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The City and the Country in Ḫatti

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Although some research, philological as well as archaeological, has been done on urbanism in second millennium Anatolia,¹ this work has focused such questions as the distribution of settlements,² the size of their populations,³ and the continuity of their habitation.⁴ Little has been written concerning the place of the city (*ḫappiriya-/ḫappira-*) within the political and ideological structures of the Hittites.⁵ I propose here to open the discussion of this neglected topic, necessarily emphasizing the capital, Ḫattuša. I will approach the problem from a negative point of view, that is, through an examination of textual material dealing with the Hittite countryside.

Leaving aside *utne-*, which includes the notion of rural landscape as a minor component within its semantic field,⁶ the most important lexeme in this connection is Hittite *gimra-/gimmara-*, defined by J. Friedrich as "Feld, Flur; freies Feld (im Gegensatz zur Stadt); Feldzug."⁷ Indeed, as already implied by R. Lebrun,⁸ a suitable, if awkward, cover term for

¹ A. Archi has contributed two very interesting articles on this question: *Città sacre d'Asia Minore. Il problema dei laoi e l'antefatto ittita*, *La parola del passato* 30 (1975), 329-44; and *Città e territorio in Siria- e in Anatolia*. *Mari-Ugarit-Hattusa*, *Dialoghi di archeologia* 9-10 (1976-77), 75-107. In the *Newsletter for Anatolian Studies* 2/2 (Spring 1986), 19, A. Unal announced a monograph, *The Hittite City and its Antecedents in Anatolia*, as forthcoming, but as far as I am aware it has never appeared. Philological studies of particular Hittite cities include: V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik* (Rome 1970); R. Lebrun, *Samuha. Foyer religieux de l'empire hittite* (Louvain 1976); R. Lebrun, *Lawazantiya, foyer religieux kizzuwatnien*, *Fs Laroche* (1979), 197-206; A. Unal, *Nochmals zur Geschichte und Lage der hethitischen Stadt Ankuwa*, *SMEA* 24 (1984), 87-107; and M. Popko, *Zippalanda. Ein Kultzentrum im hethitischen Kleinasien*, *THeth* 21 (Heidelberg 1994). Given the character of the Hittite sources, most of these works deal primarily with the cultic establishments and religious ceremonies of the towns in question. On the identification of Ankuwa see also now R. Gorny, *The Biconvex Seals of Alişar Hoyuk*, *AnSt* 43 (1993), 163-91.

² Among many others, B. Hrozný, H. H. von der Osten, K. Bittel, F. Cornelius, T. Ozguç, and J. Yakar have conducted archaeological surveys in central Anatolia. Unfortunately, no convenient summary of this activity is available. But see J. Yakar, *Recent Contributions to the Historical Geography of the Hittite Empire*, *MDOG* 112 (1980), 75-94; *Archaeological Survey in the Malatya and Sivas Provinces--1977*, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), 34-53; and J. Yakar and A. Dinçol, *Remarks on the Historical Geography of North-Central Anatolia during the Pre-Hittite and Hittite Periods*, *Tel Aviv* 1 (1974), 85-99, for some useful reports. Suggested identifications of places named in Hittite texts are collected by G. del Monte in *RGTC* 6 (1978) and *RGCT* 6/2 (1992).

³ For Ḫattuša see C. Mora, *Saggio per uno studio sulla popolazione urbana nell'Anatolia antica*, *SMEA* 18 (1977), 227-41. K. Bittel, *Quelques remarques archéologiques sur la topographie de Ḫattuša*, *CRAIBL* 1983, 485-86, expresses scepticism concerning Mora's conclusions.

⁴ A. Archi, *Continuità degli insediamenti anatolici durante l'età ittita*, *SMEA* 22 (1980), 7-17.

⁵ The original meaning was "place of trade." For this word see E. Neu, *Der Anitta-Text*, *StBoT* 18 (Wiesbaden 1974), 106-09; and J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* 3, 127-28.

⁶ As in Hittite Laws §71. Note that I. M. Diakonoff, *Die hethitische Gesellschaft*, *MIO* 13 (1967), 360, n. 126, glosses *utne-* by Greek *cwra*. But by far the most frequent meaning of *utne-* is "polity."

⁷ HW¹ 109. On the etymology see M. Poetto, *Due note lessicali etee*, *Paidea* 28 (1973), 175-77; and cf. A. J. van Windekens, *Zum indogermanischen Ursprung von heth. gim(ma)ra-*, *KZ* 95 (1981), 249-50.

⁸ R. Lebrun, *Les Hittites et le désert*, in *Le désert. Image et réalité. Actes du Colloque de Cartigny*

the semantic field of this word and its heterographic equivalents ŠERU and LIL is "non-city."⁹ Synchronically, the range of meaning of gimra- begins with the idea of "cultivated field." Thus an incantation includes the metaphor: "As [malt] is meager (in fertility), and one does not take it to the gimra- to use as seed."¹⁰

§ 53 of the Hittite Laws employs gimra- in the wider sense of "agricultural establishment": "If a man under a service obligation and his partner live together, and if they become unsuited for one another and divide their household--if there are ten (dependent) persons on (lit. 'of') his land (gimraš=šaš), the man under a service obligation shall take seven persons, and his partner shall take three persons. They shall divide the cattle and sheep on his land in the same manner ..."¹¹

Moving further from town, we arrive at the setting for this magical utterance intended to remove assorted evils from a community: "As a ram mounts a ewe and she becomes pregnant, so let this city and house become a ram, and let it mount the Dark Earth in the gimra- (LIL-ri). And let the Dark Earth become pregnant with the blood, impurity, and sin."¹²

The contrast between city and gimra- is essential to the logic of the magic here. Indeed, like its Akkadographic equivalent ŠERU,¹³ gimra- may often be translated "steppe" or "wilderness." Note in particular that the Hittite version of the Gilgamesh Epic renders šeru (the scene of Enkidu's creation) with gimra-¹⁴ and that wild animals in general are called gimraš ḫūtar,¹⁵ the exact equivalent of Akkadian būl šēri. Similarly, uncultivated plants are said to be "of the gimra-."¹⁶

As an uninhabited area, the more distant gimra- is an appropriate location for the performance of potentially polluting rituals,¹⁷ and it is also a frequent site of military encounters. Thus Muṣili II states in his Annals: "And I, My Majesty, did not go into the field (gi-im-ri) at all that year."¹⁸ Consider also this pious request from a ritual: "Furthermore, give conquest to the king in the field (gi-im-ri)."¹⁹ Here too belong the deity

1983 (Leuven 1989), 81-87.

⁹ See already R. Lebrun, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 97: "gimra- designe tout ce qui s'oppose à URU."

¹⁰ KUB 17.10 iii 16-18 (CTH 324), transliterated by E. Laroche, *Myth.* 35.

¹¹ For a transliteration see J. Friedrich, *Die Hethitischen Gesetze* (Leiden 1959), 34.

¹² KUB 41.8 iv 29-32 and dupl. (CTH 446), transliterated by H. Otten, *Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen aus Bogazkoy*, ZA 54 (1961), 138.

¹³ CAD S, 141-47.

¹⁴ KBo 10.47c i 6 (CTH 341): LIL-ri, transliterated by E. Laroche, *Myth.* 123.

¹⁵ For example, KUB 8.62 i 2 (CTH 341): (gi-i)m-ra-aš ḫu-u-i-tar. B. J. Collins, *The Representation of Wild Animals in Hittite Texts* (diss. Yale University 1989), 25-27, discusses this term in greater detail.

¹⁶ KBo 12.112 rev. 9 (CTH 470): (gi-i)m-ra-aš tarpatarpan. Cf. G. Beckman, *Hittite Birth Rituals*, StBoT 29 (Wiesbaden 1983), 68-69. In KBo 22.106 obv. 15: 1 GU₄ gi-im-ra-aš, the term seems to have the meaning "ordinary; real" in contrast to the divine bovines Seri and Ḫurri mentioned earlier in the passage.

¹⁷ For example, KUB 9.31 iii 58 (CTH 394): n=aš LIL-ri namma tamedani ASRI pennian(zi), "Then they drive out once more into the countryside, to a different place." Upon arrival the practitioners dig a hole and perform a purificatory rite.

¹⁸ KBo 4.4 iv 53-54 (CTH 61), transliterated by A. Gotze, *AM* 140.

¹⁹ KBo 11.72 ii 33-34 (CTH 447): namma=at ANA LUGAL gi-im-ri tarḫuiatar pāi. The function of the

ISTAR gimraš / awarri / ŠĒRI / LIL, "Istar of the Battlefield,"²⁰ the military unit LIM ŠĒRI, "the myriad of the battlefield,"²¹ and terms such as GIR gimraš, "field knife."²² Metonymically, gimra- has also taken on the signification of "military campaign,"²³ in one text alternating in this meaning with the Sumerogram KASKAL.²⁴

The danger to be encountered in the outer gimra- is manifest in an incantation where a personified temple instructs: "I shall give (it--a boon?) to you, if in the open country (gi-im-ri) [you rob him?] like a traveller." The men reply to the temple: "He is a traveller. We shall take it from him [while? . . .] he sleeps."²⁵ This situation calls to mind §5 of the Hittite Laws,²⁶ which deals with the murder and robbery of a merchant, as well as §IV of the late parallel series, which foresees the possibility that someone will be killed between settlements.²⁷

This latter crime is said to occur damedani A.SA A.GAR, that is, "in some other territory," and the unknown Hittite word represented by this Sumerogram and its simpler variant A.SA²⁸ is indeed closely related in meaning to gimra-. It is the most frequently-occurring term for an agricultural parcel in the Hittite Laws,²⁹ as well as in economic documents such as land grants³⁰ and field lists.³¹ That it might designate larger areas is

enclitic pronoun =at here is unclear.

²⁰ See I. Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Istar-Sawuška in Kleinasien* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981), 28, 32, 33. For the military character of her wardrobe, see C. G. von Brandenstein, *Zum churrischen Lexikon*, ZA 46 (1940), 103-04. This aspect of the Anatolian goddess should be compared to the character of the Mesopotamian Istar tāhāzi / ME.

²¹ For the material see R. Beal, *The Organization of the Hittite Military*, THeth 20 (Heidelberg 1992), 92-104, who interprets the term as "clansmen of the countryside."

²² KUB 42.12 i 10 (CTH 241.3.A): [N] GIR gi-im-ra-aš. Cf. also KBo 18.181 obv. 1 (CTH 243): 3 TUG^{maššaš} SA.BA 1 ZA.GIN 2 LIL-aš, and obv. 3: 3 TUG.GU Hurri idunaš SA.BA 2 ḪASMANNI 1 LIL-aš.

²³ See, for example, KUB 27.1 i 7-11 (CTH 712): "The campaigns (gi-im-ri-uš) which the king conducted--as many campaigns (gi-im-ru-uš) as he has conducted--(during) as many years as have passed in the meantime--When they worship the deity, they will make an oracular inquiry about the ambašši-ritual, the ritual of well-being, and the vow concerning those campaigns (gi-im-ra-aš šer)." For a transliteration see R. Lebrun, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 75. CHD L-N, 8 renders gimra- in the first two instances as "regions," which is questionable, since this meaning is not attested elsewhere.

²⁴ Note LIL-ri in KUB 5.1 iii 54 (CTH 561), while elsewhere this oracle report has KASKAL (e.g. iii 49, 51, 58). See A. Unal, *Ḫattušili III., Part II--Quellen*, THeth 4 (Heidelberg 1974), 32ff..

²⁵ KUB 12.63 rev. 2-4 (CTH 412). For the interpretation of this difficult passage and a transliteration see CHD L-N, 9-10.

²⁶ See J. Friedrich, HG 16-17, and R. Haase, *Zur Totung eines Kaufmanns nach den hethitischen Gesetzen (§§5 und III)*, WO 9 (1978), 213-19.

²⁷ See J. Friedrich, HG 50-51, and *Zu einigen umstrittenen Paragraphen der hethitischen Gesetze*, Symb. Koschaker, 1-3.

²⁸ See §XXXVIII of the Hittite Laws (J. Friedrich, HG 58-59), where A.SA is resumed by A.SA A.GAR. Cf. also ^dU A.GAR (KUB 55.39 iv 6) and ^dU A.SA A.GAR (KUB 57.58 i 4; KUB 57.106 ii 12).

²⁹ See §§6, 39ff., etc.

³⁰ CTH 221-222. See the transliterations in K. K. Riemschneider, *Die hethitischen Landschenkungsurkunden*, MIO 6 (1958), 321-81.

³¹ CTH 239. See M. Paroussis, *Les listes de champs de Pylos et Ḫattuša et le régime foncier mycénien et hittite* (Paris 1985), 25-26.

illustrated by a passage in an Akkadian-language diplomatic text of Ḫattušili III in which the Hittite king promises to return to Ugarit any fugitives who should escape into the A.SA LU.SA.GAZ dUTUŠI, "the ḫapiru-territory of My Majesty."³²

Finally, a partial functional equivalent to gimra- is the Sumerogram ḪUR.SAG, whose Hittite reading remains unknown.³³ Thus a ritual is to be carried out "on the mountain, in a virgin spot [. . .] where the plow does not go."³⁴ A vassal ruler is enjoined to send fugitives to the court of the Great King, and not to "direct their eyes to the mountains,"³⁵ that is, help them escape into the wilderness. Having entered the hills to hunt, the unsuccessful Kešši "wanders for three months in the mountains, not wishing to return to his city empty-handed."³⁶ Most striking is §197 of the Hittite Laws, which reads: "If a man seizes a woman on the mountain, it is the man's crime, and he shall die. But if he seizes her in (her) home, it is the woman's crime. The woman shall die."³⁷ In the mountains force prevails, and a woman could not be expected to receive assistance or successfully to defend her virtue on her own.

The association of the concept of wilderness with mountainous terrain is natural in the geographic setting of Ḫatti.³⁸ ḪUR.SAG is also frequently found in close association with

³² RS 17.238:7 (cf. 16) = PRU IV 107-08 (CTH 94). For a complete translation, see No. 33 of my *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Atlanta 1996). See also M. Heltzer, *The Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit* (Wiesbaden 1976), 4-5.

³³ E. Laroche, *Notes sur les symboles solaires hittites*, in: Boehmer, R.M. and H. Hauptmann (ed.), *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien*. Fs Bittel (Mainz 1983), 309-10, demonstrates that kalmara- indicates a solar emblem, and not "Berg", as listed in HW¹ 96.

³⁴ VBoT 24 i 31-32 (CTH 393): nu ḪUR.SAG-i dammeli pedi [. . .] kuwapi GISAPIN-aš UL āraškizzi.

³⁵ KBo 5.9 iii 12-22 (CTH 62), translated fully as No. 8 in my *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. For a transliteration see J. Friedrich, SV I 20-21.

³⁶ KUB 33.121 ii 15-16 (CTH 361), transliterated by J. Friedrich, *Churritische Märchen und Sagen in hethitischer Sprache*, ZA 49 (1950), 234. For a full translation see H. A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta 1990), 67-68.

³⁷ See J. Friedrich, HG 86-87.

³⁸ See the relief map in W.-D. Hutteroth, *Türkei* (Darmstadt 1982), fig. 26 following p. 94. Although customarily translated "forest" (so H. A. Hoffner, EHGI 42) or "Wald" (so HW¹ 296), GISTIR / tiyeššar does not in most cases denote a wild or dangerous forested region, but rather a cultivated or naturalized "grove". See the attestations collected by E. Laroche, *Etudes de vocabulaire* (I), RHA 49 (1948-49), 11-13.

wellu-, "pasture,"³⁹ and is mentioned once or twice as a source of wood,⁴⁰ contexts which well illustrate the economic role of this topographic region for Hittite society.

In sum, we encounter in the Boğazköy texts three main terms which may serve as antonyms to *ḥappiriya*:- *gimra*-, *A.SA*-, and *HUR.SAG*.⁴¹ Although philological analysis reveals that for the Hittites the countryside was a continuum stretching from just outside the city gate up to the mountain slopes, it is often useful to distinguish between the extremes of this range. Therefore I translate *gimra*- and *A.SA* as "fields" when they designate the near non-city,⁴² and as "wilderness" or "territory" when they refer to more distant areas. Naturally there are many contexts which do not allow such disambiguation. In contrast, as a term of social geography *HUR.SAG* must always be rendered as "wilderness."

To return to our primary theme -- what was the socio-economic relationship of the Hittite capital city to the non-city, to the countryside? Max Weber distinguished three ideal types of premodern city:⁴³ the princely city, a center of political power which coerces its sustenance from the surrounding agriculturalists and pastoralists; the trading city, which functions as an entrepôt for the exchange of goods among primary producers; and the producer city, which manufactures goods for exchange with the peasantry. Of course, few settlements in any period present a pure example of any of these types.⁴⁴ A capital city would in practice have participated to some degree in all three. In pre-industrial societies, however, the urban aggregation is always to some extent parasitic on the country. Due to limitations in the available technology of production and transportation, it is impossible for the city to produce wealth equal in value to the agricultural and pastoral products it consumes.⁴⁵

In the *Ḥattuša* of the Empire Period we may recognize a settlement closely approaching Weber's ideal type of a princely city. Pre-Hittite *Ḥattuš* probably arose as an easily-defended trading center joining the middle Halys valley and the Black Sea coast with northern Syria and Mesopotamia beyond.⁴⁶ It was definitely the site of an Assyrian trading post in the

³⁹ For example, KUB 55.20++ iii 33-36 (CTH 760): "(The piglet) roots up the meadow (*ū-el-lu-un*), and it turns up the artarti-plant. It roots up the mountain (*HUR.SAG-an*), and it turns up water." For transliteration, see G. Beckman, *The Hittite 'Ritual of the Ox'* (CTH 760.I.2-3), *Or NS* 59 (1990), 39.

⁴⁰ See KUB 29.1 iii 13-15 (CTH 414): "When the king builds a palace somewhere in the city, then whichever carpenter goes into the mountains (*HUR.SAG*) to cut the beams . . ." For transliteration see M. Carini, *Il rituale di fondazione KUB XXIX 1. Ipotesi intorno alla nozione etea arcaica della regalità*, *Athenaeum* 60 (1982), 496.

⁴¹ See n. 6 above on *utne*-.

⁴² This sector would correspond to what A. L. Oppenheim calls the "corona" of Mesopotamian cities. See *Mesopotamia--Land of Many Cities*, in I. Lapidus, ed., *Middle Eastern Cities* (Berkeley 1969), 6.

⁴³ *Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. G. Roth and C. Wittich (Berkeley 1978), 1215-17.

⁴⁴ M. I. Finley, 'How it Really Was', in *Ancient History. Evidence and Models* (New York 1986), 47-66, succinctly presents the case for employing models such as Weber's ideal types in studying ancient history. See especially pp. 60-61.

⁴⁵ Cf. M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (Berkeley 1973), 126-29.

⁴⁶ Admittedly this is no more than conjecture, since only scraps of archaeological evidence have been recovered from the settlement levels of Boğazköy dating to earlier than the Late Bronze Age - see K. Bittel, *Ḥattuša*, *RIA* 4 (1972-75), 164. For the geographical position of the site as a link between northernmost Anatolia and the Konya Plain, see K. Bittel, *Archaeologische Forschungsprobleme zur Frühgeschichte Kleinasien* (Opladen 1973), 17-18.

nineteenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴⁷ It does not seem, however, that commerce was particularly important for Hattuša in the Hittite period. Relatively little indication of foreign trade has come to light at Boğazköy, either as archaeological remains⁴⁸ or through references in texts.⁴⁹ Such textually-documented activities of Hittite merchants⁵⁰ as can be localized take place in outlying areas, especially in southern cities such as Cilician Ura and Syrian Ugarit.⁵¹ While I would hardly deny that Hattuša ultimately benefited from this commerce, the prominence of the city cannot be explained by it.

Nor have the excavations at Boğazköy turned up much evidence of substantial craft production at the site. The one significant exception, a pottery from the last years of the Hittite empire, seems to have directed its output primarily to one of the local temple establishments.⁵² In any event, the lack of water transportation in the vicinity of the capital would have made wider distribution of the products of large-scale industry unfeasible. And the work of P. Neve and his archaeological team over the past decade or so has shown that the greater part of thirteenth-century Hattuša was given over to imperial display and administration. This could be either directly political, as on the citadel,⁵³ or religio-political, as in the large tracts of temples still emerging in the Upper City.⁵⁴ The cuneiform documentation indicates that the wealth supporting this ostentation was brought

⁴⁷ K. Bittel, *Hattusha. The Capital of the Hittites* (New York 1970), 33-37. H. Otten has studied the Old Assyrian texts from Hattuš in *Die altassyrischen Texte aus Boğazkoy*, MDOG 89 (1957), 68-79, to which should now be added KBo 28.155-83. R. McC. Adams, *Anthropological Perspectives on Ancient Trade*, *Current Anthropology* 15 (1974), 239-49, suggests that participation in a system of trade may lead to the rise of a "predatory state" in an underdeveloped region where a group of smaller polities had heretofore coexisted peacefully. Could the presence of the Old Assyrian "colonies" in Anatolia have acted as such a spur to the rise of Hatti?

⁴⁸ Consult E. Cline's compilation of imported material excavated in Central Anatolia, *A Possible Hittite Embargo against the Mycenaeans*, *Historia* 40 (1991), 2-4. For Boğazköy he lists only some North Syrian and Cypriot pottery, plus a few Egyptian objects, for which see K. Bittel, *op. cit.* (n. 47), 113-19. A perusal of the yearly reports by P. Neve in *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* (1981-92) on the work at Boğazköy did not turn up anything substantial to add to Cline's list.

⁴⁹ See E. Cline, *op. cit.* (n. 48), 4-5, and S. Košak, *Hittite Inventory Texts*, *THeth* 10 (Heidelberg 1982), 203-04. Most of these textual references are either to material of exotic origin (or style?) in the royal storehouses, or to goods passing between courts. While I am well aware that international trade was often styled as gift exchange in texts of the second millennium--see M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, Padua 1990, 203ff.--goods which arrived at a capital under such arrangements did so precisely because it was the residence of the ruler, and not due to the city's intrinsic importance as a trading center.

⁵⁰ See H. A. Hoffner, *A Hittite Text in Epic Style about Merchants*, *JCS* 22 (1968), 34-45, and H. Klengel, *Handel und Kaufleute im hethitischen Reich*, *AOF* 6 (1979), 69-80.

⁵¹ Most importantly, see the edict of Hattusili III concerning the activities of Cilician merchants at Ugarit (CTH 93), translated as No. 32 in my *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. On Ura see Klengel, *op. cit.* (n. 50), 78-79; and R. Beal, *The Location of Cilician Ura*, *AnSt* 42 (1992), 65-73.

⁵² A. Müller-Karpe, *Hethitische Töpferei der Oberstadt von Hattuša* (Marburg/Lahn 1988), 161-64.

⁵³ K. Bittel, *Denkmäler eines hethitischen Großkönigs des 13. Jahrhunderts vor Christus* (Opladen 1984), 18.

⁵⁴ See K. Bittel, *op. cit.* (n. 3), and P. Neve, *Hattuša--Stadt der Gotter und Tempel* (Mainz 1993.)

to the capital through booty,⁵⁵ tribute,⁵⁶ or diplomatic exchange.⁵⁷

On the basis of textual evidence, A. Archi has suggested that Hattuša alone remained prominent among central Anatolian urban centers during the Hittite Empire,⁵⁸ earlier major towns losing importance or disappearing entirely from our sources. The political dominance of this center was clearly expressed in the Hittites' designation of their state as Hattušaš (utne), "(Land) of the city of Hattuša."⁵⁹

This is not to imply that no other towns existed in Hatti. On the contrary, the *Répertoire Géographique* presents several hundred place names bearing the determinative URU.⁶⁰ But this Sumerian term, used as a heterogram or as a determinative, as well as its Hittite equivalent, might indicate a human settlement of any size or complexity, from the world-city Babylon⁶¹ down to a simple nomadic encampment.⁶² It might also designate the full extent of territory--rural as well as urban--under the administration of a settlement.⁶³ Information currently available concerning even the most frequently-mentioned Anatolian towns other than Hattuša does not allow us to determine their economic or political functions.⁶⁴ Thus, for example, while we learn that Ankuwa was a favorite wintering spot of the king, and that Nerik and Samuḫa were major cultic centers, we know very little about their local administration or economic production.

⁵⁵ Hittite plunder of the prosperous cities of northern Syria is exemplified by the looting of Haššuwa by the army of Hattušili I (KBo 10.2 ii 22-44 [CTH 4]) and the stripping of the lower town of Karkamiš by the troops of Suppiluliuma I (KBo 5.6 iii 39-43 [CTH 40]). In both instances the spoils are specifically said to have been carried off to Hattuša.

⁵⁶ See, for example, CTH 47, 48, and 65 concerning the tribute to be paid to the Hittite authorities by Ugarit. These documents are translated as Nos. 28A, 28B, and 31B in my *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*.

⁵⁷ See the "gifts of greeting" (šulmānu) customarily listed at the close of the letters sent between the courts of Egypt and Hatti. This correspondence has now been fully edited by E. Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache* (Opladen 1994). Several of these letters are translated under No. 22 in my *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*.

⁵⁸ A. Archi, op. cit. (n. 4), 14, and more cautiously, *Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.*, in id., ed., *Circulation of Goods in Non-palatial Context in the Ancient Near East* (Rome 1984), 204. But on Ankuwa see now Gorny, op. cit. (n. 1), 187, 191.

⁵⁹ See H. G. Güterbock, *The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Mursili I*, JCS 10 (1956), 98, with n. o; and A. Kammenhuber, HBo 125. Note also the secondary formations URUMizri and URUKaška. (for references, see G. del Monte, RGCT 6, s.v.), created by the Hittite scribes upon the model of their own (KUR)URUHatti. Neither a "city of Egypt" nor a "city of the Kaška" ever existed!

⁶⁰ G. del Monte, RGCT 6 and 6/2.

⁶¹ G. del Monte, RGCT 6, 185-87.

⁶² For example, KUB 34.1:21-22 (CTH 26): "[If some] Hittite falsely reports: '(The population of) a settlement (URUKI), including its women [and its goods], has set out and has entered the land of Kizzuwatna, . . .'" For transliteration of this text, which is translated as No. 1 in my *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, see G. R. Meyer, *Zwei neue Kizzuwatna-Verträge*, MIO 1 (1953), 116.

⁶³ See, for example, KBo 5.7 = LSU 1 rev. 2 (CTH 223): "[N] kapunu, 4 IKÜ, (and) 8 gipeššar of wooded mountainous acreage in the township of Kapanuwanta (INA URUKapanuwanta)." K. K. Riemschneider, *Die hethitischen Landschenkungen*, MIO 6 (1958), 349, translates "bei Kapanuwanta."

⁶⁴ A partial exception is the town of Mašat / Tapikka, whose administration I have discussed in: *Hittite Provincial Administration in Anatolia and Syria: the View from Mašat and Emar*, *Atti del II congresso internazionale di hittitologia* (Pavia 1995), 17-37.

But on a more general level, we may observe that Hittite imperial administration was organized around a system of *happiriya*-s. This is evident from the list of storehouse cities in the Telipinu Proclamation,⁶⁵ which in fact presents a sketch of the early state's network for the extraction of agricultural surplus, as well as for its redistribution.⁶⁶ Note also the texts enumerating the civil administrators (*AGRIG*'s) of various settlements.⁶⁷ In addition, instructions for local military commanders (*BEL MADGALTI*'s)--who have their seats in towns--include provisions for the oversight of agricultural and pastoral activities, that is, for the exploitation of the countryside.⁶⁸ The network of cities with *Hattuša* at its head constituted the armature of the Hittite state in Anatolia. In the course of the Old Hittite *KI.LAM* festival, this structure receives symbolic expression in the form of a royal visit to the storehouses of a number of towns, all apparently located in the capital.⁶⁹

If the system of cities was constitutive of state power, a lack of cities indicated the absence of central control.⁷⁰ We have seen that the wilderness was the domain of violence, both personal, as in the robbery of a merchant or the ravishing of a woman, and societal, as in military battles. The wilderness was also the realm of uprooted individuals, the *hapiru*. It is significant that when an Anatolian monarch intended the total destruction of the political power of a rival, he symbolically transformed the latter's city into barren countryside. Note here Anitta's sowing of the waste-plant cress on the site of *Hattuša*,⁷¹ and the similar deed *Hattušili I* performed at *U(lum)ma*.⁷² Territory characterized by cress would be useful only as pasture.

In this connection I adduce a ritual curse to be laid on an enemy city: "In the future no mortal shall inhabit it. [I have given] this enemy city, together with (its) fields, threshing floor, vine[yards] and . . . to the Storm-god, my lord. Let your bulls *Seri* and *Hurri*, O Storm-god, my lord, [take] it as their pasture. Let *Seri* and *Hurri* graze upon it forever. But (since) whoever should (re-)settle it would take the pasture away from the bulls of the Storm-god, from *Seri* and *Hurri*, he shall be the legal opponent of the Storm-god, my lord."⁷³

We might also recall in this regard that the *Kaškaean* chieftain *Pihhuniya* sought to eradicate Hittite influence in territory he had conquered by reducing the captured town of

⁶⁵ See CTH 19 §§37-38, edited by I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlaß Telipinus*, THeth 11 (Heidelberg 1984), 40-45.

⁶⁶ See I. Singer, *The AGRIG in the Hittite Texts*, AnSt 34 (1984), 113.

⁶⁷ Especially VBoT 68 (CTH 231), on which see A. Götze, *Bemerkungen zu dem hethitischen Text AO 9608 des Louvre*, RHA 1 (1930), 18-30. Cf. I. Singer, *op. cit.* (n. 66); and A. Archi, *op. cit.* (n. 58), 197-99.

⁶⁸ CTH 261, edited by E. von Schuler, *Dienstanw.* 41-59. See p. 49 (B 52-56) on the responsibility of this official for pastures.

⁶⁹ See I. Singer, *The Hittite KI.LAM Festival*, StBoT 27 (Wiesbaden 1985), 62-63.

⁷⁰ J. Borker-Klahn, *Der hethitische Areopag: Yerkapi, die Bronzetafel, und der 'Staatsstreich'*, AOF 21 (1994), 149, writes that *Hattuša*'s gate tower is situated at the "Nahtstelle zwischen Stadt und Außenwelt--Zivilization und Chaos gleichermaßen."

⁷¹ KBo 3.22:48 (CTH 1), edited by E. Neu, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 12-13.

⁷² KBo 10.2 i 36-37 (CTH 4), transliterated by H. C. Melchert, *The Acts of Hattušili I*, JNES 37 (1978), 9.

⁷³ KUB 7.60 iii 19-31 (CTH 423). For a transliteration, see J. Friedrich, *HE* 2, 42-43.

Iština to his "grazing ground" (wišiyaūwaš pēdan).⁷⁴ Conversely, when a Hittite ruler such as Suppiluliuma I wrested a region from the barbarians, his first act was to re-establish state authority through the (re-)settling of ḥappiriya-s.⁷⁵ An interesting fragment of an instruction deals with the engineers who are commanded by the king to construct a city "in the foremost march."⁷⁶ Through such activity the authority of Ḥatti would be restored or extended.

In short, the Hittite state and its capital city were closely associated, in good times and bad. K. Bittel observed that the citadel and many temples of Ḥattuša had been deliberately set ablaze at the fall of Ḥatti, as if in defiance of the imperial power they represented.⁷⁷ It is striking that thereafter the site slipped into the backwaters of history, never again attaining any real political or economic importance. The main highways of the Persian and Roman periods bypassed it,⁷⁸ and Boğazköy exercised no great attraction for the settlers of any later period.⁷⁹ This accords with my view that the Hittite capital was a princely city, its preeminence due almost solely to its political function. When the land of Ḥattuša disappeared, so did Ḥattuša itself.

The dynamics of the maintenance and collapse of the Hittite empire⁸⁰ might be compared with the later experience of the grand polity established by the rulers of the city of Assur,⁸¹ but that is another story.⁸² In any case, with the fall of the city of Ḥattuša, the gimra- acquired almost total dominance in north-central Anatolia until the modest Phrygian flowering of the middle of the first millennium B.C.E.

⁷⁴ KBo 3.4 iii 72 (CTH 61), edited by A. Gotze, AM 88-89.

⁷⁵ KUB 19.11 iv 12-16 (CTH 40): "But since my father had constructed fortifications behind (each) empty city (of) the entire land which had been depopulated by the enemy, he transported each (group of the) population back to its own city, and they reoccupied the population centers (lit. 'cities of population'--antuḥšannaš URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A)." The text is edited by H. G. Güterbock, op. cit. (n. 59) 65.

⁷⁶ KUB 40.61 + KUB 13.28:9-10 (CTH 267): mān dUTUŠI kuwapi ḥantezzi auriya URU-an (wetezzi šu)mešš=a ERIN.MES UKU.US ERIN.MES-i anda KIN-an wetešketeni, "When His Majesty [builds] a city in the foremost march, you, the . . . -troops, will routinely perform the construction work among the troops." Cf. R. Beal, op. cit. (n. 21), 43, n. 172.

⁷⁷ K. Bittel, Das Ende des Hethiterreiches aufgrund archäologischer Zeugnisse, Jahresbericht des Institutes für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt a. M. (1976), 41-42.

⁷⁸ For the Roman era see Map 8 ("Roads, garrisons, and recruitment in central Asia Minor") in S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, Vol. I (Oxford 1993), 130. Here the road which comes closest to the one-time Hittite capital passes through Tavium, which is to be located at Büyüknefes, about a dozen miles southwest of Boğazköy. See K. Bittel, *Tavium, GsEdhem* (1947), 171-79. On pp. 178-79 Bittel demonstrates that this highway could not have run through Boğazköy.

⁷⁹ See K. Bittel, *Ḥattuša-Boğazköy in Phrygian and Persian Times*, in op. cit. (n. 47), 132-57.

⁸⁰ The most recent discussion of these events is by H. A. Hoffner, *The Last Days of Khattusha*, in W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowski, eds., *The Crisis Years. The 12th Century B.C.* (Dubuque 1992), 46-52.

⁸¹ See A. L. Oppenheim, *An Essay on Assyrian History*, in *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago 1964), 163-70, and cf. J. N. Postgate, *The Economic Structure of the Assyrian Empire*, in M. T. Larsen, ed., *Power and Propaganda* (Copenhagen 1979), 216-17.

⁸² See the general remarks of N. Yoffee, *The Collapse of Ancient Mesopotamian States and Civilization*, in N. Yoffee and G. Cowgill, eds., *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations* (Tucson 1988), 44-68.