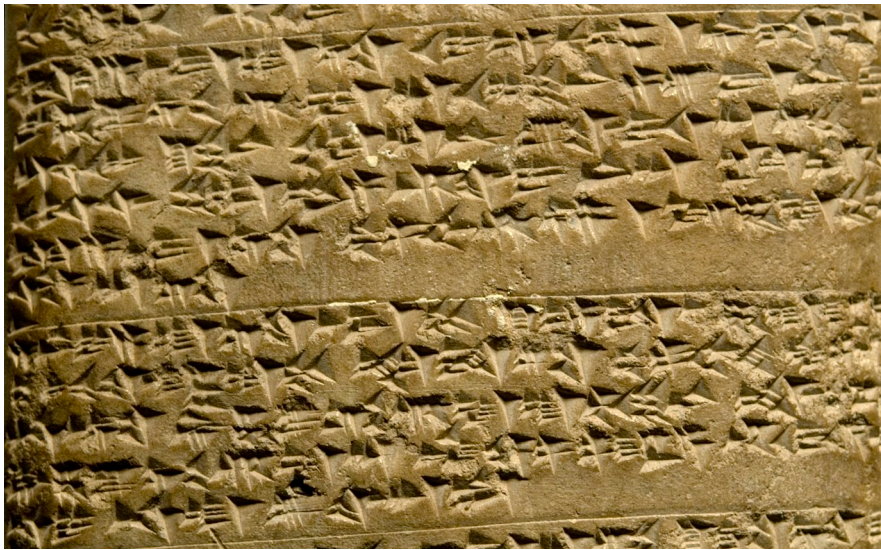




The Arzawa letters in recent perspective

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Introduction

The last twenty years have seen substantial developments in our knowledge of Hittite history and political geography, and it is thus timely to review the context and significance of the ‘Arzawa Letters.’¹ These two tablets from the el-Amarna archive, EA 31 in the Egyptian Museum (Cairo) and EA 32 in the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), are written in a language unknown at the time of discovery, but were from the start partially intelligible in that the introductory and greetings formulae, together with the logographic writings, indicated the general content of the documents, such as arrangements for the dynastic marriage of a daughter, exchange of envoys and list of dowry. EA 31 could be seen to be a letter from ‘Nimudria (later by emendation to *na* read *Nimuwaria*) Great King, King of the land of Egypt,’ to ‘Tarhundaradu, King of the land of Arzawa.’ Nothing then was known of this man or his country, but the elaborate greetings formulae contained sufficient indications to permit the tentative identification of the language ‘Arzawan’ as being Indo-European (Knudtzon 1902; Singer 2005). ‘Nimuwaria’ was, of course, recognised as the Cuneiform rendering of the throne name of Amenophis III (*nb-mʾt-rʾ*).

The excavation and reading of the Boğazköy texts from 1906 onwards, and the decipherment of Hittite from 1915, revealed much of Hittite history and geography, thus gradually clarifying the contexts of the Arzawa letters. The language was identified as Hittite (Nesite) and indeed the request of the scribe in EA 32 to be answered *nesumnili* (‘in the language of the Nesians’) was understood (Hrozný 1931). The alternation in the Hittite Laws of the toponym Arzawa with ‘Luwiya’ in an earlier recension associated Arzawa with the language ‘Luwian,’ which was in the process of being recognised. Geographically, attempts to locate Arzawa have moved gradually westwards, from Cilicia (Forrer 1926), through Pamphylia (Goetze 1940), to the west coast of Anatolia (Garstang and Gurney 1959), where it has settled, although attempts to draw it back from the Aegean littoral to the eastern Mediterranean have continued up to the 1980s.

Arzawa and the Hitties

Knowledge of Arzawa was placed on a firm footing by Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer’s *Arzawa* (1977), which assembled and reviewed the textual references in painstaking detail. She established a clear distinction between Arzawa proper (‘Arzawa im engeren Sinn’) and greater Arzawa (‘Arzawa im weiteren Sinn’), a political federation embracing several ‘Arzawa Lands,’ of which Arzawa proper formed the core. At the time of its greatest power in the

¹ This paper was originally presented at *Egypt and the Hittites*, International Egyptological Colloquium, The British Museum, London, 13–15 July 2005.

reign of Tarhundaradu, Arzawa was united under one paramount king, hostile to and serious rival of the land of Hatti. This power however was conclusively shattered by Mursili II in his great western campaign of years 3 and 4 (c. 1306–5 BC) (Beal 2000, 82–85). After defeating the Arzawan army on the Astarpa River, the Hatti-Arzawa frontier, Mursili marched on the capital Apasa, whence the king Uhhaziti fled ‘across the sea *to the islands*’ (as we may now translate following Starke 1981; see also Beal 2000, 85 n. 21). After further fighting extending into the following year to mop up pockets of resistance and reduce the revolted Seha River land, Mursili imposed what was to be a durable settlement on western Anatolia, breaking up Arzawa into its constituent kingdoms, Mira (with Kuwaliya), the Seha River land (with Appawiya), and Hapalla. On the throne of each he placed an Arzawan prince, whose loyalty to Hatti he sought to secure by treaty and various inducements. These treaties, recovered in more or less complete versions in the Boğazköy archives (see Beckman 1996, nos. 10, 11, 12), form together with Mursili’s Annals the main documents for the treaty settlement. Heinhold-Krahmer argues convincingly that Arzawa proper did not continue a separate existence as one of the Arzawa lands, but that it was subsumed into the kingdom of Mira (1977, 137; *contra* Beckman 1996, 82). In the following reign, Mursili’s son Muwatalli, bound by treaty a further Arzawan land, Wilusa, under its king Alaksandu (Beckman 1996, no. 13). Since this Arzawa land is nowhere mentioned by Mursili in his surviving accounts of the west, it presumably lay beyond his purview.

Location

The location of Arzawa, proper and greater with its constituent lands, also of Arzawa cities and neighbouring lands, is considered in detail by Heinhold-Krahmer, along with the suggestions of previous scholars (1977, 317–68), but if the book has a weakness it lies in the reluctance of the author to express a view of her own, or even, extraordinarily, to include a map on which locations could, however tentatively, be suggested. Perhaps this was prudent at the time of writing. In the last twenty years, however, new discoveries have radically transformed the picture. These discoveries bearing on the location of the Arzawa lands include the excavation at Boğazköy, in 1986, of a new treaty inscribed on a bronze tablet, published in 1988, and the simultaneous publication of the monumental Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription YALBURT (discovered 1970–1971). The new reading of the KARABEL relief inscription in 1996 (published 1998), which had been known since the early 19th century, added further information.

The Bronze Tablet treaty between Tudhaliya IV and his cousin Kuruntiya, King of Tarhuntassa (Beckman 1996, no. 18C) established the size and importance of Tarhuntassa and that its western border was at Parha, on the river Kastaraya. Parha is securely identifiable as classical Perge on the river Kestros. The text indicates that beyond this lay the Lukka lands, thus in the general area of classical Lycia, which was confirmed by the Yalburt inscription. Here the campaign of Tudhaliya IV against Lukka includes the conquest of towns with names unmistakeably identifiable with classical Lycian toponyms (Poetto 1993, 75–82): Awarna (=Aramaic *ʾwrn*, classical Xanthos), Pinali, Talawa, Patara and Wiyanawanda, equivalent to Pinara, Tlos, Patara and Oenoanda in classical sources. Effectively, this new information

showed southern Anatolia, west of Kizzuwatna (long since identified with Cilicia), was occupied by Tarhuntassa and the Lukka Lands, thus that the Arzawa lands could not be located here, as had been proposed.

The reading of the KARABEL relief inscription as the work of Tarkasnawa, king of Mira, the same man as the owner of the silver ‘Tarkondemos’ seal, indicated that the Karabel pass, carrying the road from Ephesos to Sardis, marked the frontier between the two most important Arzawa lands, Mira to the south and the Seha River land to the north (Hawkins 1998).² These further Hittite toponyms, identifiable with classical ones, fit well with, thus corroborate, these locations. The land of Lazpa, lying across the sea and in the sphere of interest of the king of the Seha River land according to the Manapatarihunda letter (Houwink ten Cate 1983/4, 38), has long been accepted as the island of Lesbos. Apasa, the royal city of greater Arzawa, whence its king fled by boat to the islands according to its sole attestation in Mursili’s account of his western campaign (see above), has been identified as Ephesos (Garstang and Gurney 1959, 88). The ongoing discovery of Late Bronze Age remains at that site (Büyükkolancı 2000) provides archaeological corroboration. The city Millawanda, linked to the kings of Arzawa and Ahhiyawa and apparently raided by the Hittites in Mursili’s third year according to an unfortunately fragmentary passage in the Extended Annals (Goetze 1933, 36–39), was identified as Miletos as early as 1929 (Hrozný 1929, 329), which has been variously accepted or disputed. Millawanda is attested in two other principal sources. The Tawagalawa letter (Sommer 1932, 2 ff.),³ probably written by Hattusili III, shows that it lay on the sea aside from the Hittite king’s route to the Lukka lands and was under the authority of king of Ahhiyawa. The Milawata letter of Tudhaliya IV shows its frontier to have been the object of a joint initiative of the Hittite king and the king of (probably) Mira (Hoffner 1952; Hawkins 1998, 19). These indications of location support the Miletos identification, as does the archaeological evidence that Middle-Late Bronze Age Miletos was a Minoan, then Mycenaean, colony (Niemeier 1997). This has now been generally accepted and philological objections deftly bypassed (Morpurgo Davies in Hawkins 1998, 30f., n. 207). Thus these toponyms, Lazpa, Apasa and Millawanda, join the group of Bronze Age predecessors of classical place names: in the Lukka lands (Lycia), Awarna, Pinali, Talawa, Patara, and Wiyanawanda; in Tarhuntassa, Parha on the river Kastaraya and Ikkuwaniya (Ikonion); and in Cilicia, Tarsa and Ataniya (Tarsus, Adana).

The Arzawa letters: translation, context and notes

Contrary to the view of the recent edition, where EA 32 is described as the reply to EA 31 (Haas *apud* Moran 1992, 101–3), the reverse is surely the case as seen by previous editors (Hrozný 1931, followed by Rost 1956 and Kühne 1973). I offer here a new English translation, followed by a brief discussion of context and some notes on specific points.

EA 32 (Fig. 1)

[The first tablet of the letter is not preserved]

² The river Seha can probably be identified with the classical Hermos.

³ A new translation by Miller (2006) presents a more coherent version of this difficult text.

- (1) See, this message which Kalbaya
- (2) spoke to me (saying): 'Let us
- (3) make ourselves a marriage-alliance,'
- (4) [now] I do not trust Kalbaya.
- (5) He spoke it verbally, but on a tablet it
- (6) was not set down.
- (7) Now if truly my daughter
- (8) you are seeking, will I not indeed
- (9) give (her) to you? (Of course) I will give (her) to you!
- (10–12) Now dispatch Kalbaya back to me with my envoy in haste,
- (12–13) and write back this matter to me by tablet.

(Note by scribe)

- (14–15) The scribe who reads this tablet
- (15–18) may Nabu king of wisdom and the Sun-God of the Gatehouse duly protect him,
- (19–20) and may they duly hold (their) hands around you!
- (21–3) You, Scribe, duly write to me, also put your own name after.
- (24–5) The tablets which they will bring, always write in Hittite (*nešumili*).

EA 31 (Figs. 2)

- (1) Thus says Nimuwaria, Great King, King of the land of Egypt,
- (2) to Tarhundaradu, King of the land of Arzawa, speak.
- (3) With me (it is) well, my houses, my wives, my sons,
- (4) the nobles, my army, my horse,
- (5) *anything* of mine within my lands
- (6) all (is) well.
- (7) With you may all be well,
- (8) your houses, your wives, your sons, the nobles,
- (9) your army, your horse, *anything* of yours
- (10) <within> your lands, may all be well.
- (11–12) See, I have sent you Iršappa, my envoy.
- (12–13) Let us see the daughter whom they will bring to My Majesty for marriage.
- (14) For her (he will?) pour oil on her head.
- (15–16) See I have sent you one nice gold (*zu*)*balaliya*.
- (17) The works for which you wrote to me (saying):
- (18) 'Send them to me,' I will send them to you afterwards.
- (19–21) Dispatch back to me your envoy and my envoy at once and let them come,
- (22–4) and they will come and bring you the bride-price for your daughter
- (23) - my envoy, but the envoy who came (as) yours, he has *died* (?).
- (25–6) Bring me people of the Gasga-land. I have heard everything.
- (27) Now the land of Hattusa has been *frozen* (?)
- (28–9) Now see, I have sent you a consignment duly by the hand of Iršappa my envoy:
- (30–8) (*list of presents*).

Hrozný, the first translator and editor of EA 32 (1931), already understood the context. The two letters belonged together, unsurprisingly, since they are the only two Hittite language documents of the Amarna Archive and represented an exchange between the Egyptian and Arzawan kings. EA 32 was the second tablet of two, the first not having survived, and EA 31 was the response to this letter. Nimuwaria (Amenophis III) had sent Kalbaya to the Arzawan king with a verbal message (delivered in Hittite?), also perhaps a tablet (depending on how we understand the passage), which would presumably have been written in Akkadian, thus probably unintelligible to the Arzawans. Hence the request of the Arzawan king for a proposal in writing (by tablet) and of the Arzawan scribe for a tablet written in Hittite.

To reconstruct the exchange: (1) Kalbaya arrived in Arzawa with a verbal proposal, possibly also an Akkadian tablet, for a marriage alliance; (2) Tarhundaradu distrusted the verbal proposal and could not find it in the unintelligible tablet; (3) Tarhundaradu sent back Kalbaya with an Arzawan envoy, carrying EA 32 and its first tablet; (4) Amenophis III responded by sending EA 31 with Iršappa to view the prospective bride, and a promise that Iršappa and a new Arzawan envoy (the previous one having died [?]) on returning to Egypt will return to Arzawa with the bride-price. The remarks on the Gasga people and the condition of Hattusa require further consideration below. The concluding list of presents, sent by the hand of Iršappa, is clearly distinct from the forthcoming bride-price.

Notes on recent considerations of individual words and phrases

EA 32

- (2) *man(-wa-nas)*: for *man* optative, see now CHD L-N, s.v. *man* a 1'a'2'', including this passage.
- (3) *ishanittaratar*: hapax legomenon, association with *eshan-*, 'blood' from Hrozný (1931), onwards, rebutted by Puhvel, HED 2-s.v., who derives from *ishai-*, 'bind.'
- (8) *UL imma*: introducing rhetorical question, see CHD L-N, s.v. *natta* c 9', following Rost's treatment.
- (25) *nešumnili*: 'in Hittite,' as read and identified by Hrozný (1931); full bibliography now in CHD L-N, s.v. ^{URU} *nišili*.

EA 31

- (5) and (9) *pippit*: in the regular greeting formulae this clearly corresponds to Akk. *mimmû*, 'anything.' For a bibliography of the discussion of this word, which is not found elsewhere, see now CHD P s.v.
- (24) *aggas*: accepted as variant form of 3 sing. pret. of *ak(k)-*, 'die,' properly *ak(k)i*, also *akta*, see HWb2, s.v. *ak(k)-*, also Puhvel, HED1, s.v. *ak(k)-*.
- (26) *zinnuk*: Güterbock's interpretation, deriving this word from *zinna-*, 'finish, end,' is rebutted by Starke (1981) on the grounds of unexplained formation, offering instead an interpretation as a phonetic transcription of an Egyptian phrase into Cuneiform, the equivalent of Akk. *ša (atta) tašpura*, 'what you have written.' Nothing better has yet been offered.
- (27) *igait*: verb now established as denom. from *eka-*, 'ice, cold,' thus 'cool down, be cold, freeze' (Puhvel, HED 2, s.v. *eka-*). Form seems to be 3 sing. pret. active of verb, otherwise med. pass. The old interpretation 'burst, break up,' was based on the passage describing what a hot stone does in water ('hisses, *igai*-s and is silent'), see Neu 1968, 68f. By emendation *igait<ta>*, Starke (1981) obtains a usual 3 sing. pres. med. pass., and interprets 'is cold, frozen,' as an Egyptian idiom, 'is peaceful.' It seems preferable to accept the tense as pret. active, and to understand the idiom in terms of the perceived historical context (the bad situation of Hattusa) as 'has been frozen,' i.e., 'paralysed.'

Conclusion

Although the precise relative chronologies of the Hittite and Egyptian kings are uncertain, it is clear that Suppiluliuma's reign coincided with that of Akhenaten (Niphururiya) and correspondingly the reign of his father, Tudhaliya III, coincided largely with that of Amenophis III. The king of Arzawa, Uhhaziti, who was defeated by Mursili II in his third year and died in his fourth, is recorded as having had dealings with Suppiluliuma (over Puranda: Goetze 1933, 58, iii B 26–27). Tarhundaradu will have been a more or less direct predecessor of Uhhaziti and, as a contemporary of Amenophis III and doubtless also of Tudhaliya III, probably of the preceding generation. For the two generations before Tudhaliya III, the reigns of his father Arnuwanda I and grandfather Tudhaliya I/II, the 'man of Arzawa,' Kupanta-^DKAL (I), is known from the Indictment of Madduwatta and the Annals of Arnuwanda I, where he seems to have been the ruler of Arzawa, a position possibly wrested from him by Madduwatta. Thus, the known rulers of Arzawa, not necessarily an unbroken line and of unknown affiliations, include Kupanta-^DKAL I (contemporary of Tudhaliya I/II and Arnuwanda I), Tarhundaradu (contemporary of Amenophis III) and Uhhaziti (contemporary of Suppiluliuma I and Mursili II, who put an end to the unified Arzawan Kingdom). Important information on western Anatolia is reported to be found in a group of texts, mostly letters, excavated at Ortaköy, but unfortunately only one of these has so far been published (Süel 2001), dated by the excavator to the period of Tudhaliya III. This reports the hostile movements of Kupanta-^DKAL, [Tar]hunnaradu and the sons of Kupanta-^DKAL, [Ma]sduri, Piyamaradu and Kupantazalma. The Arzawan names are striking. If the dating to Tudhaliya III is established, two of the names reappear in later Arzawan history: Masduri, king of the Seha River land at the time of Tudhaliya IV, and Piyamaradu, active in the reigns of Muwatalli II and Hattusili III.⁴ But more significant is the likelihood that Tarhunnaradu is the same individual as Tarhundaradu, king of Arzawa, probably not yet in his royal office. It is also within the bounds of possibility that Kupanta-^DKAL might be the 'man of Arzawa,' active in the reigns of Tudhaliya's father and grandfather Arnuwanda I and Tudhaliya I/II (to bridge the three generations he would have to have been young at the beginning and old here). The relationship between Kupanta-^DKAL and Tarhunnaradu is not clear: as it is expressed, the latter does not appear to be considered one of the sons of the former, though if the historical identities are right, he would have been a successor.

The statement of Amenophis III that 'the land of Hattusa has been *frozen*' has been variously understood in the past and even now that the meaning of the verb has been pinned down to 'grow cold, freeze,' its interpretation remains somewhat elusive (see above). 'The land of Hattusa has been frozen' is generally understood (*contra* Starke 1981, 225) to refer to a catastrophic situation, specifically the disastrous series of events of the reign of Tudhaliya III, known as the 'concentric invasions,' when, according to the historical preamble of a decree of Hattusili III (*KBo* VI 28), 'from this direction, from the Lower Land, the enemy of the land Arzawa came and he too ravaged the Hatti lands and made [Tuw]anuwa and Uda his frontier.' That Arzawa should overrun the Lower Land (south Konya plain) as far as Tuwanuwa (Tyana/Kemerhisar) must mark a high point of Arzawan power and a grievous

⁴ Süel's attempt to identify the Piyamaradu of the Ortaköy letter with the homonymous man of the Manapatarhunda and Tawagalawa letters is surely misconceived.

blow to Hatti. It should have occurred in the reign of Tarhundaradu and would explain the ‘Great King’ style greetings accorded to him by Amenophis III and the proposed marriage alliance. The fight back by Hatti under Suppiluliuma I involved first the expulsion of Arzawa from the Lower Land and later a campaign into Arzawa itself, though the record of these events in his Annals is fragmentary (see Güterbock 1956, 75–77, 79–81, frags. 14–15, 18–20). The final defeat of Arzawa was reserved for his son Mursili II, who, as noted above, split the kingdom into three vassal states, Mira, the Seha River Land and Hapalla, bound to him by treaty. A fourth, Wilusa, was subsequently added by Muwatalli II. Some evidence suggests that in the waning days of the Hittite Empire, the kingdom of Mira was regaining some of the former Arzawa’s power (Hawkins 1998, 18–21). Tarkasnawa with his digraphic silver seal (‘Tarkondemos’), his seal impressions from Boğazköy and his rock relief at Karabel, seems to have been a figure of comparable status to Kuruntiya of Tarhuntassa, and as a younger contemporary of Tudhaliya IV he was probably his addressee in the Milawata letter. Parhuitta (Mašhuitta), the recipient of a letter from a Hittite king, perhaps Suppiluliuma II, addressing him with the same Great-King courtesies as his forebear Tarhundaradu had received from Amenophis III, was probably also King of Mira.

One further piece of evidence on the Arzawa letters may be reported here. A project analysing the clay of the Amarna Letters has just been published (Goren et al. 2004, 45–47), which includes the clay of EA 32. The report concludes that ‘a provenance for EA 32 in northern Ionia, or even Aeolis seems very probable.’ EA 31, being in the Egyptian Museum, was not available for analysis, but would be expected to compare with the clays of the other tablets written by the Egyptian king (Goren et al. 2004, 29), which are assumed to be file copies retained at Amarna. Other incoming letters from different countries are shown generally to agree with clay types of their place of origin, so the clay is very significant and a welcome indication of the probable whereabouts of the king of Arzawa at the time of writing.

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 HED = J. Puhvel (ed). 1984–. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Berlin; New York; Amsterdam.
 HWb² = J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber. 1975–. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*. 2nd ed. Heidelberg.
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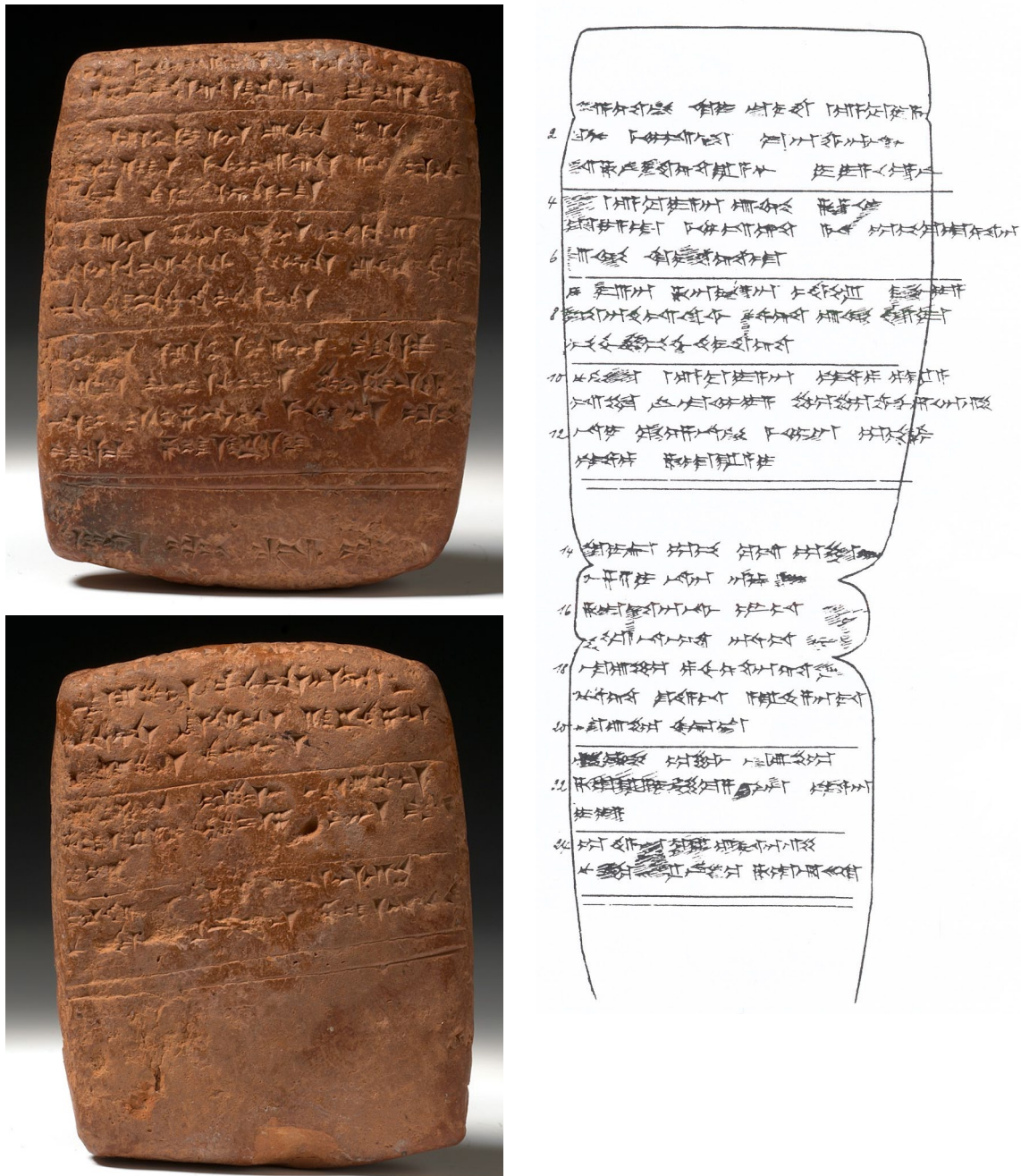


Fig 1: Recto and verso of fired clay tablet from Tell el-Amarna (EA 32). Vorderasiatisches Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin Inv.-Nr. 342. Photograph courtesy of Vorderasiatisches Museum. Cuneiform copy after Götze 1930, no. 2.



Fig. 2: Cuneiform copy after Götz 1930, no. 1. Recto, side and verso of fired clay tablet from el-Amarna (EA 31). Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 12208 (CG 4741). Photograph courtesy of Egyptian Museum (photographer Ahmed Amin).