

**ICONOCLASM AND TEXT
DESTRUCTION IN THE ANCIENT
NEAR EAST AND BEYOND**

edited by

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ABBREVIATIONS

(cited by multiple authors)

GENERAL

B.C.E.	before the common era	no(s).	number(s)
ca.	<i>circa</i> , approximately	obv.	obverse
C.E.	common era	p(p).	page(s)
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare	pers. comm.	personal communication
cm	centimeter(s)	pl(s).	plate(s)
col(s).	column(s)	PN	personal name
DN	deity name	rev.	reverse
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example	RN	royal name
esp.	especially	s.v(v).	<i>sub verbo</i> , under the word(s)
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others	trans.	translation
etc.	<i>et cetera</i> , and so forth	v(v).	verse(s)
ex(x).	example(s)		
f(f).	and following		

MUSEUM SIGNATURES

fig(s).	figure(s)	AO	Department of Near Eastern Antiquities, Musée du Louvre, Paris
ibid.	<i>ibidem</i> , in the same place	BM	British Museum, London
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is	EŞ	Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul
lit.	literally	IM	Iraq Museum, Baghdad
m	meter(s)	OIM	Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago
mng.	meaning	VA	Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
n(n).	note(s)		

PUBLICATIONS

AHw.	Wolfram von Soden. <i>Das akkadische Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1959–1981.
CAD	A. Leo Oppenheim et al., eds. <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1956–2010.
DNP	Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, editors. <i>Der Neue Pauly</i> . 18 volumes. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1996–2003.
ETCSL	The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature. Jeremy B. Black, G. Cunningham, J. Ebeling, E. Flückiger-Hawker, E. Robson, J. Taylor, and G. Zólyomi. Oxford, 1998–2006. http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/
KAI	Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig. <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> . 5th edition. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002.
RIMA 1	A. Kirk Grayson. <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia B.C. (to 1115 B.C.)</i> . The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
RIMA 2	A. Kirk Grayson. <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C., Volume 1 (1114–859 B.C.)</i> . Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

- RIMA 3 A. Kirk Grayson. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C., Volume 2 (858–745 B.C.)*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 3. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
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- RIME 3/2 Douglas R. Frayne. *Ur III Period (2112–2004 B.C.)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 3/2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- RIME 4 Douglas R. Frayne. *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 B.C.)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 4. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- SAA 2 Simo Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe. *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*. State Archives of Assyria 2. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988.
- SAA 3 Alasdair Livingstone. *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*. State Archives of Assyria 3. Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press, 1989.
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- SAA 17 Manfred Dietrich. *The Babylonian Correspondence of Sargon and Sennacherib*. State Archives of Assyria 17. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2003.
- SAA 18 Frances S. Reynolds. *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon and Letters to Assurbanipal and Sin-šarru-iškun from Northern and Central Babylonia*. State Archives of Assyria 18. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2003.

HITTITE ICONOCLASM: DISCONNECTING THE ICON, DISEMPOWERING THE REFERENT

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INTRODUCTION

Iconoclasm in Hittite society has not been studied before, with good reason: unlike elsewhere in the ancient Near East there is almost no evidence for this practice in second-millennium Anatolia (for map, see fig. 14.1). Although larger-scale statuary did not survive, the roughly thirty reliefs and inscriptions on living rock and architecture are to a large extent undamaged. Based on photographs, studies of imagery,¹ and textual evidence I could detect only one case of contemporary damage of an image and its inscription that can be attributed to Hittites, one case of changing an inscription, one case of text burial, a few cases of benevolent repurposing, and only one true case of *damnatio memoriae*. In Syria only the damage to an orthostat and a statue can be attributed to Hittites. Another notable difference with especially Mesopotamia is the almost complete lack of contingency curses against destruction of image and name. Given the relative lack of destruction and of curses against destruction, the questions for Hittite society are: why are there no curses, why was there so little damage, and if damage occurred, what was the purpose? I argue that Hittite iconoclasm and inscriptoclasm serve the removal of the agency of the image and therefore the disempowerment of the deity or ruler, and not the destruction of its referent as in Mesopotamia.

Large-scale iconoclasm and inscriptoclasm (for this term, see Levtow, this volume) regularly accompany colliding world views in the religious and political sphere. Byzantine iconoclasm, for example, is based on a combination of dissenting views within Christianity itself and the discourse with the rising military power and competing views of Muslim culture (Cormack, this volume). In the same vein the iconoclasm of the Egyptian Amarna period and the restorative iconoclasm of the following period was a ferocious fight between monotheism and polytheism (Bryan, this volume).

* I owe many thanks to Natalie May, the organizer of the conference, for our many fruitful discussions on all aspects of iconoclasm. Many thanks are also due to Seth Richardson for discussing aspects of Mesopotamian society with me and to Geoff Emberling for his critical assessment of the pre-final written version of this paper.
¹ Only an on-site study of all imagery will show the true extent of iconoclasm and inscriptoclasm. Because es-

pecially subtle damage is easily overlooked in photographs, the catalog of damage presented in the *Appendix* can only be considered preliminary. Especially the damage of the title of Kuruntiya in the Hatip inscription (Ehringhaus 2005, p. 105, with figs. 185–87) is difficult to see in the photographs. If the damage is not deliberate, then we have even less evidence of Hittite inscriptoclasm.

Otherwise, most iconoclastic acts of the non-monotheistic era seem to originate from clashes between city-states and states, with these polities invading each other's territory and retaliating against real or perceived atrocities against cult and royal images in the past (for an overview of three millennia of these acts and counter-acts in Mesopotamia, see Schaudig, this volume). Throughout Hittite history there are several episodes during which iconoclasm as part of politically motivated warfare could have happened. The Old Hittite Kingdom (seventeenth–fifteenth century B.C.E.), for example, witnessed regular incursions from Hurrians at the eastern border, but also Hittite raids on Syria and Babylon, often involving god-napping. In the Hittite Empire (as of the mid-fourteenth century B.C.E., under Suppiluliuma I) we mostly see incursions from Gasga pastoralists in the north followed by Hittite retaliation. The Hittite Empire also operated in other territories, with both politically motivated religious tolerance and destruction. During these periods of upheaval, but especially in the earliest period, we find god-napping or image theft as a non-destructive form of iconoclasm, but image destruction does not seem to have been common practice.

Besides iconoclasm as a religiously and politically motivated phenomenon orchestrated on a supra-individual scale, we also need to consider smaller-scale or individual instances of iconoclasm. Within this context we might think of contemporaneous internal strife or inter-generational image and text usurpation. Repurposing of royal images and inscriptions could occur out of animosity or simply because statues were made of valuable and rare materials (Woods, this volume), as well as resulting from the intercultural and cross-cultural deconstruction of the image (Schaudig, this volume, and Berlejung, this volume). In case of animosity the purpose of destruction of a person's name was intended as destruction of the ruler or official himself (Westenholz, this volume; Radner 2005, pp. 15f., 252). Of animosity between rulers the Hittites certainly had their fair share:

- Mursili I (1620–1590) was murdered by his brother-in-law Hantili and the son-in-law of the latter, Zidanta (kings)
- Zidanta (1560–?) was murdered by his son Ammuna (king)
- Huzziya I (?–1525) was removed from the throne by his brother-in-law Telipinu (king)
- Alluwamna (1500–?) was removed from the throne by Tahirwaili (king)
- Huzziya II (before 1400) was murdered by Muwatalli I (king)
- Muwatalli I (before 1400) was murdered by Kantuzzili (father of new king Tudhaliya I/II) and Himuili
- Tudhaliya the Younger, designated heir or perhaps even king (ca. 1350), was murdered by his brother Suppiluliuma I (king)
- Urhi-Tessub (1272–1267) was removed from the throne by his uncle Hattusili III (king)
- Tudhaliya IV (1237–1228) was temporarily removed (?) from the throne by his cousin Kuruntiya (king)
- Kuruntiya (1228–1227) was removed from the throne by his cousin Tudhaliya IV (king)

So how do we explain that more destructive forms of iconoclasm and inscriptoclasm are barely attested, even though several of the main conditioning factors are present? Part of the answer lies in the fact that reliefs and monumental inscriptions as expressions of political power are a rather late development in Hittite society.

Originally the representation of political power in Hittite Anatolia was aniconic.² The first reliefs and Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions appear at Alalakh (see below) and southern

and western Anatolia during the reign of Mursili II (1321–1295 B.C.E.), initiated by local princes (Glatz and Plourde 2011, p. 35). The first Great King to follow with his own depiction is Muwatalli II (1295–1272 B.C.E.). Not surprisingly, he is also the first Great King with a strong Luwian focus, relocating the capital to the Luwian land of Tarhuntassa and promoting the cult of the Luwian Stormgod of Lightning. With some caution, we thus may attribute the iconicity of power to Hurro-Syrian, perhaps Luwian influence during the Empire period (Aro 2003, p. 288).

The late development of images of power explains why we may disregard the majority of internal conflicts in our search for iconoclasm, but it does not explain the almost complete lack of curses against inscriptoclasm throughout Hittite history and against iconoclasm in the Empire period. This lack of proscriptions is strikingly different from the situation in Mesopotamia. There we find already very early evidence of fear for erasure of image and name (Woods, this volume). As the contributions in this volume show, even though the material evidence is almost lacking for the earliest periods, this fear was certainly justified in the second and first millennia B.C.E.

If attested destruction of images and texts leads to curses against destruction in Mesopotamia, then perhaps the lack of curses is the logical consequence of lack of destruction in Anatolia. This correlation merely defers the problem. Why would the Hittites leave images and inscriptions intact, and what does it mean when they did damage them? Why is the treatment of images in Anatolia so different from the “killing” of statues in Mesopotamia?

Destruction of an image with the intent to kill the referent relies on two beliefs that are independent of each other and do not necessarily co-occur in a culture’s perception of the world, namely, the idea that the world is mantic and predicts the future, and the idea that divine and royal images are living beings and contain and are part of their real-world objects (see especially Bahrani 1995; 2003; 2004; 2008).

In Mesopotamian thought the damage inflicted upon an image or a name was inflicted on the organic body of the person (Bahrani 2004, p. 118). The close relationship between image and body, representation and reality, depends on the notion that the world is mantic. As discussed by Bahrani (1995, p. 380), this triangle of image, mantic, and body is best illustrated by the following Hellenistic omen, clearly illustrating why an enemy of a king would wish to topple and damage a royal statue:³

(An omen says:) if a statue of the king of that land or a statue of his father or a statue of his grandfather falls over and breaks, or if its features become indistinct, (then) the days of that king of that land will be short.⁴ (Omen included in Hellenistic building ritual from Uruk)

² This is different for royal representations in religious settings. Already Hattusili I describes how he sets up images of himself in temples (see further below).

³ Ideally the iconoclast should do this in secret. He knew very well that the damage to the organic body was not immediately effective, and that, if the damage was discovered in time, the party of the king would be able to perform the appropriate rituals to counter the prediction of death, such as substitution rituals. It would be very interesting to see whether the attested damage to statues in Mesopotamia was performed in secret or in a

more public setting. I hypothesize that secrecy points at the intent to physically destroy the ruler, whereas public iconoclasm is aimed at the public to show them the demise of power of that ruler. If anything, being able to topple the statue of a ruler without being bothered by guards is already evidence of the impotency of that ruler and his entourage. Modern examples abound.

⁴ DIŠ ALAM LUGAL KUR.BI lu-u ALAM AD-šú lu-u ALAM AD AD-šú ŠUB-ut-ma ḪAŠ-ir lu-u bu-un-na-an-ni-šú uk¹-kil (interlinear:) LUGAL KUR.BI UD.MEŠ-šú LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ (TU 45 rev. 14 [AO 6472], ed. Linssen 2004, pp. 285f.).

The Hittites also believed that the world consisted of mantic signs,⁵ but their reading of these signs was very different from the Mesopotamian method. Instead of providing an interpretation based on casuistic “if ... then” omens, the Hittites used a binary method in which they tried to detect the meaning of a sign through series of oracle inquiries based on yes-no questions (Haas 2008, pp. 6f., 137).⁶

Even though Hittite scholars showed great interest in the Babylonian compendia of omens with their interpretations, they hardly ever practiced divination in the Babylonian way. If you do not believe that omens have an inherent specific meaning but are signs with hidden content that can only be further interpreted by series of oracle inquiries, then the “killing” of a statue does *not* immediately imply the death of the referent.⁷ At most, the Hittite conception was that damage to an image could be meaningful, and that alleged meaning could only be discovered by means of further inquiries.

Hittite culture does not provide convincing evidence for the other belief on which the power of ancient Near Eastern iconoclasm rests, the idea that images are animated entities that do not merely represent their referents, but *are* their referents (May, *Introduction* to this volume, with further references).⁸ In order to show that Hittites did not merge images with their referents, in this paper I develop a semiotics of analyzing speech about visual signs and combine this with texts that show that deities were decidedly distinct from their images. This is the background against which we will have to interpret the (lack of) iconoclasm and inscriptoclasm. In the next sections the few instances of damage are presented concisely, while the *Appendix* contains a more elaborate overview of image and text destruction and contingency curses.

POSSIBLE TARGETS FOR ICONOCLASM

Despite the absence of larger material remains, it is now well established that large-scale sculptures-in-the-round, whether divine or royal, were commonplace in Hittite cultic settings (Özyar 2006, p. 133). According to the Late Hittite cult inventories⁹ and votive texts¹⁰ statues were often made of precious metals, but we also have first-hand evidence already from the Annals of Hattusili I (1650–1620 B.C.E.): “I made this golden statue of myself and placed it before the Sun-goddess of Arinna, My Lady.”¹¹ Given such precious materials it should not surprise us that the only material evidence of large-scale statues comes in the form of the feet of a statue of, possibly, Tudhaliya IV, found in Yekbaz (fig. 14.2), the statue bases in the Great Temple of Hattusa (Stormgod of Hatti and Sungoddess of Arinna) (fig. 14.3), and part of a colossal royal statue near the Sphinx Gate of Alaca Höyük.¹²

⁵ The Hittite word for “(mantic) sign” is *šagai-* (CHD Š s.v.; Haas 2008, p. 18), nominal derivation of *šak(k)-* “to know.”

⁶ Regarding Mesopotamian hepatoscopy it seems that besides the casuistic method the binary method was in use until the Middle Babylonian period (Oppenheim 1964, pp. 213f., 217).

⁷ This is not to deny that persons could be damaged through images, as in voodoo-rituals. It is, however, important to distinguish between creating an image with the intent to damage, and the mantic interpretation of damage to an image that probably had once received divine approval. The first type, damage to an illegal

image, was meaningful in Hittite culture, the second one not so much.

⁸ The matter of animation of the image together with the connection between the physical body, the representation, and the name is discussed in May’s *Introduction*.

⁹ For cult inventories, see most recently Hazenbos 2003.

¹⁰ For votive texts, see most recently de Roos 2006.

¹¹ *nu-za ki-i ALAM-YA ŠA GUŠKIN i-ya-nu-un / na-at A-NA dUTU URUPÚ-na GAŠAN-YA ti-it-ta[(-nu-nu-un)]* (OH/NS, CTH 4, KBo 10.2 iii 21–22, with duplicate KUB 23.20: 5’–6’, ed. De Martino 2003, pp. 68f.; trans. Beckman 2006).

¹² Koşay and Akok 1973, pls. 40–41.

In a recent study on the fate of statues in Hazor, Ben-Tor (2006) discusses exile, burial, and mutilation/demolition as the three causes for the disappearance of statues. The Hittites themselves most likely simply kept or stored sacred statuary that had become obsolete (Collins 2005, p. 28, with n. 59), but the presence of silver, gold, and precious stones or gems on the statues must certainly have led to demolition and re-use of these materials in the millennia between the Hittite period and the present. Obviously, in contrast with the other ancient Near Eastern societies, a study of the form and meaning of iconoclasm in the Hittite world cannot be based on large-scale statuary.

Typical and well-attested forms of Hittite visual expression are the reliefs found on living rock, architectural building blocks, and stelae in urban settings and in the landscape outside the administrative centers. These reliefs,¹³ about thirty in total, are usually an expression of power (Seeher 2009), sometimes in regions of territorial dispute (Glatz and Plourde 2011), or in several cases possibly mustering places for the military (Ullmann 2010, pp. 269f.). They depict both deities and Great Kings, princes, vassal kings, and officials and occur with or without inscription. Especially the Great Kings toward the end of the Empire commissioned large inscriptions to commemorate their achievements, as, for example, YALBURT (Tudhaliya IV) and SÜDBURG (Suppiluliuma II). The relatively good state of preservation of the relief images and inscriptions and the important role they play in Hittite society as the visual representation of power make the reliefs particularly fit for a study of political iconoclasm. First, however, I will briefly discuss religious iconoclasm.

“ICONOCLASM” OF RELIGIOUS IMAGES

Hittite texts hardly ever refer to the destruction of religious imagery. The cult inventories describe whether divine statues are damaged or not, the nose could be chipped off, for example, but the cause of this damage is never mentioned. Besides the damage mentioned in the cult inventories I could find only one reference to deliberate destruction of divine imagery not committed by Hittites but by pillaging Gaseans, northern non-Hittite tribes that are well known for their looting campaigns on Hittite territory:

Which temples of yours were in these lands, the Gasga people knocked them over, and they smashed your images (ALAM.ḪI.A), o gods. (CTH 375, prayer of Arnuwanda I and Asmunigal to Sungoddess of Arinna)¹⁴

In the Old Kingdom the Hittites themselves seem to have preferred abduction of divine statues. This is already attested for the first known Hittite Great King, Anitta, king of Nesa in the eighteenth century B.C.E.:

Previously Uhna, king of Zalpuwa had carried off our deity from Nesa to Zalpuwa, but later I, Anitta, Great King, carried our deity from Zalpuwa back to Nesa. (CTH 1, Anitta text)¹⁵

¹³ For recent overviews and studies of Hittite reliefs, see Ehringhaus 2005; Emre 2002; Glatz and Plourde 2011; Özyar 2006; Seeher 2009; Ullmann 2010.

¹⁴ *nu ke-e-ta-aš A-NA KUR.KUR.ḪI.A šu-me-en-za-an «ŠA» É.ḪI.A DINGIR.MEŠ-KU-NU ku-e e-eš-ta na-at LÚ.MEŠ URUGa-aš-ga ar-ḫa pí-ip-pí-ir / nu šu-me-en-za-an ŠA DINGIR.MEŠ ALAM.ḪI.A ar-ḫa ḫu-ul-li-ir* (MH/MS, KUB 31.124 ii 11–12, trans. Singer 2002, p. 42).

¹⁵ *ka-ru-ú^m U-uh-na-aš LUGAL URUZa-a-al-pu-wa dšī-ú-šum-m[i-in] / [UR]U Ne-e-ša-az URUZa-a-al-pu-wa pé-e-d[a-aš] / [ap-pé-]ez-zi-ya-na^m A-ni-it-ta-aš LUGAL.GAL dšī-ú-šu[m(-mi-in)] / [(U)RUZ]a-a-al-pu-wa-az a-ap-pa URUNe-e-ša^r pé-e[-tah-hu-un]* (OS, KBo 3.22 obv. 39–42, with duplicate KUB 36.98a: 9–10, ed. Neu 1974, pp. 12f.).

Ongoing competition for hegemony in the Halys basin led to yet another looting of Zalpuwa a century later, by Hattusili I¹⁶ (1650–1620 B.C.E.). Hattusili I's Annals, covering the first years of his reign, show that abduction of the deities of conquered cities was standard practice.¹⁷ The most famous example of god-napping occurred one generation later: Mursili I's raid on Babylon and the abduction of the statue of Marduk,¹⁸ reminisced in more general terms in a Middle Hittite prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna:

In the past, the land of Hatti, [with the assistance of] the Sungoddess [of] Arinna, [...] cu[t up (?), dupl. has “mauled”] the surrounding lands in battle like a lion. Moreover, it destroyed Halpa and whoever was there and Babylon and whoever was there, and [it] to[ok] the possessions of all the lands — silver, gold, gods —, and deposited them before the Sungoddess of Arinna. (CTH 376, prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna)¹⁹

After the Old Hittite period we hear very little of the abduction of foreign gods or destruction of temples. What this implies for the post-Old Hittite period is not particularly clear. The silence might imply that the practice of state-sanctified abduction of statues was mostly discarded, but more likely, with Schwemer (2008, p. 143), Hittite rulers simply felt great unease in reporting the looting and destruction of temples, statues, and other inventory.

According to Schwemer, preservation was probably so seldom that Mursili II made explicit mention of the favorable treatment of cultic sites after the fall of Carchemish, the last stronghold of the Hurrians. Mursili describes how his father Suppiluliuma I, probably one of the least pious kings in Hittite history, spared the temple area out of respect for the gods.²⁰ But given that the Empire usually displayed a politically motivated religious tolerance, it is more likely that Suppiluliuma spared the citadel and the city-gods for political reasons: he clearly had planned to make Carchemish the seat of his *Sekundogenitur*.

Domestic religious changes were never accompanied by iconoclastic acts. The first known major change occurred during and after the reign of Tudhaliya I/II. After the incorporation of Kizzuwadna, a region of mixed Luwian-Hurrian ethnicity, many elements of Kizzuwadnean culture were introduced at the court. This was not so much a revolution as it was a merger of traditions from different regions in the expanding Empire. Luwian-Hurrian influence again increased after the marriage of Hattusili III with Puduhepa, daughter of a priest from Kummanni in Kizzuwadna. The culmination of this merger of traditions is the rock sanctuary

¹⁶ Described in KBo 10.2 i 9–10, ed. De Martino 2003, pp. 32f. The town of Zalpa mentioned in the Annals of Hattusili I is not necessarily the same as the one from the Anitta text. See Miller 2001, pp. 70ff., for a discussion of the different Zalpas mentioned in Hittite texts.

¹⁷ See Schwemer 2008, pp. 143f., for a discussion of the function of god-napping in Hittite society.

¹⁸ It is not clear whether the statues of Marduk and Zapanitu, his consort, ever made it to Hattusa. The Agum-Kakrime inscription (partial ed. Tavernier 2010, p. 181, trans. van Koppen 2006, pp. 135ff.) narrates how this Kassite king retrieved the statues from the kingdom of Hana (with capital Terqa, modern Tell Ashara), although according to the Marduk prophecy (partial ed. Tavernier

2010, p. 181, trans. Strawn 2006, pp. 168ff.) Marduk spent twenty-four years in the midst of Hatti.

¹⁹ *nu ka-ru-ú KUR URUḪA-AT-TI URUA-ri-in-n[a-aš (dUTU-) az (?)] / [ca. four signs are missing za-a]ḫ-ḫa-it a-ra-aḫ-zé-na KUR-e UR.MAḪ ma-a-an a-ar[-ki-iš-ki-it (?)] § [(nu pa-ra-a URUḪal-pa-)]an ku-i-uš URUKÁ.DINGIR.RA ku-i-uš ḫar-ni-in-ki-iš-ki-i[(t)] / [(nu KUR-e-aš ḫ)]u-u-ma-an-da-a-aš a-aš-šu-<uš>-mi-it KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI DINGIR.MES da[-a-aš-ki-it] / [(na-at PA-NI)] dUTU URUA-RI-IN-NA zi-ik-ki-i-it (MH/MS, KUB 24.4 + KUB 30.12 rev. 2–6, with parallel KUB 24.3 ii 44–48, ed. García Trabazo 2002, pp. 300f.; trans. Singer 2002, p. 53).*

²⁰ Del Monte 2009, p. 177.

of Yazılıkaya near Hattusa, with its procession of Hittite deities with Hurrian divine names expressed in Hieroglyphic Luwian script.²¹

The only time we can speak of a true reform is the failed religious reform of Muwatalli II (Singer 2006). Muwatalli (1295–1272 B.C.E.) promoted his patron deity, the Luwian Stormgod of Lightning, at the expense of the other chief deities, and moved the capital from Hattusa to Tarhuntassa in the south, taking deities and ancestors with him. But after his death his son and heir Mursili III = Urhi-Tessub reversed it all. However, in contrast with the Akhenaten reform, this reform and the following restoration, as far as we can see, was not accompanied by iconoclasm of any kind.

The only deliberately damaged image of a deity is the defaced image of Istar/Sauska (fig. 14.4), originally from Yazılıkaya but found in secondary context in Yekbaz, a village to the north of Yazılıkaya. Since the remaining deities of Yazılıkaya (around ninety) did not suffer any man-made disfigurements, the only explanation is that the iconoclast was the one who dragged this slab to the village of Yekbaz. Since the buildings of Yekbaz are probably not 3,200 years old, the damage is post-Hittite.

To conclude, nothing points at mutilation of religious imagery in Hittite society, nor did the Hittites fear and anticipate it. If anything, they favored god-napping as one of several techniques to incapacitate a conquered local or foreign enemy and their gods.

ICONOCLASM AND INSCRIPTOCLASM OF IMAGES OF POWER

Whereas religious iconoclasm is non-existent, there is evidence for political iconoclasm and inscriptoclasm in the archaeological record. It is, however, extremely rare. Curses against iconoclasm are non-existent, although we once in a while find a curse against inscriptoclasm.

If we present the few attestations of damage in table form, with damage as defined by Rambelli and Reinders (2007, p. 23) (discussed in the *Appendix*), an interesting pattern appears (table 4.1). The only cases where the face of an image is removed but the name is left intact are post-Hittite and even modern instances of iconoclasm. The iconoclasts were more concerned with damaging the anthropomorphic image than damaging the name: they probably could not read the symbols to begin with.

In the Old Hittite period there is only evidence for god-napping or theft as a form of iconoclasm, and one case of *damnatio memoriae*, wiping out a name from the memory record. The next evidence for iconoclasm and curses against inscriptoclasm comes from the early Empire period in northern Syria, in other words, an area under Hurrian cultural influence. Here we find for the first time curses against text destruction in the version of the Sattiwaza treaty intended for the Hurrians of Mitanni, and the toppling of the statue of Idrimi of Alalakh without further damage to face and inscription. In the same city the burial of an orthostat of a Tudhaliya is accompanied by removal of the nose, but again the name is left intact.

So even when the Hittites damaged an image, they left the inscription untouched. There is thus a clear correlation between the lack of curses against inscriptoclasm and the lack of iconoclasm. If the Hittites did not feel the need to add curses against erasure of their

²¹ Lebrun 2010, p. 132. For a general overview of Hurrian-Syrian influence on Hittite culture, see Hoffner 1992 and Mora 2010.

Table 14.1. Evidence of deliberate damage in Hittite Anatolia and Syria

<i>Date and Perpetrator</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Type of Damage</i>
OLD HITTITE PERIOD		
HATTI		
Hittite (Anitta, Hattusili I, Mursili I)	Hattusa	God-napping, mentioned in texts
Hittite (Hattusili I)	Hattusa	<i>Damnatio memoriae</i> , name obliteration without residue, mentioned in text
EARLY EMPIRE		
NORTHERN SYRIA		
Hittite (Suppiluliuma I)	Mittanni (text)	Sattiwaza treaty: curse formulae against damage to text
Hittite (Suppiluliuma I)	Alalakh (image + text)	Damage to image: Idrimi statue, toppling and thus breaking
Hittite or locals (Suppiluliuma I)	Alalakh (image + text)	Damage to image: Idrimi statue, humiliation or salvage burial?
Hittite (Mursili II)	Alalakh (image + text)	Damage to image: Tudhaliya orthostat, denosing, burial
LATE EMPIRE		
HATTI		
Hittite (Tudhaliya IV)	Hattusa (text)	Sahuruwuwa decree: curse formula against damage to text
Hittite (Kuruntiya)	Hattusa (text)	Damage to text: burial of Bronze Tablet
Hittite (Tudhaliya IV)	Hatip, west (image + text)	Damage to text: removal of symbols of power, redefinition
Hittite (Tudhaliya IV)	Emirgazi (text)	Luwian dedication: curse formula against damage to text
Hittite (Tudhaliya IV?)	Sirkeli 2 (image + text)	Damage to image + damage to text: Great King, defacement, removal of name
Hittite (Suppiluliuma II)	Hattusa (text)	Alasiya treaty: curse formulae against damage to text
Hittite (date unclear)	Hanyeri (image + text)	Damage to text: Annexation of relief of Prince Ku(wa)la(na)muwa by Prince Tarhuntapiyamma
ARZAWA LANDS		
Luwian/Hittite? (date unclear)	Akpınar (image + text)	Damage to text: Annexation of relief of Prince Ku(wa)la(na)muwa by a Zuwanza
POST-HITTITE		
ANATOLIA		
Post-Hittite	Yekbaz (image + text)	Damage to image: deity, face removed
Modern	Sirkeli 1 (image + text)	Damage to image: king, face removed

names and they indeed did not erase names to begin with, then perhaps their attitude toward name and fame was different from the rest of the ancient Near East. Perhaps in Hittite thought a name was an index for its bearer but did not represent “the very essence of its bearer,” as formulated by Woods (this volume):²²

²² One would like to know more about the Hittites’ views on script and writing in general. Were inscriptions considered sacrosanct to such an extent that the Hittites did not dare to damage them? Such an attitude would point

at writing as belonging to the realm of the divine, but does not show any correlation with a written name as an extension of the referent of the name.

A name was not simply an index, but represented the very essence of its bearer. Name and identity were inextricably intertwined. A name had substance; it had essence. In short, a name was, on a certain conceptual level, existence itself — to have a name was to exist; to be deprived of a name was non-existence and chaos.

If a name does not represent and ensure the existence of its referent, then removal of one's name is simply not as meaningful as in Mesopotamian society. Further study should shed light on the true power of names in Hittite society.

A major change took place during the reign of Tudhaliya IV. Suddenly, we find elaborate curses against text destruction and archaeological evidence for text change and name removal (Hatip and Sirkeli 2). Evidence for image destruction is still lacking, with one exception, the defacement of Sirkeli 2, which represents either Urhi-Tessub or Kuruntiya, and removal of its name glyph.

Whoever it was, if the removal of face and name was intended to destroy the person — as it might have been in Mesopotamian society — it completely failed to become effective. As discussed in the *Appendix*, Kuruntiya might simply have been returned to his proper position of king of Tarhuntassa (in reality or as a courtesy to the offspring of Muwatalli II) after his removal from Great Kingship, and Urhi-Tessub was a recurrent topic in the correspondence between Ramesses II and Hattusili III after his banishment to northern Syria.

I suggest we attribute the elaborate curse formulae in the two documents from Tudhaliya IV, the Sahurunuwa decree and the Emirgazi altars, to Assyrian cultural influence in the form of ongoing competition between Tudhaliya IV and Tukulti-Ninurta I.²³ Herbordt (2006, p. 89) observes that Tudhaliya is not just the only Hittite king who uses the Assyrian title *šar kiššati*, he is also attested with a highly unique cylinder seal showing the deified king in the *Umarmungsszene*, besides the regular Anatolian stamp seals. Herbordt sees this as part of the competition between Tudhaliya IV and Tukulti-Ninurta I, and I believe that the use of Assyrian-type curse formulae is another piece of evidence.

The use of Mesopotamian curse formulae in the Akkadian version of Suppiluliuma's treaty with Mitanni is best explained as Hittite awareness and adherence to the different conventions outside Anatolian territory. Assyrian control of parts of Anatolia during the late eighth century may explain the appearance of the curse formulae in Tabal mentioned in the *Appendix*, and certainly accounts for the elaborate curse formulae of KARATEPE in Cilicia. On the other hand, the earlier ÇINEKÖY inscription from the same province (how much earlier is unclear) celebrating the newly formed unity between Hiyawa and Assyria does not contain any prohibition: the peaceful contacts with Assyria at that point were of too recent a date to cause a change in a tradition that was already 1,000 years old.

To conclude, the change in attitude toward image and text at the end of the Empire is a result of Tudhaliya IV's general shift toward a more Assyrian ontology. In general, the apprehension of image and name on the Anatolian plateau seems to have differed in important ways from the Syro-Mesopotamian world view.

The following discussion will mainly focus on divine images simply because there are more lexemes to study. I hope it is reasonable to assume that conclusions regarding divine

²³ Tudhaliya considered the young Assyrian king initially as a royal upstart, but this view changed after Tukulti-Ninurta dealt the Hittites a devastating blow

during the battle of Nihriya, probably not long after his accession.

images also apply to human depictions. Especially if divine statues are not considered alive then certainly royal images are not alive.

LET'S TALK ABOUT SIGNS

To understand the lack of damage, the effect of the rare intentional damage presented thus far and deliberate destruction in general, we need to understand how the Hittites understood their images. Were they considered alive? Was the divine image conceived as the living body of the deity, as in Mesopotamian and Egyptian perception? Was the deity or person identical with the image, in the image, transitory in the image, or was the image merely a representation? The intended effect of iconoclasm directly depends on how one views the agency of images. The general absence of both cultural reflection²⁴ and theorizing in Hittite educated circles prevents an insider view. As a result, Hittitological scholarship is divided regarding the nature²⁵ of divine images.²⁶

Whereas Collins (2005, p. 34) opts for a conceptual distinction between deity and image after providing arguments both for and against such a distinction, *HW²* E 124a and Popko (2006), for example, more readily equate the deity with its statue. Popko argues for the equation of image and deity based on the fact that (a) DINGIR-*LIM-tar* (to be read as *šiu(niyatar)*, abstract derivation of *šiu(n)*- "deity") may designate both divinity and divine representation,²⁷ and that (b) one did not refer to the images of deities by means of Sumerian ALAM/Hittite *eš(ša)ri* and divine name = "image of DN" but by means of the deity's name itself (so also Collins 2005, p. 34):

Die Identität von Gott und Kultbild drückt sich bereits in der hethitischen Lexik aus, und zwar bedeutet DINGIR^{LIM}-*tar* nicht nur "Göttlichkeit", sondern auch "Götterdarstellung", wobei das Wort meistens in dieser zweiten Bedeutung belegt ist. Vom Gefühl dieser Identität zeugt ebenfalls, ähnlich wie in Mesopotamien, die Tatsache, dass die Statue mit dem Namen des dargestellten Gottes bezeichnet wurde; im Götterbild wurde der Gott selbst angerufen. (Popko 2006, p. 80)

A similar view seems to be expressed in *HW²* (E 124a):

Im Gegensatz zu den profanen und kultischen Inventaren, den Orakeln und den Vota (13. Jh.) sprechen die Festrituale in der Regel nicht von *ešri*- = ALAN "(Götter-) Statuen", sondern diese werden wie handelnde Personen vorgeführt; sie sind für den Hethiter "wirklich."²⁸

However, the way the Hittites, and anyone else for that matter, referred to images by means of a personal name instead of ALAM/*ešri* cannot be taken as evidence for an equation of image

²⁴ There are some exceptions, most notably the Plague Prayers of Mursili II.

²⁵ For a general discussion of the character of the gods, see Haas 1994, pp. 294ff.; de Roos 2007, pp. 13ff.

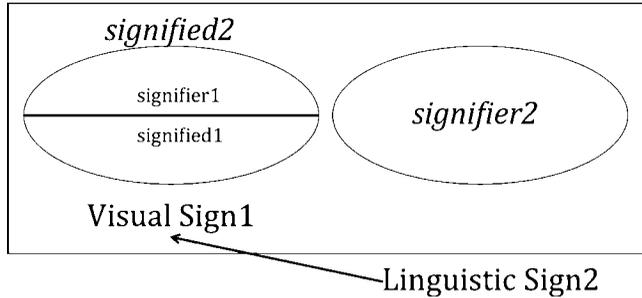
²⁶ The Hittite word for deity is *šiu(n)*-, in combined sumerographic and akkadographic writing DINGIR-LUM. This is the term used in addressing a deity and also the most common form for general reference to the divine. Representations of both deities and humans in the form

of sculptures-in-the-round are mostly referred to by means of Sumerian ALAM and Hittite *eš(ša)ri*. I am not aware of any term for relief depiction, so it is possible that these terms extend to this type of imagery as well. ²⁷ *HW* 195a "Gottheit; Göttlichkeit; Götterbild."

²⁸ The purpose of the scare quotes is not clear to me. They might imply that *HW²* considers the option that the Hittites did not really believe that an image was the deity.

and deity, of sign and object. What lies at the heart of this misconception is a dichotomy that is easily overlooked: we must distinguish between the observer’s viewing of the visual sign and the observer’s *talking* about that visual sign.

When I talk about an image the visual sign becomes the input for a linguistic sign: in the terminology of Roland Barthes, this linguistic sign is in the second order of signification in which the visual sign, in the first order of signification, is the signified (note that in Barthes’s framework signs that move to the second order of signification are *signifiers*, not signifieds):



The linguistic sign (#2) thus consists of a signifier (expression) and a signified (concept), but the signified (#2) itself is a visual sign (#1) that in turn also consists of a signifier (#1) and a signified (#1). The linguistic sign referring to an image is therefore a complex code that contains two levels of expression and two levels of conception, with the visual sign embedded in the linguistic sign:

$$\text{linguistic sign2} = \{ \text{expression2} + \{ \text{expression1} + \text{concept1} \}_{ \text{visual sign1} = \text{concept2} } \}$$

Because of this embedding, an observer can choose to have the linguistic sign either refer to the *expression* of the visual sign, which is the image, or to the *concept* (and hence the real-world object) of the visual sign, which is what the image represents. For example, in reference to the statue of a deity one may use the word “deity” or “statue of the deity” depending on the target of the expression. In the following breakdown of signified and signifier the target of the linguistic sign is underlined:

- a) sign *deity* referring to statue = {“deity”_{signifier} + {**image**_{signifier} + deity_{signified}}_{signified}}
- b) sign *statue* referring to statue = {“statue”_{signifier} + {image_{signifier} + **deity**_{signified}}_{signified}}

Important here is that while the signifiers are different the signifieds for both *deity* and *statue* are the same (marked bold face). The observer’s choice of linguistic signifier establishes which part of the complex concept of the visual sign the observer wants to focus on (underlined). This choice is of course absent when there is no visual sign to refer to; now the concept **deity** can only be referred to with the signifier “deity”:

- c) sign *deity* referring to deity = {“deity”_{signifier} + **deity**_{signified}}

Which linguistic expression is chosen for reference to the divine image depends on the context in which the visual sign is addressed. In a ritual setting, which usually serves to honor a deity which is often visually represented, one can understand why we find divine names or simply the word “deity” instead of the phrase “image of DN,” and it is equally understandable that “image of DN” is mainly attested in inventories, oracles, and votive texts, texts where

statues are manipulated in a more profane manner. One honors the deity, but one manipulates the statue, and not the reverse.

An almost perfect analogue is our referencing of photographs. In presenting an observer with a picture of your cat/child/spouse, one can both say “This is my cat/child/spouse PN” and “This is a picture of my cat/child/spouse PN.” On the other hand, if we ask someone to bring us the photograph from the other room, we *must* say “Could you bring me that picture of my cat/child/spouse PN,” with “Could you bring me my cat/child/spouse PN” leading to very different results. Obviously, the fact that we can refer both to the referent of a picture and the picture itself does not imply that we believe that the picture is identical to the referent, that the picture is alive.

In short, referring to images by means of a divine name or simply “deity” instead of “statue of DN” cannot be used as evidence for the equation of deity and image. It is of course always possible that there exist *culturally* determined constraints on the *linguistically* inherent ambiguity of a sign with a visual component. If it is impossible (i.e., unattested) to use “image of DN” for reference to a cult image, I would argue that the language supports (not proves!) identification of the image with the deity. This seems to be the case for early Mesopotamia:

The absence of the Sumerian phrase *alam/dùl DN*, “statue of DN,” (at least before the Isin/Larsa period and still rarely thereafter)²⁹ should not surprise us, for in Mesopotamian religion the offerings were not placed before the statue but before the god. **The statue was the living embodiment of the deity;** the deity was the reality, not the statue! By contrast, offerings made before statues of living kings and other mortals are designated as such. (Dick 2005, p. 49;³⁰ bold face P.M.G.)

Indeed, we seem to have this in Hittite as well:

Es scheint in den Kulttexten notwendig, die Könige als „Statue“ zu bezeichnen; die Gottheiten tragen während der Opfer in den Ritualen diese Bezeichnung selten, obwohl wir gut wissen, dass sie in Gestalt von Statuen oder anderen Gegenständen verehrt wurden. Das bedeutet wahrscheinlich eine unterschiedliche Wahrnehmung von Menschen und Gottheiten. (Torri 2008, p. 179)

Nevertheless, also images of humans could be designated by means of names; compare “and he offers once to the statue (ALAM) of Hattusili”³¹ with “he likewise offers [one bovine] (and) one sheep to Arnuwanda (and) one bovine (and) one sheep to Asm[unigal from] the kitchen (lit., house of the cook).”³² I refrain from speculating on why these two offering texts denote the images of deceased royals in different ways, but the fact that we do have these alternatives shows that in referencing images the choice for expression does not depend on culturally determined constraints on the Hittite language.

In addition to the referential ambiguity of the word for “deity,” which can both denote the image and the concept, the signifier for “statue,” *ešri*, is also ambiguous. This time the ambiguity is not referential but purely semantic. Besides denoting “statue,” *ešri* also means

²⁹ Also see Lambert 1990, p. 125.

³⁰ Dick continues with a comparison with the terminology in the Roman Catholic Mass, where the consecrated bread and wine are referred to as “the body of Christ” and “the blood of Christ.”

³¹ (11) Û A-NA ALAM ᵐḪa-at-tu-ši-DINGIR-LIM (12) 1-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti (KBo 4.9 iii 11–12, ed. Torri 2008, p. 178).

³² [1 GUD] ᵐḪ UDU A-NA ᵐA-ar-nu-wa-an-da 1 GUD 1 UDU A-NA ᵐAš-m[u-ni-ga] / [SA] ᵐÉᵐ ᵐḪ MUḪALDIM QA-TAM-MA [š]i-pa-an-ti (NH, KUB 11.7 + KUB 36.121 rev. 4–5, ed. Caruba 2007, p. 139).

“form, shape, stature, physical appearance”³³ (thus forming a better equivalent of Sumerian ALAM than of Akkadian *šalmu*, which seems to be restricted to statue, relief, effigy, and like-ness),³⁴ referring to the physique of deity and human (HED E 313f.; HW² E 124f.).

Although it is not always contextually possible to distinguish between “statue” and “stature,” there are clear instances which allow only one of these meanings. For *ešri* “stature” we have, for example,

The Old Woman says: “He (i.e., the king) is like the Sungod! § His **stature** (*ešri=ššet*) is rejuvenated, his chest is rejuvenated, his manhood is rejuvenated! His head is of iron, his teeth are of a lion, his eyes are of an eagle: he can see like an eagle! § His land is rejuvenated! (CTH 820, blessings for the Labarna-king)³⁵

And for *ešri* as “statue”:

Let them knock down the wall(s) (and) the gate(s) of Purushanda separately. Make (sg.) their **statues** (*eššari=šmet*) and seat them at the gates. But let the **statue** (*eššari=šit*) of Nurdahi stand in front (of them) at your disposal, and let him hold your cup. (CTH 310, Hittite version of *šar tamhari* “king of the battle”)³⁶

However, these distinctions are based on a modern Western ontological classification. If an *ešri* is created, we call it a statue, but if an *ešri* clearly describes living beings, we call it their physical form and not statue. This is not just a matter of translation based on our understanding of the context but on our notion that statues, being different from living beings, require a separate word. But since anthropomorphic statues have “form, shape, stature, physical appearance” just like their referents, one should ask why *ešri* would denote the whole statue instead of just its outer shape or form.

In other words, *ešri* does not unambiguously denote statue, and we might even want to abandon the meanings “statue” and “stature” and opt for “physical appearance (of a deity, human, and their anthropomorphic images)” to prevent imposing on the semantics of *ešri* our own idea that the concept of “statue” requires its own lexeme.

The only term that seemingly unambiguously refers to divine image is DINGIR-LIM-tar = *šiuiniyatar* “spirit holder,” abstract -*atar* formation of *šiuini*- “deity” (Haas 1994, p. 298). This term covers anthropomorphic and theriomorphic images, and objects such as a *huwaši*-stela or a hunting bag (Güterbock 1983; Collins 2005, pp. 20ff.). It is worth quoting Collins in full when she describes how *šiuiniyatar* is not simply a divine image but a cult image, the fusion of the godhead (= godhood) or the divine essence with the image (2005, p. 21):

³³ Collins’s (2005, p. 34) translation of *ešri* in the Illuyanka myth (KBo 3.7 iii 20) as “statue” is therefore not necessarily correct. There is nothing against translating “stature,” and therefore *ešri* in this example cannot be used as an argument for the equation of statue and deity.

³⁴ CAD Š, 78ff. In the meaning of “body, shape, stature,” *šalmu* seems only to be attested in Gilgamesh (CAD Š, 85).

³⁵ [(U)]M-MA MUNUSŠU.GI nu-wa-ra-aš G[(IM-an dUTU-uš)] § e-eš-ri-iš-še-et-wa ne-e-u-wa-an GAB-ŠU-wa ne-e[(-u-wa-an)] / pī-iš-na-tar-še-et-wa ne-e-u-wa-an SAG.DU-ŠU AN.BAR[(-aš)] / ZU₉.HI.A-ŠU-wa ŠA UR.MA₉ ša-ku-wa-še-

et-wa ḫar-ra-na[-aš] / nu-wa ḫa-a-ra-ni-li ša-a-ku-iš-ki-iz-zi [Ø] / ud-da-ni-iš-še-ta-wa ne-e-u-wa-an [Ø] (OH/NS, KUB 20.54 + KBo 13.122 vi 5–10, with duplicate KUB 55.2 obv. 5’-rev. 5).

³⁶ [(URUPu)]-ru-uš-ḫa-an-da-aš BĀD-eš-šar KĀ.GAL ḫa-an-ti pī-ip-pa-an-du / [eš-š]a-ri-iš-me-et i-ya ne KĀ.GAL-aš a-še-eš-ḫu-ut mNu-úr-da-ḫi-ma-ta / [eš-]ša-ri-ši-it pé-ra-an še[er] ar-ta-ru ne-et-ta GAL-in ḫar-du (pre-NH/NS, KBo 22.6 iv 23’-25’, with duplicate KBo 12.1 iv 4–7. For a discussion of the incorrect use of *ne-et-ta* instead of *nu-ut-ta* and the archaizing tendencies in this text in general, see Rieken 2001, p. 582.

In these texts [the cult inventories, P.M.G.], the divinity is typically referred to by the term *šuniyatar*, an abstract of the word for deity (*šuni-*) that is usually translated “divine image.” In the town of Lapana, for example, for the goddess “Iyaya, the *šuniyatar* is one statue of wood, of a woman” Where describing cult statues, as in the inventories, the reference is clearly to the statue as a receptacle for the deity’s essence, its godhead. The application of the word *šuniyatar* to a representation implies that, anthropomorphic or otherwise, the representation was imbued with the divine essence, i.e., that the deity was present. *šuniyatar*, then, is not simply the “divine image,” but applies to the fully fused statue plus godhead. In other words, it is the cult image — the extraphysical reference to whatever object hosted the divine presence.

The translation of *šuniyatar* as “spirit holder,” as “cult image” is however only valid for compositions from the Empire period. To my knowledge all instances of *šuniyatar* in older compositions are better translated as “divine manifestation,” the non-transcendent aspect of a deity, or perhaps “theophany.” The *šuniyatar* is the manifestation of a deity as perceived by the senses in the material world, dreams, or through oracle procedures.

A first indication that *šuniyatar* originally denotes a manifestation or property rather than a concrete noun is the formation of the word itself (also see Collins in the quote above). The *-atar* suffix forms neuter abstract/action nouns from verbs, adjectives, and nouns. In the case of nouns the *-atar* form denotes the status of the base noun, for example, *anniyatar* “status of being a mother > motherhood” (from *anna-* “mother”), *antuhšatar* “status of human being > humanity,” *pišnatar* “manliness, manhood” and *MUNUS-tar* “womenliness” (Hoffner and Melchert 2008, pp. 57f.).

As an abstraction or action noun *šuniyatar* is therefore the godhood, the divine nature of a deity, the set of properties and manifestations in the earthly realm that identifies a deity as a supernatural being instead of a human, the *numen*. In the Paskuwatti ritual against passive homosexuality,³⁷ for example, a deity is asked to manifest her divine power in a dream to the patient: “In the matter in which we are entreating you on earth, o goddess, show your godhood, and set it right! May he look up at your godhood [...]”³⁸ and “You, o goddess, show your godhood! \$ May he see your power!”³⁹

It is not difficult to see how the notion of *šuniyatar* as the divinity or divine manifestation could develop into a concrete manifestation, hence spirit holder. The original abstract meaning of *šuniyatar* may not have been lost, and there are therefore cases where *šuniyatar* might be interpreted both as abstract and concrete divine manifestation. A text showing this ambiguity is the Ritual of Setting Up a Deity Separately,⁴⁰ the only known Hittite text that describes how a deity is invoked to occupy another statue in another cult center:

³⁷ For the latest interpretation of this ritual as a ritual against passive homosexual inclination, see Miller 2010b.

³⁸ *nu-ut-ta* KI-i še-er / *ku-e-da-ni ud-^rda-a-ni^r-i mu-ke-eš-ki-u^re-n^r[i]* / *nu-za* DINGIR-LUM DINGIR-LI[M-tar] *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-u[t]* / *na^r-at* SIG₅-in [i-y]a *nu-ud-du[-za ...]* / [DINGIR-LI]M-tar ša-ra-a a-uš-du (MH/NS, KUB 7.8 ii 19–23, ed. Hoffner 1987, pp. 276, 278).

³⁹ *nu-za zi-ik* DINGIR-LUM DINGIR-LIM-tar *te-ek-ku-uš-nu-ut* \$ *nu-wa-du-za na-ak-ki-ya-tar a-uš-du* (MH/NS, KUB 7.8 iii 10’–11’, ed. Hoffner 1987, p. 276, 279).

⁴⁰ Although this text describes the creation of a new cult image and the evocation rituals necessary to bring both the deity to the old statue and to the new one, the part that would animate the statue is absent. There is nothing in the Hittite archives that compares to the *mis pi* ritual in Mesopotamian society. Perhaps consecrating the statue and evoking the deity without further animating the statue was enough to transform the statue into a cult image.

Honored deity, preserve your body, but divide your divine manifestation (= divinity or statue). (Come to those new houses, too!). (CTH 481, the expansion of the cult of the Deity of the Night)⁴¹

The semantic ambiguity of *ešri* combined with the late development of *šiuiniyatar* from “manifestation of divinity” to “physical representation of a deity” as a generic term for spirit holder is very important. When the only known term for anthropomorphic statue also refers to the physical form or stature of humans and gods, and the only known term for spirit holder was originally a property of a deity and not a concrete object, we have to conclude that originally Hittite did not have a special term for “anthropomorphic statue.”

Linguistically we can therefore build a case for the equation of image and deity in the early Hittite period, but not prove it on the conceptual level. Also in the Empire period there does not exist a word that exclusively denotes the spirit holder, but this time there is enough non-linguistic evidence to support a conceptual distinction between deity and cult image. This distinction and the function of the image is the topic of the next section.

THE IMAGE AS PORTAL

During the reign of Mursili II (1321–1295 B.C.E.), Mashuiluwa (literally, “little mouse”), king of Mira-Kuwaliya in western Anatolia, was found to utter a series of curses in front of the Zawalli-deity of the household of Mursili II.⁴² Zawalli-deities are spirits dwelling in persons, places, or their representations.⁴³ In Mashuiluwa’s case the Zawalli-deity was a statue representing the household of the king. His continuous cursing resulted in the bewitchment of both statue and king, who therefore needed to be ritually cleansed, with assistance of the culprit and a member of his family, Zapartinana⁴⁴ (“brother of the rat”).⁴⁵ The same text⁴⁶ documents how deities from Ahhiyawa and Lazpa (the island of Lesbos) together with a few other deities had been delivered to Mursili II in order to cure him from an unspecified illness.

Clearly, then, images had derived agency. Images could act upon their surroundings, and the surroundings could act through images. But this leaves open the question whether the Hittites also believed that the image was identical to the deity or person (or its *zawalli*). In other words, did the Hittites merge the sign (signifier+signified) and its real-world referent or object, or was the sign an index, directly connected to its real-world referent with the power to “direct the attention to their objects by blind compulsion” (Peirce 1994, 2.306) yet separate from its referent?

⁴¹ *na-ak-ki-iš-z[a]* DINGIR-LUM NÍ.TE-KA *pa-aḥ-ši* DINGIR-LIM-ni-ia-tar-ma-za-kán / *šar-ri* (NH, KUB 29.4 iii 26–27, with duplicate KUB 12.23 iii 7’–8’, ed. Miller 2004, pp. 289f.)

⁴² KUB 5.6 iii 8ff., ed. Ünal 2005.

⁴³ Van den Hout 1998, p. 83: “A Zawalli-deity may thus be redefined as a kind of divine spirit or genius dwelling in people and places or institutions or somehow representing them. This spirit may have been considered embodying the essentials of an individual or place which could receive offerings and could be angry if neglected but through which that individual or place could be ‘bewitched’ as well.” Collins (2006, pp. 178f.) compares the

zawalli with Greek *elasteros*. For a different view, notably the equation of the Zawalli-deity with GIDIM, see Archi 1979.

⁴⁴ Written *Zaparti-ŠEŠ*. In my view *zaparti-* is the Luwian cognate of Hittite *kapart-/kapirt-* “mouse, rat, rodent,” with expected *i*-mutation and Luwian *z* ~ Hittite *k* < Proto-Anatolian **k*. For *kapart-/kapirt-* in general, see HED K 58 and Kloekhorst 2008, pp. 438f.

⁴⁵ These royal rats did not last long. After his revolt against Mursili II, Mashuiluwa was removed from the throne and held hostage in Hattusa (Bryce 2005, pp. 212ff.).

⁴⁶ KUB 5.6 ii 57ff., ed. Ünal 2005.

It is evident that the destruction of a divine image did not imply the destruction of the deity it represented. As noted above, the royal couple Arnuwanda I and Asmunigal (between 1400 and 1350 B.C.E.) is able to address deities whose images were destroyed with “the temples of yours that were in these lands, the Gasga people knocked them down, and they smashed your images, o gods (ŠA DINGIR.MEŠ ALAM.ĪI.A).”

That Hittite deities were transcendent and not to be equated with their material images is also evidenced by the evocation rituals, rituals of attraction whose sole purpose it is to induce the gods to return from wherever they are and to occupy their cult images and temples. Given that most evocation rituals stem from Kizzuwadna and Arzawa, the following ritual is important because it not only deals with cultic activities in the core land, but also because it shows close correspondences with a Hattic prototype (Haas 1970, p. 183):

May he come, the Stormgod of Nerik, from the sky, from the earth: “Come, o Stormgod of Nerik from the East, from the West; come, Stormgod of Nerik, from the sky if you are with the Stormgod, your father; (from the earth) if you are in the dark earth with Ereškigal, your mother!” ... “Tomorrow to your celebration come! Come from your beloved Mount Hahruwa to the place where your body and your soul⁴⁷ are (i.e., the city of Nerik!)” (Evocation of the Stormgod of Nerik during the anointment of Tudhaliya IV as priest of the Stormgod of Nerik)⁴⁸

Another clear example of the distinction between deity and image is the evocation of the deities of a conquered city.⁴⁹ After the consecration of a conquered city to the Stormgod, which means its complete annihilation, the city’s divinities were lured out of town by means of offerings and asked to aim their favors at the Hittite king. As a final act the formerly hostile deities could become incorporated in the Hittite pantheon as servants of the Hittite gods (Schwemer 2008, p. 144; see Westenholz, this volume, on a similar treatment of the Mesopotamian monuments by the Elamites, and May, *Introduction* to this volume, for the cross-cultural occurrences of such phenomena). Presumably the cult images were removed from the temple precinct before the destruction, but the importance of this text is that the hostile deities were assumed to linger in the devastation, even though their homes and images, either destroyed or removed, were gone.

Finally, some deities did not even have an image. Toward the end of the Empire, during the reign of Tudhaliya IV (1237–1209 B.C.E.), it was believed that this would impede proper ritual functioning, so those deities without image were provided with one:

From of old Mt. Malimaliya had no spirit holder. His Majesty Tudhaliya (donated) an iron statue of a man [...] with eyes of silver, standing on an iron lion.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ The statue of a deity could also be referred to as *tuukka* – “body,” as in, for example, KUB 17.21 i 14–16. And just as a deity’s body could be represented by a statue, also its soul could be cast in material form (Kapeluš 2010).

⁴⁸ *ú-id-du-wa-aš* ^{dU} URU *Ne-ri-ik* / [n]e-pí-ša!-az da-ga-an-zi-pa-az / e-ĥu-wa ^{dU} URU *Ne-ri-ik* ŠE-E-ET ^{dU} UTU-aš / ŠŪ.A ^{dU} UTU-aš e-ĥu-wa ^{dU} URU *Ne-ri-ik* / ne-pí-ša-az ma-a-an-za ^{dU} -ni A-NA A-BI-^rKA^r ^rGAM-an^r / ma-a-an-ma-za da-an-ku-i da-ga-an-zi-pí / A-NA ^dEREŠ.KI.GAL AMA-KA GAM-an ... nu lu-uk-kat-ti UD-ti / A-NA EZEN-KA e-ĥu e-ĥu IŠ-TU

^{HUR.SAG} *Ĥa-qĥ-ru-wa* / tu-e-da-az a-aš-ši-ya-an-ta-za / tu-el NÍ.TE ZI-KA-ya ku-e-da-ni pí-di (NH, KUB 36.90 obv. 7–13, 18–21, ed. Haas 1970, pp. 176f., trans. Singer 2002, p. 106).

⁴⁹ CTH 423, most recently edited by Fuscagni (2011).

⁵⁰ ^{HUR.SAG} *Ma-li-ma-li-ya-aš an-na-la-za* DINGIR.MEŠ-tar Ū-UL e-eš-ta / ^{dU} UTU-ŠI-an ^mTu-ud-ĥa-li-ya-aš ALAM LŪ AN.BAR ... / IGI.ĪI.A KŪ.GI A-NA UR.MAĤ AN.BAR-aš kán ar-ta-ri (NH, KUB 7.24 obv. 1–3, ed. Hazenbos 2003, pp. 26f.).

Last but not least, as Collins (2005, pp. 34f.) shows, there is also iconographic support for the distinction between deity and image. The frieze on the Schimmel stag rhyton, for example, presents both the heavenly and the earthly manifestations of the same deity (fig. 14.5). The adorant libates in front of the cult image, which is depicted as a deity standing on a stag, while the heavenly deity is seated to the left of the cult image. The location where adorant and deity meet each other is the cult statue: the adorant is not depicted as in direct contact with the deity.⁵¹

To summarize, the deity is not the image, although the image may be seen as an extension of the deity. As a consecrated image it is a trace of the deity, and also one of the meeting places with the deity, the locus of interaction between deity and human being. In front of the statue one could at least be sure that one's ritual acts and prayers were noted, and the ritual practitioner also stood the best chance of being observed, literally, by the deity.

Thus when Mashuiluwa uttered curses standing in front of the Zawalli-deity of the royal household, the curses were channeled through the image to the household. The image is therefore best described as a portal with two-way traffic: on the one hand the deity worked through the image, and on the other hand one could contact the deity through the image.

THE IMAGE AS INDEX: DAMAGING THE PORTAL

Within the context of a discussion of the purpose and effect of iconoclasm it is highly relevant to distinguish between "sign = object/referent" and "sign = index of the object." An index points at the existence of a real-world object because of its causal relationship with its object and its contiguity with it. Smoke, for example, points directly and uniquely at fire even though you may not see the fire, the sound of a knock on a door necessarily indicates someone's presence, and a (non-Photoshopped) photograph necessarily indicates the existence of the depicted objects. Destroying an index does not destroy the object, wiping out the footprint does not kill the "footprinter," blowing away the smoke does not extinguish the fire. Destroying or damaging the index means disconnecting the viewer from the referent, which would be devastating enough in societies where connecting with the divine was of the utmost importance. But if the sign is the referent, then destroying the sign indeed leads to destruction of the real-world entity, as has been argued for Mesopotamian culture.

As discussed above, I assume that the cult image in Hittite society is not to be equated with its deity but serves as an indexical nexus, medium, or portal. How an image turned into a cult image is described by Collins (2005, pp. 29ff.). Within the present discussion we might say that after the image was consecrated and the deity had been transient in the image through invocation, the image had become the causal trace of the referent: the smoke, photograph, or footprint. Thus, the cultic image is compulsive evidence of the presence of the deity. It also had become a portal through which the deity could act and through which one could reach the deity (if s/he was looking).

God-napping thus makes sense. Besides the blow it delivered to the conquered population as an act of war policy, the Hittites also transported an active, though subordinate, portal to

⁵¹ In a similar way Dick (1999, p. 34) presents the depiction of both deity and cult statue on seals as one of the

arguments for the differentiation between deity and cult image in Mesopotamian society.

their own temples.⁵² This transfer of divine power and the ensuing empowerment of Hittite rule must have been the ultimate goal of god-napping, not punishment, I believe. The conquered population could always create a new image, but, assuming that the conquered gods voluntarily directed their power at the Hittites and had become incorporated in the Hittite divine world, these new images would by definition be less powerful than and subordinate to the Hittite gods.

The treatment of the cult image-portal possibly depended on its material context. It is rather easy to abduct a deity's statue from its temple to break the nexus between a local polity and its deity, but breaking the nexus between immobile imagery and the polity almost necessarily implied some form of destruction. I would therefore say that whereas statues were more likely to be abducted, reliefs were more likely to be destroyed to achieve the same: cutting the ties between the polity and the deity. By damaging the image, especially the face, the iconoclast aimed at closing the portal. On the one hand, the referent of the image would not be able to receive offerings, and on the other hand, the referent would not be able to act through the image anymore: the sign's performativity, its potential for agency to effect changes in the world was destroyed. We have no evidence for divine relief destruction in Hittite society, but it might be worthwhile to look at correlations between types of iconoclasm and the mobility of imagery in other societies.

It needs to be stressed here that if one takes the image as portal and not also as the man-tic anorganic body, damaging the image does not imply damaging the organic body. Instead, damage to the image under this reading should be compared with nullification of an image as described in *Avodah Zarah* 53:

How does an idol-worshipper nullify an idol? If he cut off the tip of its ear, the tip of its nose, or the tip of finger, or flattened its face — he has nullified it. But if he spit before it, or urinated before it, or dragged it through the mud, or threw excrement at it — the idol is not nullified. If he sold it or gave it as a pledge for a loan, Rabbi Yehudah the Prince says that his nullification is effective, but the Sages say that it is not.

I assume that the understanding of a visual image as a portal may be extended to royal images.⁵³ This explains the function of statues of kings in temples as representatives of the king. Without being present the king was still present through the statue. So when the troops of Suppiluliuma I entered the temple of Alalakh and discovered the statue of Idrimi, they toppled and destroyed the statue (without damage to the inscription), not out of vandalism but in order to break the nexus between a ruler from the dynasty of deposed kings of Alalakh and its gods.

The same happened a generation later with the image of Tudhaliya on the orthostat in the temple of Alalakh. Again we see how the image of a local(?) ruler honoring a deity is removed from its privileged location. In this case the image, being a relief on an orthostat, could not be broken, but it still needed to be nullified. This was done by damaging the nose. And again, the inscription was not damaged.

⁵² Besides that, presumably quite a few divine statues were simply treated as booty (Schwemer 2008, p. 144). If we understand god-napping as an act that not only involves the signifier but also the signified, then the

looting of divine statues because of their material value should not be called god-napping.

⁵³ The image as portal is different from the image as substitute, as in Mesopotamian society.

Otherwise, since monumental visual representation of power was originally not part of Hittite culture, iconoclasm must not have been widespread. But we may see a development toward more images of power and therefore more power to images after the incorporation of northern Syria into the Empire. The first king to depict himself in the Hittite landscape was Muwatalli (Sirkeli), followed by Hattusili and Puduhepa (Fraktin), and then Kuruntiya of Tarhuntassa (Hatip) and the monumental inscriptions of Tudhaliya IV (Emirgazi, Yalbur).

As noted above, documentation from the reign of Tudhaliya IV shows that this king was under Assyrian cultural influence. Curse formulae of the Syrian-Mesopotamian type start appearing, and there are two more instances of damage to images and text, Hatip and Sirkeli 2. But despite the Assyrian influence, the damage was not aimed at destroying the referents.

The destruction of face and name glyph of Sirkeli 2 should be compared with the preservation of the name glyph of Kuruntiya on the Hatip relief. The Hatip relief represents the political power of Kuruntiya at the border between Tarhuntassa and Hatti, whereas Sirkeli had a cultic function as indicated by the two libation hollows⁵⁴ on the platform above the reliefs.

The change in the inscription of Hatip was meant to correct the inappropriate expression of power by Kuruntiya of Tarhuntassa, and as such the damage was not only an index of the lack of power of Kuruntiya, but perhaps more importantly an index of the presence of the power of the Great King. The defacing of the royal image and removal of the name at the cultic site of Sirkeli 2 had become necessary after either Urhi-Tessub or Kuruntiya was removed from Great Kingship. Neither Hattusili III in the case of Urhi-Tessub or Tudhaliya in case of Kuruntiya could allow the image of a deposed Great King to remain active as a portal to the gods.

Thus, the small scale and isolated mutilation of images such as attested in Hittite society served a purpose different from destruction of the referent: it tries to convince the addressee of the image that part of the message of the image has become de-activated. The mutilation of images intends to convey to the spectator the impotency of the referent. By taking away the senses of the image and by de-identifying it, it cannot see or hear and be known, and therefore serve as a medium between the spectator, the ruler, or the deity. If images are about “power in the sense of making the invisible visible” (Assmann 2001, p. xvii), then destruction of images is not about destruction of its referent but about *disempowerment*, about making the invisible invisible again.

The real destruction of one’s opponent, whether divine or human, must be achieved by other means than iconoclasm or inscriptoclasm.

APPENDIX: EVIDENCE OF HITTITE ICONOCLASM AND INSCRIPTOCLASM

Textual evidence for destruction of royal images is non-existent. There is, however, some archeological evidence. Of the images that are not too eroded, only the relief of Sirkeli 2 (Anatolia) and an orthostat and statue found in Tell Açana (Syria) show signs of deliberate damage.

I follow Rambelli and Reinders (2007, p. 23, table 1.2) in categorizing iconoclasm according to the type of damage inflicted on the object and the intention of the iconoclast:

⁵⁴ The hollows of Sirkeli were first described by Ussishkin (1975, pp. 86f.).

Table 14.2. Iconoclasm according to type and intention

	<i>With the Intention to Harm</i>	<i>With the Intention to Preserve</i>
 <p>Irreversible Loss of Physical Integrity of the Object</p>	Obliteration (e.g., burning wooden icons)	Sacrifice (e.g., burning paper money or images, self-immolation)
	Destruction with residue (e.g., melting down metal icons, materials used for other purposes)	Dismantling (e.g., periodic repairs, materials used for religious purposes)
	Disfiguring (e.g., gouging face, beheading, graffiti)	Remodelling, restoration as benevolent
	Humiliation (e.g., toppling onto ground, verbal abuse, profanity)	Humility (e.g., flogging an image to activate its power)
	Theft (to harm)	Theft (to enhance)
	Hiding (e.g., confiscating images, burying objects)	Hiding (e.g., burying sutras, production of <i>hibutsu</i> , hiding to preserve objects)
	More Reversible, Physical Object Intact	Negative cultural redefinition (e.g., ideological polemics)

ICONOCLASM OF ROYAL AND PRINCELY IMAGES

Sirkeli 2

The Sirkeli 2 relief (fig. 14.6) accompanying Sirkeli 1 (fig. 14.7), which depicts Great King Muwatalli II (1295–1272 B.C.E.), clearly suffered deliberate damage. Both the name glyph and the face have been chiseled off. In Ehringhaus's words (2005, p. 101):

Die behutsame, die Gestalt als Ganzes nicht vernichtende, sondern deren Konturen eher sorgsam erhaltende Art, in der die Ausmeißelung vorgenommen wurde, erweckt intensiv den Eindruck, daß es dabei vor allem auf die Eradierung derjenigen Merkmale ankam, die eine Identifizierung der Person ermöglicht hatten, nicht aber um die völlige Vernichtung des (sakrosankten?) Bildes des dargestellten Königs.

Although the identity of the defaced king cannot be established with certainty, the only candidates are Mursili III = Urhi-Tessub (according to the excavators of Sirkeli Höyük⁵⁵), who was a legitimate Great King⁵⁶ but was deposed by his uncle Hattusili III, and Kuruntiya,⁵⁷ illegitimate Great King and rightfully deposed by his cousin Tudhaliya IV.

Recently also the image of Muwatalli II has been damaged (Ehringhaus 2005, p. 97, with fig. 177; fig. 14.8). This modern occurrence of iconoclasm should warn us against concluding that all iconoclasm is contemporaneous. Nevertheless, in the case of Sirkeli 2 I would

⁵⁵ "Close to this relief another Hittite rock relief was found which was chiseled out in Antiquity. This second relief is commonly thought to be a depiction of Muwatalli's son Kurunta (= Ulmi-Teššup). But it is more likely to show his brother Muršili III (= Urhi-Teššup, ca. 1272–1265 B.C.E.) who was dethroned by Hattušili II."

(http://www.sirkeli-project.info/en/site_monuments.html).

⁵⁶ De Martino 2010, p. 91; Ehringhaus 2005, p. 107.

⁵⁷ Opinions differ on the nature of Kuruntiya's Great Kingship. For more discussion, see below.

attribute the damage to Hittite times, otherwise the survival of the image of Muwatalli II on Sirkeli 1 would be difficult to explain. The iconoclasts knew exactly which relief to target.

It has been claimed that Sirkeli was a memorial site for the deceased Muwatalli II.⁵⁸ If this is correct, how should we explain the presence of either one of his children? It is inconceivable that either Hattusili or Tudhaliya would have commissioned the depiction of a deceased Urhi-Tessub or Kuruntiya in the garb of a Great King, in order to receive libations just like their father Muwatalli II. The only remaining option is that Sirkeli 2 was added during the life of the unidentified son, by the unidentified son. But would a living Great King depict himself in exactly the same way as a deceased king? Or would he add himself to the relief of a former *living* king, in other words, would he annex the visual language of the original image in order to emulate his predecessor and place himself in a venerated tradition?

As yet there is no clear evidence that Sirkeli served a funerary or memorial purpose.⁵⁹ If Olivier Casabonne is correct in identifying Sirkeli Höyük with Lawazantiya,⁶⁰ the important Kizzuwadnean cultic center of Sausga of Lawazantiya (and hometown of Puduhepa), then we are probably dealing with a depiction of the Hittite king in his priestly function by life, in the adoration pose also seen on other cultic reliefs such as Alaca Höyük.⁶¹

It then makes sense to interpret Sirkeli 2 as only another Great King of Hatti. If one rejects Kuruntiya as Great King of Hatti, Sirkeli 2 must represent Urhi-Tessub; Kuruntiya as king of Tarhuntassa would simply not have been able to depict himself in this way outside Tarhuntassa. The damage could have been commissioned by Hattusili III, but one should not be surprised to see here the hand of Puduhepa active in her home arena. Or, if one accepts Kuruntiya as Great King of Hatti and attributes Sirkeli 2 to him, Tudhaliya could be the one who ordered the damage. The difference with Hatip, described below, would be that the modified mention of Kuruntiya at the border between Tarhuntassa and Hatti would be unproblematic in his role as King of Tarhuntassa, but that Kuruntiya depicted in the attire of the Sungod — therefore as Great King — and next to his father Muwatalli would be unacceptable for Tudhaliya.

Alalakh Orthostat

Another instance of iconoclasm was discovered in Alalakh (modern Tell Açana),⁶² once capital of the Levantine kingdom of Mukish. It concerns a corner orthostat found in secondary context with, on the wide side, depictions of a male and a female figure, both with name glyphs (fig. 14.9), and a second, smaller male figure on the small side of the slab.⁶³ Together with other orthostats it was reused as a step in the stairs in the temple entrance of level 1B^W = IIB^F (for the new stratigraphy, see Fink 2010), but originally the slabs were probably part of the interior lining of the cella wall in temple level 1A^W = IIA^F (Helft 2010, p. 66 n. 119). The glyphs to the right of the male figure read as “Tudhaliya, Chief of the Charioteers, Prince,”⁶⁴

⁵⁸ See references in van den Hout 2002, p. 89; Singer 2009, p. 174.

⁵⁹ Van den Hout 2002, p. 91.

⁶⁰ http://www.sirkeli-project.info/en/research_site-name.html, accessed on September 19, 2011.

⁶¹ For a close-up of the Alaca Höyük relief, see Ehringhaus 2005, p. 8, fig. 3.

⁶² For the final archaeological report on Alalakh, see Woolley 1955; for a re-assessment, see Fink 2010.

⁶³ Woolley 1955, pl. 48.

⁶⁴ ^dMONS+tu MAGNUS.AURIGA₂ REX.FILIUS; see Niedorf 2002, p. 521; Fink 2010, p. 53. Perhaps read ^dMONS+tu MAGNUS (?) HATTI (?) REX.FILIUS “Tudhaliya, Great Prince of Hatti(?)” so with caution Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005, p. 304 no. 22.

whereas the glyphs to the right of the female figure are currently undecipherable, with the exception of “Princess.”

What has gone unmentioned is that a part of Tudhaliya’s nose is missing. Instead of the usual straight nose as depicted on the woman, Tudhaliya has a highly unusual snub nose (fig. 14.10). Given that the faces of woman to his left (fig. 14.11) and the male figure on the small side of the orthostat have been left untouched, in combination with the reuse of the orthostat face down as a stepping stone in the temple entrance, I follow De Martino’s suggestion (2010, p. 94) that we are dealing with an act of misapproval of the actions of this Tudhaliya.

In order to determine whether this act of political iconoclasm was committed by Hittites, locals governed by Hittites, or locals rejecting Hittite control, we need to establish which Tudhaliya is depicted. Güterbock *apud* Woolley (1955, p. 241) identified the main male figure as a Tudhaliya, but did not determine which one. Woolley, on the other hand, identified him as Tudhaliya IV (1955, p. 241). Bonatz (2007, pp. 131f.) rejects Woolley’s identification on the grounds that the person greets the name glyph of Tudhaliya IV. This argument is not valid for two reasons (also see Helft 2010, p. 67). The Fraktin relief and the Ini-Tessub seals, for example, show that the name of the adorant may be written between the adorant and the deity. That the name refers to the adorant, thus a Tudhaliya, is also the view of De Martino (2010, p. 94). Second, and this applies to both Woolley and Bonatz, the titles Chief of the Charioteers and Prince would never have been used for a Great King.

De Martino (2010, p. 94) and Fink (2010, pp. 53f.) suggest a rather early date for this relief by accepting the identification of Tudhaliya Chief of the Charioteers with the Tudhaliya mentioned in documents from the time of Mursili II. The main argument against such an early dating is the presence of the horn as a divine attribute on the skullcap (Helft 2010, p. 67, who nevertheless allows an early date). There is general agreement (van den Hout 1995a; De Martino 2010) that Mursili III (Urhi-Tessub), son of Muwatalli II, was the first to introduce symbols of divinity in royal iconography. This would indeed exclude the depiction of officials or princes wearing a horned headdress long before the ruling kings were depicted with horned crowns.

However, the protrusion on the skullcap is not necessarily a horn, but could also be a quiff or a knot on the headband (Herbordt 2005, p. 59). The fact that on seals and sealings not only *all* robed princes and officials, including the early(!) Empire scribe Mr. AVIS₂ (Herbordt 2005, p. 59, fig. 40a), but also the jesters on the reliefs of Alaca Höyük, are attested with a headdress with protrusion, argues against the protrusion as a divine attribute in every case.⁶⁵ From an iconographical perspective our Tudhaliya could therefore be dated to the whole period covering Mursili II until Tudhaliya IV.

The stratigraphy of the temples of levels IV–0 as reanalyzed by Fink turns out to be conclusive for an early dating of the Tudhaliya orthostat, in accordance with De Martino’s views:

⁶⁵ Alternatively, assuming that the protrusion is indeed a horn one could argue with Bonatz (2007, pp. 127, 132f.) that the depiction as a god was an expression of proxim-

ity to the supernatural, providing protection and legitimacy of power. That does not explain why the jesters of Alaca Höyük are wearing skullcaps with horns.

Table 14.3. Stratigraphy of temples at Alalakh (Tell Ačana)

Woolley	Fink	Proposed Date According to Fink (2010, p. 2, summary table 1)
Level II ^W Temple	III ^F	1341–1313, Suppiluliuma I–Mursili II. First temple built under Hittite control. Level ends with the end of the city and perhaps deportation of the population (Fink 2010, pp. 120f.)
Level IA ^W Temple	IIA ^F	1313–1280. Alalakh is a Hittite stronghold. Orthostat of Tudhaliya lines cella wall of temple. Destroyed by fire, but only after it was systematically wrecked (Woolley 1955, p. 85)
Level IB ^W Temple	IIB ^F	1280–1240. Temple rebuilt, orthostat reused as step in stairs
Paluwa Shrine	IA ^F	1240–1210. Paluwa was contemporaneous with Zu-Ba‘la of Emar, who is of the generation of Mursili III and of Sahurunuwa and Ini-Tesub, kings of Karkamis (Fink 2010, p. 55)
Level 0 ^W Temple	IB ^F	1210–1190/1185. Destroyed around the fall of Hatti and Ugarit

The Tudhaliya orthostat belongs to temple level IIA^F, which Fink dates to the period after the city had been turned into a Hittite stronghold. This occurred most probably during the reign of Mursili II (Fink 2010, p. 52), meaning that our Tudhaliya was active during the reign of Mursili II. It also means that the reuse of the slab cannot be attributed to locals celebrating the demise of Hittite overlordship, but only to the population of the Hittite stronghold.

According to Woolley (1955, p. 85), temple IA^W = IIA^F was destroyed by fire after it was systematically wrecked. What had happened before the fire was that the orthostats lining the northwest buttress of the cella were removed with exception of the middle one, whereas the three orthostats of the northeast buttress remained in situ. The two recesses in the wall at the back of the cella had also been lined with orthostats. With the exception of one in each recess, all these orthostats were removed as well (see Woolley 1955, p. 83, fig. 34a). Two of the slabs were reused to form a step in the entrance of the antechamber, one of them the Tudhaliya slab. Given the fact that the small left side of the Tudhaliya slab also contains a depiction, this slab must have been situated at the left of the northwest buttress. The other orthostat was removed from either the right side of this same buttress, or from the recesses.

To me it seems that this does not represent mindless wreckage but deliberate removal of the orthostat of Tudhaliya at the command of the Hittite overlords. Thus, I follow De Martino’s view (2010, p. 94) that the reuse of the slab was a humiliation, a politically motivated act of disapproval.

Alalakh Statue

The humiliating treatment of Tudhaliya should be compared to the treatment of the Idrimi statue of Alalakh two generations earlier. Originally believed to have been damaged around the time of the final destruction of Alalakh (Woolley 1955, p. 89), Fink’s stratigraphic reanalysis leads to a different conclusion: “the statue of Idrimi was smashed and buried when the Level III^W temple ceased to exist. This happened when the Hittites conquered Alalakh during the first Syrian war of Šuppiluliuma I” (2010, p. 57). Probably, the Hittites toppled

the statue of this venerated ruler as a political act to symbolize the demise of the city-state of Mukish.

The toppling and therefore breaking of the statue was followed by burial, but the question is whether this was a salvage burial by Alalakhians or an act of humiliation by the Hittites. There is some evidence that burial of an image containing the name of the depicted during an act of sympathetic magic was considered very harmful by the Hittites.⁶⁶ However, without further supportive evidence it is currently difficult to decide whether the Idrimi statue was buried by locals out of veneration and preservation, or by Hittites as a form of humiliation.

What is remarkable in the context of iconoclasm is that the Hittites left both the inscription and the face of Idrimi untouched⁶⁷ (fig. 14.12).

TEXTUAL ICONOCLASM OR INSCRIPTOCLASM: NEARLY NON-EXISTENT

Throughout the ancient Near East, and to a lesser extent the Roman-Greek world,⁶⁸ texts were regularly subjected to iconoclasm. Destruction and *metagraphē* (i.e., repurposing or text usurpation) are already attested in Early Dynastic Mesopotamia, both in the archaeological record and in the proscriptions of royal inscriptions (Woods, this volume) and continue to be found in second- and first-millennium Babylon, Assyria, and the Levant (Levtow, this volume). The periods of Egyptian iconoclasm are well known (Bryan, this volume), and include *metagraphē* of cartouches by, for example, Akhenaton and Horemheb.

In stark contrast with the rest of the ancient Near East, only one of the second-millennium Anatolian inscriptions suffered deliberate damage (see the section *Hatip: Text Change* below for the only known example of partial effacement of a title). Aside from the burial of the Bronze Tablet, discussed below, and the peculiar smashing of a tablet against a wall reported in a fragmentary letter to a Hittite king:

Bentesina kept the tablet [of] the palace and gave it to Tattamaru (with the words):
 “Hand it over to the king!” He, however, smac[ked] (*walhta*) it against the wall!⁶⁹
 (CTH 209, NH letter)

there is no further evidence of deliberate text damage, either in the textual or the archaeological record. This lack of destruction is accompanied by a general lack of curses against text destruction and name removal. The only exceptions on Anatolian territory are two texts from Tudhaliya IV (see *Curses Against Text or Name Destruction*, below), and one known case of *damnatio memoriae*, or removal of one’s name from the memory record. Benevolent annexation by adding one’s name to an existing inscription is more common (Glatz and Plourde 2011, p. 60).

⁶⁶ See KUB 40.83 obv. 14–17, ed. Werner 1967, p. 64. This text is a court testimony dealing with an alleged case of witchcraft involving the burial of voodoo dolls depicting three persons (Miller 2010a, pp. 181f.). For similar voodoo-type acts in Egypt, see the Egyptian Execration Texts describing the burial of clay figures of rulers (Ben-Tor 2006, p. 12).

⁶⁷ The Hittite toppling of the statue of Idrimi without further damage to the statue and the inscription is similar to the toppling of the Gudea statues by the Elamites.

Also in that case there is no evidence of erasing the inscriptions (Suter, this volume).

⁶⁸ For text-usurpation or *metagraphē* in the classical world, see especially Shear 2007 and Platt 2007.

⁶⁹ $\overline{TUP-PU}$ É.GAL-LI[M-wa?] / $\overline{mZAG.S\check{E}Š-aš}$ *har-ta nu-war[a-a]t A-NA mTa-at-ta-ma-ru pé-eš-ta A-NA dUTU-Š[I-wa] / pa-ra-a e-ep a-pa-a-aš-ma-w[a-r]a-at-kán* ^{NA4}*ku-ut-ta-aš-ša-ri an-da wa-al-a[h-ta]* (NH, KUB 26.92: 9’–11’, ed. van den Hout 1995b, pp. 122f.)

The attested forms of inscriptoclasm are presented in order of diminishing damage (following the pattern of table 14.2): *damnatio memoriae*, text change and curses against change, text burial, and annexation.

Damnatio Memoriae

Ironically, the earliest attestation of *damnatio memoriae* directed toward royals comes to us through mention in a text. Hattusili I famously disinherited his chosen heir and nephew Labarna because he was so “cold-hearted” and inadvisable that he would never develop into the type of leader that Hittite royal ideology required. Blaming his sister Tawananna,⁷⁰ “that serpent,” in his own words, and the mother of the boy, Hattusili decides not to just banish⁷¹ Tawananna and offspring from Hattusa to some remote estate, but to completely wipe them out from memory:

In the future let no one mention Tawananna’s name. Let no one mention the names of her children [and grandchildren]. If [someone] amongst [my] childr[en mentions their name, he shall not be my child anymore]. Let them puncture his throat and hang him in [his] gate. If someone amongst my servants mentions th[eir] name, he shall not (be) my servant (anymore). Let them puncture h[is] throat and hang him in his gate. (CTH 5, edict of Hattusili I)⁷²

The slow and painful death that awaits those who mention the names of Tawananna and her offspring might seem at odds with the lesser punishment of banishment for the rebellious family members, but this discrepancy is better understood in the context of general disobedience of a royal ordinance. For Hattusili I the latter was a very serious offense:

But if you (pl.) do not observe the words of the king, you will not remain alive in [Hattus]a, you will perish! [Anyone who might] contest the words of the king, let him as of right now [no longer be] my [so]n², that one; and let him not (be) a first-ranking servant! Let them puncture the [joi]nt(s)² (CTH 6, edict of Hattusili I)⁷³

⁷⁰ For the possible equation of the Tawananna of the quoted edict (CTH 5) and the mother of Labarna, see Bryce 2005, pp. 93f.

⁷¹ Banishment was the typical punishment for rebellious or otherwise unruly members of the royal family. The bilingual edict of Hattusili I only mentions the banishment of Labarna (CTH 6 § 6), but it may be assumed that he was accompanied by his mother.

⁷² UR¹-RA-AM ŠE-RA-AM ^fTa-wa-na-an-na-aš [ŠUM-ŠU ...] / le-e ku-iš-ki te-ez-zi ŠA DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU[DUMU. DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU] / ŠUM-ŠU-NU le-e ku-iš-ki te-ez-zi ták-ku DUMU.M[EŠ-ma-an ŠUM-ŠU-NU ku-iš-ki te-ez-zi DUMU-mi-iš le-e (??)] / kap-ru-uš-še-et^r ħa-at-ta-an-ta-ru na-an a-aš-k[i-iš-ši] / kán-kán-du ták^rku¹ ARAD.MEŠ-am-ma-an iš-tar-na ŠUM-ŠU[-NU] / ^rku¹-iš-ki te-ez-zi ARAD-mi-iš le-e kap-ru-u[š-še-et] / ħa-at-ta-an-ta-ru na-an a-aš-ki-iš-ši kán-kán[-du] (OH/NS, KBo 3.27: 6’-12’, ed. De Martino 1991, pp. 55f.).

⁷³ ma-a-an A-WA-AT LUGAL-ma Ú-UL pa-aḫ-ħa-aš-nu-ut-te-ni / [URUĤa-at-tu-š]i²-šā-an Ú-UL ħu-i-iš-te-ni nu ħar-ak-te-ni / [ku-i-šā-kán] LUGAL-aš ud-da-a-ar ħu-ur-ta-li-iz-zi na-aš ki-nu-na-pát / [le-e nam-ma DU]MU?-la?-

aš-mi-iš a-pa-a-aš ħa-an-te-ez-zi-ya-aš-ša-aš ARAD le-e / [UZU²Ú]R?-da-an ħa-at-ta-an-ta-ru (OH/NS, KUB 1.16 iii 36-40, *editio princeps* Sommer and Falkenstein 1938, pp. 12f., with commentary on pp. 159f.). The *editio princeps* restores lines 38-39 as na-aš ki-nu-na-pát³⁹ [a-ku (?) le-e M]AŠKIM²¹-aš-mi-iš a-pa-a-aš ħa-an-te-ez-zi-ya-aš-ša-aš ARAD le-e “der [soll] auch schon jetzt [Todes sterben! Nicht soll] so Einer mein Minister(?), nicht soll er einer meiner obersten Diener sein!” The restoration *aku* at the beginning of iii 39 is not very likely as one would expect such a clause to follow, not precede the other clauses in iii 39. I therefore replace [a-ku (?) le-e] with [le-e nam-ma], thus merging two clauses. Regarding the reading of [M]AŠKIM²¹ in iii 39, the sign in the photo (hethiter .net/:PhotArch BoFN01713) does not look like MAŠKIM (= PA.KAŠ₄, HZL 176 𐎎𐎗𐎕). The PA part only shows two horizontals, the KAŠ₄ part does not contain the wedges leaning against the vertical, and the broken vertical and broken horizontal also seem to be missing. The KAŠ₄ part  looks more like LA, with only the two middle horizontals of LA damaged, compare especially the second one of the two LA’s in iii 13: . The remaining PA part fits the second half of the sign DUMU.

Outside this one edict *damnatio memoriae* is not attested.⁷⁴ As Singer notes (2009, p. 177), at least in the Empire period the ignoring of public enemies of the past was not common practice. In fact, the opposite was true. The *mantalli* rituals,⁷⁵ rituals of purification in case of “rancorous words,” attest to the serious efforts undertaken to appease antagonists of the royal house or their spirits.⁷⁶

Hatip: Text Change

Probably not long after he usurped the throne from his nephew Urhi-Tessub in 1267 B.C.E., Hattusili III installed Kuruntiya, son of Muwatalli II and younger brother of Urhi-Tessub, as king of the appanage kingdom of Tarhuntassa. When Tudhaliya IV, son of Hattusili III, ascended the throne of Hatti in 1237 B.C.E., the ties with Kuruntiya were officially renewed and his official status as king of Tarhuntassa reconfirmed in the famous Bronze Tablet.

Clearly, Kuruntiya was not satisfied with this position that muffled his legitimate claim to the Hittite throne. Sometime during the reign of Tudhaliya IV he proclaimed himself Great King of Hatti, as evidenced by seal impressions on bullae⁷⁷ found in Hattusa and the rock relief of Hatip, at the border between Tarhuntassa and Hatti. The Hatip inscription, to the left of the depiction of the figure,⁷⁸ reads “Kurunti(ya), [Gre]at King, [Hero], son of Muwatalli, Great King, Hero.”⁷⁹

Ehringhaus’s study (2005, pp. 101ff.) of the Hatip relief shows that whereas the rest of the relief is relatively well preserved compared to Sirkeli 2, the main symbols of Great Kingship are damaged (fig. 14.13). This is not an accident, as we will see. In order to understand the purpose of the damage we first need to re-examine the historical background, taking recent developments in our understanding of Hieroglyphic Luwian into account.

Singer (1996) has argued that Kuruntiya’s Great Kingship could point at the co-existence and mutual toleration of several Great Kings toward the end of the Hittite Empire.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, there is strong evidence that Kuruntiya indeed seized the throne of Hattusa. First, Tudhaliya IV had to ascend the throne a second time, as van den Hout (1998, p. 89) has argued. Most importantly, Yakubovich (2008) recently provided textual evidence for the struggle for power in the capital Hattusa and the following victory of Tudhaliya IV. His proposed reading and translation of the formerly enigmatic lexeme (VIR₂) 416-*wa/i-ni-* as (VIR₂) *ali-wa/i-ni-* “enemy” leads Yakubovich to a crucial reinterpretation of YALBURT 2 § 2 (Yakubovich 2008, p. 6) as “Afterwards my enemy came to Hattusa, to the city of the Labarna. The Storm-god [, my Lord, ran before/loved] me,”⁸¹ an event which he then reasonably

⁷⁴ The offering lists for the royal dead (CTH 661) do not mention the four Old Hittite kings who are known to have murdered their predecessors (Hantili I, Zidanta I, Tahurwaili, and Muwatalli I). This is not *damnatio memoriae*, but simply exclusion from cultic activities given their odious behavior.

⁷⁵ “The *m.* ritual was performed to heal an estrangement or antagonism between two people, one of whom was usually deceased” CHD L-N 178b.

⁷⁶ Singer 2009, p. 177; van den Hout 1998, p. 5.

⁷⁷ Herbordt, Bawanypeck, and Hawkins 2010, p. 100.

⁷⁸ Recently Simon 2012 convincingly argued for a re-analysis of images with horned crowns, spears, and arrows as depictions of the Protective Deity.

⁷⁹ CERVUS-ti [MAGN]US.REX [HEROS] [m]u-tà-li MAGNUS.REX HEROS INFANS.

⁸⁰ Although I currently believe that such mutual toleration does not reflect the relationship between Tudhaliya IV and Kuruntiya, it may very well apply to Suppiluliuma II and Hartapu, and perhaps already Tudhaliya IV and Hartapu.

⁸¹ (§ 2) *a-wa/i-mu (VIR₂) *ali-wa/i-ni-sa* LINGUA+CLAVUS-tu-sa(URBS) *a-POST URBS+MI-a IUDEX+LA PES (§ 3) *a-wa/i-mu (DEUS)TONITRUS (YALBURT 2 § 2-3).

connects with Kuruntiya. Technically, however, this sentence only proves that there was an enemy in Hattusa, not that it was Kuruntiya (Giorgieri and Mora 2010, p. 144).

As part of this discussion I offer a new translation of YALBURT 14 § 3, which, if correct, helps restrict the enemy to Kuruntiya: “I seated myself on the throne. (I) the Great King, marched to the throne as rightful(?) lord.”⁸² The expression “rightful” only makes sense in the context of a less than rightful lord on the throne. Hawkins (1995, p. 82) comments on the surprising placement of the accession clause somewhere in the middle of the narrative, but this can now be explained as the second accession, as described by van den Hout.

Finally, the fact that the image of Kuruntiya faces Hatti instead of Tarhuntassa is relevant. Human and divine images on border reliefs always face their own territory (Ehringhaus 2005, p. 106). This can only mean that Kuruntiya considered Hatti his when he commissioned the relief.⁸³

In case we would like to assume the existence of an unknown usurper during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, we would need to explain where Great King Kuruntiya would fit in chronologically, why he looks toward Hatti and not Tarhuntassa on the Hatip relief, why the Bronze Tablet was made void by burial,⁸⁴ but most telling of all, why the signs for *Great* and perhaps *Hero*,⁸⁵ both designations of only a Great King,⁸⁶ are deliberately chiseled out, thus reducing the inscription to “Kurunti(ya), King, son of Muwatalli, Great King, Hero” (Ehringhaus 2005, p. 105):

Auffällig ist die Eigenart der Beschädigung im Bereich dieser Zeichen, die sich von den natürlichen, durch Erosion oder Ausbruch verursachten Schäden in der übrigen Beischrift deutlich unterscheidet. Die Volute, das Zeichen des Logogramms MAGNUS, scheint wie durch frontales Prellen so gründlich ausgelöscht worden zu sein, daß von dieser nur noch wenig zu erkennen ist, während das Zeichen darunter, REX, sogar mit seiner Innenzeichnung noch gut erhalten ist. Diese differenzierte Eradierung von Kuruntas Titel «Großkönig» scheint hier ebenso gezielt erfolgt zu sein, wie vermutlich die Ausmeißelung der Beischrift im Felsrelief Sirkeli 2.

Obviously, someone was quite displeased with Kuruntiya’s status as Great King, but not enough with Kuruntiya himself to demolish the rest of his title.

The full implications of these deliberate erasures have not been recognized before. Of course Ehringhaus connects the damage with the tensions between the illegitimate royal

⁸² (§ 2) *a-wa/i-mi-tá* THRONUS SOLIUM (§ 3) *a-wa/i* MAGNUS.REX DOMINUS *ara/i(?)* THRONUS PES₂.PES₂ (YALBURT 14 § 2–3). The postposed position of the modifier *ara/i* points at contrastive Focus “the *rightful* lord (in contrast with other lords).”

⁸³ Under the assumption that Kuruntiya installed himself as Great King in Hattusa, this could imply that Tarhuntassa was not under his immediate command anymore, although as Great King he should still hold ultimate control. Unless Tarhuntassa was completely lost to Hatti at the time of Kuruntiya’s usurpation, which does not seem likely, the throne of Tarhuntassa might have passed on to either his own children or those of Urhi-Tessub. There is no convincing evidence that Kuruntiya had children, so perhaps it is possible that Har-tapu, son of Mursili III (= Urhi-Tessub), became (Great

King of Tarhuntassa when Kuruntiya proclaimed himself Great King of Hatti.

⁸⁴ An alternative explanation for the burial would be that when Kuruntiya peacefully transitioned to Great-Kingship of Tarhuntassa the Bronze Tablet treaty became void since it only dealt with kingship (assuming of course he never seized the throne of Hatti). On a state visit to Hattusa the new Great King would then have brought the void treaty with him for ceremonial burial.

⁸⁵ Ehringhaus (2005, p. 115) only mentions the lost sign *Hero* in connection with “Ausbruch,” not deliberate destruction.

⁸⁶ Only Ini-Tessub, viceroy of Karkamis and contemporary of Hattusili III and Tudhaliya IV, once in a while took the title “Hero” (Hawkins 1988, p. 104, with n. 28).

⁸⁷ See n. 83.

line of Hattusili III and the deposed royal line of Muwatalli II, but the fact that the rest of the image remains unharmed is as meaningful as the removal of the symbols of Great Kingship. It has always been assumed that Kuruntiya did not outlast his coup d'état, but the removal of the symbols of Great Kingship, while maintaining Kuruntiya's name and the symbols of Kingship, points at something else.

At the very least this redefinition simply illustrates a re-affirmation of Kuruntiya's original position within the Hittite Empire, which was legitimate after all, but we could go further. Although it would be unprecedented, Kuruntiya could have been restored to kingship in Tarhuntassa. Or, more likely, the kingship of Tarhuntassa either remained⁸⁷ or was placed in the hands of either Kuruntiya's or Urhi-Tessub's offspring, and as a "courtesy" the name of Kuruntiya was not wiped out.

The alteration of Kuruntiya's representation especially on the border of his own domain of authority, Tarhuntassa, was not merely to re-affirm Kuruntiya's old position, but also — more importantly, I believe — to display the return to full power of the true and only Great King of Hatti, Tudhaliya IV. Without having to depict or mention himself, the Great King shows the invisible and unconquerable power of Hattusa through the humiliation of the King of Tarhuntassa.

Curses against Text or Name Destruction

Prophylactic curses against breaking an oath or the stipulations of an agreement are extremely common.⁸⁸ These "content" curses remained stable for centuries; compare, for example, the Anitta text (eighteenth century B.C.E.) with a decree of Hattusili III (1267–1237 B.C.E.):

[I ...] these words from [...] tablet(s) in my gate. Hereafter for all time let [no] one **contest** (*hullezzi*)⁸⁹ th[ese] wo[rds]. But whoever **conte[sts]** them shall be an enemy of [the Stor]mgod. (*CTH 1*, gate inscription of Anitta)⁹⁰

Whoever **conte[sts]** (*hull[ezzi]*) these words of the tablet, may he be an opponent-at-law to these thousand gods. (May they destroy him and his progeny from the dark earth). (*CTH 88*, decree of Hattusili III)⁹¹

Curses covering the protection of text carriers and expressions themselves — "form" or "signifier" curses — are extremely rare: there are three, possibly four cases in the whole corpus of second-millennium tablets and inscriptions. The first one is the Akkadian treaty⁹²

⁸⁸ Curses and cursing are discussed in especially Christiansen 2008; but see also Hagenbuchner-Dresel 2010, pp. 164ff. and Reichardt 1998 (esp. p. 76).

⁸⁹ See *HED* H 363f., "smash, quash, defeat"; cf. *CHD* s.v. *memiya(n)- 1 b 2' memian hullai-* "to oppose, repudiate, contravene a word."

⁹⁰ *ke-e* ʾud-da-a-arʾ [o-o-o (*tup-pi-ya-a*)]z I-NA KÁ.GAL-YA x[...] / UR-RA-AM ŠE-R[A-AM] ʾkeʾ[-e] ʾud-daʾ[-a-ar le-e] ʾkuʾ-iš-ki hu-ul[(-le-e-ez-zi)] / ku-i-ša-at hu-ul-le[-e-ez-z]i-ʾmaʾ [na-aš ʾIŠKUR-n]a-as ʾKÚR-ŠU e[-eš-tu] (KBo 3.22 obv. 33–35, collated against hethiter.net/:PhotArch BoFN01407, with duplicate KUB 36.98a obv. 4'–5'). For

a slightly different restoration *ku-i-ša-at hu-ul-li-ez-zim*[a ʾIŠKUR-un-n]a-aš, see Hoffner 1997, p. 183 n. 19. For the *editio princeps* with rather different restorations, see Neu 1974.

⁹¹ [nu-z]a ku-iš ke-e tup-pi-ya-aš ud-da-a-ar EGIR-pa hu-ul-l[eʾ-ez-zi na-aš] ke-e-da-aš / A-NA LI-IM DINGIR.ME[Š E]N DI-NI-Š[U-NU e-e]š-du (KBo 6.28 rev. 40–41, collated against hethiter.net/:PhotArch BoFN01643).

⁹² With the exception of the usual warning against changing the wording of the tablets, prohibitions are absent in the Akkadian language treaties of the Hittite Empire with Ugarit, Nuhasse, and Amurru.

between Suppiluliuma I and Sattiwaza of Mittanni after the dismantling of the Mittanni empire, with contingency curses that resemble the Mesopotamian tradition:⁹³

Whoever, before the Storm-god, Lord of the *kurinnu* of Kahat, **removes** (dupl. **en-graves/destroys**) this tablet and **sets** it in a secret location, if he **breaks** it, if he **changes** the words of the text of the tablet — , ... (CTH 51, treaty of Suppiluliuma I with Sattiwaza of Mittanni, Akkadian version)⁹⁴

A decree issued by Tudhaliya IV, great-grandchild of Suppiluliuma I, ends as follows:

This tablet must be placed before the Stormgod of Hatti, and [no one may] take it away from before (him). But anyone who **take[s]** this tablet **away** from before the Stormgod of Hatti, or **melts it down** (*arḥa laḥuwai*)⁹⁵ or **removes** (*wallanuzzi*)⁹⁶ the name[, or] **carries it forth**, [may] the Stormgod of Hatti, the Sungoddess of Arinna and all the gods completely destroy him together with his offspring! (CTH 225, land deed of Tudhaliya IV to Sahurunuwa)⁹⁷

The third document with proscriptions against iconoclasm of text and text carrier is the EMIRGAZĪ text (in Luwian),⁹⁸ also from the reign of Tudhaliya IV:

(§ 7) Also, in the future let no one **damage** (*škadalai*)⁹⁹ this stela, (§ 8) (that is), let no one **smash(?)** (it) (CAPUT.SCALPRUM = *kusa-*, *kwasa-*),¹⁰⁰ (§ 9) let no one **(over)turn** (it) (*tarzanuwati*).¹⁰¹ (§ 10) Also, let no one **chisel away** (*arḥa tubi-*) these words.¹⁰²

⁹³ For Assyria, compare, for example, the curses in RIMA 1, A.0.76.2 (Adad-Narari I), A.0.78.5 (Tukulti-Ninurta I).

⁹⁴ ṛùṛ [ma-]an-nu-me-e a-na pa-ni ḏU EN ṛku-riṛ-in-ni URUḲa-ḥat ṭup-pa an-ni-ta **ú-na-ak-kar**-ma (dupl. [ú-na-a]q-qar-ma) / a-šar pu-uz-ri **i-ša-kán** šum-ma **i-ḥe-ep-pí** šu[m-m]a a-ṛ-ma-te^{MEŠ} ša ṛINIM ṭup-pí ṛú-šaṛ-aš-na (KBo 1.1 rev. 37–38, ed. Weidner 1923, pp. 28f., with dupl. KBo 28.111 rev. 10′–12′ (+) KUB 3.1b rev. 3′–4′; KBo 1.2 rev. 15′–16′), trans. Beckman 1999, p. 46.

⁹⁵ For *arḥa laḥuwa-* as “to melt down,” see van den Hout 2003, p. 176, with further references. As van den Hout observes, melting down should refer to a metal tablet and not to the clay tablet on which this expression is found. This clay copy could therefore be a draft or a transcript. The lost metal version either was melted down or transferred out of the capital after the court abandoned Hattusa.

⁹⁶ The verb *wallanu-* is tentatively translated “to erase” (Kloekhorst 2008, p. 945). The base verb of the causative verb *wallanu-* must be **wala-*, but Kloekhorst rejects a connection with *walla/i-* “to praise” given the semantic differences between “erase” and “praise.” Nevertheless, the concrete meaning of *walla/i-* could very well have been “to elevate, lift” besides the metaphorical “elevate > praise”; compare cuneiform Luwian *walli(ya)-* “to raise, lift.” I see no issues to derive “to erase a name” from “to lift a name (from a tablet).” In fact, the Hieroglyphic Luwian phrase for “to remove a name” is *-ta alamanza arha wala-* (with *wala-* the reading behind ARHA MAL-LEUS-*la-*. For a phonetic reading of MALLEUS as *wa/i-*, see TOPADA § 26).

⁹⁷ *ki-i ṬUP-PU PA-NI ḏU URUḲA-AT-TI ki-ida-ru na-at pé-an ar-ḥa [le-e ku-iš-ki da-a-i] (36) ku-[i]š-ma ki-i ṬUP-PU A-NA ḏU URUḲA-AT-TI pé-ra-an ar-ḥa da-a-[i] (37) na-aš-ma-at ar-ḥa la-ḥu-u-wa-i na-aš-ma ṠUM-an wa-al-la-nu-u[z-zi na-aš-ma-at] (38) pa-ra-a pé-e-da-i na-an-kán ḏU URUḲÜ. BABBAR-TI ḏUTU URUḲA-RJ-IN-[NA] (39) Ü DINGIR.MEŠ ḥu-u-ma-an-te-eš QA-DU NUMUN-ṠU ar-ḥa ḥar-kán-nu[an-du] (NH, KUB 26.43 rev. 35–39, ed. Imparati 1974, pp. 38f.).*

⁹⁸ Unless noted otherwise, the edition of all Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian texts cited in this article can be found in Hawkins 2000. Differences between my transliterations and those in the *Corpus* are based on developments in Luwian studies of the past ten years.

⁹⁹ For *sà-ka-da-la-i(a)* [*škadalai*] “he damages” as cognate of German *schaden*, see Rieken 2010, p. 658.

¹⁰⁰ For CAPUT+SCALPRUM = *kusa-*, *kwasa-* as “to remove?,” see Hawkins 1995, p. 94; 2000, p. 155. I suggest that our *kusa-* is cognate with Hittite *kuwaskuwas-*, *ku(s)kus-* “to smash, pound.” The base *ku-sà-* is also present in the noun (CURRUS)*ku-sà-*, attested as ablative-instrumental in KARKAMIŠ A12 § 7 *á-wa/i-ia-na-wa/i-na-pa-wa/i* (URBS) “CASTRUM”-*sà* 100 CURRUS(-)*ku-sà-ti* [INFRA-tá “PUGNUS”-*sá-ha* (ed. Hawkins 2000, p. 113) with a new translation “I brought down the fortifications of the town of Awayana with 100 **battering rams.**”

¹⁰¹ For *tarza/i-* as “to turn (oneself),” see Rieken 2004.

¹⁰² § 7 *zi/a-la-tu-wa/i-ha-wa/i zi/a STELE sà-ka-da-la-i(a)* NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha* § 8 ARHA NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha* CAPUT+SCALPRUM § 9 *tara/i-zi/a-nú-wa/i-ti-wa/i-tá* NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha* § 10 *zi/a-i(a)-ha-wa/i-tá* 461-tá ARHA NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha tu-pi* (ed. Hawkins 1995, pp. 88f.).

At the beginning of his reign the same king concluded a treaty with his cousin Kuruntiya, King of Tarhuntassa in southern Anatolia. This treaty, the famous Bronze Tablet found buried near the Sphinx Gate at Yerkapı, does not contain any curse against its destruction or erasing of names. We find only the usual prohibition against changing the wording of a treaty or decree:

or (whoever will become king of Hatti) **changes** (*waḥnuzi*)¹⁰³ even one single word of this tablet, (may from him the Sungoddess of Arinna and the Stormgod of Hatti take away the kingship of Hatti). (CTH 106, treaty of Tudhaliya IV with Kuruntiya of Tarhuntassa)¹⁰⁴

Finally, the treaty of the last Hittite emperor Suppiluliuma II with the vassal kingdom of Cyprus (Alasiya) contains the beginning of an extended contingency curse:

[Whoever **takes**] **away** (*arha dāi*) [this ta]blet from before Sausga [, or] place[s it] in a dark place [,,] or [does not read] it [aloud] year by year [...]. (CTH 141, treaty of Suppiluliuma II with Alasiya)¹⁰⁵

Proscriptions against destruction, removal, or *metagraphē* are otherwise absent in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of Anatolia belonging to the reigns of Tudhaliya's¹⁰⁶ successor Suppiluliuma II (SÜDBURG) and Hartapu of Tarhuntassa (KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group).¹⁰⁷ This lack of proscriptions continues into first-millennium Anatolia. Whereas the first-millennium Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of northern Syria and the Levant abound with curses against the removal of names or the destruction of text carriers, such as

He who takes them (i.e., the portal orthostats) for writing, **topples/hides** (*saniti*) these orthostats in deep places (?), or **topples/hides** this deity in deep places(?), or **removes** (*ahha walai*) my name from (them), may Tarhunza, Karhuha, and Kubaba litigate against him!¹⁰⁸

there is not a single example of the phrase “removal of name” in first-millennium Tabal in southern Anatolia. Of the roughly twenty-five inscriptions from Tabal with preserved curse sections, only one warns against removal of the inscription (“He who **removes** (ARHA

¹⁰³ The expression *memiyan waḥnu-* is the equivalent to Akkadian *ša awāssu ušpaḥḫu* “he who changes his/its word” (cf. CHD L-N s.v. *memiya(n)* 1 b 16’).

¹⁰⁴ *na-aš-ma-kán ke-e-el / tup-pí-aš 1-an-na me-mi-ya-an wa-aḫ-nu-zi* (NH, Bo 86/299 iii 74–75, ed. Otten 1988, p. 24).

¹⁰⁵ [*ku-iš-ma ki-i ṬU*]P-PU A-NA ^dIŠTAR *pí-ra-an ar-ḫa [da-a-i]* / [*na-aš-ma-at-kán na-]na-ku-uš-ši-ya-an-ti pí-di da-a-i*] / [*na-aš-ma-at-kán MU-TI MU-TI*] [*UL ḫal-zi-iš-ša-i*] (NH, KBo 12.39 rev. 19’–21’, ed. De Martino 2007, p. 488, following CHD L-N, 394b [both with slightly different restorations]).

¹⁰⁶ Tudhaliya IV’s YALBURT inscription does not seem to be complete. It is therefore possible that either the missing blocks or the badly eroded ones could have contained curses.

¹⁰⁷ BURUNKAYA, from the same king and located 150 km to the northeast of the KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ group,

ends with [...t]u-pi-ra/i. I take this form as the medio-passive of *tupi-* “smite, strike” (pace Hawkins 1995, p. 107). Although the protasis of “[he] will be smitten” is not preserved, it is possible that it contained a contingency curse against damage to the inscription.

¹⁰⁸ (§ 22) **a-wa/i-da* |SCRIBA+RA/I *da-i REL-i-sa* (§ 23) |*za-zi-pa-wa/i-tá* (SCALPRUM)*ku-ta-sa₃+ra/i-zi LOCUS-za-a (SA₄)sá-ni-ti* § (§ 24) NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-tá* |*za-na DEUS-ni-na LOCUS-za-a (SA₄)sá-ni-ti* (§ 25) |NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-tá á-ma-za á-lá/i-ma-za ARHA MALLEUS-i* (§ 26) **a-wa/i-tú-ta* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS)*ku+AVIS-pa-sa-ha LIS-la/i/u-za-tú* (KARKAMIŠ A11a § 22–26). The grammatical analysis and exact meaning of LOCUS-*za-a* is not clear. For now I analyze this form as a dative-locative plural, and read it as *alanza* “deeps” based on BOYBEYPINARI 2 § 12 *ni-pa-wa/i-tá á-lá/i-za* (SA₄)*sa-ni-ti*.

MALLEUS-*ia* = *ahha*¹⁰⁹ *walai*) these engravings”¹¹⁰ KARABURUN § 11 [late eighth century B.C.E.], two mention toppling/hiding a memorial (“He who **topples/conceals** me (i.e., a memorial),”¹¹¹ KULULU 2 § 5 (mid-eighth century B.C.E.); “Let no one **topple/conceal** this (stela)” ERKİLET 1 § 3,¹¹² similarly ERKİLET 2 § 2 (both late eighth century B.C.E.), and one prohibits the destruction of a stela (“He who **smashes** this stela,”¹¹³ KULULU 3 § 7 [mid-eighth century B.C.E.]).

This clear distribution of presence of prohibitions against text destruction in northern Syria and the Levant and their almost complete absence in Anatolia in the second and first millennia is not a coincidence. Unlike the areas south of the Taurus mountains, Anatolia was never under long-term political or cultural influence of northern Mesopotamia (Hurrians, Assyrians), with the exception of the very end when Sargon II established firm Assyrian control over parts of Tabal and Cilicia.

Burial

Another type of inscriptoclasm is text burial. Kuruntiya’s usurpation of the throne in Hattusa during the reign of Tudhaliya IV made the Bronze Tablet treaty void, but instead of melting the treaty tablet down it was buried in a pit ca. 30 cm under the level of the surviving neighboring pavement, at the inner side of the city wall near the Sphinx Gate (Neve 1987, p. 405). It seems quite safe to conclude that the motivation for this burial was to physically nullify the treaty. Technically both Tudhaliya IV after the removal of Kuruntiya and Kuruntiya after he had proclaimed himself Great King had reasons to do this, but given that the Bronze Tablet probably belonged to Kuruntiya (Otten 1988, p. 55)¹¹⁴ we may assume that Kuruntiya buried the tablet and not that Tudhaliya marched all the way to Tarhuntassa, to Kuruntiya’s palace, to collect the tablet and bury it back in Hattusa.

The Bronze Tablet was under the seal of the main deities of the Hittite Empire, the Sungoddess of Arinna and the Stormgod of Hatti, so perhaps destruction or nullification by means of melting was not an option. Whether its alternative, burial, was intended as a form

¹⁰⁹ For the reading of Luwian ARHA as *ahha*, see Yakubovich 2011.

¹¹⁰ (§ 11) *za-ia-pa-wa/i-ta REL-za-ma-ia REL-sa ARHA “MALLEUS”-ia.*

¹¹¹ | (“SA₄”) *sa-ni-ti-pa-wa/i-mu-u |HWI-sà-’.*

¹¹² | *za-pa-wa/i-ta |ni |REL-i-sa-ha |sa-ni-ti.*

¹¹³ | *za-pa-wa/i “STELE”-ni-za |REL-sa |ARHA “LONGUS”(-)REL-sà-i.*

¹¹⁴ To Otten’s arguments for attributing the Bronze Tablet to Kuruntiya I would like to add the following. When referring to the land of Tarhuntassa the proximal demonstrative *ka-* “this” is used (Bronze Tablet iv 16: “whoever causes dismay for Kuruntiya in **this country** [and takes it away from him]”). More importantly, iii 40 contains the directional ablative noun phrase *ke-e-ez-za IŠ-TU KUR URUŠAP-LI-TI* “on this side of the lower land” (pace Otten 1988, p. 23, “vom dortigen Unteren Lande aus”). Only when the king goes to campaign on “this side of the Lower Land” does Kuruntiya need to provide more troops than otherwise. The Lower Land is located between Hatti and Tarhuntassa. It would be senseless

to assume that Kuruntiya would have to provide more troops when the king was campaigning farther away from him than when the king would be much closer to him, on the southern side of the Lower Land. “This side” therefore refers to the side of the Lower Land toward Tarhuntassa, and that can only mean the deictic center of the tablet was located in Tarhuntassa, and therefore that the tablet was deposited somewhere in the land of Tarhuntassa. Had this version of the treaty tablet been kept in Hattusa, “this country” and “this side” could only have referred to Hattusa and the northern side of the Lower Land, which, as we have seen, makes no sense. Compare, for example, the versions of the treaties with west Anatolia that were found in Hattusa. In those treaties place deictic *ka-* always refers to the domain of the Great King of Hatti, whereas place deictic *apa-* (as opposed to emphatic *apa-*) is used to denote everything that falls outside that domain, and usually inside the domain of the vassal king. In short, the choice of place deictic expressions depends on the final location of the tablet containing these expressions.

of humiliation or a respectful form of annulling the treaty cannot be decided without further evidence of similar text burials.

Annexation

As noted by Glatz and Plourde (2011, p. 60), several reliefs in the periphery of the Hittite Empire contain multiple inscriptions and sometimes multiple reliefs belonging to successive local rulers. An example of the latter are Karabel A, B, and C2, located in the Karabel pass in west Anatolia. The most well-known of the triad is Karabel A, a relief of a male warrior figure accompanied by the name of Tarkasnawa, king of Mira and contemporary of Tudhaliya IV. The other, barely preserved reliefs probably belong to previous generations (Glatz and Plourde 2011, p. 53, with further references).¹¹⁵

In other instances only names were added to the inscription, as in Hanyeri, where we find the name of a prince Tarhuntapiyamma added to that of prince Ku(wa)la(na)muwa (Glatz and Plourde 2011, p. 51), or in Akpınar, where the herald Zuwanza added his name to again prince Ku(wa)la(na)muwa (Glatz and Plourde 2011, p. 52).¹¹⁶

ABBREVIATIONS

Bo	Inventory numbers of Boğazköy tablets excavated 1906–1912
CHD	<i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Edited by Hans G. Güterbock, Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., and Theo P. J. van den Hout. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980–.
CTH	Emmanuel Laroche. <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris: Klincksieck, 1971.
HED	Jaan Puhvel. <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> . Mouton: Berlin, 1984–.
HW	Johannes Friedrich, editor. <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> . Heidelberg: C. Winter. 1952–54.
HW ²	Johannes Friedrich and Annelies Kammenhuber, editors. <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> . 2nd edition. Heidelberg: Winter, 1975–.
HZL	Christel Rüster and Erich Neu. <i>Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon: Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten</i> . Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beiheft 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989.
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi. Leipzig, Berlin.
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi. Berlin.
MH	Middle Hittite
MS	Middle Hittite script
NH	New Hittite
NS	New Hittite script
OH	Old Hittite
OS	Old Hittite script

¹¹⁵ Also compare the two reliefs Taşçı A and B, both presenting officials.

¹¹⁶ Uncertain instances of annexation are Suratkaya, which contains six groups of hieroglyphs, five of which

are heavily weathered, and Malkaya, with the inscriptions damaged by modern treasure hunters.

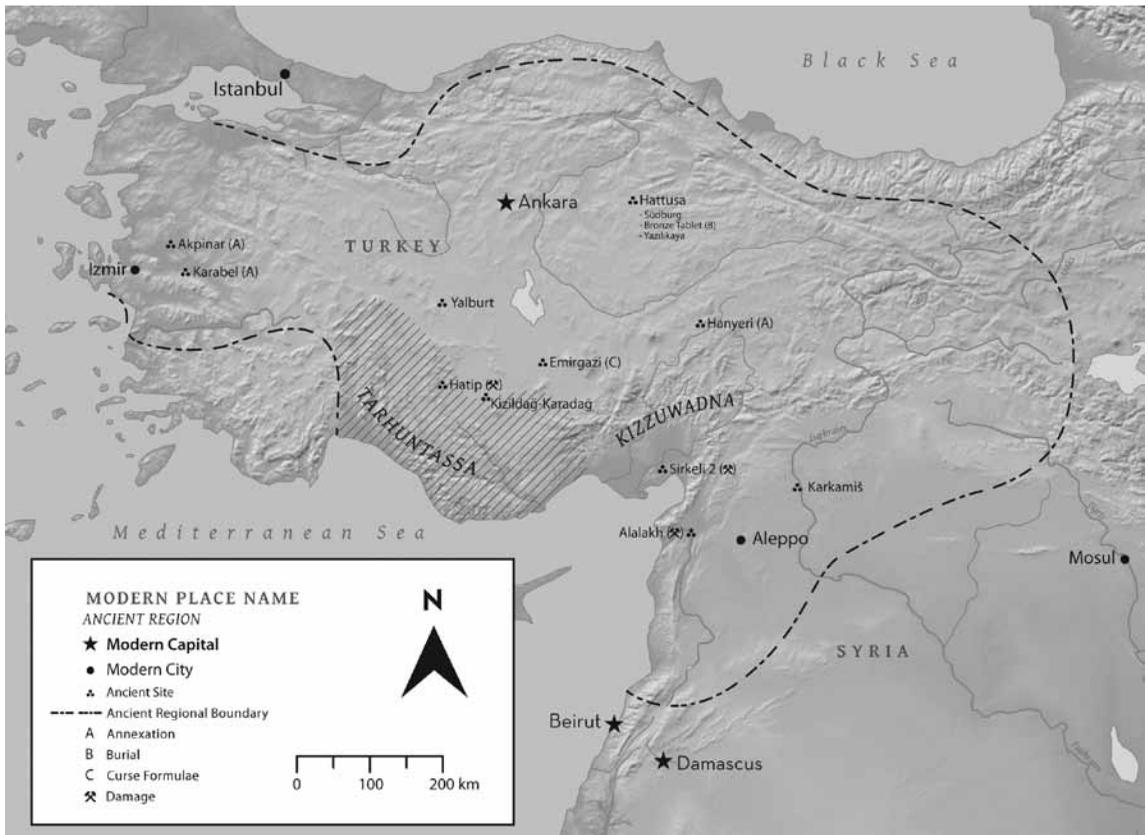


Figure 14.1. Map of the Hittite kingdom



Figure 14.2. The feet of a statue, probably of Tudhaliya IV, found in Yekbaz
(photo courtesy of Billie Jean Collins)



Figure 14.3. Statue base in the Great Temple of Hattusa
(photo courtesy of Billie Jean Collins)



Figure 14.4. Defaced image of Istar/Sauska from Yekbaz

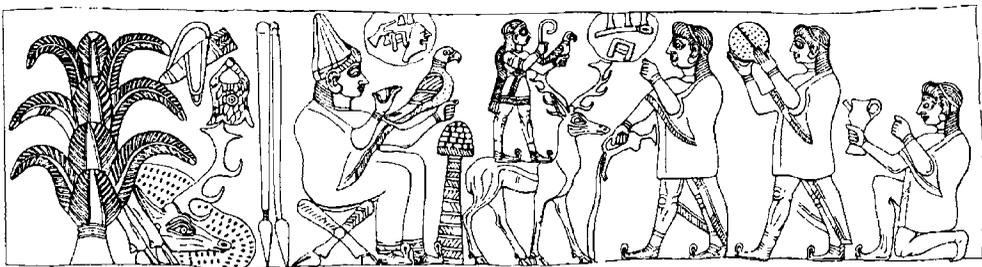


Figure 14.5. Frieze on Stag rhyton, Schimmel Collection of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (after Güterbock 1989, pl. 16b)

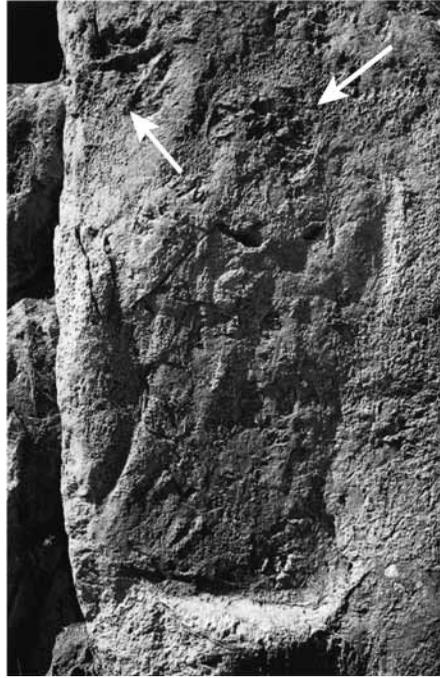


Figure 14.6. Sirkeli 2, damaged face (right arrow) and name (left arrow) of a royal figure.
 After Ehringhaus 2005, Abb. 180, and <http://www.hittitemonuments.com/sirkeli/>



Figure 14.7. Sirkeli 1, Great King Muwatalli II.
 After Ehringhaus 2005, Abb. 175, and
<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/sirkeli/>



Figure 14.8. Modern damage at Sirkeli 1.
 After Ehringhaus 2005, Abb. 177, and
<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/sirkeli/>



Figure 14.9. Orthostat from the temple in Alalakh, depicting a Tudhaliya and his wife or relative (photo courtesy of Robert Ritner)

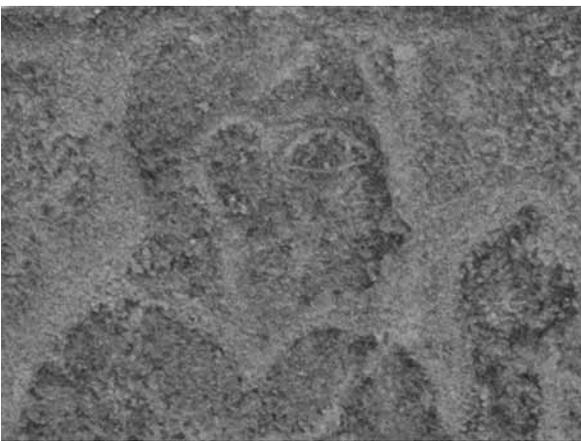


Figure 14.10. Detail of the face of Tudhaliya, Alalakh orthostat (photo courtesy of Robert Ritner)

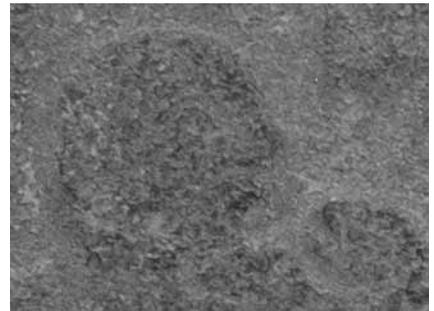


Figure 14.11. Detail of the face of the woman to the left of Tudhaliya (photo courtesy of Robert Ritner)



Figure 14.12. The head of Idrimi of Alalakh
(photo courtesy of Klaus Wagenonner)

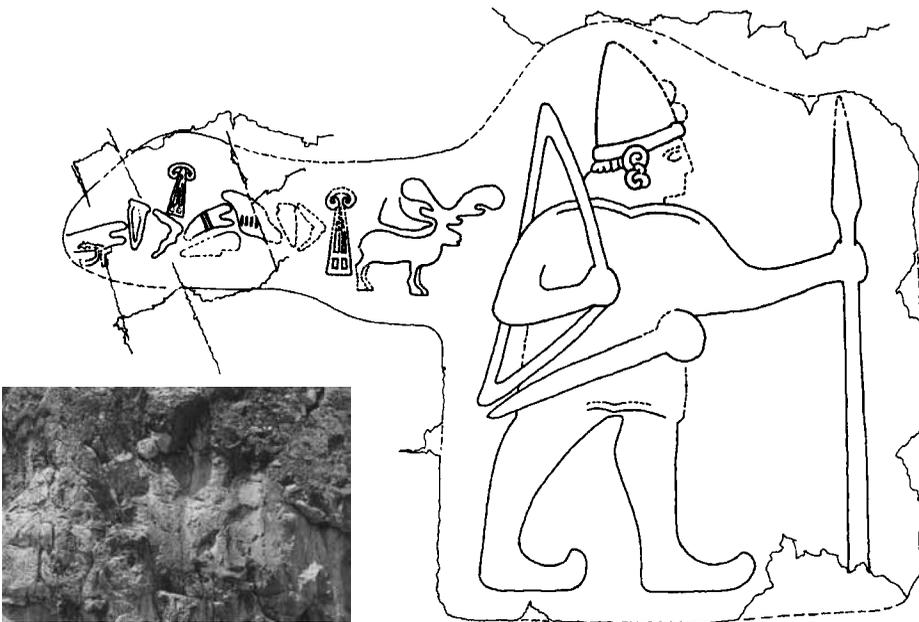


Figure 14.13. Photo and drawing of the Hatip relief, representing Kuruntiya, Great King.
After Ehringhaus 2005, Abb. 185–86, and <http://www.hittitemonuments.com/hatip/>

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