

BOAZ STAVI

# The Reign of Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma I

The Contribution  
of the Hittite Documentation  
to a Reconstruction  
of the Amarna Age



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TEXTE DER HETHITER  
Philologische und historische Studien  
zur Altanatolistik

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Drawings of the so called ›Cruciform Seal‹,  
which deals with the Hittite dynasty.  
On the left, a restoration of Side B (*obv.*),  
and on the right a restoration of Side A (*rev.*).

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# Table of Contents

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	XI
ABBREVIATIONS .....	XIII
CHAPTER 1 PRINCIPAL SOURCES .....	1
1.1 The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (CTH 40).....	1
1.1.1 Colophons, copies and series .....	1
1.1.2 Restoring the order of the fragments .....	2
1.1.3 The beginning of Šuppiluliuma's reign in the DŠ .....	3
1.2 The el-Amarna Archive .....	5
1.2.1 The Amarna pharaohs .....	5
1.2.2 Chronology of the site and the archive .....	7
1.2.2.1 'Time Frame I': from the beginning of the archive until the end of Amenhotep III's reign .....	9
1.2.2.2 'Time Frame II': from Amenhotep IV's accession until the conquest of Šumur by 'Aziru .....	11
1.2.2.3 'Time Frame III' and the 'Late Amarna Subset' (from 'Aziru's visit in Egypt until the end of the archive) .....	17
1.2.2.4 Conclusions: the archive's timespan of activity and the nature of the different Hittite campaigns .....	22
CHAPTER 2 TUDHALIYA II .....	25
2.1 The family of Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma.....	25
2.2 The Concentric Attack .....	28
2.2.1 Introduction: the reign of Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I.....	28
2.2.1.1 The struggle between Egypt and Mittani in northern Syria.....	28
2.2.1.2 The struggle between Hatti and Mittani for control of Kizzuwatna.....	30
2.2.1.3 Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I in Syria .....	35
2.2.1.4 The situation on other fronts during Arnuwanda I's reign .....	36
2.2.2 Sources related to Tudhaliya II's reign .....	38
2.2.2.1 Hattušili III's decree for the ḫekur of Pirwa (CTH 88) .....	38
2.2.2.2 The first tablets of <i>The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma</i> (CTH 40).....	43

2.2.2.3	The Sunaššura treaty (CTH 41.1 and 41.2).....	47
2.2.2.4	Šat. 1 (CTH 51.1).....	48
2.2.2.5	The Annals of Muršili II (CTH 61).....	49
2.2.2.6	Indictment of Mita of Pahhuwa (CTH 146).....	49
2.2.2.7	Prayer to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna concerning plague and enemies (CTH 376.C) .....	52
2.2.2.8	Muršili's 'First' and 'Fourth' Plague Prayer (CTH 378.1 and CTH 378.4).....	54
2.2.2.9	A letter from Ortaköy/Šapinuwa.....	55
2.2.2.10	EA 31 and 32 .....	56
2.2.3	Discussion: the Concentric Attack .....	60
2.2.3.1	The historical veracity of the event.....	60
2.2.3.2	The extent of the attack.....	60
2.2.3.3	The date of the attack.....	64
2.3	Tudhaliya II's counter-offensive (the Early Foray) .....	66
2.3.1	Analysis of the sources.....	66
2.3.1.1	Šat. 1 (CTH 51.1).....	66
2.3.1.2	The treaty between Muwattalli II of Hatti and Alakšandu of Wiluša (CTH 76).....	67
2.3.1.3	Hattušili III's account of Šuppiluliuma's campaigns (CTH 83.1.A) .....	68
2.3.1.4	KBo 22.54 (CTH 215) .....	68
2.3.1.5	'First' Plague Prayer (CTH 378.1).....	68
2.3.1.6	'Fourth' Plague Prayer (CTH 378.4) .....	69
2.3.1.7	Kp 05/226 .....	69
2.3.1.8	Amarna Letters .....	70
2.3.2	Discussion: Tudhaliya II's counter-offensive.....	73
2.3.2.1	When did the Hittite counter-offensive begin? .....	73
2.3.2.2	The extent of Tudhaliya II's counter-offensive.....	76
CHAPTER 3	ŠUPPILULIUMA I'S CAMPAIGNS .....	79
3.1	The numbering of Šuppiluliuma's campaigns .....	79
3.2	The 'First Syrian War' and its aftermath .....	81
3.2.1	Analysis of the sources.....	81
3.2.1.1	Šat. 1 (CTH 51.1).....	81
3.2.1.2	The DŠ (CTH 40) .....	90
3.2.1.3	Šuppiluliuma's letter and decrees concerning Ugarit (CTH 45-47).....	94
3.2.1.4	The 'Aziru treaty (CTH 49).....	97

3.2.1.5	Treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Tette of Nuhašše ( <i>CTH 53</i> )...	98
3.2.1.6	The Aleppo treaty ( <i>CTH 75</i> ).....	101
3.2.1.7	Hattušili III's account of Šuppiluliuma's campaigns ( <i>CTH</i> 83.1.A.).....	101
3.2.1.8	Letters from the el-Amarna archive .....	104
3.2.2	Discussion .....	106
3.2.2.1	The objectives of the First Syrian War .....	106
3.2.2.2	The date of the First Syrian War .....	107
3.2.2.3	The itinerary of the First Syrian War .....	109
3.3	The situation in Syria in the immediate aftermath of the First Syrian War.....	110
3.3.1	Texts from Qatna (Idanda's archive).....	110
3.3.1.1	Summary of the letters .....	110
3.3.1.2	Discussion.....	116
3.3.2	The Amarna letters: the Mittanian and Egyptian campaigns .....	121
3.3.2.1	Summary of the events .....	121
3.3.2.2	The objectives of the two military operations .....	122
3.3.3	Summary: the First Syrian War and its aftermath .....	124
3.3.3.1	Summary of the events .....	124
3.3.3.2	Syrian kings who ruled during this period .....	126
3.3.3.3	Several notes about the domination of Syria.....	126
3.4	The intermediate period.....	128
3.4.1	Analysis of the sources.....	128
3.4.1.1	'Floating' fragments in the DŠ .....	128
3.4.1.2	Fragments belonging to <i>The Annals of Šuppiluliuma(?)</i> .....	135
3.4.1.3	The Hukkana treaty ( <i>CTH 42</i> ) .....	136
3.4.1.4	Šuppiluliuma's decree on Telipinu's priesthood in Kizzuwatna ( <i>CTH 44</i> ) .....	137
3.4.1.5	Treaties with western Anatolian rulers ( <i>CTH 67</i> and <i>76</i> ).....	137
3.4.1.6	Hattušili III's account of Šuppiluliuma's campaigns ( <i>CTH</i> 83.2.A.) .....	138
3.4.2	Discussion .....	138
3.5	The Second Syrian War .....	139
3.5.1	Analysis of the sources.....	139
3.5.1.1	The DŠ ( <i>CTH 40</i> ) .....	139
3.5.1.2	The 'Aziru treaty ( <i>CTH 49</i> ) .....	156
3.5.1.3	Šat. 1 ( <i>CTH 51.1</i> ).....	157
3.5.1.4	Šat. 2 ( <i>CTH 52</i> ).....	158



3.5.1.5 Treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Tette of Nuhašše (CTH 53).....	160
3.5.1.6 The Annals of Muršili II (CTH 61).....	160
3.5.1.7 Treaty between Muršili II and Duppi-Teššub of Amurru (CTH 62).....	161
3.5.1.8. Report on Šuppiluliuma's and Muršili II's campaigns (CTH 84).....	162
3.5.1.9 Muršili's Plague Prayers (CTH 378 and 379).....	163
3.5.1.10 KBo 8.38.....	164
3.5.1.11 The General's letter (RS 20.33).....	164
3.5.1.12 Two letters from the correspondence with Egypt.....	165
3.5.1.13 Letters from the el-Amarna archive (the Late Amarna Subset).....	166
3.5.2 Discussion.....	168
3.5.2.1 Summary of the different frontiers.....	168
3.5.2.2 The course of the Second Syrian War.....	173
3.5.2.3 The goals of the Second Syrian War.....	177
3.5.2.4 The date of the Second Syrian War and Šuppiluliuma's reign.....	178
REFERENCES.....	183
APPENDIX 1 REORDERING OF THE FIRST TABLETS OF THE <i>DŠ</i> .....	205
APPENDIX 2 CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.....	207
INDEX.....	221

### Maps

Map 1: The Ancient Near East during the Amarna Period	IX
Map 2: Syria during the Amarna Period	X
Map 3: The Hittite withdrawal	205
Map 4: Hatti's expansion during Tudhaliya II's reign	206

### Chronological tables

Table 1: The events during the last years of Tudhaliya II	207
Table 2: Major events in the last nine years of Amenhotep III's reign	210
Table 3: The political situation in Syria before and after the First Syrian War	212

Table 4: The Second Syrian War based on the Amarna letters 214

Table 5: The Second Syrian War based on the Seventh Tablet of the *DS* 175



Map 1: The Ancient Near East during the Amarna Period



Map 2: Syria during the Amarna Period

## Preface and Acknowledgements

Around the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE, two kings ruled in Hatti, Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma I. During this period, 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 parallels the el-Amarna period, however, its Hittite aspect has been comparatively overlooked. 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* (CTH 40), and the second source is the letters of el-Amarna. In addition, this study examines other Hittite texts of various genres (such as prayers, historical preambles of treaties, retrospectives, etc.), some of which have only recently been discovered, such as the archive of Idanda from Qatna, *KUB 19.15+*, *Kp 05/226* and others. In addition, in several instances data from archaeological excavations has been utilized.

The major part of this volume deals with an attempt to identify important historical events that occurred during the protagonists' reign, to verify them and examine their details—such as the Hittites' treatment of their vassals, their neighbours and other great powers are examined. To that end, this study examines the order of the Amarna letters, as well as the scope of *The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma* and the arrangement of its fragments. Following that analysis, this book offers a synchronization of the Egyptian and Hittite chronologies, by suggesting a number of chronological pegs—although at present, I believe, absolute dates are still uncertain.

This book is a revised version of my doctoral dissertation, titled *A Historical Reappraisal of the Reigns of Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma I*. Publication of this book was made possible by a grant from Oranim

College of Education. My work could not have been accomplished without the help and advice of Prof. Jared Miller and Prof. Nadav Na'aman, who also served as the supervisors for my Ph.D. I would like to thank my teacher Prof. Itamar Singer (z"l), who introduced me to Hittitology. I am also grateful to Prof. Gernot Wilhelm for his hospitality during my stay at Würzburg University, and for helping me formalise my study and provide me with an excellent working environment for my research and scholarly development.

A number of people deserve special acknowledgement for the help they provided during the research and writing of this book: Dr. Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer, Ms. Katrin Hein and the other advisory board members who read the draft and made a number of helpful suggestions; Mr. Michael Liebig and Dr. Alexander Ahrens, for their helpful notes and comments on the texts from Qatna and the excavations of this site; Sivan Kedar, for her immense technical help she provided; Martin Sauvage, for his generosity and the preparation of the beautiful maps that I have used in this book; and Jonathan Orr-Stav, for reviewing and copyediting the final manuscript in terms of grammar and style.

Finally I would like to thank my family: to my mother for her consistent care, support and encouragement during my research; and, last but not least, to my wife and daughter whose untiring love, encouragement and support gave me strength and inspiration to see it through to the end.

## Abbreviations

<i>AIT</i>	Alalah Tablets (see <i>Wiseman</i> 1953).
<i>AM</i>	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>AOAT</i>	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments</i> . Kavelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn/Münster.
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> . Berlin.
<i>AS</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> . London.
<i>AŠ</i>	<i>The Annals of Šuppiluliuma</i> (Šuppiluliuma's own Annals, as opposed to the <i>DŠ</i> , that were written by Murmili II).
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> . Boston.
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> . Leiden.
<i>BMSAES</i>	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i> . London.
<i>Bo</i>	Inventory numbers of tablets from Boğazköy.
<i>BoTU</i>	<i>Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift</i> (see <i>Forrer</i> 1926).
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago.
<i>CAD A/2</i>	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. *CAD* (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.
- 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 S1* Güterbock, H. G., Hoffner, H. A. Jr. and van den Hout, Th. P. J. (eds.). 2002. *CHD* (vol. S1). Chicago.
- La Cilicie* Jean, E., Dinçol, A. M. and Durugönül, S. (eds.). 2001. *La Cilicie. Espaces et Pouvoirs Locaux (2<sup>e</sup> Millénaire av. J.-C.-4<sup>e</sup> Siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes de la table ronde internationale d'Istanbul, 2–5 novembre 1999.* Paris.
- Crossroads* Mynářová, J. (ed.). 2011. *Egypt and the Near East — the Crossroads. Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1–3, 2010.* Prague.
- CTH* *Catalogue des textes hittites* (see Laroche 1971, with completion which appear in *Portal-Mainz*).
- DBH* *Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie.* Dresden/Wiesbaden.
- DBH 7* see Oettinger 2002.
- DBH 10* see *Gs. Forrer.*
- DBH 25* see *Fs. Košak.*
- DBH 28* see *Grodek 2008b.*
- DŠ* *The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (CTH 40).*
- Eothen* *Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico.* Firenze.
- Eothen 11* see *Gs. Imperati.*

- Eothen* 15 see Marizza 2007.
- Eothen* 19 de Martino, S. and Miller J. L. (eds.). *New Results and New Questions on the Reign of Suppiluliuma I*. Firenze.
- FHL* Durand, J. M. and Laroche, E. 1982. Fragments hittites du Louvre. in: *Mémorial Atatürk: Études d'archéologie et de philologie anatoliennes*. Paris: 73–107.
- Fs. Dinçol-Dinçol* Alparslan, M., Doğan Alparslan M. and Peker H. (eds.). 2007. *Belkıs Dinçol ve Ali Dinçol'a Armağan. VITA. Festschrift in Honor of Belkıs Dinçol and Ali Dinçol*. Istanbul.
- Fs. Košak* Groddek, D. and Zorman, M. (eds.). 2007. *Tabularia Hethaeorum. Hethitologische Beiträge Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag (DBH 25)*. Wiesbaden.
- 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 Rüster, C. (eds.). 1988. *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae. Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden.
- GM* *Göttinger Miscellen. 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. 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* Alp, S. 1991. *Hethitische Briefe aus Mašat-Höyük*. Ankara.
- HdOI* *Handbuch der Orientalistik. Section I: der Nahe- und der Mittlere-Osten*. Leiden.
- HdOI/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/83 Hornung, E., Krauss, R. and Warburton, D. A. (eds.). 2006. *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*. Boston.
- HED* I–II Puhvel, J. 1984. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Words Beginning with A, E and I (vol. 1–2). Berlin.
- HEG* I Tischler, J. 1983. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*. A–K (vol. 1). Innsbruck.
- HDT* Beckman, G. M. 1999. *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (2<sup>nd</sup> 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* IV Puhvel, J. 1997. *HED*. Words Beginning with K (vol. 4). Berlin.
- HHT* Riemschneider, K. K. 1974. *Hurritische und hethitische Texte*. München.
- IBoT* *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri*. Istanbul/Ankara.
- 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.
- Kayalipinar* Müller-Karpe, A., Müller-Karpe, V., Rieken, E., Sommefeld, W., Wilhelm, G. and Zeiler, M. 2006. Untersuchungen in Kayalipinar 2005. *MDOG* 138: 211–247.
- KASKAL* *KASKAL. Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico*. Rome.
- KBo* *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy*. Leipzig/Berlin.
- KUB* *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy*. Berlin.
- Late Amarna* see chapter 1.2.2.3.
- Subset*
- LH* Late Hittite.
- LS* Late Script.
- LSU* *Landschenkungsurkunde*.

MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i> . Berlin.
Mesopotamian Dark Age Revisited	Hunger, H. and Pruzsinszky, R. (eds.). 2004. <i>Mesopotamian Dark Age Revisited. Proceedings of an International Conference SCIEEM 2000 (Vienna 8th–9th November 2002)</i> . Wien.
MH	Middle Hittite.
MS	Middle Script.
N.A.B.U.	<i>Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires</i> . Paris.
OH	Old Hittite.
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i> . Leuven.
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i> . Leipzig/Berlin.
OS	Old Script.
Portal Mainz	<a href="http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/">http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/</a> .
PRU IV	Nougayrol, J. 1956. <i>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit IV. Textes accadiens des archives sud</i> . Paris.
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale</i> . Paris.
RGTC	<i>Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes</i> . Wiesbaden.
RGTC 4	Nashef, K. 1991. <i>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altassyrischen Zeit</i> . Wiesbaden.
RGTC 5	Nashef, K. 1982. <i>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit</i> . Wiesbaden.
RGTC 6	del Monte, G. F. and Tischler, J. 1978. <i>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte</i> . Wiesbaden.
RGTC 6/2	del Monte, G. F. 1992. <i>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Hethitischen Texte. Supplement</i> . Wiesbaden.
RGTC 12/2	Belmonte Marín, J. A. 2001. <i>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jt. v. Chr.</i> Wiesbaden.
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i> . Berlin.
Šat. 1	CTH 51.
Šat. 2	CTH 52.
SCCNH	<i>Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians</i> . Bethesda.

- sjh* *Spät-junghethitische.*
- SMEA* *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici.* Rome.
- StBoT* *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten.* Wiesbaden.
- StBoT 38* see van den Hout 1995.
- StBoT 46* see Miller 2004.
- StMed* *Studia Mediterranea.* Pavia.
- 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.
- Studia Asiana 5* Pecchioli Daddi, F. Torri, G. and Corti, C. (eds.). 2009. *Central-North 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.
- THeth* *Texte der Hethiter.* Heidelberg.
- THeth 8* see Heinhold-Krahmer 1977.
- THeth 16* see Hagenbuchner 1989.
- THeth 20* see Beal 1992.
- Time Frame I* see chapter 1.2.2.1
- Time Frame II* see chapter 1.2.2.2
- Time Frame III* see chapter 1.2.2.3
- 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.
- WdO* *Die Welt des Orients. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes.* Göttingen/Wuppertal.
- WVDOG* *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.* Leipzig/Berlin.
- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie.* Berlin.

## Chapter 1 Principal sources

### 1.1 The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (CTH 40)

*The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma* (henceforth the *DŠ*) is the main source for information about the reign of Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma. This literary work is part of a comprehensive historiographic trilogy composed during the reign of Muršili II, Šuppiluliuma's son: the *DŠ*, about his grandfather's and father's exploits, being the first part of this trilogy, and the *Annals of Muršili* (i.e. the *Ten Year Annals* and the *Comprehensive Annals*) its second and third parts, respectively. In view of the level of detail in the *DŠ*, this text was likely based upon early sources such as the *Annals of Šuppiluliuma* (hereafter the *AŠ*).

The first fragments of the *DŠ* were published by Forrer (1926), however, a full edition covering most of the fragments we are currently familiar with was produced by Güterbock only in 1956. In his edition, Güterbock (1956) introduced 51 fragments—43 of them (*Fragments* 1–43<sup>1</sup>) arranged in a chronological order of his own devising. The remaining fragments (*Fragments* 44–51) were gathered into a separate group—'Isolated and Doubtful Fragments'—since their position within the text is unclear. After this publication, several more fragments were added to the *DŠ*; some of these, in addition to new joins and duplicates, were included in the most recent edition recently published by del Monte (2009).

#### 1.1.1 Colophons, copies and series

Some of the *DŠ* fragments are marked with colophons that note the tablet number. Güterbock identified three colophons belonging to the

<sup>1</sup> Henceforth in this study, numbered fragments that were included in the *DŠ* are designated with a capital *F* (e.g. 'Fragment 1'). The same applies for tablets (e.g. 'Seventh Tablet') and copies (e.g. 'Copy A').

Second, Third/Fourth<sup>2</sup> and Seventh Tablets.<sup>3</sup> After publication of his book, the colophons of the Ninth (*KBo* 19.50)<sup>4</sup> and Twelfth (*KBo* 19.48) Tablets were revealed by Otten (in his introduction to *KBo* 19). It is clear from the colophon of the Seventh Tablet<sup>5</sup> that the official version of the text must have been written on a bronze tablet; therefore, the fragments we have today are not parts of the original, only of drafts or copies of it.

The tablet numbers 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*. None of them is complete, and in many cases there is no physical connection between the fragments that make up each copy; therefore, their assembly into a single copy has been made based on their subject and physical characteristics (such as form of signs, tablet colours, etc.).

The copies belong to one of three *series*, which may be distinguished from one another by the size of the signs and number of lines. These resulted in columns of different size in each series—hence their names: the Short, Medium and Long Columns Series (Wilhelm and Boese 1987, 79–82).<sup>6</sup>

### 1.1.2 Restoring the order of the fragments

In addition to the fragmentary state of this composition, there are several problems, which make the arrangement of the fragments difficult, such

<sup>2</sup> *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).

<sup>3</sup> For a comprehensive review of the colophons of the *DŠ*, see del Monte 2009, xxviii–xxx.

<sup>4</sup> This possibly does not belong to the *DŠ* but to another text such as the *AŠ* (Miller 2013, 117).

<sup>5</sup> *KBo* 5.6 iv l. 16–18: <sup>16</sup> DUB.7.KAM [NU].TIL <sup>17</sup> A-NA TUP-PÍ[Z]ABAR <sup>18</sup> na-a-ú-i [a]-ni-ia-an (Güterbock 1956, 97).

<sup>6</sup> Wilhelm and Boese (1987, 94; Wilhelm 2012, 240–245) suggested that the length of each column is proportional to the period of time it covers, and after some calculations concluded that each tablet of the Long Columns Series covers at least one to two years. For a critique of this, see Astour 1989, 6–8; Bryce 1989, 20; Freu 1992, 88; Miller 2007a, 277–279. See also Wilhelm's response (1991, 473f.).

as the lack of several key events (for example, Šuppiluliuma's accession to the throne), the absence of references to regnal years, and the fact that references to the year's beginning or year's end are rare.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, Güterbock had to use other means to fix the fragments' order—the most prominent being the use of personal names that appear 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.). In addition, when small fragments included the same personal names, Güterbock arranged them next to one another. For this reason Fragments 2 and 3, which mention Kantuzzili, and Fragments 4–6, in which Tuttu is mentioned, were placed together. 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 in his arrangement of the fragments.

### 1.1.3 The beginning of Šuppiluliuma's reign in the *DŠ*

Šuppiluliuma's accession to the throne is not mentioned in the surviving parts of the *DŠ*. Güterbock (1956, 43) suggested that this event was detailed in the gap at the beginning of the Second Tablet's fourth column (i.e. in the eleven lines gap at the beginning of Fragment 15<sup>8</sup> (Copy F)), since Tudhaliya does not seem to be active in latter parts of the piece.

Wilhelm and Boese (1987, 80–83) argued that eleven lines are insufficient to accommodate all the missing information, namely: the end of the campaign against Arzawa described at the end of Fragment 14;<sup>9</sup> the death of Tudhaliya II; the death of Tudhaliya 'the Younger';

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed description of these difficulties, see Bryce 1989, 19f.; Miller 2013.

<sup>8</sup> 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; see also Groddek 2008a, 116f.

<sup>9</sup> Text: F = *KBo* 14.3. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 67–68; del Monte 2009, 17–19, 28–31. It is possible that the obv.(?) of *KBo* 50.15 (which mentions the Kaška and a conversation between the ['father'] and the 'grandfather') is a duplicate of Fragment 14 (Groddek 2008a, 116f.). it might be also a

Šuppiluliuma's accession to the throne; and the start of a new campaign detailed at the beginning of Fragment 15. Consequently, they suggested placing Šuppiluliuma's accession somewhere at the beginning of the Third Tablet (i.e., between Fragments 15–17 (Copy G)).

Del Monte (2009, 9–11) placed Fragment 13<sup>10</sup> after Fragment 17,<sup>11</sup> thus extending the description of Tudhaliya's reign in the *DŠ* by one more tablet. Consequently, Šuppiluliuma's accession should be placed in the gap between Fragments 17 and 18.<sup>12</sup>

Recently Cordani (2011a, 145f.) suggested that the reference to <sup>LÚ</sup>GURUŠ ('adult, man (in the bloom of youth)') in Fragment 16<sup>13</sup> (*KUB* 19.18 ii 5')—a term that also appears in the description of Arnuwanda II's accession in the *AM* (*KBo* 3.4+ i 10-13)—may indicate Šuppiluliuma's accession at this point.<sup>14</sup>

In my opinion, Güterbock's suggestion is the least likely, since the eleven lines gap that he suggests seems to be too short to include all of the aforementioned events. However, the precise position of Šuppiluliuma's accession in the text is still difficult to determine. It should probably be placed somewhere between Fragments 15 and 18, but the problem is that Fragment 18 is actually 'floating'.<sup>15</sup>

duplicate of a section in the 23 missing lines at the beginning of Copy F col. iii.

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> Text: G = *KUB* 19.18. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 78; del Monte 2009, 22f., 38f.

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> Text: G = *KUB* 19.18. Edition: Güterbock 1956, 77; del Monte 2009, 22, 38f.

<sup>14</sup> Note, however, that even if the term does indicate the accession of a Hittite king, it is perhaps referring to the accession of Tudhalya 'the Younger'.

<sup>15</sup> Güterbock titled the section in which Fragment 18 is included 'Further fragments whose tablet numbers are unknown'. The problem with these fragments is even greater than Güterbock's edition indicates: he placed them between Fragments 17 (Third Tablet) and 28 (Seventh Tablet), but it is quite possible that at least some of them should be placed after the Seventh Tablet (i.e. during or following the Second Syrian War). For more

## 1.2 The el-Amarna Archive

The chronological outline of the period in question is mainly a result of my examination of the Amarna letters. The most prominent letters will be discussed in detail later in this work. By way of introduction, let us first address general questions about the pharaohs who ruled during this time.

### 1.2.1 The Amarna pharaohs

Amenhotep III ruled for 37 or 38 years, and Akhenaten, his son and successor, ruled for 17 years (Hornung 2006, 204–206). In the past, some scholars (Freu 1992; Giles 1997; etc.) suggested that Amenhotep III appointed Akhenaten coregent—some, indeed, suggested that this went on for as long as twelve years, based on the restoration of the hieratic digits in the docket of *EA 27* [1]2.<sup>16</sup> However, as Redford has already demonstrated (1967, 162–169), this hypothesis is problematic since it forces us to ascribe all the letters addressed to Akhenaten as sole ruler to a period of only six or seven years, which seems too short. This might be resolved by dating the last letters of the archive to the reign(s) of Akhenaten's successor(s), but this solution is also unsatisfying, because in that case we must explain why they were not taken when the royal court moved to the new capital city at Memphis, since it would mean that they belonged to dossiers that were still active. This seems even more problematic when we consider that the letters brought to Amarna (Akhetaten) cover a period of eleven or twelve years before the establishment of the archive.<sup>17</sup> Consequently, we should reject the scenario of twelve years of coregency. Reading the hieratic number in *EA 27* as '2' leaves us with yet another option of a short coregency lasting several months. The problem with this proposal is that between

on this problem, see also Miller 2013, 126f. (who concludes that Šuppiluliuma's accession should be placed somewhere between the Third and the Seventh Tablets).

<sup>16</sup> For more on 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.

<sup>17</sup> In addition, reading [1]2 should probably be abandoned due to collation (Miller 2007a, 266f.; Mynářová 2011, 124f.).



the death of Amenhotep III and the arrival of *EA* 27, several other letters were dispatched between Tušratta and Teye; when one considers the typical time that elapsed between letters in the Great Kings' correspondence (approximately one year), this suggestion should be rejected, as well<sup>18</sup> (Redford 1967, 168f.).

All in all, Akhenaten's successors, King Smenkhkare and/or Queen Regnant 'Ankhetkheprure',<sup>19</sup> ruled for about three years.<sup>20</sup> The order of these two kings is unclear,<sup>21</sup> as is the question of whether there was coregency between them. As for the coregency between Akhenaten and the first of these two rulers, I agree with those who contend that there is no real evidence for its existence<sup>22</sup> (Hornung 2006, 205f.; cf. Eaton-Krauss 1990, 551; Kitchen 2007, 168). These questions are crucial for this study and will be examined in further detail after discussing the Second Syrian War and the *daḥamunzu*- episode.

<sup>18</sup> There are other findings, unrelated 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-2006 and Krauss 2001, 91f.; Hornung 2006, 205f.; Miller 2007a, 267 n. 65.

<sup>19</sup> It seems that at a certain point in her career, Queen 'Ankhetkheprure', ruled as a king. For more on her and her identification, see: Murnane 1990b, 177; id. 1995, 207; id. 2001, 16–18; Krauss 1997, 238f., 247f.; Gabolde 2001, 27f.; Hornung 2006, 207f.; Darnell and Manassa 2007; Miller 2007a, 272–275; Allen 2009, 18–20.

<sup>20</sup> This estimate depends on the division of regnal years on wine jar docketts (and other commodities) 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 a full one.

<sup>21</sup> Thus, some believe that Akhenaten was replaced by 'Ankhetkheprure' (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 1997, 238f.; Gabolde 2001, 30; Hornung 2006, 207f.).

<sup>22</sup> There are two arguments in support of the notion that these two kings reigned independently. The first is based on the wine jars docketts mentioned above. The second is based on an inscription discovered on a supply jar; initially 'Regnal Year 17: honey' was written, but later this inscription was erased and changed to 'Regnal Year 1: wine' (Murnane 1995, 207).

After this time, Tutankhamun ruled for approximately ten years, Ay ruled for four years, and Horemhab ruled between fourteen (Van Dijk 2008) and twenty-seven years (Hornung 2006, 208f.).

### 1.2.2 Chronology of the site and the archive

Determining the time when the archive was active also depends on determining the period in which the city of Akhetaten was settled. Based on the inscription on Boundary stela K (Murnane 1995, 73) and wine jars dockets discovered at the site and, it is clear that Akhenaten and his court arrived in the city during his fifth regnal year (Hornung 2006, 207). The question as to when the city was abandoned is more complicated. Items bearing the names '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 1, 2 and 3,<sup>23</sup> and at the end came an additional 'Year 1', which was the last year that a pharaoh resided in Akhetaten.

There are several possibilities with regard to the distribution of these years between Akhenaten's successors. The first is to assign the first three regnal years to 'Ankhetkheprure' or Smenkhkare, and the final regnal year to whichever was second. The second possibility is that during the first three years, either both or only one of them ruled, 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 no later than Tutankhamun's first regnal year,<sup>24</sup> and for this reason, it is hard to believe that letters that were addressed to Tutankhamun, and all the more so to one of his successors, were kept in the archive. Thus, 'Niphuriya' (Tutankhamun's prenomen) mentioned in *EA* 9 (and perhaps also in *EA* 210—but see Moran 1992, xxix n.82), should be identified with Akhenaten. This means that all letters should be dated to Akhenaten's reign, unless there is a compelling reason not to do so.

<sup>23</sup> Given the small number of labels of 'Year 3', we can conclude it was not a full year (Krauss 1997, 231f., 245; Hornung 2006, 208).

<sup>24</sup> To be precise, after the grape harvest of Tutankhamun's first regnal year and prior to the grape harvest of his second year (Krauss 1997, 248).