The City and the Country in Ḫatti

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Although some research, philological as well as archaeological, has been done on urbanism in second-millennium Anatolia, this work has focused such questions as the distribution of settlements, the size of their populations, and the continuity of their habitation. Little has been written concerning the place of the city (ḫappiria-/ḫappira-) within the political and ideological structures of the Hittites. I propose here to open the discussion of this neglected topic, necessarily emphasizing the capital, Ḫattuša. I will approach the problem from a negative point of view, that is, through an examination of textual material dealing with the Hittite countryside.

Leaving aside ẓurn-, which includes the notion of rural landscape as a minor component within its semantic field, the most important lexeme in this connection is Hittite girmar-/gimmara-, defined by J. Friedrich as ‘Feld, Flur; freies Feld (im Gegensatz zur Stadt); Feldzug.’ Indeed, as already implied by R. Lebrun, a suitable, if awkward, cover term for

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2 Among many others, B. Horany, K. H. van der Osten, K. Bittel, F. Cornelius, T. Oszug, and J. Yakar have conducted archaeological surveys in central Anatolia. Unfortunately, no summary of this activity is available. But see J. Yakar, Recent Contributions to the Historical Geography of the Hittite Empire, MDOG 112 (1980), 75-94; Archaeological Survey in the Malatya and Sivas Provinces—1977, Tel Aviv 6 (1979), 34-53; and J. Yakar and A. Dünkel, Remarks on the Historical Geography of North-Central Anatolia during the Pre-Hittite and Hittite Periods, Tel Aviv 1 (1974), 85-99. For some useful reports, suggested identifications of places named in Hittite texts are collected by G. del Monte in RGC 6 (1978) and RGC 6/2 (1992).

3 For Ḫattuša see C. Mora, Saggio per uno studio sulla popolazione urbana nell’Anatolia antica. SMEA 18 (1977), 227-41. K. Bittel, Quelques remarques archéologiques sur la topographie de Ḫattusa, CRAIBL 1983, 485-86, expresses scepticism concerning Mora’s conclusions.

4 A. Archi, Continuità degli insediamenti anatolici durante l’età ittita. SMEA 22 (1980), 7-17.

5 The original meaning was ‘place of trade.’ For this word see E. Neu, Der Akkade-Text. StBoT 18 (Wiesbaden 1974), 106-09; and J. Pahlev, Hittite Etymological Dictionary 3, 127-28.

6 As in Hittite Laws §71. Note that I. M. Diakonoff. Die hethitische Gesellschaft, MDOG 13 (1967), 266, n. 126, glosses ẓurna- by Greek ζωρα. But by far the most frequent meaning of ẓurn- is ‘polity.’


8 R. Lebrun, Les Hittites et le désert. Image et réalité. Actes du Colloque de Castagny
the semantic field of this word and its heterographic equivalents SERU and LIL is "non-city." Synchronously, the range of meaning of gimra- begins with the idea of "cultivated field." Thus an incantation includes the metaphor: "As [ma]l is meager (in fertility), and one does not take it to the gimra- to use as seed."  

§ 53 of the Hittite Laws employs gimra- in the wider sense of "agricultural establishment": "If a man under a service obligation and his partner live together, and if they become unsuited for one another and divide their household— if there are ten (dependent) persons on (lit. of) his land (gimra-sas), the man under a service obligation shall take seven persons, and his partner shall take three persons. They shall divide the cattle and sheep on his land in the same manner...." 

Moving further from town, we arrive at the setting for this magical utterance intended to remove assorted evils from a community: "As a ram mounts a ewe and she becomes pregnant, so let this city and house become a ram, and let it mount the Dark Earth in the gimra- (LIL-ri). And let the Dark Earth become pregnant with the blood, impurity, and sin." 

The contrast between city and gimra- is essential to the logic of the magic here. Indeed, like its Akkadographic equivalent SERU, 13 gimra- may often be translated "steppe" or "wilderness." Note in particular that the Hittite version of the Gilgamesh Epic renders šeru (the scene of Enkidu's creation) with gimra-, 14 and that wild animals in general are called gimras hîtar, 15 the exact equivalent of Akkadian bû šeri. Similarly, uncultivated plants are said to be "of the gimra-." 16

As an uninhabited area, the more distant gimra- is an appropriate location for the performance of potentially polluting rituals, 17 and it is also a frequent site of military encounters. Thus Muršili II states in his Annals: "And I, My Majesty, did not go into the field (gi-im-rî) at all that year." 18 Consider also this pious request from a ritual: "Furthermore, give conquest to the king in the field (gi-im-rî)." 19 Here too belong the duty...
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ISTAR gimraš / ašuršt / SERI / LIL, "[star of the Battlefield;" 20 the military unit LIM SERI, "the myriad of the battlefield;" 21 and terms such as GIR gimraš, "field knife." 22 Metonymically, gimraš has also taken on the significance of "military campaign," 23 in one text alternating in this meaning with the Sumerogram KASKAL. 24

The danger to be encountered in the outer gimraš is manifest in an incantation where a personified temple instructs: "I shall give (it—a boon?) to you, if in the open country (gi-im-ri) you rob him?" like a traveller." The men reply to the temple: "He is a traveller. We shall take it from him [while]... he sleeps." 25 This situation calls to mind §§ of the Hittite Laws, 26 which deals with the murder and robbery of a merchant, as well as §IV of the late parallel series, which foresees the possibility that someone will be killed between settlements. 27

This latter crime is said to occur namedani A-SA A.GAR, that is, "in some other territory," and the unknown Hittite word represented by this Sumerogram and its simpler variant A-SA 28 is indeed closely related in meaning to gimraš. It is the most frequently occurring term for an agricultural parcel in the Hittite Laws, 29 as well as in economic documents such as land grants 30 and field lists 31 that it might designate larger areas is enclitic pronouns —st here is unclear.

20 See J. Wegner, Gestalt und Kult der Ilarn-Sawuska in Klinamen (Neukirchen, Vluyn 1981), 28, 32, 33. For the military character of her wardrobe, see C. G. von Brandenstein, Zum charakterischen Lexikon, ZA 46 (1940), 103-04. This aspect of the Anatolian goddess should be compared to the character of the Mesopotamian luše tabšakī / ME.

21 For the material see R. Beal, The Organization of the Hittite Military, THeth 20 (Heidelberg 1992), 92-104, who interprets the term as "champion of the countryside."


23 See, for example, KUB 27.1 i 7-11 (CTH 712): "The campaign (gi-im-ru-at) which the king conducted—am many campaigns (gi-im-ru-at) as he has conducted—(during) as many years as he have passed in the meantime—When they worship the deity, they will make an oracular inquiry about the ambati-ritual, the ritual of well-being, and the vow concerning those campaigns (gi-im-ru-at her)." For a transcription see R. Lebrun, op. cit (n. 1), 75. CHD L-N, 8 renders gimraš in the first two instances as "regions," which is questionable, since this meaning is not attested elsewhere.

24 Note LIL-ni in KUB 5.1 iii 54 (CTH 561), while elsewhere this oracle report has KASKAL (e.g. III 49, 51, 58). See A. Unal, Hattipiti III, Part II—Quellen, THeth 4 (Heidelberg 1974), 32ff.

25 KUB 12.63 rev. 2-4 (CTH 412). For the interpretation of this difficult passage and a transliteration see CHD L-N, 9-10.


28 See §§XXXVII of the Hittite Laws (J. Friedrich, HG 56-59), where A-SA is resumed by A-SA A.GAR. Cf. also dU A.GAR (KUB 55.39 iv 6) and dU A-SA A.GAR (KUB 57.58 i 4; KUB 57.106 ii 12).

29 See §§6, 39ff., etc.

30 CTH 221-222. See the transliterations in K. K. Riemenschneider, Die hethitischen Landschreibungsmöglichkeiten, MIO 6 (1958), 321-81.

illustrated by a passage in an Akkadian-language diplomatic text of Ḫattušili III in which the Hittite king promises to return to Ugant any fugitives who should escape into the A.SA LUSA GAZ ḪUTUSI, "the hapišu-territory of My Majesty."32

Finally, a partial functional equivalent to girmra- is the Sumerogram HUR.SAG, whose Hittite reading remains unknown.33 Thus a ritual is to be carried out "on the mountain, in a virgin spot [. . . ] where the plow does not go."34 A vassal ruler is enjoined to send fugitives to the court of the Great King, and not to "direct their eyes to the mountains,"35 that is, help them escape into the wilderness. Having entered the hills to hunt, the unsuccessful Keššu "wanders for three months in the mountains, not wishing to return to his city empty-handed."36 Most striking is §197 of the Hittite Laws, which reads: "If a man seize a woman on the mountain, it is the man's crime, and he shall die. But if he seizes her in (her) home, it is the woman's crime. The woman shall die."37 In the mountains force prevails, and a woman could not be expected to receive assistance or successfully to defend her virtue on her own.

The association of the concept of wilderness with mountainous terrain is natural in the geographic setting of Hatti.38 HUR.SAG is also frequently found in close association with

32 RS 17.238:7 (cf. 16) = PRU IV 107-08 (CTH 94). For a complete translation, see No. 33 of my Hittite Diplomatic Texts (Athenaeum 1996). See also M. Heitler, The Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit (Wiesbaden 1976), 4-5.
33 E. Laroche, Notes sur les symboles solaires hittites, in: Bohmer, R.M. and H. Hauptmann (ed.), Beiträge zur Altsumerischen Kulturanalyse, Fs Bittel (Mainz 1983), 305-10, demonstrates that kulumma- indicates a solar emblem, and not "Berg", as listed in HWW 96.
34 VBoT 24 i 31-32 (CTH 398): nu HUR.SAG-ı dammeli pedi [. . . ] kawapi GISAPIN-š Öl. Ḫaššitzi.
35 KBo 5.9 iii 12 22 (CTH 62), translated fully as No. 8 is my Hittite Diplomatic Texts. For a transliteration see J. Friedrich, SV 1 20-21.
36 KUB 33.121 ii 15-16 (CTH 361), transliterated by J. Friedrich, Churriatische Marchen und Sagen in hethitischer Sprache, ZA 49 (1950), 234. For a full translation see H. A. Hoffner, Hittite Myths (Atlanta 1990), 67-68.
37 See J. Friedrich, HG 86-87.
38 See the relief map in W. D. Hutteroth, Türkia (Darmstadt 1982), fig. 26 following p. 94. Although customarily translated "forest" (so H. A. Hoffner, EHKL 42) or "Wald" (so HWW 296), GÖZIR / үүркъар does not in most cases denote a wild or dangerous forested region, but rather a cultivated or naturalized "grove". See the attestations collected by E. Laroche, Etudes de vocabulaire (1), RHA 49 (1948-49), 11-13.
wellu, "pasture," 39 and is mentioned once or twice as a source of wood. 40 contexts which
well illustrate the economic role of this topographic region for Hittite society.

In sum, we encounter in the Bogazköy texts three main terms which may serve as
antonyms to hoppiria-: ginmar- A.SA, and HUR.SAG. 41 Although philological analysis
reveals that for the Hittites the countryside was a continuum stretching from just outside
the city gate up to the mountain slopes, it is often useful to distinguish between the
extremes of this range. Therefore I translate ginmar- and A.SA as "fields" when they designate
the near non-city, 42 and as "wilderness" or "territory" when they refer to more distant areas.
Naturally there are many contexts which do not allow such disambiguation. In contrast, as a
term of social geography HUR.SAG must always be rendered as "wilderness."

To return to our primary theme — what was the socio-economic relationship of the
Hittite capital city to the non-city, to the countryside? Max Weber distinguished three ideal
types of premodern city: 43 the princely city, a center of political power which coexisted its
susenance from the surrounding agriculturists and pastoralists; the trading city, which
functions as an entrepôt for the exchange of goods among primary producers; and the
producer city, which manufactures goods for exchange with the peasantry. Of course, few
settlements in any period present a pure example of any of these types. 44 A capital city
would in practice have participated to some degree in all three. In pre-industrial societies,
however, the urban aggregation is always to some extent parasitic on the country. Due to
limitations in the available technology of production and transportation, it is impossible for
the city to produce wealth equal in value to the agricultural and pastoral products it
consumes. 45

In the Hattusa of the Empire Period we may recognize a settlement closely approaching
Weber’s ideal type of a princely city. Pre-Hittite Hattus probably arose as an army-defended
trading center joining the middle Halys valley and the Black Sea coast with northern Syria
and Mesopotamia beyond. 46 It was definitely the site of an Assyrian trading post in the

39 For example, KUB 55.20+ i ii 33-36 (CTH 760): "(The piglet) roots up the meadow (u-et-ti-un), and
it turns up the araucan plant. It roots up the mountain (HUR.SAG-as), and it turns up water." For
transliteration, see G. Beckman, The Hittite Ritual of the Ox (CTH 760.1.2.3), or FS 59 (1990), 39.
40 See KUB 29 i ii 13-15 (CTH 4(4)): "When the king builds a palace somewhere in the city, then
whichever carpenter goes into the mountains (HUR.SAG) to cut the beams . . . ." For transliteration see
M. Cartini, Il rituale di fondazione KUB XXIX I, (Rivista di storia della regalità, 60 (1982), 496.
41 See n. 6 above on ware.
42 This sector would correspond to what A. L. Oppenheim calls the "corona" of Mesopotamian cities.
43 Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretive Sociology, ed. G. Roth and C. Wittich (Berkeley
1978), 1215-17.
44 M. I. Finley, "How it Really Was", in Ancient History. Evidence and Models (New York 1986), 47-
66, succinctly presents the case for employing models such as Weber’s ideal types in studying ancient
history. See especially pp. 60-61.
46 Admittedly this is no more than conjecture, since only scraps of archaeological evidence have been
recovered from the settlement levels of Bogazköy dating to earlier than the Late Bronze Age - see R.
Bittel, Hattusa, RIA 4 (1972-75), 164. For the geographical position of the site as a link between
northeastern Anatolia and the Konya Plain, see R. Bittel, Archäologische Forschungsprobleme zur
Frühgeschichte Kleinasiens (Oppden 1973), 17-18.
nineteenth and eighteenth centuries. It does not seem, however, that commerce was
particularly important for Hattusa in the Hittite period. Relatively little indication of
foreign trade has come to light at Bogazköy, either as archaeological remains or
through references in texts. Such textually-documented activities of Hittite merchants
as can be localized take place in outlying areas, especially in southern cities such as
Cilician Urfa and Syrian Ugarit. While I would hardly deny that Hattusa ultimately benefited from this
commerce, the prominence of the city cannot be explained by it.

Nor have the excavations at Bogazköy turned up much evidence of substantial craft
production at the site. The one significant exception, a pottery from the last years of the
Hittite empire, seems to have directed its output primarily to one of the local temple
establishments. In any event, the lack of water transportation in the vicinity of the capital
would have made wider distribution of the products of large-scale industry impossible. And
the work of P. Neve and his archaeological team over the past decade has shown that the
greater part of thirteenth-century Hattusa was given over to imperial display and
administration. This could be either directly political, as on the citadel, or religio-
political, as in the large tracts of temples still emerging in the Upper City. The
cuneiform documentation indicates that the wealth supporting this orientation was brought

47 K. Bittel, Hattusa. The Capital of the Hittites (New York 1970), 31-37. H. Osten has studied the
Old Assyrian texts from Hattuša in Die assyrischen Texte aus Bogazköy, MDOG 89 (1957), 68-79, to
which should now be added KBo 28.153-83. R. McC. Adams, Anthropological Perspecties on Ancient
Trade, Current Anthropology 15 (1974), 239-49, suggests that participation in a system of trade may
lead to the rise of a "predatory state" in an underdeveloped region where a group of smaller polities had
heretofore coexisted peacefully. Could the presence of the Old Assyrian "colonyes" in Anatolia have acted
as such an spur to the rise of Urartu?

48 Conirrit E. Cline's compilation of imported material excavated in Central Anatolia. A Possible
Hittite Embassy against the Mycenaean, Huxoria 40 (1991), 2-4. For Bogazköy he lists only some
North Syrian and Cypriote pottery, plus a few Egyptian objects, for which see K. Bittel, op. cit. (n. 47),
113-19. A perusal of the yearly reports by P. Neve in Archakologischer Anzeiger (1981-92) on the work
at Bogazköy did not turn up anything substantial to add to Cline's list.

49 See E. Cline, op. cit. (a. 48), 4-5, and S. Kotak, Hittite Inventory Texts, TLheth 10 (Heidelberg
1982), 203-04. Most of these textual references are either to material of exotic origin (or style?) in the
royal storerooms, or to goods passing between courts. While I am well aware that international trade was
often stylized as "gift exchange" in texts of the second millennium—see M. Liverani, "Prose and Interest
in Trade" 1990, 203ff.—goods which arrived at a capital under such arrangements did so precisely because it
was the residence of the ruler, and not due to the city's intrinsic importance as a trading center.

50 See H. A. Hoffner, A Hittite Text in Epic Style about Merchants, JCS 22 (1968), 34-45, and H.
Kiegel, Handel und Kaufleute im hethitischen Reich, AOF 6 (1979), 69-80.

51 Most importantly, see the editio of Hattusha III concerning the activities of Cilician merchants at
Ugarit (UTH 91), transl. as No. 32 in my Hittite Diplomatic Texts. On Ura see Kieøeg, op. cit. (n.

52 A. Muller-Karpe, Hethitische Topforde der Oberstadt von Hattusa (Marburg/Lahn 1988), 161-64.

53 K. Bittel, Denkmaler eines hethitischen Großkönigs des 13. Jahrhunderts vor Christus (Opladen
1984), 18.

54 See K. Bittel, op. cit. (n. 3), and P. Neve, Hattusa-Steit der Guter und Tempel (Mainz 1992.)
to the capital through booty, tribute, or diplomatic exchange.

On the basis of textual evidence, A. Archi has suggested that Hattusa alone remained prominent among central Anatolian urban centers during the Hittite Empire, and earlier major towns losing importance or disappearing entirely from our sources. The political dominance of this center was clearly expressed in the Hittites' designation of their state as Ḫattuša (tune), "(Land) of the city of Hattusa." This is not to imply that no other towns existed in Hatti. On the contrary, the Répertoire Géographique presents several hundred place names bearing the determinative URI. But this Sumerian term, used as a heterogram or as a determinative, as well as its Hittite equivalent, might indicate a human settlement of any size or complexity, from the world-city Babylon down to a simple nomadic encampment. It might also designate the full extent of territory—rural as well as urban—under the administration of a settlement. Information currently available concerning even the most frequently-mentioned Anatolian towns other than Hattusa does not allow us to determine their economic or political functions. Thus, for example, while we learn that Akkāna was a favorite wintering spot of the king, and that Nerik and Samala were major cultic centers, we know very little about their local administration or economic production.

55 Hittite plunder of the prosperous cities of northern Syria is exemplified by the looting of Hat'um by the army of Ḥusurri (KBo 10.2 ii 22-44 [CTH 4]) and its sacking of the town of Karkamiš by the troops of Suppiluliuma (KBo 1.6 iii 35-45 [CTH 40]). In both instances the spoils are specifically said to have been carried off to Hattusa.

56 See, for example, CTH 47, 48, and 65 concerning the tribute to be paid to the Hittite authorities by Ugarte. These documents are transcribed as Nos. 28A, 28B, and 11B in my Hittite Diplomatic Texts.

57 See the "gifts of greeting" (bulmânı) customarily paid at the close of the letters sent between the courts of Egypt and Hatti. This correspondence has now been fully edited by F. Edel, Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Behzanouie (Boppark 1954). Several of these letters are transcribed under No. 22 in my Hittite Diplomatic Texts.

58 A. Archi, op. cit. (n. 4), 14, and more recently, Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C., in id., ed. ed., Circulation of Goods in Neo-assyrian Contexts (Assyria New East (Rome 1984), 204. But see Ankuwa see now Grady, op. cit. (n. 1) 187, 191.

59 See H. G. Gutschow, The Deen of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Murshili I, JCS 10 (1956), 98, with n. 9, and A. Kammenhuber, HBO 125. More also the secondary formations URI/ür and URI/Katka. (For references, see G. del Monte, RGGT 6, s.v.), created by the Hittite scribes upon the model of their own (KUR)/URU/Hatti. Neither a "city of Egypt" nor a "city of the Hatti" ever existed.

60 G. del Monte, RGGT 6 and 62.

61 G. del Monte, RGGT 6, 183-87.

62 For example, KUB 34.1.21-22 (CTH 26): "[If some] Hittite falsely reports: 'The population of a settlement (URI K1), including its women and its goods, has set out and has entered the land of Kizzuwatna, ..." For transcription of this text, which is transcribed as No. 1 in my Hittite Diplomatic Texts, see G. R. Meyer, Two new Kizzuwatna-Verträge, MIO 1 (1953), 116.

63 See, for example, KBo 5.7 = LSU 1 rev. 2 (CTH 223): "[N] Kapara, 4 Iku, (and) 8 giparum of wooded mountainous acreage in the township of Kapara (N. URUkaparawana), K. K. Riemenschneider, Die hethitischen Landesverträge, MIO 6 (1958), 349, translates "bei Kapara.(wana)."

64 A partial exception is the town of Kasat / Tepazā, whose administration I have discussed in Hittite Provincial Administration in Anatolia and Syria: the View from Masaat and Emir, Au delà du congresso internazionale di hititologia (Pavia 1995). 17-37.
But on a more general level, we may observe that Hittite imperial administration was organized around a system of hoppaḫiya’s. This is evident from the list of storehouse cities in the Telepinu Proclamation, which in fact presents a sketch of the early state’s network for the extraction of agricultural surplus, as well as for its redistribution. Note also the texts enumerating the civil administrators (AGRIQA’s) of various settlements. In addition, instructions for local military commanders (BEI MADGALTI)—who have their seats in towns—include provisions for the oversight of agricultural and pastoral activities, that is, for the exploitation of the countryside. The network of cities with Ḫattuša at its head constituted the armature of the Hittite state in Anatolia. In the course of the Old Hittite KI.LAM festival, this structure receives symbolic expression in the form of a royal visit to the storehouses of a number of towns, all apparently located in the capital.

If the system of cities was constitutive of state power, a lack of cities indicated the absence of central control. We have seen that the wilderness was the domain of violence, both personal, as in the robbery of a merchant or the ravishing of a woman, and societal, as in military battles. The wilderness was also the realm of uprooted individuals, the ḫapiru. It is significant that when an Anatolian monarch intended the total destruction of the political power of a rival, he symbolically transformed the latter’s city into barren countryside. Note here Amitta’s sowing of the dead plant cress on the site of Ḫattuša, and the similar deed Ḫattušili I performed at Ul(lum)ma. Territory characterized by cress would be useful only as pasture.

In this connection I adjoin a ritual curse to be laid on an enemy city: “In the future no mortal shall inhabit it. I have given this enemy city, together with its fields, threshing floor, vineyards and... to the Storm-god, my lord. Let your bulls Šeri and Hurrī storm-god, my lord, [take] it as their pasture. Let Šeri and Hurrī graze upon it forever. But whoever would (re-)sow it would take the pasture away from the bulls of the Storm-god, from Šeri and Hurrī, he shall be the legal opponent of the Storm-god, my lord.”

We might also recall in this regard that the Kaskaean chieftain Pḫḫunuḫi sought to eradicate Hittite influence in territory he had conquered by reducing the captured towns of

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67 Especially VBoT 68 (CTH 231), on which see A. Gioti, Bemerkungen zu dem hethitischen Text AO 9608 des Louvre, RHA 1 (1930), 18-36. Cf. I. Singer, op. cit. (n. 66), and A. Archi, op. cit. (n. 58), 197-99.
68 CTH 261, edited by E. von Scheller, Denkataen 41-59. See p. 49 (B 52-56) on the responsibility of this official for pastures.
70 J. Borker-Kiahn, Der hethitische Areopag: Verkaps, die Bronzetafel, und der Staatszweck, AOF 21 (1994), 149, writes that Ḫattuša’s gate tower is situated at the “National selbst zwischen Stadt und Außenwelt—Zivilisation und Chaos gleichzusammengesetzt.”
73 KUB 7:60 iii 19-31 (CTH 423). For a transalation, see J. Friedrich, HE 2, 42-43.
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isitina to his "grazing ground" (wišiyātuwaš pēdan). 74 Conversely, when a Hitite ruler such as Suppiluliuma I wrested a region from the barbarians, his first act was to re-establish state authority through the (re-)settling of hattiya'-s. 75 An interesting fragment of an instruction deals with the engineers who are commanded by the king to construct a city "in the foremost march." 76 Through such activity, the authority of Hatti would be restored or extended.

In short, the Hitite state and its capital city were closely associated. In good times and bad, K. Bittel observed that the citadel and many temples of Hattusa had been deliberately set ablaze at the fall of Hatti, as if in defiance of the imperial power they represented. 77 It is striking that thereafter the site slipped into the backwaters of history, never again attaining any real political or economic importance. The main highways of the Persian and Roman periods bypassed it, 78 and Bogazköy exercised no great attraction for the settlers of any later period. 79 This accords with my view that the Hitite capital was a princely city, its preeminence due almost solely to its political function. When the land of Hattusa disappeared, so did Hattusa itself.

The dynamics of the maintenance and collapse of the Hitite empire 80 might be compared with the later experience of the grand peltz established by the rulers of the city of Assur, 81 but that is another story. 82 In any case, with the fall of the city of Hattusa, the empire acquired almost total dominance in north-central Anatolia until the modest Phrygian flowering of the middle of the first millennium B.C.E.

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74 KBo 3.4 iii 72 (CHT 61), edited by A. Goede, AM 88:89.
75 KUB 19.11 iv 12.16 (CHT 40): "But since my father had constructed fortifications behind (each) empty city (of) the entire land which had been depopulated by the enemy, he transported each (group of) the population back to its own city, and they reoccupied the population centers (lit. 'cities of population -- antuḫuwaš UR.U.DILIMI HU.A)." The text is edited by H. G. Güterbock, op. cit. (n. 59) 65.
78 For the Roman era see Map 8 ("Roads, garrisons, and recruitment in central Asia Minor") in S. Mitchell, Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor, Vol. 1 (Oxford 1993), 130. Here the road which comes closest to the one-time Hitite capital passes through Tavium, which is to be located at Buyukkeser, about a dozen miles southwest of Bogazköy. See K. Bittel, Tavium, Geblissen (1947), 171-79. On pp. 178-79 Bittel demonstrates that this highway could not have run through Bogazköy.
80 The most recent discussion of these events is by H. A. Hoffner, The Last Days of Hattusa, in W. A. Wace and M. S. Rokowsky, eds., The Crisis Years. The 12th Century B.C. (Dubuque 1992), 46-52.