

# Εοthen

Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico  
fondata da Fiorella Imparati e Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli  
diretta da Stefano de Martino

## NEW RESULTS AND NEW QUESTIONS ON THE REIGN OF SUPPILULIUMA I

edited by

Stefano de Martino - Jared L. Miller



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Stefano de Martino – Jared L. Miller (eds.), *New Results and New Questions on the Reign of Suppiluliuma I*

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[www.logisma.it](http://www.logisma.it) - [logisma@tin.it](mailto:logisma@tin.it)

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the first person, seem to have been essentially the same. Here, for example, are presented the colophons of the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> tablet of the Deeds, followed by a colophon of the Annals narrated in the first person.

KBo 5.6 iv 16-18	KUB 19.7+ <sup>2</sup> 48 iv 1'-3'
DUB.7.KAM [NU].TIL	[ DU]B.12.KAM
<i>A-NA TUP-PÍ</i> <sup>1</sup> [Z]ABAR	<i>ŠA</i> [ <sup>m</sup> <i>Šu-up-pí-lu</i> ]-ú-li-u-ma
<i>na-a-ú-i</i> [a]-ni-ia-an	LUGAL.GA[L UR.SAG] LÚ-na.-an-na-aš.

KBo 19.49+51 iv 12'-15'  
 [... DUB.x+<sup>2</sup>]1.KAM \*NU.TIL\* *ŠA* <sup>m</sup>*Šu-up-pí-lu*-<sup>r</sup>li-u<sup>1</sup>-m[a]  
 [... LUGAL.GA]L UR.SAG LÚ-na-an-na-aš  
 [A-NA TUP-PÍ ZABAR-a]t-kán na-a-ú-i  
 [... a-ni-i]a-an

As is readily seen, there is nothing in the colophons that differentiates the one composition from the other; even the comment regarding the text not yet having been incised onto a bronze tablet is found in at least some versions of both. This means, of course, that even the presence of a colophon cannot, of and by itself, secure the attribution of a fragment to the Deeds unless enough text is preserved along with it to demonstrate at least that its narrative reports, for instance, on the exploits of the narrator's father and/or grandfather. This uncertainty would seem to apply at least to KBo 19.50, KUB 34.29 and KBo 47.21, fragments which have been attributed to the Deeds on account of their colophons and/or content, but could just as well be fragments of Suppiluliuma's Annals narrated in the first person. KUB 34.29 does at least refer to the king's father in the small portion of text preserved, so that its attribution to the Deeds is at any rate likely enough, though neither is it impossible that Suppiluliuma, despite his dubious origins (see most recently Stavi 2011), could have referred to his father in some context.

The few colophons in texts and fragments that are well enough preserved to permit (varyingly) confident attributions to the composition allow one to place securely one ms. each of the second (KBo 14.3+40.293), the third or

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<sup>1</sup> For arguments suggesting Akk. *tuppu(m)* rather than *tuppu(m)*, see Streck 2009.

fourth (KUB 19.10),<sup>2</sup> the seventh (KBo 5.6), the ninth (KBo 19.50) and the twelfth (KUB 19.7+<sup>3</sup>KBo 19.48) tablets within the Deeds (Fig. 1), whereby the exact reading of the number in the colophon of tablet 3<sup>?</sup> or 4<sup>?</sup> remains uncertain, and the attribution of KBo 19.50 to the Deeds is equally tentative. All but one of these can be supplemented with one or more duplicates (Fig. 2), i.e. dupl. to Tablet 2: KUB 19.18; to Tablet 3<sup>?</sup> or 4<sup>?</sup>: KUB 19.11+KBo 22.12+50.10 and KBo 50.14; to Tablet 7: KBo 14.12+16.38+39.280, KUB 19.4+23.8+KBo 19.45+Bo 7744, KUB 21.10+KBo 50.11, KUB 31.7, KUB 34.25, KBo 14.9, KBo 14.10, KBo 14.11, KBo 22.9 and KBo 42.72; and perhaps to Tablet 9: KUB 19.13+14+KBo 50.13. These tablets and fragments can therefore serve as the (relatively) secure anchors for the reconstruction of the composition and of the historical events narrated in them, whereby at least two further comments are in order.

First, it is not entirely certain that KUB 19.13++ ii 28"-33" in fact duplicate KBo 19.50 iv 1'-6', the fragment, itself of uncertain attribution, which provides in its colophon the tablet number nine.

KUB 19.13++ ii 28"-33"

28" *zi-ik<sup>1</sup>-ma-wa-k[án*

29" *le-e ku-wa-pí-i[k-ki*

30" *pa-ra-a I-NA<sup>1</sup> KUR<sup>URU</sup> H[ar<sup>?</sup>-ra-na<sup>(?)</sup>*

31" *KUR<sup>URU</sup> Har-ra-<sup>1</sup>na-az<sup>1</sup>-ma-z[a*

32" *pa-iz-zi nu KUR<sup>URU</sup> W[a-aš-šu-ug-ga-an-na*

33" *<sup>URU</sup>Wa-aš-šu-ug-ga-an-n[a*

KBo 19.50 iv 1'-6'

1' *'zi-ik<sup>1</sup>-m[a-wa-kán*

2' *pa-i-ši \*x\* LUGAL<sup>UR[U</sup>*

3' *nu KUR<sup>URU</sup> Har-ra-a[n<sup>?</sup>*

4' *I-NA KUR<sup>URU</sup> W[a-aš-šu-ug-ga-an-na*

5' *<sup>URU</sup>Wa-a[š-š]u-[ug-ga-an-na*

6' *'ma<sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup>-[*

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<sup>2</sup> As I have argued elsewhere (Miller in press; KBo 50, p. V, sub 14; cf. del Monte 2008, xxv n. 49), KBo 50.14 does not seem to join to KUB 19.10, as Groddek (2008, 116) has suggested.

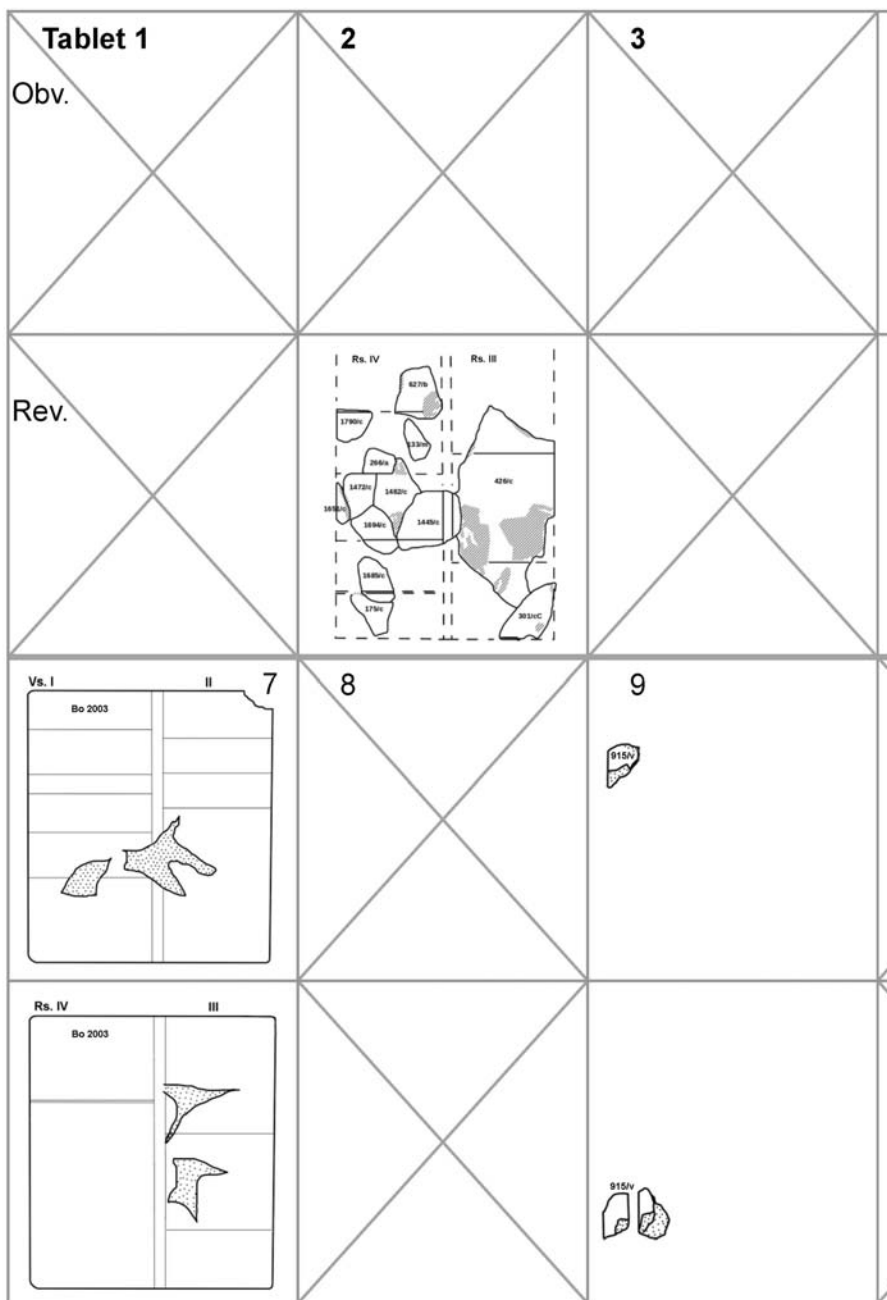
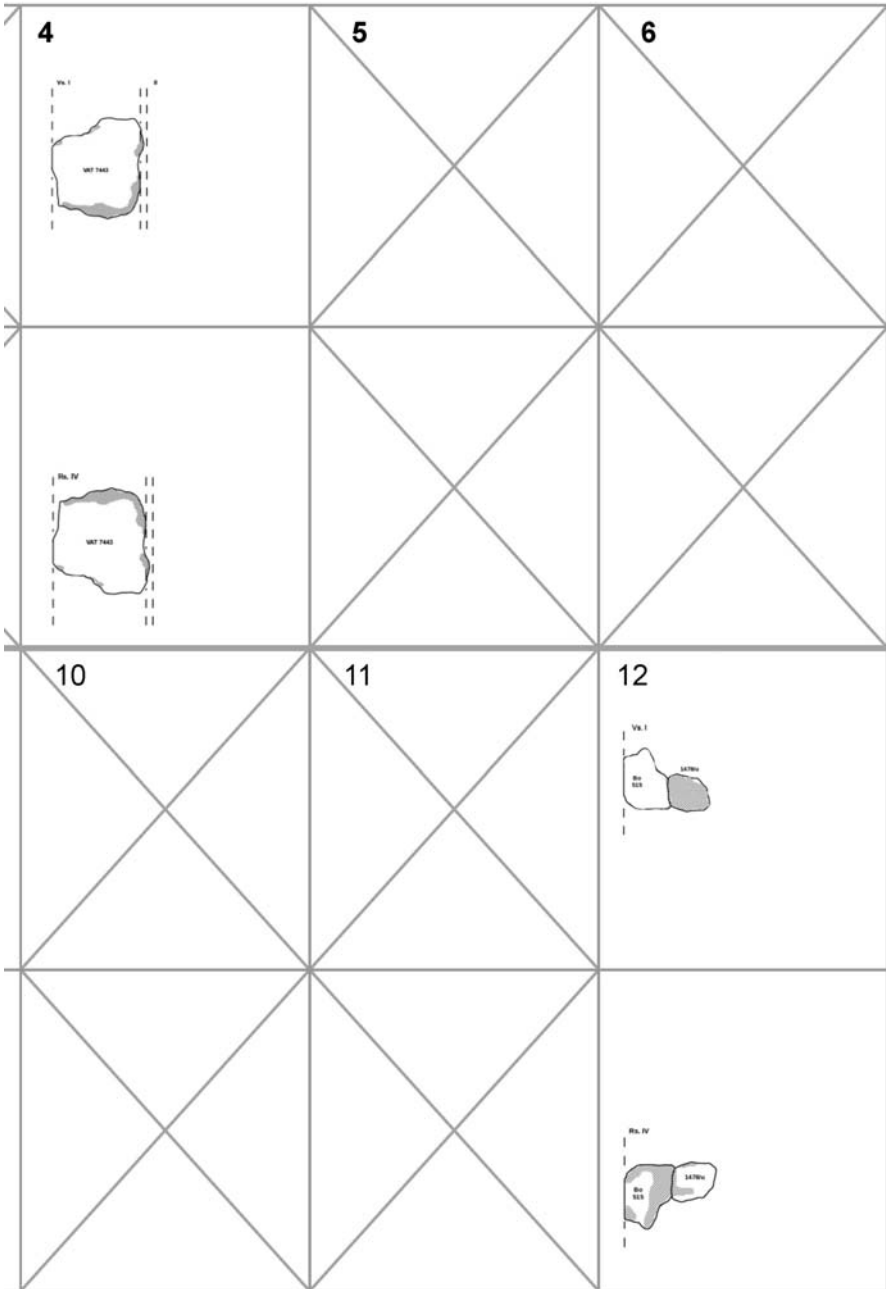


Fig. 1: The five tablets and fragments of the Deeds bearing tablet numbers.



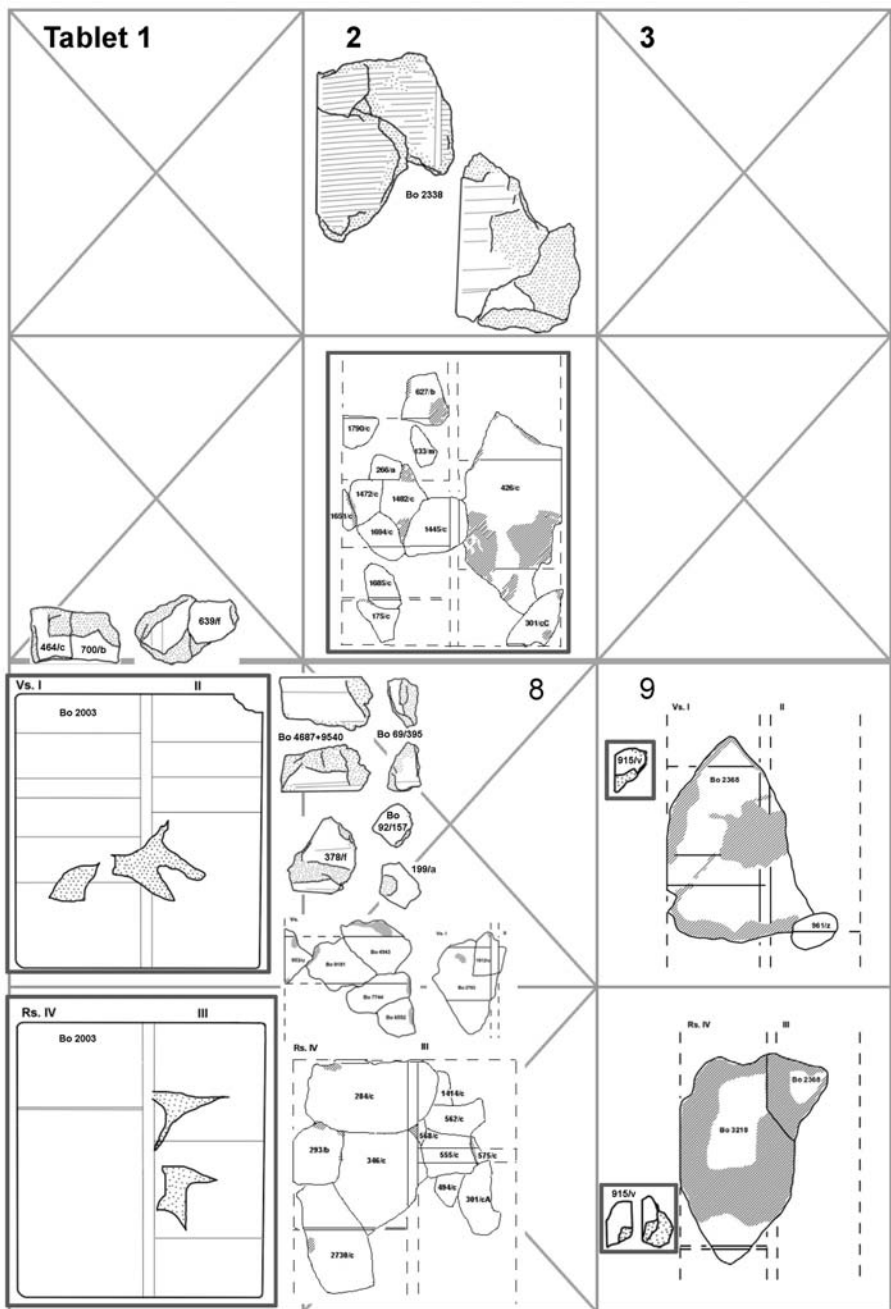
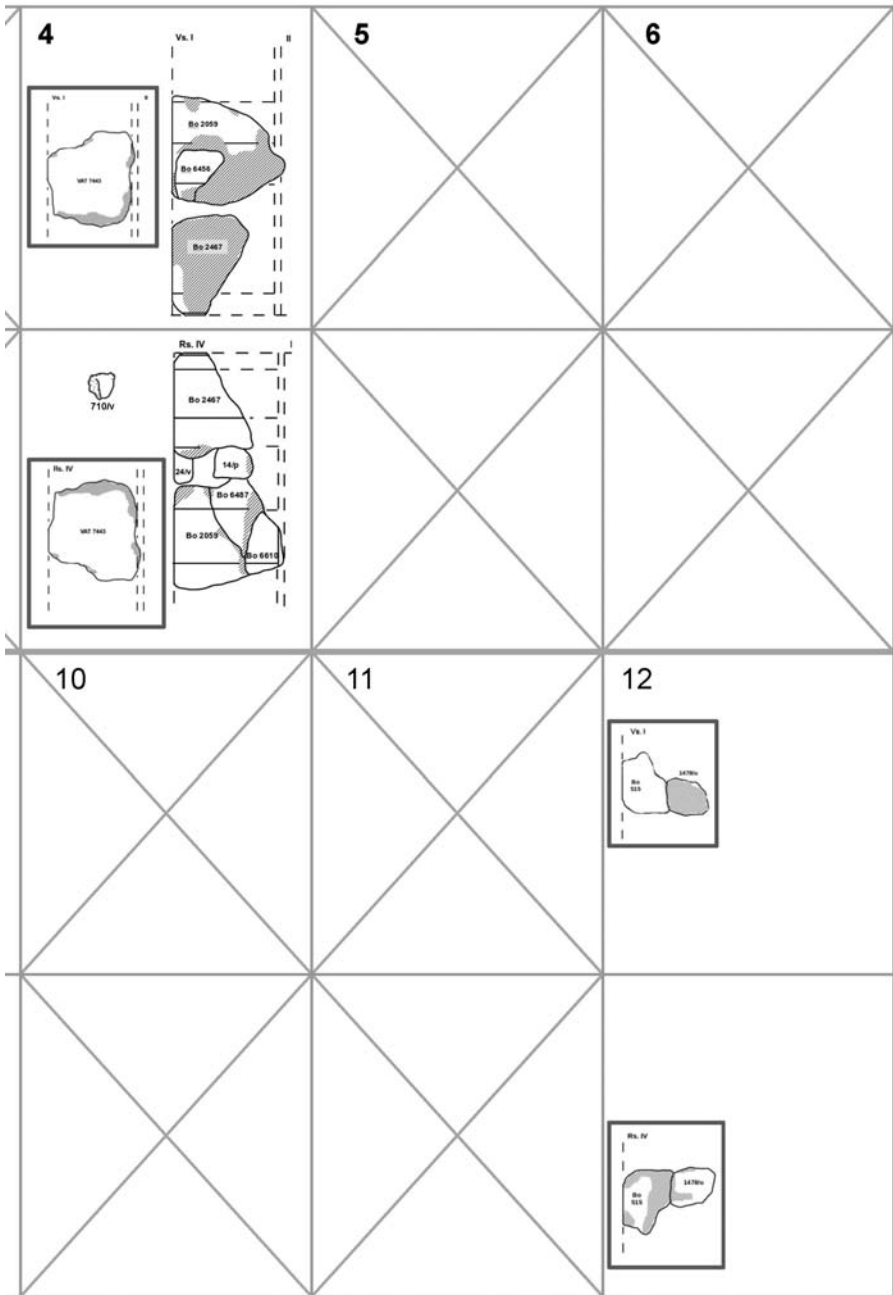


Fig. 2: The five tablets and fragments of the Deeds bearing tablet numbers along with known duplicates (with those of tablet 7 spilling over into the squares 1 and 8).





The only certain or quite likely correlations are *zi-ik-ma-* in 28"/1' and <sup>URU</sup>*Wa-aš-šu-ug-ga-an-na* in 33"/5'. It is not a foregone conclusion that *I-NA* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*H[ar<sup>?</sup>-* (30") is duplicated by *nu* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*H<sup>?</sup>ar-ra-a[n<sup>?</sup>* (3'), not only because *H[ar-* in 30" is far from certain, but also because *I-NA* is surely not superfluous; the same would seem to be the case with *nu* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*W[a-* in 32", which is not necessarily paralleled by *I-NA* KUR <sup>URU</sup>*W[a-* in 4', again, because of the lack of *I-NA* but also of KUR, the latter naturally somewhat less discomfoting. Thus, placing at this point KUB 19.13++, which preserves by far the greatest portion of or duplicate to Tablet 9, is thus quite tentative, though perhaps within the limits of acceptability. Further, the attribution of KBo 19.50 itself to the Deeds is equally uncertain, since only DUB.9.KAM is preserved in the colophon on the left edge of the tablet, but nothing regarding the title of the composition, so that its attribution is, in turn, almost entirely dependent on the tentative duplication of KUB 19.13++.

Second, KUB 19.4++, which has always been included with Tablet 7, does not, strictly speaking, constitute a duplicate to Tablet 7 but rather a continuation of its narrative. Its narrative clearly suggests that it belongs to the composition.

Also to be mentioned at this point is the well-known fact that the various tablets and fragments show significantly varying script sizes and column lengths (Güterbock 1956; Wilhelm – Boese 1987), so that one must reckon with potentially longer and shorter series, some perhaps containing more than the 12 tablets assumed here, some potentially less. This would, of course, have significant repercussions for any attempt to reconstruct the text. Unfortunately, the state of preservation of the fragments does not allow one to incorporate this fact into one's calculations in any meaningful manner.

The texts and fragments mentioned thus far, then, are the only pieces that can be more or less confidently – with various caveats – ascribed to the Deeds of Suppiluliuma and whose position within the Deeds can be more or less securely fixed. Perhaps now is an appropriate point to emphasize the importance of basing one's reconstruction of the Deeds on these tablet fragments alone, an approach suggested above all by the fact that several less secure fragments have, since Güterbock's edition, been shown not to belong to the Deeds or even to the era of Suppiluliuma. These include KUB 31.33, Güterbock's Tablet One, Dupl. D, or Frag. 5, which clearly belongs to CTH 140.1.A, a treaty with the Kaska from the time of

Arnuwanda I, a fact which was accepted by Güterbock already in an addendum included in his edition. KUB 23.7, Güterbock's Frag. 30, has been joined to the Kurustama Treaty, considered by most to belong to the time of Arnuwanda I. And KUB 23.50, Güterbock's Frag. 42, has been joined to the Hittite version of Suppiluliuma's Treaty with Šattiwaza. None of these, it must be noted, were placed among Güterbock's 'Isolated and Doubtful' fragments, but to those attributed confidently to the various gaps in the composition. From his Isolated and Doubtful fragments KUB 31.21, his Frag. 44, has recently been joined to CTH 63, Mursili II's Dictate to Duppi-Teššub's Syrian Antagonists (Miller 2007). This suggests clearly that placing much confidence in an historical reconstruction based even in part on fragments not securely fixed within the Deeds is ill advised to say the least.

A series of further fragments, in contrast, can with acceptable likelihood be attributed to the Deeds, but remain more or less freely floating within it, as they preserve no colophon and duplicate no passage of any fragment with a colophon. These are the following:

- KUB 19.12, which del Monte, following Güterbock, placed at the beginning of the composition because of its mention of the grandfather, and which, as will be seen presently, could belong anywhere within the first six tablets of the Deeds;
- KUB 26.84 with duplicates KBo 14.1 and possibly KBo 8.29, which also refer to the grandfather but can be no more precisely located;
- KBo 14.4, perhaps duplicated by KBo 14.5, along with parallel fragments KBo 14.6, KBo 14.7 and KBo 40.6, none of which mention the grandfather and could therefore be placed almost anywhere between the third and the last tablet;
- KUB 34.23 with duplicates KBo 12.27 and KUB 40.8, which deal with, among other things, Isuwa, Karkamiš and Waššugganni;
- and finally, KBo 14.42 and its duplicate KUB 19.22, in which the scene returns to Anatolia.

All other fragments should be considered as only more or less likely candidates for attribution to the Deeds, but too uncertain to employ while reconstructing the composition or any history based upon them. Some fragments, for example, have been attributed to the Deeds merely because of their generally historical content and the occurrence of *ABŪ/ĪYA*, “(to/for) my father”, though this is hardly unique to the Deeds. The same can be said of the phrase *nu ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> LÚ<sup>KÚR</sup> pangarit BA.ÚŠ*, “the enemy troops died en masse”, which, though found often in the Deeds, can be found in other compositions as well (e.g. in the Annals of Mursili, KBo 14.19 ii 12’), so that this can hardly serve as a diagnostic either.



Fig. 3: Photoshop montage of KBo 14.7 and KBo 40.6 demonstrating that they cannot join.

Perhaps it should be noted at this point that KBo 14.7 and KBo 40.6, which Hoffner (1998, 36-37) – who presumably did not have access to photos – suggested constitute a direct join, certainly do not join (Fig. 3) and must be separated. This can be seen in the fact that the left edge of the column is preserved in KBo 14.7, while the left edge of the column of KBo 40.6 is reached only after restoring *[ma-ah<sub>1</sub>]-[ha<sub>1</sub>]-an-ma* in its last line, which thus cannot be pushed far enough to the right to allow the two column borders to align. Neither do the two fragments show the same hand. This in turn renders quite doubtful whether the text reconstruction at this point suggested by Hoffner or in del Monte’s edition (2008, 54, 62-63) can be maintained as such, as it is highly unlikely, though not entirely impossible, that the fragments, though they do not join, would complement each other so conveniently.<sup>3</sup> Detached from KBo 14.7, there is actually little reason to place KBo 40.6 with the Deeds, except for the connection of the name <sup>m</sup>*Ma-am-* with Mammali in KBo 14.7, 4’ and 6’, the only two attestations of a male name beginning with *Ma-am-* found in Laroche’s *Noms* (1966), Trémouille’s *Répertoire onomastique* (2012) and Marizza’s *Aggiornamento onomastico* (2012), though naturally one would not want to exclude the possibility.<sup>4</sup>

In this context of ‘deconstructing’ the Deeds, it should be mentioned, as others have observed (e.g. del Monte 2008, 4 n. 7), that IBoT 4.346+KUB 14.23, which Güterbock included as Frags. 2 and 7 and which del Monte places in his Prologue, is in numerous ways, including the personal names mentioned, very different from the rest of the Deeds, and it is highly uncertain whether it belongs to the composition at all. The fragment KUB 14.22 (del Monte 2008, 4-5) also contains very little that would link it with the Deeds, and though its attribution to the composition cannot be dismissed *a priori*, it must surely be admitted that grouping it with the Deeds is very tentative. Significantly, these two pieces are the only fragments of the Deeds that mention the name Kantuzzili, indeed the

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<sup>3</sup> KBo 40.6, 4’ can perhaps be read *[hu-u-i]-e<sup>2</sup>-er* rather than Hoffner’s *[ú]-e<sup>2</sup>-er*, while 6’ is probably to be read *[ku-e]n-nu-um-me-e.-[ni]*, as Hoffner (1998, 37 n. 4) suggested already as an alternative to his preferred *[pe<sup>2</sup>-e]n-*; cf. del Monte (2008, 54). The traces at the end of KBo 40.6, 9’ suggest *k[u-*, so that another *kuen-* form might be expected. Impossible is Hoffner’s <sup>ANŠE</sup>.KUR.RA<sup>MES</sup> in 9’, and while del Monte’s (2008, 54) *[š<sup>2</sup>-TU* might have been a possibility, his restoration *[š<sup>2</sup>-TU ÉRIN<sup>MES</sup> AN]ŠE.<sup>r</sup> KUR.RA<sup>r</sup> [M<sup>ES</sup>* would result in such a gap between the two fragments that the left column edge of KBo 40.6 would be pushed even much farther to the left of that of KBo 14.7 than seen in Fig. 3.

<sup>4</sup> I would like to express my thanks to M.-C. Trémouille for generously sharing her list via the *Konkordanz* and M. Marizza for kindly making his ms. available to me.

only ones, if I am not mistaken, that would place a Kantuzzili in the reign of Suppiluliuma. The only relatively securely datable Kantuzzilis are the father of Tutḫaliya I and a son of Arnuwanda I.<sup>5</sup> The latter, belonging to the generation before Suppiluliuma, naturally could have lived long enough to be mentioned in connection with Suppiluliuma's early reign, but since there seems to be no particular reason to include IBoT 4.346+KUB 14.23 or KUB 14.22 in the Deeds, there seems to be equally little reason to plead for such. It therefore appears to be more parsimonious to assume the existence of only these two Kantuzzilis and that IBoT 4.346+KUB 14.23 and KUB 14.22 would belong to some historical composition preceding the reign of Suppiluliuma.

Again, none of the fragments that can with some confidence be attributed to the Deeds but which duplicate no other passages can be located with any precision within the composition. One of the rare limits placed on their freedom of movement is constituted by the appearance of the narrative's grandfather, which allows one to place KUB 19.12 and KUB 26.84 and their duplicates, in which he is still alive and active, in the earlier part of the composition, the rest of the fragments in its latter part.

This obviously raises the question of the precise placement within the Deeds of the death of the author's grandfather, Tutḫaliya III. He is certainly still alive in tablet two and in the tablet which is likely to be seen as number three or four. He is never mentioned in tablet seven or its duplicates, suggesting that he likely would have died somewhere in between. KUB 19.12 and KUB 26.84 and their duplicates, in which the grandfather appears, could therefore hypothetically be placed anywhere between tablets one and six, and their fragmentary state of preservation makes any attempt to place them more precisely quite speculative.

Those who have courageously made an attempt to pinpoint the death of Tutḫaliya III have come to widely varying conclusions. Güterbock (1956, 43a) assumed that all fragments mentioning the grandfather should be placed before the last column of tablet two. In other words, the death of Tutḫaliya and the accession of Suppiluliuma would have occurred in the short gap at the top of KBo 14.3++ iv. Wilhelm and Boese (1987, 83) found this gap, estimated at 11 lines, too short for the complicated story of Suppiluliuma's ascension, even if Mursili might have wanted to gloss over some of its unsavoury events, and therefore suggested placing it

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<sup>5</sup> Marizza 2007, 17-24; Hawkins in Herbordt – Bawanypeck – Hawkins 2011, 87 ff. Cf. Soysal 2003; 2011.

somewhere between cols. i and iv of KUB 19.18. Del Monte's recent edition reads the colophon of KUB 19.10, in which the grandfather is still active, as tablet four, thus placing it after Güterbock's tablet two, so that the grandfather is alive through all of tablets two, three and four. Either way it does seem likely that KUB 19.10 in fact follows KUB 19.18, which is clearly tablet two. For del Monte the last mention of the grandfather – almost fully restored it must be noted – occurs in KBo 38.85, a fragment which in fact preserves little or nothing that would suggest that it belongs to the Deeds. Del Monte places this fragment at some undetermined point following Tablet 4. It therefore seems that there is no way to convincingly place the death of Tuthaliya any more precisely than within tablets three to six. Thus, KUB 19.12 and KUB 26.84 with duplicates remain floating within this range.



Fig. 4: Tentative join montage of KUB 19.7 and KBo 19.48.

The other primary issue to be addressed here arises due to what seems to be a join between KUB 19.7 and KBo 19.48 (Fig. 4). Judging from the photos available to me, I would guess that some few millimetres would separate the fragments, making it an indirect join, though it is possible that they might touch at some point below their surfaces, and this is how

Košak's join sketch in the *Konkordanz* presents them. It should be noted that this join cannot be considered certain, but only reasonably likely, since the fragments are in the museums in Istanbul and Ankara, respectively, and thus cannot be directly compared or physically joined, and further, since there are so few signs preserved for the purposes of comparison. Still, those few graphic hints available would seem to speak for it, such as NA with the wedges aligned horizontally one next to the other (i 7', 8', 9', iv 3'), the Ú with 4-5 verticals (i 9', iv 2'), as well the tails of the wedges stretching conspicuously up and to the right, the blocky triangular heads of the horizontals and the rather smooth surfaces of rev. iv. If correct, the join would result probably in the colophon reading [DU]B.12.KAM / ŠA [<sup>m</sup>Šu-up-pi-lu]-ú-li-u-ma / LUGAL.GA[L UR.SAG] 1LÚ-na1-an-na-1aš1.

If this suspicion should prove correct, it would seem to increase the likelihood that this Tablet 12 is indeed the last tablet of the DS, since the space in which one might restore Ú-UL QA-TI or NU.TIL is reduced considerably. That said, one presumably would like to see QA-TI somewhere if it is indeed the last tablet, but this is nowhere preserved either. Incidentally, due to the space between the preserved signs in the third line, it would seem that this colophon, too, should be restored to include UR.SAG, as attested also in KBo 19.49+ (CTH 40.II.2.E iv 3') and KUB 19.10 (40.VII.1 iv 13').

If these fragments indeed do join, it would also potentially have some further implications for the reconstruction of the events of Suppiluliuma's career. KUB 19.7 is the only fragment – along with KBo 22.8, surely included in the Deeds merely because of its similarity to KUB 19.7 – in which Kinza appears in the Deeds apart from the narrative of the Egyptian attack on Kinza (del Monte 2008, 108-109; IV.1.A ii 21, 23), said to have taken place shortly before the siege of Karkamiš, and again in Suppiluliuma's complaint to Hani concerning the same attack (*ibid.* 122-123; KBo 14.12 iv 3), all of which is recounted in the 7<sup>th</sup> tablet. KUB 19.7 also contains the only attestation in the Deeds for Nuḥḥašše. This further mention of, perhaps altercation with, Kinza and Nuḥḥašše mentioned in KUB 19.7 would thus seem to belong to the very end of the composition and hence toward the end of the life of Suppiluliuma.

This would thus constitute welcome, even if pitifully fragmentary and tentative, evidence concerning the years between Suppiluliuma's conquest of the last Syrian outpost, Karkamiš, and the next available mention of Kinza and Nuḥḥašše, as part of the rebellions of Mursili II's 7<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>



years. It will be remembered that some have assumed, on the basis of the introduction to Mursili II's treaty with Duppi-Teššub of Amurru (del Monte 1983, 231; Singer 2000), that a rebellion involving Kinza and Nuḫḫašše may have occurred late in Suppiluliuma's reign; if so, the mention of these two lands in the first column of the last of the 12 tablets of his Deeds might well be correlated with this postulated uprising.

The passage from the Akkadian and Hittite versions of Mursili II's treaty with Tuppi-Teššub reads as follows; the translation renders the Hittite text:

KUB 3.14 obv. 2-4

- 2 <sup>m</sup>A-zi-ra a-na ka-a-ša <sup>m</sup>Tup-pi-<sup>d</sup>10-u[p] a-bi a-bi-ka šu-ú it-ti a-bi-ia  
i[t-t]a-[al-ka]<sup>6</sup>
- 3 a-bu-ia a-na ÌR-ut-ti-šu ut-te-er-šu LUGAL<sup>MEŠ URU</sup> Nu-ḫaš-ši ù LUGAL  
KUR<sup>URU</sup> Ki-in-za it-ti [a-bi-ia]
- 4 ki-i ik-ki-ru ù <sup>m</sup>A-zi-ra a-bi a-bi-ka it-ti a-bi-ia ú-ul ik-ki-ir

KUB 3.119(++) i 3-4 // KBo 50.28 i 3-6 // KUB 21.49 obv. 3-5

- 3 <sup>m</sup>A-zi-ra-aš tu-el šA [(<sup>m</sup>Tup-p)í-<sup>d</sup>10-up A-BI A-BI-KA (A-NA A-BI-IA  
ÌR-aḫ-ta-at ú-e-er-ma)]
- 4 LUGAL<sup>MEŠ</sup> KUR<sup>URU</sup> Nu-ḫaš-ši ku-wa-p[(í LUGAL KUR<sup>URU</sup> Ki-in-za-ia  
IT)-TI A-BI-IA ku-ru-ri-ia-a(h-ḫe-er)]
- 5 <sup>m</sup>A-zi-ra-aš-ma Ú-UL ku-u-ru-[(ri-ia-aḫ-ta)]

Aziru, your [grandfather, (Tupp)i-Teššub, (became a servant to my father, but)] when the kings of the Land of Nuḫḫašše [(and the king of the Land of Kinza thereupon became h)ostile to my father], Aziru, in contrast, did not [(become)] host[(ile)].

The wording of the paragraph suggests not only that this rebellion occurred at a time when Aziru of Amurru had already become a vassal of Ḫatti, an event which most researchers place in the last years of the reign of Suppiluliuma, but that Kinza and Nuḫḫašše had also previously become Hittite vassals and were at this late stage in Suppiluliuma's career rebelling

<sup>6</sup> So restored by Singer 1990, 150-151; cf. Devecchi 2012, 44-46, who pleads cogently for the traditionally assumed *i[tt]a[kir]*, 'became hostile', first suggested by Weidner.

against him. There would therefore seem to be no obstacle to correlating the mention of these two lands in the 12<sup>th</sup> tablet of the Deeds with a rebellion toward the very end of Suppiluliuma's reign.

And of course Suppiluliuma in a letter to Niqmaddu II of Ugarit speaks of how he will treat the kings of Mukiš and Nuḥḥašše, who had renounced their vassal treaties with Ḫatti and become hostile to their lord (Beckman 1999, 125-126, §3). Here one reads, in Beckman's translation, "Now you, Niqmaddu, observe the peace treaty with Hatti. In the future you will see how the Great King deals with the kings of the Land of Nuhashshi and the king of the land of Mukish, who renounced the peace treaty with Hatti and became hostile to the Great King, their lord." Naturally it has been debated, in part because of the different pairing of cities, whether this rebellion of Mukiš and Nuḥḥašše should be seen as the same as that of Kinza and Nuḥḥašše, but this must be the topic of further discussion.

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