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edited by

ALFONSO ARCHI

in collaboration with Armando Bramanti



Early Byzantine mosaic from the Hama Museum

Winona Lake, Indiana

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*Hereditary Transmission of
Specialized Knowledge in Hittite Anatolia:
The Case of the Scribal Families of the Empire Period*

Giulia Torri

FLORENCE

The present paper focuses on the hereditary transmission of the scribal craft and techniques inside Hittite families of the late Empire period. Because of the lack of private documents, our chances to reconstruct aspects of the Hittite society and to shed a light on the principles that regulated the transmission of technical knowledge inside a family must then be based primarily on the prosopographic reconstruction of family ties in order to ascertain the titles and professions of their members.¹ Unfortunately, the craftsmen, workers, and court officers in the late Hittite Empire period rarely inserted the patronymic or their genealogy close to their names. Inventory texts and court depositions in which a number of court officers and craftsmen are mentioned usually refer only to the name, the title, and in some case the hometown of a person without giving indication about his kinship ties. Only when it was necessary to distinguish two homonyms does this happen, as in the court case against GAL-^dU, son of Ukkura (CTH 293) in which two persons both named Yarraziti are distinguished by the insertion of the patronymic close to their names.²

In recent times it was proposed that personal names were transmitted following the rule that the older son would inherit the name of his grandfather (Marizza 2010). Although far from being definitely confirmed, this rule helps in going one step further to verify if members of the same family shared the same profession for some generations or if at least a core of techniques could have been transmitted within the same kinship circle, as will be shown in the following.

Author's note: I would like to thank Dr. Sh. Gordin for reading carefully an earlier draft of this paper and for indicating similar and alternative conclusions he reached in his recent dissertation (Gordin 2012).

1. For an overview of the Hittite society see von Schuler 1966. The most complete study about the composition of Hittite society is at the moment Pecchioli Daddi 1982.

2. KUB 13.35++ rev. III 19: ^mYa-ar-LÚ-iš DUMU ^mTu-ut-tu; III 20: ^mYa-ar-ra-LÚ-iš DUMU ^mLa-ḫi-na-LÚ (Werner 1967: 3 and 10). The same GAL-^dU is mentioned in this document as “son of the decurion Ukkura” (I 1). The phonetic reading of this name is uncertain. Already Laroche 1966, nr. 1441, observed that the name could be read as an Anatolian name, Uratarḫunta, or a Hurrian name, Talmitešub. Since during the period of Ḫattušili III and Tuḫaliya IV there are several officers of different rank, we may propose that the patronymic was inserted close to his name to distinguish him from others, especially since he was charged with an accusation to despoil the queen's property (van den Hout 1995a: 163–164).

The perception that for the Hittites techniques and practical arts were transmitted from father or mother to children is visible in a few exemplars of magical rituals. We have a magical ritual of evocation, KUB 41.22, performed by a woman named Punau(wa)šḫa, a magician of an unknown city. A second ritual, KBo 20.107+, having a similar content, mentions as performer another female magician whose name is lost, but is called “the mother of Punau(wa)šḫa” (Bawanypeck 2005: 105–122):

KBo 20.107++ rev. IV

20' [A-WA-AT ḫ -]šī-a AMA ḫPu-u-na-wa-aš-ha

Another example is present in the ritual of Anniwiyani (CTH 393) who is called the mother of Armati, a MUŠEN.DÛ (Bawanypeck 2005: 51–70):

VBoT 24 obv. I

1 UM-MA ḫA-an-ni-ú-i-ya-ni AMA ḫA-ar-ma-ti LÚMUŠEN.DÛ
2 ARAD ḫHu-u-ur-lu-u

The particularity of these two examples is that the genealogical ties are stressed backwards, that is that the main magician is mentioned as “Mother of” followed by the personal name of her son or daughter.³ This may reinforce the proposal introduced by Jared Miller that the magical experts mentioned in the incipit of rituals are more legendary characters than real persons, at least at the time of the copy in our possession, and that their names are added solely in order to increase the popularity of these scribal compositions (Miller 2004: 469–532).

The only exception known to me is in the middle Hittite collection of ritual texts, on the tablet KBo 21.82 (+) KBo 37.27 rev. IV:

5' ṬUP-PI.3.KAM ŠA ḫHa-at-tu-ši-li DUMU ḫZu-wa-ki-ip-p[í]
6' LÚ <<MUNUS>>ŠU.GI URUṬi-i-pa-at-ta KUR URUZa-al-pu-wa

“Third Tablet of Ḫattušili, the son of Zuwapikk[i], the Elder (!?)⁴ of Zipatta in the land of Zalpa”.

It is interesting for our purposes to stress how incipit composers, the scribes, sought to enhance ritual value by stressing a family lineage in which these magical practices were transmitted through generations.

Of course this perception derives from the social reality in which priesthood, here intended as the craft dedicated to properly perform rituals, was transmitted from father to son, as a court deposition, KUB 38.37 (CTH 295), shows:⁵

KUB 38.37 rev. III

8 UM-MA ḫHu-u-tar-li LÚSANGA A-NA A-BU-Y[A]
9 ḫUTU URUTÚL-na AŠ.ḫMEḫ GUŠKIN ḫMe-ez-zu-la-aš-š[a]

3. It is probably not a coincidence that both rituals are part of the same cultural tradition, see Bawanypeck 2005.

4. Since there are no other mentions of male performers of magical rituals marked by a title ŠU.GI (whose Hittite reading for female staff is ḫašawa- “female ritual practitioner,” Otten 1952: 231–34) I prefer to translate this form generically as “elder” (the determinative MUNUS has probably to be excised). Compare Görke 2007: 204 n. 2 with previous literature.

5. Werner 1967: 56–57.

10 AŠ.ME KÙ.⁶BABBAR⁶ *e-še-er nu-wa-ra-aš-za I-NA É.[DING]IR-LIM*
 11 *ši-ip-pa-an-za-ki-it ki-nu-un-ma-wa-za ú-uk*
 12 I-NA É-YA BAL-ki-mi

13 UM-MA ^mZu-wa-a ŠA A-BU⁷ A-BU-NI-wa-na-aš ^dUTU ^{URU}TÚL[-na-w]a
 14 AŠ.ME GUŠKIN *e-eš-zi nu-wa-aš-ma-aš-ša-an e-eš-ša-an-zi*

(8–12) “Thus (speaks) Hutarli, the SANGA-priest: “To my father there was (a symbol of) the Sun Goddess of Arinna, in the form of a disc of Gold, and (a symbol of) the Goddess Mezulla in the form of a disc of silver. He worshiped them in the temple. Now I worship them in my House”.⁸

(13–14) Thus (speaks) Zuwa: “From the father of our father we inherited (a symbol of) the Sun Goddess of Arinna in form of a disc of gold. It is regularly worshiped”.

More data on the topic can be gathered within the compass of the scribal families. Turning now the attention to them I will present some more significant examples to show how the art of writing was transmitted inside families, in some cases for several generations.⁹

During the late Empire period we have in Ḫattuša two main scribal circles that were apparently formed in the time of Ḫattušili III and were still working during the initial phase of Tuḫaliya’s reign (Gordin 2011: 177–98). They are the scribal team of Anuwanza, scribe, court officer and Lord of Nerik (Torri 2010b), and the scribal team of Walwaziti, the GAL.DUB.SAR “Chief scribe” descending from the Mittanamuwa’s family, in which this office had been transmitted from father to son, at least from the time of Muršili II (Doğan Alparslan 2007: 247–57; Marizza 2010: 85–97; Gordin 2012: Ch. 3). These two teams, while working for the same management, had separate spheres of activities. They copied different kinds of texts and resided in different *scriptoria* of the capital city.

The team of Anuwanza can be safely reconstructed. Apparently its commission was to retrieve and copy the tablets (of various derivation and content) already stored in Ḫattuša that had, for some reason, been lost, dispersed or spoiled (Torri 2011: 141–143. Compare Gordin 2011: 189 ff.).

Scribes employed in Anuwanza’s *scriptorium* usually wrote down the patronymic close to their names and in some cases also the profession of their fathers. Thus we are able to observe when brothers of the same family were employed in this scribal team (Table 1).

We know for example that Anuwanza had at least two sons who undertook the scribal career:¹⁰ Tummani, author of an oracle inquiry and a second one, whose name is unknown (Torri 2010a: 319–21), author of a mythical text, the tale of Appu (CTH 360). Even though these two scribes work on different texts and genres, we may notice a tendency to use obsolete and affected signs in their signature, different from the current Hittite cuneiform script. This may be a trait learned in the family, although we have too few elements to speculate about this (Torri 2010a).

6. Written over erasure.

7. Written over erasure.

8. Compare the translation of Taggar-Cohen 2006: 210–211.

9. This aspect of the Hittite scribal training is still unknown. This is due to the type of documentation of the Hittite archives.

10. Pace Weeden 2011a: 200 with n. 882. See Torri 2010a.

Table 1. Anuwanza's Scriptorium

Anuwanza			
Scribes with patronymic			Scribes without patronymic
Anatšar son of Ganušta ¹¹	Angulli son of Palla ¹²		Armaziti ¹³
GIŠ.GI.PÌRIG-i ¹⁴	Hanikkui son of NU. ^{GIŠ} KIRI ₆ ¹⁵	Hapatiwalwi son of Tuwataziti ¹⁶	Karunuwa ¹⁷
Nananza son of Adda ¹⁸	Pihuniya son of Tatta	Pikku son of Tatta	Luwa ¹⁹
Duwa ²⁰	Tummani son of Anuwanza ²¹	Tarhuntaziti son of Pidda ²²	Tattiganna ²³
Ziti son of NU. ^{GIŠ} KIRI ₆ ²⁴	Zuzzu son of Šanda ²⁵	PN son of Anuwanza ²⁶	

It is unfortunately impossible to reconstruct Anuwanza's ancestry because he never declares the name of his father. The name that he gave to one of his sons, Tummani, recurs in a Hittite letter of the early Empire period, KBo 15.28 (rev. 5–13), addressed from a scribe NU.^{GIŠ}KIRI₆ to three other persons (Hoffner 2009: 84–86; Marizza 2009: 113–14). One of them has the name Tumni/ Tummani (rev. 5) being therefore a possible candidate as member of Anuwanza's ancestry.²⁷

The person named NU.^{GIŠ}KIRI₆ in the same letter may have been a member of a family which can be traced for several generations. There is a possibility that this is the same scribe mentioned in the colophon of the text KUB 32.19, a tablet containing a Hurrian prayer and attributed to CTH 777.8, a document of the early Empire period.²⁸ This text was written by a scribe named AMAR-ti (Ḫubidi?), and then (EGIR) copied by another scribe whose name was exactly NU.^{GIŠ}KIRI₆.²⁹ It is

11. KUB 7.25 IV 8'–9' (colophon).

12. KUB 32.133 IV 7'–8' (colophon). KUB 30.26 IV 13'–14' (colophon).

13. KBo 19.128 VI 36'–37'; KUB 4.1 IV 41'; KUB 7.1 IV 15'–16'.

14. KUB 26.28 IV 12'.

15. On the probable membership of Ḫanikkui to Anuwanza's team see Torri 2011.

16. KUB 20.8 VI 7'–10' (colophon). KBo 42.28 rev. 3'–8' (colophon).

17. KBo 30.165 rev. 2'–3' (colophon).

18. KBo 23.44 IV 10'–11' (colophon).

19. FHL 16 rev. 1 (colophon).

20. KUB 9.6 IV 27'–28' (colophon).

21. KUB 43.77 IV 3'–4' (colophon).

22. KUB 2.13 VI 35–37 (colophon).

23. KUB 10.21 rev. VI 1'–2' (colophon); KBo 21.49+ rev. 5–6 (colophon).

24. KUB 35.41 IV 5'–6' (colophon); KUB 29.4 IV 45–46 (colophon).

25. KUB 36.83 IV 12'–13' (colophon).

26. VAT 13019b IV 20–21 (colophon).

27. Unfortunately there are not sufficient elements to prove this proposal. He is mentioned together with the scribes Tumnaziti and Tuwattaziti.

28. The composition is attributed to the king Tuḫaliya III. See Marizza 2007: 68–69, with previous literature. See also Singer 2002: 44.

29. For the interpretation of this colophon compare *HW*² (a) 160a "Erste Tafel des A. nach N.". However this colophon might also be interpreted as "Tablet of A.: later N." that is: the tablet was pro-

likely that this person was related to the scribal family of the late Empire period.³⁰ A scribe and teacher with the same name, NU.GISKIRI₆, who lived in 13th century, was father of the scribes Ziti, Ḫanikkuili, Šaušgaziti, and perhaps Karunuwa (Marizza 2010: 88). Some of them were surely employed in the team of the supervisor Anuwanza as well.

Table 2. The Family of NU.GISKIRI₆ in the 13th Century.

Family of NU.GISKIRI ₆			
Ziti (son, under Anuwanza) Teacher of Ašḫapala, ³¹ ZA.ḪUM- ZA ³² and GUR-šarruma ³³	Ḫanikkuili (son, under Anuwanza)	Šaušgaziti (son) Father of Aliḫḫini (pupil of Zuwa) ³⁴	Karunuwa (son?, under Anuwanza ³⁵ and Šipaziti ³⁶)

Ziti, who has the name of his grandfather (Marizza 2010: 87–88), does his work under Anuwanza’s supervision, copying at least two texts: KUB 35.41, part of the Luwian magical ritual *dupaduparša* (CTH 759); and KUB 29.4+ (CTH 481) “The Expansion of the Cult of the Deity of the Night”. This Ziti will become later a supervisor, as he is known for overseeing the work of at least three scribes: Ašḫapala,³⁷ ZA.ḪUM-ZA,³⁸ and GUR-šarruma.³⁹

Although he never declares the name of his supervisor, I was able to show that Ḫanikkuili was a member of Anuwanza’s team as well, thanks to the presence in one of his colophons of the sentence “*TUPPU URUḪatti*” which is a distinctive mark of several texts produced in Anuwanza’s bureau (Torri 2011). As a matter of fact this Ḫanikkuili is our primary source for reconstructing his scribal family because in the colophon of his copy of the Hittite laws, KBo 6.4 edge 1–4, he mentions his complex genealogy (Hoffner 1997: 98):

“Ḫanikkuili, the scribe, son of NU.GIS<KIRI₆>, grandson of Ziti, chief of the scribes; great-grandson of Karunuwa *ḫalipi*, officer of the High Country; and great-grandson of Ḫanikkuili the Herdsman.”

duced by AMAR-ti and later copied by NU.GISKIRI₆. (I thank Dr. Rita Francia for the discussion about this phrase). Compare Gordin 2012: 185.

30. Marizza 2010: 87–89. See also Devecchi 2010. However the reconstruction proposed by Marizza 2010: 88, and Devecchi 2010: 23, is not convincing. They assume that NU.GISKIRI₆ (I) who lived in the period of Tuthaliya III could be the father of the scribe Ziti (I) witness of the Aleppo Treaty at the time of Muwatalli and consequently great-grandfather of the Ziti who was a scribe in the time of Tuthaliya IV. Considering that after Tuthaliya III there are three other kings, Suppiluliuma I, Arnuwanda, and Mursili II, and that this last one was even the youngest son of Suppiluliuma I and was reigning for a long period, there are too many years between NU.GISKIRI₆ (I) and Ziti (I) to accept a direct filiation. They may have been relatives, if we accept the rule that a name was transmitted for generations within the same family. For a different reconstruction see Gordin 2010a: 323–324 and 339.

31. KUB 33.120 + rev. 29’–35’ (colophon).

32. KUB 55.59 l.edge 1 (colophon).

33. KUB 51.12 rev. 7’–8’ (colophon); KUB 12.15 l.edge 1’–2’ (colophon).

34. KUB 13.9+ IV 10’–11’ (colophon). ??

35. KBo 30.165 rev. 2’–3’ (colophon).

36. KBo 20.77 rev. 4’–5’ (colophon).

37. KUB 33.120+ IV 30 (colophon).

38. KUB 55.59 l.edge 1 (colophon).

39. KUB 51.12 rev. 8 (colophon); KUB 12.15 l. edge 2 (colophon).

A third son of NU.^{GIŠ}KIRI₆ family is Šaušgaziti. We do not have proof that he was also working in Anuwanza's team or that he was a scribe.⁴⁰

This Šaušgaziti had a son, Aliḫḫini, who was employed as scribe, and who will work two generations later under the supervisor Zuwa.⁴¹

As Marco Marizza has recently suggested, the mention in Ḫanikkui's genealogy of Karunuwa, a *ḫalipi* officer of the High Country, could be evidence that another scribe of Anuwanza's circle named Karunuwa was a member of the same scribal family (Marizza 2010: 88). He copied under Anuwanza the festival text KBo 30.165 (CTH 634). There are a few other elements to support this idea: this same scribe was later employed under Šipaziti, as the colophon of another festival fragment KBo 20.77 (CTH 660) shows. This Šipaziti was controlling some division of Anuwanza's bureau, since he supervised the work of Ḫapatiwalwi and Tatiganna, two of Anuwanza's scribes, (respectively writers of KBo 21.42 and KUB 20.8) and was responsible for renewing the myth KBo 14.86++ (rev. IV 27'–29') for the Storm God of Kuliwišna and a tablet of the *witaššiyaš*-Festival, KBo 45.168++ (rev. IV 18'–l.e. 2), which were later copied by Ziti, the already mentioned son of NU.^{GIŠ}KIRI₆, also a worker under Anuwanza's control (Glocker 1997: 38–39).⁴²

The decree of Tuḫaliya IV in favor of Šaḫurunuwa (CTH 225.A) confirms that Šipaziti and Anuwanza were contemporaries since in this document they are mentioned one after the other. Šipaziti is quoted as a simple scribe, and Anuwanza as scribe (a title that he rarely bears in colophons), Lord of Nerik and SAG-officer:

KUB 26.43++ rev.

34 ^mŠi-pa-LÚ DUB.SAR ^mA-nu-wa-an-za DUB.SAR EN ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik ^{LÚ}SAG

Turning attention now to the oldest generations of the NU.^{GIŠ}KIRI₆ family, we see, as Gary Beckman showed long ago, that its ancestry may go back to a middle Hittite scribe named Ḫanikkui, copyist of KBo 19.99 (Beckman 1983: 103–106, Gordin 2012: 182–183).

“The hand of Ḫanikkui, the scribe, son of Anu-šar-ilani, the scribe, interpreter, servant of Enbilulu, Ea and Ninmah, Ninegal, Anu, Adad, Marduk, Aššur, x[,,,], and Inar, beloved of Ḫebat”

This text is a *naru*-prism in Akkadian language concerning the deeds of Naram-sin.

The colophon of this middle Hittite scribe named Ḫanikkui is exceptional in Hittite documentation. First of all, this Ḫanikkui is the only one in this period who mentions his genealogy. Second, he composed a list of gods evidently with the intention to recall the Babylonian custom of inserting patron deities of the profession in the colophons, but for some reasons he elaborated a different list.

We do not have proof that the Mesopotamian scribe Anu-šar-ilani existed and worked in Ḫattuša during the early years of 15th century or earlier. But the scribe Ḫanikkui writer of the middle Hittite *naru*-prism could be related with a scribe Ḫanikkui mentioned in three land grants sealed by the king Ḫantili II (Bo 90/728, Bo 90/568, Bo 90/758; Wilhelm 2005: 278–279; van den Hout 2009: 92–93). If all

40. The reading INANNA-LÚ-*i* in KBo 13.62 rev. 3' and 4' proposed by A. Hagenbuchner 1989: 22–25 is very doubtful. See Torri 2008: 779.

41. KUB 13.9+ IV 11 (colophon) and see further.

42. See also Gordin 2012b: 142.

Table 3. The Family of Pikku

Pikku (grandfather)	
Tatta (father)	
Pikku (son, under Anuwanza)	Piḥḥuniya (son, under Anuwanza)

Table 4. The Team of Angulli and the Team of Zuwa

Angulli (son of Palla)
brothers
Šakkapi Zuwa
sons of Uza
grandchildren of Mawiri
Zuwa
Aliḥḥini (son of Šaušgaziti)

these documents mention the same scribe, then we should suppose that his father Anu-šar-ilani had lived in the decades immediately following the reign of Telipinu.

It is interesting to study the dynamic of transmission of this craft within a kins-hip line along several generations. The members of this family are all involved with the scribal art. The same NU.^{GIS}KIRI₆, father of Ḥanikkuili, Ziti, Šaušgaziti and, perhaps, Karunuwa, was a teacher of scribes as well. In the colophon of KBo 48.133 (CTH 670), the scribe Pikku is stated to be a trainee of NU.^{GIS}KIRI₆ (GÁB.ZU.ZU) and to write under the supervision of Anuwanza.

The term GÁB.ZU.ZU (Torri 2008: 776; Weeden 2011a: 83–84), may indicate in Ḥattuša a scribe specializing in the redaction of some particular textual categories (compare Gordin 2011: 182). For what concerns us here, this means that NU.^{GIS}KIRI₆ and his sons were working in Anuwanza's administration at the same time. In fact the scribe Pikku, that I just mentioned as GÁB.ZU.ZU of NU.^{GIS}KIRI₆, was also working in Anuwanza's office together with his brother Piḥḥuniya (Table 1 and 3; Marizza 2010: 87). These two brothers were sons of an individual named Tatta and grandchildren of another person named Pikku as well.

Thus by looking at the team of Anuwanza we can reconstruct the activity of several families. Many of the scribes who worked under his control were later supervisors and had sons who also worked as scribes in other bureaus.

We have the impression that all the members of a specific family were affiliated with a specific official during their service for the state administration as scribes. At the same time we see that several scribes employed in Anuwanza's team will become one generation later supervisors of other scribes.

For example we have the case of Angulli, son of another scribe named Palla,⁴³ and known also as Lord of Ḥurma in cuneiform sources (Torri 2010b: 389–390). This Angulli worked as copyist under Anuwanza and later became a supervisor. As supervisor he was the controller of the work of two brothers Šakkapi⁴⁴ and Zuwa,⁴⁵

43. In Torri 2010b: 391, it is proposed that also this Palla may have worked under Anuwanza's control, as author of an oracular text KBo 13.127+.

44. KBo 5.11 IV 26–28 (colophon).

45. KBo 23.97 rev. 21'–22' (colophon).

sons of Uza and grandchildren of Mawiri. Zuwa (Table 2), will be the supervisor of Aliḫḫini, a son of Saušgaziti (Gordin 2010b: 165–166).

Of course, not all the scribes involved in the administration of the Lower City were sons of individuals who mainly worked as scribes.⁴⁶ We have the case of the already mentioned scribe Ḫapatiwalwi whose father, Tuwattaziti, is called in one colophon ^{LÚ}A.ZU “physician”.⁴⁷ Another scribe of the imperial period, Lurmaziti, the copyist of the Prayer of the king Muwatalli II to the Storm-God of Kummani CTH 382 calls himself A.ZU TUR “young physician” (KBo 11.1; Singer 2002: 81–85). This may indicate that inside a family a core of professions could be transmitted.⁴⁸

Archival organization, as far as we know, was regulated by the State (van den Hout 2006: 77–106). A part of the scribal education probably took place in the *scriptoria* of the city. However we are not really informed about scribal training and the *curriculum* used to instruct new generations of scribes. There are only a few lexical lists and we do not have exercises⁴⁹ or those texts that would have constituted the base of the scribal training (Weeden 2011a: 91–131). According to the fact that related scribes of the same generation (like brothers) but also of different generations (like fathers and sons) cooperated with the same bureau, I would suggest that the elementary training of the scribes was taking place in the family.⁵⁰ Only later the young scribes began to work for the state administration, often becoming members of the same administrative center where their brothers or, sometimes, their fathers were already working.

46. About this topic see already Imparati 2004 (in particular p. 283).

47. KBo 21.42 VI 4'–6' (colophon).

48. About scribes as medical experts see Gordin 2012: 94–98.

49. However, as I stressed elsewhere, all texts kept in the *scriptoria* of the capital city may have had multiple functions, among them the training of new generations of scribes. Torri 2009: 208–9.

50. Unfortunately the lack of private documentation does not allow verification of this hypothesis. It appears however quite reasonable when compared with similar situations in Syria, at Ugarit or at Emar, for example. About the possible relationship between public and private institutions for what concerns the scribal practice, compare Weeden 2011b: 117–18 and 131.

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