

The AGRIG in the Hittite Texts

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# THE AGRIG IN THE HITTITE TEXTS\*

By ITAMAR SINGER

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## 1. Introductory

LÚAGRIG, Akkadian *abarakku*, rendered usually as “major domo”, “steward”, “overseer”, “administrator”, or an office of a similar nature,<sup>1</sup> is attested in the oldest of Hittite documents.<sup>2</sup> In addition to late copies of texts belonging to the Old Kingdom (the Palace Chronicle and the Telipinu Decree) the AGRIG is also found in an original Old Hittite document, the Inandik Tablet,

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<sup>1</sup>HW 264 “Verwalter, Schaffner”. This rendering of *abarakku* in the Mesopotamian realm has been introduced by B. Landsberger, *AfO* 10 (1935), 150 n. 48, thus discarding E. Klauber’s “Salbenmischer” (*Assyrisches Beamtentum*, 1910, 81).

For AGRIG in the non-Hittite sources see *CAD A I* 32–35. It has since turned up at Ebla (G. Pettinato, *Rivista Biblica Italiana* 25, 1977, 240). For Ugarit see *Ugaritica V* (1968), 264 n. 1; C. Kühne, *AOAT* 17 (1973), 85 n. 421. For the Assyrian (*a*)*barakku*, by far the best attested outside Hatti, see also K. Deller, *Or* 34 (1965), 261; J. V. Kinnier-Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists* (1972), 105 ff.; J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (1974), 104 f.

For the unlikely etymological connection of *abarakku* with (*a*) biblical *’abrēk* (Gen. 41, 43; A. Ungnad, *ZAW* 41, 1923, 204 ff.) and (*b*) *hbrk* in the Phoenician version of the Karatepe inscription (B 1; F. Rosenthal, *ANET* 653 n. 1) see the refutations of D. B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph* (1970), 226 ff. and M. O’Connor, *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 1 (1977), 8 f., respectively.

<sup>2</sup>AGRIG is not attested in the Cappadocian tablets. A functionally similar office is that of the *rabi ḥuršatim*, “chief storehouse keeper”. P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (1963), 217; E. Bilgiç, *Anadolu* 8 (1964), 159.

which is probably to be dated to Hattušili I. However, the vast majority of the references are found in later texts or copies.<sup>3</sup>

The Hittite reading of AGRIG is not known.<sup>4</sup> It must be an *a*-stem as shown by the complemented forms: sg. nom. <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG-*aš* (*KUB* XI 28 III 5'), acc. <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG-*an* (*KBo* III 34 II 11). A denominative -*aḥḥ*- verb is <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG-*aḥḥ*- "to nominate to AGRIG" (*KBo* III 36 I 9 pret. sg. III <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG-*ḥi-iš*).

The AGRIG may appear without additional qualification, but more frequently, he is identified by the town in which he resides. This is usually expressed by an Akkadian construct state (<sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG <sup>URU</sup>x), very rarely by a genitive construction with *ŠA* (<sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG *ŠA* <sup>URU</sup>*Takuppaša* *KUB* XXXVI 89 obv.6). There are no examples of a Hittite construction with the genitive preceding its governing noun. In 496/u III 1', 5' <sup>LÚ</sup> <sup>URU</sup>*Ankuwa*, the Man of Ankuwa, refers to the AGRIG of that town.<sup>5</sup>

More exceptional compounds are <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG (*ŠA*) *É* <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB (<sup>URU</sup>*Hatti*) "the keeper (of) the storehouse (of Hatti)",<sup>6</sup> and the formulas found in the KI.LAM festival which describe a ritual ceremony with the participation of the AGRIG:<sup>7</sup> <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG *ŠA* *É* <sup>URU</sup>x "the AGRIG of the house of (the town) x" (*KUB* X 84, 3'); *INA* *KÁ* *É* <sup>URU</sup>x <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG-*ŠU* *ḥikta* "in the gate of the house of (the town) x its AGRIG pays homage" (*KBo* XVI 82 and *KBo* XXIII 91 IV).

There are two occurrences of <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG.TUR "junior AGRIG" (or perhaps "AGRIG novice" compared with <sup>LÚ</sup>DUB.SAR.TUR "scribe novice"). The context is too fragmentary to evaluate these exceptional occurrences.<sup>8</sup>

The enigmatic <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG <sup>LÚ</sup>NA.KAD, literally "the AGRIG (of the?) shepherd(s)", appears in *KUB* XXVI 2 rev. 5' in a list of AGRIGs of various towns (see §4.2). One is reminded of the simultaneous mention of the <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG and the <sup>LÚ</sup>SIPAD(.UDU) in §§35, 175 of the Hittite Laws (§2.1).<sup>9</sup>

The source material on the Hittite AGRIG can be classified into two categories: 1) A few occurrences in historical texts, all belonging to the Old Hittite kingdom: the Palace Chronicle, the Telipinu Decree and the Inandik Tablet which

<sup>3</sup>A substantive palaeographical evolution of the sign AGRIG (IGI + DUB) cannot be established. In the Inandik tablet the horizontal wedge of the IGI component crosses the vertical wedge on its left side (K. Balkan, *Inandik*, 98 no. 20) which contrasts with Late Hittite examples where the horizontal wedge begins to the right of the vertical (e.g. *KBo* XVI 77 +, 3', 6', 11'; cf. also Ch. Rüster, *StBoT* 20, no. 224 for the evolution of the sign ŠI). However, in *KBo* XX 4 + I 3, also written in the typical Old Hittite ductus, the AGRIG sign is similar to the late examples.

<sup>4</sup>Two Hittite readings suggested for AGRIG both end in -i, and are therefore out of consideration. F. Cornelius, *RHA* XIII/57 (1955), 58 n. 12 suggested the reading *telipuri* on the basis of *VBoT* 68 (see §5.3). However, E. Laroche, *RA* 48 (1954), 48 has shown that *telipuri* is an administrative sub-division—"canton", "district", or the like.

G. Steiner, *RIA* III (1966), 308 considered <sup>LÚ</sup>urianni- as a possible reading of AGRIG on the evidence of the second section of the Palace Chronicle (*KBo* III 34 I 5–10), where Papa the <sup>LÚ</sup>urianni- distributes "bread for the troops" (NINDA.ERÍN<sup>MEŠ</sup>) and a type of beer (*marnuan*). These products are usually distributed by the AGRIG, hence the suggested equation. However, note especially the occurrence in the same text of the accusative forms <sup>LÚ</sup>uriannin (*KBo* III 34 I 5) and <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG-*an* (II 11).

<sup>5</sup>I. Singer, *StBoT* 28, cf. n. 52', 62, 92.

<sup>6</sup><sup>LÚ</sup>AG]RIG *É* <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB <sup>URU</sup>*Hatt[i* (758/u, 12'); <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG *É* <sup>NA4</sup>KI]ŠIB (*KBo* XXIV 95 rev. 2'); <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG *ŠA* *É* <sup>NA4</sup>KI]ŠIB (*KBo* XXIV 95 rev. 12' = *Bo* 4801 rev. 6').

<sup>7</sup>I. Singer, *StBoT* 27 (1983).

<sup>8</sup>*KBo* XVII 36 rev. IV 4' = *KBo* XX 6, 4' (festival text) <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG.TUR *pai*; *KUB* XIII 3 IV 9' (*CTH* 265 "Instruction for Temple Officials") <sup>LÚ</sup>A]GRIG.TUR *LUGAL-waš*.

<sup>9</sup>For the <sup>LÚ</sup>NA.KAD as a supplier of provisions see V. Souček—J. Siegelová, *ArOr* 42 (1974), 43.

is a donation deed. To these may be added two occurrences in the Hittite Laws. The information provided by these sources bears mainly on the status of the AGRIG in the state hierarchy. 2) The bulk of the material originates from religious texts—practically all festival texts—from which we learn about the economic aspects of the office.

Accordingly, the material will be investigated in two separate sections. The third section will attempt to evaluate the geographical information supplied by the material.

## 2. The AGRIG in the Hittite Laws and in Historical Sources

### 2.1. *The Hittite Laws*

Two paragraphs of the Hittite Laws,<sup>10</sup> §35 of the first series and §60 (= 175) of the second series (henceforth I§35, II§60) assign a low social status to the AGRIG and the shepherd—the status of servants. I§35 is grouped together with a number of clauses regulating the intermarriage between servants and free women (I§§32, 34–36); if the bride-price is paid she remains a free woman. I§35 and II§60 are specific clauses of this general law. They read as follows:

I§35: Middle Hittite exemplar *KBo* VI 3 + II (Friedrich, *HG*, 26)

25 *ták-ku* SAL-an EL-LUM <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG na-aš-ma <sup>LÚ</sup>SIPAD pī[t-t]e-[nu-z]i

26 *ku-ú-ša-ta-aš-ši* <sup>Ú</sup>UL píd-da-a-iz-zi na-aš I-[NA M]U.3.[KAM GEM]E<sup>7</sup>-aš<sup>2</sup>-  
ša-ri-eš-zi

II§60: Late Hittite exemplar *KBo* VI 26 + II (Friedrich, *HG*, 78)

17 *ták-ku* <sup>LÚ</sup>SIPAD.UDU na-aš-ma <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG SAL-an EL-LI-TAM da-a-i

18 na-aš na-aš-šu MU.2.KAM na-aš-ma I-NA MU.4.KAM GEME-e-eš-zi

19 <sup>Ú</sup>DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠU iš-ḫu-na-a-an-zi iš-ḫu-uz-zi-ya-aš-ša

20 <sup>Ú</sup>UL ku-iš-ki e-ip-zi

I§35 If an AGRIG or a herdsman abducts a free woman (and) does not pay the bride-price for her, she becomes a [sl]ave in the third year.

II§60 If a shepherd or an AGRIG takes a free woman in marriage, she becomes a slave (in) the second or in the fourth year. And one will hold her children in low esteem.<sup>11</sup> No one will hold onto *her* girdle.<sup>12</sup>

The relationship between the two paragraphs<sup>13</sup> is not entirely clear. II§60 is a slightly modified clause of I§35. The different time spans in II§60 are interpreted by Friedrich, *HG*, 79 n.2 as “in the second year” when a shepherd is involved, “in the fourth year” when an AGRIG is involved.<sup>14</sup>

I can offer no explanation for the interchangeable use of <sup>LÚ</sup>SIPAD “herdsman” in I§35 and the more restricted <sup>LÚ</sup>SIPAD.UDU “shepherd” in II§60. It could be accidental.<sup>15</sup> The simultaneous mention of the <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG and the <sup>LÚ</sup>SIPAD.UDU in these paragraphs may indicate that the latter also belong to the

<sup>10</sup>CTH 291. The paragraphs are numbered in accordance with the standard edition of J. Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze* (1959).

<sup>11</sup>For the verb *išḫuna-* see N. Oettinger, *MSS* 35 (1976), 94 (“... ihre Kinder stuft man als geringwertig ein”).

<sup>12</sup>For this translation see below.

<sup>13</sup>For a detailed discussion on these paragraphs see J. Friedrich in *Symb. Koschaker* (1939), 7 f.

<sup>14</sup>A. Goetze, *ANET* (1955), 195 and H. A. Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites* (Doct. Diss. 1963), 111 translate “for two years”, “for four years”.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Jana Siegelová, *StBot* 14 (1971), 23.

royal household. These herdsmen provide the livestock for festivals and other occasions while the AGRIG provides the food.<sup>16</sup>

The clause “. . . and does not pay the bride-price for her. .” is not repeated in II§60. This may be connected with the difference between abduction in I§35 and regular marriage in II§60.<sup>17</sup> The omission is also comprehensible if we assume that II§60 is a later addition or that the two paragraphs followed each other originally and II§60 was, for some unknown reason, misplaced.<sup>18</sup> This is all the more reasonable since II§60 actually bears no logical relationship either to its preceding or succeeding paragraphs.

The idiomatic closing phrase of II§60 remains enigmatic,<sup>19</sup> but the analysis suggested in the above translation for *išhuzziyaša* may bring us closer to a solution. Friedrich analyses it as *išhuzziyaš=a*, sg. gen. + the conjunction *-a* (HG, 122) and translates the sentence “auch wird an den Gürtel niemand greifen” (HG 79). The analysis suggested here is *išhuzziya=ša*, substantive + possessive pronoun, both in directive: “no one will hold *onto her girdle*”.

It seems that a comparison of I§35 with the preceding paragraphs, especially with I§32, permits one to establish more accurately the status of the AGRIG within the broader class of servants. I§31 deals with the division of property and children in a divorce between a free man and a female slave. The property is divided in half and the children, all except one, remain with the father. The next paragraphs provide the same ruling in a divorce between a slave and a free woman (I§32) and between a slave and a female slave (I§34). From I§32 one can deduce that a free woman loses her status immediately upon her marriage with a slave (unless, of course, the bride-price is paid; cf. I§34). If so, a free woman who marries an AGRIG is in a somewhat *better* legal position, since the marriage becomes valid only after three years.<sup>20</sup> During this period the AGRIG can raise the bride-price or she can withdraw. This is understandable only if the legal status of the AGRIG himself is somewhat *superior* to that of a regular slave.<sup>21</sup>

The surprisingly low legal status of the AGRIG has thus far not been accorded a satisfactory explanation.<sup>22</sup> Here, however, there is a crucial point which has previously not been adequately stressed—the AGRIG is absent in the Old Hittite version of I§35 (= I§“32b”)!

<sup>16</sup>Note KUB XXVI 2 rev. (see §§1, 5.2), a list of AGRIGs of various towns among which we find in l. 5' <sup>LÜ</sup>AGRIG <sup>LÜ</sup>NA.KAD. Compare also the *rab nāqidāte* in the Assyrian administration who has the authority over the palace flocks (J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*, 1974, 156).

<sup>17</sup>J. Grothus, *Die Rechtsordnung der Hethiter* (1973), 20. However, note that the phrase is also absent in the Old Hittite exemplar of I§35 (see below).

<sup>18</sup>See also O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (1981), 92.

<sup>19</sup>Could it be somehow connected with the well-known practice of early times to apply a girdle during pregnancy and labour as an aid in childbirth? See Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (1951), VI p. 229 s.v. “girdle”.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. J. Friedrich, *Symb. Koschaker* (1939), 7 f. for a similar form of marriage in the Roman Law. See also R. Haase, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 97 (1980), 22 n. 37.

<sup>21</sup>Contrary to E. Neufeld, *The Hittite Laws* (1951), 148 who maintains that “the status of the AGRIG and of the SIPAD was the lowest within the class of slaves”. Also A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*<sup>2</sup> (1957), 107.

<sup>22</sup>A. Goetze, *RHA* I (1930), 19 n. 10; *Kleinasien*<sup>2</sup> (1957), 107 n. 2. This is in contrast to the high status of the *abarakku* outside Hatti, and in particular in Assyria. A Middle Assyrian list of high officials (KAV 135; O. Schroeder, *ZA* 34, 1922, 165 ff.) has the *abarakku* in the fourth place, preceded only by the king, the crown-prince and the *tartānu*. He also fills the office of eponym.

*KBo* VI 2 + II (*HG*, 26 n.6)

6' *ták-ku SAL-na-an EL-LI-TAM* <sup>L</sup>[<sup>U</sup>SI]PAD [da-a-i<sup>23</sup> n]a-aš I-NA  
MU.3.KAM GEME-ri-[eš-zi]

If a [her]dsman [takes] a free woman she bec[omes] a slave in the third year.

The paragraph parallel to II 60 in the Old Hittite exemplar is not sufficiently preserved,<sup>24</sup> but we may assume that it also omitted the AGRIG. This omission could hardly be accidental.<sup>25</sup> It rather points to a decline in the status of the AGRIG which occurred either at the end of, or after the Old Kingdom. This conclusion gains additional support through the examination of the Old Hittite sources on the AGRIG discussed below. In the Telipinu Decree we will attempt to find some indication of the circumstances that brought about the change.

## 2.2. *The Inandik Tablet*

The royal donation deed found at Inandik,<sup>26</sup> some 109 km. north-east of Ankara, is written in the Old Hittite ductus. Three of the names in the tablet—Zidi, Pappa and Aškaliya—are also found among the functionaries who figure in the Palace Chronicle. K. Balkan suggests that the persons mentioned in both texts are one and the same, thus providing an absolute dating of the tablet to Hattušili I.<sup>27</sup>

The deed deals with two events associated with Tuttula the AGRIG of the town Hanhana: 1. He gives in marriage his daughter Zizzatta to Zidi. 2. The king appoints his son Pappa to serve in the temple of the “Queen of Katapa.” The witnesses, including a royal prince, are all high officials in the court of Hattuša.

This legal document clearly attests to the direct interest of the crown in the office of the AGRIG. Not only is the storekeeper of the royal storehouses appointed directly by the king, as attested in the Palace Chronicle, but there is continued interest in his affairs. The seal of the Great King validates the marriage of Tuttula’s daughter, and his son is appointed to a religious post in the state cult.

If Tuttula’s son-in-law is actually identical with Zidi, the “wine-supplier” (<sup>L</sup>U<sup>U</sup>ZABAR.DIB) in the Palace Chronicle, we may note here a case of intermarriage within the same professional group, since the “wine-supplier” and the “store-keeper” fulfill a very similar function in the royal administration (§3.2).

## 2.3. *The Palace Chronicle*

This document describes episodes wherein the unworthy conduct of high palace officials during the reign of Hattušili I is exposed.<sup>28</sup> Mention of AGRIGs is made in three passages. All occurrences are found in late copies of the text.

<sup>23</sup>The space is too small for the restoration *pittenuzzi* suggested by Friedrich, *HG*, 26 n. 6. See photograph in B. Hrozný, *Code Hittite* (1922), pl. V. (H. G. Güterbock, written communication).

<sup>24</sup>*KUB* XXIX 29 III 2-4 (q3, J. Friedrich, *HG*, 78 notes 3-5).

<sup>25</sup>As suggested by J. Grothus, *Die Rechtsordnung der Hethiter* (1973), 24; refuted by H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 27 (1975), 176.

<sup>26</sup>K. Balkan, *Eine Schenkungsurkunde aus der althethitischen Zeit gefunden in Inandik* 1966 (1973).

<sup>27</sup>See also below n. 34.

<sup>28</sup>*CTH* 8. See H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* 44 (1938), 100 f.; R. S. Hardy, *AJSL* 58 (1941), 189 ff.; A. Kammenhuber, *Saeculum* 9 (1958), 139; K. Balkan, *Inandik* (1973), 72 ff. O. R. Gurney, *Hittites* (1981), 174 f.

(1) *KBo* III 34 (2 *BoTU* 12 A) II 8–14 = *KBo* III 36 (2 *BoTU* 12 C) obv. 16–20<sup>29</sup>

(8) <sup>m</sup>*A-aš-ga<sup>a</sup>*-*li-ya-aš* <sup>URU</sup>*Hu-ur-mi* EN-*aš e-eš-ta a-pa-a<sup>b</sup>*-*aš-ša* (9) *ku-wa-at-ta ku-wa-at-ta<sup>c</sup>* <sup>LÚ<sup>MEŠd</sup></sup>*e-eš-ta ša-na-aš-ta at-ti<sup>e</sup>*-*mi* (10) *pa-ag-nu-ir ša-an ar-nu-ut ša-an* <sup>URU</sup>*An-ku-i IR-DI* (11) *ša-an* <sup>URU</sup>*An-ku-i-pát* <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG-*an<sup>f</sup>* *i-e-it šar-ku-uš* <sup>LÚ<sup>MEŠd</sup></sup>*e-eš-ta* (12) *a-ki-iš-ma-aš<sup>g</sup>* *te-ip-ša-u<sup>h</sup>*-*wa-an-ni* <sup>URU</sup>*Ku-<sup>i</sup>*zu-ru-ú-i (13) *ka-aq-qa<sup>i</sup>*-*pu-uš ma-ra-ak-ta* <sup>URU<sup>k</sup></sup>*An-ku-wa ka-aq-qa-pi-iš<sup>d</sup>* (14) *ma-ak-la-an-te-eš*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a) <i>KBo</i> III 36 obv. 16: - <i>ka-</i>    | g) <i>ib.</i> 18: <i>a-ki-iš-ša-an</i> |
| b) <i>ib.</i> 16: om. - <i>a-</i>             | h) <i>ib.</i> 19: om. - <i>u-</i>      |
| c) <i>ib.</i> 16: - <i>ad-da</i>              | i) <i>ib.</i> 19: ad. - <i>uz-</i>     |
| d) <i>ib.</i> 16, 18: <sup>LÚ</sup> <i>eš</i> | j) <i>ib.</i> 19: - <i>ak-ka-</i>      |
| e) <i>ib.</i> 17: - <i>tim-</i>               | k) See commentary                      |
| f) <i>ib.</i> 18: om. - <i>an</i>             | l) <i>ib.</i> 20: <i>ka-ka-pu-uš</i>   |

“Aškaliya was the Lord in Hurma. And he was a man<sup>30</sup> in every respect. They denounced(?) him (before) my father. He (the king) summoned him and ordered him to Ankuwa. And in the aforementioned (town of) Ankuwa he appointed him AGRIG. He was a mighty man<sup>30</sup> but he died in poverty (or: shame). In Kuzuruwa he distributed partridges(?),<sup>31</sup> (but) in Ankuwa<sup>32</sup> the partridges(?) are lean.”

The passage does not readily lend itself to interpretation. The gist of it depends largely on the meaning of the verb *pagnu-*.<sup>33</sup> Sturtevant, *Glossary*, 114 suggested “praise(?)”. In that case the interpretation would seem to be that Aškaliya’s growing influence<sup>34</sup> and popularity raised the king’s suspicion and he was transferred to Ankuwa, a town situated not far from Hattuša, where he could be more readily kept under surveillance. H. G. Güterbock *apud HW*, 155; *Erg.* I, 15 suggests a negative meaning “to defame” or “to accuse” which would be more fitting within the general spirit of the anecdotes. In any event, his appointment as AGRIG of Ankuwa is clearly presented as demotion from his previous office or even as a humiliation. A “mighty man” in the past, Aškaliya dies in shame and disgrace as an AGRIG.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Partial transliteration of duplicate A in J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Elementarbuch* II (1967), 56. For a summary of the passage see Hardy, *op. cit.* 191 f.

<sup>30</sup>*KBo* III 34 has the plural <sup>LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup></sup> which gives little sense. The translation follows the duplicate *KBo* III 36 which has <sup>LÚ</sup>*eš*; see also *KBo* III 36 I 10.

<sup>31</sup>*HW*, 342; *Erg.* 2, 14 “Rebhuhn(?)”. See also H. A. Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites* (Doct. Diss. 1963), 159; J. Tischler, *Heth. Etym. Glos. Lfg.* 3 (1980), 461.

<sup>32</sup>The emendation of the first sign to URU suggested by Forrer, *BoTU* 12A is necessary since *ma-an-ku-wa* makes no sense. It is not clear why the absolute case is used here instead of the locative, as found in lines 10 and 11.

<sup>33</sup>The only other occurrence of this verb is also in a fragment of the Palace Chronicle, *VBoT* 33, 9’ *pa-ag-nu-e-ir*.

<sup>34</sup>This is also reflected in the next episode (II 15 ff.), where Aškaliya, still in the post of Lord of Hurma, appoints Išpudašinara, formerly a low functionary, governor of Ulamma. The important post held by Aškaliya before his degradation makes the identification suggested by Balkan, *İnandik*, 73 with the prince Aškaliya, who appears as a witness in the İnandik Tablet (rev. 24) quite probable.

<sup>35</sup>Contrary to Hardy, *AJSL* 58 (1941), 192, I interpret the second part of the passage (from *šarkuš* “mighty” and onwards) as a rhetorical repetition of the former facts and not as a further incident in Aškaliya’s career. Thus, the office of AGRIG and Aškaliya’s humiliation are intimately connected, a fact not without significance for our subject. The idiomatic closing sentence is not clear, but the distribution of partridges in the town of Kuzuruwa is apparently connected with Aškaliya’s former post as Lord of Hurma.

- (2) *KBo* III 36 (= *BoTU* 12 C) I 9–10

(9) <sup>m</sup>*Ha-ki-pu-i-li-na ḫi-kán-ni ḫu-uš-nu-ut ša-an A-N[A*

(10) *ša-an* <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG-*ḫi-iš a'-pa-aš-ša kat-ta-wa-an-na-aš LÚ-e[š e-eš-ta*

“He saved Ḫakipuili from death<sup>36</sup> and [he brought(?)] him to [ ] and appointed him as AGRIG. But he (Ḫakipuili) (was) a vengeful ma[n].”

Only the beginnings of the first lines of the passage (5–8) are preserved. The overall meaning of lines 9–10 is apparent, but unfortunately the identity of Ḫakipuili's rescuer and the town to which he is assigned as AGRIG (at the end of line 9) are not preserved. Upon comparison with the former passage, it may be suggested that Ḫakipuili is appointed as AGRIG by the king himself.<sup>37</sup>

- (3) *KUB* XXXVI 105 rev. 18' (broken context)

]x-uš <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG *e-eš-ta* x[

#### 2.4. The Telipinu Decree

Some paragraphs of Telipinu's decree,<sup>38</sup> which apparently deal with an agricultural-administrative reform carried out by the king, could provide important information on the office of the AGRIG in Hatti by the end of the Old Kingdom, were some of the crucial passages better preserved. Nonetheless, the material is worthy of examination.<sup>39</sup>

Following paragraphs dealing with the conduct of dignitaries at the royal court, §35 (*KBo* XII 5 + III 10'–12') introduces a new subject. It regulates the security of water and grain provisions of fortified towns.

From §36 (III 13'–14') only the following words are preserved: “. . . ] Telipinu, the Great King, in [ ]”. The two lines of this paragraph are probably the introduction to the paragraphs that follow.

The next paragraph(s) is entirely missing (§36a). It may have contained an additional list of storehouse towns, similar to the paragraphs which follow it.

§37 (*KBo* III 68. 5–12' + *KBo* III 1 III 21'–34') has a list of at least 60 store cities (l. 33'f. restored after l. 7': 1 *ŠU-ŠI* [URU<sup>DIDL.HI.A</sup> *ŠA É<sup>HI</sup>.JA* NA<sup>4</sup>KIŠIB). About half of the names are preserved or can be reasonably completed. Most of them are not mentioned elsewhere, but some of the more familiar names provide us with an approximate idea of the area covered.<sup>40</sup> Šukziya (l. 10'), Šamuḫa, Marišta, Kuš[šara] (l. 11') and Ḫurma (l. 12') point to the northern ranges of the Antitaurus. Paršuḫanda and the River Ḫulaya<sup>41</sup> point to the region south of the Tuz Gölü. The more familiar names from the central Hittite area, the Halys Bend, are absent both

<sup>36</sup>For similar idioms see H. Otten, *StBot* 17 (1973), 44. For the translation given here see F. Starke, *StBot* 23 (1977), 54 f.

<sup>37</sup>In the first passage the appointment is expressed by accusative + *iya*- “to make” (<sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG-*an i-e-it*; cf. <sup>LÚ</sup>*maniyahatallan i-e-it* *KBo* III 34 II 16) and in the second by a denominative -*aḫḫ*- verb (<sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG-*aḫḫ*- cf. GEME-*aḫḫ*-, ŠEŠ-*aḫḫ*-, <sup>LÚ</sup>ŠU.GI-*aḫḫ*-).

<sup>38</sup>*CTH* 19. For a transliteration of the paragraphs dealt with above see E. Forrer, *BoTU* 23A III 4 ff.; W. Eisele, *Der Telipinu-Erlass* (Doct. Diss. 1970). None of the extant duplicates of the text is written in the typical Old Hittite ductus (E. Neu—Ch. Rüster, *StBot* 21, 1975, p. VII).

<sup>39</sup>See F. Sommer, *HAB* (1938), 140 f.; H. G. Güterbock, *Symb. Koschaker* (1939), 29; R. S. Hardy, *AJSL* 58 (1941), 211 ff.; A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*<sup>2</sup> (1957), 109; O. R. Gurney, *CAH* II<sup>3</sup>, Part 1 (1973), 664; W. Eisele, op. cit. 41 ff.; A. Archi, *OrAnt* 12 (1973), 109.

<sup>40</sup>A. Archi, *OrAnt* 12 (1973), 215: approximately Cappadocia and Lycaonia. See discussion below §5.6.

<sup>41</sup>See the discussion below, pp. 122 and 125.



in this and the next list.<sup>42</sup> It is possible that the lost paragraph immediately preceding §37 contained a list of places of the central or northern regions.<sup>43</sup>

§38 (*KBo* III 1 + III 35'–43' with dupls.) is a list of “towns with storehouses for mixed-fodder” (URU<sup>DIDL.HIA</sup> É NA<sup>4</sup>KIŠIB *imiul*[aš]).<sup>44</sup> Some 13 of the original 34 names are preserved. None of the names can be located with any certainty.<sup>45</sup>

Only one among the more than 40 preserved names in the two lists, Šukziya, is also attested as the residence of an AGRIG in other sources. A geographical comparison between the list of storehouse towns in the Telipinu Decree and the compiled list of AGRIG towns is presented in §5.6.

The existence of a large network of granaries and fodder storehouses indicates a sophisticated administrative system, of which we have hardly any knowledge apart from this source. One is reminded of Solomon's network of “store cities, chariot cities and cities of the horse men” (I Kings IX 19; II Chronicles VIII 6).

After the enumeration of the various store-cities in §§37–38 (and possibly also in §36a), the actual steps involved in the reform are outlined in the next two paragraphs (III 43 ff.). Telipinu lays down the regulations for grain collection and the manner in which it should be sealed with the name of the king. The conditions that prevailed before the reform are characterized as *maršatar* “deceit, fraud” and as “sucking the blood of the land”.<sup>46</sup> The actual deception is defined as follows (§39):

(47') *nu-uš-ša-an i-la-aš-ni pa-ra-a n[(a-aš-šu 1 gi-pi-eš-ša)]r na-aš-ma 2 gi-pi-eš-šar* (48') x<sup>a</sup>-*mi-in-ki-iš-ki-ir na-aš-ta u[(t-ne/i<sup>b</sup>)-e e-eš-ḥar ak-ku-uš-k)]ir* (49') *ki-nu-na<sup>c</sup> li-e e-eš-ša-an-zi ku-[(i-ša-at i-ya-zi nu-uš)]-ši ḪUL-lu<sup>d</sup> ḥi-in-kán pī[-a]n-du<sup>e</sup>*

A = *KBo* III 1; B = *KUB* XI 1; C = *KBo* III 67; D = *KUB* XI 5

a) The sign is not legible in the edition. *BoTU* 23A transliterates *ḥa-* (also Sommer, *HAB*, 140); *da-* is also possible. For a transitive meaning of the verb *damenk-* see *HW*, Erg.2, 24 and H. Otten, *ZA* 54(1962), 118 “zusammenfügen”.

b) B III 13' *ut-ne-e*; C III 6' *ut-ni-e*

c) B III 14' ad. *nam-ma*

d) B III 15' *i-da-lu*

e) After Forrer; missing in the edition.

“As they saw fit(?)<sup>47</sup> they used to usurp(?) / join together(?)<sup>48</sup> either one cubit or two cubits. They used to “suck the blood of the land”. Now let them not do it any more! The one who does it shall have a frightful death prepared for him!”

The precise meaning of the passage is not clear,<sup>49</sup> but it probably has to do

<sup>42</sup>*Ta-ap-pa-aš-pa-aš* in III 19 is perhaps located in the Halys Basin, if it is identical with *Ta-pa<sup>2</sup>-aš-pa* in *KUB* XXXI 68 obv. 5' that must be located not far from Ḫatina in the region of Nerik.

<sup>43</sup>Note in this connection *CTH* 238 (with n. 2).

<sup>44</sup>For *imiul-* “fodder for horses” see *HW*, 341; A. Kammenhuber *Hip. Heth.* (1961), 168 f. and n. 4; A. Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962), 30; H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta* (1974), 70 f.

<sup>45</sup>The resemblance of the names *Dammašhunaš* and *Ḫalippaššuwaš* (l. 41) with the Syrian towns is merely accidental.

<sup>46</sup>For this expression see F. Sommer, *HAB* (1938), 139 f. The Akkadian parallel fragment *KUB* III 89 has here *ja-na KUR-tim dam-m[e* (IV 2; see *HAB*, 140 n. 2).

<sup>47</sup>For *ileššar* see *HW* Erg. 3, 16.

<sup>48</sup>F. Sommer, *HAB*, 140 suggests for *ḥamenk-* the idiomatic meaning “to confiscate”, “to usurp”. For *damenk-* see note (a) above.

<sup>49</sup>See also Sommer, *HAB*, 140 n. 2.

with the unauthorized use of lands or even with treachery. The measures taken to deal with this situation are portrayed in §40:

(50') [(UR-RA-AM ŠE-RA-AM k)]u-iš am-me-e[(<sup>a</sup>) EGIR-an LUGAL-uš ki-ša-ri nu ḫal-k)i-u]š (51') [(ŠUM-aš-mi-it ši-)]i-e-eš-ki ka-a-aš-ma-du[(-za<sup>b</sup>) LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> AGRIG É <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB dā-a-)]li-ya-an[-zi] (52') [(nu-ut-ta ki-iš-)]ša-an da<sup>c</sup>)-ra-an-z[i . . . (da-a-ri-ya)-<sup>d</sup>] . . . . . NU.G]ĀL (53') [(nu-wa-at-ma-a)]z<sup>e</sup>) li-e ši-e[-eš-ki-š<sup>f</sup>)] . . . . . ši-ī[-e-eš-ki (54') [(nu-ut-tāk-kán ka-a-a)]š-ma kar-pa-an[- . . . . . (55') . . . . . (x-x Ū-U)]L<sup>g</sup>) ḫu-iš[- . . . . .  
(For duplicates see above §39)

a) D rev. 1 [am-]mu-uk

e) D rev. 4 -za

b) C III 9' ka-aš-ma-ad-d[u

f) D rev. 4 ši-i-ya-[-

c) D rev. 3 ta-

g) D rev. 6

d) C III 11'

“In the future, he who becomes king after me, seal the grai[ns] (with) your name! Behold, the keepers of the storehouses<sup>50</sup> will leave you and they will tell you this: ‘There is no [ ] do not seal it!’ [ ] seal [it(?)! They will further lead you (astray). [ ] they shall(?) no]t liv[e . . .”

The paragraphs that follow are broken off, and where the text resumes another subject is dealt with.

The passage is too fragmentary to fathom its full meaning but at least one fact seems apparent. The AGRIGs, for some unknown reason, are not interested in sealing the grain with the royal seal. Telipinu instructs his successors to be prepared to enforce their will despite the AGRIGs' attempt to avoid the regulation with one or another pretext. The anticipated “pretext” given by the AGRIGs is unfortunately broken in the tablet (l. 51); it has to do with something that is lacking (NU.GĀL).

## 2.5. The Status of the AGRIG

Following is an attempt to reconstruct the scarce and fragmentary data on the AGRIG in historical and legal documents. Unlike the highest offices at the court—the staff of the palace, the high military command and the high priests—which were reserved for the king's kinsmen, the AGRIGs, i.e., the keepers of the royal storehouses, apparently did not belong to the upper social strata. In this respect their absence from the list of witnesses of the royal donations,<sup>51</sup> and from other lists of dignitaries,<sup>52</sup> is revealing. The transfer of a nobleman to the office of AGRIG in a provincial town is considered in the Palace Chronicle as an act of degradation and even humiliation. However, such a case was apparently considered to be exceptional enough to be included in this collection of admonitory anecdotes. Normally it would seem that the king appointed to this post a trustworthy and loyal person who was not a member of the nobility. There is nothing in the texts to suggest that the AGRIG was responsible to anyone except directly to the king. The direct involvement of the Great King in the affairs of the royal storekeepers is amply demonstrated in the Inandik Tablet, a legal document

<sup>50</sup>For LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> AGRIG É <sup>NA4</sup>KIŠIB see n. 6.

<sup>51</sup>K. Riemschneider, *MIO* 6 (1958), 321 ff.

<sup>52</sup>§§32–34 of the Telipinu Decree; *KBo* XXV 176 (with dupl. *KUB* X 13) left edge l f. I. Singer, *StBot* 27 (1983), 104.

belonging to the AGRIG of Ḫanḫana and validated by the royal seal. By appointing a commoner or even a servant to this office, the king secured direct and effective control over this important economic post. Professor Otten drew my attention to the similarity in status between the Hittite AGRIG and the medieval *ministeriales*, “a class of officials unique in their rise from servitude to nobility. Originally unfree, they occupied such posts as chamberlain, steward and butler in the emperor’s household staff.”<sup>53</sup> Perhaps through a process similar to that of the gradual rise of the *ministeriales*, the Hittite AGRIG may have, in the course of time, accumulated considerable economic influence. During the period of instability that prevailed before the reform of Telipinu, the control of the court over the AGRIGs in the provinces must have considerably diminished. The mutilated passages dealing with the administrative reform in the Telipinu Decree apparently point in this direction. Abusing the unstable situation, the AGRIGs accumulated wealth at the expense of the crown property.

The actual measures taken in Telipinu’s reform to deal with this chaotic situation are not sufficiently preserved in the text. It is not impossible, however, that one of the means to ensure the complete obedience and loyalty of the administrative personnel was by lowering their legal status. This could account for the listing of the AGRIG, together with the herdsmen, among the group of servants in the Middle and Late Hittite version of the Laws.

For three subsequent centuries of Hittite history there is not a single historical or legal source pertaining to the AGRIGs—possibly offering silent evidence to the effectiveness of Telipinu’s reform. The only context in which we encounter AGRIGs not exclusively associated with food supplies is the ceremony of the KI.LAM festival. Perhaps this annual ceremony in which the AGRIGs from all over the kingdom are gathered in the capital to pay homage to the king (see below), is a symbolic act of their loyalty to the crown and to the direct bond between the king and his AGRIGs.

### 3. The AGRIG in Religious and Administrative Texts

#### 3.1. *The Material*

The relatively common appearance of the AGRIG in the Hittite texts is, with the exception of the examples dealt with in the previous section, wholly in festival texts (“Festrituale”), in the broader meaning of the term. Along with the descriptions of the ritual ceremonies performed during the festival, these texts also contain detailed prescriptions for the food, beverage and other rations to be delivered for the occasion;<sup>54</sup> the AGRIG is the main supplier of food.

Most of the texts in which the AGRIG figures are cited in *CTH* under Ch. X (“Fêtes et Cultes”). In the final analysis other texts in which the AGRIG appears also belong here: a) Under *CTH* 231 in Ch. II (“Textes administratifs et techniques”) two lists of AGRIG’s are cited—*VBoT* 68 and *KUB* XXVI 2. The former is identified as a festival text by the formula “When the king goes from (place A) to (place B)”, which is typical in many festival texts. The obverse of the latter fragment also shows a typical festival context (see further §4.3). b) *CTH* 523 in Ch. VIII (“Administration Religieuse”) cites fragments of ration lists that can

<sup>53</sup>*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 15th ed. (1974), *Micropaedia* Vol. VI p. 917.

<sup>54</sup>I. Singer, *StBot* 27 (1983), Ch. VI.

now be attributed to specific festivals:<sup>55</sup> 523.1 to EZEN <sup>É</sup>*hišta*;<sup>56</sup> some fragments of 523.2–3 to the KI.LAM festival. There are also a few occurrences of the AGRIG in texts directly related to the religious administration, for example *KUB XXXVI 57 I*, which deals with the reorganization of the province of Nerik.<sup>57</sup> The AGRIG does not occur in rituals (*CTH* Ch. VII), in myths (Ch. V) or in instructions (Ch. II.C).<sup>58</sup>

The AGRIG appears in these texts practically only in connection with the delivery of rations for various groups of recipients. The provisioning is usually expressed with the verb *pai*- “to give”, more rarely employed verbs are *handai*- “to prepare” (*KUB XI 28 III 7*; *KUB XXXI 57 IV 22*; *KBo XX 91,2*; 758/u, 16') and *iya*- “to make” (*KBo XVI 78 I 10', 15', 17'*). The only occurrence in which the AGRIG receives rather than gives something is *KBo XI 52 V 6' f.* ]10(?) DUG GEŠTIN A-NA LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> AGRIG [*pí-a*]n-zi ta-az da-an-zi “they [giv]e 10(?) vessels of wine<sup>59</sup> to the AGRIGs and they take (it)”. The ration specifications may be interspersed within the general description of the events, or concentrated in special ration lists.

The AGRIG usually appears alongside other suppliers: the “wine-supplier”,<sup>60</sup> livestock suppliers (UGULA LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> SIPAD and LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> IGI.DU<sub>g</sub>.A), etc. In contrast to the AGRIG, the other suppliers are not associated with specific towns.<sup>61</sup>

The AGRIG appears in an unusual context during the ceremonies described in the second and third tablets of the KI.LAM festival. The AGRIGs of various

<sup>55</sup>See also Laroche, *CTH* p. 117 n. 1.

<sup>56</sup>For this festival see *StBot* 27.

<sup>57</sup>See V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik* (1970), 20 ff., 114 ff. in *KBo XII 65 V 4'* the AGRIG of Nerik figures in a list of persons. It may also be related to the religious administration of Nerik.

<sup>58</sup>The absence of the AGRIG from various instruction texts (with the exception of *KUB XIII 3 IV 9'* in fragmentary context; see n. 8) is rather surprising. One would expect to encounter the AGRIG in texts of a more general nature like e.g. the “Instruction for the Commander of the Border Guards” (*CTH* 261) which covers almost every aspect of everyday life in a Hittite town—religious, juridical, economic and building activities.

<sup>59</sup>Wine is never delivered by the AGRIG (see below §3.2); this also supports the restoration [*pí-a*]n-zi.

<sup>60</sup>LÚZABAR.DIB = Akkad. *zabardibbu*. Suggested translations: “Weinschalenhälter, Truchsess” (*HW*, 300), “Kellermeister” (G. Steiner, *RIA* III, 1966, 308). Hittite reading unknown. Steiner, *RIA* III, 308 suggests equating it with LÚ.TIN.NA. On the other hand he refutes the possibility of equating it with LÚ.GEŠTIN because of *KBo XXI 82 IV 15'* (441/c+). However, in this passage we find LÚ.GEŠTIN precisely where LÚZABAR.DIB is expected—delivering wine and KAŠ.GEŠTIN. Therefore it is very plausible that LÚ.GEŠTIN is an alternate name for the same office.

<sup>61</sup>The “wine-supplier” holds a post similar to that of the AGRIG and they frequently appear together in the ration lists. One would therefore expect to find an administrative system of “ZABAR.DIB towns” comparable to the complex system of AGRIG towns (see §4). The only example of a local “wine-supplier” however, is found in *KBo X 31 IV 15'*, LÚZABAR.DIB URU<sup>URU</sup> Madilla. This may count in support of the existence of such a system, but is of course insufficient for its confirmation. Considering the large number of local AGRIGs found in the texts, it can hardly be accidental that no more local ZABAR.DIBs are attested, unless we assume that in contexts where a local AGRIG and a ZABAR.DIB are mentioned together (e.g. the KI.LAM ration list *KBo XVI 68* +), the latter belongs to the same town as the former. But there is no evidence whatsoever to support such a possibility. On the contrary, the ZABAR.DIB of Madilla appears in the same passage with the AGRIG of Takiputta. In the “Herald’s Lists” *VBoT* 68, the first list has the gentilicon *Matillail*. This suggests the possibility that this is a list of “wine-suppliers” (see further §4.3).

towns of the kingdom each stand in front of the entrance to his own storehouse near a heap of produce. The herald introduces them to the king with the Hattic gentile name of their respective towns and they pay homage to the king; then a libation is performed. Essentially the context does not differ from the usual ration lists, but here the delivery of the products is accompanied by a ritual ceremony in which the AGRIG himself participates.<sup>62</sup> A further ritual ceremony with the participation of AGRIGs is found in *CTH* 662/1 (see §4.2). They go to the houses of various functionaries belonging to the kitchen personnel “they hold wood, torch(es), food and dishes.”<sup>63</sup>

The following list of texts in which the AGRIG is attested reveals the significant fact that all of these, without exception, belong to the Hattian cult sphere. Texts which cannot yet be assigned to specific festivals are grouped with the Hattian sphere according to deities, place-names and cult functionaries mentioned in them, or according to quotations in the Hattic language. The few tiny fragments lacking sufficient context cannot essentially change the picture.

*CTH* 549 “Voyage of the ‘Sacred Fleece’ (<sup>KUŠ</sup>*kuršaš*) in the Winter” (celebrated in Zippalanda; see colophon) *KBo* X 78 V 11’, 12’

*CTH* 592 “Festival of the Spring, in Zippalanda”  
*KBo* XI 50 II 5’, 6’

*CTH* 598 “Festival of the Winter of the Sun”  
*KUB* X 28 V 10’

*CTH* 621 AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival  
*KBo* XX 44+ obv. 3’

*CTH* 627 KI.LAM Festival  
*passim* (see *StBoT* 28, Glossary)

*CTH* 634 Great Festival of Arinna  
*KBo* XI 52 V 6’

*CTH* 662.1 Festival with the participation of AGRIGs of northern towns (see below §4.2)

*CTH* 671 ff. Texts belonging to the cult of Nerik:

- *KBo* XII 65 V 4’ (mentions <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG <sup>URU</sup>Nerik)
- *KBo* XX 23 rev. 3’
- *KUB* XXV 31 obv. 17 (obv. 4 has EZEN *puruliyas*)
- *KUB* XXXVI 57 I 13’, 22’ II 6’ IV 21 (*CTH* 676)
- *KUB* XXXVI 89 obv. 6 (*CTH* 671)

*KBo* XVI 67, 69; *KUB* XLIII 24 *passim*. *MELQĪT* lists of the Festival of the *ḫešta*-house (see *StBoT* 27, Ch. VI)

*KBo* XVI 78 I 11’ ff. Festival with the participation of the <sup>LÚ</sup>*ḫamina*-, <sup>LÚ</sup>GUDÚ-, <sup>LÚ</sup>DIŠKUR, SAL DIŠKUR, <sup>SAL</sup>*palwatallaš*, <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*ḫapieš*, etc. (rev. IV)

*KBo* XVI 84, 3’. Fragment mentioning the *arzana*-house (obv. 2’) SAL<sup>MEŠ</sup> AMA.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> (4’), and LUMESŠU.GI URU<sup>LIM</sup> (rev 1)

*KBo* XVII 36 rev. 3’ IV 4’ = *KBo* XX 6, 4’ (<sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG TUR see §1). Festival with the participation of the <sup>LÚ</sup>*ašušala*- and the AGRIG(?) of Šukziya (obv. 3’ II 9’ see n. 8)

<sup>62</sup>*StBot* 27, p. 62. Similar contexts may be found in *VBoT* 68 (H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 20, 1961, 89 and §4.3 below) and in *KBo* XVII 36 II 9’ f. . . . *nu* 3-ŠU Šu-uk-zi-y[a-il] . . . . (10’) 3-ŠU ḫal-za-a-i . . . If our reconstruction is correct, the AGRIG of Šukziya is announced by his gentile name three times.

<sup>63</sup>See H. Otten, *StBot* 15 (1971), 8.

*KBo* XVIII 178, 2', 7' Festival fragment with the participation of the <sup>LÚ</sup>*hamina-* (4') and the <sup>LÚ</sup>*DIŠKUR-aš* (12')

*KBo* XX 45 right col. 5', left col. 2'

*KBo* XX 74 rev <sup>III</sup>10', 13' Festival with Hattic citations (<sup>III</sup>15')

*KBo* XX 80, 8', 12' and dupl. *KBo* XX 81 II <sup>3</sup>3', 6' Festival fragments with the participation of the <sup>SAL</sup>*zintuḫi-* (81 II <sup>7</sup>7'), <sup>LÚ</sup>*GUDÚ* (81 II <sup>9</sup>9') and the deity <sup>D</sup>*Zulayama-* (81 V <sup>20</sup>20')

*KBo* XX 91, 1', 3', 4', 5'

*KBo* XXI 82 IV 14', 21' Text with Hattic conjurations

*KBo* XXIV 95, 11' (obv. <sup>8</sup>8' ff. = *Bo* 4801 rev.) Festival with the participation of <sup>SAL</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup> *hazgara-* (obv. <sup>18</sup>18), and deities of the Hattian cult sphere: <sup>D</sup>*Zithariya*, <sup>D</sup>*KAL* <sup>URU</sup>*Hatenzuwa*, <sup>D</sup>*KAL* <sup>URU</sup>*Tašḫapuna*, etc. (*Bo* 4801 *passim*)

*KUB* XXVI 2 rev. List of AGRIGs (see below §4.2); obv. has a festival context with the participation of <sup>SAL</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup> *zintuḫieš* (l. 8').

*KUB* XLIII 29 III 3' Context similar to the ration tablet *KBo* XVI 68 III' 23' ff. of the KI.LAM festival.

*VBoT* 68 "Herald's Lists (see §4.3).

758/u, 1', 3', 12', 15', In lines 14' ff. the context is similar to the ration tablet *KBo* XVI 68 III' 23' ff. of the KI.LAM festival.

The AGRIG does not appear in any of the festivals belonging to the Hurrian cult sphere in the south and the south-east, as e.g. the Kizzuwatnean *hišuwāš* festival (*CTH* 628), the cults of Tešub and Hebat (*CTH* 698 ff.), the cults of Ištar (*CTH* 710 ff.), etc. The significance of this observation will be evaluated in the last section which deals with the geographical scope of the AGRIG towns system.

### 3.2. Items Delivered by the AGRIG

A full list of products supplied by the AGRIG is presented below. Quantities, where stated, are given alongside. The AGRIG of Hatti supplies a wider range of products than the other AGRIGs. Items supplied exclusively by the AGRIG of Hatti are marked with an asterisk (most of them originate from the passage *KBo* XXI 82 IV 9' ff.).

Seeds:

Seeds of barley (and) wheat (NUMUN ŠE ZÍZ, *KUB* XXXI 57 I 12)

Various Ingredients:

x *parišu* of wheat flour (ZÍD.DA ZÍZ, *KBo* XVI 78 I 2'-4')

A quantity of (in total) more than 60 *parišu* of grain-flour (ZÍD.DA *šepitaš*), sugar malt (BULÚG) and *zarzur* (*KUB* XXXI 57 IV 15-20) *ḫaššikan* (? 758/u, 5', 8')

Bread:

*Passim*. A large variety of bread types is represented, practically the entire range found in the texts. Usually the size or the weight of the bread is given. Here are some of the large quantities represented:

A total of more than 4400(!) loaves (*KUB* XXXI 57 IV 6-22)

300 "thirtier-loaves" of bread (*KBo* XX 74 rev<sup>III</sup> 9')

300 *kuk[-* loaves (*KBo* XVI 81 I 6)

100 loaves (*KUB* XXV 31 obv. 17)

Cooked food:

A bowl of "army stew" (1 <sup>DUG</sup>*LIŠ.GAL UTÚL ERÍN*<sup>MEŠ</sup> *KBo* X 30 + II 8'; *KBo* X 31 IV 13)

3 BÁN BA.BA.ZA (*KUB* XXXVI 89 obv. 5)

## \*Dairy Products:

1 cheese (GA.KIN.AG *KBo* XXI 82 IV 9'; *KBo* X 31 IV 17')

1 sour (*EMŠU KBo* XXI 82 IV 9')

thick milk-butter (Ī.NUN *KBo* X 31 IV 17')

## \*Swine fat:

(Ī.ŠAḤ *KBo* XXI 82 IV 10'<sup>64</sup>)

## \*Honey:

(LĀL *KBo* XXI 82 IV 10'<sup>64</sup>)

## \*Fruit:

mountain apple(?)/apricot(?)<sup>65</sup> (GĪŠ.HAŠḤUR.KUR.RA 758/u, 10')

a nut(?)<sup>66</sup> (*šammama* 758/u, 5', 8')

## Beverages:

beer (KAŠ *KBo* X 24 IV 23, V 2, 12(?); *KBo* XVI 81 I 9; *Bo* 4801 rev. 7)

*marnuwan(t)* (a type of beer;<sup>67</sup> *passim*)

*walḫi* (a type of inferior beer; *KUB* XXXVI 89 obv. 6; *KBo* XVI 81 I 9; *KBo* XX 74 III 12')

\*KA.DÜ(.A)<sup>68</sup> (a type of inferior beer; *KBo* XXI 82 IV 14')

## Livestock:

1 ox (*KBo* X 24 IV 25; *KBo* XVI 81 I 5)

1–2 kids (MAŠ.TUR *KBo* XVI 68 + I'4', 10', 16'; *KBo* XVI 69 I 9' = *KUB* XLIII 24, 4')

sheep (*KBo* X 24 IV 25; *KBo* XVI 68 + *passim*; *KBo* XVI 81 I 5; *KUB* XXXI 57 I 20)

\*1 pig (*KBo* XXI 82 IV 14')

\*1 small dog (UR.TUR *KBo* XXI 82 IV 14)

## \*Hides:

1 red and 1 black goat hide, and a third type of hide (*KBo* XXI 82 IV 11 1 KUŠ UZ SA<sub>5</sub> 1 KUŠ UZ GE<sub>6</sub> 1 KUŠ *šūran ŠA* UZ<sub>U</sub>SA.SAL)

## \*Wool:

1 white and 1 black (ball?) of wool (*KBo* XXI 82 IV 10' 1 SÍG BABBAR 1 SÍG GE<sub>6</sub>)

## \*?:

]x-zé-te-e-ri-an (*KBo* XVI 68 IV' 26)

]ḫu-ut-ri (*KBo* XVI 78 I 15')

In conclusion, the AGRIG delivers all the agricultural nutrients, with the exception of wine. A clear-cut distinction is made between various sorts of beer which are supplied by the AGRIG and between beverages<sup>69</sup> made of grapes—wine

<sup>64</sup>*KBo* XXI 82 IV 10' Ī.ŠAḤ *iš-ḫé-it-ka-aš* LĀL. The meaning of the second word is not known.

<sup>65</sup>H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta* (1974), 38.

<sup>66</sup>Hoffner, op. cit., 126.

<sup>67</sup>For *marnuwan(t)*, which is already attested in the Cappadocian tablets (E. von Schuler, *AOAT* 1, 317 ff.), see Otten-Souček, *StBot* 8 (1969), 13, 38. G. Steiner, *RIA* III (1966), 306 identifies it as a type of beer. (See further below.)

<sup>68</sup>Not identical with *walḫi*. (Steiner, op. cit. *contra* Güterbock, *HW*, 343.)

<sup>69</sup>KAŠ.LĀL “mead” (Steiner, *RIA* III, 306) is supplied by the LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> KAŠ.LĀL (*KBo* XVII 9 + II 8'-9'; *KBo* XX 33 + obv. 8).

and KAŠ.GEŠTIN<sup>70</sup> which are distributed by the ZABAR.DIB, the “wine-supplier”.<sup>71</sup>

Livestock is usually supplied either by the GAL/UGULA LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> SIPAD or the LÚIGI.DU<sub>8</sub>.A.<sup>72</sup> However, as attested above, the AGRIG also supplies small numbers of livestock, usually small cattle. The same applies for hides and wool.

The AGRIG of Hattuša (LÚAGRIG<sup>URU</sup> Hatti), who operates independently and is never listed with other AGRIGs, has a wider range of responsibilities than his colleagues.<sup>73</sup> One of the reasons for this is certainly dictated by the fact that, in festivals celebrated in his own town, the AGRIG of Hattuša has certain logistical advantages over his colleagues. Thus, products that must be consumed while fresh—dairy products, fruit, fat and honey—are supplied only by the AGRIG of Hattuša. Additional things supplied only by him are a pig and a small dog, three different hides, white and black wool,<sup>74</sup> and two other commodities which are only partly preserved in the text ( ]x-zé-te-e-ri-an and ]-hu-ut-ri).

### 3.3. The AGRIG and his Storehouse

On the basis of §§37 ff. of the Telipinu Decree, in which the regulations for the sealing of the grain in the royal storehouses are set down (above §2.4), A. Goetze stated that the AGRIGs were the persons designated to be in charge of the administration of these storehouses.<sup>75</sup> The storehouses in question were indeed located in the respective towns listed there. Other sources as well, refer to storehouses located in various towns of the kingdom. However, this led to the erroneous conclusion that all the storehouses administered by AGRIGs were located in the respective towns after which the AGRIGs were named. As a consequence, certain AGRIG lists found in religious texts were considered to be itineraries for ritual journeys, each AGRIG in the list being responsible for providing the king whilst in his town. This misconception seriously affected the historical-geographic research (see below §4.3), until H. G. Güterbock demonstrated that in addition to the storehouses located in provincial towns of the kingdom, there were also similar establishments belonging to various cities within the capital Hattuša<sup>76</sup> and these too were administered by AGRIGs.<sup>77</sup>

Keeping Güterbock's observation in mind, each reference to a storehouse of

<sup>70</sup>Steiner, *RIA* III, 306 “a sort of inferior or young wine”. An interpretation “beer (or) wine” (A. Kammenhuber, *OrNS* 39, 1970, 563; A. Archi, *OrAnt* 12, 1973, 217 n. 57) is excluded because of the clear distinction between beverages supplied by the AGRIG and those supplied by the ZABAR.DIB.

<sup>71</sup>The only possible exception is *KBo* X 30+ II 5: x DUG.S[A<sub>3</sub>KAŠ.GEŠTIN appears in a fragmentary list closed by LÚAGRIG<sup>URU</sup> ]*Takkipudda pa*[i. However, juxtaposition with the parallel passage *KBo* X 31 IV 12–16 makes it almost certain that here too KAŠ.GEŠTIN is supplied by the ZABAR.DIB.

<sup>72</sup>A. Archi, *OrAnt* 12 (1973), 221, 225.

<sup>73</sup>There is nothing in the texts, however, to indicate that the wider range of responsibilities entails additional privileges. A “chief steward” (*abarakku rabû*), as in Assyria (cf. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*, 230) is not attested in the Hittite material.

<sup>74</sup>In the same passage blue and red wool, i.e. dyed wool, is apparently kept in a different store and is delivered by the LÚ É<sup>NA<sub>4</sub></sup> KIŠIB.

<sup>75</sup>*RHA* I (1930), 19 with n. 10; *Kleinasien*<sup>2</sup> (1957), 10. Further contexts which substantiate this statement are 758/u, 12' LÚAG]RIG É<sup>NA<sub>4</sub></sup> KIŠIB<sup>URU</sup> *Ha-at-ri*[i; *KBo* XXIV 95 obv. 2', 12' = *Bo* 4801 rev. 6' LÚAGRIG ŠA É<sup>NA<sub>4</sub></sup> KI[ŠIB.

<sup>76</sup>One may compare the treasuries of thirteen Greek towns in Olympia as a distant analogy to this phenomenon.

<sup>77</sup>*JNES* 20 (1961), 85–97.



an AGRIG in the texts must be examined in light of the context—is it located in Ḫattuša or in another town of the kingdom? For example, in *KUB XXXI 57 I 12'* ff.<sup>78</sup> the AGRIG of Kaštama supplies seeds for fields of the royal estate in the Nerik region from a depot located in the town of Kaštama.

On the other hand, all occurrences in the KILAM festival refer, as pointed out by Güterbock, to storehouses located in Ḫattuša where the festival is performed. Regarding the location of these storehouses in the capital, useful information can be gathered from the second and third tablets of the KILAM festival and parallel fragments (for references see *StBoT* 27–28). The royal couple arrives at the “houses” of different towns after leaving the palace quarters (*Ḫalentuwa*). They arrive in chariots near the entrance of the temple of Ḫalki where the ceremonies involving the AGRIGs of Ankuwa and Nenašša are performed. On the ground of the parallel fragments *KBo XVI 82* and *KBo XXIII 91 IV* it follows that the AGRIGs are standing in the gates of their respective “houses”, i.e. storehouses. Regarding the “House of Ankuwa”, we also know from *KBo XVI 82, 7'–8'* that it is situated behind the temple of Ḫula. The above data do not bring us any further, in view of the current state of research into the ancient topography of Ḫattuša, but they may contribute to it in the future.

Considering the proximity of these “houses” to temples or sanctuaries (in this case those of Ḫalki and Ḫula), one is naturally reminded of the chain of storehouses surrounding Temple I in Boğazköy.<sup>79</sup> Concerning the next mention of “houses” in the text, the information on their location is unfortunately broken or damaged.<sup>80</sup>

Besides *É NA<sub>4</sub>KIŠIB*<sup>81</sup> the storehouses are referred to in the texts with different terms: *É.GAL URU<sub>x</sub>*<sup>82</sup> “the great-house of (the town) x”<sup>83</sup> or simply *É URU<sub>x</sub>* “the house of (the town) x”. In other instances, the text does not specify from which storehouse the supplies are given. It merely states that the provisions are delivered from the palace.<sup>84</sup> These terms have no bearing on the commodities kept in the storehouses;<sup>85</sup> they may be granaries,<sup>86</sup> wine-cellars, arsenals,<sup>87</sup> textile store-

<sup>78</sup>V. Haas, *Nerik* (1970), 114 ff.

<sup>79</sup>See also below n. 118 for the storerooms of Mašat Höyük.

<sup>80</sup>“The house of Tuwanuwa” (at the end of *KBo X 24 IV*) is missing; “The House of Ḫupišna” is connected with *dalugai* [*ḫatalki*šni(?) (V 9)]; the “house” of a town whose name ends on -*y*]a (V 22) must be located in the environs of the *ḫaniya*-gate (V 19); after the “house” of Kattila the procession arrives at the temple of Šura (*KUB X 1 I 4* ff.).

<sup>81</sup>For a summary on *É NA<sub>4</sub>KIŠIB* (Akk. *bīt kunukki*, Hittite *\*pir šiyannaš*), literally the “house of the sealing” referring to the sealed objects stored in it, see A. Archi, *OrAnt* 12 (1973), 214 ff. with previous literature.

<sup>82</sup>*É.GAL URU<sub>x</sub>* *Karaḫna* (*KUB XXXVIII 12 II 9–11*); for the “great houses” of Nenašša, Tuwanuwa and Ḫupišna see below. Cf. also H. G. Güterbock, *Oriens* 15 (1962), 345.

<sup>83</sup>*É.GAL* is used here in the sense of “belonging to the royal estate” (H. G. Güterbock, *XIX RAI*, 1974, 306).

<sup>84</sup>*É.GAL<sup>LIM</sup> kī dāi* (*KBo XXI 82 IV 9'*); *LUGAL-wan É-az* (*KBo XX 74 III 7* ff.); *IŠTU É.GAL<sup>LIM</sup>* (*KUB XXXI 57 I 12'*).

<sup>85</sup>More specific terms for various types of storehouses are *É IN.NU.DA* “straw barn”, *Ḫarupaḫi*- “granary” (H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta*, 1974, 37); *É UNUT* “house of instruments”; *É LU<sub>2</sub>ZABAR.DIB* “wine-cellar” (literally “house of the wine-supplier”); *É LU<sub>2</sub>ŠA.TAM* “treasury” (“house of the treasurer”); *É NA<sub>4</sub>KIŠIB imiulaš* “storehouse (for horse-)fodder”.

<sup>86</sup>For the list of granaries in §§38–39 of the Telipinu Decree see above §2.4. Bread is stored in the *É NA<sub>4</sub>KIŠIB* according to *KBo VI 34 II 33–34*.

<sup>87</sup>*KBo I 14 I 20* ff. (A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, 1940, 27 ff.); Jewellery and other ornaments are often delivered from the “house of the scribes-on-wood” (*É LU<sub>2</sub>DUB.SAR GIŠ*, *KBo X 30 II 33' f.*).

houses,<sup>88</sup> etc. From the list of commodities delivered by the AGRIG, as found in the texts, one can surmise that he was responsible only for storehouses which stored food. Other storehouses must have been administered by other officials. Therefore, it is not surprising to encounter a “man of the storehouse” (LÚ É NA<sup>4</sup>KIŠIB) who delivers in *KBo XXI IV 18’–19’* a ball of red wool and a ball of blue wool.

The existence of two categories of storehouses, those situated in provincial towns of the kingdom, and those belonging to the same towns but situated in the capital, raises the question of the relationship between them, and the system whereby the two types were supervised by the AGRIG. Apparently, we are dealing with two stages of a collection system of agricultural produce: firstly a network of royal storehouses throughout the kingdom, to which taxes in kind from the provinces and produce from the royal estates are forwarded and where they are stored. The second stage involved the transferral of part of this produce to the depots of the same towns located in Ḫattuša, for consumption by the large population of the metropolis, especially during festive occasions. No indication is found, however, in the texts concerning the methods of collection and supervision of this complex system.<sup>89</sup> It is logical to assume that the same AGRIG was in charge of both storehouses—the one located at the place of his permanent seat, and the “house” of his town in Ḫattuša—since there is no mention of more than one AGRIG for the same town. This presupposes the existence of assisting personnel subordinate to the AGRIG, about which there is no evidence.<sup>90</sup>

With the exception of a mutilated passage in the Telipinu Decree (§40; see §2.4 above), we encounter the AGRIG only in his capacity as distributor of rations but not as tax-collector. That only one aspect of the office is found in the texts may have its explanation in the nature of the texts in which the AGRIG is encountered: most of them are ration lists of festival texts which are obviously preoccupied only with supplies and not with the collection system. However, the AGRIG is absent from texts of broader scope in which one might expect to find him (see n. 58). If the omission in the texts of the other aspects of the AGRIG office is not merely accidental, one may surmise that the range of responsibilities for the office is restricted to supervision of the storehouses and the distribution of rations, whereas the collection of the produce was supervised by other functionaries of the state administration.

#### 4. Geographical Aspects of the System of AGRIG Towns

##### 4.1. *List of AGRIG Towns Attested in Hittite Texts*

Following is presented a corpus of the occurrences of AGRIG towns in Hittite texts.<sup>91</sup> Included are also references which have been restored on the basis of parallel passages.<sup>92</sup>

The list is a collection of occurrences in texts dated to different periods. A

<sup>88</sup>*KBo XI 14 IV 17’ f.*; *IBoT I 31 obv. 11 ff.*

<sup>89</sup>See also A. Archi, *OrAnt* 12 (1973), 217.

<sup>90</sup>With the possible exception of the “novice AGRIG” (LÚAGRIG.TUR, see §1).

<sup>91</sup>Although *abarakkū* of towns are found in Assyria (J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*, 104 f.), nothing comparable to the complex geographical system of AGRIG towns has turned up yet in non-Hittite sources.

<sup>92</sup>The references to the KILAM text (marked with an asterisk) are cited according to the line numeration of the transliteration in *StBoI* 28. Duplicates are excluded.

division of the material into subsequent periods in order to disclose evolutionary trends in the system of AGRIG towns is impossible with the available data. Palaeographical criteria (ductus) are irrelevant in this case, since practically all occurrences are in religious texts, most of which are later copies of texts composed in earlier periods.<sup>93</sup>

1. Ališa *VBoT* 68 II 18'; \**KBo* X 30 + *KBo* XVI 77 III 25'; \**KBo* XVI 68 + I' [9'] II '[8]', 14', 20', 26', 32'; \**KBo* XVI 80 + ,5; \**KBo* XX 66, ]2', [9']; \*Bo 5005 rev. 8'[(?)
2. Ammuna *VBoT* 68 II 19'
3. Ankuwa *KBo* III 34 II 11 (Palace Chronicle); \**KBo* X 24 IV 30(*Hanikkui*); \**KBo* X 31 II 8'; \**KBo* XVI 82, 8'; \**KBo* XX 4 + I 3; Bo 2689 V<sup>2</sup>17'; \*Bo 5005 rev. 5'
4. Ḫakmiš *VBoT* 68 III 7(*Haggamiššiyail*); *KBo* VIII 124 + obv.<sup>2</sup> 4'; *KUB* XI 28 IV 2
5. Ḫanḫana Inandik Tablet, 3; *KBo* XX 86 + , 11'; *KUB* XI 28 III ]2', IV 14; *KUB* XXVI 2 rev. 6'; Bo 7937 left col. 14'
- Ḫanikku see Ankuwa
6. Ḫarḫarna \**KBo* X 30 + *KBo* XVI 77 III [33']<sup>2</sup>; \**KBo* XVI 68 + III 7', 17'; *KBo* XVI 84 obv. 3'
7. Ḫattena *VBoT* 68 II 19'
8. Ḫatti \**KBo* X 31 IV 18'; \**KBo* XVI 68 + III<sup>1</sup> 25', 27', IV<sup>1</sup> 26; *KBo* XVI 78 I 16'; *KBo* XX 44 + rev. <sup>1</sup>6'; *KBo* XXI 82 IV 14', 21'; *KBo* XXV 18 I 10'[; *KUB* XLIII 29 III 3'; Bo 2599 I 10'; 758/u, 1', [3'], 12', 16'
9. Ḫupišna \**KBo* X 24 V 18; *KUB* XXVI 2 rev. 3'
- Iš<sup>2</sup>-[<sup>94</sup> *KUB* XXXI 57 IV 21
10. Ištaḫara *VBoT* 68 III 8
- Ka-x-x-x*[<sup>95</sup> \**KBo* XVI 70, 7'
11. Karaḫna \**KBo* X 21, 3'; \**KBo* X 30 + *KBo* XVI 77 III 29'; \**KBo* XVI 68 + III<sup>1</sup> 5'(?), 15'; *KBo* XVI 78 I 13'; 922/z, 13'
12. Karašm/titta *VBoT* 68 III 9(*Karašmittiyail*); *KBo* VIII 124 + obv. <sup>2</sup>10'; *KUB* XI 28 III ]4', IV 20
13. Kaštama *VBoT* 68 III 5; *KBo* XVI 73, 5'; *KBo* XVI 74, 8'; *KBo* XVI 81 I 10'; *KUB* XXV 31 obv. 17'; *KUB* XXXI 57 I 13', 22'; *KBo* XXV 140 left col. 11'; *KUB* XLVIII 13 II<sup>2</sup> 7'; Bo 1580 rev. 15'; Bo 77/20, 4'[(?) (see also n. 97)
14. Kaštu[wara] \**KBo* XXIII 91 IV 14
15. Katapa *KBo* XVI 78 I 13'
16. Kattila *KUB* X 1 I 4'; (see also n. 95)
17. Malazziya *VBoT* 68 III 8
- (Madila)<sup>96</sup> LÚZABAR.DIB \**KBo* X 31 IV 18)

<sup>93</sup>We may note in this connection that several AGRIGs who figure in texts written in the typical Old Hittite ductus are also attested in later texts: the AGRIG of Ankuwa (*KBo* XX 4 + I 3), the AGRIG of Ḫanḫana (Inandik tablet, l.3), the AGRIG of Nerik (*KBo* XVI 72, 4'), the AGRIG of Kaštama (*KBo* XVI 73, 5'), the AGRIG of Ḫarḫarna (*KBo* XVI 84, 3'). However, this is not sufficient to establish a rule, and it is not impossible that some places were added and others excluded during subsequent stages of Hittite history.

<sup>94</sup>Or perhaps Ka[š]-t[a'-ma as in I 13', 22'.

<sup>95</sup>H. Otten, *KBo* XVI p. XIII: *Ka-x-annupī*[(?). This has no parallels. Among the attested AGRIGs beginning on *Ka-*, *Ka-at-ti-la* would best fit the traces.

<sup>96</sup>See n. 61.

18. Nenašša \*KBo X 24 IV 33(= KUB II 10a, 14'); \*KBo X 30 + \*KBo XVI 77 III 20'; \*KBo XVI 68 + III 13'; KUB XXVI 2 rev. 2'
19. Nerik KBo XII 65 V 4'; KBo XVI 72, 4'  
*Pi-x-x*<sup>97</sup> Bo 6002 obv. 17  
*Ša-ku-uk-ut/* VBoT 68 III 6  
*ki-ti-ya-al*<sup>98</sup>
20. Šanaḫuitta KBo XVI 78 I 5'; KUB XXVI 2 rev. 1'; Bo 2689 V ?18'
21. Šukziya \*KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III 13', [36']; \*KBo XVI 68 + III 8', 18'; \*KBo XVI 70, [8']; \*KBo XVI 82, 4'; KBo XVII 36 II 9'(?); KBo XX 74 III 13'(?)
22. Takašta KBo XVI 78 I 12'
23. Takipuda \*KBo X 30 + II 9'; \*KBo X IV 13'
24. Takup(pa)ša KUB XXVI 2 rev. 8'; KUB XXXVI 89 obv. 6
25. Tapika VBoT 68 III 7(Tapikkiyal); KBo XVI 78 I 11
26. Taptiga KBo XVI 78 I 12'
27. Tawiniya VBoT 68 II 17', III 4'; KBo XX 26, 8'(?); KUB XXVI 2 rev. 7'
28. Tuḫuppiya VBoT 68 II 17', III 4'; KBo XX 80, 19', 12'; KBo XX 81 II 6'; KBo XX 86 +, 13'; KUB XI 28 III 3'
29. Durmitta KBo XX 86 +, 12'; KUB XI 28 III 13'; KUB XXVI 2 rev. 9'
30. Tuwanuwa \*KBo X 24 V 8'; KUB XXVI rev. 4'
31. Uḫḫiwa VBoT 68 III 9; KUB XXVI 2 rev. 10'
32. Wattaruwa/  
 Uwattarwa \*KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III 4', 134'; \*KBo XVI 68 + III 9', [19']
33. Zallara \*KBo XXIII 91 IV 10
34. Zalpuwa VBoT 68 III 4
35. Ziḫnuwa 2076/g obv. ?5'
36. Zikurka \*KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III 9', [35']
37. Zim/pišḫuna VBoT 68 II 18'; KBo VIII 124 + obv. 6'; KUB XI 28 III 11', IV 8
38. Zinirnuwa/  
 Zirnanuwa \*KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III 17'; \*KBo XVI 68 + III 11'; KBo XVI 69 I 5', 8', 11'(= KBo XVI 67 I 10, 13); KUB XLIII 24, 6'
39. Zišparna VBoT 68 III 5

#### 4.2. AGRIG Lists

The occurrences in which several AGRIGs appear in a sequence are now brought together. H. G. Güterbock has shown that these lists and sequences are not itineraries.<sup>99</sup> Nevertheless, as he pointed out, they may still have some limited geographical value, if it can be demonstrated that names situated in the same general region are grouped together or that they contain “clusters” of such names.<sup>100</sup> A clear case for the latter possibility is the joint appearance of Nenašša,

<sup>97</sup>Reference given in R. Lebrun, *Šamuḫa* (1976), 187. It should probably read *Kaš-* (Kaštama ?).

<sup>98</sup>Obviously a corrupt form. A. Goetze, *RHA* I (1930), suggests the emendation Šanaḫuitta. Šukziya seems more plausible to me.

<sup>99</sup>H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 20 (1961), 87 ff.

<sup>100</sup>ib. 96.

Tuwanuwa and Ĥupišna, all three located in the Tyanitis, in two of the sequences below (lists 1 and 5) as well as in other texts.<sup>101</sup>

Five short sequences are discussed below. (The long lists of *VBoT* 68 are discussed separately in the following section.) Lists 1 and 3 originate from ritual ceremonies in which AGRIGs participate: List 1 is extracted from the second and third tablets of the KI.LAM festival and parallel fragments. List 3 is extracted from *CTH* 662/1. List 2(a,b) and list 4 are extracted from ration lists—the former from the KI.LAM festival, the latter from *KBo* XVI 78 obv. (*CTH* 662/6). List 5, from *KUB* XXVI 2 rev., was discussed by Güterbock in *JNES* 20(1961), 88. It is a fragmentary enumeration of AGRIGs. Two of the lists, 2(a,b) and 3, have duplicates in which the order of the names varies. This indicates that no significance should be attributed to the order within each list.

*List 1* (KI.LAM festival)

2nd tablet (*KBo* X 24)

Ankuwa(=Ĥanikkuil)

Nenašša

Tuwanuwa

Ĥupišna

[            -y]a

[                            ]

3rd tablet (*KUB* X 1)

Kattila

Parallel fragments

*KBo* X 21

Karaḥna

*KBo* XXIII 91

Zallara

*KBo* XVI 82

Kaštu[wara]

Šukz[iya]

*List 2(a and b)* (KI.LAM festival ration lists)

*2a* (ration of Men of Angulla)

*2b* (ration of *zinḥuri*-men)

*KBo* XVI 68 + III 4'–12' =

*KBo* XVI 68 + III 14'–22' =

*KBo* X 30 + *KBo* XVI 77 III 1'–21'

*KBo* X 30 + *KBo* XVI 77 III 22'–36'

K[araḥna(?)]

Ališa

Ĥarḥarna

Karaḥna

[                            ]

Ĥarḥarna

Šukziya

K[attila](?)

Zikkurka

Šugziya

Uwattarwa/Wattaruwa

[Zikkurk]a(?)

Zinirnuwa

Wattaruwa

Ni/enašša

*List 3* (*CTH* 662/1 A.*KUB* XI 28 B.*KBo* XX 86 + *KBo* VIII 124)

Durmitta

Ĥakmišša

Zim/pišḥuna

Ĥanḥana

Tuḥuppiya

Karašm/titta

<sup>101</sup>ib. 88 f.; I. Singer, *ZA* 65 (1975), 90 f.

*List 4 (CTH 662/1 KBo XVI 78 obv.)*

Šanaḫuitta  
 Tapikka  
 Taptiga  
 Takašta  
 Katapa  
 Karaḫna  
 Ḫatti

*List 5 (CTH 231/2 KUB XXVI 2 rev.)*

Šanaḫ[uitta]  
 Nenašša  
 Ḫupišna  
 Tuwanuwa  
 LÚ AGRIG LÚ NA.KAD (see §1)  
 Ḫanḫana  
 Tawi[niya]  
 Takkupš[a]  
 Durm[jitta]  
 Uḫḫiwa

Two of the lists, 3 and 4, seem to be composed of places situated in the same general region. In List 3 we encounter Durmitta and Tuḫḫupiya in the upper Halys Basin, Ḫakmišša in the neighbourhood of Amasya and Ḫanḫana in the Nerik region. Zim/pišḫuna and Karašm/titta cannot be located with any degree of accuracy, but apparently all the places in the list are situated north of the line stretching from Sivas in the south-east to Kargı in the north-west (and all belonged to Ḫattušili III's sub-kingdom).

Five of the places in List 4 figure in one section of the so-called "Sacrifice List" *KBo* IV 13: Šanaḫuitta, Tapikka,<sup>102</sup> Taptiga, Takašta and Katapa. Karaḫna as well cannot be far from this group; the AGRIG of Ḫatti functions on his own (see §3.2).

In the other lists (1, 2, 5) no geographical pattern is apparent, except perhaps of smaller "clusters" within one list, such as the aforementioned group Nenašša, Tuwanuwa and Ḫupišna in Lists 1 and 5. These lists traverse various provinces of the kingdom: e.g. List 2 includes towns in the Hatti Land (Ališa, Karaḫna), in the Upper Land (Šugziya) and in the Ḫulana River Land (Wattaruwa). The fact that in some lists the names belong to one region, whereas in others they are dispersed over a wide area, may find its explanation in the nature of the texts to which they belong. Lists 1 and 2 belong to the KI.LAM festival which is celebrated in Ḫattuša; the supplies are procured from storehouses of various towns in the kingdom located in the capital itself (see §3.3), rendering a geographical grouping unnecessary. List 3, on the other hand, could belong to a northern festival,<sup>103</sup> accordingly the participating AGRIGs belong to northeastern towns.

<sup>102</sup>For the identification of Tapika with Maşat Höyük see below. Is it a mere coincidence that three places beginning with *Ta-* follow each other, or is it perhaps possible that phonetical resemblances also play a role in the composition of such lists?

<sup>103</sup>A. Archi, *SMEA* 14 (1971), 221 thinks that there is a connection to the "festival of the torches", *EZEN zuparu*. For this festival see V. Haas, *Nerik* (1970), 61; H. Otten, *StBot* 15 (1971), 9 f.

4.3. *The “Herald’s Lists” in VBoT 68*

The largest list of AGRIGs is found in *VBoT* 68, the so-called “Herald’s Lists”. This text has been used frequently for research into the historical-geography of the central Hittite region.<sup>104</sup> The main points of interest of this text are summarized in the following.

The preserved part of the tablet—about one half of obv. II and rev. III—contains three lists of towns with the Hattic gentilic ending *-il* (in some names *-al*). The text contains a large number of errors. Some of the names can be reasonably emended, one name is completely distorted (III 6 *Ša-ku-uk-ut/ki-ti-ya-al*).

The introductory formula of the first list is not preserved. The second and third lists are introduced as following:

2nd list (II 15’–16’): “When the king goes from Arinna to Ḫattuša the herald calls out the *telipuri* as follows.”

3rd list (III 1–3): “[When] the king goes from Ḫattuša to Matilla the herald announces the AGRIGs to the king as follows.”

The juxtaposition of the two phrases motivated Cornelius to suggest that *telipuri*<sup>105</sup> is the Hittite reading of AGRIG.<sup>106</sup> This has been refuted by Laroche on the basis of *KUB* XXI 47 + *KUB* XXIII 82 II 20 ff. in which *telipuri* figures as an intermediate administrative sub-division between “land”(KUR) and “town”(URU).<sup>107</sup> He suggested the translation “canton”, “district” or the like.<sup>108</sup> The alternation between *telipuri* and AGRIG in the above cited phrases of *VBoT* 68 points to the effect that *telipuri* is the administrative sub-division in the framework within which the AGRIG operates. It still remains to define the relation between this and other administrative sub-divisions, like *ḪALŠI* and KUR (in the more restricted sense), found in Hittite texts (see below n. 131).

Of the sixteen towns enumerated in the second and third lists, nine are attested as AGRIG residencies in other texts as well. They are marked with an asterisk. The emendations of Goetze are retained.<sup>109</sup>

## Second List (II 17’–19’)

\**Ta-ú-ni-ya-il*  
\**Tu-u-ḫu-up-ya-il*  
\**A-li-ša-il*  
\**Zi-pi-iš-ḫu-na-il*  
*Am-mu-na-a-il*  
*Ḫa-at-te-na-a-il*

## Third List (III 4–9)

*Za-al-pu-ú-i-il*  
\**Tu-u-ḫu’-up-pi-ya-il*  
*Zi-iš-pár’-na-il*  
\**Ga-aš-ta’-mu-il*  
\**A-li-ša-a-il*  
*Ša-ku-uk-ut/ki-ti-ya-al*  
\**Ḫa-ag-ga-mi-iš-ši-ya-il*  
\**Ta-pi-ik-ki-ya-al*  
*Iš-ta-ḫa-ra-al*  
*Ma-la-az-zi-ya-il*  
\**Ka-ra-aš-mi-it-ti-ya-il*  
\**Uḫ-ḫi-wa-a-al*

<sup>104</sup>A. Goetze, *RHA* I (1930), 18–30; *RHA* XV/61 (1957), 92 ff.; J. Garstang–O. R. Gurney, *Geography* (1959), 8 ff.; H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 20 (1961), 88 ff.; F. Cornelius, *OrNS* 32 (1963), 237 ff.

<sup>105</sup>The word is of Hattic origin, consisting of the root *pur/wur* “country” (E. Laroche, *RA* 48, 1954, 48) and the elements *te=le=* of which the second is a plural prefix (A. Kammenhuber, *RHA* XX/70, 1962, 11, 13, 17; cf. also the possessive prefix *te-*, ib. 7, 15).

<sup>106</sup>*RHA* XIII/57 (1955), 58 n. 12 (cf. also A. Goetze, *RHA* I, 1930, 29).

<sup>107</sup>*RA* 48 (1954), 48; *HW* Erg. I, 21.

<sup>108</sup>Further occurrences of the term: *KBo* XVI 47 obv. 28’ *ti-li-pu-ri*<sup>11A</sup> (H. Otten, *IstMitt* 17, 1967, 55–62); *KUB* XXVI 51, 10’ *te-li-pu-u-r[i]*.

<sup>109</sup>The text seems to have a preference for *-iya* endings: *Zitakpiššiya* for usual *Zitakpiša*; *Ḫaggamiššiya* for *Ḫakmiš*; *Tapikkiya* for *Tapika*; *Karašmittiya* for *Karašmitta*.

Goetze's interpretation of the lists as actual stations on the king's journey from Arinna to Ḫattuša (second list) and from Ḫattuša to Matilla (third list), led to far-reaching consequences for the historical-geography of the central Hittite region. In 1961 Güterbock brought together conclusive proofs to the effect that these and other similar lists and sequences cannot be regarded as itineraries.<sup>110</sup>

The comparison with other lists revealed different sequences and the examination of the second and third tablets of the KI.LAM festival provided the solution: the ceremonies during which the AGRIGs are called by their Hattic gentilic names are performed in the capital itself where they are summoned together for the ritual.<sup>111</sup>

The introductory formula of the lists—"When the king goes from place X to place Y"—are merely the titles or the "mottoes" of the festivals which are usually cited in the colophons with no bearing on the geographical order of the lists beneath them.

The towns in the second and the third lists belong to the northern part of the Halys Basin (for the geographical examination see below). Two of the names (Ališa and Tuḫuppiya) figure in both lists.

From the 19 preserved names of the first list (II 4'–14'), the introductory formula of which is not preserved, none is attested as an AGRIG residency. On the other hand, Matilla (II 9') is the only attested seat of a <sup>LÚ</sup>ZABAR.DIB, "wine-distributor" (see above n. 61). Could this indicate that the first list consists of "wine-distributors"?

#### 4.4. *The Relationship between AGRIG and Recipient*

Most of the evidence at our disposal for the clarification of this topic comes from the ration tablets of the KI.LAM festival. The recipients are various groups of cult-functionaries who participate in the festival. One would expect *a priori*, to find some sort of correspondence between supplier and recipient; i.e. that a certain group is usually being provided for by the same AGRIG or group of AGRIGs and vice versa. However, it becomes apparent that the scanty evidence, which is tabulated below, does not provide a clear answer in this respect. (The text references can be found in the list of AGRIGs in §4.1.).

<i>AGRIG</i>	<i>Recipient</i>
U/Wattar(u)wa	Men of Angulla, <i>zinḫuri-</i> men
Zikkurka	Men of Angulla, <i>zinḫuri-</i> men
Šugziya	Men of Angulla, <i>zinḫuri-</i> men
Zinirnuwa	Men of Angulla, <i>zinḫuri-</i> men, [ <i>ḫapiya-</i> men(?)] of Ḫatti
Nenašša	Men of Angulla
Karaḫna	<i>zinḫuri-</i> men
Ka-ti <sup>2</sup> -il <sup>2</sup> -la <sup>2</sup>	Men of Angulla
Ališa	<i>zinḫuri-</i> men, <i>ḫapiya-</i> men, men of Ališa, gold-, iron-, silver-, coppersmiths
Ḫarḫarna	<i>zinḫuri-</i> men
Ankuwa	Priest of (the town) Kilišara
Ḫatti	Priest of <sup>D</sup> Kampiwiut

No clear correspondence between provider and recipient emerges from the cases represented in the above table. The same AGRIG delivers to several groups

<sup>110</sup> *JNES* 20 (1961), 87 ff.; *XVII RAI* (1969), 179 n. 2.

<sup>111</sup> This is now definitely proven by two parallel passages in which the AGRIG's of the different towns are standing, each in the gate of his "house" (I. Singer, *ZA* 65, 1975, 93 n. 109).



and vice versa, one group receives from several AGRIGs. The seemingly exclusive connection between the AGRIG of Ankuwa and the priest of Kilišara may be merely coincidental, since this AGRIG is attested only once in the ration lists of the KI.LAM festival. We are left with one convincing case of correspondence: the AGRIG of Ališa (if the name is correctly restored in *KBo* XVI 68 + II' 8') supplies the *hapiya*-men of Ališa among other groups. But this is of course insufficient grounds for establishing a rule.

Apart from the ration lists of the KI.LAM festival the evidence to this problem is very scanty. In the Old Hittite ration tablet *KBo* XX 16 + IV' 3 the AGRIG of Ankuwa is delivering to a group of Ziplanda. One clear case of geographical correspondence deserves attention: in festivals and other activities connected with Nerik and its province we encounter AGRIGs of towns located in its vicinity: Kaštama (*KBo* XVI 73, 5'; *KBo* XVI 81, 10; *KUB* XXV 31 obv. 17; *KUB* XXXI 57 I 13', 22' II 6'(?), IV 21(?), Takupša (*KUB* XXXVI 89 obv. 6) and Nerik itself (*KBo* XVI 72, 4).

#### 4.5. Geographical Scope of the System of AGRIG Towns

The list of AGRIG towns presented above includes altogether 39 complete names (six of these appear only in the so-called "Herald's Lists" in *VBoT* 68.) The list is a compilation of occurrences from texts dated to different periods.

There does not appear to be any guiding principle according to which the towns serving as residencies for the AGRIGs were selected. One encounters well-known towns of the kingdom like Ankuwa, Ḫakpiš, Ḫupišna, Katapa, Tawiniya, Durmitta, Tuwanuwa, etc., not to mention the capital Ḫattuša. Others are rarely attested elsewhere (Zim/pišhuna, Zinirnuwa, Zikurka). One place, Takipuda, is *hapax legomenon*.<sup>112</sup>

Considering the fact that the AGRIG is usually connected with the religious administration, it is significant to note the absence of two important religious centres: Arinna and Zip(pa)landa. This may, of course, be accidental, but we may note §51 of the Hittite Laws, according to which some citizens of these two towns enjoy the privilege of exemption from compulsory service (*šahhan* and *luzzi*). However, in the previous paragraph (§50), Nerik, which does have an AGRIG, also figures alongside Arinna and Zip(pa)landa as a privileged town.

In an attempt to draw the geographical limits of the system of AGRIG towns we must constantly bear in mind two major restrictions: a) The fragmentary and compilatory nature of our evidence. b) The difficulties posed by the present state of research of Hittite historical-geography. Thus, we will merely indicate general locations. Bibliographical references will be given mainly for rarely attested names or for controversial localizations, but not for localizations that are generally accepted. Emphasis will be put on places located on the fringes of the area covered by these names, thus achieving a demarcation of its limits. Finally, the results achieved in this examination will be compared with the list of storehouse towns in the Telipinu Decree.

<sup>112</sup> A town Takipuda is not attested elsewhere, but the "Takiputta-house" in *Bo* 2956 I 14' must refer to the same thing *nu* III UDU<sup>HI.A</sup> *IS-TU* Ḫ *Ták-ki-pu-ut-ti* [(after transliteration of H. Ehelolf). Similar cases where the determinative URU is omitted are the "(great-)houses" of Gazzimar(a) and Šulupašši: Ḫ.GAL *Gaz-zi-mar* (*KUB* II 8 V 34), Ḫ *Gaz-zi-ma-ra* (*NBC* 3842 = *JCS* 10, 101 obv. 11), Ḫ<sup>URU</sup> *Gaz-zi-ma-ra* (*KUB* VI 45 II 59, *KUB* XXXVI 82, 2); Ḫ.GAL *Šu-lu-pa-aš-ši* (*KUB* XLII 48 obv. 12'), Ḫ.GAL<sup>URU</sup> *Šu-lu-pa-aš-ši-ya-aš* (*KBo* X 10 IV 18).

At a mere perusal of the list, it becomes immediately evident that a large majority of the names belong, as one would expect, to the innermost core of the kingdom, the Halys Basin.<sup>113</sup>

Departing from **Hattuša**,<sup>114</sup> we encounter **Ankuwa**, **Katapa** and **Tawiniya** which are located not far from the capital.

In the northern half of the Halys Basin, in the area held by the Kaška for a long period, we encounter a group of places situated in the vicinity of Nerik:<sup>115</sup> **Nerik** itself, **Kaštama**, **Takup(pa)ša**, **Zihnuwa** (probably identical with **Zihhana**), **Zikurka**, **Hattena** and **Hanhana**.<sup>116</sup> With **Zalpa** (attested only in *VBoT* 68) we reach the coast of the Black Sea.<sup>117</sup>

**Tapika**'s identification with Maşat Hüyük<sup>118</sup> will provide a long-awaited point of departure for the geographical study of the northern Halys Basin, and especially the Iris-Scylax basin. **Zim/pišhuna** must be situated nearby,<sup>119</sup> whereas **Ištahara** and **Hakmiš**, the seat of Hattušili's province, are probably located in the region of Amasya.<sup>120</sup> Further to the east, somewhere between the confluents of the Iris and the upper Halys, are probably located **Karahna**, **Takašta** and the neighbouring towns of **Tuhuppiya** and **Durmitta**.<sup>121</sup>

East of the Halys Basin, in the northern ranges of the Antitaurus, between Kaniš and the Euphrates, lies the "Upper Land" of the Hittite texts.<sup>122</sup> **Šukziya** can be located in this region with a high degree of probability.<sup>123</sup> Further AGRIG

<sup>113</sup>See also A. Archi, *SMEA* 14 (1971), 220.

<sup>114</sup>Attested only in the form <sup>LÚ</sup>AGRIG <sup>URU</sup>Hatti. For the relation between <sup>URU</sup>Hatti and <sup>URU</sup>Hattuša see H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956), 98 n. 0.

<sup>115</sup>For the localization of Nerik see J. Yakar-A. Dinçol, *Belleten* 38 (1974), 573 ff., where a more northern localization than the one suggested by H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 21 (1961), 93 is advocated, on the basis of an archaeological survey of the region. The suggested localization lies north of the line Boyabat—Durağan—Vezirköprü, i.e. on the lowest flow of the Kızıl İrmak after its confluence with the Gök İrmak. See now also Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *Florilegium Anatolicum* (Fs. Laroche 1979), 160 f.

<sup>116</sup>S. Alp, *Fs. E. Edel* (1979), 13–16 suggests identifying Inandik with Hanhana. But cf. E. Laroche in the *Proceedings of the 11th Congress of the Turkish Historical Society* (forthcoming).

<sup>117</sup>H. Otten, *StBoT* 17 (1973), 58 ff.

<sup>118</sup>S. Alp, *Belleten* 164 (1977), 637 ff.; *Florilegium Anatolicum* (Fs. Laroche 1979), 29 ff.; *Belleten* 173 (1980), 58 f. It is worth noting that the public building excavated at Maşat contains numerous store-rooms with large store-jars (T. Özgüç, *Excavations at Maşat Höyük*, 1978, 55 f., 61) a fact which accords well with Tapika's being a store-city, the seat of an AGRIG.

<sup>119</sup>According to the list of cult offerings in *KBo* XII 53 rev. 13'–19' Zapišhuna is located in the country of Tapika.

<sup>120</sup>A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*<sup>2</sup> (1957), 46 n. 4 and the references cited in G. del Monte, *Répertoire Géographique* (1978), 66.

<sup>121</sup>H. Otten, *Fs. Friedrich* (1959), 367 f.

<sup>122</sup>E. Laroche, *Les Noms des Hittites* (1966), 267. I. Singer, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 9 (1981), 124, 129.

<sup>123</sup>The passage in the Telipinu Decree dealing with the "Queen of Šugziya" (cf. H. Otten, *StBoT* 17, 1973, 14 n. 1) is indicative since it also mentions the town Tegarama probably located at present-day Gürün. The identification of the name Šukziya in the Boybeyınari Inscription, as suggested by F. Steinherr, *WdO* 2 (1957), 366, is not acceptable. The ethnic name reads *Su'-ki-ta/ti-za-sa* (D. Hawkins, *AnSt* 20, 1970, 88; P. Meriggi, *Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico* II/2, 1975, 73 ff.).

towns in this region<sup>124</sup> may be **Zinirnuwa/Zirnanuwa**<sup>125</sup> **Karašm/titta**<sup>126</sup> and **Uhhiuwa**.<sup>127</sup>

Finally, to the south of the Halys Basin, we encounter the group **Nenašša, Tuwanuwa, Hupišna** in the Tyanitis. **Zallara**, which figures together with this group in the list of countries conquered by Labarna according to the Telipinu Decree, also belongs here. In terms of Hittite regional geography this is the “Lower Land”.

**Wattaruwa/Uwatarwa** apparently falls somewhat outside this geographical scope. Unless more than one place bears the same name, this must be identical to the Wattarwa in the Šaḫurunuwa Deed which is connected with the Land of the Hūlana River (= “Wool River” *KUB XXVI 43 obv. 31* = *50 obv. 25'*). Now, the Hūlana River Land listed in *Hatt. II 60* after Pala, Tumanna, Gaššiya and Šappa, has been located to the west of the Halys bend.<sup>128</sup> If this location of the Hūlana River Land and consequently of Wattar(u)wa/Uwatarwa, is in fact correct, then this would be the only AGRIG town west of the Halys Basin and would thus be isolated from the other groups. This difficulty would disappear if it turned out that the Hūlana River and the Hūlaya River, probably the Calycadnos/Göksu in western Cilicia, are one and the same river. It is beyond the scope of this article to examine this question thoroughly here, but I believe that the evidence does not rule out such a possibility.<sup>129</sup> This would bring Wattaruwa closer to the group of names situated in the Lower Land. The Hūlaya River is included in the list of storehouse towns in the Telipinu Decree a fact which is not without interest.

The results of the above examination are projected on the map (along with the store-cities in the Telipinu Decree). Only a few names have been pinpointed; the majority are merely indicated in their respective regions. The fragmentary nature of the evidence is amply illustrated. The extension of the list in the future, as well as improved knowledge of Hittite historical-geography will probably fill in some of the lacunae on the map.

Nothing can be said at present on various aspects of the distributive pattern

<sup>124</sup>Malazziya cannot be located at Malatya as suggested by F. Cornelius, *Geschichte der Hethiter* (1973), 334, n. 37. It appears in the “Sacrifice List” (*KBo IV 13 I 31*) together with places located in the northern Halys Basin (see also Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *Fs. Laroche*, 1979, 158 n. 8). Present-day Malatya probably preserves the name of Hittite Maltiya (Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Records of the Early Hittite Empire*, 1970, 62 no. 30), through hieroglyphic Luwian Malizi, Assyrian Malitiya and classical Melitene (J. D. Hawkins *Iraq* 36, 1974, 75).

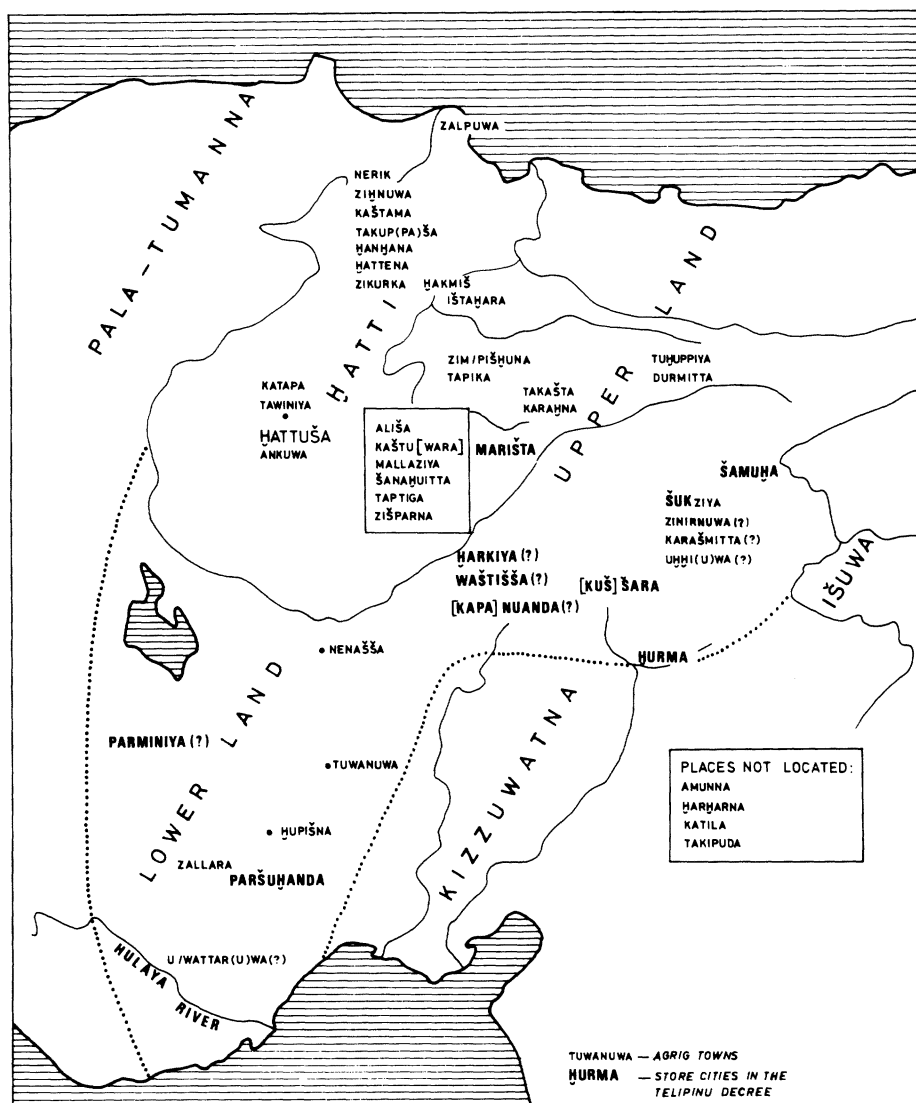
<sup>125</sup>Probably identical with Zarninuwa, which is listed in the “Sacrifice List” (*KBo IV 13 I 38*) after Pittiyariga, Arziya, and Šamuḫa, and before Kaniš. This gives an approximate location between Kaniš and the bend of the Euphrates.

<sup>126</sup>Identical with Kalašmitta in *KBo IV 13 I 33* and *KUB VI 45 III 1* = *46 III 38*. See following note.

<sup>127</sup>This and the previous name appear in the “Sacrifice List” in the same paragraph with Hurma, Šallahḫašuwa and Šugziya.

<sup>128</sup>E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* (1965), 55 n. 379; J. G. Macqueen, *AnSt* 8 (1968), 177 fig. 11 identifies it with the Kirmir, a tributary of the Sangarios. See also A. Ünal, *TdH* 3 (1974), 191; *RIA IV* (1975), 489 f.

<sup>129</sup>In the Anitta Inscription the Hūlanna River appears as the place where the Man of Šalatiwara gathers his troops. (64 ff.) Šalatu/iwar is located according to the Cappadocian tablets in the region of Waḫšušana (E. Bilgiç, *Afo* 15, 1945–1951, 22 and n. 156), i.e. south of the Halys Bend. Note also that the same mountain name, Hūwatnuwanta, appears in the Šaḫurunuwa Deed (*KUB XXVI 43 obv. 28*) in close proximity to River Hūlana, and in the Muwatalli Prayer (*KUB VI 45 II 38* = *46 III 7*) in association with River Hūlaya. Furthermore, in Bo 2750 the same mountain appears near <sup>10</sup>SIG “Wool River” (H. Otten, *RIA IV*, 1975, 489, 529).



within the area in question; e.g. the density of AGRIG towns in the different regions,<sup>130</sup> maximum and minimum distances between the towns, the criteria in the selection of the towns, etc.<sup>131</sup>

On the other hand, I believe that the evidence, although partial, can serve as a

<sup>130</sup>The better representation in the list of the "Hatti Land" in comparison with the "Upper Land" and the "Lower Land" (see discussion below) should not as yet lead to final conclusions.

<sup>131</sup>The administrative units in which the AGRIGs reside are the *telipuri* (see above §4.3). While it would be desirable to compare the system of AGRIG towns with other evidence on the administrative subdivisions of the Hittite kingdom, there is no comprehensive source on this subject and the available material is dispersed and largely unexplored. The following are important sources which provide partial lists of "countries" (KUR) and "districts" (HALŠI): the Šahurunuwa Deed (CTH 225), the Ulmi-Tešub Treaty (CTH 106), the Hierodule Lists (CTH 235) and the vow of Puduhepa (CTH 585). More precise definitions of the various terms referring to administrative units are necessary before an accurate picture can be reconstructed: e.g. the Šahurunuwa Deed seems to distinguish between "Land" and "District" (obv. 32 KUR URU Arinna; obv. 34 HALŠI URU Arinna),

sufficient basis for drawing the approximate geographical limits of the administrative system in the frame of which the AGRIG operates. The results are quite significant.

Among the centrally governed provinces of the kingdom, the one best represented on the list is the **Hatti Land**, i.e. the area within the Halys Basin, apparently with a good coverage, including places in the far north (Nerik, Zalpa) and the east (Durmitta, Tuḫuppiya). Few places can be located in the **Upper Land**; the absence of Šamuḫa, the main administrative and religious centre of the province, is noteworthy. The **Lower Land** is represented by some of its major cities: Nenašša, Tuwanuwa and Ḫuṣiṣna.<sup>132</sup>

Turning now to the provinces not represented in the list, the most significant is the absence of Kizzuwatna. Not only the main centres, such as Kumanni and Lawazantiya, but also smaller places within this province, the area of which is defined by the Sarus and Pyramus valleys, are absent. The fact that this is no mere coincidence is confirmed by additional evidence. We have noted in the survey of the texts in which the AGRIG is attested (§3.1), that none of the Kizzuwatnaean festivals is represented. *Argumentum e silentio* from two sources points with high probability to the fact that Kizzuwatna is not included in the system of AGRIG towns. The best way to account for this is by assuming that the system was devised in a period in which either Kizzuwatna was not ruled by the Hittites, or else it was included in their domain as a vassal state, but not as a centrally governed province. The above observation sets a *terminus ante quem* before the annexation of Kizzuwatna by Šuppiluliuma I, after which the region ceased to exist as a separate geo-political unit. A pre-Imperial dating for the origin and set-up of the system is obvious from other indications as well (see below). What merits attention is the fact that no AGRIG towns were added to the system after Kizzuwatna became a centrally governed province. The traditional pattern was apparently uninfluenced by the large territorial acquisitions during the Empire Period.

Other provinces which, in one period or another, belonged to the central administration are Pala-Tumanna and Kaššiya, north-west and west of the Halys Basin, and Išuwa, within the bend of the Euphrates south of its confluence with the Murat. To the best of my knowledge, these are not represented in the list either, probably for reasons similar to those applying to Kizzuwatna.

#### 4.6. *The Storehouse Towns in the Telipinu Decree and the AGRIG Towns*

We may now proceed to compare the results achieved in the examination of the assembled list of AGRIG towns with the list of storehouse towns in the Telipinu Decree, which was discussed in §2.4. The comparison is, of course, a limited one, since our list is an assemblage from texts dated to different periods, whereas in the Telipinu Decree we have a homogenous list. Both lists are fragmentary.

The Telipinu Decree contains two well-preserved lists of storehouse towns: the first with grain depots (§37), the second with (fodder-)mixture (§38). None of the

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whereas the Vow of Puduḫepa has both terms in one compound (II 13): ...<sup>URU</sup>Iyakkuriya ŠA HALŠI KUR <sup>URU</sup>x[ -a]ttimuš (Otten-Souček, *StBoT* 1, 1965, 24). It is worth noting that none of the districts (*HALŠI*) figuring in the Saḫurunuwa text (Arinna, Ḫalanda, Ḫattena, Šananta) or in the Hierodule list HT 2 (Katapa, Šalma, Kartapaḫa, Pašananḫita, Ulušna) is attested as an AGRIG town.

<sup>132</sup>For a general demarcation of the Hittite provinces see E. Laroche, *Les Noms des Hittites* (1966), 266 f.

names in the second list can be located with any certainty.<sup>133</sup> Thus, we shall only utilize the first list.<sup>134</sup>

At first glance there is an astonishing disaccord between the two lists; there is only one place, Šugziya, which appears in both. I believe, however, that a closer examination may reveal a far better correspondence between the two lists. About half of the names in Telipinu's list are *hapax legomena*. The others, which can be located from other sources, seem to cover two main regions.

In the first group we encounter the following better-known places: **Marišta** (l. 21) must be located on the northern bank of the upper Halys;<sup>135</sup> **Šamuḫa** (l. 21) is situated on the Murad or on the Euphrates north of Malatya;<sup>136</sup> **Kuš[šara(?)]**<sup>137</sup> [l. 21) and **Šukziya** (l. 20) must be located in the upper ranges of the Antitaurus between Kaniš and the Euphrates;<sup>138</sup> **Ḫurma** (l. 22), situated in the Elbistan plain,<sup>139</sup> seems to be the southernmost place in this group. Among the less familiar names we may note the following: **Iyamma** (l. 31) must be sought according to *KUB XV 1 II* not far from Urikina, a town repeatedly associated with Šamuḫa; **Harkiya** (l. 18), in case it is connected with <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>Ḫarga, the Erciyas Dağ,<sup>140</sup> is situated in the vicinity of Kaniš; **Waštišša** (l. 26) according to *KUB XL 2 rev. 45* is in Hittite territory not far from the Kizzuwatnean border, thus, a location in the region of Kaniš is plausible here as well;<sup>141</sup> the name following after Waštišša may perhaps be restored as **[Kapa]nuanda**, since the two names appear together in *KBo V 7 rev.*; **Ḫurniya** (l. 28) is listed in Muwatalli's Prayer after Arziya, which lies on the Euphrates. It should be distinguished from Ḫur(ra)na in the Halys Basin. The territory covered by the above-listed names extends approximately from the Kaniš region to the source of the Halys and the Euphrates bend, or in terms of Hittite regional geography, it corresponds to the Upper Land with Šamuḫa as its main centre.

The end of the list contains two well-known toponyms, **Paršuḫanda** (l. 30) and the **River Ḫulaya** (l. 32). Both places belong to the Lower Land according to the Muwatalli Prayer II 38–40. The Ḫulaya River is most probably the Calycadnos/Göksu. Contrary to the traditional view which places Paršuḫanda/Burušhattum either south of the Salt Lake or in the Konya Plain,<sup>142</sup> I prefer, in agreement with V. Haas, *MDOG* 109(1977), 15 f., a location in the Tyanitis. This accords better both with the Old Assyrian evidence and with the association with the Ḫulaya

<sup>133</sup>Most of the names in the list are not attested elsewhere. <sup>URUK</sup>Uwanna may perhaps be compared with <sup>TUL</sup>Ku(wa)nnaniya; Malit[ša- may be identical with either Malitaškuria or with Malita. The latter is located according to Cappadocian texts between Wašhaniya and Waššušana. Kurša[- may be the same as Guršamašša or Kuršawanša, both places located in the same general region of the Lower Land. Šuwanzuwana is probably identical with Šuwanzana in the Muwatalli Prayer.

<sup>134</sup>For this list see O. R. Gurney, *CAH* II<sup>3</sup> Part 1 (1973), 664.

<sup>135</sup>Marišta is the last town mentioned before the crossing of the Halys and the attack on Kaneš by the Kaškeans in *Hatt. II* 3 ff. (H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 20, 1961, 96).

<sup>136</sup>S. Alp, *Anatolia* I (1956), 77 ff.; H. Z. Koşay, *Belleten* 36 (1972), 463 ff.; R. Lebrun, *Šamuḫa* (1976), 9.

<sup>137</sup>H. Otten, *ZA* 66 (1976), 301 n. 2.

<sup>138</sup>For Šukziya see above n. 123; for Kuššara see J. Lewy, *HUCA* 33 (1962), 47.

<sup>139</sup>J. Lewy, *HUCA* 32 (1961), 68 n. 210; *HUCA* 33 (1962), 48; P. Garelli *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (1963), 111; E. Laroche, *Les Noms des Hittites* (1966), 269.

<sup>140</sup>E. Laroche, *RHA* XIX/69 (1961), 78.

<sup>141</sup>A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* (1940), 65, 70; G. del Monte, *Répertoire Géographique* (1978), 479 (Waštiša II).

<sup>142</sup>References in G. del Monte, *Répertoire Géographique* (1978) 324.

River. An additional name which may be located in this region is **Parminiya** (l. 30), if the phonetical resemblance with Parmana and Parmin(i)ta has a geographical significance.

Although the conclusive proofs are still missing, it may be tentatively suggested that there is a general correspondence between the main list of storehouse towns in the Telipinu Decree and the assembled list of AGRIG towns: the Upper Land and the Lower Land are represented in both lists. As for the Halys Basin, it has been suggested that this region was represented in one of the broken sections of the Decree. No less important is the fact that the same correspondence exists in regard to the regions not represented in the lists—Kizzuwatna,<sup>143</sup> Pala-Tumanna and Išuwa. If our interpretation of the evidence is correct, the two lists which are projected on the map, may be regarded as complementary and used as such. Further work on the combined material, in comparison with other sources, may contribute to the clarification of some historical-geographical subjects, such as a better delimitation of the northern boundary of Kizzuwatna.

The fact that the list of AGRIG towns is an assemblage from differently dated material should prevent us from arriving at any final conclusions with regard to the origin and the formation of this administrative system. However, it would be unwise to overlook some important chronological indications offered by the material.

As mentioned in the introduction, the office itself is already attested in the Inandik Tablet which is probably dated to Hattušili I. It must have been adopted from the North Syrian or Babylonian administration, since it is not attested in the Cappadocian tablets (but see n. 2).

The fact that during some ritual ceremonies the AGRIGs are called by the name of their respective towns to which the Hattic gentilic ending *-il* is added, led to the assumption that the office is a relic of the Hattian social structure.<sup>144</sup> There is nothing to support this view. The geographical span of the system exceeds the confines of the Hatti Land and the Hattic suffix is also added to names which have nothing to do with the Hattian zone (*Tuwanuwail*, *Ḫupišnail*, *Šukziyail*). The explanation for this may simply be in the Hattic liturgy employed in the festivals in which the AGRIG is attested.

The three provinces in which Hittite AGRIGs operate—the Hatti Land, the Upper Land and the Lower Land—constitute an inner core of the Hittite kingdom.<sup>145</sup> Except for limited periods of disaster (e.g. the period before Šuppiluliuma I ascended to the throne), these provinces belonged to the kingdom throughout Hittite history. Other provinces—Pala-Tumanna, Kaššiya, Kizzuwatna and Išuwa—which were lost to the Hittites for long periods in the 16th and 15th centuries (until they were finally subdued during the Empire) are not represented in the list.

The formation of this inner core of the kingdom goes back to the very beginning of its consolidation. Labarna, the first Hittite king whose deeds are narrated in the Telipinu Decree, is said to have sent his sons to govern in the great cities of the subdued land; it is a noteworthy coincidence that four out of the six towns listed after this statement—Ḫupišna, Tuwanuwa, Nenašša and Zallara—are

<sup>143</sup>This is all the more significant since in another section of the decree, Telipinu reports his victorious campaigns against the Kizzuwatnean towns of Lawazantiya and Zizzilippa (A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, 1940, 72 n. 281).

<sup>144</sup>A. Archi, *SMEA* 14 (1971), 220.

<sup>145</sup>A. Goetze, *JCS* 14 (1960), 45.

also attested as AGRIG towns. With the conquest of the Lower Land and its annexation to the previously controlled regions—the Antitaurus range (with the dynastic seat at Kuššara), the Kaniš region and the later acquired territories in the Hatti Land (with the new capital at Ḫattuša)—the Hittite state reaches its initial dimensions which constitute the nucleus of the kingdom throughout its history. I believe that the evidence presented here points to a general correspondence between this territory and the extent of the AGRIG town system.<sup>146</sup> Although it was probably subject to various modifications, the exact nature of which remain to be established, it seems that the pattern remained basically unchanged during the subsequent stages of Hittite history.

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<sup>146</sup>A further chronological indication with regard to the formation of the system of AGRIG towns may be provided by the existence of an AGRIG of Nerik. This provides a *terminus ante quem* before Ḫantili, during whose reign the town was lost to the Kaška according to the historical references of Ḫattušili III and Tudḫaliya IV (sceptically viewed by E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer*, 1965, 23 ff. and V. Haas, *Nerik*, 1970, 6). It is very improbable that this post was created at a time when the town was held by the enemy. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the continuity of the office was not interrupted despite the loss of the city, and the AGRIG of Nerik resided somewhere else, perhaps in Ḫakmiš. This tendency not to sever the cult of Nerik is clearly apparent also in other matters concerned with this important religious centre (V. Haas, *Nerik*, 7, and *passim*).