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The Tale of Zalpa

Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative

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THE TALE OF ZALPA: MYTH, MORALITY, AND COHERENCE
IN A HITTITE NARRATIVE

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Preface

This book offers a new edition of the Zalpa story. The justification is simple: almost three and a half decades have elapsed since the Zalpa text was first published in 1973 by Heinrich Otten. Otten's edition constitutes a *locus classicus* for the determination of Old Hittite spelling conventions and morphology. Although his edition represents the state of the art at the time it was written, there have been some advances in the study of Hittite lexicography and syntax since that time, and a few improvements in the readings of the cuneiform have also been proposed. Furthermore, there are a number of linguistic and narrative issues that Otten's commentary does not address. These issues primarily concern the syntactic, stylistic, and discourse structures observable in the text as well as the function of the aetiological myth that provides the starting point of the story. Consequently, an edition that pays attention to these concerns has been a desideratum for some time.

The authors first met in 2005, at the 6° Congresso Internazionale di Ittitologia in Rome. In the course of a number of conversations we discovered that we shared an interest in pragmatics and a discourse-oriented approach to Hittite texts and that we both had worked extensively on the Zalpa tale. The overlap in interests and approach led to our decision to collaborate on a new edition of *Zalpa*. Previously, Holland had read this text with several generations of capable graduate students, beginning in 1986, and had compiled extensive notes and a bibliography. Zorman's involvement with Zalpa had begun in 2002/03 when she taught Hittite syntax to a group of enthusiastic undergraduates. In two semesters they composed a collective study of the syntax of the Zalpa text, for which they received a prestigious students' award from the University of Ljubljana. Substantially rewritten, this study served as the basis of the Slovenian book *Zakaj je bilo treba uničiti Zalpo* (*Why Zalpa had to be destroyed*) (Zorman et al. 2005).

Our detailed investigation of an apparently understandable text may seem unnecessary to some. We, however, think it represents the only way to reach a deeper understanding of the tale, which allows it to

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Bibliographical

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| AfO | Archiv für Orientforschung |
| AnSt | Anatolian Studies |
| AoF | Altorientalische Forschungen |
| AOAT | Alter Orient und Altes Testament |
| BSL | Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique |
| BoTU | Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift |
| CHD | Chicago Hittite Dictionary (Güterbock, Hoffner, and van den Hout 1980-) |
| CTH | Catalogue des textes hittites (Laroche 1971) |
| HED | Hittite Etymological Dictionary (Puhvel 1984-) |
| HEG | Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar (Tischler 1977-) |
| HFAC | Hittite Fragments in American Collections (Hoffner and Beckman 1985) |
| HS | Historische Sprachforschung, previously Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung |
| HW ¹ | Hethitisches Wörterbuch (Friedrich 1974) |
| HZL | Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon (Rüster and Neu 1989) |
| IBS | Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft |
| IOS | Israel Oriental Studies |
| JAOS | Journal of the American Oriental Society |
| JCS | Journal of Cuneiform Studies |
| JIES | Journal of Indo-European Studies |
| JNES | Journal of Near Eastern Studies |
| Judg | Judges |
| KBo | Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi |
| KUB | Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi |
| KZ | Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung |
| MDOG | Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft zu Berlin |

| | |
|-------|--|
| Or | Orientalia |
| RHA | Revue hittite et asianique |
| StBoT | Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten |
| TH | Texte der Hethiter |
| ZA | Zeitschrift für Assyriologie |
| ZA NF | Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. Neue Folge |

2. General

| | |
|-------------|-----------------------|
| abl. | ablative |
| acc. | accusative |
| act. | active |
| adv. | adverb |
| Akkad. | Akkadian |
| all. | allative |
| Arm. | Armenian |
| caus. | causative |
| com. | common gender |
| conj. | conjunction |
| dat. | dative |
| dat.-acc. | dative-accusative |
| dat.-loc. | dative-locative |
| dem. pron. | demonstrative pronoun |
| encl. dat. | enclitic dative |
| encl. poss. | enclitic possessive |
| encl. pron. | enclitic pronoun |
| f(f). | following |
| fem. | feminine |
| gen. | genitive |
| Germ. | German |
| Hitt. | Hittite |
| IE | Indo-European |
| imper. | imperative |
| inf. | infinitive |
| instr. | instrumental |
| interj. | interjection |

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| interrog. pron. | interrogative pronoun |
| iter. | iterative |
| Lat. | Latin |
| Luw. | Luwian |
| masc. | masculine |
| midd. | middle voice |
| n. | (foot)note |
| neut. | neuter |
| nom. | nominative |
| nom.-acc. | nominative-accusative |
| obv. | obverse |
| OCS | Old Church Slavonic |
| OH | Old Hittite |
| part. | particle |
| pers. pron. | personal pronoun |
| pl. | plural |
| poss. pron. | possessive pronoun |
| postpos. | postposition |
| pres. | present |
| pret. | preterit |
| ptc. | participle |
| rev. | reverse |
| s.v. | sub voce |
| sg. | singular |
| Sum. | Sumerian |
| v. | verb |

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

| | |
|-------|--|
| [] | material lost in a break |
| [()] | material supplied from a parallel version |
| o | space within a lacuna for a sign |
| × | illegible sign |
| ? | doubtful reading |
| ! | unexpected reading |
| = | precedes enclitic elements |
| // | line break |
| * | unattested form |
| . | a dot under a vowel (e.g., <i>a</i>) marks a damaged sign |

1 TEXT

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The *Tale of Zalpa* (CTH 3.1) is a fragmentarily preserved Hittite text that, in the form in which it has been transmitted to us, falls into two disjunct parts. First is the story of thirty brothers born at the same time to the queen of Kaneš. These brothers were placed in baskets and set adrift on a river which carried them to the sea in the land of Zalpa. There the gods took them up and reared them. When they grew up they went back to Kaneš in search of their mother and found her, but at the same time they met and presumably married their thirty sisters, who during their absence also had been born to their mother at one time. Only the youngest brother recognizes his sisters and objects to the potential incest. The text breaks here. With the resumption of the text the scene of the action is Zalpa. After a god's blessing the text continues with a series of apparently historical events – the outbreak and cessation of hostilities, the assassination of a princess, *tabarna's* reprisals against Zalpa, dynastic struggles, and the public rejection of demands from the king of Hattuša – which culminate in the destruction of the city Zalpa.¹

¹ Beal (2003: 21) interprets the badly damaged account of intrigues and conflicts that follows the mythological introduction as follows: the grandfather of the king of Hattusa had signed a treaty with Peruwa, the king of Zalpa, and sealed the agreement by giving his daughter in marriage to Peruwa. Peruwa's chamberlain Alluwa opposed this, assassinated Peruwa and the Hittite princess, and seized power himself. The king's grandfather declared war against him, and the inhabitants of Zalpa fled into the mountains. Alluwa fell in the attack, the Hittites coaxed those who had fled back from the mountains, and peace was concluded in Hattuša. The king's grandfather gave the city of Hurma to the old king. The Hittites and the elders of Zalpa asked that he give them his son to rule over Zalpa, and he sent Hakkarpili to them. Hakkarpili soon became disloyal to his relatives and began to plot against them. The end of this affair is lost and, when the narrative resumes, there is another prince, Happi, revolting in Zalpa. The king defeated him in battle, but Happi was able to escape back to Zalpa. The king then besieged the city and demanded that the inhabitants deliver Happi to him along with another man named Tabarna. Before the siege came to an end, the king had to return to Hattusa in order to make a sacrifice to the gods. The old king continued the siege, captured Zalpa,

The text was edited in a philologically exemplary fashion with regard to the cuneiform tablets and fragments available in 1973 by Heinrich Otten². His edition is composed of KBo 22.2, KBo 3.38, and KUB 48.79. Following a suggestion made by Otten,³ Detlev Groddek⁴ joined KUB 23.23, thus partially filling the large gap between the obverse and the reverse sides of KBo 3.38. Košak's *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln*⁵ added KBo 26.126 to the copies mentioned above.⁶ The list of further fragments naming Zalpa (listed by Laroche under CTH 3) includes KBo 7.30, 12.63, 12.18, 19.92, and Bo 69/580, the last since published as KBo 50.3. Carlo Corti⁷ convincingly demonstrated that the 'minor fragments' KBo 12.63⁸, KBo 19.92 and KBo 12.18⁹ do not belong to the story of Zalpa proper (CTH 3.1¹⁰), but rather to a 'ceremonial-ritual' text (CTH 3.2), possibly connected with the expiation of guilt for the destruction of the city. Oğuz Soysal argued in a parallel manner for Bo 69/580 (= KBo 50.3) and KBo 12.19¹¹. With the elimination of these minor fragments from the dossier, *The Tale of Zalpa* must have existed in Hattuša in at least five exemplars:

- A. KBo 22.2
- B. KBo 3.38
- C. KUB 48.79

and destroyed it.

² Otten (1973, StBoT 17).

³ Otten (1973: 2).

⁴ Groddek (1998: 227-229).

⁵ Košak and Müller (2005: 129).

⁶ Also published by Harry A. Hoffner and Gary M. Beckman in HFAC 2 (cf. Hoffner and Beckman 1985: 18) and included in the Catalog of Hittite Texts on the Hittite Home Page (cf. Collins 2005).

⁷ Corti (2002).

⁸ According to Otten (1973: 2) KBo 12.63 II 1'-9' is a duplicate of KBo 12.18 obv. (I) 5'-9'.

⁹ Soysal (2005: 129 n. 12) rejects Corti's (2002: 171-172) direct join of KBo 19.92 and KBo 12.18 on the basis of his autopsy of these two fragments: they differ in color of the clay and size of the script.

¹⁰ Although KBo 12.63 appears to be a prayer, Soysal (2005: 130) believes that it might nevertheless relate to the conquest of Zalpa.

¹¹ Cf. Soysal (2005: 128-131). KBo 12.19 is listed as CTH 3.5 by the revised CTH.

- D. KUB 23.23
- E. KBo 26.126

With the exception of KBo 22.2 (A), which was found in 1970 in rubble west of the Great Temple, we have no information about the find-sites of these fragments. KBo 22.2 preserves the first 20 lines of the text on the obverse and the last 13 lines on the reverse. The size of this fragment, 10.5 × 8 cm, corresponds to slightly more than the upper third of the tablet. Otten estimates that approximately 60 to 80 lines have been lost in the gap (1973: 1 f.). The lacuna is partly filled by KBo 3.38 (B), which has 37 partially preserved lines on the obverse and after a break an additional 32 on the reverse, the last 15 of which duplicate KBo 22.2 rev. 2'-16'. The length of the lines in these two versions is slightly different, as is the content. The length of the gap in KBo 3.38 may be roughly determined with the help of KUB 23.23 (D): although only the ends of the lines are preserved in KUB 23.23, it is clear that the partial -i]k-ki in line 2' of KUB 23.23 obverse matches *me-ek-ki* in the middle of line 33' of KBo 3.38. Furthermore, -]MA ki-iš-ša-an in line 4' of KUB 23.23 matches ŠU-MA ki- in line 34' of KBo 3.38 obverse, while p]a-a-u-e-ni in line 5' of KUB 23.23 obverse matches -]u-e-ni in line 34' of KBo 3.38 obverse. Consequently, KUB 23.23 lines 2'-5' obverse represent a slightly altered duplicate of lines 33'-35' of the obverse of KBo 3.38. The parallelism between KBo 3.38 and KUB 23.23 resumes at line 7' of the reverse of KBo 3.38 with ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A GUŠK[IN corresponding to ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.JA GUŠK[IN in line 18 of KUB 23.23 reverse. Since KUB 23.23 obverse is column II with a double line at its end and its reverse is column III, we know that we have the remains of 41 continuous lines. Since KBo 3.38 obverse ends at line 37' and since the last parallel with KUB 23.23 is in line 35' of KBo 3.38 reverse, it follows that there were approximately 26 missing lines between the two parts of KBo 3.38. KUB 48.79 (C) preserves the beginnings of 13 lines on its obverse and the beginnings of 19 lines on its reverse. These partial lines duplicate KBo 3.38 obv. 26'-37' and KBo 3.38 rev. 15'-32' respectively, and thus add no further information about the text. Although only the beginnings of lines in KUB 48.79 are preserved, these lines clearly were longer than the lines in KBo 3.38. KBo 26.126 (E) is a partial duplicate of KBo 22.2 obv. 5-10, with slight

variations, and does not help in the reconstruction of the text. If Otten's estimate of the amount of text lost in KBo 22.2 is correct, the entire tale consisted of about 116 lines. Of these, 110 are at least partially preserved, but only one third of these are in a state approaching completeness. The following concordance further illustrates the interrelationships between these versions.

Concordance

| | A | B | C | D | E |
|------|----|------|---|---|-----|
| obv. | 1 | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | x+1 |
| | 6 | | | | 2' |
| | 7 | | | | 3' |
| | 8 | | | | 4' |
| | 9 | | | | 5' |
| | 10 | | | | |
| | 11 | | | | |
| | 12 | | | | |
| | 13 | | | | |
| | 14 | | | | |
| | 15 | | | | |
| | 16 | | | | |
| | 17 | | | | |
| | 18 | | | | |
| | 19 | | | | |
| | 20 | | | | |
| | | obv. | - | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| | 11' | 12' | 13' | 27' | 14' | 15' | 16' | 17' | 18' | 19' |
| | 11' | 12' | 13' | 27' | 14' | 15' | 16' | 17' | 18' | 19' |
| | 11' | 12' | 13' | 27' | 14' | 15' | 16' | 17' | 18' | 19' |
| | 11' | 12' | 13' | 27' | 14' | 15' | 16' | 17' | 18' | 19' |
| | 11' | 12' | 13' | 27' | 14' | 15' | 16' | 17' | 18' | 19' |
| | 11' | 12' | 13' | 27' | 14' | 15' | 16' | 17' | 18' | 19' |
| | 11' | 12' | 13' | 27' | 14' | 15' | 16' | 17' | 18' | 19' |
| | 11' | 12' | 13' | 27' | 14' | 15' | 16' | 17' | 18' | 19' |
| | 11' | 12' | 13' | 27' | 14' | 15' | 16' | 17' | 18' | 19' |
| | 11' | 12' | 13' | 27' | 14' | 15' | 16' | 17' | 18' | 19' |

History of interpretation

The early history of interpretation of KBo 3.38 is simple. Emil Forrer transcribed it in 1926 (2 BoTU 13). Hans G. Güterbock offered a translation of its final two paragraphs (lines 20'-32') in an assessment of Hittite and Babylonian historiography (1938: 101-105). Twenty years later it was noted by Annelies Kammenhuber in her survey of Hittite historiography (1958: 138 f.) and then again by Einar von Schuler in his discussion of the northern border of the Hittite kingdom (1965: 20 f.). The composition really became of interest only after Otten's identification of KBo 22.2 (Bo 70/10) as a text in Old Hittite

ductus and his subsequent transcription and translation (with commentary) of this text in StBoT 17 (1973). Since then, translations have appeared by Volker Haas (1977: 14-17 and again 2006: 20 ff.), Wolfgang Helck (1983), Matitiahu Tsevat (1983), Harry Hoffner (1990; second edition 1998: 81 f.; and in Hallo and Younger 1997: 181 f.), and Calvert Watkins (1989: 796-797; 1995: 53; and 2004: 70). The repeated and often controversial discussions of the mythological framework, the theme, and the spatio-temporal references of the story are discussed in Chapter 3.

The dating of KBo 22.2

Otten (1973: 1) characterizes KBo 22.2 as a tablet written in old ductus, and consequently datable to the 16th or the 15th century BCE. Otten further states that the sign forms are 'grazlier' than those on the Zukraši tablet, the sole Hittite tablet in old ductus with a securely datable archaeological provenience¹². Since elsewhere Otten makes a consistent distinction between 'alter Dukus' and 'typisch alter Dukus'¹³, it is clear that in Otten's view this tablet does not belong to the oldest group of Hittite tablets.

Erich Neu (1980: XV-XVI) has proposed for all Old Hittite tablets in old script the global characterization 'alter Dukus' and within this category two subtypes, Dukustyp I and Dukustyp II, corresponding to Otten's 'typisch alter Dukus' and 'alter Dukus', respectively. Frank Starke (1985: 22 ff.) has further refined this taxonomy into seven types, I a-b, II a-c, III a-b. (The Roman numerals designate Old, Middle, and New Hittite, respectively.) Starke's type I a corresponds exactly to Neu's Dukustyp I;

¹² This point is emphasized by Neu (1980: XV n.8). Maciej Popko (2005 and 2007) has called into question the dating of the Zukraši text, which was discovered in an archaeological stratum dated to the time of Hattušili I because of the content and ductus of the tablet itself (cf. Popko 2007: 578 n.13). Popko assigns this tablet to the early Middle Hittite period, primarily on the basis of the forms of ID and DA (2007: 577 with n. 8). Further, Gernot Wilhelm (2005) has recently conducted a prosopographical study of the Inandik Tablet, concluding that it cannot have been composed much before Telepinu. Even if one does not wish to accept Popko's radical redating of Zukraši, the equation Old Script = Old Kingdom must be given up.¹³ See above all the introductions to KBo 17 and KBo 20.

furthermore, Starke follows Neu in the characterization of this type: broad, rightwards-inclined heads of verticals, close sign placement, small spaces between words, and sign ligatures such as A + NA, KAT + TA and RA + AN (Starke 1985: 23, cf. Neu 1980: XIV). In Starke's type I b these characteristics are not quite so pronounced, yet the sign shapes are identical to those of type I a. Most interesting for our purpose is Starke's reluctance to agree in all cases with Neu's assignment of the ritual texts he edits to Duktustyp II. Starke redates a number of these to early Middle Hittite, that is, to his type II a. Starke asserts that

[d]er Duktus dieses Typs ist dem von I b zwar sehr ähnlich, wirkt jedoch insgesamt wesentlich graziler. Auch wenn hier die Zeichensetzung oft noch gedrängt erscheint, kommen Zeichenligaturen praktisch nicht mehr vor. Darüber hinaus wird in II a die erste deutliche Zeichenveränderung greifbar: Beim Zeichen TA beginnen die eingeschriebenen Senkrechten zu "rutschen", wobei ihre Köpfe meist mit dem oberen Waagrechten abschliessen und gelegentlich sogar schon darunter liegen' (1985: 23).

Furthermore, according to Starke, texts with type II a ductus constitute the 'Nahtstelle beim Übergang vom Alt- zum Mittelhethit[ischen]' (1985: 23). The principal characteristics of Starke's type II b are the signs DA and IT 'deren unterer Waagerechter deutlich vorgezogen ist', while II c marks the transition to New Hittite (1985: 24). Although one may think that Starke's division of Middle Hittite yields overly short periods, some of the the graphic criteria he establishes for assigning texts to his II a and II b appear to fit KBo 22.2¹⁴.

In a convergent vein, again on the basis of paleographic criteria, above all the forms of the signs for TAR, ID, and DA, Silvin Košak

¹⁴ Neu and Rüster (1975: 1 n. 1) observe that some texts falling into Otten's second group may need to be redated on the basis of sign forms, noting that 'Man wird auch der Frage nachzugehen haben, ob nicht der eine oder andere Text mit dem Merkmal "relativ alter Duktus" (o. ä.) bereits ein mittelhethitisches Original ist ...' Jörg Klinger (1996: 32-39) and Jared L. Miller (2004: 9-10) expressly use the criteria established by Starke for dating the scripts used in the respective text corpora they investigate.

has classified KBo 22.2 as Middle Hittite¹⁵. Košak observes (p.c.) that these signs have forms that are characteristically Middle Hittite, and that are recognized as such by the *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon*. Obviously, a given text copy cannot be earlier than the latest sign forms it contains.

The other versions of this text, KBo 3.38, KUB 23.23, KUB 48.79, and KBo 26.126, are all Neo-Hittite copies: KBo 3.38 has been dated to the 13th century BCE by Otten (1973: 1), while KBo 26.126 is assigned to the late Neo-Hittite period¹⁶, more specifically to the time of Tudhaliya IV (Košak p.c.). The relative dating of KUB 23.23 and KUB 48.79 within this period is unclear. To assist in presenting the arguments for dating the sign forms of KBo 22.2 as Old or Middle Hittite, Table 1 shows the paleographic differences between selected signs of the different versions of the *Tale of Zalpa* as compared with their forms in KBo 16.47, which now seems to be securely dated on linguistic and historical grounds as early Middle Hittite by Melchert (2005)¹⁷. The table shows that while KBo 22.2 does not appear to be a consistently written Old Hittite manuscript, as Otten thought, on the other hand it is not a consistent Middle Hittite manuscript either, but rather has a mixture of early and somewhat later sign forms. The paleographic evidence provided by these sign shapes thus supports a later dating of KBo 22.2 than is ordinarily accepted.

¹⁵ *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln*, Online-Datenbank Version 1.2, (<http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk>); see also Košak (2005, T. 4, p. 112).

¹⁶ *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln*, Online-Datenbank Version 1.2, (<http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk>). KUB 23.23 has an old LI in obv. 8', which might suggest an earlier date for it than the other fragments, but this in itself is not probative for the dating.

¹⁷ In his paper *Middle Hittite Revisited* presented at the 6th International Congress of Hittitology, Rome 2005, and currently posted on his website (see Melchert 2005).

| | KBo 22.2 | KBo 3.38 | KBo 26.126 | KBo 16.47 |
|-------|----------|----------|------------|-----------|
| e | | | | |
| it | | | | |
| li | | | | |
| mu | | | | |
| ni | | | | |
| da | | | | |
| tar | | | | |
| uz | | | | |
| LUGAL | | | | |
| ANŠE | | | | |
| meš | | | | |
| ik | | | | |
| ḫa | | | | |
| ul | | | | |
| ú | | | | |

Table 1: Selected sign forms

The orthography of KBo 22.2 shows a mixture of archaic and more modern spellings. In addition to the Old Hittite orthographic practices already mentioned by Otten in his commentary to the text (1973: 14-56 *passim*) one can also cite the following:

ḫu-šu-wa-an-ta-an (A rev. 9'), versus *ḫu-u-i-iš-wa-an-da-an* (B rev. 25'); Hoffner characterizes spellings with scriptio plena as New Hittite (1997: 253 with bibliography),

nu-uz-za (A obv. 12, 13, 17); this is the 'typical OH writing' (Hoffner 1997: 261),

ablative ending written with *-az* sign (A.AB.BA-*az* A obv. 4); Hoffner (1997: 260).

On the other hand, there are some innovative Middle Hittite spellings, too:

da-i-ir (A obv. 16) in 3. pl. pret. in contrast to older *da-a-ir*; Houwink ten Cate (1970: 12),

the ending *-iš* of *ia-an-ni-iš* (A rev. 7'); Neu (1996: 4),

the use of *-šir* in *ga-né-eš-šir* (A obv. 18) and *ta-me-eš-šir* (A rev. 12).

Houwink ten Cate (1970: 49) claims that ŠIR does not occur in 3. pl. pret. verbs in *-n*, *-š* or *-t* in old script. If he is right, and if these features were found to be diagnostic, KBo 22.2 would be post-Old Hittite on orthographic grounds in addition to containing some Middle Hittite sign forms. On the other hand, its grammatical features are clearly archaic. One example is the use of the conjunction *šu* (obv. 3, 5, 7, 14, rev. 8', 9', 12', 13'). In the Zalpa text, as in other linguistically Old Hittite documents, *šu* is used only with past tense verbs, as established by Joseph J. S. Weitenberg (1992). Elisabeth Rieken (2000: 411) claims that the simple presence or absence of *šu* might possibly serve not only to draw a distinction between Old and Middle Hittite texts but also as a criterion for establishing a relative chronology within the group of Old Hittite compositions. The other grammatical features of this tablet show no characteristic Middle Hittite innovations. The Akkadian 3sg. masc. poss. pronoun *-šU* (A obv. 3) appears here instead of *-ŠA*, the correct form of the Akkadian 3sg. fem. poss. pronoun, a replacement which Hoffner (1997: 261) considers to occur only in post-Old Hittite manuscripts. The combination of consistent archaic grammar, innovative spellings, and inconsistent sign forms suggests that KBo 22.2 is a copy of an older version of the text.

The 13th century version, KBo 3.38, retains some archaic orthographic, grammatical, and lexical features but modernizes others. It preserves the archaic conjunctions *takku* (rev. 14', 16') and *šu* (obv. 5', rev. 21'). It also retains one instance of the allative (*iš-ša-aš-ša* obv. 4'), but has ^{URU}*Ha-at-tu-ši* (B rev. 21', 30') corresponding to ^{URU}*Ha-at-tu-ša* (A rev. 5', 13'). Similarly, it preserves the old ending *-i* in 3sg. pret. *lu-ul-li-iš* (rev. 24'), thus demonstrating a range of diachronic peculiarities from the Old to the New Hittite period. KUB 23.23 has the clause-introductory *ta* (obv. 3); whether this is archaic or archaizing is of course an open question, given the fragmentary nature of this text and the lack of a parallel in the other versions.

1.2 PLATES

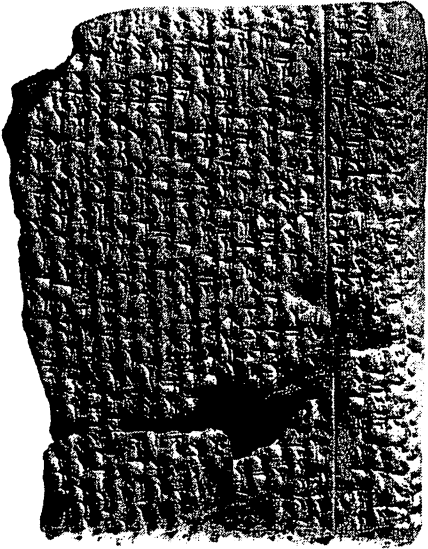


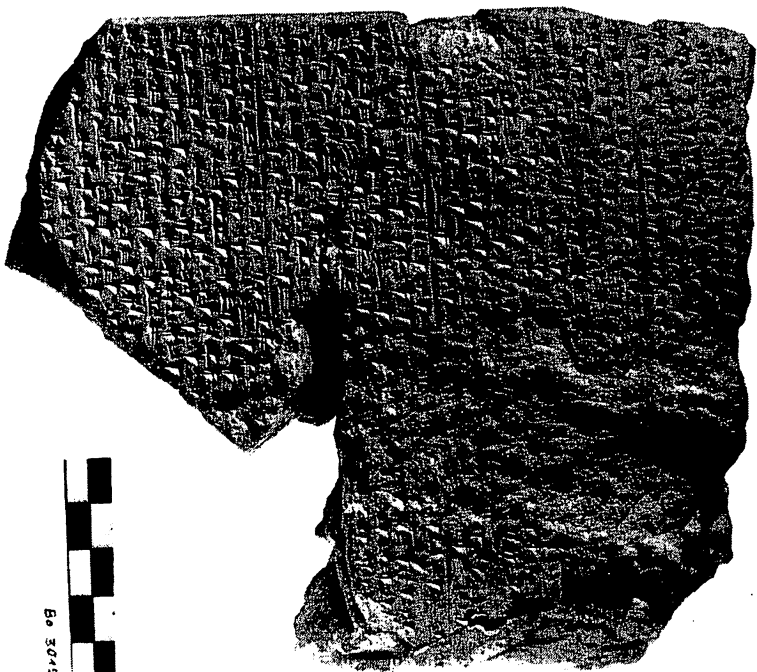
Plate 1: KBo 22.2 obverse.



Plate 2: KBo 22.2 reverse.

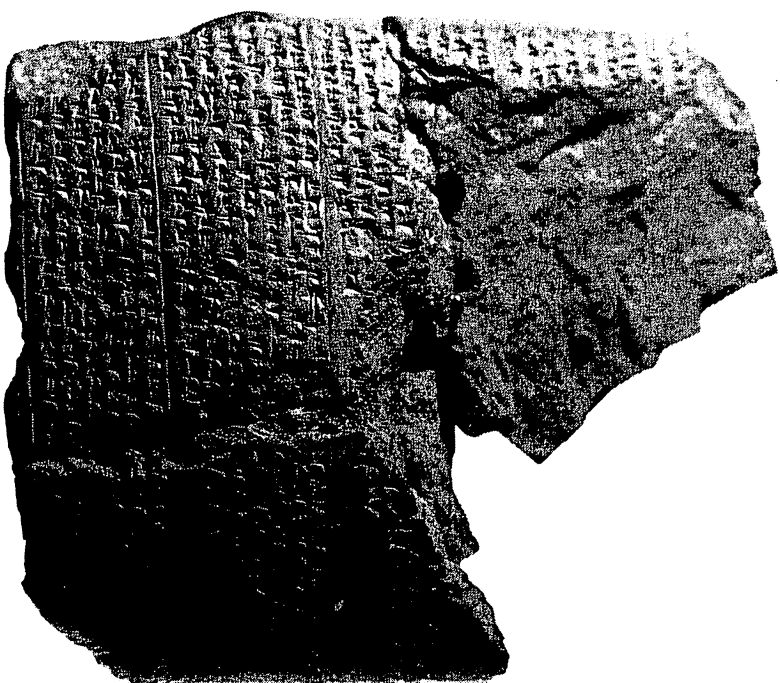


Plate 3: KBo 22.2 edges.



Bo 3045

Plate 4: KBo 3.38 obverse.



Bo 3045

Plate 5: KBo 3.38 reverse.

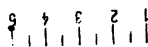
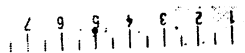


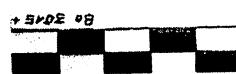
Plate 8: KUB 23.23



Plate 9: KBo 26.126 obverse.



80 3045 +



80 3045 +

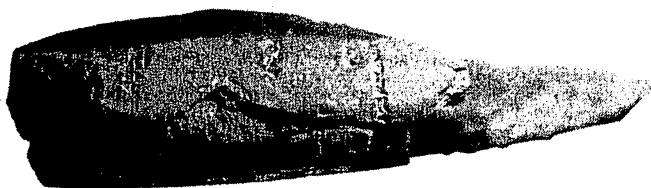


Plate 6: KBo 3.38 edges.



Plate 7: KUB 48.79

1.3 AUTOGRAPHS

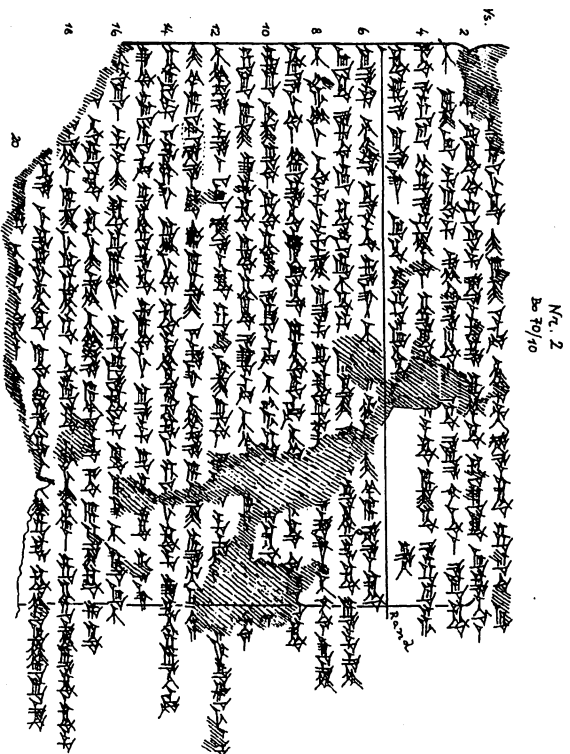


Plate 10: KBo 22.2 obverse.¹⁸

¹⁸ From Otten and Rüster (1974).

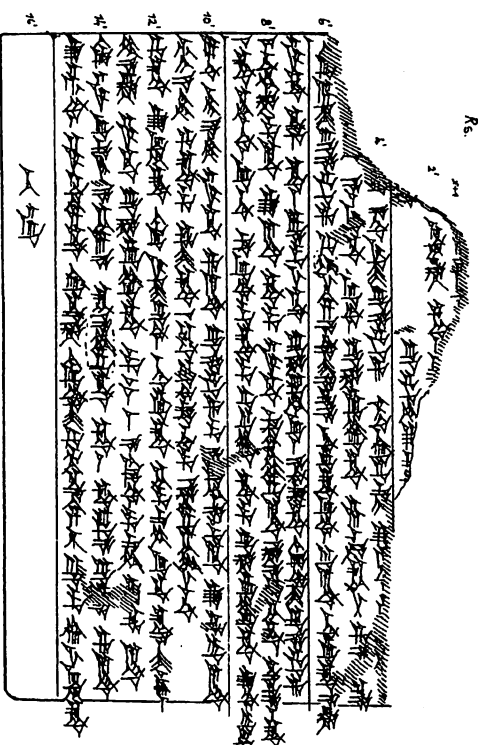


Plate 11: KBo 22.2 reverse.¹⁹

¹⁹ From Otten and Rüster (1974).

Wf. 38. Bo 4820 + Bo 3015 = Jener-Bo 74, 2.

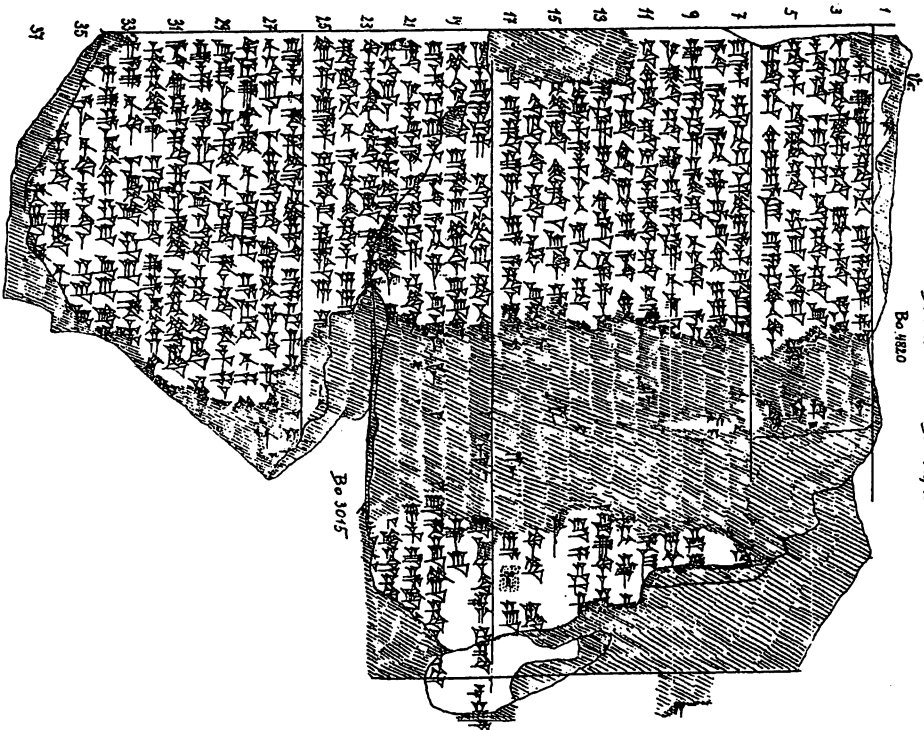


Plate 12: KBo 3.38 obverse.²⁰

²⁰ From Figulla and Weber (1919).



Plate 13: KBo 3.38 reverse.²¹

²¹ From Figulla and Weber (1919).

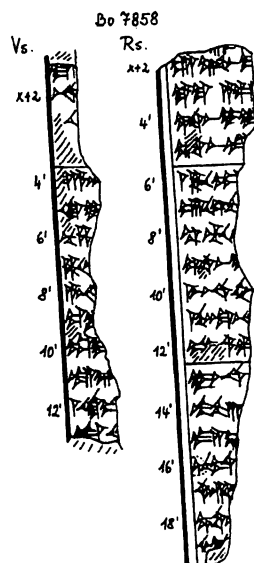


Plate 14: KUB 48.79²²

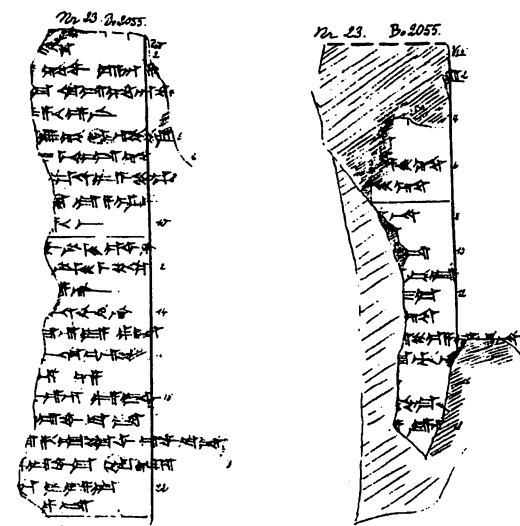


Plate 15: KUB 23.23²³

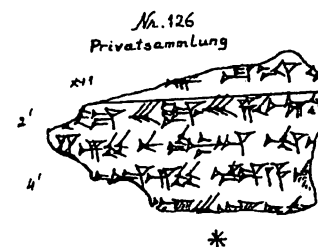


Plate 16: KBo 26.126²⁴

²² From Berman and Klengel (1977).

²³ From Götze (1929).

²⁴ From Güterbock and Carter (1978).

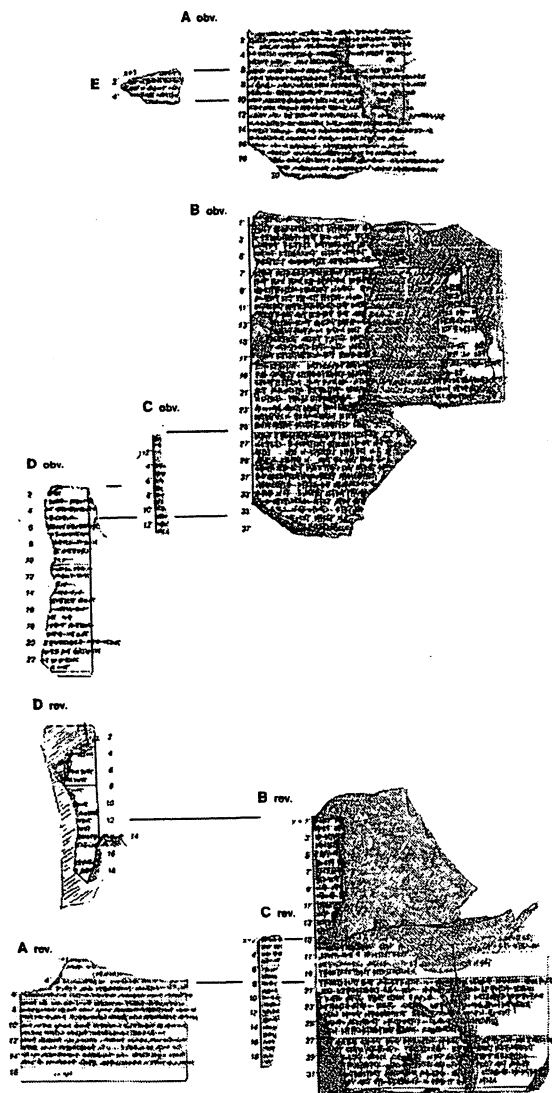


Plate 17: Alignment of the fragments

1.4 TRANSLITERATIONS

KBo 22 Nr. 2 = A

A obv.

- 1 [MUNUS.LUGA]L^{URU} *ka-ni-iš* XXX DUMU^{MES} I^{EN} MU-*an-ti*
ha-a-aš-ta UM-MA ŠI-MA
 - 2 [ki]-i-wa ku-it wa-al-ku-an *ha-a-aš-hu-un tu-pu-uš ša-kān-da*
šu-un-na-aš
 - 3 nu DUMU^{MES} -ŠU *an-da-an zi-ke-e-et [š]u-uš ÍD-a tar-na-aš ÍD-ša*
 - 4 A-NA A.AB.BA KUR^{URU} *za-al-pu-wa pé-e-da-a[š*
DING]IR^{DIDLI} -ša DUMU^{MES} -uš A.AB.BA-az
 - 5 *ša-ra-a da-a-ir šu-uš ša-al-la-nu-uš-* kir
-
- 6 *ma-a-an MU^{HLA} iš-tar-na pa-a-ir nu M[UNUS.LUGA]L nam-ma*
XXX MUNUS.DUMU ha-a-aš-ta
 - 7 *šu-uš a-pa-ši-la ša-al-la-nu-uš-kat DUMU.NITA^{MES} a[-ap-p]a[?]*
URU ne-e-ša ia-an-zi
 - 8 nu ANŠE-in *na-an-ni-an-zi ma-a-an^{URU} ta-ma-ar[-*
]a-ri-ir nu tar-ši-kān-zi
 - 9 *ka-a-ni-wa tu-un-na-ak-ki-iš i-nu-ut-te-en nu-w[a ANŠE]E-iš*
ar-ka-ta
 - 10 UM-MA LÚ^{MES} URU^{LIM} *ku-wa-pí-it a-ú-me-en nu ANŠE-iš*
[ar-k]at-ta []x
 - 11 UM-MA DUMU^{MES} *ú-e-ša ku-wa-pí-it a-ú-me-en nu MUNUS-*
z[a[?]] DUMU.N[ITA[?]25] ha-]a-ši
 - 12 *nu-uz-za an-za-aš I-ŠU ha-a-aš-ta UM-MA LÚ^{MES} URU^{LIM}*
a-aš-ma²⁶ an-ze[-el MUNUS.]LUGAL^{URU} ka-ni-iš
 - 13 XXX MUNUS.DUMU I-ŠU *ha-a-aš-ta Û DUMU.NITA^{MES}*
me-ri-ir nu-uz-za DUMU.NITA^{MES} kar-ti-iš-mi
 - 14 *pé-ra-an me-e-mi-ir ku-in-wa ša-an-ši-iš-ki-u-e-ni UM-MA-NI-*
ša-an ú-e-mi-ia-u-en

²⁵ The traces suggest UŠ.

²⁶ Friedrich-Kammenhuber (1975-: 425, s.v. *ašma*) read *a-aš-šu* here. Since the tablet is damaged, Friedrich-Kammenhuber's proposal cannot be ruled out. See commentary.

15 ú-wa-at-te-en^{URU} ne-e-ša pa-i-wa-ni ma-a-an^{URU} ne-ē-ša pa-q-ir
 16 nu-uš-ma-aš DINGIR^{DIDL} -eš ta-ma-i-in ka-ra-a-ta-an da-ī-ir nu
 AMA-ŠU-NU
 17 [o o-u]š² na-at-ta ga-né-eš-zi nu-uz-za DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} -ŠA
 A-NA DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} -ŠA pa-iš
 18 [ha-an-te-e]z-zi-aš DUMU^{MEŠ} né-ku-uš-mu-uš na-at-ta ga-né-eš-
 šir ap-pé-ez-zi-ia-ša-aš-ša-an
 19]x-uš-za né-e-ku-šum-mu-uš da-aš-ke-e-u-ē-n[i n]u
 le-e ša-li-ik-tu-ma-ri
 20] a-q-ra nu k[at-t]i-īš-mi š[e-

A rev.

x+1] × × × [
 2'] IK-KIR ša-aš^{UR} [U?
 3'] ×^{URU} al-ī-ū-ta[
 4' [m]ha-ap-pí-iš] × A-NA LU^{MEŠ} URU^{URU} za-al-pa tar-ši-ki-iz-zi ú-uk-wa
 a[t-ti-]m[i]
 5' [na-at-t]a a-aš-šu-uš šu-wa^{URU} ha-at-tu-ša hé-en-ga-ni pa-a-
 un
 6' Û DUMU^{MEŠ} URU^{URU} za-al-pa kat-tim-mi I ME ÉRIN^{MEŠ} -za e-a
 na-at-ta šu-wa ku-it na-at-ta a-kir
 7' LUGAL-ša IŠ-ME ša-aš ia-an-ni-iš^{URU} ha-ra-aš-šu-aš a-ar-ša Û
 ÉRIN^{MEŠ} URU^{URU} za-al-pa
 8' me-na-aš-ša-an-da ú-it ša-an LUGAL-uš hu-ul-li-it^m ha-a-ap-pí-
 ša iš-pár-za-aš-ta
 9' mta-am-na-aš-šu-na hu-šu-wa-an-ta-an IŠ-BA-TU ša-an^{URU} ha-
 at-tu-ša ú-wa-te-et
 10' I-NA MU III^{KAM} LUGAL-uš pa-it^{URU} za-al-pa-an a-ra-aš-za-an-
 da ú-e-te-et
 11' MU II^{KAM} kat-ta-an e-eš-ta^m ta-ba-ar-na-an^m ha-ap-pí-in-na
 12' kat-ta ú-ik-ta Û LU^{MEŠ} URU^{LIM} na-at-ta pí-an-zi šu-uš ta-me-eš-
 šir
 13' še a-kir LUGAL-uš^{URU} ha-at-tu-ša DINGIR^{DIDL} -aš a-ru-wa-an-
 zi ú-e-et
 14' Û LUGAL ŠU.GI a-pí-ia ta-a-li-iš ša-aš ša-ra-a URU-ia pa-it

15' ú-uk-wa LUGAL-uš-mi-iš ki-iš-ša Û ÉRIN^{MEŠ} kat-ti-iš-mi nu
 URU-an har-ni-ik-ta

16' TIL.LA

KBo 3 Nr. 38 = B

B obv.

x+1 [] × × [

2' [ma-a-]an lu-uk-kat-ta-ti^{URU} za-al-pa pa-i[t] × [
 3' MUNUS^{URU} da-ga-zi-pa-aš-ša DUMU.MUNUS^{DUTU}
 NINDA.GUR₄.R[A ×
 4' DUTU-uš me-ma-al iš-ša-aš-ša šu-u[h-] × ×²⁷
 5' ša-an iš-tah-ta UM-MA^{DUTU} MA × [] × ×²⁸ [
 6' [p]a-id-du mi-i-ia-ru^{URU} za-al-pu-u-wa-aš [EG]IR.U[D^{MI29}
 7' ma-a-an ap-pé-ez-zi-ia-an ku-ru-ur [ki-š]a-āt² × [] ×
 8' A-NA A-BI A-BI LUGAL ták-šu-ul i-ia-āt [] × × [
 9' LUGAL^{URU} za-al-pa e-eš-ta nu-uš-ši a-pé-ni-i[š³⁰] al-[u-
 10' LU^{ŠA}.TAM ŠA LUGAL^{URU} za-al-pa nu-kán × [] ×
 DUMU.MUNUS[] ×
 11' UŠ-MI-IT ta-ba-ar-na-aš-ša iš-š[i²] × × [] a-
 ru-[
 12' [T]U-UŠ-ME-ET Û DUMU.MUNUS-IA A-NA MI-×[] A-
 BI LUGAL³¹ p[a-

²⁷ CHD (L-N/3: 267) reads: DUTU-uš me-ma-al išša=šša šu-u[h-]ha-aš NINDA K]UR₄.R[A paš (?), but this restoration is by no means secure.

²⁸ The sign remains suggest A-NA.

²⁹ We follow CHD (L-N/2: 114), which restores this as [nu? EG]IR.U[D^{MI}, but the remains also allow [EG]IR-Š[Û, a less likely alternative since *appanda* is 'fast immer EGIR-an-da geschrieben' (Tischler HEG 1, 44).

³⁰ Forrer's A-BI (2 BoTU 13) cannot be ruled out, although no traces of *ni* and *iš* are given in Figulla's hand copy in KBo 3.38. There is no parallel in KBo 22.2; unfortunately, the photo is not clear enough at this point in the line to allow a decision. The reading should be checked on the tablet itself.

- 13' [mu^{URU}]_{za-al-pa} l-NA^{URSAG} ka-pa-x[]^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
14' [hu-ul]-la-an-za-an-ni-pát BA.ÚŠ ŠA x[]^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
15' [hu-ul]-li-i eš-ia³² I ŠU-ŠI É[]^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
16' [] x^mud-da-na-aš-ša-aš EN-aš šu-úš x[]^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
17' [šu-u]š^{URU} ha-ú-i-ni-ia a-ša-aš-ia x[]^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
18' LÚMEŠ^{URU} za-al-pa lš-MU-U-MA ša-na[]^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
19' a-pu-u-uš-š^{URU} ha-at-tu-ši ták-šu-ul[]^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
20' URU hu-ur-ma-an A-NA A-BI LUGAL ŠU.GI[] x^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
21' Ū LÚMEŠ^{URU} GI^{URU} za-al-pa kat-te-iš-] x[]^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
22' nu-uš-ma-aš^m ha-ak-kar-pí-li-in DUMU-] x^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
23' wa-tar-na-al-ly-iš ku-ti ha-an-ti[] x^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
24' ta-it-ti nu a-pé-ni-eš-ša-an i-ia[(-)] x^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
25' tu-pa-la-a-an ku-e-el SAG.DU-i x[] x^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
26' ma-a-an^m ha-ak-kar-pí-li-iš^{URU} za-al-pa pa-x³⁵[]^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
27' nu-uš-ma-aš me-mi-iš-ta ki-i-mu LUGAL-uš pa-iš-ri[^a n[lu
28' HUL-lu haar-zi nu ku-ru-ur e-ep-ten nu-za x[]^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a

³¹ The end of the direct speech must be in the lacuna, and ABI LUGAL is part of a new clause.

³² Segment this as *e=šia*. Goedegebuure (2003: 177) argues that accented *a-le-* is a remnant of an earlier anaphoric (rather than distal demonstrative) pronominal paradigm, later (already in prehistoric Hittite) replaced by accented anaphoric *apa-*.

³³ Goedegebuure (2003: 177) complements this break as É[HL.A *dāir* (?) and

translates 'And Alluwa [...]. [he] died in the same [r]evolt. Zalpa won the battle [...] of [...]. They [look ?] 60 households away'. She continues: 'This tentative translation seems to do justice to the anaphoric relations in these clauses. If Zalpa is not the subject in 14', then *e(-)* would be without referent unless some plural entity is hidden in the breaks in 14'. It is also possible that *e(-)* is used adjectively to the 60 houses, 'those 60 houses'. In that case the 60 houses should have been mentioned before.'

³⁴ Forrer (2 BoTU 13) reconstructs: *UM-MA A-BI/LUGAL-MA*.

³⁵ Forrer 2 BoTU 13: 'wohl *pa-iš*'.

³⁶ Forrer 2 BoTU 13 omits the traces which Otten reads as *ta*.

- 29' šu-ú-mi-iz-zi nu kat-ta ha-aš-ša ha-an-za-aš-š[^a
30' GÍR-an-za kar-aš-du^m ki-iš-wa-aš-ša te-et iš-x[]
31' A-NA^{URSAG} ta-pa-aš-zi-li hu-ul-li-i-i x[]
32' hu-ul-li-i-ir^{GÍŠ} TUKUL GÍD.DA ú-e-ek-mi³⁷ x[]
33' pa-a-ú nu-wa me-ek-ki UM-MA^m ha-ak-kar-pí-li-MA
34' [LUGAL]-i ú-e-ek-mi UM-MA ŠU-MA ki-x[]
35']u-e-mi nu-wa-an-na-aš^{GÍŠ} TUKUL šul-
36' [m^m ki-i]š-wa-aš-ša ú-i nu-x[]
37']x^m ha-at-ri[-

B rev.

- x+1 A-HI-IA x[]
2' LUGAL-uš e-el[š]
3' LUGAL^{URU} zi-[]
4' ne-ia[-]
5' ^mdam-na[-]
6' LUGAL-un i[-]
7' ^{GÍŠ} ŠU.A GUŠKUN
8' ki-i-ta []
9' nu-wa ú-w[^a
10' DINGIR^{MEŠ} -wa x[]

- 11' ^mha-ap[-pí- -]x-ri[(-)
12' nu-wa x[]
13' ta-bal-ar-na]
14' ták-ku[(-) -i]r
15' ú-g[(a-aš-m)a-aš]x^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
16' ú-ga-kán ta-i-i-ti ták-ku a-x[]^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
17' šu-un-na-al-ly-i ha-at-ra-a-i-i []^{URU} kum-man-ni EGIR-pa
18' ^{URU} za-al-pa-aš-ša IK-KIR [š]a-aš^{URU} x[]^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a
19' ^mha-ap-pí-iš-ša^{URU} al-ly-i-ti³⁸]x^mal-lu-wa-aš-š[^a

³⁷ Cori (2002: 180) suggests that the following passage relates to Kišwa and Hakkapili's appeal for help from the sovereign.

³⁸ A rev. 3' ^{URU} al-ly-i-ti

Copy.

KUB 48 Nr. 79 = C

20' ^mŋa-ap-pí-iš A-NA LU^{MEŠ URU} za-al-pa tar-aš-k[i-iš-z]i ū-uk-wa
 21' šu-wa^{URU} ŋa-at-tu-ši hī-in-ga-ni pa-a-u[n]]ŭ DUMU^{MEŠ URU} za-al-
 22' I ME ERIN^{MEŠ šu-wa¹³⁹} ku-ti U-UL a-ki-ir [LUGAL-uš-š]a iš-ME
 23' URU^{MEŠ URU} ŋa-ra-aḫ-šu-wa-aš a-ar-aš ū ERIN^{MEŠ URU} za-al-pa] me-na-
 24' ša-an LUGAL-uš ḫu-ul-i-iš^m ŋa-ḫap-pí-iš[š]a iš-pár-za-aš-ta
 25' [d]am-na-aš-šu-un-na ḫu-u-i-iš-wa-an-da-an [iš-B]A-Tŭ
 26' [š]a-an URU^{MEŠ URU} ŋa-at-tu-ša EGIR-pa pé-e-ḫu-te-e[i]

27' [I-NA] MU III^{KAM} LUGAL-uš I-NA URU^{MEŠ URU} za-al-pa pa-i LUGAL-
 28' uš^{URU} za-al-pa MU III^{KAM} kar-ta
 29' [e-eš-t]a ta-ba-ar-na-aš^m ŋa-ap-pí-in URU-a[z] kar-ta ū-e-ek-ta
 [ŭ LU]^{MEŠ URU^{LM}} ū-UL pí-an-zi nu-uš dam-m[i-iš]-šar še-a-e-
 ki-ir
 30' [LUGAL-uš^{URU} ŋa-at-tu-ši DINGIR^{MEŠ} na-aš ḫ-ru-wa-u-na-an-
 z[i] ḫ-ti ŭ LU^{MEŠ} GAL
 31' [a-pí-ta] da-a-i-iš ša-aš A-NA LU^{MEŠ URU^{LM}} te-e[i] ū-uk-wa
 32' [ki-iš-šá-ḫa-ŋa-ŭ ERIN^{MEŠ} kar-ta-eš-ši nu URU^{LM} E[L-Q]E QA-TI

4' $m[a-a-a]n$
5' $ki-i$
6' $nu-za$
7' $\hat{h}a-a[s]$
8' $A-N[A]$
9' GIS_TUKUL
10' $UM-M[A]$
11' $8a-URU$
12' $m-ki-i[s]$
13' $pu-np$

C rev.

$$\begin{array}{r} \times \times \times [-1 + \times \\ 2' \quad \text{u-ga-as-m[a} \\ 3' \quad \text{ia-k-ku-a-pa-a} \\ 4' \quad \text{sa-as-i-i[a} \\ 5' \quad \text{ia-as-ur[u} \end{array}$$

6. ${}_m\hat{y}^a\text{-}d\text{-}U\text{-}U\text{-}$
7. $kat\text{-}ti\text{-}x\text{-}$
8. $\hat{s}a\text{-}a\hat{s}\text{-}x\text{-}$
9. $me\text{-}na\text{-}a\hat{y}\text{-}$
10. ${}_m\hat{y}^a\text{-}dam\text{-}n\text{-}a\text{-}$
11. $EGIR\text{-}pa\text{-}$

13 I-NA [14 MU III 15 URU-a² 16 nu-u⁵ [17 ar- 18 $\bar{s}a-a$ 19 U]

KUB 23 Nr. 23 = D

D obv.¹

| | |
|-----|------------------------------|
| x+1 | x x |
| 2' | me-e]k-ki |
| 3' |]ta-wa ma-a-an x[|
| 4' | -]MA ki-iš-ša-an-w[a(- |
| 5' | p]a-a-u-e-ni |
| 6' |]x-lu-ga an-ze-el |
| 7' |]x-me-mi-iš-ta |
| 8' |]du-ud-du-me-li |
| 9' | -i]r ^{URU} za-al-pa |
| 10' |]x-u-aš |

| | |
|-----|--|
| 11' | G]AL LÜ ^{MEŠ} GIŠŠUKUR |
| 12' |]LÜ ^{MEŠ} ME-ŠE-DI |
| 13' | -]a-ir |
| 14' |]x-nā-qh-ti-ir |
| 15' | U]RU-ri-ta pa-i |
| 16' |]x-ki-tz-zi |
| 17' | -]hu-un |
| 18' |]x-e-hu pa-a-i-ši |
| 19' |]ú-wa-te-el |
| 20' | U ^{RU}]a-at-tu-ši ú-wa-te-el |
| 21' |]x-zu-wa-ma x x x |
| 22' |]x-i-ta-at |
| 23' |]pa-iš |

D rev.¹

1-3 the first three lines are not preserved
4-5 only indistinct traces of one sign at the end of each line

| | |
|---|----------|
| 6 |]e-eš-ta |
| 7 | -]eš-ta |

| | |
|----|-----------------------------------|
| 8 |]x-na |
| 9 |]x |
| 10 | -]iš |
| 11 | A]-BI-IA ⁴⁰ |
| 12 | -]i-ma |
| 13 | -]ta |
| 14 | z]i-i-z-za-zu ¹ -lu-na |
| 15 | -a]i-ti-mu[|
| 16 |]x |
| 17 |]x-dam-x[|
| 18 | GIŠŠÜ.JA GUŠKIN |

KBo 26 Nr. 126 obv. = E

| | |
|-------|--|
| x + 1 | -i]r šu-uš x[|
| 2' | na]m-ma XXX DUMU ^{MEŠ} lu-aš-ta [|
| 3' | i-]en-zi nu ANŠE-an na-a[n- |
| 4' | tar-š]i-kān-zi ka-a-n[i-wa |
| 5' |]x ^{MEŠ URU} iā-[|

⁴⁰ Or q-pi-ta.

1.5 TRANSLATIONS

A = KBo 22 Nr. 2

A obv.

The queen of Kaneš bore 30 sons in one year. She [spoke] as follows: What a prodigy I have borne. She filled baskets with oil⁴¹ and placed her sons therein. And she let them go into the river. The river took them to the sea at Zalpuwa. The gods took up the boys from the sea and reared them.

When the years went by the queen bore further 30 daughters. She brought them up herself. The sons are going back to Neša and they are driving a donkey. When they reach Tamar(mara) they say: Look here, heat up the *tunnakiš* so that the donkey will *arkatta*. The men of the city [speak] as follows: Wherever we have looked, a donkey will *arkatta*. The boys [speak] as follows: But wherever we have looked, a woman bears [one] son in a year, yet she bore us at one time. The men of the city [speak] as follows: Good. Our queen of Kaneš bore 30 daughters at one time yet the sons have disappeared. Now the boys spoke to themselves: Whom are we seeking? Our mother! We have found her! Come, let us go to Neša. When they went to Neša the gods put another appearance on them so that their mother does not recognize (them) and gave her own daughters to her own sons. The older sons did not recognize their sisters, but the youngest [said]: ... we are taking our own sisters (in marriage). Now do not commit an outrage, ...[it is not] right. Yet they sle[ep] with them.

A rev.

... was inimical and he ... Alhiuta ... [Happi] says to the men of Zalpa: My father does not like me, and I would have gone to my death in Hattuša and the people of Zalpa with me. And 100 troops – are they not? – would they not have died?

⁴¹ I.e., waterproofed them.

The king heard this and he set out. He reached Harahšu. Then the troops of Zalpa came against him and the king defeated them. Happi escaped. But they captured Tamnassu alive and he took him to Hattuša.

In the third year the king went and beseiged Zalpa. He was there for two years. He demanded Tabarna and Happi. But the men of the city do not surrender (them), and they (the king's army) defeated them (the men of Zalpa) and they died. The king went to Hattuša to pray to the gods and left the old king there (at Zalpa). And he went up to the city [and said]: I will be your king and the troops [are] under me. And he destroyed the city.

The end.

B = KBo 3 Nr. 38

B obv.

When it became light he went to Zalpa and Earth, the daughter of the Sun god, bread []. The Sun god sprinkled meal into his mouth [] and tasted it. The Sun god [spoke] as follows: Let (him/it) go and increase, Zalpa's [] afterwards [].

When did they finally become inimical?⁴² [] made a treaty with

⁴² Helck 1983: 277 reconstructs the content of KBo 3.38 obv. 7-37 as follows:

- 7 'Als nun später Feindschaft [entstand,] da schloß Zalpa mit dem Großvater des Königs einen Vertrag. [Peruwa] war aber König von Zalpa; ihm war damals Alluwa Kämmerer des Königs von Zalpa. Er tötete [Peruwa] und die Tochter [des Großvaters des Königs]. Aber der Tabarna wurde zorn[ig und sprach: P]eru[wa] hast du getötet und meine Tochter hast du in den To[d getrieben]. Da zog der [Groß]vater des Königs los, Zalpa aber [floh] auf den Berg Kapaskup[ina]. Aber Alluwa kam wieder in einer Revolte um. Des He[eres Macht]?
- 10

-
- 15 schlug Zalpa. Es gab 60 Haushalte, die in der [Revolte]
Herren ihrer Entscheidung geblieben waren. Diese führte er [vor sich
heraus],
siedelte sie in Tawinija an und schloß [mit ihnen einen Vertrag].
-

Die Leute von Zalpa hörten das und kamen ein[zeln vom Gebirge
Kapas]kupina herunter,
und diese [schlossen] in Hattusa einen Vertrag. Der [Großvater] des
Königs aber

- 20 [gab] Hurman dem Vater des alten Königs. Hattusa
und die Ältesten von Zalpa erbaten sich aus seiner Hand einen Sohn
[zum Königtum].
Ihnen [gab er seinen] Sohn Hakarpili. So ordnete er an:
"Was du an[zeigst, Was]
du festsetzest, so [sollen sie] handeln.
25 Auf wessen Schreibers Kopf [du]"

Als nun Hakarpili nach Zalpa g[ing] [.....]
sprach er zu ihnen: "Dieses hat mir der König aufgegeben: [Wenn
einer]

böse Absichten hat, so bekämpft ihn. Nicht soll er [die Stadt mit
Unheil]

füllen. Enkel und Urenkel soll [der Feind (?)]

- 30 mit dem Schwert niederhauen". Aber Kiswa sagte: ["Mein Herr]
hat am Berg Tapazili bekämpft, [.....]
haben bekämpft. Ich bitte um ein 'Langwerkzeug'. So[gar soll der
König]
geben und zwar viel!" Da sagte Hak[arpili]: "Ich erbitte [keinesfal]ls
(etwas) vom König". Da sagte er: "So [.....]
35 werden wir gehen und ich werde uns seine Waffe für unsere [Stadt
erbitten]".
Aber Kiswa kam und sagte [zu ihnen]: "[Den Hakarpili]
[wollen wir] heimlich niederschlagen". [.....] kam Zalpa
[.....]"

the grandfather of the king. [] was king of Zalpa and with him []
Allu[] the chamberlain of the king of Zalpa and []
daughter [] he killed. And Tabarna [] you killed [] and my
daughter to [] father of the king [] Now Zalpa to Mount
Kapa[] and Alluwa died in the revolt, of [] Zalpa he defeated.
They [] 60 households [] the master of the case and
they brought [] and settled them in Tawiniya []

The men of Zalpa heard this and released him [] and he [] a
treaty with Hattuša. But the [] king [] Hurma to the
father of the old King. And Hattuša and the elders of Zalpa desired a
son from [him ...]. And he [gave] them Hakarpili (his) son and
commanded as follows: Whatever separate [] you place, now in
that manner do [] on the head of which scribe ...

When Hakarpili [] Zalpa []. He spoke to them: The king
gave me these [] He has evil. Now you have become inimical and []
fills. And to the grandsons and greatgrandsons [] let
him cut with a dagger. And Kiswa said: [] to Mount
Tapazzili [] he defeated [] they defeated. I wish for a
mace. [] let him give much. Hakarpili [spoke] as follows: I
want [] from the king. He [spoke] as follows: Let us [go]. And
to us a weapon []. And Kiswa went and [] write []

B rev.

My brother [] was king [] king of Zalpa [] turned []
Damnassu [] king [] golden throne [] this for you [] now
come [] gods. []

Happi [] and [] Tabarna [] If []. I you [] with a []
]. I with a bucket. If he [] I will fill you with a shovel, he
wrote. [] he will go back to Kummanni. And Zalpa became
inimical. And he went to []. And Happi to Alhiuta.

Happi speaks to the men of Zalpa: My father does not like me. And I would have gone to my death in Hattuša and the people of Zalpa with me. One hundred troops – Wouldn't they have died? And the king heard this and he set out. He reached Harahšu. And the troops of Zalpa came out against him. And the king defeated them. And Happi escaped. And they captured Damnassu alive and he took him back to Hattuša.

In the third year the king went to Zalpa. The king was in Zalpa three years. He demanded Tabarna and Happi from the city. And the men of the city do not surrender them. They defeated them and they died. The king went to Hattuša to pray to the gods. He left the dignitaries there (in Zalpa). And he said to the men of the city: I have become your king and the troops [were] with him. And he took the city. Finished.

E = KBo 26 Nr. 126

they [too]k and them [
fur]ther 30 children she bore [
they are go]ing and they dri[ve
they sp]eak: look he[re
me]n of Ta[marmara

2 COMMENTARY

2.1 COMMENTARY ON A

A obverse

2 *kī=wa* [*k*]uit *walkuan*

Otten does not translate *walkuan*, but in his commentary on this passage (1973: 7 and 16) compares the occurrence of this word in the Puḫanu Chronicle (KBo 3.40 Rs. 15') and suggests 'schlechtes Omen, Unheilverkündendes' as a meaning that would fit both passages. In fact, the entire phrase [*k*]-i-*ī* *ku-it wa-al-ku-wa-an* also appears in the Puḫanu Chronicle. Unfortunately, there is no trace of the verb and the context is completely different. Soysal in his edition of the Puḫanu Chronicle follows Otten's interpretation of the word (1987: 177, 191 f., and 237, n. 156).

Hoffner variously translates *walkuan* as 'gang, horde' (1980: 290 in 1998: 81), 'mob' (1995: 95), and also as 'multitude' (1997a: 181). Ahmet Ünal (1986: 130, n. 8) offers 'something unusual, shameful, disgraceful' on the basis of the context. Some years later, however, Ünal (1994: 806) suggested Germ. *Welp* 'puppy, whelp' as translation, thereby emphasizing the large number of offspring. Similarly, Petra Goedegebuure (2002/2003: 11) translates the beginning of the text as: 'The queen of Kaneš gave birth to 30 sons in one year. Thus she (said): 'What is [th]is!? I have given birth to a gang!' Hoffner and Goedegebuure apparently proceed from the etymology that connects this word with Latin *volgus* 'crowd, multitude', from IE **wolgu-*.

For a complete overview of the literature on this word see Soysal (1999: 126 f). The phrase *kī kuit* has been recently discussed in the context of an interrogative to relative construction grammaticalization path by O. Hackstein (2004), who accepts the standard interpretation of the phrase, 'was für ein...?'.

2 šakanda

Not from *šakkar/šakn-* 'dung, excrement' (presumably used metonymically for pitch, tar, bitumen, or the like) with Otten (1973: 17), but rather from *šakkar/šakn-* 'oil' following Hoffner (1994) and Neu (1996: 85 and 169). Hoffner (1994: 230) suggests that if simple waterproofing is at issue here, Akkadian parallels exist for the use of oil/resin to caulk boats.

3 DUMU^{MEŠ}-ŠU

The 3sg. masc. poss. -ŠU appears here instead of the correct 3sg. fem. poss. pronoun -ŠA. Hoffner (1997: 261) considers this replacement to occur only in post-Old Hittite manuscripts

4 A-NA A.AB.BA KUR^{URU} za-al-pu-wa

Carruba (2003: 112) believes that this phrase is a literal translation of ^{URU}*Zalpuwa anda arunaš* in the Anitta text (KBo 3.22 obv. 38) 'am (*anda*, mit Gen. ?) Meer des Landes von Zalpa'. Carruba further suggests that Zalpuwa is an adjective, characterized as such by the suffix -wa-.

4 DINGIR^{DIDLI}-š=a

Otten (1973: 22) calls attention to the use of the Sumerian collective marker DIDLI instead of the frequent MEŠ, noting that DINGIR^{DIDLI} is also found in a fragment of the Palace Chronicle (CTH 9.6; KBo 3.28, II 6, 16). Otten observes that these texts are Old Hittite or copies of old texts. KUB 3.38, the neo Hittite version of Zalpa, uses DINGIR^{MEŠ}.

Both Gilan (2005, ms of an unpublished paper presented at the 6th International Congress of Hittitology) and Corti (2005: 116) also note this use. Corti observes that it is difficult to know whether the occurrence of DINGIR^{DIDLI} in the Zalpa text and in the Palace Chronicle (CTH 8) is a simple coincidence or not, given the rarity of DINGIR^{DIDLI}.

5 šallanuškir

Hoffner and Melchert (2002: 385) translate *šallanuškir* as 'they began to raise them', but stressing the inceptive meaning is probably an over-interpretation. There are, after all, thirty boys, hence multiple objects, and an unspecified, but plural number of gods. This is a pluractional situation, amply justifying the -šk- suffix by itself. Furthermore, as Hoffner and Melchert note, the action is protracted.

7 DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} ā[pp]a^{URU} neša yanzi

Otten (1973: 25) takes the verb *yanzi* from the stem *iya-* 'make, do', assuming an ellipsis of a word for 'way', presumably since *iya-* 'go' is otherwise inflected as a deponent with the exception of the imperatives *īt* and *eḫu*. It seems more straightforward to accept with Oettinger (1979: 349) and Puhvel (HED/E-I: 325) the possibility of an archaism here (i.e., *yanzi* 3pl. pres.act. 'they go') given the existence of the relict active imperative forms. Zeilfelder (2001: 66) retains Otten's interpretation and points to developments in German dialects and to Latin *proficisci* as possible parallels for the semantic change suggested by Otten.

8 ff. ANŠE

Otten merely questions whether ANŠE is singular or a collective, thus giving the impression that he is thinking of donkey caravans and *kārum* Zalpa. In view of the prominent role given to the donkey in this passage, it seems preferable to interpret the donkey as a symbol of sexual potency or fertility following Watkins (2004: 71). Equids are linked with kingship and are participants in fertility rituals across early Indo-European cultures. That this donkey is a symbol of fertility or potency may be further supported by a possible analogy to the *Gussform mit einer ihre Brüste haltenden Göttin und einem auf einem Esel stehenden Gott aus Kültepe, 18. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (see Willinghöffer et al. 2002: 241).

The Puḫanu Chronicle has been connected with the Zalpa text because it, too, contains the words *walkuan* and ANŠE. The

occurrence of ANŠE in the Puḫanu Chronicle, however, is very different from that of the donkey in the Zalpa text:

§ 4.

10. [^{URU}A-r)]i-in-na^{KI} ku-in pé-e-ḫu-te-et-te-en u-ni ḫu-ur-ta-li-im-ma-an n[a-at-ta-aš]

11. [(ANŠE-i)]š-mi-iš nu-uš-še-eš-ša-an e-eš-ka-aḫ-ḫa nu am-mu-uk pé-e-ḫu-te-et-t[e-en]

(cited following Soysal 1987).

Hoffner (1997: 184 with n. 5) translates this passage as 'Isn't that opponent of mine whom you (pl.) escorted to Arinna my donkey? (n. 5) Or perhaps: "Whom did you bring to Arinna? That opponent of mine? Isn't he my donkey?"' I will sit upon him, and you (pl.) shall escort me there!' Here the donkey is clearly a symbol of humiliation.

9 *kāni=wa tunnakkiš inutten*

Otten (1973: 28) translates this sentence as 'Hier die Halle habt ihr eingeheizt', Beckman in his dissertation on birth rituals as 'thus you have created warmth in the inner chamber' (cited by Neu 1980a: 42). Beckman takes *tunnakkiš* as an endingless locative from a neuter s-stem in apposition to *kāni*, while Neu views it as an uninflected borrowed word. For Neu, *tunnakkeššar* would then be a later adaptation of *tunnakkiš* to a common Hittite inflectional pattern. However, the directive *tunnakešna* is well attested in Old Hittite, and in any event the word is common enough to be frequently abbreviated, even in Old/Middle Hittite (*tunna* in KBo 20.10 + KBo 25.59 obv. I 6). Otten translates it as 'Innengemach', extending to more specialized meanings such as 'Schlafgemach, Thronraum, Festhalle'. Cf. also Tischler (1977-: s.v. *tunnakiš*). The verb *inutten* is formally either a 2pl. past indicative or a 2pl. imperative, from a stem meaning 'make warm, heat up'.

Puhvel (HED/K: 47, s.v. *kāni*) follows Otten, translating 'Here you have heated the chamber'. For Puhvel, *kān(i)* 'is clearly a petrifact of the pronominal stem *ka-*, with *-ni* reminiscent of dat.-loc. sg. *kedani* and the adverb *ki(ni)ssan* (and its parallels *enissan*, *apenissan*). The

meaning seems locatival (like loc. sg. *keti*, and the adverb *kā* 'here') and also adverbial 'thus, likewise'.

The word *tunnakiš* also occurs in the Old Hittite version of the Anitta text at l. 78 (KBo 3.22), where it is the inner room in which the man from Purušhanda will sit at Anitta's right hand. Consequently, this word is translated as '(Thron)gemach' by E. Neu in his edition (1974: 15). The form is in the directive *tunnakišna=ma*. A New Hittite parallel version of this text, KUB 26.71, has ^{URU}Zalpa=*ma* at l. 18 in the passage corresponding to l. 78 of the Old Hittite version. Neu also notes the appearance of *tunnakiš* in our text. According to Neu, the scribe of KUB 26.71 may well have had ^{URU}Zalpa=*ma* in his model, but then the model will not have been the preserved Old Hittite version, but rather some other old version. Further, if the scribe of KUB 26.71 had altered *tunnakišna=ma* into ^{URU}Zalpa=*ma*, it can only have been if the scribe had known and intended to refer to the throne room in Zalpa (1974: 60 with nn. 75 and 76). Carruba argues that Zalpa must have been present in one of the archetypes of the Anitta text and draws the conclusion that Anitta must also have had a residence or hall in Zalpa (2003: 130).

A possible further consideration is provided by the famous Ritual for building a temple (CTH 414), in which it is stated that governance and the royal wagon were brought by the Throne God from the sea. Since the only city on the sea with which the Hittites were in close relations was Zalpa, then the association of *tunnakiš* (as throne room) and Zalpa may not have been far from the mind of the scribe of KUB 26.71. A transliteration and translation of the relevant section of this ritual follow.

KUB 29.1 (Tempelbauritual CTH 414):

Obv. I

LUGAL-e-mu DINGIR^{MES} me-ek-ku-uš MU^{KAM} ḫ^{LA}-a-aḫ-ḫi-ir

22 ú-it-ta-an-na ku-ut-re-eš-me-et

NU.GAL

LUGAL-e-mu ma-ni-ḫi-aḫ-ḫa-en ^{GIŠ}ḫu-lu-ga-an-né-en ^{GIŠ}DAG-iz

24 *a-ru-na-za ú-da-aš an-na-aš-ma-aš KUR-e ħe-e-še-er nu-mu-za*
LUGAL-un
la-ba-ar-na-an ħal-zi-i-e-er

26 *nu EGIR-pa ad-da-aš-ma-an* ^D*U-an ūa-al-lu-uš-ki-mi nu GIŠ^{hl.A}*
LUGAL-uš
^D*U-ni ú-e-ek-zi ħe-e-ja-u-e-eš ku-it ta-aš-nu-uš-ki-ir šal-la-nu-uš-*
ki-ir

28 *ne-pí-ša-aš kat-ta-an ú-li-li-iš-ki-id-du-ma-at*

'To me, the king, the gods allotted many years.
 My brevity in years doesn't exist. (= A short lifespan doesn't exist for me.)

The Throne God brought governance (and the) wagon to me, the king,
 from the sea. They opened the land of my mother and they called me,
 the king, *labarna*.

And afterwards I will praise my father, the Storm God. And the king
 desires trees for the Storm God since the rains have made (them)
 strong (and) raised (them) up.

You (pl.) have sprouted⁷ down from heaven.'

9 f. *arkatta*

Otten reads the signs and traces in l. 9, 10 as *ar-kat-ta* / [*ar-k*]at-ta, ruling out the possibility of reading *a[r-aš-k]at-ta* (iter. from *ar*- 'arrive') on the grounds that the space doesn't allow it, that iterative forms of *ar*- are otherwise written with scriptio plena of the initial syllable, and that iterative forms of *ar*- are otherwise always active. The homonymous root *ar*- 'stand', although inflected as a middle, seems not to occur with the iterative suffix *-šk-*. A 3sg. middle form of *ark*- 'climb; mount, cover' then appears to be the only possibility.

There are two verbs *ark*-. The first is inflected as an active *-ḫi* verb and means 'cut'. The second is inflected as middle and means 'climb; mount, cover'. 'Mount, cover' is used with reference to the

sexual pairings of animals. Norbert Oettinger (1979: 414-415) maintains that *ark*-^{bb} cannot be derived from *ark*-^{aa} on semantic grounds, but that the reverse is possible through a euphemistic use. On the contrary, it seems best to keep these verbs entirely separate. The verb *ark*- 'climb; mount, cover' comes from IE **h₁erg'h-*. For further etymological details see Watkins (1975), Puhvel (HED/A: 142), Melchert (2001), and Watkins (2004). (Tischler 1977-Lfg. 1: 59 adds nothing to Watkins 1975.) See further Friedrich and Kammenhuber (1975-: 300-302)

10 f. *kuwapit aumen*

Melchert (1977: 269 f.) observes that *kuwapit* is unquestionably locative in function. Hoffner (1995: 100) glosses *kuwapit* as 'where, to what place'. Puhvel (HED/K: 229) glosses *kuwapi(t)* as 'an interrogative adverb "where?, whither?, when?", relative conjunction "where, whither, when", and indefinite adverb "somewhere, sometime, ever" ', etc. He translates this passage as 'whither we have arrived', retaining Otten's reading *arumen*.

a-ú-me-en in lines 10 and 11 following Eichner (1974: 185), 1pl. past *auš*- 'see'. Otten (1973: 7) reads *a-ru-me-en* in both places and translates as 'Wohin wir (auch) gelangt sind, ...en sich die Esel'. We believe that Eichner's reading is preferable. The signs in l. 10 and l. 11 are not identical, since the first has 3 verticals and the second has 4 according to Otten's autograph and the photograph. HZL lists no RUs with 4 verticals in Old or Middle Hittite, while *Ú* can have either 3 or 4 verticals. Hoffner (1995: 100) maintains Otten's reading but interprets this sentence as a rhetorical question expressing incredulity, and translates: 'What have we come to that a donkey will climb?'

11 *weš=a*

The *-a* appears to mark both subject switch and focus on the pronoun. See Houwink ten Cate (1973a) and Meacham (2000: 302). The interpretation of *-a* in this passage will, of course, be dependent on the interpretation of the preceding sentence.

11 *ḥaš-*

The verb *ḥaš-* 'give birth' can be used with or without the particle *-za*. There appears to be no semantic difference between these variants (Hoffner 1973a: 525).

12 *āšma*

Hoffner (2002/3), taken in conjunction with Goedegebuure (2002/2003), argues convincingly that *āšma* is based on the distal deictic pronoun *aši-* as identified by Goedegebuure with the addition of the focusing/topicalizing particle *-ma*. Goedegebuure isolated a number of functional roles for this distal deictic pronoun. Since *āšma* is an adverb, Hoffner focuses on three aspects of distance: (1) temporal, (2) spatial, and (3) disassociative, and explains that '[b]y "disassociative" I mean that the speaker uses the distal-derived interjection to distance himself from the unpleasant or dangerous principal focus of the sentence' (2002/3: 83). He states that *āšma* is used in this passage '[b]ecause such a huge litter can only have been regarded as a *monstrum*, something which was an exceedingly baneful omen', which will ultimately lead to disaster. There is no natural way of translating this adverb into English here. Hoffner's arguments render obsolete the observations of Friedrich-Kammenhuber (1975: 425, s.v. *ašma*). Puhvel (HED/A: 216-217, s.v. *asma*) glosses *āšma* as '(look) there, lo, behold', minimally differentiating it from *kāšma*, which he translates as '(look) here, lo, see'.

13 f. *-za kardi=ši peran mema-*

CHD (L-N/3: 260) 'And the sons said to themselves (lit., spoke before their heart)'; 'les fils parlèrent devant leur coeur', Dardano (2002: 371). For Dardano, this phrase means 'penser, se réfléchir', because the heart was not only the seat of emotions, but also of reflection and considered decision.

14 *ša-an wemiyawen*

Otten (1973: 6-7 and 32-33) reads *ku-in-wa ša-an-ḥi-iš-ki-u-e-ni UM-*

MA-NI-ša-an ú-e-mi-ia-u-en, and translates: 'Wen suchen wir (noch)? Unsere Mutter haben wir gefunden.' Starting from the premise that in Old Hittite *wemiya-* was not used with the particle *-šan*, Starke (1979: 51, n. 8) suggests the reading *ku-in-wa ša-an-ḥi-iš-ki-u-e-ni UM-MA-NI ša-an ú-e-mi-ia-u-en*, treating *UMMA-NI* as an accusative placed after the finite verb and *ša-an* as *šu + -an*, rather than the particle *-šan*. Starke translates this sentence as 'Unsere Mutter, die wir andauernd suchen, die haben wir nun gefunden', which clearly show that he takes the relative element as definite. CHD (Š/1: 148) agrees with Starke's proposed reading. Starke's suggestion raises a difficulty because it results in a syntactic anomaly, namely the clause-initial placement of the determinate (= definite) relative marker *kuin*, which must occur after a full lexical item (Held 1957: 15 ff.). This difficulty can be obviated by taking *kuin* as an interrogative in a rhetorical question. It is worth noting that in both the photograph and Otten's autograph copy there appears to be no space between the NI of *UMMANI* and the following *ŠA*, which was probably the reason for Otten's interpretation.

16 *tamain karatan dai-*

Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995: 701) gloss *karatan dai-* as 'to place one's heart', that is, 'to believe', and they consequently interpret the passage as 'the gods placed another belief in them', presumably a non-Hittite one that allows brother-sister incest.

Puhvel (HED/K: 76) translates this sentence as: 'The gods installed another character in them, and their mother does not recognize [them]'. The shift from preterit to present tense and the presence of the conjunction *nu* encourage the reading of the second clause as a *Konsequativsatz*; the fact that their mother does not recognize them is a result of the gods' action (cf. Cotticelli-Kurras 2001: 50).

Paola Dardano (2002: 368) notes that ^{UZU}*karāt* seems to mean 'viscera, stomach', and by extension 'nature, character, temperament'. She further signals the difficulty of retaining this meaning in the sentence 'the gods placed another *karāt* on them', observing that it is impossible that *karāt* can refer to an internal organ, and that it seems improbable that it can refer to a spiritual quality. She suggests the meaning 'external appearance, physiognomy' for this passage.

17 *pai-* + *-za*

The particle *-za* here signals that the grammatical subject of the clause is also the possessor of the object (Hoffner 1973a: 523).

18 *appezziaš=a=ššan*

The *-a* marks both the introduction of a new subject and contrast (Meacham 2000: 78).

19]*x-uš=za nēkušummuš daškēuen[i*

a) CHD (L-N/4: 425 f.): [o o ku]-¹*u?*¹-*uš=za né-e-ku-šum-mu-uš daškēueni* 'The older sons did not recognize their sisters, but the youngest one [asked:] "Should we take [thes]e(?) our sisters (sexually)? (Let us not approach them)'"

b) Without *-za*, *da-* (*dašk-*) means 'take', with *-za*, 'take for oneself' (Hoffner 1973a: 521); the presence of *-za* licenses the sexual interpretation of the verb. The *-šk-* suffix is appropriate in view of the plurality of both subjects and objects.

19 *šaliktumari*

Hoffner (1997: 258) v. midd. 'to intrude', 'to have sexual intercourse with'; cf. also CHD (Š/1: 103).

20 *natta āra*

Puhvel (HED/A: 118, s.v. *ara-*) observes that *natta āra* 'is a set term like Lat. *nefas* ('abomination', = Sum. NÍG.GIG 'tabu' in KBo 1.42 IV 7; cf. MSL 13.140 [1971]) used predicatively without copula to mean 'it is not right, it is forbidden' ... Typically, in the Hukkanas treaty (cf. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* 2:124-8), KBo 5.3 III 34 (cf. 60) ^{URU}*Hattusi-ma-at ŪL āra* 'at Hattuša it is illegal' (as opposed to Hayaša), showing the national, social-group character of the term *āra*' (1984:118). The etymology of this word, which is cognate with Indo-Iranian **āra-* 'fitting, right, proper', Vedic *ṛtá-* 'right, proper', *ṛtām* 'cosmic order',

Avestan *aša-* 'right, truth, order', Vedic *ārya-* 'belonging to the right (one's own) community, Aryan', etc. (see Puhvel HED/A: 120), shows the conservatism of this inherited notion.

After an investigation of all the contexts in which *natta āra* appears in Hittite, Y. Cohen concludes with regard to this passage in the Zalpa story: 'the intent was to formulate a sexual prohibition which heightens the sense of group distinction and social awareness' (2002: 77-78). We would rather say that the intent was to state clearly a preexisting sexual prohibition characteristic of the Hittites, and to set the stage for the unfolding of this moral tale.

A reverse

7' LUGAL-*š=a*

In addition to signaling a subject switch the *-a* also marks a new discourse orientation. Meacham (2000: 57 ff.) states that *-ma* [and the functionally equivalent *-a*] often occurs with or within expressions which modify or specify the conditions within which the action of the text takes place, the *orientation* or *setting*'; similarly Goedegebuure (2003: 328), who remarks that '[c]lauses with this type of *-al-ma* often contain background information that is supportive to the main story line'.

7' ^{URU}*haraḥṣuaš*

Otten recognizes the enclitic nom. pronoun *-aš*, but does not assign a grammatical case to the place name. Starke (1977: 29) analyzes this as *haraḥṣua* terminative (= directive) + *-aš*. According to Otten (1973: 47) this place name is not attested elsewhere. The writing *-ua-* rather than *-uwa-* is typical of older texts. Jacqueline Boley also comments on this passage (2004: 194 f.).

Güterbock (1938: 103) interprets *haraḥṣuwaš* in the B text as a dat.-loc. *haraḥṣuwa* + *-aš* 's/he'.

8' ^m*hāppiš=a*

The *-a* has complex functions here: it signals subject switch and

contrast with the expectation set up by the preceding clause. It is also picked up by the *-a* of the following clause (cf. Meacham 2000: 77).

9' IŠBATU

3pl. Although the previous clauses (with singular verbs) refer to the king (synecdoche) as defeating the army of Zalpa, presumably here we either have a construction *ad sensum* or a simple error, since the following verb is once again singular.

10' pāit ... wetet

In spite of the apparent collocation of *pait* with *wetet*, van den Hout (2003: 182, n. 21, with 184-188) argues that this is not a phraseological construction because of the late position of *pait* in its clause. Otten (1973: 48) is more cautious and observes only that the copyist of the B text obviously did not interpret this collocation as a phraseological verb, since he repeats the grammatical subject LUGAL-*uš* in both clauses.

11' kattan ēšta

Güterbock (1938: 103) B rev. 27'-28' translates as 'der König [blie]b drei Jahre bei Zalpa'. Otten (1973: 50) correctly notes that *kattan* must be taken as a preverb with *ēšta*, and stresses the possibility that *ēšta* could be either from *eš-* 'be' or *eš-* 'sit'. In the latter case *kattan eš-* would be an idiom for 'beseige'.

14' Û LUGAL ŠU.GI apiya tāliš š=aš šarā URU-ya pait

These two clauses are grammatically and lexically clear. Otten's interpretation is that the king is the subject of the first clause and that the LUGAL ŠU.GI is the subject of the second clause. This makes good sense in context because the king has gone to Hattuša to pray to the gods as we are told in 13'. However, the question here is whether LUGAL ŠU.GI can be the referent of *-aš* without an overt indication of subject switch. It is interesting to note that B has a different

wording of these clauses but preserves the *š=aš* introducing the second clause:

30' Û LÚ^{MES} GAL
31' [*a-pl-ia*] *da-a-li-iš ša-aš A-NA LÚ^{MES} URU^{LIM} te-e[t]*

Here the subject of the first clause must be the subject of the second clause as well. Since B 30' also tells us that the king has gone to Hattuša to pray to the gods, then the contextual argument loses some of its force (unless, of course, there is an omitted clause in B). Güterbock (1938: 104) takes Happi as the referent of the above sentence. Goedegebuure (2003: 28-34) discusses the different kinds of reference.

15' ūk=wa LUGAL-ušmiš kišha

B 31' ū-uk-wa LUGAL-uš-me-e[t]
32' [*ki-iš-ha*]-at

Otten (1973: 55) observes that the 'uninflected' neuter *-šmet* (B) often appears in later copies of historical texts and that it appears when the (inflected) enclitic possessive was no longer a living part of the language. Rieken (2001: 581) simply labels such usages as mistakes. Houwink ten Cate (1967), on the contrary, believes that the forms in *-d* are original, and that their use as locatives, instrumentals, and ablatives (and nominative and accusative neuter) is a survival from before the period in which the full paradigm evolved. He identifies the medial *-d-* in the oblique pronominal forms *apedani*, *apedanda*, etc., with this *-d*.

15' ḫarnikta

The verb *ḫarnikta* is replaced by *ELQE* in B rev. 31'. A possible reason for this is that destroying a city meant committing a sin for the Hittites (Güterbock 1938: 131). The tale of the siege of Uršu (CTH 7, KBo 1.11, transliteration and translation in Güterbock 1938: 114 ff.) states explicitly that the sin/error inherent in the destruction of the city will be long lasting. In fact, Haas (2006: 42) characterizes the theme

of the king's speech in this section (obv. I 10' ff.) of the Uršu text as 'die "richtige" Art und Weise der Zerstörung der Stadt, um den Zorn der Stadtgötter zu vermeiden'.

2.2 COMMENTARY ON B

B obverse

In the context of arguing that the Zalpa text reflects the immigration of the patriarchal Hittites and their first contacts with the matriarchal Hattians, Ünal (1994: 805 ff. and 807, n. a to l. 20 of KBo 22.2) suggests that the gap between l. 20 of A and the beginning of B contained a narrative about the seizure of power in Zalpa by the incestuous offspring of the brothers and sisters. Klinger (1996: 117, n. 149) correctly argues against this view on the grounds that it is unconvincing and simply doesn't fit the text.

3' ^{MUNUS}dagazipaš

^{MUNUS}dagazipaš 'spirit of the earth' (from *dagan-/tekan-* neut. 'earth' and *-šepa-* 'spirit' with the standard Hittite development of an 'excrement' *-t-* between *-n-* and *-s-* and graphic omission of the nasal). The predeterminer ^{MUNUS} demonstrates that the personification is feminine.

4' ^DUTU-uš

Soysal (1987: 188-189) has suggested that in this passage ^DUTU-uš refers to the Hittite king and ^{MUNUS}dagazipaš to his daughter. Soysal's interpretation of ^DUTU-uš in the Zalpa text is dependent on his interpretation of ^DUTU-uš in §7 of the Puḫanu text ^DUTU-uš, which he took to be the Hittite king on the grounds that the passage 'spricht ... für einen menschlichen Charakter' (1987: 188 f.). S. de Martino and F. Imparati (2003: 259 with earlier literature) argue convincingly against this view, pointing out that 'in KBo 3.40 rev. 9'-10' it is divinities who send a message to the king', and stressing 'the anomaly of the expression ^DUTU-uš, with the phonetic complement *-uš*, to

indicate the king's title.' They accept the hypothesis that the Sun goddess is meant in this section of Puḫanu and 'presume that it is this divinity who authorizes the undertaking against Aleppo, thus conferring legitimacy on the Hittite action'. Carruba (2002: 152-153) also argues against Soysal's assertion of historicity for this section of the Zalpa text simply because of the mention of Zalpa (in addition to the fact that the beginning of the section of the text that is universally regarded as historical is clearly separated from the mythical portion by the clause *mān appiziyan kurur k[iš]at*) for three reasons: 1) the king who is contemporary with the narrative at l. 26 of the end is always called LUGAL-uš; 2) the sequence of events seems clear: mythical phase (with ^DUTU(-uš), ^{MUNUS}dagazipaš, and the prediction for Zalpuwa); ancient historical contrasts (with *ABI ABI* LUGAL and *ABI* LUGAL (ŠU.GI); 3) events of the present king (LUGAL), who could not have made the prediction in the ancient period. Carruba (2003: 97-98 with n. 23) discusses the identification of ^DUTU-az in the Anitta text, and reaches the conclusion that here, too, the Sun god is meant. It was Güterbock (1938: 113) who first related this passage of the Zalpa text to KBo III 40 + 41 = 2BoTU 14 β (Puḫanu-Chronik) because of ^DUTU-uš.

4' ^DUTU-uš *memal išša=šša šu[h]-*

CHD (L-N/3: 267) reads ^DUTU-uš *me-ma-al išša=šša šu-u[h]-ha-aš* NINDA.K]UR₄.R[A *pa-iš(?)*] / *š=an ištahta* and translates 'The Sungod poured meal into her mouth [and gave her(?) thick bread]. And she tasted it'. The pouring of meal and offering of bread are standard acts in Hittite rituals. The relevance of this to the narrative might be to show that the Earth has accepted the offerings, and that she will continue to be productive and fruitful in spite of the sexual nature of the offence committed by the brothers and sisters.

The use of the imperative *paiddu mīyaru* shows that ^DUTU in this passage must refer to the Sun god.

6' *paiddu mīyaru*

CHD (L-N/2: 115) translates [*p*]aiddu mīyaru ^{URU}zalpūwas [nu? EG]IR.U[D-MI ...] 'Henceforth let Z. prosper, [and in the fu]tur[e ...]'

It is interesting that the author of the text has used a phraseological verb construction here. Generally, *pāi-* 'go' is used in phraseological verb constructions and sets the action referred to by the second verb in the same sentence into the future (Hoffner 1968: 202, n. 42). E. Neu (1995) describes the phraseological verb constructions, both present and preterit, as basically emphatic in nature. Van den Hout (2003: 196) states that 'in addition to the temporal consecutiveness, the clause with the phraseological verb can indicate an action that also follows logically or expectedly from the preceding action'. In any event, the use of the phraseological construction here is highly marked, and it signals that the author viewed this point in the narrative as crucial for the development of the story. Presumably, something has happened in the lacuna to atone for the incest.

7' *ma-a-an ap-pé-ez-zi-ia-an ku-ru-ur [ki-š]a-qt*

Puhvel (HED/K: 280, s.v. *kurur*) translates 'as finally war broke out'.

8', 12', 19', 20' (ABI) ABI LUGAL

The identification of the ABI LUGAL is a vexed question, as is the nature of the relationship between the LUGAL and the ABI LUGAL: is this a sort of shared governance? He is a partner in the treaty with some predecessor of LUGAL^{URU} *Zalpa* in B obv. 9' who had a chamberlain called *Alluwa*. See further Pecchioli Daddi as reported in note 51.

9', 24' *apeniššan*

See Goedegebuure (2003: 94) on the anaphoric and cataphoric functions of the focus adverb *apeniššan*.

11' *tabarnašš=a*

Rieken (2000: 412-413) claims that geminating *-a* 'and' was not used in Old Hittite to link clauses. Of course, non-geminating *-a* was freely used as an adversative clausal conjunction. Since we know that in late copies old *-C-a* is often modernized as *-CC-a*, we may consequently

assume an older *-C-a* for every instance of *-CC-a* at the beginning of a clause in a late copy (Rieken 2000: 413, n. 6 and Houwink ten Cate 1973a: 124).

In addition to the occurrence here, *tabarna* is also found in B rev. 28'. This word (and the relationship between *tabarna* and *labarna*) has been the object of much discussion. One of the issues is whether *tabarna* was originally a personal name which later became a title, or whether the personal name derives from an old title. The change of *l* to *t* (or of *t* to *l*) cannot be explained in terms of inner-Hittite historical phonology. An early etymology derived it from the Luwian verb *tapar-/*tapariya-* 'rule, govern', preserved in Luwian *taparḫa* 'I ruled' (Götze 1922: 138 n. 3 wondered if *Tabarna* was connected with *tapar-* "Gewalt ausüben", CHD L/1: 43; the history of interpretation of this word through 1979 is given in this lemma).

Some have argued that the word is borrowed from Proto-Hattic (e.g., Sommer 1938: 25-26 with n. 2 and Kammenhuber 1969: 432, 486), while others believe it to be of Indo-European origin (e.g., Puhvel 1989: 360, citing Eichner's reconstruction **Dhabhronos*, 'tied in with the denominative verb *tapariya-* 'be in charge, command', and further related to Lat. *faber*, Arm. *darbin* 'smith', and OCS *dobrŭ*). Carruba (2005: 58 with n. 15) asserts that the *-rn-* medial cluster in this word is a further argument against a Hattic origin, since *-rn-* clusters do not exist in this language. One of the theories says that a Proto-Hattic noun *tabarna* merged with the Hittite personal name *Labarna*. For more about the semantic and phonological development see Tischler (1988 and 1991: s.v. *tabarna*), Klinger (1996: 206-213), Klengel (1999: 322 with n. 7) and Stefanini (2002: 791 with nn. 19 and 20). Melchert (2003: 19, 180 f.) believes that *labarna-* is a Luwian loan into Hittite. He gives examples of Luw. *d* corresponding to Hitt. *l*, among them Luw. **dabarna-* '(the) strong (one)': Hitt. *labarna-*; for Melchert, 'Hittite, having no word-initial *d-*, replaced the initial *d-* of Luwian loans with *l-*' (2003: 181).

12' ANA MI-x

A-NA MI-x is complemented by Otten (1973: 37) as A-NA MI-T[*l*] or A-NA MI-T[*U-TI*] from *MĪTŪTUM* 'death'. This complementation is very probably correct, especially in view of [T]U-*UŠ-ME-ET* at the

beginning of the line, yet it is rather disconcerting to note how little solid evidence supports our interpretation of the narrative at this point.

13' ^{UR.SAG} *kapa-x* [

Hoffner (1997a: 181) complements this name as Kapa[kapa], which is, according to del Monte and Tischler (1978: 173), a heavily wooded mountain, difficult of access, located in the Gašga region, and mentioned also in KBo 2.5+ II 16-18 (KBo 2.5 II 28 has a broken]-*ga-pa*). For other attempts at the reconstruction of this name see Otten (1973: 38); del Monte and Tischler (1978: 172) repeat Otten's suggestion of Kapa.jpina, made on the basis of *Kapa-x* here and *x-pi-na-az* in l. 18'.

14' *hullanzanni=pát*

In view of the fragmentary nature of the context, it is difficult to see exactly what function the particle *-pat* has here. Since it is attached to a noun, one might expect some previous reference or mention of the noun, and translate 'the aforementioned, the same' following Hoffner (1973: 107 ff.). This, then, would imply the presence of a case form of this word (or, perhaps, a semantically related word) in the lacuna after the beginning of l. 13'.

16' *uddanaš=šaš EN-aš*

Ünal (1996: 37, with literature) translates it as 'lord of logos', and states that this title refers to 'expert persons or pundits in a particular field'. In KBo 3.38 'this word seems to comprise a class of experts or craftsmen who obviously are mentioned among the manpower booty taken by the Hittite king'. Previously Neu (1986: 113) surveyed the earlier translations (Singer: 'masters of the words'; Laroche 'seigneurs de la parole'; Otten 'Beschwörungspriester') and concluded that this syntagm has a unitary meaning, possibly identical to that of *uddanalla-*.

17' *š=uš*

[*šu-u*]š : Carruba (1971) discusses the replacement of the original acc. pl. common gender pronoun *-uš* by *-aš* in later Hittite, and the usefulness of this morphological change for dating texts.

19' *apūšš=a*

Goedegebuure (2003: 333) characterizes this as a 'surprising *apa-*'. If it is true, then the peace was not made by LU^{MES} URU^{URU} *Zalpa*! Furthermore, '... enclitics are used for Established Topics, and accented pronouns are used to indicate Argument Focus and Unexpected or Contrastive Topics' (Goedegebuure 2003: 78). In that event *apušš-a* could be an Expanding Focus pronoun and it would mean 'they too (made peace)', which implies that somebody else has already made peace. See B obv. 8'.

20' URU^{URU} *hattušaš=a*

The geminating *-a* attached to a clause-initial noun probably represents an old non-geminating *-a*, and hence marks a clause indicating a new discourse orientation (see note to 11', Rieken 2000: 412-413, and Houwink ten Cate 1973a: 124; cf. further Goedegebuure 2003: 321).

21' *-ši*

-ši can refer either to *ABI LUGAL* in Hattuša or to *ABI LUGAL ŠU.GI* in Hurma. Hakkarpili must have been sent to Zalpa with the king's instruction for keeping peace there after the revolt of Alluwa had been crushed.

25' SAG.DU-*i*

For the meaning of SAG and SAG.DU 'Person, Leben, Diener etc.' see Kammenhuber (1964: 150 ff. and 1965: 177 ff.). Cf. also Pecchioli Daddi (2006: 124) with further bibliography.

27' *kī=mu*

Goedegebuure (2003: 211) : '... the pronominal demonstrative *ka-* is used when an object is salient, and a demonstrative description *ka-* + *N* is used when the object is not salient.'

28' *ḪUL-lu ḫarzi*

idalu ḫar(k)- Beal (1988: 292) translates this as 'He holds evil [for me in his heart (?)]'.

28' *nu=za*

A has *nu-uz-za* (e.g.. A Ro 12, 13). K. Yoshida (2001: 725) has plausibly argued that 'the graphic shift from Old Hittite is in all probability explained by the so-called "simplified spelling". Since the sign *uz* is relatively complicated, late Hittite scribes will have omitted it'.

29' *ḫašša ḫanzašša*

ḫa-aš-ša ḫa-an-za-aš-ša : see Puhvel (HED/H: 224 ff., s.v. *hassa-*) for a detailed survey of the varying interpretations of this phrase.

30' *GÍR-anza*

Syntactically and formally this form can be either nominative (or rather, ergative, see Garrett 1990) or ablative (= instrumental). The instrumental was no longer alive in Neo-Hittite; its functions were taken over by the ablative (Melchert 1977: 424).

30', 36' *ḫiśwašša=a*

See note on *tabarna* l. 11'. Other occurrences of *-CC=a* are listed in the glossary.

B reverse

14', 16' *takku*

This New Hittite copy preserves faithfully the Old Hittite conjunction.

16' *ug=a=kan talit*

Otten (1973: 54) takes *talit* in *ú-ga-kān ta-li-īt* as belonging to the verb *dala-* in spite of the interpretational difficulties. This very short clause does not make any sense, since it would then have a 1sg. subject and a 3sg. verb. If, on the other hand, *talit* were an instrumental noun, then it could be taken as parallel to ^{GIŠ}*intaluzzit*, which also occurs after a 1sg. pronoun. If this highly conjectural suggestion is accepted, it might be possible to interpret the passage as follows: 'I (will fill you) with a *tala*, if he xxx-s, I will fill you with a shovel. He wrote.' One would have to accept an instance of double 'backwards gapping'.

The possibilities for the interpretation of *tala-* are limited. Tischler (HEG III/8: 56) has an entry ^(DUG/GIŠ)*tal(l)āi-* (also *talla-* and *talli-*), all neuter, which he glosses as 'ein Gefäß für Feinöl, d. i. Parfum' (see also Friedrich, HW¹, 206), but this does not seem to make good sense in this context.

28' *tabarnaš*

Otten (1973: 50) argues that the copyist of B interpreted *tabarnan* in his model (version A for Otten) as a title rather than as a personal name and that this misunderstanding led to two further changes: the omission of the personal name marker and the replacement of the accusative *-an* by the nominative *-aš* (cogent because the bearer of such a title must be the subject of the clause). Although Otten's observations may in principle be true, it should be kept in mind that both KBo 22.2 and KUB 3.38 may be independent copies of an older version of the tale. We know that at least five different copies of this story were preserved in the archives at Boğazköy, and there may well have been others.