

Another Capital City of the Hittite State: Šapinuwa¹

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The expression 'capital city' acquired its standard meaning in the modern age. In the Hittite state, the words 'capital city' meant the city where the king resided and ruled in terms of religious, political and military aspects. The King conducted various roles in this capital city as the head priest, as the head commander and as the head judge. In the long history of the Hittites, the capital moved city many times like in the history of many other states. Šapinuwa was a capital city where the Great King took on these roles like Kuššara, Neša, Hattuša and Tarhuntašša as it is known from the Hittite texts. There were quite a few reasons for moving the capital. It is possible to see that wars, Kaška raids, internal problems, epidemic diseases, throne fights, and undetermined problems between dynasties, safety, and geographical convenience were some of the reasons that might explain these moves.

As it was mentioned in the Hittite sources from the Boğazköy archive, the Great King Muwattalli II went to Tarhuntašša, taking his ancestors and gods with him. In the Hittite government there was a Great King who led the state. If there had not been other cities similar to Hattuša, and Hattuša had been in fact the only place where the Great King had led the state, then the Great King would have never abandoned this city and taken his ancestors and statues. The governance of Hattuša would have never been left to the chief scribe Mittannamuwa. In the Hittite history, Hattuša was not always the capital city. In this respect, it is not accurate to say that every document and every subject relating to the Hittite State should be found in Hattuša or that the only place to find information about the Kingdom is there. If this was the case, the Šapinuwa archives would only contain information about local matters and letters about its district.

It is always possible that the kingdom might have changed the center of government from one city to another and that the former city might have lost its importance. It would have been possible to return to known cities where a lot of previous investments had been made. In my opinion, the most important factor causing this variation of capital cities was politics.

Let us examine the documents which show Šapinuwa as a capital city.

The total number of tablets and tablet pieces found in the cuneiform archives of Ortaköy-Šapinuwa has surpassed four thousand. In the Hittite city of Šapinuwa, at the Tepelerarası location, three archives in the 'A' building and one archive in the 'B' building have been found for now. In the 'C' and 'D' building, tablets from the archives have also been found. Furthermore, the number of tablets which have been found scattered and in close proximity to these buildings are numerous. New tablets have also been found in the Ağılönü region which is far from Tepelerarası location.

¹ The Turkish version of this article is published in: T. Tarhan, A. Tibet, E. Konyar (eds.), *Muhibbe Darga Armağanı* (Istanbul 2008).

Right now, the cuneiform archive of Ortaköy-Šapinuwa is the second biggest archive following Boğazköy-Hattuša. These four thousand tablets and pieces of tablets are written in different languages including Hittite, Hurrian, Hattian and Akkadian. Ortaköy-Šapinuwa tablets not only contain letters, oracles and religious texts but also vocabulary, Hattian construction rituals, Akkadian letters and lists, Hurrian ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI rituals and *itkalzi* ritual texts and others² (Fig.1).

These tablets in various languages and of various contents show that we are dealing with a Kingdom archive. The Great King must have lived and ruled from here and therefore the documents found in the royal archives give us a great opportunity to explore very important data.

In addition to a large archive of tablets, there are also seal impressions written in hieroglyphic writing which were found in Ortaköy-Šapinuwa (Fig.2). Most of these belong to seals of officers except the Tabarna seal impressions. There are some architectural pieces which have hieroglyphic writing on them (Fig. 3). Unfortunately these basalt stone pieces were not found at their original places. They were found in places where they were later used. It is hard to say for now but we can guess that they were used at the entrance of or on the road to the city.

The highest percentage of letters present are in the Ortaköy tablets. In this archive the biggest group is represented by letters sent to the Great King. Most of these letters begin with the expression "Tell my Sun! Everything is well at the city; it has been protected from the enemy". Similar declarations point to the fact that many cities were governed by the administrative state of Šapinuwa. The data gained from the Šapinuwa archives show that many cities, big and small, were governed by Šapinuwa and the local officers of these cities either asked permission to the Great King about their future endeavors or wrote to give information about the happenings in their cities³.

The name of the Great King is not referred to in the letters. According to the custom he is always called ^{DUTU}ŠI, "My Sun". There are letters to the Great King, letters to the Queen and to several officers. The contents of these letters are very important, and concern not only local matters, but also the activities of the Hittite Kingdom. This is further evidence showing that Šapinuwa was the capital of the state.

The city of Šapinuwa would house the Great King and would become the capital of the Hittite state for a long time. As a tablet written by the Great King, found at Maşat Höyük/Tapigga, states: "When this tablet reaches you, send 1701 soldiers at once from the city of Išhupitta to Šapinuwa in two days time, to the Great King's presence". The Ortaköy

archives also show Šapinuwa was a very important and ruling Hittite city. It was the capital city where the Great King resided⁴.

There were many officers at Šapinuwa. More than seventy officers are confirmed by the names of senders and receivers of known letters. This is certain evidence to show that the Great King lived in Šapinuwa and administrated the government from there. There is a large amount of documents addressed to the Great King among the Šapinuwa letters. I want to inform you about the contents of those letters which were sent to the Great King.

- In a letter written to the Great King, the officer Takša mentions the land which belongs to the Great King at Šalpa: "See! Look! I care for the lands of the Great King. There were small amounts of products in some cultivated areas. Then it was also irrigated". In the following of the text the officer Takša says: "The Man of Maša will return from Hatti". The geographical names in the text indicate that the letter comes from western Anatolia. On the reverse side of the text is written: "Look! I will find the guilty lords and I will go to them and catch them and I will send them to the presence of the Great King".

- A man from the land of Arzawa, Uhhamuwa, writes to the Great King in the following way: "Tell to My Sun, to My Lord! Your slave Uhhamuwa says...". This and other letters from Uhhamuwa mention some important historical names like Tarhundaradu and Kupantakurunta(ya). They also mention some cities located in the southwestern and in the western Anatolia, for instance Happuriya, Šallapa, Maša, Kuršamma, Attarimma, Kuwaliya, Lalanda, Zaruna, Kummaha⁵.

- Another letter is addressed to the Great King. The name of the sender is broken. It says: "...and everything is fine in the country". In this letter the officer gives information to the Great King of the city Lalanda, writing about cereals, warehouses and cattle. He says that he will do whatever the Great King writes him back and whatever the Great King demands from him. The same text also mentions the city of Pala along with the man of Lalanda. On the reverse side of the tablet, we can read "A man of Attarimma" and "Kurunta".

- There is another text addressed by various people to the Great King. In this text there are the names of the city Maša and of the officer Tatta on the obverse. On the reverse side of the tablet the names of the cities Tarhuiššiya, Tarhundaradu, a man from Ahhiya, Kuwaliya, Iyalanda and Immeha are attested. In the text is written: "We wrote about Iyalanda and Immeha cities. They gave us their infantry and chariotry". In the following paragraph, the names of Zalmakurunta and Lahha are also referred. Here it is stated that they will also give soldiers.

- A small fragment states that some cities (we don't know their names as the tablet is broken) "gave NAM.RA and cattles, the amount of the sheeps were.....". The text

²A. Süel, "Ortaköy: Eine Hethitische Stadt mit Hethitischen und Hurritischen Tontafelentdeckungen", *Hittite and other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp* (Ankara 1992), 487-492; A. Süel, "Ortaköy-Šapinuwa arşivleri", 1996 yılı *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Konferansları* (Ankara 1997), 93-99.

³A. Süel, "Ortaköy Tabletlerinde Geçen Bazı Yeni Coğrafya İsimleri", *V. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri* (Ankara 2005), 679-685.

⁴A. Süel, "Ortaköy'ün Hitit Çağındaki Adı", *Belleten* LIX, Sa. 225 (Ankara 1995), 271-283/ "The Name of Ortaköy in the Hittite Period", *XII. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara 1999), 117-128.

⁵A. Süel, "Ortaköy Tabletleri Işığında Batı Anadolu İle İlgili Bazı Konular Üzerine" in: G. Wilhelm, *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie. Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999*, StBoT 45 (Wiesbaden 2001), 670-678.

continues: "The NAM.RA, cattle and sheep of Hulana". The name of Aššuwa can be seen in the broken lines.

- A letter written to the Great King says: "It is cleaned from the enemies". In the same letter there are related topics concerning Happuriya and Arzawa.

- One of the texts states: "And he told me like this: the man of Happuriya and the man of Šara caught the *piran huyatalla* (the administrator) and he spoke like this: 'The men of Kummaha sent delegates to Tarhundaradu and we received a task and I will go to him to complete the task. I will not behave according to myself. I will do exactly whatever you, My Sun, write to me about the men of the city Kummaha'" - and the text continues - "A refugee came from Pitašša and said like this..."

It can be understood from the above mentioned examples that western Anatolia was under Hittite authority and that the Great King was ruling in Šapinuwa. The letters contain many matters, especially political ones.

From the Madduwatta text, we learn that Madduwatta collected the taxes coming from Alašiya (Cyprus) which were submitted to Hatti. Later in time, Madduwatta also became dependent on Hatti. In one of the letters from the Ortaköy-Šapinuwa archive related to Cyprus/Alašiya, an officer (the name is broken) says: "About the tax issue....I did it and about the tax issue.....sent to the presence of My Sun. Tattamaru told me that: 'the ships of Alašiya are inside the sea, killed the people of Hahhada and City of Lukka'". This important text is about the countries of Alašiya and Lukka.

- A letter from the officer Šarlakurunta to the Great King: "My Sun, you wrote me like this: 'Determine the oracle in Zidaparta and Pala!'" In this oracle text, the officer Šarlakurunta explains an oracle to the Great King, in which several places are mentioned. They are Pala, Kappuwa, Lalha, the city Išpuha, the city Arawanna, the city Walhuwaššantiya, the city Tittipuwanda, the city Ayaranna and the city Ziulila. In the following paragraph Šarlakurunta explains that he will go to determine the oracles in the cities of Zitarparha, Pala and Ziulila. He writes to the Majesty saying: "My Sun, write me urgently. I will look to this subject for the second time and I will send when it is ready. If any..... happens on the road, I will deal with this issue personally".

- A letter from officer Hulla is about the land of Tahazzili. In the text the officeholder says: 'My Sun, My Lord, you wrote me about the land of Tahazzili. Tell My Sun, My Lord! I wrote My Sun, My Lord like this. Look, I guided the courier but the courier is not waiting for him. And this means he will let him go'.

- An officer, whose name is lost in a gap, wrote to the Great King like this: "My Lord, My Sun, you wrote me about Zippili, I wrote him and they brought him and I questioned him about the enemy".

- Officer Mariya writes in his letter: "Tell My Sun, My Lord! Your slave Mariya says that, you, My Sun, My Lord, want soldiers from me. Armaziti immediately brought soldiers of Išuwa to me".

- Another officer Ziti writes in his letter: "Tell My Sun, My Lord, your slave Ziti says like this: 'Everything in the country is well'. Look! One helmet and a mirror have been lost in Kammama and he wants new ones to replace the loss. The officer Ziti, situated at Kammama, requests from the Great King that Mešeni be sent and that Mešeni see the

city". The letter continues reporting issues about Išhupitta: "My Sun how you write your letter.....come with you and I, myself will bring them to the presence of My Sun".

In another letter officer Palli writes: "Tell My Sun, My Lord! Your slave Palli says that: 'I will talk about family ties'. I was at the presence of My Sun, My Lord and I told My Sun, My Lord the subject about Šunupaššu's wife. Then My Sun, my Lord you sent the spear man. And let them come and guide Šunupaššu's wife and let them take her immediately and Šunupaššu day and night..."

Officer Šahurunuwa writes: "Tell my Sun, My Lord, your slave Šahurunuwa says like this: 'Infantry and chariotry are all well. The sentry posts were protected from the enemy' ". In the following of the text the officer states: "My Sun, My Lord, we observed the enemy in Pithilwa and when we heard the enemy matter, we defeated them and we arrested fifteen people". The officer Šahurunuwa lists the names of the captives and says: "Infantry and chariotry are well and with me. My Sun, My Lord, you know the situation like this".

Again, in a letter written to the Great King: "Tell my Sun, My Lord! Your slave EN-tarauwa explains the situation to the Great King like this: 'My Sun, My Lord, you wrote me to send you, at the presence of My Sun, six hundred soldiers from Hanhana immediately'. I sent a courier to the presence of My Sun, My Lord, but I have already sent the soldiers two days ago". EN-tarauwa finishes his letter in this way: "I will send to the presence of My Sun, My Lord, and how they tell me the Gašga issue, I, myself will present it to My Sun, My Lord".

Among the letters to the Great King, there are issues about Hakmiš, Hayaša, Kizzuwatna, Hurri and the cities like Alalah, Hušura, Išmeriga, Ugarit, Neya.

It is clear that these letters mention matters related to a vast area including central Anatolia, its western and southeastern regions and northern Syria. The content of these documents does not only report orders. It also preserves matters of diplomatic, religious, administrative and political scope.

Furthermore, spear heads and axes with the cuneiform writing "LUGAL.GAL" (Great King) on them were found at Ortaköy-Šapinuwa. This very important group of material is the evidence, also from an archaeological point of view, that the Great King resided there and Šapinuwa was a capital city (Fig 4-5).

Another important fact about the Ortaköy cuneiform archives is that letters belonging to the Queen were discovered. In these groups of letters, it is possible to see letters written by the Queen to the Great King and letters written to officers (Fig.6). In these letters the Queen gives information about religious matters, administrative matters and especially matters that deal with oracles. On the other hand, it is important to have letters written by the officers to the Queen in the archives.

This letter from the Queen to the Great King has to do with fortune telling. The Queen begins the letter with good wishes: "My Sun, My Lord! Your servant, the Queen, says: I wish everything to be great in the presence of My Sun and may the thousand gods keep alive My Sun, may they give health, long life and strength and protect My Sun. Everything is good with me. My Sun, my Lord". It is clear from this passage that the Queen is writing to the Great King in Šapinuwa about the cities where she had been to inquire about the oracles. Unfortunately the rest of the tablet is broken, but oracle

terminology can be recognized in the quoted passages. The Queen says: "I have let My Sun, My Lord know and then moved to the city of Zithara.The Lords have told me so: Hatila city.... I have stayed overnight... Zithara".

The letter that the Queen wrote to the Great King involves passages about sacrifices. In her letter the Queen says: "My Sun, My lord! Your servant, the Queen, says: 'I wish everything to be great in the presence of My Sun and may the gods keep alive My Sun. Everything is good with me. My Sun, My Lord, you have sent Wašunni and you have written me about sacrifice in the following way'". In the latter passages she repeats the orders given by the Great King and continues: "And then I sent Wašunni to Hattuša, they shall go and read the tablet in the presence of the Lords and whatever they decide to do, they write to the Great King immediately". The Queen gives information about oracle birds in the rest of the letter. She ends her letter as such: "My Sun, My Lord, and write to Šarlakurunta and, they should observe him to the fullest".

In the Hittite world, it is seen that the noble or peasant woman was close to her man in the patriarchal family. These Queens, who became gods after death, and therefore received sacrifices, were in correspondence with their Great Kings. They were able to sign agreements with their personal seals, and were able to lead religious ceremonies and take judicial decisions.

As it is understandable from these examples, the letters from the Ortaköy archives prove that there was in fact a Queen next to the Great King in Šapinuwa. It is possible to understand that while the Great King ruled the Hittite state from Šapinuwa, the Queen was at his side and was busy with her own duties and responsibilities.

An Ortaköy letter, which is partially broken, begins with the following words: "Tell to My Sun and to My Queen! Your servant X states as such".

Another letter begins like this: "Tell to My Sun and to My Queen! Your servant, the priest says: 'I wish everything to be great in the presence of My Sun and My Queen and may the gods keep alive My Sun and My Queen, may they give health, soundness, might, life and strength and protect My Sun and My Queen' ". This official letter, showing great respect and good wishes, is one of the letters recovered from Šapinuwa that was written to the Great Hittite King and Queen. In the Ortaköy archives, there are other letters, like these, written to the Great King and Queen. There are also letters written by the Great King and Queen to the officers.

The above mentioned letters written to the Great King and Queen demonstrate the presence of the Royal couple in Šapinuwa. Whoever were the Great King and Queen that ruled Šapinuwa can be further examined through the *itkalzi* rituals, in various Hittite and Hittite-Hurrian tablets discovered in Šapinuwa. In the *itkalzi* rituals from Šapinuwa, which are mostly written in Hurrian, the performers of the sacrifice are Tašmišarri and Taduhepa. This royal couple is known to us from the Bogazköy archives. The *itkalzi* rituals performed in Šapinuwa have a valuable meaning for the Hittite world. Similar ones are also known from the Bogazköy archives. Tašmišarri ascended to the throne as Tuthaliya III. Taduhepa is the Queen who was beside the Great King at Ortaköy-Šapinuwa, as attested in the *itkalzi*

tablets. On the other hand, Taduhepa was still the Tawananna, the ruling Queen, besides Šuppiluliuma I, after Tuthaliya's death⁶.

The Tabarna seal impressions belonging to the Great King have been discovered during the excavations in Šapinuwa (Fig. 7-8). Objects, axes and spear heads with "Great King" written in cuneiform engraved on them, have been found. This material group is evidence that Šapinuwa is a place where the King resided. Until recently, no documents with the King's name or possibly several Kings' names were found. Furthermore, several similarities with the contents of the tablets from Boğazköy and Maşat have been noted. With this information, we can date most of the tablets in the 14th century, during the reign of the Great King Tuthaliya III⁷.

This material discovered *in situ* is very important. It is possible to read clearly in the central part of several seals "MAGNUS.REX" (cun. LUGAL.GAL) MONS+TU (cun. HUR.SAG+Tu) = Tuthaliya on the left side, and Ta-tu-ḫe-pa on the right side. There are ornamental motifs of fertility and well-being on the mould. The signs are remarkably clear and the seal was carefully prepared. The names on this mould support the idea that during the Middle Hittite period the king Tuthaliya III and queen Taduhepa were in Šapinuwa (Fig. 9).

It is possible to collect some facts about the roots of Hurrian dynasty and Hurrian culture during the Middle Kingdom from a historical text⁸. In this text, the city and country of Šapinuwa bear a great importance. The forces belonging to the country of Šapinuwa and the forces belonging to the country of Hatti are at stake. On the other hand, in the duplicate of the text, only Šapinuwa is mentioned. In this text, the city and the country of Šapinuwa play a central role. In other words, in this text, there is a clear distinction between the country of Šapinuwa and the country of Hatti⁹. We can explain this by considering that Šapinuwa was a capital city.

The letter of the Great King sent to the mayor (HAZANNU) emphasizes the administrative importance of this city. The correspondence between officers has an important place in the Ortaköy-Sapinuwa archive.

An example refers to the Commander of the Army (GAL GEŠTIN), the officer Kuikuišanduwa. Another one is from several people to the Commander of the Army (GAL GEŠTIN).

In the managing class there were officers who dealt with state issues, and scribes. It is well known the importance and the position in the protocol of the scribal class. In a capital

⁶ A. Süel, "Šapinuwa'daki Kraliçe Hakkında" in F. Pecchioli S. de Martino, *Anatolia Antica, Studi in Memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, Eothen 11 (Firenze 2004), 819-826.

⁷ A. Süel, "Ortaköy-Šapinuwa Tabletlerinin Tarihlandırılması", *III. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri* (Ankara 1998), 551-558.

⁸ A. Süel, "Ortaköy-Šapinuwa: Bir Hitit Merkezi", *TÜBA-AR 1* (1998), 37-61.

⁹ A. Süel, "Ortaköy-Šapinuwa: Bir Hitit Merkezi", *TÜBA-AR 1* (1998), 37-61.

city with a significant administration, it was necessary to have officers to take care of the correspondence.

In a letter from Šapinuwa the chief of the scribes says: "Dear sons, tell Piyamatarhu, Hubuti and to all friends! See to this issue Piyamatarhu and Hubuti, and then send Arihpizzi and Zuhanni immediately". Similarly, there is another official letter that concerns the chief of the scribes and all notables in a comparable fashion.

As it can be understood from these examples, Šapinuwa was a place of writing, where a very important and strong scribal class existed. The Hurrian scribe Hubuti known already from the Boğazköy archives was also in charge in Šapinuwa. The *itkalzi* rituals were written in Šapinuwa and spread from there to the Hittite world. These tablets are meaningful. The discovered *itkalzi* tablets are very well elaborated and written in the finest way. Most likely they were written with the golden stylus found in Ortaköy (Fig.10).

The scribes of Šapinuwa were a large community. They attended to the mass of administrative duties, distinctive of a capital city which also played a prominent religious role.

It is possible to reconstruct the important position of Šapinuwa in the state official religion through many other examples. The ceremonies performed here were dedicated to the gods of Šapinuwa as well as to the gods of other cities. We understand this from the amount of gods names attested in the tablets, like, for example: ^DU ^{URU}Kumma, ^{DINGIR}^{MES} ^{URU}Tata, ^{DINGIR}^{MES} ^{URU}Kuwatiella, ^{DINGIR}^{MES} ^{URU}Pittaggalaišša, ^{DINGIR}^{MES} ^{URU}Palhuišša, ^DLAMMA ^{URU}Išpitta, ^{DINGIR}^{MES} ^{URU}Iškuruha, ^DU ^{URU}Šerišša.

The texts report that the king had religious travels at least once a year. During these cult journeys, the Great King visited each city of the kingdom, visited the holy grounds, and participated in ceremonies and gave offerings to the gods. These cult voyages also had a political aspect: the Great King checked if everything was on track in these cities.

We learn from some fragmentary texts that Šapinuwa had two Storm gods (2 ^DU^{HIA} ^{URU}Šapinuwa). Why did Šapinuwa have two Storm gods? Could these two gods represent the combination of the Hurrian/Hittite worlds in this city? It is clear that the answers to these questions will be found with future excavations. On the other hand, the Storm god attested in the tablets from Šapinuwa is also mentioned as an important figure in the 'list of oath gods' from the Boğazköy texts.

Šapinuwa had to become a capital city, so that the Great King could fulfill his administrative duties; many arrangements including architectural planning began. In the documents from Ortaköy, we see that soldiers were gathered from the surrounding areas in order to attend the constructions. For example: "Apalla sent a carpenter. Look! Moved 370 soldiers from Zallara and set them to the temples". Likewise, we can observe from the tablets that 600 soldiers from Hanhana and 400 soldiers from Zithara were sent as well.

Whoever now visits the site of Šapinuwa can see that this place is not composed of just a few buildings, but it is an entire capital city. Since the beginning of the excavations in 1990 an area of 9 km² has been unearthed revealing a big Hittite city¹⁰ (Fig.11).

¹⁰ A. Süel, "Ortaköy: Eine hethitische Stadt mit hethitischen und hurritischen Tontafelentdeckungen" in: H. Otten, E. Akurgal, H. Ertem, A. Süel, *Hittite and Other Anatolian*

The excavations at Šapinuwa are in the process of analyzing these architectural activities. For example, when the decision for the construction of the 2500 m² "A" building was finalized, the humble buildings from the Hittite age were torn down and the ground was leveled for the new building to be constructed. The 2 m thick cyclopean foundation walls are still intact. It is even possible to see the partitions at 25 m that is for the flexion of such monumental buildings. The 25 m wide and 100 m long building foundation is still intact today, without any damage. On top of it, the complete east side of this building sits on a 5 m deep fill. The methods used in the construction of these buildings, which helped to distribute the weight of a building equally at the base, were an innovation in the field of civil engineering at the time and are still in use today. These applications show us how knowledgeable and capable the Hittite craftsmen were.

The 'A' building is not only important for Šapinuwa, but also a monumental building exemplar for the whole Anatolian region. It has a very peculiar and symmetrical plan. It is understood that it had two floors over the basement floor. One of the richest tablet archives in the Hittite age was found in this building. The case-like body of the defensive wall that is surrounded by guarding walls with towers of even distribution is very similar in dimension to the Boğazköy defensive walls.

Another monumental structure named 'B' Building, located about 150 m east from the 'A' Building was revealed¹¹. 1,5 m high mud brick walls and space to locate vertical beams about every 1,20 m. can be observed on the cyclopean basis of this structure. This building is a single storey, square structure which has 1250 m² settling area. It has few internal partition walls and has an appearance like a warehouse. It also has external spaces which can be interpreted as showrooms, and functional spaces. There are more than 70 huge *pithoi* which have a capacity to contain 1/1,5 tons of material. This can not be just for

and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp (Ankara 1992), 487-492; A. Süel, "Çorum-Ortaköy 1990 Yılı Kazısı", *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi* (Ankara 1992), 89-98; A. Süel, "1990 yılı Çorum-Ortaköy Kazı Çalışmaları", *XIV. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* I, 25-29 Mayıs 1992, (Ankara 1993), 495-508; A. Süel - M. Süel, "1994 yılı Çorum-Ortaköy Kazı Çalışmaları", *XVII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* I, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, No.1808, (Ankara 1996), 263-282; A. Süel - M. Süel, "1995 yılı Ortaköy-Şapinuwa Kazı Çalışmaları", *XVIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* I (Ankara 1997), 339-351; A. Süel - M. Süel, "Şapinuwa, decouverte d'une ville hittite", *Archeologia* 334 (1997), 68-74; A. Süel - M. Süel, "1996 yılı Ortaköy-Şapinuwa Kazı Çalışmaları", *XIX. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* I (Ankara 1998), 515-528; M. Süel, "Ortaköy-Şapinuwa Hitit Şehri, III", *Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri*, (Ankara 1998), 559-572; A. Süel - M. Süel, "1997 yılı Ortaköy-Şapinuwa Kazı Çalışmaları", *XX. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* I (Ankara 1999), 433-443; A. Süel - M. Süel, "1998 Yılı Ortaköy-Şapinuwa Kazı Çalışmaları", *XXI. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* I, 24-28 Mayıs 1999 (Ankara 2000), 321-326; A. Süel - M. Süel, "2000 Yılı Ortaköy-Şapinuwa Kazı Çalışmaları", *XXIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, I.Cilt, 28 Mayıs-01 Haziran 2001 (Ankara 2002), 413-418; A. Süel, "2002 Yılı Ortaköy-Şapinuwa Kazı Çalışmaları", *XXV. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 2. Cilt, 26-31 Mayıs 2003, (Ankara 2004), 229-234.; A. Süel, "Ortaköy/Şapinuwa Ören Yerinde 2003 Yılı Çalışmaları", *XXVI. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 2.Cilt, 24-28 Mayıs 2004, Konya (Ankara 2005), 243-250; A. Süel - M. Süel, "2004 yılı kazı Çalışmaları", *XXVII. kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 2. Cilt, 30 Mayıs-03 Haziran 2005 (Ankara 2006), 1-8.

¹¹ M. Süel, "Ortaköy-Şapinuwa 'B' Binası", *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie*, Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999, StBoT 45 (Wiesbaden 2001), 679-684.

storage. The deer motifs close to the openings of these big earthenware jars draw attention. This building presents us the wealth of this city and its economic products. The stored cereals, wine and oil must have constituted a part of the treasury of the governance as these staples represent the power of the King. This city must have been on an artery of commerce.

A striking feature of this building is the entrance whose base is carefully spread with gravel. It is possible that carriages were put into the building. There is slightly rising ground from the double door opening to this entrance way. In addition to the huge *pithoi* which were used to store cereals and liquids, there are also some warehouses which maybe used to put fabric and minerals¹². Some badly burned tablets were found in one of the rooms at the entrance of the building.

The flat area where both the above mentioned buildings 'A' and 'B' stand is quite large. We interpret this flat area as the terrace of the city. We believe that most of the monumental buildings stood on this terrace that could also be appraised as the acropolis of the city.

The research done with this idea took us to the third and fourth buildings. These buildings located on the southern side of the terrace are called the 'C' and 'D' buildings. It is possible to say that both of them were built for religious purposes.

Building 'C' was heavily damaged by the construction machines that were trying to flatten the land, before Şapinuwa excavations began. Building 'C' is located on the southeastern side of Şapinuwa terrace where most of the monumental structures exist. It is a rectangular building. On the east side there are two rooms in which bases once belonging to statues and two altars were found. The building comes across as a religious place with the two altars in the courtyard, a ceremony room and a saloon with its *adyton*. The cuneiform inscription LUGAL GAL 'Great King' on the spear heads and axes found next to the doorway of this building indicates that this place was a royal building (Fig.4-5). The hieroglyphic inscription "Great King Tuthaliya and Taduhepa" on the mould found in the *adyton* show as well that this place was a royal building, and it also gives us the name of the king and queen.

Another building next to 'C' has been named 'D'. It is a religious structure¹³. Of the two opposing orthostates at the entrance, the one on the left belongs to the god Tešup (Fig.12-13). The god is in-arms and welcomes the visitors of the building while resting on a spear with his left hand. The purification pool at the entrance and the unique offerings found on the terrace of the *adyton* help us to understand and acknowledge the Hittite art and history. This structure provides invaluable data: bronze reaping hook shaped spear heads, and axes with the signs LUGAL GAL 'Great King' written on them (Fig.4-5,14), the bronze armor and one bronze helmet, and the Tabarna seal impressions imprinted on the junction of walls (Fig. 15). It should also be noted that the gleaming stone axe, which

¹² A. Süel – M. Süel, "Ortaköy-Şapinuwa'nın Hitit Mimarisindeki Yeri ve Önemi", *Habitat II*, Ege Yayınları (İstanbul 1999), 425-435; A. Süel - M. Süel, "Ortaköy Araştırmaları, İdol, Arkeologlar Dergisi", Ocak-Şubat-Mart 2006, Yıl 8, Sayı 28, 14-21.

¹³ M. Süel, "Ortaköy-Şapinuwa 'D' Yapısı, Hitit Dini Mimarisinde Değişik bir Yorum", *V. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri*, (Ankara 2005), 687-700.

was also found in the same *adyton*, represents the Hittite world and is a very unique item (Fig. 16)¹⁴. The inscriptions "Great King" on the axes and spear heads tell us once again that we are dealing with a royal complex.

About 75 m of the fortification walls that surround these monumental buildings have been uncovered. The insides of the city walls were not filled in, but were built to be used as storage space for vertical beams and huge *pithoi*, using a refined architecture, indicating added expense.

However, outside the big terrace that has been researched on a small scale, the city was torn apart by flood cracks. Important findings have been uncovered in Ağılönü, which is on the north side of the main terrace and opposite to the flood cracks. In this place, a street with shops and workshops has been revealed. We have found remains of corn that have turned into coal in the discovered cavities. Also, a very important and large stone platform which is approximately 2000 m² was found. It is thought to be a very important ceremonial place. Two other overlapping structures were also brought to light on the southeast of this stone platform. These places were planned for the performance of major rituals. The *api*-pits (mentioned in texts about the bird sacrifice rituals influenced by the Hurrian culture, and whose archaeological remains, according to most scientists, were almost impossible to be found), were finally discovered. The meaning of this stone platform will be further examined with the progress of the excavations.

The excavations at Şapinuwa are continuing in the lower city. The upper city continues towards the hills Fığla and Gündoğdu. There are large foundations on the hill Fığla, which is 2.5 km distance from the lower city. An ancient road which binds the upper and lower city was unearthed (Fig. 17).

Another distinctiveness of this city is that it was fortified. Cities as such could become military powers thank to the advantages offered by their geographical location as well as their city walls. We understand from the Boğazköy texts that Şapinuwa was a fortified city¹⁵.

In light of archeological findings, we can state that Şapinuwa and its nearby cities were very advanced in terms of military power. It is important to note the fact that the geopolitical and climate conditions gave Şapinuwa a great advantage. The Karadağ mountain range on the northern side is covered with trees and resembles a high steep wall. On the southern side, we see a group of mountains that are also high and very steep. Şapinuwa was in between these two mountain groups on a plateau leading to the Çekerek river on a slight angle. The city was laid out on the Yesilirmak/Kelkit valley - a narrow corridor where the Çekerek river flows - at the basin of the high mountains to the east. On the western side, the city led to a 5-10 km long gate and reached the Alaça plain.

As can be seen, the city was built in a very secure location, so that it could become a strategic point in the region. The city was very safe because of the fortifications and control towers along the corridor, 5 km from the city, which leads to the east. In this way a protective line was formed that ran for 15-20 km. Back to the city, a strong army force is

¹⁴ A. Süel – M. Süel, *İdol, Arkeologlar Dergisi*, 14-21.

¹⁵ A. Süel – M. Süel, *Habitat II*, 425-435.

visible on the plateau and on the hills where the city rests. Looking at the size of the city we can presume a population of high density during the Hittite period.

Beside the difficult climatic conditions of central Anatolia there is a micro-climate in this valley which provides shelter with its mild winter conditions.

The fertile Yeşilirmak-Kelkit valley passes from the front of Šapinuwa towards central Anatolia. This valley creates a formation of an east-west corridor that runs parallel to the Black Sea mountains. This path was a useful artery of commerce and it is still used at the present. For several centuries Šapinuwa took advantage of this artery of commerce, since it also created a connection with the Hurrian region.

Šapinuwa is the Hittite city which was found thanks to our survey and research project. Unfortunately the Hittite City Šapinuwa was found too late. A lot of the valuable artifacts found in the proximity of the surface were destroyed. When we began our research, we mentioned that a mistake had been made, and this was the reason why we were not able to find the important cities that are mentioned in the cuneiform Hittite texts. The cuneiform texts mention a lot of geographical names and references about very important cities and countries. Ortaköy is a Hittite city and this proves that we can find big Hittite cities in the widespread settlements. Šapinuwa and Hattuša are both Hittite capital cities¹⁶.

The Hittite research started at the beginning of 20th century and the archives discovered in Hattuša provide very important information about Šapinuwa. On the other hand this information from the Hattuša archives are not always adequate. Šapinuwa, which was close to the Hurrian culture and Hurrian religious milieu, was located in the southeastern side of Boğazköy. For this reason the identification of Ortaköy with Šapinuwa was a surprise for all of us. The identification of Ortaköy-Šapinuwa has brought the historical geography to a new dimension. Although Šapinuwa was known from Hittite cuneiform sources, the Šapinuwa archives and the knowledge about Šapinuwa and the related Hittite period was not known before this excavation. Šapinuwa is a newly discovered Hittite Capital City. Our knowledge will increase as we reach other centers such as Šamuha, Nerik and Hakmiš. Maybe we will even learn new things about these cities and we will get a deeper knowledge about the Hittite state.

We are at least excavating a city where a Great King lived. Every revealed item and every discovery tell us something new about this great Hittite state. It is not possible to determine exactly the length of the life time of Šapinuwa as capital city, nor when the Hittite Kingdom was ruled from this place. It could even be possible that the royal couple decided to stay in this place to rule the state carrying out their religious activities and furthering their careers¹⁷.

¹⁶ A. Süel, "Ortaköy-Šapinuwa" in: K.A. Yener – H.A. Hoffner, *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History: Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock* (Indiana 2002), 157-165; Süel, *TÜBA-AR* 1, 37-61.

¹⁷ A. Süel – M. Süel, "Bir Hitit Başkenti: Šapinuwa", *Çorum Çevre Dergisi*, sa. 5, (Çorum 1998), 84-89; A. Süel – M. Süel, "Šapinuwa", *Arkeo Atlas*, Sayı 3, 2004, 60-61; A. Süel – M. Süel, "Hitit Başkenti: Šapinuwa", *Bilim ve Gelecek* 14, Nisan 2005, 56-70; A. Süel – M. Süel, "Stratejik bir Başkent : Šapinuwa", *National Geographic*, Türkiye, Ocak 2006, 80-81.

We know from the Boğazköy texts that the Hittite city of Šapinuwa was used by the Great King Muršili II. In a text which belongs to Muršili II, the Great King says: "I went out of Hattuša and put AN.TAH.ŠUM^{SAR} plant to present to the gods. I examined the troops at Šapinuwa and led my army".

An oracle text which belongs to Muršili II states that the "Majesty will stay in Šapinuwa for the night. The army will stay in Hanzıwa". This place which provided resources like water, food and shelter must have been very close to Šapinuwa. It could have been a military base where the army stayed for a period of time.

A seal impression found in Ortaköy-Šapinuwa that belongs to Muršili II supports this fact. This shows that Šapinuwa was a Hittite city inhabited for a longer period than just the Middle Hittite phase. This will be demonstrated by the excavations carried out in Šapinuwa and other centers.

We can see that the Šapinuwa city/state is mentioned in the texts of the Šuppiluliuma I era, in the treaty between Muršili II and the King of Amurru Duppi-Tešup, in the texts concerning the period of Hattušili III and in the treaty between Tuthaliya IV and Ulmitešup. Here the Storm God of Šapinuwa is mentioned among the gods of the oath.

It should also be noticed that the Middle Hittite period is poorly documented in Boğazköy, this is because the Great King was in Šapinuwa, that was the Hittite capital city, and not in Hattuša.

All this shows that Šapinuwa was another capital of the Hittite State. I would also like to remark once again that Šapinuwa was not only a capital of the Hittite State but also a very important religious center. It can be compared to a Mecca or a Jerusalem of our times.