Why did the Anatolians remain illiterate for so long, although surrounded by people using script? Why and how did they eventually adopt the cuneiform writing system and why did they still invent a second, hieroglyphic script of their own? What did and didn't they write down and what role did Hittite literature, the oldest known literature in any Indo-European language, play? These and many other questions on scribal culture are addressed in this first, comprehensive book on writing, reading, script usage, and literacy in the Hittite kingdom (ca. 1650–1200 BC). It describes the rise and fall of literacy and literature in Hittite Anatolia in the wider context of its political, economic, and intellectual history.

Theo van den Hout is Arthur and Joann Rasmussen Professor of Hittite and Anatolian Languages in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. He is the Chief Editor of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary project, corresponding member of the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences, a 2016 Guggenheim Fellow, Senior Fellow at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World in New York, and the author of various books.
A HISTORY OF HITTITE LITERACY

Writing and Reading in Late Bronze-Age
Anatolia (1650–1200 BC)

THEO VAN DEN HOUT
University of Chicago
voor Charlotte, Philip en Julia
Contents

List of Figures xi
List of Tables xv
Preface and Acknowledgments xvii
Map xxii
Timeline and Hittite Kings xxiv
Sigla and Abbreviations xxv

1. Introduction 1
   1.1. Anatolia and Literacy 1
   1.2. Defining the Hittites 6
   1.3. A Note on the Hittite Economy 9
   1.4. Modern Hittite Scholarship and Our Sources 11
   1.5. The Nature of Our Evidence and How We Use It 13
   1.6. Doing Things with Tablets 17
   1.7. A Note on Chronology and Dating 20
   1.8. Some Final Remarks 21

2. Writing and Literacy among the Anatolians in the Old Assyrian Period 24
   2.1. The Beginnings of Writing in Anatolia 24
   2.2. Anitta and the First Unified Anatolian Kingdom 27
   2.3. Central Anatolia: An Illiterate Society in the Old Assyrian Period 34

3. From Kanesh to Hattusa 38
   3.1. The End of Anitta and the Rise of Hattusa 38
   3.2. The Origins of the Hittite Cuneiform 39
   3.3. The Case for a Syrian Origin 44
   3.4. A Closer Look at the Alalah Ductus 47
   3.5. Conclusion 50
   3.6. Appendix: A Brief Introduction to Hittite Cuneiform 51
## Contents

4. First Writing in Hattusa 57
   4.1. From Mursili I to Telipinu 57
   4.2. First Writing in Hattusa 58
   4.3. The Allure of Akkadian 63

5. Literacy and Literature in the Old Kingdom until 1500 BC 70
   5.1. Hatti-Land after Telipinu 70
   5.2. Literacy and Literature of the Old Kingdom 71
   5.3. Looking for Writing in the Old Kingdom 73
   5.4. Scribes in the Old Kingdom 77
   5.5. Evidence for Record Management 81
   5.6. The Character of the Earliest Hittite Compositions 83
   5.7. The Hittite Laws 87
   5.8. Law and Orality 92
   5.9. The Corpus of Old Hittite Cult Rituals 94
   5.10. Socio-Economic, Legal, and Bookkeeping Texts? 97
   5.11. The Early Hittite Kingdom as an Oral and Aural Society 98

6. The Emergence of Writing in Hittite 101
   6.1. The Second Half of the Sixteenth Century BC as an Anatolian Renaissance 101
   6.2. Adapting to Hittite 103
   6.3. The Charters and the Introduction of Writing in Hittite 110
   6.4. A Hittite Literature in the Vernacular 113

7. A Second Script 120
   7.1. The Anatolian Hieroglyphs 120
   7.2. The Iconographic Repertoire and its Development 121
   7.3. The Anatolian Hieroglyphs as a Writing System 129
   7.4. Conclusion 133
   7.5. Appendix: A Brief Introduction to Anatolian Hieroglyphs 134

8. The New Kingdom Cuneiform Corpus 139
   8.1. The New Kingdom Period 139
   8.2. The Cuneiform Corpus 142
   8.3. Historical Prose and Related Texts Using the Past 144
   8.4. Treaties, Instructions, Letters, and Depositions 148
   8.5. Religious Texts 152
   8.6. Scholarly Texts 157
   8.7. Bookkeeping and Socio-Economic and Legal Administration 165
   8.8. Cuneiform Text Corpora from Central Anatolia Outside Hattusa 169
   8.9. Conclusion 171

9. The New Kingdom Hieroglyphic Corpus 173
   9.1. Writing for the World 173
   9.2. Seals 173
Contents

9.3. Inscriptions Erected in the Public Sphere 174
9.4. Graffiti and Small Inscriptions on Objects 176
9.5. Conclusion 179

10. The Wooden Writing Boards 184
10.1. Problems and Evidence 184
10.2. GIS.HUR 188
10.3. (GIS.HUR) Batiu(ya)- 195
10.4. GIS(HAIR) Gštarbaita/id 196
10.5. (GIS(HAIR) GUL-ZATAR 197
10.6. (GIS) KUR]]) 204
10.7. (GIS.HUR) Parzak(i) 206
10.8. GIS.HUR NAPI 206
10.9. GIS.LÈ U 207
10.10. Conclusion on the Words So Far Discussed 209
10.11. Other Evidence for Wooden Tablets 211

11. The Seal Impressions of the Westbau and Building D, and the Wooden Tablets 218
11.1. The Collections of Seal Impressions in Hattusa 218
11.2. The Bullae and the Wooden Tablets: Previous Interpretations 222
11.3. Problems with the Traditional View 225
11.4. An Alternative Interpretation 227
11.5. Conclusion 232

12. In the Hittite Chancellery and Tablet Collections 234
12.1. The Reign of Mursili II 234
12.2. The Hittite Cuneiform Corpus from an Institutional Perspective 236
12.3. Writing: Drafting New Documents 244
12.4. Writing: Copying and Editing 246
12.5. The Editing Process 249
12.6. Writing: Other Types of Documents 236
12.7. Reading 259
12.8. Record Management 263
12.9. Tablet Storage in Hattusa: Can We Detect a System? 265
12.10. Appendix: The Editors at Work 276

13. Scribes and Scholars 287
13.1. The Last Hundred Years 287
13.2. Who Were the Scribes? 292
13.3. Scribes and Wood-Scribes 294
13.4. The Societal Status of Scribes 297
13.5. Scribes and Seal Owners 301
13.6. Scribes Elsewhere in the Cuneiform Corpus 305
13.7. Elite Scribes 305
13.8. Chief Scribes 311
Contents

13.9. Apprentices 313
13.10. The Scribal Organization 315
13.11. The Average Scribe 319
13.12. Scholars at the Hittite Court 322
13.13. The scriba doctus 325
13.14. The Tablet Inventories as Scholarly Corpora 331
13.15. Memorization as Part of Scholarly Life? 337

14.1. Introduction 341
14.2. An Alternative Hypothesis 356
14.3. The Shape of L.326 and L.326t 369
14.4. Conclusions 371

15. The End and Looking Back 375
15.1. The Vanishing of the Hittite Kingdom 375
15.2. Looking Back 377

Bibliography 381
Index Locorum 419
General Index 424
Figures

2.1 Small tablet with Anitta’s name (obv. 1) from Alişar Höyük (from Gelb 1935: Pl. I). page 29

3.1 Old Assyrian tablet (from Veenhof 2003 Fig. 4; courtesy K.R. Veenhof). 41

3.2 Letter of Hattusili I to Tunip-Tessub (obv., from Salvini 1994; courtesy M. Salvini). 43

4.1 Inscription on ax of King Ammuna (from Salvini 1993: 85; courtesy M. Salvini). 60

4.2 Charter of King Hantili II (from Rüster 1993:66) as if “folded out” along the lower edge (u. Rd.). 62

6.1 Tombstone at Chicago’s Graceland Cemetery (photo author). 104

6.2 Sequence of signs in KBo 22.1 obv. 13 (drawing author). 107

7.1 Relief at Fraktin portraying King Hattusili III (ca. 1267–1240 BC; photo courtesy JoAnn Scurlock) libating before a deity (left) with an altar between them. The king is identified by the “caption” to the left of his head. The sign closest to his head is magnus.rex with the rex sign being identical to the pointed helmet the king himself is wearing. 121


7.3 Hattusili seal impression (from Boehmer/Güterbock 1987: 39 Abb. 25c; copyright Archive of the Boğazköy Expedition, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin). 125

7.4 Seal impression of Tuthaliya I (from Otten 2000: Abb. 23). 126

7.5 Seal impression with Satanduhepa found at Maşat Höyük (from Alp 1991: Abb. 2). 128
**List of Figures**

8.1 Livermodel 59/k = KBo 7.7 (from de Vos 2013; copyright Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz).

9.1 Hieroglyphic signs L.24 (i.18) and L.344 (contractus).

9.2 Drawing of a lion (KUB 28.4; copyright Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Vorderasiatisches Museum, Foto: BoFN 00924).

9.3 Drawing of a god(?) (KUB 20.76; copyright Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Vorderasiatisches Museum, Foto: BoFN 00814).

9.4 Drawing of two heads (KUB 38.3; copyright Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Vorderasiatisches Museum, Foto: BoFN 00993).

9.5 Hieroglyphic signs on tablet KBo 13.62 (with cuneiform upside down!; copyright Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz).

9.6 Bulla with various hieroglyphs drawn on its side (from Güterbock 1942: Tafel VIII 238).

10.1 Line drawing of Ulu Burun wooden diptych (drawing Netia Piercy apud Payton 1991: 102 Fig. 2; copyright British Institute at Ankara). The diagonal scratches in the wood served to make the wax adhere better to the wooden surface.

10.2a-c Modern replica of a Roman tabula (photos author).

10.3 Some possible styli found at Boğazköy (from Boehmer 1972: Pl. xli nos. 1208–1209; copyright Archive of the Boğazköy Expedition, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin).

10.4 Seal SBo 2.130 with the cursive ma-sign (but facing right) on top (from Güterbock 1942: 72).

10.5 Public scribe, Istanbul 1928 (from National Geographic January 1929).

11.1 Position of the Westbau on the slope (from Herbordt 2005: 9; copyright Archive of the Boğazköy Expedition, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin).

11.2 Location of the sealings (“Siegel”) found in Bldg. D (from Bittel 1950–1951; copyright Archive of the Boğazköy Expedition, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin).
List of Figures

12.1 KUB 14.13 column i end (from KUB 14 Pl. 31 [Berlin 1926]).
12.2 Seal of Taprammi on KUB 25.32 columns iii (left half) and iv (copyright Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Vorderasiatisches Museum, Foto: BoFN 01748).
12.3 Stela base (BOĞAZKÖY 1), Istanbul Archaeological Museum (photo author).
12.4 Map of Boğazköy-Hattusa (copyright Archiv der Boğazköy Expedition, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin).
12.5 Map of buildings on Büyükkale with added numbers of fragments found there (after Bittel 1983: 106).
12.6 KUB 25.1 obv. columns i-iii (upper half; copyright Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Vorderasiatisches Museum, Foto: BoFN 01759).
12.7 KUB 2.5 obv. columns i-iii (copyright Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Vorderasiatisches Museum, Foto: BoFN 00005).
13.1 KBo 39.43 iv (copyright Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz).
13.3 KUB 4.38 (from KUB 4 Pl. 20 [Berlin 1922]).
14.1 Seal impression SBo 1.91 (from Güterbock 1940: 70).
14.2 Seal impression on RS 17.28 (from Schaeffer 1956: 51).
14.3 Seal impression from Lower City 3 (USt. 3), Beran 1967:29 (no. 125) w. Pl.10. (from Boehmer & Güterbock 1987: 53; copyright Archiv der Boğazköy Expedition, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin).
14.4a Seal ring impression of Sauskawalwi (Herbordt 2005: Pl. 30 No. 382b; copyright Archiv der Boğazköy Expedition, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin).
14.4b Seal ring impression of Tiwarsa (Herbordt 2005: Pl. 37 No. 476b; copyright Archiv der Boğazköy Expedition, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin).
### List of Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>Sickle blade found at Hattusa (from Bittel 1937: Abb. 9); copyright Archive of the Boğazköy Expedition, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin)</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>ÐEUS.L.326t on KÑIK bowl (from Hawkins 1993: 715 Fig. 1)</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>Seal from Tarsus (from Goldman 1956: Pl. 402 [photo], 406 [drawing])</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>Anatolian hieroglyphic signs depicting thrones (L.298 and 294, respectively)</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>Dresden seal (from Boehmer &amp; Güterbock 1987: no. 151 Pl. XVI; copyright Archive of the Boğazköy Expedition, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin) with L.326-seat at 11 o’clock.</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.10</td>
<td>Hittite seal (from Boehmer &amp; Güterbock 1987: no. 151 Pl. XVI; copyright Archive of the Boğazköy Expedition, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin) with seat at 12 o’clock.</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.11</td>
<td>Chairs and seats in Salonen 1963: Pl. 23.</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.12</td>
<td>Chairs and seats in Salonen 1963: Pl. 25.</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.13</td>
<td>Paleography of L.326 and L.326t (drawing author).</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Tables

3.1 Comparison of some Old Babylonian signs with their older Hittite counterparts  
3.2 Traditional model of Hittite paleographic stages  
3.3 Some diagnostic signs as used in dating Hittite texts  
3.4 Some Babylonian standard signs compared to their Hittite counterparts  
3.5 Some Babylonian standard signs compared to the same ones in texts from Alalah VII  
3.6 Percentages for the relative frequency of the Hittite “older” and “later” sign shapes in texts from Alalah VII  
3.7 Hittite cuneiform vowel signs  
3.8 Hittite cuneiform consonant+vowel signs  
3.9 Hittite cuneiform vowel+consonant signs  
3.10 Hittite cuneiform consonant+vowel+consonant signs  
3.11 Sumerograms and logograms  
4.1 Originals from the Old Kingdom 1650–1400 BC  
4.2 Compositions datable to Old Kingdom Hittite kings regardless of the date or language of the manuscript  
5.1 Names of earliest datable scribes  
5.2 Names of scribes datable to mid- and later fifteenth century  
5.3 Scribes attributable to the period 1500–1350 BC  
6.1 List of wa-signs with subscript  
6.2 Comparison of Akkadian and Hittite lexical material in the charters  
6.3 Distribution of genres and the number of manuscripts in Old Script tablets  
7.1 Reading direction of Anatolian hieroglyphic signs  
7.2 Second millenium Anatolian hieroglyphic syllabary: vowels  
7.3 Second millenium Anatolian hieroglyphic syllabary: consonant + vowel
List of Tables

7.4 Second millenium Anatolian hieroglyphic syllabary: some signs, transcriptions, and meanings

8.1 Hittite lists and bookkeeping texts

10.1 Attested forms for gisḫ₂(h)₂(k)₂gaštarhait/da

10.2 Attested forms for gul-zattar

10.3 Attested forms for gisḫ kurta-

12.1 Genres in Hittite literature as short- vs. long-term records

12.2 Possible editing stages

12.3 Number of text fragment finds in the StT1, HaH, and on Bk. A

12.4 Number of text fragment finds in buildings on Bk., and in Temples other than Temple 1 (numbers from the Konkordanz)

13.1 Hierarchy of people mentioned in the Mašat Höyük letters.

13.2 Most frequently encountered non-royal titles on seal impressions

13.3 Names of scribes also attested on seal impressions.

13.4 Scribes mentioned in witness lists in KBo 4.10, Bo 86/299, and KUB 26.43

13.5 Chief Scribes and Chief Wood-scribes in the thirteenth century BC

13.6 Apprentice scribes attested in colophons

13.7 Hierarchy of named scribes

13.8 Archaic or archaic-looking cuneiform signs in Hittite colophons

13.9 Archaic or archaic-looking signs outside colophons

14.1 Elements in the so-called “scribal signatures”

14.2 Seal impressions with L.326 at Emar

14.3 Seal impressions with L.326 at Ugarit
Preface and Acknowledgments

The beginnings of this book go back to June, 1995. On the first two days of that month the members of the Oosters Genootschap in Nederland (Oriental Society in the Netherlands) convened in Leiden at their annual Huishoudelijk Congres to read and hear a great variety of papers. Those of us belonging to the ancient Near Eastern section reflected on the topic Tekst als Geschiedenis (Text as History). The organizer of this particular gathering, Sumerologist Herman Vanstiphout, asked me to contribute on the Hittites, the dominating power in ancient Anatolia (modern Turkey) between ca. 1650 and 1200 BC. I had always had an interest in questions of the function of texts in society and the practical and graphic aspects of clay tablets with their cuneiform script, but I had not yet done any systematic research in that direction. The invitation to this conference provided the ideal incentive to start doing so. For the first time I stepped back and tried to oversee the corpus of Hittite texts as a whole, asking why they had been written down, why in many cases the Hittites had themselves held on to them for sometimes considerable time, and why in other cases they had not.

The Oosters Genootschap usually did not publish the proceedings of their annual meetings and eventually I submitted a version of my paper for the memorial volume for Fiorella Imparati (2002). Since then I have explored various aspects of text history in a range of articles and talks but over time the thought of a comprehensive monograph developed. It was not until my first sabbatical in 2011–2012 that I was able to make a start on the present book. Resuming duties as chair of the department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Chicago in the fall of 2012 prevented me from finishing it and I had to put the project aside until my next leave. This came in 2016–2017 when a Fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation enabled me to fundamentally revise what I had written earlier and to complete the manuscript. The forced break between the two leaves proved enormously beneficial. As books go, they do not...
leave you alone. Although unable to spend any significant time on it, it never left my mind, I kept reading around the topic and continued jotting down thoughts and making notes. By the time the summer of 2016 came around I had changed my mind on a number of issues.

Intending to present an overview and a coherent picture of the function of writing in early historic Anatolia and in the Hittite Kingdom for a non-specialized readership I have had to rehash several topics that I already wrote about previously. In the earlier chapters the Hittitological reader may recognize much that sounds familiar – and I ask for their indulgence – but most of what comes after (Chapters 7–15) is new. But I also hope to attract a wider readership of colleagues working on other parts of the ancient Middle East or of the world, for that matter, as well as people interested in questions of literacy and scripts in general.

I thank the University of Chicago for providing an environment that stimulates profound research. The Humanities Division under then Dean Martha Roth granted me the two leaves, without which this book would never have seen the light of day. For my second leave, Courtney Guerra expertly guided me through the process of applications for fellowships and I had the good fortune to be awarded one by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, to which I will be eternally grateful. For my Guggenheim leave I rented a carrel at the Joseph Regenstein Library at Chicago where I would retreat every morning away from phone and email and would just sit down and write.

I am deeply indebted to Willemijn Waal and Mark Weeden, who read an earlier version of the manuscript. Michele Cammarosano, Thalia Lysen, Seth Richardson, and Cambridge University Press’ two anonymous reviewers likewise gave me invaluable feedback. The Oriental Institute always has been an enormously stimulating environment where the answer to many of one’s questions is never further than a few doors or a floor away. I am very grateful to its directors Gil Stein and Chris Woods for their support as well as to all my colleagues on whose doors I have often knocked. Without exception, they went out of their way to answer my queries and I always left their offices enriched. I want to especially mention Bob Biggs, Petra Goedegebuure, Rebecca Hasselbach, Janet Johnson, Kate Morgan, James Osborne, Dennis Pardee, Susanne Paulus, Hervé Reculeau, Seth Richardson, Matthew Stolper, Emily Teeter, and Chris Woods. The staff at the Oriental Institute has always been there to help out where needed and never without a smile. I want to mention especially the help of Charissa Johnson and Steven Townshend. The Oriental
Preface and Acknowledgments

Institute’s library (strangely known as the Research Archives) rarely let me down and I am indebted to its librarian Foy Scalf for his help on many occasions. I also remember in grateful horror the session with some of the members of Chicago’s Society of Fellows where I presented a premature version of my Introduction. The treadmills at the Henry Crown Field House were the source of many ideas when I tried to alleviate the boredom of running by thinking through specific issues relating to my book. And there was always the reward of some good handball games afterwards.

Eric Lindahl and Brian Zimmerle, former preparators at the Oriental Institute, advised me on practical questions concerning clay and the making of tablets, and they even had Willemijn Waal and me do some experiments. Over the years I also received the friendly support of colleagues at this University and from all over the world: Michael Allen, Clifford Ando, James Burgin, Yoram Cohen, Martien Dillo, John “Jay” Ellison, Mark Garrison, Wouter Henkelman, Barbara Jilson, Hakan Karateke, Jörg Klinger, Guido Kryszat, Jake Lauinger, Stefano de Martino, Craig Melchert, Jared Miller, Clelia Mora, Sarah Nooter, Peter Raulwing, Madadh Richey, Mirjo Salvini, Andreas Schachner, Jürgen Seeher, Daniel Schwemer, Ada Taggar-Cohen, Jonathan Taylor, Ben van Gessel, and Gernot Wilhelm. I also want to thank Cambridge University Press and Michael Sharp for accepting my manuscript for publication and guiding me through the process, and Juliet Wilberforce for her meticulous and invaluable editing work.

I am grateful to the Stichting Amstel 218 of the Six Collection in Amsterdam for allowing me to use the Rembrandt van Rijn drawing Homer reciting Verses from the so-called ‘Pandora’, Album Amicorum for Jan Six from 1652. In the detail shown here on the cover Rembrandt beautifully captures the concentration of the scribe sitting at Homer’s feet as he takes down the blind bard’s words, encapsulating the oral and the written. The image was not chosen for this reason only. My first archaeology classes as a young student in Amsterdam took me to what was then called the Jan Six Instituut, and in the Classics reading room back then stood the “Six kast”, a bookshelf in the shape of a Greek temple, once owned by a later Jan Six, the nineteenth century numismatist and Lycian specialist. For other illustrations I am indebted to Gina Coulthard of the British Institute at Ankara, Barbara Helwing of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Vorderasiatisches Museum, Gerfrid Müller and Daniel Schwemer of the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur,
xx  Preface and Acknowledgments

Mainz, Andreas Schachner of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul, as well as Mirjo Salvini and Klaas Veenhof.

Finally, I would never have been able to write this book without the never-ending support of my wife Lidwina, the love of my life. I dedicate this book to our children Charlotte, Philip, and Julia for sharing our American adventure.
### Timeline and Hittite Kings

#### Kanesh 2
- **Kanesh 2**: earliest evidence for presence of Assyrian merchants
- **ca. 2000**: earliest evidence
- **most Old Assyrian texts written**: ca. 1900–1860
- **End of Kanesh 2**: 1835

#### Kanesh 1b
- **1832-ca. 1720**: most Old Assyrian texts written
- **Anitta**: ca. 1750

#### Hattusa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kings</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Relation to Preceding or Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Old Kingdom
| Huzziya | ca. 1700 (?) | |
| Labarna | | | |
| Hattusili I | ca. 1650 | grandson (?) |
| Mursili I | ca. 1600 | grandson |
| Hantili I | | brother-in-law |
| Zidanta I | | son of Mursili I |
| Ammuna | | son |
| Huzziya I | | |
| Telipinu | ca. 1525 | brother-in-law |
| Alluwamma | | son? |
| Hantili II | | son of Alluwamma? |
| Zidanta II | | |
| Tahurwali? | | |
| Huzziya II | | |
| Muwatalli I | | |
| New Kingdom
| Tuthaliya I | ca. 1420 | son-in-law |
| Arnuwanda I | | son |
| Tuthaliya II | | |
| (Hattusili II?) | | |
| Tuthaliya III | | son (?) Tuthaliya II |
| Suppiluliuma I | ca. 1350 | half-brother? |
| Arnuwanda II | | son |

xxii
### Timeline and Hittite Kings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hittite King</th>
<th>Reign Date</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mursili II</td>
<td>ca. 1320–1295</td>
<td>brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muwatalli II</td>
<td>ca. 1295–1275</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urhitessub/Mursili III</td>
<td>1274–1267</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hattusili III</td>
<td>1267-ca. 1240</td>
<td>brother of Muwatalli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuthaliya IV</td>
<td>ca. 1240-ca. 1215/1210</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuruntiya?</td>
<td>son of Muwatalli II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arnuwanda III</td>
<td>son of Tuthaliya IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suppiluliuma/</td>
<td>ca. 1210–1200</td>
<td>brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suppiluliyama (II)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Sigla and Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sigla</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABoT</td>
<td>Balkan, Kemal (1948), <em>Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri</em> (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basmevi).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ChS</td>
<td>Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler, I. Abteilung, <em>Die Texte aus Boğazköy</em> (Roma 1984ff.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBoT</td>
<td><em>İstanbul Arkeoloji Müze lerinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri</em> (İstanbul 1954ff.).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sigla and Abbreviations


KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy (Berlin 1916ff.).

KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy (Berlin 1921–1990).

KuSa Wilhelm, Gernot (1997), Keilschrifttexte aus Gebäude A (Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf).

MSL B. Landsberger et al., Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon (Roma 1937ff.).

RLA Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (Berlin 1928ff.).

TUAT Kaiser, Otto et al. (eds.), Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus).


Abb. (German) Abbildung ("figure/illustration")

abl. ablative

acc. accusative

Akkad. Akkadian

cat. catalog

cf. confer(t), compare

Ch(s). Chapter(s)

col. column

com. common gender

cun. cuneiform

dat. dative

DN Divine Name

dupl(s). duplicate(s)

ed. edited

f. and following page

forthc. forthcoming

gen. genitive

GN Geographical Name

i, ii, etc. columns on a clay tablet or Roman-numbered pages in the introduction of a book

ibid. ibidem

instr. instrumental

Kp. Kayalıpınar
xxvi Sigla and Abbreviations

Kr. Kültepe
L.# sign numbers in Laroche 1960
lit. literature
loc. locative
n. note
neut. neuter gender
nom. nominative
obv. obverse
pl. plural
Pl(s). Plate(s)
PN Personal Name
RN Royal Name
RS Ras Shamra
rev. reverse
sg. singular
Sum. Sumerian
s.v(v). sub voce/vocibus
tr. translation/translated by
unpubl. unpublished
vel sim. vel simile/similia ("or similar")
w. with
* * text between * * in transcription is written over erasure
* unattested, reconstructed forms