

## CHAPTER 3

# Poetry and War among the Hittites

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### WHO WERE THE HITTITES?

During the nineteenth century European visitors to central Anatolia came upon the ruins of a large ancient city near the village of Boğazköy, modern-day Boğazkale. Already during the initial period of investigation that ensued over the next 50 years, links were made with Iron Age (first millennium BC) inscriptions in an as yet undeciphered hieroglyphic script that were known from northern Syria, and the people known to readers of the Hebrew Bible as the Hittites. As it turned out, these indirectly related phenomena were separated by several hundred years from the Late Bronze Age (c.1600–1200 BC) civilisation that had its seat at Boğazköy.<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century joint German and Turkish excavations at this site brought to light thousands of clay tablets inscribed with the cuneiform script, many in Akkadian, the *lingua franca* of the Ancient Near East in the Late Bronze Age, but many others in a language that bore resemblance to an Indo-European dialect already known from two letters found in the cuneiform archive from Amarna, Egypt. The Akkadian documents, especially treaties with the great powers of the time, soon made it clear that this was the ancient city of Hattusa, capital of the Hittite Empire. By 1917 the language, known to its speakers as *Nesili* (the language of *Nesa*), was officially deciphered and became known to the modern world as Hittite, the oldest attested member of the Indo-European language family.<sup>2</sup> Excavations continue at the site to this day, and the number of cuneiform tablets and fragments recovered thus far amounts to some 30,000.

Between around 1600 and 1200 BC, the period known archaeologically as the Late Bronze Age, the people we call the Hittites ruled first a kingdom in central Anatolia and later, after several short-lived attempts at imperial

expansion, an empire covering most of Anatolia and northern Syria from around 1350 BC. It was a Hittite king, Mursili I, who sacked the city of Babylon in the sixteenth century BC, although the expedition to this distant city of Mesopotamia can be called little more than a raid.

Periodic Hittite adventures into Syria are documented at least from the time of Mursili's predecessor, Hattusili I, and continued sporadically through to the time of the fifteenth century BC king Tudhaliya I, who also campaigned extensively in western Anatolia. However, Hittite history was constantly shaped by the environment in which it was played out, with a centre high on the Anatolian plateau and roads being impassable for much of the winter. They were separated from Syria by the Taurus Mountains and from much of the rest of Anatolia, especially the west, by similarly intractable terrain. Temporary Hittite gains abroad were frequently thwarted by their inability to control events at home, where they were repeatedly threatened by other Anatolian ethnic, tribal and regional groupings.

This cycle of conquest and loss was effectively cut short by the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I in the late fourteenth century BC. He established his son, Piyassili, as a viceroy in Karkamish on the Syrian Euphrates, from where a dynasty of his descendants controlled Hittite affairs in Syria, including the conclusion of a famous peace-treaty with the Egyptian pharaoh Ramesses II. The dynasty survived even until after the demise of Hittite rule in central Anatolia. The Late Bronze Age Hittite Empire disappeared in the general conflagration that weakened civilisations around the Ancient Near East in the twelfth century BC. When written documents become available again in Iron Age Syria, Cappadocia and Malatya, the script that they use is Anatolian Hieroglyphic, and the language in which they write is entirely the related Anatolian language known as Luwian.<sup>5</sup> Hittite and its speakers had vanished from the historical stage.

## WHAT DID THE HITTITES WRITE?

The archives at Hattusa, stemming mainly from the find-contexts of a large temple, Temple I, as well as from the royal palace on the citadel, known in Turkish as Büyükkale, have brought forth cuneiform documents in a wide variety of the languages that were in use during the Late Bronze Age in the Ancient Near East. Beside Hittite we have Akkadian, the language of international diplomacy and scholarship; Sumerian, the language for which the cuneiform script was developed, and which had clearly died out by the time of the Hittite archives, remaining only in scholastic use;

Hurrian, the language of the Empire of Mittani, which preceded Hittite dominion in Syria during the fifteenth century BC. Beside these international idioms we also find traces of other local languages, such as Hattic, the poorly understood language of the pre-Hittite inhabitants of central Anatolia; Palaic and Luwian, languages closely related to Hittite as part of the Anatolian branch of Indo-European. This was clearly a multilingual era and scholarship flourished at the ancient capital Hattusa just as in any of the contemporary major centres.<sup>6</sup>

The cuneiform script itself, named after its construction of signs through using wedge-shaped impressions in clay (Latin *cuneus* = wedge), had originated in Mesopotamia.<sup>7</sup> The Hittites are likely to have inherited the script from Syria, although it is not clear precisely when. Wherever the script went, however, Babylonian cultural elements were transported with it, both for use in learning to write and to master the languages needed for diplomacy, Akkadian and Hurrian, although the latter more temporarily. These Mesopotamian works included large lexical lists and vocabularies, which were used in various forms across the Ancient Near East to learn to write cuneiform, but also some of the major works of Akkadian poetry, such as the Epic of Gilgamesh.<sup>8</sup> In the fragments of these poems recovered at Boğazköy we see the attempts of Hittite scribes to reproduce Babylonian narratives in the original, beside translations or paraphrases into Hittite that may reflect a more complex transmission, particularly via the Hurrian kingdom of Mittani in northern Syria and Upper Mesopotamia.<sup>9</sup> Original Hurrian works were also translated and disseminated at Hattusa, as we shall see below.

Apart from literature, scholastic texts, historical narratives, letters, laws and treaties, the bulk of Hittite writing in cuneiform was made up of ritual and festival texts. These detailed in precise language the programme of action to be followed during rituals performed at certain times of the year, sometimes over a period as long as a month or more. Ritual texts were also imported from abroad, ostensibly as the ‘words’ of male and female ritual practitioners from various regions, and redacted at Hattusa over many years. Particularly important here are imports from western Anatolia (the land of Arzawa) and from the area of Kizzuwatna, a region with strong Hurrian and Luwian-speaking population elements roughly coterminous with plain Cilicia and the Cilician Gates leading into Syria. Cuneiform texts have not yet been found here in any significant numbers, and our information on local composition practices and scribal habits comes entirely from Kizzuwatnean texts, in the Hittite language, which were imported to and copied at Hattusa.<sup>10</sup>

Some works of Hittite literature are apparently embedded as narratives into ritual or festival performance. The numerous myths recounting the tales of disappearing gods, especially that of Telipinu, son of the storm-god, frequently contain ritual episodes which doubtless replicate or parallel procedures of analogical magic performed in real time and designed to secure the return of fertility to the land.<sup>11</sup> By contrast, the narrative of the battle of the storm-god against the serpent Illuyanka is told in two different versions on one tablet as an aetiology for a spring festival at a particular location in Anatolia, and depicts a victory of the forces of order over chaos, although by using underhand and despicable means.<sup>12</sup> Trickery, abuse of hospitality and a cold disregard for the value of human life on the side of the gods feature as themes in this tale.

Some ritual texts contain elements of dialogue performed by participants, and one is left to wonder whether the immediate context of some of the mythological and even historical tales, which frequently contain significant sections of direct speech, might not have been performative, although this is currently not verifiable.<sup>13</sup> The step to the Greek tragedies, which were performed at the festival of Dionysus in Athens hundreds of years later, would not be so great. We must be careful, however, not to let our imaginations create contexts that are not clearly indicated by the textual and archaeological evidence.

One group of texts conspicuous by its absence from the Hattusa archives is that of private economic documents.<sup>14</sup> These are well represented in other collections from the Ancient Near East, including from centres in Syria. The disparity observable at Hattusa may lead one to think that cuneiform was almost exclusively associated with the interests of the ruling class centred around the extended royal family and its bureaucracy.<sup>15</sup> This sociological observation has clear ramifications for the study of Hittite written culture. The audience of the texts we read will doubtless have been restricted. If the texts are at some distance reflections of more widespread oral traditions, which many of them surely are, these are something to which we can have no access.

## THE HITTITES AND MARTIAL POETRY FROM ABROAD

It has proved extremely difficult to identify poetry in Hittite texts. Contrary to the Babylonians, but in keeping with the practice of cuneiform writing in Syria, the Hittites did not divide lines of poetic text into lines of written text on a clay tablet. This applies not only to texts written in Hittite, but

also to clearly poetic texts written in Akkadian, such as the fragments of the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh found at Hattusa. It is only for compositions of foreign origin that the term *SÌR*, the Sumerogram meaning ‘song’, is used on colophons, i.e. notes at the end of tablets giving information about the text and its scribe. As we shall see, however, Hittite texts also refer to people ‘singing’, and some of these ‘songs’ also have poetic features.<sup>16</sup>

In some cases it is clear that the Hittite scribes were receiving poetic texts and translating them into prose. This is apparent in the paraphrase of the Epic of Gilgamesh, but more transparently the case in a bilingual Hittite-Hurrian text-ensemble known from its colophon (a note appended to the composition at the end of the tablet), as ‘The Song of Release’.<sup>17</sup> The tablets it is written on are dated by means of palaeography to the early fourteenth century BC or somewhat earlier, and were found in a temple in the Upper City at Hattusa. The tablet is divided into two columns on each side, with a Hurrian composition facing its Hittite translation paragraph to paragraph. The artistic language of the Hurrian, its clear syntactic and lexical parallelisms, repetitions and variations, its paratactic grammatical structures and its division into syllable-counting lines, all make it clear that this is a poetic composition. The line of poetry is the organising principle defining the unit of sense. By contrast, the Hittite version uses an equation of sense and sentence, typical of prose, and tends to use a subordinating syntax as opposed to parataxis. This does not prevent the Hittite language prose version from using artistic language, however.<sup>18</sup>

The context is a martial one, the siege of the Syrian city Ebla, which must have occurred sometime in the seventeenth century BC. The first tablet, preserved only in its Hurrian version, starts with a proem introducing the topic of the song in typical epic style: ‘let me tell of Teššub, the gr[eat] king of Kummani, let me praise Allani, the ma[iden], bond of the earth’.<sup>19</sup> The mention of these gods, the Hurrian storm-god, Teššub, and the queen of the underworld, Allani, introduces a divine parallel to the human story that will be told in following tablets. Only in line seven do we encounter a mortal human protagonist and the names of human settlements: ‘Let me speak of Pizikarra, (of?) E[bla]’. Tablets two to three recite a series of moral parables concerning animals, objects or humans that try to be something they are not, essentially the crime of hybriatic rebellion against a perceived natural order. Then in tablet four we are treated to a tale of how the storm-god Teššub went down to the underworld for a feast, and was presumably imprisoned there, although the text does not tell us this explicitly. This widespread mythologem, the god or hero who descends to the underworld and cannot immediately return, is presumably

narrated here as a foil to the ensuing depiction of the siege enveloping the city of Ebla. The precise narrative connections are not clear, but what interests us here is the juxtaposition of the verse Hurrian version with a prose Hittite one:<sup>20</sup>

## Hurrian

*Teššub farišanna* ||  
*Allaniwa šeḫlu ḫaikalli*  
*kešḫi nahḫoša kifutu* ||  
*šarri Teššub fašumai šēḫan*

*afallivena Teššub agav* ||  
*kilānav kešḫini nahḫav*  
*aviḫarrivena uril* ||  
*adminē kelikeštov*

## Hittite

*Tarḫunnas mahhan iyattat*  
*n=as=kan taknas Istanuwas*  
*ḫalentūwas andan iyannis*

*nu=ssan irḫas (?) kueras*  
<sup>GIŠŠÚ.A</sup> *Tarḫunnas pargawan*  
*esat*

*nu=ssi* <sup>GIŠŠÚ.A</sup> [*ḫandan*]  
*Tarḫunnas ḫassus mahḫan*  
*askaz andan uet*

*kueras sapta tawall-as=ma=ssan*  
*ḫapsalliya padus parknut*

Teššub the leader, raising himself,  
 sat on a throne (as big as) an *avali*  
 Teššub, after leaving, stepped  
 into Allani's palace

He raised his feet on a stool (as big  
 as) an *aviharri*  
 Tarhunna, when he went off, walked  
 into the palace of the sun-goddess  
 of the earth.

His throne is ready for his sitting  
 King Teššub, entering, stepped in

His throne [(is) ready] for him,  
 Tarhunna the king, when he  
 came in from the gate,  
 Sat raised, Tarhunna, on a throne of  
 a *hectare*, but he raised his feet  
 on a stool of seven *acres*

The Hurrian makes frequent use of sound patterning in order to reinforce the parallelisms necessarily produced by the verse divisions. This is not evident in the Hittite version. As frequently found in translations, the Hittite takes up more space than the Hurrian. It is quite possible that the function of the text as found was as an aid to learning the Hurrian language, which was much needed for diplomacy of the time, and clearly had a prestige literature associated with it. Note also the way in which

Hurrian cultural concepts are translated into Hittite: instead of calling the storm-god Teššub, with his Hurrian name, as he is in the original tale, the Hittite version calls him Tarhunna, using the Hittite name for this deity. Unfortunately the state of preservation of the tablets is such that it is very difficult to derive a literary message from the text-ensemble, such as a view of warfare as presented in poetry, or even to know in detail what happened in the story.

Another case where we appear to have a Hittite translation from a now mainly lost Hurrian original is the epic poetic series often referred to as ‘Kingship in Heaven’.<sup>21</sup> The story tells in five instalments of how Teššub, the storm-god, came to be king of the gods. After a proem addressing the Hurrian divine pantheon as audience, doubtless a flattering co-reference to the royal or courtly audience that may have heard the original song, we are told in swift succession of the extremely violent usurpation of power from one generation to the next. The god Kumarbi wrests power from his predecessor, Anu, by biting off his ‘manhood’, but in so doing sows the seeds of his own destruction, in that he conceives a son in his stomach, Teššub, whose birth, which is described in agonising detail, signals his father’s downfall. The remaining poems in the series enumerate the attempts by Kumarbi to regain power in heaven by summoning various demons, beings or gods to challenge Teššub, all of which are defeated with the storm-god emerging triumphant as the king of the gods. The poem thus tells the tale of how the current order was established through war in heaven, a worthy subject for a royal audience, but tells it in a manner that can only be described as partially humorous. The repeated humiliation of Kumarbi, especially in the arena of giving birth, where his skin is ripped like a torn cloth and he repeatedly needs to be sewn up, stands near the beginning of a long tradition of grotesque comic pillory.

By contrast to the Hittite prose translation of the Hurrian poem on the siege of Ebla, numerous scholars have contended that the Hittite version of ‘Kingship in Heaven’ is in fact poetic. After a remark to this effect by H. G. Güterbock, pioneering work was done on identifying lines of verse in the Hittite version by I. McNeill and S. Durnford.<sup>22</sup> These investigations were all the more important because they involved producing a theory of Hittite word-stress, which is something about which we know pitifully little.<sup>23</sup> More recently H. C. Melchert made refinements to these initial findings by integrated observations on the behaviour of post-tonic enclitic particles in prose texts into the analysis of the verse structure, arguing that the Hittite verse incorporated stress patterns available to natural language.<sup>24</sup> Most recently A. Kloekhorst has investigated the reflection of

word-stress in orthography, once more bearing out Durnford's idea that the Hittite line of verse in this poem is essentially divided into two cola of two stressed words each.<sup>25</sup> However, the identification of verse-lines in other Hittite texts remains in its infancy, with one notable exception that we shall address below.<sup>26</sup>

A. Archi has addressed a further aspect of the 'Kingship in Heaven' cycle.<sup>27</sup> The frequency of direct speech as part of the narrative is interpreted by him as providing evidence for an oral performance context for these poems. The proportion of the narrative that is taken up by direct speech is compared with that in the works of Homer. It is however the case that most Hittite literature contains large amounts of direct speech. In most cases we would hesitate to ascribe the character of poetry to these texts, or even the possibility that they may in some sense be related to ritual performances, although this can rarely be excluded, even in the case of historical texts.

#### VERBAL ART OF NATIVE ORIGIN IN A MARTIAL CONTEXT.

These grand poems of epic style based on imported Hurrian material with divine protagonists providing a backdrop for historical human endeavours, or appearing as humorous entertainment for a refined courtly audience, stand in stark contrast to texts produced within the native Anatolian environment.<sup>28</sup> As mentioned above, Anatolian literary texts, whether they be mythological narrations partly inherited from the earlier Hattic population of central Anatolia, or brought with them as part of the Hittite's inherited Indo-European folk memory, tend to be embedded in ritual contexts, although this is a view that has come under criticism in recent literature on the subject.<sup>29</sup> These are goal-oriented, practical uses of verbal art, intended to play a part in larger rituals that are designed to have an effect on the physical world. In the same way as the rituals use analogical magical practices to prime their efficacy, manipulating objects and materials of everyday life in order to mimic and anticipate the desired effects of the ritual, so too the use of analogy, metaphor and simile in language is apparent in the verbal incantations, spells and sometimes narratives that form integral parts of the ritual procedure. This direct relationship between word and social function, often involving a concretisation in the *materia magica* employed on the spot and visible to all participants, is a far cry from the allusive literary style of the poetic epics. Occasionally, the ritual background is explicitly warlike.

The term ‘Soldier’s Oaths’ refers to two texts, one running over two tablets, of which three fragmentary copies are preserved, and one for which we only have one tablet extant. The colophon to the second tablet of the first oath tells us that it was used ‘when they bring the soldier to the oath’. The texts are characterised by short sections describing sequences of analogical magic followed by the words of the oath, which resume the magical actions as a verbal simile. The attempt to render the spoken words as poetic text involves many assumptions due to our poor knowledge of Hittite stress patterns and the imperfections that our current knowledge of the script bring to a phonetic realisation of the words. The following is an attempt to divide the spoken words into units of sense that may or may not correspond to rhythmic ones. Even with the broadest definition of verse structure, and numerous assumptions about the stress of certain words, we have to accommodate an enjambment between lines (d)–(e) and a variation in the number of stress-units between a usual three and four in (b) and (e).<sup>30</sup> Potential stress units are underlined.<sup>31</sup>

(19) *nu=smas BÙLUG BAPPIR INA QĀTĪŠUNU dāi* (20) *n=at lippanzi*  
*nu=smas kisan tezzi*

- (a) (21) *kī=wa BAPPIR mahhan IŠTU<sup>NA4</sup>ĀRA mallanzi*  
 (b) (22) *n=at wetenit imiyanzi n=at zanuanzi* (23) *n=at harranuskanzi*  
 (c) *kuis=a=kan kē NĪŠ DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>* (24) *sarradda*  
 (d) *nu=ssan hassuwi hassussari* (25) *ANA DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> LUGAL Hattusas utnē*  
 (e) *idalu takkizzi* (26) *n=an kē NEŠ DINGIR-LIM appandu*  
 (f) *nu hastaisitit<sup>!</sup> kissan mallandu* (27) *n=an kissan inuskiddu<sup>!</sup>*  
 (g) (28) *n=an kissan harra<n>uskitta<sup>!</sup>* (29) *nu idalu hinkan pēdau*

*apēma taranzi apāt* (30) *esdu*

‘(19) And he puts malt (and) beer-herb in their hands (20) and they lick them and he speaks to them thus

- (a) ‘(21) just as they grind this beer-herb with a millstone  
 (b) ‘(22) and mix it with water and boil it (23) and pound it  
 (c) ‘(23–24) so whoever crosses these oath-gods  
 (d) ‘and to the king, to the queen, (25) to the princes, to the land of Hattusa  
 (e) ‘does evil (26) may these oath-gods seize him  
 (f) ‘and let them grind up his bones thus, (27) and let them<sup>!</sup> heat him thus  
 (g) ‘(29) and let them<sup>!</sup> pound him thus and may he bear a bad death”.

They then say (30) “let that be the case”.

The spoken word continues comparing malt, which does not germinate, to the desired infertility of the evil-doer and annihilation of his line. Such similes are well known from the curse-formulae which are found in the many treaty-texts preserved at Hattusa. If the lines as we have them are metrical in any way, it is the rhythm of natural language, artistically organised by means of repetition and syntactic parallelism, which dictates the meter. To call this verse would be daring indeed.

Then the priest continues with a further analogy, in which armies are explicitly mentioned. A woman's dress, a distaff and a spindle and are brought on, as well as an arrow, which is broken on the spot. The oath-gods are again called upon, this time to turn the armies of the one who breaks the oath and does ill to the king, to his family and to the land of Hattusa, into women, to dress them as women and to break their bows, arrows and weapons in their hands. A blind and deaf woman is brought on, and the oath-gods are enjoined not only to turn the oath-breaker and evil-doer into a woman, but additionally to make him blind and deaf. A model of a person is crushed, as should the oath-breaker and evil-doer be crushed. In all these cases it is very difficult to define this language as poetry over and above it being ritualistic in context and content, and thus, unsurprisingly, possessing a certain natural rhythm and the repetitive syntax of intonation.

## HISTORY, GUILT AND INCOMPETENCE

Historical texts form an important and clearly highly prized part of the Hittite literary patrimony. Later texts (from the reign of Mursili II onwards, late fourteenth century BC) are infused with a desire to put the record straight, to show whatever audience, possibly even the gods, that the Hittite king had always acted impeccably. Perhaps most conspicuously self-apologetic is the autobiographical text of Hattusili III (mid thirteenth century BC), who had usurped the throne from his nephew and then sent him into exile<sup>32</sup>. Of course, this was not his fault; he had in fact been guided all the way by his patron deity, Ištar of Samuha. A masterpiece in accusatory blame, by contrast, is the so-called 'Indictment of Madduwatta' from the late fifteenth or early fourteenth century. Madduwatta, an ally from the west is sharply rebuked for his trickery<sup>33</sup>. While faithful Hittite generals were killed due to his underhand machinations, Madduwatta just laughed about it!

Treaties with other peoples and powers are usually prefaced by a historical preamble that delineates the developments leading up to the

conclusion of the pact in question. Often the Hittites could look back over a long history of relations with other powers and the latest treaty would be the most recent of many. It is sometimes surprising how honest these documents can be, or at least claim to be, depicting malpractice on both sides of agreements.<sup>34</sup>

Similarly, prayers will also often contain a historical preamble, designed to set the stage for the demand being made by the king of the god. Usually these demands concerned expiation for presumed past sin that may have caused a present misfortune. In a society where guilt or sin, particularly that involving the spilling of blood, was considered an impurity that needed to be removed by physical ritual action, it was important for the prayer to address all the historical circumstances that could possibly have led to a god's displeasure.<sup>35</sup>

Relating to events at the beginning of the Hittite kingdom (late seventeenth and early sixteenth century BC) one composition, the story of the town Zalpa may have a similar background.<sup>36</sup> Although not a prayer, it can possibly be construed as an argument for Hittite innocence in the matter of the destruction of a historically important town, tracing the roots of bad relations back to a mythical accidental incest between the 30 sons and 30 daughters of the queen of Kaneš. It is likely that the text was composed long after the events described in the historical portions of the narrative took place, certainly the versions we have of it date much later. Whether the narration formed part of a ritual context, possibly designed to obviate a possible guilt is also unclear, the evidence being very thin.<sup>37</sup>

Otherwise, we have a number of lively, and partially humorous, narrative compositions relating to the exploits of the first Hittite kings, particularly Hattusili I, from the beginnings of the Hittite period. Hittite humour is of the basic variety, poking fun at incompetent or corrupt officials as in the 'Palace Chronicles', or at the ineptitude of military subordinates to the Great King, as in the 'Siege of Uršu'.<sup>38</sup> The language in these texts is vibrant, direct, and full of imagery, but again difficult to describe as poetry. Within the narrative of the 'Siege of Uršu' there is also specific reference to the singing of a song, although at this point the text becomes largely incomprehensible.

The 'Siege of Uršu' is written in Akkadian and deals with military exploits of the Hittite king in northern Syria. He commands his generals, from a remote base, to complete the siege of the eponymous city. He berates them for lacking manliness and even appears to use biting sarcasm in order to belittle their efforts. Two lines and several phrases in one passage are in Hittite, presumably either because the text is a translation of a Hittite

composition and the translator was perplexed by the obscure Hittite, or because a Hittite composer did not know how to express these particular concepts in Akkadian, should the original composition have been in Akkadian.<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately for us too, the Hittite sections are impossible to understand completely.

KBo 1.11 rev.<sup>1</sup>

10. [Š]ánda tēmam úblam úmma šarrúma  
ana mīnim tāhāza lā tēpuš
11. [...] ina narkabāti ša mē' tázzaz  
ana mē'-man tatúrma (12) [tā]tállika<sup>240</sup>
12. šumman ana pānīšu tákmis lú-man tadúkšu
13. ū' lú-man tupallīššu inánna kula'útam tēpuš
14. DUMU<sup>MES</sup> Lariya Lariyas<sa> ḥuskiwantes  
zamāra Zabāba izmurū
15. KISLAḪ laḥnit seḥuwen UR.TUR kurziwanis  
GUD.SAG<sup>2</sup> KISLA<sup>6</sup> ublūnim la-zi-la ítbalū
16. piláqqa ublūni qané' ítbalū  
kirássa (17) ublūni SAG.GUL.GIŠ<sup>3</sup> ítbalū
17. kulessar šaddágda Túdhaliya (18) ípuš
18. inánna átta tēpuš kula'útam
19. úmma šarrúma álik šālšunu  
inū<sup>na</sup> Úrši tállakā  
abulū<sup>na</sup> tašárrapā<sup>2</sup> (20) tāhāza téppušā
20. úmma šunūma ana samānēšu tāhāzam nippúšma
21. [t]émšunu nuḫárradma álam nuḫállaq  
úmma šarrúma dámiq

10. Sanda brought the message, thus (spoke) the king: “why have you not done battle?”
11. [...] on chariots of water you stand, you have turned into water and you  kept flowing to me.
12. if you had bowed before him you would either have killed him
13. or frightened him. Now you have acted effeminate.?
14. The sons of Lariya and Lariya, while waiting, sang the Song of Zababa
15. ‘We have swept the threshing floor with a laḥna, the puppy is kurziwani, a ‘chief ox of the threshing floor (16) they brought, the lazila they took away
16. ‘a spindle they brought, the reeds (= arrows) they took away, a hair-clasp

17. 'they brought, the mace they took away
18. 'last year Tudhaliya *acted effeminate*', now you have *acted effeminate*.'
19. Thus the king (spoke): 'go ask them, when you go to Uršu will you *burn* the gate-house, (20) will you do battle?'
20. Thus they (spoke): 'eightfold we will do battle and (21) we will terrify their minds and destroy the city.'
21. Thus the king: 'it is good'.

The lines are difficult to divide into Akkadian verse, and the division offered here is only tentative. Akkadian syllable-stress rules are not crystal clear, but better known than in Hittite, and stressed syllables are here indicated with the ictus-accent. A division into lines of verse is favoured by the partially regular number of words per sense-unit and by the parallel syntax of those sense-units. On the other hand the number of irregularly stressed verse-final words speaks against this division being poetic.<sup>41</sup> The last two syllables in an Akkadian verse-line should be trochaic, but this is not the case in eight out of twenty lines here. The range in the number of stress-beats per line varies wildly, from three stress-beats per line of verse to five.

The 'Song of Zababa', a Babylonian war-god also worshipped by the Hittites, although unclear in much of its precise meaning, clearly mimics and inverts material we have already encountered in the Soldier's Oath. Feminine utensils are brought in and warlike implements removed. The inversion serves to express a presumed cause for the inefficacy of the generals' efforts. Someone must have performed a successful ritual, presumably to the god Zababa, which transformed the male warriors into women. The precise meanings of Akkadian *kula'ūtum* and Hittite *kulesar* are not the same, but the latter seems to be used to express the former in line (17).<sup>42</sup> The meaning of the Akkadian word has more relevance here. The function of the song appears to be to encourage the generals to fight. In the further narrative they fail once more and the king is again infuriated by their incompetence.

Narrative technique here also deserves comment. A message is brought by Sanda, but it is not spoken. Immediately we have the response of the king. Similarly in lines 19–22, a messenger is commanded to ask 'them' a series of questions, which are expressed. Immediately we are given 'their' answer, as if they were present, without a description of the messenger's asking them. This elliptical use of narrative builds heavily on a shifting focalisation, switching between the perspectives of the protagonists in an almost cinematic fashion. Such switching of focus is also found in other

Hittite narratives, like the tale of Zalpa, and suits well a style that uses frequent direct speech.

The social function of such poetry, which unlike traditional epic does not seek to glorify the deeds of its protagonists, but to expose them to ridicule, clearly lies in reinforcing the superiority of the king over and above his subordinate nobles.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately the poor state of preservation of this intriguing tablet, its beginning and end are missing, prevents our having anything but a speculative idea of how the story was intended to play out. Possibly the king himself sallied forth from his command centre and saved the day. One might assume that the campaign against Uršu was a great success otherwise the Hittites would hardly have been laughing about it.

Another somewhat obscure military narrative is generally held to concern the crossing of the Taurus Mountains, the opening of the way into Syria by Hattusili I in the seventeenth century BC, and also contains two songs.<sup>44</sup> The narrator is Puhanu, the ‘servant of Sarmassu’, who is not otherwise known from Hittite documents. He appears to be narrating the actions of someone else, whose identity is not entirely clear. Suggestions range from the Hittite king to an enemy of the king, the storm-god of Aleppo or one of his supporters, whose help Puhanu may be advising the Hittite nobles to ask for in the Syrian campaign.<sup>45</sup> The following interpretation largely follows that of Gilan 2004, with the text largely based on Soysal 1987.

KUB 31.4+KBo 3.41<sup>46</sup>

1. [UMM]A Puḫānu ÌR Sarmassu .... antuwahas=si
2. [TÚG.G]Ú.È.A DAR.A wēsta || ḫarsani[=ssi] pattar ki[t]ta
3. [GIŠ.B]AN-ZU ḫarzi || nu uwārra ḫalzais || kuit iyanun kuit

Thus Puhanu the servant of Sarmassu ... (a man to him ...)  
A colourful shirt he wears, on his head there is placed a basket  
He has his bow and he has called out *for help*, ‘what have I done, what?’

4. *natta=sta kuitki* || *kuedanikka dāḫhun*  
GUD-*n=asta natta* || (5) *kuedanikka dāḫhun*  
UDU-*n=asta natta* || *kuedanikka dāḫhun*
6. ÌR<sup>[ME]Š?</sup>-*n=asta GÉME-san* || *natta kuelka dāḫhun*

‘I have not taken anything from anyone,  
not an ox have I taken from anyone,  
not a sheep have I taken from anyone,  
not anyone’s male servants, (or) his female servant have I taken.

7. [k]uwat sara=mmu kissan iyatten || nu=mu=ssan kī iukan isḫaisten  
 8. uwami kīdanda pattanit || ekan utiskimi ta zaḫḫiskimi  
 9. tā utnē ḫarnikmi kīdanda natidda || t=an karda=sma salikti

‘Why have you acted thus upon me and bound this yoke on me?  
 I come carrying ice in this basket and waging war  
 And I will destroy the lands with this very arrow and you (arrow) will  
 reach their hearts

10. Arinna kuin pēḫutetten || uni ḫurtalimman  
n[att=as] (11) ANŠE-is=mis || nussessan eskahḫa || nu ammuḫ pēḫutett[en]  
 12. utne[=m]a ḫūman kuis ḫarzi || natta ūk  
ÍD<sup>MES</sup>-uš ḪUR.SAG<sup>MES</sup>-uš arunuss=a || (13) [app]a tarmaiskimi  
 13. ḪUR.SAG-an tarmaemi || ta=sta edi natta nēari  
 14. arunan tarmāmi || nu āppa natta lābui

‘The one you have taken to Arinna, that *sworn enemy*<sup>47</sup> of mine  
 Is he n[ot] my donkey? I will ride him, take me (there)  
 The one who holds all the lands, is it not I?  
 I nail down the rivers, mountains and seas  
 The mountain I nail down, so that it does not move away  
 The sea I nail down so that it does not flow back’

15. [app]<sup>2</sup>a=ma=smas<sup>1</sup> GUD.MAH kisati || n=asta karāwar=set tēpu lips[an]<sup>48</sup>  
 16. [...] punuskimi || karāwar=set kuit handa lipsan || UMMA ŠŪMA  
 17. [...] mān labheskinun || nu=nnas ḪUR.SAG-aš nakkēt  
kāsa GUD.M[AH] (18) || x-u]š ēsta  
 18. mān=as ueda || nu uni ḪUR.SAG-an karpta  
s=an=asta [edi (19) nā]es || arunan=a tarḫuen  
 19. nu karāwar=set apeda lipsan [ēszī]

But [the]n he became a bull for them, and his horns were a little *bent*  
 I further asked [...] why his horns (were) *bent*, thus he (spoke):  
 When I was campaigning [...], a mountain was causing us difficulties  
 This here bu[ll] was [x]  
 So when he came, he lifted that mountain  
 And he [mov]ed it [away], so we conquered the sea  
 And his horn [is] for that reason *bent*

Once again, it is very difficult to describe this as poetry, although an attempt is made in the above presentation of the text to demonstrate the

parallelism of the syntax alongside divisions into matching units with similar numbers of potentially stress-carrying words by means of indicating a caesura and underlining the hypothetical and highly speculative stress-units. At best this could be called rhythmic prose. It has been suggested that the depiction of the figure dressed in a colourful garment, perhaps clothed as a clown, and carrying a basket of ice on his head is supposed to appear ridiculous to the audience.<sup>49</sup> If this figure is supposed to be the storm-god of Aleppo or connected with him, it is likely that Puhanu is recommending that the Hittites sue for the support of this deity.<sup>50</sup> It was customary that victory over enemy cities was thought to be due to the surrender of that city by its patron god to the invading army.<sup>51</sup>

The bull is the theriomorphic aspect of the storm-god. It is thus only natural that a storm-god turn himself into a bull. The narration of the incident in the mountains also serves as an aetiology of why the bull's horns are bent, but it does not appear to be narrated by the storm-god/bull himself. The object of the verb *punuskimi* 'I continue asking' is lost in a break.<sup>52</sup> The 'conquest of the sea' has been thought to be a reference to a separate mythologem, that of the battle of the storm-god against the sea.<sup>53</sup> This was a widespread myth, manifested in many forms throughout the literature of the Ancient Near East.<sup>54</sup> The mention of this story as the context for the removal of a mountain by a bull would not have to refer to the actual crossing of the Taurus by Hattusili, but may in this case merely serve to recommend the support of the storm-god of Aleppo in the prosecution of an endeavour that involves moving mountains.<sup>55</sup>

This rhetorical intention may be present in the text, but the fact that the 'conquest of the sea' is accomplished by 'us' (*tarhuen* 'we conquered'), that it happened while 'I was on campaign' and was facilitated by 'this bull', all speaks against the storm-god become bull being the one answering the questions. It is thus less likely that the phrase 'we conquered the sea' refers to the storm-god's activity. Whose 'conquest of the sea' is being referred to remains unclear.

As a reaction to the story of the bull, men are sent with orders to Aleppo, this time by the sun-god, who is presumably identical with the king, Hattusili I.<sup>56</sup> The boundaries between mythological and historical narrative are here somewhat porous by modern standards. The text states clearly that the sun-god sends the men, but the Hittite king was referred to at least in later periods by the title 'My Sun', and the men who are sent appear to be historical individuals. Although the men are sent to Aleppo, it appears that the desired destination of the Hittite armies is a

town known to them as Zalpa, otherwise known as Zalwar, in northern Syria, not to be confused with the northern Anatolian Zalpa of the eponymous tale. After a break, the story resumes with ‘young men/warriors’ attempting to ‘cut’ (*karsikanzi*) a mountain and singing a song, which is too fragmentary to be understood.<sup>57</sup> It is followed by a further assurance from Puhanu, that the storm-god of Aleppo is the appropriate divine supporter of such efforts.

A further episode from the same text concerns an attack by Hurrian enemies after some time has elapsed. Puhanu comes across two ‘fighters’, who are singing a song:<sup>58</sup>

*Nes[as waspu]s Nesas waspus || tiyammu tiya  
nummu annasmas katta arnut || tiya[mmu t]iya  
nummu uwasmas katta arnut || [t]iyammu tiya*

‘shrouds of Nesa, shrouds of Nesa, bind me, bind  
‘take me down to my mother, bind me, bind  
‘take me down to my *wet-nurse*, bind me bind’

These verses have received ample treatment by scholars as they appear to provide a clear example of Hittite verse structure with a division into three lines of two cola, each with two stress units using phrasal stress analysis.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, these lines lay some claim to being the oldest securely established verse in an Indo-European language thus far known. Aside from the obvious sound-patterning and syntactic parallelisms it is interesting that this second example of a song in a warlike context is also somewhat negative in tone, just as the ‘Song of Zababa’ in the narrative concerning the siege of Uršu.<sup>60</sup> In the Puhanu-text we appear to be dealing with a lament, welcoming death. The place-name Nesa is the Hittite name for ancient Kaneš, modern Kültepe near Kayseri, a location the Hittites regarded to a degree as their ancestral home.

Puhanu’s reaction to the song is certainly one of horror: *kuit walkuan*, he shouts, a phrase whose precise meaning is not clear, but which is otherwise used to express displeasure or horror: ‘what a monstrosity!’ The fighters tell him that the Hurrian enemy has indeed attacked the land and has been biting it ‘like a dog’. Presumably a reaction to this Hurrian threat is contained in the following narrative, but it is too broken to make any sense.

The language of the whole Puhanu-text is undoubtedly artistic, if not clearly in verse. Where verse occurs, and it is indicated by the use of the

verb ‘to sing’, it marks heightened negative emotion and has the narratological function of calling forth a response or intervention from our informant, Puhanu. In the first case of ‘singing’, where we cannot be sure that the ‘song’ is in verse as it is not well preserved, he reacts by continuing his advocacy for the storm-god of Aleppo. In the second case, where the song is in verse, it is not clear exactly how he reacts, due to the tablet’s fragmentary state. In both cases the use of ‘song’ accompanies failure or demoralisation, much like the ‘Song of Zababa’ sung by Lariya and his sons in the Uršu text.<sup>62</sup>

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

We have seen that the Hittites used poetry, or at least artistic language, for various purposes. Whenever poetry clearly occurs they refer to the composition as a ‘song’, a term that is usually reserved for imported literary epic. These long compositions treat broad moral issues in an epic manner, with human action writ large against a divine foil. Their purpose can be to entertain, humorously as well as by shock, to inform about the natural order of things and its historical divine sanction, and to elevate their audience through comparison with a divine court.

By contrast, the use of artistic language in native contexts serves quite different functions. In the soldier’s oath we saw the rhythmic and repetitive prose of incantation expressing analogies that are directly enacted in ritual performance in front of the participants. The imagery stems partly from the typical repertoire of analogy used to prevent the breaking of an oath in treaty-contexts, and partly from the specific military field, where manliness and armament are among the attributes to be lost by the oath-breaker.

In the ‘Siege of Uršu’ text, a song ostensibly criticising pusillanimous generals uses similar imagery, and possibly refers to an inversion of just such a ritual as that found in the ‘Soldier’s Oath’. Here the inefficacy of the generals is accounted for by their alleged effeminacy. It is not to be expected that the singers of the song are implying that the generals have broken their oaths to the king. ‘Song’ we find once again in the context of a major military expedition in Syria. It is the critical and negative stance of such ‘singing’ that surprises the modern, Western audience in these contexts. However, much in the tradition of the lyric poet, the song presumably lends emotional intensity to the utterance: ‘song’ as a response to crisis.

## NOTES

- 1 For an overview of the history of Hittite archaeology see Matthews 2011:38–43 with further literature.
- 2 Hrozný 1915; 1917; overview at Kloekhorst 2008:2–3.
- 3 Hittite cuneiform tablets are published as hand-copies in the main series *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (Berlin, 1926–1990), abbreviated *KUB*, and *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (Leipzig/Berlin 1916 to present), abbreviated *KBo*. They are catalogued online in S. Košak's *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte* at [www.hethiter.net](http://www.hethiter.net). This includes access to photographs and bibliography. The initial typological cataloguing of Hittite texts appeared in E. Laroche's *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Paris, 1971), abbreviated as *CTH*.
- 4 For Hittite history see Bryce 2005. Beal 2011. General works on Hittite literature are Haas 2006; Güterbock 1964; van den Hout 2002.
- 5 For Luwians see Melchert 2005. Yakubovich 2011.
- 6 Woodard 2004.
- 7 Radner and Robson 2011.
- 8 On Gilgameš at Hattusa see Beckman 2003; George 2003:306–326
- 9 On the Hurrians see Wilhelm 1989.
- 10 Miller 2004.
- 11 Disappearing god myths from Hattusa are collected at Hutter-Braunsar 2011. Haas 2006:103–115.
- 12 For this perspective see Gilan 2011, who repudiates the conventional view that the Illuyanka tale was embedded in the *Purulli* festival as part of its basic framework. However, even interpreters belonging to the 'myth and ritualist' school of thought have identified the narrative as an aetiology for the festival. See Haas 1970:46. Gilan (2011:108) takes the position that the preserved tablets of the Illuyanka-myth contain a compilation of three stories providing aetiologies for different local religious institutions in northern Anatolia, told with the intention of gaining support for their continued existence from the Hittite king. The narration of the tales would thus have a rhetorical function and not specifically a religious one. See otherwise Haas 2006:96–103.
- 13 On the difficult and controversial question of 'performance' of mythological narrative see literature at Gilan 2011:104–105.
- 14 Van den Hout 2002; Weeden 2011b.
- 15 Van den Hout 2002.
- 16 See de Martino 2002; Beckman 2005.
- 17 Neu 1996. Wilhelm 1992. English translation Hoffner 1998:65–77.
- 18 Melchert 1998:483–484.
- 19 *KBo* 32.11 obv. i 1–3. Neu 1996:30.
- 20 *KBo* 32.13 obv. i–ii 1–8. Neu 1996:220–221. The passages are given in bound transcription rather than sign for sign transliteration. Hittite texts frequently use Sumerian or Akkadian words as logograms to indicate Hittite ones. Where we do not know the Hittite word corresponding to the Sumerian or Akkadian one, the logogram is transliterated in capital letters. The use of the macron over a vowel (/ā/, /ē/, /ī/, /ū/) in a Hittite text solely indicates the presence of a plene-spelling (consonant+vowel-vowel, vowel-vowel+consonant) and is not intended to indicate length of the vowel. In an Akkadian text, the macron indicates vowel length, the circumflex indicates a contracted vowel. Hittite sibilants written with signs using [š] in the cuneiform are rendered with /s/ in Hittite bound transcription,

- but with /š/ in Hurrian and Akkadian transcription. Transliterated as opposed to transcribed elements are joined with /-/. Enclitic elements are indicated by means of /=/: *n=at* ‘and it/they’.
- 21 For the identification of Hurrian language fragments of this epic at Hattusa see Giorgieri 2001.
- 22 Güterbock 1951:142–144; McNeill 1963; Durnford 1971. See further Eichner 1993.
- 23 Eichner 1980.
- 24 Melchert 1998.
- 25 Kloekhorst 2011.
- 26 See further Melchert 2007; Carruba 1998. Further Haas 2006:288–302 on poetic language.
- 27 Archi 2009.
- 28 Watkins 1986:58–62 makes the intriguing suggestion that there was a Luwian language *Wilusiad* on the subject of the town *Wilusa*, thought by many to be identical to Homer’s *Ilion*. The basis for this hypothesis is one line in the Luwian ‘Songs of Istanuwa’ which uses poetic syntax and alliteration (KBo 4.11 rev. 46): *ah̄ḫa=ta=tta alati awita wilusati* ‘when they came from *high* Wilusa’. This would be the first line of a larger narrative composition. For related literature see Haas 2006:287.
- 29 Gilan 2011.
- 30 The identification of stress units mainly follows the criteria laid out in Kloekhorst 2011. It is unlikely that *mah̄ḫan*, the subordinating conjunction meaning ‘just as’, carried stress. It does not carry the post-tonic clitic *=ma*, ‘but’: see <sup>GIS</sup> *SERDUM=ma=z māḫḫan Ì-ŠU ŠĀ-it [ḫarzi]* (KUB 17.10 ii 19) ‘but just as the olive [holds] its oil inside ...’; *mah̄ḫan* meaning ‘when’, by contrast, does carry *=ma*, cf. *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* L-N 107. I know of no evidence which could indicate one way or the other whether its correlative adverb *kissan* ‘thus’ carries stress, but the demonstrative pronoun *ka-* ‘this’, from which it is derived, certainly can do, in that it can carry *=ma*. The assumption that one of either *kī* ‘this’ or its noun (e.g. BAPPIR, ‘beer-herb’) does not carry stress when they are together and thus count as one stress unit is highly suspect. Without making this assumption even the most rudimentary verse-like rhythm cannot be achieved in these lines.
- 31 KBo 6.34+ obv. ii 19–30. Oettinger 1976:10–11, 34. Collins 2003:166. Particularly in lines 26–28 there are spelling and grammatical mistakes that may partly result from confusion in textual transmission. Line (27) translates literally as ‘may he heat him thus and he will be pounded thus’.
- 32 Otten 1981. English translation van den Hout 2003:199–204.
- 33 Goetze 1928; Beckman 1999:153–160.
- 34 Beckman 1999.
- 35 Singer 2002.
- 36 Otten 1973; Holland and Zorman 2007; Zorman 2008.
- 37 See the ‘ritual of Zalpa’ at KBo 12.63, 3’, which is interpreted as a historical reference to a ‘ritual in Zalpa’ at Corti 2002:173.
- 38 Dardano 1997; Beckman 1995.
- 39 For a brief summary of the arguments on provenance and language of authorship for this tablet see Weeden 2011a:75.
- 40 [*t*]a<sup>2</sup>-tal-lik-ka. The verb *alāku* ‘to go’, here S2m Gtn ventive, is otherwise used of water flowing, see *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* A/1 (1964), 299. The reading

proposed by myself here is problematic in that it requires an unusual doubling of consonants at the morpheme boundary (-*kk*-). The sign RI is not used otherwise in the text with the value /*tall*/, which is also problematic. The third sign is read as UR, with the value /*lik*/ on the basis of collation of photographs. The hand-copy in *KBo* 1.11 has the sign IB. Güterbock's suggestion [*e*]-*re-eb-ka* 'I will replace you' is not sufficient to fill the space in the gap at the beginning of the line and involves an obscure dialect form for expected Babylonian *arâbka* or *ariabka*, as well as a peculiar change in tense (Güterbock 1938:128). Beckman's suggestion [*t*]*e<sup>2</sup>-ri-ib* {*ka*} (1995:25) involves a redundant sign {*ka*}.

- 41 The Akkadian verse line typically has a trochaic ending. Irregular stress, seen from the perspective of the traditional accent rules, is to be found in the following line endings: [*t*]*âtallika* for expected *tâtállika*, *izmúrû* for expected *izmurû*, *itbâlû* for expected *itbalû*, *šâlšunu* for expected *šâlšunu*, *tallákâ* for expected *tállakâ*, *teppúšâ* for expected *téppušâ*, i.e. eight out of 20 lines of alleged poetry! For the existence of such cases see Knudsen 1980:14, but these are very rare in normal Akkadian verse. The conjunction *inûma* 'when' (l. 19) is supposed not to have carried stress in Old Babylonian according to Knudsen's analysis of the distribution of plene-writings, which he sees as evidence of stress (ibid. 13). The form *šâlšunu* is very unlikely to have moved its stress to the second syllable. Perhaps a pronunciation with the 'poetic' apocopated form of the suffixed pronoun *šâlšun* is to be anticipated. In this case, why didn't the scribe write the apocopated form?
- 42 Hittite *kuleszar* appears to mean 'calm, inertia, idleness' (Beal 1988), while Akkadian *kulâ'utum* is the status or quality of being a *kulu'u*, see *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* K 529. The ancient translator has misunderstood one of these terms, or has simply been led to use one word for the other as a kind of phonetic writing. A *kulu'u* was a dancer, actor, or devotee of the goddess Ištar. In a Middle Babylonian letter someone is described as being a *kulu'u* rather than a '(he-)man' (*Archiv für Orientforschung* 10, 3, 21; CAD loc. cit.).
- 43 Beckman 1995:32.
- 44 Editions: Soysal 1987; 1999; Gilan 2004; Steiner 2002:807–818. English translation Hoffner 2003:184–185.
- 45 Gilan 2004:281–287.
- 46 Duplicates: *KBo* 12.22 obv. i 1–14; *KBo* 13.78 obv. i 1–15. See Soysal 1987:173.
- 47 'Lâsterer' Soysal 1999:113; Gilan 2004:267. 'Opponent' Hoffner 2003:183. The present translation is based on the word's derivation from Hittite *hurtai-* 'curse'.
- 48 Text: [*a-ap-p*]*a-ma-ša-aš* with haplography (Imparati and de Martino 2003:258).
- 49 Imparati and de Martino 2003. I do not agree with the authors that the use of the phrase *kuit iyanun* 'what have I done' indicates a reference to the 'Substitute King' ritual, in which the king left his palace in the charge of a prisoner, who was supposed to suffer the consequences of any evil the gods might have in store for him. During the ritual the king asks the sun-god of heaven 'what have I done?' (*KBo* 15.2 rev. 14'; Kümmel 1967:62) This parallel is in my view simply too allusive and the phrase not highly marked enough to be considered an intertextual reference.
- 50 Gilan 2004:275.
- 51 Singer 1994:87. Gilan (2004:275) sees the emphasis on a dispute as to which god should lead the Hittite campaign in Syria.
- 52 Soysal (1987: 187–8) restores [*ú-ku-un*] or [*ú-ga-an*] on the basis of *KBo* 3.40 rev. 15', when Puhanu asks the fighters: *ú-ku-uš pu-nu-uš-ki-m[i]*. This must be

- uk=us* ‘I (ask) them’. It is quite possible that a different object is to be restored in *KUB* 31.4+*KBo* 3.41 obv. 16. The question of who is being asked, and therefore who is narrating the story of the mountain’s removal, needs to be left open. If it is the bull who is talking, we have to assume a complex paranoia with the storm-god talking about his actions as a bull in the third person.
- 53 Gilan 2004:279.
- 54 Schwemer 2001:226–237.
- 55 Gilan 2004:279.
- 56 Gilan 2004:274–277.
- 57 *KBo* 3.40 obv. 1’–11’, dupl. *KBo* 13.78 rev. 1’–14’.
- 58 *KBo* 3.40 obv. 13’–14’.
- 59 For literature see Melchert 1998:492–3 fn. 16. The transcription *waspus* (acc. pl.) follows Eichner 1993:104. The original text has the logogram TÚG<sup>III.A</sup>, which could be either nominative (*waspes*) or accusative plural. Eicher (loc. cit.) presents a different analysis of the metre.
- 60 Gilan 2004:270 fn. 48; further de Martino 2002:627.
- 61 The expression is uttered by the queen of Kaneš in the tale of Zalpa after she has given birth to 30 sons: *KBo* 22.1 obv. 2.
- 62 See further de Martino 2002.

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