

gott appelliert wird, dass er die Wünschen (ŠÀ-aš-šaš [= kardīiaššaš] arnuški) des Königs, der Königin und der Prinzen von Hatti und Kizzuwatna erfüllt.

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The Kings of Kaniš*

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1. The iqqâti-documents

Up to now only 7 or 8 kings of Kaniš are known to us; if we do not consider the *Letter of Anum-herwa* (mentioning Inar and Warša/uma) and ICK I 178 (mentioning Labarša), they appear only in the so-called *iqqâti* (< *ina qâti*)-documents, less than 20 tablets (two more come from Alişar), all pertaining to the Ib period, among the thousands found in Kültepe. Such documents were certified by the king (*rubâ'um*) and a high official, the *rabi simmiltim* (literally the "chief of the stairway"), whose names are mentioned at the end, and usually contain several names of Kaniš' citizens, some of them with title or patronymic. They have been published and analysed mainly by V. Donbaz¹.

The chronological investigations of the last years, based on new evidence now available from North-Mesopotamian places, have achieved a significant improvement in our knowledge of the chronology and duration of the II and Ib periods. There is a trend towards reducing to a few years the destruction interval between the two periods and extending Ib far beyond the death of Hammurabi².

As a consequence the last kings of Kaniš Ib should be placed in the second half of the XVIII century B.C., i.e. only two or three generations before Hattušili I of Hatti, and we are allowed to hope that light will be cast some day on the transition from the Kaniš Kingdom to the Hittite Empire.

As a first step in this direction we have to try to fix the chronological sequence of the kings of Kaniš. It seems to me that, although it is too early yet to achieve final results, we have at least to propose and discuss hypothesis. This is the aim of the present article.

* A few weeks after my lecture in Pavia I could read Donbaz, 1993. I was compelled by the new textual evidence to modify somehow (the position of Anitta) my hypothesis in this article.

¹ On the *iqqâti*-tablets: Garelli, 1963, 61 ff.; Orlin, 1970, 107-108; Landsberger *apud* T. Özgüç, 1986, 152-153; Donbaz, 1986, 152-153; 1990, 433-451. New texts: Matouš, 1986; Donbaz, 1989, 75-98; 1993, 131-154.

² General chronological reconstructions: Veenhof, 1985; Whiting, 1990.

2. King Hurmeli

Kt n/k 32³ is the envelope of an important act concerning the division of properties among the Assyrian Edin-Aššur son of Ahiya<y>a and the Anatolians Tamuriya and Šalku(w)ata sons of Kurkura. The text, certified *iqqâti* of king Inar and his *rabi simmiltim* Šamnuman, mentions goods divided *iqqâti* of king Hurmeli and the *rabi simmiltim* Halkiašu, in Kaniš or in Mâma, and goods divided *iqqâti* of Inar and Šamnuman. There is therefore reference to two previous documents, the older being of course the one certified by Hurmeli, at a time where Šalkuwata was still living, whereas in the time of Inar and our existing act he was dead and an unnamed son of him was involved. Donbaz inferred, on the contrary, that Inar and Hurmeli were contemporary kings⁴, one of Kaniš, the other of Mâma; I believe that Kt n/k 32 does not require such an explanation (unless demonstrated by unpublished documents); besides I can add further evidence to support my interpretation:

- the certification *iqqâti* of king and *rabi simmiltim* is known only in Kaniš, I do not expect a similar procedure in Mâma, a centre far from Kaniš in Hurrian/Luwian territory;
- Hurmeli is a typical Hittite name based on a toponym, Hur(ra)ma, a town very close to, and probably controlled by, Kaniš⁵;
- Harpatiwa, the *rabi simmiltim* of Hurmeli, appears alone in other *iqqâti*-documents in Kaniš and Alişar, with or without the title⁶ and there is no reason to suppose that two functionaries had the same name and title in Kaniš and Mâma.

Hurmeli therefore should have been a predecessor of Inar; between them we could put a period where Harpatiwa was acting alone: perhaps the king died without heir or Harpatiwa seized the power through a *coup d'état*⁷.

³ Edition: Donbaz, 1989, 75-77. Besides: T. Özgüç, 1986, 19; Donbaz, 1986, 153.

⁴ Donbaz, 1989, 87. The words *lû ina Mâma lû ina Kaniš* (Rev. 20 ff.), as the following pairs of items co-ordinated by *lû... lû...*, refer to the contract made in the hand of Hurmeli; the certification of Inar is remembered only in the following sentence.

⁵ On Hurma and its location in the Zamantı Su valley: Forlanini, 1992, 175 (with reference to Nashef). The name could have survived until the XVI Century A.C., because the *Defter-i mufasssal-ı livâ-i Maraş*, an ottoman register of the Maraş province dated 1563 (see: Yinanç, 1988, 687, 691) mentions a village of Göreme in the *kaza* of *Zamantu*. This Turkish name could come, as his famous homonym in the vicinity of Ürgüp, from a byz. *Korama.

⁶ OIP 27, 53, 14; Kt r/k 19, 21 (Donbaz, 1989, 80-81). In the first text one of the parties is Kikaršan, the priest of Higiša, who appears also in Kt n/k 32 as a contemporary of both Hurmeli and Inar.

⁷ Donbaz, 1989, 87, thinks that he was the minister of the king of Mâma and supposes he could have been an usurper in Kaniš, after his occupation of Alişar. This reconstruction is much more difficult to be defended: Harpatiwa should then have been a great personality like Anitta or Anum-herwa! Anyway OIP 27, 53 shows that the Konak Su valley was under Kaniš rule at the beginning of the Ib period, perhaps after the revolt of Amkuwa, Šinahutu and Kapitra against Hattuš, for which see Larsen, *JCS* 24 (1972), 100-101; T.R. Bryce, *AoF* 12, 1985, 259 ff.

Since we have no contemporary *iqqâti*-documents of Hurmeli, we could also suppose that he was a king of Kaniš II – and the destruction of this level could have happened in the time of Harpatiwa – or that he ruled the city at the very beginning of Kültepe Ib.

3. The chronology of Anum-herwa

King Anum-herwa of Mâma is well known from his letter written to Waršama of Kaniš, the son of Inar, from two fragments of an Old-Hittite mythical/historical text from Boğazköy and from the annals of the late Assyrian king Šalmaneser III, who saw in 858 B.C. an inscription of this ancient king on Mount Adalur⁸. We know from the Mari texts of an Aniš-hurpi/Anu-ḫarwi king of Zalwar and of Haššum, contemporary of Zimrilim of Mari, and in the past I have supported the identity of the two kings through the proposal that Mâma (mentioned only in Old Assyrian texts) and Haššum (only Old Babylonian and hittite) were one and the same town⁹. My proposal has been rejected by Nashef¹⁰ who observed that Haššum appears also in two unpublished texts from Kültepe; but one of them has recently been published by Hecker¹¹, who showed that we have to do here with an Old Babylonian text from North Syria: once Haššum appears in a Kültepe text, this turns out to be the first syrian text ever found in Kültepe! In the meantime a lot of texts from Mari have been published, but Mâma does not yet occur there.

M. Guichard, *N.A.B.U.* 1993/2, 46-47, collects all the available mentions of Anum-herwa in the Mari texts and shows that he appears for the first time as king of Zalwar¹² in the 4th year of Zimrilim and again with this title in the 5th, then in the 7th and 8th with the title of king of Haššum; furthermore he infers that the succession of the two titles is due to the conquest of Haššum in the year Zimrilim 7th and to the greater importance of this second kingdom. We can also outline the beginning of Anum-herwa's career, from a secondary vassal of Yarimlim of Yamḫad to a king of first rank¹³. The 7th year of Zimrilim (MU *Zimrilim ALAM Hatta ušelû*) corresponds, following conventionally the middle chronology, to 1767 B.C.; since Anum-herwa of Mâma has been a contemporary of Waršama and perhaps of his father Inar¹⁴, we have to check the identity with Anu-ḫarwi of Haššum through a chronological examination of the Ib period.

⁸ Balkan, 1957.

⁹ Forlanini, 1985, 54-55.

¹⁰ Nashef, 1991, s. v.

¹¹ Hecker, 1992.

¹² For Zalwar/Zaruar I have proposed (*o.c.*) the archaeological place of Tilmen Hüyük and have equated it with the town of Zalbar of the akkadian version of the (short) Annals of Hattušili I. The hittite version of the same text renders this toponym as Zalpa and we can explain it as a confusion with northern Zalpa due to scribal ignorance.

¹³ See e.g. the letter of Šamši-adad to his son Yasmah-Adad ARM I 24 where the kings of Haššu, Ursu and Karkamiš are acting as allies of Šamši-Adad against Šumu-Ebuḫ of Yamḫad, or the position of the king of Haššu in the texts from Hattušili's I time.

¹⁴ In his letter to Waršama (29 ff., Balkan 1957, 8) Anum-herwa states: "While your father Inar was besieging for nine years the city of Harsamna, did my land invade your

4. The chronological position of Kârum II and Ib

H. Sever, 1992, lists new *limû* from unpublished Cappadocian tablets both of level II and Ib; they are very useful to update previous studies based on the Old Assyrian chronicle from Mari¹⁵. It is now likely that the end of Kârum II follows at least the *limum* A 17 of the Chronicle (from A7 to 12 all the eponyms find a correspondent in eponyms' clusters from *Sammelmemoirandums* found in Kültepe, then, from 13 to 18, with other K II eponyms not likely to have had namesakes), that means more than 12 years before the beginning of Šamši-adad reign; we can compare almost all the following names down to Šu-bêli, the year before the accession of Šamši-adad (as king of his clan, not yet of Aššur), with similar names from K II texts, but since they are in earlier positions in Larsen's list or are common names, homonymy can not be excluded¹⁶. As a consequence I place the end of K II between 1845 and 1831 B.C. Following the table of the *limû* of Šamši-adad given by Whiting¹⁷, we find a sure *limum* of Karum Ib at the 29th place (Ahiyaya son of Takiki), whereas the identity of N. 4, Dadaya, with Dadia of K Ib or of N. 21, Ibni-adad, with an Ibni-adad of K Ib are again subject to doubt because of the frequency of such names and the lack of patronymic. Since Whiting places the death of Šamši-adad (1776 B.C.) in his 57th regnal year, the beginning of Kârum Ib must antedate 1804 B.C. and precede by more than 37 years the conquest of Haššum by Anu-ḫarwi. This figure however could be reduced according to J-M. Durand's (1990, 274-275) observations.

As we can see, there is place for the reign of Ḫurmeli, the period of Ḫarpatiwa and a part of the reign of Inar, or even his total reign, and the beginning of Waršama. Now I reach the main problem of this research: where must be placed

land (...)?" Why does he not write "(...) did I invade your land?" if he was already king of Mâma during the reign of Inar? On the other side, why is he using this episode as a positive example, if the king of Mâma at that time was a member of the old dynasty deposed by him?

¹⁵ To complete the list see: Balkan, 1955, 100 and Donbaz, 1990, 436.

¹⁶ It is tempting to show how good has been the reconstruction of the K II eponyms' sequence made by Larsen, 1976, 381, by comparing the year numbers of the Old Assyrian Chronicle from Mari (here OC) with the sequence number of Larsen (here L); the additions from Sever's list are preceded by S, that from Balkan list (1955, 80 ff.) by B and that from Matouš list (*ArOr* 46, 1978, 219 ff.) by M (no chronological sequence, only alphabetical order!): *Masiam-ili* (OC.A.7 = L.32), *Idi-aḫu* (OC.A.8 = L.28), *Samânum* (OC.A.9=L.38?), *Ili-ennam* (OC.A.10), *Ennam-Anum* (OC.A.11 = L.34), *Ennam-Aššur* (OC.A.12 = L.36), *Ḫanna-Narim* (OC.A.13 = S.12 and Ališar), *Dadiya* (OC.A.14 = B.19), *Kapatiya* (OC.A.15 = M.39a = S.20), *Isme-Aššur* (OC.A.16 = S.18), *Aššur-mutabbil* (OC.A.17 = S.7), *Šu-nirah* (OC.A.18 = B.60), *Idi-abum* (OC.A.19 a namesake of B.29 = L.10?), *Ili-dan* (OC.A.20 a namesake of B.35 = L.14 ?), *Aššur-imitti* (OC.A.21, different from L.29 (B.13), probably = B.14), *[.]zaya* (?) (OC.A.22), *[Ata]naḫ* (?) (OC.A.23), ..., *Aššur-malik* (OC.B.1, different from L.27), *Daniya* (OC.B.2 = Dan-Ea, B.20?), *Ennam-Sin* (OC.B.3, different from L.22/B.27 but possibly = B.25 or B.26), *Aššur-balaṭi* (OC.B.4, see B.9), *Ennam-Aššur* (II) (OC.B.5, not = L.36/B.23), *Itūr-Aššur* (OC.B.6), *Šu-bêli* (OC.B.7 = B.55?).

¹⁷ 1990, 211 (fig.2).

the reigns of Pithana and Anitta? In order to answer this question we have to check the total length of the period.

Among the 28 regnal years of Šamši-adad after the eponym Ahiyaya only 4 or 6 are probably attested at K Ib; the remaining 26-28 known eponyms of level Ib must be placed after his death and, even if we consider that they must be less scanty when we approach the end of the period, so that the percentage of the surviving eponyms could reach a value of e.g. one third¹⁸, we are obliged to extend the period Ib toward the end of the XVIII century.

5. The position of Anitta into the Ib period

If we start from the above working hypothesis, we see at first glance that a position of Pithana and Anitta before Ḫurmeli¹⁹ presents difficulties, as for example: we have no documents of Ḫurmeli but some of Anitta and one of Pithana (we should have an increasing number of documents for kings closer to the end of the period); since Pithana did not take Kaniš immediately after the destruction of K II²⁰, we should place in a little more than 37 years at least 6 entire or partial regnal periods (and one, that of Anitta, should not have been too short), and that seems again to be difficult.

On the other side it is remarkable that the only authorities mentioned in the texts of Ališar are Anitta and Ḫarpatiwa, it could *a priori* be a sign of their chronological proximity; moreover the eponyms known from Ališar seem to be quite old (between K II, as for *Ḫanna-narum*, and the reign of Šamši-adad, as for *Ikupia*) and in this case Anitta should precede Ḫurmeli and Inar; but these arguments are not sufficiently strong and again other evidence points in the opposite direction.

If we consider for instance the *limû* of Boğazköy, it comes out to be very difficult to find them among those of level K II or of the Old Assyrian Chronicle of

¹⁸ According to J.Eidem, *RA* 85, 1991, 114 ff., the eponyms from Tell Leilan must be dated mainly at 1762-1728, but only 2 or 3 out of 12 correspond to *limû* of K Ib (*Aššur-taklaku*, *Pilaḫ-Sin* and perhaps *Aššur-kašid*) and the three dated about 1750 (*Ḫabil-kênu*, *Amer-Ištar*, *Ipiq-Ištar*) have not been found at Kültepe. That shows that the surviving eponyms of K Ib are only a minority of the total number at least before 1728. For a list of the Ib eponyms see Balkan, 1955, 100; L. Matouš, *ArOr* 46, 1978, 217 ff.; Veenhof 1985, 198; Sever, 1992, 138-13; the total number of 32 could be increased, since Landsberger already in 1967 affirmed on the basis of unpublished texts that the Ib eponyms were about 40.

¹⁹ Most students follow now Balkan, 1957, 38 ff., and share the view that the Kuššar dynasty came after Inar and Waršama to the throne of Kaniš: see Donbaz, 1989, 87 ff. I have tried to propose (1985, 56) a sequence where Pithana and Anitta follow the reconstruction of Kaniš (beginning of Ib) after the destruction of level II due probably to Uḫna of Zalpuwa, since Anitta claimed to be the avenger of Kaniš against Zalpuwa. In my lecture I still preferred this solution, because I considered that KBo XII 3 contained only one text and Anitta does not mention Anum-ḫerwa (see later).

²⁰ In Anitta's text the conquest of Kaniš by Pithana happened without destruction and can be considered only a change of dynasty. See Steiner, 1989, 471-472.

Mari²¹, then we had to put them after the end of the reign of Šamši-adad, when the list of surviving names becomes scanty. But, following the Hittite tradition, the kârum of Hattuša should have been destroyed together with the town by Anitta²² and, as a consequence, the reign of Anitta should be placed at least after that of Šamši-adad i.e., to avoid overlaps, after those of Inar and Waršama.

But there is perhaps a possibility of linking Anitta and Anum-herwa, through an episode of the ancient Hittite historical tradition.

6. The story of the "Hirtenjunge"

W. Helck (1983) made an attempt to investigate the link between the dynasty of Kuššar and Hattušili I through a strange and elusive Hittite fragment, KBo XII 3 (+//1132/u). Of the two partially surviving columns²³, the first describes the mythical birth in a temple from a woman, slave of Anitta, of a boy, who is hidden then outside the town in the meadows (in a certain way like Romulus and Remus!), the second contains part of the history of Anum-herwa fighting the town of Zalpa²⁴ and perhaps committing self-murder. Is it only one text or are we faced with a *Sammeltafel*? In the first case, and if the story follows a chronological order, Anum-herwa could be a contemporary of Anitta or follow him by a generation and then we should put Anitta before Inar and Waršama. In the second the above text is interesting but unuseful for our purpose. Of course the *Hirtenjunge* has a big chance to be the founder of the Hittite dynasty and is connected through this myth with the famous Anitta²⁵; the only thing we can affirm from the evidence of KBo XII 3 is that he followed Anitta by one generation at least. If we think of him as an historical person we should first inquire about the king under whose rule he has grown up.

7. Anitta and Zuzzu

An important part of the *iqqâti* documents are registered in the hands of king Zu-zu (hittite Zuzzu) and his *rabi simmiltim* Istar-ibra. This king has been placed

²¹ Recent treatments of this question: H. Otten, *IstM* 33, 1983, 44-45; Veenhof, 1985, 199-200.

²² See now Steiner, 1992. If the destruction must not be ascribed to Anitta himself, at least it must be attributed to a successor of him.

²³ On the columns' order see Otten, 1973, 65-66.

²⁴ The presence of Uršu in the fragment KUB XXXVI 99, surely part of this text (Helck, 1983, 273), shows that this Zalpa is "a" southern one. Is it Zalbar/Zalwar, perhaps rebelled against Anum-herwa, or another Zalpa in Commagene, that we know from the Old Assyrian texts? Or even is it an error of the Hittite copyist for Halpa? In this case we should have here a reminiscence of the struggle between the emerging power of Anum-herwa and the king of Yamhad, ruling the most powerful Amorite empire of the time, stretching from north Syria to north Mesopotamia.

²⁵ Hattušili I is known in the genealogies of the late Hittite kings as the "King of Kuššar" and from the colophon of his "Testament" we learn that he resided in Kuššar and there he proclaimed Muršili his successor: The Kuššar tradition seems to have been not so remote in his time.

at the end of K Ib and, as a matter of fact, the type of seals in his *iqqâti* tablets shows an evolution in comparison to other similar documents and also the names of witnesses or contractors are somehow new²⁶. Moreover, the minister of the king bears a pure Hurrian name ("Ištar is ruler") and we are induced to think both of the adventures of Anum-herwa and to the spreading of Hurrian population through Near East in the years after Hammurabi of Babylon.

But now we have the proof that the reigns of Anitta and Zuzzu followed each other, since Donbaz (1993, 139-140) has published Kt 89/k 371 certified by Anitta, where are mentioned two men, Aršula son of Kube-atal (again a Hurrian name) and Kammaliya priest of the Storm-God, who appears also in Kt j/k 625, a document certified by Zuzzu; the patronymic of Aršula and the function of Kammaliya show that here the homonymy is impossible. Since Anitta followed his father Piṭhana, it is more probable to put Zuzzu after Anitta.

But still a problem comes from the name of the *rabi simmiltim* of Anitta, here Peruwa-kammaliya but only Peruwa in OIP 27, 49²⁷; if they are not one and the same person, it is not necessary to suppose the existence of two Anittas, since they could have succeeded each other, and I can propose even a different solution: the *rabi simmiltim* could have been a town/palace governor and a local authority acting in each town (e.g. Peruwa in Ališar and Peruwa-kammaliya in Kaniš) in the name of the same king.

At the end let me note with Donbaz that Anitta is *rubâ'um* GAL in OIP 27, 49 and Zuzzu is LUGAL.GAL in Kt 89/k 369²⁸ and *rubâ'um* GAL in Kt j/k 625, no other ruler of Kaniš shares such a title. At the end Zuzzu is likely to have been the successor of Anitta and heir of his conquests.

8. From Zuzzu to Hattušili

The name Tutḫaliya, the same of famous kings of the Hittite dynasty, appears in the documents of the time of Zuzzu. Among the different individuals bearing this

²⁶ In Kt k/k 1 appears a seal impression with the two-headed eagle within a *guilloche* border, see N. Özgüç, 1968, 64, VII/C and T. Özgüç, 1986, Pl.44 1b; this tablet is certified by Zuzzu; such "heraldic eagles" were found also on bullae from the "Palace of Warshama", see N. Özgüç, 1989, 382-383. The king's name is attested in Nuzi, and is probably Hurrian, but we find him again as the name of a Hittite dignitary, a *uriyanni*, probably member of the Hittite king's family in the XV century B.C. in the text LS 2 (K.K. Riemschneider, *MIO* VI/3, 1958, 358-359) sealed by the hittite king Huṣziya II (H. Otten, *AOAW* 123, 1986, 21 ff., Abb.6). See also: Machteld J. Mellink, *AJA* 95, 1991, 129.

²⁷ Donbaz, 1993, 131-132.

²⁸ The title LUGAL is an exception in the OA texts and probably we are faced here with the beginning of the OB cultural influence in central Anatolia; but strangely here Zuzzu is Great King (of?) Alahzina. This name is hapax and Donbaz, 1993, 132-133, suggests it could be a geographical name, perhaps that of a *big country*. The only similar toponym we find in the Hittite texts is Alahzina, a shrine of the Storm God, mentioned with Hanhana only in the list of Muwatalli's Prayer (*CTH* 381 II 43), but we also could think of Liḫzina/Lahzan, originally the main shrine of the Hattian gods (see Forlanini, *ZA* 74, 1984, 260). Should Alahzina have something to do with some important forgotten kingdom, dynasty or tribe, or is it a title, a forerunner of Tabarna?

name we find a high minister of the king, a *rab šaqê* (hittite GAL LÚSAGI "great cup-bearer"), probably a member of the royal family²⁹. Since the name does not appear among dignitaries in the previous reigns, I connect him with the Kuššar dynasty. If we put Waršama at least 10 years after the conquest of Haššum/Māma by Anum-herwa (in 1767 B.C.) and assign conventionally 20 years to him, 10 to Piṭhana and 25 to Anitta, the beginning of Zuzzu's reign should be placed about 1700 B.C., i.e. about 100 years before the conquest of Babylon by Muṣili I in 1595, and the "great cup-bearer" Tuṭḫaliya should have lived two or three generations before Hattušili I.

Hattušili I writes about a "great-father", without giving his name³⁰, but a passage of an offering list for the Royal Ancestors could help us and cast some light into the "dark" transitional period. I mean KUB XI 7 I 10-12, where we read of a PU.LUGAL-ma, son of Tuṭḫaliya and father of Pawaḫtelmaḫ and La[barna³¹. The name Pawaḫtelmaḫ is known only in the form Papadilmaḫ as that of a man who was placed on the throne against the older Labarna (I), son of Hattušili's great-father; he could then be a brother of Labarna I and an uncle (or even the father!) of Hattušili I. PU.LUGAL-ma is not necessarily a late-Hittite dynastic name³², since we have met already composed Hurrian names among old dignitaries in Kaniš, as e.g. Ištar-ibra.

It is then possible that the great-grandfather of Hattušili was a Tuṭḫaliya. I can venture now a rough reconstruction of the Hittite kings' sequence going back into the past: Muṣili I (1610-1590), Hattušili I (1640-1610), Pawaḫtelmaḫ and Labarna I (1670-1640), PU.LUGAL-ma (1690-1670). Then our Tuṭḫaliya would have lived before 1690, i.e. exactly in the time of Zuzzu! The coincidence is striking and induces me to complete the hypothesis: Tuṭḫaliya could be also the boy, born in an obscure way at the court of Anitta, who then made a career at the court of Zuzzu, becoming the founder of a new kingdom, after the destruction of Kaniš.

The Edict of Anitta, if we accept Steiner's views about its composition, could have been completed by Zuzzu or Tuṭḫaliya after the destruction of Kaniš Ib due to the king of Šalatiwara³³. Elements of the ancient Babylonian cultural tradition and contacts with the Amorite kingdom of Yamḫad are already perceivable at the end of K Ib³⁴ and will become dominant in the following century with the interrup-

²⁹ Kt j/k 625, 2-3 (Donbaz, 1989, 84-85). On the office of the *rab šaqê* see Klinger, 1992, 188-189. Another witness of this document, Piṭhana the *rabi qaqqidi*, bears the name of the founder of the Kuššar Dynasty and could then be a member of the same. A Tuṭḫaliya appears also in Kt 89/k 379 (Donbaz, 1993, 137-138), where the king's name is broken; the reconstruction of Donbaz, who reads [Piṭhan]a, is not justified by the prosopographical elements of the text, these point to Zuzzu and then I prefer to read [A-ni-]a. Other Tuṭḫaliyas appear in Kt 89/k 369 and Kt 89/k 370, both *iqqâti* of Zuzzu.

³⁰ See Bin-Nun, 1975, 65 ff.

³¹ Bin-Nun, 1975, 55 n.17.

³² PU.LUGAL-ma is considered the personal name of Tuṭḫaliya IV: Imparati, 1992, 311 ff.

³³ Steiner, 1989.

³⁴ See on one side the "Syrian" text Kt k/k 4 (Hecker 1992), mentioned above, and on the other side the title of LUGAL.GAL bore only by Zuzzu.

tion of the assyrian commercial network, but they could go back to the time of Anum-herwa and of his empire connecting the two worlds, northern Syria and Central Anatolia. For that reason the first historical traditions of the Hittite state are related to Anum-herwa and to the Kuššar Dynasty, who went to power immediately after him.

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De l'ancien royaume au nouvel empire: les temps obscurs de la monarchie hittite

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Les problèmes posés par l'histoire du Hatti à l'époque du soi-disant "Moyen Royaume" ont été renouvelés: 1) par la redatation des "middle hittite texts" attribués, a tort, au dernier siècle de l'empire, qui ont été rendus aux prédécesseurs de Šuppiluliuma, et 2) par la publication de tablettes scellées aux noms des successeurs de Telepinu¹. Les résultats obtenus confirment la véracité des "listes d'offrandes", permettent d'adjoindre aux souverains cités par elles deux "usurpateurs", Tahurwaili et Muwatalli (Ier), et réfutent les hypothèses tendant à faire disparaître, ou à réduire au statut d'anti-rois ou de vassaux des rois de Hatti, des personnages ayant porté eux-mêmes les titres de LUGAL.GAL et de tabarna².

En Hatti les "dark ages" ont duré de la mort de Telepinu (ca 1530 av. J.C. en chronologie moyenne) à l'avènement de Šuppiluliuma (ca 1350 av. J.C.). Mais cette longue période a vu se succéder deux "siècles" bien différents, celui des rois du "Late Old Kingdom", fidèles aux traditions de l'Ancien Royaume (1530-1465 av. J.C. environ), puis celui des ancêtres de Šuppiluliuma, marqué par la montée des influences kizzuwatniennes et hourrites, qui est un "Early New Empire" (ca 1465-1350 av. J.C.).

I. Le siècle des "Rosettensiegeln"

La découverte de tablettes scellées aux noms des rois Alluwamna, Hantili (II) Tahurwaili, Zidanza, Huzziya (II) et Muwatalli (Ier) a abouti à la reconstitution d'une série complète de textes de donation (Landschenkungsurkunden). Les deux

¹ O. Carruba, *ZDMG*, suppl. I, 1969, 226-249; H. Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung und Datierung des Madduwatta-Textes*, StBot 11, 1969; Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Records of the Early Hittite Empire*, Istanbul 1970; J. Klinger, E. Neu, *Hethitica* 10, 1990, 135-160 ("middle hittite texts"); H. Otten, *Das hethitische Königshaus im 15. Jahrh. v. Chr.*, ÖAWSAphK 123, Vienne 1987, 21-34; P. Neve, H. Otten, *AA*, 1991, 299-348 (sceaux et LS); H. Otten, *Zu einigen Neufunden hethitischer Königssiegel*, Abhand. der Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Kl., Akad. der Wiss. und der Lit. Mainz, Stuttgart 1993, Nr. 13, 5-44, pp. 10-13 (Šuppiluliuma I.); pp. 14-20 (Arnuwanda I.)

² M.C. Astour, *Hittite History and Absolute Chronology*, SIMA 73, Göteborg 1989.