

*The so-called “Theogony” or “Kingship in Heaven”.*  
*The name of the Song\**

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The mythological composition defined as “Theogony” or “Kingship in Heaven” is part of the great cycle dedicated to the god Kumarbi and unanimously held to be the opening song among the five or more songs meant to make up the series<sup>1</sup>.

We all know that ever since its first appearance, its fame has been linked to the analogies found with Hesiod’s “Theogony” and then again later with the Phoenician myth of succession related by Philo of Byblos<sup>2</sup> and the Orphic theo-cosmogonies<sup>3</sup> - analogies concerning particularly the succession of the different divine generations and the conflict of the gods for supremacy in the sky.

Furthermore, the evident Hurrian component, the presence of the mythologemas that have a definite Mesopotamian matrix as well as the elements that recall typically Anatolian motifs, renders the “Theogony”, together with the other songs of the cycle, an inexhaustible source of information and ideas, even for the fields of research that are not part of the traditional Ancient Near Eastern disciplines<sup>4</sup>.

Since the original title of this account has not been handed down to us, commentators over the course of time have given various definitions of it: among these is the oldest “Götterkönigtum” (“The Kingship among the Gods”, by Forrer)<sup>5</sup>, and then “Königtum im

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<sup>1</sup> H. A. Hoffner, “The Song of Silver - A Member of the Kumarbi Cycle of ‘Songs’”, in *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae. Fs. Otten*<sup>2</sup>, E. Neu, C. Rüster eds. Wiesbaden 1988, p. 147, 165; F. Pecchioli Daddi in F. Pecchioli Daddi - A. M. Polvani, *La mitologia ittita*. Pavia 1990, pp. 124-126.

<sup>2</sup> On this matter see now V. Haas, *Die hethitische Literatur*. Berlin-New York 2006, pp. 142-143, with bibliographical references.

<sup>3</sup> We report particularly to the Derveni papyrus (anonymous), dated back to the IV century B.C.; R. Janko, “The Derveni Papyrus: an interim Text”, *ZPE* 141 (2002), pp. 1-62; a recent edition is in G. Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus: Cosmology, Theology and Interpretation*. Cambridge 2004. For comparisons between the Theogony of Hesiod and the hittite myth see A. Bernabé, “Generaciones de dioses y sucesión interrumpida. El mito hitita de Kumarbi, la ‘Teogonía’ de Hesíodo y la del ‘Papyrus de Derveni’”, *AuOr* 7 (1989), pp. 159-179.

<sup>4</sup> About this see M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*. Oxford 1997, *passim*. Recently: C. Lopez - Ruiz, “Some Oriental Elements in Hesiod and the Orphic Cosmogonies”, *JANER* 6 (2006), pp. 77-104, with bibliography.

<sup>5</sup> E. Forrer, “Eine Geschichte der Götterkönigtums aus dem Hatti Reiches”. *Mélanges F. Cumont*. Brussels 1936, p. 687 ff.

Himmel” (Güterbock)<sup>6</sup> - a denomination that at times is criticized; that, perhaps most famous, “Theogony”, which, as mentioned above, was inspired by Hesiod’s myth<sup>7</sup>, “Sukzessionsmythos”<sup>8</sup>, “The Song [of Kumarbi]”, proposed by Güterbock<sup>9</sup>, and more recently, “The Rise of the Storm-God” (Lebrun)<sup>10</sup>, definitions that cast light on what, according to various scholars, had to be the ideological nucleus on the basis of how the myth unfolds.

Most of the interpretative issues regarding this document - including an univocal, even conventional, definition<sup>11</sup> - derive from the bad state of conservation of the tablet: besides being very fragmentary, large parts of its surface have been badly eroded; this is especially true for the final part of Column IV, which over the years has slowly seen new fragments added.

The main fragment, already known by the mid-1930s thanks to Forrer<sup>12</sup>, was published in 1943 by Otten as KUB 33.120. Subsequently, Laroche found a direct join to KUB 33.119<sup>13</sup>. Years later, in 1973, Otten and Rüster managed to reconstruct almost the entire colophon by adding another fragment, Bo 4301<sup>14</sup>, then published as KUB 48.97. This granted a correction of the scribe’s name, author of the document, and completion of almost all of his genealogical tree.

Unfortunately, the name of the song was still missing; in fact, KUB 33.120+ breaks off right at the point where the title of the composition (Vo IV 28’) was meant to be found:

DUB I KAM ŠÁ SÌ[R First tablet of the “Son[g	]`NU.TIL`(?) [ ”.] Not finished (?) [
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With the addition of KUB 48.97 it was possible to calculate with a fair approximation the extent of the gap; on this basis Güterbock - as previously mentioned<sup>15</sup> - proposes the

<sup>6</sup> See the chapter *Mythos vom Königtum im Himmel*, in his monograph, *Kumarbi. Myten vom churritischen Kronos aus den hethitischen Fragmenten zusammengestellt, übersetzt und erklärt*. Zürich - New York 1946, pp. 6-12 and also pp. 86-87.

<sup>7</sup> It is noteworthy to remember that also the definition  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}$  has been attributed to the poem of Hesiod by later commentators and not by the same author.

<sup>8</sup> Recently adopted also by Haas, *Die hethitische Literatur*, pp. 133-143.

<sup>9</sup> RIA 6, 1980-1983, 327; for a discussion regarding the restitution of the god’s name see *infra*.

<sup>10</sup> R. Lebrun, “From Hittite Mythology: The Kumarbi Cycle”, in *The Context of Scripture. Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*. Vol. III, W. Hallo ed. Leiden-New York-Köln 1995, pp. 1971-1980, in part. 1972-1974.

<sup>11</sup> On the matter see, for example, Hoffner, *Fs. Otten*<sup>2</sup>, p. 143 n. 1: “... Were it not for the fact that usage has ‘canonized’ the title ‘Kingship in Heaven’, we would prefer that it too be referred to in accordance with its colophon as ‘The Song of [Kumarbi]’ ”.

<sup>12</sup> Forrer, *Mélanges F. Cumont*, pp. 687-713.

<sup>13</sup> According to H. Otten, *Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi: Neue Fragmente*. Berlin 1950, p. 6: “Aus dem Zusammenschluss von Nr 119 und 120 IV (Z. 10=IV I), dessen Nachweis ich E. Laroche verdanke, ergeben sich für diese Auffassung gewisse Bedenken“.

<sup>14</sup> H. Otten - C. Rüster, “Textanschlüsse von Boğazköy-Tafeln (21-30)”, *ZA* 63 (1973), p. 88 n. 27.

<sup>15</sup> See footnote nr. 9.

integration [<sup>D</sup>*Ku-mar-bi*], as he was undoubtedly thinking of the parallelism with the "Song of Ullikummi", the only one among the compositions of the cycle to conserve its title<sup>16</sup>.

Ironically, the title is not fully preserved even in one possible Hurrian version of the "Kingship in Heaven". In fact, in the colophon of KUB 47.56, a fragment singled out by Salvini<sup>17</sup>, it is reported:

[2(?)]<sup>KAM</sup> NU.AL.TIL SÌ[R(?)] (*ŠA*) x x x x (x)]-*á* *u-aš*  
Second(?) [tablet] not finished. "Son[g(?)] (of) x x x x (x)].....

with the lacuna that also in this case prevents us from recovering the title of the composition. Recently Salvini-Wegner, who published the mythological texts written in Hurrian, conjectured that the preserved part (x)]-*á* *u-aš* has the genitive ending of a Hittite term<sup>18</sup>.

To get to the crux of the matter, I retain it is of particular importance the fragment 1194/u<sup>19</sup>. It is a rather small piece, but in fairly good condition, found in the early 1960s in the rubble of the old digs in the Temple I area; it is dark grey and measures about 6 cm high by 4 cm wide. In the on-line version of the *Konkordanz*, it is set within the large group of the so-called "Fragments en langue hittite de nature inconnue" (CTH 832)<sup>20</sup>.

I would like to say here that it most surely is a direct join with KUB 33.120+<sup>21</sup> and that, besides extending the last lines of Column IV, it completes the colophon on the tablet of the mythological account.

The transliteration and translation are reported by omitting for the moment the title of the composition, which will be analysed in the last part of the work:

KUB 33.120 (Bo 2388) + KUB 33.119 (Bo 3892) + 1194/u + KUB 48.97 (Bo 4301)<sup>22</sup>

<sup>16</sup> But see the colophon of KUB 45.63 that says: "First table [Song] of the Se[a. Not finished]"; For a possible song devoted to the sea see A. M. Polvani, in F. Pecchioli Daddi - A. M. Polvani, *La mitologia ittita*, p. 147. For the fragment KBo 26.105, possibly part of this myth, see Ph. J. Howink ten Cate, "The Hittite Storm-God : his Role and his Rule According to Hittite Sources", in *Natural Phenomena. Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East*, D. G. W. Meijer ed. Amsterdam-Oxford-New York-Tokyo 1992, 117-119. Now Haas, *Die hethitische Literatur*, pp. 151-152, with bibliographical references; add J.-F. Blam, "Le chant de l'Océan: fragment KBo XXVI 105", in *Antiquus Oriens. Mélanges offerts au Professeur René Lebrun*, vol. I, M. Mazoyer, O. Casabonne eds. Paris 2004, pp. 69-81. Regarding the so-called "Ea and the Beast" song see now A. Archi, "Ea and the Beast. A Song related to the Kumarpi Cycle", in *Silva Anatolica. Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko*, P. Taracha ed. Warsaw 2002, pp. 1-10.

<sup>17</sup> M. Salvini, "Betrachtungen zum hurritisch-urartäischen Verbum", *ZA* 81 (1991), pp. 129-130.

<sup>18</sup> See M. Salvini-I. Wegner, *Die mythologischen Texte*. (ChS I/6) Rome 2004, p. 13, 17-18 and 38-39; the text is dated to the second half of the XIV century.

<sup>19</sup> This is one of the /u fragments assigned to me for publication in one of the next volumes on the series KBo: C. Corti, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi LII*, in progress.

<sup>20</sup> See S. Košak, *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte 0.6* (www.hethiter.net): T.I, alter Grabungsschutt L/19 - dunkelgrauer, gebr. Ton.

<sup>21</sup> I can state the join of 1194/u with KUB 33.120 and KUB 48.97 after collating them in the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations of Ankara (September-October 2005).

<sup>22</sup> To this tablet belong also KUB 36.31.

## Rev. IV

- 17' ma-a-an-za KI-aš ú-i-ú-i-iš-ki-it n[u(-)](?) 2(?)  
 18' DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>-uš ḫa-aš-ta <sup>LÚ</sup>TE-MU pa-it nu-u[š(-)ši/-ma-aš(?)  
 19' I-NA <sup>GIŠ</sup>GU.ZA-[Š]U(?) ma-la-a-it <sup>D</sup>.É-A.(?)<sup>23</sup> [  
 20' ša-ne-ez-zi ʾut.-tar ʾna-a-an-na-i ʾt(?)  
 21' KI-aš-za 2 DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup> ḫa-aš-t[a ]ʾaʾ(?)-an ʾnaʾ-x[  
 22' <sup>D</sup>A.A-aš INIM<sup>HI.A</sup>-ar[ iš-t]ʾa-maʾ-aš-ta nu-uš-š[i  
 23' ʾKAXU.(?)-da kat-ta <sup>LÚ</sup>T[E-MU x(?)x ku-iš pa-it n[a-  
 24' LUGAL-uš NÍG.BA pí-y[a-na-]ʾa.-it TÚG-an-ši<sup>24</sup> N[Í.TE-ŠU(?)  
 25' TÚG.GÚ.É.A-aš-ši-ká[n <sup>UJ</sup>ZUGAB-iš-ši a[n-/D(?)  
 26' KÚ.BABBAR-aš I-PA-AN-TU A-N[A <sup>LÚ</sup>T[E-MI iš-tar-ni-i[š-mi-it(?)<sup>25</sup>  
 27' ḫu-u-la-li- [z]i(?)<sup>26</sup>
- =====
- 28' DUB I KAM ŠÁ ŠĪR . . . . . ʾNU.TIL<sup>27</sup> [  
 29' ŠU <sup>m</sup>Aš-ḫa-pa-la DUMU <sup>m</sup>DU-ta-aš-šu  
 30' DUMU.DUMU-ŠU Š[Á] .<sup>m</sup>.<sup>D</sup>LAMMA-SUM  
 31' ÚDUMU.DUMU<.DUMU>- ŠU ŠÁ <sup>m</sup>Wa-ar-ši-ya  
 32' KAB.ZU.ZU ŠÁ <sup>m</sup>LÚ ki-i TUP-PU  
 33' ar-ḫa ḫar-ra-an e-eš-ta  
 34' na-at am-mu-uk <sup>m</sup>Aš-ḫa-pa<-la>-aš  
 35' PA-NI <sup>m</sup>LÚ IŠ-TUR

## Translation :

- 17' When the Earth screamed in labour pains<sup>28</sup> t[hen(?)  
 18' she bore [two(?)] sons. The messenger went (to refer to the king of the gods) and  
 h[e(?)to h[im(?)  
 19' on his throne approved<sup>29</sup>. Ea(?)[  
 20' communi[cated(?) the good news[: "(?  
 21' "Earth has given birth to two sons<sup>30</sup> [ ].. ..[ When(?)  
 22' Ea [hea]rd(?) those(?) words and/well to him(?)[  
 23' orally(?)<sup>31</sup> the mess[enger . .] . who went<sup>32</sup> and[ said it to the king(?)

<sup>23</sup> Reading proposed by P. Meriggi, "I miti di Kumarpī, il Kronos currico", *Athenaeum* 31 (1953), p. 128.

<sup>24</sup> This form is attested also in KUB 33.77, I 29' (CTH 333 "Anzili and Zukki").

<sup>25</sup> See HED E-I, p. 476 and pp. 478-479.

<sup>26</sup> On different suggestions see Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 31 (1953), p. 129, n. 65.

<sup>27</sup> It is possible to confirm the hypothesis of Güterbock, who interpreted the two fragmentary cuneiform signs of the first line of KUB 48.97 as NU.TIL "Not finished". The scribe left an empty space before engraving the signs, as usual in several colophons from Ḫattuša.

<sup>28</sup> For the verb *wiwai-* see G. M. Beckman, *Hittite Birth Rituals*. (StBoT 29). Wiesbaden 1983, pp. 36-37, with transliteration and translation of KUB 33.120+, IV 12'-18'.

<sup>29</sup> Haas, *Die hethitische Literatur*, p. 141: "erkannte er auf seinem Thron an".

<sup>30</sup> For the lines 20'-21' see CHD L-N, p. 393 and CHD Š, p. 177.

<sup>31</sup> Following the translation of H. A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*. Atlanta 1990, p. 43.

<sup>32</sup> Or "The messenger who went down".

- 24' The king rec[ompen]sed him with gifts(?) a gift: to him a robe [for his(?)] bo[dy he  
gave/offered; (?)  
25' to him a cotta<sup>33</sup> [ ] for his chest (he gave/offered); ..[  
26' a silver *ipantu*<sup>34</sup> to [the me]ssenger (he gave/offered). Among(?) th[ose ... and he  
(the messenger) it(?)  
27' wea[rs/wrap[s around(?)]  
=====
- 28' First tablet of the “Song . . . . .”. Not complete.  
29' Hand of Ašḥapala, son of <sup>D</sup>U-taššu,  
30' grandson of <sup>D</sup>LAMMA-SUM  
31' and <great> grandson of Waršiya,  
32' pupil of Ziti. This tablet  
33' was worn,  
34' and I, Ašḥapa<la>, copied it in front of Ziti.

*Considerations on the last paragraph of the mythological account preceding the colophon*

The context of the last lines preceding the colophon brings to mind the myth of KAL and the prominence of the figure of the messenger as intermediary and spokesperson of the gods; Ea, in fact, sends a messenger (<sup>LU</sup>TE-MU) to inform KAL of his laziness and total inactivity in his role as king of the gods<sup>35</sup>.

In our case the messenger's task is thus seen as sufficiently important as to spur the king (of the gods) to offer him some high quality or valuable garments, inferred by the material used for the workmanship and for the decoration of the item *ipantu*, namely silver<sup>36</sup>. Whereas, for Hoffner, the king - who in IV 18'-19' approves the birth from his throne - would lavish gifts on the mother Earth and her sons<sup>37</sup>.

Notwithstanding the new fragment, the rest of the fourth column remains difficult to interpret. If we follow West's intuitions<sup>38</sup>, we are led to believe that the two sons of the mother Earth and of the Wagon(?)<sup>39</sup> are new adversaries of the Storm-God and, if this were true, it would correspond, in Hesiod's Theogony, with Typhon who, begat precisely by

<sup>33</sup> Or “waistcoat”; “cloak”.

<sup>34</sup> About this term see H. A. Hoffner, “Hittite Equivalents of Old Assyrian *kumrum* and *epattum*”, *WZKM* 86 (1996), pp. 154-156.

<sup>35</sup> Translation of these lines (CTH 343, A III 19-30) in Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, p. 44. About the adversaries met by the Storm God, as handed down in the other songs of the narrative cycle, see F. Pecchioli Daddi, “Lotte di dèi per la supremazia celeste”, in *La questione delle influenze vicino-orientali sulla religione greca*, S. Ribichini, M. Rocchi, P. Xella eds. Roma 2001, pp. 403-411, in part. 405: “.. il dio LAMMA che rappresenta l'inerzia irresponsabile, Argento che è l'arroganza e la violenza frenetica, Hedammu la voracità distruttiva, Ullikummi che è la brutalità ottusa”.

<sup>36</sup> The same term *epattum* it is also interpreted in CAD E, p. 183 as “a costly garment”, as correctly notices by Hoffner, *WZKM* 86 (1996), pp. 154-156, with references.

<sup>37</sup> Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, p. 61 n. 6.

<sup>38</sup> West, *The East Face*, p. 280.

<sup>39</sup> For this interpretation see Otten, *Mythen*, p. 8.

Gaea and Tartarus, clashes with Zeus for supremacy in the sky. Consequently, it may be presumed that the description of the fighting of one or both the sons of Earth with the Storm-God would continue on the subsequent tablet<sup>40</sup>.

The approval by Ea of the birth of future adversaries of the Storm-God would find justification in the changed attitude of the god towards Tešub caused by his *hybris*, as inferred from a paragraph of the last part of the third column<sup>41</sup>.

*The scribe author of the document and his genealogical tree*

The name of the scribe, writer of the tablet, was at first integrated as *Aš-ḫa-p[a-la(?)]*; subsequently, on the basis of KUB 48.97, the reading was rectified by Otten-Rüster to *Ašḫapa*<sup>42</sup>.

As a result of the new fragment the name now is *Ašḫapala*<sup>43</sup> for sure, and not *Ašḫapa*. Hence, in the case of the attestation to line 34' the anthroponym must be amended to <sup>m</sup>*Aš-ḫa-pa<-la>-aš* and in its present state the term 161a, entered in the supplement at NH, must be eliminated<sup>44</sup>.

The join also restores the name of *Ašḫapala*'s father, integrated up to now as [<sup>m</sup>*Ḫa-an-ti-ta-aš-šu*]<sup>45</sup>; in this case a *unicum* in Hittite cuneiform documentation: <sup>m</sup> <sup>D</sup>*U-ta-aš-šu* or *Tarḫuntaššu*<sup>46</sup>.

One attestation of the name *Tarḫuntaššu* in hieroglyphic writing may be found in a hexagonal shaped seal which, as the editors - A. M. and B. Dinçol - have pointed out, comes from Eskiyaşar<sup>47</sup>:

<sup>40</sup> Because we now know with certainty that the mythological narration continued in another tablet that has not been yet identified or it has gone lost.

<sup>41</sup> KUB 33.120++ III 30'-39'. The same happens to Tauri (III 67'-72'), after a gap of about 20 lines and a damaged paragraph. See Meriggi, *Athenaeum* 31 (1953), p. 125, 127.

<sup>42</sup> According to Otten - Rüster, *ZA* 63 (1973), p. 88 n. 27.

<sup>43</sup> See E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*. Paris 1966, p. 44 No. 162.

<sup>44</sup> E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites: supplément*, *Hethitica* 4 (1981), p. 9.

<sup>45</sup> Compare the previous suggestions of L. Mascheroni, "Scribi hurriti a Boğazköy: una verifica prosopografica", *SMEA* 24 (1984), p. 154; in this way also Pecchioli Daddi in Pecchioli Daddi - Polvani, *La mitologia ittita*, p. 124, and Lebrun, *The Context of Scripture*, p. 1972.

<sup>46</sup> Such name according to Laroche, *Les noms*, p. 178 No. 1278, could be identified also in the similar forms \**Tarḫuwaššu* or <sup>mD</sup>*U-SIG<sub>5</sub>*; but because of these writing differences, I believe that such hypothesis has not consistence. On the double reading and the textual references see also F. Imparati, *Auguri e scribi nella società ittita*, *Fs. Bresciani*, S. Bondi et alii edd. Pisa 1985, pp. 255-269, esp. 281-284. From a prosopographical point of view we find <sup>mD</sup>*U-SIG<sub>5</sub>* as augur in KBo 15.28 (CTH 195) text dated by some scholars to the final period of the Empire, by others to middle-Hittite period, and in a list of men, KBo 32.198 (CTH 234) also middle-Hittite.

<sup>47</sup> Inventory number Esy 73-82; A. M. Dinçol - B. Dinçol, "Hieroglyphische und Siegelabdrücke aus Eskiyaşar", *Fs. Otten*<sup>2</sup>, E. Neu, Ch. Rüster eds. Wiesbaden 1988, pp. 89-91. For the different writings in hieroglyphic see also the literature mentioned by M. Marazzi, *Il geroglifico anatolico. Problemi di analisi e prospettive di ricerca*. Roma 1990, p. 165 No. 199.



Side B, as seen here, shows two signs that have been read TONITRUS-su, or Tarḫuntaššu. The seal, for its craftsmanship and decorations, can probably be dated to a period preceding the Imperial era<sup>48</sup>.

A second possible attestation of the name in cuneiform writing is found on a tablet discovered in Maşat. It is the administrative document HKM 99<sup>49</sup> which immediately opens with a fragmentary personal name that Alp reads *-t]i-ta-aš-šu*<sup>50</sup>, and del Monte, who took care of the critical edition of the tablet, integrates [<sup>m</sup>Ha-an-t]i-ta-aš-šu, even though he admits the uncertainty of such a proposal owing to the lack space available<sup>51</sup>. From the analysis of the signature it shows that the integration [<sup>m</sup>]ʾD.U-ta-aš-šu is highly likely, which also resolves the limitation problems of available space.

1 [<sup>m</sup>]ʾD.U-ta-aš-šu <sup>m.D</sup>AMAR.UD

2 [2 LÚ<sup>M</sup>]EŠ URU Zi-iq-qa-aš-ta

As we deduce from the first two lines, Tarḫuntaššu and Šanta were both workers originally from the city of Zikašta, a place that was part of the Tapikka district.

It is reported in tabular form the genealogy and the principal attestations in the cuneiform texts of the anthroponomy cited in the colophon<sup>52</sup>:

anthroponyms	logographic equivalent	relationship/ profession	occurrences of anthroponyms in Hittite texts
Waršiya		great grandfather	LS 9 (mh); KUB 33.120+ IV 31'; KBo 2.185 Rev. 17; KBo 32.187 Rev. 6[ (mh); KBo 39.272 8
Kuruntapiya	<sup>D</sup> LAMMA-SUM	grandfather	KUB 33.120+ IV 30' KUB 60.117, 14'[ ]/473/z r. Col IV 32'; KBo 13.240; KBo 41.218 Rev. IV 7
Tarḫuntaššu	<sup>D</sup> U-taššu	father	KUB 33.120+ IV 29'*; HKM 99, 1]* (mh)
Ziti	LÚ	teacher	LÚ: KUB 10.96 4', 5'; KUB 12.15 Left Side 2; KUB 27.59 Left Side; KUB 29.4 IV 45; KUB 33.17+ IV 15'; KUB 33.120+ IV 32'; KUB 35.41 IV 5'; KUB

<sup>48</sup> As correctly stressed by the editors of the seal, the braid decorations (particularly the side A) go back to the old-Hittite period, and recall the known “anonymous Tabarna Siegel”; Dinçol - Dinçol, *Fs. Otten*<sup>2</sup>, p. 90.

<sup>49</sup> S. Alp, *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat Höyük*. Ankara 1991, p. 98 No. 99 (Mşt 75/1 14).

<sup>50</sup> Alp, *Hethitische*, p. XXVIII.

<sup>51</sup> G. F. del Monte, “I testi amministrativi da Maşat Höyük/Tapika”, *OAMisc* II (1995), pp. 96-97.

<sup>52</sup> For the main references in the texts see Laroche, *Les noms, passim*; Id., *supplément, passim*; M.-C. Trémouille, *Répertoire onomastique*, in *Hethitologie Portal Mainz* ([www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetonom](http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetonom)).

			51.12 Vo 8'; KUB 52.107+ Obv. I 4'; KUB 55.59, Left Side 2; KBo 6.4 Left Side 2; KBo 39.41 Rev. IV 3; KBo 40.106 Obv. 2; VBoT 24, IV 39. Ziti: KBo 32.185 Obv. 5; KBo 39.41 Rev. IV 3; KBo 45.168 Left Side; KBo 47.167, 5.
Ašḫapala		scribe	KUB 23.54 I 8, 11, 12; KUB 26.62+ Rev. IV 2'(mh); KUB 31.44 Obv. I 11; KUB 33.120+ IV 29'*; 34'*; KBo 15.28; KBo 16.50 I 1(mh); 16.51 Obv. 21

The reconstruction of the genealogical tree of Ašḫapala diminishes the hypotheses formulated by more than one voice on the fact that he belonged to a family of scribes of Hurrian origin. Even the possible connection to anthroponomy attested in areas that were part of the Mittani Kingdom can no longer be taken into consideration: in fact, none of the names present in the colophon can be resolved or interpreted in the Hurrian language. Instead, they are all typically Anatolian names<sup>53</sup>, most of which can be traced on a prosopographical level to examples from the Middle Kingdom period, at least<sup>54</sup>.

#### *The title of the song*

Going back to the title of the composition, in lieu of the presupposed <sup>D</sup>Ku-mar-bi, a very particular cuneiform sign is found, which, in itself, truly represents the name of the song.



As can be seen in the drawing, it is a complex sign and, attempting to read it, we are aware of the difficulty to interpret it. Indeed, if we run through the principal list of cuneiform signs - by Neu-Rüster, Labat or Borger<sup>55</sup> - we cannot find any sign that comes close to it: it is clearly a *hapax*.

Given that there is no parallel to the sign, I have tried to analyse the outer part separately from the inner part, wishing to save until later the evaluation of the two vertical initials. Notwithstanding the reduced dimensions, three different signs in the inner part may

<sup>53</sup> Otherwise Mascheroni, *SMEA* 24 (1984), p. 154 and n. 23, in particular for this scribe's name.

<sup>54</sup> On the recent debate about the terms "Middle Kingdom" and "middle-Hittite" see A. Archi, "Middle Hittite - Middle Kingdom", in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.*, G. Beckman et al. eds. Winona Lake 2003, pp. 1-12 and see also the contribution of C. Melchert, *Middle Hittite Revisited*, in these Proceedings, previously published in internet ([www.unc.edu/~melchert/hittitepronouns.pdf](http://www.unc.edu/~melchert/hittitepronouns.pdf)).

<sup>55</sup> Ch. Rüster - E. Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon* (= HZL). (StBoT Beiheft 2). Wiesbaden 1989; R. Labat - F. Malbran Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*. Paris 1988<sup>6</sup>; R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon* (= MZ). (AOAT 305). Münster 2004.



be distinguished with a fair approximation: the sign /ud/, followed by /du/ and /a/<sup>56</sup>. This sign sequence excludes, in my opinion, any possibility of it being a Hittite or Akkadian term; it is therefore a Sumerogram, for which there are two possible interpretations: 𒀠.DU.A and UD.DU.A, the latter being phonetic reading for È.A.

I retain that the first case may be excluded because the meaning “dry”, which in cuneiform documentation is found with reference especially to meat, fruit and to some drinks, does not have semantic connections with the context of our myth. Therefore remains the [verbal] root È, which in Sumerian has two principal meanings: “to go out”, but also “to leave, to rise, to go up”, and - referring to book-keeping - “to send” and “to leave”, said of merchandise. It must be stressed, as far as I can see, that this term in Hittite texts is attested only in composition with other Sumerograms: we find it for example alongside <sup>D</sup>UTU in the meaning of the “rising” of the sun and of the stars and “Orient”<sup>57</sup>, or in TÚG.GÚ.È.A<sup>58</sup>. While by itself, in the archives of Boğazköy, it is present exclusively in Sumerian-Akkadian documentation<sup>59</sup>.

At this point the outer part needs to be explained. I believe that it may be a sort of casing that contained the remaining signs and perhaps emphasized them in some way. The only sign having these characteristics and this shape is GÁ<sup>60</sup> with two vertical initials that instead of being in deponent - see Hittite cuneiform list<sup>61</sup> - are found on par, with what was already happening in the classic Sumerian period with examples since the neo-Babylonian period.

Furthermore GÁ, i.e. PISAN, having the principal meanings of “container” or “basket”, expresses in itself the idea of something that incorporates and hence draws attention. For this reason it has a function that is not dissimilar to that of the *aedicula* in glyptics or the cartouche in Egyptian documentation.

All things considered, the sign therefore seems to fit in with the group of signs that were placed between numbers 57 to 60 of the HZL.

In case the reading of GÁxÈ.A\* is correct, thus completing the first line of the cophon in

DUB I KAM ŠÁ ŠÌR GÁxÈ.A      ‘NU.TIL’ [

<sup>56</sup> This last sign, after collation of the photo PhB 0758d, was not clearly understandable. My reading proposal was confirmed by Dott. Giulia Torri, who kindly collated the original in Anatolian Museum in Ankara.

<sup>57</sup> An exact textual correspondence among Sumerian and Akkadian terms, not part of the plurilingual dictionary, is found in Hittite texts translated from other languages; we particularly refer to *šar tamhari*, which in the Hittite version (KBo 3.9 Obv. 13') shows *IŠ-TU È[A* <sup>D</sup>UTU, while in the Akkadian one we find *ul-du ši-it* <sup>d</sup>*šamši*.

<sup>58</sup> This word is also attested at the IV column, line 25' of the same document.

<sup>59</sup> For instance KUB 37.72 Rev IV, 5', 6' (NU È; È-ma). Edition and comment by D. Schwemer, *Akkadische Rituale aus Hattuša. Die Sammeltafel KBo XXXVI 29 und verwandte Fragmente*, TdH 23 (1998), specifically p. 80, 136-138.

<sup>60</sup> If we exclude ŠITA (MZ, 118 and 327-328, No. 388) that, however, I hold it is not to consider. For GÁ see MZ, 118 and 327, No. 387, with bibliographical references.

<sup>61</sup> That, for this kind of signs, rarely offers this type of writing; HZL, pp. 118-119 No. 56.

and GÁ is only a container that does not modify substantially the meaning of the inner sequence, the problem remains to understand the grammatical form of È.A and to distinguish its Hittite correspondence.

Interesting ideas may be drawn from Erim-ḫuš, the trilingual lexical list<sup>62</sup>, which in the main text A, KBo 1.44+KBo 13.1+KBo 20.26 IV 16, presents:

Sum. PÀ.È.A, Sum. pron. pa-e, Akk. UŠ-ŠÚ-TÙ, Hitt. *pa-ra-a-kán pa-a-u-wa-ar*;  
while version B<sup>63</sup>, reports:

Sum. BAR, Sum. pron. pa-ar, Akk. ŠÍ-TÙ, Hitt. *pa-ra-a-kán pa-a-u-ar*

The main problem of the Sumerian sections is given by the presence of PÀ in PÀ.È.A: one possible explanation - at the moment without external confirmations - is that it can report here to the root PÁD/PÀ and that, among the different meanings, is to prefer those of “to introduce, to reveal”<sup>64</sup>; as far as the sign for /a/ is concerned then, I hold that it is the suffix for the nominalization of the verb, as it seems to be proven by the Hittite and Akkadian sections; in list B, instead, the Sumerian BAR is found and has the meaning of “to open”, “to split or divide” and, the nominal form “(out)side”.

Both UŠ-ŠÚ-TÙ and ŠÍ-TÙ can be traced to the verb (*w*)*ašûm*<sup>65</sup>, which is part of the roots called 1<sup>st</sup> W and 3<sup>rd</sup> weak, and are both derivative nouns, namely from the verbal nouns. The first one is part of the themes characterized by the doubling of the second radical, hence has an intensive, factitive meaning (Theme D), while the second one belongs to those of the pirs/purs series, thus has a basic theme (G)<sup>66</sup>. Both the verbal root and the Akkadian noun correspondent, compared with the Sumerian root, have a wider semantic spectrum: besides the meanings cited they are recorded for the verbs “to leave, to grow” and for the nouns “ascent, birth, descent/offspring, place of origin”, etc.

The last column carries the Hittite version *pa-ra-a-kán pa-a-u-ar* (with spelling variants for the individual witnesses) which is translated in CHD P on the basis of the correspondence with the Akkadian terms “departure, going out”.

In virtue of the Erim-ḫuš dictionary we can say then that È.A is a verbal noun and that its Hittite correspondent is *pa-ra-a-kán pa-a-u-ar*.

The following table shows a schematic outline of the above:

Erim-ḫuš

	Sumerian	Sum. pronun.	Akkadian	Hittite	Transl. Hitt. column
(A) KBo 1.44+ KBo 13.1 + KBo 26.20	pà-è-a	pa-e	uš-šú-tù	pa-ra-a-kán pa-a-u-wa-ar	MSL 17, 114: “to go out, to exit”. CHD P, 21, 33: “departure”

<sup>62</sup> H. Otten - W. von Soden, *Das akkadisch-hethitische Vokabular KBo The 44 + KBo XIII 1*. (StBoT 7). Wiesbaden 1968, pp. 19, 22; H. G. Güterbock, “The Series Erim-ḫuš in Boghazköy”, in *The Series Erim-ḫuš = anantu and An-ta-gál = šaqû*, MSL 17 (1985), pp. 114, 117.

<sup>63</sup> To the two versions add KBo 26.26 (B<sub>2</sub>) Obv. II 2, parallel to B 5<sup>o</sup>-10<sup>o</sup>. See Güterbock, *The Series Erim-ḫuš*, p. 99.

<sup>64</sup> Even if, in composition with È.A, the translation of it is problematic.

<sup>65</sup> CAD A II, p. 356 ff.; see also CAD Š, p. 215 ff., esp. 221.

<sup>66</sup> We remembers that the 1<sup>o</sup> Ws' roots form the themes *pirs/purs* on the primary biconsonanthical basis.

(B) KBo 1.35 (+) KBo 26.25 (B <sub>2</sub> ) KBo 26.26	bar	pa-ar	ší-tù	pa-ra-a-kán pa-a-u-ar; pa-a-wa-ar	MSL 17, 117: “to go out”. CHD P, 21, 33: “departure”
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It should be noted that hitherto, the syntagma *para-kán pauwar* does not seem to have ever been used elsewhere by the Hittite scribes<sup>67</sup>. In the event that the integration SÌR in the colophon of the conjectured Hurrian version of the “Kingship in Heaven” is preferred, in the light of the elements shown here, we could suggest the integration:

DUB ]2?<sup>KAM</sup> NU.AL.TIL SÌ[R(?) pa-ra-a-kán pa]-ṛa`u-aš

Even in the event where, for the Hurrian tablet, the sign is not SÌR but INIM or EZEN<sub>4</sub>, as indicated by Salvini-Wegner, it is therefore a ritual showing references to mythologema<sup>68</sup>, however, one cannot exclude that the title makes reference to said myth.

We have thus distinguished the title of the first Song of the Cycle: the song of the È.A/para-kán pauwaš, i.e. the “song of the going out” or “of the departure” or, on the basis of the wide semantic spectrum that the Akkadian noun *šītu(m)* may express, a “song of the birth, descendant or genesis” or, furthermore, perhaps “of the beginning” [departure understood as a beginning].

It cannot be excluded that the difficulty in finding a univocal and precise translation for the title of the song mirrors a choice for the writer himself.

The fact remains, however, that the scribe of our tablet has coined a new cuneiform sign to render the title for one of the more known myths of theogonic foundation in the whole area of the Near East; but, given the remarkable literary level and the stylistic sophistication of the composition, this should not arouse excessive astonishment.

The sign, as I have tried to demonstrate, was composed by the scribe on the basis of the elements that were paleographically and semantically correct (even though it cannot be excluded that it might have already been attested in the preceding periods, but unfortunately conserved only here); and, perhaps, one might go one step further on the hypothesis to say that the author was inclined to use the lexical list of the Erim-ḫuš series with its stylistic expedient to give a greater solemnity to the composition.

In confirmation of this, one should indeed make note that in our tablet, apart from GÁxÈ.A, there are other outmoded recurring terms and, in some cases, never attested elsewhere as is the case of A.GILIM or KA.ZAL, the latter known only through the Erim-ḫuš dictionary<sup>69</sup>; and we also find particular verbs such as *wiwaṣ/wiwišk-* which, as Beckman notes, find a place in the same list in the form of *nomen actoris*<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> On the function of *-kán* in the syntagma *parā-kán pauwar* see particularly L. Zuntz, *Die hethitischen Ortsadverbien arḫa, parā, piran als selbständige Adverbien und in ihrer Verbindung mit Nomina und Verba*. (Dissertation). München 1936, p. 63 and, now, R. Francia, *Le funzioni sintattiche degli elementi avverbiali di luogo ittiti*. (Studia Asiana 1). Roma 2002, pp. 117-118, with bibliography.

<sup>68</sup> Salvini-Wegner, *Die mythologischen*, p. 18.

<sup>69</sup> KUB 33.120++ Obv II 38; Erim-ḫuš (A) Obv II 27'; Güterbock, *The Series*, p. 107, with references.

<sup>70</sup> Beckman, *Hittite Birth*, p. 37.

### Conclusions

The discovery of the title definitely confirms that the “Song of Genesis/Beginning” was the mythical account of the opening of the whole cycle.

The initial myth, unlike the one thought of to date, was not dedicated to a particular divinity - and, I would like to stress that one could not know this if it was not for the title<sup>71</sup>, but it reconstructed the succession of the divine generations in power and had been drawn up so that the ancient gods or, more likely, all the gods could listen and recall their origin. For this reason even the definition “Cycle of Kumarbi” may no longer have such solid foundations as held up to now and, indeed, one might speak of the “Cycle of Tešup” or the “Cycle of the Storm-God”. We are therefore led to believe that the different accounts might bear one and the same epilogue: the advent of the Storm-God at the head of the Pantheon, thereby anticipating Hesiod’s Theogony and the Orhic theo-cosmogonies celebrating Zeus/Zas, and find a parallel in the Babylonian myth of the Enûma eliš with Marduk.

As a result of 1194/u we learn that the tablet was discovered in the area of Temple 1 and this information is not secondary in that, if we consult the Konkordanz of Košak for the other songs in the cycle, none of the fragments, of which the place of origin is known, arrives from the citadel of Büyükkale, and the one from the Haus am Hang is small<sup>72</sup>. It can be deduced, currently, that the places designated to the conservation of the “Cycle of the Storm-God” were the archives in Temple 1.

Even though some important problems have been resolved, new issues have arisen that embrace a wide range of arguments. I refer to the question of origin and the wording of the “Song of Genesis/Beginning” and consequently of all the other songs.

Ašḫapala reports that he copied the tablet because “the original” was worn and hence we have to assume that the older version had already been written in the Hittite language, already showing the cuneiform sign which we previously spoke about: if, as we have said, the Hurrian tablet was a song then we might wonder why this last version had the title in the Hittite language.

I believe that the scribe used Hittite because the argument was clearly a composition drawn up in a language not accessible to everyone. Consequently, it is even plausible that this version was a ‘translation’ from an original in the Hittite language as hypothesized by Pecchioli Daddi<sup>73</sup> or, to follow Haas<sup>74</sup>, the re-elaboration of the original myth on the part of the Hittite scribal school was such that, even today, we cannot speak about translation - as

<sup>71</sup> An indication in this sense can be individualized in the words of F. Pecchioli Daddi in Pecchioli Daddi - Polvani, *La mitologia*, p. 126.

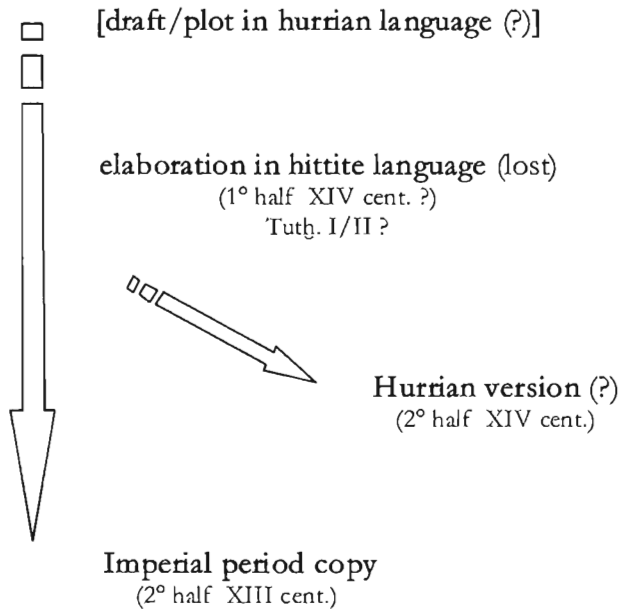
<sup>72</sup> See Košak, *Konkordanz*, cit., to the voices: CTH 345, 348, 343 and 364; see also the heterogeneous CTH 346.

<sup>73</sup> F. Pecchioli Daddi in Pecchioli Daddi - Polvani, *La mitologia*, pp. 19-21.

<sup>74</sup> Haas, *Die hethitische*, p. 130.

demonstrated by Giorgieri regarding the "Song of Ullikummi"<sup>75</sup> - but a Hittite version on a Hurrian draft.

Schematically we could reconstruct the evolution of the mythological text as follows:



Such reconstruction would give support to the hypothesis that, starting from the period of Tuthaliya I/II, there was the need on the part of the clergy of Hurrian-Hittite matrix to develop literary works using mythologemas and involving divinities of various origin - Hurrian, Mesopotamian and northern Syrian - maintaining, however, distinctive traits that were typically Anatolian.

<sup>75</sup> M. Giorgieri, "Die hurritische Fassung des Ullikummi-Lieds und ihre Parallel hethitische", in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie*. (StBoT 45). Wiesbaden 2001, pp. 134-155.