## On the interesting demands made to the scribes of Maşat-Höyük (= Tapigga)

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The great civilization which the Hittites established in Anatolia at the middle and the late Bronze Age, can be known today thanks to the fact that they borrowed the cuneiform script from Ancient Mesopotamia. They adapted it for writing their own language, and their use of it shows developments in time. In this way, they could write not only the languages of Mesopotamian: Sumerian, Akkadian (Assyrian-Babylonian) but also those of the Indo-European family like Hittite, Luwian and Palaic. They were also influenced by the Hurrian language and culture, especially with respect to religion and art, and one can observe the existence of Hattian language which was used in Anatolia during the Pre-Hittite period. The fact that all these cultures were rich and different from one another contributed to the development of the art of writing.

The greatest contributions to this development, naturally, are due to the scribes, who acquired an important status in the state protocol and Hittite society<sup>1</sup>. The treaties made with vassals and great kings show that the GAL DUB.SAR<sup>MEŠ</sup> "the head of (clay tablet) scribes" and the DUB.SAR "the scribe (of the clay tablet)", with their titles acted as witnesses in the state protocol<sup>2</sup>. Moreover when Muwattalli II (±1295-1271 B.C.) transferred the centre of administration from Hattuša to Tarhuntašša, he left the administration of Hattuša to Mittannamuwa<sup>3</sup> - the father of Walwa-ziti (= UR.MAH-LÚ)<sup>4</sup>, the head of scribes (of clay tablets), during queen Puduhepa's reign -, who enjoyed his trust and confidence.

In the years I was responsible for "The Tablet Archive" of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, my first experience with cuneiform tablets was making the inventory of the Maşat-Höyük tablets. It became clear that on these tablets one letter was separated from the next one by two parallel lines (with a few exceptions). Following the publication of the Maşat-Höyük tablets by S. Alp<sup>5</sup>, I wanted to find out as far as possible how the scribes corresponded with their superiors or with one another. Although these texts

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> C. Karasu, "Some Considerations on Hittite Scribes", ArAn 1 (1995), p. 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See the treaty between Muwattalli II and Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo: KBo 1.6 obv. 21-22; E.F. Weidner, Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien (BoSt 8). Leipzig 1923, pp. 86-89; G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. Atlanta, Georgia 1999, p. 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> KBo 4.4 i 15-17; A. Götze, "Hattušiliš: Der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung nebst den Paralleltexten. Hethitische Texte in Umschrift, mit Übersetzung und Erläuterungen", MVAeG 1924/3. Leipzig 1925, p. 42; A. Dinçol, "Hititler." Anadolu Uygarlıkları Ansiklopedisi 1. İstanbul (1982), p. 44a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See C. Karasu, "(h)išuwa Bayramı kolofonları üzerine bazı düşünceler", Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp. H. Otten – E. Akurgal – H. Ertem – A. Süel edd. Ankara 1992, pp. 335-336.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> S. Alp, Maşat-Höyük'te Bulunan Çivi Yazılı Hitit Tabletleri / Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük (HKM). Ankara 1991 and Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük. Ankara 1991.

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exhibit the style of formal documents, their scribes, nevertheless, by mentioning their private demands, present some information on specific aspects of the social life of the Hittites which in other texts, apart from the Hittite laws, we never meet.

In the text HKM 19 (Mşt. 75/15): G/Kaššu and Pulli who are on official duty in Tapigga, are informed by his majesty ( ${}^{D}UTU^{5/}$ ) that, in reaction to their demands for auxiliary forces instead of charioteers who did not come, a team of 20 charioteers will arrive, the name of whose commander (Pahinakke) is given. In the tablet, after the separation with two parallel lines, we read the following:

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obv. 26 [II]M-MA "Ha-ša-am-me-li 27 [A-N]A "U-uz-zu-u ŠEŠ.DÙG.GA-YA 28 [QÍ-B]Í-MA upper ed. 29 [tu-]el ku-it 30 [NA-A]P-ŠA-DU a-pí-ya left ed. 1 nu-uš-ša-an NA-AP-ŠA-DU 2 A-NA NA-AP-ŠA-TI an-da e-ep 3 na-at-mu up-pí
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Trans.: "Hašammeli (speaks) thus: Say to my dear brother! Catch the persons there, (anyone) of the persons and send them to me!".

The scribe of this letter Hašamme/ili is the clay tablet scribe attached to the archive office/room or "the tablet house in Hattuša". His inquiry in HKM 30 (Mst. 75/25), again addressing as "my dear brother" to the same colleague appointed at Tappigga, repeated his former demand about the GÉME "maid/female slave/spouse", and there he used harsh statements full of reproaches. And in HKM 36 (Mst. 75/8), where he introduces himself as "your son", he informs a person whom he addresses as: "My first lord, my dear father" of the same subject.

But the demand which occurs at the end of the previous letter HKM 19 (Mşt. 75/15) differs from the demand just quoted. The Akkadian words in the pl. NA-AP-ŠA-DU A-NA NA-AP-ŠA-TI<sup>10</sup> probably do not refer to the GÉME "maid/female slave/spouse" demanded in HKM 30 (Mşt. 75/25). Because the statement in that letter is quite peremptory, while those in the other letter, HKM 19 (Mşt. 75/15), are more natural. I suggest that this letter,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> S. Alp, Hethitische Briefe. Ankara 1991, p. 57

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe*, pp. 172-174; it mentions on lines: lower ed., rev. & upper ed. 11-25 & left ed. 1-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe*, pp. 184-187; obv. 37-51. After these broken lines the text continues on the left edge, i.e. a third letter is in question on a single tablet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See for the same address in a private letter HKM 81 C. Karasu, "Why Did the Hittites Have a Thousand Deities?", *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr*. G. Beckman – R. Beal – G. McMahon edd. Winona Lake, Indiana 2003, pp. 234-235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> H. Otten, Hethitische Totenrituale. Berlin 1958, p. 124 NAPIŠTU "personal", p. 151 NAPŠĀDU "Seelen, Personal?"; S. Alp, Hethitische Briefe, p. 314 "Seele, Atem, Person"; J. Black – A. George – N. Postgate, A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian. Wiesbaden 1999, p. 239a "napištu(m); (under) 4. "living being, self" in Boğazköy texts as pl. "personnel, staff".

therefore, was written at a different time and on different conditions. In my opinion, since Hašamme/ili apparently knows the region well<sup>11</sup>, his demand for auxiliary persons from Uzzu, has been in question. What he demands here probably are suitable candidates to serve as apprentice scribes or in other words young persons.

In the letter HKM 31 (Mşt. 75/104), after having been given information on three different subjects, Himmuili, is also designated as  $B\bar{E}L$  MADGALTI<sup>12</sup> by his majesty. After rev. line 19, and following a division by means of two parallel lines, the text reads as following:

obv. 20 UM-MA "MA-RE-EŠ-RE-E

- 21 A-NA <sup>m</sup>U-uz-zu-u ŠEŠ.DÙG.GA-YA
- 22 QÍ-BÍ-MA kat-ti-ti hu-u-ma-an SIG5-in
- 23 e-eš-du nu-ut-ta DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>
- 24 aš-šu-li pa-ah-ša-an-da-ru

Trans.: "Marešrē (speaks) as follows: Say to my dear brother Uzzu! May everything be good with you. May the gods protect you in their goodness. Himmuili mentioned to me about an ox. My dear brother pay attention to it, and let it be transferred (to me), and let it be sent to me. (May) the kindness/favour (of the deities) come/be (upon you/with you)!".

Himmuili, who is again designated as  $B\bar{E}L$  MADGALTI<sup>13</sup>, in order to establish good relations with Marešrē<sup>14</sup>, the scribe of this tablet, 'who is in charge of writing office/tablet house in Hattuša'<sup>15</sup>, may have promised him an ox as a gift. But this promise was not fulfilled and the ox did not arrived. Because the letter HKM 22 (Mşt. 75/14) contains a similar demand, Marešrē may have made more such requests or have received similar promises. Here, just under the letter dictated to Himmuili or to Pulli, a man on a high military position sent by the majesty, it is specifically stated that help in these matter be

<sup>25 &</sup>lt;sup>m</sup>Hi-im-mu-DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-iš-mu I GU<sub>4</sub>

<sup>26</sup> te-et nu-uš-ši ŠEŠ.DÙG.GA-YA

<sup>27</sup> EGIR-an ti-ya na-an-kán

<sup>28</sup> pa-ra-a ar-nu-ut

<sup>29</sup> na-an-mu up-pí

<sup>30</sup> u-wa-ad du-wa-ad-du

See for the possibility that Hašamme/ili, the clay tablet scribe, may originate from Tapigga or may have live there for a while so that he knows some people/attendants well there; also see S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe*, p. 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> HKM 36 (Mşt. 75/8) obv. 12. See S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe*, pp. 182-183 for *BĒL MADGALTI* = auriyaš išhaš, literally "commander of the watch point/place, the title of a military provincial commander of border settlements/cities, or governor of rural (?) province". See also the discussion by R.H. Beal, *The Organization of the Hittite Military*. (THeth 20). Wiesbaden 1992, pp. 426-436. <sup>13</sup> See fn. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> S. Alp, "Akkadian Names of Some Scribes in the Maşat-Letters." XXXIV<sup>ème</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. İstanbul, 6-10 July 1987. H. Erkanal – V. Donbaz – A. Uğuroğlu edd. Ankara 1998, pp. 48-54.

<sup>15</sup> S. Alp, Hethitische Briefe, pp. 78-79.

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asked from his colleague Uzzu who was living at Tapigga and whom he knew well. This makes me conclude that the scribes in certain situations may not have had the courage to write about private matters directly to those in higher positions.

Another example of a letter written to his colleague Uzzu by Marešrē (DUMU.UD.XX<sup>KAM</sup>), in which he asked for help, is the following:

HKM 22 (Mst. 75/14) lower ed. 9 UM-MA "DUMU.UD.XXKAM  $10 A-NA ^mUz!-zu-u$ 11 ŠEŠ.DÙG.GA-*YA QÍ-BÍ-MA* 

12 PA-NI <sup>m</sup>Pu-ul-li-i-kán rev. 13 am-me-el aš-šu-ul 14 hal-za-i GU<sub>4</sub>-ya-wa-mu 15 ku-in te-et 16 nu-wa-ra-an-mu up-pí

Trans.: "Marešrē (speaks) as follows: Say to my dear brother Uzzu! Read my greetings aloud in presence of Pulli. 'Let it be sent to me, the ox which you mentioned'".

In another example, found at the end of a letter sent by his majesty to Himmuili (also known as BEL MADGALTI<sup>16</sup>), which I mentioned above, he is asked to take care of Tarhunmiya's house<sup>17</sup> (who, I consider, to originate from Tapigga)<sup>18</sup>. Here we read the following<sup>19</sup>:

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HKM 27 (Mst. 75/43)
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17 A-NA BE-LÍ LÚBE-EL MA-AD<-GAL>-TI

18 BE-LÍ-YA MAH-RI-YA OÍ-BÍ-MA

19 UM-MA "Tar-hu-u-un-mi-ya AR-TE-KA-MA

20 kat-ti-ti hu-u-ma-an SIG5-in e-eš-du

21 nu-ut-ta DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> TI-an har-kán-du

22 nu-ut-ta pa-ah-ša-an-da-ru

up. rand 23 BE-LU-mu aš-šu-ul ha-at-re-eš-ki

24 nam-ma-aš-ša-an A-NA É-YA

25 IG[I]<sup>HI.A</sup>-wa har-ak

left ed. 1 ŠA BE-LÍ-m[a] ku-i-e-eš

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See fn. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> About Tarhunmiya see S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe*, pp. 96-98; F. Imparati, "Observations on a Letter from Masat-Höyük", ArAn 3 (1997), pp. 199-214; C. Karasu, Studies Hoffner Jr., pp. 234-235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Tarhunmiya was born, lived or worked in Tapigga for sometime because he knows the people who had lived there very well. He also had a house in Tappiga and there are letters in which he addresses persons there as father, mother etc. See quotations in fn. 17.

A similar demand is also mentioned in HKM 60 (Mst. 77/1).

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2^{\text{L\'U.MEŠ}} TE_4\text{-}MI \text{ } i\text{-}ya\text{-}an\text{-}da\text{-}a^?\text{-}r[i]
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- 3 na-aš-kán am-mu-uk
- 4 pa-ra-a na-aš-ki-m[i]

Trans.: "Say to my first lord the *BĒL MADGALTI*! Your servant Tarhunmiya (speaks) thus: May everything be good with you. May the gods keep you in life and may they protect you! (My) lord always write to me (about) your good health!/greetings! In addition, take care<sup>20</sup> of my house! As to the messengers to go to (my) lord, I am always sending them (myself)".

The last example again contains an interesting professional demand of Tarhunmiya directed to Uzzu, the scribe at Tapigga. It occurs at the end of the letter sent to G/Kaššu, the attendant and also known as UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> at Tapigga<sup>21</sup>, by the GAL LÚ.MEŠKUŠ<sub>7</sub>/ŠÙŠ "head of the charioteers". Here, a GI É.DUB.BA "a reed (stylus/writing material) of tablet house" is mentioned which is remarkable because a reed (stylus) would be easily available everywhere. Was there only one GI É.DUB.BA at a time available to the scribes who wrote cuneiform on clay? What kind of instrument was it, in which material was it made? Perhaps in metal, ivory....,<sup>22</sup> it was probably a special stylus (GI É.DUB.BA) sent by Uzzu to Tarhunmiya which may have been used up or broken so that he now ask for a new one.

This letter reads as follows:

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HKM 71 (Mşt. 75/111)
rev. 32 UM-MA <sup>m D</sup>U-mi-ya
33 A-NA <sup>m</sup>Uz-zu-u ŠEŠ.[DÙ]G.GA-Y[A]
34 QÍ-BÍ-MA

35 [DING]IR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ta TI-an har-kán-du
36 nu-ut-ta aš-šu-li
37 pa-aḥ-ša-an-ta-ru

left ed. 1 GI É.DUB.BA-mu-kán har-ak-ta
2 nu-mu ŠEŠ.DÙG.GA-YA GI É.DUB.BA
3 up-pí
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Trans.: "Tarhunmiya (speaks) as follows: Say to my dear brother Uzzu! May the gods keep you in life and may they protect you in good health! My reed (stylus/writing material) of tablet house is broken<sup>23</sup>. Let my dear brother send to me (one) tablet house reed (stylus/writing material)".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> IG[I]HI.A-wa har-ak literally "you have/keep (your) eyes (on)".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> For G/Kaššu see S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe*, pp. 70-75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The GI may not necessarily mean reed but could be taken as part of the logogram.

<sup>23</sup> Literally "destroyed" cf. S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe*, p. 257 (in German) "ist .... kaputt".