

A TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGDOM OF MITTANI FROM ITS RISE TO THE REIGN OF TUŠRATTA

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Defining the chronology of the kingdom of Mittani in relative and absolute terms is particularly problematic; in fact, not only are references to astronomical details lacking in Hurrian documents – unlike in Mesopotamian, Hittite and Egyptian texts – that could supply us with some objective information, but the sources on the kingdom of Mittani are scant, often indirect and limited to certain periods of the history of this country.

The synchronisms that are seen between the kings of Mittani, and the Hittite, Babylonian and Egyptian kings are useful in placing the history of Mittani into the chronological grid of the ancient Near East; however, problems that inevitably arise in the chronological reconstruction of all these areas – Egyptian, Hittite and Mesopotamian – again fall under the Mittanian chronology.

As we know, the first attestation of the toponym Mittani comes from an Egyptian source. It is the fragmentary inscription on the tomb of an Egyptian official called Amenemhet,¹ who served under three Pharaohs, Ahmose I, Amenophis I and Tuthmosis I; he recalls having participated in a military expedition on Syrian territory and in this context the country of *Mtn* is mentioned, i.e. Mittani.² It is thought that this expedition possibly coincides with the one led by Tuthmosis I³ in Syria; this is the first synchronism that connects the history of Mittani to the history of Egypt, and in this case to the reign of Tuthmosis I, whose ascent to the throne is dated, according to different chronologies, to the end of the 16th or beginning of the 15th century B.C.⁴

Unfortunately, we have no Mittanian sources related to this period that may give us further information on the subject; for this reason, the

times and ways in which the kingdom of Mittani was formed are not known.

Nevertheless, some clues on the subject may be gathered from the Hittite sources of the Old Kingdom and, in particular, from the historiographic narrations of the Hittite kings Ḫattušili I and Muršili I. It must be said that the toponym Mittani has never been found in the Hittite texts of the Old Kingdom; the mention of Ḫanigalbat in the Akkadian version of the “Annals” of Ḫattušili I (KBo X 1 Ro 11) might be an interpolation of a subsequent age in this manuscript, since the compilation of it dates to the Imperial Age and, moreover, the textual tradition of this annalistic document is very complex.⁵ In all the texts at the time of Ḫattušili I and Muršili I, and also in those of their successors, reference is made to the Hurrian political entities in the Syrian area against whom the Hittites fight only via the ethno-linguistic expression *Hurla-/Hurri* “Hurrian”.

As M. SALVINI pointed out, Mittani is not even mentioned in the texts of the archive of Tunip-tešup, the Hurrian king of the country of Tikunani, which was situated east of the Euphrates;⁶ to him Ḫattušili I of Ḫatti sent a letter related to the expedition that both were about to go on against the town of Ḫaḫḫum.⁷

In the military campaigns of Ḫattušili I and Muršili I against Alalaḫ, Aleppo, Uršum, Ḫaššum, Ḫaḫḫum, the Hurrians intervene militarily against Ḫatti, to try and check the Hittite advance, and via operations of military aggression inside the kingdom of Ḫatti.⁸ The geographical area in which the presence of the Hurrians is placed, according to the Hittite sources of the Old Kingdom, corresponds more or less to what we know about the kingdom of Mittani then, i.e. south-eastern Anatolia and northern Syria.

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¹ See PORTER and MOSS 1994, 457.

² See, recently, WILHELM 1994, 287; KÜHNE 1999, 213; DE MARTINO 2000, 68, all with previous bibliography.

³ See REDFORD 1993, 154 n. 117 with previous bibliography; WILHELM 1994, 287.

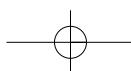
⁴ See VON BECKERATH 1994, 124.

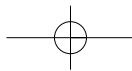
⁵ See MELCHERT 1978, 1–22.

⁶ See MILLER 2001, 410–429 with previous literature.

⁷ See SALVINI 1994, 61–68; SALVINI 1996, 108–114.

⁸ See DE MARTINO 1991, 71–84; DE MARTINO 1992, 19–37.





For this area, Hittite documents testify to a political situation that is fragmented; in the text KBo III 60,⁹ more Hurrian kings are mentioned to whom the title “Kings of the Hurrian people (ÉRIN)”¹⁰ is given; it is significant that this title, i.e. “King of the Hurrian people” – also documented in another Hittite text of the Old Kingdom, KBo III 46 + II 54, – is borne by the kings of Mittani¹¹ in a subsequent age. This shows a certain continuity between some Hurrian potentates of this period and the subsequent kingdom of Mittani.

Again from Hittite documentation at the time of Ḫattušili I and Muršili I, a situation of conflict between these potentates can be inferred. In a recent article I put forward the hypothesis that Ḫattušili I exploited and instigated conflicts among some of these potentates of the region in order to overcome the towns in western Syria, supported by Aleppo, which the Hittite king was unable to defeat; in fact, the letter to Tunip-tešup of Tikunani shows that the Hittite king sided with this small eastern Hurrian kingdom, fighting against Ḫaḫḫum. Furthermore, the text KBo I 11,¹² yet again from the time of Ḫattušili I, also makes reference to a dynastic struggle in the royal house of one of the Hurrian principalities in western Syria, enemies of the Hittites.¹³

Therefore, the hypothesis can be made for the formation of the kingdom of Mittani to be placed in this situation of ferment, conflict, and political change in which the Hurrian potentates of Syria found themselves; the fall of the kingdom of Yamḫad and the taking of Aleppo by Muršili I, the destruction of Ebla, the annihilation of towns like Uršum, Ḫaḫḫum and Ḫaššum by Ḫattušili I and Muršili I created a void, which the eastern Hurrian principality of Mittani may have taken advantage of; while the political and military weakness of the Hittite sovereigns, sub-

sequent to Muršili I, may have facilitated its very rapid expansion.¹⁴

If we accept such a historical scenario about the formation of Mittani, we must conjecture that this kingdom came into existence in the age immediately following that of the Hittite king Muršili I. Now, this sovereign’s campaign against Babylon and the end of the first Babylonian dynasty consequent to such expedition are dated depending on the chronologies to 1595 (middle chronology) 1531 (low chronology), or 1499 (according to the chronology suggested by H. GASCHE¹⁵). In the former case, the interval lasting almost a century – between the supposed formation of Mittani and the first attestation of the toponym Mittani to the time of Tuthmosis I – seems to be too long; from this standpoint, as G. WILHELM already pointed out, it is better to work with the low chronology,¹⁶ or a lower middle chronology, according to what was recently suggested by C. MICHEL and P. ROCHER.¹⁷ According to GASCHE’S “ultra-low chronology”, Mittani, instead, should already exist at the time of Muršili I.

Mittani’s first attested king is Parattarna I.¹⁸ Before him, we have to perhaps place the kingdom of Šuttarna, the sovereign documented by the impression of his seal, used in a more recent age by Sauštatar.¹⁹

As the inscription of Idrimi of Alalaḫ testifies, Parattarna and Idrimi were contemporaries; but not only: the treaty (AIT 3) drawn up between Idrimi and Pilliya,²⁰ king of Kizzuwatna, also tells us that the latter was a contemporary of Šuttarna. Moreover, the texts of Terqa show that Parattarna was also a contemporary of Qiš-Addu, the king of this country.²¹

Pilliya of Kizzuwatna had also sealed a treaty with the Hittite king, Zidanza (KUB XXXVI 108), and therefore a synchronism can be established between Ḫatti and Mittani.²² Identifying

⁹ See, recently, DE MARTINO 2002, 77–85, with previous bibliography.

¹⁰ See WILHELM 1994, 292; KÜHNE 1999, 208.

¹¹ See WILHELM 1994, 292.

¹² See BECKMAN 1995, 23–34.

¹³ Vo 7: “The sons of the ‘Son of the Storm-god’ are fighting one another over kingship”.

¹⁴ See KLENGEL 1992, 86.

¹⁵ GASCHE, ARMSTRONG, COLE and GURZADYAN 1998.

¹⁶ See WILHELM 1989, 20.

¹⁷ MICHEL and ROCHER 1997–2000, 111–126; see also, VEENHOF 2000, 147–149.

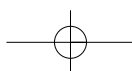
¹⁸ See, recently, Wilhelm 1994, 293 with previous bibliography.

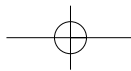
¹⁹ See, recently, DE MARTINO 2000, 76 and no. 41.

²⁰ On the problem, if there were two sovereigns of Kizzuwatna with this name, see Beal 428–431, who shows convincingly that there was only one king Pilliya.

²¹ See ROUAULT 1992, 254; ROUAULT 1988, 313.

²² This excludes the hypothesis put forward by VAN SOLDT 2000, 111, according to whom Idrimi would be the contemporary of Muršili I.





the Hittite sovereign with whom Pilliya made the treaty – that is, whether it involves Zidanza I or Zidanza II – has been a subject of discussion among scholars.²³ Resolute, however, is the declaration that Kizzuwatna is still under Hittite control during the time of king Ammuna, successor of Zidanza I, as seen in the Edict of the Hittite king Telipinu;²⁴ therefore, the treaty with Pilliya may be attributed to Zidanza II. In spite of this, the recent hypothesis that the Hittite partner of this treaty may be Zidanza I was reaffirmed by C. KÜHNE.²⁵ Such conjecture, however, can no longer be sustained if we also consider how many generations elapse, in the various countries linked by synchronisms, over the same time period, i.e. the one that separates Parattarna, in Mittani, from his successor Sauštatar. As we will note later, between these two Mittanian kings there seems to have been the reign of one or two other sovereigns; in Alalaḥ we find that after Idrimi, there is Adad/Tešup-nirari and then Niqmepa;²⁶ in Kizzuwatna the sovereigns Pilliya, Talzu and Šunaššura succeeded one another.²⁷ In light of this, it does not seem plausible to retain that in Mittani, Alalaḥ and Kizzuwatna there are three or four sovereigns, whereas over the same time period, in Ḫatti, there are a good twelve of them – as the Hittite kings from Zidanza I to Tutḫaliya I/II were many.

If, therefore, we accept the synchronism between Parattarna of Mittani and Zidanza II of Ḫatti, we also get an idea of how much time elapsed between the rise of Mittani and the reign of Parattarna. Indeed, if we put the first event immediately after the reign of the Hittite sovereign Muršili I, it shows that between Muršili I and Zidanza II seven sovereigns are documented who, according to G. Beckman's study,²⁸ correspond to five generations, because Ḫuzziya I and Telipinu belong to the same generation, as do perhaps even Taḫurwaili and Aluwamna. Hence,

a time lapse equal to about five generations seems to separate Parattarna from the rise of the kingdom of Mittani.²⁹

After Parattarna, the king of Mittani of whom we have documents, comes Sauštatar, as previously mentioned. The impressions of this sovereign's royal seal, preserved on a letter from Nuzi and in another letter from Tell Brak,³⁰ also show the name of Sauštatar's father, Parsatatar. The texts of Terqa, still at the time of the king Qiš-Addu cited above, who was a contemporary of Parattarna, also report a Mittanian king named Sausadat. Sausadat might have been an immediate successor of Parattarna,³¹ or, more probably, as O. ROUAULT³² has pointed out, this name might be understood as a different writing of the name Sauštatar. Now O. ROUAULT informs us that in the texts of the king Qiš-Addu also the Mittanian king Šuttarna might be quoted.

Sauštatar is seen in two documents of Alalaḥ. The text AIT 13 preserves a judicial litigation brought by a certain Irib-ḫazi against Niqmepa, king of Alalaḥ and resolved before the king of Mittani. Instead, tablet AIT 14 relates one that is contested between Niqmepa of Alalaḥ and Šunaššura, king of Kizzuwatna due to a border problem between the two countries. This litigation is placed under the judgement of Sauštatar. Šunaššura of Kizzuwatna also draws up an international treaty (KBo I 5) with the Hittite king, Tutḫaliya I/II.³³

Hence the outcome is that Sauštatar is a contemporary of Niqmepa of Alalaḥ, Šunaššura of Kizzuwatna and Tutḫaliya I/II of Ḫatti; the latter synchronism is also confirmed by the annalistic Hittite text KUB XXIII 14, which describes the military undertakings led by Tutḫaliya I/II and his co-regent Arnuwanda I. On line 14, in a fragmentary passage, where events of the time of Tutḫaliya I/II are narrated, there is also mention of the Hurrians and the person's name Sau[štatar] is partially preserved.

²³ See the bibliography cited by BEAL 1986, 428 n. 24.

²⁴ On all this see BEAL 1986, 428–430, with previous bibliography.

²⁵ KÜHNE 2000, 214 and no. 67.

²⁶ See KLENGEL 1992, 243.

²⁷ See BEAL 1986, 443.

²⁸ BECKMAN 2000, 24–26.

²⁹ We cannot take Alalaḥ into consideration, with the aim of defining this time period, because the phase preceding Idrimi still remains obscure; on Alalaḥ in the period

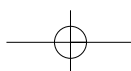
before Idrimi see MARQUEZ ROWE 1997, 181–183; on the chronology of Alalaḥ from the archaeological point of view see GATES 1981, 11–49.

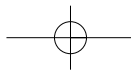
³⁰ Both these letters are subsequent to Sauštatar. For these two documents see, respectively, STEIN 1989, 36–60; ILLINGWORTH 1988, 99–105.

³¹ See also WILHELM 1994, 293.

³² ROUAULT 1992, 254.

³³ See BEAL 1986, 442; WILHELM 1988, 362–370. Different, see HOUWINK TEN CATE 1998b, 53.





The treaty drawn up by Šunaššura with Ḫatti sanctions the entry of this country into the Hittite sphere of influence and is placed well in the time of the Hittite military expansion, also led into Syria by the king Tuthaliya I/II and concluded with the conquest of Aleppo. If, therefore, the reign of Sauštatar of Mittani can be placed with a certain precision into the political and chronological context of the Syro-Anatolian area, the comparison becomes more problematic with Egyptian documentation; in fact some scholars think that Sauštatar is a contemporary of Tuthmosis III, and others a contemporary of Amenophis II.³⁴

As we know, Tuthmosis III led a series of military campaigns in Syria and fought many times with the Hurrians.³⁵ In the 22nd/23rd year of his reign, Tuthmosis faced a coalition of Syrian princes in Megiddo, who were commanded by the king of Qadeš and were, presumably, supported by Mittani. The Pharaoh went back to Syria to fight in his 29th, 30th and 31st year; in his 33rd year Tuthmosis fought against a Mittanian army not far from Aleppo, and Egyptian sources hand down to us that Mittani suffered a severe defeat, while the Pharaoh plundered the area along the Euphrates from Karkemiš to Emar. Egyptian documents, however, do not mention the name of the Mittanian king, an adversary of Tuthmosis III.

In trying to contextualize the above-mentioned events in the political situation of the Syro-Anatolian area, it must be pointed out that the expansionistic policies in Syria of the Hittite king Tuthaliya I/II, i.e. the conquest of Aleppo, and the drawing up of a treaty with Tunip,³⁶ and yet another with Aštata,³⁷ might be connected to the weakness of Mittani's authority in these

regions, pursuant to the military campaigns of Tuthmosis III. In this political scenario, perhaps the so-called "treaty of Kuruštama"³⁸ might have been sealed between the Hittites and the Egyptians. This treaty served to tie these two countries, which tried to expand their area of dominion in Syria to the detriment of Mittani and hence had a common interest.

J. KLINGER³⁹ has already pointed out that the period of Hittite political influence in Syria might be placed chronologically between the 32nd and 44th year of the reign of Tuthmosis III, i.e. after the eighth Syrian campaign, the one that broke the Mittanian front, but before the seventeenth expedition of the Pharaoh in Syria when he fought Tunip; in fact, the Egyptian attack on this town might lead us to believe that Tunip had again gone over to the side of Mittani.⁴⁰

As J. KLINGER⁴¹ observes, however, the hypothesis of seeing Sauštatar as a contemporary not only of Tuthmosis III, but also of Tuthaliya I/II of Ḫatti, might appear problematic in the context of the chronological reconstruction of the Hittite kingdom. Indeed, pursuant to a very accurate and critical study on the chronology of the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I, carried out by G. WILHELM and J. BOESE,⁴² most Hittitologists have accepted 1343 as the date when this sovereign's reign begins, thus favoring the low chronology.⁴³

It must be pointed out, on this subject, that the reconstruction of the history of the Hittite Middle Kingdom, a subject of discussion among scholars for a long time, now appears clearer; in fact, before Šuppiluliuma, the sovereigns Tuthaliya I/II, Arnuwanda I and Tuthaliya III⁴⁴ are placed in direct succession, which brings about the elimination of the king Ḫattušili II,

³⁴ For the first hypothesis see, lastly, KLINGER 1995, 234–247; for the second hypothesis see, for example, KÜHNE 1973, 20 no. 85; KÜHNE 1982, 222–224. REDFORD 1992, 161–164 and, in particular, nos. 156 and 171, puts forward the hypothesis that Sauštatar may be a contemporary of Tuthmosis III, but even for the first part of the reign of Amenophis II; see also KÜHNE 1999, 217. Moreover, MAYER 1995, 340–341; 2001, 15, thinks that Tuthaliya I/II is a contemporary of Hatshepsut.

³⁵ See KLENGEL 1992, 91–95; REDFORD 1993, 160–166 with previous bibliography.

³⁶ KBo XIX 59 +, See KLINGER 1995, 238–241; as this scholar points out, p. 214, the treaty mentions Him-

himma of Alalah; this means that it was drawn up when Niqmepa was no longer on the throne.

³⁷ KUB LVII 18, see KLINGER 1995, 245.

³⁸ KUB XL 8, see KLENGEL 1999, 106, 110 with previous bibliography.

³⁹ Art. cit. 246.

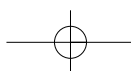
⁴⁰ See DE MARTINO 2000, 84–85.

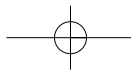
⁴¹ KLINGER 1995, 246–247.

⁴² WILHELM and BOESE 1987, 74–117.

⁴³ For the end of the reign of Šuppiluliuma I and consequently of the ascent of Muršili II to the throne, see now HUBER 2001, 640–644.

⁴⁴ So this also excludes Ḫantili II.





whose existence was hypothesized by O. CARRUBA.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the proposal⁴⁶ to distinguish between one king, Tuḫaliya I, conqueror of Aleppo, and another king, Tuḫaliya II, who led a series of military campaigns in Anatolia described in his “Annals”, has by now been abandoned by the majority of scholars.⁴⁷

Therefore, if Tuḫaliya I/II is placed like Sauštatar of Mittani around the middle of the 15th century, based on the synchronism with the 33rd–42nd years of Tuthmosis III,⁴⁸ the period, comprising the reign of Tuḫaliya I/II and the ascent to the throne of Suppilulima I, if this is placed in 1344/43, would be about a century. But one century seems too long a period for the reign of only three Hittite sovereigns. From this standpoint, it might appear opportune to raise by about fifteen/twenty years the date of ascent to the throne of Šuppiluliuma I, as recently suggested by some scholars.⁴⁹ Consequently, a reign lasting longer than twenty years might be assigned to Šuppiluliuma I; it is true that the Hittite text KUB XIX 9 attributes to him twenty years of reign, but it may be supposed that here only an indicative figure is given, perhaps to signify a long period.⁵⁰

On the other side, the chronological reconstruction proposed by G. WILHELM and J. BOESE is very convincing and we cannot exclude that Tuḫaliya I/II, Arnuwanda I and Tuḫaliya III have ruled for a long time, about 30 years each one.

Otherwise, a lowering of about 20 years for the dates of the reign of Sauštatar of Mittani and of Tuḫaliya I/II might be conjectured if both were supposedly contemporaries of Amenophis II; it is true that this sovereign also carried out an expedition in Syria, however the crisis of Mittani's dominion in western Syria and the Hittite conquest of Aleppo are better placed in the context of the wars in Asia by Tuthmosis III, which took

place over a fairly long period of time, rather than in the quick campaign in the 7th year of the reign of Amenophis II.

After Sauštatar, it is not known if Artatama I⁵¹ ascended the throne, or if, prior to him, Parattarna II reigned – the sovereign whose existence is inferred by a Nuzi text.⁵² With the reign of Artatama I, we have clear chronological references with Egypt, due to three inter-dynastic marriages that tied the royal house of Mittani to that of the Pharaoh at the time of the sovereigns Artatama I and Tuthmosis IV, Šuttarna II and Amenophis III, Tušratta and Amenophis IV⁵³ respectively.

The last king of Mittani – before the Hittite conquest of Mittani by the king Šuppiluliuma I – is Tušratta, to whom we owe the letters preserved in the archive of Tell el-Amarna, sent to Amenophis III and Amenophis IV. These documents confirm a series of synchronisms with all the other countries in the ancient Near East.

With Tušratta and with the end of Mittani as an independent state, this quick survey on Mit-tanian chronology can be concluded. The death of this king might be hinted at in the letter of Tell el-Amarna no. 43,⁵⁴ sent by Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti to the Pharaoh. Chronologically this event is connected to the request made by an Egyptian queen who asked Šuppiluliuma for his son in marriage. In fact, such a request reached the Hittite king during the siege of Karkemiš, after which Mittani was overcome by the Hittites. So, even though the death of Tušratta can be easily placed into the frame of events known from some Hittite sources, the exact date of it is somewhat difficult to determine, since the Pharaoh, whose widow wrote to Šuppiluliuma, has been identified by scholars either as Amenophis IV, Semenckare, or Tutanchamon.⁵⁵

⁴⁵ See, recently, DINÇOL, DINÇOL, HAWKINS and WILHELM 1993, 99–105.

⁴⁶ See CARRUBA 1971, 75–94.

⁴⁷ See, recently, TARACHA 1997, 74 n. 1. Differently, see CARRUBA 1998, 87–108.

⁴⁸ See recently VON BECKERATH 1994, 124 with previous bibliography.

⁴⁹ See, for example, NA'AMAN 1996, 257; HOUWINK TEN CATE 1998, 160; see also PARKER 2002, 62.

⁵⁰ See, recently, FREU 2002, 88.

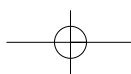
⁵¹ See WILHELM 1989, 28.

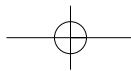
⁵² HSS XIII 165; See, recently, STEIN 1989, 36–60; WILHELM 1994, 293.

⁵³ See WILHELM 1989, 30–32

⁵⁴ NA'AMAN 1995, 116–118; diversely, see ARTZI 1993, 7–8 no. 2; HOUWINK TEN CATE 1998, 160.

⁵⁵ See, recently, WILHELM and BOESE 1987, 74–114; BRYCE 1989) 22, 29–30; VON BECKERATH 1994, 100; HELCK 1994, 15–22; VAN DEN HOUT 1994, 60–88; HORNING 1998, 103; LIVERANI 1999, 409; FREU 2002, 102–104; PARKER 2002, 47–52.



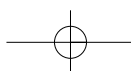


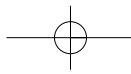
Mittani	Egypt	Hatti	Alalah	Kizzuwatna	Terqa
Principate of Mittani		Hattušili I Muršili I			
Rise of the kingdom of Mittani					
First attestation of Mittani	Tuthmosis I				
Kirta (?) Šuttarna I (?)					? Qiš-Addu
Parattarna I	? Tuthmosis III ?	Zidanza II	Idrimi	Pilliya	Qiš-Addu
Sausadat (??)					
Parsatatar					
Sauštatar	? Tuthmosis III ?	Tuthaliya I/II	Niqmepa	Šunaššura	? Qiš-Addu
Parattarna II (??)					
Artatama I	Tuthmosis IV				
Šuttarna II	Amenophis III				
Artašumara (Uṭhi)					
Tušratta	Amenophis IV	Šuppiliuma I			

Table 1

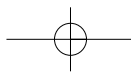
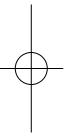
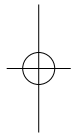
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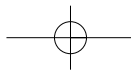
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Abbreviations

<i>AnSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> , London.	<i>PdP</i>	<i>La Parola del Passato</i> , Napoli.
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> , Berlin.	<i>SCCNH</i>	<i>Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians</i> , Bethesda.
<i>AuOr</i>	<i>Aula Orientalis</i> , Barcelona.	<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i> , Roma.
<i>IM</i>	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i> , Istanbul.	<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i> , Neukirchen-Vluyn.
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> , New Haven.	<i>WO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i> , Göttingen.
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> , Baltimore.	<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> , Wien.
<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van Het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Orient Lux</i> , Leiden.	<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i> , Berlin-New York.
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> , Chicago.		
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i> , Roma.		

