

## *On the Middle Kızılırmak, II*

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### **1. Central Cappadocia and the cult of Pirwa in the Hittite Period, an updating**

When I wrote my article “Am mittleren Kızılırmak” (1992) my aim was to study the historical geography of the region around Kaniš and, in order to set out the limits of this region, I used two administrative documents from the city mound of Kaniš, dating back to the Old Assyrian period, Kt g/t 36 and Kt g/t 42, published by Bilgiç in 1964. Taking into account the place names mentioned there, whose location could be easily assumed to be around Kaniš in an area directly controlled by the city palace, I examined their occurrences in later texts from the Hittite Empire period, mainly connected with the cult of the local deity Pirwa<sup>1</sup>. Today I would like to update the results of that article and try to extend my investigations to neighbouring areas on both sides of the river, in order to reach downstream its lower course.

In the mentioned article I missed a new edition of Kt g/t 42 made by Günbattı (1987), who had been able to upgrade the text through a join (with z/t 11) and read new place names in addition to the towns and villages depending from the central administration of Kaniš already known from the edition of Bilgiç. These place-names are: Duruwaduruwa, Armamana, Harha[ran...] Peru[wa?]. Since Duruwaduruwa occurs, as a shrine of Pirwa, together with Nenišankuwa and Ikšun(uw)a in the gods list of Muwattalli's Prayer, we have here again a link between the area where this deity was worshipped and the land of Kaniš. KBo 1.58<sup>2</sup> contains a list of towns with the following sequence: Nenišankuwa, Adunuwa, Abzišna, Šarišša and Šamuha. Adunuwa is probably the later Atunu mentioned by Sargon II (today Kululu), whereas Šarišša has been safely located at Kuşaklı and a location of Šamuha at Kayalıpınar is gaining credit as a consequence of recent discoveries. The list is then likely to show a geographical coherence and it is possible to propose a tentative arrangement, placing Nenišankuwa near Gemerek and Abzišna near Sarkışla. In a letter from Mašat the Commander of the chariots summoned Kaššu, the military governor of the province Tabikka, to bring the troops of Karahna, Išhubitta and Mt. Šaktuniwa to Nenišankuwa, where he was converging with the army of the Upper Land<sup>3</sup>, hence a position in a plain and probably near an important cross-road of the Upper Land (basically the upper valley of the Maraššanda).

At this point the fragment Bo 2004/1 copied by Wilhelm (2005) with a preliminary transliteration and recently published by Lorenz and Rieken (2007) should attract our attention; this unusual document written by the scribe Aškaliya bears a topographical description of a property near the road leading to *Ša-a-aš-šu-na*, as recognized by the

<sup>1</sup> On this god his cults and his position in the pantheon see Haas 1994: passim; Pecchioli (2005). On the pantheon of Kaniš: Archi 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Forlanini 1990: 114; id. 1992: 177-178; Gurney 2003: 125 (“..., possibly an itinerary”).

<sup>3</sup> Mst. 75/111, 15-19 (Alp 1991: 254-255, N.71).

editors, a town we know from a text concerning the restoration of the cult of Pirwa (IBoT 2.131)<sup>4</sup>. The other place names occurring here are mainly unknown, with the exception of Šalmā, if we accept the reading of Lorenz/Rieken<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless the link with the cult of Pirwa and some toponyms identical or very similar to Cappadocian personal names, like Tammuriya and Hubandahšu or even, if we do not accept to read Šalmā at line 18, a possible Ahšuašwa<sup>6</sup>, point to a location near Kaniš. Mount Tammuriya, as noted by Wilhelm, occurs also in the mountains list KBo 25.162, together with the mountains Arša, Šittara, *Hu-wa-at/la-n[a/u<sup>2</sup>]*, Šunnara, Šahuwar[...]. Since the Šunnara was probably a mountain bordering the plain around Karakuyu in the Uzun Yayla<sup>7</sup>, if we restore in this text the name of the Huwatnuwanda, a mountain to the north of Konya, we must renounce to use the list for a geographical reconstruction; if not, the list would point to a location of the Tammuriya to the north-east of Kaniš.

IBoT 2.131, mentioned above, deserves further examination. In this inventory referring to the cult of Pirwa the interruption of previous habitual delivery of offerings from towns and individuals is recorded. From the geographical point of view the main question consists in understanding which of the place names occurring in the text has to do with the Kanishan area. To summarize, the topics handled here are:

Paragraph	Institution/cult	In charge for the rations
Obv. 1'-9	Annual Festival of	formerly the town of Parzaliuwa, later on

<sup>4</sup> This document (and its parallel Bo 3245) has been thoroughly studied by Imparati (1990), who dated it in the time of Tuthaliya IV.

<sup>5</sup> Šalma seems to be a later spelling of Šalampa (/Šálamba/>/Salma/). For the identity of the two place names cf. F. Cornelius 1958: 380 (n. 3); 1967: 77 (n.55), who wrongly identified them also with the western Šallaba/Šalba on Arzawa's border, and the modern Selme; von Schuler 1970: 46. Since the battle between Anitta and the king of Hattuš was fought at Šalampa, the town may be located on the road Kaniš-Hattuš. According to KBo 32.202 the Hittite king reached with a journey of three days from Hattuša the town of Šalpa, which cannot again be Šallaba on the border of Arzawa (de Martino 2005: 301 n.26), but rather Šalma. Lorenz - Rieken 2007: 469-470, do not subscribe this equation and point rather to a position near the central provinces of Hatti and Šabinuwa on the base of HT 4, which they compare with KUB 57.108 (for the geographical evidence of this fragment see Forlanini, 1990: 116-119); the presence of Šabinuwa in a broken context cannot be probative, since the texts frequently refer to the "palace" of Šabinuwa, sending e.g. NAM.RAs to other towns (as in HT 4, 17), for Kabarša and Tiwaliya see below, the latter is a common place name spread over a large area (cf. Del Monte 1978: 431).

<sup>6</sup> *Ta-mu-ri-a* (but also: *Ta-am-ri-a*, *Ta-mu-ra*, *Ta-mu-ri*) is a very common "Cappadocian" personal name. Hubandahšu is a local spelling of a not attested Capp. name ending with *-hšu*; \*Humandahšu (see the frequent *Hu-ma-da-šu*, TC 1.99, 13, and the fem. *Hu-ma-ta-ni-ga*, Kt 87/k 292, 5,8); for the alternance m/b in the same area, see the place name *Ša-pa-gur-wa-an-ta-* (KUB 38.6, IV 7') and Hitt. *zamankurwant-*. The possible reading AH instead of SAL at l. 18, without altering the interpretation of the last signs given by Wilhelm, would yield another Capp. name, *Ah-šu-aš-WA*, with the typical ending *\*-ašwe* of fem. Capp. names, e.g.: *KapziašWA*, *Šu-pi-aš-WA*/ *Šu-pi-aš-ú-e* (TPAK 1. 31, 5; 158, 2',10'), *Ni-iš-a-šu-e* (Kt 87/k 266: 6 =Hecker 1987: 159) from *Ni/eša*?, *Talhamašue* (Kt r/k 15: 6, Donbaz 1989: 78-79) from the fem. name *Talhama*; whereas the first part should be a different spelling of *ha-šu* (see *Ha-šu-ah-šu*, Kt 93/k 946: 6,12). I am indebted to professor K. Hecker for allowing me to share his database of personal names occurring in Old Assyrian texts.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Forlanini 1987: 75.

	<sup>D</sup> NIR.NIR.BI	Pallanna, Arma-zidi, Šaliyanu
10'-14	Festival harpaš of the town Tiwaliya, established by the king of Išuwa	people previously in charge came later back to the town of <i>A-ri-wa-aš<sup>2</sup>-šu-w[a<sup>2</sup>]</i>
15-28	Temple of Pirwa in the town of Šippa.	Supply of different qualities of wood stored at Mt. Lihša <sup>8</sup> for the ZAG.GAR.RA, later used for an enclosure ( <i>zuburu</i> ) in <sup>9</sup> Ankuššana
29-31	in the town Šaššuna	
31-34		people in charge came later back to the town of <i>Ga-pár-ša-[x]</i>
35-37		the town of Hamiyara; later the men of Ištuna had to cultivate the fields
38-40	Storm God of the Armies	Pittazzi; they went later back to Habušna
41		the town of <i>A-la-a</i> (wine)
42		the herdsmen of the palace
43-45	god A]nzili of Ikšuna	the town of <i>Ga-ak-kal<sup>2</sup>-na</i> yearly
46-47		the town of <i>A-aš-za-an-zi-ya</i>
48-49		the town of <i>Ša-it<sup>2</sup>-ha-ša<sup>2</sup>-x</i>
Rev. 1-5	Pirwa and the goddess MUNUS.LUGAL (Haššušara)	
6-21	Pirwa	priest and herdsmen (salt among other supplies)
22-23		the herdsmen of Pulantarišša
24-25		Šanda-zidi man from Himuwa
26-30	Pirwa	formerly Šanda-zidi man from Himuwa gave a vineyard, later the servants/men of Hattuša-Inara and the men of the town <i>Ga-pi-li-wa-an-ta<sup>9</sup></i> destroyed it and turned into their fields <sup>10</sup>
31-33	A.ŠA A.GAR ŠA <sup>11</sup> Zuli[ya]	Hura[...] man of Hazušra

We can safely place in the area of Pirwa's cult the towns of the second column of the table (Tiwaliya, Šippa, Šaššuna and Ikšuna), but also in the third column we find place names pertaining to the same area, like Habušna, Hazušra (see Forlanini 1992: 172-173) and Ankuššana<sup>11</sup>; the other towns mentioned, with the exception of Himuwa, place of

<sup>8</sup> (21') <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>*Li-iš-ša-aš* <sup>GIS</sup><sup>HUR</sup>*ši-ya-an-te-eš* <sup>ŠA</sup><sup>D</sup>*Pi-ir-wa* *har-zi*, cf. Imparati 1990: 180: "... la montagne Lihša a/tient les tablettes en bois scellées de Pirwa". Imparati understood the presence of a storehouse (of different timbers) on Mt. Lihša for Pirwa. A town with the same name could be suggested, since the Capp. personal name Lihšuman (BIN 4.183, 14) is more likely to come from a town name than from a mountain name (in this case the name would be identical, without the suffix *-uman*); perhaps it is mentioned in KBo 24.132, Obv. 2'.

<sup>9</sup> Bo 3245 Obv. 10' *Ka-<pi>-li-u-wa-an-ta* (cf. Imparati 1990: 166 n.2).

<sup>10</sup> See Van den Hout 1995: 156.

<sup>11</sup> For Palla man of Ankušna cf. Imparati 1990: 172, and for the oracular text KBo 14.21 connected with the cult of Pirwa, *ibid.*, 181-187. The other place names occurring there are: Palkunda (I 73,

origin of an individual, are then also likely to have been placed in their neighbourhood<sup>12</sup>. *Ga-pár-ša-[x]* and *Ka-a-pár-ši* in the province of Ulušna (HT 2, IV 19) may be different<sup>13</sup>. Tiwaliya is a common place name, here safely not the village of Paršananhila (HT 2 III 15) near Hattuša, but rather the town of the inventory KUB 38.10 (see below). A town by name Alâ occurs in CTH 225, Obv. 23 (Imparati 1977: 26-27) as a village in Harziuna.

Another text mentioning several shrines of Pirwa is KBo 44.209 (+) 44.219<sup>14</sup>; the place names still readable are: Tuttuwa, *La-am-ma-an-x*, *Zi-pa-ri-wa* and *Pár-mi[-]*, where Zibariwa is safely identical with the fortress of *Zi-pa-ru-wa* of the inventory KUB 58.7, II 24' (gods: Storm God, Pirwa and Halki), and *Parmi[-]* must be equated with *Parminnida/Parminda*, rather than with *Parminašša*<sup>15</sup>. The former is connected through the itinerary of cult inspectors of KBo 22.242+ with Tapparuda, known also from the inventory KUB 38.10, III 9'. Tuttuwa can hardly be separated from mount Tuttuwa, the last one in the mountain list of the Hišuwu Festival<sup>16</sup>, hence a possible location on the border of Kizzuwatna. These connections are discussed below.

Another town of the province Wašhaniya, Šananawiya, already known for its shrine of *IŠTAR LİL* (KBo 48.105+ Obv. 6'), occurs together with other towns, of whom only Tagamuna is preserved, in KBo 45.12, left col. 6'-7, in a context connected with the cult of Pirwa (left col. 4').

## 2. Mount Aškašeba and the Argaeus

A treaty between the Assyrian merchants and a Great King of Kaniš, recently published independently by Günbattı and Donbaz (Kt 00/k 6), could mention Mount (KUR) Aškašiba among the gods of Kaniš<sup>17</sup>. As a matter of fact the deity Aškašiba is also in the Hittite texts a member of the of the Kanišite pantheon, together with Pirwa, Haššušara and

year festival), Zuganda (I 74, offerings), Ikšuna (II 11, god *ZABABA*), Hašenuwa? (II 20, Pirwa), Har<ti>mikka (II 55, Pirwa; cf. Forlanini 1992: 172-173).

<sup>12</sup> On account of the role of the king of Išuwa (cf. Imperati 1990: 173-174, who suggested a link between this king and the cult of Pirwa), it is also possible that some groups of men were coming from his kingdom. In this case Parzaliuwa could even be compared with Class. *Βαρζαλω* (Ptol. Geogr. V. 6 25) /Barsalium (Tabula Peut.) on the Euphrates south-east of Malatya.

<sup>13</sup> According to Del Monte 1978: 173, and Imperati 1990: 174, the two references concern the same locality; should we read *maš* instead of *pár*?

<sup>14</sup> 647/f; see Otten 1953: 64-67.

<sup>15</sup> According to CTH 225 Obv. 21 (Imparati 1974: 26-27) probably a town of Harziuna; see also the inventory KUB 38. 27, where *Parminašša* occurs (Rev. 7', Rand 2) together with the towns *Mar-wi-eš-na-*, *An-tu-um[-]* and *[...w]i<sub>5</sub>-eš-ša-* and the mountain *[Šu<sup>2</sup>]-[u<sup>2</sup>]-um-mi-[y]a-ra* (Obv. 8'). Freu proposed to identify it with Prymnessos (1980: 241).

<sup>16</sup> See Otten 1969, 250 (spellings: *Tu-tu-wa*, *Tu-ù-tu-pa*).

<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately the interpretations of the badly damaged first lines of the Obv. proposed by Günbattı (2004) and Donbaz (2005) are totally diverging. Whereas the former reads at line 2: [DINGIR-MEŠ] 'KUR' *Kà-ni-iš* KUR *A-āš-kā-'šī'-pá*, the latter reads: *..DUMU<sup>2</sup> K[á-ni-'iš hi<sup>1</sup>-a-šū-kā-am-ma*. I am not able to judge between the two readings, but that of Günbattı allows a translation and the photo shows that the sign *āš* is more likely than *šū*.

Maliya<sup>18</sup>. Since Aškašiba is a mountain name too, its identity with the Argaeus, the big volcano dominating the plain of Kültepe, has been already proposed<sup>19</sup>. As said before, the god Aškašiba occurs in Hittite rituals and gods lists in association with Pirwa, the other specific deity of Kaniš; the relations between the Argaeus and the horse breeding throughout the ages could be confirmed by the association of Pirwa with the horse<sup>20</sup>. Moreover, later on we find in the same region a place name probably deriving also from the Nešite word *aška*, Moutallaske, whereas it cannot be excluded that the horonym Askašeba, if still existing in Persian time, could have been partially reinterpreted from the Iranian word for "horse" (Med. and Av. *aspa*, Pahl. *asp*), occurring probably also in the epithet of Zeus Asbamaeus.

But in this case should we renounce to identify the Argaeus with the Hittite Mount Harki (/Hargi)/BABBAR or with the hieroglyphic-Luwian Harhara<sup>21</sup>? Of course if the Hittite White Mountain was not the Argaeus, we would better understand why this mountain appears only twice in the Hittite corpus<sup>22</sup>. Anyway, if the White Mountain must be placed elsewhere, then it could be the Hasan Dağ, whose name was also Argaeus, at least in Byzantine times<sup>23</sup>.

As for the Harhara of the hieroglyphic-Luwian inscriptions of Hisarcık and Tekirderbent, we could perhaps connect it with a secondary pick of the mountain or with the town of Harharna<sup>24</sup>; or it could be from the beginning the Luwian name of the Aškašeba, since already in the *kārum* period the Luwian population was spreading from the south at least so far as Kaniš.

The cult-inventory KBo 12.135 lists towns connected with the Aškašeba, where the presence of gods like Tarubabami and Ilaliyantiga would rather point to a Palaite background (cf. Carruba, 1972: 20 n.19) and deserves further investigation. The towns involved here, whose names are preserved, are:

Šalušna<sup>25</sup> (VI 3'-6), whose local cult includes Mt. Aškašeba with Storm God, Sun God and Protective Deity.

*Kap-pi-it-ta* (VI 7'-10): Storm God, Sun God and Protective Deity together with the goddess MUNUS.LUGAL of the Kanishite pantheon.

<sup>18</sup> The top pantheon of Kaniš seems to be composed by the deities Pirwa, Aškašeba and MUNUS.LUGAL (Haššušara), to whom Maliya could be added; the complete pantheon includes other gods like Šuwaliyat, Hašammili, see KUB 56.45 Obv. II 4'-8.

<sup>19</sup> Haas 1994: 614.

<sup>20</sup> See Casabonne 2006: 195-197.

<sup>21</sup> Mentioned in the hieroglyphic-Luwian inscriptions of Hisarcık and Tekirderbent on the slopes of the Erciyas and therefore identified with this mountain since Bossert (Hawkins 2000: 1-2, 484). For the Luwian etymology of this horonym cf. Starke 1990: 424 (note 1533).

<sup>22</sup> See Laroche 1961: 78.

<sup>23</sup> Hild - Restle 1981: 149 (Argaios 1, Argaios 2).

<sup>24</sup> A centre having an AGRIG, attending to the K1-LAM Festival (Haas 1994: 754). The common writing HAR.HAR-na could be interpreted also as ARÀ-na (Neu 1980: 146 note 493), but the place name occurs once with the spelling *Har-ha-[a]r-na* (KBo 32.120 Obv. I, see Del Monte, 1992, 29).

<sup>25</sup> This place name is perhaps already attested as a personal name in the old Assyrian tablet K1 88/k 1046 (s. Gölçek 2006: 186-188) in the form *Ša-lu-āš-ra*; for the endings compare Hubišna/Kybistra and Lušna/Lystra.



Šekta (VI 11'-14): Storm God, Sun God, Protective Deity, Mt. ŠUR-*ya-an-ta-aš* *Li-ik-t[e-x]* (VI 15'-)<sup>26</sup>.

Adarkuba (*A-tar-ku-pa*, VII 3'-12), where the mountains Aškašeba, *Šal-ku-wa[-x-x]-aš* (Šalkuwanda?)<sup>27</sup> and *Wa-ar-[huwanda?]*<sup>28</sup>, the source Maria<sup>29</sup> and the gods Ilia, Zithariya, Ilaliantiga, Tarubabami and *Šar-mi* (Šarrumma), together with the Storm God, the Protective Deity and the Pleyads, were worshipped.

A town of Aškašiba occurs in KUB 59.6 IV 9', a festival inventory, together with several other place names: *Na-x[...]*, *Kán-za-pí-d[a']*, *Na-wa-š/t[a']*, *Mu-un-n[a-an-da]*, *Pa-lu-u[n']*, *Ar-r[i-...]*, *Pa-ra-a[š']-hunta'*, *Ti-u'[-ra']*. If the restoration of Parašhunta and Tiura in this fragment is accepted a localisation in the area of central Cappadocia of these toponyms would be possible; Kanzabida could be the native town of Hadiya, the authoress of KBo 15.25, the ritual for Wišuriyanza<sup>30</sup>; Palu[...] cannot of course be Palunda, a town in western Anatolia, probably Blaundos<sup>31</sup>; for Arri[...] compare perhaps Ariwaššuwa (IBoT 2.131, I 13, see above). I restore Munnanda on the basis of the toponym Munanda occurring in the Bronze Tablet (I 78) together with Taganunda as place of origin of LU<sup>MES</sup> DUB.SAR<sup>GIS</sup> *tuppaš*; the same place name could occur in KBo 18.162+KBo 7.24, I 6', an inventory of metal objects, together with *Ša-ah-ḫu-u[wiya']*, *Ar-[x]-ḫu-zi*, *Lu-li[...]*<sup>32</sup>; for Šahhuwiya and Mallidaškuriya see below, if we restore Ar[ri]huzi[ya'] we may compare Arr[i...] (see above).

Another member of the upper Kanišite pantheon, Maliya, is the well known Luwian water goddess, whose cult spread throughout Bronze Age Anatolia and survived in the following millennium; as a consequence Maliya could also be a river name (cf. Forlanini 1996: 8). According to Strabo, the river flowing through the plain of Caesarea Cappadociae was called Melas and its apparently Greek name can of course survive in the Turkish name Karasu, having the same meaning<sup>33</sup>; but it is possible that Melas comes, through a Greek popular etymology, from Maliya. Strabo wrote that the Melas river, after forming a marsh, flowed through a defile into the "Euphrates"; that would rather mean that

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the Cappadocian personal name Likitiar (son of Šadahšu, TC 3. 191, 31), which could come from a place/mountain name \*Liktiyara (like Hantiyar, Šummiyara, Takniyara,...).

<sup>27</sup> This reading is confirmed by the personal name *Šal/Šal-ku-a-ta* known from old Assyrian texts (CCT 5.26 A,1; Kt n/k 32, 16, 45; Kt 88/k 713, 1,2,3). This allows us to rule out a reading DAM-wa[- and, in the same time, yields a further link with the region of Kaniš. The village of Salkuma, 16 Km south-east of Kültepe, already mentioned in the Ottoman registers of the 16th century as pertaining to the *nahiye* of Kuramaz (mountain) in the *liva* of Kayseriyye may partially preserve this place name.

<sup>28</sup> See for example the town name Warhuwanzana (HT 2 V 25, in Kuguwawa); the reconstruction is speculative but would result in a mountain name with the meaning "covered by trees".

<sup>29</sup> Or, with Tischler, PU-mariya.

<sup>30</sup> Edited by Carruba (1966). The ritual is localized by two preserved toponyms (a town name is missing), Mt. Šupinna and river Zippira (Obv. 18), which I prefer to consider Anatolian (Carruba, o.c., 25-27 pointed to Mesopotamia; but cf. Del Monte - Tischler, 1978: 368).

<sup>31</sup> According to Freu, cf. my forthcoming article in *Festschrift Dinçol*.

<sup>32</sup> Košak 1982: 84-86; Segelová 1986: 168-177.

<sup>33</sup> See the note of F. Lasserre to Strabo, Geogr. XII. 2, 8, in the Belles Lettres' edition (Tome IX, 1981, 220-221).

the Melas was the present Sarmisaklı Suyu and the Euphrates the Karasu. This Euphrates is quite a strange name for a small river of inner Cappadocia, but, since the Hittite name of the true Euphrates was Mala, we are lead to suspect that also this name could be connected with the original Maliya.

### 3. Cult inventories and itineraries related to central Cappadocia

I give here only a few examples of such inventories, whose essential geographical evidence is tabulated at the end of the article. The geographic link between KUB 38.6/10 and KUB 2.7/13 is given by place names like Wiyanawanda and Mamnanda, and Wiyanawanda occurs also in KUB 38.1 together with Taram(me)ga (with the source Išhašhuriya<sup>34</sup>), Kunkuniya, Labana, Tiura and Pirwaššuwa. The area covered by them can generally be outlined if we observe that Tiura and Pirwaššuwa may be connected with Wašhaniya (according to CTH 225, the land grant for Šahurunuwa)<sup>35</sup>, the district capital west of Kaniš, Lakterišša and Gazzana with Kuguwawa (between Kaniš and Ankuwa) according to HT 2<sup>36</sup>, Wiyanawanda with Tuhuppiya (KBo 42.146)<sup>37</sup>, Mammananta with KUR Dunna and KUR BABBAR (Harki, the Hasan Dag); all this evidence points to a territory on both sides of the Maraššanda, from the line Kirşehir-Boğazlıyan in the north to Niğde in the south. The itinerary of KBo 22.242+, studied by Savaş (1997)<sup>38</sup>, is linked to KUB 38.10 through the place name Tapparuda<sup>39</sup> and probably to Kt g/t 42 through

<sup>34</sup> The same source was worshipped in Tiliura according to KUB 38.3, I 9; in this text only a second place name, Zanzišna is preserved. Since Tiliura was on the northern border of Hatti in the direction of Azzi I wonder whether here we should instead read Tiura and correct a possible scribal mistake.

<sup>35</sup> CTH 225 Obv. 35-37 (Imparati 1974: 28-29): "The Tell of Šahhiyara, the town of Lukkada, a vineyard inside Tiwaliya (?), the town of Tiura....and a meadow of Zuwanna (PN), the Tell of the town Hayaša (*Ha-<ri>-ya-ša* ?), and they are two towns near.. Tepša[...]. Jappašhuriya in the town of the river Ašriya, the town of Tinibiya in the land of Wašhaniya (...)" For Pirwaššuwa see mount Pirwašši, mentioned in a broken context in the Annals of Šuppiluliuma (Güterbock 1956: 64; Fragm. 11 A II, 13-15) together with Wašhaniya.

<sup>36</sup> It should be noticed that in the list of women singers of HT 2 the paragraph concerning the women of *Ku-ku-wa-wa* (V 19- VI 5) is the only one where the "district capital" is not mentioned as origin of a woman and which is not defined as a district name (*halšu*); since, moreover, Kuguwawa never occurs elsewhere in Hittite texts, one could infer that this name corresponds to an ethnical/tribal name, rather than to a place name. From the same root the Class. town name Cueusos (today Göksun) could easily derive. In the time of Herodotus (Hist. I 72) members of the Iranian tribe of the Matieni were settled on the right bank of the Halys downstream of Mazaca (then in "Cilicia").

<sup>37</sup> In this fragmentary cult inventory we read: (2') URU *U-i-ya-nu-wa-an-da pa-iz[-zi]* and later: "(8')nu *hi-im-mu-uš* GAL(9') [I-JNA URU *Tu-ḫu-up-pi[-ya]* (10') m]a-ah-ḫa-an iš-ša-an[-zi] (11') URU *U-i-ya-nu-wa-an-da-ya* (12') [QA-TA]M-MA iš-ša-an[-zi]". It is likely that the ritual performed in Wiyanawanda "in the same way as in Tuhuppiya" implies that the latter was reached before coming to Wiyanawanda. Wiyanawanda is of course a very common place name, attested in Kizzuwatna, on the Lycian border (both surviving as Oenianda/os in the Classical period, cf. Lebrun 2002: 163-168) and also on the border between Mira and Hatti. However only the Wiyanawanda of KUB 2.7 could be placed not far from Tuhuppiya.

<sup>38</sup> Previous treatment: Lebrun 1977: 17-22.

<sup>39</sup> If the inventory follows a geographical order we should place Tapparuda not far from Mallitta, a town (north-west of Ušhaniya (Wašhaniya) in the direction of Waššana according to the well

Harharanda<sup>40</sup>, whereas Wattarwa in this text has got nothing to do with its namesake located in the Hulana river-land, but is probably rather the town, having an AGRIG functionary mentioned with his colleagues of Ankulla and Šug(a)ziya<sup>41</sup>. The places mentioned in KBo 22.242+ are reached and leaved one after the other by a surveyor; in each town the status of traditional offerings is mentioned. The sequence is: Šattina, Tapparuda, An(n)iyatta, Parmanna, Parmin(ni)da, where formerly 2 rams were offered by the ploughmen of Wattarwa, Adihida, ....., Harharanda, Mawalla. Since in KUB 38.10 the mountains Tunna, Šaluwantiya and Mammananda are connected with Tapparuda, but we know from KBo 2.13 that in the town Mamnanda the mountains Arnuwanda, Harranašša and BABBAR (Harki) were worshipped, we should place Tapparuda not too far from Tynna (Porsuk) and the Hasan Dağ; perhaps the name of the source Tarhana, also worshipped in Mamnanda, may be compared with the village name Tırhan (north of Niğde<sup>42</sup>), in this case we would place there the town of Mamnanda with the homonymous mountain (Güllü Dağ?).

In CTH 505 the towns inventoried are Wiyanuanda, Panišša, Mammananda and Laršiliya; the latter recalls the name of the river Larša, whose statue is mentioned in the fragmentary inventory KBo 13.237 (of the towns: ..., Dumantiya, Lappina, ..., Tumnama). Paniš(š)a, if interpreted as /Baniš(s)a/, would be a possible Hittite form for Ouenasa, the Cappadocian shrine of a Zeus mentioned by Strabo and commonly identified with today Avanos<sup>43</sup>. And, if we remain in the area of today touristic "Cappadocia", we may remark other possible connections of Hittite and Modern Greek toponyms, like Iššanašši and Sinasos<sup>44</sup>.

known Old Assyrian "itinerary" of OIP 27.64 (Nashef 1987: 40-41). If, as I have suggested, Mallitta (*Ma-li-i[-ta]*, not *Ma-li-m[a-li-yu]*, see Forlanini 1992: 178 n.50) is linked in KBo 26.182 with mount Arnuwanda and again with the source Kuwannaniya (I 7', as in KUB 38. 6+, a further evidence), worshipped together with the White Mountain in Mamnanda, that would confirm the general arrangement.

<sup>40</sup> Günbattı reads: (22) *Ha-ar-ha-[ra-an x qá-qá-da-t]um*. This restoration would point to the area around Kaniš.

<sup>41</sup> The ploughmen of Wattarwa bring one ram to Parmin(ni)da. There was a Wattarwa in the Hulana river-land, not far from Mt. Šuwara and from Lalanda (Forlanini 1996: 6-8). The administrative centre of Wattarwa had an AGRIG functionary, occurring in the ration texts connected with the KILAM Festival (Singer 1984: 107, 111) together with his colleagues of the towns Harharna, Šugziya and Zikkurka and those of Karahna, Zinirnuwa and Ninašša (in the same paragraph); this cluster of towns may be compared to the Kanišite section of the gods list of KBo 4.13, I 34'-39 (discussed in: Forlanini 2007: 267-270), Hurma, Šallahhašuwa, Šugziya, Karahna, Pittiyariga, Arziya, Hašikkašnauwanda, Šamuha, Zarninuwa (=Zinirnuwa), Kaniš, Uššuna, which follows, from Pittiyariga to Uššuna, the Halys valley in an downstream direction, with the last mentioned town very close to Nenašša.

<sup>42</sup> See Dawkins 1910: 116; the modern Greek name at the beginning of the 20.th century was Trochó. In the 16.th century AD the Turkish spelling was Tırhun ( see the edition of the: 387 *Numaralı Muhâsebe-i vilyet-i Karaman ve Rûm Defteri (937/1530)*, Defter-i Hâkânî Dizisi III, Ankara 1996, 104, 172).

<sup>43</sup> See Hild - Restle 1981: 302; of course on the basis of the similarity of the names (and the Modern Greek name in Lebidés, 1899, 143, is Abanissos, /Avanissos/). A different, perhaps preferable, possibility is offered by today Suvermez (see Ramsay 1890, 292-293), north of the Güllü Dağ.

<sup>44</sup> Today Mustafaşaköy; cf. Hild - Restle 1981: 279-280.

A further possible link is offered by the obvious connection in the inventory KUB 38.6+ of the mountain (KUR) Šaluwandiya, worshiped in Tapparuda together with the Storm God of Tappareššiya, with the locality Šaluwadašši, where the cult of the same Storm God seems to be mentioned; the possibility that these place names are connected with the pre-ottoman toponym Salanda, 27 Km. north-west of Nevşehir cannot be ruled out<sup>45</sup>. An even more difficult case is offered by Hašuna, a town not far from Tiura<sup>46</sup> having a pantheon not very different from that of KUB 38.6+<sup>47</sup>, including Šuwenda<sup>48</sup>, source Uttaliya<sup>49</sup> and Mt. Pahaššunuwa<sup>50</sup>; for its link with Parnašša and perhaps Parmanna and Kattila see below. We may be tempted by a double equation of Hašuna and Tiura with the neighbouring Byz. towns of Hasın (known from Arabic sources<sup>51</sup>) and Doara<sup>52</sup>, but the former, probably today Hasan Köy, is identified also with Class. Sasima<sup>53</sup>, which in its turn could be Hittite Šašimuwa<sup>54</sup>.

Another similar itinerary, that of KUB 40.110 Obv., has the following sequence: ....Jhanda, [Y<sup>7</sup>]jašanda, Tabašawatta (where are men from Himmuwa<sup>55</sup>), Arullašša, and at this point comes a list of towns (*A-šu-ú-la*, *P[a<sup>2</sup>-ar<sup>2</sup>-n]a-aš-ša*, Kurtannašša, ...<sup>56</sup>), ]x-tawašša, ...; the ritual in the Rev. mentions mount *Lu-u-la*. A reconstruction can only be speculative, nevertheless one could be tempted to read the first place name as Purušhanda

<sup>45</sup> For Salanda (today Gümtüşkent) see Hild - Restle: 1981, 270: the Byzantine fortress is mentioned by Arabs writers referring to the last years of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD.

<sup>46</sup> According to KUB 55.14, Rev. 6'-11 (Hazenbos 2003: 95-96) wine was brought from Tiura for the cult of the Storm God of Hašuna. The same god (a reading Halana is less probable) occurs in KBo 12.140 Obv. 10 in a paragraph starting with the town of Wašhaniya; this fragment refers to deities in various towns (Hattuša, Temelha, Zippalanda, Tawiniya, [Ta-Jni-zi-[i-la]?) and lands (Harziuna, Tunna), whose cult objects were inventoried by the king of Išua and other high officials ("supervisor of ten", great priest, head of the cooks, cf. Beal 1992: 507 n.1869).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Del Monte 1989: 166. According to the inventory KUB 12.2, III 24 a list of 17 deities ends with the total: ŠU.NIGIN XVII NA<sub>4</sub> ZL.KIN ŠA<sup>URU</sup> *Ha-šu-ú[-na]*; among them we find Pentaruhši, Storm God Pihaimi, Iyaya, source Kuwannaniya, Pudallimi, all occurring in KUB 38. 6 or 10.

<sup>48</sup> KUB 55.14, passim, together with the festival in autumn for the Storm God of Hašuna (Hazenbos 2003: 93-97, text Nr. 27); KUB 57.102 IV? 4' again with the Storm God of Hašuna and Mt. Pahašunuwa (Hazenbos o.c.: 79-82, text Nr. 20). In KUB 44.42 his festival occurs with that of Kurhazuššara and perhaps a town of Šuwašuwa (Hazenbos o.c.: 127-131, text Nr. 44).

<sup>49</sup> KUB 12.2, III 9.

<sup>50</sup> See above. This horonym could be derived from the town name, but in this case could be explained only through Hattian (\*Pa-haššunu-a).

<sup>51</sup> Vasiliev 1935: 112.

<sup>52</sup> Hild - Restle 1981: 171-172.

<sup>53</sup> Hild - Restle 1981: 272-273.

<sup>54</sup> LS 3 Obv. 17 (Riemschneider 1958: 358-362): the properties of the "man" of Ušša in Šašimuwa and Tebanamma may have nothing to do with the 4 towns near Waštišša in? the land? of Ankuwa, given in the same text to the house of Hattuša in Šarišša; anyway, if it is dangerous to identify Šašimuwa with Sasima, their names seem to be very similar.

<sup>55</sup> In all the late empire texts Himmuwa occurs only as an ethnikon, the town having been lost to the Kaškans in the time of Arnuwanda I. For that reason the "men of Himmuwa" should be a "professional" group.

<sup>56</sup> The broken context does not allow to understand the reason of this list, which could refer to something happening in the town previously reached (Arullašša).

and to localize the others between Acemhöyük and Lylon<sup>57</sup>; in that case Yaşanda, a town north of Tuwanuwa<sup>58</sup>, would fit very well this geographical arrangement, whereas Arullašša, Ašula and Kurtannašša could even be compared with similar names among those of the Greek villages still surviving in Cappadocia at the beginning of the last century<sup>59</sup>. As for Parnašša, again a speculative reconstruction, we have a town with this name not far from the proposed area, whereas a different restoration, Parminašša, would bring us too far away, to the district of Harziuna<sup>60</sup>.

I would finally mention an "itinerary" recently published, KBo 54.85a+b<sup>61</sup>. In the fragment 85a II (?) a portion of the itinerary is preserved: Šarummišta, Walinna, Tabukkašta, Ara[m]pa<sup>62</sup>, Šaššanda. 85b yields another portion: Wiyanuwanda, Tiwaliya, Haltara, Šaiwanda. There is no doubt that, since Wiyanuwanda and Tiwaliya, although both frequent place names, are here together, they should be the same localities we have encountered above; in this case we may compare Šaiwanda with Class. Soanda on the Roman road Tavium-Caesarea (It. Ant. 202.2). The first section of the itinerary could be, depending on the size of the gap, in the same or in a different area, as perhaps suggested by the presence of Ara[m]pa<sup>63</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> Whereas it is generally agreed to recognize the identity of the Hittite mount Luia with the Byzantine stronghold of Loulon, there are now different opinions on the location of Purušhanda. I think we have sufficient evidence to prefer for this ancient city the site of Acemhöyük to other more western locations, like Karahöyük near Konya, as I have tried to demonstrate recently (in print B).

<sup>58</sup> In the description of an early campaign of Šuppiluliuma I against Arzawa (Ann. of Šuppiluliuma, Güterbock 1956: 75, fragm 15 IV 5' ff.) we read that the enemy (Arzawan detachments), who had gone forth to Aniša and was then in [...]išša, was defeated by the king, who, after fighting against other detachments near Huwan[...], Šapparanda, Mt. Ammuna and Tubaziya, could reach Tuwanuwa. A tell in the vicinity of Ane/iša (of/in) Yaşanda is mentioned in CTH 225 Rev. 24 (Imparati 1974: 36-37, 117-118).

<sup>59</sup> For Arullašša see today Arlasun (attested since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, new name Tepeköy, Türkiye 1:200.000, Niğde 75-1n), from an \*Arlasos through its acc. form (like Ağlasun from Sagalassos or Tavas from Tabai); for Ašula and Kurtannašša see the modern Greek place names Ta Sylata (Zile, map: *ibid.* 75-1j) and Gourdonos (now Hamamlı, *ibid.* 75-1o) or perhaps also Gördelesun (known since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, now Doğanlı, map: 79-11), which could however rather come from the attested place name Kurtališša. For the Modern Greek place names in central Cappadocia see Dawkins 1910: 115-117.

<sup>60</sup> For Parnašša and Parnassos see below.

<sup>61</sup> Join discovered by Carlo Corti (see Inhaltsübersicht).

<sup>62</sup> I would restore: 15'-19' [... LU<sup>MES</sup> ... URU<sup>TA</sup> Ta-pu-ug-g]a-aš-ta pi-an-zi URU<sup>TA</sup> Ta-pu[-ug-ga-aš-ta-az ar-]ha' ... URU<sup>TA</sup> A-ra-a[m]pa še-e-eš-zi nu URU<sup>TA</sup> A-ra-[am-pa.....]ME-aš I MÁŠ.GAL ku-na-an-na-aš I G[UD?.....] LU<sup>MES</sup> GIS<sup>TA</sup> TUKUL GID.DA pi-an[-zi.....] URU<sup>TA</sup> A-ra-a[m]pa-az-ma-aš URU<sup>TA</sup> Ša-aš-ša-an-da p[a-iz-zi]". Arampa is likely to have been located on the upper Zuliya according to KBo 50.181, a historical fragment, from which we infer that enemies (Kaškans) were holding (*harkir*) several Hittite towns, whose names are partially preserved: Marešta, Ša-ad-du-pa, Arampa and Ku[...]. This fragment evokes a passage of Muṣṣiliš II Extensive Annals (KBo 5.8, I 4-5; 14<sup>th</sup> year, see Del Monte 1993: 107), where it is said that the Kaškan enemy troupes from Takkašta were holding the districts of Šattuppa, Karahna and Marišta. For the position of these towns cf. Forlanini 2002.

<sup>63</sup> Placing Wiyanawanda and Tiwaliya near Kırşehir and Šaiwanda (Soanda?) to the north-east of Lake Seyfe we could lengthen this line as far as Alişar and, further on, as far as Sulusaray (Karahna), with Šarummišta at Class. Seramis.

As I have already remarked there is a similarity between toponyms of this area and that of Central Phrygia in the Hittite period. There is a village of Mašika, known from Kt g/t 42, hence very close to Kaniš and probably the forerunner of Mazaca/Caesareia/Kayseri, but the Masikēnoi are attested in a Greek inscription of Avdan near Eskişehir<sup>64</sup>; a second Mt. Šaluwanda was worshiped in Harruwaša, a town near Mt. Šuwara and perhaps we have two rivers Maliya in both areas.

#### 4. KUB 48. 105 and the contiguity of the provinces Wašhaniya, Turmitta and Kaššiya

An important step in the study of the Hittite geography was achieved with the publication of KUB 48.105, a join of KBo 12.53, followed by the article of Archi and Klengel (1980) with a treatment of this text, concerning the reorganisation of the cult in some Hittite provinces. The section pertaining to Wašhaniya, Turmitta, Kaššiya and Tabikka are partially preserved. Surprisingly the text then restored showed that Nenašša and Ullama were located in the territory of Turmitta; both towns were known from other Hittite and Old Assyrian texts but also from an Old Assyrian itinerary, placing them on the road from Kaniš to Purušhattum<sup>65</sup>. As Archi and Klengel remarked, the previous location of Turmitta to the north of Hattuša, based on the use of lists like that of KBo 4.13 as itineraries, could not be sustained any more. I proposed to place Turmitta between Wašhaniya and Kaššiya on the Halys, since the Maraššanda appears among the gods both of Turmitta and Nenašša<sup>66</sup>. New evidence confirmed this solution: on the one hand an Old Assyrian text shows that Turmitta was near a river crossing<sup>67</sup>, on the other hand a new fragment of the Instructions of Arnuwanda I for the LÜ.MES<sup>68</sup> DUGUD of Kaššiya (KBo 50.266a) mentions Mallidaškuriya among the towns of Kaššiya, whereas in the inventory KUB 48. 105 the same town occurs in the province Turmitta; I shall come back to this fragment at the end of the article. Thereby the geographical sequence of the three provinces Wašhaniya, Turmitta and Kaššiya is confirmed.

#### 5. Towns in and around Wašhaniya

The area along the Maraššanda in the province of Wašhaniya was surveyed by cult inspectors; a fragment of a report issued by them is KBo 50.221<sup>69</sup>. Among the inspected towns only the names of *Mi-m[i-...]*, *U-uh-hi-wa*, *I-ku-uš-[ši(..?)]*<sup>69</sup>, *Ga-pi-i[i'-...]*, and *Ha-*

<sup>64</sup> See Forlanini 1992: 174.

<sup>65</sup> TC 3, 165. See Nashef 1987: 51-53.

<sup>66</sup> Forlanini 1979: 173-178; 1992: 179.

<sup>67</sup> Dercksen 1996: 13.

<sup>68</sup> In the edition this fragment is considered middle-Hittite (or early-Hittite?), see also the partial transcription of Rüster 1993: 68 (note 10).

<sup>69</sup> For this place name see Mount Egušši, mentioned in a list of mountains in KUB 27.14 III 9 together with the Lablana (Lebanon) and the Agulliri (in Kizzuwatna); since Šabinuwa occurs in this fragment, see also the mountain list of KBo 15.62 II 1'-10.



ri[...]<sup>70</sup> are preserved. Their position is confirmed by the presence of the place names Uhhiwa and Kabittašamna, where the latter can be restored through the comparison with KUB 48.105+. These inspections followed an itinerary, as shown by the formula “*parā-ma INA* (place name) *paizzi*” characterizing each entry; therefore we can put Mimi..., Uhhiwa, Iguš[šiya<sup>71</sup>], Kabittašamna and Hari[yašiya<sup>72</sup>] on a line probably oriented in the direction from west to east.

The case of Kabittašamna is rather confused, since this place name is intended as an emendation of Kabittatanina in KBo 12.53 Obv. 16', based on the frequently attested textile name <sup>TUG/KUŠ</sup>*kabittašamna*; the question is whether the place name derived from it, or, on the contrary, the textile was a typical product of this town. In the same time we cannot ignore another place name, Kabitta (KBo 12.52 II 2), which could be a shorter form of the former or be related to a different place, but also in this case, would indicate that the former is a composite name. As a matter of fact a town with the name Šamna is attested in the Old Assyrian Period<sup>71</sup>, as it may also be inferred from the “Cappadocian” personal names Šamnuman, Šamnahšu and Šamnahšušar<sup>72</sup>, but even so the presence of the personal name Šuppišamnuman complicates the question. At the end we could suppose that a town having the simple name Šamna was also called “the pure (*šuppi*) Šamna”; but if we want to understand also *kabitta* as a different appellative, we are faced with the absence of this term from the Hittite vocabulary and an Akkadian interpretation (*kabittum*, adj. fem. “the powerful”) seems to be a rather hazardous one.

On the road from Wašhaniya to Nenašša was located, according to Kt n/k 1582<sup>73</sup>, at least in the old Assyrian Period and assuming that the expenses are recorded here in a chronological order, the town of Athurušna: “I went out from Nenašša, they took from me 5 minas of copper in Athurušna, I spent 15 minas of copper in Wašhaniya”. Unfortunately it does not appear, as far as we know, in any Hittite text.

## 6. Towns of Turmitta, “Cappadocian” personal names and Byzantine geography

Since the inventory list of towns in the province of Turmitta occurring in KUB 48.105+KBo 12.53 (Obv. 19'-Rev. 30) is likely to follow a geographical order, from the border on Wašhaniya toward the north, I shall follow here the same order and include

<sup>70</sup> The presence of a royal House (property) in Uhhiwa mentioned in the Land Donation Bo 90/758 (Obv. 7) of the time of Hantili II (Rüster ibd.), strengthens the possibility to recognize here Hari[yašiya], another royal property. The weavers of Hariyaš(iy)a (also Harwašiya) are involved in the cult of Pirwa in KUB 57.108 II 3', 7' (Forlanini 1990: 116; Hazenbos 2003: 103-106) of a locality probably in the vicinity of the western Uda and we have met before a Tell of the town of Ha<ri>yaša also in CTH 225, mentioned between Tiura and Wašhaniya. The “house” of Hariyaša is mentioned also in the inventory KUB 48.105+, Obv. 22': ten deportees from this property were given to the temple of the Storm God of Uiššina (see Forlanini 1990: 125 note 34) in the village of Hat[...]. In the mentioned inventory the paragraph relating to Uiššina immediately follows that of Kabittašamna. For a possible localization see below.

<sup>71</sup> Forlanini 1992: 175.

<sup>72</sup> See Nashef 1991: 101-102.

<sup>73</sup> Bayram 1997: 44.

towns which are not mentioned in the surviving part of the text but probably lay in the same area and perhaps did occur in the lacunas. A very interesting peculiarity of this section, common to the following one too (that of Kaššiya), is the function of the king of Tumanna, who gave civil prisoners and cattle for the restoration of the shrines of almost all the towns mentioned. The peripheral kings of the empire were asked to help the Hittite provinces bordering on their kingdoms (the king of Tumanna/Palā towards Turmitta and Kaššiya, the king of Išuwa towards the eastern part of central Cappadocia, as we have seen above), by granting them prisoners and spoils from the wars they were making outside the borders of the empire; but this function was also shared by royal estates (like the house of Gazzimara or that of Hariyaša in central Cappadocia) or by tributary peoples, like the men of Išhubitta towards the neighboring province of Tabikka (KUB 48.105 Rev. 37)<sup>74</sup>.

U(i)šši/una (Obv. 19'-28)

The inventory KUB 48.105+ gives *U-iš'-ši-na* as the first town of Turmitta and devotes to him a long paragraph; this town is not unknown since it corresponds to Uššu/ina, the last town of the “Kanišan” section of the list of KBo 4.13; its position in both lists confirms that it was located on the border<sup>75</sup>. In the old Assyrian texts this town does not come out so far but is well represented by personal names based on it; we know the following variants: Ušunuman, Ušunama, Ušinuman, Ušnuman, Wašinuman, all with the Kanishite ethnic suffix *-uman*, but a possible “Luwian” form is shown by the name Ušinalum (also Ušunalum and Ušanalum) of a high-ranking Anatolian official probably from Purušhattum<sup>76</sup>, which could however derive from the place name Ušunala<sup>77</sup>. I have equated this centre with Osiana/Osiena/Asiana, a station of the Itinerarium Antoninum, 32 miles south-east of Nyssa<sup>78</sup>. We have met above the royal property of Hariyaš(iy)a, perhaps connected in KBo 50.221 with Kabittašamna (in Wašhaniya), in KUB 48.105+ with Uiššina, and in KUB 57.108 with another town, whose name is unfortunately not preserved, mentioned together with Udaa and Šuwanzana; we can infer a position on the border between the provinces of Wašhaniya and Turmitta, south of the Halys.

When Gregorius of Nyssa came back to his seat probably from Caesarea, he went through the villages of Kelosine and Earsos down to the river Halys; he reached it at

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Beal 1992: 80-83, 557-559.

<sup>75</sup> In KUB 48.105+ Uhhiwa and Kabittašamna are the last towns of the province Wašhaniya and Uššina the first of Turmitta; in KBo 4.13 Uhhiwa is the last town of the “section of Hati” and Uššina the last of the “section of Kaniš”

<sup>76</sup> Dercksen 2004: 189-190.

<sup>77</sup> Kt a/k 1165, 14 (= AKT I 78, 14, for the place name see p. 97-98 of the edition). Cf. Bayram 1997: 51-52; the prince of Ušunala is associated here with those of Purušhattum and Wahšušana, in the same document we read that the men of *ša-bu-a* (Hitt. Šappuwa) were preventing the authors of the letter from going to the country of Šarla. Šappuwa was in the time of Arnuwanda I in the province of Kaššiya and also Wahšušana is connected with the latter (KUB 23.116, see Forlanini 2005: 14). Ušunala could have been on the direct road from Purušhattum to Wahšušana, west of the Salt Lake.

<sup>78</sup> See Forlanini 1990: 125 n. 34.

Vestene and then followed it downstream as far as Nyssa<sup>79</sup>. Kelosine may have survived in the Turkish place name Gelesin; in this case Vestene should have been located at Abuuşağı, from which a way along the river starts in the direction of Nyssa, or near Keşikköprü; Earsos, south(-east) of Vestene in the direction of Kelosine, was then near Osiena and its name could be compared with Hariyaša.

Nenašša and Uwalma (Obv. 29'-35)

I have recently discussed the position of these two towns and Old Assyrian colonies in an article (in print B) to whom I refer the reader. I infer there from Old Assyrian and Hittite evidence that the best location for these towns should be that of Class. Nyssa (Büyük/Küçükkale near Harmandalı, 1:200.000 Şereflikoçhisar 69-If/Ig; on which see Hild - Restle 1981: 246-248) for Nenašša, and Varavan near Şereflikoçhisar (see Omura 1993: 373) for Uwalma/Ullama.

Tenizidaša (Obv. 36-37)

Also readings like <sup>URU</sup>La-ni-zi-da-ša or <sup>URU</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> Ni-zi-da-ša<sup>80</sup> are possible. This place name never occurs elsewhere. Its god is Pirwa.

Pittaniyaš(š)a (Obv. 38-41)

This place name also occurs in KBo 44.37, 1. The town's god is Pirwa. The region around the northern corner of the Tuz Gölü seems to be a conservative area in regard to the survival of Hittite toponyms and a good example is offered by Pittaniaša<sup>81</sup>, whose name was still existing in the Byzantine period. In Strabo (Geogr. XII, 5, 6) we find the first occurrence of this town name in classical time: "Lake Tatta is ... and also the region surrounding Orkaorkoi and Pitnisos as well as the Lykaonian plateau are cold and not covered by trees (...)". The position of Pitnisos in the bare land between Lake Tatta and the Lykaonia is confirmed by Ptol. (V, 4, 8): "Under the aforementioned peoples (the three Celtic tribes of Galatia) are the Proseillemnitai, extending as far as them and, under the latter the Obizenoi and a part of Lykaonia, in whose territories are the following towns: Petenissos, Ekdaumava, Siouata, Ardistama, Kinna, Kongoustos (...)" ; from this quotation and from the co-ordinates given by Ptolemy we glean the information that Pitnisos was in the Proseilemmene, south of the true Galatian country. It was so close to Lykaonia that the lexicon Ethnika of Stephanus Byz. gives the entry: "Pitnissa: town of Lykaonia". Hierokles (Synekdemosis 697, 3 f.) places it (Pitinissos, Petenesos) in Galatia Saloutaria together with

<sup>79</sup> Gregorius of Nyssa, letter 6 (cf. Hild - Restle 1981: 302).

<sup>80</sup> The lacking of a vertical wedge before Nizidaša does not favour this reading. If accepted however, the station Nitazi of the Itinerarium Provinciarum (Antoninum) 144.3 (ed. Cuntz, Teubner, 20), located on the road from Parnassus to Colonia Arcilais (Archelais, today Aksaray) could be considered (methatesis?).

<sup>81</sup> KUB 48.105+, Obv. 38'. This place name occurs also in KBo 44.37, 1.

Pessinous, Amorion, Klaneos, Eudoxias, Myrikion and Germia, then not too far from the Sangarius. A further interesting information is given by emperor Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus in his book "De administrando Imperio" (50, 92 f.)<sup>82</sup>: "In the time of Leo, the Christ-loving sovereign, the following *banda* were transferred from the province of the Boukellarioi to the province of the Cappadocians: the garrison of Bareta, the garrison of Balbadona, the garrison of Aspona and the garrison of Akarkous; and from the province of the Anatolikoi to the province of the Cappadocians were transferred the followings *banda*: the garrison of Eudokias, the garrison of Haghios Agapitos, the garrison of Aphrazeia; all these seven *banda*, ..., became one country, now called the Kommata". As a matter of fact the place name Orkaorkoi of Strabo is nothing but the Akarkous mentioned by Porphyrogenitus, about which have been made as yet only unreliable assumptions<sup>83</sup>, lying not far from Aspona and Balbadona, hence near the Halys river to the north of lake Tatta/Tuz Gölü; the evidence above seems to indicate that Pitnisos, through not far from Orkaorkoi, should be sought to the west of it and north-west of the lake<sup>84</sup>.

Mallidaškuriya (Obv. 42-43)

This town<sup>85</sup> follows Pittaniaša in the inventory KBo 12.53 and has a long history. It appears in three old Assyrian letters in the form Melidaškuriya<sup>86</sup>. In the time of king Telibinu the town had a House of the Seal (official storehouse) and, after the death of this king, was used as a residence for his legitimate heir Alluwamna and his wife Harapšili, when they were banished by the usurper Tahurwaili<sup>87</sup>. During the reign of king Arnuwanda I. Mallidaškuriya was included in the province of Kaššiya<sup>88</sup> but, as it is shown by KBo 12.53, two centuries later the town was in the province of Turmitta. Looking for a mound corresponding to Mallidaškuriya we have to orient the research towards the border between Turmitta and Kaššiya in the country bare of trees to the north-west of the Salt Lake, probably also north of Pittaniyašša.

The position of the Sun-God(dess) of Mallidaškuriya in the list of Muwattalli's Prayer point also to a western position: the paragraph containing the gods of Pah(ha)dima, Šahhuwiya and Mallidaškuriya is included between that of Šahhaniya (near Konya) and that of Harziuna (west of Turmitta)<sup>89</sup>. The three towns of the paragraph seem to have been in the region later known as Proseilemmene, located, as we have seen above, between

<sup>82</sup> Ed. Moravcsik, Washington 1967, 236-237 (translation of R.J.H. Jenkins).

<sup>83</sup> As that of Ramsay 1890, 216: "Akarkous is probably a false reading for Akarbous and is a variant of Gorbous"; see Belke 1984: 118.

<sup>84</sup> The proposed location of Pitnissos (Anderson, 117-124, not proved, see Belke 1984: 194; Omura 1995: 226, N°38) at Kozanlı or at the Roman/Byz. site at Yaraşlı (Belke ibid. 243) both suit the philological evidence.

<sup>85</sup> For the etymology of this place name see Poetto 1999.

<sup>86</sup> Kt 88/k 11; Kt 92/k 449 and 513 (Bayram 1997: 49-50).

<sup>87</sup> KUB 26.77. Cf. Carruba 1974: 80-81. For the list of towns with a "House of seal" see below.

<sup>88</sup> See KBo 50.266a, a fragment of the oath to king Arnuwanda of the LÚ<sup>MES</sup> DUGUD of Kaššiya; see below.

<sup>89</sup> CTH 381 II 32-33 (Singer 1996: 16).



Galatia proper and Lycaonia. One of them, perhaps Mallidaškuriya, could correspond to the important Höyük of Çalış, 20 Km east of Haymana<sup>90</sup>.

Parnašša, \*Ašpuna and \*Aliyašša

In KUB 48.105+ there is a gap of four missing place names. They should have covered the region between Pittaniyašša, Mallidaškuriya and the Halys. In this area we could place some towns we know from other texts, or whose name can be inferred from personal names, on the base of a local survival of ancient place names. A very good example of this continuity is shown by Parnašša, the sanctuary of a Deity of the Night, mentioned in a difficult inventory text together with the sacred mountains Kuduwa, *Ma-a[š]-...* and *Šu-n[i<sup>2</sup>-p]a<sup>2</sup>-wa* and the source Kališa<sup>91</sup>. The town recurs in a copper inventory, KBo 18.161, Obv., where the other place names we can read are: *An-x[...]*, *Anziladašša*<sup>92</sup>, *Za-ra-r[a<sup>2</sup>...]*. Another text connects Parnašša with Panišša<sup>93</sup>. All this evidence seems to allow the identification of Parnašša with Class. Parnassos<sup>94</sup>, Turk. Parlasan (today Değirmenyolu, see Hild - Restle 1981: 252-253), showing also the continuity of place names in this area up to our time.

\*Ašpuna is never mentioned in Hittite texts, this place name is only inferred from personal names: in the old Assyrian texts we frequently find a name Šupunuman/Išpunuman together with Šupunahšu/Išpunahšu, whereas a Hittite inventory mentions a woman with the name Ašpuna-wiya<sup>95</sup>. A town name can be inferred, shifting from a Nesite spelling Išpuna to a later Luwite spelling Ašpuna, still surviving into Classical times as Aspona<sup>96</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> With a diameter of about 200 m. and sherds of the Middle and the Late Bronze Age (Omura 1995: 227 N°43).

<sup>91</sup> KBo 2.8; see Hazenbos 2003: 131-141 (Text 45). Kuduwa may be compared with the town name *Ku<sup>2</sup>-wa<sup>2</sup>-du-wa* of KBo 12.65, II 6, but the first two signs are damaged and could be read also *Ša<sup>2</sup>-aš<sup>2</sup>-du-wa* (see also the reading MUNUS.LUGAL <sup>URU</sup>*K[a]-aš-du-wa[-rit]* proposed by Klinger 1996: 177 n. 211); the other place names of this inventory fragment are *Tu-u-ḫa-na*, *Ši-ir-wa*, *Ḫa-ḫar-n[a<sup>2</sup>]*, *La-ki-mi-iš-ša*, *Ti-i-wa-li-ya*, *[Wa-ar<sup>2</sup>]-ga-ta-wi-[ya]* and *Pār-aš-ḫu-un-ta*; Lakimišša is a town of Kuguwawa (tribal name or district north of Kaniš, HT 2, VI 2) and Tiwaliya is a common place name, perhaps here the town mentioned in KUB 38.10 IV 25 (where it occurs also together with Kanzana of Kuguwawa), and the presence of Parašhunda is not against a general location of these place names in the area of the middle Halys.

<sup>92</sup> Anziladašša is build as a possessive/genitive form of \*Anzilada, to be compared with Anzulada (probably today Oğuzeli, south-west of the Tuz Gölü, see: Belke 1984: 131).

<sup>93</sup> KUB 42.44 II? 2', 5', 8', 10', V? 5' (<sup>URU</sup>*Pa-mi-š[a]*). According to Košak 1982: 11-117, and Siegelová 1986: 213-225, this fragment joins with KBo 9.89, where also Zarwiša, a town near Hurmiya in Class. Lycaonia (see Forlanini 1988: 137-138) is mentioned.

<sup>94</sup> See Forlanini 1997: 221, where I have also compared the name of the source Kališa with Class. Galea, a station of the It. Burd.(576.1) 22 miles north-west of Parnassus (near Büyük Bıyık, see Belke 1984: 165) or with Keles Höyük (Class.Andrapa, a station of the same itinerary between Galea and Parnassus, according to Belke o.c: 126). Laroche, 1957: 5, compared the place name with Greek Parnas(s)os, but proposed for the Hittite town a south-eastern location.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Meriggi 1965: 266-267.

<sup>96</sup> Today Sarıhöyük, earlier Şedithöyük (see Belke 1984: 135; Omura 1994: 322).

\*Aliyašša is a different case. This town name appears (with the old-Assyrian spelling *A-li-a-ša*) in a Cappadocian tablet in connection with Wahšušana, hence the possible survival as Aliassum (today Afşar near Bâla, see Forlanini 2005: 14), a station in Galatia of the Itinerarium Burdigalense, that would postulate a continuity of its name through the Hittite time, for which unfortunately we have no evidence. The country of Jahala, recurring in a document (KUB 8.14) mentioning the "towns *arunumaneš* (on the sea)" could remind us of Jogola of the It. Burdigalense on the shore of the Salt Lake, between Parnassos and Archelais (Parnasso, Jogola, Nitalis, Argustana, Colonia)<sup>97</sup>.

Uratta? (Rev. 12-13)

If the reading *Ú-ra-at-ta* in KUB 48.105+, Obv. 12, is correct, we have here an example of a diffused place name: Waratta<sup>98</sup>. We know a Waratta near Kammama and another one in the valley of the Šehiriya<sup>99</sup>. A later form, in Roman and Byzantine times, when B already represented a bilabial spirant, is Barata/Baretta. Of these the former is placed on the Kara Dağ in the midst of the Lycaonian plain and the latter is a Byzantine district town, that shifted, together with Aspona from the thema of the Boukellari to that of the Cappadocians, as we have seen above. Since Baretta, Balbadona, Aspona and Akarkous were forming a cluster of towns in the same area, we should place Baretta near today Balâ (Balbadon), perhaps in the valley of the Balaban Dere, a tributary of the Halys, or near Emirler. Uratta is the last town of the inventory having a shrine of Pirwa (the others in the land of Turmitta are *Te<sup>2</sup>nizidaša* and *Pittaniaša*); maybe we reach here the northern border of the area where this god was worshipped.

Kalašmitta (Rev. 14-15)

If the localization of Turmitta at Karakeçili on the Halys is likely to fit better the requirement of both Hittite and Old Assyrian evidence, and the order of the list in KUB 48.105+ is a geographical one, then Kalašmitta and Tamettaya should be placed near the river, upstream of Turmitta, the former perhaps at Kesikköprü. The presence of the

<sup>97</sup> KUB 8.14 is a fragment of an oracular text (see CTH 533.6) The "towns on the sea" (Rev. I III 14-15, see *HW<sup>2</sup>* Band I, 354-355) are not in the context where the country Yahala occurs (Obv. 11') and therefore no connection can be proved. Jogola was located 16 miles south-east of Parnassus (see Hild - Restle 1981: 192) near the Tuz Gölü.

<sup>98</sup> For this restoration see Forlanini 1979: 177. The first broken sign ends with a vertical wedge, which fits the shape of the Ú sign used in this document; besides, no other known Hittite place name could correspond to it.

<sup>99</sup> The northern Waratta occurs in the military itinerary KUB 40. 106 (Obv.8',10; see Klengel 1961) together with Ittuma and Hapušta; all these place names are mentioned in the texts from Ortaköy (cf. Süel 2005: 684); therefore my previous interpretation of the itinerary (Forlanini 1977: 210-211) must be abandoned.

AGRIG functionary of Kalašmitta among a group of colleagues, those of Hanhana, Tuhuppiya, and Turmitta points perhaps to a northern position<sup>100</sup>

Tamettaya (Rev. 16-19)

This place name comes probably from the personal name Temetti. It cannot be identical with Tamettaša on the border of Timmuhala<sup>101</sup>, although the two names are related and belonging to adjoining areas, since the latter must be sought also near the Halys but further downstream in the direction of Gangra/Çankırı. The gods of Tamettaya are Anzili and the Storm God of the KILAM.

#### 7. Turmitta, a cross-road between middle and lower Maraššanda on the road from Hatti to Harziuna, and its Kaškan settlement<sup>102</sup>

The land of Turmitta was partially occupied by Kaškan tribes after the reign of Arnuwanda I, since Turmitta does not appear among the lost provinces in his Prayer<sup>103</sup>. The tribes were probably those called Halila and Tuttuška, mentioned by Muṣili II in the Annals and settled in the northern part of the land<sup>104</sup>. In the years before Šuppiluliuma they moved upstream along the Maraššanda, reaching Nenašša (Decree of Hattušili III, KBo 6.28 Obv. 6-8). They were defeated and submitted in the first year of Muṣili, but some years later in the 15<sup>th</sup> year of the king we find them again raiding the northern lands of Tababanuwa and Tahara during a general Kaškan upheaval<sup>105</sup>. When Muwattalli deserted Hatti to place his new capital Tarhundašša in the Luwian region of the Lower Land, the Kaškan tribesmen of Turmitta rebelled again and invaded on one side the neighbouring province of Tuhuppiya in central Hatti and on the other side the Lower Land, reaching Ippašana and Šuwadara<sup>106</sup>; since Ippašana can safely be identified with Uppašana on the frontier of Tarhundašša and Šuwadara with Class. Soatra in Lycaonia we can

<sup>100</sup> Kar/lašmitta could be different from Karaštitta, since both names occur in CTH 662.1 (in KUB 11.28 III the AGRIG of [K]arašmitta precedes the colleague of Turmitta, whereas ibid. IV the AGRIG of [Karašt]itta follows the colleagues of Zimišhuna and Hanhana.; in KBo 8.124 Obv. the AGRIGs appear in the order: Hak[miš], Zibišhuna, Karaštitta).

<sup>101</sup> KUB 19.37 II 33-34: (...) *e-di-iz-za-ma-aš-ši* URU *Ta-me-et-ta-ša-za* IUR.SAG *I-ù-ù-ni-iš ir-ḥa-a-aš* (Götze 1933: 170-171: "Jenseits aber von Tamettaša (ist) das Gebirge Juhini seine Grenze"). Del Monte 1993: 121, interprets this place name as Tamita and identifies this town with Tamettaya.

<sup>102</sup> See also my treatment of the problem of Turmitta (in print B).

<sup>103</sup> Complete list: CTH 375, A II 21'-25 (Lebrun 1980: 136, 144-145); short list: C III 8'-10 (Lebrun o.c.: 139, 146). In the short list there are only towns east of the Halys, whereas the complete list has districts on both sides.

<sup>104</sup> Campaign of the first year (KBo 3.4, I 30-42). Halila and Tuttuška are mentioned only here and with the words: "I attacked Halila and Tuttuška, the SAG.DU<sup>MES</sup> KUR.KUR<sup>MES</sup> of the Kaškans"; both place names are preceded by the determinative URU, which could indicate both a town and a tribal name (as usual with Kaška), but in the same sentence they are the "main countries" of the Kaškeans; therefore they are likely to be tribal names and not towns.

<sup>105</sup> KBo 14.20, I 11-12; Houwink ten Cate 1966: 169; del Monte 1993: 114.

<sup>106</sup> Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, II 10-13 (Otten 1981: 10-11).

understand how dangerous was this southern outpost of the Kaškan enemy for the Hittite empire.

This evidence helps in placing Turmitta in a centre of a ring of Hittite provinces, like Tababinuwa and Tahara in the North, Kaššiya and Harziuna in the west, Tuhuppiya in the east and Wašhaniya in the south. The links of Turmitta with western regions is evident in the old Assyrian period (with frequent journeys of the merchants in the area comprising Turmitta, Wahšušana and Šaladuwar), but also Hittite documents point to the geographical connection of Turmitta with Harziuna<sup>107</sup> and the later Lycaonia. Towns like Maraššantiya and Kattila may have been not too far from Turmitta<sup>108</sup>. The cult of Telebinu was common to Turmitta and other shrines of the western part of Hatti, like Hanhana and Tawiniya (on this cult see Mazoyer 2002) but reached Hakmiš and Nerik in the north and Karahna in the east (see van Gessel 1998: 473-474).

On the way from Hattena to the Maraššanda –crossing near Hurna, Šuppiluliuma (Ann., fragm. 34) stopped at Tuhpiliša, where his help was required by the people of Zidabarha, attacked by the enemies from Turmitta, but the king could not satisfy them, since he was moving north towards Tumanna; perhaps on his way back, through the river Tahara and Tababanuwa, he could help them by reaching the region north of Turmitta, but the text breaks up here and the assumption cannot be confirmed.

Since Zidabarha should have been also on the way to Ziulila and Kalašma passing to the north of Kaššiya<sup>109</sup>, I suggest placing this town at a cross-road like Kırıkkale or Kalecik. With this town we reach the limit of the area investigated here.

Coming back to Turmitta and its possible location near Karakeçili proposed above I have to add that Büyükkaletepe, controlling the ford of the Halys' on the way connecting central Hatti with Ankara and the basin of the Sangarius, would be a suitable candidate for this important Hittite city and Assyrian *kārum*.

<sup>107</sup> The fragment KUB 53.43 mentions in three succeeding paragraphs: Turmitta with the god Telibuna, Kattela with the mountain Iyaliya and Harziuna with the mountain Kammaliya. For the sequence of CTH 381 II 32-33, where the gods of Mallidaškuriya (a town of Turmitta) precede those of Harziuna, see above. A mountain worshipped in Turmitta was Mt. Zik[...], the festival of the Storm God of this mountain was celebrated by the king's son (KBo 30.64, not Zitharunuwa!).

<sup>108</sup> Kattila occurs in some old Assyrian texts without geographical context, with the exception of BIN 6, 9, 10, where also Ušhaniya is mentioned (I.6). For KUB 53.43 see above. The AGRIG functionaries of Karahna and Kattila are mentioned in KBo 16.70 and the man of Kattila occurs with the men of *Ḥar-ḥar-na*, *Za-a-iš-wa*, *Wa-tār-wa* and Šakrida in KBo 19.86; in the list of the gods of Muṣili's II Plague Prayer (Version 4, KUB 14.13 I 12-14) we find the gods of Lihzina followed by those of Maraššantiya, Parmanna, Kattila and Hašūna. We may remember at this point that according to KUB 55.14, Rev. 6'-11 (Hazenbos 2003: 95-96) wine was brought from Tiura for the cult of the Storm God of Hašūna; so, if Tiura and Parmanna were placed in the same area, as we have seen above, it is possible to consider this section of the gods list in the Prayer as having a geographical value. The evidence is far to be conclusive but is likely to point to an area near the middle Halys, perhaps on its eastern side, since the toponym Katti/ela seems to have a Hattian origin (an "adjective" formed from the name *katte*, "king", hence: "royal city"). I would place it tentatively near Kaman and Keskin, or even identify it with Kaman Kalehöyük.

<sup>109</sup> KBo 13.73 shows that Zidabarha was on the way to Ziulila and Kalašma (cf. Forlanini 1977: 206-207).

## 8. The province of Kaššiya

I come back here to the new fragment KBo 50.266a of the Instructions CTH 260, a standard text established by Arnuwanda I for the “overseers of the clansmen” (UGULA LU<sup>MES</sup> LI-IM) and the DUGUD officers; three versions with the same wording, concerning the three provinces of Kaššiya, Kinnara and Kalašma, are partially preserved<sup>110</sup>. Each version starts with the formula: “Thus speak the overseers of clans-men and the DUGUD officers of the troops of the land of Kiššiya (/Kinnara/Kalašma)”, immediately followed by the list of the officers taking part to the oath. This list, as far as Kiššiya is concerned, is preserved in two fragments, KUB 26.24, I 3'-13, and KBo 50.266a+ KUB 31. 70, 1'-10'. The two fragments have apparently no name in common and, since the lines involved are 11 and 9 respectively, and the total number of the commanders quoted is 29, and we should expect about one or two names for each line of text, they should follow each-other perhaps with a short overlapping; since the standard formula of introduction appears in KUB 26. 24, I 2', that breaks out inside the list, and the list ends in KBo 50.266a+ line 10' we have no problems in confirming the order of the occurrences. The place names mentioned in the sequence given by the list are then (only the 18 names at least partially preserved): [...]*ka-aš-ša*, *A-tar-ra-u-wa-an-na*, *Ša-ap-pa*<sup>111</sup>, *Har-ta-a-na*, *Ta-ḫa-ra-am-ma*<sup>112</sup>, *Har-šu-wa-an-da*, *Ni-in-ni-wa-aš*, *H/Za-ḫ/a-a[z-...]*, *-]a-an-na*<sup>113</sup>, *Hu-ḫu-li-ya*, *Ti-li-ip[-...]*<sup>114</sup>, *Ma-al-li-ta-aš-ku-r[i-ya]*, *[x-tar-zi-ya]*<sup>115</sup>, *Ha-r[a-ḫa-ra]*<sup>116</sup>, *I-ḫu-wa-al-li[-ya]*, *Ga-ni-in-n[u'-...]*, *I-šar-ū-iš-ša*, *x-']ū-i-ša-aš-pu-ra*, *[-]x-ti-i-ya*<sup>117</sup>, *Ša-x[...]*.

I have already written about the meaning of the presence of Šappa, elsewhere a separated district on the road to Kalašma, and on Hartana, a town well known also in old

<sup>110</sup> Edition: Von Schuler 1956: 223-233; Beal 1992: 494-495. For the military titles involved here see Beal, o.c.: 473-504.

<sup>111</sup> Šapp(uw)a, a country already mentioned in an Old Assyrian letter (see above), was attacked by Abarru of Kalašma in the 19.th year of Muṣili II (Annals, KBo 2.5 III 29-31, Götze 1933: 188-189; Del Monte 1993: 128). This points to a position on the north-western border of Kaššiya; on account of its size and stratigraphy Höyük-Sarıoba, south of Beypazar (Omura 1996: 252), offers a suitable location for Šapp(uw)a.

<sup>112</sup> See the name of the river and land Tahara, but also the town *Ta-ḫa-ra-a[n']* of KUB 23.116, I 13', an historical fragment dealing with Wahšuš[ana] (I 7') and the land of *Ki-i[š']-šiyā'* (I 8').

<sup>113</sup> For this ending see here Adarrawanna and also Mt. Hakkalanna, worshipped, together with Mt. Ziwana near Hartana (KUB 38.32).

<sup>114</sup> Safely not Talib(a)ziya, a village of the province Kartabaha (HT 2, II 29, KBo 10.10 IV 19) near Kadaba. Should anyway the name be the same, compare the village Dallapoze mentioned in a Greek inscription found at Karahöyük near Kalecik (Mitchell 1982: 172-173, Nr.206).

<sup>115</sup> The first broken sign ends with two horizontal wedges (e.g. *mi'*). Anyway this place name cannot be connected with the Kizzuwatnan mount Zatarziya or with the *[x-tar-zi-ya-il]* of KBo 30. 157, I 6', mentioned together with other local functionaries from Išthila and Taškuriya, both in the immediate neighbourhood of Hattuša.

<sup>116</sup> Could we read *Ha-r[a-pa-ša]*? This place name occurs in a campaign of Muṣili between Zidabarha (see above) and Tumma (KUB 34.36, 6'-7). I would rather point to Harahara, mentioned among the towns with a “House of the seal” in the Decree of Telibinu immediately before Mallidaškuriya (CTH 19, III 38, Hoffmann 1984: 44-45).

<sup>117</sup> The last sign before *ni* could be *u*, *[š]*a or *[t]*a; see e.g. *Al-ḫu-u[t-ti]-ya*, KUB 60.126, 8.

Assyrian texts and later a Hittite sanctuary<sup>118</sup>. The new entries of this list suggest a link with a section of the list of the “Houses of the Seal” of Telibinu: (...) Harahara, Mallidaškuriya, ..., Haršuwa (...), if a possible link can be supposed between Haršuwa and Haršuwanda. A good example of survival of a place name throughout the following periods could be Adarrawanna, to be connected to Class. Androna, today Topaklı 40 Km. south-west of Ankara<sup>119</sup>, through a secondary nasalisation probably due to a Greek popular etymology; at the end of the list of Telibinu we reach Kalašummiya, which may correspond to Class. Klossama, a village near Kalecik, north-east of Ankara<sup>120</sup>.

## Tables

1) CTH 510: A=KUB 38.6, B=KUB 38.10 (B IV 25-34= Colophon), C=KUB 57.106)<sup>121</sup>

N.	Position in the text	Town inventoried	Local (?) geographical names in the cult <sup>122</sup>
1	(B IV 25)	<i>Ti-wa-li-y[a]</i>	

<sup>118</sup> For this important town with a long history the site of Külhöyük may be suggested. This archaeological site (1,5 Km south-east of the road Ankara-Haymana 3 Km before Oyaca, in the direction of Boyalık), excavated by the Museum of the Anatolian Civilisations of Ankara in the years 1992-1994 (see D.Mermerci and V.Kaya in *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Konferansları* of 1993-1995), was inhabited in the period of the old Assyrian colonies and in the time of the Hittite Empire and is not far from the well known monument of Gâvurkalesi, that could, in this case, correspond to mount Ziwana. See Ertem 1995: 98-100, who suggested to identify it with Šaladuwar/Šaladiwara, which I would rather place, according to recently available Old Assyrian evidence (Derksen 1996: 13), on the left side of the Sangarius (Forlanini 2008: 59-60). Of course also Wahšušana was in that area and could correspond to Külhöyük, but the very large tell of Ballıkuyumcu 32 Km. south-west of Ankara (see Ertem o.c: 100; Belke 1984: 138) would better fit its position in the Old Assyrian network; I would thus correct here my recent proposal (2005: 14; Sofular near Bala).

<sup>119</sup> Place name inferred from a dedicace to Μηνη Ἀνδρῶνηνῶ found in Topaklı (Mitchell 1982: 192, Nr. 230), 40 Km. ssw Ankara, the höyük, 2 to 3 Km west of the village, yields prehistoric pottery (Belke 1984: 236).

<sup>120</sup> From the ethnicon Κλωσσαμῖνοι mentioned in the inscription of Akçataş, 15 Km. north-west of Kalecik, see Belke 1984: 192.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Forlanini 1992: 178, n. 54. The colophon in B IV allows to restore the first part of the geographical sequence. According to the colophon, C II seems to start exactly where A I ends, and A III precedes B III. A IV 15'-26 // B IV 1'-12.

<sup>122</sup> The Storm Gods of Nerik and Kaštama in northern Hatti, the Storm God of Aššur (the god Aššur, cf. Schwemer 2001: 581 n. 4695) and Ištar of Nenuwa, appear in many paragraphs, although their cult places were of course not connected geographically with the villages of the inventory. Why we find them here? The Assyrian gods could go back to the period of the Old Assyrian merchants (Forlanini 1992: 178), whereas the gods of northern Hatti could have been diffused in central Cappadocia, in the form of statues, by the religious policy of the empire in the time of Hattušili III and Tuthaliya IV. A “standard set of gods” was given by the authorities to each town/village in order to reorganize and to standardize the local cults. In the table anyway only the cult places, mountains and sources, who are likely to be local, have been recorded. The Storm God, and not Sin, of Harana occurs here in several paragraphs, I prefer to consider this Harana an Anatolian shrine (also of the Tutelary Deity and of Ālā, KUB 2.1 I 48', III 41; KBo 11.40 I 9'; cf. McMahon 1991: 96, 108, 120) rather than the Mesopotamian Harran.



2	(B IV 26)	-	
3	(B IV 26)	DU <sub>6</sub> <sup>m</sup> <i>Lu-uk-kaš-ši</i>	
4	(B IV 26)	<i>Wa-an-ta-ra[-?..]</i>	
5	(B IV 27)	-	
6	(B IV 27)	<i>Ša-li-ta-aš-ši-iš</i>	
7	(B IV 27)	<i>Wa-wa-ra-a[š-š]a</i>	
8	A I 1'-8 (B IV 28)	-	<sup>PU</sup> Wauwara
9	A I 9-12 (B IV 28)	<i>[P]a-ḥa-ḥa-an-ta-a-aš</i>	
10	A I 13-16 (B IV 28)	<i>Pár-ma-aš-ḥa-pa-aš</i>	Storm-God of <sup>URU</sup> Harana; <sup>PU</sup> Allah <sup>?</sup> na, <sup>ID</sup> Parmašhaba
11	A I 17-20 (B IV 29)	DU <sub>6</sub> <sup>m</sup> <i>Hu-ur-lu-uš-ša</i>	
12	A I 21-26 (B IV 29)	<i>Ša-ap-pi-it-ta-aš</i> <i>Ši-ip-pi-it-ta-aš</i>	Storm-God of <sup>URU</sup> Harana, KUR <i>La-wa-ta</i> , <sup>PU</sup> Pi[...], <sup>ID</sup> Ba-lu-ḥa-aš-ša
13	A I 27-32 (B IV 30)	<i>Kan-za[-a'-n]a-aš</i>	Storm-God of <sup>URU</sup> Harana, KUR <i>La-wa-ta</i> ; <sup>PU</sup> Ta-ut-ta-wa-zi-iš
14	A I 33-37 (B IV 30)	<i>Iš-ša-na-aš-ši-iš</i> <i>[Iš-š]a-an-na-aš-ši-iš</i>	Storm-God of <sup>URU</sup> Harana, <sup>PU</sup> Ti-i-na-ta-aš-ši-iš, <sup>PU</sup> Zi-gur-wa-aš, <sup>PU</sup> Ša <sup>?</sup> -wa-ya-aš
15	C II 1-5 (B IV 30)	<i>Šal-lu-wa-ta-ši-iš</i>	Storm-God of <sup>URU</sup> Tap <sup>?</sup> [-pareššiyaš <sup>?</sup> ]
16	C II 6-13 <sup>123</sup> (B IV 31)	[.....]x-aš-ši-iš	Storm-God of KUR <i>Kum-mi-eš-mah</i>
17	C II 14-23 (B IV 31)	[ ]x <sup>124</sup> -ti-te-eš-ki <sup>?</sup>	KUR <i>La-wa-ta</i> ; <sup>PU</sup> Hi-la-aš; HUR.SAG.GE <sub>6</sub> , <sup>PU</sup> Har-ki
18	C II 24-31 (B IV 32)	<i>K[i'-x]-an'-ta'-aš</i>	<sup>PU</sup> Š[a]-ni-ya-aš
19	C II 32-38 (B IV 32)	<i>[A'-]ru-ma-aš-ši-iš</i> <sup>125</sup>	
20	C II 39-45 (B IV 33)	[.....]x-na'-na'-aš	
21	(B IV 33) <sup>126</sup>	[.w]i <sub>5</sub> -ya-an-ta-aš	
22	(B IV 34)	-	
23... <sup>127</sup>	A III 1'-9, (B IV 34)	<i>Gul-la-an-ta-aš</i>	
24 <sup>?</sup>	B III 1'-8	x[.....] <sup>128</sup>	<sup>PU</sup> Aru[....]
25'...	B III 9-22	<i>Tab-ba-ru-ta-aš</i>	Storm God of <sup>URU</sup> Tappareššiya, KUR <i>Du-un-na-aš</i> , KUR <i>Ša-lu-wa-an-ti-ya-aš</i> , KUR <i>Ma-am-ma-na-an-ta-aš</i>
26''	A IV 1'-6	-	God ... of <sup>PU</sup> Alauna

<sup>123</sup> KUB 57.58 1'-12 // A II 9-20.

<sup>124</sup> In the colophon the first broken sign of this name ends with three vertical wedges and could be Ú, RU or perhaps also RI and AR. In C II 14' it is impossible to recognize the same name

<sup>125</sup> See perhaps <sup>PU</sup>A-ru[- at § 24' (cf. Tischler in: Del Monte - Tischler 1978: 525).

<sup>126</sup> A II 46-64 illegible.

<sup>127</sup> From here on we have no more help from the colophon for the restoration of the sequence.

<sup>128</sup> The first sign of this name begins with two horizontal wedges.

27''	A IV 7-14	<i>Ša-pa-gur-wa-an-ta-aš</i>	<sup>PU</sup> Šaniyaš, <sup>PU</sup> Waššantataiš
28''	A IV 15-25, B IV 1'-11	<i>Ma-al-li-it-ta-aš</i>	KUR Warwaliya, KUR Tarmaimiš, <sup>PU</sup> Haršaniyaš, <sup>PU</sup> Ku-wannaniyaš, <sup>ID</sup> Zaraliya, Storm God of KUR <i>Kum-man-eš-mah</i>
29''	A IV 26, B IV 12'-22	-	<sup>ID</sup> Ma[zz]awanda, <sup>PU</sup> x[...]-up-pár-aš <sup>PU</sup> Ša <sup>?</sup> -ni-ya-aš, Storm God of <sup>URU</sup> Harana

2) CTH 505 A=KUB 2.7 B=KUB 2.13

1	A Obv... 1'-17	(Artešnaš) see colophon	[ <sup>URU</sup> <i>La-ak-t</i> ]e-ri-iš-ša, <sup>URU</sup> <i>Gaz-za-na-a</i> , <sup>HUR.SAG</sup> Ši-id-du-wa
2	A I 18- II 9	<i>Wi<sub>5</sub>-ya-nu-an-ta-aš</i>	Storm God of <sup>URU</sup> <i>Hur-ta</i>
3	A III 10-23, B I 1'-20	<i>Pa-ni-iš-ša</i>	<sup>HUR.SAG</sup> Kilinuna, <sup>HUR.SAG</sup> Kenkališa (Kikkališa)
4	A II 24-33; B I 21-30	<i>Ma-am-ma-na-an-ta-aš</i>	<sup>HUR.SAG</sup> Arnuantaš, <sup>HUR.SAG</sup> Harranaššaš, <sup>HUR.SAG</sup> BABBAR; <sup>ID</sup> Šigaššigaš; <sup>PU</sup> ( <i>altanniš</i> ) <i>Du-up-ša-aš</i> , <sup>PU</sup> ( <i>altanniš</i> ) <i>Kum-mayanniš</i> , <sup>PU</sup> Šiwannaš, <sup>PU</sup> Hašhannari, <sup>PU</sup> Tarha(n)naš, <sup>PU</sup> Halwannaš
5	B II 1'-9	<i>La-ar-ši-li-ya</i>	<sup>URU</sup> Piškarana, <sup>PU</sup> arwadaliyanza

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