



The excavated Karum-area of Kültepe in 2006. Photo by courtesy of F. Kulakoğlu.

THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ANATOLIA AND THE TRANSITION FROM THE KĀRUM-PERIOD TO THE EARLY HITTITE EMPIRE

Massimo Forlanini

The last years have brought new evidence about the Old Assyrian Colony Period in Anatolia (from the end of the twentieth to the end of the eighteenth century BC): a considerable number of cuneiform tablets from the Turkish excavations of Kültepe has been published recently, among them documents of new types, like the History of Sargon, the *līmu*-lists (presently limited to the Karum Level II period), and several treaties between the merchants' organisation and local rulers.¹ This new evidence broadens the horizon of our understanding of the history and chronology of the period; besides, the discovery of another eponym list (Kt 01/k 287) extending well into the Ib Period and a letter (Kt 01/k 217) mentioning king Ḫurmeli of Ḫarsamna and his relations with Aššur, Zalpa and king Šamši-Adad, have been announced by C. Günbattı.² In recent years, there has been intense research on different topics trying to organize the huge quantity of available data. This has resulted in a substantial improvement in our understanding of the Old Assyrian period.³ However, new data about itineraries of the Anatolian circuit, gleaned from the texts recently published, do not seem to improve or change dramatically our knowledge and a reconstruction of the Anatolian geography still depends heavily on Hittite documents.

Students of the Old Assyrian period must cope with difficult linguistic and philological problems and intricate researches concerning prosopography, chronology and economic relations; moreover, since the writing, the language and the nature of

¹ Editions of the "History of Sargon" found in Kültepe: Günbattı 1998, Van de Mieroop 2000, Dercksen 2006. For research on the relative chronology of the Old Assyrian Period and the sequence of the eponyms of the period Kültepe Karum Level II, see Veenhof 2003 and Kryszat 2004; Kryszat starts from this sequence in order to investigate the historical position of merchants and companies. Michel (2002) has proposed a new "lowered middle chronology" for the absolute chronology, using dendrochronological evidence from Acemhöyük. Günbattı (2004) has published the fragmentary treaties which the Assyrians concluded with Kaneš (Kt 00/k 6) and Ḫaḫḫum (Kt 00/k 10).

² Cf. Günbattı 2005: 450, and his paper at the *VI. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* ("Ḫattuša-Boğazköy. Das Hethiterreich im Spannungsfeld des Alten Orients"), Würzburg, 22-24 March, 2006. With the announced extension of the eponym list the total number of year-names will be 252, covering the Ib Period until 1723 BC.

³ See note 1 above. Students are particularly indebted to J.G. Dercksen for his reference works on the Old Assyrian copper trade (1996) and institutions (2004), and to C. Michel for her comprehensive updated treatment of the Old Assyrian period, with the translation of 400 texts (2001, here referred as CMK followed by text number) and for her Old Assyrian Bibliography (2003), an indispensable tool for any future research. A fundamental starting point for further historical and geographical research on the eighteenth century is offered by Dercksen (2001).

the documents are quite different from those of the Hittite period, there is a lack of multidisciplinary approach to the transition phase between these two periods. It is evident that the different nature of the documents of the two phases and the short “dark” period between them do not affect the underlying continuity of the local history and of the geographical framework.

Therefore in the study of Anatolian geography I refrain from restricting myself to Hittite documents;⁴ moreover, the results gained by the specialists of the Old Assyrian period are indispensable not only for the geographical but also for the historical research on the early Hittite empire, particularly in order to understand its origin and first steps. Only by comparing the two groups of sources I can present a working theory on the origin of the early Hittite Empire, based on my reconstruction of the political geography of Central Anatolia in the transition period.⁵

The western circuit and the role of Šalatuwar/Šalatiwar(a) and Puruṣhattum/Puruṣhanda

The “western circuit” of the merchants’ network included, in the Kültepe Karum Level II period, the cities of Waḥšušana in the north and of Puruṣhattum in the south, connected via Ullama in the east and also by way of Šalatuwar (Hitt. Šalatiwara) in the west; Durḫumit was located at the junction of this area and Ḫatti.⁶ The position of Waḥšušana is confirmed by a Hittite historical fragment placing it in the region of Ka/iššiya, between modern Ankara and Haymana and by the probable identification of the neighbouring town Aliaša with Classical Aliassum.⁷ A recently published Old Assyrian itinerary shows that Šalatuwar was located across a river with a bridge for people travelling from both

⁴ Cf. Forlanini 1985, 1992, 1992a, 2005, 2006, which are mainly devoted to the Old Assyrian evidence. Since I do not aim at an exhaustive treatment of the matter here, I refer the reader to the pertinent volumes of G.F. del Monte and Kh. Nashef in the *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes* of the TAVO for the toponyms, and, as regards the bibliography of the Hittite and Old Assyrian texts, to the on-line *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte* of S. Košak and to Michel 2003.

⁵ Forlanini 2004, 2004a, forthcoming. According to this reconstruction the first phases of the Hittite state are analysed as the result of the alliance of two family branches, a southern (that of Labarna) and a northern one (that of Ḫuzziya I, grandfather of Ḫattušili I) and of their succession mechanism, based on interdynastic marriages and adoptions.

⁶ Kt 90/k 108 (Bayram/Çeçen 1995: 4-5, text no. 1): Aššur-malik has married [x]ḫamanager-niga, (l. 11): “And Aššur-malik shall not take (another) wife in Puruṣhattum, Waḥšušana, Durḫumit or Kaneš”.

⁷ Cf. Forlanini 2005. Ertem (1995) proposed to identify the site of Külhöyük with Šalatuwar, but since this town is likely to have been west of the Sangarius, Külhöyük rather was Ḫartana or even Waḥšušana, for which a larger mound may be expected.

directions, coming from Waḫšušana and from Puruṣḫattum.⁸ Since it must have been an important river, in such a dry countryside, one cannot avoid to think of the Sangarius. As a matter of fact the most probable interpretation of Anitta's *Res Gestae*, where the war against Šalatiwara is described, shows that its king retreated to the valley of the river Ḫulana when Anitta attacked him and burned his city.⁹ The Hittite texts connect the two rivers Šahiriya and Ḫulana; the latter has been, on the one hand, part of the northern kingdom of prince Ḫattušili during the reign of his brother Muwattalli II, but on the other hand was also involved in political events of north-western Anatolia in the thirteenth century BC.¹⁰ The only river having a valley whose geographic position and length satisfy all these conditions is the Porsuk Çay, the most important tributary of the Sangarius, having its sources north-west of Afyon and the confluence near Gordion.¹¹ Hence Šalatiwara must be sought on the left bank of the Sangarius near a crossing with a bridge and south of the confluence of the Porsuk Çay; the most suitable position is near Yağrı, where a late Hittite relief has been found.¹² Šalatiwara was less important than Waḫšušana in the period Kültepe Karum Level II, but during the eighteenth century, when Waḫšušana had disappeared from the texts, probably because it had lost its ruling position, Šalatuwar took its place and territory,¹³ so that, when Anitta conquered Ullama, the two kingdoms became adjacent and, as soon as the king of Neša had temporarily removed the threat of his northern adversaries (Ḫattuš and Zalpuwa), war broke out and Šalatiwara was defeated. The town was included in the Hittite state only during the reign of Labarna and afterwards disappears from our sources.¹⁴

⁸ Dercksen 1996: 12-13. Apart from Šalatuwar and Waḫšušana, AKT 3, 45, mentions a *mātum qerbītum*, where it was possible to purchase iron (Dercksen 2001: 58), probably an "Inner Land", outside of the normal commercial roads.

⁹ Cf. Forlanini 2004a: 376-377 n.38.

¹⁰ I refer to the Apology of Ḫattušili III (CTH 81 II 60; Otten 1981: 14-15) and to the letter KBo 16.22 (579/d), mentioning the king of Aḫḫiyawa and the elders of the Ḫulana river land (Güterbock 1936: 323-326).

¹¹ For this geographical reconstruction, see Forlanini 1977: 211-212.

¹² See Crowfoot 1899: 40-41, who wrote the name as Yarre. See the map of Turkey 1:200.000, Ankara, 51/Ic. Today the town is called Yağrı.

¹³ For the historical role of Waḫšušana and Šalatuwar, see Michel 2001: 96-97. KTP 14 (CMK no. 40), shows that the influence of Waḫšušana reached as far as Waṣḫaniya, immediately west of Kaneš. In the Level Ib period, when Waḫšušana disappears, Šalatuwar is frequently mentioned and its name is known as far as Northern Mesopotamia during Zimri-Lim's reign (see the letter of Šidqum-Lanasi from Karkamiš to Zimri-Lim, ARM 26, 542, 22: "one golden ring of *Ša-la-du-wa-ar*").

¹⁴ Apart from Anitta's *Res Gestae* and the list of KBo 4.13, we find Šalatiwara in KBo 27.31, mentioning Kaneš, the merchants and even the LÚ.MEŠ *ummiyān(ū)*; cf. Ünal 1995: 276, who places this fragment among a few Hittite texts showing reminiscences of the previous Karum period.

As for Ullama, both Hittite and Old Assyrian evidence place this town near Nenašša, the latter being on the southern bank of the Halys, probably near Nyssa.¹⁵ Ullama should have been more to the west, near the shores of the Salt Lake (Tuz Gölü), and a suitable archaeological site for this place is undoubtedly Varavan, 3 km south-east of Şereflikoçhisar, because of its size and the potsherds from the Karum and the early Hittite period found there.¹⁶

The central topic of the present section is the geographical position and the historical function of Puruṣhattum/Puruṣhanda. Dercksen remarked that this city, frequently mentioned in the Kültepe Karum Level II texts, is almost ignored in the following phase and he concluded that, since it did not disappear and kept its political importance in the following periods, the only explanation would be given by its exclusion from the merchant's circuits;¹⁷ these general considerations can influence the choice of the ancient archaeological site to be identified with Puruṣhanda. To better understand this problem, connected with the two alternative locations proposed for Puruṣhanda, we have to examine what we know of its history and geographical connections.

The legendary expedition of Sargon of Akkad against Puruṣhanda narrated in the *Šar tamḫāri* is not confirmed by the copies of Sargonic inscriptions and the History of Sargon found in Kaneš, moreover Puruṣhanda is not mentioned among the enemies of Narām-Sin.¹⁸ Nevertheless this tradition confirms the importance of the city at least at the beginning of the second millennium BC; an Old Assyrian document mentions a *rubā'um*

¹⁵ Nenašša is usually identified with Nanassos, a town of the Cappadocian *Strategia* Garsauritis, according to Ptol. Geogr. V 6, 13; this town is unfortunately unknown elsewhere and the *strategia* with its capital at Garsaura/Archelais (modern Aksaray) should not have reached the Halys, on whose bank we expect Nenašša. The historical importance of Nyssa, a well known bishopric near modern Armandalı on the Halys, and a suitable place for a town of the district of Durmitta point to this site, whose name could come from the old one modified by the influence of Greek place names like Nysae. Nenašša was situated between Waṣḫaniya and Waḫšušana according to TC 3, 10 (CMK no. 84). See also Sturm 2000: 492-504, on HS 2932 (showing once again the connection between Nenašša and Waṣḫaniya), with a review (pp. 500-502) of the Old Assyrian texts hitherto known mentioning Nenašša.

¹⁶ For Varavan, see Omura 1993: 373; this mound has the considerable diameter of 500 m and yields pottery typical of the Old Assyrian Colony Period. It is located only 3 km south-east of Şereflikoçhisar. Ullama had a common border with Puruṣhattum, and an agreement between the two towns (or the submission of Ullama) was considered important for a peaceful situation in Puruṣhattum according to KTS 2, 40 (Ka 1053), 27-30: *šulmum ina Puruṣhattim Ullama māmītam išti Puruṣhattim ilteqe*, "There is peace in Puruṣhattum. Ullama took an oath with Puruṣhattum."

¹⁷ Dercksen 2001: 61.

¹⁸ The composition "The Great Revolt against Naram-Sin" (edited in Westenholz 1997: 221-261) was also known at Hattuša (Güterbock 1938: 67-80). In the Hittite version only Hatti and Kaneš are included, as far as the names are preserved, among the Anatolian enemies (Garšaura of this list and Class. Garsaura/Archelais are unrelated). In the composition "Gula-AN and the seventeen Kings against Naram-Sin" (Westenholz 1997: 246-257, text no. 17) only Kaneš occurs, this time with Haḫḫum and Amurru; these lists contain mainly place names in eastern Mesopotamia, the Zagros region and even eastern Iran (Aratta).

rabi'um of Puruṣḫattum,¹⁹ another one shows that Puruṣḫattum was a country that, together with Ḫatti, could indicate the two main (opposite) travel directions from Waṣḫaniya.²⁰

Whereas Puruṣḫanda is ignored in the texts from Kültepe Karum Level Ib, the “Acts of Anitta” confirm its special position in the second half of the eighteenth century BC with the words: “When I went to fight against Puruṣḫanda, the ‘man’ of Puruṣḫanda came to pay homage to me and he brought me an iron throne and an iron sceptre as a gift. But when I came back to Neša I took with me the Man of Puruṣḫanda and whenever he goes into my throne room (var. “in Zalpa!”) he sits to the right before me”.²¹ This passage can only show that the king of Puruṣḫanda, although militarily weaker than Anitta, still enjoyed great prestige among the Anatolian rulers.

Labarna I conquered for good Puruṣḫanda and Telebinu refers to this event with the words: “[...] and the land was small but whatever campaign he went, he held the lands of the enemy in subjection by his might. (...) But when he returned from the field, each of his sons went to the various lands (to govern them): Ḫubišna, Tuwanuwa, Nenašša, Landa, Zallara, Parṣuḫanda, Lušna, these (where the) lands they governed (...)”.²² All these well-known Hittite towns are located around Puruṣḫanda, and, with the exception of Nenašša and Parṣuḫanda (= Puruṣḫanda) itself, never occur in Old Assyrian texts; in my opinion the Assyrian merchants in the Kültepe Karum Level II period already were not allowed to travel around through the kingdom of Puruṣḫanda and its dependencies²³ but they could reach only its capital (perhaps through controlled roads) and, in case of hostility, through the road of Ullama. The relations of the kingdom with Syrian powers like Mari and Karkamiš could explain why the freedom of movement of the Assyrians was so limited.²⁴ But Puruṣḫanda had a common border also with Waḫšušana, since the

¹⁹ TTC 27, 7 (CMK no. 82); cf. Garelli 1989: 149.

²⁰ MAH 10823 + Sch. 23 (Garelli, RA 59: 149-154, no. 23 = CMK no. 247), 50-51: *lu i-na Ḫa-tim lu i-na Pu-ru-uš-ḫa-tim*. A similar horizon is shown in CCT 5, 15b (CMK no. 89): 3-6: “The Prince of [Wa]ṣḫaniya came here. He prevented me from (going) to Puruṣḫattum and Ḫattum.” Thereupon the writer decided to go to Kaneš. From this text one can infer that Waṣḫaniya was situated between Ḫatti to the north and Puruṣḫattum to the south. On these passages see also Dercksen 2001: 58.

²¹ CTH 1, 73-79 (according to the edition of Carruba 2003). The size of the metal gifts of the king reminds me of the bronze vehicle found at Acemhöyük (N. Özgüç 2001).

²² According to the translation of Bryce (1982: 132-133).

²³ A possible exception could be Zidawariš/Zidamriš, a town mentioned in Kt n/k 175, where also Puruṣḫattum (Bayram 1997: 55) occurs. If we suppose that the two towns were in the same region we could compare the first one with Class. Sidamaria, probably modern Anbar between Karaman and Eregli (Belke 1984: 126); see also Zidabara (KUB 9.1 II 27). A man from Ṣaḫḫaniya, a town near Ḫurniya, between Konya and Aksaray (see Forlanini 1988: 137), is mentioned in Kt n/k 578 (Bayram 1973: 52), but of course that does not mean that Assyrians travelled to that town.

²⁴ In the letter ATHE 32 (CMK no. 70) sent by Amur-Ištar to Pūšu-kēn we read: (17-22) “Many Eblaites (*ib-lá-i-ú*) came here and a lot of copper has been weighed for them in the palace, they have given in exchange *amurru* silver (a quality) at the rate of 2 1/3 minas (of copper) for (1

two kingdoms have been fighting together and Puruṣḥanda sought an alliance with Šalatuwar against Waḥšušana;²⁵ probably at the end of a similar war a treaty between the two kingdoms, with as third contracting partner the elsewhere unknown Ušunala, was expected, as we read in the letter AKT 1, 78;²⁶ the two routes already mentioned, via Ullama or via Šalatuwar,²⁷ where not the direct junction between the two capitals, and this explains the strange detour the merchants were compelled to make.

For a similar reason also the well known itinerary of TC 3, 165, with its stations Kaneš–Waḥḥaniya–Nenašša–Ullama–Puruṣḥattum does not correspond to the shortest way between the two metropolises,²⁸ along the future Ulu Yol of the Seldjuks, but was intended in order to avoid the common border, entering the kingdom of Puruṣḥattum from Ullama, *i.e.* from the north; the same situation is clearly expressed in Kt c/k 445, where a trader entrusted by Taḥašaili, who had previously gone from Waḥšušana to Puruṣḥattum, was compelled, because of an embargo, to come back to Kaneš through (from) Ullama.²⁹ With a position of Nenašša and Ullama on the direct line Kaneš–Puruṣḥattum, the size of the thirteenth century BC Hittite province of Durmitta would become unacceptable. The direct road (Kaneš–Waḥḥaniya–Puruṣḥattum) was perhaps in use in periods of peace or reduced rivalry between the two kingdoms, and, in that case, we can guess it was diverting from the Halys route at Waḥḥaniya.³⁰ The Halys route was followed further

shekel of silver).” This Amur-Ištar, a partner of Pūšu-kēn and Imdīlum, used to live in Durḥumit, where he could purchase copper, but he occasionally went to Puruṣḥattum in order to get good silver (cf. Ichisar 1981: 35-37). According to the letter ATHE 63 (CMK no. 68) Puzur-Aššur writes to Imdīlum: (3-6) “As far as the copper of Amur-Ištar is concerned, they did not want to give the copper to my representatives in Puruṣḥattum”. We can safely assume that the place where the Eblaïtes came was Puruṣḥattum.

²⁵ KTP 10 (CMK no. 57).

²⁶ CMK no. 100. See also Bayram 1997: 51-52.

²⁷ Kt 83/k 117 (Günbatı 1995: 107-109; CMK no. 44).

²⁸ Itinerary no. 24 in Nashef 1987: 50-53, text no. 27. Even if this itinerary seems to have been adopted in order to avoid the border between Kaneš (or better Waḥḥaniya) and Puruṣḥattum, Veenhof (1972: 333, n. 448) remarked that from Ullama to Puruṣḥattum no *nishātum*-tax has been paid, instead of it 30 minas of copper for the *pazzurtum* (smuggling) are recorded. The border of Puruṣḥattum is likely to have often been critical. The question whether the towns mentioned in this itinerary, each of them a commercial centre and/or a local capital, were the only stations during this journey (cf. Forlanini 1985: 46) cannot be settled any more by CCT 2, 1, witnessing probably a five days journey from Puruṣḥattum to Kaneš (or even less, see Garelli 1963: 122, n. 5: “Le voyage aller n’était, d’ailleurs peut-être pas terminé lorsqu’il écrivit ce billet”), since in this case we are likely faced with the “direct road”, different from that of TC 3, 165. Moreover, if the direct road took five days, not much more than 150 km from Kültepe to Puruṣḥattum, this distance would fit a position at Acemhöyük and not at Karahöyük of Konya (see below).

²⁹ For this unpublished letter, see Dercksen 1996: 14 n. 39, with a different interpretation: the trader after reaching Ullama could not go to Waḥšušana and went to Kaneš.

³⁰ Waḥḥaniya was the capital of a kingdom, and had an Assyrian *wabartum* (transformed into a *kārum* in the Level Ib period, see Bayram 1997: 63-64), probably dependent on Kaneš. It was on an important cross-roads towards Nenašša in the north-west, further downstream on the Maraššanda, Ḥattum to the north and Puruṣḥattum to the south-west. The direct road is probably

downstream when the traveller had to go to Waḥšušana and, then, he could stop on the way at Mallitta.³¹

The town list of KBo 4.13, if my historical interpretation is correct, shows that Puruṣḫanda was conquered by Labarna after a short alliance of this king with Ḫalab; the pertaining section of the list does not mention here the names of simple towns, but of capitals or even country names: Ḫalpa, Palâ, Parṣuḫunda, Ussa.³² All the towns administered by the sons of Labarna according to the Decree of Telebinu, as we have already seen, can have been previously depending from Puruṣḫanda with the sole exception of Nenašša, that, as we shall see, was generally considered a town of Ḫatti; but we could also easily suppose that at the beginning of Labarna's reign Nenašša was subject to Puruṣḫanda.

During the reign of Labarna II (Ḫattušili I) a revolt of Puruṣḫanda broke out and was put down. A section of Ḫattušili's "Extensive Annals" mentions the "man of Puruṣḫanda" and some towns probably rebelled together with him, the broken context allows only to read the following names: Ḫarašḫaba, Taššan[...], Arimatta, Parugitta, Zunnaḫara and Šinuwanda.³³ Among these, Arimatta is known as a town on the border of Tarḫundašša, Zunnaḫara is a centre of Kizzuwatna, located to the east of Adaniya, and Šinuwanda dominates the Cilician Gates on the Central Anatolian side.³⁴ If we should infer from this list the extent of the ancient kingdom of Puruṣḫanda, we would be compelled to include in it also the Cilician Plain, already acquired by the Hittites at the beginning of Ḫattušili I personal reign. That could explain why Cilician towns, such as Adaniya, Tarša, Zunnaḫara, Kummanni and Zabarašna, never appear in the Old Assyrian texts, although we know from the onomastics that the main towns on the road through the Cilician Gates and the "Silver Mountains",³⁵ Tuwanuwa, Tunna and Zabarašna existed in this period.³⁶

meant in VS 26, 46 (CMK no. 139), where Pūšu-kēn records travel expenses in Wašḫaniya and Puruṣḫattum only. A location near Nevşehir fits the geographical requirements.

³¹ As described in the well-known itinerary OIP 27, 54, see Nashef 1987: 40-41, text no. 23, itinerary no. 20).

³² A difficult question concerns the order of the place names in this sequence: if it refers to a temporal succession, we have to place a "conquest" of Aleppo before that of Palâ or Parṣuḫunda (Parṣuḫanda). The presence of the gods of Aleppo in the list is likely to be connected to diplomatic overtures which the king of Aleppo made towards Labarna, probably by means of sending gifts and a statue of Adad (the city-god of Aleppo), followed by an act of "treason", when Aleppo preferred to stay on the Hurrian side, which started the long-lasting war during the reign of Ḫattušili I. The so-called Chronicle of Puḫanu (CTH 16, studied mainly by Otten and Soysal; for recent interpretations see Steiner 2002, Gilan 2004), probably refers to the presence of the Storm God of Aleppo in Ḫatti, and particularly in Arinna, whereas his presence in Ḫurma, the capital of Labarna, is witnessed by the list in Muwattalli's Prayer. For this reconstruction see Forlanini, forthcoming.

³³ CTH 13 I B, 29"-36" (de Martino 2003: 142-145).

³⁴ Cf. Forlanini 1988: 133-134.

³⁵ See Dercksen 1996: 149.

³⁶ Cf. Forlanini 2004: 264 (n. 11 and 12). On the possibility that some toponyms on the route of the Pylae had a Sumerian or Semitic root, connected with an early, even prehistoric, trade with

That would explain also the position of Puruṣḫattum as a silver market and suits the fact of a common Luwian settlement on both sides of the Gates.

Concerning the location of Puruṣḫanda two main proposals have been made in the past: Acemhöyük and Karahöyük near Konya. Acemhöyük is more suitable because of its size and findings, which reveal its importance and international relations.³⁷ Moreover, when Puruṣḫanda is mentioned within understandable geographical contexts it seems closer to central Ḫatti and to the region of Tuwanuwa than to Konya.³⁸ The objections against the identity of Acemhöyük and Puruṣḫanda are related to the findings at this important archaeological site, because they show that Acemhöyük was in contact with

Mesopotamia, Zabarašna as a Nešite derivative (with abstract suffix *-ašar/-ašna-*) from Sum. *zabar* (perhaps “the place of bronze”) or even Šinnuwanda (and Mount Šinniyari) from akk. *šinnum* (perhaps “the mountain of the tooth”), see Forlanini 2001: 555 (n. 12), 559 (n.34). The name Zabarašna could also come from an apparent etymology, since it occurs as the Akkadian spelling (in the Akkadian Treaty with Šunaššura of Kizzuwatna, KBo 1.5 IV 49) of the Anatolian place name Šabaraš(ša)na; the town (and the homonymous mountain) was situated near the southern exit of the Cilician Gates (Forlanini 1988: 139) and of the ancient mining complex of the Bolkardağ, where it seems that tin oxide was mined in the third millennium (see Dercksen 1996: 28; Yener 2000), and probably near the copper mine of Kızılca, north of Tarsus (de Jesus 1980: II 261, site no. 125); it is then possible that in the third millennium tin from the mountain above and local copper were sometimes available at Zabarašna for the production of bronze sold to Mesopotamian traders.

³⁷ The seal impressions on bullae of Šamši-Adad and one of his servants (Tunca 1989), of Aplaḫanda king of Karkamiš, one of his servants, and of Nagiḫa[*num* ?], daughter of king Yaḫdun-Lim of Mari (Charpin/Durand 1986: 152; Tunca 1993), found at Acemhöyük show the importance of the contacts with Upper Mesopotamia and Syria in a period of the reign of Šamši-Adad, perhaps after his expansion in the Ḫabur area (some years after 1807 BC) and before the death of Yaḫdun-Lim (about 1794).

³⁸ In KBo 12.65 obv. II, a list of personnel for local cults, we find (1.3) four “lion-men” of *La-ki-mi-iš[-ša]*, a town in the province *Ku-ku-wa-wa* north of Kaneš, and *Pár-aš-ḫu-un-ta* (9) preceded by [...]*ga-ta-wiṣ[-y]*a, probably Wargatawi, a town connected with Tawiniya (s. KUB 11.32 III 25). More interesting is an itinerary of the inspectors updating the status of local cults, KUB 40.110. The preserved names of the towns visited during their journey are on the obverse: [...]*ḫanda*, *Yašanda*, *Tabašawatta*, *Arullašša*, *Ašula*, *P[a²-...n]ašša*, *Kurtannašša*, [...]*tawašša*, whereas on the reverse mention is made of Mount Lula. The first place name is very likely to be Puruṣḫanda, the second, *Yašanda*, is known from the Deeds of Šaḫurunuwā, rev. 24, where one ruined town near *Aneša* (and/of) *Yašanda* is mentioned. *Aneša* is known from an itinerary of Šuppiluliuma’s wars against Arzawa: the king smote enemies, who had reached *Aniša*, then he fought against other enemies near *Ḫuwana* [...], *Ni* [...], *Šapparanda*, Mount *Ammuna* and *Tubaziya*, before reaching *Tuwanuwa* (Güterbock 1956: 75-76, *Fragm.* 15). As we see, *Aneša*, and with it *Yašanda*, were located somewhere to the north(-west) of *Tuwanuwa*; in the same region the Greek population still living there at the beginning of the last century had preserved very ancient village names, like *Arlasun* (from an **Arlassos*) and *Gurdonos*, that remind us of *Arullašša* and *Kurtannašša*. Mount *Lula* has been generally connected with the Byzantine fortress of *Loulon*, west of *Tuwanuwa*. At the end, if the first name has to be reconstructed as *Puruṣḫanda*, a location of this city near modern *Aksaray* would perfectly fit our itinerary.

Kaneš at the beginning of the Level Ib period,³⁹ a fact that would contradict the absence of its name from the Ib archives and from those of Alişar and Boğazköy; a possible solution has been already suggested by Dercksen.⁴⁰ On the other hand the only other candidate for Acemhöyük would be Ullama, a *wabartum* of the Kültepe Level II period, whose importance in the textual evidence hardly corresponds to that of Acemhöyük. Moreover Karahöyük, although an important mound, but insufficient to cover the role that we expect from Purušhattum, did not yield written documents, only mainly indigenous seal impressions and a few Old Assyrian ones.⁴¹ Its distance of 7 km from the Ala-eddin Tepe in the centre of Konya, whose Hittite name we can safely assume to have been Ikkuwaniya, shows that we should find in the Hittite texts a frequent connection between Ikkuwaniya and Puruşhanda, but that does not happen.⁴² On the contrary, the list of towns having a “House of the Seal” in the Decree of Telebinu gives, three names after Ikkuwaniya, the town of Hurutta, whereas Parşuhanda comes only after eight names. Hurutta is very likely the same as Old Assyrian Hudurut, a town mentioned together with Ušša;⁴³ Hurutta never occurs in late Hittite texts, but a deity of Krotā (or Krotada?) is known from a Greek inscription found near Konya. I suggest that Hudurut(ta) > Hurutta > Krotā (?) is the ancient name of Karahöyük, whereas Acemhöyük should be Puruşhanda.

³⁹ Cf. Dercksen 2001: 61. On the bullae with the impression of the seal of the City Hall of Aššur at Acemhöyük in a layer contemporary with the post-Level II period of Kaneš, see Veenhof 1993; Dercksen 2004: 90.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*: “Such a conclusion does not fit with the absence of Purušhattum from the texts, unless the evidence from Acemhöyük relates to the (undocumented) beginning of Level Ib at Kültepe, and comes to a halt somewhere during that period”. The bullae of Acemhöyük must date back to the years before the conquest of Mari by Šamši-Adad (cf. Veenhof, *o.c.*). Hurmeli, the first king of the Level Ib period mentioned only in a later document of the time of Inar, was already king at the death of Šamši-Adad (1776) and, as we will see below, probably sustained the nine years siege of Harsamna laid by Inar in a period following the conquest of Haššum by Anum-herwa (Zimri-Lim 8 = 1766).

⁴¹ The classification of seal impressions according to Alp (1968: 131-132) is: Old Assyrian style: 3, Syrian style: 24, Anatolian stamp seals: 423.

⁴² An example is given by the Bronze Tablet of the treaty between Tuḫaliya IV and Kurunta of Tarḫundašša, a land having its centre in the southern part of the Konya plain, where, among more than 120 place names mentioned, the land of Ikkuwaniya appears together the neighbouring land Huruniya (Class. Korne) and with the lands of Pitašša, Kizzuwatna and of the mountain Huwatnuwanda (III 47-49; cf. Otten 1988: 22-23), all located (like Ušša) around Tarḫundašša, whereas Puruşhanda is never mentioned. If Puruşhanda were to be located at Karahöyük it would have been included in the land of Ikkuwaniya, whereas the list of gods in Muwattalli’s Prayer shows that the city was still an important centre of the Lower Country (CTH 381 II 38-40; Singer 1996: 16, 37).

⁴³ BIN 4, 45: 9 (CMK no. 187): Sūe’a writes to Puzur-Aššur to send him *amūtum*-iron, without the *kārum*’s knowledge; he was threatened “here” by the *rabi sikkatim* of Ušša (GAL *si-ki-tim ú-ša-i-um*) and his colleague of Hudurut, both eager for *aši’um*-iron supplies; in his letter he writes also about barley or textiles to be sent to them from Waḫšušana. On the *rabi sikkatim* see Kryszat 2004: 25-28; his translation of the pertinent passage (*o.c.*, 42) differs from the one given in CMK: “Weiss der Kārum denn nicht, dass hier der *rabi sikkatim* von Ušša und der *rabi sikkatim* von Hudurut gänzlich miteinander im Streit liegen (...)”.

The important role played by Puruṣḫattum/Puruṣḫanda is connected with the control of the Cilician Gates and their mineral resources (mainly silver,⁴⁴ but also other possible regional products like obsidian or alabaster), but also of the two roads leading from Cilicia to Ḫatti and from Kaneš to the west (to Luwiya/Arzawa and to the Aegean Sea; cf. Garelli 1963: 125). Besides, travellers going from Kaneš to the west had to cross a distance of about 120 km of the arid Lycaonian steppe after Acemhöyük, and were compelled to provision at the market of this site.

The Assyrian merchants travelled also to Ušša, an independent city conquered by Labarna I after Puruṣḫanda, and later a Hittite district capital having a Hittite Prince as governor.⁴⁵ Ušša was on the Hittite side of the northern frontier of Tarḫundašša, immediately to the east of the land Pidašša, during the second half of the thirteenth century BC.⁴⁶ The Old Assyrian texts contain useful information on the position of Ušša. The writer of I 766, 4'-10', asks his addressee to send him tablets with any information he could collect about Kaneš, Puruṣḫattum, Ullama and Ušša; he was probably living north of this group of kingdoms. In BIN 4, 187 (EL 168) the writer mentions silver to be sent to him from Puruṣḫattum (12), the witnesses are listed and he states that he had summoned them in Ušša: (25-27) *ina Ú-ša iššibūtim aškuššunu*. I would locate Ušša north of Konya, probably around Kadınhanı.⁴⁷

Still further to the west might be located the land of Šawit, a copper mining district. The protocol AKT 3, 56, refers to a lawsuit about “pure copper of the land of Šawit”. The geographical context is given by the mention of Waḫšušana and Šalatuwar (26-27) as places where the copper should be sent, whereas other place names mentioned in this text (a *kaššum* functionary of Ḫurmaštum⁴⁸ in ll.18-19; the *wabartum* of Ú-pé⁴⁹ ll. 31-32)

⁴⁴ As we have seen above, Puruṣḫattum was a market place supplying good quality silver, probably coming from the Bolkardağ mining district or brought by Syrian merchants, and, as a matter of fact, silver ingots were found at Acemhöyük (N. Özgüç 1995; Öztan 1997).

⁴⁵ CTH 8-9, KBo 3.34 III 20'-22 (Dardano 1997: 59, 172: Text A). The “son” of Ús-sa (rare writing as in KBo 4.13, not *Uš-ša*) was here an in-law relative (*kainašši*) of the “father of the king” (usually understood as Ḫattušili I, in my reconstruction rather Labarna I), having right to a special seat and a table at the Hittite court.

⁴⁶ In the Bronze Tablet (I 32-34; Otten 1998: 12-13) and in the treaty with Ulmi-Tešup (KBo 4.10 I 21'-22), the land of Ušša occurs as a northern neighbour of Tarḫundašša/Ḫulaya to the west of Pidašša and Mount Ḫuwatnuwanda.

⁴⁷ Since Pidašša is generally located around Akşehir or north of Lake Beyşehir, and depending from the choice of an expanded or reduced size of Tarḫundašša, Ušša could be placed in the region of Kadınhanı or, south of it, near Karahöyük. In the past I have preferred this second solution, although I also hesitated between the two possibilities (Forlanini 1998: 225-226). Now I would prefer the northern one for the same reasons produced above about Puruṣḫanda and connected to the position and role of Ikkuwaniya. This location of Ušša would fit the reconstruction of Dinçol/Yakar/Dinçol/Tafet 2000 (see map at p. 19), that of Hawkins (1998: 31), and even the identification of Tarḫundašša with Hatip advanced by Bahar (2005), although the latter's general reconstruction of Tarḫundašša's borders shows (see map p. 103) a salient stretching as far as the Tuz Gölü and a position of Ušša (in the area of Develi) too remote from Pidašša.

⁴⁸ See perhaps the Hittite place name ḪAR-pu-uš-ta and the word *ḫurpašta* “leaf”.

cannot be localized. In a second occurrence of this place name (CCT 2, 23, 6), we read that Ennum-Aššur ordered to send the copper of his brother Aššur-nādā “from the land of Sawit” (*ištu māt Sá-wi-it*).⁵⁰ This place recurs as *Ša-na-ú-it* in KUB 58.15 I 9, a document concerning local festivals and mentioning Mount Hūwatnuwanda and the Hūlana river on the western Hittite frontier, together with the king of Kuššar (perhaps Anitta).⁵¹ In the list KBo 4.13, Šanawida is among the western territories conquered by Labarna I, together with Šalatiwara, Partuwada, Lalanda and the western Ulma (Walma on the Aštarpa). Its name could be connected with Class. Syn(n)ada (today Şuhut near Afyon), a possible market place for the copper produced at Kızılca (Bakırlı, 17 km west of Sandıklı),⁵² but we must notice that Šanawida does not occur in any context related to the late Hittite empire.

Durḫumit/Durmitta at the junction of two worlds

During the Karum Level II period, Durḫumit, or at least its *kārum*, must have played a leading regional role.⁵³ The Assyrian authorities in Durḫumit were delegated for taking the oath of the prince of Tamniya.⁵⁴ They also seem to have held a sort of pre-eminence over Ullama and Tuḫpiya,⁵⁵ and the position of these towns is confirmed by the Hittite

⁴⁹ Neither the Mesopotamian town of Upê on the Diyala, nor the land Upi of the Amarna letters, around Damascus, both completely outside of the Old Assyrian Anatolian circuit.

⁵⁰ Ichisar 1981: 301.

⁵¹ See Ünal 1997; Polvani 1998.

⁵² For Synada see Belke/Mersich 1990: 393-395; for Kızılca see de Jesus 1980: II 258 (site no. 11; the copper deposit is located in the mountains at 1700 m elevation).

⁵³ On Durḫumit/Durmitta and its position, see Forlanini 1985: 48-53; Michel 1991.

⁵⁴ See Kt f/k 183 (CMK no. 53). Tamniya and Tawiniya in the Old Assyrian texts are generally considered two spellings of the same place name. Investigations at Class. Tavium (Büyüknefesköy, 25 km south of Hattuša) were started recently by Karl Strobel, who identifies this important ancient site with Tawiniya; this Hittite provincial capital was connected with Hattuša by a direct road starting from the Tawiniyan Gate and must be searched in a south-western direction. A problem is posed by the very short distance between Tavium and the Hittite capital, since the two towns were, in the Colony Period, capitals of two independent kingdoms and Tamniya seems to depend more from Durḫumit than from Hattuš. See also Michel/Garelli 1996: 283-284. The town must have been located on a transverse long-range road through central Hatti, running from east to west; that would explain the travel of textiles from southern Zalpa and copper from Hurma through Tamniya to Waḫšušana in ATHE 63 (CMK no. 68) or the presence (?) of the ruler of Tamniya in Karaḫna in Kt n/k 388 (Gümbattı 1996: 30-35).

⁵⁵ See Michel 1991: 256. Tuḫuppiya, between Durmitta and Tawiniya, is likely to be located near Kaman. Apart from Kaman Kalehöyük, Yassıhöyük, 30 km east of Kaman and an important mound (diam. 500 m) of this area, where a level yielding typical sherds of the Assyrian Colony Period is attested, is a possible candidate for Tuḫuppiya (Mikami/Omura 1998).

texts where we find Ullama as a town of the province of Durmitta⁵⁶ and Tuḥpiya attacked by Kaškean enemies coming from Durmitta (see below).

The circular letter of the *kārum* of Kaneš Kt 92/k 203, helps us in understanding the territorial division of the Assyrian network and probably also of the ethno-political map of Anatolia in that time; it is addressed to “the *dātum*-payers, Kuliya, our messenger, and the establishments of Durḫumit, Ḫattuš, Tamniya and Tuḥpiya as far as Nenašša”.⁵⁷ This letter is one of a set of similar documents concerning different parts of Anatolia, from which we understand the existence for the Assyrians of an homogeneous region, starting from Nenašša and reaching Ḫattuš in the north, including the kingdoms of Tuḥpiya and Tamniya (Tawiniya), probably controlled, as far as the merchants were concerned, by the regional *kārum* of Durḫumit. This very region corresponds to the southern and central part of Ḫatti, exactly as this land is outlined in the list of KBo 4.13; the northern part, on the border of the kingdom of Zalpuwa (with towns like Ḫanaknak, Zimišḫuna or Kaštama),⁵⁸ was treated by the Assyrians independently;⁵⁹ outside of the area outlined by Kt 92/k 203, was located the *kārum* of Šuppiluliyā, a town near Šapinuwa (modern Ortaköy),⁶⁰ north-west of Ḫattuš, and the *wabartum* of Amkuwa and Šinaḫutum.⁶¹ Nevertheless the Old Assyrian evidence on Durḫumit hitherto published generally points

⁵⁶ KUB 48.105 + KBo 12.53, obv. 31’ (spelling *Ú-wa-al-ma*), Archi/Klengel 1980: 144, 148. Ullama was on the road Kaneš–Durḫumit according to ICK 2, 293 (Nashef 1987: 35-36, text no. 18).

⁵⁷ On this and similar documents from the archive of Kuliya and their geographical value, see Çeçen 1997; Dercksen 2004: 115-116; Kryszat 2004: 15. The eponyms table established by Kryszat for the documents of this archive shows that Kuliya was acting in Kaneš in the last years of the Level II period (1852-1836 BC, according to the “middle chronology”).

⁵⁸ For the occurrence of the *wabartum* of Zimišḫuna (in Kt n/k 1601 with Ḫattuš; Hitt. Zim/biḫuna) and the principality of Kaštama, see Bayram 1998: 47; Zimišḫuna and Ḫattuš occur also in TPAK 1, 4 (Kt 90/k 128). For the location of Zimišḫuna and Ḫanaknak (also an Old Ass. *wabartum*, Hitt. Ḫananakka) in the Hittite province of Tabikka, cf. Forlanini 2002: 262-265.

⁵⁹ See the circular letter Kt 92/k 200 (CMK no. 22; see Dercksen 2004: 114-115) sent by *kārum* Kaneš to “the *dātum*-payers, to Kuliya, our envoy, and the *wabartums* of Kuburnat, Ḫanaknak and Tišmurna”, three stations on the northern limit of the area travelled by the merchants.

⁶⁰ In the military “itinerary” of KUB 22.51 obv. 10’-16’, the king sleeps in Šapinuwa while his army camps in neighbouring Ḫanziwa, then he starts the campaign going to Šuppiluliyā and reaching [Ḫiṣar]luwa (on the road Ḫattuša–Kadaba); this evidence points to a position between Ḫattuša and modern Ortaköy; a river Šuppiluliyā was worshipped in Šapinuwa, according to KUB 36.7, rev. 12’, together with the river Zuliya (modern Çekerek). In AKT 3, 112, Šamaš-damīq writes to his partners that they have to send the tablet to him, to *Šu-pu-lu-li-a* or to Ḫattuš.

⁶¹ My previous doubts about the identity of Amkuwa/Ankuwa with Alişar (for which I proposed Šanaḫuita as a possible alternative) have been removed by the researches of Gorny (1993). The traditional equation is now almost certain (see Dercksen 2001: 41-42): Amkuwa is mentioned at Alişar almost as many times as at Kültepe, despite the enormous difference between the numbers of texts found at the two sites. Moreover, direction and distance from Ḫattuša perfectly fit the Hittite evidence. For Šinaḫutum/Šanaḫuita on the Zuliya river, see note 115.

to a location not far from the western circuit,⁶² compare JJP 11/12, 117;⁶³ Kt 90/k 108a/b,⁶⁴ BIN 4, 64;⁶⁵ I 535;⁶⁶ I 750;⁶⁷ and VS 26, 18.⁶⁸ This position is further confirmed by “itineraries” like the one in Kt 91/k 424, where Durḫumit is on the road from Waḫšušana to Kaneš;⁶⁹ the road from Waḫšušana to Durḫumit could have been only a section of the long-range transverse road through Central Ḫatti mentioned above.⁷⁰ Altogether, we gain, through the Old Assyrian evidence published so far, the impression that Durḫumit was connected with Anatolian centres east and west of the Halys. And the Halys should have been the river flowing near Durḫumit according to an Old Assyrian text.⁷¹

⁶² Cf. the geography of the copper trade related to individual merchants or trade houses, like Adad-šulūlī (see Dercksen 1996: 106-107), Al-aḫum (*ibid.*, 118), Imdilum (*ibid.*, 129-131), Puzur-Aššur (*ibid.*, 138-139), Ušur-ša-Ištar (*ibid.*, 147). Cf. Michel 2001: 284, and Kryszat 2001, for Iddin-Ištar, a merchant living in the early phase of the Level II period, who lived at Durḫumit and travelled to Puruṣḫattum and Waḫšušana.

⁶³ See CMK no. 33: the messengers of the *kārum* of Kaneš write to this *kārum* that they cannot buy the textiles in Waḫšušana with the copper of Durḫumit deposited in Waḫšušana, since this copper is black and not accepted.

⁶⁴ Bayram/Çeçen 1995: 4-5 (text no. 1, envelope): Aššur-malik has married [x]ḫamananiga, (l. 11): “And Aššur-malik shall not take (another) wife in Puruṣḫattum, Waḫšušana, Durḫumit or Kaneš”. The tablet was published as TPAK 1, 161a. In the same sentence (lines 9-14) the towns appear in a different order: Kaneš, Puruṣḫattum, Durḫumit, Waḫšušana.

⁶⁵ See CMK no. 270: Iddin-Ištar has just arrived at Durḫumit and will go to Puruṣḫattum.

⁶⁶ Ennānum summons Su'en-nādā. The latter maintains that he had delivered silver and copper to the representatives of Ennānum in Durḫumit; a sworn statement at the *kārum* Waḫšušana confirmed this matter. See also TPAK 1, 181.

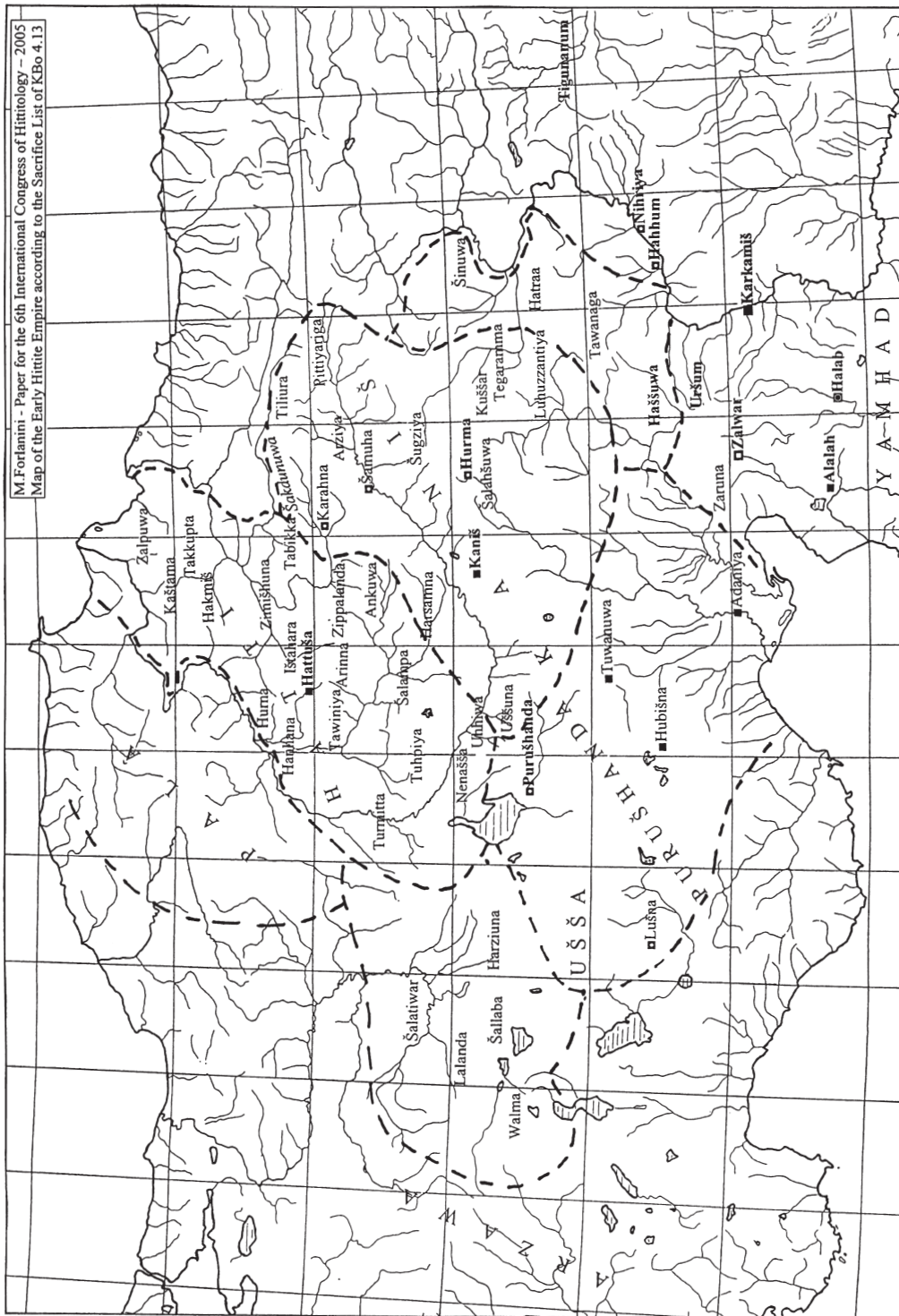
⁶⁷ Lines 17-21: “The two donkeys that Adad-šulūlī had brought from Puruṣḫattum, Šamaš-bāni son of Šu-Ištar brought them forth to Durḫumit.”

⁶⁸ VS 26, 18 (= VAT 9236): TÚG.ḪI *kà-lá-šu-nu ú ša-na-tim* (9) *a-na Ì-li-we-da-ku* (10) *pì-iq-da-ma* (11) *ḫa-ra-an Dur-ḫu-mi-it* (12) *li-is-ri-dam* “entrust the whole of the textiles and of the metal kettles(?) (*šannum*) to Ilī-wēdāku and let him send them by the road of Durḫumit”; further: (17-21, according to EL III 24-25, n. c) *a-dī té-er-tí i-lá-ka-ni u₄-ma-am u₄-ra-am a-na Pu-ru-uš-ḫa-tim a-da-gal* (...), “bis die Weisung für mich kommt, schaue ich heute (und) morgen [d.i. “täglich,] nach Buruṣḫaddum aus”.

⁶⁹ See Dercksen 1996: 12 (n. 32). The intermediate station between Waḫšušana and Durḫumit is TUR₄-pì-a in the transliteration, but Tuḫpia in the translation. See also ICK 1, 85, 5-8 (Michel 1991a: 155-156, no. 111) where Aššur-šulūlī wrote to Imdilum, that he would go to Waḫšušana and stay there no more than 5 days but he would not go to Durḫumit.

⁷⁰ See note 54 above with reference to the itinerary of textiles and copper from the east through Tamniya to Waḫšušana (ATHE 63, CMK no. 68); in Kt 92/k 207 (Çeçen 1997: 227-229; CMK no. 23) the *kārum* of Kaneš asks the messenger Kuliya and the *kārum* of Tegarama to let Iddin-Aššur pay the tax that they were not been able to collect from him in Waḫšušana and Durḫumit; that could indicate the range of the movements of this individual from east to west, without passing through Kaneš.

⁷¹ See Dercksen 1996: 13.



Map 2: Map of the Early Hittite Empire according to KBo 4.13.

Since new unpublished Old Assyrian texts may reopen the discussion about Durḫumit's location, I will await their publication before further discussion. At present, however, I will maintain my position, because the Hittite evidence seems to be unequivocal. This Hittite evidence clearly demonstrates that the land of Durmitta included on the south Nenašša and Ullama near the border of the province Wašḫaniya; Uššina (Uššuna) and Uḫḫiwa were respectively on the two sides of this border.⁷² Towards the south-west Durmitta bordered on the country of Ḫarziuna, which in its turn reached as far as Šallaba in the west, a fortress on the Arzawean border at the time of Muṣili II.⁷³

Mallidaškuriya, a town known also in Old Assyrian times, was situated on the border between Durmitta and Kaššiya, a province that on the other side reached the valley of the Ḫulana river,⁷⁴ but also was connected with Ḫarziuna.⁷⁵ Both the Ḫulana region and Kaššiya were invaded in the fourteenth century by the northwestern Anatolian people of Maša,⁷⁶ whereas we find the elders of the Ḫulana country involved in political events connected with Aḫḫiyawa.⁷⁷ Ḫartana was a major town of Kaššiya⁷⁸ in the thirteenth

⁷² In KUB 48.105 + KBo 12.53 (edited in Archi/Klengel 1980), Uššina (or Uiššina) is the first town of Durmitta mentioned before the paragraphs of Nenašša and Uwalma (Ullama), whereas Uḫḫiwa is the last town of the province Wašḫaniya reported immediately before that of Durmitta. Uḫḫiwa closes the section of Ḫatti and Uššuna that of Kaneš, which should have included also Wašḫaniya, in the list of KBo 4.13. For the geographical value of this fundamental document, see Archi/Klengel 1980: 144-145 (southern part of the Halys basin); Forlanini 1979: 173-178; 1985: 48-52 (north-east of Tuz Gölü on the Halys). C. Michel thought the new location was possible (1991: 254 n.7). The previous locations in the northern part of Ḫatti were based on the unjustified use of the list of KBo 4.13 as an itinerary.

⁷³ Cf. KUB 53.42, a list of local gods in two line paragraphs pertaining to a sequence of towns, where we have (right col. 5'-6) Durmitta (*Dur-mi-it <ta>aš-kán*) with the deity Telibuna, (7'-8) *Kat-te-la* with the mountain Iyali[...] and ḪAR-zi-u-na with the mountain *Kam-ma-l[i-ya]*.

⁷⁴ It occurs with the spelling *Me-li-da-āš-ku-ri-a* in the Old Assyrian texts Kt 92/k 513 and 449 (Bayram 1997: 49-50). In this town king Alluwamna and queen Ḫarapšeki were banished by the usurper Taḫurwaili (cf. Carruba 1974: 80-81). In the instructions of king Arnuwanda I for the *ḫazannu* of the province Kiššiya (CTH 260), Mallidaškuri[ya ?] is a town of that province (KBo 50.266a, 2'), whereas in the thirteenth century it was a part of the province Durmitta (KUB 48.105 + KBo 12.53, obv. 42', and in this inventory the section for Kaššiya comes immediately after that pertaining to Durmitta; cf. Archi/Klengel 1980: 145, 148).

⁷⁵ This is confirmed by the sequence of the gods invoked in the Prayer of Muwattalli, ordered by geographical groups (CTH 381 II 26-40): gods of Ḫurniya, Zarwisa, Šaḫḫaniya, Paḫtima, Šaḫḫuwiya, Mallidaškuriya, Ḫarziuna, Šallaba, Ušša, Parašḫunda, Mount Ḫuwatnuwanda, the Lower Country. We do not know whether the mention of the Lower Country at the end refers only to the paragraph including Ušša, Parašḫunda and Mount Ḫuwatnuwanda or also to the previous ones, anyway also Ḫurniya (close to Ikkuwaniya) and Zarwisa were towns of Class. Lycaonia, whereas Ḫarziuna and Šallaba were to the north of them on the military road towards Arzawa. Therefore, it is very likely that also Mallidaškuriya was understood here as a town of the same area.

⁷⁶ Time of Šuppiluliuma I (Annals BoTU 34, IV 8-14: Güterbock 1956: 65, Fragm. 13).

⁷⁷ KBo 16.22; Güterbock 1936.

century; this town occurs in the Old Assyrian text Kt a/k 1956,⁷⁹ together with Waḥšušana, Durḥumit and Puruṣhattum, confirming the relations between Kaššiya, Durmitta and Waḥšušana⁸⁰ attested during the Hittite period and the connection of both cities with the “western circuit” of the merchants. Towards the east Durmitta was connected with Tuḥuppiya and towards the north with a road coming from Zidaparḥa, a town on the way to Kalašma in north-western Anatolia.⁸¹ Durmitta was located, like Nenašša, on the river Maraššanda⁸² and probably through its valley Kaškean tribes, whose names were Ḫalila and Tuttuška,⁸³ moved upstream and reached the northern part of the province Durmitta where they settled. Later these Kaškeans continued to move in a southern direction, reaching Nenašša in the years before Šuppiluliuma’s reign⁸⁴ and, in the days of Muwattalli II, they were able to devastate a part of the Hittite Lower Country as far as Uppaššana and Šuwadara (Class. Soatra).⁸⁵ The rebellious territory in the

⁷⁸ See the inventory KUB 48.105 + KBo 12.53, rev. 34-35 (Archi/Klengel 1980: 146, 150) and the oath of the DUGUD-functionaries of the province Kaššiya, KUB 26.24, 6’ (Von Schuler 1956: 225, copy C). Ḫartana was a seat of the worship of the god Yarri and Mount Ziwana (see KUB 38.32, obv.).

⁷⁹ Bayram 1997: 45.

⁸⁰ The fragmentary description of Hittite campaign in KUB 23.116, shows Arnuwanda I going forth (*parā*, line 7’) to Waḥšuš[ana] and then leaving the region of Ki[ššiya].

⁸¹ Šuppiluliuma I (Annals; Güterbock 1956: 109, Fragg. 34, 12’-19), while marching from Ḫattena to Ḫurna on the Maraššanda in the direction of Tarittara and Tumanna in the north, he received in Tuḥpiliša a request of help by the people of Zidaparḥa, which he refused since “to go down to [...]mitta” would have let him “turn very much out of his way”. KBo 13.73, shows that Zidaparḥa was on the way to Ziulila and Kalašma; whereas we know from the Annals of Muršili II (5th year; see Del Monte 1993: 67-68) that Ziulila was located between Mount Ašḥarpaya (and Palâ), the town of Šammaḥa (attested also as a *nisba* in the Old Assyrian text Kt 83/k 263, see Bayram 1998: 52) and the province of Kaššiya (cf. Forlanini 1977: 206-207).

⁸² See Forlanini 1992: 179; in KUB 55.43, the Maraššanda occurs among the “gods of the city” of Durmitta. The same river was worshipped in Nenašša, according to Muwattalli’s Prayer II 12-14 (Singer 1996, 14, 25).

⁸³ Of course these place names (with the determinative URU) could be towns, but since they occur only in the Annals of Muršili II (first year; see del Monte 1993: 59-60) I prefer to understand them as tribal names connected with encampment places.

⁸⁴ The well-known Decree of Ḫattušili III (KBo 6.28), in its historical introduction describes the invasion wave suffered by Ḫatti before Šuppiluliuma I: (obv. 6-8) “In earlier days the Ḫatti countries were sacked from outside countries (uncertain). The Kaškean enemy came and sacked the Ḫatti countries and he made Nenašša his frontier (...)” (translation according to Götze 1940, 21-22). Since, as we have seen, Nenašša was a town of Durmitta in the following century, I consider it likely that this invasion came from the Kaškean bases of Durmitta.

⁸⁵ Apology of Ḫattušili III (CTH 81 II 10-13; Otten 1981: 10-11): “The enemy of (= from) the country Durmitta began to strike the country of Tuḥuppiya [and ... since] the country of Ippaššana was empty they reached further the country of Šuwadara”. The furthestmost point of the advance, Šuwadara, has been equated with Class. and Byz. Soatra/Sauatra (today Yağlıbayat, 55 km east-north-east of Konya; cf. Belke 1984, 222-223); Ippašana could be probably identified with

northern part of the province was connected with the northwestern regions of Palâ and of the Taḥara river (the long valley of the Devrez Çay).⁸⁶ No mention is made of Durmitta in the 116 texts from Maşat,⁸⁷ which contain about 100 place names to be located in the basin of the Çekerek and Yeşil Irmak, nor does it seem to play any role in the still unpublished texts from Ortaköy, covering the area immediately to the west of Maşat.⁸⁸ Similarly Durmitta does not appear in the itineraries toward Mount Ḥaḥarwa and Nerik that are known from the archives of Ḥattuša⁸⁹ or in the list of the northern provinces occupied by the Kaška in the Prayer of Arnuwanda I.⁹⁰

In the list of KBo 4.13, which I date to the reign of Labarna, Durmitta with Kalašmitta and Uḥḫiwa are the only towns of Ḥatti west of the Halys and, only starting from them, Labarna could conquer the countries from Ḥarziuna to the border of Arzawa. The region west of the lower Halys and north of Durmitta, appearing under the name Palâ at the end of the list, only followed there by Paršuḫunta and Ussa, was conquered later, perhaps also with a campaign starting from Durmitta.

To summarize, the position of the city Durmitta must be on a crossing over the Halys and as far to the north as possible. A location near Karakeçili fits these requirements excellently, although an even northern one, at Kırıkkale, could be possible if new evidence requires this.

Uppaššana on the border of Tarḥundašša between Zarnuša and Zarwiša, again a town connected with Ḥurniya, hence not far from Ikkuwaniya/Konya (see Forlanini 1998: 227-230).

⁸⁶ In the fifteenth year of Muṣili II, taking advantage of the plague that had hit Ḥatti, the Kaškeans from different places began to invade the country and, among other directions the king mentions: “from Durmitta against [the town of ...] of the land of Durmitta and against the valley of the Taḥara river in the territory of Tababanuwa” (KBo 14.20 I 11-12; Houwink ten Cate 1966: 169; del Monte 1993: 114). In KBo 54.106, an oracular fragment, we read (obv.) (3) ZAG KUR *Dur-mi-ī[t-ta ...]* (4) URU *Pa-la-a IR-ri[...]*. Since the Taḥara valley (modern Devrez Çay) and Tababanuwa were in the area of Palâ, this evidence fits together. As a confirmation we can also produce here the Old Assyrian text Kt b/k 261 (Bayram 1997: 53), which registers a verdict by the *kārum* of Durḫumit, where we read: “Šū-bēlum and Šailali seized us as witnesses against Aššur-ṭāb son of Awarḥuṣ in Taḥara”. This geographical connection with other countries on the left bank of the Halys, but further in north-western direction, could explain why in the inventory KUB 48.105 + KBo 12.53, only the towns of the provinces Durmitta and Kaššiya, and not those of the provinces Wašḫaniya and Tabikka, receive donations from the king of Tumanna, clearly in charge of helping the reconstruction of local shrines in the provinces bordering with (or close to) his territory (including Palâ); other authorities, like individuals, palaces (Gazzimara or that of Šulubašši) and even the Hittite king shared similar functions in the other provinces.

⁸⁷ Cf. Alp 1991: xxviii-xxxi.

⁸⁸ Cf. the place names frequently attested at Ortaköy, mentioned in various articles of Süel (see Forlanini 1995, 1997, 2005).

⁸⁹ Like the oracular texts KUB 5.1, KUB 22.25, KUB 40.106; cf. also Forlanini 1992b.

⁹⁰ CTH 375 A II 21'-25 (Lebrun 1980: 136, 144-145).

Zalpuwa and Ḫatti

One of the most vexing questions of the Old Assyrian and Hittite historical geography concerns the number of different towns known as Zalpa.⁹¹ I do not believe we are faced here with towns having the same name, what frequently happens in an homogeneous linguistic area (as in Luwian Anatolia or in the west-Semitic areas of Syria and Mesopotamia). If we restrict ourselves to the Old Assyrian geography, we have to leave out of consideration Zalpaḫ on the Lower Baliḫ near Tuttul,⁹² and Zalwar/Zarwar/Zalbar near modern Islahiye and north of Alalaḫ, probably Tilmen Höyük,⁹³ because they were outside the area reached by the Assyrians.

We frequently find a Zalpa in the Cappadocian tablets and, where the context gives some clues to its location, we are almost always oriented towards an area on the right bank of the Euphrates, somewhere north of Samosata.⁹⁴ How to cope then with the Hittite texts, from which we know the important historical and religious city of Zalpa/Zalpuwa on the Black Sea coast, a place connected with the ideology of the Hittite Kingdom, probably origin of one branch of the Hittite dynasty (the “Great Family”)?⁹⁵ The matter is still more complex, because the Hittite scribes of later periods, transcribing Old Hittite documents when the northern Zalpuwa was lost and the Syrian Zalwar destroyed, could have taken Zalpuwa for Zalbar, or even Ḫalpa for Zalpa, because of the similarity of the cuneiform signs ZA and ḪA.

The attempts to find a compromise by placing the Ḫattian Zalpuwa on the Tuz Gölü or even in Southern Anatolia had no success, because they went against the Hittite evidence on Anatolian geography. That leaves us with a southern Zalpa, one of the most important trade stations of the Old Assyrian net, but absolutely absent from the Hittite texts, and a northern Zalpuwa, seat of Ḫattian cults and dynastic legitimacy, whose king Uḫna destroyed Kaneš (the city and *kārum* of Level II at Kültepe). Ḫuzziya, another king of Zalpuwa, had the same name as the first Hittite king, and was captured after a war by Anitta. Zalpuwa was finally destroyed by Labarna I after a long conflict with the central

⁹¹ See recently on this question: Dercksen 2001: 59-60; Miller 2001: 70-74.

⁹² See Córdoba 1990: 376, with reference to M. van Loon: for Aḫunā he proposed Tell es-Seman and for Zalpaḫ Ḫammām al-Turkumān. Zalpaḫ is mentioned also in the texts from the neighbouring Tuttul (Tall Bi’a), see Krebernik 2001: 70, 154-155 (nos. 92 and 373). See also Meijer 2001: 335-338.

⁹³ The identity of Zalwar/Zaruar with Tilmen Höyük was first proposed by me (Forlanini 1985: 55) and accepted by Miller (2001: 77, n. 30), Duru (2003: 78), Charpin (2004: 378), Charpin/Durand (2004: 107). This Zalwar is written *Za-al-bar* in the Akkadian version of Ḫattušili’s I Annals (KBo 10.1 obv. 4), but as Zalpa in the Hittite translation (Devecchi 2005: 34-36). The spelling *Za-al-ba-ar* occurs also at Mari in a letter of Yassi-Dagan to Sammêtar concerning mainly the exile of king Bunu-Eštar of Kurda, an enemy of Šamši-Adad, who took refuge in Zalbar in order to escape the death (A.1215, 16, 17, 23; Charpin/Durand 2004).

⁹⁴ See Forlanini 2006: 164-167.

⁹⁵ For northern Zalpa/Zalpuwa, see: Otten 1973; Haas 1977; Forlanini 1984; 2004a: 374-380.

Hittite power⁹⁶ and whose presence in the Old Assyrian texts in most cases cannot be proved, apart from a few exceptions.⁹⁷

This apparent incongruity can be explained if we suppose that northern Zalpuwa was at least in some periods outside the range of the Assyrians, perhaps because of some agreement with Kaneš and the hostility between the two powers, and that southern Zalpa, a trading station at a nodal point of the Old Assyrian network, disappeared or lost its role after the end of the Assyrian trade. Its absence from the existing Hittite texts, which contain very scanty information on the area of later Commagene,⁹⁸ does not need a special explanation.

The role of Ḫarsamna

C. Günbattı discussed the letter Kt 01/k 217, at the Fifth International Congress of Hittitology.⁹⁹ This very important document was sent to king Ḫurmeli of Ḫarsamna and contains a reference to the death of Šamši-Adad (1774 BC). It changes our knowledge of the history of the beginning of the Karum Level Ib period. As far as we know, Ḫurmeli, who previously was supposed to be king of Mama or of Kaneš,¹⁰⁰ here appears as a (great) king of Ḫarsamna, and his activity can be dated in the years before the death of

⁹⁶ The History of Zalpa ends with the words (KBo 22.2 rev. 13'-15; Otten 1973: 12-13): "The king came (back) to Ḫattuša in order to worship the gods, but he let there (at the siege of Zalpa) the 'old king', who went up against the town with the words: « I am your king! ». And the army was with them (him!) and he took the town". Probably Ḫattušili (the "king") did not want to be responsible for the destruction of Zalpa, the origin of his own dynasty, and let the duty to Labarna I (the "old king"), who was of the southern/Kanešite branch. In the cult of Zalpa preserved in the text assembly CTH 733, the city does not seem to play a role, whereas the cult performances of the "son" find place in different villages or towns of its country (cf. Forlanini 1984).

⁹⁷ Dercksen 2001: 43-44 (n. 23), 62, shows that the Zalpa of OIP 27, 63, must be the northern one, because of the mention of sea food (that reminds me of the sea fishes offered in the cult of Zalpuwa, cf. Forlanini 1984: 254); whereas in my opinion it is not necessarily so for the Zalpa mentioned in Kt n/k 10, since it is possible that lapis lazuli was sent from Mama through Zalpa (of Commagene) to Ḫattuš, in order to use the road of Tegarama. The wife of Inar from Šammaḫa (a town near Mount Ašḫarpaya in Palā) is mentioned in Kt 83/k 263 (Bayram 1998: 52); Inar is the son of Aba, the woman from Ḫiḫia and son of Ḫurki from Zalpa, perhaps here the northern one because of the context. See also ICK 2, 156 (Forlanini 1985: 62 n. 62).

⁹⁸ Arnuwanda I transferred members of the Išmeriga tribe from Mittani/Ḫanigalbat in this part of Kizzuwatna; later the area was probably invaded by the tribe of Armadana. Ḫakka, Timilkiya and Ḫaḫḫum are mentioned only in early Hittite historical texts; probably Ḫaḫḫum (last mention in an annalistic text attributed to Telebinu), if identical to Samosata/Samsat, was renamed Kummaḫa ("holy city").

⁹⁹ See note 2 above.

¹⁰⁰ V. Donbaz, who published (1989: 75-77) Kt n/k 32, thought that Ḫurmeli was a king of Mama; I proposed that he was a king of Kaneš (Forlanini 1995: 124-125). Cf. Michel 2001: 119-120.

Šamši-Adad, who helped his enemy, the king of Zalpa. This new evidence seems to contrast with all we knew before; as a matter of fact Ḫurmeli was known only as the authority certifying an agreement mentioned in Kt n/k 32, an *iqqāti*-tablet certified by king Inar of Kaneš, but his *rabi simmiltim* Ḫarpatiwa appears in three other *iqqāti*-documents from Kültepe and Ališar.¹⁰¹ Besides, Ḫarsamna is known among the documents from Kültepe only from the letter of Anum-ḫerwa, where he mentioned that Inar had besieged Ḫarsamna for nine years, and elsewhere only in the Mari correspondence. This means that a few documents throw light on this city for a very short time only, before it suddenly disappears. Last but not least, we have to understand which Zalpa was helped by the mighty king of the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

We have to place Ḫurmeli into the historical sequence. Kültepe Level II was destroyed in 1836 BC (“middle chronology”), and according to Anitta’s Deeds, this was the work of Uḫna king of Zalpuwa.¹⁰² About one century later Anitta revenged his new capital by overcoming Zalpuwa and taking its king Ḫuzziya prisoner. Ḫurmeli comes after the destruction of Kaneš and its subsequent reconstruction and he was even the overlord of Kaneš, acting there through his minister Ḫarpatiwa. The name Ḫurmeli can be considered a Kanešite name derived from a toponym, the neighbouring and probably dependent city of Ḫur(ra)ma. It would not be surprising to discover that his enemy was the king of Zalpuwa. After the destruction of the Karum Level II, the king of Zalpuwa should have tried to control the region and to divert the Assyrian trade for his own interests. Subsequently Ḫurmeli, having his residence in Ḫarsamna, succeeded in liberating the country, rebuilt Kaneš and established himself as overlord in its region. We can guess that, for some reasons, Šamši-Adad went on maintaining good relations with Zalpuwa and helping its king, what resulted in increasing problems with the new power in Kaneš. By that time Ḫarsamna was a very important political centre, known in Mesopotamia for its horses and luxury products; a reflex of this importance survived in the *lipšur*-litanies.¹⁰³ After that Ḫarsamna disappeared or was reduced to a mere village.

The kingdom of Zalpa supported by Šamši-Adad can hardly be Zalwar, a town without importance in the time of Šamši-Adad, whose king Anum-ḫerwa began his career by submitting Ḫaššum (and Mama, if they were not one and the same town)¹⁰⁴ and

¹⁰¹ OIP 27, 53, 14 (from Ališar); Kt r/k 19, 21 (Donbaz 1989: 80-81, no. 5) and Kt 99/k 139, B 21 (Donbaz 2004: 276-279). Ḫurmeli must have been also overlord of Ankuwa.

¹⁰² CTH 1.

¹⁰³ Cf. Forlanini 2004: 369-370, n. 22.

¹⁰⁴ For this problem and the questions raised by my suggestion (1985: 55) that Mama was the Old Assyrian and Ḫaššum the Old Babylonian/Syrian name of one and the same town, cf. the exhaustive treatment of Miller (2001: 81-84), with a survey of Astour’s objections. I recognize that the identity is still under discussion but I must also point again to the fact that Kt k/k 4, used as an argument against it, is not an Old Assyrian text and that the letter of Anum-ḫerwa came years after the occurrences of his name at Mari. Therefore the sequence of Anum-ḫerwa’s titles as king of Zalwar, later of Ḫaššum (the most prestigious title) and finally of Mama, could be accepted only by supposing that (1) he lost Ḫaššum before his letter to Warša/uma or that (2) Ḫaššum is Mama. Moreover, the argument that Ḫaššum is not mentioned at Kültepe because it was outside the range of the Assyrians is inconsistent, since Uršum, located to the south of Ḫaššum (see for example the

becoming a neighbour of Kaneš only after year 7' (= 8, 1767 BC) of Zimri-Lim king of Mari. From his new capital he did not take part in the struggle between Ḫurmeli, or his successor, and the new king of the independent Kaneš, Inar, that he mentioned in his well-known letter to Inar's son Warša/uma.¹⁰⁵ We cannot take into account the trade station of Zalpa in Commagene, whose political importance is unknown and which could have no interest in fighting Kaneš, the place of destination of almost all the goods passing through its territory. If this long-range link, between a kingdom on the Black Sea coast and the great king of Upper Mesopotamia, who anyway was able to impose his interests also in northern Syria, may seem strange, we have to call to mind the letter of Mari A.266, reporting the message of the king of Qatna, pledging submission to the *sukkal* of Elam and asking for his help.¹⁰⁶

The location of Ḫarsamna cannot be determined from the texts available. The only possible hypothesis is based on the similarity of its name with that of the village Ḫaršumna of the Late Hittite province of Kuguwawa, situated between Kaneš and Ankuwa. I have proposed a location near Felahiye, north of Kaneš,¹⁰⁷ but this remains hypothetical.

Ḫattum and Kaneš

The meaning of Ḫattum in the Old Assyrian texts has been exhaustively treated by Dercksen.¹⁰⁸ Starting from that article I want to reconsider the Hittite sources, in order to show that they confirm the conclusions reached by Dercksen. In my already mentioned paper at the Sixth International Conference of Hittitology in Rome, devoted to the list of towns of the ritual KBo 4.13, and the development of Labarna's empire, I demonstrated

sequence of the western enemies of the writer of ARM 1, 1, 4'-6: Ḫaššum, Ursum, Karkamiš and Yamḫad; cf. Garelli 1963: 107), is attested in the Old Assyrian texts; moreover, the Hittites, while besieging Ursum, used a battering ram from the mountain of Ḫaššum (CTH 7 obv. 16').

¹⁰⁵ For the career of Anum-ḫerwa, see Guichard 1993; Miller 2001. The words of Anum-ḫerwa to Waršama (Kt g/t 35, 29-34; Balkan 1957: 8; CMK no. 62) "While your father Inar was besieging for nine years the city of Ḫarsamna, did my land invade your land and did it kill an ox or a sheep?" have a meaning only if at the time of the siege Anum-ḫerwa had already a common frontier with Kaneš and, since it is improbable for Zalwar, they must postdate the conquest of Ḫaššum in 1767 (if this town is Mama) or even its loss (if it is different from Mama).

¹⁰⁶ Durand 1997: 466-467 (LAPO 16, 298). The distance from Susa to Qatna is considerably longer than that from Tell Leilan to the estuary of the Maraššanda.

¹⁰⁷ Forlanini 2004a: 370 n. 24. For the location of Ḫarsamna we may consider the evidence from Mari, where this town is mentioned between Kaneš and Ḫattuša in the letter M.8426 + M.9046, perhaps in geographical order, or where it appears as place of origin of horses of a particular quality (a characteristic kept by the lexicographic tradition in the *lipšur* litanies after the demise of the town). I would like to point out that Central Cappadocia was renowned in Classical times for its horse breeding. To sum up, all we can say is that the land of Ḫarsamna bordered on that of Kaneš.

¹⁰⁸ 2001: 57-60. See also Garelli 1963: 115, whose treatment of this question is still cogent.

that this list consists of a sequence of different sections, independent of the lines dividing the paragraphs.¹⁰⁹ The first section is formed by Țurma and ŖalaŖŖuwa, the towns of the original principality granted by Țuzziya I to the father of the “old king”, according to the “History of Zalpa” (i.e., to the father of Labarna I). The second one by the towns of Țatti; only this section finds a parallel in the list of VBoT 68 III 4-9, both of them ending with UȚȚuwa.¹¹⁰ The third section starts again from Țurma and ŖalaŖŖuwa to which follow Ŗugziya in the Antitaurus and KaraȚna on the Upper Zuliya river on both sides of the Halys basin; immediately after this we find a list of towns along the Halys valley, following each other in a downstream direction: Pittiyariga, Arziya, ȚaŖikkaŖnawanda, ŖamuȚa,¹¹¹ Zarninuwa, KaneŖ and UŖŖuna; the whole of this section corresponds to an area larger than the Hittite Upper Country and including KaneŖ (and WaŖhaniya) as far as UŖŖuna, a town that was included in the thirteenth century in the province of Durmitta as the first mentioned, coming from the border with WaŖhaniya. This section seems to include the KaneŖite area of influence or the Hittite/NeŖite speaking area.¹¹²

The next sections contain the western conquests as far as the Arzawean/Luwian border (Țarziuna, Ŗallaba, Ŗalatiwara, Tabalka, ŖaȚȚuwaliya, Lalanda, Ŗanawida, and the western Ulma/Walma), followed by the eastern conquests in the direction of the Euphrates (ȚaŖŖuwa, Țatrâ, Ŗinuwa and Tawanaga) and finally by large external lands/kingdoms: Țalpa, Palâ, ParŖuȚunda, Ussa.

If my reconstruction is correct, the second and the third sections give us the two geopolitical and linguistic areas of Țatti and KaneŖ, related to the two branches of the Hittite dynasty, that is the two lands inherited by Labarna at the death of Țuzziya I. Is it possible that such a distinction goes back to the Old Assyrian period? Among the towns of the second section (I 20-33) are included all the kingdoms and colonies of Old

¹⁰⁹ See Forlanini, forthcoming. The list goes back to an archaic Hittite original; only in this text among all the other Hittite documents *Kab-bur-na-an-da* is mentioned, the well-known Kuburnat of the Old Assyrian records. Also Ŗalatiwar and ŖaȚuwaliya only appear in documents relating to the early Hittite history, whereas some towns are hapax. Besides, the uncertain use of the geminates (e.g., *Tu-Țu-pi-ya*, *Ta-pi-ka* or *Ma-la-zi-ya*) and the strange spelling *U-Țs-sa*, attested only in early Hittite texts, confirm my assumption.

¹¹⁰ The Țatti section of the list (I 20'-33) starts with Țatti (the town) and includes the Old Assyrian establishments in this country: Țatti (= ȚattuŖa), Tawiniya, Akuwa, Durmitta, TuȚupiya, ŖanaȚuitta.

¹¹¹ The recent discoveries made at Kayalıpinar by A. Müller-Karpe show that this archaeological site corresponds to an important ancient town having an Old Assyrian settlement with archives and to an imperial Hittite religious city yielding texts in Hittite and in Hurrian; hence the identification of Kayalıpinar with ŖamuȚa (see Wilhelm 2002) is probable.

¹¹² On the language spoken at KaneŖ, see Alp 1993 and Goedegebuure (this volume). On the area of diffusion of this language, cf. Melchert 2003: 21-22: “We are thus lead to a scenario by which the speakers of the prehistoric dialect that became Hittite were located not in north central Anatolia but in an area *between* the Hattians to the north and the pre-Luwian population to the south and west. This means roughly in a band of territory stretching to the northeast along the upper course of the Halys, centering on Nesa/Kanish, the only site for which we have direct evidence for a strong early presence of Hittite speakers”. On the local cults and the tradition of the singers of KaneŖ, see Archi 2004.

Assyrian Ḫattum: Ḫattuša, Tawiniya, Tuḫuppiya, Durmitta and northern Zalpa plus Ankuwa and Šanaḫuitta, that in the past had rebelled against Ḫattuš. The third section, that of the Kanešite area, can be defined if one looks to the main axes of its territory: the Halys valley from the Upper to the Lower Country (from Pittiyariga to Uššuna), the trade axis through the passes of the Antitaurus in the direction of the Euphrates' crossings (from Kaneš to Šalaḫšuwa, Hurma and Šuḡziya) and finally the northern frontier on the Zuliya river with Karaḫna. Kaneš could try to take Ankuwa, Kapitra and Šanaḫuitta from Ḫatti only by controlling Karaḫna and Šamuḫa. The name of the Hittite Lower Country originated from that structure of the Kanešite world,¹¹³ but the corresponding territory reached its final size only with the conquest of Puruḫḫanda. That Ḫatti and Kaneš were considered two main divisions of the Anatolian territory is shown also by the presence of the kings of both countries in the Hittite version of the list of the enemies of Narām-Sin, where no other Anatolian power is mentioned. If we also take Puruḫḫattum into consideration we get a tripartite political and even ethnic division of central Anatolia with Kaneš representing the Nešite, Ḫattum the Ḫattian, and Puruḫḫattum the Luwian population.¹¹⁴

Towns, kingdoms and dynasties

The most straightforward interpretation of the Old Assyrian evidence connects each independent town to a prince/king, as if each independent town had its own dynasty. From other historical periods, which are better documented, we know that dynasties could rule many towns and even different kingdoms, bearing different titles together; dynasties could become related to each other, succeed one to the other in the same kingdom, or even change kingdom. These are possible events also in Anatolian history and for the Old Assyrian period too we cannot rule out these developments, although the lack of evidence hinders us in recognizing them. Some inconsistencies that came to light in the historical reconstruction can however caution us.

We could mention Hurmeli, Great Prince and Prince of Ḫarsamna, but also overlord in Kaneš, or Anitta in Ankuwa, king of Kuššar in the later tradition but also prince of Kaneš and Ankuwa; Zuzzu ruled Kaneš with the mysterious title Great King of Alaḫzina. The first king of "Ḫatti", bearing the Zalpean name Ḫuzziya, gave Hurma to the father of Labarna I, whereas the future Labarna II/Ḫattušili I must have received, perhaps through

¹¹³ In my opinion the use of the geographical terms of Upper and Lower Country originated in Kaneš with the meaning of "upstream or downstream from Kaneš along the Maraššanda". Since the Luwian speaking area was already reaching Kaneš from the south and the towns on the road to the Euphrates were in the following centuries subject to the Hurrian cultural influence and ethnic diffusion, the true Nešite region remained the Upper Country. When the Kaškeans coming from Iḫḫubitta and Marišta (around Tokat) crossed the Maraššanda near modern Sivas in the time of Muwatalli II (CTH 81 II 5-6: Otten 1981: 10-11), they invaded the "Land of Kaneš" according to Ḫattušili III.

¹¹⁴ See Michel 2001: 43.

his father Pawaḫtelmaḫ, the town of Ḫattuša. Ḫuzziya adopted Labarna in Šanaḫuitta, perhaps his residence,¹¹⁵ and Labarna probably remained in his personal capital, Ḫurma, where most of the events of the Palace Chronicle are located. Both Labarna and Ḫattušili used to live in Kuššar, the old residence of Anitta, a town not far from Ḫurma,¹¹⁶ although Ḫuzziya, the grandfather of Ḫattušili is more likely to be a descendant of Ḫuzziya, king of Zalpuwa and enemy of Anitta.

The letter of Anum-ḫerwa shows that the kings of Kaneš and Mama were the overlords of vassal princes of dependent towns, exactly like the Hittite kings, who used to appoint blood relatives or in-laws as rulers of the main cities of the empire. The well-known revolt against Ḫattuš of the princes of Amkuwa, Šinaḫutum and Kapitra¹¹⁷ or the instructions sent by the queen of Kaneš to Luḫuzzadiya, Ḫurama and Šalahšuwa in order to prevent the smuggling,¹¹⁸ demonstrate the possible extent of the hegemony of the larger kingdoms also in the Colony Period.

I think that the creation and the growth of the Early Hittite kingdom (or empire) naturally developed from the structure of the Anatolian territorial states and their elites in the eighteenth century (during and after the Level Ib period at Kültepe). The acceleration of this process must have been related to the end of the Assyrian commercial network and the loss of this profitable trade for the local rulers.

¹¹⁵ Šanaḫuitta was located probably to the east of Kadaba and on the left bank of the river Zuliya, since a recently published fragment, KBo 50.51, 8', mentions the town immediately after the difficult crossing of the river by the *tuhkanti* Tuḫaliya, son of Ḫattušili III and future Tuḫaliya IV, while he sustained an attack from the Kaškeans who had descended from the mountains and blocked the bridge (on this text see Riemschneider 1962: 111-113). Troops of Šanaḫuitta are included in the army of the Upper Country according to the Mašat letter no. 96. Hence, the city was at the border between Ḫatti and the Kanešite world and that can explain the choice of Ḫuzziya I.

¹¹⁶ See already Garelli 1956: 116, with regard to VS 26, 22 (= VAT 13484): 9-10, but cf. the commentary by Veenhof to this text in VS 26, p.19. The territory of Kuššara bordered on that of Luḫuzzadia/Laḫu(wa)zzandiya according to Kay 1830 (Hecker 1996: 150; edited CMK no. 59). Kuššara must have been located between Ḫurama and Tegarama, north of Luḫuzzadia and probably on a crossroad leading towards the north to Šamuḫa. In the Testament of Ḫattušili I the king was dictating the text while, being ill, he was residing in Kuššar, and in Kuššar we find the "father of the king" (Labarna in my reconstruction) at the beginning of CTH 8/9 (the "Palace Chronicle"), a text that has so much to do with Ḫur(ra)ma; but that does not mean that the "father of the king" in CTH 8/9 must be identified with Ḫattušili I.

¹¹⁷ According to Steiner (1992) this revolt could have preceded or brought about the war between Anitta and Piušti of Ḫattuša.

¹¹⁸ ATHE 62 (CMK no. 207), 28-37. Also CCT 4, 19c (CMK no. 103) is likely to refer to the same situation, where the princess is again that of Kaneš, and not of Luḫuzzadia.

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