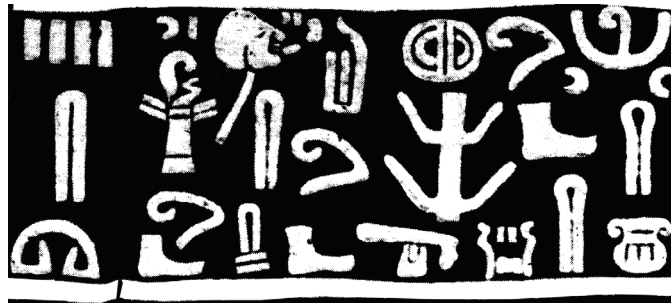


*ipamati kistamati pari tumatimis*  
LUWIAN AND HITTITE STUDIES  
PRESENTED TO J. DAVID HAWKINS  
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 70<sup>TH</sup> BIRTHDAY

ITAMAR SINGER

Editor



EMERY AND CLAIRE YASS PUBLICATIONS IN ARCHAEOLOGY  
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY  
TEL AVIV 2010

Under the auspices of the  
Friends of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University

With the support of the  
Israel Science Foundation

Published by the Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology  
(Bequeathed by the Yass Estate, Sydney, Australia)  
of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University

ISBN 965-266-026-4

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Printed in Israel by Top Print



## John David Hawkins

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("OCCIDENS") *i-pa-ma-ti-i* (DEUS.ORIENS) *ki-sá-ta-ma-ti-i* PRAE-*ia* AUDIRE+MI-*ma-ti-mi-i-sa*  
"Far famed to West and East" (KARKAMIŠ A 6, 1; Yariri)

# CONTENTS

Preface	ix
List of Abbreviations	xii
Publications by J. David Hawkins	xiii
LUWIANS IN ALEPPO? Sanna Aro	1
SITES, ROUTES AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA Gojko Barjamovic	10
ON HITTITE DREAMS Gary Beckman	26
SHORTENED NAMES IN EMAR AND ELSEWHERE Yoram Cohen	32
KURUNTA E L'ANATOLIA OCCIDENTALE Stefano de Martino	44
THE WOODEN HORSE: SOME POSSIBLE BRONZE AGE ORIGINS Donald F. Easton	50
IL FRAMMENTO DI LETTERA KB <sub>o</sub> 8.14: UN NUOVO TENTATIVO DI INTERPRETAZIONE Mauro Giorgieri	64
THE LUWIAN DEMONSTRATIVES OF PLACE AND MANNER Petra M. Goedegebuure	76
SOUVENIRS ANATOLIENS Hatice Gonnet	95
BEMERKUNGEN ZU DER HETHITISCHEN PHRASE "UND SIE BEGANNEN IHRE HÄUSER ZU FRESSEN" Volkert Haas	102
ASYNDETON BEI VORANGESTELLTEN TEMPORALEN NEBENSÄTZEN MIT <i>KUWAPI</i> Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer	106
THE BULLS ON THE SEALS OF MUWATALLI II Suzanne Herbordt	123
THE POLITICAL ANTITHESIS AND FOIL OF THE LABARNA Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.	131
DUMANLI KALE: A POLITICISED LANDSCAPE IN LATE BRONZE AGE ANATOLIA Roger Matthews	140
SPELLING OF INITIAL /A-/ IN HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN H. Craig Melchert	147
SOME DISPUTED PASSAGES IN THE TAWAGALAWA LETTER Jared L. Miller	159

SEALS AND SEALINGS OF KARKAMIŠ, PART III Clelia Mora	170
'WRITING' IN HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN Annick Payne	182
UN NUOVO FRAMMENTO IN LUVIO GEROGLIFICO DA ANCOZ (ANCOZ 12) Massimo Poetto	188
FURTHER COMMENTS ON A HITTITE KINSHIP TERM Jacquie Pringle	193
THE NEW VALUES OF LUWIAN SIGNS L 319 AND L 172 Elisabeth Rieken and Ilya Yakubovich	199
AFTER THE EMPIRE: OBSERVATIONS ON THE EARLY IRON AGE IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA Jürgen Seeher	220
A LOST SEAL OF TALMI-TEŠUB Itamar Singer	230
THE HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN SIGNS L. 255 AND 256 AND ONCE AGAIN KARATEPE XI Theo van den Hout	234
NOTES ON THE HITTITE FUNERARY RITUAL FOR A PRINCE OR A PRINCESS Calvert Watkins	244
A HITTITE SEAL FROM KAMAN-KALEHÖYÜK Mark Weeden	249
REMARKS ON THE HITTITE CUNEIFORM SCRIPT Gernot Wilhelm	256

## PREFACE

John David Hawkins was born on September 11<sup>th</sup> 1940 in Exmouth, Devon, as the eldest of the three children of John Alexander Sneyd Hawkins and Audrey Joan Spencer. His parents had met and married in India, where John Hawkins served as an officer in the Royal Artillery, and came back to England shortly before David's birth. In 1948, John Hawkins, who had studied at Cambridge, bought a farm in Devon where David was brought up. It was an old and distinguished family which had a multiplicity of interests both cultural and practical. David's friends were impressed by the casual and tolerant atmosphere which prevailed at home. In the Hawkins household there was no snobbishness or insularity; all sorts of people mingled and the vagaries of the British upper classes were looked at with affectionate irony. These qualities have been perpetuated by David, as anyone who has known him even briefly can readily confirm. Cats were a great source of amusement in the family and David expanded on his father's eccentric way of talking to them. Probably David's first linguistic achievement was the composition of the *Official Cat Phonology*, which is still put to use when stray cats occasionally visit his village house. There was no television in the Hawkins home, so reading aloud in the evenings in front of a roaring fire was the norm, preferably Dickens, Tolkien and Agatha Christie. The latter was a not-too-distant neighbour and David used to visit her and her husband Sir Max Mallowan, the renowned Mesopotamian archaeologist, from time to time. Could these visits have sparked his first interest in the ancient Near East?

David was educated at a local private school, Upcott House, and at the age of 13 he went to Bradfield College, Berkshire, a renowned school with a good tradition of Greek and Latin teaching. He excelled in his studies and took an active part in the school plays, especially Greek drama, for which Bradfield was famous. One of his teachers was the classicist David Raeburn, who authored a number of translations of the classics and books on the performance of classical plays. David has remained in touch with him ever since.

From 1958 David studied, on a state scholarship, Classics and Philosophy (*Literae Humaniores* or 'Greats') at University College, Oxford. He was lucky in his tutors: A.E. (Freddie) Wells for classical languages and literature, George Cawkwell for ancient history and P.F. Strawson and G. Paul for philosophy. His natural inclination was clearly for the linguistic and textual subjects and he finished that part of the course (*Honour Moderations*) with a First. He received his BA in 1962 and his MA in 1965.

From 1962 he worked for a postgraduate diploma in Western Asiatic Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology in London. He studied archaeology with Seton Lloyd, history with Peggy Drower, Ancient Hebrew with Raphael Loewe and Akkadian with Harry Saggs and Donald Wiseman. He obtained his diploma with distinction in 1964 and won the Gordon Child Prize. By this time he had already switched his interests from Classics to the Ancient Near East, apparently under the strong impression left on him by the Gilgamesh Epic.

In 1964 he became a Research Fellow in Akkadian at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and then remained in the Near and Middle East Department where he taught until his retirement in 2005. In 1993 he was appointed to a personal chair in Ancient Anatolian Languages. He also contributed courses in archaeology to the Institute of Archaeology where he became an Honorary Visiting Professor.

In 1993 David was elected a Fellow of the British Academy, and in 1998 a Foreign Member of the American Philosophical Society. Most recently (2009) his old Oxford college, University College, made him an Honorary Fellow. He served as the honorary secretary of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq from 1976 to 1986 and edited its journal *Iraq* from 1970 to 1995. Concomitantly he sat on the council and on the executive committees of the British School of Archaeology at Ankara.

In the 1960s David started to go regularly from London to Oxford to study Hittite with Oliver R. Gurney and there got involved in a seminar on the so-called Hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions led by Leonard Palmer and attended, among others, by Anna Morpurgo Davies and Jill Hart; this is the subject on which he eventually focused and which he revolutionized. His friendship and scientific cooperation with Morpurgo Davies continues to play an important role in his life. In the country cottage at Minster Lovell near Oxford, which he shares with his life partner, Geoff Ryman, a well known writer, she and countless other friends and colleagues are always welcome for a good chat on professional matters and a hearty drink and meal. David's culinary capacities are only surpassed by his scholarship, and as a devoted gardener he proudly makes use of his self-grown freshly picked vegetables in his perfect cuisine, which puts pay to the myth that there is no independent British cooking.

From 1965 onwards David traveled regularly to Turkey, Syria and Iraq in order to inspect Hieroglyphic monuments in museums and open-air sites. He immediately realized how inaccurate and incomplete the available drawings and publications were and consequently initiated an ambitious project of copying and obtaining good photographs of the entire corpus of inscriptions. This Sisyphean enterprise was crowned by the publication in 2000 of the three parts of his monumental *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, Vol. I, The Iron Age Inscriptions*, exactly a hundred years after the pioneering enterprise of L. Messerschmidt's *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettitarum*. He also played an instrumental role in the definitive publication of the Hieroglyphic text of the Karatepe bilingual by Halet Çambel as *Volume II* of the Corpus. A third volume in preparation will include *Addenda* to the Iron Age material, the Empire period inscriptions, and a general Signary, Glossary and Grammar of Hieroglyphic Luwian.

David's enormous black briefcase containing the full documentation for the Corpus travelled with him everywhere and miraculously has never been lost or damaged even in dire situations (see H. Gonnet's contribution to this volume). His idiosyncratic handwriting and neat hand copies can be traced back to two of his greatest talents, drawing and close scrutiny: 1. From his early days he developed an interest in political cartoons and for a while even contemplated turning this skill into a profession. 2. His talent for drawing is enhanced by a remarkable ability to notice even the minutest details and changes in other peoples' appearance or outfit. Many a detail in an inscription or on a seal that went unnoticed by others has immediately been detected and recorded by David. His spectacular decipherment of the Karabel inscription, a western Anatolian monument which was previously visited by countless travellers and specialists, may serve as a notable example. He never gets tired of inspecting a worn down inscription in different lighting conditions, not even the hopeless Nişantaş rock in Boğazköy which he is about to publish shortly.

In tandem with his strenuous efforts to produce an accurate documentation of the Hieroglyphic materials, David is one of the greatest contributors to Anatolian philology, history and culture. Suffice it to mention here, as notable examples, the new interpretation of four wrongly deciphered signs in the early 1970s (in collaboration with Anna Morpurgo Davies and Günter Neumann) which brought about the elucidation of the language and the (re)unification of Cuneiform Luwian and Hieroglyphic Hittite (now Hieroglyphic Luwian); the discovery in 1975 of the signs for the negatives which had been confused with the relatives and which suddenly made sense of countless texts; the demonstration in the 1980s of

the continuity of the royal house of Bronze Age Carchemish in the Iron Age genealogy at Malatya; the decipherment of the inscription at the sacred pool complex at Boğazköy in 1995 and its Underworld connections; the refinement of western Anatolian geography in 1998 through the identification of the figure depicted at Karabel as a king of Mira. Recently he has been working on the spectacular discovery of the Aleppo citadel inscriptions and their far-reaching historical implications. As anyone who has collaborated with David will readily confirm, he is a most generous colleague always ready to offer his expertise and cooperate in publication projects, e.g., his recent involvement in the publication of the enormous glyptic corpus from Nişantepe in Boğazköy.

As a token of our long friendship, I hope that this Festschrift presented to David by his students and friends, will serve as an appropriate tribute to this incomparable individual and scholar. A parallel Festschrift with non-Anatolian articles appears in the journal *Iraq* 2010, edited by Dominique Collon and Andrew George. I wish to express my gratitude to several persons who have provided assistance in the preparation of this volume: Sanna Aro, Natalia Bolatti-Guzzo, Donald Easton, Shirley Gassner, Graciela Gestoso-Singer, Sivan Kedar, Anna Morpurgo Davies, Denzil Verey and Mark Weeden.

The Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University is congratulated for exceptionally accepting this volume in its Monograph Series. This book was published with the support of the Israel Science Foundation.



## ABBREVIATIONS

ABoT	<i>Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri</i> . Istanbul 1948
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden 1958-1981
Bo	Unpublished Boğazköy text (inventory number)
CAD	<i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i> . Chicago Oriental Institute 1956 ff.
CHD	<i>Chicago Hittite Dictionary</i> . Chicago Oriental Institute 1980 ff.
CHLI 1	J.D. Hawkins, <i>Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions Vol. 1: Inscriptions of the Iron Age</i> . Berlin/New York 2000
CL, CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian
CLL	H.C. Melchert, <i>Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon</i> . Chapel Hill 1993
CTH	E. Laroche, <i>Catalogue des Textes Hittites</i> . Paris 1971
HED	J. Puhvel, <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> . Berlin/New York/Amsterdam 1984 ff.
HEG	J. Tischler, <i>Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar</i> . Innsbruck 1977 ff.
Hit.	Hittite
HKM	S. Alp, <i>Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük</i> . Ankara 1991
HL, HLuw	Hieroglyphic Luwian
Hur.	Hurrian
HW	J. Friedrich, <i>J. Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> . Heidelberg 1952-1966
HW2	J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber, <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> , 2nd ed. Heidelberg 1975 ff.
HZL	C. Rüster and E. Neu, <i>Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon</i> . Wiesbaden 1989
IBoT	<i>Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri</i> . Istanbul/Ankara
IE	Indo-European
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> . Berlin
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> . Berlin
Lyc.	Lycian
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i> . Berlin
RS	Ras Shamra/Ugarit texts (inventory number)
SBo I-II	H.G. Güterbock, <i>Siegel aus Boğazköy I-II</i> , Berlin 1940, 1942
VBoT	A. Götze, <i>Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte</i> . Marburg 1930

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Compiled by Sanna Aro and Natalia Bolatti-Guzzo

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# SOME DISPUTED PASSAGES IN THE TAWAGALAWA LETTER

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Since my translations of a few passages of the so-called Tawagalawa Letter (VAT 6692; KUB 14.3) for TUAT (Miller 2006) differ from traditional interpretations, it seems fitting to provide some explanation and background for them, thoughts which I first presented at the workshop, ‘Der Tawagalawa-Brief: Neubearbeitung eines bedeutenden historischen Dokuments in interdisziplinärer Forschung’, organised by E. Rieken and S. Heinhold-Krahmer and hosted by J. Klinger at the FU Berlin, 7-9 May, 2007, during which we were also able to collate the tablet itself.

This paper proposes new readings and/or interpretations of three disputed passages of the letter, a missive from a Great King of Ḫatti to his Aḫḫiyawan counterpart seeking the extradition of Piyamaradu, the ambitious West Anatolian renegade. It is suggested (1) that the presence of Laḫurzi, Piyamaradu’s brother, at the battle of Iyalanda, despite previous promises, is the issue in i 16-31; (2) that returning to the idea that it is Tawagalawa whom the writer indicts in i 48-52 should be rejected, and that the passage is either accusing Atpa, the governor of Millawanda and son-in-law of Piyamaradu, of complicity in the affair, or referring to the charges against Piyamaradu himself; (3) and that i 71-74 should best be read as indicating that the Great King Tawagalawa, as the brother and predecessor of the letter’s addressee, had at some juncture himself come to Millawanda to meet his brother and Kurunta in order to deal with the Piyamaradu situation.

Given David Hawkins’ long-standing interest in and considerable contributions to our understanding of this period of history in western Anatolia, I trust this will be an appropriate addition to this volume in his honour.

The first passage to be considered is i 16-31, in which the author of the letter (generally equated with Ḫattusili III, and so in the present paper) explains how he had written to Piyamaradu instructing him that if he was indeed serious about becoming a Hittite vassal, he would put up no resistance to the writer’s imminent arrival at Iyalanda. Despite these instructions, the enemy had engaged him at three points in Iyalanda, and Laḫurzi, Piyamaradu’s brother, had ambushed him. The question comes with l. 27, in which some person’s presence would seem, at first glance, to be denied.

My considerations begin, as always, with the visible traces (Fig. 1a). Here, judging from high resolution scans of the photos at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, I would suggest that the traces suggest rather *L*[a-, for Laḫurzi, than *P*[i-, for Piyamaradu, the two obvious candidates. First, the other BIs in this text (Fig. 2) generally have the upper horizontal pulled to the right of the lower one, though there are exceptions. Thus this argument is only suggestive, not conclusive. Second, if I were to play the maximalist, I would like to see not only the heads of the two leading horizontals (Fig. 1b), which would allow either LA or BI, but also the head of one further horizontal as well (Fig. 1c). And if one copies the LA of Laḫurzi from l. 26 and transposes it over these traces (Fig. 1d), they would seem to yield a nice match.

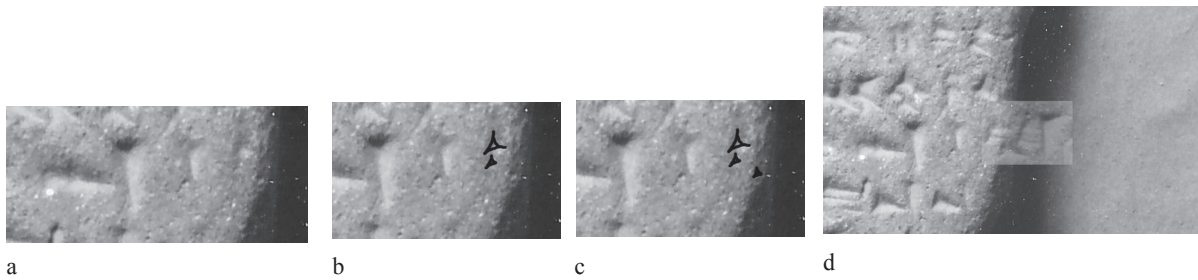


Fig. 1: <sup>m</sup>L[a- vs. <sup>m</sup>P[i- in VAT 6692 i 27.

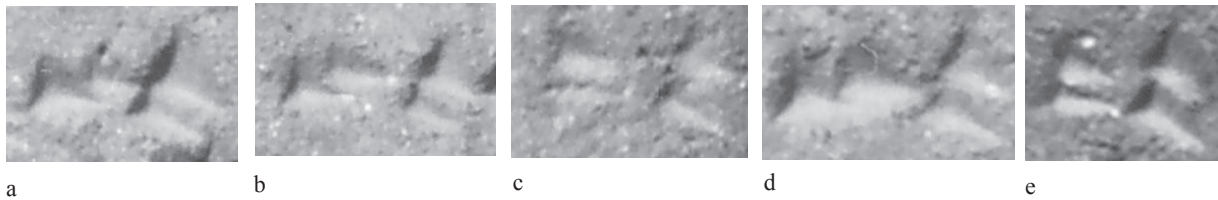


Fig. 2: The sign BI in VAT 6692 i 14(x2), 25, 26 and 51.

If so, however, we would seem to have Laḫurzi ambushing Ḫattusili in l. 26, but Laḫurzi’s absence in ll. 27 and 28. The solution is apparently provided by the context, as the addressee is told to ask Piyamaradu about this ambush in Iyalanda, leading one to suspect that these clauses are intended as further rhetorical questions, so common in this letter. Thus, the following transliteration and translation (based on my German TUAT translation; Miller 2006: 243) seems the most reasonable: ‘Laḫurzi aber, sein Bruder, [...te] mich/mir [im] *Hinterhalt!* So frag doch, mein Bruder, ob es nicht so (gewesen ist)! Ist L[ahurzi] beim Kampfe nicht dabei gewesen? Und habe ich ihn [in] der Stadt Ijalanda [...] nicht angetroffen?’  
<sup>(26)</sup>*m*La-ḫur-zi-ma-mu a-pé-el ŠEŠ-ŠU še-na-aḫ-ḫa~[...] <sup>(27)</sup>*nu* ŠEŠ-IA pu-nu-uš-pát ma-a-an Ú-UL kiš-an  
<sup>m</sup>L[a-hur-zi] <sup>(28)</sup>*za-aḫ-ḫi-ia an-da Ú-UL e-eš-ta am-mu-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-an[...]* <sup>(29)</sup>ŠÀ<sup>URU</sup>I-ia-la-an-da Ú-UL  
*AK-ŠU-UD ...* ) Ḫattusili’s point is thus to concede that Piyamaradu himself may not have confronted him in Iyalanda, but that his brother Laḫurzi did, which was no less an abrogation of Piyamaradu’s promise than if he had been there himself. It seems to make less sense to read Piyamaradu here, in which case Ḫattusili would be saying that Laḫurzi ambushed him in Iyalanda, but then rhetorically asking if it were not true that Piyamaradu had not in fact been in Iyalanda. If Piyamaradu were to be restored, one might expect the writer first to have said that Piyamaradu indeed participated in the battle at Iyalanda, then to have asked rhetorically if Piyamaradu had not in fact been there.

The second passage I would like to discuss, i 48-52, is one that constituted a central element in Parker’s (1999: 64-66) recent argumentation for returning to the idea of Tawagalawa, rather than Piyamaradu, being the renegade whose extradition Ḫattusili sought with this letter. My translation of the passage, which actually does not differ essentially from Parker’s, reads as follows: ‘Und zur Stadt Millawanda [schrieb ich dem PN] (wie folgt): “Komm zu mir!” [Dann auch an meinen Bruder *an d*] *er Grenze* schrieb ich [folgen]derm[afßen]: “Auch in dieser Angelegenheit habe ich gegen *ihn einen Vorwurf erhoben* (wörtlich: ergriffen/ertappt), daß Pijamaradu mir dieses [Land] dauernd überfällt. [Weiß mein] Bruder das, [oder] weiß er es nicht?”’ <sup>(48)</sup>*nu* I-NA<sup>URU</sup>Mi-il<sub>5</sub>-la-wa-[an-da ... AŠ-PUR] <sup>(49)</sup>*an-da-wa-mu-kán e-ḫ[u nu ki]š-a[n A-NA ŠEŠ-IA-ia A-Š]AR<sup>(?)</sup> ZAG<sup>(50)</sup>AŠ-PUR ke-e-da-ni-i[a-wa-ra-a]n me-mi-ni*

*AŠ-BAT ki-i-wa-mu* <sup>(51)m</sup>*Pi-ia-ma-ra-d[u-uš KUR-TUM k]u-it wa-al-aḫ-ḫe-eš-ke-ez-zi* <sup>(52)</sup>*nu-wa-ra-at ŠE[Š-IA I-DE nu-w]a-ra-at Ú-UL-ma I-DE.)*

Parker (1999: 66) asserts that the person against whom Ḫattusili voices his accusation cannot be Piyamaradu, since the ‘ihn’ of l. 50 (assuming that *-a]n* is correctly restored, which is not beyond doubt) would thus precede its ‘antecedent’, Piyamaradu, which occurs first in l. 51. If so, the writer is likely to be accusing some other person of complicity in Piyamaradu’s misdeeds, and Parker concludes that the person whom Ḫattusili must be accusing can only be Tawagalawa.

If one assumes for the sake of the argument that the pronoun cannot refer to Piyamaradu, I would suggest that the person being accused would not be Tawagalawa, but whoever it was that Ḫattusili had written to in l. 48, and that this is most likely Atpa. In ll. 48 and 49 it is clear that Ḫattusili had written to someone in Millawanda, commanding him to come and appear before him, and one could quite reasonably assume that the pronoun l. 50 refers to this person as antecedent. Fortunately, the following ll. 53-63 make clear to whom Ḫattusili had written in Millawanda: <sup>(53)</sup>‘Als aber [der/sein Bote] bei mir eintraf, <sup>(54)</sup>brachte er mir kein [Geschenk (o.ä.)], nicht einmal irgendwelche Sendung [brachte/schickte er] mir. [Der/Sein Bote] sagte aber: “Dem Atpa schrieb er (d.i. der König von Aḫḫiyawa): <sup>(56)</sup>‘Liefere den Pij[amaradu] dem König von Ḫatti in die Hand aus!’” (one line erased) <sup>(58)</sup>[Dann] ging ich [nach Mill]-awanda; ich ging aber mit Hinblick auf [fol]gende Angelegenheit: “Die Worte, [die] ich dem Pijamaradu sagen werde, sollen auch die Untertanen meines Bruders zu hören bekommen!” Dann machte sich Pijamaradu auf einem Schiff davon! *Die Vorwürfe, die ich ihm machte* (wörtlich: die Worte, zu denen ich ihn hielte), <sup>(63)</sup>die hörte auch Atpa; auch Awajana – sie haben gehört.’ Here it is seen that as a response to Ḫattusili’s commanding someone in Millawanda to appear before him, a messenger arrives who reports on what the king of Aḫḫiyawa had instructed Atpa, suggesting that he is a messenger from Atpa. Thus, regardless of who the antecedent of the pronoun of l. 50 is, Atpa must be restored in l. 48, and it was Atpa whom Ḫattusili ordered to appear before him.

Now, if the pronoun in l. 50 also refers to Atpa, it would assume a scenario in which Ḫattusili had written to Atpa in Millawanda, ordering him to appear before him in order to harangue him for his complicity, or at least neutrality, in Piyamaradu’s troublemaking. At the same time Ḫattusili had written to the king of Aḫḫiyawa informing him of his accusations against Atpa in the Piyamaradu affair, implying that Ḫattusili also considered the Great King of Aḫḫiyawa, as Atpa’s overlord, derelict in failing to prevent it. Atpa responded not by personally appearing before Ḫattusili, as demanded, but by sending a messenger who paid little respect and delivered oblique explanations. Not satisfied with this obtuse response, Ḫattusili marched personally on Millawanda in order to confront Atpa about his complicity directly and to repeat his accusations against Piyamaradu. There would thus seem to be little need to indict Tawagalawa anew, as Parker does, even assuming the pronoun of l. 50 does not refer to Piyamaradu.

For two reasons, however, it does not appear that Parker’s assertion, whereby the *-a]n* of l. 50 cannot possibly refer to Piyamaradu, must be seen as conclusive. First is the fact that the person against whom Ḫattusili makes his accusations in l. 62 is clearly Piyamaradu of l. 61. If one assumes that the accusations of l. 50 parallel these in l. 62, as would appear to be the case, then the former would also refer to Piyamaradu, and one would be forced to accept that the pronoun in l. 50 precedes its ‘antecedent’ in l. 51 (Piyamaradu) rather than what one would have assumed to have been its antecedent on the local syntactical level in l. 48 ([Atpa]). (I wish to thank J. Klinger, D. Hawkins and the rest of the participants in the Berlin Workshop for emphasizing this point to me during our discussions of my presentation.) Second, as Sideltsev recently demonstrated in a lecture given at the 53<sup>rd</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique

Internationale in Moscow/St. Petersburg, precisely this type of prolepsis, though not common in Hittite texts not influenced by other languages, does occur; and if the pronoun of l. 50 constitutes such a case of prolepsis, then one would probably be justified in assuming that, especially in consideration of the fact that Piyamaradu is the subject of the entire letter, such a pronoun might refer to him regardless of whether its antecedent occurred as expected in the preceding lines or not. Thus, in my view, while Atpa should most likely be restored in l. 48, either Atpa or Piyamaradu could be the antecedent of the pronoun in l. 50, the syntax of ll. 48-51 perhaps suggesting Atpa, but allowing for either, the context of ll. 61-63 suggesting Piyamaradu.

Before moving on to the next passage, perhaps I should mention as an aside that the commonly accepted reading *MA-H]AR* ZAG in i 49 of this passage does not, in my view, fit the traces well at all. Reading *Š]AR* is at least graphically much more convincing (Fig. 3), both on the photos and on the original, on which traces of the vertical are also visible. How this is to be understood is another question. It may be that *A-Š]AR* is the most likely restoration.



Fig. 3: *MA-H]AR* vs. *A-Š]AR* in VAT 6692 i 49.

The third passage I would like to discuss is certainly more controversial. It is the last four lines of column one, probably the most contentiously debated lines of the entire letter. Leading up to this passage is Ḫattusili's oft-repeated claim, 'Habe ich nicht den Kronprinzen hinübergeschickt (indem ich ihm sagte): "Geh! Fahre hinüber, nimm ihn (Piyamaradu) an der Hand, laß ihn [mi]t auf dem Wagen sitzen, und bring ihn mir entgegen!"?' After which follow the crucial lines: 'Er wies (ihn) aber zurück! Damals als Tawagalawa selbst, als Großkönig, *nah* der Stadt Millawanda kam, war doch [mei]n? [...], Kurunta, hier. Und der Großkönig (d.i. Tawagalawa) ist Dir entgegengefahren. War er (d.i. Tawagalawa) kein erhabener König?' <sup>(71)</sup>[*nu-za*<sup>(?)</sup> U]L \**me-ma*\*-*aš*<sup>m</sup>*Ta-wa-ga-la-wa-aš-pát*\*-*kán*\* *ku-wa-pi* LUGAL. GAL <sup>(72)</sup>[*I-NA*<sup>(?)</sup> U]<sup>RU</sup>*Mi-il*<sub>5</sub>-*la-wa-an-da ta-pu-ša ú-it* <sup>(73)</sup>[ -]A<sup>2</sup>-*ma*<sup>md</sup>LAMMA-*aš ka-a e-eš-ta nu-ut-ta* LUGAL.GAL <sup>(74)</sup>[*IGI-an-d*]a *u-un-ni-eš-ta Ú-UL-aš šar-ku-uš* LUGAL-*uš e-eš-ta*.)

The first consideration in my train of argumentation relates to what might be restored at the beginning of l. 72. The context clearly places Millawanda in the lative, and all other cases in this text, without exception, in which a place name stands in the lative or locative, it is prefaced by *INA* or *ŠÀ* (cf. also *ANA* in i 37 and *ANA PANI* in i 13), the former written with the two signs *I-NA* 13 times, written with the single sign *INA* 3 times. (It is quite uncertain whether the one exception in Sommer's edition [1932: 12], in iii 9-10, should be read as such, and it can thus be ignored.) One can therefore hardly justify restoring anything but *INA* or *ŠÀ*, *I-NA* being the most likely candidate (cf. already Hoffmann, who suggested *ANA*, in Heinhold-Krahmer 1986: 54, n. 48). And indeed, *I-NA* would fit the space available perfectly. Though the first few millimetres of the tablet's corner at this point are eroded away, one can

still postulate with some confidence approximately where the edge would have been (Fig. 4, left). And when one inserts in this space the signs *I-NA* (Fig. 4, right), here copied from ll. 66 and 68, it is clear that they fill the space nicely and that none is available for anything else. Further, even if one opts for the single sign *INA* or for *ŠÀ*, there will still be insufficient space for *na-aš* (Singer 1983: 212 and n. 29) or *nu-kán* (Götze and Pedersen 1934: 25), two suggestions which assume that this would have been the beginning of a clause. *ZAG KUR* (Forrer 1929: 141) alone would also be too long, as would *nu-kán* alone, in my view, though only slightly.

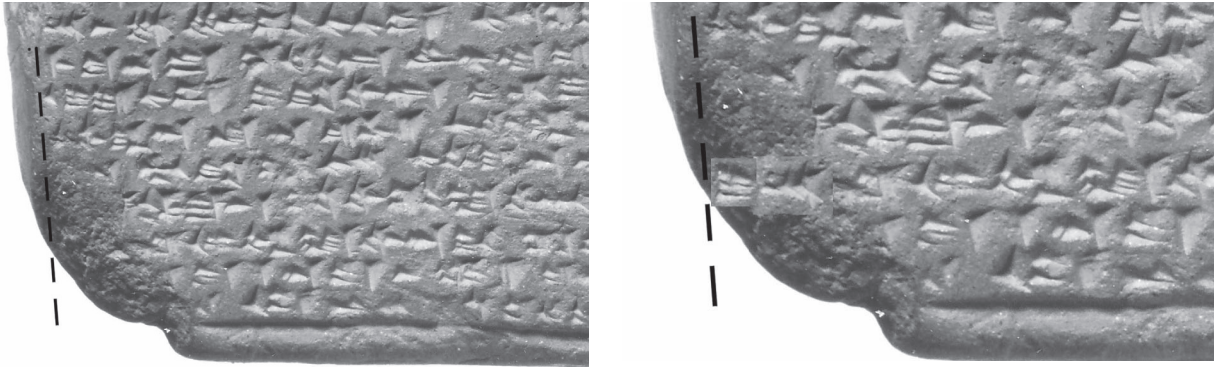


Fig. 4: Lower left of VAT 6692 obv. (left), with *I-NA* restored from ll. 66, 68 (right).

Before one can translate ll. 71-72, then, one must decide what should be done with the traces often associated with the end of l. 71 (Fig. 5). While Forrer (1929: 108) ignored them, Sommer (1932: 6) read  $\dot{u}^2$ -[w] $a^2$ - $nu^2$ - $un$ , which was followed, e.g. by Singer (1983: 212), but rejected by Heinhold-Krahmer (1986: 54). In my view, much speaks against reading a verb here.

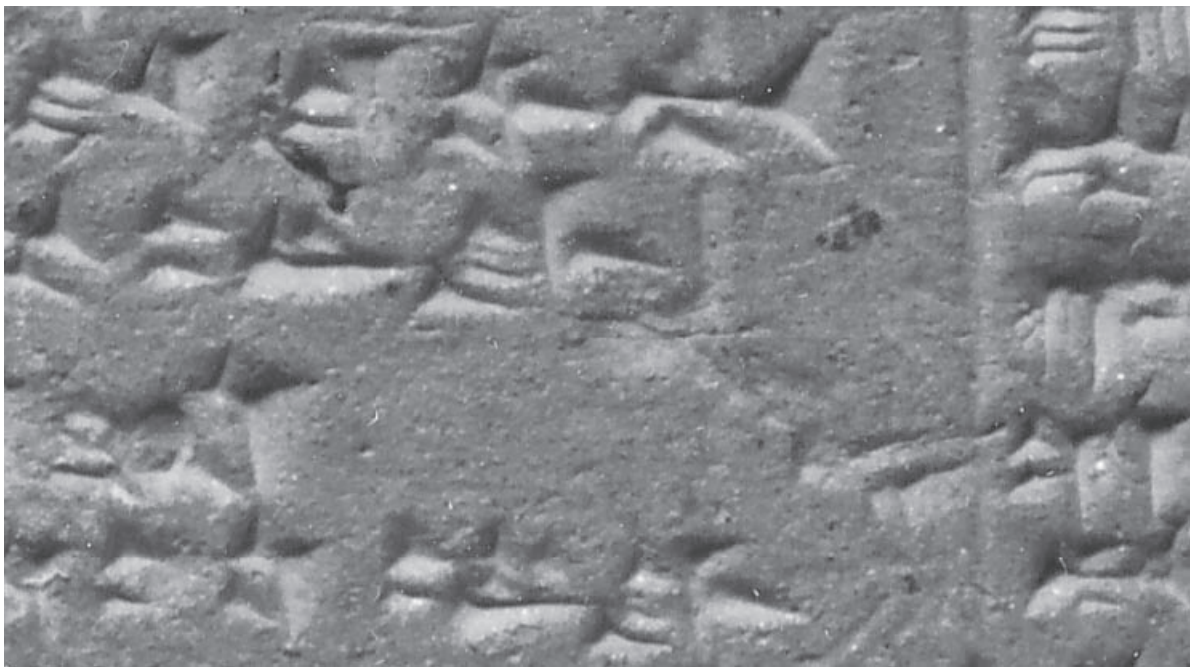


Fig. 5: The traces at the end of VAT 6692 i 71.

First, I am unable to convince myself that I can see any sign traces except for what Sommer read as *-un*. Here I would admit to seeing what one could read perhaps as an AŠ, then ZA, which could be interpreted as a damaged or malformed UN. (E. Rieken [pers. comm.] has suggested reading UN-*aš*.) Before this point I see nothing more than what I would interpret as slight damage to the surface, perhaps an erasure done after the clay was already rather dry. And of course, if the traces are in fact a later erasure, this should be respected, so that even assuming *uwanun* originally stood at this point and was scratched away, it should likely be ignored. Neither are the traces convincing as signs intentionally added as a correction after the tablet had dried. The surface here is actually fairly well preserved, and if these extremely shallow scratches were intended to convey the signs *ú-wa-nu-un*, then the scribe completely failed in his purpose. As such the scratches would have been illegible then as they are today. Thus, even if one chooses to read *uwanun*, I would suggest a transcription [*ú-wa-nu*]-*r<sup>un</sup>*<sup>171</sup> rather than Sommer's *ú<sup>2</sup>-[w]a<sup>2</sup>-nu<sup>2</sup>-un* which implies that something in these scratches actually suggests the first three signs. This is not the case.

Second, the scratches and sign traces angle downward and to the right, not upward into the column divider, as would be expected, suggesting that whatever these traces might be, they are not the end of the clause in l. 71. One might counter that the traces of <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR and *ú-wa-ti* in ll. 69 and 70 prevented the scribe from writing the signs up and into the column divider as he normally would have done, but this is not overly convincing, since the same scribe, faced with even less space in the column divider in ll. 18-19, still wrote the end of [*zi-i*]k-ka<sub>4</sub>-*wa-za-kán* up and into the column divider. Hence, if the traces do not convince as *ú-wa-nu-un*, if they are not written where one would expect, and if the signs were erased even if originally written, it should be viewed as unlikely that any verb should be read.

One might object that this leaves the traces in the column divider unexplained, to which I would respond in one of two ways. First, it is not at all uncommon to find stray traces on a tablet that one can or must ignore, so one is not necessarily obliged to explain them at all. Second, if one argues that these traces constitute an ad hoc correction after the tablet had dried, one could just as easily assume that they could represent a corrective note to the syntactically rather cumbersome ii 72-74, before which the traces in fact stand, perhaps to the certainly errant end of 74: ‘Was aber diesen Wagenlenker betrifft, da er mit einer Frau der Familie der Königin verheiratet ist — im Land Ḫatti ist die Familie der Königin hoch angesehen — ist er mir *etwa nicht ein Sch<wa>ger?*’ (<sup>(72)</sup>\**a-pí-ia* EGIR-*pa ú-iz-zi ka-a-aš\*-ma* <sup>LÚ</sup>KAR-TAP-PU *ku-iš* <sup>(73)</sup>ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL-*za ku-it ŠA MÁŠ-TI ḫar-zi I-NA* KUR <sup>URU</sup>GIDRU-*ti ŠA* MUNUS.LUGAL <sup>(74)</sup>MÁŠ-TUM \**me-ek-ki\* šal-li na-aš-mu Ú-UL im-ma* <sup>LÚ</sup>ḪA-<TA>-*NU*<sup>(?)</sup>.)

Before attempting to translate these first two lines, then, I should perhaps briefly address Heinhold-Krahmer's (1986:54f.) suggestion of reading l. 71 as a copula in the past tense, the 3 sg. pret. verb *esta* remaining unexpressed. This must be deemed extremely unlikely. As Heinhold-Krahmer has mentioned to me in our conversations, and as Alparslan (2005: 36) has pointed out, it is true that a handful of cases of nominal sentences in the past tense without *es-* can be identified. But this only allows for the remote possibility of the suggestion, it in no way makes it likely. On the contrary, if one is faced with hundreds of examples in which *es-* in the past tense is expressed, and only a handful of examples in which it is left out, this is a strong argument against interpolating an unexpressed *esta* at this point. Moreover, *esta* is in fact expressed in these very same lines, in 73 and 74, and it would have to be considered quite unlikely that it would remain unexpressed in 71, but be spelled out in 73 and 74.

So, if one rejects reading *uwanun* at the end of l. 71 and rejects reading the lines as a copula with an unexpressed verb, ‘to be’, it is clear that the clause continues to the end of l. 72 and ends with *uit*. This fits nicely, of course, the *-kan* in l. 71, which is called for by *tapusa uit*. It also provides a syntactically entirely unproblematic dependent clause: ‘Damals als Tawagalawa selbst, als Großkönig, *nah der/herüber zur Stadt Millawanda kam, ...*’.

The beginning of l. 73 would then provide the main clause. Regardless of what once stood at the beginning of the line, it must be read, ‘... war aber Kurunta, [...], hier.’ As to what one might restore at the beginning of the line, one can only speculate. As always, the first step in making the attempt is a close examination of the remaining traces, seen here in two different photos (Fig. 6). To my eyes it is clear, as others have already noted (L. Rost in Heinhold-Krahmer 1986: 54, n. 45), that a broken vertical can be seen before the *-ma*. Moreover, I believe I am able to see the head of a preceding vertical as well (cf. also Güterbock 1990: 163), and these traces compare very nicely with IA as copied in Fig. 6 from l. 68. UN of course would also be a possibility, and this led Gurney (2002:138, n. 20) to read *[ki-nu-u]n-ma*, a possibility which cannot be excluded, though in my view (Fig. 7, left), the signs would be somewhat too long for the available space, if one copies in the signs from ll. 63 and 68 and lays them over the area in question. The signs *[ka-ru]-rú<sup>1</sup>-ma* (Fig. 7, centre) would also seem a bit too long, though perhaps not prohibitively so, and of course, the broken vertical speaks against such. In a footnote in my TUAT translation (Miller 2006: 243, n. 30) I mentioned that, assuming the author is indeed Ḫattusili, *[DUMU.ŠEŠ-I]A-ma*, ‘my nephew’, would fit the historical context well, but that it, too, might be slightly too long for the available space. Another possibility that would fit the historical circumstances as well as the space tolerably well, though perhaps a bit short, is *[ÌR-I]A-ma*, ‘my servant’ (Fig. 7, right), in reference to Ḫattusili’s nephew or to some otherwise unknown diplomat, but this also remains speculative. In view of the traces, I would suggest that the best solution is to tentatively accept the possessive pronoun *-I]A*, but to avoid the temptation to restore what was likely a Sumerogram. We thus arrive at the syntactically and grammatically unremarkable translation, ‘Damals als Tawagalawa selbst, als Großkönig, *nah der/herüber zur Stadt Millawanda kam, war aber Kurunta, me[in ...], hier.*’

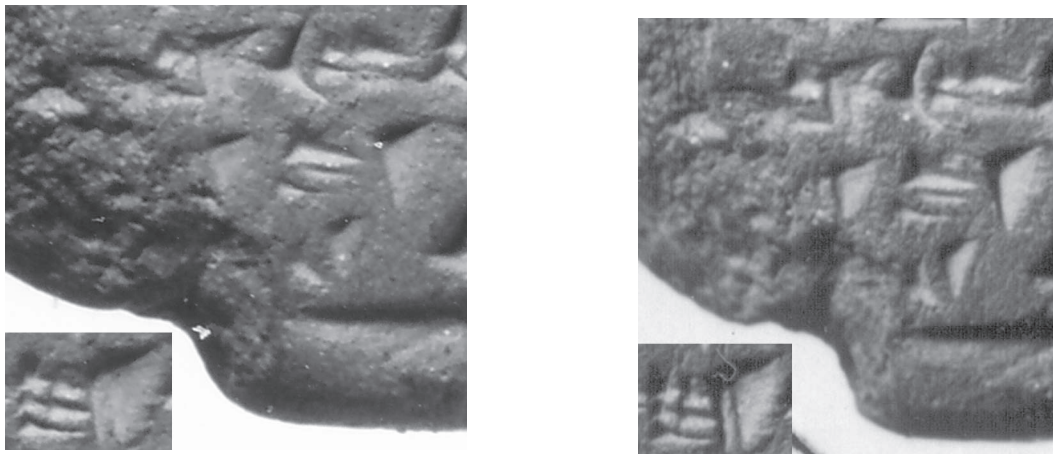


Fig. 6: The traces at the beginning of VAT 6692 i 73, with IA from l. 68.



Fig. 7: Comparison of suggested restorations in VAT 6692 i 73.



Since comparable passages (i 6f., 70, ii 7) suggest restoring [IGI-*an-d*]a at the beginning of l. 74, about which all commentators agree, the remainder of these lines can also be translated with no need for emendation or the assumption of any scribal error: ‘Und der Großkönig ist Dir entgegengefahren. War er kein erhabener König?’

While such a translation requires no syntactical or psychological gyrations, it will be difficult for some to accept because the sense that it yields will not fit into the historical picture they would like to maintain. I would therefore like now to discuss if and how such a translation might be reconciled with a reasonable picture of the historical context as can be gathered from the rest of the letter and from other documents. Much of my reconstruction has already been presaged by others, especially by Heinhold-Krahmer (1983; 1986), but there may be some new elements as well.

It seems obvious, both syntactically and contextually, that the LUGAL.GAL and the *sarkus ḫassus* in the entire passage at the end of column one is Tawagalawa. Attempts to avoid this conclusion must abuse either the grammar and syntax of the passage or the historical circumstances, or both. Some, for example, have followed Sommer (1932: 89f.) in seeing the enclitic pronoun *-tta*, ‘to you’, as a psychological error for *-ssi*, ‘to him’. Singer (1983:212) chose to interpret LUGAL.GAL as an apposition to this enclitic pronoun, which, though perhaps not impossible, must be considered quite unlikely, both grammatically and because there seems to be no reason that Ḫattusili would suddenly address his correspondent as LUGAL.GAL, as if he didn’t already know who he was, rather than ‘my brother’, as the writer otherwise consistently does. The simple, unproblematic reading, in contrast, would obviously be, ‘Und der Grosskönig ist Dir entgegengefahren.’

Some (e.g. Singer 1983:212) have preferred accepting that Ḫattusili would refer to his nephew and subordinate in Tarḫuntassa as a mighty king, and Güterbock (1990: 164 and n. 32) referred in this light to the seal, found at Ḫattusa, on which Kurunta in fact bears the title Great King (Otten 1988: 5, Abb. 1). This seal, however, does not necessarily bear any import for the question in this passage of the Tawagalawa letter, since the seal would presumably have been commissioned by Kurunta himself with the aim of aggrandizing his own position, probably either as a counterpoint to the power of Ḫattusa and/or after Ḫattusa’s decline, while the present passage in the letter was written by the Great King of Ḫatti, who hardly would have been calling various subordinates mighty kings, least of all the brother of the king (Mursili III/Urḫi-Teššub) which he himself had deposed and as such stood before him in the line to the throne of the empire.

A further major problem with those translations which attempt to avoid the conclusion that Tawagalawa was Great King is the tortured attempt at understanding the relative construction in ll. 71 and 72. Singer (1983: 212), e.g., reads *Tawagalawas=pat=kan kuwapi LUGAL.GAL uwanun n=as URU Millawanda tapusa uit* and translates ‘Even Tawagalawa, when (I), the Great King, came, he came aside to Millawanda.’ But of course, such a construction assumes a very odd Hittite syntax, and the Hittite word order that one would expect for Singer’s translation would of course be *LUGAL.GAL kuwapi uwanun* (or *nu kuwapi LUGAL.GAL uwanun*) *Tawagalawas=pat=kan INA URU Millawanda tapusa uit*. I am not prepared to say that the construction as understood by Singer is absolutely impossible in Hittite, but it is certainly not likely and would be at best very uncommon.

In short, reading these four lines with the assumption that Tawagalawa was once Great King allows one to avoid all these syntactical and grammatical gymnastics and accept a straightforward, unproblematic, first-semester Hittite translation. No emendations, no psychological errors, no oddly constructed Hittite monstrosities, no interpreting a tiny scratch as a desperately needed verb.

It seems that the passage would, according to this interpretation, constitute part of Ḫattusili's efforts to establish and/or enhance diplomatic relations with the perhaps relatively new Great King of Aḫḫiyawa, the addressee of the letter, whose name remains a mystery, following the presumably fairly recent death or abdication of his brother and predecessor, Tawagalawa. Obviously the death or abdication of Tawagalawa and the accession of his brother find no explicit mention in our textual sources and is the principal element of the reconstruction which must be deduced from other clues. These last lines of col. i would thus constitute a flashback to a time when Tawagalawa was still Great King in Aḫḫiyawa, probably toward the end of his reign. At this point he himself came across the sea to Millawanda in order to deal with the Piyamaradu problem, if one can understand *tapusa uit* in this context as 'he came over, came across'. At that time Kurunta, perhaps the king of Tarḫuntassa, perhaps some otherwise unknown diplomat, was there in Millawanda, possibly to serve as a witness to a treaty which the Great King of Aḫḫiyawa intended to draw up with Piyamaradu, Ḫattusili's reference to Kurunta's presence presumably serving to lend credence to his own version of events. The Great King of Aḫḫiyawa was received by his brother in Millawanda, suggesting that this brother, the addressee of the letter, may have served at that time in some role, perhaps as governor, in Aḫḫiyawa's Asian holdings. And if the continuation of this historical flashback in the first lines of col. ii can be understood as some have interpreted it, namely as Piyamaradu's rejection of the terms offered him, then it would seem that Tawagalawa at some point during his reign tried to control Piyamaradu's ambitions in a similar way as Ḫattusili tries to do with this letter, and that he had similarly failed. If so, it would of course not be the first time (see presently) that the writer of the letter compared his own actions to those of Tawagalawa. These much disputed lines would thus constitute an attempt by Ḫattusili to convince the present Great King in Aḫḫiyawa of the severity of the Piyamaradu situation, and hence, of the justification for his current campaign and of the necessity of finally dealing with Piyamaradu. Ḫattusili endeavours to convince his addressee by reminding him that even his brother Tawagalawa had tried to deal with Piyamaradu and had failed, since Piyamaradu had rejected Tawagalawa's authority just as he now was rejecting Hittite authority.

Incidentally, in the first line of col. ii, I would be very cautious about reading  $\llcorner$ za-a[r-ši-ia, as has generally been done, since the traces do not fit the signs well (Fig. 8). While the *Glossenkeil* is clear, and the following traces are amenable to za-, what comes next can hardly be reconciled with an -ar-.

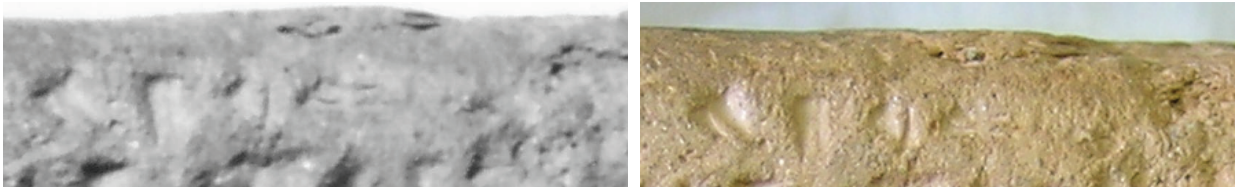


Fig. 8: Two photos of VAT 6692 ii 1.

What other evidence in this letter and in other texts might support such a hypothetical reconstruction? As Heinhold-Krahmer (1986: 50ff.) has pointed out, there is actually no indication in the three passages referring to Tawagalawa that he might still be alive or reigning. On the contrary, all three refer to him in historical situations. How far back these allusions reach is impossible to know. The reference in ii 58-61 very much gives the impression of the distant past: 'Dabala-Tarḫunta ist aber kein [...] geringer Mann. Seit (meiner) Kindheit pflegt er (als) Wagenlenker mit mir auf den Wagen zu steigen; auch mit Deinem Bruder, mit Tawagalawa, pflegte er [auf den Wagen] zu steigen.'

The first passage mentioning Tawagalawa, in i 3-5, reads as follows, beginning with l. 1: '[Ferne]r, zog er (Piyamaradu) los und ver[nich]tete die Stadt Attarimma, und verbrannte sie völlig, mitsamt der Mauer des Königshauses. [Und] wie die Lukka-Leute Tawagalawa aufmerksam gemacht haben, und er in diese Länder kam, ebenso machten sie mich aufmerksam, und ich kam in diese Länder hinab.' That the writer intended a parallel is obvious, and I would suggest that the parallel is of a geopolitical nature. Just as the people of Lukka had appealed to Tawagalawa for help, leading to his campaign to the region, they had appealed to Ḫattusili for help, leading to his campaign to the region. But did the writer intend a chronological in addition to the geopolitical parallel? In fact, there is no hint about when Tawagalawa's campaign took place, and I would suggest that the geopolitical parallel was mentioned with no thought to chronology. One cannot necessarily assume, just because the two geopolitically parallel events are placed one after the other in these three lines, that they occurred contemporaneously or one right after the other in actual time. On the contrary, Ḫattusili seems to refer to Tawagalawa's campaign as a precedent, perhaps also as justification, suggesting that Tawagalawa's reaction to the troubles in the Lukka lands preceded Ḫattusili's. Again, by how many months or years Tawagalawa's campaign preceded Ḫattusili's one can only speculate.

Moreover, while the first five lines of the tablet would seem, at first glance, to give the impression that both Tawagalawa and Ḫattusili reacted practically simultaneously to the Lukkeans' report concerning one and the same destruction of Attarimma, it seems not unlikely that having the full context of the previous paragraphs might have allowed one to see a more protracted picture, in which the Lukkeans, having long suffered at the hands of Piyamaradu, at one time requested the protection of Tawagalawa, who sought with his own campaign to put an end to the troubles, and at a later juncture requested the Hittite king's aid in dealing with the ongoing problem. In fact, from other documents it is known that the Piyamaradu affair stretched back into the reign of Ḫattusili's predecessors (Heinhold-Krahmer 1983: 86-97). Hence, one cannot really know if Tawagalawa's campaign to the Lukka lands occurred six months or six years (or more) before Ḫattusili's.

Yet there is perhaps another element to this parallel, in addition to the obvious geopolitical, that has been largely overlooked. Since the Lukkeans wrote to Ḫattusili, who was certainly a Great King, it would appear not unlikely that they had previously written to another Great King, namely Tawagalawa. It does not seem likely that Ḫattusili, or any other Hittite Great King, would compare his own actions to that of an Aḫḫiyawan prince or any other such subordinate as a precedent or justification for his own actions (similarly Alparslan 2005:37). It would be degrading and counterproductive. And it does not seem that one should insist on the dubious chronological parallel as an argument against placing Tawagalawa's reign at some time in the past, but then conveniently dispense with this aspect of the parallel that suggests that both would have been Great Kings.

In general, one experiences what one might call a telescoping effect when reading such a text. It seems to the modern reader lacking the prerequisite background information that all the events described have occurred in the immediate past. But it is clear when one lists all the events in Ḫattusili's recounting in this letter that they must have reached back at least many months, probably quite a few years. Further, we tend to read such a letter as if one event followed another, which is not necessarily so. Ḫattusili may well have referred to this or that event according to the logical flow of his argument, regardless of its position on a timeline. That this in fact is the case in the letter can be demonstrated by comparing, for example, i 53-63 and ii 20-23. In the first passage Ḫattusili goes to Millawanda and personally confronts Atpa. Later, in the second passage, Ḫattusili says that he climbed down (from his chariot) and told Atpa that since the king of Aḫḫiyawa had ordered him to deliver Piyamaradu, clearly a reference to what the messenger had said earlier, that he should finally do so. Between these two references to this one event Ḫattusili refers to several events whose chronological positions are quite uncertain.

Alparslan (2005:37f.) has recently suggested that an additional text fragment may support such a paradigm, namely KUB 23.93, which must belong to the corpus of royal correspondence due to the writer addressing his fellow king as ‘my brother’. Alparslan speculates that this fragment might belong to the Aḫḫiyawa corpus, and notes especially l. 3’, which reads, ‘Dein Bruder aber [hat] an meinen Bruder [...]’, after which one might want to restore ‘geschrieben’. And he suggests that the situation that this line in KUB 23.93 presumes would fit precisely that assumed by this interpretation of the Tawagalawa letter, namely that Tawagalawa and Muwattalli would have corresponded with each other, as did their brothers and successors, Ḫattusili and the addressee of KUB 14.3. And in fact, it would be difficult to find four other potentates from this period in the Ancient Near East who could fit this paradigm. This would result in the following relative chronological sketch (Fig. 9), with Muwattalli, Urḫi-Teššub and Ḫattusili at left, Tawagalawa and the addressee of KUB 14.3 at centre, and Kurunta at right (assuming for present purposes that Kurunta is the king of Tarḫuntassa, which is not necessary for the suggested paradigm).

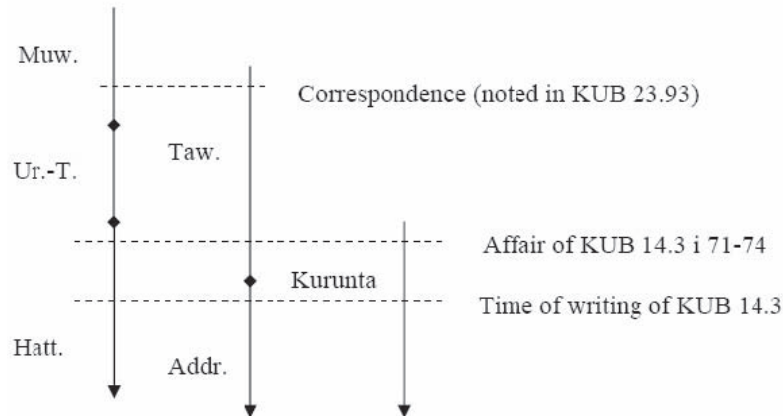


Fig. 9: Schematic chronological outline.

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