

## The Reception of Sumerian Literature in the Western Periphery

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### 3 Corpora of Sumerian Literary Texts from the Western Periphery

#### 3.1 The Corpus of Sumerian Literary Texts from Ḫattuša

Ḫattuša, the capital of the Hittite empire, was located in the center of Anatolia in the vicinity of the modern village of Boğazköy (now Boğazkale) in the province of Çorum. After the identification of the archaeological site at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the first regular excavations were conducted by a German team under the direction of Hugo Winckler during 1906-1912. New campaigns were directed by Kurt Bittel from 1931 to 1939. Excavations resumed in 1952 with regular annual campaigns. As the capital of a Great Kingdom<sup>866</sup> during the Late Bronze Age, the archives of Ḫattuša<sup>867</sup> yielded one of the largest collections of cuneiform tablets in the ancient Near East, covering over 400 years from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The city was abandoned under King Suppiluliuma II at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

The Sumerian literary and magical texts from Ḫattuša were discovered in several find-spots that are located in two main areas: the citadel of Büyükkale and the lower city. Most of the tablets unearthed in Büyükkale come from Building A (Bk. A), a palace situated in the southeast corner of the citadel that housed a large library with a small archive.<sup>868</sup> Within this building were discovered around 4000 tablets and fragments dated from the Old Hittite (1650-1450 B.C.) up to the Late Hittite period (late 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C.). Some Sumerian texts were found in the area of Building D (Bk. D), the largest palace of the citadel, located on the northwestern slope. This building did not house a library, but an archive of sealed clay bullae was found in the magazine area. Because Sumerian texts were not stored in this building those discovered at Building D probably came from elsewhere as most of the fragments were discovered over the ruins of the palace in post-Hittite levels. One single fragment comes from the area of Building K (Bk. K), on the southeastern slope of the citadel, which housed a small library containing a selection of literary texts. Other fragments were discovered in the area of Buildings C (Bk. C) and M (Bk. M) on the west side of Büyükkale.

Two buildings in the lower city yielded Sumerian literary and magical texts: Temple I and the so-called Haus am Hang (House on the Slope). Temple I (T. I) was the main temple of the city, located northwest of the citadel, and housed a large library and an archive.<sup>869</sup> The Haus am Hang (HaH), southeast of Temple 1 was a multifunctional building which included a scribal school and a library<sup>870</sup> and was active from at least the time of Ḫattušili III (ca. 1265-1240 B.C.) until the end of the empire under Suppiluliuma II.<sup>871</sup> Most of the tablets date back to the late period. Old Hittite texts were also discovered within the building<sup>872</sup> even though their presence cannot be taken as proof that the Haus am Hang was already in use during the older period.<sup>873</sup> These two buildings were part of one religious and administrative district as some of the tablets copied in the Haus am Hang were later stored in Temple I.<sup>874</sup>

**866** For an introduction to the period see Liverani 1994.

**867** For a description of the archives see Pedersén 1998, 44-56.

**868** Košak 1995.

**869** Pedersén 1998, 51-53.

**870** Torri 2008, Torri 2010.

**871** Torri 2010, 392.

**872** For the Old Hittite texts in the Haus am Hang see Torri 2009a.

**873** Torri 2009a, 222.

**874** Torri 2008, 780-781, Torri 2010, 384; there seems to be a chronological difference between documents stored in Temple I which tend towards the period of Tuḫaliya IV and those housed in the HaH that mainly date to the reign of Suppiluliuma II, van den Hout 2008.

The find-spots of several tablets and fragments discovered during the period 1906-1912 are unfortunately unknown as early excavations were poorly and inadequately recorded. No scribal names are known from the Sumerian texts discovered at Ḫattuša and no tablet is dated.

Different Sumerian texts have been found at Ḫattuša such as wisdom compositions, hymns, and literary letters, but incantation is by far the most attested type.

Tablets containing Sumerian literary and magical texts are not exclusively the work of local (i.e. Hittite) scribes, as the paleography clearly indicates. Indeed three different scripts may be identified: Babylonian script, Assyro-Mitannian script, Hittite script. However, it is not always possible to know whether a single manuscript was imported or drafted at Ḫattuša by a foreign scribe.<sup>875</sup>

With the lone exception of KBo 13 37, all the Babylonian script tablets inscribed with Sumerian texts have been found in the citadel of Büyükkale, specifically within Building A.<sup>876</sup> All these tablets contain incantations, including CTH 800, a group of monolingual incantations written in phonetic orthography.

A group of tablets in non-Hittite script was labeled as Assyro-Mitannian by Wilhelm on the basis of its similarities to both Assyrian and Mitannian scripts although it does not fully correspond to either of them.<sup>877</sup> A thorough study on the Assyro-Mitannian script has been undertaken by Schwemer who identified similarities with the Middle Assyrian script of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>878</sup> He also suggested that the Assyro-Mitannian tablets were drafted in Mitannian-dominated Assyria during the 15<sup>th</sup> - 14<sup>th</sup> century and then imported to the Hittite capital after the Syrian campaigns of Suppiluliuma I in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>879</sup> More recently, Weeden revised the concept of Assyro-Mitannian itself on the basis of a larger corpus of tablets, reaching the conclusion that the so-called Assyro-Mitannian ductus is a form of Middle Assyrian. However, he leaves open the question where and by whom these tablets were drafted, namely whether in Assyria, probably during the 14<sup>th</sup> century, or at Ḫattuša by foreign scribes (i.e. Assyrians). Unfortunately, this is an unsolvable question at the moment.<sup>880</sup> Nevertheless, as pointed out below,<sup>881</sup> tablet find-spots may serve as hints to the provenance of the Assyro-Mitannian texts. The Assyro-Mitannian tablets were discovered in the citadel of Büyükkale chiefly within Building A. They only contain medical-magical texts, including Sumero-Akkadian incantations.

On the basis of paleography, Hittite script tablets are divided into three periods as follows:

Old Script (OS) 1650 - 1500  
Middle Script (MS) 1500 - 1350  
New Script (NS) 1350 - 1180

Most of the Sumerian texts written in Hittite script are dated to the Late Hittite period except for a few fragments written in Middle Script. Of the three scripts, only Hittite script was used to write Sumerian literary texts, all of which are bilingual. Indeed the majority of the Sumerian texts in Hittite script are literary compositions; only a few incantations were found to be written by Hittite scribes. Sumerian literary texts include wisdom compositions, hymns, literary letters and school (Edubba) texts. Several compositions - *The Hymn to Iškur-Adad*, *The Message of Lu-diğira to his Mother*,<sup>882</sup> *Edubba E* - are written on multicolumn tablets containing different versions: standard orthography

<sup>875</sup> See Klinger 2012, 83-84.

<sup>876</sup> The fragment KBo 36 12, considered a bilingual incantation, is probably an Akkadian text, see 1. [SAĜ].DU-su<sub>2</sub> u<sub>3</sub> mi- [...], 2. i-na SAĜ.DU-šu š[u]; I owe this suggestion to Father Werner Mayer.

<sup>877</sup> Wilhelm 1992.

<sup>878</sup> Schwemer 1998, 7-17.

<sup>879</sup> Schwemer 1998, 50-52.

<sup>880</sup> The physical analysis of tablets may have serious limitations when it comes to assigning dates, see fn. 1982.

<sup>881</sup> See § 8.5.

<sup>882</sup> As is explained in detail below (§ 5.3.2), a manuscript of *The Message of Lu-diğira to his Mother* discovered at Ugarit, RS 25.421 = AuOrS 23 50 is included in the list of the Ḫattuša texts because it was written by a Hittite scribe.

Sumerian, phonetic orthography Sumerian, Akkadian and Hittite. The majority of the Hittite script tablets whose find-spot is known were discovered in the lower city.

The script of several fragments cannot be clearly identified.

CTH	Publication	Composition	Find-spot Area	Edition <sup>1</sup>	Script	Language
314	KUB 4 6 (+) KUB 4 8	The Hymn to Iškur-Adad	?	Klinger (2010), 315-318 Schwemer (2001), 191-194 Laroche (1964)	NS	S PhS A H
314	KBo 12 72	The Hymn to Iškur-Adad	HaH	Klinger (2010), 320-321 Schwemer (2001), 191-194 Laroche (1964)	NS	(S) (PhS) A H
314	KUB 4 4	The Hymn to Iškur-Adad	?	Klinger (2010), 321-324 Schwemer (2001), 191-194 Laroche (1964)	NS	(S) (PhS) A H
314	KUB 4 5 + KBo 12 73	The Hymn to Iškur-Adad	HaH	Klinger (2010), 318-320 Schwemer (2001), 191-194 Laroche (1964)	NS	(S) PhS H
315	KUB 4 2	The Message of Lu-diĝira to his Mother	?	Klinger (2010), 326-327 AuOrS 23 50	NS	(S) PhS (A) (H)
315	KUB 4 97	The Message of Lu-diĝira to his Mother	?	Klinger (2010), 327-328 AuOrS 23 50 Civil (1964) Lambert (1960), 279 Ebeling (1928), 22-25	NS	(S) (PhS) A H
315	RS 25.421	The Message of Lu-diĝira to his Mother	Ugarit: Lamaštu Archive	AuOrS 23 50 Ugaritica V 169	NS	S PhS A H
807	KUB 57 126	Eduḫba E	?	Civil (1987)	NS	S PhS (A) (H?)
807	KUB 4 39 (RS 17.10; RS 17.80)	The Letter of Lugal-ibila to Lugal-nesaĝ	?	AuOrS 23 54-55 Civil (2000a), 109-116 Ugaritica V 15	NS	S (A)
801.3	KUB 4 7	Nergal D	?	Viano (2012b) Klinger (2010), 337-339	NS	S (A)
819	KUB 4 41	Hymn to Nergal (?)	?	NE	NS	S A
801	KUB 4 26 (+) HT 13 (+) KUB 37 112	a) <i>šuilla</i> to Adad (Akk.) b) Hymn (?)	?	a) Schwemer (2001), 671 b) NE	NS	S
795	KUB 37 41	Dumuzi Text (Dumuzi-Inana R?)	Bk. A	§ 5.4.1	(?)	S A
800.1	KUB 30 1	Incantation	Bk. A	Geller (1989) Falkenstein (1939)	LOB/ MB	S
800.4	KUB 37 109	Incantation	Bk. A	Geller (1989)	LOB/ MB	S
800.2	KUB 30 2	Incantation	Bk. A	Falkenstein (1939)	LOB/ MB	S
800.4	KUB 30 3	Incantation	Bk. A	Falkenstein (1939)	LOB/ MB	S
800.3	KUB 30 4	Incantation	Bk. A	Falkenstein (1939)	LOB/ MB	S
800	KBo 36 13	Incantation	Bk. K	NE	LOB/ MB	S
800	KBo 36 15	Incantation	Bk. M	NE	LOB/ MB	S
800	KBo 36 16	Incantation	Bk. D	NE	LOB/ MB	S

CTH	Publication	Composition	Find-spot Area	Edition <sup>1</sup>	Script	Language
800.4	KUB 37 108 + KUB 37 110	Incantation	Bk. A	NE	LOB/MB	S
800	KBo 40 103	Incantation	Bk. A	NE	LOB/MB	S
812	KBo 36 19	Incantation	Bk. M	NE	LOB/MB	S
801	KBo 36 21	Incantation	Bk. D	NE	LOB/MB(?)	S
813	KBo 13 37	Collection of Incantations	HaH	NE	Bab	SA(?)
813	KBo 14 51	Collection of Incantations	Bk.	§ 5.1.5	MB	S
805.1	KBo 36 11 (KUB 37 100a + 103 + 106 L. Col. + 144) + KUB 37 100a Rev. + KUB 37 106 R. Col. + ABoT 2 255	Collection of Incantations	Bk. A	a) Böck (2007), 221-240 Cooper (1971) b) § 5.2.1 c) § 5.2.1 d) Geller (1985) Ms. M	Ass-Mit	SA
805.2	KUB 37 143	Incantation	Bk. C	Geller (1985) Ms. N	Ass-Mit	S (A)
805.2	KUB 37 101	Incantation	Bk. D	NE	Ass-Mit	SA
805.2	KUB 37 102	Incantation	Bk. D	§ 5.2.2	Ass-Mit	SA
805.3	KUB 37 107	Incantation	Bk. A	NE	Ass-Mit	(S) A
812	KUB 4 16	Incantation	?	Fincke (2009a)	Ass-Mit	(S) A
794	KBo 7 1 + KUB 37 115 (+) KBo 7 2	Collection of Incantations	Bk. D	a – b) Cooper (1972) b) Alaura, Bonechi (2012), 86-88	Ass-Mit	SA
813	KUB 34 3	Incantation	Bk. A	§ 5.2.5	Ass-Mit	SA
819	KUB 37 127	Incantation	Bk. A	NE	Ass-Mit	SA
806.3	KUB 37 95	Incantation	Bk. A	NE	Ass-Mit	S (A?)
793	KUB 4 11	Incantation to Utu	?	Klinger (2010), 329-331 Schwemer (2007)	NS	SA
806.2	KUB 4 24	Collection of Incantations	?	§ 5.3.9	NS	S
801.4	KUB 37 111	Collection of Incantations	Bk. D	§ 5.3.10	NS	SA
806.1	KBo 1 18	Collection of Incantations	?	NE	NS	S
819	KUB 4 23	Collection of Incantations	?	NE	MS/NS	SA
813	KUB 37 92	Collection of Incantations	Bk. A	NE	(?)	S
813	KUB 34 4	Incantation	Bk. A	NE	NS	SA
806	KBo 36 20	Incantation	HaH	NE	NS	S
806.4	ABoT 1 43	Incantation	?	NE	NS	S (A?)
801	KBo 36 17	Incantation	T. I	NE	NS	SA
819	KBo 36 14	Incantation	Bk. D	NE	(?)	S
819	KBo 19 98	Unidentified Text	T. I	Westenholz (1997), 284-285	MS	SA
819	KBo 36 24	Unidentified Text	?(Lower City)	NE	NS	S (A)
819	KUB 4 10	Unidentified Text	?	NE	NS(?)	SA(?)

CTH	Publication	Composition	Find-spot Area	Edition <sup>1</sup>	Script	Language
819	KBo 36 18	Unidentified Text	Bk. A	NE	(?)	SA

<sup>1</sup> Letters refer to single compositions inscribed on the same manuscript.

### 3.2 The Corpus of Sumerian Literary Texts from Emar

The ancient city of Emar, modern Meskene, was situated west of the Middle Euphrates in northern Syria. The modern archeological investigation of the area was undertaken as part of an international salvage campaign prompted by the erection of the Tabqa dam and the creation of Lake Assad. The site of Emar is now located on the shore of the lake. Between 1972 and 1976, a French team under the direction of Jean-Claude Margueron investigated the Late Bronze Age layers. A large number of tablets and fragments, dated to the 14<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C., were unearthed in several spots on the *tell*.

Two different scribal schools, Syrian (Sy) and Syro-Hittite (SH), have been identified at Emar. In the ephemeral documents these two schools differ in tablet format,<sup>883</sup> paleography, syllabary, juridical formulae, dating system and seal impressions.<sup>884</sup> The Syrian school is the elder of the two and has archaic features deriving from the Old Babylonian tradition, whereas the Syro-Hittite school shows later traits, namely Middle Babylonian. The earliest texts are written according to the Syrian school, while the Syro-Hittite tradition was introduced at Emar during a later phase and replaced the older format over time.<sup>885</sup> As recently shown by Y. Cohen, the distinction between Syrian and Syro-Hittite schools can be extended to the scholarly material.<sup>886</sup>

Around three hundred scholarly tablets were discovered at Emar and contrary to the situation in Hattuša and Ugarit, all of them are the work of local scribes as no imported manuscripts were found. With the exception of two tablets of unknown provenance,<sup>887</sup> and a fragment of *Urra* discovered in Area C,<sup>888</sup> all the scholarly texts, both Syrian and Syro-Hittite tablets, were found in a single area, the so-called Temple M<sub>1</sub> located in the southeast area of the *tell*. This building was actually not a temple but a private elite house,<sup>889</sup> the residence of a family of diviner-scribes<sup>890</sup> named after its founder Zu-Ba'la's family. The building fulfilled different functions including scribal activities. This collection includes lexical lists, wisdom texts, rituals, incantations, omina, astrological texts, and literary works in Akkadian and Sumerian as well as bilingual texts.

Only five scribes are known from Syrian scholarly tablets;<sup>891</sup> a larger number of scribes, including the members of Zu-Ba'la's family, are associated with the Syro-Hittite school.<sup>892</sup>

Most of the literary texts belong to the Syro-Hittite tradition, whereas only a few were written by Syrian school scribes including just one Sumerian composition, *A Prayer for a King*. For the sake of simplicity, fragments that cannot easily be classified will be treated here as Syro-Hittite tablets. As far as the Sumerian texts are concerned, the most popular literary genres are wisdom compositions and incantations, but the latter are preserved on tiny fragments. All the literary compositions are

<sup>883</sup> An alternative division into 'Conventional' and Free-format' tablets (not followed here) has recently been proposed by Fleming, Démare-Lafont 2009.

<sup>884</sup> For extensive treatments of the two schools see Wilcke 1992 and more generally Seminara 1998, 9-20, Cohen 2009, 26-42.

<sup>885</sup> Seminara 1998, 12.

<sup>886</sup> Cohen 2009, 28.

<sup>887</sup> TBR 101, *Tsukimoto Incantation*. There are two other manuscripts of *Urra* of unknown provenance, possibly from Emar, see Cohen 2009, 201 n. 154. One Hittite omen was found in Area N, Salvini, Trémouille 2003.

<sup>888</sup> Cohen 2009, 12.

<sup>889</sup> Rutz 2013, 303-308. On the Emar archives see Dietrich 1990, Pedersén 1998, 61-68; for an exhaustive treatment of the archeological context of epigraphic finds in Temple M<sub>1</sub> see Rutz 2013.

<sup>890</sup> Members of this family bear the title of *barû*.

<sup>891</sup> Cohen 2009, 34-35, 121-146. To this number should be added the unidentified extispicy scribes (Cohen 2009, 35). This number counters data from the ephemeral documentation which provides more scribe names for the Syrian school than for the Syro-Hittite.

<sup>892</sup> Cohen 2009, 35-36, 147-230.

in bilingual format and some present a phonetic Sumerian version added in a parallel column – *The Ballad of Early Rulers, The Fowler, The Letter of Sîn-iddinam to Utu*. On the contrary the vast majority of Sumerian incantations are monolingual. Several Sumerian literary texts have duplicates from Ugarit, while no parallels are known from Ḫattuša.<sup>893</sup>

Excavation Number <sup>1</sup>	Composition	Edition	Script	Language
Msk 74243	A Prayer for a King	E 775 Dietrich (1998)	Sy	S A
A: Msk 74127ac + Msk 74128x + Msk 74136b (+) Msk 74153 (+) Msk 74159n (+) Msk 74132t (+) Msk 74137m (+) Msk 74344 B: Msk 74159j	The Ballad of Early Rulers	E 767 Alster (2005) Klein (2000) Dietrich (1992) Alster (1990) Wilcke (1988) Alster, Jeyes (1986)	SH	S PhS A
Msk 74174a (+ <sup>3</sup> ) Msk 74107al <sup>2</sup> (+) Msk 74148r (+) Msk 74238l (+) Msk 74182a + Msk 74122b	Enlil and Namzitarra	E 771 (+) E 772 (+) E 772 (+) E 773 (+) E 774 (+) E 592	SH	S A
Msk 7498b (+) Msk 7478b + Msk 74228b	The Fowler	E 768A + E 538 S	SH	S PhS (A)
Msk 74137b	The Fowler	E 768B	SH	(S) (PhS) A
Msk 74214a	The Fowler	E 769	SH	S (PhS) (A)
Msk 74159c	The Fowler	E 770	SH(?)	S A
ME 94	The Letter of Sîn-iddinam to Utu	TBR 101 Civil (1996)	SH	(S) PhS (A)
Msk 74102a + Msk 74107ai + Msk 74114l <sup>3</sup>	Incantation	E 729	SH	S
Msk 74102o	Incantation	E 730	SH(?)	S
Msk 74199q	Incantation	E 731	SH(?)	S
Msk 74107ak	Incantation	E 732	SH(?)	S
Msk 74228a	Incantation	E 733	SH	S
Msk 74107q	Incantation	-	SH(?)	S
Msk 74173e	Incantation	E 734	SH	PhS
Msk 74148f	Incantation	-	SH(?)	Ph(?)S
Msk 74183	Incantation	E 740	SH(?)	S
Msk 74122t	Incantation	E 743	SH	S
Msk 74107t	Incantation	E 744	SH(?)	S
Msk 7499b	Incantation	E 744	SH(?)	S
Msk 74107p	Incantation	E 745	SH(?)	S
Msk 74107m	Incantation	E 746	SH(?)	S
Msk 74107n	Incantation	E 746	SH(?)	S
Msk 74238t	Incantation / Literary Text	E 747	SH(?)	S
Msk 74122bb	Incantation	E 748	SH(?)	S
Msk 74109d	Incantation	E 749	SH(?)	S
Msk 74199r	Incantation	E 751	SH(?)	S
Msk 74234h	Incantation	E 752	SH(?)	S
Msk 74135b	Incantation	E 753	SH(?)	S
Msk 74114b	Incantation	E 756	SH	S

<sup>893</sup> Duplicates from Emar and Ḫattuša are, however, known for other genres, e.g. lexical lists and Akkadian omina and literary texts.

Excavation Number <sup>1</sup>	Composition	Edition	Script	Language
Msk 74165g	Incantation	E 757	SH	S A
Msk 74107ac	Incantation	E 759	SH(?)	S
Msk 74117l	Incantation	E 761	SH(?)	S
Msk 74200f	Incantation	E 762	SH(?)	S
Msk 74101a	Incantation	E 763	SH(?)	S A
Msk 7485e	Incantation	E 764	SH	S A
Msk 74232i	Incantation	E 790	SH(?)	S
Msk 74122ar	Incantation (?)	-	SH(?)	S
-	Collection of Incantations	Tsukimoto (1999)	SH	a) S b) PhS
Msk 74103f + Msk 74103x	Unidentified Text	E 776	SH	(S?) PhS (A?)
Msk 74143e	Unidentified Text	E 777	SH(?)	S

1 For the exact find-spots see Rutz 2013.

2 For this fragment see Rutz 2013, 272.

3 For this join see Cohen 2009, 216 n. 242.

### 3.3 The Corpus of Sumerian Literary Texts from Ugarit

Ugarit, modern Ras Shamra, is situated on the Mediterranean Sea in Syria, to the north of the city of Latakia. Regular excavations have been conducted by a French team since 1929, first under the direction of Claude Shaeffer and from 1978 onwards under Marguerite Yon.<sup>894</sup> The city was inhabited from the Neolithic period until the Late Bronze Age and was destroyed around 1175 B.C. in the upheaval associated with the migration of the so-called Sea Peoples. During the period with which we are concerned, the Late Bronze Age, Ugarit was the seat of a local monarchy under the influence of Egypt until the conquest of Syria by Šuppiluliuma I in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century when the city became a vassal of the Hittite empire.<sup>895</sup> Epigraphic finds were unearthed in various areas of the *tell* and mostly date to the last phase of the city's history, 1230-1175 B.C.

Twenty-two tablets and fragments containing Sumerian literary and magical compositions were discovered at Ugarit. The majority of the Sumerian texts were discovered in several private houses belonging to important officials that were also the venues of scribal schools. Only two such texts were found in the Royal Palace.<sup>896</sup>

Five private archives located in different spots of the city yielded Sumerian texts. The largest collection stems from the Lamaštu archive, a library that owes its name to the presence of several incantations against Lamaštu,<sup>897</sup> a female demon who afflicts pregnant women and infants causing miscarriage and lethal fever.<sup>898</sup> This library, discovered during the 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> campaigns, is situated in the south-western wing of a building located in the southern area of the acropolis. The north-eastern wing of the same building housed the archive of the Hurrian priest.<sup>899</sup> A total of 116 tablets and fragments, of which only 43 have so far been published,<sup>900</sup> were found in the Lamaštu archive. The majority of the texts are lexical, literary or religious, but a small number of letters and administrative or juridical texts were also stored in this archive.

894 Pedersén 1998, 68-69.

895 Liverani 1988, 566-567. For a history of Ugarit see Singer 1999.

896 A description of archives and find-spots is provided in van Soldt 1991, van Soldt 1995, van Soldt 1999, van Soldt 2000, van Soldt 2001.

897 van Soldt 1991, 204-210, van Soldt 2000, 237-238.

898 See RIA 6, 439-446.

899 The so called archive of the Hurrian priest contains texts in Hurrian and Ugaritic in alphabetic script, van Soldt 2000, 235-236.

900 van Soldt 2012, 174.

In the center of a residential area denominated Ville Sud excavators discovered a large house, the Maison-aux-tablettes, containing an archive of mostly lexical and scholarly texts,<sup>901</sup> but a small number of international and private letters and administrative texts were also found.

East of the Royal Palace was unearthed a small archive of mostly lexical and literary texts named Bibliothèque du Lettré.<sup>902</sup>

During the 39<sup>th</sup> and 40<sup>th</sup> campaigns (1979-1980) a small lot of tablets was discovered in a pit within Maison A, situated in the 'city center'. These tablets inscribed with literary, religious and scholarly texts<sup>903</sup> were found in a secondary context and were not housed inside Maison A, but probably belonged to a near-by library that was destroyed before the last reconstruction of the building.<sup>904</sup>

The largest archive so far discovered at Ugarit is the so called Maison d'Urtenu where over 500 tablets were found.<sup>905</sup> This building located in the southern area of the *tell* was first identified in 1973 and has been regularly excavated since 1986. The largest portion of the texts consists of international letters from Syria, Mesopotamia and Anatolia as well as private correspondence.<sup>906</sup> Religious and literary texts in syllabic cuneiform<sup>907</sup> were found in limited numbers and only two tablets are written in Sumerian.

Five major archives were found in the Royal Palace containing treaties, letters and administrative and legal texts. A scant number of literary texts were unearthed in the central archive.<sup>908</sup>

The literary and religious texts were edited by Nougayrol (1968) in Ugaritica V and recently by Arnaud (2007) = AuOrS 23, to which I refer in the present work. Classification of tablet scripts, hence the identification of their origin, is more complicated for Ugarit than for Ḫattuša and Emar, due to the lack of specific paleographic studies and the inaccessibility of the manuscripts. Moreover, only in a few cases are photographs available, and usually they are not of good enough quality for a paleographic analysis. Therefore, the classification here presented must be considered as tentative and subject to further modification. Arnaud distinguishes four groups of tablets: tablets imported from Babylonia,<sup>909</sup> Hittite tablets imported from Ḫattuša,<sup>910</sup> texts *assyrisé*<sup>911</sup> and local tablets.<sup>912</sup> A paleographic analysis, even though based on hand-copies only, allow us to refine this classification. The so called *assyrisé*-tablets, which according to Arnaud were drafted in Assyria on the basis of Babylonian models, have turned to be Babylonian tablets. We can therefore distinguish between Babylonian script tablets, Hittite script tablets and Ugarit script tablets.<sup>913</sup>

Sumerian texts from Ugarit include wisdom texts, short tales, hymns, literary letters and incantations.

There are five manuscripts from Ugarit written in Babylonian script that contain Sumerian literary texts. As with tablets in non-Hittite script found in the Hittite capital, it is very difficult to establish whether these tablets were imported or copied at Ugarit by foreign scribes. With a single possible exception all the Sumerian texts in Babylonian script stem from the Lamaštu archive.

The only Sumerian text in Hittite script found at Ugarit is a copy of *The Message of Lu-diġira to his Mother* imported from the Hittite capital and discovered in the Lamaštu archive.

The largest part of the Sumerian texts from Ugarit were written by local scribes. These tablets

901 van Soldt 1991, 182-191, van Soldt 2000, 234-235.

902 This archive may have originally belonged to the house of Rašap-'abu, van Soldt 1999, 33.

903 Arnaud 1982a.

904 Yon 1987, 39, van Soldt 1991, 224.

905 van Soldt 1991, 221-223, Malbran-Labat 2000, van Soldt 2000, 240-242.

906 Administrative and economic deeds and texts in Ugaritic were also found.

907 Malbran-Labat 2000, 238.

908 van Soldt 1991, 140.

909 Arnaud 2007, 8.

910 Arnaud 2007, 11

911 Arnaud 2007, 9-11.

912 Arnaud 2007, 11-16.

913 The term 'Ugarit script' is adopted instead of 'Ugaritic script' in order to avoid confusion with the alphabetic script.



stem from several archives and include both literary texts and incantations. All the literary compositions are in bilingual format regardless of their script, whereas the incantations are wholly monolingual. In contrast to Emar and Ḫattuša, standard orthography and phonetic orthography versions of a few literary compositions – *The Ballad of Early Rulers*, *A Prayer for a King*, *The Letter of Lugal-ibila to Lugal-Nesaĝ* – are inscribed on different tablets.

Excavation Number	Composition	Archive	Edition	Script	Language
RS 79.25	A Prayer for a King	Maison A	AuOrS 23 35 Dietrich (1998) Arnaud (1982a), 209-216	Ug	PhS (A)
RS 79.25C	A Prayer for a King	Maison A	Arnaud (1982a), 209-216	Ug	A
RS 25.130	a) The Ballad of Early Rulers b) Proverbs from Ugarit	Lamaštu	AuOrS 23 48 Alster (2005) Klein (2000) Dietrich (1992) Alster (1990) Wilcke (1988) Alster, Jeyes (1986) Ugaritica V 164	MB	S A
RS 23.34 + RS 23.363 + RS 23.494 + RS 23.721 + RS 23.721B	The Ballad of Early Rulers	Maison-aux-tablettes	Ugaritica V 165 (see above)	Ug	PhS A
RS 25.424	The Ballad of Early Rulers	Lamaštu	Ugaritica V 166 (see above)	Ug	(PhS) A
RS 22.341 + RS 28.053A	Enlil and Namzitarra	Maison-aux-tablettes	Cohen (2010) AuOrS 23 47	Ug	(S) A
RS 25.421 + RS 25.527 A+B	The Message of Lu-diĝira to his Mother	Lamaštu	AuOrS 23 50 Ugaritica V 169	NS	S PhS A H
RS 25?.135A	The Message of Lu-diĝira to his Mother	?	AuOrS 23 50	Ug	S A
RS 17.10	The Letter of Lugal-ibila to Lugal-nesaĝ	Bibliothèque du Lettre	AuOrS 23 54-55 Civil (2000a), 109-116 Ugaritica V 15	Ug	PhS (A)
RS 17.80	The Letter of Lugal-ibila to Lugal-nesaĝ	Bibliothèque du Lettre	AuOrS 23 54-55 Civil (2000a), 109-116 Ugaritica V 15	Ug	(Ph?)S A
RS 86.2210	The Fox and the Hyena	Maison d'Urtenu	AuOrS 23 52 Arnaud (2001)	Ug	S PhS (A)
RS 26.141	Hymn to Enki (?)	Lamaštu	AuOrS 23 28	MB	S A
RS 17.155	Collection of Incantations	Bibliothèque du Lettre	AuOrS 23 21 Ugaritica V 17	Ug	S
RS 15.152	Collection of Incantations	Royal Palace	AuOrS 23 21 Ugaritica V 17	Ug	S
RS 25.129 + RS 25.456B	Collection of Incantations	Lamaštu	AuOrS 23 25	MB	S
RS 25.418	Collection of Incantations	Lamaštu	AuOrS 23 27	MB(?)	S
RS 16.416	Incantation	Royal Palace	AuOrS 23 13 PRU III, 214	Ug	S
RS 25.517	Unidentified Text	Lamaštu	AuOrS 23 58	MB	S
RS 26.143	Unidentified Text	Lamaštu	AuOrS 23 59	Bab	S
RS 28.053	Unidentified Text	Maison-aux-tablettes	AuOrS 23 61	MB(?)	S
RS 25.462	Unidentified Text	Lamaštu	AuOrS 23 67	Ug	S?
RS 94.2372	Unidentified Text	Maison d'Urtenu	AuOrS 23 68	Ug	S

