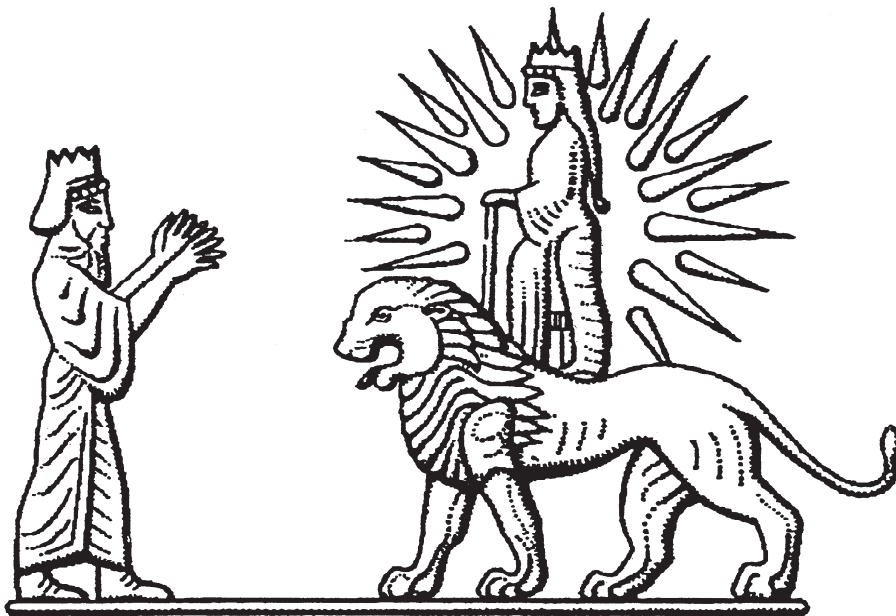


# Conceptualizing Past, Present and Future

Proceedings of the Ninth Symposium  
of the Melammu Project Held in Helsinki / Tartu  
May 18–24, 2015

Edited by  
Sebastian Fink and Robert Rollinger



# Melammu Symposia 9

Edited by Robert Rollinger (Innsbruck)

In collaboration with Ann Gunter (Evanston),  
Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (Helsinki), Johannes Haubold (Durham),  
Giovanni-Battista Lanfranchi (Padova), Krzysztof Nawotka  
(Wrocław), Martti Nissinen (Helsinki), Beate Pongratz-Leisten  
(New York), Kai Ruffing (Kassel), Josef Wiesehöfer (Kiel)

# **Conceptualizing Past, Present and Future**

Proceedings of the Ninth Symposium  
of the Melammu Project Held in Helsinki / Tartu  
May 18–24, 2015

Edited by  
Sebastian Fink and Robert Rollinger

Ugarit-Verlag  
Münster 2018

Conceptualizing Past, Present and Future  
Proceedings of the Ninth Symposium of the Melammu Project  
Held in Helsinki / Tartu  
May 18-24, 2015

Edited by Sebastian Fink and Robert Rollinger  
Melammu Symposia 9

© 2018 Ugarit-Verlag – Buch- und Medienhandel GmbH, Münster  
[www.ugarit-verlag.com](http://www.ugarit-verlag.com)

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,  
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,  
electronic, mechanical, photo-copying, recording, or otherwise,  
without the prior permission of the publisher.  
Printed in Germany by Memminger MedienCentrum, Memmingen

ISBN 978-3-86835-299-3

Printed on acid-free paper

## Table of Contents

Table of Contents	v
Robert Rollinger	1
Welcome address to the 9 <sup>th</sup> Melammu Symposium, Helsinki, May 18 <sup>th</sup> 2015	
Sebastian Fink – Robert Rollinger	5
Introduction	
<b>Conceptualizing the Past: Narratives</b>	
John Marincola	9
Introduction	
Carolyn Dewald	13
How Many Miles to Babylon? The Role of a Great Eastern City in Herodotus' Interpretation of History	
Emily Baragwanath	31
Emotions, Perceptions, Visual Images: Conceptualizing the Past in Xenophon's <i>Hellenica</i>	
Jared L. Miller	57
Towards a Typology of Quoted Speech (and Text) in Hittite Historiographic Narrative	
Elena Devecchi	69
Concluding remarks	
<b>Structuring the Past: Chronology, Genealogy, Ancestors</b>	
Shigeo Yamada	75
Neo-Assyrian Eponym Lists and Eponym Chronicles: Contents, stylistic variants and their historical-ideological background	
Simonetta Ponchia	97
Assyrian chronicles and their meaning within the first millennium BC conceptualization of history	
<b>Past as an Argument: Past and Present in Dialogue</b>	
Kai Ruffing	125
Past as an argument: the past and present in a dialogue – an introduction	

Hannes D. Galter	131
The “heavy” name Adadnarari – History and politics in Assyria	
Seth Richardson	145
Sumer and Stereotype: Re-forging a “Sumerian” kingship in the Late Old Babylonian Period	
Manuel Pohl	187
Camillus, <i>Concordia</i> and the <i>libri lintei</i> : The (Re-)Construction of the Roman Past in the Late Republic and Early Principate	
John Dillery	207
The Past in the Present and the Limits of History: Two Greek Cases	
Marc Van De Mieroop	229
Response	
<b>The Problem of Genres</b>	
Martti Nissinen	233
Introduction	
John Marincola	239
Ancient Writers on Generic Distinctions in Classical Historiography	
Jason M. Silverman	261
Achaemenid Sources and the Problem of Genre	
Martti Nissinen	279
Genre as Gateway to Ancient Prophecy	
Kurt A. Raaflaub	301
The Problem of Genres – Response	
<b>Author and Audience: The Texts and Their 'Sitz im Leben'</b>	
Mischa Meier (Tübingen) and Rocío Da Riva (Barcelona)	309
Author and audience: The texts and their ‘Sitz im Leben’	309
Nicole Brisch	321
Who Were the Authors of King Lists in Ancient Mesopotamia?	
Caroline Waerzeggers	335
Manuscript and archive: who wrote and read Babylonian chronicles?	
Oliver Schelske	347
What can we expect from historiographical texts? Historians, audiences, and the (original) capacity of historiography in the 5 <sup>th</sup> century	

**Presocratics and Ancient Near Eastern Cosmology**

Alberto Bernabé	363
The question of the Origin: Cosmogony – Introduction	
Ignacio Márquez Rowe	369
Homer’s Origin of All Things and Babylonian Cosmogony	
Revisiting Burkert’s Thesis	
Marc Van De Mieroop	381
What is the point of the Babylonian Creation Myth?	
Julia M. Mendoza	393
Cosmogonic Monism: Between India and Greece – Introduction	
Gebhard J. Selz	409
A Mesopotamian Path to Abstraction? On Sumerian “ontologies” – Introduction	
Sebastian Fink	435
Response	
<b>General Session</b>	
Mait Kõiv, Irene Madreiter, Urmas Nõmmik	441
Introduction	
Frederick Mario Fales – Udine	443
The Composition and structure of the Neo-Assyrian Empire: Ethnicity, Language and Identities	
Rosaria Vignolo Munson	495
Liberalizing Persia: The Shadow of a Greek Dream in Herodotus	
Martin Lang	509
Knocking on Heaven’s Door: Some Thoughts on the Alleged Reception and the Transformation of the Scene in the Forest of the Gemstones in Gilgameš-Epic	
Amar Annus	521
Asceticism in Ancient Mesopotamia and Syria: A Study of Autism in Antiquity	
Mait Kõiv, Irene Madreiter, Urmas Nõmmik	541
Response to the general section	

**The Young Researchers Workshop**

Andreas Johandi	551
Some Remarks about the Beginnings of Marduk	
Maximilian Räthel	575
Gyges, Croesus and Beyond Writing and Re-Writing Lydian History throughout the Centuries	
Ennio Biondi	589
Conceptualizing the early history of the world: Plato and the flood	
Peeter Espak – Vladimir Sazonov	599
Conceptualizing Past, Present and Future in Ancient Near East and Greece: Response on Young Researchers Workshop	599
<b>Keynote</b>	
Mait Kõiv	
The hero and the villain: famous dynasties in ancient Near Eastern and Greek narrative traditions	609
Index	647



## Towards a Typology of Quoted Speech (and Text) in Hittite Historiographic Narrative

*Jared L. Miller*

The historian Hubert Cancik, in his now classic volume on Hittite historiography, dedicated only a few, albeit very insightful, paragraphs to the topic of quoted speech in Hittite historical narrative.<sup>1</sup> He wrote (1976: 138f.), “Die Reden der hethitischen Historiographie sind genauso fiktiv wie die der antiken; auch die hethitischen Historiographen formulierten die Reden so, wie sie nach Maßgabe der Umstände hätten gehalten werden können. Ein sachlicher Zwang der Verwendung der Rede in der Historiographie besteht nicht. Für ihre Verwendung sind stilistische Gründe ausschlaggebend. ... Die künstlerische Absicht, die der Verwendung der Rede in der historiographischen Prosa zugrundeliegt, ist natürlich zunächst die, die Darstellung persönlicher, lebendiger, abwechslungsreicher und ‘dramatischer’ zu gestalten”. The essential results of the present paper were thus presaged decades ago. Since, however, Cancik illustrated his conclusions with only a tiny number of examples, and only from the Annals of Mursili II, and as he made no extensive attempt at further classification, my purpose with this paper is to take a few steps toward doing just that.<sup>2</sup>

It should be noted at the outset that Hittite historical narratives are found not only in those texts more obviously conceived, both by the Hittites and by modern researchers, as historiographic but also in genres such as prayers, letters, treaties, edicts, instructions and didactic compositions. The present paper can naturally present and discuss only a small selection of relevant passages along with very brief comments on them.

The Hittite language conveniently marks quoted speech with an enclitic particle *-wa(r)-*, so that identifying such passages is usually significantly easier than with most other languages. That said, the particle’s usage is not entirely consistent through time and genre (GrHL §§28.2–28.15; Fortson 1998), so that one must also search for quoted speech based on context as well. Quoted speech is often introduced by verbs of speaking, but not always. Compositions introduced by the Akkadogram *UMMA*, such as many of the treaties, are not marked with *-wa(r)-* as quoted speech, though *UMMA* does lead to explicitly marked quoted speech within the body of a text.

Before examining a few examples selected to illustrate some elements of a

---

<sup>1</sup> For recent discussion of Hittite historiography see Klinger 2001 and 2008; Gilan 2015: 51–63.

<sup>2</sup> For some comments on the use of quoted speech in the Palace Anecdotes, see Zorman (2004: 697ff.). For its use in the Siege of Uršu Text, s. Gilan 2015: 287ff.

possible typology, some of the categories of such an initial classification may be noted. The most obvious division is between those texts that employ quoted speech and those that do not. A further category is person, that is, whether the author quotes himself speaking, a person or persons being addressed in the text or a third party. Also of potential relevance is whether the author presents quoted speech that he purports to have experienced first, second or third hand. A further criterion is whether the quoted speech is presented as having been heard aurally or having been read in a text, and in the latter case, from what type of text. Another observation has to do with the status and nature of the quoted person, or deity for that matter;<sup>3</sup> or whether the speaker of a quoted passage is even mentioned explicitly or not. The question of whether the speech quoted could have been heard or experienced by the author at all should be considered, e.g., whether the speech occurred in his own lifetime or whether it would have occurred at a time or place that the author could not have been present. Whether the quoted speech is presented as having already been or not been enunciated, something that one should/should not or can/cannot have said in the past or as something that will/will not, should/should not or might/might not be said in the future represent further categories. Also of interest is the question of whether the author presents quoted speech as something s/he said or thought to him/herself or something communicated to another person or persons as well as the nature and status of those persons. Finally, the issue of nesting is of interest, in other words, quotes within quotes, and sometimes quotes within those quotes.<sup>4</sup>

The earliest well-preserved historical text from the Hittite archives, though not from a Hittite ruler per se, is of course the so-called Anitta Text (CTH 1)<sup>5</sup> from the 18<sup>th</sup>-century ruler of the city of Kaneš, which employs no quoted speech in its narrative. Neither does the earliest Hittite annalistic text, the rather artless Annals of Ḫattusili I (CTH 4), generally regarded as the founder of the Hittite Old Kingdom, from around 1600. Very little annalistic material is preserved from subsequent kings up until Tudḫaliya I and Arnuwanda I from around 1400. The annals of these two kings also seem to employ no quoted speech. They are admittedly rather poorly preserved; but enough text is extant for the absence to be noteworthy.

The lack of quoted speech in these early annalistic texts, however, would seem perhaps to be more a function of genre than of chronology, as it is used extensively in other historical or historicizing texts of the period. The Testament of Ḫattusili (CTH 6), for instance, is wellknown for its use of quoted, often highly emotive speech, employed to full effect, not to be outdone even in the

---

<sup>3</sup> An examination of text passages presented as quoted speech by entities that normally cannot speak at all, such as deities, animals and inanimate objects, would surely be illuminating.

<sup>4</sup> Ideally such an attempt at classification would go hand in hand with further studies on *verba dicendi* and *sentiendi*, concerning which Cotticelli-Kurras (1995) has published an initial examination.

<sup>5</sup> Abbreviations used in this paper can be found in the Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1989–. I wish to thank Amir Gilan for helpful references and suggestions concerning the topic of this paper.

annalistic works of Mursili II, often considered the zenith of Hittite historical writing. In the Edict of Ḫattusili (CTH 5), in contrast, no quoted speech is employed.

The Telipinu Edict (CTH 19) from roughly 100 years later does so extensively. In §16 is found a particularly revealing example, since the person quoted is said to have been sent secretly with his message: “[... Ilali]uma sandte heimlich den [Großen der] Höflinge aus und [...]. [...] sag]te: ‘Die Königin von Šukziya soll sterben!’” (KBo 3.1++ i 52’–56’; Gilan 2015: 143) Since the quoted speaker is said here to have been sent secretly, it is perfectly clear that Telipinu is not actually presenting speech that he would or could have heard; he is employing it to relate a situation as he assumes it must have been. At most, he might have heard it second or third hand once the affair came to its bloody end.

In §26 of Telipinu’s Edict is found a situation in which the author purports to quote himself as he had addressed the Assembly: “[Und er (Tanuwa) tötete Ḫuzz]iya und da[zu] seine Brüder. Als ich, der König, (davon) hörte, brachte man Tanuwa, Taḫurwaili [und] Taruḫš[u] hierher. Und die Gemeinschaft bestimmte sie zum Tode, aber ich, der König, sagte: „Warum sollen sie sterben? ...“ Ich, der König, machte sie zu ein[fachen] Baue[rn].” (KBo 3.1++ ii 26–30; Gilan 2015: 148). Obviously, Telipinu quoting himself from years past is entirely believable, even if one cannot necessarily assume that he has remembered his words perfectly, or indeed, that he is even attempting to honestly and objectively recreate the scene.

In §27 Telipinu styles what must have become a common sentiment as the quoted speech of prophets.<sup>6</sup> “Doch das Morden war (innerhalb) der Könighchen Sippe ebenso wie früher verbreitet. Ištapariya, die Königin, starb, danach aber starb Ammuna, der Prinz. Und auch die „Leute der Götter“ sagen ständig: „Jetzt ist Mord in Ḫattuša weit verbreitet.“ Also berief ich, Telipinu, in Ḫattuša die Versammlung ein: („)Ab jetzt soll niemand in Ḫattuša ein Familienmitglied unbillig behandeln und gegen ihn den Dolch zücken(“)” (KBo 3.1++ ii 31–35; after Gilan 2015: 148). Why this passage is placed in the mouth of the “men of the gods” is difficult to say, as it seems to be a rather general observation that presumably would have been obvious to everyone, not a prophecy or privileged knowledge accessible only to “men of the gods”. Probably it expresses divine discontent with the situation, which in turn made Telipinu’s peremptory action all the more necessary. Also of interest is the fact that the verb occurs in the *-ske-*imperfective, probably indicating that more than one “man of the gods” is being quoted and/or that they had repeatedly proclaimed such.

In §30 a command to reference the very text here at hand is found; the essence of what the text contains then follows: “Ferner, wer auch immer König wird, und Übles gegen Bruder (oder) Schwester plant, auch für ihn seid ihr die Gemeinschaft! So sagt ihm klar und deutlich: „Sieh bezüglich dieser Mordsache von der Tafel: („)Früher war Mord in Ḫattuša häufig und die Götter nahmen

---

<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that the second quoted passage is not introduced with a verb of speech, though a speaking situation is indicated; this second passage is also left unmarked morphologically, i.e. *-wa(r)-* is absent, so I have placed the quotation marks in parentheses:

Rache an der königlichen Familie!“““ (KBo 3.1++ ii 46–49; after Gilan 2015: 150) Since there is no linguistic marker for a citation within a citation – a doubled *-wa(r)-* for instance – this internal quote from the tablet can only be identified as such from context. The citation of the text is presumably intended to lend its words authority and legitimacy.

In §32 we find an example of hypothetical speech portrayed as something that one must not say: “Solche, die allerdings diese üblen Dinge tun, die Großen, nämlich, die Väter des Hauses, der Große der Höflinge, der Große der Leibgardisten und der Große des Weins, welche auch immer, die begehren, die Häuser des Königs zu nehmen und folgendermaßen sprechen: „Ich will, dass die Stadt mein wird“, der fügt dem Herrn der Stadt Übles zu.” (KBo 3.1++ ii 59–65; after Gilan 2015: 151f.) This is a widely used stylistic tool in the Hittite Instructions and Treaties.

The Deeds of Suppiluliuma I were composed by his son and successor Mursili II both to glorify the accomplishments of his father and in an effort to come to terms with his misdeeds and their devastating effects. This composition, along with Mursili’s own Annals, are often considered the apex of Hittite historiographic writing. In the Deeds Mursili repeatedly highlights Suppiluliuma’s eagerness while still a prince during the reign of his own father (or father-in-law), Tudḫaliya III, to support his father by leading military missions. His volunteering is always styled as quoted speech. For example: “Thus (spoke) my father to my grandfather: ‘Oh my lord! Send me on that [campai]gn! Then, what is in my [heart], the gods will fulfill!’” (Frag. 11 ii 5’ff.; Güterbock 1956: 63f.) His readiness can be enhanced by further framing, which emphasizes Tudḫaliya’s, and thus Ḫatti’s, desperate plight and Suppiluliuma’s saviour status: “But [when] my grandfather heard [*of a dangerous situation*] ..., since my grandfather was still [si]ck, my grandfather (cried) thus: ‘[Who] will go?’ Thus (spoke) my father: ‘I will go!’ [So] my grandfather sent forth my father” (Frag. 14 iii 7’ff.; after Güterbock 1956, 67).

Also styled as quoted speech are messages said to have been written by Suppiluliuma to his enemies, usually consisting of a short explanation of his grievance along with an ultimatum or declaration of war. For instance, “[My father sent a message to the king of Mittani, writing] him thus: ‘[...] I attacked Karkamiš, but [I wrote] to you [thus]: (“)Come! Let us fight! (“) But you] did not come [to battle].’” (Frag. 26 ii 11’ff.; after Güterbock 1956, 84) Likewise generally styled as quoted speech are enemies’ declarations of capitulation.

The examples from the Deeds discussed thus far are all easily conceivable. Mursili might have heard such stories from his father himself, and he might have cited such passages from the royal family’s extensive archives. Of particular interest, then, are passages that clearly represent, as Cancik noted, speeches as they “hätten gehalten werden können”. One such example reads as follows: “Then he (my father) went back to Mount Zukkuki and fortified two towns, Athulissa and Tuḫpurpuna. And while he fortified the towns, the enemy kept boasting, ‘Down into the country of Almina we shall never let him (come)!’ But when he had finished fortifying the towns, he went into Almina, and not one of the enemies resisted him any longer in battle.” (Frag. 28 i 1ff.; after Güterbock 1956, 90) It is hardly likely that Suppiluliuma or his men would have been

listening to the enemy speaking such words, though one could theoretically assume that Hittite spies had been reporting what they had overheard in enemy territory. More plausibly, the supposedly quoted speech represents what Mursili imagines the enemy might have been saying, and this in order to highlight the fact that Suppiluliuma faced no resistance from this particular foe.

Of course, the most well-known episode in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma, the request of the Egyptian pharaoh's widow that Suppiluliuma send her a son, whom she could marry and place on the throne of Egypt, involves much quoting of the messages of the ambassadors and other actors. For example: "And since, in addition, their lord Nibḫururiya had died, the queen of Egypt, the wife of the king, sent a messenger to my father and wrote to him thus: 'My husband has died, and I have no son. But they say that you have many sons. If you give me a son of yours, he will become my husband. Never will I take a servant of mine and make him my husband!' ... When my father heard this, he called the Assembly (and said to them): 'Such a thing has never happened to me in my whole life!' So thereafter my father sent Ḫattusa-ziti, the chamberlain, to Egypt (saying): 'Go and bring me the true story. Maybe they are trying to deceive me. Maybe they do have a son of their lord!'" (Frag. 28 iii 7ff.; after Güterbock 1956, 94f.) Of interest, among other things, is the choice to quote Suppiluliuma's astonished emotional reaction before the assembly rather than, for example, any substantive considerations relating to the queen's proposal, which one might have expected. Similarly, Mursili opts to quote his father's instructions to the messenger that he sends to Egypt rather than, for instance, the letter to the widow that he surely would have written to her in response.

The remainder of the communications between Suppiluliuma and the widow are also quoted extensively, including quotes of the correspondence within quotes. In this context it may be of relevance to mention a passage that could well have made use of quoted speech but does not. It takes some time for Suppiluliuma to be convinced of the queen's sincerity, and among the things that move him to acquiesce is said to have been the examination of the tablet of an old treaty with Egypt, the well-known Kurustama Treaty. And though it is said that Suppiluliuma had the treaty read before the assembly, the contents of the treaty are then summarized, not quoted directly. Instead, Mursili writes, "And when they had read aloud the tablet before them, my father addressed them thus: 'Of old, Ḫattusa and Egypt were friendly with one another, and now, this too has taken place between us! Thus Ḫatti and Egypt will long be friendly with one another!'" (Frag. 28 iv 33ff.; after Güterbock 1956, 98) Again, it is the emotionally evocative speech that is presented as quoted.

As has become apparent, quoted speech is often used for various forms of emphasis. It is occasionally difficult to see, however, why some quoted passages are framed as such, as they seem to be entirely mundane. For example, "Furthermore, while my father was there, [the people of Zida]parḫa brought (him) word: "If you would go [to ...] but not [to come] into the country of Zidaparḫa, [then] we would not hold out in front of the enemy." [But my father] spoke thus: "Were I [to march] from here along the foot of [Mount ...]-mitta, [then I would] (have to) turn quite out [of my way]." So he marched on] from there and went into the country of T[ikukuwa]." (Frag. 34 i 14'ff.; after

Güterbock 1956, 109) Why Mursili chose to highlight with quoted speech this incident and the reason for Suppiluliuma's decision, while dozens of such passages are simply narrated in prose, remains elusive. Perhaps this particular tactical decision was thought to have been especially indicative and therefore worthy of emphasis.

A further text of interest is an Edict or Decree of Mursili II. This decree is directed at three persons, the viceroy in Karkamiš, a governor within the province of Aleppo and a governor in a third city, perhaps Aštata. These three had retained refugees, which Tuppi-Teššub, the king of Amurru, claimed as his own. Mursili begins his composition by quoting the complaint that Tuppi-Teššub had brought before him, and further, his subsequent questioning of his vassal and Tuppi-Teššub's response: "Tuppi-Teššub, King of the Land of Amurru, made the following [... statement] to My Majesty: '[The king of the land of Karkamiš], Tudḫaliya [and Ḫalpaḫi] are causing me [troub]le.' And I, My Majesty, [questio]ned him ...: 'How [are they troubling] you?' He (explained) [as f]ollows: 'The [...] civilian captives which Azira, my grandfat[her, ...] ... they have not been *giving* them back to me.'" (KBo 3.3++ ii 39–55; Miller 2007, 129f.)

The fact that Hittite sovereigns felt the need to justify their actions related in their edicts, treaties and other documents has often been noted. This introductory narrative to the edict presumably serves precisely this purpose, among others. One has the feeling that Mursili is attempting to describe the situation as accurately and realistically as possible, but it is difficult to know if this is only the result of a conscious attempt to exploit such stylistic features in pursuit of this purpose or a reflection of genuine sincerity or even a striving for objectivity. Why Mursili chose to present not only Tuppi-Teššub's complaint as quoted speech, but also the mundane fact that he had asked for further details and had received further information, is more difficult to pinpoint. Perhaps the intent is to convince the reader or hearer that the edict is a well-considered and thoroughly researched decision rather than a whimsical reaction.

Mursili then upbraids his three Syrian subordinates and orders them to return the refugees, referring to the vassal treaty which his father, Suppiluliuma, had concluded with Tuppi-Teššub's grandfather, Aziru. Mursili writes: "So, why have you<sup>(pl.)</sup> handled this matter in this way, in that you<sup>(pl.)</sup> keep taking those civilian captives away from Tuppi-Teššub?! ... The treaty concerning those civilian captives during the reign of my father, His Majesty, was as follows, (i.e.) the treaty with Azira was set down on a tablet thus: 'If I, My Majesty, beset some enemy land, and the civilian captives of that enemy land arise and come into your land, you shall take them captive and extradite them.' And had Azira not turned over those civilian captives to My Majesty *by now*, ... then I, My Majesty, would have taken them myself. So why are you<sup>(pl.)</sup> taking them away of your<sup>(pl.)</sup> own accord? Stop<sup>(pl.)</sup> taking those civilian captives away from Tuppi-Teššub now!" (KBo 3.3++ iii 29'–52'; Miller 2007: 129f.)

Suppiluliuma's treaty with Aziru cited here is indeed extant, but it is not preserved at that point where the issue of refugees and captives are treated, so that it cannot be known if Mursili's would-be quote from the text is indeed an exact excerpt. The quoted statement does, however, correspond to similar

stipulations regarding refugees found in other treaties with the Syrian vassals. In this case, the quote seems to constitute a concrete reference to a legal document pertaining to the situation at hand, so can be regarded as less contrived than some of the other examples discussed thus far.

Another of Mursili's historical narratives is in fact part of a prayer, so that one may safely assume that Mursili will at least not consciously be fabricating falsehoods. In other words, his use of quoted speech is presumably intended to faithfully frame for the gods the situation as he understood it. Mursili recounts how a vassal of Hatti had defected to Egypt and subsequently an Egyptian vassal had defected to Hatti: "Then [...] ... Tetti, [my servant] wrote [to] the [...] of Egypt (saying): '[Send] troops and chariots, [and] *they shall bring* me forth, and [I] will arise [and] come to the Land of Egypt.' Then the troops and chariots of the Land of Eg[yp]t came, and Tetti arose and went to the Land of [Eg]ypt. When, however, I wrote to (the Egyptian) Armā (saying): '[Si]nce Tetti was m[y] servant, why did you send your troops and chariots and [bring] him a[way]? Give my [serv]ant back to me!' [Armā] did not give [him ba]ck [to me], nor did he [even wr]ite back to me. Later, Zirtaya, [his] servant, wrote to me (saying): 'Sen[d] troops and chariots, and I will arise, and [come] to Ḫattusa.' So I sent troops and chariots, and they brought Zirt[aya, his servant], to Ḫattusa. Then Armā w[rote] to me (saying): 'Since [Z]irtaya is my servant, [giv]e hi[m back to me]!' But I wrote back to him (saying): 'An[d you]? Wh[y] did you [not g]ive Tetti back to me?' Then Armā remained totally quiet, [and] said [nothing] at all!" (KUB 19.15++ iv' 5'-26'; Miller 2008: 536)<sup>7</sup> Obviously, at least the citation of Tetti's message to the pharaoh must in fact have been entirely contrived and is merely a stylistic tool for presenting a succinct summary of events and for framing two delightfully parallel situations; unless, of course, one would rather assume that the Hittites managed to intercept Tetti's messenger or received the information from a spy at his court, which is surely not necessary.

In the Annals of Mursili II it can be seen that in some cases the identity of the speaker of the quoted speech is not given and only the hearer is named; for instance: "When spring arrived, I would have marched to the Land of Azzi to bring it under control. But when the people of Azzi heard, 'His Majesty is coming!' the people of Azzi sent (a messenger to me) ..." (KBo 4.4 iv 42ff.; after Götze 1933: 139). The focus is obviously not on whoever informed the people of Azzi of the Great King's approach, but on the fact that his army was approaching and that the people of Azzi had been made aware of it.

A further passage is somewhat more explicit and shows how this and similar passages are probably to be understood: "Forward troops of Taggasta occupied Saddupa, Karaḥna and Marista and they recognized: 'His Majesty is coming toward Taggasta!' And they brought the message to the people of Taggasta: 'His Majesty is coming to attack you!'" (KBo 5.8 i 4ff.; after Götze 1933: 147). The choice of the verb "they recognized" (Hitt. *sekker*) and the order of events as they are portrayed are presumably intended to emphasize the proper conduct of the great king, in that he had given fair warning of the impending attack, thus

---

<sup>7</sup> Obv. and rev. in Miller 2008 must be swapped. For a renewed treatment of this text in the light of several new joins, see Ahrens / Miller, forthcoming.

giving his foe every chance to submit peacefully.

In the introductory paragraphs of Mursili's Annals he describes the precarious situation at the time of his accession to the throne. His father had died in the plague that was decimating Hatti; his older brother Arnuwanda had died likewise; and Hatti was threatened on all sides by its enemies. And at this point Mursili writes: "The surrounding enemy countries spoke as follows: 'His father (Suppiluliuma), who was king of Ḫatti, was a heroic king, and he was able to hold his enemies in check, but he has now died. His (eldest) son (Arnuwanda), who sat upon his father's throne, he also was a military hero, but he also became ill and has died. But he who has now sat upon the throne of his father, he is just a boy, and he will not be able to save the Land of Hatti.'" (KBo 3.4 i 9ff.; after Götze 1933: 17ff.) That the surrounding lands had mocked him because he was only a child when he came to the throne and that they had assumed he would never be able to fill the shoes of his father becomes a leit motif of Mursili's Annals and thus the motivation for many of his actions. It can hardly have been an actual quote or quotes of foreign kings, however. Rather, it is a summary of Mursili's emotional state and his perception of how other kings had treated him or how he imagined they must have spoken about him.

Among the most instructive examples in Mursili's Annals is found in their ninth year, when a rebellion in Syria threatened to escalate. Here Mursili speaks of what foreign kings would have said about him had he not been able to suppress the Syrian rebellion due to being forced to campaign in his own heartland. Perhaps unwittingly he reveals that he only imagines the mocking voices of the other kings. He writes: "As soon as [the enemy kings] would have heard about it, would they not have [spoken thus]? 'His father (Suppiluliuma) was able to defeat the land of Karkamiš. ... His brother (Arnuwanda), whom he had made king in the land of Karkamiš, he has (now) died; and he (Mursili) has not moved against the land of Karkamiš, and he has not brought the situation under control; rather, he campaigned in some other land.' And, afterwards, as I considered this matter in my mind, ... (I did such and such) ..." (KBo 4.4 ii 43ff.; after Götze 1933: 117ff.; cf. Miller 2010) The word that I have translated in this last sentence as "I considered" is actually simply the Akkadogram *aqbi*, "I said", "I spoke", representing Hittite *memahhi* or *tehi*. Hittite apparently had no word for "I thought" in this sense, simply employing a word of speech instead. So one is often unsure if the writer envisions the speaker actually enunciating the quoted speech or just thinking it. In the present case, however, the verb of speaking is supplemented with *istantani*, "in my mind", so that the translation as "considered" or "thought to myself" is justifiable.

In any case, that Mursili in this passage indicates that he had only imagined that foreign kings would have mocked him if he had not lived up to the deeds of his father might shed light on the introduction to Mursili's Annals just cited, where he describes the precarious situation at the time of his accession to the throne. In fact, Mursili seems not even to have consciously recognized the difference between foreign kings having actually said such and him having contemplated such. Soon after initially introducing this topos in the first paragraphs of the composition, he includes it in what he styles as a prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna, in which he pleads for her support in saving his



kingdom, and which he also styles as quoted speech: “And I raised (my) hand to the Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, and spoke as follows: ‘Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady! Come down to me ... and slay those neighbouring enemy lands who have called me a child and who have belittled me and who have been trying again and again to take your lands, o Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady!’ And the Sungoddess of Arinna heard my plea and she stood by me, so that I defeated, once I sat upon the throne of my father, those neighbouring enemy lands within 10 years” (KBo 3.4 i 22ff.; after Götze 1933: 21ff.). So did Mursili in fact believe that he had at some point been informed about the laughter of the enemy kings? Or was his assumption that they must have done so sufficient evidence for him to ask his goddess to stop their mouths? And was he conscious of a difference between the two?

A further revealing example is found in Ḫattusili III’s letter to Kadašman-Enlil of Babylon. It deserves mention because Ḫattusili encourages his addressee to check his archives in order to be sure that he had indeed written what he claims to have written to his father: “Then when your father went to his fate while the gods prepared [longevity for me], I wept for him like a brother. ... I dried my tears and [immediately] dispatched a messenger, writing to the noblemen of Babylonia as follows: ‘If you do not protect the progeny of my brother ..., I will come and conquer Babylon.’ ... But my brother was a child in those days, and they did not read out the tablets in your presence. Now are none of those scribes still living? Are the tablets not filed? Let them read those tablets to you now!” (KBo 1.10+KUB 3.72 §4; after Beckman 1999: 139f.) One must probably assume that Ḫattusili in this case would indeed have been quoting from copies of letters that he had sent to Kadašman-Enlil’s father, at least in substance if not word for word, since Kadašman-Enlil would surely have been able to check the archives to make sure of what he was being told, and very well may have done so.

The Apology of Ḫattusili III unsurprisingly offers further relevant passages. Ḫattusili cites, for example, the words that his protective goddess, Šaušga, speaks to him in his dreams: “My brother, Muwattalli, summoned me to court, but Šaušga, My Lady, appeared to me in a dream and said this to me: ‘Would I abandon you to the deity (of the court)? Do not fear!’” (§4; after Otten 1981: 7). Šaušga relays her messages through dreams to other persons as well, such as Ḫattusili’s wife, Puduḫepa, but, perhaps surprisingly, also to persons such as the generals of his sworn enemy, Urḫi-Teššub. Šaušga informs them that she had given all of the lands of Ḫatti to Ḫattusili (§11; Otten 1981: 25). It is perhaps no coincidence that this definitive declaration, whereby even the enemy camp was informed by the divine, is also the very last piece of quoted speech in Ḫattusili’s Apology. It is likely also intentional that Urḫi-Teššub is never quoted in the composition. Presumably Ḫattusili had no intention of handing the microphone to his main rival, even in his own tendentious composition, in which he could have had Urḫi-Teššub saying anything he wished.

A further illuminating passage of the Apology presented as quoted speech consists of a potential objection to his coup d’état, which thus allows him to lay out, also as quoted speech, his defense of it: “When I took up arms against (Urḫi-Teššub), ... I informed him like a man: ‘You have begun hostilities against

me. Now, you are the Great King, while I am king of only the single fortress that you left me. Come! Šaušga ... and the Storm-God ... shall decide our legal case!’ And should someone say, since I wrote to Urḫi-Teššub in this manner, ‘Why did you install him in the kingship in the first place if now you are writing him of war!?’ (I would respond): ‘If he hadn’t begun hostilities against me, would the (gods) really have let (him), the Great King, succumb to (me), a minor king?’” (§10c; after Otten 1981: 23) His warning to Urḫi-Teššub before dethroning him surely serves the same purpose as Suppiluliuma’s warning to the town he was about to conquer quoted above, i.e. as a demonstration of his justifiable conduct in war. Equally fascinating is the anticipatory question and answer session that Ḫattusili imagines he might at some point be confronted with, styled as quoted speech. In this case one suspects that some of his advisors or perhaps some of the supporters of Urḫi-Teššub had indeed pointed out at some juncture the inconsistency in dethroning a person whom he had placed on the throne; but Ḫattusili chooses not to present the rhetorical question as one that had indeed been posed to him, but as a potential objection.

Finally, in a highly nested citation, Ḫattusili presents as quoted speech a message that Šaušga had sent to his father, Mursili II, in a dream in which Ḫattusili’s older brother, Muwattalli, functioned as the messenger: “Šaušga, My Lady, sent Muwattalli, my brother, to Mursili, my father, through a dream (saying): ‘For Ḫattusili the years will be short; he will not live (long). Hand him over to me, and let him be my priest, so he will live.’” (after Otten 1981: 5) Prima facie there would seem to be no obvious reason to assume that Ḫattusili’s portrayal of the dream that his father must have related to him at some point is a fabrication. Presumably it would have been equally effective, for example, if Šaušga would have appeared in Mursili’s dream without employing Muwattalli as an intermediary. And of course, people do dream such things all the time, especially if they happen to have a sickly child, as Ḫattusili apparently was.

So should we assume that Ḫattusili is relating the event essentially accurately? Or have I fallen into Ḫattusili’s clever trap? Was he so adept as a composer of Hittite historiography that he knew precisely that presenting this fundamentally important theme in such a nested manner would make it appear more convincing? Was the casting of Muwattalli as messenger intended to further involve his brother in, to even make him the herald of, the divine destiny that Ḫattusili was convinced to have enjoyed; and this, even as Ḫattusili toppled Muwattalli’s son from the throne of Hatti? Again, one can seemingly only speculate.

## Bibliography

- Ahrens, A. / Miller, J.L. In preparation: “Haremhab and the Levant: New Archaeological Finds and Historical Perspectives”.
- Beckman, G. 1999: *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. Writings from the Ancient World 7. 2nd ed. Atlanta.
- Cancik, H. 1976: *Grundzüge der hethitischen und alttestamentarischen Geschichtsschreibung*. Wiesbaden.
- Cotticelli-Kurras, P. 1995: “Hethitische Konstruktionen mit *verba dicendi* und

- sentiendī*". In O. Carruba et al. (eds.): *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia*. Studia Meditteranea 9. Pavia. Pp. 87–100.
- Fortson, B.W. 1998: "A New Study of Hittite *-wa(r)*". *JCS* 50, 21–34.
- Gilan, A. 2015: *Formen und Inhalte althethitischer historischer Literatur*. Texte der Hethiter 29. Heidelberg.
- Götze, A. 1933: *Die Annalen des Muršiliš*. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptische Gesellschaft 38. Leipzig.
- Güterbock, H.G. 1956: "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son Mursili II". *JCS* 10, 41–68, 75–98, 107–130.
- Klinger, J. 2001: "Historiographie als Paradigma. Die Quellen zur hethitischen Geschichte und ihre Deutung". In G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie*. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 45. Wiesbaden. Pp. 272–291.
- 2008: "Geschichte oder Geschichten – zum literarischen Charakter der hethitischen Historiographie". In K.-P. Adam (ed.), *Historiographie in der Antike*, Berlin / New York. Pp. 27–48.
- Miller, J.L. 2007: "Muršili II's Dictate to Tuppi-Teššup's Syrian Antagonists". *KASKAL* 4, 121–152.
- 2008: "The Rebellion of Hatti's Syrian Vassals and Egypt's Meddling in Amurru". *SMEA* 50, 533–554.
- 2010: "Revisiting the Conquest of Karkamiš of Mursili's 9<sup>th</sup> Year: Assyrian Aggression or Mursili in the Long Shadow of His Father?" In J.C. Fincke (ed.): *Festschrift Gernot Wilhelm anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 28. Januar 2010*. Dresden. Pp. 235–239.
- Otten, H. 1981: *Die Apologie Hattusilis III. Das Bild der Überlieferung*. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 24. Wiesbaden.
- Zorman, M. 2004: "The Palace Chronicle Reconsidered". In D. Groddek / S. Röbke (eds.): *Šarnikzel. Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer*, Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie. Dresden. Pp. 691–708.