

The Power of Narrative

The connection may not seem obvious, but written sources are an integral part of the archaeological record. In addition to being the cornerstone of any hermeneutical process, they are an important tool in helping us understand the mute archaeological remains. Written sources are critical in the study of Hittite Anatolia not only because they provide straightforward historical accounts of the Hittites but also because they illustrate the literary values and abstract thought processes that pervaded every aspect of Hittite life. The study of Hittite literature illustrates that archaeology and philology are indeed complementary disciplines and that their relationship must be carefully cultivated if we are to unravel the puzzles of the past. In the following pages I will discuss the underlying elements of the Hittite literary tradition and present several passages from various texts to show both the development of that tradition and the power of its prose.

The Hittite Archives

The obvious place to begin any discussion of Hittite literature is the archives at the Hittite capital of Hattuşa near the modern-day district town of Boğazköy/Boğazkale (see Akurgal 1978: 300–01). Although little has been written about the archives (Laroche 1949; Otten 1955, 1984, 1986), it is from these written sources that we get our initial impressions of the role literature played in the Hittite state.

We must be cautious, however, when speaking of the Hittite archives. The word *archive* connotes a building or structure and implies the notion of a library or the like.

This is certainly not the correct impression to give. The Hittites built no institution that approached the functioning of a library. We cannot even be sure that the structures in which tablets have been found were actually intended to be tablet houses, or archives, in the physical sense of the word. Thus, in this article, the word *archive* is used to denote the collections of tablets that have been found throughout the Hittite capital. Relatively few tablets have been found in the provinces (compare Özgüç 1978: 57–58).

The tablets unearthed at Hattuşa were scattered in buildings throughout the site. In the Lower City, tablets were found in several rooms of Temple 1, the great temple of the Weather-God (Otten 1955: 72; Bittel 1970: 13–14; Naumann 1971: 430; Akurgal 1978: 302). On the acropolis, site of the great fortress of Büyükkale, tablets were found in three structures—Buildings A, E, and K (Bittel 1970: 84–85, 163). Many tablets were also found in the so-called House on the Slope (Schirmer 1969: 20), perhaps the scribal school (Macqueen 1986: 116, note 71). More tablets are being unearthed in the Upper City (Otten 1984: 50, 1987: 21, Neve 1985: 334, 344, 1987a: 405, 1987b: 311), among them a sensational tablet made of bronze that was found underneath the paving stones alongside the inner city walls near Yerkapi (Neve 1987a: 405; Otten 1988, 1989).

We can say very little about the physical structures in which the Hittites kept and stored their tablets. At Hattuşa tablets were found collected in temples, houses, magazines, and perhaps special tablet houses. Others were discovered in widely scattered areas and dumps. There does not seem to have been a



particular system of distribution. (An overview of find spots according to CTH numbers can be found in Cornil 1987.)

We have determined how the tablets were organized from the structures in which they were housed as well as from the so-called shelf lists (Laroche 1971: 154). It is presumed that these shelf lists were placed as indices in front of the tablets for quick reference. Some of the

2 Hittite Literature

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structures, especially Buildings A and K in Büyükkale, had rooms with parallel rows of stone pillars that might have supported wooden racks or shelves for the tablets rather than a second story (Neve 1982: 106, 108, and plans 41, 45). At one time the tablets may have resided in a few specially established tablet houses, but it is possible that some tablets were moved to secondary locations during the rebuilding and reorgani-

zation of the city in the final phase of the empire (Laroche 1975: 57; Bittel 1970: 85). This may be illustrated by the discovery of Old and Middle Hittite land grants dating to the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C.E. in the newly excavated temples in the Upper City (Otten 1987), which date to the thirteenth century B.C.E.

Other types of tablets have also been found in the Upper City. In

Tablets have been found scattered throughout the Hittite capital of Hattuša, including the great temple of the Weather-God, shown here, located in the Lower City. The entire complex, including the central courtyard and surrounding storerooms, measures about 525 feet at its longest point. Visible in the rear of the photo, attached to the central courtyard, is an annex with ritual chamber (adyton). Photo by Ronald L. Gorny.

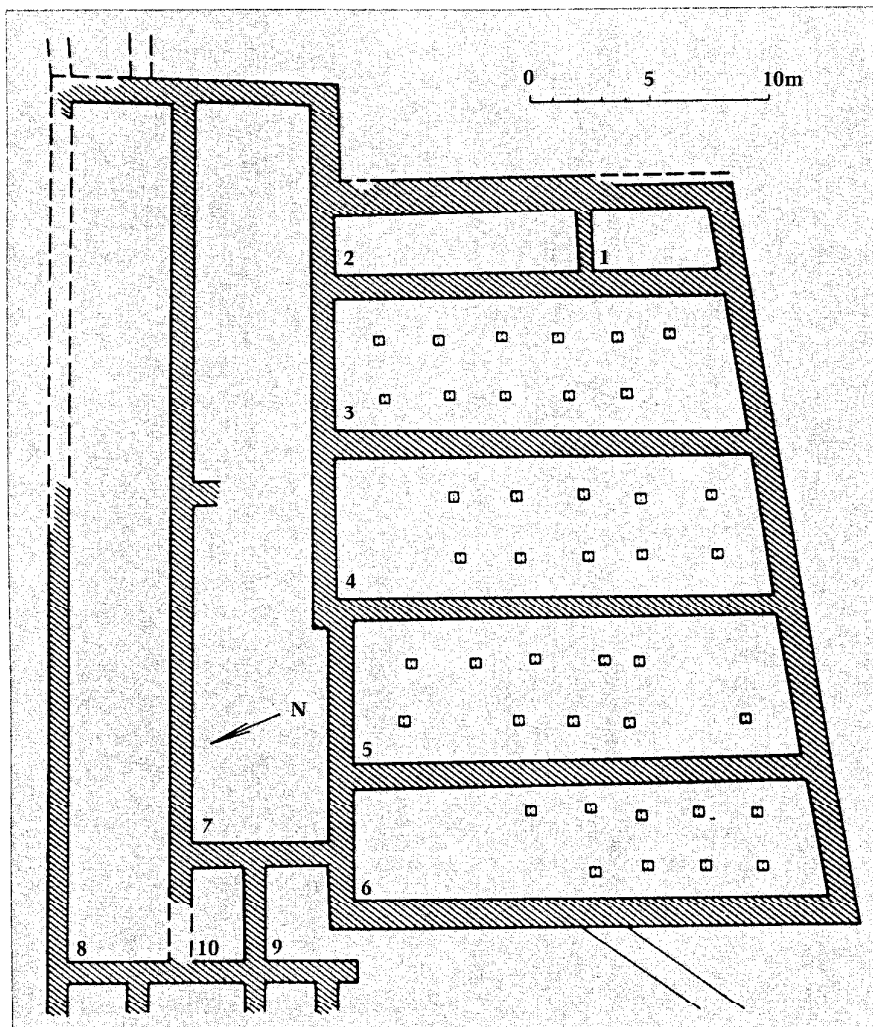
addition to the land grants, Hurro-Hittite bilingual literary texts, rituals, letters, and divination texts have been found as well as the previously mentioned bronze tablet that details the treaty between Hattušili III and his nephew, Kurunta, the vassal king of Tarḫuntašša (Otten in Neve 1987a: 405; Otten 1988, 1989).

Hittite Scribes and the Pursuit of Writing

It appears that writing was brought to Anatolia by the Old Assyrian merchants who established trading centers in important cities across the central plateau during the early part of the second millennium B.C.E. The Assyrians brought their own system of writing, called Old Assyrian script, the use of which is thought to have died out with the demise of the *kārum* system around 1750 B.C.E. The Old Babylonian script, on which Hittite was based, is generally thought to have been first used somewhat later by Old Babylonian scribes who are said to have been brought to Hatti during the campaigns of the first Hittite kings into northern Syria (Beckman 1983: 100, note 17).

It has always been thought that the use of these two scripts was mutually exclusive because they pertained to different eras that were several hundred years apart. Such a

Most of the best-preserved clay tablets in the Hittite archives were found in this structure. Building A in Büyükkale, the fortress located southeast of the great temple at Hattuša. About 105 feet long, Building A consisted of four storerooms and a long lateral corridor. Pictured in the storerooms are the remaining rectangular limestone bases that once supported parallel rows of pillars, which might have supported wooden racks or shelves for the tablets rather than a second story of the building. Stone bases were not found in the long, outer room to the east of the storerooms. Courtesy of Peter Neve and the German Archaeological Institute.



scenario would leave a literary gap of between one and two centuries in central Anatolia. In the view of Hans Güterbock (1983a: 24–25), it is possible that the princes of the early city-states employed Assyrian-trained scribes to document their dealings with the Assyrian merchants and Babylonian- or Syrian-trained scribes for documents written in Hittite. Examples to support this idea, however, have not turned up in any excavation.

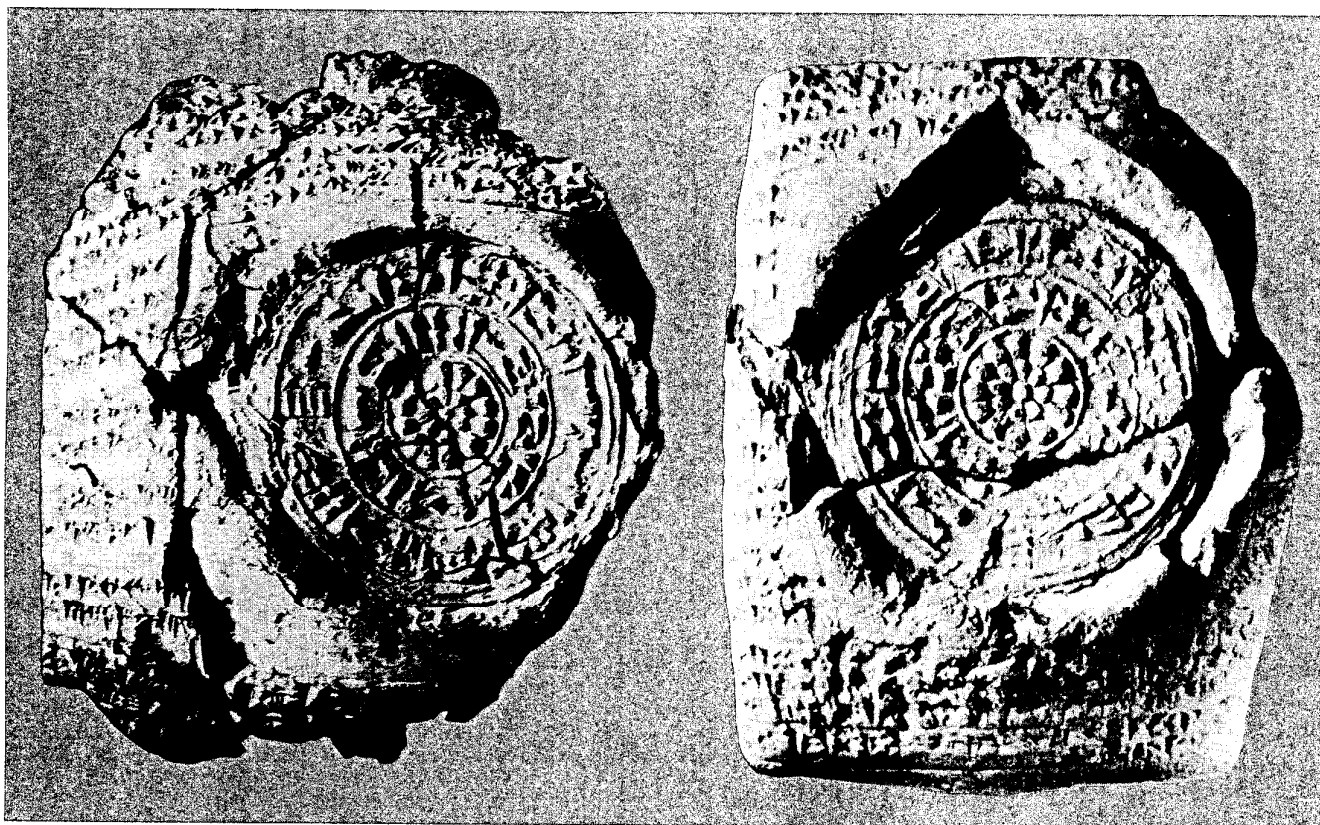
The Anitta Text (CTH 1), one of the oldest Hittite texts, may be the translation of a text originally written in Old Assyrian, then the only literary language in central Anatolia. Some scholars suggest, however, that the piece displays none of the qualities generally found in a translation (Neu 1974: 132; see overview in Ünal 1983b) and that it may have been originally written in Hittite by Anitta's Babylonian-trained scribes (Güterbock 1983a: 24–25). As the

bullae from Acemhöyük suggest (N. Özgüç 1986: 48), non-Assyrian scribes could have been plying their trade in the central Anatolian Highlands long before the alleged importation of the Old Babylonian script during the reign of Hattušili I. This would suggest that the origins of Hittite literature could go somewhat farther back than originally thought, possibly pulling the date of Anitta's reign closer to the supposed origins of Hittite history. This theory remains vague, however, and still offers no clue as to Anitta's ethnic origin.

Contacts between central Anatolia and northern Syria are known to have already taken place in the last half of the third millennium B.C.E. (T. Özgüç 1986: 31). The city of Kaneš was probably a principal partner in this trade, so it is not unreasonable to think that the cradle of Anatolian literary development could be found there. The fact that the language of the Hittites is called *nešumnili*—"in the language of Neša"—lends credibility to this suggestion. Could it be that the Hittites were already developing the rudiments of a written language during the period of the Assyrian merchants? There is no evidence to substantiate this suggestion at present, but excavations in the non-Assyrian parts of Kültepe may eventually bear it out.

The heyday of the Babylonian scribes in Anatolia seems not to have occurred until after the period of the Assyrian trade settlements, however. There is well-documented evidence for such a presence in the late fourteenth and the thirteenth centuries B.C.E., but the tradition probably dates even earlier since a Babylonian scribal school had apparently been established at Hattuša by the late fif-

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Tablets may have once resided in specially established tablet houses, but it is possible that some might have been moved to secondary locations during the rebuilding and reorganization of Hattuşa in the final phase of the empire. The discovery of land grants dating to the pre-Empire period, like the two pictured here, may illustrate this possibility. The cuneiform seal in the center of the clay tablet to the left identifies it as belonging to Zidanta, an Old Kingdom ruler, whereas the land grant to the right is identified by its center cuneiform seal as belonging to Arnuwanda I, a Middle Kingdom ruler. Both tablets were discovered at the site of ancient Hattuşa. Photos courtesy of Peter Neve and the German Archaeological Institute.

teenth or early fourteenth century (Beckman 1983: 106). It is important to add that the Hurrian scribal tradition was having an immense impact at the time (Mascheroni 1984), and many of the Mesopotamian influences noted in later Hattuşa may have originally been transmitted through this medium.

One type of Hittite scribe was called the scribe of the wooden tablets, which may be a reference to scribes who wrote on folding wooden

tablets constructed with a recessed area to hold a wax substance on which daily notices and receipts were written. No traces of this highly perishable material have been found preserved in Anatolia, but one example was recently excavated about 150 feet underwater at the site of an ancient shipwreck off the coast of Turkey at Ulu Burun near Kaş. The tablet has been called the world's oldest known "book" (Bass 1987: 730).

Another writing system that

was practiced by the Hittites is the so-called Luwian hieroglyphs. Scribes who used wooden tablets might have used this style of writing instead of cuneiform for their day-to-day records. Although Luwian hieroglyphs seem to have been popular in the middle of the second millennium B.C.E., some efforts have been made to push the origins of this writing system back as far as the third millennium or the first half of the second millennium, but without convincing proof (overview by Alp 1968: 281).

The Earliest Literary Sources

Hittite literature appeared on the scene in an already well-established style soon after the foundation of the Old Kingdom and the adoption of the Old Babylonian writing sys-

tem. It seems clear that some sort of developmental stage must have transpired prior to its full-blown appearance as the literary medium in central Anatolia. Whether this medium was the result of an earlier development in the so-called Dark Age, of Syro-Babylonian involvement during the reign of Hattušili I, or even of Hurrian scribes remains debatable, but future research will certainly reveal an enormous Hurrian impact on Hittite literacy. A great deal of new evidence will eventually come from Hattuša as well as southeastern Anatolian and north Syrian sites, and these texts may enlighten us about the origins of the Hittite script. The fact remains, however, that we now see no obvious preliminary or experimental stage of development. This is the case in many Hittite genres, but especially in the literature that displays a complex narration of events and procedures, examples of which are found in the earliest written sources.

The Political Testament of Hattušili I (CTH 6), for instance, gives a verbatim record of a speech given by the king to an assembled court for the purpose of dismissing his son from succession to the throne. Especially poignant are the following passages:

"I, the king, called him my son, embraced him, exalted him, and cared for him continually. But he showed himself a youth not fit to be seen: He shed no tears, he showed no pity, he was cold and heartless."

The force of the narrative leads one to anticipate the conclusion:

"Enough! He is my son no more!" (Gurney 1981).

Throughout the text there is no trace of scribal alteration; it seems



This twice-impressed envelope of an Old Assyrian tablet was found in Level 1b at Kültepe, site of ancient Kaneš. In the scene, worshippers are guided by a God-King. Above the wide guilloche are two sphinxes with an ankh sign between them; below them is a bull scratching the ground and an eagle seated upright. Most tablets from Kültepe 1b have this type of impression. Photo courtesy of Tahsin Özgüç.

to have been recorded directly from the king's mouth.

The so-called Palace Chronicle (CTH 8), a series of anecdotal admonitions, illustrates a distinct genre that seems to have emerged during the Old Hittite kingdom. This collection, which has been preserved on many tablets dating to different periods of Hittite history, is not simply part of an oral tradition. As reflections of real events, these stories played a propagandistic role in the Hittite subjugation of the Anatolian population, revealing a way of life that was vital and dynamic on the one hand and harsh and brutal

on the other. The persons mentioned in these stories seem to be partly historical, partly fictional. The collection can be considered a literary achievement because of its unique style of narration. The language is cryptic, but the author's effort is keenly felt as he tries to impress his message with words calculated to instill fear in wrongdoers. Taken from different aspects of daily life, the anecdotes seem to encourage loyalty and good conduct by illustrating that evil will be punished and that good will be rewarded:

(Once there was) a high functionary named Pappa. He was found



Left: Also found at Level 1b at Kültepe (ancient Kaneš) is this Old Assyrian tablet with a seal impression of a double-headed eagle within a guilloche border with a star on each side between the tail and wings. Photo courtesy of Tahsin Özgüç. **Right:** Some Hittite scribes wrote on folding wooden tablets constructed with a recessed area to hold a wax substance on which daily notices and receipts were written. No traces of this highly perishable material have been found in Anatolia, but this wooden tablet, shown vertically, was recently found about 150 feet underwater in an ancient shipwreck excavated off the coast of Turkey at Ulu Burun, near Kaş. The tablet, or diptych, has been called the world's oldest known "book." Photo courtesy of George F. Bass and the Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Texas A & M University.

to be fraudulently distributing army-bread and *marnuwan*-drink (among the people) in the city of [Tameni]nka. (The authorities) [squashed] the bread and smeared the upper part of his body (with it). (Further) they poured out salt into [marnuwan]-cup and made him drink it. They broke the cup on his head. (Because) he (also) was distributing in Hattuša (illegally) *walhi*-drink to the soldiers, they took a šagga-vessel and broke it (too) on his

head (KBo 3.34 I 5-g).

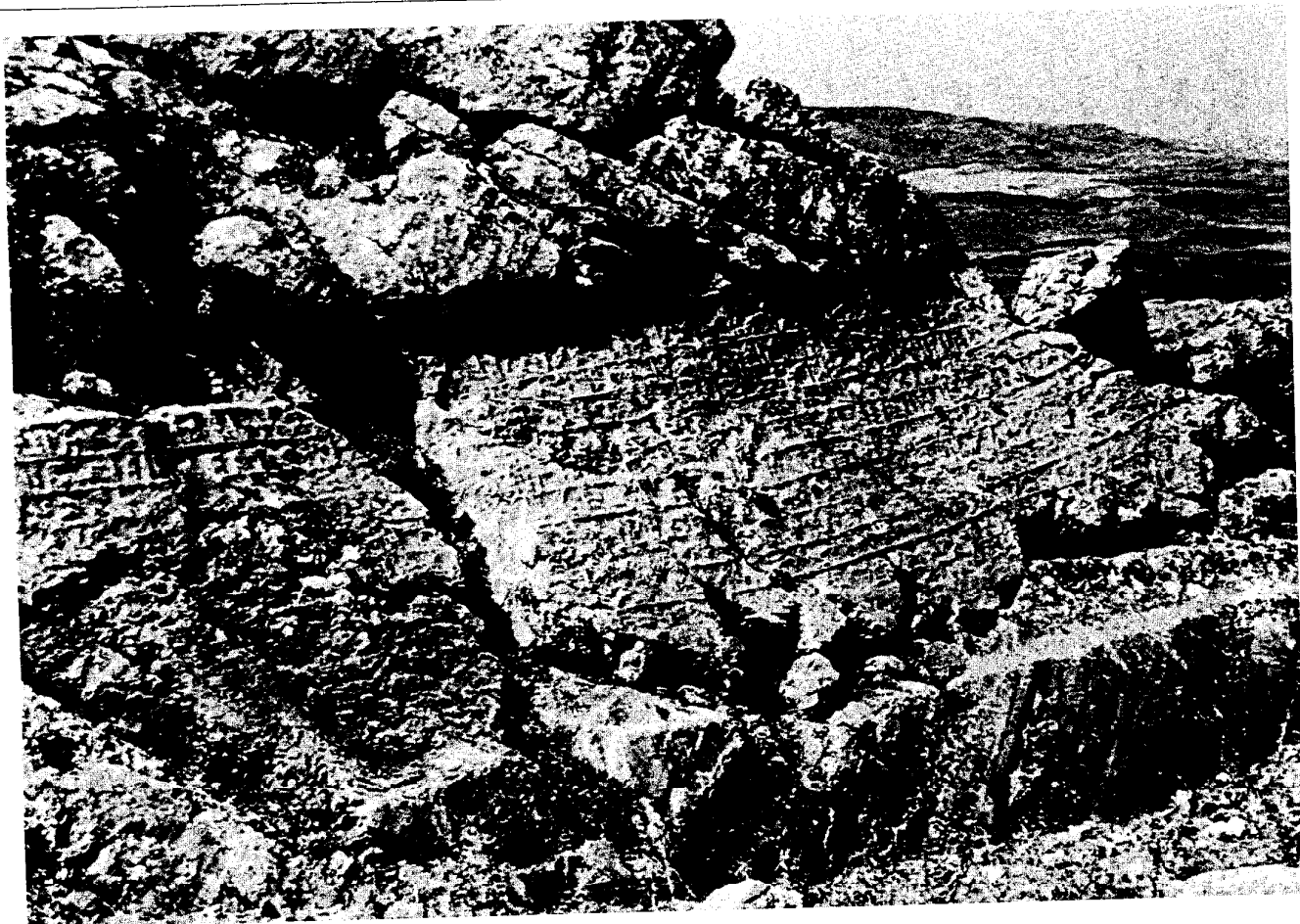
Other Old Hittite authors also used the power of narrative to make their points. In contrast to later literature with its emphasis on divine inspiration and empowerment, this power was often rooted in the omnipotence and wisdom of the king. Thus we should not be surprised to find examples where the king is presented as making wise pronouncements that imply great royal power. In the Benediction for Labarna, for example, the king commands:

"Let the whole country be inclined toward Hattuša behind his back. The king himself is vigorous. He is (also) able to keep the country vigorous. The king's house is (full) of rejoicing and grandchildren. It is set on (solid) ground" (KUB 36.110 rev. 9'-16').

Similarly there is a royal admonition to:

"give him (that is, a sick person) bread and water. If somebody is struck by heat, let him be taken

The longest hieroglyphic monument dating to the Hittite Empire period is this weathered, 11-line inscription located on a sloping hill at Nişantepe in the Upper City at Hattuša. About 28 feet long, the inscription apparently dates to the reign of Suppiluliuma I. Photo by Ronald L. Gorny.



to a cool place; if the cold chills somebody, let him be taken to a warm place. Let the king's subjects not be oppressed!" (Archi 1979: 37).

These passages have been compared with a story detailed in a Hurro-Hittite bilingual from Hattuša in which the Storm-God Tešub has gotten into debt (KBo 32.15 i-ii; Neu 1988a: 16, 1988b, 1988c, 1988d). While Tešub tries to extricate himself from the situation, other gods assist him as a token of solidarity, supplying him with silver, gold, food, garments, and refined oil, all of which he needs. Such acts symbolize liber-

ation or releasing (*para tarnumar*), which is the main theme of Old Hittite stories. In light of Hittite interaction with nearby Hurrian principalities, we should ask to what extent these genres are to be considered strictly Hittite since there is strong evidence that many typically Hittite ideas were actually borrowed from the Hurrians and the Babylonians.

One of our first examples of Hattušili I's involvement in military affairs is the Akkadian text describing the Siege of Uršu, an important Hurrian city in southeastern Anatolia (Beckman, forthcoming). The text describes the toils and frustrations

felt by the king during this bitter siege in which Hittite forces were evidently inferior to the Hurrians in both manpower and equipment. In addition, the Hittite military commanders are described (in a surprisingly frank manner) as weak, slack, and ineffective. Thus it is left to the tireless and courageous efforts of the Hittite king to overcome the Hurrian forces who are propping up the city of Uršu. The king's frustration is evident in his animated response to finding out that the battering ram has been broken:

The king waxed wrath and his face was grim (as he yelled),

Old Kingdom literature tried to involve the reader so that the conclusion was seen as inevitable.

"They constantly bring me evil tidings; may the Weather-God carry you away in flood! Be not idle! Make a battering ram in the Hurrian manner and let it be brought into place. Make a mountain (that is, siege machine) and let it (also) be set in its place. in its place. Hew a great battering ram from the mountains of Ḫaššu and let it be brought into place. Begin to heap up earth. When you have finished let every one take post" (KBo 1.10 obv. 13'-17'; translated by Gurney 1981: 180-81).

It is almost as if the king were saying, "Do I have to tell you how to do everything?"

These descriptions are as much a literary device as a historical narration of the facts. They set the stage for a statement of the king's wise and courageous decisions, the purpose of which is to emphasize his role and lead the reader to the obvious conclusion that without the king all would be lost. Unfortunately, the end of the story is missing (but compare the Annals of Ḫattušili I in KBo 10.1 i 15 and following).

The Old Hittite culmination of this literary pattern is found in the Telipinu Edict (CTH 19). The powerful narration of the tragic events leading up to this decree presents the reader with what amounts to an apologetic discourse. In contrast to the passionate pronouncement of Ḫattušili I, this decree is formulated in a very unemotional way and with an objectivity peculiar to legal texts. It is, however, a very idealized account of the remote past presented in a schematized form that leaves one with a strong impression of the force of law. Like the Political Testament of Ḫattušili I, the Telipinu

Edict has a sense of growing anticipation and fulfilled expectation, which inevitably arise with the final stipulations of the decree. Telipinu thus succeeds in presenting his reforms, not as mere stipulations but as a well-structured literary composition (Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935: 175; Hardy 1941: 190; Liverani 1977: 105; Hoffmann 1984: 13).

The Development of an Emphasis on the Divine

The literature of the Old Hittite Kingdom presents us with a basic outline in which the Hittites couched much of their later literature. Basic to this style is an attempt to involve the reader in the events being described so that the conclusion is seen as inevitable. The outcome is determined by the wise actions of the king on one hand and the leading heroes on the other.

Other genres borrowed heavily from this style, for example, the annalistic tradition. Although the most fully developed example of this very Hittite genre dates to the reign of Muršili II, forerunners can be found in texts dating to both the Old and the Early New Kingdoms, such as the annals of Ḫattušili I, Tudḫaliya III, and Arnuwanda I. These texts are not merely records of events; they are realistic narratives of campaign strategy that attempt to involve the reader in the development of various ideas to their expected conclusions (Cancik 1976). Preceding events and simultaneous actions and circumstances are described perfectly, and the underlying reasons for the decisions are aptly given. In the Annals of Muršili II, for example, we read:

"(Because the whole enemy population fled to Mount Arinnanda) I, my majesty, went (also)

to Mount Arinnanda. Now this Mount Arinnanda is very steep and extends into the sea (that is, it is on a peninsula). It is also very high, difficult of access, rocky, and impossible for chariots to drive up. . . . Since it was impossible to drive with chariots, I, my majesty, went guiding my army in front on foot and clambered up Mount Arinnanda on foot" (Goetze 1933: 54).

The facts are clearly organized, but the presentation is far from objective. The description is constructed to make the reader sympathize with the king and his difficulties at the same time commending his courage and wisdom in making tactical and strategic decisions. It is also notable for the gratitude that the king accords his patron deity whom he believes supports him throughout his lifetime. In fact, this deity may have been thought to be the sole reader of the text. That is, the king presents an account of his reign to his divine overlord for whom he governs the Ḫatti lands as a proxy. This may be the precursor of depicting kingship in terms related not so much to wisdom and courage as to divine providence and empowerment. It foreshadows the "orientalizing" of Hittite kingship, which came to fruition under the last kings of the empire.

The best example of this new trend can be seen in the Apology of Ḫattušili III (CTH 81), a highly sophisticated and unique composition whose purpose was to justify his seizing the throne. Ḫattušili tells about his childhood, describing how he was dedicated to the goddess Ištar and how he, always an innocent babe, was surrounded by jealous enemies. Except for the deity, almost

Hurro-Hittite bilinguals are rare examples of what in Mesopotamia was called *wisdom literature*.

everybody is presented as envious of this child prodigy. The story goes on to tell how Ištar enabled Hattušili to prevail against the continuous evil deeds and plots concocted by these enemies. This document, which has few parallels in pre-Classical antiquity, suggests a highly developed political consciousness that relies on reasoned argumentation to make a point (Goetze 1925; Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935: 64; Wolf 1967; Ünal 1974: 29; Otten 1981). As with its predecessors, this trend is dependent on the reader's involvement: Its success relies on the power of the narrative to lead the reader subconsciously to a desired conclusion, in this case, that Hattušili had done no wrong but sat on the throne only as a result of his natural right of succession and divine selection.

Narration in Legal Texts

Narration was just as powerful in the legal sphere, especially in putting forward specific cases. Hittite legal process used oratory and complex reasoning in the pleading of cases. Among the official documents we have found are depositions, that is, testimonies from the proceedings of legal inquests. There are, for example, speeches made in self-defense by men accused of having stolen or lost items for which they had been given responsibility. These testimonies, which are preserved in the records of Hittite court clerks, deserve special treatment here because they are the literary forerunners of pre-Socratic apologetics that use oratory as a means of self-defense.

The best example of these testimonies is the case of Ištar-ziti, who was apparently indicted for a scandalous affair of unknown nature. In his defense Ištar-ziti uses metaphors

such as "I am cast down like a reed on the dark earth" and "as a living person I am dead in the eyes of my siblings." A few more of his well-turned phrases help illustrate this style:

"Have I not always been a (true) servant of that deity? . . . Once when I was taken ill, I prayed to the gods, saying: 'Do not you see, o gods, who has ruined me like this (as I am right now)?' Instead you have weighed on me! (Is it because) you do not want to harm (literally defeat) the king, his majesty? If you always appreciate the absolute truth, why is it that matters are still concealed? . . . When something evil happened to the royal heir in the city of Kummanna, Ali-Šarrumma revealed to me that they intended to kill me (because they thought I was guilty in that matter). (On my way to Mount Šaḫḫupidda) the queen intended to have someone lie in ambush behind the road and kill me! . . . (From my eyes) the tears flow [like water in the mountains]. These tears I will give to the priest of the Sun-God and he shall pour them out secretly for the Sun-God. . . . One day in the city of Šulama I was honoring the god Tarupšani. (A man by the name of) Muti walked in and started to gossip about my person. I seized him by the collar (and) brought him to [the sacred place]. I made him take an oath and warned him (at the same time), saying: 'Behold! Whoever takes a (false) oath in the presence of this deity, he does not survive anymore!' " (KUB 54.1; my translation differs in many cases from that of Archi and Klengel 1985).

The Role of the Hurrians

The intermediary role of the Hurrians is one of the most important occurrences in Hittite history because it brought about the incorporation of Hurrian customs and beliefs into the indigenous Hittite culture.

Hurrians first appear in the historical texts as enemies of the Hittites. Convincing evidence is lacking, but direct influence may already have begun in the Old Kingdom. Visible influences are more readily observed from the Early Empire period under Tudḫaliya III and Arnuwanda I. By the time of Hattušili III and his Hurrian wife Puduḫepa, the Hurrian cultural invasion was well under way. From the Early Empire on the Hurrian influence began to be felt so strongly that some scholars believe the dynasty to be of Hurrian origin. Indeed much evidence points to this conclusion. A case in point is the large number of Hurrian texts or their translations found at Hattuša. These include the Kingship in Heaven story and the Song of Ullikummi. Of special interest are the newly discovered Hurro-Hittite bilinguals from the Upper City, which will certainly change our views of Hittite intellectual life during the last two centuries before the downfall of the empire. It would be appropriate, therefore, to take a closer look at the contents of these newly discovered texts, so far as details are yet available.

The Hurro-Hittite bilinguals (Otten 1986; Neu 1988a, 1988b, 1988c) are rare examples of what in Mesopotamia was called *wisdom literature* in which good and bad, represented as humans, animals, and various objects, appear as active figures opposing each other. Animals and inanimate objects are depicted in the form of a cleriheh as imbecilic

beings, short of wit, and lacking the ability to reason. They can only use their instinct, whereas humans are endowed with wisdom and insight (Hittite, *ḫattatar*, Hurrian, *madi*-). A greedy deer, for example, is compared to an ambitious governor. The literary theme in these pieces is, again, liberation, release from evil (*para tarumar*; Neu 1988a: 10), and perhaps the reestablishment of primary divine order on earth. Whether they played a part in magical rituals or festivals (perhaps not unlike Illuyanka in the *purulli*-festival) is not clear.

Both Hittite and Hurrian versions reveal meticulous efforts to structure the composition, which indicates that they are not mere scribal exercises but first-class literary exemplars. They are designated as "song, poetry" (SIR), and both contain traces of well-organized verse, which can be observed in Hittite texts as well (KUB 38 p. ivf., "Gruppe II"; Haas and Thiel 1978: 66–90). Groups of stories all seem to have a single author, as the narrator introduces successive stories with the words, "I will put aside this story (literally, words) and will tell you another." This is important in regard to the individual authorship of literary works, although, unfortunately, in general the authors did not sign their names (see Güterbock 1978: 213). Evidently, as with the later Homeric epics, the literary devices used by these authors were not of their own invention but were taken from the vast resources of an ever-growing folklore tradition.

The following passage, in which an analogy is made between an ungrateful copper cup and a man's son, will illustrate this point:

(Once) a coppersmith cast a splendid cup. By casting it he

gave it a (beautiful) shape. He embossed it with plates and engraved it. He made it brilliant in every detail. However, the simple (-minded) copper began to curse its creator, saying: "Whoever has cast me-, may his hand break, may the sinew of his right arm be paralyzed!" As the coppersmith heard this he was grieved in his heart. The coppersmith began to speak to himself: "I formed that copper (into a beautiful cup). Why does it (now) curse me?" The coppersmith uttered a curse over the cup: "May the Storm-God smite it, the cup, may he remove its plates. May the cup fall down the water drainage ditch, may (its) plates fall down into the river!"

The analogous story runs as follows: (This time it is) not a cup, but a human. It is a son who after growing up became an adversary to his own father. He pays no attention to his father. As a result the paternal deities cursed him!

Perhaps also connected to Hurrian influence is the common motif of child exposure found in three texts from ancient Anatolia that tell the stories of children from humble beginnings who end up achieving astonishing power and success. These stories are the oldest examples of a motif that can be seen in such famous later examples as Sargon of Akkad, Moses, Romulus and Remus, and Darius. It seems that this literary motif found its way into Hittite Anatolia through Hurrian intermediaries. Its origin is probably to be found in the Hurrian regions of the upper Tigris and Euphrates rivers (Ünal 1985: 135).

One of the Hittite stories that

falls into this category is the Queen of Kaneš (Neša)/Thirty Sons and Daughters/Zalpa Text (CTH 3; Otten 1973; see glossary listing). This text has been evaluated in terms of a pre-Hittite matriarchal structure evident in the Hatto-Hittite world that completely rejected incest. Because of the role of the river and the dismissal of the male progeny, some laymen have connected this text to the legendary Amazons of Greek mythology who would meet men in the river valleys for orgiastic ceremonies. This view may not be as far-fetched as it once seemed in light of festival text records that describe a northern Anatolian custom in which young girls were taken from their towns, stripped in the river valley, and evidently raped (unpublished text is discussed in Forlanini 1984: 256 and following). The story of the Queen of Kaneš may also indicate a process of political integration in central Anatolia, a suggestion that has recently led to the notion of a kind of amphictyonic league in the region (Dieterle 1987).

Perhaps the best example of the motif of child exposure is the story of Anum-Ḫirbe, a prince of the city of Mama who seems to have established a relatively large kingdom somewhere on the periphery of the realm of Kaneš. Anum-Ḫirbe's prominence gave rise to the story of a legendary birth and childhood: Apparently born out of wedlock, he was carried off by the people of Mama and probably thrown into a river. A shepherd or a sheep found him and carried him to a meadow where he was suckled by animals. The remainder of the story has been lost, but we can imagine the gist of it—Anum-Ḫirbe overcame all odds and returned to Mama as its king

Continued development of Hittite culture led to more complex ideas concerning the afterlife.

(Ünal 1985: 132–35). Once again, the reader is captivated by the incredible events and can only conclude that it was divinely ordained that Anum-Hirbe rise to such heights.

Literature as a Conveyor of Hittite Thought

Contacts with the rest of the ancient Near East and the continued development of Hittite culture led to more complex ideas concerning the afterlife. A preoccupation with these ideas elicited deep feelings and intangible, abstract ideas; it also brought about the stoic recognition that "life is bound up with death, and death is bound up with life" (Goetze 1969b: 400). These feelings must have tested the capability of Hittite literature to convey complex ideas. Whereas the earlier literature used vivid accounts and tense narrative to convey its message, this later literature emphasized content over style, often attempting to give a theological reason for events and expressing a new understanding of the relationship between the king and the world. This emphasis, mirrored in the work of Hittite artists from the same period, expressed itself in an overall artistic style calculated to enhance the position of the king. We find something similar in the Hurro-Hittite bilinguals and their attempt to interpret wisdom as well as in the attempt to define a religious hierarchy in the Kingship in Heaven story (CTH 344). The fact that so much of this literature can be attributed to Hurrian influence suggests that this philosophical development occurred partly as a result of Anatolia's interaction with the more advanced civilizations to the southeast, that is, Mesopotamia.

Conclusion

During the thirteenth century B.C.E., Hattuša was an important crossroads and, consequently, was open to a variety of influences. In it resided an elite composed of aristocrats, bureaucrats, scribes, and artisans, many of whom represented different ethnic backgrounds. This complex demographic mix led to the development of new trends, concepts, and ideas. Simple literary forms no longer satisfied this urban caste. As a result, in this period there was an increasing influx of new literary materials from the south, materials that were more sophisticated and abstract in style. We can only speculate how far this development would have gone if the Hittites had not met an unfortunate end shortly after 1200 B.C.E.

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Acemhöyük. Large tell near Aksaray in central Turkey, probably to be identified with ancient Puruṣhanda. During the nineteenth century B.C.E. the town was the site of an Assyrian trading colony, or *kārum*. Since 1962 it has been excavated by a Turkish team under the direction of Nimet Özgüç.

Akkadian. A Semitic language spoken in Mesopotamia from the third through the first millennium B.C.E.; also, the people who spoke the language.

Alaca Höyük. A site located 15 miles north of modern-day Boğazköy that is famous for its royal tombs dating to the third millennium B.C.E. in the Early Anatolian period, which roughly corresponds to the Early Bronze Age. Metal artifacts found at the site—in particular, mirrors, swords, and daggers—tend to be of high quality, and several finds have parallels in Aegean and Soviet sites. The royal tombs and grave goods are often used to connect an Indo-European origin for the Hittites. The site also has several significant monumental sculptures that date to the Hittite Empire.

Anitta Text (CTH 1). An Old Hittite text in which Anitta, king of Kuššara, describes his conquest of several Anatolian cities and the subsequent building of his newly created empire. Written in Hittite, the text was discovered at the Hittite capital of Hattuša, one of the cities Anitta claims to have conquered. Because it describes events that took place immediately prior to the formation of the Hittite state, the Anitta Text is one of the most important historical sources for the study of pre-Hittite and very early Hittite history.

Annals of Hattušili I (CTH 4). Text from the Hattuša archives that describes some of the campaigns of Hattušili I, the first Hittite king to build a substantial empire and leave extensive records of his reign. The text exists in both Akkadian and Hittite versions.

Anum-Hirbe. A prince of the city of Mama during the Colony Age when Anatolia was the site of numerous Assyrian trading colonies. Anum-Hirbe was a contemporary of Waršama, a prince of Kaneš. Both are known from the letter written by Anum-Hirbe to Waršama that was discovered in the excavation of the palace at Kaneš. Written

in Old Assyrian, the letter advocates the establishment of regular diplomatic relations between the two princes.

Arinna. (see Sun-Goddess of Arinna)

Boğazköy. (see Hattuša)

Çatal Höyük. A Neolithic site dating to the seventh millennium B.C.E. Situated in the Konya plain, southeast of the modern city of Konya, Çatal Höyük grew to a considerable size and was characterized by several significant cultural innovations. Its inhabitants apparently developed an irrigation system and hybrid grains that produced high yields. They were involved in, and may have controlled, widespread trade (obsidian from central Anatolia has been found in excavations as far away as Jericho), and they had a well-developed chipped stone industry. Pottery and artistic remains also attest to the highly developed culture of this significant site.

Central Place Theory. A geographic model using adjacent hexagons to explain the distribution of cities and their surrounding villages. The central place is defined as the focus of a series of hexagons that contain towns, villages, and hamlets. A service-oriented reciprocal relationship exists between the central place and its satellite settlements.

Chthonic. From the Greek *chthōn* ("earth"), a term referring to deities and religious concepts and practices concerned with the soil, fertility, the underworld, death, and the afterlife.

Colony Age. A period of Anatolian history that lasted for about two centuries (from around 1925 to 1725 B.C.E. according to the middle chronology or 1925 to 1650 B.C.E. according to the low chronology) and was marked by the establishment of Assyrian trading colonies (Akkadian *kārum* and *wabartum*) in central Anatolia. Tin, which was used in the production of bronze, and textiles were brought to Anatolia from Assyria in exchange for gold, silver, and semi-precious stones. Among the sites that functioned as trading outposts were Hattuša, Kaneš, and Karahöyük.

Extispicy. Divination by "reading" the entrails of sacrificial animals, a common ritual practiced in ancient Mesopotamia and Anatolia. Perhaps the best known collection of omen texts is the Akkadian *šumma izbum* series, which lists anomalies in entrails and aborted or miscarried animal fetuses and their appropriate interpretation.

Fasillar. A site in south central Anatolia near Lake Beyşehir where a large, unfinished stela (about 24 feet high) was found on a hillside. On the stela is a carving of a deity wearing a conical cap and standing on the head of a mountain god.

Gateway Communities. Communities that control access to trade, communication, and transportation routes for a particular hinterland. As opposed to central place communities, gateway communities are located to one side of their hinterland rather than in the center.

Hattic. Language of the pre-Hittite inhabitants of central Anatolia usually referred to as Hattians. Within the Hittite state archives, Hattic is found in many names in the Old Hittite texts as well as in some bilingual Hittite-Hattic texts, a few texts written completely in Hattic, and passages in Hattic included in Hittite ritual texts meant for recitation.

Ḫattuša. Capital of the Hittite Empire until it was destroyed around 1200 B.C.E. Situated at the present Turkish village of Boğazköy/Boğazkale, about 125 miles east of Ankara, Ḫattuša hosted an Assyrian trading colony. Toward the end of the Colony Age, during the reign of Anitta of Kuššara, Ḫattuša was destroyed and lay abandoned until it was rebuilt under Ḫattušili I. Archaeological exploration has been conducted throughout this century by the German Orient Society under the successive direction of Hugo Winkler, Kurt Bittel, and Peter Neve.

Ḫebat. Chief female deity of the western Hurrian pantheon. Ḫebat was the spouse of the Storm-God Tešub, a position held in the east by Ištar. In thirteenth-century Ḫatti, Ḫebat was syncretized with the Sun-Goddess of Arinna.

Ištar. Many-faceted Semitic goddess whose sphere of activity included both sexuality and armed combat. At an early date Ištar was conflated with the Sumerian goddess Inanna. Although there are a few attestations of Ištar in Old Hittite texts, she appears much more frequently in texts dating to the Middle Hittite and Empire periods, concomitant with the growing influence of Kizzuwatnaean and Mesopotamian religions in Ḫatti. It is not always possible to determine if the appearance of the ideogram for this goddess in a particular context refers to the Mesopotamian deity or a native figure identified with her.

Iyaya. A Mother-Goddess worshiped in the Anatolian towns of Lapana and Tiura,

neither of which can be located with certainty.

Kaneš. (see Kültepe, Neša)

Karahöyük. Archaeological site near Konya in southern Anatolia. Periodic Turkish excavations conducted by Sedat Alp since 1953 have uncovered significant remains dating to the Colony Age, including those of a large palace. The ancient identity of the city is unknown.

Karkamiš (Carchemish). Ancient city occupying the site of the contemporary Syrian village of Jarabulus/Jerabis on the Euphrates River near the Turkish border. Controlling a strategic river crossing, this city was important throughout the history of ancient Syria, from the third millennium B.C.E. through Roman times. During the Hittite Empire a collateral branch of the Hittite royal family, installed in Karkamiš, ruled northern Syria as viceroys of the great kings of Ḫattuša.

Kārum. (see Colony Age)

KBo (Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi). A continuing series of volumes in which the tablets from Ḫattuša have been published. Early volumes presented tablets discovered during the pre-World War I campaigns. When excavation work resumed after World War II, all of the tablets then discovered at Ḫattuša were deposited in the tablet collection of the Ankara Museum, and the KBo series was revived to publish them.

Kingship in Heaven (CTH 344). A mythological text of Hurrian origin, dating to the Hittite Empire period, that tells the story of the struggle for control of heaven by four generations of gods. The recounting of the battles for kingship in heaven closely resembles Hesiod's *Theogony* and thus may indicate a Near Eastern original for the Greek poet's story. The Hurrian/Hittite version includes both Mesopotamian gods, such as Anu, and Hurrian gods, such as Kumarbi and Tešub, the eventual ruler of heaven.

KUB (Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi). A series of 58 volumes to date published in Berlin beginning in 1921. This series published tablets from the Hittite archives that were excavated in campaigns conducted before World War I and were housed in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin. These tablets have since been returned either to Istanbul or Ankara.

Kültepe. Site of an ancient Anatolian town known as Kaneš during the Colony Age and Neša during the Hittite Empire, located near modern-day Kayseri in cen-

tral Turkey. Turkish excavations directed by Tahsin Özgüç have since 1948 brought to light extensive remains of the Assyrian trading colony, or *kārum*, including many private houses together with their furnishings and the business archives of their inhabitants.

Kummanni. Most prominent city of the southern Anatolian region of Kizzuwatna (Cilicia), probably to be identified with classical Comana Cataoniae near present-day Şahr. Kizzuwatna was the home of a mixed Hurro-Luwian culture, and after the Hittites annexed this area in the early fourteenth century B.C.E., its hybrid civilization exerted great influence upon Ḫatti.

Luwian. An Indo-European language closely related to Hittite. Luwian written in cuneiform exists in many ritual texts from the Hittite archives at Ḫattuša that require the performer to recite this tongue. Luwian is also the language presented by the Hittite hieroglyphic writing system, the script used in all monumental inscriptions of the Hittites, and the only script attested for the Neo-Hittite kingdoms. Hittite hieroglyphs seem to be an Anatolian invention; they are not directly related to other hieroglyphic systems, such as the one in Egypt.

Nergal. Mesopotamian deity of pestilence, warfare, and the underworld. In Anatolia this figure was identified with the Hattic War-God Šulinkatte.

Nerik. City situated somewhere to the north of Ḫattuša on the border of the area occupied by the unruly Kaška tribes during the Empire period. The city's Hattic Storm-God, regarded as the child of the Sun-Goddess of Arinna and the Storm-God of Ḫatti, was an important member of the Hittite pantheon. Consequently, Nerik was a major cult center. As a young man, the future king Ḫattušili III made a name for himself by recapturing Nerik from the Kaška.

Neša. One form of the ancient name of the city at the modern site of Kültepe near Kayseri to which the Hittites traced their origins. The other form is Kaneš, which appears in the Zalpa Text in early, perhaps legendary, Hittite history.

Nešite. Term used by the Hittites to refer to their own language (*nešumtuli*).

Palace Chronicle (CTH 8). A series of anecdotes about life in the Hittite palace assembled from several different tablets that seem to be part of one text. They date to the early Old Hittite period,

perhaps to the reign of Hattušili I. There are extant copies in both Old Script and New Script, but unfortunately most of the anecdotes are in broken context and, therefore, difficult to understand.

Pamba King of Hatti. Pamba is mentioned only once, as the king of Hatti in the Old Hittite text narrating the Anatolian exploits of Naram-Sin, an Old Akkadian king. Living at the time of Naram-Sin in the twenty-third century B.C.E., Pamba thus antedates by about 600 years the establishment of the Hittite state at Hattuša.

Piyušti. King of Hatti who twice battled against Anitta, king of Kuššara, according to the Anitta Text. Piyušti was apparently overcome by Anitta early in the second millennium B.C.E.

Political Testament of Hattušili I (CTH 6). An Akkadian-Hittite bilingual text that is one of the earliest documents found in the Hittite state archives at Hattuša. In it, the dying King Hattušili I relates to an assembly of nobles his provisions for a successor. Alluding to problems with his own son, who tried to take over before Hattušili had died, he chooses a new heir, Muršili I, and formally adopts him. The purpose of the text seems to be to justify to the nobles Hattušili's choice of Muršili and to ensure their acceptance of him as the proper heir to the throne. The text thus demonstrates the early problems of dynastic succession in the Hittite state, partly attributable to the lack of a definite rule for succession.

Puduhepa. Hittite queen in the thirteenth century B.C.E. The daughter of a prominent priest in Kizzuwatna (Cilicia), Puduhepa used her royal position as wife of Hattušili III to promote her native religion within the culture of the Hittite Empire.

Purušhanda. (see Acemhöyük)

Queen of Kaneš (Neša)/Thirty Sons and Daughters/Zalpa Text (CTH 3). A series of text fragments that mention the city of Zalpa on the Black Sea and tell the legendary history of relations between Kaneš (Neša), Zalpa, and the Hittite kings. The tablets are broken and difficult to piece together, but the beginning of the story is clear. In it the queen of Kaneš gives birth to 30 sons in one year whom she sets afloat in the river, when they reach the Black Sea the gods pull them out and raise them. The queen later gives birth to 30 daughters in one year, but this time she raises them herself. Eventually the sons make their way

back to Kaneš and, unwittingly, wed their 30 sisters. The remainder of the text, which is less clear, has to do with relations between Zalpa and the Hittite kings.

Šamuha. An important cult center in southeastern Anatolia that served as a point of transmission of Hurrian deities and religious concepts into Hatti. It was probably located on the upper Euphrates River in the general area of present-day Malatya. The most prominent deity of Šamuha was an Istar-type, Šawuša.

Šarruma. A Syrian Storm-God taken into the Hurrian religion of Kizzuwatna.

Storm-God. The male divinity controlling the fructifying waters and one of the most prominent deities of ancient Anatolia. In the tablets found at Hattuša, the ideogram for this type of god could represent several different figures, depending on the tablet's language and cultural context: Iarhunt(a), Hittite; Datta, Luwian; Tešub, Hurrian; Adad, Akkadian; even Iškur, Sumerian; and Ba'al, northwest Semitic.

Sun-Goddess of Arinna. Deity of Hattic origin associated with the central Anatolian town of Arinna. In spite of her name, the goddess's character was chthonic, or infernal, rather than celestial. She was the tutelary goddess of the Hittite state, and the king of Hatti was her chief priest. During the Empire period the native triad of the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, the Storm-God of Hatti, and the Storm-God of Nerik was identified with the Hurrian divinities Hebat, Tešub, and Šarruma.

Tabal. An Iron Age (Neo-Hittite) confederation of 12 city-states located in the Taurus Mountains, possibly founded by Luwian remnants of the Hittite Empire after it collapsed around 1200 B.C.E. This confederation was a major power in Anatolia during the early part of the first millennium B.C.E. and remained so until the eighth century B.C.E. when it became an Assyrian province.

Telipinu Edict (CTH 19). The proclamation of Telipinu, last major king of the Old Hittite period. The text chronicles the dynastic woes besetting the Hittites since the murder of Muršili I after his campaign into Babylon, and it attempts to solve the problem by setting new guidelines for determining the proper rules of succession to the Hittite throne.

Telipinu Myth (CTH 324). One of the best-known of the "Hittite" disappearing deity myths. The disappearing deity

motif belongs to the pre-Hittite Hattian culture of Anatolia, and this particular type of myth was adopted and preserved by the Hittites in their translations of the Hattian myths. Much of the mythology from the Hattuša archives is Hattian in origin; most of the remainder was borrowed from Hurrian prototypes during the Empire period. In the Telipinu Myth the Hattian god Telipinu deserts the land in anger, and the resulting infertility of the people and the land brings Hatti to the brink of collapse. In several extant versions, a bee eventually finds the sulking god; in all versions a magical ritual, performed in conjunction with the telling of the myth, must be completed in order to entice the god back to his home and restore the natural fertility of the land. An English translation of the myth can be found on pages 126–28 in James B. Pritchard's *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969).

Tešub. (see Storm-God)

Thirty Sons and Daughters. (see Queen of Kaneš)

Ullikummi. Stone giant, or monster, around whom a portion of the Kumarbi cycle of myths of Hurrian background revolves. This minor deity was created by the agricultural god Kumarbi to wrest back from the Storm-God Tešub kingship of the divine world and devastate Tešub's holy city of Kumme. Although initially successful, it seems that Ullikummi failed in this mission. In origin, Ullikummi was probably the god of the mountain Ulliggama in the central area of Hurrian settlement north and east of Mesopotamia. His name seems to have been altered and reinterpreted as a Hurrian phrase indicating his mythological role, "destroyer of Kumme."

Yazılıkaya. Rock sanctuary of the Hittite Empire period, located just outside the walls of the Hittite capital of Hattuša. Its Turkish name may be translated as "inscribed rock." In the main chamber of this open-air temple, which was probably the site of the new year's festival, were carved two converging processions of divine figures representing the assembled pantheon of Hatti. An adjacent portion of the shrine seems to have served as a royal mortuary chapel.

Zalpa Text. (see Queen of Kaneš)

Entries supplied by Gary Beckman, Gregory McMahon, and C. E. Carter.