Alalaḫ between Mittani and Ḫatti

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Abstract. Recent excavations at Alalaḫ (Tell Atchana), under the direction of K. Aslıhan Yener, have yielded significant new information about the city's history, especially during its later levels. They fill in some blanks left by Leonard Woolley's mid-20th century excavations, and sometimes open up other blanks. One of their most important results is to reveal a period Woolley essentially overlooked, extending from the destruction of the Level IV palace and castle circa 1400 BC to the construction of the fortress built after Hittite conquest, about 75 years later. The dominion of Ḫatti thereafter diminished Alalaḫ, according to the findings of Yener's excavations. Woolley envisioned a turbulent occupation lasting until the Sea Peoples supposedly destroyed the city around 1200 BC. The new excavations, while adding to the evidence of Hittite presence in the late 14th century, suggest instead that settlement dwindled and eventually vanished during the 13th century. Textual finds remain scant after 1400, when the Level IV archives end. Notwithstanding the scarcity of written records, which is an important datum in itself, the archaeological evidence suffices to necessitate drafting a new history of Alalaḫ during the last two centuries of the Bronze Age.

Keywords. Alalaḫ, Ḫatti, Late Bronze Age, Mittani, Mukiš, periodization, Woolley.

The site of Alalaḫ (Tell Atchana) has played a key role in the reconstruction of Middle and Late Bronze Age history ever since Leonard Woolley excavated there in the 1930s and 1940s. It could also serve as a case study illustrating how scenarios that originated as hypotheses to explain newly-excavated finds enter the historical narrative as if they were facts based on those very finds. When texts are available there is a temptation to label the archaeological remains with textual data, in order to make them tell a story; texts thus tend to strengthen the illusion of historicity. Yet the material remains are primary. While texts may be key to reading the archaeological record *as* history, that record – the sequence of occupation strata, their contents, their cultural affiliations, and so forth – is the framework for situating texts *in* history, and in time. But of course the excavator must normally start reading the record backwards, from the topsoil down, without knowing how the material excavated came to be.

So it was with Woolley's excavation of Tell Atchana, located in what is now the Hatay province of Turkey. As his workmen uncovered a succession of unknowns, Woolley posited events and processes to account for the finds and, with the collaboration of Sidney Smith as epigrapher, to link them with the external historical and cultural framework as it was then known – the stories of the Hittite, Babylonian, Mittanian, and Egyptian kingdoms, along with sequences of Cretan, Aegean, and Cypriot ceramics (among other imports).[1] These stories and sequences could be found to intersect at Tell Atchana, which proved to be ancient Alalaḫ (see map, Fig. 1). For the site yields a continuous series of occupation levels from the 13th century BC back to at least 2000 BC, and it has also yielded texts that provide direct or indirect synchronisms with other regions.

But all the texts found at Alalaḫ together cover barely more than a century's worth of the site's occupation, and most strata remain anepigraphic. In order to stitch together a narrative history of the city, Woolley bridged the gaps between texts, between building phases, and between textual and archaeological data with imagination, positing an Egyptian attack or a domestic insurgency or an anti-Hittite revolt to explain whatever the texts did not say about the physical remains. Such historical fictions find their fullest expression in Woolley's popular presentation of the Alalaḫ excavations, *A Forgotten Kingdom* (first published in 1953), but they also surface in his scholarly publications on the site and clearly shaped his interpretations of the finds. For example, within the space of a few pages in the concluding chapter of his final report on the excavations, Woolley attributes a (putative) siege of Alalaḫ that ended Level VA to Thutmose I (1955: 391), insists that a rebellion ended Ilimilimma's reign and the Level IV palace (1955: 393-95), and suggests that 'Level II began … with a revolt against Boğazköy' (1955: 397). But no evidence puts Thutmose I at Alalaḫ. The inscribed Egyptian vessel fragment upon which Woolley based this addition to the pharaoh's curriculum vitae, however it came to be deposited in a Level V pit at Tell Atchana, cannot by itself indicate a particular kind of Egyptian presence there, much less conquest or occupation; it is now considered to have arrived as an article of trade.[2]

As for the putative rebellion against Ilimilimma, the textual support for this idea was the obscure reference in the inscription on Idrimi's statue to a *mašiktu*, 'misfortune', that drove Idrimi's family from Aleppo – not from Alalaḫ – and Woolley's identification of that event with the burning of the Level IV palace was predicated on his erroneous reconstruction of the dynasty.[3] Finally, although it is often assumed that Alalaḫ, or the land of Mukiš, participated in a revolt against Hittite rule during the reign of Muršili II, this is not in fact attested by the extant texts that tell of this revolt (see further below). Even if Alalaḫ did participate, identifying this event with the transition to Level II depends on making a series of assumptions in order to link the textual with the archaeological evidence.

Meanwhile, following Smith, Woolley invented a ruler named Taku whom Thutmose III supposedly placed on the throne of Alalaḫ, founding the dynasty continued by Niqmepa (Woolley 1955: 391, with n. 3). According to Smith (1940: 38), this Taku would have been followed by Abba-il, son of Šarra-il (a.k.a. Abban, son of Šarran), whose seal Niqmepa used, and the ankh on that seal proves that Abba-il was an Egyptian vassal! Based only on the

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[1] The development of interpretation can be followed through Woolley's excavation reports (beginning with the first report in 1936 and concluding with the final publication in 1955), supplemented by Smith's (1939) preliminary account of the tablets, his study of the chronological implications of the finds at Alalaḫ (Smith 1940), and his publication of the inscription on the statue of Idrimi (Smith 1949).

[2] This vessel, inscribed with a standard prayer for funerary offerings, is most recently discussed by Ahrens (in press, Ch. VI, E §1.5.3.1, pp. 191-92), who kindly provided me his dissertation in advance of publication, and by Ritner (2019). Ahrens suggests that it dates to Dynasty 18 and originates from the area of Memphis; Ritner dates it to the Middle Kingdom and attributes its presence at Alalaḫ to Hyksos-period trade (see Ritner 2019: 301). Even if it had been produced or inscribed at Tell Atchana (rather than in Egypt), as Woolley came to believe, a single vessel in secondary archaeological context would be too slender a basis for claims of Egyptian control.

[3] On Idrimi and the inscription on his statue – which is incorrectly paraphrased with surprising frequency – see von Dassow 2008: 23-45. The inscription has now been treated afresh by Durand (2011) and Lauinger (2015). On Woolley and Smith's erroneous reconstruction of the dynasty of Idrimi, see below, with n. 11; for the historical context of the statue inscription, see further below, with n. 34.

entry in Thutmose III's annals that records a shipment of lumber, copper, and slaves from Alalaḫ during his 38th year, Smith concluded that Thutmose III had captured Alalaḫ, ending Level V and installing a new dynasty (Smith 1940: 7). The inference that Thutmose III acquired control of Alalaḫ has often been repeated, notwithstanding its logical and evidentiary fragility: the goods sent by Alalaḫ in year 38 are denoted *inw*, conventionally rendered 'tribute', and the same word is used for goods sent in year 33 by Babylon and Hatti, kingdoms no one infers that Thutmose III 'controlled'.[4] Smith's eagerness to see Egypt's hand in events at Alalaḫ, despite the total absence from all Alalaḫ texts of any evidence for Egypt playing a role in the city's history, surpassed Woolley's: he considered Egyptian imagery on a seal used in Level VII sufficient evidence that Egypt had ruled Alalaḫ during Dynasty 12 (1940: 13-15), just as he took the ankh on the dynastic seal used by Niqmepa (actually an heirloom from the Middle Bronze Age) to be evidence of Egyptian domination during Level IV.[5] Woolley's and Smith's confident concoctions of non-facts ought to serve as a warning against promulgating either historical claims or archaeological interpretations on such flimsy grounds.

Numerous studies treating specific periods at Alalaḫ have resulted in significant modifications to Woolley's dating of the strata, and the history of periods represented in texts (mainly Levels VII and IV) has been rewritten repeatedly.[6] However, while the events he invented have gradually fallen away from the narrative, the skeleton of Woolley's reconstruction – the definition of strata and their correlation with historical moments – has remained largely intact. Now the results of the new excavations directed by Aslıhan Yener necessitate revising the structure of interpretation Woolley built, from the ground up.

ALALAḪ AFTER 1400: GROUNDS FOR REVISION

Excavations at Tell Atchana commenced under Yener's direction in 2003 and have continued to the present. The first volume reporting on the excavations (Yener (ed) 2010) covers the first two excavation seasons; the second volume (Yener, Akar, and Horowitz (eds) 2019), covering the 2006-2010 seasons, presents the results from the Late Bronze II levels of the site. In his dissertation, Murat Akar (2012) undertook a fresh analysis of the stratigraphy of the later levels, providing detailed descriptions and copious illustrations of the relevant excavation areas, diagnostic finds, and their contexts; this material is updated in his chapter for the second volume (Akar 2019). Some of the recently-discovered material has meanwhile been published or discussed in various articles (e.g., Akar 2013; Yener 2011, 2013, and 2017; Yener, Dinçol, and Peker 2014). In the present article, I synthesize my own observations, informed by those of the colleagues credited here, with information in the scholarly literature, in order to integrate the archaeological and textual evidence for the history of Alalaḫ and Mukiš during the 14th -13th centuries BC.[7] Fig. 2 is a plan of the site showing the new excavation areas under discussion superimposed on Woolley's plan of Level IV.

The second volume of the excavation reports presents a revised periodization for Tell Atchana from Woolley's Level IV to the end of the Late Bronze Age (Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 317-335, with Table 13.1, and

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[4] Moreover, one need only consider the difference in perspective dramatized by Wenamun's interview with the prince of Byblos to realize that Egypt may have coded as *inw* what it purchased in trade (albeit the story is set several centuries later). See Simpson (ed) 2003: 116-124, for an English translation of the story of Wenamun by Edward F. Wente; for analysis of both this story and the use of *inw* in Thutmose III's annals, see Liverani 1990: 247-66. See von Dassow 2008: 21-23 for particulars relevant to Alalaḫ and for discussion of the predilection for inserting Egypt into the affairs of places where it is not attested.

[5] Eventually Smith realized that Abba-il might have ruled long before Niqmepa, and not at Alalaḫ, but he did not alter his reconstruction accordingly, for in his opinion 'the retention in use of a royal seal after centuries seems unlikely' (Smith 1949: 59, Table A, asterisked note). Woolley (1955: 391, n. 4) became unsure whether to follow Smith or Wiseman on this point.

[6] A detailed overview of the history of scholarship on the site, with particular attention to the dating and historical reconstruction of Levels VII-IV, is provided by Lauinger (forthcoming) in his chapter on Alalaḫ for the *Handbook of Ancient Mesopotamia*.

[7] Through participating in the Tell Atchana excavations as epigrapher, I gained first-hand knowledge of the site and the finds, profiting from numerous discussions on site with Yener and members of the team, above all Murat Akar and Mara Horowitz (see Acknowledgments). In advance of the 2012 season I was provided with Murat Akar's dissertation (Akar 2012). I am grateful to Mara Horowitz for providing me with files of volume 2 (Yener, Akar, and Horowitz (eds) 2019) in advance of publication.

unnumbered chart on p. 336; see also Yener 2013: 16-17 with Fig. 4). The principal sets of archaeological observations that form the basis for revising the periodization of the site, and rewriting the history of Alalaḫ during the 14th-13th centuries, may be summarized within four main points.

1. The castle, which was rebuilt prior to the palace of Level IV and continued in use alongside it, was destroyed together with the palace, rather than surviving it until the Hittite conquest as Woolley believed. (In accord with the usage chosen by the current excavation project, the structure rebuilt before and during Level IV that Woolley variously called a fort, fortress, or castle is here termed the 'castle', to distinguish it from the 'fortress' that replaced it during the period of Hittite rule.)

2. Subsequent to that destruction, the castle was rebuilt thrice prior to the construction of the fortress Woolley dubbed Hittite. The last of these three rebuildings could have occurred under Hittite rule, that is, following Šuppiluliuma's conquest, and the fortress could have been built under Muršili II.

3. The construction of that fortress appears not to have been completed, and it has yielded almost no diagnostic material. However, its Hittite cultural affiliation and date are confirmed by the excavation of a building of similar construction in the southern part of the site, which has yielded diagnostic material. These two buildings are referred to as the 'Northern Fortress' and the 'Southern Fortress' in the usage of the current excavation project.[8]

4. So far, no finds from the current excavations confirm that Tell Atchana was occupied throughout the 13th century. Woolley described phases of the temple continuing right down to around 1200 – when he supposed the Sea Peoples swept over Alalaḫ – and the Hittite prince who took up residence at Alalaḫ and wrote to Ammištamru II of Ugarit in the mid-13th century presumably lived somewhere on the site. But perhaps it was only the temple that was maintained, while the rest of Alalaḫ was gradually abandoned, leaving nothing for any Sea People to attack.

These points are each elaborated in what follows.

Any new reconstruction of Alalaḫ's history must be delineated against the background of Woolley's, for his interpretation of the site has provided the backbone of all subsequent studies to date (including those that substantially modify elements of it). Therefore, tiresome as it may be to frame the discussion in terms of pointing out where Woolley erred, his reconstruction is necessarily the point of departure.

Levels in transition

The temporal scope of this article begins at the end of Level IV, the first level Woolley excavated that yielded substantial numbers of tablets. It therefore begins with a problem.

As Woolley defined it, Level IV begins with the construction of the palace that he attributed to Niqmepa, and it ends with the destruction he attributed to the Hittites under Šuppiluliuma I.[9] The palace whose construction marks the start of Level IV was however destroyed long before the Hittite conquest that marks the end of Level IV. The adjacent castle, which was rebuilt prior to the palace and remained in use throughout its existence, lasted with further rebuilding until the Hittite conquest, whereupon it was destroyed and replaced by the big new fortress of Levels III-II. Woolley dated the building of the Level IV palace to roughly 1450 BC, its destruction to 1400, and the end of Level IV to 1370, the latter presumably because he thought 1370 was the approximate date of Šuppiluliuma's conquest (1955: 388-95, with chronological charts). That event actually transpired almost four decades later. His approximate dates for the construction and destruction of the Level IV palace, however, may be maintained, albeit on other grounds than those he cited.[10]

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[8] The excavation of the two buildings, the construction techniques they exhibit, and the finds associated with each are described and illustrated by Akar (2019); see also Akar 2013, and the synthesis of Yener, Akar, and Horowitz (2019, esp. 317-320).

[9] See Woolley 1955: 110; 130, with n. 1; 156; 166; 387.

[10] For these approximate dates, see von Dassow 2008: 39-42; 60-62.

Woolley attributed the destruction of the Level IV palace to a rebellion that brought Idrimi to the throne, relying on the same reconstruction of the sequence of rulers that led him to attribute the building of the palace to Niqmepa (Woolley 1955: 111; 130; 156; 393-95). On this basis he could fill the gap between the destruction of the Level IV palace and the Hittite conquest that ended Level IV with the reigns of Idrimi and his son Addu-nirari – the son named in the inscription on Idrimi's statue, who was conjecturally equated with Addu-nirari of Nuḫašše, a member of the northern Syrian coalition that opposed Šuppiluliuma.[11] He filled the gap archaeologically, too, observing phases of rebuilding or remodeling in the castle that took place between the burning of the Level IV palace and the Hittite conquest, and he attributed this remodeling to Idrimi – even suggesting that the remodeled castle was the palace Idrimi's statue inscription says he built (Woolley 1955: 156; 163, with n. 1, and 395).[12] The statue of Idrimi itself would have sat in an annex to the temple until, in the twilight of Alalaḫ's existence, it was knocked off its throne, broken, then – following a revolt against Ḫatti – it was buried in a pit dug from the Level IB temple annex.[13]

So far as its use of textual information is concerned, this reading of the evidence was shown to be wrong on almost all essential points even before Woolley published his final report on the site. Idrimi did not succeed Ilimilimma, son of Niqmepa, rather, he preceded his son Niqmepa on the throne; the misfortune that may have ended his father Ilimilimma's reign took place in Aleppo, a century before the burning of the Level IV palace in Alalaḫ; Addu-nirari of Nuḫašše was not Idrimi's son and did not rule at Alalaḫ. The only major element that remained intact was that Šuppiluliuma I's conquest ended Alalaḫ IV.[14] What about Woolley's reading of the archaeological evidence, which depended on his historical reconstruction? His attribution of the Level IV palace to Niqmepa has often been repeated (though not without challenge), as has his attribution of the palace's eastern wing to Niqmepa's son Ilimilimma.[15] While the date of Idrimi and the positioning of his career – as well as his statue – within Alalaḫ's history have been revised over and over, Woolley's story about the statue's final deposition was repeated as an article of dogma, until recently. Amir Fink's (2010) reexamination of the excavation records indicates that the pit containing the broken statue may have been dug from the annex to the Level III (or II?) temple instead, yielding the inherently more plausible proposition that the statue was dethroned and buried upon the Hit-

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[11] Woolley 1955: 391, with n. 3, and 394-95, drawing upon Smith 1949: 58-69, where the sequence of rulers during Level IV is reconstructed within the framework of an epigraphic and chronological argument that is as elaborate as it is tenuous.

[12] Woolley (1955: 156) writes as follows: 'There is evidence, to be discussed later, p. 163, showing that later additions should be attributed to a time after the destruction of the palace but during the Level IV period; and if that be so, then the building in its present form can only be called the Level IV castle'; and further, 'Idri-mi after his return built a new palace for himself; we found that late in the Level IV period, after the burning of Ilim-ilimma's palace, the interior of the castle was remodeled on the lines of a palace' (Woolley 1955: 395). Unfortunately the description Woolley offers of this remodeling is insubstantial as well as unclear (Woolley 1955: 163, with n. 1; see also 387), which probably accounts for its having been overlooked by almost all readers, and he does not illustrate the remains he describes.

[13] Woolley 1955: 85-89, with Fig. 34c; and see Woolley 1953: 162-63 for the anti-Hittite revolt (one suggestion that may be right; see below). His varying descriptions of the findspots of the statue and throne are collected by Fink (2010: 27-30, with Table 2; 56-58).

[14] See Wiseman 1953: 5-8; von Dassow 2008: 26-28, 31-33 (on the sequence of rulers and Addu-nirari), and 62-64 (on Šuppiluliuma's conquest), with references there. Addu-nirari of Nuḫašše, ally of Itūr-Addu of Mukiš (see below, under Documents from the time of Šuppiluliuma I), is probably not to be identified with the Addu-nirari who ruled Qaṭna during the first half of the 14th century (as indicated by one of the temple inventories found there; see Bottéro 1949: 29-33), as Richter has proposed (see Richter and Lange 2012: 158, n. 28; contra Wilhelm 2012: 239, n. 49).

[15] For a survey of scholarly opinion and the (scant) evidence and arguments regarding who built the Level IV palace, see von Dassow 2008: 35-36, advocating for Idrimi, and Fink 2010: 67-78, advocating for Niqmepa. Fink argues for attributing the rebuilding of the castle (before the palace) to Idrimi, and follows Woolley's attribution of the eastern wing of 'Niqmepa's' palace to Ilimilimma. This is not impossible, but he bases his attributions on a stratigraphic analysis that consists largely of re-labeling things (e.g., calling the Level IV fortress [= castle] a palace does not demonstrate that it was one; Fink 2010: 70, 77). Meanwhile he supports his case by claiming that for each successive ruler to 'build his own wing of the palace, while continuing to use the palace of his predecessor' is 'typical dynastic behavior' (Fink 2010: 77), without adducing any other instance of such behavior, which is not in fact typical.

tite conquest.[16] Meanwhile the interval between the end of the Level IV palace and the end of Level IV was simply neglected, in the absence of texts to fill it (see von Dassow 2008: 62).

One of the few scholars to address the neglected interval is Fink, who has sought to fill it by 1) redating Levels III-I upward so that Woolley's Level III occupies the gap between the destruction of the Level IV palace and the Hittite destruction of Alalaḫ; 2) describing the inscribed statue of Idrimi as the 'enthronement inscription' of Addu-nirari, (putative) son of Idrimi and ruler of Alalaḫ during the early 14th century; and 3) attributing the Level III/II 'Hittite' fortress to Addu-nirari and calling it his palace (see Fink 2010: 49-52, 93-99, 112-119). The first proposition is refuted by the evidence of the current excavations (discussed immediately below), automatically invalidating the third, while the second, which posits a nonexistent genre of inscription, is overdrawn. The inscription of the statue of Idrimi may well have served the purpose of legitimizing Addu-nirari, if indeed he made a bid for the throne; nothing confirms that he was enthroned, however, in the early 14th century or at any other time. In sum, while Addu-nirari and the Idrimi inscription may belong to the early 14th century, the fortress does not.[17]

Now the new excavations have yielded archaeological remains that fill that interval to a depth of almost two meters (see Fig. 3), enlarging upon and clarifying whatever remodeling of the castle Woolley observed following the destruction of the palace. Moreover, contrary to what Woolley claimed, the castle was burnt down when the palace was.[18] Akar describes and illustrates the phases of the castle over the course of Woolley's Level IV, as revealed by excavations in Area 1, Square 32.54, thus: Phase 2d of the castle is physically connected and stratigraphically correlated with the Level IV palace, and the two structures were destroyed together; subsequently the castle was rebuilt in three successive phases (2c, 2b, and 2a), the last of which (2a) corresponds to what Woolley mistook for the first phase of the 'Fortress' (= Level III); the castle was finally obliterated by the construction of Woolley's Level (III-)II Fortress.[19] These three phases represent about 75 years of history, still not illuminated by any texts (as none is certainly known to derive from a stratified context within those phases). So what do we call this period?

Within the framework of Woolley's periodization, it would be the second half of Level IV. However, at this juncture Woolley's stratigraphic analysis was clearly wrong. Yener and her collaborators therefore propose to call it Period 3 (using Arabic numerals to distinguish the redefined periods from Woolley's levels); the following period, defined by the construction of the big new fortress under Hittite rule, would become Period 2.[20] Akar has furthermore suggested that what Woolley defined as Level VB should instead be understood as the first phase of a redefined Level (or Period) 4, the second phase of which would feature the building of the palace, on the following grounds: the 'Level VB' phase of the castle is stratigraphically discontinuous with the preceding Level VA, but shares the ground level of the palace, the building of which represents a modification (not a replacement) of the existing structure (2012: 78-80). This suggestion has been taken up by Yener, who writes as follows: 'Given that the extensive "Palace" and "Castle" complex labeled Level VB by Woolley were still in use in IV when the "Niqme-pa

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[16] This research, first presented in Fink 2008, is recapitulated in the context of a broader reanalysis of the Late Bronze Age levels of Alalaḫ in Fink 2010 (Chapters 2-3). By its nature such an inquiry cannot be conclusive, the physical evidence of the excavated temple and pit no longer being available for examination, but Fink's reading of that evidence is more persuasive on both archaeological and historical grounds than Woolley's.

[17] See further below, with n. 34. Fink starts with a valid proposal but magnifies it, and Addu-nirari's imagined career, well beyond what the evidence warrants. Even if it were not now shown to be archaeologically impossible, there would be no basis for attributing the construction of the fortress to this figure who might have been king.

[18] See Woolley 1955: 130, 156, 166, and 395. Notwithstanding his statements in the final report, Woolley had initially observed that the palace, castle, and adjoining structures were destroyed together (Woolley 1939: 5-8; by 'western range' he means rooms of the 'castle' in its Level IV form). Fink (2010: 50-51, 93, 112) argues that the castle (= 'fortress') and palace were destroyed in one event, and so were all other Level IV structures, but his argument depends on raising the end of Woolley's Level IV to c. 1400 in order to insert the building of the Level III-II fortress into his own Level IVB^F, which the newly-excavated phases occupying that very interval show to be an invalid proposition.

[19] Akar 2019: 15-33, with Figs 2.3-2.15. For a summary see Yener 2013: 15-16.

[20] See Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 317-318, with Table 13.1; 335-41. The new period definition was previously developed in Akar 2012: 265-66 (§5.4), 275 (Fig. 5.14, illustrating the proposed new periodization), and 300-5 (§7.1).

Palace" wing was built, and given the quite different nature of the stratigraphy being recovered from new excavations beneath the "Palace VB" wing, it is perhaps more natural to consider the entire palace/castle complex VB/IV as a distinct phase, that is, Level 4 in the new phasing' (Yener 2013: 15).

Thus, the revised periodization would proceed as follows: Period 4 would begin with the rebuilding of the castle that predated the Level IV palace, and that perdured through the palace's existence; it would end with the destruction of the palace and castle circa 1400 BC. The period between that event and the obliteration of the castle, sometime after Šuppiluliuma's conquest in the 1330s, would be Period 3. The next period, Period 2, would be defined by the construction of the Hittite fortress and its contemporary in Area 4 – renamed the 'Northern Fortress' and the 'Southern Fortress' – projects that may have lasted for barely a generation, before being abandoned about 1300 BC.[21] Period 1 would correspond broadly to Woolley's Level I, which is divided into three by successive rebuildings of the temple; the reconstruction of residences in the vicinity of the temple and new construction atop the Southern Fortress belong to the early part of this period. Lastly, an early Iron Age reoccupation of Tell Atchana, also noted by Woolley, would constitute Period 0.

Two remarks about nomenclature are in order at this point. First, about the fortress Woolley called Hittite, which Yener *et al.* call the Northern Fortress (or Building 2003-1), Akar writes that the term 'was selected to avoid identifications with any ethnic or political identity' (2019: 27). Of all the buildings ever excavated at Tell Atchana, however, this one has the best claim to be identified by the name designating a people, or better a kingdom, considering the designation 'Hittite' to have a political referent over and above any putative ethnic one. The current excavation team have not rejected the idea that it was built under Hittite rule. On the contrary they reinforce this attribution, speculating that the Northern Fortress was meant to be 'the central Hittite administrative complex' and to make 'an important statement' of Hittite domination (Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 338). Although Akar obliquely criticizes Woolley's identification of the building with its builders or sponsors (Akar 2013: 39-40), he affirms it by suggesting that raising the foundation platform on which the fortress was built 'could intentionally reflect the style of the Hittite overlords' (Akar 2013: 44). Second, it is not altogether obvious that this building's southern counterpart merits the designation 'fortress.' No explicit argument for calling the structure (Building 2006-2) a fortress is made in the excavators' discussions of it, although the presence of a possible city wall nearby is observed (Akar 2019: 59-60) as well as finds of weaponry (Yener, Akar, Horowitz 2019: 339). Nevertheless, following the usage chosen for the current excavation project, the designations Northern and Southern Fortress will be employed herein.

ALALAḪ AND MUKIŠ DURING THE 14TH AND 13TH CENTURIES[22]

Turning now to the main purpose, the rest of this article is occupied with examining the relevant textual sources together with the archaeological evidence in order to develop a framework for reconstructing Alalaḫ's history during the last two centuries of the Bronze Age. It is organized on the template of the revised periodization outlined above, which however may be further revised in future excavation reports. In the present study, therefore, periods of the city's history will be described primarily by reference to Woolley's levels or in terms of approximate dates and key events, buildings, or persons.

Two tables compile the principal elements from which the historical framework may be constructed. Table 1 charts archaeological events, phases, and diagnostic finds at Tell Atchana that form the basis for constructing it, and correlates them with textually-attested persons where possible.[23] These data are plotted against the series of

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[21] Cf. however Pucci (2020: 330-31), who interprets the ceramic evidence to indicate that the Southern Fortress continued in use in the early 13th century.

[22] The geographical name conventionally rendered Mukiš should perhaps be corrected to Mugiš, in accord with Hurrian phonology, based on the Ugaritic spelling *mgšḥ* (with the Hurrian gentilic suffix) attested in CAT 2.33 (see below, with n. 90). Absent certainty that the name is originally Hurrian, I have opted to retain the conventional spelling.

[23] Data from the current excavations that are incorporated into Table 1 are mostly to be found in Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019; other sources are cited below. The absolute dates suggested are my own proposal.

levels defined by Woolley on the left, and against a timeline of approximate dates on the right. The approximate dates given herein are predicated on the assumption that the solar omen of Muršili II's 10th regnal year was indeed a solar eclipse, either that of 1312 BC (following Wilhelm 2012) or the less-noticeable eclipse of 1308 BC (following Gautschy 2017).[24] The revised periodization developed by Yener's team is given in the second column from the right, with brackets indicating which phases in the new excavations each period or level (numbered with Arabic numerals) would encompass. The time-frame covered by Table 1 includes Levels V-IV, although they fall outside this article's scope, because the redefinition of Period (Level) 4 is interdependent with the definition of a new Period 3; both proceed from reinterpreting the relation between castle and palace.[25]

Table 2 charts the textual evidence for Alalaḫ's history during these periods. The core territory of the realm ruled from Alalaḫ was Mukiš, and the realm could be referred to, *pars pro toto*, by either name. The two entities must however be distinguished: the land of Mukiš was not equivalent to the realm of Alalaḫ, which in the 15th century encompassed other territories as well.[26] Only when the city of Alalaḫ was the seat of government would references to Mukiš as a polity apply to Alalaḫ as its capital. The name Mukiš denoted a town as well as a region, and it is possible that the town of Mukiš (whose location is unknown) sometimes served as the seat of government, instead of Alalaḫ.[27] It cannot therefore be assumed that Alalaḫ, the city, is meant when Mukiš, the polity, is mentioned (or vice versa). Nevertheless, the textual evidence for Alalaḫ's history includes texts mentioning Mukiš.

For the 14th -13th centuries, that evidence consists primarily of texts yielding information about Alalaḫ or Mukiš within the larger context of Hittite history. These texts comprise a handful of tablets and other inscribed artifacts found at Alalaḫ itself and a number of tablets found elsewhere in the Hittite empire. The textual evidence thus falls into two categories: 1) Hittite or Hittites in texts found at Alalaḫ, and 2) Alalaḫ or Mukiš in texts issued by Ḫatti, which at present includes texts found at Ḫattusa, Ugarit, and Kayalıpınar. Table 2 lists texts in these categories in chronological order. The two categories include neither all texts found at 14th -13th century Alalaḫ, nor all texts found elsewhere that could potentially be brought to bear on reconstructing Alalaḫ's history during this period; rather, they are delimited by criteria that permit establishing a sound basis for such a reconstruction, without introducing any and every textual record that might conceivably have involved Alalaḫ or Mukiš. Thus Hittite texts that mention Mukiš or Alalaḫ but offer no direct historical information, such as ritual texts, are omitted from Table 2, although they come into consideration in treating Ḫatti's relationships with this region.

More important is to note which texts are absent from category 2 on the criteria that define it: the Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75); the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I; Muršili II's Ten-year Annals, as well as his Extensive Annals; Muršili II's treaty with Tuppi-Teššob of Amurru; and (perhaps) Muršili II's disposition of Tuppi-Teššob's dispute

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[24] The solar omen remains one of many points of debate in the endeavor to establish the absolute chronology and synchronization of Egyptian, Hittite and Mesopotamian history; for the *status quaestionis* see Devecchi and Miller 2011, and now Miller 2017 (with literature there). The schemes Miller devises would each put the dates slightly higher than Wilhelm's, while unmooring the chronology from the identification of a solar eclipse for Mursili's year 10 (Wilhelm : 109-110).

[25] With regard to the upper boundary of Period 4, new evidence for the relationship between (Woolley's) Levels V and IV derives from Square 32.57, a sounding in the palace courtyard. There, local Phase 2a, pertaining to Level V, yielded impressions of a seal that was also impressed on a tablet found in the Level IV palace (AlT 419); see von Dassow 2008: 298, and for the newly-found seal impressions see Yener 2007: 175, with Fig. 8. In the same phase were found olive pits dated by C14 to 1518-1411 BC (Yener 2008: 288), as well as a sherd of a Vapheio cup (to be published by Robert Koehl; information courtesy Mara Horowitz). These three items (sealings, dated olive pits, sherd) are incorporated into Table 1.

[26] See von Dassow 2008: 64-67. The distinction between the region of Mukiš and the realm of Alalaḫ has been lost on some readers of the sources, notably Jesse Casana, who misrepresents Michael Astour as arguing for a 'mega-Mukish' (Casana 2009: 26) while overlooking the textual evidence that Alalaḫ's territory included more lands than Mukiš during the period of Level IV. Cf. Cohen 2017: 299, with n. 40.

[27] For the Alalaḫ IV tablets that attest the town of Mukiš, see von Dassow 2008: 197-98, 214, and 216-21. The suggestion that the seat of government may have moved from Alalaḫ to Mukiš (von Dassow 2005: 51-52; 2008: 59-62) remains in the realm of hypothesis. It would be tempting to locate the city of Mukiš at Tell Tayinat, just across the ancient Orontes from Tell Atchana, if excavations there were to reveal substantial Late Bronze Age occupation.

with the king of Carchemish, Tudḫaliya, and Ḫalbaḫe (see below, with n. 61). None of these texts mentions Mukiš or Alalaḫ. Nor, incidentally, do Rameses II's reports of the Battle of Qadesh.

From Ilimilimma to Itūr-Addu (ca. 1400-1325 BC)

As described above, after the palace and castle were destroyed during the reign of Ilimilimma, the castle was rebuilt thrice, in Phases 2c, 2b, and 2a, before being replaced by the massive new fortress built under Hittite rule. No texts have yet been found in a secure context within any of those three phases, nor do any texts, of whatever provenance, definitely refer to events that transpired at Alalaḫ within this period, which would have run from roughly 1400 to sometime after Šuppiluliuma's conquest of Mukiš in the 1330s. This period is however bracketed by references in a few documents issued by Ḫatti: CTH 135 mentions events involving Alalaḫ that may have occurred around its start; a Hurrian tablet fragment found at Kayalıpınar (Kp 05/226 = KpT 1.11) recounts events involving Alalaḫ and Mukiš that probably also transpired circa 1400; CTH 45, 46, and 47, all of which were found at Ugarit, mention events that brought this period to a close; so do CTH 49, 51, and 53, each framing the events differently; and CTH 136 belongs toward the end of this period. Two more texts, the Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75) and the inscription on the statue of Idrimi, have been adduced to reconstruct the history of this period, although the one yields only circumstantial evidence and the other a problem in search of resolution. In the following subsections all of the aforementioned texts are discussed roughly in the chronological order of the moments to which they or their contents are thought to pertain.[28]

CTH 135 and the Aleppo Treaty

The destruction of Alalaḫ during Ilimilimma's reign has been attributed to Tudḫaliya I, because the historical prologue to the Aleppo Treaty, concluded by Muršili II with Talmi-šarrumma (and extant in a copy drawn up under Muwattalli II), reports that Tudḫaliya razed Aleppo.[29] The idea that Tudḫaliya also destroyed Alalaḫ when he attacked Aleppo is not unreasonable, but it is predicated on no direct evidence, and other enemies of Alalaḫ were at hand – notably Tunip, as we shall see presently. Nevertheless, the gravitational force of a suggestion that something was done by a Hittite ruler suffices to attract other sources as if for mutual corroboration. Thus, CTH 135, a fragmentary treaty between Ḫatti and Tunip, has been attributed to Tudḫaliya I, too, though Šuppiluliuma I has been another contender.[30] The Hittite king concluded this treaty with Lab'u, who is otherwise unknown, and with the city of Tunip. The treaty's historical prologue narrates a conflict between Alalaḫ and Tunip in which Ilimilimma figures as the aggressor who has taken towns from Tunip in violation of an oath (*māmītu*), probably the very treaty concluded by Ilimilimma's father Niqmepa with Ir-Teššob of Tunip (AlT 2) that was found broken on the floor of the Alalaḫ IV palace.[31]

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[28] For translations of CTH 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 53, and 75, with a concordance citing the original sources, editions, and studies, see Beckman 1999; for CTH 49, 51, 53, and 75, as well as CTH 135 and 136, see Devecchi 2015. An edition of CTH 136 is provided by Devecchi 2007, and an edition of CTH 135 by Kitchen and Lawrence 2012, no. 52. CTH 135 may comprise as many as four fragments: KUB 3.16 and 21 plus KBo 19.59 and KBo 28.122. The text of KUB 3.16+21 was first edited by Weidner (1923, no. 10); KBo 19.59 was later joined to KUB 3.16; then del Monte (1985) suggested that KBo 28.122 belonged to this treaty, but with no join, and this fragment is not included by Kitchen and Lawrence (2012).

[29] See von Dassow 2008: 61. The numbering of the Tudḫaliyas, long an unsettled element in the sequence of Ḫatti's kings, seems to have been resolved so that the king whose consort was Nikkalmati is Tudḫaliya I, the father of Šuppiluliuma I is Tudḫaliya II, and so on (see Miller 2004: 5-7, with Table 1); however, the second Tudḫaliya may still be labeled III in accord with past practice (see, e.g. Miller 2017: 105-106, Figs 3.03 and 3.04).

[30] This treaty has gone backwards in time by stages: Weidner suggested attributing it to Muwattalli II (Weidner 1923: 136, n. 1); Astour confidently assigned it to Šuppiluliuma I (Astour 1969: 391-394); and Klinger (1995), followed by Devecchi (2007: 214) among others, attributes it to Tudḫaliya I.

[31] See Klinger 1995: 241; von Dassow 2008: 60-62.

One might infer that it was the army of Tunip that destroyed Alalaḫ, since, according to CTH 135, Tunip had a *casus belli*. Instead Tudḫaliya has gotten credit for both the destruction of Alalaḫ and the treaty with Tunip, and as a consequence he is even thought to have annexed the kingdom of Mukiš.[32] If however CTH 135 was actually concluded by Šuppiluliuma I, half a century later, it would have quite different ramifications. Jörg Klinger (1995: 239-40) argues for attributing it to Tudḫaliya I on palaeographic and prosopographic grounds: the tablet is written in Middle Hittite script, and it features not only Ilimilimma of Alalaḫ but one Pitḫana, who may be identified with a Pitḫana who appears in a land grant of Muwatalli I (Tudḫaliya's predecessor). The date range of the Middle Hittite script extends to the early part of Šuppiluliuma's reign, however, and both Pitḫana and Ilimilimma appear in the treaty's historical prologue; one would have to assume that the events recounted in the prologue occurred immediately prior to the making of the treaty in order to equate the two moments. Historical prologues to treaties made by Ḫatti could reach rather far back in time, as witness the Aleppo Treaty! Inasmuch as CTH 135 could have been concluded long after the altercation between Alalaḫ and Tunip narrated in its prologue, the case for attributing it to Tudḫaliya I is not secure.[33]

Relevant to the question of Tudḫaliya I's role in the region's history are the texts recording rituals attributed to Allaituraḫe of Mukiš and Giziya of Alalaḫ, the extant redactions of which are palaeographically dated to his time (Miller 2004: 506, with n. 924; on Allaituraḫe see now Wilhelm 2020). However, as Miller points out, a number of possible scenarios could account for the presence of these texts in Ḫattusa, as well as for their attribution to particular ritual specialists (Miller 2004: 507-511; see also Miller 2005: 130-31). The historical – as distinct from the cultural – significance of the preservation by Hittite scribes of texts recording rituals attributed to practitioners from Alalaḫ and Mukiš is thus a matter of conjecture.

The statue inscription of Idrimi

It has been suggested – by Woolley first of all – that Addu-nirari, the son and successor of Idrimi who is named in the statue inscription, but who is wholly unattested in the archives of Alalaḫ IV, came to power after the destruction that occurred during the reign of Ilimilimma.[34] This would account both for the scribe Šarruwe's explicit credit line, otherwise aberrant in a royal inscription, and for the designation of the otherwise unknown Addu-nirari as heir; whether or not he was really a son or descendant of Idrimi, the inscribed statue would have materialized his claim to the kingship of Alalaḫ. On this hypothesis, his reign could be placed in the period following the destruction of the palace and castle, presumably in this period's first phase (represented by Phase 2c in Square 32.54).

The postulate that Addu-nirari attained the throne of Alalaḫ, and moreover expressed his right to it by commissioning a statue whose inscription commemorated his forebear's campaign against Ḫatti, would stand in interesting tension with the postulate that Tudḫaliya acquired actual control over Mukiš after (putatively) destroying Alalaḫ (see above, with n. 32). There is however no more evidence confirming the attribution of Addu-nirari to the early 14th century than there is for his existence during the late 15th century. A prince of Alalaḫ by this name is attested only in the inscription on Idrimi's statue, about which Weeden observes, 'it seems impossible to integrate this inscription into the context of Alalah IV without writing some kind of historical novel to account for the absence of Addu-Nerari from the documents. I myself prefer the shorter novella that has Addu-Nerari dying or being killed before taking the throne' (Weeden 2019: 140), i.e., as Idrimi's successor in the 15th century.

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[32] Devecchi 2007: 214. It must be noted that conquest does not automatically imply annexation.

[33] In the edition published by Kitchen and Lawrence (2012, no. 52), Tudḫaliya's name is conjecturally restored in the treaty's first line, no trace of which is visible in the photographs of the fragment (Bo 2632 = KUB 3.16) provided on line on the Hethitologie Portal Mainz. The reader may benefit from critiques of Kitchen and Lawrence (2012), in particular Charpin 2016: 141-48; Lauinger 2016; and von Dassow 2016.

[34] See von Dassow 2008: 32-33; Fink 2010: 94-99; and now Lauinger 2019 (esp. 36-38). See also above, with nn. 11-14, 17.

KpT 1.11 (Kp 05/226)

The most tantalizing source pertaining to Alalaḫ's history during this period is a fragment of a Hurrian tablet in Middle Hittite script discovered at Kayalıpınar, the site of Šamuḫa.[35] The text, partly composed in the first person, narrates events in the land of Kizzuwatna that involve (an) Alalaḫ(ian), and tells of the missions of two personages named Eḫli-Tenu and Ilī-Šarruma.[36] Together they traveled into the mountains, whence they set out 'with your gift' and took the way down to the sea. Eḫli-Tenu ascended to Mt. Sallurbi, descended to Mukiš, and proceeded to Mittani, while Ilī-Šarruma apparently went to Winuwanda to do something else. The next episode involves other individuals, including a woman named Ammī-lū-šarra, as well as the god Teššob and the entire pantheon; the narrator, now speaking in the first person, relates that he gave [x], does not give [y] as a burnt-offering, and does not offer [z] to the gods, in a passage that mentions a Hittite.[37]

Would that we could learn who Eḫli-Tenu and Ilī-Šarruma were, who the narrator was, and to whom this tale is addressed! But it is not even clear to what genre this unique text may belong. Gernot Wilhelm suggests that it is either a detailed letter or an annalistic narrative, and now inclines toward the former (2006: 233; 2019: 199). The hypothesis that it is a letter would account for the first-person narrator, as well as the second-person reference ('your gift'); but to whom would it have been addressed, and why in Hurrian, given that it was found at Šamuḫa? Prayer is another genre that features both third-person and first-person narration, as well as second-person address, and the mention of offering (or not) to the gods could suggest a prayer. Epic poetry is another possibility, as is historical narrative, which could of course be incorporated into texts of many genres.

And what about the date of the text and the events it relates? Wilhelm initially preferred an attribution to Tudḫaliya I, on the grounds that it was this king who joined Kizzuwatna to Ḫatti and that his campaign to Aleppo had to have affected Alalaḫ and Mukiš, while acknowledging the possibility of a later attribution, even as late as the early reign of Šuppiluliuma I (Wilhelm 2006: 236). Rieken observes that the text's sign forms indicate a date toward the end of the Middle Hittite period (Rieken 2009: 130); furthermore, in exploring the significance of its presence at Kayalıpınar, she remarks that the city of Šamuḫa "served Tudḫaliya II/III as a place of refuge after the destruction of Hattuša and simultaneously the prince Šuppiluliuma as the starting point for a campaign in the south of the realm" (Rieken 2009: 133). Wilhelm has meanwhile strengthened the argument from Tudḫaliya II's association with Šamuḫa. Hurrian did not become widespread in Ḫatti until his time, he observes, and attributing KpT 1.11 to Tudḫaliya II would fit with the report of this king's campaign to Mt. Nanni (= Anticassius) in a fragment of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (Wilhelm 2012: 231-32; 2015: 73). Furthermore, another of the Hurrian texts found at Kayalıpınar (KpT 1.32) involves Tašmešarri, who is securely identified with Tudḫaliya II (Wilhelm 2019: 197).

As matters stand (if only the other half of the tablet would turn up!), it is not possible to tell just what the protagonists of the narrative were doing that brought one of them to Mukiš, and when they were doing it. Together, however, the findspot, script, language, and content of KpT 1.11 are highly suggestive of its historical context. Bearing in mind that the tablet necessarily postdates the events narrated – perhaps considerably – these elements combine to indicate that the tablet itself pertains to the reign of Tudḫaliya II in the mid-14th century, while the narrative relates events in the time of Tudḫaliya I, toward 1400.

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[35] Kp 05/226, first described in Wilhelm 2006, was then presented in transliteration and translation (unfortunately without annotation) by Wilhelm *apud* Rieken 2009: 130-33; the text is now published as KpT 1.11 (with minimal annotation) in Wilhelm 2019. In what follows I draw upon the interim results of a collaboration with Sebastian Fischer in the study of this text.

[36] Alalaḫ is written without a determinative, while Mukiš (like Kizzuwatna) is written with the URU (city) determinative, and both toponyms are provided with the derivational suffix -ġe (spelled -ḫi). Thus the first may be a gentilic ('Alalaḫian') while the second denotes the region of (the city) Mukiš. Cf. Wilhelm 2015: 73, where he reads ^{URU}Mukišḫe as if it stood for Alalaḫ.

[37] The gentilic appears in l. 33', where ^{uru}Ḫa-ad-du<-ḫu>-u-uḫ-ḫa-al-la is spelled with an erroneous extra writing of the suffix -ġ(e)- before the essive case marker, and it carries the 3pl. enclitic -lla; read thus Ḫatt(i)=o=ḫḫ(e)=a=lla, in which neither the Hittite (in the essive) nor the 3pl. enclitic pronoun (in the absolutive) can be the subject.

Documents from the time of Šuppiluliuma I

The remaining texts listed above pertain to the transition to Hittite rule, at the end of the period under discussion. CTH 136 is a fragment of a treaty between Ḫatti and Mukiš that was probably concluded under Šuppiluliuma, at a certain moment in the course of the Hittite conquest of northern Syria.[38] At what moment, other evidence may enable us to say, although none of this treaty's historical prologue is preserved, nor is the name of the ruler of Mukiš with whom it was concluded. He might have been Itūr-Addu, who is named in the historical prologue to CTH 46, Šuppiluliuma's edict granting terms to Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit.[39]

According to CTH 46, Niqmaddu appealed to Ḫatti when his kingdom was attacked by a coalition comprising Itūr-Addu, king of Mukiš, Addu-nirari, king of Nuḫašše, and Agi-Teššob, king of Niya; furthermore, the text relates that Niqmaddu came to Alalaḫ to submit to Šuppiluliuma, and Ištar of Alalaḫ was among the divine witnesses to the document. This text is complemented by CTH 45, Šuppiluliuma's letter to Niqmaddu urging him not to join Mukiš and Nuḫašše in opposition to Ḫatti, but to submit to Ḫatti (as Niqmaddu then does), and by CTH 47, Šuppiluliuma's edict specifying Ugarit's tribute to Ḫatti, which has a historical prologue that recapitulates the story about Mukiš and Nuḫašše pressuring Ugarit to join in hostilities against Ḫatti. Meanwhile, the members of the coalition resisting Hittite conquest appear in separate episodes in the historical prologue of CTH 51, Šuppiluliuma's treaty with Šattiwaza of Mittani, which narrates Šuppiluliuma's (so-called) 'One-year Campaign.' The pertinent passage of this text first reports Šuppiluliuma's conquest of Aleppo and Mukiš, without naming their rulers; then the narrative turns to Niya, whose king Taguwe came to the land of Mukiš to submit to Šuppiluliuma, but Taguwe's brother Agi-Teššob united Niya against him and brought Agiya, king of Araḫati, into alliance against Ḫatti, whereupon Šuppiluliuma defeated Agi-Teššob and Araḫati, and conquered Qaṭna, too; then the text relates his invasion of Nuḫašše, which he captured, and whose king Šarrupše he replaced – with no mention of Addu-nirari. Finally, two other treaties concluded by Šuppiluliuma, CTH 49 (with Aziru of Amurru) and CTH 53 (with Tette of Nuḫašše), mention Mukiš as one of several once and potential future enemies of Ḫatti.

Clearly each of these texts selects different elements of a complex multi-stage drama for the narrative it presents, so that they do not tell the same story about the same course of events (and it would violate sound interpretive method to make them do so).[40] Wilhelm analyzes the diverse accounts, adducing the evidence of the letters recently discovered at Qaṭna as well as the relevant Amarna letters, and reconstructs the following sequence of episodes. In his 'One-year Campaign,' the narrative of which incorporates later events, Šuppiluliuma conquered Ḫalab and Mukiš (as related in CTH 51); at this time he concluded treaties with several kingdoms formerly subject to Mittani, including Mukiš (represented by CTH 136), Niya, Nuḫašše, and Qaṭna; subsequently, several of the newly-subjected kingdoms rebelled against Hittite rule, in particular Mukiš, Nuḫašše, and Niya, the coalition that attacked Ugarit (as related in CTH 46).[41] The moment when Itūr-Addu, Addu-nirari, and Agi-Teššob were all kings of their respective realms and combined to oppose Ḫatti can be roughly fixed to the years following Šuppiluliuma's initial conquest of Mukiš, thus sometime in the 1330s.

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[38] Devecchi (2007) has demonstrated that CTH 136 should be identified as a treaty with Mukiš and attributed to Šuppiluliuma I; further, she argues for dating it to the moment after he subjected Aleppo and Mukiš, as narrated in CTH 51.

[39] Following Devecchi 2012, CTH 46 is classified as an edict rather than a treaty, along with CTH 47 and 65. Her arguments proceed along several lines: first, these three tablets take the same form as Hittite royal land grants; second, unlike treaties, they lack mention of an oath sworn by the subjected party; moreover, they were found in the latter's archives, while Hittite treaties are known mainly from copies kept in the sovereign's archives. *Pace* Singer (2017: 615, n. 2), who suggests that the name of the king of Mukiš should be read in Hurrian (GUR-Teššob), I retain the reading Itūr-Addu because the names of his known predecessors as rulers of Alalaḫ are Semitic.

[40] The historiographic approach that attempts to make all sources tell pieces of the same story (which can then be assembled from the pieces) is exemplified by Astour 1969. For recent points of entry into the secondary literature that has proliferated around the sources pertaining to the time of Šuppiluliuma I and Mursili II, see Miller 2008 and Wilhelm 2012.

[41] Wilhelm 2012: 237-40 and 2015: 74, wherein he explains how the compositional strategy of the prologue to Šuppiluliuma's treaty with Šattiwaza relates to the objectives of this text. Violetta Cordani (2011) has offered a different analysis that plots the events of Šuppiluliuma's 'One-year Campaign' over the course of five years.

While the precise details are elusive, it is certain that the kingdom of Mukiš played a key role in Ḫatti's subjugation of Syria, that it was one of the first dominoes to fall, and that the city of Alalaḫ was the stage for effecting at least some parties' submission to Ḫatti.[42] Alalaḫ was where Niqmaddu of Ugarit went to submit; it was probably where Taguwe of Niya went, too, when he went to Mukiš at an earlier stage; and presumably it was there that the ruler of Mukiš, whether Itūr-Addu or a predecessor, submitted to Šuppiluliuma. The same occasion could also have involved the submission of other parties – such as Tunip, enemy of Alalaḫ and likely a voluntary Hittite vassal, which features in no extant narrative of the Hittite conquest. If the edict by which Šuppiluliuma bound Niqmaddu (CTH 46) was issued at Alalaḫ, that accounts for the presence of Ištar of Alalaḫ among the divine witnesses to the document. This consideration, however, highlights the absence from the finds at Alalaḫ of any documentary trace of Mukiš's treaty with Ḫatti: CTH 136 was found at Boğazköy.

The textual evidence discussed above hardly permits any concrete inferences about the history of Mukiš or Alalaḫ between the destruction of Alalaḫ's citadel during Ilimilimma's reign and Šuppiluliuma's conquest of Mukiš seven decades later. It is certain that Alalaḫ and Tunip were in conflict at the start of that interval, it appears that conflicts involving Mukiš involved Ḫatti, and it is possible that Tudḫaliya I was the destroyer of Alalaḫ. Elena Devecchi concludes that Tudḫaliya I subjugated the kingdom of Mukiš, based on a) the fact that Kizzuwatna became a subject of Ḫatti during his reign (CTH 41 and 131), b) the Aleppo Treaty's report of his conquest of Aleppo, and c) Šuppiluliuma's statement in his letter to Niqmaddu of Ugarit (CTH 45) that the kings of Nuḫašše and Mukiš 'renounced the peace treaty with Ḫatti,' which Devecchi argues should refer to treaties that had been concluded under Tudḫaliya I.[43] According to the reconstruction outlined above, however, the treaties the kings of Mukiš and Nuḫašše rejected would have been imposed by Šuppiluliuma (assuming that the letter refers not to treaties offered but to treaties actually concluded). The validity of extrapolating from Aleppo to Alalaḫ (or to Mukiš) may be questioned, and other indications that Tudḫaliya I campaigned in the Amuq are uncertain. Thus the textual evidence does not suffice for inferring the effective implantation of Hittite rule over Mukiš during the early-to-mid-14th century. Moreover, Hittite domination is not in evidence in the archaeological remains of this period at Alalaḫ.

Until – perhaps – its last phase. A group of thirteen tablets attests the presence of Hittite administration and may derive from the last rebuilding of the castle (Phase 2a in Square 32.54). These thirteen tablets, AlT 309-318 plus three fragments recently identified by Christian Niedorf, each record the distribution of barley in a given month, following a common template and starting with the same two entries: barley (ŠE) is allocated to 'the gods' and to a man with the Hittite name Tarḫuziti.[44] The recipients recorded thereafter include, variously, the goddess Ḫebat, the carpenters, the *maryannū* (note the Akkadian rather than the Hurrian plural), the men of certain towns, a man named Piruwe, other named individuals, and an unnamed 'man of Ḫatti.' Each tablet concludes by totaling up the allocations as (x) measures of beer – or was it wine, since that is what KAŠ often signifies in Syria, and besides, the goddess Ḫebat required wine from Mukiš in the following century.[45] The months given in the

[42] N.B.: CTH 51 does not specify Alalaḫ. Wilhelm (2015: 73) again reads (the land of) Mukiš as (the city of) Alalaḫ here, which may be correct but is not what the text says. Probable as it may be that Šuppiluliuma established a 'temporary residence' at Alalaḫ (loc. cit.), or 'set up his headquarters in Mukiš' as Singer writes (2017: 615), these statements read information into the record rather than interpreting it.

[43] Devecchi 2007: 211-214. To support the proposal that Tudḫaliya I imposed a vassal treaty on Mukiš, she adduces a treaty with Aštata represented by fragments joined as KBo 50.134 (catalogued under CTH 212), as well as CTH 135 (on the assumption that this treaty with Tunip is to be attributed to Tudḫaliya). See also Devecchi 2013: 81-83.

[44] The texts of AlT 309-318 (only catalogued in Wiseman 1953) are given in transliteration in Wiseman 1959; for copies, see Wiseman 1953, pl. 33 (AlT 309) and Wiseman 1954: 25-26. The three uncatalogued texts added by Niedorf (2008: 95-96) are nos. 433.11-13 in his numbering system. Photos of several tablets in this group are now on line in the Alalach-Archiv hosted by the Hethitologie Portal: https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/Alalach/alalarch.php

[45] Ḫebat's wine order appears in the report of a dream of Queen Puduḫepa, on which see most recently Singer 2017: 622. Niedorf (2008) adduces this text in arguing for taking KAŠ to signify wine, not beer, in the group of tablets under discussion, which he describes as 'wine-delivery lists.' This would be consistent with usage of KAŠ at Alalaḫ but out of accord with disbursals of ŠE. See also von Dassow 2015: 179, with n. 11.

headings are designated by the logograms for Babylonian month names, rather than by the Hurrian month names they had borne during Level IV at Alalaḫ, and the measure used is the sila$_3$, not the *parīsu* measure as before.

The change in calendrical and metrological systems indicates a change in administration, and the appearance of Hittites indicates its political affiliation. All these tablets, 'written by the same rough hand' as Wiseman put it (1953: 92), clearly derive from the same dossier although they were not all found in one spot. Several of them were found together in Woolley's Square T8, within the area of the Hittite fortress but in a spot where he identified an addition to the Level IV palace (hence the tablets were attributed to Level IV); others, evidently having been scattered from their original location, came from diverse findspots that he identified (generally) as Level III or II.[46] The data are inadequate to determine the stratigraphic position of the tablets' findspots, much less their original location, but taken together the findspots' very stratigraphic indeterminacy – Woolley's Level III or IV? – suggests that they may belong to the last phase of the castle before it was replaced by the Northern Fortress.

None of the texts issued by Ḫatti under Šuppiluliuma mentions what he may have done at the city of Alalaḫ, other than accept Niqmaddu's submission there. In particular, he does not mention destroying it – and if the battles in which Mukiš was defeated were fought elsewhere, there is no reason he should have done so – nor does he (in any extant passage) mention fortifying it or installing a ruler or anything. Fortifying Alalaḫ is another thing Šuppiluliuma would have had no reason to do upon subjugating the kingdom of Mukiš, unless he had installed a Hittite prince to replace the local leadership, which no evidence suggests he did. At most, based on CTH 136, it may be supposed that Šuppiluliuma imposed the treaty with Mukiš on a local ruler (as in all his other vassal treaties), whose government could have hosted Hittite officials to maintain and implement Hittite dominion. Any Hittite official posted at Alalaḫ – like Tarḫuziti – would probably have brought his own scribe, whose activity could have materialized Hittite administration in the production of written records like AlT 309-318. Thus the fortress was most likely built not upon Šuppiluliuma's conquest but under the rule of his successor, Muršili II (see below, with n. 65).

The implantation of direct Hittite rule (ca. 1325-1300 BC)

The next period is defined by the construction of the Northern Fortress (Woolley's Hittite Fortress), located in Area 1 of the current excavations (see Fig. 4), and the newly-discovered Southern Fortress, located in Area 4 (see Fig. 5 and above, with n. 8). One may therefore call it the Fortress period. The contemporaneity of the two buildings is apparent from similarities in construction methods and material culture. Woolley considered the Hittite fortress to have been built in Level III and rebuilt in Level II, but the lack of clear and consistent delineation of Level III, alongside the continuity into Level II of the structure that defines it, suggests that his Level III may have been a phantom stratum combining elements that should be differentiated between the period of Hittite rule and the preceding period.[47] While the re-excavation of the Northern Fortress has produced new evidence for its construction, as well as clarifying its stratigraphic relationship with the castle it replaced, it has not yielded diagnostic material attesting who built the fortress and when. The excavation of the Southern Fortress, however, has. Among the finds in this building are pottery typical of Hittite Anatolia, a drainage installation similar to those found at Ḫattuša, and a Hittite shaft-hole axe found in topsoil but perhaps originating from the Southern Fortress, phase 2.[48]

Almost no tablets or other inscriptions have yet been found in stratified contexts in either the Northern or Southern Fortress, or elsewhere in loci clearly belonging to this period. About ten tablets and fragments found during Woolley's excavations are likely to derive from the Fortress period, based on the find contexts reported

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[46] See von Dassow 2005: 29-30 with n. 66-67 and Chart B for the findspots of these tablets as recorded during the excavations and subsequently in print.

[47] See the re-analyses of Akar 2012: 78-80, 152-53; 2013: 42; and Akar 2019: 16, 27-29.

[48] See Akar 2013: 45-46; Akar 2019: 60-63 (with illustrations of the drain pipe, Fig. 2.39); Yener 2011 (for the shaft-hole axe); and Yener, Akar, and Horowitz (eds) 2019: 320 (pottery), 339 (axe).

on their field cards.[49] In addition, one of the four tablet fragments found in 2003 came from a context assigned to this period, but it could well originate from an earlier one; barely four signs are preserved, not enough for interpretation.[50] More recently two tiny fragments of lexical tablets have been found, one apiece in the 2011 and 2015 excavation seasons, but each was found in secondary context and it is likely that, together with other lexical material found in later contexts, they originate from Level IV (see below, with n. 54). Among the seals and impressions of seals inscribed in Anatolian hieroglyphs that were found during Woolley's excavations, at least one was found in a Level II context.[51] A few seals or sealings with Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions have been found in the new excavations, but none so far in a late-14th century context.[52] The most significant such find is the impression of a seal belonging to the prince Tudḫaliya and his wife Asnu-Ḫepa, who probably arrived at Alalaḫ during this period, but the sealing was found in what appears to be a Level I context (see below, with n. 59).

In the following paragraphs I describe the texts that derive from (or have been attributed to) contexts within the period of Hittite rule, some of which may pertain to the Fortress period (Woolley's Level II, now Period 2).

Tablets of miscellaneous contents

Fragments of a Hittite oracle tablet, AlT 454 (excavation no. ATT 46/2a-c), were found in rubble fill 'under found[ation] of a wall of Level I phase A' of the temple (quoting the field card), thus in Level II. Woolley assigned the tablet to Level III on the grounds that 'it comes from a burnt building, and the Level II temple in which it was found had not been burnt' (1955: 78), as the Level III temple was. Since it was found in fill, it could have originated from a context other than the temple (cf. Fink 2010: 52, with n. 33); its findspot in any case predates the 13th century. Another fragment bearing the excavation number ATT/47/26 and described on the field card as a 'Hittite omen text' (apparently not catalogued or published) was recorded as found in Level III, Square S13, which would be in the area of the Northern Fortress. Most likely this fragment and its fellow Hittite oracle tablet share the same original storage location, whichever building it was, dating to the late 14th century. The palaeography of AlT 454, however, dates to the late 13th century (Singer 2017: 624, with n. 6). Unless one supposes that the tablet's findspot was incorrectly recorded, the palaeographic and archaeological data flatly contradict each other.

A fragment of a legal document, AlT 105 (excavation number ATT 38/1), was found in 'Palace site, level 2', and a few more tablets or fragments known only by their excavation numbers are recorded from similarly indistinct

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[49] See von Dassow 2005: 30, with Chart B and Appendix I (pp. 19-20, 52-57), on these tablets and their findspots, as well as the dissociation of excavation numbers from tablets found during Woolley's excavations at Tell Atchana. The field cards for the tablets, from which I quote below, are held in the British Museum; I repeat my thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to study the excavation cards, and to Christopher Walker, formerly Deputy Keeper in the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art, for photocopying them on my behalf in 2002. Transcriptions of the field cards for objects with ATT numbers (tablets, envelopes, and sealings) from the 1939, 1947, and 1948 seasons are published in Lauinger 2011, Appendix 1.

[50] This fragment is A03-R1600, found in Phase 2 of Area 1, Square 32.53; it is one of four found in 2003 and published by Lauinger (2005; 2010). Of the others, one was found in an area of modern deposition and two, including the ḪAR-ra/ḫubullu fragment (A03-R1001+A03-R1139, discussed below), were found in topsoil (Lauinger 2010: 86-87).

[51] See Woolley 1955: 266-67, with Pl. 47, for a list of these seals (nos. 153-64), contributed by R. D. Barnett. One sealing (AT/37/101) is recorded as 'from the main street, Level II' on its field card; Barnett's reading of the legend as CHIEFTAIN-qa-nu-ha-pa should be corrected to tara/i-pari-nú-ha/e-pa according to Dinçol and Peker 2019: 86. A seal inscribed A-wa-taš (AT/38/135) that was recorded as 'from palace site, above destruction level of palace, Level III, Sq. S 12,' could belong to Period 2 (rather than 3). Other seals with Anatolian hieroglyphs derive either from other levels or from unstratified contexts.

[52] Lauinger (2005) lists three stamp seals with Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions found in 2003. Two of these (A03-R1115 and A03-R1207) are described under the rubric 'Middle Bronze Age Glyptic' by Collon (2010: 91-92), and the third (A03-R1534) does not appear in the volume reporting on the 2003-2004 excavation seasons (unless the number is an error for A03-R1554, listed as 'unclassified,' Lauinger 2005: 90).

find contexts in Level II.[53] One administrative record listing objects in Hurrian (AlT 440), found in 1937, was assigned to Level I/II but most likely derives from the Level IV archives.

Lexical tablets

Two fragments of the lexical series ḪAR-ra/ḫubullu (AlT 445 and 446) were found in the first year of Woolley's excavations and assigned to Level I/II, while a third (AlT 447, excavation number ATT 47/25), found a decade later, was assigned to Level III (see von Dassow 2005: 30, with Chart B). Only for the third was a findspot recorded: Square U12 'in Level II Fort room with store jars but probably below the floor level' (as recorded on the field card; see also Woolley 1955: 168). Thus it was found while excavating the Hittite Fortress, but in a context now understood to belong to the last rebuilding of the castle during the preceding period.[54] Meanwhile, in 2003 the new excavations turned up another ḪAR-ra/ḫubullu fragment (joined of two pieces) near the surface of the tell (published in Lauinger 2005; also 2010). All these lexical fragments likely originated from the same period, and perhaps even from one and the same recension of the lexical series, as observed by Jacob Lauinger (2010: 85-86). The period is indicated by the findspot of AlT 447. On the basis of its findspot, Lauinger argues that AlT 447 was part of the rubble fill used in constructing the fortress, and therefore originates from the preceding Level IV, along with the other ḪAR-ra/ḫubullu fragments that got dispersed toward the surface. This is plausible, since the tablet corpus of Alalaḫ IV attests a context for making use of lexical lists while the scattered cuneiform finds of later periods do not. If Lauinger's hypothesis is right, these pieces of ḪAR-ra/ḫubullu likely belong to the period of the Level IV palace, not a later period, notwithstanding the near-surface location of most of the extant fragments.

The same argument may be extrapolated to two fragments from other lexical series that were found more recently. One, AT 13062, preserves a segment of tablet I of Diri, and the other, AT 22997, preserves a segment of Syllabary A (S^a); both fragments are published in von Dassow 2017. The first was found just below topsoil in Area 2, Square 44.96, in the southeastern part of the site, during the 2011 excavation season; the second was found in Area 1, Square 42.06, south of the temple of Ishtar, during the 2015 season.[55] These isolated pieces likely share the same original context as the pieces of ḪAR-ra/ḫubullu, and together this lexical material more likely attests scribal training during the late 15th than the late 14th century.

Hittite correspondence

Three letters in Hittite must derive from the period of Hittite dominion, but their findspots are either unknown or unstratified. Depending on the identification and date of the correspondents, they may belong to the Fortress period or the following period.

AlT 125, a letter from the king (of Carchemish) to Pirwannu concerning a delivery of poultry, was found 'above the ruins of the town wall'; the findspot of AlT 124, the fragment of a letter from Armaziti to Šarr[u- ...],

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[53] These are ATT 38/3, a group of tablet fragments whose findspot is recorded as 'Palace area, level 2, square R8'; ATT 38/26, a tablet recorded as found in 'Palace area, Level 2, Square T11'; and ATT 47/24, a fragment whose findspot is recorded only as 'Level II', which I have been unable to identify with any published tablet although the field card reports both its measurements and some of its contents (von Dassow 2005: 30, with n. 70; Lauinger 2011: 43). Regarding AlT 105, while recognizing that it was recorded as found in Level II, Niedorf (2008: 128-29) includes this tablet (his no. 352.7) in the Alalaḫ IV corpus, and he may be right to do so.

[54] See Akar 2019: 33 and Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 326, with Fig. 13.4, a plan illustrating Woolley's 'cellars' (containing the storage jars) in relation to the 'serai gate' and castle, Phase 2a. Note however that their reference to a 'Hittite' lexical text fragment is erroneous, and they have ignored Lauinger's attribution of all the ḪAR-ra/ḫubullu fragments to Level IV .

[55] Information about the findspot of AT 13062 was kindly provided by Mara Horowitz (e-mail, 29 October 2012), and information about the findspot of AT 22997 by Aslıhan Yener (e-mail messages of 5, 6, and 8 August 2015).

was lost en route from excavation to publication.[56] The contents of neither letter (so far as preserved) are historically informative, and none of the named correspondents can be identified with certainty. Armaziti may however be the Hittite prince (DUMU.LUGAL) of that name, known from the archives of Ḫattusa and Ugarit, who was active during the mid-13th century (see d'Alfonso 2005: 66-67; Lebrun 2014: 48-76); meanwhile Pirwannu may perhaps be identified with Piriyanni of the recently-found Tell Afis tablets, also of the 13th century (see below, with nn. 84-86). A fragment of a third letter, sent by the king of Ḫatti to one Tudḫaliya, was identified in the Hatay Archaeological Museum and numbered ATT 35.[57] What survives of the text is little more than the address on the obverse, '[Thus] His Majesty; [to T]udḫaliya, [spe]ak' (with scant traces of the next two lines), and the remains of a second letter appended on the reverse, in which the correspondent requests that his brother (i.e., peer or colleague) write to him once in a while.

Small as it is, and deprived of archaeological context, this last fragment bears the only text that helps anchor the Fortress period in historical context. The addressee is no doubt Tudḫaliya the prince, whose inscribed relief was found re-used as a paving-stone in the steps of the Level IB temple.[58] On the relief he is portrayed together with his wife, who can now be identified by name as Asnu-Ḫepa, based on the sealing AT 20414 recently found in Square 42.10; this square was opened to test the stratigraphy of Woolley's temple sounding nearby.[59] The seal names Asnu-Ḫepa the princess and Tudḫaliya the prince, and so does the inscription on the relief. The latter inscription also gives a title for Tudḫaliya that has previously been read as MAGNUS.AURIGA, 'chief charioteer'; based on reexamination of the relief, Yener, Dinçol, and Peker (2014) propose the reading MAGNUS.SACERDOS, 'great priest,' instead. Tudḫaliya's wife Asnu-Ḫepa is also attested as the author of a postscript to the queen appended to the fragmentary letter KBo 18.12, which, the same authors propose, must have been a letter from Tudḫaliya to the king of Ḫatti.[60] Meanwhile, Devecchi (2010: 15-17) has observed that the Tudḫaliya of the relief may be identified with the Tudḫaliya GAL $^{\text{LÚ}}$KUŠ$_7$, 'chief of the charioteers,' who was one of the human witnesses to the Aleppo Treaty (CTH 75, discussed above). If the title in hieroglyphic Luwian on the relief were MAGNUS.AURIGA, it would be equivalent to the title GAL $^{\text{LÚ}}$KUŠ$_7$ in cuneiform Hittite, but the titles need not be the same for Tudḫaliya to be the same man, holding different roles in different contexts. Devecchi shows that the human witnesses of the Aleppo Treaty must have been persons present at the issuance of the original document by Muršili II, rather than at the making of the copy under Muwattalli II (2010: 8-12). Accordingly, the Tudḫaliya attested by a letter fragment, sealing, and relief at Alalaḫ would have entered into office during the reign of Muršili II, in the late 14th century.

Two other possible attestations of the same Tudḫaliya have been identified. The first occurs in CTH 63 (Beckman 1999, no. 30), a tablet recording Muršili's disposition of two disputes involving parties in northern

[56] Both letters have been reedited by Hagenbuchner (1989), AlT 124 as no. 330 and AlT 125 as no. 298. AlT 125 and ATT 35 (see next note) are now also included in Hoffner 2009 (nos. 125 and 126). In 2008, I collated AlT 124 at the British Museum; collation did not result in improved readings, except for the observation that the third sign in l. 4 is not NAGAR (carpenter) but probably ŠU(!), thus UN.MEŠ-*šu*!-*uš-mu-ká*[*n* …]. I thank Daniel Schwemer for Hittitological assistance on that occasion, including the suggestion that the sender's name, written $^{\text{I}}$MI-LÚ, be read Armaziti. See now Lebrun 2014: 64; but disregard her erroneous proposal that AlT 124 belongs among the 15th-century Alalaḫ tablets.

[57] This fragment was published by Niedorf (2002), who numbers it H4 (presumably ATT 35 is an accession number assigned by the museum, but he does not make this clear). Niedorf states that seven Hittite texts altogether had been found in Alalaḫ: H1 = AlT 124; H2 = AlT 125; H3 = AlT 454; H4 = ATT 35; and three more unpublished fragments of Hittite tablets, H5-7, which he mentions without giving further information (Niedorf 2002: 518, n. 3). These fragments are in the British Museum, according to the concordance in Niedorf 2008: 439.

[58] For the relief and its findspot, see Woolley 1955: 86, 398, with Pl. XLVIII. Woolley thought the relief portrayed the Hittite king Tudḫaliya IV, and moreover associated it with the treaty concluded by Hattusili III with Rameses II. For the identification of the addressee of the letter fragment with the Tudḫaliya portrayed on the relief, as well as other possible attestations of the same person, see Niedorf 2002: 521-23. For the data assembled here, see also Fink 2010: 53-55.

[59] On this sealing, which was found in July 2014, and its archaeological context, see Yener, Dinçol, and Peker 2014. For a photograph of the sealing, see Yener 2017: 216, with Fig. 5;

[60] Yener 2017: 137. On postscripts (or 'piggy-back letters') in Hittite correspondence, see Weeden 2014: 48-49; he lists KBo 18.12 under correspondence from vassal to queen (61).

Syria, one between the rulers of Nuḫašše and Barga and the other pitting Tuppi-Teššob of Amurru against three parties: the king of Carchemish, Tudḫaliya of [...], and Ḫalbaḫe ('the Aleppine'). It has been suggested that this Tudḫaliya was the Hittite prince posted at Alalaḫ (see Niedorf 2002: 521, with references there). According to Jared Miller, however, who reexamined the tablet upon identifying an additional fragment of it, the traces of the toponym indicating what town or land Tudḫaliya governed exclude the restoration of either the name Alalaḫ or Mukiš.[61] He could still be the same Tudḫaliya, who could have been posted at two different places in succession, as Devecchi points out in discussing this and the second possible attestation: the fragmentary letter KBo 9.83, addressed to the king of Ḫatti by Tudḫaliya.[62] This letter concerns Gaduman (Qadume), a town located near Aleppo that belonged to Alalaḫ's realm during the period of the Level IV palace, and that, alongside Mukiš, marked the southwestern frontier of the territory of Carchemish according to the surviving fragment of Šuppiluliuma I's treaty with Šarri-Kušuḫ (CTH 50).[63] Thus the sender may well be identical to the Hittite governor of Alalaḫ during the Fortress period. Finally, Lorenzo d'Alfonso (2011: 167) supports identifying the Tudḫaliya of CTH 63 with the Tudḫaliya posted at Alalaḫ, considering it unlikely that two different Hittite officials bearing the same name exercised power simultaneously in northern Syria, and he suggests restoring the lost toponym as KUR ᵁᴿ[ᵁmu-kiš-š]a. Inasmuch as it entails positing an otherwise unattested "Hittitized" form of the name Mukiš, this proposed restoration can bear little weight. Nevertheless it is probably one and the same Tudḫaliya whom these various texts attest.

The appointment of a Hittite prince at Alalaḫ, displacing the local dynasty, represents the Hittite annexation of Mukiš. So does the construction of the Northern and Southern Fortresses. We do not have the data to determine exactly when Tudḫaliya was installed at Alalaḫ, or whether he was the first Hittite appointee to rule there; the circumstantial evidence discussed above suffices only to indicate that he was probably appointed by Muršili II.[64] Likewise, no direct evidence indicates exactly when the fortress construction took place, but this too should probably be attributed to Muršili (see also above). The construction of fortresses in subjugated territories is attested for Muršili, as it is not for Šuppiluliuma: according to his Extensive Annals, in his fourth year Muršili rebuilt and fortified several towns in the land of Mira; in his seventh year he did the like on the Kaška frontier; and in his ninth year he built a fortress in Aštata.[65]

Only two documents issued by Muršili II feature Mukiš, and Alalaḫ is mentioned in only one of them. CTH 64 (Beckman 1999, no. 31A), found at Ugarit, is Muršili II's edict confirming Ugarit's possession of towns claimed by Mukiš and fixing the frontier between the two realms. According to this document, the people of Mukiš (evi-

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[61] The toponym occurs in col. ii: 52', and Miller suggests it may have been [Aštat]a; see Miller 2007: 123-28 (edition of the joined text), 131-32 (note on ii: 52'), and 137, n. 40. He also observes that it cannot be restored as Ugarit – as suggested by Yener, Dinçol, and Peker 2014: 138 – because this toponym is too long for the break. Besides, Ugarit was not under the rule of a Hittite governor.

[62] See Devecchi 2010: 16, with n. 59; cf. Singer 2017: 618-19, who supposes that Miller's reading excludes identifying the Tudḫaliya of CTH 63 with the one attested at Alalaḫ. KBo 9.83 contains a double letter, the main letter from Tudḫaliya to His Majesty, plus a letter of greeting between peers appended on the reverse (like ATT 35); the text is divided by Hagenbuchner (1989) into nos. 34 and 118. For a recent discussion and translation of the entire text, see Marizza 2009: 157-158 (no. 94).

[63] On Gaduman (Qadume) see Niedorf 2002: 522; von Dassow 2008: 66-67, with n. 166 (and index of place names, s.v. Katume [or Qadume], p. 574); and Marizza 2009: 157. The text of CTH 50 (KUB 19.27) was published almost a century ago by Emil Forrer (1926: 48-50) and has not been reedited since; it is not treated in Kitchen and Lawrence 2012, who merely record it in Excursus II as no. 59. See now Devecchi 2015: 238, for a summary. CTH 50 is also discussed in connection with KBo 9.83 by Singer (2017: 616, 619-20).

[64] It is worth noting that neither Tudḫaliya nor the two later Hittite princes attested at Alalaḫ, Palluwe and Šugur-Teššob (on whom see below, with nn. 71 and 83), is identified by a title relating to Alalaḫ or Mukiš. Singer (2017: 621) doubts whether Palluwe, whom he is inclined to identify with his namesake at Emar, was posted at Alalaḫ at all.

[65] These episodes appear respectively in KUB 14.15, col. iv: 33-45; KUB 19.30, col. i: 14-15; and KBo 4.4 col. ii: 61-62 (see Goetze 1933: 72-73, 92-93, and 120-121), which are Tablets II, III, and IV in the translation of the Extensive Annals ('Annali completi') given by del Monte (1993: 73-131). The suggestion of Yener, Akar, and Horowitz (2019: 337) that a vassal of Šuppiluliuma may have built the massive Northern Fortress (a 'symbolic representation of Hittite hegemony', p. 338) flouts sense while lacking a basis in evidence.

dently kingless, but clearly not powerless) had sued Niqmepa of Ugarit over towns formerly belonging to Mukiš that had been transferred to Niqmaddu of Ugarit by Šuppiluliuma I. Muršili II looked into the matter, confirmed Ugarit's right to those towns, and delineated the border between Ugarit's territory and the land of Mukiš; among the divine witnesses to the edict was Ištar of Alalaḫ. CTH 66, also found at Ugarit, is the treaty Muršili II imposed on Niqmepa of Ugarit, the terms of which mention Mukiš among potential enemies and sources of fugitives.[66]

It may be inferred that the project of annexing Mukiš and fortifying Alalaḫ was undertaken during Muršili II's reign for the purpose of disabling Mukiš politically, so that it could not join in rebellion against Hittite rule. The rebellion that took place in Muršili II's years 7 and 9 was led by Nuḫašše and Kinza (Qadesh), according to his annals and the historical prologue to his treaty with Tuppi-Teššob of Amurru; these texts do not mention Mukiš.[67] This hypothetical moment of annexation would present an ideal historical setting for the dethronement, decapitation, and burial of the statue of Idrimi. As Petra Goedegebuure puts it in her study of the rare instances of iconoclasm in the Hittite realm, Idrimi's statue would have been destroyed in order 'to break the nexus between a ruler from the dynasty of deposed kings of Alalakh and its gods' (2012: 426). The statue stood in an anteroom of the temple of Ištar, its inscription celebrated a campaign against Ḫatti, and Itūr-Addu had led Mukiš in resistance against Ḫatti not even one generation before. Now was the time to suppress local autonomy through the management of icons as well as men. While the native dynasty was annulled politically by the appointment of a Hittite prince to rule at Alalaḫ, its liaison with divinity was broken by breaking the statue of its founder – and burying it beneath the temple where it had functioned as a telephone to the gods. Eventually the people of Alalaḫ would repay the Hittites in the same coin.

From this time onward, Mukiš begins to disappear from the historical record, and Alalaḫ from the archaeological record as well. The massive project of constructing the Northern Fortress was probably accomplished with the labor of prisoners of war, possibly Egyptian ones, as Akar suggests, given that the construction most resembles Egyptian fortifications.[68] The abandonment of this project unfinished may reflect the evaporation of the need to reinforce Hittite control in the region, once Mukiš had been emasculated and the rebellion suppressed. The Southern Fortress may have continued to serve as the seat of local Hittite rule for some years, while other parts of town remained occupied, without generating any textual records or any trouble for the empire.

Incidentally, the epidemic that afflicted Ḫatti in this period, for which the Plague Prayers of Muršili II are virtually our sole source, need not be invoked as the cause of any of these events. Muršili emphasizes the epidemic's severity in his prayers that it cease, as he must do in order to convince the gods to answer his pleas; his claims of drastic depopulation are not to be taken literally.[69] These lines go to press as the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic reaches a crest, a crisis that has revealed what drastic effects even an epidemic with low mortality can have on society (especially societies unaccustomed to uncontrollable disease and accustomed to rapid worldwide travel, two conditions not present in the ancient world). Throughout Muršili's reign, however, the kingdom of Ḫatti continued successfully to prosecute wars, suppress revolt, build, and expand, not only retaining but consolidating Hittite dominion over all the territories Šuppiluliuma I had won. Clearly Ḫatti suffered no shortage of men.

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[66] For CTH 66 see Beckman 1999, no. 9; Kitchen and Lawrence 2012, no. 63; and Devecchi 2015: 193-200.

[67] The treaty with Tuppi-Teššob is CTH 62 (Beckman 1999, no. 8; Kitchen and Lawrence 2012 nos. 62A-62B; Devecchi 2015: 212-19). Miller (2008) analyzes the rebellion and the sources for it, in conjunction with his edition of the newly-joined text reporting Mursili II's altercation with 'Arma'a (almost certainly Horemheb) of Egypt (which he has now joined to one of the Plague Prayers; personal communication, 15 May 2017). The new synchronism between Hittite and Egyptian history provided by this text has prompted reanalysis of the chronological evidence, yielding dates of 1315-1313 for the Syrian rebellion, if the solar omen of Mursili's 10th year was the eclipse of 1312 BC (see above, with n. 24).

[68] See Akar 2013: 47-48; there he adduces the Middle Kingdom fortress at Buhen, the post-Hyksos Palaces F and G at Avaris (Tell ed-Dab'a), and New Kingdom fortresses in Canaan.

[69] Cf. Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 340-41. For a historical analogy, see the recent analysis of evidence pertaining to the Justinianic Plague by Mordechai et al. (2019), which illuminates the discrepancy between rhetoric and reality.

Withdrawal and Abandonment (13th Century)

The post-Fortress period at Tell Atchana is somewhat evanescent, both as a historical reality and as its material trace. This period, corresponding to Woolley's Level I, commences after the Northern Fortress was abandoned and the Southern Fortress went out of use. The current excavations have not exposed significant 13th -century occupation at the site.[70] Yet Alalaḫ must have been inhabited at least as late as the mid-13th century, because in a letter to Ammištamru (II) of Ugarit, who ruled c. 1260-1235, the Hittite prince Šugur-Teššob wrote that he had taken up residence there.[71] Perhaps the city was abandoned gradually until only the temple continued to be maintained.

Woolley subdivided Level I into three phases defined by successive rebuildings of the temple (Level IA, IB, and IC), but since he excavated the temple site right down into the water table, the remains he found now exist only in words and pictures.[72] In other areas, since this was almost everywhere the final period of the site's occupation, modern agricultural work has disturbed its remains. As for textual documentation, during the 13th century Alalaḫ is attested only in letters found at Ugarit. The only texts found at Alalaḫ itself that certainly derive from this period are two inscribed seals of another Hittite prince, Palluwe, one of which was found in the Level IB temple (see further below, with n. 82). The Hittite letters discussed above may also originate from Level I; in the case of AlT 124, this would become a certainty if indeed its sender Armaziti is to be identified as the Hittite prince of that name.[73] In addition, during the 2012 excavation season a bulla impressed with the seal of one Pilukatuḫa, Great Priest, was found out of context; it too may derive from a 13th-century phase.[74]

This period is thus characterized more by the disappearance of things (fortifications, textual records, substantial remains) than by the appearance of other things. Nevertheless, features that differentiate it from the Fortress period are observable in the archaeological record. In the areas investigated during the current excavation project, the post-Fortress period is represented in Area 1 by the latest phases in Squares 42.29 and 43.54, southeast of the Northern Fortress; also by Phase 4 in Square 42.10; and in Area 4 by the latest phases in Squares 64.72-73 and 64.82-83, atop the Southern Fortress.[75] According to the excavators, these areas exhibit rebuilding and reuse on a plan different from the preceding period. Their material culture attests continued Hittite occupation, most distinctly in the form of miniature vessels resembling ones found in cultic contexts at Ḫattusa; in Square 43.54, such vessels were found in a plastered area with a drainage channel nearby.[76] Notwithstanding the ongoing Hittite presence, the fortresses built

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[70] See Akar 2012: 212-14, 269, 305-6; Yener 2013: 17-20; cf. *eadem* 2017: 217; and see now Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 341. Pucci (2020) evaluates the material differently.

[71] For the approximate dates of Ammištamru's reign, see Singer 1999: 678 (with chronological chart between pp. 732-33). Šugur-Teššob's letter is *Ug* 5, 26 (RS 20.03). Singer remarks that because the first element of his name is written not with the sign ŠUKUR but with the signs ŠU.KÚR, it should not be normalized Šukur- (2017: 620, with n. 5) – correctly Šugur- according to Hurrian phonology – although he had previously accepted this rendering (1999: 665, n. 195). Perhaps Singer then rejected it in order to avoid the risk that Šugur-Teššob the prince might be identified with the Šugur-Teššob (ŠUKUR-ᵈU) who wrote Ug 5, 44, the reading of whose name he corrected from *Ši-ni-*ᵈU (Singer 1999; see further below, n. 83). I owe to an anonymous referee the suggestion to read the first element of the prince's name GÉŠPU instead of ŠU.KÚR, which I cannot however confirm or refute based on the published photo (*Ug* 5, Fig. 35).

[72] For the series of temples from beginning to end see Woolley 1955: 33-90. Fink has conducted a detailed examination of the surviving excavation records pertaining to the Levels IV-0 temples with their annexes, which results in significant modifications to the plans and coordinates of these structures (Fink 2010: 31-60).

[73] See above, with n. 56. Yener (2013: 19-20, with n. 25) states that one of three 'biconvex seals in the style of the 13th century' from Tell Tayinat bears the name Armaziti, and suggests identifying him with the Hittite prince of that name. Following up the references she cites, however, turns up seals naming Armaziti from Ališar Höyük and Eskiyapar, not from Tell Tayinat.

[74] This bulla is mentioned and illustrated by Yener (2017: 216, with Fig. 3), who states that it is to be published by B. Dinçol and H. Peker.

[75] See Akar 2019: 42-48 and 69-72 on the latest phases in Squares 43.54 and 42.29 (Area 1) and Squares 64.72-73 and 64.82-83 (Area 4); see also Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 312-317. On Square 42.10, Local Phase 4, see Yener, Dinçol, and Peker 2014.

[76] See Akar 2013: 45, with n. 39; Yener 2017: 217; Akar 2019: 43, with Fig. 2.24, and Yener, Akar, and Horowitz 2019: 313, 320. Peter Neve (1993: 29, with Pl. 66) remarks that the findspots of such vessels suggest that they were primarily used as foundation offerings. Ulf-Dietrich Schoop (2011: 247-49) points out that they are found in settlement contexts as well, but there too they could serve the purpose of ritual.

to implant Hittite rule were abandoned. Meanwhile, the temple was rebuilt on a different plan (Level IA) – without having been destroyed – and then it was wrecked and burned down and rebuilt again (Level IB).[77] On that second occasion, the orthostat portraying Tudḫaliya, the Hittite prince appointed at Alalaḫ by (probably) Muršili II, was removed from the temple cella and reused face down to form a tread in the temple steps (see above, with n. 58). To add iconic injury to insult, Tudḫaliya's nose was apocopated; the face of his wife behind him was undamaged.[78]

Exactly when the Level IB temple was built, and Tudḫaliya dishonored, is impossible to tell on present evidence. The data do suffice to suggest a rough date for the construction of the Level IA temple, in which Tudḫaliya's orthostat must have stood. According to Woolley's reconstruction, it formed part of a series of basalt orthostats lining the recesses and buttresses at the back of the cella, most of which were removed in destroying the IA temple and reused in building the IB temple.[79] It may be inferred that Tudḫaliya was responsible for building the Level IA temple. Assuming that the replacement of the Level II temple is to be correlated with the transition from the Fortress to the post-Fortress period (i.e., that Woolley's definition of the Level II-I transition, based on the temple sequence, is validated by the current excavations), this inference entails the corollary that Tudḫaliya remained in office at Alalaḫ during that transition. If he was appointed by Muršili II, and assuming he did not enjoy an exceptionally long residence at Alalaḫ, the building of the Level IA temple may be dated around 1300 BC.

The impossibility of dating the transition from Level IA to IB prohibits postulating a historical occasion for the abuse and reuse of Tudḫaliya's monument, but it does not foreclose positing a cause. Recently it has been suggested that the desacralization of the orthostat was undertaken by the Hittite authorities to punish Tudḫaliya for some violation he had putatively committed.[80] But that is to predicate conjecture on speculation, and even if the conjecture were persuasive, it would not have been necessary for the Hittites to wreck the whole temple simply in order to effect Tudḫaliya's disgrace. For once, it is Woolley's interpretation that is the more plausible, to wit, that the demolition of the temple featuring Tudḫaliya's image and the reuse of his orthostat as building material represents the repudiation of Hittite rule by the local residents of Alalaḫ (1955: 86). They repudiated it iconically, by removing from sacred space the monument portraying the local representative of Hittite authority, demolishing the temple he built, defacing his image, and demoting his monument to a paving-stone on which temple-enterers would tread. The image of Hittite rule was treated the way the Hittites had previously treated Idrimi's inscribed statue, the image of local autonomy – broken and buried.

How much this mattered to the Hittites, and whether they were in a position to do anything about it anyway, at a time when they were probably occupied in conflict with Egypt, one can only speculate. There is a modern tendency to impute to ancient rulers far broader powers than they could actually have exercised. If the Level IA temple was built ca. 1300, its destruction could well have occurred around the time of the Battle of Qadesh.[81] The fact that Rameses II's accounts of that event mention neither Mukiš nor Alalaḫ means only that they were irrelevant, not that they opposed Ḫatti. Nevertheless, the hostilities (however one interprets the battle's outcome) provided an opportunity for the dwindling community of Alalaḫ to throw off the Hittite yoke, at least to the extent of demolishing the temple featuring Tudḫaliya's relief, without much concern that doing so would invite consequenc-

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[77] On the non-violent transition from the Level II temple to its IA successor, and the violent transition from the Level IA temple to its replacement in Level IB, see Woolley 1955: 82; 85.

[78] The damage to Tudḫaliya's nose is noted by Goedegebuure (2012: 430), who adds further observations about the iconography of the relief.

[79] Woolley 1955: 82-85. Goedegebuure determines that Tudḫaliya's orthostat must have stood 'at the left side of the northwest buttress', because a figure is carved on its left side (2012: 431). It should be noted that, although Woolley reconstructs the Level IA temple in detail, its remains were exiguous, as illustrated by the composite plan in Fink 2010: 37, Plan 15. The steps built of the reused orthostat in the Level IB temple are seen in the excavation photograph published in Fink 2010: 48 (Photo 7), and, partly dismantled, in another photograph taken following excavation of Level II (Fink 2010: 34, Photo 2).

[80] So suggests de Martino (2010: 94, with a forced connection to CTH 63), followed by Goedegebuure (2012: 431).

[81] The decade preceding this battle is the historical context in which Singer (2011) situates the cluster of tablets found at Qadeš (Tell Nebi Mend) and published by Millard (2010). These tablets include an administrative record (no. 5, TNM 057) that registers, among other entries, the allocation of beer for men of Mukiš (the land) and men of Ḫalab (the city). See now also Singer 2017: 622.

es. How heavily the hand of Hittite rule lay on Alalaḫ is indicated by the quantity of textual records produced by the Hittite administration there, which is to say that it must have been pretty light. Perhaps, then, no successor to Tudḫaliya's office was present at Alalaḫ for the destruction of the temple he built.

Hittite power was not banished, however. In the annex to the Level IB temple was found a steatite seal inscribed, in Anatolian hieroglyphs, 'Palluwe, son of the king, lord of the country' (AT/39/322); a terracotta seal inscribed for the same man, 'son of the king, Palluwe ...' (AT/39/38?), was found in topsoil (see Barnett *apud* Woolley 1955: 266-67). Presumably this prince Palluwe was put in charge at Alalaḫ, but we know nothing of what he did there other than lose two seals. It has been suggested that he be identified with one Palluwe who is attested – without title – in a letter from the Hittite king to an official at Emar, which dates to the early 13th century; this would accord well enough with the likely date of the Level IB temple, but sharing the same name hardly suffices for prosopographic identification.[82]

Eventually – years after Egypt and Ḫatti made peace, at a time when Assyria was extending its reach westward – another Hittite prince was posted at Alalaḫ. Šugur-Teššob wrote to Ammištamru of Ugarit as follows:

> Thus (speaks) Šugur-Teššob, prince: to Ammištamru, king of Ugarit, speak.
> May it be well with you.
> Now, I have come from before His Majesty and taken up residence at Alalaḫ, so you
> are my neighbor.
> Be you on good terms with me, and I shall be on good terms with you.
> Send to me (for) whatever you desire. For my part, whatever I send to you, heed (it).
> (*Ug* 5, 26: 1-13)

The Hittite prince proceeds to inform the king of Ugarit that he is sending him certain craftsmen, and gives him instructions concerning their mission.[83] As a contemporary of Ammištamru, Šugur-Teššob would probably have been appointed by Ḫattusili III.

Further evidence that Hittite rule over northern Syria continued to be exercised from Alalaḫ in this period may be provided by the tablets found at Tell Afis (ancient name unknown), recently published by Alfonso Archi.[84] Among these nine tablets are two relatively well-preserved letters in Hittite.[85] One of them (no. 2) conveys messages from the 'lord of the country' (EN KUR^{TI}) to his subordinate Tinninni and to Ašmaḫya, apparently the overseer at Tell Afis, about fetching Tinninni's future wife (?) Šidurenna to the town of Yarpigga, where another subordinate, Piriyanni, would witness delivery. The other (no. 1), from which the beginning and all of the reverse are missing, conveys at least two messages: the second is addressed by Tinninni to his lord Piriyanni, informing

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[82] See Fink 2010: 55 (with Photo 5, illustrating the steatite seal of Palluwe, and with n. 50 on AT/39/38, apparently not the correct field number for the terracotta seal). That one of Palluwe's seals found its way to the temple does not warrant naming the building after him as Fink does (Fink 2010: 44, 52-56). The Emar tablet attesting Palluwe is Msk 73.1097 (Hagenbuchner 1989, no. 23, corrected by Singer 2000: 66-67; *pace* Singer [p. 71], nothing indicates that 'corruption' is at issue). These sources and the possible identification of Palluwe at Emar with Palluwe at Alalaḫ are discussed in Singer 2017: 621.

[83] See Lackenbacher 2002: 95-96 (with n. 276), who suggests interpreting the terms for the craftsmen as purple-dye specialists and their task as production of purple wool (*argamannu*). Her proposal is elaborated by Singer (2008, with a translation of *Ug* 5, 26; see now Singer 2017: 620-621). Cf. Lebrun (2014: 140-142), who proposes identifying Šugur-Teššob DUMU.LUGAL with the Šugur-Teššob who sent *Ug* 5, 44 to the king of Ugarit, calling his addressee "my [lord]" and himself "your servant"; failing to see the incompatibility of the roles and status relations indicated by the two letters, Lebrun thus makes the Hittite prince into a subordinate of the king of Ugarit (Lebrun 2014: 288). Cf. n. 71 above.

[84] Archi and Venturi 2012; part I of this joint article, by Fabrizio Venturi, treats the material culture of Late Bronze Age II Tell Afis, and part II, by Archi, publishes the tablets. I thank Alfonso Archi for bringing this article to my attention and providing me an offprint. While I discuss only the tablets here, it should be noted that Venturi's discussion of the ceramic evidence brings forth elements bearing comparison with that found at Tell Atchana.

[85] These are tablets 1 (TA.08.E.1), only about half of which is preserved, and 2 (TA.09.E.203), which is missing only the lower corners; see Archi and Venturi 2012: 34-43, with Pls. I-III. My summary of the letters' contents follows Archi's reading and interpretation. No. 2 is also discussed by Singer 2017: 621-22.

him how and what the lord of the country is doing, and it follows a message (from the lord of the country?) reporting that the queen is ill and staying with the correspondent, who will arrive in Izziya in three days' time. Archi identifies the queen in question as Puduḫepa (wife of Ḫattusili III) and the lord of the country as the Hittite governor residing at Alalaḫ. His argument proceeds from several interlocking (albeit circumstantial) lines of evidence, including sources indicating that Puduḫepa – from whom the goddess Ḫebat demanded wine from Mukiš (above, with n. 45) – travelled to Izziya, and Izziya must be located at Kinet Höyük, which is about a three-day journey from Alalaḫ.[86] The title 'lord of the country' is the same as that which was held by Palluwe (REGIO.DOMINUS in Anatolian hieroglyphs). It is tempting to suggest identifying the Piriyanni of the Tell Afis letters with Pirwannu, the addressee of AlT 125 (see above, with n. 56), notwithstanding that the two names have different etymologies, but near-homophony can hardly imply equivalence when so few persons altogether are attested with so little context. The lord of the country in whose service Tinninni and Piriyanni were employed might conceivably have been Šugur-Teššob, the prince who wrote to Ugarit upon taking up his position.

Alalaḫ appears still later in the archives of Ugarit, under the spelling Aladḫa, in a series of letters found in the house of Urtenu that have recently been published by Sylvie Lackenbacher and Florence Malbran-Labat (2016). The editors read ^URU*A-la-ad-ḫa* throughout and understand it to be Alalaḫ, without remarking on the spelling of the toponym, which appears in different guises over the course of its existence.[87] That it is indeed Alalaḫ that is meant by Aladḫa is fairly well assured by its co-occurrence with Mukiš in one fragment, wherein the correspondent writes, 'In the coming months he will go to the land of Mukiš, to the city of Aladḫa' (RSO 23, 32: 6'-9' [RS 94.2389]). This fragment is one of several letters addressed to Niqmaddu (III) of Ugarit, circa 1225 BCE, by the Hittite official titled *uriyanni* and by the king of Carchemish, who charge him with undertaking the restoration of Alalaḫ (Aladḫa) and reproach him for failing to do it.[88] Here is a passage from one of the *uriyanni*'s letters:

> See here, in Alalaḫ, aren't your chariot(s) and troop of men staying in Alalaḫ? Haven't the projects of Alalaḫ been assigned to you? So now direct (the work) accordingly! Now herewith I dispatch to you Madi-Dagan, the scribe. Put in his charge 200 men who will do the projects in Alalaḫ.
> (RSO 23, 28 [RS 94.2578]: 32-43)

Another letter specifies that the projects are to include establishing gardens and irrigation works at the city of Alalaḫ (RSO 23, 29 [RS 94.2509]). But Niqmaddu fails to execute his assignment, so eventually the *uriyanni* escalates the matter to the king of Carchemish, who writes as follows:

> Didn't His Majesty charge you with the restoration of Alalaḫ? Why does your troop of men not do the projects of Alalaḫ? If you send a troop of men, do they (just) stay for five or six days and then get up and disappear? Now, herewith I send you Madi-Dagan, the scribe. Put in his charge a troop of 200 men. If you do not give (them) to him, know that I shall write to His Majesty and his enmity will reach you. The projects at Alalaḫ are inactive on account of you!
> (RSO 23, 31 [RS 94.2079+2367]: 6-24)

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[86] See Archi, in Archi and Venturi 2012: 44-48, as well as Venturi's remarks on p. 24.

[87] The Ebla archives attest the spellings *A-a-a-aḫ*^KI, *A-la-la-ḫu*^KI, *A-la-a-ḫu*^KI, and variants of these (see Archi 2006), alongside a toponym Alaḫdu (*A-aḫ-du*^KI, *A-la-ḫa-du*^KI; see RGTC 12/1: 32), which resembles Alaḫtum of the Mari archives, understood to be Alalaḫ (Durand 2002: 65-66, with n. 157); then the name is consistently spelled (^URU)*A-la-la-aḫ*^KI (or the like) in the tablets from the city itself as well as from Ugarit (RGTC 12/2: 8-10) and Ḫatti (RGTC 6: 5). Durand (2002) posits a feminine form Allaḫtum of a toponym having the absolute form Alalaḫ. One could also imagine a form featuring a dental consonant that could be heard and spelt either as a dental /l/ or as a stop, provided that it might also metathesize with the adjacent /ḫ/, in order to account for Aladḫa, Alalaḫ, and Alaḫtum as variants of each other and reduce all these attestations to a single toponym; the requisite linguistic gymnastics are however beyond the present writer's grasp.

[88] The dossier assembled by Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat comprises RSO 23, 28-36, all but two of which include the matter of restoring Alalaḫ (Aladḫa) among the subjects they address. The editors date this dossier to the period immediately following Tukulti-Ninurta's defeat of Kaštiliaš IV (Lackenbacher, Malbran-Labat 2016: 61), which is to say ca. 1225 BC, during the short reign of Niqmaddu III.

In a further fragment (RSO 23, 33 [RS 94.2506]), the correspondent reproaches his recalcitrant addressee, saying 'Hasn't His Majesty treated you like his son? So why don't you heed his words? In the city of Alalaḫ not a single plant has been planted!'

Had there been a Hittite appointee governing from Alalaḫ at this time, surely the king of Ugarit would not have been tasked with restoring the city. From a fragmentary Hittite letter datable to the late 13th century (Bo 2810; Hoffner 2009, no 120), Singer infers that there must still have been 'a Hittite governor residing in Mukiš', and even posits that this letter is an archival copy the original of which 'might still be discovered at Alalaḫ' (2017: 623). In the present writer's opinion that is unlikely, given the rest of the evidence now available, in particular the newly-published letters discussed above and the lack of remains attesting occupation of the site during this period. The archaeological and the textual evidence corroborate each other on this point: apparently the king of Ugarit never did do any work at Alalaḫ.

And that is the last we hear of the city. The latest textual attestations of Ḫatti's increasingly tenuous hold on the region, in three letters also found at Ugarit, refer to the land of Mukiš instead. These three letters probably derive from the reign of Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit (ca. 1215-1190).[89] In one (*Ug* 5, 33), the king of Ḫatti reproves the king of Ugarit for failure to heed orders, and demands that he provide a ship to transport grain levied from the land of Mukiš. In another (RSO 7, 6), the king of Carchemish contradicts the statement of the king of Ugarit that his troops were stationed in the land of Mukiš, complains that the troops he has sent are incompetent, and berates him for failing to meet His Majesty's demands. Finally, a letter in Ugaritic addressed by one Iriri-šarruma to the queen of Ugarit (CAT 2.33), in which the correspondent protests the king's order to supply 2,000 horses, mentions 'the enemy that is in Mukiš' (presumably an invading force).[90] In each of these texts Mukiš appears simply as a region where things take place. The people of this land withdrew, it seems, from playing any political role during the last decades of the Late Bronze Age.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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[89] For discussion of these texts and their date, see Singer 1999: 716-17 and 723-25; also Singer 2017: 622-24, with references to other sources pertaining to the same historical context.

[90] In this letter the place name is spelled *mgṯḫ* (see above, n. 22). An annotated English translation is given by Pardee 2003: 105-106.

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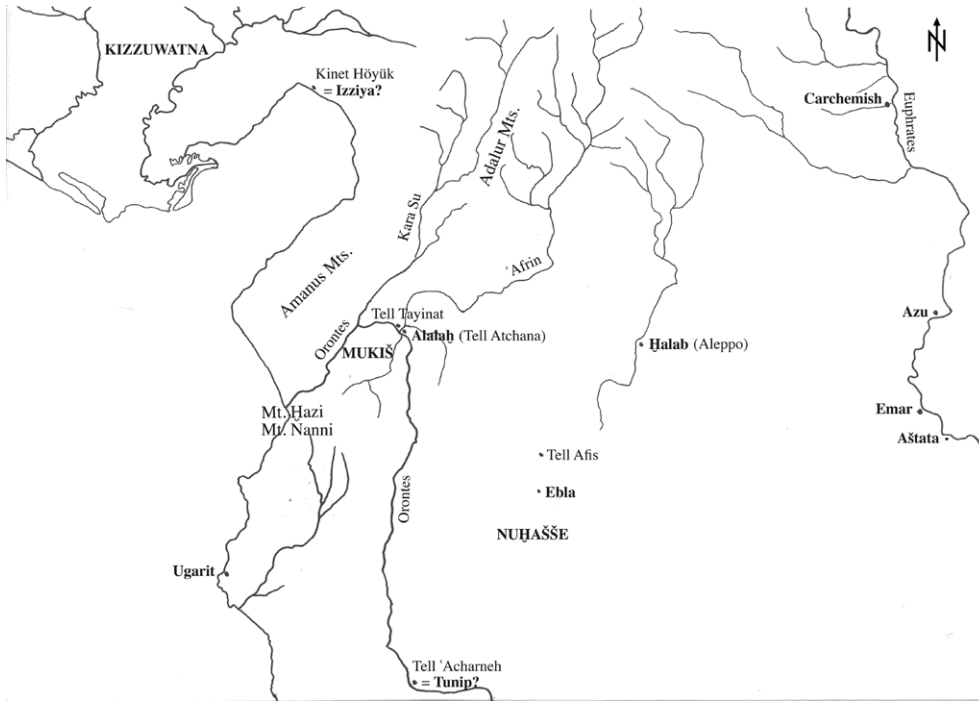
Fig. 1: Map showing the locations of Alalaḫ and its neighbors, drawn by the author.
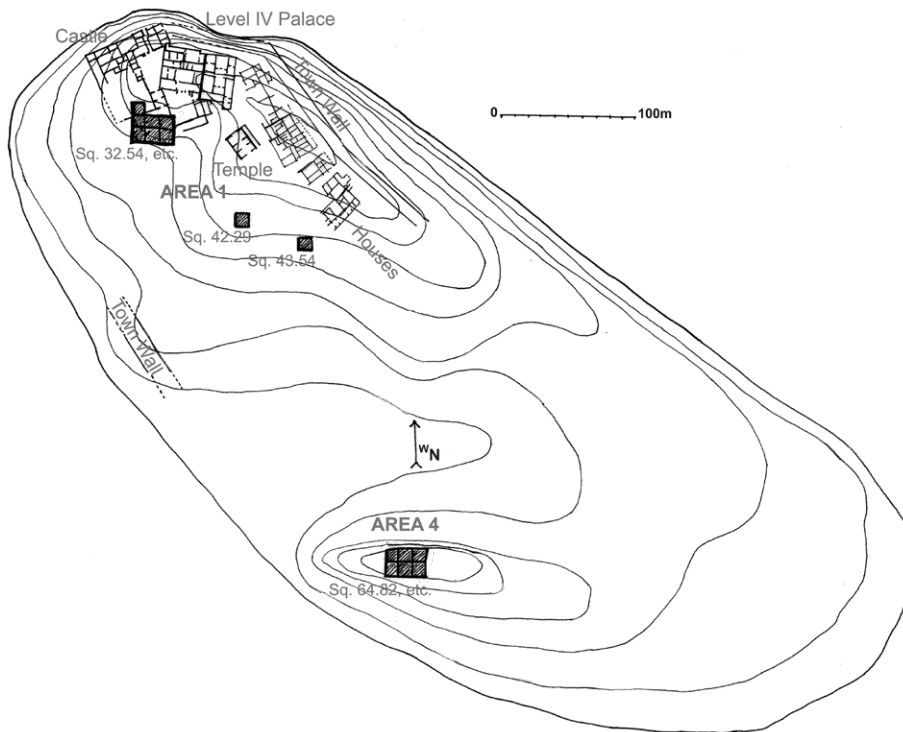

Fig. 2: Plan of Tell Atchana (Alalaḫ) showing new excavation areas discussed here alongside structures excavated by Woolley. Drawn by the author on the basis of Woolley 1955: Pl. XXII and Yener 2013: Fig. 3.
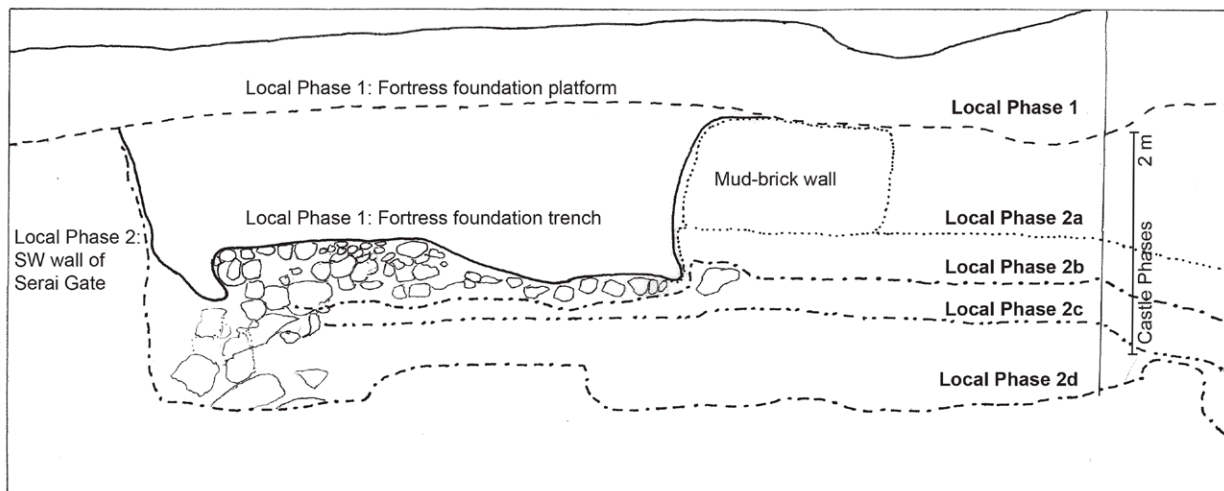
Fig. 3: Stratigraphy of the castle (Phases 2d-2a) and the Northern Fortress (Phase 1). Drawn by the author on the basis of Akar 2012: Fig. 4.26.
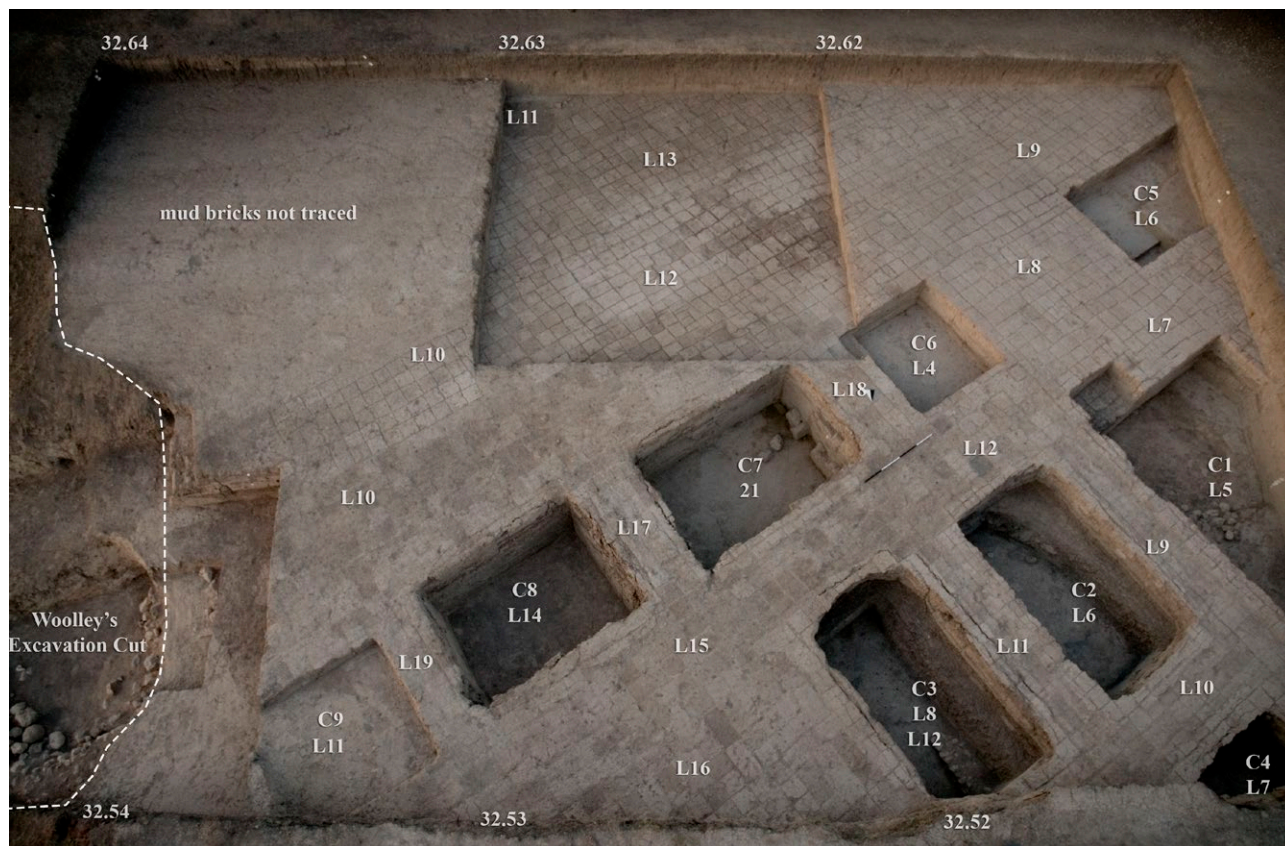

Fig. 4: Northern Fortress under excavation, illustrating casemates and Woolley's excavation cut (Akar 2019 Fig. 2.11; cf. Akar 2013 Fig. 5). Photograph and design by Murat Akar; image courtesy Alalakh Excavations.

Fig. 5: Southern Fortress under excavation (Akar 2019 Fig. 2.37; cf. Akar 2013 Fig. 7). Photograph and design by Murat Akar; image courtesy Alalakh Excavations.

Table 1: Correlation of archaeological phases and finds at Tell Atchana with historical events and persons at Alalaḫ.

Woolley's levels	historical events and persons at Alalah	diagnostic finds at Tell Atchana	key phases in Yener's excavations	proposed periods	approx. dates
IC	Šugur-Teššob, Hittite prince (RS 20.03)	[king writes AIT 125 to Pirwannu]		1	1250
IB	Palluwe, Hittite prince	[Armaziti (prince?) writes AIT 124] Palluwe's seal (AT/39/322), found in temple annex; Tudḫaliya's relief re-used in Temple IB steps [sealing of Pilukatuḫa (AT 17741)]			
IA	*Tudḫaliya, Hittite prince, builds temple*	sealing of Tudḫaliya & Asnu-Ḫepa (AT 20414); [letter AIT 35 from king of Ḫatti to (prince) Tudḫaliya];	Area 1: ___ Area 4:		1300
II	*Mursili II builds N. & S. Fortresses*	Hittite-type miniature vessels in Sq. 43.54, phase 1 Hittite-type drain pipe, pottery, [& shaft-hole axe] in S. Fortress, Phase 2; Hittite tablet AIT 454 found beneath Temple IA wall	Sqs. 42.29 & 43.54, Phase 1 / Sq. 32.54, Phase 1: Northern Fortress — Phase 1: S. Fortress / Phase 2: S. Fortress	2	1310
III	Suppiluliuma I's conquest Itūr-Addu, king of Mukiš destruction *by Tudḫaliya I* of palace & castle — Ilimilimma	[AIT 309-318, from last castle phase?]	2a: castle rebuilt / 2b: castle rebuilt / 2c: castle rebuilt after destruction	3	1330 / 1400
IV	Niqmepa	archives in palace & castle		4	1450
VB	palace built / castle rebuilt — Idrimi builds house		2d: castle rebuilt		
VA	castle rebuilt	sealings linked to Iri-Ḫalba; Vapheio cup fragment; olive pits, C14 1518-1411	Sq. 32.57, Phase 2a: street below palace courtyard	5	

* Inferences are marked with asterisks. [ ] Finds whose archaeological context is unknown, insecure, or unstratified are within square brackets.

Table 2: Sources linking Alalaḫ or Mukiš with Ḫatti in the 14th-13th centuries.

	Alalaḫ or Mukiš in documents issued by Ḫatti	Hittite or Hittites at Alalaḫ
Tudḫaliya I or II	? CTH 135, treaty between Ḫatti and Tunip reporting conflict between Tunip and Alalaḫ under Ilimilimma	
	? KpT 1.11, Hurrian tablet recording campaign narrative mentioning Alalaḫ and Mukiš	
Šuppiluliuma I	CTH 136, treaty between Ḫatti and Mukiš	? AlT 309-318 and Niedorf 2008 nos. 433.11-13: lists of grain distributed to persons who include Tarḫuziti and a 'man of Ḫatti'
	CTH 45, letter to Niqmaddu II of Ugarit urging him to ally with Ḫatti instead of joining Mukiš and Nuḫašše in resistance	
	CTH 46, edict issued to Niqmaddu, who appealed to Ḫatti when attacked by the coalition of Mukiš, *et al.*, and who submitted to Suppiluliuma at Alalaḫ	
	CTH 47, edict stipulating Niqmaddu's tribute after his submission to Ḫatti upon refusal to join Mukiš and Nuḫašše in hostilities	
	CTH 49, treaty with Aziru of Amurru, mentioning Mukiš among former or potential enemies of Ḫatti	
	CTH 51, treaty with Šattiwaza of Mittani, reporting Hittite conquest of Aleppo and Mukiš, whither Takuwe of Niya came to submit	
	CTH 53, treaty with Tette of Nuḫašše, mentioning Mukiš among potential enemies	
	CTH 50, treaty with Šarri-Kušuḫ, defining territory of Carchemish with Mukiš at western frontier	
Muršili II	CTH 64, edict determining frontiers of Ugarit, after people of Mukiš sued Niqmepa to recover territory transferred to Ugarit by Suppiluliuma; divine witnesses include Ištar of Alalaḫ	Tudḫaliya, prince, addressee of royal letter ATT 35, and his wife Asnu-Ḫepa, princess, both named on sealing AT 20414; both portrayed on relief re-used as paving-stone in Level IB temple
	CTH 66, treaty with Niqmepa of Ugarit, mentioning Mukiš among potential enemies	? AlT 454, Hittite oracle tablet found beneath foundation of Level IA temple
after Muršili II		? sealing of Pilukatuḫa, Great Priest (AT 17741)
		Palluwe, prince, attested by two inscribed seals, one found in Level IB temple (AT/39/322; AT/39/38?)
Ḫattušili III	*Ug* 5, 26 (RS 20.03), letter from Šugur-Teššob, prince resident at Alalaḫ, to Ammištamru II of Ugarit	Šugur-Teššob, prince, at Alalaḫ ca. 1250
		? Armaziti (prince?) writes AlT 124
		? AlT 125, letter from king to Pirwannu, perhaps = Piriyanni of Tell Afis tablets
Tudḫaliya IV	RSO 23, 28-36, in which Niqmaddu III of Ugarit is charged with restoring Alalaḫ (and failing), ca. 1225	
	RSO 7, 6 (RS 34.143), letter from king (of Carchemish) to king of Ugarit, contradicting the latter's statement that his troops are in Mukiš	
Šuppiluliuma II	*Ug* 5, 33 (RS 20.212), letter from Ḫatti to the king of Ugarit (Ammurapi'?), demanding famine relief for Ura and mentioning levy of grain from Mukiš	
	CAT 2.33, letter in Ugaritic from Iriri-ṯarruma to the queen, mentioning 'the enemy that is in Mukiš'	