

Was Henti, Queen of Hittite Great King Šuppiluliuma I, an Achaean Princess Named (χ)Ἐνδηίς or (χ)ῥΗτις-(χ)ῥΗτεια?

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Abstract: The Hittite Text CTH 214.12.A, a Prayer of an anonymus King of the Land of Ḫatti, identified with King Muršili II -most likely- or Muwattalli II or Urhi-Teshub, records: §2' (rev. 3-6) “because (s)he [became hostile] to my mother, [...] he dispatched him/her to the Land of Aḫḫiyawa” (= Mycenaean Greece). Šuppiluliuma's first wife, Henti, was the mother of Šuppiluliuma's five sons, including Muršili, but she was subsequently supplanted by a new chief-wife (Babylonian princess Malnigal), who assumed the name Tawananna as a personal name. The abrupt disappearance of the earlier Queen (Henti) from Hittite records has led to the suggestion that Šuppiluliuma removed her from the scene to make way for his new wife, by *banishing Henti to Aḫḫiyawa*. The exile of a former Great Queen to a foreign Country is justified, if that Country is her homeland. Therefore, Šuppiluliuma (1350-1322BC) returned Henti to Aḫḫiyawa, most likely to her father's House; besides, another queen's return/exile to her homeland is recorded in archives. *Was Henti princess of an Aḫḫiyawan Dynasty and did she become -before-1350BC- Queen at Ḫattuša after a diplomatic marriage?* If this is valid, then (Oracle Report, CTH 570.1, §24':ii:57'-64') the “invitation and transfer of the *foreign* gods of Aḫḫiyawa to Ḫatti, for the Hittite King, ‘the Hittite Gods' agent and representative on earth’,” is justified: half-Achaean Muršili, Henti's son, invited the gods of his mother's homeland to pray to them and be healed by them. This leads us to search the Linear B texts for a word phonetically related to Henti; indeed, a name $\hat{A} \hat{N} \hat{M} = e-ti-wa$ was read in the archives of Knossos (ca.1400-1300(+)BC). This word was pronounced “(h)e-(n)ti(s)”, attributed the name(s) (χ)Ἐνδηίς [= (h)Endeis] [or (χ)ῥΗτις-(χ)ῥΗτεια = (h)e-(n)t(e)i(s)] and -obviously- the Hittite scribes transliterated it as Henti.

Key words:

Hittites, Ḫenti, Šuppiluliuma I, Aḫḫiyawa, Muršili, Tawananna, Linear B, (χ)Ἐνδηίς, (χ)ῥΗτις/εια.

1.- Introduction

The list of Kings and Queens of the Hittite Kingdom, the great power of Asia Minor of the periods 17th-‘early-16th’ centuries and ‘late-14th’-‘early-13th’ centuries BC, includes the royal couple King Šuppiluliuma I with his first wife, Queen Ḫenti. Ḫenti was the chief wife of Šuppiluliuma

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during the period '1350(+)'-ca.1330(+)²BC, while Šuppiluliuma I reigned between ca.1350-1321BC. Consequently, *Ḫenti* had married Šuppiluliuma, before he ascended the throne,³ when he was prince and chief-general of the army under his father, King Tudḫaliya III. The Hittite kingdom, by ca.1570BC onward, had experienced a significant decline; it had been restricted within the bent of the Halys River -that is "ἐκ τῆς περαιίας τοῦ (χ)Ἄλυος" [= "beyond Halys"]⁴ for the Greeks. It regained dominance, supremacy, and arrived at the apogee of its power only during Šuppiluliuma's reign and afterwards, although a very short period of time, when *Ḫatti* regained power at the late-reign of the King Tudḫaliya I/II -at ca.1400-1390BC-, had preceded. *Ḫenti*, as *Queen of the Hittite Kingdom*, witnessed this transition from decline to the Hittite apogee of power.

Could Ḫenti have been an Achaean princess? Have there been any recorded contacts or relations between the Hittites and the Mycenaeans in the second millennium BC?

A study on probable contacts -throughout the ages- between the Hittites and the Achaeans would be highly enlightening, as these contacts emerge from the Hittite diplomatic and historical documents, which cover the period from the beginning of the Hittite Kingdom up to the reign of Šuppiluliuma's and *Ḫenti*'s grandson Muwattalli II (included).

2.- A Concise History of the Hittites, Contacts with the Achaeans and the Roles of Šuppiluliuma, *Ḫenti* and their Progeny

Firstly, the Hittites, "so called"⁵, did not call themselves Hittites -as we name them today-, but, simply, "the people of the 'Land-of-*Ḫatti*'". They identified themselves by the region in which they lived.⁶ The 'Land of *Ḫatti*' was a multilingual and multiracial⁷ Kingdom, where many languages were spoken: Nesitic/Nesite (nešili, našili, or nišili, that is the language of Neša, which had been the cradle of the 'Hittites') was the official language,⁸ which was spoken by its ruling class.⁹ There are also remnants of the "language of *Ḫatti*" (Hattian/Hattic) -of the indigenous Hattians- in a few

² Interpretation of the symbols in dates BC; plus: [1600(+)]→'before 1600'; minus: [1600(-)]→'after 1600';

³ Bawanypeck 2007; Bawanypeck 2011, 68; De Martino 2013, 67.

⁴ TLG-Strabo (Geogr.), *Geogr.*, 12:3:24:4-6, "ἐκ τῆς περαιίας τοῦ Ἄλυος..... ἐκ τῆς περαιίας τοῦ Ἄλυος"; Ἄλυς is aspirated.

⁵ Bryce 2005, 18.

⁶ Bryce 2005, 19, 16. Seeher 2006, 173. Akurgal 2001, 4.

⁷ Bryce 2005, 18.

⁸ Bryce 2005, 387; Seeher 2006, 173.

⁹ Bryce, 2005, 11, 17; Melchert 2003a, 10-23, 12-13.

surviving texts of predominantly religious or cultic character.¹⁰ Six more other languages were identified in the archives: Akkadian (the international language of diplomacy, not spoken by the people), Hurrian (*hurlili*), Luwian (*luwili* -the language used by the Hittite king in his correspondence with the king of *Aḫḫiyawa*), Palaic (*palaumnili*), Sumerian, and ‘Mitannian’; moreover, minor languages e.g. Carian and Lycian (closely related to Luwian) were spoken.¹¹ However, the main three spoken languages in the Hittite kingdom were: Nesitic (*nešili*, *našili*, or *nišili*), Luwian (*luwili*) and Palaic (*palaumnili*).¹²

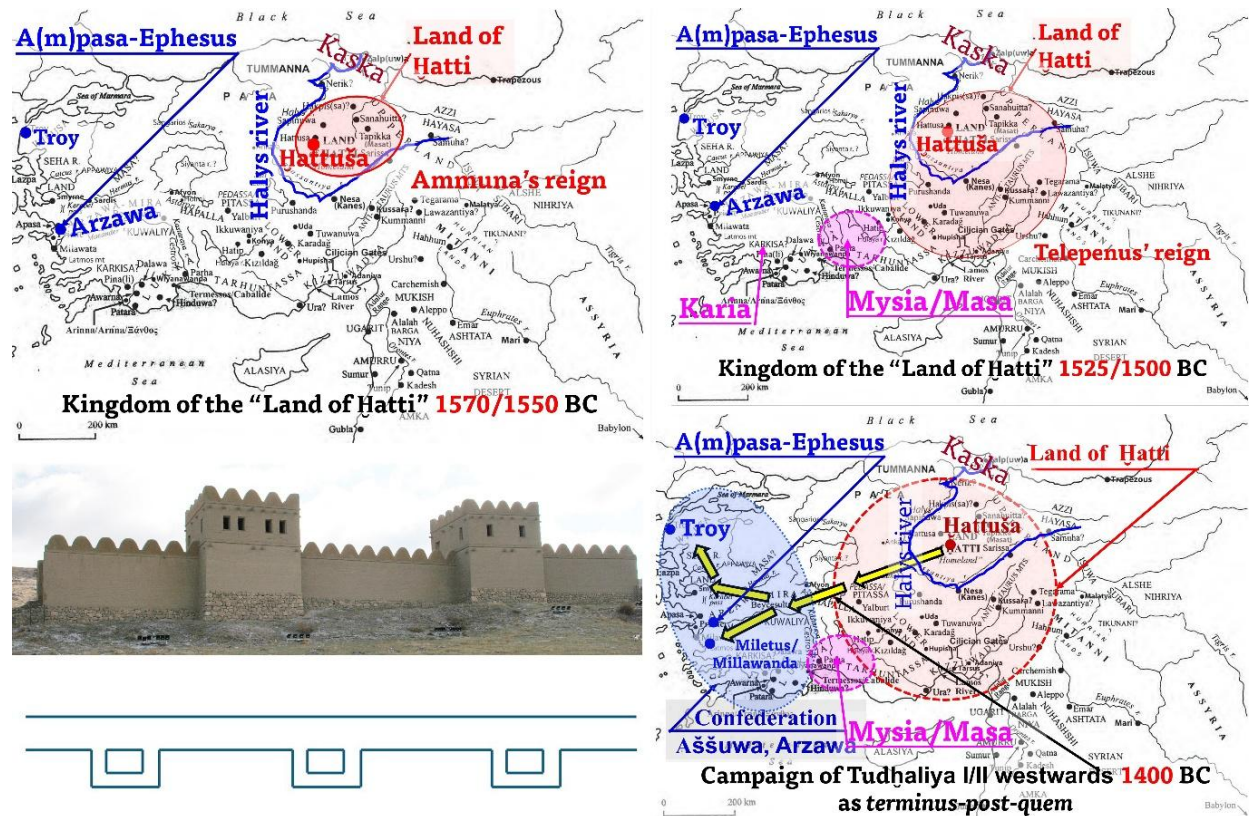


Figure 1. The “Land of Ḫatti”: during 1570-1550BC (**upper-left**), during 1525/1500BC (**upper-right**); these two maps depict the Land of Ḫatti before the westward campaign of Tudḫaliya I/II, at ca.1400BC as *terminus-post-quem* (see **lower-right**). Reconstructed section of the Wall at the archaeological site of Ḫattuša [upper] and ground-plan [lower] (**lower-left**): very low base of stonemasonry and overlying structure of mudbricks; the Towers were built-in at regular distances (see Neve 1993, 622, Abb. 1, 627, Abb. 5). [Maps, photo, ground-plan by the author].

¹⁰ Bryce 2005, 12; Melchert 2003a, 16.

¹¹ Bryce 2005, o.c., 278, 381, 385, 387, 387-388: “a language apparently spoken by the kings of Mitanni”.

¹² Bryce 2005, 11; Melchert 2003a, 9: map 1, 14-15, 9-22; see also Watkins 1986, 45.

At the dawn of Hittite history, the royal dynasty of Kussara (outside Halys bent, near Neša [Fig.1] and classic Caesarea) had enthroned a king **Tabarna/Labarna** at Sanahuitta (inside Halys bent), who was probably dethroned by a rebellion; his son **Ḫattušili I** -also bearing the title "Great King Tabarna, Man of Kussar(a)"- became King of the "Land of Ḫatti" (1650–1620BC), transferred the capital to Ḫattuša and extended the dominion of the kingdom to Syria in the southeast, as well as to Arzawa (Fig.1) in the west; he succeeded to put under a Hittite governor at least a part of the Arzawan territory. **Muršili I** (1620–1590BC) conquered Babylon and abolished the Babylonian State. However, by the reign of **Hantili I** ('1590–1560'-or-'1585-1570'BC) a period of decline began.¹³

During the next "catastrophic"¹⁴ reign of **Ammuna** ('1560(-)-1525(+)'-or-'~1570-1550'BC¹⁵), the Land of Ḫatti had shrunk "beyond Halys", inside a smaller area than the encircled one by the river Halys (Fig.1.-upper-left);¹⁶ at that era, Arzawa -having A(m)pasa/Ephesus as its "capital"- (Aššuwa was included) became independent¹⁷ and remained independent until 1320/1316BC.¹⁸

King **Telipinu or Telepenu(s)**¹⁹ ('1525-1500'-or-'1500-1480'-or-'1480-1460'π.X.²⁰), who recovered the entire area within Halys river bent and extended the Land of Ḫatti southward²¹ but not westward (Fig.1.-upper-right), sounds very closely to "**Τηλεφόντης**(-ao)/Telep(h)ontes(-ao)²² = Τήλεφος/Telephus" in Linear B and "Telephus of Mysia" of the ancient Greek Literature, after the very common turn of the short-vowel 'o' to the short-vowel 'ε': Τελεπ(//φ)ον/Telep(h)on (Greek) > Τελεπεν/Telepen (Hittite). After all, Huxley²³ had already identified the Hittite King Telipinu (or Telepenu) with Telephus/Τήλεφο since 1960. According to the ancient Greek Literature, **Telephus**

¹³ Bryce 2005, 64-68: Ḫattušili I "the Great King Tabarna", established new capital at Ḫattuša, 73-74: Arzawa, 68-102; Freu/Mazoyer/(Fontanille) 2007, 1:25, 1:153-165. Cline 2014, 34. Bryce 2018b, 2, 1-12.

¹⁴ Freu/Mazoyer 2007, 1:17, **1:42**: "calamiteux", 1:127-131: description of all the Lands that Ammuna lost from the sovereignty of the Hittite kingdom.

¹⁵ Giannakos 2019b, 56: 'max./min. chronologies'; Bryce 2009, 798; Gurney 1990, 181; Freu/Mazoyer/(Fontanille) 2007, 1:25-26.

¹⁶ Bryce 2005, 102-103, 123-124; Goedegebuure 2006, §20-21.

¹⁷ O.c., 104-106, 52. O.c., §24-27. Freu/Mazoyer 2:94-95. Aššuwa: Garstang/Gurney 1959, 88-89, 104-109.

¹⁸ Bryce 2005, 192-197. Freu/Mazoyer 2:76 and 1:127.

¹⁹ Kimball-Slocum 2018.

²⁰ (Bryce 2005, xv)-(Latacz 2004, 63)-(Miller 2013b, xii).

²¹ Bryce 2005, 104.

²² Ventris/Chadwick 1959, 424: 'qe-re-qo-ta-o, PY 116 = En659, genitif: Q^uēleq^uho(n)tao', 94: '-q^uhontās = -φόντης', 245: 'the equivalent of a classical *Τηλε-φόντης, cf. Τήλεφος'.

²³ Huxley 1965/1960, 40: "Telipinus is Τήλεφος".

of Mysia had initially fought against the Achaeans, but 10 years²⁴ later, led “Agamemnon and Achilles” to campaign anew against Troy and to start the siege described in the *Iliad*.²⁵ Maša (= Μυσία/Mysia ?) is depicted in Fig.1 adjacent to Caria/Karia according to Garstang/Gurney,²⁶ Gardiner²⁷ and Götze.²⁸ Maša was transliterated as Mṣṣ (= Mesa) in Egyptian records²⁹ and was identified probably to ‘Μυσία/Mysia’, which was well-known to the Greeks of the first millennium BC -and from the story of Telepontes/Telephus [= Τηλε(π/φ)όντης/Τήλεφος].

In the “Land-of-Ḫatti”, after the reign of Telepenu(s), intra-dynastic conflicts and decline followed.³⁰

Hantili II (~1450BC) [not the earlier Hantili I] had to wall Ḫattuša³¹ (Fig.1-lower-right), after he freed it from the Kaska(s). The weak and shrunken “Land of Ḫatti” was located “τηλόθεν”(=afar)³² too [as the beyond Halys Halyzones (=‘encircled by Halys’)] and has not influenced Troy technologically.³³ “**Muwattalli I or Mu[ttalli]**”³⁴ (whose reign began on 1400(+)-**or**-1420(+)-**or**-1425(+)-BC) sounds very closely to “Μότυλος/Motylos-**or**-Μούτιλος/Moutilos”,³⁵ who welcomed Paris and Helen in Caria-Karia/Kar(a)kisa”³⁶ (Fig.1-upper-right), during their sail to Troy, which triggered the Trojan War.³⁷

²⁴ Κακριδής I./Kakridis J. 1986, 5:25: 10 years = two years after Helen’s abduction plus eight more years; TLG-Hom.II., 24/Ω:765-766: 10 (preceded campaign)+10 years (Iliad’s campaign). Cline 1996, 148 note 57: the interval between the campaigns fluctuates between some weeks to eight years. Pindar/Πίνδαρος 1997, I:154-155, Olymp. Ode 9, l.69-76. Kullmann 1960, 189-203. Cf. Garstang/Gurney 1959, 97 note 1.

²⁵ TLG-Proclus Phil., *Chrestomathia epitome*, 85-169, “Κύπρια ή Κυπρία” [= Cypria] 125-135. Cf. Γιαννακός/Giannakos 2019a; Γιαννακός/Giannakos (2016b, 159-161, 330), (2025, 34-35).

²⁶ Garstang/Gurney 1959, book-cover’s map, 107-109.

²⁷ Gardiner 1960, 57.

²⁸ Götze 1960, 47-48.

²⁹ Breasted 2001/1906, 2:136, n.c.: “it is Mysia”.

³⁰ Bryce 2005, 105-114.

³¹ O.c., (113, 420 n.75) and Bryce (2009, 298). Freu/Mazoyer 2:163-164. Von Schuler 1965, 24-25, 48. Carruba 1988, 200-206. Collins 2007, 42. It was Hantili II not I, as Maner (2012), Seeher (2006) support.

³² TLG-Hom.II. B/2:856-857. Giannakos 2016a, 64.

³³ Giannakos 2024, 21-23, 27-29; Giannakos 2025, 26-33, 35: both with references.

³⁴ Carruba 1990, **541**; Miller 2013b, **127**. Bryce 2005, 421 n.82.

³⁵ TLG-Morphology-Lexika/Lemma: «Μούτιλος/Moutilos, also Μότυλος/Motylos»: as the TLG searching machine returns for the name ‘Μότυλος’ in the ancient text, at the label/buton “Morphology and Lexika”: (<https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/indiv/tsearch.jsp#s=1>) “Word Form: Μότυλος, Lemma: Μούτιλος, -ου, ό: ‘Μούτιλος, -ου, ό, also Μότυλος, -ου, ό”.

³⁶ TLG-St.Byz.Ethnika.epitome 554:5-6: Σαμυλία(=Samylia); TLG-Ael.Hdn.Gr. De.pros.cath. 3.1:289:line42.

³⁷ Giannakos (2016a, 69-70) and (2019b, 20).

The ancient Greek Literature transfers -probably 'transliterated in Greek'- the names of some Hittite Kings, of the era when the "Land of *Ḫatti*" had been restricted "beyond Halys", namely 1570/1525-~1425/1400'BC and associates these Kings with naval overseas expeditions of the Greek tradition.

The "Indictment of *Maduwatta*",³⁸ of the Hittite archives, records "Attariššiya", at a date during or later -most likely- than Muwattalli I's reign, who was "LU = man, nobleman" of Aḫḫiya(wa) and operated militarily with 100 martial chariots deep in Asia Minor. Attariššiya sounds very closely to the patronymic genitive, in Linear B, Ateres-(σ)i-jo (𐀀 𐀢 𐀶 𐀷 𐀺) > son of Ateres/Ἀτρεύς (= a pre-Hellenic name), that is Ἀτρείδης > Atreid;³⁹ as per Ventris/Chadwick (1959, 76-77) 'e' sounded as **either** 'a-short: 'ä" **or** 'i-short: 'i", therefore it was pronounced probably as atär(ä/i)s(si)jo, which sounds very closely to attariššiya in Hittite. After Attariššiya's return to his homeland (Aḫḫiyawa), King **Tudḫaliya I/II** ('1400-and-after'-**or**-'1420-1390'-**or**-'1425-1400'BC⁴⁰) at the end of his Reign⁴¹ [that is '1400-and-after'-or-1390BC], campaigned against Arzawa and "Aššuwa Confederation". Wilus(-ij-)a > (f)'Ιλιον/(w)Ilion/Troy was Member of the "Aššuwa Confederation"⁴² and closely related to the Arzawa Lands.⁴³ The "Alaksandu Treaty"⁴⁴ informs us that, although "Wilusa had defected (from *Ḫatti*) at the far-past, Tudḫaliya (I/II) did not enter Wilusa" (Fig.1-lower-right).

Applying the saying: 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend', could this "defection of Troy from *Ḫatti*" have happened due to the enthronement of a pro-Aḫḫiyawan King in Troy, before Tudḫaliya's campaign?

Nevertheless, Wilusa continued diplomatically to be "in peace with *Ḫatti* and was, regularly, sending messengers to *Ḫatti*" and, because of that, Tudḫaliya did not "enter Troy".⁴⁵ This description, comprised in an official international Treaty, is reliable and implies that Tudḫaliya I/II did not attack Troy, despite what he describes in his official Palatial "Chronicles" for reasons of internal propaganda. The final author of the text "Indictment of *Madduwatta*", referring to pro-Aḫḫiyawan or exclusively Aḫḫiyawan anti-Hittite activities during Tudḫaliya I/II's reign, was **Arnuwanda I**⁴⁶ (1400-or-

³⁸ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 3 (CTH147), 69-100; Giannakos 2019b, 16-19, analysis with references.

³⁹ Giannakos 2019b, 16-19, analysis with references.

⁴⁰ (Bryce 2005, xv)-(Miller 2013b, xii)-(Bryce 2009, 798).

⁴¹ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 3, 69. Cf. Giannakos 2019b, 20, 16-19.

⁴² Garstang/Gurney 1959, 105, 121-123 in the "Chronicle of Tudḫaliya IV" now of Tudḫaliya I/II (**note 44**).

⁴³ Bryce 2005, 52; Garstang/Gurney 1959, 88-89, 104-109.

⁴⁴ Beckman 1999, 82-88: 'Treaty of Alaksandu', **§2-3**; Garstang-Gurney 1959, 13-23, 'Chronicles of Toudḫaliya IV', 120-121; **note**: today the text 'Chronicles of Toudḫaliya IV' has been redated to Toudḫaliya I/II. Bryce 2005, 125; Giannakos (2015b, 750) and (2019b, 14-19).

⁴⁵ Beckman, o.c.; Giannakos 2019b, 19-21, §4.2.3c.

⁴⁶ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 3, 69-100, **7, 69**; Giannakos 2019b, **16-19** analysis with references.

1390-or-1370BC-and-after, 1390-1370BC⁴⁷), son in law (he married Tudḫaliya’s daughter Asmu-Nikkal), adopted son and successor of Tudḫaliya I/II. The reign of Arnuwanda I also faced defeats and threats even at sacred places in the heart of the Land of Ḫatti, as we learn from the text “*Prayer of Arnuwandas and Asmu-Nikkal Concerning the Ravages Inflicted on Hittite Cult-Centers*”.⁴⁸

After this short-lived resurgence of Ḫatti’s power (Tudḫaliya’s campaign), the decline continued in the reigns of Arnuwanda I, Ḫattušili II(?) -if he existed- and **Tudḫaliya III** (~1390-1350 BC).⁴⁹

Šuppiluliuma I, as chief-general of the army during the last years of his father’s (Tudḫaliya III) reign (1350(+))BC⁵⁰ but mainly as Great King (1350-1321BC), raised again the power of the Land of Ḫatti and re-expanded its sovereignty towards the western coast of Asia Minor so, that Trevor Bryce characterizes his reign as “the Supremacy of Ḫatti” and Freu/Mazoyer consider that “*Šuppiluliuma made the Hittite kingdom a powerful empire capable of competing with the great powers of its time, especially with Egypt*”.⁵¹ Queen Ḫenti was, chronologically, the first Chief Wife of this powerful Great King and witnessed the transition to the apogee of power; their son **Muršili II** (1321-1295BC), who succeeded the reign of his short-lived elder brother⁵² **Arnuwanda II** (ca.1321BC), conquered Arzawa and, in 1318/1316BC, Millawanda/Miletus, the bridgehead of Aḫḫiyawa⁵³ (= Mycenaean Greece) in Asia Minor, without any reaction from the Aḫḫiyawan King.⁵⁴ According to Niemeier,⁵⁵ “Millawanda”, as it emerges from the Hittite texts, “was not an integral part of Aḫḫiyawa, but a ‘bridgehead’ ruled by a vassal ruler of the King of Aḫḫiyawa, from which prominent dissidents against Hittite authority in western Asia Minor were supported and used as agents to extend Aḫḫiyawan influence, with refuge on Aḫḫiyawan territory provided in case of need”.

Šuppiluliuma’s and Ḫenti’s grandson **Muwattalli II** (1295-1272BC) returned the sovereignty of Millawanda/Miletus to Aḫḫiyawa, as a diplomatic exchange -that is a ‘diplomatic gift to the Aḫḫiyawan King’-, for the signing, of the “*Alaksandu Treaty*”,⁵⁶ by the “subdued Achaean Alaksan-

⁴⁷ Bryce 2009, 798; Bryce 2005, xv; Freu/Mazoyer 2007, 2:10; Miller 2013b, xii.

⁴⁸ Pritchard (ANET) 1969, 399-400.

⁴⁹ Bryce 2009, 798; Freu/Mazoyer 2007, 2:180-188 (Kaska’s raids), 189-201 (invasions and political crisis).

⁵⁰ Freu/Mazoyer 2007, 2:203-204; Bryce 2005, 149-153; Bryce 2019, 78.

⁵¹ Bryce 2005, 154-189; Freu/Mazoyer 2007, 2:298.

⁵² Alparslan/Doğan-Alparslan 2022, 471-472.

⁵³ Latacz 2004, 284-285.

⁵⁴ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 1B, 47-48; Bryce 2005, 195, 197; Kelder 2010, 27, note 74: *Aḫḫiyawa was tamed*; cf. Giannakos 2019b, 19-21 and 21(/n.42)-24, with analytic references.

⁵⁵ Niemeier 2007b, 71. Cf. Weeden 2018, 221-222, 225-226: representatives of the Great King (of Aḫḫiyawa); Giannakos 2019b, o.c..

⁵⁶ Beckman 1999, 82-88, CTH 76; cf. Giannakos 2019b, 20.

du(s), king of Wilusa”;⁵⁷ this was a Treaty of vassalage of Troy to *Ḫatti*, which removed Wilusa from the *Aḫḫiyawan* sphere of influence, that’s why the Hittite King needed a diplomatic exchange towards the *Aḫḫiyawan* King. Based on the “*Alaksandu Treaty*”, Muwattalli II was able to bring his vassal, the king of Troy -labeled in Egyptian records as both *da-r-da-ni-ja/Dardanians/Trojans* and (probably) *Wilusa-*, as his “ally” at the battle at Kadesh⁵⁸ against Ramesses II (~1275(+)*BC*). We recall Aeneas and the ‘*sons-of-his-sons*’⁵⁹ in the *Iliad* (Aeneas and his descendants), whose destiny was to rule in Troy for many generations *after the Fall of Troy*, according to “supreme god’s (Zeus’) decision”.

3.- Šuppiluliuma I and his Two Chief Wives

At the highest level of Hittite society, a king was expected to have an establishment of secondary wives and concubines in addition to his *one Chief Wife*. This was at least as much for reasons of state, as for any other considerations. As yet, we have no clear evidence to indicate whether polygamy extended to other members of the royal family, or beyond the immediate royal circle. The strong likelihood is that, for the members of Hittite society in general, marriages were very largely, if not exclusively, monogamous.⁶⁰ However, *there was only one chief or principal wife at a time*, who held the title “Great Queen (MUNUS.LUGAL GAL *logographically*)”⁶¹, wielded significant administrative and religious power and had also the title *Tawan(n)anna*⁶² [*Ta-ua-na-an-na*].⁶³

Tawananna was one of the most influential titles in the Hittite kingdom, a position always held by a female member of the royal family. The term appears very rarely in Hittite texts, and, in fact, it has recently been argued that it should be regarded not as an official title at all, but purely as a personal name.⁶⁴ Though we have no historical documents of the early period, the local ruler,

⁵⁷ Freu/Mazoyer 2008, 3:106; Niemeier 2008, 296-297. See also, Yakubovich (2008, 151): *No Wilusan proper name has a clear Luwian etymology; two have likely Greek cognates. Luwian is not the most likely candidate for the Trojan language*; Watkins (1986, 57) and Strauss (2006, 15): *Trojans were bilingual with Greek and Luwian names*. Cf. Giannakos 2019b, o.c. (**in notes 54-55 here**), and 23, 44, 62.

⁵⁸ Helck 1962, 205-234: *da-r-da-ni-ja*, 206: “() l-ša = Wilusa”; Wainwright 1939, 150: “Wilusa” too; Lichtheim 2006, 62-71: “Dardanians”; Breasted 2001/1906, 3:135-157: “Derden”; Garstang/Gurney 1959, 105-108: “in Kadesh”, 102-104; Gardiner 1960, 56-57; Giannakos 2029b, 62-64: *analysis with bibliography*.

⁵⁹ TLG-Hom.II. Y/20:300-308.

⁶⁰ Bryce 2002, 132.

⁶¹ Otten 2009, 253, 257.

⁶² Cf. Encyclop. Britannica 2026, “Anatolia”: *Tawannanna*.

⁶³ Otten 2009, 253: tablet KUB 25, 14 i 28' ff., 46' ff., iii 10' ff.

⁶⁴ Bryce 2005, 92-94, 414-415; Gonnet 1979, 3-108: *detailed analysis*.

called Tabarna, and the Tawananna seem to have been a royal pair since pre-Hittite Asia Minor and they often appear together in Hattian (not Indo-European) and Palaic (Indo-European) cultic texts.⁶⁵ In the present article, as per Bryce, the traditional line of treating Tawananna as a title is followed, though very likely it was originally a personal name, like the title Labarna/Tabarna for the King. Even in later times, it was on one occasion, at least, adopted as the personal name of the king's chief wife (see *Šuppiluliuma's second chief wife below*), and the possibility that, on other occasions, it had also been a personal name, or at best no more than a *de facto* title, cannot be altogether dismissed.⁶⁶

Seals and inscriptions associate three queens with Šuppiluliuma I during his reign -Daduhepa, Ҳenti, and Tawananna, in that order. The first of these, Daduhepa (^fDu-ú-du-ḫi/^hé-pa⁶⁷), was Šuppiluliuma's mother, wife of his father⁶⁸ Tudḫaliya III. She must therefore have outlived her husband and retained her status as queen -*maintaining the title Tawananna*- after Tudḫaliya III's death, in the standard Tawananna tradition.⁶⁹ Šuppiluliuma I (1350-1322BC/1350-1319BC) married consecutively two chief wives,⁷⁰ who were also Queens of the Land of Ҳatti, and brought the title *Tawananna*, both of them one after the other:

1.-The first wife (Ҳenti) was married to Šuppiluliuma before the beginning of his reign⁷¹ (pre-1350BC), during the reign of his father Tudḫaliya III, and *she was almost certainly the mother of all his sons*: Arnuwanda, Telipinu/Telepenu, Piyassili (later Sharri-Kushuh), Zannanza, and Muršili. On Daduhepa's death, her place as reigning Queen and *Tawananna*⁷² was taken by Ҳenti. With the exception of Muršili -who was underage-, these sons had all reached manhood during their father's reign and had provided him with consistently loyal and able support.⁷³ The personal name of this queen was read in Hittite seals as: (a) Ҳenti [^fḪé-en-ti-i] *Tawananna* [^fTa-ṽa-na-an-na], “[^{NA4} KIŠIB ^fḪé-en-ti[-i] M[UNUS.LUG]AL GAL] = ‘Great Queen’”,⁷⁴ “a Great King's daughter” (see **note 84** below), (b) Ҳinti [^fḪi-in-ti-i] and (c) [^fḪi-ti-i]⁷⁵.

⁶⁵ Bin-Nun 1972, 54.

⁶⁶ Bryce 2005, 92-94, 414-415.

⁶⁷ Otten 2009, 253: KUB 25, 14 i 28' ff., 46' ff., iii 10' ff.

⁶⁸ For different opinions that Šuppiluliuma was not Tudḫaliya III's son, see below; also: De Martino 2013.

⁶⁹ Bryce 2005, 159. Cf. De Roos 2007, 1:35-36.

⁷⁰ Cf. De Martino 2013, 65.

⁷¹ Freu/Mazoyer 2007, 2:257; De Martino 2013, 69.

⁷² Otten 2009, 253: KUB 25, 14 i 28' ff., 46' ff., iii 10' ff; De Martino 2013, 69.

⁷³ Bryce 2005, 160.

⁷⁴ Otten 2009, o.c., 258; cf. De Martino 2013, 69. Also: Huxley 1965, 5-6; Cline 2009, 122; Carruba 1986, 554; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT12, 161: probably; alternative hypotheses.

⁷⁵ Otten 2009, 253-254, 257-258, 260.

2.-Šuppiluliuma took a second wife and queen, the daughter of the king of Babylon, who apparently assumed the name *Tawananna* as a personal name, after her marriage, alongside her original name,⁷⁶ “which long though tentatively was read as *Malnigal*”,⁷⁷ or “*Amminnaya*”;⁷⁸ anyway, in his later books, Bryce⁷⁹ names her simply “*Tawananna*”, as some scholars supported too.⁸⁰ This Babylonian princess would be suspected later (during Muršili’s reign) of causing the death of King Muršili II’s beloved first wife. This last act was the final straw for Muršili, who, moreover, considered her as responsible for the banishment of his mother *Ḫenti* (see text CTH 214.12.A in §4(1) below). Thus, Babylonian *Tawananna* was put on trial, by the King Muršili, found guilty, and banished from the palace,⁸¹ to an unnamed place (see **notes 116-117** below).

It is worth mentioning that, in addition to the three impressions of seals of the royal couple Šuppiluliuma and *Ḫenti* or *Ḫinti* or *Ḫí-ti-i* (according to the current state of research), a new unearthed seal hoard has produced more than 50 seal impressions of Šuppiluliuma and *Tawananna*, the ‘Princess of Babylon’.⁸² The new marriage of Šuppiluliuma with the Babylonian princess *Tawananna* took place at ca.1330(+)BC, while some scholars give an earlier date.⁸³

A question arises: What happened to queen *Ḫenti* or *Ḫinti* or *Ḫí-ti-i*, who was “a Great King’s daughter”, considering that she bore the title “*MUNUS.LUGAL GAL DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL GAL*”⁸⁴

⁷⁶ Bryce 2005, 159.

⁷⁷ Bryce 2005, o.c.; Pintore 1978, 195 Appendice 1: ‘*Malnigal*’; Güterbock 1967, 46-47 ‘*Malnigal*’ *SAL.LUGAL* (see **notes 157, 84** below); Salvini 1990; Freu/Mazoyer (2007, 2:257 note 715) doubt about ‘*Malnigal*’. Bryce 2005, 433 note 24: SBo i, 46–7; Carruba 1998, 125. Hawkins 2011, 97-98: disagrees.

⁷⁸ Van Den Hout 1998, 44.

⁷⁹ Bryce 2019, 199; Bryce 2025, 18.

⁸⁰ Bawanypeck 2011, 70; De Martino 2013, 65; Hawkins 2011, 97-98, with analysis.

⁸¹ Bryce 2025, 18; Miller 2017, 111.

⁸² Otten 2009, 261.

⁸³ Bryce 2005, 433 note 23; Freu 2002, 102; Freu/Mazoyer 2007, 2:257-258: *before* 1330BC; Devecchi 2013, 91 note 20; De Martino 2013, 69-72-73: analysis positive for a late date. Hawkins 2011, 89-91.

⁸⁴ Bawanypeck/Herbordt 2011, 112, cat. no. 14. Written in Sumerian or Babylonian cuneiform: **DUMU** = child [PENN-MUSEUM, Babylonian Section. *Dumu*]; child, son, daughter; citizen (of a particular city); (member of a class, group, craft) [Foxvog 2013, 13]. **MUNUS** = woman [PENN-MUSEUM, Babylonian Section. *Munus*]; woman, female (some read *mí* in certain contexts, but its relationship to *munus* is unclear) [Foxvog 2013, 38]. **DUMU.MUNUS** = daughter [Foxvog 2013, 13]. **É.GAL** = Palace [~ +; **GAL** (GAL = [6612x]), **biGAL** = big, great [Hogan/Hogan 2017, 1208D, 120F2]. **LUGAL** = King, master; owner [Foxvog 2013, 36]. **LUGAL.GAL** = Great King.

= “Great Queen (logographically), daughter of a Great King⁸⁵”? Her fate remains a mystery.⁸⁶

4.- Texts Related to Queen Ḫenti’s Fate: Trying to Solve the Riddle

Two Hittite texts seem to be related to Queen Ḫenti’s fate, directly and indirectly:

1.-The Hittite Text CTH 214.12.A⁸⁷, a Prayer of an anonymus King of the Land of Ḫatti, records: §2’ (rev. 3–6) “because (s)he [became hostile] to **my mother**, [...] **he** dispatched him/her to the Land of Aḫḫiyawa”.

The unnamed King was either Muwattalli II, or Urhi-Teshub (Muršili III), or -most likely- King Muršili II; the last one, on the basis of references to three persons known from other texts [Oracle Report, (CTH 570.1, §24’ii:57’–64’) AHT 20, *see next paragr.2*] to have been connected to him:

(a) his daughter Massannauzzi⁸⁸ -represented logographically in the text as DINGIR.MEŠ.IR and called Matanazi in a letter of Ramesses II, (b) his stepmother Tawananna,⁸⁹ namely the Babylonian princess, and (c) his vassal Mashuiluwa, king of Mira;⁹⁰ Mashuiluwa had rebelled against Muršili around the middle of his reign (ca.1310BC or later) and was deposed and replaced on the vassal throne by his nephew Kupanta-Kurunta.⁹¹

Therefore, the phrase “my mother” refers probably to Ḫenti banished by Šuppiluliuma [“he”].

De Martino (2013)⁹² is against Ḫenti’s banishment to Aḫḫiyawa. However, most recent publications of Bilgi (2018)⁹³, Burney (2018)⁹⁴, Bryce (2019 and 2025)⁹⁵ and Stone (2023)⁹⁶ accept

⁸⁵ Freu/Mazoyer 2007, 2:257; De Martino 2013, 65; Hawkins 2011, 86 note 25; Bawanypeck 2007, 62; Otten 2009, **258-261**.

⁸⁶ Bryce 2005, 159; Freu/Mazoyer 2007, 2:257; De Martino 2013, 65; Hawkins 2011, 86 note 25.

⁸⁷ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 12, 158-161.

⁸⁸ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 20, 189, §17’.

⁸⁹ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 20, 201, 203, §41’, §43’.

⁹⁰ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, AHT 20, 197, 199, §29’–32’.

⁹¹ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 20, 209.

⁹² De Martino 2013, 72-**73**: diplomatic marriage-alliance with Babylonian princess, 73-75: against Ḫenti’s exile to Aḫḫiyawa.

⁹³ Bilgi 2018, “the Queen”, note 84: KUB 14.2 rev. 3–6, which can be interpreted in different ways and quotes Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 158-161; **cf. notes 98-99 below**.

⁹⁴ Burney 2018, lemma ‘Šuppiluliuma’: *the apparent banishment of his first queen, Ḫenti*; **cf. notes 98-99**.

⁹⁵ Bryce 2019, 199: perhaps banished; Bryce 2025, 31: Babylonian stepmother of Muršili, and the banishment of her predecessor (Ḫenti). **Cf. notes 98-99 below**.

⁹⁶ Stone 2023, 41; **cf. notes 98-99 below**.

this banishment. Moreover, in addition to the above and the bibliography in **note 99 here**, Beckman/Bryce/Cline⁹⁷ provide a thorough analysis that justifies *Ḫenti*’s exile to *Aḫḫiyawa*, while Hawkins,⁹⁸ in his analysis too, refers to an exile of *Ḫenti*, quoting Bryce.

The abrupt disappearance of Queen *Ḫenti*, the mother of the future King *Muršili II*, from the records of the Land of *Ḫatti*, has led to the suggestion that *Šuppiluliuma* removed her from the scene to make way for his new wife (by banishing *Ḫenti* or *Ḫinti* or *Ḫi-ti-i* to *Aḫḫiyawa*).⁹⁹ *Šuppiluliuma I* married the Babylonian wife to gain Babylon’s support in the conflict between *Ḫatti* and *Mitanni*,¹⁰⁰ an ally of Pharaoh *Akhenaten*;¹⁰¹ it was, apparently, a diplomatic marriage-alliance between the ruling dynasties of *Ḫatti* and *Babylon*.

Was Šuppiluliuma’s first marriage with Ḫenti or Ḫinti or Ḫi-ti-i a diplomatic marriage-alliance too?

We could logically conclude that most likely through his first marriage, *Šuppiluliuma* gained support of *Ḫenti*’s King-father to his operations against the western polities of Asia Minor. As it is well known, the King of *Aḫḫiyawa* wielded great influence on the polities of the western coasts of Asia Minor (see §8.2.(1) below: dynastic marriage): “*Aḫḫiyawa sought to expand its influence and control in western Asia Minor through alliances with local rulers, often at the expense of ties which these rulers had with Ḫatti, rather than by direct military action*”.¹⁰² It should be underlined that *Šuppiluliuma*, during his father’s reign -when he was commander of the army-, attacked *Arzawa* trying to bring it back under Hittite control; this strengthens the argument that *Ḫenti* or *Ḫinti* or *Ḫi-ti-i* was probably bride in a diplomatic marriage-alliance, who became wife of the Prince *Šuppiluliuma*, general of the army -but not “apparent heir” (*lútu-hu-kán-ti*)¹⁰³-, and, later, Queen of the Land of *Ḫatti* at his side, after *Šuppiluliuma*’s coup d’etat against his brother (*lútu-hu-kán-ti*) *Tudḫaliya the Younger*. The banishment of a former Great Queen, acting *Tawananna* and a Great King’s daughter to a foreign country would be justified, if that country was her homeland (her father or her brother reigned); another return of a queen to her homeland was also recorded (between the dynasties of *Ugarit* and *Amurru*) during *Tudḫaliya IV*’s reign,¹⁰⁴ fact showing that it was happening then.

⁹⁷ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 12, 160-161.

⁹⁸ Hawkins 2011, 86: 89-90: *Ḫenti* was exiled.

⁹⁹ Bryce 2005, 159-160; cf. Bryce 2019, 199: “was put aside”; Freu/Mazoyer 2008, 3:67: “la reine *Ḫenti*, avait sans doute été exilée au pays d’ *Aḫḫiyawa*”; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 12, 159-160.

¹⁰⁰ Godart/De Martino 2025, Capitolo terzo.

¹⁰¹ Bryce 2005, 159-160, 433 note 23-24, 145-163; De Martino 2013, 73 §4-end.

¹⁰² Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 1B (*extensive Annals of Muršili II* (CTh 61.ii)), 46.

¹⁰³ Gurney 1983, 101: *Šuppiluliuma*’s campaigns; Bryce 2005, 145; Alparslan/Doğan-Alparslan 2022, 471. Contra Ten Cate 1996, 41 note 2.

¹⁰⁴ Bryce 2005, 311.

2.- Oracle Report CTH 570.1:¹⁰⁵ *the deities of Aḫḫiyawa and Lazpa were called on for help*. The King of the Land of Ḫatti, Muršili II (1321/1318–1295 BC), Šuppiluliuma’s and Ḫenti’s son, got sick and did not recover for a long period of time. In one of his preserved prayers, King Muršili says: “*and in my sleep the god’s hand fell upon me, and my mouth went sideways*”; the King appears to have suffered a minor stroke, or aphasia, which caused partial speech paralysis.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, Van Den Hout¹⁰⁷ has a slightly different opinion: “*despite the circumstances of ‘cumulative stress’, ‘despair and frustration’, there is no evidence that Muršili II ‘suffered a minor stroke’*”. In the text known as ‘*Muršilis Sprachlähmung*’,¹⁰⁸ if the Hittite expression ‘*tapuša pai-*’, which means literally ‘*to go sideways*’, is applied to the king’s mouth in a figurative sense, it simply renders ‘*to cease to function*’ (the mouth). *What really happened remains for us to guess*”.

However, both analyses highlight a serious sickness of the King Muršili II, which led him to invite and transport the foreign gods of Aḫḫiyawa and Lazpa (= Lesbos) to the Land of Ḫatti, believing or just hoping that these gods would be able to heal him from his sickness: “*..., the deity of Aḫḫiyawa, the deity of Lazpa (Lesbos), and the personal deity (of his Majesty) was indicated by oracle as incumbent upon his Majesty, ..., And as <they perform> the rite for them over the course of three days, is it likewise mandated for three days for the deity of Aḫḫiyawa and the deity of Lazpa?, ..., And as his Majesty has done obeisance to the polluted and purified offering tables and they have sacrificed in the style of Ḫattuša, should he do precisely the same for them? They investigate the offering by oracle Result: favorable*”.¹⁰⁹ We see that, the three-day rituals “*in the style of Ḫattuša*” for the deities of Aḫḫiyawa and Lazpa, returned an Oracle “*result positive/favorable*”, while rituals for other (Hittite) deities, in the same Oracle Report, gave “*result(s): unfavorable*”.

5.- Hittite King: Representative of the Hittite Gods on Earth

However, it should be underlined that each Great King of the Land of Ḫatti held his position by divine right as **he was the Hittite gods’ agent and representative on earth**, who ruled his subjects and confounded his enemies on the Hittite gods’ behalf and, thus, he was -in theory- inviolable.

¹⁰⁵ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 20, 183-209.

¹⁰⁶ Bryce 2005, 219: CTH 486, obv. 1–10. Kümmel 1987, 289-292: translation of CTH 486. Frantz-Szabó 1995, (III) 2010: “*aphasia*” (the translation of the text in this article is Gary Beckman’s). Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 20, 209.

¹⁰⁷ Van Den Hout 2000, 645.

¹⁰⁸ The name is a citation of the first translation of CTH 486, which appeared in the work: Goetze/Pedersen (1934) ‘*Mursilis Sprachlähmun*’, Copenhagen; cf. also Bryce 2005, 451 note 125.

¹⁰⁹ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 20, 183-209, 192-195 §24; Bryce 2018a, 194: CTH 570.1, §24:ii:57–64.

The fact that in one text, just a few lines apart, one Deity and the Throne of the King and the Queen are referred is quite significant; one might think that, in this case, the Temple-Throne represents the same *deified* (Hittite) Throne.¹¹⁰ Beckman described the King as mediator between the Hittite gods and the Hittite people: he was the representative of his subjects towards the gods,¹¹¹ while, “the King was the High Priest in the Hittite Religion” and since, “every priest was not just a simple religious agent, but *the chosen one* by the divinity”,¹¹² this is much more valid for the High Priest.

It is beyond the theocratic beliefs of the era to invite “foreign gods of a hostile power” to heal the “representative and appointed deputy of the Hittite Gods on earth” -an action which downsized the authority and prestige of the Hittite Gods in comparison to the *Aḫḫiyawan* gods-, during an era when the superiority of each country was based on the supremacy of its gods. At that era of absolute theocratic beliefs, the winners in a war, either “sacked the gods of the defeated and smashed their images”,¹¹³ or “took possession of the defeated gods carried them to *Ḫattuša* and delivered them to the Hittite Sun Goddess *Arinna* or to the temples of other gods there”.¹¹⁴ The gods of each country were defenders and protectors of the country, were strictly and very tightly connected to the very existence of this country and were against any enemy.

6.- A Logical Induction: *Muršili II* was likely of half-*Aḫḫiyawan* Origin

Beckman/Bryce/Cline¹¹⁵ believe that “the inclusion of an *Aḫḫiyawan* deity in the efforts to cure the Hittite King suggests that peaceful relations had now been established between *Aḫḫiyawa* and *Ḫatti*, in the wake of the Hittite campaigns in the west against *Aḫḫiyawan*-supported Hittite rebel States in *Muršili’s* early regnal years”.

However, another logically inductive explanation for this invitation of foreign gods could exist, either supplementarily to the previous one of Beckman/Bryce/Cline or not: *if Muršili II is of half-Aḫḫiyawan origin, from his mother Ḫenti or Ḫinti or Ḫi-ti-i, then he invites the gods of his mother’s homeland to heal him*; one real event that strengthens our argumentation is that *Muršili* -several years later than his mother’s exile- got revenge on his Babylonian stepmother (both for his mother’s banishment and her other maleficent actions) by banishing her from the Palace and sen-

¹¹⁰ Bryce 2005, 85: with references and citations of Hittite tablets; Archi 1966, 114-115; Gonnet 1987.

¹¹¹ Beckman 1995, 530; Beckman 1989, 106.

¹¹² Freu/Mazoyer 2007, 2:412 (written by Mazoyer).

¹¹³ *Indicatively*: Garstang/Gurney 1959, 6: Extract from Fragment of *Arnuwanda(s)* IKUB XVII, 21, ii, 20 and XXIII, 115, when the Kaskans sacked cities of the Land of *Ḫatti* and did it to the Hittite gods.

¹¹⁴ *Indicatively*: Bryce 2005, 69: when *Ḫattušili I* marched against *Zalpa* and “destroyed them”.

¹¹⁵ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 20, 209.

ding her “somewhere¹¹⁶”, to a place that is not clearly stated.¹¹⁷

To determine if this reasoning is correct, we should look into how *Henti* or *Hinti* or *Hí-ti-i* would have been sounded in the Greek language of that era (1350-1290BC) based on Ancient Greek Literature and Linear B texts.

7.- *Henti* or *Hinti* or *Hí-ti-i*, the Ancient Greek Literature and Linear B

7.1- Pronunciation of Proper Names in Different Languages

Before we continue, we should keep in mind that proper or personal names sound differently in different languages, even today, the era of the extended use of the Media of communications, social Media, e.g. the city “London” is pronounced as:¹¹⁸ London (in English, Norwegian, Swedish and German), Londen (in Dutch), Londres (in French), Λονδίνο [= Lonthino] (in Greek), Lonto (in Finnish), Luân Đôn (in Vietnamese), Londra (in Italian and Romanian), Londýn (in Czech), Londyn (in Polish), Londres (in Spanish and Portuguese), “Lenden” in Arabic, etc.; hence we can infer what happened at the late-2nd millennium BC. Consequently, in order to investigate if an *Achaean* (*Aḥḥiyawan*) origin of Queen *Henti* or *Hinti* or *Hí-ti-i* is conceivable, we need to research in:

(a) the Ancient Greek Literature, and more specifically: which ancient Greek proper names would be pronounced in a way that could had been transliterated in Hittite records as “*Henti* or *Hinti* or *Hí-ti-i*”, since *-as Palaima supports-* (for foreign names) the Hittites “pronounced what they thought that they heard”;¹¹⁹ if this research results in one or more names that approach the name *Henti* or *Hinti* or *Hí-ti-i*, then the research should be expanded to:

(b) the Linear B texts, in order to find if these or similar names have been read in the tablets, which are dated between ca.1400-ca.1200BC; if the result is positive, then, based on the rules of Linear B, the research should focus on how these (or similar) names should be pronounced.

7.2- Ancient Greek Literature: Names pronounced closely to *Henti*/*Hinti*/*Hí-ti-i*

Considering that the initial ‘*h*’ in *Henti* sounds as a rough breathing (aspiration) and using the ‘searching machine’ of “*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae - the Digital Library of Greek Literature*” (TLG), two probable themes ‘*εντη*’ and ‘*ενδη*’ were investigated, since ‘*ενθη*’ has not given any result. Two

¹¹⁶ Bryce 2025, 65; Bryce 2019, 200: Muršili banished her.

¹¹⁷ Alparslan/Doğan-Alparslan 2022, 492 note 79; Bryce 2025, 18.

¹¹⁸ Collins Dictionary, <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english-italian/london>, English-Italian dictionary about “London” **with pronunciations acoustically**. Cf. Giannakos 2019b, 21.

¹¹⁹ Palaima 2007, 202; Latacz 2004, 99; cf. Giannakos 2019b, 17 note 28.

words were found: Ἐνδηίς¹²⁰ [= Endeis] (unaspirated, smooth breathing) and (χ)ἔντη¹²¹ [= (h)enti] (aspirated, rough breathing) but also ἔ(ν)τη/ἦ(ν)τη [= e/i(n)ti] (unaspirated). We should focus the research, now, on the corpus of Linear B tablets.

7.3- Pre-Hellenic Names in Linear B pronounced closely to *Hēnti/Hēnti/Hē-ti-i*

Contemporaneously to *Šuppiluliuma’s* and *Muršili’s* reigns, at Knossos tablets, **e-ti-wa(-ja)** [  ()] was read, which is a feminine, ethnic name.¹²² Duhoux earlier and Hiller¹²³ later consider that “a relatively large number of divine recipients of offerings known from the Linear B tablets did not survive into the Classical period. Some of these are supposedly from a pre-Greek cultural layer. This is true for deities from Crete like *pa-de*, *pi-pi-tu-na* (KN Fp 13, cf. Cretan Diktunna), *ti-ta-ma(-i)* (?) and presumably for the recipients of offerings recorded in the KN Fs series, who bear names which are clearly not Greek, these are likely to represent Minoan deities called, e.g., *a-*65-ma-na-ke*, *a-ro-do-ro-o*, *qe-sa-ma-qa*, **e-ti-wa**, etc.,¹²⁴ since -besides them- other theonyms could be Greek translations of Minoan theonyms”. How could we approach the pronunciation of the feminine name *e-ti-wa* [ ]¹²⁵, with theme ‘**e-ti-**’, which is most likely a not Greek, pre-Hellenic, Minoan deity?

¹²⁰ TLG-Pind. Nemea 5:12.

¹²¹ TLG-Epimerismi, *Epimerismi Homerici (ordine alphabetico traditi)*, phi:13:4: “ὄνομα ῥηματικὸν Ἐνυὸ καὶ Ἐνυάλιος. ἐκ τοῦ οὖν ἔνυν γίνεται ἕτερον, ὄνομα εἰς της, **ἔντης**,....” = “name derived from a verb Enyoo and Enu(f)alios. Well, from enoo another name is derived with ending of (h)entiis,...”. **Note:** I used double vowels in the present note (‘oo’, ‘ii’) to represent the long vowel ‘ω’, ‘η’ of the Greek language.

¹²² Ventris/Chadwick 1959, 102, 418: KN Ap639, 146 [KN X681, Fs19]. Driessen 2008, 76: “LMIIIA2-late”.

¹²³ Duhoux 1989-1990; Duhoux 2007b, 95; cf. Duhoux 2007a; Hiller 2011, 187. Ruijgh (1967, 228 note 96), compares with a Cretan city’s name, in (p.226), considers it (e-ti-wa-jo/ja) as an ethnic name, and in (p.299) considers the tablet KN X 681 (e-na-po-na o-nu pa-i-ti-jo **e-ti-wa**-ja-qe[] as obscure and difficult to be interpreted {cf. Killen 2017, 381}. Killen 2024, 2:959, KN Fs19, *e-ti-wa* was ‘recipient or destination of offerings; divine name(?)’; *e-ti-wa-i*], in PY Wr 1359, “**obscure**”, obviously meaning of unclear or not-known (obscure) origin and meaning in Greek. Cf. Melena/Firth 2019, 21: offering of MUL1 to e-ti-wa-ja [KN Ap(01) 639 B], 169 [KN Fs19], p.681: [KN Od(1) 681] e-ti-wa written under pa-i-ti-jo [= Faistios of Phaistos]. Killen 2017, 1:381-383: “it is a (worker) woman’s name”. However, in Pylos: Gulizio 2017, 2: refers “e-ti-we”, [PY Fr343 (+) 1209], and, also, “whatever goddess(-es) are being honored here, she (or they) could be consorts of Poseidon and receive their offerings in his sanctuary”. Petrakis 2010, 206: [for Pylos also] “the oil (of the offerings?) is plain and e-ti-we”. Note: Pylos tablets are dated ca. 200 years later than Knossos’ tablets. The Linear B fonts in this article by Clark Curtis software (see Bibliography).

¹²⁴ Duhoux (1989-1990) records more pre-Hellenic theonyms.

¹²⁵ It was read in Knossian tablets, which are presented in: Chadwick/Killen/Olivier 1971, 186, 258 and Chadwick et al. 1986, 12, 237, 257.

7.4- Rules of Pronunciation of Pre-Hellenic Words or Proper Names

Ventris/Chadwick, Lejeune and Ruijgh note that the phonological system of *pre-Hellenic (Minoan) everyday speech* did not present the distinctions in pronunciation between ‘voiceless’-‘voiced’¹²⁶ and ‘**unaspirated**’-‘**aspirated**’¹²⁷ sounds.¹²⁸

Furthermore, the two liquids ‘λ’ and ‘ρ’, of the later Greek language, were noted by two separate signs (‘r’ and ‘l’) in the Minoan language -probably written in Linear A script-, since they both are conventionally transliterated in Linear B by only one sign ‘r’ (plus one vowel [‘a’, ‘e’, ‘i’, ‘o’, ‘u’]), which represents ‘l-’ too [in five different signs, which transliterate the syllables ‘ra/la’, ‘re/le’, ‘ri/li’, ‘ro/lo’, ‘ru/lu’]; “it seems almost certain that -in ‘Minoan’ language- these signs represented some sort of palatalized liquid”.¹²⁹ Besides these two different signs for the two liquids, the ‘Minoan’ language had only one dental stop (‘t’), “instead of the distinction between ‘t’ and ‘t’”¹³⁰, while, phonetically, the sign ‘l’ of the ‘Minoan’ language *had taken on a pronunciation very close to ‘d’*. The fluctuation between ‘l’ and ‘d’, *known in various regions*, is attested in the Aegean world, even in the classical period: e.g., the pre-Hellenic personal name Ὀδυ(σ)σεύς, is also attested as: Ὀλυ(σ)σεύς, Ὀδυ(τ)τεύς, Ὀλυσεύς, Ὠλυ(σ)σεύς, Οὐλιξεύς and the word ‘δάφνη’ (laurel) or ‘λάφνη’ (as also λαβύρινθος and δαβύρινθος¹³¹).

That’s why, the Greeks could hear and understand the liquid phoneme ‘l’ or ‘d’ of the Lycians. Similarly, one can imagine that the Mycenaean creators of Linear B script intended ‘d’ for ‘l’ in the language recorded by the script they were inspired by (Linear A); they would then have assigned and noted ‘δα’, etc., to the signs ‘*la’, etc., of this script, and they would have found themselves without a proper notation for ‘la’, etc., for which (instead of creating a new series of signs) they would have settled an approximate notation with ‘ρα’, etc., since even today in modern Greek the two signs ‘r’=‘ρ’ and ‘l’=‘λ’ are interchanged in pronunciation: αδελφός/αδερφός, ήλθα/ήρθα, αλμύρα/αρμύρα, αλάτι/αράτσι (the latter in Crete), etc.

As far as the aspiration is concerned, in this pre-Hellenic script, the names were pronounced both aspirated and/or unaspirated without distinction. Can this assumption be verified?

¹²⁶ “Sourdes-sonores” [Ruijgh o.c.].

¹²⁷ “Non aspiré-aspiré” [Ruijgh o.c.].

¹²⁸ Ruijgh 1967, 23 note 9, 28-30 §8; Lejeune 1958, 327-329; cf. also Ventris/Chadwick 1959, 43, 69, 80, 81.

¹²⁹ Ventris/Chadwick 1959, 69, 47; Britannica 2014 Palatalization, “consonants with the blade, or front, of the tongue drawn up farther toward the roof of the mouth (hard palate)”; Giannakos 2012, 89.

¹³⁰ Ventris/Chadwick 1959, 70.

¹³¹ Ruijgh 1967, 28 note 30.

In fact, we ascertain that, on the aspired initial vowels of the words, “there is no sign of the aspirate phoneme ‘h’ (or aspirated consonants too) at the beginning of a word in Linear B”;¹³² moreover, for a pre-Hellenic place or proper name, “a phonetic shift from unaspirated ‘A’ to aspirated ‘A’ (‘A- > A-’) is conceivable”: hence a shift from ‘E- > E-’ is conceivable too, e.g. *Ἐνδηίς* and *Ἐνδηίς*. There are some further examples: “Ἰλισσός > (χ)Ἰλισσός, and *a-ke-te-re* (PY Jn 832,1) versus *a2-ke-te-re* (KN V 118), meaning ‘men who repair’, where *a2* = *ha* = *ά*, aspirated, word which is found as (χ)ἄκεστῆρες (aspirated) in classical Phokis, and, ἄκεστῆρες (unaspirated) in classical Athens”.¹³³

7.5- Pronunciation of the Pre-Hellenic Proper Name *e-ti-wa* [Ἀ Ἰ Π]

From the above, we conclude inductively that the pre-Hellenic *e-ti-wa* most likely sounded very close to Ἐνδηίς (unaspirated) or to its alternative Ἐνδηίς (aspirated), as it is analyzed below:

1.-The word *e-ti-wa* [Ἀ Ἰ Π] is paralleled by Ruijgh¹³⁴ with the name of a city Ἡτις or Ἡτεια in classical Crete; the second name was mainly unaspirated, but, in Hesychius,¹³⁵ it is written both unaspirated ἦτιος and aspirated (χ)ἦτιος. Here, it should be underlined also, that, in Linear B, “there is no sign for the aspirate”,¹³⁶ and “long vowels are not specially indicated, nor are syllables beginning with unaspirate”.¹³⁷

As we can ascertain by reading the works of Chadwick/Ventris, Ruijgh, etc, the words of Linear B have been compared to the classical Greek words and were transliterated by the experts. However, “comparative philology is of great use in helping us to infer the probable Mycenaean forms of known classical words, but is notoriously misleading (as has been proved in the study of Hittite, Phrygian and Messapian) in suggesting meanings for unfamiliar words (e.g. pre-Hellenic) on the basis of analogies in other Indo-European languages”; “at present, the dialect in Linear B presents an extraordinary degree of homogeneity compared with classical inscriptions as widely scattered in time and space”.¹³⁸ However, the transliteration of the pre-Hellenic names -particularly those which

¹³² Ventris/Chadwick 1959, 80.

¹³³ Ruijgh 1967, 54 note 40, with more characteristic examples.

¹³⁴ Ruijgh 1967, 228; Ventris/Chadwick 1959, 69.

¹³⁵ Pape/Benseler 1959-1911, 475: for Ἡτις (Cretan city) or Ἡτεια; also ἦτις, -ιδος and, both the unaspirated ἦτιος and the aspirated ἦτιος, quoting Hesychius; TLG-Hesychius, *LexikonA-O*, eta/(η):948:1.

¹³⁶ Ventris/Chadwick 1959, 80.

¹³⁷ Ventris/Chadwick 1959, 43.

¹³⁸ Ventris/Chadwick 1959, 27, 76.

“did not survive into the Classical period”- is much more misleading when we face both aspirated and unaspirated pronunciation of the same word.

2.- García Ramón¹³⁹ considers compound personal names with their first part ‘e-ti-’ [$\hat{A} \hat{\Lambda}$] and renders ‘e(r)ti-’/‘ε(ρ)τι-’, while for the name *ke-ti-ro* he renders ‘ke-(**ns**)ti-los’. Bernabe/Lujan¹⁴⁰ render the name *e-ti-wa* [$\hat{A} \hat{\Lambda} \hat{\Pi}$] as the spice χέννα [= henna] > (χ)έ(ρ)τις [= (h)e(r)tis]. Chadwick, since 1973 (second edition of *Ventris/Chadwick*¹⁴¹), has added an ‘n’ before ‘t’ in the pronunciation of the syllable ‘-ti-’, for the transliteration of the compound name **e-ti-ra-wo** = **E(n)tilāwos**. Here, it should be noted that, according to the rules of Linear B, the symbols ‘ρ/r’ and ‘ν/n’ are not indicated before the symbol ‘τ/t’; they are always omitted but were pronounced, since: “the non-occlusive consonants (σ, μ, **ν**, **ρ**, λ, φ, and also γ which is never indicated before a consonant) are generally noted before the following consonants (μ, ν, ρ, λ, υ, φ), but they are omitted before the other consonants (occlusives -among them **τ/t** is comprised- and σ) and at the end of the word”.¹⁴² Besides that rule, another rule is valid: “μ and **ν** are always omitted before a following consonant”.¹⁴³ Both rules show that the symbols ‘ρ/r’ and ‘ν/n’ before the symbol ‘τ/t’ were always omitted, but they were pronounced (as an example, we refer to the word *a-to-ro-qo* = ἄ(ν)θρωπος¹⁴⁴).

Consequently, there are two probable pronunciations of *e-ti-wa* [$\hat{A} \hat{\Lambda} \hat{\Pi}$]: either ‘ρτ/rt’ or ‘ντ/nt’,¹⁴⁵ namely, either (χ)έ(ρ)τις/(h)e(r)tis or (χ)έ(ν)τις/(h)e(n)tis; furthermore, we should take in mind that the phoneme ‘e’ in Linear B sounded as: ‘ē’ (short vowel e), or ‘ē’ (long vowel e), or ‘ī’ (short vowel i), or simply ‘e’ (*Ventris/Chadwick* 1959, 76-77). Therefore, the pre-Hellenic word *e-ti-wa* sounded as (χ)E(v)[δ/τ]η-(ίς) or (χ)E(v)τη, and, following the alternative pronunciations of the phoneme ‘e-’, it sounded very close to all-three Hittite transliterations *Ḫenti* or *Ḫinti* or *Ḫi-ti-i*, since Hittite scribes “pronounced (and wrote) what they thought that they heard”, according to Palaima.

Duhoux’s and Hiller’s view (see **note 123**) that the name *e-ti-wa* is pre-Hellenic, which I argue was pronounced as either (χ)E(v)[δ/τ]η-(ίς) or (χ)E(v)τη, is also supported by the fact that *Liddell-Scott-Jones Lexikon* and *Chantraine’s ‘Dictionnaire Étymologique’* do not include it at all in their contents of Greek words, while Montanari¹⁴⁶ writes “Ἐνδηΐς, female name; Doric genitive ‘(Ἐνδ’)-αἰδοῦς”; Montanari does not give any etymology at all, because, obviously, it is not a Greek name.

¹³⁹ García Ramón 2011, 218, 221 note 14.

¹⁴⁰ Bernabe/Lujan 2008, 228; cf. *Ventris/Chadwick* 1973, 546: “e-ti-we = ἔρις, e(r)tiwen probably a plant”.

¹⁴¹ *Ventris/Chadwick* 1973 [second edition], 546.

¹⁴² Ruijgh 1967, 24-25, 2nd paragraph of §4.

¹⁴³ *Ventris/Chadwick* 1959, 42.

¹⁴⁴ *Ventris/Chadwick* 1959, 82.

¹⁴⁵ Ruijgh 1967, 24-25, 2nd paragraph of §4.

¹⁴⁶ Montanari 2015, 688.

We recall that *Ἐνδηίς/Endeis*,¹⁴⁷ the daughter either of centaur Cheiron or of the King of Megara Sceiron, was a pre-Hellenic daughter of a Nympe (Χαρικλώ [= Chariklo]) the wife of Aeacus, King of Aegina, and Achilles’ grandmother.¹⁴⁸ *Legendary Aeacus* with two Gods (Apollo, Poseidon) had built the Walls of Troy, welcomed mythical King Minos of Crete to Aegina, when he campaigned against Athens, but later -as ally of Athens- fought against Minos and the Cretans.

8.- Dynastic Marriages in the Courts of the Land of *Ḫatti* and *Aḫḫiyawa*

As it has been mentioned, Queen *Ḫenti* or *Ḫinti* or *Ḫí-ti-i* was “a Great King’s daughter”. A controversy among the scholars appeared, about whether she was the daughter of a King of the Land of *Ḫatti* or of a King of a foreign Land.¹⁴⁹ Two questions arise:

(a) In the Hittite archives (tablets, seals, etc), had the title “a Great King’s daughter” been addressed only to daughters of Kings of the Land of *Ḫatti* or had it been addressed to foreign Kings’ daughters too, who -due to a dynastic marriage- became Queen(s) in the Hittite Court?

(b) Is there any archaeological evidence for international dynastic marriages in the *Aḫḫiyawan* Court?

8.1- The Court of the Land of *Ḫatti*

De Martino (2013), based on this title (DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL GAL = a Great King’s daughter) for *Ḫenti*, concludes that the most probable solution is that *Šuppiluliuma* should not be biological son of Tudḫaliya III, since, if *Ḫenti* had been Tudḫaliya’s and his wife Tadu-Ḫeba’s daughter and bore the title “a Great King’s daughter”, then *Šuppiluliuma* -as her husband- would had been son-in-law and adopted son of Tudḫaliya III.¹⁵⁰ De Martino continues: “If *Šuppiluliuma* was indeed the biological son of Tudḫaliya III, his wife *Ḫenti* would presumably have to have been the daughter of a foreign king, but this hypothesis seems difficult to accept”; De Martino did not explain the reasoning for this “difficulty to accept it” and did not examine etymologically the case of a name of an *Aḫḫiyawan* princess. He continues: “it may be excluded that *Ḫenti* would have been a Babylonian princess, because” the preserved till now “Hittite sources mention no marriage with a daughter of the king of Babylon preceding the wedding with Tawananna. Moreover, the name *Ḫenti* has been interpreted by some scholars as Hurrian and, if this etymology is right, it would rule

¹⁴⁷ Κακριδής I./Kakridis J. 1986, 3:137, 3:142, 3:310.

¹⁴⁸ Tripp 1970, 222; TLG-Plutar. *Phil. Parallela minora* [Sp.] (305a-316b) p.312 sec.B1.6 (Sceiron); TLG-Scholia in Homerum., Scholia in Iliadem (scholia vetera) (= D scholia) B.16 v.14 l.3: (Cheiron). TLG-Plutarch., *Theseus*, 10:3:6.

¹⁴⁹ De Martino (2013) presents a thorough analysis.

¹⁵⁰ De Martino 2013, 66, 75; Taracha 2016.

out the possibility of her being a Babylonian princess, as it can hardly be accepted that a Babylonian princess would have had a Hurrian name.”¹⁵¹

However, is there any other foreign princess married to a Hittite King, who -in the Hittite texts- is addressed as a “a Great King’s daughter” too?

Ten Cate¹⁵² has published a relevant article about “the Hittite Dynastic Marriages of the Period between ca. 1258 and 1244 BC”, where it is cited that the title DUMU.MUNUS GAL has been used for the case of another foreign King’s daughter, the Babylonian princess, who became wife of Tudḫaliya IV¹⁵³ (1240/1237-1228 and 1227-1209/1205BC¹⁵⁴). Also, Queen Puduḫepa (wife of the King Ḫattušili III [1267/1264-1240/1237BC¹⁵⁵]) names “daughter of a Great King” the daughter of the King of Babylon (and wife of Tudḫaliya IV) in a draft letter towards Pharaoh Ramesses II.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, (i) Singer supports that DUMU.SAL GAL (= Great Daughter) means “Great Princess” and it is the title given by the Hittites to daughters of Great Kings (LUGAL.GAL) of Ḫatti or of other great powers,¹⁵⁷ and (ii) the most recent (2022) publication for the Hittite Kings -with S. De Martino as editor- describe that Šuppiluliuma I had “legal claim to the Hittite throne”, and to prove it, he should “declare his lineage to an audience (of Hittite nobles), and that audience should also accept Šuppiluliuma’s lineage”,¹⁵⁸ in order to approve him to ascend to the Hittite Throne; this institutionalized procedure documents that Šuppiluliuma was biological son of Tudḫaliya III, since he must have proved his legitimate lineage, and probably was younger than his brother and

¹⁵¹ De Martino o.c..

¹⁵² Ten Cate 1996.

¹⁵³ Ten Cate 1996, 44, 65 note 46; Pintore 1978, 195-197 Appendice 1: a complete list of interdynastic marriages in the wider Near East area; De Roos 2007, 64-6; De Roos 2005.

¹⁵⁴ Max-Min chronologies of the Hittite Kings based on Bryce (2009, 798), Gurney (1990, 181), and Freu/Mazoyer/(Fontanille) (2005, 1:25-26), as they are presented in Giannakos 2019b, 56, Annex 2.

¹⁵⁵ Max-min chronologies, **see previous note 154**.

¹⁵⁶ Beckman 1983, 109; cf. Güterbock 1967, 8; Rieken/Sasseville 2012, 124-125.

¹⁵⁷ Singer 2011-1991, e.g. p.270; cf. De Roos 2005, 12 about that. From **note 84** (in this article) DUMU.MUNUS in Sumerian means daughter or girl; DUMU means child and SAL woman or feminine. Singer examines DUMU.SAL GAL, where GAL means Great. **SAL** = apotheosis of woman, goddess, matriarch, queen [Hogan/Hogan 2017, 120F2, **122A9**]; “enfant (d’ un) ROI, d’ ou PRINCESS” = child of a King, i.e., Princess [Laroche 1986-1985, 191]; “[SA]L.LUGAL G[AL] = Grosskönigin” [Güterbock 1967, 4, also p.7].

¹⁵⁸ Alparslan/Doğan-Alparslan 2022, 471-473 (edited by Stefano De Martino): analysis about Šuppiluliuma I’s “legitimate claim to the throne” and his “declaration about his lineage to an audience, which must also accept this lineage”; Bryce 2025, 16, 228 note 18, accepts it; Britannica 2024 ‘Suppiluliuma I’ (revised and updated lemma): “son and successor of Tudḫaliya III”. Wilhelm 2004, 76: “son of Šuppiluliuma”.

Crown Prince Tudḫaliya the Younger. This is also confirmed by a seal where Šuppiluliuma appears as “son of King Tutḫaliya”,¹⁵⁹ that is of Tudḫaliya (III).

Furthermore, the Babylonian princess ‘Tawananna’, whom Šuppiluliuma I married, held a quite similar title DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL KUR KA.DINGIR.RA, = “daughter of the King of the land Babylon, or probably, princess of the land Babylon” in her first appearance as Great Queen on the “Ugarit Seal of Šuppiluliuma”.¹⁶⁰

A reverse paradigm of a Hittite princess married abroad, out of the Court of the Land of *Ḫatti*, is that of a daughter of Ḫattušili III (1267/1264-1240/1237BC, grandson of Ḫenti, son of Muršili II and brother of Muwattalli II), who married the King of Babylon: she is named as “daughter of a Great King”.¹⁶¹

8.2- The Court of Aḫḫiyawa

Written and material evidence document international dynastic marriages in the Aḫḫiyawan Court:

1.- Some years before the marriage of Šuppiluliuma with Ḫenti, a King of Aḫḫiyawa had married a princess, daughter of the King of Aššuwa (Fig.1), according to the tablet KUB 26.91 or CTH 183,¹⁶² which is a letter from either an Aḫḫiyawan to a Hittite King (Muwattalli II, grandson of Ḫenti and son of Muršili II), or the opposite (from Muwattalli II to an Aḫḫiyawan King).

It records a King ‘ka-ga-mu-na-as’¹⁶³ or ‘(a?)-ka-ga-mu-na’¹⁶⁴/...]a-ka-ga-mu-na-aš-za-kán’, “an ancestor of the (current) King of Aḫḫiyawa”,¹⁶⁵ who reigned before or during Tudḫaliya I/II’s reign. A small gap makes the letter’s reading uncertain: “A-BA-A-BA-A-B[I-YA?...]= my great-grandfather”, the Aḫḫiyawan King,¹⁶⁶ or “A-BA-A-BA-A-B[I-ŠU?...]= his great-grandfather”, the King of Aššuwa.¹⁶⁷ Starke supposed a change g > t > d; “Starke’s forcible reading Kagamunas → *Katamunas → Kadmos is not accepted” by Watkins¹⁶⁸ and, also, “by Melchert. ‘Kagamuna is probably Luwian, but if it is to be equated with a Greek name, a better equation, if still highly conjectural, is

¹⁵⁹ Bawanypeck/Herbordt 2011, 110, cat. no. 8: Bo 91/1314.

¹⁶⁰ Hawkins 2011, 90.

¹⁶¹ Güterbock 1967, 8; Ten Cate 1996, 41.

¹⁶² Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 6, 134-139.

¹⁶³ Hoffner 2009, 292; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 6, 135 §3 line 8; cf. Giannakos 2016a, 69-70.

¹⁶⁴ Sommer 1932, 268-274, Tablet CTH183.

¹⁶⁵ Freu/Mazoyer 2008, **3:105**; Freu 1998, 109; Gurney 2002, 135 note 13; cf. Giannakos 2019b, 22-23.

¹⁶⁶ Hoffner 2009, 291-292; Freu/Mazoyer 2008, vol.3, 105.

¹⁶⁷ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, **138**, note 102.

¹⁶⁸ Watkins 2008, 135.

Agamemnon’ according to ‘one of the leading researchers in Greek dialectology’¹⁶⁹ Professor Richard Janko”.¹⁷⁰ Giannakos,¹⁷¹ after a phonetic approach of the name Agamemnon as a probable Linear B word, supported that it should be written most likely with **za** = , as     = A-***gja**-me-mo-no. Since “the vowel ‘o’ in Linear B sounded either o-long ‘ō’, or o-short ‘ō’, or a-short ‘ă’, or u-short ‘ŭ’”¹⁷² (for pronunciation of ‘e’ see §2 “Attariššiya” above) then, this name could sound: A-***gja**-mē-mū-nă > A-(**k^a-g^ha**)-m^ē-mū-nă with a very close pronunciation to the Hittite a-ka-ga-mu-na-(aš). The Hittite scribes, after hearing -probably- Mycenaean envoys at the Hittite court(?) pronouncing the name in the Greek language of the 14th/13th century BC, tried to render it as closely as possible phonetically, and so they rendered it as a-ka-ga-mu-na-aš, in the phonetics of the language of the Hittite texts. An alternative version in Linear B could be with ka/ya = , that is     = ***A-ka**-m^ē-mū-nă namely ***A-(g/kh)a**-m^ē-mū-nă,¹⁷³ since “k- represent k-/g-/kh-”.¹⁷⁴

This dynastic marriage took place before the expedition of a Hittite King Tudḫaliya; “without doubt, the Tudḫaliya in question was Tudḫaliya I/II”¹⁷⁵ (leading to a date before ca. 1400-1390BC). The marriage with the Aššuwān princess may have resulted in the offshore of Asia Minor islands, which had been transferred by the Aššuwān king to the bridegroom (the Ahḫiyawan King) as part of the dowry.¹⁷⁶ This marriage with islands given to the Ahḫiyawan King a-ka-ga-mu-na-aš as dowry strengthened the ties between Ahḫiyawan and Aššuwān dynasties, which should have remained strong approximately 50 years later (at pre-1350BC), due to family ties.

2.- Finds from the Grave Circle A of Mycenae, approximately 100(+) years earlier (1600-1500BC¹⁷⁷), document marriages of Kings of Mycenae with foreign princesses: “from the results

¹⁶⁹ Latacz 2004, 271.

¹⁷⁰ Wiener 2007, 17, note 13.

¹⁷¹ Giannakos 2019b, 22-23; Giannakos 2012, 89: za = , and palatalized k̑; Ventris/Chadwick 1959, 44; Promponas 1990, 228, 221. For  = za see also Bernabé/Luján 2008, 220, 222, for za = gyā in αῖγα. Morpurgo-Davies (1988, 79-80 note 14, 105-106) analyzes in detail the matter of za and the syllables beginning with z and refers that besides kya/gya (for za) the z- series could correspond to more than one palatalized series: k̑, g̑ and d̑ and give examples of words in Linear B tablets. Hooker 1994, 104, §100: the three syllabograms  = za,  = ze and  = zo represent “closed” consonants that initially were “uranic” and sounded as kja, gja, dja etc.

¹⁷² Ventris/Chadwick 1959, 77.

¹⁷³ Cf. Ventris/Chadwick 1959, 415: a-ka-i-jo = Ἀγαῖος [KN Vd62, Vc68, G153, De1084]; γ between g and kh.

¹⁷⁴ Ventris/Chadwick 1959, 44 §4.

¹⁷⁵ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 6, 137; Freu/Mazoyer 2008, 3:105.

¹⁷⁶ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 6, 138.

¹⁷⁷ Colburn 2007, 208-209; Mylonas 1964; Mylonas 1966, 109; Wace/Hurtley 1923, 119-120.

of the strontium isotope ratio ($^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$), it appears that three of the dead had foreign origins; two of them were -definitely- women. This concerns the deceased M of Tomb III and, from the teeth, it shows that the deceased F of Tomb V was also foreign. The fact that those, considered non-indigenous, are women, may reflect exogamy practices: all ruling societies, regardless of place and time, engaged in such practices to secure, define, and sometimes increase their power, dominion and prestige. This therefore would not be an exception for Mycenae.”¹⁷⁸ The finds for the one woman from Tomb III strongly suggest that she held a very high status, which could be linked to priesthood or a similar ritual role, given the Minoan ritual associations of a seal and other gold finds in the tomb.¹⁷⁹

3.- Another find in the Tomb IV of the Grave Circle A is a silver stag¹⁸⁰ (Fig.2) of Hittite “Bibru” type (zoomorphic) and it is attributed by archaeologists as a diplomatic gift of a Hittite King towards the King of Mycenae, between 1600-1500BC.¹⁸¹ “This Tomb impresses with its wealth and size. It contained the burials of three men and two women. The three golden funerary masks are the preeminent grave offering of the men’s tombs, while one burial contains a golden breastplate. The dead were accompanied by valuable gold, silver and stone vessels, many of which had a ritualistic character with complex decoration or animal-shaped”, (e.g. the ‘bibru vessel’), “large copper utensils and numerous weapons, among which the famous dagger with impressed decoration including a lion-hunting scene. The dead were adorned with gold diadems and numerous gold jewels, ornate plates in various shapes and belts or baldrics”.¹⁸²

The Hittite “bibru” vessel was used for ritual libations offered to the Hittite gods by the Hittite King himself, their representative on Earth; thus, it was a very sacred royal object. The find in Mycenae had been produced from silver of Taurus Mountain,¹⁸³ consequently, it had been produced for the religious obligations and ritual duties of a Hittite King.

Could this silver “Bibru” vessel have followed a Hittite princess-bride (one of the two buried women in the Tomb IV), “daughter of a Hittite Great King”, to carry out her religious and ritual duties to her gods in pre-1500BC Mycenae?

¹⁷⁸ Nafplioti 2009, 289; Μπιλιτου/Bilitou 2012, 30; Papazoglou-Mathioudaki et al. 2009, 272-273; Papazoglou-Mathioudaki et al. 2010, 157, 172, 176-177, 185, 189, 196, 199, 203.

¹⁷⁹ Dickinson et al. 2012, 174, 181.

¹⁸⁰ Its drawing by the excavator in Schliemann 1880, 257 Fig.356.

¹⁸¹ Güterbock 1995, 45, 47, 51; Koehl 1995, 61-66, 63-64; Koehl 2008, 270, with colored photo.

¹⁸² BSA 2026, “Grave IV”.

¹⁸³ Trolle Larsen 2008, 77: royal or diplomatic gifts; Koehl 1995, 61-66, 63-64; Güterbock 1995, 45: archetype image of a Hittite King pouring out a libation, 47, 51, about libations, 57 note 3: “bibru”; Koehl 2008, 270; Papazoglou 2008, 274.

After all, as per Bietak/Marinatos/Palyvou,¹⁸⁴ *marriage of a King with a foreign princess led to the creation of official and private rooms in his Palace -for her worship needs-, to enhance her status and enable her own spiritual life, in such a case of a high-ranking foreign personality.*



Figure 2. The “Bibru” type (zoomorphic) vessel which was found in Tomb IV “of an alloy silver and lead” [Source: Schliemann 1880, 257, Fig.356]

4.- In a much later letter of the 13th century BC, to a king of Ḫatti (CTH 209.12, Ḫattušili III(?)),¹⁸⁵ a Hittite official informs his King that, in the Hittite King’s name, he decided to extract a silver rhyton and a gold rhyton from the gifts assembled for the Pharaoh of Egypt and dispatch them to the Aḫḫiyawan King, as gifts;¹⁸⁶ *there is no reference that it was a “bibru” vessel.*

8.3- Was the Marriage of Šuppiluliuma-Ḫenti a Diplomatic Marriage-Alliance?

Dynastic marriages for diplomatic reasons were a practice followed both in the Land of Ḫatti and in Aḫḫiyawa (Mycenaean Greece). As we saw above, the scholars, almost unanimously, believe that Šuppiluliuma I married his Babylonian wife to gain Babylon’s support in the upcoming conflict between Ḫatti and Mitanni,¹⁸⁷ ally of Pharaoh Akhenaten,¹⁸⁸ in a diplomatic marriage-alliance between the ruling dynasties of Ḫatti and Babylon.

A similar reason could probably have led, *before-1350BC*, his father King Tudḫaliya III and prince Šuppiluliuma to his first marriage with Ḫenti or Ḫinti or Ḫí-ti-i, given the influence and the

¹⁸⁴ Bietak/Marinatos/Palyvou 2007, 86.

¹⁸⁵ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 AHT 8, 145-149.

¹⁸⁶ O.c. 149.

¹⁸⁷ For example: Godart/De Martino 2025, Capitolo terzo.

¹⁸⁸ Bryce 2005, 159-160, 433 note 23-24, 145-163; De Martino 2013, 73 §4-end.

family ties of the royal family of Ahḫiyawa with the dynasty of Aššuwa, dated since the period before the campaign of Tudhaliya I/II (before ca.1400-1390BC). Šuppiluliuma as chief-general of Tudhaliya III had to fight against the ‘Lands’ of western Asia Minor, namely the Arzawa Lands, which also comprised Aššuwa Confederation.¹⁸⁹

Approximately 25 years later than the date of his first marriage, when King Šuppiluliuma I had achieved his goal of “taming” Ahḫiyawa [on “taming”, see case **(d)** below] and a new target appeared, he found a new suitable wife for his strategic goals and banished *Henti* back to her homeland Ahḫiyawa; this most likely means that Ahḫiyawa at that time had weakened a lot and Šuppiluliuma no longer feared its reaction. This conclusion is also supported by the following facts: **(a)** 13-15 years later, in 1318/1316BC, his son and successor Muršili II conquered Millawanda (Miletus) -as we saw above- without any military reaction from the Ahḫiyawan king; “the destruction of Miletus V is likely due to the forces of the Hittite Great King Muršili II, who most probably captured Millawanda in 1316BC during the war against Arzawa, Ahḫiyawa and Millawanda”.¹⁹⁰ **(b)** D/Tanaja or Dennen (Δαναοί) disappeared from the Egyptian records by the reign of Tutankhamun (1360/1336-1351/1327 BC¹⁹¹) onwards,¹⁹² while “Ramesses II’s (1304-or-1279 till 1237-or-1213 BC) references to the Aegean were not original but they were usurped/copied from earlier lists”;¹⁹³ **(c)** “the lack of new lists (about D/Tanaja) -in (later) Egypt- reflects continuing trade” but also that “the nationality of sailors/merchants had changed transporting the cargo and wares between Egypt and Mainland Greece”¹⁹⁴ -they were no longer Mycenaeans- and, **(d)** “once Ahḫiyawa had been tamed, the Hittites did not even mention Ahḫiyawa in the ‘Alaksandu Treaty’ [1280(?) BC], even though Wilusa was close to the Mycenaean ‘sphere-of-influence’”,¹⁹⁵ **or/and**, since the diplomatic issue about Alaksandu’s signing the homonym Treaty had been most likely arranged through a diplomatic exchange between Muwattalli II and the King of Ahḫiyawa (his uncle probably, or, first cou-

¹⁸⁹ Bryce 2005, 150-151; Güterbock 1956, fragm. 14 68 lines 38-40, fragm. 14 lines 45-50; Ten Cate 1966, 28-29: KUB xix 22 (CTH 40 vi.52b), 4-8.

¹⁹⁰ Niemeier 2007a, 14.

¹⁹¹ Max-Min Pharaohs’ chronologies based on Redford (2006, 114, 157), Shaw (2003/2000, 484-485), Gardiner (1964/1961, 443-5), and Kitchen (1982, 238-239), as they are presented in Giannakos 2019b, 56, Annex 2B; for the correction of this Annex, see also Giannakos 2020.

¹⁹² Wachsmann 1987, 125 “after Tutankhamun”. Cline 2009, 37-41, 113-116; Strange 1980, 27-32, with references; Givon 1971, 17: one example showing that Ramesses II usurped/copied earlier lists.

¹⁹³ See **previous note 192** and, also, Cline 2007, 197-198; Kelder 2010, 46, 85; Philips 2007, 489-490.

¹⁹⁴ Cline 2007, 198.

¹⁹⁵ Bryce 1989, 302; 2005, 224; Kelder 2010, 27; cf. Giannakos 2019b, 21.

sin(?)), that is, through the return of Millawanda as a diplomatic gift towards the Ahhiyawān King.¹⁹⁶

All these events fit the picture of a weakened Ahhiyawa, whose King influenced the affairs in Asia Minor via local rulers only, who operated as his military representatives, from then on and beyond.¹⁹⁷

9.- Synopsis - Conclusions

As the majority of the researchers believe, Queen *Henti* or *Hinti* or *Hí-ti-i* was exiled to Ahhiyawa by her husband King Šuppiluliuma I so that he could marry a Babylonian princess in his second dynastic marriage-alliance; he decided this new marriage in order to succeed to be supported in his military campaigns against Mitanni, an ally of Egypt. It is most likely that Šuppiluliuma's first marriage with *Henti* or *Hinti* or *Hí-ti-i* was also a diplomatic marriage-alliance with the daughter of the king of Ahhiyawa; this marriage was decided to help him in his planned campaigns against the lands of Arzawa and Aššuwa in western Asia Minor, with which the king of Ahhiyawa had family ties and exercised strong influence over them. The banishment of *Henti*, a Great King's daughter, former Queen and acting Tawananna of Hatti with significant ritual duties, was most likely a “return to her father's (or her brother's) House”. The phonetic analysis -based on the rules of Linear B- of the pre-Hellenic name *e-ti-wa* [Ἀ ἦ ῥῶ], which was read in Knossos tablets of 14th century BC, most likely points to the pronunciation of this name as (χ)E(v)[δ/τ]η-(ίς) or (χ)E(v)τη, which sounds very closely to the Hittite *Henti* or *Hinti* or *Hí-ti-i*.

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¹⁹⁶ See §2 in this article, ‘Muwattalli II’.

¹⁹⁷ Niemeier 2007b, 71. See also: Bryce 2006, 110; Hoffner 2009, 293-294; Freu/Mazoyer 2008-3, 106, 112, 117; Kelder 2010, 29 notes 80-81; cf. Giannakos 2019b.

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