MESOPOTAMIANS AND MESOPOTAMIAN LEARNING AT ḪATTUŠA

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In the Near East of the second millennium B.C., high culture was Mesopotamian culture. Excluding of course those of Egypt and her Syrian and Palestinian dependencies, all civilized peoples borrowed the cuneiform system of writing and basic forms of expression from the Akkadian-language culture of Mesopotamia, which had itself taken over the greater part of its components from the Sumerian society which it preceded. During the second millennium, diplomatic correspondence— even that of Egypt— was carried out utilizing Akkadian as a lingua franca.¹

In all periods and locations, the mastering of cuneiform was accomplished through the copying of texts by students—beginning with simple syllables, moving on to lexical texts, and culminating in literary pieces and specialized handbooks of divination.² The advanced curriculum of the Akkadian-speaking Babylonian and Assyrian students featured texts in the now-dead Sumerian language, which were often poorly understood. Similarly, when the Hittite scholar learned the cuneiform writing system for expressing his own Indo-European language, he copied texts in Akkadian, and to a much lesser extent

1. See A. Goetze, CAH 2/2, 267-71; V. Kordaczek, RIdA 22 (1975) 47-70; and, in general, G. Kestemont, Diplomatique et droit international en Asie orientale (1600-1900 av. J.C.) (Louvain, 1974).

2. The substance of this paper was presented to the quadral meeting of the American Oriental Society held in Austin in March 1982. I have benefited from the comments made by my audience at that time, as well as from discussions with R. Biggs, J. A. Brinkman, B. R. Foster, H. G. Güterbock, W. W. Hallo, H. A. Hoffner, Jr., Bryant, S. Kolak, and R. Beal. My research into lexical questions was facilitated by access to the files of the Hittite Dictionary Project of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, for which I express my gratitude to the editors of the Project, Professors Hoffner and Güterbock.

Abbreviations employed here are those listed in Friedrich-Klasenhuber’s Hethitisches Wörterbuch (Munich, 1975ff.) pp. 13-33.

2. On the Mesopotamian school curriculum and educational traditions, see A. Sjöberg, Studies in Assyriology pp. 169-78. Although Sjöberg (p. 160 with n. 4) feels that the E.DUB.BA.A. came to an end with the Old Babylonian period, there was almost certainly a school—of whatever organization—at Ḫattuša; see K. Bittel, Hattusha (New York, 1970) p. 16. Of the two passages from Hittite texts adduced by Sjöberg, the Akkadian-language KUB 26 581+ (CTH 811) certainly represents Mesopotamian tradition—note the non-Bogazköy spelling tap.Fl in iv—but ABoT 65 is a Middle Hittite letter from Mašat, and its mention of E.DUB.BA.A (rev. 8) must reflect Hittite reality.

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concerned himself with Sumerian. It must be stressed that the adoption of cuneiform implied the borrowing of an entire cultural tradition, and that, conversely, scribal education was the means by which that tradition was transmitted, both to the native Mesopotamian and to the foreigner.

Within that area receptive to Mesopotamian culture known to Assyriologists as the "periphery," the Hittite capital of Ḫattuša remains the most important site. Not only do the archives of the Hittite kings constitute the largest single repository of material, but they contain the earliest-attested exemplars of several "canonical" Mesopotamian texts. It has generally been maintained that the greater part of the borrowing of Mesopotamian culture by the Hittites took place through intermediaries—Northern Syrians during the Old Kingdom, and Hurrians in later times. In regard to this latter period, A. Kammenhuber has claimed that after the early years of the Old Kingdom the Hurrians formed a "barrier" between the Hittites and the Assyrians and Babylonians, and that direct contact, and thus direct cultural borrowing, was possible again only after the destruction of the state of Mittanni by Suppiluliuma I in the mid-fourteenth century.

However, development of criteria for the dating of Hittite tablets on the basis of their script, and secondarily by grammatical features, has provided us with a method by which to test this viewpoint. Figure I presents a selection of the sign forms most important for dating tablets.

3. For an appraisal of the low level of competence in Sumerian displayed by the native scribes of the Bogazköy texts, see Hoffner, JAOS 87 (1967) 302-303, and for an evaluation of their rather greater proficiency in Akkadian, see W. von Soden, StBoT 7 1-7.
4. A striking parallel to this phenomenon is provided by the important place of the adoption of the Latin alphabet within the Westernizing program of Atatürk and other Turkish reformers; see B. Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (2nd ed., New York, 1968) pp. 276-79.
5. Thus far the following sites have yielded literary or scholarly texts of third or second millennium date: Susa and Nuzi in the east; Emar, Ebla, Qatna, Ugarit, Ras ibn Hani, and Alalakh in Syria; Hazor, Megiddo, Shechem, Gezer, Aphhe, and Taanach in Palestine; Amarna in Egypt, and Kültepe-Kanesh and Bogazköy-Hattuša in Anatólia.
7. For example, the collections of teratological omens and of potions inscriptions—see K. Riemenschneider, StBoT 9 6-7.
8. So Goethz, CAH P 2/2 202 270-71. See also Güterbock, CHM 2 (1954) 393-93.
10. On these criteria, see the discussion of E. Neu and C. Rüster, FrÖtten pp. 221-42, and the summary and references given by Košak, AnSt 30 (1980) 31-39. Not all scholars, however, agree with this approach to ordering the material. The strongly dissenting view of Kammenhuber and her students is best presented in S. Heinhold-Krahmer et al., Probleme der Textedition in der Hethologie, TiHeth 9 (Munich, 1973), and by Kammenhuber herself, FaDiakonoff (Warminster, 1982) pp. 150-59.
from Bogazköy. 11 I have designated the final column as "chancellery" script, as well as Late Hittite, since the shapes here 12 first appear at Hattuša.

**FIGURE 1**

**Comparison of Sign Forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIGN</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>Old Hittite</th>
<th>ii</th>
<th>Middle Hittite</th>
<th>iii</th>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>iv</th>
<th>Late Hittite</th>
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<td><img src="image23" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image24" alt="Image" /></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. from SIBoT 20 col. i
b. from SIBoT 20 col. vi
c. from VAS 12
d. from SIBoT 20 col. x

11. Neu, SIBoT 21 2 n. 6, urges caution in the use of these graphic criteria, which have been developed in relation to Hittite-language texts, for the dating of Akkadian-language tablets. However, these criteria should prove to hold in general for all material inscribed at Hattuša by natives, and in any case, they may certainly be applied to the colophons of foreign-language texts written by Hittite scribes.

12. Note that these forms also correspond to the younger shapes illustrated for the Middle Babylonian period by Labat, Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne (Paris, 1958); see also H. Otten, SIBoT 20 vi i. Hoffman, THeb 8 199f., questions this analysis of the background of the Late Hittite sign shapes, preferring to postulate an origin in Mittanu. In particular, she claims that the Late Hittite LI-sign is unattested in the Middle Babylonian syllabary. See, however, the penultimate shape under LI in the list of Babylonian forms at Amarna, VAS 12 p. 77, and especially the sign as it appears in the copies of N 615, a Middle Babylonian letter from Dibdin published by Goetze in JCS 6 (1952) 143 (obv. 18, rev. 11. 14), and a Middle Babylonian letter from Dur-Kurigalzu presented by Curzev, Iraq 11 (1949) 149 (No. 11.6), 8Bo 18 177(3) (4) 177a(4), a fragmentary list of objects which may have come from Babylonia—see Gintherock's comment in the table of contents p. vii—and also displays this shape.
in the hand utilized for Akkadian-language diplomatic materials, and only later gradually find their way into the script employed for Hittite texts. The application of the dating criteria to the Mesopotamian material from the Boghazköy archives yields the periodization illustrated in Figure 2.

Although some of the business documents of the kārum Ḫattuš may have been written by native Anatolians, the use of the cuneiform system of writing was confined in this period to the commercial sphere dominated by the Mesopotamian traders. The Old Assyrian script is strikingly different in sign shapes and sign values from that employed in documents of the earliest Hittite kings and cannot be ancestral to the script of the Old Hittite texts.

The seventeenth century witnessed the borrowing from a Syrian scribal center of a script more like that of the earlier Old Akkadian period than those of contemporary Assyria or Babylonia. The most important Mesopotamian elements attested in Old Hittite texts and in compositions whose originals may be postulated for this period are traditions concerning

13. I cite here only two Akkadian-language diplomatic texts from the reign of Suppiluliuma I which show this hand and which cannot be later copies: a letter from Suppiluliuma to a pharaoh, found at Amarna (EA 41 = CTH 153), which even in the poor hand-copy available (H. Winckler and L. Abel, Der Thontafelkunde von El Amarna, Mittelungen aus dem orientalischen Sammlungen [Berlin, 1899-1900] no. 18) clearly displays theLate Hittite forms of LI (obv. 1, 36, rev. 4), IK (obv. 13), and AK (rev. 10, 14, 15), and the treaty between Suppiluliuma and Hittaspa II of Ugarit (RS 17.240 = CTH 35 [copy in PRU 4/2 48-49]), which bear the impression of the seal of the Hittite Great King as well as Late Hittite shapes of LI (obv. 1, 4, 16, and 10 on), URU (obv. 3, 5, and others), IK (obv. 7, 9), and AK (rev. 5).

14. See Otten, MDOG 89 (1957) 68-76.
15. For the possibility that a scribal school existed at the kārum Ḫattuš, see M. T. Larsen, The Old Assyrian City-State and Its Colonies, Mesopotamia 4 (Copenhagen, 1978), 53 n. 19. No literary texts have been uncovered for the kārum Ḫattuš.
16. The script (and language) used in the inscription of the lost original of the Anitta text remains the subject of debate; see Neu. StBoT II 132-35.
17. Both O. R. Cermev, cited by C. Berman and M. Weitzman in Ebla: A Revolution in Archaeology (New York, 1979) p. 178 with n. 27, and E. Laroche, Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe de lettere e filosofia, Serie 38/3 (1978) 747, have suggested Ebla as the source of the Old Hittite script. However, the single Old Babylonian letter thus far found at Ebla (published by J.-R. Kupper, Studi Eblaiti 2/4-5 [1980] 48-51) shows sign shapes significantly different from the Old Hittite forms; note especially LS, TA, and CUD. The only other second-millennium epigraphic find yet made at this site is the statue of Ibbit-Lim (see G. Pestina, AAAS 20 [1970] 19-22), whose monumental script cannot be employed for comparison here.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period/date</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Assyrian (19th cent.)</td>
<td>about 40 documents from kārum Ḫattuša (CTH 833)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Kingdom (c. 1680-c. 1500)</td>
<td>Sargonic traditions (ref. to Sargon in CTH 4; Akk. source of CTH 311?) Akk. forerunner to Hymn to Adad (CTH 313) Akk. translations of Hittite historical texts (CTH 4, 8, 7, 19) Akk. formulae of land grants (CTH 221-22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Kingdom (c. 1500-c. 1380)</td>
<td>direct Mesopotamian Birth omens (CTH 589-40) Liver models (CTH 547) nīmu oracles (CTH 551) Akk. forerunners to Hittite Prayer of Kattuwaḥ (CTH 373) Prisms of Naram-Sin (KBo 19 98 and 99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire (c. 1380-c. 1190)</td>
<td>direct Mesopotamian Lexical texts (CTH 299-309) (Sū, dūr, erim, ṣarā, ṣu, ṣar, kāgal, proto-śu, OB śu, OBŚT) Hymns (CTH 312, 314, 792, 794, 795) Divination (CTH 531ff.) Incantations (CTH 800-806) (including Sumerian/Akkadian bilinguals) Medical texts (CTH 808-811) Wisdom literature (CTH 315, 316, 814) and so on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hurrian mediation References to Sargonic kings and contemporaries in ritual KUB 27 38 Unbridged liver oracle KBo 16 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hurrian mediation Gilgamesh (CTH 341) Kusurmi cycle (CTH 345-36) Other myths and sagas (CTH 361-85) Oracles (CTH 774, and so on)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the Old Akkadian Sargonic kings,\textsuperscript{19} and the lost forerunner of a hymn to the Storm-god (CTH 313).\textsuperscript{20} Note also that the Old Hittite monarchs employed the Akkadian language even in their royal inscriptions\textsuperscript{21}—Hittite versions are also known for these texts—and that most domestic grants of land are heavily Akkadographic in formulation.\textsuperscript{22}

For the Middle Kingdom\textsuperscript{23} and Empire periods of Hittite history, two paths must be recognized by which Mesopotamian culture reached Central Anatolia: direct importation from Assyria and Babylonia, and transmission via Hurrian intermediaries. This latter route is indicated by the presence of Hurrian vocabulary in the texts and/or the presence in the Boghazköy archives of Hurrian-language versions of the relevant compositions. By the direct path arrived the Akkadian forerunners of the Prayer of Kantuzzili (CTH 373),\textsuperscript{24} omen and oracle material provided with Hittite translations which are Middle Hittite in language and script (CTH 538-40, 547,\textsuperscript{25} 551), and two literary prisms presenting an epic of Naram-Sin in Akkadian language\textsuperscript{16} but Middle Hittite or possibly even older script (KBo 19 95 and 99).\textsuperscript{27} Hurrian-mediated material of definite Middle Hittite date\textsuperscript{18} consists of the ritual KUB 27 38, which mentions several members of the Sargonic dynasty in a Hurrian-language context,\textsuperscript{28} and the liver oracle

\textsuperscript{19} See Güterbock, JCS 18 (1964) 1-6. Suspicion that many of the details of the Hittite-language Naram-Sin texts (CTH 311, see Güterbock, ZA 44 (1958) 49ff.) are of Anatolian invention has been allayed by the publication of an Old Babylonian text from Mari mentioning many of the same enemies of the Akkadian ruler; see A. K. Grayson and E. Sollberger, RA 70 (1976) 163-38.


\textsuperscript{22} On this group of documents (CTH 221-22), see now D. F. Easton, JCS 33 (1981) 3-43, with earlier bibliography listed p. 3 n. 2.

\textsuperscript{23} The Middle Hittite period of the language is not coterminous with this rather artificial division of Hittite history, but extends well into the reign of Suppiluliuma I; see Neu, StBoT 25 xix.


\textsuperscript{25} Note especially the bilingual liver model KUB 37 222.

\textsuperscript{26} Since KBo 19 99, which is four-sided, cannot be part of the same prism as the probably six-sided KBo 19 98, and since little can be understood of its few fragmentary lines of text, it is uncertain whether this piece too deals with the Mesopotamian king. Note that space considerations and traces, as well as context, do not permit a reading *Na-re-d*m-men2/Ur in line 7' of side b; see below for my interpretation of this line. For the sake of convenience, however, I have employed the name of Naram-Sin to refer to both of these prisms throughout this paper. (See now KBo 27 1 for a fragmentary prism which may be related to KBo 19 99.)

\textsuperscript{27} Note especially the cramped spacing and the "stepped" ID- and DA-signs.

\textsuperscript{28} V. Haas, Sumer 35 (1979) 401, also considers that the earliest Hurrian texts from Boghazköy are Middle Hittite in date.

\textsuperscript{29} For analyses of this important text, see Kammenhuber, ActaAnt. 22 (1974) 166-69, and Or NS 45 (1976) 129-41; Haas and H. J. Thiel, AOAT 31 45-47; and Güterbock, RIA sub Kumarbi (§4).
KBo 16 97,30 which features unabbreviated writings of many Hurrian technical terms.31 Directly-imported material in the Empire period is plentiful and diverse, including even many Sumerian-Akkadian bilinguals.32 These Mesopotamian texts are found both in Middle Babylonian script—for example, KUB 37 55 and 693—and in a Hittite hand. Most notable among the Hurrian imports are the Gilgamesh epic (CTH 341) and the myths of the Kumarbi cycle (CTH 343-46),34 which have fragmentary Hurrian versions at Boghazköy, as well as some omen and oracle material.35 It is interesting to observe that the Hurrians left no mark on, and presumably were therefore not involved in the transmission of, either hymns or lexical lists, although at Ugarit and Emar the lexical texts are Hurrian-derived.36

Of particular importance in evaluating this material is the colophon to the previously-mentioned prism of the Naram-Sin epic. KBo 19 99, side b:

SU =H[a-ni-ku-i-li] DUB.SAR  
DUMU 4A-nu-LUGAL.DINGIR.MEŠ (D)U5.SAR 'BAL.BI  
IR 'En-bi-la-ru 'idē.Â'  30 NIN] 3[MAH]\n  
NIN-Â.GAL 'A-nim] 4IM 'a[  
5'. 4Â.MAL 4Â-šar 'Âa[  
êx [ x ] GAL â 4-na-ar-x[  
na-na-a [m]  'idē.-bâ[  4[  
(By) the hand of Ḥanîkûlû, the scribe, son of Ânu-šar-ûlînû, the scribe, its translator,37 servant of Enbilûlu, Ea', Nîn[maḫ']]. Nîn-êgal, Anû, Adad, [...]. AÂ.MAL, Âšûr, Ťâ[ [...], [...][gal, and Inar, beloved of Ťêbêr'; [...]

30. For the date of this text, see Otten, StBoT 11 35 n. 2.
31. On this terminology, see Laroché, RA 64 (1970) 127-39, especially 130f.
33. R. Biggs informs me that it is often possible to distinguish imported from native tablets by a cursory visual examination of their clays.
34. Although it is customary to refer to the Story of Appu (CTH 360) as Hurrian in background—see, for example, Friedrich, Za 49 (1950) 214ff.—the text shows no Hurrian personal names or vocabulary to support this judgment. The Hurrian-language fragment mentioned by E. Forset, ZDMG 70 (1922) 185, has never been identified. In view of this uncertainty, I have omitted this composition in the present context.
35. Especially interesting is the fragment KUB 29 12, which has Akkadian-language summa šibu material in the right-hand column and a Hurrian-language text in the left. Unpublished divinatory texts from Hittite-controlled Emar on the Euphrates reveal a Mesopotamian-Hurrian-Hittite amalgam; see Laroché in J. Margueron (ed.), Le moyen Euphrat (Strasbourg, 1977) pp. 241-44. The untangling of the direct and the Hurrian-mediated streams of tradition among the Boghazköy extispicy texts must await further study.
37. From examination of a photo, H. Cœberbock has confirmed for me that 'BAL.BI' is the
Noteworthy here in addition to the patronage of the scribe by both Mesopotamian and Anatolian deities (Enbilulu, Anu, Aššur, and so on, as well as Inar and Ḫebati) is the Akkadian name of his father, Anu-Šar-ilani. While this personal designation may possibly have been the *nom de plume* of an Anatolian steeped in Mesopotamian culture, the language of the prisms KBo 19 98 and 99 is not the "barbarisches Schreiber-Akkadisch" usually found in products of scribal schools of the periphery. We also possess no further evidence for the assumption of pseudonyms by the scribes of the Hittite capital. It therefore seems best to regard the bearer of the name Anu-Šar-ilani as a genuine Mesopotamian, probably a Babylonian, residing at Ḫattuša.

most likely reading of the end of KBo 19 99 side b 2. I have tentatively interpreted BAL as an abbreviated form of the more usual EME BAL = ta/argumamnu, "interpreter, translator" (see 1. j. Gelb, Glossa 2 [1968] 83-105 and von Soden, AHw 3 1329). If this rendering is correct, the "translation" here implied might be one of the Hittite-language pieces dealing with Naram-Sin; see CTH 321.

36. As suggested by Höffner, Os NS 49 (1980) 319.


40. For Bogazköy Akkadian, see still Labat, L'akkadienne de Boghaz-κo (Bordeaux, 1932) and now J. Durham, "Studies in Bogazköy Akkadian," (unpub. Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1976 [unavailable to the writer]).

41. We must also consider whether the designation DUMU Anu-Šar-ilani refers not to parentage but to membership in a scribal guild founded by a person of this name. See W. C. Lambert, JCS 11 (1957) 1-14, but note that evidence for such professional associations and/or families dates only from a later period, and that Anu-Šar-ilani does not appear among the known scribal "ancestors."

42. R. Borger, Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur 2 (Berlin, 1975) 317, tentatively proposes that the scribe was an Assyrian, and the name Anu-Šar-ilani is indeed attested as that of the father of a *šama* of the Middle Assyrian period (KAJ 47.32); see C. Saporetti, Onomastica Media-asiatici 1 (Rome, 1970) 90. However, it seems more likely that Babylonian, which had wide-ranging foreign contacts in the Amarna period (see immediately below) was the home of this expert rather than Mittanmi-dominated Assyria. For the occurrence of the name type DN-šar-ilani among Babylonians of the period, compare Adad-šar-ilani, Babylonian ambassador to Ḫatti (figure 4, 1.1) and see A. T. Clay, Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Caspian Period (New Haven, 1912) p. 71 (La-šar-ilani) and p. 106 (Marduk-šar-ilani).
In Figure 3 I have reconstructed from the colophon of KBo 19 99 and those of three other tablets (KBo 6 4, KBo 20 77, and VBoT 24) the line of descendants of Anu-šar-ilâni. In the colophon of the parallel version of the Hittite Laws (KBo 6 4), the scribe Ḫanikuli is said to be Ḫanikuli DUB.SAR.

43. For NA.CAD = Akkadian nāqīdu, "herdsman," see CAD N/1 333-35, and AHw 2 744. Although Friedrich, HG 61, renders GAL NA.CAD of this colophon simply as "Oberhirt," there is some unclear evidence that the cognate West Semitic nāqīd performed some sort of religious function; see M. Bie, Vetus Testamentum 1 (1951) 293-94, and A. Murten, Vetus Testamentum 2 (1952) 170-71.

44. Friedrich, HG 60f., interprets this title as an Akkadogram, and von Soden, AHw 1 312, includes it as a hapax, putting forth the anachronistic translation "Ankläger, Staatsanwalt," on the basis of an uncertain etymology. However, KBo 4 12 rev. 6, where Alilḫēšînî, son of Mittanamuwa, is given the designation l.U-ba-š-u-anni, spelled here with case ending, demonstrates that the word is Hittite; see Goeze Hatt. 44f., 118. A final attestation for this obscure office is KUB 31 64 ii 7: [ * ]l.U-ba-š-u-anni. [ * ]

45. While there is no proof that the Ḫanikuli of the colophon of the prism is the same individual as the first ancestor mentioned in that of KBo 6 4, this name is not common at Ḫattuša—the only other attestations known to me are KBo 10 34 iv 16 (colophon: SU *Ḫa-ni-št-kNU.CIS.KIRI₃) and the thirteenth-century tablet KUB 40 110:5 (*Ḫa-ni-št-kNU.CIS.KIRI₃, unclear context, but quite possibly also referring to our scribe)—this is not an unreasonable assumption. *Ḫa-ni-šu-ḫu, 1371/u:1, mentioned by Otten, IM 17 (1967) 58 n. 10, is unavailable to me.
DUMU.DUMU.MES-[SU] SA =Karunuwa . . . U DUMU.DUMU.MES-SU-ma SA =Hanikulli. This plural Sumerogram is not found elsewhere in the Hittite corpus in reference to a single person, but it may well serve here as a substitute for the more usual SÂ.BAL indicating indefinite remote ancestry. Therefore, while we may be certain that the earlier Hanikulli was an ancestor of Karunuwa, and the latter in turn a forebear of Ziti, we do not know how many generations might have intervened in either of these cases.

KBo 6 4 is itself a late text, inscribed during the reign of Tuthaliya IV or that of Amuwanda III—let us say about 1220 B.C. Allowing thirty years for each of the minimum of four generations7 separating the two Hanikullis, we arrive at a latest possible date of about 1340 for Hanikulli I and the writing of KBo 19 99. While even a mid-fourteenth-century date would fall within the last years of the Middle Hittite stage of the language,48 the rather archaic script of the prisms, as well as the probable lengthening of the genealogy discussed above, suggests a prior date. Hanikulli I, therefore, must be placed before the reign of Suppiluliuma I, and his ancestor Anu-šar-ilâni early in the Middle Hittite period, or perhaps even before.

In connection with the presence of a Mesopotamian at Ḫattuša, we recall a passage from the letter of Ḫattušili III to Kadasman-Enil of Babylon (CTH 172):

Say [to my brother] concerning the physician whom my brother dispatched here: "When they received the physician, he accomplished many [go]od thin[gs]. When disease seized him, I exerted myself constantly on his behalf. I performed many exu[spices for him, but when his (appointed) day [ . . . ] arrived, he died. . . . I would in no way have detained the physician!"

Sa[y (further) to my brother:] "When they received an incantation priest and a physician during the reign of my brother Muwatalli and detained them [in Ḫat[ti]], I argued with him, saying 'Why are you detaining them? Detaining [them] is not correct!' And should I now have detained the physician? [Of the for]mer [experts] whom they received here, perhaps the incantation priest died, [but the physician] is alive—the

46. See O. Carruba et al., AROr 33 (1965) 1. M. Salvini, Vicino Oriente 3 (1980) 165, assigns Hanikulli II to the reign of Amuwanda III.

47. For this figure, see M. Rowton, JNES 7 (1938) 100-102, and CAH 11/1 203-204. See also D. Henige, Journal of African History 12 (1971) 371-89.

48. See above, note 23.
woman whom he married is a relative of mine—and proprietor of a fine household'. [If he should say]: 'I will go (back) to my native land!' let him arise and go! [. . .] Would I have detained a great physician of Marduk?" 

Mentioned here are two medical missions sent from Babylonia to the Hittites, one in the time of Muwatalli and another during the reign of Ḫattišili. Although the chief expert of the latter group had soon died, a member of the earlier party had established a household in Ḫatti, and was apparently still living at the time of KBo 1 10. It is probable that Anu-šar-ilani was also an expert on loan from the Babylonian government, and that he similarly made himself at home in Ḫatti: he sired children, instructed them in his craft, and thereby founded a scribal family. It is to Babylonian experts like Anu-šar-ilani, who would naturally have been employed chiefly in composing Akkadian-language diplomatic material—like KBo 1 10 itself—that the introduction of Middle Babylonian sign forms into the "chancellery" script, and ultimately the Late Hittite syllabary, must be attributed.

49. KBo 1 10 rev. 34ff.

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50. For an analysis of this situation, see H. M. Kümmel, StBoT 2:97-98.
51. For such lineages, see Larcohe, ArOr 17 (1949) 10-13, and del Monte, Viočio Oriente 3 (1980) 164-66.
52. It was presumably in the service of the Hittite diplomatic corps that KUR 4 93, a list of the Inišs of Aiššar-abbattū, was compiled or imported. See O. Schroeder, AO 1 (1923) 5a.
I. Babylonians

1. Adad-šar-ilāni, ambassador to court of Ḫattušili III (NH 204)
2. Amu-šar-ilāni, scribe (KBo 19 99 colophon)
3. Enil-bel-mū, ambassador to court of Ḫattušili III (NH 233)
4. Tawananna, third queen of Šuppiluliuma I (NH 1318.2)
5. ṣīpu at court of Muršili II (KBo 16 99 ii 8ff.)
6. ṣīpu and anī at court of Muwatalli (KBo 1 10 rev. 42ff.)
7. ṣīpu at court of Ḫattušili III (KUB 3 71 i 8ff.)
8. daughter-in-law of Paduaḫepa (KUB 21 38:47ff.)

II. Assyrians

1. Anurr-aharīti, ambassador to court of Tuthaliya IV (NH 68)
2. E’il-qarrad, ambassador to court of Ḫattušili III (NH 224)
3. Dada-šarru, father in fragmentary KUB 48 115:8
4. Iya-šarru, proprietor of household in KUB 51 33 i 15
5. Maršarīya, scribe in Hittite service (NH 766)
6. Nabu-asar, scribe in Hittite service (NH 869)
7. Şili-šarru, ambassador to court of Tuthaliya IV (NH 1196)
8. envoys ill-treated in reign of Urḫi-Tešub (KBo 1 14 rev. 15ff.)
9. “men of Assur” discussed in letter of Mašu to King (KBo 9 82)
10. detained ambassador mentioned in letter from Dur-Kurigalzu³

53. Curney, Iraq 11 (1948) 139, 148 n. 10:
14. [DUMU hipster] ₃₃ ULGAL KUR ʾa-a-na KUR Ḫat-ṭi
15. [ša Ḫa-a-a] ULMESŠ ₃₃-a-a-a
16. [ša] Ḫa-a-a-a-a a-a-a KUR ʾa-a-a ₃₃-a-a-a-a
17. [ša] DUMU hipster ₃₃ ULGAL KUR Ḫat-ṭi ₃₃-a-a-a-a
18. [… ] ₃₃-a-a-a-a

[The envoy] of the King of the land of Assur who [we]sent to the land of Ḫatti and was detained for three years—[they have] released him and he has returned to the land of Assur. [And the envoy] of the King of the land of Ḫatti passed over [… ] with him.

It is uncertain whether this unfortunate emissary is the same individual as any of the three Assyrian diplomats listed by name in Figure 4.
Figure 4 lists all Mesopotamians now known to have actually been present in Ḫatti. These persons are of three types: in addition to the expected diplomatic emissaries from the Mesopotamian states (I.1 and 3; II.1, 2, 7, 8, and 10) and experts of the sort already noted—categories whose membership was naturally overlapping—there were also marriage partners for members of the Hittite royal family.

The union of Šuppiluliuma I and a Babylonian princess is well known, but at least one other Mesopotamian girl married into the Hittite court. In the Hittite-language draft of a letter to Ramesses II of Egypt, Queen Pu-duḫepa writes:

The daughter of Babylonia (and) [the daughter] of Amurru whom I, the Queen, took for myself—were they not indeed a source of praise for me before the people of Ḫatti?—It was I (who) did it—and I took (each) daughter of a Great King, though a foreigner, as daughter-in-law.

Of the two princesses mentioned here, “the daughter of Amurru” is known from the treaty of Ḫattušili III with Bentešina (CHT 92) to have married the prince Nerikkaili:

[. . . .] My son Nerikkaili has tak[en a] s his wife the daughter of Bentešina of the land of Amurru, [while I] have g[i ven] the (Hittite) [pr]incess Gaššuliya Śiwa to the land of Amurru, to the

54. From unpublished sources add also Iku-tukulti, in Mpt 79/56 (mentioned by S. Alp, Belleten 173 [1960] 30), and Mä-rēšē = DUMU UD XX KAM, Mpt 79/14, 75/19, 75/194 (Alp, Belleten 173 [1960] 28-29). [I owe the observation that these last two forms are variants of the same name to H. Hoffner. It is furthermore the same individual as the scribe Maššušiya, II.5 here?]

55. See Goetz, CAH 3 2/3 13, and also Kammernhuber, TTheth. 7 22-23 on the later, rather unpleasant, career of this woman.

56. KUB 21 38.47f.: 1

47. SAL.LUGAL-u-ša ku-e-e-di DUMU.SAL KUR URU Ca-ra-an-du-ni-ya-ša
[DUMU.SAL KUR URU A-nu-rri-ya da-š[ab-šu]-u-n]
48. na-at-mu A-NA LUMES KUR URU Ḫat-ti pi-ra-št UL-im-ma [u] a-l[][a]-ša-[][a]-ša UL ku-t e-e-di-ta
See W. Helck, JCS 17 (1963) 91. KUB 21 38.54f. informs us that this traffic in brides was reciprocal:

54. . . . na-at A-NA LUGAL KUR URU Ksar-an-du-ni-ya-ša im-ma
55. Ḫa-an da-an <<[xx]>> UL-ul-sa SAL.LUGAL.KAL.DUMU.SAL KUR URU Ḫat-ti LUGAL.KAL.DUMU.SAL DAM+(text: SAL)-an-ni da-a-di

And they [the marriage arrangements] were indeed settled in regard to the King of Babylonia. Did he not take the daughter of the Great King, the King of Ḫatti, the mighty king, for marriage?
royal house, to Bentšina [for marriage].

The identity of the husband of the Babylonian princess remains for the moment uncertain, although the possibility that Tuttuliyu IV followed the example of his ancestor Suppiluliuma in taking a Mesopotamian bride must be entertained.

Among the technicians, we may note in particular the Assyrian scribes Maršany and Nabu-nasār, who add personal Akkadian-language postscripts to their work in the service of the Hittite crown. Relevant here also is a passage from a letter dispatched by the official Kaššu to the king:

But when the tablet was [inscribed] in the town [of . . . , then] the scribe who wrote the tablet to me—he wrote in Akkadian, and I did not understand it.

While the restoration and translation of these lines are uncertain, the presence here of the words “tablet,” “scribe,” and “in Akkadian” (pablût[a<it>]) makes it likely that this is another instance of the use of Akkadian by a scribe active in Ḫatti.

Interesting in this context is the appearance of Akkadian-language (URU. pabilûti) incantations within the body of a series of Hittite rituals for the goddess istar-Pirikir (CTH 718). No colophons have been preserved for this group of texts, but all seem from their script to be of Late Hittite date. The sometimes obscure Akkadian of these passages must be laid to the account of a non-native speaker, but it may well have been inspired by Mesopotamian incantations, possibly imported to Ḫattuša by

57. KBo 18:18ff.
59. [a-n]a DAM-ni-šu li-šq [qê a-na-ku DUMU.SAL LUGAL Ga-at-šu-li-ya-ú i-e i-na KUR URU.A-mar-ri i-na F. LUGAL a-na =ZAG.ŠEŠ
60. [a-n]a DAM-ni-šu at-e-din-ša

See E. Weidner, PD 2 = BoSt 9 128f.
61. It is presumably this woman whose illness is the subject of the oracular inquiry KUB 65 rev. 27: [. . . ] SA DUMU.SAL KUR Kar-an-du-ni-ya-at GIG-an-za.
62. KBo 18 54:14ff.
63. TUP-PU-ma mu-âb ha-an UR[U’ . . . a-ni-y][a’-an e-š-š] u
64. ma-mu LÜ.DUB.SAḪ ku-[i] TUP-PA Ha-at-ra-a-it
65. ma-za pu-bi-š<it> an [daš ha-at-ra-a-it na-at-za]
66. U-UL ha-a-(ṣ-ga-š-š] u

My attention was originally drawn to this letter by a lecture given by H. Cöppercok at Yale University during the academic year 1970-71. For a different analysis of this text, see F. Pecchioli Daddi, Mesopotamia 13/14 (1978/79) 203ff.
67. See Laroche, BoOr 21 (1964) 321, and R. Werner, Or NS 34 (1965) 381.
68. See Goette, JCS 18 (1964) 94ff.
69. See already H. Eicholz, MDOC 75 (1937) 62 n. 1.
foreign experts, such as those texts represented by CTH 803-506. Note also
DUB.SAR pabilīti, "Babylonian scribes," mentioned in the fragmentary line
iv 12 (part of the colophon) of KBo 3 21, a Hymn to the Storm-god
translated from Akkadian (CTH 313). 63

Two men with Assyrian names who were well integrated into Hittite
society may have entered Ḫatti as scribes or other experts: Iyā-Assur is the
proprietor of a household furnishing supplies for the spring festival of the
Storm-god of Zipparlanda, and the son of Dada-Assur participates in the
festival described in the fragmentary KUB 48 113. 64 More clear is the case of
the Assyrian ambassador Bēl-qarrad, who is attested in the colophon of
an Akkadian text (KUB 37 210) found at Boghazköy as the father of a scribe
bearing the good Hittite name GUR.LUGAL-ma. 65 This is certainly a
situation parallel to that of Anu-šar-ilānī and his son Ḫanikuli. Once again a
quotation from the lengthy letter of Ḫattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil is
relevant. The former chides the latter concerning an interruption of
diplomatic contact:

Say to my brother—because my brother has written to me
about my cutting off my messengers: "Because the Aḫlamu are
hostile I have cut off my messengers."—What is this that you,
my brother, have cut off your messengers on account of the
Aḫlamu? Is the might of your kingdom small, oh my brother?
Or has perhaps (your vizier) Itti-Marduk-balātu spoken evil
words (about me) before my brother, as a result of which my
brother has cut off (his) messengers? ... [Only if two kings] are
hostile do their messengers not travel continually between
them. Why have you cut off [y]our [messengers]? 66

63. Cf. iv 5: [URU.KI]-Ă.DINCIR.RA. This text has now been edited by A. Archi, Or NS 52
64. Note line 5: SA LUGAL Ė.CAL KAR-qa-ma.
65. An individual named Bēl-u-qarrad (=hier. Ba-lu-kar-.dd) appears also in an
66. KBo 1 19:36ff.,

36. um-nu-a a-na SES-ya-ma 3a SES-ú-a ë-t-pu-la-ra um-ma-a 3a DUMU.MEŠ
KIN-ri-ya ap-su
37. kie Aḫ-ša-ma-ú a-na-ak-ru DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ri-ya a-p-ta-na-ša-mi-na ú-a ma-ta,
38. kie SES-ú-a a-bū-um Aḫ-ša-me-š DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ri-ša ta-pu-ru-su kar-ra-a ut
LUGAL-ru-ka
39. SES-ú-a a-pi-š-ri-ta a-pi-qut ta-ši-AMAR UTU.TILA a-nau-tula-š a ba-na-a ti
40. a-na pa-nero SES-ša id-da-bu-ub a SES-ú-a DUMU.MEŠ KIN-rišam on-ni-ri
ip-ta-na-as

36. [x x x x x x] x na-ak-ru DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ri-ša-nu-ú a-na a-ḫa-miḫ ú-ul is-ta-
na-a-ta-ku
37. [x x x DUMU.MEŠ KIN-ri-ša] en-mi-ni ta-pu-ru-šu

Again, see the collations in KUB 4 pp. 49b-50a, and cf. Oppenheim Letters pp. 146-41.
This admonition of the Hittite ruler, taken together with the fairly substantial list of Mesopotamians in Ḫatti just examined, suggests a constant exchange of messengers and experts among the great powers of the Late Bronze Age. Indeed, numerous pieces of the diplomatic correspondence between the Hittite rulers and their Mesopotamian counterparts have come to light in the Bogazköy excavations: CTH 171, 173, 175, 177, 187.2 (with Assyria) and CTH 172, 174, and 178 (with Babylonia). Therefore we must conclude that direct contact between Ḫatti and Mesopotamia began earlier than the date of 1350 postulated by some scholars, that this contact was more regular than previously supposed, and that it was indeed instrumental in the development of the Late Hittite script.

A significant corollary to these observations concerns the date and source of the introduction of cuneiform writing into Egypt, where it was employed by the native scribes of the Amarna archive. A comparison of columns ii and iii of Figure 1 readily reveals that the Egyptian script bears a great formal similarity to the Middle Hittite hand, and indeed a number of years ago the late K. Riemschneider tentatively proposed that the Hittites taught the Egyptians to read cuneiform.

Four additional points support this hypothesis:

1. What other group could have been the source of Egyptian knowledge of this writing system? It is unlikely that the Egyptians would have stooped to borrow it from one of their Syrian or Palestinian vassals, and in any case none of the hands displayed on the Amarna letters from these areas is as close to the Egyptian as is the Middle Hittite. This leaves the other great powers of the Late Bronze Age: Assyria, Babylonia, and the Hurrian state

67. For Egyptian-Hittite contacts, see E. Edel, Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Könighof (Opladen, 1976), especially pp. 31-63, and for the presence of envoys of Ḫatti and Babylon at one another’s courts, see H. Klenkel, ArOr 47 (1979) 88-96.
68. A fragment of a Hittite letter was found at Dur-Kurigalzu; see T. Baqr, Imq 8 (1948) pl. 18 fig. 13. Although the caption identifies this piece as “addressed to a king of the Hittites,” the first three lines read: [. . . ] LUCAL GAL LUCAL KUR ḫa-at-ti / [. . . ] LUCAL GAL LUCAL KUR kar-an-du-ti-ya-ši / [. . . ] at-bi-me. Since it was usual in correspondence between equals to give the name of the sender before that of the recipient, this letter was more probably dispatched by the Hittite ruler. Unfortunately, little beyond the heading and greetings formulae of this missive have been preserved.
69. See above, p. 98 with n. 9.
70. Unpublished presentation delivered to the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society held in Philadelphia in the spring of 1976, unfortunately not heard by the writer.
71. See the list compiled by Schroeder, VAS 12 75-94. A perusal of the many variants displayed in this chart reveals how misleading it is to refer, as does Laroche, Annales Psa 744-45, to a unified “Amarno-Syrian” system of cuneiform.
MESOPOTAMIA AT HATTUSA

of Mittanni. The scripts of Assyria and Mittanni differ in several important points of shape\textsuperscript{12} and sign value\textsuperscript{13} from the Egyptian, and the hand of contemporary Babylonia has already been identified as the forerunner of the Late Hittite—column iv in Figure 1—and thus is excluded.

2. There are several significant points of contact between the Egyptian and Hittite repertoires of scholarly material. Both "academies" possessed texts dealing with the Sargonid kings of Mesopotamia,\textsuperscript{74} and with the Hurrian hero Keššî,\textsuperscript{75} as well as similar lexical lists.\textsuperscript{75}

3. The Egyptians were capable of writing in Hittite, as is demonstrated by the exchange of letters in this language between the Pharaoh and the West Anatolian ruler Tarḫuntašša of Arzawa (EA 31-32 = YBoT 1-2). These pieces must be dated early in the history of the Amarna archive,\textsuperscript{77} that is, to the Middle Hittite period.

4. We are informed about a particular historical occasion on which this exchange of "technology" could have occurred. A prayer of Mušḫuššu II tells of a treaty between the Hittites and the Egyptians which was violated by his father.\textsuperscript{78} Scholarly opinion differs as to whether this agreement\textsuperscript{79} was concluded early in the reign of Suppiluliuma I or in a previous reign,\textsuperscript{80} but it must in any case be dated to the Middle Hittite period. The treaty called for the transfer of the entire population of the northern Anatolian town of

\textsuperscript{72} Compare especially the Mittanni shapes of UBU, LA, LI, IK, AK, EN, ŠAR, US, and HAR with the Egyptian forms.

\textsuperscript{73} All three of these scripts have introduced the regular distinction between the series of signs for VH and for V, a differentiation not found in Egyptian cuneiform or the pre-Empire Hittite Akkadian system.

\textsuperscript{74} Amarna: EA 359 and 375; Boghazköy: CTH 310, 311, and so on.

\textsuperscript{75} Amarna: EA 341 (see Borger HKL 1 239 and literature cited there); Boghazköy: CTH 301.

\textsuperscript{76} The preserved corpus of lexical material is considerably greater for Boghazköy—see CTH chapter 4 part A—than for Amarna. However, 5v (EA 379, CTH 306), diri (EA 373, CTH 300), and šu = ša ru (EA 351, CTH 306.447) have been discovered at both sites.

\textsuperscript{77} See L. (Jjakob) Rost, MIO 4 (1959) 330; Heinhold-Krahmer, THieth 8 50-53; and C. Kühne, AOAT 17 98.

\textsuperscript{78} KUB 14 8:13ff. and duplicates, edited by Goetze, KIF 1 (1929) 208-11, and translated by him, ANET\textsuperscript{3} p. 395. A new edition of this prayer is given by H. Winkels, "Das Zweite Festgebet des Muršilu" (diss. Hamburg, 1978).

\textsuperscript{79} The fragments grouped as CTH 134 probably represent copies of the "Kuršuma Treaty." One of them, KUB 40 29, may be of Middle Hittite date, but its small size precludes a definite judgment.

\textsuperscript{80} On this question see Kühne, AOAT 17 90 n. 456 with bibliography, and Houwink ten Cate, BiOr 20 (1963) 274f.
Kuruštama\textsuperscript{81} to Egyptian-controlled territory in Syria. Surely a few experts might also have travelled south at that time. It is most important to recognize that this transmission would thus have taken place in the Middle Hittite period, before, or contemporary with, the arrival of Mesopotamians and the Middle Babylonian script at Hattuša. We thus have a correlation of two important transferrals of knowledge, the Hittites passing on their own older, indirect, knowledge of Mesopotamian writing and culture, while at the same time receiving a new, direct, infusion of that same culture.

\textsuperscript{81} For this town and its location, see G. del Monte, Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 8 (Wiesbaden, 1978) 229.