

THE LOCATION OF PURUŠHANTA

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1: Introduction¹

The northwestern territorial extent of Sargon's empire of Akkad has been largely debated by a number of scholars for a long time, but this historical problem still has not been solved. In Sargon's bilingual inscription, several northwestern toponyms are mentioned in association with Sargon of Akkad. It is stated that Sargon bowed down to the god Dagān in Tuttul, then he (the god Dagān) gave to him (Sargon) the Upper Land: Mari, Iarmuti, and Ebla as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains [Frayne 1993: pp. 27–31]. In addition to this reference, Sargon's northwestern military expedition is also referred to in two of his historical literary texts. These are called the "King of Battle" and the "Ur Letter" and refer to the city of Purušhanta, which has often been located in the northwest of Mesopotamia [Westenholz 1997: pp. 112–3, pp. 118–9 and pp. 150–1]. The "King of Battle" refers to Sargon's expedition to the city of Purušhanta, written URU.*Bur-ša-ḫa-an-da*. The other text of the same date found in Ḫattuša (= Boğazköy) also refers to the city of Purušhanta written URU.*Pu-ru-uš-ḫa-an-da* [Güterbock 1969: pp. 14–26]. In addition to these occurrences, the Old-Babylonian Ur Letter reports that Sargon received divine approval for a campaign against Purušhanta written *Pu-ru-uš-ḫa-an-da*. Here for contributing to solve the historical problem relating to the northwestern territorial extent of Sargon's empire of Akkad, the author of this article will attempt to identify the location of this toponym.

2: History of Research into the Location of Purušhanta

Let us first consider the history of the scholarly opinions for its identification and localization. Considering to the identification of Purušhanta/Burušhattum of the Old Akkadian period with other occurrences of the similar toponyms, according to P. Dhorme, E. Weidner appears to have been the first to indicate the identification of Sargon's URU.*Bur-ša-ḫa-an-da* of the Amarna version of the "King of Battle" with other occurrences of Burušhattum referred to in the Cappadocian tablets [Dhorme 1922: p. 461; Dhorme 1924: p. 23]. However, H. Ehelolf already proposed the identification of Purušhanta written *Purušhandar* referred to in association with the Old Akkadian period in one of the historical literary texts of Naarm-Sin called the "Cuthean Legend" with Burušhattum of the Cappadocian tablets [Ehelolf 1921: p. 121; Westenholz 1997: pp. 312–3].

Apart from reference of Purušhanta/Burušhattum of the Old Akkadian period, in 1929 B. Hrozný first considered the probable location of Hittite Purušhanta mentioned in the text of Anitta (= KBo III 22 = KUB XXVI 71, KUB XXVI 98b), lines 73–9. In this text Purušhanta is described as a dependent of the empire of Anitta. So, Hrozný assumed it to be located not far from Neša (= Kaniš) and provisionally identified it with Kayseri [Hrozný 1929: p. 293; Hrozný 1932: p. 114].

In 1939 B. Landsberger noted that an Old Assyrian tablet describes Burušhattum as four days'

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journey from Kaniš. Although he did not specify the tablet, it must be TC III 165 as its content is described below. Based on this information, he briefly commented that it may be located in the region of Niğde [Landsberger 1939: p. 213 and note 13].²

In 1941 R.S. Hardy cited another new piece of topographical information given by the Decree of Telepinu (= 2BoTU II 23, I 9 ff.). Hardy states that the cities mentioned in the decree of Telepinu are Ғupišana, Tuwanuwa, Ninaša, Landa, Zalara, Puruṣhanta and Lušana, and he considered that they are recorded in a certain geographical order. He accepted E. Forrer's earlier identifications of Ғupišana, Tuwanuwa and Ninaša with Classical Cybistra, Tyana and Nanassos respectively, thus he argued that they go from west to east. For the second group, Landa, Zalara, Puruṣhanta and Lušana, Hardy also accepted Forrer's identification of Landa with Classical Laranda and Lušana with Classical Lystra, hence he argued that they run possibly from east to west, and identified the location of Puruṣhanta together with Zalara between Landa (= Classical Laranda) and Lušana (= Classical Lystra). Furthermore, Hardy pointed out the possible equation of Hittite Puruṣhanta with Old Assyrian Buruṣhattum. However, the first sign "pur" can be read "maš" as well, so he only suggested this equation as provisional [Hardy 1941: p. 188].

The first real attempt to identify the location of Old Assyrian Buruṣhattum was made in 1947 by J. Lewy by combining several pieces of topographical information [Lewy 1947: pp. 13–5]. He proposed the location of Buruṣhattum somewhere west or probably southwest of modern Aksaray based on a series of pieces of topographical information given by the letter *KTH* 1, the itineraries TC III 165 and OIP 27, 54 and the letter BIN IV 35.

According to Lewy, the significance of tablet *KTH* 1 for the present discussion lies in ll. 2b–6, which contain the following remarks, "Since the country of Buruṣhattum as well as the country of Waḥšušana is in uproar, for this reason I did not go on to Waḥšušana". Thus, he assumed that Buruṣhattum must be located beside Waḥšušana. The itineraries TC III 165 and OIP 27, 54 furthermore, supplement and confirm this information, because they indicate that the road from Kaniš to Buruṣhattum was in its first part identical with the highway which linked Kaniš with Waḥšušana. TC III 165 indicates that the road from Kaniš to Buruṣhattum passed by Waḥḥania, Ninaša, and Ulama, whereas according to OIP 27, 54, the route from Kaniš to Waḥšušana went first to Waḥḥania and then, by way of Malita to Waḥšušana. From the letter BIN IV 35 finally, we conclude that caravans sent from Waḥšušana to Buruṣhattum used a road through Ṣalatu/iwar.

Thus, Lewy identified from these data that three roads Waḥḥania – Waḥšušana, Waḥḥania – Buruṣhattum, and Buruṣhattum – Waḥšušana somehow formed a triangle, on one side of which, Ṣalatu/iwar was situated between Buruṣhattum and Waḥšušana, whereas Ninaša and Ulama lay on one of the two other routes between Waḥḥania and Buruṣhattum, and Malita was situated between Waḥḥania and Waḥšušana. He identified Ninaša with classical Nanassos and with modern Nenizi (situated about 110 kilometers southwest of Kaniš (= Kültepe) and 40–50 km east of modern Aksaray) and, that one side of the triangle coincides more or less with the modern road from Kayseri to Aksaray by way of Nevşehir.³ As a result, Lewy concluded that Ulama must be placed in the neighbourhood of Aksaray and accordingly Buruṣhattum is to be found somewhere west or probably rather southwest of Aksaray, that is somewhere on the Konya Plain.

Later E. Bilgiç advanced Lewy's general identification for the location of Buruṣhattum and confirmed the equation of the Old Assyrian Buruṣhattum with the Hittite Puruṣhanta suggested earlier by Hardy [Bilgiç 1945–51: pp. 20–2]. While he cited the same pieces of documentary evidence as

2 Most recently N. Aydın supports this identification based on TC III 165 with two more pieces of topographical information, OIP 27, 54 and *KTH* 1, whose contents will be described below. However, like Landsberger, he does not give a detailed reason for this localization [Aydın 1994: pp. 46–7].

3 The location of Nenizi cannot be spotted on the modern atlas, so its location on map 1 is approximate.

Lewy, TC III 165 and OIP 27, 54, he also developed a view from the decree of Telepinu (= 2BoTU II 23, I 9 ff.) for the equation of Burušhattum with Purušhanta. In this text, as mentioned above we are informed that sons of Labarna were sent into the cities of Ĥupišna, Tuwanuwa, Ninaša, Landa, Zalara, Purušhanta and Lušna to administer them. So, he pointed out that two of five place names, Ninaša and Purušhanta occur in this text and suggest their proximity, while both places in slightly different writings were also recorded in TC III 165 as the third and final destinations of the journey. So, the equation of Burušhattum with Purušhanta appears convincing. For the actual localization of Burušhattum/Purušhanta, Bilgiç followed in general Lewy's argument. He agreed with the earlier identification of Ĥupišna with Classical Cybistra (= modern Ereğli) established by A.H. Sayce and Tuwanuwa with Tyana (= modern Kemerhisar near modern Bor) established by E. Forrer [Forrer 1926: pp. 19 ff.; Sayce 1922: p. 234; Sayce 1923: p. 45]. However, for Ninaša, which Lewy equated with Classical Nanassos and with modern Nenizi located 40–50 km east of Aksaray, Bilgiç did not entirely agree, because classical Nanassos was at that time varyingly identified in the general area around Aksaray, though he at least accepted its general location in the neighbourhood of modern Aksaray.⁴ So, these cities can be placed in general in the area southwest of Kaniš. So, if Ninaša is really placed in the vicinity of Aksaray, to which a journey took two days from Kaniš according to TC III 165, Bilgiç suggested that the third station Ulama must be somewhere south of the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü) and the final destination of Burušhattum reached on the fourth day is to be sought still further southwest in the Konya Plain.⁵

In 1967–69 E.I. Gordon identified the location of Hittite Purušhanta at the great site called Homat near the village of Belceğiz in the district of Şarki Karaağaç near the northwest corner of the Beyşehir Lake [Gordon 1967: p. 81].⁶ Gordon does not give any specific reason for this identification. However, for its location beyond or to the west of the Konya Plain, he may have relied on the hypothesis established by Lewy and Bilgiç.

S. Alp also maintained the localization of the Hittite Purušhanta in the vicinity of the Konya plain [Alp 1993: p. 193]. In 1993, he argued that Karahöyük near Konya could be identified with Purušhanta. He particularly considers the topographical information of Purušhanta given by the decree of Telepinu (= BoTU II 23, I 9 ff.) as very important. In this text, as mentioned above, Purušhanta is referred to among with six other place names between Zalara and Lušna. Alp considers that Purušhanta is not far away from these places and that Lušna is to be identified with Classical Lystra in the vicinity of modern Hatunsary. Thus, he argues that the location of Karahöyük fits the location of Purušhanta.

Let us consider the other major stream of the identification of Purušhanta. Some scholars assumed that it can be identified with Acemhöyük. J. Garstang appears to have first made this identification in 1944. The place name occurring in the rock-carved hieroglyphic inscription at Topada, about 25 km to the southwest of Nevşehir was at first read as “*Pur-me-ta*” or “*Pur-wi-ta*”, but later E. Laroche suggested emendation and read “*Pur-zu-ta*”, this he argued was the phonetic equation of Purušhanta [Laroche 1957: p. 152 and note 3]. In 1959 this suggestion was followed by J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney who proposed the location of Purušhanta, near modern Nevşehir and provisionally

4 Bilgiç states that according to Ptolemy Nanassos lies in the Garsauritis, and its exact location is varyingly identified. Other candidates apart from Lewy's are: somewhere south of Aksaray; the present Mamasun 8 km east of Aksaray; the south of Mamasun in a place called Eskine/oz 10 km southeast of Aksaray [Bilgiç 1945–51: pp. 20–2].

5 According to Bilgiç, the variant of Cappadocian Ulama is Ulma and Walama, and Ulama corresponds to the Hittite Ullamma. For Walama, one can phonetically compare with the place name Walmā, however, Bilgiç considered that the location of this city, which the troops of Arzawa led by Muršili II defeated on the Aštapa River, appears to not support this equation.

L.L. Orlin and G. Steiner later give wholehearted support to Bilgiç, and locate the city of Burušhattum of TC III 165 on the southwest of Tuz Gölü (= Salt Lake) in the approaches to the Plain of Konya [Orlin 1970: p. 37, pp. 110–1 and p. 140; Steiner 1993: pp. 581–2].

6 The location of Homat cannot be spotted on the modern atlas, so its location on map 1 is approximate.

equated it with the classical place name, Soandus [Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 64 and map 1]. In 1944 Garstang placed Puruṣhanta on the southeastern edge of the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü) without citing a specific reason for its localization. This suggestion was maintained also on a map with their provisional equation of Puruṣhanta with Classical Soandus in 1959.⁷ Actually it is unknown whether they intended to identify Puruṣhanta with the specific site. However, they knew of the presence of the large tell there, because they did not mention the modern name of the site, which they specified as Puruṣhanta. So, as N. Özgüç pointed out later, this location on the map coincides with the location of Acemhöyük.⁸ Furthermore, according to P. Garelli, J. Lewy later also proposed the identification of Puruṣhanta with Acemhöyük in the course of a lecture, which he gave at the College de France.⁹ Unfortunately it is not known how he reached this identification moving from his earlier identification of the south or southwest of Aksaray to the northwest of Aksaray.

The excavation at Acemhöyük was conducted by N. Özgüç on the supposition that it may be Puruṣhanta, but no decisive evidence was found, except that Acemhöyük was a most important centre during the Old Assyrian colony period [Özgüç 1966: pp. 29–30]. The most important discoveries concerning the identification of Puruṣhanta from this site are seals of Šamši-Adad I. So, the close association of the site with Old Assyrian trade was at least confirmed [Özgüç 1980: p. 65; Charpin 1984: p. 51]. J.R. Kupper recently pointed out that some stamp seals bearing the name, Aplaḥanda were discovered at Acemhöyük, thus he argues for the confirmation of its identification with Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum [Kupper 1992: p. 18]. However, in fact later studies of these stamp seals made by Ö. Tunca confirmed that the name, Aplaḥanda is not a geographical, but a personal name, though Tunca along with D. Lacambre maintained the identification of Acemhöyük with Puruṣhanta [Tunca 1993: pp. 629–33; Lacambre and Tunca 1998: p. 597].

G. Steiner, S. Alp and J.D. Hawkins recently argued against the identification of Acemhöyük with Puruṣhanta, while they agreed with Lewy and Bilgiç's earlier localization of Buruṣhattum/Puruṣhanta on the Konya Plain [Steiner 1993: pp. 579–99]. Steiner argues that if Buruṣhattum is identical with the city of Puruṣhanta, which is generally accepted, it cannot be Acemhöyük. Puruṣhanta was the seat of a stock house (É NA₄.KIŠIB) in the period of king Telepinu of Ḫatti and was still the cult place of the water god in the period of the Great Empire of Ḫatti, while the latest settlement at Acemhöyük was deserted in the Old Hittite period. Also the rôle of Buruṣhattum as the centre of silver mining or copper trade speaks against the identification with Acemhöyük. Steiner rather considers that Acemhöyük can be identified with Zalpa of the Old Assyrian period. Although as already mentioned Alp identifies Puruṣhanta with Karahöyük, he argues that Acemhöyük is certainly a better candidate for Kušar than Puruṣhanta, because Acemhöyük had a magnificent palace and close relations with Mari [Alp 1993: p. 193]. Hawkins considers that three toponyms: Ikuwaniya (= Konya), Ḫurniya and the Ḫulaya River, referred to beside Puruṣhanta in Telepinu's broken list of store cities (= Kbo III 1+68, iii. 17–33) can be located around the Konya plain. So, he argues that the identification of Puruṣhanta with Acemhöyük and its location does not accord with the locations of other toponyms. Thus he suggests that Puruṣhanta should be identified with Karahöyük which is situated near the Konya Plain [Baker, et al. 1995: p. 146; Hawkins 1995: p. 51, note 176].

On the other hand, most recently J.G. Dercksen argues against the localization Buruṣhattum/Puruṣhanta on the Konya Plain and agrees with the identification of Acemhöyük with Buruṣhattum/Puruṣhanta [Dercksen 1996: p. 13 and map]. Dercksen argues that TC III 165 states that the itinerary leading from Kaniš to Buruṣhattum through Wašḫania, Ninaša and Ulama took at least four days.

7 For the map published in 1944 by Garstang, see [Garstang 1944: p.16].

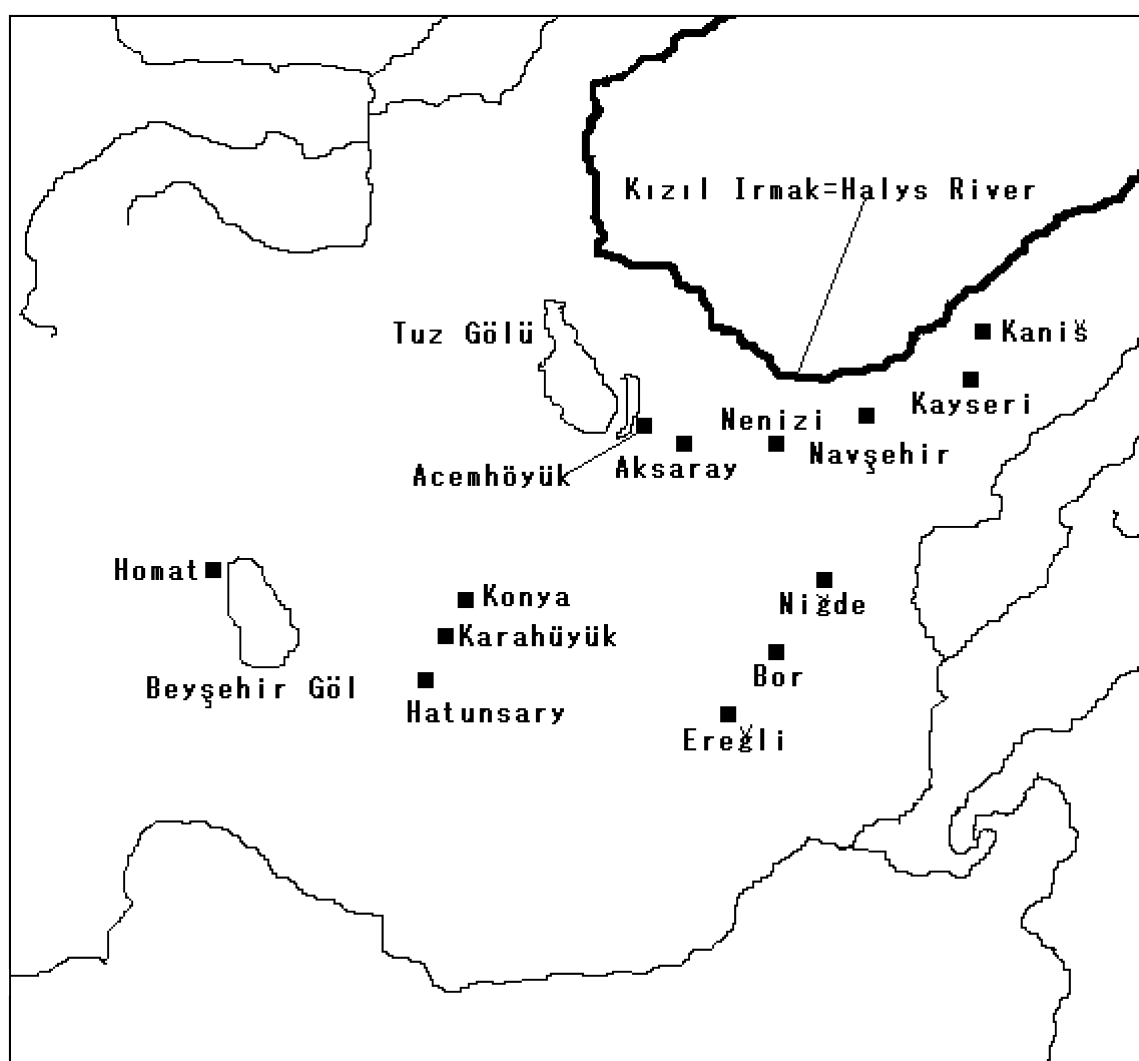
8 N. Özgüç also tells that T. Özgüç also placed the location of Acemhöyük on the map, though nothing about its identification with Puruṣhanta is mentioned [Özgüç 1966: pp. 29–30; Özgüç 1963: p. 98–99]. M. Forlanini supported this identification [Forlanini 1985: p. 46].

9 P. Garelli also agrees with this identification [Garelli 1963: p. 123 and note 4; Garelli 1989: p. 149].

He argues that the average day's journey of a caravan is about 30 km. So, the distance of the entire journey is approximately 120 km. The actual distance from Kaniš to Acemhöyük is about 150 km, whereas the distance from Kaniš to the Konya Plain is about double and is impossible to reach within four days.

Moreover, Dercksen considers that the localization of Purušhanta with Acemhöyük also accords with the circumstances of other itineraries. As Lewy suggested beside the route of TC III 165 there existed another route, since *KTH* 1, OIP 27, 54 and BIN IV 35 allowed him to reconstruct such a route. As Lewy first pointed out OIP 27, 54 shows the existence of a route Kaniš – Wašhania – Malita – Waḥšušana, and in *KTH* 1 Waḥšušana is likely to be situated in the vicinity of Buruštattum. Letter BIN IV 35 finally shows that caravans sent from Waḥšušana to Buruštattum used a road through Šalatu/iwar. So, there must have been another route diverting from Wašhania through Malita, Waḥšušana, Šalatu/iwar to Buruštattum. Dercksen considered that this route existed north of the Wašhania, Ninaša, Ulama and Buruštattum line.

Dercksen pointed out that there is another text, AKT 3, 34, which confirms the existence of the route from Waḥšušana, Šalatu/iwar to Buruštattum. In addition, this tells of the existence of rivers or canals with bridges over them near these three places. Moreover, in kt t/k 1 and its duplicate



Map 1: Supplementary map for the location of Purušhanta

kt t/k 25 there are also mentions of rivers near Waḫšušana and Šalatu/iwar. Kt 91/k 424 indicates the itinerary Buruṣḫattum – Šalatu/iwar – Waḫšušana – Tuḫpia – Turḫumit – Kaniš. In addition to this, kt 91/k 437 mentions a river crossing or *nēbartum* in the territory of Turḫumit. Based on the aforementioned pieces of topographical information, it can be established that these places are to be located in the vicinity of the rivers. Dercksen particularly assumed that the river crossed by boat near the territory of Turḫumit is the Kızıl Irmak. Thus, he locates it northeast of Acemhöyük and the Kızıl Irmak and locates the other cities mentioned in kt 91/ k 424 also to the north of Acemhöyük.

Furthermore, Dercksen also established Waḫšušana's northern location on the basis of the letter *ATHE* 63. The sender of this letter, being in Buruṣḫattum, asks Imdilum to send his textiles, which are brought from Zalpa and Ḫurama to Kaniš, on towards Waḫšušana via the road leading to Tawinia (*ḫarrān Tawinia*). Wherever the exact location of Tawinia is, it can definitely be located to the north of Kaniš. So, the general localizations of the place names of kt 91/k 424 and Waḫšušana's location north of Kaniš favour the identification of Buruṣḫattum/Puruṣḫanta with Acemhöyük.

We have briefly reviewed the history of the research into the localization of Puruṣḫanta/Buruṣḫattum. Before Lewy's argument arose in 1947, with the aid of a single piece of topographical evidence, some scholars provisionally identified the location of Puruṣḫanta/Buruṣḫattum. Hrozný provisionally identified it with the ancient Caesarea (= Kayseri). Landsberger located it in the region of Niğde. And finally Hardy identified the location of Puruṣḫanta together with Zalara between Landa (= Classical Laranda) and Lušna (= Classical Lystra), while Hardy suggested the possible equation of Hittite Puruṣḫanta with Buruṣḫattum. Since 1947, two major identifications of Puruṣḫanta/Buruṣḫattum can be observed. One prevailing identification is on or in the vicinity of the Konya Plain or in the region beyond Acemhöyük, and the other is its identification with Acemhöyük. Unfortunately, neither has yet been confirmed.

3: Methodology

In the following investigation of the location of Puruṣḫanta, the author of this paper will try to identify the regional locations of Puruṣḫanta by the application of cartographic analysis.¹⁰ The topographical information from individual written sources is drawn on a map, and then they are superimposed in order to identify their overlapping areas. However the nature of all the written sources, which indicate the location of Puruṣḫanta, are different. So in order to harmonize diverse written sources indicating the different regional locations of Puruṣḫanta and obtain the most accurate and reliable topographical information of the location of Puruṣḫanta, all the written sources will be classified into three types, and then this cartographic analysis will be applied according their types.

The first type will be called **primary topographical information or written evidence**. This type directly indicates the regional location of Puruṣḫanta, thus it is very reliable. The second type will be called **supportive secondary topographical information or written evidence**. It does not directly indicate the location of Puruṣḫanta and it does not stand alone as evidence indicating its location, but in conjunction with primary topographical information, it can circumstantially strengthen the reliability of primary topographical information. The supportive secondary topographical information will, therefore, be included in the studies of primary topographical information. So, based on these two different types of written evidence, an overlapping core regional location of Puruṣḫanta will be drawn by superimposing all the regional locations of primary and supportive secondary

¹⁰ This method was originally invented by C. Wall-Romana to investigate the location of Agade. The author will apply fundamentally the same method as him for identifying the regional location of Puruṣḫanta. However it will be more improved and applied in a different way [Wall-Romana 1990: pp. 205–45].

topographical information or written sources. Thus, every piece of reliable topographical information will be harmonized and given equal weight.

The last type will be called **secondary topographical information or written evidence**. It can indicate the regional location, but possibly contains erroneous topographical information, because topographical information for the regional location of Purušĥanta can only be extracted in a secondary or indirect way. Each given piece of secondary topographical information will be superimposed separately on the core regional location in order to avoid inclusion of complex erroneous topographical information. Thus, several tentative regional locations will be drawn for the location of Purušĥanta. Some of the tentative regional locations may be accurate, but some may not. Unfortunately, this limits drawing accurate regional locations with secondary topographical information. Some pieces of secondary topographical information indicate the same information as some pieces of primary topographical information. They will be included together in the section of primary topographical information, because the nature of their topographical information resembles supportive secondary topographical information. They are not separately taken into account for further tentatively delimiting the core regional location. Due to their similarity to supportive secondary topographical information, they do not have power to change the picture of the core regional location.

Sometimes an arbitrary distance is applied to delimit the extent of the regional location, because topographical information of any kind does not always necessarily indicate it. For example, based on the individual written sources, the regional location of Purušĥanta is to be confined beside the banks of the river, but it tells nothing about the extent of the distance from the river for delimiting its regional location. In such a case, we simply adopt the general distance, which appears to be enough to cover the location of Purušĥanta.

As for the depth of this study, it is limited only to translations of the texts since knowledge of the author of this paper is limited only to the elementary Akkadian language. So, all the investigations will rely on the most recent translations of the texts either in Japanese, English, German or French.

4: Regional Location of Purušĥanta

4. 1: Location of Purušĥanta in Primary Topographical Information

4. 1. 1.

Purušĥanta at a distance of four to five days' caravan journey

TC III 165 and CCT 2, 1 together appear to give primary topographical information. They indicate the time span of the journey from Kaniš to Burušĥattum. Their translations are given below:

TC III 165, line 1–47

<Kaniš – Wašĥania: (1–4)>

From Kaniš to Wašĥania I spent 2 minas of tin on guards, on an inn, and on donkey-fodder.
<Wašĥania – Ninaša: (5–12)>

The palace took 21 shekels of tin as *nishātum*-tax; the gentleman took x minas; the lord of the town took 9 1/2 minas; I spent from Wašĥania to Ninaša 1/3? minas of copper on an attorney, and 10 minas of copper on an inn and on donkey-fodder.

<Ninaša – Ulama: (13–23)>

The palace took 24 shekels of tin as *nishātum*-tax; the lord of the town took 15 shekels of tin; the gentleman, the *imrum*, and the head of the ... took 10 1/2 shekels of tin; I spent from Ninaša to Ulama 2 minas of copper on an attorney, and 10 minas of copper on a stable, donkey-fodder,

and an inn.

<Ulama – Burušhattum: (24–30)>

From Ulama to Burušhattum I spent: the gentleman took 5 minas of copper; the attorney took 10 minas of copper; 10 minas of copper on an inn; 10 minas of copper on donkey-fodder; 30 minas on smuggling.

<In Burušhattum: (31–42)>

15 minas of copper for the rent of a house; 2 minas of silver (to pay for) my food and (for) that of the servants; I gave 1 shekel of silver per mina (of silver) and 1 mina of copper per talent (of copper) to the *kārum*-office as *šaddu'atum*-tax. They took 8 *kutānum*-textiles as “five per cent” levy at the *kārum*-office. The deficit of the *biltum*-loads was 12 minas of tin. I gave 2 minas of copper at half a mina of copper per shekel of tin(?) to the *kārum*-office.

<Additional Statement 1: (43–44)>

I paid 20 shekels of silver to porters from Kaniš to Wašḫania.

<Additional Statement 2: (44–47)>

I paid 17 1/3 shekels of silver to porters and to my guides from Wašḫania to Ulama [Dercksen 1996: p. 10].

CCT 2, 1, line 2–8¹¹

Say to Pūšu-kēn, you wrote to me as follows: As soon as the tin brought by Kuzari arrived, I sent it to Burušhattum. I hope to receive the silver in five days.

From these texts, it is clear that the journey from Kaniš to Burušhattum took 4 to 5 days. TC III 165 shows that the journey began from Kaniš and went through Wašḫania, Ninaša and Ulama, and finally to Burušhattum, and the payment of the inn in each place is recorded. So, it is clear that the journey took at least four days. Since CCT 2, 1 was found in Kültepe (= Kaniš), Pūšu-kēn, to whom this letter was written must have been in Kaniš and expecting the arrival of money from Burušhattum in five days.¹² As briefly referred to in the introduction most recently Dercksen stated that the average day's journey of a caravan is about 30 km. So, the distance of four to five days' journey is approximately 120–150 km [Dercksen 1996: p. 13 and map].

In addition to topographical information given by TC III 165 and CCT 2, 1, another kind of primary topographical information is also to be utilized in connection with TC III 165 and CCT 2, 1. Kaniš is obviously located in the vicinity of either Kızıl Irmak (= the Halys River), the Seyhan River or the Ceyhan River, so there is a possibility that the journey may have involved a boat trip to reach Burušhattum, and there are some pieces of evidence showing that a boat trip is very likely. As J. Lewy first noted texts: *KTH* 1, OIP 27, 54 and BIN IV 3, indicate the existence of another route from Kaniš to Burušhattum apart from the route indicated by TC III 165. The translations of these three texts are given below:

KTH 1, line 1–26

Zu Aššur-nā'dā sage: folgendermaßen (sprach) Īdī-Ištar: “Demgemäß, daß das Land von Burušhattum oder Waḫšušana im Aufstand ist – deswegen ging ich nicht nach Waḫšušana weiter und faßte über das Kupfer, welches in [W]aḫšušana niedergelegt ist, (noch) [ni]cht Entschluß. In [5 Tage]n werde ich klare Nachricht darüber vernehmen und (dann) [nach W]aḫšušana [weiterge]hen. [x] Minen Kupfer, gemischtes, [des A]gua bringt dir Aššur-šamši. Das Silber des Al(i)-aḫum wäge

11 A.R. Millard kindly translated the text into English [vd Meer 1931: pp. 92–5; Garelli 1963: p. 122, note 5].

12 Provenance of the documents published, as CCT was not at first clearly known. However, it was no doubt today that they originally derived from Kültepe (= Kaniš) [Veenhof 1997: pp. 308–10].

dar und (dann) kauft für den Rest des Silbers kusītu(-Stoffe) [aus] Mama oder menuniānu(-Stoffe) oder Häute, *Wolle(haltige)*, und macht die Esel voll(beladen), und (zwar) sollen leere Esel nicht zu mir kommen. Gib acht und nimm die Tafel mit ihrem Ältestenprotokoll und schicke (sie) mir (dann) mit dem frühesten (Boten) her [Lewy 1930: text no. 1].”

OIP 27, 54, line 1–21

2/3 Šeqel weniger 6 1/2 Korn Silber zahlte ich von Kaniš bis Wašḫania auf den Namen des Alāḫum, Sohn des Adad-bāni; 3 Šeqel Zinn zahlte ich in Wašḫania als *dātum* für seine Esellast; 12 Šeqel Zinn gab ich für das Gästehaus in Wašḫania; seine Anteil (an den Ausgaben) ist 3 1/2 Šeqel Zinn; 5 [...] Šeqel Zinn in Malita; [...] Šeqel Zinn ist der Anteil seines Esels; [...] Šeqel Zinn der Lohn des Reisebegleiters, der mit uns von Wašḫania bis Malita ging; von Malita bis Waḫšušana zahlte ich 3 Minen *šikum*-Kupfer als Lohn des Reisebegleiters aus Malita [Nashef 1987: pp. 40–1].

BIN IV 35, line 1–48

Speak to Puzur-Aššur, thus (says) Buzāzu: When I had been summoned to move to Kaniš, and I was about to leave, I left tin, both mine and yours, behind with Ilī-wēdāku, saying: “Acquire before I return fine copper so that it falls to my share.” Unfortunately, I was suddenly confined to bed after I returned from Kaniš. After I had recovered, I said: “Give me the copper, both mine and that of Puzur-Aššur, so that I can go to Buruḫattum and earn silver, about 10 minas, both for Puzur-Aššur and for myself.” While he kept arguing with me, a blockade came in force and I was delayed for 5 or 6 times: “Let us send him the copper,” but as for me, he refuses to give me my copper, and as for you, he refuses to send (it) to you. He keeps sitting on the copper and is still making up his mind what to do with it. It is not the right moment for me to lodge a compliment. I said: “First, let Puzur-Aššur take from the merchandise I have in trust (*būlātu*) whatever he can.” But I become anxious and decided to act as an envoy, thinking: “I will personally transport as much copper as possible, both mine and that of Puzur-Aššur.” I personally brought the copper to Šalatu/iwar, and when I was about to leave, he made known to me the merchant(’s name) (who was the owner in Ilī-wēdāku’s view), lest I myself would seize the copper. I thought: “Let it be, he can indicate to me (as the copper’s owner) whichever merchant he wants.” As soon as I entered Šalatu/iwar, he appointed 2 persons as agents and took action to cause problems to you and me, and has made the copper the property of a strange merchant! And today he is suing me (for the copper)! And he wrote for a contract, asking: “Engage me for the copper at 1 shekel of silver per 30 shekels of copper.” The man has gone mad [Dercksen 1996: pp. 188–90].

When we consult Lewy’s identification of the existence of the other itinerary route from Kaniš to Buruḫattum with the topographical information for the location of Buruḫattum given by the aforementioned three texts, we certainly have to admit the existence of such a route. The route must be the following: Kaniš – Wašḫania – Malita – Waḫšušana – Šalatu/iwar – Buruḫattum, and in comparison with the itinerary route indicated by TC III 165 this route diverted from Wašḫania. Furthermore, kt. 83/k 117 also indicates the existence of the route from Waḫšušana to Buruḫattum through Ulama. Its translation is also given below:

Kt. 83/k 117, line 1–24

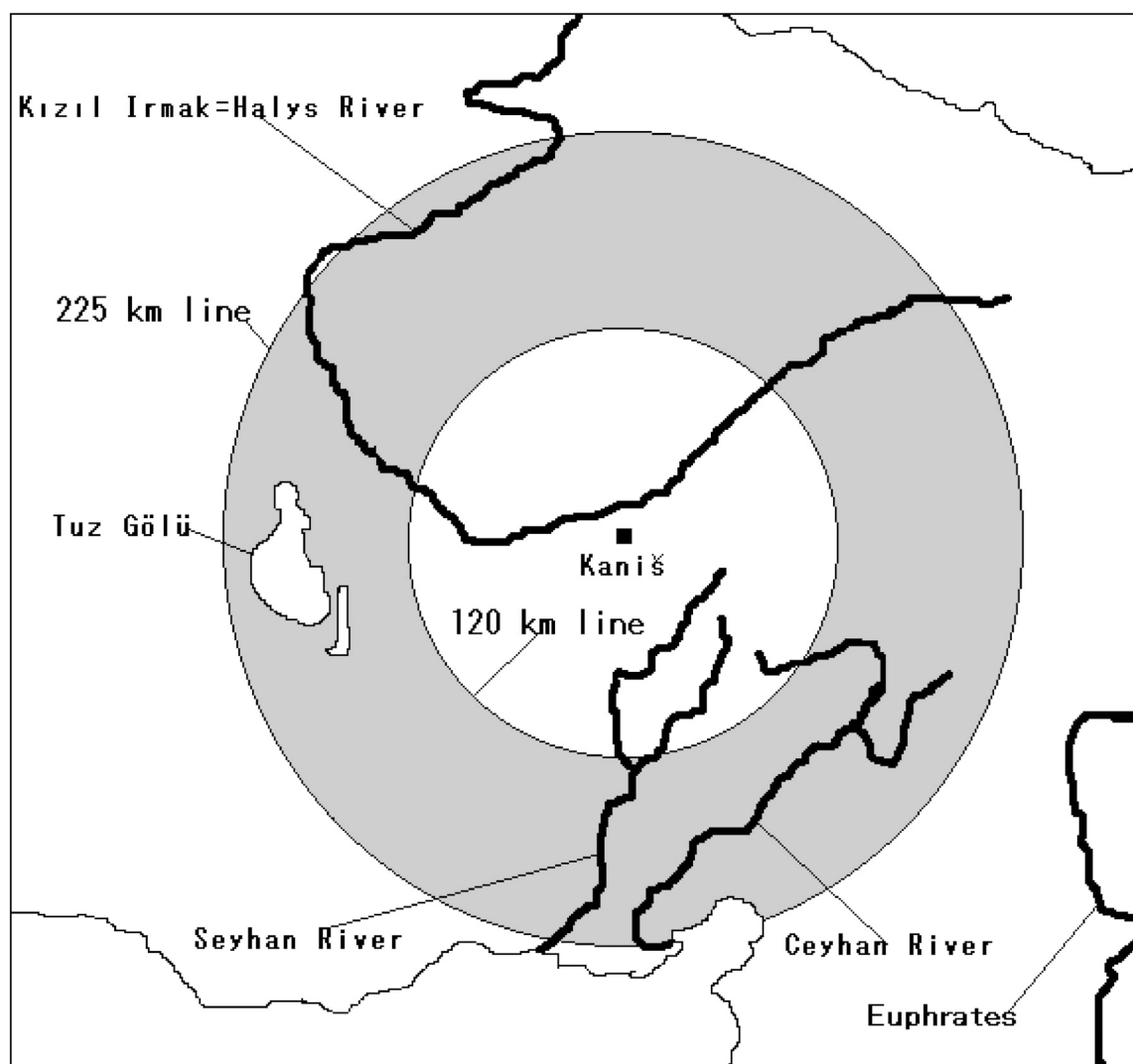
Speak to *kārum* Kaniš: Thus (say) your envoys and *kārum* Waḫšušana: The *wabartum*’s of Ulama and Šalatu/iwar have sent us letters (tablets) and having read (them) we have put them under seal and they are on their way to you. The very day we have the(se) letters read, we have sent two messengers by way of Ulama and two (other) messengers by way of Šalatu/iwar to Buruḫattum in

order to clear up the matter. The first report they will bring us we will write to you in order to inform you (more in details). Ikuppia, the scribe, is our messenger [Günbattu 1995: pp. 107–115].

However, unfortunately apart from Kaniš, none of the other places can be located with certainty. So, we cannot even determine the exact direction of the journey with certainty. However, later Dercksen identified that the caravan journey through Waḥšušana and Šalatu/iwar to Buruḥattum definitely involved the crossing of rivers or canals. Here the translations of three texts indicating this fact are given:

AKT 3, 34, line 1–24

From Waḥšušana to Šalatu/iwar the road-tax, (costs for) donkey-fodder and inn together amounted for us to 1 mina 55 shekels of copper per (donkey); furthermore they levied 20 shekels (of copper) per donkey at the bridge. The donkey-fodder (cost) 2 1/2 minas of copper in Šalatu/iwar. As far as Buruḥattum (the costs) per (donkey) amounted for us to 2 1/2 minas (of copper). They levied 15 shekels (of copper) per donkey at the bridge. (I paid) 1 1/2 minas (of copper) in Buruḥattum for donkey-fodder and for food for the servant. I gave Arwanaḥšu 2 1/2 minas of copper for his



Map 2: Core regional location of Puruḥanta

expenses [Dercksen 1996: p. 11].

Kt t/k 1 and its duplicate kt t/k 25, line 7–35

Šalatu/iwar (7–21): I gave 3 shekels of silver to the inn; I paid 3 shekels of silver to the *kārum* office as *šaddu*atum-tax; I paid 7 minas of (kt t/k 25 adds: *šikkum*) copper for wine on the day we bought the *perdum*; 1 mina (of copper) for the stable; all this I paid in Šalatu/iwar because of the *perdum*. We left Šalatu/iwar and I paid 2 1/2 minas of copper at the bank of the river (kt t/k 25 has: *ina titūrim*, ‘on the bridge’) because of the *perdum*. I paid 2 minas of copper in Šalatu/iwar for barley.

Waḥšušana (22–35): 5 minas of copper for the inn; I paid 5 minas of copper to the *kārum* office as *šaddu*atum tax; I paid 5 minas to the gentleman; I paid 4 minas for barley; I gave 10 minas of copper for an escort to the *allahḫinnum* official, and he escorted me as far as the bank of the river; I gave 1 mina to the boatman; all this I paid in Waḥšušana because of the *perdum* [Dercksen 1996: p. 12].

So, there is a considerable possibility that the caravan journey from Kaniš to Burušḫattum or vice versa as indicated by these texts, most probably involved a boat trip. The average distance of the boat trip along the current is about 60 km from Aššur on the Tigris [Wall-Romana 1990: pp. 215–6]. So, in case half of 5 days journey from Kaniš to Burušḫattum or vice versa involved a boat trip, Burušḫattum is to be situated within 225 km of Kaniš. Thus, the location of Burušḫattum can be sought in the area between 120 and 225 km from Kaniš. Apart from this reliable topographical information for the location of Burušḫattum, there appear no more pieces of primary topographical evidence. So, in the following sections, we will investigate a number of pieces of secondary topographical information in association with this core regional location. See map 2.

4. 2: Location of Purušḫanta in Secondary Topographical Information

4. 2. 1.

Purušḫanta west of Aksaray and in the vicinity of Tuwanuwa and Ḫuپیšana

The tentative location of Purušḫanta will be investigated in relation to a number of place names, which occur beside the city of Purušḫanta in several written sources. However, regrettably they only give secondary topographical information. As a result of the above investigation, we know that three routes existed to reach Purušḫanta: Kaniš – Wašḫania – Ninaša – Ulama – Burušḫattum, Kaniš – Wašḫania – Malita – Waḥšušana – Šalatu/iwar – Burušḫattum and finally Waḥšušana – Ulama – Burušḫattum. So far, the location of the only one place name, Kaniš (= Kültepe) is securely attested. However, unfortunately none of the other places can be located with certainty. When we consider the scholarly opinions for the locations of these places, it is clear that tentative location for Purušḫanta as well as the other places: Wašḫania, Ulama, Malita, Waḥšušana and Šalatu/iwar can be established by the tentative localization of Ninaša. So, it is appropriate to begin with the arguments for the identification of Ninaša.

A.T. Olmstead appears to have first considered the identification of Ninaša. In 1922 he suggested equating it with Classical Nanassos of the Ptolemaic map, obviously due to the similarity of both names [Olmstead 1922: p. 226]. For its localization he followed W.M. Ramsay’s earlier identification with Momoassos of the Jerusalem Itinerary [Ramsay 1890: p. 285]. According to Ramsay it can be located twelve miles east of Archelais on the road to Tyana, and identified Nanassos/Momoassos with modern Mamasun, about eight km east of Aksaray.

In 1930 E. Forrer agreed with Olmstead and located Ninaša generally in the same area [Forrer

1926–9: pp. 36–7]. He identified Ninaša/Classical Nanassos with modern Nenizi situated about 110 km southwest of Kaniš and 40–45 km east of Aksaray given the similarity of the sounds borne by these place names.¹³

Later E. Bilgiç agreed with Olmstead's equation of Ninaša with Classical Nanassos, but he avoided specifying the possible location of Nanassos, placing it in the vicinity of modern Aksaray as various scholars had proposed. According to Bilgiç, sites south of modern Aksaray and modern Eskinez/Eskinoz located south of modern Mamasun and 10 km southeast of Aksaray are also possible candidates for the identification of Nanassos apart from modern Mamasun and modern Nenizi.¹⁴ Bilgiç particularly disagreed with Forrer's identification with Nenizi, because he considered that Classical Nazianzos is more suitably equated with modern Nenizi [Bilgiç 1945–51: p. 20 and note 148]. Bilgiç's view of the localization of Ninaša/Classical Nanassos was accepted by several scholars [Goetze 1962: p. 27 and note 5; Garelli 1963: pp. 122–3; von Schuler 1965: p. 34 and note 173; Orlin 1970: p. 37 and note 40, and p. 82].

F. Cornelius also agreed with Bilgiç and tentatively proposed the equation of Ninaša/Classical Nanassos with modern Nevşehir, and suggested the identification of modern Nenizi with Hittite Ninišankuwa [Cornelius 1958b: p. 379; Cornelius 1961: p. 217; Cornelius 1967: p. 77; Cornelius 1973: p. 79 and a map].

Most recently M. Forlanini also added some more pieces of topographical information. According to her the River Maraššantiya, which is to be identified with the Halys River (= Kızıl Irmak) was worshipped in Ninaša in KUB VI 45 II (= KUB VI 46 II). Moreover, KUB XLVIII 105 and KBo XII 53 indicate that Ninaša was included together with Ulama/Walama in the province of Turmita, which also lay on the Maraššantiya River, because this river together with ̘ılaš(š)i and ̘ašamili formed a group of the gods of the city, which were attributed to the city of Turmita in KUB LV 43 IV 32, 1. Thus, she approximately placed its location northeast of modern Aksaray and west of modern Nevşehir [Forlanini 1985: pp. 48–9 and map; Forlanini 1992: p. 179].

There are several other pieces of topographical information indicating a slightly different location for Ninaša. J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney first suggested the possible proximity of Ninaša with ̘upišna and Tuwanuwa, because it occurs with them twice in the Prayer of Muwattalli (KUB VI 45 II 10–19 = 46 II 52–9) and KUB XXVI 2 Rs. 2–4 [Garstang and Gurney 1959: pp. 63–4]. A. Archi and H. Klengel later observed that Ninaša also occurs together with ̘upišna and Tuwanuwa in KBo III 1 I 9, 67 I 10, KUB XI 1 I 9 (= BoTU II 23 I 9 = The Decree of Telpinu), KUB X 48 II 7f [Archi and Klengel 1980: pp. 154–5]. As we have already cited ̘upišna is very likely to be identified with Classical Cybistra/modern Ereğli. The equation of Tuwanuwa with Classical Tyana/modern Kemerhisar has widely been accepted since F. Hrozný first proposed it in 1920. He was depending on Ramsay's earlier argument, identifying Classical Tyana with modern Kemerhisar, just a few miles distant from modern Bor [Ramsay 1890: p. 88, p. 346 and 449; Hrozný 1920: p. 40, note 1; Olmstead 1922: p. 226; Sayce 1922: p. 234; Forrer 1926–9: pp. 19–20 and pp. 35–7; Goetze 1940: p. 53, note 200; Hardy 1941: p. 188; Garstang 1944: pp. 18–9; Cornelius 1958c, p. 2; Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 64; Garelli 1963: p. 123; von Schuler 1965 p. 34, note 175; Gurney 1981: p. 18]. Today Tuwanuwa is definitely to be identified with Classical Tyana located beneath the modern town of Kemerhisar as the bridge between the two names is provided by a stela with a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription found at Bor [Hawkins 1997: pp. 246–7]. So, there is a possibility that Ninaša is to be located in its vicinity. So, there are two tentative locations of Ninaša. One is in the vicinity or east of modern Aksaray and the other is in the vicinity of ̘upišna and Tuwanuwa.

The localizations of the first station, Wašḡania and of the second station, Ulama, are very

13 J. Lewy agreed with Forrer's identification [Lewy 1956: p. 20, note 86].

14 The locations of Mamasun, Nenizi and Eskinez/oz cannot be found on the modern atlas, so their locations on map 3 are approximate.

tentative. All scholars, who have tried to identify WašĦania, worked from the tentative localization of Ninaša, thus they simply placed it between Ninaša and Kaniš and in the vicinity of either modern İncesu or Nevşehir [Lewy 1947: pp. 13–6; Lewy 1956: p. 20, note 86 and pp. 59–60 and note 251; Bilgiç 1945–51: p. 21; Finkelstein 1956: p. 104; Cornelius 1958b: p. 382; Garelli 1963: p. 122; Orlin 1970: p. 36, note 38 and p. 87; Archi and Klengel 1980: pp. 154–5; Forlanini 1992: p. 179]. The situation surrounding the localization of the third station Ulama is the same as WašĦania. The scholars who placed Ninaša east of modern Aksaray placed it in the vicinity of Aksaray. Others, who placed Ninaša in the vicinity of Aksaray, placed it south of Tuz Gölü (= Salt Lake), some in particular identified Ulama with Acemhöyük [Lewy 1947: pp. 14–6; Lewy 1956: pp. 59–60; Bilgiç 1945–51: p. 20; Garelli 1963: pp. 122–3; Garelli 1965: p. 43; Cornelius 1967: p. 77; Orlin 1970: p. 86 and map on pp. 110–1; Neu 1974: p. 21; Archi and Klengel 1980: p. 154–5; Forlanini 1985: p. 46, notes 1 and 4, and a map].

We also investigated the scholarly opinions relating to the identifications of the stations of another itinerary: Malita, Waḥšušana and Šalatu/iwar. However, the situation is more or less the same as WašĦania and Ulama. The tentative localizations of these three cities also depend on either the tentative localization of Ninaša or the tentative localization of BurušĦattum, which is also initially established by the tentative location of Ninaša. So, unfortunately we cannot obtain any informative topographical information for the location of our PurušĦanta.¹⁵ In 1929 and 1958, only B. Hrozný and F. Cornelius argued the localization of Šalatu/iwar without taking the tentative localizations of Ninaša and PurušĦanta into consideration. Their arguments are only based on the similarity of sounds of the names. Hrozný equated Šalatu/iwar with Classical Sabatra of the Tabula Peutingeriana, which is the Lycaonian steppe (= north of the Taurus Mountain). Due to the discovery of the Greek inscription mentioning Sabatra in the ruins of Jaghli Baiyat (this name does not appear in the modern Turkish atlas) located 58 km east of Konya, Hrozný also identified this site with Classical Sabatra/Savatra/Soatra and with Šalatu/iwar [Hrozný 1929: pp. 291–2]. However, if the ruins of Jaghli Baiyat is really located 58 km east of Konya, this position is about 240 km away from Kaniš and located outside of the 225 km outer ring of the core regional location of PurušĦanta. So, Šalatu/iwar, which is the last station before reaching to BurušĦattum as clearly indicated above, cannot be placed outside of the 225 km outer ring of the core regional location of PurušĦanta. Furthermore, according to J. Lewy, Classical Sabatra/Savatra/Soatra is more preferably equated with the Hittite Šuwatara of the Apology of the Ḫattušili III [Lewy 1947: p. 16].

F. Cornelius equated Šalatu/iwar with Classical Sadakora obviously in the similarity of the sounds of the names [Cornelius 1958b: pp. 382–3; Cornelius 1961: p. 217; Cornelius 1973: p. 84 and p. 298, note 72].¹⁶ He does not give further references for its location, but according to W.M. Ramsay, Classical Sadakora is mentioned by Strabo as on the road between Classical Soanda (about modern Nevşehir) and Caesarea (= modern Kayseri). So, it is located in the vicinity of modern İncesu [Ramsay 1890: pp. 306–7]. In relation to this identification, Cornelius also identified Waḥšušana in the vicinity of modern İncesu. However, when considering the location of PurušĦanta in relation to these identifications, the supposed location of BurušĦattum, which is approximately located at a distance of one day's journey from Šalatu/iwar can only be placed on the area before the 120 km of inner ring of the core regional location as İncesu is located about 45 km away from Kaniš. So, Cornelius' identification is unlikely.

15 For the localization of Malita [Nashef 1991: pp. 81–2; Lewy 1947: p. 15; Bilgiç 1945–51: p. 21; Orlin 1970: p. 36 f.; del Monte 1992: p. 99; Forlanini 1992: p. 178]. As for the remaining two cities, Waḥšušana and Šalatu/iwar the scholarly opinions cannot be separated. Their localizations have usually depended on the localization of one and another [Lewy 1947, pp. 15–6; Lewy 1956: pp. 59–61; Bilgiç 1945–51: pp. 21–2; Garelli 1963: pp. 123–5; Orlin 1970: pp. 36–7, notes 36 and 42, p. 83 and p. 87; Gurney 1979: p. 167; Forlanini 1985: p. 48 and map; Günbattı 1995: pp. 107–115; Dercksen 1996: pp. 11–2 and map A; Michel 1998: p. 272].

16 E. Neu agreed with Cornelius [Neu 1974: p. 34].

Concerning the core regional location of Puruṣḫanta and two tentative regional locations for Ninaša, two tentative regional locations for Puruṣḫanta can be drawn. One will be in the area behind modern Aksaray inside the core regional location, because between Ninaša and Buruṣḫattum there was the third station, Ulama, whose tentative westernmost location is estimated in the vicinity of Aksaray. The other regional location of Puruṣḫanta may be ascertained, if we take the distance from Tuwanuwa to Ḫuṣiṣna, which is about 60 km, from the locations of Tuwanuwa and Ḫuṣiṣna inside the core regional location. See map 3.

There is another piece of secondary topographical information, which indicates the same regional location as the one of the two regional locations of Puruṣḫanta based on the localization of Ninaša above. As we have already briefly noted, when we considered the topographical relation of Tuwanuwa, Cybistra and Ninaša, the Decree of Telepinu I line 7–12 (= KBo III 1) also refers to four other place names beside Tuwanuwa, Cybistra and Ninaša. Most importantly one of them is to be read as Puruṣḫanta. The relevant parts of the translation of this text are:

The Decree of Telepinu I line 7–12 (= KBo III 1, line 9–12)

He (Telepinu) constantly destroyed the (enemy-)lands and conquered the lands in their entirety and made them into the frontiers of the sea. (i.e. he extended his realm as far as the sea.) When he came back from campaign, each of his sons went somewhere in a (particular) land: Ḫuṣiṣna, Tuwanuwa, Ninaša, Landa, Zalara, Puruṣḫanta, Lušna; and they administered the (individual) countries, and the individual big towns were added to it [Kuhrt 1995: pp. 244–8; Borger, et al. (hrsg.), 1982–85: pp. 464–70].

So, there is a possibility that Puruṣḫanta may be placed in the vicinity of Tuwanuwa and Cybistra as well, and we can draw the same regional location as one of the regional locations drawn around Tuwanuwa and Cybistra. However, it should be mentioned that when we consider this argument in conjunction with the tentative locations of the remaining three places, Landa, Zalara, and Lušna, their tentatively identified locations refute the aforementioned argument, because the locations of Landa and Zalara are still controversial, and Lušna, whose localization is generally agreed by scholars, is to be placed in the area far from the core regional location of Puruṣḫanta. Thus, no further hints for the location of Puruṣḫanta in the Decree of Telepinu can be obtained. So, topographical information provided by the Decree of Telepinu should be treated as supportive

17 Scholarly opinions concerning the locations of Landa, Zalara and Lušna are shown below.

<The location of Landa>

A.T. Olmstead equated Landa with Classical place names based on W.M. Ramsay's earlier proposal to equate Ptolemy's Classical Leandis in Cataonia with Laranda of the Antonine Itinerary. Concerning the localization of Classical Leandis/Laranda, Ramsay reported that Laranda was still called Laranda by the Christian population as well as Karaman, which is the official and usual name. [Ramsay 1890: p. 311 and p. 336; Olmstead 1922: p. 226]. These equations and its identification were then widely accepted [Garstang and Mayer 1923: Laanda; Forrer 1926–9: p. 41–2; Hardy 1941: p. 188; Garstang 1944 pp. 18–9; Cornelius 1958b: p. 389].

Apart from the identification of Landa with modern Karaman, some scholars proposed different localizations. In 1959 Garstang with Gurney changed his earlier opinion, having at first agreed with the identification of Landa with Karaman. They connected between the shrine of Belat, the Great Goddess of the district of Landa mentioned in the Mattiwaza Treaty (= KBo I 1) and the Persian period shrine of the goddess Anaitis worshipped at Zela (= modern Zile) located southwest to Classical Gaziura (= modern Turhal). The only reason given for this equation is that they believe that shrines tend to become traditional [Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 22 and 25]. So, it has to be judged that this equation is groundless and arbitrary as E. Laroche and A. Ünal later disagreed with it [Laroche 1961: p. 66; Ünal 1974: p. 198].

According to Laroche the name of the goddess of Landa is Kun(n)iyawanni, and the name of another goddess, Belat is its Akkadian allomorph. So, the comparison Belat of Landa with Persian goddess, Anaitis of Zela is groundless. Laroche also disagreed the localization of Landa in modern Karaman, because he considered that Landa is in general to be located to the south of the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü), because he considered that all seven place names in the Decree of Telepinu (= KBo III, 1), Ḫuṣiṣna, Tuwanuwa, Ninaša, Landa, Zalara, Puruṣḫanta and Lušna, can be placed in the Hittite Lower Land.

secondary evidence for one of the tentative regional locations of Puruṣhanta drawn around Tuwanuwa and Cybistra.¹⁷

In the Prayer of Muwatalli (= KUB VI 51 + 46) he solemnly invokes all the gods and goddesses, mountains and rivers of the Land of Ḫatti and prays for them to come to his aid. The emergency, which is weighing on him is not specified and the prayer was probably written for use as occasion might require. This prayer is a complete list of the gods and goddesses of the Hittite kingdom, arranged according to their cult-centres. In col. II, line 38–40, the place name Puruṣhanta occurs with other place names. The translation of the relevant part of the text is:

The Prayer of Muwatalli (= KUB VI 45 + 46), col. II, line 38–40

Storm-god of Uša, Storm-god of Puruṣhanta, Mt. Ḫuwatnuwanta, River Ḫulaya, gods, goddesses, mountains and rivers of the Lower Land [Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 118; Singer 1996: p. 37].¹⁸

Ünal identified the general location of Landa to the north of the Halys River [Ünal 1974: p. 198]. He particularly pointed out topographical information concerning Landa given by the Apology of Ḫattušili III (=Ḫattušiliš), which is preserved in multiple contemporary copies, all found in the eastern storeroom of the Great Temple at Ḫattuša. Its column II 3-7b tells that Kaškeans from Pišhuru, Iṣḫupitta and Taištipa passed the Maraššantiya River (= the Halys River) and then marched further south to Kaniš after they had destroyed a place, of which only the first sign of the name, L[a----] was preserved which A. Götze, who first published the Apology of Ḫattušili III, restored as L[andaš] [A. Götze 1924: p. 15]. Ünal supporting this restoration argued that Landa has to be placed to the north of the Maraššantiya River (= the Halys River). However, by looking at scholarly opinions about this restoration, it clearly appears controversial. E. Laroche and most recently H. Otten, H.M. Kümmel and A. Kuhrt do not support this restoration, whereas E. von Schuler, J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney agreed with it [Laroche 1961: p. 66; Borger, et al. (hrsg.) 1982–85: p.484; Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 22; von Schuler 1965: p. 56, note 387].

<The location of Zalara>

As for scholarly opinions about the localization of Zalara, E. Forrer appears to have been the first to suggest the equation of Zalara with Classical Zoldera, which he tentatively identified with the ruin of the city located south of modern Karaman, because of the similarity of the sounds of both names [Forrer 1926–9: pp. 38–9]. R.S. Hardy at least agreed with Forrer's equation of Zalara with Classical Zoldera, but he assumed that Classical Zoldera should be placed more to the west. He agreed with Forrer's earlier identifications of Ḫupišna, Tuwanuwa, Ninaša, Landa and Lušna mentioned in the Decree of Telepinu with the Classical place names and their localizations, and he assumed that these place names were listed in geographical order. The locations of Ḫupišna, Tuwanuwa and Ninaša run from west to east. The second group, Landa, Zalara, Puruṣhanta and Lušna run from east to west due to the identification of Landa with Classical Laranda and Lušna with Classical Lystra located northwest of Laranda (= modern Karaman). However, the localization of Classical Zoldera in the vicinity and north of Karaman breaks the line from east to west. So, he argued that Zoldera together with Puruṣhanta should be placed between Landa (= Classical Laranda) and Lušna (= Classical Lystra) [Hardy 1941: p. 188].

J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney argued for the localization of Zalara with the opposite point of view. They assumed that Zalara must have lain in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü), probably in its northwest, because in the contexts of KUB XXI 6a Zalara is placed between Ḫarziuna and the Lower Land as the boundary place. They identified the extent and the location of the Lower Land with the low-lying plain of Konya, though they never mentioned the precise identification and localization of Ḫarziuna, and unfortunately it cannot be detected how they reached this localization of Zalara [Garstang 1944: pp. 18–9 and p. 33; Garstang and Gurney 1959: pp. 64–65]. In addition to these arguments concerning the localization of Zalara, del Monte notes that most recently J. Freu and M. Forlanini suggested the possible location of Zalara. However, the book published by J. Freu is unfortunately not available in the U.K, and two articles of Forlanini are written in Italian, so the contents cannot be accessed. For the details of the book and articles [del Monte 1992: pp. 190–1].

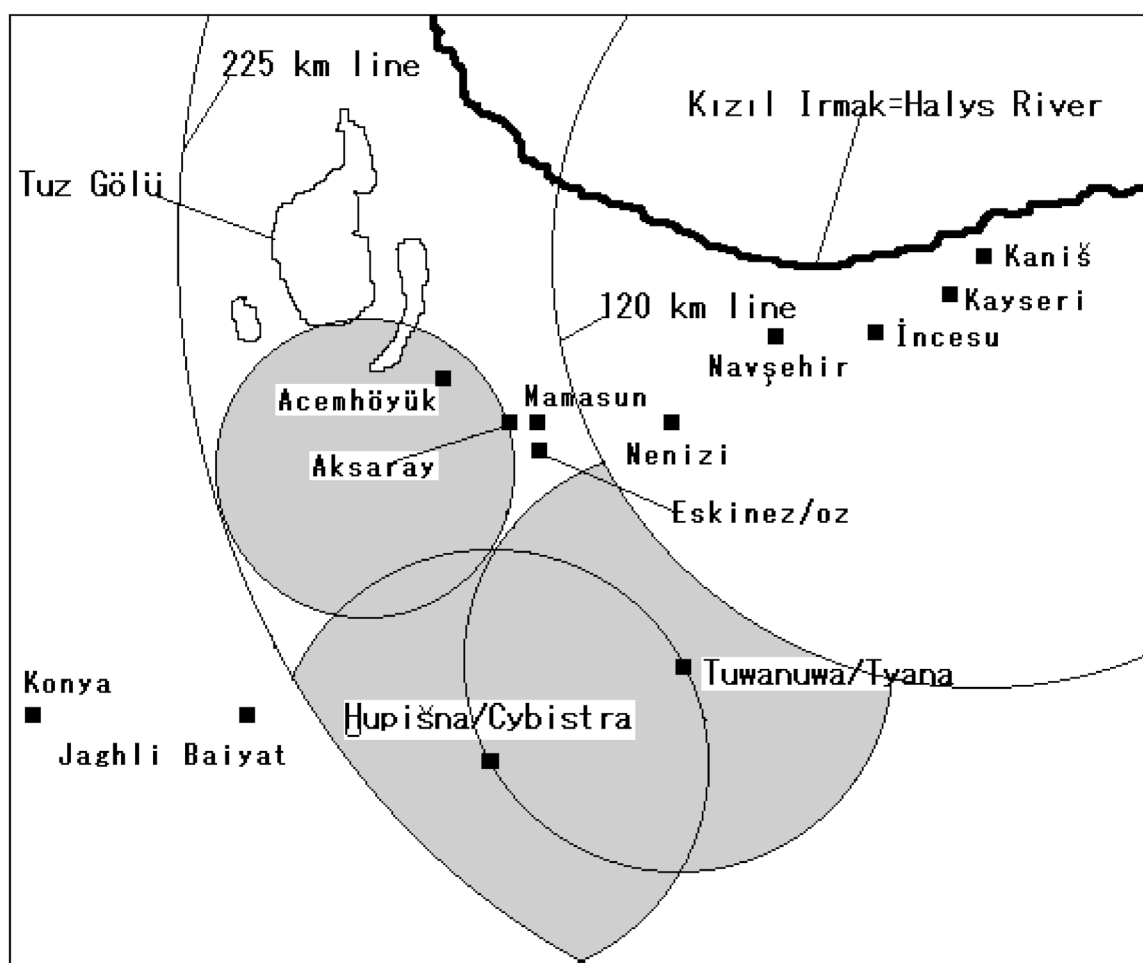
<The location of Lušna>

As for the location of Lušna, E. Forrer also first established its equation with Classical Lystra because of the similarity of the names. Moreover, according to W.M. Ramsey, Classical Lystra was identified with the site called Zodera a mile north of modern Hatunsary, south of Konya by the discovery of inscription carrying this name [Ramsay 1890: p. 332; Forrer 1926–9: p. 42]. Since then the identification of Lušna has universally been accepted by scholars [Hardy 1941: p. 188; Garstang 1944 pp. 18–9; Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 64; Cornelius 1958b: p. 378; Cornelius 1973: p. 35 and 100; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: p. 13 & note 9; Gurney 1981: p. 18].

18 The original edition has Ḫuwalanuwanta, but Garstang and Gurney argued that this must be a mistake either of the scribe or of the copyist, since a variant Ḫutnuwanta exists [Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 118, note 3].

This text clearly refers to Uša, Mt. Һuwatnuwanta and River Һulaya alongside Purušhanta. No indication of their geographical order appears, so the location of Purušhanta cannot be established in relation to these three other names. However, it is clearly indicated that all of these place names are located in the Lower Land, so if the extent of the Lower Land superimposes on the ring of the core regional location of Purušhanta, there may be a possibility that Purušhanta of this text is to be placed in the superimposed area. So, the tentative extent of the Lower Land needs to be investigated.

The location of the Lower Land used to be taken as a virtual equivalent of the political term Arzawa.¹⁹ However, A. Goetze clearly demonstrated a mistake in this identification. He demonstrated that the Lower Land is situated in the southern part of Anatolian plateau based on a number of pieces of evidence [Goetze 1940: p. 23]. For example, in the decree of Һattušili III (KBo VI 28, obv. 8), the Lower Land is a province of the Hittite Empire. When Muršili II inherited the throne, its governor was Һannutti (KUB XIX 29 IV 11 = *AM* 18 f.), obviously the same man, who (during the reign of Šuppiluliuma II) had led an army from the Lower Land against Һapala, one of the Arzawa countries (KUB XIX 22 4). The necessary inference that the Lower Land bordered on Arzawa can be confirmed by the fact that in Muršili II's second year a Hittite army stood by in the Lower Land in order to watch the moves of the Arzawan king (KUB XIV 16 I 23 = *AM* 28 f.). Under Muwatalli II the Lower Land is so firm a Hittite possession that the king moves the deities of Һatti there to



Map 3: Purušhanta west of Aksaray and in the vicinity of Tuwanuwa and Һupišna 1

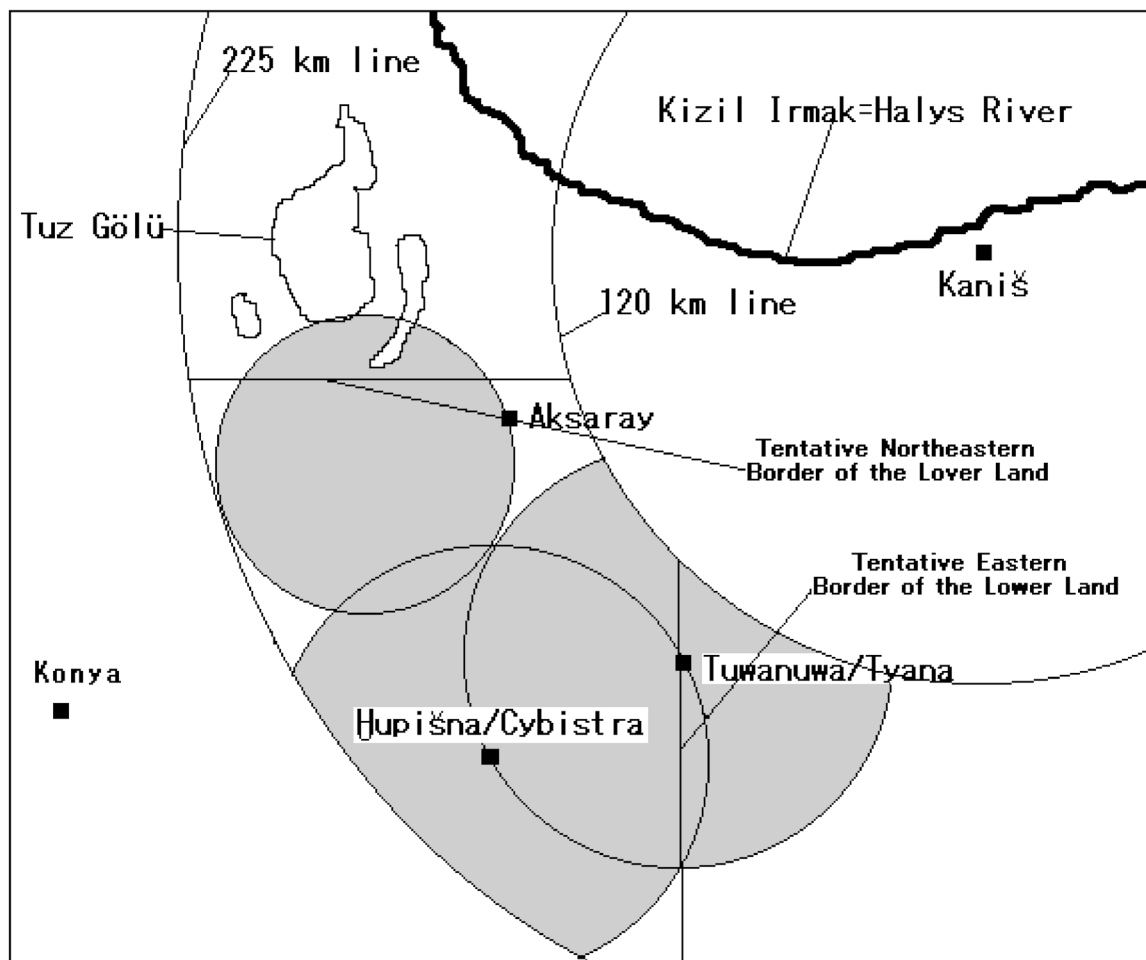
19 For further references to this early identification given by Forrer, Sayce and Hrozný [Goetze 1940: p. 23].

safeguard them from a possible Kaškean attack on the capital (*Hattušiliš* I 76). As shown above, the same king enumerates the gods of the Lower Land in his religious decree (KUB VI 45 with the duplicate 46) where all the deities of the Hatti countries are invoked. According to the pertinent section of the text (KUB VI 45 II 38) the cities of Uša and Purušhanta, the mountain of Hūwatnuwanta and the river Hūlaya are in the Lower Land. The Lower Land also was a Hittite possession in the days of Hattušili III (= KUB XXI 6a rev. 13) and of Arnuwandaš (= KUB XXVI 9 I 6). Thus, Goetze concluded the Lower Land must be placed in the southern part of Anatolian plateau [Goetze 1940: pp. 22–3].

Later Garstang and Gurney agreed with Goetze's identification of the Lower Land, and further deduced the possible extent of the Lower Land from a brief account of an early raid described by Hattušili III in the Decree of Hattušili III (= KBo VI 28). Thus:

“In early days the Hatti Lands were sacked from beyond their borders..... From beyond the Lower Land came the enemy from Arzawa, and he too sacked the Hatti Lands and made Tuwanuwa and Uda his frontier.”

Hence, like Goetze, Garstang and Gurney considered that Arzawa lay in the west-south-west of Anatolia [Garstang 1944: pp. 18–20; Garstang and Gurney 1959: pp. 64–5]. Furthermore, from the above quotation, it is clear that the Arzawan enemy could not only invade the Lower Land



Map 4: Purušhanta west of Aksaray and in the vicinity of Tuwanuwa and Hūpišna 2

successfully, but could completely overrun this Hittite district to make “Tuwanuwa his frontier”. So, they argued that the Lower Land was situated between the border of Arzawa and the border of the Ḫatti Land. Tuwanuwa has been identified with Classical Tyana/modern Kemerhisar, and that is not mentioned as a part of the Lower Land in the Prayer of Muwatalli II, but it stands in the Ḫatti Land outside the north-east boundary of the Lower Land.²⁰ Thus, Garstang and Gurney deduced that the area crossed by the Arzawan army must have been the low-lying plain of Konya, with an extension northwards to include the Salt Lake, and extending for an uncertain distance towards the south-west and Arzawa. The whole of this area is low-lying in comparison with the central Hittite homeland, from which it is separated to the south of the Halys basin by a range of hills.²¹

When we consider the possible extent of the Lower Land identified by Goetze, Garstang and Gurney in relation to the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣhanta, it becomes clear that the result roughly accords with and supports the extent of the two tentative regional locations of Puruṣhanta based on the tentative localization of Ninaša. See map 4.

4. 2. 2.

Puruṣhanta in the vicinity of Uša

As we have seen Uša, Mt. Ḫuwatnuwanta and the River Ḫulaya are referred to together with Puruṣhanta in the Prayer of Muwatalli II (= KUB VI 51 + 46). However, there is no indication of their topographical relation apart from that they are in the Lower Land. However, P. Garelli reminded us that CCT 5 12b, EL 168 12 and 25, and BIN IV 45 28 and 33 show the proximity of Buruṣhattum to Uša. Furthermore, according to Garelli Waḫšušana is also referred to together with Buruṣhattum and Uša in BIN IV 45 [Garelli 1963: p. 125 and note 1]. K. Nashef recently also drew attention to the unpublished text I 766, which shows the close geographical relation of Uša with Buruṣhattum and Ulama [Nashef 1991: pp. 130–1]. Unfortunately no translations of these texts are available so, the nature of the topographical information cannot be assessed. However, we know from TC III 165 that Ulama is the last station before Buruṣhattum, and the aforementioned *KTH* 1, OIP 27 and BIN IV 35 indicated that Waḫšušana is to be located about two days’ journey away from Buruṣhattum. So, there is a strong possibility that if Uša is really located in the vicinity of Ulama, Waḫšušana and Buruṣhattum, it can be also reached at least within two days’ journey from Puruṣhanta.

It should also be noted that the Lower Land used to be identified as a virtual equivalent of the political term Arzawa. In 1940 Goetze clearly demonstrated that this identification was mistaken. So, the scholarly arguments prior to 1940 relating to the localization of Uša will be excluded. It is clear that the land and the city of Uša as well as Mt. Ḫuwatnuwanta and the River Ḫulaya could not be correctly located with that misleading identification of the Lower Land, because all of them were closely associated with the Lower Land.²²

The location of the land and the city of Uša as well as the location of Mt. Ḫuwatnuwanta are only assumed in relation to the localization of the Ḫulaya River Land. So, we have to first investigate the scholarly opinions relating to the localization of the Ḫulaya River Land. After 1940 Garstang and later with Gurney undertook an extensive investigation [Garstang 1944: pp. 14–38; Garstang and Gurney 1959: pp. 66–72]. According to them the delineation of the boundary of the Ḫulaya River Land is described in the treaty with Ulmi-Tešup (= KBo IV 10). They observed that the successive clauses are epitomized in the schedule, which starts with a place-name in the ablative

20 F. Cornelius agreed with this point and states that F. Kinal also pointed out this fact and placed the Lower Land to the west of Niğde and Tyana [Kinal 1953: p. 7; Cornelius 1958b: p. 381–2; Cornelius 1959: p. 105; Cornelius 1963: p. 243; Cornelius 1967: p. 63].

21 According to G.F. del Monte, Forlanini most recently mentioned the identification of the Lower Land, but the book is written in Italian, so it is not accessible [del Monte 1992: p. 179].

22 E. Forrer identified Uša with Hasa köy, north of Niğde [Forrer 1926–9: pp. 7–8 and pp. 21–23].

case, the function of which seems to be to indicate a direction as seen presumably from the interior of the Ĥulaya River Land. Furthermore, the places or features are selected as prominent landmarks outside the frontier. Then, the boundary is precisely defined either by a direct statement such as “Mt. Lula is the boundary”, or by a reference to the nearest places on either side of it in that particular direction. However, most of these places seem to have been only hill villages not readily identifiable. There are five neighbouring countries or landmarks for the Ĥulaya River Land: the Land of Pittaša, the Land of Uša, the Land of Ĥatti, the Land of Tataša or the Outside and the Land of Walma, and a group of place names associated with each of them. The synopsis of the boundaries of the Ĥulaya River Land established by Garstang and Gurney is given below:

The Land of Pittaša

<Landmark 1>

The Land of Pittaša; the Boundary Mt. Ĥawa

<Landmark 2>

The Land of Pittaša; the Outside Boundary Šanantarwa; The Inside Boundary; Zarniya

<Landmark 3>

Pitaša Frontier; the Ouside Boundary Arimata.

<Landmark 4>

Mt. Ĥutnuwanta; the Inside Boundary *hallapuwanza*

<Landmark 5>

Kuršawanša; the Boundary *huwasi*-Stone

The Land of Uša

<Landmark 1>

Uša; the Inside Boundary Zarata

<Landmark 2>

Wanzatarwa; the Outside Boundary Ĥarazuwa

<Landmark 3>

Mt. Kuwaliyata; the Inside Boundary Šanantarwa

The Land of Ĥatti

<Landmark 1>

Kušahušenaša; the Boundary Mt. Arlanta; the Inside Boundary Alana

<Landmark 2>

Šinuwanta; the Boundary Mt. Lula; the Inside Boundary Ninainta

<Landmark 3>

Zarnuša; the Inside Boundary *ħarmimas*

<Landmark 4>

Zarwiša; the Boundary Mt. Šarlaimi

<Landmark 5>

The High Mountain; the Ouside Boundary Šaliya

The Outside or the Land of Tataša

<No Landmarks & No Boundaries>

Walwara, Mata, Šanhata, Larima, Šarantuwa

The Land of Walma

<Landmark with Five Inside Boundaries>

Walma; the Inside Boundaries Waltana, Ušawala, Aluprata, Ғуғура

Garstang and Gurney first identified some of the particular landmarks associated with the Land of Ғatti. Mt. Arlanta is said to contain a lake and they identified it with the Karaca Dağ. Mt. Lula opposite Šinuwanta led them to the Byzantine stronghold of Loulon (or Lulum), near the modern village of Sinanti, which had already been identified by Forrer with Šinuwanta. Mt. Šarlaimi in the text is described near the High Mountain and Šaliya, but in the Prayer of Muwatalli (= KUB VI 45 +46) it is associated with Ғupišna, and Ғupišna has already been equated with Classical Cybistra at modern Ereğli. Šaliya was equated by Goetze with modern Pozantı in the Cilician Gates. Thus, Garstang and Gurney in general identified the group near the entrance to the strategic pass of the Cilician Gates, thus they tentatively identified other toponyms in the chain reaction. They identified Mt. Šarlaimi with İvriz Dağ running southeast to join with the Bolkar Dağ, and the latter Mountain representing the mightiest range in the great chain of Taurus, must represent the High Mountain near Šaliya (= modern Pozantı). Thus they located the Land of Ғatti in a large part of the Tyana district including the Taurus Mountain range.²³

The interpretation of the section of the boundary, which follows that bordering “Ғatti” is more problematical. Five boundary places are said to belong to “Tataša” (= the Outside). However, there is no mention of a frontier and the usual landmarks. Garstang and Gurney assumed that this cannot mean simply “outside the Ғulaya River Land”, since, like the other ablatives in these clauses, it must serve to point the direction in which this particular section of the boundary lay. Thus, they assumed that possibly the expression is intended to be taken in conjunction with the last mentioned landmark, the High Mountain, in the sense “outside the High Mountain”. Then, they interpreted the phrase “on the outer side” in the sense “on the further side” from the point of view of the Hittite king residing at Ғattuša. As a result, they assumed that the territory of Tataša with the five towns would have to be sought on the southern side of the modern Çarşamba Çayı basin. So, Garstang and Gurney tentatively concluded that a very suitable location for Tataša would be near modern Karaman.

As a result of a number of the tentative localizations of the aforementioned place names, Garstang and Gurney concluded that the boundary is traced in a clockwise direction. From the Taurus Mountains, it follows the Lands of Walma, Pitaša and Uša. So these neighbouring countries must be located respectively to the west, northwest and northeast of the Ғulaya River Land. Therefore, for the identification of Mt. Ғutnuwanya, which is in the Land of Pittaša they identified with Boz Dağ. As for the Land of Uša, they identified it with the larger area called the Lower Land running east from Boz Dağ, skirting the southern shore of the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü), up towards the valley in which Aksaray now stands. Garstang and Gurney did not specify the Ғulaya River with any specific modern river, but on their map they placed its name on the modern Çarşamba Çayı.²⁴

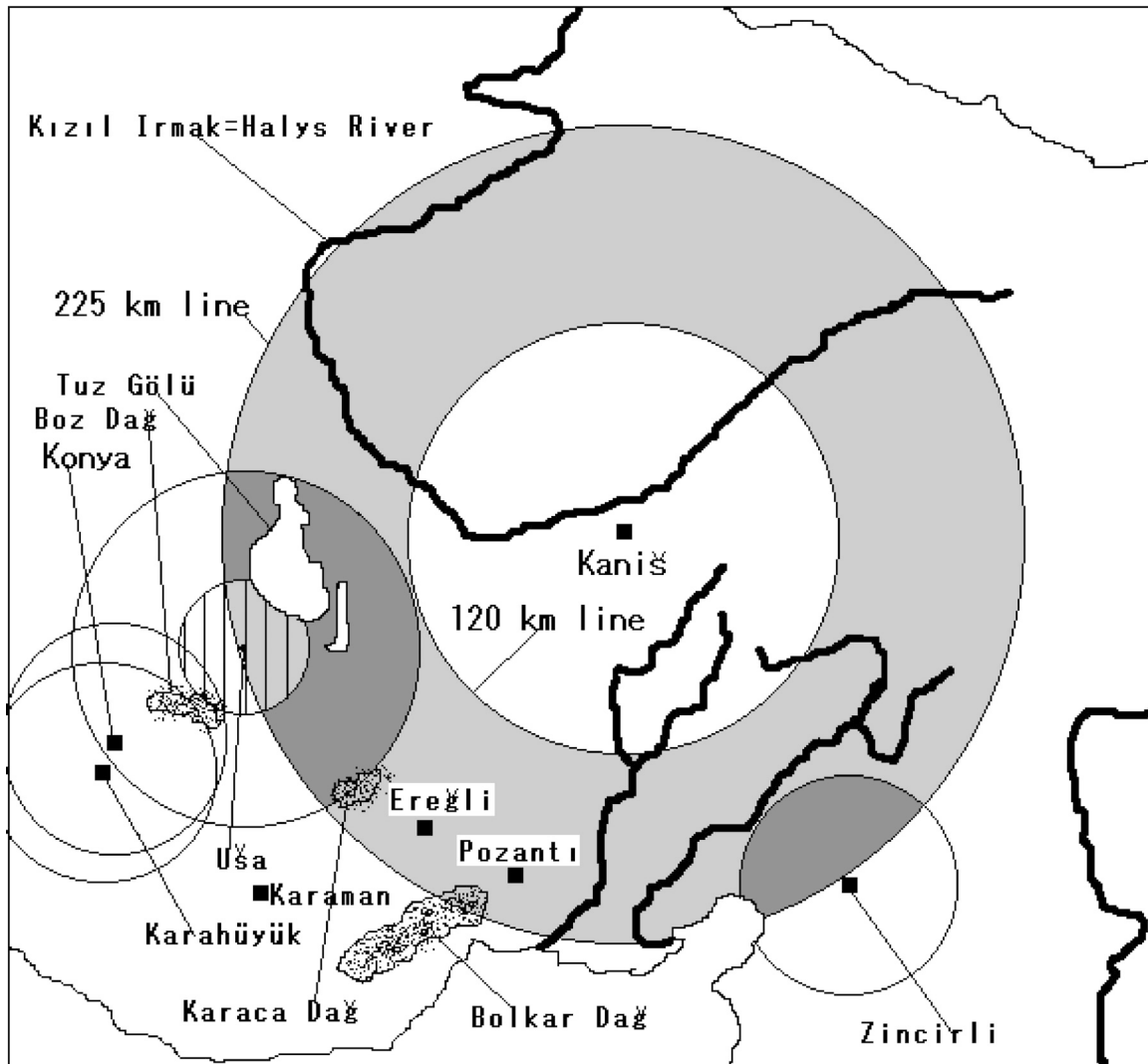
Forlanini followed Garstang and Gurney’s identification of the River Ғulaya with the modern Çarşamba Çayı, but she did not agree with Garstang and Gurney’s identification of the Land of Uša.

23 The locations of Loulon/Lulum and Sinanti cannot be found on the modern maps. However Forrer and Ramsay described their locations north of the Taurus Mountains [Forrer 1926–9: p. 21; Ramsay 1890: pp. 351–4]. İvriz Dağ cannot be identified on the modern atlas as well.

24 Although Garstang and Gurney’s identification of the Ғulaya River Land and accompanied identifications of the Land of Uša and Mt. Ғutnuwanta are largely hypothetical, their identification of the River Ғulaya Land has been widely accepted. The actual identification of the River Ғulaya differs, but scholars at least identified the rivers flowing within the region identified as the Ғulaya River Land by Garstang and Gurney. For example, E.I. Gordon later identified the Ғulaya River with the Ғulu Irmağı, the southeastern outflow of Beyşehir-Lake and to be carried eventually through the gorges of the Çarşamba Çayı to water the Konya Plain. F. Cornelius tentatively identified the Ғulaya River with the Classical Kalykadnos River/modern Gök Çayı [Gordon 1967: p. 81, note 29; Cornelius 1967: pp. 63–4; Cornelius 1973: p. 23, p. 224 and note 8 and p. 241]. M. Mellink agreed with Cornelius’ view [Mellink 1974 p. 111].

She identified Uşa with Konya or Karahüyük, because she considered that this place is closely tied with the River Һulaya Land (= the plain of the arşamba ayı), and more plausible for its identification [Forlanini 1985: p. 63, note 76].²⁵

W. Schramm attempted to read the short cuneiform inscription written on a fragmentary steatite



Map 5: Puruřanta in the vicinity of Uřa

25 Though the location of Uřa is not considered in relation to the identification of the River Һulaya Land, most recently Hawkins also agrees with Garstang and Gurney's earlier identification of the plain of the arşamba ayı, because Hawkins locates three toponyms: Ikuwaniya (= Konya), Һurniya and Puruřanta, referred to beside the Һulaya River in Telepinu's broken list of store cities (= KBo III 1+68, iii. 17–33) around the Konya plain. Most importantly Puruřanta is mentioned along with three other toponyms here. However, no detailed translation of this text is available. The Edict of Telepinu, which contains this broken list, is recently translated by Kuhrt and H.M. Kümmel, however they stated that the relevant parts are very difficult to understand. So, unfortunately no translation of this text is available for us, thus we cannot judge the nature of its topographical information. Hawkins also informs us that the bronze tablet discovered in 1986, bearing the treaty between Tudřaliya IV of Һatti and his first cousin, Kurunta king of Tarřuntařa, contains a revised version of the frontiers of the Һulaya River Land with the same other toponyms in the same order as KBo IV 10. On this tablet both Uřa and Mt. Һutnuwanya are referred to as the boundary of the Һulaya River Land with the same other toponyms in the same order as KBo IV 10. For Hawkins' identification of the River Һulaya, see [Baker et. al. 1995: p. 144–6; Hawkins 1995: pp 49–51]. For the translation of the Edict of Telepinu by Kuhrt and Kümmel, see [Kuhrt 1995: p. 244–8; Borger, et al. (hrsg.) 1982–85: pp. 464–70]. For the translation of the relevant parts of the treaty between Tudřaliya IV of Һatti and Kurunta king of Tarřuntařa, see [Otten 1988: p. 13; Beckman 1998: pp. 464–70].

tablet which H. Bossert initially published in 1958, but neither Bossert nor E. Weidner, whom he consulted by letter, could give a satisfactory reading. Schramm very tentatively attempted to read the three sentences as follows: “[PN], king of the Land of Uša”. Since this tablet is said to have found at modern Zincirli, he argued that Zincirli can be identified with Uša. It is impossible for us to either prove or disprove the correctness of his reading and he did not take other pieces of topographical information into account. So, obviously this is a very tentative argument [Schramm 1983: pp. 458–60]. K. Nashef rejected this equation later, stating that this identification appears very unlikely and contradicts a number of pieces of topographical information relating to the locations of Puruṣḫanta, Waḫṣuṣana and Ulama, which are mentioned above and below. Besides the physical location of Zincirli does not contradict the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣḫanta. So, this very tentative identification will be included the tentative regional location of Puruṣḫanta [Nashef 1991: pp. 130–1].

We can now attempt to delimit the core regional location of Puruṣḫanta in relation to four tentative locations of Uša: the area running from Boz Dağ to the southwestern shore of the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü), Konya, Karahöyük and Zincirli. Concerning the geographical relation between Puruṣḫanta and Uša in CCT 5 12b, EL 168 12 and 25, BIN IV 45 28 and 33, and I 766, we know that Ulama and Waḫṣuṣana were also associated with them. Ulama is the station before Buruṣḫattum, and Waḫṣuṣana is two stations before Buruṣḫattum. So, we can delimit the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣḫanta by a distance of two days journey, which is 60 km from the locations of the four candidates for Uša. It is obvious that Konya and Karahöyük are clearly too far away from the core regional location, while a 60 km distance of the limitation from the area running from Boz Dağ to the southwestern shore of the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü) and Zincirli succeed in delimiting the core regional location of Puruṣḫanta. See map 5.

4. 2. 3.

Puruṣḫanta between Neša and the River Ḫulana

In the Hittite text of Anitta (= KBo III 22 = KUB XXVI 71, KUB XXVI 98b), Puruṣḫanta is mentioned in relation to three different places: Neša, Šalatiwara and the River Ḫulana. There appears to be suggestive topographical information concerning the location of Puruṣḫanta. The translation of the relevant part of the text is:

The text of Anitta (= KBo III 22 = KUB XXVI 71, KUB XXVI 98b), line 72–8²⁶

Still in the same year I (= Anitta, son of Piṭḫana, king of the city Kušar) campaigned against [...Šalatiwa]ra. The man of Šalatiwara arose together with his sons and went against [...]; he left his land and his city, and occupied the River Ḫulana.

Of Ne[ša...] avoided [him] and set fire to his city, and [...] it i[n], the troops surrounding(?) the city (were) 1400 infantry and 40 teams of horses, si[lver] (and) gold he had brought (with) him, and he has left. When I [...] went into battle, the man of Puruṣḫanta [brought] me gifts, and he brought me a throne of iron and sceptre of iron as a gift. But when I came back to Neša, I brought the man of Puruṣḫanta with me. As soon as he enters the (throne) chamber, he shall sit before me at the right.

As we have already investigated opinions relating to the localization of Old Assyrian Šalatu/iwar, little informative topographical information can be obtained. However, it appears obvious from this text that Puruṣḫanta is located in the vicinity of Šalatiwara, and the latter's location is

26 The newest translation of this text and the further references are given by A. Kuhrt [Kuhrt 1995 pp. 226–7].

described between Neša and the River Ғulana. So, it may be possible also to locate Purušhanta between these two places. Concerning the toponym Neša, it has universally been accepted that it is another name for the city of Kaniš in the Hittite sources [Nashef 1991: pp. 87–8; del Monte and J. Tischler 1978: pp. 290–1; del Monte 1992: p. 115; Wilhelm 1999: p. 232]. As a result, if the River Ғulana is to be located outside the ring of the core regional location of Purušhanta, we can tentatively delimit a certain part of the area of the two rings of 120 and 225 km lines by secondary means. There are two major streams of argument for the localization of the River Ғulana.

As already mentioned, B. Hrozný equated Šalatu/iwar with Classical Sabatra of the Tabula Peutingeriana and by the discovery of a Greek inscription mentioning Sabatra in the ruins of Jaghli Baiyat (this name does not appear in and accord with the modern Turkish atlas.) 58 km east of Konya, Hrozný identified this site with Classical Sabatra/Savatra/Soatra and with Šalatu/iwar. According to Hrozný, in the Greco-Roman period, there was a river called Hylas coming from the east and flowing into the Lake Tatta near Savatra. So, due to the proximity of River Ғulana with Šalatu/iwar mentioned in the text of Anitta (= KBo III 22 = KUB XXVI 71, KUB XXVI 98b) and phonetic similarity of the Classical Hylas River with the Hittite Ғulana River, Hrozný equated them [Hrozný 1929: p. 292].

F. Cornelius read ^{id}Ғulana as the ideogram ^{id}SIG₇ (= yellow or green river), and identified the river with the Yeşil Irmak (= green river) [Cornelius 1959: p. 109]. However, later he changed his opinion and identified it with the Classical Kydnos River, probably because he realized that he had mistakenly read ^{id}Ғulana (= ideogram ^{id}SÍG = wool river) as the ideogram ^{id}SIG₇ (= yellow or green river) [del Monte and Tischler 1978: pp. 529–30; von Schuler 1965: p. 55 and note 379]. According to Cornelius, the Ғulana River is mentioned in KUB XXVI 43 in relation to Patuwanta/Podoandos [Cornelius 1963: p. 244; Cornelius 1973: p. 24 and note 60]. Cornelius did not indicate the locations of Patuwanta/Podoandos and the Kydnos, but according to Ramsay, Nicephorus' expedition advanced into Cilicia, and there the army encamped on the banks of the Kydnos River. So, its location is somewhere in the Cilician plain [Ramsay 1890: p. 350].

J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney identified the River Ғulana with the Samantı River, a tributary of the Seyhan River [Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 6 and p. 44]. They took two pieces of topographical information into account. In the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, it is stated that the men of Maša and Kamala had repeatedly attacked the Land of the Ғulana River and the land of Ka/išiya [H.G. Güterbock 1956: pp. 41–130]. So, firstly from this it can be ascertained that the Land of the Ғulana River is situated near Ka/išiya. Moreover, Ka/išiya is listed in the Narrative of the Accession of Ғattušili III between Tumana and Šapa and the River Ғulana is listed after Šapa [Götze 1924]. Garstang and Gurney recognized that the list of the towns recorded in the Narrative of the Accession of Ғattušili III and the parallel text KBo VI 29 show the same sequence for the order of the towns, thus they concluded that the towns listed in these texts were situated on a strategic road leading roughly north to south or at least that the sequence was determined by the north to south direction of geographical considerations. They identified Tumana with Pala listed before Kašiya on the mountain chain between modern Sivas and modern Şahr (= Kumani/Classical Comana), thus they argued that the Land of the River Ғulana or the River Ғulana together with Ka/išiya can be placed in its vicinity, and they provisionally identified it with the Samantı Su.

Goetze accepted the possible proximity of Tumana with the Ғulana River, but disagreed with Garstang and Gurney's identification of Tumana on the mountain chain between Sivas and Şahr [Goetze 1960: pp. 43–6]. Instead, Goetze located Tumana to the west of the Halys River, accordingly the Ғulana River is to be placed in the same area. Goetze firstly assumed the hostile political situations of Pala and Tumana against the Hittites at the end of Šuppiluliuma's reign, when he was engaged in the warfare in Syria, and his main forces were certainly concentrated in Ғalpa (= Aleppo) and Karkamiš. The success of the war against Syria was obviously based on open rear communications

between Ḫalpa and inner Anatolia by way of Kumani (= modern Şahr/Classical Comana), Takarama and along the line from present day Malatya to Sivas. Hostile Pala and Tumana are placed across those lines, so the war against Syria could not be carried out. Thus, he concluded that Garstang and Gurney's identification of Tumana on the mountain chain between Sivas and Şahr was simply impossible.

For the localization of Tumana, Goetze regarded the itineraries of KBo V 8 iii 3 ff. and KUB XIX 13 I 7 ff. as the most important evidence, because they allow a placement of Tumana to the area west of the Maraššantiya River, which Goetze identified with the Halys River. However, he did not give the details for the nature of the topographical information contained in these two itineraries, and his argument is vague and the clear fundamental opinions supporting the localization of Tumana cannot be identified. It appears that his identification was rather based on the sequence of a number of the hypothetical localizations of certain place names.²⁷ Since Goetze's identification of Tumana west of the Halys River, some scholars tentatively identified the Ḫulana River with specific rivers located in this region. J.G. McQueen identified it with the Kirmir River [McQueen 1968: p. 177 and map on p. 176]. According to G.F. del Monte J. Freu also suggested a location of the River Ḫulana to the west of the Halys River, and specifically identified it with the Classical Sangarios River, which is to the north of the Porsuk Çayı.²⁸ Forlanini argued that this Ḫulana River is to be identified with the Porsuk Çayı, and even if not it can be at least placed in a northwestern localization.²⁹

As already stated, Hrozný's identification of the river Hylas in the vicinity of the ruins of Jaghli Baiyat (this name does not appear in and accord with the modern Turkish atlas) located 58 km east of Konya and about 240 km southwest from Kaniš, is physically impossible, simply because Şalatu/iwar, which is the last station before reaching to Buruḫattum from Kaniš as clearly indicated by many documents in the sub-chapter 4.1.1 above, it cannot be placed outside of the 225 km outer ring of the core regional location of Puruḫanta.

Garstang and Gurney's identification of the River Ḫulana with Samantı River also appears unlikely. Samantı is situated inside the inner ring of 120 km line of the core regional location of Puruḫanta, but Puruḫanta is described as in the vicinity of Hittite Şalatiwara, and Şalatiwara is to be located between Neša (=Kaniš) and the River Ḫulana. So, the only possible place to locate Puruḫanta is on the inner side the ring of 120 km line of the core regional location of Puruḫanta, and this location is clearly unsuitable for the location of Puruḫanta.

Some other tentative identifications of the River Ḫulana accord with the ring of the core regional location of Puruḫanta. Firstly, concerning Cornelius' view, though there is no positive evidence to prove his identification of the River Ḫulana in the Cilician plain, it is physically possible to locate Puruḫanta in the Cilician plain in relation to considering the locations of Şalatiwara and Puruḫanta.³⁰ The Cilician plain is delimited in general as the tentative regional location of Puruḫanta.

McQueen, Freu and Forlanini identified the River Ḫulana in the same district of the west of the Halys River, which Goetze first pointed out. They identified it with the Kirmir River, the Classical Sangarios River and the Porsuk Çayı. Two lines are drawn from Kaniš to the northern end of the Kirmir

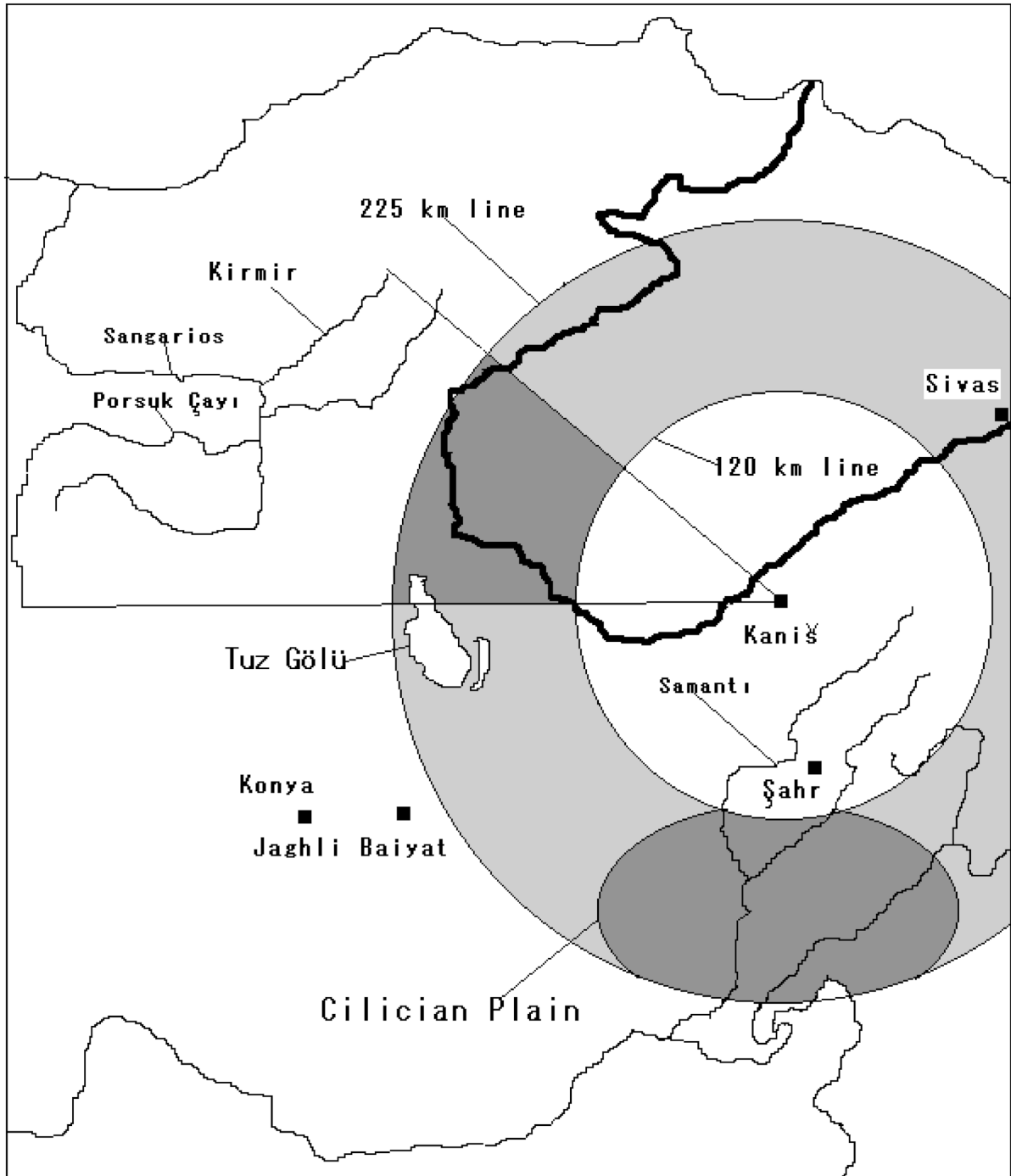
27 A. Goetze's identification of the Ḫulana River was widely accepted by several scholars [von Schuler 1965: p. 55 and note 379; Cf. Ünal 1974: p. 191; Ünal 1972–7: pp. 489–90].

28 The Classical Sangarios River is located to the north of the Porsuk Çayı according to W.M. Ramsey, but unfortunately Freu's book is not available in the U.K, so his reasoning for this identification cannot be observed [del Monte 1992: pp. 40–1; Ramsey 1890: map on p. 23].

29 Forlanini did not give details for this specific localization, but it seems that she argued about it in the article, which she published a few years ago. However, it is written in Italian, so unfortunately it cannot be accessed [Forlanini 1985: p. 48, note 20].

30 Cornelius must have unaware of the Text of Anitta (= KBo III 22 = KUB XXVI 71, KUB XXVI 98b), line 72–8, as he identified Şalatu/iwar in the vicinity of modern İncesu, which is obviously not situated in the Cilician plain, see his identification of Şalatu/iwar in sub-chapter 4.2.1.

River and to the southern end of Porsuk Çayı thus, we can assume that Šalatiwara could be placed in the area between these two points. So, if one of the identifications of the River Hūlana is really true, Puruṣhanta, which is the neighbour of Šalatiwara and may possibly be located at the distance of one day's journey from Šalatiwara, may be sought in the area between the two lines in two rings of the core regional location. See map 6.



Map 6: Puruṣhanta in the region between Neša and the River Hūlana

4. 2. 4.

Purušhanta at a distance of four to five days' journey from Ḫattuša

In *ATHE* 63 the proximity of Buruṣḫattum to Waḫšušana is mentioned. In addition to this, it is indicated that Waḫšušana may be located between Buruṣḫattum and Tawinia. Opinions related to the localization of Waḫšušana are unfortunately not informative for considering the location of Puruṣhanta as it always derived from the tentative localization of Ninaša. However, we know that a number of texts indicate that the route went from Waḫšušana to Buruṣḫattum through Šalatu/iwar as repeatedly mentioned above.

ATHE 63

A Imdīlum, di[s]. Ainsi (parle) Puzur-Aššur: à propos du cuivre d'Amur-Ištar, à mes représentants à Buruṣḫattum, ils ne veulent pas livrer le cuivre. Au moment où tu entendras ma letter, je serai en route pour Buruṣḫattum. Amur-Ištar ou Lullu doit me rejoindre, (là-bas), afin qu'on me livre le cuivre, et que je puisse faire sortir de l'argent pour toi, sous ma surveillance. Si les étoffes (provenant) de Zalpa, le cuivre (provenant) de Zalpa, le cuivre (provenant) de Ḫurama sont arrivés, envoyez-les par Tawi[n]ia à Waḫš[uš]a[na]. Ic[i], nous avons consulté le palais. Voici la réponse: "que les Kanešéens partent". Venez donc ici [Içhisar 1981: pp. 289–90].

From this text, it becomes clear that Puzur-Aššur commands Imdīlum to send some fabrics from Zalpa and copper from Ḫurama to Waḫšušana through Tawi[n]ia, while he has to go (from Waḫšušana) to Buruṣḫattum. So, in case we can at least establish the tentative location of Tawinia on the supposition that it is situated in the vicinity of Waḫšušana, which is obviously located at two days' distance from Buruṣḫattum as *KTH* 1, *OIP* 27 and *BIN* IV 35 clearly indicated in the sub-chapter 4.1.1, we may be able to locate Buruṣḫattum somewhere at three days' distance from Tawinia, which is approximately 90 km. In addition, we must be cautious about the involvement of a boat trip as it was clearly indicated by several texts that these cities are located in the vicinity of the river. So, the maximum distance of the journey should be assumed on the supposition that half of the three days' journey involved a boat trip. So, 120 km will be the possible maximum distance of the journey. So, we shall start by considering opinions for locating Old Assyrian Tawinia and Hittite Tawiniya.

In 1930 A. Götze and E. Forrer only briefly mentioned the identification of Hittite Tawiniya. They stated that Tawiniya is the name of a gate at Boğazköy-Ḫattuša according to Bo 2061 I 13–4. Thus, they suggested identifying it with the nearest city to Boğazköy-Ḫattuša, identifying it with Classical Tonea located to the north of Boğazköy-Ḫattuša and on the road from Classical Tavium (= modern Büyük Nefesköy) to Classical Amasia (= modern Amasya) of the Tabula Peutingeriana. They identified Tonea with Hüyük near modern Alaca (Altyapan was built on this great ruin hill) [Götze 1930: p. 27; Forrer 1930: p. 158; Goetze 1957a: p. 68; Goetze 1957b: p. 98]. E. Bilgiç also agreed with and supplemented Götze and Forrer's view. According to Bilgiç a milestone belonging to the road from Classical Tavium to Classical Amasia and Hittite layers were found at Hüyük near modern Alaca [Bilgiç 1945–51: p. 31 and note 215].

On the contrary, J. Garstang identified Tawiniya with Classical Tavium located some 19 km southwest of Boğazköy. He only argued that the location of Tavium seems to explain the name of one of the main entrances to Ḫattuša, called the Tawiniyan gate [Garstang 1943: p. 47]. So, obviously his identification originally derived from the phonetic similarity of both names.³¹ In 1959, Garstang with Gurney attempted to further strengthen his earlier tentative view for the identification of Tawiniya with Classical Tavium based on two different listings of place names, Herald's List II (= VboT. 68, col. II) and the Festival Itinerary (= KUB IX 16; X 48; XX 80; KBo III 25) [Garstang and Gurney

31 J. Lewy agreed with Garstang [Lewy 1957: p. 27 f., note 3].

1959: pp. 11–2]. They describe journeys from Ḫattuša to Arina.

<Herald's List II>

Ḫattuša > Tawiniya > Tuḫupiya > Ališa > Zipišḫna > Amuna > Ḫatina > Arina

<The Festival Itinerary>

Ḫattuša > Katapa > Ḫakura & Tatašuna > Taḫurpa > Arina > Tatiška > Taštariša & Kaštama > Ḫurna
> Zipalanta > Katapa > Taḫurpa > Tipuwa > Ḫattuša

Since there is no place in common between the two lists apart from the first station Ḫattuša and Arina, it is assumed that from the beginning the routes diverged, probably leaving the city of Ḫattuša by different gates to reach Tawiniya and Katapa respectively. They argued that there were three main gateways in the walls of Ḫattuša. Two are the King's Gate and the Lion Gate in the upper city to the south, and the other one is at the foot of the hill to the north. The configuration of the country is such that if the king on one occasion had left by the northern gate and on another had used one of the southern gates to reach the same objective, he would have had to make a long and unnecessary detour on one of the journeys. For this reason they exclude the northern gate, and conclude that the two routes to Arina were those leading out of Ḫattuša by way of the two southern gates. One of two southern gates was known as the Tawiniyan Gate in a fragmentary text (= KUB X 91, ii, 2–12) describing part of a religious ceremony:

“In the morning a decorated carriage stands ready in front of the temple; three ribbons, one red, one white, one blue, are tied to it. They harness the chariot and bring out the god from the temple and seat him in the carriage.” Various women go in front holding lighted torches... “and the god comes behind, and they take the god down through the Tawiniyan Gate to the wood.”

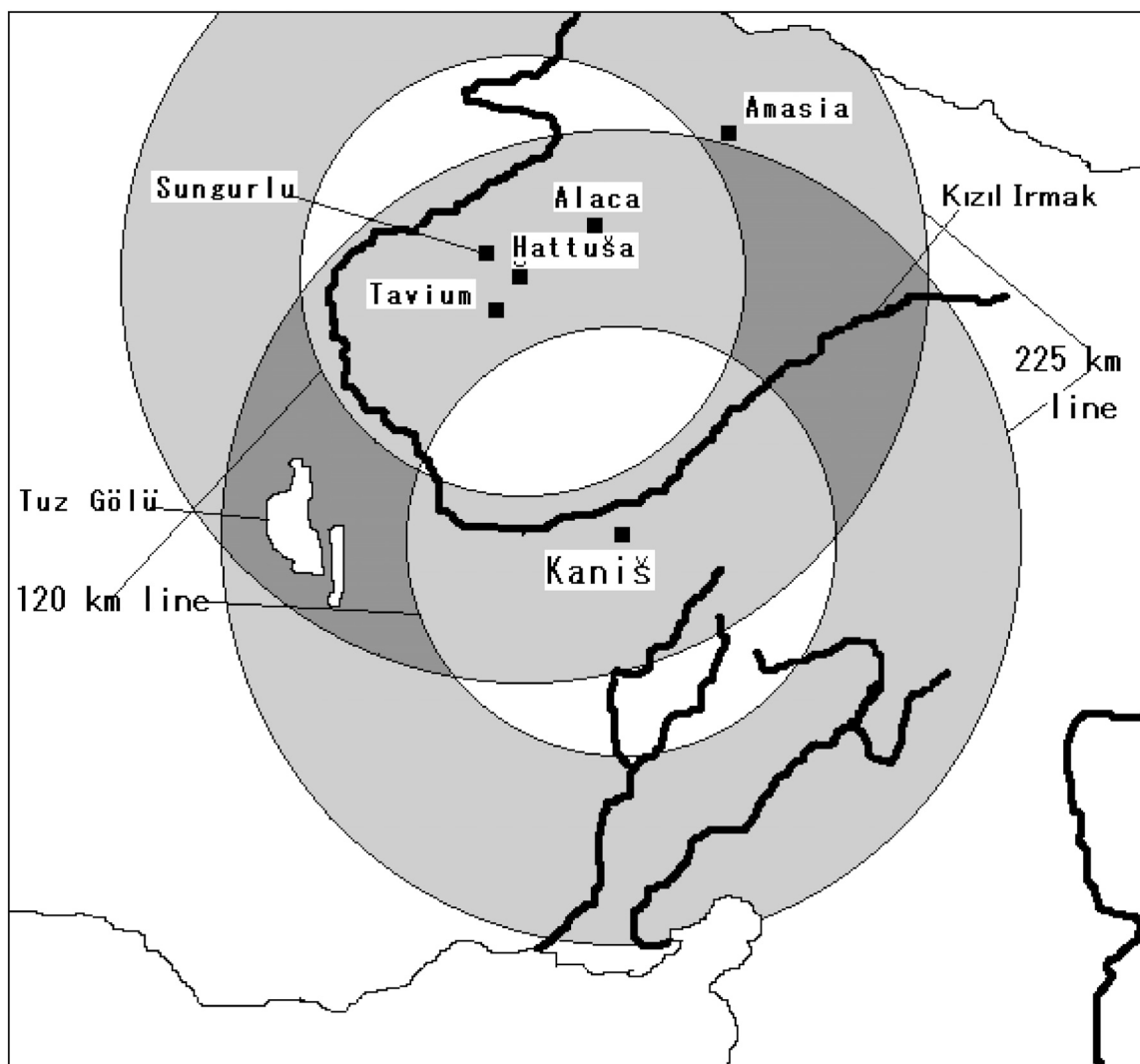
Based on this content, they argued that the Tawiniyan Gate cannot have been the gate at the north of the city because of the lie of the land, and in addition it would not lead to a wood but to the stream and the much frequently used north-south trade-route. As a result, they concluded that the temple from which the procession went “down” to this gate was one of those in the upper city, and it is only the Lion Gate to which a procession would be said to go “down”, because the King's Gate is roughly on the same level as the temple. It is therefore, probable that the Tawiniyan Gate is to be identified with the Lion Gate of Ḫattuša, and Tawiniya with the first town on the road, which led out through the gate. So, it is obvious that at this point they disagreed with Götze and Forrer's identification of Tawiniya with Classical Tonea located to the north of Ḫattuša. Because of the ravine, which drops down to the stream facing this gate, Garstang and Gurney considered that the chariot-way must have bent southwards for a short distance to join the route later used by the Romans from Amasia to Tavium on the way to Ancyra. The location of Classical Tavium some twelve miles to the southwest of Boğazköy, which is securely identified and confirmed by K. Bittel as Büyük Nefesköy, really suits the site of Tawiniya, furthermore both names have phonetic similarities.

On the other hand, Güterbock argued against Garstang and Gurney's identification of Tawiniya with Classical Tavium, but agreed with Götze's identification with Classical Tonea [Güterbock 1961: pp. 86–7]. Güterbock argued that it is *a priori* quite possible that a ceremonial visit to various cult places should have proceeded in a line that was “a detour,” forming a curve, loop or zigzag, as indeed the itinerary of the *nuntarriašḫaš* festival (= the Festival List of Garstang and Gurney) touches Taḫurpa twice and thus must have made a loop.

Furthermore, in Garstang and Gurney's discussion of the position of the Tawiniya Gate at Ḫattuša, Güterbock pointed out that two rituals had been left out. According to him KUB XV 31 I 13–15 indicates that “They lift up the tables and carry them down to the Tawiniya Gate (*nat-kan*

KÁ.GAL-TIM ŠA ^{uru}Ta-ú-i-ni-ia katta pedanzi) and place the tables on the first road”. As for KUB XV 34 I 18, it tells that “They go down through the Dauniya Gate” (*nat-kan katta IŠTU KÁ.GAL ^{uru}Da-a-ú-ni-ia panzi*). Güterbock argued that these are incantation rituals and are not connected with any specific temple. So, although both rituals are of the *evocatio* type, aiming at bringing gods back home, they are styled in such general terms that the conclusion is inevitable that the road to the Tawiniya Gate led “down” from anywhere in the city. Once this is recognized, Classical Tonia situated to north of Boğazköy offers a much closer parallel, especially to the variant spelling Dauniya just quoted, than to Tavium.³²

Until Güterbock’s counter-argument was given Cornelius supported Garstang and Gurney’s identification [Cornelius 1955: p. 53; Or.NS 27, p. 244; *RHA* 17, p. 115, note 5]. However, he accepted Güterbock’s argument and at least agreed with the location of Tawiniya to the north of Ḫattuša [Cornelius 1963: pp. 234–5; Cornelius 1967: p. 70]. Cornelius stated that according to KBo X 20, the road to Tawiniya is shorter than the way-back from there to Ḫattuša, and Tawiniya lie at a distance of one day’s travel from Ḫattuša. So, Cornelius suggested that Tawiniya must be placed downhill



Map 7: Puruṣhanta at a distance of four to five days’ journey from Ḫattuša

32 This view has been supported by P. Garelli and E. von Schuler [Garelli 1963: p. 122; von Schuler 1965: p. 20, note 16].

at a distance of one day's travel from Ḫattuša. Classical Tonia is registered only on the road from Tavium to Amasia, 20 km north of Tavium in the immediate vicinity of Boğazköy, which resembles to the present road from Boğazköy to modern Sungurlu. Thus, Cornelius pointed out the contradiction of the distance indicated by KBo X 20, and temporarily suggested placing Tawiniya somewhere on the way to modern Sungurlu.³³

Considering these arguments, one certain fact is to be observed that Old Assyrian Tawinia and Hittite Tawiniya is to be placed in the vicinity of Ḫattuša. So, it is possible to reconstruct the itinerary from Ḫattuša to Puruṣhanta through Tawinia/Tawiniya and Waḫšušana. There is no doubt that Šalatu/iwar is on the road from Waḫšušana to Buruṣhattum and vice versa. So, we can assume that Puruṣhanta may be reached in four days' journey, which is about 120 km from Ḫattuša at the shortest distance. We have to also consider the maximum distance. In *ATHE* 63, Šalatu/iwar is not mentioned, so it is also likely that there is another intermediate station between Tawinia/Tawiniya and Waḫšušana. In addition, Waḫšušana and Šalatu/iwar are located in the vicinity of the river, so we have to also assume the employment of a boat trip. So, it has to be enough for the maximum distance of the journey on the supposition that the journey would take five days and a half days for a boat trip. Thus, the maximum distance must be 225 km, 75 km on the land and 150 km on the river. As clearly seen on the map, two regions superimposed on the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣhanta. One superimposed area is in the west of Kaniš and the other is in the northeast of Kaniš. See map 7.

4. 2. 5.

Puruṣhanta at a distance of four days' journey from Turḫumit

There is no doubt that there was a route to Buruṣhattum through Waḫšušana and Šalatu/iwar as confirmed by a number of pieces of evidence cited above. In addition, J.G. Dercksen recently brought attention to another Old Assyrian text, kt 91/k 424, which shows the existence of this route with two other place names beside Kaniš, Waḫšušana, Šalatu/iwar and Buruṣhattum. This text recorded the expenditures of a journey, which were incurred on a journey (partly with porters carrying goods). It started in an unnamed locality, and led to Šalatu/iwar and Buruṣhattum, and from there back to Šalatu/iwar and further to Waḫšušana, Tuḫpia, Turḫumit and Kaniš.³⁴

kt 91/k 424

<Šalatu/iwar - Buruṣhattum (1–14)>

I paid x minas of *šikkum* copper as wages for a porter to get to Šalatu/iwar. I paid in Šalatu/iwar in all, 20 minas of *šikkum* copper on various occasions. I gave 3 minas to the inn (and) I paid 10 minas of copper to porters. I gave 7 minas of copper to Tarkua. I spent 3 minas of copper to get to Buruṣhattum. In Buruṣhattum I paid 3 shekels of silver to the *kārum* as *šaddu'atum*-tax. I paid 3 minas of copper as costs to get to *Ušbukatum*, and 3 shekels of silver for an inn in Buruṣhattum.

<Buruṣhattum – Šalatu/iwar (15–6)>

I had to pay 1 1/2 minas of copper from Buruṣhattum to Šalatu/iwar.

<Šalatu/iwar – Waḫšušana (17–20)>

10 minas of copper were spent until I left Šalatu/iwar. <> was spent in Waḫšušana on an inn.

33 Despite these later disagreements with Garstang and Gurney's view, some others still support the possibility of their identification [Börker-Klähn 1983: pp. 99–103; Forlanini 1985: p. 47 and note 14].

34 For the locations of modern and classical place names in the following discussions, see map 8 below.

<Waḫšušana – Tuḫpia (20–1)>

I had to pay 1 1/2 minas of copper to get to Tuḫpia.

<Tuḫpia – Turḫumit (21–2)>

I had to pay 3 minas of copper to get to Turḫumit.

<Turḫumit – Kaniš (23–5)>

From Turḫumit to get to Kaniš I had to pay 5 minas of fine copper.

<Kaniš – Waḫšušana (25–6)>

I spent 3 minas of copper to get to Waḫšušana [Dercksen 1996: p. 12].

It is obvious from this text that if we can establish the tentative locations of Tuḫpia and Turḫumit, we can calculate the possible distance of the journey from either of these two places to Buruḫattum. Consulting the scholarly opinions about the localization of Old Assyrian Turḫumit, it appears that J. Lewy first confirmed the equation of Hittite Turmita with the Old Assyrian Turḫumit and the Old Assyrian Tuḫpia and the Hittite Tuḫpiya in 1956 [Lewy 1956: p. 65 and note 272]. He states that the identity of Turmita and Turḫumit, which was first tentatively assumed by B. Landsberger, is clear, when comparing the Old Assyrian letter CCT III 1 with the Hittite texts VAT 13005 col. I, x + 22 and Bo 2026 col. II, ll. 10 f., because both Turmita and Turḫumit are mentioned together with the Old Assyrian Tuḫpia and the Hittite Tuḫpiya respectively.³⁵ So, their equation can be accepted.

In 1923 Garstang and Mayer first considered the identification of the Hittite Turmita apart from the Old Assyrian Turḫumit [Garstang and Mayer 1923: p. 13]. Based only on the similarity of the sounds, they provisionally equated it with modern Darende. But, this identification was later abandoned by Garstang himself with Gurney in 1959. They attempted to identify the location of Hittite Turmita with modern Yenihan based on the list of towns extracted from the Narrative of the Accession of Ḫattušili III and the parallel text, KBo VI 29 [Götze 1924; Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 14, 17 and 41]. They show the same sequence:

List I – Ḫišašḫapa – Katapa – Ḫanḫana – Taraḫna – Ḫatina – Turmita

List II – Ḫakpiš – Ištaḫara – Ḫanḫana – Ḫatina – ...zip... – Turmita

List III – Ḫakpiš – Ištaḫara – Ḫanḫana – Taraḫna – Ḫatina – Kuruštama

The cities of List II stand in the text as a return journey from Turmita to Ḫakpiš, so they have been inverted to make comparison easier. Garstang and Gurney suggested that List III contains a scribal error. It is originally listed Ḫakpiš – Ištaḫara – Taraḫna – Ḫatina – Ḫanḫana – Kuruštama, but they argued that comparison with Lists I and II indicates the inclusion of an error, and Ḫanḫana should be placed before Taraḫna. As a result, they concluded that places are listed in the same sequence

35 Other scholars did not specify the identifications of Hittite Turmita/Old Assyrian Turḫumit and Hittite Tuḫpiya/Old Assyrian Tuḫpia with particular sites, but agreed with the localization of Hittite Turmita and Old Assyrian Turḫumit in the northern part of the Anatolia in the area of modern Çorum between Boğazköy and Merzifon suggested by A. Götze or more to the southwest between Alişar and Sivas suggested by J. Garstang.

Many scholars cited the location of Hittite Turmita/Old Assyrian Turḫumit and Hittite Tuḫpiya/Old Assyrian Tuḫpia in the area of modern Çorum between Boğazköy and Merzifon [Garelli 1963: p. 122; von Schuler 1965: p. 28 and note 125, and p. 31 and note 153; Lewy 1963: p. 103; Houwink ten Carte 1967: pp. 47–8].

H. Otten agreed with the relative localization of Hittite Turmita and Old Assyrian Turḫumit in the area of modern Çorum between Boğazköy and Merzifon, but he only remains to cite the identifications of Hittite Tuḫpiya/Old Assyrian Tuḫpia given by Garstang, Götze and Cornelius [Otten 1959: pp. 356–7; Otten 1965: p. 48 and note 2].

L.L. Orlin cited their locations in the area between Alişar and Sivas [Orlin 1970: p. 38, p. 77 and p. 86].

A. Ünal cited in the area to the north of Sivas-Tokat line for the location of the Hittite Turmita/Old Assyrian Turḫumit, but like Otten for the Hittite Tuḫpiya/Old Assyrian Tuḫpia he only cited Garstang, Götze and Cornelius' earlier identifications [Ünal 1974: pp. 223–4].

and suggested that they were situated on a strategic road, or at least that the sequence was determined by geographical considerations. The comparison of these three lists shows clearly that road junctions must have been situated at ҲанҲана and Ҳатина. For the stretch ҲанҲана – (ТараҲна) – Ҳатина, which is common to all three lists, is approached either from Ҳишаšһаpa and Katapa or from Ҳакпиš and Ištaһара, and after Ҳатина alternative routes led either to Turmita or to Kuruštama.

In addition to these three lists, Garstang and Gurney regarded the location of Katapa as important for the localization of Turmita. They located it at the mound near Küçük Köhne. Thus, they placed ҲанҲана at the nearest road junction to the east, namely at modern Köhne, where the north-south trade route branches off to the south and which was of great importance as a road junction during Roman times.³⁶ Continuing to the east, the next road junction is at Classical Sebastopolis (= modern Sulusaray), where a road diverged northward to Classical Zela (= modern Zile) and Classical Amasia (= modern Amasya). Here they tentatively located Ҳатина, with ТараҲна roughly at the point where the road from ҲанҲана to Ҳатина crossed the Classical Scylax River. So, Garstang and Gurney considered that Turmita evidently lay on the continuation of the main road eastwards. Furthermore, according to them H.H. von der Osten in his exploration of Asia Minor, describes how he traveled southward down the road from modern Tokat hoping to reach his camp at Ališar Hüyük. Along many zigzags he climbed the slope of Çamlı bel. The descent towards Yenihan was very steep, and to the east of the road a large hüyük was seen on a rocky elevation in the broad valley surrounding that important town. There the caravan routes from modern towns of Yozgat, Sivas and Kayseri meet, as it is the starting point of the oldest roads to the Black Sea coast. After turning westward toward the Ak Dağ heights the road became worse and worse, and only with great difficulty did he reach the summit of the pass. The descent was even worse. Thus, Garstang and Gurney assumed that the large hüyük on the rock above Yenihan would be the ideal site for the Hittite city of Turmita, because there the defenders of the ancient cross-roads could keep watch for the advance of hostile Kaškean raiders, and so prevent the enemy from attacking the thickly populated and fertile country of the Kanak Su valley.

As for Hittite Tuһupiya, in the lists of towns of the Sacrifice List (= KBo IV 13 I) this city is mentioned immediately after Turmita:

<Sacrifice List>

Tawiniya – Zalpa – ҲанҲана – Ankuwa – Turmita – Tuһupiya – Zišparna – Takupša – Kaštama – Ališa – Šanaһuita – Ҳакпиš – Taptina - – Ištaһара – Tapika.

Furthermore, the Narrative of the Accession of Ҳattušili III explains how the Kaškean enemies had invaded the Land of Ҳatti and that the enemy from the Land of Turmita began to attack the land of Tuһupiya [Götze 1924]. So, it is clear that Turmita and Tuһupiya are located close to each other and Tuһupiya can be placed as the next station to Turmita. Obviously Garstang and Gurney tentatively

36 Garstang and Gurney's identification of Katapa has to be described. Its localization is based on the aforementioned Herald's List II and Festival Itinerary in the sub-chapter 4.2.4. Since there is no place common to the two lists apart from the first station Ҳattuša and Arina, Garstang and Gurney assumed that from the beginning the routes diverged, probably leaving the city of Ҳattuša by different gates. For going to Tawiniya as already described above in the sub-chapter 4.2.4, they identified that the procession went down from the Lion Gate in the upper city to the south, thus they identified Tawiniya with Classical Tavium (= modern Büyük Nefesköy), located 19 km to the southwest of Boğazköy.

As for, Katapa, which they identified as lying on a road leading southward to Arina, this route must have therefore, started with at the eastern King's gate, due to the identification of Tawiniyan Gate with the Lion Gate of Ҳattuša. According to Garstang and Gurney, in 1928 H.H. von der Osten traveled from his camp near Ališar Hüyük along a track on the east side of modern Turkish Kerkenes Dağ to Köhne, and Garstang and Gurney assumed that from there the road he followed seems to agree in the reverse direction with the route of the Festival List. As a result, they tentatively identified Katapa with Küçük Köhne [Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 14, 17 and 41].

identified Turumita with modern Yenihan and since Ғатина and ҒанҒана are not mentioned, they concluded that Tuḫupiya may be placed at the point where the road leads from Turmita to the valley of the Kanak Su (the later Byzantine highway) [Garstang and Gurney 1959: pp. 18–9].³⁷

In 1932 beside Garstang's identifications of Hittite Turmita with modern Yenihan and Tuḫupiya on the point between Yenihan and the valley of the Kanak Su, A. Götze developed another theory for their localizations [Götze 1930 pp. 25–6; Goetze 1957: p. 72; Goetze 1957: pp. 93–4 and p. 98]. According to Götze, Ғattušili III reported an attack on the Kaška at the border areas [Götze 1924: col. II 2 ff.]. He assumed that the cities, which were registered in his report, can be categorized into the three geographical groups:

- A), Starting point: Pišḫuru, Iṣḫupita, Taištupa. Destination: La[an-ta??], Marišta after the crossing of the Maraššantiya River, the lands [.....]pa and Kaniš.
 B), Starting point: Ғa[.....], Kuruštama, Kaziura. Destination: <<the deserted cities of Ғatti>>.
 C), Starting point: Turmita, Tuḫupiya. Destination: so far Ippašana, then Šuwatara. Ғakpiš and Ištaḫara escape the destruction.

He argued that group B offers a welcome confirmation of this explanation, because Kaziura existed still in the Classical period under the same name. Classical Gaziura is according to Strabo's description certainly modern Turhal on the Yeşil Irmak. So, he ascertained that the order of those cities given by Ғattušili III is certainly not accidental, and they run from east to west. The Maraššantiya River, which he identified with the Halys River, is mentioned in group A. Kaziura (=modern Turhal) is registered in group B and located west of the Maraššantiya River. As a result, Götze presumed that Tuḫupiya and Turmita of group C lie to the northwest of modern Turhal in direction of modern Samsun.

Cornelius disagreed with both Garstang and Götze. He identified Turmita with modern Zile (= Classical Zela) [Cornelius 1955: p. 54; Cornelius 1959: p. 107; Cornelius 1967: p. 76; Cornelius 1973: p. 18]. He assumed that Götze's identification of Zela with Hittite Arina is impossible, because Arina was never reached from Kaška, though Ғattuša was even threatened by the Kaškeans from the north, so the location of Classical Zela to the north of Ғattuša does not make sense for its identification with Hittite Arina. Thus, Arina must lain further south. According to Cornelius, Strabo expressly said that Zela was established by Queen Semiramis of Assyria and Turḫumit is the only Assyrian toponym, which is generally to be located in the north of the Hittite empire. Thus, he tentatively identified Zela with Turḫumit.

As for Tuḫupiya, Cornelius suggested the equation Tuḫupiya with Classical Tombe (= modern Köhne = Garstang's Hittite ҒанҒана), because of the etymological similarity of both names [Cornelius 1955 p. 51; Cornelius 1958a: p. 244; Cornelius 1958c: p. 3; Cornelius 1963: p. 239]. Concerning this identification, Ünal added a complementary comment. In a discussion in 1969 Cornelius suggested that Tuḫupiya is to be placed at the great mound Dökmetepe located approximately 10–20 km north of modern Köhne. However, no reasons for this identification were given by Ünal [Ünal 1974: p. 222].

Apart from the localizations of Hittite Turmita and Old Assyrian Turḫumit in the northwest of Boğazköy, Forlanini tentatively placed it in the area between the Kızıl Irmak and the northeast of Tuz Gölü based on a number of pieces of circumstantial evidence [Forlanini 1985: pp. 48–51].

(1), In the Cappadocian documents Turḫumit is often associated with western cities like Waḫšušana and Buruṣḫattum, and one can reach Turḫumit through Ulama, through which one can also reach

37 For the locations of the places, see map 8 below.

the other two cities.

(2), Turḫumit was at the same time a very important centre of the copper trade near Tišmurna, which is a centre for the production of this metal. One can find there copper of Ta/iritar, which is a country situated on the left bank of the lower Kızıl Irmak. Forlanini considers that Tišmurna must be identified with the site of modern Karaali and the mining region of Ta/iritar with the basin of the Devrez River.

(3), The Hittite and Cappadocian sources corroborate each other in showing that Turḫumit/Turmita was in the vicinity of Tuḫpia/Tuḫpiya, which also must be near Tawiniya/Tawinia. In association with Tawiniya, Ḫanḫana and Ḫattuša, Tuḫpia/Tuḫppiya shared the cult of the god, Telepinu. Thus, all these suggest placing Turḫumit/Turmita towards the basin of the Kızıl Irmak west of Boğazköy.

(4), Ulama/Walama and Ninaša were a part of the province of Turmita. The annexation of these two cities can only be explained through the expansion of this district, for reasons of administration and defence, at the period where one looked for the aid of the king of Tumana to reorganize the regions devastated by the Kaškeans. In addition, these two cities were treated before the province of Ušhaniya with the city of Uḫiuwa among others, and after the city of Kašiya. Forlanini assumed that the enumeration of these cities follows a geographical order, at least if one accepts the reconstruction in which three provinces close together and are placed in the same order between the zones of Avanos and Ankara.

(5), Tamita, another locality of the province of Turmita, was not far from the country of Timuḫala, which is a centre of the activities of Kaškeans at the time of Muršili II and separated from Mt. Iuḫini. Therefore, Forlanini suggested that Tamita may be placed in the vicinity of Tapapanuwa, Kazapa, Tašmaḫa and Ḫurna on the Kızıl Irmak south of the region of Mt. Kašu and of the River Daḫara. So, it is likely that Tamitta represented the northern limit of the province of Turmita and is to be placed in the area close to the Elmadağı.

(6), In the list of provinces entrusted by Muwatalli II to his brother Ḫattušili III, Turmita is enumerated between those of central Ḫatti (Katapa, Ḫanḫana, Ḫatina) and those of the northwest (Pala, Tumana, Kašiya, Šapa). According to the Apology of Ḫattušili III, Turmita cannot be too far from Kuruštama, which is the city near Ḫanḫana and, according to the Annals of Muršili, near Tapapanuwa.

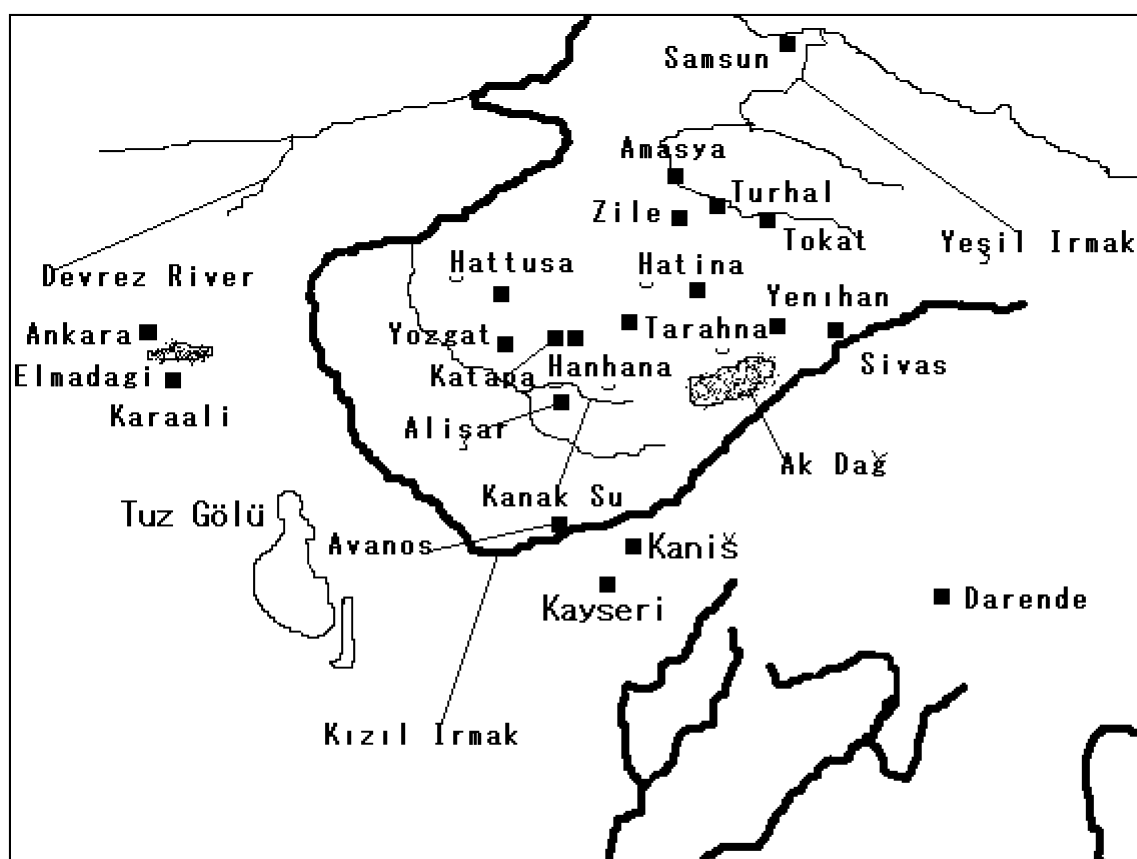
(7), The contacts of Turḫumit with the western cities of Waḫšušana and Šalatu/iwar attested by the Cappadocian documents find some support in the Hittite texts. In particular in the list of the divinities of KUB 53, 42, where Turḫumit is enumerated immediately before the cities of Katila and Ḫarziuna (with Mt. Kamaliya). The fragment of the ritual of KUB 51, 2 names Turmittiyas (= Turmita?) and the Mt. Kuwaliyata, which is described by the treaty of Ulmi-Tešup as a point on the frontier of the country of the River Ḫulaya towards Ḫatti. The city of Šuwatara attacked by the Kaškeans of the country of Turmita at the time of Muwatalli II, can therefore, be identified with the Greek place name Σαουάτρα in Lycaonia.

(8), Two other connections with some Classical and Byzantine toponyms can now be proposed in accord with the geographical data. Forlanini assumed that Pitaniyaša and [U?]rata, two cities of Turmita correspond to Pitnissos near Kozanlı and Baretta near Aspona.³⁸

38 These two modern place names cannot be identified on the modern Turkish atlas.

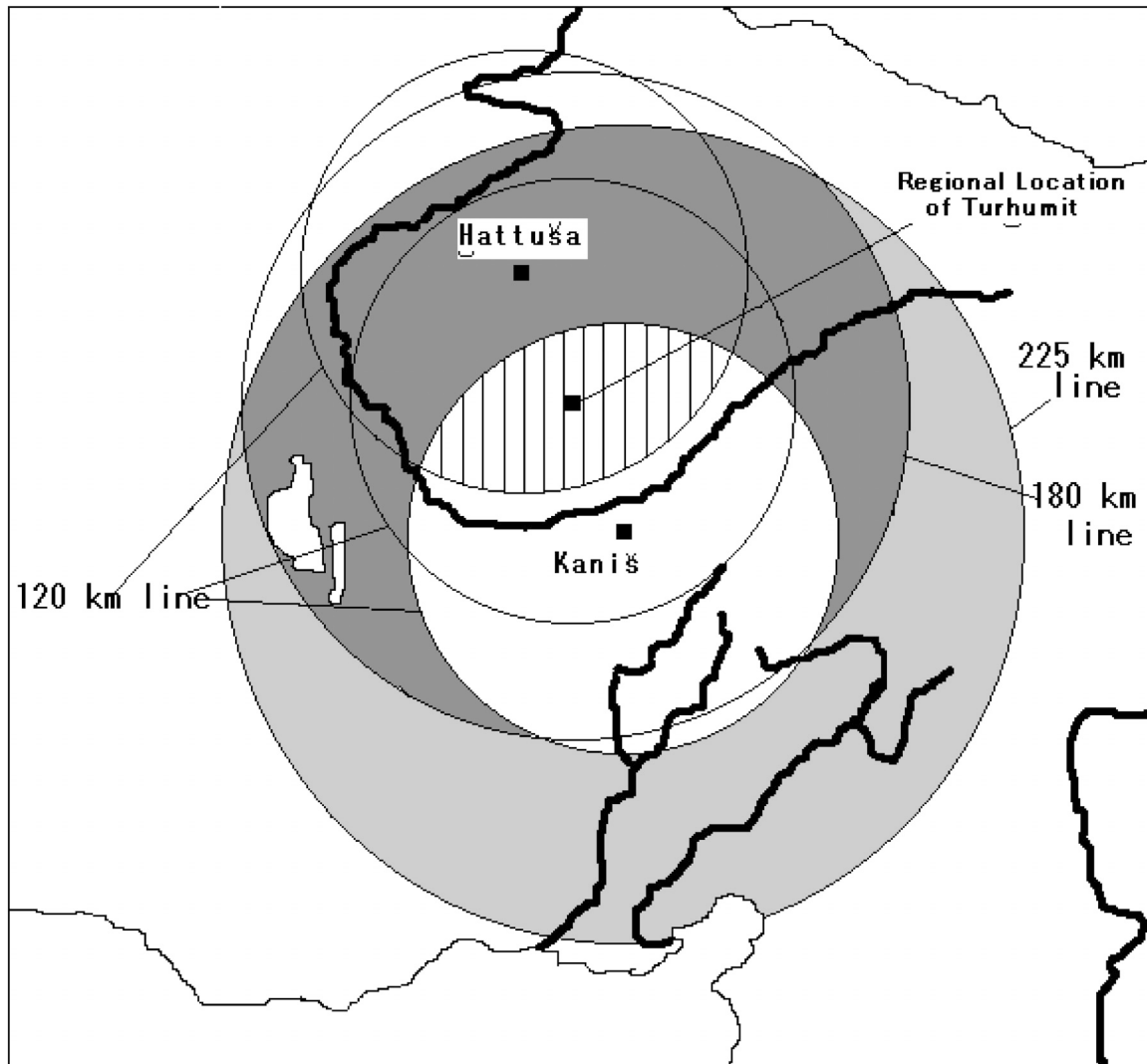
(9), In addition to these eight circumstantial factors for the localization of Hittite Turmita and Old Assyrian Turḫumit, as mentioned in the sub-chapter 4.2.1 above Forlanini later added one more piece of circumstantial evidence [Forlanini 1992: p. 179]. According to her in KUB LV 43 IV 32, Turmita is indicated as lying on the Maraššantiya River. In the action the river together with Țılaš(š)i and Țašamili formed a group of the gods of the city, which were attributed to the city of Turmita. So, she suggests placing Turmita on the Maraššantiyaa River (= the Halys River) further downstream.³⁹

However, these tentative localizations cannot be reliable, particularly the northeastern localization of Turmita/Turḫumit, when we take the aforementioned topographical information of kt 91/k 424 into account. The journey obviously went from Turḫumit to Kaniš. The expense of five minas of fine copper paid for this journey is higher than the journey from another place to the next station. However, even if we assume the possible distance from Turḫumit to Kaniš is more than the distance of a day's travel from the cost, the locations of the sites suggested by the aforementioned scholars are too far away. Moreover, C. Michel and P. Garelli most recently suggested that in *KTS* 1, 3b, 4 the copper is presented in a number of transactions passed from Turḫumit to Tawinia, whose location



Map 8: Supplementary map for the locations of modern and Classical toponyms

39 C. Michel agreed with Forlanini's opinion [Michel 1991: pp. 253–4]. J.G. Dercksen agreed with Forlanini's view. However, he located Turḫumit on the eastern bank of the lower Kızıl İrmak. His supposition originally derived from the tentative localization of Waḫšušana to the west of Kaniš identified in relation to the localization of Ninaša and two texts, kt 91/k 424 and kt 91/k 437. The road from Waḫšušana to Turḫumit that led via Tuḫpia as shown in these texts demonstrates that Turḫumit was near a river. So, Dercksen assumed that when coming from Waḫšušana and Tuḫpia, this river had to be crossed before reaching Turḫumit. Thus, Turḫumit is to be situated east of the Kızıl İrmak. This opinion is obviously established in relation to the localization of Ninaša, so it is valueless concerning the location of Puruḫanta [Dercksen 1996: p. 14 and map A].



Map 9: Puruṣhanta at a distance of four days' journey from Turḫumit

was above to be identified at least to the area within the distance of a day's travel from Ḫattuša [Garelli and Michel 1996: p. 283]. So, in terms of the topographical information given by kt 91/k 424 and *KTS* 1, 3b, 4, Turḫumit/Turmita must at least be placed somewhere between Kaniš and Tawinia or Ḫattuša. So, we can tentatively identify the location of Turmita/Turḫumit in the superimposed area, which one can reach within four days' journey on foot both from Kaniš and Ḫattuša. Tuḫpiya/Tuḫpia can accordingly be placed in the vicinity of or within this tentative regional location of Turmita/Turḫumit. Kt 91/k 424 clearly indicates that Buruṣḫattum is the fourth station from Turḫumit. Thus, we attempt to delimit the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣhanta by the ring drawn by the distance of 120 km line (a day trip of $30 \text{ km} \times 4$) and 180 km line (a day trip of $30 \text{ km} \times 2$ with a boat trip of 60 km of a day $\times 2$) from the central point of the regional location of Turmita/Turḫumit. See map 9.

5: Conclusion

A number of different locations have been proposed based on the varying natures of the written sources, as the possible candidates for the Hittite Puruṣhanta and Old Assyrian Buruṣḫattum. We

identified that TC III 165 and CCT 2 1 are the most reliable sources concerning the location of Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum and they indicate that the caravan journey took at least 4 to 5 days from Kaniš to Buruṣhattum through Waṣḥania, Ninaša and Ulama. In addition to these sources, we confirmed the existence of another route leading from Kaniš to Buruṣhattum through Waṣḥania, Malita, Waḥṣušana and Šalatu/iwar from *KTH* 1, OIP 27 54, BIN IV 35, and AKT 3 34 and kt t/k 1 and its duplicate kt t/k 25 indicated the possible involvement of a caravan journey by boat. As a result, we ascertained that Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum can be located between 120 km and 225 km from Kaniš, and we drew the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum. When we compare its extent with a number of the locations suggested by some scholars, we can conclude that the earlier identifications of R.S. Hardy (= Puruṣhanta between Classical Laranda and Lystra), J. Lewy and E. Bilgiç (= in the Konya Plain), E.I. Gordon (= Homat), and S. Alp and J.D. Hawkins (= Karahöyük) are not acceptable. They are located too far away from Kaniš and outside the ring of the core regional location. Thus, it is physically impossible for the merchants to reach these sites with 4 to 5 days' journey. B. Hrozný tentatively identified Puruṣhanta with modern Kayseri. The merchants could certainly reach this place within 4 to 5 days journey from Kaniš, but its close proximity to Kaniš does not allow any other itinerary stations between Kaniš and Buruṣhattum. So, this identification does not accord with topographical information given by TC III 165 and CCT 2 1.

On the other hand, the earlier identifications of B. Landsberger (= modern Niğde), and J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney followed by a number of scholars (= near Nevşehir and Acemhöyük) appear possible. Their locations are situated well within the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum.

In addition to these results, we also gained some secondary results for the location of Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum. By using several pieces of secondary topographical information or evidence, we attempted to further delimit the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum. The tentative locations of Ninaša and other itinerary stations were investigated first, and we identified that the localization of Ninaša is the key to also identifying the remaining stations. Ninaša may be equated with Classical Nanassos, and several scholars have proposed to locate it in the vicinity of modern Aksaray. Thus, we reached the conclusion that Buruṣhattum is the last destination of the itinerary TC III 165, so based on the tentative location of the third station of Ninaša, we estimated that the secondary regional location of Buruṣhattum is in the area west of modern Aksaray. Another proposal was also made by some other scholars, who placed Ninaša and Classical Nanassos in the vicinity of Ḥuṣiṣna (= Classical Cybistra/modern Ereğli) and Tuwanuwa (= Classical Tyana/modern Kemerhisar). Therefore, we suggested the possibility of Buruṣhattum also being in the vicinity of these two places and delimited the area as the secondary regional location of Buruṣhattum around Ḥuṣiṣna and Tuwanuwa. The investigation of topographical information for Puruṣhanta given by the Decree of Telepinu (= KBo III 1) and the Prayer of Muwatalli (= KUB VI 51 + 46) reached the same conclusions as those of the investigation of the location of Ninaša. It must be noticed that both Landsberger and Garstang with Gurney's identifications of Puruṣhanta exactly accord with these two tentative regional locations of Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum.

We also sought the location of Puruṣhanta in relation to the tentative locations of Uša. Garstang with Gurney and W. Schramm's localizations of Uša showed agreements with the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum. Thus, the ring of the core regional location was further delimited in the two listed areas. In one half a doughnut-like shaped area around modern Aksaray and the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü) was superimposed on the core regional location. The half moon shaped area in the eastern part of the Cilician Plain was defined as the other tentative regional location of Puruṣhanta.

The tentative regional location of Puruṣhanta is also sought in relation to the locations of Neša (= Kaniš) and the River Ḥulana. Similar results to those for the locations of Uša have been obtained.

But, the two tentative regional locations of Purušhanta cover much wider areas than those of Uša.

We tentatively calculated the two secondary regional locations of Buruṣhattum in relation to the locations of Ḫattuša and Tawiniya. Again the area around the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü) was defined as one of the two tentative regional locations of Buruṣhattum, while the new tentative regional location was also indicated in the area around the upper course of the Kizil Irmak.

Finally, the tentative locations of Turḫumit were investigated for further delimiting the ring of the core regional location of Purušhanta/Buruṣhattum on the supposition that the caravan took the four days' journey from Turḫumit to Buruṣhattum as kt 91/k 424 indicates. We did not agree with the previously prevailing localizations of Turḫumit and we tentatively placed it in the intermediate area between Kaniš and Ḫattuša. Then, we delimited the large crescent shaped area from the ring of the core regional locations.

We can clearly observe the striking aspect that all the secondary regional locations of Purušhanta/Buruṣhattum cover the areas where Acemhöyük is located. Maybe this result is only accidental but, at the same time, it makes the identification of Purušhanta/Buruṣhattum with Acemhöyük highly possible.

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