

JAMES M. BURGIN

STUDIES IN HITTITE ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION
VOLUME I

Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten

Herausgegeben im Auftrag
der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz,
von Elisabeth Rieken und Daniel Schwemer
Band 70

James M. Burgin

Studies in Hittite Economic Administration

A New Edition of the Hittite Palace-Temple
Administrative Corpus and Research on Allied Texts
Found at Ḫattuša

Volume I:
Background, Corpus Overview, Case Studies,
Lexical Commentary, and Glossary

2022

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Gefördert durch die Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, im Rahmen des vom Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung, Bonn/Berlin, dem Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft, Weiterbildung und Kultur Rheinland-Pfalz, Mainz, dem Hessischen Ministerium für Wissenschaft und Kunst, Wiesbaden, und dem Bayerischen Staatsministerium für Wissenschaft und Kunst, München, finanzierten Akademienprogramms.

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <https://dnb.de/> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <https://dnb.de/>.

For further information about our publishing program consult our website <https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/>

© Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2022
This work, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright.
Any use beyond the limits of copyright law without the permission of the publisher is forbidden and subject to penalty. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.
Printed on permanent/durable paper.
Printing and binding: Memminger MedienCentrum AG
Printed in Germany

ISSN 0585-5853
ISBN 978-3-447-11929-0

eISSN 2702-0002
eISBN 978-3-447-39350-8

CONTENTS

List of Tables and Figures	XI
Abbreviations, Symbols, and Transliteration Conventions	XV
Preface and Acknowledgments	XIX
Introduction	1
1. History of Research (I): Past Models of the Hittite State	
1.1 Introduction	7
1.2 Early Western Consensus (Culture-Historical)	8
1.2.1 Goetze: The Ethnogenesis of the Hittite State	9
1.3 Soviet Marxist Criticism (Historic-Materialist)	13
1.3.1 Struve: The Paradox of "Oriental Stagnation"	14
1.3.2 Diakonoff: The "Two-Sector" Model	16
1.4 Western Reaction	20
1.5 The Italian School	22
1.5.1 Liverani: A Strongly Dichotomous Two-Sector Model	22
1.5.2 Zaccagnini: The Neo-"Asiatic Mode of Production" Model	24
1.6 Neo-Marxism and the "New Humanities"	27
1.7 New Western Consensus	29
1.7.1 The End of Hittite Feudalism as a Theoretical Model	29
1.7.2 Archi: The Palace Network Model	35
1.7.3 Klengel: The Palace-Temple Synthesis	37
1.8 Conclusions	39
2. History of Research (II): Current Models of the Hittite State	
2.1 Introduction	41
2.2 The Hittites and Their Environment	42
2.2.1 History of Research	42
2.2.2 Geography of the Anatolian Plateau	44
2.2.3 Climate of the Ancient Anatolian Plateau	47
2.2.4 Modes of Subsistence on the Anatolian Plateau	49
2.2.5 Strategies for Communal Self-Sufficiency	51
2.3 Political Integration on the Anatolian Plateau	55
2.3.1 Basis of the Hittite State in Communal Antecedents	55
2.3.2 Hittite State Intervention as a Necessity: The Schachner Thesis	55
2.3.2.1 Food Storage and Grain Silos	57
2.3.2.2 Dams and Artificial Ponds	60
2.3.2.3 Festival and Feasting	61

2.3.3 Anatolian Regionalism and Resistance: The Glatz Corollary	63
2.3.3.1 Anatolian Regionalism – Hittite Identity <i>à la carte</i>	64
2.3.3.2 Anatolian Resistance	71
2.4 The Wealth-Financed State	73
2.4.1 Wealth Finance, Staple Finance	73
2.4.2 Wealth Finance and Hittite Metal Production	77
2.4.2.1 Copper, Tin, and Bronze	78
2.4.2.2 Gold and Silver	81
2.4.2.3 Iron?	84
2.4.3 Wealth Finance and Textiles	85
2.4.4 Staple Finance (and its Near Absence in Hittite Textual Sources) ..	87
2.4.5 Wealth Finance, Staple Finance Conclusions	90
2.4.6 Patrimonialism, Bureaucracy, and the Elites	93
2.4.7 Mesopotamian Influence on the Hittite State?	95
2.5 Current Models of the Hittite State: Conclusions and Next Steps	97
2.5.1 Summary of Current Research	97
2.5.2 Future Research Questions	99
3. The Palace-Temple Administrative Corpus: Structure and Purpose	
3.1 Introduction	105
3.1.1 Format and Composition	106
3.1.2 Findspots	107
3.1.3 Dating of the Corpus	110
3.1.4 Interface of the PTAC with Other Systems of Administration	111
3.2 Division of the Corpus by CTH Number	114
3.2.1 Growth of the Corpus, and Its Division	114
3.2.2 Proposed New Categories for CTH 240–50	115
CTH 240 “Texts Concerning Sales, Purchases, and Exchange”	117
CTH 241 “Inventories of Chests”	117
CTH 242 “Texts Concerning the Crafting of Metal Objects”	117
CTH 243 “Texts Concerning Textile and Leather Production”	118
CTH 244 “Inventories of Domestic Tribute (<i>MADDATTU</i>)”	118
CTH 245 “Texts Concerning Distributions and Handouts”	118
CTH 246 “Complex Inventories”	119
CTH 247 “Inventories Concerned with Condition and Maintenance” ..	119
CTH 248 “Inventories Connected with the State Cult”	120
CTH 249 “Inventories and Inventory Fragments”	120
CTH 250 “Miscellaneous Inventories and Administrative Fragments” ..	121
3.2.3 Texts not Edited in Present Book	121
3.3 Division of the Corpus by Purpose and Function	122
3.3.1 Division of the Corpus in Siegelová’s <i>Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis</i> ..	122
3.3.2 Division of the Corpus in the Present Book	129
3.4 Conclusions on the Hittite Palace-Temple Administrative Corpus	140

4. Case Study: the KASKAL Series	
4.1 Introduction	143
4.2 Defining the KASKAL Series	144
4.3 Structure of the KASKAL Main Text	146
4.4 Editorial Relationship of the Tablets of the KASKAL Main Text: 8.1.A–K	149
4.5 Variation in the KASKAL Main Text: Systematic Differences	150
4.5.1 Columns and Dividers	150
4.5.2 Space at End of Paragraphs	151
4.5.3 KASKAL Formula	152
4.5.4 Uncorrected Erasures	153
4.5.5 Other Features	153
4.6 Variations in the KASKAL Main Text: Particular Differences	155
4.6.1 Nexus 1	155
4.6.2 Nexus 2	157
4.6.3 Nexus 3	159
4.6.4 Nexus 4	162
4.7 Editorial Layers in the KASKAL Main Text	164
4.7.1 Single-column tablet	165
4.7.2 Two-column tablet	165
4.7.3 Three-column tablet: first draft	165
4.7.4 Three-column tablet: intermediate draft?	165
4.7.5 Three-column tablet: final draft?	166
4.8 Conclusions on the Structure of the KASKAL Main Text	166
5. Quantifying the Contents of the KASKAL Main Text	
5.1 Introduction	169
5.2 Durable Goods in the KASKAL Main Text	171
5.2.1 Items in the Preserved Portions of the Durable Goods Tablet	171
5.2.2 Items in the Missing Portions of the Durable Goods Tablet	176
5.2.3 Reconstructed Total of Items in the Durable Goods Tablet	178
5.3 Textiles in the KASKAL Main Text	182
5.3.1 Items in the Preserved Portions of the Textiles Tablet	182
5.3.2 Items in the Missing Portions of the Textiles Tablet	190
5.3.3 Reconstructed Total of Items in the Textiles Tablet	193
5.4 Grand Total of Items in Reconstructed KASKAL Main Text	193
6. The Relative Value of the KASKAL Main Text	
6.1 Introduction: Finding Suitable Comparisons	195
6.2 Gifts in the Egyptian-Hittite Correspondences	195
6.2.1 Gifts in the “Eternal Treaty” Dossier	197
6.2.1.1 Commentary: The Standard Diplomatic Gift Package	199
6.2.1.2 Lacuna 1: The Gift of King Ramses to Ḫattušili	200
6.2.1.3 Lacuna 2: The Gift of Vizier Pašiyara and the Egyptian Grandees to Ḫattušili	201

6.2.1.4 Lacuna 3: Gifts to the Wives(?) of the Hittite Princes	201
6.2.1.5 Total Gifts Received by the Hittite Court in the Eternal Treaty Dossier	202
6.2.2 Gifts from the First Hittite-Egyptian Royal Marriage	202
6.3 Tribute from Hittite Vassals	204
6.3.1 Tribute from Ugarit	205
6.3.1.1 Edict of Šuppiluliuma I concerning Tribute of Ugarit (CTH 47)	208
6.3.1.2 Inventory of (Revised) Ugaritic Tribute (CTH 48)	209
6.3.1.3 Edict of Muṣṣili II concerning Tribute of Ugarit (CTH 65)	211
6.3.1.4 Edict of Tudḫaliya IV Releasing Ammištamru II of Ugarit from Participation in War with Assyria (CTH 108)	212
6.3.2 Tribute from Amurru	212
6.3.3 Tribute from Emar	213
6.4 Comparative Magnitude of the KASKAL Main Text	215
6.5 Conclusions on the Relative Value of KASKAL Main Text	218
7. Concluding Remarks on the KASKAL Main Text	
7.1 Remaining Questions	219
7.2 Time Frame and Direction of Shipment for the KASKAL Main Text	219
7.3 Evidence for a Royal Marriage?	222
7.4 Conclusions on the KASKAL Main Text	226
8. The Hittite Votive Corpus as Economic Texts	
8.1 Introduction to the Hittite Votive Corpus	229
8.2 Dating Criteria of Vows in Detail	232
8.2.1 The Illness Vows	233
8.2.2 Ištar of Lawazantiya	234
8.2.3 Military Campaigns	234
8.2.4 Tudḫaliya IV	235
8.2.5 Conclusions on Dating	238
8.2.5.1 Useable Texts	238
8.2.5.2 Vows of Insufficient Context to Date	241
8.2.5.3 Texts Excluded from Consideration	241
8.3 Using the Vows as Economic Documents	242
8.4 Vows Concerning Health and Wellness (The “Illness Vows”)	244
8.4.1 Vows by Puduḫepa for Ḫattušili (Minor Gifts)	244
8.4.2 Illness Vows: Puduḫepa for Ḫattušili (Major Gifts)	249
8.4.3 Other Illness Vows by Puduḫepa	254
8.4.4 Illness Vows: Ḫattušili for Puduḫepa	256
8.4.5 Illness Vows: Conclusion	256
8.5 Vows Concerning Military Matters	256
8.5.1 The Arzawa Campaign	257
8.5.2 Northern Campaign(s)	260
8.5.3 Military Vows mentioning Tudḫaliya	263

8.5.4 Other Military Vows of Puduḫepa	264
8.5.5 Military Vows: Conclusion	264
8.6 Vows Concerning Dreams and Omens	265
8.7 Vows Concerning Calamity	268
8.8 Vows for Good Tidings	270
8.9 Vows Concerning Political Matters	272
8.10 Unconditional Vows	273
8.11 Vows with Damaged or Lost Conditions	275
8.12 Vows of Tudḫaliya IV	280
8.13 The Vow of Puduḫepa (CTH 585) and Vow Fulfillment in Practice	284
8.14 Average Value and Significance of the Vow Objects	287
8.15 Reconstructing the Vow Schedule of Ḫattušili and Puduḫepa	290
8.16 Source and Destination of the Votive Objects	292
8.17 Conclusions on the Votive Corpus	293
Summary and Conclusions on Hittite Economic Administration.....	297
Appendix I. Gifts from The Eternal Treaty Dossier	305
Appendix II. Gifts from the Hittite-Egyptian Royal Marriage	309
Lexical Commentary	313
Hittite	313
Sumerograms	365
Akkadograms	412
Divine Names	420
Geographical Names	421
Personal Names	421
Glossary	425
Hittite	425
Sumerograms	468
Akkadograms	540
Divine Names	556
Geographical Names	558
Personal Names	566
Numerals	576
Non-Lexical <i>Glossenkeile</i>	596
Broken or Illegible Forms	597
Acephalic Forms	600
Bibliography	605
List of Cited Texts	663