29' *še=a*

It seems best to follow Otten in his view that *še-a e-ki-ir* is a simple error on the part of the copyist of B for *še a-kir* in A (1973: 67).

3 SETTING

3.1 TIME AND SPACE

The foundation legend in the *Tale of Zalpa* of course cannot be dated. We know that Zalpa already existed as a city during the time of King Anitta, who reports (CTH 1, ed. Neu (1974) and Carruba (2003), obverse lines 30-44) that all lands from Zalpa to the great lake were subject to him and that he brought the king of Zalpa as a prisoner to Neša. The period in which the historical events narrated in this tale took place is a matter of guesswork. Attributing crucial importance to the mention of Hattuša, Otten (1973: 59, 62) assumes that the latter part of the text, which describes a series of battles, dates from the 16th century BCE and assigns it to the time of Hattušili I or perhaps Mursili I. Contrary to Otten, Horst Klengel (1999: 23) believes that these events refer to the time of the Old Assyrian trade settlements, while Wolfgang Helck (1983) locates them in a 'dark age' between Anitta and Labarna I. In the belief that the events in the text date from before the time of Hattušili I, Richard Beal (2003) constructs an elaborate chronology of the predecessors of Hattušili I. He assumes that the king of Zalpa mentioned in B obv. 9' is Peruwa, the heir to Anitta's throne. Hakkarpili is supposed to be a descendant of the king's grandfather, either Tudhaliya I or PU-Šarruma, depending on which of the alternative reconstructions one chooses, and Happi is for at least a short period the successor of Hattušili I. The old king mentioned in A rev. 14' must be Labarna I, and the king of Hattuša (A rev. 13') Hattušili I – that is, Labarna II. If this is true and if Zalpa really was destroyed after the reign of Hattušili I, then it seems reasonable to follow Jörg Klinger (1996: 121-126) in his assumption that Hattuša – which did not have much influence in Anatolia until the time of Hattušili I, even though it was the capital under this king's grandfather (cf. Beal 2003: 25, with further literature) – finally gained supremacy in central Anatolia: its rival Zalpa was no longer

competitive, although it apparently retained a role in the enthronement of Hittite kings.[43]

The name Zalpa was evidently used for two different cities. One stood on the Black Sea near Bafra, and the other was in northern Syria. The north Syrian Zalpa has been located near Birecik and was an important trade center on the merchant route from Assyria to Anatolia (see Veenhof 1972: 292-293 with n. 423, Otten 1973: 21, 58 ff., and Miller 2001). This Zalpa is supposed to be referred to in fragments describing the Syrian wars (Res gestae Hattušili I, CTH 14), which mention the name Zalpa together with that of Yarim-Lim, a prince from Emar (Otten 1973: 60, Röllig 1978: 768). On the basis of the known trajectories of his military campaigns, the Zalpa that was conquered by Hattušili I must also be the north Syrian one (CTH 4). On the other hand, in the text treated here, the city is situated near the sea and therefore the Zalpa near Bafra must be the one intended. In this case, the river debouching into the sea must be the present-day Kızılırmak. This opinion is generally accepted today, but is far from being the only one on this issue. Einar von Schuler (1965: 20) reports that Friedrich Cornelius first located the Zalpa of our text near Lake Tatta (Tuz Gölü), and then at a dried-out lake near Çorum. Gerd Steiner (1993) attempts to demonstrate that our Zalpa lay south or southeast of Lake Van. Since the river Kızılırmak is 800 km long, he reasons that Zalpa could not have been on the coast of the Black Sea – children in baskets would not have been able to travel so far, even in a myth (1993: 589). He considers the motif of exposed children to have been taken from Mesopotamia, and therefore surmises that the river that the queen put the children into was the Euphrates. For the form URUZalpuwa see Otten (1973: 20) and Carruba (2003: 109 f., as well as his contribution to the 6th International Congress of Hittitology, Rome 2005). For Zalwar as 'the third Zalpa' and further variants of this name such as Za-al-ba-ar, Za-a-al-pu etc., see Miller (2001: 70 ff.).

Massimo Forlanini (1984: 260 ff.) considers Zalpa to have been the original center of the proto-Hattic kingdom. In the pre-Hittite and Old Hittite period it played a more important role than Hattuša, which was founded later, perhaps as a defense against intruders from Kaneš.

Zalpa was the site of ritual purifications and perhaps also of coronation rites (Haas 1977a: 24-26), and its citizens enjoyed special privileges until the time of Hattušili I. The city later became less important. After the destruction reported in the tale at hand, Zalpa was mentioned in texts only with regard to religous practices. The Kaska people finally annihilated the city at the time of the ruling pair Arnuwanda I and Asmunikal.

The question which particular occurrence of the name Zalpa in its many variant spellings and found in Old Babylonian, Old Assyrian, and Hittite sources may be assigned to which locality has been lately revisited by Miller (2001). He states that none of the Old Babylonian or Old Assyrian attestations can be associated with the north-Anatolian Zalpa. The same should be true of the Hittite Fragments Naming Anum-hirbi and the Village of Zalpa (CTH 2), of the Annals of Hattušili (CTH 4) and of his Edict (CTH 5), of the Siege of Uršu (CTH 7), of the Legendary Accounts of the Hurrian Wars (CTH 16), of the Tikunani Letter (CTH 187), and of § 53 of the Laws (CTH 291). The remaining attestations (which may or may not refer to the Zalpa at the Black Sea) date from all three periods of Hittite history:[44]

Old Hittite

CTH 1 Proclamation of Anitta: KBo 3.22 and KUB 36.98 supply information about the borders of Anitta's kingdom and give an account of the 'religious war' between Zalpa and Neša; for a discussion of KUB 26.71, where the name Zalpa corresponds to *tunnakišna* of the older version of the text, see chapter 2.1 above;

CTH 832 Hethitische Fragmente verschiedenen Inhaltes: KBo 12.19, a small fragment of an unidentified type refers to KUR URUZalpuwa:

Vs. I 3' *I-NA* KUR URUZa-al-pu-u-wa URUḪa-aš-ḫa-a[t

---

[43] See the Commentary to l. 9 *kāni=wa tunnakkiš inutten* above.

[44] For the references to the listed texts see again Košak, *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln* quoted above, n. 15; we cite only those not yet included in his database.

Middle Hittite

CTH 278 Catalog: x DUB UMMA/*mān*: KUB 30.68 ^{URU}*Zalpuwa*

CTH 734,9 Hattic Incantations: KBo 21.82

New Hittite

CTH 231.1 List of ^{LÚ}AGRIG: VBoT 68 includes an ethnic term ^{URU}*Zalpūil*

CTH 335 Fragments of Disappearing Deity Myths: KUB 43.34 possibly contains ^{URU}*Zalp[u*

CTH 375.1 Prayer of Arnuwanda I. and Asmunikkal to the Sun goddess of Arinna: KUB 31.124 +, and its duplicate Bo 8617 recall the destruction of temples and images of gods by the Kaska-men in different lands, one of them being also Zalpuwa;

CTH 385 Prayer to the Sun goddess of Arinna: KUB 57.63 possibly names ^{URU}*Z]alpūi* in a fragmentary context;

CTH 386 Fragments of Prayer to the Storm God of Nerik: in KUB 36.90 there is an evocation of the Storm God of Nerik from localities all over Anatolia which reads[45]:

29 *e-ḫu* ^{ÍD}*Ma-r[a-aš-ša-an-t]-a-za*
30 *tu(?)-zu-ma-zu-wa-an-ta-za wa-ap-pu-wa-za*
31 *e-ḫu* ^{URU}*Za-al-pa-az a-ru-na-za*

'Come from the Marassanta River!
Come from the *mazumazuwanta*, from the bank!
Come from Zalpa from the sea!'

CTH 450 Funerary Rituals: the colophon of IBoT 2.130 mentions rituals which took place in Zalpa following a king's death;

---

[45] Transliteration from Lebrun (1980: 365), translation from Singer (2002: 106).

CTH 625 Fragments of the Hittite AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival: in KBo 4.13 ^{URU}*Zalpa* is included in a 'sacrifice list' among other cities known to us almost exclusively from Old Assyrian tablets (following Forlanini in his paper presented at the 6th International Congress of Hittitology, Rome 2005);

CTH 648 Festival Performed by DUMU-*aš*: KUB 52.102 + describes the Fall ceremonies for the gods of Zalpa;

The contents of some of these texts might be connected with the events narrated in the Zalpa tale. Yiğit (2005: 785) for instance believes that the rebellion reported in KBo 3.27 (CTH 5) might be the rebellion of Hakkarpili from KBo 3.38. Forlanini (2004: 380) surmises that the festival performed by 'the son' reflects an ancient tradition already existing at the time of the events of the *Tale of Zalpa*. According to this tradition, the principal inheritor of Anitta's dynasty was sent as governor to Zalpa and another son to Hattuša. Forlanini further believes that the existence of this tradition is demonstrated in the *Tale of Zalpa* by the request of Hattuša and the citizens for a son. How far we can go in such guesswork, and whether some kind of noteworthy intertextual relationship among these texts may actually be established on this basis is unclear.

Of the remaining geographical names mentioned in our text only Hurma, Tawiniya, and Kummani have been located so far (Forlanini and Marazzi 1986) – besides Hattuša, of course. The names Hurma and Tawiniya also appear in the 'kappadokischen Urkunden'.[46] Hurma has been located in different places and is now supposed to be east of Kaneš, on the trade route towards Assyria. Kummani, which, like Hurma, was an important religious center (see Pecchioli Daddi 2006: 125-127) was probably situated further south, and has been identified with the Greek *Comana Cataoniae* at Şar near Tufanbeyli. Lewy (see del Monte and Tischler 1978: 213) asserts that from the Old Assyrian period onward the city was called Mama. Tawiniya is mentioned as being within a one-day distance from Hattuša in a description of a ceremonial journey for the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival in KBo 10.20 I

---

[46] Cf. Bilgiç (1945-1951).

24-29. It was located near Alaça Höyük by Haas and Wilhelm (1974: 172) and near Delice by Forlanini and Marazzi (1986).

The partially preserved name *Tamar*-[is likely to be the city of Tamarmara, which probably lay on the route between Zalpa and Neša (Otten 1973: 27). The name also appears in KUB 30.37 I 1-12, but without any additional information about its location. The fragmentary mountain name *Kapa*-[should perhaps be expanded to *Ka-pa-[pí-na]* (thus Otten 1973: 38, followed by del Monte and Tischler 1978: 127). We have no information about Alhiuta, Zizzazuhuna, or the mountain Tapazila. Harahšu has been identified with the Harahšuwa found in Old Assyrian texts by D. A. Kennedy and P. Garelli, and the latter located 'à l'intérieur de la boucle de l'Halys, en direction d' Alişar et Boğazköy', or near Çorum, or '[i]n der Umgebung von Zalpa am Schwarzen Meer(?)' (see Nashef 1991: 50, with references).

The name Kaneš was first equated with Neša by Güterbock (1958: 46*-50*). KBo 22.2 proves this equation, as noted by Otten (1973: 57; cf. further Alp 1997).

3.2 PARTICIPANTS

The Sun god, ^DUTU, and the Earth, ^{MUNUS}*Dagazipa*-, the Sun god's daughter, appear in the *Tale of Zalpa*. In addition, there is DINGIR^{DIDLI} throughout version A (A obv. 4, 16, rev. 13'), an apparently archaic feature in constrast to the DINGIR^{MEŠ} of version B (rev. 10', 30').[47] There is apparently no other information in our sources regarding a personified image of the earth (^{MUNUS}*Dagazipa*-). The ^DUTU in our text (here KBo 3.38) has been taken not to be the Sun god, but the Sun King by Oğuz Soysal (1987: 188-189). Soysal reads B rev. 2'-6' as referring to historical and not mythological events. Consequently, ^{MUNUS}*Dagazipa*- becomes the king of Hattuša's daughter, married off to the king of Zalpa to help seal a pact of peace

between the two cities. Soysal's view is to be rejected because the context is too fragmentary to support it. A more detailed discussion of this question is presented above in the commentary.

Another protagonist is the queen of the city of Kaneš (MUNUS.LUGAL ^{URU}*Kaniš*).[48] Further, there appear to be several generations of kings, including the king (LUGAL) and the old king (LUGAL ŠU.GI), the king's father (*ABI* LUGAL), the father of the old king (*ABU* LUGAL ŠU.GI), the king's grandfather (*ABU ABI* LUGAL). A great deal of ingenuity has been expended on the identification of these figures, but no consensus has been reached. We refer to the works of Hoffner (1980)[49], Beal (2003)[50], Pecchioli Daddi (1994)[51], and Forlanini (2004) for a number of well-argued, but not easily reconcilable, identifications, and to Klock-Fontanille's summary (2001: 191):

'En fait, il semble difficile, voire impossible, de proposer une généalogie des rois présents dans le *CTH 3*, et les chercheurs ont abouti à des impasses. Et si, de plus, on tente de rapporter les rois évoqués dans ce texte à ce que nous savons des premiers rois de l'Ancien Royaume (en accord, en particulier, avec le début de l'Edit de Telibinu), il y a une génération de trop.'

---

[47] The only other place where DINGIR^{DIDLI} appears is in the Anitta text, KUB 36.98b obv. 9' (Neu's C₃), a late Neo-Hittite copy, which, however, preserves this archaic feature.

[48] Haas (1994: 281 with n. 227) mentions that among the divinities of Kaniš, there appears a queen, usually mentioned in conjunction with the horse god Perwa, Aškašepa, and Maliya (KUB 2.13 rev. iv 12 f.). It is unclear whether this is our queen or not.

[49] Hoffner (1980: 290) identifies these participants as Labarna, Hattušili, and Muršili.

[50] Beal (2003: 15-17) offers useful alternative genealogical tables.

[51] Pecchioli Daddi deals with the problem of too many generations of kings by assigning the LUGAL ŠU.GI and the *ABI* LUGAL ŠU.GI to the Zalpans (more specifically to the Zalpan faction which favors close alliance with the Hittites. Thus, there are only two generations of Hittite kings left, the *ABI ABI* LUGAL and the LUGAL (1994: 85-86). She then suggests that if we correlate this result with what we know of the Testament of Hattušili, there cannot be many doubts about the attribution of the Zalpa text to Hattušili I, 'che ancora una volta fonda la legittimità delle proprie azioni su precedenti mitici (come nella cronaca di Puhanu) e sul modello del nonno (come nel Testamento)' (1994: 86). Otten (1973: 60) assigns the Zalpa text to Muršili I.

Other figures include the LUGAL ^{URU}*Zalpa* (Beal (2003: 21, 34-35) identifies the earliest-mentioned king of Zalpa as Perwa; *Ḫakkarpili* is a later king of Zalpa), and the LUGAL ^{URU}*Zizzazaḫuna*, about whom nothing is known. Then there is the *Tabarna* (see the references about the kings above), the chamberlain *Alluwa* and a daughter and brother: DUMU.MUNUS and *AḪI-YA*.

The names *Ḫakkarpili, Damnaššu,* and *Alluwa* are also recorded in other sources,[52] although not much is known about them. *Damnaššu* and *Alluwa* appear in Cappadocian texts, *Alluwa* in hieroglyphics on one of the seals and in KBo 43.39, 3-4, while *Ḫappi* is not mentioned elsewhere, although here he appears to bear the main responsibility for the events leading to the destruction of Zalpa.

Our inventory must also include the king's servants and officers, a scribe (*tupala-*), the commander of the spearmen (GAL LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR), dignitaries (LÚ^{MEŠ} GAL), bodyguards ($^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*MEŠEDI*), troops (ÉRIN^{MEŠ}), the elders and citizens of Zalpa ($^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ŠU.GI ^{URU}*Zalpa* and LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{URU}*Zalpa*), and the citizens of Tamarmara (LÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{LIM}).

---

[52] Laroche (1966: 23, 54, 173; 1981: 6).

4 STRUCTURE AND STYLE

The structure of the *Tale of Zalpa* is perhaps the only feature of this text that has not sparked scholarly debate. Most scholars have apparently tacitly agreed with Otten, who believes that the legendary beginning and the historical narrative differ from each other so much that it is possible to question whether they are really two parts of the same text, or even whether two different texts were perhaps written on one tablet (1973: 63).

The following sections offer an analysis of the common syntactic and stylistic characteristics of both parts that sheds some light on the theme and form of the text. This approach shows that the text has a clear and uniform composition. The mythological introduction creates a framework into which the thematically similar but apparently historical narrative of the events in Zalpa is inserted. The entire text places increasing guilt upon the city and, following the critical event that triggers the final catastrophe – that is, the refuge given to the two rebels, Zalpa is laid waste and subjugated to the king of Hattuša. Furthermore, the style of the narrative remains consistent, even in the parts preserved only as fragments, and syntactic devices modulate the flow of events in accord with the design of the narrative. The uniformity of composition and style indicate that the two parts of the tale do not differ from each other as much as has been generally assumed.

4.1 SYNTACTIC AND NARRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE TEXT

An analysis of syntactic patterns can elucidate the narrative structure of a text. A convenient and clear analysis of narrative structure has been offered by William Labov (1972: 376-377). According to Labov, a fully formed story has six parts:

1. An abstract telling what the story will be about;

2. An orientation that presents the characters and the setting of the story, and may also say what happened just before the story begins;
3. A complicating action that describes what then ensures;
4. An evaluation that implicitly or explicitly makes it known why the topic of the story is of interest;
5. A resolution that describes how things end; and
6. A coda making it clear that the story has ended.

The abstract and the coda may be lacking and the evaluation may be encoded solely in the manner of narration, but there is no story without an orientation, a complicating action, and a resolution. Because of the fragmentary and discontinuous nature of the text, our attention will be directed to the complicating action and its resolution. According to Labov, this consistently takes place in the same manner: through the use of 'narrative clauses', i.e., simple sentences composed of the following elements:

7. Temporal conjunctions and adverbs (and, then, after that...);
8. Simple subjects (personal pronouns, proper names);
9. Past-tense auxiliary verbs;
10. Past-tense verbs with adverbs and articles;
11. Modifiers (e.g., direct and indirect objects, adverbials of manner or means, and adverbials of time).

In English the constituents of narrative clauses occur in the order given above, whereas Hittite had a different word order. Every new narrative clause takes us a step further into the events, as shown in the following passage from the myth of Telipinu describing the disappearance of this vegetation god and his discovery by a bee: 'It found him in a grove under the trees. It stung him in the hands and feet. It set him upright, took wax, wiped his eyes and feet, and purified him.'

When events are described in the manner given above, the narrative proceeds quickly, but may become monotonous. Therefore it is necessary to vary its speed, to reduce the speed with which events follow one another, to focus on important details, to turn attention to the words that someone has spoken, to introduce tension by suspending the sequence of events, and so on. The alternation of acceleration and retardation enlivens the narrative and keeps it from becoming boring. This narrative strategy can also be illustrated with futher passages from this myth. The first shows the use of comparison, the specification of the time of the event through a dependent clause, the use of mood, and climax: 'When Telipinu was angered, his spirit and heart were like a burning flame. And when that flame was extinguished, then his anger, wrath, fury, and rage were also extinguished!' The second also contains a description that constitutes a digression from the narrative: 'Down below in the black earth there stand bronze cauldrons, their covers are made of lead, their handles of iron. Let these receive Telipinu's anger, wrath, fury, and rage. And let them not come forth again!' Then the myth resumes at a faster pace in the form of narrative sentences: 'Telipinu returned to his house and cared for the land once more. He removed the fog from the windows....'

The difference between the syntactic patterns of the first and last excerpts, and the two intervening examples, is apparent. In the slowed down parts no trace remains of the characteristic construction of the narrative clause. Past-tense verbs are often replaced by the present tense, or some periphrastic tense, other moods appear in addition to the indicative, verbs denoting actions are replaced by the auxiliary *be* and complements or state verbs, word order becomes more flexible, and the narrator actively intervenes in the narrative and uses specific conjunctions, particles, or pronouns to ensure that the listener or reader understands the text in the manner in which it was conceived.

Languages differ from one another in the syntactic devices available for transforming narrative strategies. Hittite was not rich in this respect. It has strict rules for word order in a sentence and a simple grammatical system that offers little opportunity for variation. Nonetheless, the *Tale of Zalpa* skillfully exploits these limited devices in order to vary the pace of the narrative and to highlight details that the storyteller wishes to emphasize. Furthermore, the overall narrative structure is climactic. The following section catalogs some of the narrative devices used in the tale.

Direct speech

There is a good deal of direct speech in the *Tale of Zalpa*. In some instances it is marked by the particle *-wa* or by the Akkadian phrase *UMMA . . . -MA* 'and thus . . . ', while in others it is unmarked and must be inferred from the context. Clearly marked examples of direct speech include:

A obv. 1-2 *UMMA ŠI=MA* // [*kī*]=*wa kuit walkuan ḫāšḫun* 'She [spoke] as follows: What a prodigy I have borne.'

A obv. 8-9 *nu taršikanzi* // *kāni=wa tunnakkiš inutten nu=w*[*a* ANŠ]*E-iš arkatta* 'They say: Look here, heat up the *tunnakiš* so that the donkey will *arkatta*.'

A obv. 10 *UMMA LÚ*^{MEŠ} *URU*^{LIM} *kuwapit aumen nu* ANŠE-*iš* [*ark*]*atta* [   ]× 'The men of the city [speak] as follows: Wherever we have looked, a donkey will *arkatta* [   ].'

A obv. 11-12 *UMMA DUMU*^{MEŠ} *ueš=a kuwapit aumen nu* MUNUS-*z*[*a*   ] DUMU.N[ITA *ḫ*]*āši* // *nu=zza anzaš I-ŠU ḫāšta* 'The boys [speak] as follows: Wherever we have looked, a woman bears [one] son in a year, yet she bore us at one time.'

A obv. 12-13 *UMMA LÚ*^{MEŠ} *URU*^{LIM} *āšma anz*[*el* MUNUS.]LUGAL ^{URU}*Kaniš* // XXX MUNUS.DUMU *I-ŠU ḫāšta Ù* DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} *merir* 'The men of the city [speak] as follows: Good. Our queen of Kaneš bore 30 daughters at one time yet the sons have disappeared.'

A obv. 13-15 *nu=zza* DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} *karti=šmi* // *peran mēmir kuin=wa šanḫiškiueni UMMANI-šan uemiyauen* // *uwatten* ^{URU}*Nēša paiwani* 'Now the boys speak to themselves: Whom are we seeking? Our mother! We have found her! Come, let us go to Neša.'

B obv. 5'-6' *UMMA* ^DUTU=*MA* × [   ] × × [   ] // [*p*]*a-id-du mi-i-ia-ru* ^{URU}*Za-al-pu-u-wa-aš* [EG]IR.U[D^{MI} 'The Sun god

[spoke] as follows [   ]: Let (him/it) go and increase, Zalpa's [ ] afterwards [.'

B obv. 19']× LUGAL-*MA*⁵³

B obv. 33' *pāu nu=wa mekki*

B obv. 33'-34' *UMMA* ^m*Ḥak*[*karpili-MA*   ] // [*LUGA*]*L-i uēkmi* 'Hakkarpili [spoke] as follows: I want [   ]   from the king.'

B obv. 34' *UMMA ŠU=MA ki*-× ['He [spoke] as follows: ['

B rev. 9' *nu=wa uwa*[-

B rev. 10' DINGIR^{MEŠ}=*wa* [

B rev. 12' *nu=wa-*[

A rev. 4'-6' [^m*Ḥappiš*]× *ANA LÚ*^{MEŠ URU}*Zalpa taršikizzi ūk=wa a*[*tti*]=*m*[*i*] // [*natt*]*a āššuš šu=wa* ^{URU}*Ḥattuša ḫengani pāun* // *Ù* DUMU^{MEŠ URU}*Zalpa katti=mmi I ME* ÉRIN^{MEŠ}-*za e=a natta šu=wa kuit natta akir* '[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?

A rev. 15' *ūk=wa* LUGAL-*ušmiš kišḫa* (*Ù* ÉRIN^{MEŠ} *kattišmi*)⁵⁴ 'And he went up to the city [and said]: I will be your king (and the troops [are] under me).'

---

⁵³ Cf. n.34: Forrer (2 BoTU 13) reconstructs: *UMMA AB*]*I LUGAL-MA*.
⁵⁴ The material in parentheses is not necessarily in direct speech.

In the following instances direct speech is not so clearly marked as above, but we may assume that direct speech is involved because of other indicators, such as first and second person verbal or pronominal forms, imperative verbs, and verbs of speaking, prohibition, etc.:

A obv. 19   ] -uš=za nēkušummuš daškēuen[i n]u lē šaliktumari '] we are taking our own sisters (in marriage). Now do not commit an outrage', which contains a first-person possessive pronoun and verb as well as a prohibition;

B obv. 12' [T]UŠMET Ù DUMU.MUNUS-YA ANA MI-× 'you killed [   ] and my daughter to [   ]', which is probably direct speech because it contains a second-person verb and a first-person possessive pronoun;

B obv. 22'-23'] × kišš[an // watarnaḫḫiš kuit ḫanti[   ] 'He commanded as follows: Whatever separate [   ]' because of the cataphoric kiššan 'thus' and the verb watarnaḫḫ- 'to order';

B obv. 27'-28' nu=šmaš memišta kī=mu LUGAL-uš pai[št]a n[u // ḪUL-lu ḫarzi nu kurur ēpten 'He spoke to them: The king gave me these [   ] He has evil. Now you have become inimical', in which the narrative verb 'said' is followed by a first-person pronoun in the following clause; conceivably, ēpten is an imperative as well: 'take to warfare!' Puhvel (HED/K: 281, s.v. kurur);

B obv. 29'-32' [   ] // GÍR-anza karašdu ᵐKišwaš=ša tet iš-×[// ANA ᴴᵁᴿ·ˢᴬᴳTapazzili ḫullit ×[// ḫullir ᴳᴵˢTUKUL GÍD.DA uēkmi ' [   ] let him cut with a dagger. And Kisswa said: [   ] to Mount Tapazzili [   ] he defeated [   ] they defeated. I wish for a mace' also because of the imperative, the verb 'said' and then a verb in the first-person singular;

D obv. 5'-7'++ ᵁᴿᵁG[a-   p]āueni[   ] // [ta]luga anzel [ ] // [ ]ᵐKišwaš=ša uit nu [   ]× memišta 'let us go to G[a-   ]   [   ] us [   ]. And Kiswa went and said to [   ]', in D we have a verb and a pronoun in the first person not far from a

verb of speaking; the corresponding line in B (obv. 35') contains the particle -wa: -]ueni nu=wa=nnaš ᴳᴵˢTUKUL šu[- ;

D obv. 16'-18' [taraš] kizzi [   ] // [-]ḫun [   ] // [   ]× eḫu pāiši '[say]s [   ] I [-]ed [   ] Come on [   ] you (sg.) go', in which the verb 'says' is followed by a first-person verbal ending and an interjection;

D rev. 11-12+ [A]BI=YA [   ] // [   ] AḪI=YA with the first-person possessive pronoun in 'my father' and 'my brother';

B rev. 15'-17'+ ug=a=šmaš [   ]×-erit // [   ] ug=a=kan talit takku a-×[-   ug] =a=šmaš ᴳᴵˢintaluzzit // šunnaḫḫi 'I you [   ] with a [   ]. [   ] I with a bucket. If h[e   ]   I will fill you with a shovel, in which there is a first person pronoun, a second person pronoun and a first person verb form.

Benjamin W. Fortson IV (1998) offers some reasons for the omission of the particle -wa(r). In contrast to the general belief that the Hittites were inconsistent in the use of -wa(r), often omitting the particle, Fortson demonstrated that its use is consistent. The particle appears in every clause of reported direct speech in administrative texts in which it is vital that there be no ambiguity and indeed is a special stylistic feature of these texts. In mythological texts and rituals, however, it was used more freely and was omissible if it was clear in some way that someone else's speech was being repeated literally.[55] His study of the distribution of -wa(r) shows that it was frequently used only at the beginning of direct speech and was omitted in later parts, and that it was omitted in a main clause following a dependent clause if this was already marked with -wa(r),[56] after vocatives and interjections, and in clauses containing an imperative.

Fortson's study, although a marked advance on the previous literature, cannot be viewed as exhaustive. The preceding examples,

---

[55] It could be omitted in rituals because word-for-word quotations are merely a kind of fixed formula repeated by the person conducting the ritual.
[56] According to Fortson (1998: 27-28) this is understandable because -wa is a function word and therefore one is sufficient per utterance.

which contain instances of direct (and perhaps also indirect) speech not marked with the particle -wa(r) show that there are a number of narrative contexts in which multiple factors combine to explain the absence of -wa. Narratives in general offer a wide range of devices for representing direct and indirect speech, and the boundaries between these categories are not always clear (cf. Crystal 1987: 77). Such devices modulate the pace of the narrative, and perhaps offer further reasons for the omission of the particle -wa(r).

Particles

Houwink ten Cate (1973a) distinguishes between the conjunction -a/-ya 'and' and the emphatic or adversative particle -a 'and, but', which could stand after any sentence element in Old Hittite, but was especially common following those that had to be emphasized – for example, personal names and place-names, and demonstrative, personal, and relative pronouns. The difference between the conjunction and the particle is that in Old Hittite the consonant before the particle was not doubled in writing. In later Hittite this particle was replaced by the enclitic -ma.

There are several examples of the use of -a 'and, but' in the text: A obv. 3 ÍD-š=a, A obv. 4 DINGIR^DIDLI-š=a, A obv. 11 ueš=a, A obv. 18 appezziyaš=a=ššan, A rev. 7' LUGAL-š=a, A rev. 8' ^mḪappiš=a, A rev. 9' ^mTamnaššun=a, B rev. 15' ug=a=šmaš, B rev. 16' ug=a=kan (, and B rev. 29' še-a, if this is not an error, cf. Otten 1973: 66). They are discussed in detail in the commentary to the text. Our general impression is that in this text, a primary function of this particle appears to be the marking of subject switch. It may also serve to highlight, or focus, the elements to which it attached.[57] The particle -ma appears only in D rev. 12, but here the word before it is lost.

For the function of the particle -pat in B obv. 14' see Hoffner's explanation cited in the commentary. Because of gaps in the text it is not possible to define the function of -šan in A obv. 18 or -kan in B obv. 10 and rev. 16.

---

[57] See Meacham (2000) for a detailed survey of the pragmatic functions of this particle and its successor in later Hittite -ma.

Alternation of verb tenses

In keeping with narrative norms, the action of the *Tale of Zalpa* primarily occurs in the past tense. Here and there one also encounters a narrative present. The use of this form serves to engage the reader or hearer, to focus his attention on events as they actually happen in the narrative. The present tense also appears several times in place of the preterit with *verba dicendi*, which introduce direct speech. These examples are listed in Otten (1973: 51) and will not be discussed further here.[58] Excluding the present tense forms in direct speech, which has its own rules for tense usage, the following examples of the narrative present remain (also listed by Otten 1973: 51):

A obv. 7-8 DUMU.NITA^MEŠ ā[pp]a ^URUNeša yanzi // nu ANŠE-in nannianzi 'The sons are going back to Neša and they are driving a donkey.'

A obv. 16-17 nu AMA-ŠUNU // [o   o -u]š^? natta ganešzi 'their mother does not recognize [them]'

B rev. 17' ^URUKummanni EGIR-pa paizzi 'He will go back to Kummanni.'

A rev. 12' Ù LÚ^MEŠ URU^LIM natta pianzi 'The men of the city do not surrender them.'

B rev. 29' Ù LÚ^MEŠ URU^LIM ŪL pianzi 'The men of the city do not surrender them.'

Melchert (1998) argues that some Old Hittite narratives use the present tense to describe states and unbounded activities in contrast to the preterit, which expresses events; A obv. 7-8, mentioned above, serves as an example of this. Melchert states that the birth and the arrival in the city are expressed with formal preterits, whereas the protracted journey of the sons is described in the present tense. He also emphasizes that this usage cannot be interpreted as a historical

---

[58] Melchert (1998) considers them to be merely formal present tense forms.

present in a lively narrative because it appears in major blocks of text; however, this conclusion can be disputed. He concludes that the relation between imperfectivity and the use of the present must be further investigated. Paola Cotticelli-Kurras (2001) has investigated the use of the present in Hittite narrative contexts and concludes that the complexity of its use is connected with the multiplicity of its meanings. The common denominator that she finds is that the present is used in when a pure deictic function is not relevant (2001: 54). Historical presents are used as a means of directing attention to the events reported (Aufmerksamkeitslenkung).

The pragmatic function of present tense forms is to report important narrative moments: the departure of the sons to seek their mother, her failure to recognize them and her bestowal of the sisters on them, and the refusal of the citizens of Zalpa to hand over Happi are crucial points in the story, and the appearance of the present tense at such points serves to direct the reader's or listener's attention to them. Unfortunately, because of the gaps in the text it is not possible to say anything about B rev. 17'.

The use of the adjective (circumstantial participle) *ḫušuwant-* in A rev. 9' or *ḫūšwand-* in B rev. 25' (*ᵐTamnaššun=a ḫušuwantan IŠBATU* / *ᵐDamnaššunn-a ḫūšwandan IŠBATU* 'But they captured Tammassu alive') may provisionally be addressed under verb tense and aspect. This concerns a predicate attribute that signals the simultaneity of the event, and this complex syntactic construction also represents a departure from the basic syntactic pattern of the narrative.

Syntactic subordination

Following Labov, most subordinate clauses in narration function to shed additional light on the events. Depending upon their type, they can provide detailed information about the time, the place and reasons for an event (temporal, spatial, and causal clauses), they can specify what is spoken about (relative clauses), or draw the listener's attention to what could happen (conditional clauses). The *Tale of Zalpa* includes temporal, conditional, and relative clauses:

A obv. 6 *mān* MU$^{Ḫ.A}$ *ištarna pāir nu* MUNUS.LUGAL *namma* XXX MUNUS.DUMU *ḫāšta* 'When the years went by the queen bore further 30 daughters.'

A obv. 8 *mān* ^{URU}*Tamar[-]arir nu taršikanzi* 'When they reach Tamar(mara) they say'

A obv. 15 *mān* ^{URU}*Neša pāir nu=šmaš* DINGIR^{DIDLI}*-eš tamaīn karāian daīr* 'When they went to Neša the gods put another appearance on them.'

B obv. 2' *mān lukkattati* ^{URU}*Zalpa pa-i[t* 'When it became light he went to Zalpa.'

B obv. 7' *mān appezziyan kurur* [*kiš]at* ['When did they finally become inimical'

B obv. 23' *kuit ḫanti*['Whatever separate ['

B obv. 26' *mān* ^{m}*Ḫakkarpiliš* ^{URU}*Zalpa pa-x*['When Hakkarpili [ ]Zalpa'

D obv. 3' *ta=wa mān* x['And when ['

B rev. 14'-17' *takku*[-i]t [   ]*ug=a=šmaš* [   ]x-*erit* // [   ] *ug=a=kan talit* // *takku a*-x[*ug*]=*a=šmaš* ^{GIŠ}*imtaluzzit šunnaḫḫi*

'If [   ]. I you [   ] with
a [   ]. I with a bucket. If he [   ] I
will fill you with a shovel.'

4.2 STYLISTIC FEATURES

Rhythmic pattern

By deviating from the basic narrative pattern presented in the previous

section, the narrator can exhibit a secure sense of movement, of transition from one episode to another. The speed with which the different episodes are presented is skillfully varied: some proceed at a quick pace, while others unroll more expansively. Thus the text is characterized throughout by alternations between the accelerated portions of the narrative, distinguishable by the use of narrative clauses, and decelerations, which are achieved through the use of direct speech, rhetorical questions, hypotaxis, or the narrative present. Table 2 shows the variation in narrative pacing in the flow of events in those passages of the text that are well-enough preserved to allow us to draw conclusions:

Deceleration	**A obv. 1-2**	the birth of the sons **their mother's abhorrence**
Acceleration	A obv. 2-7	the exposure of the sons their growing up the birth of the daughters
Deceleration	**A obv. 8-20**	**the search for the mother** **the incestous marriage**
Deceleration	**B obv. 2'-6'**	**the Sun god's blessing**
Acceleration	B obv. 7'-8'	the outbreak of enmity
Deceleration	**B obv. 8'-17'**	Alluwa's plot **the assassination of the king's** **daughter**
Acceleration	B obv.18'-22'	the sequel of Alluwa's plot
Deceleration	**B obv. 22'-D** **obv. 10'**	**instructions for Hakkarpili** **Hakkarpili's revolt** **Kiswa's opposition**
Deceleration	**B rev. 11'-A** **rev. 6'**	**Happi's revolt**
Acceleration	A rev. 7'-9'	the crushing of Happi's revolt
Deceleration	**A rev. 10'-15'**	**the siege of Zalpa** **the disobedience of the citizens** **the storm of the citadel**

Table 2: The rhythmic pattern of the narration

An analysis of the rhythmic pattern is informative not only for stylistic purposes. In narrative theory (cf. Mey and Asher 1998: 610), accelerations are commonly labeled as summary and decelerations as scene, and these two relational manners function to indicate the relative importance of narrative events and thus provide useful information about the author's intentions. Summarized events may be taken as being of secondary or background importance, while scenes are of primary importance for the point of the text. Their distribution as presented in Table 2 above shows that the author of the *Tale of Zalpa* emphasizes the reasons for the intervention on the part of the king of Hattuša, and not the manner in which it was carried out. Finally, such narrative rhythm contributes to the coherence of a text (cf. Mey and Asher 1998: 628); therefore, the elaborate pattern of rhythmic variation discernable throughout the narration signals a deliberately structured, unified composition. The narrator's skill is further reflected in the text's clear and dignified style, which indicates an attention to word choice and a range of rhetorical figures.

Word choice

The language of the *Tale of Zalpa* is characterized by the use of a simple vocabulary with little lexical variation or ornamentation. Because of its simple syntax it may give the impression that its style

of is "flat" or even that the 'hethitische Sprache aufgrund der Begrenztheit ihres Wortschatzes und ihrer Ausdrucksmittel für detaillierte und spannende Erzählungen nur wenig geeignet war'.[59] The findings presented below, however, suggest that this impression is superficial. In fact, this text's style conforms quite closely to what was known as 'a good prose style' in classical Greek rhetoric.[60] The *lexis* of prose must be different from that of poetry, since the virtue of prose style is 'to be clear'. Clarity is achieved by the use of ordinary words in their prevailing meanings. Some strange or rare words and even metaphors are allowed to make the language slightly unfamiliar, but the diction must nevertheless remain natural. In contrast to poetry, a prose text is well composed if the art of the author escapes notice. The limited lexicon in the *Tale of Zalpa* consists of frequently used primary terms, but it nevertheless includes a series of archaic, rare and otherwise stylistically marked words, and unusal spellings such as the following:

B rev. 29'	*ekir* 'they died'
A obv. 8	*nannianzi* 'they drive'
D rev. 5	*pāueni* and A obv. 15 *paiwani* both 'we go'
B rev. 29'	*dammiššar* 'they vanquished'
A rev. 12'	*uikta* 'he wanted'
A obv. 14	*uemiyauen* 'we found'
A obv. 3	*zikkēt* 'she put'
A obv. 4, 16, A rev. 13	DINGIR^{DIDLI} 'gods'
B obv. 3'	^{MUNUS}*Dagazipa-* 'Earth'

Another stylistic feature consists in the use of fixed expressions and lexical collocations which seem to be in the process of becoming fixed expressions:

B obv. 29'	*ḫašša ḫanzašša* 'grandson (and) great grandson'
A obv. 13	*karti- peran mema-* 'speak to oneself'
B obv. 28'	ḪUL-*lu ḫar(k)-* 'have evil'
B obv. 28'	*kurur ep(p)-* 'become inimical'

[59] Cf. Ünal 1994: 804.
[60] Cf. Aristotle, *On Rhetoric* 3.1.9 and 3.2.

A rev. 5' and B rev. 21' *ḫengani pai-* 'go to one's death'
A rev. 10'   *araḫzanda wete-*'beseige'

Figures of speech and thought

Several lexical, clausal, and logical figures distributed throughout the narrative give evidence that, in spite of its simplicity, the language of *Zalpa* is a literary language:

Metaphor: *dameš-* 'squeeze' in A rev. 12' and B rev. 29' used in the sense of 'vanquish, defeat';

Metonymy: B obv. 13' *nu* ^{URU}*Zalpa INA* ^{ḪUR.SAG}*Kapa-×*['Zalpa on Mount Kapa-'; Zalpa is the metonymic designation for the inhabitants of the region;

Personification: B obv. 3' ^{MUNUS}*Dagazipašš=a*; cf. the commentary on B above;

Iteration: cf. the example at antithesis below;

Polyptoton: A obv. 3-4 [*š*]*uš* ÍD-*a tarnaš* ÍD-*ša* // *ANA* A.AB.BA KUR ^{URU}*Zalpuwa peda*[*š* 'And she let them go **into the river**. **The river** took them to the sea at Zalpuwa', B obv. 11'-12' *UŠMIT tabarnašš=a išš*[*i*   ] × × [   ] *aru-*[// [*T*]*UŠMET* '[   ] **he killed**. And Tabarna [   ] **you killed** [   ] '; A obv. 16-18 *nu* AMA-*ŠUNU* // [-*u*]*š* ?*natta ganešzi nu=zza* DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ}-*ŠA ANA* DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ}-*ŠA paiš* // [*ḫante*]*zziaš* DUMU^{MEŠ} *nekušmuš natta ganeššir* 'Their mother **does not recognize** them and gave her own daughters to her own sons. The older sons **did not recognize** their sisters';

Exclamation: A obv. 2 *kī=wa* [*k*]*uit walkuan ḫāšḫun* 'What a prodigy I have borne!'; D obv. 18' *eḫu* 'Come!';

Rhetorical questions: A obv. 14 *kuin=wa šanḫiškiueni* 'Whom are we seeking?'; A rev. 6' I *ME* ÉRIN^{MEŠ}*za e=a natta šu=wa kuit*

natta akir 'And 100 troops – are they not? – would they not have died?'; B rev. 22' *šu=wa kuit ŪL akir* 'Wouldn't they have died?';

Repetition of phrases and clauses: A obv. 15 ^{URU}*Nẽša paiwani mān* ^{URU}*Nẽša pāir* 'Come, let us **go to** Neša. When they **went to** Neša'; cf. also both examples from A obv. 10 cited by parallelism below;

Parallelism: A obv. 1 XXX DUMU^{MEŠ} I^{EN} MU-*anti ḫāšta* '30 sons were born in one year' and A obv. 6 XXX MUNUS.DUMU *ḫāšta* '30 daughters were born', A obv. 10 *UMMA* LÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{LIM} 'thus the citizens' and 11 *UMMA* DUMU^{MEŠ} 'thus the sons', A obv. 10 *kuwapit aumen* and 11 *ueš=a kuwapit aumen* 'Wherever we have looked';

Antithesis: A obv. 18 *ḫantẽzziaš* DUMU^{MEŠ} *nikušmuš natta ganeššir appezziyaš=a=ššan* 'The older sons did not recognize their sisters, but the youngest [   ]' (opposition between 'elder sons – younger son'); B rev. 14'-17' *takku*[-*i*]*t* [   ] *ug=a=šmaš* [   ]x-*erit* // [   ] *ug=a=kan talit* // *takku a*-x[-   ] *ug=a=šmaš* ^{GIŠ}*intaluzzit šunnaḫḫi* 'If [   ]. I you [   ] with a [   ]. I with a bucket. If **he** [   ] **I** will fill you with a shovel' (opposition between 'he – I'); for the opposition between 'the citizens – the sons' see the last two examples at parallelism above;

Dialogue: examples are collected in the previous section in the discussion of direct speech, amply represented in A, and with further examples in B and D;

Inner monologue: A obv. 13-14 *nu=zza* DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} *karti=šmi peran mẽmir kuin=wa šanḫiškiweni UMMA=NI=šan wemiyawen* 'The sons said to themselves: "Whom are we seeking? We have found our mother"';

Climax: at the compositional level, where increasingly intolerable events lead to the final catastrophe;[61]

Clearly, exemplars B and D contain no fewer figures than does A. Therefore, Otten's characterization of this portion of the tale as a flat description of a series of battles may result as much from the lacunae in the text as from its shift from 'myth' to 'history'. Furthermore, the analysis offered above of *Zalpa*'s syntax and style suggests the text's internal coherence. In fact, Zalpa evinces a coherent syntactic, rhythmic, and rhetorical structure. Its style is distinguished by the use of concatenation – simple clauses linked by the semantically vague 'and/but', by its abundant use of direct speech, by its modulations of narrative time, and by its economical and limited vocabulary. Although these techniques may have been labeled as unsophisticated by earlier scholarship based on classical Greco-Roman rhetorical practices, they are part and parcel of all early Indo-European vernacular literature (including early Greek).

Perhaps even more germane to a literary evaluation of the *Tale of Zalpa*, inasmuch as clarity, purity, and persuasive force are fundamental aspects of its style and hence its meaning, the Hebrew Bible, especially its account of Genesis, provides an excellent counterpoint, especially given its Mediterranean location, as Robert Alter demonstrates so well[62].

Nonetheless, the *Tale of Zalpa* can be hard going; however, we need to recognize that the dissatisfaction that we feel with this text may lie less with its fragmentary state of preservation than with our particularly modern desire for closure. The fact that the narrator did not find it necessary to present in detail the motivations of the story development and the narrative purpose of the whole and the fact that this text was preserved in at least five versions show that it must have been read or performed frequently, and its major episodes as well as the reasons behind the sequence of events must have been so well known to its hearers that there was no need to amplify these aspects of the story. It must have been part of a performative act of which everyone knew the outcome.

---

[61] Cf. section 4.3.
[62] Cf. Alter 1996: IX-XLVII.

4.3 MYTH, HISTORY, AND CLOSURE

The attempt to find a historical basis for the first twenty lines of the *Tale of Zalpa* is fruitless, as any analysis of a legend or folktale should make clear. The generic properties of folktales ensure that their texts are characterized by the interweaving of mythological and historical elements. Taking the *Tale of Zalpa* at face value, one can point to the clearly realistic elements: the queen of Kaneš, Zalpa, Tamarmara, Neša, Hattuša, donkeys, sons, daughters, inhabitants, armies, etc. We know that there were queens in Anatolia, that donkeys exist, that Zalpa, Neša, and Hattuša existed, etc. One can also point to the mythical elements: the prodigious birth of 30 sons, that of 30 daughters, stair-climbing donkeys (in Hoffner's translation), the 800 kilometer journey of the sons in baskets on the Kizil Irmak, the rearing of the sons by the gods, the placing of a different appearance on the sons by the gods, etc. The interweaving of these elements should serve as a cautionary note to scholars. As Hoffner has stated '[s]uch a legendary tale is, of course, a fruitful field for speculations, and it is impossible at present to discount any of them' (1980: 291).

The difference between the mythological introduction to the tale and its second part consists in the apparent historicity of the latter. Yet here, too, there are obstacles to a clear understanding of the tale. This section appears to be a straightforward historical description (cf. Otten 1973: *passim* and Beal 2003), but are there three or four generations of kings (cf. Klinger 1996: 117), and in any event who are they?

The surviving written material from Hattuša is divided into two groups: the first consists of texts with more than one copy, the second is of *unica*, or works of which one copy sufficed. In addressing the issue why the Hittites maintained copies of only some texts in their archives, van den Hout (2002) determined that treaties, royal edicts, laws, hymns, prayers, and ritual and mythological texts were copied, but that letters, records of judgments, inventories, oracles, and so on were not. This indicates that the Hittites copied texts that regulated the most important legal, administrative, and religious aspects of life in the Hittite state, but that correspondence and administrative records that had limited relevance. The texts in the first group were used in order to recall the provisions of particular state treaties, the proper sequence of a ritual, the exact content of a law, and in some cases for public recitation (Hoffner 1980: 325, van den Hout 2002: 865 f.). The *Tale of Zalpa* belongs to the first group. From this one can conclude its great importance for ideological, religious, and political reasons (to the extent that these categories can be kept distinct). The mere fact of its preservation in multiple copies guarantees its connection with other early political documents, such as the Anitta text, the Acts of Hattušili I, and the Palace Chronicle. In fact, all these texts share compositional and structural features. The historical genre to which these texts belong was highly propagandistic (Kammenhuber 1958, Archi 1969, and Hoffner 1980). Van den Hout (2002: 867) believes that it was this aspect that motivated the copying of historical texts. Hoffner argues (1980: *passim*) that they were originally composed to demonstrate the necessity of some event or political decision, or to emphasize the power and other virtues of a given Hittite king. This ideological component probably also provides the motive for creating and maintaining five copies of *Zalpa* in the Hittite state archive.

Linguistic and structural theories of narrative prove useful in analyzing *Zalpa* because they emphasize the textual relevance of individual events, motifs, descriptions, and characters. Each detail contributes to a coherent whole. For example, a chain of events may have its narrative rationale in the mere likelihood that the events took place as described, or as a consequence of the protagonists' emotions, or as a result of a society's ideological perspective.

In this text the mythological introduction creates a perceptual framework for the entire tale. The Hittites found incest and disloyalty to the king unacceptable, and these events occurred in close succession in the tale, leading inevitably to the final catastrophe.[63] The infractions begin with the incest between the princes of Zalpa and their sisters, one uprising, follows another, and the last straw is the citizens' refusal to to hand over the rebels to the king of Hattuša. This refusal caused the ruler to settle matters by destroying the disobedient city and declaring himself king. It was useful to keep the *Tale of Zalpa* in the state archives to ensure that the reasons for the final destruction of the city and the centralization of authority in Hattuša would never be forgotten.

---

[63] Klock-Fontanille makes a similar point (2001: 192).

The following table shows the accumulation of incriminating events from the history of the city and the final resolution; major episodes are separated by spaces.

A obv. 1-5	Thirty sons are born and exposed
A obv. 6-20	They commit incest with their sisters
B obv. 7'-17'	The beginning of enmity, Alluwa's plot and his subsequent death
B obv. 26'-32'	Hakkarpili incites Zalpa to rebel, Kiswa opposes him
D obv. 2'-10'	Kiswa denounces him to the king
D obv. 11'-23'	The army and members of the guard become involved
B rev. 11'-19'	Happi incites the citizens of Zalpa to revolt (?)
A rev. 4'-6'	Happi defames his father
A rev. 7'-9'	The king of Hattuša attacks Zalpa and captures Tamnaššu, Happi escapes
A rev. 10'-15'	The king of Hattuša besieges Zalpa and demands Tabarna and Happi; the citizens refuse to hand them over, and he destroys the city

Table 3: The incriminating events from Zalpa and their resolution

5 INTERTEXTUAL RELATIONS

A text is always context dependent. Its meaning is constructed within the framework provided by the totality of its literary and cultural traditions, in particular through its relations with other texts. Various theories of intertextuality propose various sets of possible relations to other texts – thematic, structural, generic, functional, axiological, actional, textual, etc.[64] In the following section we explore in more detail only those relations with other texts that arise from their shared motifs and themes, e.g., the intersection of history with mythology. Relations among texts referring to *ABI* LUGAL have recently been described by Franca Pecchioli Daddi (1994, see n. 51). For relations resulting from similarities in phrasing, see the discussion of specific words and phrases in the Commentary (e.g., *walkuan*, ANŠE, *tunnakkiš* etc.). For Corti's suggestion about the intertextual relations of KBo 12.63 and KBo 19.92 to the Zalpa tale and for Soysal's regarding KBo 50.3 and 12.19, see the introduction to this book; both seem reasonable and accord well with what we know about Hittite practices from other sources.

A consideration of intertextual relations adds to the meaning of a text and helps to determine its interpretation. Such intertextual relations become active only on the condition that readers or listeners know the relevant texts. Hittite readers or hearers of the texts in question would have shared the requisite knowledge. For us matters are different. We can reestablish intertextual links between the Zalpa tale and other texts only from our remote perspective, and we will not necessarily make the same connections that a Hittite reader would. Nonetheless, we must make the attempt. We can place the Zalpa text in the context of other Hittite literature, we can suspect that the Zalpa text had an influence on later Near Eastern literature, and we know that some of the motifs in the Zalpa text are of Indo-European provenance. This has been termed genetic intertextuality by Watkins (2004).

---

[64] See for instance Mey and Asher (1998: 401-404).

5.1 SHARED MOTIFS

The *Tale of Zalpa* interweaves motifs that are also known from other ancient sources, some of them comparable and some genetically related. The birth of a prodigious number of children, the motif of an exposed child, and the motif of brother-sister incest are also found in Mesopotamian, Old Indic, and Biblical tradition. On the basis of these parallels, some scholars have tried to determine the origin of the *Tale of Zalpa*, but the use of a specific motif can unfortunately neither prove nor disprove their common origin.

A large number of children (and a donkey)

> The queen of the city of Neša bore thirty sons, rejected them, and then bore thirty daughters, whom she reared herself.

As Watkins (1995: 53, and 2004) has observed, the motif of a large number of children born at the same time is also found in Old Indic and Greek foundation myths. He cites two parallels to the birth of thirty children to the queen of Kaneš, the story of Paršu from *Rigveda* 10.86.23 ab, and the ancient Greek story of the Danaids. Paršu, the daughter of Manu, bore twenty children at one time, while Danaus and Aegyptus each had fifty children. Watkins believes the motif to be proto-Indo-European, because of the close thematic and structural correspondences of the Hittite, Old Indic, and Greek tales. The donkey in the Hittite story serves as a symbol of intense sexuality, and as such is clearly parallel to the horse in the Indic *aśvamedha*, the ancient horse sacrifice.

Some scholars have gone even further in the attempt to establish parallels. For example, Matitiahu Tsevat (1983: 323 f.) connects the thirty sons and the donkey, their companion on the route to Kaneš, with the Biblical list of the minor judges. Jair had thirty sons who rode thirty asses and had thirty cities, Ibzan had thirty sons and thirty daughters, and Abdon forty sons and thirty grandchildren who rode seventy asses (Judg. 10: 1-5 and 12: 7-15). Tsevat asserts that the juxtaposition of the number thirty with the mention of asses is unusual in the Old Testament; hence, the Biblical and Hittite narratives may

stem from a common source, or the Hittite narrative may have influenced the Biblical one as a warning against the dangers of incest. Because of the impossibility of excluding chance agreement Zvevat's claims may be considered overly speculative: after all, asses were the ordinary animals of transportation at that time.

The exposure of children

> After the queen of Neša had borne thirty sons, she prepares baskets, puts her children into them, and releases them into the river. The river carries them away to the sea, where the gods take them up and rear them.

As noted already by Otten (1973: 63 f.) and further elaborated by Ünal (1986: 129), narratives about the exposure of children are common in world literature. The legends of Sargon, Anum-hirbi, Moses, the Amazons, Perseus, Oedipus, and Romulus and Remus have all been cited as possible parallels to this aspect of the Zalpa story. Sargon, the founder of the Akkadian dynasty, was put in a basket and set in a river that carried him to Akki, who made him his gardener. In the garden Sargon then sang of his love for the goddess Ishtar. In southern Anatolia, the Hurrian leader Anum-hirbi, the offspring of an unknown father and a female slave, was thrown into a river by the citizens of the town and rescued by a shepherd and his animals. He established a kingdom that encompassed southern and southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria (see Ünal 1986: 134 and Beckman 2005). Perseus, the son of Zeus and Danae, was sealed in a chest together with his mother and set adrift on the sea by his grandfather Acrisius. According to one version, the legend concludes with his son becoming the ruler of Persia, while according to another Perseus founded the city of Mycenae.[65] Hoffner (1998: 81) calls our attention to the similarity of the myth in the Zalpa tale to the Greek legend of the Amazons, traditionally said to live in Anatolia, who consorted with the men of neighboring tribes but then raised only their daughters and exposed their sons.

We will not recapitulate the stories of Oedipus and of Romulus

---

[65] Cf. Howatson (1997: 422).

and Remus. An important point here is that although the degree of similarity between these stories varies, they are almost always an element of foundation myths.

Incest between brothers and sisters

> The sons reared by the gods return to their native city and marry their sisters.

In the Hittite law code incest was referred to as *ḫurkel* 'abomination, abominable act'. Sexual relations between sons and mothers, fathers and daughters, and fathers and sons were not permitted, nor were relations between sons and stepmothers if the father were still alive, between a man and his brother's wife while his brother was still alive, between a husband and his stepdaughter or between a husband and his mother-in-law, and between a husband and his wife's sister. As a rule, offenders paid for any of these acts with their lives, although the king could also pardon or exile them (Hoffner 1973b: 89 f.). Apparently, the place where the incest occurred also had to be ritually cleansed in order to appease the anger of the gods. Although the Hittite code does not specifically mention sexual relations between brothers and sisters, the *Treaty of Šuppiluliuma with Huqqana of Hayaša* states that such relations were forbidden between a brother and sister or female cousin as well. The text (CTH 42) states:

28 *A-NA* KUR ^{URU}*ḫa-at-ti-ma-kán ša-a-ak-la-iš du-u[(q-qa)]-ri*
29 ŠEŠ-*aš-za* NIN-ŠÚ ^{MUNUS}*a-a-an-ni-ia-mi-in Ú-UL [(da-a-i)]*
30 *Ú-UL-at a-a-ra ku-iš-ma-at i-e-zi a-pí-ni-iš-š[u-u-w]a-an-na ut-tar*
31 *na-aš* ^{URU}*ḫa-at-tu-ši Ú-UL ḫu-u-iš-šu-u-iz-zi a-ki-pa-a[t-š]a-an*

'For the land of Hatti, there exists an important custom. A brother should not take (sexually) his sister or niece. It is not permitted. Whoever does it — and such a deed (it is), he will not live in Hattuša, but be killed here!'[66]

---

[66] Translation from Cohen (2002: 81).

Furthermore, fragments of a ritual to purify a man who has committed incest have been preserved (CTH 445). Although the ritual itself has been lost, the extant fragments allow the reconstruction of the entire colophon. In Hoffner's reconstruction and translation (1973b: 88-89) it reads:

DUB.I.KAM *QA-TI*
ma-a-an UN-*aš ḫ[(ur-ki-il i-ya-zi)]*
nu-za DUMU.MÍ-ŠU NIN[-Š(U AMA-ŠU da-a-i)]*
nu-za ki-i da[-aḫ-ḫi . . .]
ŠU ^mMa-d[a- . . .]

'First tablet, complete, (of the ritual) "If a man commits incest (in that) he takes sexually his daughter, his sister (or) his mother, I take (the following steps)." Written by (the scribe) Mad[a- . . .].'

As Hoffner notes, this colophon is interesting in that it explicitly mentions incest between a brother and his sister.[67]

In the *Tale of Zalpa*, it is the youngest brother who attempts to halt the marriage of his brothers with their sisters. He recognizes his sisters, points this out to his brothers, exhorts them not to commit an outrage, and characterizes their intended act as *natta āra*.[68] Cohen believes that the behavior of the queen, the brothers, and the sisters cannot be faulted because they were unaware of the relationship. Hence, the author of the story does not intend to blame them. 'Rather, the intent was to formulate a sexual prohibition which heightens the

---

[67] Shoshana Bin-Nun (1975: 144) asserts that brother-sister incest was quite common among the early Hittites and Hurrians until it was forbidden at a later date (she of course calls attention to the parallels in Egypt, Canaan, Elam, and Persia). Bin-Nun's ideas on this point, however, have been generally rejected by scholars, see, for example, Puhvel, who states: 'Bin-Nun's sweeping thesis [i.e., 'that brother-sister marriage was compatible with both early Anatolian and invading Indo-European practice'] will not work for patriarchal, patrilocal, strongly exogamic early Indo-European social organization. This in spite of her undoubted merit in exorcising the ghosts of a postulated matrilineal or matrilateral social organization in early Hittite society, as promoted by Kaspar Riemschneider on certain Soviet Russian models' (1989: 352).

[68] For a complete survey of contexts in which *natta āra* is used, see Cohen (2002); Cohen (2001) is a preliminary report.

sense of group distinction and social awareness' (2002: 77-78). In the context of the Zalpa text, Cohen's concern with the assignment of blame seems oddly beside the point.

Watkins (2004) addresses the motif of incest, and indeed the structure of the entire myth, in a comparative context. He observes that the incest motif appears also in the Greek tale of Danaus and Aegyptus: the fifty sons of Danaus forced their cousins, the fifty daughters of Aegyptus, to marry them, but at their father's command on their wedding night the sisters murdered their husbands, except for Hypermnestra, whose husband pleased her. Following Benveniste, Watkins interprets the incest story as a reflection of the conflict between an endogamous social ideology that allows parallel-cousin marriage (equivalent to brother-sister incest) and an exogamous one that does not. Watkins' analysis opens up the possibility of a twofold interpretation of the use of this theme: as an ordinary part of early creation and foundation legends and as an instructive text; the last possibility is further discussed in Chapter 6 of this book.

5.2 HISTORICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL COMPARANDA

The *Tale of Zalpa* is a story about a Hittite conquest of a historically real city. A number of Hittite texts offer accounts of the conquests of cities or of countries. The historical portion of the Catalog of Hittite texts includes such titles as:

CTH 7   The Siege of Uršu
CTH 10   Fragments Relative to the Expedition of Muršili I
         Against Babylon
CTH 11   The War of Muršili I Against Aleppo
CTH 12   The Anatolian Campaigns of Muršili I (?)
CTH 13   Wars of Mursili I (?) Against the Hurrians
CTH 14   Fragments Relative to the Syrian Wars (Res gestae
         Hattušili I)
CTH 16   Legendary Accounts of the Hurrian Wars (the Puḫanu
         Chronicle)

CTH 20   The Campaign of Telipinu against Laḫḫa
CTH 121 The Conquest of Alašiya

In theme, the *Tale of Zalpa* can stand alongside these compositions. In structure, it has certain parallels as well: as Hoffner (1980: 291) points out, a legendary prologue is common to the historiographic works of the first Hittite kings, while a bipartite structure consisting of a more realistic, historical prologue to the main subject matter of a text is preserved in royal decrees and state treaties as late as the 13th century BCE. All these texts represent a potential source of intertextual relationships with the Zalpa text, though they are not directly comparable because of clear generic and stylistic differences. From the above list, only the 'quasi-historical' or literary compositions, CTH 7, the Siege of Uršu, and CTH 16, Legendary Accounts of the Hurrian Wars, or the Puḫanu Chronicle, in principle might be considered as possible generic equivalents of the *Tale of Zalpa*, but CTH 16 must be ruled out because of the lack of stylistic similarities. Any judgment about the degree of similarity between the *Tale of Zalpa* and the Siege of Uršu encounters two main difficulties: 1) the Uršu text is composed in Akkadian, and 2) only its middle portion is preserved. The beginning and the end of this text are missing. In the Zalpa text, of course, it is the beginning and the end which are preserved and the central portion which is missing. Furthermore, the Siege of Uršu's humorous narrative perspective (see Beckman 1995) differs in tone from that of the Zalpa text. However, we wish to draw attention to its similarity of theme, as well as to the quantity, content, and syntactic properties of the dialogue. As Hoffner (1980: 300) notes:

'Nevertheless, one can see that despite the different language of composition the Uršu text is a real literary text with a style appropriate to such a text. Here there are no itineraries, listings of booty, or the like. Instead, as in most literary texts, there is a superabundance of dialogue. The language is calculated to express   the intense emotions of the speakers. It is very vivid.'

This is precisely how we characterized the style of the Zalpa tale above in section 4.2.

regard. Many Hittite texts contain some kind of moral teaching. Some are meant to serve as codes of proper conduct, while others include passages with moral reflections (see Haas 2006: 87), whereas still others express moral judgments and explicit maxims of the type 'die Menscheit ist verdorben' or 'nicht Böses mit Bösem vergelten' (Haas 2006: 89). Moreover, morality implicitly pervades a wide range of texts such as myths, prayers, oracles, rituals, tales, etc.

We know that it must have been customary in Hittite society to use stories to impart wisdom. One could find much evidence in support of this claim, but two examples will suffice. The first comes from Beckman (2001: 89). He claims that the semi-legendary accounts of the Mesopotamian past that were copied in Hattuša in Akkadian as well as in Hittite were not used exclusively in scribal schools. A more important reason for the Hittite interest in these traditions lay in their philosophical value: Sargon and Naram-Sin served as exemplars for Hittite rulers, with Sargon representing a king whose respect for the gods was rewarded with prosperity of the land and sucess in battle, while Naram-Sin served as a striking contrast to this paragon because of his impiety, which brought misfortune upon his empire. Following Beckman, reflections of this doctrine may be seen in the piety of Muršili II as represented in his annals (CTH 61) as well as in his plague prayers (CTH 378), in the Telipinu Proclamation (CTH 19), and in the Apology of Hattušili III (CTH 81). Beckman bases his claims on passages reporting Muršili's compensation for neglected rites before setting out on a military campaign (CTH 61, KBo 3.4 I 16-29), his belief that the anger of the gods derived from indiference to cultic obligations, the breaking of oaths, and the spilling of royal blood (CTH 378, KUB 14.8 obv. 8'-19' and KUB 14.14++ I 8-21), and on Telipinu's interpretation of the reasons for the Hittite decline in the 17th century (CTH 19, KUB/KBo 3.1++ I 63-II 1, II 3-4). The *Epos der Freilassung* (CTH 789) provides through its narratives further support for the view that the Hittites used stories as didactic *exempla*. KBo 32.14 repeats several times the following formula:

6 *nu-uš-ma-aš ta-ma-i ut-tar*
me-mi-iš-ki-mi ḫa-at-re-eš-šar iš-ta-ma-aš-tén
8 *ḫa-at-ta-a-tar-ma-aš-ma-aš me-mi-iš-ki-mi* (rev. III 6-8)

CTH 17 (the Cannibal Story) and the *Tale of Zalpa* also show some degree of similarity in narrative technique; compare for example KBo 3.60 II 7-10 or III 4-9 with the last two paragraphs of the Zalpa text:

KBo 3.60

II 7 URU *u-qa-a-pu-wa u-ur-ri-ir* LÚ URU *šu-ú-da* KI-*še* (?)
8 m *ka-ni-u-uš* URU *u-qa-a-pu-wa-aš-ša*
9 *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta pa-i-*[ir] m DUMU.MAH.LIL-*in*
10 *pa-ra-ra-aḫ-ḫi-iš ša-ra-a* URU-*ia pí-e-ḫu-te-*[et]

'the city of Uqapuwa came to help. The man of [ ] Šuda, Kaniu, and the city Ukapuwa advanced against him (?). He chased DUMU.DEN'.LIL (and) brou[ght] (him) up into the city' (the reading follows CHD P/2: 138)

III 4' *iš-pár-za-aš-ta še ḫu-šu-e*[...
5' DUMU MEŠ *ŠI-IP-RI-ŠU ŠA* LUGAL URU *Ḫa-la-a*[p]
6' *e-ep-pu-en šu-uš a-ap-pa* URU *Ḫal-pa* KI
7' *tar-nu-en* AMA (?)-*ŠU ŠA* m *Zu-ú-up-pa*
8' I-NA URU *Ti-ni-ši-pa e-ep-pí-ir*
9' *ša-an-kán ku-e-ni-ir*

'escaped. They . . . . . We seized the messengers of the king of Halap (and) let them go back to Halpa. They seized Zuppa's mother(?) in Tinišipa, (and) killed her.

Güterbock (1938: 104) believes that the style of the Zalpa tale is reminiscent of that of the Palace Chronicle. We disagree: In our view these two compositions do not have much more in common from a stylistic point of view than the two sentences which Güterbock quotes to illustrate his claim.[69]

The moral character of historical texts is a further point deserving our attention. Historical texts, however, are not a special case in this

---

[69] '"[X] war König von Zalpa" und "[Y] war šatammu des Königs von Zalpa"'.

'I will tell you another story. Listen to the message. I will speak wisdom to you.'[70]

Of Hurrian origin, the *Epos der Freilassung* brings together a collection of parables illustrating instances of misconduct from which proper conduct can be inferred. The Hittite translation attests to a remarkable interest in moral questions in the Middle Hittite period, or more precisely at the turn from the 15th to the 14th century.[71]

6 GENRE AND TOPIC

6.1 EARLIER INTERPRETATIONS

As Otten (1973: 63-65) noted and we discussed in more detail above, the initial portion of the *Tale of Zalpa* is a foundation legend similar to other such legends, located in an unspecified early time, in this case without naming the protagonists. In Otten's view, Hittite historiography began with the predecessor of Hattušili I: heroes then receive names and become historical characters acting in an identifiable setting and historical time. At this point, fabulous narration came to be complemented with historical details, and on that basis Otten classifies the obverse of KBo 22.2 as a saga, but presents two alternate interpretations: either Zalpa was founded by the people of Neša or intruders from the Black Sea coast succeeded in gaining a foothold in Neša through marriage. Since Neša was the center of the Hittites, the return journey of the princes might reflect the direction of Hittite colonization of the highland.

The interpretation of the last portion of the story is simpler. Oettinger (2004: 363-365) reassesses Otten's alternatives, and concludes that the Hittites lived for a period in the area of Zalpa along the Black Sea after their separation from the Proto-Anatolians, and from there settled the region of Neša.

Another view of the content of the story was presented by Bin-Nun (1975: 144 f.), who maintained that the queen rejected her sons in order to ensure that her daughters would inherit from her. In the fact that the queen kept her daughters, she sees a reflection of a pattern of succession in which the youngest daughter was the heiress and was married to her brother. She supposes this arrangement to have been common for some time among the Hittites, too, but they later forbade incest. The princes that returned and married their sisters were thus merely asserting an old right. That means that the historical background of the legend might be a dispute over the throne during the Old Hittite kingdom. Bin-Nun's view about the right to succession has been contested by Beal (1983: 124 f.), doubted by Soysal (1987:

---

[70] Cited following Neu (1996: 85), translation following Beckman in Hallo and Younger (1997: 216).
[71] Cf. Neu (1996: 3, 12).

251), and rejected by Puhvel (1989: 352, see n. 67). On the other hand, Singer dismisses the idea that the journey of the thirty brothers preserves a memory of the Hittite immigration from the north, and is willing to entertain the notion that the story reflects the clash between the Hattic practice of brother-sister marriage and its rejection by the Hittites, and consequently supports Bin-Nun's views (1981: 131 f.).

Richard L. Dieterle (1987) placed the Zalpa story in the context of foundation narratives that symbolically describe the settlements of the Romans, Britons, and perhaps also the Indic tribes. In his interpretation, the youngest son – who here, as elsewhere in Indo-European, was considered the wisest and endowed with the greatest virtue – was the *pater patriae* King Anitta, and that the queen of Kaneš was not an actual person, but a lunar deity or even (since the Moon god was male) his female counterpart. The tale describes the conflicts between Zalpa, Neša, and Hattuša, similar to those between Alba Longa, Rome, Lavinium, and Aricia in Latin sources. As evidenced also by the proclamation of Anitta, Neša was the city that the Hittites came from and was more powerful, while Zalpa was an occasionally successful competitor. Therefore the tale ought not to relate the founding of Zalpa, but the first known conflicts between the tribes that later created the Hittite community.

Volkert Haas (1977) described relations between the Hittite cities in a similar fashion: Kaneš, Hattuša, and Zalpa were three Hittite cities vying for supremacy. We know from the Anitta text that Pithana captured Kaneš from Kuššara and established his residence there. His destruction of Hattuša excluded it from the competition for power for 150 years. When Hattuša is again mentioned in historical sources (ca. 1550 BCE), it is the capital city of the Hittites. Kaneš obviously lost the contest and did not recover again during Hittite times. Relations between Hattuša and Zalpa continued to be complex: The *Tale of Zalpa* tells of two rebellions by kings' sons within three generations, the consequence of which was the destruction of Zalpa and the concentration of power in Hattuša. Haas (1977: 24) further believes that the introductory legend shows that the king of Hattuša was from Zalpa, but this direction of settlement is not supported by anything other than this legend. However, Haas believes that the Hittite kings were indeed crowned in Zalpa. Ruggero Stefanini (2002: 793) held the same opinion as Haas. In contrast, Frank Starke (1979:

96 with n. 107) thinks that Zalpa was an earlier Hittite settlement than Neša was and consequently had a certain authority. The introductory portion of our story supports this notion in that it seeks to establish the etiology for a dependence of Zalpa on Neša and later on Hattuša, and finally for the destruction of Zalpa. Starke also suggests that the peccant sons return to Zalpa, while the virtuous younger brother remains in Neša and that the phrase *paiddu miyaru* refers to Neša; destruction is predicted for Zalpa in the same line.

Steiner (1993: 588) rejects the possibility that this is a tale about settlement. It seems to him that the text primarily has a literary character that may also contain a 'vague memory of the time of the *kārum* trading posts', but is merely a Hittite adaptation of the story of Sargon. In contrast, Itamar Singer (1995) asserts that the motifs are common in the Middle East and that the text is a Hittite original. Ahmet Ünal (1986) also sees the story as a legend about Sargon's Hurrian origin and the incest motif as political propaganda promoting the moral superiority and thus hegemony of Hattuša, whereas Trevor R. Bryce (1982: 19, n. 6) surmises that the Hittites obtained the story from the proto-Hattians.

In contrast with the preceding discussions, Isabelle Klock-Fontanille (2001: 180 f.) offers a structural analysis of this text. She points out the difficulties inherent in the attempts that have been made to interpret the first portion of the text in historical terms, noting that the question by what process would one pass from the external referent to the legendary text we possess is never posed. She interprets the differences between the marriage customs of the inhabitants of Zalpa and those of the Hittites as an ideological conflict between two differing social orders (endogamy vs. exogamy). Thus, the birth of 30 sons is a *walkuan* not because of the number 30, but because they are *sons* (2001:189). In Klock-Fontanille's reading of the historical portions of the text, Zalpa systematically sabotages relations with Hattuša (2001: 192-193), so that the destruction of Zalpa and the consequent assertion of the sovereignty of Hattuša become the acme of the text. The link between the legendary portion of the text and the historical sections is provided by the incest motif: 'ce qui est saisi comme impureté, hors-norme dans la partie légendaire, sera traité comme incohérence et division dans la deuxième partie' (2001: 196).

The survey offered here is not bibliographically exhaustive,[72] but it does illustrate the principal directions and tendencies in earlier interpretations of the genre and the topic of the Zalpa text.

6.2 THE ZALPA TALE AS A MORAL TALE

If tales served an educational purpose as argued in section 5.2 above, what could be learned from the *Tale of Zalpa*?

The Zalpa tale combines both mythical and historical elements. These are typically combined in a narative sequence that is initiated by a transgressive act that incurs the threat of divine retribution unless compensation is forthcoming. This model can be seen in the tale at hand: the offence was the incest and the recompense the offering to the Sun god, which was accepted. All would have gone well, if the Zalpans had not repeatedly broken the established rules of the Hittite community. Following Hoffner (1980: 302) the Hittite code of conduct implied 'rejection of individual ambitions contrary to the interests of the royal family . . . , conscientious following of the wise counsel of the king and unswerving obedience of his decrees', in addition to accepting sexual prohibitions, of course. But the Zalpans did the exact opposite of what they ought to have done.

Aristotle (*On Rhetoric* 3.14.2) states that actions have moral character if they show deliberate choice. There can be no doubt that the characters of the Zalpa tale deliberately opposed the commandments of the Hittite code of conduct: the elder brothers could have heeded the warning of the youngest one and renounced their marriages, and in the course of the long siege the citizens could have surrendered the rebels. If we look at the tale from this point of view, we see that it can be understood as another admonitory example in the Hittite historiographical tradition. It provides an object lesson of the fact that it is necessary to subject oneself to moral norms in order to avoid ruin. The measure for correct behaviour is the term *āra* 'right'.[73] The continued reading of the Zalpa text would have served as a reminder that rules can not be broken without punishment.

---

[72] In a paper presented at the 6th International Congress of Hittitology, Rome, September 2005, Amir Gilan claimed that the text is a didactic story composed with the aim of dissuading young princes from seeking power at the cost of inter-dynastic strife. In Gilan's view, there is no need of the incest motif to justify the destruction of Zalpa; the closing paragraph of the text gives the reasons.

[73] On the point of the story cf. also Eichner (1974: 184 f.).

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

---

26 *nu* EGIR-*pa ad-da-aš-ma-an* ᴰU-*an ųa-al-lu-uš-ki-mi nu* GIŠ^{ḤI.A}
   LUGAL-*uš*
   ᴰU-*ni ú-e-ek-zi ḫe-e-ĭa-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 *ạr-kạt-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-^{bbi}* cannot be derived from *ark-^{tta}* 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 *$*h_1erg^{'}h$-*. 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 ḫaš-

The verb *ḫaš-* '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 š=an wemiyawen

Otten (1973: 6-7 and 32-33) reads *ku-in-wa ša-an-ḫi-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-ḫi-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 *Konsekutivsatz*; 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]×-*uš=za nēkušummuš daškēuen*[*i*

a) CHD (L-N/4: 425 f.): [o o *ku*]-ᴦ*u*?ᴦ-*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 **ára*- 'fitting, right, proper', Vedic *r̥tá*- 'right, proper', *r̥tám* 'cosmic order',

Avestan *aša*- 'right, truth, order', Vedic *árya*- '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 -*a*/-*ma* often contain background information that is supportive to the main story line'.

7' ᵁᴿᵁ*ḫaraḫšuaš*

Otten recognizes the enclitic nom. pronoun -*aš*, but does not assign a grammatical case to the place name. Starke (1977: 29) analyzes this as *ḫaraḫšua* 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 *ḫaraḫšuwaš* in the B text as a dat.- loc. *ḫaraḫšuwa* + -*aš* 's/he'.

8' ᵐ*ḫāppiš=a*

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

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 'excrescent' *-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[ḫ-*

CHD (L-N/3: 267) reads ᴰUTU-*uš me-ma-al išša=šša šu-u[ḫ-ḫa-aš* NINDA.K]UR₄.R[A *pa-iš*(?)] / *š=an ištaḫta* and translates 'The Sungod po[ured] meal into her mouth [and gave her(?) th]ick brea[d]. 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 ...]'

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' *IȘBATU*

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' *Ù 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 subjet 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'   *Ù* LÚ^{MEŠ} GAL
31' [*a-pí-ia*] *da-a-li-iš ša-aš A-NA* LÚ^{MEŠ} 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 kišḫa*

B 31'   *ú-uk-wa* LUGAL-*uš-me-e*[*t*]
32' [*ki-iš-ḫa-*]*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 seige 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