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MURSILIS' NORTHWESTERN CAMPAIGNS—ADDITIONAL FRAGMENTS OF HIS COMPREHENSIVE ANNALS

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THIS article will be devoted to a number of fragments of Mursilis' Extensive Annals; in more than one respect they give the sequel to the fragments edited by Otten, Riemschneider, and Scholze in *MIO* III (1955), 153 ff., since most of them were found in the same building—"Archive A"—are part of the same or a similar series, and add new material to Goetze's edition *Die Annalen des Mursilis* (*MVAeG*, XXXVIII, [1933]) in the same manner as some of the fragments published in *MIO* III.

The most important of the group are *KBo* XIV 19 and 20, characterized in the Introduction to that volume as "Selbstbericht eines Königs über Feldzüge in Gegenden, in denen auch Suppiluliuma tätig war." After Güterbock had first believed them to be a part of the Extensive Annals of Mursilis when he made a first copy of them before World War II, he studied the texts anew at the time he was preparing his edition of the *Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son Mursili II* and he entered the place names mentioned in these fragments in his alphabetical index of place names of the *Deeds* themselves. The place names of *KBo* XIV 19 and 20, run parallel with those of Fragment 34 of the *Deeds* and at the same time with place names mentioned in Goetze's edition of Mursilis' Annals, pp. 156 ff., where one finds the description of Mursilis' campaigns in the same surroundings approximately twenty years later. Some time later, when he was preparing their publication in *KBo* XIV, Güterbock did not want to exclude the possibility that the fragments might be part of a text in which Suppiluliumas himself had described his own military achievements, though he did not feel inclined to present them as such.

In the meantime—after their publication—Laroche has expressed as his opinion that they should be attributed to Mursilis' Comprehensive Annals, thinking that they should be inserted in the gaps of *KBo* V 8 (in Goetze's edition, pp. 154 ff.).¹ This attribution can be proved when one takes into consideration that *KBo* XIV 20 can be joined to *KUB* XXXIV 33 beginning with *KBo* XIV 20 I: 15. This join—my personal contribution to the clarification of the problem—had led me independently to the same conclusion. It restores almost the complete text for a number of lines and produces the name of Aranhapilizzis, who is known from other passages in the Annals as a general of Mursilis' time.²

Professor Güterbock, to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude for his kind help and guidance at every stage of this study and also for his willingness to put at my disposal a number of still unpublished texts, had been so helpful as to verify this join for me in

¹ See his review of *KBo* XII and XIV in *OLZ*, LIX (1964), 565: "Il est peu probable que ces fragments appartiennent aux 'Gestes' de Suppiluliuma; on serait plutôt tenté de les insérer dans les lacunes de *KBo* V 8 (cf. Götze, *Ann. Murs.* 154 sqq.; Otten, *MIO* 3, 166 sqq.). Noter l'emphase solennelle par

laquelle le roi Mursili II introduit cette section militaire destinée à garantir le Pala et le Tumana: *Ann. Murs.* 153 sqq."

² Cf. *KUB* XIX 37 II 48 = *AM*, 172 and III: 6 = *AM*, 172.

August 1964 during his first visit of that year to the Museum in Ankara. During this first visit he also confirmed my impression that *KUB XXXIV 34* belonged to the same tablet and could be placed immediately after *KBo XIV 20 I:30*. Later in that same year, in the course of a renewed investigation, he came to the conclusion that *KBo XIV 19* and *20* do in fact belong to the same tablet in such a manner that *KBo XIV 20* precedes *19*. From the historical contents I had surmised about the same time that the prevailing parts of *KBo XIV 20* should precede the remaining fragments of Tablet *19* and that the order in the publication should be reversed, a supposition fortunately confirmed by Professor Güterbock's investigation of the pieces themselves.³

During this second investigation Professor Güterbock was able to identify four more possible fragments of this tablet, 539/b, 154/c, 1561/c and 2301/c, which have all been incorporated into this article. One of these—2301/c—can be joined to *KBo VIII 34*, tentatively ascribed to Mursilis' Annals by its editor Otten ("Vielleicht Stück der Mursili-Annalen, nennt Kantuzzili"). The two fragments combined produce the name of an enemy beginning with the syllable *Pit[.]*. This must be Pittaparas, one of the two enemies mentioned in *KBo V 8 III*, his partner being Pittagatallis. While the defeat of Pittagatallis is described in that text, a break of about 30–35 lines sets in exactly at the point where Mursilis is about to describe his pursuit of Pittaparas (*KBo V 8 III:40–43 = AM*, 158 and 160; the first 30–35 lines of column IV are missing). It is probable that this new fragment is part of a duplicate from "Archive A" describing the same episode. A second—539/b—mentions in line 6 a town whose name begins with Mara [.]. Professor Güterbock has proposed to restore Mara[ssantiya], a town mentioned in Otten's fragment 6 III:23 = *MIO III* (1955), 172, restoring *KBo II 5 III = AM*, 188. This restoration has led him to place this fragment 539/b also in the proximity of *KBo V 8 IV:3 ff*. His reason is that in Otten's fragment the name of this town is mentioned in the lines preceding the second expedition to Kalasma. If one gives 539/b this position, it would precede the first expedition to Kalasma narrated in *KBo V 8 IV:3 ff*. If both these guesses are correct, the gap at the beginning of *KBo V 8 IV* is now lowered to about 10–15 lines. The two remaining fragments—154/c and 1561/c—describe a first conquest of Dahara River Land. Their combined length—sixteen lines—makes it improbable that they should also be fitted into this same gap. I have assigned to these a tentative position before *KBo XIV 20 II* and *KBo XIV 19 II* (fragments XI and XII in my list).

In 1965 Professor Güterbock gave me permission to study a third group of fragments of Mursilis' Annals, which he will publish together with those mentioned above in a future volume of the *KBo* series amongst a group of historical texts. Three of these, 2764/c, 2768/c and 2807/c, are closely related as far as content is concerned. In my opinion 2768/c—representing a part of a first column—could very well be a duplicate of *KBo XIV 20 I:1–5* for the latter part of its twelve lines. Fragment 2764/c—representing part of a second column—can readily be placed after 2768/c, divided from that piece by a great number of lines which have partly been preserved in *KBo XIV 20 + KUB XXXIV 33 and 34*.⁴ Fragment 2807/c, the third of those just mentioned, can be joined

³ See also Von Schuler, *Die Kaskäer* (Berlin, 1965), pp. 39–40; but he uses the texts in his description of Suppiluliumas' reign.

⁴ Other arrangements would remove the two Fragments 2768/c I and 2764/c II rather far from one

another: more than two columns if 2764/c II belonged to a preceding tablet of one and the same series, and even four if 2768/c I came first but belonged to another tablet.

to *KBo* VII 17, both pieces giving parts of a Column I and a Column IV. This join restores a number of lines of Column I over their full length. The passage is a crucial one, since it relates the conquest of a number of cities, the loss of which is described in *KBo* XIV 20 I:9 ff. Therefore it should be assigned a place after the group of *KBo* XIV 20 + *KUB* XXXIV 33 and 34 (Fragment IV). But according to my opinion it also follows 2764/c (Fragment V), my main reason being that the king, who puts a temporary stop to his military activities in *KBo* XIV 20 I:1–3 (= 2768/c:8–10), resumes his activities again in 2764/c:13 ff. to be normally active in *KBo* VII 17 + 2807/c I (therefore Fragment VI).

All the pieces that have been mentioned so far were found in or near "Archive A." It seems likely that the text of these new fragments was preserved in "Archive A" in a minimum of two copies and a probable number of three. At this moment I am inclined to think that the new Fragments I and II (*KBo* VIII 34 + 2301/c and 539/b respectively) do not belong to the same tablet as Fragments IV (*KBo* XIV 20 I + *KUB* XXXIV 33 and 34), VIII (154/c), IX (1561/c), XI (*KBo* XIV 20 II), XII (*KBo* XIV 19 II) and XIII (*KBo* XIV 19 III), but are parts of a preceding tablet of the same series written by the same scribe. I have differentiated both tablets as A a and A b. If they all belonged to one tablet, its first column would have been extremely long, a minimum of 104 lines, an unprecedented length so far.⁵ A second copy B comprises Fragments III (2768/c) and V (2764/c). Since Fragment VI (*KBo* VII 17 + 2807/c I) describes a later stage of events than Fragment V (part of a second column), it cannot be attributed to the same copy but should be considered a part of a third copy, C. Another probable fragment of Mursilis' Comprehensive Annals is *KUB* XXXIV 36. I have included it as Fragment VII on account of its contents—it is part of the description of a campaign against the Gasga tribes—and I have assigned it this approximative place in the order of sequence on the basis of the place name Zidaparha which is mentioned in it. It carries the excavation number 168/c and was also found in "Archive A," but I do not know to which of the preceding copies it may have belonged.

It would have been surprising indeed if the text of all these fragments had been completely absent from the Archive explored by Makridi. Therefore it is interesting to note that a few texts of earlier volumes seem to be related to this new group. *KUB* XIV 18 (2 *BoTU* 67), already recognized as part of the Annals by Forrer,⁶ probably precedes 154/c (Fragment VIII), being a duplicate for its last lines. *KUB* XIV 19—first characterized as a possible fragment of Mursilis' Annals by its editor Goetze (see "Vorwort" *KUB* XIV)—is next to 154/c (Fragment VIII) and 1561/c (Fragment IX), the third Hittite text in which the technical term *EREM.MEŠ parašanza*—a kind of troops—occurs.⁷ I have included it as Fragment X. The fact that the sea is mentioned in line 7 determines the position of this fragment in the subgroup consisting of VIII, IX, and X. The personal name Alluwamna written in the margin of *KBo* XIV 19 III (Fragment XIII) and probably belonging to line 30 or 31 can be found also in *KUB* XIV 25:9, a text which was already ascribed to Mursilis' Annals by Forrer (2 *BoTU* 66).⁸ In line 1

⁵ 35 lines (the gap at the beginning of *KBo* V 8 IV now partly filled by the new Fragments I and II) + 22 lines (the preserved part of *KBo* V 8 IV) + 8 lines (Fragment III as far as it is not duplicated by Fragment IV) + 39 lines (Fragment IV) = 104 lines.

⁶ See, too, Otten, *MIO* III (1955), 174.

⁷ See, too, Otten, *ibid.*

⁸ The same remark is made by Von Schuler, *Die Kaskäer*, p. 28, note 126* and p. 40, note 234. Forrer comments on this text: "gehört einer ganz besonders grosschriftartigen Tafelreihe an, von der sonst nichts erhalten ist" (2 *BoTU* 47*). See, too Otten, *MIO* III (1955), 174.

A a : *KBo VIII 34 + 2301/c and 539/b*
A b : *KBo XIV 19, 20; KUB XXXIV 33 and 34; 154/c and 1561/c*
B : *2764/c and 2768/c*
C : *KBo VII 17 + 2807/c*
? : *KUB XXXIV 36*
Makridi: *KUB XIV 18, 19, and 25*

A		B	C	Makridi
A a IV	<i>KBo</i> VIII 34 + 2301/c (I) Flight of Pittaparas 11 —Kantuzzilis 539/b (II) King meets with commanders—Gasga 9 tribes	→ 2768/c I (III) Final stage of a Gasga campaign —return— autumn—king in 12 Harziuna		
A b I	<i>KBo</i> XIV 20 + <i>KUB</i> XXXIV 33 and 34 (IV) Partly duplicate of III —description of Gasga attack—revolt in Athulissa—king inter- rupts activities— Aranhapilizzis cam- paigns in the South- 39 west	← → 2764/c II (V) Description of the activities of a general—king resumes an 21 active role	→ <i>KBo</i> VII 17 + 2807/c I (VI) King recon- quers towns the loss of which is des- cribed in 14 IV:9 ff.	
		?		
	?	<i>KUB</i> XXXIV 36 (VII) Zidaparha— destruction of Harapasa— 10 Dumma	→ ?	
	154/c (continuation of VIII) "Flying column" into 8 Dahara River Land 1561/c (IX) Activities of the 8 "Flying column"	←		<i>KUB</i> XIV 18 (VIII) Hasammelis
	<i>KBo</i> XIV 20 II (XI) Pursuit in the sur- roundings of Washaya 22 and Tarittara <i>KBo</i> XIV 19 II (XII) Fighting in the Kassu mountain—punishment of Athulissa—second conquest of Dahara 31 River Land <i>KBo</i> XIV 19 III (XIII) War in the North- 33 east (Tehulliya)	←		<i>KUB</i> XIV 19 (X) Battle near the 13 sea
			→ <i>KBo</i> VII 17 + 2301/c IV (XIV) Kummesmaha 8 River	<i>KUB</i> XIV 25 (XV) Kummesmaha River— Sunupassi 13 —Istahara

Forrer proposed to restore the name of the river Kummesmaha, and this same river is also mentioned in *KBo* VII 17 + 2807/c IV:3 (Fragment XIV). Therefore I have added *KUB* XIV 25 at the end of the list of fragments as No. XV.⁹

The accompanying Table 1 may give the reader a first impression of the contents of these new fragments, while serving at the same time as an explanation of their mutual relationship.

With respect to the position of this group of fragments within the framework of the Comprehensive Annals, their place names suffice to give a general indication: they belong in the neighborhood of *KBo* V 8, *KUB* XIX 39, and *KUB* XIX 37 (and their respective duplicates from "Archive A" as published by Otten). Fragments I and II partly fill a gap at the beginning of *KBo* V 8 IV. They probably belonged to a fourth column themselves (A a IV). The total number of lines now already available for A b I suggest that it must have been a fairly large tablet. It is of interest to note that Otten's duplicates 3 and 4 for *KBo* V 8 and *KUB* XIX 37 respectively display the same column division as the texts edited by Goetze. This legitimizes in my opinion the assumption that Column I of the copies A b and B followed the extant text of *KBo* V 8 rather closely. It should be added, however, that the beginning of Fragment III (2768/c) describes the final stage of a campaign against the Gasga tribes, which seems to be missing from *KBo* V 8 IV and must have been related in the very first lines of the new tablet. Not much is missing, since, according to Professor Güterbock, the preserved beginning of Fragment 2768/c is near to the upper edge of the tablet.

A number of additional arguments may be adduced to support the hypothesis of a position between *KBo* V 8 and *KUB* XIX 37:

(a) *KBo* XIV 20 I:4-5 (Fragment IV) refers to the fact that there was renewed Gasgaean activity along a wide front in the same general surroundings where they had been beaten in that same year.¹⁰ It is therefore probable that the new fragments form the sequel to the important campaign mentioned in *KBo* V 8 II ff. (the exact beginning of the campaign is preserved in Otten's fragment 3 II:28, cf. *MIO* III [1955], 167) after the well-known general introduction to the wars in the north-west.

(b) In *KBo* V 8 III:35 it is told that an enemy takes refuge in the Dahara River Land; in *ibid.* III:40-43 another enemy, Pittaparas, is mentioned as having fled towards the Kassu Mountain. While it seems that these regions were not under firm Hittite control during that stage of the campaign, their definite conquest is described in the new fragments (Fragment XII). Therefore these fragments should follow *KBo* V 8.

(c) The data related to the north-eastern zone are in agreement also with this arrangement: according to *KBo* V 8I: 40-42 the territory around the Kummesmaha River is still free from Hittite rule; the river is mentioned twice in the group of new fragments (Fragments XIV:4 and XV:1); its definite conquest is described in *KBo* II 5 II:42-52.

⁹ Another possible fragment might be concealed in *KUB* XXXI 9 (= 2 *BoTU* 65), also ascribed to Mursilis' Annals by Otten, *MIO* III (1955), 175. I have tried to use the Obverse (?) for the restoration of Fragment XII:1-2, since the Kassu mountain seems to be mentioned in *KUB* XXXI 9 I (?):6 but I have abandoned these attempts. It could also belong to

the neighborhood of Fragment I. A last possibility would be *KUB* XXXI 35 + XXIII 36, as joined by Meriggi, *WZKM*, LVIII (1962), 80 ff. Von Schuler, *Die Kaskäer*, p. 22, note 33 has made it probable that the sea mentioned in XXIII 36 II:11 ff. is the Black Sea.

¹⁰ Cf. the commentary to Fragment IV:4.

(d) The geographical parallel with Fragment 34 of the *Deeds* becomes still more striking if one places the definite conquest of Kassu and Dahara River Land between *KBo* V 8 II–IV (conquest of Tummanna and Sapidduwa) on the one hand and *KUB* XIX 37 II and III (definite conquest of Timmuhala and Tapapanuwa) on the other.

(e) Fragments III and IV allude to the plague and it seems reasonable that they should be placed before *KUB* XIX 37 which mentions the offerings to the Mala in II:46–47.

I am well aware of the fact that *KUB* XIX 39 also belongs between *KBo* V 8 and *KUB* XIX 37. The latter refers to a second rebellion of Tapapanuwa in III:28 and precisely on account of this fact *KUB* XIX 39, which mentions a conquest of this region in its second column, should precede *KUB* XIX 37.¹¹ Lending full weight to the fact that *KUB* XIX 39 combines a first part of the second column on the Obverse with the last part of a third column on the Reverse, Forrer estimates that the complete gap between the two parts amounts to about 105 lines.¹² Assuming again that the tablets of the various series display approximately the same column division, I reckon with the possibility that *KUB* XIX 39 II could precede *KBo* XIV 20 II (Fragment XI) and that *KUB* XIX 39 III could very well follow the later fragments of the new group (Fragments XIII–XV). I have elaborated on this idea in the commentary to Fragment IV:12.

It may be permitted to give for clarity's sake a general definition of the changes brought about by the inclusion of this new group of fragments: the general order of Goetze's arrangement remains completely intact (*KBo* V 8–*KUB* XIX 39–*KUB* XIX 37–*KBo* II 5); my one modification is that *KUB* XIX 39 is now embedded in a group of new fragments, most of them but not all found in or near "Archive A."

I would like to mention as a possible point of interest that two of the joins bridge the gap between the pre- and the post-war excavations: 30/k (*KBo* VII 17) should be joined to 2807/c (Fragments VI and XIV) and 98/m (*KBo* VIII 34) to 2301/c (Fragment I). Another point of interest that may be mentioned is the fact that Otten mentions a "label" from Room 5 of "Archive A" referring to "Tablets of Mursilis' Deeds."¹³ In this same room part of copy A b of the new fragments—*KBo* XIV 20—was found by the excavators.

At the end of this Introduction I would like to thank Professor Güterbock for his permission to use for this article a number of still unpublished fragments and above all for his generous help and constant assistance during all the stages of this study, from his initial confirmation of the join, through his renewed study of the mutual relationship between *KBo* XIV 19 and 20, up to his help and advice during the time this paper obtained its final shape. And I would like to thank Professor Otten for his collation of *KBo* XIV 19 II:24 (Fragment XII) and for his valuable advice on a number of questions.¹⁴

¹¹ Cf. Goetze, *AM*, 7: "Dazu kommt nun noch, dass XIX 39, das die Schilderung von *KBo* V 8 fortzusetzen scheint, und mit II 9 auch stilistisch an *KBo* B 8 I: 37 f. erinnert, mit seiner Kolumne II sicher vor XIX 37 einzureihen ist. Die Stadt Tapapanuwa wird nämlich XIX 39 II 6 erstmalig verbrannt, XIX 37 II 30 ist sie hethitisch, III 28 f. fällt sie ab und wird ein zweites Mal verbrannt."

¹² Cf. Forrer, 2 *BoTU* 63, 133.

¹³ See Otten, *MIO* III (1955), 160. This is *KUB* XXX 75, *tup-pa*^{HI.A} *ŠA* ^m*Mur-ši-li* *LÚ-na-an-na-aš*.

¹⁴ I hope to present elsewhere a detailed discussion of the geographical, historical, and chronological problems involved in this new material.

- 5 *nu-kán A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ* [.....]
6 *nu A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ EZEN X* [..... *i-ia-nu-un nu-kán EZEN*
nu-un-ta-ri-ia-aš-ḫa-aš]
7 *zé-e-na-an-ta-aš aš-ša-nu-nu-un*¹¹ [*nu I-NA ŠA* URU *Ḫa-at-ti UG6-kán e-eš-ta*¹²]
8 *nu ak-ke-eš-ki-it-ta-at nu* UG₆-n[*i pí-ra-an ar-ḫ(a tar-na-aḫ-ḫu-un)*¹³ *nu-za*]
9 [LU]GAL-u[š] *I-NA KUR* URU *Ḫar-zi-wa-na* [*pa-a-un nu-u(š-ša-an nam-ma A-NA)*
KUR.KUR.MEŠ LÚKÚR]
10 [*Ú-UL pa-a-un nu . . . -a*]š-šar *Ú-UL* [(*i-ia-nu-un*)]
-
- 11 [.....] LÚKÚR URU *Ga-aš-g[a-an ku-in (a-pé-e-da-ni MU.KAM-ti ku-e-nu-un)]*
12 [.....] *i]š-ta[r-n]a X* [.... *UM-M(A LUGAL-MA a-ši-wa-mu*
URUGa-aš-ga-aš]

FRAGMENT IV (*KBo* XIV 20 I + XXXIV 33 and 34)

- 1 [(*nu ak-ke-eš-ki-it-ta-at nu* UG6*-ŋi pi-ra-an ar-h*)*a tar-na-aḥ-ḫu-un*¹⁴ [*nu-za*]
2 [LU(GAL-*u*)š (*I-NA KUR URU Har-zi*)-ú-(*na pa-a-un nu-u*)š-ša-an nam-ma A-NA
[KUR.KUR.MEŠ LU KÚR]
3 [*Ú-UL pa-a-un nu . . . -a(š-šar Ú-UL)*] *i-ia-nu-un*
-
- 4 [.] (^{LÚ}KÚR ^{URU}Ga-aš-g)*a-an ku-in*] *a-pé-e-da-ni MU.KAM-ti ku-e-nu-un*
5 [.] *i(š-ta)r-n(a) UM-M*]A LUGAL-MA *a-ši-wa-mu URUGa-aš-ga-aš*
6 [.] *iš-tar-na nu-mu nam-ma ku-ru*]ri-ia-aḥ-zi ^{LÚ}KÚR ^{URU}Ga-aš-ga-aš-ma
7 [*ki-iš-ša-an me-mi-iš-ta*¹⁵ I-NA ŠÀ ^{URU}H]a-at-ti-wa-kán ḫi-in-kán ki-ša-at
8 [*nu ŠA KUR URUHat-ti URU.AŠ.AŠ.ḪI.A ḫar-ni*]-in-ke-eš-ki-u-wa-an ti-i-ia-at
9 [.]X-iz-za ^{URU}Ha-ak-pí-iš-ša-za KUR ^{URU}Túḫ-mu-ta-ru
10 [.] KJUR Hur-ša-am-ma Ū KUR Tu-uh-mi-ia-ra
11 [.]mu ^{URU}Dur-me-et-ta-az ŠA KUR ^{URU}Dur-me-et-ta
12 [.] Š]A KUR ^{URU}Ta-pa-pa-nu-wa-ia ^{ID}Da-ḫa-ra
13 [*nu URU ku-in LUGAL-u*]š ḫar-ni-in-kán ḫar-ku-un nu-mu a-pa-a-aš-ša
ku-ru-ri-ia-ah-ta
14 [^mPé-en-du-um-li-iš-š]a ku-iš ^mPi-iz-zu-mu-ri-iš-ša LÚ.MEŠ ^{ID}Da-ḫa-ra
15 [.] [^re¹ -šir na-at I-NA ^{URU}At-ḫu-liš-ša e-šir
16 [*nam-ma*]-ia ku-i-e[-eš¹⁶ U]RU Ga-aš-ga-ḪI.A pa-ra-a ú-wa-an-te-eš e-šir
17 [*na-a*t I-NA KUR Hat-ti [^re¹-šir nu a-pu-u-uš-ša BAL da-pár-ri-ia-e-er
18 [BAL-w]a i-ia-u-e-ni¹⁷ nu-wa I-NA ^{URU}Ga-aš-ga EGIR-pa pa-a-i-u-e-ni

- 19 [nu I-N]A ŠĀ URU^{URU}Ĥat-ti ku-it UG₆-kán e-š-ta nu nu-u-ma-an ma-an-qa i-ia-nu-un
20 [nu-uš-m]a-aš la-aš-hi-ia-u-a[n-z]i Ú-UL pa-a-un nu hi-in-ga-ni ku-it

¹¹ Cf. *KB* II 5 III:45–47. = *AM*, 190.

¹² Cf. IV:19; another possibility would be *ki-ša-at*, cf. IV:7.

¹³ From this line up to the end IV:1-5 has been used as a duplicate, cf. the commentary to IV:1-3.

¹⁴ From this line up to line 5 Fragment III:8-12 has been used as a duplicate, cf. the commentary.

¹⁵ Cf. XIX 39 II:2 = *AM*, 162; 3 III:11 = *MIO* III (1955), 168.

¹⁶ Beginning with this line XXXIV 33:2 joins the main text in an intelligible way. XXXIV 33:1 shows a few traces. For the restoration of *nam-ma-ia* see XII:21.

¹⁷ Cf. XII:18.

- 21 [pí-r]a-an ar-ḥa tar-na-aḥ[-ḥu-un] nu-za I-NA ^{URU}Har-zi-ú-na e-šu-un
 22 [nu-k]án ^mA-ra-an-ḥa-pí-lí[-iz-zi-in GAL UKU. U]Š DUMU. LUGAL IŠ-TU
 EREM. MEŠ ANŠE. KUR. RA. ȚI. A
 23 [I-N]A ^{URU}Hu-u-wa-lu-ša pa[-ra-a ne-eḥ-ḥu-un ¹⁸ na-aš] KUR ^{URU}Hu-u-wa-lu-ši-ia
 ḥar-ni-ik-ta
 24 [IŠ]-TU GUD. MEŠ-ma-at UDU. ȚI. A-ia ^{URU}Ha-at-tu-ša-aš š[a-ru-u-wa-it ¹⁹
 25 [nam]-ma-aš-kán ^{HUR. SAG}Mu[-..... an-d]a pa-it
 26 [nu] pa-it ^{HUR. SAG}ša-la[-..... na-a]t ar-ḥa wa-ar-nu-ut
 27 [IŠ]-TU NAM. RA. MEŠ-ma-at GUD [UDU ^{URU}Ha-at-tu-ša-aš ša-ru-u-wa-i]t
-
- 28 [pa-r]a-a-ma KUR ^{URU}Pa[-..... ḥar-ni-ik-ta na-at ar-ḥa w]a-ar-nu-ut
 29 [IŠ-T]U NAM. RA. M[EŠ-ma-at GUD UDU ^{URU}Ha-at-tu-ša-aš ša-ru-u-w]a-it
 30 [pa-ra]-^{ra}a-ma K[UR ^{URU}..... ḥar-ni-ik-ta na-at ar-ḥa w]a-a[r-n]u-[u]t ²⁰
 31 [IŠ-TU NAM. RA. MEŠ-ma-at GUD UDU ^{URU}Ha-at-tu-ša]-aš ša-ru-u-wa-i[t]
 32 [pa-ra-a-ma KUR ^{URU}..... ḥar-ni-ik]-ta na-at ar-ḥa wa-ar-nu-ut
 33 [IŠ-TU NAM. RA. MEŠ-ma-at GUD UDU ^{URU}Ha-at-tu-ša-aš] ša-ru-u-wa-it pa-ra-a-ma
 KUR Gal-pí[-.....]
 34 [..... ḥar-ni-ik-ta na-at] ar-ḥa wa-ar-nu-ut
 35 [IŠ-TU NAM. RA. MEŠ-ma-at GUD UDU ^{URU}Ha-at-tu-š]a-aš ša-ru-u-wa-it na[m-ma]
 36 [..... GUD. MEŠ UDU. ȚI. A] me-ek-ki ú-e-
 m[i-ia-at]
 37 [..... ^mA]-ra-an-ḥa-pí-lí-iz[-zi-iš]
 38 [..... X]-X-mu-ra-an-da pa[-.....]
 39 [..... ar]-ḥa wa-a[r-nu-ut]

FRAGMENT V (2764/c II)

- 1 pa-a[ḥ-ḥa-aš-ta-at]
 2 nu I-NA [.....]
 3 nu-kán a[-]
 4 pa-ra-a n[a-a-iš]
 5 pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš[-ta-at]
 6 na-at-za tar[-aḥ-ta]
 7 ú-i-da-it [.....]
 8 ^{LÚ}KÚR ^{URU}Ga-aš-g[a-aš]
 9 nu-za A-NA KUR ^{URU}Ga[-aš-ga]
 10 nu-kán ^{LÚ}KÚR ^{URU}Ga-aš[-ga-aš ku-iš]
 11 i-ia-at-ta-at na[-an-za-an]
 12 tar-aḥ-ḥi-eš-ki-it

¹⁸ Cf. XIX 37 II:48-49 = AM, 172 and AM, *passim* with respect to other commanders.

¹⁹ Cf. in this fragment lines 27, 29, 31, 33, and 35; see, too, I:4 and VI:7 and 9 as well as XII:31 for this phrase, also to be found in XIX 37 III:30 = AM, 174 and *ibid.* IV:13-14 and 15 = AM, 178. This phrase has been restored by Goetze in XIX 37 II:

51 = AM, 172 and should also be restored in XIII: 27-28.

²⁰ Beginning with this line I pass over from *KBo* XIV 20 I + XXXIV 33 to XXXIV 34: the traces of [w]a-a[r-n]u are to be found on XXXIV 34 (line 1). See the commentary.

- 13 GIM-an-ma LUGAL-uš ke-e [*ud-da-a-ar* *iš-ta-ma-aš-šu-un*]
14 *nu tar-ra-aḥ-ḥa-at nam-ma* [.....]
15 *nu* EREM.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ni-ni-i[n-ku-un nu I-NA KUR* ^{URU}*Ḥat-ti*]
16 [*pa*]-a-un *nu* GIM-an ^{URU}*Ḥa*[-*at-tu-ši ar-ḥu-un nu-za ú-wa-tar*]
17 [*a-p*]*i-ia i-ia-nu-un nam*[-*ma la-aḥ-ḥi-ia-u-an-zi pa-a-u*²¹ *nu-mu*]
18 [^{LÚ}KÚR ^{URU}*G*]-a-aš-ga-aš *ku-it iš-d*[*am-ma-aš-ša-an ḥar-ta*²² *nu* GE₆-az]
19 [*i-i*]*a-aḥ-ḥa-at nu* ^{LÚ}KÚR ^{UR}[^U*Ga-aš-ga-aš*]
20 [.... ^{ḪU}]^{R.SAG}*Ku-li-it-ḥa-wa* [.....]
21 [..... *za*]-aḥ-ḥi-ia [*ti-ia-at*]

FRAGMENT VI (*KB*o VII 17 + 2807/c I)

- 1 [.....^{UR}]U^{UR}Ha-at-t[u-ši]
-
- 2 nam-ma pa-a-ir X[..... a-w]a-an ar-ḥa t[i-i-e-r]
3 ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma ḥa[me-eš-ḥa-an-za ki]-ša-at nu^{URU}Ha-at[-tu-ši ar-ḥa ú-wa-nu-un]
4 nu-kán A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ AN.T[AḤ.ŠUM^{SA}]^Rte-eḥ-ḥu-un²³
nam-m[a EREM.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ni-ni-in-ku-un²⁴]
5 nu-za ú-wa-a-tar I-NA^{UR}[UŠa-pi]-nu-wa²⁵ i-ia-nu-un nu tu[-uz-zi-uš-mi-iš
ḥu-it-ti-ia-nu-un²⁶]
6 nu pa-a-un^{URU}Túḥ-mu-ut-t[a-r]a-an GUL-ḥu-un na-at a[r-ḥa wa-ar-nu-nu-un]
7 IŠ-TU NAM.RA.MEŠ-ma-at [GU]D UDU^{URU}Ha-at-tu-ša-aš ša-r[u-u-wa-it]
8 pa-ra-a-ma KUR^{URU}Ga-aš-ga-^ṛma¹ KUR^{URU}Šu-ḥu-ur-ri-ia-an-na GU[L-ḥu-un]
9 IŠ-TU NAM.RA.MEŠ-ma-at GUD UDU^{URU}Ha-at-tu-ša-aš ša-r[u-u-wa-it]
10 KUR^{TUM}-ma ar-ḥa wa-ar-nu-nu-un KUR^{URU}Hur-ša-ma-ma-k[án iš-tar-na ar-ḥa
pa-a-un]
11 [n]a-at-kán IŠ-TU NAM.RA.ṛMEŠ¹ GUD.MES UDU.ḪI.A EGIR-an
[ú-e-mi-ia-nu-un²⁷]
12 [n]u NAM.RA.MEŠ ar-nu-nu-un^ṛna¹-an-za-kán^{URU}Ha-at-tu[-ši ú-wa-te-nu-un]
13 [p]a-ra-a-ma^{URU}Tu-uh-mi-ia-ra-an GUL-ḥu-un [na-an ar-ḥa wa-ar-nu-nu-un]
14 [.....] XX-an[.....] XX-it X[.....]

FRAGMENT VII (XXXIV 36)

- 1 [.....^{URU}Zi]-[d]a-pár-*ha* [.....]
2 [^{URU}Zi-da-pár-*ha*-an *ku*-in URU-an ^{LÚ}KÚR w[a-al-*ha*-an-ni-eš-ki-it]
3 [.....] X URU-aš me-ek-ki [ta-ma-aš-ša-an-za²⁸ e-eš-ta na-an EGIR-pa]

²¹ Cf. IV:20.

²² Cf. *KBo* V 8 I:23-24 = *AM*, 148; 3 II:31-32 = *MIO* III (1955), 167.

²³ Cf. *KBō* XIV 42:9 = *JNES*, XXV (1966), 27.

²⁴ Cf. V:15 and also *KBo* III 4 II:8 = *AM*, 44; 3 II:29 = *MIO* III (1955), 167; 3 III:8 = *MIO* III (1955), 168; XIX 37 III:9 = *AM*, 172; 6 III:35 = *MIO* III (1955), 173.

²⁵ For this restoration see the commentary to this line.

²⁶ Cf. XIX 37 III:10 = *AM*, 172; *KBo* II 5 II:3 = *AM*, 182; *KBo* II 5 III:49-50 = *AM*, 190. Elsewhere KARAŠ.HI.A is used as object, cf. *KBo* IV 4 III:31-32 = *AM*, 126; 6 III:18-19 = *MIO* III (1955), 172.

²⁷ Cf. note 5.

²⁸ Cf. *KBo* III 4 III:48-49 = *AM*, 78 for a comparable passage.

4 [ú-e-te-nu-u]n na-an BÂD-nu-un

5 [na-an EREM.MEŠ a-š]a-an-du-la-az [e-ep-pu-un²⁹]

6 [nu-kán I-N]A ĤAL-ZI URUĤa-ra-pa-ša pa-a[-un]

7 [ĤAL-ZI]I Ĥa-ra-pa-ša-ia URUGa-aš-g[a-a]n ĥ[ar-ni-en-ku-un na-at]

8 [ar-ĥa] wa-ar-nu-nu-un

9 [pa-ra-a]-[ma] I¹-NA KUR Du-um-m[a pa-a-un]

10 [.] X X [.]

FRAGMENT VIII (XIV 18 = 2 BoTU 67 duplicated and continued by 154/c)

1 [.] X [.]

2 [. A]K-ŠU-UD [.]

3 [.]-ia ar-ĥa wa-ar-nu[-nu-un]

4 [nu-mu DU NIR.GÁL] ku-it EN-IA pi-ra-an ĥu-u-¹i [-ia-an-za³⁰
DUĤa-ša-am-me-li-in-na]

154/c 5 [ú-e-ri-ĭ]a-at nu-mu mu-un-na-an ĥar-ta³¹ [.]

1 6 [na-an-kán iš-tar-na ar-ĥa]a pár-ĥi-iš-ni i-ia-aĥ-ĥ[a-at³² nu NAM.RA.MEŠ
ar-nu-uš-ki-nu-un³³]

2 7 [DUĤa-ša-am-me-li-iš ku-it Š]A LU¹KUR-IA LU¹.MEŠa[-ú-ri-ia-lu-uš³⁴
d(a-aš-wa-aĥ-ta GESTU.MEŠ-ŠU-NU)-ia

3 8 [du-ud-du-mi-ia-aĥ-ta³⁵ na-at Ū]-UL a-ú-e-er [(Ū-UL-ma i)š-ta-ma-aš-šir]

4 (9) [. ar-ĥa w]a-ar-nu-nu-un am-mu-u[k-ma]

5 (10) [.] EREM.MEŠ pa-ra-ša-an-za-ma

6 (11) [.] na-aš-kán I-NA IDa-ĥ[a-ra]

7 (12) [.] X-n[a] EGIR-pa [.]

8 (13) [. I]-NA HUR.SAG[.]

FRAGMENT IX (1561/c)

1 [.] X-ta-an-da(-)X [.]

2 [.] X na-an ĥu-ul[-le-e-er]

²⁹ Cf. XIV 15 IV:35–36 and 43–45 = AM, 72; XIX 30 I:15 (EGIR-pa ú-e-da-aĥ-ĥu-un) = AM, 92; KBo IV 4 II:62 = AM, 120; 3 II:22 = MIO III (1955), 167. Because these three last sentences form a coherent set of expressions in the first three of the passages just quoted, I have assumed that nothing is missing after BÂD-nu-un in line 4.

³⁰ On the left I have adopted Forrer's restorations, cf. 2 BoTU 67:3–5; with respect to this line Forrer refers to KBo V 8 III:41–42 = AM, 160 and to *ibid.* I:12–13 = AM, 148.

³¹ Cf. KBo IV 4 III:33–34 = AM, 126 as quoted by Forrer, *loc. cit.*; see, too, XIX 37 III:16 = AM, 174 and its duplicate 4 III:8–9 = MIO III (1955), 170.

³² Cf. KBo V 8 I:27 = AM, 148, as quoted by Forrer, *loc. cit.*; see, too, XIX 37 III:17–18 = AM, 174 and its duplicate 4 III:9–10 = MIO III (1955), 170.

³³ 154/c:ar-nu-[u]š-ki-n[u-n] [DUĤa-ša-am-me-li-iš] (the text has a different line division and in consequence this ar-nu-[u]š-ki-n[u-n] is written precisely above [d]a-aš-wa-aĥ-ta and [a]-ú-e-er). From this point up to a-ú-e-er 154/c may be used as a duplicate; from there 154/c is the only text available. Certain restorations from the duplicate are placed between parentheses inside the square brackets.

³⁴ Cf. KBo V 8 III:14, 16 = AM, 156 and the duplicate 3 III:20 = MIO III (1955), 169.

³⁵ See the commentary to this passage.

- 3 [..... A-NA K]ARAŠ EGIR-pa ú-wa-t[e-e]r
 4 [..... z]é-eh-ḥu-un
 5 [..... -u]n EREM.MEŠ pa-ra-ša-an-za-ma-kán
 6 [.....] ʾú-wa-i ti-it-ta-nu-ir
 7 [.....] NAM.RA.MEŠ-ma-aš-ši-kán GUD.ḪI.A UDU.ḪI.A
 8 [ar-ḥa da-a] -ir³⁶

FRAGMENT X (XIV 19)

- 1 [.....] X X X [.....]
 2 [nu-mu me-mi-ḫ]a-an ú-te-er³⁷ [.....]
 3 [.....] X -k[á]n NAM.RA[.MEŠ pí-ra-an ar-ḥa pár-še-er nu-za]
 4 [ḪUR.SAG-an pa-ra]-ʾa¹ e-ša-an-te[-eš³⁸]
 5 [.....-š]a I-NA ḪUR.SAG Ka-X-X[-X]
 6 [..... i-ḫ]a-an-t[a]-at nu-uš-ma-aš K[ARAŠ e-eš-ta]
 7 [ap-pe-ez-zi-ḫ]a-za-ma-aš a-ru-na-aš na-at IGI[.....]
 8 [.....-ḫ]a-an-ta-at nu-za LUGAL-uš ki[-i-š-ša-an]
 9 [i-š-hi-ú]-la-aḥ-ḥu-un nu IŠ-TU ANŠE.KUR.RA[.MEŠ]
 10 [EGIR-an-wa]-ra-aš-za še-eš-ḥa-mi ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-wa-r[a-at še-eš-ḥa-an-te-eš]
 11 [nu-kán ku-i]t-ma-an i-ḫa-ḥa-at EREM.MEŠ pa-ra-ša-an-ta-an [.....]
 12 [EGIR-an te]-eh-ḥu-un nu EREM.MEŠ pa-ra-ša-an-za-ma X[.....]
 13 [.....] X X X X X X X [.....]

FRAGMENT XI (KBo XIV 20 II)

- 1 k[u]-ʾi[-.....]
 2 nu ma-aḥ-ḥa-an URU[.....]
 3 nu-za-kán EGIR-pa ku-it X[.....]
 4 KUR URU Da-ḥa-ra-mu ku-it [.....]
 5 ^mPí-iz-zu-mu-ur-ri-iš-ša [.....]
 6 nu EGIR-pa nu-un-tar-nu-nu-un nu-m[u.....]
 7 KUR Wa-<as>-ḥa-ja KUR Ta-ri-ta-ra na-X[..... nu-mu-kán NAM.RA.MEŠ]
 8 GUD UDU pí-ra-an ar-ḥa pár-aš-ta na[-at-kán I-NA ^{NA4}ḫé-kur ^{NA4}Ku-ru-uš-ta ku-it]
 9 ša-ra-a nu I-NA ^{NA4}ḫé-kur ^{NA4}Ku-r[u-uš-ta am-mu-uk A-NA NAM.RA.MEŠ]
 10 EGIR-an-da pa-a-un nu ma-aḥ-ḥa-an I[-NA ^{NA4}ḫé-kur ^{NA4}Ku-ru-uš-ta]
 11 ar-ḥu-un nu-za-kán ^{NA4}ḫé-kur Ku-ru[-uš-ta-an]
 12 ^{NA4}Ku-ru-uš-ta-aš-ma me-ek-ki na[-ak-ki-iš³⁹]
 13 nam-ma-aš-kán ke-e-ez-za ke-e-ez-z[i-ja me-ek-ki pár-ku-uš wa-ar-ḥu-i-ša-aš⁴⁰]

³⁶ Cf. KBo III 4 II:76 = AM, 64; KBo V 8 III:32-33, 36 = AM, 158; KBo II 5 II:12 = AM, 182.

³⁷ Cf. XIV 17 II:28-29 = AM, 86; XIX 37 III:3 = AM, 172; KBo II 5 I:8 = AM, 180.

³⁸ Cf. KBo V 8 I:4-5 = AM, 146; XIX 37 III:13 = AM, 174 as corrected by the duplicate 4 III:5 =

MIO III (1955), 170. Also in that passage a group of place names follows.

³⁹ Cf. XII:6 and also XIV 15 III:39-40 = AM, 54.

⁴⁰ Cf. XIV 15 III:40 = AM, 54.

⁴⁶ Cf. IV:18.

- 24 [nam-ma] ʿI¹ -NA KUR ^{ID}Da-ḥa-ra mar-ki-i[š-t]a-aḥ-ḥu-un⁴⁷
 25 [.] X-ma-za-kán ^{GIS}KU-Š[U-NU] EGIR-pa a-še-eš-kat-ta-at
 26 [na-at-kán IŠ-T]U NAM.RA.M[EŠ GUD.ḪI].A UDU.HI.A EGIR-pa
 ú-e-mi-ia-nu-un
 27 [na-at tu-uz-zi]-ia-an-za [ša-ru-u-w]a-it⁴⁸
 28 [pa-ra-a-ma ^{URU}X-w]a-at-ta-ni-ḫ[a-a]n ḥar-ni-en-ku-un
 29 [I-NA ^{ḪUR.SAG}X-a]t-ra-ia-kán ku-e KUR.KUR.MEŠ še-er [e-e]š-ta
 30 [na-at e-ep-pu-un na-at-ká]n kat-ta ú-wa-te-nu-un⁴⁹
 31 [IŠ-TU NAM.RA.MES-ma-a]t GUD UDU ^{URU}Ha-at-tu-ša-aš ša-ru-u-wa-it

FRAGMENT XIII (*KB₀* XIV 19 III)

- 1 [..... -u]ⁿ
-
- 2 [nu A-BU-I]A k[u-i]t ʾI-NA KUR.KUR.MEŠ [URU Hur-ri iš-ta-an]-da-a-it⁵⁰
3 [LÚ.MEŠ URUTe]-ḥ[ul-l]i-ia-ma-mu EG[R]-za [ku-ru-ri-ia-aḥ]-ḥi-ir
4 [..... LÚ.ME]Š URUX[..... LÚ].MEŠ U[RUH]a-at-ti
5 [..... EGIR]-pa ú-e-ke-eš-ki-it
6 [..... ku]-wa-pí
7 [..... ḥu-u-da-a]k ku-it LÚ URUTi-pi-ia
8 [.....]X ku-e-da-ni MU.KAM-ti
9 [..... a-pé].ʾe¹-da-ni MU.KAM-ti AŠ-[B]AT
10 [..... n]u u-ni-uš LÚ.MEŠ URUTe-ḥul-li-ia
11 [me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da ú-e-er na-at-mu ĠİR.MEŠ-as GA]M ḥa-le-e-er
12 [nu-mu me-mi-ir BE-LÍ-NI-wa-an-na-aš le-e ḥar-ni-i]k-ti ĪR-an-ni-wa-an-na
[aš]-za da-a⁵¹
13 [.....] X X LÚ.MEŠ URUIš[-ti]-ti-na
14 [.....]
15 [.....] ʾi¹-e-er
-
- 16 [..... ĪR-na-aḥ-ḥa-a]n-da-at na-at-m[u]
17 [..... A-NA É].GAL kat-ta-an Ū-UL
18 [..... ḥa]-at-ra-mi-ma ku-it
19 [.....] ke-e-ez-za-ma^m Lu-uš-ti-[-i]a-aš
20 [.....]-ta nu a-pa-a-aš-ša BAL i-ia-at
21 [..... -i]t nu URUGa-aš-ga-an
22 [.....]-ia-at nu I-NA URUTe-ḥul-li-ia

⁴⁷ For this reading see the commentary to this line.

⁴⁸ Cf. *KBo* II 5 II:13 = *AM*, 182 (*tu-uz-zī-aš-mi-iš ša-ru-wa-a-it*); with respect to the restoration [*tu-uz-zī*]-*ša-an-za* cf. 6 II:27 = *MIO* III (1955), 171 = *KBo* II 5 II:27 = *AM*, 184, and also *KBo* II 5 III:53 = *AM*, 190.

⁴⁹ Cf. *KBo* II 5 IV:9-10, 21-22, 23-24, 25-26 = *AM*, 192.

⁵⁰ See especially *KBo* III 4 III:67–68 = *AM*, 86 and 88, and also XIV 17 II:32 = *AM*, 88, where similar phrases are used to introduce precisely the Pihhuniyas episode in both types of Annals; see, too, *KBo* III 4 I:16–17 = *AM*, 20 and *KBo* V 8 II:8–10 = *AM*, 152 in both of which the verb *istantai* is used.

⁵¹ Cf. XIV 15 III:46.48 = *AM*, 56; *KBo* IV 4 III:46-48 = *AM*, 128; *KBo* IV 4 IV:31-34 = *AM*, 138. Similar passages are found elsewhere.

- 23 [.....] X *ar-ḥa pâr-ḥe-eš-na-az*
 24 [.....] *tu-uz-zi-uš* UD.KAM-az [...] X *ka-re-eš-ki-nu-un*
 25 [*iš-pa-an-da-az-ma i-ia-aḥ-ḥa-at*⁵² *nu I-NA U*]D.9.KAM *pâr-ḥe-eš-ni i-ia-aḥ-ḥa-at*
 26 [.....] G]UL-ḥu-un *nu KUR^{TUM} IŠ-TU*
 [NAM.R]A.MEŠ
 27 [.....] X *IŠ-TU* NAM.RA.MEŠ[-*ma-at*]
 28 [GUD UDU ^{URU}*Ḥa-at-tu-ša-aš ša-ru-u-wa-i*]t KUR-e-ma *ḥar-ni-en-ku*[-*un*⁵³]
 29 [.....] EGIR-pa *İR-aḥ-ḥu-un*
 30 [.....]-*un nu KUR^{TUM} ta-ni-nu-u*[*n*]
 31 [.....] *ḥ*]ar-k[*u*]-*un GAL X*[.....]
 32 [.....] ANŠ]E.KUR.RA.M[EŠ]
 33 [.....] -*i]š-ḥi* [.....]
 On the right edge after 30 or 31 [^mA]*l-lu-wa-am-na*.

FRAGMENT XIV (*KBo VII 17 + 2807/c IV*)

- 1 [.....] X X [.....]
 2 [.....] EGIR-a]*n ú-e¹-mi-ia-nu-un nu* [.....]
 3 [GUD.MEŠ UDU.Ḫ]I.A *me-ek-ki ú-e-mi*[-*ia-nu-un*⁵⁴]
 4 [.....] ⁱ]D*Kum-me-eš-ma-ḥa kat-ta* [.....]
 5 [.....] *ḥ*]u-u-ma-an-¹*da¹-an an-da* [*e-ep-pu-un*]
 6 [.....] X-*ka* [.....] *pa-aḥ-ša*[-*nu-nu-un*]

- 7 [*lu-uk*]-*kat-ti-m*[*a-k*]án *I-NA* [.....]
 8 [.....] -*ku-ma*[*ḥ*-]
 9 [.....] -*m*] *i-iš* [.....]

FRAGMENT XV (XIV 25 = 2 *BoTU 66*)

- 1 [.....] ⁱD*Kum-mi-i]š-ma-ḥa*
 2 [.....] *ta-p*]u-*ša*
 3 [.....] -*n*]i-*pa*
 4 [.....] *ḥar-n*]i-*in-ku-un*
 5 [.....] KUR ^{URU}*Šu-nu*]-*pa-aš-ši ḥar-ni-in-ku-un*
 6 [.....] ^{URU}*Pi-it-ta-l*]a-*aḥ-ši-in-na-kán*⁵⁵
 7 [.....] *I-NA* ^{URU}*Iš-ta-ḥa-r*[*a*]
 8 [.....] *nu ku-it-pát*
 9 [.....] [¹A¹ -*NA* ^m*Al-lu-wa-a*]*m-na*]
 10 [.....] *ḥu-u-ma-an-t*]e-*eš ku-ru-u-ri*[-*ia-aḥ-ḥi-ir*]

⁵² Cf. XIX 37 III:11–12 = *AM*, 172 and 174.⁵³ Cf. VI:9–10 and note 19.⁵⁴ Cf. IV:36.⁵⁵ This restoration was proposed by Von Schuler, *Die Kaskäer* p. 28, note 126*.

FRAGMENT I

- 1 [And] I did [.] and he [.] me a second time.
2 [And] I [we]nt [to me]e[t him] but Pit[aparas]
3 [did no]t wait for me and he fled before me. [But] the Hittites
4 [plundered the country togeth]er with the inhabitants, the cattle (and) the
sheep
5 [and] I burned it down. And furthermore I [attack]ed
6 Ga[sga] and together with the inhabitants, the cattle (and) the sheep
7 [I took it by surprise]. But [the coun]try I burned down. And I, the king,
8 [encamp]ed [on]. But Kantuzzilis, [the]
9 and [.], the eunuch, [I sent forth] together with the tr[oo]ps (and) the
char[io]t[ee]rs].
10 [And the ene]my [.] in (the mountain of) [.].
11 [And the God[s] [help]ed [them.]

FRAGMENT II

- 1 [.....]
2 [.....]. But [the inha]bitants [.....]
3 [.....] I[n the country of Kar[.....]
4 [.....], the commander of the main force, wa[ited for me]
5 [..... And] in (the town of) Ma[rassam]e.
6 [Nuwanzas, the High Chamber]lain, in (the town of) Mara[ssantiya]
7 [..... And] s[ince all] the Gasgaeans [.....]
8 [....] made [war with me], [I sent forth]
9 [to] together with the troops (and) the charioteers.

FRAGMENT III

- 1 The grain I remove[d and transported to Hattusa].
2 And the mighty Storm God, [my] lord, [the Sun Goddess of Arinna, my lady, the
Storm God of Hatti],
3 the Protective deity of Hatti, [the Storm God of the army and Istar of the Field
helped me].
4 And these coun[tries I conquered in one year].
5 And for the Gods [.....].
6 And for the Gods [I held] the festival of [...., and the Nuntariyashas-festival]
7 of the autumn I performed. [And there was a plague in Hatti-land]
8 and many died and [(I retreated) before] the plag[ue and]
9 I, the [ki]ng, [went] to the country of Harziwana [and (as a result) I did not]
10 [set out (against) enemy countries and (I did)] not [.....].

28 And [fur]thermore he destroyed the country of Pa[. and] burned [it down].
 29 [But togeth]er with the inhabita[nts, cattle (and) sheep the Hittites plunder]ed [it].
 30 And [further]more [he destroyed the country of . . . and] burn[ed it down].
 31 [But together with the inhabitants, cattle (and) sheep the Hittit]es plunder[ed it].
 32 [And furthermore he destroy]ed [the country of] and burned it down.

- 33 [But together with the inhabitants, cattle (and) sheep the Hittites] plundered [it].
 And furthermore
 34 [he destroyed] the country of Galpi[. . . . and] he burned [it] down.
 35 [But together with the inhabitants, cattle (and) sheep the Hittites] plundered [it].
 Furth[ermore]
 36 [. and cattle (and) sheep] he fou[nd] in great quantity.
 37 [. A]ranhapiliz[zis]
 38 [. X]-muranda [.]
 39 [. and] he burn[ed it do]wn.

FRAGMENT V

- 1 He def[ended].]
 2 And in [.]
 3 And [.]
 4 he se[nt] forth. [.]
 5 he defend[ed].]
 6 and he defe[ated] them. [.]
 7 he brought. [.]
 8 the Gasgae[an] enemy [.]
 9 and to Ga[sgae]an territory [.]
 10 And the Gas[gaean] enemy, [who] went [against him]
 11 h[im]]
 12 he defeated on all occasions.

- 13 But when I, the king, [heard] these things]
 14 I regained my strength. Furthermore [.]
 15 And I mobi[lized] the troops (and) the charioteers [and I w]ent
 16 [into Hatti-land] and when [I arrived in] Ha[ttusa] I made
 17 [a review the]re. Thereaf[ter I set out to campaign and]
 18 because [the Ga]sgae[an] [enemy had] he[ar]d about me]
 19 I [w]ent [by night] and the [Gasgae]an enemy [.]
 20 [. "On (the moun]tain of) Kulitha [.]
 21 [. he took position for b]attle." [.]

FRAGMENT VI

- 1 [. in] Hatt[usa].
-
- 2 Thereafter came [. and] w[ent aw]ay.
 3 But when it [be]came sp[ring], [I went home] to Hat[tusa].
 4 And I performed the AN.T[AḪ.ŠUM-festival] for the Gods. Thereaf[ter I
 mobilized the troops (and) charioteers]
 5 and I held a review in (the town [of] Sapi]nuwa and [I brought up my] fo[rces].

- 1 [...] [.....]
2 [...] arrived. [...]
3 and [I] burn[ed] down[.....].
-
- 4 [And] because [the mighty Storm God], my lord, was assist[ing me, he]
154/c = 5 [call]ed [out for Hasammelis] and he held me hidden [.....]
1 = 6 [and] in haste [I] march[ed it throug]h [and (I dep)or(ted everywhere) the
inhabitants].
2 = 7 [Since Hasammelis b(linded)] the w[at]chmen] of my enemy [and deafened]
3 = 8 [(their ears)], they did [n]either see [(nor h)ear].
4 = (9)[And] I [b]urned [down] and I [.....]
5 = (10)[.....]. But a “flying column” [.....]
6 = (11)[.....]. And [I sent] them into the Dah[ara] valley
7 = (12)[.....] back [.....].
-
- 8 = (13)[..... i]nto (the mountain of) [.....]

FRAGMENT IX

- 1 [.....]
 2 [.....] and [they] defeat[ed] him.
 3 [..... and] they brough[t] it back [to] the military camp.
 4 [.....] I [cr]ossed.
 5 [.....] I did [.....]. And the "flying column"
 6 [.....] brought harm [to]
 7 [.....] and the inhabitants, cattle (and) sheep
 8 [they too]k [away] from him.
-

FRAGMENT X

- 1 [.....]
 2 [And] they brought [me a mess]age: ["....."]
 3 [.....] the inhabitants [fled before and they]
 4 [had] occup[ied] a mountain as an ou]tpost. [(The town of)....., (the town of)]
 5 [a]nd [(the town of)] into (the mountain of) Ka-X-X [-X]
 6 [..... they ma]rched and they had a fo[r]tified camp [.....]
 7 [Behind] them was the sea and they [.....]
 8 [.....]ed and I, the king, [orde]red [.....]
 9 th[us] and with the charioteers [.....]:
 10 "I shall assign them [to the rear]. When they are [in order]"
 11 [And as lo]ng as I marched, I [pl]aced the "flying column"
 12 [in the rear]. But the "flying column" [.....]
 13 [.....]
-

FRAGMENT XI

- 1 Wh[o]
-
- 2 And when (the town of) [.....].
 3 And because [.....] again [.....]
 4 and since the country of Dahara [.....] to me [.....]
 5 and Pizzumuris [.....].
 6 And I hastened back and [.....] me [.....]
 7 the country of Wa<s>haya (and) the country of Taritara [.... And the inhabitants]
 8 the cattle (and) the sheep fled before [me], and [because they were]
 9 high up [on the mountain peak Kurusta], I set out towards the mountain peak
 Kur[usta]
 10 after [the inhabitants]. And when I arrived a[t the mountain peak Kurusta],
 11 I [.....] the mountain peak Kuru[sta].

- 12 But the Kurusta (was) very st[ee]p].
 13 Furmermore on this side [and] on that side [it was very high and it was
 inaccessible].
 14 And merely on one side there was a road [to the top]
 15 was impossible. And [I] him
 16 and I besieg[ed] him [but he escaped (?)]
 17 and [fled] away before me [and he]
 18 went back. (The rock of) Ellu-X[.....].
 19 Halfway in between [some were] on [(the mountain of)]
 20 and o[th]ers were] with him on [(the mountain of)].
 21 But [he left (?)] them [..... and I]
 22 seize[d them].

FRAGMENT XII

- 1 [.....]
 2 [.....]. "Fle[e]."
 3 [.....]. "Where [have] the inhabitants [.....]?"
 4 [.....]: "They [went to (the mountai]n of) Kassu."
 5 [..... And I] we[nt] after the inhabitants.
 6 [But (the mountain of) Kassu is very ste]ep and [because it is impossible]
 7 [to drive up] with the chariots [I went] before [the tr]oops on foot,
 8 [And the Gasgae]an enemy took position for [ba]ttle [against me].
 9 [And] he took position [on]ly [on the mountain].
 10 [And the Gods helped me], the mighty Storm God, the Sun goddess of Arinna,
 11 [the Storm God of Hatti, the Protective deity of Ha]tti and the Storm God of the
 army. (The mountain of) Kassu
 12 [was taken(?) and the troops of the en]emy died in multitude. But its inhabitants,
 13 [cattle (and) sheep I took away and] the Hittites plundered it.
 14 And I returned to (the town of) Sa[..... t]o the military camp.

-
- 15 Thereafter I went furthermore t[o (the town of)] At[hulis]sa, and because
 Pendumlis
 16 [a]nd Pizzumuris, [nob]les of (the town of) Athulissa, had decided
 17 upon rebellion, I [ca]ptured th[em], and the[ir] people
 18 denounced them: "They would have made a rebellion! They would have gone back
 19 [to Gasga]!" And they were proven guilty
 20 and I deported them with their cattle (and) sheep.
 21 And furthermore those, who were the leaders for the affair,
 22 those I [deport]ed also, all of them, together with dependents, cattle (and) sheep
 23 and I sent them forth to Ha[tt]usa.

-
- 24 Thereafter I pen[etr]ated unobserved(?) [i]nto the Dahara River (Land).
 25 And [.....] t[hei]r(?) domain was settled again(?).
 26 [And] I found [it] again [togeth]er with the inhabitan[ts, cattle] (and) sheep.

- 27 [And the arm]y [plunder]ed [it].
 28 [And furthermore] I destroyed [(the town of)]wattaniya.
 29 And those populations which were on [(the mountain of)]atra,
 30 [those I took and] I brought [them] down.
 31 [And together with the inhabitants], the cattle (and) sheep the Hittites plundered
 (it).

The text of the fragments is—with the exception of the following lines—too fragmentary for translation.

FRAGMENT XIII

- 2 [And] s[in]ce [my father stay]ed in the [Hurrian] countries,
 3 [the inhabitants of (the town of) Te]h[ull]iya made [war] with me in the rea[r].
-
- 10 [. and] the afore-mentioned inhabitants of (the town of)
 Tehulliya
 11 [came to meet me and] fell [do]wn [at my feet]
 12 [and said to me: "Our lord, do not destro]y [us] and take [us] into vassalage."
-
- 23 [.] in haste
 24 [.] I covered [the troops during daytime]
 25 [but I marched by night and] I marched in haste [during] nine [d]ays.
 26 [and] I attacked [the country of] and the country together with the
 [inhabit]ants
 27 [.]. Together with the inhabitants,
 28 [cattle (and) sheep the Hittites plundered it], but I destroy[ed] the country.
 29 [.] I brought again into vassalage.
 30 [.] I [.]ed and I re-establishe[d] the country.

On the right edge after 30 or 31: [A]lluamnas.

FRAGMENT XIV

- 2 [.] I took [by surpr]ise and [.]
 3 [cattle (and) sheep] I fou[nd] in great quantity.
 4 [.] the Kummesmaha River down [.]
 5 [.] I seized completely.
 6 [. I] defe[nded].

-
- 7 B[ut] on the [follow]ing day [.] into [.]
-

FRAGMENT XV

- 4 [.] I [des]troyed.
-

- 5 [.] I destroyed [the country of Sunu]passi.
 6 [.] and [(the town of) Pittal]ahsi.
 7 [.] to (the town of) Istahar[a].
 8 [.] and precisely because
 9 [. t]o Alluwa[mnas].
 10 [. al]l [made] war.

COMMENTARY

FRAGMENT I (*KBo* VIII 34 + 2301/c)

As has been said in the introduction, this fragment probably fills part of the gap at the beginning of *KBo* V 8 IV. While Pittagatallis had been chased by the Hittite army in general (*KBo* V 8 III:33–36 = *AM*, 158), the king pursues Pittaparas in person (*ibid.* 40–43 = *AM*, 158 and 160). This makes it clear that this new fragment refers to Pittaparas.

2: The name is written as ^m*Pi-it-ta-pa-ra* in *KBo* V 8 III:19 = *AM*, 156 and as ^m*Pi-it-ti-pa-ra* in *KBo* V 8 III:40 = *AM*, 158.

8: Kantuzzilis has been mentioned in XIV 17 II:20 and 22 = *AM*, 86.

9: With respect to LÚ.SAG see Güterbock, *Oriens* X (1957), 361 and Friedrich, *HW*, p. 283 and also first *Erg-h.*, p. 27, for divergent opinions.

FRAGMENT II (539/b)

This fragment fills another part of the same gap; it precedes the first Kalasma expedition described in *KBo* V 8 IV:3 ff. = *AM*, 160 and 162, cf. the remarks in the introduction.

4: I have the impression that this fragment describes how the GAL UKU.ÜŠ (Aranhapilizzis(?), cf. Fragment IV:22) has waited for the king in the country Kar[. . . .] and meets him in Ma[rassa]; see Friedrich, *HW*, 236, *menahhanda ušk-?*

6: See with respect to Nuwanzas designated with this title *KBo* IV 4 II:72 = *AM*, 122; *ibid.* III:20 = *AM*, 124 and III:61 = *AM*, 132 and other passages. Marassantiya recurs in *MIO* III (1955), 172, Fragment 6 III:23 restoring *KBo* II 5 III = *AM*, 188, a few lines after Marassa in *ibid.* III:18. I owe this remark to Professor Güterbock. Nuwanzas is sent out in *KBo* V 8 IV: 15–17 = *AM*, 162 to lead the first expedition to Kalasma. Therefore a meeting between him and the king seems appropriate for a fragment in this position.

7–8: These lines probably contain a vague hint of danger from the side of the Gasga tribes requiring an expedition by an unknown commander. This new threat is more fully developed in the following fragments.

FRAGMENT III (2768/c I)

1: The reference to *halki-*, “grain,” points to an expedition into Gasga territory, since it was Hittite practice to remove the grain and the wine from these areas in the course of their military operations, cf. XIV 15 I:11–12 = *AM*, 34; XIV 16 II:10–12 = *AM*,

42; *KBo* V 8 I:40 = *AM*, 150; *KBo* II 5 II:34–41 = *AM*, 184. However, the same technique was also practiced against the inhabitants of Nuhasse (*KBo* IV 4 I:41–42 = *AM*, 110; *ibid.* 43–44 = *AM*, 112; *ibid.* II:5–6 = *AM*, 112; *ibid.* 63–64 = *AM*, 120).

6–7: The *Nuntariyašhas*-festival is the typical festival of the autumn; the king begins his description of the following year remarking that he performed the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival of the spring, cf. Fragment VI:4. Also in that light the restoration gains probability.

8–12: See the commentary to Fragment IV:1–3.

9: Cf. Fragment IV:21 where one finds the writing ^{URU}*Har-zi-ú-na*. This difference in writing may have been consistently applied, cf. the restoration of Fragment IV:2. See for this town *KBo* IV 13 I:39 (referred to by Goetze, *JCS*, XIV [1960], 48); VI 45 II:34–35 (= VI 46 III:3–4); XXI 6 a Rev.: 14 and XXVI 43 Obv.: 21–23, all of them mentioned by Garstang and Gurney, *Geography*, pp. 64, 118, and 124.

10: I owe this reading to Professor Güterbock.

FRAGMENT IV (*KBo* XIV 20 I + XXXIV 33 and 34)

1–3: Stylistically one expects here a first reference to the plague, since it would be odd if the first mention of this event had been given by a Gasga speaker (ll. 6–7). The remaining part of [*piran ar*]ḫa *tarnahḫun* suggests the restoration of the dat.-loc. of *hinkan-* (see ll. 20–21 for a parallel passage), which seems present in Fragment III:8 as UG₆-n[i]; ^{URU}*Har-zi-wa-na* (III:9) and ^{URU}*Har-zi-ú-na* (l. 21) form another link between both texts. Therefore I take Fragment III:8–10 as a duplicate of these lines.

4: Cf. *KBo* III 4 II:8 = *AM*, 44 and *KBo* IV 4 IV:53 = *AM*, 140. In both these passages *apa-* refers to the same year in which the preceding events had happened. This means that in this new fragment the new developments took place in the late autumn or in the beginning of the winter.

9: I prefer to read the name of this town as *Túḫ-mu-ta-ru* on account of the parallelism to *Tu-uḫ-mi-ia-ra* (l. 10). This form of the sign *daḫ- taḫ*, *túḫ* is unattested in the sign lists of Forrer and Friedrich but can of course be found in Labat, *Manuel*, under No. 169. The form of VI:5 is a normal variant. It seems likely that both Tuhmutaru and Tuh-miyara display as second element the name of a deity, Taru- and Iyarri- respectively. Could the first element mean “place” or a similar word?

12: Cf. the introduction, p. 167 together with note 11. It is certain that Tapapanuwa was conquered at least twice during the lifetime of Mursilis. It is tempting to see in the conquest mentioned in XIX 39 II:6 = *AM*, 162 the Hittite response to the attack of the Gasga tribes mentioned in this fragment. In that case our passage would describe the first rebellion in contrast to the second mentioned in XIX 37 III:28–29 = *AM*, 174. In view of the proximity of Tapapanuwa to the Dahara River Land as attested by this passage itself and also by the *Deeds* Fragment 34:43–46 = *JCS*, X (1956), 110, it seems likely that such an expedition would have been connected with a similar undertaking against the Dahara River Land. The preserved part of XIX 39 II—the very beginning of this second column—could very well follow the first conquest of the Dahara valley as described in the new Fragments VIII–X. In that case the lost territories would have been reconquered in about the same order as they are mentioned in this passage.

17-18: The Hittite reading would be *wagqariyauwar taparriya-* (l. 17; see, too, XII:17) and *wagqariyauwar iya-* (l. 18; see, too, XII:18). The root *wakkar-* has been studied by Laroche, *BSL* LVIII (1963), 62 ff. This passage refers to Gasgæan tribes which have entered Hittite territory, thereby becoming subjects of the Hittite king. By leaving the country they are shifting their allegiance again.

19: The expression *numan manqa iya-* resembles *UL manqa iya-*, discussed by a number of Hittitologists, cf. Friedrich, *HW*, p. 136. I have followed Friedrich's translation (*manqa*, "irgendwie"; *UL manqa*, "durchaus nicht"), since it fits this passage better than any of the other proposals. Friedrich's etymology is convincing (*man-ka/ki*, cf. *kuis-ki*). Moreover, (*UL*) *manqa* belongs to a group: *kuwapiqqa*, "irgendwo, irgendwann"; *UL kuwapiqqa*, "nirgends, niemals"; *kuššanqa*, "irgendwann"; *UL kuššanqa*, "niemals"; *kuwatqa*, "irgendwie"; *UL kuwatqa*, "gar nicht"; *manqa*, "irgendwie"; *UL manqa*, "durchaus nicht."

20: The expression *lahhiyawanzi pai-* is found fairly often in the historical texts of Tudhaliyas IV, XXIII 11 III:14-15(?), 24, 26, 29; see also XXXI 35 + XXIII 36 I:4-5 (cf. Meriggi, *WZKM*, LVIII (1962), 83-84).

21: See also III:8 = IV:1; usually this term is used in the Annals for the sudden retreat of an enemy at the approach of the Hittite king, cf. XIV 15 I:8-9 = *AM*, 34; XIV 16 II:5 = *AM*, 40; *KBo* V 8 III:18 = *AM*, 156; XIX 37 II:9 = *AM*, 168; XIV 20:19-20 = *AM*, 196. Apparently a similar reaction of the Hittite king himself was brought about by the plague.

22: Between a personal name and an apposition or title like DUMU.LUGAL another title seems to be a safe guess. The remaining trace on *KBo* XIV 20 fits this reading well. The same title—GAL UKU. UŠ, commander of the heavily armed soldiers—also appears in II:4. So far it was not known that Aranhapilizzis was a prince like other commanders such as Hutupiyanzas, Nuwanzas, and Nanazitis. In XIX 37 II:46 ff. = *AM*, 170 and 172 and *ibid.* III:6 = *AM*, 172 Aranhapilizzis is described as the main commander, who is in charge of most of the troops, so that the king himself has but a limited number of soldiers *at* his disposal. The situation here makes a similar impression.

23: In XXIII 49:4 one finds Huwalusiya next to Arzauwa in l. 7 (cf. Meriggi, *WZKM*, LVIII (1962), 78-79). In XXIII 11 II:15—part of the Annals of Tudhaliyas IV—it is also found in a context suggesting a location in the Southwest. It is possible to collect a whole group of examples exhibiting a similar variation, such as Huwalusa-Huwalusiya: e.g. Arzawa-Arzawiya; Hulassa-Hulassiya; Marassanta-Marassantiya; Sananta-Sanantiya; Zithara-Zithariya. See Laroche, *MNHMHΞ XAPIN* (*Gedenkschrift Paul Kretschmer*), II, 2, for this variation.

25: I do not know how to supplement the remainder of the place names of this fragment.

30: It is possible, though not certain, that XXXIV 34 belongs exactly here where *KBo* XIV 20 I breaks off. Professor Güterbock wrote me in a letter of August 11, 1964 with respect to this question: "Certainly same tablet: same clay, same handwriting. No direct join. At 34 l. 4 after KUR *Gal-pi*[-] there is a trace of the vertical column-divider; this should come immediately under the column-divider of *KBo* XIV 20 I. The earliest point where 34 can come is on the level of l. 30 or, since there is repetition, some lines later. If 34 comes on the level of l. 30, the two pieces just touch each other at one point but there is no surface to join them."

FRAGMENT V (2764/c II)

1-12: The first half of this fragment describes the activities of a military commander in terms that are reminiscent of the description of Hutupiyanzas' rule in Pala and Tummanna: compare *paḥḥaštat* in ll. 1 and 5 to *KBo* V 8 II:26 and 42 (= *MIO* III [1955], 166, 3 II:15) and *tarḥeškit* in 12 to *KBo* V 8 II:33 (see for all these passages *AM*, 154).

14: Cf. Friedrich, *HW*, 213, *tarra-* (Med. 2), "imstande sein, können," and Otten, *MIO* III (1955), 167, note 43. This passage is reminiscent of Otten, *MIO* III (1955), 166, 3 II:16 [*am-mu-uk k*]u-it Ū-UL *tar-ra-an-za*[(*e-šu-un*)] = "Since I was not vigorous."

FRAGMENT VI (*KBo* VII 17 + 2807/c I)

5: For Sapinuwa see also XXXI 35 + XXIII 36 I:7 (cf. Meriggi, *WZKM*, LVIII [1962], 83-84) next to Istahara (*ibid.* 8).

FRAGMENT VII (XXXIV 36)

1: In the *Deeds* Fragment 34:13-19 = *JCS*, X (1956), 109 it is told that Suppiluliumas, although asked by the inhabitants of this town to come to their assistance, refuses to do so, since he would have to turn too much out of his way. Their appeal for help throws an interesting side-light on Mursilis' remark that he reinforced the town and this has led me to restore ll. 2-3 in the given manner. Apparently Zidaparha was a frontier town opposite to a Gasgæan fortification. The town is also mentioned in XXXI 8 II:4 (2 *BoTU* 47).

9: See for this region the *Deeds* Fragment 22:1, 2 and 3 = *JCS*, X (1956), 82 and the new fragment *KBo* XII 25 I:5 (^{URU}*Tu-u-u[m]-ma*) = *KBo* XII 26 I:16 (^{URU}*Tu-um-ma*). Its conquest required EREM.MEŠ HUR.SAG, "mountain troupes" (*KBo* XII 26 I:15 = *KBo* XII 25 I:4).

FRAGMENT VIII (XIV 18 = 2 *BoTU* 67 followed by 154/c)

I would like to stress that it is very hard to determine the precise position of Fragments VIII, IX, and X. They are bound together by the fact that the remarkable military term EREM.MEŠ *parašanza* occurs in all three (cf. the commentary to VIII:10). The restoration of ^{1D}*Da-ḥ[a-ra]* in VIII:11 offers the possibility to interpret these fragments as a description of a conquest of the Dahara River Land. *Appa ašeš-* and *appa wemiya-* in Fragment XII:24 and 25 seem to denote that the country was conquered twice instead of once and give the clue that fragments describing a first conquest should precede Fragment XII. "The country of (the town of) Dahara" is mentioned in Fragment XI:4 two lines before EGIR-*pa nuntarnunun* in XI:6. Emphasizing the value of this expression, "I hastened back," I have placed Fragments VIII-IX-X also before this fragment. But of course all this is very hypothetical.

4-8: See *KBo* IV 4 III:33 ff. = *AM*, 126 and XIX 37 III:15 ff. = *AM*, 174 (= *MIO* III (1955), 170, 4 III:8 ff.) for similar passages.

7–8: See for both verbs and especially for the writing $[d]a-aš-wa-aḥ-ta$ Ehelolf, *KlF* I 3 (1930), 393 ff. See also *KBo* VI 34 I:19–20:¹⁹ *nu a-pé-el-la tu-uz-zi-in da-šu-wa[-aḥ-ḥa-an-du]*²⁰ *nam-ma-aš du-ud-du-mi-ia-aḥ-ḥa-[a]n-du* (Soldiers Oath).

10: This term occurs again in IX:5 and X:11 and 12. It denotes a kind of troops, while the related verb *paraša-* (*KBo* V 8 I:20 and 22) is translated by Goetze as “sich zerstreuen” (cf. *AM*, 148 and see his comments on page 254 ff.). The accusative EREM.MEŠ *pa-ra-ša-an-ta-an* in X:11 proves that EREM.MEŠ *pa-ra-ša-an-za* should be interpreted as a participle in *ant-s*. Drohla comments in his dissertation *Die Kongruenz zwischen Nomen und Attribut sowie zwischen Subjekt und Prädikat im Hethitischen*, pp. 16 ff. on the fact that EREM.MEŠ usually is followed by an attribute in common gender singular (I was able to consult a copy of this mimeographed publication in Chicago). These troops seem to be sent ahead of the main army bringing harm to the population (IX:2 and ll. 5–6). All this suggests light-armed soldiers, a sort of “flying column” useful for a surprise attack.

FRAGMENT IX (1561/c)

3: If this is the military camp mentioned again in Fragment XII:14, it would be possible to defend the addition of ^{1D}*Da-ḥa-ra-an* in line 4 with good reasons, since this camp, Athulissa, and the Dahara River seem to have been near to one another, cf. XII:14, 15, and 24.

FRAGMENT X (XIV 19)

7: Compare for this hypothetical writing parallels like *-za-an* for *-z-šan*, *nu-za-ta* for *-nu-z-šta*, and the examples in which the particle *-(a)sta* loses its *s* after a form ending in the same consonant, cf. Friedrich, *Grammatik*,² par. 42 with references.

FRAGMENT XI (*KBo* XIV 20 II)

7: I have emended the reading Wahaya of the text to Washaya, cf. the *Deeds* Fragment 34:33 = *JCS*, X (1956), 109, and the prayer of Arnuwandas and Asmunikal, XVII 21 II: 25 = XXXI 124 II:9 = Von Schuler, *Die Kaskäer*, p. 156.

FRAGMENT XII (*KBo* XIV 19 II)

As has been remarked in note 9 to the introduction, XXXI 9 (= 2 *BoTU* 65) shows a certain similarity to the very first lines of this fragment, cf. *piran arḥa* [*parš-* or *tarna-?*] and $[ḥ^{UR}]^{SAG}Kaš[-šu]$ in XXXI 9 I (?) 5 and 6, but this fragment could also belong elsewhere, in the neighborhood of Fragment I or in the gap at the beginning of *KBo* V 8 III.

9: For the reading and restoration of this line and of line 11 I am indebted to Professor Güterbock.

17–18: See Sommer, *AU*, p. 186 for this transitive use of *ḥanti tiya-*.

19: Cf. *Hatt.* I:62: *nu-mu-kán* *ḪUL-lu ut-tar kat-ta Ū-UL ku-it-ki a-aš-ta* = "Nothing evil remained on me" = "I was proven innocent." In this passage "The affair remained on them" is the equivalent of "They were proven guilty." I owe this reference and this interpretation to Professor Güterbock.

24: This reading was suggested to me by Professor Güterbock in a letter of October 25, 1964. Professor Otten made the same proposal in a letter of December 15, 1964. The meaning of this verb is very doubtful (Friedrich, *HW*, p. 137 with a reference to Goetze, *AM*, 239, "dahinschwinden"[?]). The context of this passage favors a translation "to slip into" or "to penetrate unobserved."

25: ^{GRS}KU seems to have here the topographical shade of meaning discussed by Sommer, *HAB*, pp. 132-133 and especially to be found in the "Landschenkungsurkunden."

FRAGMENT XIII (*KBo* XIV 19 III)

The text of this fragment is badly preserved, but I would like to suggest nevertheless that lines 1-15 contain a description of events in the past, my main reasons being: (a) that the "man of Tipiya" (l. 7) should be Pihhuniyas, but that Pihhuniyas was brought to Hattusas according to *KBo* III 4 III:89 = *AM*, 95, (b) that the wording of lines 7-8 ("in which year I, in that year I took") suggests an event of the past, and (c) that the actual journey to Tehulliya seems to be described in ll. 22-25. The restoration of line 1, which presupposes that Mursilis traces the events back to the history of his father's reign, was suggested to me by Professor Güterbock.

7: See the events of the seventh year, *KBo* III 4 III:67-92 = *AM*, 86, 88, 90, 92, and 94; XIV 17 II:31-39 = *AM*, 86 and 88; XIX 30 I:1-20 = *AM*, 90, 92, and 94.

13: Istitina was a Hittite outpost in a region where Hittite territory bordered on the domain of the Gasgæan tribes as well as on the country Azzi-Hayasa.

FRAGMENT XIV (*KBo* VII 17 + 2807/c IV)

4: Cf. Otten, *MIO* III (1955), 175, note 59 where such a restoration—now confirmed by the join—was already proposed.

FRAGMENT XV (XIV 25 = 2 *BoTU* 66)

As has been said in the Introduction the mention of Alluwamnas in line 9 connects this fragment with XIII:30 or 31 where the same name may be found, while the river Kummesmaha (l. 1) also occurs in XIV:3. Von Schuler has already proposed to bring this text in connection with *KBo* XIV 19 III (Fragment XIII), cf. *Die Kaskäer*, p. 28, note 126,* and p. 40, note 234, but he uses these texts for the description of Suppiluliumas' reign, *ibid.*, pp. 39-40. I have adopted his restoration of line 6 [^{URU}*Pi-it-ta-l*]a-ah-ši-in-na-kán, which is certainly better than [^{UR.SAG}*Te*]-eh-ši-in-na-kán as proposed by Forrer, cf. Von Schuler, *op. cit.*, p. 28, note 126.* The sequence of place names suggests a return to Hittite territory, cf. *KBo* II 5 I:1 (Sunupassi), ll. 4-7 (Pittalahsa/i), and l. 8 (Istahara) = *AM*, 180.

5-6: Sunupassi may be found in the military oracle XXII 25 in exactly the same passages where Pittalahsi also occurs, Obv. 9-10, 28, 40-41; Rev. 4-5, 13, 23-24, 31-32 (see now Von Schuler, *Die Kaskäer*, pp. 176 ff., where this important text is restored and translated).

LIST OF TEXTS

<i>KUB</i> XIV	18 = Fragment VIII	U NIR.GÁL III:2; VIII:[4]; XII:10
	19 = Fragment X	UTU ^{URU} Arinna III:[2]; XII:10
	25 = Fragment XV	
XXXIV	33 = Fragment IV	
	34 = Fragment IV	
	36 = Fragment VII	
<i>KBo</i> VII	17 = Fragment VI, XIV	
VIII	34 = Fragment I	
XIV	19 = Fragment XII, XIII	
	20 = Fragment IV, XI	
539/b = <i>KBo</i> XVI	11 = Fragment II	
154/c	9 = Fragment VIII	
1561/c	10 = Fragment IX	
2301/c	12 = Fragment I	
2764/c	14 = Fragment V	
2768/c	15 = Fragment III	
2807/c	13 = Fragment VI, XIV	
GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES		
		^{URU} Arinna III:[2]; XII:10
		^{URU} Athulissa IV:15; XII:15(?), 16
		^{NA₄} Ellu[. . . .] XI:18
		^{URU} Hakpissa IV:9
		<i>HALZI</i> Harapasa VII:6, 7
		Harziuna/Harziwana III:9 = IV:[2]; IV:21
		^{URU} Hatti III:[2], 3, [7]; IV:7, [8], 17, 19; V:[15]; XII:[11], 11(?); XIII:4
		^{URU} Hattusa I:4; III:[1]; IV:[24], [27], [29], [31], [33], [35]; V:16(?); VI:1(?), 3(?), 7, 9, 12; XII:13, 23(?), 31; XIII:[28]
		^{URU} Hurri XIII:[2]
		^{URU} Hursa(m)ma IV:10; VI:10
		^{URU} Huwalusa IV:23
		^{URU} Huwalusiya IV:23
		^{URU} Istahara XV:7
		^{URU} Istitina XIII:13(?)
		<i>HUR.SAG</i> Ka[. . . .] X:5
		KUR Galpi[. . . .] IV:33
		^{URU} Kar[. . . .] II:3
		^{URU} Gasga I:5; II:7; III:11, [12]; IV:6, 16, 18; V:8, 9(?), 10, 18, [19]; VI:8; XII:[8], [18]; XIII:21
		<i>HUR.SAG</i> Kassu XII:4, [6], 11
		<i>HUR.SAG</i> Kulitha V:20
		^{ID} Kummesmaha XIV:4; XV:1(?)
		^{NA₄} hekur ^{NA₄} Kurusta XI:[8], 9(?), [10], 11(?), 12
		^{URU} Ma[rassa] II:5
		^{URU} Mara[ssantiya] II:6
		<i>HUR.SAG</i> Mu[. . . .] IV:25
		^{URU} Pa[. . . .] IV:28
PERSONAL NAMES		
Alluwamnas	XIII:30 or 31; XV:9	
Aranhapilizzis	IV:22, 37	
Kantuzzilis	I:8	
Lustiyas	XIII:19(?)	
Nuwanzas	II:[6]	
Pendumlis	IV:[4]; XII:15	
Pittaparas	I:2(?)	
Pizzumuris	IV:14; XI:5; XII:16	
DIVINE NAMES		
Hasammelis	VIII:[5], [7]	
GAŠAN LÍL	III:[3]	
LAMA	^{URU} Hatti III:3; XII:[11]	
U	^{URU} Hatti III:[2]; XII:[11]	
U KARAŠ	III:[3]; XII:11	

URU[Pittal]ahsi XV:6

URUSa[. . . .] XII:14

HUR.SAGSala[. . . .] IV:26

URU[Sapi]nuwa VI:5

URUSuhurriya VI:8

URU[Sunu]passi XV:5

ID Dahara IV:12, 14; VIII:6(?); XII:24

URUDahara XI:4

URUTapapanuwa IV:12

KUR Taritara XI:7

URUTehulliya XIII:3(?), 10, 22

URUTipiya XIII:7

URUTuhmiyara IV:10; VI:13

URUTuhmu(t)taru (—an) IV:9; VI:6

URUDumma VII:9

URUDurmitta IV:11 (*bis*)

KUR Wa<s>haya XI:7

URUZidaparha VII:1(?), [2]

ACEPHALOUS GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

[. . .]-atra XII:29

[. . .]-izza IV:9

[. . .]-mu IV:11

[. . .]-muranda IV:38

[. . .]-nipa XV:3

[. . .]-tanda IX:1

[. . .]-wattaniya XII:28