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Herding and Herdsmen in Hittite Culture

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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. That statement remains true today, and it applies also to the related field of Hittitology. Given the importance of herding in the Anatolian economy through the ages, I was initially surprised that no scholar had yet treated the herds and herdsmen of Hatti in any detail. After my own investigation of this topic, I appreciate the reticence of my predecessors, 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 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.


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


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,7 and the tariff gives prices for these creatures (§§ 176A, 178–81) as well as their meat (§§ 183–86). 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.8

Ritual and festival texts make frequent mention of the products of the herds and flocks, including milk and butter,9 hides,10 and the beasts themselves as sacrificial victims.11 In one instance the god Telipinu of Kašba receives a delivery of 56 cattle and 1000 sheep from the chief shepherd of the town of Ankuwa,12 and Queen Puduhepa issues 287 female sheep, 100 male sheep, and 11 goats from the property of the palace to the goddess Ielwan.13 The usual booty carried off by Hittite kings on campaign within Anatolia was cattle and sheep,14 and the possession of such animals was a primary element of wealth.15 Goetz believes that there was a general levy in sheep within Hatti,16 but this remains uncertain.17

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7 The high penalties set forth here are a function of the crucial role of animal husbandry in Hatti—see R. Haase, Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin 41, 1983, 194.
8 KB 57.7 (LSU 1 = CTH 223)—for a chart of this information, see K. K. Riemenschneider, MIO 6, 1958, 339.
9 E.g., KUB 53.22 ii 8'; 2 maš.gal ša šiša liašu ušipā šaši.
10 See M. Popko, AO 2, 1975, 65–70. KUB 30.52 i 9–10 (dupli. KBo 18.190: 4'–5') records the delivery by the chief herdsman of raw goat hides for manufacture into the "fleece" used in worship: 9' KUB maš.gal ūrašši šiša,anda gali ušipā an[(a ucula) ušipā]šašiša šuša šaša šaša. See S. Dinger, in L. A.˚ Åsen (ed.), KUB 25.31 obv. 11.
11 E.g., Bo 2715 iii 2'–4' (M. Forlasini, ZA 74, 1984, 256); GAL ušipā šag 4 urašša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša ša š
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. The use of wool as a magical material is common in ritual. While this product was customarily received by the palace from local authorities already processed and dyed, one inventory record seems to say "wool of the first year." Unfortunately little is yet known of the organization of shearing and spinning.

Herdmens were considered an integral component of a Hittite agricultural establishment, included for instance among those personnel given to the estate of a royal mausoleum. Temples might possess their own herds and flocks, which were probably the responsibility of the herdmens "of the god." The loss of those engaged in animal husbandry was great a blow to the gods as the death of agriculturists, as demonstrated by a

19 Thoroughly discussed by G. Szabó, THeth 1, 95-100.
21 KUB 42.31 obv. 6, TST 207, 209, 211.
22 Note only Hittite Laws §185A, where "shorn" (avalli-) goatskins have approximately one-fourth the value of untreated pieces, and one "hairy" (warru-) sheepskin is worth ten which are hru-warru. Although W. von Soden, AHA 326-27, lists this Akkadian form as hurpu, "hur" our context makes an attribution to hurpu, "spun," more likely. Cf. JAW 207 and E. Neu, SBT 7, 295, n. 5.
23 See the scanty attestations of muliqiya, "to spin," and malkesiyu, "spun wool," quoted in CHD III 131-32, and see N. Oettinger, SBT 22, 64-65, for a discussion of the simple technology involved and its Hittite vocabulary.
24 KUB 13.8: 3 (CTH 252); LUM₂̃p₂̃n₂̃l₂̃m₂̃s₂̃₂̃p₂̃a₂̃g₂̃d₂̃₂̃m₂̃s₂̃₂̃₂̃p₂̃a₂̃u₂̃d. See H. Otten, HTR 106-07.
25 For the evidence, see H. Klengel, SMEA 16, 1975, 131-92.
26 E.g., KBo 23.52 ii 10; 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 Mušili II. The kind describes the effects of an epidemic as follows:

[All] of the land of Hatti is dying, so that no [one] prepares the sacrific-
icial 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-men 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[ture] the offerings of sheep and
cattle—[the cowherds] (and) shepherds have died, and the corral
[and] sheepfold are empty (?). 27

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." 28 Regarding the herdsmen, this
text cautions them against withholding requisite first-fruits 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 admin-
istrative 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 battering (?) himself on the
cattle." 29 Another missive of the same period 30 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 catt-
le (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-
29 AB 60 obv. 12'–14' ... arbashu LUMESIPA.GUD LUMESIPA.EDU-di dalikizzi širu
30 KUB 48. 106. Lines 15'–20' of this difficult text have been studied by A. Unal,
SMEA 24, 1984, 99, with n 66. For the lines here treated, see previously Y. Soucek,
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 released it (for) the cattle (and) sheep of the poor man.31

Although lexical difficulties render interpretation of this passage problematic,32 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.33 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 Hulaya 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 48.136:

6' gi-im-ra-ša-udu-nu-kān ku-it ut-tar nu-ha-yā ḫu-ḫa-ya ap-[p]i-[r'] nu-ū-i-[u-]
7' ki-ša-án me-ma-aḫ-ḫu-ia an-a-š, ū-tu-[a] ḫa-ka ṣi-ti-ek [a]-ku-[u]
8' nu-ša-ša-ni-ša-an me-mi-iš-ta ḫu-ša gi-im-ra-ša-ke n-ta-[a]-n[u]
9' [u]ša-ša-ni-ša-an me-mi-iš-ta ḫu-ša gi-im-ra-ša-ke n-ta-[a]-n[u]
10' [u]ša-ša-ni-ša-an me-mi-iš-ta ḫu-ša gi-im-ra-ša-ke n-ta-[a]-n[u]
11' [u]ša-ša-ni-ša-an me-mi-iš-ta ḫu-ša gi-im-ra-ša-ke n-ta-[a]-n[u]
12' [u]ša-ša-ni-ša-an me-mi-iš-ta ḫu-ša gi-im-ra-ša-ke n-ta-[a]-n[u]
13' [u]ša-ša-ni-ša-an me-mi-iš-ta ḫu-ša gi-im-ra-ša-ke n-ta-[a]-n[u]

For the reading a-li-ša-[a]-t in line 12' and for the noun a-di-yt, "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 šarmu- is unparalleled – see CHD III 1-4, and in lines 13' f. both the sense of a-di- and the referent of a-di- are unclear.
33 CTH 138, translated by E. von Schuler, Kaškaer 117 ff., 139 ff., 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(3)] upon the salt of Šarmına.13

In this connection it is significant that a cult inventory mentions the provision of salt and alkali plants by herdsmen.14

Particular types of herdsmen (‘USPA = ɯESlara-)15 attested are shepherds, cowherds, horseherds, goat herders, and swine herds.16 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.17 In any case, herding was a calling of low status in Hatti. Paragraph 175 of the Hittite Laws reads: “If a shepherd or overseer takes a

34 KBo 4.10 obv. (CTH 166).

 Cf. the translation of G. del Monte, RGTC 6, 469. For :lepana- 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, Beilheft 1, 1988, 47, Commentary: II 6. = E. Neu]
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 wēya-, “to pasture,” see E. Neu, StBoT 2, 202-23.
37 These specializations are indicated by compound Semograms such as  lesbi- or “genitives” such as laş. The Hittite correspondences of these writings are unknown. For references see F. Peccioli Daddi, Mestieri 18-26. To judge from its single clear occurrence (KUB 29, 46 ii 13'-A. Kamenhuber, Hipp. beth. 178-79), the lesbi-anaš.kur=šaߡ was not a herdsman but a groom.
free woman in marriage, she shall be a slave for either two or four years, and one shall hold her children in low esteem...."  

Often those herdsman assigned by the crown to particular agricultural establishments are drawn from the ranks of the civilian deportees (nam. ra). Only two "rank-and-file" herdsmen are known by name—one a delivery boy, and the other mentioned in the investigation of the disappearance of several animals from the royal stables. These workers were organized under "chiefs" of higher status (gal or qamun). Only two of whose names have been recovered.

In contrast stands another term usually translated "shepherd," namely LU NA GA D = Akk. nāqidum, whose Hittite reading is unknown. This title is never qualified by type of animal, i.e., with UDU, GUD etc., and the only attested contact of the NA GA D with livestock is in festival texts. Several "chiefs of the NA GA D" are known by name, and pursue other careers simultaneously: Kuwalanaziti was a military leader, and Šahuru-NUWA a scribe and leader of an army unit. Indeed the latter was a prominent personage at the court of Tushaliya IV, as shown by his testament distributing large land-holdings among his heirs and witnessed by the monarch himself. Finally, Minramuwa 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.
41 Watužabla, KBo 16.83 ii 4'—see S. Košak, THeth 10, 87, 89.
42 Huhhe, KBo 16.91 rev. 13'—see H. Kellner, SMDA 34, 62-63.
43 For attestations in general, see F. Pecchioli Daddi, Miestere 54, 26.
44 KBo 5.7 rev. 55 (LSU 1): šarr 1st/personal pronoun, LU.MES.SIPA DUG analytic to DUG. 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, SMDA 28, 15).
45 See F. Pecchioli Daddi, Miestere 21, 540-41. Add also the glyptic material bearing L 638, which is almost certainly the hieroglyphic equivalent of NA GA D (to H. Th. Bossert, Or 29, 1960, 441-42; H. Gonnert, Heritica 6, 1985, 74-75; SBo I 90; SBo II 80 = 81, 232; Boğ (LI 34, 37; D. G. Hogarth, Hittite Seals, Oxford, 1920, no. 113 (uncertain); L. Jakob-Rosi, Die Stempelsiegel im Vorderasiatischen Museum, Berlin, 1975, no. 72; A. M. Diaco, JKEF 9, 1983, 213-84, nos. 4, 5, 25; and M. Poetto, La collezione antropologica di E. Borowiski, 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·ugal, "prince." M. Heltzer has recently shown that at Ugarit the na·ग (Ug. ḫaq) administered grazing rights on the crown's pasturage, 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, the na·ग was probably involved in some manner with the upper-level management of the herds and flocks in Ḥatti.

Intensive raising of cattle or sheep requires that the animals be moved periodically. As the Sun-god challenges the cow in a Hittite Mārchen: "Who [are you], who continually graze on [our] meadow? [If you] continue to eat (?) the fresh greenery, you will destroy our meadow!" 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.

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

50 So tentatively E. Laroche, NH 8, 811.
51 The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit. Wiesbaden, 1982, p. 75.
52 Cf., however, the section of the letter KUB 45, 106 discussed earlier.
53 In regard to the posited high status of the na·ग, it is perhaps significant that the Hebrew title n gland is attributed to Mesha, king of Moab (2 Kings 3: 4); see T. C. Mitchell, CAH 11/1 482. Its only other attestation in Biblical Hebrew is of the prophet Amos. See also G. Beckman, JCS 35, 1981, 125 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 Jacobit, Schafhaltung und Schäfer in Zentraleuropa bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts. Berlin, 1961, pp. 59–150 (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 or 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, Kaškier 78, and H. Kleingel, 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 Paddatišu of Kizzuwatna (CTH 26). In KUB 34.1: 14–17 (G. R. Meyer, MIO 3, 1955, 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. 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. Whether all of these animals spent the entire year so close to the settlement, or whether the sheep (and cattle), 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 Tarḫuntašša 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-

57 E.g., KBo 5.7 obv. 17 (LSU I = CTH 223): [n k]4šu m3 13 iku ʿašša ša usṣallu; obv. 29: [n k]4šu m3 14 iku ʿašša ša usṣallu, 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 extent would be established or enforced at any great distance from the village. Note only KBo 5.7 rev. 31-32: štar gud ica[šša] ša usṣallu, “for cattle grazing—one išša 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 12-32 (CTH 261.1), transliterated by E. von Schuler, HDA 60, and fully edited by A. Goetze, JCS 14, 1960, 69-73. Note, however: 1) K. 1963 is now published as KUB 40.57, and Bo 4278 as KUB 40.58; 2) KUB 31.158 i corresponds to KUB 13.1 i 1-19; and 3) a new parallel is KBo 22.44 = KUB 13.1 i 26-34. The personnel and animals in question are referred to in KUB 13.1 i 17 as gud uṣu ʿašša ša usṣallu, and in i 20-21 as (lūmes ša usṣallu) anš. KUB 40.57 i 17.

59 Note that the word ʿašša 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, Pechiol, OA 14, 1975, 106-09), where herdsmen and the ḫasšnašša, “mayor,” appear together in a damaged context seemingly involving precautions taken around the city gate.
dess of the Earth (and) the ancient gods...  A fragmentary Old Hittite story seems to involve the rescue by a shepherd of a child abandoned in the steppe.

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 shall keep the hide." 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, although in those documents it is the hide of animals lost legitimately which serves to excude the herdsmen.

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, but one of his symbols of office, the "lituus" (吉林), is best interpreted as a stylized shepherd's crook. In Hatti, only the Sun-god is said to be the "shepherd..."

60 KBo 2.9 i (CTH 716)

61 KBo 12.3 i (CTH 2.11) 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, pes-iya- - normally "to throw" - the opposite sense of "to wrest." On the unacceptability of this suggestion see R. Haase, ArOr 26, 1958, 31-32.


65 On this iconographic element see S. Alp, JCS 1, 1947, 164-175, and Belleten 12, 1948, 320-24. On the etymology, see now E. Larochef, FsBittel 309. While I can bring to final proof that this emblem had its origin in the rude implement of a herdsmen, its resemblance to such tools in use throughout the ages is striking - see, for example, W. Jacobst, Schäfhal tung, pp. 472-478. Although in many representations (e.g., K. Bittel, Die Hethiter-München, 1976, Abb. 242, 249) the curved end of the "kalmul" 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, a usage certainly imported from Babylonia. However, this borrowing took root in Hatti and was extended beyond its original locus in the Mesopotamian-influenced prayers. Note its use in the god list of an Anatolian treaty, as well as in native Hittite rituals.

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 Ḫapantali as caretaker of the sheep of the solar deity.

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." 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 ʰši-tum, "spear; weapon" (KUB 17. 8 iv 24: ʰši-tum in the text) and a ʰši-pa, "staff" (KUB 25. 36 vi 18: ʰši-pa in the text), and VAT 7474 ii 11–12 [S. Alp, TTKYYAVIN VI/23, 286–87]; these lines should be read. [p. a] ʰši-pa-ka-ši-ma ʰši-pa-šu-ka-šu-ka-ši-ma. (And he takes for himself an ʰši-gamēm (and the staff of a shepherd.)."

Note that the hieroglyph representing the lūtu (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 not uncommon for divine omniscience and the former for divine authority.

66 ABoT 44 a ii 3'-4' (CTH 372): ḥi-tum ḫum [andal] ʰši-pa-šu-ka-šu-ka-ši-ma. "O Sun-god, you are the herdsman of [a][[."


67 See the remarks of H. G. Gutterbock, JAOS 78, 1958, 241–42, and also J. Siegelová, StBoT 14, 22–23. Note KUB 4. 11 ob. (1) 3' (CTH 793), a fragmentary Akkadian text dealing with Ḫams: ḥu-tum ḫum [andal] ʰši-pa-šu-ka-šu-ka-ši-ma. "O Sun-god, you are the herdsman of [a][[.

In the ritual CTH 48 this epithet has even been borrowed for the chthonic Sun-goddess—KUB 17. 18 ii 23'-25' = KBo 22. 250 i 5'-7', with parallel KUB 46. 46 + Bo 4171 i 9'-10' (H. Otten and C. Réster, ZA 68, 1978, 271).


71 KUB 17. 10 iii 4 (CTH 324): ḫu-tum ḫu-tum ḫum [andal] ʰši-pa-šu-ka-šu-ka-ši-ma. "Now Ḫapantali is herding 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. Faust, UF 11, 1979, 227–63. Cf. G. Kelleman, 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!"

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 Ḫattuşa (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!" Such imagery is well in keeping with the presumed importance of herding for the earliest Hittites and their Indo-European predecessors.

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 50.24 i. 1–4 (CTH 450) – for text see H. Otten, HTR 60–61.
74 Bo 2489 + 4028 (= KUB 57.63) ii 6–14, presented by A. Arohi, FsMeriggi 1, 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 Kaškalian Pibhunna seizes the settlement of Ḫittana as his "place of pasturing" (wirwawwasi ṭiḍaŋ), must be taken literally. That is, I would not render this expression as "Platz seiner Herrschaftstätigkeit," with A. Götze, AM 89 (cf. 222–23). Cf. E. Neu, GlKronässer 1982, 136 (sub ṭiḍaŋ).