentioned in a fragment, in this early stage of examination they are introduced with these designations, and not with their names (i.e. Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma). The second part offers more extensive analysis of the fragment as well as my interpretation.

C.2.1.1. Fragment 1⁵:

Hatti is probably mentioned in line 3, and in line 4 the "[ki]ng of Hat[ti]" probably appears. Line 5 refers to "my grandfather".

According to Güterbock's restoration, this fragment deals with Muršili's genealogy (l. 1–4)⁶ and with some kind of introduction to the text (l. 5 onward). His restorations are

⁴ Support for this assumption can be found in the comparison made by Güterbock (1956, 119f.) between the enemies that appear in the Second and Third Tablets of the *DŠ*, and the enemies mentioned in *CTH* 88.

⁵ Text: B = *KUB* 19.12(?); F = *KUB* 23.2. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 59; del Monte 2009, 2f., 5. See del Monte's (2009, 6 n. 11) note concerning the connection of *KUB* 19.12 to this fragment.

possible, yet sometimes problematic⁷. The attribution of Copy B (col. I) to Fragment 1 (only two broken lines) is possible, however questionable (column ii of this copy belongs to Fragment 4). Due to its fragmentary state, Fragment 1 can be also attributed to another text (Güterbock 1956, 43).

C.2.1.2. Fragment 2⁸:

It is possible that this fragment has MH characteristics⁹ (*Portal Mainz*). *Portal Mainz* presents only two more MH fragments belonging to the *DŠ*: *KBo* 19.49 + *KBo* 19.51 and *KBo* 19.53¹⁰. Since the first of these probably belongs to the *AŠ*¹¹, we remain with only three MH fragments: Fragments 2 and 7, which belong to the same copy, and *KBo* 19.53. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that these three fragments are early copies of the *DŠ* written during the reign of Muršili II¹². A second possibility is that they do not actually belong to the *DŠ*.

The first lines (2'–4') of the fragment mention four people: Para[...], [...]jili¹³, Telipinu and a woman named Harapšite. These people (and event/s) are unknown. Telipinu might be identified with the Old Kingdom's king by this name¹⁴, but we cannot be certain.

The land of Hayaša is mentioned in line 17'.

The name "Tudhaliya" is mentioned three times in lines 18'–20'; in line 18' he appears as [^mDu]-ut-ḫa-li-ia A-BI A-[BI-IA]¹⁵. This is the only fragment of the *DŠ* in

⁶ It is quite possible that Muršili will mention earlier generations in his genealogy (cf. Del Monte 2009, 2); this need of Muršili is manifested also in the so-called Cruciform Seal.

⁷ Thus, in lines 3–5 Güterbock restored 10 signs on average, while in line 2 he restored only 6.

⁸ Text: A = *BoTU* 31 = *IBoT* 4.346 + *KUB* 14.23. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 59f.; del Monte 2009, 3f.

⁹ E.g. the old forms of LI (l. 3' and 18') and ḪA (l. 17'). For dating texts using orthographic criteria, v.s. p. 8 n. 35.

¹⁰ According to Hoffner (1976, 336), *KBo* 22.54—which mention Tudhaliya and has MH[?] characteristics—might belong to the *DŠ*. However, it is a small and broken fragment and except for the name [Tu]dhaliy[a] (which is actually quite rare in the *DŠ*, or completely absent from it), there is no real support for this suggestion (e.g. *Portal Mainz*, in which it was classified under *CTH* 215). For discussion concerning this fragment, see also Chapter III.D.1.8.

¹¹ Because of its colophon (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 60f., 289–291).

¹² Thus, *KUB* 14.4 (*CTH* 70.1.A), which was written not before Muršili II's reign, has many MH orthographic characteristics (e.g. DU in iv 12; URU in iv 29; TAR in iv 31; plene writing of ^{DUG}iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ia-an in col. ii 15; etc.).

¹³ Cf. del Monte 2009, 3: -u]š²-ši (see also id., 4 n. 7).

¹⁴ Güterbock (1956, 59 n. a) mentioned that the name Harapšite resemble queens' names from the OK period.

¹⁵ Klinger (2002, 444 and n. 27) suggested that *KUB* 23.49 might belongs to the *DŠ*. Notice however, that in this fragment the author wrote ḫuh(ḫ)a-, the Hittite word for grandfather. In addition, the text

which Tudhaliya is referred to by his name and not by his common designation "my grandfather"¹⁶. This evidence may also support the removal of this fragment from the *DŠ*.

The kinship between Kantuzzili and Tudhaliya (l. 20'¹⁷) depends on the identity of these two people. We know of two Kantuzzilis, who lived during the beginning of the Early Empire period¹⁸. The first (i.e. Kantuzzili I) was Tudhaliya I's father, and was involved in Muwattalli I's removal. Kantuzzili II was probably Arnuwanda I's son¹⁹, and served as the first 'priest' of Kizzuwatna. Three restorations were suggested to the gap between the names of Kantuzzili and Tudhaliya in l. 20': DUMU, ŠEŠ or Û. Our choice depends on the opinion we hold regarding the identification of these two persons, and the meaning we ascribe to the *PA-NI* (temporal "before", or local "in front"), which appears in this line. We should reject Güterbock's (1956, 60) and del Monte's (2009, 2f.) suggestion, "Kantu[zzili (II) son of T]udhaliy (I)", since as mentioned above, Kantuzzili (II) was probably Arnuwanda I's son²⁰. In my opinion, the restorations "Kantu[zzili (II) brother of T]udhaliy (II)"²¹ and "Kantu[zzili (I/II) and T]udhaliy (I/II)"²² are both possible²³. A fourth possibility, "Kantu[zzili (I) father (A-BU) of T]udhaliy (I)" is also possible.

In summary, Fragment 2 exhibits two irregular phenomena; MH characteristics and the appearance of the explicit name "Tudhaliya" (instead of the designation "my grandfather"). We may explain these irregularities by suggesting that this fragment (together with Fragment 7) belongs to an old draft, or maybe an old copy of the *DŠ* (and not a late copy like most of the fragments of this text). A second possibility is to

mentions a man named Hantili. As a result, the attribution of this fragment to an earlier period should be preferred (de Martino 1996, 7).

¹⁶ Except for the problematic *KBo* 22.10 (v.i. Chapter IV.A.1.2.) and *KBo* 22.54 (see n. 10 above).

¹⁷ 20': [EGIR-a]n-^rda^r-^uma^r-at *PA-NI* ^mKán-tu-[uz-zi-li DUMU/ŠEŠ/Û ^mD]u-^uut-^ha^r-l[i-ia].

¹⁸ For Kantuzzili I and II, see Güterbock 1958, 238; de Martino 1991 (and esp. p. 13); Otten 2000; Freu 2002a; Singer 2002b; Soysal 2003; Carruba 2005, 187–196; Marizza 2007a, 17–24; del Monte 2009, 4 n. 7.

¹⁹ Concerning the parents of Kantuzzili II, v.s. Chapter III.B., and esp. p. 92 n. 7.

²⁰ See also Klinger 1995a, 98f.

²¹ Freu 2002a, 66; Marizza 2007a, 18–20.

²² Taracha 1997, 79 n. 23.

²³ Marizza (2007a, 18–20) connected Fr. 2 with Fr. 3 in order to verify Tudhaliya's and Kantuzzili's identity (the brothers Kantuzzili (II) and Tudhaliya II according to him). The problem is that the connection between these two fragments (as Marizza also noticed) is not clear.

ascribe this fragment to a different text,²⁴ perhaps one written by Tudhaliya II (possibly annals?). When we accept this latter proposal, we may interpret the names of Tudhaliya and Kantuzzili as referring to Kantuzzili I and his son Tudhaliya I, perhaps as part of a depiction of Tudhaliya I's accession²⁵.

C.2.1.3. Fragment 3²⁶:

In this fragment, Kantuzzili²⁷ is mentioned in lines 5' and 11', and Arziya appears in lines 8', 9' and 14'. It seems that someone, perhaps Kantuzzili, overcame an enemy in Arziya, and plundered the area.

The exact location of Arziya is not clear, but it was probably situated in the Upper Land (north east Anatolia), possibly in proximity to Šamuha²⁸.

Marizza (2007a, 18–20) suggested the identification of Kantuzzili with Kantuzzili (II), 'priest' of Kizzuwatna, who went out of his residence in order to attack Arziya. However, the identification of this Kantuzzili with Kantuzzili (I), Tudhaliya I's father, is possible as well.

C.2.1.4. Fragment 4²⁹:

This deals with an unclear event in the area of Šallapa, during which a Hittite functionary named Tuttu neglected or abandoned (*arḫa pittaleškit*) something. The 'grandfather' probably had to intervene and later he burned Šallapa. After his victory

²⁴ Cf. del Monte (2009, 2), who considers this fragment as one of the only fragments of the First Tablet (together with Fr. 7 (which also belong to Copy A) and Fr. 3), which belong without a doubt to the *DŠ*.

²⁵ As mentioned by Marizza (2007a, 19f.), Muršili II's reference to such an early period is indeed problematic. However, when we ascribe this fragment to Tudhaliya II this problem is resolved.

²⁶ Text: C = *BoTU* 32 = *KUB* 14.22. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 60; del Monte 2009, 4f.

²⁷ Güterbock (1956, 60) and del Monte (2009, 4) restored in line 5': ^m*Kán-tu-uz-zi-l[i...]*. In my opinion it can also be restored as ^m*Kán-tu-uz-zi-DIN[GIR-LIM...]*, since it is written in this way in line 11'. Actually, according to my examination, most personal names in the *DŠ* that can be written (fully or partially) using logograms, were written in this manner, except for four exceptions: **Piyapili** (Fr. 14, l. 3, 5 and 7); **Himuili** (*KBo* 12.25, 6'); **Telipinu** (Fr. 2, l. 3; in Fr. 28 ii, 10, 12 and 15 he is designated the 'priest'); and **Kantuzzili** (when we accept Güterbock's and del Monte's restorations for Fr. 2 l. 20 and Fr. 3 l. 5'). When we do not accept the aforementioned restorations of Kantuzzili's name, and identify Telipinu from Fr. 2 with someone else other than the 'priest' (or remove this fragment from the *DŠ*), we remain with only two exceptions: Piyapili and Himuili. We may explain this peculiarity by the late date of these fragments (e.g. the difference between *Himu-DINGIR-LIM-in* (in the LH *KBo* 12.26 i 17') and *Himuilin* (in the sjh *KBo* 12.25 ii' 6'), or by suggesting that these two people were not Hittites, and for that reason, or other unknown reason, were 'deprived' of the logogram DINGIR.

²⁸ Concerning the location of Arziya, see Kempinski 1993, 83; Ökse 2001, 505f.; cf. de Martino 1991, 13f.; Marizza 2007a, 20.

²⁹ Text: B = *KUB* 19.12. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 60f.; del Monte 2009, 5f.

the 'grandfather' [set free²/took into captivity²] some family/tribe members (LÚ.MEŠ AMA.A.TU³⁰).

The city of Šallapa was an important city in central-west Anatolia. It was situated on a main route, which led from Hattuša to south-west Anatolia (KASKAL URUŠallapa). There is no argument that the city was located in central Anatolia, however, its exact orientation along a north-south axis (from Akşehir in the south to the bend of the Sakariya River in the north) is controversial³¹. The name Tuttu appears in many texts, including some MH texts, but in many cases it refers to Kaškean people (e.g. Alp 1991a, 102; Marizza 2007a, 65f.).

Tuttu appears also in the MH letter, *KBo* 18.54³². The letter was composed by Kaššu, who might be identical with the UGULA NIMGIR.ERÍN^{MEŠ} from Maşat (Marizza 2007a, 107–111). In this letter he reports on difficulties experienced in a siege on an unknown city. Tuttu, who appears in this letter, is a Hittite commander sent by the king to solve some problems concerning the blockade. For that reason, several scholars suggested that Fragment 4 and *KBo* 18.54 deal with one and the same event³³. When we accept this suggestion, we can learn from Fragment 4 that the siege was eventually successful. In addition, since Šallapa is far from Maşat, it is possible that this event should be dated to a late phase of Kaššu's career, when he was no longer employed in Maşat³⁴ (Beal 1992, 402 n. 1513; Marizza 2007a, 111; Singer 2008, 264).

C.2.1.5. Fragment 5:

It does not belong to the *DŠ* (Güterbock 1956, 122).

³⁰ Singer 2008, 264.

³¹ For discussions concerning Šallapa, see Bryce 1974a, 106–109; Kořak 1981, 13*; de Martino 1996, 56–58; Forlanini 1998b, 219; Miller 2008b (not to be confused with the city of Šalpa; cf. de Martino 1996, 56).

³² Edition: Marizza 2007a, 101–111; Singer 2008; Hoffner 2009, 340–344.

³³ van den Hout 1995, 170f.; Marizza 2007a, 110; Singer 2008, esp. 261–265; del Monte 2009, 6 n. 12.

³⁴ Though we can not entirely rule out the possibility that because of his expertise in the field of the siege, Kaššu came from Maşat to help the Hittite forces in Šallapa (Marizza 2007a, 111; Singer 2008, 264).

C.2.1.6. Fragment 6³⁵:

This fragment is very broken. Tuttu appears in line 6' and some armies are mentioned in lines 4' and 5' (see short discussion in Marizza 2007a, 51).

C.2.1.7. Fragment 7³⁶:

Its state is very fragmentary. Following the discussion in Fragment 2 (which belongs to the same copy, v.s. Chapter III.C.1.1.2.) it is possible that this fragment does not belong to the *DŠ*.

C.2.1.8. Fragment 8³⁷:

It deals with a joint attack of the 'grandfather' and the 'father' in Mt. Nanni, where they fought against tribal groups³⁸. Two people are mentioned in lines 14' and 15': the son of Zittara and Halpamuwa. The city of Ha[...] is mentioned in line 14'.

This fragment is very important for the study of Tudhaliya II's reign, since if we accept his identification with the 'grandfather', we can see that he launched an attack on Mt. Nanni (the Anti Casius³⁹). This place was situated on the northern border of Ugarit and close to Mukiš.

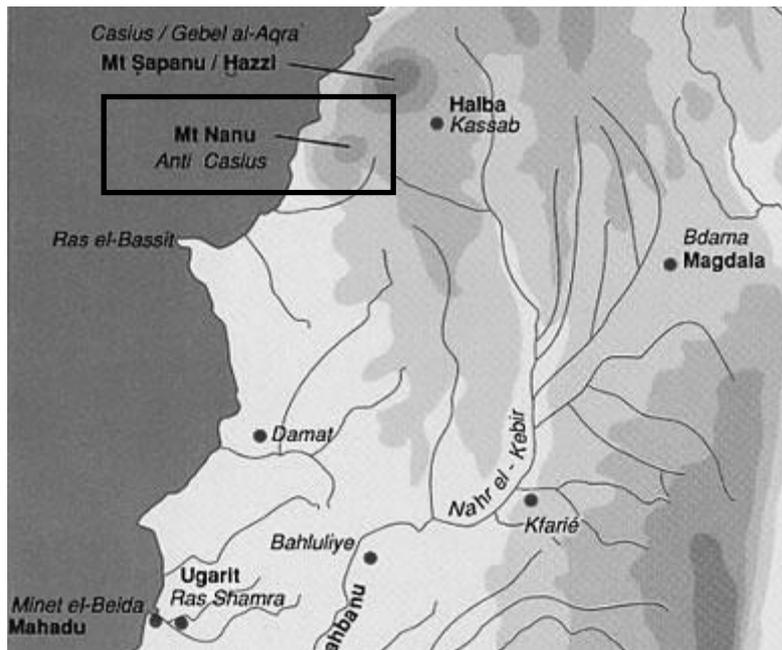
³⁵ Text: E = *KUB* 31.34. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 61; del Monte 2009, 7. Line 3' should be transliterated *nu-uš-ši-ša-an* (cf. del Monte: *nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an*).

³⁶ Text: A = *BoTU* 31 = *IBoT* 4.346 + *KUB* 14.23. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 61; del Monte 2009, 3f.

³⁷ Text: B = *KUB* 19.12. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 61f.; del Monte 2009, 5–7.

³⁸ For the term *Š/S/ZUTE* see Güterbock 1956, 62 n. c; Hoffner 1979; Beal 1992, 104–108; del Monte 2009, 27 n. 26. Concerning the tribes that lived in Ugarit's surroundings, see Singer 1999, 623.

³⁹ For the location and identification of Mt. Nanni, see Singer 1999, 623f.; van Soldt 2005, 62, 152; Healey 2007.



The location of Mt. Nanni⁴⁰.

C.2.1.9. Fragment 9⁴¹:

Too fragmentary.

C.2.1.10. Fragment 10⁴²:

It deals with the campaigns of the 'father' in north and north-east Anatolia. During his operations the 'father' attempted several times to fight against the people of Hayaša, but they managed to avoid him. The 'father', however, met with the Kaškeans, and with the help of the gods⁴³ defeated them. He took many prisoners and brought them back to Šamuha. Following this battle, the 'father' fought once more against the Kaška, and this time the enemy was aided by shepherds (^{LÚ.MEŠ}SIPA.UDU⁴⁴) and

⁴⁰ The map was taken from "Archaeogate", the website of "Vicino Oriente" (http://www.archaeogate.org/vicino_oriente/article/309/1/il-mondo-di-ugarit-ugarit-6000-anni-di-storia-di-margue.html).

⁴¹ Text: B = *KBo* 14.1. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 62; del Monte 2009, 13.

⁴² Text: D = *KUB* 19.11+ *KBo* 50.10. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 62–63; del Monte 2009, 14f., 40f. For *KBo* 50.10 col. i, see Groddek 2008a, 110.

⁴³ The phrases which describe the help of the gods were analyzed by Cancik (1976, 156), and compared to similar (yet different) phrases, which appear in (both versions of) the *AM*. He noticed that there are four gods which appear regularly in the *DS*: the Sun Goddess of Arinna, the Storm God of Hatti, the Storm God of the Army and Ištar of the Battlefield. In two cases, i.e. Fr. 50 (A l. 17') and *KBo* 12.26 (iv 5'), appears a fifth god, Zababa. A sixth god, the Storm God of Nerik, also appears in Fr. 50 (4.B. l. 7' (see del Monte 2009, 129 n. 81)).

⁴⁴ For shepherds (Hit. *weštara-*) and herding in this period, see Beckman 1988. For a possible integration of shepherds in the Hittite army, see Beal 1992, 394f. It is interesting to note that in *CTH* 376 (*KUB* 24.4 i 25–26) the Kaškeans were designated by the Hittites as swineherds; see Glatz and Matthews 2005, 54, 57–59; Collins 2006, 157.

some allied/reinforcement/auxiliary troops (*NĀRĀRU*). The 'father' set them a trap⁴⁵, smote them and took a [great number^(?)] of captives. In the much-fragmented following paragraph, the Upper Land is mentioned.

The location at which the pursuit after the people of Hayaša⁴⁶ took place, is uncertain from the text. However, it seems that Hatti's situation at that time was quite dire, and that this confrontation occurred in Hittite territory rather than in Hayaša (del Monte 2009, 41 n. 66). Due to the proximity between Hayaša and the Kaška, perhaps these affairs occurred in the Hittite province of the Upper Land (loc. cit.).

It is evident by this fragment that Šuppiliuma brought prisoners of war to Šamuha and not to Hattuša. This probably indicates that the king's residence at that time was at Šamuha⁴⁷, one of the most important cities of the Upper Land⁴⁸. The reason for the shift of the royal court from Hattuša to Šamuha is not mentioned in this fragment⁴⁹.

C.2.1.11. Fragment 11⁵⁰:

At the beginning of this fragment, the 'father' asked the 'grandfather' to be sent against the enemy, and his wish was granted. He went out of Šamuha and arrived in the land of Hatti⁵¹/the city of Hattuša⁵² where he discovered that [x⁵³] was burnt down by the enemy. The 'father' and his men started to cast away the *kunzi*, but at that point he received a message that [n.n.] led the Kaškeans to the province of Wašhaniya. The text is very broken, but it is possible that the Kaška took booty, which belonged to

⁴⁵ L. 15': *še-e-na-aḫ-ḫa da-iš*. Can also be translated as "ambushed the enemies" (del Monte 2009, 41: "tese un agguato al nemico"). This expression appear in the *DŠ* four times (in Fr. 10 l. 15'; Fr. 13, Copy D iv 4; Fr. 14 l. 2'; Fr. 17 l. 21), all of them belong to the Second and Third Tablets and can be connected to confrontations with the Kaška. It is not clear whether this phrase refers to a specific military tactic (connected with fighting against the guerilla warfare tactics of the Kaška tribes?), or whether it is just a literary phrase.

⁴⁶ For Hayaša's location, v.s. p. 63 n. 60.

⁴⁷ For the location of Šamuha (Kayalipinar), v.s. p. 77.

⁴⁸ Concerning the Upper Land, v.s. p. 74 n. 132.

⁴⁹ See for example de Martino 2009, 1.

⁵⁰ Text: A = *BoTU* 33 = *KUB* 26.84 // B = *KBo* 14.1 // and C = *KBo* 8.29 = *KBo* 14.2. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 63f.; del Monte 2009, 13, 24–27.

⁵¹ Copy A ii l. 6.

⁵² Copy B ii l. 9f.

⁵³ ⁷ [*ku-un-zi*^(?) / ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-ti*^(?) *ku*]-it *IŠ-TU* ^{LÚ}*KÚR ar-ḫa wa-ar-nu-wa-an-za* ⁸ [*e-eš-ta*]. For the first possible restoration, see Güterbock 1956, 64; del Monte 2009, 25. For the second, see Kempinski 1993, 86 (suggested restoring ^{URU}*Ḫattušaš*, but a shorter spelling of the name, such as ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-ti*, should be preferred because of the size of the gap).

some kind of a palace (palace of U.R[A[?]]⁵⁴). In Copy C (l. 5') Mount Pirwa[...] appears in a broken context.

This fragment deals with a Hittite conquest of the land of Hatti. When Šuppiluliuma arrived his destination—whether the capital city of Hattuša, or another place in Hatti where the *kunzi* was kept—he discovered that this place was burned down⁵⁵. The meaning of the term *kunzi* is not clear; possibly, it is a Hurrian word for some kind of cultic object⁵⁶.

The next paragraph deals with Šuppiluliuma's campaign against the Kaška in the province of Wašhaniya. This province could be located west of Kaniš and north of Tuwanuwa⁵⁷. It is possible that Mount Pirwa[...] was situated in this province⁵⁸.

Del Monte (2009, 27 and n. 26) suggested that the Kaškean forces were led by Arzawa⁵⁹. The restoration, if true, has far-reaching consequences, i.e. a close cooperation between the two enemy forces (the same conclusion can also be suggested based on *EA* 31 l. 25). However, other possibilities for restoration, such as a personal name of a Kaškean leader, are also possible.

C.2.1.12. Fragment 12⁶⁰:

This very fragmentary text probably deals with a campaign of Šuppiluliuma in the area of [Ne]niššankuwa⁶¹ (l. 4'), and with a hostile activity of the Kaška in this area (l. 12').

⁵⁴ Güterbock 1956, 64 n. 12; del Monte 2009, 27 n. 27.

⁵⁵ See also del Monte (2009, 25 n. 22) for *arḫa warnuwanz-*.

⁵⁶ Concerning this term, see Güterbock 1956, 64 n. a; Beckman 1983a, 130f.; *HEG* I, 637f.; del Monte 2009, 25 n. 23.

⁵⁷ For the location of Wašhaniya, see *RGTC* 4, 136f. (the first station after Kaniš on the route toward Wahšušana, and in the direction of Burušhattum; possible location next to İncesu); Forlanini 1992, 177–179; id. 2009, 49f. (and Map 1 in p. 68); del Monte 2009, 27 n. 26 (suggested locating it in İncesu).

⁵⁸ Using Copy A l. 15, Güterbock (1956, 64) restored "Mt. Pirwa[š]ši". This place does not appear elsewhere, but it is possible that a mountain with quite a similar name (Pirwašuwa) was located in the province of Wašhaniya (del Monte 2009, 27 n. 28). For a god named Pirwa worshipped in the same area, see Forlanini 1992, 172, 175, 177f.; Pecchioli Daddi 2005. A man named Pirwa appears in *CTH* 378.1 (obv. 19) in the context of the murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger' (v.i. Chapter IV.A.1.3. Concerning this personal name, see van den Hout 2005b). For the Cappadocian custom of using place-names as personal names, see Forlanini 1992, 176f.

⁵⁹ A ii, 12: [... "il nemico di Arzawa] ha portato i Kakei a [Was]haniya".

⁶⁰ Text: A = *BoTU* 33 = *KUB* 26.84. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 62; del Monte 2009, 12, 26–29.

⁶¹ This name is written [^{URU}Ne]niš-ta-nkuwa. The restoration [^{URU}Ne]niš-ša¹-nkuwa should be preferred, since this city was connected with the cult of Pirwa (v.s. Mount Pirwa[...] in Fr. 11), and it appears in proximity to the city of Wašhaniya (mentioned too in Fr. 11) in *CTH* 381 (Forlanini 1992,

The end of this fragment (l. 11'–13') indicates that the royal court (or at least one of the royal family's leading members) remained in Hattuša.

C.2.1.13. Fragment 13⁶²:

Since *KBo* 50.14 was not joined by del Monte (2009, 40–42) to the beginning of Copy E (*KUB* 19.10; as opposed to *KBo* 50.10, which he joined to Copy D), following is a short synoptic edition of the relevant lines:

Copy	M.T. ⁶³	Text
D iv, 1–8	1–10	...
--	11	<i>ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma-kán A-BU-IA pa-an-g[a-ri-it^(?)64 ...]</i>
D iv, 9		⁹ <i>ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma-kán A-BU-IA pa-an-g[a⁶⁵-ri-it^(?) ...]</i>
E i, 1' ⁶⁶		^{1'} [...]-kán A-B[U...]
--	12	^{LU} KÚR ^{URU} <i>Ga-aš-ga-ma-za na-aḥ-ša-ri-[ia-at-ta-at]</i>
D		¹⁰ ^{LU} KÚR ^{URU} <i>Ga-aš-ga-ma-za na-aḥ-ša-ri-[ia-at-ta-at]</i>
E		^{2'} [^{LU} KÚR] ^{URU} <i>Ga-aš-g[a-ma-za...]</i>
--	13	<i>nu-uš-ma-aš</i> ^{GIS} TUKUL ^{HLA} <i>nam-ma kat-t[a d]a-a-ir</i>
D		¹¹ <i>nu-uš-ma-aš</i> ^{GIS} TUKUL ^{HLA} <i>nam-ma kat-t[a da-a-ir]</i>
E ⁶⁷		^{3'} [...m]a [?] -aš ^{GIS} TUKUL ^{HLA} [^A ...d]a- ^Γ a-ir ^Γ
in D only:		_____

Fragment 13 deals with four campaigns. It is possible that the description of the first campaign began already in Fragment 12, where it is stated that the ['grandfather'/'father'⁶⁸] arrived in Hattuša and received a message concerning a

177f.). It is also mentioned in *HBM* 71 (Hoffner 2009, 227–229) and *KBo* 1.58 next to some cities of the Upper Land (for the identification of some of these places, see Forlanini 1992, 177f.; id. 1998b, 222; Gurney 2003, 122; see also del Monte 2009, 27 n. 29). For a possible location, see Forlanini 2009, 68 Map 1 (north-east of Kaniš).

⁶² Text: D = *KUB* 19.11+ *KBo* 22.12+ *KBo* 50.10 // E = *KUB* 19.10 + *KBo* 50.14. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 65f.; del Monte 2009, 15–17, 40–46, 154. For *KBo* 50.10 col. iv, see Groddek 2008a, 109f.; for *KBo* 50.14, see id., 116.

⁶³ The numbering of the lines of the M.T. (Master Text) is based upon my calculations.

⁶⁴ Following del Monte 2009, 15.

⁶⁵ Beginning of a horizontal wedge.

⁶⁶ *KBo* 50.14 joins with Copy E col. i (M.T. l. 11) two lines before l. 1' of Güterbock. It duplicates Copy D between lines 9–14 (perhaps also l. 15).

⁶⁷ This is line 1' of Copy E in Güterbock (1956) and del Monte (2009).

⁶⁸ If we accept the similarity between the Kaškean attacks at the end of Fr. 12 and the beginning of Fr. 13, we should prefer the restoration "father" (Copy D l. 1); in Fr. 12 the one who received the

Kaškean attack. The decision of the 'father' to undertake the task appears at the beginning of Fragment 13. The Kaškeans (nine tribes are mentioned in l. 6) saw the approaching Hittite army and "put down their weapon". Following this campaign, the 'father' built fortifications in the devastated land ("behind the empty towns") and resettled the empty towns.

The leader of the second campaign was the 'grandfather'. After his recovery from an illness, he went down from the Upper Land and (along with the 'father') attacked the lands of Maša and Kammala, which raided the Hulana River-Land and Kaššiya. The Hittite foray resulted in success, but the Kaška tribes attacked for the second time, and the grandfather had to return.

Unlike the forgiving Hittite approach during the first campaign, in the third campaign (and second against the Kaška) the 'grandfather' attacked Kathariya and Gazzapa⁶⁹, destroyed them, and smote Kaškean troops who came to their aid⁷⁰.

The fourth campaign was directed against Hayaša. The 'grandfather' and the 'father' invaded this land and met Karanni/Lānni⁷¹, king of Hayaša, for battle below the city of Kummaha. Unusually, the text mentions no cause for the Hittite invasion of Hayaša (perhaps the attack of Hayaša's army in Fr. 10 provides the reasoning). The end of this campaign is broken, and its results are missing.

It is not clear from the fragment why Tudhaliya II, the 'grandfather', settled in the Upper Land. After all, the reconquest of Hattuša is already detailed in Fragment 11. In Fragment 12—which possibly precedes Fragment 13—we read that one of the Hittite

message was in Hattuša (l. 11'), while from Fr. 13 it is clear that the 'grandfather' was in the Upper Land (Copy D l. 18).

⁶⁹ It is interesting to notice that in both copy D (l. 30) and E (l. 23) it is written, "the Land of Kathariya and the city of Gazzapa" (KUR *Kat-ḫa-ri-ia-aš*^{URU} *Ga-az-za-pa-aš-ša*). However, this distinction was not kept later (D l. 35) when both places were designated as cities (URU).

⁷⁰ It is possible that *KBo* 50.187 1'-4' duplicates (although not with exact phrasing) *M.T.* 1. 7-10 (Groddek 2008a, 118). The problem with this suggestion is that the first campaign against the Kaška (Fr. 13, Copy D l. 3-11 = *M.T.* 1. 3-13) ended without Šuppiluliuma needing to fight (since the enemy "put down his weapon"), while in *KBo* 50.187 (l. 6'-7') the encounter of the 'father' with the enemy seems to end in a battle (*A-NA*^{LÜ} *KÚR* appears twice, in addition to the verb *z[a-ah-ḫi-ia-...]*). If the two fragments indeed deal with the same events, it is possible that the author of *KBo* 50.187 skipped the Kaška's surrender (and the war against Maša and Kammala) and proceeded immediately to detail the victory that ended this story, i.e. the battle at the end of the second Kaška campaign (detailed in Copy D l. 29-39; the victory is detailed in l. 33-39 of this copy). Another problem is that the commander of the second Kaška campaign in Fragment 13 is the 'grandfather', while in *KBo* 50.187 actually the 'father' is the one mentioned. For that reason, we should consider attributing the latter to another text. The *Aš* is possible, since in this text the 'father' is identical with the 'grandfather' of the *Dš*. However, contrary to other fragments that belong to this composition, *KBo* 50.187 has LH characteristics.

⁷¹ Güterbock 1956, 66; del Monte 2009, 16, 46 n. 81.

leaders (either Tudhaliya II or Šuppiluliuma) already resided there. Since Fragment 13 informs us that Tudhaliya II was sick while residing in the Upper Land, we may suggest that the area of Šamuha was more convenient for his recovery, either since the Land of Hatti was not safe enough for him (v.i. Fragment 14), or because the area of the Upper Land was better suited (geographically? climatically?) for his recuperation. Support for the first possibility can be found later in the text.

The geographical setting of the first campaign against the Kaška tribes is not mentioned in the text. The text, however, does mention that the second Kaška campaign, which probably occurred in the same area (the region in which the Šuppiluliuma built fortifications), took place around Kathariya⁷² and Gazzapa⁷³. Unfortunately, the exact location of the two cities is unknown⁷⁴.

The second campaign in this fragment was directed against Maša⁷⁵ and Kammala⁷⁶. Both should probably be located in north Anatolia, north-west of Hatti. These two kingdoms implemented a joint attack against the Hulana River-Land⁷⁷ and Kaššiya⁷⁸, which should probably be located west of Hatti.

In the last campaign described in this fragment, Tudhaliya and Šuppiluliuma headed for a fight against the army of Hayaša⁷⁹ near the city of Kummaha⁸⁰ (on the border of Hatti and Hayaša). The king of Hayaša, Karanni/Lānni, is not mentioned elsewhere⁸¹.

⁷² Concerning this place, which appears only in our text, see *RGTC* 6, 201f.

⁷³ For Gazzapa/Kazapa, see *RGTC* 6, 204; *RGTC* 6/2, 78; del Monte 2009, 54 n. 77.

⁷⁴ For a comparison between the attacks against the Kaška in this fragment and in the annals of Tudhaliya I, see Klingner 2002, 446–448.

⁷⁵ For the location of Maša, v.s. p. 61 n. 49.

⁷⁶ Perhaps this place should be identified with Gangra/Çankiri in Phrygia (*RGTC* 6, 167; del Monte 2009, 43 n. 72).

⁷⁷ For its location see Forlanini 1977, 215 (suggested to identify the Hulana River with the Porsuk Çay); Bryce 1986b, 87.

⁷⁸ Concerning possible identifications of Kaššiya, see *RGTC* 6, 188; Bryce 1986b, 87; *RGTC* 6/2, 70; del Monte 2009, 43 n. 72; Forlanini 2009, 58f.; Glatz and Matthews 2009, 66f., 69. Kaššiya appears also in *CTH* 88 and the *AM* (*KBo* 3.4 iii 4–49, p. 78ff.), where it is mentioned that it was attacked by Arawanna (for the latter, v.i. p. 123 n. 140; see also discussion in del Monte 2009, 43 n. 72).

⁷⁹ For the location of Hayaša, v.s. p. 63 n. 60.

⁸⁰ Concerning Kummaha, v.s. p. 62 n. 54.

⁸¹ It is possible that another king of Hayaša named Mariya, ruled during Tudhaliya II's reign too (appears in *CTH* 42, the Huqqana Treaty; see Carruba 1988, 72, 74). This suggestion depends on the identification of an early ruler of Hayaša named Mariya (*HDT*, 32 §30), with a man with the same name that was killed by the "father of his majesty", i.e. Tudhaliya II (id., 32 §28; see Carruba 1988, 67f., 72, 74; for a Mariya in a letter from Ortaköy/Şapinuwa, see Süel 2009, 2009, 196). When accepting this identification, it is possible to suggest that following his victory over Karanni/Lānni, Tudhaliya II appointed Mariya, but some time later executed him (*HDT*, 32, par. §28). Two other kings of Hayaša are known from the time of Šuppiluliuma, Huqqana (*CTH* 42; *CTH* 55 ('Man' of Azzi; Carruba 1988, 69)) and Anniya (*AM*, 96f.); the latter ruled at least until year seven of Muršili.

.13.1. Differences between Copies E and D:1C.2.

Fragment 13 has two Copies, E and D, and it is interesting to examine the differences between the scribes who wrote them. The most obvious difference is the disuse of dividing-lines by the scribe of Copy E; three dividing-lines which appear in Copy D were neglected by this scribe.

There are no erasures in Copy D, while Copy E includes two erasures (l. 10⁸² and 17⁸³) and quite a large erased section (according to del Monte's (2009, 17) reconstruction, at least 8 lines) after the colophon. The location of the (erased) section after the colophon is somewhat odd⁸⁴.

The scribe of Copy E used Sumerograms⁸⁵ and Akkadograms⁸⁶, while in Copy D the same words were written in Hittite words (or not at all). In one case, the scribe of Copy E used a CVC sign, which in Copy D was written as CV-VC⁸⁷. All these phenomena might indicate a later date of Copy E in comparison to Copy D⁸⁸.

The phrasing of the scribe of Copy D is sometimes 'sloppy'; thus for example in *M.T.* 17:

--	17	[n]u-za an-tu-uḫ-ša-an-na-an-za URU ^{HIA} -ŠU-NU EGIR-pa e-ep-pir
D		¹⁶ [n]u-za an-tu-uḫ-ša-an-na-aš URU ^{DIDL.HIA} -Š[U-NU ^{(?)89} ... e-ep-pir] ⁹⁰
E		⁸ [nu-za a]n-tu-uḫ-ša-an-na-an-za URU ^{HIA} -ŠU-NU EGIR-pa e-ep-pir ⁹¹

⁸² 10' *nu* KUR URU^{Ma-a-ša-aš} ^{11'} ku-it...

⁸³ 17' nu ku-it-ma-an A-BI A-BI-IA I-NA KUR URU^{Kam-ma-al-*}la* [e-eš-ta].

⁸⁴ Perhaps the scribe of Copy E reused a tablet, or perhaps he started to write the next tablet right after the colophon and then his mistake was explained to him.

⁸⁵ *M.T.* 1. 30:

D	²⁹ ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma A-BI A-BI-IA IŠ-TU KUR URU ^{Ma-a-a[š-ša...]}
E	²² [GI]M-an-ma A-BI A-BI-IA IŠ-TU KUR URU ^{Ma-a-aš-ša} EGI[R-pa ú-it]

⁸⁶ *M.T.* 1. 16:

D	¹⁴ n[u-kán an-tu-uḫ-ša-tar] ¹⁵ ku-in-na a-pé-el A-NA URU-ŠU EGIR-pa [pé-e-ḫu-te-et]
E	⁶ [...an]-tu-uḫ-ša-tar ku-in-na ⁷ [a-pé-el] A-NA URU-LIM-ŠU EGIR-pa pé-e-ḫu-te-et

⁸⁷ *M.T.* 1. 28:

D	²⁶ nu-ká[n...] ²⁷ [A-N]A URU ^{DIDL.HIA} ta-an-na-at-ta-aš EGIR-an [...]
E	²⁰ [n]u-kán A-BU-IA ku-e-da-aš A-NA URU ^{DIDL.HIA} dan-na-at-t[a-aš EGIR-an] ²¹ [A]N.ZA.GÀR ú-e-te-et

⁸⁸ Or a less accurate copying (less faithful to the original) by the scribe who wrote Copy E.

⁸⁹ The signs fit much better with this reading; see also del Monte 2009, 15; cf. Güterbock 1956: E[GIR].

⁹⁰ Güterbock 1956, 65: "and they occupied the towns of the population again".

⁹¹ Güterbock 1956, 65: "the population occupied their towns again".

The choice made by the scribe of Copy E, to use a nominative form, seems better than the genitive form used in Copy D.

Another example can be found in *M.T.* 21:

--	21	<i>nu A-BI A-BI-I[A] a-pé-e-da-š wa-al-aḥ-ḥu-u-wa-an-zi i-ia-at-ta-at</i>
D		²⁰ <i>nu A-B[I A-BI-IA a-pé-e-d]a-ni wa-al-ḥu-wa-a[n-zi...]</i>
E		¹² <i>nu A-BI A-BI-I[A]</i> ¹³ <i>a-pé-e-da-š wa-al-aḥ-ḥu-u-wa-an-zi i-ia-at-ta-at</i>

Here as well, the demonstrative-pronoun d.l. pl. (*apēdaš*) used by the scribe of Copy E is more fitting than the singular form (*[apēd]ani*) which appears in Copy D⁹².

The scribe of Copy E had a strange error in the colophon, where, for some reason, he wrote GAL.LUGAL instead of LUGAL.GAL⁹³.

A very interesting phenomenon appears also in *M.T.* 24:

--	24	<i>nu pa-it KUR ^{URU}Ma-a-aš-ša ^{URU}Kam-ma-la-ia ḥar-ni-ik-[ta]</i>
D		²³ <i>nu p[a[?]-it... ^{URU}Ka]m-ma-a-la-ia [...]</i>
E		¹⁶ <i>nu pa-it {A-NA} KUR ^{URU}Ma-a-aš-ša ^{URU}Kam-ma-la⁹⁴-ia ḥar-ni-ik-[ta]</i>

Since the verb *ḥarn(n)ik-* (v.t.) does not require *A-NA*⁹⁵, it seems that in this case the scribe of Copy E was wrong. Possibly, the reason for this error was that the scribe did not notice that the verb *pai-* was being used in the original, or at least in the copy laid before him⁹⁶, in its phraseological meaning⁹⁷. The scribe of Copy E added *A-NA* after the *pa-it* in order to solve what he believed to be an immanent problem of the original text⁹⁸. By means of this addition, he probably tried to transform *pai-* into its more casual usage⁹⁹, the form he learned about and the one he used to find in the texts. The

⁹² Literally, "he went to them (to Maša and Kammala) to attack".

⁹³ Perhaps this mistake stems from the scribe's acquaintance with Hieroglyphic Luwian, where the words in this phrase were written in reverse order, i.e. MAGNUS.REX. See for example the discussion in the opening formula of Šuppiluliuma II's annals in Yakubovich 2008, 438f.

⁹⁴ Cf. del monte 2009, 16, 45 n. 75: *Kamma-li-ya*.

⁹⁵ See discussion of this (transitive) verb in *HED* III, 161–167.

⁹⁶ Another possibility is that the mistake already existed in the original/copy.

⁹⁷ "(The gods helped my father) and he proceeded to destroy Maša and Kammala"/"...and he went in order to destroy...". For phraseological *pai-* (and *uwa-*) see *CHD* P, 23; Rieken 2006, 116; Hoffner and Melchert 2008, 324–329.

⁹⁸ However, we should notice that at the beginning of this fragment (Copy D l. 3) there is already an instance of this usage of *pai-*: *nu pa-it A-NA PA-NI x[...]*.

⁹⁹ "He went to (A-NA) the cities, and destroyed them".

sentence in Copy D is broken, but if we accept Groddek's (2008a, 110) restoration, its author exactly made that same mistake¹⁰⁰.

Finally, a note should be made concerning the very fragmentary *KBo* 50.12. This fragment was attributed to the *DŠ* by Groddek (2008a, 115; del Monte 2009, 153), due to its references to "my father" (l. 2') and to "tribal groups" (l. 5': [ÉRIN]^{MEŠ} ŠU-TI^{HI.A}). Groddek (id.) also mentions that the fragment's place in the *DŠ* is unclear. I would like to draw attention to another term mentioned in this fragment, GIŠTUK[UL?] (l. 7'). If we accept this restoration, we should notice that except for *KBo* 50.12, this expression appears in the *DŠ* only three more times (see index in del Monte 2009, 186), all of them in Fragment 13. These attestations are connected with the 'uprisings' of the Kaška. For that reason, we may suggest that if *KBo* 50.12 belongs to the *DŠ*, it probably deals with the Kaška's misdeeds, and it might be placed close to Fragment 13. ^mSAG-g[a-...], who is mentioned here (l. 3'), does not appear elsewhere in the *DŠ*.

C.2.1.14. Fragment 14¹⁰¹:

Between Fragments 13 and 14 we should place Copy F col. ii (del Monte 2009, 17) and ca. 23 lines missing from the beginning of col. iii of this copy. It is possible that the obv.² of *KBo* 50.15 (which mentions the Kaška and a conversation between the ['father'] and the 'grandfather') is a duplicate of Fragment 14¹⁰² (Groddek 2008a, 116f.).

The fragment begins with someone laying a trap for the Kaška. Piyapily (l. 3', 5' and 7'), perhaps a Kaškean commander or leader, is mentioned here in an unclear context.

¹⁰⁰ In my opinion the restoration *p[a^{1/2}-it* in Copy D l. 23 (Güterbock 1956, 65 n. 24; Groddek 2008a, 111; del Monte 2009, 44f.) does not correlate so well with the remainder of the broken sign in *KBo* 50.10 iv 7' (two or three standing wedges) and with its picture (*Portal Mainz*). I believe that the restoration *nu* ᵒA²]-[NA ...] should be preferred. When we accept this suggestion, it is possible that the scribe detected the same 'problem' as the writer of Copy E, and meant to solve it in a similar manner, except that he forgot to write the *pa-it*. Another possibility is that he went one step further toward solving the 'problem'; he divided this sentence into two, moved the *pa-it* to its 'correct place' at the end of first sentence, and perhaps even placed a conjunction at the beginning of the second: *nu* A²-[NA KUR ᵒRU^UMa-a-aš-ša ᵒRU^UKa]m-ma-a-la-ia [*pa-it na-aš ḥar-ni-ik-ta*]. The number of signs in this line is quite large (23 signs), but not exaggerated. Thus, according to del Monte's (2009, 15) restoration for Copy D, l. 12' included 20 signs, l. 26' comprised of 22 signs, and l. 19' perhaps exceeded this number and included 25 signs.

¹⁰¹ Text: F = *KBo* 14.3. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 67–68; del Monte 2009, 17–19, 28–31.

¹⁰² Groddek (2008a, 116f.) did not mention the possibility, but it might be also a duplicate of a section in the 23 missing lines at the beginning of Copy F col. iii.

Some information concerning the Kaška's activity reached the 'grandfather', but because of his illness, he sent the 'father' against them. The confrontation with the Kaška (12 tribes) probably took place in the Land of Hatti. After the Hittite victory, the 'grandfather', who recovered from his illness, came down from the Upper Land and fought against some enemies (probably Kaškeans) near the city of Zithara. Following this victory, the 'grandfather' received intelligence reports detailing enemy movements. He sent the 'father' against the enemy, and the 'father' beat the enemy in a series of battles. At the end of the campaign's description, the names of Dulli and Nahiruwa are mentioned.

The two campaigns against the Kaška took place "in the country" (l. 12), which is probably the Land of Hatti¹⁰³, and near Zithara, which was situated not far from Hattuša (*RGTC* 6, 513f.; del Monte 2009, 29 n. 35). The location of the third campaign is not clear, since all the places names are broken. However, when we accept Güterbock's (1956, 68) restoration for line 41'f., it appears that this campaign began at a distance of a one day's march from the previous one¹⁰⁴.

In the second campaign again we hear about the illness of Tudhaliya II, who still stays in the Upper Land, even though Hittite forces previously arrived in Hattuša (Fr. 11). The reason is probably revealed in l. 13'f., where we read that the Kaška tribes, who invaded the land of Hatti, "had treated the land very badly" (l. 13'f.). The land of Hatti was probably devastated and perhaps even conquered, or at least threatened, by the enemies (Kaška and/or Arzawa).

The third campaign includes the first appearance of Arzawa in the *DŠ*. The exact identity of the enemy and its line-up in this campaign are not clear. Del Monte (2009) suggests that facing the Hittites stood a coalition of Arzawean and Kaškean forces¹⁰⁵. This suggestion is based on the possible restoration of Arzawa's name in the gap in l. 36' (Güterbock 1956, 68; del Monte 2009, 30), and on the combination of Arzawean forces and tribal groups which appear in the last passage (l. 38'–57'). Thus, Hoffner (1979, 261f. esp. n. 5) claims that in all clear references to the *ŠU-TI* (including our

¹⁰³ Since Šuppiluliuma fought there against the Kaškean enemy "who had come inside the land of Hatti" (l. 13'–14').

¹⁰⁴ cf. del Monte 2009, 31: "il primo [contingente nemico]".

¹⁰⁵ See already his restoration in Fr. 11 (v.s. p. 105).

fragment), the term refers to the Kaška. Nevertheless, we should not rule out the possibility that this term may refer to Arzawean troops as well¹⁰⁶.

C.2.1.15. Fragment 15¹⁰⁷:

The first paragraph deals with the victories of the 'father' over an enemy that operated in the area of [Mo]unt Allina^{(?)108}, Aniša and ^{URU}*x-iš-ša*¹⁰⁹. In the second paragraph, the 'father' fought against several groups of tribes in the surroundings of ^{URU}*Hu-(u-)wa-na-x-[x[?] x[?]110]*, ^{URU}*Ni-[x x x x]*¹¹¹ and Šapparanda. At the same time, "another Arzawean enemy", under the command of Ann[a]¹¹², attacked the Country of Tupazziya, Mount Ammuna, near Lake [n.n] and the city of Tuwanuwa. The 'father' managed to smite the enemy in [n.n.¹¹³], Nahhuriya and Šapparanda, and retreated to Tiwnazana for the night. In the morning, as the 'father' went down from Tiwnazana with a small force, he was attacked by an enemy. He crushed the enemy forces, which fled to the mountains and left behind them a great amount of booty. The rest of this combat is fragmentary, but it seems that the 'father' returned victorious from the battle and proceeded to Tuwanuwa (where he probably had to fight against Ann[a]). Following his arrival, his troops and chariots arrived [in Tuwanuwa] as well. The last lines of the fragment mention ^{URU}*Hal-li-[...]*, the 'father', troops and chariots, and a piece of intelligence received in Hattuša.

¹⁰⁶ It is most striking to notice that according to the index of Alp (1991a), the phrase ERÍN^{MES} *ŠU-TU* (or in general the phrase *ŠU-TU*, which appears only once as a measurement of barley (*HBM* 39, l. 10')) does not appear even once in the letters of Mašat, an archive that is almost entirely devoted to the surveillance of the Kaška's movements. It is possible that a usage of this term in relation to Arzawa may be found in Fr. 15. The beginning of this fragment details Šuppiluliuma's victory over several tribal groups, and then in *M.T.* l. 17 (Copy F l. 15'f.; Copy G l. 11'f.; Copy H l. 9'-11') we read that "still another ([*a-pa-a*]-*aš-ma nam-ma*) Arzawean enemy was out in...". Therefore it is possible to identify some of the "tribal groups" mentioned earlier with the Arzawean enemy. I will return to this matter later when the reasons for the success of the Hittite counter-attack are discussed (v.i. Chapter III.D.2.2.).

¹⁰⁷ Text: F = *KBo* 14.3+*KBo* 40.293 // G = *KUB* 19.18 (the obv. is pre-ruled) // H = *KBo* 50.15 (rev.?). Edition: Güterbock 1956, 75–77; del Monte 2009, 19–22, 30–37. Copy H (duplicates the text between *M.T.* l. 8–17 (l. 8'–17' of Copy F); see Groddek 2008a, 116f.) was not included in Güterbock's (1956) and del Monte's (2009; though he mentioned it in p. 154) editions, but since it is very fragmentary and does not add important information it is not presented here.

¹⁰⁸ It is possible that the SAG plus the AL at the beginning of the name (both with question-mark also in Güterbock's edition) should be deciphered as RA (del Monte 2009, 31 n. 40).

¹⁰⁹ Or ^{URU}*x-x-iš-ša* (del Monte 2009, 31 n. 44).

¹¹⁰ Del Monte (2009, 33 n. 45) suggested to restore *Huwana-š[ar-wa^(?)]*.

¹¹¹ It is possible that this is another version of the name Nahhuriya, which appears later in this fragment in proximity with Šapparanda.

¹¹² *CHD* P, 301a ("as the leader/commander, Anna was leading"). See also Beal 1992, 513–518 (esp. p. 517); del Monte 2009, 33 n. 48. Cf. Güterbock 1956 ("as an ally Anna was helping"); Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 63; *HED* III, 422.

¹¹³ ^{URU}*x[x x-i]a/a-an-[?][x x^(?)]*. It appears in Copy G i l. 18', and perhaps also in the break at the beginning of Copy F iv l. 23'.

This fragment ends with the colophon of Copy F, which attributes this fragment to the Second Tablet.

The scene of activity should be located near Tuwanuwa. This city is usually identified with classical Tyana (e.g. Bryce 1986b, 97; Forlanini 1990, 112; del Monte 2009, 35 n. 50). See Börker-Klähn (2007) for an elaborated discussion of the other locations mentioned in this fragment¹¹⁴. The least known among those places is Tupazziya, which is also mentioned in *HBM* 96 (v.s. p. 74f.), possibly as part of a group of places that belong to the Upper Land (Gurney 2003, 122; Forlanini 2004, 303; del Monte 2009, 33 n. 49). However, the alleged proximity of Tuppazia to Tuwanuwa (as it seems from our fragment) makes this proposal difficult.

Like in Fragment 14, the battles against a tribal enemy and the people of Arzawa are detailed in proximity to one another. When we identify this tribal enemy with the Kaška, it may indicate some kind of cooperation between these two political entities, or that they bordered on one another (however v.i. Chapter III.D.2.2.).

.15.1. Differences between Copies F and G:1C.2.

We should add several notes concerning the differences between Copies F and G. The structure of this column of Copy G (pre-ruled) is quite interesting. It seems to me that it was shaped in this manner since the scribe was an apprentice. Support for this feeling can be found in several errors and some inconsistency in spelling made of this scribe (e.g. the spelling of Tuwanuwa in l. 16' and 17')¹¹⁵. Copy F should probably be considered as more reliable and as more faithful to the original¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁴ Aniša (Börker-Klähn 2007, 100f., 104), Šapparanda (id., 106f.), Mount Ammuna (id., 109f.) and Tiwnazana (id., 106f.). See also Forlanini's (1988) discussion concerning some of these places.

¹¹⁵ Thus, G l. 11' (*a-pu-u-uš*; in comparison with [*a-pa-a*]-*aš* in Copy F l. 15'), l. 18' (the city of Nahhuriya was probably forgotten) and l. 24' (the pl. form *ḥa-an-da-a-an-zi*; in comparison with *ḥ*]*a-an-da-iz-zi* in Copy F l. 30'). The dividing line, which appears in Copy F after l. 25', was neglected by the scribe of Copy G (was supposed to be written after l. 21').

¹¹⁶ The scribe of Copy F preferred twice syllabic spelling (l. 32': ^DU ^{URU}*Ha-at-ti*; l. 36': *nu m[a-aḥ-ḥa-a]n*) in comparison with the logographic spelling which appears in Copy G (l. 27': ^DU ^{URU}*KÛ.[BABBAR-ti*; l. 30': *GI]M-an*). In addition, in *M.T.* l. 27 we have a very interesting case that might also indicate the inexperience of the scribe of Copy G:

F	²⁶ [<i>lu-u</i>]k-kat-ti-ma-kán A-BU-[I]A ^{URU} Ti-[...] ²⁷ K[UR-e]-kán *an-da pé-en*-na-i
G	²¹ [...] ²² ^{URU} Ti-wa-an-za-na-za kat-ta KUR-e-kán an-da wa-x[...]

When we accept del Monte's (2009, 35 n. 51) suggestion for the restoration of the verb in G (*wa-a*[z-za...]), we can see that the scribe used the Luwian verb *waza-*, which is similar in meaning to the Hittite verb *penna-*. Del Monte (id.) suggested that the scribe of Copy F switched the verb *waza-*

C.2.1.16. Fragment 16¹¹⁷:

This fragment is very broken. There are two references to a king of an unnamed kingdom (LUGAL KUR [n.n.]; l. 3' and 7'). Other references to kings in the *DŠ* (apart from Hatti) refer to sovereigns equal in rank to the king of Hatti (such as Egypt), or to kings of small kingdoms whose subordination to Hatti was somewhat questionable¹¹⁸. Therefore, this fragment probably deals with a military operation against Egypt (or one of its vassals), or better, against Mittanni (or one of its vassals, possibly in east Anatolia). The text also mentions someone young/youth (^{LU}GURUŠ in l. 5').

C.2.1.17. Fragment 17¹¹⁹:

It deals with several battles of the 'father' against a northern enemy. The confrontation took place in the area of Anz[iliya], Pargalla and Hattina, and ended in Hittite victory. Two people, Takkuri and Himuili, are mentioned in an unclear context. At least one of them was a military commander.

The enemy was probably the Kaška, since the three place-names—Anziliya¹²⁰, Parg/kalla¹²¹ and Hat(t)ina¹²²—should be located next to Hatti's border with the Kaška. Another indication for the identity of the enemy is the military tactic used against him, i.e. 'the trap/'ambush' (*še-e-na-aḫ-ḫa*), which is typically mentioned in descriptions of clashes with the Kaška (l. 21'; v.s. p. 103 n. 45).

with the more regular verb *penna-*. There is, however, another possible explanation; the scribe of Copy G was not skilled in Hittite and lacked the skills of Copy F's scribe, therefore he used the Luwian verb that was more common to him (in this context, see Yakubovich 2008, 465f., 518).

¹¹⁷ Text: G = *KUB* 19.18 (the obv. is pre-ruled). Edition: Güterbock 1956, 77; del Monte 2009, 22, 38f.

¹¹⁸ In the *AM* (according to the index, p. 298), in addition to the kings of Hatti (including the Hittite king of Carchemish), Egypt and Ahhiyawa, the title LUGAL refers to rebellious Hittite vassals, such as the king of Qadeš (*KBo* 4.4 ii 3, 65), the kings of Nuhašše (*KBo* 4.4 i 45) and Anniya king of Azzi (*KBo* 3.4 iii 93). Possibly, the common denominator of these kingdoms is that all of them belonged to the Egyptian or Mittannian sphere of influence before becoming Hittite vassals. The only clear example in the *DŠ* for the second use of LUGAL is the king of Hayaša (Fr. 13). For that reason, it is possible that Hayaša was also considered a Mittannian vassal that later moved to the Hittite side (cf. the status of its more western neighbor, Išuwa, according to the Sunaššura treaty; v.s. p. 55f.).

¹¹⁹ Text: G = *KUB* 19.18. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 78; del Monte 2009, 22f., 38f.

¹²⁰ *RGTC* 6, 25; *RGTC* 6/2, 7f. From the Mašat letters (e.g. *HBM* 55 l. 12–13) it appears that it was situated in the territory of Tapikka (Alp 1991a, 9). Alp (id.) suggested identifying Anziliya with classical Zila (modern Zile).

¹²¹ *RGTC* 6, 304.

¹²² *RGTC* 6, 101f.; *RGTC* 6/2, 36.

Next to Hattina appears a broken place name, ^{URU}*Ha*-[...] (l. 18'). Since Hanhana¹²³ was located in Hattina's surroundings, we should consider restoring its name in this gap.

The identity of Takkuri and Himuili is not clear¹²⁴. Del Monte (2009, 39 n. 65) suggested that they were both Kaškean commanders who were taken prisoner, but since the sentence is broken this suggestion can not be verified¹²⁵.

C.2.1.18. Discussion; the historical content of the first three tablets of the *DŠ*:

In order to evaluate Hatti's situation during this time, as it appears in Fragments 1–17, we should gather the place names mentioned in these fragments, and examine the movements of the Hittite army (and Hatti's borders) throughout this period. First, we should summarize the most important geographical data appearing in these fragments. Most of the First Tablet's fragments do not give any historical information or solid clues as to their date. Fragments 2 and 3 mention Hayaša and Arziya, but since these fragments are badly broken and there is a reasonable doubt about their attribution to the *DŠ* (v.s. the discussion on these fragments), they will not be considered here. In my opinion, only Fragments 4 and 8 (both belonging to Copy E) may help in this matter. In the first, Tudhaliya fought against Šallapa, an important city in central-west Anatolia, and set it on fire. In the latter, he (alongside Šuppiluliuma) joined battle with some tribal groups around Mount Nanni, which was situated on the northern border of Ugarit.

Two fragments of the second section of the *DŠ* (Güterbock's 'Second and Third Tablets'), Fragments 9 and 16, are too fragmentary to help in this matter, but the other fragments of this section are quite informative.

In Fragment 10, the Hittites battled with the Kaška and Hayaša, perhaps in the Upper Land. This fragment mentions that Tudhaliya was ill¹²⁶ and stayed in the Upper

¹²³ *RGTC* 6, 76f.; *RGTC* 6/2, 25; Camitta 2006 (should not be identified with Inandik); Glatz and Matthews 2009, 68 (perhaps should be located in the large mound of Maltepe, 15 km. south of Çankiri, or in the Çorum region).

¹²⁴ It is possible that the same Himuili mentioned in *KBo* 12.25 l. 10' and 15' (del Monte 2009, 48 n. 2). The latter, however, could be treated as a Hittite commander (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 282–285). Heinhold-Krahmer (1977, 282) identified Himuili with the well-known Hittite general that was active during Šuppiluliuma's reign (and also in the *DŠ*).

¹²⁵ In his translation for the passage, del Monte (2009, 39) proposed another restoration, i.e. that the two of them escaped. Since both names are in the acc. case, his first suggestion (i.e. that they were captures) should be preferred.

¹²⁶ It is possible that *CTH* 374 ('prayer of a king'. Edition: Lebrun 1980, 121–131. Translation: Singer 2002a, 33–36), a MH prayer which details the illness of a Hittite king and Arzawean attack on Hatti, was written by Tudhaliya II in this period.

Land (Šamuha) during this period. Similar information appears in Fragments 11, 13 and 14 as well.

Fragment 11, and possibly Fragment 12 as well, deals with the conquest and restoration of Hattuša/the Land of Hatti. Hattuša's/Hatti's destruction (and perhaps also conquest) by an enemy, appears later in the text as well (Fragment 14, l. 13'f.; the land was "treated badly" by the enemy). These fragments also deal with the confrontation of Hatti and the Kaška in the area of the Upper Land (Wašhaniya and [Ne]niššankuwa).

Fragment 13 deals with a Hittite campaign in central-west Anatolia (against Maša and Kammala that invaded the Hulana River-Land and Kaššiya), and with a battle near the border of Hatti and Hayaša (near Kummaha).

Fragment 14 relates the war against the Kaška in the Land of Hatti and a Hittite campaign against the Kaška and Arzawa (in collaboration?) in an unclear area.

Fragment 15 continues the description of the war against Arzawa and the Kaška, this time in the area of Tuwanuwa and perhaps also in the Upper Land (depending on the location of Tupazziya).

Fragment 17 probably deals with several battles around the Hatti-Kaška border (Anziliya, Parg/kalla and Hat(t)ina).

Based on this summary, which outlined the structure of the first three tablets of the *DŠ*, we can delineate the course of Tudhaliya II's reign. According to Güterbock's order of fragments, the First Tablet includes two important events which can be traced on the map. In the beginning of this tablet (Fr. 4) Tudhaliya II fights in Šallapa, probably in order to secure the buffer zone between Hatti and Arzawa. Close to the end of the First Tablet (Fr. 8) he arrives on the border of Ugarit. This latter event in particular, constitutes an impressive achievement when remembering Hatti's situation at the end of Arnuwanda I's reign (Kizzuwatna as *ḫantezzi auri-*, Kaška tribes' penetration into the heart of the country, etc.; v.s. Chapter III.A.2.).

From this point on, it seems that Hatti's condition had sharply deteriorated and clues for this state of affairs can be found in the Second and Third Tablets. One of the first acts of the Hittites in these tablets was the reconstruction of their devastated capital city (or another important city in the Land of Hatti). Consequently, Tudhaliya and Šuppiluliuma were mostly busy with defending Hatti and pushing the enemies away

from their heartland. Thus, we find Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma fighting against Hayaša (battles in the Upper Land and Hatti-Hayaša border), the Kaška tribes (who attacked the Upper Land, Lower Land and the Land of Hatti itself) and Arzawa (who invaded at least the Lower Land). Even after the Land of Hatti was reconquered, Tudhaliya II had to stay in the Upper Land, possibly because Hattuša was in a bad state and still threatened by the enemies. At the end of this period we may find some indications for Hatti's recovery. Thus, during the defense-wars we find Tudhaliya fighting also in the northern part of central-west Anatolia (Maša and Kammala; Fragment 13), and later we find him battling against the Kaška near the Hatti-Kaška border (Fragment 17), and not in the middle of Hatti.

When we accept this scenario (e.g. Kempinski 1993, 83–87; Klengel 1999, 134), and recognize Hatti's withdrawal followed by a slow and gradual process of recovery, we may conclude that a major part of the first tablets of the *DŠ* deals with the 'concentric attack', and only a small portion depicts the beginning of Tudhaliya II's counter-attack. If this part of the composition indeed represents the last stage of Tudhaliya II's reign, we may conclude that the most decisive part of Hatti's recovery, as well as the establishment of the empire, occurred only during Šuppiluliuma's reign¹²⁷.

There are, however, some difficulties with this scenario, among which the following seem to be crucial:

A. Hatti's situation at the end of Arnuwanda I's reign was quite difficult. The *DŠ* does not provide any explanation for Tudhaliya II's success in handling this crisis¹²⁸ (nor does any other Hittite text).

B. The aforementioned fragments did not mention any significant Hittite losses, and in fact they depict a series of Hittite victories. Nevertheless, the extent of the empire had been significantly reduced during Tudhaliya II's reign (i.e. during the period covered by these tablets of the *DŠ*), from a large kingdom that sent troops to the border of Ugarit to a small realm in the hinterland of Anatolia.

¹²⁷ This reconstruction is only hypothetical, since it is based upon the existing parts of the *DŠ* only; in this manner, it is possible that the depiction of Tudhaliya's reign did not end with Fragment 17, but continued in parts that were not preserved.

¹²⁸ As mentioned before, in Fr. 8 Tudhaliya fought next to Ugarit, while at the end of Arnuwanda I's reign, Kizzuwatna became a border post (*HBM* 74).

C. *EA* 31–32 (v.i. Chapter III.C.2.12.) indicates that Arzawa, the strongest kingdom in Anatolia during the Hittite low-point, was ruled by Tarhundaradu. Even though the same period was probably detailed in the *DŠ*, and despite the extensive depiction of the confrontation with Arzawa (including names of princes and/or commanders), the name of Tarhundaradu is not mentioned. In fact, there is no indication in the *DŠ*, not even later, when Šuppiluliuma was nearing the heartland of Arzawa, that Arzawa was ruled by a single monarch.

D. The above-mentioned difficulties are not unequivocal, since they are based upon the absence of proof and might be explained by the fragmentary state of the composition. The present argument, however, is much more fundamental. Güterbock's suggested outline for the *DŠ* contains a built-in contradiction between its narrative and the declared objective of this composition. It is clear from the Hittite topic of the *DŠ* (^mŠuppiluliumaš LÚ-nannaš) that this text was composed for the purpose of glorifying Šuppiluliuma's deeds and immortalizing his heroism¹²⁹. Yet, the first tablets of the *DŠ*, in which Šuppiluliuma appears frequently, actually depict one of the most infamous periods in Hittite history. According to the text, the protagonist Šuppiluliuma was heavily involved in Hatti's weakening from its beginning (since he is already mentioned in Fragment 8, which details Tudhaliya II at the peak of his success). Šuppiluliuma's responsibility for this situation is even greater, since (as the author frequently emphasizes) the serving king was repeatedly sick, and Šuppiluliuma had quite often replaced him in the battlefield as the supreme commander of the Hittite army¹³⁰.

I believe that the source of all these difficulties lies in the commonly held outline of the text. The first tablets of *DŠ* are arranged in such a way that the high-point of Tudhaliya II's reign is depicted too early. The result is that instead of being depicted as Hatti's glorious savior, Šuppiluliuma appears almost as the cause of all troubles. The reason is that Šuppiluliuma is too active in the events leading to Hatti's decline. In order to solve these difficulties, we should place the climax of Tudhaliya's reign at

¹²⁹ See Klinger's (2008, 34) discussion with this idiom.

¹³⁰ The 'correct' question in this context is not whether Tudhaliya II was in poor health, but why the author chose to emphasize this fact; see discussion in Klinger 2008a, 37f. (the author meant to create the impression that Šuppiluliuma held the office of the king already during Tudhaliya's reign).

a later stage of the text (and of Tudhaliya's reign)¹³¹. A relocation of Fragment 8 (and Fragment 4 on the obverse of this fragment) may serve this purpose, since this fragment locates Tudhaliya in the most remote frontline (too) early in the First Tablet¹³².

Fragments 4 and 8 may be placed alongside Fragments 15 (e.g. in the 11 lines' gap in its beginning) and 16 respectively. In this manner, Fragment 4 and the attack against Šallapa might serve as a prelude for the wide-scale offensive against Arzawa, which begins in Fragment 15. The attack on Ugarit's border (Fragment 8) might be connected to the reference of a "king" in Fragment 16. As previously mentioned¹³³, this title was not used (neither in the *DŠ* nor in the *AM*) to designate 'regular' Anatolian rulers, but rather the 'Great kings' and their major vassals. In this context we may suggest that Fragment 8 reflects the first invasion of Tudhaliya II into Syria, and Fragment 16 could possibly be interpreted as his first encounter with a 'Great king' (Tušratta king of Mittanni?) or one of his Syrian vassals. A second possible location for Fragments 4 and 8 is in the gap between Fragments 17 (or 13, if we accept its attribution to the Fourth Tablet; see del Monte 2009, 9–11) and 18. The size of this gap is unclear, since we do not know to which tablet the next fragment, i.e. Fragment 18, belongs (theoretically, it can belong to any tablet between Tablets Four and Seven).

In addition to Fragments 4 and 8, del Monte (2009, 10f.) suggested relocating Fragment 13 (Copy E) to a later position, at the end of Tablet Four. The fragment deals with areas outside Hatti's borders—Maša and Kammala to the west and Kummaha and Hayaša to the east—and fits in quite well with my suggested scenario. When we accept this proposal, Fragment 8 should probably be placed following Fragment 13, since it might represent the last domain of Hittite expansion in the *DŠ*. Del Monte's reading is, however, uncertain (cf. Güterbock 1956, 66 n. 39), and for

¹³¹ It seems to me that if the accepted outline of the *DŠ* was the true narrative (i.e. that the zenith of Tudhaliya's reign was early in his reign, and that at least part of the blame for Hatti's collapse should be attributed to Šuppiluliuma), the author would not change the events but only supply another explanation for them. In other words, he would not change history or the course of Tudhaliya's reign, but would deemphasize Šuppiluliuma's part and emphasize others' (e.g. the king or other commanders and princes) responsibility for this situation. The situation at present is absurd, since the composition—which should act as Šuppiluliuma's propaganda mouthpiece—puts most of the blame for Hatti's deterioration upon his shoulders.

¹³² Though for different reasons (del Monte doubted the logical order of campaigns in the accepted plot of the *DŠ*), this proposal was made by del Monte (2009, 1f.) too. He (loc. cit.) preferred another solution for the problem he observed, i.e. to attribute these two fragments to another text.

¹³³ For the discussion in Fr. 16, v.s. Chapter III.C.2.1.16.

that reason, we should base the new outline of the *DŠ* upon the relocation of Fragments 4 and 8 only.

In light of this suggestion (whether we displace also Fragment 13 or not), we should delineate the period covered by the first tablets of the *DŠ* quite differently. It begins with the Hittite conquest of the land of Hatti and continues with the conquest of the Lower Land, parts of the Upper Land, east Anatolia (until the border of Hayaša) and Šallapa. The arrival in Syria (Fragment 8 and perhaps also 16) is now related to the end of Tudhaliya II's reign, or at least to the last existing parts of the *DŠ* that deal with his reign. In other words, the surviving parts of the *DŠ* do not deal with the 'concentric attack', but with Tudhaliya II's counter-attack¹³⁴!

This suggestion answers the difficulties raised above:

(A. + B. + D.) The existing parts of the *DŠ* begin with the low point of Tudhaliya's reign. The difficult state of Hatti is of no surprise, since the kingdom of Hatti experienced many difficulties since the end of Arnuwanda I's reign. From this point on, Hatti underwent a gradual process of recovery. This process was probably depicted in detail in the first three (or more) tablets of the *DŠ*, but unfortunately, these tablets are much damaged. As for Šuppiluliuma, he was involved in Hatti's recovery from the beginning. His part was even greater than that of other elite members, since many times during that period he filled the place of the sickly king.

(C.) The reality depicted in *EA* 31–32 (i.e. the 'concentric attack') is probably earlier than the era covered by the surviving parts of the *DŠ*. Possibly during the latter stage (i.e. the Hittite offensive) Arzawa was not ruled by Tarhundaradu anymore, or even by any single monarch¹³⁵.

We should notice that although the theme of the first tablets has changed and the period of the 'concentric attack' is no longer their main concern, there are still many clues that may help us reconstruct this period. Thus, it is clear from the text that during Tudhaliya II's reign Hatti was under attack on several fronts and suffered great territorial losses. Thus, it lost its sovereignty over considerable parts of the Upper

¹³⁴ For further discussion concerning the difficulties in the current arrangement of the *DŠ*, see Bryce 2005, 150; Marizza 2007a, 50f.

¹³⁵ It seems to me that one reason for Hatti's salvation was the disintegration of Arzawa into its political components (probably following Tarhundaradu's death) and that is the reason for the absence of its leader from the text (v.i. Chapter III.D.2.2.).

Land, the Lower Land and even of the Land of Hatti itself. Hattuša was abandoned and the royal court had to flee and find refuge in Šamuha.

When accepting the new arrangement of the first tablets, we are actually emptying the First Tablet of its contents. What is left of this tablet deals with the preamble for the composition (Fragment 1) and possibly with events that occurred prior to Tudhaliya II's reign (Fragments 2 and 3, if they belong to the *DŠ* at all). Perhaps the First Tablet mentioned the beginning of Tudhaliya's reign in a few words, and briefly described the chain of events, which led to the harsh situation we encountered in the Second and Third Tablets.

C.2.2. The Sunaššura treaty (CTH 41.I and 41.II):

This text was dealt in detail in an earlier chapter (v.s. Chapter III.A.1.3.; p. 84–87; v.i. also Chapter III.D.1.2.). In this discussion, we mentioned Houwink ten Cate's (1998) opinion that the Sunaššura treaty, or at least the latest version of this treaty, should be dated to Tudhaliya II's reign (instead of Tudhaliya I). When we accept this suggestion, we can learn from the preamble that Kizzuwatna and Išuwa rebelled against Hatti, and later, at some point during the time of Tudhaliya II, returned to the Hittite camp.

In my opinion, we can not date with confidence this treaty to either Tudhaliya I or II. Both kings had to establish their kingdom following a low point¹³⁶, and both were active in Kizzuwatna and Išuwa¹³⁷. As mentioned in the former discussion, Sunaššura is indeed well synchronized with Niqmepa king of Alalah (son of Idrimi) and Sauštatar king of Mittanni (*AIT* 14)—a synchronization that is better suited to Tudhaliya I (v.s. p. 83)—yet it is possible that his reign was long and coincided also with Tudhaliya II's reign (even if we do not split him into Sunaššura I and II¹³⁸).

¹³⁶ Thus, in *CTH* 142 we can see that Tudhaliya I and Kantuzzili (I) initially fought against Muwa, a follower of Muwattalli I who was supported by the Hurrians. *CTH* 88 summarize the troubles Tudhaliya II had experienced.

¹³⁷ Tudhaliya I's activity in Kizzuwatna is mentioned in *CTH* 143 (v.s. p. 61). His operation in Išuwa appears in *CTH* 142 (v.s. p. 59). A rebellion of Kizzuwatna during Tudhaliya II's reign is mentioned in *CTH* 88 (Chapter III.C.2.5.; perhaps also in *CTH* 376.C; v.i. Chapter III.C.2.7.). The reconquest of Kizzuwatna might be concluded from Tudhaliya II's arrival along Ugarit's border (*DŠ*, Fr. 8; v.s. Chapter III.C.2.1.8.). Išuwa's rebellion and Tudhaliya II's attack on this land are mentioned for example in *Šat. I* (v.i. Chapters III.C.2.3. and III.D.1.3.).

¹³⁸ E.g. Houwink ten Cate 1998, 51–53; Freu 2001, 19, 24; id. 2008.

From line 6, however, we learn that at the time of Tudhaliya's grandfather, Kizzuwatna "ša KUR ^{URU}Ḫa-at-t[i i]b-ba-ši". The literal meaning of this expression is that "Kizzuwatna *had become* (that) of the land of Hatti". Since the first time Kizzuwatna belonged to Hatti was during the reign of Tudhaliya II's grandfather (i.e. Tudhaliya I), ostensibly, the Sunaššura treaty can be safely attributed to Tudhaliya II. Nevertheless, there are some other interpretations for this expression (v.s. p. 55).

In sum, the date of the Sunaššura treaty is not clear. If we date it to the time of Tudhaliya II, we can learn that at some point during his reign, Išuwa and Kizzuwatna were considered enemies of Hatti.

C.2.3. The Šattiwaza treaty (CTH 51.I)¹³⁹:

The first paragraph of *Šat. 1* (*HDT*, 42 par. §1) details rebellions of several kingdoms during Tudhaliya II's reign. These events serve as the prelude (and justification) for Šuppiluliuma's invasion to Išuwa (which opened his First Syrian Campaign). Several kingdoms among the rebellious cities—Išuwa, Arawanna¹⁴⁰, Armatana¹⁴¹ and Tegarama¹⁴²—also appear in *CTH* 88. Some other important kingdoms mentioned in this list are Kalašma¹⁴³, Turmitta¹⁴⁴ and Hurma¹⁴⁵.

¹³⁹ Translation: *HDT*, 42–48. Altman 2004, 266–270 (partial).

¹⁴⁰ From *CTH* 88 it appears that Arawanna was situated next to Kaššiya. The latter was also attacked by Maša and Kammala (Fr. 13 of the *DS*). In the *AM* (p. 78), in year five, after his campaign against the Kaška, Muršili II attacked Arawanna. It seems from these texts that Arawanna was located west of the Kaška land, east of Kaššiya (that was possibly located between Maša and Kammala to the west and Arawanna to the east) and north or north-west of Hatti. Arawanna (written Arauwanna) is mentioned near Kalašma (written Kalašpa) in *CTH* 376 ('a prayer to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna'; Lebrun 1980, 162; Copy A l. 40'; Copy C l. 27'). For further discussion, see *RGTC* 6, 29f. *RGTC* 6/2, 9; Klinger 2008b, 285f.

¹⁴¹ According to *CTH* 88 Armatana invaded Hittite territories. For a possible location (south of Išuwa), see *RGTC* 6, 38f. *RGTC* 6/2, 12; del Monte 2009, 49 n. 7.

¹⁴² Tegarama was located next to Išuwa since they appear in proximity to each other in several texts, thus *CTH* 88 and *CTH* 261 (Torri 2005, 396–399); in both of these texts Tegarama appears as Hittite territory, and in the latter it is mentioned as a Hittite territory sacked by Išuwa (and not as an enemy as in our text). It is possible that Pahhuwa (the kingdom of Mita) was part of this kingdom (id. 390). For further discussion concerning its possible identification (Gürün), see *RGTC* 6, 383f.; Güterbock 1986, 322; *RGTC* 4, 117; *RGTC* 6/2, 154; Bryce 2005, 156; del Monte 2009, 109 n. 93 (located near the modern Malatya, on an important road leading to north Syria and Carchemiš).

¹⁴³ Kalašma's rebellion against Tudhaliya II is mentioned also in the *AM* (see *infra*, Chapter III.C.2.4.). Kalašma (written also as Kalašpa) was probably located in north Anatolia not far from Arawanna (v.s. n. 140 above), since both appear in *CTH* 376. Possibly, it was located in Kaššiya's surroundings (Kaššiya is also mentioned in proximity with Arawanna (see *supra*)), and both were ruled by the Hittites during Arnuwanda's reign (pacts were signed with military commanders stationed in them (*CTH* 260); see discussion in Bryce 2005, 142f.). For possible identifications of Kalašma, see Forlanini 1977, 207f. (around Bolu); *RGTC* 6, 163f.; *RGTC* 6/2, 60; Glatz and Matthews 2009, 66f.

¹⁴⁴ Turmitta appears in the *AM* (p. 23f., §§7–8) as a Kaškean city neighboring Išhupitta (v.s. the discussion in *HBM* 96, p. 74 n. 128). Later this city was part of Hattušili III's kingdom in north

It seems that this list of toponyms gives a more detailed description than *CTH 88* of the rebellions against Tudhaliya II in north and east Anatolia¹⁴⁶.

C.2.4. The annals of Muršili II (CTH 61)¹⁴⁷:

There are two references in the *AM* for rebellions during the time of Tudhaliya II. The first appear in the description of Muršili II's sixth year (80f., §30). It appears that the enemy from the Tarikarimu Mountain-Land, which was attacked by Muršili II, rebelled against Hatti at the time of Muršili II's grandfather (i.e. Tudhaliya II) and attacked Hattuša¹⁴⁸. In year 22 Muršili mentioned that the land of Kalašma¹⁴⁹ rebelled against Hatti during his father's and grandfather's reigns.

Both incidents were a result of Kaškean activity, and it is possible that there was a connection between the two (Klengel 1999, 130 [B9]).

C.2.5. Hattušili III's decree for the ḫekur of Pirwa (CTH 88)¹⁵⁰:

At the beginning of the text, the author supplies a short summary of the events that preceded Šuppiluliuma's reign. This period was characterized by the author as a catastrophic era during which the Land of Hatti was attacked by enemies from all directions. Due to the great importance of this text, following is a translation of the relevant paragraphs¹⁵¹:

6–9: In earlier days the Hatti lands were sacked [b]y the enemy.

From this side [...]. The Kaškean enemy came and sacked the Hatti

Anatolia. In addition to Turmitta, Hattušili III's realm included (among others) Kaššiya, which was possibly located in the surroundings of Arawanna and Kalašma (see above). For further discussion concerning Turmitta, see Garstang 1943, 53–62 and pl. XVII (east of Hattuša, in the region of Sivas); *RGTC* 6,442–444 ; *RGTC* 6/2, 175 (in proximity with Wašhaniya, Kaššiya and Tapikka); Bryce 2005, 232; Forlanini 2009, 50–57, Map 2 in p. 69; Glatz and Matthews 2009, 64 and Fig. 2 in p. 58 (near Iskilip-Tosya).

¹⁴⁵ Hurma was located next to Kuššara, Šamuha and Lawazantiya (Garstang 1943, 57 n. 74; Goetze 1940, 72; Gurney 2003, 123 n. 24, 125 n. 32), on a route leading from Kaniš to Syria (Gorny 1997, 551). It was situated in an area which, during the OK, had a mixed Hittite and Hurrian population (Beal 2003, 19; Bryce 2003a, 88f.). For further discussion concerning its location, see *RGTC* 6, 124–126; *RGTC* 6/2, 43f.; Miller 2004, n. 747 in p. 454f.; Forlanini 2007b, 279 n. 67; id. 2009, Map 1 in p. 68.

¹⁴⁶ For further discussion concerning this passage, see Altman 2004a, 276f.; Torri 2005, 397–399.

¹⁴⁷ Edition: Goetze 1933.

¹⁴⁸ *KBo* 3.4 iii 59: *nu ú-e-er URU* KÙ.BABBAR-ša-an GUL-ḫi-ir.

¹⁴⁹ For discussion concerning this kingdom, see the previous page.

¹⁵⁰ Edition: Goetze 1940, 21f., 23 n. 91 (partial); Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 40 (partial). Discussion (a partial list): Goetze 1940, 21–24; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 40–48; Forlanini 1990, 109–112; Liverani 1990a, 115f.; Kempinski 1993, 82; de Martino 1996, 81–89; Klengel 1999, 130 [B10]; Altman 2004a, 75–77; Bryce 2005, 146f.

¹⁵¹ The translation is based upon: Goetze 1940, 22; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 40f.; Bryce 2005, 146.

lands and he made Nenašša his frontier. From the other side, from the Lower [Land], came the Arzawean enemy, and he too sacked the Hatti lands, and he made [Tu]wanuwa and Uda his frontier.

10: From this side, the Arawann[ean] enemy [came], and sacked the whole of the Land of Kaššiya.

11–12: From this side, the Azzian enemy came and sacked all the Upper [Land]s, and he made Šamuha his frontier. The Išuwian [enemy] came, [and] sacked the [Land] of Tegarama.

13–15: From this side, the Armatanean enemy [came], and he too sacked the Hatti lands. And he [made] Kizzuwatna, the city, his [frontier]. And [Hattu]ša, the city, was burned down. And (only) [...] and the *hešti* house of [...] *-ta-aš* escaped.

16–18: [w]hen my grandfather Šu[ppiluliuma], [great [king], hero, *ša-ra-a iš-pár-za-aš-ta*, he ascended upon the throne of the kingship, [and he drove out [the enemies?] from the lands of Hatti. And the Land of Hatti, the black earth... he settled [again].

According to Goetze (1940, 25f.), these paragraphs should be divided in two parts. The first section deals with Arzawa and the Kaška, the main enemies of the Hittites, and the second deals with other less important enemies. It is possible that in both parts the enemies and their destinations were ordered clockwise from north (Kaška and Arawanna) to south (Arzawa and Armatana).

The first enemies mentioned were the Kaška tribes, who sacked the Hatti lands and made Nenašša their frontier. According to Forlanini (1988, fig. 1), Nenašša was located on the border of the Lower Land, some eighty km. north of Tuwanuwa¹⁵². By accepting this suggestion, we can learn about the severe danger to which Hatti was exposed (if the two invasions were parallel in time). The heartland was caught between Arzawa and the Kaška, and only a short distance separated between them. Lately, however, Glatz and Matthews (2009, 64; see also *RGTC* 6/2, 111f.) located

¹⁵² In the province of Wašhaniya, which he located south of the Marašantiya River (v.s. the discussion in Fr. 11 in p. 104). For the identification of Nenašša with Nanessos/Nenizi, see *RGTC* 6, 282f.; see also Forlanini 2009, Map 1 in p. 68, Map 2 in p. 69.

this city in north Anatolia, in the region of Turmitta, which lay north of the Marašantiya River (v.s. p. 123. n. 144).

Literally, the next enemy, Arzawa, arrived *from* (*IŠTU*) the Lower Land¹⁵³, and made Uda and Tuwanuwa his border (l. 8). This section reveals two peculiarities. First, the point of departure was not mentioned for any other enemy. All other enemies began their invasions from their own lands. The second thing is that the destinations of Arzawa, the cities Uda (classical Hyde¹⁵⁴) and Tuwanuwa (classical Tyana; v.s. discussion in p. 113), were located in the Lower Land, i.e. at Arzawa's starting point. One possible solution is that at the beginning of the attack, the forces of Arzawa had already settled in the southern parts of the Lower Land, and from this point they conducted an offensive toward the northern part of this land¹⁵⁵. The second possibility is that the *IŠ-TU* marks the direction of the Arzawean forces' movement, meaning, from outside of the Lower Land inward, toward the Halys bend (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 49f.).

The second part of the text begins with the enemy from Arawanna, who sacked the Land of Kaššiya. Arawanna was probably located west of the Kaška lands, east of Kaššiya and north or north-west of Hatti¹⁵⁶.

Azzi, the second enemy, attacked the Upper Lands and made Šamuha its frontier. Azzi was located next to Hayaša and on many occasions they appear together, as one political unit¹⁵⁷. The exact location of Azzi is not clear, but it was possibly located north of Išuwa, which appears as the next enemy (Goetze 1940, 25). For the location of Šamuha and its possible identification with Kayalipinar, v.s. p. 77 n. 140.

The next enemy, Išuwa¹⁵⁸, situated east of Hatti, invaded the Land of Tegarama. The latter was located between Hatti and Išuwa, and was possibly a part of the kingdom of Pahhuwa (v.s. p. 123 n. 142).

¹⁵³ *IŠ-TU KUJR* URUŠAP-LI-TI.

¹⁵⁴ *RGTC* 6, 466f.; Güterbock 1986, 320; Forlanini 1990, 112; Bryce 2005, 146f.; del Monte 2009, 107 n. 34; etc.

¹⁵⁵ Goetze (1940, 23) rejected this proposal, claiming that the Lower Land had always been part of Hatti; therefore it is not reasonable that the Arzawean forces arrived from the Lower Land, and that from the outset the author treated this land as enemy territory. In this matter, see also the implications of the equation between the Lower Land and Luwiya, as suggested by Yakubovich (2008, 397–308).

¹⁵⁶ For Arawanna, v.s. p. 123 n. 140; concerning Kaššiya, v.s. p. 108 n. 78.

¹⁵⁷ The borders between Azzi (written also as Azi) and Hayaša are not clear. Azzi was located in proximity to the Upper Land, Išuwa and Kumaha (*RGTC* 6, 59f.; *RGTC* 6/2, 19). For the location of Hayaša, v.s. p. 63 n. 60 (*CTH* 146).

¹⁵⁸ Concerning the location of Išuwa, v.s. p. 53f. (based upon Hawkins 1998b).

The last enemy came from Armatana, sacked the Hatti lands, and made the 'city of Kizzuwatna' his border. The exact location of Armatana is unclear (v.s. p. 123 n. 141). Because Kizzuwatna was the target, it is possible that Armatana was located south of Išuwa. The 'city of Kizzuwatna', which turned into Armatana's frontier, should be identified with Kummanni (Goetze 1940, 9f.). The location of the latter has been hotly debated (v.s. p. 74 n. 130). In the past it was identified with Komana Cataoniae in Cappadocia (e.g. Goetze 1940, 17). Recently Trémouille (2001, 62–66) suggested relocating Kummanni (and Lawazantiya) to a more southern location and placing it in Cilicia, in proximity to the core of Kizzuwatna.

The destruction of Hattuša is presented in the same paragraph that describes the invasion of Armatana. However, the identity of the enemy who attacked this city is not mentioned (Goetze 1940, 25f.). This enemy could be identified with Armatana or another enemy who appears on the list (e.g. the Kaška). Another possibility is that Hattuša's destruction was an outcome of Hatti's weakening following all the aforementioned attacks and not an act of a sole enemy. Either way, for some reason, the author omitted this detail.

In my opinion, Mittanni's absence from the list of enemies is quite surprising. This kingdom was considered an arch-enemy of Hatti during the Early Empire period, and played this role until it was conquered by Šuppiluliuma. Therefore, it is unlikely that Mittanni was not involved in the attacks¹⁵⁹.

Examination of the text reveals that on the one hand, the author demonstrates extensive knowledge and understanding of the extent of the invasions, location of battlefronts and the identity of the enemies. Yet on the other, its treatment of one key point, i.e. the date of these invasions, is somehow inadequate, since the date of the beginning of the invasions is not clarified. The author only mentioned that they

¹⁵⁹ Lack of knowledge by the late author regarding Mittanni's importance during this period would be quite strange. The author must have been aware of the large number of texts from the Early Empire period, in which Mittanni is mentioned as a dangerous enemy (v.s. Chapter III.A.2.2.) for the time of Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I, and *CTH* 51 (and perhaps also *CTH* 376.C) for the time of Tudhaliya II). A possible motive for Mittanni's absence is that it did not fit the elaborate literary structure that the author wanted to provide these paragraphs. He wanted to emphasize the surrounding of Hatti on all sides by its enemies. Using Mittanni as the only representation for the eastern frontier possibly seemed to him as too cursory and unsophisticated. An inclusion of Mittanni among the listed states of the text's second part would have been also inaccurate, since Mittanni was clearly superior to them.

happened in the past (*kāru*, 'formerly'). They could have started at the beginning of Tudhaliya II's reign, during his reign, or even prior to it. The text only gives us a *terminus post quem*; Hatti's situation had improved not before Šuppiluliuma *šarā išparzašta* ('emerged') and ascended to the throne¹⁶⁰.

It seems that this problem stems from the nature of these paragraphs. They were composed using the topos of 'the one against the many' (Liverani 1990a, 115f.), in order to create a picture in the readers' mind of simultaneous or sequential waves of attacks. This topos was used in order to create a contradiction between the harsh events of the past and Hatti's miraculous salvation by Šuppiluliuma, and to lead the readers to this peak. This focal point of the text is also the sole moment for which the author supplied some kind of chronological anchor. The reason for writing these paragraphs is probably the great admiration of Hattušili III for Šuppiluliuma, which is manifested also in other texts composed during his reign¹⁶¹.

In summary, the date of the enemies' attacks, the so-called 'concentric attack', was deliberately blurred by the author. It was performed in two ways: (1) the beginning of the attacks was not fixed in time ("in earlier days"); and (2) their end was specified using two (inconsistent¹⁶²? complementary?) chronological terms, both connected with Šuppiluliuma (after Šuppiluliuma '*šarā išparzašta*' and 'ascended to the throne'). The section does include one chronological anchor, i.e. Šuppiluliuma's accession. This point in time was specifically chosen in order to set the line between the catastrophic past and Šuppiluliuma's reign, while other chronological data was neglected. The reason for these peculiarities is that the author showed interest in Šuppiluliuma's deeds only. For these reasons, the question concerning the date of the 'concentric attack' cannot be answered using data supplied by *CTH* 88.

¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶ [m]a-ah-ḫa-an-ma-kán A-BU A-BI-IA ^mŠu[-up-pí-lu-li-u-ma LUGAL.G]AL UR.SAG *ša-ra-a iš-pár-za-aš-ta* ¹⁷ [nu-]za-kán A-NA ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A LUGAL-UT-TI e-ša-[at... nu ^{LÚ}KÚR^{MES?}...] IŠ-TU KUR.KUR ^{URU}Ḫa-at-ti ar-ḫa ¹⁸ [u-i-i]a-at. "[w]hen my grandfather Šu[ppiluliuma], [gr]eat [king], hero, *ša-ra-a iš-pár-za-aš-ta*, he ascen[ded] upon the throne of the kingship, [and he dro]ve out [the enemies¹⁷] from the lands of Hatti". The meaning of the verb *išpart-/išparz-* is to "escape, get away, slip away" (*HED* I–II, 447). There are two ways to interpret *šarā išparzašta* in this context: (1) when Šuppiluliuma 'became of age', or (2) when he became king. For a discussion concerning these lines, see Goetze 1940, 23f.; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 41 n. 28, 43f.; *HED* I–II, 447; v.i. also Chapter III.D.1.6., which examine this text within the framework of the Hittite counter-attack.

¹⁶¹ In addition to our text, we should mention *CTH* 83 and 84 also written at that time. For Hattušili's affection for Šuppiluliuma, see also Kempinski 1993, 87.

¹⁶² E.g. Goetze 1940, 23f.

C.2.6. Indictment of Mita of Pahhuwa (CTH 146):

This text was examined in Chapter III.A.1.7. At the end of the discussion, we mentioned Torri's (2005, 397–399) proposal regarding the date of this text. Usually, *CTH* 146 is dated to Arnuwanda I's reign, but Torri suggested dating it to the end of Tudhaliya II's reign, when Šuppiluliuma was already active as a high commander. She based her proposal on a comparison to several texts (e.g. *Šat. I*), which detail Tudhaliya II's wars in the region of Išuwa and Pahhuwa.

It appears from this text that before the Hittite army was sent to suppress the rebellion, Pahhuwa and at least parts of Išuwa and Hayaša were considered enemies of the Hittites (*HDT*, 161f. §§5–7; Kosyan 2009, 81). When we accept Torri's proposal, this description of enmity might be a part of the events compiling the 'concentric attack'. As I mentioned in the former discussion, it seems to me that (in addition to the traditional reasons with which the text was dated (v.s. p. 63)) the situation prior to Tudhaliya II's counter-attack was much more acute than evident in *CTH* 146; therefore, the earlier dating, to Arnuwanda I's reign, should be preferred¹⁶³.

C.2.7. Prayer to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna concerning plague and enemies (CTH 376.C)¹⁶⁴:

CTH 376.C (= *KUB* 24.4+*KUB* 30.12) is an ancient prayer incorporated by Muršili II into his prayer to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna following an update of its content (Singer 2002a, 50; Yakubovich 2008, 134f.). The author of this early version is unknown. The surviving copy (i.e. Copy C) is definitely late; however, the tablets introduce characteristics, such as orthography, which are typical to MH¹⁶⁵. Another indication for the antiquity of this copy is the references to Kizzuwatna and the land of the Hurrian as separate political units (Singer 2002a, 44f.).

Following are several lines from this prayer which mention enemy attacks¹⁶⁶:

14'–17': O gods, [again] have pity on the Land of Hatti. On the one hand it is oppressed with the plague, [and on the other] it is

¹⁶³ Another possibility is to date *CTH* 146 to Tudhaliya II's reign, but not to the time of the 'concentric attack', but following the beginning of Tudhaliya II's counter-attack. It is quite possible, and even likely, that rebellions broke out at this stage, but the situation in Hatti remained stable (i.e. a big part of east Anatolia remained under Hittite sovereignty).

¹⁶⁴ Known also as *CTH* 376.I.A. (*Portal Mainz*). Edition (of the relevant paragraphs): Lebrun 1980, 159–164. Translation (for the relevant paragraphs): Singer 2002a, 44–46, 52f.

¹⁶⁵ Güterbock 1980, 42; Carruba 1983, 5; Klinger and Neu 1990, 149f.; Singer 2002a, 44f.

¹⁶⁶ *KUB* 24.4 + *KUB* 30.12 obv. 16'–17', 21'–22' and 25' (obv.)–2 (rev.). Translation according to Singer 2002a, 52f.; Yakubovich 2008, 134.

oppressed by hostility. The *kuirwana*- lands that (lie) around (us), Land of the Hurrians, Kizzuwatna and Arzawa, each has become disrespectful.

...

21'–22': Turn death, war, (and) hunger against Mittanni, Kizzuwatna, and Arzawa!

...

Obv. l. 25'–rev. l. 2: Moreover, those lands which belong to Hatti, the Kaška Land—they were swineherds and weavers—Arawanna, Kalašpa, Lukka and Petašša, have declared themselves free from the Sun-Goddess of Arinna. They discontinue (the payment of) their tributes and began to attack Hatti. ...

Some scholars tried to date Copy C using the names of the rebellious western Anatolian toponyms listed in this prayer (l. 25'–2). Carruba (1983, 6–8) stated that the rebellion in these areas began with the end of Tudhaliya I's reign, and that we should date the prayer to the reign of Arnuwanda I's reign¹⁶⁷. De Martino (1996, 61) compared these rebellions to Madduwatta's period of activity (since he was the one who incited Petašša to rebel; v.s. Chapter III.A.1.8.), and reached the same conclusion. Most of these places, however, were mentioned in texts that dealt with Tudhaliya II's reign. Thus, Arawanna and Kalašpa (probably identical with Kalašma) were mentioned in *CTH* 51 (v.s. Chapter III.C.2.3.). For this reason, these toponyms cannot be used as certain anchors for dating *CTH* 376.C.

In my opinion, the reference to Kizzuwatna might supply the missing anchor for dating this text. This kingdom is mentioned beside the Land of the Hurrians, that is Mittanni, and Arzawa, and the three of them are designated as *kuriwana*- (written also *kurewana*- or *kuirwana*-). Scholars suggested several interpretations of this term¹⁶⁸: (1) the *kuriwana*- kingdoms had the status of 'protectorate'; (2) they were 'independent' kingdoms; (3) there was no significant difference between the *kuriwana*- kingdoms and 'regular' vassals. The result of my discussion of *CTH* 147

¹⁶⁷ Actually Carruba (1983, 8) suggested that the text was edited by Arnuwanda I, and was first written during the reign of Telipinu.

¹⁶⁸ For a detailed discussion in this term, v.s. p. 70.

('indictment of Madduwatta') was that it is possible that the term *kuriwana-* covered a wide range of political statuses, and therefore, each case should be examined independently. Thus, since one of the holders of this status in *CTH* 147 is Attariššiya 'Man of Ahhiya' I suggested that in the case of *CTH* 147 the second interpretation (i.e. independent kingdoms) should be preferred. The question remains, however, as to the better interpretation of this term in the context of *CTH* 376.C. Three *kuriwana-*kingdoms are mentioned here: Mittanni, Kizzuwatna and Arzawa. Concerning Mittanni and Arzawa; since there is no indication that they became Hittite vassals during the Early Empire period (especially regarding Mittanni), the second possibility (i.e. independent kingdoms) should be preferred here as well. In this case, the inclusion of Kizzuwatna between the *kuriwana-* kingdoms is somewhat odd, since as we have already seen, it underwent a process of annexation to Hatti during Tudhaliya I's reign (v.s. p. 85). This process reached its culmination when Kantuzzili (II) was appointed as the Hittite governor of Kizzuwatna, probably during the reign of Arnuwanda I, his father (v.s. p. 87 n. 187). The letter *HBM* 74 from Mašat-Höyük implies that Kizzuwatna had the same status when this letter was written. Since the meaning of the term *kuriwana-* is not clear, it is hard to determine whether Kizzuwatna became independent (equal to Arzawa and Mittanni), or it became a vassal of another force (e.g. Yakubovich 2008, 134f.). The exact date of *HBM* 74 is, unfortunately, unclear (v.s. p. 72f.).

Based on this data, there are three alternatives for dating *CTH* 376.C:

1. Prior to the commencement of Kizzuwatna's annexation process, that is, before the first (unequal) treaty between Tudhaliya I and Sunaššura was concluded, and possibly prior to Tudhaliya I's reign.
2. Between the conclusion of the two treaties with Sunaššura. As mentioned before (v.s. p. 84f.), it is possible that during the reign of Tudhaliya I(?) Mittanni recovered from the Egyptian pressure, and reinstated its control over Kizzuwatna and the Hittite territories in Syria.
3. During the harsh times of Tudhaliya II's reign (or the end of Arnuwanda I's rule), when the annexation process was reversed and Kizzuwatna was separated from Hatti (e.g. *CTH* 88¹⁶⁹).

¹⁶⁹ When we accept Houwink ten Cate's (1998) opinion regarding the date of the Sunaššura treaty (Tudhaliya II and Tudhaliya I), we can learn from the preamble of this text that the author had to regain Hatti's control over Kizzuwatna. Much clearer evidence appears in the *DŠ*; from Fr. 15 we

When we combine the data regarding the two battlefronts, i.e. the information about Kizzuwatna's status and the references to the rebellions in west Anatolia (especially that of Petašša), it seems that the third option should be preferred¹⁷⁰. In this case, the date of *CTH 376.C* ranges between the reigns of Arnuwanda I and Tudhaliya II.

C.2.8. Muršili's 'First' Plague Prayer (CTH 378.1):

Several lines in this prayer (col. i 23–27¹⁷¹) deal with the rescuing of Hatti by Šuppiluliuma following his accession to the throne¹⁷². This paragraph is not detailed—neither dates nor geographical names are mentioned—but it appears that Šuppiluliuma conquered borderlands previously taken by the enemies¹⁷³.

C.2.9. Muršili's 'Fourth' Plague Prayer (CTH 378.4):

In paragraph §3 of *CTH 378.4*, Muršili mentioned that during the reign of his grandfather, Hatti was oppressed by enemies (col. i 26–29¹⁷⁴). In the next paragraph (col. i 36–38¹⁷⁵) he added that when his father became king, he "resettled the [depopulated] lands" (probably the ones that were reconquered from the enemies).

C.2.10. The archive of Mašat-Höyük (Tapikka):

Following is a summary of the discussion conducted in Chapter III.A.1.10. A regional administrative center was discovered at Mašat-Höyük, ancient Tapikka. This site also served as a military post on the Hatti-Kaška border. The Kaška's threats were lengthily discussed in the archive discovered in stratum III of this site.

Based on prosopography, Marizza (2007a, 6f.) suggested dating the archive to a period lasting from the later phases of Arnuwanda I's reign to the beginning of that of Tudhaliya II. Primarily based on the short-term nature of the letters and the book-keeping records, van den Hout (2007, 396–398) concluded that the archive covered a period of two years at the most, and more likely just one. According to him as well

learn that the Hittites lost control over the Lower Land or at least part of it (Tuwanuwa). Ruling Kizzuwatna while the Lower Land was held by the enemies would be quite impossible. An Arzawean control over Kizzuwatna might be deduced also from the *EA 31* (v.i. p. 139).

¹⁷⁰ Because of Madduwatta's activity in Petašša, I prefer (following de Martino 1996, 61; see par. §§21–23 of *CTH 147*) to eliminate the possibility that *CTH 376.C* was written during the reign of Tudhaliya I.

¹⁷¹ Edition: Goetze 1930, 166–169; Lebrun 1980, 194, 199. Translation: Singer 2002a, 62.

¹⁷² Since the former paragraph deals with the removal of Tudhaliya 'the Younger'.

¹⁷³ Some scholars suggested restoring l. 24 as it deals with the burning of Hattuša by the enemies (Goetze 1930, 166f.; Klinger 2002, 450 n. 49).

¹⁷⁴ Edition: Goetze 1930, 244f.; Lebrun 1980, 221, 225. Translation: Singer 2002a, 65.

¹⁷⁵ Loc. cit.

(loc. cit.), we can date the destruction of the site to the time of Tudhaliya II. The major difference between the two views is that according to the latter, the entire archive was written close to the destruction of the site, and reflects Tapikka's final moments.

In my opinion (v.i also the summary in Chapter III.C.3.2., concerning the extent of the attack), the situation reflected in the letters from the Maşat-Höyük's archive is different from the one reflected in the text of the 'concentric attack' (*CTH* 88). It is clear from the letters that the king/s of Hatti ruled Işuwa and had the ability to launch military campaigns, or at least raids, toward Arzawa. In the northern border Ziggašta was/became a border post, yet it was still possible for Hittite administrators to retrieve run-away slaves from across the border. The only clue for deterioration is a reference in *HBM* 74 that Kizzuwatna became a border post. If indeed this is a newsworthy item, it is possible that that this letter testifies to the loss of control over Hittite regions beyond Kizzuwatna.

I believe that the textual findings (the letters and the sealings) from stratum III are earlier than Tapikka's destruction and cannot be used to date this event (v.s. Chapter III.A.1.10.4.). Thus, the stamp seals of king Tudhaliya II and his queen Šata(n)duhepa found in level III indicate an early date in Tudhaliya II's reign, while some texts which probably mention Hatti's collapse refer to a late period in his reign (e.g. *EA* 31–32; v.i. discussion in Chapter III.C.3.3. as to the date of the attack).

C.2.11. A letter from Ortaköy/Šapinuwa (StBoT 45: 671f.)¹⁷⁶:

An excerpt of this MH letter, which was discovered in Ortaköy/Šapinuwa¹⁷⁷, was first published by Süel (2001). The letter was written by Uhhamuwa¹⁷⁸ and the addressee was the king of Hatti. The author reminds the king that he has previously addressed him regarding the formation of a hostile coalition in Happuriya¹⁷⁹, headed by

¹⁷⁶ Transliteration and translation were made Hoffner 2009, 255–257; for translation, see also Forlanini 2007a, 285. The letter was published by Süel without identifying field or museum number; the number mentioned here (*StBoT* 45: 671–672) was the one given by Hoffner 2009, 255.

¹⁷⁷ For the identification of Šapinuwa and its importance during Tudhaliya II's reign, see Süel 2009; id. 2009.

¹⁷⁸ Since the refugee wanted to find refuge with the 'priest', it is possible that Uhhamuwa was stationed in Kizzuwatna, or at least wrote the letter from that place (de Martino 2005b, 309).

¹⁷⁹ For the location of Happuriya (a western Anatolian city), see Forlanini 2007a, 285, 292; Hoffner 2009, 256.

Kupanta-Kuruntiya and Tarhun(d)aradu. Now, a refugee (originally from Maraša¹⁸⁰) has arrived from Happuriya, and brought Uhamuwa further information: the aforementioned coalition has grown to include three sons of Kupanta-Kuruntiya, i.e. Mašturi, Piyamaradu and Kupanta-Zalma, and several other men, i.e. Uhhawaranu, Hūliya-zalmanu and x-lišani 'man of Pittaša'.

The exact date of the letter cannot be determined. Several of the above-mentioned names (all of them from Happuriya) are identical to the names of well-known members of the Arzawean royal family and leaders of western Anatolian kingdoms: Kupanta-Kuruntiya¹⁸¹, Tarhun(d)aradu¹⁸², Piyamaradu¹⁸³ and Mašturi¹⁸⁴. The persons known to us by those names were not active during the same period (thus, the activity of Piyamaradu should be dated to the 13th century), and it seems that their identification with all of the people mentioned in the letter is not possible¹⁸⁵.

If we take the proposed date for the archive of Ortaköy and the letter's MH characteristics into consideration¹⁸⁶, it is possible to suggest that the rebellion mentioned in the letter is connected with the rebellions in west Anatolia during the reign of Tudhaliya II (or Arnuwanda I?¹⁸⁷), but until the exact context of this letter will become clearer its date and contents are questionable.

C.2.12. Letters from the archive of el-Amarna; EA 31 and 32:

Probably, none of the Hittite letters in the Amarna archive can be attributed to Tudhaliya II's reign. It is possible, however, that several letters of other dossiers—

¹⁸⁰ Maraša is mentioned in the Madduwatta text (*HDT*, 159 par. §25). It is possible that we should locate it proximity to Petašša (for the latter, v.s. p. 65 n. 73).

¹⁸¹ A man with this name was the king of Arzawa during Tudhaliya I's reign (v.s. discussion in *CTH* 43 in Chapter III.A.1.6.). Another bearer of this name was the king of Mira during Muršili II's rule (*CTH* 68).

¹⁸² A Tarhunduradu king of Arzawa was the recipient of *EA* 31 (see below, the next chapter concerning the Arzawa dossier). A king named Tarhunaradu (identical with the spelling of this name here in l. 9) ruled the Šeha River-Land in the time of Tudhaliya IV's (*KUB* 23.13; Bryce 2005, 304f.).

¹⁸³ The infamous Piyamaradu was a western Anatolian leader, and perhaps a member of the Arzawean royal family (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 225; Hawkins 1998a, 17). His misdeeds are mentioned in several texts (e.g. *CTH* 181, *KUB* 23.100, *KBo* 16.35, etc.). He was active around the reign of Hattušili III (Bryce 2005, 292f.).

¹⁸⁴ A man named Mašturi was a king of the Šeha River-Land from Muwattalli II's reign to that of Tudhaliya IV (appearing in *CTH* 105, *KUB* 23.10 and the bronze treaty). For his reign see Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 240; Hawkins 1998a, 16–20; Bryce 2005, 227, 252, 254, 284 and 301f.

¹⁸⁵ See also de Martino 2005, 309; Yakubovich 2008, 107–109; cf. Hoffner 2009, 256.

¹⁸⁶ See Süel 2002, 164f.; Süel and Soysal 2007, 1–3; Taracha 2007a, 755; Hoffner 2009, 252.

¹⁸⁷ If the 'priest' mentioned in the letter was Kantuzzili (II, 'priest' of Kizzuwatna), and if he was stationed in Kizzuwatna, the aforementioned rebellion in west Anatolia broke out when Kizzuwatna was still/once again under Hittite sovereignty.

which belong to an early stage of the archive—provide some information about his reign. *EA* 31–32 is examined in this chapter, and *EA* 17 and *EA* 45, two letters that possibly deal with the beginning of the Hittite recovery, are analyzed in the next chapter (III.D.1.12.).

It appears from *EA* 31¹⁸⁸ that the Arzawean correspondence was conducted between Amenhotep III (Nimuea<r>eya) and Tarhundaradu king of Arzawa. The latter's name is known from this source only¹⁸⁹. It is possible that he was Huhazalma's successor¹⁹⁰. The greetings formula at the beginning of the letter (l. 1–10) resembles the formula usually appearing in the correspondence of the Great Kings¹⁹¹. Therefore, despite the difference in the kings' titles (while Amenhotep III bears the title 'Great King', Tarhundaradu is 'only' a 'king'¹⁹²) and the opposite-than-usual order of greetings (the author mentioned himself before the addressee¹⁹³), this letter shows that Amenhotep III probably acknowledged the importance, if not the equality, of the Arzawean king¹⁹⁴ (e.g. Hoffner 2009, 270f., 273f.). The subject of the correspondence, the planned wedding of the pharaoh and the daughter of Tarhundaradu, also indicates the growing importance of Arzawa and its becoming a major force in Anatolia¹⁹⁵. The fact that the letters were written in Hittite and not in Akkadian indicates Arzawa's inexperience in the field of international relations¹⁹⁶.

¹⁸⁸ Edition: Rost 1956, 334–336; Hoffner 2009, 273–277. Translation: Haas in Moran 1992, 101–103; Liverani 1998–1999, 406–409; Klinger 2006b, 194f. The order of the two letters is controversial. Many scholars do not accept the order suggested by Knudtzon (for a partial list, see Hoffner 2009, 270). Hoffner (id.) mentioned in this context the following claim: why should the scribe of *EA* 31 ask that letters be written to him only in Hittite, if he had already received the Hittite-written *EA* 32. See also Hawkins (2009, 78) concerning this matter.

¹⁸⁹ Except for a man with an identical name from the city of Happuriya, who appears in a letter from Ortaköy/Şapinuwa (see above the former chapter). In my opinion the latter's identity cannot be confirmed since he appears without a title or any attribution to Arzawa.

¹⁹⁰ De Martino 1996, 94f.; Beckman 1998, 592; see also Haas (in Moran 1992, n. 1 p. 101f.) on the paleographic dating of the letter.

¹⁹¹ *EA* 32 lacks the usual preamble probably because it is the second tablet of its letter (Rost 1956, 330; Hawkins 2009, 76).

¹⁹² A similar case appears in *EA* 1, in which Amenhotep III attached the title 'Great King' only to his name and not to the name of the addressee, Kadašman-Enlil I.

¹⁹³ Another example for this kind of rude phrasing is mentioned in *EA* 42, in which Šuppiluliuma(?) complained that the Egyptian king wrote his name above his own.

¹⁹⁴ Actually, the pharaoh had an advantage over all the members of the 'Great Powers Club', first because of the high status and prestige of Egypt, and second, because he held the gold that all of them wanted (Westbrook 2000, 377). For maneuvers the Babylonian kings implemented in order to neutralize their disadvantage, see Westbrook 2000.

¹⁹⁵ See for example Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 50f.; Klengel 1999, 131f.; Bryce 2005, 147f.

¹⁹⁶ Haas in Moran 1992, 102 n. 2. For Egyptian references of Arzawa in earlier periods, see Klinger 2006b, 193f.

Following are the transliteration and translation of several paragraphs of *EA 31*, in which Hatti and the Kaška are mentioned¹⁹⁷:

- 22 *nu-ut-ta ú-wa-an-zi ú-da-an-zi ku-ša-ta DUMU.MUNUS-TI*
 23 ^{LÚ}*ḥa-lu-ga-tal-<la->aš-mi-iš* ^{LÚ}*ḥa-lu-ga-tal-la-<aš->ša*
 24 *ku-iš tu-el ú-it na-aš ag-ga-aš*
 25 *nu-mu an-tu-uḥ-šu-uš* ^{<URU>}*Ga-aš-ga-aš KUR-ia-aš up-pí iš-ta-ma-aš-
 šu-un*
 26 *zi-in-nu-uk ḥu-u-ma-an-da*

-
- 27 *nu* ^{<URU>}*Ha-ad-du-ša-aš-ša KUR-e i-ga-it*
 28 *nu-ut-ta ka-a-aš-ma pí-ip-pé-eš-šar up-pa-ḥu-un aš-šu-l[i]*
 29 *ki-iš-ša-ri-iš-ši* ^m*Ir-ša-ap-pa* ^{LÚ}*ḥa-lu-g[a-tal-li-mi]*...

22–26: Then they—my messenger and the messenger from you who came and ...-ed¹⁹⁸—will proceed to bring to you the brideprice for (your) daughter. And send me people of the Kaška land. I have heard that everything is *finished*,

27–29: and that the land of Hattuša is *paralyzed*. I have herewith sent you a gift as a token of good will, in the charge of my messenger Iršappa: ...

Remarkable is Amenhotep III's request to send him people of the Kaška (l. 25)¹⁹⁹. This short sentence hints at an irregular geopolitical situation, since Hatti usually stood in between Arzawa and the Kaška and separated the two. The passage indicates that Hatti had lost its western and (at least some of its) central Anatolian territories, enabling the establishment of some sort of cooperation or contact between the Kaška

¹⁹⁷ The translation and transliteration of these lines were taken from Hoffner 2009, 276. Former edition was made by Rost 1956, 334–336. Translations can be found in: Haas in Moran 1992, 101; Klinger 2006b; Hawkins 2009 (including pictures of the tablets).

¹⁹⁸ The verb *ag-ga-aš* can be translated as 'died' (from *ak-*, 'to die'), but this is not the regular conjugation of the verb (*akkiš*). See also Haas in Moran 1992, 102 n. 7; *HED* I–II, 18; Liverani 1998–1999, 408 n. 7.

¹⁹⁹ Perhaps the Egyptians somehow remembered the Kaška people they received after the conclusion of the Kuruštama treaty (Singer 2004, 604).

tribes and Arzawa²⁰⁰. For this reason, the relative date of *EA* 31–32 (ca. regnal year 30 of Amenhotep III) can be used as a chronological anchor for a low point in the history of Hatti, and possibly for the 'concentric attack' (v.i. also Chapter III.C.3.3.).

Unfortunately, the date of the letters is not clear. Kühne (1973, 98f., 126) suggested dating their writing to (ca.) Amenhotep III's 20th year of reign. Moran (1992, xxxivf.) claimed that the earliest letters of the archive were written around year 30 of Amenhotep III, and this suggestion is preferred here²⁰¹. Moran (id., xxxivf.) noted that although *EA* 31 does not exceed the limit of Amenhotep III's year 30, it is possible that the events it describes occurred earlier. It seems, however, these letters deal with a current situation, as it presents the wedding negotiations, and seeks how to achieve this objective to the satisfaction of both parties (each side trying to maximize its profits). All the details in the letters, including the sending of the Kaška people (a desired present) and the situation in Hatti (safety of the envoys on the route connecting Egypt to Arzawa) should be seen in this light; therefore, I see no reason for the correspondents to mention events in the distant past (at least without explaining how these references contribute to the advancement of the negotiations).

The second interesting detail in the letter, the reference to Hatti, appears in l. 25–27:

25 *nu-mu an-tu-uḫ-šu-uš* ^{<URU>}*Ga-aš-ga-aš* KUR-ia-aš *up-pí iš-ta-ma-aš-*
šu-un
 26 *zi-in-nu-uk ḫu-u-ma-an-da*

27 *nu* ^{<URU>}*Ḫa-ad-du-ša-aš-ša* KUR-e *i-ga-it*

There are two problematic phrases in this passage. The first is the term *zinnuk*. Some scholars suggested that it derives from *zinna-* (to end, finish, put an end to), and that

²⁰⁰ E.g. Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 53; Hagenbuchner 1989, 362f.; Beckman 1998, 592. We may suggest that this request stemmed from the fact that the Egyptians were not familiar with the geography of Anatolia. In later period, however, it is quite clear that this was not the case. Thus, we can see the Egyptian acquaintance with this remote region as it is reflected in the list of Hittite allies who fought in the battle of Qadeš (e.g. Bryce 2005, 234f.). Proximity (and cooperation?) between the Kaška and Arzawa might be concluded from several fragments of the *DŠ* as well (v.s. the discussion with Fr. 11 in p. 105).

²⁰¹ As mentioned before (v.s. p. 28 n. 34), the criteria according to which tablets were brought and left in Amarna are not clear to me. However, in my opinion, a date of *EA* 31–32 closer to the date of the other letters of the archive and to the transfer of the capital city to Akhetaten should be preferred.

we should translate it as 'finished'²⁰². Based on the unexplained formation of this word, the syntactic problems in the sentence and the unclear context in which this word appears here²⁰³, Starke (1981, 227–231) suggested that we should interpret it as a phonetic transcription of an Egyptian phrase, and that it is the equivalent of Akkadian *ŠA (ATTĀ) TAŠPURA*, (I have heard) 'what you have written'²⁰⁴.

The second problem is the meaning of the verb *i-ga-it* in l. 27. At present, it is clear that the verb *ega-* should be translated as 'to freeze', 'cool down' or 'become paralyzed'²⁰⁵; as a result, the former translation of l. 27, "the country of Hattuša is shattered"²⁰⁶, should be abandoned. Liverani (1998–1999, 408f.) maintained that this phrase was meant to explain the difficulties on the way to Egypt. He claimed that we can understand this sentence in one of two ways: either that the road was blocked/difficult to cross because of the harsh weather²⁰⁷, or that it is a metaphorical idiom, which means that the land of Hatti was hostile. Puhvel and Starke gave this sentence a different political interpretation. According to the first (*HED* I–II, 257), this phrase meant that Hatti was paralyzed²⁰⁸. The latter asserted that this sentence is a translation of an Egyptian idiom²⁰⁹, which should be understood as "the Land of Hattuša is quiet/calm"²¹⁰ (Starke 1981, 225). Starke also believed that this passage deals with the difficulties of the way from Egypt to Arzawa, but as opposed to Liverani, he argued that Tarhundaradu had good news for the pharaoh. He informed

²⁰² "I've heard that everything *is finished*"; *HW*, 261f.; Haas in Moran 1992, 101; Klinger 2006b, 195; Hoffner 2009, 274, 276. In my opinion the additive and concessive senses of the conjunctive/additive *a/ya* (*Ḫa-ad-du-ša-aš-ša*) may support this translation: "I have heard that everything is *finished*", and that the land of Hattuša is *paralyzed too*/and that *even* the land of Hattuša is *paralyzed*".

²⁰³ Thus, Starke directed our attention to the sharp (and unexplained) transition between the request for the Kaška people and the strange diagnosis concerning Hatti's condition. If we accept the more accepted translation, this phrase is out of context in regard to the former sentences and the remainder of the text (dealing with the wedding's presents).

²⁰⁴ When we accept Starke's suggestion (as did Liverani (1998–1999, 408) and Hawkins (2009, 78)), the connection between l. 26 and the former lines, as well as the existence of the dividing-line after this line, became much clearer. Cf. Hoffner (2009, 274).

²⁰⁵ Belongs to same root as *eka-*, 'cold', 'frost' or 'ice' (*HED* I–II, 257). For the new interpretation see Hoffner 1971–1972; *HEG* I, 103; *HED* I–II, 257.

²⁰⁶ Based on the former interpretation of this verb, 'burst' or 'break up'. For this translation, see Haas in Moran 1992, 101. For discussion, see for example Starke 1981, 222; Klinger 2006b, 195 n. 78; Hawkins 2009, 78 n. to l. 27.

²⁰⁷ "The Land of Hattuša has been frozen". See also de Martino 1996, 83; Klinger 2006b, 194f.

²⁰⁸ "The Land of H. is paralyzed" (see also Hawkins 2009, 78; Hoffner 2009, 276). We should notice the contradiction in *HED*. Puhvel translated the verb in the present tense ("is paralyzed"), but according to his analysis this verb is in the past tense (*igait* is 3 sg. pret. act.).

²⁰⁹ Cf. Hagenbuchner 1989, 362f.

²¹⁰ We should notice that according to Starke (1981, 222) the verb should be analyzed as *igait<ta>*, i.e. 3 sing. pres. m.p., 'is cold, frozen' ('erkalten, gefrieren'). The omission of the last sign can be explained by the foreign (non-Hittite) origin of the scribe.

the pharaoh that the route to Arzawa, which crossed the Land of Hatti on its way to Egypt, was safe for the passage of the emissaries, since Hatti was at peace (*id.*, 225, 231).

In my opinion, Starke's historical and political denotations (i.e. that Hatti is at peace) should be rejected, since they contradict the geopolitical context arising from the writing of this letter in general, and the conclusions from l. 25 in particular²¹¹ (i.e. the loss of Hittite territories in west and central Anatolia). Nevertheless, Starke's overall interpretation is better, both contextually and grammatically, than former suggestions. We need to put his translation aside and reevaluate the historical and political connotations of this idiom. In order to do that, we should clarify the message that Tarhundaradu wanted to convey in these lines. I believe that when Tarhundaradu stated that the area across which the route to Egypt passed was quiet (as suggested by Starke), he actually meant that the battles in this region had ended and the area was safe under his authority. In other words, Tarhundradu's message was that the area he called "the land of Hattuša" was now conquered by Arzawa²¹². This area does not have to include all the Land of Hatti, but at least its southern parts, in which the Egyptian and Arzawean emissaries were supposed to travel (i.e. Cilicia)²¹³.

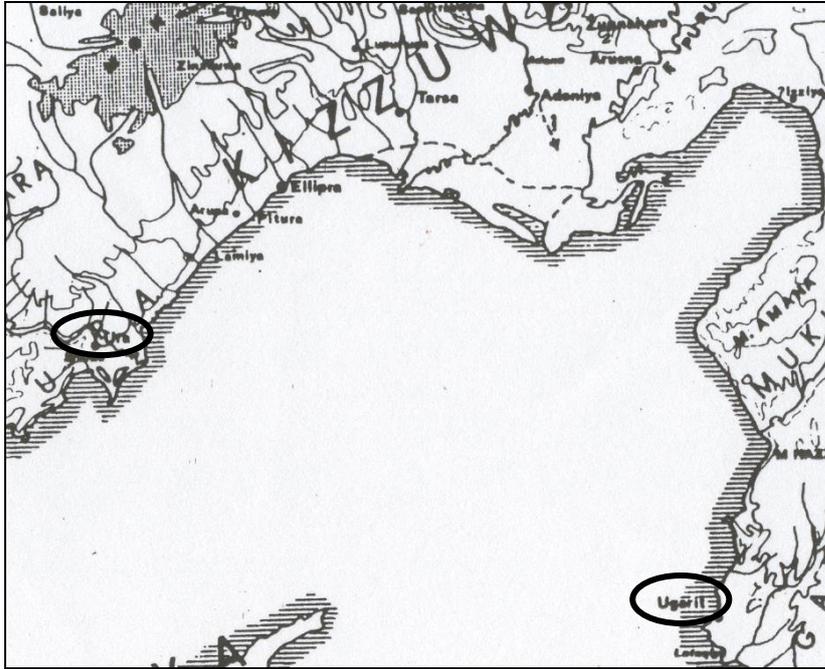
Following this discussion, we may conclude that Tarhundaradu managed to achieve the goal of the former kings of Arzawa, i.e. to conquer (at the least) the Hittite territories in south Anatolia. After the conquest, a new situation was created. The kingdom of Hatti, the last obstacle standing in Arzawa's way, has given way to Arzawa to establish relations with Egypt for the first time. The Arzawean emissaries had two different routes by which to arrive in Egypt. The first was via the roads crossing south Anatolia and north Syria. These roads crossed Mittannian territory, but Mittanni was probably pleased with this new development, which enabled it to

²¹¹ E.g. Haas (in Moran 1992, 102f. n. 8) "This ingenious interpretation is based on an Egyptian parallel(?), but if one takes into consideration the historical implications, it falls short of conviction"; see also Hawkins 1998a, 10 n. 33; *id.* 2009, 77–80.

²¹² Even if we accept Liverani's first interpretation (i.e. "The Land of Hattuša has been frozen"), we still have to remember that the way to Egypt passed through Hittite territory. For that reason, even if this message is not written explicitly in the text (as I maintain), it is almost a necessary conclusion from its reading (cf. Liverani 1998–1999, 407). Puhvel's interpretation mentioned before ("The Land of H. is paralyzed"), also fits this explication.

²¹³ Thus, in *CTH* 88 Armatana attacked "the lands of Hatti" and made Kizzuwatna to its border (v.s. p. 125).

weaken Hatti²¹⁴. The second was to travel by sea²¹⁵. The moment Ura²¹⁶, the important harbor town in Cilicia, was in the hands of Arzawa, the way to the Syrian coast (controlled by Egypt) was opened.



The proximity between Ura and Ugarit, the most northern Egyptian harbor in Syria (Forlanini 1988, Map 1).

C.2.13. Archaeological evidence:

The archaeological evidence for an extensive attack is meager. As far as I know, the only testimony that can be attributed to the 'concentric attack' is the destruction of Maşat-Höyük's stratum III (e.g. Kempinski 1993, 85). The end of the archive discovered in this layer can be dated to an early phase of Tudhaliya II's reign; however, in my opinion, this data cannot be used in order to date the destruction of the site (v.s. Chapter III.A.1.10.4.). Nevertheless, if this estimated date is accepted, it seems to contradict the much later date of the 'concentric attack' which arises from *EA* 31–32 (see below). For the problematic dendrochronological dates from this site v.s. p. 76.

²¹⁴ For the routes from west Anatolia to Syria, see Yasur-Landau 2002, 193–197.

²¹⁵ For the naval (circular) routes from west Anatolia to Egypt, see Lambrou-Phillipson 1991; Yasur-Landau 2002, 189–192.

²¹⁶ For the location of Ura, v.s. p. 53 n. 5.

C.3. Discussion; the 'concentric attack':

C.3.1. The veracity of the event:

We can divide the opinions in research concerning the veracity of the 'concentric attack' into three groups:

1. Some scholars believe that the ancient sources that described the attack exaggerated its intensity²¹⁷.
2. Others believe that the ancient sources were misinterpreted by the modern scholars²¹⁸.
3. A third group believe that that the 'concentric attack' was an acute event, which shook the Land of Hatti²¹⁹.

The most discussed text in this context, *CTH* 88, is indeed problematic; it is very late (Hattušili III) and has clear propagandic features. In this chapter, I examined several other texts dealing with this period. These texts belong to different genres and some of them are dated to earlier periods (the reigns of Tudhaliya II, Šuppiluliuma and Muršili II). Because of the stylistic diversity of the texts involved, and the fact that this episode affected Hittite historiographers for such a long period, I am inclined to accept the third possibility. In the next section I examine the intensity and extent of the attack. In the last part, the date of the event, or events, is reviewed.

C.3.2. The extent of the attack:

Following is a discussion of the different fronts. The texts in each passage will be displayed according to their date of writing, from early (Tudhaliya II's reign) to late (from Šuppiluliuma to Hattušili III).

C.3.2.1. The eastern and south-eastern frontiers:

It is possible that two texts from the time of Tudhaliya II deal with the war against Mittanni and its allies. *CTH* 376.C, which is possibly dated to Tudhaliya II's reign (v.s. Chapter III.C.2.7.), states that Mittanni and Kizzuwatna, two *kuriwana*- states, "have become disrespectful" (i.e. hostile). If we date *CTH* 146 to Tudhaliya II's reign

²¹⁷ Among these scholars we can count Kempinski 1993, 82; de Martino 1996, 83f.; Klinger 2002, 450f.; Marizza 2007a, 4f.

²¹⁸ The most prominent representative of this group is Liverani 1990a, 115–117.

²¹⁹ Among the scholars in this group we can count Goetze 1940, 21–24; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 40–48; Gurney 2003, 122f.

(as suggested by Torri 2005), we can see that before the Hittite army suppressed Mita's rebellion, Pahhuwa and at least parts of Išuwa and Hayaša were considered enemies of the Hittites. As I mentioned before, I prefer the earlier date of this text. If we accept the dating of the Sunaššura treaty to Tudhaliya II, then this text can be treated as further evidence for a rebellion of Išuwa and Kizzuwatna (Chapter III.C.2.2.). From *CTH* 51.I (dated to Šuppiluliuma's reign) we can learn that several northern and eastern kingdoms—the most prominent of which is Išuwa—were influenced by Mittanni and rebelled during the time of Šuppiluliuma's father. Three of these states, Išuwa, Armatana and Tegarama, were mentioned in *CTH* 88 as well. From Muršili II's time we have the *DŠ* (Fragments 10 and 13), which mentions Tudhaliya II's war against Hayaša. *CTH* 88 details three attacks from the east, during which Hittite control over (at least part of) the Upper Land, Tegarama and the 'city of Kizzuwatna' was lost. In summary, we can see that on the eastern frontier Hatti lost its grip over the following kingdoms: Hayaša, Išuwa, Tegarama, and probably all of Kizzuwatna²²⁰.

There are two intriguing problems arising from the comparison between *CTH* 88 and the earlier texts. Mittanni's role behind the scenes is quite clear in older texts, but for some reason its name is absent from *CTH* 88²²¹. I tried to solve this problem by presenting the literary structure of *CTH* 88 (v.s. p. 127). The second problem is the reference in *CTH* 88 to Azzi's conquest of Šamuha, while in the *DŠ* this city serves as residence (and sanctuary) to the Hittite royal court. When we accept the scenario suggested above, according to which the first tablets of the *DŠ* deal with the Hittite counter-attack and not with the 'concentric attack' (v.s. p. 117–121), it is possible to suggest a chronological solution to this problem. During the period of weakness,

²²⁰ It seems to me that the Hittites lost their control over all of Kizzuwatna (and not only part of it) because: (1) Tudhaliya II lost control over large portions of the Land of Hatti (including Hattuša) and over the Lower Land, which divided between the Land of Hatti and Kizzuwatna; therefore, it seems impossible that following these losses he managed to retain his rule over Kizzuwatna. (2) The establishment of relations between Arzawa and Egypt probably leads to the same conclusion (v.s. p. 139f.). When we date the later version of the Sunaššura treaty to Tudhaliya II's reign (as suggested by Houwink ten Cate 1998, 51–53), it appears that before Tudhaliya II signed this treaty, Išuwa and Kizzuwatna were separated from Hatti (v.s. Chapter III.A.1.3. which discusses this treaty).

²²¹ According to *CTH* 88 the 'city of Kizzuwatna' was conquered by Armatana. From a comparison of this situation with previous periods, it seems quite plausible that during the 'concentric attack' as well, Mittanni was involved in one way or another in the operation. Early examples for Mittanni's involvement in this area can be found in the early *AIT* 3 and the more recent *AIT* 14 that were signed under the sovereignty of Mittannian kings. Kizzuwatna's 'defection' to the side of Hurri is mentioned also in the Sunaššura treaty (see also Chapters III.A.2.2. and III.C.2.2.).

Šamuha was conquered by Azzi. At the beginning of the era described in the *DŠ*, Šamuha was again under Hittite control²²² (see also Bryce 2005, 147).

C.3.2.2. The southern and western frontiers:

CTH 376.C, which could be dated to Tudhaliya II's reign (v.s. Chapter III.C.2.7.), suggests early evidence for rebellions on these frontiers. It mentioned Arzawa and Kizzuwatna as hostile *kuirwana-*. *EA 31–32*, probably from the same period, deal with this region too. It appears from this correspondence that Arzawa managed to establish diplomatic relations with both the Kaška and Egypt. A possible conclusion of this dossier is that Arzawa managed to take control over the western periphery of Hatti and (at least parts of) central Anatolia (where contact was made with the Kaška), and that it ruled over some regions of south Anatolia. This situation enabled Tarhundaradu to send his emissaries to Egypt. A similar picture emerges from the *DŠ* (Fr. 15), where we find the Hittites fighting against Arzawa in the Lower Land. Support for the loss of west and south Anatolia can be found in *CTH 88*. Tuwanuwa, which is mentioned in Fragment 15 of the *DŠ* as part of the battle scene, appears in *CTH 88* (together with Uda), where it marks the border of Arzawa in the Lower Land. Other evidence from the *DŠ* concerning these frontiers is examined in Chapter III.C.3.2.4. (see below).

C.3.2.3. The northern frontier:

The evidence of rebellions of the Kaška and other localities in north Anatolia (such as Maša) is abundant. It appears in the early prayer *CTH 376.C*. As for *CTH 146*, see discussion above concerning the eastern frontier. *CTH 51.I* from Šuppiluliuma's reign mentions revolt among northern principalities (e.g. Arawanna and Kalašma). Since several of the rebellious kingdoms appear also in *CTH 88* (Arawanna, Armatana and Tegarama) it is possible that they deal with the same event(s), and this passage (par. §4) of *CTH 51.I* gives us a wider perspective of the events in the northern frontier as well as the eastern one. Hostile activity in the north is detailed in the *DŠ* in Fragments 13 (Kaška, Maša and Kammala) and 17 (the cities Anz[iliya], Pargalla and Hattina). Two references to rebellions of the Kaška during the reign of Tudhaliya II appear in

²²² An opposite chronological order (that the conquest of Šamuha by Azzi in *CTH 88* followed the appearance of this city as a royal residence) is also possible, yet in my opinion less reasonable (since I believe that the events described in the *DŠ* began after the peak of the 'concentric attack'). We may also explain this contradiction by a mistake of the late scribe, who drew the borderline too deep into the Upper Land.

the *AM* (Tarikarimu Mountain-Land and Kalašma (v.s. p. 124); the latter is mentioned in *CTH* 51.I as well). In addition to the invasion of the Kaška (made their border in Nenašša), *CTH* 88 refers to an attack of Arawanna in Kaššiya²²³.

C.3.2.4. Inner Anatolia:

Rebellions against Hatti are not unusual, but the most distinctive feature of *CTH* 88 is the sense of urgency and stress it conveys. The description of events in this text begins with the periphery of the Land of Hatti and ends with the destruction of Hattuša. The question is whether this description is the result of the literary structure of *CTH* 88, or whether there is evidence that the control over inner Anatolia slipped from the grasp of Tudhaliya II.

In the previous sections of this chapter we examined, and in my opinion verified, the evidence of the outbreak of a war between Hatti and its immediate neighbors. Now we should examine whether this war reached deep into the heart of Anatolia, into the Land of Hatti itself, as *CTH* 88 implies. The earliest reference for an attack against Hatti arrives from *CTH* 376.C, which mentions that former vassal lands attacked Hatti. General references for an attack against Hatti can be found also in *CTH* 378.1 and 378.4 ('First' and 'Fourth' plague prayers of Muršili; v.s. p. 132). The latter also mentions the consequences of this attack; ruined and deserted cities that were later resettled by Šuppiluliuma. It is possible that an attack directed against Hattuša appears in the *AM*²²⁴. The most striking evidence for the loss of territories in the Land of Hatti and for a Hittite retreat from central regions of their land appears in the *DŠ*. As mentioned above, the first three tablets of the *DŠ* probably deal with Tudhaliya's counter-attack (i.e. the next chronological phase) and not with the 'concentric attack'; from these campaigns, however, we can learn about the location of the lost territories. From Fragments 10, 11 and 13 it appears that the royal court resided at Šamuha. The reason for that becomes clearer in Fragment 11; the Land of Hatti (perhaps even Hattuša) was burned by an enemy and had to be restored²²⁵ (Fr. 11; see also Fr. 14 l. 13'). Several fragments deal with battlefields located in different parts of the Land of

²²³ According to the *AM* (*KBo* 3.4 iii 4–49, p. 78ff.) Kaššiya was attacked by Arawanna once more, when Šuppiluliuma was busy with his campaign in Mittanni.

²²⁴ It is written that the Tarikarimu Mountain-Land revolted against Hatti and attacked Hattuša (*KBo* 3.4 iii 59: *nu ú-e-er URU.KÛ.BABBAR-ša-an GUL-ḫi-ir*). It is possible, however, that 'Hattuša' stands here as equivalent for the Land of Hatti.

²²⁵ See also Fragment 14 (l. 13'f.): when Šuppiluliuma arrived in the Land of Hatti, he discovered that the enemy "had treated the land very badly".

Hatti, thus Wašhaniya²²⁶ (Fr. 11), Zithara²²⁷ (Fr. 14) and places in the Upper and the Lower Lands²²⁸ (Fragments 12 and 15). In addition to the destruction of Hattuša, *CTH* 88 also mentions another invasion into inner Anatolia, i.e. the conquest of Nenašša²²⁹ by the Kaška. Indirect evidence of the loss of territories and the deteriorating status of Hatti can also be found in *EA* 31–32, which were probably written during Tudhaliya II's reign.

C.3.3. The date of the attack:

In conclusion, there are some clues—earlier than the problematic *CTH* 88—for the difficulties Hatti encountered during Tudhaliya II's reign. The following section will attempt to answer two questions. The first is whether these difficulties were the results of a single event (i.e. the 'concentric attack'), or of a long process. The second question (which depends on the answer of the first) is whether we can offer a date for this/these event/s.

The **first evidence** for Hatti's weakening comes from the end of the reign of Arnuwanda I and the beginning of Tudhaliya II's. At the end of the reign of the former we can identify a major loss of territories on the east. Arnuwanda probably managed to maintain Išuwa under Hittite sovereignty, but Tudhaliya I's achievements in Syria were lost and Kizzuwatna became the south-eastern border of Hatti (v.s. Chapter III.A.2.2.). In addition, Arnuwanda did not manage to stop the Kaška from invading the Land of Hatti and destabilizing the security situation in the heart of the empire (v.s. Chapter III.A.2.1.). Additional early evidence of troubles on this frontline is derived from Mašat-Höyük (v.s. p. 75f., 132f.). In the western front the situation was better. Using (limited) military force and treaties, Arnuwanda succeeded in stabilizing the borders around Madduwatta's realm. The Lower Land and Cilicia were under firm Hittite control. However, it is possible that Arnuwanda I's minimal activity in the west²³⁰ was one of the reasons that led to Arzawa's aggressive expansion in the coming years (v.s. p. 90f.).

²²⁶ This province was probably located west of Kaniš and north of Tuwanuwa (v.s. p. 104).

²²⁷ This city was located not far from Hattuša (*RGTC* 6, 513f.; del Monte 2009, 29 n. 35).

²²⁸ E.g. [Ne]niššankuwa (v.s. p. 105 n. 61; perhaps also Tupazziya, v.s. p. 74) in the Upper Land and Tuwanuwa in the Lower Land.

²²⁹ Possibly located in the Land of Hatti, close to the border of the Lower Land (v.s. p. 125).

²³⁰ For the Hittite policy toward west Anatolia during Tudhaliya I's and Arnuwanda I's reigns, v.s. Chapter III.A.2.3.

The **next set of evidence** comes from the *DŠ* and *EA* 31–32. As mentioned above, I suggest that the *DŠ* deals with the next historical phase (i.e. Tudhaliya II's counter-attack), yet the effects of the somewhat-earlier disastrous invasion were still felt everywhere (e.g. Fragments 11 and 14). Since Šuppiluliuma was already active during the period covered by the first tablets of the *DŠ*, we can date the enemies' invasion to a later part of Tudhaliya II's reign. The same applies for *EA* 31–32. We can date the Arzawean correspondence to ca. year 30 of Amenhotep III. If we treat these letters as evidence of the peak (or at least a major peak) of the 'concentric attack' (v.s. Chapter III.C.2.12.), and if we consider *EA* 75 (written not so long after *EA* 31–32; v.i. Chapter IV.B.1.8.2.) as a reference to the First Syrian War of Šuppiluliuma, we can date the 'concentric attack' to a late part of Tudhaliya II's reign. It is possible that *Šat. I* also belongs to this group of texts, since the rebellion of Išuwa and other localities detailed in this text seems to be a preface to Šuppiluliuma's invasion into this area; consequently, we may date the uprising to the end of Tudhaliya II's reign. The later texts, *CTH* 378.1 and *CTH* 88, might also belong to this group of texts, since they connect between Hatti's salvation and Šuppiluliuma's activity.

Let us return to the questions we posed at the beginning of this chapter:

1. **The duration of the 'concentric attack':** Except for a small number of exceptions²³¹ it is not possible to determine the exact order of events on each and every frontline, since the *DŠ*, the only text that specified the chain of events in detail, is too fragmentary. Thus for example, we can only determine that Armatana and Tegarama (eastern front) rebelled (*CTH* 88); however, the exact timing and duration of each of these rebellions is unknown. For that reason, even if we collect all the relevant quotations, we are inevitably left with only a partial picture. Hence, the current data is not sufficient to determine whether the enemy attacks on Hatti, which began in the end of Arnuwanda I's reign, continued throughout the reign of Tudhaliya II, or whether a new wave of attacks commenced (following a pause) close to the end of his reign²³².

2. **The date of the 'concentric attack':** The biggest problem is that the different stages of the 'concentric attack' and its extent are not defined enough to be dated.

²³¹ E.g. the detailed description of Šuppiluliuma's daily advance in Fragment 15.

²³² The answer to this question would be easier to answer, if we knew how long Tudhaliya II ruled Hatti. Nevertheless, it is possible that the quick recovery, which can be traced in Maşat-Höyük stratum II (Özgüç 1978, 63–65; id. 1982, 80f.), supports the second scenario (i.e. (a) first wave during the last years of Arnuwanda I and the beginning of Tudhaliya II's reign, (b) recovery (building of level II) and (c) another waves of attacks close to the end of Tudhaliya II's reign.

Nevertheless, we can give this question a partial answer, since we can offer a date for the events described in the second group of texts (to which *CTH* 88, upon which the period of the 'concentric attack' was modeled, belongs). This enemy attack or attacks described in this group of texts took place in a late phase of Tudhaliya II's reign. The most accurate date can be found in the Amarna archive in *EA* 31–32²³³. If we accept Moran's (1992, xxxivf.) proposal, these two letters, and more importantly the situation hinted by these letters, can be dated to ca. year 30 of Amenhotep III (ca. 1360²³⁴). In my opinion, this date could be somewhat earlier (around regnal year 28 of Amenhotep III; v.i. Table 1 in p. 162f.). Tudhaliya II's counter-attack and the takeover of Hatti can be dated by using the *DŠ* for the late years of his reign. For a more accurate date we should again turn to the Amarna letters. The next chapter deals with this matter.

²³³ For the First Time-Division to which these letters belong, v.s. Chapter II.C.1.

²³⁴ If Amenhotep III ruled between 1390–1353 (*HdO* I/83, 492; cf. the lower dates in Kitchen 2007, 168: 1371–1333; there is, however, a possibility that the dates should be higher in ten years or more (Bronk Ramsey *et al.* 2010, 1556)).

III.D. Hittite counter-attack and the Early Foray:

The previous chapter (III.C.) dealt with one of the most traumatic events in Hittite history, the 'concentric attack'. From this low point at the end of Tudhaliya II's reign on, the new Hittite empire grew and flourished. The current chapter deals with the recovery of Hatti and the beginning of the 'Empire period'.

This chapter attempts to answer the following questions: When did the Hittite counter-attack begin? What was Tudhaliya II's part in the events? What was the situation in Hatti at the end of Tudhaliya II's reign, a short while prior to the First Syrian Campaign of Šuppiluliuma?

Several texts (e.g. the *DŠ* and *CTH* 88) of importance for our purpose were already discussed in the previous chapter and only the summary and conclusions of the discussion of these texts are presented here.

D.1. Analysis of the sources:

D.1.1. The *DŠ* (CTH 40):

In the previous chapter (v.s. Chapter III.C.2.1.18.) I examined the accepted order of Fragments 1–17 and in light of the problems (v.s. p. 117–121) suggested to relocate Fragments 4 and 8 to the Third Tablet (or somewhere between the Third Tablet and Fragment 18). By doing so, the scenario restored using these tablets changed radically. If in the current situation of the *DŠ* these tablets deal with Hatti's decline, after accepting the new order of fragments, these tablets deal mostly with the Hittite counter-attack. Tudhaliya II's offensive began in Hatti itself, where he had to reconquer the land and restore it. However, he did not stop there, but continued his campaigns to the Lower Land (e.g. Fragment 15), the Upper Land (Fragment 10?), east Anatolia (to the border of Hayaša, Fragment 13) and central-west Anatolia (Šallapa, Fragment 4). The last information we have about Tudhaliya II's campaigns, is that he reached Syria and battled near the northern border of Ugarit (Mt. Nanni, Fragment 8 and perhaps also Fragment 16).

The dates of events in the aforementioned fragments are not specified, but since Šuppiluliuma is mentioned, we can date these events to a late part of Tudhaliya II's

reign. As previously mentioned (v.s. Chapter I.C.5), Šuppiluliuma's accession, unmentioned in the remaining parts of the *DŠ*, should be placed between Fragments 8 (in its new location), 16 or 17 (if they are related to Tudhaliya II's Syrian campaign), and Fragment 18.

D.1.2. The Sunaššura treaty (CTH 41.I and 41.II):

This text was dealt in details in former chapters (v.s. Chapter III.A.1.3.; p. 84–87; Chapter III.C.2.2.). We also mentioned Houwink ten Cate's (1998) opinion that the Sunaššura treaty, or at least the latest version of this treaty, should be dated to Tudhaliya II's reign (instead of Tudhaliya I). When we accept this suggestion, we can learn from the treaty's preamble that Kizzuwatna and Išuwa, two major territories situated between Hatti and Mittanni, became Hittite vassals during Tudhaliya II's reign (par. §§1–3).

D.1.3. The Šattiwaza treaty (CTH 51.I):

In the first chapter (I.A.2.), where we reconsidered the numbering of Šuppiluliuma's campaigns, my conclusions about his so-called Early Foray (*Šat. I* par. §1, l. 1–14) were:

1. It is possible that this section should be seen as a summary of the events which are narrated in detail later in the text; for that reason, they do not detail the Early Foray but actually constitute a prelude and summary of Šuppiluliuma's First Syrian War¹.
2. If these lines do relate to an early Hittite raid, based on the text's objectives and structure as well as a comparison with other texts it seems quite plausible that the extent of this campaign, as detailed in these lines, is greatly exaggerated. The notion that this incursion reached regions on the Hatti-Mittanni border (e.g. Išuwa, Kizzuwatna and/or a limited area in the northern part of Syria) is far more reasonable.
3. Based on the same data, we may conclude that this military campaign was launched prior to the First Syrian Campaign, possibly during Tudhaliya II's reign².

¹ For this interpretation, see Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 84f. It was raised again in G. Wilhelm's lecture in the Qatna conference in Stuttgart (2010).

² It is possible that lines 10–11 in par. §1 hint at the same event: "In the time of the father of the king of Hatti, the Land of Išuwa became hostile, so that the *troops* (ÉRIN^{MEŠ}) of Hatti entered the Land of

D.1.4. Treaty between Muwattalli II of Hatti and Alaksandu of Wiluša (CTH 76):

A military campaign of a Tudhaliya against Arzawa appears in par. §2 of *CTH 76* (*HDT*, 87). The text mentions that Wiluša was at peace with him and therefore he did not invade its territory.

Since Tudhaliya I launched campaigns to west Anatolia, it is quite reasonable to identify him with this king (Altman 2004a, 386; id. 2004b, 58). De Martino (2005c, 553f.), on the other hand, suggested identifying this king with Tudhaliya II. However, since there is no other reference indicating that Tudhaliya II ever reached so deep in north-west Anatolia, the first possibility (Tudhaliya I) should be preferred³.

D.1.5. Hattušili III's report on Šuppiluliuma's campaigns (CTH 83.1.A):

According to this text, Hittite territories that were lost in the past, possibly during the low point of Tudhaliya II's reign, were reconquered by Šuppiluliuma (the protagonist)⁴. Occupation of these territories was slow and difficult; it took Šuppiluliuma 20 years to regain control over this area. The text gives no precise dating for the end of the crisis era. On the one hand, Šuppiluliuma is not designated here with the title 'king' or 'Great King', but on the other, Tudhaliya is not mentioned in this passage at all.

Išuwa" (*HDT*, 42). Notice, however, that the term ÉRIN^{MEŠ} does not have to have a military connotation and it can be translated as the "*people of Hatti*" (Altman 2004a, 267, 275f.). The appearance of this term in the following lines (in connection with residents of rebellious realms) may support the second interpretation. A support for the first translation can be found in two more places in this section. At the end of the description of the rebellion Šuppiluliuma wrote (l. 14): "But my majesty, Šuppiluliuma...defeated them". This event antedated the First Syrian Campaign, since in the next line, Šuppiluliuma returns to deal with events which led to the outbreak of this war (l. 15: "Now, the troops which had escaped from me had entered the land of Išuwa..."). Another support can be found in the first lines of par. §2. In these lines, which describe the opening of the First Syrian Campaign, we read that Šuppiluliuma attacked Išuwa for the second time. It is quite possible that the event in l. 10–14 should be seen as the first attack against Išuwa; an attack that antedated the First Syrian Campaign (cf. Altman (2004a, 276f.) who dated the first subjugation of Išuwa to the time of Tudhaliya I).

³ Perhaps the "camp of Tudhaliya", one of Mira's border points in *CTH 68* (Treaty between Muṣili II Kupanta-Kuruntiya; *HDT*, par. §9 in p. 76), is also connected with this episode.

⁴ L. 7–10: "These, my grandfather Šuppiluliuma brought back until he had reduced them to order. And he took 20 years until he had reconquered them" (Kitchen 1962, 3; Parker 2002, 53f.). Kitchen (1962, 3; followed by Parker 2002, 53) added that these lines deal with the "lost Anatolian territories". It is quite reasonable, but not a necessity.

D.1.6. Hattušili III's decree for the *ḫekur* of Pirwa (CTH 88):

CTH 88 gives a detailed description of several enemy invasions, which severely damaged Hatti. The text was broadly discussed in Chapter III.C.2.5. Following is the translation of the paragraph dealing with the Hittite counter-attack and a summary of the conclusions.

16–18: [w]hen my grandfather Šu[ppiluliuma], [gr]eat [king], hero, *ša-ra-a iš-pár-za-aš-ta*, he ascen[ded] upon the throne of the kingship, [and he dro]ve out [the enemies?] from the lands of Hatti. And the Land of Hatti, the bla[ck earth...] he settled [aga]in (Goetze 1940, 22; Heinhold Krahmer 1977, 40f.; Bryce 2005, 146).

The text is very detailed regarding the destinations of the invasions and the identity of the enemies, but it leaves two open questions. The date on which the enemy invasions began is not specified. The author only mentioned that they began in the past (*kāru*, 'formerly')⁵.

The second problem is somewhat different. The author refers to two temporal variables, which he used as *terminus ante quem* ('not before') for the starting-point of the Hittite counter-attack:

"[w]hen my grandfather Šu[ppiluliuma], [gr]eat [king], hero, *ša-ra-a iš-pár-za-aš-ta*, he ascen[ded] upon the throne of the kingship, [and he dro]ve out [the enemies?]..."

The second term is quite clear, Šuppiluliuma's accession. The question remains as to the meaning of the first phrase, *šarā išparzašta*. The denotation of the verb *išpart-/išparz-* is to "escape, get away, slip away" (*HED* I–II, 447). With the addition of the adverb *šarā*, there are two ways to interpret this verb in this context (Goetze 1940, 23f.; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 41 n. 28, 43f.; *HED* I–II, 447):

1. When Šuppiluliuma 'became of age', or
2. when he became king.

It is not so clear why the author used the two (inconsistent?) terms (*šarā išparzašta* and 'ascended to the throne') in this context, when he could have used only one. After all, it is clear from the first tablets of the *DŠ* that Šuppiluliuma 'became of age' (i.e. commanded military campaigns) a long time before he became a king. It is possible

⁵ V.s. p. 127f.

that the author wanted to give the impression that Hatti's salvation was a result of Šuppiluliuma's accession, but since the reality was different he had to add the first chronological term (*šarā išparzašta*). By doing so, the author (a) did not lie, and (b) left Šuppiluliuma as the main protagonist and avoid mentioning Tudhaliya II's share in the victory. I believe we can trace this tendency of glorifying Šuppiluliuma in other texts of this period as well (v.i. short discussion in Chapter III.D.2.1.1.).

D.1.7. Indictment of Mita of Pahhuwa (CTH 146):

This text was examined in chapters III.A.1.7. and III.C.2.6. During the discussion, I mentioned Torri's (2005, 397–399) proposal of dating the events in this text to the end of Tudhaliya II's reign. If we accept her suggestion, we can learn that at the end of Tudhaliya II's reign the Hittites controlled a major part of east Anatolia (Pahhuwa and at least parts of Išuwa and Hayaša).

It seems that the traditional date of this text should be preferred, since (in addition to other evidence which supports the traditional date) the situation before the Hittite army was sent (as reflected in *CTH 146*) is significantly less acute than the situation on the eastern frontier during the period of the 'concentric attack'.

D.1.8. KBo 22.54 (CTH 215)⁶:

KBo 22.54 is a MH^(?) fragment, which mentions a confrontation between a [Tu]dhaliy[a] (rev. 7') and the Kaška (obv. 6', rev. 2'). The toponym Zimu(a)riya appears twice (rev. l. 4' and 5'), and possibly, a reference to the Upper Land appears as well (rev. 10'). An unknown man named Peharš[ay]a⁷ is also mentioned in the text (rev. l. 3' and 9').

Based on the references to the Kaška and Tudhaliya, Hoffner (1976, 376) suggested ascribing this fragment to the *DŠ*. However, because of its MH characteristics(?)⁷ and since the name of Tudhaliya is not at all common in the *DŠ*, it is possible that this fragment is actually part of the *AŠ* (v.s. the discussion on Fragment 2 in Chapter III.C.1.1.2.). In this case, it is possible that it deals with the same events as Fragment 10 of the *DŠ*.

⁶ Edition: Hoffner 1976, 376.

⁷ Thus, early forms can be observed for the signs: 𐎶A, IK, LI, ŠA, TA and possibly also MEŠ.

D.1.9. 'First' Plague Prayer (CTH 378.1):

In paragraph §4 (col. i l. 24–27⁸) we find a reference to the harsh situation in Hatti prior to Šuppiluliuma's accession to the throne. It appears from the text (col. i l. 24–29) that following his accession⁹, Šuppiluliuma saved Hatti from its enemies, and regained sovereignty over the borderlands.

D.1.10. 'Fourth' Plague Prayer (CTH 378.4):

Paragraph §3 of this prayer (col. i l. 26–29¹⁰) deals with a troublesome period, during which Hatti suffered enemy attacks. The following paragraph (col. i l. 36–38) mentions that when Šuppiluliuma became king he "resettled the [depopulated] lands" (probably those reconquered from the enemies).

D.1.11. kp 05/226; fragment of a text from Kayalipinar/Šamuha:

For a detailed discussion concerning this text, see Chapter III.A.1.11. It is possible that this text describes a Hittite military campaign which began in Kizzuwatna, continued toward Mukiš and ended in Mittanni. The army possibly returned to Hatti through Kizzuwatna, where it conquered the city of Winuwanda.

Since there are references indicating that Kizzuwatna was lost to the Hittites during the 'concentric attack', it is possible that this text details Hatti's efforts to regain control over this land (and its neighbors). It is quite possible that *kp 05/226* deals with a campaign led by Tudhaliya II (or prince Šuppiluliuma)¹¹, since taking control over Kizzuwatna can be deduced from Fragment 8 of the *DS*¹², and a hostile encounter with Mittanni appears in *EA 17* (see *infra*) and *Šat. I*¹³.

D.1.12. Letters from the archive of el-Amarna; EA 17 and 45:

There are probably four important letters that can be dated to Tudhaiya II's reign. *EA 31–32* were discussed earlier, in the chapter examining the 'concentric attack' (v.s.

⁸ Edition: Goetze 1930, 166–169; Lebrun 1980, 194, 199. Translation: Singer 2002a, 62.

⁹ Since the former paragraph deals with the removal of Tudhaliya 'the younger'.

¹⁰ Edition: Goetze 1930, 244f.; Lebrun 1980, 221, 225. Translation: Singer 2002a, 65.

¹¹ See, however, my suggestion that the Hittites were not involved in the events described in the text (p. 79f.).

¹² V.s. p. 102. For the new placement of this fragment in the composition, see Chapter III.C.2.1.18.

¹³ V.s. discussion concerning the Early Foray in p. 5–8.

Chapter III.C.2.12.). Letters *EA 17* and *EA 45* detail an early Hittite offensive, and might be included in the present chapter.

D.1.12.1. EA 17¹⁴:

This is the first letter sent by Tušratta, and one of the first letters of the archive¹⁵. It was sent to Egypt a short while after he became the king of Mittanni. After the standard (though shortened) greetings formula, Tušratta described the events that had befallen Mittanni following the murder of his brother¹⁶:

11–20: When I sat on the throne of my father, I was young, and UD-*ḫi*¹⁷ had done an unseemly thing to my country and had slain his lord. For this reason he would not permit me friendship with anyone who loved me. I, in turn, was not remiss about the unseemly things that had been done in my land, and I slew the slayers of Artaš[š]umara, my brother, and everyone belonging to them.

As we can see, Tušratta was still young (*seḫru*¹⁸) when his brother, Artaššumara, was murdered¹⁹. Between Artaššumara's murder and the delivery of *EA 17*, UD-*ḫi* ruled over Mittanni, probably as a regent. Hence, we may infer that the letter was written a few years after the death of Artaššumara, when Tušratta deposed UD-*ḫi* and stabilize his rule as the sole king of Mittanni.

In lines 30–34 there is a short depiction of a military conflict between Hatti and Mittanni. These lines are fragmentary; therefore, their transliteration is displayed first:

30 [...] -²TI-ma ap-pu-na-ma ša ŠEŠ-i[a]

31 [...²⁰] id-du-ú [...] -bi²¹ KUR Ḫa-at-ti²²

¹⁴ Text: *EA 17*. Edition: Adler 1976, 122–125. Translation: Moran 1992, 41f.; Liverani 1998–1999, 367; Cochavi-Rainey 2005, 42f.; von Dassow 2006, 198f.

¹⁵ For its dating, see Kühne 1973, 36–39; Moran 1992, xxxiv; v.i. also Table 1 (p. 162f.).

¹⁶ Moran 1992, 41.

¹⁷ For the rendering of this name, see Hess 1993, 123f.

¹⁸ For this term, see Moran 1992, 42 n. 1.

¹⁹ Artaššumara probably did not rule for a long period (Wilhelm 1995, 1250; Kühne 1999, 218). For a tablet of this king from Tell Brak/Nagar (*TB 6002*), see Oates, Oates and McDonald 1997, 150f.

²⁰ See Moran 1992, 42 n. 6.

²¹ [lib]-bi^(?)

²² Knudtzon (1907–1915, 132f.) suggested restoring l. 30–32 as follows:

30 [a-n]a-ti-ma ap-pu-na-ma ša ŠEŠ-i[a]

31 m[a]-x id-du-ú x x-bi KUR Ḫa-at-ti

32 gáp-pa-am-ma ki-i LÚKÚR^{MEŠ} a-na KUR-ti-i[a]
 33 it-ta-al-ka DİŠKUR be-li a-na qa-ti-ia
 34 id-din-šu-ma ù ad-du-uk-šu

Following are two suggested restorations and translations:

Moran (1992, 41f.):

[*The ver*]y next year²³, moreover, my brother's [...] all the land of Hatti. When the enemy advanced against [my] country, Teššup, my lord, gave him into my hand and I defeated him.

Liverani (1998–1999, 367):

Inoltre, l'anno dopo che mio fratello [morì], la terra di Hatti si gettò [contro di me] tutta quanta. Quando il nemico venne nella mia terra, il mio signore Teshub lo diede in mano mia, e io lo sconfissi.

Even if Moran's proposal is not accepted and the first words in line 30 are left unrestored, it seems quite clear from the context that Hatti's attack was one of the first events Tušratta experienced as a king. Between lines 11–29 Tušratta tells the pharaoh how much he wanted to re-establish relations between the two kingdoms, and how the opportunity came after UD-ḫi's deposal. If Tušratta's claim is accepted, the re-establishment of relations (= writing of *EA* 17) took place close to his accession. Since Hatti's attack antedated the writing of *EA* 17, it was also launched at the beginning of Tušratta's reign.

When we compare these restorations we should notice the following differences:

1. According to Liverani, the Hittite attack occurred in the year after Artaššumara's death, that is to say, prior to Tušratta's accession (when he was

32 gáp-pa-am-ma

[*ich lege*] (the verb *nadû*) noch mehr, was mein Bruder...*gelegt* hat, ... das Hatti-Land, das ganze. Adler (1976, 122f.) suggested restoring these lines in this manner:

30 [nu-kùr]-ti-ma ap-pu-na-ma ša ŠEŠ-i[a]

31 ki-i⁷ id-du-ú lib-bi KUR Ḫa-at-ti

32 gáp-pa-am-ma

als darüberhinaus *Feindschaft* gegen meinen Bruder, die (Landes) angehörigen von Hatti allesamt herbeiführten, hat, ...

²³ Based upon collation, Moran (1992, 42 n. 5) rejected Adler's restoration for l. 30 (see above), and claimed we should restore in this manner:

30 [i-n]a TI-ma ap-pu-na-ma ša ŠEŠ-i[a]

He claimed that the sign TI is a shortening for MU.TI (*balāṭu*), therefore, this line should be read "the very next year". Von Dassow (2006, 199) did not accept this suggestion.

still a prince regent). This proposal should be rejected, since at that point—as he said of himself—Tušratta was still 'young' (l. 12) and Mittanni was governed by UD-ḫi²⁴.

2. According to Moran, the confrontation began "[The ver]y next year". The date according to this phrase is probably the year after Tušratta commenced his rule, i.e. following UD-ḫi's removal (described in an earlier paragraph (§2)). That being the case, the Hittite campaign can be dated approximately to the second regnal year of Tušratta (as a sole king). When the first words in line 30 are left unrestored, Hatti's attack should also be dated to Tušratta's first year/s.

The different possibilities and their chronological consequences are examined in detail in Chapter III.D.2.1.2.

A second difference can be found in the translations of lines 32–34. Here we should probably prefer the translations of Moran and Liverani, who stress the advance of the enemy toward Mittanni²⁵, in comparison with the more static character of the offensive in Cochavi-Rainey's (2005, 42) translation ("opened...a war against my country")²⁶.

D.1.12.2. EA 45²⁷:

The author of this very fragmentary letter, [Amm]ištam[ru] (I/II), is the first of two kings of Ugarit who appear in the Amarna letters. The name of the addressee was not stated, or at least not preserved. We can learn from the letter that Ammištamru detained some foreign emissaries and intended to extradite them to Egypt. As a result, an unnamed king threatened to attack him unless he released them.

Two possibilities were suggested for the identification of the hostile king. The first, one suggested by Knudtzon (1907–1915, 310), is to identify him with a king of Hatti.

²⁴ If Tušratta could have stood against the Hittites, he could probably have resisted UD-ḫi as well. Nevertheless, Tušratta was not too young, since several years later (*EA* 19 onward) he could have offer his daughter to Amenhotep III.

²⁵ "...a-na KUR-ti-i[a] it-ta-al-ka". We can learn it also from line 35: "There was [n]ot one of them who return[ed] to his own country" (Moran 1992, 42).

²⁶ Von Dassow's (2006, 199) translation, "when the enemy entered into my land", is also not accurate.

²⁷ Text: *EA* 45. Edition: Knudtzon 1907–1915, 308–311; Na'aman 1996, 252–253. Translation: Moran, 117–118; Cochavi-Rainey, 109–110. For former discussions on this letter, see Na'aman 1996, 252; Altman 2001a, 10.

The envoys in this case could be Hittite emissaries sent to Ugarit (Altman 2001a, 10f.). Another, slightly more complicated scenario was suggested by Na'aman (1996, 252–253). He claimed that the detained envoys came from Amurru and were on their way to Hatti. In this case as well, the unnamed king was probably the king of Hatti, who threatened to attack Ugarit unless the prisoners were released.

A second possibility is to identify the king with a ruler of Amurru, since there are some references to hostility between these Ugarit and Amurru²⁸. Nevertheless, since there is no reason for a ruler of Amurru to be designated in the letter as 'king', we should probably reject this proposal (Singer 1999, 622f.).

We can date this letter using two details:

If we accept Na'aman's (1996) proposal, this letter is the first evidence of the establishment of relations between Hatti and **Amurru**. There is no evidence in the Hittite sources that contact between these two kingdoms was initiated before Šuppiluliuma and ʿAziru acceded to the throne (Singer 1991a, 147), and using the Amarna letters, we can date the establishment of the relations between Hatti and Amurru more accurately to a late phase of the archive²⁹ (as part of the events during the Second Syrian Campaign and many years after the accession of Šuppiluliuma and ʿAziru). As a result, we should:

1. date *EA* 45 to the Third Time-Division;
2. antedate the beginning of relations of the two kingdoms to the beginning of the Amarna archive; or
3. reject Na'aman's restoration.

In my opinion, the more crucial detail is the reference to the negotiations between **Ugarit** and the hostile king. Assuming this king can be identified with the king of Hatti, from Hittite sources we know of two different occasions when Hittites arrived in or near Ugarit around this period. The first was late in Tudhaliya II's reign, as he reached Mt. Nanni close to the northern border of Ugarit³⁰. The second occurred during Šuppiluliuma's rule, probably in proximity to the Second Syrian War (i.e. close

²⁸ E.g. Na'aman 1996, 256f.

²⁹ E.g. *EA* 140 and *EA* 55, which blame ʿAziru for his participation in the Hittite attacks.

³⁰ Fr. 8 of the *DŠ*; v.s. p. 102. For the new placement of this fragment in the composition (close to the end of Tudhaliya II's reign), v.s. Chapter III.C.2.1.18.

to the end of his reign³¹). There are several sources which testify that, contrary to the incident of *EA 45*, this second encounter was not hostile³². In addition, during the latter episode Niqmaddu II/III³³, Ammištamru's successor, was the king of Ugarit and Šuppiluliuma's correspondent. For these reasons, the possibility that *EA 45* is connected with the first incident, i.e. with Tudhaliya II's arrival in Ugarit's northern borders (for which we have no other source), should be preferred³⁴ (see also Singer 1999, 622f.). In this case, *EA 45* is one of the first letters of the First Time-Division.

D.2. Discussion:

In this chapter I will summarize the discussion of the Hittite counter-attack and will try to answer two questions: when did the counter-attack begin and what was its extent?

Three texts mentioned in this chapter are not included in the following discussion: the first two, *CTH 76* and *CTH 146*, are not included since the events they describe should probably be dated to an earlier period (i.e. Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I). The third text, *kp 05/226*, is just too unintelligible. Therefore, we should doubt not only its date, but also its Hittite origin (v.s. Chapter III.A.1.11.).

D.2.1. When did the Hittite counter-attack begin?

D.2.1.1. According to Hittite sources:

The Hittite sources can be divided into two groups. The first group includes only one text, the *DŠ*. Even when we accept Güterbock's order of fragments we can see that the first evidence of a Hittite offensive, however small, should be dated close to the end of Tudhaliya II's rule (e.g. Fragments 13 and 14 in which the Hittite army marches

³¹ It is hard to believe that this letter was written during the First Syrian War, because (a) Ugarit had good relations with Egypt during that period (Singer 1999, 622); (b) Ugarit was not mentioned in the itinerary of this campaign; (c) the reason why it is not mentioned there is that this campaign was directed against Mittanni, and Šuppiluliuma had probably no intention of opening a second front against Egypt.

³² Thus, *RS 17.132*, the first letter of Šuppiluliuma to Ugarit (*HDT*, 125–126). Hittite help against the enemies of Ugarit at that period is mentioned in *CTH 46* (id. 34–36).

³³ The numbering of the kings of Ugarit takes into consideration Arnaud's (1999, 163) proposal. For this king, see Klengel 2001c.

³⁴ It is possible that following this pressure on the northern border of the Egyptian empire, a treaty was concluded between Hatti and Egypt (the Kuruštama Treaty). Concerning this treaty, v.s. p. 81f. n. 162. For a possibility that a treaty was concluded between Hatti and Ugarit following this episode, see Singer 1999, 632.

outside of Hatti's border). According to my order of fragments (v.s. p. 117–121), Hatti's revival took place at the same time, yet Tudhaliya's achievements were much more impressive (see *infra*).

The second group includes five texts. The first is *CTH 51* (v.s. p. 7f.), which refers to an early raid that took place prior to the First Syrian War. We can see that Šuppiluliuma, the author, attributes this raid—which might be taken as evidence for the beginning of Hatti's recovery—to his own reign. *CTH 378.1* and *CTH 378.4* were written by Muršili II (v.s. p. 153). It appears from both texts that Hatti's situation was improved only after Šuppiluliuma's accession. The last two texts, *CTH 83.1.A* (v.s. p. 150) and *CTH 88* (v.s. p. 151f.), were written by Hattušili III. Neither gives any precise date for the end of the crisis era, but they do hint at the identity of Hatti's savior. Neither text mentions Tudhaliya II and in both Šuppiluliuma appears as the only protagonist. According to an estimation mentioned in *CTH 83.1.A*, Šuppiluliuma fought for 20 years until the situation in Anatolia returned to normal. This statement reinforces the notion that Tudhaliya II had nothing to do with Hatti's recovery³⁵. The phrasing of *CTH 88* is somewhat vaguer. The author used two chronological anchors for the beginning of the counter-attack: it did not begin until Šuppiluliuma (a) has '*šarā išparzašta*' and (b) 'ascended to the throne'. The meaning of the first idiom is not entirely clear ('became of age', or 'became king'), but it possible that the author used it in order to avoid Tudhaliya II's part in the events (v.s. p. 150f.).

As we can see, there is a contradiction between the two groups as to the outset of the counter-attack. While the *DŠ* claims that Tudhaliya II was the king who started the Hittite offensive, a much larger group of texts assigned the honor of leading the counter-attack to Šuppiluliuma. In my opinion, the date mentioned in the *DŠ* (Tudhaliya II) should be preferred for the following reasons³⁶:

1. The *DŠ* was written by Muršili II in order to perpetuate his father's deeds. As such, it is probably based upon early sources from the time of Šuppiluliuma³⁷ and possibly also Tudhaliya II.

³⁵ Although we should take into consideration that the first paragraph of this text is fragmentary.

³⁶ Notice that a support for the new ordering of the *DŠ* and the consequent wide range of Tudhaliya II's counter-attack comes from del Monte (2009, 1f., 10f.), who suggested another order for the fragments, almost identical with mine but based upon completely different reasoning.

³⁷ Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 33; Taracha 2007b, 661; Klinger 2008a, 37.

2. The chronological frame of the period should be based upon the *DŠ*. This annalistic composition belongs to a genre that in its most basic definition is committed to the chronological order of events³⁸.
3. It seems to me that in most of these cases, the difference between the *DŠ* and the late texts is only seemingly contradictory, since the latter's main interest is not the date of the counter-attack, but the identity of the hero who saved Hatti (thus it is so hard to extract the date from them).
4. The *DŠ* is not so different to the later texts in its historical-cultural objective (the praising of Šuppiluliuma); however, as mentioned above, it does differ in one essential aspect. It is also committed to the literary structure of its genre (annals). The question is what happened when there was a contradiction between these two objectives? The answer can be found in the description of Šuppiluliuma's early activity. The author spares no means to stress Šuppiluliuma's leadership; nevertheless, he leaves the chronological outline undistorted! Šuppiluliuma's role in the events is stressed using some literary measures (thus, the illness of the ruling king and Šuppiluliuma's willingness to volunteer), yet it is interweaved in its correct place in the chronological framework, i.e. Tudhaliya II's reign³⁹.

In summary, there is no doubt—according to both contemporary and late sources—that Šuppiluliuma's role in the events was significant. The only question is whether he played this role as a prince or only as a king. Based on the above-mentioned reasons, the more detailed and chronologically committed description of the *DŠ* should be considered as the more accurate one⁴⁰.

³⁸ On the chronological aspect of this genre, see Van de Mierop 1999, 25–27; Roszkowska-Mutschler 2002, 289f.; Tadmor 2006, 41f.; etc. Even van Seters (1983, 111), who claims that in the *DŠ* "there is almost no indication of chronology" agrees that it does retain the "succession of events".

³⁹ Another interesting example can be found in the contradiction between the different descriptions of Šuppiluliuma's first attack against Egypt during the Second Syrian War. While some texts blame Šuppiluliuma (the plague prayers), the *DŠ* (Fr. 28 col. iii 21–23) blames the pharaoh. This problem will be discussed later (during the discussion of the Second Syrian War), but in this context the differences between the two examples should be stressed. While in the latter example the order and date of the events are only based upon a short and somewhat vague declaration ("to the country of Qadeš that my father had conquered (when? Right before the events? During the First Syrian War?) troops and chariots of Egypt came and attacked..."), in the case under discussion it is clear that Tudhaliya II is still alive.

⁴⁰ I can just mention briefly that in my opinion Šuppiluliuma became the protagonist of the two Plague Prayers because Muršili wanted to emphasize that the gods supported Šuppiluliuma and granted him success despite his sins (yet they punished Muršili because of his father's sins). In other words, Tudhaliya II's part was neglected simply because he did not fit the literary outline and objectives of

D.2.1.2. According to the Amarna letters:

Some scholars identify the Hittite raid detailed in *EA* 17 with Šuppiluliuma's First Syrian War, while others believe that this raid preceded this war⁴¹. It appears, however, that *EA* 17 does not correlate with the First Syrian War, mainly because the range of the two campaigns is different. The First Syrian Campaign went through Mittanni and ended with the conquest of the Mittannian territory in Syria, exactly like the report of Rib-Hadda in *EA* 75 (l. 35–48). In contrast, the foray detailed in *EA* 17 is very limited in scope and achievements. We should also notice that while *EA* 17 is the first letter in the Mittannian dossier and one of the first letters in the entire archive (Moran 1992, xxxiv), there are some letters of Rib-Hadda that antedated *EA* 75 (i.e. *EA* 75 is not Rib-Hadda's first letter), and this argument brings us to the second point. The wedding of Amenhotep III and Taduhepa, Tušratta's daughter, can serve as *terminus ante quem* for dating the First Syrian Campaign; i.e. that this wedding (and the negotiations that antedated it) could not have occurred after the First Syrian Campaign. After all, it is hard to believe that (a) Mittanni could have paid the large dowry of the princess right after its capital was sacked⁴²; (b) that Mittanni could have bargained with Egypt as equal, or that Amenhotep III was even interested in Tušratta's daughter⁴³; and (c) that relations between the two kingdoms continued as usual, even though Mittanni was betrayed by Egypt (since it did not support its ally during Hatti's offensive)⁴⁴.

For these reasons the episode detailed in *EA* 17 should be equated with a Hittite campaign that occurred prior to the First Syrian Campaign. By identifying the

these texts. Hattušili III's reasoning for Šuppiluliuma's glorification was different. He probably saw Šuppiluliuma as a role model, since they both played a significant role in the events prior to their accessions to the throne; both faced many difficulties, but eventually managed to strengthen Hatti and establish it as a major international force; and last but not least, both had to overthrow the legitimate king in order to become kings (see also Kempinski 1993, 87). Another indication for Hattušili's interest in Šuppiluliuma can be found in the very fragmentary *CTH* 84 (e.g. *KUB* 21.16; Goetze 1940, 10 n. 43). The bias of *CTH* 51 written by Šuppiluliuma himself was probably influenced by Šuppiluliuma's quite understandable egoistic desire to attribute these glorious achievements to himself (after all, he was an active and significant player in the events). Nevertheless, it is possible to date the Early Foray to Tudhaliya II's reign on the basis of data appearing in this text as well (v.s. p. 7f.).

⁴¹ For further discussion about the connection between this letter and the Hittite campaigns, see Kühne 1973, 21; Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 76; Na'aman 1996, 255–257; Altman 2001a, 5f.; Freu 2002b, 91.

⁴² For the calculation of the value of the presents, see Kitchen 1998, 259.

⁴³ For (b) and (c) see also Murnane 1990a, 117.

⁴⁴ And in fact, the evidence for a sudden change in the relations between the two kingdoms following the First Syrian Campaign is quite clear. Letters written after this campaign relate to a Mittannian campaign in Egyptian territory, complain about detaining envoys, and deplore the attitude of the pharaoh towards Tušratta (v.i. p. 244).

unnamed king from *EA* 45 with Tudhaliya II, who reached the border of Ugarit according to Fragment 8 of the *DŠ* (v.s. p. 157f.), we may conclude that both letters testify to the same event, i.e. that at some point close to the end of Tudhaliya II's reign⁴⁵, a Hittite army marched outside of Anatolia. Since it seems that *EA* 31 and 32 discuss a present situation (the peak of the crisis) and not past events (v.s. p. 137), we should reach the conclusion that these letters were sent before *EA* 17 and *EA* 45 were written.

Following is a table (Table 1), which details the order of events, starting with the death of Artaššumara and ending with the wedding of Amenhotep III and Tušratta's daughter. I used *EA* 23, which was received or filed in the archive during Amenhotep III's regnal year 36, as a chronological anchor. From the greetings formula of this letter it is clear that Tušratta's daughter was already married to Amenhotep III. The dates in this tablet take into consideration Kühne's (1973) calculations, but since his dating leaves no room for coincidence⁴⁶, only *EA* 23 has an accurate date, while the other letters and events are placed within a possible time range.

<i>Stage</i>	<i>Number of Ama. Let.</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Year, Amen. III</i>	<i>Year, Tuš.</i>
1.	17	(<i>First inner crisis in Mit.</i>) Artaššumara's murder	25 at the latest ⁴⁷	(year x of Artaššumara)
2.	17	Tušratta is young; UD-ḫi ruling Mittanni as regent		1 year of Tušratta as prince regent
[3.]	31–32	Arzawa's declaration of its sovereignty over south	no later than 30; probably	x year of Tušratta as

⁴⁵ Cf. Gromova 2007, 277f.

⁴⁶ Thus, v.s. p. 30 n. 42.

⁴⁷ Around regnal year 35 of Amenhotep III, Tušratta—who was still young at that point (perhaps around fifteen?)—could have offered his daughter to Amenhotep III. For that reason, the period between Artaššumara's murder and the marriage of Taduhepa lasted at least ten years (during which Taduhepa grew up). If Tušratta was younger and not married when his brother was murdered, this period probably lasted even longer (unless Taduhepa was only a baby when she was given to Amenhotep III). For this matter, see also Kühne 1973, 39 n. 188. When we accept Liverani's (1998–1999, 367; v.s. p. 155.) suggested scenario (based upon the restoration "l'anno dopo che mio fratello [mori]"), the period between Artaššumara's murder and the Hittite raid lasted less than a year.

		Anatolia (a/the peak of the 'concentric attack')	somewhat before ⁴⁸	prince regent]
4.	17	(<i>Second inner crisis in Mit.</i>) Tušratta acceded to the throne, avenged his brother's murder, and established his rule	ca. 30	1 (as sole king)
5.	17, 45	Tudhaliya II's raid (<i>the Early Foray</i>); confrontation with Mittanni; threats against Ugarit	30/31	1/2 ⁴⁹
6.	17	Renewal of diplomatic relations with Egypt; arrival of EA 17 and the booty.	31/32 ⁵⁰	2/3 ⁵¹
7.	19	Beginning of negotiations ⁵²	32	3
8.	22, 24, 25	Letters written prior to the wedding of Amenhotep III and Taduhepa	34 at the earliest ⁵³	5 at the earliest
9.		Wedding of Amenhotep III and Taduhepa	34/35 ⁵⁴	5/6
10.	23	Sending the statue of Ištār/Šawuška of Nineveh	36 (date on the letter)	7

⁴⁸ If we date the Hittite raid outside of Hatti's borders mentioned in EA 17 (i.e. an advanced stage in Hatti's recovery) to Amenhotep III's regnal year 30, perhaps the writing of EA 31–32 (i.e. the low point of Tudhaliya II's reign) should breach the upper limit of the Amarna archive, set by Moran (1992, xxxiv) to the same regnal year (therefore to year 28 or 29 of Amenhotep III, or perhaps even earlier).

⁴⁹ V.s. p. 155f.

⁵⁰ According to Kühne's (1973, 36–39) calculations and Moran's (1992, xxxiv) estimations, EA 17 was written five years or so before EA 23, which is dated to the 36th year of Amenhotep III.

⁵¹ The dispatch of EA 17 (testifies to the renewal of relationships) should be dated to "anumma" (herewith, now). The time gap between the Hittite foray and the dispatch of the letter is not clear. It is possible that both happened the same year (Tušratta's second regnal year), yet it is also possible that EA 17 was written the following year (third regnal year). If the letter was sent in Tušratta's second regnal year, his first year was full of events: UD-ḥi's removal, establishing Tušratta's rule in Mittanni, repelling the Hittite attack and formation of relations with Egypt. It is quite plausible that the renewal of relations with Egypt (reflected by the dispatch of EA 17) required a short period of calm and stability (following the internal mayhem detailed in this letter); therefore, the dating of EA 17's dispatching to the third year of Tušratta should be preferred.

⁵² It seems that the negotiations in this case were not so long because both Amenhotep III (the initiator) and Tušratta aspired to finish them as soon as possible (as opposed to the parallel endless discussions with Kadašman-Enlil I). For Tušratta, the prestige resulting from this marriage and Egyptian support against the growing threat from Hatti were probably the factors driving him to proceed quickly.

⁵³ Kühne 1973, 38.

⁵⁴ See also Kitchen 1998, 259f.

D.2.1.3. Summary; the date of the Hittite counter-attack:

The Hittite sources can be divided into two groups. The first, which includes the *DŠ*, dates the Hittite counter-attack to the end of Tudhaliya II's reign (and not to that of Šuppiluliuma), and for the previously mentioned reasons (v.s. p. 159f.), this date should be preferred.

Using two letters from Amarna, *EA 17* and *EA 45*, we can date the beginning of Tudhaliya II's counter-attack to (ca.) Amenhotep III's 30th regnal year. The time gap between the peak of the 'concentric attack' (*EA 31–32*; written around year 30, probably somewhat earlier) and the first sign of Hatti's recovery is very short (no more than five years, possibly less). The following chapter attempts to provide an explanation (though partial) for this intriguing occurrence.

D.2.2. Possible reasons for Hatti's fast recovery:

According to the scenario presented, only several years separate the peak of the 'concentric attack' (*EA 31–32*, probably written slightly before Amenhotep III's year 30) and the advanced stage of the Hittite counter-attack, during which Tudhaliya II felt safe enough to send part of his army beyond Anatolia's borders (*EA 17* and *EA 45*, probably around Amenhotep III's year 30 or 31)⁵⁵. This quick recovery—ca. two to three years, and probably no more than five years—is quite surprising considering Hatti's desperate situation only a short while earlier. Possibly, the explanation for this phenomenon might be related to Šuppiluliuma's talents as a military commander, but also to external factors that facilitated the recovery of Hatti⁵⁶. We can count two of these factors:

1. **Mittanni.** As we can learn from *EA 17*, Mittanni suffered a series of internal schisms close to the beginning of the Hittite offensive. Troubles began when king Artaššumara was murdered. From *EA 17*, the only source for this episode, it appears that he was replaced by a faction involved in the coup⁵⁷. Moreover, the leader of this group was not eligible, and probably not strong enough, to seize power for himself;

⁵⁵ We have no information from the Amarna letters about the former stage during which Tudhaliya II established his rule over the devastated Land of Hatti and Hattuša.

⁵⁶ There could be a wide range of reasons (e.g. economic, climatic, health) for this quick recovery. Unfortunately, they are unknown to us since they are not documented in the texts (either because they were not mentioned in the first place, or due to the fragmentary state of the texts that have been preserved). As a result, the only clear indication of Hatti's recovery, i.e. the expansion of the empire, might accidentally be considered as both reason and result of Hatti's strength.

⁵⁷ We should take into consideration that Tušratta, the writer of *EA 17*, was a political rival of this group. In addition, it is possible that he also took part in the plot (Wilhelm 1995, 1250f.).

therefore, he took the legitimate heir (or one of the heirs, see *infra*), the young Tušratta, under his wing. Not many years later, a second reversal occurred, when Tušratta became adult and strong enough to dismiss UD-ḫi and his supporters from their position. At that point Hatti was already strengthening, and Tudhaliya II used this second upheaval to send his army outside Anatolia, possibly for the first time since the loss of Kizzuwatna, to fight against Mittanni⁵⁸.

It seems that Mittanni suffered another blow during that period. From *Šat. 1* and 2 we learn about Artatama II, another member of the royal family who aspired to rule over Mittanni, yet was forced to leave his country. It seems he was able to establish himself somewhere in the Mittanni region, since he managed to form an alliance with Hatti, and later also with Assyria and Alše⁵⁹. From the contacts he made it seems that his claim to the throne of Mittanni was quite strong. We do not know when Artatama II had to flee. Each of the above-mentioned episodes (Artaššumara's murder or UD-ḫi's removal) could have been the trigger for his escape. One way or the other, the ruling king of Mittanni, whether UD-ḫi or Tušratta (as sole king), had to direct a substantial part of his force against this rival, instead of against the awakening Hatti.

2. **Arzawa.** From *EA* 31–32 we learn about Tarhundaradu, king of Arzawa. Following our analysis of the 'concentric attack' period, we may conclude that during his reign Arzawa was at its peak. During Tudhaliya II's campaign against Arzawa (Fragments 4, 14 and 15), no Arzawean leader is mentioned. Somewhat later, Šuppiluliuma launched a military campaign that came closer to the Land of Arzawa itself, and fought against three Arzawean commanders/princes: Anzapahhaddu, Alal/ntalli and Zapalli. None of the three seems more prominent than the others. In addition, there is no reference for any of their overlord. Apart from the negative evidence (which can be dismissed as an *argumentum e silentio*), we have two indications for a split in the Arzawean royal family. First, it seems that Mašhailuwa⁶⁰ and Uhhaziti⁶¹, two Arzawean princes, made an alliance with Šuppiluliuma. Indeed

⁵⁸ I believe we should date Tudhaliya II's raid to the second upheaval (Ud-ḫi's removal) and not to the first one (Artaššumara's murder) since otherwise Tušratta contradicts himself; on the hand he claims to be too young at that point, but on the other, he claims to be the one who fought against Hatti.

⁵⁹ Perhaps we can learn it also from the strange duplication of titles, which appear in *Šat. 1*: Artatama king of Hurri and Tušratta king of Mittanni.

⁶⁰ *AM* 140–142 (l. 56–59).

⁶¹ *AM* 58f. (l. 23–31). When we accept the restorations in *CTH* 69 (*HDT*, 83 par. §4: "because Uhhaziti [had transgressed the oath] in regard to me, the oath gods seized [him...]"), it is possible that the oath of Uhhaziti to Muršili II refers to the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Uhhaziti as well. V.i. also p. 264.

the two treaties were already concluded during Šuppiluliuma's reign, yet they might indicate a problematic situation that began earlier. A second piece of information might be extracted from the warfare methods of the Arzawean army. While in his Arzawean campaigns Muršili II had to crush the regular army (which naturally included chariots) before he had to deal with a more guerilla-like style of fighting⁶², there is no evidence that Šuppiluliuma fought against a strong and solid Arzawean army⁶³. Here we may return to the strange mixture of Arzawean forces and "tribal groups" (*ŠU-TI*) mentioned in Fragments 11, 14 and 15 of the *DŠ*⁶⁴. Del Monte (2009, 27 and n. 26) suggested that this phenomenon could be explained by the establishment of a Kaškean-Arzawean coalition that fought against Tudhaliya II's army, but there might be another explanation. It seems to me that all of the above-mentioned phenomena can be taken as evidence of an unusual situation in Arzawa. It is possible that after Tarhundaradu's death, none of his successors rose above the others. A branch of the royal family had some kind of sovereignty over Arzawa and adjacent areas (hence, the resistance of the three Arzawean princes to Šuppiluliuma), while other members of the royal family (Mašhuiluwa and Uhhaziti) looked for support in the Hittite camp. The more extensive territory in the periphery of Arzawa, which not long before had been ruled by Tarhundaradu, became a no-man's land, a place where Arzawean forces (probably sent from Arzawa), armed groups of locals and perhaps also Kaškeans, struggled (separately and perhaps sometimes together) to delay the advance of the Hittite army, and possibly also against each other. This internal crisis in Arzawa probably enabled a much easier Hittite occupation of the Land of Hatti, the Lower Land and other conquered territories.

D.2.3. The extent of Tudhaliya II's counter-attack:

Some scholars agree that the Hittite counter-attack was first led by Tudhaliya II, but the question concerning its extent remains. Thus, it was suggested that Tudhaliya II gained some victories, but at the end of his reign enemies were still sitting close to

⁶² Thus, *AM*, 48f. (l. 21–23).

⁶³ There is one reference for Arzawean chariots that appears in Fr. 19 l. 11 (*DŠ*, 81). Notice, however, that at the end of Fr. 18 (l. 23–28) an Arzawean victory over the troops and chariots of the Hittite commander Himuili is mentioned; therefore, it is possible that at this opportunity Hittite chariots were taken as booty. The case of Fr. 20 is more problematic, since it is not clear whether Mammali, who led forces and chariots, should be identified as a Hittite general (Güterbock 1956, 81) or as an Arzawean commander (del Monte 2009, 63). Even when the latter is preferred it is possible that (a) his chariots were taken as booty when Anzapahhaddu (together with Mammali?) defeated Himuili, or (b) Mammali and his chariots were sent from inner Arzawa (where a regular army was still existed).

⁶⁴ For Fr. 11, v.s. p. 105; Fr. 14, v.s. p. 112; for Fr. 15, v.s. Chapter III.C.2.1.15.

Hatti, threatening its existence (Klengel 1999, 161f.; Bryce 2005, 152f.). This restoration is based upon the *DŠ*, which is the most detailed source for this period. However, when we accept the new order of the fragments that I suggested, this picture radically changes. Now we can see that at the end of his reign, Tudhaliya II ruled the Land of Hatti and the Lower Land (Fragments 10–15). In the west, Arzawa was repelled behind Šallapa (Fragment 4), and Maša and Kammala had been beaten (Fragment 13)⁶⁵. The Kaškean were forced to leave the Upper Land (or at least a significant part of it; Fragments 13 and 17, and possibly also *KBo* 22.54 (v.s. p. 152)), and the eastern boundary was secured along the Hatti-Hayaša border (Fragment 13)⁶⁶. The campaign to the most northern part of Syria and the northern border of Ugarit (Fragment 8) is probably the last recorded deed of Tudhaliya II⁶⁷.

The information from *EA* 17 and *EA* 45 supports this proposal in both date (end of the reigns of Amenhotep III and Tudhaliya II) and destination (arrival near Ugarit). From *EA* 17 we can deduce that Mittanni or some of its eastern-Anatolian or north-Syrian vassals were also the target of Tudhaliya II's last(?) campaign (see also the reference to a 'king' in Fragment 16; v.s. p. 114f.).

The reference in *Šat. I* for a foray predating the First Syrian War was discussed in detail in the first chapter (v.s. p. 5–8; summary in Chapter III.D.1.3.). The most plausible conclusions are that (a) either this passage is a summary of the First Syrian War, or (b) that it deals with the Syrian parts of Tudhaliya's counter-attack. In case the second possibility is preferred, it seems that the foray's extent in *Šat. I* is greatly exaggerated.

In sum, close to the end of his reign Tudhaliya II managed to push Hatti's borders to their former scope, almost as they were during Arnuwanda I's reign. It is possible that in one case he even has achieved more than his father. There is no evidence that in his latter years Arnuwanda I controlled any part of Syria⁶⁸, while Tudhaliya II made a step in this direction. The solid foundation he laid enabled Šuppiluliuma just a few

⁶⁵ For the possibility that the fighting around Iyalanda in *KBo* 22.10 should also be dated to this period, v.i. Chapter IV.A.1.2.

⁶⁶ If we date the Sunaššura treaty to Tudhaliya II's reign (Houwink ten Cate 1998, 51–53; v.s. p. 57f. and Chapter III.D.1.2.), Išuwa and Kizzuwatna should be added to this list. A campaign against Išuwa is mentioned in *Šat. I* as well (v.s. Chapter III.D.1.3.).

⁶⁷ See also del Monte's (2009, 10f.) suggestion to relocate Fragment 13 (Copy E) to a later position (v.s. also p. 120).

⁶⁸ When we date *HBM* 74 (Kizzuwatna became the south-eastern border of Hatti) to the time of Arnuwanda I, Tudhaliya II's achievement on this front is even greater.

years later⁶⁹ to execute one of his most ambitious plans - the First Syrian Campaign⁷⁰. For this reason we might consider the last years of Tudhaliya II's reign as the first step in the establishment of the empire⁷¹.

⁶⁹ According to my calculation, between the Early Foray (*EA* 17) and the First Syrian campaign (*EA* 75) separated only four to six years.

⁷⁰ Cf. for example Parker 2002, 61f.

⁷¹ Another support for the strength and stability of the kingdom at that point can be found in *CTH* 378.1. It appears from this text (obv. 19–20) that after the murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger', two of his brothers who supported him were sent to Alašiya. This act may testify to a Hittite control over this island, or at least over the naval routes (and ports) which led to it. The problem is, however, that the time gap between the end of Tudhaliya II's reign and this episode is not clear (Groddek 2009b, 98f.).

IV. Šuppiluliuma I:

IV.A. Šuppiluliuma's family and the Murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger':

This chapter discusses two related topics: the first is the murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger', and the second is Šuppiluliuma's family. The first objective of this chapter is to analyze how the royal family treated this event, both at the time of the occurrence and later on. The second is to clarify Šuppiluliuma's family relations with the royal family.

A.1. Tudhaliya II's death and the murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger':

This section attempts to clarify the background of the event that stained Šuppiluliuma's career—the murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger'—by examining three sources (the *DŠ*, *KBo* 22.10 and the 'First' Plague Prayer) which possibly shed light on this early stage of this career. In contrast with earlier chapters, each source is presented and summarized independently.

A.1.1. The *DŠ* (CTH 40):

The *DŠ* differs from the other texts in this chapter, since in its contemporary state it contains no reference to this early stage of Šuppiluliuma's career. As demonstrated previously, the exact point in the *DŠ* at which Šuppiluliuma acceded to the throne is not clear. The different opinions are mentioned and discussed in Chapter I.C.5. Following is a short summary of this discussion.

Güterbock (1956, 43; followed by Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 37–40) suggested that Šuppiluliuma's accession was detailed in an 11-line gap at the beginning of the Second Tablet's fourth column (beginning of Fragment 15 (Copy F)). In contrast, Wilhelm and Boese (1987, 80, 83) suggested placing this event at the beginning of the Third Tablet (between Fragments 15–17 (Copy G)). The last to be mentioned is del Monte (2009, 9–11), who proposed placing this event between Fragments 13 (in its new place after Fragment 17) and 18.

The 11-line gap is too small for the description of such a dramatic event as Šuppiluliuma's accession and its impacts; therefore, Güterbock's suggestion should be rejected¹. As for the second and third proposals; unfortunately, due to the fragmentary state of the composition, there is not enough information on which to make a decision. I suggested that Fragment 8, which represents the zenith of Tudhaliya II's reign, should be considered his last deed. This fragment may be located in proximity to Fragment 16 or in the gap between Fragments 17 and 18 (v.s. p. 119f.). The greatest difficulty with this gap is that Fragment 18, which according to del Monte is the first to detail Šuppiluliuma's reign, is actually 'floating' in the sequence of the plot²; consequently, the estimation of the time gap between the last known deeds of Tudhaliya II and the beginning of Šuppiluliuma's reign is difficult.

In sum, Šuppiluliuma's accession and his first appearance as a king should be placed after Fragment 15 and before Fragment 18 (or better, between the Third/Fourth³ and Seventh Tablets), and the murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger' was possibly detailed in this gap as well. At this stage, a more accurate place cannot be suggested.

A.1.2. KBo 22.10 (CTH 214.20):

The one fragment that could be placed in the aforementioned gap in the *DŠ* is *KBo* 22.10. Košak (1980b, 164f.) suggested that it describes the end of Tudhaliya II's reign; there are, however, other opinions. Following are the transliteration and translation of this text, followed by its different interpretations⁴. The obverse is too fragmentary, therefore only the reverse (col. iii) is presented:

1' ṛša-ra-a⁵ iš²ṛ¹-[...]

2' A-BI A-BI-IA-ma³-[...]

¹ Though I do not favor this solution, it is possible that Muršili II chose to ignore the deposal of Tudhaliya 'the Younger'.

² Thus, Güterbock (1956) named the chapter which Fragment 18 opens "further fragments whose tablet numbers are unknown". The scope of the problem can be seen by the fact that Güterbock placed these fragments between Fragment 17 (Third Tablet) and Fragment 28 (Seventh Tablet), but theoretically nothing prevents the attribution of at least part of them to a later part of the composition. All these 'floating' fragments which deal with Šuppiluliuma's campaigns in Anatolia are examined in Chapter IV.D.

³ V.s. p. 15 n. 66.

⁴ For discussion, see: Košak 1980, 164f.; van den Hout 1995, 199–201; de Martino 1996, 91f.

⁵ A long gap between the two words.

- 3' KUR ^{URU}*I-ia-la-a[n-da...]*
 4' *I-NA* ^{URU}*I-ia-l[a-an-da^{(?)6}...]*
 5' *ku-ru-ri-aḥ-ḥe-er* x[...]
 6' ^m*Ha-an-nu-ut-ti-iš* [...]
 7' *ŠA* ^f*Kaš-šu-li-i[a-⁷...]*
 8' ^m*Du-ut-ḥa-li-ia* x⁸[...]
 9' *IT-TI* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR x⁹[...]

-
- 10' *GIM-an-ma-za A-BI* *A-[BI-IA DINGIR-LIM-iš ki-ša-at nu-za n.n./A-BI-IA]*
 11' LUGAL¹⁰.GAL *ki-ša-[at...]*
 12' *BE-LU* GAL.GAL [...]
 13' [*AŠ*]-*ŠUM* LU^{MEŠ} [...]

-
- 14' [*nu* LU]^{MEŠ} ^{URU}¹x[...]
 15' [x]x¹¹-^LAN^J[...]

1': ...

2'–9': My grandfather [...] land of Iyala[nda...] in the city of Iyal[anda(?)]... became enemies [...] Hannutti (nom.) [...] of Kaššuliy[awiya?...] Tudhaliya [...] with a chariot [...].

10'–13': But when my grand[father became god, my father/n.n.] beca[me] a great king. The Great Lords¹² [...] in the matter of the people (of) [...].

14'–15' [and the people] of the city of x[...]

⁶ The question mark was added since only one horizontal wedge of the LA survived. In addition, the name of Iyalanda in the former line is preceded by KUR URU, while here we have only URU.

⁷ Košak (1980b, 164): *Ka-šu-li-i[a-wi-ia(-)*.

⁸ Head of a horizontal wedge.

⁹ Seems like the left side of TI (van den Hout 1995, 201; Heinhold-Krahmer 2001, 192 n. 55), but there are other possibilities, such as RI or HI.

¹⁰ Probably the late form of LUGAL.

¹¹ It is not clear whether we should restore one or two signs at the beginning of this line.

¹² *CHD* (S1, 93) places GAL.GAL under the nom. pl. It is interesting that the noun, *BE-LU* does not have a plural determinative (MEŠ).

It seems that the most important events in this fragment are mentioned in l. 10'–11'. These lines probably deal with the death of the author's grandfather and the accession of his successor. It is possible that close to the period of the regime's change, there were some troubles in Iyalanda. We will examine these events later in light of the suggested dates of the events.

The text is very broken, but the ductus of the indicative signs left seems like LS (*Portal Mainz*). This fact will be important later, when we see that van den Hout (1995) suggested dating this text close to the end of the Hittite empire (then we would expect a *sjh* ductus).

The city of Iyalanda (l. 3' and possibly 4') was located in south-west Anatolia, perhaps in the proximity of Miletos¹³. The use of its reference(s) in order to date the events is problematic, since it appears in both MH (Madduwata; Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I) and LH (Tawagalawa; Hattušili III) texts.

Either three or four people are mentioned in this text. Three are called by their personal names (Hannutti, Kaššuliy[awiya]^(?) and Tudhaliya) and another person—who might be identified as a fourth person or as one of the former three—by his designation, 'my grandfather'. A prosopographical examination of the names was conducted by van den Hout (1995, 201) and his conclusions is summarized here. A man named **Hannutti** was a well-known general in the time of Šuppiluliuma. One of Hattušili III's sons bore this name too. It seems that there were two women with the name **Kaššuliyawiya**: Muršili II's wife and a daughter of Hattušili III¹⁴. **Tudhaliya** can be identified either as Tudhaliya II or IV¹⁵. The identification of the '**grandfather**' depends on our interpretation of the text.

In light of the formula of the king's accession (l. 10'–11') several conclusions might be drawn. This formula has two parts:

1. "When my grand[father became god]"
2. "[n.n.] beca[me] a great king".

¹³ For its location, v.s. discussion in p. 64 n. 69.

¹⁴ For discussion concerning the name Kaššuliyawiya, see Dinçol *et al.* 1993, 97f.; Heinhold-Krahmer 2001, 192; de Roos 2005, 213f.

¹⁵ The spelling **Du**-thaliya appears in early (e.g. the sword of Tudhaliya I or his seal (*Bo* 99/69)) as well as late texts, therefore it does not support his identification with either of the Tudhaliyas.

Hutter-Braunsar (2001) suggested that the first part of this formula ("to become a god") does not appear in annals before the empire period, since there are no references to it in original MH fragments. It is possible, however, that the formula was added to old texts during a late copying. Thus, it does appear in late copies of MH compositions, such as the annals of Tudhaliya I and the edict of Telipinu (id., 268f.).

As for the second part of the formula, there are only two attestations in *HED* for "becoming a great king" (as in our text), the first is late (*KUB* 23.102 i 4–5¹⁶) and the second is even later (*KUB* 23.92 obv. 5¹⁷). These two texts are letters written by a Hittite king to an addressee in Assyria. The genre of our text is not clear; theoretically it could be a letter, but since it was written in Hittite it was not sent to a Mesopotamian king¹⁸. The phrase "becoming a king" is somewhat more common and appears from the time of the OK onward¹⁹.

In some cases, a different formula which includes the component "to sit upon the father's throne" appears (for examples, see *HED* I–II, 291f.). Carruba (2005, 187f.) suggested that this formula indicates that something was improper in the procedure of the new king's accession (e.g. the case of Tudhaliya I's accession). Since this formula does not appear in *KBo* 22.10, we may assume that the procedure detailed in this text was proper. Due to the uncommon phrasing of the second part of the formula ("becoming a great king") we may assume that the text was written, if not composed, in a later period.

There are three opinions regarding the dating of *KBo* 22.10:

1. According to Košak (1980b, 165; de Martino 1996, 92), this fragment belongs to the *DŠ*, and should possibly be placed in the gap following Fragment 14, since it details Šuppiliuma's campaign against Arzawa during Tudhaliya II's reign. According to this view Tudhaliya II was involved in a military campaign in west Anatolia a short time before he died²⁰. If we accept the new order of fragments in the *DŠ* (as suggested here or by del Monte (2009)), we

¹⁶ A letter from Muwattalli/Urhi-Teššub to Adad-nirari I.

¹⁷ A letter from Tudhaliya IV to an Assyrian nobleman.

¹⁸ Although there is always a possibility that it is a copy or an early draft of an Akkadian-written letter.

¹⁹ E.g. *KBo* 3.22 l. 22 and 49 (*HED* IV, 192: "the one who will become after me a king in Hattuša").

²⁰ Notice, however, that this observation is based upon the juxtaposition of the portions between the two events. Nevertheless, nothing prevents that a long period of time separated them (especially if *KBo* 22.10 does not belong to annals, but to another historiographical text that covered a long period (e.g. a historical prologue of a treaty)).

should make an adjustment to this proposal and place *KBo* 22.10 somewhere between Fragments 15 and 18.

2. Hoffner (1976, 335) suggested the text was written by Hattušili III and that the grandfather should be identified with Šuppiluliuma. Hoffner did not elaborate on this suggestion.
3. Based on the mention of Iyalanda and the personal names in *KBo* 22.10, van den Hout (1995, 200f.) ascribed it to a text he refers to as the "Deeds of Tudhaliya IV". He suggested that this literary creation, written by Tudhaliya IV's sons, dealt also with the deeds of Hattušili III (the grandfather)²¹.

There are several problems with these suggestions. The LH ductus of *KBo* 22.10 is an obstacle for the late dating deriving from the second and third suggestions. Nevertheless, the fragment is small and fragmentary, and future joins may change its paleographic dating.

As for the first proposal (ascribing the text to the *DŠ*); it is hard to believe that this fragment deals with Šuppiluliuma's accession. As we shall see in the 'First' Plague Prayer (*CTH* 378.1; see *infra*), Šuppiluliuma acceded to throne through the killing of his brother; therefore, it is hard to believe that the scribe of the *DŠ* would have illustrated this event in such an ordinary and indifferent fashion²². The discussion above, dealing with the formula of the king's accession that appears in our text (demonstrating a proper procedure), does not support this suggestion either.

As for the last suggestion, according to van den Hout, *KBo* 22.10 deals with two of the author's ancestors:

1. the 'grandfather', i.e. Hattušili III,
2. 'Tudhaliya', i.e. Tudhaliya IV father of the author.

In light of this data the question arises: why did the author refer to his grandfather by an epithet ('grandfather') and to his father by his personal name²³? Since according to van den Hout this fragment belongs to the annals of Tudhaliya IV, we should compare

²¹ Another fragment of this literary creation could be *KBo* 16.35, in which the names of "[H]attušili m[y] grandfather" and Piyamaradu are mentioned (van den Hout 1995, 201 n. 373).

²² In addition, the term ^{GIS}GIGIR which appears in l. 9', does not appear in the *DŠ*. The scribes of the *DŠ* always use the term ANŠE.KUR.RA. Even when ^{GIS}GIGIR can be used, the scribes preferred the other solution. Thus, in Fr. 15, in which the enemies attack Šuppiluliuma's chariot, the scribes only referred to the *kartapu* and 'six teams of horses' (see also Fr. 47 l. 6'). It is possible that the use of this term indicates an earlier date for the text (Goetze 1964, 89 (entry 13)).

²³ It is quite clear that the sign after Tudhaliya's name (l. 8'), a head of a horizontal wedge, does not belong to A (of A[BI/U-IA]).

KBo 22.10 with other annals in order to solve this problem. When we examine the annals of Arnuwanda I (*CTH* 143), we can see that Tudhaliya I is always mentioned by both epithets 'father' and 'Tudhaliya' together²⁴. When we examine the *DŠ*, which is closer in time to our fragment, we can see that Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma are mentioned only by their epithets, 'grandfather' and 'father', and not by their personal names (for the exceptional and problematic Fragment 2, v.s. Chapter III.C.1.1.2.). The situation in the *AM* is similar to the *DŠ*. According to Goetze's index (*AM*, 322f.), Šuppiluliuma's name appears only once, in Muršili's genealogy at the introduction of the text, and Tudhaliya II's name is not mentioned at all²⁵. In summation, none of these texts resembles *KBo* 22.10 in this matter.

In light of the problems involved with the late dating of the text (ductus, naming of forefathers) a fourth interpretation might be suggested. It is possible that this fragment belongs to a historiographical text or historical section in a text (e.g. one of the Plague Prayers) written by Muršili II and therefore it details the end of Tudhaliya II's reign. In order to avoid the problem of the double-naming we should identify 'Tudhaliya' as someone other than Tudhaliya II (who is referred to as 'my grandfather'). I believe that a good candidate is Tudhaliya 'the Younger'. When we accept this proposal, it is even possible to consider the restoration ^m*Du-ut-ḫa-li-ia* T[UR] in line 8' of the rev. The major disadvantage of this proposal is Kaššuliyawiya's name. We know of no woman with that name in this period.

If we accept the latter suggestion, this fragment describes the accession of Tudhaliya 'the Younger', after Hannutti (sent by Tudhaliya II?) and probably Tudhaliya 'the Younger' himself were involved in some kind of fighting in south-west Anatolia, in the area of Iyalanda. Consequently, this fragment demonstrates that at the end of Tudhaliya II's reign, central Anatolia (at least) was under firm Hittite sovereignty and Hittite forces were able to march to the western margins of Anatolia²⁶. If we equate

²⁴ Both epithets appear always as apposition, "my father, Tudhaliya". They are always accompanied also by the title "great king". V.s. also Hattušili III's(?) designation in *KBo* 16.35 (n. 21 above).

²⁵ This problem in van den Hout's analysis also exists if we try to connect this fragment to the *DŠ* (as suggested by Hoffner 1976) or the *AŠ*.

²⁶ If we accept the aforementioned interpretation, this fragment—and it does not matter for this purpose whether it belongs to the *DŠ*, or to a text of another genre—supports the claims that Tudhaliya II's death should be placed after Fragment 15, since the latter deals with the Hittite war in the area of the Lower Land (for Fragment 15, v.s. Chapter III.C.2.1.15.).

the noblemen (*BE-LU GAL.GAL* in l. 12') with the lords who appear in the 'First' Plague Prayer, we may suggest that the following lines detailed the murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger' a short while after his accession, perhaps even during the ceremonies.

A.1.3. 'First' Plague Prayer (CTH 378.1):

One short section in *CTH 378.1* (*KUB 14.14* obv. l. 16–22) mentions the murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger'. This paragraph is crucial for our understanding of this period, since it is the only source of information concerning this event²⁷. The importance of this text has long been recognized, but recently two joins (*KBo 50.184* and *KBo 58.8*) were added to the main text. As a result, some of the text's earlier discussions became irrelevant. Hence, my discussion is based on the most recent edition and historical analysis made by Groddek (2009b, 98–105)²⁸. Following is the translation of this paragraph:

But then it happened that m[y] father wronged Tudhaliya. The land of Hattuša, the princes, the noblemen, the commanders of the thousands and the officers, all of them went ov[er] to my father. They transgressed their oath to Tudhaliya, their²⁹ lord, and they killed him. Furthermore, those of his brothers who were with him (i.e. on his side), x-x-uda and Pirwa³⁰, they caught them and sent them to Alašiya. And since Tudhaliya was their lord, they were^(?) his servants of (= in) oath. And they broke y[ou]r³¹ oath, my lords³², [and they kill]led Tudhaliya.

According to this paragraph, the elite of Hatti, led by Šuppiluliuma, rebelled against Tudhaliya 'the Younger' and killed him. A new piece of information added by the new

²⁷ e.g. Groddek's (2009b, 105 n. 60) note concerning this problematic situation.

²⁸ For the former analyses of this section see Groddek 2009b, 100–103.

²⁹ Written en-*KU-NU*, 'your lord'. See also l. 22: "And they broke yo[u]r oath".

³⁰ This is a nominal phrase: *nam-ma-aš-ši *ku*-e-eš ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}-ŠU [m]x-x-ú-da mPí-ir-wa-aš-ša*.

³¹ Groddek (2009: 104 f.) suggests reading *šu-me-^{*}e[n^{*}-za-a]n¹* instead of the formerly accepted *šu-me-^{*}e¹-[e]l* (which characterizes NH texts). Based on collation of photographs it seems to me that the reading *šumēl*, is possible as well.

³² Usually in this text appears the idiom "my gods my lords" (*DINGIR^{MEŠ} EN^{MEŠ}-YA*). Here for some reason only the second part of this phrase appears. Perhaps we should restore <*DINGIR^{MEŠ}*> *EN^{MEŠ}-YA*.

join, *KBo* 50.184, is that x-x-uda and Pirwa³³, two sons of Tudhaliya II, stood by Tudhaliya 'the Younger'. These two brothers were not killed, but sent to Alašiya (Cyprus). It seems from the text that Tudhaliya 'the Younger' was killed when he was already a king (Groddek 2009b, 100, 102–104; cf. Freu 2002b, 91). It is possible that the sealing *SBo* I 58³⁴ was made by his seal.

A.2. Šuppiluliuma's genealogy:

In this chapter we try to identify the family relations between Šuppiluliuma and the prominent members of the royal family.

Since Tudhaliya 'the Younger' was the immediate heir, it is quite probable that he was Tudhaliya II's eldest son³⁵. Other sons of Tudhaliya II were Zita(na)³⁶, x-x-uda and Pirwa³⁷. An unnamed daughter of Tudhaliya II(?) was given by Šuppiluliuma to Huqqana of Hayaša³⁸. In order to examine Šuppiluliuma's place in this family, we should examine several additional details.

Three queens (titled *tawananna-*) ruled by Šuppiluliuma's side. The first was Taduhepa, Tudhaliya II's last queen (ruled after Šata(n)duhepa)³⁹. Henti was Šuppiluliuma's second *tawananna-* and his first spouse⁴⁰. Šuppiluliuma's last queen and second wife was the Babylonian princess Tawananna⁴¹.

³³ For the name Pirwa, v.s. p. 104f. n. 58.

³⁴ [NA⁴ KIŠIB ^m Du-ut-ḫa-li]-ia LUGAL GAL U[R.SAG]. For this sealing, see Otten 1995, 10f.; Soysal 2003, 51.

³⁵ Cf. Soysal (2003), who claims that Tudhaliya 'the Younger' was the son of Kantuzzili (II, the 'priest', (Arnuwanda I's son)). See also Miller's (2004, n. 4 in p. 5f.) response.

³⁶ Zita(na) wrote *EA* 44 and appears in several other texts (*EA* 170; *DŠ* Fr. 28; *AM*, 152 l. 18–20) as a Hittite commander and Šuppiluliuma's brother. If indeed Šuppiluliuma was not Tudhaliya II's son (a possibility that will be examined later in this chapter), it is possible that the same applies also to Zita(na).

³⁷ These two princes are mentioned only in *CTH* 378.1, where they were deported to Alašiya following their failed attempt to protect Tudhaliya 'the Younger'.

³⁸ To be precise, she is designated as "sister of Šuppiluliuma" (*HDT*, 31 par. §25).

³⁹ *KUB* 26.57 obv. 9. Concerning the order of Šuppiluliuma's queens, see (among others) Goetze 1952, 71; Kitchen 1962, 1f.; Otten 1968, 18f.; id. 1994; 253f.; Bin-Nun 1975, 167, 261f.; Houwink ten Cate 1995–1996, 54; Bryce 2005, 159f.

⁴⁰ For Henti's sealings, see Otten 1994; id. 1995, 11–13; Bawanypeck 2007, 50, 53–55. For *KUB* 19.25 (*CTH* 44), in which Henti appears as the *tawananna-*, see Goetze 1940, 12–17. Šuppiluliuma had at least five sons: Arnuwanda II (appears as a crown prince in *CTH* 44 (Gurney 1983, 99f.; Otten 1994, 254)), Telipinu ('priest' of Kizzuwatna (*CTH* 44) and later of Aleppo (*CTH* 83.1.A.)), Piyaššili/Šarri-Kušuh (ruler of Carchemiš (*DŠ*, Fr. 28, E col. iii l. 15–23)), Zannanza (the prince that was sent to Egypt; Liverani (1971) suggested this was not his name, but an Egyptian term meaning "the king's son")) and Muršili II. He had at least two daughters: Muwatti was given to Mašhuiluwa ruler of Mira-Kuwaliya (*CTH* 68, par. §2), and another daughter was given to Šattiwaza (*Šat.* 1, par. §6). It

It seems that Šuppiluliuma's place in the royal family is still unclear (e.g. Houwink ten Cate 1995–1996, 56f.; cf. Groddek 2009b, 101). On the one hand, we have his stamp seals, in which he designated himself as "son of Tudhaliya (II)" (Otten 1993, 10–13). On the other hand, the inscription on the inner ring of Henti's sealing (*Çorum* 9/93 and possibly also *Bo* 91/1016) is as follows:

^{NA4}KIŠIB ^f*He-en₆-ti-[i]* M[UNUS.LUG]AL GAL DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL
GAL UR.SAG

Seal of Henti, Great Q[uee]n, daughter of Great King, Hero.

The most plausible conclusion from this reading is that Henti was the daughter of Tudhaliya II (the 'Great King') and not Šuppiluliuma, her husband.

Otten (1994, 259f.; followed by Groddek 2009b, 101) suggested a different rendering of the sealing:

...Hero. Seal of Henti, Great Q[uee]n, Great Princess
(DUMU.MUNUS.LUGAL GAL).

There are two objections to this reading:

1. We should notice that the title 'Hero' appears at the end of the inner ring, in which Henti alone is mentioned. Some scholars suggest that Tudhaliya II's name and title were mentioned in the seal's outer ring (in addition to those of Šuppiluliuma), and that the 'Hero' refers to him (see discussion in Bawanyeck 2007, 54). Notice however, that the outlines of other joint seals of Šuppiluliuma (together with Tawananna) do not support this restoration⁴².

seems that at least Muršili II was the son of Henti (e.g. the 'Cruciform Seal'), and since he was Šuppiluliuma's youngest son (his three brothers were active during the Second Syrian War and even earlier), it is quite possible that Henti was the mother of his elder brothers too. Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the possibility that Piyaššili/Šarri-Kušuh and Telipinu, who were not contenders to the throne, were born to a secondary wife.

⁴¹ E.g. her titles in the sealing in *Bo* 70/747: "Seal of Tawananna, Great Queen, princess of Babylonia" (^{NA4}KIŠIB ^f*Ta-wa-na-an-na* MUNUS.LUGAL GAL DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL KUR KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{K1}). The title "DUMU.MUNUS.LUGAL KUR KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{K1}" should probably be read "princess of Babylonia" and not "daughter of the king of Babylon" (Otten 1995, 14; Hawkins 2001, 33). It is possible that her real name was Malnigal (Börker-Klähn 1995). For further discussion concerning her joint sealings with Šuppiluliuma, see Otten 1995, 13–16; Bawanyeck 2007, 50, 55–57. Tawananna continued to rule into Muršili II's reign and was deposed by him following her accusation of treason (witchcraft and the death of queen Kaššuliyawiya; her crimes were detailed in *CTH* 70 and 71; see also Bryce (2005, 207–210) for a summary of her misdeeds).

⁴² This restoration is possibly based upon the restoration of Arnuwanda II's and Tawananna's joint sealing (*Bo* 90/559; Otten 1995, 17f.). Nevertheless, it is most probable that the title 'Hero' would be written in the outer ring, where the name of the father was written (e.g. Otten's (id., 18) restoration).

2. The meaning of the title 'Great Princess' is not clear⁴³, but if Henti bore the status of 'Great Queen', the highest a Hittite noblewoman could achieve, there would be no reason for her to introduce herself in her official stamp with a second-degree title⁴⁴.

For these reasons we should prefer the first reading, and consider the possibility that Šuppiluliuma became a member of Tudhaliya II's nuclear family by marrying Henti, Tudhaliya II's daughter⁴⁵. After the marriage Tudhaliya II might have adopted Šuppiluliuma as his son, just as Tudhaliya I adopted Arnuwanda I when he married Ašmunikal (Beal 1983, 115–119). Nevertheless, we should notice that there is a difference between the two cases: Arnuwanda I was intended to be the future king, while Tudhaliya II had Tudhaliya 'the Younger' as his heir⁴⁶.

To conclude, it is quite possible that Tudhaliya 'the Younger' replaced his father, Tudhaliya II, on the throne and became king of Hatti. It is not clear how long he

⁴³ Otten (1994, 259f.) suggested that this title is an equivalent for the title DUMU.MUNUS.GAL. For the latter, see de Roos 2005.

⁴⁴ We should compare it to the joint seals of Tawananna and Šuppiluliuma. Her title in the middle ring (hieroglyphic) is 'Great Princess' (REX.FILIA MAGNUS). In the inner ring (cuneiform) her title is "princess of Babylonia" (Bawanyeck 2007, 55f.). Hawkins (2001, 74 n. 33) claimed that her title, REX.FILIA MAGNUS, should be equated with the title Urhi-Teššub holds in his seal, "(*tuhkanti-* and) DUMU.LUGAL.[GA]L", i.e. 'Great Prince'. He suggested that the latter title was analogous to *tuhkanti-* given to the crown prince, that is to say, an honorific for a prince designated to become the king. If we accept his comparison of the two titles, the first ('Great Princess') is a "pre-Great Queen title", i.e. a title given to a primary wife in a stage prior to her becoming a 'Great Queen' (a *tawananna-*), when the wife of the former king or the former primary wife were still holding the *tawananna*'s position (loc. cit.). And indeed, Tawananna's title was later (probably after Henti's death/dismissal) changed to 'Great Queen' (e.g. her joint sealings with Šuppiluliuma from Ugarit (Bawanyeck 2007, 56f.), and in her joint sealings with Arnuwanda II and Mušili II (Hawkins 2001, 174 n. 33)). If we accept this explanation, Henti's title in the seal under discussion cannot be analyzed as 'Great Princess', since she is already the *tawananna-* (the 'Great Queen').

⁴⁵ Groddek (2009b, 101) presented another support for the assumption that Henti was not Tudhaliya II's daughter. In the king list *KUB* 11.7 + *KUB* 36.122 rev. 9 we find this pair of names: [A-N]A ^fHi-^rin-ti-i¹ [x x ^mMa-a]n-ni-in-ni. Groddek (loc. cit) claimed that we can place the signs DUMU.MUNUS in the gap between Henti and Manninni (Arnuwanda I's son), therefore Henti was Manninni's daughter (concerning this text, see also Bin-Nun 1975, 270f.). This restoration, however, is not at all certain (e.g. Marizza 2007a, 10f.). We should mention that some scholars claim that the title 'Great Princess' was given to daughters and/or sisters of Great Kings (de Roos 2005, 211f.). That being the case, there is a contradiction between Henti's title and her real pedigree (since according to Groddek she was the daughter of Manninni and only a granddaughter of a Great King). For these reasons I prefer to rely on *Çorum* 9/93, which seems as harder evidence (for Hawkins' interpretation for this title, v.s. n. 44 above).

⁴⁶ Perhaps Tudhaliya II recognized Šuppiluliuma's charismatic and strong character and aspired to recruit him to the benefit of the unexperienced crown prince. Another possibility is that Šuppiluliuma was never adopted and was not considered Tudhaliya II's son before he became king. This possibility is less likely, since it is hard to believe that Šuppiluliuma could have come up with such a fiction, and that his successors kept telling it.

reigned; any period between one day and a couple of years is possible⁴⁷. He might even have had enough time to use a personal seal (*SBo* I 58; v.s. p. 177 n. 34).

The death of Tudhaliya 'the Younger' and the deportation of some of his supporters are detailed in the 'First' Plague Prayer (*CTH* 378.1; v.s. Chapter IV.A.1.3.). *KBo* 22.10 is a small fragment that can be interpreted in several ways (v.s. Chapter IV.A.1.2.). One possible interpretation is that this fragment dealt with the accession of Tudhaliya 'the Younger' (v.s. p. 175f.). It is almost inevitable that the *DŠ* referred to this event, as well as to his murder, but unfortunately this part of the composition did not survive (v.s. Chapter IV.A.1.1.).

The two new joins of *CTH* 378.1 provide a broader view of the relationships between the members of the royal family (Groddek 2009b, 101). On one side were Tudhaliya 'the Younger', x-x-uda and Pirwa. As for the other, the text mentions that all the elite of the 'land of Hattuša (l. 16f.) supported Šuppiluliuma, the leader of this group. We may guess that Šuppiluliuma gained the support of the princes Zita and Kantuzzili (II, the 'priest', Tudhaliya II's brother), since they retained their power and status during his reign. Another person that retained her former position was Taduhepa, Tudhaliya II's wife. As opposed to her, Šata(n)duhepa, Tudhaliya II's first wife, was not mentioned in late sources, such as the offering lists. Her disappearance gives an impression of a deliberate deletion of her memory, and that is why de Martino (2010) suggested that she was the mother of Tudhaliya 'the Younger', while Taduhepa was Šuppiluliuma's mother. In light of the new information drawn from *CTH* 378.1 we may suggest that: (a) Šata(n)duhepa was the mother of the losing party, which probably included Tudhaliya II's elder sons⁴⁸, and (b) Taduhepa was the mother of the princes of the second group of princes led by Šuppiluliuma⁴⁹, and perhaps she was even involved in the rebellion. As I previously mentioned (v.s. p. 178f.), it is quite possible that Šuppiluliuma himself was not Taduhepa's son, but rather her son-in-law,

⁴⁷ Since I treat *EA* 17 as the last dated deed of Tudhaliya II (ca. regnal year 30-31 of Amenhotep III, v.s. Table 1 in p. 162f.), and *EA* 75 as the first dated act of Šuppiluliuma (ca. Amenhotep III's regnal year 36 or 37; v.i. Chapter IV.B.1.8.2.), Tudhaliya 'the Younger' could not have ruled more than five years, and he probably ruled much less.

⁴⁸ And possibly also the unnamed daughter of Tudhaliya II(?) given by Šuppiluliuma to Huqqana of Hayaša (the treaty indicates Šuppiluliuma's contempt for Hayaša; therefore, it is possible that he gave Huqqana a 'less favored' princess).

⁴⁹ V.s. also the discussion in p. 94.

but since he was the strongest member in his group, he became the conspirators' leader.

A.3. The 'Cruciform Seal':

In light of this new information, it is worth examining the evidence from the so-called 'Cruciform Seal'⁵⁰. The point of departure for my discussion is the seal's interpretation as made by Dinçol et al. (1993)⁵¹. According to their proposal, we should read the sealings as follows:

wing	Side A (rev.)	wing	Side B (obv.)
center	Šuppiluliuma and Henti	center	Muršili and Gaššulawiya
lower	Muršili (I) and [Kali(?)]	right	[... ⁵² and] <i>Taduhepa</i>
right	Hattušili (I) and [Kadduši(?)]	upper	Tudhaliya (II) alone
upper	Labarna and [Tawana]nna	left	[Arnuwanda (I) and Ašmu]nikal
left	uncertain ⁵³	lower	Tudhaliya (I) and Nikalmati

Several scholars examined this reading and reached different conclusions. Following is a comparison of their views regarding the following questions:

1. What was the goal of this unique seal?
2. Who stood by the side of Taduhepa (Side B, right wing)? Why did she not stand next to her husband (Tudhaliya II, upper wing)?

Dinçol et al. (1993, 96f.) suggested that Side A is actually a king list intended to legitimize the accession of Šuppiluliuma the usurper by connecting him directly to the kings of the Old Kingdom. Side B, according to them, displayed the genealogy of Muršili II, the owner of this seal. The authors were not certain about the identity of the king who stood next to Taduhepa. They argued that Šuppiluliuma is the best candidate; however, positioning him in this location would imply that he married his father's wife and that Muršili II was the outcome of this marriage (id., 103). For that

⁵⁰ For the discovery of the sealings, see Dinçol et al. 1993, 87f.

⁵¹ For different interpretations of this seal, see Dinçol et al. 1993, 88f.; Carruba 1998, 92–96; id. 2005, 190f.; Forlanini 2005, 239 n. 30.

⁵² For the problematic traces of the king's name (and the former reading "Hattušili (II)"), see Dinçol et al. 1993, 91f.

⁵³ Both name end with the sign za/i. Dinçol et al. (1993, 104f.) suggest that the king was Huzziya '0'. See also Beal 2003, 31–33.

reason, the place next to Taduhepa was left vacant⁵⁴. In order to fill the gap in Muršili II's genealogy (i.e. Side B in which Muršili II's father is not mentioned), the authors treated the center of Side A (i.e. Šuppiluliuma and Henti) as the first step in Muršili II's genealogy. The problems with this proposal are obvious⁵⁵:

1. The objectives of both sides are not fulfilled: the center of Side A belongs to Side B; therefore Side A contains only kings of the OK, without any attempt to connect them to the present situation. Side B contains a significant gap, since Muršili II's father is not mentioned.
2. The place next to Taduhepa remains empty; Šuppiluliuma, the best candidate for this location, cannot be placed there.

Houwink ten Cate (1995–1996) suggested that Hattušili II (according to him, identical with Tašmišarri) was Taduhepa's husband, and that he ruled between Arnuwanda I and Tudhaliya II. For that reason he restored Hattušili II's name by Taduhepa's side (id., 53). This suggestion should be rejected, since it is clear today that Tašmišarri should be identified with Tudhaliya II, and that Tudhaliya II was the heir to the throne (the *tuhkanti-*) and the one to succeed Arnuwanda I (v.s. Chapter III.B.). Another problem with this proposal is that "Tudhaliya" (upper wing) is mentioned before "[Hattušili II and] Taduhepa" (right wing), while according to Houwink ten Cate the order should be reversed. Houwink ten Cate did not deal with the question of the seal's objective in his article.

This brings us to the last proposal made by Miller (2004, 7–9; see also Forlanini 2005, 239 n. 30). Miller claimed that the seal was probably considered as part of Muršili II's apology to Tudhaliya 'the Younger'; therefore he suggested restoring Side B as follows:

wing	Side B (obv.)
center	Muršili and Gaššulawiya
right	[<i>Tudhaliya 'the Younger'</i> and] Taduhepa
upper	Tudhaliya (II) alone/[and <i>Šata(n)duhepa</i>]
left	[Arnuwanda (I) and Ašmu]nikal
lower	Tudhaliya (I) and Nikalmati

⁵⁴ Why did not she stand next to her husband, Tudhaliya II? The authors (id., 97) suggested that she was not Šuppiluliuma's mother and that he possibly was a son of a secondary wife.

⁵⁵ See also the critique of Houwink ten Cate 1995–1996, 54.

This restoration fills the gaps beside Tudhaliya II and Taduhepa, and gives a convincing explanation for the fact they did not stand next to one another. There are, however, other problems in this suggestion:

1. Why did Muršili II felt the necessity to express his apology here? This is not a prayer to the gods, but an official (though unique) seal that possibly appeared on official documents accessible to his opponents.
2. The reason for adding Side A is unclear. None of the kings mentioned on this side can be related to the proposed objective of the seal. Not to mention that at the center of Side A stands Šuppiluliuma, the murderer of Tudhaliya 'the Younger'.

Miller's interpretation is possible, but because of these problems I want to add another possible interpretation. First of all, based on the surviving parts of the seal we should discuss its goal. In the centers of both sides we find Šuppiluliuma and Muršili II; therefore they were probably the main interest of the seal owner. In other words, the seal was created in order to promote a goal connected to both of these kings. We can define this goal as follows: the seal expresses Muršili II's will to legitimize his kingship. A necessary step in achieving this objective is to deal with the accusations against his father and to legitimize his father's reign; and indeed, Side A of the seal deals exactly with this matter⁵⁶. On this side Šuppiluliuma is introduced as a direct offspring of the kings of the OK. The reason for that is clear; Šuppiluliuma was a usurper. His justification for becoming a king is his blood connection with the royal dynasty, and not his connection to his direct predecessors, since in this field he was second to his adversary, Tudhaliya 'the Younger'. Henti was placed next to Šuppiluliuma since she was probably Muršili's mother (and thus serves as a bridge to Side B) and possibly a daughter of Tudhaliya II (serving therefore as a better connection to the royal family)⁵⁷, and this brings us directly to the next step. On side B, Muršili II had to deal with the accusations against him, as second generation of the despicable act. Again, Muršili had to bypass the irritating presence-absence of Tudhaliya 'the Younger'. In my opinion he solved this problem in this manner:

⁵⁶ The *DŠ* was written for the same reason, though it deals with it in a different manner (Šuppiluliuma deserves to become king, since prior to Tudhaliya II's death he saved Hatti and was second only to the king).

⁵⁷ V.s. p. 178f. Nevertheless, we can infer from Šuppiluliuma's high standing in the court and the wide support he had received in his coup that his royal origin is certain (though more elusive than usually accepted).

wing	Side B (obv.)
center	Muršili and Gaššulawiya
right	[Šuppiluliuma and] Taduhepa
upper	Tudhaliya (II) alone
left	[Arnuwanda (I) and Ašmu]nikal
lower	Tudhaliya (I) and Nikalmati

In this way Muršili II created a line of 'lawful' entitlement to kingship. The line of succession begins with Tudhaliya I, possibly because of his greatness and fame⁵⁸. After mentioning Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I with their spouses, came the turn of Tudhaliya II. I believe that the position next to him remained vacant. After all, Muršili II had no intention of reminding his opponents of the existence of Šata(n)duhepa, possibly the mother of Tudhaliya 'the Younger' (v.s. p. 94). Taduhepa was not positioned next to Tudhaliya II, since she was needed for the next step of Muršili's justification. She was possibly the mother of the victorious line of succession (either Šuppiluliuma or his wife Henti). As the first *tawananna*- by Šuppiluliuma's side and the one who delegated her authority to him after the coup (and possibly even one of the conspirators; v.s. p. 180f.), she had an important role in making Šuppiluliuma a king. For that reason I believe that Šuppiluliuma was positioned in the right wing next to her⁵⁹.

In summary, let us now return to the questions at the beginning of this section:

1. What was the objective of the seal?
2. Who stood next to Taduhepa, and why did not she stand next to her husband?

The seal was intended to legitimize Muršili II' kingship. In order to do so Muršili had to deal first with the problematic place of his father, Šuppiluliuma, in the line of succession. On Side A he bypassed the problem by connecting Šuppiluliuma directly to the kings of the OK. Henti was placed next to him since she was probably Muršili II's mother, and thus served as a bridge between Sides A and B of the seal. In

⁵⁸ In addition, Muršili actually did not have a choice. If he took one step back, he would encounter an obstacle in the person of Kantuzzili (I), another well-known usurper.

⁵⁹ For the problematic traces of the king's name (and the former reading "Hattušili"), see Dinçol et al. 1993, 91f.

addition, it is possible that she had a more distinguished lineage than Šuppiluliuma, thus strengthening Muršili's relation to the royal family⁶⁰. On Side B, Muršili treated the accusations against himself. He placed Taduhepa by Šuppiluliuma's side, and in this manner she delegated her authority and pedigree to Šuppiluliuma. In addition, in this manner Muršili created an independent line of succession that bypasses Šuppiluliuma (through Taduhepa, his grandmother (either through Šuppiluliuma or through Henti)). The fact that Šuppiluliuma is the only king not standing next to his wife (and that Tudhaliya II stands alone) is less important in this context. The objective of the seal's owner was not to display his and his father's genealogy⁶¹, but rather to create an alternative line of succession which presented their lawful right to rule. By the shifting of Šuppiluliuma's name to these two different locations, Muršili II could exhibit his claim for kingship in the best way.

⁶⁰ We can compare it to Hattušili I, who connected himself to the royal dynasty through Tawananna, his aunt ("son of the brother of Tawananna"; Beckman 1983b, 20f. Beal 2003, 13–15; Bryce 2005, 68).

⁶¹ Notice for example, that if the seal was meant to be a pure genealogical list, Muršili II could have mentioned the (in)famous Tawananna next to Šuppiluliuma. She was, however Muršili's adversary, and more important, she did not serve Muršili II's interest in defending his right of the throne.

IV.B. The 'First Syrian War' and its aftermath:

B.1. Analysis of the sources:

The historical prologue of *Šat. I* (par. §§1–5) is the most detailed source for the First Syrian War. It was placed at the beginning of the chapter (and not *CTH* 40), since it serves as a source for comparison and as the 'ultimate' model of the First Syrian War.

B.1.1. The Šattiwaza treaty (CTH 51.I)¹:

B.1.1.1. Summary of the treaty's historical preamble:

Following is a summary of the events and itinerary of the First Syrian War, literally, as they appear in the treaty of Šuppiluliuma and Šattiwaza king of Hanigalbat (the Hittite vassal state established in Mittanni).

(Par. §§1–2) The events began with a treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Artatama (II), 'king of the land of Hurri'. At the same time, Tušratta 'king of Mittanni' acted against Šuppiluliuma (in an unclear manner²). As a result, Šuppiluliuma launched a foray (the so-called Early Foray; see below); he plundered the lands of the Euphrates' west bank and annexed Mount Lebanon (Niblani)³.

For the second time Tušratta "was presumptuous" and threatened to invade lands located on the Euphrates' west bank. After the text mentions some problems Tudhaliya II encountered previously around the same area (probably serving as *casus belli*), it describes Šuppiluliuma's invasion to Išuwa⁴. Following this military operation, Išuwa and its neighboring kingdoms (in east and north-east Anatolia) came under Hittite sovereignty.

(Par. §3) Šuppiluliuma used this success in order to invade Mittanni and its allies. From Išuwa, Šuppiluliuma continued to Alše⁵ and the district of Kutmar⁶. He gave Kutmar to Antaratli, ruler of Alše, probably as reward for his surrender without a

¹ There are three Akkadian copies (A, B and C) and one small fragment in Hittite (*CTH* 51.II) of this text. It is possible that Copies A and C are drafts rather than copies of the final versions (Altman 2004a, 264f.). For transliteration, see *Portal Mainz*. For translation of the relevant section of the text, see: *HDT*, 42–44; Altman 2004a, 266–270; Hazenbos 2006b, 242f.

² The verb is *na'ādu* (*HDT*, 42: "Tušratta...called for attention from the Great King"; Altman 2004a, 266: "Tušratta...exalted himself"). For discussion see Altman 2004a, 266 n. 5.

³ For references to discussion with the Early Foray (Hittite ruler, date and extent), see *infra*.

⁴ For the location of Išuwa, v.s. p. 53f.

⁵ Alše was located in proximity to Išuwa and Mittanni, possibly between the Murat River and the upper Euphrates. See discussion in: *RGTC* 6, 10; *RGTC* 6/2, 3; *RGTC* 12/2, 16).

⁶ It was located in the kingdom of Alše. See discussion in: *RGTC* 6, 231; *RGTC* 6/2, 88.

fight. From there, Šuppiluliuma continued to the district of Šuta⁷, from which he took a great amount of booty. Then Šuppiluliuma marched to Waššukanni⁸, the capital city of Mittanni, and looted the city. Tušratta could not resist the Hittite army and fled.

(Par. §4) After his invasion to the heart of Mittanni, Šuppiluliuma crossed the Euphrates and turned against Mittanni's Syrian vassals. Following the subjugation of Aleppo and Mukiš⁹, Takuwa of Niya¹⁰ came to the land of Mukiš to surrender before Šuppiluliuma. Behind his back (literally "after"), however, his brother Aki-Teššub together with a group of noblemen (which included several chariot-warriors¹¹ and Akiya king of Arahati) incited Niya to rebellion. Since the rebels seized Arahati¹² the Hittites met them in battle near this city. Šuppiluliuma came victorious from the battle and took the rebellion's leaders and their possessions, as well as the "city of Qatna¹³ together with its belonging and possessions", to Hatti¹⁴.

(Par. §5) From there, Šuppiluliuma marched to Nuhašše¹⁵ and conquered it. Its king Šarrupši fled, but all of his family was captured and deported to Hatti. Takip-šarri, a subject of Šarrupši, was installed in Ukulzat¹⁶. The next step in Šuppiluliuma's plan was to attack the land of Apina¹⁷. His plans changed, however, when Šutatarra ruler of Qadeš¹⁸ and his son Aitakkama decided to stand in his way. Šuppiluliuma beat them near the city of Abzuya, captured and deported them to Hatti¹⁹. After the victory, Šuppiluliuma continued to Apina, his original destination. He fought there against Ariwana and his nobles²⁰ and deported them to Hatti.

⁷ Situated in proximity to Waššukanni and Irrita. See discussion in: *RGTC* 6, 370; *RGTC* 6/2, 149; Astour 1992, 6f..

⁸ For its location, v.s. p. 58 n. 30.

⁹ For discussion concerning Mukiš, v.s. p. 78 n. 144.

¹⁰ The city of Niya was the capital of a kingdom with the same name. It was located in west Syria, not far from Qatna and near the Gab River. It can perhaps be located in Qal'at al-Mudīq. For discussion see, Röllig 1999; *RGTC* 12/2, 211f.

¹¹ These people were probably well-known since they are mentioned by name.

¹² For Arahati, see Richter 2008, 184 n. 43 (in or near the Orontes valley, between Niya and Qatna).

¹³ The city of Qatna is identified with Tell el-Mišrife. For historical sources dealing with this city, see Klengel 2000; Richter 2006. For the archaeological excavations at this site, see Pfälzner 2006.

¹⁴ See discussion in Gromova 2007, 299.

¹⁵ For discussion concerning the location of Nuhašše, v.s. p. 82 n. 169.

¹⁶ For the location of Ukulzat, see *RGTC* 6, 451f.; *RGTC* 12/2, 319; Richter 2007, 307f.

¹⁷ For its possible location, v.i. discussion in p. 194f.

¹⁸ For a discussion concerning Qadeš, v.s. p. 82 n. 164.

¹⁹ There is an incompatibility between Copies A and B. In Copy A (*KBo* 1.1 obv. 42) among the deportees were Šutatarra's son (sg.) and brothers (pl.), while in Copy B (*KBo* 1.2 obv. 24) we find Šutatarra's sons (pl.) and brother (sg.). In other cases, Copy B seems more accurate than Copy A (Altman 2004a, 264 n. 2), possibly also here. See discussion *infra*.

²⁰ Probably well-known persons since they are mentioned by name.

The last lines of par. §5 summarize the campaign as follows: at the end of this military operation that lasted one year, Šuppiluliuma plundered the entire region between the eastern bank of the Euphrates and Mount Lebanon.

B.1.1.2. Discussion:

Following the analysis of the objectives of *Šat. 1*, the discussion of the important issues mentioned in this text follows their appearance in the text (i.e. from par. §1 to §5).

In order to analyze the events and itinerary we should first examine **the goal of *Šat. 1*'s historical preamble**. Two treaties were concluded with Šattiwaza, *Šat. 1* (CTH 51.I) and *Šat. 2* (CTH 51.II). Except for the arrival of Šattiwaza in Hatti and his subjugation to Šuppiluliuma, the subjects of the two treaties' historical prologues are totally different; while *Šat. 1* details the First Syrian War and the conquest of Syria, *Šat. 2* totally neglected these events. Beckman (1993, 55) characterized *Šat. 2*—a treaty seemingly dictated by Šattiwaza—as an apology of Šattiwaza. He claimed that the text's prologue was meant to explain the reasons for Šattiwaza's seizure of Mittanni's throne from the ruling, and therefore legitimate, king. For that reason, Šattiwaza described the misdeeds of the Mittannian kings Artatama II and his son Šuttarna III (belong to a rival branch of the royal family)²¹, who ruled Mittanni after the death of Tušratta, Šattiwaza's father.

Šat. 1, on the other hand, can be seen as an apology of the Hittite side of the treaty. In the historical prologue of this contract, there is a strange phenomenon that demands explanation; it describes in detail the First Syrian Campaign, which took place a long time before the conclusion of the treaty²², and at the same time it completely ignores the Second Syrian War, though the treaty was written either in the midst of this war or immediately after it. In my opinion, the reason for this is that the Hittites could not justify the measures taken against Mittanni using the events of the Second Syrian War, since during this war Šattiwaza (the designated king of Mittanni/Hanigalbat) was already a declared ally who fought by their side, therefore deserving a much more

²¹ His name is written also Šutatarra (*Šat. 1* par. §6; not to be confused with Šutatarra of Qadeš).

²² In my opinion the First Syrian Campaign should be dated to the First Time-Division (*EA 75*, close to the end of Amenhotep III's reign), while the Second Syrian War (and the treaties' conclusion with Šattiwaza) began during the Second Time-Division (end of Akhenaten's reign). Therefore, a long period (15 to 20 years) separated these two wars. When we date the Second Syrian War to the end of Tutankhamun's reign, this period is much longer.

decent reward than he eventually received. A more serious problem—and the Hittites did not deny this fact—was posed by Šuttarna III, Mittanni's ruling king and the enemy during the Second Syrian War. Though at this stage Šuttarna III was Šuppiluliuma's enemy, he was connected to the Hittites by a treaty concluded by Šuppiluliuma (or Tudhaliya II) and his father (Artatama II)²³. As a result, the conquest of Mittanni was a breach of the treaty. For these reasons Šuppiluliuma had no choice but to turn to an earlier phase of the two kingdoms' relationships, that is to say, to Tušratta's reign²⁴. The Hittites were not committed to Tušratta, since they had no mutual agreement. In addition, the First Syrian War broke out because of Tušratta's misdeeds (literally "Because of the presumptuousness of king Tušratta I plundered all of these lands..." (*HDT*, 44 par. §5)); therefore, he was responsible for the consequences.

In sum, it seems that the main goal of *Šat. I*'s historical prologue is to explain the reduction of Mittanni's territory and the granting of the sovereignty over this kingdom to Carchemiš²⁵. In order to explain these measures, the author used the First Syrian War (and ignored the Second), since it better suited his needs. Šuppiluliuma's argumentation was based on the reasoning that (a) the areas of dispute were taken due to a justified cause (Tušratta's presumptuousness), and (b) the region was conquered in an early period, i.e. Tušratta's reign, during which both Šuttarna III and Šattiwaza, to whom Hatti was committed, were not yet involved in the events²⁶.

Some of the events mentioned in *Šat. I* happened later than the First Syrian War and they were integrated into the description of this war only because they fit *Šat. I*'s objective (i.e. to demonstrate that all parts of Mittannian-Syria were conquered during Tušratta's reign). These events will be discussed later in detail²⁷.

²³ Probably for this reason the author stressed the fact that Šuttarna III was Artatama II's son and successor (par. 6§ "...the Storm-god decided the legal case of Artatama. His son brought the dead Artatama back to life"). By emphasizing this point, Šuppiluliuma could have claimed that after Tušratta's death, the lawful king Šuttarna III had the chance to become a good and rightful king (and Šuppiluliuma's ally), but he missed it (par. §6: "the entire land of Mittanni went to ruin").

²⁴ E.g. par. §10 (*HDT*, 45).

²⁵ To this objective we may add the attempt to justify the removal of the legitimate king, Šuttarna III, whose misdeeds were detailed briefly in par. §6.

²⁶ Šattiwaza, because his father was an enemy, and Šuttarna III, since at that stage his father had no influence on events. Concerning the Hittite argumentation, see also Altman 2004a, 270–288.

²⁷ The most important events are the rebellion of **Aki-Teššub** (close to Tušratta's counter-attack) and his final war in Arahati (cf. Richter 2002, 608–610). Inaccuracies can also be found in the description of two other events: the conquest of **Qatna** by force and **Šarrupši**'s fate. They were described vaguely, since the Hittites had 'skeletons in the closet' regarding their conduct in these matters. If

Tušratta ruled Mittanni during the events described in the historical prologue. When the hostility began, Šuppiluliuma signed a **treaty with Artatama II 'king of Hurri'** (par. §1). From the wording of par. §1 it seems that this treaty was signed when Tušratta was 'presumptuous' for the first time, i.e. close to the **Early Foray**. If we accept the dating of the Early Foray to Tudhaliya II's reign²⁸, it is quite possible that the treaty with Artatama II was concluded during his reign as well (v.s. p. 165).

There is much scholarly debate concerning the text's distinction between two nomenclatures of Tušratta and Artatama II, '**king of Mittanni**' and '**king of Hurri**' respectively (e.g. Altman 2004a, 315–318). It seems that the use of these titles does not support the existence of two kingdoms in Mittanni's territory, but should rather be seen in light of the objectives of *Šat. I*²⁹. It seems that in this treaty Šuppiluliuma strives to demonstrate that the conflict between Mittanni and Hatti was a consequence of Tušratta's misdeeds. For that reason he could not display Artatama II, his ally against Tušratta, as nobody; therefore, he gave him a fictitious title, 'king of Hurri', and thus supplied a solid legal basis for his actions against Tušratta³⁰. It is not clear from par. §1 whether Artatama II stayed in Mittanni when the contract was signed, or whether he fled to Hatti from fear of Tušratta (as did Šattiwaza later on in a similar situation).

As opposed to the Early Foray, the *casus belli for the First Syrian War* is detailed in the treaty (par. §1 and §5). The text mentioned that during the reign of Šuppiluliuma's father, a group of Hittite kingdoms rebelled and groups of people escaped and entered the land of Išuwa. It seems that part of the rebellious kingdoms were conquered

Apina is identified with Damascus (an Egyptian vassal), it seems that the description of the arrival in Apina is somewhat exaggerated (Na'aman 1975, 207f.). In my opinion, there are two possible solutions to this problem. First, it is possible that the most remote destination of the First Syrian War was equated with that of the Second Syrian War (e.g. *EA* 53, l. 35–39). However, since the place of Apina in the plot is so important (it is the only explanation for the conquest of Qadeš), and more important, since it was presented as a Mittannian vassal (as opposed to Qadeš and Amurru, there is no question as to the loyalty of Damascus to Egypt; e.g. *EA* 53, l. 63–70, in which Damascus is presented as a model of loyalty); therefore, it is better to place Apina in another location (concerning Apina, v.i. p. 194f.).

²⁸ For the date (probably Tudhaliya II) and extent (probably quite limited) of the Early Foray (par. §1) v.s. p. 5–8; Chapter III.D.1.3.

²⁹ This view is based for example upon Wilhelm 1989, 30, 37f.

³⁰ The title is fictitious in the sense that upon signing the agreement, Artatama II was probably not equal in his status to Tušratta as Šuppiluliuma tried to introduce him in this paragraph. Artatama II had no doubt some basis for his claim to the throne of Mittanni, since later he also received the support of Assyria.

during an earlier period, possibly even during Tudhaliya II's reign³¹, but now Šuppiluliuma wanted to reconquer Išuwa and retrieve the Hittite subjects who stayed there (Altman 2004a, 277). Prior to this operation, Tušratta threatened to invade regions of the west bank of the Euphrates if Šuppiluliuma attacked Išuwa. It seems quite possible, that following Šuppiluliuma's invasion (par. §2) Tušratta carried out his threat, and this reaction led to an escalation and the war spread to Mittanni territory.

In par. §3 we find the submission of Antaratli, ruler of **Alše**. At a later phase, after the death of Tušratta, Alše changed its position again as it moved to the Assyrian camp (e.g. *Šat. 1* par. §6; *Šat. 2*, par. §1).

The conquest of **Mukiš** is mentioned in par. §4. It is possible that *KBo* 13.55 (*CTH* 136), a treaty between a Hittite king and Mukiš, was concluded during the First Syrian War³². Possibly, the destruction layer of Alalah (Tell Atchana) level IV might be connected with this attack as well³³, though for some unknown reason this city was not mentioned in the text³⁴.

Using par. §4 and the beginning of par. §5 we can analyze the **strategy of the Hittite army in north Syria**. The examination should start with the quite unusual event of the submission of Qatna. As opposed to the former localities, there is no indication that Šuppiluliuma conquered **Qatna** by force³⁵; the text only mentions that he took

³¹ Because of the contradiction in the time of activity in lines 14 and 15 (par. §1). Following the list of the rebellious kingdoms Šuppiluliuma wrote (l. 14): "But my majesty, Šuppiluliuma...defeated them". In the next line, the text apprises the first events of the First Syrian Campaign: "Now, the troops which had escaped from me had entered the land of Išuwa...". We should notice that at the end of this episode, i.e. after the conquest of Išuwa, the text mentions again (l. 22–24): "these troops and those lands I overpowered...I freed the lands which I captured..." (see also Altman 2004a, 276f.).

³² The treaty was discussed by Devecchi 2007. If we date this treaty to Šuppiluliuma's reign (id., 211), it seems that it was concluded close to the First Syrian War, since following the second conquest of Mukiš during the Second Syrian War, Mukiš was probably under the sovereignty of Piyaššili, ruler of Carchemiš (Niedorf 2002, 524). It is even possible that a Hittite governor was installed in this kingdom (id., 523–525; concerning 'Tudhaliya the DUMU.LUGAL', see Fink 2007, 189–194; Miller 2007b, 137f. and n. 40 there (with respect to the Tudhaliya mentioned in *CTH* 63.A.); Devecchi 2010, 15–17; notice, however, that according to Beckman (2007, 165) the DUMU.LUGAL was not stationed at one place, but rather traveled throughout Hittite Syria).

³³ See discussion in Fink 2007, 184f.; von Dassow 2008, 61; Casana 2009, 11.

³⁴ See in this context von Dassow 2008, 61f.

³⁵ The trigger for the conquest of Qatna is also not mentioned. Klengel (1992b, 157) suggested that the city was conquered following the war in Arahati (against Aki-Teššub and Akiya); therefore, the author did not have to mention its hostility. I see no reason to connect Qatna to Aki-Teššub's

booty and prisoners from the city. Some scholars suggested that this is evidence that the city was able to resist the occupation attempts³⁶. The new findings from Qatna, however, contradicts this assumption (v.i. Chapter IV.C.1.; v.i. p. 239 for the date of the destruction layer from the city). Another possible explanation for this oddity is that Qatna surrendered to Šuppiluliuma without resistance as he approached, so he did not have to conquer the city by force. In my opinion, the Hittite author did not mention the act of surrender since later the Hittites abandoned the city and its ruler to their fate. In this case, the looting of Qatna detailed in *Šat. I* probably took place later, as part of the second occupation of the city (Third Time-Division).

When this scenario is accepted, an explanation for **the Hittite army's itinerary and strategy** can be offered. It appears from the text that after Šuppiluliuma conquered Aleppo, Mukiš, Niya and Arahati, he turned to Qatna (end of par. §4), and then marched to Nuhašše (beginning of par. §5). The general direction of Šuppiluliuma's advance should have been from north to south³⁷; nevertheless, although it was situated more to the south, Šuppiluliuma chose to attack Qatna before he proceeded to Nuhašše. A possible explanation is that Šuppiluliuma feared the strength of Nuhašše, and wanted to isolate it from its southern allies. For that reason he ordered his troops to flank it. The Hittite army, therefore, marched to the south (probably west of Nuhašše, through the Orontes valley), conquered Qatna (or achieved its cooperation in a different manner), and only then turned back and marched northward toward Nuhašše³⁸.

In *Šat. I* **Šarrupši** appears as the king of Nuhašše and as an enemy of the Hittites (par. §5). This description will be later compared with *CTH 53*, in which Šarrupši

alliance. The city was a known vassal of Mittanni (as Klengel (1992b, 156; id. 2000, 248) mentioned) and this fact alone should have been sufficient for Šuppiluliuma.

³⁶ E.g. Klengel 1992b, 156f.; Altman 2004a, 282f. and n. 58 there. The latter used also the evidence from the Qatna dossier from Amarna. In my opinion this correspondence should be dated to a later phase. In other words, the First Syrian Campaign happened during the First Time-Division (*EA 75*) and Amenhotep III's reign, while Akizzi's correspondence belongs to the Third Time-Division and close to the end of Akhenaten's reign (see also Gromova 2007, 298f.).

³⁷ Actually, at the beginning of his campaign in Syria Šuppiluliuma had to march westward, from the Euphrates and Aleppo to Mukiš, in order to cover all the hostile territories of north Syria.

³⁸ It is possible that a hundred years earlier Thutmes III took a similar step (although in the opposite direction) in his eighth campaign. According to Egyptian sources, Thutmes fought in Aleppo, crossed the Euphrates, returned to Niya to hunt elephants, and only at that point turned against Qadeš (Klengel 1992b, 93f.). Klengel (loc. cit.) claimed that the reason for this maneuver was the strong Mittannian presence near Qadeš.

appears as a loyal Hittite vassal (v.i. Chapter IV.B.1.5.), and with *CTH* 46 and *EA* 51, in which Addu-nirari appears as the king of Nuhašše³⁹.

The **status of Qadeš** is somewhat puzzling. From the apologetic tone accompanying the story of its conquest⁴⁰, it seems that the city was an Egyptian vassal during the First Syrian War⁴¹. The problem is that there might be evidence that prior to the Amarna period, Qadeš was not an Egyptian vassal. During Thutmés IV's reign, a delegate of Qadeš was depicted as bringing "tributes" to the pharaoh alongside delegates of Mittanni, Babylonia, Tunip and Tahši (northern part of the Beqa') (Klengel 1992b, 97; id. 2006b, 141). A possible explanation for this scene is that Qadeš was depicted together with these kingdoms since it was situated outside the Egyptian sphere of influence⁴². In this case, it is not clear how the Egyptians managed to regain their control over this kingdom⁴³.

It is not clear what happened to **Aitakkama** right after the Hittite conquest. His name appears among the people who fought against Hatti, but he was not mentioned among the deportees (par. §5). There are two versions of the passage dealing with the Hittite

³⁹ For discussion concerning the order of Nuhašše's rulers, v.i. Chapter IV.C.3.2.

⁴⁰ "I did not seek to attack the land of Kinza, but..." (*HDT*, 43f.; see also Altman 2004, 284f.; Hazenbos 2006b, 243). In my opinion, this phrase cannot be interpreted as a mere explanation for the change in the campaign's itinerary. From the current phrasing of this passage it seems that initially Šuppiluliuma had no plan to attack the city, but because he was attacked he had to defend himself (e.g. Altman 2004, 284–286). In this context it is not so important whether Šuppiluliuma's claim concerning Šutatarra's attack is correct; the key element in this series of events is that Šuppiluliuma felt obliged to defend himself, and this phenomenon requires explanation (i.e., Qadeš was an Egyptian vassal).

⁴¹ Murnane 1990a, 10f.; Klengel 1999, 158; Altman 2004, 284f.; Morris 2005, 237–239. We should notice that despite the attribution of Qadeš to Egypt in *Šat. 1*, the political status of this city was complicated (e.g. Murnane 1990a, 142f.), possibly not so clear even to its king, let alone to Šuppiluliuma (see for example the contradiction between *Šat. 1*'s apologetic tone and Šuppiluliuma's accusation in Fr. 28 of the *DŠ* (Güterbock 1956, 97 l. 1–4: "...the man of Kinza whom I had [taken away³] from the king of Hurri-land")). We can compare this situation to the end of the Amarna period, when Aitakkama was accused by his neighbors (*EA* 174–176) and later by the pharaoh (*EA* 162) in conspiring with the Hittites against Egypt, while at the same time Aitakkama himself declared his loyalty to the pharaoh (*EA* 189). When Amurru faced a similar situation (a small kingdom between two empires), 'Aziru adopted the same pattern of behavior (for the contradiction between the Hittite sources in regard with the identity of Amurru's former sovereign, see Singer 1991b; Altman 2003b, 351–363; Miller 2008a, 547–549).

⁴² Klengel (1992b; id. 2006b) did not deal with this matter. The appearance of Duruša king of Qadeš in the inventory of Qatna (a clear Mittannian vassal (Klengel 2000, 247f.)) might indicate the same situation.

⁴³ The close relations between Egypt and Mittanni began during Amenhotep II's reign and continued to Amenhotep III's rule (Wilhelm 1993–1997, 294; Kühne 1999, 217); therefore, it seems that Egypt did not conquer Qadeš by force. And indeed, from Amenhotep II's seventh year onward, there is no evidence for Egyptian campaigns to Syria (Klengel 1992b, 96f. (except for the raid against 'Abdi-Aširta to be discussed later in this chapter)). A possible solution is that Qadeš was given to Egypt as part of a peace treaty (during the reign of either Thutmés IV or Amenhotep III).

victory. According to Copy A (*KBo* 1.1 obv. 42) Šutatarra was taken to prison together with his "son"; this son should be identified with Aitakkama, because he is the only son of Šutatarra mentioned in the text. Since Aitakkama became later the ruler of Qadeš, we may conclude that he was exiled to Hatti with his father, and later was returned to his kingdom and installed there by the Hittites (Murnane 1990a, 12; Klengel 1992b, 157; Richter 2008, 189).

However, in Copy B (*KBo* 1.2 obv. 24), which might be considered the more reliable copy (Altman 2004a, 264 n. 2), we read that Šutatarra was deported with his "sons". Since Aitakkama is not explicitly mentioned here (as opposed to the occurrence of his name in the former scene dealing with the battle against Šuppiluliuma), it seems probable that Aitakkama was appointed by Šuppiluliuma as king of Qadeš immediately following the conquest of the city⁴⁴. In this manner, Šuppiluliuma could have left the city ruled by a local and legitimate ruler.

The **location of Apina** (par. §5), the last destination of the Hittite army, is quite crucial for the understanding of the events. There are two known places with this name; the first can be identified with Damascus (Land of Upi)⁴⁵, and the second was part of the kingdom of Mukiš/Alalah⁴⁶.

In the context of the First Syrian War, however, both of these locations are problematic. If Biryawaza was the ruler of Damascus⁴⁷, this kingdom was an Egyptian vassal for several generations, and in addition Ariwana is not mentioned as one of Biryawaza's predecessors (*EA* 194, l. 6–16). For these reasons the inclusion of

⁴⁴ Aitakkama is mentioned in letters of the Third Time-Division; he was murdered by his son at an early stage of Muršili II's reign (Klengel 2006b, 141f.). Some scholars believe that *EA* 151, written by Abi-Milku of Tyre, heralds Aitakkama's accession (e.g. Giles 1995, 142; Gromova 2007, 294f.). In my opinion, this letter supplied intelligence to the pharaoh as to the situation in Canaan, and therefore should be connected (together with *EA* 147 and 153, written also by Abi-Milku) to the group of letters that deal with the preparations for the Egyptian campaign. If *EA* 151 is included in this late group of letters (i.e. sent during the Third Time-Division; for dating this group of letters to the end of the archive, see Na'aman 1990a), it was written many years after Aitakkama's accession. In support of this, we can see that, except for *EA* 151, the only other letter that mentions hostility between Biryawaza on the one hand, and Aitakkama and ʿAziru on the other, is *EA* 197, one of the latest letters of the archive (the reference to two Egyptian vassals who became loyal to the Hittite demonstrates that Hittite pressure on the Egyptian territory in Syria had already begun; see also Na'aman 1988, 187). At the beginning of the Second Time-Division, the relations between ʿAziru and Biryawaza were firm (*EA* 107, 20–28; ʿAziru and his brother came to Damascus). For Abi-Milku's problematic reference regarding the land of Danuna, see Freu 2001, 26f.

⁴⁵ E.g. *RGTC* 6, 28, 457; Klengel 1992b, 179f.; id. 1999, 158.

⁴⁶ See *RGTC* 12/2, 26, 28; Casana 2009, 18, 20 (east of Aleppo).

⁴⁷ The identity of the ruler of Damascus is uncertain. Na'aman (1988) suggested identifying him with Biryawaza. Notice, however, that the first appearance of Biryawaza in the Amarna letters (*EA* 107) is later than the First Syrian War (since it was written only after the death of ʿAbdi-Aširta).

Damascus in the Mittannian territory is problematic⁴⁸. Locating Apina in the region of Mukiš is also problematic for several reasons:

1. The conquest of Mukiš and other northern Syrian kingdoms is already mentioned in par. §4, and no explanation is given here for the need to reconquer it (as opposed to the rebellion of Aki-Tešsub and Niya for example).
2. If Apina was located north of Qatna and Nuhašše, it would be hard to explain Šutatarra's (ruler of Qadeš) alarm and his attack against the Hittites; after all, the Hittite army was far from his kingdom and marching northward, i.e. in the opposite direction of his kingdom.

For these reasons, we may suggest that (a) Ariwana was not the ruler of Apina (=Damascus) but of a more northern kingdom, and that Šuppiluliuma's arrival in Damascus was an exaggeration of the scribe⁴⁹; or (b) that a third city with this name existed. In the latter case we should place this city in a location south of Nuhašše, north of Damascus and in proximity to Qadeš in order to explain Šutatarra's fear and reaction.

It is clear from Šuppiluliuma's declaration at the beginning of the treaty (beginning of par. §1) and from the summary of the campaign (end of par. §5) that the campaign was executed because of Tušratta's hostile activity. Therefore, it can be concluded that **the First Syrian War was only directed against Mittanni and its vassals and (except for one unfortunate incident) conducted only on Mittannian territory.** The apologetic tone of the description of the conquest of Qadeš supports this conclusion⁵⁰. Another support comes from the itinerary of the campaign; the Hittite army marched through the Syrian hinterland only. No reference is made to a conflict on the Levantine coastal plain, from Ugarit⁵¹ in the north (cf. *CTH* 45–47!⁵²) to

⁴⁸ E.g. Na'aman 1975, 207f.; id. 1988, 181–187 (concerning Biryawaza's career); Murnane 1990a, 10. The claim mentioned in *Šat. I* that Apina was an Egyptian vassal during this period (e.g. Richter 2008, 186f.) has no support from the text. By comparing the apologetic tone in the description of the confrontation with Qadeš, with the declarative tone in which the conquest of Apina is detailed, it appears that the opposite is true.

⁴⁹ The presence of some inaccuracies in *Šat. I* would be quite understandable. After all, the treaty with Šattiwaza was written during the Second Syrian War, a long time after the First Syrian War.

⁵⁰ Šuppiluliuma's claim, that he was forced to conquer the city because Šutatarra attacked him, seems reasonable; after all he had no reason to open a second front against Egypt when Mittanni was still not beaten (Klengel 1992b, 110; id. 1999, 158).

⁵¹ Singer (1999, 621f.; followed by Morris 2005, 169–167) claims that during Amenhotep III's reign, Ugarit enters firmly into the orbit of Egyptian interests; however, it is possible that Ugarit's status is

Amurru⁵³ and the Lebanese city-states⁵⁴ in the south, since this region was under Egyptian sovereignty (Singer 1999, 632).

Aleppo, **Mukiš** and **Qatna** are three important cities mentioned in *CTH* 51.I without any reference to their rulers. This fact is particularly remarkable in regard to Qatna, since it is clear from the inventory lists from Qatna (Richter 2002, 606f.) and the Amarna letters (which mention Akizzi) that it was ruled by a local dynasty⁵⁵. As for Itur-Addu of Mukiš, see discussion with *CTH* 45–47 (v.i. Chapter IV.B.1.3.).

Three kingdoms located in the area of the campaign are not mentioned in the text: **Tunip** (Tell ‘Asharneh⁵⁶), **Alalah** (Tell Atchana) and **Carchemiš**. The first two kingdoms were probably not so important during this period. Thus in *Šat. I*, the city of Mukiš replaced Alalah as the capital of the land of Mukiš (von Dassow 2008, 61f.), and Tunip was possibly ruled by another kingdom⁵⁷. The case of Carchemiš is different, since it was an important Mittannian stronghold in Syria (Klengel 1992b, 120f.). It is possible that Šuppiluliuma planned to attack Carchemiš when the fighting ceased, since during the campaign Carchemiš was too strong to deal with⁵⁸. Unfortunately for the Hittites, their plans to control Syria did not work well, and the conquest of Carchemiš had to be postponed until a much later period (the Second Syrian War (*DŠ*, Fragment 28)).

more complicated (e.g. Klengel 1992b, 133 and n. 250 there; Altman 2008; Lagarce 2008, 274). For archaeological findings from the time of Amenhotep III that indicate the relationship between the two kingdoms, see Giv'eon 1986, 839; Lagarce 2008. For Amenhotep III's scarabs from the Levant, see Krieger 1956, 221–226; Weinstein 1998, 231–236. For topographical lists from the time of Amenhotep III that mention Ugarit, see Cline 1998, 240f.

⁵² For this reason, the inclusion of the events detailed in *CTH* 45–47 (i.e. Šuppiluliuma's support of Ugarit (an Egyptian vassal or ally) against the attack of the three kings (which is also out of context at this point)), and the accompanying treaty between Hatti and Ugarit in the First Syrian War is unlikely. A more suitable date for them is during the Second Syrian War.

⁵³ For Egyptian sovereignty over Amurru during the Amarna period (and earlier), see Singer 1991a, 137–141, 145–148; id. 1999, 632.

⁵⁴ The letters of Rib-Hadda testify to the loyalty of this area to Egypt. Concerning the Egyptian interests along the coastal plain at this period, see Singer 1991a, 139; Weinstein 1998, 227–229.

⁵⁵ At the end of the chapter (v.i. Chapter IV.B.1.8.3.) I examine Richter's claim that Qatna was ruled by Addu-nirari (written also Adad-nirari) king of Nuhašše, known from the Amarna letters.

⁵⁶ See Klengel 1995, 128; Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004, 120; <http://www.acharneh.hst.ulaval.ca/> (excavation team website).

⁵⁷ In *EA* 59, which was written later in this period, the people of Tunip asked the pharaoh to send the son of Aki-Teššub to Tunip. If we identify this Aki-Teššub with the ruler of Niya (*CTH* 46), it is possible to suggest that during the Amarna period (or at least part of it) Tunip was under the rule of Niya. This identification, however, is not at all certain.

⁵⁸ Concerning the siege on Carchemiš during the Second Syrian War, see v.i. p. 269 n. 27; 271f.

Other important sites not mentioned in *Šat. I* are the **kingdoms of the Levantine coastal plain**, such as Ugarit and Amurru. As mentioned above, this region was probably under Egyptian dominion; therefore it was not included in the Hittite target list (e.g. Singer 1999, 632).

B.1.2. The DŠ (CTH 40):

In the chapter in which Güterbock (1956, 46f.) dealt with the First Syrian Campaign, he included Fragments 21–27. Del Monte (2009, 49f. (third and fourth groups of fragments)) reduced this group to fragments that deal with the war against Mittanni and its allies in east Anatolia (Hayaša and Išuwa) and Syria⁵⁹.

Following del Monte, the following chapter deals only with Fragments 25–27, and the small *KBo* 22.8. The connection of Fragment 25 to the First Syrian War depends on Fragment 26 (in which Mittanni is mentioned), since they belong to the same tablet (*KUB* 34.23, col. i and ii).

B.1.2.1. Fragment 25⁶⁰:

In his edition, Güterbock (1956, 83f.) dealt with *KUB* 34.23 (col. i) and was still unaware of its duplicate, *KUB* 40.8. For the new edition of this Fragment, see del Monte (2009, 74f., 80).

The first paragraph of Fragment 25 (l. 1'–26') deals with two confrontations in the areas of Hul[...] and Išuwa. Both military operations are depicted as acts of retaliation. The Hittite army invaded these places in order to return property and people taken from Hittite territory. The author stressed that the 'father' did not deport to Hatti the original population of Išuwa. The last part of the paragraph (l. 18'–26') details the 'special attention' the region of Zuhhapa received; the city and its surroundings were burned down, however, the Hittite fugitives managed to escape to Hayaša and Mt. Laha⁶¹.

⁵⁹ The first two groups, which deal with the war against Arzawa (Fragments 18–20, 22, *KBo* 12.25, *KBo* 12.26 and *KBo* 14.42) and Armatana (and Išhupitta[?]; Fragments 21, 23, 24 and 43) are discussed in Chapter IV.D. ('floating' Fragments, Fragments without a clear date).

⁶⁰ Text: 1.A. = *KUB* 34.23 (col. i) // 1.C. = *KUB* 40.8 (col. I). Edition: Güterbock 1956, 83f. (partial); del Monte 2009, 71–77.

⁶¹ For Zuhhapa and Mt. Laha, see del Monte 2009, 77 n. 51.

The second paragraph (l. 27'–38') is very fragmentary. It seems that someone (possibly the 'father') invaded Išuwa and took booty which included [bron]ze [utensils]. At least part of the operations in Išuwa took place in the winter.

B.1.2.2. Fragment 26⁶²:

KBo 12.27, a duplicate of Fragment 26 (*KUB* 34.23 ii), was unknown to Güterbock (1956, 84f.). For the new edition of this Fragment, see del Monte (2009, 76–80).

The first paragraph (l. 1'–10'⁶³) details the booty of a war against an unknown enemy. Line 7' possibly mentions emp[ty] granaries[?]/corrals[?]⁶⁴. The number 1370[+x] appears at the end of the paragraph.

It seems that the second paragraph (l. 11'–35'⁶⁵) details two occasions in which the 'father' challenged an enemy (del Monte 2009, 79 n. 63). The first (and somewhat earlier) case was connected with the city of Carchemiš. The second occasion was connected with a campaign against Waššukanni. It seems that in both cases, the enemy, possibly the king of Mittanni⁶⁶, decided not to respond to the challenge. Line 8 of *KBo* 12.27 was restored differently by Goetze and del Monte, and as a consequence two possible scenarios were created. According to Goetze (1964, 89f.), from line 8 onward (l. 24' of the main duplicate) the text deals with a hypothetical case of a raid that was not carried out⁶⁷. The king explains that he could have sought the enemy, but a shortage of water and food did not allow it. Del Monte (2009, 79f. and n. 66), on the other hand, suggested that the raid did take place⁶⁸, and the shortage of supplies was actually in Waššukanni, as a consequence of a long Hittite siege of the city. Notice, however, that there is no evidence in the texts for such a siege⁶⁹ (del Monte 2009, 80 n. 66).

⁶² Text: 1.A. = *KUB* 34.23 (col. ii) // 1.B. = *KBo* 12.27 // 1.C. = *KUB* 40.8 (col. iv). Edition: Güterbock 1956, 84f. (partial); del Monte 2009, 72f., 76–80.

⁶³ The last three lines are partially duplicated by *KBo* 12.27 ii 1'–3'.

⁶⁴ The Sumerogram ÉSAG[?] (or in its former reading ÀRAH₃; see Güterbock 1956, 84 n. 24) or TÜR[?] (del Monte 2009, 77 n. 56).

⁶⁵ *KBo* 12.27 duplicates this paragraph between l. 15'–25'.

⁶⁶ For the restoration "king of Mittanni", see del Monte 2009, 79 n. 57.

⁶⁷ [...m]a-a-an A-BU-IA... "My father **might** there [have sought him out]". We should mention that for this meaning (unreal and potential conditions) the particle *man* (and not *mān*) would fit better.

⁶⁸ [...d]a-a-an A-BU-IA... "**For the** second time My father marched there after him...".

⁶⁹ Mittanni's famine and poverty during Šuttarna III's reign are explained by his criminal behavior and his subjugation to Assyria and Alše (*Šat.* 1, §6; *Šat.* 2, §2). It seems that at this stage Hatti is still not involved in Mittanni affairs.

B.1.2.3. Fragment 27⁷⁰:

This Fragment is very fragmentary. In col. i there are references to 'my father', 'my brother', lords, Qadeš and Nuhašše. It seems that there is a war in this region since an army is mentioned, as well as the torching of [a city^(?)].

In col. iv there is a broken colophon, that could be joined to *KBo* 19.48, the colophon of Tablet Twelve (*Portal Mainz*).

B.1.2.4. KBo 22.8⁷¹:

This fragment includes only four lines. There are references to horses, lords, troops and the city of Qadeš.

B.1.2.5. Discussion:

The above-mentioned Fragments are quite broken, and the events they detail lack any real context. Following is a comparison of these events with indicative sources dealing with the First (*Šat. 1*) and the Second (*Šat. 2* and Fr. 28 of the *DŠ*) Syrian Wars.

Since *KBo* 22.8 is too small and Qadeš played a central role in both Syrian Wars, it is impossible to date the events it describes.

If Fragment 27 indeed belongs to the Twelfth Tablet (joins to *KBo* 19.48), it probably details events of the Second Syrian War. The possible involvement of Muršili II's brother⁷² in the events supports this dating.

The war in Išuwa and the retrieving of fugitives to Hatti in the first paragraph of Fragment 25 (war against Išuwa,) somewhat resemble the events that appear in the description of the First Syrian War⁷³. However, since the war in Syria should be seen as the focus of the First Syrian War (and Hittite operations in Išuwa were quite common), the location of Fragment 25 in relation to the First and the Second Syrian Wars should be determined according to the more indicative events mentioned in Fragments 26 (which belongs to the same tablet).

⁷⁰ Text: *KUB* 19.7. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 85; del Monte 2009, 81.

⁷¹ Edition: del Monte 2009, 81.

⁷² Line 7: [my] br[other]; i.e. Arnuwanda II, Telipinu or Piyaššili.

⁷³ *Šat. 1* par. §2; *HDT*, 43. See del Monte 2009, 75 n. 49.

Fragment 26 details two Hittite military operations, the first (and somewhat earlier) against Carchemiš, and the second in the vicinity of Waššukanni. Following the second operation, there is a fragmentary passage that mentions shortage of [food] and water.

A. The **attack against Carchemiš** (l. 14'f.): Carchemiš is not mentioned in the target list of *Šat. 1*, possibly because it was too strong to deal with during the campaign (v.s. p. 196). Another possibility is that the city was attacked by the Hittites during the First Syrian War, but this attack failed and therefore, is not mentioned in the text. There is no doubt that Carchemiš was attacked and conquered during the Second Syrian Campaign (Fragment 28 col. iii; Fragment 42 of the *DŠ* (now belonging to *Šat. 2*)).

B. **Correspondence with the enemy** (l. (16'f.; l. 2 of *KBo 12.27*)): A correspondence between Šuppiluliuma and Tušratta is mentioned in *Šat. 1* (e.g. par. §1). A correspondence between Šuppiluliuma and an enemy in the region of Waššukanni appears also in *Šat. 2* (par. §6 (Akkadian); *HDT*, 50f.). Notice, however, that enemies' quotations could be mentioned for purely literary reasons (Klinger 2008a, 38f.).

C. Šuppiluliuma tried twice to **force the enemy to go into battle**. The enemy, however, avoided him and remained closed in Waššukanni (l. 21'f.; l. 6f. of *KBo 12.27*). Comparison of this event with *Šat. 1* (par. §2) reveals several differences; Šuppiluliuma reached "Waššukanni in search of plunder", and it seems that he found there a great amount of booty. Following his arrival, Tušratta fled and did not stay in the city. In the Second Syrian War, the Hittite army met some problems in its attempt to conquer the region of Waššukanni (*Šat. 2*, par. §6).

D. **Shortage of [food] and water** is mentioned in context of the operation in Waššukanni (l. 25'–27'; l. 9 of *KBo 12.27*). There is no reference to any similar situation in *Šat. 1*⁷⁴. Before trying to find equivalents for this situation in the Second Syrian War, we should analyze this event. Though the paragraph is very fragmentary, there are two possible ways to understand it. Del Monte (2009, 79f. and n. 66) suggested that Waššukanni suffered a shortage of supplies as a consequence of a long Hittite siege of the city. This

⁷⁴ Except for the much later description of Mittanni's difficult situation following Tušratta's death.

scenario, however, has no support from any other source. A second possibility is that the Hittite army was the one to suffer from the shortage, and in this case, this matter was mentioned here as an 'excuse' for an unsuccessful campaign. This assumption may support Goetze's (1964, 89f.) restoration (l. 8f. of *KBo* 12.27); the Hittite king intended to go after the enemy, but a shortage of supplies caused him to abort this plan. According to *Šat. 1*, the war in the Waššukanni region was successful, therefore, an integration of such an excuse in the story is not required. As for the Second Syrian War, there are some clues that things did not go as planned, both because the Assyrians avoided Šuppiluliuma and as a consequence of a shortage of food (*Šat. 2*, par. §§4–6; see also Altman 2004a, 312f.). Hunger and poverty in Mittanni following Tušratta's death (i.e. close to the time of the Second Syrian War), are mentioned also in *Šat. 2* par. §§1–2 (and *Šat. 1* par. §6, which refers to the same period).

E. **Itinerary:** It seems that in Fragment 26 the Hittite campaign near Carchemiš antedated the confrontation around Waššukanni. Even if we include Carchemiš in the itinerary of the First Syrian War, the Hittite army should have reached this city after crossing the Euphrates, i.e. after the arrival in Waššukanni, since it marches from the heart of Mittanni to its fringes. The order of events in Fragment 26 (i.e. Carchemiš first and then Waššukanni) fits quite well with the itinerary of the Second Syrian War; when the Hittite campaign against the land of Mittanni began, Carchemiš was already in Hittite hands (i.e. an opposite order, from the edges of Mittanni to its core)⁷⁵.

In summary, it seems that Fragments 25, 26 and 27 fit better into the context of the Second Syrian War, therefore, they should be relocated to a place after Fragment 28. The place of the fragmentary *KBo* 22.8 in the composition is not clear.

⁷⁵ We should notice that in *Šat. 2* the leaders of the campaign against Mittanni were Piyaššili and Šattiwaza and not Šuppiluliuma. This difference can be explained by: (a) different objectives of the two texts (the *DŠ* attributes the campaigns to Šuppiluliuma); (b) the texts deal with different campaign within the Second Syrian War which lasted several years (v.s. p. 4f. (length of the Second Syrian War) and p. 49 (the length of the period covered by the Sub-Division)).

B.1.3. Šuppiluliuma's letter and decrees concerning Ugarit (CTH 45–47):

*CTH 45*⁷⁶ is a letter written by Šuppiluliuma and addressed to Niqmaddu II/III king of Ugarit. In the letter (par. §2), Šuppiluliuma asked Niqmaddu to act against Nuhašše and Mukiš, which renounced the peace treaty and rebelled against him (par. §3). Šuppiluliuma offered Niqmaddu a great reward if he attacked these enemies (par. §§2–5), and also suggested helping him in case the two kingdoms attacked Ugarit (par. §4).

CTH 46–47 are two decrees(!⁷⁷) issued by Šuppiluliuma. As opposed to the letter (which antedated Šuppiluliuma's arrival in Syria⁷⁸), these two texts were written after the conclusion of the treaty between Hatti and Ugarit.

According to *CTH 46*⁷⁹, a coalition of three kings, Itur-Addu of Mukiš, Addu-nirari of Nuhašše and Aki-Teššub of Niya, was hostile to Šuppiluliuma and attacked Ugarit. Niqmaddu II/III asked for Šuppiluliuma's help, while declaring himself a Hittite vassal. Šuppiluliuma dispatched forces, which drove the enemies out of Ugarit, and Niqmaddu arrived in Alalah in order to surrender before Šuppiluliuma (par. §§1–2).

*CTH 47*⁸⁰ is more laconic and resembles the description appears in *CTH 45*; following the rebellion of Nuhašše and Mukiš and their attack on Ugarit, a treaty was concluded between Šuppiluliuma and Niqmaddu II/III (par. §2).

As mentioned above, the two decrees were issued by Šuppiluliuma after the conclusion of a treaty between Hatti and Ugarit. They were issued late in Šuppiluliuma's reign, after the establishment of a Hittite administration in Carchemiš during the Second Syrian War⁸¹. Possibly, support for this assumption can be found in

⁷⁶ *CTH 45* (RS 17.132): *HDT*, 125f.

⁷⁷ And not a treaty and a decree, as clearly demonstrated by Devecchi (forthcoming). Unfortunately, the treaty did not survive.

⁷⁸ According to Beckman (*HDT*, 125) Niqmaddu "entered the Hittite camp only after the kings of Nuhashshi and Mukish had fallen upon Ugarit". It is quite possible, however, that this letter is a response to an earlier letter from Ugarit, in which Niqmaddu declared himself a Hittite vassal and asked for Šuppiluliuma's help. Thus, at the beginning of par. §3, Niqmaddu was requested to "observe the peace treaty with Hatti" (*HDT*, 125).

⁷⁹ *CTH 46* (RS 17.340 (46.A) and RS 17.369 (46.B)): *HDT*, 34–36.

⁸⁰ *CTH 47* (RS 11.772+ (47.b), RS 17.227 (47.A), RS 17.300 (47.B), RS 17.330+ (47.C), RS 17.372B (47.D) and RS 17.373 (47.E)): *HDT*, 166f.

⁸¹ Devecchi (forthcoming). For the Hittite administration in Carchemiš, see Klengel 2006a, 68f.

some copies that were signed by a joint seal of Šuppiluliuma and Tawananna⁸², since the latter was the last queen to rule by Šuppiluliuma's side. Unfortunately, the exact dates of her arrival in Hatti and of her becoming a queen are unknown. Another problem is that the time gap between the conclusion of the treaty and the issuance of the decrees is unclear; therefore, the decrees cannot be used to date the events they describe.

There is a difference between the texts with regard to the **identity of the enemies**. While in *CTH* 45 and 47 only Nuhašše and Mukiš are mentioned, in *CTH* 46 Niya appears as well. The reason for this is not clear. A possible explanation is that Niya was the less dominant partner of the group. Therefore, it was considered part of one of the other two kingdoms (possibly Nuhašše)⁸³.

Some scholars suggested that the **attack on Ugarit took place during the First Syrian War**⁸⁴. This claim is supposedly supported by *Šat. I*, where the rebellion of Aki-Teššub (one of the leaders of the attack on Ugarit) and his capture by the Hittites are detailed as part of the First Syrian War. There are, however, several problems:

A. **The status of Ugarit:** First of all, Ugarit is not mentioned in the itinerary of the First Syrian War. The arrival of a Hittite army in Ugarit—an Egyptian vassal or ally (v.s. p. 195 n. 51)—and the annexation of this kingdom during the First Syrian War contradict the objectives of the First Syrian War (v.s. p. 195–197).

B. **Addu-nirari and Nuhašše:** One of the protagonists in the story of the attack on Ugarit is Addu-nirari ruler of Nuhašše. During the First Syrian War, Nuhašše was conquered by the Hittites, but for some reason Addu-nirari's name is not mentioned in *Šat. I* but the name of Šarrupši⁸⁵. Though it is possible that these two kings ruled at the same time (in different kingdoms of

⁸² For this sealings, see Laroche 1956, 98f.; Schaeffer 1956, 3–4 and pl. 1 (next to p. 96). Notice that this type of sealings probably belongs to the second seal of Šuppiluliuma and Tawananna (Börker-Klähn 1995, 171f.)

⁸³ A chronological explanation for this difference (e.g. Singer 1999, 633 n. 91; Altman 2001a, 18–22; Richter 2008, 182f.) is unlikely (unless two treaties were signed with Niqmaddu II/III), since both *CTH* 46 and 47 were written only after the (treaty, and as a consequence also after the) events.

⁸⁴ E.g. *PRU* IV, 30, 32–34; Kitchen 1962, 2; Murnane 1990a, 9f. (and n. 42 there); Bryce 1992, 8; Klengel 1992b, 109f.; id. 1999, 157; *HDT*, 125; Singer 1999, 632–634; Altman 2001a, 11–13; id. 2001b, 44f.; Gromova 2007, 285f. (summary of views); Richter 2008, 182f.

⁸⁵ See discussion in Gromova 2007, 285f. For the suggestion that both names belong to the same ruler, see id., 287.

the confederacy of Nuhašše), it is also possible that the texts in which the two kings appear can be divided into two chronological phases. Thus, Addu-nirari is mentioned in *EA 51*, a letter that belongs to the Third Time-Division. Šarrupši, on the other hand, appears in texts that can be connected with the approximate period of the First Syrian War (*CTH 49, Šat. 1* and the archive of Idanda), i.e. during the period of the First Time-Division⁸⁶. Last but not least, as opposed to the joining of Nuhašše and Niya in the case of the attack on Ugarit, Nuhašše is not mentioned as one of the members in Aki-Teššub's alliance in *Šat. 1*.

C. *CTH 46* and *47* are decrees issued only **after the conquest of Carchemiš** (during the Second Syrian War)⁸⁷. If they were written in proximity to the events they describe (which is not necessarily the case), then the abovementioned events took place in proximity to the Second Syrian War (regarding Carchemiš during the First Syrian War, v.s. p. 196).

D. Šuppiluliuma refers to the northern kingdoms as '**rebels**' (*CTH 45* par. §3) and to himself as their '**their lord**' (*CTH 45* par. §3; *CTH 47*, par. §2). This claim of sovereignty is quite strange if this episode belongs to the First Syrian War, Šuppiluliuma's first military operation in this region. However, when the affair in Ugarit is shifted to the Second Syrian War, this problem is solved; the north Syrian kingdoms were conquered for the first time during the First Syrian War, later they rebelled, and during the Second Syrian War this region was reconquered by Šuppiluliuma⁸⁸.

E. In his letter (*CTH 45*, par. §3) Šuppiluliuma claims that the enemies "renounced the **peace treaty** with Hatti". References for this strategy of Hatti (sometimes through its allies) can be found in several of the Amarna letters,

⁸⁶ See discussion concerning *EA 75* (Chapter IV.B.1.8. and esp. IV.B.1.8.3.).

⁸⁷ Devecchi (forthcoming).

⁸⁸ Another possibility is that Šuppiluliuma treated Ugarit and the north Syrian kingdoms as his vassals due to Hittite sovereignty over this area during earlier periods (great kings of the OK or Tudhaliya I). In this case, the terms 'rebels' and 'lord' should be written between commas (e.g. Klengel 1992b, 109). Gromova (2007, 285–287) used the Early Foray as the basis for Šuppiluliuma's claim over north Syria. By doing so, she suggested that the events in Ugarit happened before the First Syrian War. There are two problems with this suggestion: the first is that there is no indication that the Early Foray was that successful (v.s. Chapter III.D.1.3. concerning the Early Foray). The second problem is that Gromova claims that Addu-nirari was deposed following the First Syrian War, therefore she has to date *EA 51* prior to this war. In my opinion, the letters of the former vassals of Mittanni were written as a group, during the same period, and all of them belong to the Third Time-Division (e.g. the references to Aitakkama and the proposed Hittite treaty in Akizzi's letters). For different explanations, see Altman 2001a, 13–18.

all of them belong to the Third Time-Division, i.e. to the Sub-Division⁸⁹. The possibility that the First Syrian War is depicted in the very late letters of the Sub-Division is quite unlikely (v.i. Chapter IV.B.1.8.1.).

F. If the coalition attack took place during the First Syrian War, it is hard to explain its reasoning. This attack was not meant to block the Hittites' path into Syria, because when it took place, the Hittite army—which invaded Syria from Mittanni in the north-east and not from Cilicia—was already in Mukiš(!)⁹⁰. It is also unclear why Ugarit was chosen as a target; seemingly, at the moment of the attack it was not a Hittite vassal and enjoyed good relations with Egypt (v.s. p. 195 n. 51). The problem is intensified when the possible itinerary of the attack is examined. Aki-Teššub's coalition could have reached Ugarit by one of two routes (see map below)⁹¹: **(1) From the north**, through the valley of the Nahr el-Kebir (Rahbanou), or **(2) bypassing the An-Nusayriyah Mountains (Jabal al-Ansriyeh in the map) from the south**, and then going north through Amurru along the sea. However, in the context of the First Syrian War, both possibilities are quite risky. From what is known about the relationships between Amurru and its neighbors⁹², it is quite clear that the passage of the coalition's army through the southern route was very dangerous (not to mention that this route is much longer). In this respect, the northern route, which crossed more or less friendly territory, was more convenient. However, the biggest problem with both routes was that when the three kings marched eastward toward Ugarit, they left the way to Niya and Nuhašše open behind them, and the Hittite army could have marched without significant opposition from Mukiš to these destinations. For these reasons, the context of Aki-Teššub's operation against Ugarit is much clearer if it is placed

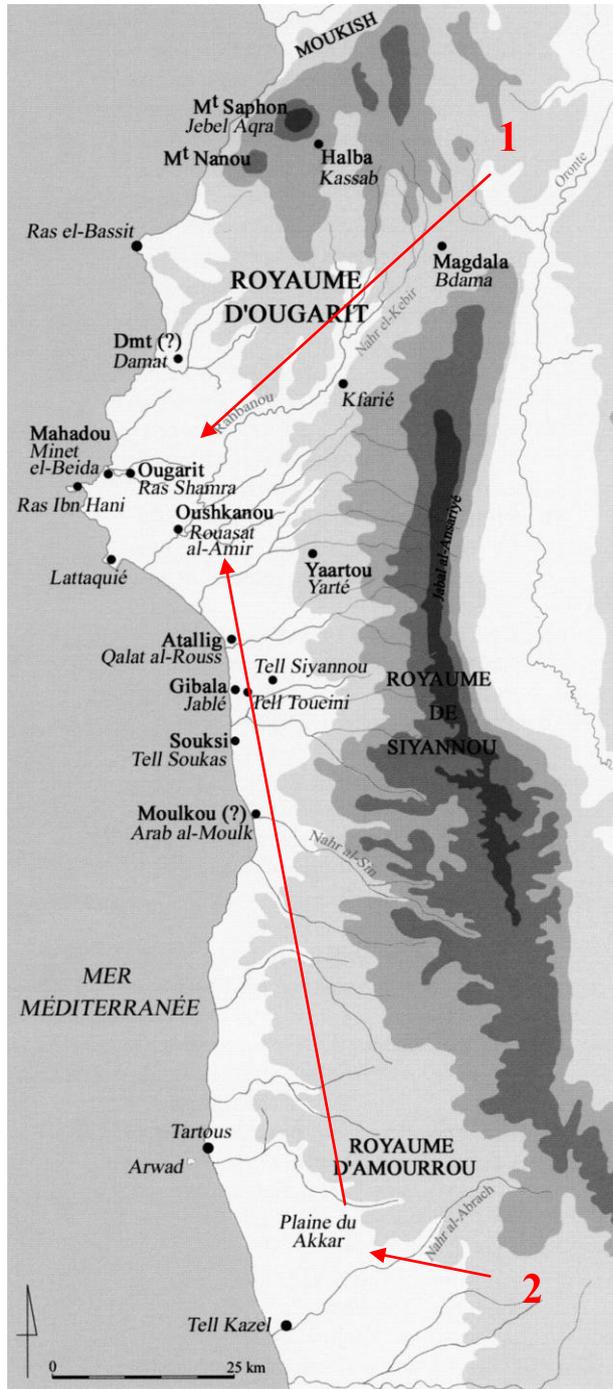
⁸⁹ Thus, *EA* 51 from Addu-nirari, *EA* 53 from Akizzi (here the request arrived through Aitakkama), and probably also *EA* 161 from ʿAziru. It is hard to believe that Šuppiluliuma offered peace treaties to Addu-nirari and Akizzi, who only a short while ago deposed or murdered their predecessors who had been appointed by Šuppiluliuma himself (for the case of Akizzi and Idanda, v.i. Chapter IV.C.1.2.). This possibility becomes more reasonable, if a long period separated the rebellion of these kings (First Syrian War, i.e. *EA* 75) from Šuppiluliuma's second and much later arrival in Syria (i.e. the letters of the Sub-Division). For the attribution of the letters of the former vassals of Mittanni to the Third Time-Division, v.s. also p. 43 n. 91.

⁹⁰ Since Takuwa king of Niya came to Mukiš in order to surrender.

⁹¹ A third possibility is to cross the marshes and the An-Nusayriyah Mountains **in a straight line**, but it seems that this route is too difficult.

⁹² Evidence of the hostility between Amurru and the former vassals of Mittanni can be found in *EA* 55 and *EA* 160 (l. 20–32).

at the beginning of a campaign, when the Hittite army is still located outside Syria. As a result, dating it to the Second Syrian War should be preferred⁹³.



Two possible itineraries for the Coalition's attack against Ugarit: (1) the northern route, and (2) the southern route (the map was taken from Galliano and Calvet 2004, 19).

In summary, the events mentioned in *CTH* 45–47—i.e. the attack of the three kings against Ugarit and their repulsion from this kingdom—should be dated to the

⁹³ For different explanations, see Altman 2001a, 21f.

beginning of another campaign, probably the Second Syrian War. The war in Arahati, which brought to an end the career of Aki-Teššub (one of the participants of the attack on Ugarit), should also be excluded from the First Syrian War, and placed in the Second Syrian War after the attack on Ugarit⁹⁴. Later, when the archive of Idanda is examined, we will demonstrate that Aki-Teššub's accession, i.e. his rebellion against his brother, is also later than the First Syrian War.

B.1.4. The 'Aziru treaty (CTH 49)⁹⁵:

CTH 49, a treaty between Šuppiluliuma and 'Aziru, is probably later than the First Syrian Campaign, since (a) Amurru is not mentioned in the itinerary of this campaign⁹⁶, and (b) *EA 75* (which attested to this campaign) was written when 'Abdi-Aširta, 'Aziru's father, still ruled in Amurru.

The historical introduction of this treaty deals with a wide scale rebellion in Syria. Among the participants appear the kings of Egypt and Carchemiš. The reference to both of these persons indicates that this event, too, should be dated to the Second Syrian War⁹⁷.

B.1.5. The Tette treaty (CTH 53)⁹⁸:

CTH 53 was drawn up between Šuppiluliuma and Tette, king of Nuhašše. The small part of the historical preamble that was preserved mentions events in which Šarrupši, a predecessor of Tette⁹⁹, was involved. Since Šarrupši was mentioned in *Šat. I* (par.

⁹⁴ Cf. Richter 2002, 607f. ; id. 2003, 180; id. 2008, 184–186. See discussion in Freu 2002b, 98–100; id. 2009, 18. Freu, however, needed two unnecessary premises: he claimed that Addu-nirari was deposed and Aki-Teššub was deported to Hatti during the First Syrian War, and later they returned to their lands. See discussion in Gromova 2007, 285–287.

⁹⁵ Translation: *HDT*, 37; Altman 2004, 324f.

⁹⁶ And as an Egyptian vassal, Amurru was not considered a target during the First Syrian War.

⁹⁷ Concerning the absence of Carchemiš from the itinerary of the First Syrian War, v.s. p. 196. (an interesting difference is that during the Second Syrian War there is no reference to a king in this city); for Šuppiluliuma's wish to avoid Egypt's involvement in this war, v.i. Chapter IV.B.2.1.

⁹⁸ For transliteration, see *Portal Mainz*. Translation of the historical preamble: *HDT*, 54f.; Altman 2004a, 256f.

⁹⁹ The exact connection between them is not clear. Perhaps Tette was one of Šarrupši's descendants who were exiled to Hatti (*Šat. I* par. §5), since Šuppiluliuma claimed that he "treated Tette well, [restoring him to life] when dead" (*HDT*, 57 par. §12; see short discussion in Altman 2001b, 35f.; id. 2004a, 257). Another possibility can be deduced from *CTH 63.A*. It is clear from this text that Tette's grandfather had good relations with Mittanni, since in l. 4–7 the author wrote as follows: "...then it (i.e. the city of Iyaruwatta) was taken away (from Barga)...into the power of the king of the land of Hurri, who gave it to the grandfather of Tette, the *habiru*" (*HDT*, 170 par. §2). The derogatory name *habiru* might be related to either Tette (rebelled against Muršili II; see Klengel 1963, 39 n. 4: "... vielleicht auf Tette zu beziehen"), or his grandfather. If we ascribe it to Tette's grandfather, the

§5), there is a possibility that *CTH 53* details events that took place during the First Syrian War. Following the summary of the events detailed in *CTH 53*, a comparison will be made between them and the events of the First Syrian War (based on *Šat. 1*).

(Par. §1) The king of Mittanni invaded Nuhašše and tried to kill Šarrupši, and in reaction the latter sent a message to Hatti. In this message he declared himself a Hittite vassal, and asked for Šuppiluliuma's help. Šuppiluliuma received Šarrupši's request, sent his troops to Nuhašše, and they drove the king of Mittanni out of the land.

(Par. §2) Since Išuwa rebelled, Šuppiluliuma conducted a campaign against it, and only then came to Šarrupši's aid against the land of Mittanni. When Šuppiluliuma [reached] the region of Mt. Kašiyara¹⁰⁰, [n.n.], king of Alše [(verb¹⁰¹)] him. Then, Šuppiluliuma destroyed [n.n.].

The **reason for Mittanni's attack on Šarrupši** is not mentioned in the text. It is also not clear from the text whether Šarrupši became a Hittite vassal because of the attack, or whether his defection to Hatti's side was the cause for Mittanni's attack (cf. Altman 2001b, 28–31¹⁰²).

It is possible that the **two paragraphs detail two close in-time yet different campaigns**. First, Šuppiluliuma sent his troops (led by other commanders) to Nuhašše. They served as 'first aid' against the invading forces of Mittanni. After Šuppiluliuma crushed the rebellion in Išuwa, he himself arrived in Išuwa and launched a punitive campaign against Mittannian forces that reached Alše at the very least¹⁰³. Another possibility is that paragraph §1 gives a summary of the campaign while paragraph §2 offers the start of a more detailed description of it.

combination of a ruler loyal to Mittanni and not popular in Hatti, could indicate that Tette was Addu-nirari's grandson (in this case, Addu-nirari was named *habiru* since he rebelled against Šuppiluliuma and deposed Šarrupši; see Freu 2009, 16f.; v.i. Chapter IV.C.3.2.).

¹⁰⁰ For its location (north Mesopotamia) and its possible identification with Tūr-ʿAbdīn, see *RGTC* 5, 162; *RGTC* 6, 189; *RGTC* 6/2, 70f.

¹⁰¹ *HDT*, 55: [attacked(?)].

¹⁰² Altman claimed that Šarrupši was not the king of Nuhašše, but only a rival contender. This conclusion is based upon his analysis of sources in which Addu-nirari, another king of Nuhašše, is mentioned. This suggestion and others are examined in Chapter IV.C.3.2.

¹⁰³ For this possibility, see Altman 2001b, 39; Richter 2008, 191f.

The **end of this episode** is not clear, since the text is broken. It is possible that Šuppiluliuma's delay in Išuwa was mentioned, since eventually he was too late and Šarrupši was killed by the enemy (Na'aman 1975, 82* n. 13; Altman 2001b, 39; Freu 2009, 12).

There are some **similarities between these events and the events of the First Syrian War** (*Šat. 1*). Thus, in both cases Šuppiluliuma's campaign began by dealing with the hostile Išuwa. The second stage of the campaign, the arrival in Alše and Mittanni (Mt. Kašiyara?), is also similar. There are, however, **several dissimilarities**:

A. *CTH 53* presents Šarrupši's plea as the **cause of the outbreak of the war**. In *Šat. 1* the cause was Tušratta's 'presumptuousness'¹⁰⁴. A possible explanation for this contradiction is that *CTH 53* was written and directed at Nuhašše's royal court; therefore, Nuhašše's role in the events was strongly emphasized and sometimes exaggerated.

B. **Šarrupši's role in the events** is different. In *CTH 53* Šarrupši declared himself a loyal Hittite vassal, and the Hittites opened the war against Mittanni due to his plea. In *Šat. 1*, on the other hand, he was described as an enemy who fled from the approaching Hittite army. Altman (2001b, 34f.; id. 2004a, 258f.; followed by Freu 2009, 12, 17) claimed that both texts describe the same event. He tried to resolve the problems by suggesting that in *Šat. 1* Šarrupši did not flee from the Hittites, but toward them (probably from his family). He noted that the Hittite authors used deliberately misleading wording, since dealing with this episode was inconvenient for them (because of Šuppiluliuma's failure to rescue Šarrupši). This explanation, however, is problematic. The Hittites probably did have something to hide (the failure to save Šarrupši), but a reference to Šarrupši's escape from his enemies did not promote their interests in this case. If the Hittite authors were to describe Šarrupši's flee to Hatti, they had no reason to mention the capture of Šarrupši's family and the appointment of Takip-šarri (Šarrupši's subject) in Ukulzat, since these should be seen as punitive acts. Rather, this event should have been described as a narrative of subjugation, just as the authors did with the conquest of Niya: submission of the lawful ruler (Takuwa/Šarrupši), rebellion

¹⁰⁴ Nuhašše is not mentioned. Tušratta's complaints probably focused on two matters: the treaty with Artatama II and the Hittite activity around Išuwa.

of a usurper (Aki-Teššub/a member of Šarrupši's family¹⁰⁵), and finally the Hittite victory over the rebellious forces (Niya/Nuhašše). In addition, the only explanation for Šarrupši's punishment (capturing his family, taking Ukulzat) is his resistance during the war. If Šarrupši had been loyal from the beginning, there would have been no reason for Šuppiluliuma to take these measures against him. For that reason, the more traditional interpretation for this passage should be preferred.

C. According to Beckman's (*HDT*, 55 par. §2) restoration, the **king of Alše** was hostile to Hatti, while in *Šat. 1* (*HDT*, 43 par. §2), Antaratli king of Alše received Kutmar as a reward for his behavior. Notice, however, that this restoration is not certain (Altman 2004a, 256).

In light of these observations, we should consider the possibility that ***CTH 53* and *Šat. 1* describe two different events:**

It is possible that they detail two situations that **occurred during the First Syrian War**. At the beginning of the war, Šarrupši had been sympathetic to the Hittites and asked for their help, but at the end of the war he changed his mind and the Hittites had to fight and later punish him. It is not clear, however, why Šarrupši changed his mind. His timing is problematic too; after all, it was not wise to start a rebellion with the Hittite army stationed in Syria and all the north-Syrian kingdoms, including Mittanni, defeated by Šuppiluliuma.

Because of these problems, Richter (2008, 191f.) suggested that the events of *CTH 53* were a **prelude to the Second Syrian War**. Thus, sometime after the First Syrian War, during which Nuhašše became a Hittite vassal, Mittanni recovered and started to restore its sovereignty over north Syria. Due to Mittanni's pressure on Nuhašše, Šuppiluliuma tried to help Šarrupši. His first campaign achieved its goal, but following the continuous Mittannian attacks (and despite the fact that a second Hittite force was sent to Nuhašše), north Syria, including Nuhašše, was conquered by Tušratta. The collapse of Hittite authority in Syria, led to the outbreak of the Second Syrian War¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁵ An insertion of Tušratta in the story (instead of a usurper, member of the royal family of Nuhašše), as in *CTH 53*, would be quite impossible, since the author stressed that Mittanni and its capital were already taken care of before the arrival of the Hittite army in Syria (par. §2).

¹⁰⁶ Richter (2008, 192f.) noted that this cause should be added to the reasons mentioned in the *DŠ*, i.e. the Mittannian attack on Murmuriga and the Egyptian offensive against Qadeš.

At first glance, my solution seems quite similar to Richter's (2008) proposal, but it actually differs significantly. Based on the Amarna letters, it is possible to conclude that the Mittannian pressure began well before the Second Syrian War, still during Amenhotep III's reign (v.i. Chapter IV.C.). The course of events can be reconstructed as follows: during the First Syrian War, Šarrupši tried to resist the Hittites. When his efforts failed, he tried to escape the marching Hittite army surrounding Nuhašše (after the conquest of Niya in the north and Qatna in the south), but eventually had no choice but to surrender¹⁰⁷. Following his surrender, the Hittites took steps to weaken Nuhašše and to ensure Šarrupši's loyalty; Nuhašše was divided (Ukulzat was given to Takip-šarri) and Šarrupši's close family members were taken to Hatti. The gains of the First Syrian War were, however, short-lived. Not long after the war, the Hittites retreated to Anatolia, and Mittanni regained its control over Syria (e.g. EA 85, 86 and 100)¹⁰⁸. In light of this reconstruction, we may suggest that the events described in the Tette treaty took place shortly after the First Syrian War (and many years before the Second Syrian War¹⁰⁹). At that point there were still Hittite forces in Syria, but they were too small to deal with all the challenges. It seems from the apologetic tone of *CTH* 53's preamble that Šuppiluliuma's aid to Šarrupši was insufficient (Altman 2004a, 258); Šarrupši and his fellow vassals were left alone to deal with Tušratta's counter-attack, and some of them, like Šarrupši, lost their positions, and possibly their lives.

This scenario gives different answers to the problems raised above:

A. The different causes for the outbreak of the war: According to *Šat. 1*, the First Syrian War broke out because of Tušratta's 'presumptuousness'. The limited operation in *CTH* 53, on the other hand, began due to the Mittannian pressure on Nuhašše (and other north Syrian localities).

B. Šarrupši's role in the events: During the First Syrian War (*Šat. 1*) Šarrupši was an enemy to the Hittite and was forced to escape from Šuppiluliuma. Somewhat later, and still during this war, Šarrupši surrendered and though his status was demoted, he was appointed once again as ruler in

¹⁰⁷ See also the discussion concerning letter 193,2 from Qatna (v.s. p. 233f.).

¹⁰⁸ The archive of Idanda belongs to the same period. Freu (2009,12, 15f.) adopts the same scenario but dates it to the Early Foray instead of the First Syrian War.

¹⁰⁹ The latter is dated to the Third Time-Division at the earliest (ca. a 15-year gap), if not to the end of Tutankhamun's reign.

Nuhašše. After the war, most of the Hittite forces returned to Hatti, and Nuhašše was pressured by Mittanni. Šarrupši asked for Šuppiluliuma's help, but Šuppiluliuma was unable to save him (*CTH 53*)¹¹⁰.

C. Alše surrendered to Šuppiluliuma during the First Syrian Campaign (*Šat. 1*). When the first signs of weakness appeared, Alše probably returned to the Mittannian camp (*CTH 53*). It was not the last transition made by Alše during this period; thus, following Tušratta's death we find this kingdom acting alongside Assyria (*Šat. 2*, par. §2).

In summary, it seems that the events in *CTH 53* are not identical to the events of the First Syrian War (*Šat. 1*). They probably took place a couple of years later (still during Amenhotep III's reign), when Mittanni started to recover following the Hittite retreat from Syria¹¹¹.

B.1.6. The Aleppo treaty (CTH 75)¹¹²:

The fragmentary passage that was devoted to the conquests of the 'father' (i.e. Šuppiluliuma) included a list of several kingdoms. Only three of them still exist: Carchemiš, Aleppo and Nuhašše (l. 34). One line later, the king of [n.n.] appears.

According to Beckman's restorations¹¹³, the author distinguished between two groups of kingdoms: the first three kingdoms—Carchemiš, Aleppo and Nuhašše—were taken from Mittanni, and the other two—[Qadeš and Amurru]—

¹¹⁰ The two sources chose these different points in Šarrupši's career, since they turn to different audiences and have different objectives. *Šat. 1*, which was directed to the royal court of Mittanni, tried to explain why Nuhašše and other Syrian localities were not given back to Šattiwaza (for the objectives of *Šat. 1*, v.s. p. 5–8). Naturally, the author turned to the events of the First Syrian War, i.e. the first conquest of Syria by Šuppiluliuma (including the reference to Nuhašše's hostility), in order to explain this act of disinheritance. Later events are not of interest to the Mittannian side of the treaty, since from this initial conquest, Nuhašše was considered by Šuppiluliuma a Hittite property. *CTH 53* was directed at the royal court of Nuhašše and had to address different difficulties. Although the text is quite broken, it seems that the Hittites begin the historical review from a different point, when Nuhašše was already a Hittite vassal. Following Altman, it is possible to restore the author's objective as an explanation of the most critical matter in the past relations of the two kingdoms, an episode that may also affect their future relations, i.e. the Hittite failure to rescue Šarrupši, a loyal Hittite vassal (even according to the Hittite themselves).

¹¹¹ V.i. Table 2 (p. 227f.) for a reconstruction based upon the data from the Amarna letters.

¹¹² Translation of the relevant passage: *HDT*, 94; Altman 2004, 357.

¹¹³ "[When Šuppiluliuma, Great King], king of Hatti, my father, [ascended] to the throne of kingship, [he went against the king of Mittanni and took] the land of Carchemiš, the land of Aleppo and the lands of Nuhašše, [but the land of Kinza and the land of Amurru] he took [from the possession] of the king [of Egypt...and] he established Mount Lebanon [as his border]." (*HDT*, 94 par. §11).

were conquered from Egypt. When this restoration is accepted¹¹⁴, it seems that this paragraph fits better with the context of the Second Syrian War because of the references to Carchemiš. Beckman's restorations—[Qadeš and Amurru] and the king of [Egypt]—(if accepted) fit this context as well. The reference to Šuppiluliuma's accession at the beginning of the passage is not concerned with the exact date of the events (i.e. right after the accession), but only serves as a prelude, as a marker for the beginning of Šuppiluliuma's reign.

B.1.7. Hattušili III's account of Šuppiluliuma's campaigns in CTH 83.1.A.:

Following is a translation of several paragraphs of this text¹¹⁵:

6–9: These (i.e. all the lost Anatolian territories), my grandfather Šuppiluliuma brought back until he had reduced them to order. And he took 20 years until he had reconquered them.

9–16: But when my grandfather Šuppiluliuma entered the Hurri-land, then he vanquished all the Hurri-lands, and he fixed boundary on yon side, at the land of Qadesh (and) the land of Amurru, and he vanquished the king of Egypt. But on this side he destroyed the land of Irrita (and) the land of Šuta and he made the Mala river (=Euphrates) his boundary. And he thus took them (the above-mentioned lands) into vassalage on the spot. And what was beside the Mala river, he vanquished by force.

16–18: And his sons he made kings: in the land of Aleppo he made Telipinu king, in the land of Carchemish he made Piyaššili king.

19–21: My grandfather Šuppiluliuma tarried in the land of Hurri/Amurru¹¹⁶ because the lands were strong, and he took 6 years until he had reduced them to order.

¹¹⁴ Compare Beckman's restoration with that of Altman 2004, 357.

¹¹⁵ *KUB* 19.9 col. i. The translation was taken from Kitchen 1962, 3. A new transliteration of the text was published by Parker (2002, 53f.), from which the line numbers were taken (notice the difference from *KUB*).

¹¹⁶ The reading of this toponym is controversial, since it seems that at the beginning there is an erased *A* that can be observed in the picture in *Portal Mainz* (appears also in the drawing in *KUB*). Thus, Kitchen (1962, 3 and n.4 in this page) read "Amurru", but suggested that "Hurri" would be a better reading (notice that the second sign can be read as either 𐎶UR or MUR). Parker (2002, 53) read *Hur-*

22–24: But behind (his back), the land of Išhupitta became hostile, and it stirred up all the lands, and all the lands became hostile. And all the lands...

By comparing this text to *Šat. 1*, the following conclusions can be drawn:

A. **Itinerary:** Most places in this text seem to be connected with the Second Syrian War. Thus, Irrita and Carchemish play an important role only in the events depicted in *Šat. 2*¹¹⁷ and Fragment 28 (*DŠ*)¹¹⁸. Amurru and Qadeš are mentioned in several of the Amarna letters (belonging to the Sub-Division), which possibly deal with the same war¹¹⁹.

B. **Objectives:** The reference to the king of Egypt and to obvious Egyptian vassals (i.e. Amurru and Qadeš) are better suited to the goals of the Second Syrian War. The ignoring of the king of Mittanni fits this context as well (since at that period Mittanni was subjugated to Assyria and Alše).

C. **Duration:** The reference to a war that lasted six years is definitely longer than the First Syrian War (known also as the 'One-Year Campaign'). A war which lasted at least four years¹²⁰, and can be identified with the Second Syrian War¹²¹, is described in the last letters of the Amarna archive (i.e. the Sub-Division).

D. The **appointing of Šuppiluliuma's sons, Telipinu and Piyaššili, as governors** in Carchemish and Aleppo was possible only after the conquest of Carchemish. This measure took place during the Second Syrian War (Fragment 28). In addition, Šuppiluliuma's sons were not mentioned in the First Syrian War, while during the Second Syrian War at least some of them were already active; thus, there are references to Arnuwanda II (Fr. 28), Telipinu (Fr. 28), Zannanza (Fr. 31; *CTH* 378.II) and Piyaššili (*Šat. 2*).

ri (and did not mention the erased A). Wilhelm and Boese (1987, 78) wrote "Amurru/Mittanni". It is quite possible that the writer initially intended to write *A-mur-ru*, but changed his mind.

¹¹⁷ Irrita and Carchemish appear also in some of the new fragments of *Šat. 2*. (e.g. *KUB* 23.50 (formerly known as Fragment 42 of the *DŠ*) and *KBo* 50.52 (Groddek 2008b, 14)

¹¹⁸ Šuta is the only place mentioned only in *Šat. 1*. Nevertheless, its proximity to Waššukanni and Irrita (*RGTC* 6, 370; *RGTC* 6/2, 149) allows us to integrate it into the itinerary of the Second Syrian War.

¹¹⁹ Unless the Second Syrian War is dated to the end of Tutankhamun's reign. See *infra* for the probability that the First Syrian War is depicted in the letters of the Sub-Division (Chapter IV.B.1.8. that deals with *EA* 75).

¹²⁰ V.s. p. 49.

¹²¹ Unless the Second Syrian War is dated to the reign of Tutankhamun.

This paragraph of *CTH* 83.1.A probably includes a summary of Šuppiluliuma's reign. Lines 6–9 deal with Šuppiluliuma's wars in Anatolia, while lines 9–24 refer to his fighting in Syria. From the discussion above, it seems that Šuppiluliuma's activity in Syria should be identified with the Second Syrian War only(!)¹²². As a consequence, the following chronological observations can be suggested:

- It is possible that the First Syrian War was mentioned in the first missing paragraph of this text, i.e. before the long period of fighting in Anatolia.
- It is possible that 20 years¹²³, or at least many years¹²⁴, separated the beginning of Šuppiluliuma's reign and the Second Syrian War. The same result is obtained when we identify the First Syrian War with *EA* 75, and the Second Syrian War with the Hittite activity mentioned in the letters of the Sub-Division.
- Since the text deals only with the Second Syrian War, it seems that the number of six years, concerns only the length of this war¹²⁵.
- The Second Syrian War ended close to Šuppiluliuma's death¹²⁶.
- According to the numbers preserved in the text, Šuppiluliuma's reign lasted 26 years¹²⁷. However, it is possible that a small number of years should be added before Šuppiluliuma's conquest of Anatolia and after the the rebellion of Išhupitta (i.e. after the Second Syrian War).

B.1.8. Letters from the el-Amarna archive:

The discussion in this chapter was divided into three parts. The first deals with previous attempts to identify the First Syrian War in the (very late) Third Time-Division.

The second part deals with *EA* 75, a letter that belongs to the First Time-Division. This letter, which details a hostile Hittite takeover of the Mittannian vassals in Syria, should probably be identified as a representation of the First Syrian War in the Amarna archive.

¹²² Cf. Bryce 1989b, 22f. (the text details both First and Second Syrian Wars); Parker 2002, 54f. (the estimation of "six years" refers to both Syrian wars).

¹²³ Kempinski 1993, 88.

¹²⁴ Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 90f.

¹²⁵ Bryce 1989b, 27f.; van den Hout 1994, 87f.; Freu 2002, 105f.; cf. Parker 2002, 55.

¹²⁶ Bryce 1989b, 27f., 30; van den Hout 1994, 87f.; Parker 2002, 54 n. 83.

¹²⁷ Parker 2002, 52. We should take into consideration that the number '20' is a typological number; in this case the only conclusion possible is that Šuppiluliuma ruled for a long time (Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 90f.; Cf. Kempinski 1993, 88).

Recently, Richter (2002; lecture in Würzburg in 2006; id. 2008), Gromova (2007) and Freu (2009) dealt at length with the period under discussion. The last part of this chapter is devoted to a brief examination of their opinions.

B.1.8.1. Dating the First Syrian War to the Third Time-Division:

Due to some similarities between the events, some scholars¹²⁸ suggested that a large group of letters of the Third Time-Division (i.e. the last years of Akhenaten and possibly later) that detail an extensive Hittite military campaign, refers to the First Syrian War. This group includes (a) letters of Egyptian vassals, such as Rib-Hadda and ʿAziru, and (b) letters from kingdoms that were traditionally considered Mittannian vassals (such as Tunip, Qatna and Nuhašše).

For the following reasons, however, this historical reconstruction should be rejected¹²⁹:

A. Protagonists: Some of the major protagonists of this late group of letters rose to power only after the First Syrian War. The most obvious among these rulers is Aitakkama, who was only a prince during the First Syrian War (*Šat. I* par. §5), while in the letters of the Third Time-Division he appears as the sole ruler of Qadeš¹³⁰. In addition, the role players in each group of texts are different. Thus, ʿAziru is one of the most active figures on the Hittite side in the Third Time-Division¹³¹, but surprisingly, he is not mentioned at all in *Šat. I.*, or even in the archive of Idanda¹³².

B. Objectives: When comparing the Hittite objectives in the First Syrian War and the Third Time-Division, clear differences can be traced. Thus, while during the First Syrian War Qadeš was avoided till its sudden attack on the

¹²⁸ Thus, Singer 1991a, 152f.; id. 1999, 630f.; Klengel 1992b, 109f.; Freu 2009, 17–22.

¹²⁹ See also Gromova 2007, 279, 298f.

¹³⁰ For other examples, v.i. Table 3 in Chapter IV.C.3.2.

¹³¹ In this case it is less important whether the accusations against Aitakkama and ʿAziru were correct. What is more important is that their activity corresponded with the Hittite policy and contradicted the interests of Egypt and (more importantly of) Mittanni, and for that reason they should have been mentioned in the archive of Idanda.

¹³² If the absence of ʿAziru from *Šat. I* can be explained by the fact that all the achievements were attributed to Šuppiluliuma, his and Aitakkama's absence (as well as their kingdoms) from the letters of the archive of Idanda are far more crucial. The letters of this archive mention two allies of the Hittites, Takuwa of Niya and Šarrupši of Nuhašše. Neither is mentioned in the Amarna letters, but both appear in *Šat. I* as the rulers of their kingdoms. If the archive of Idanda, which was active during and shortly after the First Syrian War (v.i. Chapter IV.C.1.2.1.), and the Third Time-Division were parallel, ʿAziru and Aitakkama were probably equally dominant in both sources (e.g. EA 53 and 55 that refer to ʿAziru's and Aitakkama's activity in Qatna's region).

Hittite troops, in the war depicted in the Third Time-Division we find Aitakkama (clearly an Egyptian vassal; e.g. *EA* 189) cooperating closely with Šuppiluliuma. The same applies for the contact between the Hittites and Amurru (which is not even mentioned in *Šat. I*). Whether the relations were hostile (as ʿAziru asserted in his letters) or friendly (as ʿAziru's enemies claimed), this situation does not correlate with what we know from *Šat. I* about Hittite strategy, i.e. the avoidance of Egyptian vassals during the campaign (v.s. p. 195–197). Another example of blatant Hittite interference in Egypt's internal affairs can be found in letters from Egyptian vassals in the Beqaʿ (e.g. *EA* 174–176), which report on Hatti's attack and which also belong to the Third Time-Division.

C. Duration: While the First Syrian War lasted one year, the group of letters in the Third Time-Division deals with a much longer campaign lasting at least four years (concerning the length of the Sub-Division, v.s. p. 49).

D. Geo-political background: The First Syrian Campaign was directed against Mittanni and its vassals. In the Third Time-Division, however, Mittanni no longer played a role, and even its traditional vassals corresponded with the pharaoh and declared their loyalty to Egypt (e.g. *EA* 51 and 55).

B.1.8.2. EA 75:

This letter was written by Rib-Hadda and addressed to a pharaoh. Close to the end of the letter, Rib-Hadda wrote as follows¹³³:

35–38: May the king be informed that the king of Hatti has seized all the countries *that were vassals*¹³⁴ of the king of Mitta<ni>.

EA 75 is one in a series of letters in which Rib-Hadda complained about the deeds of ʿAbdi-Aširta (predecessor of ʿAziru); therefore, this letter belongs to the First Time-Division (i.e. still in Amenhotep III's reign¹³⁵). Using the references to the conquest of

¹³³ Moran 1992, 145

¹³⁴ For the reading of the problematic combination KU.TI.TI, see Moran 1992, 146 n.7; Na'aman 1996, 253; Liverani 1998–1999, 174.

¹³⁵ See also Campbell 1964, 77–89, 134; Na'aman 1996, 255f. Cf. Wilhelm (lecture in Stuttgart (Qatna conference, 2010)), who claimed that the dispatching of *EA* 75 and the First Syrian War took place shortly before the breaking point of Egypt-Mittanni relations (year four/five of Akhenaten); therefore, they should be dated to an early stage of Akhenaten's reign. This claim is based upon his

‘Iṛqata and Ardata and the elimination of Ammiya's ruler, it seems that *EA 75* is one of Rib-Hadda's earliest, but not his first letter¹³⁶.

Some scholars claimed that *EA 75* deals with the Early Foray¹³⁷. As mentioned above¹³⁸, it is quite plausible that the Early Foray was conducted by Tudhaliya II and hinted at in some of the first letters of the First Time-Division (e.g. *EA 17*). In light of this observation, an equation of *EA 75* and the Early Foray reveals some differences:

A. **Date:** *EA 17* is Tušratta's first letter and one of the first (three?) letters of the archive. If this letter and *EA 75* detail the same event, Rib-Hadda's letters that were written before *EA 75* become the earliest letters in the archive (except, perhaps, for *EA 31–32*¹³⁹) and should be dated to ca. year 30 of Amenhotep III or possibly even earlier¹⁴⁰. The reason for keeping important documents such as *EA 17* and *EA 31–32*¹⁴¹ for such a long period is understandable; however, keeping of casual (and mostly overlapping) letters, such as Rib-Hadda's first ones, seems strange. For these reasons, it is better to bring *EA 75* to safer ground, to the middle of the fourth decade of Amenhotep III's reign. Notice that the correspondence with the southern vassals begins approximately around the same date (*EA 254*, year [3]2).

B. **Extent:** It appears from the sources detailing Tudhaliya II's foray, that it was limited in scope (Fr. 8), and according to Tušratta was not so successful

rejection of Moran's (1969) proposal to date ‘Abdi-Aširta's capture to the last years of Amenhotep III's reign (v.s. p. 31 n. 46).

¹³⁶ Thus, in *EA 73* and *74* the people of Ammiya were advised to kill their master, and in *EA 75* we find the implementation of this advice; in *EA 75* ‘Iṛqata, Ardata and Ammiya were still involved in plots by local forces, while in *EA 88*, they were all under the threat of being conquered by the ever-growing kingdom of ‘Abdi-Aširta.

¹³⁷ E.g. Murnane 1990a, 6f.; Altman 2001a, 6; Gromova 2007, 278–280; Freu 2009, 13f. The most crucial problem is that when this explanation is accepted, the Amarna archive lacks any reference to the First Syrian War (since, as mentioned above, the letters of the Third Time-Division cannot be attributed to this war).

¹³⁸ For the date (probably Tudhaliya II) and (probably quite limited) extent of the Early Foray (par. §1) v.s. p. 5–8; Chapter III.D.1.3.

¹³⁹ *EA 3* from Kadašman-Enlil I mentions the *ISINNU* festival. It was suggested to date this event to the jubilee Amenhotep III had in his thirtieth regnal year (and this suggestion affects of course the dates of the earlier *EA 1* and *2*); there are, however, other possibilities (Kühne 1973, 54; Berman 1998, 15, 18; Greenwood 2006, 192).

¹⁴⁰ Since according to my calculations, Tudhaliya II's raid should be dated to Amenhotep III's thirty or thirty-one regnal year (v.s. Chapter III.D.2.1.3.).

¹⁴¹ *EA 17* represents the first letter of its dossier, and *EA 31–32* are the only letters from the correspondence with Arzawa. They are all very important to the pharaohs, since Mittanni and Arzawa were the only known enemies of the Hittites. This was probably one reason that Amenhotep III opened negotiations with them immediately (and expressed his wish in contract and marriage).

(*EA* 17). Tušratta's assertions seemed convincing enough for the old and experienced Amenhotep III, who shortly thereafter started vigorously negotiating the formal conclusion of a new treaty with Mittanni. *EA* 75 and *Šat. I*, on the other hand, deal with a comprehensive military operation during which the entire Mittannian territory in Syria was conquered by the Hittites, and Mittanni itself suffered the deleterious consequences (it disappeared from the international scene for a couple of years¹⁴²).

When comparing *EA* 75 with the objectives of the First Syrian War (which are reflected in *Šat. I*), the similarity is striking: both deal with a military campaign directed against Mittannian territory, while skipping over Egyptian vassals¹⁴³. This is probably the explanation for the somewhat indifferent tone of Rib-Hadda¹⁴⁴, who is one of the most observant correspondents of the pharaohs (e.g. Na'aman 1996, 254f.). He and his neighbors to the coastal plain probably felt quite safe, and that may explain the meager documentation of this campaign in the Amarna archive.

The relative date of *EA* 75, following Amenhotep III's wedding with the Mittannian princess Taduhepa (Amenhotep III's regnal year 34/35), was discussed earlier (v.s. p. 161).

B.1.8.3. Notes on Richter's chronology of the Qatna letters:

Richter, who works on the publication of the letters of the Idanda archive, examined the chronology of the Amarna period at length in order to find the right spot to integrate the new archive. His scenario is based upon several premises:

1. Letter 380 discovered in Qatna is the earliest letter in the Idanda archive. This letter dates to the reign of Addu-nirari, one of Idanda's predecessors in Qatna. Richter claims that this Addu-nirari should be identified with Addu-nirari, the ruler of Nuhašše, who wrote *EA* 51 and participated in the attack on Ugarit (*CTH* 46)¹⁴⁵. If Richter's proposal is accepted, then based on the late context of

¹⁴² The results can be seen also in the archive of Idanda (Qatna, probably active right after this war) that will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁴³ See also Redford 1967a, 563; Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 86f.

¹⁴⁴ This report is integrated into Rib-Hadda's usual complaints. It is brought together with a complaint against ʿAbdi-Aširta, probably in an attempt to find a new accusation against him (cooperates with the Hittites).

¹⁴⁵ Richter 2002, 608f.; id. 2005, 122f.; id. 2006, 160f.

EA 51 and *CTH* 46, the reign of Addu-nirari ruler of Nuhašše and Qatna should be dated to a late phase of the archive (i.e. the Sub-Division).

2. Richter did not say so explicitly, but his suggested scenario implies that he believes that some letters of the Third Time-Division (or better, of the Sub-Division) deal with the First Syrian War¹⁴⁶.

The first problem with this scenario is that Addu-nirari has no place in Qatna of the Third Time-Division (to which *EA* 51 belongs), since at that time Akizzi ruled this city (*EA* 52–57)¹⁴⁷. A second problem is that Addu-nirari is not mentioned in the events of the First Syrian War (*Šat. I*), but rather Šarrušpši. Finally, we should notice that Addu-nirari ruled before Idanda for at least 45 years¹⁴⁸. If, as I suggest, Idanda's reign is dated to the First Syrian War (*EA* 75, i.e. around Amenhotep III's 35th regnal year), and *EA* 51 is placed in the Third Time-Division (close to the end of Akhenaten's reign at the earliest), it appears that Addu-nirari ruled for no less than 65 years (and possibly even more¹⁴⁹). Concerning the problems of equating the Third Time-Division (to which *EA* 51 probably belongs) and the First Syrian War, v.s. Chapter IV.B.1.8.1.

B.1.8.4. Notes on Gromova's dating of the First Syrian War:

Gromova's (2007) argumentation as to the date of the First Syrian War is based on the following premises:

1. She claimed that following the First Syrian War, Tušratta's reign, or at least his correspondence with Egypt, ended (id., 279–281, 288).

¹⁴⁶ If the battle of Arahati took place during the First Syrian War (Richter 2002, 610; id. 2003, 180; id. 2008, 184f.), and this battle marks the end of Addu-nirari's rule (loc. cit.), then *EA* 51 was written during the First Syrian War or shortly before this war began (notice the contradiction in Richter's (2003) proposal to attribute Akizzi's letters to both First (p. 178) and Second Syrian Wars (p. 181 n. 67) in the same article). The same applies to his dating of the attack of the three kings against Ugarit (described in the decrees to Ugarit, *CTH* 45–47) to the First Syrian War (v.s. Chapter IV.B.1.3.).

¹⁴⁷ Not to mention that if the First Syrian War began so late and was depicted in the letters of the Third Time-Division, there is no place for Idanda's reign (ruling Qatna between Addu-nirari and Akizzi) in this time-division. For more problems with the identification of Addu-nirari from Qatna with the king of Nuhašše, see Freu 2009, 19f. For further discussion with the archive of Idanda, see infra (Chapter IV.C.1.).

¹⁴⁸ This observation is based upon the number of regnal years, which are mentioned in the inventory lists discovered in Qatna (Richter 2002, 606f.; id. 2005, 123).

¹⁴⁹ If we take into consideration the colophon of 'Textvertreter D' in which Ulašuda, the father of Idanda, is possibly referred to as a king "LU[GAL³]", Addu-nirari's reign, or at least lifetime, was even longer (for this colophon, see Richter 2002, 607; id. 2003, 180 n. 62).

2. In her opinion, *EA 51* antedated the First Syrian War, and *EA 59* is the only documentation of this war in the Amarna archive (id., 280f., 303; see also Freu 2002b, 94–96).

However, letters *EA 51* and *59* should probably be included in the same group as the other letters from the (formerly) Mittannian vassals. Some support for the inclusion of *EA 59* within the letters of the Sub-Division can be found in both context¹⁵⁰ and the date¹⁵¹ it offers. Among others, this group includes *EA 53*, a letter from Akizzi, in which Aitakkama is mentioned. The reference to the latter implies that this northern group is later than the First Syrian War (v.s. also Chapter IV.B.1.8.1.). It seems to me that a more appropriate date for this group of letters from the former Mittannian vassals would be in the Third Time-Division (the Sub-Division), i.e. following the weakening of Mittanni, their overlord.

In letter *EA 59*, the citizens of Tunip asked the pharaoh to send back their ruler, the son of Aki-Teššub. Gromova (and others¹⁵²) identified this Aki-Teššub with the ruler of Niya, who rebelled against Takuwa his brother (*Šat. 1*), and attacked Ugarit together with Addu-nirari, king of Nuhašše (*CTH 46*)¹⁵³. This identification is possible, yet not at all certain, since this name was quite common during this period. Thus, a Mittannian prince by this name is mentioned in *Šat. 2*, and a possible hypocoristicon of this name, Akiya, appears in *Šat. 1* (king of Arahati), *EA 30* (a Mittannian messenger)¹⁵⁴ and *UEM T1*¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵⁰ (a) All the letters of the northern rulers probably belong to the same group and were written under the same circumstances, i.e. the void created in Syria after the weakening of Mittanni, when Assyria was not strong enough to take its place in north Syria (and for that reason the vassals turn to Egypt; v.s. p. 43 n. 91). (b) *EA 59* (‘Aziru is going to invade Tunip as he invaded Niya) should be inserted between *EA 53* from Akizzi (Niya is still loyal to the pharaoh, i.e. it was still not conquered by ‘Aziru) and ‘Aziru’s letters that mention his dwelling in Tunip (*EA 161*, 165–167).

¹⁵¹ The author of *EA 59* mentions a time period of 20 years, during which the people of Tunip wrote persistently to the pharaoh. This is probably an exaggeration, yet it definitely gives a clue as to the (late) date of this letter (and the Sub-Division).

¹⁵² See discussion in Richter 2008, 184 n. 44.

¹⁵³ Notice that when Moran (1992, 131 n. 6) dealt with this *EA 59*, he identified Aki-Teššub with a king of Tunip, yet in the index, he referred to him as the king of Niya (id., 380).

¹⁵⁴ Moran 1992, 380 (index); Hess 1993, 25f.

¹⁵⁵ Cooper, Schwartz and Westbrook 2005, 46f.

B.1.8.5. Notes on Freu's dating of EA 75:

Freu (2009, 12–14) suggested that *EA 75* should be identified with the Early Foray, which is mentioned also in the first lines of *Šat. 1*. He (id. 17) identified the First Syrian War with the letters of the Third Time-Division, and dated the Second Syrian War to the end of Tutankhamun's reign (id., 15, 22), i.e. beyond the scope of the Amarna archive.

The main problem with this proposal is the dating of the First Syrian War to the Third Time-Division. When this possibility is rejected (v.s. Chapter B.1.8.1.), Freu's theory is left with two significant gaps:

1. The First Syrian War has no representation in the Amarna archive.
2. We are left with quite a long and impressive Hittite campaign (in the Third Time-Division), which is not mentioned in any Hittite source.

B.2. Discussion:

B.2.1. The objectives of the First Syrian War:

Nowhere in the texts does Šuppiluliuma present a list of the campaign's objectives; however, based on the itinerary and several notes of the author of *Šat. 1*, we can try to compile such a list:

1. Conquest of Mittanni, or at least significant weakening of this kingdom, using Tušratta's 'presumptuousness' and the confrontation with Mittanni in Išuwa as a *casus belli*.
2. Subjugation of the Syrian vassals of Mittanni.
3. Avoidance of Egyptian involvement during the campaign.

The great military success of the First Syrian War (at least in its initial stage) was probably a result of careful planning. Šuppiluliuma was naturally aware of the close relations between Mittanni and Egypt in recent generations (since Amenhotep II), and understood how vulnerable the Hittite army was as it penetrated so deep into Syria. He also knew that following the fighting, during the establishment of the Hittite regime in Syria, peaceful conditions and even some measure of cooperation with Egypt would be required. For these reasons, it was very important to minimize the risks and to keep the pharaoh uninvolved as long as possible. It seems to me that in order to achieve this goal, Šuppiluliuma's strategy during the campaign was based on

two courses of action. The first was his way of fighting (somewhat similar to a blitzkrieg model); he probably used quick forces, and tried to mobilize them as fast as possible, without delay¹⁵⁶. When obstacles stood in his way, these forces were supposed to subdue the enemy through speed and sophisticated maneuvers¹⁵⁷, and not by employing the much slower tactic of siege warfare¹⁵⁸. The result of this was that when the Egyptians 'woke up', they found that Hittite troops had swarmed over Syria, and that all the Mittannian territory, as well as one of their own cities (Qadeš), had already been conquered (*EA* 75). The second step Šuppiluliuma took was to avoid harming the pharaoh's property and no less important, his honor¹⁵⁹. To fulfill this objective, the Hittites did their best not to penetrate Egyptian territory. Since Syria was divided between many kingdoms, each of which had their own self-interests and were probably bound by their own internal agreements¹⁶⁰, this goal was more complicated to achieve¹⁶¹.

Some scholars suggested that during the First Syrian War, Šuppiluliuma made contact with Ugarit (*CTH* 45–47)¹⁶² and attacked Egyptian vassals in the area of ʿAmqa and

¹⁵⁶ It is possible that the existence of the *hurādu*-troops in Qatna right after the war (letter 276.2 from Idanda's archive) support this assumption. It seems that this Hurrian term designates some kind of 'elite professional warriors' or a 'military guild'. These forces were small contingents of elite soldiers that could have cover much longer distance than regular troops (25–30 km per day in comparison with 18 km made by the Assyrian armies in the first millennium B.C. (Murnane (1990a, 95) claims that the latter's speed was twenty-four km per day). Concerning these troops, see discussion in Stieglitz 1981; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 133, 135.

¹⁵⁷ Like the possible outflanking of Nuhašše (v.s. p. 192).

¹⁵⁸ For that reason Šuppiluliuma probably did not act against Carchemiš during the campaign, but saved it to a later stage (v.s. p. 196). There is only one example for a siege warfare during the First Syrian Campaign; the blockade of Abzuya, in which the king of Qadeš was hidden. This deviation from the strategy might be explained by (a) Šuppiluliuma's wish to warn Egyptian vassals from any interference, and (b) the fact that it was already the end of the campaign.

¹⁵⁹ It seems that the attack on Qadeš should be seen as an exception. Šuppiluliuma did not intend to conquer the Egyptian part of Syria; nevertheless, he decided not to miss the opportunity of taking control over this well fortified and strategic city, and thus to strengthen the kingdom's southern border. When this scenario is accepted, this move could even be seen as a warning to the pharaoh not to intervene in the conflict.

¹⁶⁰ See for example *CTH* 54, a treaty between ʿAziru and Niqmaddu II/III king of Ugarit. Since Qadeš is one of the major players of this period, perhaps the strange intervention of Šutatarra (king of Qadeš) during such a late phase of the campaign can be explained against this background.

¹⁶¹ In this context *EA* 41 should be treated. In this letter Šuppiluliuma mentioned that the father of the young pharaoh asked to establish friendly relations and he agreed (l. 7–13, 16–22). If the 'father of the pharaoh' is identified with Amenhotep III (v.s. p. 39f.), it is possible that Šuppiluliuma succeeded in his efforts, and despite the incident in Qadeš, some kind of agreement (the term 'peace treaty' would probably be an exaggeration; a 'non-belligerency agreement' would probably define this pact better) was signed between the two kingdoms. For the possibility that despite all precautions Amenhotep III considered Hatti his enemy, see Cline 1998, 247–250.

¹⁶² Thus, Murnane 1990a, 9; Klengel 1992a, 349; id. 1992b, 109; id. 1999, 157f.; Singer 1999, 630f.; Freu 2002b, 97f.; Richter 2008, 182f.

Damascus¹⁶³. Both claims are problematic, and need to be examined. The problem of discrepancy between the overall picture of the First Syrian War and the details of the attack on Ugarit were discussed in Chapter IV.B.1.3. In this context, the more fundamental issue of attacking Egyptian vassals during this war should be considered. If the status of Ugarit is somewhat unclear, the opposite is true in regard to ʿAmqa. There is no doubt that this region was well inside the Egyptian sphere of influence, and that the pharaohs saw Qadeš as their northern border¹⁶⁴. As a result, the following questions should be asked:

1. Why did Šuppiluliuma attack the Egyptian territory of ʿAmqa, during a war directed against Mittanni? How was this provocative move against Egypt supposed to promote his goals in the short or long run?
2. Why was the attack against ʿAmqa not mentioned in *Šat. 1* (the same question applies for Ugarit's subjugation)?
3. Richter's (2008, 186f.) claimed that Ariwana, ruler of Apina, was an Egyptian vassal. However, it would be very hard to support this claim through *Šat. 1*. In this text, Šuppiluliuma made an effort to prove that the conquest of Qadeš was not his fault¹⁶⁵. If Šuppiluliuma decided that the conquest of Qadeš (an Egyptian vassal) needed an explanation, it is unclear why he left his attack against Apina unexplained (unless Apina was a Mittannian vassal).

B.2.2. The date of the First Syrian War:

Based on the objectives of the First Syrian War, it is possible to formulate some criteria for defining sources which do not deal with the First Syrian Campaign:

1. Texts referring to warfare that ranges **beyond the campaign's geographical limits** (i.e. beyond Mittanni and Mt. Lebanon). In this section we should also include texts that refer to the conquest of central places and targets that should have been mentioned in *Šat. 1*, had they indeed been part of the campaign's itinerary (e.g. Carchemiš).

¹⁶³ Richter 2008, 186–188.

¹⁶⁴ Thus, we should mention that Šuppiluliuma's first encounter with Egyptian vassal was in Qadeš, and his first confrontation with Egypt during the Second Syrian War also took place near Qadeš. The history of military confrontations continued also to the 19th Dynasty. That the affinity of ʿAmqa to Egypt was quite clear to the Hittites can be deduced from *CTH 378.2* and *CTH 379*.

¹⁶⁵ *HDT*, 43f. (par. 5): "I went to the land of Apina, but I did not seek to attack the land of Qadeš. But Šutatarra, together with...came against me for battle"

2. Texts which mention warfare against **Egyptian vassals** (except for Qadeš, which was explicitly mentioned in *Šat. 1*), or texts that reveal close cooperation between Hatti and Egyptian vassals during the fighting.
3. Texts referring to events involving **rulers that rose to power following this campaign**.
4. Texts in which **Tušratta's successors** are active, and Mittanni's place is filled by political **vacuum** or by **Assyria**.
5. Texts which deal with campaigns that lasted more than one year.

Following these criteria, it is possible to conclude that the following texts refer to a different campaign (not included are the obvious Fragment 28 of the *DS*¹⁶⁶ and *Šat. 2*¹⁶⁷):

- Fragments 26–27 of the *DS*; both these Fragments and *Šat. 1* refer to warfare near Waššukanni. The reference to Carchemiš, however, contradicts §1¹⁶⁸.
- The decrees and letter of Šuppiluliuma concerning Ugarit (*CTH* 45–47); Šuppiluliuma's protection of Ugarit against the three kings contradict §1¹⁶⁹, §2¹⁷⁰ and §3¹⁷¹.
- The Tette treaty (*CTH* 53). Both texts mention Šarrupši, ruler of Nuhašše; there are, however, differences between them as to the reasons for the war's outbreak and Šarrupši's role in the events (either enemy or a loyal Hittite vassal).
- Hattušili III's account of Šuppiluliuma's campaigns (*CTH* 83.1.A.); contradicts §2¹⁷², §3¹⁷³, §4¹⁷⁴ and §5¹⁷⁵.

¹⁶⁶ The events in this fragment mostly revolve around Hatti's relations with Egypt, and end with a war between the two kingdoms.

¹⁶⁷ The war detailed in this text took place after Tušratta's death.

¹⁶⁸ In addition, the reference to shortage of water and [food] mentioned in the context of the operation against Waššukanni, fits better with the Second Syrian War.

¹⁶⁹ Fighting in the territory of Ugarit, which is not mentioned in *Šat. 1*.

¹⁷⁰ Signing a treaty with Ugarit, an Egyptian vassal or ally during this period.

¹⁷¹ The involvement of Aki-Teššub (see later the discussion concerning the archive of Idanda, which documented the period following the First Syrian War, yet mentioned Takuwa (Aki-Teššub's predecessor)). It seems that Addu-nirari king of Nuhašše also appears only in late sources (*EA* 51, *CTH* 45).

¹⁷² The Hittites fought against none other than the king of Egypt.

¹⁷³ The text connected between the war and the appointment of Šuppiluliuma's sons in Syria. During the First Syrian War here is no reference to their involvement in the events (quite reasonable when we date this campaign to Šuppiluliuma's early reign).

¹⁷⁴ The fighting in this war happened in Hurri and the 'Hurri-lands', but there is no reference to Mittannian forces.

¹⁷⁵ The fighting lasted six years.

- Amarna letters that belong to the Third Time-Division (i.e. the Sub-Division); these letters contradict §1–§2¹⁷⁶, §3¹⁷⁷, §4¹⁷⁸ and §5¹⁷⁹.

EA 75 and the First Time-Division, to which it belongs, meet the conditions mentioned above quite well:

- (§1–§2) This letter refers to the loss of Mittannian territory¹⁸⁰.
- (§3) It belongs to the First Time-Division; none of the rulers who rose to power following the First Syrian War (e.g. Aitakkama and Akizzi) is mentioned in this phase (as opposed to letters of the Third Time-Division).
- (§4) During the First Time-Division, Tušratta reaches the peak of his power (as opposed to the Third Time-Division, in which Mittanni is almost neglected and Assyria is acting as an independent force).
- (§5) The campaign's duration is not mentioned in the letter; however, the time gap between *EA 23* (regnal year 36, following the wedding) and the end of Amenhotep III's reign (regnal year 38), in which *EA 75* should be located, is quite close to the one-year duration mentioned in *Šat. I*¹⁸¹.

As already mentioned (Chapter III.D.2.1.2.), the relative place of *EA 75* within the First Time-Division is determined in relation to the date of the wedding between Amenhotep III and Taduhepa (Tušratta's daughter). The latter event can serve as *terminus ante quem* (not after) for dating the First Syrian Campaign, since it is hard to believe that: (a) Mittanni could have paid the large dowry for the princess right after

¹⁷⁶ There are references for Hittite attacks deep inside Egyptian territory (e.g. *EA 174–176*); there are testimonies of cooperation between the Hittite army and Egyptian vassals.

¹⁷⁷ Aitakkama is one of the most active figures in the events during this time-division. The same applies for Akizzi.

¹⁷⁸ Evidence of Mittanni's weakness during this period can be found in the pleas of Mittannian vassals to Egypt and their declarations of their loyalty to Egypt. A second support can be found in the appearance of Assyrian messengers in Egypt during the Second or Third Time-Divisions.

¹⁷⁹ According to my calculations, the Hittite attack mentioned in the Sub-Division lasted at least four years (see my discussion on the Third Time-Division).

¹⁸⁰ Qadeš was the only Egyptian vassal defeated by the Hittites, and the battle against its king took place close to the end of the war. It is quite possible that *EA 75* was written before this event. When we compare this time-division with the Second (no reference to the Hittites) and the Third (much evidence of warfare in Egyptian territory), it seems to me that the First Time-Division is still the best candidate.

¹⁸¹ Especially when we consider that Tušratta's counter-attack and the Egyptian reaction to the events (task force sent to Šumur) also occurred during these two years.

its capital was sacked¹⁸²; (b) Mittanni could have bargained with Egypt as equal, or that Amenhotep III was so interested in Tušratta's daughter¹⁸³; and (c) that relations between the two kingdoms continued as usual, even though Egypt did not support Mittanni, its ally, during the Hatti's offensive, or in other words, although Mittanni was betrayed by Egypt¹⁸⁴.

Following is a table (Table 2) that details the major events of the last nine years of Amenhotep III's reign, between Tudhaliya II's Syrian foray (the Early Foray) and Tušratta's counter-attack:

	<i>Number of Ama. Let.</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Year, Amen. III</i>	<i>Year, Tuš.</i>	<i>Hatti</i>
1.	17, 45	Tudhaliya II's raid (<i>Early Foray</i>)	30/31	1/2	Last years, Tud. II
2.	19	Tuš. and Amen. III begin negotiating	32	3	
3.	22, 24, 25	Letters written prior to Amen. III's and Taduhepa's wedding	34 at the earliest ¹⁸⁵	5 at the earliest	
4.		Wedding of Amen. III and Taduhepa	34/35 ¹⁸⁶	5/6	
5.	23	Sending the statue of Ištar/Šawuška of Nineveh	36 (date upon the letter)	7	
6.	75 (and <i>Šat.</i> <i>I</i>)	Breaking of the <i>First</i> <i>Syrian War</i>	36 ¹⁸⁷	7	Early years, Šuppi.

¹⁸² Since all Mittanni's resources were directed at this stage toward restoring the kingdom (including the capital) and its army (executing Tušratta's counter-attack). For the calculation of the presents' value, see Kitchen 1998, 259.

¹⁸³ For (b) and (c) see also Murnane 1990a, 117.

¹⁸⁴ And in fact, the evidence for a sudden change in the relations between the two kingdoms following the First Syrian Campaign is quite clear. Letters written after this campaign relate to a Mittannian campaign in Egyptian territory, complain about detaining envoys, and deplore the attitude of the pharaoh to Tušratta (v.i. p. 244).

¹⁸⁵ Kühne 1973, 38.

¹⁸⁶ See also Kitchen 1998, 259f.

¹⁸⁷ Year 36 should be preferred since it leaves enough place for the recovery of Mittanni prior to Tušratta's counter-attack.

7.	58, 85, 86, 90, 95, 100, 101	Tušratta's counter- attack	37/38 ¹⁸⁸	8/9	
8.	108, 117, 132, etc. ¹⁸⁹	Egyptian task force was sent to Šumur	38	9	

The last two events of this table are discussed in detail in the next chapter (Chapter IV.C.). This discussion also includes an examination of the archive of Idanda, which probably dated to the same period.

An important 'side effect' of the identification of *EA 75* with the First Syrian War, is that it gives a relative date for Šuppiluliuma's accession. As this table demonstrates, Šuppiluliuma acceded to the throne between years 30 and 36 of Amenhotep III's reign.

B.2.3. The itinerary of the First Syrian War:

Based on the examination of all relevant texts, it seems plausible that the route of the First Syrian War, as well as some of the events that occurred during this war, were somewhat different than their description in *Šat. 1*. Following his attack on Išuwa and his invasion of Mittanni, Šuppiluliuma accepted Alše's concession, and crossed the Euphrates toward the territories of Mittanni in Syria. He conquered Aleppo and Mukiš, and there accepted the surrender of Takuwa (king of Niya). The rebellion of Aki-Teššub (brother of Takuwa) and the battle against him in Arahati¹⁹⁰, should be dated to a later period¹⁹¹. Following Niya's capitulation, Šuppiluliuma's army marched to the south. For strategic reasons¹⁹², the army did not attack Nuhašše, but encircled it

¹⁸⁸ Tušratta's counter-attack was probably launched one or two years after the end of the First Syrian Campaign.

¹⁸⁹ In this occasion 'Abdi-Aširta was caught. For this group of letters, see: Moran 1969; Na'aman 1975, 207f.; id. 1996, 254f.; Altman 1977.

¹⁹⁰ It does not mean that Arahati was not conquered during the First Syrian Campaign, only that the battle against Aki-Teššub's coalition that took place in this region should be dated to a later period.

¹⁹¹ Beckman's (*HDT*, 43) translation for the passage is: "but behind the back (arki) of Takuwa, his brother Aki-Teššub brought(!) the land of Niya... to hostility". Based on the basic meaning of the Akkadian term 'arki', 'after', the text may be rendered: "but after (arki) Takuwa, ..." (e.g. Hazenbos 2006b, 243). Notice that when 'arki' stands in a sentence next to a person or a personal name, its meaning can be rendered as follows: "after (the death of) x/PN" (*CAD A/2*, 279), and in the current case "after (the death of) Takuwa, ...". Other events that probably took place later are Aki-Teššub's attack against Ugarit (in collaboration with Addu-nirari king of Nuhašše and Itur-Addu king of Mukiš) and Niqmaddu II/III's subjugation to Šuppiluliuma at Alalah, which followed this attack (detailed in *CTH 45–47*).

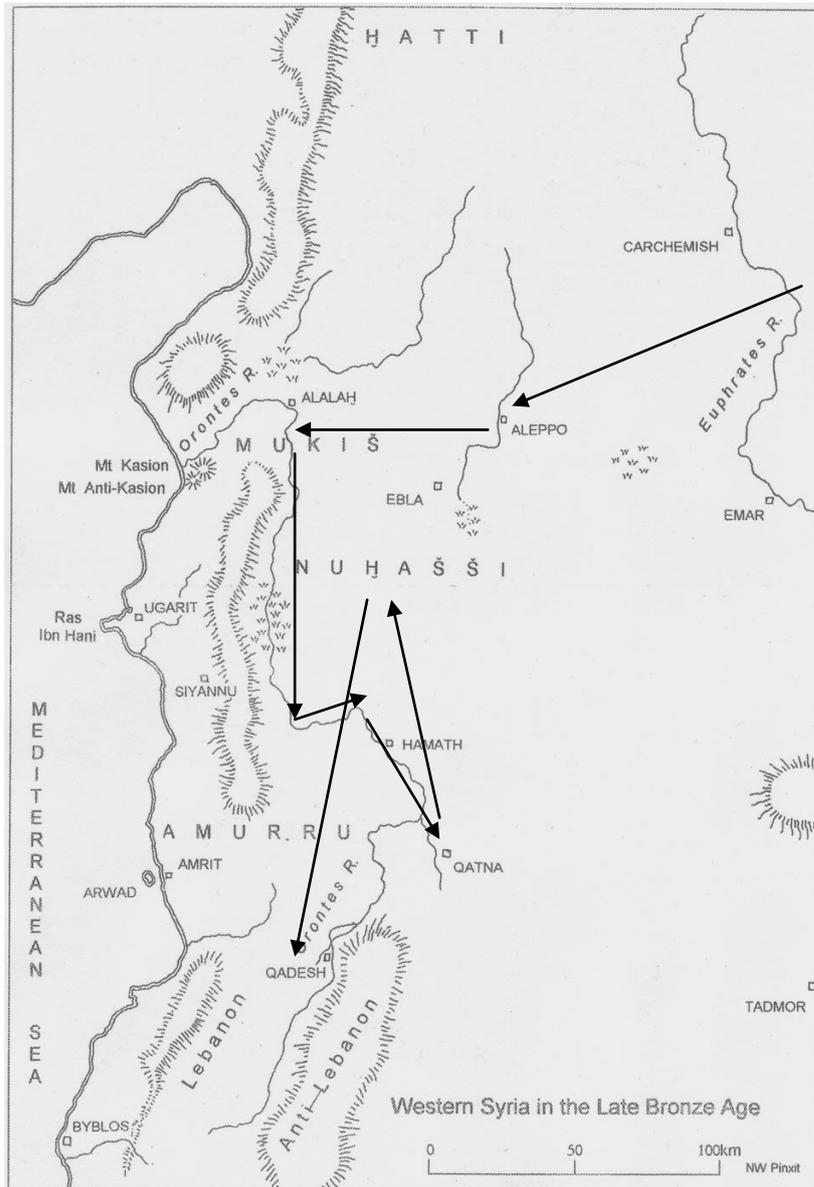
¹⁹² For Šuppiluliuma's strategy during the First Syrian Campaign, v.s. p. 222f.

and continued to Qatna. The ruler of Qatna, whether Idanda or one of his predecessors¹⁹³, surrendered, and as a result Šuppiluliuma did not devastate the city. The plundering of Qatna (prisoners and booty) mentioned in *Šat. I* (par. §4), should probably be dated to a later period (*EA* 55, ca. the end of Akhenaten's reign). From Qatna, the Hittite army marched backward, toward the more northern Nuhašše. Šarrupši, who had earlier managed to avoid the Hittite army, was suddenly surrounded on all sides and cut off from his allies. At that point, he had no choice but to surrender¹⁹⁴. The Hittites recognized Šarrupši's rule in Nuhašše, yet punished him for his resistance; Ukulzat was taken from Nuhašše and given to Takip-šarri¹⁹⁵, and Šarrupši's close family members were taken to Hatti in order to ensure his loyalty. From Nuhašše, Šuppiluliuma proceeded toward Apina, situated on the southern edge of the Mittannian Empire. However, a surprise attack by Šutatarra, king of Qadeš, caused some delay; Šuppiluliuma had to tarry in Qadeš and to besiege Abzuya. Following his victory, Šutatarra and his family were exiled to Hatti. It is possible that Aitakkama was taken too, but as mentioned above, in my opinion it is more probable that he was immediately appointed as the ruler of Qadeš. After his victory, Šuppiluliuma continued to Apina, his last destination, and conquered it. Ariwana, king of Apina, and his noblemen were deported to Hatti.

¹⁹³ Addu-nirari king of Qatna, or Ulašuda, Idanda's father.

¹⁹⁴ Šarrupši's capitulation is mentioned also in letter 193 from Idanda's archive.

¹⁹⁵ It is possible that Takip-šarri's appointment was made earlier, when the Hittite army crossed Nuhašše.



The approximate itinerary of the Hittite army in north Syria during the First Syrian War¹⁹⁶: the Hittite army left Mittanni, crossed the Euphrates and conquered Aleppo and Mukiš. Following the capitulation of Niya (located between Mukiš and Nuhašše), the Hittite army marched southward toward Qatna, possibly along the Orontes valley. Following Qatna's submission, the isolation of Nuhašše was complete, and the Hittite army marched northward toward Nuhašše, and conquered it. From Nuhašše, Šuppiluliuma marched toward Apina (does not appear on this map), the last destination in his campaign. But to his surprise, Šuppiluliuma was attacked near Abzuya by the king of Qadeš¹⁹⁷. After his victory, Šuppiluliuma continued in his way to Apina, and thus completed the task of taking over the Mittannian parts of Syria.

¹⁹⁶ The map was taken from *HdO* I/39, xiv.

¹⁹⁷ The location of the last two battlefields, Abzuya and Apina, is uncertain, but they should probably be located somewhere in the area of Qadeš.

IV.C. The situation in Syria following the First Syrian War:

C.1. The texts from Qatna (Idanda's archive); the retreat from Syria:

C.1.1. Summary of the letters:

In 2002, during the recent excavations in Tell-Mishrife/Qatna, 67 clay tablets and fragments were discovered. This group of texts, which is referred to as 'Idanda's archive', is comprised of epistolary, judicial and administrative documents. Most of the tablets were grouped together in the palace, in an underground corridor. It seems they were stored on the first floor, and when the palace was destroyed due to a fire, they fell to the ground floor. The letters listed below (except for the early 380) were found together, and it seems that originally they were also stored together. From the fact that some documents were stored in bowls and that many personal names appear in both letters and administrative documents, it appears that the texts "do not constitute an 'archive' but more likely 'daily business' of various kinds" (Richter 2005, 210–211)¹.

Following is a short survey of the order of the kings who ruled Qatna before and during the Amarna period. Then, a summary of the letters which belong to the archive of Idanda is presented. The letters are introduced by their serial number²; their chronological order is discussed later.

It is important to notice that none of the letters is fully published; my discussion of the letters is based solely on partial publications, translations and discussion made so far by Richter (2002; 2003; 2007; 2008).

¹ It seems that Richter's definition is similar to van den Hout's (2005a, 281) definition for a 'living archive' (i.e. "...what any administration of current affairs builds up and needs in order to fulfill its administrative functions"). According to van den Hout, a document can be stored in a 'living archive' up to 25 years, i.e. one generation. When we accept this definition, it is possible that letter 380 (the first letter in the archive, dated to Addu-nirari's reign) was written a long time before the others addressed to Idanda. In addition, the very short span of activity (several weeks or months) for the archive that Richter (2008, 197) suggests, should be reconsidered.

² The number of each letter begins with MSH02G-i0 (= Mishrife-Year 2002-Area G), thus for example MSH02G-i0193,2. For the sake of clarity this label was shortened to include the last three or four digits only.

C.1.1.1. The inventory lists:

Several inventory texts, which mention donations to the temple of Bélet-ekallim, were discovered in the city³. Using one of these inventory texts, 'Inventory I', it is possible to reconstruct the following list of kings, which includes the last kings who ruled Qatna before the destruction of the palace (Richter 2002, 606, 616; 2005, 121–123):

Naplimma⁴

Sînadu son (DUMU) of Naplimma⁵

Addu-nirari

[Ulašuda[?]]

Idanda⁶

I placed Ulašuda, father^(?) of Idanda, between Addu-nirari and Idanda. His name was not mentioned in 'Inventory I' but in the colophon of 'Textvertreter D'⁷. Richter (2002, 616) discussed him briefly in his articles and chose not to set his name among the above-mentioned kings. However, since one might restore the title LU[GAL[?]] next to his name, and since his name and Idanda's name stand in proximity to one another, we should at least consider the possibility that he ruled in Qatna right before Idanda⁸ (see also Freu 2009, 19).

There are two colophons which provide details about Addu-nirari's and Idanda's length of the reigns. The colophon of 'Textvertreter C' mentions "year 45 of [Addu-nirari^{(?)9}]", and the colophon of 'Textvertreter D' refers to "year 1" of Idanda¹⁰. We should notice that these numbers only refer to specific years in which donations were given by these kings. They cannot be used as evidence for the length of these two kings' reigns, but only as indications that:

1. Addu-nirari ruled for a long period, at least 45 years.

³ They were discovered in the late 1940s and published by Bottéro (1949; id. 1950).

⁴ He is mentioned before and after Turuša king of Qadeš (Richter 2002, 606).

⁵ Turuša king of Qadeš appears before Sînadu in 'Invantar I' (Richter 2002, 606, 616).

⁶ In the colophon of 'Textvertreter D', his name was written Idada (for the name Idanda, see Richter 2003, 180 and n. 63 there).

⁷ The colophon of 'Textvertreter D' could be restored as follows: "...^mIdada LUGAL [DUMU^(?) ^m]Ulašuda LU[GAL[?]]" (Richter 2002, 607; later, Richter (2003, 180 n. 62) mentioned that the gap before the name is bigger, and perhaps Ulešuda is only part of the name). In 'Invantar II', the son of Idanda, Ammut-pān, is mentioned, but it seems that he did not rule the city (Richter 2003, 170).

⁸ Thus, we should consider the possibility that he was the king who surrendered to Šuppiluliuma during the First Syrian War.

⁹ MU.45.KAM ša ^d[IŠKUR-ni-ra-ri(?)]... (Richter 2002, 606 and n.21).

¹⁰ Richter 2002, 606f.; id. 2005, 122.

2. It is possible that Idanda reigned for only a short time before the palace was destroyed¹¹. Note that this observation is less conclusive than the first, since the meaning of the references in the lists of donation is not clear. Thus, it is possible that Idanda ruled for a longer period, but for some reason he did not give donations to the temple.

Richter (2002, 608f.; id. 2005, 122f.; id. 2006, 160f.) suggested identifying Addu-nirari with the king of Nuhašše mentioned in *EA* 51 and *CTH* 46¹². For the difficulties in this theory, v.s. Chapter IV.B.1.8.3.

Another king of Qatna, Akizzi, is mentioned only in the Amarna letters. Since he is not mentioned in the inventory texts or in any other text from Idanda's Archive, and since the texts of this archive were found in the destruction layer of the palace, it is assumed that he ruled after Idanda and was the last known king of Qatna¹³.

C.1.1.2. 193.2¹⁴:

This letter was written by Hannutti, a Hittite general who was active in north Syria. The letter indicates (l. 8–19) that Šarrupši made a treaty with the king of Hurri, but subsequently asked Hannutti to save him. At first Šaggapi was sent, but later ("now") Hannutti himself came to rescue him, and Šarrupši¹⁵ "opened the gate (of his town) before him". In an unclear context a plunder of the fields of Barga, ʿIrqata, Tunanab and Ukulzat is mentioned¹⁶. Later in the letter Hannutti reminded Idanda that Mittanni was destroyed (l. 34–35).

¹¹ Following Freu 2009, 18f.

¹² He further noticed that a man named Lullu represented him in Qatna. This person, bearing the title of a 'governor' (šakkanakku, ^{LÚ}ŠAGINA), is mentioned in 'Inventory I' after Addu-nirari (Richter 2002, 606).

¹³ Richter 2002, 607; id. 2003, 169f.; id. 2005, 122; Freu 2009, 18f.

¹⁴ Transliteration and translation (partial): Richter 2008, 198–201. Discussion: Richter 2002, 611f.; id. 2005, 125.

¹⁵ It seems from Richter's publications that this name has[?]/had[?] two more variants, Šarrušše and/or Šarru-Taše (thus, in letter 275; Richter 2002, 611; id. 2003, 179; id. 2007, 307). In 2003, Richter (179 n. 59) was unsure whether this man should be identified with Šarrupši king of Nuhašše (for that reason Richter (id., 178) did not mention Šarrušše with Takuwa and Hannutti, who help dating the archive to Šuppiluliuma's reign). See also Gromova 2007, 301f.

¹⁶ This paragraph is very important, since it mentions ʿIrqata, a city that belonged to the Egyptian sphere of influence. Unfortunately, from the sections published so far, the identity of the aggressor, the one who plundered the fields of ʿIrqata, cannot be clarified. At this moment, three candidates can be offered: (a) he can be identified with the king of Hatti (or one of his representatives), and in this case we should conclude that in addition to the affair near Qadeš, at least one more incident occurred near the borders of Egypt during the First Syrian War, this time in proximity to Amurru; (b) he can

A general by the name Hannutti served in Šuppiluliuma's army¹⁷. Dating the letter and the archive to Šuppiluliuma's reign is supported by the involvement of Šarrupši (and in other letters references to Takuwa) in the events¹⁸. Hannutti's claim that Mittanni was destroyed and Šarrupši's involvement in the events can be connected to the blow inflicted on Mittanni during the First Syrian War (*Šat. 1*)¹⁹.

A more accurate date for the letter might be achieved using two details. The first is Šarrupši's submission. A similar event is detailed in *CTH 53* (Tette treaty). In both cases it seems that Šarrupši was a Mittannian vassal who decided to bring Nuhašše over to the Hittite camp. However, according to Altman's (2001b, 34f.; id. 2004a, 258f.) suggestion, the fragmentary story at the beginning of *CTH 53* is actually a narrative of failure, since Šarrupši eventually lost his position and possibly his life due to Mittannian pressure (v.s. p. 211f.). In this case, since letter 193.2 depicts only half of the story it should be dated to an earlier phase of Šarrupši's career, whereas *CTH 53* probably detailed its end.

The second detail is the reference to the destruction of Mittanni. As is demonstrated later on, a short while after the First Syrian War Mittanni recovered and regained its sovereignty over north Syria. When letter 193.2 was written, the threat from Mittanni was still not in sight.

C.1.1.3. 194+284.2²⁰:

This letter was written by Takuwa. It seems from the letter that Takuwa led military forces to assist the Hittites.

be identified with the king of Mittanni or one of his vassals, and in this case letter 193.2 can be seen as more evidence for Tušratta's attack on Amurru; (c) the third possibility is that the aggressor should be identified with a local ruler who took advantage of the collapse of the status quo in this period of mayhem in order start cross-border clashes. The 'initiator' could be identified with 'Abdi-Aširta, since there is some evidence that he attacked 'Irqata (*EA 62*, 13; *EA 75*, 25–29; *EA 100* (see Moran 1992, 173 n. 6)). In addition, Amurru later became the target of Tušratta's attacks, possibly because of this incident. We should stress again that all of these suggestions remain mere hypotheses until this section is clarified.

¹⁷ He is mentioned for example in Fragment 28 of the *DŠ* (Kaška) and *KBo 14.42* (Hapalla and the Lower Land). At one point in Šuppiluliuma's career, he was nominated governor of the Lower Land, a position he held until his death at the beginning of Muršili II's reign. For discussion of his career, see Richter 2003, 179 n. 60.

¹⁸ The lack of involvement of the king of Qadeš in the events is somewhat intriguing.

¹⁹ In one of his recent articles, Richter (2007, 307f.) mentions a list of toponyms which appear in this letter: Halba, Hurri, Irbid, Mittanni, Mukiš, Niya, Qatna and Qadeš. The context is not clear from Richter's publications.

²⁰ Discussion: Richter 2002, 611, 613; id. 2005, 115.

By identifying Takuwa with the king of Niya by the same name, it is possible to date this letter to the period of the First Syrian War (*Šat. 1. par. §4*)²¹.

C.1.1.4. 274²²:

Letter 274 is a double-letter written by Hannutti (274.3) and Takuwa (274.4). It was addressed to Idanda and the people of the city Yanina²³. In lines 1–12²⁴ the authors mention that a messenger of Anšab-pān-šarri is in his way to Qatna and he carries the following message: "Fortify Qatna till I arrive!". Hannutti refers to the city of Armatu²⁵ (written also Armatte); he claimed that it changed sides, therefore it was destroyed (l. 14–19).

It is not clear who Anšab-pān-šarri is or why he requested Idanda to fortify Qatna. Richter (2002, 614f.) suggested that originally this demand came from Hatti, but from the text parts published so far, the basis for this claim is unclear.

According to Richter (2005, 125), there are some administrative texts which also refer to the fortification of the city.

From the partial publication of the texts so far, it is not clear which side Armatu was supporting when the city was destroyed. The reason for its destruction and the identity of the aggressor are ambiguous too. However, since in letter 276 (l. 39–41), Armatu is mentioned as an enemy of Idanda, it seems reasonable to infer that letter 274 refers to its destruction by the Hittites following its support of Mittanni or other hostile forces in the region (Richter 2005, 125).

C.1.1.5. 275.2²⁶:

Šarrupši, the author of this letter, wrote as follows²⁷:

²¹ Takuwa can be identified with the king of Niya, therefore it is possible that his letters were written in Niya (Richter 2003, 176; Freu 2009, 16). For the date of Takuwa's rebellion and his battle near Arahati, v.s. Chapter IV.B.1.3.

²² Discussion: Richter 2002, 611–615; id. 2005, 115, 124f.

²³ For this city, which appears also in letter 193, see Richter 2003, 179 n. 58.

²⁴ Translation: Richter 2002, 614; id. 2005, 124.

²⁵ This city was probably located in the proximity of Alalah (Richter 2005, 125; id. 2007, 307).

²⁶ Discussion: Richter 2002, 611; id. 2007, 307; id. 2008, 203. In some of his earlier publications, the name of the sender was read as Šarru-Taše (e.g. Richter 2005, 114); later, however, Richter (2007; id. 2008, 203) rendered this reading and identified him with Šarrupši.

²⁷ Richter 2008, 203.

60–65: Mein Herr (i.e. Idanda): Ich (i.e. Šarrupši) werde kommen, und, mein Herr, du wirst <<mich>> sehen, dass sich die befestigten Stellungen des Landes Hurri gegenseitig zerfleischen. Und du, mein Herr, wirst mich sehen.

Šarrupši's promise that Mittanni's "fortified positions" will be destroyed might also be connected with the First Syrian War.

The toponyms of Araziqa²⁸, Armatu, Niya, Hatti, Hurri, Nuhašše and Turikku are mentioned in the letter. The context, however, will remain unclear until the letter is published.

C.1.1.6. 276.2²⁹:

This letter was written by Takuwa. Idanda anticipated an attack against him by an unknown enemy, and asked for Hatti's help. As a result, Takuwa and his Sutean troops and some troops from Nuhašše were commanded to protect him until the *hurādu*-troops sent by Hannutti arrived (l. 15–17, 25–27). It appears from the letter that in the past Takuwa had already saved Idanda from Armatu (l. 39–42) and that someone (Takuwa³⁰) also managed to save two statues of gods from the hands of the enemy (l. 20–21)³¹.

The letter testifies to the good relations between Hatti and Qatna. Idanda was in danger, and the king of Hatti reacted as Idanda was his ally or his vassal. Takuwa's goal in this letter was to calm Idanda. He stressed that Idanda's situation was far better than before; after all, Armatu, Idanda's enemy, was destroyed and Idanda was under the protection of two forces: Takuwa and his Sutean troops and the troops from

²⁸ This site should probably be located at Tall al-Hāḡḡ, which is located on the right side of the Euphrates ca. 5 km south-southwest of Ġabal Aruda (Richter 2007, 307).

²⁹ Translation (partial): Richter 2008, 201f. Discussion: Richter 2002, 611–615; id. 2005, 115, 124f.; Freu 2009, 16.

³⁰ The letter is still unpublished. I guess that this person should be identified with Takuwa, since the verb is in the first person and Takuwa is the author of the letter. In addition, Takuwa mentioned in the letter that he had already helped Idanda in the past.

³¹ Compare with EA 55 l. 53–66, where Akizzi mourns that Šuppiliuma took statues from the city.

Nuhašše. In addition, a third force, the *hurādu*-troops³², was on its way to Qatna (l. 41–42).

The identity of the enemy who threatened Qatna is not clear. It can be identified with any of Hatti's opponents, whether Mittanni³³ or one of its Syrian vassals.

C.1.1.7. 380³⁴:

Letter 380 is the earliest letter in the archive, since it mentions Addu-nirari who ruled Qatna before Idanda. It appears from the letter that the Lebanon Mountains were under Addu-nirari's sovereignty.

As mentioned above, Richter suggested that Addu-nirari from Qatna should be identified with Addu-nirari king of Nuhašše. This proposal was examined (and rejected) in Chapters IV.B.1.3. and IV.B.1.8.3.

C.1.2. Discussion:

C.1.2.1. The date of Idanda's archive:

The letters can be placed in this order:

Letter **380** is the first letter of the archive, since it was written during Addu-nirari's reign.

Letter **193** might be the second. It mentions the destruction of Mittanni and the surrender of Šarrupši. Especially the second of these events seems to be one of the first events mentioned in the archive, since in the other letters we find Šarrupši already leading forces in the name of the Hittite king.

Letter **275** should be placed somewhere after letter 193. It followed Šarrupši's surrender since he was already acting as a Hittite vassal. It appears from the letter that Mittanni's destruction mentioned in the former letter was not complete, since more

³² For the term *hurādu* troops ("professional elite troops"), see discussion in Stieglitz 1981; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 133, 135.

³³ Cf. Richter (2005, 125) who claims that an identification with Mittanni is not probable, since letter 193 refers to its destruction. In my opinion we should see each of these letters in a different context. Letter 193 was written closer to the First Syrian War, when it seemed that Mittanni would not recover, while the late letters detail the beginning of revolts, probably as a result of Mittanni's recovery (see also discussion at the end of the chapter).

³⁴ Transliteration and translation (partial): Richter 2005, 124; id. 2007, 307; id. 2008, 195f. Discussion: Richter 2002, 608f.; id. 2003, 171; id. 2005, 111 n. 4, 123f.; Freu 2009, 17.

operations were needed (Šarrupši's claim that Mittanni's "fortified positions" would be destroyed).

The order of letters 274 and 276 is determined according to the status of Armatu. Letter **276** refers to Armatu's enmity toward Idanda, while letter **274** depicts Armatu's destruction. However, it is possible that also in this case (see letter 193 above), Hittite expectations did not match reality and the order should be reversed.

It is clear that letter **194+284.2** is later than letter 380. Since there is not enough information about this letter, its place in relation to other letters is unclear.

In order to place the archive in its correct historical context and to give it a relative date, we should first set the chronological boundaries³⁵:

First Syrian War as *terminus post quem*: The presence of the Hittite army near Qatna testifies that the archive (excluding the early letter 380) was active only after the First Syrian War, because this was the first time the Hittites arrived in this region after the major crisis during Tudhaliya II's reign (for an estimation of the extent of the Early Foray, v.s. Chapter III.D.2.3).

End of Šuppiluliuma's reign as *terminus ante quem*: The archive should be dated not later than Šuppiluliuma's reign, since the letters mention three figures that were active during his reign: the Hittite general Hannutti, and the two vassals, Šarrupši and Takuwa. The reigns of the latter two ended during Šuppiluliuma's rule³⁶.

Using the following factors, a more accurate date can be obtained:

A. Idanda's reign antedated Akizzi's accession, because the latter's name was not found in texts in Qatna, and since the documents of Idanda's archive were found in the destruction layer of the palace. The letters are earlier than sources and events in which Akizzi took part. Since Akizzi was already ruling

³⁵ In his first articles Richter (2002, 611f.; id. 2003, 178–182) suggested dating the archive to the First Syrian War. Later (id. 2008, 197f.), he claimed that the archive should be dated to the Second Syrian War. For the discussion of his proposal, v.s. Chapters IV.B.1.3. and IV.B.1.8.3. Freu (2009, 12–14) claimed that EA 75 should be identified with the Early Foray. He suggested dating the archive of Idanda between the Early Foray and Tušratta's counter-attack (antedated the First Syrian War). For a discussion of his proposal, v.s. Chapter IV.B.1.8.5.

³⁶ Thus, Šuppiluliuma concluded a treaty with Tette, one of Šarrupši's successors. The end of Takuwa's reign is not mentioned explicitly in the texts; however, because Tušratta later launched a counter-attack and since Niya appears loyal to Egypt (EA 53 l. 40–44), it seems that Takuwa was deposed or killed shortly after the end of the Idanda archive.

Qatna during the Third Time-Division, the archive of Idanda can be dated to the First or the Second Time-Divisions.

B. Idanda asked for Hittite help and received it several times. Because of this 'caring' treatment we may conclude that **Idanda was a Hittite vassal**³⁷, or at least became one during the period of the archive's activity.

C. Idanda's reign in Qatna ended in a catastrophe, i.e. the **destruction of his palace**. Based on (a) his cooperation with (or better, his subjugation to) the Hittites, (b) his reports on enemies, and (c) the fact that destruction of Mittanni (Idanda's enemy) and its conquest were incomplete (letter 175), we may suggest that Idanda's palace was destroyed by his enemies, i.e. Mittanni or its vassals. For this reason, this destruction cannot be identical with Hatti's attack against Qatna, mentioned in *Šat. 1* and Akizzi's letters (e.g. *EA 55*). Just like the distorted story of Šarrupši in *Šat. 1*, Idanda's name is absent from *Šat. 1* probably due to his unfortunate end³⁸. Šuppiluliuma failed to save Idanda, his vassal, from Tušratta's attack; therefore his name was omitted in the treaty.

D. As a result, **Idanda's archive should be dated** to the First Time-Division, between *EA 75*— the only clear testimony for the First Syrian War in the Amarna archive³⁹—and the Amarna letters that testify to Tušratta's counter-attack (during which the palace was probably devastated), i.e. between regnal years 36 and 37/8 of Amenhotep III (v.s. Table 2 (p. 227f.))⁴⁰.

The importance of Idanda's archive for the understanding of the events is tremendous. It covers a geographical region which, in this period, falls outside the frame of other sources. The reasons for that are: (a) the region of Qatna is located outside the Egyptian sphere of interest, and (b) there are no contemporary historical sources from Hatti or Mittanni (except for the Mittannian letters from Amarna).

Another important factor is the difference between the perspective of the letters and the Hittite sources. The latter are well-edited and written in retrospective, from the perspective of the older and wiser victorious Hittite King. The result is that (a) these sources report the successes and usually ignore failures, and (b) the role of the Hittite

³⁷ Another possibility is to characterize Idanda as an 'ally' of the Hittites, but due to the power differences between the two kingdoms it seems better to define Qatna as a 'vassal'.

³⁸ Whether he was the ruler who surrendered to Šuppiluliuma, or whether he was the new ruler of the city, appointed by Šuppiluliuma.

³⁹ For the representation of the First Syrian War in the Amarna archive, v.s. Chapter IV.B.1.8.

⁴⁰ See discussion also in Richter 2003, 170; id. 2008, 197f.; Gromova 2007, 301; Freu 2009, 17.

generals and the foreign troops was omitted. The letters in Idanda's archive are very different. They do refer to some Hittite successes (e.g. the conquest of Armatu, or Šarrupši's submission), but they mainly discuss Idanda's troubles, thus revealing the difficulties the Hittites faced in Syria. As opposed to the king's central role in events in the Hittite sources, the letters deal mostly with the activity of Hittite generals and vassals.

The chronological aspect of the archive is also irreplaceable; it is the only source, which dates Takuwa and Šarrupši *together* to a period later than the First Syrian War.

In sum, the situation reflected in the letters can be described as follows: At the beginning of the period covered by the archive, during the First Syrian War or close to its end, there are reports that Mittanni suffered a crushing defeat. Following this great victory over Mittanni, the majority of the Hittite troops probably left Syria. However, shortly thereafter there are indications that these reports were inaccurate. The letters reveal that a significant military force was constantly needed to protect Qatna, and from the destruction of Idanda's palace we can learn that eventually, these measures were insufficient to hold off the enemies.

C.1.2.2. The status of the Syrian rulers:

Takuwa was probably equal to Idanda, since he is referred to as a 'brother'. Šarrupši's status, on the other hand, was 'son'. This status is quite intriguing if Šarrupši is identified with the king of Nuhašše, which was a more important kingdom than Qatna. Gromova (2007, 301) suggested three possible explanations for this: (a) Idanda held a higher position, (b) Idanda was older, or (c) Idanda and Šarrupši had family ties (Idanda was Šarrupši's father).

It seems to me that the sources support the first possibility (though they do not explicitly contradict the other two). During the First Syrian War, Idanda surrendered to the Hittites, thereby maintaining his status. Šarrupši on the other hand, resisted the Hittites and yielded only after his kingdom was surrounded. As a result he was punished: his closest family members were taken to Hatti and part of his land was given to Takip-šarri. As a result, his status was lower than that of Idanda and Takuwa.

C.2. The Amarna letters; the Mittannian and Egyptian campaigns:

C.2.1. Summary of the events:

Several of Rib-Hadda's letters can be dated to the end of the First Time-Division. Among this group of letters we can count *EA* 85, 86, 90, 95, 101. In these letters Rib-Hadda mentioned that the king of Mittanni arrived in Amurru and the city Šumur⁴¹ and almost reached Gubla (*EA* 85⁴² and 95⁴³). During this campaign, a large amount of booty was taken and brought to Mittanni (*EA* 86⁴⁴). It is possible that following the campaign, 'Abdi-Aširta 'paid a visit' to Mittanni (*EA* 90⁴⁵) and Amurru had to pay tribute to Tušratta (*EA* 101⁴⁶).

It is possible that this episode of Tušratta's arrival in Syria is mentioned in two other letters. The first letter is *EA* 58⁴⁷ from Tehu-Teššup, which mentions the arrival of the king of Mittanni. The second is *EA* 100⁴⁸, written already after the capture of 'Abdi-Aširta, since the latter's sons are mentioned as the leaders of Amurru. This letter was written by the residents of 'Irqata, possibly in an attempt to justify themselves before the pharaoh. They explain that they had to bribe Mittanni (lit. Subaru) since the land of the rebels (probably Amurru) was fighting against them (Moran 1992, 172f. and n. 6 there).

Amenhotep III's raid on Amurru is mentioned in several late letters of Rib-Hadda in retrospect. This group of letters includes *EA* 108, 117, 121, 131, 132, 138 and 362⁴⁹.

⁴¹ Šumur should probably identified with Tell Kazel (e.g. Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2003, 7f.; Morris 2005, 224f.); this identification, however, has not yet been established by any inscription. For the excavation of this site see Badre 2006 (suggested to date the lower phase of level 6 to the Amarna period (id. 77)).

⁴² Discussion: Campbell 1964, 93f.; Singer 1991b, 72; Altman 2001a, 7f.; id. 2003b, 365. For the identity of the addressee's father (the pharaoh who returned from Sidon), see Bryan 2000a, 78f.; Miller 2007a, 284 n. 140.

⁴³ Discussion: Singer 1991a, 146; Na'aman 1996, 255; Liverani 1998, 391; Altman 2003b, 363.

⁴⁴ Discussion: Campbell 1964, 93f.; Rainey 1996, 113.

⁴⁵ Discussion: Altman 2001a, 7–10; id. 2003b, 361, 365; Richter 2008, 180.

⁴⁶ Discussion: Moran 1969; Altman 1977, 4f.; id. 2001a, 7; Liverani 1998; id. 2002.

⁴⁷ Discussion: Campbell 1964, 131. For a possible location of Tehu-Teššub's kingdom, see Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004, 122f.

⁴⁸ Discussion: Campbell 1964, 131; Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2003, 6f., 9; Richter 2008, 178f.

⁴⁹ Discussion: Moran 1969, 233f.; Na'aman 1996, 254.

Following this raid, Egyptian sovereignty over Šumur and Amurru was reestablished and ʿAbdi-Aširta was deposed⁵⁰.

C.2.2. The objectives of the two military operations:

Tušratta's campaign is widely discussed in research. Following is a summary of its possible objectives (Altman 2003b):

1. Tušratta's attack against Amurru was a result of ʿAbdi-Aširta's defection to the Hittites⁵¹ (Altman 2003b, 347–350).
2. Tušratta's campaign was directed against ʿAbdi-Aširta and it took place with the pharaoh's approval⁵² (Altman 2003b, 350–363).
3. The campaign was launched as a result of ʿAbdi-Aširta's invitation⁵³ (Altman 2003b, 363–366).
4. Tušratta launched this campaign in order to manifest his power to Egypt and to cause the pharaoh to respect his agreement with Mittanni. A secondary objective of the campaign was to get Amurru's support against Hatti⁵⁴ (Altman 2003b, 366–369).

It seems to me that the fourth possibility should be considered as the main reason. Tušratta's campaign should be seen on a broader scale. Its main objective was to force Hatti out of its position in Syria. This objective is probably reflected in Idanda's archive and *CTH* 53, where we find clues for rebellions incited against Hatti and attacks (though not always directly by Mittanni) against its allies. For the same reason that the First Syrian War is poorly documented in Amarna, this stage of Tušratta's campaign is absent from this archive; in both cases the military activity took place in

⁵⁰ For ʿAbdi-Aširta's fate, see Moran 1969; Altman 1977; Liverani 1998; id. 2002.

⁵¹ This proposal should be rejected since there is no evidence that ʿAbdi-Aširta ever made contact with the Hittites (Singer 1991a, 145f.; Altman 2003b, 349f.).

⁵² In this context Altman also examined the possibility that Tušratta (completely or partially) became Amurru's sovereign. Concerning the problems with this suggestion, see Singer 1991a, 145–148; Altman 2003b, 350–363. ʿAbdi-Aširta's affinity toward Egypt is supported by the fact that Amurru is not mentioned in the itinerary of the First Syrian War (*Šat. I*).

⁵³ A variant of this proposal is that Tušratta was invited by Rib-Hadda (Richter 2008, 178). Neither of these two suggestions has support from the texts.

⁵⁴ Gromova (2007, 291–293) claims that Mittanni did not pressure Amurru during this campaign, since (a) it is hard to believe that Tušratta would risk his relations with Egypt at this stage (i.e. after the Hittite campaign detailed in *EA* 75), and (b) since Amurru joined this alliance voluntarily.

the Mittannian parts of Syria and did not affect Egyptian territory or vassals⁵⁵. It is apparent that this part of the campaign, which can be defined as a 'counter-attack', was successful, since later on Tušratta already had access to Šumur.

Tušratta's campaign had a second phase which is well documented in the Amarna letters⁵⁶. Based upon its different objective (presented forthwith), it can be defined as a 'preventive war'. During the campaign's first stage Mittanni resumed sovereignty over all the territories it lost during the First Syrian War. As the threat of repeated Hittite incursions into Syria and Mittanni was still present, Tušratta's incursion into Amurru launched at this stage might be explained in one of two ways:

1. A demonstration of Tušratta's power to Egypt. During the First Syrian Campaign, Amenhotep III did not support Tušratta, his ally⁵⁷. By invading Amurru, Tušratta actually posed a threat and demonstrated why Amenhotep III should not repeat this mistake again⁵⁸.
2. Stabilization of the frontline in Amurru. It is possible that Tušratta gave up his alliance with the treacherous Egypt. He decided that the best way to prepare his land for the next war would involve Amurru's annexation, and therefore ignored Egyptian sovereignty over this land.

Whatever his reasons, it appears that Tušratta failed to predict Amenhotep III's reaction. He probably thought that Amenhotep III would not react, or act immediately to strengthen ties between the two kingdoms, so Amenhotep III's reaction caught him by surprise⁵⁹. As opposed to Egypt's lack of response during the First Syrian War, now the old pharaoh acted swiftly and firmly. He sent troops to Amurru, which secured Egyptian sovereignty over this kingdom, reestablished Egyptian presence in Šumur and caught 'Abdi-Aširta. Possibly Amenhotep sent another force (from Amurru?) that reestablished Egyptian sovereignty over Qadeš⁶⁰.

⁵⁵ One letter which refers to this stage might be *EA* 60, in which 'Abdi-Aširta refers to the intention of "all the kings of the king of the Hurrian army" to steal his land (therefore this letter was probably written before the Mittannian army arrived in Amurru).

⁵⁶ It should be dated a short while after the destruction of Idanda's palace in Qatna.

⁵⁷ A support for the assumption that Tušratta expected Egyptian support to be sent to him during the war, can be found in *EA* 24, l. 108–118 (for a new translation of this letter, see Wilhelm 2006b).

⁵⁸ It is possible that Tušratta chose Amurru as a target, since 'Abdi-Aširta took advantage of the Mittannian retreat from Syria to attack defenseless Mittannian vassals (v.s. the discussion on letter 193.2 on p. 233 n. 16).

⁵⁹ Concerning the objectives of Amenhotep III's raid on Amurru, see also Liverani 1998.

⁶⁰ There is no doubt that Qadeš returned to the Egyptian sphere of influence (thus, *EA* 189, in which Aitakkama responded to Biryawaza's accusations, was probably written in response to the pharaoh's

Following the Mittannian and Egyptian campaigns, the relations between the kingdoms did not return to their earlier state. Evidence of the worsening relations between Egypt and Mittanni can be found in Tušratta's letters to Teye (*EA* 26) and Akhenaten (*EA* 27–29), and also in late inscriptions of Amenhotep III⁶¹ (Bryan 2000a, 83f.).

C.3. Summary; the First Syrian War and its aftermath:

C.3.1. Summary of the events:

During the First Syrian War, the entire hinterland of Syria, i.e. the Mittannian territory, was conquered by Šuppiluliuma. The coastal plain was not invaded since it was Egyptian territory and Šuppiluliuma's plan was to keep the pharaoh out of the battle scene. Except for one unfortunate incident, i.e. the encounter in Qadeš, the campaign plan and implementation were perfectly executed; Tušratta was surprised as Mittanni's flank was attacked from the east. He fled and his capital was sacked. The fast movement of the Hittite forces decided the campaign. The Mittannian vassals were swiftly isolated and subdued. If Amenhotep III ever planned to help Tušratta, he abandoned his plans when Hittite forces reached his borders.

The next stage, however, was neither planned nor properly carried out. It seems that a short while after the end of the fighting, only few Hittite forces were left in Syria to deal with all the urgent tasks⁶². The reasons for this are not clear, but since the next time the Hittite army marched in Syria was about 15 years later (at the end of the Third Time-Division), we may conclude that the army was urgently needed for internal Anatolian tasks⁶³. During the war, Šuppiluliuma failed to establish Hittite administration in Syria. Thus, during the Second Syrian War, Šuppiluliuma appointed two of his sons as rulers of Syria's main centers and made Carchemiš his executive arm in this region⁶⁴. These moves have no parallel in the period under discussion.

letter; therefore, the letter is a recognition of the pharaoh's rule). The question is whether Aitakkama initiated this step 'voluntarily', or whether some pressure was needed in order to 'help' him reach this conclusion

⁶¹ For the crisis between the two countries, see Wilhelm 1989, 34f.; id. 1995, 1251; Kühne 1999, 219.

⁶² Notice that right from the outset, due to the geographical setting, the Hittites were inferior to Egypt and Mittanni in their access to Syria (Klengel 2001a, 256f.).

⁶³ It seems that most of the surviving Fragments of the *DŠ* deal with this long and inglorious period. Notice that also *CTH* 83.1.A. mentions a 20-year period during which Šuppiluliuma fought in [Anatolia].

⁶⁴ Thus, Fr. 28 Copy E col. iii 15–23 (Güterbock 1956, 95f.).

The results were devastating. One or two years after the beginning of the war, Tušratta managed to rehabilitate his country and reestablish his sovereignty over the Mittannian parts of Syria⁶⁵. For some reason, Tušratta decided at this stage to invade Amurru. It is not clear whether he wanted to conquer this realm or only to send a warning to the pharaoh, who had forsaken him during the Hittite attack. One way or the other, this measure was probably connected with his wish to be well prepared for the next Hittite attack (which never came during his reign).

Whatever Tušratta's intentions, he probably did not anticipate the pharaoh's move. Amenhotep III sent forces to reestablish Egypt sovereignty over Šumur and Amurru, and captured ʿAbdi-Aširta. Qadeš also returned to the Egyptian sphere of influence. In addition, the Egypt-Mittanni relations cooled and never regained their former warmth.

C.3.2. Syrian kings who ruled during this period:

Following is a table (Table 3), which summarizes four different stages of the situation in Syria⁶⁶:

1. **Prior to the First Syrian War:** The data in this row are based upon *Šat. I* and letters of the First Time-Division.
2. **Following the First Syrian War:** The data is based upon *Šat. I* and Idanda's archive.
3. **Following Tušratta's campaign:** The details in this row are the most speculative. Most of them are based upon sources which reveal Syria's political situation in a later period, i.e. during the Hittites' second arrival in Syria (Third Time-Division) and Šuppiluliuma's Second Syrian War (which in my opinion, are the same event). We should bear in mind that a gap of approximately 15 years separates between the First Time-Division and the Sub-Division.
4. **Following Amenhotep III's raid:** This row is based upon letters of the Second Time-Division.

	Alše	Šuta	Alep.	Muk. / Ala.	Niya	Qat.	Nuha.	Qad.	Amur.
1	Antar. Mit. ⁶⁷	? Mit. ⁶⁸	? Mit. ⁶⁹	? Mit. ⁷⁰	Taku. Mit. ⁷¹	? Mit. ⁷²	Šarru. Mit. ⁷³	Šutat. Egy. ⁷⁴	ʿAbdi.

⁶⁵ It seems that rebellions in Syria against the Hittites were incited already before Tušratta's campaign; e.g. the rebellion of Armatu (letter 274 from Idanda's archive), a city situated in proximity to Alalah, and that of Aki-Teššub against his brother, Takuwa king of Niya (*Šat. I*).

⁶⁶ Cf. Klengel 1999, 157f.; Altman 2001b; Gromova 2007, 285; Richter 2008, 181–188.

									<i>Egy.</i> ⁷⁵
2	Antar. [?] Hat. ⁷⁶	? Hat. ⁷⁷	? Hat. ⁷⁸	? Hat. ⁷⁹	Taku. Hat. ⁸⁰	Idan. Hat. ⁸¹	Šarru. Hat. ⁸²	Aitak. Hat. ⁸³	‘Abdi. <i>Egy.</i> ⁸⁴
3	? Mit. ⁸⁵	? Mit. ⁸⁶	? Mit. ⁸⁷	Itur. [?] Mit. ⁸⁸	Aki. Mit. ⁸⁹	Akizzi Mit. ⁹⁰	Addu. Mit. ⁹¹	Aitak. ? ⁹²	‘Abdi. Mit. ⁹³
4	? Mit. ⁹⁴	? Mit. ⁹⁵	? Mit. ⁹⁶	Itur. [?] Mit. ⁹⁷	Aki. Mit. ⁹⁸	Akizzi Mit. ⁹⁹	Addu. Mit. ¹⁰⁰	Aitak. <i>Egy.</i> ¹⁰¹	‘Aziru. <i>Egy.</i> ¹⁰²

⁶⁷ *Šat. 1* par. §3.

⁶⁸ *Šat. 1* par. §3.

⁶⁹ *Šat. 1* par. §4.

⁷⁰ *Šat. 1* par. §4.

⁷¹ *Šat. 1* par. §4.

⁷² The ruler of Qatna is not mentioned by name in *Šat. 1*. He might be identified with Idanda or one of his predecessors, i.e. Addu-nirari or Ulašuda, Idanda's father^(?) (if ever reigned)).

⁷³ *Šat. 1* par. §5.

⁷⁴ *Šat. 1* par. §5.

⁷⁵ Letters of the First Time-Division.

⁷⁶ *Šat. 1* par. §3.

⁷⁷ *Šat. 1* par. §3.

⁷⁸ *Šat. 1* par. §4.

⁷⁹ *Šat. 1* par. §4. Notice that the reference to the submission of Niqmaddu II/III king of Ugarit in Alalah (*CTH 46*, par. §2) should be dated to the Second Syrian War.

⁸⁰ *Šat. 1* par. §4 and letters from Idanda's archive.

⁸¹ Letters from Idanda's archive.

⁸² *Šat. 1*, *CTH 53* and Letters from Idanda's archive (esp. 193.2 which details Šarrupši's submission).

⁸³ *Šat. 1* par. §5. V.s. also p. 193f.

⁸⁴ Letters of the First Time-Division. Amurru is not mention in the itinerary of the First Syrian War.

⁸⁵ The struggle for Alše between Hatti and Mittanni is mentioned in the Tette treaty (*CTH 53*, par. §2). It is possible that Antaratli's name can be restored there (l. 19).

⁸⁶ Since Tušratta conquered Qatna (the destruction of Idanda's palace; v.s. p. 239) and reached Amurru, it seems quite reasonable that he conquered Šuta.

⁸⁷ For the conquest of Aleppo by Tušratta see above note 86 concerning Šuta. Aleppo is mentioned as an enemy of the Hittites in the later *CTH 49* (par. §2).

⁸⁸ Itur-Addu appears as the ruler of Mukiš and as an enemy of the Hittites in the later *CTH 46*. The date of his accession is not clear. For the conquest of Mukiš by Tušratta, see above note 86 concerning Šuta.

⁸⁹ Aki-Teššub's name is connected with the following events; his accession-rebellion against Hatti (*Šat. 1*, par. §4), the attack on Ugarit (*CTH 46*) and his defeat near Arahati (*Šat. 1*, par. §4). His accession took place after the end of Idanda's archive, in which Takuwa is still mentioned. It seems reasonable that his accession is connected with Tušratta's counter-attack (see also note 86 concerning Šuta).

⁹⁰ Akizzi acceded to the throne after the destruction of Idanda's palace. It seems plausible to connect his rebellion with Tušratta's campaign (see also note 86 concerning Šuta).

⁹¹ Šarrupši's downfall was probably mentioned in *CTH 53* (par. 2§). Though Addu-nirari is only mentioned in later sources (*CTH 46*, *EA 51*), it is quite possible that Idanda, Takuwa and Šarrupši shared the same fate during Tušratta's campaign.

⁹² There is no evidence that Tušratta arrived in Qadeš during his campaign. It is not clear whether Aitakkama returned to the Egyptian camp (*EA 189*) before or after Amenhotep III's raid.

⁹³ Based on a group of letters, which detail ‘Abdi-Aširta's submission to Mittanni.

⁹⁴ See note above concerning Alše.

⁹⁵ See note above concerning Šuta.

⁹⁶ See note above concerning Aleppo.

⁹⁷ See note above concerning Mukiš and Itur-Addu.

⁹⁸ See note above concerning Niya and Aki-Teššub.

⁹⁹ See note above concerning Qatna and Akizzi.

¹⁰⁰ See note above concerning Nuhašše and Addu-nirari.

¹⁰¹ *EA 189* (which might be attributed to the Second Time-Division) reveals Aitakkama's affinity to Egypt.

C.3.3. Several notes concerning the domination of Syria:

Using this table it is possible to identify some patterns in the way the different empires ruled Syria:

Hatti¹⁰³: At least in two of the cases (Takuwa of Niya and Šarrupši of Nuhašše), the Hittites reinstated the local rulers. In one of these (Nuhašše), the ruler was reappointed by the Hittites even though he fought against them during the war (though with some means to ensure his loyalty). Only in one case (Šutatarra of Qadeš) was the ruler deposed, possibly due to his 'over-ambition'¹⁰⁴. There is no support for the claim that already during the First Syrian War Šuppiluliuma appointed Hittite rulers in Syria¹⁰⁵.

Mittanni¹⁰⁶: It seems that Mittanni ruled Syria with a heavy hand. There are two indications for this assumption. The first comes from how the Mittannian vassals fought during the war; although Mittanni itself was beaten and sacked, its vassals kept resisting the Hittites. It appears from *Šat. I* that only one vassal surrendered without fighting (Takuwa of Niya). The reason for the rulers' obstinacy can be explained by the table. Tušratta showed no mercy; all the rebellious vassals 'disappeared' following his campaign (unless the restoration of Antaratli's name in *CTH* 53 (par. §2) is accepted).

Egypt¹⁰⁷: The Egyptian method of controlling the Syrian vassals was probably more flexible and adapted to the situation. It seems that the Egyptian subjects in Syria were

¹⁰² The beginning of ʿAziru's activity (as an Egyptian vassal) is dated to the Second Time-Division, right after the deposal of his father.

¹⁰³ Concerning the Hittite regime in Syria, see also Beckman 1992; id. 1995b; Klengel 2001a, 260–271; id. 2001b; id. 2002b, 105f. Notice that most of these discussions deal with a later period (the Second Syrian War and later) when the Hittite administration was firmly established (e.g. Klengel (2001b), who examined the important role of Carchemiš and Aleppo in the administration in Hatti). Following the First Syrian War none of these measures was taken.

¹⁰⁴ Other examples of this policy can be found in the Second Syrian War. Thus, ʿAziru, an Egyptian vassal, kept his throne when he surrendered to the Hittites. The case of Aitakkama is even more representative. He started his career as a Hittite vassal, but later became an Egyptian subject. Nevertheless, the Hittites allowed him to continue ruling.

¹⁰⁵ Bryce (1992, 12) claimed that Telipinu, son of Šuppiluliuma, was appointed ruler of Aleppo following the conquest of the city in the First Syrian War. The first clear evidence of his activity, however, comes from Fr. 28, i.e. close to the Second Syrian War. In addition, since Piyaššili was appointed ruler of Carchemiš during the Second Syrian War (Fr. 28, E iii, 15–23), it is quite possible that Telipinu was appointed in Aleppo at the same time. Although Telipinu's appointment is not mentioned in the *DS*, the two appointments do appear together in *CTH* 83.1.A. (l. 17–19), which probably deals with the Second Syrian War (v.s. Chapter IV.B.1.7.).

¹⁰⁶ Concerning the Mittannian regime in Syria, see Klengel 2001a, 258.

¹⁰⁷ Concerning the Egyptian regime in Syria, see Klengel 1992b, 98f.; Moran 1995; Liverani 1998–1999, 30–32; James 2000; Klengel 2001a, 258f. Notice that some scholars (e.g. Moran 1995, 569; Liverani 1998–1999, 32; James 2000, 118) connected Akhenaten's leniency toward Amurru (and other northern vassals) with the Hittite activity in Syria; when my order of the Amarna letters is

freer than their Mittannian counterparts to act according to their own understanding. Thus, the pharaohs (Amenhotep III and later Akhenaten) ignored most of the misdeeds of the rulers of Amurru (ʿAbdi-Aširta and ʿAziru respectively) until the situation was about to get out of control, and only at that point did they work to restore the status quo¹⁰⁸. A good example is the case of Şumur, an Egyptian garrison city. After the city was taken by ʿAbdi-Aširta, Amenhotep III did not react¹⁰⁹. Only when there was a real threat that Egyptian sovereignty over this region might be lost, did he launch a raid. Exactly the same reaction can be observed years later. According to the scenario suggested in Chapter II.C.2., Şumur was conquered by ʿAziru close to the end of the Second Time-Division¹¹⁰. The sudden Egyptian interest in the city's fate close to the end of the Third Time-Division was a result of the Hittites' appearance in Syria (mentioned in the Sub-Division), as the poor state of the city and its fortifications became a major source of concern¹¹¹.

accepted, at the beginning of ʿAziru's activity (including the conquest of Şumur) there were no Hittites in Syria (Second Time-Division; v.s. p. 40 n. 78 for the different circumstances that enabled the conquests of Şumur by ʿAbdi-Aširta and ʿAziru).

¹⁰⁸ This situation was not present only in Syria. Another good example is the activity of Labaya king of Şakmu (Nablus) and his sons.

¹⁰⁹ This event was initially reported in *EA* 71 (Rib-Hadda) and explained in *EA* 62 (ʿAbdi-Aširta).

¹¹⁰ E.g. *EA* 149 and 159 (prior to ʿAziru's visit in Egypt).

¹¹¹ E.g. the very late *EA* 161 and 162 that demonstrate that there was no change in Şumur's miserable state from the time it was conquered.

IV.D. The intermediate period; 'floating' fragments and events:

D.1. Analysis of the sources:

D.1.1. 'Floating' fragments in the *DŠ*:

One of the important conclusions of the previous chapters was that a long period passed between the First Syrian War and the Hittites' second arrival in Syria. The length of this period can be estimated using the time gap between the First (*EA 75*) and the Third (the Sub-Division) Time-Divisions to between 15 and 20 years. Another indication of the length of this period comes from *CTH 83.1.A*. At the beginning of this text, the author mentioned a 20-year period, during which Šuppiluliuma fought against his enemies, probably in Anatolia.

Most of the surviving fragments of the *DŠ*—i.e. the ones that do not mention Syrian toponyms or confrontations with Mittanni and Egypt—deal with events that could be integrated in this long period. However, the numbering of the fragments, their location in the composition, or even their attribution to the *DŠ* are hypothetical. If Šuppiluliuma spent such a long period in Anatolia, it would not be surprising to find that he fought more than once against the same opponent. Thus, the gathering of all fragments dealing with Arzawa into one group is possible, but not a necessity. In addition, one cannot rule out the possibility that some of the events took place even later, during the Second Syrian War (i.e. between the Eighth Tablet of the *DŠ* and the end of the composition)¹. Despite all the difficulties, there is also one important conclusion that should be stressed: this long chronological phase is covered in the *DŠ* by only(!) three (del Monte) or four (Güterbock) tablets².

Different arrangements of the events and fragments have been suggested in the past (see discussion in Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 58f., 77–79). In Sub-chapters IV.D.1.1.1.–D.1.1.11., *KBo 12.26+KBo 12.25*, Fragments 18–24, 43 and 52 are

¹ Even though Muršili II claimed that Šuppiluliuma did not support Mašhuiluwa (the fugitive from Arzawa) in his efforts to become the king of Arzawa because he stayed at the Hurri lands (*KBo 4.4 + KBo 19.46*, l. 61–65 (Houwink ten Cate 1979a, 269–271)), it is still possible that Hittite troops led by other commanders were sent to Arzawa (or the Kaška lands).

² Between Tablet Three (Güterbock) or Four (del Monte) and the Seventh Tablet. When we consider that the First Syrian War was also depicted in these tablets, Güterbock's proposal (that four tablets covered the period between Šuppiluliuma's accession and his Second Syrian War) should be preferred.

arranged according to their order in del Monte's edition (2009, 56–70). Starting from Sub-chapter IV.D.1.1.12., the fragments are arranged according to their numerical order in Güterbock's edition. The fragments not mentioned in the latter's edition, are introduced at the end of this list according to their numerical order (*KBo* followed by *KUB*).

D.1.1.1. KBo 12.26 (col. i) and KBo 12.25 (col. i and ii)³:

KBo 12.26 and 12.25 are duplicates which detail a conflict in the Kaška region⁴. When the 'father' built several cities in the region of Tapikka (A l. 1'–11'), he was [somehow disturbed] by the enemy, therefore, he went against it (A l. 12'–19'). The details of the battle are not clear, but it seems that it ended in a Hittite victory since the enemy fled to the mountains (B l. 10–16).

Šuppiluliuma's campaign against the Kaška was preceded by a provocative act on their part. The Kaška boasted they would not retreat from their position (A l. 9'–11'). It seems that this declaration was accompanied by the building of some kind of structure/s (wall? city? fortress?) that was/were supposed to prevent Šuppiluliuma from invading their territory (A l. 7'–8').

The course of the battle is somewhat vague, mostly because the identity of Himuili, who played a central role in the events, is unclear⁵. He can be identified as either a Hittite general who was defeated by the enemy (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 282), or a Kaškean leader beaten by the Hittites (del Monte 2009, 59 n.15, 61 n. 21).

Lines 3'–4' of Copy B run as follows:

³ [n]a-aš a-pé-e-da-aš za-[ah-hi-ia p]a-it

⁴ [...]x ÉRIN ^{MES} *ḪUR* ⁶ .SAG pa-i[š]

The meaning of the combination ERÍN^{MES} ḪUR.SAG is unclear, but it is possible that it meant 'mountain troops' (Beal 1992, 259 n. 974). The broken sign at the beginning

³ Text: A = *KBo* 12.26; B = *KBo* 12.25. Edition: Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 282–285; del Monte 2009, 50f., 56–59.

⁴ For Panata and Zipišhuna see del Monte 2009, 57 n. 12; for Tuma, see id. 59 n. 13.

⁵ As opposed to Himuili the GAL GEŠTIN in Fr. 18, the position of the current Himuili is not mentioned.

⁶ From the drawing it seems that this sign was written over an erasure, maybe KAT.

of l. 4' can be rendered as [KÚ]R⁷. In this case, these two sentences can be read in this manner:

³ [n]a-aš a-pé-e-da-aš za-[aḫ-ḫi-ia p]a-it
⁴ [nu=ši d n.n. ÉRIN ^{MES(?)} LU KÚ]R ÉRIN ^{MES} *ḪUR*.SAG pa-i[š]

There are two possible ways to translate these sentences:

3'–4': [...] He went to fight (against) them, [and the god n.n.] gave⁸ [him the enem]y [forces] (and the⁹) 'mountain troops' / [the enem]y's 'mountain troops'.

Notice that according to this restoration, the 'mountain troops' were not Hittites but belonged to the enemy troops.

D.1.1.2. Fragment 18¹⁰:

Fragment 18 deals with the father's campaign in west Anatolia against Arzawa. The main copy (*KBo* 14.4) has a small duplicate, *KBo* 14.5, which includes a colophon. The number of the tablet is, unfortunately, missing.

The first three lines of the fragment are rather strange. They concern with scouts¹¹ from Peta¹² (written also Petašša) and Mahuirāšša, who stayed in Arzawa. These people, then, were taken by the 'father' and brought back to their land.

The second paragraph (l. 4–22) deals with a clash with Anzapahhaddu, Alaltalli (written also Alantalli)¹³ and Zapalli, three Arzawean leaders. The trigger for the confrontation was Arzawa's refusal to return Hittite subjects who had run away to Arzawa or were captured by the Arzawean army.

(l. 23–32) Following Arzawa's negative answer, the Hittite king sent Himuili, the GAL GEŠTIN¹⁴, to attack [n.n.]. Himuili succeeded in his mission to conquer

⁷ See also the first sign in Copy B l. 9'. It seems to me that it cannot be a broken *nu-* (cf. l. 2' and 6').

⁸ For this meaning of *pai-* ("to put an enemy in someone's power"), see *CHD* P, 48b.

⁹ Perhaps it can be compared with the idiom "ÉRIN^{MES} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MES}", troops (and) chariots, used commonly in the text, and therefore the connective conjunction (*-ia*) was omitted.

¹⁰ Text: A = *KBo* 14.4; B = *KBo* 14.5. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 79f.; del Monte 2009, 52f., 58–61. Discussion: Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 66–68.

¹¹ ERÍN^{MES} ḫaluga-; see discussion in Güterbock 1956, 79 n. a; del Monte 2009, 59 n. 16 ("truppe da ricognizione").

¹² For the location of Peta/Petašša (in an area that bordered on Tarhuntašša, Arzawa and Mira), v.s. p. 65 n. 73.

¹³ For Alantalli (I) and Alantalli (II), see Hawkins 1998, 17 n. 82.

¹⁴ He is probably not identical with the other person/s with this name, who appear/s in *KBo* 12.26 + *KBo* 12.25 and Fragment 17. It is possible that Himuili the GAL GEŠTIN can be identified with Himuili the governor of Tapikka (Marizza 2007a, 116f.; del Monte 2009, 61 n. 21). For the title GAL

Mauirašša (possibly identical with the above-mentioned Mahuirašša) and hold it, but he was later attacked and defeated by Anzapahhaddu. It is clear that Himuili survived Anzapahhaddu's attack, since he is mentioned once again in Fragment 28 (col. 1 l. 11). When the father heard about Himuili's defeat, he sent more forces which invaded Arzawa. The fragment is broken; therefore, the end of this episode is missing. At the end of this passage, the land of Mira¹⁵ is mentioned in a fragmentary context.

D.1.1.3. Fragment 19¹⁶:

This Fragment possibly details the events following the end of Fragment 18. Arzawean forces commanded by the three Arzawean leaders, Anzapahhaddu, Alaltalli and Zapalli, took position on Mount Tiwatašša and Mount Kuriwanda¹⁷, possibly in the area of Mauirašša (mentioned in Fragment 18). It appears from l. 10'–12' that someone (Hittite or Arzawean) besieged "it"¹⁸, and then someone (else?) came with troops and chariots.

(l. 13'–19') When the 'father' heard about the events, he challenged Anzapahhaddu to fight against him, but the latter refused¹⁹.

D.1.1.4. Fragment 20²⁰:

Hoffner (1998) discovered a new join not mentioned in Güterbock's edition, *KBo* 40.6.

In lines 1'–9' added by the new join²¹, three personal names are mentioned: Haš[a-...], Z[apalli²] and Mammali. Del Monte (2009, 62f.) claimed that lines 4'–7' refer to a correspondence between Za[palli] and another leader of the enemy, in which the latter was asked to send Mammali (probably in order to help Zapalli against the Hittite

GEŠTIN, see Marizza 2007b; for other appearances of Himuili the GAL GEŠTIN in texts, see Marizza 2007a, 112–118.

¹⁵ For the location of Mira and its problematic status before the conquest of Arzawa by Muṣili II, see Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 79–82, 135–145; Hawkins 1998a, 15, 21f., 25, Map 2 in p. 31; id. 1999; id. 2002, 150; Yakar 2000, 333 (suggested identifying Mira's capital with Beyçesultan); Bryce 2003a, 39, 64f.

¹⁶ Text: *KBo* 14.6. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 80f.; del Monte 2009, 53f., 62f. Discussion: Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 68f.

¹⁷ Their exact location is unknown (del Monte 2009, 63 n. 23).

¹⁸ Perhaps one of the three Arzawean leaders besieged Mount Tiwatašša.

¹⁹ The events in l. 13'–14' are not so clear. Someone besieged a [mountain], but it is unclear whether he should be identified with Šuppiliuma or with one of the Arzawean leaders.

²⁰ Text: *KBo* 40.6+ *KBo* 14.7. Edition: del Monte 2009, 54, 62f. Discussion: Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 69f.; Hoffner 1998.

²¹ Line 1' of Güterbock is now l. 9'

army). I found no other example in the *DŠ* for such a detailed correspondence between enemies (and that could weaken del Monte's restoration).

The second paragraph (l. 10'–19') details two issues; the first is a defeat of Mammali. This episode is problematic since it is unclear whether Mammali was a Hittite (Güterbock) or Arzawean (del Monte) commander. The second matter is the events that accompanied the end of the Mount Tiwatašša siege. It appears that following the end of the siege, the enemy leaders escaped from the mountain to Hapalla²². Güterbock's interpretation for the end of the passage seems more adequate, since there seems to be some kind of connection between Mammali's defeat (regardless of whether he was Hittite²³ or Arzawean²⁴), and the escape of the Arzaweans from Mount Tiwatašša, while in del Monte's restoration this link is missing²⁵.

D.1.1.5. KBo 12.26 iv²⁶:

The first paragraph details a Hittite victory in the area of Mount Tiwatašša. The description of the victory is accompanied by a longer than usual gods' list²⁷. The army of Anzunniya is mentioned in a broken context. The paragraph ends with someone marching toward Hattuša.

The second paragraph begins with the plan of the 'father' to attack Allaša²⁸. This plan, however, had to be aborted due to an attack by another enemy (l. 13)²⁹. The 'father' continued on his way to Hattuša³⁰, with two halts in Waliwanta and Šallapa³¹, where he built something. From the last lines of the paragraph (l. 18'–20') it seems that someone else arrived in the city.

²² For the location of Hapalla, v.s. p. 59 n. 40.

²³ The blockade was interrupted since Šuppiluliuma had to send some of his forces to rescue Himuili from the enemy.

²⁴ The blockade was interrupted since Šuppiluliuma had to allocate some of his forces in order to cope with the new threat posed by Mammali.

²⁵ "Intanto mio padre [teneva sotto assedio] il Monte Tiwa[tasa]..."

²⁶ Text: *KBo* 12.26. Edition: Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 58f., 69f., 282–286; del Monte 2009, 50f., 64f.

²⁷ Thus, it includes a broken god's name in l. 4' (DINGIR URU?) and the name of Zababa in l. 5'. See also Cancik 1976, 157; Heinhold-Krahmer 2007a, 370.

²⁸ Its exact location is unclear. Possibly it was located not so far from Waliwanta (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 70).

²⁹ Del Monte (2009, 65 n. 30) suggested that it was the end of the year, and the Hittite army was on its way to Hattuša, where it spent the winter.

³⁰ Cf. Forlanini 1988, 153.

³¹ For the location of the two sites, see Garstang 1943, 41f.; Bryce 1974a, 106–109; id. 1974b, 403; *RGTC* 6, 333, 472; Gurney 1992, 220; Forlanini 2007a, 289f.; Miller 2008b.

It is possible that the victory on Mount Tiwatašša marks the end of this campaign (detailed also in Fragments 19 and 20). It seems from the order of the toponyms that Šuppiluliuma (or his generals³²) finished the campaign in west Anatolia, and he was on his way back to Hattuša (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 69; del Monte 2009, 65 n. 30).

D.1.1.6. Fragment 52 (*KBo* 14.42+*KUB* 19.22)³³:

The first paragraph of this fragment (A, l. 1'–7') deals with a confrontation in north Anatolia around Hakpiš³⁴. Two other toponyms, [...]patha [and] Takkupta³⁵ are mentioned in a broken context.

The second paragraph (B, l. 1'–15') begins with the festival of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM³⁶ celebrated by the 'father'. At the same time, a rebellion broke out in the Lower Land and the 'father' sent Hannutti, the GAL LÚ.MEŠ³⁷KUŠ₇, to suppress it. The people of Lalanda³⁸ surrendered when Hannutti approached the area and he proceeded to Hapalla, which he attacked and burned. Two more encounters with enemies are detailed Between lines 12'–15'³⁹, the second of which possibly occurred near the city of Tuma⁴⁰ (l, 15').

D.1.1.7. Fragment 22⁴¹:

Very fragmentary. The city of Tuma is mentioned here three times (also mentioned in Fragment 52 above).

³² Del Monte 2009, 65 n. 30.

³³ Text: A= *KBo* 14.42; B = *KUB* 19.22. Edition: Houwink ten Cate 1966a; del Monte 2009, 55f., 64–67. For possible locations of this text in the *DŠ*, see Houwink ten Cate 1966a, 30f.; Heinhold-Krahmer 2007a, 77.

³⁴ For Hakpiš/Hakmiš, see Houwink ten Cate 1966a, 30; del Monte 2009, 65 n. 31; Klinger 2008b, 278f.

³⁵ Concerning Takkupta, see *RGTC* 6, 387; *RGTC* 4, 123.

³⁶ For this festival (celebrated in the spring), see del Monte 2009, 65 n. 32.

³⁷ Concerning this military rank, see Beal 1992, 368–375. For Hannutti the GAL LÚ.MEŠ³⁷KUŠ₇, see Marizza 2007a, 138.

³⁸ For a possible location of Lalanda, see Houwink ten Cate 1966a, 30; *RGTC* 6, 240f.; *RGTC* 6/2, 92; Frantz-Szabó and Ünal 1980–1983 (it was identified with Laranta, situated in the middle of Ceyhan, and with Lalandos, located north-west of Afyon); Forlanini 2007a, 292 n. 46; del Monte 2009, 67 n. 34. Hannutti and Lalanda are mentioned also in the letter *KUB* 19.23; this letter, however, should be dated to the 13th century (e.g. Houwink ten Cate 1966a, 30; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 79; id. 2007a, 369).

³⁹ In line 12' del Monte (2009, 56) suggested reading [...KUR U]GU (the Upper Land), the problem is that in all other cases in the *DŠ*, this toponym comes with the phonetic complement *-TI*.

⁴⁰ For the city of Tuma (mentioned also in *KBo* 12.26 + *KBo* 12.25), see del Monte 2009, 59 n. 13.

⁴¹ Text: *KBo* 14.7. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 82; del Monte 2009, 55, 66f.

D.1.1.8. Fragment 21⁴²:

Fragment 21 has a new join, *KBo* 38.85 (between l. 6'–15'). The first paragraph deals with someone who went over to the enemy (Güterbock 1956) or marched against it (del Monte)⁴³.

The second paragraph is also very fragmentary. Following the joining of *KBo* 38.85, del Monte restored [...*A-BI A -BI-ŪA* in line 11', "[When] my [grandfather] was still alive". Therefore, it is possible that the following lines deal with event that occurred during Tudhaliya II's reign.

D.1.1.9. Fragment 23⁴⁴:

Very fragmentary. It probably deals with Hittite activity in east Anatolia, since the text mentions [*Išhu*]pitta⁴⁵ and Armatana⁴⁶.

D.1.1.10. Fragment 24⁴⁷:

This small text probably deals with a Hittite campaign near Armatana (mentioned also in Fragment 23).

D.1.1.11. Fragment 43⁴⁸:

Fragment 43 deals also with a Hittite campaign in north Anatolia, and for that reason del Monte (2009, 49) chose to place it here. Two toponyms appear in the text, *Išhupitta*⁴⁹ (l. 3') and *Kašipaha*⁵⁰ (l. 4'). Trémouille (2007, 689) suggested restoring in line 4' a third toponym, [*Kamma*]ma⁵¹.

In line 7' the expression [*Š*]A GABA *zahha*-[...], 'battle of the breast' appears. Güterbock (1956, 115 n. 1) suggested it means "breast to breast". There is no other example for this idiom in Hittite⁵². Perhaps there is one similar case in Akkadian: *ina*

⁴² Text: *KBo* 14.8 +² *KBo* 38.85. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 81f.; del Monte 2009, 68f.

⁴³ The Hittite expression is *A-NA* ^{LÜ}*KÚR iya-* (l. 3'–4'). I could not find it in *HED* I–II similar examples. The exact meaning of this phrase is, therefore, unclear.

⁴⁴ Text: *KBo* 14.8. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 82; del Monte 2009, 68f.

⁴⁵ For a possible location of *Išhupitta*, see del Monte 2009, 69 n. 42 (near Kelkit Çay, between Tapikka and Hayaša); v.s. also p. 74 n. 128.

⁴⁶ For the location of Armatana (south of *Išuwa*) v.s. p. 123 n. 141.

⁴⁷ Text: *KUB* 34.32. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 82f.; del Monte 2009, 69f.

⁴⁸ Text: *KBo* 14.16. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 115.; del Monte 2009, 70.

⁴⁹ For its location, v.s. p. 74 n. 128.

⁵⁰ This city is mentioned only in this text. For a possible location, see del Monte 2009, 70 n. 43.

⁵¹ Concerning the location of Kammama, see Trémouille 2007, 689f.

⁵² Based on my examination of the term *taggani-* (in *HEG* III).

tāhaz šeri GABA aḥāmeš imḥašuma; "They fought in *close battle* on the open battlefield" (CAD I and J, 185a–b)⁵³.

D.1.1.12. Fragment 40⁵⁴:

The fragment details some unknown events in the area of Hayša and the Upper Land. Güterbock and del Monte placed this among the group of fragments which deal with the war between Hatti and Mittanni (in my opinion, this whole group deals with the Second Syrian War). However, since neither Mittanni nor its Syrian vassals are mentioned in Fragment 40, it fits better in the context of the current chapter.

D.1.1.13. Fragment 45⁵⁵:

Very fragmentary. It mentions a victory of the 'father' against an unknown enemy. A broken colophon was preserved, but it lacks the number of the tablet.

D.1.1.14. Fragment 46⁵⁶:

Very fragmentary. A reference to the 'father'.

D.1.1.15. Fragment 47⁵⁷:

Very fragmentary. The 'father' fights against 'tribal troops' (ŠU-T[I]). There are references to 90 men of the enemy and one team of horses.

D.1.1.16. Fragment 48⁵⁸:

Very fragmentary. It depicts a battle against enemies and a Hittite victory. There is a reference to the Marašanta River.

D.1.1.17. Fragment 49⁵⁹:

Very fragmentary. References to the 'father' and to x thousand head of cattle.

⁵³ See CDA (131a–b) for more usages of the term irtu(m) in a military context.

⁵⁴ Text: *KBo* 14.14. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 114; del Monte 2009, 145.

⁵⁵ Text: *KUB* 34.29. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 115f.; del Monte 2009, 150f.

⁵⁶ Text: *KBo* 14.17. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 116; del Monte 2009, 151.

⁵⁷ Text: *KUB* 31.11. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 116; del Monte 2009, 151.

⁵⁸ Text: *KBo* 7.16. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 116f.; del Monte 2009, 152.

⁵⁹ Text: *KBo* 9.75. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 117; del Monte 2009, 152.

D.1.1.18. Fragment 51⁶⁰:

The first paragraph (lines 1'–3.') of this text is too fragmentary.

In the second paragraph (lines 4'–10'), n.n. (the Hittite king or a Hittite commander) fought against the Kaška. He beat Ariwašu, a Kaškean leader, and cut his head off.

In the third paragraph (lines 11'–15') a land that rebelled in the past is subdued once again by the Hittites. Its ruler signed a treaty with the 'father' and supplied troops to the Hittite army. In lines 14'–15' the Hittite king is mentioned in the first person. This phenomenon does not fit so well with the usual phrasing of the composition.

The fourth paragraph deals with a battle.

In the last surviving passage, Muwattalli the GAL *MEŠEDI*, is mentioned. There is no other reference to a GAL *MEŠEDI* with this name during Šuppiluliuma's reign⁶¹.

Given the problems mentioned above, the attribution of Fragment 51 to the *DŠ* is doubtful.

D.1.1.19. KBo 16.21⁶²:

References to the 'father' and the Kaška.

D.1.1.20. KBo 50.16:

On the reverse of this small fragment, the Kaška, the 'father' and ^mTi-[...] are mentioned⁶³.

D.1.1.21. KUB 8.46⁶⁴:

In line 2' there is a reference to "Great [King], he[ro]".

D.1.1.22. KUB 26.73⁶⁵:

In line 2' of this small fragment Arzawa is mentioned⁶⁶.

⁶⁰ Text: A = *KBo* 14.18; B = *FHL* 61 (duplicated lines 16'–21' with only minor changes). Edition: Güterbock 1956, 118f.; Groddek 2008a, 118f. Discussion: de Martino 2005b, 293f.; Marizza 2007a, 48.

⁶¹ It is possible that a man named Muwattalli served as the GAL *MEŠEDI* during Tudhaliya I's and Arnuwanda I's reigns (de Martino 2005b, 293f.).

⁶² Discussion: del Monte 2009, 153.

⁶³ Groddek 2008a, 117; id. 2008b, 13f.

⁶⁴ Discussion: del Monte 2009, 155.

⁶⁵ The fragment was examined by Güterbock 1956, 49; Heinhold-Krahmer 2007a, 371–373, 382f.; del Monte 2009, 155f.

⁶⁶ It is written "Arzawa-*aš-ša*"; therefore, we may restore another toponym at the end of this line.

Since the text includes several MH signs (KÛ, NAM and URU) and the 'booty formula' is untypical to the *DŠ*⁶⁷, we should consider the possibility that this fragment belongs to the *AŠ* or to another MH text⁶⁸.

D.1.1.23. KUB 31.8:

In l. 4' there is a reference to the city of Zidaparha (del Monte 2009, 159). This north Anatolian city is mentioned in the *DŠ* in Fragment 34 (lines 14'–15'), but possibly also in the *AM* (*KUB* 34.36 = Fragment VII; Houwink ten Cate 1966b, 171f. 180, 187).

D.1.1.24. KUB 48.91:

This small fragment mentions the city of Maraša⁶⁹ (l. 6'), a west Anatolian settlement, and Hannutti (l. 7). The events can be dated to Šuppiluliuma's reign, or to the end of the empire⁷⁰.

D.1.2. Fragments that belong to the Annals of Šuppiluliuma(?):

Following is a group of fragments, which possibly belongs to the *AŠ*. The possibility that this composition existed was discussed several times by Heinhold-Krahmer (1977; 2007a). The most obvious characteristics of this piece are the first person perspective and (most of the time) its MH traits⁷¹. This text still lacks a *CTH* number. Its fragments were placed here, right after the discussion of the *DŠ*, due to the close connection between these two compositions.

D.1.2.1. KBo 19.49 + KBo 19.51⁷²:

The obverse of this fragment mentions Anzapahhaddu (l. 2') and the city of Allaša⁷³ (l. 7' and 8'). Perhaps it deals with the same campaign mentioned in *KBo* 12.26 iv, line 11'ff. (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 60). It is unclear whether the reverse (booty is brought to Hattuša) describes the same campaign. Between lines 12'–15' there is a colophon, which attributes this fragment to the *AŠ* (id., 60f., 291).

⁶⁷ I.e. the formula that describes the plunder taken at the end of the war. The formula that appears here (l. 5') is: NAM.RA GUD UDU KÛ.[BABBAR...]. The regular formula includes only the first three components (with or without plural determinatives).

⁶⁸ Notice, however, that the fragment is very small; therefore, these signs are not so indicative.

⁶⁹ This city, which should probably be located in proximity to Petašša, is mentioned in *CTH* 147 (Indictment of Madduwatta) and a letter from Ortaköy (Chapter III.C.2.11).

⁷⁰ Discussion: Košak 1980b, 165; van den Hout 1995, 201f.

⁷¹ Thus, *KUB* 26.85, which might belong to this composition, has LH characteristics. Possibly, this text was less 'popular' than the *DŠ* and was hardly copied in later periods.

⁷² Discussion: Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 60f., 71, 289f.

⁷³ Unknown location. It is mentioned also in *KBo* 12.26 iv.

D.1.2.2. KBo 19.53⁷⁴:

This fragment deals with some events in west Anatolia. The author, probably Šuppiluliuma, was on Mount Tiwatašša (mentioned in Fragments 19 and 20 as well) when the [enemy?] was gathered. One of the enemy's leaders was Anzapahhaddu (l. 6').

On the reverse, Anzapahhaddu's comrades, Alal/ntalli⁷⁵ (l. 1' and 4') and Zapalli (l. 3') are mentioned. They probably ran away to [Hapalla⁷⁶] and the author could not find them. For the problematic line 5', see *CHD* S2, 241a. Lines 6' and 7' deal with booty that was taken and with some magnates. It seems that line 8' deals with the settlement of civilian captives in Petašša (mentioned in Fragment 18); therefore, it is possible that *KBo* 19.53 details the end of the Arzawean episode that began in Fragment 18 (Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 71).

D.1.2.3. KBo 19.54⁷⁵:

In line 4 the author arrived in Šallapa⁷⁶, and possibly built it (l. 5') and left a garrison there (l. 6'). It is possible that in line 8' the cities [Pardu]wada and Dawi[šta] are mentioned⁷⁷.

D.1.2.4. KBo 22.48:

The city of Apaša⁷⁸ is mentioned in line 7'.

D.1.3. The Huqqana treaty (CTH 42)⁷⁹:

At some point during his reign, Šuppiluliuma concluded a treaty with Huqqana of Hayaša and gave him his sister in marriage. Carruba (1988, 68) suggested that the treaty was signed at the beginning of Šuppiluliuma's reign, but there is no support for this claim in the text. Based on other texts, it seems that Huqqana ruled between Mariya—who was possibly executed by Tudhaliya II—and Anniya, who ruled at least until year seven of Muršili II (v.s. p. 108 n. 81).

⁷⁴ Discussion: Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 70f., 287f.

⁷⁵ Discussion: Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 60, 71, 290f.

⁷⁶ For its locations, see Miller 2008b (west-central Anatolia).

⁷⁷ Concerning these toponyms, see Forlanini 1988, 153; id. 2007a, 290.

⁷⁸ This city, the capital of Arzawa, should probably be identified with Ephesos (Hawkins 1998a, 22f.; id. 1999, 10; cf. Forlanini 1998a, 237–239 (placed it in Lycia)).

⁷⁹ Translation: *HDT*, 26–34. Discussion: Carruba 1988; Akdoğan 2007.

D.1.4. Šuppiluliuma's decree on Telipinu's priesthood in Kizzuwatna (CTH 44)⁸⁰:

In *CTH 44* Šuppiluliuma proclaimed the appointment of Telipinu as the 'priest' of Kizzuwatna. Next to Telipinu, the text mentions also the names of Henti the *tawananna*- and Arnuwanda (II) the crown prince (Gurney 1983, 99f.; Otten 1994, 254). The exact date of this event is uncertain, but based on two details it probably antedated the Second Syrian War:

5. When *CTH 44* was issued Henti was still the ruling *tawananna*-. It is not clear when she was replaced by Tawananna (the Babylonian princess), but the latter's first appearance as *tawananna*- followed the conquest of Carchemiš (Devecchi forthcoming), which took place during the Second Syrian War (v.s. p. 196).
6. In addition to his position as 'priest' of Kizzuwatna, there are some texts that refer to Telipinu as the 'priest' of Aleppo. It seems he was appointed to this post during the Second Syrian War (v.s. p. 247 n. 105). Since at that point Tawananna was already the *tawananna*-, it is plausible that *CTH 44* (in which Henti is mentioned and Telipinu is still holding his former position) was issued prior to the Second Syrian War.

It remains unclear why Kantuzzili (II), the former 'priest' of Kizzuwatna, was replaced by Telipinu and not by one of his sons⁸¹.

D.1.5. Treaties with west Anatolian rulers (CTH 67 and 76):

In addition to the *DS*, there are several more texts relating to Šuppiluliuma's activity in west Anatolia. It remains unclear whether they deal with the same events that are detailed in the *DS*.

The first text is *CTH 67*, the treaty between Muṣṣili II and Targašnalli of Hapalla, in which Muṣṣili II mentioned some NAM.RA (civilian captives), who were taken from Arzawa by his father (*HDT*, 73 par. §13).

⁸⁰ Discussion: Goetze 1940, 12–17; Gurney 1983, 99f.; Otten 1994, 254. Concerning Telipinu's career, see Bryce 1992; Freu 2002a.

⁸¹ Perhaps Šuppiluliuma wanted to avoid a secondary royal line developing in Syria? See discussion in Marizza 2007a, 24.

In *CTH 76*, a treaty between Muwattalli II and Alakšandu of Wiluša, the author mentioned that when Šuppiluliuma attacked [Arzawa], Kukkunni (one of Alakšandu's predecessors) was [at peace] with him (*HDT*, 87 par. §3).

D.1.6. Hattušili III's account of Šuppiluliuma's campaigns (CTH 83.2.A.)⁸²:

This text details a battle of the Hittites against the Kaška. The battlefield was located between three mountains—Šakaddunuwa⁸³, Šišpinuwa and Šarpunuwa—and near River Zuliya. The enemy was positioned in the mountains and on the opposite bank of the river. Since the enemy managed to destroy the bridge, the protagonist had to cross over to the other side through the river. The end of the text is missing, but it seems that despite enemy resistance, the protagonist managed to cross the river and defeat the enemy.

Haas (2006, 84) suggested identifying the protagonist with Šuppiluliuma. This possibility, however, is not certain, since neither his name nor his title ('my grandfather') are mentioned here.

D.2. Discussion:

D.2.1. The intermediate period:

The first dated event in Šuppiluliuma's reign is his First Syrian Campaign (based on *EA 75*). Between this campaign and the Second Syrian War (which can also be dated using the Amarna letters), Šuppiluliuma stayed in Anatolia for a long period. The length of this period can be estimated as 15–20 years⁸⁴. There is no comprehensive review of this period in the texts. It seems that in the *DŠ* this chronological phase was covered by (only) three (del Monte) or four (Güterbock) tablets (v.s. p. 15 n. 66), but this part of the composition is very fragmentary. Since we have almost no information about this period, it is hard to determine the reasons for the beginning of this phase of

⁸² Text: A = *KBo* 16.36 + *KUB* 31.20 + *HHT* 82; B = *KBo* 50.54. Edition: Riemschneider 1962, 111–115; Alp 1977, 644–646; Groddek 2008b, 44f., 47; Miller 2008d, 120f. (Text B). Discussion: Haas 2006, 84.

⁸³ This mountain is mentioned several times in the archive of Maşat-Höyük (Alp 1991a, 455).

⁸⁴ Based on the length of the time gap between the First (*EA 75*) and the Third (the Sub-Division) Time-Divisions.

weakness, as well as the reasons for its persistence for so many years⁸⁵. From the information we have, it seems that this era was not as acute as the low point of Tudhaliya II's reign; nevertheless, Šuppiluliuma had no alternative to postponing his grandiose plans to conquer Syria, abandoning his new Syrian vassals to the mercy of Mittanni, and reestablishing his sovereignty over the Anatolian parts of the empire.

We should stress that although the periodization of Šuppiluliuma's reign is quite clear—i.e. First Syrian War, a long period of fighting in Anatolia and finally, the Second Syrian War—the date of the events and their attribution to one of these three chronological units is uncertain. Most of the events examined in the current chapter probably took place during the middle unit⁸⁶, but some may have occurred simultaneously with one of Šuppiluliuma's Syrian wars.

D.2.2. Hittite policy toward west Anatolia (part 2: Šuppiluliuma's reign):

In Chapter III.A.2.3. we examined the Hittite foreign policy toward the west Anatolian kingdoms during the reigns of **Tudhaliya I** and **Arnuwanda I**. It was suggested that during this period, the different regions of Anatolia belonged to one of two categories, '*Hittite territory*' or '*unattainable territory*'⁸⁷, and the region of Arzawa (and other west Anatolian kingdoms) was included in the latter. This conclusion relies on the fact that the two kings did not try to annex this region, but aspired to achieve maximal security for Hatti using minimal military involvement in west Anatolia. At some point, a new strategy was developed, and a buffer zone was established between Hatti and Arzawa. The kingdoms in this region (e.g. Madduwatta's realm) were supposed to protect Hatti and monitor military threats from west Anatolia. This strategy, however, failed to achieve its objective. The buffer zone was gradually eroded, and the invasions from west Anatolia, which began at the end of Arnuwanda I's reign (Huhazalma) and worsened during Tudhaliya II's reign (Tarhударadu), resulted in the collapse of Hatti.

There is not much information about the policy of **Tudhaliya II** in west Anatolia, which is not surprising since a great part of his reign was devoted to the repelling of

⁸⁵ Since many prisoners were brought from Syria to Anatolia, perhaps the first outbreak of plague took place at that point and not during the Second Syrian War?

⁸⁶ Even if only on the basis of statistical probability, since this phase is the longest in Šuppiluliuma's reign.

⁸⁷ V.s. Chapter III.A.1.8.1.

the enemies from the Land of Hatti. Following the 'concentric attack', Tudhaliya II managed to drive the Arzawean invaders out of Hatti and the Lower Land and reestablish Hittite sovereignty in central Anatolia. The most remote place in central west Anatolia to come under Hittite control was Šallapa (Fragment 4). In north-west Anatolia Maša and Kammala were beaten, but there is no reference to their conquest⁸⁸.

In the fragments discussed above, there is evidence that **Šuppiluliuma's** policy was quite similar to that of his predecessors. Three central-west Anatolian toponyms that were under Šuppiluliuma's sovereignty were ruled also by his predecessors. From *CTH* 147 ('Indictment of Madduwatta') it is clear that the city of **Petašša** was part of the Hittite territory during Arnuwanda I's reign⁸⁹, and Šuppiluliuma's deeds prove that he also considered this region part of the Hittite realm (Fragment 18 and *KBo* 19.53). The city of **Šallapa**, located approximately in the area of the buffer-zone, was burned by Tudhaliya II, and was now rebuilt and garrisoned by Šuppiluliuma (*KBo* 12.26 iv and *KBo* 19.54). The kingdom of **Hapalla**, which was part of the 'Hittite territory' during the reign of Šuppiluliuma's forefathers⁹⁰, was controlled at first by the Arzawean enemy (Fragment 20), but was later conquered by Šuppiluliuma (Fragment 52). It remains unclear whether Hapalla was in enemy hands since Tudhaliya II's reign, or whether it was reconquered by the enemy during the intermediate period (i.e. between the First and the Second Syrian Wars).

In addition to the stabilization of his reign in central-west Anatolia, Šuppiluliuma invaded Arzawa (e.g. Fragments 18–20) and possibly reached as far as Apaša (*KBo* 22.48). Nevertheless, there is some evidence that Šuppiluliuma had no intention of remaining in this region and ruling the kingdoms of west Anatolia, but only to quieten this district:

A. **The arrival of Mašhuiluwa, an Arzawean prince, in Hatti:** It appears from the texts⁹¹ that Mašhuiluwa quarreled with his brothers and had to flee

⁸⁸ If *KBo* 22.10 deals with the accession of Tudhaliya 'the Younger' (Chapter IV.A.1.2.), then close to the end of Tudhaliya II's reign a Hittite army was sent to Iyalanda (south-west Anatolia, possibly in the proximity of Miletos), but also in this case there is no reference to a permanent Hittite presence in this region.

⁸⁹ V.s. discussion in p. 68f.

⁹⁰ V.s. discussion in p. 68f.

⁹¹ This event is mentioned twice in the Comprehensive Annals (*AM*, 72f. and 140–143), and once also in *CTH* 68 (*HDT*, 74 par. §2).

from his land⁹². He arrived in Hatti seeking Šuppiluliuma's protection, and the latter gave him asylum and even married him to Muwatti, his daughter. Mašhuiluwa's return to his land, where he ruled as a Hittite vassal, occurred only during Muršili II's reign.

B. Šuppiluliuma's treaty with Arzawa: In year three, at the beginning of his war against Arzawa, Muršili II recalls that his father gave Uhhaziti, the ruler of Arzawa, the city of Puranda⁹³ (*AM*, 58f.). It seems that the delivery of the city to Uhhaziti was not a mere gesture, but part of a pact concluded between the two kings⁹⁴.

From the combination of the two pieces of evidence it seems that as opposed to Arnuwanda I—who separated Hatti from west Anatolia through the establishment of the buffer zone—Šuppiluliuma remained involved in Arzawa's internal affairs. He gave asylum to Mašhuiluwa, the contender to the throne, and in this manner he kept Uhhaziti, the Arzawean king, under constant pressure. Tasks that did require a large involvement of military forces, e.g. Mašhuiluwa's wish to become the king of Arzawa, were not carried out during Šuppiluliuma's reign (as opposed to the very similar case of Šattiwaza, prince of Mittanni), probably since the Hittite army had more urgent matters in Anatolia and Syria⁹⁵.

During this period, an interesting development took place in another part of west Anatolia, in the Šeha River-Land⁹⁶. It appears that following the death of his father, Manapa-Tarhunta's⁹⁷ brothers expelled him from the Šeha River-Land, and he was

⁹² For the episode of Mašhuiluwa, see Cancik 1993, 117–119. It seems to me that Mašhuiluwa's land was not Mira, but Arzawa, since Mira was not an independent kingdom, nor was it as important as Hapalla and the Šeha River-Land, before Arzawa was dismantled by Muršili II. The high status of Mašhuiluwa and his pedigree to be king of Arzawa are clear from *CTH 76 (HDT)*, 90 par. §14: "Now, in the male line Kupanta-Kuruntiya (an adopted son of Mašhuiluwa) is a descendant of the king of the land of Arzawa") and from his title 'Man of Arzawa' (*AM*, 141 l. 56). For further discussions concerning Mira's status before the reign of Muršili II, v.s. p. 252 n. 15.

⁹³ For the location of Puranda, see *RGTC* 6, 322f.; *RGTC* 6/2, 128; Meriç and Mountjoy 2002 (suggested identifying it with Bademgediği Tepe; this identification, however, is uncertain (Herda and Posamentir 2008, 508)); Hawkins 2006 (identifies Puranda with Bademgediği).

⁹⁴ Hence, when Uhhaziti became hostile Muršili II demanded that the city once again be under Hittite domain (l. 27–28). It is possible that another indication for this treaty appears in *CTH 69*, where in par. §4 Muršili wrote: "[But when I went on campaign] against Uhhaziti and against [the people of Arzawa], because Uhhaziti [transgressed the oath] in regard to me, the oath gods seized [him...]."

⁹⁵ Thus, Muršili II claimed that his father wanted to conquer Arzawa and to appoint Mašhuiluwa as its ruler; however, because Šuppiluliuma was busy with his war against the lands of the Hurrian, he could not perform these tasks (*AM*, 140–143).

⁹⁶ For the location of this kingdom, v.s. p. 59f.

⁹⁷ For Manapa-Tarhunta, see Heinhold-Krahmer 1987–1990a.

forced to flee to Karkiša⁹⁸. [Arnuwanda II⁹⁹ and] Muršili II looked after him and were responsible for his protection. Later, Ura-Tarhunta, Manapa-Tarhunta's brother and main rival, was also driven out of the Šeha River-Land, and due to the pressure applied by [Arnuwanda II and] Muršili II, Manapa-Tarhunta could have returned to his kingdom¹⁰⁰. We should notice, however, that this development should be seen more in the sense of taking advantage of opportunities that arise, than a result of deliberate policy or careful planning. In addition, this act did not deviate from the Hittite policy, since no military force was needed in order to turn the Šeha River-Land into a Hittite subject. And indeed, not long after the death of Šuppiluliuma, the Šeha River-Land rebelled and had to be reconquered by Muršili II in his Arzawean campaign¹⁰¹.

⁹⁸ Concerning the location of Karkiša, v.s. p. 61 n. 51.

⁹⁹ *CTH* 69 par. §1. Arnuwanda II's designation ("my brother") was restored in a gap in l. 13. Another possible restoration is Šuppiluliuma's name or designation ("my father"; see *Portal Mainz* for this restoration).

¹⁰⁰ The details of these events appear in *CTH* 69 (*HDT*, 82 par. 1) and the *Comprehensive Annals* (*AM*, 66–69).

¹⁰¹ *AM*, 66–73 (year four).

IV.E. The 'Second Syrian War':

E.1. Analysis of the sources:

E.1.1. The DŠ (CTH 40):

Fragments 40, 43, 45–49 and 51 were examined in the former chapter ('floating' fragments, Chapter IV.D.1.1.). Fragments 30¹, 42² and 44³, which were examined by Güterbock in the context of the Syrian wars, probably do not belong to the *DŠ*.

The fragments, which are dealt in this chapter, were organized according to their order in del Monte's (2009) edition. As opposed to the latter, I chose to include also Fragments 25–27 in the current chapter. They were already examined in Chapter IV.B.1.2. (dealing with the First Syrian War) and placed here after Fragment 41, since they probably deal with the Second Syrian War. This order is only hypothetical, since the order of the fragments that follow Fragment 28 (the Seventh Tablet) is unclear (as mentioned also by del Monte (2009, 85)).

E.1.1.1. The Seventh Tablet (Fragment 28)⁴:

Fragment 28 has at least six copies⁵. *KBo* 5.6 is the main copy (Copy A). It has several blanks at the end of column i–iii, which possibly indicate that some parts of the original, from which *KBo* 5.6 was copied, were broken. The blanks in column ii (partially) and iii (fully) can be restored using Copies E₂ and E₃ (Güterbock 1956, 47; del Monte 2009, 84f.). *KBo* 5.6 (Copy A) has a colophon, which attributes it to the

¹ Possibly belongs to *CTH* 134 (the Kuruštama treaty); see discussion in Groddek 2008a, 114; id. 2008c; del Monte 2009, xxxii.

² Belongs to *CTH* 52. For transliteration, see Beckman 1997, 97–99; Groddek 2008b, 14f.; for discussion, see Heinhold-Krahmer 2007a, 382; del Monte 2009, xxxii.

³ Belongs to *CTH* 63.A. For transliteration, see Miller 2007b, 124 (A ii 46ff.); for discussion see id. 122f.; del Monte 2009, 11.

⁴ Text: A = *KBo* 5.6 // B = *KBo* 14.9 // C = *KUB* 31.7 // D = *KBo* 14.10 // E₁ = *KBo* 14.11 // E₂ = *KUB* 34.25 // E₃ = *KBo* 14.12 + *KBo* 16.38 + *KBo* 39.280 (for the latter two, see also Groddek 1996, 101f.) // F = *KBo* 42.72 (appears only in del Monte's edition). Edition: Güterbock 1956, 90–98 (partial); del Monte 2009, 86–129. To this list we should add two more copies: Text: 4.A. = *KBo* 50.11 (col. iii) + *KUB* 21.10 // 4.B. = *KBo* 22.9 (col. i³). Edition: del Monte 2009, 97–99, 104–107, 118–121 (notice that the fourth columns of 4.A. and 4.B. constitute (two copies of Fragment 50). Translation: Hazenbos 2006a.

⁵ If Copies E_{1–3} do not belong to the same copy the number of copies could be higher. Groddek (2008a, 114) suggested that Copy C might belong to Copy F or Copy 4.A.

Seventh Tablet⁶. Since this copy has an extremely large handwriting, it seems that the other copies of Fragment 28 do not belong to the same tablet and series⁷.

The **first column** of Fragment 28 deals with military operations against the Kaška. The beginning of these events is missing and was probably detailed in the former tablet. In the first three paragraphs (l. 1–30), the 'father' and two of his commanders fought in the area of Almina⁸. The events begin when someone, probably the 'father', built two towns, Athulišša and Tuhupurpuna, on Mt. Zukkuki⁹. From this mountain, he continued to Almina and conquered it. Following a plague that broke out in the Hittite army, the 'father' had to change the army's positions: one part of the army under his command stood on Mt. Kuntiya¹⁰, a second part under Himuili¹¹ held the Šariya River¹², and the third part led by Hannutti¹³ held a position in the town of Parparra. Nevertheless, the Kaška rebelled and seized or killed the Hittite population living among them. However, they failed in their attempts to defeat the Hittite army.

While fortifying the city of Almina, the 'father' sent two commanders, Urawanni and Kuwalanaziti the GAL NA.GAD¹⁴, against the rebels (l. 31–39). They invaded the land of Kašula¹⁵, defeated the enemy and brought back booty and prisoners. Then the 'father' went to Tumanna¹⁶ and conquered it.

The 'father' marched toward Hattuša in order to spend the winter there, but because the enemy conquered the land of Ištahara¹⁷, the 'father' invaded this land and drove the enemy out of it. Following the victorious campaign, the 'father' returned to Hattuša for

⁶ For this colophon, v.s. p. 16.

⁷ Thus, Wilhelm and Boese (1987, 80–83, 91–94) suggested that the '*daḥamunzu*- episode' was placed in the Sixth Tablet of the Long Columns' Series.

⁸ For a possible location of Almina and the scene of activity, see del Monte 2009, 101 n. 17; Glatz and Matthews 2009, 67.

⁹ Glatz and Matthews (2009, 64) identify Mt. Zukkuki with a ridge or a summit of Alinin Daği.

¹⁰ For a possible identification with the Saraycik Daği, see Glatz and Matthews 2009, 63.

¹¹ Regarding Himuili the GAL GEŠTIN, v.s. p. 252 (discussion concerning Fr. 18).

¹² For a possible identification with the Gök Irmak or Çerkeş-Soğanlı, see Glatz and Matthews 2009, 62.

¹³ Concerning Hannutti the GAL LÚ.MEŠ⁷KUŠ⁷, v.s. p. 254 (discussion concerning Fr. 52).

¹⁴ Concerning this commander (and other persons by this name), see Marizza 2007a, 148; del Monte 2009, 103 n. 22.

¹⁵ For a possible identification of Kašula, see del Monte 2009, 109 n. 23; Glatz and Matthews 2009, 66.

¹⁶ For a possible identification of Tumanna, see del Monte 2009, 109 n. 25; Glatz and Matthews 2009, 65f. The city of Tumanna is also mentioned in *CTH* 84 (*KUB* 21.16 l. 9) in a passage that possibly dealt with Šuppiluliuma.

¹⁷ For the location of Ištahara, see *RGTC* 6, 150f.; *RGTC* 6/2, 55; del Monte 2009, 105 n. 26; Glatz and Matthews 2009, 68f. (in proximity to Nerik).

the winter. At this point the story is interrupted due to the blank at the end of the column.

The **second column** deals with the war against the Hurrians. At the beginning of the column (l. 1–8) we find a 'brother' of the author—possibly the 'priest' (Telipinu)¹⁸, since he is mentioned in the next paragraph (Güterbock 1956, 92 n. b)—in the area of Carchemiš¹⁹. He fought against 'tribal troops' (ERÍN^{MEŠ} ŠU-TI), and following his victory these two countries surrendered to him.

The city of Carchemiš was still hostile, therefore the 'priest' left some troops in Murmuriga²⁰ under the command of Lupakki (the LÚUGULA 10 ŠA KARASŠ)²¹, and went to consult with the 'father' in Hatti. Since the 'father' was in Uda²², they met there. When the Hurrians saw that the 'prince' left, they surrounded Murmuriga. The author mentioned that Takuhli the *amumikuni*-²³ was among the attackers (l. 9–20).

During the time the Hurrians were besieging Murmuriga, the Egyptians attacked Qadeš²⁴. First, the 'father' turned against the Hurrian threat. The Hittite army marched toward Tegarama²⁵, and from there the 'father' sent his son Arnuwanda (II) and Zita the GAL MEŠEDI²⁶ into the Hurrian country. The two generals succeeded in their mission, but the enemy managed to [escape?]. In his attempt to stop the enemy's flight

¹⁸ Telipinu's career will be discussed later in this chapter (v.i. p. 270f.).

¹⁹ Concerning Carchemiš (modern Ğarablūs) see *RGTC* 6, 181f.; *RGTC* 6/2, 67; *RGTC* 12/2, 153–158 (with recent bibliography); for a more detailed discussion, see Hawkins 1976–1980 (p. 429 on Šuppiluliuma's reign; on the architectural features of the city, see p. 436–439, and also del Monte 2009, 111 n. 43, 117 n. 57). It is possible that before Carchemiš, at the end of line 6, the toponym Arz[iy]a was mentioned, but this restoration is doubtful (note of J. Miller). If this restoration is correct, this is probably not the same Arziya that is located in the area of Šamuha (del Monte 2009, 105 n. 30); see also *RGTC* 6, 45; *RGTC* 6/2, 14; *RGTC* 12/2, 40.

²⁰ For the reading of this toponym, see del Monte 2009, 105 n. 31; concerning this city, see also *RGTC* 6, 276; Klengel 1993–1997.

²¹ For Lupakki, who was later sent to ʿAmqa to fight against the Egyptians (Fr. 28 iii 1; *EA* 170), see Hess 1993, 104f.

²² Concerning the location of this Uda, see del Monte 2009, 107 n. 34. Regarding Uda, v.s. also p. 125 n. 154.

²³ About Takuhli the *amumikuni*- (administrator?), see del Monte 2009, 107 n. 35.

²⁴ For a discussion concerning Qadeš, v.s. p. 82 n. 164. For the grammatical case of Qadeš in this sentence, see discussion in Richter 2008, 193.

²⁵ Concerning the location of Tegarama, v.s. p. 123 n. 142.

²⁶ Concerning Zita (Šuppiluliuma's brother), the author of *EA* 44 (possibly also identical with Zitana, the Hittite general who is mentioned in *EA* 170), see Campbell 1964, 130f.; Hess 1993, 172f. (divided between Zita (num. §187) and Zitana (num. §188)); Marizza 2007a, 169; del Monte 2009, 109 n. 40.

the 'father' marched to Carchemiš and imposed a siege on the city²⁷ (l. 21–46 and E₂, l. 6'–13').

The second column ends with a blank.

At the beginning of the **third column**, the 'father' was still busy with his siege on Carchemiš. In order to repel the Egyptian threat, he sent Lupakki and Tarhuntazalma to 'Amqa. Their attack was a success. At about the same time²⁸, pharaoh 'Niphururiya²⁹ died, and that only added to the confusion of the Egyptians. Following his death, the Egyptian queen, the *daḥamunzu*- (i.e. the wife of the dead king³⁰), wrote a letter to the 'father'. She claimed that she has no son and asked that a Hittite prince be sent to Egypt and become her husband and king of Egypt. Since it was an exceptional request, the 'father' decided to send Hattušaziti the chamberlain (GAL LÚ.É.ŠÀ)³¹ to Egypt in order to get to the bottom of this case (l. 1–25).

In the meantime, after a siege that lasted seven days, the 'father' managed to conquer Carchemiš³². Following the victory, the Hittite prince Šarri-Kušuh was appointed governor of the city and of the land of Carchemiš³³ (l. 26–43 and E₃, l. 15–20).

After the establishment of Carchemiš as a Hittite kingdom, the 'father' returned to Hatti where he spent the winter (E₃, l. 21–23).

In the spring, Hattušaziti returned from Egypt together with Hani³⁴, an Egyptian messenger. They brought the 'father' a letter from the widow, in which she repeated the details of the story and her request for a Hittite prince. The 'father' was convinced by the widow's arguments (A iii 44–54, iv 1–15, and E₃, l. 24–25).

²⁷ Laying a siege on Carchemiš was a complicated task, since one of the city's sides was protected by the Euphrates. In order for the siege to be effective, the Hittite army had to control the river (del Monte 2009, 111 n. 43).

²⁸ Copy A ii l. 5–8: "But when the people of Egypt heard of the attack of 'Amqa, they were afraid. And since their Lord Piphururiya died *right now* (for the new rendering of *imakku*, see Hoffner 1995; cf. Güterbock 1956, 94; *HED* IV, 203); therefore, the queen of Egypt...". Hoffner (1995, 193), suggested that the *imakku* was meant to stress the proximity in time between the death of 'Niphururiya' and the widow's first letter; however, it is possible that this term was used in order to express the proximity in time between the Hittite attack on 'Amqa and the death of the pharaoh (e.g. Puhvel's translation: "because *on top of everything* their lord Tutankhamon had died on them" (*HED* IV, 203)).

²⁹ E₃ iv 18. In A iii 7 the name is written Piphururiya.

³⁰ An Egyptian word meaning "the king's wife" (Federn 1960; del Monte 2009, 113 n. 47).

³¹ Concerning Hattušaziti (and his unique title), see del Monte 2009, 115 n. 50.

³² Regarding the conquest of the city, see discussion in del Monte 2009, 117.

³³ It seems that at this point, *CTH* 50, a treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Šarri-Kušuh, was signed.

³⁴ Hani, an Egyptian messenger, was sent by the pharaoh on important missions in Mittanni (e.g. *EA* 211. 25) and Syria (e.g. *EA* 161). See also Hess 1993, 71–73 (suggested that possibly, Hani's appearances in the texts should be divided between several people with the same name).

Following a gap of about ten lines, the story continues in **E₃** (col. iv 1–39). In this paragraph we find an interrogation of Hani. The 'father' speculated whether the widow tried to stop the Hittite attacks on 'Amqa by using his son as a hostage. Hani kept replying the official answer; the widow asked for a Hittite prince because she wanted to marry someone of her own status. In order to gain some knowledge of the relationships between the two kingdoms, the 'father' asked that the tablet of the Kuruštama treaty³⁵, an old treaty between Hatti and Egypt, be brought to him. After the treaty was read to him, the 'father' announced that the good relations between the two countries would continue.

E.1.1.1.1. Discussion:

Our discussion of Fragments 28 will begin with the **end of the first column**. Following the fight against the Kaška and the arrival of Šuppiluliuma in Hattuša in the winter, there is a blank in the text. The second column begins with the conquest of Carchemiš. What happened in the middle is unclear. Though it seems that only ten to fifteen lines³⁶ separate between line 50 of col. i and the first line of the second column³⁷, it is possible that the space was larger. As a result, it remains unclear when and in what circumstances the Hittite army arrived in Syria. In other words, the first events of the Second Syrian War are missing in Fragment 28 and should be reconstructed from other sources. We may assume that the confrontation did not begin with Telipinu's invasion of the land of Carchemiš, but in an area located between Hatti and Mittanni, whether in east Anatolia (e.g. Išuwa) or in the northern fringes of Syria (e.g. Mukiš)³⁸.

Before Šuppiluliuma and members of his family (Arnuwanda and Zita) arrived in Syria, the highest representative of the Hittite court in this region was **Telipinu** the 'priest' (col. ii l. 1–14). Interestingly enough, though Šarri-Kušuh was later appointed

³⁵ Sürenhagen (2006, 65f.) claims that this treaty followed the 'Kuruštama accord'. He suggested (loc. cit.) that the span of time between the two agreements was short, and that they were both signed during the MK (possibly during Tudhaliya I's reign). Concerning the Kuruštama treaty, v.s. n. 162 in p. 81f.

³⁶ This is approximately the size of the blank in the end of col. i.

³⁷ The ten-line gap between lines 44 and 45 in col. iii is fully overlapped by lines 15–25 of E₃. This complete overlap may indicate that also in the case of the blank in the end of col. i the estimation of the scribe of Copy A was accurate.

³⁸ It seems to me that the second scenario (i.e. that the initial confrontation occurred in north Syria) can be supported by an integration of Šuppiluliuma's campaign against the three Syrian kings who invaded Ugarit (detailed in *CTH* 45–47) at the beginning of the sequence of events (v.i. the first stages in Table 4 (p. 309–313)).

as the king of Carchemiš—the highest Hittite administrator in Syria— and as viceroy to the king of Hatti (Klengel 2009), there is no reference for his involvement in the events until the moment of his appointment (end of the third column, E₃, l. 15–20). Since later, Šarri-Kušuh was the more prominent among his brothers³⁹, the reason for his absence is unclear⁴⁰.

The second and third paragraphs detail a Hurrian attack on **Murmuriga** (A ii, l. 15–20, 24–25). One of the leaders of the attack was **Takuhli** the *amumikuni*-. The activity of a Hittite king in the area of Murmuriga and the name of a certain Takuhli, are mentioned in *KBo* 26.85 (col. ii)⁴¹. The third column of this fragment mentions Kili-Teššub (the second name of Šattiwaza⁴²), a treaty and a war. The text is written in the first person, has LH characteristics and possibly belongs to the *AŠ*⁴³.

From col. iii l. 29 we learn that Carchemiš was conquered after a **siege of seven⁴⁴ days**. Note, however, that the siege on this city began already at the end of the col. ii (A ii, l. 44–46, E₂, l. 6'–11'). Between these two passages the following events took place:

1. the dispatch of Lupakki and Tarhuntazalma to attack ʿAmqa,
2. their return to Carchemiš,
3. the death of 'Niphururiya',
4. the arrival of the first Egyptian messenger,
5. the dispatch of Hattušaziti to Egypt.

³⁹ For Šarri-Kušuh/ Piyaššili, see Klengel 2009. Concerning the functions of the king of Carchemiš and his prominence in Syria, see Klengel 1992a, 351f.; id. 1992b, 121; id. 2001a, 261; id. 2009, 78; del Monte 2009, 107 n. 32. Cf. Bryce 1992, 18 (presented Šarri-Kušuh and Telipinu almost as equals).

⁴⁰ Possible explanations for this phenomenon are (a) the fragmentary state of the composition (i.e. Šarri-Kušuh was busy in another region, but this part of the text is missing), or (b) that at that point, Telipinu was more active and possibly more important than his brother (his appointment as the priest of Kizzuwatna may support this explanation).

⁴¹ Edition: del Monte 2009, 165f.

⁴² For references, see del Monte 2009, 141 n. 20.

⁴³ Except for this fragment, all the other fragments that could be attributed to the *AŠ* have MH characteristics (see also Groddek 2002, 277 n. 29). Perhaps some parts of the *AŠ* were copied in a later period, or possibly this fragment should be attributed to another text. Unfortunately, there is only little information about the *AŠ*, and these questions will have to remain open at this stage.

⁴⁴ Güterbock (1956, 95) wrote 8 days. See discussion in del Monte 2009, 115 n. 52.

Though it is possible that all these events occurred during a period of seven days, it seems that they required longer period⁴⁵. A possible solution is that for a long period (perhaps several weeks or months) the siege was more passive in nature (i.e. closure of the roads and the river), and during the last seven days the Hittites applied a more active pressure and tried to break into the city⁴⁶.

The **Egyptian attack on Qadeš** is one of the prominent events in Fragment 28. It is detailed in Copy A col. ii lines 21–23.

A iii	²¹ KUR ^{URU} <i>Ki-in-za-ia-aṣ</i> <i>ku-it</i> A-BU-IA <i>tar-aḥ-ḥa-an ḥar-ta</i>
A	²² <i>nu ŠA</i> KUR ^{URU} <i>Mi-iz-ri</i> ÉRIN ^{MES} ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{MES} <i>ú-iz-zi</i>
A	²³ <i>nu</i> KUR ^{URU} <i>Ki-in-za</i> <i>GUL-aḥ-ta</i>

These lines were translated by Güterbock (1956, 93), Hazenbos (2006a, 237), Richter (2008, 193) and del Monte (2009, 109). There are two significant differences between their renderings of these lines: the grammatical case of Qadeš (*Kinza*) and the meaning of the *ku-it*.

Güterbock and Hazenbos identified the *ku-it* as a relative pronoun (neut. nom.-acc. sg., "which"), and translated:

"...the land of Qadeš, *which* my father had conquered...".

Richter and del Monte, on the other hand, treated it as the conjunction "because", "since", and translated:

"*Because* my father conquered the land of Qadeš, ...".

Since there is an agreement between *ku-it* and KUR (both neut. sg.), the first possibility (relative pronoun) cannot be rejected, though Güterbock's ("to the country of Kinza") translation should be somewhat modified⁴⁷. However, based on the position of the *ku-it* in the sentence⁴⁸, and the fact that the *ku-it* has no equivalent in the

⁴⁵ Thus, we should probably add several days (at least), during which the Egyptian widow made the decision to turn to Šuppiluliuma and later, when the Egyptian proposal was considered in the Hittite court.

⁴⁶ For Hittite siege warfare, see Singer 2008.

⁴⁷ In this case *ku-it* is in the acc. case, and the same should be applied to Qadeš (and not as dir. or loc. as Güterbock and Klinger analyzed it). Thus, Hazenbos translated: "The Egyptian infantry and horse-troops now came, and they attacked *the country of Qadeš*, that my father had conquered".

⁴⁸ Second position, see Hoffner and Melchert 2008, 418 par. §30.41 and §30.42.

main clause⁴⁹, it seems to me that the second rendering should be preferred and this passage should be translated as follows:

Because my father conquered the land of Qadeš, troops and chariots of Egypt came, and attacked the land of Qadeš.

The first question to consider is **when Qadeš was conquered by Šuppiluliuma**. The problem is that this event is not mentioned earlier in Fragment 28. We might have considered restoring such a campaign in the blank at the end of col. I; however, at the beginning of col. ii Šuppiluliuma (and at least two generals, Arnuwanda and Zita) was still in Anatolia. We may suggest three other solutions:

A. Qadeš was conquered in an initial stage of the Second Syrian War. This stage was not detailed in the Seventh Tablet but in a former tablet. In this case, it seems that the Second Syrian War was interrupted and Šuppiluliuma left Syria for at least one year in order to fight the Kaška (the events detailed in col. i of the Seventh Tablet)⁵⁰.

B. The author referred to the first conquest of Qadeš, during the First Syrian War. The problem is that in col. iv (E₃ col. iv, l. 3–4) Šuppiluliuma claimed in front of Hani that Qadeš was [taken away] from the Hurrians⁵¹, while according to *Šat. 1* (i.e. the First Syrian War) it appears that the city was taken from Egypt. A possible solution for this contradiction can be found in the different designated audiences for each of these claims. *Šat. 1* was directed to the Mittannian court; therefore Šuppiluliuma claimed that Qadeš was taken from Egypt. In Fragment 28, Šuppiluliuma's speech was directed to Hani, the Egyptian envoy; therefore, he argued that Qadeš was conquered from Mittanni⁵².

⁴⁹ Hoffner and Melchert 2008, 424 par. §30.58: "...in Hittite preposed relative clauses (by far the most common type) the antecedent stands in the relative clause (in the appropriate case) and is resumed in the main clause by (1) an enclitic pronoun, (2) a demonstrative pronoun, or (3) a demonstrative plus the repeated noun, again in the appropriate case. In rare instances (4) there is no resumptive word, but the antecedent still stands in the relative clause". Unless this sentence belongs to the last category ('rare cases'), *kuit* should be understood as a conjunction.

⁵⁰ The same phenomenon can be observed later in this war. A short time after the campaign to Syria and the *dahamunzu*-episode (Fr. 28 col. iii and iv), Šuppiluliuma returned to Anatolia to fight against the Kaška (Fr. 50). See in this context Groddek 2008a, 113f.

⁵¹ Notice that there is a contradiction between this claim and the hidden claim in l. 21–23, that Qadeš was initially an Egyptian vassal. This problem will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁵² The same contradiction exists also with regard to Amurru (v.s. p. 289f.). Miller's (2008a, 547–549) explanation for this contradiction is based on a similar principle (different audience leads to different claim of ownership): in texts that were directed to Hittite audience (including the Hittite vassals) the authors claimed that Amurru's former sovereign was Egypt; in texts that were directed to an international audience they claimed that Amurru was conquered from Mittanni. In addition, it is

C. A third possibility is that Qadeš surrendered without a battle before the Hittite army arrived in the vicinity. It is possible that before the beginning of their offensive, the Hittites sent messengers to Syria trying to achieve the surrender and cooperation of the local rulers⁵³. As a consequence of Mittanni's weakening, Syria was in some kind of political vacuum and strong vassal kingdoms—such as Amurru, Qadeš and even Damascus⁵⁴—took advantage of the situation. This situation was exploited by Šuppiluliuma in order to operate beyond the traditional border between Mittanni and Egypt and to offer vassal treaties to Ugarit, Qadeš, Amurru and other Egyptian vassals⁵⁵. Aitakkama identified Egypt's weakness and decided to join the Hittites. In return for his loyalty, Aitakkama probably received Šuppiluliuma's promise to support him against his enemies⁵⁶. If this proposal is accepted (i.e. Qadeš surrendered without battle), the description of the surrender of Qadeš in the text could have been quite short, and could be restored even in the blank at the end of col. i⁵⁷.

The second question is **when the Egyptians attacked Qadeš**. The answer to this question is controversial and depends on several factors, such as the identities of the dead 'Niphururiya' and the possible execution of the planned campaign mentioned in the Amarna letters (discussed by Na'aman 1990a). The integration of all these details will be made at the end of the chapter (v.i. Chapter IV.E.2.4.). In context of the current discussion, we may suggest that this attack followed the joining of Qadeš to the Hittite camp (if option C is accepted). As for the information from the *DŠ*; at first glance it seems that the Egyptian campaign (A ii l. 21–23) and the Hurrian attack on Murmuriga (l. 23–25) occurred at the same time. However, when we compare the two assaults, it is possible that the situation was different. Thus, when the latter assault occurred, "word is brought to my father"; i.e. the information arrived in Hatti

possible that the Aitakkama's behavior and his attacks on Egyptian vassals (e.g. Biryawaza (*EA* 151, l. 59); notice also the pharaoh accusations against him (*EA* 189 l. 1–20; *EA* 162 l. 22–29)) enabled Šuppiluliuma to make the claim that Qadeš was a Mittannian vassal (even as lip service).

⁵³ Thus, we can see that (probably prior to the Second Syrian War) Hittite envoys were sent to Ugarit (*CTH* 45) and Nuhašše (*EA* 51 rev. 1–17). See also the accusation against 'Aziru in *EA* 161 (l. 47–53; met with Hittite envoys).

⁵⁴ Even Biryawaza, the ruler of Damascus, who was presented as a model of a faithful vassal (*EA* 53 l. 63), seized the opportunities. Thus, he was blamed for robbery of a Babylonian caravan (*EA* 7 l. 73–82; *EA* 194 (see discussion in Na'aman 1988, 181)).

⁵⁵ Thus, in *EA* 197 (l. 13–25) some of Biryawaza's neighbors claimed that they were Hittite vassals.

⁵⁶ As can be seen, for example, in *EA* 53.

⁵⁷ Since the act of sending Hittite envoys to Syria lacks any measure of heroism, it is quite possible that the author did not even mention it.

(immediately) when the Hurrians launched their attack. The Hittite reaction to the situation was also fast (l. 26 onward). The description of the Egyptian attack on Qadeš is totally different, since it lacks any sense of urgency. The same applies to the Hittite reaction, which was postponed to the beginning of column iii (after the beginning of siege on Carchemiš)⁵⁸. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that the author placed together the Egyptian and Hurrian attacks (beginning of the col. ii) not because of their simultaneous occurrence, but since Hittite reactions to these acts (i.e. the conquest of Carchemiš and the attack on ʿAmqa) took place approximately at the same time⁵⁹.

We should add a note concerning the sentences that opened the discussion (A ii 21–23):

Because my father conquered the land of Qadeš, troops and chariots of Egypt came, and attacked the country of Qadeš.

As I mentioned above, the place of the Egyptian attack on Qadeš in the text is not clear. Possibly the episode was placed next to the Hurrian attack on Murmuriga out of editorial considerations (i.e. the proximity between the Hittite reactions to them). We may suggest that when this passage was taken from the ancient source, in addition to its placing, the editor changed its wording as well. In light of the causal formulation of this passage (the Egyptians attacked Qadeš because it was conquered by the Hittites) we may assume that Qadeš was an Egyptian vassal before it was conquered by Šuppiluliuma. However, on another occasion (and probably still in the same tablet) Šuppiluliuma claimed before Hani that Qadeš was [taken] from the Hurrian king (E₃ col. iv, l. 3–4). Whatever political and historical explanation may be offered for this problem, a clarification should be made regarding the literary logic of this contradiction.

⁵⁸ There are several suspicious details concerning the connection between the two attacks: (1) The *DŠ* does not refer to the Egyptian campaign's measure of success (failed? Managed to reconquer Qadeš?); (2) Lupakki and Tarhuntazalma were sent to ʿAmqa and not to Qadeš (i.e. offensive rather than defensive campaign); (3) the mission of protecting Qadeš from the Egyptian army(!) and not from a local rival) should have been given a much higher priority than the punitive campaign of Arnuwanda and Zita to Hurri, since—according to the author—Qadeš was a Hittite vassal (or at least the author should have mentioned an excuse why it did not happen). Concerning this problematic attack, see also Klinger 2001a, 286f.

⁵⁹ Richter (2008, 193f.) suggested that the pharaoh's campaign and the Hurrian attack occurred in parallel since they were coordinated. This proposal is problematic since the relations between Mittanni and Egypt cooled down close to the end of Amenhotep III's reign, i.e. many years before these events took place (v.s. Chapter IV.C.2.).

I believe that lines 21–23 did not appear in their current form in the *AŠ* or any other sources that were used by the author of the *DŠ*. Rather, they were edited and rephrased in their current form in order to fit Muršili II's agenda. Just like his line of argumentation in the Plague Prayers, Muršili II, almost imperceptibly, described these events in such a way that would place the blame for the escalation on his father⁶⁰ (the Egyptian attack was a consequence of the Hittite conquest).

Arnuwanda is one of the commanders sent from Tegarama against the Hurrians (col. ii l. 29–31). Most of the Hittite magnates mentioned in Fragment 28 are referred to by their names and their title⁶¹. Arnuwanda, on the other hand, is only referred to as "his son (DUMU-ŠU), Arnuwanda", though at this point he was probably the second in command and the *tuhkanti*-⁶².

The problematic **identification of 'Niphururiya'**, the pharaoh whose death is reported in col. iii (l. 7), is widely discussed in the literature. The different possibilities are examined later, after all the relevant texts have been examined. Although the spelling of this name resembles more closely the throne name of Tutankhamun, it is quite possible that Akhenaten's throne name was written in this form as well (e.g. Hess 1993, 116; Miller 2007a, 263–265; cf. Groddek 2002, 273–276).

The year in which 'Niphururiya' died was rich in events:

1. The first events of this year are missing because there is a blank at the end of col. i (can be estimated to between 15 and 20 lines).
 - [Possibly, the Hittite conquest of Qadeš or perhaps its surrender was dealt in this gap (see above)]
2. Col. ii begins with the conquest of the land of Carchemiš by Telipinu.

⁶⁰ See also Klinger 2008a, 40; cf. del Monte 2009, xix.

⁶¹ E.g. Himuili the GAL GEŠTIN and Hannutti the GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ (col. i l. 11–12), Telipinu the 'priest' and Lupakki the ^{LÚ}UGULA 10 ŠA KARASŠ (col. ii l. 1–11), etc. Even one of the Hurrian leaders, Takuhli, is mentioned also by his title (the *amumikuni*-).

⁶² For indications as to his high esteem during the reign of Šuppiluliuma, see Klengel 1999, 169f.

3. The arrival of Telipinu in Uda (north of Cilicia) in order to meet Šuppiluliuma⁶³.
 - The Hurrians noticed that Telipinu left the area and attacked Murmuriga.
 - [According to the DŠ, at the same time Egyptian forces attacked Qadeš (see discussion above)]
4. The Hittites heard about the attack; Šuppiluliuma and his army left Anatolia and reached Tegarama.
5. Arnuwanda and Zita were sent from Tegarama and successfully attacked the "Hurrian country".
6. Šuppiluliuma arrived in Carchemiš; beginning of the siege.
7. [Unknown events (blank at the end of col. ii)].
8. Lupakki and Tarhuntazalma were sent from Carchemiš to ʿAmqa, and after a successful raid returned to Carchemiš.
 - 'Niphururiya' died.
9. The first letter from the pharaoh's widow was written and sent to Carchemiš.
10. Hattušaziti was sent to Egypt.
11. Carchemiš was conquered after a seven-day siege.
12. Hittite sovereignty over Carchemiš is established.
13. Šuppiluliuma returned to Hattuša to spend the winter there.

Taking into account that this was not even a full year, but approximately nine months⁶⁴, this period seems to be too eventful. One possible solution to extend this period by several months is to place the first events in which Telipinu was involved (e.g. stages 2–4) in the winter (i.e. before the beginning of the fighting season).

The **identity of the *dahamunzu***- (just like that of 'Niphururiya') is discussed after the analysis of the other sources for this period (v.i. p. 319f.).

Šarri-Kušuh was appointed in Carchemiš right after its conquest (E₃ col. iii, l. 15–20)⁶⁵. As mentioned above (v.s. Chapter IV.C.3.1.), it is quite possible that the rapid

⁶³ From the phrasing of this event it is even possible that Telipinu searched for Šuppiluliuma in Hattuša before he met him in Uda ("the Priest came to Hattuša to meet my father, but my father was in Uda...so he met him there").

⁶⁴ Since this period began at the end of the first winter (col. i l. 50) and ended at the beginning of the following winter (E₃ l. 23).

⁶⁵ At this stage, Šuppiluliuma probably signed a treaty with Šarri-Kušuh (CTH 50).

collapse of the Hittite rule in Syria following the First Syrian War was due to insufficient Hittite presence in this region. Therefore, the appointment of Šarri-Kušuh as the king of Carchemiš and governor of north Syria and the possible presence of considerable amounts of military forces in Syria as an outcome of this appointment, probably testify that the Hittite court learned its lessons and created a better system to control Syria⁶⁶.

Telipinu's appointment in Aleppo is not mentioned in this context⁶⁷. Possible explanations are that (a) Aleppo's conquest and Telipinu's appointment were mentioned in the former tablet, (b) Aleppo was not conquered yet, or (c) for some reason, though Aleppo was already conquered, Šuppiluliuma decided to postpone Telipinu's appointment⁶⁸.

E.1.1.2. Fragment 29⁶⁹:

Very fragmentary. Probably mentions friendly relations with Egypt. It is quite possible that this fragment does not belong to the *DŠ*, but to the Kuruštama treaty (*CTH* 134; see Groddek 2008a, 114; id. 2008c, 41 n. 27).

E.1.1.3. Fragments 31 and 32⁷⁰:

Güterbock (1956) treated this text as two separate fragments, but Miller (2008d, 118f.) noticed that *Bo* 7744 connects them to one fragment. Though it is fragmentary, it is clear that this text deals with the death of the Hittite prince Zannanza.

Following is the translation of lines 5'–6', in which the news about the death of Zannanza reached Šuppiluliuma:

[When n.n.?] brought (pl.) the letter, they spoke thus: "The people of Egypt killed [your son/Zannanza]", and brought word: "Zannanza [died]".

⁶⁶ The best proof for the durability of this governmental system came following the deaths of Šuppiluliuma and Arnuwanda II. Muršili II, a young king, had the privilege of dealing with relatively small threats (the Kaška and Arzawa), while Šarri-Kušuh was trusted to maintain the stability of Syria (and was no doubt pressured by Egypt and possibly also Assyria).

⁶⁷ As opposed to *KUB* 19.9 (*CTH* 83.1.A, col. i l. 17–19).

⁶⁸ See also discussion in Bryce 1992, 11–14; Freu 2002a, 74–80; del Monte 2009, 107 n. 32.

⁶⁹ Text: *KUB* 31.25. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 107; del Monte 2009, 96, 1254f.

⁷⁰ Text: *KUB* 23.8 + *Bo* 7744. Edition: Miller 2008d, 118f.; del Monte 2009, 96f., 124–127. Groddek (2008a, 113f.) suggested that Fragments 31 and 32 should be placed after the campaign against the Kaška which is detailed in Fragments 33 and 50. Del Monte's order is adopted here for the reader's convenience. Groddek's proposal is equally possible (see below, the discussion on Fragment 50).

Liverani (1971) suggested that Zannanza was not the real name of the prince, but his Egyptian title, which was possibly given to him upon his arrival in Egypt. He suggested that the meaning of the title is "the king's son". As support for his claim, Liverani mentioned that: (a) the name Zannanza has no Hittite parallel, and (b) it appears only here in the context of the message (concerning his death) that arrived from Egypt.

Note, however, that from this passage it is clear that Šuppiluliuma did not receive the news about the death of Zannanza directly from Egypt, but through agents. In addition to the original message from Egypt ("Zannanza [died]"), these agents offered also their interpretation for this incident ("The people of Egypt killed [your son/Zannanza]"). From line 12' it seems that these agents were magnates (l. 12', *BELU*^{MEŠ}). They were probably Hittites⁷¹, and possibly members of the entourage that escorted Zannanza to Egypt⁷². In sum, this passage is not a quote of the Egyptian letter as suggested by Liverani, but of an oral message that was delivered to Šuppiluliuma by some of his own people.

Egypt is mentioned again in line 17', and a treaty with the people of [n.n.] in l. 19'.

E.1.1.4. Fragment 33⁷³:

This is the fourth column of *KUB* 31.7. The first column of this fragment is Copy C of Fragment 28 (col. i, l. 29 onward). Fragment 33 includes three lines only, and one reference to the Kaška.

E.1.1.5. Fragment 50⁷⁴:

The attribution of Fragment 50 to the *DŠ* and its location in this composition were often discussed in the literature⁷⁵. Currently, since it is clear that Copy 4.A. (*KBo* 50.11 col. iii) overlaps columns iii and iv of *KBo* 5.6⁷⁶, and Copy 4.B. (*KBo* 22.9,

⁷¹ They were not Egyptians since they refer to the people of Egypt in the third person (pl.).

⁷² It is interesting that no reference is made to Hattušaziti, the messenger sent in previous cases to Egypt.

⁷³ Text: *KUB* 31.7. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 108; del Monte 2009, 92, 126f.; see also Groddek 2008a, 114 for its possible place in the *DŠ*.

⁷⁴ Text: 4.A. *KBo* 50.11 // 4.B = *KBo* 22.9. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 117f. (partial); Groddek 2008a, 110–115; del Monte 2009, 97–99, 126–129.

⁷⁵ Güterbock 1956, 49f.; Houwink ten Cate 1979b, 157f.; id. 1995–1996, 64f.; Klinger 2002, 449; Groddek 2008a, 112–114.

⁷⁶ Between col. iii l. 51 (Groddek)/52 (del Monte) and col. iv l. 5/6 (since the end of the line in *KBo* 50.11 is missing) of *KBo* 5.6.

obv.) duplicates the second column of *KBo* 5.6⁷⁷, Fragment 50 can be placed with certainty after Fragment 28 (Groddek 2008a, 113f. del Monte 2009, 126–129).

The position of Fragment 50 in relation to Fragments 31–33 is disputed. It seems that our fragment deals with a campaign against the Kaška that was launched some time after the conquest of Carchemiš and the second letter of the Egyptian queen. It is probably the same campaign that was detailed in Fragment 33. It is not clear, however, whether this campaign preceded (Groddek 2008a, 113f.) or followed (del Monte 2009) the death of Zannanza.

The text begins with the historical event of the loss of Nerik⁷⁸. According to the author, Nerik was conquered by the enemy (i.e. the Kaška) during the reign of Muwattalli I⁷⁹. Other sources cited different dates⁸⁰.

Lines 3–18 are very fragmentary. It seems that Šuppiluliuma planned to reconquer several places taken by the Kaška in the past, but for some unknown reason, he decided not to do so⁸¹. Nevertheless, he did march to the north in order to fight against the Kaška.

For the irregular list of gods that accompanied the description of Šuppiluliuma's victory over the enemy, v.s. p. 103 n. 43.

Following his victory, Šuppiluliuma turned to the area of Pikainariša⁸² and burned it down. Then he started to build [...], and at this point someone arrived (l. 19–32).

E.1.1.6. The Ninth Tablet (Fragments 34–37)⁸³:

Four fragments remain from the Ninth Tablet: Fragments 34–37. In addition, there is a duplicate of this tablet, *KBo* 19.50, which was unknown to Güterbock. The text (*KUB* 19.13+) ends with a broken colophon that lacks the number of the tablet. A

⁷⁷ Between col. ii l. 2–12 of *KBo* 5.6.

⁷⁸ For Nerik, see p. 71 n. 104.

⁷⁹ Before *KBo* 50.11 was joined to *KUB* 21.10, the identity of this Muwattalli was unclear. For discussion and references, see Groddek 2008a, 111.

⁸⁰ Thus, according to other sources the city was lost during the reign of Hantili I/II. Notice, however, that from *CTH* 375 (discussed in Chapter III.A.1.9.) it seems that during Arnuwanda I's reign, the city was still under Hittite rule. Concerning this matter, see discussion in Groddek 2008a, 112 n. 17; Klinger 2008b, 102–105; id. 2009, 283f., 288f.; del Monte 2009, 127 n. 79.

⁸¹ For possible restoration of l. 8–11, see Groddek 2008a, 112 n. 18.

⁸² Concerning this region, see del Monte 2009, 129 n. 82.

⁸³ Text: 1.A. = Fr. 34–37 (*KUB* 19.13+ *KUB* 19.14 + *KBo* 50.13) // 1.B. = *KBo* 19.50. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 108–112 (partial; does not include *KBo* 50.13 and *KBo* 19.50); del Monte 2009, 132–143; for *KBo* 50.13, see also Groddek 2008a, 115.

second colophon, which appears in the duplicate *KBo* 19.50, refers to the Ninth Tablet.

Following a gap (covered partially by six fragmentary lines of *KBo* 19.50), the text begins with a description of an itinerary of the 'father' in north Anatolia. This campaign covers the whole of **Fragment 34**. The description of the events is very concise: the father reached a place and burned it. The author gives the impression that the campaign was fast and without delays. Thus, in some of the places the 'father' stopped to sleep. This fragment will not be discussed here in detail, since it does not concern the main questions of this study⁸⁴.

The beginning of col. ii (i.e. **Fragment 35**) is very fragmentary. It seems that at least from l. 19, this column dealt with a campaign against Mittanni and Assyria. The leader of the campaign is Piyaššili the 'king of Carchemiš'. The campaign began with the countries (and not the cities!) of Harran⁸⁵ and Waššukanni⁸⁶ that he conquered and burned down. From Waššukanni, Piyaššili marched to Taita⁸⁷. When the king of Assyria heard that, he came to help Taita, but then decided to retreat.

This campaign can be dated using the names of the participants:

1. From the name of Šuttarna (l. 37") it seems that this campaign is later than the First Syrian War, since during the latter war Tušratta was still the king of Mittanni.
2. From the name of Kili-[Teššub]⁸⁸ (l. 27"), Piyaššili (*KBo* 50.11 l. 7") and the reference to the ruler of Assyria (l. 34", *KBo* 50.11 l. 6"), we may conclude that

⁸⁴ For this campaign, see discussion in Klinger 2008b, 284–287. Following is a short bibliographical list of some of the place that appear in Fr. 34: *Kammama* (l. 6'), see Trémouille 2007; *Ištahara*, v.s. p. 268 n. 17; *Zidaparha* (l. 14'–15'), v.s. Chapter IV.D.1.1.23. (*KUB* 31.8); *Tikukuwa* (l. 20'–21'), see del Monte 2009, 139 n. 16; on *Hurna* and *Mt. Tihšina* (l. 22'), see Glatz and Matthews 2009, 63; *Ka[š]kiluša* (l. 34–35), del Monte 2009, 139 n. 18; *Šapidduwa* (l. 38'–39'), see Glatz and Matthews 2009, 68; *Tumana* (l. 41'), see Glatz and Matthews 2009, 65f.; *Mt. Kaššu* (l. 42'), see Glatz and Matthews 2009, 67f.; *Dahara River*, see Glatz and Matthews 2009, 59f., 66; *Timuhala* (l. 47), del Monte 2009, 141 n. 19; Glatz and Matthews 2009, 69f. Concerning the Kaškean commander [*Pitag*]atalli (l. 27), see del Monte 2009, 139 n. 17. Van den Hout (1994, 85–88) suggested that the campaign detailed in Fr. 34 occurred in the winter between the conquest of Carchemiš and the arrival of Hattušaziti in Hattuša. Based on the identification of the regions that this campaign crossed, del Monte (2009, 119 n. 60) claimed that this proposal should be rejected (since the Hittite king would not launch such a long campaign in the winter).

⁸⁵ Harran can be identified with the classical Carrhae (Postgate 1972–1975, 122–125). For further discussions concerning this city, see *RGTC* 6, 90; *RGTC* 5, 120; *RGTC* 6/2, 28f.

⁸⁶ For its location, v.s. p. 58 n. 30.

⁸⁷ Concerning Taita, see *RGTC* 6, 382; *RGTC* 6/2, 153; *RGTC* 12/2, 282f.

⁸⁸ I.e. Šattiwaza; v.s. p. 271 n. 42.

this campaign was part of the Second Syrian Campaign. The reference to Harran (mentioned also in *Šat.* 2 par. §5) supports this date.

3. Since Piyaššili is mentioned also by his title, 'king of Carchemiš' (l. 38", *KBo* 50.11 l. 7"), it is clear that this campaign was carried out only after the conquest of Carchemiš.

Fragment 36, the remaining part of column iii, is very fragmentary and includes only ten lines. It seems that Šuppiluliuma sent [Arnuw]anda against Egypt⁸⁹.

Fragment 37 details a campaign against an unknown enemy. In line 1' a 'son in-law'² is mentioned in a broken context⁹⁰. It seems that following this reference the text describes a sin of the enemy (possibly connected with the anonymous 'son in-law'²). Because of this sin, the Weather God ruled in favor of the Hittites and the enemy was beaten. Unfortunately the identity of the enemy is unclear.

E.1.1.7. Fragments 38 and 39⁹¹:

Fragment 38 (col. ii of its tablet) is very fragmentary. The city of Hušura⁹² and Mittanni are mentioned in the first paragraph. The second paragraph deals with a battle of the 'brother'² of the author against the Hurrians, in proximity to Irrita⁹³. And though the 'chariots of Hurri were superior', the gods helped the Hittites to win the battle.

In column iii (i.e. **Fragment 39**) references are made to a prince (l. 5'), some noblemen (l. 8') and to Hayaša (l. 7' and 13').

E.1.1.8. Fragment 41⁹⁴:

Very fragmentary. References are made to Irrita, Ituwa⁹⁵ and Carchemiš.

E.1.1.9. Fragments 25–27:

As against del Monte's reconstruction, I chose to include Fragments 25–27 in the current chapter. These fragments were examined in Chapter IV.B.1.2. in context of

⁸⁹ Concerning this campaign, see del Monte 2009, 143 n. 22 (compared it to the description of Šuppiluliuma's campaign, following the death of Zannanza (detailed in the 'Second' Plague Prayer).

⁹⁰ Güterbock (1956, 112 n. i) suggested it was Šattiwaza, Šuppiluliuma's son in-law.

⁹¹ Text: *KBo* 14.13. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 112f.; del Monte 2009, 144f.

⁹² For the location of Hušura, see *RGTC* 6, 129; *RGTC* 12/2, 136 (under the entry Hussaru, in the territory of Mukiš).

⁹³ For the location of Irrita, v.s. p. 58 n. 32.

⁹⁴ Text: *KBo* 14.15. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 114; del Monte 2009, 146.

⁹⁵ For Ituwa, see *RGTC* 6, 157 (in proximity to Carchemiš, possibly south of it); *RGTC* 6/2, 58; *RGTC* 12/2, 148 (under the entry Itu; was belong to Iamhad).

the First Syrian War. My conclusion at the end of that discussion was that they probably deal with the Second Syrian War. Following is a summary of these fragments:

Fragment 25 (*KUB* 34.23 col. i) deals with a Hittite campaign against Išuwa and other kingdoms in its region. According to the text, the campaign was in response to enemy invasion. The campaign ended successfully; the enemy was beaten, the region of Zuhhapa was burned down, and booty was taken. However, Hittite fugitives managed to escape to Hayaša and Mt. Laha.

The second paragraph of **Fragment 26** (*KUB* 34.23 col. ii) deal with two occasions in which the 'father' challenged an enemy⁹⁶. The first and probably earlier incident took place in the area of Carchemiš. The second occurred during a campaign against Waššukanni. Apparently, in both cases the enemy decided not to respond to the challenge. It seems that during the campaign to Waššukanni there was a shortage of [food] and water that prevented the successful completion of the operation (v.s. discussion in p. 200f.).

Fragment 27 (*KUB* 19.7 col. i) mentions 'my father', 'my brother', lords, Qadeš and Nuhašše. Its fourth column includes a broken colophon that could be joined to *KBo* 19.48, the colophon of Tablet Twelve.

E.1.1.10. *KBo* 19.52⁹⁷:

This small fragment deals with a campaign to south east Anatolia and upper Mesopotamia. It mentions three toponyms: Irrita[?] (l. 1', 4'), Išmerikka⁹⁸ and Tupa (written Dupā)⁹⁹. The extended booty formula which appears in line 6', includes also bronze vessels¹⁰⁰. It is unclear whether this fragment belongs to the *DŠ*. If it does belong to this composition, it can be placed next to Fragments 38¹⁰¹ or 41 (both mention Irrita).

⁹⁶ Güterbock (1956, 84 n. n; followed by del Monte 2009, 79 n. 5). suggested that the enemy was the king of Mittanni. However, if these events were part of the Second Syrian War, another possible candidate is the king of Assyria.

⁹⁷ Text: *KBo* 19.52. Edition: Heinhold-Krahmer 2007a, 373–375, 382f.; del Monte 2009, 158f.

⁹⁸ For Išmerikka, v.s. p. 58 n. 29.

⁹⁹ For a possible location of Tupa, see Heinhold-Krahmer 2007a, 375, 382; del Monte 2009, 156 n. 12.

¹⁰⁰ A similar formula appears in Fr. 28 col. iii l. 39–40.

¹⁰¹ Heinhold-Krahmer 2007a, 382f.

E.1.1.11. KUB 31.6 and KBo 50.92a + KBo 50.92b:

KUB 31.6¹⁰² (LH) is pre-ruled. It has 13 lines; each of the last seven lines displays a booty formula. None of these features is characteristic of the *DŠ*¹⁰³. In line 3' the city of Tupa (written Tūpa) is mentioned. This city is mentioned in *KBo* 19.52 (mentioned above) and *KBo* 50.92a + *KBo* 50.92b (below).

KBo 50.92a + *KBo* 50.92b¹⁰⁴ display some similar characteristics; therefore, it was suggested that they be joined (e.g. *Portal Mainz*). Three people are mentioned in this fragment: Tuk[ultī-^dx] who became king at the beginning of the text, [X]-musallim, and Mannu-kī-šarri, [commander of the garrison of NG], none of them is mentioned in the *DŠ*. If Tuk[ultī-^dx] is identified with Tukultī-Ninurta (I, king of Assyria)¹⁰⁵, this fragment should be dated to the 13th century. Two places that appear in this fragment, Carchemish and Irrita, were conquered during the Second Syrian War. The third place, Tupa, is mentioned in *KBo* 19.52 and *KUB* 31.6¹⁰⁶.

There is no reference in these fragments to the usual protagonists of the *DŠ* (e.g. 'my father') and the names mentioned there are foreign to this composition. The booty formulas have no similarity with those of the *DŠ* (even the extended ones) and the structure of the lists of booty (ordered line after line) is also unusual to this text. Thus, I see no reason to include these fragments in the *DŠ*.

E.1.1.12. Discussion; the Second Syrian War in the *DŠ*:

Some of the above-mentioned fragments are too fragmentary or probably do not belong to the *DŠ*:

Fragment 29 mentions friendly relations with Egypt, and possibly belongs to the Kuruštama treaty (*CTH* 134).

Fragment 41 (Irrita, Ituwa and Carchemiš are mentioned) is just too fragmentary to be examined here.

***KUB* 31.6** and ***KBo* 50.92a + *KBo* 50.92b**, which are fundamentally different to the *DŠ*, probably do not belong to this composition.

¹⁰² Edition: del Monte 2009, 156f.

¹⁰³ The obverse (only) of *KUB* 19.18 (Copy G; Fr. 15 and 16) is pre-ruled, but it is an exception.

¹⁰⁴ Edition: Groddek 2008b, 77f.; del Monte 2009, 157f.

¹⁰⁵ See del Monte 2009, 158 n. 17.

¹⁰⁶ Notice, however, the different spelling in each of these texts: Tūppa here, Dupa in *KBo* 19.52 and Tūpa in *KUB* 31.6.

KBo 19.52, which details a campaign to south east Anatolia and upper Mesopotamia, can be placed next to Fragments 38 or 41 (because of the reference to Irrita); however, there is no real reason to include it in the *DŠ*.

The following details can be learned from the other:

The pattern of the war: in Fragment 28 column i the Hittites fought against the Kaška, and in column ii they battled in Syria. The same pattern can be traced in *KUB* 31.7; its fourth column (Fragment 33), which should be placed right after the beginning of the *dahamunzu*- affair (i.e. following Fragment 28, at the beginning of the theoretical Eighth Tablet), deals again with the Kaška. A similar outline can be observed in the Ninth Tablet. The first column of this tablet (Fragment 34) details a campaign in north Anatolia, and its second and third columns (Fragments 35 and 36) deal with a war in Upper Mesopotamia and Syria.

A possible explanation of this pattern was suggested by Taracha (2007b), who asserted that the events in **each and every tablet of the *DŠ* were arranged according to a geographical pattern**. The scribe began with the Kaška, continued with Arzawa (only the Third Tablet) and Mittanni, and ended with Egypt (id., 663).

There are, however, several problems with this proposal:

4. The original form of the tables of the *DŠ* is unknown. What we have today, are many copies, each differing in its outline from the others. Thus, the form of Copy A of Fragment 28 and the remnants of the Ninth Table support Taracha's claim, but the outline of *KUB* 31.7 contradicts it¹⁰⁷. Taracha, on his part, reconstructed the original tablets of the *DŠ*, in a way that would fit his theory. However, this reconstruction is problematic from both methodological¹⁰⁸ and practical¹⁰⁹ perspectives.
5. Unless we attribute the *DŠ* to another genre, Taracha's proposal contradicts the most basic definition of the annalistic genre. Texts of this genre should record events in their chronological order, year by year (e.g. van de Mieroop 1999, 81; Klinger 2001a, 281). According to Taracha's reconstruction, the *DŠ* was organized according to strict schematic geographical order. In this case, the

¹⁰⁷ Since both its col. i (Copy C of Fr. 28) and iv deal with the Kaška.

¹⁰⁸ Taracha reconstructed the original tables in a way that matched his proposal, and then used them to prove his claim.

¹⁰⁹ Thus, according to Taracha the original 'Tablet Four' includes Fragments 22, 28, 27 and 29–32 (in this order), and the 'Fifth Tablet' includes Fragments 33–37 only.

chronological and historical considerations in the creation of this composition should be seen as secondary, and therefore as defective¹¹⁰. This is not only a problem for us, historians, but also to the ancient author. What will happen, for example, if a tablet covers more than one year (as probably happened in reality)? Will the author, for example, collect all of the north Anatolian campaigns and shift them to the beginning of the tablet, regardless of the separation between different years? In the *DŠ* we can find a clue that this was not the case. In the third column Šuppiluliuma besieged Carchemiš and fought against the Hurrian troops (Mittanni), then sent his commanders to ʿAmqa and received the first letter from the Egyptian queen (Egypt), and eventually conquered Carchemiš (Mittanni). It is thus evident that the different campaigns were not arranged according to their geographical distribution, but according to their chronological order (see also Groddek 2008a, 113 n. 24)¹¹¹.

A second possibility is that the author was inclined to preserve the real order of events¹¹². In this case, it seems that **the sequence of the Second Syrian War was disturbed annually by the need to protect Hatti's northern border from the Kaška's attacks**. However, as opposed to the First Syrian War, it is possible that the moment Šarri-Kušuh was appointed governor of Carchemiš (and possibly even prior to this nomination), a considerable Hittite force was constantly stationed in Syria. These troops maintained a permanent Hittite foothold in Syria, and enabled the rest of Šuppiluliuma's army to protect the northern borders.

An implication of this proposal is that the first events of the Second Syrian War could have been depicted prior to the Seventh Tablet. Thus, it is possible that the first encounter with the Hurrians (and Assyria) was depicted in a former tablet, prior to the campaign against the Kaška in Fragment 28 column i (v.s. p. 270).

¹¹⁰ When the editor's main reasoning derived from a strict geographical pattern of the designated tablet, other details disappear in this artificial order (e.g. logical chronological order of the events, cause and effect in making decisions, etc.; the same kind of difficulty exists in the 'uncertainty principle' in quantum mechanics).

¹¹¹ The fact that the campaign against the Kaška is detailed in col. i just demonstrates that from that point the main events took place in Syria. For a similar 'mixture' of fighting against the Kaška and Arzawa, v.s. p. 166f.

¹¹² In some cases, because of literary constraints (e.g. events that took place in parallel rather than in sequence) or ideological reasons, the author might have deviated from the story, but it seems to me that the chronological order of events was an important guideline.

In light of this cyclic sequence of events, we should consider the order of the remaining fragments examined in this chapter. The clues that can be used are the different duplicates, the colophons and two key events, the conquest of Carchemiš and the sending of Zannanza.

Fragment 28 refers to the conquest of Carchemiš and to the *daḥamunzu*-request for a Hittite prince.

Fragment 33 that mentions the Kaška is written upon the reverse of *KUB 31.7*; the obverse of this fragment is a duplicate of column i of Fragment 28. **Fragment 50** deals with a campaign against the Kaška as well. One of its copies, Copy 4.A. (*KBo 50.11* col. iii) overlaps columns iii and iv of *KBo 5.6*, and the other, Copy 4.B. (*KBo 22.9*, obv.), duplicates the second column of *KBo 5.6*¹¹³. For these reasons, both Fragments 33 and 50 should be placed next to one another, right after Fragment 28.

Fragments 31 and 32, which mention the death of Zannanza, should be placed somewhere after Fragment 28.

Fragments 34–37 should be placed after Fragment 28 for two reasons: their colophon (identified them as part of the Ninth Tablet), and the reference to Piyaššily's title, the 'king of Carchemiš'.

The campaigns against the Kaška and Mittanni detailed in **Fragments 25–27**¹¹⁴ and **38–39** cannot be dated.

The **relative and absolute dates** of the events cannot be determined using the *DŠ* alone, but should be based upon the analysis and synthesis of other sources.

E.1.2. Šuppiluliuma's letter and decrees concerning Ugarit (CTH 45–47):

These three texts were examined in Chapter IV.B.1.3. Following is a brief summary of the events they mentioned: In *CTH 45*, a letter written by Šuppiluliuma and addressed to Niqmaddu II/III king of Ugarit, the author requested the addressee to act against Nuhašše and Mukiš which had rebelled against him.

CTH 46 and *47* are two decrees (and not a draft or part of a treaty!¹¹⁵) issued after the following events: it appears that some time after *CTH 45* was written, Itur-Addu

¹¹³ Between col. ii l. 2–12 of *KBo 5.6*.

¹¹⁴ The colophon at the end of Fragment 27 probably mentions the Twelfth Tablet (joined with *KBo 19.48*), but this colophon alone does not help us to determine this fragment's place in relation to Fr. 28.

¹¹⁵ Devecchi (forthcoming).

of Mukiš, Addu-nirari of Nuhašše and Aki-Teššub of Niya attacked Ugarit. As a result, Niqmaddu II/III asked for Šuppiluliuma's help. Šuppiluliuma sent his army, vanquished the invading forces and received Niqmaddu II/III's submission in Alalah.

As demonstrated in the discussion of these texts, the events they describe fit much better with the context of the Second Syrian War than that of the First Syrian War¹¹⁶.

Thus,

- it is clear that the two decrees were issued late in Šuppiluliuma's reign, after the establishment of a Hittite administration in Carchemiš (i.e. during the Second Syrian War¹¹⁷).
- The risk that the three attackers took—invading Ugarit and leaving their lands vulnerable to Šuppiluliuma's attack—seem more reasonable in the context of the first stages of the Second Syrian War (instead of the middle of the First Syrian War).

For these reasons (and other discussed in the initial examination of these texts), the following events will be attributed to the early stages of the Second Syrian War:

1. Šuppiluliuma's letter to Niqmaddu II/III,
2. the attack of the three kings on Ugarit and their defeat,
3. the conquest of Mukiš,
4. the subjugation of Ugarit.

E.1.3. The 'Aziru treaty (CTH 49)¹¹⁸:

This treaty was briefly discussed in Chapter IV.B.1.4. It was concluded that it was not signed during the First Syrian War and its historical preamble mentions events that took place during the Second Syrian War.

In the treaty's second paragraph, Šuppiluliuma stated that Egypt, Mittanni and several Syrian kingdoms became hostile to him. The Syrian realms mentioned are: Nuhašše, Niya, Aleppo and Carchemiš. There were at least three more kingdoms on this list,

¹¹⁶ The objective of the attack was to turn the entire region of north Syria into an anti-Hittite zone (without neutral pockets— such as Ugarit—that could later endanger the three kings). In addition, an effective blockade on Ugarit prevented the Hittites from reaching Syria through the harbor of this city. It seems from *CTH* 46 (par. §2 l. 16–19) that at least initially the coalition's attack on Ugarit was successful (since the Hittite army had to push them out of Ugarit (*HDT*, 35; Altman 2004a, 238)).

¹¹⁷ Devecchi (forthcoming). For the Hittite administration in Carchemiš, e.g. Klengel 2006a, 68f.

¹¹⁸ Translation: *HDT*, 37; Altman 2004, 324f.

but their names are broken¹¹⁹. Šuppiluliuma then mentioned that ʿAziru, an Egyptian vassal at that period, surrendered to Šuppiluliuma and for that reason was re-nominated as the king of Amurru.

The description of these events is schematic. It seems that **the text does not deal with a rebellion**, since at least several of the kings were never Šuppiluliuma's subjects (e.g. the kings of Egypt and Hurri). For that reason, the status of the Syrian rulers in this list is also dubious.

If this passage deals with a concrete event (and not with a general ongoing state of hostility), it might be **dated** by using the names of the participating kingdoms. The references to Hurri, Nuhašše, Niya and Aleppo fit well with both Syrian wars. Amurru (and its leader ʿAziru), Egypt and Carchemiš are not mentioned in the context of the First Syrian War.

It was suggested that **Carchemiš** and possibly **Aleppo** were chosen to be the residences of Šarri-Kušuh and Telipinu, since they were not ruled by local dynasties. However, according to this text, it seems that there were local kings in these kingdoms (see discussion in Klengel 2001a, 264f.; id. 2001b, 191).

According to this text ʿAziru was an Egyptian vassal before he subjugated himself to Hatti. This claim is supported by the treaty between Hattušili III and Bentešina of Amurru (*CTH* 92¹²⁰). However, the authors of *CTH* 72¹²¹ and the treaty between Tudhaliya IV and Šaušgamuwa of Amurru (*CTH* 105¹²²) claimed that prior to his defection to Hatti, ʿAziru was a Mittannian vassal. This contradiction was discussed

¹¹⁹ Based on *CTH* 62, the restoration of Qadeš's name in our list is possible (e.g. *HDT*, 37), though it does not fit the historical setting of this period, since Qadeš, Amurru and Hatti occupy the 'same side of the barricade' during the Second Syrian War (based on the Amarna letters and Fr. 28 (col. ii lines 21–23) that refer to Qadeš as a Hittite vassal or ally). For this reason we should probably look for another explanation. In my opinion, the author put on one side Hatti and Amurru, and on the other side all the others, for propaganda reasons only. By creating this picture, he put a stress on ʿAziru's loyalty and the special relationship between the two kingdoms. For a possible explanation for the inclusion of Qadeš in *CTH* 62, v.i. Chapter IV.E.1.8.

¹²⁰ *HDT*, 100 par. §2. It is possible that this argument was also mentioned in *CTH* 75 (*HDT*, 94, par. §11).

¹²¹ Miller 2007a, 253 (col. ii l. 20–24).

¹²² *HDT*, 104 par. §3.

by many scholars, among them: Zaccagnini (1988)¹²³, Singer (1991b)¹²⁴, Altman (2003b, 351–363)¹²⁵ and Miller (2008a, 547–549)¹²⁶. These scholars suggested that before his subjugation, ‘Aziru was indeed an Egyptian vassal (at least *de jure*), but for their own reasons, the authors of *CTH* 72 and 105 decided to change the circumstances of this event. It seems that the best evidence for ‘Aziru's status as an Egyptian vassal comes from the letters of the Third Time-Division¹²⁷. We should note that the same contradiction exists also in regard to Amurru's neighbor, Qadeš (v.s. p. 273–276).

E.1.4. Šat. 1 (CTH 51.I)¹²⁸:

Several of the events connected in *Šat. 1* to the First Syrian War apparently took place only following this war. These events are Aki-Teššub's rebellion (close to the First Syrian War) and later his final battle in Arahati (v.s. Chapter IV.B.1.3.), and possibly also the conquest of Qatna¹²⁹ and the arrival to Apina¹³⁰ (took place as part of the Second Syrian War).

Paragraph §6 of *Šat. 1* details the events some (unknown) time after the First Syrian War. Following the murder of Tušratta by one of his sons¹³¹, Šuttarna (III)¹³² seized

¹²³ Amurru was not a Mittannian vassal. Nevertheless, Hattušili did not want to write that ‘Aziru left the Egyptian side, since during Hattušili's reign Egypt was an ally (Zaccagnini 1988, 296f., 299).

¹²⁴ Singer (1991b, 72f.) distinguished between the 'land of Amurru' and the 'lands of Amurru'. He suggested that the plural term, 'lands of Amurru', does not refer to the kingdom of Amurru, but to the Syrian kingdoms west of the Euphrates.

¹²⁵ Altman (2003b, 358) claimed that the treaties and their historical preambles were mainly directed to the gods. The latter learned about the events from texts like the treaties. When the Hittites changed the details to their advantage and the vassals approved these changes (by signing the treaty), the vassals lost their chance to appeal to the gods in this matter. In the case of *CTH* 92, the Hittites caused Šauškamuwa to admit that Amurru was a Mittannian vassal when it was first conquered by Hatti, hence, he lost his legal right to defect to Egypt.

¹²⁶ Miller (2008a, 548f.) suggested two possible reasons: ‘Aziru did not act as a 'normal' Egyptian vassal and regularly attacked other Egyptian vassals. For that reason, it is possible that Muršili II was wrong to think that he was a Mittannian vassal (Miller adds that it is quite possible that though ‘Aziru was an Egyptian vassal, he was assisted by Mittanni). In addition to that, we should differentiate between the texts according to their designated audience: in texts directed to a Hittite audience (in which their vassals are also included), the authors wrote that ‘Aziru broke his contract with Egypt voluntarily and subjugated himself to Hatti. When the audience was international, the Hittites claimed that Amurru was taken from Egypt by Mittanni, and only then by Šuppiluliuma.

¹²⁷ Especially ‘Aziru's letters in which he recognizes Egypt's sovereignty (e.g. *EA* 159).

¹²⁸ Translation of the relevant passage: *HDT*, 44; Altman 2004, 289.

¹²⁹ The author tried to give the impression that Qatna was severely damaged during the First Syrian War, but the letters from the archive of Idanda reveal a different picture (v.s. Chapter IV.C.1.). As a result, the description of Qatna's conquest can be understood as an exaggeration, or as a description of Qatna's fate during the Second Syrian War (e.g. *EA* 55).

¹³⁰ In my opinion this possibility should be rejected (v.s. p. 189 n. 27).

¹³¹ For a possible identification of this son, see Wilhelm 1989, 37 (Aki-Teššub); Altman 2004, 290–292 (Šattiwaza).

power in Mittanni. He tried to kill Šattiwaza, but the latter escaped to Hatti. Šuppiluliuma greeted him, gave him his daughter and appointed him as a vassal-king of Mittanni/Hanigalbat. Though the campaign in which the Hittites conquered Mittanni is not mentioned in *CTH 51*, it is possible that this text was drawn after it had ended (Altman 2004, 293f.).

E.1.5. Šat. 2 (CTH 52)¹³³:

CTH 52, the second version of the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Šattiwaza, supposedly gives Šattiwaza's version of the events¹³⁴. Our main interest in this treaty is its detailed description of the campaign of Šarri-Kušuh and Šattiwaza for the conquest of Mittanni.

Paragraph §1 and the beginning of paragraph §2 deal with the sins of Artatama (II) and his son Šuttarna (III). During their reign, Assyria and Alše manage to free themselves from the yoke of Mittanni and even became Mittanni's sovereign.

(Par. §2 l. 14–17) The second part of paragraph §2 details the hardships experienced by a certain Aki-Teššub, who escaped from Mittanni and arrived in Babylonia¹³⁵. Following his arrival, the king of Babylonia deprived him of his rank, took his chariots and even threatened his life. It seems that Šattiwaza was in the same situation, but luckily, he arrived in Hatti.

Paragraph §3 details Šattiwaza's subjugation and Šuppiluliuma's commitments to him.

(Par. §4) Following a detailed description of the gifts Šuppiluliuma heaped upon Šattiwaza, the author described the first moves of Šattiwaza's campaign. The campaign began in Carchemiš. Šarri-Kušuh and Šattiwaza, the leaders of the army, tried to persuade the people of Irrita¹³⁶ to support them, but the latter rejected their proposal.

¹³² His name is written here Šutatarra.

¹³³ Translation of the relevant passage: *HDT*, 48–51; Altman 2004, 302–307. For the integration of Fragment 42 (formerly belongs to the *DŠ*) and two other joins in *CTH 52*, see Beckman 1997, 97–99; Groddek 2008b, 14–16. See also discussion in Altman 2004, 296–302; de Martino 2005c, 555f.; Wilhelm 2007.

¹³⁴ V.s. short discussion in p. 188f.

¹³⁵ For this episode of Aki-Teššub, see Jankowska 1982 (and notes by Harrak 1987, 43f.; Stein 1989, 51–53); Wilhelm 1989, 36f.; Altman 2004, 308f.

¹³⁶ For the location of Irrita, v.s. p. 58 n. 32.

(Par. §5) The Hittite army defeated Irrita and some troops sent by Šuttarna. Following their victory, the people of Irrita and Harran¹³⁷ surrendered before Šarri-Kušuh and Šattiwaza.

(Par. §§6) Following an Assyrian siege on Waššukanni, Šarri-Kušuh and Šattiwaza turned to help this city. The city of Pakarripa¹³⁸ deserted from Mittanni's side, so the Hittite army marched in its direction. This region was desolate and the Hittite army was starving. The Assyrians avoided any confrontation and retreated to Nilapšini¹³⁹. The Hittites pursued them to this city, but the Assyrians did not confront them there either.

(Par. §7) The last paragraph of the prologue is too fragmentary.

The **date of the campaign** is not specified by the text. Nevertheless, since Carchemiš (the starting point of the campaign) is not treated here as an enemy, and Piyaššili/Šarri-Kušuh is designated as its king, it seems that this campaign was launched after the conquest of Carchemiš. As a result we should differentiate this campaign from the foray of Arnuwanda and Zita against the 'Hurrian country' that was launched prior to the conquest of Carchemiš (end of Fragment 28 col. ii).

The **Assyrian siege**¹⁴⁰ **on Waššukanni** (par. §6) is somewhat odd and requires explanation. The first two paragraphs of the treaty emphasize the subjugation of Mittanni to Assyria during the reigns of Artatama (II) and his son Šuttarna (III). Nevertheless, right at the beginning of their campaign¹⁴¹, Šarri-Kušuh and Šattiwaza found Waššukanni under the Assyrian siege. This episode can be interpreted in two ways:

1. The description in paragraph §6 represents the Hittite author's distorted interpretation of the events. The Assyrian forces were not sent to besiege Waššukanni, since the city was already ruled by them. It is also possible that

¹³⁷ Regarding this city, v.s. p. 281 n. 85.

¹³⁸ Concerning Pakarripa, see *RGTC* 6, 296; *RGTC* 6/2, 111.

¹³⁹ Regarding Nilapšini, see *RGTC* 6, 282; *RGTC* 6/2, 111.

¹⁴⁰ The author used the term *la-me-e* no doubt refers to a siege (*lāmû*).

¹⁴¹ This detail is important, since it means that Waššukanni was not under Hittite influence (they had just arrived in this region).

the people of the city did not ask for Hittite help; when the Hittites approached the city the Assyrians left it¹⁴².

2. The relations between Šuttarna (III) and the Assyrians were more complex, and apparently not as good as the author depicted them in the first paragraphs. Possibly, when Šattiwaza joined the Hittites the Assyrians decided to conquer Mittanni (or at least its most important part/s), and thus to establish their sovereignty over the land. In this case, it is quite possible that when the campaign of Šarri-Kušuh and Šattiwaza was launched, the Assyrian besieged Waššukanni and its people¹⁴³ asked for the Hittites help¹⁴⁴.

E.1.6. The Tette treaty (CTH 53):

This treaty was examined in Chapter IV.B.1.5. in the context of the First Syrian War. The circumstances of Šarrupši's removal (together with other pre-Hittite rulers) by Tušratta following the latter's campaign were summarized in Chapter IV.C.3. Tette's treaty was signed during a later arrival of Šuppiluliuma in Syria, i.e. during the Second Syrian War. The appointment of Tette as the ruler of Nuhašše was detailed after paragraph §2, which is unfortunately totally lost. An oath of the king of Nuhašše to Šuppiluliuma (and Muršili II) is mentioned also in the *AM* (p. 112 l. 45).

E.1.7. The annals of Muršili II (CTH 61):

There are several references in the *AM* to Kaška's rebellions¹⁴⁵ that broke out while Šuppiluliuma was fighting in Mittanni¹⁴⁶. Several other rebellions or enemy invasions occurred during this period in Ka/iššiya¹⁴⁷ and Azzi¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴² In this case, the Assyrian siege and the request for help were added to the story in order to justify the conquest of Šuttarna's capital city.

¹⁴³ We should assume that for some reason, Šuttarna (III) was not in the city when the request for help was sent.

¹⁴⁴ In this case, Šuttarna's subjugation to the Assyrians was emphasized possibly in order to explain why Šattiwaza was chosen to replace him.

¹⁴⁵ See *AM* p. 86–89 (the Kaškean leader Pihhuniya invaded the Upper Land and Iština (according to Houwink ten Cate (1966b, 189), the latter was located on the border with Azzi-Hayaša); see also Cancik 1993, 115–117 (for this rebellion), 152–155 (a rebellion in Pala and Tummana), 156f. (the conquest of the city of Šapidduwa?), 160f. (rebellion of Kalašma); see also Houwink ten Cate's (1966b) discussion of 'Fragment V' (l. 1–12; id., 170, 179, 187) and 'Fragment XIII' (l. 2–3; id., 175, 183, 189).

¹⁴⁶ This war in Mittanni cannot be identified with the First Syrian War, since (a) the latter was too short (only one year), and (b) it happened many years before Muršili II's accession (parallel with *EA* 75; as opposed to the Second Syrian War that probably took place close to Šuppiluliuma's death and definitely much closer to Muršili's reign (see below, discussion concerning this war's date)). Concerning the date of the Kaška's revolts, see Houwink ten Cate 1967, 57f.; del Monte 2009, 78f. (suggested to connect the attacks on Kaššiya in *CTH* 88 (Tudhaliya II's reign) and the *AM* (took

It is possible that another development occurred on the western front. As mentioned in Chapter IV.D.2.2., Šuppiluliuma's policy toward Arzawa was somewhat different than that of his predecessors; thus, he signed a treaty with Uhhaziti the king of Arzawa and received at his court Mašhuiluwa, an Arzawean prince who had fled from his country. Though it cannot be proven, it is possible that this new development took place close to or during the Second Syrian War. This date is possibly hinted at by the *AM* (140–143), where Muršili claims that Šuppiluliuma did not help Mašhuiluwa to return to Arzawa, because he was fighting in Mittanni.

E.1.8. The Duppi-Teššub treaty (CTH 62)¹⁴⁹:

This treaty was signed during Muršili II's reign, but the historical preamble deals also with Šuppiluliuma's reign. In paragraph §2 Muršili claims that when the kings of Nuhašše and Qadeš were hostile to Hatti, 'Aziru remained loyal to Šuppiluliuma and helped him in his war against these enemies.

When the list of the rebellious kingdoms is examined, two problems arise:

1. When this list is compared with the parallel list mentioned in the 'Aziru treaty (*CTH* 49), the dissimilarity is striking. The latter includes nine kingdoms (Egypt, Hurri, Nuhašše, Niya, Aleppo, Carchemiš, and three more broken names), while in our text the author mentioned only Qadeš¹⁵⁰ and Nuhašše. When we assume that *CTH* 49 was known to the author and possibly laid before him as he formulated *CTH* 62¹⁵¹, this problem is intensified.

place when Šuppiluliuma fought in Mittanni); however, this suggestion should be rejected, since a long period of time separates the two events).

¹⁴⁷ According to the *AM* (p. 78f.), this land was attacked by Arawanna (the same situation is detailed in *CTH* 88, during Tudhaliya II's reign (see also del Monte 2009, 43 n. 72)).

¹⁴⁸ Hittite subjects, who fled from Hatti into Azzi (*AM*, 96f.).

¹⁴⁹ Translation of the relevant passage: *HDT*, 59f.; Altman 2004, 361–364; cf. the translation and discussion in Murnane 1990, 15f. (see notes by Singer (Izre'el and Singer 1990, 150 n. 1); Altman 2004, 362 n. 35).

¹⁵⁰ For the possibility that Qadeš was included also in the list of kingdoms in *CTH* 49, v.s. p. 288 n. 119.

¹⁵¹ Thus, we can see that in *CTH* 63 (*HDT* par. §10; Miller 2007b, 126, 129 (A iii l. 37"–46")) written by Muršili II and dealing with Duppi-Teššub, the author quotes from *CTH* 49.

2. The description of the events contradicts what we know of the Second Syrian War¹⁵². In *CTH 69* Amurru and Qadeš appear as enemies to each other and the latter is depicted also as an enemy of the Hittites. The Amarna letters from this period reveal an opposite picture. In many letters of the Third Time-Division we can find evidence of (or at least accusations concerning) the cooperation between Amurru and Qadeš¹⁵³. In addition, the Egyptian vassals frequently accused (both Amurru and) Qadeš of treason and collaboration with the Hittites¹⁵⁴.

It seems to me that this picture is not derived from historical sources, but is rather an ideologically motivated depiction of prior events. The author's motives can be identified through the examination of the situation at the time when *CTH 62* was written. It probably happened not long after the rebellion of Nuhašše and Qadeš in years seven and nine of Muršili II's reign¹⁵⁵, a revolt supported by Egypt. In order to emphasize the risks posed by Egypt, the treaty includes unique warnings against diplomatic relations with this kingdom¹⁵⁶. To emphasize the danger posed by Nuhašše and Qadeš, both were aggrandized in the historical preamble (paragraphs §§2–3), so that they were described almost as Hatti's arch-enemies. This picture was intensified by moving the roots of the conflict one generation earlier (Šuppiluliuma – ʿAziru – Aitakkama), though at that period Qadeš acted as a Hittite vassal. The fact that all three participants were already dead facilitated the description of events in this manner.

In summary, it seems that Qadeš was not presented as an enemy because of its operations during the Second Syrian War, but rather as a consequence of the situation when *CTH 62* was signed, i.e. its revolt against Muršili II.

¹⁵² It cannot be a description of the First Syrian War, since Amurru did not participate in this war (hence, it was not mentioned in *Šat. I*), and since according to my analysis, Amurru was ruled at that time by ʿAbdi-Aširta, ʿAziru's father.

¹⁵³ E.g. *EA* 140 (l. 16–33) and 151 (l. 59–70).

¹⁵⁴ E.g. *EA* 174–176 (concerning Aitakkama); *EA* 161 (l. 47–53; concerning ʿAziru). See also Singer 1991a, 152.

¹⁵⁵ Concerning this rebellion, see Klengel 2001d; Bryce 2005, 199–205; Miller 2008a, 540 (claims that Qadeš rebelled only in year nine).

¹⁵⁶ See discussion in *HDT*, 59; Miller 2008a, 544f.

E.1.9. The Aleppo treaty (CTH 75)¹⁵⁷:

The very fragmentary paragraph §11 concerning Šuppiluliuma's reign was discussed in Chapter IV.B.1.6¹⁵⁸. Though possibly it deals with the Second Syrian War (the reference to Carchemiš), because of its poor state it will not be included in the discussion of the current chapter.

E.1.10. Hattušili III's account of Šuppiluliuma's campaigns in CTH 83.1.A.:

This text was examined in Chapter IV.B.1.7. The conclusions were:

- The passages that deal with Šuppiluliuma's exploits in Syria refer only to the Second Syrian War.
- It is possible that 20 years¹⁵⁹, or at least many years¹⁶⁰, separated the beginning of Šuppiluliuma's reign and the Second Syrian War.
- Since the text deals only with the Second Syrian War, it seems that the sum of six years mentioned here, concerns only the length of this war¹⁶¹.
- The Second Syrian War ended close to Šuppiluliuma's death¹⁶².
- It seems that close to Šuppiluliuma's death, the land of Išhupitta¹⁶³ rebelled against the Hittites, and the new king, Arnuwanda II, had to deal with it¹⁶⁴.
- According to the numbers preserved in the text Šuppiluliuma's reign lasted 26 years¹⁶⁵. However, it is possible that a small number of years should be added before Šuppiluliuma's conquest of Anatolia and/or after the Second Syrian War (around the rebellion of Išhupitta).

¹⁵⁷ Translation of the relevant passage: *HDT*, 94; Altman 2004, 357.

¹⁵⁸ For a heavily restored translation of par. §11, see *HDT*, 94.

¹⁵⁹ Kempinski 1993, 88.

¹⁶⁰ Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 90f.

¹⁶¹ Bryce 1989b, 27f.; van den Hout 1994, 87f.; Freu 2002, 105f.; cf. Parker 2002, 55.

¹⁶² Bryce 1989b, 27f., 30; van den Hout 1994, 87f.; Parker 2002, 54 n. 83.

¹⁶³ For its location, v.s. p. 74 n. 128.

¹⁶⁴ Based on a possible connection between *KUB* 19.8 and *KUB* 19.9; e.g. van den Hout 1994, 87f.; Freu 2002b, 105; Parker 2002, 54 n. 83.

¹⁶⁵ Parker 2002, 52. We should take into consideration the possibility that the number '20' is a typological number; in this case the only conclusion possible is that Šuppiluliuma ruled for a long time (Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 90f.; Cf. Kempinski 1993, 88).

E.1.11. The account of Šuppiluliuma's campaigns in CTH 84¹⁶⁶:

The text is very fragmentary. Several parts of it (*KUB* 21.16 l. 1'–13'(?); *KUB* 21.24 l. 6') probably dealt with Šuppiluliuma's reign¹⁶⁷.

E.1.12. Muršili's prayers (CTH 378 and 379):

In the series of the Plague Prayers Muršili tried to find the reason for the plague that devastated Hatti.

In the **'Second' Plague Prayer** (*CTH* 378.II), Muršili blames his father's attacks on ʿAmqa for violating an old treaty between Hatti and Egypt (i.e. the Kuruštama treaty¹⁶⁸). In paragraphs §4 and §5¹⁶⁹ he delineates some events of the Second Syrian War. Following several attacks on ʿAmqa, the Egyptians became afraid and asked Šuppiluliuma to send them one of his sons in order to make him the king of Egypt. Šuppiluliuma sent his son, the Egyptians murdered him and in response he attacked Egyptian territory. After his victory, Šuppiluliuma brought prisoners to Hatti, but they brought the plague with them.

In the **'Fourth' Plague Prayer** (*CTH* 378.IV par. §5¹⁷⁰) Muršili claimed once more, that his father's invasion of Egyptian territory was the cause of the plague.

A description of the *daḥamunzu*- affair appears in *CTH* 379, the **'Fifth' Plague Prayer(?)**¹⁷¹. After Šuppiluliuma sent Lupakki and Tarhuntazalma to attack the Egyptian territory (par. §11'), the king of Egypt died (par. §12'), and his wife wrote to Šuppiluliuma asking for a Hittite prince (par. §13').

It is clear from these passages that Muršili II considered Šuppiluliuma's attacks on ʿAmqa as a breach of the Kuruštama treaty, whereas in the case of the attacks on Egyptian territory following Zannanza's death, he supported Šuppiluliuma's version of the events¹⁷². Nonetheless, the divine punishment (i.e. the plague) was carried out only after the latter attack.

¹⁶⁶ Discussion and translation (both very partial): Goetze 1940, 10 n. 43; Carruba 1971, 86f.

¹⁶⁷ Thus, in *KUB* 21.16, l. 6–8 refers to the borders of Hatti (the context is broken); l. 9–11 to a war against the enemies (possibly in north Anatolia); l. 13 mentions the death of a king.

¹⁶⁸ For this treaty, v.s. p. 81f. n. 162.

¹⁶⁹ Translation of the relevant passage: Parker 2002, 38f.; Singer 2002a, 58f.

¹⁷⁰ Translation of the relevant passage: Singer 2002a, 65.

¹⁷¹ See also discussion in Sürenhagen 2006, 61.

¹⁷² Thus, he mentioned that the Egyptians "murdered" the Hittite prince (*CTH* 378.II, par. §4).

As opposed to the *DŠ*¹⁷³, in which only one attack on ʿAmqa was described, it is possible that *CTH* 378.II (par. §4) details at least two Hittite attacks against this region¹⁷⁴. It is unclear why Muršili bothered to mention that there was more than one attack, as the treaty with Egypt was already breached after the first¹⁷⁵.

It is interesting to compare the description of the events in *CTH* 378.II and 379. The former's description is much more general; thus, no reference is made to the initial situation in Qadeš, and Lupakki and Tarhuntazalma are not mentioned. In addition, the Egyptian request for a Hittite prince is carried out by the 'men of Egypt', while the Egyptian queen is not mentioned. It seems that the *CTH* 379 narrative (though very fragmentary) resembles Fragment 28's treatment of the events.

E.1.13. KBo 8.38¹⁷⁶:

KBo 8.38 is an oracle inquiry that presents an itinerary in Syria. Among the places mentioned in this text are Tunip (obv.² 7', 12'), Apa (rev.² 5') and ʿAmqa (rev.² 7'). For that reason, Klengel (1995, 131–133; id. 1999, 141 [A16]) suggested that it was connected with the Second Syrian War (cf. Klinger 2000, 10).

E.1.14. The General's letter (RS 20.33)¹⁷⁷:

This letter was written by a general name Šumi-[...] to his lord, the king of [n.n.]. This general was stationed in Amurru, and for the last five months he fought the enemy and had suffered from the bad weather. In one of the battles his forces captured a prisoner. Following the latter's interrogation, the general received a worrying piece of news; the pharaoh was about to arrive in Amurru. In the letter, the general urged his

¹⁷³ Fr. 28 col. iii l. 1–5.

¹⁷⁴ "My father sent infantry and chariotry, and they attacked the borderland of Egypt, the land of ʿAmqa. And again he sent, and again they attacked." (Singer 2002a, 58). Notice, however, that the last sentence is written on the edge of tablet and appears in this form only in one copy (A). For possible implications (an error of the scribe; a summary of the events), see Miller 2007a, 268 n. 72. For further discussion concerning the multiple attacks in this passage see Parker 2002, 38f.; Miller 2007a, 267–271.

¹⁷⁵ Is it possible that this detail was mentioned in order to emphasize the god's wrong jurisdiction? In this manner Muršili could have demonstrated the fact that not only was Šuppiluliuma not punished by the gods after his first unjustified attack, his second attack against ʿAmqa was also successful (while Muršili II and Hatti had been punished for the last 20 years).

¹⁷⁶ Transliteration: Klengel 1995, 134.

¹⁷⁷ Edition: Izre'el and Singer 1990; Dietrich 2001. Translation: Schwemer 2006b. For a short discussion concerning the 'house of Rap'anu' (in which the letter was found), see Márquez Rowe 1996, 107, 111; Yon 2006, 73–76.

lord to send him supplies and reinforcements, so that he would be able to fulfill his tasks (blocking the enemy).

Based on its linguistic characteristics (similar to the language of the Amarna letters), Izre'el and Singer (1990, 79–83) dated the letter to the end of the Amarna period. Singer (*id.*, 174–178) suggested identifying the general with Šummittara (possibly a prince from Nuhašše, brother of Tette), and his lord with Šuppiluliuma (*id.*, 160f., 170–172).

Márquez Rowe (1996, 108f., 120) claimed also that the letter was written during the Amarna period. He suggested identifying the writer with an officer from Amurru, and the addressee with a king of Amurru, possibly ʿAziru (*id.*, 120, 124–126). He suggested that the letter was discovered in Ugarit, since the king of Amurru was staying there at that point (*id.*, 125f.).

The main problem with these two suggestions is that the letter was discovered in the archive of Rapʿānu. The documents in this archive are dated to the second half of the 13th century; therefore, the discovery of an old document in this archive needs an explanation. Izre'el and Singer (1990 172f.; Márquez Rowe 1996, 111) suggested that *RS 20.33* was kept for such a long period because of its antiquarian value.

Dietrich (2001) claimed that the letter was found in this archive since it was written at the same period. He (*id.*, 186f.) claimed that the linguistic features of the letter fit well into the entire period that extends from the Amarna Age to the destruction of Ugarit. Dietrich further suggested that the author's name should be restored as Šumi[yānu], an Ugaritic general, and that the addressee was his king, i.e. Niqmepaʿ king of Ugarit (*id.*, 186f.)¹⁷⁸. It is possible that the general's mission was to delay the pharaoh following the battle of Qadeš (*id.*, 180f.).

Even though the exact historical context of the letter, as suggested by Dietrich (2001), is uncertain, a late date of *RS 20.33* will be preferred here, since there is no obvious reason for Rapʿānu's family to keep this old letter for such a long period (more than 100 years). The argument concerning the letter's 'antiquarian value' is unlikely. The letter's finding in this late archive becomes much more reasonable when we bring *RS*

¹⁷⁸ For Niqmepaʿ, see Klengel 2001e, 568f.

20.33 closer to the date of the archive and identify the author with one of Rap'ānu's relatives (as suggested by Dietrich).

E.1.15. Two letters from the correspondence with Egypt:

E.1.15.1. KBo 28.51¹⁷⁹:

This letter was discussed in detail by Edel (1994). It probably belongs to the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence and possibly even dated to the Amarna period (the reference to Hattušaz[iti] in the obv. l. 10'), but unfortunately it is too fragmentary.

E.1.15.2. KUB 19.20 + KBo 12.23 + KBo 49.13 (CTH 154)¹⁸⁰:

Following is a short summary of the letter:

(l. 1–7) The letter begins with a campaign of the author, a Hittite king, in north and north-east Anatolia.

(l. 8–15) The second paragraph deals with a successful campaign against the Hurrians. In line 13 the conquest of Carchemiš is mentioned. It is possible that in lines 14–15 the author referred to the death of his son.

(l. 16–23) These two paragraphs possibly deal with a letter written by the pharaoh following the death of a Hittite prince. It seems that in this letter he denies any involvement in the prince's death.

(rev. l. 6–39) The author blamed the pharaoh for the death of his son and promised to retaliate.

No personal names are mentioned in this Hittite-written letter (LH characteristics). Its date is based solely on its very fragmentary content¹⁸¹. It seems that the author fought against the Hurrians, conquered Carchemiš and sent his son to Egypt. Therefore, from the moment this letter was discovered, the author and his dead² son were identified with Šuppiluliuma and Zannanza (del Monte 2009, 125 n. 76). The identity of the Egyptian pharaoh cannot be determined from this text. It is possible that *KUB 19.20+* was the second letter of Šuppiluliuma to the pharaoh (Murnane 1990, 27).

¹⁷⁹ Edition: Edel 1994 (vol. 1), 14 f., (vol. 2) 22–26. Discussion: Klengel 1999, 141; Zaccagnini 2000b, 439f.; Gabolde 2001, 34; del Monte 2009, 121 n. 65; van den Hout 2009a, 77 n. 33.

¹⁸⁰ Edition: van den Hout 1994. Discussion: Murnane 1990, 26–28; Bryce 1990, 99f.; Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004, 32.

¹⁸¹ E.g. del Monte's (2009, 125 n. 76) warning in this matter.

E.1.16. Letters from the el-Amarna archive (the Sub-Division):

The Sub-Division (see detailed discussion in Chapter II.C.3) is located in the late stage of the Third Time-Division¹⁸². It is quite possible that the letters of this unit deal with events that took place during the Second Syrian War.

The **duration of the Sub-Division** can be estimated using *EA* 162 and 170. In *EA* 162 the pharaoh mentioned that 'Aziru's request to postpone his arrival in Egypt was accepted, but now, a year has passed and 'Aziru must come to the pharaoh. If 'Aziru's 'visit' in Egypt was an annual procedure, we may assume that two years have elapsed between *EA* 170 ('Aziru's first 'visit') and *EA* 162 (v.s. p. 47f.¹⁸³). Following *EA* 162 several more letters were written. It seems to me that the whole period covered by the Sub-Division, from *EA* 170 to the last letters of 'Aziru (*EA* 164–167), should be estimated to between three, or probably better, four years (v.s. p. 48–50).

Though it is quite clear that the Sub-Division represents the last (three or four) years of the archive, **there are no references to regnal years that will fix it to the reign of a certain pharaoh**. Nevertheless, we do have one indication for the Sub-Division's date: none of the letters of this unit refers to a new king. Although the argument might be taken as an *argumentum e silentio*, we should consider the possibility that all of the events described in the letters of the Sub-Division took place before Akhenaten's death.

It is quite possible that some letters of the Sub-Division reveal that **the Hittites attacked 'Amqa twice**¹⁸⁴. The basis for the assumption of two attacks can be found in *EA* 140. In this letter (l. 16–33)¹⁸⁵ Ili-Rapih (ruler of Gubla) clearly differentiated between a first attack, which was executed by Aitakkama and 'Aziru's troops when

¹⁸² It is possible that at least some of the letters that were discovered in Kāmid el-Lōz/Kumidi dated to this period. This date is based upon the references to Zalaya, a successor of Biryawaza^(?) (69:277 (see Na'aman 1988, 180; cf. Hachmann 2001, 132, 135)), and Ili-Rapih the successor of Rib-Hadda (74:300 and another letter that was published by Huehnergard (1996); see also Hachmann 2001, 133f.). Hachmann (id., 135) dated two letters, 69:277 and 69:279 to Amenhotep III's reign. I see no reason to separate them from the other letters.

¹⁸³ If this visit was not a cyclic procedure, *EA* 162 was written one year + X after *EA* 170 (v.s. id.).

¹⁸⁴ See also discussion in Campbell 1964, 61.

¹⁸⁵ Lines 20–30: "Moreover, 'Aziru even [com]mitted a crime when he was brought [in]to you. ... He sent [his] men [t]o Aitakkama [and] he smote all the lands of 'Amqa... Now, he has sent his men to seize the lands of 'Amqa and (their) territories." (Moran 1992, 226).

‘Aziru was in Egypt, and a second attack that happened ‘now’, when EA 140 was written (and therefore after Rib-Hadda was deposed), and its leader was ‘Aziru. Notice, that although the Hittites are not mentioned in EA 140, it seems that there are other letters from which it is clear that they were involved in both attacks:

A. Sources dealing with the first attack (*‘Aziru is in Egypt*):

- EA 53 from Akizzi was possibly written before the first attack¹⁸⁶. The protagonist in the events is Aitakkama, who tried to persuade Akizzi to become a Hittite vassal (l. 11–16), while ‘Aziru is not mentioned in this letter
- EA 126 was written by Rib-Hadda when he was still the ruler of Gubla. In this letter (l. 43–60), Rib-Hadda refers to a Hittite attack on Egyptian territory, which is possibly related to the first attack¹⁸⁷.
- EA 170 (l. 14–35), written by ‘Aziru's relatives when he was in Egypt, reported that the Hittites attacked ‘Amqa.
- EA 174–176 and 363 were written by several rulers who sat in the Beqa‘. In their letters they refer to a joint campaign of Aitakkama and the Hittites. Since ‘Aziru was not mentioned in these letters, it seems that they refer to the first attack as well.

B. A source that deals with the second attack (*following Rib-Hadda's deposal*):

- In EA 55 (l. 38–66), Akizzi claimed that ‘Aziru and the Hittites attacked his city. ‘Amqa is not mentioned as a target; however, it is possible that this joint campaign of ‘Aziru and the Hittites passed through Qatna and reached the Beqa‘ as well.

In sum, we can differentiate **three chronological stages** within the Sub-Division:

1. The first events that open the Sub-Division are ‘Aziru's visit to Egypt and a contemporary Hittite attack on ‘Amqa (EA 140 and 170).

¹⁸⁶ It seems from the letter that the Hittites had not launched their campaign yet, since all the northern kings were still loyal to Egypt (l. 40–44). In addition, when Akizzi described Aitakkama's activity in [Up]i, he did not mention the Hittites (l. 24–39).

¹⁸⁷ Since during the second attack—the one that happens ‘now’—Ili-Rapah (the author of EA 140) is already the ruler of Gubla. Another possibility is that the attack in EA 126 and the first attack mentioned in EA 140 are two different attacks that occurred during Rib-Hadda's reign. In my opinion, we should try to minimize the number of the Hittite attacks on Syria. Only if it is impossible, i.e. when the differences between their characteristics are fundamental (e.g. the differences between the first and the second attacks, which were examined here), should these campaigns be distinguished from one another. In our case, there is no such contradiction; therefore, I prefer to treat these two pieces of evidence as two references to the same campaign.

2. A second Hittite attack, which is approximately parallel with the writing of *EA* 140, took place when Rib-Hadda's was in exile and preparations were made for an Egyptian campaign (*EA* 140 and 55³).
3. The last letters of the Sub-Division were written (following a short retreat¹⁸⁸) when the Hittites were staying in north Syria and advanced toward Amurru (*EA* 164–167).

Unfortunately, it is uncertain **how much time elapsed between stages 1 and 2**, i.e. between the two attacks on ʿAmqa. They might have happened in the same year (e.g. at the beginning and end of the same fighting season) or during two subsequent years¹⁸⁹. **Three or four years passed between stages 1 and 3**, i.e. between the first arrival of the Hittites in Syria (after the First Syrian War) and their arrival on the borders of Amurru.

An interesting consequence of this analysis is that ʿAziru's and Aitakkama's activity was closely related with the arrival of the Hittites in Syria (see also Liverani 1998–1999, 32).

E.2. Discussion:

E.2.1. The different frontiers:

E.2.1.1. West Anatolia:

There are no indications that Šuppiluliuma had to fight against Arzawa during the Second Syrian War. In Chapter IV.D.2.2., which examined Šuppiluliuma's policy toward Arzawa, we saw that Šuppiluliuma took several steps in order to pacify this region: following the stabilization of the buffer zone between Hatti and Arzawa (as did his predecessors), Šuppiluliuma made a treaty with Uhhaziti, king of Arzawa, and at the same time gave asylum to Mašhuiluwa, an Arzawean prince and a contender, who fled from his country. Though it cannot be proven, it is possible that these measures were taken in preparation for the Second Syrian War. In this manner,

¹⁸⁸ V.i. stage 11 in Table 4 (p. 312).

¹⁸⁹ The second attack did not follow the first immediately. Between them, Rib-Hadda wrote *EA* 126, went to Beirut, did not manage to return to his city, and Ili-Rapih established his rule in Gubla.

Šuppiluliuma pressured the Arzawean king and could have turned his army to more urgent tasks¹⁹⁰.

E.2.1.2. North and north-east Anatolia:

It seems that on the northern front, Šuppiluliuma failed to achieve his goals. The Kaška were active during the Second Syrian War, and the Hittite army had to fight them on a regular basis. Thus, sometime after the conquest of Carchemiš, at least part of the Hittite army had to return to Anatolia and fight them (Fragments 33 and 50)¹⁹¹. Despite the many efforts devoted to protecting the northern border, it seems that the activity of the Hittite army in north Anatolia was not intensive enough, and some of the Kaška uprisings were successful (v.s. Chapter IV.E.1.7.). Possibly, one of the last events during Šuppiluliuma's reign was a rebellion of Išhupita, which was suppressed only after Arnuwanda II became king (CTH 83.1.A).

E.2.1.3. Syria and Egypt:

E.2.1.3.1. The Amarna letters (the Sub-Division):

The letters of the Sub-Division deal only with the Syrian frontier (v.s. Chapter IV.E.1.16). It seems from the letters that this whole region was under Egyptian authority (at least *de jure*). Even kingdoms like Nuhašše, Tunip and Qatna, that were usually part of the Mittannian empire (e.g. during the First Syrian War), declared their loyalty to the pharaoh. The letters of this unit document at least two different cases of Hittite attacks on the southern parts of Syria (Qatna and the Beqa^c). It seems that after a short break, a third arrival of the Hittites is documented, this time to north Syria (Hittite troops reached Amurru's borders). It is possible that between these phases, when the Hittite army was absent, Qadeš continued to act as a Hittite vassal (or at least as a rebellious Egyptian vassal) though its more daring activity took place parallel to the arrival (or actually return) return of the Hittite army in Syria.

¹⁹⁰ Perhaps the arrival of Manapa-Tarhunta from the Šeha River-Land (and possibly his reassignment there) occurred at this stage as well.

¹⁹¹ It is possible that the campaign against the Kaška in the first column of Fragment 28 indicates the same phenomenon (v.s. p. 273f.). For the possible pattern of fighting in Syria and north Anatolia in parallel (or at least consecutively), v.s. p. 284f.

E.2.1.3.2. The Hittite sources:

Several Hittite sources deal with the Syrian front¹⁹²:

- Fragments 27, 28 (col. iii), 31–32 and 36 of the *DŠ*,
- the 'Second' Plague Prayer (*CTH* 378.II, par. §§4–5),
- the 'Fourth' Plague Prayer (*CTH* 378.IV par. §5),
- the 'Fifth' Plague Prayer^(?) (*CTH* 379).

All the above-mentioned Plague Prayers mentioned a Hittite attack on Egyptian territory which was viewed as a breach of the contract between the two kingdoms. The toponym 'Amqa is specifically mentioned only in *CTH* 378.II. The names of the Hittite commanders Lupakki and Tarhuntazalma are mentioned only in *CTH* 379. There is one more detail about this initial attack that opened the war: it appears from *CTH* 378.II that 'Amqa was not attacked only once, but suffered a series of attacks (at least two). The Egyptian request for a Hittite prince is mentioned in *CTH* 378.II and *CTH* 379. The death of the prince and Šuppiluliuma's revenge were mentioned only in the former.

The description of the events until the sending of Zannanza is detailed in Fragment 28; the death of Zannanza is mentioned in Fragments 31–32; the escalation that followed this event is possibly detailed in Fragments 27 and 36.

There is a considerable overlap between the Plague Prayers and the *DŠ*, mainly in the description of the attack on 'Amqa. It is quite clear that **these two groups of texts refer to the same events** (e.g. Parker 2002, 31–40).

There is, however, a significant difference between them. The **Egyptian attack on Qadeš** that antedated the Hittite attack on 'Amqa, is mentioned only in the *DŠ*. This difference can be explained by the different objectives of the texts¹⁹³; but as mentioned above (v.s. p. 272–276), the description of this event in the *DŠ* is also problematic. As a result, the location of the Hittite conquest of Qadeš (during the Second Syrian War?) and the Egyptian attack against this city within the chronological sequence of events is unclear.

¹⁹² The two treaties with Amurru, *CTH* 49 and 62, will not be discussed here since they are too schematic.

¹⁹³ The *DŠ* tried to glorify Šuppiluliuma (therefore it blamed the Egyptian attack on Qadeš), while the Plague Prayers represent oracle inquiries that put the blame on Šuppiluliuma (therefore they stress his attack on 'Amqa).

E.2.1.3.3. Synthesis of the sources:

Based on a comparison of the Hittite sources and the letters of the Sub-Division a number of conclusions can be deduced:

The Hittite conquest of Qadeš and the Egyptian attack on this city: According to the *DŠ* (Fr. 28 col. ii l. 21–23), the city of Qadeš was (re)conquered by Šuppiluliuma, and as a result was attacked by the Egyptian army. There are no references to these events in other Hittite sources and their depiction in the *DŠ* is problematic (v.s. p. 272–276). The representation of these two attacks in the Amarna letters is also uncertain. Some Egyptian vassals in Syria blamed Aitakkama for working in the service of the Hittites (e.g. *EA* 53 and 174), but none of them referred to a conquest of Qadeš by the Hittites. As for the Egyptian attack on this city, among the letters of the Sub-Division there is a large group of letters dealing with preparations for an Egyptian campaign (v.s. discussion in p. 42 n. 86). It is possible that this campaign was destined to reach north Syria¹⁹⁴; however, there is no evidence in the letters that it was directed against Qadeš, or that it was ever launched. Based on the analysis of these sources we may suggest that:

1. Šuppiluliuma conquered Qadeš by force only once; during the First Syrian War (First Time-Division). At the beginning of the Second Syrian War (the Sub-Division) it was 'conquered' by diplomatic means only (v.s. section C. in p. 274).
2. If the group of letters that deal with the preparation for the Egyptian campaign and the *DŠ* did refer to the same campaign, it is possible that this campaign was launched only after the last letters of the Sub-Division were sent.

The attack on 'Amqa and the identity of 'Niphururiya': Muršili II attached great importance to Šuppiluliuma's attack on 'Amqa, and treated it as the act that breached the Kuruštama treaty (Parker 2002, 39). As a result, we may assume that this raid was Šuppiluliuma's first assault on Egyptian territory and forces¹⁹⁵. The first evidence for

¹⁹⁴ Thus, based on the replies of the local rulers Raviv (1968, 48) suggested that the campaign's destinations or last places of deployment were Beirut and Damascus.

¹⁹⁵ The conquest of Qadeš in the First Syrian War should not be considered in this context, since according to *Šat. I* it was a case of self defense; the troops of Qadeš attacked Šuppiluliuma and he had to respond. If the First Syrian War is dated to the First Time-Division as I suggested, the letters of this unit seem to support this claim, since they treated the Hittite campaign with indifference (e.g. *EA* 75). As for the attack on 'Amqa, it is possible that even in the *DŠ*, the annals of his father, Muršili

Šuppiluliuma's initiative in ʿAmqa comes from the letters of the Sub-Division. Since these letters are dated to Akhenaten's reign, or to Smenkhkare's reign at the latest¹⁹⁶, the identification of 'Niphururiya' with Tutankhamun should be rejected (see also Miller 2007a, 270f.).

The number of the Hittite attacks on ʿAmqa: According to the *DŠ* (Fr. 28 col. iii l. 1–5), the most detailed Hittite source, the raid on ʿAmqa by Lupakki and Tarhuntazalma was the only Hittite operation in this region before the death of 'Niphururiya'. The letters of the Sub-Division deal with two attacks on ʿAmqa (both probably antedated the death of Akhenaten). In this aspect, the Sub-Division is different from the *DŠ*, yet quite similar with the description of two attacks mentioned in *CTH 378.II* (see also Miller 2007a, 267–271).

The time elapsed between the Hittite attack(s) on ʿAmqa and the death of 'Niphururiya': According to the Hittite sources, the death of 'Niphururiya' followed shortly after the Hittite attack on ʿAmqa¹⁹⁷. In the letters of the Sub-Division, the situation is different. Following the first Hittite attack on ʿAmqa (parallel with ʿAziru's visit), the archive continued to operate for three or four years, but during this period there is no hint that the ruling pharaoh died. Therefore, it is possible that three or four years separated the two events. We may offer the following solutions for this contradiction:

1. Shortly after the first attack on ʿAmqa (parallel with ʿAziru's visit in Egypt), the pharaoh (in this case, no doubt it was Akhenaten¹⁹⁸) died, but for some reason the documentation of this event is lost.
2. The description of the events in the *DŠ* was revised and the author ignored the period of the Sub-Division¹⁹⁹. Another possibility is that he 'squeezed' three or

II blamed his father for the escalation (v.s. p. 275f.). The letters of the Sub-Division attest to the same phenomenon of Hittite invasion without prior Egyptian provocation.

¹⁹⁶ V.s. Chapter II.C.4.

¹⁹⁷ "But when the people of Egypt heard of the attack on ʿAmqa, they were afraid. And since, in addition, their lord Niphururiya had died, therefore the queen of Egypt..." (Güterbock 1956, 94).

¹⁹⁸ The fact that one death of a pharaoh was neglected by the letters of the Sub-Division is almost bearable; but the possibility that these letters could miss two deaths (and three accessions!) seems much too problematic (cf. Freu 2002b, 101f.).

¹⁹⁹ I preferred to place the blame on the author, or better editor, of the *DŠ*, since it is quite possible that the *AS* was more precise in specifying the facts. A possible explanation for the ignoring of the early Hittite attacks on ʿAmqa (i.e. the raids mentioned in the Sub-Division) is that in this manner the

four years into five lines (Fr. 28 col. iii l. 1–5) and assigned this period, during which 'Amqa was attacked and 'Niphururiya' died, less than a year²⁰⁰.

Based on the fragmentary data we have, both of these possibilities should be considered when chronologically reconstructing this period.

E.2.1.4. Mittanni:

Four main sources deal with the Hittite campaigns against Mittanni: Fragments 26, 28, 35 and *Šat. 2*.

First among these sources is Fragment 28 (col. ii), which deals with Telipinu's operation in the region of Carchemiš, the campaign of Arnuwanda and Zita against the Hurrians and the beginning of Šuppiluliuma's siege on Carchemiš. These events took place before Carchemiš was conquered. The events in the other three sources, on the other hand, followed this affair. This anchor is important since it antedated the death of 'Niphururiya' (which took place during the siege).

Fragment 26 deals with two occasions on which Šuppiluliuma challenged an enemy; first in the area of Carchemiš and then near Waššukanni. It seems that during the latter operation, a shortage of [food] and water did not allow the Hittite army to complete its mission. It is quite possible that the campaign to Waššukanni was also related to in *Šat. 2*.

The campaign of Šarri-Kušuh and Šattiwaza in *Šat. 2* can be compared with the Hittite campaign to Mittanni mentioned in Fragment 35²⁰¹. Both took place after the conquest of Carchemiš, and in both Šarri-Kušuh is one of the leaders. The emphasis placed on Šattiwaza's role in *Šat. 2* can be explained by the objectives of this text, i.e. a treaty between Hatti and Mittanni which emphasized the good relations between Šattiwaza and the Hittites. There is, however, one significant difference between the two texts: the treatment of Harran and Waššukanni. In Fragment 35 both (or at least the rural regions around them) were conquered and burned down. In *Šat. 2* there is no evidence of such a brutal act; Harran surrendered to the Hittites (par. §5), and Waššukanni, which was besieged by the Assyrians, even asked for the Hittites' help

Egyptian attack on Qadeš, which was actually a late reaction to Šuppiluliuma's provocations, could have been presented as unjustified

²⁰⁰ The attack on 'Amqa and the death of 'Niphururiya' are only two events depicted in col. iii. The events in this column occurred between the winters at the end of col. i and the end of col. iii.

²⁰¹ V.s. discussion in p. 281.

(par. §6; v.s. discussion in p. 292f.). There are several possible options to reconcile this contradiction:

1. Both texts deal with the same campaign, but for some reason one of the authors chose to change the course of events.
2. The texts delineate different campaigns which took place after the conquest of Carchemiš. In this case we have two possible scenarios:
 - A. In the first campaign the Hittites invaded the heart of Mittanni and devastated the (agricultural) regions around Harran and Waššukanni in order to weaken them (Fragment 35). A second campaign was launched later (the following year?) in order to conquer the cities. The Assyrians also tried to gain control over this area, but were forced to retreat before the Hittite troops. The region was not entirely conquered, since the Hittites had supply shortages (*Šat. 2* and Fragment 26).
 - B. The cities in the heart of Mittanni were conquered by the Hittites. Then, due to supply shortages the Hittites retreated and this region rebelled (probably with the support of the Assyrians). As a result the Hittites returned and punished them harshly (i.e. the campaign in *Šat. 2* antedated the campaign in Fragment 35). Note that in this case, it is possible that *Šat. 2* was concluded before the campaign mentioned in Fragment 35.

In summary, there were two or three campaigns against Mittanni; the last one/two (depending whether or not *Šat. 2* and Fragment 35 detail the same campaign) took place after the death of 'Niphururiya'. The results of these campaigns are unknown²⁰². It is unclear whether the entire kingdom of Mittanni was conquered. The destiny of Šuttarna is also uncertain²⁰³.

E.2.2. The course of the Second Syrian War:

The events detailed in the Hittite sources are closely connected with the chronological anchor of the death of 'Niphururiya'. A few of these events (i.e. those described in Fr. 28 col. i–ii) occurred shortly before this point, and all the others took place after it. The letters of the Sub-Division (as well as the other letters of the Third Time-Division) are different in this sense, since they do not include any reference to the

²⁰² See also Altman 2004, 304 n. 112, 312–314.

²⁰³ According to Beckman (*HDT*, 51) par. §7 possibly dealt with Šuttarna's defeat.

death of a pharaoh. As a result, it is possible that they antedated the death of Akhenaten (the earliest possible identification of 'Niphururiya') by three or four years (depending on the length of the Sub-Division).

The following tables (Tables 4 and 5) offer a chronological sequence of events of the Second Syrian War. Their order is based on the above-mentioned supposition, i.e. the events detailed in the Sub-Division (before the death of 'Niphururiya') are positioned before the ones described in the *DŠ* (mostly after his death)

Note for the table: in order to enable the display of the data in this table, the Amarna letters will be referred to only by their serial numbers (e.g. *EA* 51 will be mentioned as *51*).

Events / Kingdoms ²⁰⁴	Gub.	Amu.	‘Amq.	Qat.	Nuh.	Others
1. Following a long period of absence, Šuppi. returned to operate in north Syria						
2. Šuppi. offered treaties to Syrian rulers; some rejected his offer and joined the Egyptian side ²⁰⁵					<i>51</i> ²⁰⁶ ; <i>CTH 45</i> ²⁰⁷	<i>CTH 45</i> ²⁰⁸ ; <i>59</i> ²⁰⁹
3. Šuppi. turned to the military option; war was declared against the three kings						<i>CTH 45</i> ²¹⁰
4. A preventive attack of the three kings on						<i>CTH 46</i>

²⁰⁴ The sources were organized according to their subject and not according to their origin.

²⁰⁵ It is possible that at this stage a similar offer was sent to Qadeš (v.s. p. 305f.). See also James 2000, 118f.

²⁰⁶ Addu-nirari mentioned that the king of Hatti suggested signing a treaty, but he rejected his proposal (rev. 1–17).

²⁰⁷ Šuppiluliuma referred to the kings of Mukiš and Nuhašše, who "renounced the peace treaty with Hatti" (*HDT*, 125 par. §3).

²⁰⁸ This letter was sent to Ugarit before the beginning of the military operations (v.s. Chapter IV.E.1.2.).

²⁰⁹ The son of the king of Tunip (and Niya?) was sent to Egypt, possibly as a part of loyalty declaration to Egypt.

²¹⁰ Šuppiluliuma offered Niqmaddu II/III a treaty and ask him to attack his neighbors.

Ugarit in order to block Šuppi.'s way to Syria ²¹¹						
5. A treaty between Šuppi. and Ugarit						CTH 46
- Akizzi's warning to Egypt about the advancing Hit. army ²¹²				52 ²¹³ ; 53 ²¹⁴	53 ²¹⁵	53 ²¹⁶
6. The Hit. army conquered Mukiš and drove the invaders out of Ugarit					7 ²¹⁷	CTH 46 ²¹⁸
7. The Hit. army marched to Arahati and fought against Aki-Teššub (Niya) and Akiya (Arahati)						Šat. I ²¹⁹
8. First Hittite Attack on Amqa (Ait. and the Hit. burn Amqa); 'Aziru is in Egypt ²²⁰	126 ²²¹	165 ²²²	126 and 140 ²²³ ; 170 ²²⁴ ; 173 ²²⁵ ;		170 ²²⁷	197 ²²⁸

²¹¹ Concerning the objective of the attack, v.s. p. 287f. n. 116.

²¹² Since 'Aziru is not mentioned in the list of Akizzi's enemies, it is possible that he was already in Egypt (Gromova 2007, 305).

²¹³ This letter does not mention the Hittites, but it seems that Akizzi was in distress, since he promised not to abandon the pharaoh and Biryawaza (l. 44–46).

²¹⁴ Akizzi claimed that Aitakkama and the king of Hatti were about to attack Qatna (l. 11–16).

²¹⁵ At this stage, Nuhašše is still loyal to Egypt (l. 40–44).

²¹⁶ At this stage, Niya (together with two more kingdoms) is still loyal to Egypt (l. 40–44).

²¹⁷ No reference is made to the destiny of Addu-nirari (Nuhašše) and Aki-Teššub (Niya), and for this reason I believe that they managed to escape (the destiny of Itur-Addu (Mukiš) is less important, since his kingdom was conquered by the Hittites).

²¹⁸ After the victory, Niqmaddu II/III met Šuppiluliuma in Alalah (*HDT*, 34 par. §2).

²¹⁹ V.s. discussion in Chapter IV.E.1.4.

²²⁰ The date of 'Aziru's visit on Egypt is based on Izre'el (1990, 585f.; id. 1991, 199) and Singer (1991a, 151). Cf. Hachman 2001, 143 (date this event to the last phase of Rib-Hadda's correspondence); Gromova 2007, 296f., 306.

²²¹ In *EA* 126 (l. 53–60) Rib-Hadda (still ruler of Gubla) mentioned that the sons of 'Abdi-Aširta ('Aziru is not mentioned) led the Hittite army to Gubla.

²²² It is possible that in *EA* 165 (l. 28–41) 'Aziru mentioned this attack in retrospective (though he mentioned Amurru as the target).

²²³ *EA* 126 was written by Rib-Hadda (still as ruler of Gubla), who mentioned that the Hittite army burned the king's land. In a retrospective in *EA* 140 (l. 16–33), Ili-Rapih recalled that when 'Aziru was in Egypt, Aitakkama and the people of 'Aziru attacked 'Amqa. V.s. discussion in p. 301f.

			174–176, and 363 ²²⁶			
9. ʿAziru returned to Amurru	140 ²²⁹					
10. Rib-Hadda's exile	138 ²³⁰					
11. Second Hit. attack on Amqa and Qatna; ʿAziru was involved			140 ²³¹ ; 55 ²³²			
- . After this raid the Hit. army retreated from North Syria ²³³		145 [?] and 151 ²³⁴			161 ²³⁵	56 ²³⁶

²²⁴ ʿAziru's relatives wrote to him while he was staying in Egypt and reported that some Hittite troops had conquered ʿAmqa (l. 14–18).

²²⁵ The unknown author mentioned that he gained a victory (in ʿAmqa? Against Aitakkama?) and sent the pharaoh prisoners. If this letter belongs to this episode, it is the only letter that refers to a victory of the Egyptian side. See discussion in Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004, 130f.

²²⁷ ʿAziru's relatives wrote to him while he was staying in Egypt and reported that some Hittite troops were in their way to Nuhašše (l. 19–35).

²²⁸ Biryawaza reported that ʿAziru's soldiers are in Qadeš and acting against his allies (l. 26–31). He claimed that some of his neighbors are Hittite vassals, and the land of Qadeš is no longer loyal to Egypt.

²²⁶ These four letters from rulers who sat in ʿAmqa mention an attack of Aitakkama and Hatti on their cities (for the origin of the letters, see Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004, 129f). It is possible that letters 182–184 were written also in this context (Vita 2005).

²²⁹ It seems that ʿAziru's status is higher now, since Ili-rapih wrote: "why did the king *communicate through ʿAziru?*" (EA 140 l. 8–9; Moran 1992, 226).

²³⁰ Rib-Hadda (retrospective) mentioned that his city wanted to join ʿAziru, so he went to consult with ʿAminira (ruler of Beirut). But then he could not return since ʿAziru's soldiers had entered Gubla. It is possible that EA 67 (reporting that ʿAziru had made a treaty with the ruler of Gubla) was written at this period as well (v.s. discussion in p. 33f.).

²³¹ Ili-Rapih wrote as follows (l. 28–30): "now he has sent his men to seize the lands of Amqa and (their) territories" (Moran 1992, 226).

²³² Akizzi reported that the king of Hatti and ʿAziru had attacked his city (l. 38–66). Na'aman (1990a, 398) included this letter in the group of letters dealing with the preparations for the arrival of the Egyptian army.

²³³ The reason for the retreat is unclear. Possibly, the army was needed for other tasks.

²³⁴ In these two letters, Zimredda (Sidon) and Abi-Milku (Tyre) mentioned that the pharaoh asked to receive intelligence information on several kingdoms (EA 145 l. 23–26; EA 151 l. 49–67). EA 151 includes two important details concerning Ugarit: the first is that a fire broke out in the palace, and the second is that there were no Hittite troops in the city. The letter is usually connected in research with the attack of the three kings on Ugarit (e.g. Singer 1999, 630). There is, however, one other possibility. The Egyptians were aware of the Hittite raids and decided to launch a campaign. In order to do that they needed preliminary information about the developments in Syria. They probably asked some of their trusted vassals to send them a report, and possibly EA 151 was one of the letters sent in response. In this context (preparations for a campaign), the most relevant details in the letter are that (a) there were no Hittite forces in Ugarit, and (b) that ʿAziru and Aitakkama were fighting against Biryawaza. For the circumstances that led to writing of EA 151, see Na'aman 1999, 32f. For the date of the letter (one of the latest letters of Abi-milki, possibly even the last), v.s. p. 194 n. 44.

²³⁵ In this letter, ʿAziru claimed that an Egyptian bureaucrat named Hatip, provoked the kings of Nuhašše to act against him (l. 35–40). It appears from this report that following the second Hittite

12. "get ready for the arrival of the Egyptian army" ²³⁷	136 and 142 ²³⁸			55		144, 147, 191, etc.
...						
[Rib. is already one year ²³⁹ in exile ²³⁹]						
...						
13. Rib-Hadda was extradited to his enemies [and died]	162 ²⁴⁰					
[About two years have passed since 'Aziru's last visit in Egypt (= first Hit. raid on Amqa) ²⁴¹]						
...						
14. Conquest of Niya by 'Aziru						59 ²⁴²
15. Conquest of Tunip by 'Aziru						161, and 165–167 ²⁴³

raid on 'Amqa at least part of Nuhašše was independent (i.e. not controlled by the Hittites), or even ruled by Egypt.

²³⁶ Though this letter is very fragmentary it is possible that in l. 6–7 the author mentioned the pharaoh's wish to know the number of [...]. It is possible that l. 36–42 (as well as EA 54, l. 38–43?) deal with north Syrian kings, who are not loyal to the king of Hatti.

²³⁷ It is clear that this group of letters followed the second Hittite raid, since one letter of this group, EA 55, reported this attack. Only a few of the letters from this group were mentioned here; for a more detailed discussion, see Na'aman 1990a; id. 2000; cf. Liverani 1990b.

²³⁸ In EA 142 (that belongs to this group of letters) 'Amunira reported that he received Rib-Hadda in his city, and that the latter's sons were extradited to 'Aziru (l. 15–24). EA 136 seems to be the first letter by Rib-Hadda after he was banished from his city. In the end of his letter, Rib-Hadda reported that his sons and wives were extradited to 'Aziru, and for that reason it seems that it was written in parallel with EA 142. It is possible that in l. 37–43 Rib-Hadda referred to the expected Egyptian campaign.

²³⁹ It seems from EA 138 (l. 20–21) that Rib-Hadda stayed for the last [1]2 months in Beirut. If this restoration (suggested already by Knudtzon (1907–1915, 580 n. c)) and chronological anchor are correct, then approximately one year has elapsed since EA 136 (which possibly belongs to the group of letters dealing with preparations for an Egyptian campaign (see above)) was written. Notice, however, that in l. 23–24 Rib-Hadda mentioned that 'Aziru was hostile to him in the last four months. In l. 75–78 Rib-Hadda mentioned again that he sent his son to Egypt when he arrived in Beirut, and though he had already been in Egypt for four months, the pharaoh had still not met him.

²⁴⁰ EA 162 l. 12–14.

²⁴¹ Concerning the time gap between EA 170 and EA 162, v.s. discussion in Chapter IV.E.1.16; concerning the order of the last letters of 'Aziru, v.s. discussion in p. 48–50.

²⁴² In EA 59 (l. 25–28), the people of Tunip wrote that they were afraid that 'Aziru would do them what he did to Niya. It is strange that 'Aziru conquered Niya before he went against Tunip.

²⁴³ 'Aziru wrote these letters from Tunip.

16. Third Hit. raid on Syria [?] ; Nuhašše was conquered by the Hittite army					164–167 ²⁴⁴	196 ²⁴⁵
17. Possibly, at this stage the Hit. concluded treaties with their Syrian vassals ²⁴⁶	161 [?]					
[End of the Sub-Division; between three to four years have passed since 'Aziru's last visit in Egypt (stage 8 above)] ²⁴⁷						

From this point on we have to rely on the Hittite sources only. The time gap between the events in Tables 4 (above) and 5 (below) is uncertain; however, unless the dead 'Niphururiya' is identified with Tutankhamun, this gap cannot be too long. The events detailed in Fragment 28 took place around the death of 'Niphururiya', and the Sub-Division ended close to Akhenaten's death²⁴⁸. Following is a summary of the events, which are mentioned in Fragment 28 Copy A col. ii–iv. They cover approximately one year²⁴⁹:

Events	Source ²⁵⁰
18. Šuppi. and some of his generals fought in north Anatolia	col. i
[winter at end of col. i]	
19. Conquest of the <u>land</u> of Carchemiš by Telipinu	col. ii l. 1–8

²⁴⁴ In these letters 'Aziru claimed that the king of Hatti was in Nuhašše. For the place of these letters in 'Aziru's correspondence, v.s. p. 48f.

²⁴⁵ In this letter, Biryawaza described his predicament; he was left alone and needed the pharaoh's help. This letter can also fit in the context of the former Hittite attacks. For the reign of Biryawaza, see Na'aman 1988.

²⁴⁶ The treaty with Amurru is probably later than the Sub-Division, since the Amarna letters do not mention the treaty or the arrival of Hittite garrison in Amurru (*CTH* 49 (*HDT*, 39 par. §7); see in this context Zaccagnini 1988, 298). First evidence for contacts between Hatti and 'Aziru can be found in *EA* 161, l. 47–53. According to Izre'el (1991 (vol. 2), 40–43), a reference for a meeting between 'Aziru and the king of Hatti appears also in *EA* 165 l. 29–30 (v.s. discussion in p. 49 n. 115).

²⁴⁷ V.s. Chapter IV.E.1.16.

²⁴⁸ Even if the Sub-Division ended before Akhenaten's death and the deceased 'Niphururiya' from Fragment 28 is identified with Smenkhkare, the time gap between the two tablets is quite small.

²⁴⁹ As mentioned above (v.s. discussion in p. 276f.), it is possible that the period covered by col. ii–iii, from winter to winter is somewhat too short for all these events.

²⁵⁰ Unless mentioned otherwise, the source is the Seventh Tablet of the *DŠ* (i.e. Fragment 28).

20. A Hurrian attack on Murmuriga	col. ii l. 15–20
- . An Egyptian attack on Qadeš ²⁵¹ ?	col. ii l. 21–23
21. The Hit. army arrived in Tegarama; campaign of Arnuwanda and Zita against Hurri	col. ii l. 27–39
22. Beginning of the siege on Carchemiš	A col. ii l. 39–46, E ₂ l. 6'–13'
<i>(blank in the end of col. ii)</i>	
23. Campaign of Lupakki and Tarhuntazalma against 'Amqa	col. iii l. 1–5; <i>CTH</i> 378.II (par. §4), <i>CTH</i> 378.IV (par. § 5) and <i>CTH</i> 379 (par. §11)
- . Death of 'Niphururiya'	col. iii l. 5–8; <i>CTH</i> 378.II (par. §4) and <i>CTH</i> 379 (par. §12)
24. the <i>daḥamunzu</i> 's letter arrived; Hattušaziti was sent to Egypt	col. iii l. 8–25; <i>CTH</i> 378.II (par. §4) and <i>CTH</i> 379 (par. §13)
25. Conquest of Carchemiš ; Šarri-Kušuh was appointed its ruler	A col. iii l. 26–43, E ₃ col. iii 15–20; <i>CTH</i> 83.1.A.
26. Šuppi. returned to Hattuša	E ₃ col. iii 21–23
[<i>winter</i> close to the end of col. iii]	
27. The arrival of the messengers from Egypt [<i>spring</i>]	A col. iii 44–45, E ₃ col. iii 24–25
...	
28. Zannanza was sent to Egypt	<i>CTH</i> 378.II (par. §4)
29. Campaign against the Kaška	Fragment 33; Fragment 50
30. The death of Zannanza	Fragments 31–32; <i>CTH</i> 378.II (par. §4)
31. A letter was written to the new king?	<i>CTH</i> 154

Following these events, the Hittites launched the following campaigns (their order is uncertain):

- one campaign of Šuppiluliuma to north Anatolia (Fragment 34),
- one or two campaigns led by Šarri-Kušuh against Mittanni (Fragment 26²; Fragment 35; *Šat.* 2)²⁵²,

²⁵¹ V.s. p. 274f.

²⁵² V.s. Chapter IV.E.2.1.4.

- one campaign or more against Egypt (Fragment 27?; Fragment 36; *CTH* 378.II (par. §5)).

It seems that shortly before Šuppiluliuma's death, a rebellion broke out in Išhupita as well as in other north and north-east Anatolian localities. Possibly, this rebellion was only dealt with by king Arnuwanda II, Šuppiluliuma's heir²⁵³.

As mentioned above, the time gap between stages 17 and 18 is uncertain and depends on the identity of 'Niphururiya'. I believe that the first scenario—in which 'Niphururiya' is identified with either Akhenaten or Smenkhkare—has fewer problems, and should be preferred (v.i. Chapter IV.E.2.4.). If, on the other hand, he is identified with Tutankhamun, the Second Syrian War should be divided into two separate campaigns. The first part (i.e. the events of Tablet 4) took place around the end of the Amarna archive and lasted three or four years, and the second 5 (i.e. the events of Tablet 5)—which in this case should be designated as the 'Third Syrian War'—occurred close to the end of Tutankhamun's reign, and lasted at least one year. Note that in this case, it is uncertain whether the Hittites managed to retain their sovereignty over Syria between these two wars. It appears from Fragment 28 that the land of Carchemiš was kept under Hurrian rule (throughout this period). The situation in the more southern parts of Syria is unknown, though it is difficult to imagine a situation in which the region of Carchemiš was under Mittannian control and Hatti was allowed to act unhindered in Syria²⁵⁴.

E.2.3. The goals of the Second Syrian War:

There is one fundamental difference between the objectives of the First and the Second Syrian Wars²⁵⁵. Based on the analysis of the sources it is possible to conclude

²⁵³ These events were dealt in Chapters IV.E.1.7. and IV.E.1.10.

²⁵⁴ When the second scenario (i.e. Tutankhamun = 'Niphururiya') is preferred, we should deal with ten more years in Šuppiluliuma's reign (the length of Tutankhamun's reign), which are not covered by any known source. During this period, Syria was in a political vacuum. The Hurrians maintained their foothold on the north east, but were too weak to achieve real control over the other parts of Syria. There is no evidence that the Hittite troops remained in the parts of Syria that they conquered at the end of the Sub-Division. Thus, when Qadeš was attacked by the Egyptians, no reference is made to the presence of Hittite forces in its area. The relations between Hatti and Assyria during these ten years are uncertain, and the same applies to Hatti's relations with Egypt. In the case of the first scenario, this ten-year 'hole' does not exist (since in this case, the period of Tutankhamun's reign is parallel with the beginning of Muršili II's rule and covered by the *AM*).

²⁵⁵ The following analysis is based on the identification of 'Niphururiya' with either Akhenaten or Smenkhkare. When 'Niphururiya' is identified with Tutankhamun, the Amarna letters and the death

that the First Syrian War was directed against Mittanni (v.s. Chapter IV.B.2.1.). Thus, when Šuppiluliuma attacked Qadeš, an Egyptian vassal, he mentioned that he did not plan this move but was forced to do it, since he was attacked by Qadeš's king. The situation in the Second Syrian War is totally different. Though the author of the *DŠ* used an Egyptian attack on Qadeš as an excuse for invading Egyptian territory, in light of the Amarna letters, it is possible to argue that this claim seems incorrect (v.s. p. 307)²⁵⁶. There is no evidence in the letters that Qadeš was attacked by the pharaoh. All we have are desperate pleas of the Egyptian vassals that the pharaoh will act against the rebellious rulers of Amurru and Qadeš. Even if an Egyptian campaign was eventually launched, it probably happened only after the archive was ended. The Hittite raids on ʿAmqa, on the other hand, began three or four years earlier²⁵⁷! As a result, we may suggest that the Hittite strategy was changed before or during the Second Syrian War. Now, Šuppiluliuma did not differentiate between the Egyptian and Mittannian parts of Syria, but treated the entire region as a potential target. The reasons for this change are not specified by the texts²⁵⁸.

As opposed to the First Syrian Campaign (v.s. Chapter IV.C.3.), Šuppiluliuma already stabilized his rule over Syria during the war. He appointed Šarri-Kušuh ruler of Carchemiš and his viceroy in Syria, and Telipinu was appointed 'priest' of Aleppo. It is possible that other high functionaries were posted to other important centers in Syria at this stage²⁵⁹.

E.2.4. The date of the Second Syrian War and Šuppiluliuma's reign:

Šuppiluliuma's death: It appears from the *AM* that the deaths of both Šuppiluliuma and Arnuwanda II, his heir, were caused by a plague. Since the end of the *DŠ* is missing and the *AM* refers to this matter very briefly, the date of Šuppiluliuma's death

of 'Niphururiya' are separated by (approximately) ten years (therefore they deal with different campaigns).

²⁵⁶ While in the case of the First Syrian War, *EA 75* (referring to the conquest of "all the countries *that were vassals* of the king of Mitta<ni>") actually supports Šuppiluliuma's claim.

²⁵⁷ Compare with the situation reflected in *EA 75* (v.s. Chapter IV.B.1.8.2.).

²⁵⁸ This change could have been a consequence of a former change in the geo-political map following Mittanni's weakening. It seems that during the last phase of the Third Time-Division (at the latest), Mittanni's sphere of influence was diminished, and its former vassals recognized Akhenaten as their sovereign (e.g. *EA 51, 52, 59* etc.). Šuppiluliuma decided not to accept this development and used the blurred political situation in Syria in order to also attack Egyptian territory. Akhenaten's hesitant policy in Syria and his silence as to the first Hittite raid against ʿAmqa probably encouraged Šuppiluliuma's aggressive activity.

²⁵⁹ E.g. the 'son of the king' from Alalah; see discussion in Niedorf 2002; Devecchi 2007, 216; concerning this position, see Beckman 2007, 165).

is uncertain. However, based on several details we may deduce that this event took place close to the end of the Second Syrian War (and possibly even ended this war):

3. It seems that a plague was brought to Hatti by prisoners of war captured in Syria during the Second Syrian War²⁶⁰. It is possible that the deaths of both Šuppiluliuma and Arnuwanda II, his heir, were caused by this plague.
4. The rebellion in north and north-east Anatolia, which possibly broke out close to the end of the Second Syrian War or right(?) after it, was handled by Arnuwanda II, i.e. after Šuppiluliuma's death²⁶¹ (Parker 2002, 53 n. 83).

Regarding the **date of the plague**, in three of his plague prayers²⁶² Muršili II mentioned that a plague broke out 20 years before these prayers were written. It seems from *CTH 378.II* (par. §5²⁶³) that the point at which the counting began was the Hittite attack on Egyptian territory following Zannanza's death (i.e. the middle of the Second Syrian War). However, since neither the writing of the prayers nor the death of the Hittite prince can be dated, this data does not help us²⁶⁴.

The *dahamunzu*- episode: Muršili II mentioned three times (in the *DŠ*, *CTH 378.II*²⁶⁵ and *CTH 379*) a chronological anchor related to the Hittite activity against Egypt (the encounter with Mittanni occurred earlier): close to the attack of Lupakki and Tarhuntazalma on 'Amqa, a pharaoh named 'Niphururiya' died. Several details in this episode can help us identify this pharaoh:

The name 'Niphururiya': there is no doubt that 'Niphururiya' was the throne name of Tutankhamun. The question is whether non-Egyptian scribes used this name also for Akhenaten (Naphururiya)²⁶⁶. As was convincingly demonstrated by Miller (2007a,

²⁶⁰ This assumption is based upon *CTH 378.I* par. §4 (Singer 2002a, 62) and the *AM* (p. 14–17); e.g. van den Hout 1994, 87f.; Klengel 1999, 144 [B.10], 164.

²⁶¹ These events were dealt in Chapters IV.E.1.7. and IV.E.1.10.

²⁶² *CTH 378.I* (par. §2; Singer 2002a, 61); *CTH 378.II* (par. §7; id., 57); *CTH 378.III* (par. §1; id., 56).

²⁶³ Singer 2002a, 59.

²⁶⁴ Not to mention that 20 can be seen as a typological number. For this reason, we must not give too much importance to the attestations of this number (e.g. Houwink ten Cate 1967, 57f.).

²⁶⁵ In the case of *CTH 378.II* the death of 'Niphururiya' was dealt indirectly; the death of the pharaoh is not mentioned, but the request for a Hittite prince who would become the king of Egypt suggests that this was the situation.

²⁶⁶ Among the researchers who oppose this proposal, we can count Bryce (1990, 97) and Groddek (2002, 273–276; id. 2007a, 104). Groddek's (2007a; id. 2007b) argumentation, which was based on Maššanauzzi's age, was discussed by Miller (Devecchi and Miller 2011, 151f.).

263–267)²⁶⁷, the answer to this question is positive. Based on this parameter, the identification of 'Niphururiya' with Smenkhkare (‘Ankhkheprure’) is less probable, though it is still possible²⁶⁸.

'Niphururiya' had no heir: The *dahamunzu*- claimed that she had no sons (Fr. 28 col. iii, l. 10–11, 52–54; col. iv 1–12). The Hittite envoy was asked to clarify whether the deceased pharaoh did not have sons either (col. iii l. 23–25). This detail fits well with Tutankhamun, who died at an early age²⁶⁹ and was replaced by Ay (Eaton-Krauss 2001b; Hornung 2006, 208). Akhenaten's relation to his successor is more complicated. He had six daughters from his wife Nefertiti, but there is no evidence that they had a son²⁷⁰ (Eaton-Krauss 2001a). It is possible that Akhenaten was replaced by ‘Ankhkheprure’, i.e. Smenkhkare, but their family relations are uncertain. It is also uncertain whether they had coregency. Recently, it was discovered that Tutankhamun was Amenhotep III's grandchild, and that his parents were siblings. The problem is that the identity of Tutankhamun's father (KV 55) is uncertain²⁷¹. In addition, it is possible that Akhenaten was succeeded by a queen, ‘Ankhetkheprure’ (v.s. p. 26 n. 21). In sum, the family relations between Akhenaten and his successors is not clear (v.s. also p. 26). If Smenkhkare was not Tutankhamun's father, he can also be identified with 'Niphururiya'. In addition, it is possible that the pharaoh did have children but they were hidden from the Hittites, or that the Hittites discovered that the dead pharaoh had descendant/s from a secondary wife, but Šuppiluliuma decided that the potential benefits were greater than the risks (Miller 2007a, 257–263).

²⁶⁷ See also Hess (1993, 116) concerning the variants of Akhenaten's names in the Amarna letters. For a discussion concerning EA 9, v.s. p. 29.

²⁶⁸ The relative similarity between the three names (all including the component Huriya) to foreign ears, and the fact that Smenkhkare did not rule for a long period, may enable (though not support) the implementation of the equation 'Niphururiya' = Smenkhkare (‘Ankhkheprure’).

²⁶⁹ His age was estimated at nineteen (Allen 2009, 12).

²⁷⁰ Some scholars suggested that Akhenaten did have a male offspring or that he could have been Tutankhamun's father; see Bryce 1990, 101f.; Murnane 1990b, 177f.; Gabolde 2001, 24–27 (for different conclusions from the scene in Room γ, see Allen 2009, 16f.; Van Dijk 2009); Groddek 2002, 276; id. 2007a, 104; Hawass *et al.* 2010.

²⁷¹ Amenhotep III was identified as the mummy from KV 35. Tutankhamun's father was the mummy from KV 55, and his mother was the 'Younger Lady' discovered in KV 35 (Hawass *et al.* 2010). Hawass (*et al.* 2010) identified the mummy KV 55 with Akhenaten, but this identification is uncertain. It is possible that Amenhotep III and Teye (KV 35EL) had other sons, e.g. Smenkhkare, who can also be identified with KV 55 (e.g. Murnane 2001, 20–22; Allen 2009, 12f.; comments to Hawass *et al.* 2010 that were published in <http://pling.livejournal.com/237092.html>; <http://www.kv64.info/2010/03/dna-shows-that-kv55-mummy-probably-not.html>). The identity of KV 55 was discussed also by Eaton-Krauss 1990, 548f.; Eaton-Krauss and Krauss 2001, 96f.; Dorman 2005, 307; Hornung 2006, 207.

The identity of the *daḥamunzu*-: The *DŠ* does not give too many details concerning this woman. The Hittite author did not mention her name, just her Egyptian title, *daḥamunzu*-, which indicates her status, a widow. This title was probably used in her letters. The fact that her (throne)name (or at least some kind of a royal degree) are not mentioned here, may suggest that (a) her name was forgotten, and/or (b) she has not (yet?) acceded to the throne of Egypt.

A second piece of information is that she was in position of power for at least six months²⁷².

A queen at the end of the eighteenth dynasty: From the Egyptian sources we know of only one queen who ruled at the end of the 18th dynasty: 'Ankhetkheprure'. As mentioned above, it is unclear whether she succeeded Akhenaten or Smenkhkare; therefore, both could be identified with 'Niphururiya'²⁷³. From what is known about Tutankhamun, it seems he was replaced by Ay; however, the possibility that between them a queen ruled for a year or so cannot be ignored²⁷⁴.

The date of the death of 'Niphururiya': It seems from the *DŠ* that 'Niphururiya' died in late summer or autumn. The dates of the deaths of Akhenaten and Smenkhkare are uncertain. It seems that Tutankhamun was buried around April, and this date is long after the customary 70 days between death and burial (Miller 2007a, 271). Therefore, with respect to this parameter the identification of 'Niphururiya' with Tutankhamun is less probable, though still possible²⁷⁵.

'Niphururiya' died close to the Hittite attack on 'Amqa: As mentioned above (v.s. p. 306), the fact that Muṣili II attributed particular importance to the attack on 'Amqa (regarding a breach of the Kuruštama treaty) may suggest that this attack was Šuppiluliuma's first assault on Egyptian forces and territory. Since there is evidence that Šuppiluliuma attacked 'Amqa during the last phase of the Amarna archive,

²⁷² Her first letter was sent following the Hittite attack on 'Amqa (i.e. in the middle of the first war season), and her second letter arrived in the following spring. If it was a longer period that was compressed by the author of the *DŠ* (v.s. discussion in p. 276f.), then this period of six months should even be extended.

²⁷³ In this case, she can be identified with *Nefertiti*, *Meritaten*, *Neferneferuaten* (the fourth daughter of Akhenaten; suggested by Allen 2009), or *Kiya*; for discussion, see Darnell and Manassa 2007; Miller 2007a 272–275 (including a list of previous studies in p. 272 n. 89).

²⁷⁴ In this case, the *daḥamunzu*- should be identified with *Ankhesenamun*, Akhenaten's daughter and Tutankhamun's wife.

²⁷⁵ For a discussion of this problem, see Bryce 1990, 104f.; Groddek 2007a, 103; Miller 2007a, 271f.

'Niphururiya' could be identified with Akhenaten, or Smenkhkare at the latest. In light of this consideration, 'Niphururiya' cannot be identified with Tutankhamun²⁷⁶.

The solar eclipse: In *CTH 70*²⁷⁷ Muršili II reported that the "Sun(god) gave a sign"²⁷⁸, which was interpreted by Tawananna as an omen for his death. Due to the interpretation of this omen, it might have been a solar eclipse²⁷⁹. This omen occurred during Muršili's campaign to Azzi, which was launched in his tenth regnal year. The absolute date of the eclipse was discussed many times in the past, but at present, the 'NASA Eclipse Web Site'²⁸⁰ solves this problem. According to this site, between 1350–1300 B.C. only three(!) solar eclipses could have been seen in Anatolia²⁸¹. The dates of these eclipses are: 08.01.1340²⁸², 13.03.1335²⁸³ and 24.06.1312²⁸⁴. The dates of the first two eclipses are too high, and they occurred in the winter; hence they do not fit so well with the context of the story²⁸⁵. Consequently, if this omen was indeed a solar eclipse²⁸⁶, Muršili II's tenth regnal year fell in 1312, and Šuppiluliuma's death should be dated around 1323. The Second Syrian War started approximately six years earlier (around 1329), and the death of 'Niphururiya' should be placed somewhere in the middle. The problem is that the absolute dates of the Egyptian 18th dynasty are not

²⁷⁶ When Groddek (2007a, 103), who supports the identification of 'Niphururiya' with Tutankhamun, discussed this attack, he referred only to the number of the attacks on 'Amqa; however, this detail is certainly less important in this context (not to mention that also in the Amarna letters there is a possible evidence of two attacks on this region; v.s. p. 301f.). For some reason, he neglected the above-mentioned aspect, of the clear connection between the death of 'Niphururiya' and Šuppiluliuma's first attack on 'Amqa (i.e. the attack that breached the early treaty).

²⁷⁷ Text: *KUB 14.4*. Edition: de Martino 1998. Translation: Singer 2002a, 73–77. Discussion: Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 105–107; van den Hout 1994, 88; Huber 2001; Wilhelm 2004, 74; Klinger 2006a, 216; Miller 2007a, 288; Taracha 2008.

²⁷⁸ Col iv, l. 24: *nu* ^dUTU-*uš ša-ki-ia-aḫ-ta*. For the term *šakkiahḫ*- see *CHD S1*, 42f.

²⁷⁹ When omens revealed that a Mesopotamian king was in danger, he was replaced by a 'substitute king'. According to Walton (2003, 736), a 'substitute king' was chosen when there were eclipses of the sun, moon, or one of the planets. Since Tawananna was of Babylonian origin, she probably relied on Babylonian knowledge and tradition; therefore, it seems that the *šakkiahḫ*- of the sun god that predicted the king's death was a solar eclipse (see also Huber 2001, 641f.).

²⁸⁰ <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/eclipse.html>.

²⁸¹ For a more general view of the solar eclipses between 1350–1300, see <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEatlas/SEatlas-2/SEatlas-1359.GIF> (1360–1341), <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEatlas/SEatlas-2/SEatlas-1339.GIF> (1340–1321) and <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEatlas/SEatlas-2/SEatlas-1319.GIF> (1320–1301)

²⁸² <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEsearch/SEsearchmap.php?Ecl=-13390108>.

²⁸³ <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEsearch/SEsearchmap.php?Ecl=-13340313>.

²⁸⁴ <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEsearch/SEsearchmap.php?Ecl=-13110624>.

²⁸⁵ Since a campaign in the middle of the winter to the mountainous region of east Anatolia, where Azzi should be located, is not so reasonable.

²⁸⁶ Thus, Miller (2007a, 288) is not certain about it. Notice that the eclipse in year 1312 was a full eclipse that should have been seen and treated also by Muršili II. For this reason it is not so clear why he ignored it in his annals (Huber 2001, 641).

yet fixed; therefore, it is hard to use this parameter in order to identify 'Niphururiya'²⁸⁷.

CTH 72²⁸⁸: This text deals with the confrontation between Hatti and Egypt for the control over Syria. The text (of an uncertain genre) was written by Muršili II²⁸⁹, and it possibly deals with the rebellion in Syria between his seventh and ninth regnal years (Miller 2008a, 543–546)²⁹⁰. Muršili's opponent from the Egyptian side was Armā²⁹¹. Miller (2007a, 253–256; id. 2008a, 545f.) claimed that this general should be identified with Haremhab²⁹², and that at this stage (i.e. between regnal years seven and nine) he was not yet the king of Egypt²⁹³. If Miller's suggestions are accepted, the identification of 'Niphururiya' with Tutankhamun is excluded, but he could still be identified as either Akhenaten or Smenkhkare. If we reject Armā's identification with Haremhab, or claim that Haremhab was already a pharaoh at this stage, then *CTH 72* does not help in solving the riddle of the identity of 'Niphururiya' (Miller 2008a, 550–553).

²⁸⁷ Thus, we can take the date of the eclipse (24.06.1312 = year ten of Muršili II) and use it as a chronological peg. In order to identify 'Niphururiya', we should just trace a pharaoh that died about fifteen years earlier (ten years of Muršili II + one year of Arnuwanda II + two to four years from the end of the second war to the death of 'Niphururiya'). When the findings were gathered we were left with three possible solutions: according to the dates adopted by Wilhelm (2009c, 114–116), 'Niphururiya' should be identified with Smenkhkare. From the chronological scheme adopted by other scholars it seems that the only possible candidate for 'Niphururiya' is Tutankhamun (e.g. Shaw 2000, 481; *HdO* I/83, 492f.). By comparing the eclipse's date with a third group of studies (e.g. Kitchen 2007, 168; Miller 2008a, 553; Bronk Ramsey *et al.* 2010, 1556), it seems that none of the three pharaohs is a suitable candidate, since according to their chronological schemes no death of a pharaoh antedated the eclipse's date by (ca.) fifteen years.

²⁸⁸ Text: *KUB* 19.15 + *KBo* 50.24. Edition: Miller 2008a. Discussion: Miller 2007a; Groddek 2007a; Simon 2009; Wilhelm 2009c; Devecchi and Miller 2011.

²⁸⁹ The author was a prince and a son of Šuppiluliuma, since he mentioned that his father conquered Amurru. He was probably the king of Hatti, because he treated the local Syrian rulers as his vassals. He can be identified with Muršili II, since Tette, ruler of Nuhašše (who is probably mentioned in this text), rebelled during his reign (Miller 2008a, 539).

²⁹⁰ Another chronological anchor is the accession of a new king (col. ii, l. 1'–2'), but the problem is that his identity is unclear. Groddek (2007a, 99f.) suggested that it was Arnuwanda, but this suggestion is not so good, since from the next lines (l. 8'–10') it appears that the author acted like he himself was the king of Hatti (sent his forces to Syria). Other suggestions were discussed by Miller 2008a, 538f., 552; Wilhelm 2009c, 111–113 (restored Armā's name in the gap); Devecchi and Miller 2011.

²⁹¹ I prefer at this stage to use the more 'rough' transcription of Simon (2009). Miller transcribed this name ʾArmaʾa.

²⁹² Simon (2009) rejected this identification; Devecchi and Miller (2011) dealt with Simon's claims.

²⁹³ The reasons for these claims are: (a) Armā was not the throne name of Haremhab; (b) Armā is not designated here a 'king' or a 'great king'; and (c) most if not all of Haremhab's military activity took place during the reign of his predecessors (Miller 2007a, 254f.). Groddek (2007a, 97–99) accepted the identification of Armā with Haremhab, but claimed that he was already a king at this period; Groddek's claims were examined by Devecchi and Miller 2011.

The length of the Second Syrian War: Fragment 28 covers approximately one year around the death of 'Niphururiya'. The letters of Sub-Division cover between three to four years, probably before the death of Akhenaten (v.s. Chapter IV. E.2.2.). The author of *CTH* 83.1.A. refers to a period of six years, during which Šuppiluliuma fought in Syria. It is quite possible that this period should be considered as the length of the Second Syrian War (v.s. Chapter IV.E.1.10). When combining all these variables, it seems that the Second Syrian War lasted six years, three or four years before Akhenaten's death and one year around the death of 'Niphururiya'. The other one or two years depend on the identification of the latter:

- If he is identified with Akhenaten, we may suggest that the remaining one or two years occurred following Akhenaten's death. In this case, 'Ankhetkheprure' (= the *daḥamunzu*-) ruled right after Akhenaten, and Šuppiluliuma's death took place approximately two years after Akhenaten died²⁹⁴.
- If 'Niphururiya' is identified with Smenkhkare the situation is more complicated since the length of his reign is uncertain. Nevertheless, it seems that in this case 'Ankhetkheprure' (= the *daḥamunzu*-) succeeded Smenkhkare²⁹⁵. In addition, the phase of the Second Syrian War that followed Zannanza's death was shorter than its share in the former possibility²⁹⁶.
- If the deceased pharaoh is identified with Tutankhamun, the Second Syrian War is divided into two parts: The first (three or four years) took place close to Akhenaten's death, and the second (two or three years) occurred (ca.) ten years later, close to the death of Tutankhamun. As mentioned above, this gap of ten years is problematic²⁹⁷; therefore Tutankhamun's identification with 'Niphururiya' is less plausible.

The length of Šuppiluliuma's reign: When the numbers in *CTH* 83.1.A. are connected, it appears that Šuppiluliuma's reign lasted approximately 26 years (e.g. Parker 2002, 52). In this case, if Šuppiluliuma acceded to the throne during the last decade of Amenhotep III's reign (shortly before *EA* 75 was written), the identification

²⁹⁴ Akhenaten (= 'Niphururiya') died in the middle of the year described in Fragment 28, and then we are left with an additional one or two years till the end of the war (= Šuppiluliuma's death).

²⁹⁵ In this case, 'Ankhetkheprure'/the *daḥamunzu*- can be identified with Meritaten, who was probably Smenkhkare's wife (v.s. p. 44f.).

²⁹⁶ Since we have to add Smenkhkare's reign to the part of the war which antedated the death of 'Niphururiya'.

²⁹⁷ V.s p. 316 n. 254.

of Tutankhamun with 'Niphururiya' should be rejected (we may add that his identification with Smenkhkare should be preferred²⁹⁸).

In my opinion, most of the details discussed above support the identification of 'Niphururiya' with Akhenaten or Smenkhkare. His identification with Tutankhamun seems less plausible, but nonetheless, possible.

²⁹⁸ The last five years or so of Amenhotep III + 17 years of Akhenaten + approximately three years of Smenkhkare and 'Ankhetkheprure'. If the identification of 'Niphururiya' with Tutankhamun serves as a chronological anchor, the beginning of Šuppiluliuma's reign should be dated to Akhenaten's fifth regnal year (ca.). Another possibility is that the number 20 is a typological number, and in this case the above-mentioned calculation is useless.

V. Summary:

V.A. Hatti and Kizzuwatna:

Controlling Kizzuwatna or having good relations with this kingdom were very important for the Hittites because of the strategic passageway to Syria and Mesopotamia that crossed it. Over the course of the Middle Kingdom, during which Hatti endured a long period of decline, the Hittite kings regulated their relations with Kizzuwatna through a series of more or less parity treaties. During the 15th century a harsh struggle was taking place between Mittanni and Hatti for dominance in south east Anatolia.

In the Sunaššura treaty Tudhaliya I claimed that during the reign of his grandfather (or 'grandfather') "Kizzuwatna *had become* (that) of the land of Hatti", but later it "turned to the land of Hurri". In Chapter III.A.2.2. I tried to discover the date of Kizzuwatna's 'defection' as well as the date of its subjugation to Tudhaliya I. I believe that the best solution for this problem should be based upon the division of the different copies of the Sunaššura treaty into two separate treaties: an earlier one (Copy B of the Hittite version), in which Kizzuwatna was granted good conditions, and a later treaty (Copy A and its contemporary Akkadian version) that was less favorable to Kizzuwatna. When this division is accepted, we may suggest that Kizzuwatna was on good terms with Tudhaliya's grandfather. The good relations continued, as is evident from the first treaty with Sunaššura (Copy B), probably concluded at the beginning of Tudhaliya I's reign¹. Possibly this agreement was followed by the marriage of Tudhaliya I and Nikalmati, a Kizzuwatnean princess^(?). Some time later Sunaššura 'rebelled' and joined Mittanni. When he changed his mind and returned to the Hittite camp, Tudhaliya I (his son-in-law^(?)) left him on his throne but wrote a new contract (Copy A and the Akkadian version) in which Sunaššura was given worse terms. Kizzuwatna's annexation was completed during Arnuwanda I's reign when prince Kantuzzili (II, the 'priest') was appointed governor of Kizzuwatna (probably after Sunaššura's death).

The following conclusions can be drawn from this scenario:

¹ The good relations with Kizzuwatna were not exploited to invade Syria since at that point the Egyptian and the Mittannian armies battled there yearly. It is possible that Hittite emissaries were sent to Thutmose III in order to offer him an alliance.

1. During Tudhaliya I's reign, Hatti had more ups-and-downs than it was previously thought. This period should be divided into three parts: in the early part of his reign Tudhaliya I defeated his enemies from within (supporters of Muwattalli I) and launched several campaigns to the west. The second part of his reign is probably characterized by the weakening of Hatti (Kizzuwatna came under Mittannian influence). During the last part of his reign (during which Arnuwanda I was also active) Tudhaliya regained control over Kizzuwatna (second treaty with Sunaššura) and invaded Syria.
2. According to this scenario a large part of Sunaššura's reign was parallel to Tudhaliya I's reign. As mentioned above, it seems that Tudhaliya I's reign began at some point during the last one or two decades of the reign of Thutmes III. *AIT* 14, which according to this restoration should be dated to Tudhaliya I's reign, adds two more kings who ruled during this period, Niqmepa^c king of Alalah (son of Idrimi) and Sauštatar king of Mittanni².

Fitting this data into the overall picture is a hard task. Sunaššura's considerations regarding his 'desertion' and later his return to the Hittite camp were no doubt affected by the conflict of the great powers around his realm, and mostly by Mittanni's situation. We may assume that the struggle between Mittanni and Egypt had weakened the Mittannian grip over Kizzuwatna and this situation enabled Sunaššura to solidify his alliance with Hatti (the first treaty with him). When the confrontation ended and a treaty was concluded between the two kingdoms (Sauštatar and Thutmes III/Amenhotep II), the Mittannian pressure on Kizzuwatna increased and Sunaššura had to subjugate himself to Mittanni. At some point, Tudhaliya I managed to overcome the difficulties; Sunaššura surrendered to Hatti and Tudhaliya I even took control over some parts of north Syria. Unfortunately, due to the lack of a royal archive in Mittanni and the meager information regarding Tudhaliya I's reign, the reasons for this change in the balance of power remain unknown.

V.B. The DŠ (CTH 40):

Though his legacy included some severe offenses—i.e. the murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger' and the attack on 'Amqa that breached an old treaty with Egypt—

² I believe that the possible restoration of Sauštatar's name in *CTH* 143 (*KUB* 23.14 ii 1; Carruba 1977a, 172; de Martino 2004b, 37; Wilhelm 2009b, 106) support this suggestion.

Šuppiluliuma's deeds were remembered and commemorated by his successors³, and it seems that a positive image of him was preserved till the end of the empire⁴.

The most detailed description of Šuppiluliuma's deeds, the *DŠ*, was written by Muršili II as the first part of his own annals. An estimation of the text's extent and structure are problematic because of its fragmentary state and the uncertain order of its fragments. The fact that the *DŠ* was popular enough to be copied many times by scribes of different levels (e.g. the differences between different copies of Fragments 13 and 15 and the strange blanks in the Seventh Tablet) make this task even harder.

In accordance with the name of the composition ('the manly deeds of Šuppiluliuma'), it appears that this text was written in order to praise the achievements of Šuppiluliuma, the author's father⁵. The problem is that in its current structure, the *DŠ* fails to achieve this goal. For this reason the content of the first tablets (those dealing with Tudhaliya II's reign) was reconsidered and their order was changed. I believe that at the beginning of the composition the author surveyed briefly the reigns of Tudhaliya II's predecessors and the period of the 'concentric attack'. The survey become more detailed only when the author began to describe Tudhaliya II's counter-attack, since at that point Šuppiluliuma's role as the leader of the army became more prominent to him and to the advancement of the plot. In their new order, the first fragments (i.e. Fragments 1–17) present the recovery of Hatti (beginning with the conquest of central Anatolia and ending with the arrival in Syria), and Šuppiluliuma's involvement is seen in a positive light⁶. Hatti's reliance on Šuppiluliuma's talents was emphasized by several literary measures, thus for example, the references to Tudhaliya II's illness⁷.

The part in the text which dealt with the accession of Tudhaliya 'the Younger' and his deposal is unfortunately missing; any proposal regarding the length and content of this section is mere speculation. The only parts in the text, which deal with Šuppiluliuma's reign and can be placed with some degree of certainty are those which mention his

³ E.g. Arnuwanda II (*CTH* 58), Muršili II (*CTH* 40) and Hattušili III (e.g. *CTH* 83).

⁴ Thus, the last king of Hatti was named after him. Šuppiluliuma's fame even survived the fall of Hatti and the name of one Neo-Hittite king was based upon his name (Sapalulme king of Unqi). Regarding the function of annals as a tool of documentation and propaganda for present and future generations, see Gilan (2005, 368). Concerning Šuppiluliuma's importance in the eyes of Hattušili III, see de Martino 2005a, 229.

⁵ Klinger 2008a, 37f. It is possible that in this manner Muršili II legitimized his father's usurpation and asserted his own right to the throne (Hutter-Braunsar 1998, 338).

⁶ As opposed to the current situation in which these fragments describe the 'concentric attack', and the responsibility for the poor state of the kingdom lies mainly with Šuppiluliuma.

⁷ V.s. discussion in p. 119 n. 130.

activity in Syria. The other parts of the *DŠ* (unless they are related to a colophon or to some sections that deal with a Syrian campaign) actually 'float' in the text. It seems that three or four tablets (between the Third/Fourth and the Seventh Tablets) were devoted to the first years of Šuppiluliuma, the First Syrian War and the long period between the two Syrian wars during which the Hittites stayed in Anatolia. In my opinion, none of the references to the First Syrian War were preserved, and all of the sections that deal with Mittanni and Syria should be connected to the Second Syrian War. The section that detailed Šuppiluliuma's death is also missing, and for that reason it remains unclear whether the text ended at that point, or continued until Muršili II's accession.

It seems there is no correlation between the text's division into tablets and the time⁸ or geographical range⁹ that each tablet covered. Some tablets covered a long period during which less important events took place, while others were fully devoted to much shorter periods during which significant events occurred. It is quite possible that 'embarrassing' affairs or periods of weakness were described as briefly as possible¹⁰. Hence, the longest part in Šuppiluliuma's reign—the period between the First and the Second Syrian Wars that lasted at least 15 years¹¹—was poor in 'manly deeds', since the Hittites were not active in Syria. For this reason this time period was 'compressed' into three or four tablets (between the Third/Fourth and the Seventh Tablets)¹². The miraculous recovery of Hatti at the end of Tudhaliya II's reign lasted a much shorter period¹³, yet it was much more important to Šuppiluliuma's resume; therefore, it covered almost the same space in the text.

As a result of these editorial processes—and despite the fact that the *DŠ* was based on contemporary sources—the chronological outline of the period of Tudhaliya II's and

⁸ Cf. Wilhelm and Boese 1987; v.s. discussion in p. 18.

⁹ Cf. Taracha 2007b; v.s. discussion in p. 285–287.

¹⁰ It appears from other texts that some issues were not accepted so readily by Muršili II; hence, it is possible that he offered his opinion also in the *DŠ*. Thus, it is quite reasonable that the author could not ignore the murder of Tudhaliya 'the Younger'; nevertheless, because of the different nature and goals of the *DŠ* and *CTH* 378.1, the description of this incident was probably different (it is quite possible that the behavior of Tudhaliya 'the Younger' prior to the coup or the role of other conspirators were emphasized in the *DŠ*). As mentioned above (v.s. p. 275f.), it is possible that even in the *DŠ* Muršili II hinted that the deterioration in Hatti-Egypt relations was a consequence of Šuppiluliuma's activity; nevertheless, the treatment of this matter is far more 'gentle' than the clear accusation raised in *CTH* 378.II. Concerning this matter, see also Sørenhagen 2006, 62; Klinger 2008a, 39f.; Groddek 2009b, 105f.

¹¹ Between the end of the First Time-Division and the beginning of the Sub-Division.

¹² And these tablets dealt also with the Šuppiluliuma's accession, the First Syrian War and possibly the first events of the Second Syrian War.

¹³ Approximately five years separated *EA* 31–32 from *EA* 17 (v.s. Chapter III.D.2.1.3).

Šuppiluliuma's reigns should be based mostly upon other sources, particularly on the Amarna letters. Nevertheless, the importance of the *DŠ* cannot be neglected, since it is the most detailed and coherent source for this period. In this manner, this is the only source that refers to the arrival of Tudhaliya II in Syria, thus enabling us to offer a possible interpretation for *EA 45* and Šuppiluliuma's Early Foray (*Šat. I*). This composition is also the main source for the '*dahamunzu*- affair', the most important chronological anchor for this period. As a result, the *DŠ* remains the principal source for the reign of Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma (and consequently also for the Amarna period) as it provides a solid and indispensable overview of this era.

V.C. The Amarna archive:

This study dealt mainly with two groups of the Amarna letters: (a) the correspondence of the pharaohs with the Syrian vassals, and (b) their correspondence with the 'Great Kings' and the rulers of the independent kingdoms. I suggested dividing the letters of these groups into three chronological units: the First, Second and the Third Time-Divisions.

The First Time-Division includes letters written during the last ten years or so of Amenhotep III's reign. The most important events that took place in this period were the wedding of Amenhotep III and Taduhepa (Tušratta's daughter) and four military campaigns (two Hittite, one Mittannian and one Egyptian). Through synchronization with the Hittite sources I suggested to identify the Hittite operations with the Early Foray (probably launched at the end of Tudhaliya II's reign) and the First Syrian War (took place at beginning of Šuppiluliuma's reign). The First Syrian War resulted in the dismantling of the Mittannian-Egyptian alliance and the activity of Tušratta and Amenhotep III in Syria following this war should be seen as a direct outcome of this process.

The Second Time-Division began with the accession of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (and the beginning of ʿAziru's activity) and it ends with the conquest of Šumur by ʿAziru (ca. sixth regnal year of Akhenaten). During this period, the alliance between Egypt and Mittanni was broken and the latter lost its prominent role in north Mesopotamia to Assyria. Hatti is not mentioned in the letters of this unit and it seems that it was not active in Syria nor on the international stage.

The beginning and the end of the Third Time-Division are somewhat vague. However, inside this time division we can define a smaller unit of letters designated here as the Sub-Division. This unit covers the last three or four years of the Third Time-Division and probably also of the archive. The most important event to happen during the time of the Sub-Division was the arrival of the Hittite army in Syria (possibly in three different waves). In my opinion, this event should be identified with the Second Syrian War.

V.D. Tudhaliya II's reign:

On the eve of Tudhaliya II's accession, the situation in Hatti was not simple. Hatti's vassals in north Syria were lost, and Kizzuwatna became *hantezzi auri-*, the most remote Hittite post in south-east Anatolia. Different districts of Hatti (e.g. the Upper and Lower Lands) were pressured by enemies, and even the heart of the empire, the Land of Hatti itself, was invaded. Close to the end of Tudhaliya II's reign (around year 25 of Amenhotep III), the situation appears to have reached 'rock-bottom'; the royal court had to leave Hattuša and move to the Upper Land. Hatti's weakness was exploited by Arzawa, which became the most prominent kingdom in Anatolia (*EA* 31–32). Nevertheless, for uncertain reasons (one is possibly connected with a split in the Arzawean royal family) a few years later the troops of Tudhaliya II managed to reconquer the Land of Hatti and repel the enemy forces. Contrary to former beliefs, it seems that at the end of Tudhaliya II's reign, his army crossed the borders of Hatti, reached Ugarit in the east (Fragment 8, *EA* 45) and possibly even Iyalanda in the west (*KBo* 22.10), and confronted the Mittannian army on Mittannian soil (the Early Foray possibly described in *Šat. I* and *EA* 17; around year 30 of Amenhotep III). Thus, contrary to what is usually assumed, when Tudhaliya II died he left his successors a larger and stronger kingdom than he inherited from his father.

The length of Tudhaliya II's reign is unclear. If *EA* 17 is seen as Tudhaliya II's campaign and *EA* 75 is considered as an evidence for Šuppiluliuma's First Syrian Campaign, it seems that Tudhaliya II died between regnal years 30 and 35 of Amenhotep III.

V.E. Šuppiluliuma's reign:

Due to recent discoveries we have more information about Šuppiluliuma's family. Tudhaliya II had two wives, Šata(n)duhepa and Taduhepa. Possibly, Tudhaliya 'the

Younger' (and two of his brothers mentioned in the new edition of *CTH 378.1*) was the son of the former, while Šuppiluliuma, or better Henti his first wife, was a descendant of the latter.

Not long after the accession of Tudhaliya 'the Younger', Šuppiluliuma murdered him and exiled his supporters. This act was condemned by Muršili II in the 'First' Plague Prayer (*CTH 378.1*). In my opinion the so-called 'Cruciform Seal' should also be seen as part of Muršili II's carefully calculated effort to deal with this episode.

Šuppiluliuma's accession and his earliest deeds in Anatolia cannot be dated precisely (between regnal year 30 and 35 of Amenhotep III). It seems, however, that the First Syrian War, which represents his first appearance on the international stage, was reported in *EA 75* (First Time-Division); in this case, it was launched in Amenhotep III's 36th regnal year (ca.) and only a short while after Šuppiluliuma's accession. This campaign was directed against Mittanni and its vassals. It was the consequence of a long conflict between the two kingdoms, which was possibly renewed during the last years of Tudhaliya II's reign (e.g. *EA 17*). The campaign was successful, but for unknown reasons Šuppiluliuma halted it, returned to Anatolia and left his new vassals in this region to the mercy of Mittanni (e.g. the letters from Idanda's archive).

The Hittite army did not return to Syria until the Second Syrian War, some 15 years later. This period of weakness that was identified in this work, was termed as the 'intermediate period'. It seems to me that some sources (e.g. Idanda's archive) and events (e.g. the campaign Šuppiluliuma sent for Šarrupši's help in *CTH 53*) are better understood in light of the identification of this phase of Šuppiluliuma's reign. During the period the Hittites were absent from Syria, some major changes occurred: Amenhotep III died and was replaced by Akhenaten, who devoted much of his time to internal affairs (e.g. his reform). In Mittanni, Tušratta was assassinated by his son (some time after Akhenaten's regnal year six) and Mittanni entered a long period of instability.

The Second Syrian War, which ended with Šuppiluliuma's death (or at least close to it), was longer than the First Syrian War and lasted approximately six years. It was probably planned on the basis of the observation of past failures and the changed geo-political situation in Syria. The Hittites reestablished their rule in north Syria in several stages and over a period of three or four years sent several waves of attacks (possibly every fighting season) that reached the northern fringes of the Egyptian

empire (‘Amqa). At the end of the war, the former Mittannian vassals, as well as the northern part of the Syrian coast that was traditionally under Egyptian sovereignty (e.g. Ugarit and Amurru), were conquered by the Hittites.

At his death, Šuppiluliuma left his successors a strong and prosperous kingdom and a stable governmental system that withstood the crises of the death of Arnuwanda II and the rough first years of the inexperienced young king, Muršili II.

As mentioned above, Šuppiluliuma acceded to the throne at the beginning of the fourth decade of Amenhotep III's reign. He ended his life close to the end (probably at the end) of the Second Syrian War. The fact that the pharaoh 'Niphururiya' died a short while before him should have provided a second connection with the Egyptian chronology. However, opinions differ as to the identity of this pharaoh. A first group of scholars identify him with Akhenaten or Smenkhkare, while others suggest he should be identified with Tutankhamun. When accepting the identity between the Second Syrian War and the Hittite attacks mentioned in the Sub-Division, the identification of 'Niphururiya' with either Akhenaten or Smenkhkare (the first of them is better) should be preferred. In this case it seems that Šuppiluliuma ruled for approximately 25 years¹⁴.

The solar eclipse in Muršili II's tenth regnal year (24.06.1312) indicates that Šuppiluliuma died around 1323. However, since at present there are several competing chronologies in Egyptology¹⁵ and this date does not fit clearly with any of the suggested chronologies (v.s. p. 320), this chronological anchor cannot be used in combining Šuppiluliuma's reign with the Egyptian chronology.

V.F. The oscillations in Syria during the Amarna Period:

Following the division of the Amarna letters into three chronological units, the changes occurred in Syria throughout the Amarna period are much easier to detect.

The relations between the Mittannian vassals and the pharaohs: At the beginning of the period under review, the most northern part of Syria was under Mittannian rule.

¹⁴ In case we prefer the identification of 'Niphururiya' with Tutankhamun, the 'Second Syrian War' should be divided into two parts: the first stage took place close to the end of the Third Time-Division (lasting approximately four years) and the second happened almost ten years later in proximity to Tutankhamun's death (lasting at least two years). In my opinion this scenario should be rejected.

¹⁵ E.g. according to Shaw (2000, 481), Amenhotep III ruled between 1390–1352 while according to Bronk Ramsey *et al.* (2010, 1556) the dates of the kings of the New Kingdom (including those of the 18th dynasty) should be raised by ten years or even more.

Thus, we can see that during the First Time-Division the kingdoms in this region (e.g. Niya, Nuhašše and Qatna) did not correspond with Amenhotep III and were almost absent in letters of this unit. The situation did not change during the First Syrian War, probably because the influence of this short campaign was quite limited. Nonetheless, political changes did happen in this region and we can learn about them from the Hittite sources. Hence, we can see that all of the Syrian rulers who swore an oath of loyalty to Hatti were deposed or killed by Tušratta following his counter-attack (summary in Table 3). This move can teach us about the different manners in which Hatti and Mittanni ruled their subjects. The fact that Egypt ignored this development may indicate the relative separation between the two sides of the border.

It seems that following the weakening of Mittanni (Second Time-Division onward), the north Syrian kingdoms managed to retain their independence. This situation changed dramatically only at the beginning of the Second Syrian War (Sub-Division). The growing Hittite pressure forced the former Mittannian vassals to look for another sovereign who would support them against Hatti. Mittanni at this point was too weak, and Assyria could not fill its role in Syria, so the north Syrian kings tried their luck in joining the Egyptian side¹⁶.

It is interesting to notice that no local alliances were formed beyond the two sides of the border, though some of the parties did share mutual interests. Thus, some of the former Mittannian vassals and Rib-Hadda's allies suffered from the attacks of Amurru and Qadeš and could gain profit from combining their forces. The fact that this kind of alliance was not formed may suggest that ʿAziru, Aitakkama and their allies served as a kind of barrier between the southern (Egyptian) and northern (ex-Mittannian) parts of Syria. At the same time, the hostile north Syrian kingdoms did not manage to prevent the existence of relations between Hatti on the one hand, and Amurru and Qadeš on the other.

The Egyptian hold in Syria: Liverani (1998–1999, 30–32) claimed that Egyptian sovereignty over their Canaanite and Syrian vassals was firm, and that the weakening of the Egyptian domination took place only in the most northern fringes of the empire (Amurru and Qadeš) due to the growing Hittite activity in Syria. This claim is supported only partially by my work. The most rebellious act of ʿAbdi-Aširta against Egypt was the conquest of the Egyptian center of Šumur. It took place during the First

¹⁶ E.g. EA 51; EA 53 l. 40–44.

Time-Division, between Tudhaliya II's foray against Mittanni (the Early Foray?) and the First Syrian War. ʿAbdi-Aširta used this short time-period during which Amenhotep III was preoccupied with the Hittite activity in Syria in order to get rid of the Egyptian governor and garrison that prevented him from realizing his ambitions (and at the same time, all along he did not forget to declare his loyalty to the pharaoh). Immediately following the Hittite retreat from Syria (and probably also as a consequence of Tušratta's counter-attack), Amenhotep III was able to send an army and restore order in this region. This case indeed supports Liverani's proposal. The last part of Akhenaten's reign fit this pattern as well. The hostile activity of ʿAziru and Aitakkama detailed in the letters of the Sub-Division is closely related to the returning of the Hittite army to Syria. There is, however, one case that does not match Liverani's conclusion: ʿAziru's activity during the Second Time-Division. There is no evidence for the presence of the Hittite army in Syria; nevertheless, during this period ʿAziru's misdeeds began, as he conquered the Egyptian centers of Şumur and Ullasa (EA 104) without any real response from Akhenaten. It seems that in this case the Egyptian weakness, or at least lack of response, was due to other causes. I believe that in this case ʿAziru used the change of regime in Egypt in order to strengthen his kingdom. We should notice that ʿAziru's acts did not lead to loss of Egyptian control over this region. The pharaoh did not succeed in causing ʿAziru to leave the city nor to rebuild it, but there is evidence that he had some measure of control over ʿAziru. Thus, it appears that at the beginning of the Sub-Division (e.g. EA 170) following Akhenaten's demand, ʿAziru was forced to go to Egypt and stay there until he received permission to return to his kingdom.

V.G. The situation in west Anatolia during the Amarna Period:

It appears that throughout the period under review, west Anatolia was not a priority for the Hittites. However, in order to achieve their objectives in Syria, the Hittite kings had to acquire some degree of control over the west Anatolian kingdoms. It seems that the Hittite policy in this region underwent certain changes over time. At the beginning of Tudhaliya I's reign (v.s. Chapter III.A.2.3.), the Hittites tried to pacify this region using occasional military campaigns. When Tudhaliya I realized that these long campaigns made the land of Hatti vulnerable to attacks from other directions, he had to come up with another strategy. He created a buffer zone in

central west Anatolia between Hatti and the western kingdoms. In the kingdoms situated in this region, he appointed trustworthy governors, whom he supported when the need arose. As long as these local rulers remained loyal to Hatti, the buffer zone fulfilled its objectives. The moment Madduwatta put his interests ahead of the Hittite interests, this strategy started to collapse.

The fear of losing control over Arzawa can be understood in light of the events during the last years of Tudhaliya II's reign. Arzawa under Tarhundaradu took over south and central Anatolia and conquered large parts of Hatti. The reduced distance between Arzawa and the Kaška tribes and the strengthening relations between them put Hatti at existential risk, and caused Tudhaliya and his court to leave Hattuša and move to the Upper Land. The cause of Hatti's recovery is unknown. In my opinion it should be connected with a looming internal crisis in Arzawa created by a war of succession between Tarhundaradu's successors following his death.

During Šuppiluliuma's reign, the Hittite policy toward west Anatolia underwent a slight change (v.s. Chapter IV.D.2.2.). Šuppiluliuma maintained Hatti's grip on central west Anatolia through control of important centers in this region (e.g. Šallapa and Hapalla). In addition, he deepened Hatti's diplomatic involvement in Arzawa, his major opponent in the west. Thus, on the one hand Šuppiluliuma signed a treaty with Uhhaziti, the Arzawean king, but on the other hand he gave asylum to Mašhuiluwa, an Arzawean prince who had aspirations to the throne. Possibly, Šuppiluliuma adopted the same strategy against another important western realm, the Šeha River-Land.

The Hittite policy toward west Anatolia underwent another change and adopted its final form following Muršili's campaigns to Arzawa. At this point Arzawa was dismantled into its component parts, and was replaced by Mira, which became the most prominent kingdom of the west. The rulers of Mira were connected to the Hittite royal house through marriage and eventually became the Hittite kings' viceroys in west Anatolia.

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