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## Herding and Herdsmen in Hittite Culture<sup>1</sup>

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A decade ago F. R. Kraus observed that an investigation of the terminology of the semantic field of "herdsman" was still a pressing task for Assyriology.<sup>2</sup> That statement remains true today,<sup>3</sup> and it applies also to the related field of Hittitology. Given the importance of herding in the Anatolian economy through the ages,<sup>4</sup> I was initially surprised that no scholar had yet treated the herds and herdsmen of Ḫatti in any detail. After my own investigation of this topic, I appreciate the reticence of my predecessors,<sup>5</sup> for the evidence is both sparse and dispersed. On the one hand, due to the character of the Hittite royal archives, few economic documents are available, but on the other, the key role of herding within Hittite society has resulted in the scattering of clues throughout texts of the most varied type.

The importance of herding as a major constituent of the Hittite economy is easily demonstrated: The Hittite Laws<sup>6</sup> devote several paragraphs

1 I am honored to present this modest study to Professor Otten in gratitude for the inspiring instruction received from him during my all-too-short stay in Marburg, as well as for the interest he has shown in my subsequent work. My research was greatly facilitated by access to the lexical files of the Hittite Dictionary Project of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, kindly granted by the Directors of the Project, Professors H. G. Güterbock and H. A. Hoffner.

2 RA 70, 1976, 178, n. 1.

3 Seen only H. Waetzoldt, RLA IV 421-25, who deals with Neo-Sumerian evidence, and W. Mayer, Nuzi-Studien I. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1978, pp. 190-96, who treats briefly the texts from Yorgan Tepe. [Korr.-Zusatz: Add now D. Snell, Acta Sumerologica 8, 1986, 133-217, on sheep husbandry in Ur III Lagash.]

4 For pastoralism in the economy of modern inhabitants of a section of Anatolia neighboring ancient Ḫatti, see W.-D. Hütteroth, Bergnomaden und Yaylabauern im mittleren kurdischen Taurus. Marburg, 1959, esp. pp. 87 ff.

5 H. G. Güterbock has discussed a number of philological problems surrounding the domestic animals of the Hittites in JCS 15, 1961, 72-78, and H. A. Hoffner devotes pp. 120-23 of AlHeth to the foodstuffs provided by "corral and pen." See now also the remarks of A. Ünal, Or 54, 1985, 426-27, in a discussion of the important work of A. von den Driesch and J. Boessneck, Reste von Haus- und Jagdtieren aus der Unterstadt von Boğazköy-Ḫattuša, Boğ-Ḫatt XI. Berlin, 1981.

6 For transliteration and translation of the Laws here and later, see J. Friedrich, HG. I employ, however, the numeration of B. Hrozný, CH.

(§§ 57-59, 63-70) to the theft of herd animals,<sup>7</sup> and the tariff gives prices for these creatures (§§ 176A, 178-81) as well as their meat (§§ 185-86). Paragraph 53 attributes cattle and sheep, as well as dependent personnel, to a typical farmstead, while a royal donation of land indicates that agricultural properties were provided with varying numbers of cattle, sheep, horses, and asses.<sup>8</sup>

Ritual and festival texts make frequent mention of the products of the herds and flocks, including milk and butter,<sup>9</sup> hides,<sup>10</sup> and the beasts themselves as sacrificial victims.<sup>11</sup> In one instance the god Telipinu of Kašḫa receives a delivery of 50 cattle and 1000 sheep from the chief shepherd of the town of Ankuwa,<sup>12</sup> and Queen Puduḫepa issues 287 female sheep, 100 male sheep, and 11 goats from the property of the palace to the goddess Lelwani.<sup>13</sup> The usual booty carried off by Hittite kings on campaign within Anatolia was cattle and sheep,<sup>14</sup> and the possession of such animals was a primary element of wealth.<sup>15</sup> Goetze believed that there was a general levy in sheep within Ḫatti,<sup>16</sup> but this remains uncertain.<sup>17</sup>

7 The high penalties set forth here are a function of the crucial role of animal husbandry in Ḫatti—see R. Haase, *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* 41, 1983, 194.

8 KBo 5.7 (LSU 1 = CTH 223)—for a chart of this information, see K. K. Riemschneider, *MIO* 6, 1958, 339.

9 E. g., KUB 53.22 ii 8': 2 MAŠ.GAL 3 ŠILA Ì.NUN LÚ.SIPA pāi.

10 See M. Popko, *AoF* 2, 1975, 65-70. KUB 30.32 i 9-10 (dupl. KBo 18.190: 4'-5') records the delivery by the chief herdsman of raw goat hides for manufacture into the "fleece" used in worship: 6' KUŠ MAŠ.GAL warḫui SIG<sub>5</sub>-anda GAL LÚ.MEŠ.SIPA AN[(A UGULA LÚ.MEŠ.A)ŠGAB pāi' nu'] ŠA DINGIR-LIM KUŠ kuršan iyazzi. Cf. KUB 25.31 obv. 11.

11 E. g., Bo 2715 iii 2'-4' (M. Forlanini, *ZA* 74, 1984, 256): GAL LÚ.MEŠ.SIPA ŠŪŠI 4 UDU.ḪI.A ŠĀ.BA 13 GUD.ḪI.A 51 UDU.ḪI.A ANA DINGIR.MEŠ ḫūkanzi, "The chief of the herdsmen slaughters (!) for the gods 64 'sheep,' among which (are) 13 cattle and 51 sheep."

12 KUB 51.1 i 4-5 (CTH 638)—for text see V. Haas and L. Jakob-Rost, *AoF* 11, 1984, 40, 44. On p. 16 the writers suggest that this festival may have been performed upon the leading in of the animals from summer pasture.

13 CTH 585—for text see H. Otten and V. Souček, *StBoT* 1, 20-21.

14 E. g., KBo 4.4 iii 36-38 (CTH 61)—for text see A. Götze, *AM* 128-29. Cf. E. von Schuler, *Kaškäer* 76. On the implications of the customary designation of the plunder in these contexts, see C. Watkins, *NAM.RA GUD UDU* in Hittite: Indo-European Poetic Language and the Folk Taxonomy of Wealth. *Heth. u. Idg.* 269-87.

15 Note the description of a wealthy man in a *Märchen*: "Appu is his name. Within the land he is the richest. His cattle (and) sheep are many" (KUB 24.8 i 10-12 [CTH 360]—for text see J. Siegelová, *StBoT* 14, 4-5).

16 KIP 167 and NBr 54-63.

17 Although the texts adduced by Goetze certainly show that some persons were to make regular contributions to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the extent of this obliga-

Wool production and processing were vital in the Hittite economy, as shown by the exemption of the weavers of Arinna from dues and corvee in paragraph 51 of the Hittite Laws.<sup>18</sup> The use of wool as a magical material is common in ritual.<sup>19</sup> While this product was customarily received by the palace from local authorities already processed and dyed,<sup>20</sup> one inventory records seemingly raw "wool of the first year."<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately little is yet known of the organization of shearing<sup>22</sup> and spinning.<sup>23</sup>

Herdsmen were considered an integral component of a Hittite agricultural establishment, included for instance among those personnel given to the estate of a royal mausoleum.<sup>24</sup> Temples might possess their own herds and flocks,<sup>25</sup> which were probably the responsibility of the herdsmen "of the god."<sup>26</sup> The loss of those engaged in animal husbandry was as great a blow to the gods as the death of agriculturalists, as demonstrated by a

tion within the population remains unclear. Of particular interest is KUB 26.43 (CTH 225) where a courtier settles property upon his grandchildren. They are said to "have become herdsmen" (LÜ.SIPA.Ī.LA-uš *kišandat*-obv. 54) and to owe the Sun-goddess "four sheep, one-half *sūtu* of butter, five cheeses, five (units of) rennet, (and) ten skeins(?) of wool" (4 UDU 1/2 ŠĀTI İ.NUN 5 GA.KIN.AG 5 EMŠU 10 S[<sup>IGk</sup>]ešriš-obv. 55). As recognized by V. Korošec, *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte* 35, 1945, 196, 210, these are characteristic products of animal husbandry. While the periodicity of these dues is not stated, even if delivered monthly they would represent the merest fraction of the production to be expected from agricultural holdings as extensive as those detailed in this text. I therefore believe that the deliveries were more of symbolic than substantive value to the temple of the state goddess.

18 See F. Imparati, *JESHO* 25, 1982, 236-37.

19 Thoroughly discussed by G. Szabó, *THeth* 1, 95-100.

20 See the inventories of CTH 243, edited by S. Košak, *THeth* 10, 106-39, and cf. the discussion of A. Goetze, *JCS* 10, 1956, 34-35.

21 KUB 42.31 obv. 6': *sīg igi-ziaš mu.kam-aš*.

22 Note only Hittite Laws §185A, where "shorn" (*walli-*) goatskins have approximately one-fourth the value of untreated pieces, and one "hairy" (*warhūi-*) sheepskin is worth ten which are *ĪA-RU-UB/P-TI*. Although W. von Soden, *AHW* 326a, lists this Akkadian form *sub ħarpu(m)*, "früh," our context makes an attribution to *ħarbu(m)*, "öde," more likely. Cf. *HW*<sup>1</sup> 307 and E. Neu, *StBoT* 26, 295, n. 5.

23 See the scanty attestations of *malk(iya)-*, "to spin," and *malkeššar*, "spun wool," quoted in *CHD* III 131-32, and see N. Oettinger, *StBoT* 22, 64-66, for a discussion of the simple technology involved and its Hittite vocabulary.

24 KUB 13.8: 3 (CTH 252): LÜ.MEŠ<sup>APIN.LAL</sup> LÜ.MEŠ<sup>SIPA.GUD</sup> LÜ.MEŠ<sup>SIPA.UDU</sup>. See H. Otten, *HTR* 106-07.

25 For the evidence, see H. Klengel, *SMEA* 16, 1975, 191-92.

26 E.g., KBo 23.52 iii 10', 15'; KBo 23.92 ii 19; KUB 20.10 iv 6'; KUB 25.31 obv. 12, 13, 16. These attestations are clustered in festival texts and thus do not allow us to draw firm conclusions as to the everyday activities of such workers.

prayer of Muršili II. The kind describes the effects of an epidemic as follows:

[A]ll of the land of Hatti is dying, so that no o[ne] prepares the sacrificial loaf and libation for you (the gods). The [plow]men who used to work the fields of the gods have died, so that no one works or reaps the fields [of the gods] any longer. The miller-women who [used to prepare] the sacrificial loaves of the gods have died, so that they no longer [make] the sacrificial loaves. As for the corral (and) sheepfold from which one used to cul[l] the offerings of sheep and cattle - [the cowherds] (and) shepherds have died, and the corral [(and) sheepfold are empty (?)].<sup>27</sup>

More normal conditions are represented by the "Instructions for all the personnel of the temple, (namely) the chefs, the plowmen, and the cowherds (and) shepherds of the god."<sup>28</sup> Regarding the herdsmen, this text cautions them against withholding requisite first-fruit offerings of their herds (§ 18), or exchanging their own scrawny beasts for fine animals belonging to the gods at the time of the division of the herds (§ 19).

The concern of the royal bureaucracy with herding is evident in administrative correspondence. In a Middle Hittite letter a provincial official reports to the king that an enemy has penetrated his area and "does not let the cowherds and shepherds alone, (but) is batten[ing] (?) himself on the cattle."<sup>29</sup> Another missive of the same period<sup>30</sup> discusses access to pasture:

In respect to such matter of the field as [they (?)] . . . mistreated me, I spoke [to him (?)] thus. From the presence of His Majesty he (?) return[ed], and he spoke to me as follows: "His Majesty has releas[ed] the fields." I (then) spoke as follows: "Whatever field he has released, I have freed from (my) ha[nd (?)]." For the sake of the cattle (and) sheep of the poor man he has released it - so that the cattle (and) sheep of the poor man will survive. Because the fields of *a*.

27 KUB 24.3 ii 4'-13' and dupls. (CTH 376) - for text see O. R. Gurney, AAA 27, 26-27. R. Lebrun, Hymnes 159-60, requires many corrections.

28 So colophon of CTH 264. The text is cited here by the paragraphs of the still-standard edition of E. Sturtevant, Chrest. 127-74.

29 ABoT 60 obv. 12'-14': . . . *arḫawa* LÚ.MEŠ<sub>SIPA.GUD</sub> LÚ.MEŠ<sub>SIPA.UDU</sub> *ūl dališkizzi ištū* GUD-*wa kašikizzi*. Cf. E. Laroche, RHA 67, 1960, 82-83, and Pouvoirs locaux 140.

30 KUB 48.106. Lines 15'-20' of this difficult text have been studied by A. Ünal, SMEA 24, 1984, 99, with n. 66. For the lines here treated, see previously V. Souček, MIO 8, 1963, 382 (lines 10', 14'), and H. A. Hoffner, BiOr 35, 1978, 246 (lines 12'-13').

are not dear to His Majesty, but the field of a man is dear [to him], he will finally restrain (?) that one. Now he has releas[ed] it (for) the cattle (and) sheep of the poor man.<sup>31</sup>

Although lexical difficulties render interpretation of this passage problematic,<sup>32</sup> it seems to relate the freeing of grazing acreage by the Hittite king and the confirmation of this act by a local administrator, the probable author of the letter in question.

Treaties concluded by the royal chancellery with Anatolian partners sometimes also deal with grazing. Two agreements with friendly elements among the unruly Kaška indeed center on this very problem.<sup>33</sup> The allies are warned not to allow their flocks to mingle with those of still-hostile tribesmen, and they are to be held responsible for any losses of Hittite cattle from common pasturing groups.

The compact with the appanage kingdom of Tarḫuntašša delineates its borders in part thus:

As for the territory of the country of Tarḫuntašša, let no goatherd enter the country! And if they drive to the great saltlick of the summer grazing ground from the country of the Hūlaya River, let one not take the summer pastures away from him! It has been given to the king of Tarḫuntašša. And let him take the salt! The town of Šarmana

31 KUB 48.106:

6' gi-im-ra-ša-wa-mu-kán ku-it ut-tar mu-ḫa-ya ḫu-u-wa-ap-[p]i<sup>3</sup>-[ir' nu-uš-ši<sup>3</sup>]  
 7' ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-aḫ-ḫu-un [an-d]a<sup>3</sup>-ya iš-TU MA-ḪAR<sup>3</sup> dUTU<sup>3</sup> EGIR-pa ú-i[l'  
 8' nu-mu ki-iš-ša-an me-mi-iš-ta<sup>3</sup> dUTU<sup>3</sup>-wa gi-im-ru-uš EGIR-pa tar-na-[aš]  
 9' [U]M-MA A-NA-KU-MA nu-wa ku-in [g]i-im-ra-an EGIR-pa tar-na-aš ú-ga ki-i[š-  
 ša-ri<sup>3</sup>]  
 10' [l]a-nu-un šA<sup>3</sup> LÚMAŠ.EN.KAK-wa-r[a-a]n GUD.ḪIA UDU.ḪIA ḫa-an-da EGIR-pa  
 tar-na-a[š]  
 11' nu-wa šA<sup>3</sup> LÚMAŠ.EN.KAK GUD.ḪIA UDU.ḪIA ḫu-iš-ú-e-iz-zi A-NA<sup>3</sup> dUTU<sup>3</sup>-wa-kán  
 12' a-li-ya-a[š] gi-im-ra-aš Ú-UL ku-it a-aš-ša-a-u-e-eš an-tu-uh-ša-aš-wa-a[š-ší-  
 kán<sup>3</sup>]  
 13' gi-im-ra-aš a-aš-šu-uš a-pu-u-un-na-wa ú-iz-zi ap-pí-iz-zi-an-na  
 14' a-ra-iz-zi ki-nu-na-wa-ra-an šA<sup>3</sup> LÚMAŠ.EN.KAK GUD.ḪIA UDU.ḪIA EGIR-pa tar-na-  
 [aš]

For the reading *a-li-ya-n[a-a]š* in line 12' and for the noun *aliyan-* "Reh(bock)", see now E. Neu, IBS 52, 1987, 177, 187 n. 62.

32 The use of *la-* in line 10' as a synonym for *tarna-* is unparalleled – see CHD III 1–4, and in lines 13' f. both the sense of *arāi-* and the referent of *apūn* are unclear.

33 CTH 138, translated by E. von Schuler, Kaškaer 117 ff., 139 f., and CTH 140, Kaškaer 130 ff. Cf. also A. Goetze, JCS 13, 1959, 68.

-together with its fields, grounds, (and) meadow(s), and with sheep pasture (and) the entire summer pasture, I, the Great King, have given to the king of Tarḫuntašša. Let no other town [encroach (?)] upon the salt of Šarmana!<sup>34</sup>

In this connection it is significant that a cult inventory mentions the provision of salt and alkali plants by herdsmen.<sup>35</sup>

Particular types of herders (<sup>LÚ</sup>SIPA = *weštara-*)<sup>36</sup> attested are shepherds, cowherds, horseherds, goatherds, and swineherds.<sup>37</sup> Since this last term is only found in a contemptuous description of the Kaška tribesmen, it is uncertain if it constituted an occupational designation within Hittite society.<sup>38</sup> In any case, herding was a calling of low status in Ḫatti. Paragraph 175 of the Hittite Laws reads: "If a shepherd or overseer takes a

34 KBo 4.10 obv. (CTH 106).

33 ZAG KUR <sup>URU</sup>DU-aš-ša ku-iš na-aš-ta LÚ MÁŠ.GAL ŠÀ KUR-TI li-e pa-iz-zi ma-a-an-na iš-TU KUR <sup>URU</sup>ID Ḫu-la-ya šal-li :la-pa-nu-u-wa-ni-ya pi-en-na-an-zi

34 nu-uš-ši-kán :la-pa-na-li-ya-an-za li-e da-an-zi A-NA LUGAL KUR <sup>URU</sup>DU-ta-aš-ša-at pi-ya-an MUN-ma da-aš-ki-id-du <sup>URU</sup>Ša-ar-ma-na-an-na URU-an iš-TU A.ŠÀ A.GÀR Ū.SAL

35 ū iš-TU RE-E-ET UDU :la-pa-na-an-na ḫu-u-ma-an-ta-an LUGAL.GAL A-NA LUGAL KUR <sup>URU</sup>DU-ta-aš-ša pi-iḫ-ḫu-un A-NA MUN <sup>URU</sup>Ša-ar-ma-na-kán ta-ma-iš URU-aš an-da li-e [o-]x-du

Cf. the translation of G. del Monte, RGTC 6, 469. For :lapana- and related words, see CHD III 40-41 and G. Beckman, StBoT 29, 83. [Korr.-Zusatz: For the reading :la-pa-ni :ya-ni-ja in line 33, see now H. Otten, StBoT, Beiheft 1, 1988, 47, Commentary: II 6. - E. Neu.]

35 IBoT 2.131 rev. 17-19 (CTH 518): nu <sup>LÚ</sup>.MEŠ:lapanalli<sup>ḪIA</sup>uš 3 ME NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA ŠA MUN 1 ME NINDA.<sup>ḪIA</sup> 2 DUG KAŠ 20 UDU 10 EMŠU 10 GA.KIN.AG 3 PA NAGA-ya MU.KAM-tili peškir. On the role of salt in a pastoral economy, see D. Potts, OA 22, 1983, 205-15. According to S. Alp, Belleten 173, 1980, 33, unpublished Maşat 75/54 is a "Liste von Salz."

36 The phonetic writing is found only at KUB 6.46 iii 52 (CTH 381). For the Indo-European background of the word, see E. Benveniste, Hittite et Indo-européen. Paris, 1962, pp. 97-101, and for the related verb *wešiya-*, "to pasture," see E. Neu, StBoT 5, 200-01.

37 These specializations are indicated by compound Sumerograms such as <sup>LÚ</sup>SIPA.GUD or "genitives" such as LÚ MÁŠ.GAL. The Hittite correspondences of these writings are unknown. For references see F. Pecchioli Daddi, Mestieri 18-26. To judge from its single clear occurrence (KUB 29.40 ii 13' - A. Kammenhuber, Hipp. heth: 178-79), the <sup>LÚ</sup>UMMEDA ANŠE.KUR.RA.<sup>ḪIA</sup> was not a herdsman but a groom.

38 Cf. H.A. Hoffner, JAOS 87, 1967, 183.

free woman in marriage, she shall be a slave for either two or four years, and one shall hold her children in low esteem ...<sup>39</sup>

Often those herdsmen assigned by the crown to particular agricultural establishments are drawn from the ranks of the civilian deportees (NAM.RA).<sup>40</sup> Only two "rank-and-file" herdsmen are known by name—one a delivery boy,<sup>41</sup> and the other mentioned in the investigation of the disappearance of several animals from the royal stables.<sup>42</sup> These workers were organized under "chiefs" of higher status (GAL or UGULA),<sup>43</sup> only two of whose names have been recovered.<sup>44</sup>

In contrast stands another term usually translated "shepherd," namely (LÚ)NA.GAD = Akk. *nāqidum*, whose Hittite reading is unknown.<sup>45</sup> This title is never qualified by type of animal, i. e., with UDU, GUD etc., and the only attested contact of the NA.GAD with livestock is in festival texts. Several "chiefs of the NA.GAD" are known by name, and pursue other careers simultaneously: Kuwalanaziti was a military leader,<sup>46</sup> and Šaḫuru-*nuwa* a wood-scribe and leader of an army unit.<sup>47</sup> Indeed the latter was a prominent personage at the court of Tuḫaliya IV, as shown by his testament distributing large land-holdings among his heirs and witnessed by the monarch himself.<sup>48</sup> Finally, Mizramuwa<sup>49</sup> may even have been identi-

39 Paragraph 35 is similar. For the text and a discussion of these two paragraphs, see I. Singer, *AnSt* 34, 1984, 99-100.

40 KUB 26.54: 3': 10 NAM.RA LÚSIPA ŠA É[; KUB 48.105 + KBo 12.53 obv. 24': 3 É.M[EŠ] ŠA 30 NAM.RA.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠSIPA.GUD. On the second text see H. Klengel, *SMEA* 16, 1975, 195-96, and G. Giordadze, *FsDiakonoff* 111.

41 Wattiḫaḫla, KBo 16.83 ii 4' - see S. Košak, *THeth* 10, 87, 89.

42 Ḫuḫḫu, KBo 16.61 rev. 13' - see R. Werner, *StBoT* 4, 62-63.

43 For attestations in general, see F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri* 544, 26.

44 KBo 5.7 rev. 53 (LSU 1): -š/t]a-zi-ti GAL LÚ.MEŠSIPA ZAG-az ṀLUGAL.ṀLAMA GAL LÚ.MEŠSIPA GÜB-laz. The specification "of the right" or "of the left" places these individuals within Hittite court ceremonial - cf. KBo 10.23 vi 16-20 (I. Singer, *StBoT* 28, 15).

45 See F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestiere* 21, 540-41. Add also the glyptic material bearing L 438, which is almost certainly the hieroglyphic equivalent of NA.GAD (so H. Th. Bossert, *Or* 29, 1960, 441-42; H. Gonnet, *Hethitica* 6, 1985, 74-75): SBo I 90; SBo II 80 = 81, 232; Boğ III 34, 37; D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, Oxford, 1920, no. 113 (uncertain); L. Jakob-Rost, *Die Stempelsiegel im Vorderasiatischen Museum*, Berlin, 1975, no. 72; A. M. Dinçol, *JKF* 9, 1983, 213-84, nos. 4, 5, 25; and M. Poetto, *La collezione anatolica di E. Borowski*, Pavia, 1981, no. 6.

46 KBo 5.6 i 32 (CTH 40) - see H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10, 1956, 91-92.

47 KUB 26.43 obv. 4, etc. (CTH 225). On this man and his career, see F. Imparati, *RHA* 32, 1974, 11-16.

48 KUB 26.43 rev. 31.

49 See n. 17 above.



cal with an individual bearing the title DUMU.LUGAL, "prince."<sup>50</sup> M. Heltzer has recently shown that at Ugarit the NA.GAD (Ug. *nqd*) administered grazing rights on the crown's pasturage,<sup>51</sup> and I suspect a similar role for this bureaucrat at the Hittite court. While available evidence does not allow us to establish royal ownership of outer pasture lands as at Ugarit,<sup>52</sup> the NA.GAD was probably involved in some manner with the upper-level management of the herds and flocks in Ḫatti.<sup>53</sup>

Intensive raising of cattle or sheep requires that the animals be moved periodically. As the Sun-god challenges the cow in a Hittite *Märchen*: "Who [are you], who continually graze on [ou]r meadow? [I]f you [continue to eat(?)] the fresh greenery, you will destroy our meadow!"<sup>54</sup> Movement of the herds may be linked with the seasonal migration of a substantial portion of the human society, as in (semi-)nomadism, but the simpler pattern of transhumance is also found, particularly in mountainous areas. Under such a regimen the animals pass a portion of the year in the vicinity of the cultivated fields, moving during the summer to more distant pastures at higher elevations. The animals are accompanied by a small number of professional herdsmen, who usually have responsibility for the herds or flocks of several owners.<sup>55</sup>

As for Ḫatti, the texts provide no evidence of a nomadic economic mode, although such may have been practiced by some of the neighboring Kaška.<sup>56</sup> Our sources do, however, document the presence of herds and

50 So tentatively E. Laroche, NH no. 811.

51 The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit. Wiesbaden, 1982, p. 75.

52 Cf., however, the section of the letter KUB 48.106 discussed earlier.

53 In regard to the posited high status of the NA.GAD, it is perhaps significant that the Hebrew title *nōqēd* is attributed to Mesha, king of Moab (2 Kings 3: 4) — see T. C. Mitchell, CAH III/1 482. Its only other attestation in Biblical Hebrew is of the prophet Amos. See also G. Beckman, JCS 35, 1983, 105 with n. 43.

54 KUB 24.7 ii 56–59 (CTH 363) — for text see J. Friedrich, ZA 49, 1950, 226–27.

55 For a discussion of the economic organization of sheep husbandry, see Wolfgang Jacobeit, *Schafhaltung und Schäfer in Zentraleuropa bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin, 1961, pp. 56–150 (I am indebted to Peter Taylor of the University of Iowa for this reference). From a cross-cultural perspective, it is flocks of sheep, often with a contingent of goats, which are led on the longest migrations, while the smaller herds of bovines, whose grazing habits are less destructive of pasture, may remain near the settlement or travel a less extensive circuit.

56 So E. von Schuler, *Kaškäer* 78, and H. Klengel, *Zwischen Zelt und Palast*. Wien, 1972, p. 218, n. 351. A nomadic population may have existed in the southern portion of the Hittite realm during the Old Hittite period, to judge from a section of the treaty between a Hittite ruler and Paddatiššu of Kizzuwatna (CTH 26). In KUB 34.1: 14'–17' (G. R. Meyer, MIO 1, 1953, 116–17) the parties agree to return any

flocks both near human habitation and on the periphery of the settled area. Close-in grazing is implied by the inclusion of pasture in some royal land grants.<sup>57</sup> Paragraph 146 of the Hittite Laws tells us that pasture might be sold, and other provisions deal with the trespass of sheep in a vineyard (§ 107) and of cattle in a field (§ 79). Although the latter paragraph may refer to working animals kept on the farmstead year-round, the former clearly assumes grazing adjacent to agricultural plots. A section of the Instructions for the Commander of the Border Guard concerns the daily routine of the town garrison, which includes the opening and closing of the gate, and the concomitant sending out and gathering in of agricultural workers, cattle, sheep, horses, and asses.<sup>58</sup> Whether all of these animals spent the entire year so close to the settlement, or whether the sheep (and cattle?)<sup>59</sup> were taken to higher pastures in the summer, is unknown.

Distant pasturing is the concern of the treaties with the Kaška and the king of Tarhuntašša touched upon earlier. Indeed, herdsmen were thought of as characteristic denizens of the countryside. For instance, a prayer seeks the return of an absent goddess, whether she has betaken herself to any of a long list of foreign lands, or is residing "among the rivers or springs ... among the cowherds (and) shepherds ... with the Sun-god-

settlement (URU<sup>K1</sup>) - or nomadic encampment(?) - which should cross the common border "together with its wives, possessions, cattle (and) sheep" (*qadu* SAL.UŠ.MEŠ-ŠU *dumqišu* GUD.ĪIA-ŠU USDUĪA-ŠU). Lines 27'-34' of the same text deal with cross-border thievery by cowherds.

- 57 E.g., KBo 5.7 obv. 17 (LSU 1 = CTH 223): [N *k*]apunu 13 IKU A.ŠÀ ŠA USALLIM; obv. 29: [N *kap*]unu 14 IKU A.ŠÀ ŠA USA[LL]IM, etc. While it is not always clear from the documents just where this acreage is located in relation to the settlement, it is unlikely that property divisions of such exactitude could be established or enforced at any great distance from the village. Note only KBo 5.7 rev. 31-32: *rīt* GUD.ĪIA [I]NA URU Parkalla 1 IKU USALLUM, "for cattle grazing - one *ikū* in (the territory of) Parkalla." It is surely significant that here and elsewhere (rev. 20, 22, etc.) in this land grant the pasturage is specifically allotted to bovines - see n. 55 above.
- 58 KUB 13.1 i 15-32 (CTH 261.1), transliterated by E. von Schuler, HDA 60, and fully edited by A. Goetze, JCS 14, 1960, 69-73. Note, however: 1) Bø 3638 is now published as KUB 40.57, and Bø 4278 as KUB 40.58; 2) KUB 31.108 i corresponds to KUB 13.1 i 1-19; and 3) a new parallel is KBo 22.44 = KBo 13.1 i 26-34. The personnel and animals in question are referred to in KUB 13.1 i 17 as GUD UDU LÚ.MEŠ KIN, and in i 20-21 as [(LÚ.MEŠ KIN GUD UDU)] ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĪIA ANŠE.ĪIA - cf. parallel KUB 40.57 i 7'.
- 59 Note that the word LÚ.SIPA does not appear in this context, suggesting that the sphere of activity of the herdsman was located away from the settlement. See, however, KUB 31.112: 8'-11' (F. Daddi, Pecchioli, OA 14, 1975, 106-09), where herdsmen and the *HAZANNU*, "mayor," appear together in a damaged context seemingly involving precautions taken around the city gate.

dess of the Earth (and) the ancient gods ...”<sup>60</sup> A fragmentary Old Hittite story seems to involve the rescue by a shepherd of a child abandoned in the steppe.<sup>61</sup>

In passing I would like to offer an interpretation of the puzzling paragraph 80 of the Hittite Laws, which reads: “If anyone throws a sheep to the wolves, its owner shall receive the meat and he himself shall keep the hide.”<sup>62</sup> I believe that the subject here is a shepherd who has assumed responsibility for an animal not his own, and who has subsequently lost that animal to a predator. The return of a portion of the tattered remains of the sheep to its owner may have served as proof that the shepherd did not divert the animal to his own use, and have relieved him of the obligation to replace it from his own stock. Compare here the Old Babylonian herding contracts,<sup>63</sup> although in those documents it is the hide of animals lost legitimately which serves to exculpate the herdsman.

Finally, I must touch upon the role of the herding in the ideology of Hittite kingship. Admittedly the Hittite monarch never bears the epithet “shepherd,” as do Mesopotamian rulers of many periods,<sup>64</sup> but one of his symbols of office, the “lituus” (*GIŠ kalmuš*), is best interpreted as a stylized shepherd’s crook.<sup>65</sup> In Hattī, only the Sun-god is said to be the “shepherd

60 KBo 2.9 i (CTH 716)

14 *ma-a-an-za-kán* ÍD.MEŠ-aš TÚL.MEŠ-aš-ša an-da ...  
 15 *ma-a-an-za-kán* A-NA LÚ.MEŠSIPA.GUD LÚ.MEŠSIPA.UDU i[š-tar-na ...  
 17 ... *ma-a-an-za-kán ták-na-aš* dUTU-i ka-ru-ú-i-l[i-ya-aš DINGIR.MEŠ-aš]  
 18 *iš-tar-na nu a-pí-az e-ḫu*

61 KBo 12.3 i (!) (CTH 2.1) - for a discussion of this fragmentary text see P. Meriggi, FsOtten, 1973, 203-05, and cf. H. Otten, StBoT 17, 65.

62 Some scholars have attempted to make sense of this passage by attributing to the crucial verb here, *peššiya-* - normally “to throw” - the opposite sense of “to wrest.” On the unacceptability of this suggestion see R. Haase, ArOr 26, 1958, 31-32.

63 J. J. Finkelstein, “An Old Babylonian Herding Contract and Genesis 31: 38 f.,” JAOS 88, 1968, 30-36, and J. N. Postgate, “Some Old Babylonian Shepherds and their Flocks,” Journal of Semitic Studies 20, 1975, 1-21.

64 See Ilse Seibert, Hirt - Herde - König, Berlin 1969.

65 On this iconographic element see S. Alp, JCS 1, 1947, 164-75, and Belleten 12, 1948, 320-24. On the etymology see now E. Laroche, FsBittel 309. While I can bring no final proof that this emblem had its origin in the rude implement of a herdsman, its resemblance to such tools in use throughout the ages is striking - see, for example, W. Jacobeit, Schafhaltung, pp. 472-478. Although in many representations (e.g., K. Bittel, Die Hethiter. München, 1976, Abb. 242, 249) the curved end of the *kalmuš* is too closed for it to serve its presumed original function of culling sheep, the same stylization may be observed in the typical crozier of a Roman Catholic bishop, an emblem certainly derived from pastoral equipment. Unfortunately, there are no fig-

of humankind" or the like,<sup>66</sup> a usage certainly imported from Babylonia.<sup>67</sup> However, this borrowing took root in Hatti and was extended beyond its original locus in the Mesopotamian-influenced prayers.<sup>68</sup> Note its use in the god list of an Anatolian treaty,<sup>69</sup> as well as in native Hittite rituals.<sup>70</sup> This is due to the fortuitous congruence of the Mesopotamian *topos* with an ancient Hittite view of the Sun-god as the proprietor of herds, glimpsed only in an Old Hittite mythologem featuring the god Hapantali as caretaker of the sheep of the solar deity.<sup>71</sup>

Of course, the Hittite king shared a certain identity with the Sun-god, as shown both by their highly similar ceremonial dress, and by the monarch's title "My Sun."<sup>72</sup> Therefore we should not be surprised to find traces of a view of the human ruler as a herdsman. After his death the Hittite king was held to arrive at an otherworldly meadow, while those conducting his funerary rites burned a portion of turf on his behalf, saying:

ural depictions of Hittite herdsmen and their equipment available for comparison. The texts speak only of a <sup>GIŠ</sup>tūri, "spear; weapon" (KUB 17.8 iv 24: L<sup>U</sup>SIPA-aš<sup>GIŠ</sup>tūri-ya) and a <sup>GIŠ</sup>pa, "staff" (KUB 25.36 vi 18: ] L<sup>U</sup>SIPA.UDU DINGIR-LIM <sup>GIŠ</sup>PA.HI.A [uncertain]), and VAT 7474 ii 11-12 [S. Alp, TTKYayın VI/23, 286-87; these lines should be read: [ta-a]z TUG<sup>GIŠ</sup>si-pa-ḫi-in šA L<sup>U</sup>SIPA.UDU [GIŠ]PA-an da-a-i, "And he takes for himself an š-garment (and) the staff of a shepherd.")

Note that the hieroglyph representing the lituus (L 378) has recently been shown to alternate in some contexts with DEUS (L 360—an eye) because both may serve to symbolize the divine—see D. Hawkins, *Kadmos* 19, 1980, 141. The latter sign is metonymic for divine omniscience and the former for divine authority.

66 ABoT 44 a ii 3'-4' (CTH 372): <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš ḫūm[andaš] L<sup>U</sup>SIPA-šUNU zik, "O Sun-god, you are the herdsman of a[ll];" KUB 6.45 iii 13 (CTH 381): <sup>d</sup>[U]TU šAMÉ EN-YA šA DUMU.LÚ.UL<sup>L</sup> L<sup>U</sup>SIPA.UDU-aš; KUB 36.76: 3' (CTH 389): ]x L<sup>U</sup>SIPA.UDU-aš zik.

67 See the remarks of H. G. Güterbock, *JAOS* 78, 1958, 241-42, and also J. Siegelová, *StBoT* 14, 22-23. Note KUB 4.11 obv. (!) 3' (CTH 793), a fragmentary Akkadian text dealing with Šamaš: } a-na ri-'i-te ni-še-te [.

68 In the ritual CTH 448 this epithet has even been borrowed for the chthonic Sun-goddess—KUB 17.18 i 23'-25' = KBo 22.250 i 5'-7', with parallel KUB 46.46 + Bo 4171 i 9'-10' (H. Otten and C. Rüster, *ZA* 68, 1978, 271).

69 HT 8: 8' (CTH 76): [<sup>d</sup>UTU] šAMÉ LUGAL KUR.KUR.MEŠ L<sup>U</sup>SIPA.UDU š[(A DUMU.LÚ. UL<sup>L</sup>)], with restoration from KUB 21.1 iv 1. For context see J. Friedrich, *SV* II 78-79.

70 E. g., KUB 36.83 i 12-13 (CTH 433): <sup>d</sup>UTU-ušza nepiši LUGAL-uš [DUMU.]LÚ.UL<sup>L</sup>LU-maza L<sup>U</sup>SIPA-aš zik.

71 KUB 17.10 iii 4 (CTH 324): *kāšma* <sup>d</sup>Hapantali <sup>d</sup>UTU-aš UDU.HI.A-šU ú-[e-šī-e-it-ta?], "Now Hapantali is h[erding] the sheep of the Sun-god." KBo 8.73 ii 1'-2' (CTH 370) is parallel.

72 For a full presentation of the material, see W. Fauth, *UF* 11, 1979, 227-63. Cf. G. Kellerman, *Tel Aviv* 5, 1978, 199-207.

"And have this meadow duly made for him, O Sun-god! Let no one wrest it from him or contest it with him! Let cows, sheep, horses, (and) mules graze for him on this meadow!"<sup>73</sup>

The social function of the living Hittite king is summed up in an incantation composed in the Old Hittite period as follows: "Let the surrounding enemy lands perish at the hand of Labarna! Let them hand over (their) goods of gold (and) silver to Ḫattuša (and) Arinna, the cities of the gods! And let the land of Ḫatti graze in stable manner (?) in the hand of Labarna and Tawananna! Let it be broad!"<sup>74</sup> Such imagery is well in keeping with the presumed importance of herding for the earliest Hittites and their Indo-European predecessors.<sup>75</sup>

Thus pastoralism left its mark on Hittite society from top to bottom, represented by the king under whose crook all society lay down, as well as by the simple herdsman who tore his charges from the jaws of wolves and saw his children the subject of scorn.

73 KUB 30.24 ii 1-4 (CTH 450) - for text see H. Otten, HTR 60-61.

74 Bo 2489 + 4008 (= KUB 57.63) ii 6-14, presented by A. Archi, *FsMeriggi I*, 1979, 48-49. Cf. F. Starke, *StBoT* 23, 62.

75 See E. von Schuler, *RLA III* 237; H. Otten, HTR 139-40; and R. Stefanini, *Paideia* 29, 1974, 257-67. On the other hand, I believe that KBo 3.4 iii 72' (CTH 61), where the Kaškaean Pihḫuniya seizes the settlement of Ištitina as his "place of pasturing" (*wišiyawwaš pēdan*), must be taken literally. That is, I would not render this expression as "Platz seiner Herrschertätigkeit," with A. Götze, *AM* 89 (cf. 222-23). Cf. E. Neu, *GsKronasser* 1982, 136 (sub *pedan*).