Alfonso Archi

Transmission of Recitative Literature by the Hittites

1) Translation and use of Babylonian literary texts

The transmission of literary texts of foreign origin poses different but no less complex problems to the transmission of rituals from peripheral regions such as Arzawa and Kizzuwatna. A hymn for the Weather-god, KBo 3.21 (CTH 313) is a translation (probably by a Babylonian scribe resident at Hattusa) of an Akkadian text, for which we do not have the Old Babylonian original.[1] The hymn for the Sun-god KUB 31.127+ (CTH 372) is, instead, a free composition by a Hittite scribe who had access to an Old Babylonian(?) hymn to Šamaš (again unknown to us today). Parts of this hymn were also used in some prayers to Hittite gods.[2] Another Akkadian hymn to Šamaš, Sin and Lātarāk (perhaps OB), KBo I 12 (CTH 792), had its Hittite translation in the column which is now almost entirely missing.[3] A late Old Babylonian Akkadian prayer to Ištar, KUB 37.36(+)37, copied by a Hittite scribe, was known also in an Hittite translation, KUB 31.141 (CTH 312), whose scribe had at his disposal "a better copy in which the verses were separated correctly".[4] Also a later bilingual (Sumerian-Akkadian) hymn to Iškur of the Kassite period was provided with an Hittite translation.[5]

In the period of the Old Kingdom, a few important state documents also existed in an Akkadian version for reasons of prestige (the Akkadian translation of the Annals of Hattusili I must be dated, however, only to the 14th or 13th century). The Siege of Uršum, written in Akkadian, represents the king (Hattusili I) as the heroic leader of an expedition in northern Syria, echoing the epos of the kings of Akkad. In the Empire period, scribes

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[1] A. Archi (1983), 20–30. The last preserved line mentions an "Akkadian (*pa-bi-li-li*) scribe", IV 12; while Babylon is quoted in IV 5.

[2] H. G. Güterbock (1958), 237–245; H. G. Güterbock (1980) 41–50. M. Marazzi – H. Nowicki (1978), 257–278. G. Wilhelm (1994), 59–77.

[3] E. Ebeling (1954), 209–216.

[4] E. Reiner – H. G. Güterbock (1967), 255–266.

[5] E. Laroche (1964), 69–78; cfr. J. S. Cooper, (1971) 8–9. This author lists at pp. 9–11 some Sumerian incantations with Akkadian translations to be dated to the Kassite period. Some of these texts in MB ductus seem to have been copied by Babylonian scribes in residence at Hattusa, pp. 7–8 note 34. The incantations are studied by J. S. Cooper (1971), 12–22; J. S. Cooper (1972), 62–81.

were entrusted with the task of drawing up diplomatic documents, such as political treaties and letters. Therefore, a number of Babylonian speaking and writing scribes were active at Hattusa[6], and some (to judge from their names, if these are not *noms de plume*) resided even in outlying centers.[7]

2) The Babylonian epics

The Gilgameš epic and that of Atram-ḫasīs were known at Hattusa also in the original language. A small fragment in Akkadian of Atram-ḫasīs, KBo 36.26, from Temple I, Mag. 14, seems to have been written by a Hittite scribe. KUB 36.74 preserves a section of this epic in Hittite close to the Akkadian version. This fragment could have belonged to an Akkadian-Hittite bilingual tablet.[8] KUB 8.63+KBo 53.5 (L/19, Grabungsschutt from Temple 1) is, however, a Hittite translation from a Hurrian version. The preserved section does not find any comparable passage in the Babylonian version. It has a dialogue between Atram-ḫasīs and his father Ḫamša (who is not mentioned in the Babylonian epic) concerning the danger that ants will devour the harvest. Kumarbi plays the role of Enlil.[9]

The Middle Hittite (MH) (Early Empire) Akkadian fragments of Gilgameš found in the Oberstadt (Temple 16) probably belonged to one tablet written by a Hittite scribe.[10] It contains: [prologue], the taming of Enkidu, the encounter with Ḫuwawa in the Cedar Forest, [death of Ḫuwawa, Bull of Heaven,] Enkidu's dream of doom, [Enkidu's death and funeral, Gilgameš's lament]; "the text is often very close to the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets (OB II–III) and may derive directly from late Old Babylonian or early Middle Babylonian originals that belonged to the same tradition".[11] Another tiny fragment, KUB 37.128, concerning one of Gilgameš's dreams, comes from the citadel (Büyükkale, s/16, by H).[12] A large fragment (with unknown exact provenance), KUB 4.12 (this one in new script) relates (on the obverse) dreams from the journey to the Cedar Forest, and (on the reverse) the story of Gilgameš, Ištar and the Bull of Heaven, thus presenting a parallel with a MB Emar fragment. "It is probable that the original tablet began with the heroes' journey to the Cedar Forest and ended with the triumph over the Bull of Heaven".[13]

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[6] G. Beckman (1983), 97–114 (see especially pp. 103–106). On the scribes of Akkadian documents from the archives of Hattusa, see G. Wilhelm (1993), 83–93; J. Klinger (1998), 365–375. On this matter, see also D. Schwemer (1998) 8–52.

[7] S. Alp (1998) 47–61. The following passage from a letter sent by Kassū to the king, KBo 18.54 Vs. 14–17, MS) pertains to the subject: "But when the tablet was [copi]ed(?) [in] A[kkadian(?),] (because) the scribe w[ho regularly reads(?)] to me d[oes] not kn[ow(?)] Akkadian," see CHD P, 102.

[8] J. Siegelová (1970), 135–139. H. Otten, KUB XXXVI, Vorwort, III, has noted: "ursprünglich wohl zweisprachigen Text," because the colophon is at the end of col. III.

[9] The two fragments have been joined by J. L. Miller, N.A.B.U. 2005/11. For the text, see H. G. Güterbock (1946), 81–82; A. M. Polvani (2003), 532–539.

[10] G. Wilhelm (1988), 99–121; A. R. George (2003), 25, 307–317.

[11] A. R. George (2003), 309–310.

[12] O. R. Gurney (1957) 202; A. R. George (2003), 325–326.

[13] A. R. George (2003), 317–325.

The few surviving Hurrian fragments do not enable us to reconstruct the events narrated in these versions (KBo 33.10(+)KBo 19.124, MH?, comes from K/19 and L/19, Grabungs-schutt from Temple I; KUB 8.61+KBo 8.144 from Büyükkaya). The names of the gods are (as usual) translated into Hurrian: the goddesses of destiny Ḫutena [and Ḫutellura] stand for the Hittite Gulšuš (in KUB 8.59 9′) (both the Hurrian and the Hittite fragments concern the final part of the epic), the Sun-god is Šimigi, the Weather-god is not simply Teššub but Teššub of Kumme. The ale-wife (the Šiduri of the Babylonian versions) has the Hurrian name Naḫmazulel; she is referred to also as *šidurri ašte* "young woman".[14] KUB 8.60(+)KUB 47.9 preserves the colophon: [DUB x[KAM] SÌR] *ŠA* [d]*Bíl-ga-miš* […] NU.TIL (the writing [d]*Gal-ga-mi-iš* is used instead in the text). The colophon of KUB 8.61+KBo 8.144 has instead: DUB 4[KAM] *ŠA* [d]*Ḫu-wa-wa* NU.TIL (also this manuscript uses the writing [d]*Gal-ga-mi-iš*). The name of Gilgameš is written in KBo 19.124(+): [d]GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ. These data show that at least three different Hurrian redactions of the Gilgameš epos were kept in Hattusa.

All the Hittite fragments show a new script. They belong to several manuscripts. Accord-ing to H. Otten, at least four exemplars of Tablet I have been preserved.[15] A manuscript, KBo 10.47+46 (E), comes from Building K of the citadel (Büyükkale). It presents a new script, which could be older than the manuscripts kept in Temple I (Ostmagazine), that is KBo 19.116+KUB 8.48, KBo 19.114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125; KBo 22.91, 92, 93; KBo 26.101, 102; KBo 33.10; KBo 54.2. Manuscripts C and E do not have columns of the same length; the four manuscripts present, however, the same recension.[16] Only HT 10 (manuscript I), together with KUB 36.73 (G), has a short addition (in italics) in comparison with KBo 10.47 (E), Tablet I col. IV § 19 (changing also the order of two sentences): "[Huwawa] said to them: '… I will carry you up to heaven! I will bring you in the dark earth! *I did not bring you* […]. I will smash you on the skull! *The cliff in front of my foot* […]' ".[17]

G. Beckman has examined in detail those elements which differentiate the edition in Hittite-language from the Mesopotamian versions. Some of these are: 1) the opening lines (although restored): "[Of Gilgameš,] the hero, [I will sing his praises …]." This is the same incipt found in the epic of Silver and Ullikummi (where the verb *išḫamiya-* has Kumarbi as direct object) and in other Hurrian "Songs." The colophon in KBo 19.116+KUB 8.48 has consequently: DUB.I[KAM] (this is Tablet III!) SÌR [d]GIŠ.GIM.MAŠ. 2) The Hittite Gilgameš is not born at all, but created by several gods, among them the Sun-god and the Weather-god, who are not deities usually concerned with creation in Sumer or Babylonia. 3) the Cedar Forest is placed in the west: in the Amanus or Taurus Mountains. 4) the Mala

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[14] KUB 8.61+KBo 8.144 I 4´, 6´, 27´. The texts are presented in translitteration by M. Salvini – I. Wegner (2004), 31–37. On these fragments, see M. Salvini (1988), 157–160.

[15] H. Otten (1958), 94.

[16] Other passages show also that the text was not distributed in a standard way. In the Tablet III, KUB 33.124 preserves the last section of col. IV and the colophon. Its duplicate, KBo 22.91+KUB 8.50 III is the ending section of col. III.

[17] The manuscripts are commented and ordered by G. del Monte (1992), 382–397. Most of the fragments are translitterated by E. Laroche (1968), 7–24. For a translation of the Hittite Gilgameš, see G. Beck-man (2000), 157–165.

River, the Hittite middle and upper Euphrates, "twice appears as a landmark." 5) The name of the primeval hero Uta-napištim is ᵈ*Ul-lu* (as E. Weidner had already seen; KUB 8.50 III 18(!) and IV 5; KUB 8.62 passim). He is known also from the Hurrian text no 1, KUB 8.60(+)KUB 47.9, passim: ᵈ*Ú-ul-lu-uš*.[18] 6) Gilgameš's visit to the Sea in the course of his wanderings is found only in the Hittite version. The vizier of the Sea is the Hurrian god Impaluri (KBo 19.120 III 1′). KUB 8.62 would appear to be a free Hurrian version of the episode of Uta-napištim / Ullu (it maintains some Hurrian words).[19]

This state of affairs can only lead to one conclusion (as stated recently by J. Klinger) that the Hittite Gilgameš was translated from a Hurrian and not a Babylonian recension.[20] The expressions: "tears (which) flowed like streams," in Tablet I col. IV Ec 31–32, frequently found in the Kumarbi Cycle, confirms this.[21] One detail common to all of the manuscripts of the Hittite Gilgameš is that the "*ške*-Formen präsentisch gebildet werden, nicht-*ške*-Formen aber präterital sind". Manuscript E, from Gebäude K, was written by Ipizzi, "über den sonst nicht mehr bekannt ist, außer daß er einen hurritischen Namen trägt. Aber wir kennen vermütlich seinen Sohn – und auch dieser trägt einen gut hurritischen Namen, nähmlich Teḫi-Teššob." He could have been the author of the Hittite translation.[22]

Hurrian culture was evidently seen by the Hittites as lively and congenial, whilst the Babylonian culture was seen as being "bookish", in that it was linked to scribal traditions. The Hurrian singers and scribes, having mastered Babylonian technique and literary material, composed (when established in Syria) numerous songs and epics, known to us only in part, which compare more than validly with the models. The recently discovered tablets from Qatna provide further data on the importance of Hurrian as a language of communications during the 14th century in the Syrian region.[23] The archive of Sapinuwa, like the Hurrian text found at Kayalipinar, bears witness to the importance of Hurrian as a written language in central-eastern Anatolia at the start of the Imperial period.

3) Translating a Hurrian epic

The Epic of Freeing, is the only Hurrian "Song," SÌR (*Hurrian šīr-* = Hittitite *išḫamiya-* "to sing") which has come down to us in a bilingual version. In the incept (only preserved in the Hurrian version) the name of the hero to be "sung" is declared, according to usual

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[18] E. Weidner (1923), 92 (= 57 in the reprint edition of 1938).

[19] G. Beckman (2003) 37–57.

[20] J. Klinger (2005), 103–127. Cfr. already H. Otten (1958), 125: "In der sprachlichen Gestaltung ist eine Ähnlichkeit zu den Kumarbi-Mythen wie anderen aus dem Hurrischen übernommenen Erzählungsstoffen festzustellen." See also A. Kammenhuber (1967), 45–58; according to her: "Es sieht also so aus, als seien – wie zu erwarten – Teile des hurrischen 'Gilgameš-Epos' in die hethitische Fassung eingearbeitet …" (p. 56).

[21] As Otten (1958), 114 ad m, had already remarked.

[22] J. Klinger (2005), 119–121. It seems that this Teḫi-Teššub, in the diplomatic service under Ḫattušili III, had another seal besides that published in Ugaritica III (Paris 1956) 39 and 136, see S. Herbordt (2005) 275 and Plate 35, no. 453.

[23] See T. Richter (2005), 145–178 ("Das hurritische in der späten Bronzezeit," 159–173); M. Giorgieri (2005), 77–101 ("Zum Sprachkontakt zwischen Hurritisch und Akkadisch," 92–97).

custom in the Hurrian epic: "I will sing of Teššub, the great king of Kumme; I will praise Allani, the maiden…" The series indicated by the colophon (only in Hittite): SÌR *parā tarnumar* "Song of Freeing" included at least six tablets, which means that the Hurrian text could have been approximately 1400 lines long. Duplicates exist for some sections, indicating that there were two different manuscripts of the bilingual version, both in middle script. It is also to be noted that there is no direct connection between KBo 32.11 (tablet I) and KBo 32.12 (tablet II), which begins with some parables. These two tablets therefore belong to two different series. KBo 32.14, the only intact tablet, that only contains parables, is also written along the lower edge of the reverse, and does not have a colophon. This is thus a third manuscript and could have been a preparatory or draft version.[24]

This epic is the etiological tale of the destruction of Ebla, to be dated to the period of Alalaḫ VII (about the time of Hattusili I) on the basis of data furnished by the pottery and by the ductus of the cuneiform tablets from the city. It claims that the destruction of Ebla was carried out by Pizikarra of Nineveh and his Hurrian bands (from what we can deduce from the fragmentary prelude) on the orders of Teššub of Kumme (nothing could be done to save the city from its fate by Išḫara, tutelary goddess of Ebla already at the time of the 3rd millennium archives). Therefore, it was not Hattusili I (or Mursili I) who decreed apparently the end of the city, since the Hurrians were the traditional adversaries of these kings during their Syrian expeditions.

The most likely hypothesis is that this text was acquired by Hattusa following the extraordinary interest in Hurrian culture which developed from the time of Tuthaliya I on. We do not have to consider the bilingual text as being drawn up from a (possibly several decades older) Hurrian manuscript. The first manuscript, at least, could have been written directly by a scribe (in this case a "singer;" two colophons mention a LÚNAR, KBo 32.13 and KBo 32.66[25]) who knew this epic by heart. This would explain the archaic elements in the Hurrian language of the text noted by E. Neu.[26] The Homeric dialect-mixture was not a spoken language; at the time of Pericles it would only have been understood by educated individuals. The mention of the singer makes it clear that the text, since it would have been recited, had to obey certain rules and, therefore, belonged to the genre that we call poetry.

All of the manuscripts were found in the area of Temples 15 and 16 in the Oberstadt (the MH Gilgameš comes also from Temple 16), and have a ductus of the Tuthaliya I and Arnuwanda I period. Unlike Gilgameš, this epic did not spread greatly since we do not have any later manuscripts.

The proem (KBo 32.11) and the tablet with the parables KBo 32.14, were written by two different scribes (the manuscripts also suggest the presence of other hands).[27] More than one scribe was involved, therefore, in drawing up the texts. If, as suggested, the text was not copied from a previous manuscript then it must have been written by two Hurrian mother-tongue scribes. Comparison of the Hurrian version with the Hittite one (the work

[24] For a first ordering of the fragmentary material, see E. Neu, (1996), 16–20. Some changes in this order has been suggested by G. Wilhelm (2001), 82–91.

[25] Neu (1996), 8, remarks that this epic, KBo 32.16 III 4, mentions "the fee of a singer," *ŠA* LÚNAR *kuššani*, as a custom at the Eblaite court.

[26] E. Neu (1996), 5–6.

[27] E. Neu (1996), 5.

above all of E. Neu, the editor of the Bilingual, along with the studies of other scholars) shows: syntactical differences (the Hittite version uses subordinate propositions where the Hurrian ones has nominal forms, and presents hypotaxis instead of parataxis); changes in the lexicon; different stylistic elements (hendiadys, etymological figures, chiasmus are frequent only in the Hurrian version). Some mistakes in the Hittite version seem to be the result of a less than perfect interpretation of the Hurrian whilst others, on the contrary, would appear to have been made by a Hurrian mother-tongue writer.[28] The Hittite version eliminates a few short passages and adds a few explanatory elements. This information has been gathered and classified by S. de Martino.[29]

It therefore appears likely that two Hurrian scribes, well trained in the Hittite language and in the Hittite ductus (thus in service at Hattusa), drew up a first copy of this Hurrian text and furnished a Hittite translation. This first version was then copied in another manuscript.

The most easily analysed part is that containing the parables, at least those included in tablet KBo 32.14, which is complete and belonged to the preliminary version of the bilingual text. This is a separate section which draws on a wisdom literature that developed in Syria and which had ramifications in Mesopotamia and in Egypt.[30] The aim of the seven *exempla* grouped therein is to show that ingratitude simply leads to ruin. Therefore, the egoism of the elders of Ebla will lead to the destruction of the city since, contrary to the opinion of their king Megi and the explicit request of the god Teššub, they do not recognize that their prisoners (people from the city of Ikinkališ) have earned their right to freedom.

The recitative style of th Hurrian text is expressed through asyndetic phrases, chiasmus, lexical repetitions and internal rhymes lined up one after the other[31]: *āi … pāpanni amelānni tārreš / itilānni Teššūpaš / amelānni tārriš* "Wenn doch den Berg … das Feuer verbrennen möchte, Teššub (ihn) zerschlagen möchte, das Feuer (ihn) verbrennen möchte!" (I 5–7); *kutte nāli kēbillāšuš / ḫaite karēnašuš / ḫaiten āše kibēllašuš / āšḫīma garēnašuš* "Zu Fall bringen sollen den Rehbock die Jäger! Ergreifen sollen (ihn) die Vogelfänger! Nehmen sollen sich (sein) *Fleisch* die Jäger, (sein) Fell aber die Vogelfänger!" (I 11–15). *kāzi taballiš ḫēlūwa tawaštūm / tawaštūm mušūlūm / ēlgāe tunšūtum / akūrna akulūwa* "Einen Becher goß ein (Kupfer-)Gießer sich zum Ruhme. Er goß (ihn), brachte (ihn) in die richtige Form. Mit glänzenden Applikationen belegte er (ihn). Ziselierungen ziselierte er." (I 42–45). The direct translation is enough to show the play of assonance and contrasting meanings used in this other passage: "Ein Rehbock weidet diesseits an den Flüssen. Die jenseitigen Auen (aber) faßte er fortwährend ins Auge. Die diesseitige (Weide) betrat er nicht (mehr?), die jenseitige aber bekam er nicht zu sehen" (I 26–29), and so on. It is an extremely careful style dictated by the need to be recited aloud.

The Hittite translation does not always succeed in reproducing the stylistic figures of the original, but does have assonances, rhymes and rhetorical figures that show how an

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[28] G. Wilhelm (1997), 283–284 with note 36, 288 with note 49.
[29] S. de Martino (1999), 7–118.
[30] N. Oettinger (1992), 3–22.
[31] Quotations from E. Neu (1996), 74–97. I use, for practical reasons, a normal transcription without marking the grammatical elements; for an "Analytische Umschrift," see E. Neu (1996), 460–472. On the literary language of some sections of Hurrian rituals, see V. Haas – I. Wegner (in print).

attempt was made to give the Hittite version some literary merit.[32] We need only consider the start of the first parable, which reproduces the same scansion as the Hurrian text, that is to say, two long phrases (with an anastrophe) followed by a further two, very short phrases: *aliyanan-za apel tueggaz*[-*šet*] ḪUR.SAG-*aš awan arḫa šūwet* / *nu-š*[*an*] *aliyaš parā tamēdani* ḪUR.SAG-*i pa*[*it*] / *na-aš warkešta* / *na-aš šūllēt* "Einen Rehbock vertrieb ein Berg von seinem Körper, und der Rehbock ging hin auf einen anderen Berg. Er war fett geworden, und er suchte Streit" (II 1–4). Few lines after there is a chiasmus: *aliyanan kuin warganunun … peššiandu-an aliyanan …* "Der Rehbock, den ich fett gemacht habe … niederwerfen sollen ihn, den Rehbock …" (II 12–14), and so on.

4) The Song of Ullikummi

An undefinable number of "Songs," SÌR, belonged to the Kumarbi Cycle. For three of these we also have a few fragmentary texts in Hurrian: Kingship in Heaven, Ḫedammu and Ullikummi[33] as well as for the Song of the Sea.[34] Only one of the fragments of Ullikummi, KUB 45.61, enables us to compare the Hurrian version with the Hittite, Table I A III 7–36.[35] M. Giorgieri, to whom we owe an in-depth study of this fragment, came to the following conclusion: "Daraus hat sich ergeben, daß es sich dabei um zwei parallele Versionen derselben Episode handelt, die aber zu verschiedenen Kompositionen gehören, deren Verhältnis dahingehend erklärt werden kann, daß die hethitische Fassung eine Überarbeitung des in KUB 45.61 überlieferten, ursprünglichen hurritischen Mythenstoffes durch die hethitischen Gelehrten des 13. Jahrhunderts ist, die neben fast wörtlichen Entsprechungen zu dem hurritischen Text manchmal erhebliche Abweichungen zeigt".[36]

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[32] R. Francia (in print).

[33] The fragment belonging to Kumarbi is KUB 47.56; those belonging to Ḫedammu are KBo 12.80+KUB 45.62 (from Haus am Hang) and 47.14, see M. Salvini – I. Wegner (2004), 38–41, nos. 7 and 8. The Hurrian fragment of Kumarbi, KUB 47.56, does not find any parallel passage in the Hittite version, see M. Salvini, ZA 81, 1991, 129–130. It is impossible to give a judgment on the Ḫedammu fragments, because much of the Hittite version is not preserved. The Hurrian fragments of Ullikummi are collected by Salvini – Wegner (2004), 41–46, nos. 9–11. Nos. 10 and 11 come from Tempel I. According to G. Wilhelm, *apud* M. Giorgieri (2001) 136, no. 10 could belong to a Song of Oil.

[34] See I. Rutherford (2001), 598–609 (in l. I 3: "I sing the Sea …").

[35] For this section of the Hittite version see H. G. Güterbock (1951), 150–153.

[36] M. Giorgieri (2001), 134–155 (quotation from pp. 152–153). The Hurrian version of the tale of the Hunter Kešši, which included at least 15 tablets and more than 3000 lines, present the same picture. Only 12 fragments are preserved, with 450 lines mostly fragmentary. V. Haas (2006), 208, states that "in keinem dieser Fragmente finden sich gesicherte Anklänge an die hethitische Fassung, die vermutlich eine Nacherzählung geringeren Umfangs ist". See already M. Salvini SMEA 18, 1977, 79–80, who, noting different hands of scribes, assumed that this tale was preserved in several manuscripts.

5) Location of the Akkadian and Hurrian texts and Hittite versions

In his study on "On the Nature of the Tablet Collections of Ḫattuša," Theo van den Hout states:

"Not all genres of texts found in the tablet collections in Ḫattuša can be easily described as falling under an administrative heading [which does not mean, however, 'economic,' differently from the largest part of the Sumerian and Akkadian administrative texts!]. To these text groups belong in my opinion the non-Anatolian myths (CTH 341–369), the translated or adapted and not-translated Sumero-Akkadian compositions (CTH 310–316, 792–819), the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual, the lexical lists (CTH 299–309) and at least part of the omen literature (CTH 531–560). One might also consider the hippological treatises (CTH 284–287) here. Some or all of these seem to have been kept out of some kind of academic interest, either educational, aesthetic or historical, but they may have played no role in the administration of the Hittite state: they all represent foreign material that can only have been actively collected. If besides the archival material we are looking for library texts, it may be here. Now, it is striking to see that the findspots of most of these are very consistent. The non-Anatolian myths, the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual, the translated/ adapted Sumero-Akkadian compositions and the lexical texts, of which we know the findspot, were almost exclusively found in the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 as well as some pieces (including the entire Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual) in Temple 15–16, and the Haus am Hang. The non-translated Sumero-Akkadian literature on the other hand stems from Büyükkale mostly, predominantly from Bldg. A, only rarely was a piece found in the Lower City. This would seem to find confirmation in the fact that the only purely Akkadian text listed among *Littérature de traduction* (CTH 310–316) is the sole exception there: KUB 37.36(+) under CTH 312 *Hymne à Ištar* was found in Bldg. A as opposed to the rest of the Hittite material from the storerooms surrounding Temple 1 and the *Haus am Hang*. All hippological texts were found on Büyükkale, mostly in Bldg. A. The omen texts show the least consistent picture: whereas most seem to come to from Bldg. A, they were also found at other buildings on Büyükkale as well several pieces in the Haus am Hang. Rarely, however, were pieces unearthed in the storerooms surrounding Temple 1. These small collections in the storerooms thus come closest to what one could call libraries." [37]

It is proper to consider the dating of the manuscripts together with the distribution of the texts in the archives.[38]

T.1 stays for the storerooms on the east side of Temple 1 (Ostmagazine) and also Grabungsschutt from that temple area. Haus am Hang is HaH. Among the findspots on the citadel (Büyükkale) only the archive in Building A is mentioned (Bk.A). For most of the tablets of the excavations before the First World War the findspot is unknown (unkn.) Middle script: MS; new script: NS.

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[37] Th. van den Hout (2005), 277–289; quotation from pp. 287–288.

[38] Indications on findsposts are provided by the editions, and also by S. Košak in the website Hethitologie Portal Mainz, http://www.hethiter.net.

Vocabulaires (CTH 299–309)

Vocabulaires Sᵃ (CTH 299): **T.1** and **HaH**.

Série diri (CTH 300): **T.1**, with the exception of KBo 7.12: **Bk.A**.

Série erim.ḫuš (CTH 301): **T.1**, with the exception of KBo 1.44(+): **HaH**.

Série ḪAR.ra (CTH 302): KUB 3.102(+): **Bk.A**; KUB 4.96+KBo 26.3(+), KBo 26.2, 5+6, 7, 8: **T.1**.

Série Izi (CTH 303), KBo 26.48 and 49: **T.1**.

Série Ká.gal (CTH 304), KBo 26.40–44, 46–47: **T.1**; KBo 16.87+KBo 36.1+KUB 30.5: **Bk.A**.

Série Proto-LÚ (CTH 305): **T.1**.

Littérature de traduction (CTH 310–316)

šar tamḫari (CTH 310) Hittite versions (NS), KBo 3.46: **HaH**; KBo 26.6 and KBo 54.1: **T.1**.

Naram-Sin en Asie Mineure (CTH 311) Hittite versions (NS), KUB 31.1(+): **T.1**.

Hymne à Ištar (CTH 312) Akkadian version: **Bk.A** (Hittite translation: unkn.).

Hymne trilingue à Iškur-Adad (CTH 314) (NS): **HaH**.

Sagesse akkado-hittite (CTH 316) (included KBo 12.128) (NS): **HaH**.

Littérature suméro-akkadienne (CTH 792–819)

Hymnes à Šamaš (CTH 792): **Bk.A.**

Hymne et prière bilingue (CTH 794): **Bk.**

Fragments d'hymnes (CTH 795): **Bk.A**, **Bk.**

Récit mythlogique(?) (CTH 796), KBo 13.39: **HaH**.

Conjuration sumériennes (CTH 800): **Bk.A**, **Bk.**

Fragments de conjurations bilingues (CTH 801), KBo 36.12: **Bk.**; KBo 36.17 and 18: **T.1.**

Rituel contre l'impuissance sexuelle (CTH 802), KUB 37,82 and 89: **Bk.A**; 451/z: **T.1.**

Conjuration: šumma ˡúkašip (CTH 803) KUB 37.55+KBo 36.32: **Bk.A.**

Conjuration: ana piširti kašpi (CTH 804): **Bk.A**, **Bk.**

Conjuration: udug-ḫul.a.meš (CTH 805): **Bk.A**, **Bk.**

Conjurations nommant Ašār.lú.ḫi (CTH 806): KUB 37.95: **Bk.A**; KBo 36.20: **HaH.**

Recettes de pharmacopée (CTH 808): **BkA.**

Recettes contre les ophtalmie (CTH 809): KUB 37.2+: **Bk.A**; KBo 8.2: **Bk.**

Rituel contre les fièvres (CTH 811): **Bk.A.**

Autres conjurations (CTH 812): **Bk.A**, **Bk.**

Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin (CTH 819) KBo 19.98 Akkadian MB (five-sided prism) (MS). "The orthography is closer to late Old Babylonian than to Middle Babylonian, there are none of the characteristics of the dialects of western peripheral Akkadian;" the text could have been written, however, at Hattusa[39]: **T.1.**

Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin(?) (CTH 819) KBo 19.99 Akkadian (four-sided prism). The scribe has a Hittite name: Hanikuili; his father, who bears the name Anu-šar-ilāni, must have been a genuine Mesopotamian[40] (MS): **Bk.**

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[39] J. Goodnick Westenholz (1997), 280–290.

[40] G. Beckman (1983), 102–104; Goodnik Westenholz (1997), 290–293.

Mythologie d'origine étrangère (CTH 341–370)

Gilgameš (CTH 341): KBo 32.128(+) (Akk., MS): **T.16**; KBo 33.10(+) (Hurr., MS?): **T.1**; (all the Hitt. manuscripts NS): manuscript E, KBo 10.47(+)46: **Bk.**, the other manuscripts: **T.1.**

Ašertu (CTH 342), KBo 53.4 (NS): **T.1.**

La royauté du dieu KAL (CTH 343) (all manuscripts NS): KUB 33.112(+) and KBo 22.83: **T.1**; KBo 22.76 and 82: **HaH.**

La royauté divine ou Théogonie (CTH 344) (both manuscripts NS), KUB 33.120(+): **T.1.**

Le chant d'Ullikummi (CTH 345) (all the Hurrian fragments NS) KBo 33.61 and KBo 27.217 (Lied des Öls?): **T.1**; all the Hittite manuscripts (NS): **T.1.**

Song of the Sea (CTH 346) (the Hurrian and the Hittite manuscripts are both NS) KBo 26.105 (Hitt.) [41]: **T.1.**

Atramḫaši (CTH 347) (both manuscripts NS) KUB 8.63+KBo 53.5: **T.1.**

Le dragon Ḫedammu (CTH 348) (NS): **T.1**; KBo 12.80(+) and KUB 8.65+1109/u: **HaH.**

Fragments nommant Ištar (CTH 350) (NS), KBo 22.79 and KBo 26.103: **T.1.**

Ea et la Bête (CTH 351), KUB 36.32(+)55(+)KBo 31.95 (this last join by M.-C. Trémouille) (MS): **Bk.**; KBo 13.83 (NS): **HaH.**

Fragments nommant la "fille de ᵈ*VII.VII.BI"* (CTH 353) (NS): **HaH.**

Roman d'Appu (CTH 360) (NS): **T.1**.

Roman de Kešši (CTH 361) (NS): **T.1**; KBo 12.79 and KBo 45.189: **HaH.**

Roman de Gurparanzaḫ (CTH 362) (NS): **T.1.**

Conte de l'"Argent" (CTH 364) (NS): **T.1.**

Langues étrangères: *Hourrite* (CTH 774–791)

Fragments de présages (CTH 774), most of the tablets (NS): **Bk.**; KBo 27.210 and KBo 27.184+KBo 35.2 (MS), several others fragments (NS): **HaH.**

Textes historico-mythologiques (CTH 775), KBo 35.108 (NS): **T.1.**

Récit mythologique (CTH 776), KBo 35.183(+) (MS): **Bk.A**, KBo 35.171 (NS): **Bk.A**; KBo 33.202 (MS?): **Bk.**; KBo 33.205(+), KBo 33.203, KBo 35.171 (NS): **T.1.**

Rituel du "lavage de la bouche" (CTH 777), most of the tablets (MS) and (NS): **Bk.A**; KBo 27.93(+), KBo 53.226, KBo 27.87, KBo 27.88(+) (NS): **T.1.**

Fragments appartenent au rituel précédent (CTH 778), most of the tablets (MS) and (NS): **Bk.A** and **Bk.**; KBo 27.101, KBo 53.227, KBo 27.85(+), KBo 33.2(+), KBo 27.89 (NS): **T.1**; KBo 27.94 (NS): **HaH.**

Rituel d'Ummaya (CTH 779), KBo 15.1 (NS): **Bk.A.**

Rituel d'Allaituraḫi (CTH 780), KBo 23.23(+) (MS) **Bk.A**; KBo.20.49(+) (MS) **Bk.**; KBo 33.119, KBo 35.94 and 95, KBo 35.92, 93 and 118, KBo 19.139, KUB 41.119 (NS): **T.1**; KBo 12.85(+) and KBo 45.265(+) (NS) **HaH.**

Fragments analogues au précédent (CTH 781), KBo 35.100 (MS): **Bk.A**; several fragments (NS): **Bk.A** and **Bk.**; several fragments (NS): **T.1** and **HaH.**

Rituel à Išḫara (CTH 782), KBo.54.54: **T.1.**

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[41] For the Hurrian fragment, see note 34. The fragment of the Hittite version is KBo 26.105, see Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate (1992), 117–119; J.-F. Blam (2004), 69–81.

Rituel médicaux de Zelliya (CTH 783), KBo 9.116 (MS): **Bk.**; KBo 22.114: **T.1.**
Rituel pour le mont Ḫazzi (CTH 785), (NS): **Bk.A**, **Bk.**
Listes de divinités (CTH 786), (MS?), (NS): **Bk.A.**
Listes d'offrandes (CTH 787), (MS) **Bk.A**, (NS) **Bk.A** and **Bk.**; one fragment (NS): **T.1**; some fragments (NS): **HaH.**
Rituel de Sallasu (CTH 788), (MS?) **Bk.A**; some fragments (NS): **Bk.A** and **Bk.**; three fragments (NS): **T.1**; one fragment (NS): **HaH.**

Lettres royales[42]
De Hattusili III à Kadašman-Ellil II (Akk.) (CTH 172): **Bk.**
De Hattusili III à un roi d'Assyrie (Akk.) (CTH 173): **Bk.**
De Kadašman-Turgu à Hattusili III (Akk.) (CTH 174): **Bk.**
De Tuthaliya IV à Baba-aḫ-iddina (Hitt.) (CTH 178), tablet KUB 23.103 with the text of three letters seems to come from **T.1.**[43]
D'un roi du Hanikalbat (Akk.) (CTH 179): **Bk.**
To Tukulti-Ninurta, KBo 18.20 (Hitt.) (CTH 187): **Bk.**
To Shalmaneser, KBo 18.24 (Hitt.) (CTH 187) **T.1.**
To an Assyrian king, KBo 18.25(+)KBo 31.69 (Hitt.) (CTH 187): **Bk.**
From Shalmaneser, KBo 28.59 (Akk.): **Bk.**
From Assyria, KBo 28.60 (Akk.): **Bk.**
From Tukulti-Ninurta, KBo 28.61(+) (Akk.): **Bk.**
From Assyria, KBo 28.67 (Akk.): **Bk.A.**
From Assyria, KBo 28.73 (Akk.): **Bk.**

The MH manuscript of Akkadian Gilgameš and the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual were originally kept in Temple 16 of the Oberstadt, in a "Kellerraum." As H. Otten noted, "das Textensemble dieser kleinen Bibliothek enthält nur älteres Schrifttum, und zwar unter Ausschluß jeglichen archivalischen Materials. Auch die sonst so häufigen Festbeschreibungen und Rituale, die anderweitig in der Oberstadt, z.B. in Haus 12, gefunden wurden, sind nur in Einzelfragmenten nachzuweisen. Die Niederschriften stammen insgesamt aus einer älteren Periode und gehören entweder zur Privatbibliothek eines gebildeten Mannes (Priesters?) oder zum Stiftungsinventar eines Tempels."[44] From these finds we can see that, already during the last period of the Old Kingdom groups of tablets were kept in the Oberstadt, although we do not know whether the Land donations KBo 32.184–195, found mostly in the area of Temple 8, originally belonged to this temple (KBo 32.184 was issued by Zidanza II, KBo 32.185 by Muwatalli I).

During the Early Empire the archives in the citadel were reorganized. The larger Archive A held the Akkadian divination texts (CTH 531–560; only few tablets come from Haus am Hang); the Akkadian rituals and some hymns (*Littérature suméro-akkadienne*,

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[42] Th. P. J. van den Hout (2006), 77–106; for the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence, see 93.
[43] According to H. Otten (1959–60), 39 with note 25, according to H. Winkler's Tagebuch; cfr. C. Mora – M. Giorgieri (2004), 51 note 235.
[44] H. Otten, ArAnz. 1984, 375.

CTH 792–819) as well as the Akkadian version of *Hymne à Ištar*, CTH 312); most of the Hurrian texts (CTH 774–791, *présages*, *rituels*, some of which are in Hittite with Hurrian passages; only a few manuscripts, in NS, were found in Temple 1 or in Haus am Hang). Only texts that were translated into Hittite in more recent times (NS) were found in Haus am Hang: *Hymne trilingue à Iškur-Adad* (CTH 314), *Sagesse akkado-hittite* (CTH 316) (including KBo 12.128).

Also kept in Archive A were some of the earliest hymns and prayers: for the Sun-goddess of the Underworld (MS), the Sun (NS), the prayer of Kantuzzili (MS) (CTH 371–374). All of the other prayers, (including a few MS manuscripts) were held in Temple 1: those of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal, Mursili II, Muwatalli II, Hattusili and Puduhepa (CTH 375–381, 383–384; CTH 376 B: Haus am Hang), with the exception of the *Prière de Muwatalli à Tešub de Kummanni* (CTH 382; Büyükkale K).

The *Mythologie anatolienne* (CTH 321–338) was divided between Archive A (most of the tablets of *Telibinu*; in general the MS manuscripts) and Temple 1 (*Illuyanka*, NS: Temple 1, and Haus am Hang).

All of the *Mythologie d'origine étrangère* (CTH 341–370), in NS, comes from Temple 1 (with a few manuscripts from Haus am Hang). The only exception is the manuscript in MS of *Ea et la Bête* (CTH 351), which was found in the citadel.

Of the *Littérature de traduction*, the epic of *šar tamḫari* (Sargon) and *Naram-Sin en Asie Mineure* (CTH 310 and 311), in NS, were kept in Temple 1 (a manuscript of *šar tamḫari,* however, comes from Haus am Hang). There are then two prisms with the *Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin* (CTH 819) in Akkadian (MS); that written by a scribe of Hattusa, probably the son of an Akkadian scribe, was found in the citadel and the other in Temple 1.

The texts of foreign origin acquired up to the time of Suppiluliuma I, like the earliest Hittite texts mentioned above, were therefore usually kept in the citadel archives. It is likely that from at least Mursili II on, the texts were drawn up in the Unterstadt, partly in the Haus am Hang which appears to have functioned as a scriptorium (the documents found there are of the same kind as those found in Temple 1). Therefore, we cannot state that the Akkadian texts were preserved for the teaching curriculum of the scribes. Most of the vocabularies, instead, which certainly served this end, were kept in Temple 1 (and in Haus am Hang); others were in Archive A. It is probably that the texts of the *Littérature suméro-akkadienne* were collected for the same reasons (theoretical or practical) for which they were originally composed (for example, CTH 809: *Recettes contre les ophtalmies*). We noted above (§ 1) how the Akkadian hymns influenced certain Hittite prayers. Undoubtedly it was for their content that the Akkadian divination texts (some with Hittite translation) (CTH 531–560) were acquired and kept (with very few exceptions) in the archives of the citadel, even though the Hittites did not then develop these kinds of divination themselves.

Chancery documents were also kept in the citadel, like the letters between the last of the Hittite kings and those of Assyria and Babylonia. Only a few draft versions of texts in Hittite have been found in Temple 1.

6) Oral and written tradition of the Kumarbi Cycle

Following Hittite penetration into northern Syria under Tuthaliya I, the Hurrian Epic of Freeing (a text with recitative stylistic features) reached Hattusa, where it was completed with a parallel Hittite translation to the Hurrian text. In roughly the same period an Akkadian version of Gilgameš as well as the Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin were also acquired.

It is possible that, during the reigns of Tuthaliya I and Arnuwanda I, other Hurrian songs in Hurrian were kept in the Hittite archives, although the few fragments that have come down to us would appear to date to a few decades later. A few songs of Hurrian origin were, however, known in a Hittite version from at least the time of Suppiluliuma I: *Ea et la Bête* (CTH 351) is a manuscript in MS from the citadel.

Although the language in which diplomatic documents were drawn up was Akkadian, Babylonian culture did not have a direct impact on the production of texts in the Hittite tradition, except in a few isolated cases (see § 1). The Hurrian culture, for reasons which escape us to some extent, held a particular fascination, to the extent that it became the preferred means by which Babylonian elements reached Hattusa. Different Hurrian redactions of Gilgameš were received, together with two (?) Akkadian versions. The Hittite versions of Gilgameš and Atram-ḫasīs were drawn up on the base of the Hurrian versions. A Hittite version of King of Battle, KBo 22.6, which has a corrupted text possibly including archaisms, would appear to have been translated from the Hurrian.[45] This is the same situation that we find for the divination. Various series of Babylonian omina were held in the archives but only three other kinds of divination were used: two of Anatolian origin and one, extispicy, received from Babylonia through the mediation of a Hurrian centre (the terminology for the ominous parts of the entrails is Hurrian, not Akkadian).

Each of the songs in the Kumarbi Cycle, probably composed at different times and in different places, may have reached Hattusa independently. Although the manuscripts are in NS, it is possible that some Hittite versions were drawn up before Mursili II.[46]

Having proved that the Hittite version of the Song of Ullikummi is not the translation of the Hurrian text kept in the archives of Hattusa sheds some light on the manner in which this kind of documentation was transmitted. It is a clear indicator of the role played by oral tradition. Already on the topic of the Hurrian Gilgameš (in relation to the Babylonian Gilgameš) M. Salvini was able to state that: "es war übrigens von vornherein klar, daß wir ohnehin keine 'Übersetzungsliteratur' erwarten durften".[47] That is to say, that Gilgameš was "rethought" in Hurrian, insofar as it was an epic that was also recited. When a scriptorium felt the need to acquire a written Hurrian version, they turned to a "singer:" a bard who dictated his version. Hattusa had three different versions of Hurrian Gilgameš (§ 2). We could even claim that other scriptoria had parallel but independent versions. At Emar and Ugarit, which have furnished the only archives for the partially Hurrianised Syria of this period, no need was felt to collect Hurrian texts of this kind.

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[45] A. Archi, N.A.B.U. 2000/61. On the language of this text, see E. Rieken (2001) 576–585.

[46] For the Song of Silver, see the remarks by H. A. Hoffner Jr. (1988) 162. The colophon of the tablet with the Song of Kumarbi says that the scribe Ashapa copied it from an older "worn" tablet.

[47] M. Salvini (1988), 160.

The passage from a Hurrian to a Hittite version must have followed the same modality. There was no longer a Hurrian texts with the Hittite translation opposite, as in the Epic of Freeing, but an orally dictated text, that is to say, one that has been reformulated in Hittite, dictated possibly with the help of memories of a Hurrian manuscript. This explains why in the Hittite language of the Kumarbi Cycle, and especially in the last three songs, there are no Hurrian elements even though the literary form still faithful follows that used by the Hurrian bard.[48]

As in Ullikummi, the Hittite version of the Romance of the Hunter Kešši does not follow the Hurrian version found at Hattusa (originally more than fourteen tablets, which means more than 3000 lines).[49] We must deduce that, also in the case of tales or romances "in prose" of Hurrian milieu, (those of Syrian origin:[50] Hunter Kešši, Appu and His Two Sons[51], like those which refer to the earliest Hurrian history: the Romance of Kurparanzaḫ, set in the Tigris region and in Akkad) versions for recitation were written down without following a written Hurrian text to the letter but still paying some attention to the literary form of the original. Although the manuscripts are in NS, at least the redaction of Appu must go back to the 14th century.[52] Some of these motifs, entrusted to oral tradition, are found in various regions of the Near East.

The oral nature of the Ullikummi text played some role also within the Hittite manuscript tradition. Manuscript B (KUB 33.98+36.8) is close to C, and represents a slightly shorter version than that found in A.[53] Although the Güterbock edition records all of the variants, only a "score transliteration" (which we cannot provide here) shows clearly how the incipit of the First Tablet in B (22 lines preserved) does not duplicate A, but gives a parallel text. For col. II, B (29 lines) omits l. 14 like C; both have a shorter version for ll. 16–18. For the following lines, B duplicates C, but omits ll. 19–20 of C. For col. III, B (19 ll.) duplicates again C, with few lexical variants. The individual manuscripts are, however, too fragmentary to enable us to make a complete comparison (manuscript A is not preserved at all for the Second Tablet). The incipit of B shows, however, that this manuscript represent a separate slightly simplified version in itself.

The first lines of the Song (SÌR, Hitt. *išḫamai-*) of the Sea in Hurrian have: (l. 3) *šir-ād-ile kīyaši* … "I will sing the Sea".[54] The start of the Epic of Freeing is: "I will sing (*šir-ad-ili*) Teššub, the great king of Kumme." E. Neu translates "ich will erzählen," although he notes how, in Hittite this form corresponds to *išḫamiḫḫi.*[55] Silver l. 7: "I sing of him, Silver…;" Ullikummi l. 3: "Of Kumarbi, father of all the gods, I will sing." *išḫamiya-* means "to sing

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[48] H. Güterbock (1951) 141: "The word 'song' … suggests that we have before us a poetic text. The fashion in which the tablets are written, however, makes it hard to see whether the text has a metrical form."

[49] M. Salvini, (1988), 160–166.

[50] On the literary language of the Hittite versions of these tales, see V. Haas (2005), 360–374.

[51] For Kurparanzaḫ, see F. Pecchioli Daddi (2003), 478–494.

[52] For some older forms in Appu, see J. Siegelová (1971), 26–27.

[53] H. Güterbock (1951), 137. It seems that the scribe's name of the Second Tablet of B was not written in the colophon, KUB 33.113(+) l. Rd.

[54] I. Rutherford (2001), 599–600.

[55] E. Neu (1996), 33–34.

(accompanied by a musical instrument); to play an instrument;" *išḫamain* SÌR[RU] "to sing a song".[56] These songs or recitals required an audience, which in Kingship in Heaven consisted ideally of the gods (ll. 1–7): "May the gods … listen (*ištamaškandu*)!" Songs of this length[57], accompanied by music, belong to a tradition that the Hurrians received from the Babylonians (the Hittite festivals foresaw only short songs with a musical accompaniment).[58]

It has been suggested that these songs have some form of meter or, more simply, a rhythmic prose suitable for recitation. The introductions to speeches are fixed formulas, characteristics of oral poetry, since they mark the change of subject and, sometimes, provide the motivation for the action that follows: "X began to speak the words to Y"; "While thus were they speaking"; "When X had ceased to speak the words"; "When X heard the words".[59] These are calques from the Hurrian.[60] The Hittite singers did not feel the need to eliminate such formulas. Sometimes the start of direct speech is marked with the formula: "O DN! The words which to thee I speak, to my words (thine) ear hold inclined!" Ullikimmi Tablet I A II 16–17, 32–33, III 38–39, etc. In Ullikummi, the start of Kumarbi's action is indicated by these verses: "into (his) hand a staff he took, upon his feet as shoes the swift winds he put", Tablet I A I 13–14. The same occurs for Takiti and Tašmišu (Tablet III A col. I 31–32, II 2–3). In this way, Kumarbi sets in action Impaluri, the vizier of the Sea, Tablet I A III 39–41: "into (thy) hand a staff take, upon thy feet as shoes the swift winds put!"; C II 33–34 and III 6–7 has simply: "into (thy) hand a staff take, upon his feet the shoes put!" This standardized phraseology depends on the presence of an audience. Other formulaic expressions are typical of songs or poems composed orally and recited.

There are fixed epithets: "Kumarbi, father of the gods"; "Weather-god, heroic king of Kummiya"; "Ea, king of Wisdom"; "Ištar, queen of Nineveh".[61] "sweet name" (*šanezzi laman*) "applied to the names *Ullikummiš* and *Idaluš* (Evil), neither of which are 'sweet' or 'pleasant'".[62] "GN, the town", as in Hedammu, frg. 2, 2–3: "to Kummiya/Tuttul, the town") and in Epic of Freeing, KBo 32.15 III 20: "Ebla, the town", KBo 32.19 III and IV 32, 37: "Ebla, the town of the throne").

There also several standard themes and repeated scenes. In every song the god Ea is present at critical moments to offer decisive advice. The banquet scene is found in the Epic of Freeing, KBo 32.13 I–II; Ḫedammu, frg. 1 I 19ff.(?), 2 II 17ff.; Ullikummi, Tablet I A II 22ff., IV 52ff. The ten months of pregnancy are counted one after the other: Kingship in

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[56] M. Schuol (2004), 136–142.

[57] Considering 250 lines for tablet, the Song of Ullikummi could have reached about 1000 lines. The two Homeric poems have 27000 hexameters on the whole.

[58] J. S. Cooper (1992), 103–122, writes at pp. 114–115: "With the possible exception of some literature of the scribal school, all literature throughout the Old Babylonian period, at least, was composed for performance, and the performance was musical. … When we think 'literature' in ancient Mesopotamia, we must hear constant, surely strange, melody."

[59] H. Güterbock (1951) 141–144; J. Siegelová (1971), 85–86.

[60] M. Salvini (1988), 166–170.

[61] For Ḫedammu, see J. Siegelová (1971), 85. The Bilingual has: "Weather-god, great king of Kummi."

[62] H. A. Hoffner Jr. (1968), 201.

Heaven I 44 ff.; Appu III 7 ff.; Tale of the Cow and Fisherman, KUB 24.7 III 18–19. Birth and name-giving of a child follow the same pattern in Ullikummi and Appu.[63] Ištar baths, perfumes and adorns herself and then, naked, attempts to seduce the adversary of the gods with her song, accompanied by the sound of cymbals: Ḫedammu frg. 11; Ullikummi Tablet II B II 1 ff. (both fragmentary). "Tears flow forth like canals": Gilgameš Tablet III, Ullikummi, Sun and the Sea.[64] "All the gods down from Heaven like birds he shall / I will scatter": Ullikummi Tablet I A col. III 24, Tablet III A col. IV 28, E III 13.

The geography related to the gods is, in part, a distant memory of common Babylonian notions, Appu IV 13–18[65]: "The Sun-god dwells in Sippar. The Moon-god dwells in Kuzina. The Weather-god dwells in Kummiya. Ištar dwells in Nineveh. Nanaya [dwells] in Kissina. And Marduk dwells in Babylon".

There is also the echo of some Babylonian literary expression. Appu I 4–5: "(who) strikes evil men on their skulls (*tarnaš-šmaš*) (like) *šakšakila*-"; Gilgameš, KBo 10.47c(+) IV 19: "I (Ḫuwawa) will smash you on your skulls! (:*taršamaš-šmaš*)".[66] The following metaphor is in pure Baroque style: Silver frg. 4 13–15[67]: "[O Silver, our lord!] Do not kill us (Sun and Moon)! We are the luminaries (*lalukkimiš*) [of heaven] and [earth]. (Of) what [land]s you [govern(?)] we are torches (GIŠ*zuppari*)".

The Hittite versions of the songs of Silver, Ḫedammu and Ullikummi were represented by at least four manuscripts each, all in NS and kept in Temple 1 (or in the nearby scriptorium of Haus am Hang). This is significant both in terms of the interest in this genre in the second half of the Empire period, and of the importance of the written text in the transmission of these works. At Hattusa, as in other centres in this period, texts which were recited, such as rituals, were in any case committed to written tablets.

The fact that the Bilingual and an Akkadian Gilgameš were kept in a temple (Temple 16) does not necessarily mean that these texts were seen as belonging exclusively to the cult, and still less the fact that, in a later period, the songs of the Kumarbi Cycle and other "literary texts" were kept in the storerooms of Temple 1, where administrative documents were also kept.[68] They were, however, vehicles for religious concepts in relation to the Hurrian cults that the Hittites received from Kizzuwatna and the Syrian country.

The Homeric poems were fixed in the form that we know today when the courts where bards sang, such as Phemios and Demodocos, had long since disappeared. It is instead probable that those to whom these songs were destined at Hattusa were also those who frequented the royal palace. Whilst the Hurrians owed this literary genre to the Babylonians, this did not stimulate any form of imitation process amongst the Hittites, who, however, greatly appreciated it, and were the only people through whom these songs have been passed down to us today. In fact, no theme from Hittite tradition is the subject of any of these songs.

[63] H. A. Hoffner Jr. (1968), 198–203.
[64] J. Klinger (2005), 119–120.
[65] J. Siegelová (1971), 12–13.
[66] J. Siegelová (1971), 4–5, and 19. See CAD, M II, 173: *muḫḫu*.
[67] H. A. Hoffner Jr. (1988), 159–160. See AHw 1, 172 b; CAD, D, 156–167: *dipāru* b.
[68] Th. P. J. van den Hout (2006), 83.

The data would appear to point towards the following conclusions.

Songs were composed orally in Hurrian to be recited, taking for a model a Babylonian literary genre. A tradition of "tales" or "romances" also developed. Moreover, Hurrian bards adapted some famous Babylonian epics (Gilgameš, Atram-ḫasīs) to their own environments, adding some episodes to the original version.

It is likely that, in the 15th century these epics and tales were written down ("oral dictated texts," Albert B. Lord) in some centres such as Waššukanni, the capital of Mittani, and Halab (which had a long written tradition). The fact that the language of the Bilingual found at Hattusa goes back to an earlier period than the "Mittani dialect" shows that the transmission of certain songs from center to center had occurred according to oral tradition.[69] Again, through oral transmission, some echoes arrived in Phoenicia (Philo of Byblos), and even Greece (Hesiod).

With the introduction of Hurrian culture into Central Anatolia in the Early Empire (end of 15th – beginning of the 14th century) some of these Hurrian songs were dictated at Hattusa. One of these was provided with a parallel Hittite translation (along the lines of the Sumerian-Akkadian texts). Others were reworked and dictated in Hittite. The long-standing habit of writing naturally meant that these texts also were conserved in written form. They were copied into a number of manuscripts until the final period of the Empire. The result was that, in this manner, a fixed version was established for each text.

Even when these songs had been committed to a manuscript, the custom of reciting them along with a musical accompaniment continued and, at least in the case of Ullikummi, this in turn lead to a second recension of this text.

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[69] On the Hurrian dialects according to the analysis by M. L. Chacikjan, see I. Wegner (2000), 26–27.

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