



## The Ancestors of Labarna I and the Cruciform Seal

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**Abstract.** This paper argues that the evidence of the Offering List C and the Cruciform Seal on the early Hittite rulers can only be reconciled with each other, if the former's entry on Labarna refers to the ancestors of Labarna I and not of Ḫattušili I, as hitherto assumed.

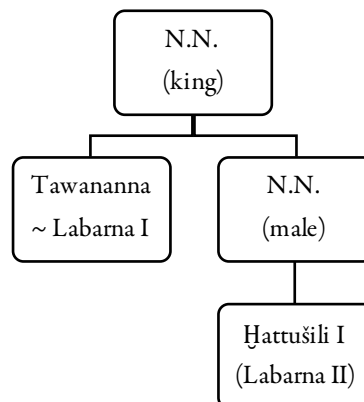
**Keywords.** Early Hittite history, Hittite royal list, offering lists, Cruciform Seal, Zalpa-text.

**Data Availability Statement:** All relevant data are within the paper and its Supporting Information files.

**Competing Interests:** The Author(s) declare(s) no conflict of interest.

### 1. THE OFFERING LIST C AND THE SO-CALLED CRUCIFORM SEAL

According to the so-called Testament of Ḫattušili I (KUB 1.16 iii 41-44), his immediate predecessors were his grandfather (whose name he did not disclose), followed by the son-in-law of his grandfather, Labarna I, who was, in turn, followed by Ḫattušili I (also known as Labarna II), “the son of the brother of Tawananna” (as he identified himself in another text), who was the wife of Labarna I. This can be illustrated with the following tree (see Beal 2003: 13-15 for a critical discussion of the previous literature with alternative reconstructions):



It is this family tree into which two further pieces of information should be accommodated: the entry of an offering list of deceased Hittite royalties mentioning Labarna (the Offering List C) on the one hand, and the early kings named in the so-called Cruciform Seal on the other. The entry of the offering list is as follows (KUB 11.7 i 10<sup>2</sup>-11<sup>1</sup>, Otten 1951: 65):

(10<sup>0</sup>) [ *A-NA* <sup>m</sup>BU-LUGAL-*ma* DUMU <sup>m</sup>*Tu-ut-ḫa-[li-ya* <sup>(11<sup>1</sup>)</sup> *A-BU* <sup>m</sup>*Pa-wa<sub>a</sub>-aḫ-te-il-ma-aḫ* *A-BU* *l[a-ba-ar-na]* (...) [  
 ]for BU-Šarruma, son of Tudḫaliya, [father]<sup>1</sup> of Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ<sup>2</sup> (and<sup>3</sup>/the<sup>4</sup>) father of La[barna] (...).

Before turning to the analysis of this entry, it must be emphasized that there is no reason to doubt the correct position of this entry in the roughly chronologically ordered offering list and the date it implies (see the critical discussion of the previous literature in Beal 2003: 17-20 with refs.): Hurrian names (such as BU-Šarruma) are completely possible even in this early period of Hittite history<sup>5</sup> and it is technically incomprehensible that a cuneiform scribe accidentally and completely moved an entire entry from a much later paragraph during the copying process (the parallel part of the other offering lists has not been preserved). In other words, every reconstruction of the genealogy and the list of the early Hittite rulers must provide an explanation for this entry.

As for the analysis, the general assumption of the scholars is that Labarna of this offering list is identical to Ḫattušili I (as Labarna II) and, accordingly, two genealogical trees and king lists have been reconstructed depending on the interpretation of the second half of the entry (Beal 2003: 16-17):

If the entry means ‘father of Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ, (who is) the father of Labarna’:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On this generally accepted restoration see the discussion in Beal 2003: 16 n. 16. Only Otten 1951: 65 n. 2 believes to see the traces (a horizontal line) of BU; this, however, cannot be confirmed by the photographs of the Konkordanz. Although inspired by the unique structure of the entry (cf. below) and by the false assumption that someone with Hattian name cannot have a father with Hurrian name, Carruba 1998: 103 proposed a restoration [*A-NA*] instead, but this was rejected already by Forrer 1926: 21\* pointing out that there is not enough space for it (compare the other *A-NA* sequences of the same fragment). Carruba’s suggestion was followed by Forlanini 2010: 117-118, who, accordingly, excludes this source from the investigation of the genealogy of early Hittite kings (at this juncture a reviewer called my attention to Forlanini 2017: 127, although he does not discuss there anything relevant to this issue). This reviewer kindly informs me that (s)he rejects the generally accepted restoration and follows that of Carruba, since *A-NA* “respects the list compilation criterion; in this, whenever a new PN appears, it is preceded by ANA” (which is, however, not the function of *A-NA*) and since “it proposes the same scheme as the first part: ANA X kinship name Y”. Although the latter observation is correct, we do not know if this entry indeed followed this scheme. Moreover, in case of *A-NA* the offering should separate *A-NA* <sup>m</sup>BU-LUGAL-*ma* DUMU <sup>m</sup>*Tu-ut-ḫa-[li-ya]* and [*A-NA*] <sup>m</sup>*Pa-wa<sub>a</sub>-aḫ-te-il-ma-aḫ* *A-BU* *l[a-ba-ar-na]* as in the other entries of this list, which is not the case. Moreover, the fact that all these names belong to one entry is strongly suggestive that they are members of a single genealogy. The reviewer did not address the arguments of Forrer and Otten. On other possibilities for restoration see below, n. 14.

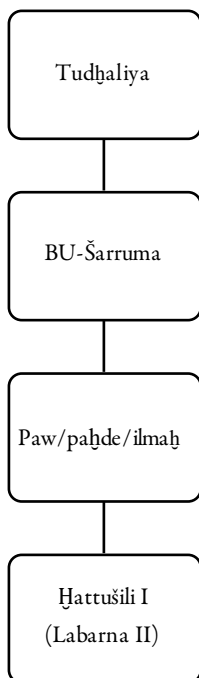
<sup>2</sup> His name is spelled as <sup>m</sup>*Pa-pa-aḫ-di-il-ma-ḫa-* in KUB 1.16 iii 44 (cf. also KBo 28.137, 3<sup>1</sup>). The oscillations <w/p> and <e/i> reflect specific Hattian phonemes (see most recently Simon 2012: 34-41, 50-60 with detailed refs.). This has, however, no relevance here and thus the neutral spelling Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ is used throughout this paper.

<sup>3</sup> Sommer – Falkenstein 1938: 162 n. 2, 209; Otten 1951: 52; Bin-Nun 1975: 55; Soysal 1989: 105; Forlanini 1995: 130.

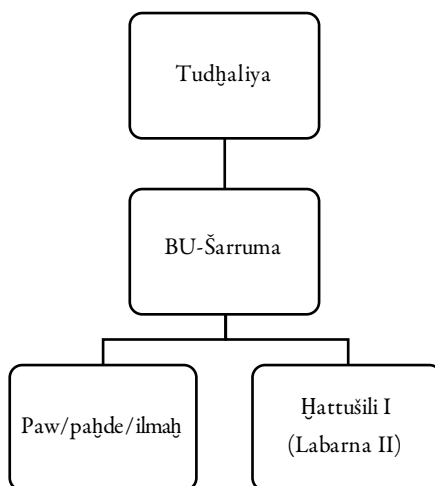
<sup>4</sup> Pecchioli Daddi 1992: 15; Sürenhagen 1998: 82-83; Forlanini 2010: 116; Gilan 2014: 87 (“probably”). Freu 2007: 37 allows both interpretations.

<sup>5</sup> See already Forlanini 1995: 130 (but cf. 2004: 380: 44, 2010: 118 n. 18), *contra* de Martino 2010: 130-131, 2011: 9, 25, 2017: 153. The introduction of the cult of Šarruma is irrelevant from this point of view, *contra* Carruba 1998: 102.

<sup>6</sup> Sürenhagen 1998: 82; Beal 1992: 560 (with some question marks), 2015: 1169 (presented as an uncontested fact). Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ is identified as the father of Ḫattušili I also in Bin-Nun 1975: 55; Pecchioli Daddi 1992: 19; Carruba 1998: 104-105, 107 (with question mark); Forlanini 2010: 116, 119; Beal 2011: 581 (“perhaps”).



If the entry means ‘father of Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ (and) the father of Labarna’:<sup>7</sup>



Both interpretations are evidently possible and accordingly it was assumed that the grandfather of Ḫattušili was either BU-Šarruma or Tudḫaliya.

Nevertheless, this reconstruction is suspicious for several reasons. First, Ḫattušili never mentions in his report that Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ, who was a rival king during the ascension of Labarna I to the throne, was his father.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Gurney 1962: 216 (although the first two rulers received a question mark) and Carruba 1990: Fig. 299 (with question marks and without genealogical information).

<sup>8</sup> Bin-Nun 1975: 8-9, 55 and Carruba 1998: 104-105 even restored the word “father” in the broken part of the passage, but see the

Second, he derives his legitimation from being the nephew of Tawananna and not the son of Paw/paḫde/ilmah. However, it may be argued, as Forlanini 2010: 117 indeed has, that the usurpation by Paw/paḫde/ilmah was exactly the reason Ḫattušili did not refer to him as his father (and a usurper is evidently not a robust base for legitimation). Third, it is similarly awkward that BU-Šarruma is defined by an extensive genealogy, although the names in the offering lists are normally combined only by the father's name, an epithet, or geographical appurtenance, if at all (Beal 2003: 18). Beal argues that it served to differentiate him from another BU-Šarruma at the end of the Hittite Empire (KBo 4.14 iii 40, de Martino 2011: 16-17 with refs.), but such technique of differentiation was not used in other homonymous cases and in fact there would not have been such a need for any reader of the offering list (the difference in the offering itself does not seem to be relevant from this point of view, see Beal 2003: 20-21). Fourth, Tudḫaliya is clearly not indicated as king in the offering list. Beal 2003: 20 n. 37 admits this problem, but emphasizes that there is also nothing in the offering list to indicate that he was not a king. This is correct, but it is more important that the preserved form of the offering list does not attribute him offerings, i.e. he was not treated as a member of the royal dynasty. Unfortunately, the entire issue depends upon the question if Tudḫaliya was included in the broken part between Ḫuzziya and BU-Šarruma as someone who received offerings, but this is what we obviously do not know at the current stage of textual transmission. However, if the restoration of ]-zi-ya-a[š as Ḫuzziyaš in line 1 of the Offering List A [KUB 36.120 i 1] is correct (Gilan 2014: 89), then this list does not book any king between Ḫuzziya and Labarna I, which would virtually exclude Tudḫaliya as a king.

These arguments are thus not necessarily decisive, but this reconstruction cannot be reconciled with the second piece of information, the Cruciform Seal, since it completely neglects the logic of the seal.<sup>9</sup> Both sides of the seal show in strict arrangement (anti-clockwise on the obverse, but clockwise of the reverse [Dinçol *et al.* 1993: 105]) four Hittite Great Kings who ruled after each other, i.e., the organizing principle behind their order is not the genealogy (*contra* Dinçol *et al.* 1993: 96-97, who assume a genealogy on the obverse, but a king list on the reverse side), but the king list (so already Klinger 2017: 68-69 [cautiously]; with the modern numbering in parentheses):

- a. Rev. (center: Šuppiluliuma I): Ḫuzziya – Labarna – Ḫattušili (I) – Muršili (I)<sup>10</sup>
- b. Obv. (center: Muršili II): Tudḫaliya (I/II) – [Arnuwanda (I)]<sup>11</sup> – Tudḫaliya (III) – [Tudḫaliya (the Younger)]<sup>12</sup>

contextual criticism of Gilan 2014: 88.

<sup>9</sup> A reviewer “find[s] it difficult to reconcile two lists based on entirely different criteria”. However, reconciliation is sought for the information provided by these lists, not for the logic behind these lists. Since both lists refer to the same period, their information should be coherent with each other. It is the reconstruction of precisely this coherency that is attempted in this investigation.

<sup>10</sup> Despite this clear piece of evidence that even the Hittites counted at least Ḫuzziya as a Hittite king before Labarna I, some scholars still falsely start their Hittite king list with Labarna I (Sürenhagen 1998: 76; Bryce 2005: xv, 62 with n. 3; 2009: 798, 2012: 723, 2019: 25, 268, 270 [with false genealogy]; Klinger 2007: 124; Sagona, Zimansky 2007: 262; Liverani 2014: 256; Blanchard 2019: 457) or even with Labarna II / Ḫattušili I (Starke 1998: 189, 191-192, 2002: 310, 2004: 64; Frei *apud* Marek 2017: 109; van den Hout 2013: 27 [who, however, starts with Labarna I on p. 24]), cf. also Klengel 1999: 35-37.

<sup>11</sup> Although strictly speaking Arnuwanda is a restoration, the name of the wife is largely preserved, which guarantees this restoration.

<sup>12</sup> The restoration here follows Miller 2004: 7-9 (cf. also Forlanini 2005: 239 n. 30). Alternatively, a restoration with Šuppiluliuma is also possible (proposed by Stavi 2011: 235-237 and followed by Klinger 2017: 69 with n. 55; for criticism of other proposals see Miller 2004: 7 n. 9 and Hawkins in Herbordt, Bawanypeck, Hawkins 2011: 89). The internal logic of the seal (a list of preceding rulers) as well as the preserved name of the wife, Taduḫepa, allow both restorations. Moreover, both sides could appropriately argue for their decision: as pointed out by Miller, Muršili is known to have attempted to make amends for the coup d'état of Muršili's father, Šuppiluliuma, who overthrew Tudḫaliya the Younger (an argument ignored by Klinger). Stavi 2011: 235 claims that a royal seal is not an appropriate place for that, but exactly the opposite is the case, since with this seal Muršili admits that Tudḫaliya the Younger was the legitimate ruler. Stavi and Klinger rely also upon the claim of Hawkins in Herbordt, Bawanypeck, Hawkins 2011: 89 that traces of the PURUS sign (from the name of Šuppiluliuma) might still be readable, which is, however, refuted by Hawkins himself, if his entire report is taken into account: “The Dinçols and I examined the impressions of the “Cruciform Seal” separately and independently and we each thought that we saw traces of the PURUS of Šuppiluliuma's name on Bo 86/618, but when we came to check this together, we could not verify it”. Thus, this cannot be used as an argument (Interestingly enough, the drawing of Bo 86/618 in Dinçol *et al.* 1993: 91 Fig. 4 shows a fragmentary PURUS, although in the text it was called “illegible” [n. 13]. The photo

Since according to the above reconstructions Ḫattusili was preceded at least by BU-Šarruma and Tudḫaliya, Beal dated Ḫuzziya of the Cruciform Seal before Tudḫaliya. Nevertheless, if any of these reconstructions is correct, either Tudḫaliya or BU-Šarruma should stand on the Cruciform Seal instead of Ḫuzziya. Since, however, it is Ḫuzziya who is standing there, he had to be the immediate predecessor of Labarna and, accordingly, the grandfather of Ḫattušili.<sup>13</sup> There are only two possibilities to avoid this conclusion: First, Ḫuzziya is the only one among the eight kings listed on the seal whose presence does not follow the strict logic of the seal. This is an obvious *petitio principii*. Second, the grandfather of Ḫattušili is not the immediate predecessor of Labarna I. However, we know from the Testament that this is not the case (see above).

The conclusion that Ḫuzziya is the grandfather of Ḫattušili sheds new light upon the offering list. Since, as we have seen above, there is no reason to remove BU-Šarruma's entry, there is only one solution: the Labarna of the offering list is not identical to Labarna II / Ḫattušili I, as generally assumed until now, but to Labarna I. In other words, this entry lists the ancestors of Labarna I and not that of Ḫattušili I. In fact, since the two Labarnas imply two possible explanations, one expects that this idea has already been put forward and this is indeed the case, as it was already suggested (although with differing details) by Forrer 1926: vi-vii, 22\*-23\* and Sommer, Falkenstein 1938: 209, and followed by Otten 1951: 52 ("zweifellos"). The difference is that they could not have proved that their reconstruction was the correct one, since the *crucial* piece of evidence, the Cruciform Seal, was unknown at that time.

Mention must be made of a similar, but not identical reconstruction, too, provided by Barjamovic, Hertel, Larsen 2012: 51 n. 183 (cf. also Barjamovic 2011: 289 n. 1147). It is worth quoting their reasoning *in extenso*:

"If we take Ḫattušili to be the 'king', and Labarna (I) to be the 'old king' (LUGAL ŠU.GI) of the so-called 'Zalpa text' [see below on this issue, Zs. S.] (...) and, like Zalpuwa, we regard Ḫattuša and Šanaḫwitta to have been independent states down until the end of the 18th century BC, then Šanaḫwitta would have been ruled by the man PU-LUGAL-ma, making him the 'father of the old king' (ABI LUGAL.ŠU.GI) (...) The elusive 'Tudḫaliya' would have ruled Šanaḫwitta before PU-LUGAL-ma, and thus not be in the direct dynastic line of the later Hittite kings. This explains his marginal position in the later Hittite list of royal offerings (...)."

However, the assumption that Šanaḫwitta was ruled by BU-Šarruma is *ad hoc* and this assumption does not necessarily make him "the father of the old king", since all that the text tells about "the father of the old king" is that he received Ḫurma from the grandfather of Ḫattušili in Šanaḫwitta. Note furthermore, that there are good arguments ignored by these scholars against the view that Labarna I was the 'old king' (see the discussion below).

Returning to the precise reconstruction of the genealogy, due to the cryptic formulation of the offering list entry, both of the genealogies given above theoretically also apply here. In the first case Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ was the father of Labarna I. This is, however, not very plausible, since, as mentioned above, he was the rival king of Labarna I. In the second case Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ and Labarna were brothers, which makes the rivalry more understandable.<sup>14</sup> Accordingly, this genealogy simply explains why Ḫattušili did not state that Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ was his father

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in Tafel 6.1 is unfortunately not helpful, a renewed collation may help to decide the issue). According to Stavi, the Cruciform Seal was an attempt of legitimating the above-mentioned usurpation of Šuppiluliuma. Note, however, that from the point of view of present paper, both restorations are perfectly in order as they fit the internal logic of the seal.

<sup>13</sup> Carruba 1998: 104-105, 107 (with question mark on the genealogy, repeated in 2005: 267, 2007: 141, and 2008: 80, without the genealogy); Beckman 2000: 26 (followed by Genz, Mielke 2011: 15); Wilhelm 2004: 76 (without genealogy); Forlanini 2004: 379, 2010: 116, 119; Freu 2007: 25, 38-39; Collins 2007: 37-38; Barjamovic, Hertel, Larsen 2012: 51 n. 183 and Barjamovic 2011: 289 n. 1147 (who also consider Pimpirit as the name of the grandfather, which is excluded by the Cruciform Seal, what they do not take into account); de Martino 2016: 19, 116.

<sup>14</sup> Note that the exact genealogical position of Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ depends on a restoration (see above note 1) and thus it is not completely impossible that Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ was a brother of BU-Šarruma (cf. already Forrer 1926: vi-vii, 22\*-23\*): an uncle would be also a fitting rival king. The third possibility for restoration, DUMU 'son' (cf. Forrer 1926: 22\*), is virtually excluded by the fact that then Paw/paḫde/ilmaḫ would have been an ancestor of his rival, Labarna, in all possible reconstructions. A reviewer proposed two further options: nothing was standing there or *Û* 'and' (as a remote possibility). However, both restorations would be irregular from the point of view of the structure of the entries. At this juncture a reviewer asked "how to explain" the fragment KBo 28.137, 3' that shows [...<sup>m</sup>Pa-wa-]aḫ-di-il-ma-aḫ <sup>m</sup>Ḫu-uz[-zi-ya...]. However, there is nothing to explain here, since the context is completely

(because he was not) and why BU-Šarruma must have been identified by his genealogy (because he originated from another dynasty).

## 2. THE PROBLEM OF THE ZALPA-TEXT

At this juncture, one can call attention to the second, historical part of the so-called Zalpa-text just mentioned above, which, in its widespread interpretation (see below), would also perfectly fit the reconstruction here and even provide some additional help. The underlying assumption is, of course, that this text can be used for historical reconstruction at all (as it is usually done). However, this is questioned by Stipich 2012: 707-710: he argued that the fact that the text does not name its main protagonists (“the king”, “the grandfather of the king”, and “the old king”) shows that its topic is not a specific historical event, but the theory and practice of the division of power within the royal dynasty. However, setting aside these protagonists, the text is very specific and delivers many personal names and toponyms, which already refutes Stipich’s views, and the missing names can be simply explained by the assumption that the audience of the text precisely knew who they were, as Gilan 2007: 317-318, 2015: 211-212 rightly points out.<sup>15</sup> In other words, there is no reason not to use the second part of the Zalpa-text as a historical source.

As for the historical content, we learn from this text that “the grandfather of the king” gave Ḫurma to “the father of the old king”. Since this “old king” is nowadays identified as Labarna I, it was his father who received Ḫurma<sup>16</sup> from “the grandfather of the king” (he would be Ḫuzziya as per above). According to the above discussion, “the father of the old king” would be BU-Šarruma (cf. already Barjamovic 2011: 187). The circumstance that BU-Šarruma ruled in Ḫurma would explain why he was included in the royal offering list and why he was given offering, that the others did not receive, and would solve the problem of Beal 2003: 16, who rejects the possibility that the offering list would show the ancestors of Labarna I, since Labarna I was non-royal and it would have been strange “if the equally non-royal ancestors of this Labarna were still receiving offerings in the New Hittite period”.

However, Gilan 2007: 316-317, 2015: 208-210 has recently questioned the reconstruction of Beal and cautiously argued that there was only a “grandfather of the king”, followed by “the king” on the throne and “the old king” (who did not rule between them since he was a vassal ruler) would have been Ḫakkarpili, a vassal ruler of Zalpa. This would evidently mean that “the king” cannot be identified as Ḫattušili I, since he was not the grandson of his predecessor, Labarna I. The identification of Ḫakkarpili with “the old king” is, however, not very probable: while Gilan is probably right arguing that Ḫakkarpili was not the son of “the grandfather of the king” (to whom he is referring only as “king” and who was probably the son of someone else, see immediately below), Ḫakkarpili’s story, that he was given to Zalpa to rule because Ḫattuša and Zalpa requested a ruler from “the grandfather of the king”, is mentioned immediately after the claim that “the grandfather of the king” gave Ḫurma to “the father of the old king”. Nevertheless, when Ḫakkarpili is first mentioned, he is called the “son of [...]”, i.e. he was identified and the necessity of his identification can only be explained with the circumstance that he was a new protagonist. In other words, he cannot be “the father of the old king” just mentioned.

More complex is Gilan’s second claim that “the old king” was only a vassal ruler. §13’ of the Zalpa-text clearly

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fragmentary and thus it is unknown what the connection of these personalities in this text is. In other words, this fragment cannot be used as an argument.

<sup>15</sup> Stipich 2012: 709 explains the specific names and settings as a tool, with which the audience could identify itself with the situation better. However, this is inconsistent, since the best way of identification would have been the mentioning of the specific royal names. He argues furthermore (709-710) that the later copying shows the “zeitlos” interest in the text – which, however, does not mean that the audience of the original text would have needed the mentioning of the names of the king.

<sup>16</sup> For this reconstruction see the extensive critical discussion in Beal 2003: 21-24 with refs. (followed e.g. by Gilan 2007: 316, 2015: 208; Forlanini 2010: 117 [cf. also 2004: 379]; Barjamovic, Hertel, Larsen 2012: 51 with n. 183; Martínez 2016: 179, 188; Kloekhorst, Waal 2019: 196; cf. also de Martino 2016: 20).

identifies “the old king” as a vassal ruler of “the king”, which evidently does not fit Labarna I. Nevertheless, in the New Hittite version of the paragraph, it is not “the old king” whom the king leaves in Zalpa, but the so-called “Great Ones” (LÚ.MEŠGAL), the highest ranking officials. It is hard to make any decision which version is the correct one, but since “the old king” is a *lectio difficilior*, it seems more probable that it was “the old king” whom “the king” has left in Zalpa, and, accordingly, he was a vassal ruler and could not have been Labarna. This would mean that “the father of the old king” and “the old king” are not identical to Labarna and his father.

Even if the Zalpa-text, accordingly, cannot be connected with the problem of this paper, the combined evidence of the entry of the offering list and of the Cruciform Seal allows only the genealogical and historical reconstruction advanced in this paper. However, in this case it must be addressed why BU-Šarruma was included in the list of offerings. He could not have been a Hittite royal prince, because this would have made his son, Labarna, blood-relative to his own wife, which was a taboo in Hittite society. One can still entertain the possibility that he was a ruler somewhere. Although we do not know anything about the origin of Labarna I, a royal bloodline is anyway probable. BU-Šarruma might have also received offerings simply as the father of a Hittite Great King, perhaps by the order of his own son. Forlanini 2010: 117 with refs. argues that the list of offerings consists of those people who were interred in Ḫattuša. While strictly speaking this cannot be proven, it makes much sense (see, however, the critical remarks of Gilan 2014: 94), but at the same time it implies that some of them must have been transferred: for instance, Piyaššili, King of Karkamiš or Ḫuzziya himself, since there is no reason to assume that during his time Ḫattuša was the capital.<sup>17</sup> This implies that a given date the remains of the early Hittite kings had been transferred to Ḫattuša and one of them must have been Labarna. It is also entirely conceivable that the remains of his family members had been transferred with him. Alternatively, Gilan 2014: 94-95 suggested that the offering lists are “based on an inventory of statues or other ancient artifacts that once belonged to, or were donated, by these ancient royals” (the statues refer here to those of the deceased members of the royal family). This would also explain the presence of BU-Šarruma in the list. However that may be, as long as the reason behind the “membership” in the offering lists is not clarified, the presence of BU-Šarruma cannot be used as a counter-argument.

Finally, the synchronization of the Offering List C and the Cruciform Seal must be addressed. The publishers of the Cruciform Seal suggest that Ḫuzziya of the seal is identical to Ḫuzziya of the offering list booked seven sections before BU-Šarruma (Dinçol *et al.* 1993: 104-106). The names in these sections are not preserved and the only exception (Kantuzzili) does not coincide with known Hittite kings. Since Beal needs to accommodate at least one if not two kings in between, he (Beal 2003: 32-33) suggests that the sections between Ḫuzziya and Labarna I are kings who ruled between them (it is of course possible that both Ḫuzziyas are not identical and thus he is somewhere in the lacuna, but this only makes shorter the list of names to be explained). This is definitely a possibility, but goes against the strict logic of the Cruciform Seal. Furthermore, as mentioned above, the plausible restoration of the Offering List A also excludes any king between Ḫuzziya and Labarna I. This is in accordance with the other possibility that these sections of the Offering List C simply refer to Hittite princes as the text indeed does so on multiple other occasions thus suggesting that the two Ḫuzziyas are indeed identical.

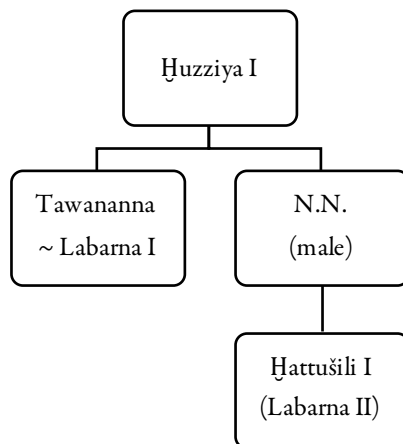
### 3. CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, the combined evidence of the Cruciform Seal and the entry in the Offering List C allows the following genealogical reconstruction:

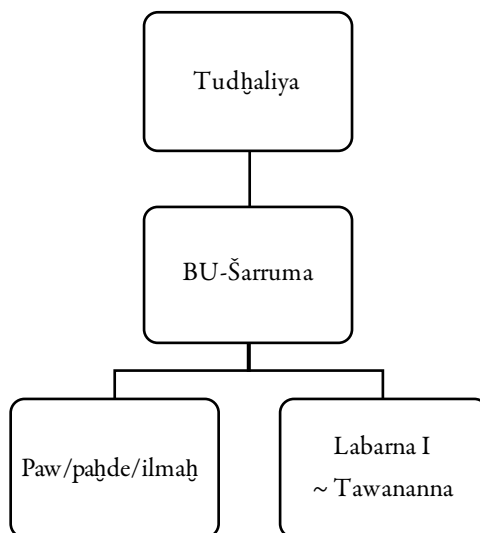
- a. The Hittite royal dynasty:

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<sup>17</sup> On the thorny issue of the Hittite capital before Ḫattušili I see the critical discussions of Martínez 2017 and Kloekhorst forthcoming (cf. also Kloekhorst, Waal 2019: 196-197). I am very grateful to Alwin Kloekhorst for providing me with his manuscript.



b. The dynasty of Labarna I:



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