

ANTAHŠUM^{SAR}
“ÇİĞDEM”

STUDIES IN HONOUR OF

**AHMET
ÜNAL
ARMAĞANI**



ARKEOLOJİ VE
SANAT YAYINLARI

Eski Anadolu
Arařtırmalarına ve
Hitilere Adanmıř Bir Hayat

Ahmet Ünal'a Armađan

Studies in Honour of Ahmet Ünal



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Sedat ERKUT – Özlem SİR GAVAZ



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HATTUŠILI III BETWEEN GODS AND MEN

GARY BECKMAN

One of the earliest scholarly interests of my old friend Ahmet Ünal has been the career of the Hittite monarch Hattušili III (Ünal 1974, cf. now also 2014). I think it fitting that I contribute some thoughts about the composition conventionally known as “The Apology of Hattušili III” (CTH 81; ed. Götze 1924, 1930, Otten 1981)¹ to a volume in Ahmet’s honor. As we will see, the label “apology”² may well accurately reflect the purpose for which this text was written, but in regard to form it cannot be satisfactorily assigned to any attested genre found in the Hittite archives (see already Schmid 1985: 2). In ostensible function it best approximates a donation or votive dedication to a deity, in this case to Hattušili’s patroness Šaušga of the city of Šamuha,³ but the actual arrangements for the presentation to this goddess of property confiscated from Hattušili’s enemies take up only 16 of 356 lines, or 4½% of the text. While many of the activities and achievements of Hattušili are discussed herein, these deeds are not listed by year, as in the annals of other Hittite kings, and the events described in Hattušili’s own fragmentary annals (CTH 82; ed. Gurney 1997) are not mentioned in our CTH 81. Perhaps the closest analogues are to be found in the historical prologues to Hittite vassal treaties (Altman 2004), which lay out the previous relations of the contracting parties with one another in order to validate the measures imposed upon the subordinate.

Strictly speaking, what Hattušili—or his “ghost writer”— does over the course of the initial 340 lines of his text is explain just how he had come into possession of the property he is herewith deeding to the goddess, primarily the household of his defeated enemy Arma-Tarhunta (lines iv 66-72⁴). Since this confiscation of assets took place as a result of the civil war in which he had successfully usurped the throne from his nephew, Muršili III/Urhi-Tešup, narrating his career, culminating in the seizure of power, presents him with an opportunity to justify his actions.⁵ Thus the traditional designation “Apology”; however, given its wealth of detail concerning all earlier periods of his life, I prefer to call this composition the “Autobiography” of Hattušili (As does Laroche 1971: 15.).

The new monarch had to answer for his unseating and exiling of King Urhi-Tešup not only to his human subjects, but also before his divine superiors (so Parker 1998: 277). At least some displeasure among the population of Hatti was to be expected, since Hattušili had, after all, removed the legitimate heir to rule, and Muršili III/ Urhi-Tešup undoubtedly had his partisans, even if they are invisible to us (see Klengel 1999: 238), since most of the available information presents only Hattušili’s side of the story. On the other hand, the gods would have had an interest in the matter because Hattušili had undoubtedly sworn an oath of loyalty to his

1 The most accessible English translations are those of van den Hout 1997 and Hoffner 2006 (partial). My renderings here are in large part based upon those of van den Hout, with occasional changes.

2 So labeled already by Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935 and Furlani 1937.

3 Parker 1998: 269, rather bizarrely calls it a “hymn of praise” to the goddess.

4 References are to the composite text in Otten 1981.

5 For a convenient survey of this event and its historical context, see Bryce 2005: 246-65. See also van den Hout 1995.

predecessor, just as his great-grandfather Šuppiluliuma I had pledged his fealty to his brother Tudhaliya the Younger, only to become complicit in the latter's death in the course of the military coup that had brought Šuppiluliuma I himself to the throne. In Hatti, oaths were guaranteed by the gods, and divine anger at the breaking of the vows implied by the murder of Tudhaliya Junior was believed by his nephew Muršili II, at least, to be a cause of the plague still raging in the land during his own time (Beckman 1997: 157).

It was therefore necessary for Hattušili to defend his actions before both groups. With his human audience in mind, he presents himself as a loyal brother and uncle. Since he had already enjoyed a successful career as a military commander and regional viceroy, he tells us, Hattušili had been in a position to assure the succession of Urhi-Tešup to the throne of his father Muwattalli II: “[When my brother] became [a god (that is, died)], ... Out of [respect] for my brother I [did] not [do] anything (evil). Therefore, since my brother did not have a legitimate son, I took up Urhi-Tešup, son of a concubine. [I installed] him in rule over Hatti and placed all of Hattuša in his hand. (Then) he was [Great King] over the lands [of Hatti]” (iii 36-44). Never mind that other documents show that Muwattalli had already installed Urhi-Tešup as crown-prince during his own lifetime (Hawkins 2001; Cammarosano 2009).

And Hattušili recounts the exemplary mercy he had displayed when distant members of his family were convicted of seeking to harm him through witchcraft: “They found Arma-Tarhunta guilty of witchcraft, together with his wife and his sons, and convicted him of it. He had filled Samuha, city of my goddess, with witchcraft, so that the goddess, My Lady, caused him to lose his legal case with me. Therefore my brother turned him over to me, along with his household, his wife, and his son. My brother said to me: ‘Sippa-ziti (the son) is not implicated.’ So, because my brother had made me triumph over Arma-Tarhunta through the legal case, I did not allow myself to fall back into evil in regard to him. Because Arma-Tarhunta was a blood relative of mine, and furthermore was an old man, I felt sorry for him and released him. I also released his [son] Sippa-ziti. I didn't harm them in any way. However, I did send Arma-Tarhunta's wife and his (other) son into exile on Cyprus. I took half [his estate] and gave it back to Arma-Tarhunta” (iii 17-30).

More to the point, in the matter of Urhi-Tešup, Hattušili assures the reader that he had acted in a chivalrous manner in challenging his predecessor: “But when I became hostile to him, I didn't do this as a polluting offence by rebelling against him on his chariot or revolting against him within his house. Rather, in a manly way I declared to him: ‘You have opened hostilities with me—you a Great King and I (merely) the king of the single fortress that you have left me. Come, let Šaušga of Samuha and the Storm-god of Nerik decide our lawsuit (through our combat)!’” (iii 66-72).

Even after the defeat of his rival, he claims, he had treated Urhi-Tešup with forbearance: “Out of respect for my brother, I didn't do anything (evil). I went back down (from Hattuša) to Urhi-Tešup in Samuha and brought him down (from that city) as a prisoner. I gave him fortified cities in the (Syrian) land of Nuhašše (to rule) and he dwelt there. When he plotted once more (against me) and wanted to drive off to Babylonia—when I heard of the matter, I seized him and sent him (into exile) on the seacoast” (iv 29-36).

But in contrast, Hattušili characterizes his nephew's behavior toward himself as motivated by jealousy: “When Urhi-Tešup thus saw the benevolence of the goddess toward me, he became envious of me and began to harm me. He took away from me all the persons in my service and he also took away from me all the (formerly) desolate countries that I had resett-

led. He humiliated me. ... Out of respect for my brother I did not react at all and I complied for seven years" (iii 54-62).

But most significant is the role that Hattušili attributes to divine influence over the course of his career. He himself was the darling of Šaušga of Samuha, having entered her service as a youngster at her own request: "Šaušga, My Lady, sent Muwattalli, my brother, to Muršili, my father, through a dream, (saying): 'Hattušili hasn't much time, he is not long for this world. Hand him over to me so that he shall be my priest and survive!' My father took me up, still a boy, and handed me over to the service of the goddess. As a priest I libated to the goddess. In the hand of Šaušga, My Lady, I experienced prosperity, and Šaušga, My Lady, took me by the hand and smoothed my path"⁶ (i 13-21).

Indeed, this deity is credited in the Autobiography with seeing that Hattušili was cleared of legal charges on two occasions, securing his fragile health, arranging his marriage to Queen Puduhepa, assisting him in his *reconquista* of a good portion of north-central Anatolia from the incorrigible Kaska people, bringing many Hittite noblemen over to his side in the civil war, and ultimately elevating him to primacy in Hatti. Hattušili sums up: "I was a prince and became Chief of the Royal Bodyguard. As Chief of the Royal Bodyguard I became King of the land of Hakpis. As King of Hakpis I then became Great King. Finally, Šaušga, My Lady, placed those who envied me, my enemies, and my legal opponents at my mercy. Some died by the sword, others a natural death. I disposed of absolutely all of them. Šaušga, My Lady, gave me kingship in Hatti" (iv 41-48).

This makes it sound as if Hattušili himself had exercised no agency in the events of his own life, but in these matters had been merely the agent of Šaušga. Furthermore—and this is a point that hasn't really been stressed previously⁷—Urhi-Tešup is said in the Autobiography to have sought the destruction of his uncle "at the instigation of deity and man" (*IŠTU INIM DINGIR-LIM U IŠTU INIM LÚ*, iii 63). That is, a divinity—most likely Šaušga herself—is here allotted at least partial responsibility for provoking the conflict between uncle and nephew that resulted in the supplanting of Urhi-Tešup by Hattušili.

This observation must be taken together with Hattušili's argument that "if (Urhi-Tešup) had in no way begun hostilities with me, would (the gods) really have made a Great King (viz., Urhi-Tešup) succumb to a petty king (viz., me, Hattušili)? Because he has (indeed) now begun hostilities with me, the gods have made him succumb to me by (their) judgment" (iii 76-79). Therefore, no reasonable son of Hatti could find fault with Hattušili, who had not only treated his fellow men with such respect and compassion, but whose ascent to the highest position in Hittite society simply reflected the will of the gods.

Note that I am not necessarily convinced by Hattušili's *plaidoyer*. In fact, as hinted earlier, there is good reason to doubt the veracity of a number of ostensible "facts" that he adduces (See Beckman 2005: 351-52.). Nonetheless, recognition of the underlying assumptions about men, gods, justice, and causation that structure Hattušili's argument shines a bright light on the Hittite *Weltanschauung*.

6 *parā ṅandanteāta*. On *parā ṅand(ā)atar* and related verbal forms, see Beckman forthcoming.

7 Furlani (1937: 90-91) writes that with this line, Hattušili reveals himself to be an "uomo perfettamente onesto," seemingly interpreting it as a concession by the author that his nephew had also had some claim to divine support. I, however, understand the deity's encouragement of Urhi-Tešup as part of her manipulation of events on behalf of Hattušili, and am confident that he did too.

To conclude, I cannot agree with the late Fiorella Imparati (1995) that the Autobiography was written primarily in order to justify the appointment of Puduhepa's son Tudhaliya as Crown Prince and thereby the successor of Hattušili. As Imparati recognized (1995: 153-54), her interpretation would imply that our text was composed rather late in the reign of Hattušili,⁸ since another son, Nerikkaili, occupied that position early on. The installation of Tudhaliya as administrator of the cultic foundation endowed by his father—not as Crown Prince or as a high functionary in the cult of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, it must be noted—is but a minor point in the discussion of the donation of the property confiscated from the enemies of Hattušili. No attention at all is paid to the qualities of Tudhaliya or to the possible defects of his half-brother Nerikkaili that might justify the replacement of the latter by the former as heir apparent. Rather, the detailed account of the career of Hattušili contained in the Autobiography along with the powerful case for his virtue found there strongly suggests that this text was composed soon after the coup that brought him to power, when an apology would have been the most necessary and useful.

⁸ I do agree with Imparati (1995: 146) that the so-called "Parallel Text" to the Autobiography, KBo 6.29+ (CTH 85.1.A), was composed earlier than CTH 81. The "Parallel Text" speaks only of an unspecified son of Hattušili and Puduhepa who shall administer the newly established cultic establishment of Šaušga, the choice of Tudhaliya mentioned in the Autobiography having apparently not yet been decided upon. Cf. Schmid 1985: 4.

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