

## *The scribes of the House on the Slope*\*

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In 1907 excavations were started under the direction of Hugo Winckler in the archaeological area L/18, southeast of Temple 1 (T.1)<sup>1</sup>, with the finding of the so-called “Haus am Hang” (HaH). Excavations continued in 1911 and 1912. During this initial phase, several texts were found in rooms 3, 4, and 5 of this “House on the Slope” building<sup>2</sup>. In 1936, a new archaeological campaign led by K. Bittel investigated the ruins of the House on the Slope and discovered only a few new text fragments<sup>3</sup>. In the 1960s there were more than 1,400 fragments discovered. All these pieces came from secondary positions, i.e. from the dump of Winckler's excavations (626 fragments), from the later Phrygian level (551 fragments), and from the alluvial deposit of the area (219 fragments). Only 36 fragments came from the buildings already discovered during Winckler's excavation<sup>4</sup>.

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\*I would like to express all my thanks to Professors Gernot Wilhelm and Heinrich Otten, who allotted me the last batch of fragments from the HaH for publication, which aroused my curiosity about the possible function of this building. I would also like to thank Professor G. Wilhelm for granting me permission to consult the lexical and photographic collection of the *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur* in Mainz. I thank Professor Theo van den Hout for providing me with his most recent articles about the Hittite tablet collections in Hattuša. I wish to thank Yoram Cohen (Tel Aviv) and Lorenzo d'Alfonso (Kostanz) for some useful remarks. This paper will show the initial results of research that I am presently conducting on the House on the Slope. Abbreviations follow CHD.

<sup>1</sup> H. Winckler began excavations at Boğazköy in 1906. See. H. Winckler, “Die im Sommer 1906 in Kleinasien ausgeführten Ausgrabungen”, *OLZ* 9 (1906), pp. 621-634; S. Alaura, “‘Nach Boghazköi!’”. *Zur Vorgeschichte der Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša und zu den archäologischen Forschungen bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*. Münsterschwarzach Abtei 2006, in part. pp. 101-190.

<sup>2</sup> K. Bittel - R. Naumann, *Boğazköy II. Neue Untersuchungen hethitischer Architektur*. APAW. Berlin 1938, p. 27; W. Schirmer, *Die Bebauung am unteren Büyükkale-Nordwesthang in Bogazköy - Ergebnisse der Untersuchungen der Grabungskampagnen 1960-1963*. (Boğazköy-Hattuša 6), *WVDOG* 81 (1969), pp. 18-57. In particular, on the former excavation period pp. 18-19 with footnote 42. The precise findspots of the fragments excavated by H. Winckler and Th. Makridi is not known. Consequently it is not possible to use these first discovered tablets and their content to determine the nature of the collection of the HaH. On this problem, see recently by S. Alaura, “Archive und Bibliotheken in Hattuša” in G. Wilhelm, *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie*, *StBoT* 45, pp. 12-26. K. Bittel and R. Naumann suggested that this building could be identified with the “*halentuwa*-house”. See Bittel - Naumann, *Boğazköy. II*, pp. 27-30.

<sup>3</sup> H. Otten, “Das Haus am Hang”, *MDOG* 76 (1938), pp. 28-31. About texts found in HaH: S. Košak, *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln, Teil 3. Die Textfunden der Grabungen in Boğazköy 1952-1963*, HPMM 3. Wiesbaden 2005 (On-line version: <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/>).

<sup>4</sup> In particular on these fragments and their location see Schirmer, *Boğazköy-Hattuša* 6, pp. 20-22.

Two archaeological levels of this area concern the Hittite period: level 6 with the so-called *Altbau* and the Pithos House; level 5, occupied by the House on the Slope<sup>5</sup>.

The starting point of my research begins with the scribes of the imperial period whose names and titles are preserved in the colophons of texts that evidently come from the House on the Slope. These scribes were either writers of documents or supervisors of other scribes<sup>6</sup>.

My first aim is to understand whether the HaH was the place where texts were actually written, copied or elaborated from prior exemplars, or if it served as a storehouse where texts were simply collected from other buildings and preserved. I think that probing the scribes could be very useful in this regard and also for dating the life span of the building.

Among the attested scribes' names, some appear only in this area, namely, Piḫamuwa, Ḫillu, Piḫami, and Meramuwa.

[1]

**Piḫamuwa**

KBo 12.95 (CTH 825, NH) Rev.:

x+2'        [ŠU<sup>m</sup>]Pi-ḫa-A.A D[UB.SAR (?)]  
3'        [L]Ú<sup>URU</sup>Uk-ki-ya [ ]

Unfortunately, it is not known to which text this colophon belonged. The scribe Piḫamuwa is attested only here. He is surely to be distinguished from the smith of the same name, mentioned in KUB 38.37 III 20.

The reference to the city Ukkiya, which appears only in connection with the scribes' names, gives an important indication of the possible origin of Piḫamuwa. Other scribes from Ukkiya are Ḫalwaziti, son of Lupakki, (Bronzetafel IV 43)<sup>7</sup>, and Lila-UR.MAḪ (KUB 7.20 Rev. 6'-7')<sup>8</sup>. This could be testimony that the scribes of this city were members of the same family<sup>9</sup>.

[2]

**Ḫillu**

KBo 13.106 (CTH 732, NH) left side:

[Š]U<sup>m</sup>Ḫi-il-lu

<sup>5</sup> Schirmer, *Boğazköy-Hattuša* 6, pp. 18-29.

<sup>6</sup> We do not have any recent and systematic study about the scribes of the imperial period and their possible organization and hierarchy. Important indications come from E. Laroche, "La bibliothèque de Ḫattuša", *ArOr* 17 (1949), pp. 7-23; L. Mascheroni, "A propos d'un groupe de colophons problématiques", *Hethitica* 5 (1983), pp. 95-109; G. Beckman, "Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Ḫattuša", *JCS* 35 (1983), pp. 97-114.

<sup>7</sup> H. Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy*. StBoT Bh. 1. Wiesbaden 1988, p. 53.

<sup>8</sup> CTH 475. Lila-UR.MAḪ is a scribe of the ritual of Palliya of Kizzuwatna. All the fragments of this ritual, the findspots of which are known, come from different buildings of Büyükkale and from Temple 1.

<sup>9</sup> H. Otten, *Bronzetafel*, p. 53, suggests that this city could have had a role in the scribes' education. In KUB 31.49 written on the left side is the name of Duwazi, a man of the city [...].

This tablet preserves part of the bilingual ritual of Ḫutuši. The other known copies of this composition originated from Büyükkale<sup>10</sup> and from Temple 1. One small fragment found in 1995 (KBo 42.8) is from Büyükkaya. It is interesting to observe the content variations of this fragment in comparison with its parallel versions. For example in KBo 13.106 the Hattic name Kataḫzipuri (Obv. I 9) replaces the name Kamrušepa (e.g. KUB 41.7+ Obv. I 2'), and the king (LUGAL, KBo 13.106 Obv. I 11) is clearly the Lord of the Ritual, while in the other fragments there is the generic mention of "NAM.LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU" (for ex. KUB 41.7+ Obv. I 5')<sup>11</sup>. This could mean that at some point this ritual was adapted to the contingent needs of a Hittite king<sup>12</sup>. It is possible that this kind of process took place in the House on the Slope.

[3]

**Piḫami**

KBo 45.69 (CTH 647) Rev.:

x+3'	[ŠU <sup>m</sup> P]i-ḫa-mi
4'	[DUB.SA]R TUR <sup>1</sup>
5'	<sup>LU</sup> GÁB.ZU.ZU
6'	ŠA <sup>m</sup> Ḫal-wa-LÚ

This festival text is related to the cult of Zippalanda. Piḫami is called GÁB.ZU.ZU, a term indicating a pupil<sup>13</sup>. The tablet preserves two different handwritings on the obverse and the reverse respectively. We can argue whether this text was written partly by Piḫami and partly by his teacher Ḫalwaziti, or by two different apprentice scribes and just one of them signed the text.

The master of Piḫami, Ḫalwaziti surely worked during the time of Tuḫaliya IV<sup>14</sup> and was a supervisor of other scribes: in the text KUB 13.7 (CTH 258) he and Maḫḫuzi check the work of Duda, who was responsible for the renewal of the tablet. In the text KUB 57.110 he assists another GÁB.ZU.ZU, whose name is partly lost<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> From Bk.A, or from an unknown findspot inside the palace. This building preserved a middle Hittite version of it. S. Košak, *Konkordanz* (on-line version), CTH 732.

<sup>11</sup> I do believe that a philological and typological analysis of the texts from the HaH when compared to the fragments from other buildings (or from unknown findspots) may help us to understand the kind of work carried out by the scribes who probably worked in this building.

<sup>12</sup> It would be very interesting to know for example if the text KUB 41.21 of the ritual of Allaituraḫḫi dedicated to Šuppiluliuma II was drawn up originally in the HaH. This building seems to have a special connection with the last Hittite king (see below).

<sup>13</sup> See H.G. Güterbock, *Kumarbi. Mythen vom churritischen Kronos*. Instanbuler Schriften 16. Zürich – New York 1946, pp. 40-41. See also no. 29 of the present article.

<sup>14</sup> Th. van den Hout, *Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag*. StBoT 38, Wiesbaden 1995, pp. 186-193. He is known most of all as the scribe of the Bronze Tablet.

<sup>15</sup> In KUB 57.110 the last part of the scribe's name "Šarruma" is preserved. He might be identified with GUR-Šarruma, son of Ḫalpaziti, or with Ulme-Šarruma (Bo 6780), or with a third unknown scribe.

[4]

**Meramuwa**

KBo 12.41 (CTH 122) Rev.:

x+1 [ ]Š-TU[R]  
 2' [ŠU<sup>m</sup> ]x DUB.SAR [ ]  
 3' [GÁB.ZU.Z]U ŠA<sup>m</sup> Me-ra-<sup>r</sup>A.A<sup>1</sup>  
 4' [E]N.GIŠ.KIN.TI

CTH 122 is a treaty of Šuppiluliuma II with Talmi-Tešup of Karkemiš<sup>16</sup>. This provides historical proof that the House on the Slope was still in use during the reign of the last known Hittite king. As I. Singer pointed out, the text preserves only the preamble and part of the colophon on the reverse<sup>17</sup>. The name of the scribe who copied the text is lost. We know only that he was a GÁB.ZU.ZU, and that his teacher was named Meramuwa and had the title EN.GIŠ.KIN.TI<sup>18</sup>. This person with the title of scribe appears in a seal from Nišantepe archive, which is the only other evidence of this name<sup>19</sup>. From these elements we know that a young scribe of the late imperial period prepared this copy, probably using an original version that is now lost<sup>20</sup>. He was possibly learning to copy this kind of texts under the guidance of a teacher or else was preparing a version of the treaty, possibly for administrative purposes<sup>21</sup>. Another treaty between Šuppiluliuma II and a king of Karkemiš, and also from this building, is KBo 12.30 (+) KUB 26.25<sup>22</sup>. The documents concerning the overthrow of Alašiya, composed in the same period of the above-mentioned texts, originated from the House on the Slope as well: CTH 121 (KBo 12.38) is the description of this

<sup>16</sup> H. Klengel, *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches*. Leiden - Boston - Köln 1999, p. 301,

<sup>17</sup> I. Singer, "The Treaties between Karkamiš and Hatti", in *StBoT* 45, pp. 635-641, in part. p. 635.

<sup>18</sup> EN.GIŠ.KIN.TI, akk. *bēl kiškatti*, "Craftsman". CAD (K), pp. 453-454, F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'Anatolia ittita*. Roma 1982, pp. 201-202. This word is attested only in this treaty and in CTH 258, KUB 13.9+ (CTH 258.1) Rev. IV 10<sup>1</sup>-12<sup>1</sup>: "Aliḫḫini, son of Šaušgaziti, grandson of <sup>GIŠ</sup>SAR.NU", and pupil of Zuwa, the craftsman". It is interesting to note the connection between this title and the É.GIŠ.KIN.TI, identified with a building located in the southern area of T.1 (see the text KBo 19.28, CTH 237). Among the workers of this building there were nineteen DUB.SAR and thirty-three DUB.SAR.GIŠ. K. Bittel, "Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy im Jahre 1968", *MDOG* 101 (1969), pp. 5-13, in part. pp. 11-13.

<sup>19</sup> See S. Herbordt, *Prinzen- und Beamteniegel der hethitischen Grossreichzeit*. (Boğazköy-Hattuša 19). Berlin 2005, p. 264, Nr. 240.

<sup>20</sup> See Th. van den Hout, "Administration in the Reign of Tuḫaliya IV and the Later Years of the Hittite Empire", *The Life and Times of Ḫattušili III and Tuḫaliya IV. Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Honour of J. De Roos, 12-13 December 2003*, Th.P.J. van den Hout ed. Leiden 2006, pp. 77-106, in part. pp. 95-97. This scholar reaches the same conclusions as I do about the late dating of the HaH, even though he started his analysis from a different set of texts.

<sup>21</sup> On this, Th. van den Hout, "On the Nature of the Tablet Collections of Ḫattuša", *SMEA* 47 (2005), in part. pp. 286-287.

<sup>22</sup> Singer, *StBoT* 45, p. 636. The text KBo 49.121 was also composed during the period of Šuppiluliuma II (see l. 2<sup>1</sup>: <sup>m</sup>K]Ü.GA.PÚ[-ma]).

endeavour, and CTH 141 is a political treaty stipulated with the king of the island (KBo 12.39)<sup>23</sup>.

It is known that political treaties were stored in Temple 1. Even though no official sealed copies, except for the treaty with Eḫeya of Kizzuwatna (CTH 29), have been found, most of the administrative drafts of these documents were collected in the storerooms of Temple 1.

The only other treaty fragments coming from the House on the Slope give a version of the treaty between Muwatalli and Alakšandu of Wilusa CTH 76 (KBo 12.36+), and KBo 13.55, a text that cannot be ascribed with certainty to any identified political document<sup>24</sup>. Of course the rarity of these documents might mean it was purely a chance finding. However, I would like to put forward the following considerations: there was surely a connection between Temple 1 and the House on the Slope, for they were built so close to each other. As Th. van den Hout observed, the real deposit of the political treaties has not been found<sup>25</sup>. He suggests that the original documents were probably among the materials that the last king and the scribes took from the temple(s) when the city was eventually abandoned<sup>26</sup>. The historical texts from the House on the Slope undoubtedly prove that this tablet collection was still in use during the reign of the last attested king. The copy of the Alakšandu treaty for example might have reached this destination owing to the political interest of the last Hittite king in western Anatolian affairs<sup>27</sup>. This would mean that the HaH was one of the places where texts were brought to be copied before being placed in one of the other city archives - valid at least for the reign of Šuppiluliuma II.

The remaining scribes' names from the HaH are also found in texts from other archives in Ḫattuša in the period between the reigns of Muwatalli and the end of the empire. Since Th. van den Hout has already discussed the prosopographic elements of these names<sup>28</sup>, I will consider in this paper those individuals only in regard to their scribal profession and to the general aspects that could be important in clarifying the function of the building under discussion.

[5]

### Kuruntapiya

KBo 13.240 (CTH 470) Rev.:

x+1                    r<sup>m</sup> r<sup>dr</sup> LAMMA.SUM<sup>1</sup> IŠ-TUR

<sup>23</sup> See N. Bolatti-Guzzo - M. Marazzi, "Storiografia ittita e geroglifico anatolico: per una revisione di KBo 12.38", in *Šarnikzel: Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer*. D. Groddek – S. Röbke eds. (DBH 10). Dresden 2004, pp. 155-185.

<sup>24</sup> See Košak, *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln, Teil 3.*, pp. 270 with n. 8772.

<sup>25</sup> van den Hout, *SMEA* 47, pp. 286-287 and in particular, S. Alaura, "Osservazioni sui luoghi di ritrovamento dei trattati internazionali a Boğazköy-Ḫattuša", in *Gs. Forrer*, pp. 139-147.

<sup>26</sup> van den Hout, *SMEA* 47, pp. 286-287.

<sup>27</sup> In general, J.D. Hawkins, "Tarkašnawa King of Mira, 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel", *AnSt* 48 (1998), pp. 1-31, in part. p. 18-20.

<sup>28</sup> van den Hout, *StBoT* 38.

This is the oldest scribe attested in the House on the Slope. He is mentioned as a scribe in the Akkadian version of the treaty between Muwatalli and Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo, KBo 1.6 (CTH 75). In this text (KBo 1.6 Rev. 21-22) he is called *antuwāšalli* LUGAL, and DUB.SAR. He is also known as the grandfather of Ašḥapala from the colophon of the text KUB 33.120+ (CTH 344, KUB 33.120+ Rev. IV 28'-34') that preserves the myth of Kumarpi<sup>29</sup>.

[6]  
Palla

KBo 13.27 + VBoT 12 (CTH 560) Rev.:  
12' ŠU <sup>m</sup>Pal-la-a D[UB.SAR]  
13' [G]ÁB.ZU.ZU ŠA [<sup>m</sup> ]  
14' [ -a]n-zi

Palla is the father of Angulli, a scribe who worked under the supervision of Anuwana<sup>30</sup>. Possibly the Akkadian oracle KBo 13.27+ was used as a school text to train Palla to prepare the text typology. He also appears in the colophon of a festival text from Bk.A, but in this second document he does not have the title GÁB.ZU.ZU:

KBo 30.144 (CTH 670) Rs.:  
x+2 DUB.10.KAM Ú[-UL QA-TI]  
3' ŠA EZEN<sub>4</sub> ḥar[-pi-ya-as] ]  
4' ŠU <sup>m</sup>Pal-la-a <sup>r</sup>PA<sup>1</sup>-N[I ]

It should be noted that the term GÁB.ZU.ZU, rare in Ḫattuša, appears in three different colophons from the House on the Slope<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> His name is also recorded in two other texts (if he is the same person): KBo 41.218 Rev. IV 7' (CTH 583, Bk. E); 473/z r. Col. 32' with its duplicate KUB 60.117 14' (CTH 530, T.1).

<sup>30</sup> Palla, Lord of Ḫurma and a scribe, see van den Hout, StBoT 38, pp. 216-225. It is possible that the colophon of the House on the Slope shows the initial stage of his career. KUB 30.26 (CTH 783) IV 13'-14': ŠU <sup>m</sup>An-gul-li <sup>LU</sup>DUB.SAR DUMU <sup>m</sup>Pal-l[*a-a*] PA-NI <sup>m</sup>A-nu-wa-an-za <sup>LU</sup>DUB.SAR ŠA É x[; KUB 32.133 (CTH 482) IV 7'-8': ŠU <sup>m</sup>IŠTAR-li <sup>LU</sup>DUB.SAR DUMU <sup>m</sup>Pal-la-a PA-NI <sup>m</sup>A-<sup>r</sup>nu-wa<sup>1</sup>-an-za ŠA <sup>LU</sup>SAG IŠ-TUR.

<sup>31</sup> Colophons [3], [4], [6]. Other colophons preserving this title are KBo 11.1 (Bk.K), CTH 382: Lurma, <sup>LU</sup>A.ZU.TUR GÁ[B.ZU.ZU]; KUB 13.9+, CTH 258: Aliḫḫiziti, GÁB.ZU.ZU of Zuwa, EN.GIŠ.KIN.TI; KUB 57.110, CTH 645: [X-Šarru]ma, GÁB.ZU.ZU of Ḫalwaziti; KBo 42.2 (Bkaya), CTH 370: in the colophon there is only the title GÁB.ZU.ZU, the names of the scribe and his master are not preserved; KUB 33.120+, CTH 344: Ašḥapala, GÁB.ZU.ZU of Ziti; KBo 15.37, CTH 628: [Talmi-]Tešub, GÁB.ZU.ZU of MAḪ.DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-na. Note that Ḫalwaziti works together with another GÁB.ZU.ZU, Piḫami, as attested in colophon [3] from the HaH. On the term *gabzuzu* see CAD/K, p. 29 and for the Akkadian equivalent *talmīdu* AHw, p. 1311. For GÁB.ZU.ZU in Ugarit see J. Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit*. Atlanta (GA), p. 13, n. 19. On the use in Emar, see Y. Cohen, "Kidin-Gula – The Foreign Teacher at the Emar Scribal School", *RA* 98 (2004), pp. 81-99. On the use of this term in Ḫattuša, see H.G. Güterbock, *Kumarbi*, pp. 40-41; G. Mauer "Zu einigen ideographischen Schreibungen im Hethitischen", in *Ad bene et fideliter seminandum. Festgabe für*

[7]

**Anuwanza**

KBo 45.37 (CTH 626) Rev.:

x+1      ŠU<sup>m</sup> A-nu[-wa-an-za]  
 2'        LU<sup>U</sup> DUB.SA[R  
 3'        TUP-PU<sup>UR</sup> [U<sup>U</sup> ĤAT-TI]

This fragment bearing the name of Anuwanza is part of the *nuntarriyašĥa*-festival<sup>32</sup>. The scribe himself wrote the text. This is extraordinary considering that normally Anuwanza appears as the supervisor of other scribes<sup>33</sup>.

There are a few other fragments that might have also been directly written by him: KBo 40.345 (Bk.A), probably a festival in which he has the title DUB.SAR, and two unpublished festival fragments, 807/z (T.1)<sup>34</sup> and Bo 69/774 (T.1)<sup>35</sup>.

According to other colophons, Anuwanza checked the work of several scribes. In these cases he sometimes bears the title LU<sup>U</sup>SAG “High ranking court officer”. In other colophons he does not have any particular title<sup>36</sup>. In the colophon of the text KUB 30.26 he is called “Scribe of the House x[ ]”.

Anuwanza always checks the drawing up of religious texts<sup>37</sup>. The only exception is KUB 26.28, part of the Instruction for the Gatemen CTH 263. The few compositions written by him testify that he also personally worked on festival texts. For this reason it is possible to assume that this activity occupied most of his entire career<sup>38</sup>, from the time he worked as a simple scribe copying texts to when he started to supervise other scribes.

Karlheinz Deller zum 21. February 1987. G. Mauer - U. Magen eds., pp. 189-197 in part. pp. 190-194, Pecchioli, *Mestieri*, p. 168.

<sup>32</sup> On Anuwanza see van den Hout, StBoT 38, pp. 238-242. Anuwanza is one of the most attested scribes in the colophons from Ĥattuša.

<sup>33</sup> We do not have any colophon from the House on the Slope that would indicate any of his pupils' work.

<sup>34</sup> Again a festival in whose colophon Anuwanza has the title DUB.SAR

<sup>35</sup> These fragments are mentioned in van den Hout, StBoT 38, p. 239 with footnote 460. Note that both fragments are in poor conditions. It is not sure whether Anuwanza was really the scribe or the supervisor of some other scribe whose name is lost in the gap. My hypothesis comes from the comparison with the content and the structure of other colophons.

<sup>36</sup> van den Hout, StBoT 38, pp. 238-242.

<sup>37</sup> See the texts collected by van den Hout, StBoT 38, pp. 238-239.

<sup>38</sup> One of the colophons that testify his direct work, Bo 69/744, contains the sentence *ANA GIŠ.ĤUR-kán ĥandan*; the second one 807/z says *ki-i pār-ku-i TUP-PI*. This perhaps means that Anuwanza worked on the copy of festival texts drafted on a wooden tablet, this being close to the activity of the scribes Piĥa-UR.MAĤ and Pallawaraziti. See the following [8].

[8]

**Piḫa-UR.MAḪ, Palluwaraziti**KBo 45.11 (CTH 597) Rev.<sup>39</sup>:x+2 [ 2 EZE]N<sub>4</sub><sup>Hl.A</sup> KU-UŠ-ŠI a-ni-ya-te[-eš3' ŠÀ.BA 1 EZEN<sub>4</sub> ŠA<sup>d</sup>U ŠA-ME-E4' 1 EZEN<sub>4</sub> ŠA<sup>d</sup>IB5' iš-tar-ni-ya-aš EGIR-an tar-nu-wa-aš

6' A-NA GIŠ.ḪUR-kán ḫa-a-an-ta-an

7' [KASKA]L<sup>m</sup>Pi-ḫa-UR.MAḪ<sup>LÚ</sup>DUB.SAR GI[Š]8' <sup>m</sup>Pal-lu-wa-ra-LÚ DUB.SAR

[9]

KBo 45.34 (CTH 625) Rev.:

5' [iš-tar-ni-ya-a]š EGIR-an tar-nu-wa-aš

6' [A-NA GIŠ.ḪUR-ká]n ḫa-an-da-a-an

7' [KASKAL<sup>m</sup>Pi-ḫa-UR.MAḪ]Ḫ DUB.SAR GIŠ8' <sup>m</sup>Pal-lu-wa-r]a-LÚ<sup>LÚ</sup>DUB.SAR<sup>40</sup>

Although I will not touch on the meaning of these colophons preserving the names of Piḫa-UR.MAḪ DUB.SAR.GIŠ and Palluwaraziti DUB.SAR<sup>41</sup>, I would, however, like to point out some elements. Other workers are rarely attested alongside these two scribes: NU.GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub> (JCS 37 Nr. 53 A12234), Ulme-Šarruma (Bo 6780)<sup>42</sup> and Ḫulla (KUB 44.24). The latter colophon is particularly interesting because at the bottom, accompanying the typical closing sentence, it is written in smaller handwriting: “ŠU<sup>m</sup> Ḫešni ḪDUMU<sup>1</sup> ḪNa-ni-ya”. This could mean that Ḫešni, a scribe in the period of Tuthaliya IV<sup>43</sup>, copied this text and also included the original colophon<sup>44</sup>. It should also be noted that the sign LÚ (Rev. VI, 9' and 10') is drawn in a very late handwriting compared to that of other tablets naming in the colophons the same scribes.

<sup>39</sup> Winter festival. The findspot is known for only two texts: KBo 45.11 and KBo 45.12, both from the House on the Slope.

<sup>40</sup> There are two other fragments still unpublished from the House on the Slope: 108/u and 126/u.

<sup>41</sup> On this matter see Mascheroni, *Hethitica* 5, pp. 95-109; I. Singer, *The Hittite KI.LAM Festival, Part I*. StBoT 27. Wiesbaden 1983, pp. 41-42; Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, “Brief Comments on the Hittite Cult Calendar: The Main Recension of the Outline of *nuntarriyašḫaš* Festival, especially Days 8-12 and 15'-22'”, in *Festschrift Heinrich Otten, 27. Dezember 1973*, E. Neu – Ch. Rüster eds., Wiesbaden 1973, pp. 167-194, in part. p. 187 with n. 41; C. Karasu, “Some Considerations on Hittite Scribes”, *ArAn* 1 (1995), pp. 117-121.

<sup>42</sup> Mascheroni, *Hethitica* 5, p. 97. In this text a fourth name is perhaps attested, as Mascheroni notes: Piḫa[- ].

<sup>43</sup> About the scribe Ḫešni, see van den Hout, StBoT 38, p. 207-211, with previous bibliography.

<sup>44</sup> Compare Mascheroni, *Hethitica* 5, p. 104.



The other scribe NU.GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub> is known as the father of Ḫanikkuili, Ziti and Šaušgaziti<sup>45</sup>. If he is the same pupil (GÁB.ZU.ZU) of Ḫulanabi (KUB 44.61)<sup>46</sup>, his activity, and consequently the work period of Palluwaraziti and Piha-UR.MAḪ, might have already started during the time of Ḫattušili III<sup>47</sup>.

[10]

**Ḫanikkuili**

KBo 12.105+ (CTH 404) Rev. IV:

6'           ŠU <sup>m</sup>Ha-n[i-ik-ku-DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> DUB.SAR]  
7'           DUMU <sup>m</sup>NU.[<sup>GIŠ</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>           ]

Ḫanikkuili is the well-known scribe who copied the ritual of Anniwiyani, a version of the Hittite Laws (KBo 6.4) and the ritual for the enthronement of Tuḫaliya II/III (KBo 10.34)<sup>48</sup>. He is the son of the already mentioned NU.GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>, a scribe under the supervision of Anuwanza<sup>49</sup>, and he worked during the reign of Ḫattušili III and Tuḫaliya IV.

[11]

**ASINUS<sub>2A</sub>-tà-la-na**

KBo 13.62 (CTH 209.23)

In the colophon of this tablet it is possible to recognise a sequence of deleted cuneiform signs that should correspond to the scribe's name and a drawing of Luwian hieroglyphic symbols. The scribe made at least two attempts to write his name using cuneiform signs (ll. 3' and 4')<sup>50</sup>. A. Hagenbuchner suggested the reading "Hand of Šaušgaziti" written respectively "ŠU <sup>md</sup>INANNA.LÚ<sup>1</sup>-i'" (l. 3') and "ŠU <sup>m</sup>INANNA.LÚ<sup>1</sup>-i'" (l. 4')<sup>51</sup>. Šaušgaziti is scribe at the time of Tuḫaliya IV, but the cuneiform signs of this colophon are not written clearly enough to substantiate this interpretation<sup>52</sup>. Furthermore, the name written in hieroglyphics is not readable in the same way. According to the quite cursive legend, the symbols are legible as ASINUS<sub>2A</sub>-tà-la-na at 45 degrees

<sup>45</sup> Beckman, *JCS* 35, pp. 97-114; van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, pp. 147-148. See also no. 44 and 45.

<sup>46</sup> Ḫulanabi is one of the scribes who worked together with UR.MAḪ-ziti on the redaction of *ḫišuwa* Festival. See KUB 12.12, left side.

<sup>47</sup> van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, p. 148. I assume that the name SAG (*JCS* 37, Nr. 53) is a mistake and should be read as LÚ (VBoT 24).

<sup>48</sup> J.L. Miller, *Studies in the Origins, Development and Interpretation of the Kizzuwatna Rituals*. *StBoT* 46. Wiesbaden 2004, pp. 37-38.

<sup>49</sup> For example, KUB 29.4 IV 45. On the family of Ḫanikkuili, see also Beckman, *JCS* 35, p. 105.

<sup>50</sup> But there are deleted cuneiform signs also in the following two lines.

<sup>51</sup> A. Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter* (2. Teil). THeth 16. Heidelberg 1989, pp. 22-25.

<sup>52</sup> Collation on photo does not give any new result. About Šaušgaziti, see van den Hout, *StBoT* 38, pp. 182-185; Hagenbuchner, *Korrespondenz* 2., pp. 22-25.

counterclockwise. This individual is known as a scribe by virtue of the Ḫattuša seals<sup>53</sup>. There is no explanation why he signed this colophon using hieroglyphic symbols<sup>54</sup>. It is striking that he did not use cuneiform writing for his own signature on a clay tablet. H. Otten observed that after several failed attempts in cuneiform, the scribe preferred to use an ideographic system, perhaps more familiar to him<sup>55</sup>. Against this hypothesis speaks the body of the text written correctly in cuneiform writing. Secondly, we cannot be sure whether the two names, in cuneiform and hieroglyphics respectively, correspond or not. It is also possible that two different scribes signed the tablet.

It is very interesting to observe that this Hieroglyphic Luwian name written exceptionally on a cuneiform tablet appears in this text from the House on the Slope. It is in the same area that the text KBo 12.38 (CTH 121) was found, which in all likelihood contains the cuneiform version of two inscriptions in Hieroglyphic Luwian in Ḫattuša, one of which is identified today by the inscription of NIŞANTAŞ<sup>56</sup>.

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After this short review of the scribes' names attested in the House on the Slope, I would like to make some general observations about the possible function of this building.

Most of the scribes are the same as those known throughout the colophons of texts found in the other buildings, particularly T.1 and Bk. This shows that the work system of Ḫattuša scribes was complex and surely articulated among the different archives of the city.

In my opinion the HaH functioned not only as an archive, but also as a school for training young scribes. This hypothesis is upheld by the number of pupils (GÁB.ZU.ZU) whose names appear in this area and, likewise, in the possible progressive stages of Anuwanza's career.

The House on the Slope was surely still in use under the last known king of the Hittite Empire, Šuppiluliuma II<sup>57</sup>. In fact the texts on his deeds, as well as the few treaties of his

<sup>53</sup> This identification was pointed out to me by E. Rieken. See Herbordt, *Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel*, p. 274, Nr. 426 and ff. I would like to express my thanks to M. Poetto and E. Rieken for their suggestions.

<sup>54</sup> A. Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter* (1. Teil). THeth 15. Heidelberg 1988, p. 34.

<sup>55</sup> See H. Otten, "Schrift, Sprache und Literatur der Hethiter", *Historia Einzelschriften* 7 (1964), pp. 11-22, in part. p. 15.

<sup>56</sup> H.G. Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered", *JNES* 26 (1967), pp. 73-81, J.D. Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Ḫattuša* (SÜDBURG), StBoT Bk. 3. Wiesbaden 1995, pp. 58-60. On the Hittite Luwian bilingualism, see the recent paper of Th. van den Hout, "Institutions, Vernaculars, Publics: The Case of Second-Millennium Anatolia" in S.L. Sanders, *Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures*. Chicago 2006, pp. 217-256. Th. van den Hout does not take into consideration this text, which seems to sustain his view. It is possible that in Ḫattuša expert scribes were able to use both languages. See also I. Singer, "On Luwians and Hittites", *BiOr* 62 (2005), coll. 430-451. On the names of the scribes written in Hieroglyphic Luwian, see A.M. Dinçol – B. Dinçol, "Die Anzeigen der Öffentlichen Schreiber in Hattuscha", in *Anatolia antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, F. Pecchioli – S. de Martino eds. Firenze 2002, pp. 207-215.

<sup>57</sup> It is more difficult to determine the possible beginning of its use as archive. The dating of some few texts to periods precedent to the imperial age as much as the discovery of Middle Hittite artifacts cannot be used as decisive proof, because they might have been relocated in the House on the Slope

reign come from this place<sup>58</sup>. Among the other historical texts there are late copies of old Hittite compositions (CTH 2 – CTH 20). There is a text that pertains to the middle Hittite Annals of Tutḫaliya I/II (KBo 12.35 NH, CTH 142). There are some fragments from different periods that refer to the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I (CTH 40, CTH 59 and CTH 83) and fragments from the Muršili's Annals (CTH 61 and CTH 63)<sup>59</sup>. Consequently, it may be presumed that many of these texts were prepared or renewed there at the request of Šuppiluliuma II and for reasons of propaganda.

It is possible that many texts were copied in the House on the Slope and later stored in T.1. This hypothesis is, in my opinion, supported by the presence of a small number of political treaties in the HaH. This might mean that such documents were stored there for the time necessary to be copied and then used for contingent reasons, and eventually moved to T.1<sup>60</sup>.

In this perspective it will be interesting to study on the basis of textual material which kind of relation existed among the storerooms of Temple 1, the building located in its southern part (possibly É.GIŠ.KIN.TI), and the House on the Slope.

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from other buildings of the capital city. About these findings see K. Bittel, *Ḫattuša: The Capital of the Hittites. Flexner Lectures 1967*. New York - Oxford 1970, pp. 115-118, S. Alaura, "Überlegungen zur Bedeutung der Fundumstände einer fragmentarischen Stierfigur aus Winkler'schen Grabungen in Böğazköy-Ḫattuša", in *Kulturgeschichten. Altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*. Th. Richter, D. Prechel, J. Klinger eds. Saarbrücken 2001, pp. 1-17.

<sup>58</sup> Already Th. van den Hout showed that the administration concerning the cult was focused in this late phase on the T.1 and on the HaH. See van den Hout, *Fs. De Roos*, pp. 95-97.

<sup>59</sup> See in general Košak, *Konkordanz* (on-line version). See also J. Klinger, "Der Beitrag der Textfunde zur Archäologiegeschichte der hethitischen Hauptstadt", *Byzas* 4 (2006), pp. 5-17, in part. 11-14; Th. van den Hout, "A Classified Past: Classification of Knowledge in the Hittite Empire", in *Proceedings of 51<sup>st</sup> RAI, Chicago 2005* (in print). About the historical texts referred to the period of the last two kings see the part of the present article concerning Meramuwa.

<sup>60</sup> This last hypothesis is also supported by the correspondence of the cult inventories, found in both buildings. This last aspect has been studied by van den Hout, *Fs. De Roos*, pp. 77-106. Of course the metal tablets of the political treaties deposited before the deities, when ready, could have been placed in a special room of the temple or physically before the gods in their *sancta sanctorum*, van den Hout, *SMEA* 47, pp. 286-287. The same hypothesis is sustained in a statement related to the inventory texts. It is possible that the tablets were regularly produced in the HaH and later moved to T.1. This would well explain the similarities of the texts coming from both buildings and, likewise, the difference in percentage terms in the number of texts stored; see van den Hout, *Fs. DeRoos*, pp.88-89 and J.L. Miller, rev. to "J. Hazenbos, *The Organization of the Anatolian Local Cults During the Thirteen Century B.C.*", *ZA* 95 (2005), pp. 308-312 (in part. 308-309).

Name	Title	Text
<i>Anuwanza</i>	DUB.SAR	KBo 45.37 (CTH 626)
<i>Hanikkuli</i>	DUB.SAR(?); DUMU NU. <sup>GIŠ</sup> KIRI <sub>6</sub>	KBo12.105+ (CTH 404)
<i>Hillu</i>		KBo 13.106 (CTH 732)
<i>Kuruntapiya</i>		KBo 13.240 (CTH 470)
<i>Palla</i>	DUB.SAR; GÁB.ZU.ZU ŠA X	KBo 13.27+ (CTH 560)
<i>Palluwaraziti</i>	DUB.SAR	KBo 45.11 (CTH 597); KBo 45.34 (CTH 625)
<i>Piḥa-UR.MAḤ</i>	DUB.SAR.GIŠ	KBo 45.11 (CTH 597); KBo 45.34 (CTH 625)
<i>Piḥami</i>	GÁB.ZU.ZU ŠA <i>Halwaziti</i>	KBo 45.69 (CTH 647)
<i>Piḥamuwa</i>	DUB.SAR; LÚ <sup>URU</sup> <i>Ukkiya</i>	KBo 12.95 (CTH 825)
Name not preserved	GÁB.ZU.ZU ŠA <i>Meramuwa</i> EN.GIŠ.KIN.TI	KBo 12.41 (CTH 122)
ASINUS <sub>2A</sub> -tà-la-na ( <i>Tarkasnatalana</i> )		KBo 13.62 (CTH 209)