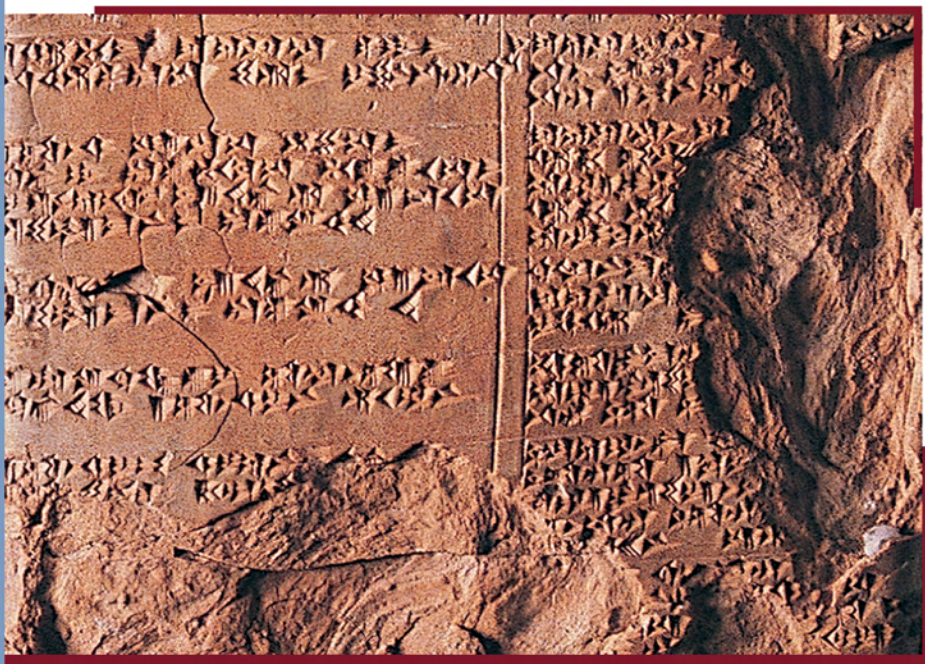
Contacts of Languages and Peoples in the Hittite and Post-Hittite World

Volume 1, The Bronze Age and Hatti

Federico Giusfredi, Alvise Matessi, and Valerio Pisaniello



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Volume 1

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VOLUME 1

The Bronze Age and Hatti

By

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Alvise Matessi
Valerio Pisaniello

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The publication of this monograph was financed by the project PALaC, that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement n° 757299).

Cover illustration: A detail of The Hurrian-Hittite bilingual tablet KBo 32.14. Source: Shutterstock.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at https://catalog.loc.gov
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023015960

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2667-3770
ISBN 978-90-04-54860-2 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-54863-3 (e-book)

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Abbreviations

…/a–…/z	Inventory number of the tablets excavated in Boğazköy (1931–1967).
ABoT	*Ankara Arkeologji Müzesinde bulunan Bogazköy Tabletleri* (Bogazköy Tablets in the Archaeological Museum in Ankara), vol. 1 İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1948; vol. 2 Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2011.
ACLT	Yakubovich, Ilya, *Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts* (http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search).
AT	Wiseman, Donald J., *The Alalakh Tablets*, London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953.
AUAM	Tablets in the collections of the Andrews University Archaeological Museum.
AuOrS 23	Arnaud, Daniel, *Corpus des Textes de Bibliothèque de Ras Shamra-Ougarit* (Aula Orientalis Supplements 23), Barcelona: Editorial Ausa, 2007.
Bk.	Büyükkale.
BM	British Museum, London.
Bo	Inventory number of the tablets excavated in Boğazköy (1906–1912).
BT	Bronze Tablet (= Bo 86/299).
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*, Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010.
CBS	University Museum in Philadelphia, Catalogue of the Babylonian Section.
CHD	*The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980 ff.
CIL VI	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum VI. Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1876–2000.
CODL^2	Matthews, Peter H., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
CSAI	*Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions*, Pisa (http://dasi.cnr.it/).
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, London: British Museum, 1896 ff.
CTH	Laroche, Emmanuel, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1971; premier supplément, *Revue Hittite et Asianique* 30 (1972), pp. 94–133; Online edition: Košak, Silvin et al., https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/.
CUSAS	*Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology*, Bethesda: CDL Press, 2007 ff.
DAAM 1	Rieken, Elisabeth, ed, *Keilschrifttafeln aus Kayalıpınar 1. Textfunde aus den Jahren 1999–2017* (Documenta Antiqua Asiae Minoris 1), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019.

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DBH 46 Akdoğan, Rukiye, *Hethitische Texte. Bo 4658–Bo 5000* (Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 46), 2 vols., Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016.

DCL Melchert, H. Craig, *A Dictionary of Cuneiform Luvian*. Ann-Arbor: Beech Stave, forthcoming.

EA Knudtzon, Jörgen A., *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 11), Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915.

EDHIL Kloekhorst, Alwin, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon* (Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 5), Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008.

eDiAna *Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages* (https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php).

EHS Kronasser, Heinz, *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966.

Emar VI Arnaud, Daniel, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata. Emar VI*, Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985–1987.

EWAia Mayrhofer, Manfred, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, 3 vols., Heidelberg: Winter, 1992–2001.

GrHL Hoffner Jr., Harry A. and Melchert, H. Craig, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part 1: Reference Grammar* (Languages of the Ancient Near East 1/1), Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008.

H Tablets from Tell-Haddad.

HE² Friedrich, Johannes, *Hethitisches Elementarbuch. Zweite verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage*, Heidelberg: Winter, 1960.

HED Puhvel, Jaan, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (Trends in Linguistics. Documentation 1 ff.), Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1984 ff.

HEG Tischler, Johann, *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 20), Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1983–2016.

HKM Alp, Sedat, *Masat-Höyük'te bulunan civi yazili Hitit tabletleri/Hittite Cuneiform Tablets from Masat-Höyük* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları VI/34), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1991.

HSK 26.1 Kittel, Harald, Frank, Armin Paul, Greiner, Norbert, Hermans, Theo, Koller, Werner, Lambert, José, and Paul, Fritz, eds, *Übersetzung / Translation / Traduction*, vol. 1 (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft / Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science 26.1), Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2004.

HT King, Leonard William, *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum*, London: British Museum, 1920.

HW² Friedrich, Johannes and Kammenhuber, Annelies, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*

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	Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte, Heidelberg: Winter, 1975 ff.
HZL	Rüster, Christel and Neu, Erich, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten* (Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten Bh. 2), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989.
IBoT	*İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Bogazköy tabletleri*, vol. 1 İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, vol. 2 İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, vol. 3 İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, vol. 4 Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1944 ff.
ICK 1	Hrozný, Bedřich, *Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kultépé*, vol. 1 (Monografie Archivu Orientálního 14), Prag: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1952.
KAI	Donner, Herbert and Röllig, Wolfgang, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962–1964.
KAR	Ebeling, Erich, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts I/II* (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 28 and 34), Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1919 and 1923.
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, vols. 1–6 Leipzig: Hinrichs; vols. 7–70 Berlin: Mann; vol. 71: Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1916 ff.
Kp	Inventory numbers of Kayalıpınar texts.
Kt	Inventory numbers of Kültepe texts.
KTK	Jankovskaja, Ninel B., *Klinopisnye teksty iz Kjul'-Tepe v sobranijach SSSR* (*pis'ma i dokumenty torgovovo ob'edinenija v Maloj Azii XIX v. do n.ė.*) (Pamjatniki Pis'mennosti Vostoka 14) Moskau: Nauka, 1968.
KTU	Dietrich, Manfried, Loretz, Oswald, and Sanmartín, Joaquín, *Die keil-alphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 24/1), Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976.
KTU^3	Dietrich, Manfried, Loretz, Oswald, and Sanmartín, Joaquín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani und anderen Orten / The cuneiform alphabetic texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and other places* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 360/1), 3rd ed., Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013.
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1921–1990.
Msk	Texts from Meskene.
MSL	*Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon/Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon*, Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1937 ff.; SS = Supplementary Series (1, 1986).
MZL	Borger, Rykle, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 305), Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003.
Neşr. C1	Tablet quoted in Veenhof 1989 (see Bibliography).
Ni	Texts from Nippur (Archaeological Museum, Istanbul)
NPN	Gelb, Ignace J., Purves, Pierre M., and MacRae, Allan A., *Nuzi Personal Names*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1943.

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OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications*, Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1924 ff.
OIP 2	Luckenbill, Daniel David, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Oriental Institute Publications 2), Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1924.
PRU	Schaeffer, Claude F.-A., ed, *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit* 1–6, Paris: Klincksieck, 1955–1970.
RIMA	*The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987 ff.
RlA	Ebeling, Erich, Meissner, Bruno et al., eds, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archaologie*, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1932 ff.
RS	Texts from Ras Shamra.
RV	Rigveda (https://vedaweb.uni-koeln.de/).
TC	Contenau, Georges, *Tablettes Cappadociennes* (= TCL 4), Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1920.
TCL	*Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre*, Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1910 ff.
TL	Kalinka, Ernst, *Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti* (Tituli Asiae Minoris 1), Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1901.
TLB	*Tabulae Cuneiformes a F.M.Th. de Liagre BöhI collectae*, Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1954 ff.
VAT	Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung: Tontafeln).
VBoT	Götze, Albrecht, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte*, Marburg: Author's Printing Press, 1930.
YOS	*Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915 ff.

Linguistic and Paleographic Abbreviations

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
c.	common gender
CV	consonant-vowel
CVC	consonant-vowel-consonant
dat.	dative
EL	Empire Luwian
gen.	genitive
IL	Ištanuwa Luwic
imp.	imperative
impf.	imperfective
instr.	instrumental

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KL	Kizzuwatna Luwian
l. col.	left column
loc.	locative
lo. e.	lower edge
MB	Middle Babylon
MS	Middle Script
MH	Middle Hittite
n.	neuter gender
NB	New Babylon
NH	New Hittite
nom.	nominative
NS	New Script
OA	Old Assyrian
OB	Old Babylonian
obv.	obverse
OH	Old Hittite
OS	Old Script
OV	object-verb
PA	Proto-Anatolian
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
pl.	plural
PN	personal name
pres.	present
pret.	preterit
r. col.	right column
rev.	reverse
sg.	singular
SOV	subject-object-verb
SVO	subject-verb-object
TL	Tauriša Luwian
VC	vowel-consonant
VO	verb-object
VSO	verb-subject-object

Historical Periods and Other Abbreviations

AMW	Anatolian Metallic Ware
EBA	Early Bronze Age
ETC	East Transcaucasian Culture

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ECh	Early Chalcolithic
KG	Kurgan
LCh	Late Chalcolithic
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LSU	Landschenkungsurkunde(n)
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MCh	Middle Chalcolithic
RBBW	Red and Black Burnished Wares

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CHAPTER 9

Hattian Texts and Hattian in the Hittite Archives

A. Rizza

1 Denomination and Identity

The Hittite documents contain expressions such as *hattili, nešili, hurlili, luwili* and *babilili*. These are examples of a typical adverbial form that probably originated from the dat./loc. of adjectives in *-li-*[1] and has the formal meaning of 'in the manner of.' The formation is widely used to refer to linguistic behavior: for example, *hattili* means 'in Hattian,' *nešili*, 'in Nesic,' *hurlili*, 'in Hurrian,' *luwili* 'in Luwian' and *babilili*, 'in Babylonian.' *Hattili* generally introduces texts or portions of texts written in the non-Indo-European isolate language that is now called Hattic or Hattian. The term Proto-Hattian (German, *prohattisch*; Italian, *protocattico proto*(*k*)*hattico*; French, proto-hittite) is common in the older secondary literature.[2] It arose from the idea that Hittites, as Indo-Europeans, could not be treated as an autochthonous Anatolian population. It was too easily believed that people speaking a non-Indo-European language that was attested only in Anatolia must have been the autochthonous population of at least the central part of modern Turkey.[3] Thus 'Hattian' became the name used for both a language and a population. Yet historically the Hittite kingdom was known as the 'land of Hatti.' So, in the historical kingdom that we know as Hittite, people wrote on cuneiform clay tablets using the Indo-European language that we call Hittite as their main language but identifying their territory and institutions with a name that referred to the territory whose language should have been the non-Indo-European language Hattian (*hattili*). The relationship between the original Hatti and the Hatti of the Hittites is a fascinating case, not only for cultural and linguistic contact research but also for research on the value of language in politics and cultural identity. Today we call the main language of

1 And/or the nom./acc. ending (cf. Friedrich HE² § 227): Hoffner and Melchert GrHL § 19.15. For a different analysis: Kronasser EHS § 179,11 (accepted in Tischler HEG, s.v. *hattili*; Friedrich and Kammenhuber HW² III, s.v. *hattili-*). See also Chapter 11, § 1, on the synchronic use of the forms in *-li*.

2 The term is already found in Forrer 1919. Cf. Laroche 1947a; Güterbock 1957; Kammenhuber 1969.

3 For a compelling criticism to this approach, see Klinger 1996:16–24, in part. 17.

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the Hittite clay tablets 'Hittite'—using a word deriving from *Hatti*—because of a tradition established when modern scholars began studying the clay tablets found in Hattuša. The political name Hatti survived the fall of the kingdom. Thanks to the so-called Neo-Hittite states, it lasted into the first millennium BCE and entered the Biblical tradition.[4] The expression originally used to refer to Hittite language was *nešili*, that is, 'in the manner of (the people of the city of) Neša.'[5] Attempts made in the first half of the 20th century to rename the Hittite language Nesite or Kanesite failed.[6]

The clearest and most concise summary of this situation was given by H.G. Güterbock in a paper published in 1957, from which the passage below is quoted.

> [...] The situation becomes more complicated if cultural manifestations other than languages are taken into consideration: what is Hittite art, Hittite architecture, Hittite pottery, in short, Hittite civilization? Can such names be used at all, and to what kind of Hittites do they refer? [...] If we want to reach some clarity we must strictly separate two spheres: linguistic and cultural. Since the name 'Hittite' has, for forty years been applied to the main language of the Boğazköy archives, we cannot easily abandon it (although there are other names for the same language [...]). The speakers of this language took part in what may be called 'Hittite civilization,' but the latter is a mixed culture and cannot in its entirety be ascribed to a single ethnic group. Consequently, the name 'Hittite' must mean one thing if applied to a language, another thing if applied to a civilization (Güterbock 1957:233–234).

One of the main goals of the research has been to define the contribution of the Hittites to the Hittite civilization. This could be pursued by investigating the contribution of the other 'ethnic groups' that could be projected behind the linguistic denominations and the texts in languages other than Hittite that are recorded in the Hittite tablets.[7] The Hattian contribution, based on the texts we

4 However, Luwian, as is well known, was the main language of inscriptions in the Neo-Hittite states. This language too was called Hitttite for a while—specifically, hieroglyphic Hittite (cf. Güterbock 1957)—but the appellation was later abandoned in favor of the more accurate hieroglyphic Luwian.

5 With variants, especially (*ka*)*nešummili*.

6 See Forrer 1919 and 1921. Cf. Güterbock 1957.

7 See Klinger 1996, which includes references. It is important to stress that language and culture and language and ethnicity are not naturally related in terms of identity. Language can

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have, was almost exclusively restricted to the cult. Thus Hattian texts are mainly concerned with cult-related performances: music and dance with songs and formulas, recitations, incantations, and narratives (myths). The Hittite word *hattili* is chiefly used in Hittite texts as a description or instruction for specific performances as in the following examples.

KUB 1.17 iii 48–49 = CTH 591.II.A, Klinger 1996.
(48) ^{LÚ}ALAMZU$_9$ *ha-at-ti-li* (49) *ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i*
"The ^{LÚ}ALAMZU$_9$ recites in Hattian as follows"[8]

KUB 2.13 v 2 = CTH 591.IV.A, Klinger 1996.
(2) ^{LÚ}NAR ^{URU}*ha-at-ti-li* SÌR-*RU*
"The singer sings in Hattian"

Sometimes, instead of the adverbial form *hattili*, scribes used the adjective *hattili-*.

VAT 7683 iii? 11′–12′ = CTH 591.IV.D, Klinger 1996.
[^{L}]$^{Ú.MEŠ}$NAR *ha-at-ti-li-eš* (12′) [SÌ]R-*RU*
"The Hattian singers sing"[9]

In other instances, the word *hattili* is omitted. This is the case for the main bilingual tablets (CTH 725 and 726) recording the rituals that relate to building activities of the palace.

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be a social bond for identity in a given, mainly local, cultural construct. This means that in reconstructing local knowledge, researchers have to be extremely cautious in applying their cultural models, which are as local as all others: one cannot easily map components of a multilingual literacy onto separate cultures or, even worse, ethnic groups. The case of Hattian–Hittite (Old Hittite especially) relations is particularly explicit in this respect. It is very hard to find a pure Hittite (i.e., non-Luwian, Hurrian, or Mesopotamian) historical manifestation that is not connected to the Hattian milieu or *Kultschicht*. A true Hittite contribution (in historical terms), is something built with all or some Anatolian, Syrian and Mesopotamian components (cf. Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani 1990:7–10). One way to represent Hittite culture could be a model using stratification (e.g., Klinger 1996, Rizza 2002). The limits of such a model are discussed in Steitler 2017:2 fn. 5, with references, and in Steitler 2017:3–4, 9–11.

8 The adverb *kiššan* 'as follows' generally introduces textual portions in Hattian that are reproduced in tablets. Parallel manuscripts lacking *kiššan* generally do not reproduce the Hattian text; cf., e.g., CTH 591.II.A ii 18–19 with II.B i 10′ and II.D i 6′. Of course *kiššan* is not obligatory.

9 Caution is required to avoid oversimplified conclusions about ethnic differentiation: the focus is on performance.

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KUB 2.2+ ii 38–39 = CTH 725.A, Schuster 1974
(38) ^{LÚ}*zi-li-pu-ri-ya-tal-la-aš* (39) *a-pí-ya-ak-ku a-ni-ya-zi ta ke-e* INIM^{MEŠ} *me-ma-i*
"The Zilipuriatalla carries out (rites) in that place, and recites these words" (i.e., "this story, these facts")

The adverb *hattili* is used with the verbs *mema-* 'speak (of), tell, recite'; *halzai-* 'cry, call out, summon, invoke'; *malt-* 'declaim, recite, vow'; SÌR-*RU* 'sing' (*zamārum* in Akkadian and *išhamai-* in Hittite), and *annia-* 'perform, carry out, (magically) treat'. The focus on cult performance is evident.[10] Some of the tablets offer guidelines for performances; others also include the text to be delivered. In some cases, the text and the instructions related to them may be preserved on separate tablets.[11] The case of CTH 591 is of particular interest. This catalog entry details multiple manuscripts of the Festival of the month (*Fête du mois*). Some (I.1.A in Klinger 1996) preserve the Hattian texts and others do not. According to Steitler (2014), Ms. I.1.A (KUB 1.17) may reflect a misunderstanding of Hattian recitations. Although the obverse seems to respect the correct connection between Hattian recitations and the "description of the ritual activities [because] the deity honored by a particular rite is subsequently identified in the appurtenant recitation" (2014:301), rites for the Kaneš gods are interpolated on the reverse, disrupting "the original correspondence between rites and recitations" (ibid.). Steitler concludes that even if the Hattian texts were not well understood, they constituted an "expression of the Hittites' own cultural identity" (ibid.).

The presence of the Hattian texts probably implied the existence of a cultural context (mainly religious and ideological) toward which whatever was, or should have been, originally Hittite converged, leaving present-day researchers without a picture of a pure and original (Indo-European) Hittite contribution as distinct from the Hattian one. Klinger (1996) and Steitler (2017) emphasize the historical relevance of Hattian cults during the existence of the Hittite kingdom; thus the Hattian *Kultschicht* (or milieu, following Steitler's analysis) characteristic of the older phases likely survived into later phases.

10 The adjective *hattili-* is also used to qualify objects such as shoes; see Friedrich and Kammenhuber HW^2 III, s.v. *hattili-*.

11 Cf. Forlanini 1984.

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2 The Textual Documentation

2.1 *Writing Habits*

Hattian texts are preserved on typical documents of the Mesopotamian tradition, that is, through cuneiform writing on clay tablets kept in archives and/or libraries (in a broad sense). We have no evidence of monumental or display texts. The Hittite culture developed schools and systems of conservation and cataloging,[12] along with textual genres, formats, and layouts.[13] Of particular importance for the Hattian documentation is the format of the bilingual tablets, on which Hattian texts are transcribed with corresponding translations in Hittite (cf. below).

The Hittites adopted a form of cuneiform from the Syro-Mesopotamian tradition, although with idiosyncrasies that diverge from the Babylonian standard (see Chapter 6). The orthographic system applied to texts in the Hattian language reveals further distinguishing characteristics. Some concern the repertoire of signs. The Hattian texts abound in signs built on the cuneiform PI, to which a smaller sign is juxtaposed—generally, but not exclusively, a vowel (e.g., PI_A). The PI sign has a pure consonant value, so the subscript signs function as an indication of the vocalization of the syllable. In Hittite the syllabic value /pi/ is never rendered with PI, for which BI is used instead; therefore, BI is also transcribed as *-pé-* and *-pí-*. The syllabic value of PI is usually /wa/. Therefore, the PI_V combinations are transcribed as -wV_V- (*wa$_a$-*, *wi$_i$-*, *-wu$_u$-*, *-wú$_ú$-* etc.). It is believed that the sign PI with subscripts is used to indicate a fricative of the labiodental type, such as [f] or [v]. The Hittite scribes used concordance tables to identify correspondences between signs of this type and simple signs; the tables were practical solutions to cases of variation in spelling resulting from divergent traditions or schools or simplifications. It is not uncommon to find variants in which signs such as BI (*-pí/é-*) and PI_V alternate. The orthography of Hattian in Hittite documents has been recently reviewed in two important works: Soysal 2004 and Simon 2012.

There is plenty of variation in the documents in Hattian. Many words show graphic variants. Some are the result of mistakes. However, it is important to remember that both the Hittite and Hurrian orthographies include variation. For example, in Hittite, spellings with and without consonant gemination may alternate; the same can be said for vocalic *scriptio plena* or the use of -Ci- and -Ce- syllabograms. Due to the nature and frequency of these spelling variants,

12 Dardano 2006.

13 Waal 2010.

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it seems reasonable to interpret them, at least to an extent, as real alternatives, that is, instances of some sort of allography.[14]

Hittite documents in Hurrian, for example, diverge from the orthography of the Mittani letter. Mittani Hurrian shows unambiguous spellings in many cases in which ambiguities exist in Hittite Hurrian. For instance, we can consider syllabographic pairs such as KI and GI and KU and GU, which are unambiguously used in the Mittani letter to code vowel quality: KI is /ki/, GI is /ke/, KU is /ko/, and GU is /ku/.[15] In Hittite Hurrian, there are on the contrary many cases of non-strict one-to-one correspondence. For example, according to Giorgieri and Wilhelm (1995), a Hurrian syllable with /e/ could be written using signs of the type -Ci- and -iC- (e.g., NI or IN), -Ce-, and -eC- (e.g., NE or EN); syllables with /i/ could be written only with -Ci- and -iC- sign types.[16] A situation in which one sign has a unique phonemic correspondence, whereas another sign corresponds to both that sound and a different one, may be represented as a contrastive opposition between fully specified vs. underspecified features. Tentatively, the Hittite Hurrian orthographic treatment of /i/ and /e/ with CV and VC syllabograms can be represented as follows:

-Ce- and -eC-: [+front +mid], that is, only the mid-front vowel
-Ci- and -iC-: [+front -low], that is, any higher front vowel.

Other variations are not as coherent as these. For example, the GA, KA, and QA signs may alternate in the same text to render a velar plosive with /a/.[17]

Returning to Hattian, it should be evident by now that we face two theoretical pathways for considering variant spellings: comparing manuscripts to identify error patterns and comparing words and word forms to identify functional values. To be sure, we have instances of both cases, but to uncover functional values we need to consider all solutions that are typical of Hittite documents: not only signs that may alternate or seem alternate freely for the same value, but also cases of underspecification, such as the Hittite plene-vowel spellings, which should be treated as more specific than the non-plene ones, or the *scriptio geminata*, which should be treated as more specific than the *scriptio simplex*.

14 When we speak of 'allography,' we do not mean graphic variants of letters or characters but rather different solutions for graphically conveying the same linguistic facts (whether they are related to phonology or other aspects of language).

15 See Giorgieri 2000a:181 for other cases.

16 See Giorgieri 2000a:182 for other cases.

17 For contextual rules for determining the voice value of the velar, see Giorgieri 2000a:185–186.

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The Hattian situation proves to be rather obscure. A recent and major effort to determine the value of variant spellings is found in Simon 2012, to which we refer the interested reader. Even if the phonological values proposed in that study cannot be taken as definitive, it is very important to stress that scribal mistakes, misunderstandings, uncertainties, and the like are not enough to explain the situation.

A structural analogy among Hittite, Hurrian, and Hattian orthographies must be assumed; a simple transfer of the Hittite and Hittite Hurrian patterns, however, is not convincing, at least not in all cases. Both Hittite Hurrian and Hattian use the same scribal habit in providing the sign PI with a *mater lectionis*. As already stated, the sign PI is never used with value /pi/ or /bi/ in Hittite, Hurrian (including the Mittani letter), or Hattian. The sign PI in the Mittani letter has four values, conventionally transcribed as *-wa-, -we-, -wi-, -wu-* (it works like a consonantal sign and phonologically most likely codes a labiodental fricative, either /f/ or /v/). Hurrian and Hattian in the Hittite documents discriminate values by adding a subscript vocalic sign, PI_V, (i.e., *-wa*$_a$*, -we*$_e$*, -wi*$_i$*, -wu*$_u$*, -wú*$_{ú}$). While we notice here a more detailed system, we have to remember that those signs could alternate with signs for labial plosives (PA, BI, PU), a nonadmissible option in the Mittani letter.[18]

As mentioned above, the scribes had at their disposal concordances that listed such alternatives. One example survives on a tablet, which was published as KBo 37.21; the scribe drew a table on the lower edge containing the alternatives.[19] See the picture of KBo 37.21 in this Fig. 9.1.

The signs aligned in table layout at the bottom of the tablet read as follows:

21	[*wa*$_a$]	*pa-a*	*wi*$_i$	*p*[*í-i*]
22	[*we*$_e$]	*pé-e*	*wu*$_u$	[*pu-u*]
23		vacat	*wú*$_{ú}$	[*pu-ú*]

A similar, complete table is preserved in Emar (Msk 7462).[20] The table in KBo 37.21 is for Hattian, and that in Msk 7462 is for Hurrian. The Hattian and Hurrian texts show further composite signs of the same type but with a VC or CV syllabogram such as PI_{AB}, PI_{BI} PI_{BU}, i.e., *-wa*$_{ap}$*-*, *-wi*$_{pi}$*-*, or *-wu*$_{pu}$*-* (see HZL for details) that structurally conforms to the situations traced in the tables in KBo 37.21 and Msk 7462. Alternations between the signs noted in the school tables

18 Moreover, in the Mittani letter, the quality of the vowel could be determined with normally written PI-V strings.

19 Kammenhuber 1969:443.

20 Emar VI/4 nr. 601 (p. 181). Cf. Klinger 1996:621–622.

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FIGURE 9.1
The table of orthographic variants in KBo 37.21

must have been available and accepted alternatives rather than uncertainties. The reason why the scribal community did not develop a more efficient system is not discernible in the surviving data. Nonetheless, we must consider that what may appear dysfunctional to us could have been perfectly functional for the scope and the objectives of the original system.

Another interesting but more obscure example of Hattian orthographic problems is the alternation between vowel plene writing and geminate writing of consonants for the same word or word form (see Soysal 2004 for details). We list just a few significant examples:

te-e-pu-ut	*te-ep-pu-ut*
up-pí-in	*u-pí-i-in*
a-ši-i-ia-ú-i	*a-aš-ši-ia-ú-i*

(Soysal 2004:75).

This kind of evidence prevents us from transferring the norms of Hittite orthography indiscriminately into Hattian texts.

The issues described thus far should be sufficient to suggest how problematic the study of Hattian orthography can be. Other challenges are detailed in Soysal 2004 (chapter 2).

2.2 *Texts*

The CTH reserved the range 725 to 749 for Hattian texts, with 747 to 749 as yet unassigned.[21] The two major collections of autograph tablets with Hattian text are KUB 28 and KBo 37. Scholars are not in full agreement on the grammar of the language. One may find differences both in the terminology and in the

21 Cf. hethiter.net/: CTH (2022-02-17).

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analysis. The most recent contributions to Hattian grammar are Soysal 2004 and 2018, Kassian 2010, Simon 2012, and Schrijver 2018. Additionally, Berman 1977 and Goedegebuure 2008 have discussed the typology of the language. Hattian is an isolate language; earlier attempts to categorize it with the Caucasian languages failed (see Klinger 1994). Hattian most probably shows ergative or active-inactive patterns morphologically marked on the verb (see Goedegebuure 2010).

Hattian texts are deeply rooted in cult activities. Although narratives exist, they appear to be used as constitutive parts of religious rites. Schuster 1974:13–43 provides a classification with a description of the Hattian texts,[22] but it is not easily readable by nonexperts; a complete list of fragments to date is in Klinger 1996. Updated presentations of the Hattian text ensemble are found in Soysal 2004 and Steitler 2018. The texts have been classified applying heterogenous properties: by cult (local cults, kingdom festivals, royal purification, building rituals, and private rituals), textual aspects (songs, recitations, invocations, spellings, and mythological narratives), formal characteristics (such as strophic or alternate songs), and scholarly formats (e.g., bilingual tablets).

Hattian texts, especially recitations and songs (alternate or strophic) were used in major festivals (e.g., the 'festival of the month' CTH 591)[23] as well as in local cults in places such as Nerik, Zippalanda, Tuhumiara, and Tissarulia (CTH 737, 739, 741), and feasts for Hattian deities, such as the one for Teteshapi (CTH 738).[24] There are also prayers (e.g., CTH 735) and invocations for the gods 'in the language of the gods and in the language of the mortals' (CTH 733; see Laroche 1947b and Corti 2010). Magic rites include incantations like the 'sheep spellings' (CTH 729), 'moon and wind spellings' (CTH 730), spellings for priests (CTH 728), and various other fragments listed in the various CTH numbers. In addition, there are hymns and strophic songs (e.g., CTH 742, 746, but also examples in CTH 735, 738, 739, 740, 743, and 745), as well as alternate songs

22 The textual groups described by Schuster (1974) are recitations in festivals (including invocations and alternate songs), local cults, invocations of the gods (733), rituals for the king (some performed by the LÚ ^{d}10), and personal rituals in general, without an explicit reference to an individual or a category. The latter—often, but not necessarily, assembled on *Sammeltafeln*—include incantations, recitations, and ritual narratives such as 'the myth of moon that fell from heaven' (the bilingual CTH 727). Schuster lists then alternate and strophic songs that is, texts defined by formal layout properties which should correspond to formal poetic properties rather than by content or formal appurtenance to parts of ritual compositions (1974:36–37), and bilingual texts (1974:42–43).

23 Klinger 1996; Steitler 2014.

24 Pecchioli Daddi 1987.

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(e.g., CTH 743, but also examples in CTH 627, 639, 738, 741, and 744).[25] Some texts are designed to cleanse and purify, especially the king and the land (e.g., CTH 732). Other texts have etiological and mythological narratives inserted as constitutive parts of building rituals and other types of rituals (CTH 725, 726, and 727). Isolate terms or expressions or lists of terms (e.g., personnel lists) are also scattered in Hittite documents.

Soysal (2004:47 fn. 1) lists the previous attempts at classifying Hattian texts according to the various principles. He uses 9 typologies in his book (2004:17–21): exclamations, technical terms, songs, strophic compositions, prayers, invocations, blessings for the royal family, purification rituals, and bilingual texts. The latter are further classified as narratives, prayers, mythologemes and ritual narratives, and quasi bilingual (i.e., texts with the Hattian and Hittite versions written on separate tablets). The principles used are evidently heterogeneous, but it is not easy to define a uniform ordering principle for a complete list of Hattian texts. Some tablets fit more than one class. For example, the texts in CTH 738 relate to the cult of the local god Teteshapi if classified by their cult function but to strophic and alternate songs if classified according to their layout and formulas.[26]

Interestingly, in Soysal 2004:51 one can find also a list of fragments defined according to the type of Hattian evidence they contain. This ordering system is tightly connected to the material document and its content and can be reduced to three major categories:

1) tablets written in Hattian and Hittite (translations written in a bilingual format or alternating Hattian and Hittite texts);
2) monolingual tablets;
3) tablets with Hittite texts that also have brief invocations, exclamations, or technical expressions in Hattian.

The category of multilingual tablets can be further split into bilingual tablets bearing Hattian texts with corresponding Hittite translations and tablets with different texts in the two languages.

The major bilingual tablets, and thus the major translations, are CTH 725, 726, and 727.

2.3 *Translations*

The Hittite scribal community transmitted translations of some Hattian texts. The translations that we have are most probably copies of original older edi-

25 Stivala 2006 and 2011.

26 Stivala 2006, 2011, and 2016.

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tions. On a single material document, the Hattian text and the Hittite translation were either placed side by side or arranged in horizontal sections with the original language followed by the translation. Both the originals and the translations probably derived from established editions that had been copied repeatedly over time. This is confirmed by the discovery in Ortaköy/Šapinuwa of translations that are the same as those found in Hattuša. Hittite texts that are arranged in a specific layout along with Hattian versions represent 'apparent/overt' translations.[27] The tablets that bear them can be defined as '(direct) bilinguals.' These translations are of the 'literal' type, to use a term that is perhaps a bit coarse but easily understood and having the advantage of not being too precise: a better definition would require more thorough study.[28] Some other Hittite texts, not inserted in such special layouts or accompanied by Hattian texts, may have been covert translations, that is, not intended to provide a scribe or performer with a side-by-side translation. There are also Hittite and Hattian texts preserved on separate tablets that are evidently in a relationship of translation: these are defined as 'quasi-bilingual.'[29] Some texts appear to share the features of the literal translations but do not have directly witnessed originals. These latter texts may be translations from Hattian as well as from other languages.[30]

To understand the reasons for and functions behind those translations, scholars might look to studies of translation. One theoretical approach, not too sophisticated, is to view translations as problem-solving devices. This is probably the primary function of interpreting but is certainly prominent also in the production of texts in translation. When considered as a problem-solving device, translation is generally perceived as a process that facilitates communication.[31] Translation also has other purposes that can be assumed, such as communicating needs and intentions across cultural and language boundaries (HSK 26.1.3:25a).

In our situation, however, these reasons for translation cannot be accepted *sic et simpliciter*. We have a tradition of translating texts that perhaps started during the Middle Hittite kingdom, but could have begun earlier,[32] and the texts that were handed down show archaic features of Hittite (Schuster 1974).

27 Here we loosely refer to the concept of overt vs. covert translation introduced in House 1977 and 1986.

28 Cf. Rizza 2008 and 2009; Rieken 2014 and 2016.

29 Corti 2010; Soysal 2004; recently Steitler 2018.

30 Melchert, forthcoming-b (I thank H.C. Melchert for sharing a draft of this paper).

31 Cf. HSK 26.1.3.

32 Old script bilinguals are rare. This might be due to chance or because translations were less necessary at an earlier period.

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Furthermore, as Klinger 1996 and Steitler 2017 show, Hattian culture, at least that which we see in the documents, is Hittite culture, so cultural boundaries are not in play.

Translations are, in any case, a medium: perhaps they are involved in the dynamics of sacral communication, but this is a point still to be investigated. They may represent different illocutionary and/or perlocutionary acts; but, again, these are topics that must be studied more carefully.[33]

3 The *Status* of Hattian in Hittite Anatolia

To examine the status of Hattian during the existence of the Hittite kingdom, we have to assume a few initial distinctions. First, we must distinguish between an 'extinct' and a 'dead' language. The former is here assumed to be a language that no longer has speakers, whether native or nonnative. The latter is here assumed to be "[o]ne that is no longer the native language of any community. Such languages may remain in use, like Latin or Sanskrit, as second or learned (e.g., as liturgical) languages" (CODL², s.v. *dead language*).

We can easily exclude that Hattian was an extinct language. There is abundant evidence of performers using Hattian: it may have been a very corrupted form of the original language, perhaps performed without precise knowledge of the original tongue, but it was certainly in use.

Almost all scholars in the field judge, based on the sources, that understanding of the language became quite poor by the era of the Hittite Empire;[34] some researchers believe that it had become a dead language by the Old Hit-

33 Some hints are offered by Mouton and Yakubovich: "The embedded Luwian passages that avoided translation usually represent incantations, and one can assume that they were recorded in the original language because of their illocutionary force" (2021:26).

34 Klinger 1996:613–614, including references, and Klinger 2005:128; recently also Steitler 2014 and 2018. Cf., for a critical review and contrary opinion, Simon 2012:1–12, including references. Süel and Soysal (2016:361), on the basis of the new Ortaköy fragments, state that "Hattian was still a spoken, or at least, literary productive language in Hittite periods, and not a dead one as many scholars used to assume" (cited again in Soysal 2018:160). We have, for this present chapter, clearly distinguished between dead and extinct languages, so we cannot accept this conclusion without noting the differences between them. A dead language is usually productive literarily (consider the case of Latin and cf. Soysal 2004:14). The Ortaköy and Hattuša texts are the same, so we cannot infer a lively production of texts in Hattian. What we see instead is a particular care in preserving, transmitting, and performing Hattian texts in crucial moments of the symbolic, religious and cultural life of the Hittites in periods later than the oldest phases. Klinger 1996 and Steitler 2017 reached the same conclusion previously.

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tite phase,[35] but others disagree. Soysal (2004:14) finds plausible a scenario in which Hattian was lost over the years that the Hittite kingdom flourished. However, this scenario cannot be proved or disproved because it is based on state official documents produced by Hittites who did not use Hattian outside the cultic sphere. Soysal defines the Hattian preserved in the documents as a "professional language of priests and other cult functionaries, which barely developed and was memorized in trivial phrases and repeated over and over again in liturgical formulas" (2004:15).[36] Moreover, he considers that the language was used incorrectly in the Hittite scribal schools (2004:27). In a 1981 paper, Gerd Steiner went so far as to argue that Hattian was the true native language of the population of the core region of the (old) Hittite kingdom. Hittite (i.e., Nesic), according to Steiner, was a supraregional language, known natively (if ever) only in Kaneš and used as a language of communication that was neutral with respect to the various linguistic components of the kingdom,[37] which were mainly Hattian and, eventually, Luwian.[38]

Although we can be safe in hypothesizing that Hattian as witnessed in the Hittite documents was a learned liturgical language used mainly, if not exclusively, by trained specialists, it is very hard to prove that it was no longer the native language of any community across the entire period covered by the Hittite written documentation. Considering the reports that there were songs and recitations performed in Hattian in certain places in the Hittite territory, we cannot exclude that it remained the native language of some part of the population. However, the Hittite tablets neither state this explicitly nor offer sure contexts where this situation could be inferred.[39]

It is highly probable, however, that Hattian-speaking populations were in contact with Indo-European Anatolian speakers before the era for which documentation exists. In a 2008 study of the language communities of central Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony period, Goedegebuure presented a very inter-

35 Or even before: see Garelli 1963 but also the criticism in Singer 1981.

36 "Berufssprache der Priester und anderer Kultfunktionäre, die sich kaum entwickelte und in trivialen Wendungen auswendig gelernt und in liturgische Formeln immer wieder repetiert wurde, wobei auch ihre traditionelle Qualität im Verlauf der Zeit beträchtlich nachgelassen hatte."

37 The status of Hittite in this hypothesis would be that of a 'learned' language, "whose status is as a language taught to an educated élite; e.g., Latin as spoken or written in Europe from the early Middle Ages" (CODL², s.v. *learned language*).

38 Cf. Rosenkranz 1938. Goedegebuure 2008 and Simon 2012 take positions similar to Steiner's, but their assessments and conclusions are different.

39 For proposals methodologically based on linguistics, see Goedegebuure 2008 (mainly diachronic typology) and Simon 2012.

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esting hypothesis: that a large population speaking a (proto-)Luwian dialect shifted to Hattian during or before the Old Assyrian Colony period, producing syntactic features in the latter that resulted in typological asymmetries.[40]

Goedegebuure recalls that, when a large population group is speaking a low-prestige language, some people may decide or be forced to learn and use a more prestigious language. Over time, especially in crucial places such as political, administrative, or economical centers, the linguistic habits of the population converge, resulting in a language shift: the wholesale use of the prestigious language. In this scenario, the Hattian language that we know would be a language learned imperfectly by an originally non-Hattian speaking population and used and handed down as such (2008:166).

But we must stress a point that perhaps was not fully highlighted in Goedegebuure's article: another Hattian variant, previously and perhaps also contemporaneously, must have been spoken by communities not descending from the ones that shifted. The Hattian of such speakers would not have shown the asymmetries in question. Thus the Hattian texts we read must have been produced by the 'new' speakers of Hattian (primarily descended from the shifting community), and the new Hattian variant—and this is the main point—must have become more prestigious than the older one.

From the historical point of view, Goedegebuure prefers a scenario in which Luwians (or proto-Luwians) rather than Palaeans or Hittites merged with the Hattian population of central Anatolia before the conquest of the kingdom of Hatti by the Hittites. Many questions remain about this reconstruction. The arguments are coherent linguistically, but the historical attestations are so scanty that to accept this scenario without reservation would be imprudent. To support the theory, Geodegebuure searched for hints that would allow us to postulate the presence of Luwians in the Hatti area during or even before the Colony Period. The role played by Luwians in the Hittite kingdom, however, is not a strong argument. Nor is the establishment of the original location of some dialects witnessed in the archives of Hattuša;[41] Luwian dialects pre-

40 Please refer to Goedegebuure's 2008 paper for details. We mention here only few important points. The theory is based on Thomason and Kaufman 1988, a work describing two major types of language contact situations: borrowing and shifting. Borrowing involves mainly the lexicon, whereas shifting has consequences for phonology and syntax (Goedegebuure 2008:164). The idiosyncratic features in Hattian syntax that produced typological asymmetries are thus possibly explained by a substratum, i.e., the structures of a language that was abandoned in a wholesale language shift.

41 See especially the case of the Luwian spoken in Tauriša, which is thought to have been located northeast of Hattuša (Mouton and Yakubovich 2021; see also Chapter 11 in this volume).

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served in Hittite documents are unlikely to be those of the communities that shifted to Hattian—if the Luwian of the Hatto-Luwians survived, then the sociolinguistic conditions required for the shifting scenario are not fully met. The various Luwian dialects documented in the Hittite archives must have had sufficient prestige to be preserved, and the Luwian of the hieroglyphic inscriptions is certainly posterior to the shift; none of these dialects are relevant to Goedegebuure's hypothesis. The Luwians that shifted to Hattian should not be confused with those who did not. This fact, unfortunately, makes the Hatto-Luwians rather elusive. Furthermore, while Hittite typological consistency has been thoroughly investigated, comparable research is not available for Luwian.

Returning to Hattian, the clay tablets we have are scribal copies. Although scribes preserved and handed down Hattian texts, it is unclear how well the Hattian language was known. Their handling of the language is far from perfect in the manuscripts that have been preserved; nonetheless it cannot be qualified as totally corrupted.[42] But we should never forget that we see only the scribal witness and what survived, especially from Hattuša, might not have been the best editions.[43]

Curiously, in KUB 28.80 (CTH 737, 'regular' festival of Nerik) the scribe states (iv 1′–11′) that the tablet, which is new, bears a text for a *malteššar* recitation that does not comply with the ancient one. In a seminal study by E. Laroche (1947a), this comment was taken to refer to errors in Hattian caused by imperfect knowledge of the language, but the matter is not so straightforward.

KUB 28.80 iv 1′–11′

1′–2′ "Tablet of the *malteššar* of the festival of Nerik, regular.

3′ Now (there) is a new tablet.

42 For a comprehensive treatment of the quality of the tradition, see Schuster 1974:45–55. Cf. also Soysal 2004:27–28, *passim* (particularly Chapter 2), Steitler 2014, and Steitler 2018. In the 2014 paper, Steitler offers an interesting analysis of KUB 1.17 (CTH 591, Festival of the month), which contains a number of recitations, among which those in Hattian are prominent. The organization of the textual material suggests that "the Hittites likely no longer understood the Hattian recitations properly" (2014:301). The point made by Steitler is of relevance as it is based on evidence (the organization of a text) rather than being a projection of abstract linguistic knowledge.

43 The main ritual texts with Hittite translations on bilingual tablets (CTH 725 and 726) were stored in the royal town of Šapinuwa (Ortaköy). Probably they had been used for the foundation of the palace at the time of Tuthaliya III, just before the beginning of the Empire period that began with Šuppiluliuma. According to the editors of the fragments from Šapinuwa "[…] the Ortaköy versions feature more accurate and reliable texts than those from Boğazköy, especially in the use of Hattian" (Süel and Soysal 2007:7).

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4′–6′ When, during the hostile years, the festival of Nerik started to be celebrated in Hakmiš,
6′–8′ the man of the Storm god and the $GUDU_{12}$-priest came (relocated) from Nerik,
8′–9′ and (thus) this *malteššar* has been established/taken for/from them
10′–11′ It does not conform to the ancient *malteššar*"

There is no agreement among scholars about the correct interpretation of *a-pí-e-*⌜*da*⌝*-aš da-a-e-ir* at line 9′. Some interpret it to mean that the recitation was 'placed' (prepared or undertaken) for them; others that it was 'taken' (recorded) from them.[44] We will further analyze this question elsewhere. Here we concentrate on a couple of considerations that can and must be drawn.

1. There is no explicit reference to linguistic competence.
2. The focus is on conformity to and compliance with some ancient tradition and/or source.

This text can be better interpreted in the light of the problem of conformity or, as Schwemer (2016) puts it, in terms of 'quality assurance.' Schwemer identifies three main factors for text production and conservation:

1. "the practice of centrally administering and controlling the regular performances, also outside the capital (especially, but not exclusively, cultic events that involved members of the royal family);"
2. "the ideal of preserving and restoring the correct, original tradition;"
3. "the necessity of regular, often annual, adaptation and change" (Schwemer 2016:23).

The problem that our scribe faced was more probably conformity, due to the changes that interested cultic performances. Our main question about this text should no longer be the scribe's competence in Hattian but rather how a scribe could determine whether a source was compliant. In this specific case, we have two possible answers: either the scribe could not find a written source with which to compare the version in question or the scribe checked the present version against an 'official' (authorized) source, which was not explicitly men-

44 W. Waal (2015:507; cf. also 2010:293) summed up the matter in these terms: "The colophon of KUB 28.80 (CTH 737) gives information regarding the genesis of the composition. Apparently, a new tablet was made on the basis of information given by refugee priests from the town Nerik which was in the hands of the Kaska-enemy. It is not specified whether the recitation, which seemingly differed from earlier incantations, was 'taken' from the priests by means of oral dictation, or that they had their version written down" (2015:507).

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tioned. We would not take this text as evidence of poor knowledge of Hattian in either scenario.[45] Although a possible cause of the non-conformity could have been poor knowledge of Hattian, this is only one possibility among others. The culturally internal Hittite focus was on compliant performances rather than linguistic (i.e., an abstract lexical and grammatical) competence.[46]

Our view is conditioned by the nature and history of the surviving documentation, which was largely the work of scribes and cult personnel who preserved texts that were selected based on state traditions. We must pay due attention to the fact that we judge specific texts—those restricted to the religious and ideological sphere—above all from their conditions of transmission. We do not have enough historical sources to judge the status of the language outside the state structure and personnel active in the territory. While we can marginalize Steiner's opinion, we should accept that any consideration about the knowledge of the language is dependent on the more or less narrow view that our sources provide. We must also consider the state of knowledge of the texts. KUB 28.80, as previously mentioned, testifies that scribes were aware of the emergence of variant versions of models considered original or official.

Perhaps the most balanced conclusion that we can provide at the moment is that Hattian, among the circle of scribes in Hattuša but perhaps more generally among the cult personnel, became in the course of the history of the Hittite kingdom a residual sacred language that was not acquired natively but rather by explicit instruction. However, we must also accept that what was retained was less knowledge of the language than knowledge of a selection of texts. They were pieces to be performed from memory or read aloud during cult activities, but their contents were no longer easily accessible without the support of the Hittite translations that were handed down in parallel.

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45 See also Simon 2012:7 fn. 13, based on Taggar-Cohen 2006:233–234.

46 KUB 28.80 is considered and mentioned in Schwemer 2016. Schwemer assumes the interpretation "they took these recitations from them" of *apēdaš dāēr* at line 9′ (Schwemer 2016:13, fn. 29). This leads him to conclude that "two priests who escaped from Nerik are relied on as the source for Hattian *malteššar*-recitations to be performed during the regular festival of Nerik. But […] oral tradition alone is regarded as deficient in comparison to written records which are considered to be critical for a preservation of the correct cultic tradition" (ibid.). Schwemer further implies that "the original tablet has been lost and the tradition relies on oral authority" (2016:21). In KUB 28.80 there is no mention of ancient tablets being lost. This is an inference drawn from the mention of the 'hostile years' (line 4′) and the well-known military and political problems in the territory of Nerik. As legitimate as this inference may be, it remains unproven, especially if other interpretations of *apēdaš dāēr* should be considered correct, such as "they prepared this *malteššar* for those (two priests)." Further comments about these questions will be made elsewhere.

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Note: the ancient place-names are italicized. The list does not include the following voices, which occur over 100 times in the book: Assyrian people, Babylonian people, Boğazköy, Hatti (kingdom) and Hattum, Hattuša, Hattian people, Hittite people, Kizzuwatna, Luwian people, Palaean people, Sumerian people.

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The list does not include the following voices, which occur more than 100 times in the book: Anatolian, areality, borrowing, calque, Indo-Aryan, Hurrian, Akkadian, Loanword, Luwian (but we list the different dialects), network, Old Assyrian, Semitic (language group), shifting, Sumerian, trade, translation, as well the main parts of speech (adjective, noun, verb, etc.) and the abbreviation for the main Hittite ducti, when used in reference to specific tablets.

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