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Hittitology Up to Date: Issues and New Approaches

Abstract

This paper is a stock-taking of the present state of research in Hittitology and ancient Anatolian studies in general, including the ongoing publication and digitalization projects concerning Hittite texts and iconographic sources as well as spectacular archaeological discoveries made in the past few decades. New study perspectives and still debatable issues are also highlighted, with reference, among others, to Hittite history, geography, written legacy and text dating, and a new approach to descriptions of cult festivals and magical rituals known from the archives of the Hittite capital Hattusa.

Keywords: Hittitology, Asia Minor, Hittite history, Hattusa, Hittite archaeology

After more than a century of research on the languages, history and culture of Asia Minor in the second millennium BC, Hittitology as this field is called, has come of age. Hugo Winckler, who started the first regular excavations in Hattusa (now Boğazkale about 150 km as the crow flies east of Ankara) in 1906, discovered over the course of four digging seasons more than 10,000 complete and fragmentary cuneiform tablets.[1] After a century, the German excavations in the old capital of the Hittite empire are still ongoing.[2]

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[1] For the first excavations in Boğazköy-Hattusa, see now S. Alaura, *„Nach Boghasköi!” Zur Vorgeschichte der Asugrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša und zu den archäologischen Forschungen bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (13. Sendschrift der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft), Berlin 2006; J. Seeher, "„Die Adresse ist: poste restante Yozgat Asie Mineure": Momentaufnahmen der Grabungskampagne 1907 in Boğazköy." In: J. Klinger, E. Rieken, Ch. Rüster (eds), *Investigationes Anatolicae: Gedenkschrift für Erich Neu* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 52), Wiesbaden 2010, pp. 253–270.

[2] Preliminary reports are regularly published in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*. For archaeological results of the excavations, see, e.g., W. Orthmann, "Die Ausgrabungen der letzten 50 Jahre in Hattuša und die Geschichte

The cuneiform texts unearthed to date during the 67 field seasons – their number is fast approaching 30,000 – as well as quite numerous Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions from the second millennium BC[3] have been instrumental in resurrecting the forgotten culture and history of the Hittite state which existed in central Asia Minor from about the middle of the 17th century BC. Under a new dynasty (from the 1460s BC) the Hittite empire eventually expanded to cover vast territories from the Aegean coastal area of Asia Minor to northern Syria, becoming the third, after Egypt and Kassite Babylonia, superpower in the ancient Near East. The peak in the might of this state came in the reign of Shuppiluliuma I (c. 1355–1322), who subjugated the land of Mittani and conquered Syria. The fall, in still unexplained circumstances, came in the 1180s BC. With it came the end of the archives of cuneiform documents in Hattusa.

Equally useful in resurrecting the Hittites are the spectacular archaeological discoveries made in the past few decades in Hattusa itself, as well as in other important Hittite urban centers like Tapigga (Maşat Höyük), Sapinuwa (Ortaköy), Sarissa (Kuşaklı), and in recent years Oymaağaç near Vezirköprü in the lower reach of the Kızılırmak, near the Black Sea littoral, and Kayalıpınar in the river's upper reach, tentatively identified by German archaeologists as the Hittite towns of, respectively, Nerik and Samuha.[4] The excavations in Hattusa especially have brought groundbreaking results, providing a new perspective on the evolution of the city itself, and the everyday life and history of the Hittites and their state in general. The breakthrough nature of the discoveries currently being made in Hattusa is best illustrated by the title of a paper by Jürgen Seeher, the head of these excavations from 1994 to 2005: "Farewell to Certainties".[5]

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der hethitischen Kunst." In: G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Hattuša-Boğazköy: Das Hethiterreich im Spannungsfeld des Alten Orients: 6. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 22.-24. März 2006, Würzburg* (Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Bd. 6), Wiesbaden 2008, pp. 15–33.

[3] Th.P.J. van den Hout, "The Written Legacy of the Hittites." In: H. Genz, D.P. Mielke (eds), *Insights into Hittite History and Archaeology* (Colloquia Antiqua 2), Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2011, pp. 47–84, offers an overview of all preserved texts from the period of the Hittite kingdom, recorded in cuneiform on clay tablets, one bronze tablet and some objects as well as in the Luwian hieroglyphic script on seals and seal impressions, stone surfaces, and metal objects. Cf. also idem, "Institutions, vernaculars, publics: the case of second-millennium Anatolia." In: S.L. Sanders (ed.), *Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures* (Oriental Institute Seminars 2), Chicago 2007 (Second Printing with Postscripts and Minor Corrections), pp. 221–262.

[4] Generally, H. Genz, D.P. Mielke, "Research on the Hittites: A Short Overview." In: H. Genz, D.P. Mielke (eds), op. cit., note 3, pp. 1–30. Cf. also M. Süel, *Bir Hitit Başkenti Ortaköy-Şapinuva*, Ankara 2008; A. Süel, "Another Capital City of Hittite State: Šapinuwa." In: F. Pecchioli Daddi, G. Torri, C. Corti (eds), *Central-North Anatolia in the Hittite Period. New Perspectives in Light of Recent Research: Acts of the International Conference Held at the University of Florence (7–9 February 2007)* (Studia Asiana 5), Roma 2009, pp. 193–205; R.M. Czichon, "Archäologische Forschungen am Oymaağaç Höyük in den Jahren 2005 and 2006," ibidem, pp. 25–30; A. Müller-Karpe, "Recent Research on Hittite Archaeology in the "Upper Land"," ibidem, pp. 109–117; idem, "Šarišša. B. Archäologisch." In: M.P. Streck et al. (eds), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, vol. 12/1-2, Berlin–New York 2009, pp. 62–64; A. Müller-Karpe, V. Müller-Karpe et al., "Untersuchungen in Kayalıpınar und Umgebung 2006–2009," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 141, 2009, pp. 173–238.

[5] J. Seeher, "Abschied von Gewusstem: Die Ausgrabungen in Hattuša am Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts." In: G. Wilhelm (ed.), op. cit., note 2, pp. 1–13.

We shall see that this interpretational uncertainty regarding new findings in archaeology concerns Hittitological debate overall in recent years. The philology–archaeology interface is becoming increasingly important for future research.[6] The pace of studies should increase as a result and fields hitherto considered inaccessible from the point of view of these disciplines separately should gain ground. In Hittitology itself interesting new research perspectives have appeared. Suffice it to quote one of the coryphaei of Hittitology today, Theo van den Hout from the Oriental Institute in Chicago: "Die Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft in Hattuša haben uns eine Fülle an Material beschert, die unerschöpflich ist, und dies nicht nur, weil die Grabungen noch immer andauern, sondern vor allem weil jede Zeit ihre eigenen Fragen an die Vergangenheit stellt. Das erste Jahrhundert der Hethitologie hat sich vor allem um die Grundlagen der Forschung bemüht, es ist aber schon in den letzten Jahrzehnten eine ganz klare Tendenz zur Synthese und zu weiterreichenden Problemstellungen sichtbar."[7]

Let me first emphasize that the breakthrough nature of current research in this field of studies is something that Hittitologists and archaeologists digging on Hittite sites are both well aware of. Current approaches and research projects, either just undertaken or planned for the near future, increasingly often charged to bigger teams,[8] will set new objectives and highlight new study perspectives for the next few decades. The first hundred years of Hittitology were summed up nicely at the 6th international colloquium of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft: "Hattuša-Boğazköy: Das Hethiterreich im Spannungsfeld des Alten Orients," organized at the University of Würzburg on the centennial of the start of regular excavations at Hattusa.[9] Two other international conferences and workshops summing up research and setting new study perspectives also deserve note: "Structuring and Dating in Hittite Archaeology: Requirements – Problems – New Approaches," at the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul in November 2004,[10] and "Central-North

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[6] A recently published volume, H. Genz, D.P. Mielke (eds), op. cit., note 3, provides contributions on several key issues in Hittite studies based on new developments and approaches from historical, philological and archaeological points of view. Cf. also U.-D. Schoop, "Wo steht die Archäologie in der Erforschung der hethitischen Kultur? Schritte zu einem Paradigmenwechsel." In: G. Wilhelm (ed.), op. cit., note 2, pp. 35–60, who states on p. 54: "Wie man sieht, stehen unsere beiden historischen Informationsquellen, die Texte und der materielle Befund, nicht in Konflikt, sie vervollständigen einander."

[7] Th.P.J. van den Hout, "Verwaltung der Vergangenheit: Record Management im Reiche der Hethiter." In: G. Wilhelm (ed.), op. cit., note 2, pp. 93–94.

[8] On a new research project combining expertise of archaeologists and Hittitologists, see M.F. Fales, S. de Martino, S. Ponchia, K. Strobel, "Austro-Italian Archaeological Investigations in the Region of Yozgat (Turkey)." In: F. Pecchioli Daddi, G. Torri, C. Corti (eds), op. cit., note 4, pp. 31–37. Cf. also S. de Martino, F.M. Fales, S. Ponchia, "Archaeological Investigations at Yassı-Hüyük (Yozgat): The Site of Yassı-Hüyük within the Overall Picture of Hittite geography." In: A. Süel (ed.), *VII. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri: Çorum 25–29 Ağustos 2008 = Acts of the VIIth International Congress of Hittitology: Çorum, August 25–29, 2008*, vol. 1, Ankara 2010, pp. 189–198.

[9] G. Wilhelm (ed.), op. cit., note 2.

[10] D.P. Mielke, U.-D. Schoop, J. Seeher (eds), *Strukturierung und Datierung in der hethitischen Archäologie: Voraussetzungen – Probleme – neue Ansätze / Structuring and Dating in Hittite Archaeology: Requirements –*

Anatolia in the Hittite Period: New Perspectives in Light of Recent Research," which took place in February 2007 at Florence.[11]

Many of the issues this article deals with have been taken up in papers presented at these conferences and the discussions that followed. If so much has already been said on the subject, why then this brief analysis of the position of Hittitology today and tasks and challenges facing the discipline in the coming years? I have felt an obligation to do so, not only because I appreciate the importance of such reviews of the state of research in my field,[12] especially to an esteemed body of representatives of different Oriental studies. The other reason is that the Ancient Near Eastern Studies Department of the Oriental Studies Faculty of the University of Warsaw was holding the eighth international congress of Hittitology on 5-9 September 2011. The congresses, which take place every three years starting from 1990, alternately in Çorum, capital of the Turkish province where Hattusa is located, and in one of European centers of Hittite studies (Pavia, Würzburg, Rome, and Warsaw to date), have already become the most important international event in world Hittitology. Entrusting us with the organization of the congress was an expression of international esteem for the Warsaw school of Hittitology established by Maciej Popko.[13] As usual, the congress provided a forum for Hittitologists and archaeologists to discuss the future of studies on Hittite Anatolia. This paper, which brings some general reflections, is an outcome of this important event.

I have cited here van den Hout's conclusion that the first hundred years in Hittitology were dedicated to creating a base for future research. In this context, the "Hethitische Forschungen" (Hittite Studies) project is of greatest importance. For fifty years it has been run under the auspices of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft by an institution established in 1961, the Kommission für den Alten Orient of the Academy of Sciences and Literature in Mainz, and directed successively by Heinrich Otten (until 1992), Erich Neu (died in 1999) and Gernot Wilhelm (since 2000).[14] The first objective was to collect and prepare lexicographically all existing Hittite texts. Otten's lexical files collection, which is indispensable for any text edition, has grown from 90,000 cards in 1961[15] to more than a million today. As of May 2010, according to Silvin Košak, it will no longer be expanded in the paper version, but rather in digitalized form.[16] The lexical collection held physically in the western wing of the building of the Academy in Mainz, on Geschwister-Scholl-

Problems – New Approaches: Internationaler Workshop, Istanbul, 26.–27. November 2004 (BYZAS 4), Istanbul 2006.

[11] F. Pecchioli Daddi, G. Torri, C. Corti (eds), op. cit., note 4.

[12] See, first of all, E. Neu, "Hethitologie heute." In: G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie: Würzburg, 4.–8. Oktober 1999* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 45), Wiesbaden 2001, pp. 1–11.

[13] P. Taracha, "Hittitology in Warsaw: Past, Present and Future," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 62/1, 2009, pp. 213–221.

[14] G. Wilhelm, "Die Edition der Keilschrifttafeln aus Boğazköy und das Projekt "Hethitische Forschungen" der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz." In: G. Wilhelm (ed.), op. cit., note 2, pp. 73–86.

[15] H. Otten, "Kommission für den Alten Orient. Bericht." In: *Jahrbuch 1961 der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur*, Mainz 1962, p. 143.

[16] Dr. S. Košak pers. comm.

Strasse, is available to all Hittitologists, including younger colleagues. It is noteworthy that the projects coordinated by the Mainz Academy engage researchers from around the world. In this sense, Hittitology is a model of international cooperation in science.

Gernot Wilhelm informs that the publication of Hittite texts from the newer excavations in Hattusa (in 1931–1939 and from 1952) should be completed by 2015 at the latest. The texts will be published in the "Keilschrifttexte aus Boğazköy" series (published in 1916–1923 and from 1954), which by the same will close on volume 69.[17] The parallel series "Keilschrifturkunden aus Boğazköy," published since 1921 (after World War II by the German Academy of Sciences, from 1972 the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic), was interrupted on volume 60 (1990) after the GDR returned to Turkey in November 1987 the tablets with Bo numbers originating from Winckler's excavations in 1906–1912, kept from 1916–1917 in the Berlin Museum. They are now held by the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, but Turkish colleagues have yet to undertake the task of editing these texts. Similarly, a few thousand Hittite tablets uncovered by an expedition from the University of Ankara in Ortaköy (Hittite Sapinuwa), directed by Aygül Süel, await edition.

Two projects of the Mainz Academy have become indispensable tools in Hittitology today. The first is a lexicon of Hittite signs (Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon), published by Erich Neu and Christel Rüster in 1989 after almost ten years of work.[18] The second, commenced in 1985 and nowadays still being conducted, is of much greater importance. The Concordance of Hittite Cuneiform Texts (Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttexte) is the lifework of Silvin Košak, who managed to publish four volumes between 1992 and 1999 in the "Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten" series,[19] and then another five volumes reflecting the state of research in 2005.[20] In the case of the Concordance, however, the Internet has demonstrated great potential. Putting in order thousands of text fragments and finding ever new joins (with the inestimable help of Hittitologists around the world) required constant changes, making hardcopy versions of the concordance obsolete by the

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[17] Prof. G. Wilhelm pers. comm.

[18] Ch. Rüster, E. Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon: Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten Beiheft 2), Wiesbaden 1989.

[19] S. Košak, *Konkordanz der Keilschrifttafeln I. Texte der Grabung 1931* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 34), Wiesbaden 1992; idem, *Konkordanz der Keilschrifttafeln II. Texte der Grabung 1932* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 39), Wiesbaden 1995; idem, *Konkordanz der Keilschrifttafeln III/1. Texte der Grabung 1933: 1/c-1300/c* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 42), Wiesbaden 1998; idem, *Konkordanz der Keilschrifttafeln III/2. Texte der Grabung 1933: 1301/c-2809/c* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 43), Wiesbaden 1999.

[20] S. Košak, *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln 1. Teil: Die Textfunde der Grabungen in Boğazköy 1906–1912* (Hethitologie Portal Mainz – Materialien 1), Wiesbaden 2005; idem, *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln 2. Teil: Die Textfunde der Grabungen in Boğazköy 1931–1939* (Hethitologie Portal Mainz – Materialien 2), Wiesbaden 2005; idem, *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln 3. Teil: Die Textfunde der Grabungen in Boğazköy 1952–1963* (Hethitologie Portal Mainz – Materialien 3), Wiesbaden 2005; idem, *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln 4. Teil: Die Textfunde der Grabungen in Boğazköy 1964–2004 und Texte aderer Provenienz* (Hethitologie Portal Mainz – Materialien 4), Wiesbaden 2005; idem, G.G.W. Müller, *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln 5. Teil: Die Textfunde der Grabungen in Boğazköy: Indizes der Konkordanz* (Hethitologie Portal Mainz – Materialien 5), Wiesbaden 2005.

time they had been printed and slowing work on new volumes. The online version of the Concordance, updated more or less every six months, has been generally available on the Hethitologie Portal Mainz (www.hethiter.net) since it was established in 2001. Technical supervision and coordination is handled by Gerfrid G.W. Müller. The portal also offers access to images of Hittite texts, the target being about 50,000 images (there are plans for 3D rotational views of tablets in the future[21]), and a Hittite bibliography.

The Mainz Portal provides links or direct access to digitalization projects concerning Hittite texts and iconographic sources, conducted in various academic centers, for example, Hititte state treaties (Gernot Wilhelm, University of Würzburg), magical rituals (Doris Prechel, University of Mainz), Hittite myths (Elisabeth Rieken, University of Marburg), and the Anatolian Hieroglyphic glyptics project (Massimiliano Marazzi, University of Naples, Clelia Mora, University of Pavia, Gerfrid Müller, University of Würzburg).[22] A project for the edition and possibly also digitalization of historical texts is being carried out by Italian colleagues, including Onofrio Carruba (Pavia), Franca Pecchioli (Florence) and Stefano de Martino (Turin). The goal of all projects of the digitalization type has been well phrased by Gernot Wilhelm: "Das Hauptziel all dieser Bemühungen ist es, den Zugriff auf hethitologische Daten so zu organisieren, dass nich jeder einzelne Hethitologe den größten Teil der knappsten Resource, über die er verfügt – nämlich seine Zeit – dafür einsetzen muss, Daten aller Art zu sammeln, sondern dass er gezielt und unter möglichst geringem Aufwand die Daten erheben kann, die für die Beantwortung der Fragen, die er bearbeiten möchte, nötig sind. (...) Heute erhält er diese Informationen in Minutenschnelle und kann seine kostbare Zeit dafür nutzen, die bereitgestellten Daten kritisch zu prüfen, wo nötig, zu korrigieren und sich auf die kognitiven Aspekte seiner Arbeit zu konzentrieren."[23] I am sure the crucial argument about saving time is one we all agree with.

The Concordance has given Hittitologists an excellent research platform and so have two context dictionaries of the Hittite language that have shown great progress recently. They are based on lexical collections of two late eminent scholars in our field, respectively, Hans Gustav Güterbock and Annelies Kammenhuber: *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (volumes from M to Š have been published since 1980), and the second edition of *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (Johannes Friedrich was the author of the first edition), prepared in the University of Munich (fascicles from A to H have appeared since 1975).[24] Moreover, the long awaited new descriptive grammar of

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[21] Such new technical means will bring about fast progress in restoring larger parts of original tablets from dispersed text fragments. See G.G.W. Müller, "Tausend Teile: Technische Mittel zur Rekonstruktion der Festrituale." In: G.G.W. Müller (ed.), *Liturgie oder Literatur? Die Kultrituale der Hethiter* (in print).

[22] M. Marazzi, C. Mora, G. Müller, "The Anatolian Hieroglyphic Glyptics Project and its Digitalisation into the "Mainz Portal"." In: F. Pecchioli Daddi, G. Torri, C. Corti (eds), op. cit., note 4, pp. 259–268.

[23] G. Wilhelm, op. cit., note 14, p. 84.

[24] J. Friedrich, A. Kammenhuber et al., *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte, Heidelberg 1975 ff.

the Hittite language by Harry Hoffner, Jr. and Craig Melchert was published in 2008,[25] replacing Johannes Friedrich's classic but already obsolete grammar of 1960.[26]

The last decade has also seen a bumper crop of publications, from brief contributions to comprehensive monographs, concerning different population groups and languages in Hittite Anatolia, Hittite history and society, the Hittite state's international relations, cross-cultural connections with the Achaeans and other neighbors, literature, religion, magic, divination, geography, and other aspects of Hittite culture. Theo van den Hout's observation concerning the trend toward synthesis in recent years finds full confirmation in these publications. Hittitologists have also made a concerted effort to translate Hittite texts into modern languages, including German and English within the framework of the most important projects.[27]

Even so, many issues remain unclear and debatable, despite the decades of research that have passed. An objective impediment in many instances is the still insufficient body of sources and difficulties in their interpretation. To mention Hittite history as one example, a key and still uncertain issue concerns the circumstances accompanying the founding of the Hittite state about the middle of the 17th century BC, as well as the events from the later 16th to the middle of the 15th century BC preceding the emergence of the New Kingdom that should be connected in my opinion (but which is not shared by many colleagues) with the takeover of the throne in Hattusa by a new dynasty of Kizzuwatnean origin. Finally, there is the fall of the state in shady circumstances in the 1180s.

New approaches are possible and recommended with regard to at least the latter two questions. The results of Hittite archaeology must be taken into account. In 2009, Andreas Schachner published an article under the meaningful title: "The 16th century BC – a time of change in Hittite central Anatolia."[28] He pointed out changes not only in the city of Hattusa, which was extended to include the fortified Upper City with at least three large temples 2, 3 and 4 located in it, but also outside the capital, where new towns with monumental architecture were established, for example, Sarissa/Kuşaklı excavated by German archaeologists.[29] Unification processes in the state are attested to, for instance, by the unifying of ceramic forms throughout the region situated in the bend of the Kızılırmak River. At the same time, imported pottery vessels appeared in

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[25] H.A. Hoffner, H.C. Melchert, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language*, Part 1: *Reference Grammar;* Part 2: *Tutorial*, Winona Lake, Indiana 2008.

[26] J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Elementarbuch, 1. Teil: Kurzgefaßte Grammatik*, 2nd ed., Heidelberg 1960.

[27] See the relevant chapters in *The Context of Scripture*, Vols. 1–3, Leiden 1997–2002, and *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge*, Gütersloh 2005 ff., as well as the successive volumes of the "Writings from the Ancient World" series, including H.A. Hoffner, Jr., *Hittite Myths*. Second Edition (WAW 2), Atlanta, GA 1998; G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. Second Edition (WAW 7), Atlanta, GA 1999; I. Singer, *Hittite Prayers* (WAW 11), Atlanta, GA 2002; H.A. Hoffner, Jr., *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom* (WAW 15), Atlanta, GA 2009; G. Beckman, T. Bryce, E. Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts* (WAW 28), Atlanta, GA 2011.

[28] A. Schachner, "Das 16. Jahrhundert v. Chr. – eine Zeitenwende im hethitischen Zentralanatolien," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 59, 2009, pp. 9–34.

[29] Preliminary reports on these excavations have been regularly published by A. Müller-Karpe in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* since 1995. See also note 4.

Anatolia, like spindle bottles and libation arms, both representing the so-called Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware. Ulf-Dietrich Schoop comments: "Während mit den *Spindle Bottles* und ihrem Inhalt neue Objekte im Bereich der Selbstdarstellung erscheinen, läßt das Auftauchen der „Libationsarme" ebenfalls importierte Änderungen ritueller Natur erkennen. (...) Die oben besprochene Befundsituation deutet auf einen schnellen Wandel gegen 1400 v. Chr. hin; diesem ging eine lang ausgezogene „Vorlaufphase" voraus, die das ganze 15. Jahrhundert umfaßte."[30]

This breakthrough moment has also been observed by Hittitologists. For example, in his considerations on the rise of Hittite literacy Theo van den Hout states: "Only by the time of the earliest charters does the typical Hittite cuneiform seem to become more firmly established. Following Wilhelm these can be dated to the later 16th century, to the reigns of Ammuna and Huzziya at the earliest. (...) [The typical Hittite cuneiform] would thus have gained its final foothold somewhere in the course of the later 16th century. Not coincidentally, the charters are also the first direct expression of administrative activity. Administration and literacy are very much interdependent (...). With his administrative reforms and renewal of international diplomacy Telipinu is an excellent candidate for a king who may have given the decisive push in getting the cuneiform script definitively established in the Hittite kingdom. Besides the charters his so-called Proclamation describes a nation-wide administrative reform and his also seems to be the first of a series of treaties with Kizzuwatna in south-eastern Anatolia."[31]

The said Proclamation, regulating among others issues of royal succession from father to the eldest son, put the Hittite state in line with the other kingdoms of the ancient Near East, also in the administrative and ideological sense. One should also emphasize the "opening" onto Kizzuwatna, which should be seen perhaps as a key (impeded, however, by the scarcity of sources) to interpreting the circumstances accompanying the takeover of the throne in Hattusa a few dozen years after Telipinu (in the 1460s?) by a new Hurrianized dynasty of Kizzuwatnean origin. This new royal family may well have been established at the court in Hattusa long before the coup d'état of Muwattalli I. I am in full agreement with van den Hout when he says that with the accession of Tudhaliya I, Kantuzili's son, "a new era begins when the Hittite state anew established itself as one of the major players of the 'global' politics of the second millennium B.C."[32] Observations on the consequences of this change for the image of the state and for the cultural picture of Hittite Anatolia in general, presented in works concerning specific aspects of the

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[30] U.-D. Schoop, op. cit., note 6, p. 54.

[31] Th. van den Hout, "Reflections on the Origins and Development of the Hittite Tablet Collections in Hattusa and Their Consequences for the Rise of Hittite Literacy". In: F. Pecchioli Daddi, G. Torri, C. Corti (eds), op. cit., note 4, pp. 92–93.

[32] Th. van den Hout, "A Century of Hittite Text Dating and the Origins of the Hittite Cuneiform Script," *Incontri Linguistici* 32, 2009, p. 35. However, he identifies this Tudhaliya with his namesake, the spouse of queen Nikalmadi who ruled Hatti one or two(?) generations later. For a summary of the discussion on the political history of the Early Hittite Empire, reflecting different points of view, see now S. de Martino, "Some Questions on the Political History and Chronology of the Early Hittite Empire," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 37, 2010, pp. 186–197.

culture, deserve a holistic analysis, including numerous, weighty arguments for the new dynasty having seized power in Hattusa around the middle of the 15th century BC. This is definitely a major proposition for future studies on Hittite history and culture.

The results of archaeological excavations have also prompted a rethinking of the meaning of texts referring to the fall of the Hittite state around 1180 BC. We now know that Hattusa did not succumb to a single concerted attack by an outside enemy, but was depopulated and impoverished gradually in the course of the latter half of the 13th century BC (it was at this time, among others, that 16 out of the 25 temples in the main sacred precinct in the Upper City fell into ruin).[33] Can it be that the defeat in the conflict with Assyria in the reign of Tudhaliya IV (c. 1240–1212) weakened the state to such a degree that even the short revival under his son Shuppululiuma II could not lift it from ultimate decline? Is this the reason why a number of monumental building projects, undoubtedly fueled by ideological motives, such as the stone fortifications of the Upper City in Hattusa and the cult reliefs on the city walls of Alacahöyük, were never completed?[34] Hittitologists should also reconsider in this context the character of the Hittite tablet collections in the capital archives. Was the state administration reflected in these archives operating until the fall around 1180 BC according to the scenario tentatively sketched by Theo van den Hout in his recent works,[35] or was it reduced and its tasks redefined during this last period (maybe, with a new role of the House on the Slope)?

Some of the debate is burdened with dubious methodology and false assumptions. Let issues of Hittite geography serve as a classical example in this case. Comparing Hittite toponyms with similarly sounding place names from ancient and Byzantine periods is misleading as a rule. In effect, the locations of some of the Hittite cities proposed in the course of a debate lasting several dozen years have been numerous and often quite far apart. Even more loaded with far-reaching consequences is the identification, accepted by many Hittitologists, of A(m)kuwa (now Ališar Höyük) of the Assyrian Colony period with the city of Ankuwa mentioned in Hittite texts, in spite of the fact that the sources are fairly clear in locating this initially Hattian center called Hanniku (it is only the Hittitized name Ankuwa that starts to resemble Amkuwa) north of Hattusa and in the neighborhood of the city of Hanhana.[36] The identification of Hittite Ankuwa with Ališar Höyük in recent works by many different authors results in a shift of the entire geography of the land of Hatti to the south of the capital.[37] A new methodological approach would

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[33] J. Seeher, "Die Zerstörung der Stadt Hattuša." In: G. Wilhelm (ed.), op. cit., note 12, pp. 623–634; cf. also idem, op. cit., note 5, p. 9.

[34] Cf. P. Taracha, "The Iconographic Program of the Sculptures of Alacahöyük," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 11, 2011, pp. 143–144.

[35] Th.P.J. van den Hout, op. cit., note 7, pp. 87–94.

[36] Cf. P. Taracha, *Religions of Second Millennium Anatolia* (Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 27), Wiesbaden 2009, p. 101 n. 528; idem, "Local Cults in the Zuliya Basin." In: Y. Cohen, A. Gilan, J.L. Miller (eds), *Pax Hethitica: Studies on the Hittites and their Neighbours in Honour of Itamar Singer* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 51), Wiesbaden 2010, p. 351.

[37] See M. Forlanini, "The Central Provinces of Hatti: An Updating." In: K. Strobel (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Historical Geography and Topography of Anatolia in the II and I Millennium B.C.* (Eothen 16), Firenze

be greatly recommended in future studies on Hittite geography and this is exactly what may be forthcoming from a doctoral dissertation currently being prepared under my supervision by Adam Kryszeń, who is applying cluster methodology to the analysis of the relevant textual evidence.

A key issue in Hittitology is text dating. An overview of developments in this aspect of Hittite studies has been presented by Theo van den Hout in his article published in 2009.[38] The debate commenced after the discovery in 1952, in stratified archaeological context, of a fragment 29/k, soon published as KBo 7.14, which became known as the Zukraši Text. By the end of the 20th century, there was general agreement about this text being an Old Hittite "original" written in the Old Script. And consequently, "a detailed paleographic system in three major stages (Old Script c. 1650–1500 – Middle Script 1500–1350 – New Script 1350–1180 BC), each with subdivisions, … had found all but general acceptance."[39] With this it was taken for granted that the internal development of the Hittite text corpus and language had been explained satisfactorily. Once again, however, it has turned out that "every age has its own questions" regarding the sources. Let me again quote Theo van den Hout: "Recently, new dissenting voices are being heard and the currently used dating system has come under pressure. It has been shown by Jared Miller and Maciej Popko, for instance, that some texts that had been labeled OS, could only have been written after 1500 BC, that is, when the OS period according to the above system had already ended. (...) Finally, the fragment of the Zukraši tablet that had triggered the entire system and provided its sole mooring is nowadays classified as undetermined ("ah.?/mh.?"). In traditional chronological terms this means that it could have been written anywhere between 1650 and 1400 BC. This dating renders it useless as the basis for the system it was supposed to provide."[40] Hittitologists are now faced with the challenge to verify current ideas about text dating, evolution of the Hittite language, chronology of the Hittite tablet collections, and as a further consequence, the actual significance of texts at our disposal for conclusions concerning the Old Hittite period and Old Hittite cultural traditions.[41] We have to reconcile ourselves to the idea that we have no texts written in Hittite that can be placed securely in the period preceding the reign of Tudhaliya I son of Kantuzzili, the founder of the new dynasty (mid 15th

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2008, pp. 145–188, and other papers in the same volume. Cf. also S. de Martino, F.M. Fales, S. Ponchia, op. cit., note 8.

[38] Th. van den Hout, op. cit., note 31, pp. 11–35.

[39] Ibidem, p. 22.

[40] Ibidem, pp. 28, 29. Cf. also M. Popko, "Althethitisch? Zu den Datierungsfragen in der Hethitologie." In: D. Groddek, M. Zorman (eds), *Tabularia Hethaeorum. Hethitologische Beiträge Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag* (Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 25), Wiesbaden 2007, pp. 575–581.

[41] Theo van den Hout's paper on the ductus of the Alalah VII texts has recently given a new incentive to the discussion of the Old Script and the origin of Hittite cuneiform, see Th. van den Hout "The Ductus of the Alalah VII Texts and the Origin of Hittite Cuneiform." In: E. Devecchi (ed.), Paleography and Scribal Practices in Syro-Palestine and Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age: Papers Read at a Symposium in Leiden 17–18 December 2009 (PIHANS CXIX), Leiden 2012, pp. 147–170. Redefining Old Hittite was the topic of a special, Hittological workshop during the 58th RAI in Leiden, 16–20 July 2012.

century), even though some documents written in the Old Script might also belong to the late 16th or the first half of the 15th century BC and some others certainly go back to earlier texts or oral traditions. Alas, there are no criteria to date these earliest Hittite texts more precisely.

To conclude and referring once again to the "every age has its own questions with regard to the past" idea, I would like to draw attention to a new approach to descriptions of cult festivals and magical rituals, which constitute the subject of close to 70% of all the texts found in Hattusa. Large numbers of copies and parallel versions are typical of this text category, these compositions having been written down over and over again for close to two hundred years. Juggling this laborious puzzle can lead to a reconstruction of a master text from a multitude of small fragments. Modern Hittitologists, however, are reaching beyond a simple philological edition of the texts to ask questions of the "Sitz im Leben" kind, taking an interest in the technical side, the scribe's workshop, meaning the mind set behind compilations of earlier texts based on old tablets found in the archives, etc. There is ample evidence suggesting that repeated stereotypical lists of offerings, and occasionally also significant parts of a text, may have been copied from descriptions of entirely different festivals.[42] It is also demonstrable that in copying some texts the scribe was determined more by tablet format than by text content. This working model for the Hittite scribe in many cases leads to doubts as to whether there was actually any one "master text" for the numerous copies and parallel versions in existence.[43] Moreover, the specialized, abbreviated language of these ritual "scenarios" also holds promise as a topic for future research.[44]

The question concerning a common original is even more justified with regard to magical rituals, that consist as a rule of a series of regularly repeated magical techniques commonly taken as effective among the ritualists. Considering the Kizzuwatna rituals, Jared L. Miller observed that "at least a significant portion of the Kizzuwatnean ritual literature at Hattusa was taken over from a previous scribal tradition in Kizzuwatna. Perhaps much of the original composition of the ritual tradition took place not at Hattusa, but in Kizzuwatna, and the material was recorded not by Hittite scribes, but by scribes associated with the state archives of Kizzuwatna."[45] This observation can be extended to include many other rituals descriptions of which have survived in the Hattusa archives, taking under consideration the Luwian and Hurrian names of ritualists and their origins in the heavily Hurrianized communities in south-eastern Anatolia and northern Syria. It

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[42] Cf. M. Popko, *Arinna: Eine heilige Stadt der Hethiter* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 50), Wiesbaden 2009, p. 2.

[43] P. Taracha, "Hittite rituals as literary texts. What do we know about their original editions?" In: M. Hutter, S. Hutter-Braunsar (eds), *Hethitische Literatur: Überlieferungsprozesse, Textstrukturen, Ausdrucksformen und Nachwirken: Akten des Symposiums vom 18. bis 20. Februar 2010 in Bonn* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 391), Münster 2011, pp. 276–281.

[44] E. Rieken, "Fachsprachliche Merkmale in den hethitischen Ritualbeschreibungen." In: M. Hutter, S. Hutter-Braunsar (eds), op. cit., note 43, pp. 207–216.

[45] J.L. Miller, *Studies in the Origins, Development and Interpretation of the Kizzuwatna rituals* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 46), Wiesbaden 2004, p. 254.

can be assumed that a large majority of texts from Hattusa, which are defined as "words" of a foreign ritualist, had very little to do with a Kizzuwatnean or North Syrian original that could have been older than its travesty from Hattusa even by a few hundred years. In many cases there are grounds to think that we are dealing with adaptations from Hurrian or Luwian. The Hittite translators or interpreters, however, had often difficulties not only with understanding foreign technical terms, but also with the Hurrian (and sometimes perhaps also Luwian) grammar.[46] Besides, they are likely to have compiled foreign texts in the same way that they edited the Hittite ritual texts instead of attempting a faithful translation. This new approach in recent research on Hittite rituals is certainly a promising avenue for future studies.

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[46] P. Taracha, op. cit., note 43, pp. 281–282; cf. also idem, *Ugarit Forschungen* 41, 2009, pp. 704–705.