# Recent Developments

## in

# Hittite Archaeology and History

*Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock*

Edited by

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with the assistance of

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## Contents

# Excavations in Hittite Heartlands: Recent Investigations in Late Bronze Age Anatolia

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While planning the program for the American Oriental Society Meetings held in Miami, Florida in 1997, Martha Roth, director of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, suggested that I organize an Anatolian archaeology session. Contributions in archaeology at this conference venue had dwindled over the years, prompting a special effort to reintroduce these data at this forum rich with research papers on texts. This was the perfect opportunity to integrate epigraphic documents and archaeology, two complementary sets of data with fundamental, underlying relationships. Since literacy began in Anatolia quite late (Assyrian Trading Colony period, ca. 20–18th century B.C.), fewer choices were possible in selecting a time frame for the session. Not only would the period selected have to be vibrant with respect to textual research but also with respect to recent approaches in archaeological initiatives. In looking for previous models for this more holistic approach, Hans Güterbock and his multifaceted corpus of research in the Hittite period immediately came to mind. Over the decades, his important contributions to Hittite philology and history have been equaled by his elegant handling of archaeological information. His keen observations on Hittite narrative art, seals, reliefs, rhyta, and other material culture have provided interpretive insights into imagery and symbolic meaning that have inspired several generations of archaeologists (see most recently Güterbock and Kendall 1995, Hoffner and Diamond 1997). Recently, an honorary doctorate was conferred on Hans Güterbock by the Dil Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi of Ankara University in Turkey, spearheaded by the archaeological community. It is to the scholarship embodied by his approach to Hittitology that this book is dedicated.

    Thematically, the archaeological and philological papers at the AOS Hittite session were staggered in succession to encourage attendance by specialists in both disciplines. The papers by Archi, Beckman, Imparati, Klengel, McMahon, Melchert, van den Hout, and Watkins focus on philological and historical topics, while Süel, Lumsden, and Müller-Karpe highlight the results of their excavations in Turkey. Importantly, these new sites have recently yielded Hittite archives tying Anatolia to Egypt, Syria, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia during this most international of periods, the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600–1200 B.C.). Comments by Hoffner on these epigraphic

# Babyloniaca Hethitica:
## The "babilili-Ritual" from Boğazköy (CTH 718)

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I am presently preparing an edition of CTH 718, the textual group known to Hittitologists as the "*babilili*-ritual" after the adverb which here introduces Akkadian incantations within the larger Hittite-language context. This composition comprises:[1]

1. A. KUB 39.71
   B. KUB 39.70 + KUB 32.1 + KUB 39.81 + KBo 39.169[2] + KBo 39.173[3]
   C. KUB 32.2 + FHG 3 + KBo 39.228
   D. KUB 39.85
   E. KUB 39.73
   F. HT 5
   G. KUB 39.72
   H. KUB 39.74
   J. Bo 92/102
2. A. KUB 39.78
   B. KUB 39.80
3. A. KBo 7.29
   B. KUB 39.90
   C. KUB 39.75

**unplaced fragments:**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. KUB 39.94 <br> + KBo 17.97 | 8. KUB 39.83 <br> 9. KUB 39.84 | 16. KUB 39.96 <br> 17. KBo 39.172 |
| 2. KUB 32.3 | 10. KUB 39.86 | 18. 645/z |
| 3. KUB 39.69 | 11. KUB 39.88 | 19. KUB 39.68 |
| 4. KUB 39.76 | 12. KUB 39.89 | 20. 99/f |
| 5. KUB 39.77 | 13. KUB 39.92 | 21. Bo 5664 |
| 6. KUB 39.79 | 14. KUB 39.93 | 22. KBo 32.206 |
| 7. KUB 39.82 | 15. KUB 39.95 | |

While it is by no means unusual for a Hittite religious composition to feature speech in a foreign tongue—for example in Hattic, Palaic, Luwian, or Hurrian—only one other known rite (the so-called "Ritual against Insomnia," CTH 432[4]) contains more than a sentence or two of Akkadian. Given the general dependence of Hatti upon Mesopotamian culture in such matters as writing system, literary genre, and forms of religious expression,[5] a consideration of the character of the Akkadian incantations in the *babilili*-ritual promises to shed light beyond the limited area of Hittite ritual studies.

The best-preserved portion of CTH 718 is a tablet (1.A above) detailing the activities beginning just before dawn on the second day of the ritual regimen. From at least four different manuscripts, I have reconstructed 200 of the approximately 220 lines originally present on this tablet.[6] In addition there are two damaged parallel texts for these same ceremonies, each preserved in multiple copies, as well as some twenty fragments of varying length of whose placement I am not yet certain. From the diverse content of these latter pieces, it seems unlikely that they give the text of only one or two original tablets, but there is within them no clear indication of division into days to aid reconstruction. One of these fragments may possibly be assigned paleographically to the Middle Hittite period (Fragment 4),[7] and several to the fourteenth century (1.C, 2.A, Fragment 11), but most of the material displays late—that is, thirteenth-century—script.

While E. Laroche presumably assigned tablets and fragments to this text group solely on the basis of the presence of the word *babilili*—it does not occur in any other ritual—these texts also display a number of other common features. Chief among these are the use of the *šaḫu*-drinking vessel[8] (invariably written with the Sumerogram ZA.ḪUM), and the frequent denotation of the *ša(n)kunni*-priest by the writing ˡᵁSANGA-*niš* (GIŠ), a spelling unattested elsewhere.

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4. I plan to publish an edition of this text in the near future.

5. See my "Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Ḫattuša," *JCS* 35 (1983) 97–114.

6. Two of the exemplars (B and F) continue beyond the material presented in Text A.

7. Note the DA-sign in line 11. This piece should be collated in order to date it securely.

8. CAD Š/1, 105–6.

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Externally, this text group shows strong affinities in specialized vocabulary, personnel, and deities worshiped with CTH 481,[9] which describes the resettlement of DINGIR.GE₆ from Kizzuwatna to Šamuḫa in the latter part of the fifteenth or the early fourteenth century, and CTH 482, the record of the reformation of this same cult by Muršili II about fifty years later. Indeed, H.-M. Kümmel suggested that this latter text constitutes the missing initial portion of the *babilili*-ritual.[10] However, since little of CTH 482 is preserved beyond the list of ritual materials, I remain uncertain on this question.

The deity addressed by the *babilili*-incantations is the IŠTAR-type Pirinkir, equated in the An = Anum list from Meskene/Emar with Nin.si₄.an.na.[11] In turn, standard An = Anum defines ᵈNin.si₄.an.na as ᵈIŠTAR MUL.[12] That is, Pirinkir is a star, probably our Venus or morning star.[13] This harmonizes well with her occasional representation in Hittite sources as a disc (AŠ.ME)[14] of precious metal and with the ornamentation of her image in CTH 481 by several *wannupaštalla*- 'stars'.[15] Note also that rites performed on behalf of Pirinkir, in our text and elsewhere, often involve activities at night and upon the roof, "under the stars."[16]

Already in 1929, F. W. König proposed the identification of this goddess with the Elamite deity ᵈPini(n)kir.[17] This suggestion now finds welcome confirmation in one of the *babilili*-incantations:

O IŠTAR!
[Let] Sin, your father, eat!
⟨Let⟩ Ningal, your mother, ⟨eat⟩ well!
Let Šamaš, your twin, e[a]t!
Let Ellabrat, your vizier, eat!
Let Ea, the king, your creator, eat!

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9. Edited by H. Kronasser, *Schw. Gotth.*

10. Review of KUB 38, *ZA* 59 (1969) 323.

11. See E. Laroche, *GLH*, 201. According to the entry for Pirinkir, no. 185 of the reconstructed series from the Middle Euphrates joins Sumerian nin.si₄.an.na to Hurrian ᵈWu-re-en-gi-ni-un. Unfortunately, the text as presented by D. Arnaud does not include the Hurrian portion (*Recherches au pays d'Aštata* [Emar 6/4; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987] 34–36).

12. R. L. Lidtke, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God Lists, An : ᵈA-nu-um and Anu ša amēli* (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1958) 180, iv 172: ᵈNin.si₄.an.na : ᵈEš₄-tár MUL.

13. See W. Hempel, "A Catalogue of Near Eastern Venus Deities," *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 4 (1982) 72.

14. KUB 29.4 i 13: 1 AŠ-ME KÙ.SIG₁₇ ŠÀ 1 GÍN ŠUM-ŠU ᵈPi-ri-in-kir.

15. KUB 29.4 i 11—see n. 23 below.

16. For example, KUB 39.71 i 22: . . . ku-it-ma-an [ᵈUTU-uš] ne-u-wa še-er . . . ; see KUB 29.4 i 62–63: (They take the ritual materials) na-at-ša-an ša-uḫ-ḫi ti-an-zi na-at ŠA-PAL MUL. HI.A / še-eš-zi.

17. "Pinikir," *AfO* 5 (1928–29) 101–3.

Indeed, let all the gods lift up . . . (*unintelligible*) (to you),
O Elamite goddess.[18]

In CTH 481 worship is directed to both "the deity" within the temple of DIN-GIR.GE₆ and Pirinkir. I have not yet decided whether Pirinkir is to be identified with DINGIR.GE₆, or if she is rather only a satellite of this latter variety of *IŠTAR*. In any case, O. Carruba's interpretation of DINGIR.GE₆ as 'Deity of the Night'[19]—although recently questioned by A. Ünal[20]—is certainly correct. In another context the second heterogram of the expression DINGIR-*LUM* GE₆-*ŠI*[21] must be interpreted as *muši* 'of the night'. The new image of DINGIR.GE₆ prepared in CTH 481 is also easily recognizable as a rendering of the firmament above and its lights:[22]

> The smiths fashion the deity from gold. . . . Stuck on her back like beads are discs of gold, lapis, carnelian, "Babylon-stone," chalcedony(?), *dušu*-stone, and marble, as well as life-symbols and stars of silver and gold.[23]

In light of what we have just seen of the origins of Pirinkir, it is significant that CTH 481 summons the Deity of the Night ". . . from Agade, Babylon, Susa, Elam, (and) Ḫursagkalamma (that is, Kish)[24]—the city which you love."[25] (The final clause

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18. KUB 39.94 + KBo 17.97 ii 2′–8′:

2′. . . . ᵈ*IŠTAR* ᵈXXX *A-BU-KI*
3′. [*LI-KU-UL*] ᵈ²NIN¹.[GAL *U*]*M-MA-A-KI TÁ-A-BI-IŠ* ⟨*LI-KU-UL*⟩
4′. [ᵈ]*UTU-AŠ TU-U-AN-KI L*[*I-KU-*]*UL* ᵈ*EL-LA-AP-RA-AT*
5′. *ŠU-UK-KAL-LI-KI L*[*I-K*]*U-UL* ᵈ*A-A LUGAL*
6′. *BÁ-A-NU-KI LI-KÚL LU-Ú*³ DINGIR.MEŠ *GÁB-BÁ*
7′. *E-LI-IŠ-ŠU-PÍ-MA* x [ o ] x *E-LA-MI-TI-YA*

19. O. Carruba, "ᵈGi₆," *RlA* 3 (1957–1971) 355.
20. A. Ünal, "The Nature and Iconographical Traits of 'Goddess of Darkness,' " in *Aspects of Art and Iconography—Anatolia and Its Neighbors: Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç* (ed. M. Mellink, E. Porada, and T. Özgüç; Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993) 639–44.
21. KBo 2.8 i 17.
22. See Emar 6.43, line 12: 1 *Aš-tar*-MUL KÙ.BABBAR *qa-du* 3 *nu-uš-ti* KÙ.BABBAR 9 KI.LAL.BI.
23. KUB 29.4 i 6, 8–11:

6. ᴸᴷ̇ᴹᴱˢSIMUG.A-*ma* DINGIR-*LAM* KÙ.SIG₁₇ *i-en-zi A-NA* DINGIR-*LIM-ma*
8. . . . EGIR-*an iš-ga-ra-an-ta-ya-aš-ši*
9. ᴺᴬ⁴*ku-un-na-na-aš ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ŠA* KÙ.SIG₁₇ ᴺᴬ⁴ZA.GÌN
10. ᴺᴬ⁴GUG NA₄.KÁ.DINGIR.RA ᴺᴬ⁴NÍR ᴺᴬ⁴DU₈.ŠÚ.A ᴺᴬ⁴AŠ.NU₁₁.GAL
11. *AŠ-ME*ᴴᴵᴬ ZI-*TUM* ᴹᵁᴵ*wa-an-nu-up-pa-aš-tal-li-iš-ša ŠA* KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.SIG₁₇

24. For Kish, see A. George, *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 5; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1993) 101, no. 482.
25. KUB 29.4 iii 43–45:

43. . . . ᵁᴿᵁ*A-ag-ga-ta-aš* ᵁᴿᵁKÁ.DINGIR.RA-*az*
44. ᵁᴿᵁ*Šu-u-ša-az* ᵁᴿᵁ*E-lam-ta-az* ᵁᴿᵁḪUR.SAG.KALAM.MA-*az*

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quoted here is the only Akkadian-language passage in this text.) Thus CTH 481, 482, and 718 are each concerned with the night sky and its stellar bodies, several of which are conceived as forms of the Mesopotamian/Elamite *IŠTAR*.

The ritual action of the well-preserved second day of CTH 718 centers upon a meal offered to Pirinkir, interrupted at frequent intervals by incantations explicating the activities and requesting favors in return. Initially a *katra*-woman goes to draw 'water of purification' (*šeḫelliyaš watar*), making suitable offerings to the spring. This water is then employed throughout the ceremonies by the *šankunni*-priest and the offerant (EN.SISKUR), who might be any member of the royal family. An aromatic (*lueššar*) is burned before the goddess, and she receives libations of beer. A sheep is sacrificed, butchered, cooked, and served, accompanied by baked goods. The *šankunni*-priest performs a waving ceremony with fish and a rite of analogic magic featuring a model boat.

Near the end of the tablet, the scene shifts to a river bank, where two additional sheep—one for the deity and one for the offerant—are introduced as substitutes (*nakkuššeš*). Unfortunately, the ultimate disposition of these animals is obscured by a break in the text.

The Akkadian incantations of CTH 718 are on the whole simple. The most frequently-attested calls upon the goddess: "Wash your hands, My Lady, Great Queen! Let your fingers feed you morsels for your lips!"[26] Many others urge acceptance of an offering. Thus: "Receive (or eat, or drink), O Lady of Gods and Kings!"[27] and "*IŠTAR*, Lady of the Lands, may my bread(-offering) be pleasant (to you)!"[28] The longer incantation quoted earlier is a summons to feasting directed to the family and entourage of the goddess.

Another type of Akkadian incantation here seeks to remove sin. For example, "O Lady [of the Lands(?) re]lease [my offense]! Queen of Heaven, release my sin!"[29] And again: "I have purified the man. [ . . . ] I have purifi[ed] (him from) his errors.

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26. For example, KUB 39.71 iii 9–10:

9. *MI-I-ŠI* ŠU.ḪI.A-*KI BE-EL-TI₄* MUNUS.LUGAL.GAL ŠU.SI.ḪI.A-*KI BU-UḪ-ḪA-R*[(*I-KI*)]
10. *ŠA ŠAP-TI-KI ŠU-UK-KI-IL₅*

27. For example, KUB 39.71 iii 16–17:

16. *MU-UḪ-RI BE-EL-TI₄* DINGIR.MEŠ-[*N*]*I*
17. LUGAL.MEŠ-[*NI*]

28. KUB 39.70++ iv 14′–15′ (= KUB 32.1 iv 13′–14′):

14′. ᵈ*IŠTAR BE-EL-TI₄ ŠA* KUR.KUR.ḪI.A
15′. *AK-LI LU-Ú TA-AB*

29. KUB 39.70++ i 24′ (= KUB 39.70 i 8′).

24′. [GAŠAN¹ *MA-TA-TI ḪI-TI PU-UṬ-*]*ṬI-RI* MUNUS.LUGAL *ŠA-ME-E AR-NI¹ PU-UṬ-RI*

For the uncertain restoration at the beginning of the line, compare [ . . . ] x *BE-EL-AT¹* x [ . . . ] in

Turn (your) breast (to him) [today]! The fish to [the sea] (and) the bird to the sky I have ma[de go up]!"[30]

The Akkadian of these speeches, to which we shall devote more attention in a moment, is not the dialect familiar from the treaties and diplomatic correspondence of the Hittite Empire. This much is certain from the rather consistent employment of the correct forms of the verb and pronouns of the second person singular feminine in addresses to the goddess.[31] Therefore it is unlikely that these incantations were created ad hoc by the Hittite scribes who produced our texts, although the frequent garbling of the more complex passages is certainly to be laid to their account. However, a search based thus far largely on *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* entries for relevant lexemes has turned up only one clear correspondence between our material and an incantation in a fully Akkadian context: the wish that fish and fowl might carry off one's transgressions appears in a first-millennium *namburbi* found at Küyünjik,[32] in a similar Sultantepe text,[33] also of course late in date, and in one of the compositions which E. Reiner has called the "*lipšur*-litanies."[34]

On the basis of several older orthographic features, Reiner postulates that an Old Babylonian tradition lies behind her "litanies." Thus we have very indirect evidence for the existence already in the early second millennium of a native Akkadian tradition from which the fish and bird incantation in CTH 718 might have derived.

Returning to the Akkadian language of CTH 718, two features in particular show that it should be categorized as what J. Huehnergard terms "West Peripheral Akkadian."[35] These characteristics are a general indifference to the inherent voiced or voiceless value of a syllabic sign and a tendency to write—and probably pronounce—*samekhs* with syllabograms indicating *šin*. The parade example of the second feature in this composition is the frequent—and consistent[36]—writing *MI-I-ŠI* 'you (fem. sg.) wash!' It is interesting that the only examples cited by the *CAD* of *mesû* written with *šin* are from Alalah and Ugarit.[37]

30. KUB 39.78 i 22'-25':

     22'. *A-MI'-LA Ú-UL-LI-IL₅* [. . .]
     23'. *ḪI-IT-TÁ-TI-ŠU Ú-UL-L[I-IL₅ I-NA* UD.KAM *AN-NI-I]*
     24'. *GAB-TA ŠU-UK-NA* KU₆ *I-NA* [A.AB.BA]
     25'. MUŠEN *I-NA ŠA-ME-E Ú-Š[E²-EL-LI]*

31. But note *ŠU-UK-NA* for correct *šukni(m)* in KUB 39.78 i 24' in the previous note.
32. R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum I," *Or* 34 (1965) 116, line 13 (K 3365): *u* EME.ŠID *an-ni-i* KU₆ *ana* ZU+AB MUŠEN *ana AN-e li-še-[li]*.
33. *STT* 75, line 9: *ar-ni* MUŠEN *ana AN-e [l]i-še-li ar-ni* KU₆ *ana* ZU[+AB] *lu-še-rid*.
34. "*LIPŠUR* Litanies," *JNES* 15 (1956) 140, line 22: *ar-ni* MUŠEN *ana AN-e li-še-li ar-ni* KU₆ *ina* ZU[+AB *li-še-rid*]. See also W. G. Lambert, "An Incantation of the Maqlû Type," *AfO* 18 (1957–58) 292, line 25: (images of me) [UR.GI₇ *l]u-u ú-šá-ki-lu* ŠAH MIN MUŠEN *AN-e* KU₆ ZU+AB MIN.
35. "Five Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar," *RA* 77 (1983) 11, 35–43.
36. Note only KUB 39.71 ii 44: *MI-I-ŠI*

The final feature of the Akkadian of these incantations that I wish to consider is an unusual feminine plural nominative manifestation of the determinative pronoun *ŠĀTU*, written *ŠA-A-TU*. This declined form of *ša* is found in the query: "Where are those who (go) before you? Whe[re are those who (go) after you], your attendants, your courtesans?",[38] a reference to the minor figures who accompany the Hurrian IŠTAR/Šaušga.[39] W. von Soden[40] records only one attestation of *šātu*, in an Old Babylonian hymn to Nanaya.[41] Unless it is a back-formation,[42] this grammatical element belongs to a period earlier than the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to which almost all of the manuscripts of CTH 718 are to be dated.

Thus there are a number of indications that the Akkadian of our incantations goes back in time, probably to the Old Babylonian period, and that it was imported to Ḫattuša from a peripheral area. Since many of the ceremonies, ritual practices, and implements found in CTH 481, 482, and 718 are of Hurrian background, it is obvious to which segment of the periphery we must turn. I should also point out that the god Ea appears in the Akkadian material of CTH 718 under the Hurrian spelling ᵈ*A-a*.[43]

Of course, it was from the southern Anatolian region of Kizzuwatna, home in the Hittite period of a hybrid Hurrian/Luwian culture, that the Deity of the Night was brought to Ḫatti. I would suggest, however, that we must look beyond fifteenth-century Cilicia to earlier northern Syria and even as far afield as the trans-Tigridian area in search of forerunners to our incantations. Such antecedents are surely to be sought, along with those of Kumarbi and the *karuileš šiuneš* 'former gods',[44] in the poorly-documented Sumero-Hurrian culture of the late third and early second millennia. Given the paucity of direct textual evidence of this pivotal cultural constellation, the task I have set for myself is not an easy one, but I hope that the eagerly-awaited publication of Hurrian material from Emar and Ortaköy, as well as continuing research into Boğazköy Hurrian, will help me to advance my inquiry.

38. KUB 39.93 obv.? 4–5:

     4. *A-LI ŠA-A-TÙ ŠA PA-NI-I-KI A-L[I ŠA-A-TÙ ŠA AR-KI-KI]*
     5. ᴹᵁᴺᵁˢ·ᴹᴱˢSUḪUR.LÁL-KI ᴹᵁᴺᵁˢ·ᴹᴱˢKAR.KID-KI . . .

39. See H. G. Güterbock, "A Hurro-Hittite Hymn to Ishtar," *JAOS* 103 (1984) 159.
40. W. von Soden, "Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen, Teil I," *ZA* 40 (1932) 196; see also his *GAG*, §46 and *AHw*, 1199a.
41. VS 10, 215, line 3 (Samsuiluna): *ša-tu ki-ma ar-ḫi-im a na-ta-li-im*.
42. Note that *šātu* in VS 10, 215 is singular, whereas in our context it is plural and must therefore be transcribed *šātu*.
43. E. Laroche, *GLH*, 39.
44. For Kumarbi, see V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (Handbuch der Orientalistik I 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 82–83; for *karuileš šiuneš*, see A. Archi, "The Names of the Primeval Gods," *Or* 59 (1990) 114–29.

# Bearded or Beardless?
## Some Speculations on the Function of
## the Beard among the Hittites

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This paper presents a first attempt in Hittitology to study the beard among the Hittites and to evaluate its function, if any, in the Hittite culture, by combining both textual references and iconographic evidence.

The Hittite word for beard is *zamangur/zamakur* (nom.-acc. sg. n.), which has just a few attestations in Hittite texts.[1] The word was first discussed by E. Laroche alongside *enira-* 'eyebrow' and *laplipa-* 'eyelash' (see below, p. 44).[2] He interprets *zamankur*, mentioned in a solar hymn (CTH 372), as 'pupil', 'apple (of the eye)', or 'glance, gaze' (French *regard*) of the solar deity:[3]

Thy *zamankur* is of lapis lazuli.[4]

But eventually Laroche corrected himself, translating the word as 'beard' on the basis of comparison of the cited passage to similar Akkadian texts, as well as study of the epithets and attributes of the Mesopotamian sun-god Šamaš.[5]

In a parallel text, Kantuzzili's prayer, for instance, the sun-god plays the role of mediator between the king and his personal deity, as the sun-god is requested to transmit the king's prayer to his patron god, when he descends to earth: "when thou

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1. See Kronasser, *EHS* I, 93, 266–67, 277, 286, 298; *HW*, 259.

2. E. Laroche, "Etudes de Vocabulaire," *RHA* IX/49 (1948–49) 17–18.

3. KUB 31.127+; see H. Güterbock, "The Composition of Hittite Prayers to the Sun," *JAOS* 78 (1958) 237ff.; R. Lebrun, *Hymnes et Prières Hittites* (Homo Religiosus 4; Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980) 92–111; M. Marazzi and H. Nowicki, "Vorarbeiten zu den Hethitischen Gebeten (CTH 372, 373, 374)," *OA* 17 (1978) 257ff.

4. KUB 31.127+ i 11: *za-ma-kur-te-et* ŠA ᴺᴬⁱZA.GÌN-*aš*.

5. E. Laroche, "Etudes de Vocabulaire III," *RHA* XI/52 (1950) 40–41: (Šamaš) *ša . . . ziq-nu elletu zaq-nu* '(Šamaš) who has a pure (Sum. lapis lazuli) beard', and *mušahmit ziq-nat urri* '(Šamaš) who makes glow the rays of light (lit., the beard of light)'; see *CAD* Z, 61, 126.

goes down to the nether world. . . ."[6] As H. Güterbock has mentioned,[7] these solar prayers contain many Sumero-Babylonian elements and in their composition have been obviously influenced by the hymns to the Babylonian Šamaš (Hittite *Ištanu*; see below the representations of the sun-god in Hittite iconography, without *zamankur*).

The word *zamankur* is also attested in four similar passages of a magical ritual dedicated to the Sun-god of Earth (CTH 448), in conjunction with *enera-* (*enira-, inera-, inira*) 'eyebrow' and *laplipa-* (*laplapa-, laplapi-*) 'eyelash' (as mentioned above):

> For Tudḫaliya, his heroic/youthful statue, . . . eyebrow(s), eyelash(es), beard . . . is . . .[8]

> . . . (you) let the vigor, the power of resistance, . . . , the black? eyebrow(s), eyelash(es), beard of the hero/youth come over to me, Tudḫaliya . . .[9]

> . . . (you) give the vigor, . . . the black? eyebrow(s), eyelash(es), beard of the protective deity's statue back to me, the offerant . . .[10]

In the cited passages, on the one hand, the beard along with other types of facial hair of the king or the statue functions as a part for the whole, that is, as a substitute for the king. The motif of substituting facial hair, as well as fingernails or urine, for a person can be traced in a number of other Hittite rituals. As V. Haas and H. Thiel have suggested, this motif was introduced into Asia Minor by the Hurrians from Mesopotamia through North Syria.[11]

On the other hand, the black beard, eyebrows, and eyelashes are perhaps to be seen here as symbolic markers of vigor, youthfulness, and heroism. As Irene Winter colorfully states: "Vitality is conflated with manliness (for men), and is articulated visually by facial hair, with breadth of chest and virile stance."[12]

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6. KUB 30.10 (CTH 373), ed. Lebrun, *Hymnes*, 111–20; see *ANET*, 400–401; *RTAT*, 188–91; *NERT*, 167–69; Marazzi and Nowicki, "Vorarbeiten," 257ff., J. de Roos, "Hittite Prayers," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. Sasson et al.; New York: Scribner's Sons, 1995) 2001.

7. See Güterbock, "Hittite Prayers," 237ff.

8. KUB 24.12 ii 20–22: ]x-wa-kán A-NA ᵐTu-ud-ḫa-li-ya ALAM ᴸᵁGURUŠ [i-]in'-ni-ri la-ap-la'-pí za-ma-an-gur [. . .]{e}-eš-ta; see *HED* 2, 272, *HW²* 2, fasc. 9–10, 38.

9. ii 30–33: . . . ŠA ᵈTu-ud-ḫa-li-ya-ma-mu ŠA ᴸᵁGURUŠ ḫa-aš-ta-ri-ya-tar ḫa-aš-ta'-a-i[. . .] ḫ]a-an-za-na-an' i-in'-na-ri-en la-ap-la-ap-[pí]-pa-an z[a'-ma-an-[gur ša-ra-a tar-ni-eš-t]én].

10. iii 5–7: . . . EN.SISKUR-ma-wa-mu ALAM ᵈLAMMA ḫa-aš-ta-a-i [. . .]x [ḫ]a²-an'-za-na-an in-ni-ri-i la-ap-li-pí-in-na' za-ma-an-gur ḫa-aš-ša-az EGIR-pa pé-eš-tén; see 33–34: -a]n-wa-kán A-NA EN.SISKUR x[. . .] [in-ni-ri-i² l]a-ap-la'-pí za-ma-an-gur.

11. V. Haas and H. J. Thiel, *Die Beschwörungsrituale der Allaituraḫ(ḫ)i und verwandte Texte* (AOAT 31, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978) 43–44, 48–49.

12. I. J. Winter, "Sex, Rhetoric, and the Public Monument," in *Sexuality in Ancient Art* (ed. N. B. Kampen; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 13; see Akk. *ša ziqni* 'bearded' as a designation of male personnel at the Assyrian court who are not eunuchs, subsequently LÚ ŠA ŠU, meaning 'a non-eunuch' (*CAD* Z, 126–7).

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Another occurrence of *zamankur* is found in the Ritual of Šuwamma (NH) for treatment of an unknown disease:

> The fat, *pankur* (and) beard-hair of billy-goat (and) nanny-goat, the urine of a human being, [. . . ch]eese, and flint/obsidian(?), all this she removes.[13]

As pointed out by R. Beal and B. J. Collins, the word *zamankur* is not otherwise attested referring to goats, however, it would not be surprising if the Hittites referred to this type of hair in the same manner as many other languages.[14] It is noteworthy that in the *CAD* there is a reference to Sumerian Ú suₒ ùz, designating a plant name (lit. 'goat-beard').[15]

The Hittite word for 'bearded' is *šamankunvant-*. This is a *-want-* suffix adjective derived from the noun *zamankur*,[16] with a change of the initial consonant, which is usual for Hattian and Palaic, but is also observed in some Hittite words (compare *šakkar* and *zakkar* 'excrement'; *zašḫi-* and *zazḫi-* 'dream').[17]

The word *šamankunvant* is attested referring to snakes twice in the Ritual of Ayatarša, Wattiti, and Šušumanniga against spells and bonds that caused a complete paralysis of the entire Universe and, consequently, of all the body parts of a patient.[18] In the first passage, the so-called "bearded snakes," along with the high mountains, deep valleys, meadows, fish of the river, and wild animals, are being "bound up:"[19]

> He bound the high mountains. He bound the deep valleys. . . . He bound the [b]earded snakes in the c[oil] . . .[20]

In the second passage all of these are released through the mediation of the gods:[21]

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13. KBo 21.20 (CTH 461) i 25–26: [Š]A MÁŠ.GAL UZ₆! Ì.UDU *pa-an-kur za-ma-an-kur* UKÙ-*aš še-e-ḫu-u*[r] [G]A.KIN.AG-*pát* ᴺᴬ⁴ZÚ *nu ki-i da-pí-an ša-mi-nu-zi*, ed. C. Burde, StBoT 19: 44; the translation is after R. Beal and B. J. Collins, "Hittite *pankur*," *AoF* 23 (1996) 310; see also A. M. Polvani, *Minerali*, 142, *CHD* P, 92.

14. See Beal and Collins, "Hittite *pankur*," 310 n. 18; Russian, for instance, provides evidence to the contrary, when referring to a small pointed and tufted beard on a man's chin as *kazlínnaya barôdka* 'goat's beard', compare English 'goatee'.

15. *CAD* Z, 126.

16. *HE* I, §49d; Kronasser, *EHS* I (1966) 266–67.

17. Laroche, "Etudes de Vocabulaire III," 41; *HE* I, §27c (with literature); Kronasser, *EHS* I (1966) 50.

18. KUB 7.1 + KBo 3.8 (CTH 390, NH), ed. H. Kronasser, "Fünf hethitische Rituale," *Die Sprache* 7 (1961) 157ff.; see also E. Laroche, "Mythologie anatolienne," *RHA* XXXIII/77 (1965) 169ff.; R. Stefanini, "Note Ittite," *AGI* 54 (1969) 148ff.; H. Otten and C. Rüster, "Textanschlüsse und Duplikate von Boğazköy-Tafeln (41–50)," *ZA* 67 (1977) 57ff.; I. Wegner, "Eine hethitische Zauberpraktik," *MDOG* 113 (1981) 112–13; E. Masson, *Le Combat pour l'immortalité* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1991) 193ff.

19. Rev. iii 7–8: [ša-m]a-an-ku-úr-wa-du-uš-kán MUŠ.ḪI.A-uš an-da ḫu-u-la-[ḫ-iš-ni] ḫa-mi-ik-ta.

20. For the latter expression, see Masson, *Le Combat*, 294 n. 18 (with literature).

21. Lines 25–26: ša-ma-an-ku-úr-wa-an-te-eš MUŠ.ḪI.A [ḫu-u-la-li-iš-]nu la-a-at-ta-at.

The high mountains were released. The deep valleys were released. . . . The bearded snakes were released in the [coi]l . . .

As proposed by H. Kronasser, the function of the beard was to emphasize the demonic nature of the serpents or their fertility or both.[22]

The notion of "bearded snakes" is widespread in Greek mythology and art. Bearded snakes are also depicted on the friezes of Mesopotamian cylinder seals and are attested in Assyrian texts.[23]

The Akkadian word for beard is *ziqnu*. The Sumerogram is $SU_6$ = KA× SA, which is perhaps to be read in the Hittite Ritual of Šamuha as referring to women:[24]

> On the 12th/13th day the virgin, with her beard cut, appears at the gate of the temple.[25]

The mentioned ritual is performed against slander and curses. It comprises various purification ceremonies involving sympathetic magic. Here the mention of a virgin with her beard-hair cut might perhaps emphasize her purity or, rather, her young age, in contrast to women of elderly age, who gradually acquire some mustache- or beard-hair on their chins. I assume that the expression "with her beard cut" does not necessarily suggest that the woman had beard-hair earlier and that, before entering the temple, she had it removed.[26] It might well mean "a woman who is absolutely without facial hair," that is, a young woman, a virgin.

However, a reverse interpretation is also possible, that is, she was an old virgin (a kind of priestess or nun, Hitt. *pár-ku-iš* MUNUS-*za*, lit. 'clean/pure woman') and might already have had some facial hair ("beard" need not imply a full beard) growing on her chin. So she was required to remove that facial hair every time she was to enter the temple, as were the other temple officials, who were instructed to remove all their body hair and cut their fingernails before entering into the presence of god.[27]

Of interest is the compound $GADA.SU_6$ 'napkin' (lit. 'cloth for beard') attested in a broken fragment of Hittite inventory lists:[28]

> . . . one beard cloth of the king, ti[e]d up.[29]

The second part of this paper is dedicated to a survey of various art monuments and a comparison of the evidence that they offer with the evidence of the textual material. Here, first and foremost, it should be pointed out that almost all of the representations of the Hittites are of divinities, sovereigns, or persons of high rank. There is little evidence of what an average Hittite man looked like.

In any event, Hittites are usually depicted dressed in tunics of varied length with sleeves, sometimes with ornamental belts, and shoes with upturned toes. Men and women alike wore earrings, necklaces, or bracelets.[30] Hittite men were generally beardless and clean-shaven. Their hair fell either to the shoulders or below the shoulders and ended in a curl or braid at the back, as is seen, for instance, in the elaborate depiction of a wedding procession that decorates the relief pithos from Inandik (fig. 1), or on the colorful drawings of the Bitik vase.[31]

Another example is the frieze on the rim of the silver stag-shaped rhyton from the Norbert Schimmel collection (fig. 2).[32] It represents two gods and their worshipers. They are all beardless. The gods can be identified on the basis of Hittite texts as the Divine Protectors of the Wild Fields.[33]

Hittites are depicted without any facial hair not only by themselves but also by the Egyptians. It is worth mentioning, for instance, the depiction of slain Hittite soldiers in the Egyptian relief of the Battle of Kadeš excavated at Luxor, or that of the

22. Kronasser, "Fünf hethitische Rituale," 161.

23. Ibid., 169 (with literature on bearded snakes in Mesopotamian culture); see for instance *CAD* Z, 126b: if a snake (has?) a beard.

24. KUB 29.7 + KBo 21.41 (CTH 480); see J. Friedrich, "Zum hethitischen Lexicon," *JCS* 1 (1947) 298–99; A. Goetze, "Contributions to Hittite Lexicography," *JCS* 1 (1947) 315–16; *ANET*, 346. For reference to "bearded" women in Assyrian texts, see, for instance: *šumma ina āli sinnišāti* $su_6$ *zaq-na* 'if in a city there are women with beards', or *sinništu ziq-na zaq-na-at* 'a woman had a beard', etc. (*CAD* Z, 126a).

25. KUB 29.7 + KBo 21.41 obv. i 38: *I-NA* UD.12.KAM-*ma* KA×SA¹-*ŠU ḫa-a[t-ta-an-za?] pár-ku-iš* MUNUS-*za A-NA PA-NI* KÁ É.DINGIR-*LIM ti-i-[e-zi]*; or obv. i 48: *I-NA* UD.13. KAM-*ma* KA×SA¹-*ŠU ḫa-at-ta-an-za pár-ku-iš* MUNUS-*za A-NA PA-NI* KÁ É.DINGIR-*LIM ti-i-e-zi*; see also ibid. 1: EGIR-*ŠU-ma* KA×SA¹ *ḫa-at-ta-an-za ga-an-ga-ti*^SAR *IŠ-T* [*U* . . . ] *pa-ra-a a-pé-e-ni-iš-ša-an e-ep-zi*.

26. The Hittite verb *ḫattai-* 'to cut (off)' seems to be a cognate to the Armenian stem *hat-* 'to cut', 'to reduce'. It is of interest that the latter also has a derivative form, a noun-forming suffix *hat/at* with the meaning 'without', 'deprived of' (not necessarily meaning 'with something cut off'), see for instance, *gun-at* 'colorless, pale', *ter-at* 'a penguin' (lit. 'without wing'), etc.

28. For $GADA.SU_6$, see *KZL*, no. 173; KUB 42.75 (CTH 250), ed. H. Güterbock, "Ivory in Hittite Texts," *Anadolu* 15 (1971) 5–6; S. Košak, THeth 10: 188ff.; J. Siegelová, *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis im Lichte der Wirtschafts- und Inventardokumente* (Prague: Národní Museum, 1986) 63ff. (2.1.9).

29. Obv. i: 1 $GADA.SU_6$ LUGAL KEŠ[D]A; see Güterbock, "Ivory," 5–6, followed by Košak, THeth 10: 188–89: 1 GADA.KA×SA LUGAL EZ[EN²] 'one lip-cloth of the king (for a) festival] (?)'. According to Siegelová's interpretation, a lip-cloth would be more appropriate than a beard-cloth (*Verwaltungspraxis*, 65 n. 2). However, the cuneiform definitely reads KA×SA=$SU_6$ 'beard', but not KA×NUN=NUNDUM 'lip'. As for the last broken sign, it might well be read either way: EZ[EN²] or KEŠ[D]A. In the latter case, apparently it refers to a special technique of tying or binding of threads (like knotting or stitching, etc.) (Siegelová, *Verwaltungspraxis*, 64 n. 1).

30. E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962) 110, 112; D. Collon, "Clothing and Grooming in Ancient Western Asia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 510–11; F. Imparati, "Private Life Among the Hittites," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 572.

31. T. Özgüç, *Inandiktepe* (Ankara: TTK Basimevi, 1988) fig. 64; idem, "The Bitik Vase," *Anadolu* 2 (1957) 57–78, pl. 1–6.

32. S. Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels* (Ankara: TTK Yayın, 1982) 93ff., fig. 6h; idem, "Einige weitere Bemerkungen zum Hirschrhyton der Norbert Schimmel-Sammlung," in *Fs G. P. Carratelli* (Eothen 1; Florence: Elite, 1988) 17–23, fig. 2.

33. H. Güterbock, "Hethitische Götterbilder und Kultgeräte," in *FsBittel*, 207–8; R. Mayer-Opificius, "Hethitische Kunstdenkmäler des 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," in *Anatolia and the Ancient*
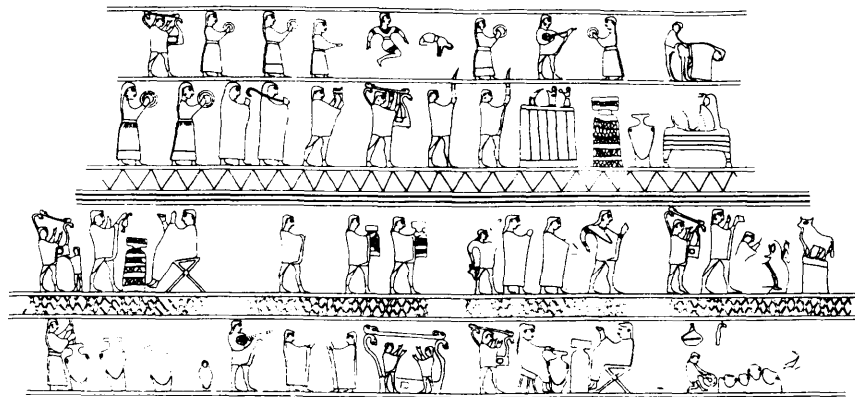
Fig. 1. Drawings of the pithos from Inandiktepe. Courtesy of T. Özgüç.

seven nearly identical Hittite figures, carved in a 13th century bas-relief.[34] The latter
have shaven faces and flat, sloping foreheads that continue in the same line into
prominent and slightly aquiline noses and receding chins. A. Götze lists them as Type
*a* in his discussion of four anthropological types of Hittites represented on contem-
porary monuments.[35]

Also beardless is the Hittite prisoner, tied together with four other prisoners, on
the Egyptian stone relief from the great temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu.[36] A
depiction of another beardless Hittite prisoner is found on the right wall of the en-
trance to the great temple at Abu Simbel.[37] He has a long and prominent nose, but
his forehead is not as sloping as that of the above-mentioned seven figures. This is
Götze's Type *b*.[38]

34. C. Kuentz, *La Bataille de Qadesh* (Mémoires IFAO 55/1–2; Cairo, 1928–1934) pl. 51;
H. T. Bossert, *Altanatolien: Kunst und Handwerk in Kleinasien von den Anfängen bis zum völligen Auf-
gehen in der Griechischen Kultur* (Die Ältester Kulturen des Mittelmeerkreises 2; Berlin: Wasmuth,
1942) fig. 759; J. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (2d ed.
with suppl.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969) 253, fig. 31.

35. A. Götze, *Kleinasien* (2d ed.; Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients 3/1; München: Beck,
1957) 10–12.

36. The Epigraphic Survey, *Later Historical Records of Ramses III, Medinet Habu,* Volume 2
(OIP 9; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1932) pl. 125A; Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pic-
tures,* 250, fig. 7.

37. Bossert, *Altanatolien,* 731; Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures,* 253, fig. 32.

41. For the Egyptian ideal of Hittites, see W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien
im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962)
342ff.; see also K. Bittel, "Bemerkungen zum Löwenbecken in Boğazköy und zum Felsrelief bei
Sirkeli," in *FsGüterbock,* 71.

Fig. 2. Frieze decorating the stag-shaped rhyton from N. Schimmel Collection, New York.
Drawing by Neriman Tezcan. Courtesy of Sedat Alp.

However, it is always hard to make a clear differentiation among all these and to
identify a true representation of a Hittite. True, a perfect specimen of Hittite male
imagery seems to be the life-sized figure of the warrior (or the war god) carved on
the King's gate at Boğazköy-Hattuša or the relief of King Tudhaliya IV from House
A of Temple 5 at Hattuša, which shows amazing similarities with the former.[39] Both
figures are without facial hair, wearing a high, pointed helmet and a short kilt. An-
other relief is similar to this, that of King Suppiluliyama II from chamber 2 on the
Südburg at Boğazköy, discovered by Peter Neve.[40]

Furthermore, Hittite kings depicted in religious ceremonies are also clean-
shaven. They are usually clothed in full-length, draped robes with a train wrapped
around the shoulders like a cape, shoes with up-turned toes, and round, tight-fitting
caps. Iconographically such a representation of the king resembles that of the Sun-
god of Heaven. They both wear the same priestly garments and carry the lituus.[41] As
H. Güterbock has postulated, "one could say that the god is shown in the image of
the king or that the king is wearing garments of the god," representing the deceased

39. For King's gate see O. Puchstein, *Boghasköi, die Bauwerke* (WVDOG 19; Leipzig, 1912;
repr. Osnabrück: Zeller, 1984) 67–72, fig. 48, pls. 17–19; K. Bittel, *Boğazköy, die Kleinfunde der
Grabungen 1906–1912* (WVDOG 60; Leipzig, 1937; repr. Osnabrück: Zeller, 1967) 5–7, frontis-
piece, pls. 2–3; for House A, see P. Neve, "Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša 1985," *AA* (1986)
395ff., figs. 29–30; idem, "Boğazköy-Hattuša, Ausgrabungen in der Oberstadt," *Anatolica* 14
(1987) 67–68, 87, figs. 16–18; idem, *Hattuša—Stadt der Götter und Tempel: Neue Ausgrabungen in
der Hauptstadt der Hethiter* (Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie 8; Mainz am Rhein: Zabern, 1993)
35, figs. 100–101.

40. P. Neve, "Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša 1988," *AA* (1989) 316ff., figs. 40, 42, 58;
idem, "Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša 1989," *AA* (1990) 279ff., fig. 10; idem, *Hattuša,* 71ff.,
figs. 204a, 213, 214.

41. See A. Götze, "The Priestly Dress of the Hittite King," *JCS* 1 (1947) 178ff.; O. R. Gur-
ney, "Hittite Kingship," in *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship
in the Ancient Near East and in Israel* (ed. S. H. Hooke; Oxford 1958) 117; T. van den Hout, "Tut-
halija IV. und die Ikonographie hethitischer Großkönige des 13. Jhs," *BiOr* 52 (1995) 551–52.

Hittite king, who was called "My Sun" after he "became god."[42] In any event, "the distinction between the god and the king is made by the presence or the absence of the winged sun disk." For instance, figure no. 34 at Yazılıkaya[43] has such a winged disk, placed above his head, and is carrying the hieroglyph of his name "Sun-god of the Sky" in his outstretched hand. The same is true for the relief, discovered by Neve, on the back wall of chamber 2 on the Südburg.[44]

The kings are usually depicted without the sun disk, like, for instance, figure no. 64 at Yazılıkaya, Tudḫaliya IV, or no. 81, Tudḫaliya IV in the embrace of his protective deity Šarrumma, as well as King Muwatalli on the rock relief at Sirkeli.[45] Also shown without the sun disk is Muwatalli II on his seals, in the embrace of his protective deity, Piḫaššaši.[46]

Moreover, there are almost identical representations of the Hittite king and the priests in adoration on the orthostat reliefs from the city walls of Alaca Hüyük.[47] They all are clean-shaven and wear priestly garments similar to the sun-god.

Interestingly enough, the Hittite King is not always dressed in the same manner when performing offerings to the gods. On the rock relief of Fraktin near Kayseri, King Ḫattušili III is represented as beardless, wearing the usual Hittite tunic with a pointed hat, while pouring a libation to a god, supposedly the weather god.[48] The latter has not yet been clearly identified. According to E. Laroche, there is clearly a hieroglyphic sign for the weather god under the determinative for god.[49] M. van Loon and R. Mayer-Opificius, on the other hand, suggest that this might rather be the king's patron deity (dLAMMA), like a hunting god or a kind of protective deity of the wild fields.[50] It is noteworthy that the god is shown clothed in garments similar

42. H. Güterbock, "Sungod or King," in *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors: Fs N. Özgüç* (ed. M. J. Mellink et al.; Ankara: TTK Basimevi, 1993) 225–26.

43. K. Bittel et al., *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya* (Berlin: Mann, 1975) pl. 57.

44. P. Neve, "Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 1988," *AA* (1989) 318ff., figs. 47–48, 52, 55–57; idem, "Boğazköy-Ḫattuša: New Results of the Excavations in the Upper City," *Anatolica* 16 (1989–1990) 13, 19, fig. 5; idem, *Ḫattuša*, 71ff., figs. 201, 205b, 211. According to Oğuz Soysal (personal communication), the sun-god is depicted without a beard because of its characteristic of dual genders: the sun-god (Hittite tradition: *Ištanu*) and the sun-goddess (Hattian tradition: *Eštan*).

45. For fig. no. 64, see Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites*, pl. XIX; Bittel et al., *Yazilikaya*, frontispiece, pl. 39/2, 60; for fig. no. 81 see ibid., pls. IV, 48, 49, 62; for Sirkeli see Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites*, pls. XX, 98; Bittel, "Bemerkungen zum Löwenbecken," 69ff.; idem, *Die Hethiter: Die Kunst Anatoliens vom Ende des 3. bis zum Anfang des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus* (Munich: Beck, 1976) figs. 195, 197.

46. SBo I 38–40; Neve, *Ḫattuša*, 57, fig. 149.

47. Vieyra, *Hittite Art (2300–750 B.C.)* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1955) 33, fig. 28; M. Mellink, "Observations on the Sculptures of Alaca Hüyük," *Anadolu* 14 (1970) 20, fig. 2/6, pl. IV–V; idem, "Hittite Friezes and Gate Sculptures," in *FsGüterbock*, 203ff.; Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 197ff., figs. 212, 214.

48. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, 187–88, figs. 194, 196, 198.

49. E. Laroche, "Les Reliefs de Fraktin," in *FsTÖzgüç*, 301.

50. M. van Loon, "Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.," *Iconography of Religions* 12 (Leiden: Brill 1985) 15; Mayer-Opificius, "Hethitische Kunstdenkmäler," 361.

to the king's and without any facial hair, while elsewhere the beard seems to be one of the most distinctive attributes of the weather god (see below). This might be additional confirmation that the male deity represented on the Fraktin relief is not the weather god. More striking still is the horned peaked cap of Ḫattušili III, as the horns attached to the cap are usually the insignia that indicate the rank of the Hittite gods.[51]

Nevertheless, the most elaborate sculptural evidence for Hittite male deities comes from the rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya. There, in the central panel, the main figure of the weathergod, Tešub (no. 42), is found. To his left, a second, lesser weather-god (no. 41) is depicted. Both are bearded and are standing on mountains, with the difference that the mountains supporting Tešub are anthropomorphic. Their names are Nanni and Ḫazzi. The beardless figure (no. 44) standing in the row of the female deities, following Ḫepat, is Šarrumma. The representation of the son of the weather-god without a beard might be related to his younger age.

The images of mountain gods are always bearded. There are nine depictions of these gods (no. 13–15, 16a, 17, 83) at Yazılıkaya, including the two mentioned above, standing below Tešub's figure (no. 42), and the one on the cartouche of Tudḫaliya IV (figure no. 64).

According to my calculations, there are altogether 60 sculptures of male deities carved in the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya. Among them, 44 are beardless, including Šaušga-Ištar (no. 38) who shows a mixed gender. Indeed, only 16 figures at Yazılıkaya are represented as bearded. It should be mentioned though that among the bearded deities, 2 (nos. 41 and 42) are weather gods and 9 are various mountain gods. The remainder of the bearded figures represent the moon-god Kušuḫ (no. 35), the water-god Ea (no. 39), the vegetation-god Kumarbi (no. 40), and two unknown deities (nos. 23 and 24).

Summing up my observations, it is possible to conclude that the Hittites and, consequently, the images of their deities were beardless, except for those who either originated in Mesopotamia or were strongly affected by the Mesopotamian civilization. This may be the case with, for instance, the moon-god or the Hurrian god of harvest, Kumarbi.

On the other hand, the beard, as a marker of manliness, fertility, and power, was apparently the distinctive feature of the supreme god of the Hittite religious pantheon, the weather-god, while all the other bearded deities, the vegetation-god, the mountain-gods, and the water-god, by their nature seem to be attributive to the former.

Interestingly, in the religious iconography and sculptures of the later, Neo-Hittite period, men and gods are mostly bearded. This was apparently due to strong Syrian and Mesopotamian influence. Nonetheless, as D. Hawkins has observed, there is some distinction between the religion of the Anatolian provinces and that of the Neo-Hittite city-states in Syria. While the former suggests close continuity with the

51. See the discussion in T. van den Hout, "Tutḫaliya IV," 555–56, nn. 45–46 (with literature); Alp, ed., *The Beard of the Hittites*, 110ff.

cult of Ḫattuša, the latter shows more Syrian influence and is perceptibly the religion of the city of Karkamiš.[52]

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52. J. D. Hawkins, "Karkamish and Karatepe: Neo-Hittite City-States in North Syria," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 1305ff. (with literature).

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# Hittite Seals and Sealings from the Nişantepe Archive, Boğazköy: A Prosopographical Study

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In the 1990 and 1991 excavation seasons at Boğazköy, a deposit of over 3000 sealed bullae was found in three basement rooms and the collapse of a badly eroded building, the so-called "Westbau" on Nişantepe.[1] As the excavator, Peter Neve, has reported, this discovery came as a complete surprise because of the location on the steep southwest slope.[2] Whereas sealed bullae have been found before at other locations within the Hittite capital,[3] the significance of the material from Nişantepe lies in its great number. The closest parallels from Boğazköy are offered by the so-called "Siegel Depot" in Building D on Büyükkale, excavated in 1936 and published by Hans Gustav Güterbock.[4]

1. See P. Neve, "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattusa 1990," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1991) 323ff., idem, "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattusa 1991," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1992) 307ff., idem, *Hattuša—Stadt der Götter und Tempel* (Antike Welt Sondernummer; Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1992) 52ff.

2. P. Neve, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1991) 323.

3. For example, in Temple 1 and the temples of the Upper City. See H. G. Güterbock, "Hieroglyphensiegel aus dem Tempelbezirk," in *Boğazköy V. Funde aus den Grabungen 1970 und 1971* (ed. K. Bittel et al.; Berlin: Mann, 1975) 47–75; P. Neve, "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattusa 1983," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1984) 360; idem, "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattusa 1985," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1986) 377ff., 383; idem, "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattusa 1986," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1987) 400ff.

4. H. G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy I* (AfO Beiheft 5; repr., Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1967); idem, *Siegel aus Boğazköy II* (AfO Beiheft 7; repr., Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1967).

The last Bronze Tablet witness whom I will discuss is the well-attested chief scribe UR.MAH-LÚ.[37] UR.MAH-LÚ, or Walwaziti in Luwian, is one of the best-known officials of the Empire period and was chief scribe not only of Tuthaliya IV, but also of Hattušili III.[38] The Nişantepe seal presented here (fig. 1.7) bears a hieroglyphic inscription with the name Walwaziti (written LEO-VIR.ZI/A) and the title BONUS$_2$.VIR$_2$. Whether or not we accept BONUS$_2$.VIR$_2$ in hieroglyphs to be the equivalent of cuneiform LÚ.SIG$_5$,[39] it does not seem likely that such a prominent individual as the chief scribe, Walwaziti, would have such a modest title on his seal. A possible explanation, however, could be that the seal dates to the reign of Muršili III/Urhitešsub when the Mittanamuwa scribal clan, that is, the family of UR.MAH-LÚ/Walwaziti, was temporarily out of favor with the crown. Mittanamuwa,[40] father of UR.MAH-LÚ/Walwaziti, was chief scribe under King Muršili II, and his son, Purandamuwa, held the same office under Muwatalli II. Van den Hout has pointed out that during the reign of Muršili III persons not associated with the Mittanamuwa clan held the office of chief scribe and has proposed that this family, who regained office in the person of UR.MAH-LÚ/Walwaziti under Hattušili III, was closely connected with the downfall of Muršili III.[41]

Although in this last instance we have not been able to identify with certainty the seal owner Walwaziti (LEO-VIR.ZI/A) as the chief scribe UR.MAH-LÚ/Walwaziti, it has been possible to identify eight other witnesses of the 28 listed on the Bronze Tablet in the seal material from the Nişantepe archive. The presence of vassal kings and prominent officials of the Empire period as seal owners is to be anticipated, given the official character of the deposit. Instead, it is surprising that a number of well-known officials are missing, such as, for example, Prince Nerikkaili,[42] whom we would expect to be included at Nişantepe. The reasons for this remain elusive at the moment but will perhaps become clearer in the course of further analysis of the corpus as a whole.

37. Otten, *Bronzetafel*, 28–9 col. IV line 40.

38. See van den Hout, *Ulmitešub-Vertrag*, 172ff.

39. In favor of such a correspondence is J. D. Hawkins ("A Bowl Epigraph of the Official Taprammi," in *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors—Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç* [ed. M. J. Mellink et al.; Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993] 716). Against this correlation is H. G. Güterbock (personal communication).

40. See G. del Monte, "I testimoni del trattato con Aleppo (KBo I 6)," *RSO* 49 (1975) 6.

41. Van den Hout, *Ulmitešub-Vertrag*, 175. See also Del Monte, "I testimoni del trattato con Aleppo," 6.

42. Otten, *Bronzetafel*, 26–27 col. IV line 30.

# The Treatment and Long-Term Use of Persons Captured in Battle according to the Maşat Texts

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When the Hittite armies defeated foes, they took captives in the process. Some of these captured persons were combatants and others non-combatants.[1] The non-combatants at the time of capture were referred to under the term *arnuwala-* (Sumerian NAM.RA, which in Mesopotamian texts means 'booty, plunder', Akkadian *šallatu*).[2] In the texts recording these captures, we find the following large numbers of NAM.RA, listed in order of magnitude:

| Number | Text Reference | Reign of Hittite King |
|---|---|---|
| 66,000 | AM 76 | Muršili II |
| 15,500 | AM 56 | Muršili II |
| 7,000 | Taw. = KUB 14.3 iii 10 | Hattušili III |
| 4,000 | AM 70 | Muršili II |
| 3,330 | DŠ frag. 28 iii 42–43 | Šuppiluliuma I |
| 3,000 | AM 136 | Muršili II |
| 1,000 | AM 140 | Muršili II |

## Terms for Persons Captured in the Course of Battles

The term for a captured person, who at the time of capture was a combatant, was the passive participle of the verb 'to seize' (*appant-*). This word could be written syllabically or with one of two logograms, the Sumerian LÚŠU.DAB or the Akkadian

ŠABTU. After captives had been in Hittite hands for a short time, the distinction between combatants and non-combatants became blurred, and the whole group could be termed *arnuwala-*. At least, I can see no evidence that the Hittites continued to draw a distinction in terminology. Captives, whether *appanteš* or *arnuwalaš*, occupied a higher position in society than ordinary slaves.[3] Goetze (1933) called them "semi-free" (German *halbfrei*). The Old Hittite laws reflect this social stratification in the disposition of cases involving sexual offences. Law 200 indicates that, if a Hittite man slept with an *arnuwala*-woman and her mother, this was not considered to be the offence of incest (*ḫurkel*), as it was if the woman was a Hittite.[4]

I shall avoid using the term *prisoner of war*, because modern conceptions associated with that term would present a false picture. So far as we know, Hittite captives were not put in camps, at least not for any extended period of time.

## Textual Genres in Which Captured Persons Figure

Captives are mentioned in a wide variety of text types: military annals, letters, laws, treaties, depositions, cult inventories, royal prayers, rituals, and festival descriptions.

### Captive Kings and Ex-Kings

The earliest Hittite historical narrative in which reference is made to persons captured in battle is the so-called Anitta text. At the very end of this text King Anitta describes how he brought back from battle the captured king of the city-state Puruš-ḫanda and made him sit in front of himself on his right side, perhaps as a sign of submission.[5] In a later battle narrative, attributed to the Old Hittite monarch Ḫattušili I, we read how the king humiliated a defeated king by harnessing him up to a wagon like a draft animal.[6]

During the New Hittite period, kings of small states conquered by the Hittites were either allowed to remain in their lands as sworn vassals of the Hittite emperor or, if they seemed unreliable, were replaced by more tractable members of the native dynasty and carried back to Ḫatti to be interned there. Such "captive" ex-kings were doubtless treated well. We know of one, Bentešina of Amurru, who was assigned to

the king's brother, Ḫattušili, and the two men became friends and allies. When Ḫattušili later usurped the Hittite throne, he put his friend Bentešina back on the throne in Amurru as his own vassal.[7]

### Allocation of Captives

In annalistic narratives from the New Kingdom, it was routine after the description of a victory for the text to mention the large numbers of the enemy that were killed or taken captive.[8] Usually, if a destination is given, it is that they were brought "to Ḫattuša," but occasionally it is to the king's "house," that is, to his personal estate.[9]

On some occasions, the king relinquished his right to the captives and allowed his troops to take them as semi-free servants. For example, in the Middle Hittite joint annals of King Tudḫaliya and his son Arnuwanda (CTH 143), after the enemy's defeat is recorded, we are told that "the troops took the captives and livestock as plunder."[10]

A passage from a Middle Hittite treaty with the people of Išmerika (CTH 133) illustrates the allocation of the plunder: the king instructs his servants that, if any city in their area rebels (the term used is *waštai* 'sins'), they must attack the city, kill all its fighting men, send the remaining captives (NAM.RA) to the king, and keep for themselves the captured livestock.

In the Hittite cult, dramatization had an important role.[11] In one such cult drama, players representing Hittite and enemy[12] troops fought a mock battle, which the Hittites naturally won. The Hittite soldiers took captives and presented them to their deity.[13] This probably reflects the practice in real life of donating some prisoners of war to the temple estates of Hittite deities, as we know for certain that booty was donated in such a manner.[14]

### Semi-free Captives Used as Servants

Although the NAM.RA (Hittite *arnuwala-*) in Hittite texts seem to have been above the level of common slaves, when they surrendered to the victorious king,

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3. Studies of Hittite social stratification are Souček 1956; Goetze 1957: 106–7; Goetze 1964; Güterbock 1972; Giorgadze 1974; and Souček 1988. A special study of marginal groups within Hittite society is Klinger 1992.

4. Edited in Hoffner 1997b: 157–58; recent English translation in Hoffner 1997a. On *ḫurkel* see Hoffner 1973; 1995; and 1997b: 224–25.

5. CTH 1 (KBo 3.22 76–79, OS): *man appa=ma* URU*Neša* [*uwanun*)] *nu* LÚ URU*Purušḫanda karin=mu* [(*peḫutenun*)] *man tunnakišna=ma paizzi ap*[(*ā*=*a*)] *peran=mi kunnaz ešari* 'But when I [cam]e back to Neša, I led with me the ruler (literally, 'man') of Purušḫanda. And when he goes into the inner chamber, he sits down before me': see the edition of the text in Neu 1974, and discussion of its historiography in Hoffner 1980: 291–93.

6. CTH 4A (KBo 10.2 ii 41–42, OH/NS): *nu* (LUGAL) URU*Ḫaššuwa* LUGAL URU*Ḫa*[*ḫḫa*] ANA GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA *tun*[*yanun*] 'And [I] hitched (the king of) Ḫaššuwa and the king of Ḫaḫḫa to a wagon'

7. On this incident, see Goetze 1975: 254, 259; Singer 1991: 168; and Bryce 1998: 278 with n. 31.

8. For example, Deeds of Šuppiluliuma fragm. 10D (KUB 19.11) i 8–10: *nu* LÚ.[KÚR] *pangarit* BA.ÚŠ LÚ.MEŠŠU.DAB-*an*=*a me*[*kkin* IŠBAT] *n*=*an* EGIR-*pa* ANA URU*Samuḫa uwate*[*t*]; AM 122 (KBo 4.4 ii 75): *nu*=*wa kunan*=*za*=*a mekki* URU*appan*=*za*=*a*=*twa m*[*ekki*]; and AM 122 (KBo 3.4 iv 20–21): [*nu*=*šš*]*an appanti kunantt*=*ya* [*mekki ešta*]

9. DŠ fragm. 28 iii 42–43.

10. Carruba 1977: 168–69.

11. See the discussions by Ehelolf 1925; Carter 1988; Van den Hout 1991; and de Martino 1995.

12. Identified in the text as "men from Maša" (KUB 17.35 iii 12).

13. The text is KUB 17.35 iii 12–15 ((CTH 525.2): *nu* MĒ-*iškanzi nu*=*šnaš*=*aš* LÚ.MEŠ URU*Ḫatti tarḫanzi nu* ŠU.DIB.BU *appanzi n*=*an* ANA DINGIR-LIM *ḫinkanzi* 'They do battle, and the men of Ḫatti defeat them, and take a captive and devote him to the god'.

14. See mentions in Ḫattušili I's annals edited by Imparati and Saporetti 1965.

they are described as falling at his feet, saying: "Do not destroy us! Rather, O lord, take us as your bond-slaves (literally, into your servitude)!" (KUB 14.15 iii 47–48, AM 56). Therefore, although the word "servitude" here probably means political subordination or vassalship, the use of many of the captives for labor is foreshadowed by the words of surrender placed in their mouths by the author of the annals.

As servants, these NAM.RA could be given away as part of a royal personage's dowry. In a formal letter from Queen Puduḫepa to Ramesses II of Egypt, the queen claims that due to circumstances beyond her control she was unable to make up the usual dowry for the Hittite princess she is giving in marriage to Ramesses. Ordinarily, she says, such a dowry would consist of NAM.RA, cattle, and sheep.[15]

### Where Captives Were Kept

In a poorly preserved section of the annals of Muršili II,[16] the Hittite king scolds a subordinate (perhaps a vassal king) for having released a Nuḫaššean captive and allowing him to return to his wife and children instead of sending him to Ḫattuša. Occasionally the king mentions the city where he left the booty and the captives.[17]

### Duties, Rights, and Privileges of the NAM.RA

Although none of the terms for 'combatant captives' (appanteš or ᴸᵁˑᴹᴱˢŠU.DAB) occur in the laws, the term arnuwala- (NAM.RA) does.[18] Law 40 shows that the king assigned fields to such persons for cultivation, and they assumed obligations in connection with that land-holding. Law 112 indicates that under certain circumstances the arnuwala- was exempt from the new obligations for the first three years of his holding the land.

In the MH instructions to the provincial governors, the governor is instructed to provide plots of land, food supply, firewood, livestock, and wool for making clothes for the NAM.RA that are settled in his district.[19]

In a decree/edict of Ḫattušili III regarding the city of Tiliura, he tells how, during the reign of his father Muršili II, that king had occupied the site of Tiliura, which had been abandoned for centuries, rebuilt it, and proceeded to settle it. At first he did not completely settle it, but settled it with its(?) NAM.RA that had been conquered with weapons.[20]

15. KUB 21.38 obv. 17'–20', ed. Helck 1963; Stefanini 1964; English translation Beckman 1996: 127 (NAM.RA is translated by Beckman as 'civilian captives').

16. Goetze 1933: 82–85.

17. AM 158 (KBo 5.8 iii 37–39): maḫḫan=ma EGIR-pa uwanun nu šaru kuit NAM.RA GUD UDU AKŠUD ᴸᵁˑᴹᴱˢŠU.DAB=ya kuin eppir n=an INA ᵁᴿᵁAltanna arḫa dalaḫḫun 'But when I came back, I left in the city Altanna the booty, NAM.RA, cattle, sheep, and captives that I had seized'.

18. The passages cited in what follows are edited in Hoffner 1997b and English translations may be found in Hoffner 1997a.

19. KUB 13.2 iii 36–41, ed. von Schuler 1957: 48–49 (arnuwala- translated 'deportee', German 'ein Deportierter').

20. KUB 21.19 i 11–15 (CTH 89). There is a German translation of this text by von Schuler (1957: 145ff.).

### Under the Control of Regional Officials and Temples

In testimony for the trial of a fellow official, a man tells how his colleagues killed some NAM.RA and carried off others and sold them or used them as personal servants. He admits to having sold ten himself.[21] In administrative texts where temples are inventoried, the record includes the NAM.RA that belong to the temple labor force.[22]

### Prisoners of War Brought a Plague into Ḫatti

In a royal prayer, King Muršili II mentions that the plague that ravaged Ḫatti for a period of twenty years, starting during the reign of his father and continuing into his own reign, was brought into Ḫatti in the midst of the prisoners-of-war captured in battle in Syria.[23]

### A Captive Was Used as the Substitute King

Like the Assyrians, the Hittites practiced a special substitute king ritual whenever an omen portended the Hittite king's death.[24] The stand-in for the king was always a prisoner-of-war.

### Escape Attempts of the NAM.RA

Understandably, groups of captives often attempted to escape and find refuge in neighboring countries not allied with the Hittites. In the royal annals the king is portrayed as demanding from such neighboring countries the return of his NAM.RA, or a submissive neighbor is portrayed as promising their return.[25]

## The Importance of the Newly Published Maşat Archives

A serious limitation of our textual evidence for Hittite life has always been that the vast majority of texts come from the capital. We had no picture of life outside that city and even within that city no picture of private life. It was always hoped that some day we would recover a large group of texts from another Hittite site. This wish was realized in the mid-1970s when a Turkish excavation at Maşat-Höyük uncovered about 200 tablets in cuneiform Hittite, most of them letters from the Hittite king to his officials.[26] This discovery has since been eclipsed by the recovery of an even larger archive of thousands of such texts at a site near the Turkish village of

21. KUB 26.69 v 1–24, edited by Werner 1967: 44–45.

22. For example, KUB 38.12 ii 15–18, edited by Jakob-Rost 1963: 200–201.

23. CTH 378.PP2.A obv. 26–30: nu ᴸᵁ[(ᴹᴱˢappa)ntan] kuin eppir n=an maḫḫan INA KUR ᵁᴿᵁḪat[(ti)] EGIR-pa uwate[(r)] nu=kan INA ŠÀ.BI ᴸᵁˑᴹᴱˢŠU.DAB.BI.ḪI.A (var. ŠABTŪTI) lim-kan kišat n=aš akkiškiwan d[aiš] maḫḫan=ma=kan ᴸᵁˑᴹᴱˢŠU.DAB.BI.ḪI.A INA ŠÀ.BI KUR ᵁᴿᵁḪatti arnuer nu=kan ḫinkan INA KUR ᵁᴿᵁḪat[(ti)] ᴸᵁˑᴹᴱˢŠABTŪTUM uter (var. ueter)

24. The definitive treatment of this ritual is Kümmel 1967.

25. See for example KUB 14.17 iii 10–13, edited in AM, 96; see also AM, 104.

26. For a description of the excavations, see Özgüç 1978.

Ortaköy in the province of Çorum.[27] The epigrapher for the Ortaköy dig has found evidence in these unpublished tablets that this city's ancient name was Šapinuwa, a city mentioned in the texts from Maşat.[28] But the Ortaköy tablets have yet to be published, whereas the Maşat tablets are now accessible in a useful edition by the Turkish Hittitologist Sedat Alp.[29]

### First-hand Glimpse of a Provincial Center

The texts from Maşat give us a vivid, if partial, view of life in a medium-sized Hittite city on the northwestern frontier. We learn that the city's name in the Hittite era was Tapikka.[30] Although these letters represent only the incoming mail, the writers (usually the king) regularly refer to the content of letters sent out from Tapikka to persons elsewhere, and thus we learn what is going on in the area.

### Location on the Kaška "Front"

Much of the correspondence concerns matters of security. A recurring sentence in the letters is "Keep yourself safe against the enemy!"[31] Tapikka and its neighbor cities were under constant threat from the Kaška tribes, who harassed the Hittite possessions in the north from the beginning of the Middle Kingdom down through the reign of the New Kingdom king Ḫattušili III. The Tapikka texts date from the early Middle Kingdom and mention persons known from Boğazköy texts of this period.[32] The king's letters regularly urge caution and alertness toward the enemy, and sometimes suggest particular protective measures to be taken.

### Real Procedures to Check the "Theoretical" Prescriptions

The Tapikka texts give a very important glimpse of the actual procedures followed in threatened frontier areas. Texts known from Boğazköy of a general prescriptive nature called "Instructions Texts" outline the measures to be followed by military commanders, governors, and officials in such frontier areas.[33] But there has always been a question as to how realistic these texts were, whether they actually reflected life as it was lived or only a propagandistic ideal. The Tapikka texts show the practice of what these "Instructions Texts" prescribed. The Tapikkan commanders send out scouts to do reconnaissance in enemy-threatened areas. The king advises Tapikkan officials what to do with fugitives and defectors from the enemy.

27. For a general report on the Ortaköy findings, see Süel 1992.
28. Süel 1995; 1998.
29. See Alp 1980; 1991a; 1991b.
30. For further evidence from Hittite texts about the city of Tapikka, see del Monte and Tischler 1978; 1992.
31. nu=za PANI LÚ.KÚR paḫḫašnuanza eš, which occurs with minor variations inter alia in HKM 22.6–7; 6:15–16; 6:25 and left edge 1; 8:17–18; 30:5–6.
32. See most recently Klinger 1995.
33. The best preserved of these were edited by E. von Schuler 1957.

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### Captives Mentioned in the Letters and in the Lists

In a letter to the king, a Hittite military commander boasts that in a skirmish with the enemy Kaška he "bagged" (and here he uses a hunting term[34]) a total of 16 men, of whom some were killed and others taken prisoner.[35]

In another letter, a relatively high-ranking official named Pulli writes to a subordinate named Adad-bēli (HKM 65[36]) that he should tie up hand and foot the two named men of the city Malazziya whom Adad-bēli had captured in battle at the city Kašipura, put them on horseback, and send them to the king. Since the two men's names ([m P]išiššiḫli, [m N]aištuwarri) are neither Hittite, Hurrian, nor Luwian, it is quite possible that they were Kaškaean leaders.

In another letter, to an official named Pišeni, the king quotes Pišeni as promising to tell the king how many persons captured from the cities of Kalzana and Marišta he will give to the king (HKM 24). Presumably this means they would be transferred out of Pišeni's district and moved by the king to wherever their services were needed.

From these letters and the small number of administrative records found at Maşat we learn the various ways in which captives were used.

### Who Are These "Blind Men"?

A particularly interesting matter concerns persons who after their capture are described as "blind(ed)."[37] The tablet that Alp published as HKM 102 is a list of persons captured in battle who are made available to be ransomed by their peoples.[38] Several in the list are said to be "blind" and of others it is said that "they see." The persons are listed by name. After most of the names in the list a ransom price is set. For example: the ransom of Mr. Tamiti of Taggašta, who has not been blinded, is "two boy hostages and one man" (line 3). The ransom of Mr. Šunaili of Kaštaḫaruka, who has been blinded, is "one man, one woman, one child, eight oxen, and three goats" (lines 4–5). The ransom of Mr. Piḫina of Kutuptašša, who has been blinded, is "two men, and three oxen" (lines 6–7). The ransom of Mr. Ḫimuili of Kamamma, who has not been blinded, is "two hostage girls and one man."

In addition to the notations of captives available for ransom, the text mentions a few captives who have already been given back, with or without indication of what

34. peššiyanun (line 39). On this term in hunting vocabulary, see Neu 1996.
35. HKM 10:33–41; see especially lines 39–41: ŠA LÚ.KÚR=ya=wa=kan appantet kunantit 16 LÚ.MEŠ peššiyanun n=at AŠME 'I received your report saying "I bagged 16 men of the enemy, including both captured and killed"'; edited in Alp 1991a: 134–37. Alp misunderstood the use of peššiya- 'to bag, capture' here, translating it '(zurück-)werfen'.
36. Edited in Alp 1991a: 242–45.
37. The Hittite word for 'blind(ed)' is tašuwant- or tašuwalḫant-. Its logogram is IGI.NU. GÁL, the Akkadian equivalents of which are lā nāṭilu and ḫuppudu.
38. Published in hand-copy in Alp 1991b: pl. 100. This text was transliterated and discussed in detail by del Monte 1995: 103–11. His comments on the blinded prisoners are on pages 109ff.

the enemy gave for their return (Mr. Tuttu of Zanipura and Tamari of Iškila, both blinded: lines 10–12; Kašaluwa of Malazziya, blinded, for one girl hostage: lines 15–17). In at least one instance no names are given: the ransom price for a group of nine Kaškaean men was "20 oxen, 13 goats, 6 men, 3 women" (lines 19–20).

The mention of blinded and sighted captives raises the question of how the blinded ones lost their sight. Were they blinded more or less incidentally in the course of battle before they were captured, or afterward? If afterward, what was the purpose? Why were some captives blinded and others not? It would seem that a rather large proportion of the persons listed on HKM 102 were "blinded" for this to be the accident of battle. Therefore, although this question cannot be unequivocally answered, it appears that the persons were probably blinded after capture, either in order to render them more controllable, as a punishment for the havoc they had wreaked on Hittite personnel, or to humiliate the enemy. From the Hebrew Bible we know that the Babylonians blinded the captured King Zedekiah of Judah (2 Kings 25:7; Jeremiah 39:7) because he had violated his vassal oath by rebelling (2 Kings 24:20; 2 Chron. 36:13). Blinded captives in the list from Maşat might therefore represent leaders of rebel groups.

Blinding is not mentioned in the Hittite laws as a punishment for any offence. But a royal decree dating to the Middle Hittite period concerning theft allows that a thief who is a slave may be blinded.[39] Maşat officials are threatened with blinding if they fail to perform the duties imposed upon them by the king.[40] And other Middle Hittite treaty texts from Boğazköy indicate that failure to blind rebels and send them to the king was itself treasonous behavior.[41] In the ritual known as the "Soldiers' Oath," military personnel were warned that treasonous behavior such as the violation of their oaths of loyalty to the king would result in being blinded by the gods.[42]

*The Parallel with Samson*

But in addition to the blinding of King Zedekiah of Judah by his Babylonian captors, a parallel with the biblical story of the Israelite hero and "judge" Samson springs to mind, which is further strengthened by two letters in the Maşat archives. In letter 56, the writer Kikarša replies to his colleague Mr. Taḫazzili, who has inquired about a certain blind (or blinded) man: "I hope all is well with my dear brother and that the gods are lovingly protecting you. Concerning the matter of the blind men that you wrote me about: they have conducted all of the blind men up to the city Šapinuwa. They have left behind here ten blind men (to work) in the mill houses. I have inquired about them, and there is no one here by the name you

wrote me. You should write to Mr. Šarpa in Šapinuwa. All the (other) blind men are there."[43]

We have already noted above that Šapinuwa has now been discovered near Ortaköy and that the numerous Šapinuwa texts are in the process of publication. That Mr. Šarpa was in fact the man in charge of the Šapinuwa blind men is shown by a letter from him, and therefore from Šapinuwa-Ortaköy, found at Maşat and edited by Alp as no. 59, which states the following: "Thus says Šarpa: Speak to (Ḫimuili?), the provincial governor, and to Mr. Tarḫuni as follows: Blind men have fled from the mill house in Šapinuwa and have come (to you) there. As soon as this tablet reaches you, [seize the blind men] provisionally [and conduct them back here] safely."[44] I assume that this letter from Šarpa preceded letter 56 from Kikarša quoted above. In response to Šarpa's letter, all but ten of the fugitive blind men were returned to Šapinuwa. The ten retained in Tapikka were also employed in a mill house. If it be inquired how blind men could flee anywhere, we must assume either that they had sighted accomplices or were blind in only one eye.

It is interesting that blinded captives were employed in milling. It does not require sight to operate a mill,[45] and such work was demeaning, since it was usually not performed by men, but by women. The Old Hittite king Ḫattušili I, in his claim to have liberated subjects of North Syrian cities which he defeated in battle, says: "I freed the hands of the men from the sickle and those of the women from the millstone."[46] In the Samson story (Judges 16:21–25), it is abundantly clear that the Philistines sought to humiliate and mock him. This is indicated by the verbs *saḫḫeq* and *ṣaḫḫeq* translated 'perform' or 'entertain' in verse 25. Since in ancient Palestine, as in Hittite Anatolia, milling was usually women's work,[47] their forcing him to work at the mill was also a form of humiliation.

Since Maşat is east of Ortaköy-Šapinuwa, the fugitives from the Šapinuwa mills were headed away from Ḫattuša and in the direction of their original homelands in the east. It is not necessary to assume that Tapikka was their intended permanent destination. Šarpa learned that they had headed for Tapikka and wrote there to head them off.

39. CTH 258.1 (KUB 40.62 + KUB 13.9) ii 12–19, iv 6–8; edited by von Schuler 1959.

40. HKM 14:10–14: *mān UZema nu=šmaš=šan uwanzi apiya pēdi tašuwaḫḫanzi* 'If not, they will come and blind you in that place'. See also HKM 16:11–15.

41. KUB 31.44 ii 11–12 (CTH 260); edited by von Schuler 1956: 223–24.

42. KBo 6.34 i 17–28 (CTH 427); edited by Oettinger 1976; English translation by Goetze 1969.

43. HKM 58:1–14: *UMMA* [m]*Kikarša ANA* [m]*Taḫazzi-*DINGIR-*LIM* ŠEŠ DÙG.GA=YA *QIBI=MA // MAḪAR* ŠEŠ.DÙG.GA=YA *ḫūman* SIG₅ *in ešdu nu=tta* DINGIR.MEŠ *aššuli paḫšandaru // ŠA* LÚ.MEŠ IGI.NU.GÁL*=mu kuit uttar ḫatrāeš nu=kan* LÚ.MEŠ IGI.NU.GÁL.ḪI.A *ḫūmanteš* URU*Šapinuwa šara peḫuter kā=ma* 10 LÚ.MEŠ IGI.NU.GÁL.ḪI.A *INA* É.ḪI.A NA₄ARA₅-*R[I] arḫa talier n=aš kāša pumuššun nu=mu zik kuieš lamnit ḫatrāeš n=ašta* NU.GÁL *kuiški anda nu mān ḫatrāši nu INA* URU*Šapinuwa ANA* [m]*Šarpa ḫatrāi* LÚ.MEŠ IGI.NU.GÁL *ḫūmanduš apiya.*

44. Alp 1991a: 232–33.

45. Blind laborers are mentioned in a clay cone of Uruinimgina, ruler of Lagash, translated by Kramer 1963: 318.

46. KBo 10.2 iii 16–17: *ŠA* GEME.MEŠ=SU SU.MEŠ-*uš IŠTU* NA₄ ARA₅ *ŠA* IR.MEŠ=*ya* SU.MEŠ=SUNU IŠTU KIN *daḫḫun*.

47. See Matthew 24:41 and Blaiklock and Harrison 1983: 314–16 sub "Mill, Millstone."

From the Maşat letters it is clear that persons captured in battle were employed in various forms of public labor until such time as some might be reclaimed by their own people through ransom. One form of such public labor was mill work. And it was performed chiefly, if not exclusively, by captives who had been blinded.

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# Tombs and Memorials:
## The (Divine) Stone-House and Ḫegur Reconsidered

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## 1. Introduction

One of the most surprising and intriguing aspects of Hittite archaeology is the ap-
parently complete absence of obvious royal tombs. Next to the splendor of the late
third millennium Alaca Höyük graves or the impressive riches of the tumuli at Gor-
dion from the first millennium there seems to be nothing comparable in the second-
millennium Hittite capital Ḫattuša or the territory of its empire in general. On the
one hand, perhaps we should not expect that much: the king or queen's body was cre-
mated on the first day and the relatively well preserved Hittite Royal Death Ritual
makes it clear that fire played a generally very important role. It seems that everything
that was supposed to be important for the royal afterlife was "transmitted" by way of
fire to the deceased whose body had already crossed that border. What remained were
the objects' ashes, which were poured out on "the place where the heads of horses
and oxen have been burned." On the other hand, we know that after the cremation
the bodily remains were initially put into a silver *ḫuppar* vase and ended up laid down
on a bed in the so-called "Stone House." Likewise, all the gold, silver, and other pre-
cious materials used during the rites were deposited there. Whether the remains were
ever deposited back into the urn at the end of the fourteen-day ritual and transferred,
for instance, with the valuables, to a more lasting place or were left there, we do not
know. The description of the final day of the ritual has not yet been found or recog-
nized. Judging by our texts, the Hittites did not, on the whole, seem to attach much

importance to the physical remains and were more interested in an ancestor cult that made use of statues or various kinds of icons.[1]

What we do have in and near Ḫattuša are several places for which a funerary character has been claimed, the two most important being the rock sanctuary Yazı-lıkaya, especially its so-called Room B, and the rocky outcrop of Nişantepe in the Upper City.[2] In the texts, two terms, which have been taken to refer to funerary structures, stand out: the ᴺᴬ⁴ḫegur and the É.NA₄ (DINGIR-LIM) or '(Divine) Stone House'. Many suggestions have been brought forward trying to equate the two structures with these designations. Since both sites are linked to the same Great King, Tut-ḫaliya IV (ca. 1240– 1210 B.C.), it seemed logical to assume that one of the two was posthumously erected and meant for the cult of the deified ruler while the other was the actual tomb. However, if this was the case with every Hittite king, our inability to detect even a single tomb or mausoleum with certainty becomes even more embarrassing. In view of new material, both textual and non-textual, which has come to light, it is justified to have a new look at these two terms and their possible architectural counterparts.[3] In this paper I will argue that the (Divine) Stone House and the ḫegur-monument could in cases be identical: every (Divine) Stone House was a tomb, and sometimes a tomb took on the form of a ḫegur-monument.

## 2. The ᴺᴬ⁴ḫegur

The discussion of the function and character of the (É) ᴺᴬ⁴ḫegur-structure, especially the one further characterized by the attribute SAG.UŠ 'eternal', has been revived since the publication in 1988 of the Bronze Tablet and since the 1991 excavations in the Nişantepe area in the Upper City of Ḫattuša. The attestations in the Bronze Tablet are certainly the most important new evidence since the thorough treatment of the term by Fiorella Imparati.[4] Her overall conclusions still stand today: ᴺᴬ⁴ḫegur designated a rocky outcrop, a mountain peak, profane in origin that often,

however, acquired divine proportions and could become a sanctuary.[5] What is important to stress here is the fact that, practically without exception, all known attestations refer to specific ḫegur-monuments. In all but a few cases, the word ᴺᴬ⁴ḫegur is accompanied by one or more attributes that further specify this kind of structure.[6] Only in KBo XVII 62+63 (CTH 478) iv 2' (ᴺᴬ⁴ḫé-kur), 4' (ᴺᴬ⁴ḫé-kur-uš),[7] 7' (ᴺᴬ⁴ḫé-kur[(-)]), KBo XVII 105+ (CTH 433) iii 9 (ᴺᴬ⁴ḫegurᴴᴵᴬ-aš), and LIV 1 (CTH 297) iv 24' (É.)ᴹᴱŠ ᴺᴬ⁴ḫé-kurᴴᴵᴬ) does it appear unmodified; on the other hand, these passages contain the only instances of the word ḫegur with a plural ending, referring to such peaks in a more general way. In at least two instances, it is accompanied by the epithet 'divine' (DINGIR-LIM).[8] Occasionally, such sanctuaries may have been dedicated to the cult of deceased members of the royal house: most explicit in this respect is a passage in XIV 4 (CTH 70), a text we will return to, where the word ḫegur is immediately followed by É.NA₄ DINGIR-LIM 'Divine Stone House'. Such an interpretation also fits the relevant passages in KBo XII 38 (CTH 121) and in the Bronze Tablet (for which see below), as well as the one fragment where a personal name is added (KBo XII 140 rev. 12' [ᴺ]ᴬ⁴ḫé-kur¹ Pí-ir-ua ᵐTu-ut¹[-]). In many cases, a ḫegur consisted of institutions rather than simple buildings, with extensive personnel and properties enjoying some sort of exemption from duties toward the state.[9] The attestations not known to Imparati at the time confirm this general picture:

KBo VII 24 (CTH 242) v² 4' (ᴺᴬ⁴ḫé-kur x[)[10]
KBo XIII 101 (CTH 435) rev. 18 (ᴺᴬ⁴ḫé-kur)[11]

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1. See M. Popko, Religions, 153. That Muwatalli, when transferring the "Gods of Ḫatti and the Spirits of the Dead" to Tarḫuntašša (Apology ii 1 and 52), also took the bones ("Gebeine"), as V. Haas supposes, is not supported by the texts (V. Haas, GhR, 243 n. 37).

2. In the past, other candidates have been mentioned, such as Building C on Büyükkale with its central "shrine" or "Kammer 2" near the Südburg. K. Bittel and H. G. Güterbock mentioned also the stony outcrops Yenicekale and Sarıkale in the Upper City as well as the monument at Gâvurkalesi, for which see at the end of this contribution (Bittel, Die Hethiter, 114; Güterbock, JNES 26 [1967] 81 and XX. CRRAI [Leiden, 1975] 126). On Yenicekale, see most recently P. Neve, IM 46 (1996) 51–52.

3. The exact relation of the ḫešta-house to both the ḫegur and Stone House remains a problem. Although it seems to have functioned as a temple for chthonic deities and there might be links with the ancestor-cult, clear evidence for a funerary purpose is lacking. Whether the É.GIDIM 'House of the (Spirits of the) Dead' is identical to the Stone House, as is sometimes suggested, is possible but uncertain (see V. Haas, GhR, 220 n. 221; V. Haas and M. Wäfler, UF 9 [1977] 119).

4. SMEA 18 (1977) 19–64; see, since then, G. Beckman, StBoT 29, 38–39; and J. Puhvel, HED 3, 287–89.

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5. See her conclusions: SMEA 18 (1977) 57–58. On the possible etymologies of ḫegur, see most recently J. Puhvel, HED 3, 289, with literature; the parallel with Sumerian É.GAL 'palace', which was borrowed into Akkadian and Hurrian as ekallu and ḫaikal(ni), respectively, (for the latter, see E. Neu, StBoT 32, 228–30) is, although in certain respects attractive, incomplete and therefore somewhat misleading. On the one hand the Sumerian term was not borrowed into Hittite, which kept its own designation (ḫalent(i)u-), while on the other, in the case of ḫegur, the necessary Hurrian link (compare with ḫaikal) would still be missing.

6. This is also true for XII 63+ obv. 35', listed as appearing on its own by Imparati (SMEA 18 [1977] 64; see also ibid., 20), where it is modified by the preceding adjective (𒀭/u-)ua-at-ta-an-ti-iš 'having a spring/source' (see H. C. Melchert, CLL, 267). Also, the following eššari-ššit 'his statue' points to a specific monument.

7. G. Beckman emends this to ᴺᴬ⁴ḫegur (SAG.)UŠ, but the lack of word space between the signs KUR and UŠ seems to plead against this (StBoT 29, 34 [and see the commentary ibid., 38–39]). For ḫegur as a word of common gender with the -uš as the acc. pl. ending, see most recently H. Otten, StBoT Beih. 1, 42 n. 69, with literature.

8. X 81, 5 and KBo XIII 176, 9.

9. Compare with KBo XII 38 iv 9'–11', ed. H. G. Güterbock, JNES 26 (1967) 77; and the instances where personnel are mentioned (see the listing in F. Imparati, SMEA 18 (1977) 64). In XXI 33, 26', R. Stefanini read ". . . ˹x-x˺ ˹ᴺᴬ⁴[ḫ]˹e˺-[k]˹u˺ . . ." (JAOS 84 [1964] 23); in my opinion, the traces favor an extended reading LÚ.ᴹᴱŠ É ᴺᴬ⁴[ḫ]é-˹kur˺[SA]G[.UŠ. This would be the first attestation of (LÚ.MEŠ) É in combination with ᴺᴬ⁴ḫegur SAG.UŠ.

10. Ed. S. Košak, THeth. 10, 86; J. Siegelová, Verw. 174.

11. See HW² A 55b; and H. C. Melchert, Phon., 142 n. 113.

KBo XVII 62+63 (CTH 478) iv 2′, 4′, 7′ (all three quoted above)[12]

XLII 60 (CTH 250), 9′ (*ḫé-kur*|)[13]

XLII 83 (CTH 242) vi 2′ (|'É'.GAL *ḫé-kur* ᵈLAMMA)[14]

LIV 1 (CTH 297) iv 24′ (É.|'MEŠ¹ ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫé-kur*ᴴ¹ ᴬ)[15]

LV 1 (CTH 582) ii 9′ (É.GAL *ḫé-kur pí-ir-ua*)

LVI 37 (CTH 530) i′ 7′ (2 ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫé-gur* ᵈ*Ka-a*|*m-ma-ma-aš*|/ ᵈ*Piš-ku-ru-ua-aš-ša*),
   iv′ 5 (ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫé*|-).[16]

VS NF XII 128 rev. 11 (É *ḫé-kur¹ pí-ir-ua*)

New, however, is the twice-occurring combination with É.GAL: it probably refers to buildings with a palatial function on such rocky outcrops. To what extent it is relevant that in the two pertinent passages the determinative NA₄ is lacking is difficult to assess. In some other attestations, the determinative has also been left out.[17]

According to Jaan Puhvel, the term *ḫegur* does not occur in Old Hittite, and he quotes a theory of Domenico Silvestri that it was introduced by the Babylonian princess who was King Šuppiluliuma's last wife.[18] Although Puhvel's observation is *stricto sensu* right, some of the attestations prove Silvestri's theory improbable. First of all, the text XII 63 (CTH 412) is a late copy, but its language betrays an older date of composition that may go back to Old Hittite.[19] Second, the ritual fragment KBo XVII 105 (CTH 433) shows middle script.[20] What can be said is that the earliest example of a *ḫegur*-building in connection with the cult of a deceased king or queen stems from the reign of Muršili II (XIV 4) when he accuses his stepmother, the Babylonian queen, of squandering his father's entire estate on "the *ḫekur*-institution of the Tutelary Deity, the Divine Stone House."[21]

The ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫegur* SAG.UŠ of the Bronze Tablet is generally assumed to have been a *ḫegur*-building of the latter—that is, memorial—type. This document contains the treaty between Tuthaliya IV, Great King of Ḫatti, and his vassal in Tarḫuntašša and brother-by-adoption, Kurunta. One of the stipulations in the treaty concerns a ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫegur* SAG.UŠ. In spite of the problems of interpretation of the relevant passage,[22]

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12. Ed. G. Beckman, StBoT 29, 32–41.

13. Ed. S. Košak, THeth. 10, 186; J. Siegelová, *Verw.*, 525.

14. Ed. S. Košak, THeth. 10, 100 (quoted as col. iv); J. Siegelová, *Verw.*, 158.

15. Ed. A. Archi and H. Klengel, *AfO* 12 (1985) 57.

16. See S. Košak, *ZA* 78 (1988) 147.

17. See the overview in F. Imparati, *SMEA* 18 (1977) 63–64, XLII 60, 9′, and VS NF XII 128 rev. 11.

18. J. Puhvel, *HED* 3, 289.

19. See E. Neu, *FsNeumann*, 207 ("junge Niederschrift . . . aber unverkennbar Indizien für alte Sprache"); this text was dealt with by Imparati, *SMEA* 18 (1977) 20.

20. See S. Košak, StBoT 39, 71 (785/b). The text KBo XVI 62+63 also seems to be older (see G. Beckman, StBoT 29, 36; and E. Neu, *Hethitica* 6 |1985| 157).

21. XIV 4 (CTH 70) ii 5′, see *CHD* L–N, 361b.

22. Bronze Tablet i 91–ii 3 and ii 64–66; see the different interpretations of H. Otten, StBoT Beih. 1, 15 and 43; P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *ZA* 82 (1992) 245–47; D. Surenhagen, *OLZ* 87

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it seems safe to conclude that initially Kurunta was denied access to the monument but that it was nevertheless granted later on. Although this text does not contain any specific information on what exactly such a ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫegur* SAG.UŠ or 'Eternal Peak' was and what it looked like, the identification of this structure as some sort of a memorial, mainly on the basis of KBo XII 38, fits well the historical picture thus far drawn for Kurunta: he was originally a son of King Muwatalli (II) and was at an early stage of his life adopted by his uncle Ḫattušili, who raised him to the important position of King of Tarḫuntašša. After his brother Urḫitešub had been ousted by Ḫattušili III, Kurunta may have aspired to the position of Great King himself. If we take, as does everyone since Heinrich Otten's edition of the Bronze Tablet, the memorial to have been for his biological father Muwatalli, his right of access to it may have served propagandistic purposes that were feared at first by the reigning branch of the royal family.

The text KBo XII 38 (CTH 121[23]) is still our best source on the ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫegur* SAG. UŠ. It contains, according to the convincing interpretation of Hans Güterbock, the cuneiform version of two hieroglyphic inscriptions: one with Tuthaliya's account of his victory over Alašiya with a postscript by his son Šuppiluliuma II, also known as Šuppiluliyama; and one with an account by Šuppiluliyama of his victory over Alašiya. In the postscript to the first inscription by Tuthaliya, Šuppiluliyama tells us that he had the hieroglyphic text inscribed on a statue of his father which he subsequently brought into a ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫegur* SAG.UŠ that he himself built. Before Güterbock's recognition of this text as the cuneiform version of two texts originally composed as hieroglyphic inscriptions, Otten had pointed to Yazılıkaya Room B as a possible candidate for the ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫegur* SAG.UŠ mentioned in KBo XII 38.[24] For its location in or near the capital, he referred to the fragment of a treaty with Alašiya ascribed to that same Šuppiluliyama (KBo XII 39; CTH 141), of which he interpreted the fragmentary obv. 16′ as follows:[25]

ᵁᴿᵁ|*Ḫa-at-ti* ᵐ*Tu-ut-ḫa-li-ia ku-iš ú*|-*e-da-aš*

. . . in² | Ḫatti (of) Tuthaliya who b|uilt?

The obvious funerary character of Room B and its dedication to Tuthaliya IV as well as the remains of a pedestal for a colossal statue at the northern end of the room, the feet of which were probably found in the nearby village of Yekbaz,[26] lent considerable support to this hypothesis. It was repeated by Otten some years later and was

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(1992) 345–46 n. 14; R. Stefanini, *AGI* 67 (1992) 133–52; R. H. Beal, *AnSt* 43 (1993) 29–39 (the latter two followed by the *CHD* P 157a).

23. Ed. H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 26 (1967) 73–81.

24. *MDOG* 94 (1963) 22–23 and StBoT Beih. 1, 32–34.

25. For the translation see ibid., 12 ("|Ḫatti (des) Tuthalija, wer ba|ute?"); for Ḫatti as an indication of place, see ibid., 22. For other interpretations of this passage, see the reference quoted below in n. 38.

26. On the statue, see P. Neve, *FsTÖzgüç*, 350–51, with fig. 3 and literature.

initially followed by Peter Neve in his reevaluation of several aspects of Yazılıkaya Room B.[27] This position is still maintained by, for instance, Volkert Haas and, it seems, David Hawkins in his edition of the Südburg inscription.[28]

However, after Franz Steinherr and Emmanuel Laroche had observed that the beginning of the inscription in the cuneiform version exactly matched the beginning of the badly weathered Nişantaş inscription in the Upper City of Ḫattuša, Güterbock proposed Nişantepe as a possible candidate for the "Eternal Peak" of KBo XII 38, and he was followed in this by F. Imparati, R. Lebrun, M. Popko, and the present author, among others.[29] Neve, referring to the latter text in his report on the 1991 excavations at Nişantepe, now reckons cautiously with this possibility as well.[30] These excavations have not in themselves brought any decisive support for this view. The once impressive gate flanked by two sphinxes and the lion statue from within the building are not necessarily part of a funerary structure, and the ground plan of the building does not show the particular features of a Hittite temple.[31]

The identification of Nişantepe as the "Eternal Peak" rests on the assumption that the Nişantaş inscription and KBo XII 38 are indeed identical. Whereas Güterbock very cautiously formulated this possibility, Hawkins now, "from a more recent perspective," considers Laroche's equation of the two a "virtual certainty."[32] If this is indeed the case and we assume that the remains of column iv of KBo XII 38 was also an integral part of the second inscription, then the conclusion seems inescapable that Nişantepe was the ᴺᴬ₄ḫekur SAG.UŠ 'Eternal Peak' said to have been built for Tutḫaliya IV by his son Šuppiluliyama. In this part of the text, the author refers again to kūn ᴺᴬ₄ḫekur SAG.UŠ 'this Eternal Peak' (iv 3′) and to the statue that he erected and "dedicated" (vel sim.) in it, and concludes with a protective curse. The reference to

27. Heinrich Otten, ZA 58 (1967) 234–40; Peter Neve, FsTÖzgüç, 345–55; see further, among others, K. Bittel, Yaz.², 256; R. Opfermann, "War Yazilikaya für die Hethiter ein 'NA₄ḫékur SAG.UŠ'?" (Vortrag XXXIVème RAI, Istanbul 1987, im Selbstverlag).

28. V. Haas, GhR, 246 ("vielleicht") and 639; D. Hawkins, StBoT Beih. 3, 59.

29. Franz Steinherr apud H. G. Güterbock, JNES 26 (1967) 81; and H. Otten, ZA 58 (1967) 231; Emmanuel Laroche apud H. G. Güterbock, JNES 26 (1967) 81 and Anatolica 3 (1969–1970) 93–98 with figs. 1–2; Fiorella Imparati, SMEA 18 (1977) 63; René Lebrun, Fs Naster, 146; M. Popko, Religions, 141; T. van den Hout, Hidden Futures, 50–52.

30. P. Neve, AA (1992), 323–33; see also idem, Ḫattuša, 58–63.

31. As a third candidate for the tomb of Tutḫaliya IV, the so-called "Schrein" in building C on Büyükkale has been mentioned in older literature (see K. Bittel, MDOG 75 [1937] 18–26; ibid., 78 [1940] 24–25; K. Bittel and R. Naumann, BoHa 1, 59–61; H. G. Güterbock, MDOG 86 [1953] 75; H. Otten, ZA 58 [1967] 235–36). P. Neve later interpreted this building as functioning within a Hittite rain cult (Regenkult-Anlagen in Boğazköy-Ḫattuša [IM Beih. 5; Tübingen 1971], Büyükkale, 113–15). Recently, J.-W. Meyer advocated an adjusted interpretation of the entire complex of the buildings BCH as a ḫešta-house as previously put forward by V. Haas and M. Wäfler (Meyer, AoF 22 [1995] 125–36; Haas and Wäfler, UF 9 [1977] 119–21).

32. H. G. Güterbock, JNES 26 (1967) 81 ("What can be stated is that our tablet contains Hittite versions of . . . a hieroglyphic inscription of Šuppiluḫuma II comparable to Nişantaş and dealing with a building on a mountain peak comparable to Nişantepe" [Güterbock's italics]); D. Hawkins, StBoT Beih. 3, 59 with n. 226.

the "Eternal Peak" excludes the possibility of a third inscription, and the curse is an altogether appropriate ending for the second text. The use of the demonstrative pronoun kā- (acc.sg. kūn) can only be understood as pointing to the structure on top of the rock on which the inscription is carved, just as Šuppiluliyama in his postscript to the inscription on the statue speaks of kī(-) ALAM 'this statue' (ii 4′).

Before we further consider the relation of Nişantepe to Yazılıkaya Room B, something needs to be said about the dating of the two monuments. The general dating of Yazılıkaya in its present form to the reign of Tutḫaliya IV is widely accepted for both Rooms A and B. Room B, however, underwent a restructuring that Neve ascribes to Šuppiluliyama: the change of entrance from the south to the west can be dated by the use of spolia from the period marked as OSt. 3, the remodeling itself thus having taken place in the period OSt. 2.[33] The same is convincingly argued by Neve concerning the moment of erecting the statue.[34] The latter is dated, in accordance with Robert Alexander's dating of relief no. 83—usually understood as the "caption" to the statue—to the reign of Šuppiluliyama.[35] This implies that Tutḫaliya himself planned and executed Room B with all the reliefs except for no. 83 and, as a consequence, also the statue. The latter two formed part of Šuppiluliyama's changes.

As for Nişantepe, two phases can be discerned in this complex as well, at least as far as the long ramp leading up to the sphinx-gate is concerned. The second stage is securely dated by the Nişantaş inscription and thus can be attributed to Šuppiluliyama.[36] Although Neve does not explicitly mention Tutḫaliya's name in connection with the first stage, it seems likely to date from the period of this king. That Tutḫaliya, who was responsible for the planning and most of the building of the Upper City, would not have included Nişantepe in his schemes is highly unlikely. The more so, since in Neve's convincing reconstruction of the layout of this part of the capital, it constituted the very nucleus: at this point, the axes of the three major city gates converged.[37] That Tutḫaliya already envisaged it as his "Eternal Peak" would not be surprising in view of what we know of his grand ideas on the ideology of kingship. If indeed the Upper City was "Ḫattuša-Tutḫaliya-City,"[38] he must have had a special designation in mind for this particular spot. On the other hand, we have to take Šuppiluliyama's words seriously when he says that he "built" this place. We may understand this as referring to the building of a monument planned but never realized during the reign of his father or to the rebuilding of Nişantepe.[39]

33. P. Neve, FsTÖzgüç, 349–50.

34. Ibid., 350–51.

35. R. Alexander, Sculpture, 99–100, 115.

36. On top of Nişantepe, just above the inscription, P. Neve has now detected a "cup mark" (IM 46 [1996] 44); on these, see §5 below.

37. See P. Neve, AA (1992) 323, Ḫattuša, 21–23 with Abb. 44; and see also already idem, Ḫattuscha Information (Istanbul, 1987 [1985]) in the passage on Nişantepe.

38. See T. van den Hout, BiOr 52 (1995) 572–73, with further references.

39. According to F. Imparati, Tutḫaliya may have himself referred to this monument as the ᴺᴬ₄ḫekur Pirwa ᵐTut[ḫalija in KBo XII 140 (CTH 521) rev. 12′ (SMEA 18 [1977] 60–61).

Whatever the case may have been, the identification of Nišantepe as the $^{NA4}$ḫegur SAG.UŠ 'Eternal Peak' seems assured. This prompts the question of the role of Yazılıkaya Room B. That the niches in the walls there could not have been columbaria or ossuaria because a $^{NA4}$ḫegur SAG.UŠ was a memorial place rather than a tomb, as Neve has said,[40] is no longer a valid argument, since he too now recognizes the possibility of Nišantepe having been a $^{NA4}$ḫegur SAG.UŠ. Moreover, the presence of allusions to the Netherworld in reliefs 69–80 (the twelve running gods) and 82 (the Sword God) may support the interpretation of Room B as an É.NA$_4$, that is, the place where the remains of the bones were deposited after the burning of the body of the deceased. Otten rightly has drawn attention to the fact that these reliefs are appropriate for a Beschwörungsstätte, a place where the Netherworld deities are somehow invoked.[41] For him, at the time this seemed incompatible with the ultimately divine and celestial fate of the Hittite Great King, but it has in the meantime become clear that the role of the Netherworld in the Royal Death Ritual is important. Its deities had to be appeased, and immediately after his death the ruler may even, at first, have temporarily descended into the Netherworld.[42] Therefore, assuming the equation Nišantepe = $^{NA4}$ḫegur SAG.UŠ, Yazılıkaya Room B may have been an É.NA$_4$; the relationship between these two has been viewed as that between a memorial monument meant for the cult of the deceased and deified monarch and his tomb where— at least initially—his bodily remains rested.[43]

## 3. The Stone House

With this we have entered the discussion of the É.NA$_4$, a term that we will now look at in more detail.[44] The following attestations are known to me:

—É.NA$_4$ (when no CTH number is given the text belongs to CTH 450)

| | |
|---|---|
| É.NA$_4$ | KBo V 2 (CTH 471) i 7; KBo VI 2+ (CTH 291—OS) iii 5; KBo XVII 74+ (CTH 631) ii 40; KBo XXV 184 i 6' |

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40. Neve, FsTÖzgüç, 352.

41. H. Otten, ZA 58 (1967) 240.

42. For this, see T. van den Hout, Hidden Futures, 42–44, 46–48. H. Gonnet goes even further and claims that the ultimately divine fate of Hittite royalty was with the deities of the Netherworld (Anatolica 21 [1995] 189–95). This, however, seems to be contradicted by the passage of the substitution ritual KBo XV 2 (with duplicates) rev. 18'–19', where the temporarily dethroned king begs the Sun-deity of Heaven to admit him to his divine fate with the gods of heaven (ed. H. M. Kümmel, StBoT 3, 62–63).

43. This double option was first formulated, it seems, by F. Imparati, SMEA 18 (1977) 62–63; later by T. van den Hout, Hidden Futures, 52.

44. On the É.NA$_4$ see J. Börker-Klähn, SMEA 35 (1995) 69–92; I. M. Diakonoff, MIO 13 (1967) 318–20; H. G. Güterbock, MDOG 86 (1953) 75–76; idem, Oriens 10 (1957) 360; V. Haas, GhR, 618; V. Haas and M. Wäfler, UF 9 (1977) 118–19; G. del Monte, AION 35 (1975) 319–46; H. Otten, ZA 46 (1940) 220–21 and 223–24; idem, OLZ 50 (1955) 391–92, idem, HTR, 132–33; M. Popko, Religions, 154; I. Singer, StBoT 27, 117–18.

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(.N]A$_4$?); KBo XXX 56 (CTH 669) v 22'; KBo XXXIV 55, 2', 4', 5' (-ŠU); XI 34 (CTH 626; MS?45) i 46; XIII 8 (CTH 252.A) obv. 5, 6, 11, **12**, **13**, **15**, **16**; XVI 39 (CTH 573) ii 43; XXV 1 (CTH 612) iii 12 (.NA$_4$[); XXX 19+ i 49, ii 32, 38; XXXIX 6 obv. 4' (.N[A$_4$?); XXXIX 11+ obv. 47' (-ŠU), 47'; XXXIX 12 rev. 5' (-ŠU), 7' (id.), 8' (id.), 10' (id.), 13'; XXXIX 14 iii 9'4b; LVII 4647 (CTH 252.B) obv. 3' (2x?), 7', rev. 9'(?), 17'(?); IBoT I 13 v? 9'; 41/g i 19'48

| | |
|---|---|
| É.NA$_4$-aš | XIII 8 (CTH 252.A) obv. 1 |
| NA$_4$-an pár-na-aš | KBo XVII 15 (CTH 645.6—OS) rev. 12' (parnaš is gen.sg.) |
| É.NA$_4$-NI | XIII 8 (CTH 252.A) obv. 2; LVII 46 (CTH 252.B) obv. 6'49 (É.[N]A$_4$?-) |
| É.ḪI.A NA$_4$ | KBo XX 33+ (CTH 627—OS/MS) obv. 5; 310/d obv. 450 |
| É.MEŠ NA$_4$.ḪI.A | IBoT I 13 (CTH 627) v? 6 |

— É.NA$_4$ DINGIR-LIM

| | |
|---|---|
| É.NA$_4$ DINGIR-LIM | KBo XXV 176 (CTH 627) obv. 6; II 5 (CTH 612) i 39; XII 48 obv. 4'; XIV 4 (CTH 70) ii 5'; XVI 27 (CTH 582), 5; XVI 34 (CTH 569) i 6; XVI 39 (CTH 573) ii 3 ($^m$Tuthalija), 6 (id.), 11, 20 (adda(š)), 24 (É.], addaš), 29 (addaš), 30 (id.), 33 (N]A$_4$); XVIII 21 (CTH 572) ii 1, 4; XVIII 32 (CTH 582), 6' ($^m$Ammuwan[da), 13' ($^m$Duthalija); XXII 18 (CTH 582), 4' |
| É.MEŠ NA$_4$ DINGIR-LIM | KBo X 25 (CTH 627) ii 38" (DIN[GIR); KBo XII 140 (CTH 521.7) rev. 13'(?)51 |

— personnel (already included in the above attestations)

| | |
|---|---|
| ARAD É.NA$_4$ | KBo VI 2 iii 5 |
| LÚ É.NA$_4$ | XIII 8 obv. 16//LVII 46 obv.? 7 |
| LÚ.MEŠ É.NA$_4$ | KBo X 25 ii 41" (LÚ.M]EŠ52); XIII 8 obv. 13//LVII 46 obv.? 3'(?); IBoT I 13 v? 9'; 41/g i 19' |

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45. See M. Nakamura, Diss., 84 n. 46.

46. Followed by an erased sign, for which H. Otten tentatively suggests a reading KIŠIB (É $^{NA4}$KIŠIB) (HTR, 80 note d.).

47. For remarks on this seriously burned tablet, which therefore can only be read with great difficulty, see T. van den Hout, BiOr 47 (1990) 426.

48. Apud H. Otten, StBoT 15, 40 (followed by x[). E. Neu mentions also unp. 572/s, 3f., but without quoting the text (StBoT 12, 69).

49. I now abandon my erroneous reading É a-m-ja-az-za, published in BiOr 47 (1990) 426.

50. Apud H. Otten, HTR, 133.

51. F. Imparati reads 'ḪUR.SAG'.MEŠ, but in view of the ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ ibid., 7', 8', 10', and 11', there may not be enough room (F. Imparati, SMEA 18 [1977] 50 n. 113). Moreover, a sequence ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ NA$_4$ DINGIR-LIM does not seem to make much sense. Note the [°]$^m$ḫekur pirua $^m$Tut[- in the preceding line.

52. Restoration secured by its duplicate IBoT I 13 v? 9'

LÚ.MEŠ É.NA₄ DINGIR-*LIM*    XVI 27, 5; XVI 34 i 6; XVI 39 ii 3, 6, 20, 24
(LÚ.MEŠ]), 33 (.N]A₄); XVIII 21 ii 4; XXII 18, 4′

As indicated by the attestations in Old Script (Laws, and some of the festival texts) the institution of the (Divine) Stone House, including personnel, already existed in the Old Hittite period.[53] The interchange between the simple É.NA₄ and the É.NA₄ DINGIR-*LIM* in the texts of the KI.LAM-festival and the oracle text XVI 39 (ii 43 versus the other attestations in the same text) shows that the epithet "Divine" belongs to the building and not to the occasionally occurring personal name added to the combination in other texts.[54] As Güterbock pointed out, the epithet might be explained by the deification of the king.[55] The only other attributes found refer to persons, either by way of a possessive pronoun ("his Stone House") or a personal name. The change between singular and plural (É.NA₄, É.ḪI.A NA₄, É.MEŠ NA₄, É.MEŠ NA₄.ḪI.A) in the KI.LAM texts, all referring to the same entity, show that the plural markers do not necessarily point to more than one (Divine) Stone House. Instead, the plural probably refers to the complex as a whole and may have collective value. It is, moreover, not certain that it also reflects a Hittite plural. In the partial Hittite reading NA₄-*an parnaš*, the gen. pl. NA₄-*an* is dependent on the gen. sg. *parnaš*.[56] The Akkadian phonetic complement -*NI* is likely to stem from *abnu* 'stone'.[57]

According to the texts, an É.NA₄ could have a *ḫilammar* (KBo XVII 15 rev.¹ 12′ NA₄-*an pár-na-aš ḫi-lam-ni* 'in the portico² of the Stone House'[58]) as well as an É.ŠÀ 'inner chamber' (XXXIX 12 rev.³ 14′[59], and possibly XXXIX 11 obv. 47′[60]). Interesting is a recurring phrase in several of the above different festival texts (AN.TAḪ.ŠUM, KI.LAM, festival of thunder, *nuntariiašḫa*) saying that *taḫ(a)tumar* is being brought from the (Divine) Stone House where this substance[61] was apparently specially kept. In most cases, the scene takes place in the palace (*ḫalentu-*), but in the KI.LAM-festival it is in the *ḫuuaši* of the Storm-god, so that no conclusion can be drawn from these texts about a possible location of the (Divine) Stone House. The famous instruction or exemption text of Queen Ašmunikal (XIII 8//LVII 46[62]) attests

to the convent-like character this institution could have. It was self-supporting and exempted from duties to the state.[63]

A number of oracle inquiries deal with either cases of cultic negligence vis-à-vis the Stone House or cases of cultic impurity in connection with this institution.[64] A source of impurity could be the eating of products from a Stone House, which is one of the causes mentioned in the introduction to the cleansing ritual (CTH 471) of Ammiḫatna, priest of the goddess Išḫara from Kizzuwatna. A similar problem may be cause for impurity in the oracle XVI 27 i 5–9.[65] It is these oracle texts that speak of a specific person's Stone House. Some of these fragments probably belong together as parts of the same tablet and of the same inquiry; on the basis of the recurring, virtually identical wording of paragraphs, XVI 27 is likely to be the (beginning of the) first column of XVI 39, which preserves only the second column and parts of the third. The tiny fragment XXII 18 may either belong to the latter two or may have been part of the same tablet as XVIII 21.[66] The two resulting tablets probably formed one investigation inquiring into possible desecrations of the royal couple. In the course of the inquiry, the "personnel of the Divine Stone House" is interrogated:

### XVI 27 i

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1   [*A-N*]*A* ᵈUTU-*ŠI ku-it* MUNUS.LUGAL *mar-ša-aš-tar-ri-iš a-ri-i[a-šešnaza* SIxSÁ-*at*]

2   [*n*]*a-at ku-e-ez im-ma ku-e-ez mar-ša-nu-ua-an*]-*teš ešir*]

3   *ma-a-an-ma* LÚ.MEŠ É *ḫé-kur Pí-ir-ua* ᵈUTU-*ŠI* MUNUS.LUGAL [*UL kuitki*]

4   *mar-ša-nu-an ḫar-kán-zi nu* SU.MEŠ SIG₅-*ru IŠ*[-*TU*²]

---

5   *nu* LÚ.MEŠ É.NA₄ DINGIR-*LIM pu-nu-uš-šu-u-en n*[*u memir*]

---

Concerning the fact that a desecration of His Majesty (and) the queen [has been ascertained through] ora[cle inquiry:] for whatever reason [they were] desecrat[ed], if the men of the *ḫekur Pirua*-monument have [in no way]

53.   V. Haas and M. Wäfler mention only KBo XVII 15 as Old Hittite (*UF* 9 [1977] 119).
54.   Thus H. Otten, *HTR*, 133; and F. Imparati, *SMEA* 18 (1977) 61.
55.   H. G. Güterbock, *Oriens* 10 (1957) 360.
56.   See H. Otten, *OLZ* 50 (1955) 392; and E. Neu, StBoT 26, 260 with n. 45.
57.   See H. G. Güterbock, *Oriens* 10 (1957) 360.
58.   Dupl. KBo XVII 40 iv 6′, ed. V. Haas and M. Wäfler, *UF* 8 (1976) 88–89; see also E. Neu, StBoT 25, 73.
59.   Ed. H. Otten, *HTR*, 70–71.
60.   See H. Otten, *HTR*, 68–69 with note b.
61.   See J. Tischler, *HEG* T, D 15–16 "Räucherwerk"' and, more sceptically, M. Nakamura, Diss., 34–35.
62.   Ed. H. Otten, *HTR*, 105–7; for the duplicate, see S. Košak, *ZA* 78 (1988) 312, and T. van den Hout, *BiOr* 47 (1990) 426.

63.   See the extensive discussion by G. del Monte, *AION* 35 (1975) 319–46. His claim that there was no (re)distribution of its products to the outside world, seems to be without support in the texts (ibid., 323). Whether the domains as mentioned in XVI 32 (see his remarks, ibid., 327) can be considered (as parts of) Stone Houses remains to be proven. XVI 32 and related texts use the designation é only, never é.na₄ (CTH 569; for an edition, see my book *The Purity of Kingship: An Edition of the CTH 569 and Related Hittite Oracle Inquiries of Tutḫaliya II* [Leiden, 1998] 178–81). This points at a more general status of these properties. Since CTH 569 deals with the affairs of members of the ruling house who for certain reasons were removed from court to domains where they were supposed to live without interfering with any state business, these domains are likely to be the territories granted to these individuals. That part of these were (turned into) Stone Houses is not inconceivable.
64.   See G. del Monte, *AION* 35 (1975) 329–46.
65.   See G. del Monte, *AION* 35 (1975) 334–35.
66.   Collation, of course, is needed in both cases to substantiate these claims.

desecrated His Majesty (and) the queen, then let the exta be favorable. Thro[ugh . . . ]

We questioned the men of the Divine Stone House an[d they said: . . .

In the second column preserved in XVI 39[67] "the men of the Divine Stone House of Tuthaliya" (ii 3 and 6) are being questioned and "Tuthaliya in the Divine Stone House" (ii 11) turns out to be angry because not altogether impeccable animals were offered to him. Then the "men of the Divine Stone House of the Forefatherly (Gods)" are questioned (ii 20 and compare the *šumeš* DINGIR.MEŠ ŠA É.NA₄ DINGIR-*LIM addaš* ii 29) and they too are ascertained as being angry. In XVIII 21 and XXII 18, the "men of the Divine Stone House" answer questions concerning similar inquiries about a Šuppiluliuma (XVIII 21 ii 1) and the "father of His Majesty" (XXII 18, 1′).

The apparently deceased Šuppiluliuma of XVIII 21 can only be the first king of that name. If the inquiry were conducted by Šuppiluliyama (II), the "father of His Majesty" would be Tuthaliya IV and, consequently, the Tuthaliya of XVI 39 would be one of the Tuthaliyas of the early empire. If the text were to be ascribed to Tuthaliya IV himself, the father would be Hattušili. The Arnuwanda whose Divine Stone House is mentioned in XVIII 32, 6′ could have been any of the kings known by that name.[68]

According to some texts a Stone House could be located outside the capital. Compare XII 48, 1–8:[69]

| | |
|---|---|
| x+1 [ | URU-r]*i ak-kán-za* |
| 2 [ | -*u*]*a-ar ša-ra-a da-an-zi* |
| 3 [ | (-)*a*]*r-nu-ua-an-za na-at-ša-an a-pé-e-da-ni* ⟨⟨*a*⟩⟩ |
| 4 [ | -*z*]*i nu-uš-ši* É.NA₄ DINGIR-*LIM ku-e-da-ni* URU-*ri* |
| 5 [ | *ku*]*it-ma-an-ma ha-aš-ta-i a-pé-e-da-ni* URU-*ri* |
| 6 [ | -]ʾ*ia*ʾ-*aš ku-e-da-ni* URU-*ri* |
| 7 [ | UR]U-ʾ*ri*ʾ *na-at a-pí-ia-pát* URU-*ri* |
| 8 [ | ] *vacat* |

[If a king] has died [in . . . tow]n, they pick up [the invocation materi]als'.[70] [If to/in . . . he is t]ransported/b]urned,[71] in that [they . . . ] it/them'[72] [and

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67. Ed. G. del Monte, *AION* 35 (1975) 330–34.

68. Thus, not necessarily Arnuwanda I, as believed by V. Haas (*GhR*, 244).

69. Ed. H. Otten, *HTR*, 72–73. Otten uses XXXIX 12 rev.? 2′–6′ as a duplicate (ibid., 70–71); the latter text is now duplicated by KBo XXXIV 55. The overlap between XII 48 and XXXIX 12//KBo XXXIV 55 is, however, slight and the difficulties in interpreting the resulting enlarged text (see the following footnotes) are considerable, so it may be preferable to treat them separately, as is done here.

70. Compare with *mugāuan=a šarā danzi* (XXX 27 obv. 5′, ed. H. Otten, *HTR*, 98).

71. The latter translation applies in case *u*]*armuuanza* is restored with H. Otten (*HTR*, 72).

72. If XXXIX 12 rev.? is used as a duplicate (as by H. Otten, *HTR*, 72), the following *šarā danzi* of XXXIX 12 rev.? 2′ is unlikely to be the verb of the sentence starting with *n=at=šan*. The

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. . . the]y [ . . . ]. In which town (there is) a Stone House for him, [ . . . . W]hile the bones in/to that town [ . . . ], in which town . . . [ . . . , if right in that to]wn [(there is) a Stone House for him, they deposit] them right there in the town.

The same conclusion can be drawn from XXXIX 12[73](//KBo XXXIV 55):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5′ [ | -*z*]*i* ʾ*ma*ʾ-*a-an-ši* É.NA₄-ŠU[74]-*ma a-pé-e⟨-da⟩-ni-pát*[75] URU-*ri*[ | |
| 6′ [ | ] | *pé-e-da-aš-ša-ah- ha- an-* [*zi*] |

[ . . . th]ey [ . . . ]. If, however, he has his Stone House in that city there [ . . . ], they will deposit [his bones' there].

This may have been not so much a necessity whenever a member of the royal family died somewhere in the empire far from the capital city as a deliberate choice,[76] since what remained after cremation could easily have been transported to Ḫattuša. This is exactly what Muršili II tells us happened when his brother Šarrikušuḫ/Piyaššili died in Kargamiš.[77] That this was a possibility to be reckoned with is stated in one of the outline texts of the ritual, XXX 27 obv.,[78] where a new entry starts with the remark:

7′ *ha-aš-ta-i-ma tu-u-ua-za ku-it* KUR-*az ú-da-an*
8′ *nu ku-it-ma-an* UD.KAM.ḪI.A *nu-kiš-na-aš*
9′ *nu-uš-ši* UD.KAM-*ti-li* SISKUR *kiš-an pé-eš-kán-z*[*i*]

As to the bones which are brought from a far-away country: as long as the days of invocation (last), they give to him the following offering daily:

What follows is a program of at least five days of offerings "to the Sun deity and the Gods of Heaven" as well as to the Sungoddess of the Earth, Allani, the Gods of the Earth, Ara, and the Soul of the deceased. Apparently the remains were transported to the capital where upon arrival(?) a program differing from the usual one was followed. Was this because a ritual had already been performed at the place where the person had died?

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combination *šarā dā-* does not seem to occur with the sentence particle *-šan* (see F. A. Tjerkstra, *Principles*, 111–14; with *-kan* and *-(a)šta* only with an indication of origin). The chain *n=at=šan* can be found within the Hittite Royal Death Ritual in combination with the verb *aš*eš- and the object ALAM 'effigy' (see XXX 19+ i 7, 61–62 = *HTR* 32–35; XXX 24[//XXXIX 39(+)40] ii 36 = *HTR*, 62–63).

73. Ed. H. Otten, *HTR*, 70–71.

74. KBo XXXIV 55, 2′ om. -ŠU.

75. KBo XXXIV 55, 2′ has *a-pí-ia-pát*.

76. The reasons for choosing a spot outside the capital may have been as manifold as they remain unknown to us, but the location of a structure like that of Gâvurkale away out in the country does not in itself plead against its interpretation as a *hegur* or (Divine) Stone House (see J. Börker-Klähn, *Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs* [Mainz, 1982] 96–97).

77. KBo IV 4 i 5′–8′//XIV 29 i 28′–30′//KBo X 38, 2′–8′ (CTH 61, ed. A. Götze, *AM*, 108–9).

78. Ed. H. Otten, *HTR*, 98–99.

Finally, it is important to note that in the Hittite Royal Death Ritual there are at least three instances[79] where the valuables used during the rites are removed from the objects they adorn and transferred to the Stone House. The objects themselves, stripped of their precious inlays, are thrown into the fire. At the end of the ritual we may thus expect to find in the Stone House the throne (or stool in the case of a deceased queen) on which the bones had lain when they were brought in after the cremation, the bed on which the bones were laid down, and the gold, silver, and other precious materials that were gradually brought there during the days in which the ritual was conducted. Whether the silver *ḫuppar* vase filled with oil, in which the bones were initially put, was also deposited there seems likely but is unfortunately not known.

Besides the (Divine) Stone Houses of particular persons and the anonymous one of the Royal Death Ritual, the Divine Stone House mentioned in the festival texts in connection with the *taḫ(a)tumar* substance must have been a general one in a fixed spot in or near the city. The KI.LAM-text KBo XX 33+, in which the Stone House figures, goes back to either late Old Hittite or Middle Hittite times,[80] and the manuscript XI 34 of the *nuntariiašḫa*-festival is likewise older, probably Middle Hittite. Similarly, the Hittite Royal Death Ritual, although predominantly preserved in New Hittite copies, can be traced back to a Middle or even Old Hittite composition.[81] It is conceivable that there existed a general É.NA₄ (DINGIR-*LIM*) where the urns of kings and queens were deposited but that later kings preferred their own (Divine) Stone Houses. Another possibility is that the central Stone House was the place where the bones were usually deposited during the days of the ritual and that they were then moved on to an individual Stone House afterward. As we shall see, this central Stone House institution may also have had the task of overseeing the individual Stone Houses elsewhere. Finally, as far as Yazılıkaya Room B as Tuthaliya's tomb is concerned, none of the texts give any support for this location, but they do not contradict it, either.

### 4. ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫegur* and (Divine) Stone House

The *ḫegur*-monument and the (Divine) Stone House have a number of important characteristics in common. Both are or can be institutions of a funerary or memorial character, possessing considerable property and personnel, and were or could be sacred places with special (economic) privileges. Both, finally, were, as indicated by the Sumerogram NA₄, probably housed on or in a rock. But there are also differences. In its function, the (Divine) Stone House is more clearly defined than the *ḫegur*-monument. The (Divine) Stone House is the last resting place of the bodily remains of members of the royal dynasty and can be properly translated "tomb." Besides clear references to

the (Divine) Stone House as a general, central institution, there were several individual Stone Houses that served as the tomb of a specific person. The identification of the *ḫegur*-house as a memorial dedicated likewise to the cult of a deceased member of the royal house rests in fact solely on XIV 4 and XVI 27. Some other texts fit this characterization well (KBo XII 38, the Bronze Tablet) but others not necessarily. The memorial character is not inherent to a *ḫegur*-monument. In other words, whereas every Stone House can be considered a tomb and cult or memorial place alike, not every *ḫegur* was necessarily a memorial or funerary monument. A *ḫegur* was in origin a mountain peak which within Anatolian religion often acquired divine status and may in some cases have been thought to be an appropriate or even favorite place for a funerary shrine.[82] In these cases the two terms may have overlapped: the (Divine) Stone House took on the form of a *ḫegur*-monument. In spite of its constituting elements the former combination came to denote a function ("tomb"), the latter a form ("mountainous height/rocky outcrop") that could have more than one function (mountain sanctuary, place of refuge, palatial building, but also tomb). Some support for this partial identity can be found in the two key texts just mentioned.

The earliest example of a funerary connection is, as we saw, the monument Muršili II mentions in connection with his stepmother. Here he uses both terms in juxtaposition (XIV 4 ii):

3′                . . . *nu šu-me-e-eš* DINGIR.MEŠ
4′  *Ú-UL uš-kitₑ-te-e-ni* É *A-BI-IA-kán ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ḫu-u-ma-an*
5′  *I-NA* É ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫé-kur*[83] ᵈLAMMA *I-NA* É.NA₄ DINGIR-*LIM ne-ia-at*

Don't you see, o gods, how she has turned over my father's entire estate to the *ḫekur*-institution of the Tutelary Deity, to the Divine Stone House?

Did the queen donate all of Šuppiluliuma's possessions to two institutions or only to the rocky outcrop known as the "*ḫekur*-house of the Tutelary Deity," which was used as a Divine Stone House? Initially, scholars seem to have considered the latter option. In a free rendering, Güterbock translated the two terms in the above quotation together as "graveyard."[84] Otten, more literally but basically in the same way, took the two as being in apposition: "dem É ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫekur* des Schutzgottes, dem Steinhaus der Gottheit."[85] This translation is still maintained in the Chicago Hittite Dictionary.[86] Mostly, however, a translation in which the two words were taken to be in asyndeton

79. XXXIX 14 iii 6–11 (H. Otten, *HTR*, 80–81), XXX 19+ i 48–49 (ibid., 34–35), ii 32 (ibid., 36–37)

80. KBo XX 33+; see E. Neu, StBoT 25, xviii and 52; and I. Singer, StBoT 27, 66–67 with n. 38 and 118.

81. See my remarks in *Hidden Futures*, 57.

82. Interesting in this respect is the suggestion by H. G. Güterbock that the positioning of the Tuthaliya figure (relief no. 64) on two mountains could be taken "als Zeichen seiner Vergöttlichung nach dem Tode" (*Yaz.²*, 187). Note that R. Alexander dates the relief late (*Sculpture*, 97).

83. The hand-copy seems to show a Ši-sign with four Winkelhaken, instead of the expected three for KUR, but the sign is written over an erasure or is itself partly erased.

84. See also his remark apud E. Laroche, *Ug.* 3 (1956) 103 n. 1: "the É.NA₄ DINGIR-*LIM* is a 'mausoleum' and the 'Rock-house of KAL' may be something similar."

85. H. Otten, *HTR*, 133; see also E. Cornelius, *RHA* 22 (1975) 30.

86. *CHD* L–N 361b: "to the *ḫekur*-house of ᵈLAMMA, to the Stone House of the Deity (royal mausoleum)."

was preferred: "to the *ḫekur*-house of the Tutelary Deity (and) to the Divine Stone House."[87] An argument against translating the two in apposition may have been the repetition of the Akkadian preposition, something which was for a long time considered ungrammatical (since F. Sommer, AU 130). However, in the meantime, this has been shown to be unjustified,[88] and I propose we return to the earlier translations.

There is one other text in which the two terms occur in each other's proximity: this is the oracle fragment XVI 27 quoted above, where the "men of the Divine Stone House" are called upon to give a statement about the "men of the *ḫekur*-house of Pirwa."[89] If XVI 27 is indeed linked to XVI 39 as well as XVIII 21 and XXII 18, as was suggested above, texts in which the Stone Houses of a Tuthaliya, the forefatherly gods, Šuppiluliuma, and a father of His Majesty are the topic of oracle inquiries, then this "*ḫekur*-house of Pirua" is also likely to be such an institution. The "men of the Divine Stone House" may then represent the central (Divine) Stone House under whose authority other such funerary monuments may have existed.

A partial identity of *ḫegur* and (Divine) Stone House explains why in all cases of a singular *ḫegur* it is somehow modified. When referring to a mountain peak by itself, one needs a further specification to make clear which particular peak is meant. In all likelihood, some of these—that is, especially the ones not modified by a geographical name[90]—were in Hattuša: the ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫegur* SAG.UŠ of KBo XII 38 must have been located on Nişantepe, as we saw. Likewise, the ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫegur* ᵈLAMMA of the Babylonian princess and the ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫegur* Pirwa ᵐTut[ḫaliya may have to be looked for there. The latter could be an earlier or alternative designation for Nişantepe or it might refer to Yazılıkaya Room (A and?) B. It also becomes clear why with É.NA₄—in contrast to the *ḫegur*-monument—one finds only personal names attached: the most obvious piece of information one wants in the case of a tomb is whose tomb it is. The proposed partial identity explains on the other hand why in the entire Hittite Royal Death Ritual no mention is made of a ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫegur*: in accordance with its general prescriptive character, this text uses the general term (Divine) Stone House = tomb only. Finally, it also means that we do not have to distinguish systematically between a tomb and a memorial for each king. With the evidence, moreover, for tombs having been outside the capital, it also partially relieves us of the necessity of looking for a tomb for every ruler there.

We should now once again return to Yazılıkaya Room B and Nişantepe. If Yazılıkaya Room B was Tuthaliya's (Divine) Stone House/tomb, this arrangement was prepared by him during his own lifetime. Nişantepe was posthumously, it seems, dedicated to him by his son, although it remains uncertain how much of it had al-

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87. See for instance H. Otten, MDOG 94 (1963) 18 ("dem É ᴺᴬ⁴ḫé-kur-ᵈl AMA (und) dem Mausoleum"), Fischer Weltgeschichte, Die Altorientalischen Reiche II, 151; H. A. Hoffner, JAOS 103 (1983) 191; and my own translation in Hidden Futures, 49.

88. See H. Otten, ZA 61(1971) 235–36; D. Sürenhagen, AoF 8 (1981) 104; and H. G. Güterbock, AJA 87 (1983) 136b.

89. See already H. Otten, MDOG 94 (1963) 18.

90. F. Imparati, SMEA 18 (1977) 63.

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ready been built by Tuthaliya and for what purpose. If all this—admittedly speculative—reasoning is valid, this specific *ḫegur* SAG.UŠ was not a tomb. To what extent the modifying SAG.UŠ 'eternal' is essential in this respect remains to be seen.[91] Šuppiluliyama, at any rate, may have dedicated and (re)built Nişantepe to legitimize his own rule or his own place within the traditional ancestor cult. The difficulty, however, of bringing together nontextual archaeological remains and textual data is shown by attempting to relate the "chapel" or "shrine" of Haus A within the temenos-wall of Temple 5 near the "King's Gate" with the relief Boğazköy 19,[92] which portrays a king Tuthaliya. Neve wants to recognize an older Tuthaliya here, while I have argued that it is Tuthaliya IV himself,[93] but we both agree on this king's desire to be nearer to the gods than his predecessors, whether by implicitly showing himself with the horned crown through an older namesake or by explicitly portraying himself. This third place for what seems to be a cult of Tuthaliya shows how careful we must be in our judgments. Given all we know of Tuthaliya's political ideology and his inclination toward grandeur, the presence of more monuments in his own honor and its continuation by his son is not surprising; he nevertheless can have had only one tomb.

## 5. Monuments outside Ḫattuša

Finally, we should address the question of where similar structures for other kings might have been. Within the boundaries of Ḫattuša, the rocky outcrops of Yenicekale and Sarıkale have already been mentioned as candidates for *ḫegur*-monuments.[94] What about Hittite sites outside the capital?

Above we mentioned the ᴺᴬ⁴*ḫegur* SAG.UŠ of the Bronze Tablet. Otten suggested that this might have been a memorial for Muwatalli II, Kurunta's biological father.[95] Because of the problems apparently involved with Kurunta's right of access to it, Otten assumed that the place had to be outside his own territory because otherwise this right would have been self-evident. As a possible location, he hinted at the long-known relief portraying Muwatalli at Sirkeli to the east of Tarḫuntašša at the Ceyhan River.[96] Other scholars did not see the necessity of the monument being outside the boundaries of Kurunta's territory:[97] just because his right of access may have been

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91. If so, the monument referred to in the Bronze Tablet i 91–ii 3 and ii 64–66 would not be Muwatalli's tomb but a memorial.

92. Numbering after J. D. Hawkins, StBoT Beih. 3, 121.

93. BiOr 52 (1995) 556–57 with literature. The fact that the name of Tuthaliya on the stele—just like the name of the Šuppiluliuma-figure in Kammer 2—is not written with the usual aedicula cannot be used as an argument because of the bulla 726/z from Boğazköy with the name of Šuppiluliyama (II) written without the aedicula (= R. M. Boehmer and H. G. Güterbock, BoHa XIV 83 no. 261).

94. See above, n. 2.

95. StBoT Beih. 1, 42–4 with n. 78.

96. See also the remarks of K. Bittel, FsTÖzgüç, 34.

97. See P. Houwink ten Cate, ZA 82 (1992) 245; D. Sürenhagen, OLZ 87 (1992) 346 n. 15.

evident if the monument lay within the boundaries of his own territory, the explicit regulation in the treaty was necessary in view of the problems surrounding it. Because of the role that a certain Marassanta plays in this affair, the town of Puhanda was mentioned as the possible location of this ᴺᴬhegur SAG.UŠ.[98] A person named Marassanta is known as Priest of Puhanta, which according to the treaty lay within the confines of Tarhuntašša. This town has not been located yet, however.

However this may be, since in recent years the relief at Sirkeli has received renewed interest, it seems expedient to discuss it here. The site is predominantly known for its relief with inscription portraying Muwatalli II.[99] This is now known as Sirkeli I, since in its immediate vicinity traces of a second relief (Sirkeli II) allegedly depicting the same king in the same way have been detected.[100] In spite of some controversy about the second figure's orientation, there is no reason to doubt its existence. In the discussion, Neve drew attention again to the presence of two so-called "cup-marks" in the rock above the reliefs, that is, artificially made depressions in the rock usually understood as places where libations could be made.[101] In his article on cup-marks, David Ussishkin already hinted at possible netherworld associations and pointed at the existence of such hollows at Yazılıkaya and Osmankayası, whose funerary character is obvious. Neve now draws the conclusion that because of the cup-marks we may identify the relief as "Kultbild" and the spot itself as "Kultstätte." Finally, he suggests that it may have been the ᴺᴬhegur SAG.UŠ mentioned in the Bronze Tablet.

Cup-marks were also found on top of the rock on which the famous Fraktın-relief shows King Hattušili III with his wife Puduhepa each libating to a deity.[102] Similar reliefs ascribed to kings before Muwatalli are unknown, nor do any exist for Tuthaliya or Šuppiluliyama outside Hattuša.[103] Both at Sirkeli[104] and Fraktın, remains of Hittite settlements have reportedly been found; at Fraktın, Bittel even observed

traces of what might have been a sanctuary lying between the relief and the ancient settlement.[105] Such settlements would meet at least some of the requirements of both a hegur and a (Divine) Stone House, these being large self-supporting institutions employing cultic, administrative, and other personnel and mostly enjoying some form of tax exemption. As long as the reliefs do not—at least not in the immediate proximity—seem to have been accompanied by a tomb-like construction, an interpretation as a real grave or tomb is not very likely. In both cases the reliefs stand very much on their own, and in the alleged settlements nothing resembling such a construction has been reported as yet. So if anything, they are indeed more likely to have been memorial or cult places ("Kultstätten") of some kind, but the example of Tuthaliya shows that they did not necessarily serve a funerary purpose.

The only monument that by its architecture may have been a tomb and might therefore be a candidate for having been a (Divine) Stone House (under certain circumstances also possibly to be referred to as hegur, as we have seen) seems to be the site known as Gâvurkalesi.[106] This mound, situated about 60 km southwest of Ankara, was first reported in 1861 and for a short period was excavated by H. H. von der Osten in 1930, after a suggestion by Kemal Atatürk himself.[107] Immediately north of the famous relief with the seated goddess and the two male figures approaching her, von der Osten found a rectangular chamber, which he interpreted as a "cult place." Later on, a possible funerary purpose was suggested.[108] This mound was surrounded by remains of additional architectural structures that, in part at least, seem to date from the Phrygian period. Recent surveys carried out by a joint team from the Bilkent University and the Carsten Niebuhr Institute at Copenhagen have, however, shown that the Hittite site was probably more extensive than previously assumed and may have been accompanied by some sort of a settlement.[109]

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98. For Marassanta, see T. van den Hout, *AoF* 21 (1994) 321–27.

99. See I. J. Gelb, *HHM*, no. 48 with Pls. LXVIII–LXIX; and P. Meriggi, *Manuale III*, 324 with tavola XV.

100. See H. Ehringhaus, *Antike Welt* 26 (1995) 66; ibid., 118–19; and P. Neve, *Antike Welt* 27 (1996) 19–21.

101. For these cup-marks in general, see D. Ussishkin, *AnSt* 25 (1975) 85–103; for Sirkeli, see ibid., 86–89 with figs. 4–6. See further H. Gonnet, *FsNaster*, 122 (for Kızıldağ); idem, *Anatolica* 21 (1995) 193; K. Bittel, *FsTÖzgüç*, 37; and P. Neve, *IM* 27–28 (1977–78) 61–72 and *IM* 46 (1996) 41–56.

102. See K. Bittel, *AA* (1939) 565–68 with Abb. 8, and D. Ussishkin, *AnSt* 25 (1975) 85–6 with figs. 1–3. On the male deity to whom Hattušili III is offering his libation see *BiOr* 52 (1995) 555 n. 44.

103. The Kurunta relief near Konya (Hatıp) has now been published by A. Dinçol, *TÜBA-AR* 1 (1998) 27–35. For the Kızıldağ-Karadağ-Burunkaya group with the inscriptions of Hartapu, see most recently J. D. Hawkins, *StBoT Beih.* 3, 103–7, with literature.

104. See J. Garstang, *AAA* 24 (1937) 64–66; H. Ehringhaus, *Antike Welt* 26 (1995) 66; ibid., 118–19; M.-H. Gates, *AJA* 100 (1996) 293; and B. Hrouda, *IM* 47 (1997) 91–150, and *IM* 49 (1999) 83–140.

105. *AA* (1939) 568.

106. Whether the so-called Kammer 2 of the Südburg in the Upper City of Hattuša should be regarded as a comparable structure is still unclear. The function of this room with the relief of a Šuppiluliuma depends largely on the interpretation of the compound (DEUS)VIA.TERRA/DINGIR. KASKAL.KUR (see my article *BiOr* 52 [1995] 558–59; and J. D. Hawkins, StBoT Beih. 3, 44–45); P. Neve suspects a link with the netherworld (*Hattuša*, 75, 80).

107. See H. H. von der Osten, *Discoveries in Anatolia 1930–1931* (OIC 14; Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1933) 56–90; see further J. Börker-Klähn, *Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs* (Mainz, 1982), 95–97.

108. See above, n. 2.

109. See S. Lumsden's report apud M.-H. Gates, *AJA* 100 (1996) 298 with fig. 14 and his contribution to this volume.

is, the royal court; should they fail to do this, they themselves, the "men of the town," are obliged to indemnify the damage caused by the opening of the granary. This is a demonstration of the involvement in some cases of the local community by royal authority, which attributes to it both the function of guarantor in respecting the sovereign's will and joint responsibility in the misdeed and corresponding punishment in the event that this will fails to be respected.[36]

The letter *HKM* 52, under examination here, as we have said, appears to show that in certain circumstances the local community may have had the power to impose duties on someone, even, in this specific case, a royal functionary.[37]

In admitting that such a possibility existed, we have now another element to delineate the competences of the local community in the provincial seats.

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36. I wonder whether this joint responsibility was not due to the fact that the people who were prohibited from opening the king's granary—AGRIG administrator, doorkeepers, and farmer—might also form part of the local communities, or at least have some connection with them.

37. In the case in question, as has already been pointed out, the provincial governor, Ḫimuili, royal functionary, does not appear to put himself out excessively to protect the functionary who has suffered damages, namely the scribe Tarḫunmiya.

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# Problems in Hittite History, Solved and Unsolved

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The study of Hittite history started at the very end of the 19th century, when the Amarna tablets pointed to the existence of a Hittite kingdom in Anatolia already in the second millennium B.C. Two of the Amarna letters were written in a hitherto unknown language (EA 31 and 32). After 1906, during the German excavations at Boğazköy, thousands of tablets in this language were unearthed, along with texts written in Akkadian, a language already well known from sites outside Anatolia. The diaries and reports of Hugo Winckler, the philologist of the excavations at Boğazköy, show that he was able to identify the site as Ḫattuša, the Hittite capital, and that he had already discovered rulers and episodes of Hittite history mentioned in these Akkadian cuneiform tablets.[1] But most of the Boğazköy texts have come down to us in a language that is considered the official language used in Ḫatti, that is, Hittite. As was suspected already, this is an Indo-European language; Winckler himself was convinced that this was actually the case.[2] The decisive proof was given by Bedřich Hrozný in 1915, two years after the death of Winckler, on the occasion of a lecture he gave in Berlin. This could be considered the real birthday of Hittitology.[3] Many chapters of Hittite history have been written during the following decades, but at the same time new questions have appeared.

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1. H. Klengel, "Hugo Wincklers Tagebücher," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43 (1993) 511–16.

2. A postcard, dated 26.12.1907 and addressed by H. Winckler to the German historian G. Kossinna, points to his problem dealing with Indo-European matters that were beyond his own scholarly experience (Archiv der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Kossinna-Nachlaß, Sign. 299).

3. See, for example, K. K. Riemschneider, "Fünfzig Jahre Hethitologie," *Das Altertum* 12 (1966) 174–87; H. Klengel, "Das Berliner Boğazköy-Archiv: Geschichte und Textedition," in *Ägypten—Vorderasien—Turfan: Probleme der Edition und Bearbeitung altorientalischer Handschriften* (ed. H. Klengel and W. Sundermann); H. G. Güterbock, "Hans Ehelolf and the Boğazköy Archive in Berlin," in *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writings of Hans Gustav Güterbock* (AS 26; ed. H. A. Hoffner Jr.; Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1997) 1–5. The fact that, according to an agreement made by O. Weber with the Turkish authorities, thousands of tablets were sent to Berlin during the years 1915–1917 made this city a center of what now is Hittitology. These texts were returned to Turkey either after having been published in hand-copies or in 1987, when all the Bo-tablets, both published and unpublished, were sent to the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara.

Some general problems, affecting both philologists and historians, are caused by the Hittite textual tradition itself. First, the bulk of the cuneiform material is fragmentary. The tablets, discovered in various depots in the Hittite capital[4] and in some provincial centers, normally were of a larger size. When the archives were destroyed, the tablets for the most part broke into many pieces. Therefore, the joining of fragments became an important prerequisite for interpretation. Second, we must always be aware of the fact that besides clay tablets there existed tablets of perishable material, such as wood or wood covered with wax. We know from some clay tablets that wooden tablets were used to record economic or legal affairs. An extensive text corpus has obviously been lost either through climate or fire. Third, the contents of the historical texts are more or less official and were written down in the royal chanceries or copied in scribal offices. Therefore, an official view of events and history is dominant, sometimes with a clear propagandistic intention.[5] This sometimes makes it difficult to assess the real meaning of a document. Fourth, Anatolian history is only scarcely reflected in the contemporary written traditions of other kingdoms, and it is not mentioned at all in later records, including those of Greek and Roman historians. Only the biblical tradition refers to the Hittites, but alluding to a population of early 1st-millennium Syria, not the Hittites of 2d-millennium Anatolia. The Hittite empire had fully disappeared from historical memory until it was rediscovered about a century ago.

These general problems have contributed to the large number of question marks we have to insert when dealing with Hittite history, even after the enormous influx of written and archaeological sources and successful scholarly work done over many years. This is also the case with chronology.[6] Synchronisms help to establish an at least relative chronology, and paleographic and linguistic methods have gained great importance for the relative dating of texts. Absolute dates, depending on the chronological system applied to Ancient Near Eastern history in general, are mostly insecure or approximate. Even the number and sequence of Hittite great kings is not yet established with certainty. During the last three decades several new kings—such as Tahurwaili or Muwattalli I—have appeared in the texts, whereas others—such as a

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4. As has become more and more evident, there were no specialized cuneiform archives in Hattuša; tablets belonging to one and the same dossier were discovered at different locations within the walls of Hattuša; see O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL, 1999). It seems that tablets were also moved from one depot to another and sometimes remained at their last destination.

5. This aspect of Hittite "historiography" was widely discussed and has contributed to a more cautious approach to diplomatic texts; see the entries in V. Souček and J. Siegelová, *Systematische Bibliographie der Hethitologie 1915–1995*, Vol. III (Prague, 1996) 12–14.

6. See, most recently, the overview given by S. de Martino, "Problemi di cronologia ittita," *La Parola del Passato* 48 (1993) 218–40; for political history and pertinent scholarly discussions, see the *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) prepared by the author together with V. Haas, F. Imparati, and T. van den Hout. The present contribution therefore desists from mentioning the enormous number of publications devoted to Hittite history during the last decades, but see now Souček and Siegelová, *Systematische Bibliographie*, Vol. III.

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Hattušili II—are still under discussion. Here homonymy often creates additional problems.

Apart from chronology, there is the question of historical periodization. Normally, history is understood as a complex interchange of political, economic, social, religious, and cultural developments with progressive phases and setbacks. The "historical" records of the Hittite archives are mostly concerned with political events, and the periods are therefore conventionally defined according to political or dynastic history. There was an early or formative period, the period of the establishment of the Hittite kingdom in Anatolia (Old Kingdom), the period of the defense of this kingdom against Anatolian and foreign enemies (Middle Kingdom), and the period of a Hittite empire, when Hatti extended its territory far into Syria and defended it against other powers, such as Egypt and Assyria (New Kingdom, empire period). This periodization largely corresponds to changes in writing and language as they normally appear during the course of centuries. It seems that there was no decisive break in the long dynastic tradition, and the genealogies of later Hittite kings may indicate that the Hittite rulers identified themselves with a continuity lasting over centuries.

The creation of the state that we call Hittite is still a problem because pertinent contemporary sources are missing. We know from Old Assyrian tablets that speakers of Indo-European languages were already living in central Anatolia at that time. But after a period of about one century, which left no written sources,[7] a Hittite state, ruled from Hattuša, came to exist. We owe this information to a second introduction of the cuneiform script, taken over from Syria during the rule of Hattušili I. Between these periods, the forefathers of Hattušili probably ruled a small principality in central Anatolia, perhaps with Kuššar as residence.[8] The state of Hatti seems to have developed as the result not of integration but of subordination of neighboring countries. This fact remained a problem and forced Hatti to defend its supremacy for as long as it existed, although the Hittites created administrative centers such as those that have been discovered at Maşathöyük, Ortaköy, and Kuşaklı. Moreover, Hattuša itself was not a real city, that is, not a central place within a productive economic area, but a fortified residence and a cult center that also incorporated the veneration of gods of submissive countries.[9] The campaigns of Hattušili I and Muršili I beyond the Taurus aimed not only at forcing the submission or gaining control of areas in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, but also at strengthening royal power in Anatolia itself. Acquisition of prestige and booty, control of trade routes, and also the introduction of

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7. The glyptic evidence from Karahöyük Level I certainly belongs in this gap (see now R. M. Boehmer, "Nochmals zur Datierung der Glyptik von Karahöyük Schicht I," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 46 [1996] 17–22).

8. This because of a later tradition. G. Steiner thinks that Hattušili I descended from the kings of Šanahuitta ("Die Zerstörung von Hattuša durch 'Anitta' und seine Wiederbesiedlung durch Hattušili I," in *XI Türk Tarih Kongresi* [Ankara, 1994] 128).

9. See already H. Klengel, "Hattuša: Residence and Cult-Centre," in *The Town as Regional Economic Centre in the Ancient Near East* (10th International Economic History Congress; ed. E. Aerts and H. Klengel; Leuven, 1990) 45–50.

Babylonian cuneiform writing from Syria served this intention; there is still no evidence for an administrative integration of the areas beyond the Taurus into the state of Ḫatti. As worshipers of the mighty weather-god, the Hittite kings gained special prestige when conquering countries in northern Syria (Ḫalab) and Mesopotamia (Mittani) where the veneration of this god already had a long tradition. This cultic aspect of Hittite power had a real bearing on political history, and the transfer of a statue of the weather-god of Ḫalab to Ḫattuša was certainly more than just an act of piety.[10] The second period of the Old Kingdom, which began when Muršili I raided Babylon and was murdered a short time later, ends with King Telipinu, famous for his edict that aimed to stabilize the dynasty after a period of murder and unrest. The reintroduction to this edict, nearly the only source for reconstructing the dynastic history of this time, had a clear message that obviously was conveyed to a certain public: disagreement within the royal house and struggle in Ḫatti would result in misfortune as a divine punishment. The purpose of this text makes it difficult to follow the real course of events. It is again a methodological problem: we know that the "historical" information handed down by the cuneiform tradition is often didactic or even "propagandistic" and therefore not always correct, but, nevertheless, we have to accept it as a tool of historical investigation.

The period conventionally called the Middle Kingdom is an historical construct that became necessary after the reassessment of texts based on paleographic, linguistic, and historical criteria. Some of the kings of this period are homonymous with those of the older or younger kingdoms, and there is still insecurity as to the sequence of the rulers, or in some cases even their existence. As far as foreign relations are concerned, three political problems seem to be dominant: the rivalry with Ḫurri-Mittani in southeastern Anatolia, the contest with the Aegean power of Aḫḫijawa in the west, and a political agreement with the kings of Kizzuwatna in Cilicia, who were in control of the route to Syria. Furthermore, in northern Anatolia the Hittite kings had to defend their territory against the continuous attacks of the Kaškaeans, tribal groups from the mountains who were not easily subdued. Tutḫaliya II—whom we should call the first because there is still no proof for the existence of an earlier royal bearer of this name—was able to establish temporary Hittite control of northern Syria, if we follow a textual tradition of the empire period. This text, a treaty with a priestly king of Ḫalab, refers to a King Ḫattušili, who could have been the second of his name—in case he is really to be inserted into the sequence of rulers. It is now certain that there was no dynastic change in Ḫattuša with Tutḫaliya II, although a strong Hurrian cultural influence is now reflected even in the personal

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10. The statue of the weather-god of Ḫalab was transferred to Ḫattuša from Ḫaššuwa, located somewhere not too far from the Amanus, a region with a long-lasting tradition of the veneration of this Syrian god and his family; it was venerated and supplied with offerings during the entire period of the Hittite kingdom. The fact that reliefs discovered in earlier levels of Ain Dara in northern Syria (Afrin valley) are nearly identical with those known from Yazılıkaya/Boğazköy underlines this traditional cultic relation.

names of the royal family. During the rule of his successors, simultaneous action by his enemies brought about a temporary decay of Hittite power and Ḫatti was again reduced to its core area in central Anatolia.

The last period of Hittite history, from the middle of the 14th century to the early 12th century, starts with Šuppiluliuma I.[11] Already in the time of his father, Tutḫaliya III, he proved very successful at fighting against the enemies in Anatolia, but obviously it took years before he was able to extend his power beyond the Taurus and make northern Syria part of a Hittite empire. This period is therefore also documented by texts from other countries—Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia—although the exact chronological arrangement of the recorded events sometimes remains unclear. Furthermore, royal "propaganda" and historical facts are not always easy to discern. The submission of northern Syria to Šuppiluliuma made Ḫatti a great power but created problems as to the organization of its control in a territory not only far from Ḫattuša, but also split up into a series of rival principalities. Subordination by treaties concluded with the relevant rulers was a principle already practiced in Anatolia, and it was now extended to northern and central Syria. Compared with Egyptian rule in southern Syria, this system seems to have been a more additive one, subordinating but not integrating the Syrian principalities. No provinces were established under Hittite governors, but some control was exercised by sons of Šuppiluliuma who were installed at Karkamiš and at Ḫalab, centers with no local dynasties at that time. Karkamiš was a stronghold on the Euphrates, Ḫalab a city with a special historical and religious tradition. It seems more than fortuitous that Šuppiluliuma installed his son Telipinu, bearing the name of a divine son of the Anatolian weather-god and educated as a priest of the weather-god, as king of Ḫalab, whereas his son Piyassili, whose Hurrian name Šarri-Kušuḫ was obviously in agreement with the ethnic situation in and around Karkamiš, had the primary task of exercising political control in the area of the Euphrates. During the following two centuries, Karkamiš developed into a vice-kingdom of Ḫatti with increasing autonomy. Two of the Syrian principalities subordinated to Ḫatti through treaties gained special Hittite attention: Ugarit, the harbor city with close contact also to Ura in Cilicia and obviously a mediator for the transfer of goods, especially grain, to Hittite Anatolia; and Amurru in central Syria, in control of the southern trade routes and bordering on the Egyptian territories. Hittite documents discovered in Ugarit clearly point to the efforts of the great kings to avoid trouble between these principalities, that is, unrest in Syria. We see that Karkamiš often interfered in Syrian affairs, and that there was even a special office allowed to act in the name of the great king. Many decisions of the great

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11. Some scholars prefer to begin this period already with Tutḫaliya I/II, who also renewed Hittite military activities beyond the Taurus. He subdued Syrian territories, but we have no evidence so far that he also tried to establish Hittite administration in these areas. During the rule of his successors, Hittite power was reduced again to central Anatolia. Therefore an "empire period" is better begun with Šuppiluliuma I.

king discovered at Ugarit made their way through the scribal offices of Karkamiš, which are still waiting to be discovered. Obviously, peculiarities in style or writing could be explained by this fact.[12]

As far as foreign relations of the Hittite empire are concerned, two kingdoms received special attention: Egypt and Assyria. The Hittite-Egyptian rivalry focused on the control of central Syria, Amurru, and started at least after a Hittite prince who was intended to become the husband of the Egyptian queen, obviously the widow of Tutankhamon, died in Egyptian territory.[13] This so-called "Zannanza" affair should be seen against the background of the internal situation in Egypt, and although it caused a latent enmity between Ḫatti and Egypt, both sides avoided a direct military confrontation. An epidemic in Ḫatti, introduced by Egyptian prisoners-of-war at the time of Šuppiluliuma I and still raging during the early years of Muršili II, should possibly also be considered in this context. Perhaps this can be connected with the so-called "Canaanite illness" mentioned in Egyptian medical texts. Later, Muwattalli II fought against Ramesses II at Qadeš, and Hittite tradition seems to be quite correct when pointing to Amurru as the real object of quarrel. The Hittite-Egyptian correspondence at the time of Ḫattušili III and Ramesses II, now available in an up-to-date edition,[14] prepared for and accompanied both a treaty of peace and a dynastic marriage. Ramesses refers to Ḫattušili as having taken the first step toward a reconciliation with Egypt. This may be correct, given the internal and external situation of Ḫatti: Ḫattušili gained the throne by sending the great king Muršili III—or by his Hurrian name, Urḫi-Tešub—into exile, a matter discussed in the Hittite-Egyptian correspondence and one that obviously created problems with regard to the internal and international reputation of Ḫattušili. He defended his behavior in the so-called "Apology" later on, and he proudly remarks that foreign rulers nevertheless sent their messengers and greetings—but did so, it seems, after a period of hesitation. As has now become certain, the rule of Urḫi-Tešub was not just a short episode and was more effective than the Apology admits. "Brotherhood" with the Egyptian pharaoh was also necessary for the Hittites because of the expansion of the Middle Assyrian kingdom to the Euphrates. The Hittites now had to focus their attention on relations with their neighbors in Upper Mesopotamia. The correspondence of Ḫat-

tušili and his successors with the kings of Assyria has come down to us but some questions of chronology are still under discussion.[15]

Still problematic is the role played by the country of Tarḫuntašša in southern Asia Minor during the later part of the Hittite empire period. The discussion started in 1988 when the full text of a bronze tablet with a treaty between Tutḫaliya IV and Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša was published.[16] It seems clear that Tarḫuntašša had gained a position in southern Anatolia comparable to that of Karkamiš in Syria. But whether there was really a _coupe d'état_ by Kurunta in Ḫattuša is still under discussion. It is a matter of fact that his seal impression was discovered in Boğazköy designating him as both _tabarna_ and great king.[17] The latter is not astonishing because of the half-autonomous position that both Tarḫuntašša and Karkamiš had gained by that time, but the traditional title _tabarna_ is rather enigmatic. Up to now, it is the only evidence for the brief rule of the already elderly Kurunta in Ḫattuša. Recently it was proposed that his brief rule should be placed not during but after the reign of Tutḫaliya IV.[18] If so, this could perhaps explain the military campaign of Šuppiluliuma II against Tarḫuntašša mentioned in the so-called Südburg inscription;[19] on the other hand, Kurunta, son of Muwattalli II, would have been rather old at that time.

The last historical problem to be mentioned here is that of the breakdown, or rather disintegration, of the Hittite empire. There seems to have been more than one reason for the final collapse. We have, quite naturally, no Hittite textual evidence for this event, and the last decades of the empire are apparently not documented by cuneiform texts from Ḫattuša. There is only a brief note in an Egyptian inscription of Ramesses III that Ḫatti and all the countries of the eastern Levant were defeated by the so-called Sea-peoples. Hittite texts indicate a sea-battle near Cyprus against unnamed enemies, possibly groups of Sea-Peoples, but no text so far points to the advance of immigrating groups in central Anatolia. Texts from Ugarit mention smaller groups of these Sea-Peoples arriving in the Levant, and the archaeological evidence

12. For the administrative role of Karkamiš, see also E. Neu, "Hethiter und Hethitisch in Ugarit," in _Ugarit: Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient_ (ed. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995) 115–29.

13. Although Šuppiluliuma accuses the pharaoh Ai/Eje of having murdered the Hittite prince, the Egyptian pharaoh washes his hands in innocence. Or was the prince a victim of the epidemic that broke out in Syria during the later years of Šuppiluliuma and spread to both Anatolia and Egypt? See H. Klengel, "Epidemien im spätbronzezeitlichen Syrien-Palästina," in _Michael: Historical, Epigraphical, and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. Michael Heltzer_ (ed. Y. Avishur and R. Deutsch; Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center, 1999) 187–93.

14. E. Edel, _Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache,_ I–II (Opladen, 1994).

15. Studies in the Middle Assyrian period of Upper Mesopotamia are now aided by the discovery of cuneiform archives, in addition to Ashur (Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta), at Dur-Katlimmu (Sheikh Hamad), Ḫarbe (Tall Huera), and Tall Sabi Abyad (called Dunni Aššur in the texts). But some help for establishing the chronology of this period is also to be expected from Ugarit and from the still unexcavated Late Bronze Age Karkamiš.

16. H. Otten, _Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy: Ein Staatsvertrag Tutḫalijas IV_ (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten Beiheft 1; Wiesbaden, 1988). For the discussion, still ongoing, see the literature mentioned in StBoT 38.

17. Otten, _Die Bronzetafel,_ 4–5; idem, _Die 1986 in Boğazköy gefundene Bronzetafel: Zwei Vorträge_ (Innsbruck, 1989).

18. M. Astour, "Who Was the King of the Hurrian Troops at the Siege of Emar?" in _Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age_ (ed. M. W. Chavalas; Bethesda, 1996) 51.

19. J. D. Hawkins, _The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Ḫattuša (Südburg)_ (Wiesbaden, 1995); the discussion of the historical and topographical problems offered by this inscription is still in its beginnings.

for destructions at Ugarit and other settlements on the coast could perhaps be understood as the result of their raids. The date is now lowered because of texts from Ugarit that point to a rather long reign of Ammurapi, the last ruler of this city, a contemporary also of the pharaoh Siptah.[20] As far as Ḫattuša is concerned, some public buildings were destroyed and the administrative and cultic areas were obviously abandoned in a hurry and left to decay. Ḫattuša lost its function and thereby its role as a central place. There are no traces of a foreign attack visible so far, no foreign artifacts were excavated as is the case in Ugarit. But there are also no hints of a decay of royal power during the last decades of the empire; the so-called Südburg inscription, written in hieroglyphic Luwian, mentions a victory of Šuppiluliuma II, obviously the last great king of Ḫatti, over Tarḫuntašša.[21] And, moreover, Šuppiluliuma had the time to honor the memory of his father Tutḫaliya IV by devoting to him a chamber at Yazılıkaya. To understand better what was going on, we should look beyond the Taurus and connect the fate of Ḫatti with political events in other areas.

It was quite correct to entitle a book on the changes that occurred in Western Asia during the time around and after 1200 not "Dark Ages," but "Crisis years,"[22] and both H. G. Güterbock and H. A. Hoffner, Jr. have contributed to it, devoting their articles to two phenomena: the end of Ḫattuša and the survival of dynasties in Tarḫuntašša and Karkamiš. That there was practically a division of the empire into three parts—that is, Ḫatti, Tarḫuntašša, and Karkamiš—deserves special attention and is clearly demonstrated also by texts from Ugarit.[23] They indicate closer contact of its last king, Ammurapi, with the pharaoh; he was even eager to erect a statue of the new Egyptian king Merenptah in the temple of Baal.[24] Did he nevertheless send tribute to Ḫattuša? A formal Hittite treaty with Karkamiš on terms of equality had been concluded by Šuppiluliuma II. This points not only to the nearly autonomous status of Syria but also to a certain drifting away from Ḫatti, and the Südburg-inscription of this king indicates the same for Tarḫuntašša. There was hunger and unrest in Ḫatti, mentioned in both Hittite and Egyptian sources; in Ḫattuša, on Büyükkaya, large silos, mainly for grain, were built and secured by fortifications. This food was

needed, on the one hand, for the enormous cultic consumption but, on the other hand, there was obviously a crisis in the tributary system on which the Hittite state depended. This crisis of the palace economy can be assumed also for other areas of the Near East, and perhaps it was connected with a period of decrease in food production, especially smaller yields of grain, in all areas with rain-fed agriculture, obviously for both climatic and social reasons. The kingdoms of Assyria, Egypt, and Babylonia were able to survive this crisis; Ḫatti did not. Together with the Hittite administration, the cuneiform system of writing disappeared from Anatolia, and it was never revived because it was no longer needed. In contrast, hieroglyphic Luwian survived for several centuries; it did not depend on royal offices and was connected with a language that had never lost its importance. Thus we still have many questions concerning the end of the Hittite state in Anatolia, but it seems clear that the disintegration of the Hittite empire and the collapse of its economic system had already started years before Ḫattuša was abandoned by its inhabitants. During the 11th century, a small village existed at Büyükkaya, the area of the silos, and during the 9th century Phrygians settled in the area of the former city of the great kings and thousand gods.

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20. For the last period of Ugarit, see now M. Yon, M. Sznycer, and P. Bordreuil (ed.), *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av.J.-C.* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit XI; Paris, 1995); see especially the contributions of M. Liverani and R. Lebrun.

21. J. D. Hawkins, *Hieroglyphic Inscription*. One could speculate whether Šuppiluliuma II left Ḫattuša and transferred the Hittite capital to another city, maybe Tarḫuntašša. At present, there are no texts available that could support this assumption; should they be looked for at Tarḫuntašša-City?

22. W. A. Ward and M. Sharp Joukowsky (ed.), *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C.* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1992). See now also the volume Yon, Sznycer, and Bordreuil (ed.), *Le pays d'Ougarit*, especially the contributions by M. Liverani and R. Lebrun.

23. See also M. Liverani, in *Le pays d'Ougarit* (RSOu XI; ed. Yon, Sznycer, and Bordreuil) 49. This tripartition was certainly not only a political one but had consequences also in the economic sphere.

24. See the preliminary publication of the contents of this letter of pharaoh Merenptah by S. Lackenbacher in *Le pays d'Ougarit* (RSOu XI, ed. Yon, Sznycer, and Bordreuil) 77–79.

# Kuşaklı-Sarissa:
## A Hittite Town in the "Upper Land"

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Some 16 years after the battle of Kadeš, Hattušili III and Ramses II of Egypt concluded their famous treaty. The cuneiform tablets with the Akkadian text were found in 1906 in the Hittite capital; the Egyptian version of this important document is known from the outer wall of the Amun-temple in Karnak (Edel 1997).

In the lower part of the inscription, the divine witnesses to the treaty are mentioned. In addition to others, nine gods are listed along with the names of their towns. Of these nine towns, we have been able to localize only Halap (= Aleppo). Now it seems that a second town mentioned in this treaty can be located. Line 27 reads "Seth of the town Sarissa" (fig. 1). This section is not preserved in the cuneiform text, but in Akkadian or Hittite it must have been the "Weather-god of Sarissa" as known from other treaties. The town Sarissa is also known from several Boğazköy tablets as a cult-center of medium importance. But none of the documents from the Hittite capital give any useful indication as to where Sarissa was situated (del Monte/Tischler 1978).

During the recent excavations at Kuşaklı, some 200 km southeast of Boğazköy (fig. 2), we have been fortunate to find some tablets which indicate that Sarissa is the ancient name of Kuşaklı (Wilhelm 1995). The site of Kuşaklı is situated on a promontory at the southern edge of a high valley (fig. 3). Its altitude is about 1600 m above sea level. The surrounding mountains are about 2000 m high. The topographic plan of Kuşaklı shows an elevation in the center, the acropolis, with surrounding slopes and terraces (fig. 4). At the foot of the hill are traces of the 1.5-km-long city wall. Our investigations at this site started in 1992 with a short survey. While measuring for a contour map, the first cuneiform tablet was found just on the surface of the western slope (Müller-Karpe 1995: 7–8).

The excavation began in the following year. During the first season, we opened some trenches at and in the surroundings of the tablet's findspot, but we failed to discover any more fragments. Instead of an archive, we found a domestic area of Hittite imperial times. It became clear that the tablet must have been washed down from the acropolis.

In 1994 we started to dig at the western part of the acropolis. Shortly after beginning the excavations, we discovered some fragments of Hittite cuneiform tablets.

Fig. 1. Karnak, Amun temple, treaty document of Kadeš, Line 27, "Seth of the town S3-ri-sw (Sarissa)."
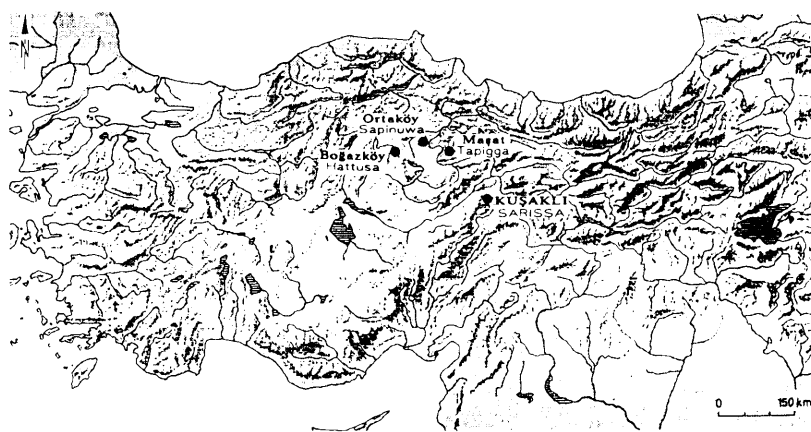


Fig. 2. Location of Kuşaklı-Sarissa.

They all belonged to a small archive, heavily destroyed by an Iron Age occupation above the Hittite building level (Wilhelm 1997). Most of the 48 fragments found by 1996 came from one room, which belongs to a large building (building A). A similar construction (building B) was erected at a right angle immediately to the southeast of the outer wall of building A (fig. 5).
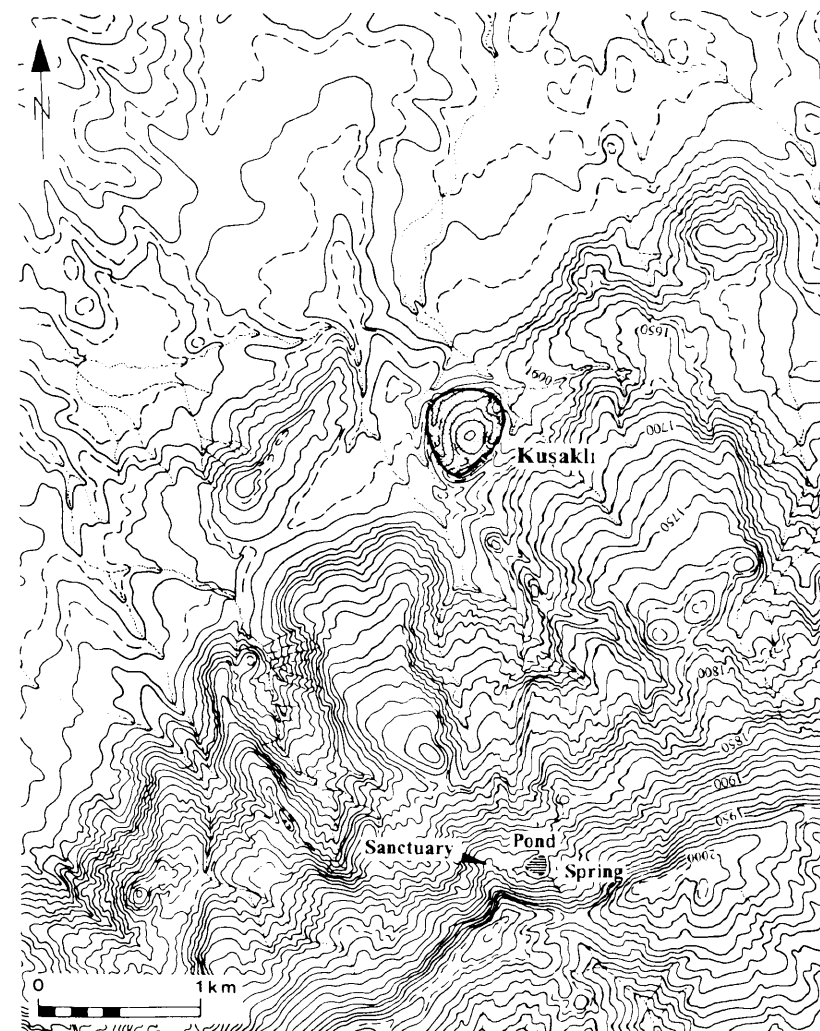


Fig. 3. Map of Kuşaklı-Sarissa with its surroundings.

The tablets indicate a sacred function for at least building A. According to Gernot Wilhelm, all of the texts deal with religious themes: there are rituals, cult inventories, oracles, and a kind of chronicle or instruction for servants of a temple (Wilhelm 1997).
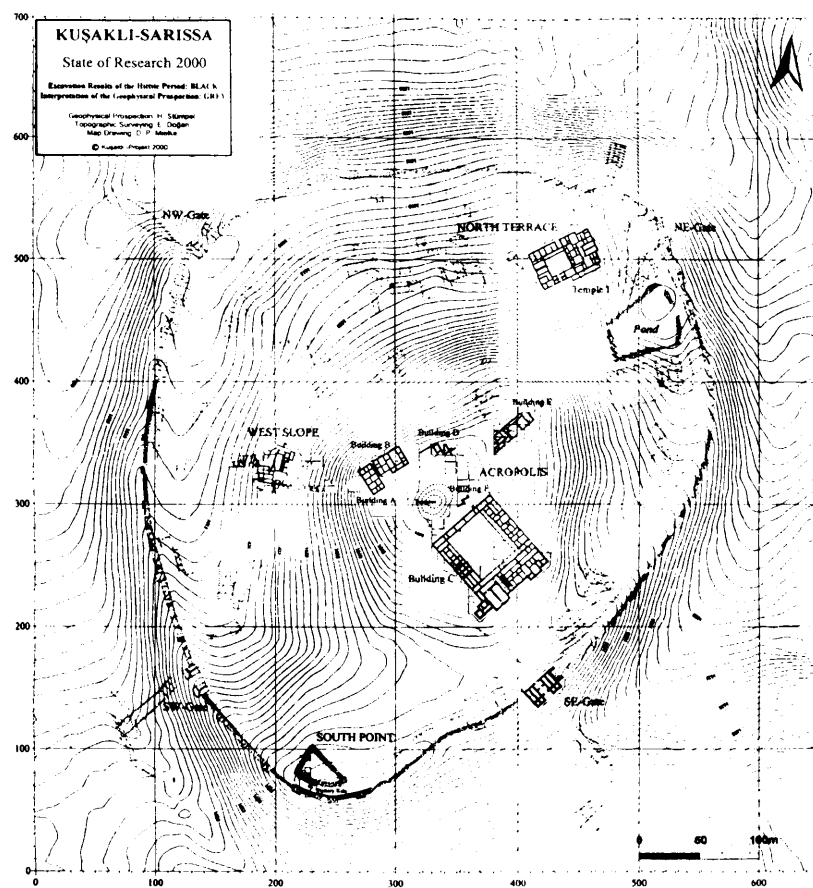
Fig. 4. Topographic plan of Kuşaklı-Sarissa, with results of the excavations and geophysical measurements.

The most important tablet of this collection is a fragment of a ritual. The text begins as follows: "When the king in springtime goes to the town Sarissa celebrating the festivities. . . ." There follows a description of the King's visit to the weather-god's huwasi-stones. Another tablet deals with the third day of this ritual in Sarissa (Wilhelm 1997: 17–18).
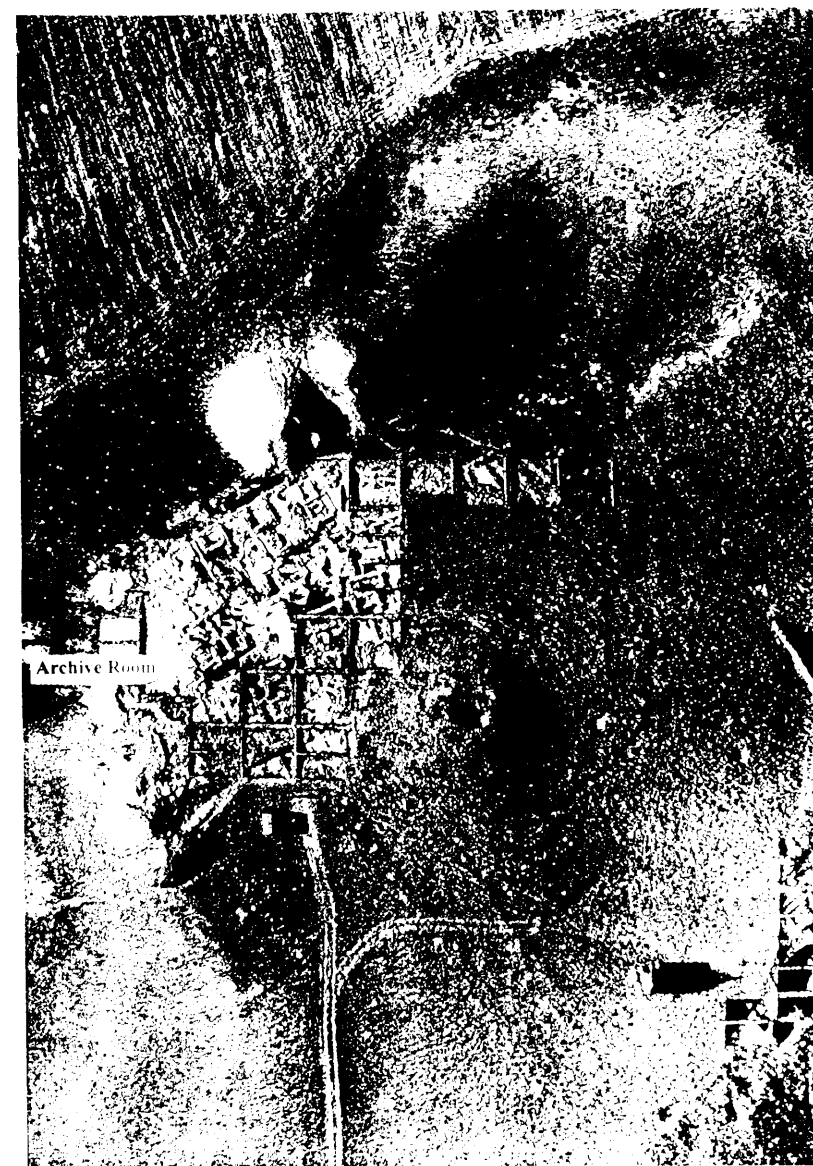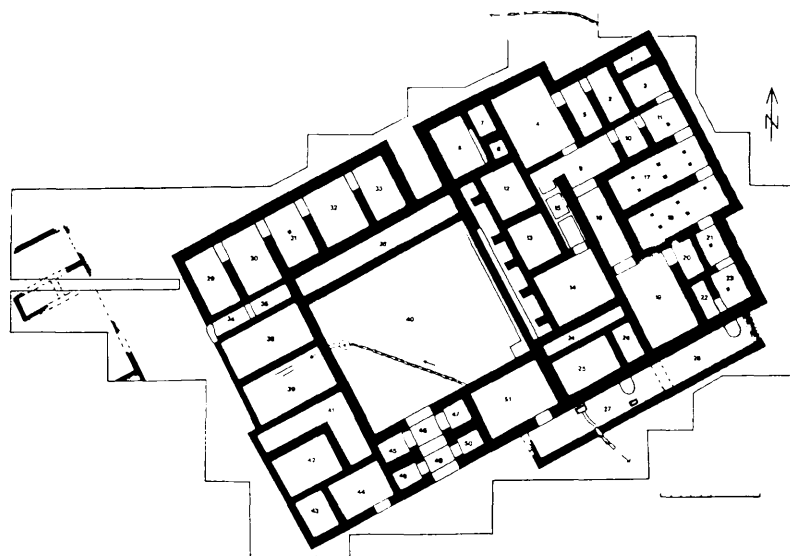


Fig. 5. Kuşaklı-Sarissa, the acropolis from the air.

Fig. 6. Kuşaklı-Sarissa, temple at the northern terrace.



Fig. 7. Kuşaklı-Sarissa, drainage system in the courtyard of the temple at the northern terrace.

The name of the town Sarissa or Saressa is also mentioned in a fragment of a cult inventory. In contrast to the rituals and cult inventories in the state archives of the capital, the documents kept in the provincial town of Kuşaklı must have had a more local character. There is much to be said for the assumption that the Sarissa ritual and the cult inventory are referring to Kuşaklı itself. Sarissa is also the most frequently mentioned city-name in the Kuşaklı tablets. So we have good reason to identify Sarissa with Kuşaklı.

In addition to the excavations on the western slope and the western part of the acropolis, the northern terrace has also been investigated. There a large building 36 m wide and 54 m long was unearthed (fig. 6). Fifty-three different rooms surround a central court. Under the floor of the courtyard we found a drainage system made of ceramic tubes and a water-collecting stone (gully) with a central hole in it (fig. 7).

The ground plan of this building matches the temples of Boğazköy. The series of older temples with projections and niches in their outer walls show especially close similarities to the Kuşaklı building (Neve 1996: 59). Quite typical is the central court framed by colonnades.
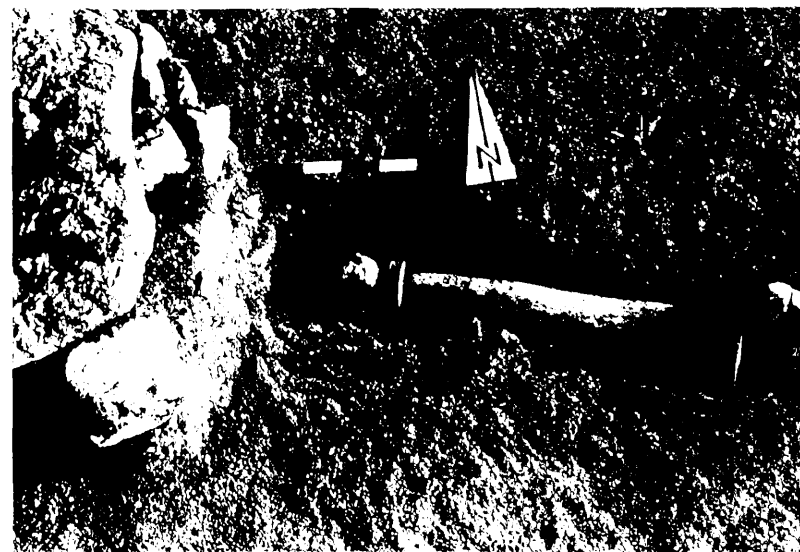
In the center of the temple's eastern wing we find a very characteristic arrangement of rooms. There is a narrow vestibule at right angles to two parallel long and also narrow rooms. These walls and also the column bases should likely be interpreted as substructures of one large hall in the upper storey above the two parallel rooms (fig. 8). Based on the Boğazköy temples, this arrangement is to be interpreted as the main cult rooms, the cella or adyton. The burned mudbricks are very well preserved in this part of the building.

In room no. 9, just at the foot of the staircase, 65 clay sealings were found spread over the floor. Some of them were discovered in an older layer of this floor, especially those with a frame of an animal frieze or tress pattern. Also from the older floor are impressions of a royal seal (fig. 9). In addition to the sign REX 'king' there is the name Mazitima or Mizitima in the center.

During or just after the reign of this local king, the building was destroyed by fire but restored immediately after this event. In the northern part of the temple some wooden beams, which should belong to this reconstruction phase, have been preserved. The dendrochronological analysis of Peter Kuniholm is still in preparation.
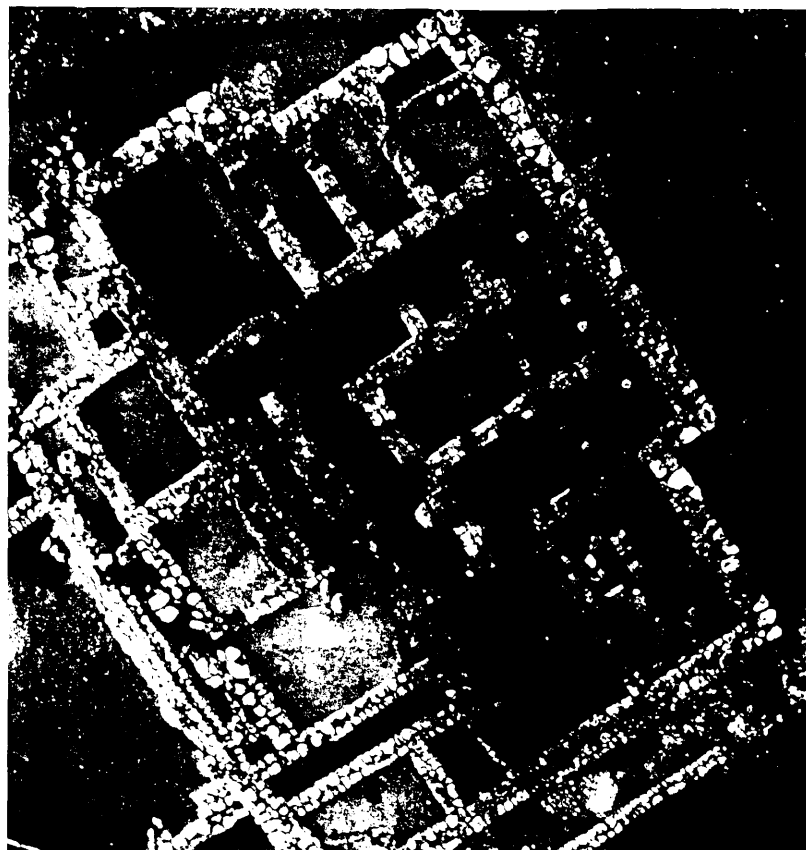
Fig. 8. Kuşaklı-Sarissa, cult rooms in the east wing of the temple at the northern terrace.
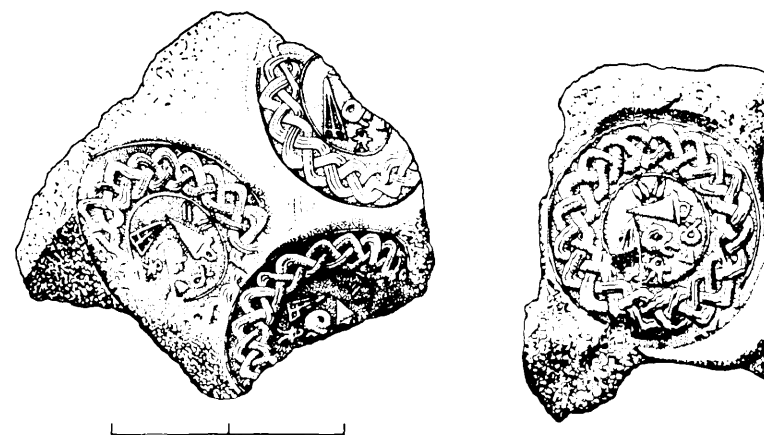


Fig. 9. Kuşaklı-Sarissa: impressions of a royal seal from the temple at the northern terrace.



Fig. 10. Kuşaklı-Sarissa: burned mudbrick walls in building C.

So we hope to get a date for this special glyptic style and also for the reign of Mazi-tima, who is not known from the Boğazköy texts.

Another royal seal impression is that of Sarissa, which was found on the western slope of Kuşaklı. This name is also known from Korucutepe (Ertem 1988, Kat. 14), though the title is not preserved there.

The fourth excavation area in Kuşaklı is in the southeastern part of the acropolis. The Hittite ruin there is even bigger and also partly better preserved than the one of the northern terrace (building C). It is 76 m long and 61.5 m wide and is estimated
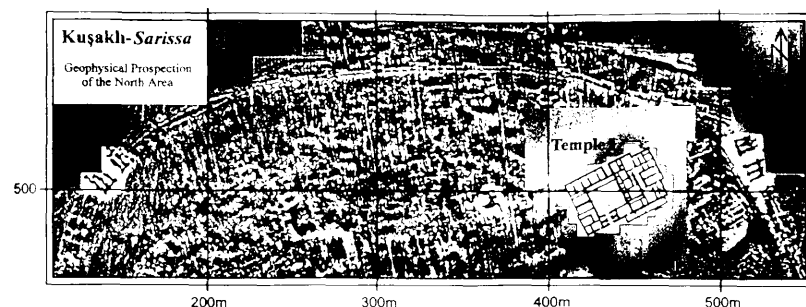
Fig. 11. Kuşaklı-Sarissa, geophysical mapping of the Hittite casemate wall.

to be the temple of the weather-god (fig. 10). Some walls are still 3 m high and in one room even the ceiling with the floor of the upper storey is preserved.

Many bowls were found in situ, including the inventory of a brewery. Apart from a small fragment of a tablet and two well-preserved Middle Hittite letters, the most important objects from this building are the impressions of so-called anonymous *tabarna* seals. The cuneiform inscription is as follows: ^NA₄KIŠIB *Ta-b[a-a]r-na* LUGAL.GAL *ŠA UŠ-P[A-]AH-HU* BA.ÚŠ 'Seal of Tabarna, the Great King; who changes it will die'. There is no exact parallel known yet for this bulla. There is no doubt that it must belong to the very oldest examples of this group of seals (Carruba 1994: 73ff.).

In addition to the excavation program, geophysical measurements were also taken at Kuşaklı. A team from the University of Kiel is working with a variety of methods: resistivity mapping, geomagnetics, and ground-penetrating radar (Stümpel 1996).

Especially good results were achieved while investigating the defence system. A typical casemate wall with towers was revealed (fig. 11). In fig. 4, the results of geophysical mapping and archaeological excavations are shown together.

Finally, I would like to summarize what we have learned about Kuşaklı with the help of archaeological, philological, and geophysical investigations during the eight seasons behind us: Kuşaklı is a medium-sized Hittite town of 18 hectares, strongly fortified with a wall and four gates. It is highly probable that the ancient name of the city is Sarissa. The occupation began in Old Hittite times. It was partly destroyed in the first half of the 14th century but rebuilt immediately afterward. The final destruction is parallel with the end of Hattuša and other Hittite centers. A poor "dark age" or "sub-Hittite" occupation followed the splendid area of imperial times, but it did not last very long. The place was abandoned until a small Iron Age castle was erected in the 7th/6th century B.C.

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# Ortaköy-Šapinuwa

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Ortaköy is a township situated 53 km southeast of the province of Çorum in north-central Anatolia. This article is about a new Hittite city in this township that is being brought to light by our excavation activities, beginning in 1990.

This Hittite city sits on the northern edge of the Özderesi Valley, which forms a branch of the Çekerek River. A flat, widespread settlement, it extends along a plateau in the form of terraces. The Hittites did not build on the existing settlement where local people previously had lived. Rather, according to our investigations, they created a city on a large flat area 3 km long (in an east-west direction) and 2.5 km wide (in a south-north direction). We believe that the search for large Hittite cities should extend outside the höyüks. This belief has been substantiated by the discovery of Ortaköy, which was found as a result of our survey project.

As a result of studies carried out on the Ortaköy tablets, we have established that the city was named Šapinuwa during the Hittite period and that it occupied a very significant, strategic position. It is located at a key point along an important passage: to the east lies the Kelkit Valley and its continuation in the Amasya-Göynücek plain, and to its west is a passage that joins the Sungurlu-Alaca plains. This route leads to Boğazköy. In addition to its geopolitical significance, due to the Çekerek River, located about 5 km away, and its location in a protected, fertile intermontane valley, the site has a mild climate. The city relied on the surrounding hills for obtaining firewood from the dense forest and water from the abundant water sources.

Futhermore, on the basis of the architectural traces detected on top of the hills, we believe that there were structures situated on these hills, most of which consisted of religious, military, and administrative buildings. At the same time, we discovered an ancient road that connected this upper city area with the lower city. This road begins on the southwest side of Fığla Hill, on which architectural traces are found, and extends to a very dense forest that ends on the western terrace of the hill. The mountains situated around the city rise in the form of terraces on the Amasya plain, and form the front of the defense structures, which we determined to be 5 km from the city in the Kargın region. Ortaköy was thus situated in a fortified position that enabled it to be easily defended.
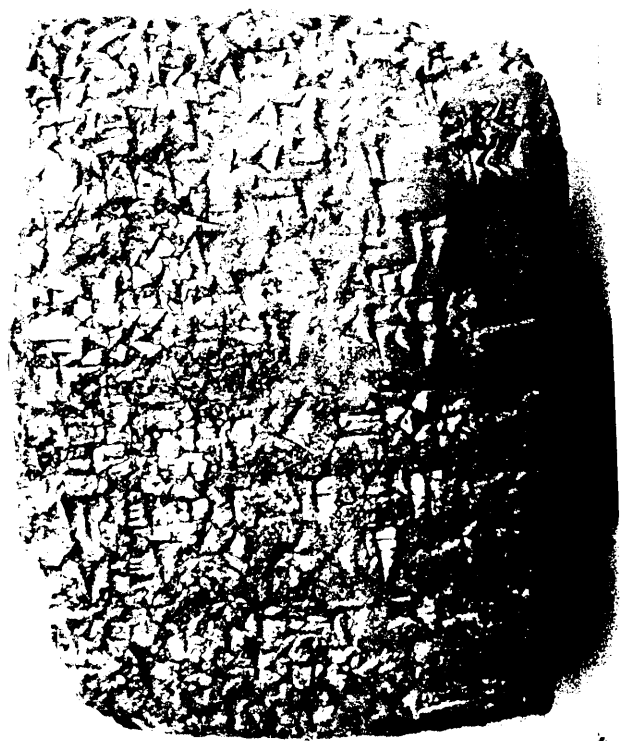
Fig. 1. The Queen's letter.

Tell my Lord, His Majesty! The Queen, your servant, says (thus): Your Majesty, I wish everything is alright in the presence of my Lord; I hope the gods keep my Lord, Your Majesty, alive and saved. Everything is alright with me.

As my head hurts, the same way is my back. They are still the same to me. Your Majesty, my Lord, write to me also how is everything in the presence of my Lord and your greetings.

The excavations of the Hittite city at Ortaköy were started at a spot that is one of the most dominating parts of the city; they have brought to light the foundations of a monumental edifice. There seems to be a connection between the monumental nature of the building and its location; its central location echoes the majestic, mon-



Fig. 2. Tabarna seal impression.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In the center: | [T]I | 'hayat', 'life' |
| | SIG₅ | 'iyilik selâmet', 'health' |
| Cuneiform: | [ⁿᵃKIŠ]IB *ta-ba-ar-na* | |

umental character of the mountains behind. According to survey studies, this area has a 5.5% inclination in an east-west direction. After this area had been chosen, earlier buildings made with rubble stones were pulled down and the debris was used to level the area. Later on, the site on which the building was to be situated was filled to a depth of about 5 m; approximately 3000 square meters of flat land was obtained in this way.

Although it bears the characteristics of Hittite structures, this building (Building A), where excavations are currently underway, has added significantly to our knowledge of Hittite innovations. The walls were built with a cyclopean-style facing in which massive stones were used. These blocks were placed on both faces with great care and the space between them was filled with broken stones. Blocks of limestone and sandstone, with the appearance of orthostats and wrought with extreme care, were used on the southern and western faces of the walls. We have recovered the basement walls, but have not obtained any knowledge as to the use of this basement floor. The debris of the upper stories was found inside the basement floor. We discovered that blocks of limestone, calciferous stone, and sandstone were used from the lowest layer of the foundation up to the layer of mud bricks; this foundation wall measures 2 m in thickness. In addition, we have found the quarries from which this material was brought. The building consisted of at least two stories, in addition to the basement floor.
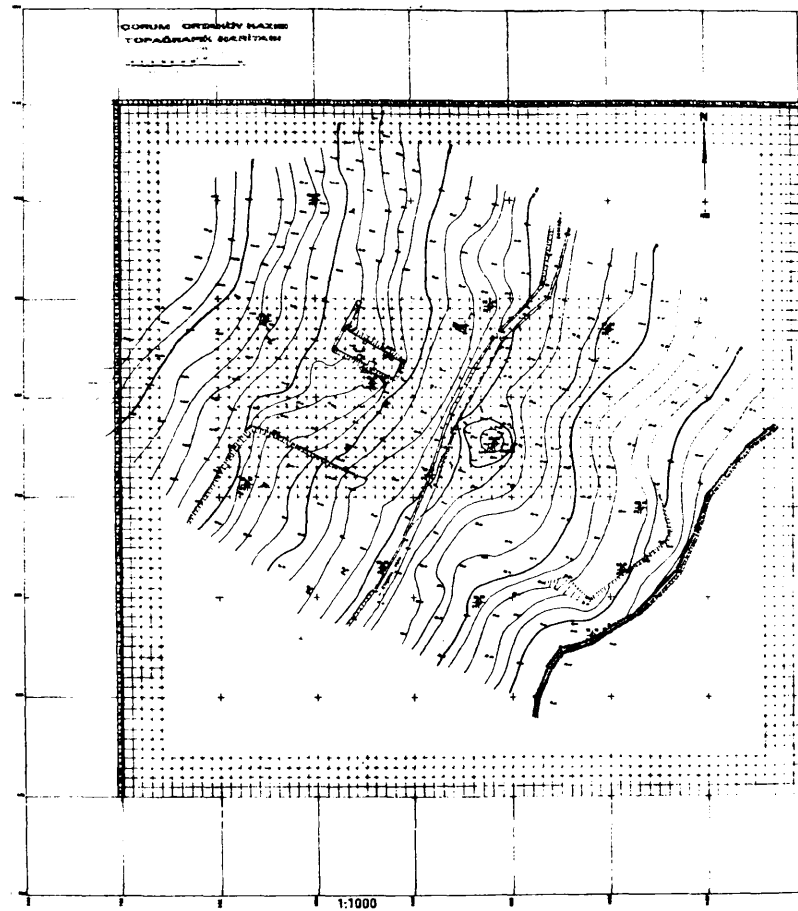
Fig. 3. Ortaköy-Šapinuwa topographic map.

Timber was used heavily between the floors. We have determined that this timber was cedar, and that each timber was about 100 cm in diameter. As is already known, Hittite documents refer to a mountain called Šakaddunuwa that provided good-quality timber used in the construction of temples and palaces. The mountain Šakaddunuwa has been located at Karadağ, which is very close to Ortaköy.
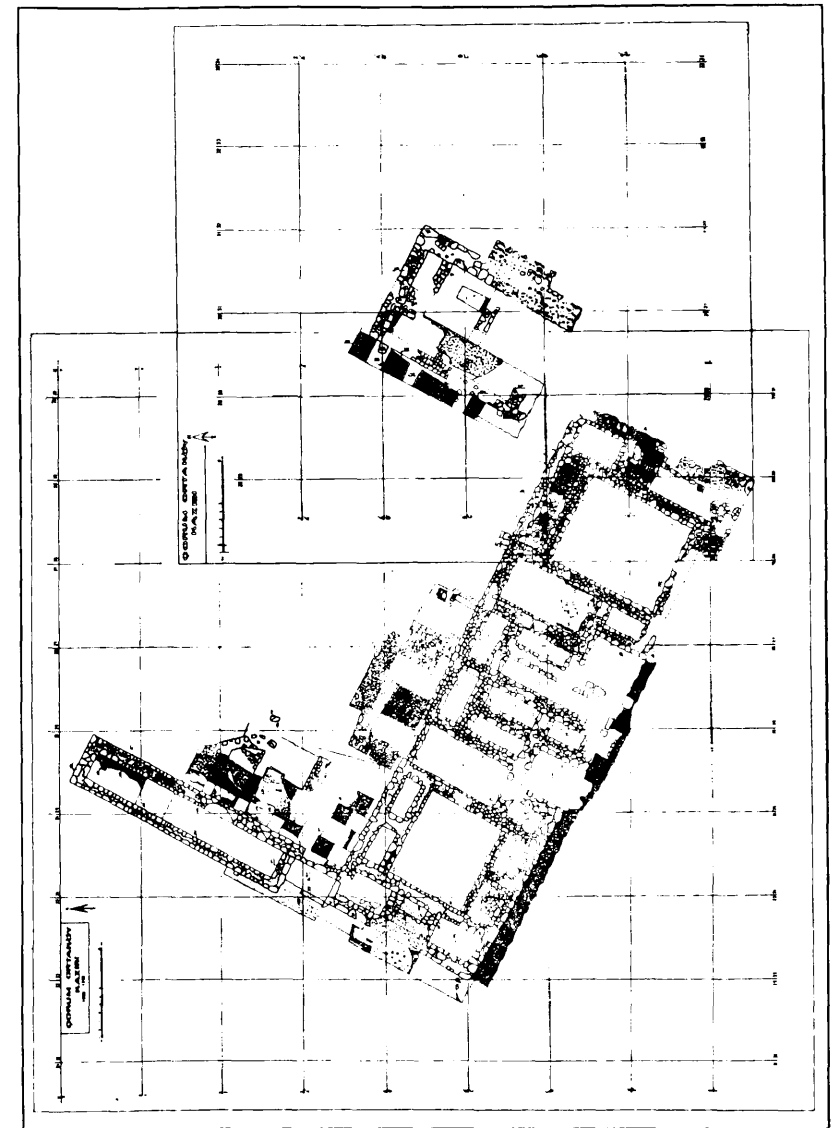


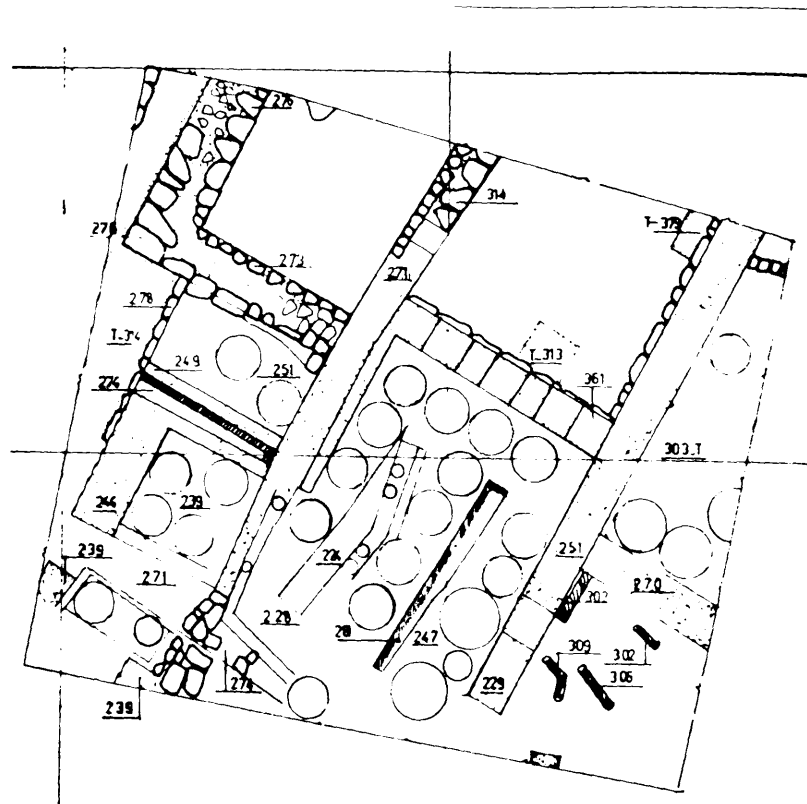Fig. 4. Building A plan (Cengiz Erol).

Fig. 5. Building B plan.

Building A was destroyed in a fire in which the heat reached 1200° C because of the timber used in the construction of the building. The mud-brick walls were fired by the conflagration. Everything flammable in the building burned up and was completely destroyed. After this event, the city was completely abandoned. The building remained in this state of ruin for a long time. Later, the mud-brick walls were destroyed by the effects of nature. Building A is a rectangular structure of 70 × 25 m, situated at a 12° inclination from the magnetic pole, with its long axis extending from the northeast to the southwest. The main structure is symmetrical when divided along the long axis. A service building of 27 × 3 m, with one floor, was discovered extending in a northwest direction.

In 1994, a new excavation was started 160 m southeast of Building A at the location of Kadılar Höyük. In this spot, well-wrought stone blocks were used in the

foundations of Building B. On top of this foundation, which was found to be of two layers, we discovered mud-brick walls 110 cm in width. On the mud-brick walls, we encountered a well-polished plaster coating 2–3 cm thick. The burned timber and rubble found on the floor suggest that there may have been at least a second story above.

Only one part of this section has been unearthed, and it was found to be full of pithos jars, from which we conclude that this was a storeroom. The number of these pithos jars, which were used to store food and drink, is close to 40. The middle part of the pithoi measures on average from 110–130 cm. Both the placement of these pithoi and the way the area was used draw attention. The thick mouth parts of the pithos jars were turned outward and tapered downward, and these were placed in groups of two, three, four, and six. An adjacent platform 30 cm in width was carefully plastered. Between these platforms, spaces 30–40 cm in width contained long-necked pitchers with tapering bases and small-sized pithoi with tapering bases.

We can summarize the small finds as follows: Ortaköy ceramics were carefully manufactured in different colors such as deep gray, light brown, and reddish brown and were very carefully baked. In addition to pots for daily use, there were pots with polished outer surfaces. In our collection, there are plates, hydrias, little pitchers, large pitchers, pithoi, and votive pots. Metal objects, though very few in number, are very significant finds for the Hittite period. These include arrowheads, a lugged axe, and a dagger. We also found a small number of gold objects, one of which reflects the relationship between the Hittites and Egyptians. We possess triangular objects made of very diverse materials and of various sizes and a good number of obsidian artifacts. We think that these triangles were used for ritual purposes. We have also obtained some seal impressions written in Hittite hieroglyphic script. Among the seal impressions are one of a prince and those of various officials.

The most important finds at Ortaköy are the cuneiform tablets. The Ortaköy tablets were recovered among the debris belonging to the upper stories of the monumental Building A and number more than 3000 at the moment. We have found three separate archives up to this point. In addition, tablets and fragments have been found widely spread around a large area because of the collapse of the building and dispersal by modern agricultural activities. The tablets were greatly damaged in the large fire. Although a certain number of complete or nearly complete tablets were recovered, a significant number of tablets were scattered around in very small pieces.

According to our studies, we can subdivide the Ortaköy archives into main categories as follows:

1. A great majority are Hittite Texts (about 1500 tablets including their fragments) of which a large part consists of letters. In addition, there are religious texts, omina, and lists.
2. Hurrian texts (about 600) compose one-fourth of the archives. The greater part of the Hurrian Texts consist of "itkalzi" rituals. Along with the rituals related to rivers and springs, ŠALŠU.GI ritual texts occupy a significant place.

3. Along with tablets in the Akkadian language, there are also bilingual tablets, although these are few in number. They consist of Hittite-Hurrian, Hittite-Akkadian, and Hittite-Hattian texts.

The fragments in Hittite come to around 800. The Ortaköy tablets cover many different topics, including religion, administration, omens, and military and political matters.

The largest number of letters were those written by his majesty, the queen, and officials. Many of these letters identify assigned officials and indicate the names of the sender and the receiver. The number of assigned officials has reached 65 up to now. The majority of the letters were sent by the assigned official to the Great King himself, which points to the fact that, as we have already stated, the Great King resided at Šapinuwa and used this place as his residence. Because of this, we possess numerous letters sent to the king from all corners of the Hittite world. In the correspondence between his majesty and the officials, neither the name of his majesty nor the titles nor offices of the officals are stated, as is also the case at Mašat Höyük and Boğazköy. We are able to establish the offices of only a few individuals.

Among the Šapinuwa tablets, there are a great number of letters addressed to His Majesty by the Queen (fig. 1), along with letters sent jointly to the King and the Queen. From these letters found at Ortaköy, it is clear that a royal couple resided in Šapinuwa.

The name of His Majesty, $^dUTU^{ŠI}$ 'my sun', is not mentioned, nor have we so far found the seal of His Majesty on these tablets. We have not yet recovered any seal or seal impression on which the name of the King or Queen is inscribed.

The majority of the letters were sent by the King to officials named Kunuwa, Kuikuišanduwa, Laḫḫa, and Purra.

That the Hurrian and Hurrian-Hittite text groups known from Boğazköy documents are related to Šapinuwa is proved by numerous Hurrian and Hurrian-Hittite tablets uncovered at Šapinuwa. It follows that Šapinuwa was not only influenced by Hurrian trends but also possessed its own collection of Hurrian documents, which was transferred to Ḫattuša. As a matter of fact, the greater part of the Hurrian texts in the Šapinuwa archives consist of "itkalzi" rituals. In the "itkalzi" tablets, the owner of the sacrifice is Tašmišarri or Tašmišarri-Taduḫepa. These two names are mentioned very frequently in the name lists on the Šapinuwa tablets.

There are many names in the Šapinuwa tablets that are also encountered in the Mašat letters, and this helps us date contemporary persons. Some of these common names are Kaššu, EN-tarauwa, Taḫazzili, Zilapiya, Ḫulla, Walwanu, Šarlakurunta, Ḫašammili, Ḫimuili, and Piyamatarḫu. These may not be the same persons at both sites, but certain names are of interest. For example, five of these names—Ḫulla, Zilapiya, Ḫimuili, Pišeni, and Kunuwa—are mentioned together in a oracle text. We know the name Walwanu as the scribe assigned in Mašat but this name is not encountered in the Boğazköy archives. There is a letter sent to Šapinuwa by Walwanu adressed to Piyamatarḫu and Ḫubuti. In one of the Queen's letters, the Queen asks

His Majesty to write to Šarlakurunta about the oracle birds. We encounter the same name in the Mašat letters as the person involved in oracles.

As we can see, there is a correspondence between officials with the same name in Šapinuwa and Mašat Höyük; they wonder about their assignments, correspond with one another, or write to His Majesty. When we study the names of the officials in these letters who are assigned to Šapinuwa, we understand that most of them correspond with one another, and consequently we conclude that they are contemporaries.

The writing style of the Ortaköy texts bears most of the characteristics of an older ductus. The ductus of many of the signs is similar to that of the Mašat tablets dated to the Middle Hittite period. Many of the terms we encounter in the Mašat Höyük tablets are also mentioned in the Ortaköy texts including ERIN$^{MEŠ}$, $^{GIŠ}$zaltaiaš, liliwaḫḫuwanzi, šapašalli, uwad uwaddu, uwad uwad.

A "tabarna seal" impression, although found in mixed soil in another area away from Building A where the archives were found, helps to support this dating (fig. 2).

In conclusion, based on the relationship between their subject matter, paleography, and find locations, the tablets demonstrate that they belong to the same period. Due to the similarities with the Boğazköy and Mašat Höyük archives, the texts belonging to the Tašmišarri-Taduhepa royal couple, and the other texts, most of the tablets found in Šapinuwa belong to the Middle Hittite period. However, considering the size of the buildings and the strength of the foundations, we believe that the building could have been used for a long time. The scattering of tablets over a large area and the various subject matters they cover, such as religion and oracles, also support our ideas. Moreover, as we know from the Boğazköy archives, the Hittite city of Šapinuwa was used during the reign of Muršili II. The seal impression found at Šapinuwa confirms this information.

The fact that the Hittite city Šapinuwa covered a surface area of 9 square kilometers shows that the city was occupied not only in the Middle Hittite period but for a long time.

This Hittite city, being identified with Ortaköy, has brought new dimensions to the historical geography of Anatolia, because up to now archaeologists have searched for Šapinuwa in the southeastern region of Boğazköy with the thought that it should be close to the Hurrian region.

A considerable part of the Ortaköy archives was Hurrian. The religious content of a great number of these tablets clearly shows the influence of Hurrian culture on the Hittite culture, especially on its religion.

The excavations at Ortaköy-Šapinuwa are an on-going investigation into an important Hittite city. We know that at least during the Middle Hittite period it functioned as the residence of the great king and was an extremely important metropolis.

# Homer and Hittite Revisited II

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My title is taken from the monograph of Jaan Puhvel, *Homer and Hittite*.[1] In the spring of 1996, I held a seminar on "Greece and Anatolia" devoted to the exploration of some further linguistic and thematic connections between speakers from these geographically contiguous regions, who were certainly in contact at various times and in various places in the second millennium B.C. and later. These are two brief philological observations arising out of that seminar, which offer, I claim, prima facie evidence, both thematic and verbal, for cultural borrowing or diffusion from second-millennium Anatolia into the Aegean world, first appearing in the Homeric Iliad. These concern (1) "the four quadrants of social appurtenance" in Anatolia, and (2) $^{KUŠ}$*kuršaš* and αἰγίς.

## I. "The Four Quadrants of Social Appurtenance"

Our unique source for the history of the Old Hittite kingdom is the introduction to the Proclamation of King Telepinus on lawful succession to the throne, a text that comes at the end of the Old Kingdom, ca. 1500 B.C. The text is a sort of *speculum principum*, and in it we find twice repeated the manifestation of a Hittite and Asianic cultural ideal: a formulaic expression of the unity and cohesion of different social groups under a just ruler.

> DUMU$^{MEŠ}$-ŠU ŠEŠ$^{MEŠ}$-ŠU LÚ$^{MEŠ}$ *gaenaš=šešš=a*
> LÚ$^{MEŠ}$ *haššannaš=šaš* Ù ERÍN$^{MEŠ}$-ŠU *taruppanteš ešer*
>
> His sons (and) brothers, and his relatives by marriage,
> the members of his kindred and his soldiers were united.

The quadripartite formula is also linguistically archaic, as shown by the thematic nom. pl. *gaenaš(=)*, from IE \*-ōs, which occurs only once elsewhere in Anatolian, in

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Palaic *marḫaš* 'gods'. The verb is *tarupp-* 'unite', which is the verb used to describe the Assuwa coalition in Western Anatolia. For the meaning of this verb, compare the Old Hittite *Bauritual* (CTH 414) KUB 29.1 ii 44, of a plaited ritual object:

*n=at tarip n=at* 1<sup>EN</sup> *iya . . .*

Unite it and make it one.

The Telepinus passage describes a quadripartite organization along two parameters: *blood—alliance* and *close—distant*:

| close male relatives by blood DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠU SEŠ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠU | close male relatives by marriage LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> *gaenaš=šeš=a* |
|---|---|
| partisans by kin fealty LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ḫaššannaš=šaš* | partisans by allegiance ERÍN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠU |

With a nod to Benveniste, we may term these "quadrants of social appurtenance": they define the individual's relation to the ruler. We know from another text that each soldier in the Hittite army (ERÍN<sup>MEŠ</sup>) swore a personal oath of allegiance to the king.

We find in the *Iliad* a remarkable homology to this Hittite societal formula, with the same quadripartite organization along the same two parameters. Perhaps significantly, the context is wholly Asianic: words of rebuke spoken by the Lycian Sarpedon to the Trojan Hektor (*Il.* 5.473–475); the key words are given in boldface:

Ἕκτορ, πῆι δή τοι μένος οἴχεται, ὃ πρὶν ἔχεσκες
φῆς που ἄτερ **λαῶν** πόλιν ἑξέμεν ἠδ' **ἐπικούρων**
οἶος, σὺν **γαμβροῖσι κασιγνήτοισί** τε σοῖσι·

Hektor, where has your battle-rage gone, which you vowed to have?
I suppose you said you would hold the city alone without your **own hosts** or **allies**, with just your **sisters' husbands** and your **brothers**.

Another instance of this "rebuke pattern" also involves a Lycian ally (Glaukos) rebuking Trojan Hektor and shows clear verbal similarities to the above passage; more significantly, it provides the explanation of λαοί 'hosts' (*Il.* 17.144–145):

φράζεο νῦν ὅππως κε πόλιν καὶ ϝάστυ σαώσηις
οἶος σύν λαοῖς τοὶ ϝιλίωι ἐγγεγάασιν

Think now how you can save the city and citadel alone,
with just your **own hosts** who were **born** in Ilios.

Ego's λαοί are thus the 'in-born', partisans by birth as opposed to the ἐπίκουροι, partisans by alliance. They therefore correspond to the Hittite LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ḫaššannaš=šaš* rather than to the ERÍN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠU. Sarpedon's model is then

| brothers by birth | brothers by marriage |
|---|---|
| partisans by birth | partisans by alliance |

| κασιγνήτοισί | γαμβροῖσι |
|---|---|
| λαοῖς τοὶ ϝιλίωι ἐγγεγάασιν | ἐπικούρων |

The role of the root *$\hat{g}enh_1$-*, the Greek semantic equivalent of Hittite *ḫašš-*, is noteworthy: κασίγνητοι, ἐγγεγάασιν.

The Hittite ideal is the unity of the four groups of social appurtenance under a wise and just ruler: *taruppanteš ešer*. The theme that is really at stake in the Homeric passages, as appears clearly in Sarpedon's exordium, is an Asianic sentiment of violation of the unity that their culture so highly valued. The direction is clear: an Asianic, specifically Hittite, ideal of unity among the groups representing four types of fealty becomes known to the Greek-speaking world and leaves its trace in a literary topos in the post-1200 Homeric period: spoken by an Asianic Lycian to an Asianic Trojan.

## II. <sup>KUŠ</sup>*kuršaš* and *αἰγίς*

That the Hittite cult object *kuršaš* designated a 'hunting bag' is now generally accepted. We can thank a series of iconographic and textual identifications by Popko, Dinçol, Alp, and decisively Hans Güterbock in the Kantor Festschrift (1985), now reprinted in his *Selected Writings: Perspectives on Hittite Civilization*.[2] The history of the identification is set forth in Gregory McMahon's *Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities* with full documentation and discussion.[3] As Güterbock stated, "It is really the representation of the bag in art which is decisive for the interpretation of the word."[4] The representation on the frieze on the stag rhyton of the Norbert Schimmel collection is clear: between a seated deity (of uncertain identification) and a tree (perhaps the sacred <sup>GIŠ</sup>*eya*) are 2 spears, a quiver with arrows, the *kuršaš* bag with strap handle, and a stag's head and forelegs (see fig. 1).

McMahon's monograph gives a detailed presentation of numerous texts dealing with the tutelary deities transcribed now as <sup>D</sup>LAMMA (formerly <sup>D</sup>KAL), notably <sup>D</sup>LAMMA <sup>KUŠ</sup>*kuršaš*. Since the cult of the tutelary deities is attested from the earliest Hittite times, McMahon is inclined to put them in the "Hattic stratum" of the Hittite pantheon. We remain grateful to him for his lucid summary of the *kuršaš* in Hittite cult and of its double nature, so characteristic of Hittite religion. For the *kuršaš* is at once a real and palpable physical object and a mystical hieratic symbol, attribute of a divinity and identified with that divinity.

2. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1997.
3. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1991; esp. pp. 251–54.
4. Güterbock, *Perspectives*, 139.

Fig. 1. Frieze on the stag rhyton, Norbert Schimmel Collection (after Güterbock).

The hunting bag as an object is usually made of leather, though other materials are found, and most frequently goatskin (KUŠ MÁŠ.GAL). These are specified as 'rough' (*warhui*), that is, with the hair or fleece still on. The bag has a strap handle, by which it can be hung on a peg, leaving any contents intact and accessible. It is noteworthy that these cultic objects, goatskin bags, are periodically 'renewed' (*āppa newahh-*) and remade and the old ones recycled to the provinces—a sort of immortality, everlastingness, or symbolic rejuvenation, just as the king's form or image (*ešri*) is ritually "renewed" in other early texts. Such is the appearance of the physical object in cultic texts. But what of ᴷᵁˢ*kuršaš* as a hieratic symbolic object in the Hittite realm of myth? Here we must recall Popko's words already in 1974 (cited by McMahon) that "the *kuršaš* functions as a kind of cornucopia filled with a variety of goods." The texts are well-known and familiar since the early days of Hittite studies; most are from the various Old Anatolian vanishing-god myths. The passages are clearly formulaic, following the same general pattern and order with small variations. Each is narrated when the vanished god has returned and reestablished the harmony and order of the earth and the kingdom. From a fragmentary version of the return of Telipinus (KUB 33.12 iv 13ff.): "Telipinus took account of the king;"

ANA ᴰTelipin[u piran ᴳᴵˢeya arta]
n=ašta ᴳᴵˢeya[z UDU-aš ᴷᵁˢkuršaš] kankanza
n=ašta anda MU.KAMᴴᴵ·ᴬ GÍD.DA kitta
[n=ašta anda] DUMUᴹᴱˢ-tar DUMU.NITAᴹᴱˢ DU[MU.MUNUSᴹᴱˢ kitta]
n=ašta anda da[ndukišnaš DUMU-aš GUDᴴᴵ·ᴬ-aš] UDUᴴᴵ·ᴬ-aš miyata [kitta]
n=ašta anda] LÚ-natar tarhuil[i- kitta]
n=ašta anda ukt[ūri-      kitta]
n=ašta anda šalhitti[š mannittiš kitta]
n=ašta anda nūš [tūmantiyaš kitta]
n=ašta anda [išpiyatar kitta]

n=an ᴰTelipinu[š LUGAL-i karpanut]
[nu]=šši hūma[n aššu paiš]

Before Telipinus stands an *eya*-tree;
From the *eya*-tree is hung a sheepskin hunting bag.
In it lies Long Years,
In it lies Progeny, Sons, (and) Daughters,
In it lies Growth of Mortal Man, Cattle, (and) Sheep,
In it lies Manhood (and) Power,
In it lies Eternity,
In it lies *Integrity (and) Endurance*,
In it lies Assent (and) Obedience,
In it lies Satiety
Telipinus lifted it up for the King,
and he gave him every good thing.

The version in the return of the vanished Storm God[5] differs only in details:

In it lies Sheep Fat,
In it lies Grain, Beast, (and) Wine,
In it lies Cattle (and) Sheep,
In it lies [Long Years (and) Progeny,] Sons (and) Daughters,
In it [lies Assent (and) Obedience],
In it lies The Right Shank (*kunnaš wallaš*)
[In it lies *Integrity, Endur*]*ance*, and Satiety.

The version in the main text of the disappearance of Telipinus is identical but after "Long Years (and) Progeny" omits "Sons (and) Daughters" and adds:

n=ašta anda SILA₄-aš miuš haluga$ kitta

In it lies the Gentle Sound (lit. 'message') of the Lamb.

These are allegorical and symbolic entities in the hunting bag; they need not have and we should not expect them to have any physical existence. The allegorical list is of all those good things which in the Hittite view (compare the Proclamation of King Telipinus) follow from a just and righteous ruler. They are the good things of peace. The structure of the verbal formulas is essentially invariant:

n=ašta **anda** . . . . . *kitta*

connective + local particle **IN** . . . . . lies.

We retain that in Hittite the abstract allegorical entities or manifestations of peace and prosperity are symbolically *inside* a hieratic sacred object, a hunting bag suspended by a strap, a bag made of the skin(s) of domestic small animals, usually goats or sheep, with the (long curling angora?) hair or fleece still on and showing. The hieratic cultic bags were "renewed," thus assuring their perpetuation and continuity.

5. Laroche, *Myth.*, 118–19.

In earlier days in Hittite studies, the ᴷᵁˢ*kuršaš* was translated 'skin, fleece' or 'shield', as still for example in Neu's Glossar.[6] Güterbock noted that "since it was mentioned together with weapons, it was thought that *kurša* might be a shield, an idea obviously influenced by the thought of the *aegis*."[7] But there is nothing wrong with the identification, for the aegis or αἰγίς in Homer is not a shield. Geoffrey Kirk, in his Iliad commentary on 2.447ff., states:

> Exactly how the poets of the epic tradition imagined the aegis is a difficult question. . . . It is probably a goat-skin in some form, for that is its obvious etymology (so, e.g., Chantraine, *Dict.* s.v.); it is put round the shoulders . . . like a sword(-strap) 5x *Il.*, or shield(-strap). . . . In classical art Athene's aegis is a skin thrown over the shoulders like a small shawl; see also *Arch. Hom.* E 53–6 [see fig. 2].

The match of the second-millennium hunting bag ᴷᵁˢ*kuršaš* in Anatolia and the first-millennium αἰγίς becomes even more striking when we look at the earliest Greek texts that contain the word, the Homeric poems. We see it first in Iliad 2.447, borne by Athena as she inspires the marshalled host of the Greeks:

αἰγίδ' ἔχουσ' ἐρίτιμον ἀγήραον ἀθανάτην τε,
τῆς ἑκατόν θύσανοι παγχρύσεοι ἠερέθονται,

holding the precious aegis, unaging, undying,
whose 100 tassels all in gold flutter in the wind,

Unaging and undying, it is immortal like the "renewed" *kuršaš*. The commonest formula for the aegis (*Il.* 5x) is the hemistich

αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσαν

the tasseled aegis

with the same word θύσανος that Pindar will use in Pyth. 4.230–231 of the tufts of the likewise immortal golden fleece:

ἄφθιτον στρωμνὰν ἀγέσθω,
κῶας αἰγλᾶεν χρυσέῳ θυσάνῳ.

Let him bring the imperishable coverlet,
the gleaming fleece tasseled in gold.

The formulaic similarity of the aegis and the golden fleece might well argue for a common source for both (as long suspected); but I do not insist. Suffice it to note the physical similarity of the rough (*warḫui-*) *kuršaš* of goat or sheepskin with the fleece or tufted hair showing, and the goatskin aegis/αἰγίς with its tassels showing. But there is more.

6. StBoT 26, 1983.
7. *Perspectives*, 138.



Fig. 2. Athena wearing aegis. Amasis painter, ca. 540 B.C. (after P. E. Arias, *A History of 100 Years of Greek Vase Painting.* New York: Abrams, 1962).

Another passage (*Il.* 15.306–310) describes Hector leading the advance of the Trojans, while Phoebus Apollo went before him (πρόσθεν δὲ κί' αὐτοῦ, recalling Hittite *piran ḫuwai-*) with the impetuous and terrible aegis with shaggy fringe all around (ἀμφιδάσειαν, again like Hittite *warḫui-*), which Hephaestus gave to Zeus to put warriors to rout (ἐς φόβον ἀνδρῶν).

In *Iliad* 5.733–742, Athena sheds her supple gown onto her father's floor, "a voluptuous description and movement" (Kirk), dons her armor, and throws on the aegis, "the actions symbolize her transformation from peaceful goddess to goddess of war" (Kirk).

Αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίη, κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
πέπλον μὲν κατέχευεν ἑανὸν πατρὸς ἐπ' οὔδει,
ποικίλον, ὅν ῥ' αὐτὴ ποιήσατο καὶ κάμε χερσίν·
ἣ δὲ χιτῶν' ἐνδῦσα Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο
τεύχεσιν ἐς πόλεμον θωρήσσετο δακρυόεντα.
Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετ' αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσαν
δεινήν, ἣν περὶ μὲν πάντῃ **Φόβος** ἐστεφάνωται,
ἐν δ' **Ἔρις**, ἐν δ' **Ἀλκή**, ἐν δὲ **κρυόεσσα Ἰωκή**,
ἐν δέ τε Γοργείη κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου,
δεινή τε σμερδνή τε, Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο.

Now in turn Athene, daughter of Zeus of the aegis,
beside the threshold of her father slipped off her elaborate
dress which she herself had wrought with her hands' patience,
and now assuming the war-tunic of Zeus who gathers
the clouds, she armed in her gear for the dismal fighting.
And across her shoulders she threw the betasseled, terrible
aegis, all about which **Terror** hangs as a garland,
**and in it is Strife, and Battle Strength, and heart-freezing Onslaught**
and thereon is set the head of the grim gigantic Gorgon,
a thing of fear and horror, portent of Zeus of the aegis.

The passage is demarcated by the ring of the two occurrences of the epithet αἰγιόχοιο filling the slot between bucolic diaeresis and line-end like the epithet θυσσανόεσσαν. Here for the first time we see that tasseled, shaggy goatskin with allegorical figures, part visual but part purely symbolic. The *phobos* 'fear, panic, rout' that we saw above is now embodied in the aegis itself. Two images are interwoven in this description. The first is modeled on a real shield, like that of Agamemnon in 11.35–37

τῇ δ' μὲν Γοργὼ βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο
δεινὸν δερκομένη, περὶ δὲ Δεῖμός τε Φόβος τε.

On it was garlanded the grim-faced Gorgon
looking horror, and around it were Terror and Fear.[8]

But the second is wholly abstract, a series of allegorical figures of battle and war that are inside the tasseled goatskin. It is difficult not to hear the very echo of the repeated Hittite

ANDA . . . . ANDA . . . . ANDA . . . .

in the Greek

EN D(E) . . . EN D(E) . . . EN DE . . .

Again I do not insist.

Greek tradition, both mythological and iconographic, knows that the Gorgon's head figures on Athena's *aegis*, as here in Homer or later on her shield. And the same tradition knows how it got there: Perseus gave the Gorgon's head to Athena, and she put it on her shield (Apollodorus 2.4.3). Now it is at least curious that in Greek mythology the Gorgon's severed head will first be put in a hunting bag, called the κίβισις, which the slayer Perseus got from the nymphs along with his winged sandals and his cap of invisibility. It is glossed as πήρα 'animal skin bag'. In its first attestation, the *Shield* of pseudo-Hesiod (224), the κίβισις is slung over the hero's back (with the head in it), and it is described as silver, with golden tassels hanging from it:

Γοργοῦς· ἀμφὶ δέ μιν κίβισις θέε, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,
ἀργυρέη· θύσανοι δὲ κατηωρεῦντο φαεινοὶ
χρύσειοι· δεινὴ δὲ περὶ κροτάφοισιν ἄνακτος

They are the same θύσανοι 'tassels' that hung from the aegis (and the golden fleece), and the Gorgon's head is physically *in* the functioning hunting bag (κίβισις) in the myth just as it is symbolically *in* the αἰγίς of Athena.

All of this looks very like an Asianic, Hittite hieratic sacred object, the shaggy goatskin or sheepskin hunting bag *kurša* being borrowed or diffused into the mythology of a geographically contiguous culture both in its literal sense of 'hunting bag', the κίβισις, and in its symbolic sense of container of abstract allegorical entities, the αἰγίς.[9]

We have seen in Hittite culture allegorical figures of *peace* and prosperity that are symbolically *in* a hieratic sacred object, the *kurša*.

We have seen in Early Greek culture allegorical figures of *war* and battle that are symbolically *in* a very similar hieratic sacred object, the αἰγίς.

It might be objected that the two should not be compared because of the difference of background and context, war and peace. But we find the same allegorical figures of both contexts in a single utterance in a familiar Old Hittite ritual text, the *Bauritual* KUB 29.1 (CTH 414) iii 29–34: "When they begin plastering new houses, they speak these words:"

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8. I simply call attention to the semantic coincidence of the Greek allegorical pair Δεῖμος and Φόβος 'Terror and Rout' and the Hittite pair *Nahšaraz* and *Weritema* 'Fear and Terror' familiar from Old Hittite times and the Hattic, Old Anatolian mythological stratum through the Sun hymns and other texts. For many examples, see *CHD* s.v. *nahšaratt-*. Here independent creation is at least as plausible as borrowing or diffusion.

9. The word κίβισις (variant κύβεσις) is without etymology. Should we perhaps compare Hittite *ᵁᴿᵁᴰᵁkibun-*, Hieroglyphic Luvian (CORNU)*ki-pu-ta-*? A hunting bag as cornucopia?

ᴳᴵ�revᴰAG-*iz=wa taraškizzi*
*mān=wa=za É-ir andurza ḫanešteni*
*nu=wa* MU.KAMᴴᴵᴬ GÍD.DA *ḫanešten(i)*
*āššu ḫanešten(i)*
*mānn=a=at araḫza=ma ḫanešteni*
*nu naḫšarattan ḫanešten*
*nu išḫaššarwātar ḫanešten*

The Throne says:
When you plaster a house inside,
plaster Long Years,
plaster Wealth;
But when you plaster it outside,
plaster Awe,
plaster Dominion.

The house is a microcosm of the Hittite world, the city and the kingdom, at once in peace and at war: facing in, Longevity and Prosperity; facing out, Authority and Mastery. They are "in" two sides of the same wall.

I believe the evidence indicates that the Greek hieratic object and symbol which is the αἰγίς, attested first in the 8th century, is a cultural borrowing or diffusion, direct or indirect, of the hieratic object and symbol which is the *kuršaš* from the civilization of Hittite Anatolia in the second millennium. The αἰγίς or *aegis* as a symbolic object was then borrowed from Greece to Rome and thence to all of the European languages of culture, where it remains the word for a symbol of authority to this day. It is a not unworthy cultural legacy of the Hittites and their *kuršaš*, the sacred hunting bag.

# The "Hittites" at ʿAin Dara

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The great temple atop the steep-sided citadel mound at ʿAin Dara, seventy kilometers northwest of Aleppo, is one of Syrian archaeology's most impressive and enigmatic monuments.[1] The god or gods to whom it was consecrated are unknown and the date of its original construction uncertain, but it was clearly in existence before the end of the second millennium B.C. and the cultural orientation of those who created and maintained it is manifestly polygenetic. The edifice appears to represent a fusion of two quite different streams of tradition: Hittite-inspired sculptural decoration imposed on a standard, straight-axis, tripartite Syro-Palestinian temple form. It was modified on several occasions, and a final scheme of embellishment was incomplete when the temple was abandoned in the eighth or seventh century B.C. Yet despite these uncertainties, obscurities, and transformations, this structure and the settlement associated with it offer an intriguing perspective on what it meant to be "Hittite" in the early Iron Age.

The observations presented in this essay stem from work done at the site more than a dozen years ago when Elizabeth Stone and I conducted a survey and soundings in the settlement at ʿAin Dara under the aegis of the Syrian expedition.[2] The rather mundane archaeological data we uncovered in the lower town[3] suggest some cautionary arguments about the site's Hittite affiliations, particularly when viewed in

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1. Partially unearthed in the 1960s, the building was completely cleared during the 1980s by expeditions under the direction of Dr. ʿAli Abu ʿAssaf. An elegant final publication has appeared (Abū ʿAssāf 1990), and the site, now on the tourist circuit, is subject to the ministrations of conservators.

2. We first visited the site in the autumn of 1981 and on that occasion Abu ʿAssaf and Wahid Khyatta invited us to initiate a project exploring the lower settlement during the next summer. We conducted our work in three eight-week campaigns during the summers of 1982, 1983, and 1984. Funding for the latter two seasons was provided by grants from the National Geographic Society, and the whole effort was made possible by the generosity and logistical support of the Syrian expedition, to whom we are most grateful.

3. A detailed report on our work in the settlement (Stone and Zimansky 1999) has recently appeared. A summary report, consolidating the three reports that were prepared at the end of each season in the 1980s, was submitted to the *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* in August, 1996.