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Pre-publication proof

State Correspondence in the Hittite World

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T$_{HIS}$ chapter describes and discusses the evidence[1] for the internal correspondence of the Hittite state during its so-called imperial period (c. 1450–1200 BC). After a brief sketch of the geographical and historical background, we will survey the available corpus and the generally well-documented archaeological contexts—a rarity among the corpora discussed in this volume. In the third part of the chapter, we will turn to the organization of long-distance state communication, focusing in turn on the correspondents, their letters, the messengers, and the animals and routes used. In the conclusion, we will briefly address what the state correspondence tells us about the nature of the Hittite state.

1 The Geographical and Historical Context

The people known to us as the Hittites operated from a power base high on the Anatolian Plateau from c. 1650 to 1200 BC. Discovered in the mid-19th century by European travellers, their main capital city at Hattusa (modern Boğazköy, also Boğazkale) was first identified as such through Akkadian language documents found in German-Turkish excavations beginning in 1906. In the meantime, clay tablets bearing cuneiform inscriptions in a then unidentified Indo-European language had been found in the archive of Tell el-Amarna in Egypt (see Mynářová, this volume). This language was quickly identified with that used in the bulk of the tablets found at Hattusa and in 1916 officially deciphered as Hittite, the oldest attested Indo-European language, by the Czech scholar Bedřich Hrozný. At Hattusa, German excavations continue until this day, and sizeable archives belonging to the temple and palace administration in Hattusa have been unearthed there.

The term "Hittite" is applied to the civilization of ancient Hattusa by virtue of references made to "Hittites" in the Bible, which had themselves been associated with findings in northern Syria of monumental stone inscriptions in a hieroglyphic script, until recently called "Hittite Hieroglyphs." This term was discarded in the 1970s after the inscriptions, which date to the Iron Age, were finally demonstrated to be written in Luwian, an Anatolian language closely related to Hittite.
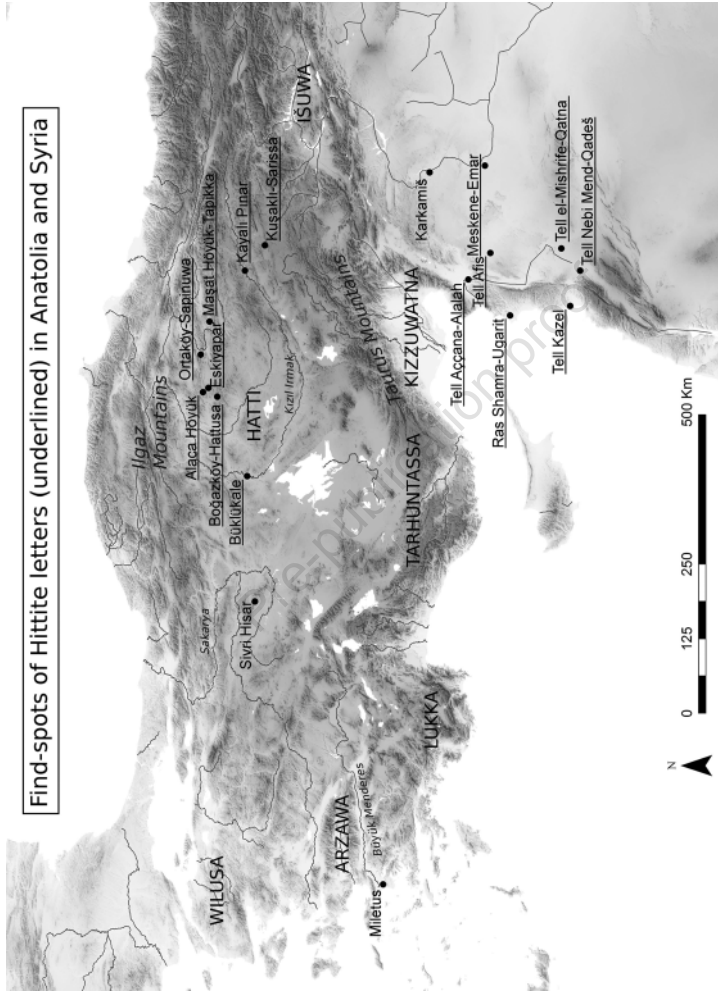
Find-spots of Hittite letters (underlined) in Anatolia and Syria

FIGURE 2.1. *Topographical map with the places mentioned, including find spots of state letters. Map by Alessio Palmisano, after a sketch by the author.*

1.1 Places and Terrain

Hittite cities typically nestle into the landscape (fig. 2.1), often at the foot of a mountain,[2] and the capital Hattusa is built into extremely mountainous terrain, with its architecture adapted to and formed around the rocky environment.[3] The city lies almost directly in the center of the loop formed by the modern Kızıl Irmak river (Classical Halys, Hittite Marassantiya), which is often assumed to demarcate the Hittite "heartland," although this may not necessarily correspond to the historical realities.

The Anatolian Plateau covers almost all of central Anatolia at a consistent altitude of c. 500–1,000 meters, on top of which the landscape is additionally raised and interrupted by numerous mountain ranges. Today, this area is covered by snow over the long months of winter and travel can be difficult. More extensive movements of troops or goods over long distances would have been virtually impossible during winter, even if the climate was slightly warmer than it is today. Occasionally we read that the king has passed the winter in quarters outside of Hattusa,[4] whether that be due to difficulty of movement or other factors. Hittite correspondence mentions the problems that snow or ice posed for communication, although surprisingly rarely.[5]

Routes to and from Hattusa are much constricted by the landscape. Due north of Hattusa, Hittite settlement seems to end at the Ilgaz Dağları mountain range.[6] To the northeast, only a few routes lead out of the central Hittite area via Sapinuwa (modern Ortaköy), itself capital during part of the reign of Tudhaliya III (see section 1.2), and onward to the region of Amasya and Merzifon, an area the Hittites continually contested with the Kaska peoples. The most important city there was Nerik (probably modern Oymaağaç), which was lost to Hittite rule over long periods. Southeast of Ortaköy lies Tapikka (modern Maşathöyük), which also guards an important pass through the mountains. On reaching the lower eastern bend of the Halys river there is Kayalı Pınar (probably ancient Samuha), which served as another temporary capital during Tudhaliya III's turbulent reign. Further to the southeast stands the outpost of Sarissa (modern Kuşaklı) before a long ridge of hills, which centuries later, in the Neo-Assyrian period, was fortified with a wall and served as a border.[7]

Travelling directly south from Hattusa, after crossing the Kızıl Irmak into Cappadocia one is funneled southeast by the Melendiz mountains before reaching the Cilician Gates, one of the only viable crossings into the Amuq plain and northern Syria, for the Hittites the gateway to the Middle East. At the height of their power they controlled regions as far south as Damascus, where they came into contact and conflict with New Kingdom Egypt and eventually established peace agreements. If, after crossing the Kızıl Irmak, one travels southwest, the route leads between the Salt Lake and the Melendiz mountains down into the Konya plain, the Hittite "Lower Land." Beyond Konya to the southwest lies the severe

mountainous terrain of classical Pisidia and Lycia, largely identical with what the Hittites called the Lukka Lands.[8] En route to Konya, the south is blocked off by the Taurus mountains. On the other side of these lies Rough Cilicia, part of the land of Tarhuntassa (see section 1.2), which extended as far to the west as Perge on the Cayster river.

Heading west from Hattusa and crossing the Kızıl Irmak at Büklükale, one runs into the escarpment of the Haymana plateau, which has to be circumnavigated before traversing the dry Upper Sakarya plain. After crossing the Sakarya river (Classical Sangarios, Hittite Sehiriya), one makes one's way up to Sivri Hisar: this may be ancient Sallapa, the rallying point for Hittite campaigns in the west.[9] Around here, where the Anatolian plateau finishes, seems to be where the Hittites conceived of the end of the "Lands of Hatti," at least during the reign of Mursili II, probably with a border running along the Porsuk or Seydi Çay and the Akar Çay.[10] The west itself, most easily reached by following the Maeander valley down toward the Bodrum peninsula and Miletus, is an area known to the Hittites as the Arzawa Lands, which they found politically extremely important, but where remains of specifically Hittite material culture have not been found in any great quantities.[11] Here they came into contact with transmarine civilizations, particularly the Mycenaeans, who had many outposts in western Anatolia.[12] These are almost certainly the people attested in numerous Hittite texts as the Ahhiyawa, most likely Homer's Achaeans.[13] Numerous documents from Hattusa attest to a turbulent relationship of the Hittites with their western neighbors, from the Lukka lands in the southwest through the Arzawa Lands to the land of Wilusa, thought by most scholars to be located in the northwest.[14]

1.2 Historical Overview

Geography profoundly influenced Hittite history and the nature of the Hittite state, shaped by the progressively more successful, although ultimately failed, strategies of the Hittite ruling class for dealing with their environment. Modern historians distinguish an older period (c. 1650–1450 BC) from the so-called Empire period, which is itself divided into an earlier (c. 1450–1350 BC) and a later Empire period (c. 1350–1200 BC).[15]

Early Hittite attempts at expansion into Syria, culminating in an expedition that sacked the city of Babylon in Mesopotamia in 1595 BC, were always thwarted by Hittite inability to preserve cohesion at home once they had undertaken the crossing of the Taurus mountains. Starting with the reign of Tudhaliya II in the mid-15th century, more intensive campaigning in western Anatolia became usual as well as further incursions into Syria, to which time initial contact with Egypt seems to date. The late 15th and early 14th centuries were a time of great turmoil. Tudhaliya II's successor Arnuwanda I experienced significant problems with western Anatolia, and during the reign of his son Tudhaliya III the kingdom was thrown into a crisis when enemies from all compass directions—Arzawans

from the west, Kaskans from the north, Išuwans from the southeast—invaded the central Hittite area (therefore called the "concentric invasions"). The Kaskans even burned Hattusa. Tudhaliya responded to the crisis by shifting his capital first to Sapinuwa and then to Samuha, eventually reuniting the country and pacifying the west.

It was the reign of his son and successor Suppiluliuma I which put a stop to this cycle of expansion and contraction. This king established a vice-regency at the north Syrian town of Karkamiš, which was ruled by a dynasty of his descendants even after the fall of the central Hittite authority around 1200 BC. From Karkamiš the Hittites could keep an eye on Syria and ensure loyalty to Hattusa by force if necessary, but frequently also by mediation and diplomacy. Whether the nature of the Hittite state during its so-called imperial phase is appropriately described by the term "Empire" is debated. Some scholars, arguing on the basis of material remains (including pottery distribution, settlement patterns, and landscape monuments), prefer to describe Hittite hegemony over the conquered regions in terms of a "network" of power.[16] There is no doubt that the Hittite strategy of binding local rulers with treaty agreements into their system had to be militarily enforced periodically in order to remain effective. The presence of large fortified installations, such as at Alalaḫ (Level III) at the head of the Orontes river on the Amuq plain,[17] testifies to the provision of a strategic military capability that could implement this swiftly if necessary.

Suppiluliuma's son Mursili II occupied himself a great deal with western Anatolia. The Arzawa lands were under his authority, split up into four kingdoms with separate vassal treaties imposed on each of the local kings. Mass transplantations of western populations had so much effect on Hattusa that they may have contributed to the dying out of the Hittite language and its replacement by Luwian.[18] Mursili's son Muwatalli II, for unknown reasons, moved the capital once again, to Tarhuntassa in the southwest. His son Urhi-Teššub moved it back to Hattusa before he was forcibly removed and replaced by his uncle, Hattusili III. Tarhuntassa remained a separate kingdom bound by treaty to Hattusa, although preserved successive versions of treaties between the two show a weakening of Hattusa against its neighbor.

There had been tensions with Egypt since the campaigns of Suppiluliuma I in northern Syria. These culminated in the momentous battle of Qadeš in the early 13th century, where the forces of Muwattalli II and Ramses II of Egypt faced each other in a conflict concerning the allegiance of the Syrian state of Amurru (cf. Mynarova, this volume), resulting in a peace treaty between Ramses and Muwatalli's successor Hattusili III. Some thirty to forty years after the death of this monarch—after further turmoil in the west, a possible civil war with Tarhuntassa, an internal famine, and the phenomenon known to modern historians as the invasions of the Sea Peoples disrupted Syria and the south Anatolian coast—the Hittite state based at Hattusa disappeared from history.

2　The Hittite State Letters

There has been no recent attempt to compile a complete corpus of Hittite state letters. After some scattered publications of hand-copies, particularly from the international correspondence, the letters in Hittite language from Hattusa were published in hand-copy by Güterbock (1971) and the Akkadian letters by Kümmel (1985). Hagenbuchner (1989b; in German) published editions of 424 Hittite letters, both in Akkadian and in Hittite and covering various genres, including internal and international state correspondence.[19] Since then, the excavation of the provincial center of Tapikka (modern Maşathöyük) has brought to light 97 Hittite language letters from the reign of Tudhaliya III, the majority of the 118 documents excavated there (Alp 1992). Scale photographs of almost all Hittite letters, excluding those from Mašathöyük, are now available online (www.hethiter.net).

In recent years, selections of relevant Hittite letters have been collected in two books: Hoffner (2009) presents 126 letters of the internal and the international correspondence, either wholly or in part, in transliteration, English translation, and commentary, whereas Marizza (2009) presents Italian translations and commentary for 111 letters, mostly from the internal correspondence. But there is far more material than that, especially from the pre-Empire period. For starters, around 500 letters from the time of Tudhaliya III, including state internal and international correspondence,[20] were excavated in the temporary residence city of Sapinuwa (modern Ortaköy), but they still mostly await publication.

2.1　The Chronological Extent of the Available Letters

The early history of the Hittite use of cuneiform writing is still subject to much debate. The earliest letter by a Hittite king presently known is the unprovenanced letter of king Hattusili I to king Tunip-Teššub of Tigunanum, a piece of international correspondence from the late 17th century BC written in the Akkadian language.[21] It is written in a ductus and with sign-forms matching most closely other documents from the palace at Tigunanum, but it also bears a strong resemblance to an Akkadian-language tablet found at Hattusa,[22] which contains a literary narrative about the siege of the city of Uršu in north Syria, from a campaign presumably related to the war planned by Hattusili and Tunip-Teššub, according to the letter. It appears that the Hittite king was in fact using a scribe from Tigunanum for these documents,[23] and moreover, X-ray fluorescence analysis of the clay of the Uršu tablet has shown conclusively that it is not made of Hattusa clay.[24] This is significant because no other letters from the Old Kingdom have thus far come to light. The latest, although not universally accepted, view of the early stages of Hittite cuneiform (based primarily on archival arguments) is that it was initially used to write Akkadian, as in most of the contemporary Middle East, and that the Hittites did not begin to use it for writing their own language

until early in the 15th century,[25] slightly antedating the beginning of the so-called imperial period.

It is from the phase of the imperial period that Hittite-language letters relating to state correspondence are known. No letters can be securely dated to the reign of Tudhaliya II (mid-15th century BC),[26] but at least one is known from that of his successor, Arnuwanda I.[27] A great many of our letters date to the reign of the next king, Tudhaliya III, a time of turmoil and disruption. The high number of letters may well reflect the special circumstances of this period, during which numerous Hittite cities, including Hattusa, were burned by foreign invaders. This preserved the clay tablets. It contributed to the preservation of the letter archive at Maşathöyük and presumably that of Ortaköy. However, Tudhaliya's letters preserved from Hattusa do not appear to come from a similarly closed archival context. From Suppiluliuma I onwards, during the later imperial period, there are letters available for the reigns of all Hittite kings. However, it is only rarely that the fragmentary state of preservation allows us to identify the specific ruler.

2.2 Compiling the Corpus

At the Hittite capital of Hattusa alone, some 30,000 clay tablets and fragments with cuneiform writing have been found. Data on find-spots, rough date of inscription (old, middle, or new Hittite), and recent bibliography for every single excavated fragment, along with links to photos and hand-copies, can be found in the online Hittite text concordance (*Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte*: www.hethiter.net/konkordanz) maintained by S. Košak, which provides the discipline's fundamental research tool. The basic genre classification of the tablets according to content is still rooted in the Hittite text catalogue (*Catalogue des Textes Hittites* = CTH) by E. Laroche, now maintained and updated online (www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH). The numbers of letters according to the CTH groupings are given in Table 2.1.

Problematic for our purposes is that some of the CTH numbers are filed within deceptively named larger groups: for example, CTH 190, listed under "Royal Letters," contains 110 "Letters of Dignitaries" ("Briefe der Würdenträger")[28]; some of these are letters exchanged between the royal family and officials, others between officials. It is therefore necessary to look

Table 2.1. Hittite letters after Košak's *Konkordanz*

	Total
Egypto-Hittite (CTH 151–170)	96
Royal Letters (CTH 171–190)	330
Various Letters (CTH 191–210)	285
Total	711

Table 2.2. Hittite state correspondence from Hattusa

	Hattusa
Royal Couple	4
King to Officials	8
Queen to Officials	1
Officials to King	49
Officials to Queen	12
King to Vassals	10
Vassals to King	14
Vassals to Queen	4
Officials to Officials	31
Unknown	110

through all these categories and most expedient for the present discussion to divide them according to the status of sender and recipient, excluding the international correspondence with other royal houses. The letters from Hattusa can be categorized according to the status of the correspondents as shown in Table 2.2.

2.3 Find-spots and Archival Contexts in Hattusa and Elsewhere

Generally speaking, the vast majority of Hittite tablets belong to one archaeological stratum: the very last one from the period just before the city in question was destroyed or abandoned. At Maşathöyük, ancient Tapikka, the find of 97 mostly well-preserved letters in two rooms of an administrative building and its portico, where they had clearly fallen from an upper story, was made possible by the fact that the building had been destroyed by fire.[29] The letters belong to an archive covering just a few years at the most, according to the view adopted here, with 45 letters written from the king to officials, six letters written from officials to the king, and 30 letters written between officials.[30] One would have to assume a similar circumstance to account for the preservation of the apparently large cache of c. 500 letters awaiting publication from Ortaköy, ancient Sapinuwa. As we have discussed (section 2.1), all these texts belong to the time of political chaos under Tudhaliya III.

At Hattusa, the situation is different. Some letters appear to have been left behind in temples of the Upper City when these buildings were abandoned:[31] these letters[32] have a Middle Hittite palaeography, dating between the late 15th and early 14th centuries BC. But most of the tablets from Hattusa, whether older or later, were stored in just a few archives: in the palace on the citadel mound of Büyükkale, in Temple I with its surrounding magazines in the Lower City, and in a nearby administrative building called "House on the Slope" ("Haus am Hang")

by the excavators. However, as the city seems to have been gradually abandoned some time before it was eventually put to the torch, the state of the archives, as they are known to us today, may only be a reflection of how they were left after Hattusa's evacuation.[33] Also, the continued inhabitation of the site during the Iron Age clearly had an effect on the distribution of the fragments, as they appear to have been dug up, moved around and used as fill for new buildings. Table 2.3 presents the distribution of letters from the state correspondence of Hattusa according to their find contexts.[34]

Previous studies have not attempted to show the distribution of the letters according to their find-spots at Hattusa, perhaps because such an exercise is not particularly rewarding, as one can see from Table 2.3. There is no significant proportional weighting in the distribution of any of the sender and addressee groups of the state correspondence according to find-spot, nor can a significant weighting be found for foreign-language documents. The seemingly large number of 32 letters found in Building A of Büyükkale, for example, is merely a reflection of the fact that great numbers of tablets were found here: currently 2,694 tablets and fragments, compared to just 400 found in Building K of Büyükkale, for example.[35]

What is clear to all commentators, on the other hand, is that most of the correspondence, if it was kept at all, was kept in the palace ensemble of the

Table 2.3. Distribution of letters from the state correspondence according to their find-spot in Hattusa, totalling 232. Bk = Büyükkale (without specific find-spot); A, B, C, D, E, F, K, M = buildings on Büyükkale; p-q(/10–11) = a quadrant on Büyükkale; By = Büyükkaya; HaH = Haus am Hang (House on the Slope); O = Oberstadt (Upper City); T.I = Temple I; U = Unterstadt (Lower City); un = unrecorded find-spot.

Hattusa	A	B	C	D	p-q	E	F	K	M	Bk	By	T.I	HaH	O	U	un
Royal Couple					2											2
King to Officials[1]	1			1						1			1	1[2]		3
Queen to Officials																1
Officials to King	7		1	8	17	2				1		3		1[3]		6
Officials to Queen		2		3	4	1			1							1
King to Vassals	1			1			1			1		3				3
Vassals to King	6		1	2	1					1						2
Vassals to Queen	3			1												
Officials to Officials	4	1	1	4	6	2	1			1[4]		2		1		5
Unclassified	10			8	39	3	1	2	4	1	2	10	6	3	3	15

[1] Including members of the royal family.
[2] KBo 32.200 (Temple VIII).
[3] KBo 32.202 (Temple VIII).
[4] Letter of the king of Išuwa to the "Chief of the charioteers" (Building F on Büyükkale).

royal citadel of Büyükkale.[36] There, the most plentiful find-spot for letters is Quadrant p–q/10–11 (excavated in 1964), where c. 70 letter fragments were found in a secondary context close to Building D, together with fragments of other types of documents, including ten omen reports. The letters, as far as their date can be ascertained, span a period of over a century.[37] These mostly tiny fragments would appear to have been deliberately smashed in antiquity, possibly already during the Hittite period.[38] Their find context is therefore best described as a dump.[39] Close to this dump, the second largest collection of 27 letter fragments was found in association with building D, but although a connection between the two contexts is possible this remains speculative.[40] In any case, one cannot simply assume that all these letters were originally kept together rather than that they found their way into one another's vicinity as a result of a periodic weeding of the archives, for example.[41] With this in mind, we should mention the case of a letter from an official to the king which specifically stipulates that the tablet be kept safe so that it can be referred to in any forthcoming dispute:[42]

> Let this tablet be saved, so that when I …. Your Majesty, my lord, they may interrogate me in this (matter) on the basis of (lit. from) this tablet. (KUB 40.1 rev.[i] 29–31, translation after Hoffner 2009: 361–362)

This request implies that the sender was well aware that the letter was not likely to be kept unless he explicitly asked for it to be. Indeed, judging from the topics treated in the known letters, we would expect many thousands of them to have been written each year. What is preserved is clearly only a tiny fraction of the original output. Hittite scribes made multiple copies of documents that they wanted to keep in the archives,[43] but letters clearly did not belong to that category.[44] A small number of letters was written on multi-columned tablets, contrary to the usual practice of using small single-columned tablets for letters,[45] and these may well have been drafts or archive copies of letters sent. That any of the letters ended up in any archival context at all is surely the exception that needs explanation rather than evidence for a pattern of archival practice.

Beyond the heartland (fig. 2.1), examples of Hittite state letters[46] have been found in Anatolia: at Alacahöyük (one Hittite letter fragment), Eskiyapar (one Middle Hittite letter fragment), Büklükale (one Middle Hittite letter fragment), Kayalı Pınar, perhaps ancient Samuha (one Middle Hittite letter) and Kuşaklı, ancient Sarissa (two Middle Hittite letters); and in Syria[47] at Tell Afis (two Hittite letters), Tell Atchana, ancient Alalaḫ (two Hittite letter fragments), Tell Kazel (Akkadian letter of a "king" to an official), Tell Meskene, ancient Emar (two Hittite letters) and Tell Mishrife, ancient Qatna (five Akkadian letters, including one from a Hittite vassal and a Hittite general to the local king).

3 The Organization of the Internal State Communication

The following analysis concentrates on the evidence of the state letters from Anatolia. We will first discuss the physical nature of the letters before we turn to the correspondents and the subjects of their letters and to the messengers employed to deliver them, as well as the animals, passports, and roads used by these messengers.

3.1 Letter Formats and Matters of Script and Language

There is no standard format for Hittite letters in the form of clay tablets, although they frequently have a square or rectangular shape, measuring c. 5–8 cm on the horizontal axis to c. 4–11 cm on the vertical. The tablets can be inscribed in portrait or landscape format (fig. 2.2 and 2.3).[48] Compositions said to be letters that do not have this typical shape, such as multi-columned tablets, usually belong to other genres or are drafts or archive copies. A case in point may be the so-called Tawagalawa Letter, a long text on a four-columned tablet, which is rhetorically framed as a letter to the king of Ahhiyawa.[49] Broad descriptions of the clay used for individual letter tablets are given in S. Košak's *Konkordanz*, attesting to the fact that there are differences, but X-ray fluorescence analysis of the letters' clay composition, which can indicate or at least exclude certain geographical origins (see Mynářová, this volume), has not yet been performed for Hittite letters,[50] although this would be highly desirable.

How the tablets would have been protected on their journey remains an open question. The one example claimed to be a fragment of a clay envelope (a practice used, e.g., for contemporary Assyrian letters and attested also in Anatolia during the Assyrian Colony period of the Middle Bronze Age) has been shown not to be one at all.[51] The use of baskets or boxes for transporting letters has been inferred, although insecurely, for Mesopotamia and Syria, but this is not actually attested in Hittite texts.[52] A reference in one text to "opening" a tablet before reading presumably refers to unwrapping it.[53] Quite possibly the letters were wrapped in cloth or put in a bag, which was then tied with cords fastened with sealed clay bullae.[54] Hagenbuchner[55] drew attention to the fact that the letters recovered from Building D on Büyükkale (see section 2.3) were found associated with a great many sealed bullae.[56] Could they have been originally fastened to bags containing these letters?[57]

In light of the evidence from the Hittite international correspondence found at Amarna (see Mynářová, this volume), it is conceivable that the letter tablets of the internal state correspondence were also intentionally baked in a kiln in order to secure their content and protect them during transport. There is no reference to such a process in the texts, and it would indeed be a peculiar way of treating documents clearly considered ephemeral (p. 41). The argument is complicated
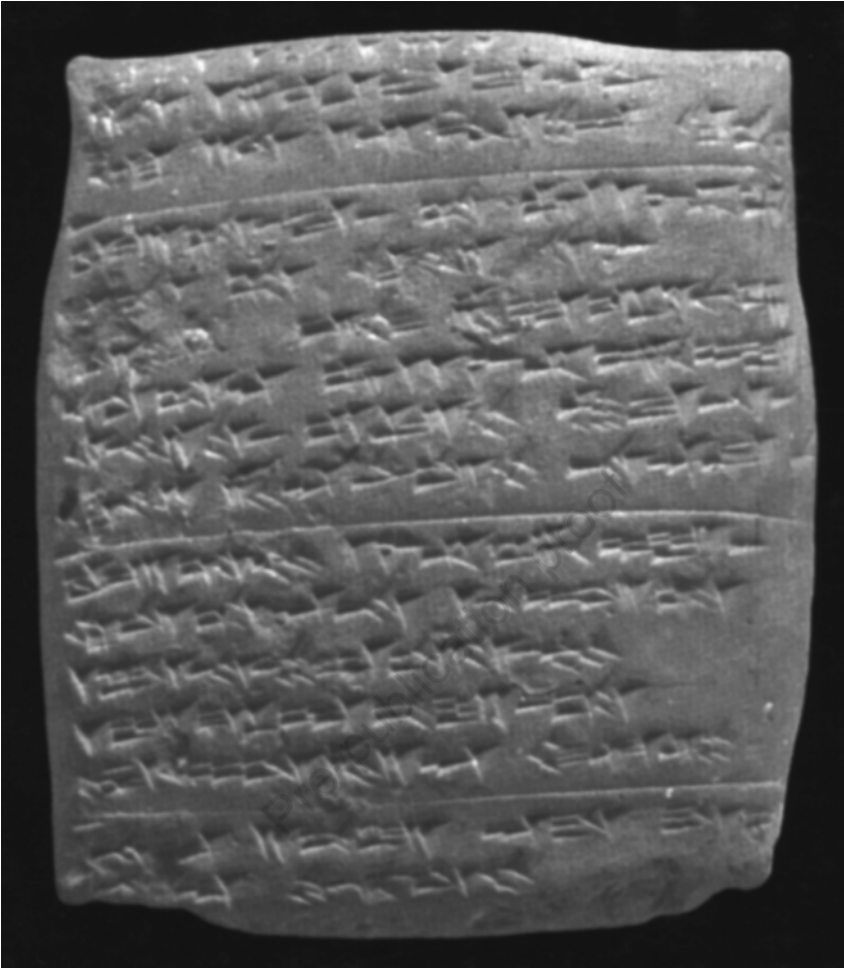
FIGURE 2.2. *A Hittite letter from Maşathöyük in portrait format (Alp 1991: no. 60).*
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by the fact that the vast majority of Hittite text finds stems from contexts that
were exposed to fire, usually during the destruction of the building in which
they were contained. Waal has recently reviewed the evidence and tentatively
concluded that Hittite tablets in general were not deliberately baked, adducing
worm-holes in one tablet, cracks in the surface of others indicating that they
had dried in the sun, and a partially unbaked tablet excavated at Kuşaklı.[58] It
therefore seems unlikely that the letters were routinely fired, but it is hoped that
the question will be fully resolved in the future by the application of scientific
methods of clay analysis.

FIGURE 2.3. *A Hittite letter from Maşathöyük in landscape format*
(Alp 1991: no. 21). © Türk Tarih Kurumu. Used with kind permission.

Besides clay tablets (Hittite *tuppi*[59]) inscribed in cuneiform writing, the Hittites also made use of "writing boards" (written GIŠ.ḪUR, possibly for Hittite *gulzattar*).[60] If the one recovered example of a contemporary writing board from the shipwreck of Uluburun[61] is anything to go by, these were folding tablets, probably covered in wax on which a message could be inscribed or incised (fig. 2.4). Wooden tablets were sealed by impressing a seal on a lump of clay (bulla) applied over the cords used to bind them.[62] There are references to extended communications using both writing boards and clay tablets for different stages of the correspondence.[63] Not only is it clear therefore that letters were written on writing boards, it appears that letter writing, even relating to the same issue, could be conducted on both media (see also p. 51).

But there is much debate as to what type of writing would have been used on these boards. Most recently, Willemijn Waal has argued that the writing board among the Hittites was solely used for writing in Anatolian Hieroglyphic script[64], although this remains controversial.[65] If Waal is correct, the choice of medium for a letter might have to do with the type of scribe who was available—a cuneiform or a hieroglyphic scribe. Indeed, there appear to have been special scribes who may be connected with writing on these wooden tablets, the "scribes on

FIGURE 2.4. *The wooden writing board from the shipwreck of Uluburun, late 14th century BC. The tablet's two boxwood leaves, each 3.5 inches high, were joined by three ivory hinges (only two of which have been recovered), allowing the writing board to be opened and closed. © Institute of Nautical Archaeology. Used with permission.*

wood" (^(LÚ.MEŠ)DUB.SAR GIŠ), who are listed separately from "normal" (presumably cuneiform) scribes in personnel lists and had their own hierarchies.[66] If Waal is not correct in assuming the exclusive use of a different type of script for the writing boards, the use of tablets or writing boards for communication may have been dictated by other factors, such as the subject matter of the correspondence.

Finally, the practice of writing in hieroglyphic script on lead strips, attested for Luwian-language letters in the 8th century BC, existed already in the Hittite period although the fragmentary nature of the sole known possible example makes it impossible to know whether this was a letter.[67] The language of this fragmentary piece cannot be determined for certain, although it is likely to be Luwian.

The Hittites adopted cuneiform from Mesopotamia, and the script remained strongly associated with the Akkadian language.[68] As elsewhere in the contemporary Middle East, Akkadian was the language of international diplomacy and scholarship. However, the vast majority of the state correspondence, except that with the vassals in Syria, was written in Hittite. Hittite was apparently used as a language of state throughout Anatolia in the 14th century, as evidenced also by a letter found at Amarna in Egypt sent to the Pharaoh from Arzawa, in which the

scribe asks his Egyptian counterpart to write back in Hittite.[69] Hittite remained the language of state correspondence in the 13th century, even at a time when we now assume that the more widely spoken language of the population was Luwian.[70] However, there are two fragmentary cuneiform letters in Luwian, although too broken to understand.[71] One of them is followed by a secondary letter (see section 3.3) in Akkadian, and the names of the scribes involved are also Akkadian.[72]

Numerous scribes, particularly at Maşathöyük, had Akkadian names.[73] Were these assumed names, or did these scribes actually hail from Akkadian-speaking regions in Syria or Mesopotamia? Scribes and other experts using the cuneiform script are certainly well attested as traveling between Syria, Assyria, Babylon, and Hattusa.[74] But none of the relevant scribes at Maşathöyük uses a cuneiform ductus that resembles Syrian or Babylonian writing, and it is therefore more likely that Hittite cuneiform scribes liked to take Akkadian names in order to signal their prestigious cuneiform literacy.

Although the only explicit testimony for Hittite scribes writing letters in Akkadian is contained in the Akkadian postscript to the Luwian letter mentioned above,[75] there is further evidence in the form of instructions to a Hittite scribe to write back in "Babylonian" (*pabilāʾu*),[76] perhaps for reasons of confidentiality so that others would not understand the communication. And another letter contains the extraordinary admission that the sender's messenger had "thrown away" a missive to the king because it was written in Babylonian:

(7–8) Regarding the fact that Wandapaziti drove to my lord in haste (9–10) and "threw away" the tablet which he had taken off, (11–13) I have not yet written to my lord the reason for which he threw it away.[77] (14–15) When the tablet was...ed, the scribe wh[o wrote the tablet?] for me, (16–17)...in Babylonian, [I/he do/did] not kno[w]...(KBo 18.54 obv. 7–17)

Even if the messenger, who is explicitly named, did not know Babylonian, the incident implies that he would have been able to read Hittite cuneiform.

3.2 *The Correspondents and the Subjects of their Letters*

From the previous discussion, it will be clear that while there were letters written on other materials and in other scripts, what survives are the clay tablets inscribed in cuneiform. A defining feature of the Hittite use of cuneiform, and very different from contemporary practice in Syria and Mesopotamia, is that the Hittites did not appear to use the script for private legal documents: all use of cuneiform was in some way associated with the state and temples, essentially the royal and priestly administration.[78] On the other hand, the profession of scribe would seem to have been the most widespread administrative office,[79] as evidenced by the hieroglyphic seal-impressions on clay bullae, from which it is also apparent that different offices, or titles, could be held by the same individual at the same time.

Hittite letter-writers had a strict code of address and greeting formulae which expressed the relative status of those participating in the correspondence.[80] Sometimes a letter consists of nothing more than an extended greeting formula and a conventionally phrased request to write back.[81] Even if the letters are broken, these first few lines often allow us to infer the status of sender and recipient. Letters to inferiors, for example, position the receiver's name second and often omit the greeting formula entirely. The following discussion of senders and recipients is based on the evidence assembled in the Appendix (for specifics see there).

At present we have comparatively few examples of letters exchanged between the king and queen, although it has been indicated that a number of these are among the unpublished texts from Ortaköy.[82] At Hattusa, the known letters were exchanged between the 13th-century king Hattusili III and his powerful wife Puduhepa, or after Hattusili's death, when she remained "Great Queen," between her and her son Tudhaliya IV. Letters to and from the king are proportionately plentiful among the Maşathöyük texts. His most frequent addressees there are Kassu, the "Chief Army Herald," and Himuili, the "Commander of the Watchpoint." The first of these is a military position, the second usually interpreted as mainly belonging to the civil administration.[83] Kassu and Himuili also communicate with each other as equals, in a tone that is frequently less than friendly. In Hattusa, letters from the king or queen to officials are rare, either being sent to officials in the capital when he or she was away or surviving as copies or drafts. The one letter from the queen to an official, one Tattamaru, appears to be a postscript, probably to a letter written by the king to someone in Hattusa.[84] Another letter shows the queen being kept abreast of military matters by an official at a crucial historical juncture.[85] Military officials operating at a distance from Hattusa would report to the king on decisions they had made and operations they were conducting. In one case reports from various military officials were gathered into one letter and sent to the king, asking for an oracle to be consulted.[86]

The gods played a key part in decision making, and issues relating to oracles are well represented in the corpus. Not only the king but also officials in the palace and urban administration concerned themselves with reports on augury or dreams. One letter found at Kuşaklı, ancient Sarissa, was sent by the town head-man (LÜ*ḪAZANNU*) to the "Chief of the Palace Servants," reporting negative oracle results and asking for the (local?) augurs to double-check.[87] In another letter, the king corrected the augury results of his augurs, instructing them to make new observations.[88]

Movements of troops and other personnel are frequently mentioned, especially in the period of Tudhaliya III and in the archive at Maşathöyük, where defense was needed against the Kaska invaders. Officials communicated and squabbled with each other about the minutiae of human resources. In one case

an official in Maşathöyük and another in Kizzuwatna in Plain Cilicia (modern Adana region), calling himself "The Priest," conducted an extended correspondence about the transfer of twenty staff. The great distance involved for this communication and the envisaged transfer of personnel is remarkable, as is the fact that the matter is to be referred for mediation to the palace, presumably based at Ortaköy (ancient Sapinuwa) at the time:

> Thus speaks the Priest, say to Kassu: Concerning what you wrote to me as follows: 'Your twenty people are in the environs? of the town Zikkasta. And because (my district) is a primary watchpoint, I will not give them to you on my own authority/of my own accord. Report them to the palace.' I am now in the process of reporting my (missing) servants to the palace. And because the land of Kizzuwatna is (also) a primary watchpoint, if your servants come down here neither will I give them back to you! (HKM 74; translation after Hoffner 2009: 235)

It appears that the transfer of personnel would have been possible without recourse to the palace, had the areas concerned not each been a "primary watchpoint." Another letter[89] may be connected with this affair, which seems to have involved a number of officials in various locations sending letters on both tablets and writing boards.

Letter writing was not confined to palace walls. The king and his officials also received or sent letters while on the road. A good example of the lively messenger and letter traffic that could accompany traveling dignitaries is provided by a letter sent by a high official detailing his failed attempts to catch up with some Assyrian envoys, one of whom was to meet up with the letter's recipient, either the king or another member of the royal family.[90] Letters received or written on the road may have been kept, in the original or as a copy, until returning home. An example is provided by an Akkadian-language letter found at Hattusa which seems to have been written by the king while traveling in Syria (possibly sent from Karkamiš), mentioning a meeting with the Egyptian king envisaged prior to a meeting with a Syrian vassal.[91]

3.3 Piggy-back Letters

At the end of a letter, another, usually shorter message could be appended, referred to as a "piggy-back letter" or German *Zweitbrief* ("secondary letter"). This occurs frequently, and usually the sender of this second message is someone other than the sender of the main letter, very often a scribe.[92] On one occasion, the king commissioned a postscript to one of his own letters, with a separate message to someone other than the main addressees.[93] There is no apparent rationale as to who could write such a secondary letter, other than that an opportunity presented itself to write to someone stationed in the same place where the main

letter was already being sent to. The postscripts thus offer us valuable information on who was to be found in whose company, or at least in a nearby location.

It is in these usually short postscripts that we come closest in all of the Hittite cuneiform sources to glimpsing the everyday concerns and personal affairs of Hittite officials. On the whole, the conduct of personal affairs by officials by means of sending a cuneiform letter is restricted to these postscripts. To write of personal issues in a letter was entirely the prerogative of the royal family. It would not have been appropriate, it seems, for an official to write a main letter to another official on personal business. Occasionally, it appears that a member of the royal family wrote a short greeting to another family member in the main letter and that an official used the opportunity to attach a much longer postscript. A good example is a letter inscribed with two messages, moreover in two different handwritings: the main letter is a short greeting from king Tudhaliya IV to his mother Puduhepa, covering just half of the tablet's obverse, while its remainder and all of the reverse are devoted to a message from [x-]$^{d?}$LUGAL-*ma* to Palla dealing with family affairs: there is talk of "your mother" and the "son of Palla."[94] In such a case, it seems that the main communicative content is contained in the postscript, but that it would not have been possible to send such a letter unless on the back of official state correspondence. Does this indicate a close state supervision of all correspondence, or at least a conception of communication by letter that made personal correspondence inappropriate for anyone but the royal family? Nevertheless, the fact that the possibility to write opportunistic "piggy-back letters" existed in the first place is evidence for a communication system that is much less streamlined than, say, the Neo-Assyrian state correspondence (Radner, this volume).

Many postscripts contain only a conventional greeting and a request for a reply, or sometimes a similarly conventionally phrased complaint that the correspondent had failed to reply to a previous communication. But sometimes far more complex narratives emerge. The so-called Tarhunmiya dossier concerning a scribe's house that was being improperly taxed in Maşathöyük has been reconstructed almost entirely from postscripts to various authorities solicited for help.[95] Also, other postscripts concern property belonging to the writer and demonstrate that at least some officials found themselves stationed away from their place of residence or origin.[96] Uzzu, who received the most postscripts in the Maşathöyük letters and was thus most likely stationed there, sent a "piggy-back letter" concerning his house in Hattusa.[97]

3.4 Messengers

In a passage of a treaty with a vassal state, the Hittite king advises his counterpart not to trust messengers if what they say is not the same as what is written on the tablet they are carrying.[98] Frequently there was no need seen for the messenger to carry a letter at all: it was common for messages to be delivered

orally, as demonstrated by a remark of the Western Anatolian vassal king of Mira in a letter that accompanied the Hittite official Pazzu, who may have fulfilled a long-term ambassadorial role in Mira,[99] on his journey back to Hattusa:

> Pazzu has recently become ill, and his ancestral gods have begun to trouble him. I have just sent him (back to Hattusa) to worship his ancestral gods. When he finishes worshipping the deities, may my lord send him back immediately. Let my lord also question him concerning the affairs of the land. (KBo 18.15, 4–19; translation after Hoffner 2009: 322)

The primary form of communication, the normal and default setting for contact, was the face-to-face meeting. Letters are clearly second best. When a personal meeting was not possible, reliable representation was needed to support one's request or report, especially in dealings with the king. Beyond passively reading out messages communicated by letter, scribes at the royal court sometimes appear to be arguing the case of the petitioners.[100] More usually, perhaps, the messenger delivering the letter was expected to act as advocate.

In Hittite, the most common term used to denote someone concerned with the delivery of messages[101] is *halugatalla-*, "messenger."[102] This term appears to be more a description of the function than a proper professional title: it seems indicative that no corresponding hieroglyphic sign has yet been identified among the many professional designations documented on hieroglyphic seals. However, several passages in the state correspondence speak of "my messenger" or "your messenger," which might indicate that officials sent men under their command; there are also messengers attached to certain cities.[103] But a telling passage from a bad-tempered exchange between the officials Kassu and Himuili from Maşathöyük, ancient Tapikka, indicates that all messengers used by the officials ultimately belonged to the king:

> Why are you (pl.) not sending my messengers (back) to me? Are your (sg.) servants too tired (to do so)? Do the messengers not belong to our lord? Even the land (itself) belongs to our lord. If only you (sg.) would keep writing me everything about how it is there. (HKM 55: 29–35; translation after Hoffner 2009: 201)

The messenger here was evidently supposed to bring a message back. If this did not occur it occasioned complaints. In the only case where a "messenger" is both given this title and identified by name, in a letter from Maşathöyük, the official Himuili complained to his superior Huilli that the latter had not sent back a message with his messenger and that he would now be sending another messenger, Sanda, to whom Huilli was to hand over certain weapons.[104]

Modern scholarship distinguishes between different types of messenger, although we must not necessarily expect the Hittite terminology to differentiate neatly between these functions.[105] There were those who delivered a message

(whether there was a tablet or not) and had the authority to negotiate on the sender's behalf (envoys), and those whose task was merely to deliver the letter (couriers).

The latter function of courier is probably designated by a title written with Sumerographic ᴸᴾKAŠ₄.E, literally "runner" (Hittite realization unknown). How much actual running such men would have done is unclear, especially as the distances involved were frequently too great,[106] but the implication would seem to be that they were traveling speedily. The courier is one of the officials "who sleep up in the palace," according to the *Instructions to the Gatekeeper*.[107] It is presumably his easy access to king and palace that made one courier a good candidate for the assassination of king Hantili.[108] These instances and two more references to "a courier from the palace"[109] may indicate a reserve of couriers managed by the palace. A specialized "scout courier" is thought to have transported messages through dangerous territory.[110]

In one ritual context, where one would expect the participants to appear with representative objects, the "runners" are paired with horses.[111] This provides a connection with another term used specifically for mounted bearers of messages, the "rider," written with Akkadographic ᴸᴾPETḪALLU (Hittite realization unknown). Such a "rider" was supposed to deliver a tablet to the king of Egypt, according to this passage:[112]

> As far as the issues regarding Egypt are concerned, as soon as you hear, write to me, my son. And as I have written this tablet to the king of Egypt, let your rider carry it. (KUB 26.90 i 1'–6'; cf. Hagenbuchner 1989b: 13–14)

There is a functional overlap between the "runners" and the "riders," who currently are not attested in the internal Hittite state correspondence: both were charged with transporting messages over long distances, with a view to speedy conveyance. We may certainly see the "rider" as a courier on horseback. Another rider appears in the context of diplomatic dealings with Egypt, in a situation where the impending winter clearly makes speed important. Queen Puduhepa's letter to Ramses II of Egypt mentions a rider in connection with a series of communications between Hattusa and Egypt that involved both writing boards and tablets (section 3.1):

> Concerning the fact that I wrote to my brother as follows: 'What civilian captives, cattle and sheep should I give (as a dowry) to my daughter? In my lands I do not even have barley. The moment my messengers reach you, let my brother dispatch a rider to me and let them bring documents (lit. writing boards) to the lords of the land and let them take away the captives, cattle and sheep which are in their charge and let them (i.e. the lords of the land) be of service to them.' I myself have sent messengers and tablets to them... The messengers went in, but he hurried back, your rider

[did not] come and my messenger did not come either. Thereupon I sent Zuzu, charioteer and eunuch, but he was delayed. At the moment that Pihasdu did arrive, it was already winter... (KUB 21.38: 17–23; translation after Hoffner 2009: 283–284)

Note the gradation from the nameless "messengers" to the "rider" to Zuzu, charioteer and eunuch, clearly a grandee. Similarly, a fragmentary text from Hattusa appears to distinguish between the failure of a "courier," possibly due to enemy activity, and the arrival of a named individual, Iyaliya, who is then sent to the king, notably said to "drive,"[113] presumably referring to travel by chariot:

(3') they will kill him... (4') and the courier [of] the palace who... (5') on him too [their?] hands... | (6') Iyaliya has driven over to me... | (13'–14') I sent o[ver] Iya[liya] to Your Majesty my lord... (KBo 18.57, obv. 3'–6', 13'–14'; cf. Hagenbuchner 1989b: 101–105)[114]

"Charioteers," written as Akkadographic ᴸᵁ*KARTAPPU* (Hittite realization unclear), were frequently connected with the business of delivering messages. Especially during the 13th century there is ample evidence that these officials were utilized as envoys to carry diplomatic messages, assuming key functions in foreign relations.[115] Relatives of vassal kings could hold positions among the Hittite king's charioteers, further underscoring the position's high status and its tie to international diplomacy.[116] Hattusili III stressed in his address to the king of Ahhiyawa how a charioteer was not just any old person, and that the one he has sent to him, Dabala-Tarhunda, who was to be detained as a hostage if the allied king so wished, was linked by marriage to the family of the queen, a very important family in Hattusa.[117] "Charioteers" were clearly grandees, the term designating a social class rather than a trade. Other high-status individuals could be used as envoys, too, such as in one case a cup-bearer.[118] Cup-bearers were frequently literate, as the sealings from the Nışantepe cache from Hattusa indicate.[119]

To conclude, apart from the "couriers," there is little evidence for a special reserve of professional messengers, specifically trained for that role. High-status individuals were frequently used as envoys and were expected to intercede actively on the sender's behalf, strengthening the message as communicated in the letters they transported.

3.5 Horses and Mules

We have already encountered horses in connection with the "runners" (at least in a ritual context) and discussed riders and charioteers, both associated prominently with horses.[120] There is currently no evidence from Hittite cuneiform texts that letters or messengers were transported by mule, the latter a key component in the organization of the Neo-Assyrian communication network (Radner, this volume).

But perhaps mules had a role to play after all, if one considers the professional title "Scribe of the *Donkey House."[121] This title is attested on a seal impression in hieroglyphic writing from Hattusa (fig. 2.5), as is the related title "Charioteer of the *Donkey House."[122] The precise nature of the equid represented by the hieroglyphic sign used in these titles, conventionally interpreted as a donkey (Laroche 1960: L. 101), has been extensively discussed, albeit without a definitive conclusion.[123] There are two forms of this sign: one where the equid's head has a single swept-back ear (Laroche 1960: L. 101/2), and another where this type of head features a kind of harness (Laroche 1960: L. 101/1). This contrasts with another, more common hieroglyphic sign that shows a more readily recognizable donkey head with two characteristically large ears (Laroche 1960: L. 100). Does the sign L. 101/1–2 in fact represents a mule?[124] There are good reasons for this assumption, beyond the fact that mules indeed have smaller ears than donkeys.

That the Hittite state used mules for long-distance communications is clear from some "letter-orders" from Middle Assyrian Harbe (modern Tell Chuera) in northeastern Syria, which concern provisioning for a passing Hittite diplomatic mission carrying presents and messages between the Hittite and the Assyrian rulers.[125] The embassy headed by the Hittite diplomat Teli-šarruma, on his way back from a trip to the Assyrian capital Assur (modern northern Iraq), was to be provided with rations, including fodder for four teams of four horses each, three teams of mules, and six donkeys. It is clear from these texts that feeding donkeys and mules for transport was considerably cheaper than feeding horses

Figure 2.5. *Impression of the hieroglyphic seal of Nini, "Scribe of the Mule House," from Nişantepe, Hattusa. The sign used for "mule" is L.101/2 (according to the system established by Laroche 1960). Reproduced from Herbordt 2005: pl. 50, no. 634, with kind permission.*

(see also Radner, this volume). However, according to the Hittite Laws (§180), the price of a mule (one mina = 40 shekels) was far in excess of that of a horse (10–20 shekels).[126] This is a significant price difference that can be compared with the Neo-Assyrian evidence (see Radner, this volume). Both mules and horses were thus expensive, either in their acquisition or in their maintenance, and their use was therefore mostly the preserve of the state. However, a Hittite legal text indicates that the palace, or more particularly the queen, could grant officials (the use of) mules and horses,[127] sometimes specifically for the purpose of long journeys of clearly international significance, such as to Babylon.[128] But should the animals die while in their care, the officials were responsible for replacing them from their own estates.[129]

Having established that the Hittites indeed used mules, we can return to two further instances of the hieroglyphic sign L. 101/2 that may represent these long-eared animals. First, in a hieroglyphic inscription in the Luwian language from the sacred pool at Yalburt (Konya province, Turkey), Tudhaliya IV boasts of having either used or faced, depending on interpretation, 4,100 *aliwanisa* (the translation of this word is disputed) in an obscure but clearly hostile context, emphasizing that there was no corresponding number of the kind of equids denoted by the sign L. 101/2.[130] A related phraseology is usually encountered with reference to troops and horses or chariotry in cuneiform Hittite annalistic texts.[131] It seems unlikely that Tudhaliya would have boasted about facing, or using, donkeys, while tough and expensive mules (see below) would certainly be worthy of mention in a royal inscription. Moreover, in mountainous Lycia, where the campaign was taking place, it is quite conceivable that mules would have been used for military purposes by either an enemy or by the Hittite king himself. But as there is no other evidence for the military use of mules among the Hittites, this passage remains unclear for the moment.

Second, a recently published hieroglyphic stamp seal from the Hatay Archaeological Museum may hold a further clue as to the identity of the animal denoted by the sign L. 101/2. The name currently read as Tarkasnatala is known from a hieroglyphic seal impression from Boğazköy[132] in the spelling L.101/2-*tà-la-a*. In the Hatay seal the sign form used for the first part of the name depicts the entire animal rather than only its head (fig. 2.6). This is the case with various sets of sign forms in hieroglyphic writing, where an abbreviated and a full form of the same sign are often found together in the signary, particularly with animal heads.[133] The animal's overall proportion as well as the shape of the head would seem to support the identification with a mule rather than a donkey, although a horse is not excluded. If the Boğazköy seal impression and the Hatay seal in fact offer differently drawn but identical spellings of the same name, the more detailed representation of the animal on the latter would considerably clarify the identity of the equid denoted by the

FIGURE 2.6. *Seal of the scribe Tarkasnatala (meaning "Mule-man"), from Hatay Archaeological Museum. The first part of the name may be written with a full-bodied form of the sign L.101/2. Reproduced from Dinçol, Dinçol & Peker 2012: 199 fig. 8a + b, with kind permission.*

sign L.101/2. While it may be too early to reach definitive conclusions concerning the complex group of hieroglyphic signs for equids and the various Luwian words they may express, the Hatay seal will doubtless play a significant role in the final analysis.

In any case, if we consider translating our hieroglyphic titles as "Scribe of the Mule House" and "Charioteer of the Mule House," there is a likely conceptual connection to the "Man of the Mule Stable" as attested in the Neo-Assyrian documentation,[134] apparently in a position of relatively elevated status within the Assyrian administration, which may be linked to the key role of the mule in the imperial communication system. That there should have been personnel specifically associated with the "mule house" also in the Hittite administration may suggest a similar value of the mule in the Hittite view, although whether this

is connected to a role specifically in enabling long-distance communications or more generally for all-round transport purposes must remain open.

Although there is currently limited explicit evidence, it is likely that state communication was regularly conducted by mounted messengers on horses or mules. The high expense alone would have necessitated a substantial involvement of the state and thus indicates the centralized underpinnings of the organization of the state communications. There is, however, no evidence for a relay system using riders like the one operated by the Neo-Assyrian Empire and its successor states (see especially Radner and Kuhrt, this volume).

3.6 Passports

Connected to long-distance overland travel is a concept known to the Hittites under the Luwian word *zarsiya-*. In the so-called Tawagalawa Letter,[135] the Hittite king explains what this is to the renegade Piyamaradu, when he tries to persuade him to leave the protection of the king of Ahhiyawa, where he is hiding, in order to come to Hattusa:

> A *zarsiya-*, moreover, in the land of Hattusa is as follows: if someone is given *sealed gifts*,[136] no harm will be done to him. Furthermore, I have conveyed this *zarsiya-*, saying 'Come, make your ad[dress?] to me', and I will put you on the road, and I will write to my brother (i.e., the King of Ahhiyawa) that I have put you on the road. (KUB 14.3 ii 62–66)

This type of guarantee allowed safe passage to envoys and may well have taken physical form as a passport, comparable to the documents attested in the Amarna and Persian period (Mynářová and Kuhrt, this volume). Whether such passports would have been used by internal messengers to navigate Hittite territory is unclear.

3.7 Roads

Within the Hittite lands, the system of roads protected by delegated officials and provided with road stations was key. The *Instructions to the Watchpoint Commander* (Akkadographic LÚ*BĒL MADGALTI*, Hittite *auriyas ishas*) make it clear that the Hittites distinguished various grades of roads. Most important were the "long roads" (frequently translated as "main roads"). It was the commander's duty to make sure these were kept clear and to post lookouts at night from watchtowers to observe them.[137] There are two words in Hittite for "road": *palsa-* refers to the major roads just described, and *haruwa-* to a minor path, whose Sumerographic writing (KA.GÌR, Akkadographic *PADĀNU*) would seem to indicate that this was specifically a footpath.[138]

No Hittite road has yet been identified with certainty, and it remains unclear whether they were paved, although this is thought to be unlikely.[139] But

strategically positioned roads were clearly fortified. A letter from Kassu to the king quotes what the Kaskan enemy is saying to himself:

> The enemy who has already invaded Tarittara numbers 7,000! He isn't leaving behind oxherds (or) shepherds. He is *supplying himself* with cattle. And he is saying: 'If they build this fortress, will not the roads lie open to them? But to us they will be closed. So what shall we do?' (ABoT 1.60, 10'–19'; translation after Hoffner 2009: 177)

The Hittite landscape, particularly to the south and west, is dotted with rock-cut monuments which frequently include hieroglyphic inscriptions. The traditional interpretation of these installations is that they were boundary markers delineating territorial units and areas of hegemony.[140] Another view, recently advanced, is that they served as way stations on routes, given that they are almost always found in the vicinity of water sources (and that they are frequently not immediately visible in the landscape, which does not seem to support their employment as border markers).[141] But while the monuments and their inscriptions have been studied in detail, the sites themselves have yet to be properly excavated, which would be needed to verify this attractive hypothesis. If it is correct, the rock monuments would document a system of regularly used routes with road stations using the natural amenities of the landscape for rest and recuperation, as well as affording opportunity for religious attention to the gods (as represented by the depictions of the monuments) while on a journey.

In Conclusion

What can be described as state correspondence in the Hittite world was intimately connected with the conduct of the king and the palace's interests. Those who conducted the correspondence of the state were essentially always conducting the king's correspondence. While resources clearly existed to facilitate internal state communication in writing, face-to-face communication (in person or by messenger) generally had priority, and written letters were in the main reserved for unusual or difficult cases. The cost of maintaining written long-distance communication was high, especially if involving horses, and the training necessary for the messengers extensive, especially if they needed to be able to read. The necessity for the messenger to explain the message comprehensibly and return an answer, with or without a tablet, calls for these people to have been reliable and known individuals.

Only very rarely are letters portrayed as reference documents; on the whole, they seem to have served as aide-mémoires in the transmission of messages. As a consequence, there does not seem to be any need for regular archiving, although the big letter corpora of the time of Tudhaliya III from Maşathöyük and Ortaköy

(sections 2 and 2.1), while they are the coincidental results of the destruction of the buildings they were stored in, demonstrate clearly that the volume of the internal state correspondence was large. These corpora of state correspondence, written during a time of crisis and war, also clearly demonstrate the importance of long-distance communication for the cohesion of the Hittite state. While busy with the Kaskan invasion from the north, king and palace were nevertheless able to engage with the affairs of state elsewhere.

Officials communicate on their own personal matters only in the form of postscripts appended to missives already being sent in matters of state, although the organization of messenger traffic lay within their remit, in that the messengers were under their authority. While those in higher state service could rely on the palace administration to provide couriers if necessary, the primary recourse would generally be to the pool of their own staff. This is consonant with a view of Hittite social organization that sees the officials as ruling their own spheres of power, with their own intersecting circles of dependents.

Let us conclude with some remarks on the ideology of Hittite state control in light of the state correspondence. From a modern perspective, the state's reliance on a relatively mobile supreme executive is striking.[142] Not only did the king regularly go on campaign against persistently rebellious neighbors in Anatolia and Syria, he was also obliged to perform numerous festivals at various locations in the Hittite heartland. Failure to perform these correctly was expected to be punished by the gods and needed to be atoned for. While these festivals obviously had a religious function, the circuit of festival performance included some of the most strategically important cities, and the king's presence would have allowed for a review of the local military and other provisions.

Judging from our impressionistic set of evidence, we must assume that wherever the king went he was constantly bombarded with requests, in person or by message from all around the Hittite territories. The state correspondence throws an interesting light on the level at which some kings appear to have been personally involved in decision making (see p. 47). The image of the king as surrounded by the incompetence of his nobles and officials is known already from Old Hittite literary texts, such as the *Siege of Uršu* and the *Palace Chronicles*.[143] The ideology over and above the reality was that the king alone was competent to run the Hittite state.

But while this ideology shines through also in the letters, we should not forget that the available letters tend not to present the normal state of affairs. The methodological problems of their survival notwithstanding (section 2.3), most were written in the face of unusual situations or problems. The documented cases are those where the normal *modus operandi*—about which we know pitifully little because it was taken for granted and not documented—had failed. Most of the time, the officials were perfectly able to make decisions on their own.

Appendix

The following presents a breakdown of the state correspondence used as the basic corpus for this essay. Categorizations according to E. Laroche, *Catalogue des Textes Hittites* (CTH), are given beside publication, find spot and palaeography. For the last, the following sigla are used from S. Košak's online *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte* (www. hethiter.net): mh "Mittelhethitisch," jh "Junghethitisch," sjh "Spätjunghethitisch." Where I disagree with these classifications I have used MS "Middle Script," NS "New Script," and LNS "Late New Script." In addition, the following abbreviations are used for specific find spots within Hattusa: Bk = Büyükkale; HaH = Haus am Hang ("House on the Slope"); T.I = Temple I, while k.A. stands for "keine Angabe" and denotes text finds without further information available concerning their specific find spot in Hattusa.

Included are also 36 letters from the relevant CTH categories that have been classified as international correspondence and ten that specifically belong to, or should be considered for inclusion in, the Egypto-Hittite correspondence. PS = postscript.

Royal Couple

CTH 180: KUB 23.85 Hattusa jh (PS to king's letter Marizza 2009: 172); CTH 187: KBo 18.2 p/10 jh; KBo 18.1 Bk D p–q/10–11 jh (PS to Lupakki); CTH 190: KUB 48.88 Hattusa jh (PS from Hišmi-Teššub to?)

King to Official

CTH 185: KBo 8.21 Bk A r/10. CTH 186: KBo 18.46 Bk D o-p/10-11 jh; CTH 187: KBo 32.200 O-St T. VIII k.A. CTH 208: KBo 13.63 HaH jh (+ PS from king); KUB 31.101 Hattusa mh; KBo 16.52 Bk aa/22 jh; Bo 3268 Hattusa jh; KUB 26.90 Hattusa sjh

Official to King

CTH 188: KBo 18.52 Bk A rm 5 k.A.; KBo 18.59 Bk A rm 5 mh; KBo 18.74 Bk D o/10 MS jh; KBo 18.17 Bk E jh; KBo 18.29 Bk D MS (jh); KBo 18.60 Bk D MS? (jh); KBo 18.62 Bk D p/10 jh; KBo 18.16 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.58 Bk D p-q/10–11 mh; KBo 18.30 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.51 Bk D p-q/10–11 mh; KBo 18.31 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.50 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.54 Bk D p-q/10–11 mh? (+ PS to king); CTH 190: KBo 18.67 Bk D p/10 jh (+ PS from Palla to ¹*ši*–[...]); KBo 18.56 Bk D n-o/10 LNS; KBo 18.106 Bk D p/10 jh; KBo 18.116 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh; CTH 194: KBo 8.18 Bk aa/16 mh; CTH 198: KBo 9.83 Hattusa LNS (jh) (+ PS); CTH 201: KBo 18.14 Bk A mh?; CTH 203: KUB 40.1 Hattusa sjh CTH 205: KUB 57.123 Hattusa sjh; CTH 209: KBo 18.91 T.I L/19 jh; KBo 18.53 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.75 Bk p-q/10–11 jh?; KUB 57.3 Hattusa sjh; KUB 18.3 T.I Südareal jh; CTH 210: KBo 8.22 Bk D mh; KBo 12.61 HaH L/18 sjh; KUB 23.94 Hattusa sjh; CTH 215: KBo 32.202 O-St VIII mh

Probably from Official to King

CTH 190: KBo 18.86 T.I mh; CTH 209: KBo 18.69 Bk A rm 4 mh; KBo 18.57 Bk A rm 5 mh; KBo 18.79 Bk E Mauerkasten g/14 jh; KBo 18.49 Bk A outside rm 6 mh; KBo 18.36 Bk C p/16 jh; KBo 18.32 Bk A rm 5; KBo 18.73 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.78 Bk p-q/10–11 jh (Marizza 2009: 145 Early Empire); KBo 18.72 Bk p-q/10–11 jh (+ PS from Ur-Teššub); KBo 18.64 Bk p-q/10–11 mh; KBo 18.34 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 2.11 Bk E jh; KBo 18.128 Bk p-q/10–11 mh?; KBo 18.33 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; CTH 210: KBo 14.49 Bk H (surface) mh?; KUB 23.100 Hattusa jh; KBo 18.88 Bk D n-o/14–15 jh

Official to Queen

CTH 187: KBo 18.6 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh (PS to Palla); CTH 188: KBo 18.11 Bk E jh; KBo 18.47 Bk B r/14 jh; KBo 18.45 Bk B q-r/13 jh; KBo 9.84 Bk D o/11 jh; KBo 18.13 Bk D p-q/10–11 NS (mh?); KBo 18.8 Bk D p-q/10–11 k.A.; CTH 192: KUB 19.23 Hattusa jh; CTH 195: KBo 15.28 Bk D m/12 mh; CTH 209: KBo 8.23 Bkaya jh LNS

Probably to Queen

KBo 18.9 Bk D l/12 sjh; KBo 18.114 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh

King to Vassal

CTH 182: KUB 19.55+ T.I jh; CTH 186: KBo 18.134 Bk A jh; KBo 18.48 Bk sjh; CTH 191: KUB 19.5+ T.I jh; KUB 3.56 Hattusa LNS (Akkadian); KBo 18.22 Bk D p/10 LNS (jh); CTH 209: KBo 18.27 Bk F sjh; KUB 57.11 Hattusa jh

Probably from King to Vassal

CTH 208: KBo 28.57+ T.I Syrian? (Akkadian); KUB 3.80 Hattusa NS? (Akkadian)

Vassal to King

CTH 187: KBo 28.83 Bk D o-p/14 Syrian (Akkadian); CTH 193: KBo 28.53 Bk A rm 6 Syrian (Akkadian); KBo 8.16 Bk G Syrian (Akkadian); CTH 202: KBo 18.15 Bk C jh; CTH 208: KBo 28.76 Bk A outside north of rm 6 Syrian (Akkadian); KBo 28.78 Bk A t/10 Syrian?; KBo 28.79 Bk A t/9–10 Syrian?; KBo 28.86 Bk D m/13–14 Syrian?; KBo 36.103 (?) Bk A rm 4 MA; KUB 42.70 Büyükkale Syrian?; KBo 28.56 Bk A fill r-s/11 (Hittite?); CTH 209: KBo 18.68 Bk p-q/10–11 mh (Hittite); KUB 23.87 Hattusa, LNS jh (not to king: Hagenbuchner 1989b: 229)

Probably Vassal to King

KUB 57.10 Hattusa jh

Vassal to Queen

CTH 188: KBo 18.12 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh (PS only); CTH 208: KBo 28.54 Bk A rm 4 Syrian (Akkadian); KBo 28.103 Bk A rm 4 jh (Akkadian); KBo 28.55 Bk A rm 4 Syrian (Akkadian)

Official to Official

CTH 188: KBo 18.4 Bk F d/12 LNS (jh); CTH 190: KBo 18.95 Bk E mh?; KBo 18.104 Bk A s/11–12 mh?; KBo 18.96 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.97 Bk D p-q/10–11 (PS to Lupakki from "your son," main letter not attributable); KBo 18.107 south of T.I surface, jh; KBo 18.100 Bk D Schutterde 1b jh; KBo 18.99 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh; Bo. 2009/2 Oberstadt, Tal vor Sarıkale, mh; CTH 197: KBo 9.82 Bk B r/13 LNS; CTH 208: KBo 28.82 Bk C q-r/17 Assyrian/Mittanian (Akkadian); KBo 28.60 Bk E h-i/13 MA (Akkadian); KBo 28.89 Bk E MS? (k.A., Akkadian); CTH 209: KBo 18.66 Bk A rm 5 mh; KBo 18.87 Bk D p/10 jh; KBo 18.76 Bk p-q/10–11 MS; KBo 18.35 Bk p-q/10–11 mh; KUB 57.1 Hattusa jh; KUB 57.2 Hattusa jh; VS 28.129 Hattusa jh (Marizza MH); KBo 9.86 Bk A jh; KUB 23.97 Hattusa jh; KUB 23.86 Hattusa jh

Probably Official to Official

CTH 186: ABoT 2.4 Hattusa jh; KBo 28.99 T.I MS? (Akkadian); KBo 20.108 Bk D jh; KBo 18.77 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; CTH 190: KBo 18.98 Bk. D k.A.; KBo 18.101 Bk A s-t/12 MS (jh) + PS

Official to Vassal (Booked under Officials)

CTH 196: KBo 9.81 Hattusa jh

Sender and Recipient Unattributed

CTH 190: KBo 18.105 Bk A rm 6 jh; KBo 18.37 Unterstadt K/20 East mh; KBo 9.79 Bk D o/12 jh; KBo 18.103 Bk D p-q/10–11 MS? (jh); KBo 18.112 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.110 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.108 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.113 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.113 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.102 Bk D p-q/10–11 MS (k.A.); KBo 18.115 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.111 Bk D p-q/10–11 jh (just PS); KBo 18.109 prob. Bk D p-q/10–11 jh; Bo 2007/1 Oberstadt, Tal vor Sarıkale mh; CTH 208: KBo 28.67 Bk A rm 4 MA (Akkadian); KBo 36.102 Bk A rm 6 Syrian (Akkadian); KBo 28.70 Bk A rm 5 NS (Akkadian); KBo 28.69 Bk A rm 5 MA? (Akkadian); KBo 28.73 Bk E MA (Akkadian); KBo 2.104 Hattusa (Akkadian?); KBo 36.106 Bk A p-q/9 k.A. (Akkadian?); KBo 28.87 Bk E (Akkadian); KBo 28.88 Bk A v/11 Syrian? (Akkadian); KBo 36.108 T.I k.A. (Akkadian); KBo 28.95 Bk D b/10 Syrian? (Akkadian); KBo 28.97 T.I Syrian? (Akkadian); KBo 28.100 T.I k.A. (Akkadian); KBo 28.101 Bk D p-q/10–11 NS? (Akkadian); KBo 36.107 T.I Mag 11 k.A. (Akkadian); FHL 64 Hattusa k.A. (Akkadian); CTH 209: KBo 18.39 Bk A rm 5 LNS (jh); KBo 18.7 Bk M jh; KBo 18.82 Bk D jh; KBo 18.26 Bk A jh; KBo 18.89 Bk F sjh;

KBo 46.63 Bk K jh; KBo 12.46 HaH LNS (jh); KBo 12.45 HaH jh; KBo 12.55 HaH jh; KBo 50.81 Unterstadt L-M/17 jh; KBo 49.134 HaH jh; KBo 12.40 HaH jh; KBo 12.62 HaH mh; KBo 18.19 Bk M jh; KBo 50.83 T.I jh; KBo 18.123 Bk D p/10 mh; KBo 18.44 Bk D p/10 mh; KBo 18.121 BK D p/10 jh; KBo 50.84 T.I jh; KBo 50.88 T.I jh; KBo 50.87 T.I? jh; KBo 47.1 Bk M jh; KBo 18.10 Bk M jh; KBo 47.2 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.119 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.129 Bk p-q/10–11 MS? (jh); KBo 18.63 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.40 Bk p-q/10–11 mh; KBo 50.90 T.I L/19 jh; KBo 18.53 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.83 Bk p-q/10–11 mh?; KBo 18.71 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 47.194 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.38 Bk p-q/10–11 NS (mh); KBo 18.70 Bk p-q/10–11 k.A.; KBo 18.81 Bk p-q/10–11 mh; KBo 18.94 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.93 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.85 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.125 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.90 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.42 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.124 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 47.191 Bk p-q/10–11 mh?; KBo 18.84 Bk p-q/10–11 mh; KBo 18.126 Bk p-q/10–11 jh; KBo 18.127 Bk p-q/10–11 k.A.; KBo 18.122 Bk p-q/10–11 k.A. (MS?); KBo 18.131 Bk p-q/10–11 mh; KBo 18.75 Bk p-q/10–11 k.A.; KBo 18.92 Bk p-q/10–11 MS (k.A.); KBo 18.55 Bk p-q/10–11 k.A.; KUB 60.62 Hattusa sjh; KUB 60.104 Hattusa jh; KUB 31.80 Hattusa jh; KUB 23.110 Hattusa jh; KUB 57.7 Hattusa jh; KUB 57.5 Hattusa jh; KUB 57.12 Hattusa jh; KUB 23.104 Hattusa jh; KUB 57.9 Hattusa jh; Bo 2006/1 AA 2007, 86-88 mh; KBo 18.43 T.I sjh; KBo 32.145 T.XII mh; KBo 32.140 T.XVIII mh; KBo 42.69 Bk mh; KBo 42.20 Bkaya mh; KBo 42.49 Bkaya sjh; VS 28.132 Hattusa jh; KBo 18.5 Bk D: p/10 jh; CTH 210: KBo 9.78 Bk N jh (+ PS to Luwa); KBo 40.5 Bk E jh; KBo 9.85 Unterstadt J/20; KBo 50.91 Unterstadt J/20 jh; KBo 10.8 Bk K sjh; KBo 14.50 Bk A mh; KUB 19.16 Hattusa jh; KUB 23.60 Hattusa jh; Durham 2465 Hattusa jh

Not a Letter?

CTH 187: KBo 50.78+ T.I jh; KBo 18.41 Bk p-q/10–11 LNS (jh); KBo 50.82 T.I; KBo 50.80 Unterstadt K/20 mh; KBo 50.102 T.I jh; KBo 18.61 Bk D p/10 jh; KBo 50.89 T.I jh; KBo 18.130 Bk p-q/10–11 MS (k.A.); FHL 87 Hattusa jh; IBoT 4.324 Hattusa jh; KUB 23.45 Hattusa jh; KUB 19.33 Hattusa jh; VS 28.106 Hattusa jh (not a letter: Waal 2010: 82 fn. 230)

International Correspondence

CTH 186: KBo 18.18 T.I sjh; CTH 187: KBo 13.57 HaH L/18 b/5–6 jh; CTH 188: KBo 28.77 Bk A u/11 to king (?) Assyrian/Mittanian script (Akkadian); KBo 28.81 Bk C q/16 from (?) king to? Assyrian/Mittanian script (Akkadian); CTH 190: KBo 18.28+ T.I; CTH 208: KBo 28.61++ Bk B r/14 + D o/14 + D m/13–14 + Bk fill poss. from A, MA (Akkadian); KBo 28.154 T.I unclear (Akkadian); CTH 209: KBo 18.135 Bk D jh; KBo 51.2 T.I sjh; KBo 52.2 T.I jh; KUB 26.70 Hattusa jh; KUB 23.98 Hattusa jh; KUB 23.109+ Hattusa jh; KUB 31.47 Hattusa, jh; KUB 21.40 Hattusa jh; CTH 210: HT 97 Hattusa jh; KUB 23.107 Hattusa jh; KUB 23.93 Hattusa sjh; KUB 26.88 Hattusa jh

Probably International Correspondence

KBo 36.105: Bk K w/4 (Akkadian); KBo 28.90 Bk F MA? (Akkadian); KBo 28.91 T.I (Akkadian); KBo 28.72 Bk E rm 3 (Akkadian); KBo 28.92 T.I NS? (Akkadian); KBo 28.144

Hattusa NS? (Akkadian); KUB 3.77 (Middle Assyrian); CTH 209: KUB 60.74 Hattusa sjh; KUB 57.4 Hattusa, jh; CTH 210: KBo 14.48 Bk A jh

Egypto-Hittite

KUB 57.124 Hattusa (Egypt? Akkadian); KUB 3.56 (Egypt, Akkadian); KUB 3.50 (Egypt, Akkadian); KBo 18.23 Bk sjh; KUB 26.89 Hattusa; KUB 26.53 Hattusa; KUB 60.150 Hattusa MS (jh); KUB 21.36 Hattusa jh; KUB 21.35 Hattusa jh; KUB 57.9 Hattusa jh; KUB 3.79 Hattusa jh; VBoT 7 Hattusa jh; KUB 3.48 (Egypt, Akkadian); KUB 3.35 (Egypt, Akkadian); KBo 28.102 T.I (Egypt? Akkadian)

Probably Egypto-Hittite

KBo 50.86 T.I k.A. (MS)

68. Moran 1992: 348, with reference to EA 286: 13.
69. Goren, Finkelstein & Na'aman 2004: 30.
70. Goren, Finkelstein & Na'aman 2002: 202; Goren, Finkelstein & Na'aman 2004: 134–61, 166–69, 226–31, 243–46, 262–69, 279–86.
71. Goren, Finkelstein & Na'aman 2002: 202; Goren, Finkelstein & Na'aman 2004: 161–64, 233–39, 265–79.
72. Goren, Finkelstein & Na'aman 2002: 202; Goren, Finkelstein & Na'aman 2004: 322–25.
73. Goren, Finkelstein & Na'aman 2002: 202; Goren, Finkelstein & Na'aman 2004: 323–25.
74. Mynářová 2012b.
75. Cf. Hane, an Egyptian interpreter to Mittani (EA 21: 24), and Mihuni, an Egyptian interpreter to Babylonia (EA 11: 6–16).
76. Holmes 1975; Tarawneh 2011.
77. Some letters are addressed to the client kings or members of their retinue while present at the Egyptian court: good examples are EA 97 and EA 170 (containing two messages, one to Aziru and the other one to the members of his retinue).
78. Goren, Finkelstein & Na'aman 2004: 29.
79. Mynářová 2011: 123–25. The dates and other details may have been added in cases when the king was not present in the city at the time when the message arrived: Hagen 2011.
80. Thus EA 151: 25–34.

Chapter 2: The Hittite World

1. The following abbreviations are used in this chapter: ABoT 1 = Balkan 1948; ABoT 2 = Akdoğan & Soysal 2011; CHD = *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (eds. H. G. Güterbock, H. A. Hoffner et al., Chicago 1980–); CTH = Laroche 1971; HKM = Alp 1991a; KBo = *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Leipzig and Berlin 1923–; KUB = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, Berlin 1921–; SAA 5 = Lanfranchi & Parpola 1990; VBoT = Goetze 1930; VS 28 = Jakob-Rost 1997.
2. Ullmann 2010: 170, 258, 281.
3. Schachner 2011.
4. In Ankuwa: KBo 4.4 ii 56, iv 55; KBo 5.8 ii 7 (Goetze 1933: 130, 140, 152); in Katapa: KUB 19.37 ii 37–38 (Goetze 1933: 170); in Marassantiya: KBo 16.17 iii 23; in Arzawa (i.e. the West): KBo 3.4 iii 38 (Goetze 1933: 27).
5. HKM 17: 9–12 (Hoffner 2009: 124); KBo 18.79: 28–31 (Hoffner 2009: 335); KBo 18.35 (Hagenbuchner 1989b: 166–167; Marizza 2009: 136–137).
6. Glatz & Matthews 2009: 56.
7. Müller-Karpe 1998: 109–112. On routes to the east see Ökse 2007.
8. Gander 2010.
9. Garstang & Gurney 1959; but see Gurney 1992; Hawkins 1998: 22. Further literature: Marizza 2009: 60 fn. 2.
10. Hawkins 1998: 22.
11. Heinhold-Krahmer 1977.
12. Niemeier 2008.
13. Summary of the debate concerning the identity of the Ahhiyawa: Fischer 2010.
14. For Wilusa see Hawkins 1998; skeptical: Heinhold-Krahmer 2004.

15. Philologists, proceeding largely from stages in the development of the cuneiform script at Hattusa, sometimes distinguish between an Old Kingdom (c. 1650–1500 BC), a Middle Kingdom (c. 1500–1350 BC) and a New Kingdom, or Empire period (c.1350–1200 BC). But while a rough dating of Hittite tablets is possible according to these palaeographic criteria—Old Script (late 16th to 15th century), Middle Script (late 15th to early 14th century), New Script (late 14th century to early 13th century), Late New Script (second half of 13th century)—these may not necessarily correspond to politically relevant periods.

16. Glatz 2009.

17. Woolley 1955: 166–171, fig. 59; Yener 2008: 176, 180; Akar 2013. For the hegemonic position of Alalah in the administration of the Amuq and northern Orontes region during the 13th century BC see Archi & Venturi 2012: 24–26, 54.

18. Rieken 2006.

19. See Edel (1994; in German) for an edition of the Hittite correspondence with Egypt and Mora & Giorgieri (2004; in Italian) for the correspondence with Assyria.

20. Information courtesy Ortaköy's excavator, A. Süel. See also Süel 2001; 2010: 820–823; Ünal 1998: 17–45; Hoffner 2009: 252–262.

21. Salvini 1994; Hoffner 2009: 75–80.

22. KBo 1.11 (edition: Beckman 1995b).

23. Klinger 1998: 372; Weeden 2011a: 75–76.

24. Goren, Mommsen & Klinger 2010: 694. The clay is there associated with "Upper Euphrates fabrics."

25. van den Hout 2009.

26. Although KBo 31.40, which mentions Egypt, may belong to his reign (de Martino 2005: 292); perhaps also KBo 8.18 (de Martino 2005: 293–294; Hagenbuchner 1989b: 47–48).

27. The letter KBo 18.86 seems to touch on Arnuwanda I's dealings with a disloyal Central West Anatolian ally known from other texts as Madduwatta. Literature: Marizza 2009: 87. See KUB 14.1, Edition: Goetze 1928; Beckman 1999: 153–160.

28. E. Laroche classified CTH 171–185 as Royal Letters; added since: CTH 186–190.

29. Hoffner 2009: 43.

30. van den Hout 2007.

31. Schachner 2011: 181. The exact time of abandonment is not clear.

32. Letters: KBo 32.200, KBo 32.202 (Temple VIII); KBo 32.145 (Temple XII); KBo 32.140 (Temple XVIII).

33. Seeher 2001; Schachner 2011: 112–113.

34. Table 2.3 does not include the isolated finds from Building G (KBo 8.16), Building H (KBo 14.49) or Building N (KBo 9.78) on Büyükkale, which are, however, included in the summary total. For specifics, see the appendix to this chapter.

35. S. Košak, *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte* (www.hethiter.net), accessed 02/01/2013. See further Košak 1995; Alaura 2001.

36. Hoffner 2009: 41–44.

37. Maximally 18 of the 70 tablets are written with Middle Hittite palaeography. KBo 18.76: reign of Suppiluliuma I (Hagenbuchner 1989b: 154). KBo 18.53: reign of Hattusili III, i.e., mid-13th century (Marizza 2009: 150). The date of KBo 18.54 is debated (reign of Tudhaliya III: Marizza 2009: 59–60; Suppiluliuma I or slightly earlier, i.e., mid-14th century: Hoffner 2009: 340, with further literature).

38. Güterbock 1971.
39. H.G. Güterbock (1971), when discussing a similar find context (excavated in 1933) with omen reports and letter fragments, concluded that the Hittites considered both to be ephemeral documents.
40. If the texts from the dump were originally part of the inventory of Building D, then 97 of the 691 fragments found there would be letters, a higher concentration of letters than in any other building on the Büyükkale citadel.
41. For evidence for such sorting procedures see Alaura 2001. Note, however, the presence of a large number of sealed bullae in Building D, which may be connected with the letters (see below, section 3.1).
42. A similar phrase "keep this tablet safe" also occurs in KUB 60.69 rev. 4', but most likely refers to safekeeping during a journey.
43. van den Hout 2005.
44. Although there is one exception: KBo 50.85 + KUB 8.79//KUB 26.92. This letter concerns events in Syria and may have been copied due to the significance of the accusations being made against the official Tattamaru who is reported to have destroyed a tablet of the king. That Tattamaru had fallen out of royal favour seems apparent from a letter postscript, possibly to a letter of the king, in which the queen berates him for his behaviour after the death of his wife, the queen's niece (KUB 23.85, Hagenbuchner 1989b: 15–16; Marizza 2009: 172–173; Hoffner 2009: 364–365).
45. Waal 2010: 82 n. 230 for a discussion of some letters that are not single-columned: e.g., KUB 23.101 and KBo 18.24, addressed to the king of Assur, could be drafts or archive copies. One might add KUB 21.40, perhaps part of the correspondence with Egypt concerning a marriage; KUB 23.93 which Hagenbuchner (1989b: 419) connected with the so-called Tawagalawa Letter (KUB 14.3), thus also part of the international correspondence (if it is a letter at all); KUB 23.97, apparently a letter between officials detailing an estrangement of some kind; KUB 19.16 (very broken); KUB 26.90, again international correspondence, but probably a practice tablet (see below, section 3.4).
46. Source: S. Košak, *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte* (www.hethiter.net), accessed 17/01/2013.
47. The rich text finds from Ugarit, Hatti's client kingdom in northern Syria, include 74 letters between vassals, officials and the Hittite king written in Akkadian (see also Mynářová, this volume).
48. Hoffner 2009: 45 on the basis of the letters published in photograph in Alp 1991b; Waal 2010.
49. See above, section 2.3 with fn. 47, and below, section 3.6.
50. Goren, Mommsen & Klinger 2010 and cf. above, section 2.1 for the results on the analysis of the *Siege of Uršu* tablet.
51. Hoffner 2009: 46–47; van den Hout & Karasu 2010.
52. Hoffner 2009: 55, based on Hagenbuchner 1989a: 24 fn. 83. However, none of the Old Babylonian texts cited there refer to messengers transporting tablets.
53. KBo 18.48 obv. 17; Hagenbuchner 1989b: 32.
54. van den Hout & Karasu 2010.
55. Hagenbuchner 1989a: 34.
56. Güterbock 1942: 4.
57. For a reconstruction of such (leather) bags see Herbordt 2005: 38e.
58. Waal 2010: 39.

59. Written as Akkadographic *TUPPU*.

60. Note that W. Waal (presentation at the 8th International Congress of Hittitology, Warsaw, September 2011) argues that this is also a semi-logographic writing GUL-*zattar* and hides a Luwian word **kwanzattar*.

61. Payton 1991; Symington 1991. Writing boards were also widely used elsewhere in the ancient Near East. Actual examples have been recovered from several Neo-Assyrian sites, including one 8th century BC example from Kalhu (Nimrud) that still had wax and even cuneiform writing on it: Oates & Oates 2001: 92–93.

62. Herbordt 2005: 25 with fn. 141.

63. KBo 18.69; KBo 18.39; HKM 60: 4–6 (Alp 1991b: 233–234, 337; = fig. 2.2): "As for what I just wrote to you on a wooden tablet concerning the law-suit about Tarhunmiya's house, pay attention (to the) house of Tarhunmiya, decide his law-suit, and treat him well!"

64. Waal 2011.

65. Weeden 2011a: 234–237.

66. But note that van den Hout 2010 argued that this designation means nothing more than "clerks" and that the reference to "wood" contained in their title refers in fact to a kind of box or container associated with the administration, the GIŠ*tuppa-*.

67. Bittel 1938; Akdoğan & Hawkins 2010.

68. Akkadograms were used as allograms in Hittite-language texts to denote Hittite words, as were Sumerograms (which were also used as logograms in Akkadian-language texts in Mesopotamia).

69. VBoT 2. Yakubovich 2010: 103–106.

70. van den Hout 2006; Rieken 2006; Yakubovich 2010.

71. KBo 8.17; KBo 29.38 (edition: Starke 1985: 368–369).

72. Even if one of them has the appearance of a mock-Akkadian name: *Na-bu-u-na-ṣa-ar* KBo 8.17 obv. 9'. His colleague Mār-Šerua has a proper Akkadian name, attested also for an official connected with the Hittite administration at Emar in Syria (Hagenbuchner 1989b: 166).

73. Alp 1998; Beckman 1983; Beckman 1995a; Hoffner 2009.

74. Note the physician Rabâ-ša-Marduk who is attested at Babylon, Assur and Hattusa: Heeßel 2009. Further the scribe Kidin-Gula at Emar: Cohen 2004.

75. KBo 28.82, from Building C on Büyükkale in Hattusa, is an Akkadian letter to Hittite officials, most likely concerning border issues in the Kašiyari mountains (modern Ṭur Abdin on the border between Turkey and Syria). This letter has been assumed to come from Assyria (Güterbock 1942). The only other two letter fragments in Akkadian that could possibly belong to the correspondence of Hittite officials are written in what would seem to be Boğazköy ductus, i.e. are likely to have been written by scribes trained in Hattusa: KBo 28.99 (from Temple I in Hattusa) and KBo 28.89 (Building E on Büyükkale).

76. HKM 72: 36; Alp 1991b: 258–259; discussed by Singer 2008: 259; Weeden 2011b: 127. *Pabilāʾu* is a rare use of the Akkadian ethnic adjective "Babylonian" for the more usual Hittite *pabilili*.

77. *arha pessiet*, literally "he threw away." This could be an idiom meaning "rejected" (CHD P 320 3b), in that the messenger refused to take the tablet in the first place. Singer (2008: 258) translates "declined"; However, it is explicitly stated that he had "taken the tablet off to my lord." Other translations build on the meanings listed under

CHD P 321 4c: "discarded/disregarded" (Hoffner 2009: 342); "l'ha ignorata" (Marizza 2009: 61). Finally "du hast gering geachtet" (Hagenbuchner 1989b: 58) refers to the king's alleged reaction to the tablet.

78. van den Hout 2005; Weeden 2011b.

79. Herbordt 2005: 98.

80. Hagenbuchner 1989a; Hoffner 2009: 56–61.

81. KBo 18.4 (Hagenbuchner 1989b: 181–2; Hoffner 2009: 331; Marizza 2009: 159).

82. Süel 1995: 276.

83. Beckman 1995a: 24.

84. Marizza 2009: 172.

85. KBo 8.23, possibly sent just before the disastrous Hittite defeat at the battle of Nihriya (Singer 1985: 116–117; Marizza 2009: 175).

86. KBo 18.57 (Hagenbuchner 1989b: 102–104).

87. KuT 50 (Wilhelm 1998: 181–187; KuT = excavation number: "Kuşaklı-Texte").

88. KUB 31.101 (listed under CTH 581 = omen reports; Hagenbuchner 1989b: 37–40; Marizza 2009: 111–112).

89. KBo 18.69, as argued by Marizza 2009: 51–52.

90. KBo 9.82; Hoffner 2009: 350–352; Marizza 2009: 185–187; Singer 2008: 716–718. Contra Hoffner, Singer doubts that the recipient can be the Hittite king.

91. KUB 3.56; Hagenbuchner 1989b: 379–381.

92. These piggy-back letters are frequently treated separately in publications of Hittite letters, as they are essentially separate compositions: thus Hagenbuchner 1989b and Hoffner 2009, but not Marizza 2009. In the statistics given in Table 3, no attempt has been made to separate out the postscripts.

93. KUB 31.101 rev. 36'–39', to the scribe associated with the augurs addressed in the main letter.

94. KBo 18.6. For photographs illustrating the two different handwritings see www.heth-iter.net: PhotArch B1187b (inventory number of the Boğazköy text photo archive in Mainz).

95. van den Hout 2003; Weeden 2011b: 124–126.

96. E.g., KBo 15.28: ^{PN}NU.^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$ writing to his sons about his house.

97. Weeden 2011b: 124.

98. KBo 1.5 iv 32–39; Hoffner 2009: 52; Beckman 1999: 24.

99. For Pazzu see also KBo 18.14; Hoffner 2009: 88–89.

100. HKM 21: 16–26 (= fig. 2.3): Sanda reads out the tablets that were sent by the addressee of the main letter, Pulli, but also represents his interests. Discussed by Alp 1991b: 91; Hoffner 2009: 134.

101. Pecchioli Daddi 1982 is the standard reference collection of Hittite professional titles and their attestations in the texts; this indispensable work needs updating.

102. Derived from Hittite *haluga-* "message," with the professional suffix *-talla-*. Usually written with Akkadographic LÚ ṬE$_4$-*MI*, see Weeden 2011a: 357.

103. KBo 18.69.

104. HKM 56: 13–19 (Hoffner 2009: 203). "Messenger" is written with Akkadographic LÚ ṬE$_4$-*MU*. The name Sanda is known from other Maşathöyük letters, although they are unlikely to all be the same person: Alp 1991b: 91; Hoffner 2009: 134.

105. Hoffner 2009: 53.

106. We find a "runner" being instructed to "run" in a Kaska Treaty text: KUB 23.77 rev. 67, although it is unclear if the word "run" is to be understood literally.

107. KBo 5.11 i 5, 18. When a message comes to the palace gate the gatekeeper has to call out first in Hittite that there is a message and then in Hattic the title of the official the message is for. Hattic was the language of an earlier population of Central Anatolia. The text serves as a key for the gatekeeper to translate between the two. The officials mentioned are the cup-bearer, butler, cook, actor, lamentation singer, ᴸᵁ*zilipuriyatalla*-, ᴸᵁ*akuttara*-, tent-man, staff-bearer, ᴸᵁGAD.TAR, courier, scout courier, ᴸᵁ*dudduşḫiyalla*-. See also KUB 26.23 ii 17.

108. KBo 3.1 ii 8–9 (*Edict of Telipinu*); Hoffmann 1984: 26–27.

109. KUB 50.32 rev. iii 4; KBo 18.56 lower edge 14' (Hagenbuchner 1989b: 101).

110. Hoffner 2009: 366. The term "scout courier" occurs in the list of officials that sleep at the palace in the *Instructions to the Gatekeeper* (see above, fn. 107) but in the letter VS 28.129 obv. 6, the word used is simply "scout."

111. "The horses and the couriers come, [they?…] in the garden of Asgasepa": KUB 34.69 obv. 22'.

112. This is a peculiar format for a letter. Possibly it was a draft for an Akkadian translation which would have been written on the right (hence Hagenbuchner 1989b: 14: "Briefentwurf"). KUB 46.34, the only tablet with a similar format listed by Waal (2010: 62–64), is considered there to be possibly a practice tablet.

113. Similarly to Wandapaziti in KBo 18.54 discussed above, section 3.1.

114. Later in the text, in rev. 33", Iyaliya reports back to the sender from the king.

115. Pecchioli Daddi 1977; Singer 1983; 1995.

116. KBo 18.4 (Hagenbuchner 1989b: 181–182; Hoffner 2009: 331; Marizza 2009: 159).

117. KUB 14.3 ii 58–61, 68–77. Pecchioli Daddi 1977: 176–177; Beal 1992: 161–162; Weeden 2011a: 255.

118. A fragmentary letter mentions that someone had sent three individuals on an errand (*haluki*) one after the other and gives their names, one of whom is ¹*pu-u-ta-ḫa*-[…] "the cup-bearer": KBo 20.108 obv. 5' (Hagenbuchner 1989b: 200). Only people well known in court circles would have been mentioned by name, indicating their high social standing.

119. Of the thirteen individuals whose seals bear the title "cup-bearer" (Hieroglyphic URCEUS), eight have additional seals indicating that they were scribes (Herbordt 2005: 392). The two titles never appear together on the same seal, to my knowledge, but are likely to have been shared by the same people.

120. An overview of the use of equids among the Hittites is given in van den Hout 2003–05 (with no mention of the existence of a courier service).

121. Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005: 296; Hoffner 2009: 10.

122. Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005: 296.

123. Argued thus by Hawkins & Morpurgo Davies 1998; Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005: 295–296; Taş & Weeden 2011: 58. There appear to have been different nouns for "mule" and "donkey" in the Luwian language of the Iron Age but it is unclear whether this was the case in Late Bronze Age Luwian, when at least one of the animals was called *tarkasna*-.

124. For discussion see Hawkins & Morpurgo Davies 1998: 254–255. Far less likely is a hinny, the offspring of a donkey dam and horse sire, which due to the difficulty

presented by the foal's size in comparison to its mother, is rarely ever bred on purpose.

125. Jakob 2009: 62–68. There may be a connection to the *perdum* equid, almost certainly a mule, used for transporting high officials in the Middle Bronze Age according to Old Assyrian documents: Michel 2004.

126. KBo 6.26 ii 38–41//KBo 9.71 + KUB 29.33 i 4–7; Hoffner 1995: 143, 222; van den Hout 2003–05: 485.

127. KUB 13.35 + i 13–16 (of the queen), 32 (of the palace), 37 (of the queen), ii 5 (of the palace), iii 9, 11, 16, 27, iv 42, 46, 49, 50; Werner 1967: 4–20.

128. KUB 13.35 i 17–34; Werner 1967: 4–5.

129. KUB 13.35 i 33–34; Werner 1967: 4–5.

130. Yalburt inscription, block 13 §4a: Poetto 1993: 62–64; Hawkins 1995: 81–82; Hawkins & Morpurgo Davies 2010: 110 n. 16. The literal translation of the text as presented at Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies (2010: 110 n. 16) would be (Block 13 + 3) "(There were) 4,100 *aliwanisa* to me, but (as for) mule(-related things) there were not," meaning either that there were 4,100 enemy and countless mules/chariotry, or that Tudhaliya had 4,100 troops and no mules/chariotry at all. In contrast to this, Yakubovich 2008: 3 interprets L. 101/2 as a phonetic writing for the verb "to stand," which is unlikely. Yakubovich 2008 suggested translating *aliwanisa* as "enemy," which fits other attestations of the term better, but the Yalburt context seems to require a meaning that would also allow a more general translation as "troops."

131. Compare *Apology of Hattusili III* §7: "Eight hundred teams of horses were (there), whereas the troops were innumerable. My brother Muwatalli sent me and gave me one hundred and twenty teams of horses, but not even a single military man was with me" (Van den Hout 1997: 201).

132. Herbordt 2005: 190, 274, plate 33 no. 425.

133. Consequently Dinçol, Dinçol & Peker 2012: 195 transliterate the name (using a different convention than the one used in this chapter) as ASINUS$_3$-*tà-la-a*, likewise interpreting the sign form as depicting a mule and reading the name as Tarkasnatala, but linking it to the sign Laroche 1960: L.100 instead of Laroche 1960: L.101.

134. SAA 5 200: 9'–11'; cf. Gallagher 1994: 60–61. In the Nimrud Wine Lists, the "man of the mule stable" receives a significant portion of wine, an indication of elevated status: Kinnier Wilson 1972: 54; Dalley & Postgate 1984: 268.

135. See above, section 2.3 with n. 45.

136. Translation as "sealed gifts (?)": courtesy E. Rieken, personal communication.

137. Pecchioli Daddi 2003: 70–71.

138. Weeden 2011a: 260.

139. The road identified by A. and M. Süel leading from a Hittite building at Ortaköy is paved along part of its course but this is likely a later, possibly Roman, development (presentation of İ.M. Ozulu and E. Reyhan at the 8th International Congress of Hittitology, Warsaw, September 2012). How the road would have looked in Hittite times is unclear. For more on Hittite roads see Ökse 2007.

140. A variation on this theme stresses that the monuments are found on borders and nodes of heavy traffic and sees them as displays within regional and sociopolitical competitive networks (Glatz & Plourde 2011).

141. Ullmann 2010.

142. Moreover, the Hittites are thought to have moved their capital four times during the imperial period. For a critical discussion of this phenomenon see Doğan-Alparslan & Alparslan 2011.

143. *Siege of Uršu*: Beckman 1995b; *Palace Chronicles*: Dardano 1997.

CHAPTER 3: THE NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

1. This chapter was written as part of the research project "Mechanisms of communication in an ancient empire: the correspondence between the king of Assyria and his magnates in the 8th century BC," funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council from 2008 to 2013. The following abbreviations are used in this chapter: ABL = Harper 1892–1914; K = Museum number for a tablet from Kuyunjik, British Museum; SAA = *State Archives of Assyria*, Helsinki 1987—(also available online: http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/saao/); SAA 1 = Parpola 1987; SAA 2 = Parpola & Watanabe 1988; SAA 5 = Lanfranchi & Parpola 1990; SAA 6 = Kwasman & Parpola 1991; SAA 10 = Parpola 1993; SAA 13 = Cole & Machinist 1998; SAA 15 = Fuchs & Parpola 2001; SAA 16 = Luukko & Van Buylaere 2002; SAA 17 = Dietrich 2003; SAA 18 = Reynolds 2003; SAA 19 = Luukko 2013a.

2. Relevant Neo-Babylonian documents are discussed in Jursa 1995.

3. Herodotus, *Histories*, V 52–54; VIII 98; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VIII 6.17–18.

4. On occasion letters in Babylonian language were recorded in Assyrian script. Such texts normally constitute messages by the Assyrian authorities to Babylonian recipients that were meant to be read out in public. See below, section 1.5.

5. Fadhil & Radner 1996: 420–21.

6. Radner 1997: 60–62.

7. Radner 1995: 71–72.

8. The known examples are listed in Fadhil & Radner 1996: 420 n. 2.

9. Radner 2008: 488–89, 508–509.

10. For a study of the introduction formulae used in the state letters see Luukko 2012.

11. For a discussion of its geographical location see Radner 2006a: 55 no. 34.

12. For the location see Radner 2006a: 47 no. 8.

13. As the analysis of the language and cuneiform sign repertoire shows: Parpola 1997; cf. also Luukko 2012: 103.

14. Zamazalová 2012: 323–25.

15. SAA 16 19; discussed in detail by Livingstone 2007: 105–107.

16. Livingstone 2007: 107, cf. the photo reproduced there.

17. For royal letters that were to be read out as public proclamations see below, section 1.5.

18. For similar postscripts in the Amarna correspondence see Mynářová, this volume.

19. Luukko 2007: 230–31.

20. Luukko 2013b.

21. Postgate 1974; 1980; Garelli 1989; Radner 2003: 886–87.

22. SAA 1 237.

23. SAA 1 6, 10, 19, 156.

24. E.g. SAA 1 29, 91; SAA 5 107, 186, 204; SAA 15 118.

25. Liverani 2004.

26. Radner 2006a: 508.