

The Offering List of KBo 4. 13 (I 17'-48') to the local gods of the kingdom, known as "Sacrifice List", and the history of the formation of the early Hittite state and its initial growing beyond central Anatolia¹

Massimo Forlanini

Milano

1.1 KBo 4. 13 and the "Sacrifice List" (S.L.)

The late Hittite tablet KBo 4. 13 contains the description of a ritual with a repeated sequence of offerings to some groups of gods and has been considered to be part of the AN.TAH.ŠUM-Festival texts ensemble, perhaps a description of the first day of this ceremony². As a matter of fact, the AN.TAH.ŠUM-plant appears here, but only as an offering among others; the pantheon is composed by three principal gods, the Sun Deity of Arinna, the Storm-God of Zippalanda and the Protective Deity of Hatti and by others

¹ Since the use of alternative cuneiform signs, such as TA/DÁ or DA/TÁ, has nothing to do with a real Hittite phonology, but depends only on the scribal tradition, a conventional spelling is adopted here for the place names in *scriptio continua*, where only inter-vocalic single plosives are represented as voiced, whereas if they are geminate or part of a consonantic group they appear as voiceless (with the exception of the group -nda). For the textual evidence of Anatolian place names of the second millennium one may refer to the volumes 4 (Kh. Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altassyrischen Zeit*. Wiesbaden 1991), 6 (G.F. del Monte and J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*. Wiesbaden 1978) and 6a (del Monte, *Id., Supplément*. Wiesbaden 1992) of the *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes*. TAVO. Wiesbaden (hence RGTC 4, 6, 6a). A complete and up-dated reference work for the literature concerning the Old Assyrian documents is given by C. Michel's, *Old Assyrian Bibliography*. Leiden 2003.

² For a general investigation on the ritual and the gods of KBo 4.13 see V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*. Leiden 1994, pp. 776-781, who considers the tablet to describe a part of the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival and proposes to place it at the very beginning, at the opening day, just because of the long sacrifice list to the gods of the towns of the kingdom; see also the analysis of the pantheons of KBo 4. 13 and KBo 19. 128 made by A. Archi, "The Singer of Kaneš and his Gods", in *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität*, M. Hutter and S. Hutter-Braunsar eds. AOAT 318. Münster 2004, pp. 11-26 (specifically: pp. 18-19). For a partial transcription of this text and of the geographical list, see H. Bossert, *Ein hethitisches Königssiegel. Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Entzifferung des hethitischen Hieroglyphenschrift*. Berlin 1944, pp. 28-29 (V 41-VI 16), pp. 35-36 (VI 28-39), pp. 52-53 (a recapitulatory table); Asia. Istanbul 1946, pp. 21-22 (the geographical list. I 17-48); F. Cornelius, "Geographie des Hethiterreiches", *Or* 27 (1958), 227-229 (I 17-48). The older existing tablets of the AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival are middle-Hittite, but some part of the Festival seem to come from earlier ones like the Purulli or the KILAM-Festivals (see now D. Schwemer, "Von Taḫurpa nach Ḫattuša. Überlegungen zu den ersten Tagen des AN.DAH.ŠUM-Festes", in *Offizielle Religion*, pp. 395-412); for a comparison between the pantheon of KBo 4.13 and other lists of gods see also M.-Cl. Trémouille, "Un rituel de la reine pour plusieurs DINGIR.MAH", in *Studia Anatolica et Varia. Mélanges offerts au Professeur René Lebrun* (Vol. II), M. Mazoyer, O. Casabonne eds. Paris 2004, pp. 340-341.

somehow related to the Kani/eš pantheon³. A special position is given to the Storm God of Zippalanda, who is mentioned, without the gods of Hatti and Arinna, immediately before the long geographical list. The list itself has been investigated by scholars in the past and has been used, even understood as an itinerary, for the reconstruction of the Hittite historical geography⁴. In order to help the reader I give here the text of the concerned section.

- 17' I GUD A-NA^DU ŠA-ME-E I UDU A-NA^DU^{URU} Zi-[ip-pa-la-an-ta]
 18 I UDU^D Wa_a-a-*hi-ši* I UDU^{URU} Hur-ma-aš^D Ha-an-ti-t[a-aš-šu]
 19 I UDU KUR-e-<an>-da-aš DINGIR^{MEŠ} I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Šal-la-*ha-šu-wa*
 20 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Ha-at-ti I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Ta-wi₅-ni-ya
 21 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Za-al-pa I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Ha-*ha-na*
 22 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} An-ku-wa I U[DU DING]IR^{MEŠ URU} Dur-mi-it-ta
 23 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Tu-*hu-pí-ya* I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Zi-iš-pár-na
 24 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Tá-k-ku-up-ta
-
- 25 I SILA₄ DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Kaš-ta-ma I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} A-[l]i-ša
 26 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Ša-na-*hu-it-ta* I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Ha-ak-miš
 27 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Tap-ti-ka I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Kab-bur-na-an-ta
 28 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Iš-ta-*ha-ra* I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Ta-pí-ka
 29 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Ka-ta-pí I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Tap-ša-nu-wa-an-ta^{MEŠ URU} Za-
 pí-iš-*hu-na*
 31 I SILA₄ DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Ma-la-zi-ya I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Tag-ga-aš-ta
 32 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Iz-kab-*hi-iz-na-aš*
-
- 33 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Ka-la-aš-mi-it-ta I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} U-uh-*hi-wa*
 34 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Hu-ur-ma I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Šal-la-*ah-₅šu-wa*
 35 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Šu-uk-zi-ya I MÁŠ.GAL DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Ka-ra-*ah-na*
-
- 36 I GUD^DU^{URU} Pít-ti-ya-ri-qa Û DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Pít-ti-ya-ri-qa
 37 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Ar-zi-ya I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Ha-aš-*ši-₅iq-qa-aš-na-u-wa-an-ta*
 38 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Ša-mu-*ha* I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} Za-ar-ni-nu-wa

³ On the local pantheon of the Kanešite Gods see Haas, *Geschichte*, pp. 612-615. On the Singers of Kaneš, also occurring in KBo 4.13, a complete listing of the occurrences throughout all the Hittite religious literature and an up-dating of the problem is given by A. Archi, *Offizielle Religion*, pp. 11-26.

⁴ A. Götz, "Bemerkungen zu dem hethitischen Text AO 9608 des Louvre", *RHA* 1 [1930], pp. 18-30, examined all the occurrences known till then of the place names of our list and discovered that the AGRIG (*abarakku*)-List of VBoT 68 (AO 9608) III 4-9 contained some of the place names of KBo 4.13, appearing there almost in the same order. Cornelius, "Hethitische Reisewege", *RHA* 57 (1955), pp. 49-62; Or 27, pp. 227-230, understood the list as referring to a sequence of provinces and put the names in a geographical scheme similar to an itinerary. In J. Garstang, O. Gurney 1959, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*. London 1959, p. 8, *passim*, the two parallel lists were used again, under the names of "Sacrifice List" and "Herald's List III", in order to localise the cities through their position in the sequence.

- 39 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Ka-ni-eš* I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Uš-šu-na*
 40 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Har-zi-ú-na* I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Šal-la-pa*
 41 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Ša-la-ti-wa-ar* I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Ta-pal-ga*
-
- 42 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Ša-ḫu-wa-li-ya* I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *La-la-an-ta*
 43 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Ša-na-ú-i-ta* I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Ul-ma*
 44 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Ha-aš-šu-wa* I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Ha-at-ra-a*
-
- 45 I SILA₄ DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Ši-i-nu-wa* I SILA₄ DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Ta-wa-na-ka*
-
- 46 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Hal-pa* I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Pa-a-la-a*
 47 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Pár-šu-ḫu-un-ta-aš*
 48 I UDU DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *U-ús-sa*

1.2 Some special features of the Sacrifice List and its origin

Before investigating the structure of the list and the geographical connections between its towns compared with their order in the sequence, it is interesting to point out some apparent oddities of our document. A sacrifice list for the gods of the empire should have contained, as e.g. that dressed by Muwattalli II in his prayer, all the principal shrines and capitals of lands or districts; but here, surprisingly, we do not find the famous northern shrines of Arinna and Nerik, nor the towns of the Lower Land, such as Tuwanuwa or Hubišna, that are all lacking, with the exception of Paršhunda and Ussa; no mention is made of the sanctuaries of Kizzuwadna, whereas Halap/Aleppo appears at the end just together with the already mentioned western cities of Paršhunda and Ussa. Whereas important sanctuaries are absent, some place names, like Tapšanuwanda⁵, Iškapizna⁶ and Šanawida occurs only, as far as known, in this List.

⁵ Apparently a typical place name in *-want-*, built perhaps on the vessel's name *tapišana-*. This place name could occur in a fragment of a cult inventory, KBo 53. 101, left col. 5': (...) A-NA^D LAMMA^{URU} *Tap-pa-aš-nu-an-wa-an-da* (...), if we recognise in the spelling a mistake due to the scribe's hesitation in the choice between the writings *-nu-an-da* and *-nu-wa-an-da*. The context is here, as far as geography is concerned, of no help, since only the name of the village Tušarpatta (7', 12'), occurring in the following section, survives among the places object of this religious enquiry; only the LAMMA of *Še-e-ri-ša*, worshiped there, could bring us some light, if we could choose between Šarišša/Kuşaklı and a northern Šerišša, mentioned in the Prayer of Arnuwanda (II 21, in the list of the Hittite lands conquered by the Kaška-tribes, between Kaštama and Himuwa) and in the oracular text KUB 22. 25 obv. 7', as a place near the Kaškaean town of Šunupašši. The latter could fit in with a location of Tapšanuwanda in the aerea immediately to the north of Hattuša.

⁶ Götze (RHA 1, p. 23 n. 34) thought that this name was corrupt, perhaps to be read Takkuwahinaš. It could rather be correct and come from an unknown Hittite (composite) word ending in *-izna* (cf. e.g. *warhuizna-/arhuzna-* and **haššuižna-*, see N. Oettinger, "Hethitisch *warhuizna-* und *tiyessar*", in: *Silva Anatolica. Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko*, P. Taracha ed. Warsaw 2002, pp. 253-260.

A first clue on the way to a solution is given by Kappurnanda, unknown to other Hittite texts but frequently mentioned, as Kupurnat, in the Old Assyrian documents⁷.

A second striking point is the writing of the place name Ussa, with the cuneiform sign SA, of the *sin* series, whereas for all other Hittite toponyms only signs of the *shin* series are used. This kind of writing is never used, but for the name of this town, as we find it in two documents too, both referring to events dating back to the first years of the Hittite Kingdom, i.e. KBo 19. 95 Obv. 4' and CTH 8-9 A (= KBo 3. 34) III 20'. The first one is an old Hittite Akkadian fragment showing parts in direct speech, where we find a king of Hattuš (the Hattian or old Assyrian spelling!) and a king's son of Ussa (4', spelled also *Uš-ša-a* in the following line) in the context of military operations in the west⁸. The second is the "Palast Chronicle", where a DUMU of Ussa, *kaenaššiš* of the king, is mentioned; the same manuscript of the Chronicle also shows the spelling *Uš-ša*⁹. The rare spelling points perhaps to a use established by Akkadian scribes before the creation of archives in Hittite language¹⁰.

⁷ The typical Old Assyrian spelling, never using geminates, can not determine the quality of the plosive (*Ku-p/bu-ur-na-ad/t*). Evidence for its location comes out in the circular letter Kt 92/k 200 of the *kārum* Kaneš to the northern *wabarātum* of Kupurnat, Hanaknak and Tišmurna (see S. Çeçen, "Kaniš Kārum'unun diğer Kārum ve Wabartumlar'a «KÜ.AN» (*amutum*) ile ilgili önemli Talimatları" *Belleten* 231, pp. 223-225; C. Michel, *Correspondance des marchands de Kanish* [hence *CMK*]. LAPO 19. Paris 2001, pp. 84-85, N° 22); since Hanaknak corresponds to Hittite Hananakka in the frontier district of Tabikka and to Chanane in the Roman province of Amaseia (see Forlanini, "La ricostruzione della geografia storica del Ponto nella tarda età del bronzo e la continuità della toponomastica indigena fino all'età romana", *Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo* 131 (1997), pp. 405-406). Taptiga/Taptakka, occurring immediately before Kappurnanda in the Sacrifice List, was a town of the district of Tabikka as well. All this points to a northern position, perhaps in the Zuliya-basin, anyway surely in Hatti, as it can also be deduced from TC 2. 27 (see Michel, *Innaya dans les tablettes paléo-assyriennes*. Paris 1991, II 37-38, N° 21), where Tidaya writes to Innaya: "Write an official letter to Kupurnat, to your representatives and to me and I will let pay in Hatti your silver" (17-22: *našpertaka dannūtam ana Kupurnat ana šēr šazuzātika u yāti lapitamma ina Hattim kasapka lu nušašqil*).

⁸ The use of the determinative sign KI after place names and of a transitional form of the sign ŠA, between the old Babylonian form and the Syrian "cursive" of the last records of Alalah VII, places this fragment among the oldest documents in Akkadian from Hattuša, together with CTH 7 (the "Siege of Uršu"). In the fragmentary context are likely to be of particular interest the lines 11'-13: [...i-na[?] URUŠ]ar-ra-an-ha-ba^{KI} iṣ-bat-zu[]x-in(-)šu-nu-ti-ma a-na URU-šu [...URUŠa-la]-ti-wa-ar GA-x[. The city of Šalladiwara lost its importance, or even disappeared, soon in early Hittite times, since it is mentioned, the S.L. apart, only in the History of Anitta and in the fragment KBo 27. 31, which seems to refer, through the occurrence (unique in a Hittite text!) of the LÚ^{MEŠ} UM-MI-A-AN together with the LÚ^{MEŠ} DAM.GAR URUKa-ni-iš, to the times of the *kārum*.

⁹ See the edition of P. Dardano, *L'aneddoto e il racconto in età antico-hittita: la cosiddetta "Cronaca di Palazzo"*. Roma 1997; the manuscript A (KBo 3. 34) shows both spellings: the regular one (URU[?]Uš-ša[-[?], I 27) and the peculiar ()DUMU URU[?]Uš-sa, III 20'). As it happens frequently, the scribe could sometimes up-date the spellings of the older tablet he was copying, whereas elsewhere in the same text he was holding the ancient form.

¹⁰ The SA sign is never used in Boğazköy for the Hittite language. But this spelling could have been also influenced by a similar Sumerogram (see e.g. DUG or É.DU₁₀.ÚS.SA). In the so-called "Puhanu Chronicle" a *šalašha*-man of *Ú-uš-šu* is mentioned and, if this toponym refers to the same city, we

I do not believe it could reflect a particular pronunciation of this place name, because the Old Assyrian spelling is *Ú-ša* (see Nashef, RGTC 4, pp. 130-131). A few other peculiar spellings of place names show a general negligence in the distinction between geminate and single consonants; but it would be dangerous to deduce anything from such spellings¹¹. To summarize this first approach, we can say that the S.L. should go back to a very ancient, independent document, written in Akkadian when Arinna and Nerik were not yet national shrines, and when a town, important in the *kârum* period and no more mentioned later, was still existing.

2.1 The geographical analysis of the List and its meaning. Geographical order or historical sequence?

Let's now examine the sequence of the place names from a geographical viewpoint. First comes the Storm God of Zippalanda followed by the Hattian deity Wahiši. The Storm God of Zippalanda forms, as we have seen, together with the Protective Deity of Hatti and the Sun Deity of Arinna, the supreme group of gods in the pantheon of KBo 4. 13; he could therefore have been invoked and have received sacrifices everywhere through the empire. Nevertheless I maintain that, because of its special position at the heading of the S.L., where he occurs alone, i.e. without the gods of Hatti and Arinna, his presence here could reveal something about the shrine, where our ritual was intended to be performed.

As for Wahiši, we meet this deity in the three big Hittite festivals, AN.TAH.ŠUM, *nuntarriyašha* and KI.LAM, always in the Ceremony of Drinking performed by the king and the queen¹². A clue for the geographical origin of this cult is given by the occurrence in the texts of the local gods Wahiši of Kartabaha, Šalma and Kadaba¹³. We must however remember that the towns of Šalamba, Kadaba and Kartabaha were sending their *hapeš* and UR.BAR.RA-men to the ritual in Zippalanda, according to an old Hittite tablet of the KI.LAM-festival¹⁴; since Šalma and Šalamba are likely to be one and the same city, in a late

could have here another Akkadian writing, pointing perhaps to a first Akkadian redaction of this text too.

¹¹ Note e.g. in the S.L. the spellings *Tu-hu-pi-ya*, *Ma-la-zi-ya* or *Ta-pi-ka* compeared with the more common ones showing geminates: *Tuhuppiya*, *Malazziya*, *Tabikka*. Those forms are coming from a period, when the Hittite writing "convention" was not yet established or, more likely, from the scribe's carelessness.

¹² See Haas, *Geschichte*, *passim*. Occurrences: B.H.L. van Gessel, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon*. I. Leiden 1998, pp. 547-548.

¹³ On KUB 28. 104 and the fragment IM 63682, both mentioning Wahiši of these towns, see E. von Soden, "Eine hethitische Festbeschreibung aus dem Iraq Museum", *BaghM* 5 (1970), p. 46. See as well M. Popko, *Zippalanda. Ein Kultzentrum im hethitischen Kleinasien*. THeth 21. Heidelberg 1994, pp. 57-58.

¹⁴ Haas, *Geschichte*, pp. 770-771 (Festabschnitt in Zippalanda, not included in the edition of the KI.LAM-Festival of I. Singer, *The Hittite KI.LAM Festival*. StBoT 28. Wiesbaden 1984); here occurring in the ethnic form: *Šalabumeneš*, *Kartabahumeneš*, *Kadabum(e)neš*. See Popko, *Zippalanda*, pp. 102-103.

and in an early spelling¹⁵ respectively, the three towns connected with the cult in Zippalanda and the three shrines of Wahiši seem to coincide. That points as well to the proposed special function of Zippalanda in KBo 4. 13¹⁶. After Zippalanda the sequence of place names shows, as I try to demonstrate here, a structure made of main sections, starting from the centre of the Hittite lands. Inside of each section no precise geographical order is recognizable nor the sections are defined by the paragraph lines. Other questions, related to the special mention of a Storm God of Pittiyariga before the gods of the same city or pertaining with the different offerings (SILA₄ or MÁŠ.GAL, against the usual UDU) received by the gods of a few towns will perhaps need further investigation. My aim here is to show how the sequence of the sections can reveal something more than a pure geographical description of the Hittite world, but rather the historical growth of a kingdom through inheritance and conquests: i.e. the sections were added to the canonical list one after the other, as the towns or lands concerned became part of the kingdom.

2.2 The first section (18'-19'). The Land of Hurma

After Zippalanda comes Hurma with its main goddess Hantidaššu. This position of Hurma deserves special attention for two reasons. The first is that we know the special connection between Hurma and Zippalanda, as it has been noted by F. Pecchioli Daddi, dealing about a cult inventory of Hurma, where offerings for the storm god of Zippalanda¹⁷

¹⁵ The form Šalma shows a regular phonetic evolution of Šalamba, due to a strong initial accent. The identity of the two place names was recognized by F. Cornelius, *Or* 27, p. 380 (n. 3); "Neue Aufschlüsse zur hethitischen Geographie", *Anatolica* 1 (1967), p. 77 (n. 55), here wrongly identified also with the western Šallaba/Šalba on Arzawa's border, and the modern Selme. The identification Šalamba/Šalma is confirmed by von Schuler, *BaghM* 5, p. 46.

¹⁶ The geographical position of Zippalanda is connected with that of Ankuwa (very likely Alişar); its identification with Alaca Höyük (Popko, *Zippalanda*, pp. 29-31; "Zur Geographie des nördlichen Zentralanatoliens", in *Studio Historiae Ardens, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H.J. Houwink ten Cate*, Theo P. H. van den Hout and J. De Roos eds. Leiden 1995, pp. 253-259.) does not fit the evidence. The cult of Zippalanda is assisted by the men of Kadaba, Kartabaha, Šalamba/Šalma and by offerings from the neighbouring centres of Hippuriya, Halibutta (probably near Paršananhila), Taništaha, Mida and Tahaya (both in the district Paršananhila); almost all these towns are likely to have been located to the east and the south-east of Hattuša in the upper valley of the Delice and its tributaries and occur in the MUNUS.ŠÍR-list of HT2 (on which see now Rutherford, "Women Singers and the Religious Organisation of Hatti", in *Offizielle Religion*, pp. 378-391), which could also be related to the cult of Zippalanda. In another document we read the names of districts, whose AGRIG-functionaries were sending supplies for the cult of Zippalanda: Šanahhuitta, Tabikka, Taptiga, Takkašta, Kadaba again, Karahna and Hattuša; all these districts, but Kadaba and Hattuša, were located in the Zuliya basin, from Karahna (Sulusaray), upstream, to Takkašta (near Amasya), downstream (see Forlanini, "Tapikka, una marca di frontiera. Note sulla struttura territoriale ed economica", *Anatolia Antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati. Vol. I*, S. de Martino and F. Pecchioli Daddi eds. Firenze 2002, pp. 255-276). A position of Zippalanda not far from Sorgun would better fit the available evidence.

¹⁷ F. Pecchioli-Daddi, M. Baldi, "Un inventario di culto della città di Hurma", in *Šarnikzel. Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer*, D. Groddeck, S. Rössle eds. Dresden 2004, pp. 495-506.

are mentioned. Could we infer that the original ritual performed in Hurma has been brought to Zippalanda, and that the traditional list of local gods, issued in Hurma, has not been altered by the transmission of the text? As a matter of fact only the name of the god of Zippalanda and of Wahiši would have been added at the heading of the list.

That the original ritual containing the S.L. was written in Hurma is self-evident: let us consider the sequence "one sheep to Hantidaššu of Hurma, one sheep to the gods of the Country, one sheep to the gods of Šallahāšuwa", only after this sequence come the gods of Hatti. We know that Šallah(a)šuwa was very close to Hurma, both of them being on the road from Kaneš to the East; Šallahāšuwa has been some time under the direct administration of Kaneš, whereas Hurma had its own king, probably a vassal of the king of Kaneš¹⁸. For their location I look to the Zamantı Su valley.

The country of Hurma has always been an administrative division of the Hittite State and the first king of the *iqqâti*-documents (Period I b of Kültepe *kârum*) known to us is Hurmeli of Haršamna, perhaps he was born in that town¹⁹; the "father of the old king" in the "History of Zalpa" received from the grand-father of the king the country of Hurma²⁰, as a

¹⁸ The close relations between Hurma and Šallahāšuwa are confirmed by some old Assyrian letters. Like KTK 64, where we read about smuggling of wares along the road from Azu to Timilkiya and Luhuzadiya in order that "the Huramaean and the Šalahšuaean may not take the *nišhatum*-tax". In the well known ATHE 62 the *rubâtum* of Kaneš sends order to the local authorities (vassal rulers?) in Luhuzadia, Hurama, Šalahšua and to her own country against smuggling (see Michel, *CMK*, pp. 297-299, N° 207, with quotations). LB 1283 (Kh. Nashef, *Rekonstruktion der Reiserouten zur Zeit der altassyrischen Handelsniederlassungen*, TAVO Beiheft B 83. Wiesbaden [1987], pp. 39-40) records the travel expenses from Hahhum to Timilkia, from Timilkia to Šalahšua and from Šalahšua to Hurama. But the most striking document is ICK I 61, where a legal action is instituted in Hurama <and> Ša<la>hšua : 1-3 "Šál-ma-A-šūr a-na Ša-ar-ni-ga i-na Hu-ra-ma Ša-<la>-ah-šu-a iṣ-ba-at-ni-a-tí-ma (...)" (correct reading following Nashef, RGTC 4, p. 99). On the location of Šalahšua see Forlanini, "Notes sur la géographie anatolienne dans les textes paléo-assyriens", *N.A.B.U.* 2005/1, pp. 14-15 (N.14) : near the lead mine of Akçaparmak north of Pazarviran.

¹⁹ I have considered Hurmeli as the first king of Kaneš of the Ib period (Forlanini, "The kings of Kaniš", in *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia*, O. Carruba, M. Giorgieri, C. Mora eds. Pavia 1995, pp. 124-125, on Kt n/k 32); we know now that C. Günbattı will publish a letter to Hurmeli, king of Harsamna (see Albayrak, "She will live, eat and be anointed together with them" *uṣbat aklat u paššat iṣtišunu*", in : *Assyria and beyond, Studies presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*. Leiden 2004, p. 10). Since Hurmeli is mentioned in Kt n/k 32 (an *iqqâti* of Inar) as the certifier of a previous document, together with his *rabi simmiltim* Harpatiwa, who signed alone some other known document in Kaneš, we can arrange the evidence, if we suppose that this king residing in Haršamna took the control of Kaniš after its destruction due to Uhna of Zalpuwa and let rule there his *rabi simmiltim*. Later on, Inar took the power in Kaniš by overthrowing Harpatiwa and continued the war against Harsamna with the long lasting siege mentioned in Anumherwa's letter. Since Haršamna is never mentioned in the old Assyrian texts but only in documents from Mari, I believe that the political importance of this town must have been restricted to the period between *kârum* II and Ib and to the beginning of the latter; the family of Hurmeli could have been a branch of the Kanišian dynasty. For the location of this city see however Forlanini, *Or* 73, pp. 369-370, n. 22-24.

²⁰ H. Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa*. StBoT 17. Wiesbaden 1973, pp. 8-9 : (B Obv. 19'-20 ...A-BI A-B)I LUGAL-MA^{URU} Hu-ur-ma-an A-NA A-BI LUGAL ŠU.GI[.... See also

consequence we can infer that the “old king”, whoever he was, became king “of Hatti”, after being the prince of Hurma. In the S.L. we see that the “gods of the country” can not be something else than the gods of the kingdom having the capital in Hurma and its second shrine in Šallahšuwa. Both Hurma and Šallahšuwa come again together in the list, that could seem at the first sight very strange; but we shall see later what it means.

2.3 The second section (20-33). The lands of Hatti

The second cluster of towns, the longer one, refers to Hatti proper, from the North, that was lost to the Kaška-tribes in the 15th Century, to the middle Halys. This cluster ends with two towns, that in the 13th century were part of the neighbouring provinces of Wašhaniya and Turmitta, a town mentioned 11 lines before, i.e. Kalašmitta and Uhhiwa²¹. Only this section, from Hatti to Uhhiwa, shows the parallelism with the AGRIG-List (hence abridged as A.L.) of VBoT 68 (AO 9608), discovered by Götze²²: VBoT 68 gives a smaller number of towns, but they appear almost exactly in the same order as in the S.L. Some towns of the S.L., missing in the A.L., appear in another list of VBoT 68, that of the *telipuri* (“districts”²³, hence T.L.). Both A.L. and T.L. are lists of ethnics obtained from the town names by the mean of the Hattic suffix *-il/-al*²⁴. The A.L. ends with Uhhiwa and in the S.L. Uhhiwa is followed by Hurma, namely by the first town of a new section. No place name of both A.L. and T.L. falls outside of this section of S.L., whereas, for instance, we know from other documents some AGRIG-functionaries based in the towns of the following section of S.L.²⁵. To help the reader I give here a transcription of the two mentioned lists:

W. Helck, “Zur ältesten Geschichte des Hatti-Reiches”, in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens, Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, R. M. Boehmer, H. Hauptmann eds. Mainz 1983, pp. 278-279.

²¹ KUB 48. 105 + KBo 12. 53 Obv. 14'-15; Rev 14-15 (studied by A. Archi, H. Klengel, “Ein hethitischer Text über die Reorganisation des Kultes”, *AoF* 3 (1980), pp. 143-157). Uhhiwa is the last but one town of the province Wašhaniya, Kalašmitta the 12th of the following province Turmitta.

²² *RHA* 1, pp. 19-30.

²³ For hitt. *telipuri*, equivalent to akk. *halšan* and hur. *halzu* “(military) district”, see E. Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung*. I. *StBoT* 32. Wiesbaden 1996, p. 135. The term was used also for districts far from the frontier like that of the inventory of women singers of HT 2.

²⁴ Some strange endings of the place names, like the *-u* of Kaštamū-il or the *-iya* of Hakpiššiya-il could be related to an earlier spelling of those names. Šagukkidiya- is commonly considered a variant spelling or a corrupt form of Šanahuitta-, what could be accepted only because of the similar position in the S.L.; but we could think as well to a deformation of the name due to popular etymology, since this town is like to have been on the border of the Hattian and Kanešian areas; as a matter of fact, Šanahuitta is likely to have been a part of the Upper Land, at least in the 14th century, according to Mšt 75/79 17'-21' (S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe aus Mašat Höyük*. Ankara 1991, p. 36, pp. 300-301), but also not far from Kadaba (according to KUB 40. 99, Obv. 1-2) and from the river Zuliya.

²⁵ As Karahna, Šugziya and Zinirnuwa/Zirnanuwa (Šarninuwa in the S.L.). See the list of the towns having an AGRIG in: F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'Anatolia Ittita*. Roma 1982, pp. 439-441. I wonder whether the entire S.L. could be based on a complete list of districts having an AGRIG functionary in the Hittite traditional lands or vassal king/governor in greater units, like Palā.

The *telipuri* List of VBoT 68 II 15-19: 15) *ma-a-an* LUGAL-uš^{URU} *A-ri-in-na-az*
^{URU}*Ha-at-tu-ši pa-iz-zi* 16) *nu* LÚ^{GIŠ} *GIDRU te-li-pu-u-ri ki-iš-ša-an ḫal-za-a-i* / 17) ^{URU}*Ta-*
^{URU}*ú-ni-ya-il* ^{URU}*Tu-u-ḫu-up-pí-ya-il* 18) ^{URU}*A-li-ša-il* ^{URU}*Zi-pí-iš-ḫu-na-il* 19) ^{URU}*Am-mu-na-a-il*
^{URU}*Ha-at-te-na-a-il*

The AGRIG List of VBoT 68 III 1-9: 1) *ma-a-an* LUGAL-uš^{URU} *Ha-at-tu-ša-az* 2)
^{URU}*Ma-ti-il-la pa-iz-zi nu* LÚ^{GIŠ} *GIDRU LUGAL-i* 3) LÚ^{MEŠ} *AGRIG ki-iš-ša-an tar-kum-mi-*
^{URU}*e-ez-zi* / 4) ^{URU}*Za-al-pu-ú-i-il* ^{URU}*Tu-u-ḫu'-up-pí-ya-il* 5) ^{URU}*Zi-iš-pár'-na-il* ^{URU}*Ga-aš-ta'-mu-*
^{URU}*il* 6) ^{URU}*A-li-ša-a-il* ^{URU}*Ša-ku-uk-ki-ti-ya-al* 7) ^{URU}*Ha-ag-ga-mi-iš-ši-ya-il* ^{URU}*Ta-pí-ik-ki-ya-*
^{URU}*al* 8) ^{URU}*Iš-ta-ḫa-ra-al* ^{URU}*Ma-la-az-zi-ya-il* 9) ^{URU}*Ka-ra-aš-mi-it-ti-ya-il* ^{URU}*Uḫ-ḫi-wa-a-al*

From all these considerations I infer that this section, from Hatti to Uhhiwa, refers to the lands of Hatti, in their ethnic and political meaning. The area covered by the towns of this section corresponds to the central and western part of the territory contained within the Halys bend and, west of it, only to the land of Turmitta, whereas the country at the western side of the lower Halys is not represented here and appears only later in the list under the general name of Palâ. If we try to define from other sources the extent of Hatti, we may take into account three documents. The first is Kt 92/k 203, a circular letter of the *kârum* Kaneš to “the *kârum* of Turhumit, Hattuš, Tamnia, Tuhpia as far as Ninaša”²⁶; we find here all the *kârum*-settlements of Hatti, occurring also in the S.L., with Ninašša meant as a border towards Kaniš and as the most southern town of Hatti, exactly as stated by Hattušili III in a simplified description of the big crisis of the state at the beginning of Šuppiluliuma’s I reign: “The Kaškaean enemy came and sacked the Hatti countries and he made Nenašša his border”²⁷. The second document is the frequently mentioned letter about the revolt of the princes of Ankuwa, Šanahuitta and Kabitra, backed by Kaneš, against Hattuš²⁸; these three cities must have been located between the valleys of the present rivers Kanak Su and Çekerek (Hittite Zuliya). The third is a passage of the “Acts of Anitta”, where the king states that he fought a battle against the king of Hattuš in Šalamba; this locality must be identified, as seen above, with the late Hittite provincial capital Šalma, located to the south-east of Hattuša. The Land of Hatti, as it comes out from the S.L. covers an area less extensive than that yielding supposed “Hattian” place names²⁹. This erosion of the prehistoric linguistic area of Hatti seems to be due to the rise of Palâ in the west, whose language has a recognised Hattian substratum, and to the conquests of the kings of Kaniš in the upper Zuliya basin to the east.

2.4 The third section (34-39). The lands of Kaneš

The third section, starting with Hurma and Šallahašuwa, includes Šukziya, a centre of the Old Kingdom very close to Hurma, and Karahna, the last being an important Hittite cult

²⁶ See Michel, *CMK*, pp. 83-84 (text N° 21) with bibliography.

²⁷ KBo 6. 28, Obv. 7, frequently quoted, in particular by A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the problem of the Hittite Geography*. New Haven 1940, pp. 21-26.

²⁸ M. T. Larsen, “A revolt against Hattuša”, *JCS* 24 (1972), pp. 100-101.

²⁹ I have tried to define this area in “Toponymie antique d’origine hattie ?”, *Hethitica* 8 (1987), pp. 105-122.

centre known from the *kârum* period down to the Roman times. Karahna lies between Tabikka and Šamuha and must be probably equated with classical Carana and modern Sulusaray; as a matter of fact Šamuha follows Karahna in the S.L., after three intercalated names, Pittiyariga, Arziya and Hašikkašnawanda; but we know from the fragmentary letter KUB 31. 79 that Pittiyariga and Arziya were on a river upstream from Šamuha³⁰. The evidence collected from the Hittite and the Old Assyrian texts favours a location of all these towns on the Halys³¹, with Pittiyariga and Arziya between the source of the river and Sivas, and Šamuha probably at Kayalıpınar. Then, after Zarninuwa³², comes Kaniš, and, further downstream on the Halys, Uššuna. This town, known from personal names of the *kârum* time in different forms, Uššina/Wašina³³, became in the 13.th century part of the Land of Turmitta, probably the first centre of its territory, west of the border towards the district of Wašhaniya³⁴; further to the west were located Nenašša and Ullama and, beyond them, Uhhiwa, which we met before, in the section concerning the Hatti-Lands. We understand easily that with this group of towns the S.L. follows the Halys valley from Pittiyariga, upstream, down until Uššuna. The land concerned in this section included the later Hittite Upper-Land, Kaneš and a portion of the Halys valley downstream. We are faced here with the historical kingdom of Kaneš with its Upper Country, stretching to the North up to mount Saktunuwa³⁵, to the South-East to Lahuwazantiya, probably then in the Country of Hurma³⁶,

³⁰ See Garstang/Gurney, *Geography*, 33-34; A. Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*. II. THeth 16. Heidelberg 1989, pp. 136-141 (N° 90).

³¹ See O. R. Gurney, "The Upper Land, mātum elitum", in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr.*, G. Beckman, R. Beal, G. McMahon eds. Winona Lake 2003, pp. 13-35. I have always sustained the localisation of Šamuha on the Halys (since "Appunti di geografia etea". *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata*, O. Carruba eds. Pavia 1979, pp. 181-182, n. 84). The discovery of a cuneiform fragment at Kayalıpınar and the results of the first year of the excavations directed by A. Müller Karpe on this site, yielding an Old Assyrian fragment together with Hurrian and Hittite documents from the empire period, makes it very likely that this place will turn out to be Šamuha, the capital of the Hittite Upper Land.

³² Otherwise known only in the spellings Zinimuwa and Zirnanuwa, see note above.

³³ The spellings are: *Ú-šit-nu-ma-an* and *Wa-šit-nu-ma-an* (BIN 6. 222, 7; Kay 4369, 19; OIP XXVII 27, 2), *Wa-aš-nu-ma-an* and *Uš-nu-ma-an* (VS XXVI 100, 3, 5 16), *Ú-šu-na-ma-an* (ICK I. 35A 10, B 1).

³⁴ The reconstruction of KUB 48.105 + KBo 12.53 Obv. 19' (already mentioned above) from the editions is likely to give: AŠ KUR ^{URU}*Dur-mi-it-ta* AŠ ^{URU}*Ú-šit-na A-NA DU UTU-ŠI ki-i ME-iš*. The beginning of the place name, divided between the two main fragments of the tablet, can be by no means *Li-ih*-, as tentatively proposed by the editors (A. Archi and H. Klengel, "Ein hethitischer Text über die Reorganisation des Kultes", *AoF* 3 [1980], p. 151); it could even be possible to read it *Ú-uš-ši-na*, but it would need a collation of KBo 12.53. This inventory seems to follow a geographical order parallel to the Halys in the direction downstream, this would mean that Ušši/una was the first town of Turmitta on the border with Wašhaniya, a little upstream from Nenašša (the next entry in the inventory), hence the probable identification with classical Osiena (modern Eskişehir near Göstesin/Ovaören, 40 Km to the west of Nevşehir, following: F. Hild - M. Restle, *Kappadokien*, T.I.B. 2. Wien 1981, pp. 250-252). In the inventory Uiššina is the second town after Uhhiwa (in my reconstruction, the last town of Hatti in S.L.).

³⁵ See the letter Mšt 75/79 Rev. 17'-22 (S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe aus Mašat-Höyük*. Ankara 1991, n. 96).

and its Lower Country, to that time only a small part of the later division of the Hittite Empire bearing the same name, that would include later on also the ancient kingdom of Purušhanda and its dependencies³⁷; the names Upper and Lower Country could only originally mean "upper and lower Maraššanda valley", with reference to the position of Kaniš.

We have seen before that the area of Ankuwa and Šanahuitta was a part of Hatti, close to the border with Kaniš, during the *kârum* period; on the other side of the frontier was Karahna and, north of it and of the river Zuliya, the mountains Šaktunuwa and Šarabunuwa³⁸. The name of the river and of the two mountains occur in the form of personal names in the Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe, showing that people coming from the northern border of the city's influence area were active in the capital³⁹.

Many centuries later Hattušili III still used the term "Land of Kaniš" to define the large geographical area south of the upper Halys⁴⁰, although the city had completely lost its political and administrative role since the end of the 18th century.

Having defined the extension of the two geographical denominations of Hatti and

³⁶ On the problem of the location of Lawazantiya/Luhuzzantiya and the possibility of two town bearing a similar name in the Cilician Plain and in the Antitaurus region see Forlanini, "Luhuzatija, Lawazantiya e la localizzazione delle città di Kizzuwatna", in *Šarnikzel. Hethitologische Studien zum Gedanken an E.O. Forrer*, D. Grodek and S. Rössle eds. Dresden 2004, pp. 297-309. Of course the Lahuwazantiya of the letter above can only have been the town mentioned in the Old Assyrian documents, probably located in the Elbistan Ovası and the last station on the road to Hurma and Kaneš. Hurma was still a regional capital in the 13th century, as is shown by the presence among the highest Hittite dignitaries in the witness list of the Šahurunuwa and Mittannamuwa documents of Palla, Lord of the city Hurma.

³⁷ As shown for instance by the gods list of Muwattalli's Prayer (CTH 381, edited by I. Singer, *Muwattalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm God of the Lightning*. Atlanta [1996]) II 38-40.

³⁸ The mountains Šagattunuwa, Šišpinuwa and Šarpuwa dominated the valley of the Zuliya from the Kaška side, when the young Tuthaliya IV, still *tuhkanti*, was compelled to cross the river under enemy's pressure (KBo 16. 36+ KUB 31. 20, studied by K. K. Riemschneider, "Hethitische Fragmente historischen Inhalts aus der Zeit Hattušilis III", *JCS* 14 [1962], pp. 110-121); mount Šagattunuwa was on the border between the frontier district of Tabikka and the Upper Country and was worshipped in Karahna, see also S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe aus Mašat Höyük*, pp. 32-35.

³⁹ Among many individuals named Šarapunuwa it is worth noting a son of Humadašu (*Humant-aššu, in TC I. 99, 12) or the father of a Perua (Kt 92/k 1043), showing that this name was in use in typical Kanišian families. The same could be said for the personal name Šaktunuwa/Šaktunuwa and Zuli/Zulia (a son of the woman Šuppianniga in ICK I. 35A, a minister of the Kanisian king in BIN 4. 160, 5).

⁴⁰ Apology of Hattušili III (CTH 81) II 2-6 (see H. Otten, *Die Apologie Hattusilis III. Das Bild der Überlieferung*. StBoT 24. Wiesbaden [1981]): "(...) But from behind all the Kaškaeans (of ?) the country Pišhuru and the country Taištiba rebelled and completely ruined the land of Išhubitta, the land of Marišta and the fortified towns. The enemy crossed the river Maraššanta and began to devastate the country of Kaneš". Since we have no evidence of any importance of the town of Kaneš in that period, the "Country of Kaneš" meant here, spreading up to the upper Halys valley south of Sivas, is likely to be only a traditional term having merely a geographical meaning.

Kaneš⁴¹ we may question what should have been the real meaning of those territorial divisions: were they basically referring to earlier ethno-linguistic differences or only to political relations of the historic time? Other scholars have examined such questions as the interference between the Hattian and other Anatolian cults and cultures related to the use of Indo-European languages, such as Nesite or Luwian⁴².

In the period concerned by the evidence we possess the coexistence seems to have been already very long. We do not know if Nesite was only the city language of Kaneš, and became the official language of the Empire because it was spread by the Old Assyrian trade or Anitta's conquests, or rather if it was the written dialect of a language covering the upper Halys basin and the Antitaurus region. The etymology of a few place names in this area of Anatolia could point to the second solution⁴³. The story of Zalpa shows that the rivalry between a northern (Hattian) and a southern (Nesite) power was felt by the local population as the result of a long history, going back to mythic times; nobody was aware of a previous migration into Anatolia or of an Indo-European identity, which of course could have a meaning only for modern linguists.

2.5 The fourth section (40-43). The western conquests

With its fourth section the S.L. defines the region to the north-west of the Salt-Lake. Of the towns mentioned here the neighbouring centres of Harziuna and Šallaba, the ancient *kârum* and princely capital of Šaladiwar⁴⁴, Lalanda⁴⁵ and Ulma are known, the latter being of

⁴¹ For an exhaustive up-dating of the disputed question about *Hattum* and *libbi mâtim* in the Old Assyrian documents, see J. G. Dercksen, "When we met in Hattuš", in *Veenhof Anniversary Volume*, W. H. van Soldt & alii eds. Leiden 2001, pp. 57-60.

⁴² It is impossible here to mention the literature dealing with these problems. C. Melchert, *The Luwians*. Leiden-Boston 2003, pp. 11-22, on the base of his deep knowledge of the Luwian language, reaches interesting conclusions, showing that the official Nesite was strongly influenced by Luwian already at the *kârum* time, that its speakers were living in an area between those of Hattians and Luwians, and concluding that its original territory, probably not very large, should have been the valley of the upper Halys. See also Archi, *Offizielle Religion*, pp. 23-24.

⁴³ See in the S.L. for instance, Arziya and Hašikkašnawanda, both having Nesite etymology.

⁴⁴ According to the old Assyrian list of travel expenses Kt v/k 103 (=AKT III 34, see J.G. Dercksen, *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade in Anatolia*. Leiden 1996, p. 13) both the roads Wahšušana-Šaladuar and Šaladuar-Purušhattum crossed a river, probably the same; since there is little doubt that Wahšušana was located in the region of present Haymana (see Forlanini, "Notes sur la géographie anatolienne dans les textes paléo-assyriens", *N.A.B.U.* 2005/1, p. 14), Purušhattum to the south of the Salt Lake and Šaladuar to the west of Wahšušana, the river is likely to be the Sangarius. The army of Šaladuar/Šalatiwara retreated on the nearby valley of the Hulanna (Parsuk Çay) when the city was attacked by Anitta (see Forlanini, "La nascita di un impero. Considerazioni sulla prima fase della storia hittita: da Kaniš a Hattuša", in *Studi di ittologia in onore di Onofrio Carruba*, A. Archi, F. Pecchioli-Daddi eds. *Or* 73/4 (2004), pp. 376-377, note 38). All this evidence would point to a location around Pessinous. In the Akkadian fragment KBo 19.95, already mentioned, *ša-la-ti-wa-ar* occurs with the DUMU.LUGAL of Ussa and the king of Hattuš.

⁴⁵ Its name survived as Lalandos (probably modern Gümü near Emirdağ), see Forlanini, "Un coin de Phrygie à l'époque hittite. Continuité toponymique et religieuse", *Hethitica* 13 [1996], p. 9 note 25.

course, because of its association with Šallaba, the western Walma⁴⁶, theatre of the battle of Mursili II. Tabalka does not occur elsewhere, perhaps this town disappeared or lost importance at the beginning of the Hittite history⁴⁷. Šahhuwaliya is known from a copy of an ancient Hittite chronicle, where it appears together with Partuwada in the description of a campaign, but Partuwada is again a town of the region between the Hittite kingdom and Arzawa, a starting point of military expeditions against this country⁴⁸. Also apparently unknown is Šanawida, that has been sometimes confused with Šanahuitta, although a connection with Šawit, a place producing copper in old Assyrian times, can not be ruled out⁴⁹. It seems that this section of the S.L. corresponds to the borderland between Hatti and Arzawa, conquered by Hatti for the first time when Šalladiwara was still an important center.

2.6 The fifth section (44-45). The eastern conquests

The fifth section contains only four names of towns, all of them lying east of the Hittite territory in the direction of the Euphrates: Haššuwa and Tawanaga⁵⁰, east of Maraš, Hatra and Šinuwa near Malatya⁵¹. Here we are faced with the first Hittite conquests towards

⁴⁶ The Walma near the Aštarpa river of Muṣṣili's battle against Arzawa, and probably also the land of Walma (one of the Lukka lands) north of river Kaštaraya (class. Kestros) on the western border of the kingdom of Tarhuntašša. Traditional localisation since Garstang Gurney, *Geography*, at class. Holmoi (Karamikkaracaören, south of Balvadin : K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*. TIB 7. Wien 1990, pp. 292-293).

⁴⁷ The modern name Davulga east of Emirdağ (Belke and Merich, *op.c.*, 230) could derive its name from Tabalka, but we have no further evidence of the survival of this name through 3000 years.

⁴⁸ Šahhuiliya (Šahhuwaliya) is linked to Partuwada in CTH 39 (KUB 26. 71, IV 11'-12', see S. de Martino, *Annali e res gestae antico ititi*. StMed 12. Pavia 2003, pp. 84-85). Partuwada is the starting point of an expedition against Arzawa and Maša, planned in the oracular text CTH 824, and is likely (if we may restore its name in the fragmentary]-u-wa-da of KBo 19. 54, 8', see Forlanini, "La regione del Tauro nei testi hittiti", *VO* 7 [1988], p. 153 n. 112) to have been involved in the Arzawa war of Šuppiluliuma I together with Allašša, Šallaba, Waliwanda, and *Da-ú-i[-iš-ta]*, the last being probably the *Da-[x]-wiš-iš-ta* of KBo 2.1 III 34, a place near mount Šuvara (the Türkmen Dağı north of Afyon Karahissar (see Forlanini, *Hethitica* 13 [1996], pp. 6-7).

⁴⁹ On Šawit see J. Dercksen, *Copper Trade*, 15, 44 ; it seems to be connected with the western area of old Assyrian trade (Wahšušana, Purušhattum, Turhumit). An Assyrian spelling Šawid<*Šanwid for Šanawida could be accepted. Must we look for Šanawida around Walma ? If so the Yapraklı site near Şandıklı, yielding ancient copper deposits (P. S. de Jesus, *The Development of Prehistoric Mining and Metallurgy in Anatolia*. London 1980, Part II, p. 258), could be connected with this town, whose name could be further compared perhaps with the neighbouring class. Synnada.

⁵⁰ On Tawanaga see Forlanini, "Gab es eine hethitische Stadt Hamša ?", *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997), p. 119 note 11.

⁵¹ Šinuwa occurs only in the middle Hittite text KBo 16. 42 (Rev. 6; treatment by A. Ertem, "Kurucutepe'nin hititler devrindeki adı hakkında", *X Türk Tarih Kongresi* [Ankara, 22-26 Eylül 1986]. Ankara 1990, pp. 577-587) dealing with military events around Malidiya (Arslantepe); in *Atlante Storico del Vicino Oriente Antico*, Fasc. 4.3, M. Forlanini, M. Marazzi, "Anatolia : l'impero hittita". Roma 1986, notes to the map XVI, chapter "L'Anatolia orientale", I have equated this town with Sinis Colonia (Ptol. *Geogr.* 5.6 21 ; see F. Hild and M. Restle, *Kappadokien*. TIB 2. Wien 1981, p. 66, note 39).

the East of the Hittites, spreading their power beyond the borders of the Upper Country. A first submission of Haššuwa was the necessary condition for the probably unsuccessful siege of Uršu of CTH 7 and for the first Syrian campaigns against Alalah and Uršu at the very beginning of the reign of Hattušili I, before that the big Hurrian invasion and the following general Anatolian insurrection compelled this king to restore his power, starting again from inner Anatolia. The lacking of Tegaramma and Luhuzzandiya in the S.L. can only mean that they were part of the Lands of Kaneš (and of the Upper Land) and perhaps, inside it, of the Principality of Hurma.

2.8 The last section (46-48). Real or alledged conquests beyond central Anatolia

In the last section of the S.L. we do not find a sequence of towns referring to one particular district, but the names of four countries at the periphery of the kingdom. The first name is Halpa, the capital of the great kingdom of Yamhad, conquered and destroyed only by Muršili I after a long war under his predecessor. Then follows Palâ, the wide region between the lower Halys and the Black Sea coast, corresponding to classical Paphlagonia⁵². Since in the Hattian section of the S.L. no place name, except Turmitta with Kalasmita and Uhhiwa, can be located west of the Halys, it seems to me that Palâ is intended here as including towns like Tarukka, Šabittuwa, Tumanna⁵³ etc. The following name, Paršuhanda (Purušhanda) is again a land name, since many of the towns given by Labarna to his sons, such as Hubešna, Tuwanuwa, Lânda and Lušna could have been originally part of the Purušhanda kingdom and are not mentioned in the S.L. The last place name mentioned here, Ussa, where a *wabartum* of the Assyrian merchants was located, is likely to have been

⁵² Palâ is one of the three main regions of Hittite Anatolia, together with Hatti and Luwiya (later Arzawa), at the time of the first manuscript of the Hittite Code. The Palaic language is an Anatolian language showing a Hattian substratum. Its name survives in classical times as Blaëne, a country near mount Olgassys and the valley of river Amnias (according to Strabo, *Geogr.* XII. 3, 40); its identification with modern Eflâni, though linguistically correct, is questioned. See for the Hittite place names of this region: Forlanini, "L'Anatolia nordoccidentale nell'impero eteo", *SMEA* 18 (1977), pp. 206-209.

⁵³ See for instance the list of the Hittite provinces conquered by the Kaška in the Prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmu-Nikkal (CTH 375, II 20-25: R. Lebrun, *Hymnes et prières hittites*. Louvain-la-Neuve 1980, p. 136; pp. 144-145): Nerikka, Huršama, Kaštama, Šeriša, Himuwa, Takkašta, Kammama, Zalpuwa, Kabiruha, Hurna, Tankušna, Tabašawa, Tarukka, Ilaluha, Zihhana, Šibittuwa, Wašhaya and Padalliya. It seems that here we have many towns not mentioned in the S.L. (the ones occurring in both lists are underlined), hence probably smaller administrative units; anyway, among the districts attested elsewhere, Tarukka, Šabittuwa and Wašhaya are surely located to the west of the Halys (as perhaps also the others districts less known mentioned after Hurna) and none of them occurs in the SL. Only a few towns of north-western Anatolia are known in the old Assyrian tablets, as for instance Hartana, Tumanna, Tarittara and Šapp(uw)a (see Forlanini, "Tav. X *Carta Storica* [with notes]", in: G.M. di Nocera and M. Forlanini. *Anatolia: la prima metà del II millennio a.C.* Atlante Storico del Vicino Oriente Antico, Fasc. 4.2. Roma [1992]).

independent from Puruṣhanda and located further west of it, probably around (or to the north of) Konya⁵⁴.

3.1 An attempt toward the reconstruction of the early Old Hittite history

I have attempted a reconstruction of the first century of the Hittite history⁵⁵ in some way different from the usual one, mainly because I do not believe that everything began with Hattušili I, whose first campaigns point to an already established Hittite control over Cilicia and Haššum; after the big Hurrian invasion and the subsequent general Anatolian rebellion, the king was compelled to conquer again even the cities of the Hattian and the Kanišian hearthland, not to say of peripheral kingdoms, like that of Haššum.

If we believe that, for instance, only one siege of Uršum or only one war against Haššum happened in the period of the Old Kingdom, we are conditioned by the fact that the archives of Hattuša were established under Hattušili I and that two very important documents of that time, the "Testament" and the "Annals", although fragmentary, kept, only by chance, the lines that let us know the identity of their "Author". How many campaigns against the same enemies or towns occurs in the reigns of Šuppiluliuma I, Muršili II or Muwattalli II? The richer evidence available for this later period allows us to ascertain such frequent repetitions of similar campaigns.

Let us turn now to the identity of the king who conquered an empire from his capital Hurma: it may be deduced from CTH 3, the "History of Zalpa", if we assume, as the only possible explanation in accordance with the available evidence, that the "grandfather of the king" is Huzziya I, the grandfather of Hattušili I, as demonstrated by the cruciform seal, and the "old king", whose father received from Huzziya the Principality of Hurma, is Labarna

⁵⁴ For a possible location of Ušša at Karahöyük near Konya, an important town in the time of the Assyrian colonies and of the old Hittite empire, see Forlanini, "La regione del Tauro nei testi hittiti", VO 7 (1988), pp. 135-136; but Ušša, unlike Karahöyük, was still an important city in the 13th century. For that reason we could rather point to a position north of Konya, e.g. near Ilgın, that could better be accepted, since Ušša and Ikkuwaniya (Konya) do not seem to have been so close together; in this case Karahöyük is likely to correspond to Hurutta (known only from the list of seal-houses in the Decree of Telebinu, CTH 19, Rev. III 29), probably corresponding to old Assyrian Hudurut (*Hudurutta>Hudrutta>Hurutta), a town that lost completely its importance before the late Hittite empire, whose name nevertheless could perhaps survive down to Classical times in connection with the cult of a goddess (dedication to a *metri Krotadei* in an inscription found near Konya, see Forlanini, VO 7, 152: Hurutta>*Hrutta>Krota?). More recently on Ušša: R. Lebrun, "Propos concernant Urikina, Ussa et Uda", in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie*. Wiesbaden 2001, pp. 328-330.

⁵⁵ A first definition, "Considerazioni sullo spostamento del centro del potere nel periodo della formazione dello stato hittita", in *Antiquus Oriens. Mélanges offerts au Professeur René Lebrun*, M. Mazoyer, O. Casabonne eds. Paris 2004, pp. 249-269, has been further developed in: "La nascita di un impero. Considerazioni sulla prima fase della storia hittita: da Kaniš a Hattuša", in *Studi di ittologia in onore di Onofrio Carruba*, A. Archi, F. Pecchioli-Daddi eds., Or 73/4 (2004), pp. 362-389.

I⁵⁶. Starting as a prince of Hurma, Labarna, as shown by his name a representative of the ancient nobility of Kaneš, was adopted by Huzziya in a ceremony at the Hattian city of Šanahuitta near the border of the Kanišian part of the kingdom. The shift of the power from the northern to the southern branch of the “Great Family” provoked the uprising of the northern aristocracy supporting the claims of Pawahtelmah (probably “Eagle’s eye” in Hattian), son of Huzziya. The revolt was suppressed and the supporters of Pawahtelmah were punished, but the Principality of Hattuša remained in his hands and, as a compensation, the adoption by Labarna of Pawahtelmah’s son Hattušili was decided. This information, that we can deduce from the “History of Zalpa” and from the “Testament of Hattušili”, gives us a clue for connecting the composition of the S.L. with the events of Labarna’s reign.

3.2 How the “Sacrifice List” can fit to the historical reconstruction

To summarize what we have seen so far, we can say that KBo 4. 13 contains the description of a ritual performed in Zippalanda, whose origin must be traced back to a tablet coming from Hurma, in the time when the king transferred the centre of his power from Hurma to Hattuša and established the official cult of the two local shrines of Zippalanda and Arinna, connected with the new capital. In the archives of the Hurmian court an official list of the gods of the kingdom had been already established, at first mentioning only the local pantheon of the capital Hurma (Hantidaššu), of its principality (*udneyant-*) and of the neighbouring city of Šallahšuwa. When the prince of Hurma was adopted by the previous king as son and successor in the lands of Hatti and of Kaneš, the gods of the principal towns of the two parts of the dual kingdom were added in two consecutive sections.

The following sections of the list concern the conquests made by him during his reign as king of Hatti; the names of the main conquered towns were added to the S.L. in Hurma, still residence of the king. From the order of the place names we can infer that he made first a war against Luwiya/Arzawa, that brought to the annexation of a large territory between the Hattian province of Turmitta and Ulma/Walma on the Aštarpā: i.e. the upper Sangarius basin and the region of the modern Afyon Karahissar. After having secured the west, the king fought a second war, now in the east, reaching the Euphrates, upstream near Malatya and downstream south of Samsat. The success of the Hittite king probably led the king of Aleppo, perhaps under the pressure of the first Hurrian forays, to approach the king of Hatti and even

⁵⁶ See Forlanini, *Mélanges Lebrun*, pp. 253-255; the same opinion on this text had been expressed by R. H. Beal, “The Predecessor of Hattušili I”, *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr.*, pp. 21-23, although his general reconstruction of the period diverges from mine in many points, concerning the attribution of some old Hittite documents, and still considers the existence of an Old Hittite king bearing the name Tuthaliya, that I have been compelled to renounce. The chronological sequence of rulers appearing here, consisting in the “grand-father of the king”, the “old king” and the king himself, whereas the father of the king is absent and the “father of the old king” is only the local prince of Hurma, matches perfectly the historical succession of Huzziya I, Labarna I and Hattušili (Labarna II), son of a daughter of Huzziya, and explains the importance of Hurma in the “Palace Chronicle”, particularly if we attribute both this text and the “Story of Zalpa” to Hattušili I. Labarna is “the father of the king” in a document written by a scribe who had a good knowledge of the court of Hurma, and only “the old king” in a text relating to the north, where Hattušili wants to avoid sharing with him the responsibility for the destruction of Zalp(uw)a.

to ask for help. To that time the Hittite king was able to devote himself again to the west, conquering Palâ, on the left bank of the Halys, the Lycaonian kingdom of Paršhunda with its towns, such as Nenašša, Tuwanuwa, Hubešna, getting through it the control of the Cilician Gates, and, further on, of Ušša near Konya.

As we see, the S.L., a gradual compilation of the main religious or administrative centers of the state, starting with the country around the prince's appanage of Hurma, giving then separately the towns of the Hattian and of the Kaneshian part of the inherited kingdom and going on with the conquests in different directions, could fit to the history of Labarna I and help us in reconstructing the chronology of his conquests.

3.3 Two questions and how to met them

The first question, that arises and could undermine the statement above, is bound with the presence of Halab at the end of the S.L. Since we know that Halab was not destroyed until the reign of Muršili I, how could its name be included in a document from the time of Labarna? As already suggested above, Halab could have asked the help of Hatti against the starting menace of the "Kings of the Hurrian army", perhaps by sending to the Hittite king a statue of its god Adad⁵⁷; as a consequence, its pantheon, unduly considered that of a tributary state, was included in the list. Thereafter the King of Aleppo made an alliance with the Hurrians against Hatti, breaking his oath, and the Hittites began fighting him, perhaps already during Labarna's reign, anyway surely at the very starting of that of Hattušili. In the next paragraph I shall produce some documents matching this reconstruction. Also the absence of the Cilician cities, Adaniya and Kummanni, in a list including Haššuwa and

⁵⁷ Adad of Aleppo occurs, in a difficult context, in the text of Puhanu (KBo 3. 40 Rev. 8'). See H. Otten, "Aitiologische Erzählung von der Überquerung des Taurus", *ZA* 55 (1963), pp. 156-168; O. Soysal, "KUB XXXI 4 + KBo III 41 und 40 (Die Puhanu-Chronik), zum Thronstreit Hattušili's I", *Hethitica* 7 [1987], p. 176; S. de Martino, F. Imparati, "More on the So-Called 'Puḫanu Chronicle'", in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr.*, pp. 253-263. In a recent study on this document A. Gilan, "Der Puḫānu-Text - Theologischer Streit und politische Opposition in der althethitischen Literatur", *AoF* 31 (2004), pp. 263-296, has probably found the key to its understanding, when he points to the presence of Adad of Aleppo in Hatti and mentions the statue of the same god brought by Hattušili from Haššuwa. Is the Puhanu text favourable to the introduction of this god in Hatti, as proposed by Gilan? We read (KBo 3. 40, 8') "Adad of Aleppo flees from us (*anzidaz*, i.e. the Hittites)"; I wonder whether the same Adad could be the enemy "brought to Arinna" (*Arinna kuin pehutetten uni hurtallimman*) of the god appearing in the text as a man with a basket, a bull and, at the end, as the Sun God; the mythical atmosphere of this text could simply reveal the opposition against the presence of a statue of Adad of Aleppo in the temple of Arinna, after the beginning of the war against Aleppo. The imperial ideas of Hattušili had of course a theological justification and the rivalry with the Great Kingdom of Aleppo was considered by the Hittite propaganda as a war against an unfaithful vassal. The presence of a statue of this god in Haššuwa means that the spreading of his cult was favoured by the king of Aleppo in the context of his policy towards vassals and allies. On Adad (or Teššup) of Aleppo and his later importance in the Hittite cult, in Hattuša and in other towns: del Monte, *RGTC* 6, pp. 72-74; Haas, *Geschichte*, pp. 553-554, *passim*; D. Schwemer, *Wettergottgestalten*. Wiesbaden 2001, pp. 211-237; M. Popko, "Zum Tempel des Teššup von Ḫalap in Ḫattuša", *AoF* 29 (2002), pp. 73-80.

Halab requires an explanation. It is hard to believe that any political or military engagement in northern Syria could have been sustained without the control of the Cilician Plain and, anyway, we know that at least Kummanni still existed and was under control in the period described in the "History of Zalpa" and is mentioned along with Adaniya and Arušna in a fragment belonging to an old Hittite historical text⁵⁸. I think that a solution of this problem can be found, if we consider that these territories could have been included in one of the countries occurring in the list; a kingdom which is likely to correspond to what we are looking for is of course Haššuwa. If Anumherwa was not only the name of the king who wrote to Waršama but also a dynastic name of the kingdom of Haššuwa, recurring in the context of the Hittite wars of the 17th century too⁵⁹, we could infer that this important kingdom, a sort of early Kizzuwadna, had been submitted before the beginning of Hattušili's reign (and had to be conquered again after the Hurrian invasion). As a consequence, if the order of the sections of the S.L. is, as I have tried to demonstrate here, an historical one, Cilicia should have been conquered by the Hittites before the Lycaonian plain and Paršhunta/Purušhanda, collapsed only when all the principal access roads to its territories were already in Hittite hands, cutting it out from any commercial relation with Syria and any military help from this side. But still another solution is possible and looks even better: Cilicia could have been connected with the country of Purušhanda⁶⁰, giving to this kingdom the control of the Cilician Gates, inherited then, after its conquest, by the Hittites; the Gates would have been necessary to them, particularly after the change of Aleppo's orientation towards Hatti.

3.4 The "Sacrifice List" as a new evidence for Labarna's history

During his reign Labarna I was able to increase the initial territory, which Telipinu still considered small. Conquests in Arzawa under this king are likely to be mentioned in the Alakšandu treaty⁶¹. As shown by the first steps of Hattušili's military activity, the kingdom of Labarna had reached the frontiers of Alalah and Uršu. As a matter of fact, if we give an historical value to the S.L., we can assume from it that the borderland of Arzawa to the west and a stretch of land between the Upper Country and the Euphrates were added during Labarna's kingdom. Why then Halap appears in the S.L.? One may guess, as I have proposed above, that the king of Halab, concerned by the Hurrian raids, sought the help of Labarna,

⁵⁸ Forlanini, *Or* 73, p. 386, note 64.

⁵⁹ Forlanini, *o.c.*, p. 371, note 28.

⁶⁰ In the fragment KBo 3. 54, pertaining to a long early Hittite historical composition, attributed to Hattušili I, the surviving part of lines 11'-17 (CTH 13 III 2"-7: S. de Martino, *Annali e res gestae antico ittiti*. StMed 12. Pavia 2003, pp. 142-145) seems to refer to the revolt of the Man of Purušhanda; among the place names of a list immediately following the mention of this prince we find Arimatta and Šinuwanta in the Lycaonian Plateau, in the 13th century placed on the north-western (the former) and the south-eastern (the latter) border of Tarhuntašša, together with Zunnahara, a religious centre of the Cilician plain to the east of Adana. It is then possible that Zunnahara and the Cilician plain were previously part of the independent kingdom of Purušhanda and rebelled together with it against the new Hittite power.

⁶¹ Of course the mention in Alakšandu's treaty of the forefather Labarna, who fought and submitted Arzawa and Wiluša, could refer also to Hattušili I, or even to both kings.

who then considered him a tributary⁶². The war of Hattušili I against Haššuwa and Halap were wars of conquest, but they had anyway to be justified and we read that the “men” of Haššuwa and Halap had rejected “the father’s word”, therefore they had to be destroyed⁶³; these are not the words of Muršili I avenging his father, but of Hattušili I referring to a previous submission (real or alleged) of the two kings to Labarna. Anyway, after the big Hurrian invasion and the subsequent general Anatolian uprising of Hattušili’s third year, all the country had to be reconquered, starting from the heart of the kingdom, from Nenašša, Ulma, Šallahšuwa and Šanahuitta. No wonder then that the king had to start over again his Syrian war! The necessity of controlling the border with Syria also through the Taurus passes brought to the conquest of the country of Purušhanda, that was divided between the sons of Labarna, as attested by Telebinu. To this very time seems to refer the “Chronicle of Puhanu” with the god, in the form of a bull, digging the mountain and the men sent to Halab. The “Siege of Uršu” of CTH 7 seems not to be related to the raid of Hattušili’s second year through the territory of this kingdom, but to a previous war against Halap and the Hurrians; since the siege was not possible without the control of Haššuwa, we can place this event in the second part of Labarna’s reign. That time Yamhad had already changed side and was allied with the Hurrians. The campaign was probably not successful and had to be resumed as soon as Hattušili took the power; CTH 7 witnesses how the Hittite power was concerned with this failure and shows a clear disapproval of the behaviour of the Hittite generals and along with it of the king himself, who is leading the siege from the Hittite town of Luhuzziya and is not able to understand what really happens⁶⁴. The “Tale of the Cannibals” reports on a Hittite expedition against the upper Mesopotamian kingdom of Ilanzura; the mention of another enemy, a king bearing the name of Zuppa, occurring elsewhere only in the “Siege of Uršu” shows that the two documents are connected with the same period⁶⁵. But in the Tale of the Cannibals the Hittites are friendly towards the

⁶² The appearance of the Hurrian, which “*nawi uizzi*” in the composition of Puhanu, where we find the bull opening the mountains and Hittite messengers sent to Aleppo, could have to do with this first contact between the new Anatolian state and the kingdom of Yamhad after the first deep Hurrian forays into Anatolia.

⁶³ CTH 5, KBo 3. 27 Obv. 28-31 : “The man of Zalpa (Zalpumaš) rejected the word of the father, here is this Zalpa, the man of Haššuwa rejected the word of the father, here is this Haššuwa but also the man of Halab rejected the word of the father and Halab will perish”. Since Zalp(uw)a was defeated during Labarna’s years, the “father” can only be Labarna and the author Hattušili I, as generally, recognised, because he is presenting Muršili as his successor, this text points to a “treason” of Aleppo’s king in the time of Labarna. For the writer Aleppo is still unpunished.

⁶⁴ That is not so strange if we consider that Hattušili I in his «Annals» does not refer his succession to Labarna I but describes himself as the son of Tawananna’s brother. The “Siege of Uršu” seems to charge members of the “southern” (of the Hittite court in Hurma) élite of Labarna’s reign (Šanda has a Luwian name, the name of Mennaniya is related to the frequent old Assyrian name Mennanum, etc.), exactly as the Palace Chronicle does, perhaps in order to justify their substitution with members of the nobility preferred by Hattušili.

⁶⁵ On this text (KBo 3. 60 = CTH 17) and on its previous treatments see the historical analysis of de Martino, “The Military Exploits of the Hittite King Hattušili I in Lands Situated between the Upper Euphrates and the Upper Tigris”, in *Silva Anatolica. Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko*, pp. 77-85. I agree with his interpretation of the text, that describes events almost contemporary with

ambassadors of Halab, met during the expedition; which could mean that this episode preceded the war against Uršu, when Halab was already an enemy of the Hittites⁶⁶.

We know from the "History of Zalpa" that Labarna crushed the rebellion of northern Zalpuwa, while his adopted son, the prince of Hattuša Hattušili, refrained from taking part in the final operations, perhaps in order to avoid the contempt of the Hattian party inside the nobility. The succession of Hattušili to the throne with the dynastic name of Labarna II met apparently no opposition, since he was able to organize immediately important campaigns against the vassals of Halab, whose king, as said above, had already in the time of Labarna shifted from the alliance with Hatti to that with the Hurrians, and against Arzawa. But, as soon as his absence in the western countries gave the Hurrians the occasion of invading Anatolia from the east, almost all the kingdom rebelled, particularly the towns administered by the sons of Labarna I, showing that the compromise between the two branches of the "Great Family", on which the unity of the kingdom was based, remained still very fragile.

With the beginning of the reign of Hattušili I copies of the records in the archive of Hurma were brought to Hattuša and some ritual was used for the new national shrine of Zippalanda; the ties between the two cities persisted also later on.

3.5 The archives of Hurma. A future discovery?

Central Anatolia is a polycentric region. At the beginning of the second millennium three main poles Puruṣhanda, Kaneš and Hatti were contending for the leadership. Did they represent already the ethno-linguistic division between Luwians, Nesites and Hattians? In the second half of the 20th century Kaneš became the main trade centre of inner Anatolia but was destroyed a first time, towards the end of the following century, by the northern Hattian kingdom of Zalpuwa; it seems that its place was temporarily taken by Haršamna, whose king Hurmeli must have been for some years the overlord of the previous capital city. Kaneš was rebuilt and the *rabi simmiltim* of Hurmeli, Harpatiwa, issued there some *iqqâti* documents; some years later, a political change happened and we see its new king, Inar, trying to destroy the power of Haršamna. He was probably successful, since Haršamna disappeared from the

those of KBo 1. 11 (CTH 7); only I place the latter in a time preceding the beginning of Hattušili's sole reign (see Forlanini, *Or* 73, pp. 384-385). As for the geographical reconstruction of the expedition see Forlanini, "Dall'Alto Habur alle montagne dell'Anatolia nel II millennio a.C. Note sulla geografia storica di una regione poco conosciuta", in Amurru 3. *Nomades et sédentaires dans le Proche-Orient ancien*, C. Nicolle ed., CCRAI 46 (2000). Paris (2004), p. 407 (note 12) and "Étapes et itinéraires entre Aššur et l'Anatolie des marchands paléo-assyriens: Nouveaux documents et nouveaux problèmes", to appear soon in KASKAL; if Ukupya ("the place of the saddle") occurs only here, Zu[rā?] is probably the Šurra near Nihriya of Yašmah-Addu's expedition in Zalmaqum, Šudâ is the well known town and kingdom in Zamaqu and the later provincial centre of Mittani (near modern Viranşehir), Nuhayâna is the Luhayân of the archives of Mari on the frontier between Zalmaqum and Idamarāš, whereas Ilanzura (Ilânšurâ), the main enemy of the Hittites, is one of the capitals of eastern Idamarāš, not far from Tell Leylan.

⁶⁶ KBo 3. 60, III 5'-7: DUMU^{MEŠ} ŠI-IP-RI-ŠU ŠA LUGAL^{URU} Ha-la-a[p] e-ep-pu-en šu-uš a-ap-pa^{URU} Hal-pa^{KI} tar-nu-en (...). The friendly attitude of the Hittites is in contrast with the presence of Aleppo's ambassadors at the court of Zuppa, an enemy of the Hittites.

history and survived only as a village. In the second half of the 18th century, Anitta of Kuššar became, after his father Pithana had eliminated the previous dynasty, the overlord of Kaneš and tried to get the hegemony on Central Anatolia.

The city had after him a last king, Zuzzu, perhaps of Hurrian origin; we have no evidence on the end of his reign, but we may suppose that, after a dynastic war or a Hurrian invasion, Kaneš lost forever its power. An alliance between the kings of Zalpuwa and the “legitimist” nobility of Kaneš resulted in a new political power, probably defined since then as Hatti, whose centre shifted, under Huzziya I, from Zalpuwa to Šanahuitta, under Labarna I, to Hurma and, at the end, with Hattušili I/Labarna II to Hattuš(a). But we know that also the residence of the later Hittite kings changed many times: the father of Šuppiluliuma resided in Šabinuwa and, when central Hatti was devastated by the Kaška-tribes, in Šamuha; after three generations Muwattalli II displaced his capital to Tarhundašša, but his son Muršili III and his brother Hattušili, a former king in Hakmiš, had again their seat in Hattuša. In the next generation Kurunda, king of Tarhundašša, attempted and failed to become great king, but, probably during the reign of his adversary Šuppiluliuma II, Hattuša was definitively abandoned and the kings went to some other city in the South.

Among all these cities, Hurma, possible place of origin of Hurmeli and capital of Labarna I, but anyway surviving as an important religious centre and district capital all through the Hittite history, should have possessed palaces and archives. An evidence that, once found, could help us to understand the “dark age” of the transition from the *kârum*-times to the early Hittite empire. It would be worth while surveying the basin of the Zamantı Su and the surrounding regions in search of old Hurma⁶⁷.

⁶⁷ The most likely position for Hurma is near the strategic point of Pınarbaşı, where the road of the old Assyrian merchants travelling from northern Mesopotamia to Kaneš crossed the road directed along the Zamantı towards the Uzun Yayla, Šarešša (Kuşaklı), Šamuha (probably Kayalıpınar) and Karahna (probably Sulusaray). Its traditional name could have been hidden by the new Hellenistic name of Ariaratheia (from the name a Cappadocian king), and its recent Ottoman name, Aziziye, comes again from the name of a ruler (see Hild and Restle, *Kappadokien*, 151). A connection with the modern name Hurman, of a river and a Kale, has less chances, since the river name comes from Byz. Hermonas and that of the castle from a Byz. Aromane (see Hild and Restle, *o.c.*, p. 153, p. 190); we would rather expect a name with an initial K (like in the case of class. Kybistra for hitt. Hubišna). Turkish place names in the Zamantı basin, like Koramaz or Göreme (namesake of the famous touristic centre Göreme near Nevşehir, Korama in the third century A.D.), could even be a survival of the regional name Hur(ra)ma.

