

CTH 13: THE EXTENSIVE ANNALS OF HATTUŠILI I (?)

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The following paper grew out of joining the co-authors' interests in two geographical extremities of the Hittite kingdom and empire: Arzawa in the west (Košak 1974) and the Syro-Anatolian region in the southeast (Kempinski 1974). The authors tried to draw, each in his own area of interest, a balanced historical and geographical sketch into which the campaigns of various Hittite kings could best be set chronologically. Dealing with CTH 13 turned out to be a difficult task, since its date, order of campaigns and persons involved were puzzling. It was therefore a challenge to try to answer some of the questions raised by this fragmentary text, as well as to rework it with the improved aids afforded by the Hittitology of today. It is hoped that even if some of the passages remain unclear and vague, the present publication of CTH 13 will bring more fragments and joins that will ultimately set this text historically into its place.*

In 1922, E. Forrer gave a transliterated edition of CTH 13 in his classical and still highly important edition of historical texts, *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift*, 2 (2 BoTU), numbered 17 α - γ . In his historical summary (2 BoTU:8*) he related the text to Pimpira, the "regent" during the early years of Muršili I. He connected the events recorded on text A, obv. 2-10, with those recorded in CTH 9 (his number 2 BoTU 10 γ) because both are concerned with the removal of the "man" of Purušhanda. In his historical reconstruction this could have happened only after Hattušili's I's death and before Muršili's Syrian campaign; in his view, the Hurrian episodes in CTH 13 were Pimpira's campaigns, which enabled Muršili later to expand into Syria and finally to raid Babylon. Hardy (1940:200-202; n. 87) dated the text to Muršili I, probably in order to fill the gap in the annalistic literature between Hattušili I and Hantili and because there was insufficient documentation to clarify Pimpira's role in the early years of Muršili I.

Laroche adopted Hardy's view in the first edition of his catalogue (1956) and attributed the text of Muršili I (?); this position was still held by him in the 1971 edition. Neither Gurney in the new edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (1973) nor Otten in the *Fischer Weltgeschichte* (1966) took any stand on CTH 13 nor utilized any of its information.

A turn in the dating of the text was made by Bin-Nun (1975:80-82). In her monograph on the Tawananna, she redated the text to Hattušili I, adopting Forrer's view that the acts against the "man of Purušhanda" mentioned in CTH 9 — which she dated with sound scholarship to Hattušili I — are to be correlated through the reference to the ruler's wife

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to the wife and children mentioned in *CTH* 13 obv. II:11. Although we shall try to show that these are, in fact, not identical, her intuitive proposal has nevertheless turned out to be correct. Bin-Nun also correlated Hattušili's clashes with the Hurrians in *KBo* 10:1-3 with the Hurrian episodes in *CTH* 13, but without giving any specific references. The latest partial treatment of *CTH* 13 is that of Heinhold-Krahmer in her monograph on Arzawa (1977), where she questioned the date of the text but left it attributed to Muršili I with a question mark.

We would like to express our thanks to Professor H.G. Güterbock, who pointed out that *KUB* 26:75 joins *KBo* 3:46 and allowed us to use and publish his join (Fig. 1). This means that, instead of four versions (A-D in Laroche's *CTH* 13), we have only one text with a parallel version that is not an exact duplicate: A. *KBo* 3:46 + *KUB* 26:75; B. *KBo* 3:5 + *KBo* 19:90 (+) *KBo* 3:54.

The only archaeologically documented fragment, *KBo* 19:90, was found in Area K/19, at Boğazköy, probably originating from the archives of Temple I.

It is somewhat surprising that in neither version have columns I and IV been preserved. Column I, which should have contained references to Hattušili's accession to the throne and his first campaign against Šanahuitta, must either be lying somewhere among existing fragments of obscure historical context and is as yet unidentified, or is still to be excavated from the dump of the archives at Boğazköy.

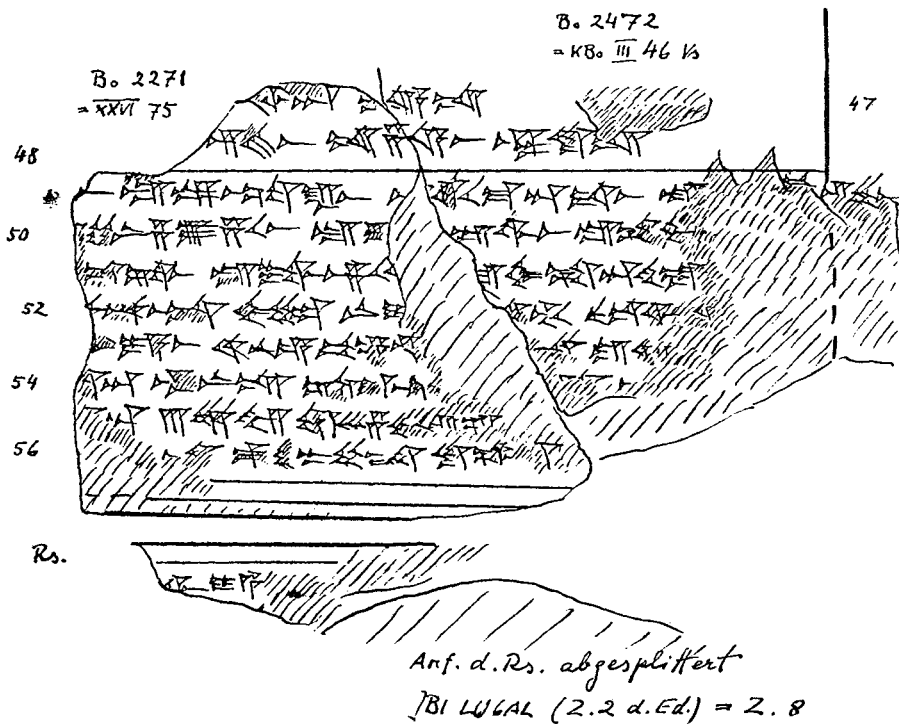


Fig. 1. Join of *KUB* 26:75 and *KBo* 3:46.

Professor Guterbock's join also enables us to set a continuous text through column II to the end and immediately proceeding into column III, with the aid of parallel text B (KBo 3:54).

1. CTH 13. The Extensive Annals of Hattuřili I

A. KBo 3:46 + KUB 26:75

B. KBo 3:53 + KBo 19:90 [= B₁] (+) KBo 3:54 [= B₂], parallel to A ii 29—iii 9

Transliteration

obv.II1	[	]x ¹ kat-ta ¹ x[
§ 1 2	[	an-]da pa-id-du [
3	[	]it ha-an-na-r[u
<hr/>		
§ 2 4	[	]x ma-ak-ki-i a-ap-p [a (-)]
6	[	EGIR-p]a e-eř-mi DINGIRmeř pa-ra[-a
6	[	ERIN-]řu ^u giřGIGIRmeř.řu h[u-ul-li-ja-nu-un]
7	[	]x pa-it uruPu-ru-uř-ha-an-d[a(-)]
8	[	-]ja uruPu-ru-uř-ha-an-da-an
9	[	uruPu-ru-uř-ha]-an-da-an har-ni-in-ku-un
10	[	]uruPu-ru-uř-ha-an-da uruHa-at-tu-ři
11	[	L]UGAL-řa a-na DAM-řu DUMUmeř.řu
12	[	]řa-am-lu-wa-an-za ga-ku-uř-mu-uř
13	[da-a- ^u?	]x ma-an wa-ar-kán ^u -li-ni-i an-da i-mi-e-nu-un
<hr/>		
§ 3 14	[	uruH]a-at-ti ^u -it ta-a-ma ^u -it-ti
15	[KUR uru. . . KUR uruH a-at-r]a-a-ař ták-řa-an-na ^u -it KUR uruHa-at-ra-a-ař	
16	[uru. . . uruř]u-uk-zi-ař-řa hur-li ne-ja-an-ta-ti	
17	[	]x-eř ¹) e-řir řu-uř e-ip-pi-ir
18	[	-]i ¹ r ¹ a-pi-e-ma hur-la-an
19	[	-i]ř-na zi-nu-e-ir
20	[	]i ¹ -it
21	[	-i]t uruHu-ru-ma-az
22	[	-] [i]-iz-zi
23	[	-d]a-az hur-li
24	[	uruL]a-hu-uz-za-an-ti-ja
25	[	(-)]i ¹ řa ¹ -an hu-ul-li-it
26	[	uruHu-]i ¹ r ¹ -ma-an
		(lines ii 27, 28, 29 are completely destroyed)
30	[	(i ¹ -x-x)]i ¹ kar ¹ -ař-řa i ¹ hur ¹ -l[i
31	[	kar-(řa-an-ta-ti t)]a hal-ki-in NINDA-an GEřTIN[-an
32	[k(ar- ¹ ap-pi- ¹ an-zi DINGIRmeř ur)]u Hu-ru-um-ma-an ² PAP-ah-řa-nu-[ir] ³	
33	[a-na URUlim UL k(u!-it-ki i-e)-ir hur-la- ⁴) ma-ař-řa-an h�e-en-kán ⁵) ři- ¹ ja ¹ [-ir]	
34	[na-ař ak-ki-iř-ki-u-wa-(an da-a-iř m)]Ni-ip-pa-ař tu-uz-zi-ja-ař ⁶) EN-ař a-ak-ki[-iř] ⁷	

1) Or, m]eř; 2) B, 3: Hu-ur-ma-an; 3) B, 3: pa-ah-řa-nu[-ir]; 4) B, 4: hur-li-; 5) B, 4: hi-in-kán; 6) B,

- § 4 35 [uruHu-u(r-ma-az kat-ta-an ar-h)]a da-a-aš⁸⁾ ša-aš uruŠu-uk-zi-ja
 36 [(x uruŠu-)]uk-zi-ja gi-ma-ni-it⁹⁾
 37 [(ša-aš ak-ki-iš-ki-e-i)t] mKa-ra-wa-ni-iš mPa-ra-a-i-ú-na-aš¹⁰⁾
 38 [m([A]-i-ú-uk-ta-e-ra-ja-aš-ša t)]u-uz-zi-ja-aš iš-hé-eš a-ki-r
 39 [(uruLa-ak-ku-ri-iš-ši¹¹⁾ -ma 3 *li-im* ERÍNmeš lú.)]mešha-pi-ri-iš¹²⁾ LÚ-an-na
 IRmeš
 40 [(har-pa-an-te-eš LUGAL-uš ku-i-uš! t)]a-ru-up-pu-un šu-uš a-ša-an-đu-la-aš
 41 [(nu-uš-ša-an har-a)]p-ta-ti ta ku-ut-tar-še-it¹³⁾ ki-ša-ti
-
- § 5 42 [pa-ra-(a ši-ja-ti ša-aš)] uruAr-za-ú-i-ja-aš ud-ni-ja i-ja-an-ni-iš
 43 [uruMu-ut-ta-mu-(ta¹-aš-ša-aš uruZa-w)]a-an-hu-ra-aš uruMi-ni-ja-aš
 44 [uru. . . (x-x urux) uruPa-r]i-iš-ta-aš uruPa-ra-[ma]-an-za-na-aš-ša
 45 []x-aš uruU-lam-ma a-ar-ša¹
 46 []-i]š?-ta-at ša-an na-at-ta ku-it-ki
 47 [ak-ki-iš-ki-(u-wa-an d)]a-a-iš
 48 [tu-uz-]zi-aš¹⁴ iš-ha-a-aš ak-ki-iš
-
- § 6 49 [uru. . . -]aš uruKa-aš-ša-ra-aš u[(ru)] [Du]-u-ma-an-da-aš uru[Kar-g]a-zi-aš
 50 [uru. . . ur]uIn-za-lu-ha-aš¹⁵⁾ uru[Al] [-ki]-zu-wa-aš uruŠa-ah-h[u-i-li-ja-aš]
 51 [uru. . . uruO o]-uš-ta-aš¹⁶⁾ uruI-wa-aš-ha-p[a laš u]ruHar-ša-an-hi-la[-aš]
 52 [uru. . . uru. . .]x-na-aš-ša hur-li ni-j[(a-an)-t]a-ti¹⁷⁾ nu-uš-ši x[]
 53 [o o o-k(án uruAr-za-w)]i-ja-aš¹⁸⁾ ud-ni-e pí-e-hu[-]x uruA[r-za-(ú-i-ja)]
 54 [(gi-ma-ni-e-it) n]a-an < d > ^rAk¹-ni-iš ta-ma-aš-t[a]x-x L[(UGAL ERÍNmeš Hur-ri
 BA.UŠ)]¹⁹⁾
 55 []x-an 3 *li-im* ERÍNmeš ha-pi-[ri]-x²⁰⁾ []
 56 [har-ap-t(a-ti t)]a [ku-ut]-tar-še-it²¹⁾ ki-ša-[at]

rev. III

- § 7 1 [] ši-ja[-(ti ša-aš uruHa-at-tu-ša-a[š/n
 2 [(x LÚ uruPu-ru-uš-ha-an-da uruI)n-²³⁾]
 3 [ur(uHa-ra-aš-ha-pa-aš uruTa-aš-ša-an)-]
 4 [uru. . . -i(š-ta-aš uruA-ri-ma-at-ta-aš uru)]
 5 [uru. . . (-aš uruPa-ru-ki-it-ta-aš uru)]
 6 [uru. . . -(x-aš uruZu-un-na-ha-ra-a)š]
 7 [ur(uŠi-nu-wa-an-ta-aš ur)u]

5: tu-uz-zi-aš; 7) A single paragraph divider in B₁; 8) B₁6: hu-it-ti-ja-at; 9) B₁ 7: gi-ma-ni-e-it; 10) B₁ 8: mPa-ra-i-ú-na-aš; 11) *KBo* 3:53 obv. 9 begins with traces of a vertical wedge where the end of the horizontal line of -ši- from *KBo* 19:90:9 is expected. Since the sentence requires a loc., a collation is necessary; 12) A ii 39 has a *lacuna* of 11-12 signs here, instead of 14 signs in B₁ 9; cf. also Heinhold-Krahmer 1977:279, n. 8b; 13) B₁ 11: ku-ú[-tar-; 14) B₂ 1: tu-uz-zi-j[a-aš; 15) B₂ 3: uruInzaluha followed by uruHar-š[a-an-hi-la-aš; 16) B₂ 4: ur]uHu-ur-ša-am-ma-aš uruI-w[a-aš-ha-pa-aš; 17) B₂ 5: ne-ja-an[-; 18) B₂ 6: uruAr-za-ú-ja-aš; 19) B₂ has a paragraph divided here; 20) The sign looks like 'u'. B₂ 9: ha-pi-ri-iš; 21) B₂ 10: ku-ú[-tar-še-it; 22) B₂ has a single paragraph divider here and the text carries on in the same column, whereas A continues on rev. iii; 23) Or, uruŠa[r-; 24) Or,]x-u-wa-a[n da-

8	[	har-a(p-ta-ti ki-e-d)a-	] x [	]x- ^r du-uř ¹
9	[	(x x x)		a-]bi LUGAL
10	[		]x	
11	[		ha-r]a-ap-ta-ti	
12	[		ú-w]a-te-ir	
13	[		-]x-ja-ař	
14	[		k]ar-řa-an-zi-ja-ař	
15	[		]x-ja-an-ta-ti	
16	[		ur]uA-an-ku-wa ú-wa-te-ir	
<hr/>				
§ 8	17	[	]x pár-hi-eř-řar-ře-it	
	18	[	L]Úmeř řU.GI SALmeř řU.GI	
	19	[	] hur-li pa-a-ir	
	20	[	-]el IGI-an-da pa-a-ir	
	21	[	] <i>zi-im-di</i> ANřU.KUR.RAmeř LUGAL	
	22	(blank)		
<hr/>				
§ 9	23	[	-]a-tar ú-uk(-) ^r ta ¹ [-	
	24	[	-]an da-a-ir	
	25	[	du-] ^r ud ¹ -du-mi-ja-a[n	
	26	[	]x-ta	
	27	[	EGI]R-an na-a[t-	
	28	[	EGI]R-an d[a-	
	29	[	]x-u-wa-ař ^[24]	
	30	[	]x-an-te-eř e-řir	
	31	[	ur]uA-an-ku-wa ha-lu-ká[n ú-da-ař]	
	32	[	p]a-iz-zi ma-an uruTa[-o o]-x x	
	33	[	]x ud-ni-e gi-ma-n[i-it] x	
	34	[	lu-u]q-qa-nu-un ú-e-řa x[]	
	35	[	]DUMUmeř uruA-an-ku-wa LÚ[
	36	[	hur-l]a-ař ù ERÍNmeř uruTa-r[u-uq-q]a	
	37	[	h]é-e-ře-ir lúKÚR-an ka[t-ta(-)]x	
	38	[	har-ni-]ik-ta	
<hr/>				
§10	39	[	-]it UD.10.KAM za-ah-hi-ja-at-ta	
	40	[	]x-tar i-e-ir	
	41	[	z[<i>i-im -ti</i> ANřU.KUR.RA (erasure)	
	42	[	]x-na a-pí-el-la har-ni-in-kir	
<hr/>				
§11	43	[	]uruřa-na-ah-hu-it-ta-an	
	44	[	]x a-na uruHa-ak-[miř]-řa pa-it	
	45	[	]x-ař uruHa-at-te-na-ař pár-ře-ir	
	46	[	h]u-řu-e-wa-ni	
	47	[	-]ni uruřa-na-hu-it-ta-an	

48	[	] lúKÚR-ni za-ah-hi-ja-at-[ta]
49	[	u]t-tar i-e-ir
50	[	]x

§12 51	[	-k]u-ša a-na LÚmeš ur[u
52	[	]x-ni dLi[-il-lu-ri
53	[	]x-en
54	[	] x [

(the rest is broken off)

Translation

II 1	[	] down? [he came]
§ 1 2	[	] May he come [aga]inst me!
3	[	] Let the [god] decide [hi]s [case]!

§2 4	[	] much [. (verb)]
5	[	] I will help!" The gods de[livered him?]
6	[	] his [troops] and his chariots [I smashed].
7	[	] he went. To Purušhanda []
8	[	] and [I besieged] Purušhanda
9	[	] I destroyed [Puruš]anda
10	[	the prisoners from] Purušhanda to Hattuša
11	[I brought	]. The king, however, to his wife and children
12	[uttered those words]: "May the apple [rot] their teeth!	
13	[	] Had I mixed grease into clay!"

§3 14	[	] came to Hatti. In the second year,
15	he came between [the land of a]nd the [land of Hat]ra. The land of Hatra,	
16	[the land/town of] and the town of Šukzija turned to the Hurrians	
17	[Those who were friendly to the Hittites], those were captured	
18	[and mutilat]ed; those, however, who (against) the Hurrians	
19	[did not fight], were transferred to [].	
20	[	] he came
21	[	] from Hurma with [
22	[	] he s
23	[	from [] to the Hurrians
24	[	L]awazantija
25	[	] he fought.
26	[	H]urma [they/he besieged].
30	[	] to the Hurrians
31	[	] they harvested, and wheat, bread and wine
32	they lift (to show). The gods have protected Hurma:	
33	they did [not] harm [the city] but they have hurled the plague unto the Hurrians	
34	and the Hurrian army began to die. Nippa, their commander-in-chief, died.	

- § 4 35 He (the Hurrian king) withdrew (the troops) from [Hur]ma and [went] to Šukzija
 36 [] and stayed during the winter in Šukzija.
 37 And each one of them died; Karawani, Parajuna,
 38 and Ajuktaeraja, the commanders, died.
 39 Meanwhile, in Lakkurisa, 3000 troops, composed of *habiru* mercenaries and of
 freemen's servants,
 40 I, the king, gathered, and into garrisons
 41 [settled them]. And this (army) stayed in (organized) groups and this was their
 strength.
-
- § 5 42 [] he pounces forward. He set out on a campaign against the land
 of Arzawa:
 43 [the towns of Mutamu]tassa, Zawanhura, Minija,
 44 [Par]jista, Paramanzana,
 45 [] Ullamma he arrived.
 46 [he]-ed. And him nothing
 47 [could stop . . . and the army] began to die
 48 [and their] commander-in-chief died.
-
- § 6 49 The towns of [. . .]-a, Kaššara, Dumanda, [Karg]azia,
 50 [. . .], Inzaluha, Alkizuwa, Šahh[ui]lija,
 51 [. . .], [. . .]-ušta, (Huršamma), Iwašhapa, Haršanhila,
 52 [. . .], [. . .]x-na switched their allegiance to the Hurrians. To them [. . .].
 53 [He] dispatched [. . .] to the land of Arzawa [and] he wintered
 54 in Arzawa. The god Agni oppress[ed] him [and] the king of Hurrian troops died.

Commentary

- ii 3. Perhaps [. . . haneššaršumm]it hannar[u, "May the . . . deity decide our case"; cf. hannešša=šet hannat *KUB* 12:63 obv. 33; in annals: *KBo* 3:4 ii 14 (Goetze 1933:46), *KUB* 14:17 iii 17 f. (Goetze 1933:98).
- ii 4. ma-ak-ki-i (adverb) "much(?)"; the usual form is mekki. Since the context is missing, the interpretation is very uncertain. But see adverb ha-an-d/ti-i for the plene spelling of the end vowel. This may indicate stress Hart 1980:58), causing the weak grade of the root as in the verbs makkeš- and maknu-.
- ii 5. Possible restoration: DINGIRmeš pa-ra[-a pi-e-ir], "the gods [delivered the city? . . .] (to me);" cf. *KBo* 3:22 rev. 46-47 (Neu 1974:12 f.).
- ii 6. h[u-ul-li-ja-nu-un]; on the paradigm and spellings, see Neu 1974:73-78.
- ii 12 f. These lines probably contain a proverb or parable that illustrates the fall of the king of Purušhanda. Its meaning is not at all clear. For the phrase, "May the apple rot (lit.: take) their teeth, see Laroche 1973a:90 f.; the second line of the parable has no known parallel. The speaker is the Hittite king (since the one from Purušhanda is LÚ, not LUGAL), addressing the wife and children of the king of Purušhanda (Bin-Nun 1975:80).

- ii 15. takšann=a, “in the midst of, between”; see Kammenhuber 1979:123.
- ii 18. Possible restoration [ku-uk-ku-ri-eš-ki-] ¹ir¹; for mutilation as punishment, see *KBo* 3:34 i 24 f.
- ii 19. zi-nu-e-ir: zinu-, “to let cross”, is the Old Hittite form, later zainu-; see Oettinger 1979:76.
- ii 31. Restored [kar(-ša-an-ta-ti)] because of kar(a)šša in the previous line. For the meaning “to harvest”, see Neu 1968:82 f. (mid. pres. sg. 3 ¹kar¹-aš-ša not listed there). The same sequence of basic foodstuffs appears also in *KUB* 31:64 i 3: ¹hal-ki¹-in NINDA-an GEŠTIN-an (*CTH* 12). Cf. hal-k]i-in GEŠTIN-an ¹ú¹-te-eš-kir *KUB* 26.71 iv 16 (*CTH* 18).
- ii 32. [k(ar-¹ap-pí-¹an-zi): the obvious translation in context with “grain, bread and wine” is “they devour” (so Hoffner 1974:74 with n. 177; Kühne 1977:246 n. 11), but pres. pl. 3 of garap-/garep- is karipanzi, giripanzi, and the broken spelling is never employed in this paradigm; see Oettinger 1979:53. On the other hand, karp-, “to lift”, frequently uses this spelling. In pres. pl. 3, in addition to kar-pa-an-zi, kar-pí-an-zi there are also kar-ap-pa-an-zi and kar-ap-pí-an-zi (Oettinger 1979:345 n. 174; Szabó 1971:28 f. with n. 60). Perhaps the Hurrian troops, having previously harvested the crops in the surrounding countryside, were lifting the victuals up before the eyes of the starving population of the besieged city of Hurma, either as a way of tormenting them or as an invitation to surrender.
- ii 34. Nippa must have been a Hurrian commander who succumbed to the plague, not a Hittite officer as suggested by Laroche (1966:130, No. 885). For a-ak-ki[-iš], see also obv. ii 48, ak-ki-iš, and ii 54, BA.UŠ; for spellings as a dating criterion, see Otten 1969:12 and Kammenhuber *apud* Heinhold-Krahmer a.o. 1979:214 f.
- ii 39. “Mercenaries” as a translation for *ḫabiru* fits the context, as well as the role this population group played according to other sources (see Bottéro 1975:25-27; Weippert 1971:63 ff.). Note that according to this text, the *ḫabiru* were recruited on the fringes of Syria. For the translation of ii 39-41, see Neu 1968:49. The last sign in ku-i-x, ii 40, can be read either -da or -uš; Kuiuš is preferred here since it is resumed in the main clause with šu-uš.
- ii 41. kuttar r/n, “upper arm”, figuratively “strength”: cf. the verb kuddanija-, *KBo* 16:25 i 19, which is translated as “usare la forza/trattare con prepotenza” (Rizzi Mellini 1979:543).
- ii 45. a-ar-¹ša¹; on the copy, only one vertical wedge is visible; therefore -¹ša¹ is the best reading, both according to traces and sense. Neu (1968:4) reads this as a-ar-ta, while *HW*² books it twice, first under ar-, “to stand”, (p. 194 b) and then under ar-, “to arrive” (p. 209 a).
- ii 54. gimanija-, “to winter,” later replaced by gimantarija-. For Akni, Carruba (1970:193) reads dAk-ni-iš ta-ma-aš-t[a, “il dio Akni (li?) incalzava”; in fact, there is a word space between -an and Ak- which probably accounts for the disclaimer in *HW*² s.v. dAkni-. The omission of the determinative can be explained as haplography, hence <d>Ak-ni-iš. The restoration of the verbal form is more difficult. Carruba (*loc. cit.*) takes it as act., Oettinger (1979:122) leaves the

question open (-t[a?], while Archi (1975:79, n. 14) suggests the middle form -t[a-at]. BA.Uř for BA.Ūř (= BA.BAD) is an error of audition; cf. giřGŪ.ZA, *KUB* 13:2 II 9 for giřGU.ZA (Melchert 1980:93, n.5).

- iii 9. For a-]bi LUGAL as a dating criterion, see Otten 1969:9 and Maurer *apud* Heinhold-Krahmer a.o. 1979:203.
- iii 18. See Klengel 1965:224 and n. 6.
- iii 21. *zi-im-di* ANřU.KUR.RAMEř (and iii 40: *z]i-im-ti* ANřU.KUR.RA), "horse-teams," used through all periods of Hittite history; see Neu 1974:51; *CAD* s.v. *simdu*.
- iii 34. The verb can be restored lu]qanun, "I set fire.
- iii 46. h]uřuewani displays a weak grade stem with the ending -wani, e.g. aduwani; cf. Hart 1980:53 with n. 11; see also Otten 1969: 12; Oettinger 1979:331 with n. 151.
- iii 48. For lŪKŪR-ni, see Neu 1979:415 f., n. 16.

2. Theatre of action

From the preserved part of the tablet, the following theatre of action can be outlined (Fig. 2).

1) *The Lower Land* (§§ 1-2). Puruřhanda is connected with the Hŭlaya River and Lower Lands (*KUB* 6:45 ii 38-40); from a tactical point of view, the king first had to subdue Puruřhanda, which blocked his progress towards the Taurus pass, i.e. the Cilician plain. In the Old Kingdom, the only king who mentions a thrust through the Taurus pass (the Cilician Gates) is Hattuřili I in the legend of the Taurus bull (Otten 1963).

2) *The southeastern area* (§§ 3-4) was the scene of action against the Hurrians. The Hittite strongholds were Lawazantija (which probably came into Hittite possession soon after the crossing over the Taurus pass) and Hurma, while Hatra and řukzija rebelled and joined the Hurrians. This campaign ended with a Hittite victory aided by supernatural support and a divine miracle. The Hittite king did his human best by turning the town of Lak-kuriřřa into a garrison manned by the *řabiru* and the servants of freemen. The use of this unconventional means of raising manpower underlines the difficult position of the Hittite army, since mercenaries and servants were not drafted under normal circumstances (Kempinski and Kořak 1970:196 f.).

3) *Western Asia Minor* (§§ 5-6). This campaign is directed against Arzawa and possibly Assuwa (if the restoration [Par]iřta is valid). Because of the great distance from Hattuřa, the king had to spend the winter in Arzawa. His absence gave the north-central area and the Lower Land an opportunity for rebellion.

As we shall show in Section 4 below, Arzawa was conquered by Hattuřili I; then Arzawa was either lost again before Ammuna's reign (and the loss was recorded neither by Telipinu nor in any other document) or this event belongs to a king after Ammuna.

4) *The Lower Land* (§ 7). Since this paragraph begins by mentioning Hattuřa, continues with Puruřhanda and other towns in the Lower Land and makes a reference to the king's father (? , III 9), we presume that the king had to reconquer this area after a widespread revolt. It would appear that during his wintering in Arzawa (II 54), the north-central area and the Lower Land revolted and made an alliance with the Hurrians. What followed was

probably an attempt by the Hittite king to re-establish his control over these areas.

5) *The north-central area* (§§ 6-11)¹ is the best represented one in the entire text. A list of approximately fourteen towns located in this region turned to the Hurrians (II 49-52). After a passage that mentions Purušhanda and its allies (see above), some important events must have taken place in Ankuwa (III 16-38). Perhaps Ankuwa managed to remain a Hittite stronghold from which operations against the rebellious regions were still possible.

Finally, in § 12, the cities of Šanahuitta, Hakmiš and Hattena are mentioned, all three located to the north of Hattuša.

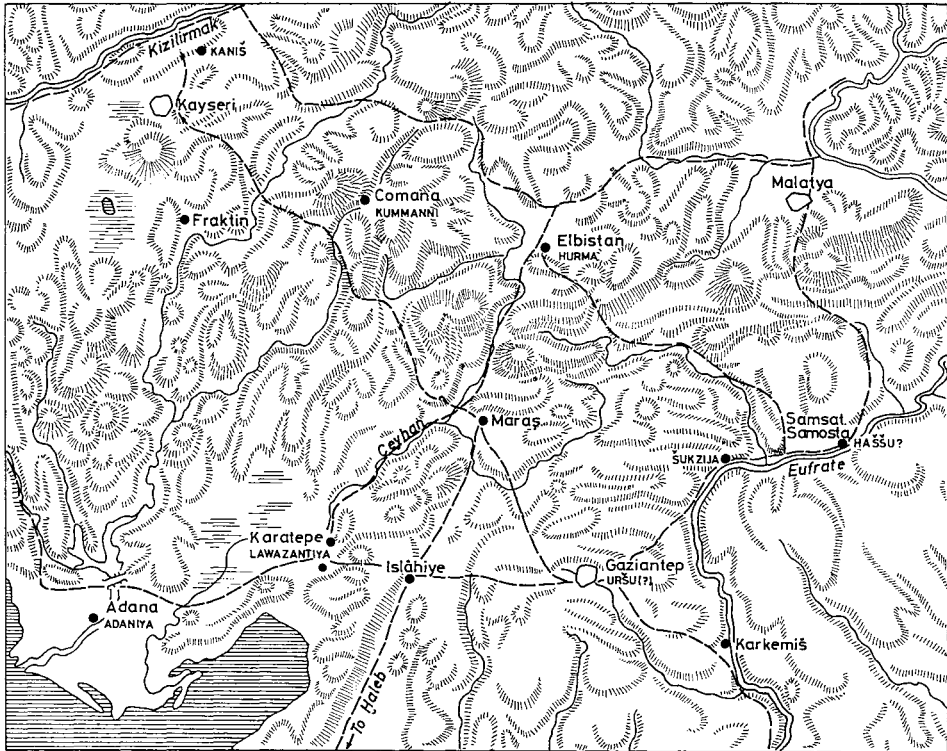


Fig. 2. Central and southeastern Anatolia; ancient roads and main cities.

3. Personalities and dating

With the exception of four Hurrian commanders, Nippa, Parajuna, Karawani and Ajuктаeraja, there are no other personal names in this text. From a methodical point of view, this is an obstacle for reliable dating, since none of these names occur elsewhere and therefore cannot be synchronized with any other historical source. Apart from these four, the only other persons mentioned are the Hittite king, whose name is not preserved, and

¹ For the definition of this term, see Güterbock 1961.

the “man of Puruřhanda” in III 2, who is referred to only by title and not by name. This title, meaning “local ruler, prince,” was, as noted by Neu (1974:36) without citing this reference, used exclusively during an era of sovereign city states during the Old Assyrian period and the beginning of the Old Kingdom. Later the term was replaced by “king” (LUGAL), a title conferred on local rulers who were members of the royal family. The appearance of the “man” of Puruřhanda in this text emphasizes its early date in the recorded Hittite historiography and actually precludes dating it later than the period of Labarna I or Hattuřili I.

Although the survey of campaigns revealed several features pointing towards a date for our text at the beginning of the Hittite Old Kingdom, it might be argued that — theoretically — the text could belong to any of the Old Hittite kings involved in campaigns all over Anatolia. We shall try to determine the correct author by a process of elimination.

Telipinu inherited a kingdom greatly reduced in size after a period of political and military setbacks. Arzawa and Kizzuwatna were outside his realm, and no northern campaigns are mentioned; he fought only in the southeastern area including north Syria, reoccupied portions of this region and incorporated them into his administrative system (řukzija is among the storehouse towns). Puruřhanda must have been an unimportant city, since it was reduced to being a mere seat of a storehouse.

Huzzija. Land grant deeds *LS 2* and *LS 19* (Riemschneider 1958:340, 343), issued in Hanhana, show that the north-central area was still firmly in Hittite hands, while the rest of the southwestern and central regions were not under Hittite control.

Ammuna. During his reign, the lands of [...] -agga, [...] -tilla, Galmija, Adanija, Arzawija, řallapa, Parduwata and Ahhula, i.e. Arzawa, the Lower Land and at least part of Kizzuwatna, rebelled and were lost to the Hittites (Eisele 1970:29). According to *CTH 18* (Schuler 1965:185 f.), in his first year Ammuna was militarily active in: (1) the Upper Land and Tipija; the latter is situated in the Kařkean region north of the Upper Land (Monte 1978:426); (2) Parduwata in the Lower Land and Hařpina in the Pala area. In his second year, he sent the commander (GAL GEřTIN) Hattuřili against Takkumiřa (unidentified) and řahhuilija (perhaps also in A II 50; north-central area). In the third year, he reached the sea. After this, a campaign in Hahhum is mentioned, and with this the text breaks off.

The unusual historical character of *CTH 18* (a chronicle: *ina MU 2, ina MU 3*) excludes Ammuna as the author of *CTH 13*, since here the first year (i.e. the section before *tā(n)=ma witti* column II 14) relates to Puruřhanda and the Lower Land, while in the second year the operations take place in the southeastern area (řukzija, Hurma, Hatra). Therefore, there is no synchronization between these two texts.

Zidanta. Virtually nothing is known about his reign, which must have been very short (Eisele 1970:27).

Hantili fought against the Hurrians in the east and was active in řukzija (see Section 4, below) and later also around Karkemiř and Ařtata in the region of the Middle Euphrates, where he tried to hold on to the parts of northern Syria gained by Hattuřili and Muřili I.

At this stage of our survey, Hattuřili I begins to emerge as the strongest contender for the authorship of *CTH 13*. However, we must still consider Labarna I and Muřili I.

Labarna I. For his reign there are three main sources: the Testament of Hattušili (*CTH* 6), the Proclamation of Telipinu (*CTH* 19) and *CTH* 9.6, which is probably an instruction for Muršili I (see Kempinski and Kellerman 1980:35 f.). From these documents one can draw the following geographical sketch of his deeds: he ruled over the core areas of Hittite Asia Minor, i.e. part of the plateau and the Upper Land, and expanded towards the Lower Land, conquering Hupišna, Tuwanuwa, Nenašša, Lalanda, Zallara and Puruḫanda (Eisele 1970:19). He also gained control over Hurma, as testified in *CTH* 9.6 ii obv. 20-21. It seems, however, that he lost some or all of the north-central area, according to the reference to the affair in Šanahuitta (Sommer and Falkenstein 1938:III 42).

Muršili I. Of the four texts assigned to him by Laroche (*CTH* 10-13), *CTH* 10.2 is, according to Hoffner (1975), an apology of Hantili. *CTH* 11 is a chronicle from the time of Hantili (Forrer 2 *BoTU*:10*) that parallels the Proclamation of Telipinu (Eisele 1970:21). *CTH* 12 is too fragmentary to assess but it contains, besides historical reports, passages that are reminiscent of instructions. The main locale of historical events is the north (Tarugga), the southeastern area (Hatra, Haššuwa, Hurma and the Hurrians) and the area in the vicinity of the Euphrates (Tegarama; cf. Palmieri 1978:350; Forlanini 1979:173). The name of Babylon is mentioned in rev. III 17, which is followed, after a short gap in the same line by *uk* ("I"), which would suggest Muršili I as the author (cf. also Kammenhuber 1976:14). The possibility of Hantili's authorship cannot be entirely excluded because he campaigned in the same area (Tegarama), and his attitude to the Babylonian campaign was a negative one (Hoffner 1975:57).

If this information about the campaigns of Muršili I is summed up, we are left with three main events: the war against the Hurrians, the settling of the Halpa affair and his raid against Babylon. No other available evidence supports any western, southern or northern Anatolian campaigns.

Moreover, the composition of the Palace Chronicle (Balkan 1973:72-75) and of the Law Code (Otten and Souček 1966:10-12; Archi 1968) testify to a period of peace and consolidation during which the king had ample time to compose the laws and moral examples for the high officials who administered the new empire (*CTH* 8, 9). It would have been quite unlikely for Muršili to have fought on all fronts and to have reoccupied all the territories previously gained by his adoptive father, settle the Halpa affair and raid Babylon and at the same time be free to engage in such administrative matters.

Shortly after his return to Hattuša he was murdered, which is why he could not write his annals himself. The only historical record concerning his campaigns was written by his successor Hantili.

Hattušili I. The discovery of *KBo* 10:1-3 provided us with the "Six-years Annals" of this king. Contrary to the *communis opinio* (e.g., Gurney in *CAH* 1973), it is more likely that these annals do not list a sequence of six years but are excerpts from an extensive edition of his annals from which the most important six years of his reign were chosen and written on the small golden statue which was offered to the Sun god (*KBo* 10:2 iii 21; see Kempinski 1974:26, 121). Looking at the six years recorded, one wonders how Hattušili, after a short campaign to the north (Šanahuitta, Zalpa) was able to march straight forward to Alalah if the southern provinces were not already under his control.

Of the four rebelling cities mentioned in the Testament of Hattuřili (Sommer and Falkenstein 1938), i.e. Tappařanda, Sinaruwa, Ubarija and řanahuitta, the last one is the same city that is mentioned in *KBo* 10:1 obv. 2 as being subdued by Hattuřili at the beginning of his reign. This would mean that since the times of Hattuřili's grandfather, the region north of Hattuřa up to Zalpa was ruled by a rebellious branch of the royal family. It is tempting to suggest that the war between Hatti and Zalpa referred to in the Legend of Zalpa (Otten 1973) is also connected with the same quarrel between two branches of the royal family. At any rate, one must presume that Hattuřa was the centre of the Hittite kingdom at least from the period of Hattuřili's grandfather.²

4. The geographical scope

One of the main contributions of the text in question is in clarifying the historical geography of certain areas mentioned in the Old Kingdom. In order to make the situation of certain cities understandable, we have divided them into several groups.

A. *Puruřhanda* (Ertem 1973:113; Monte 1978:323 f.)

In the period of the Old Assyrian colonies, *Buruřhattum* was the most important *karum* in Asia Minor after Kaniř (cf. Garelli 1963:352). From the point of view of the relations between the Hittite city-states during the same period, it was the strongest rival of Kaniř-Neřa, until it yielded to Anitta and became a vassal of Neřa (Neu 1974:14 f.).

During the Old Hittite Kingdom, under Labarna I, *Puruřhanda* was already among the six provinces administered by his sons (Eisele 1970:19).

During the reign of Hattuřili I, it is mentioned in *KBo* 3:28 (Laroche 1973b:186 ff.): "They took the son (i.e. king) of *Puruřhanda* [. . .]. He is acting in this manner towards me and the gods delivered to me the son of *Puruřhanda*." This episode may be synchronous with our text A II 7-10.

Later, *Puruřhanda* is mentioned only as a seat of a storehouse (*Éna4KIřIB*) under Telipinu, becoming merely one of the 94 local administrative centres (cf. Eisele 1970:41-45).

After Telipinu, *Puruřhanda* is never again mentioned in a historical record and probably ceased to exist as a city. Its appearance in religious contexts (*KBo* 4:13, *KUB* 6:45 and *KUB* 17:19) testifies to the continuity of *Puruřhanda*'s gods in the Hittite cult but not to the existence of any cult centre in the city itself. The localization of *Puruřhanda* depends chiefly on the Cappadocian text *TC* III 165 (Garelli 1963:309) stating that it is reached after *Wařhaniya*, *Nenařa* and *Ullama*, but contrary to Bilgiç's statement (1945-1951:20 f.), it is *not* four days in distance from Kaniř.

Another factor for determining its location is its proximity to the sources of silver (Larsen 1967:94, n. 47).

2 The name Hattuřili does not imply that he rebuilt Hattuřa (which was abandoned after Anitta's campaign). This name is already attested during the Assyrian Colony period (Bilgiç 1945-1951:5). Anyway, this hypothesis was never substantiated by any evidence. For a conservative view, see most recently H. Otten (1973:62), where he still advocates the suggestion made by Sommer and Falkenstein (1938).

Several sites have been identified with Puruṣhanda (Monte 1978:324; Jewell 1974:293). From the archaeological point of view, the identification with Acem Höyük suggested by Lewy as far back as 1961 (see Garelli 1963:123, n. 4) is the most attractive of all. The tell and its lower city (*kārum*) are similar in size to those of Kültepe-Kaniš (Özgüç 1977:371 f.). The excavation of the palace there so far has revealed 1300 seal impressions, mostly uninscribed, and a handful with the names of Šamši-Adad I of Assyria, Dugedu, the daughter of Yaḥdun-Lim of Mari, Zimrilim of Mari (Mellink 1972:170), Aplaḥanda, the king of Karkemiš (Özgüç 1980:62-69) and a king of Uršu whose name is not given.

Together with the seal impressions, remains of a royal treasury of gold and ivory were also found. On top of the most recent ruins of the Assyrian colony period there were two strata with pottery still similar to the pottery type of the burnt palace (Mellink 1978). These two strata could belong to the Old Hittite period and thus correlate with the historical records regarding Puruṣhanda from this period.³

B. *Southeastern Anatolia.*

This is the area in which the main conflict between the Hittites and Hurrians took place. The general military situation as described in the text can be summarized as follows: the Hittite king moved with his army into the territory between Hatra and another city whose name must have appeared in the gap at the beginning of II 15. This move was a response to the fact that Hatra, [...] and Šukzija turned to the Hurrians. The Hittite operation must have been directed from Hurma because Hurma was the only reliable Hittite stronghold in the area (and was later saved by direct divine intervention). Lawazantija is mentioned in an obscure context, possibly threatened by the Hurrians who advanced towards Hurma through Cilicia in a two-pronged attack. In order to avoid an attack from the rear, the Hittite king had to retreat back to Hurma.

The fluctuation of Hatra, Šukzija and other cities in this area between the Hittites and the Hurrians is typical for an area lying between two big powers, as reflected later in the Šattiwaza (Mattiwaza) treaty.

All the place names in this region are relatively well known but there is no unanimity as to their location. For various proposals the bibliography in Ertem 1974 and Monte 1978 can be consulted. Nevertheless, out of several proposals, there are certain ones that are preferable according to the geo-strategic requirements of our text.

Hatra (Ertem 1973:46; Monte 1978:104).

Both handbooks refer to it as a town in Isuwa. In fact, it probably lies outside this country, since Hatra is among the list of Hittite subjects who, according to the Šattiwaza treaty, fled to Isuwa (cf. Klengel 1968:69) with n. 19). It is, however, near Isuwa, since the gods of Hatra and Isuwa appear in the same paragraph in *KUB* 6:45 + II 64 f. (see Garstang and Gurney 1959:119). For the location of Isuwa in the Keban area, see Güterbock

3 The connection of the trade colony at Acem Höyük with North Syria and the mercantile cities on the central Euphrates shows that it was not only the Assyrians who were settling up trading colonies in Asia Minor. The connections between Acem Höyük and the trading rivals of Assyria, such as Mari and Karkemiš, might also have been reflected in the conflict between Puruṣhanda and Kaniš during the reign of Anitta.

(1973:136-141) where two of Isuwa's kings, Ari-Šarruma and Eḫli-Šarruma, are hypothetically identified by their seal impressions. Because of its connections with Šukzija and another town whose name is missing on our tablet, we must assume that it lay south of Isuwa and north of Šukzija, somewhere in the triangle between Malatya, Nimrud-Dağ and Keferdiz.

Šukzija (Ertem 1973:126; Monte 1978:363 f.).

The town is not mentioned in the Old Assyrian period and is chiefly attested in the Old Kingdom. In the Empire period, it probably lost its importance but remained connected with the Crown administration (LÚmeš É.GAL in *KUB* 38:19 + *IBOT* 2:102, versus the older lúAGRIG in *KBo* 10:30). As for its location, the two key points are:

(1) The episode of Hantili who came to Šukzija after he defeated Aštata, [. . .]-ja and Karkemiš, turning back to the north (Eisele 1970:23-25). Since the land of Uršu should be located north of Karkemiš (*KBo* 1:11 obv. 21-24), Šukzija must be sought still further to the north. This conclusion concurs with Bossert's (1959:273) proposal to place the city in the area of Boybeyipinari. This suggestion is now reaffirmed (Hawkins 1970:79) through the improved reading of the inscription in which the author mentions her father bearing the title "the river-lord" of cities [. . .]-ti and Su-ki-ti. The latter may well be the Luwian (unasibilated) form of Sug(ga)zija. If this equation is valid, Šukzija should not be placed in Boybeyipinari itself but somewhere toward the Euphrates, since the title "river-lord" probably refers to a large river in the vicinity.

(2) The present text offers the opposite direction, starting with Hatra (south of Išuwa), passing southwards through the city [Šalahšuwa??] and ending in Šukzija.

Hurma (Ertem 1973:52 f.; Monte 1978:124 ff.).

This town appears as an important *kārum* in the Old Assyrian period (Bilgiç 1945—1951:33) that had jurisdiction over trade in Lawazantija (Eiser and Lewy 1930-1935: text No. 252), and it lay on the northern route towards Kaniš. Garelli (1963:113) locates it in the plain of Elbistan. Its commercial and political importance was retained throughout the Hittite Old Kingdom. It appeared to be one of the earliest Hittite footholds, comparable perhaps to Kuššar and Neša, since its god Hantidaššu, "the strongest one" is one of the few deities with purely Indo-European Hittite names (cf. Goetze 1954:359). Indeed, if Hurma can be located in the general area around Elbistan and not far from Kuššar in the vicinity of the nearby Binboğa Mountains or west of Elbistan (Lewy 1962:48-53), this would lend further support for the assumption of an early Hittite ethnic nucleus in this area (Kempinski 1974:122-124).

During the reign of Hattušili I, Hurma was an important administrative centre as mirrored in the Palace Chronicle. The text under discussion emphasizes this role even further when after the Hurrian onslaught Hurma had to be saved for the Hittites by miraculous divine intervention.

Another fascinating episode that sheds light on the early history of this city, is *KBo* 3:28 I 20-21 (*CTH* 9:6) where the king's father, presumably Labarna I, was "kind" towards his daughter-in-law, the queen of Hurma. This could be interpreted as a parallel to the episode of Anitta and the king of Purušhanda where the conquered city is treated generously in order to strengthen its fidelity.

Later, under Hattušili I, a certain Aškalija was appointed as governor (EN) of Hurma. Does the fact that he had the power to nominate the commander of Ullamma (*KBo* 3.34 II 15-16) reflect the wide sphere of influence of Hurma in this early period? The special status of Hurma might have been, in spite of the decline of the city, preserved throughout the Hittite period, since the title EN uruHurma appears as late as in the time of Tudhaliya IV (*KBo* 4:10 rev 32). The title EN uruX certainly seems to be rare in Hittite administration (cf. Archi 1973:221).

During the Early Empire period, the people of Hurma fled to Isuwa (Klengel 1968:69 with n. 19), among others together with the people of Hatra (see above). During the Empire period, Hurma is no longer mentioned in historical texts. The city obviously lost not only its political importance but also neglected its cults. The catalogue entry given by Laroche (*CTH*:186) mentions the spring festival performed by the lúEN uruHurma, of which the first and the last tablets were lost, indicating the lack of interest in the city's cult during the Empire period.

For the location of Hurma in the plain of Elbistan there is twofold evidence: (1) The Old Assyrian text Jena 281 (Garelli 1963:110) shows that Hurma was the destination on the road from the south, coming first through Šallahšuwa. (2) in *KBo* 4:13 i 34 f., there is the sequence (seen from the north): Hurma-Šallahšuwa-Šukzija. Although one has to be cautious in using lists of towns as a guide for location, some geographical reality has to be admitted when certain names appear in stereotyped clusters.

It is tempting to identify Hurma with Karahöyük (Özgüç 1949), near Elbistan. The material from this large tell (300 × 500 m.) originates from only a small section (20 × 20 m.), yet it coincides favourably with the textual evidence. For the *kārum* period there is evidence of a cylinder seal of the Syro-Anatolian group (Özgüç, 1949:Pl. XLVIII:1) as well as some bowls (Pl. XLIII); from the Old Kingdom there are two fragments of a relief vase (Pl. XLVII; dating by Bittel 1976:41-46); from the Empire period there is some pottery (Özgüç 1949:84-85; Pls. XXVIII-XXXI) and seals (Pl. XLVIII:3, 6, 14). To the latest period of occupation belongs the Luwian hieroglyphic stela where, unfortunately, neither Hurma nor its goddess Hantidaššu are mentioned (personal communication by D. Hawkins).

C. *Lawazantija* (Ertem 1973:86; Monte 1978:237 f.).

This is mentioned in the Old Assyrian texts (Bilgiç 1945-1951:34) as connected with Hurma and Kuššar, though the distances between these places are never specified. Lawazantija was the source of iron ore and bloom iron (*aš'u* and *amūtu*; see Bilgiç 1945-1951:26 with n. 187; Maxwell-Hyslop 1975), which recalls iron implements stored in Kiz-zuwatna, according to the notorious letter *KBo* 1:14 (Goetze 1940:26-32).

In the present text, the place name appears with the spelling uruL]a-hu-uz-za-an-ti-ja, the form which is close to the Old Assyrian form Lu-hu-za-ti-a. The most common form in the later Hittite texts is La-wa-za-an-ti-ja.⁴

4 For the loss of *-h-*, cf. Šanaḥ(h)uitta with Šanawitta; for the alteration *-tt-/-nd-*, see Sommer (1947:14-16) and Kammenhuber (1956:43). A connection with *luḫusinnu* and *luḫusi*, an obscure word of foreign origin in an Old Assyrian text (*BIN IV*:118), was proposed by Bilgiç (1954:41 f.).

The earliest Hittite evidence for the city is in the historical story of the "Siege of Uršu" (*KBo* 1:11), where it appears in a similar spelling, *uru*La-hu-uz-za-an-di-ja (obv. 21). In this text, the king spent the winter in Lawazantija and summoned Šanda, the commander of the siege, to visit him there. It would not make much sense for the king to retire for the winter to the mountainous region of Haššuwa which is north of Uršu, i.e. in an even colder area. It is more likely that he turned to warmer Cilicia. The headquarters in Lawazantija imply a road connection with Uršu, which must be located east of Gaziantep towards the Euphrates, or even on the tell of Gaziantep itself. In antiquity, this was the road connecting Apamea through Doliche and *Pylae Amanicae* (the Amanus pass) into eastern Cilicia. At the end of the Old Kingdom, Lawazantija appears in a very similar geo-strategic context in the Decree of Telipinu: "When I, Telipinu, sat on the throne of my father, I marched against Haššuwa and destroyed Haššuwa. (At the same time), my army was in Zizzilippa and in Zizzilippa a rebellion erupted. When I, the king, arrived at Lawazantija, Lahha became hostile towards me and started a revolt in Lawazantija" (Eisele 1970:30). Here again, the Haššu(wa)-Uršu region is connected with Lawazantija.

During the Early Empire, Lawazantija plays no role in any historical text. This concurs well with the secession and the subsequent independence of Kizzuwatna.

The rise of Lawazantija during the Empire period as an important religious center coincides with the role of Puduhepa, the wife of Hattušili III, a native of this city whose titles were "the daughter of Kizzuwatna/Kummanni" (Otten 1975:15-16; Güterbock 1978:129-131).

From the last days of the Empire comes the obscure note by Šipti-Ba'al to the king of Ugarit who states that he is stationed in Lawazantija (*lwsnd*) (*PRU V*:63 = *RS* 18:40). In view of the Ugaritic naval involvement along the Cilician coast during the last battles of the Hittite Empire, one may assume that Lawazantija could not be too far from this coast.

Lawazantija is last mentioned by Shalmanessar III (spelled Lu-sa-an-da) during his twentieth campaign (Michel 1954:40-41). The text is of crucial importance for determining the location of Lawazantija, since Shalmanessar states that, after having crossed the Amanus, he descended to the country of Que (Kizzuwatna) conquering the cities Lusanda, Abarnani and Kisuatni. This puts Lawazantija not too far from the northern pass over the Amanus (*Pylae Amanicae*). In trying to locate the town in this area, two requirements have to be kept in mind: (1) the two rivers in its vicinity, mentioned in the Hittite texts, namely Alda and Tarmanna, (2) a location near the road junction of the east-west route over the Amanus and the route from northern Syria to Hattuša (Otten 1981:16 f.).

Two classical sites may fulfill these requirements: Anazarbus and Castabala-Hieropolis (Budrum Kalesi). In favour of the latter site is the fact that it used to be the most important sanctuary of the Perasian Artemis who, according to the description in *CIL*:III 12,117 (cf. Hicks 1890:231 ff.), had multifarious features reminiscent of those of Ištar of Lawazantija (cf. Lebrun 1979).

All these suggestions remain, of course, inspired guesses if not backed by archaeological evidence from surveys and excavations.

D. *Arzawa area*

The campaigns following the operations in the east are concerned with Arzawa. The context is mutilated and it is not at all clear what took place in this area beyond the statement, "He (i.e. the king) marched to the land of Arzawa" (A II 42). Therefore, it is impossible to estimate what was the relation of the towns mentioned in the same paragraph to Arzawa.

Arzawa. The location of this country is still disputed. A convenient survey of opinions is given by Heinhold-Krahmer (1977:331). To this, two more opinions can be added, namely Jewell (1974:399, map 32) and Košak (1981). The long list of arguments can be divided into two groups: one locates Arzawa in southwestern Asia Minor (between Cilicia and Lycia), the other puts it in the west (Lydia). The authors prefer the second solution, proposed almost simultaneously by Cornelius (1958:10) and Garstang and Gurney (1959:84).

The chief arguments for the location in Lydia are:

1. The land must have been large and fertile to be able to sustain a substantial population: Muršili II brought from his Arzawan war around 100,000 prisoners.

2. The main communication line leading from Syria to western Asia Minor could not have passed too far from Hattuša. The key point in this argument is the location of Šallapa, a road junction from which Arzawa, Lukka, Yalanda and Walliwanda could be reached. If Šallapa was situated southeast of the Salt Lake, the main road connecting Arzawa with the east would have been out of the reach of Hattuša and the capital would have had no effective control over its entire southern flank. Indeed, such loss of control became reality during the period of the "concentric invasion" (Carruba 1977:141), when Arzawa expanded as far as Tuwanuwa and Uda, thus bordering on Kizzuwatna. This state of affairs was only short lived; had it been permanent, as postulated by Goetze — with Arzawa and Kizzuwatna separated only by the Lower Land — the Hittites could never have gained access to Syria. If the location of Šallapa on the northern route is accepted, the identification with a place near Sivri Hisar, or Classical Pessinus (Garstang and Gurney 1959:77), is plausible. One could also consider Gordion, an important Hittite town near the Šehirija/Sangarios/Sakarya River along the ancient Royal Road (see Strabo 12:5:3).

Arzawa is not mentioned during the reign of Labarna I and was certainly not administered by his sons. Hattušili I launched a war against it (*KBo* 10:1-3) but had to return because of the Hurrian invasion in the east. Under Ammuna, Arzawa regained independence. It remained outside the Hittite orbit until Tudhaliya II and was fully reincorporated into the Hittite empire only during the time of Muršili II.

3. Additional support for the location of Arzawa in later Lydia may be the episode in the Palace Chronicle, where Nunnu, the Hittite governor in Arzawa, "did not send gold" to Hattuša. It looks as if Nunnu, formerly the governor of Hurma, was sent to the newly conquered province in order to prospect (wemija-) for gold. In antiquity, Lydia was traditionally famous for its gold riches (Herodotos I: §§ 45-58; Przeworski 1939:182). According to a modern geological survey (published by the Mineral Research and Exploration Institute of Turkey in 1960), gold can be found in Anatolia along the Gediz River (Classical Hermus). Apart from this, there is gold only near Çanakkale (Troas region), around Ankara and south of Nigde, while there is none in southwestern Anatolia.

The individual towns listed in the same paragraph with Arzawa are of little help for the historical geography in this area since most of them are not mentioned elsewhere.

Zawanhura: *hapax*. Heinhold-Krahmer (1977:280) suggests an identification with Zunnahara (cf. rev. III line 6) but these are probably two different places; the background of this episode is missing and any connections between the towns are unknown. The scene of the episode is supposed to be in or near Arzawa while Zunnahara is situated between the Lower Land and Kizzuwatna.

Minija: Ertem 1973:95; Monte 1978:304 f.): *hapax*.

Paramanzana (Ertem 1973:107; Monte 1978:304 f.): *hapax*.

The names of two towns which are preserved only as fragments are restored on the assumption that the paragraph lists places situated in western Asia Minor:

[*Mutamū*]tašša (Ertem 1973:98; Monte 1978:276 f.), a town known otherwise from only two Middle Hittite documents, the treaty *KBo* 16:47 and the Indictment of Madduwatta. It is listed between the "Attarimma and the Yalanda clusters" (Bryce 1974a:398 f.) in the territory of later Caria. Other possible restoration would be hur.sag.Tiwatašša or hur.sagŠarwantašša, both associated with western Asia Minor.

[*Par*]išta (Ertem 1973:108; Monte 1978:303) appears in *KUB* 23:11 ii 10 among the Asuwa coalition.

The paragraph concludes with the king's arrival at Ulamma, presumably at the end of the campaign, because the episode ends with a double line. This Ulamma is no doubt identical with the town known from the Cappadocian tablets, spelled also Ulma and Walama (Bilgič 1945-1951:37; for the change *u-/wa-* in Old Assyrian see Hecker 1968:12a).

Ulamma was situated, according to *TC* III 165, on the caravan route between Nenašša (generally considered to be located at Classical Nenassos) and Purušhanda (see above). Even if we assume that the merchants did not travel on a direct road between these places, Ulamma could not have been too far from Aksaray (cf. Cornelius 1967:77).

During the Hittite period, the town appears only in the texts from the Old Kingdom. The one exception, *KBo* 4:13 (*CTH* 625), lists place names mainly known from the Old Kingdom and could therefore have been copied from an older document. The geographical value of such lists is very limited (cf. Güterbock 1961). This can be demonstrated with the following group in which Ulma appears: Šahhuwalija (*hapax*); Lalanda, in the vicinity of Classical Laranda, Turkish Karaman (see Garstang 1944:19); Šanahuitta (on the upper reaches of the Halys river, between Ališar and Sivas); the next place mentioned is Ulma (near Aksaray), followed by Haššuwa (Samsat area) and Hatra (see above).

There still remains the problem of the equation of Ulma with Walma of the Empire period (cf. Monte 1978 s.v. Ullama and Walma). The Ulmi-Tešub treaty and the Annals of Muršili require a more westerly location for Walma (see Bryce 1974b: n. 45). Consequently, when discussing Ullama in the historical section of this paper, we intend to treat Ullama as being located southeast of the Salt Lake.

E. *North-central area*

The last paragraph of the obv. lists the following place names, some of them fragmentary.

Kaššara (Monte 1978:187): *hapax*. Out of 83 place names with the suffix *-ara-*, 38 can be localized in the north-central area while 27 are *hapax legomena*. The rest can be found in southeast and southwest Asia Minor. In our context, this place can be localized in the north-central area (cf. Schuler 1965:103).

†*Umanda* (Ertem 1973:147; Monte 1978:438) belongs, according to the cult inventory of *KBo* 12:53, in the vicinity of the land of Kaššija, which is again located in the north-central towards northwestern area (Goetze 1960:46).

The reading [Šu-u]k[?]-zi-aš in II 49 as suggested by Monte (1978:363) would introduce one place name from a distant area into an otherwise reasonably compact cluster. Anyway, for a reading -u]k[?]- there is a superfluous wedge on the copy. Instead, one could contemplate a restoration [Kar-g]a-zi-aš, a town in the area of Tiliura in the central north; for this, see Güterbock 1961:96.

Inzaluha (Monte 1978:142): *hapax*. The suffix *-(u)ha-*, however, points to the same northeastern region (cf. Schuler 1965:102).

Assuming that the remaining place names refer to the same general geographical area, II 50 could be restored as †Al[ki]-zu-wa, in Pala, and Šahh[ui]ija, known otherwise from the Old Hittite chronicle *KUB* 26:81 iv 21 (Schuler 1965:26, 185 f.). Also, place names with the suffix *-uwa* are very frequent in the north-central area (*ibid.*: 104 f.).

In obv. 51, there is a town []-uš-ta-aš which can be restored either as Kurušta (Ertem 1973:81; Monte 1978:228 f.) or Harpušta (Ertem 1973:43; Monte 1978:89 and add now *KUB* 49:100 rev. 6 and *KUB* 50:108-12) both of which are to be located in the north-central area. B₂ adds here the town *Huršamma* (Ertem 1973:54; Monte 1978:127 f.), which is well attested elsewhere. Its position is securely established in the region between Nerik and Taptina. Nerik is situated on the Maraššanda (Halys) River, probably near Nuragan (see Dinçol and Yakar 1974). According to *KUB* 5:1, Taptina is near Nerik, and all three are not far from the Mt. Haharwa, which was identified with the Ilgaz Daglari (Ünal 1977:452). *Huršamma* appears in the historical texts only from the Middle Kingdom onwards but its participation in the cult of Nerik testifies to its antiquity.

Iwašha[pa] (Ertem 1973:62; Monte 1978:158): *hapax*. The formation on *-hapa* does not seem to be confined to any specific geographical area.

Haršanhila (Ertem 1973:62, Monte 1978:90 f.) appears only in this text. The names on *-hila* seem to be confined to the north-central area — roughly the territory later occupied by the Kaška (Kalpaššanahila, Lumnahila, Paššanahila, Ištuhila; Lahirhila in or towards Hajaša).

F. *The Purušhanda Allies*

In rev. III 2-7 we are confronted with a list of cities that are connected with the name of Purušhanda and were probably its allies. The list as preserved contains the following names: Harashapa, Taššan[na], Arimatta, Parukitta, Zunahara and Šinuwanta. Of these Harashapa, the "Eagle River" (village), Tašša[na] and Parukitta are *hapax* and should be

located according to the other three cities which are better attested: Arimatta (Ertem 1973:14; Monte 1978:32), Zunahara (Ertem 1973:170; Monte 1978:518), and Šinuwanta (Ertem 1973:125; Monte 1978:358-359), all to be located in the vicinity of the Hulaya River Land. Zunahara and Šinuwanta are connected through *KUB* 23:21 with Adaniya (Adana or its vicinity), Arimatta and Šinuwanta are mentioned in the Ulmi-Tešup treaty; the first city, Arimatta, “remaining in the Land of Pedašša” (Korosćc 1942:36-37; Gordon 1969:73), whereas the second, Šinuwanta, borders with Mount Lula and should be located near the Hulaya River Land.

It seems that we must look for the area of the six cities between Adaniya/Adana and the River Hulaya, which is usually identified with the Kalykandos (Göksu); and see Tischler *apud* Monte 1978:529. Zunahara and Šinuwanta should be located in western Cilicia adjoining the area of Adaniya; Arimatta, on the other hand, is probably more towards the west, since it belonged to Pedašša; the latter bordered on the expanding Arzawan state up till the time of the campaigns of Šuppiluliuma I in this region (Monte 1978:319).

G. Ankuwa area

Ankuwa (Ertem 1973:10-11; Monte 1978:21-23) is already mentioned in Old Assyrian texts of the Colony period (Bilgić 1945-1951:30-31) with the variations Amkuwa or Ak[k]uwa (see Orliin 1970:76-77). The name has its origins in Proto Hattic as Hanikku (Güterbock 1961:89, n. 22); the laringal -ḫ- vanished already in the Old Assyrian orthographic tradition (and see the Old Hittite Proto-Hattic orthographic tradition as in our text, i.e. A-an-ku-wa). Ankuwa played an important administrative role already at the earliest stage of Hittite history (Gelb 1935:50-52); during the period of the Old Kingdom it was a seat of an AGRIG (Singer 1978:243-246; Monte 1978:23). Under the rule of Imperial Hatti is served frequently as a winter residence for the royal family. This winter palace was destroyed by fire during Pudu-Hepa's reign (*KUB* 15:1 III 17-26 = Friedrich 1967:47).

The location of Ankuwa is mainly based on *OIP* 27:49A-49B (Gelb 1935:50-52). This Old Assyrian tablet from Alishar records the release of six persons who were in custody at Ankuwa in the house of the local *puruli rabīm* (the police master?); since a copy of the release agreement was signed under the jurisdiction of Anitta, the *rubaūm rabūm*, it must be deduced that it was left at the city from which the six persons were released, the other copy having been deposited in Kaniš. This conclusion led to the assumption that Alishar should be identified with Ankuwa. The identification of the site is supported by the note in *KUB* 25:28 I 1-10 (Monte 1978:20) that a journey from Hattuša to Ankuwa takes three days; since Boğazköy and Alishar are about 100 km. apart, this would imply a cart journey of about 35-40 km. a day, which is very reasonable for the local conditions.

From an archaeological point of view, Old Assyrian Alishar (Stratum II) with its tablet finds agrees very well with the identification (Osten 1937); the same applies to the Old Hittite period (Stratum III). Problems arise due to the almost complete lack of archaeological material of the Empire period; the remains of the royal residence or the “winter palace” of the royal family were never found (Friedrich 1967:47; *KBo* 18:44). This has caused some archaeologists to suggest an occupational gap from about 1500 to 1100 B.C.E. (Lloyd 1956:192). A glance at the recorded finds in the excavation report (Osten 1937) shows that

many objects of the Imperial period were found in the excavations, although no clear stratum was related to this period. One important reason for this might be that the "Phrygian" citadel built on top of the mound (Stratum IV) razed the building remains of the last Hittite stratum to such an extent that a whole stratum is missing from the stratigraphic sequence. The stray Imperial Hittite material was found either in the Phrygian stratum or in pits of the Old Hittite stratum (III). The very old-fashioned manner in which this site was dug also contributes to this stratigraphically distorted picture.

Tarukka (Ertem 1973:25; Monte 1978:408-409) is mentioned in *CTH* 12 (*KUB* 31:64+, obv. I 19) but not in a clear geographical context. It plays a certain role in the Myth of Iluyanka, since it is in Tarukka that Inara built a house for her mortal lover. Tarukka was lost to the Kaškeans during Arnuwanda I's reign and regained by Šuppilulima (Güterbock 1956:110). In this annalistic text the clue is given for its location: in the area of the city of Šapidduwa, Mount Kašu and the country of Tumanna.

Šanahuitta (Ertem:119; Monte 1978:342). The city is already mentioned in the Old Assyrian records of the Colony period (Ši-na-hu-tim), once even in a historical context when its *rubaīm* revolted against their sovereign in Hattuša together with the rulers of Ankuwa and Kapitra (Larsen 1972). It maintained its important role during the early period of the Old Hittite Kingdom (before Hattušili I), since it was at Šanahuitta that during PU-Šarruma's (?) reign Pawahtelmah was crowned by its inhabitants instead of the young Labarna (Sommer and Falkenstein 1938:III 44). The first recorded campaign of Hattušili I in *KB* 10:1-3 is set against Šanahuitta, which continued to serve as a royal residence for a certain period (Goetze in *ANET* 207). The city was part of the Old Kingdom AGRIG administrative system (Singer 1978:280-289, 302-306), and as in the case of Ullama and Purušhanda, this city vanished as an important centre at the end of the Old Kingdom. Šanahuitta's name continued to appear in religious documents, but it is worth noting that in Muwatalli's prayer, *KUB* 6:45 + 1 66-67: $d_x \ll d \gg$ SAL tum ša dU pihami ša uru Šanahuitta, the god of Šanahuitta has a Luwian epithet, which probably means that its old Hittite name was forgotten.

The location of Šanahuitta depends on two main references: its connection with Ankuwa in the rebellion against Hattuša in the Old Assyrian period, and its proximity to Hakmiš attested in *CTH* 13, as well as in some religious geographical lists (Garstang and Gurney 1959:8, 10). Its location between Alisar (Ankuwa) and Corum, northeast of Hattuša, looks quite certain.

Hakmiš (Ertem 1973:35 f.; Monte 1977:65-67). Since this city does not appear in any Old Assyrian record, it must have been a Hittite settlement that gained its importance afterwards. The city appears as relatively insignificant in Old Hittite documents and was one of the Old Kingdom AGRIG cities (Singer 1978:280-289). It gained in importance in the 15th century, during the Early Empire period, when as a result of the Kaškean occupation of Nerik, the cult of the gods of Nerik was transferred to Hakmiš and was practised there. However, Hakmiš was later cut off from Hattuša by the Kaškeans (Schuler 1965:161). Its position as a keypoint towards Nerik and the Kaška area is emphasized by the references in the Annals of Muršili (*AM*:130), where Muršili II records that he returned to Hakmiš as the first stop after the Kaškean raid. It looks as if this city was raided again

during his father's time. Hattuřili III was king of Hakmiř, and from here he restored the lands devastated by the Kařkeans and recaptured Nerik (Otten 1981:10 ff.).

From these references it seems that Hakmiř was on the main road to Nerik and was in Kařkean hands until the campaigns of řuppiluliuma. The consensus that Amasya was the ancient site of Hakmiř should now be altered following the data gained from the Mařat letters (Alp 1980). Since the area of Zile-Mařat was already under a heavy Kařkean attack during the time of Tudhalija III and the early reign of řuppiluliuma, Amasya must have been occupied by them much earlier. We therefore suggest that this city should be sought in the area of the modern řorum, located at an ideal crossroads leading towards Nerik at the upper bend of the Halys River.

Hattena (Ertem 1973:46; Monte 1978:101). The sequence of cities given in this passage (A rev. III:11) started in the south with řanahuitta, which was located not too far from Ankuwa (Alishar) and ends in the north near Nerik with Hattena. This city, although not yet mentioned in any other Old Kingdom historical text, was probably occupied by the Kařkeans and regained by řuppiluliuma (Güterbock 1956: fragment 34:7) but still remained in a territory controlled by the Kařkeans. In the oracle *KUB 22:25 obv. 25 f.* (Monte 1978:101), a road from Hanhana (Inandik) to Hattena is specified. By combining our reference to a way from Hakmiř (řorum?) to Hattena on one road, and from Hanhana to Hattena on the other, the area around Iskilip west of the Halys River would appear to be the most likely.

5. Summary

By dating *CTH 13* to Hattuřili I we are confronted with the problem of correlating this text with his "Six-years Annals" (*CTH 4*). That the latter was only a selected account of his most important achievements, leaving out the routine years of his reign and the campaigns that he did not deem to be significant, is clearly understood when we consider the purpose of such a selection, namely, that it was to be engraved on the small golden statue presented to the Sun goddess of Arinna (*KBo 10:2 rev. III 21-24*).

If we compare the areas of operation in the "Extensive Annals" to those of the "Six-years Annals," the similarity is striking. Both texts describe actions in the same regions, with the exception of the towns in Syria (řalpa, Alalař, Urřu), which do not appear in the Extensive Annals but were presumably described in the missing col. IV. Yet, when comparing the actual place names in both compositions, only Arzawa, řurri, Ulamma and řanahuitta are common to both. An important aspect of Hittite historiography is the fact that we do not know (a) how much of the material recorded in *CTH 13* was available to the scribes of the "Six-years Annals" and (b) what was their preference of choice. This can be illustrated with the historical preamble to the Edict of Telipinu. If we take the earliest three kings listed there, only the new conquests of Labarna I in the Lower Land are mentioned. There is no word on the rebellion in řanahuitta (*KBo 1:16 III 4-45*) known from the Testament of Hattuřili and none on the affair in Hurma (*CTH 9:6 = KBo 3:28 obv. 20 f.*). The problem becomes apparent when the reign of Labarra II/Hattuřili I is described. It seems that the compiler either did not know anything about Hattuřili's deeds, or he did not want to mention them. This entire passage repeats the previous section on Labarna I, the

only difference being that not a single place name is mentioned here. All the scribe is interested in here is to show the disloyalty of the royal family and household. The sources of information for this passage were the Testament of Hattušili and episodes from the Palace Chronicle.

With Muršili I, the practice of the Hittite historiographer of Telepinu's Edict becomes more apparent. The lapidary account of Muršili's raids on Ḫalpa and Babylon is a striking paraphrase of the passage from the Chronicle of Hantili (*KBo* 3:57 II 10 17-18).

Hence it is not surprising that such an important episode as the conflict with Purušhanda, which was recorded in *CTH* 9:6 and in the Extensive Annals, is not mentioned — for reasons known only to the ancient historiographer — by the author of the Six-years Annals.⁵

Since it is clear that the Extensive Annals are our main source of information on the campaigns of Hattušili I, we will discuss the events there in chronological order, bearing in mind strategic considerations, and compare it with the excerpts preserved in the Six-years Annals. The first year(s) of Hattušili I's reign must have been devoted to stabilizing the shaky situation that he inherited from his father. The Extensive Annals mention Purušhanda, but we have to assume that the missing col. I described in some detail how he disposed of the rebellious Zalpa and Šanahuitta. This can be concluded by analogy to the example of Purušhanda to which the entire § 2 (and most likely at least § 1 as well) were devoted. Since Purušhanda was given by Labarna to one of his sons, the conflict that the deity had to decide was probably a dynastic quarrel between the two branches of the royal family in Hattuša and Purušhanda.

In the second year, the Extensive Annals and the Six-years Annals diverge. This campaign was directed against the Hurrians in the southeast, where Šukzija and Hurma were the main foci of the conflict. Since Šukzija switched allegiance to the Hurrians, Hurma and Lakkurišša probably remained the only Hittite strongholds in the area. The role of Lawazantija in II 24 is obscure, but in the text about the siege of Uršu (*KBo* I:10 obv.) Lawazantija serves as the winter headquarters of Hattušili I. This might indicate that the city was occupied long before the main campaign against the north Syrian cities. The incorporation of Uršu and Alalaḫ in the "second campaign" in the Six-years Annals might have been one of the devices used by the historiographer to emphasize a dramatic event by telescoping several different episodes into one year.

That the conquest of Syria took place in stages over many years (and was certainly not accomplished in a single year) can be adduced from the Extensive Annals where the campaign around Hatra and Šukzija alone took at least two years ("he [the Hurrian] wintered in Šukzija," II 36).⁶

5 We could put forward a suggestion that the divine judgment on a quarrel between Hatti and Purušhanda was not fit to be inscribed on the statue dedicated to the Sun goddess of Arinna, perhaps because the judgment was passed by another deity, or for some other theological or political reason.

6 It also seems that the scribe who chose the excerpts from a version of Hattušili's extensive annals was uneasy about expressing the time sequence because he used *ana balat*, "in the next year" in the Akkadian version while employing the opposite, *MU.IM.MA* = *Šaddagad* (*MSL* V:65), "the

For the following years (probably years 5-6) there is good synchronization between the two texts. The king mounted an attack on Arzawa and other regions of Western Asia Minor, while at the same time a group of several (at least 14) towns in the north-central region switched their allegiance to the Hurrians. In spite of the fragmentary context, it transpires that the king was caught by the winter in Arzawa (II 53 f.) when he received the bad news. Yet it seems that the death of the Hurrian king and the competence of the recently reorganized garrisons at least temporarily prevented an immediate collapse. Again, the scribe of the Six-years Annals described this situation in more dramatic terms: according to him, the Arzawa campaign — which in this text lasted only a year — gave the Hurrians an opportunity to attack and, as a result, the whole empire revolted and Hattuřa alone remained loyal to the king.

What follows is a counterattack (col. III) and a gradual reconquest of the empire (year 7? and the following years). řanahuitta (III 47) serves as a linkage between the Six-years Annals and the Extensive Annals. This old rival of Hattuřa was probably heading a coalition of several cities in the north-central area, among them Hakmiř and Hattena. Even the Six-years Annals, which in previous episodes compressed long campaigns, admit here that the king needed half a year to conquer this town, and the victory was described in triumphant terms, praising the help of the Sun goddess of Arinna.

Between these two events, a long episode (III 15-37) involving Ankuwa is inserted, which escapes any interpretation due to the fragmentary state of the document. There is no mention of such an action in the Six-years Annals.

The last section of the Six-years Annals deals with Hařřum and Hahhum and the literary comparison of Hattuřili I with Sargon the Great. No doubt, this was put at the end of the golden statue inscription because it was regarded by the scribe as the climax of Hattuřili's achievements. Historically, one would also — as in later Hittite history — look upon the conquest of northern Syria as being possible only after most of Anatolia was firmly in Hittite hands. These historical events are completely missing in *CTH 13*, because they were recorded in the missing column IV — or even on a further tablet.

There remains the placement of the Alalař and Urřu episode of the “second year” of the “Six-years Annals,” to which the “Siege of Urřu” (*KBo 1:11; CTH 7*) should be added as a literary source. On historical grounds, one would place it not far from the location of the Zarunti-Hařřu campaigns and the confrontation with the army of Halpa at Adalur Mountain. The king could be stationed at Lawazantija and spend the winter there (Siege of Urřu, obv. 21), and the campaign against Alalař and Urřu were directed from there. In the following years the continuation of the war with the Aleppo coalition took place and culminated with the defeat of Hařřu.

Although the authors believe that ascribing *CTH 13* to Hattuřili I is the best option, at

previous year,” in the Hittite version. This would suggest that he tried to express the time division between the sections but did not attempt to record a chronological sequence. MU.IM.MA is correctly used in *KBo 16:25 I 23*, where a reference to an embezzlement in the “previous year” is followed in the next paragraph with regulations designed to prevent such happenings “from now on” (*kitpandalaz*).

least on the evidence available to us at this stage, the ultimate proof for the dating of this text will come only if further fragments, especially those of column I, will come to light. We are, of course, aware that the only way in which historical certainty can be attained is by finding the name of Hattušili I (or any other king) on a fragment joining one of the pieces edited in this article.

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