

The Old Hittite Textual Tradition in the “Haus am Hang”

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In a letter to Kadašman-Enlil, the Hittite king Hattušili III asks him to look in the archives for the letter that he had once sent to the new Babylonian king's father, promising brotherly support: “But my brother was a child in those days, and they did not read out the tablets in your presence. Now are none of those scribes still living? Are the tablets not filed? Let them read those tablets to you now”¹. We don't know if Hattušili was knowledgeable about the organizational methodology of Babylonian archives, but he was certainly aware of administrative and scribal duties and of the importance of being able to locate documents².

It is difficult for us, unfortunately, to unravel this ancient information retrieval system using only our documentation as the basis for understanding, given that the modern definitions of “archive” and “library” are not synonymous with the nature of the tablet collections of Hittite Anatolia³.

In expressing his definitions of living and historical archives at Hattuša, Theo van den Hout was able to explain the works and the traffic of the Hittite administration as a living body spread through the capital city, exchanging texts, dossiers and documents for everyday business⁴. But these living archives of Hattuša also needed a category of well-trained scribes. Under this perspective the use of the term “archive” seems to be inadequate.

In the second millennium the tablet collections of the Hittites may have had multiple uses. These written documents are in many cases the only tangible source we have to reconstruct the Hittite culture and history. In ancient times, for the Hittites as well as everyone else, only the elite of the scribes possessed the technique of writing, much as only the higher officers and rulers had access to the reading of the documents. We can imagine that for the majority of the population, the most practical aspects of their everyday life, economical as well as religious, were based on the oral communication⁵. The few individuals endowed with the skill and art of writing were surely aware of their valuable specialization and of the utility of preserving this science. It seems obvious that beyond the daily practical administrative operations there must have existed not only a motivation of

¹ KBo 1.10+KUB 3.72 obv. 18-20. Translation of the text in G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Second Edition, WAW 7 (Atlanta 1997), 139-140.

² See also the episode of Muršili's search for the cause of the pestilence in Hatti as described in CTH 378.II, the second Plague Prayer (I. Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, WAW 11 (Atlanta 2002), 58).

³ P. Dardano, *Die hethitischen Tontafelkataloge aus Hattuša*, StBoT 47 (Wiesbaden 2006), 16-17.

⁴ S. Th.P.J. van den Hout, “On the Nature of the Tablet Collections of Hattuša”, *SMEA* 47 (2005), 277-289.

⁵ See A. Archi, “Transmission of Recitative Literature by the Hittites”, *AoF* 34 (2007), 185-203, esp. 200-201.

preserving the domain of ancient knowledge, but also a desire to explore foreign cultures and creating new compositions⁶.

The collection of documents kept as *retroacta*, as historical source material of the Hittite monarchy, does not reduce the possibility that they were also intended as an assortment similar to what we call "library": "una raccolta di *libri* reale o pensata, sostenuta da un progetto che la disegna, anticipa, provoca"⁷. Both ancient and newer tablets, pertaining to different "literary genres" whether of indigenous or foreign origin, could have provided the cultural matrix for the creation of new compositions needed for different purposes, and not necessarily practical ones. In this collection, the ancient and epical texts, the texts composed in foreign languages and often translated, as well as different kinds of religious works and historical texts and even legal documents may have been kept as historical memory guides in order to ensure the instruction of the scribes and form their minds within the light of the current ideology⁸.

In determining the function of a text collection in Hattuša, we have therefore to keep in mind that it could have had various aims, just as the roles of the people working on it could have been quite diverse⁹.

⁶ In Hattuša we have examples of Sumero-Akkadian lexical lists and vocabularies (CTH 299-309) used for the scribal schooling. See recently J. Klinger, "Die hethitische Rezeption mesopotamischer Literatur und die Überlieferung des Gilgameš-Epos in Hattuša" in: D. Prechel (Hrsg.), *Motivation und Mechanismen der Kulturkontakte in der Späten Bronzezeit*, Eothen 13 (Firenze 2005), 103-127, esp. 108-113. However, it is plausible that every composition – and especially the texts in multiple copies – were also used for educational purpose. Compare the view of E. Rieken - J. Lorenz, "Überlegungen zur Verwendung mythologischer Texte bei den Hethiter" in a forthcoming Festschrift. Rieken suggests that the non-Anatolian myths may have been used for the training of the pupils and not as real religious material. In the Old Babylonia school the scribes, after learning with the use of lexical lists, were trained to copy many different genres of texts, literary and ritual composition, as well as mathematical texts, letters and legal texts. S. Å. Sjöberg, "The Old Babylonian Eduba", in: S.J. Lieberman (ed.), *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen*, AS 20 (Chicago 1975), 159-179; N. Veldhuis, *Elementary Education at Nippur. The List of Trees and Wooden Objects*, PhD Rijks universiteit (Groningen 1997); M. Civil, "From the Epistolary of Edubba", in: I.L. Finkel – A.R. George, *Wisdom, Gods, and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert* (Winona Lake 2000), 105-118.

⁷ G. Cavallo (ed.), *Le biblioteche nel mondo antico e medievale* (Bari 2004), VII. The comparison is for example with the library of Charlemagne and its *scriptorium*. See R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge 2004), 1-7.

⁸ The main scribes are often also princes and administrators of some regions. Scribal education and bureaucracy are often tied together, for the fact that almost all higher officers had to pass through a scribal training before getting any other office in the administration. For example Anuwanza, supervisor of scribes, Lord of Nerik, and palace attendant (^{LU}SAG), Th.P.J. van den Hout, *Der Ulmi-Tešub*, StBoT 38 (Wiesbaden 1995), 238-242. See also F. Imparati, "Auguri e scribi nella società ittita" in: S.F. Bondi, S. Pernigotti, F. Serra, A. Vivian (ed.), *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, (Pisa 1985), 255-269. Compare this situation with the one of Ur III described in P. Michalowski, "Charisma and Control: On Continuity and Change in the Early Mesopotamian Bureaucratic System" in: M. Gibson – R.D. Biggs (eds.), *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East* Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 46 (Chicago 1991), 55-68 (esp. 62-64).

⁹ See the view of H.G. Güterbock, "A view of Hittite Literature" in: H.A. Hoffner Jr. (ed.), *Perspective on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writing of Hans Gustav Güterbock*, AS 26 (Chicago 1997), 7-14.

In this perspective, knowledge of the storage places seems to be very important in reconstructing the traffic of scribes and of tablets among the buildings of the capital city. The divergences between the texts and the possible modality of their composition could help to understand the way the scribes worked, and in general the function of the building: why, for example, the same composition could have been stored in different archives of Büyükkale, of the Temple I and of the *Haus am Hang*; in which of the buildings the oldest or the newer documents were kept; was there any connection between the archives; or was one of the building in Hattuša a scribal school.

The limitation of this kind of analysis is caused by the fact that we don't know the find spots of several hundreds of clay tablets found during Winckler's excavation. Even the actual number of these tablets is unknown. E. Forrer speaks of about ten-thousand fragments¹⁰. In the *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte* of S. Košak we have 10,847 entries for the Bo-Texts. We also know that 2,500 fragments were found in 1906 in the building E of Büyükkale. It means that more than 8,000 fragments came from the lower city (Temple 1 and *Haus am Hang*). The same E. Forrer noticed that many of the clay tablets of these former excavations were broken into many pieces. He considered that every tablet could have broken up to twenty pieces or more¹¹.

The function of the *Haus am Hang* in particular could be determined by a textual comparison of fragments coming from this archaeological area with the percentages of similar, parallel or duplicate texts coming from other buildings of Hattuša (the Temple 1 and the archives of Büyükkale). This would involve both a structural and a content analysis of the fragments.

If I had to find today a definition for the *Haus am Hang*, I would refer to the collections of mediaeval manuscripts and call it a *scriptorium*¹². Thus the work on the texts served a comprehensive function: the everyday administration of the cult, the renewal of compositions concerning the cultic administration, the preservation and the creation of documents important for the contemporary ideology (later moved to Temple 1), the training of new scribes in the art of copying texts, and concurrently teaching them the culture¹³.

¹⁰ E. Forrer, "Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatti-Reiches", *ZMDG* 76 (1922), pp. 174-269, esp. 176. See also Güterbock in: *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization*, 7.

¹¹ Forrer, *ZMDG* 76, p. 176. Compare S. Košak, "The Palace Library 'Building A' on Büyükkale" in: *Fs. Houwink ten Cate* 1995, 173-179, recently followed by Th.P.J. van den Hout, "A Classified Past: Classification of Knowledge in the Hittite Empire" in: R. Biggs, J. Myers, M. Roth, *Proceedings of the 51st Rencontre Internationale held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago 2008), 211-219, at p. 213 with n. 13. Compare the numbers given by V. Haas, "Review to Paola Dardano, *StBoT* 46", *OLZ* 101 (2006), 436 with n. 1. He suggests that almost 500 tablets were stored in the HaH and 800 in the Temple 1. I agree on a similar or just a bit smaller number.

¹² Compare the definition of Güterbock in: Hoffner, *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization*, 7 with n. 3.

¹³ I have previously expressed the idea that the *Haus am Hang* was a school. See Torri, *ICH* 6, 780. In particular see my analysis about the title GÁB.ZU.ZU and the text typologies copied by the scribes bearing this title.

Although it is clear that the *Haus am Hang* was in use during the reign of Šuppiluliuma II¹⁴, it is more difficult to establish the possible beginning of its use¹⁵. Unfortunately, the dating of a few texts to older periods as well as the discovery of older artifacts¹⁶ cannot be used as decisive proof, because they might have been relocated to the *Haus am Hang* from other buildings of the capital city. Or they could have even been a part of the former archaeological level. The main point is, however, that the number of old Hittite texts found in the whole capital city is small in comparison with the later manuscripts¹⁷. Was there a rule for their location in the different buildings? Did the administration use any criteria in selecting which original copies of older texts had to be preserved? A closer look to those fragments in the *Haus am Hang*, and their comparison with the so-called “Old Hittite historical texts”, very often preserved only in copies of the imperial period, may shed light on some of these questions.

As Th. van den Hout has already remarked, the number of old Hittite compositions in original ancient ductus in the *Haus am Hang* is very modest¹⁸. The fragments are just ten: KBo 13.254 (CTH 832); KBo 13.175 (CTH 654); KBo 25.100 (CTH 832); KBo 25.112+ (CTH 733); KBo 25.122, KBo 25.123 (CTH 731); KBo 25.130 (CTH 744); KBo 25.131 (CTH 736); KBo 25.132+ (CTH 733); 86/u (CTH 745)¹⁹.

The ones whose dating is doubtful are even less in number, just five: KBo 13.52 (CTH 2); KBo 25.124 (CTH 745); KBo 25.134 (CTH 733); KBo 37.2 (CTH 735); KBo 37.114 (CTH 734).

Of course, none of these fragments could be dated on historical ground, therefore we cannot determine if their composition goes back to a period older than the kingdom of Telepinu²⁰. These texts, however, are surely more ancient than the other hundreds of

¹⁴ Torri in *ICH* 6, 780.

¹⁵ There is the hypothesis that the *Haus am Hang* was erected over the already existing building after the phase of Muwatalli when the capital city with all its administrative and scribal activities was brought back to Hattuša. Th. Beran et al. “Summary of Archaeological Research in Turkey in Summer 1960”, *AnSt* 11 (1961), 15-27, esp. 15-16.

¹⁶ See for example the fragment of a vase that bears the name of the Hyksos king Khyan (15th Dynasty). K. Bittel, *Hattusha. The Capital of the Hittites* (New York 1970), 115-119, writes that this piece does not come from a good context because it was found in mixed debris. W. Schirmer, *Die Bebauung am unteren Büyükkale-Nordwesthang in Boğazköy -Ergebnisse der Untersuchungen der Grabungskampagnen 1960-1963*, Boğazköy-Hattuša 6 (Berlin 1969) 56 says that this piece was found in the old Hittite level 7. See also S. Alaura, “Überlegungen zur Bedeutung der Fundumstände einer fragmentarischen Stierfigur aus den Winckler’schen Grabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša” in: Th. Richter, D. Prechel, J. Klinger, *Kulturgeschichte. Altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag* (Saarbrücken 2001), 1-17, esp. 1-5.

¹⁷ J. Klinger, “Der Beitrag der Textfunde zur Archäologiegeschichte der hethitischen Hauptstadt”, *Byzas* 4 (2006), 5-17.

¹⁸ For the dating of the texts s. now van den Hout in: *Proceedings of the 51st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, 211-219.

¹⁹ The text KBo 35.1 (CTH 774) is considered MH in D. Groddek – A. Kloekhorst, *Hethitische Texte in Transkription*. KBo 35, DBH 19 (Wiesbaden 2006) 1.

²⁰ I am keeping in mind the observations concerning the ancient script and the possibility of dating the religious texts expressed by Th. van den Hout, “Reflections on the Origins and Development of the Hittite Tablet Collections in Hattuša and Their Consequences for the Rise of Hittite Literacy” in the present book, and M. Popko, “Althethitisch? Zu der Datierungsfrage in der Hethitologie” in: *Fs.*

fragments coming from the *Haus am Hang*, and they will be taken into consideration under this perspective.

Despite their small percentage it is striking that majority of the texts pertain to the Hattian cultural and linguistic layer.

In particular we have bilingual texts preserving invocation for the health of the royal couple. Here are some examples:

KBo 25.122 is included in CTH 731²¹. The text is a bilingual benediction for the king and his descendants. Just few signs of the Hattian text are preserved, but it is clear that they run parallel to the NH Hittite fragment KBo 37.50²². The god Katteshapi²³, perhaps a form of the Storm-god²⁴, is invoked:

obv. II

x+2 MU^{HI.A}-uš ú-tir nu-u[š la-b]a-ar-n[a-aš LUGAL-uš da-a-aš]

3' nu la-ba-ar-na-aš LUGAL-uš pa-at-ta-ni[-it (?)]²⁵

4' ZÍZ-it-ta wa-al-ḫu-un ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an-da ZÍZ-it (?)

5' wa-at-ku-ut-ta nu la-b[a-a]r-na¹-aš-ša LUGAL-w[a-aš

6' ḫa-aš-še-eš ḫa-an-za-a[-aš-še-e]š 'QA-TAM-MA' wa-at[-ku-an-du]

7' la-ba-ar-na LUGAL[]x pa-at-ta[ni-it (?)]

8' ke-e-ma MU^{HI.A}[GÍD.D]A a-ša-an[-du]

9' 'd¹Ka-at-te-eš-ḫa-wi_i LUGAL-u-i^{URU} ḫa-at[-ti

10' 'kat-¹ta a-aš-šu-u ú-tir na-at kat-ta KI.L[AM-na

“They brought the years and Labarna, [the king, took them]. The Labarna, the king with/in the basket [keeps the wheat], I threshed the wheat. Like [the wheat] was separated/split [from the chaff], the descendants [of] Labarna the king shall [split] in the same way. Labarna, king x x[...with the (?) bas]ket [shall keep the years (?)]. These shall be [long] years! / Katteshapi, the king of Hatti [.....]. They brought the good things, [they brought] them down to the gate”²⁶.

Koschak, 576-581. See also J.L. Miller, *Studies in the Origins, Development and Interpretation of the Kizzuwatna Rituals*, StBoT 46 (Wiesbaden 2001), 463 with n. 773.

²¹ For this indirect join s. Košak, *Konkordanz*. The texts have a very similar script and also KBo 25.123 is a ritual fragment.

²² Also this fragment comes from the *Haus am Hang*. O. Soysal, “Ist das hattische Wort für ‘Kuh’ gefunden?”, *AoF* 28 (2001), 282-288, esp. 284-285.

²³ This god is perhaps mentioned in the fragment KBo 37.50, following F. Pecchioli, “Riflessioni su alcuni testi appartenenti al corpus hattico” *Studi e testi* II, Eothen 10 (Firenze 1999), 149-165, esp. 161-165.

²⁴ Klinger, *Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion des hattischen Kultschicht*, StBoT 37 (Wiesbaden 1996), 585.

²⁵ See CHD P, 241 b.

²⁶ The interpretation of these lines is partly based on N. Oettinger, *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums* (Nürnberg 1979), 236-237. He suggests that behind the ideographic form ZÍZ is probably the Hattian word *kait*, and that it has to be interpreted as an Acc. sing. n. I follow this interpretation because of the simile of the wheat threshed (in this case *walh-*) to set the chaff apart.

In the third column of the reverse follows an invocation to Kattēškapi and a plea to him to avoid feeling envious of the country and its inhabitants.

In the *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte*, the fragment **KBo 25.123 (CTH 731)** is considered an indirect join with KBo 25.122. Even though the script of the two fragments and the physical features of the tablets are similar²⁷, the very few difficult lines of KBo 25.123 contain what is probably a mythical narration that is apparently not connected with the content of KBo 25.122. Of course this mythical passage, as *historiola*, could have been part of a (bilingual) conjuration to some deity for the health of the king:

- 4' [x ú-i-it-wa-ra-aš ta-an 1 SIG₇ [
 5' -]Aḫ-tu i-it-wa-aš-ša-an ta-an-ku-^rwa-aš-ta¹ [(-)
 6' [x pa-al-ku-uš-ta GU₄^{Hl.A}-ša-ta
 7' -]aḫ-ḫi pa-it-tu-wa ^dUTU-wa-aš pé-^re¹-ra-a[n
 8' [x ḫa-an-ti-iz-zi-ya-an-te-et ḫa-ap-pa-ru

“He came, and the ten thousand [.....] him (*acc.*) [.....]. He shall go! He became dark [.....]. He defamed²⁸. For you the cattle [.....]. I will [.....]. He shall go to [.....] before the Sun god. Your first [.....] shall work out²⁹ [....]”.

Another composition present in the *Haus am Hang* with manuscripts in ancient handwriting is **CTH 733**, labeled by Laroche “*Invocations à des divinités hatties: langue des dieux, langue des hommes*”. This group consists of several fragments containing invocations for the Hattic deities of the pantheon of Zalpa in northern Anatolia. It is composed of Hattian or Hittite prayers to the gods and benedictions for the royal family inserted in a frame in Hittite language. The manuscripts come mainly from the Temple 1 and the *Haus am Hang*³⁰. Just one, KBo 25.117, in ancient ductus, is located in building A of Büyükkale. The work is handed down in two versions: a first one in which the main performer is the GUDU₁₂-priest and a second one performed instead by the singer

For rev. III see C. Girbal, “Das hattische Wort für ‘Kuh’”, *AoF* 27 (2000), 373-379 (esp. 374-375). About the term *kait* “wheat” O. Soysal, *Hattischer Wortschatz in hethitischer Textüberlieferung*, HdO I/74 (Leiden – Boston 2004), 254.

²⁷ Both fragments are red-brown, they have a similar clay and both present on the surface an alternation between single and double paragraph lines. See E. Neu, *Althethitische Ritualtexte im Umschrift*, StBoT 25 (Wiesbaden 1980), 205 under n. 123.

²⁸ E. Neu, *Glossar zu den althethitischen Ritualtexten*, StBoT 26 (Wiesbaden 1983), 134; CHD P, p. 68b.

²⁹ HW² H, s. 196a-b. HED, pp. 112-113. See also E. Neu, *Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen*, StBoT 5 (Wiesbaden 1968), pp. 44-46 with footnote 6; A. Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexikon* (Leiden – Boston 2008), 30-31.

³⁰ Košak, *Konkordanz*, CTH 733.

(^{LÜ}NAR³¹). The Hattian formulas and their Hittite translations are normally preserved on different tablets³².

These are the fragments from the *Haus am Hang*:

- a) KBo 25.112 (+) 116 (+) 114 (OH): performed by the GUDU₁₂ in Hittite language;
 b) KBo 25.121 (+) KBo 25.132 (OH): performed by the NAR in Hattian language³³;
 c) KBo 37.20 (NH): performed by the NAR in Hittite language;
 d) KBo 25.134 (OH³): fragment in Hattian language.

The old Hittite version in Hittite language **KBo 25.112 (+)**³⁴ has a parallel in an old Hittite tablet with the invocations in Hattian language, KUB 28.75, coming from an unknown find spot (KBo 25.112+ II 1' ff // KUB 28.75 II 11 ff.; KBo 25 112+ Rs. III 1' ff. // KUB 28.75 III 1 ff.)³⁵. Apart from the problematic interpretation of the Hattian version and its relationship with the Hittite “translation”³⁶, there are only a few differences between the manuscripts in the Hittite part. Here are some examples:

- a)
 KBo 25.112+ obv. II
 4' [LU]GAL-uš ḫu-šu-wa-a-n-za e-eš-tu MUNUS.LU[GAL-aš KI.MIN
 DUMU^{MEŠ}-ŠU KI.III]
 5' ERÍN^{MEŠ}-ŠU KI.IV KUR-ZU....

- KUB 28.75 obv. II
 14 ka-a-at-te te-ku-un-ku-uḫ-ḫu-u-a MUNUS.LUGAL KI.MIN DUMU^{MEŠ}-ŠU
 KI.III
 15 'DUMU.DUMU^{ME}[-Š]U 'KI.'IV [ER]ÍN^{MEŠ}-ŠU KI.V KUR-ZU...

- b)
 KBo 25.112+ obv. II
 10' ma-a-an DUMU-aš KASKAL-ši MA-ḪAR A.ŠÀ A.GÀR GE[ŠTIN-]an
 [ši-p]a-an-ti
 11' ^{LÜ}GUDU₁₂-ša me-ma-i...

KUB 28.75 Ob. II

³¹ See E. Laroche, “Hattic Deities and Their Epithets”, *JCS* 1 (1947), pp. 187-216; M. Forlanini, “Die ‘Götter von Zalpa’. Hethitische Götter und Städte am Schwarzen Meer”, *ZA* 74 (1984), 245-266.

³² Forlanini, *ZA* 74, 246-250.

³³ Forlanini, *ZA* 74, 247 with footnote 7.

³⁴ One of the fragments part of KBo 25.112, 205/s was found in the room XIV of the so-called *Altbau* (see W. Schirmer, *Boğazköy-Hattuša* 6, 23-24. The other fragments composing this join, 451/t+419/t (KBo 25.112), KBo 25.116, and KBo 25.114 come from the excavation dump in L/18 – c/5.

³⁵ S. Neu, *StBoT* 25, 113.

³⁶ This part is extensively discussed in the unpublished dissertation of Carlo Corti (Florence 2005) and will not be touched upon here.

20 *m[a-a-an] DUMU-aš 'I-NA' MA-ḪAR A.ŠÀ A.GÀR GEŠTIN ši-pa-an-ti*
^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂-ša 'QA-TAM-MA' 'me-ma-i'

c)

KBo 25.112+ obv. II

14' LUGAL-uš-za šu-up-pí-a-ah-ḫa-ti A-NA [ḫal-]pu-u-ti ma-a-an-ḫa-an-d[a]

15' ma-a-al-di ke-e-a QA-TAM-MA

KUB 28.75 obv. II

24 'A-NA' ^{GIŠ}ḫal-pu-u-ti ma-a-an-ḫa-an-da 'ma-a'-[al-di...

In this last case, while the Hattian version preserves only the part “As he chants before the *h*.”³⁷ introducing the incantation, the Hittite version preserves (or adds) a sentence with reference to the king: “The king purifies himself. As he chants before the *ḫalputi*, (he chants) these (words) in the same way”. Following G. del Monte, the expression LUGAL=uš=za *šuppiyahḫati* has a parallel in the NH Hattian versions of CTH 733 ka-a-at-te e-eš-tu-pí-en-tu u-uḫ-kán-ti-i-u (KUB 28.77 I 6) coming from T1³⁸.

This later manuscript also runs parallel to both the old Hittite and Hattian texts³⁹. This means that still in the imperial period, when the daily use of the Hattian was probably lost, the Hittite scribes tried to preserve its memory copying and translating the documents written in this language⁴⁰. Therefore we can draw two possible scenarios: the first being that both Hittite (KBo 25.112+) and Hattian (KUB 28.75) old versions had been brought to the *Haus am Hang* to prepare a new copy, even if a version in late Hittite ductus (KBo 8.133+) was already kept in the storerooms of the Temple 1. The second possibility is that the old version in Hittite language (KBo 25.112+) was kept in the *Haus am Hang* as a model for educating the scribes, while the other versions, an old and a new one, (KUB 28.75 and KBo 8.133 (+)) in Hattian and in Hittite language were stored in the rooms of Temple 1 as librarian stock. This would explain why only one ancient exemplar was kept in the *Haus am Hang*.

³⁷ See O. Soysal, “Philological Contribution to Hattian Religion” *JANER* 8 (2008), 45-66, esp. 58-65.

³⁸ G.F. del Monte, “Note hattiche”, *OA* 23 (1984), 167-176, at p. 173.; M. Forlanini, “Toponymie antique d'origine hattie?”, *Hethitica* 8 (1987), 10-121; Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 220; O. Soysal, *Hattischer Wortschatz*, 847-848. KUB 28.77 forms a join with KBo 8.133++ and is part of the GUDU₁₂ version (Kořak, *Konkordanz*, s.v.).

³⁹ KBo 8.133+ KBo 25.118 + KBo 25.120 + KUB 28.76 + KUB 28.77 + KUB 48.12 + 966/v + Bo 69/358, II. II 1-7 // II 18-24.

⁴⁰ See H.S. Schuster, *Die hattisch-hethitischen Bilinguen I. Einleitung, Texte und Kommentar. Teil I*, DMOA 17 (Leiden 1974), 45-53 and Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 615-616 with footnote 2-4. P. Goedegebuure states that the Hattian language may have still existed as spoken language for a longer period than suggested until now. See P. M. Goedegebuure, “Central Anatolian Languages and Language Communities in the Colony Period: A Luwian-Hattian Symbiosis and the Independent Hittites” in: J.G. Dercksen, *Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian period*, PIHANSt 111 (Leiden 2008), 137-180.

The Hattian exemplar of the NAR-version (written in old script) KBo 25.121 (+) KBo 25.132 also comes from the *Haus am Hang*. According to O. Soysal it has a parallel in Bo 69/461, a fragment in ancient script found in the Temple 1⁴¹. The other fragments in ancient script whose find spots are known are KBo 25.117 and KBo 25.119. The first one comes from the building A of the citadel. The second one was located in the area of the store room 10 of T 1. All of them are in Hittite language.

KBo 25.121(+) contains Hattian formulas introduced by the Hittite verb *mald*-⁴²: I (10'): [ma-a-an DUMU-aš A-N]A 'a-ru-ni' ḫu-e-ek-zi ^{LÚ}NAR-ša ma-a-al-'di': “[When the son] conjures for the sea, the singer recites”.

In the other fragments of the same version the words of the singer are preceded and introduced by the verb *mema*-. The late Hittite fragment, KBo 37.20, from the *Haus am Hang*, with conjurations in Hittite language, preserves this form (obv. 4', 7', 11'; rev. 7', 10', 13').

The use of *mald*- is not restricted to this fragment of the “NAR-version”, but appears also in the version of the priest GUDU₁₂, at least in one text: KBo 8.133 (+). It is probably not a coincidence that the incantations of this version, from the Temple 1 and written in later ductus, also are in Hattian language and that therefore the verb introducing them is *mald*- instead of *memai*-⁴³.

Another bilingual composition, CTH 736, is represented in the *Haus am Hang* by the OH text KBo 25.131⁴⁴. It is part of the invocations of the *zintuḫi*-women in the temple of the Sungod⁴⁵. These fragments also preserve benedictions for the royal family in Hattian language. The only other old-Hittite fragment KBo 17.22 was found in the building D of Büyükkale. In this area it is the only Hattian bilingual fragment among about ten pieces in ancient script⁴⁶.

The text from the *Haus am Hang* has only the Hattian lines but it is quite possible that it was part of a bilingual composition with the ritual description in Hittite language, like the other ancient exemplar, KBo 17.22, and like the later version KUB 28.8 (+) KBo 37.48 also stored in the *Haus am Hang*⁴⁷. In the obverse, the small old fragment KBo 25.131 runs parallel to KUB 28.7 I 1-3⁴⁸, while in the reverse the lines 1-7 are parallel to the lines 19-

⁴¹ I would like to thank Oguz Soysal for further suggestions about these fragments.

⁴² Neu, *StBoT* 25, 202-203, in I 10' the reading *BE-LI* has to be emended in NAR (Forlanini, *ZA* 74, 247 with n. 7). For the analysis of the fragment see del Monte, *OA* 23, 173.

⁴³ See for ex. KBo 25.120 obv. 10, KBo 25.121 I 9, KUB 28.77 I 3 and KUB 48.12 r. Col. 13'. CHD M, 133. In the attempt to distinguish the semantic fields of the verbs *mald*- and *memai*- it would be interesting to look for their occurrences in connection with Hattian language or with formulas that could be an adaptation or translation from this language.

⁴⁴ Neu, *StBoT* 25, 1980, 215f. (Nr. 131).

⁴⁵ Klinger, *StBoT* 37, 141.

⁴⁶ All the other fragments are part of festival except KUB 36.99 (CTH 2) and KBo 25.2+ (CTH 545). See Kořak, *Konkordanz*, s.v.

⁴⁷ The Hittite versions are free translations of the Hattian formulae. See J. Klinger, “‘So weit und breit wie das Meer...’ – Das Meer in Texten hattischer Provenienz” in: Y.L. Arbeitman, *The Asia Minor Connexion. Studies on the Pre-Greek Languages in Memory of Charles Carter Gs. Carter*, (Leuven – Paris 2000) 151-172.

⁴⁸ Interestingly the text KUB 28.7 preserves in the colophon the name of the scribe Attanali. As Jared Miller pointed out to me his particular handwriting is clearly recognizable in a number of

24 of the obverse of KBo 37.49 (HaH). The OH fragment, KBo 17.22, in his obverse III, preserves the Hittite translation of KBo 25.131.

A more difficult task is to determine the nature of the small fragments 86/u, surely in Hattian language but very broken, and KBo 25.130. For this last one O. Soysal denies a possible Hattian origin⁴⁹.

There are a few other fragments whose dating to the old Hittite period is doubtful⁵⁰.

For the present analysis it is remarkable that a large majority of the ancient texts are bilingual Hattian-Hittite compositions⁵¹. Many of these bilinguals are incantations whose phraseology and content were often used for the creation of similar Hittite compositions dedicated the health and the well-being of the king and his family⁵². I would put this element in comparison with a similar phenomenon observed by O. Soysal about the tablet collection of Šarišša (Ortaköy). He remarks that among the forty-three mainly bilingual fragments found there, the majority belong to the genre of foundation rituals. The other Hattian typologies known from Böğazköy are not represented in this peripheral archive. This may depend on the practical circumstances of building new palaces and temples when the court moved to Šapinuwa⁵³. In the same way the presence of bilingual (ancient) texts in the HaH may have had a practical reason connected with the activities carried out by the scribes working there⁵⁴.

Of different nature are just a few other older texts.

The fragment **KBo 13.175** is part of a collection of festival fragments mentioning the people of Kuruštama (CTH 654)⁵⁵. They cannot be apparently ascribed to any precise state celebration. The fragment from HaH has two duplicates from Temple 1, 1148/u (NH) and Bo 69/694 (NH).

Another interesting fragment is **KBo 13.254**, an administrative piece in older ductus⁵⁶:

x+2]x 'PA-RI-SI' ŠE [

fragments from the *Haus am Hang* pertaining to the ritual CTH 495. His name is preserved in the tablet KUB 43.69++. It is possible that also the tablet KUB 28.7 was composed by him in this building.

⁴⁹ O. Soysal, "Einige vermisste, übersehene oder verkannte hattische Fragmente" in: S. de Martino – F. Pecchioli Daddi (ed.), *Anatolia antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, Eothen 11 (Firenze 2002), 753-781, esp. 781.

⁵⁰ KBo 25.124 (CTH 745); KBo 25.134 (CTH 733?); KBo 37.32 (CTH 735); KBo 37.114 (CTH 734).

⁵¹ See the remarks of H.S. Schuster, *HHB*, 12-13.

⁵² A. Archi, "Auguri per il Labarna" in: O. Carruba (ed.), *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi Dicata*, StMed 1 (Pavia 1979), 27-50.

⁵³ O. Soysal, "The Hattian-Hittite Foundation Rituals from Ortaköy (I). Fragments to CTH 725 'Rituel bilingue de consécration d'un temple'" *Anatolica* 33 (2007), 1-22, esp. 2-3.

⁵⁴ S. for example the observation of Th. van den Hout concerning the composition of prayers in the HaH. Th van den Hout, "The Prayers in the *Haus am Hang*" in: *Fs. Košak*, 401-409.

⁵⁵ See Neu, *StBoT* 25, 111-112.

⁵⁶ Th. van den Hout, "Masse und Gewichte. Bei den Hethitern", *RIA* 7 (1990), 517-530, esp. 522 suggests that the text could be dated to the middle Hittite period. Even though the fragment is very small, a collation on the photo shows that it has old Hittite features (see SAR [l. 5', 6'], and DA [l. 8']).

3' -]a-an 4 IKU 3 GÍN.GÍN x[
4']x 94 PA-RI-SI[
5' ^{m(?)}]Hu-i-tu-la-a DUB.SAR.GI[Š
6']^mMa-la-aš-i-na-ri DUB.SAR.GI[Š
7']GÍN.GÍN ša-a-an 3 IKU 2 GÍN.G[IN
8'] I ŠU-Š[
9']'2' (?) zi-pád-da-^ran-ni⁵⁷ r'1.N[UN (?)

10']x x[

This document is an inventory related to the extension and the productivity of some fields⁵⁸. Here two scribes on wood (DUB.SAR.GIŠ), Huitula (l. 5') and Malaš-Inar (l. 9') are mentioned in a broken context⁵⁹. According to the ductus, it is one of the oldest testimonies of this profession at Hattuša⁶⁰. The oldest datable documents with a base of historical evidence in which a DUB.SAR.GIŠ is attested are two land donations: Bo 90/722 was probably composed in the time of Telepinu, in which the king appoints a man whose name was Inar to DUB.SAR.GIŠ of the Palace of Hattuša in Šarišša⁶¹; KBo 5.7 (CTH 223), the Donation of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal to Kuwatalla (14th century). Here a scribe on wood, Šuppiluliuma, is mentioned as a land owner (obv. 7, 8 and rev. 19).

Besides these texts, there exists a group of pieces whose content is tied with the historical and epic beginnings of the Hittite kingdom. The majority of these texts were copied and renewed on the basis of ancient manuscripts, during the imperial period:

CTH 2, Fragment Naming Anumherwa and Zalpa: KBo 12.3 NH,
CTH 3, Fragments about Zalpa and the North Anatolia: KBo 12.18 NH, KBo 12.19 OH, KBo 12.63 NH, KBo 49.38+ KBo 12.17 (?),
CTH 8, Palace Chronicles: KBo 12.11 NH; KBo 12.10+ NH,
CTH 12, Anatolian Deeds of Mursili I: KBo 13.52 OH?,
CTH 14, Fragments About Syrian Wars: KBo 12.14 NH; KBo 12.13+ NH,
CTH 16, Hurrian Wars: KBo 12.22 NH; KBo 13.78 NH,
CTH 19, Telepinu Proclamation: KBo 12.6 NH; KBo 12.7+ NH,

⁵⁷ The capacity unity of this measure is not clear. The word is attested in other old Hittite texts, for example KBo 22.1 rev. 11. Carlo Corti suggests that the term *zipattanni* could be connected with the north Anatolian city Zipatta (Del Monte – Tischler, *RGTC* 1978, 510).

⁵⁸ Th.P.J. Van den Hout, "Administration in the Reign of Tuthaliya IV and the Later Years of the Hittite Empire" in: Th.P.J. van den Hout (ed.), *The Life and Times of Hattušili III and Tuthaliya IV – Proceedings of a Symposium held in Honour of J. De Roos, 12-13 December 2003, Leiden* (Leiden 2006), 77-106.

⁵⁹ A similar nominal formation is attested in LSU 11 and 17 (*StBoT* Bh. 4): *Haššuwaš-inar*. See G. Wilhelm, "Zur Datierung der älteren Landschenkungsurkunden", *AoF* 32 (2005), 272-279, p. 275.

⁶⁰ F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'Anatolia ittita* (Roma 1982), 166-168.

⁶¹ LSU 90/722 (*StBoT* Bh. 4, nr. 3) quoted by G. Wilhelm in a speech at the University of Pavia 19.05.2006. Wilhelm, *AoF* 32, 275, remarks that several LSU, namely nrs. 3-5, 7-8 mention this institution.

CTH 20, Telepinu’s Campaign Against Lahḫa: KBo 12.8 NH; KBo 12.9 LNH.

Several fragments of these groups come from T1 and from the *Haus am Hang*, and a very small number from buildings A, D and E of the citadel. Unfortunately, the find spots of a good number of texts remain unknown⁶². All these compositions refer to events far in the past. Many of these texts should probably be considered the legends that recall real historical events.

Among these, the only fragments that could be dated to a more ancient time are KBo 12.19 and KBo 13.52.

The text **KBo 12.19**⁶³, until now catalogued under CTH 832, could be included in CTH 3 among the epic-historical fragments mentioning the city of Zalpa:

obv. I
x+1 [t]a-^raš^r ^{URU}Li-ih-zi-i-na-az^r ú-^re[-er (?)
2' ^{URU}Li-ih-zi-^ri-na-az ú-wa-te-et [
3' I-NA KUR ^{URU}Za-al-pu-u-wa ^{URU}Ha-aš-ḫa[-ša-at-ta
4' GAL ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SANGA-ŠU ^{URU}In-tu-uh-ḫ[u-
5' nu ^{URU}Ha-aš-ḫa-a-ta-at-ta-aš^Dx[
6' iš-ku-ne-eš-kán-z[i
7' K[IN (?)]^rURU^r [

“[...] They (?) c[ame] from Liḫzina [...]. He brought [...] from Liḫzina [...]. In the country of Zalpuwa the city Hašḫ[ašatta]. The chief of its priests the city Intuhḫu[-]. The god [...] of Hašḫatatta [...] they designate⁶⁴ [...].Ob[ligation (?)] of the city [...]”.

As Forlanini has already noted, this text presents a similar geographical environment as the text CTH 733⁶⁵ and therefore could be an important element of connection between compositions pertaining to different literary genres in the same building.

KBo 13.52 (CTH 12) is a historical text. It is preserved on a tablet divided into two columns on each side. Its third column on the reverse runs parallel to KUB 31.64 (+), even though the poor state of preservation makes a comparison between the two texts difficult⁶⁶.

⁶² See Košak, *Konkordanz*, s.v.
⁶³ Neu, *StBoT* 25, 231 (Nr. 246).
⁶⁴ Tischler, *HEG* (a-k) 404; Puhvel, *HED* (A-I), 426-427; Oettinger, *Stammbildung*, 156-157.
⁶⁵ Forlanini, *ZA* 74, 254-255. See also Gary B. Holland – Marina Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, *StMed* 19 (Pavia 2007), 68.
⁶⁶ S. de Martino, “Die Unternehmungen des Muršili I. im südöstlichen Anatolien nach KUB XXXI 64+ (CTH 12)” *AoF* 22 (1995), pp. 282-296; id., *Annali e Res Gestae antico ittiti*, *StMed* 12 (Pavia 2003), pp. 155-181; O. Soysal, “Beiträge zur althethitischen Geschichte (II). Zur Textwiederherstellung und Datierung von KUB XXXI 64+ (CTH 12)”, *AoF* 25 (1998), 5-33. S. de Martino, *Annali e res gestae antico ittiti*, *StudMed* 12 (Pavia 2003), 157 proposes to change the obverse and the reverse on the Otten’s autography. This hypothesis does not seem acceptable. Since the lines of the left column (following the autography) of the obverse enter in the right one, the scribe must have necessarily written first the left and then the right one as it is presented in the autography.

Among the fragments written in a later script, a particularly good case study is the Palace Chronicle (CTH 8). It is difficult to say if the scribe was preparing the versions found in the HaH from an old Hittite original or from a later one.

The only old Hittite manuscript is D, KUB 36.104, found in the building E of Büyükkale.

The manuscripts found in the area of the *Haus am Hang* are:

KBo 12.10 (+) KBo 13.44 + KBo 13.44a
KBo 13.45 + KBo 3.36 (+)⁶⁷ KBo 12.11

KBo 12.10 + can be compared with the old Hittite KUB 36.104, and with KBo 3.34⁶⁷
The first one and the third one are written on a tablet divided into two columns on each side, while KUB 36.104, is written on both sides of the tablet, but without columns.

The best preserved paragraph for a comparison is the one concerning Nunnu, the man of Hurma, who had the duty to administer the region of Arzawa and kept for him the gold and the silver of the region.

| KBo 12.10 (+) obv. I NH HaH | KUB 36.104 obv. OH BkE | KBo 3.34 obv. I NH find spot unk. |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 11 LÚ ^{URU} Hu-u[r-ma | 9 LÚ ^{URU} Hu-ur[-ma] | 11 LÚ ^{URU} Hu-u-ur-ma |
| 12 ú-e-mi-ya-z[i | 10 ú-e-mi-iz-z[i | 12 ú-e-mi-iz-zi |
| 13 i-ši-ya-aḫ-ḫi[-iš | 11 i-ši-aḫ-ḫi-iš | 13 i-ši-aḫ-ḫi-iš |
| 14 ^m Šar-ma-aš-šu[-un | 12 ^m Šar-ma-a-aš[-šu-un | 14 ^m Šar-ma-aš-šu-un |
| 17 ^{LÚ} ga-i-na[-aš- | 15 ^{LÚ} ga-i-na-aš-ša-an | 17 ^{LÚ} ka-i-na-aš-ša-an |

Evidently there is a strong relationship between the old Hittite version KUB 36.104 and KBo 3.34. The ductus of this fragment seems younger than the one of the HaH fragments. In this case, however, the scribe was in general very faithful in following the old Hittite original. The relation with KUB 36.4 is so close that we could suspect that a common manuscript was used for both copies or that the later one was composed using the older one. Unfortunately the find spot of KBo 3.34 is unknown⁶⁸.

⁶⁷ These fragments from the *Haus am Hang* have not been used in the comparative analysis of Paola Dardano for the dating of the manuscripts (see P. Dardano, *L'aneddoto e il racconto in età antichittita: la cosiddetta "Cronaca di Palazzo"*, (Roma 1997), 16-19). For this reason some elements will be presented here.
⁶⁸ For statistical reasons I would suggest for this the Temple 1, since many of the compositions connected to this legendary tradition have at least one copy from this building. But of course, at the moment, this cannot be proved.

Both texts have a similar repartition of the paragraphs on each side. The paragraph dividers not only follow the content of the composition but they do have a similar shape. The dividers before this story about Nunnu are drawn in both cases as double lines. Instead, single line dividers are at the end of the Nunnu story on both tablets. The only particular element in their comparison is this: in the late Hittite tablet the scribe didn't finish drawing the lower line. This could mean that he was writing the text under dictation and he was working in haste. For what concerns the copy from the *Haus am Hang*, we have a single divider before the beginning of the story and after its conclusion.

The tablet KBo 12.10+ was not simply copied by the scribe of the imperial period who used of course what can be called "a late Hittite handwriting". He also made some innovations following the linguistic trend of his period.

Another version is **KBo 13.45** that can be now joined to the fragment **KBo 3.36**⁶⁹. The texts are probably in direct join, since the line 13' of KBo 13.45 could be joined to KBo 3.36, 1. Unfortunately we don't have a duplicate version of these lines to confirm the reconstruction. The most significant signs KI, LI, HA, IS, AN, KU, DA are clearly written with the same script. For this reason they will be considered as a single version. Only the obverse of the text is preserved.

The text presents mistakes, imprecision and deletions⁷⁰:

| KBo 13.45+ | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Vs. 6' | UD for NA | ^m Na'-ki-li-az |
| Vs. 19' (= C 7') | KÁ.GUR for KAŠ ₄ .E | ^{LÜ} KAŠ ₄ .E' |
| Vs. 22' (= C 10') | 2 for A | a'-pa-aš-ša |

Omission of the sign AK: KBo 13.34+ obv. 6' (^mNa'-ki-li-az; B I 15: Na-ak-ki-l[i-az]); KBo 13.34+ obv. 35' (ka-ka-pu-uš; on the same l.: ka-ak-ka-pu-uš, A II 13: ka-aq-qa-pi-iš).

Deletions: obv. 25' (= C 13'), 34' (= C 22'), 36' (= C 24').

Compared with KBo 3.34, this version from the *Haus am Hang* presents a mix of graphic, orthographic and linguistic innovations and archaisms⁷¹. The text is written on a single face of the tablet⁷² and it could be a proof that it was copied directly from an old Hittite tablet.

Another fragment from the *Haus am Hang* is **KBo 12.11**. This also could be indirectly part of the same tablet, as the collation of the photograph seems to show. In this case the portion would be on the reverse of the tablet. In KBo 12.11 10' there is a mistake in spelling the form *appanna*: the scribe forgot the sign AP.

⁶⁹ KBo 3.36 (obv. 23' ff. = C 11' ff.) is duplicate of KBo 3.34 (A) II 1 ff.

⁷⁰ Note that the main version A (KBo 3.34) preserves a higher number of sign mistakes.

⁷¹ Dardano, *L'aneddoto*, 17-18. See also E. Neu, "Grammatische Skizze zum Text der althethitischen 'Palastkronik' (CTH 8)" in: *Fs. Houwink ten Cate*, 225-244.

⁷² Dardano, *L'aneddoto*, 20.

The text is parallel to KBo 3.34 rev. III. Comparing the best preserved lines we can see immediately that the scribe of the *Haus am Hang* not only copied the composition, but also made a substantial innovation.

KBo 12.11

5' DUMU^{MEŠ}.LUGAL A[-NA]
 6' LÚ^{URU}Šu-uk-z[i-ya]
 7' ke-e kar-ti[-ya-aš-ša-aš]
 8' GIŠ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-uš[
 9' ha-ap-pa-aš-š[u-uš]

KBo 3.34 obv. III

15' A-~~HI~~ LUGAL A-NA P[A-NI A-BI L]UGAL ku-i-e-eš e-eš-kán-ta
^m[Am-]mu-na
 16' DUMU^{URU}Šu-uk-z[i-ya] a-ap-pa-an-na^mPi-im-~~pi~~-ri-it [^{UR}]U^UNi-na-aš-ša
 17' ki-i kar-di-y[a-aš-ša-a]š DUMU^{MEŠ} e-še-er

The translation goes: "Here are the Sons of the king (in KBo 3.34 there is "the brothers") who sit before the father of the king: Ammuna, the man (in KBo 3.34 there is "the Son") of Šukziya, and behind Pimpirit, the man of Ninasa". The choice of the scribe to "translate" the Akkadian expression *AḪUM* "brother" with DUMU.LUGAL is interesting. In the old Hittite texts the familial relations of the king with his relatives always are emphasized as being the matter of some positive or negative happening⁷³. The term "Prince", DUMU.LUGAL is instead used in a wider sense especially during the imperial period, where the king's son is not literally his offspring, but every nobleman of the reign. I think that the expression in the text from the *Haus am Hang* was used in that way so as to adapt the text to the contingent situation of the imperial period⁷⁴.

The other possibility is of course that the scribe was copying from a spoiled text, in which this part was deleted, and he chose the expression DUMU for analogy with the line *kē kardiyassas* DUMU^{MEŠ} *eser*⁷⁵.

Coming to this l. 7 in KBo 12.11 and l. 17 in KBo 3.34 we can still remark that the scribe from the *Haus am Hang* wrote the right pronominal form, *kē*, plural nominative *genus communis*, while in the version KBo 3.34 there is a neutral form in singular. The text from the *Haus am Hang* follows the correct grammatical construction, either because the scribe was more skilful in the use of the language, or simply because he was copying from a correct draft.

⁷³ It is enough to think about the facts narrated in the Testament of Hattušili I (CTH 6), F. Sommer – A. Falkenstein, *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattušili I. (Labarna II)* (München 1938).

⁷⁴ See F. Imparati " 'Signori' e 'figli di re' ", *Or* 44 (1975), 80-95.

⁷⁵ Recently M. Cammarosano, *Il decreto antico ittita di Pimpira*, Eothen 14 (Firenze 2006) 52-54.

In conclusion: at least two different redactions of the Palace Chronicle are preserved in *Haus am Hang*, a composition that was apparently copied several times during the course of Hittite history. In particular, the text KBo 12.10 (+) presents innovations that indicate the scribe used contemporary orthography when preparing a copy of the older text. The other version that I analyzed was created some years later, since the ductus is younger, and what's more, it even seems to show in some parts a different arrangement of the content on the tablet.

Summing up, if the *Haus am Hang* served as a *scriptorium*, every composition could have been stored there for several reasons: archival purposes, the schooling of the scribes, and the preparation of new compositions. The presence of these old Hittite manuscripts in the *Haus am Hang* does not indicate that it was already in use during the older period. It is also clear that recording the older manuscripts here served other purposes than in Büyükkale where the ancient texts stored there cover much broader spectrum of literary genres⁷⁶. In the *Haus am Hang* the texts in imperial script constitute a vast majority, but, even more importantly, the few older texts belong only to specific genres, namely the Hattian-Hittite invocations and the epic-historical texts.

⁷⁶ Kořak in *Fs.Houwink ten Cate*, 173-179; S. Alaura, "Die Identifizierung der im "Gebäude E" von Büyükkale-Boğazköy gefundenen Tontafelfragmente aus der Grabung von 1933", *AoF* 25 (1998), 193-214; Klinger, *Byzas* 4 (2006), 5-17.