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ANATOLIAN INTERFACES

HITTITES, GREEKS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

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edited by

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PREFACE

When Ian Rutherford and Mary Bachvarova first conceived the idea for a conference on cross-cultural interaction in Anatolia, they found a willing collaborator in Billie Jean Collins, who volunteered Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia as the location for the conference. Its purpose would be to bring together scholars who might not normally travel in the same academic circles to engage in a discussion about Anatolia's many cultural "interfaces." Cross-cultural interaction in ancient Anatolia between indigenous groups, such as the Hattians, Indo-Europeans, including Hittites and Greeks, and Near Eastern cultures, particularly the Hurrians, resulted in a unique environment in which Anatolian peoples interacted with, and reacted to, one another in different ways. These cultural interfaces occurred on many levels, including political, economic, religious, literary, architectural and iconographic. The rich and varied archives, inscriptions and archaeological remains of ancient Anatolia and the Aegean promised much material for study and discussion. After a year of planning, on September 17–19, 2004, an international body of scholars, more or less equally divided between Classicists and Anatolianists, met at Emory University. These Proceedings present the rich fruits of the discussion that took place over those three days in Atlanta.

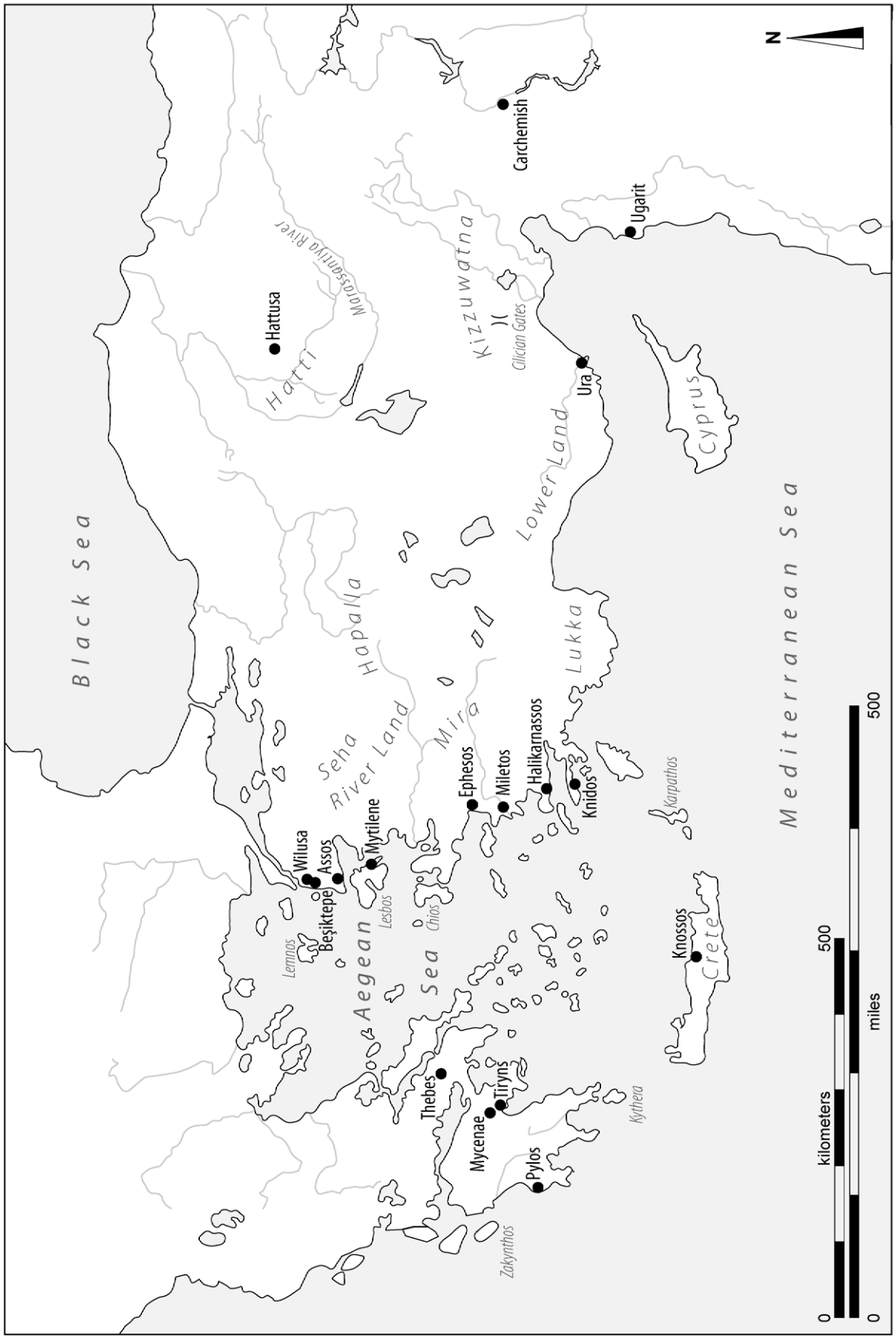
Hosted and co-sponsored by the Department of Middle Eastern and South Asian Studies of Emory University, the conference, "Hittites, Greeks and Their Neighbors in Ancient Anatolia: An International Conference on Cross-Cultural Interaction" was made possible by the generous support of many sponsors. From within Emory, the sponsors include the Center for Humanistic Inquiry, the Department of Anthropology, the Department of Art History, the Department of Classics, the Department of Religion, the Graduate Division of Religion, the Graduate Program in Culture, History and Theory, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the Institute for Comparative and International Studies, the Michael C. Carlos Museum, the Office of International Affairs, the Program in Classical Studies, the Program in Mediterranean Archaeology and the Program in Linguistics. Support from outside the University came from the American Schools of Oriental Research, the Georgia Middle East Studies Consortium, the Georgia Humanities Council, the Foundation for Biblical Archaeology and the Hightower Fund. The publication of these proceedings was made possible by a subvention from Emory College and the Emory Graduate School of Arts & Sciences. Thanks also go to Susanne Wilhelm of Archaeoplan for preparing the maps for the volume.

The conference "Hittites, Greeks and Their Neighbors" underscored how all our fields of study can benefit from a cross-cultural, cross-disciplinary approach. If, in publishing these proceedings, we draw attention to the importance of Anatolia in recovering the cultural heritage of the western world, then our efforts have been worthwhile. Many at the conference expressed the hope that it might be the beginning of a regular series of formal conversations on the topic, and one participant predicted that the conference would usher in a new era of cross-disciplinary cooperation. We certainly hope so.

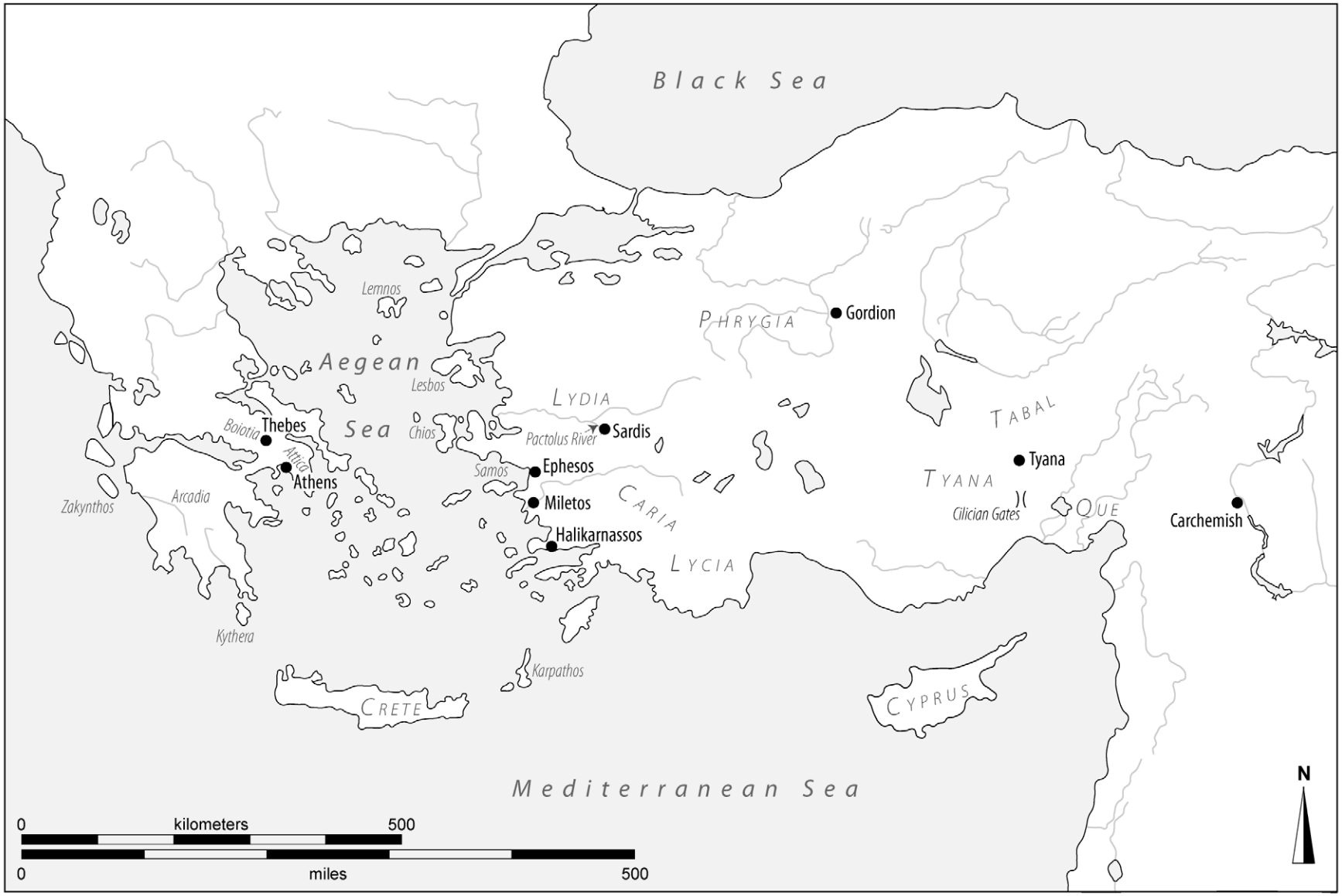
ABBREVIATIONS

ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1958–1981.
Alc.	Alcaeus
Anac.	Anacreon
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AP	*Anthologia Palatina*
Euphorion, *ap Ath.*	Euphorion, *ap Athenaeus "Deipnosophistae"*
Ar., *Thesm.*	Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*
Archil.	Archilochus
Arnobius, *Adv. nat.*	Arnobius, *Adversus nationes*
Ath.	Athenaeus
ca.	circa
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CANE	*Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. New York, Scribner's Sons, 1995
CDA	J. Black, A. George, and N. Postgate, *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. 2nd correctted printing. Wiesbaden, Harrtassowitz, 2000.
CHD	*The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980–
Clement of Alexandria, *Protrep.*	Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*
CLL	H. C. Melchert, *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon*. Chapel Hill, N.C., self-published, 1993.
CLuw.	Cuneiform Luwian
CNR	Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche
CTH	E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*. Paris, Klincksieck, 1971.
CTH suppl.	E. Laroche, Premier supplement, *RHA* 30 (1972), 94–133.
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
DLL	E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la language louvite*. Paris, Maisonneuve, 1959.
DLU	G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín, *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica*. Aula Orientalis Suppl. 7–8. Barcelona, AUSA, 1996.
FGrH	F. Jacoby, ed. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin, Weidmann, and Leiden, Brill, 1923–.
Firmicus Maternus, *De. err. prof. rel.*	Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*
fl.	floruit
fr.	fragment
Gr.	Greek
HED	J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Berlin, Mouton, 1984–
HEG	J. Tischler, *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*. Innsbruck, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1977–
Hitt.	Hittite
HLuw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian
Homer, *Il.*	Homer, *Iliad*
Homer, *Od.*	Homer, *Odyssey*
[Hom.], *Marg. P.Oxy.*	Pseudo-Homer, *Margites,* Oxyrhynchus Papyrus

HW	J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1952.
HW²	J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber, Hethitisches Wörterbuch. 2. Auflage. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1975–
Iamblichus, *De Myst.*	Iamblichus, *De mysteriis*
IBoT	*Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Bogazköy Tabletleri.* Istanbul 1944, 1947, 1954, Ankara 1988.
IBS	Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
IEG	M. L. West, *Iambi et elegi graeci*. 2 vols. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991–1992.
Il. Comm. ad. Π	R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. IV: *Books 13–16*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. Berlin, Gebr. Mann, 1916–.
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*. 60 volumes. Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1921–1990
KN	Knossos tablet
Lith.	Lithuanian
Luw.	Luwian
Lyc.	Lycian
Lyd.	Lydian
MesZL	R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*. Münster, Ugarit-Verlag, 2003.
MHG	Middle High German
MSL XIII	B. Landsberger et al., *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon*, vol. 13. Rome, Pontifico Istituto Biblico, 1971.
MY	Mycenae tablet
Myc.	Mycenaean
Myl.	Mylesian
Nic. Dam.	Nicolaus Damascenus
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
Or.	*Oratio*
Pal.	Palaic
PIHANS	Publication de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul
[Plutarch], *De mus.*	Pseudo-Plutarch, *De musica*
Plutarch, *Mor.*	Plutarch, *Moralia*
PMG	D. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1962.
PN	personal name
PRU 4	C. F.-A. Schaeffer, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit IV*. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale & Klincksieck, 1956.
PY	Pylos tablet
r.	ruled
RHA	*Revue hittite et asianique*
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
Strabo, *Geog.*	Strabo, *Geography*
s.v.	sub voce
Theoc.	Theocritus
trans.	translated by
TrGF	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971–.
Ugar.	Ugaritic
Ugaritica V	J. Nougayrol et al., *Ugaritica V*. Paris, Geuthner, 1968.
UT-PASP	University of Texas at Austin Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory
vel sim.	*vel similia* "similar word"
Verg.	Virgil
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World



Anatolia and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age.



Anatolia and the Aegean in the Iron Age

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HITTITE ETHNICITY?
CONSTRUCTIONS OF IDENTITY IN HITTITE LITERATURE

Amir Gilan

The nature of "identity" in general and ethnic identity in particular are currently being studied extensively in many fields of the humanities. Ethnicity in the ancient world has been a frequent topic of research in recent years. This work also provides a useful basis for a discussion of ethnic identity in second millennium Anatolia. Here I first consider the question of Hittite ethnicity within a larger framework of recent studies in sociology and social anthropology concerning the nature of ethnic identity. Second, I look at the role of literature in constructing Hittite identity. One such discursive strategy employed in the texts will be examined in detail.

1. Within Hittite studies, discussions of ethnicity are principally concerned with the formative period of Hittite history, that is, the emergence of the Hittite kingdom from the Old Assyrian period and onwards (eighteenth – sixteenth centuries BCE). The central issue at stake here is the role played by ethnic differences in the formation process of the Hittite kingdom in central Anatolia.

One model describes the emergence of the Hittite Kingdom as a result of a clash between two distinct ethno-political entities: The eventually triumphant Hittite (Nesite) speakers based around the city of Kanes (Hittite Nesa) south of the Kızıl Irmak River, and the Hattic inhabitants, mostly settled just to the north, in the basin of that same river. This interpretation is based on evidence suggesting what Singer terms, "a basic division of Anatolia into ethno-cultural zones, distinguishable by their onomasticon, pantheon and material culture, before Anitta's unification of the land" (2000, 638). These ethno-cultural divisions are considered roughly to correspond with the political map of Anatolia before Anitta's conquests. Thus, the rivalry between Kanes and the kingdoms of Hattusa or Zalpa, as reflected mainly in the Anitta text (for which see Hoffner 1997a), has been interpreted as an ethnic-flavored conflict between Hittites and Hattians.

In addition to the Hattic and Hittite speakers, several other linguistic groups were likewise settled in Anatolia. Palaic was spoken in the land of Palā, classical Paphlagonia, and Luwian was spoken in central and west Anatolia as well as in Kizzuwatna. The southern and southeastern parts of Anatolia were also inhabited by a Hurrian speaking population (Singer 1981, 124). In his recent treatment of Luwian prehistory, Melchert is, however, very careful not to invest his linguistic map with ethnic identities: "There can be little doubt," he writes, "that the societies of which Luwian speakers were a part were multi-ethnic, and this is almost certainly true of the Luwian-speaking population itself" (2003, 8). More generally, Melchert warns that language and culture do not always correspond to ethnicity or nationhood (2003, 2). In his history of the Hittite kingdom, Bryce argues that the notion of ethnic conflicts is "almost certainly meaningless" in the Middle Bronze Age (1998, 15). Furthermore, it has been questioned whether the sparse

evidence available – relatively little is known about the true socio-linguistic or cultural situation in Anatolia in this period – allows any conclusions concerning ethnic identity in this, or in later, better-documented periods.

The picture that emerges from the century-long study of the archives in Hattusa indeed defies any simplistic cultural or ethnic definition. Hittite, the main administrative language of the kingdom, was named by its speakers as Nesite, that is, of the city of Nesa/Kanes. These Nesite speakers, however, identified themselves as the inhabitants of the Land of Hattusa, named after their originally "Hattic" capital city. Early Hittite religion and ideology of kingship are likewise a mixture of different components. The "Hittite" king and his queen both bear Luwian titles whereas the title of their son, the crown prince, is Hattic. The Storm-god of Hattusa is of Hattic origin, his name is however Indo-European (Melchert 2003, 18–21). In the light of this bricolage, the view that Old Hittite culture should be interpreted as the product of political supremacy of one distinct ethnic group of Indo-Europeans over the indigenous Hattic inhabitants within the Halys basin, is now generally being discarded in favor of a model of a long-term transculturation of a variety of cultural and linguistic elements (Klinger 2003: 95; Melchert 2003, 21; Oettinger 2002, 51). This process continued in later phases of Hittite history as well, in which Hurrian/north Syrian/Kizzuwatnean cultural elements were added to the mixture. For this bricolage of cultural and linguistic elements, Güterbock coined the term "Hittite civilization":

> We must strictly separate two spheres: linguistic and cultural. Since the name "Hittite" has, for forty years, been applied to the main language of the Boğazköy archives, we cannot easily abandon it (...). The speakers of this language took part in what may be called "Hittite civilization," but the latter is a mixed culture and cannot in its entirety be ascribed to a single ethnic group. Consequently, the name "Hittite" must mean one thing if applied to a language, another thing if applied to a civilization. (1957, 233–34)

Following Güterbock, the existence of "Hittite" ethnicity has been often rejected by modern scholarship. It has been claimed that the term "Hittite" itself as well as ethnic concepts such as *people*, *nation* or "*Volk*" are anachronistic for the period. Furthermore, there is nothing to suggest that ethnical, cultural or linguistic divisions corresponded to political borders, and the idea that they should do so, in other words, nationalism, is certainly anachronistic (Klinger 1996, 18). The Hittites' own term "Land of Hattusa" (*Ḫattušaš utnē*, KUR ^{URU}*Ḫ̌ATTI*) designates merely a political entity named after its capital city (Starke 1998, 185–86). The term DUMU.MEŠ KUR ^{URU}*Ḫ̌ATTI* denotes the inhabitants of that political entity, not exclusively the group of Hittite speakers (Klinger 1996, 85–87; Bryce 1998, 19). In his definition of the term "Hittite" cited above, Güterbock cannot, however, entirely dispense with the term ethnicity. "Hittite" Anatolia is often characterized in Hittitology as multi-ethnic, even by scholars who are otherwise reluctant to use the ethnic tag.

Yet, whereas "Hittite culture" certainly represents a bricolage of different elements, interwoven in a long-term process of transculturation, the political formation and later consolidation of the Hittite Kingdom throughout its history was actively carried out by a surprisingly constant, distinct group of actors. As the Egyptologist J. Baines notes, "the creation of a state and culture involves forging an ideology and an identity that will underpin its unity. Creating a collective 'self' that implies a collective 'other,' where the other is often axiomatically diverse and the self unitary" (1996, 361). Did such a collective identity emerge with the formation of the Hittite kingdom in Anatolia? Could it be described as ethnic identity?

Several methodological issues seem to me therefore fundamental for any discussion of ethnic identity in Hittite Anatolia. These include a definition of the term ethnicity, the possibility of its application to ancient Anatolia and its interpretative value to Hittitology. Another question concerns the relation between ethnic identity and culture. These matters will be addressed in the following sections.

2. In order to locate discussions of ethnicity in second millennium Anatolia within a larger framework, I begin with E. Gellner's pertinent remarks on social structure in pre-industrial, agro-literate political entities (Gellner 1983, 8–18). "In the characteristic agro-literate polity," Gellner writes, "the ruling class

forms a small minority of the population, rigidly separate from the great majority of direct agricultural producers, or peasants. Generally speaking, its ideology exaggerates rather than underplays the inequality of classes and the degree of separation of the ruling stratum" (Gellner 1983, 9–10).

According to Gellner's model, social stratification in agro-literate political entities is horizontal. Therefore, the ruling elite is inclined to stress and reinforce cultural difference in order for fortify its privileged position and has no interest whatsoever in promoting cultural homogeneity. As to the agricultural producers, peasant communities are economically and politically tied to their locality and seldom communicate with each other. Even if the nationalistic notion that cultural boundaries should define political entities had been invented in that period, according to Gellner it had no chance of success (Gellner 1983, 10–11). Gellner's argument that nationalism is anachronistic in the ancient world has also been extended to ethnicity (Hall 1997, 18 and n. 6). Yet ethnic identities are not exclusively modern and could also be found in antiquity (Malkin 1998, 55).

It is not difficult to identify Gellner's horizontal ruling stratum in Hittite Anatolia. It is well known that the extended royal family played an overwhelming role in Hittite politics throughout Hittite history (Beckman 1995, 539–60; Starke 1996). Starke even suggests equating the term LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*ḪA-AT-TI* (*ḫattušumeneš*) "Hittites" exclusively with members of this kinship group, which also constituted the *panku-*, the politically active "community (*Gemeinschaft*)" of the kingdom (Starke 1996, 153 and n. 54). As Watkins (2002, 167–69) shows, ideal Hittite social structure is defined in the first paragraph of the historical outline of the Telipinu Proclamation in terms of the individual's relation to the king. This relation is established either through family and kinship ties or through alliance, either by marriage or by political loyalty.

Patterns of participation in Old Hittite festivals reveal, however, a somewhat more complex situation than Gellner's model pertains. The participation of delegations from various cities in central Anatolia in the KI.LAM festival suggests, as Rutherford has recently argued (2002), the existence in this area of a "religious network," probably already pre-"Hittite." This pattern of religious participation expresses not only the horizontal allegiance to the king, but more importantly, a notion of common identity shared by the participating towns. Much of the same territory – north and central Anatolia – was later covered by elaborate trips by the king and other members of the royal family during the two great festivals, the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival in spring and the *nuntarriyašḫaš* festival in autumn (Nakamura 2002, 11–12, 438–39). An association with a specific territory and the notion of shared cult are important components of ethnic identity (Eriksen 1993, 34–35).

Ethnic studies are often characterized as a Ping-Pong match between two rivaling positions, usually termed the "primordial" and the "instrumentalist," "situationalist" or "circumstantial" (Siapkas 2004, 13; Sökefeld 1997, 30; Malkin 1998, 56; Fenton 2003, 83–84). Considered as primordial, ethnicity is a distinctive, privileged, deeply emotional attachment, determined at birth. In this sense it is often compared to kin relationship (Brown, cited by Sökefeld 1997, 29):

> The ethnic group is perceived by its members as a pseudo-kinship group, which promises to provide the all-embracing emotional security offered by the family to the child, which offers practical support, in the form of nepotism, such as the family gives to its members when they interact with others and which, precisely because it is based on the ubiquitious family and kinship ties, is widely and easily available for utilisation in politics.

Ethnicity, however, is a social construction rather than a biological phenomenon (Hall 1997, 32). Precisely for this reason instrumentalists view ethnicity as a context-bound social strategy, aimed to improve the group's socio-political situation (Eriksen 1993, 45–46; Siapkas, 2004, 13, 281). Ethnicity could thus be defined as the "associated phenomena and processes by which identities and affiliations are articulated" (Siapkas 2004, 15). According to this approach, ethnic identity is flexible and could be changed in relation to fluctuating historical circumstances (Malkin 1998, 56; Sökefeld 1997, 31; Hall 1997, 32). It is therefore not a universal phenomenon, but is restricted to certain historical situations. Instrumentalists are therefore

mainly interested in the historical circumstances in which ethnicity is created in a specific historical context, in other words, in the process of ethnogenesis (Malkin 1998, 56–58). Ethnicity arises, according to Eriksen, "either from a process of social differentiation within a population, which eventually leads to the division of that population into two distinctive groups, or by an expansion of the system boundaries bringing hitherto discrete groups into contact with each other" (1993, 79).

The criteria that constitute ethnicity can vary (Eriksen 1993, 34). Cultural patterns as well as genetic, linguistic or religious traits do not necessarily correspond to ethnic boundaries (Hall 1997, 23–24; Fenton, 2003, 106–10). Especially pertinent to any discussion of ethnicity in Hittite Anatolia is, in my opinion, the notion that ethnic and cultural boundaries do not necessarily overlap (Jones 1997, 60). This point was made by F. Barth in his influential introduction to a volume of collected essays on ethnicity:

> We can assume no one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences. The features that are taken into account are not the sum of "objective" differences but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant – some cultural features are used by actors as signals and emblems of difference, others are ignored. (Barth 1969, 14)

"Hittite" Anatolia provides, in my opinion, a perfect exemplification of this notion. Empire-period members of the royal family could bear Hurrian names and worship Hurrian-named deities in the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya and yet there is no reason to consider the empire-period king Hattusili any less "Hittite" than his namesake and forebear Hattusili I, who fought "Hurrian" troops on several occasions and whose religious world shows no signs of "Hurrian" cultural elements.

Common genetic, religious, cultural or linguistic features do not *objectively* define the ethnic group, but rather are social features *chosen* by a group, or by outsiders, to articulate its identity (Hall 1997, 32; Malkin 1998, 55–56). Yet most ethnic groups do tend to share a notion of common ancestry (Eriksen 1993, 35). Thus, the ethnic group could be defined as "a group in which members identify with each other, and against others, on the basis of a perceived notion of a common past" (Siapkas 2004, 15). To this definition Hall (1997, 32) adds another element: "The ethnic group is distinguished from other social and associative groups by virtue of association with a specific territory and a shared myth of descent." Furthermore, ethnic groups are often endogamous and may share a common religion (Eriksen 1993, 34–35). Yet ethnicity remains an elusive phenomenon and general definitions are often problematic (Sökefeld 1997, 34–35; Siapkas 2004, 15).

However, while claiming that ethnic identity is a historically determined, context-bound construction, one should not ignore the self-proclaimed primordial notions of a given group and underestimate the strength and "objectivity" of such notions of origin for that group (Malkin 1998, 56; Fenton 2003, 88; Siapkas 2004, 187). The Ping-Pong game between the two positions therefore also involves a shift of perspectives. The etic perspective – the observers/scholars attempt trying to establish the objective existence of an ethnic group – may sometimes contradict the emic (the group's own) notion of shared origins. Within this theoretical framework, scholars now investigate not only the historical circumstances that lead to ethnogenesis, but also the primordial notions of the group itself, thus combining the two approaches.

The above discussion has hopefully demonstrated the methodological difficulty of an *etic* definition of ethnicity in pre-Hittite and Hittite Anatolia. One may divide it into ethno-cultural or ethno-political divisions – or distinguish between "Hittite" and "Hattic" city-states – by interpreting the linguistic or cultural evidence in terms of ethnicity, but whether the use of this term really illuminates the social and cultural complexity of the period must remain questionable. It is perhaps preferable simply to speak of cultural, linguistic or religious groups rather than of ethno-cultural or ethno-linguistic, thus leaving the ethnic tag aside. Furthermore, the use of ethnicity for historical interpretation may reveal itself as tautological. Such an argument was offered, in my opinion, to explain, in ethnic categories, the difference between Anitta's ruthless destruction of Hattusa and the benevolent treatment of the inhabitants of Kanes/Nesa by his father

Pithana. Anitta's decisions may have been influenced by different factors, but once ethnic affiliation is a priori postulated, the outcome of the analysis has already been arrived at.

An "instrumentalist" approach, which investigates the contexts in which identities were constructed and articulated in "Hittite" Anatolia, may prove to be more promising than an a priori postulation or negation of ethnic identities. As we have seen, ethnicity emerges as a result of a process of social differentiation or in contact with other groups (Eriksen 1993, 79). Thus, the process of "Hittite" ethnogenesis could be studied in the context of territorial expansion, and the resulting contact with other "civilizations" or in relation to processes of social differentiation (such as the appearance of the Kaska in northern Anatolia?).

Secondly, the analysis should preferably focus on the emic perspective, on the notions of identity held by the "Hittites" themselves. Ethnic identity is, with J. Hall, "socially constructed and subjectively perceived." It is conceptual and should therefore be studied from the emic perspective, from the point of view of the group itself. Thus, the only notions of identity that could meaningfully be gleaned from the study of the textual evidence from the archives of Hattusa are "Hittite" notions of identity – that is, the ways in which the ruling stratum of the kingdom, which produced and consumed the texts, chose to assert and define its identity in different circumstances. The different strategies in which ethnic identities were constructed in Hittite Anatolia will be the subject of another study. In the next section, I will concentrate on one element of the ethnic definition, namely, the notion of a shared past. As Siapkas (2003, 14) argues, emic notions of ethnicity of "dead civilizations" are best studied where literary records are available. I will therefore consider ethnicity exactly where there is a good chance of finding it, in (Old Hittite) literature.

3. As the cruciform seal (Dincol et al. 1993) impressively demonstrates, the empire-period kings could look back and relate to a long ancestral tradition. The thirteenth-century king Tudhaliya IV gives the certainly inaccurate, but nevertheless impressive, *Distanzangabe* of four or five hundred years between himself and King Hantili (Beckman 2000, 22). Their selection of "throne-names," the offering-lists to deceased members of the royal family, and other cult practices within the great festivals likewise demonstrate the connection that the empire-period kings felt with the past.

From an Old Hittite perspective, however, the royal genealogy is rather short. The historical introduction to the Proclamation of Telipinu ascribes the beginnings of Hittite territorial expansion to Labarna I, whose independent existence is now confirmed by the cruciform seal (van den Hout 1997, 194, n. 2), that is, about six generations before Telipinu himself (Beckman 2000, 26). Based on further evidence, it is now possible to reconstruct several rulers before Labarna. The overall picture remains, however, basically the same. The Hittites of the Old Kingdom had – unless one chooses to interpret the legend at the beginning of the Zalpa text in terms of reflexes of ancient migration movements or foundation myths – a relatively short past (for the text, see Hoffner 1997).

Besides the association with the city of Kussara, which he shares with Hattusili I, there is nothing to suggests that the Hittites viewed Anitta, the destroyer of Hattusa, as their ancestor. Otherwise, it is hard to explain why no one bothered to erase his – from a Hittite point of view embarrassing – curse on the capital city from the different copies of the Anitta inscription. Both Anitta and his father Pithana are unknown to the offering-lists and are likewise missing in the section dedicated to the Old Hittite kings in the cruciform seal. The evidence seems to suggest that, at least in the Empire period, a certain Huzziya was considered as the founder of the ruling dynasty (Beal 2003, 31–32). A King Huzziya is indeed mentioned in the Anitta text, but interestingly as a king of Zalpa. Considering the evidence relating the institution of Hittite kingship to Zalpa (Klinger 1996, 125) and to the sea (Klinger 2000), this fact may give rise to some speculation.

In his study on collective memory, Assmann distinguishes between two kinds of memories, which he calls communicative and cultural memory respectively (2000, 48–59). Communicative memory is a living

memory, experienced within a life time. Studies in oral history have shown that living memory does not span over eighty years, that is three or four generations (2000, 50–56). Cultural memory in contrast, registers myths, memories and symbols from time immemorial and is carried out in highly ritualized forms. Assmann's distinction may provide an explanation for the empty past of the Hittites. The observation that living memory does not extend longer than three or four generations fits perfectly with such phenomena as the historical narrative in the Zalpa text, which spans exactly three to four generations. In his Testament (CTH 6), Hattusili I can relate an anecdote about his grandfather, but the text contains nothing that goes earlier. It is perhaps not a coincidence that the little that was known about anything that preceded the beginning of the archives in Hattusa in more than a generation or two, comes from literary imports.

Yet, communities with almost no knowledge of their own past may integrate themselves into someone else's past (Malkin 1998, 58–59). Faced with a community with a "fuller" past, "empty handed" communities may find it easier to adopt themselves into other communities' pasts, rather than invent a wholly new one. Malkin gives the Roman adaptation of the Greek myth of the Trojan War as an ancient example for this phenomenon. The modern Palestinians' claim to be descended from the autochthonous Canaanite people, thus integrating themselves into the older, "fuller" Jewish biblical myth of origin, is given by him as a modern example. Hittite scribes may have used a similar strategy when they came into contact with literature that possessed a "fuller" past than their own, with the literature concerning the Akkadian kings Sargon and Naram-Sin.

4. *KBo* 3.13 is a Hittite version of a narrative concerning Naram-Sin's victory over a coalition of rebellious kings (Güterbock 1938, 66–80). The composition, the so-called Great Revolt against Naram-Sin is also available in several other versions. There are several Old Babylonian versions, which have been shown to be an adaption of an original Old Akkadian inscription (Michalowski 1980, 233–46). The most notable common feature of these different versions is that they contain a detailed catalog of enemy kings. Yet, as Frayne (1991, 381) concludes, "the various OB [Old Babylonian] versions of the 'Great Revolt' text do not appear to be a particularly reliable source for the names of the enemies of Naram-Sin as can be ascertained from the contemporary sources." Moreover, each version of the "Great Revolt" seems to represent a different geographical horizon (Jonker 1995, 125).

The Hittite text is unfortunately quite fragmentary, but its best-preserved part (obv. 8′–15′) contains a detailed list of seventeen kings who rose against Naram-Sin only to be defeated by him. A parallel catalog of kings is found in one of the Old Babylonian manuscripts, probably originating from Sippar (Westenholz 1997, 247). The names of the kings do vary, but the two lists share some place-names between them, sometimes even in a similar position within the list. The two texts manifest different geographical interests. The Hittite version lists more locations in the greater Anatolian region, the Old Babylonian list shows a wider geographical scope (Van de Mieroop 2000, 139).

Both catalogs of enemy kings are certainly a mixture of different textual layers, a product of scribal editing, adapting and compiling. One feature of the Hittite list is, however, especially striking. Whereas Kanes and Amurru are both listed in parallel sections of the two lists, Pamba, king of Hattusa, is featured exclusively in the Hittite version and is missing from the Old Babylonian parallel. Furthermore, the Hittite list has the beginning of the name ^{m}*Nu-u*[*r-* before the king of Amurru, which should very likely be restored, despite the small space, as Nūr-Dagan/Daggal, king of Purushanda (Singer 1981, 127). The story of this king's defeat by Sargon is told in the *šar tamhāri* (The King of Battle), yet another composition that, like the Naram-Sin text, was freely adapted into Hittite (Güterbock 1969; Gilan 2000; Rieken 2001). This fact suggests perhaps that both compositions had some kind of a life outside the scribal school. Another version of the composition, written in Akkadian, which was found in Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, was probably brought there from a Syro-Hittite source (Izre'el 1997, 71; Beckman 2001, 88). This cultural export suggests perhaps that the Hittites viewed the story as their own literary heritage (Singer 2000, 673 n. 4).

As already noted by Güterbock (1938, 78, 144), the Hittite scribe was clearly interested in placing the famous revolt story of Naram-Sin in an Anatolian setting and to involve further Anatolian kings in it. It is certainly not a coincidence that in both Hittite adaptations of narratives concerning the Akkadian kings both are facing, and defeating, Anatolian rulers.

Whether Sargon did in fact reach and conquer the Anatolian city of Purushanda cannot be definitely answered. There is no outside evidence to corroborate or to contradict this specific story-element (Klengel 1999, 20). A fictive letter written on an exercise tablet found in the southern Mesopotamian city of Ur implies that the story concerning Sargon's campaign to Purushanda was already known there in Old Babylonian times (Wilcke 1993, 67–68), at least a century before the Old Hittite period. The idea to plant the plot of the Sargon story in Anatolian Purushanda cannot, after all, be attributed to the Hittite adapter of the "King of Battle."

The listing of Pamba, an otherwise unattested king of Hattusa, in the catalog of enemy kings in the Naram-Sin text and his absence from the parallel catalog from Sippar are, however, more puzzling. One does not have to be a radical postmodern historian to acknowledge that it is very unlikely that Naram-Sin fought so many different coalitions of adversaries. But whereas the diversity of the Mesopotamian enemy catalogs could be explained as comprehensive attempts to define just what "all of the lands" or "the four corners of the world" might be or as variations on that theme, why would a Hittite scribe add a possibly fictional king of Hattusa to a catalog of a doomed coalition of the enemies? Why would a Hittite audience favor stories in which Anatolian rulers were defeated by invading Mesopotamian kings?

A far-reaching interpretation of this phenomenon, which concerns the ethnic identity of the Hittites, was recently advanced by van de Mieroop in his study of the different traditions concerning the Akkadian kings in Anatolia (2000, 158–59):

> The world the Sargonic kings inhabit in the Hittite traditions is that of the Hittites, namely greater Anatolia. That area is, however, portrayed as one to which the Sargonic rulers were alien: they fought against the local rulers of such places as Kaneš and Hattusa. The Hittites associated themselves with the non-Anatolian Akkadians, not with Anatolian rulers like Nūr-Daggan. There is certainly no indication at all of a primordial connection between the Hittite people and the land they inhabit.... If the Hittite rulers continued to maintain an association with the foreign Sargonic rulers throughout their history, this seems to indicate a persistent refusal to identify with their surroundings.

Yet, there is ample evidence to suggest that the Hittites associated themselves closely with their land, most notably through elaborate cult practices to the gods, the true proprietors of the land. The fervent dedication to land and deity is nowhere more impressively illustrated as in the royal prayers concerning the painful loss and the exultant liberation of the northern cult center Nerik.

Therefore, another interpretation of this phenomenon should be offered. Confronted with a "fuller" past than they themselves possessed – with the literature concerning the Akkadian kings – Hittite scribes were not able to top that rich tradition with legendary kings of their own, so they settled for the second best option, and "imported" the Akkadian kings into Anatolia. This, by the way, at a time when the Old Hittite kings themselves were conducting daring military campaigns in exactly the opposite direction, an enterprise that culminated in the destruction of Babylon by king Mursili I.

The adaption of the literature concerning the Akkadian kings not only enabled the Hittites to participate in the Babylonian textual community, it also provided their land with a past. By a conscious selection and adaptation of foreign cultural artifacts – in this case, the literature concerning the Akkadian kings, Hittite scribes found a way to express their own identity.

Since its very dawn, Hittitology tackled the task of distinguishing between the different cultural substratums that made up "Hittite civilization." The literary adaption of the Akkadian kings in Hattusa suggests, in my opinion, the need to consider the long-term transculturation process, which produced

"Hittite civilization" in relation to "Hittite" ethnogenesis – the processes by which identities and affiliations were created in Anatolia of the second millennium BC and the different circumstances in which they were articulated.

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