

## The Hittite word for "Oil" and its Derivatives<sup>1)</sup>

One of the most common Sumerograms in Hittite texts is *Ī* "oil",<sup>2)</sup> for which no one has yet proposed a Hittite reading. The known phonetic complements of *Ī* cumulatively suggest that the word was a neuter, either an *a*-stem or an *n*-stem. It has the following paradigm:<sup>3)</sup>

neuter nom.-acc. (nom. by context) *Ī-an* KUB 13.8:8 (MH), KBo 17.105 ii 34, iv 2, KUB 17.10 iv 29 (OH/MS).

(accus. by context) *Ī-an* KUB 4.3 obv. 17, KUB 7.41 + i 39, KUB 10.92 vi 12, KUB 12.5 iv 12, KUB 12.63 rev. 17, KUB 17.13:2, 10, KUB 27.1 iv 39, KUB 30.36 ii 1, KUB 33.73 + 74 i 15, KUB 41.8 i 16, KUB 43.37 ii 16, KBo 3.23 rev. 8 (OH/NS), KBo 6.3 iv 28 (OII/NS), KBo 10.45 i 32, KBo 20.28 obv. 18, KBo 27.136 rev. 3, 2 Mašt iii 22, VBoT 1:14 (MH/MS): probably with *-(y)a* "and" *Ī-na* KBo 17.4 ii 3 (OS).

ergative *Ī-an-za* KUB 24.2 i 10 in *kinuma-tta šanezziš waršulaš* <sup>GIŠ</sup>ERIN-*anza* *Ī-an-za kallišdu* "Now let the sweet odor, the cedar (and) the oil summon you".  
genitive *Ī-aš* KUB 35.84 ii? 7.

locative *Ī-i* KUB 8.67 iv? 7, KUB 32.74 iii 2, KUB 45.47 ii 14.

instrumental KBo 10.45 ii 15, KBo 12.96 i 9, KBo 14.100 obv. 13, KUB 7.41 + ii 15, KUB 39.15 iv (1), KUB 54.49 obv. 7, KUB 54.55 obv.? 3, KUB 57.66 iii 6, KUB 60.121 obv. 10, 13, 15 (Popko, AoF 18:240), FHL 185:5?

ablative (including instrumental abl.) *Ī-az* KUB 32.74 iii 4, KUB 44.44:7, KUB 59.66 iii 8, 12, KUB 60.11 obv. 5, *Ī-za* KBo 11.32 obv. 23.

A rare plural is written *Ī.HIA* KBo 8.66:5 and KUB 32.53 right column 11.

Since the form *Ī-na* stands for *Ī-na*, there is no evidence from the phonetic compliments to indicate the final consonant of the word. All that can be elicited from this evidence is that the word was neuter,

<sup>1)</sup> Dedicated to my longtime colleague and dear friend, Professor Hans G. Güterbock, a master of virtually every area of Hittite and Anatolian studies and the first Hittitologist to seriously explore the sources of vegetable oil according to Hittite texts: see Güterbock 1968. Today, May 27, 1994, in his 86th birthday. - I wish to thank Professor H. Craig Melchert of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Professor Bill Darden of The University of Chicago for valuable advice on the Proto-Indo-European aspects of this problem.

<sup>2)</sup> Rüster and Neu 1989 sign no. 72, also read *ĪA*.

<sup>3)</sup> Until I am convinced that the same word underlay not only *Ī*, but also *UZU.Ī*, *Ī.GIŠ* and *Ī<sup>GIŠ</sup>SERDUM*, I will only use phonetic compliments on the simple form *Ī*.

and that its nom.-accus. sg. ended in *-an*, which could reflect either an *a*-stem or an *n*-stem.

Although it remains to be proven that the same Hittite word underlay *Ī* and *UZU.Ī*, it appears from the "resolved" writing *UDU-aš Ī-an kitta* "fat of a sheep lies" KUB 17.10 iv 29 that the more common *Ī.UDU* can also stand for a genitival construction of which the nomen regens was *Ī-an*. This evidence is supplemented by KBo 17.105 ii, where *Ī.UDU* in line 27 is referred to in line 34 as *Ī-an*. Alongside of this, there is evidence that *appuzzi* was a Hittite reading of *Ī.UDU*<sup>4)</sup> especially in the sense of Akkadian *himṣu* "fatty tissue around the intestines".<sup>5)</sup>

*Ī.UDU = appuzzi*

The evidence for the Hittite reading of *Ī* begins with the Middle Hittite Hurro-Hittite bilingual composition whose hand copies have been published in KBo 32 and the publication of whose edition by E. Neu we are still awaiting as I write these lines. It therefore remains to be seen what Neu will do with the critical passages in that official edition. But he has treated the relevant passages preliminarily in Neu 1988 18.

The passages in question read as follows: (Hurr.) *šu-ul-lu-ú-up-ri e-er-pí-né-eš e-ep-hé-e-ni / ta-la-aḫ-ḫu-u-um : ta-la-aḫ-ḫu-u-um e-ep-hé-e-ni / ḫa-a-šar-re pu-ú-zi-ḫu-u-um : pu-ú-zi-ḫu-u-um ḫa-a-šar-re na-aḫ-ḫa-ap ú-la-a-nu-u-um = "A dog pulled a šullubri- loaf out of the oven. Out of the oven he pulled it, and dipped it in oil. In oil he dipped it, and sat down, and ate it" KBo 32.14 iv 9-12 = (Hittite) <sup>NINDA</sup>kugullan UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-aš UDUN-niya piran arḫa pittenut / parā-an-kan ḫuittiat UDUN-niyaz n-an-kan *Ī-i* / anda šuniat ša-ak-ni-an-kan anda / šuniat n-aš-za ešat n-an adanna daiš "A dog ran off with a kugulla-loaf from in front of the oven. Out of the oven he pulled it, and dipped it in oil. In šakni he dipped it, and sat down, and began to eat it" KBo 32.14 iii 9-12 (Hurro-Hitt. bilingual text "Song of Release", MH/MS), cf. Neu 1988 18; (Hurr.) ka-mi-e-né-eš ka<sub>4</sub>-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-ri ta-li-i-ia e-ep-hé-ni-ta-an ta-la-aḫ-ḫu-u-um e-ep-hé-e-ni ḫa-šar-re pu-ú-zi-ḫu-u-um / pu-ú-zi-ḫu-up ḫa-a-šar-re na-aḫ-ḫa-ap ú-la-a-nu-u-um KBo 32.14 rev. 23-27 = (Hittite) <sup>NINDA</sup>ḫilušš-kan <sup>NINDA</sup>kugullan UDUN-niyaz para šallannai parā-an-kan UDUN-yaz ḫuittiat / [n-an-ka]n anda *Ī-i* šuniat šakni-an-kan anda šuniat n-aš-za ešat n-an adanna daiš "A ḫilušš-animal dragged a kugulla-loaf out of the oven. Out of the oven*

<sup>4)</sup> See HW<sup>2</sup> 1:193 *ḫ* with earlier literature, and HED 1:103 *ḫ* ("animal fat, tal-low").

<sup>5)</sup> CAD sub voce *himṣu*.

it dragged it and dipped [it] in oil. In *šakni* it dipped it, and sat down and began to eat it" KBo 32.14 rev. 28-29, on the Hurrian version of these lines see also Wilhelm, Fs Heger (1992) 670 who translates "Das *Kamē*-Tier zog ein *kak-kari*-Brot aus dem Ofen, aus dem Ofen zog es es" with no substantial difference in meaning; here Hitt. <sup>NINDA</sup>*kugullan* translates not Hurrian *šullubri*, but *kakkari*, and again the same Hurrian verb *puziḫum/puziḫup* is rendered by two different, although virtually synonymous Hittite verbs, *parā šallanai-* and *parā ḫuittiya-*.

Neu correctly observes that the Hurrian version uses *ḫašarre* in both clauses, but in the second clause of each of these two passages the Hittite version changes from *l̄-i* to *ša-ak-ni* which he takes as a sg. loc. of *šakkar* "dung". It is, of course, not impossible that the Hittite translator should vary from the verbatim repetition in the Hurrian. We saw this in the rendering of Hurrian e-ep-ḫé-e-ni / ta-la-aḫ-ḫu-u-um: ta-la-aḫ-ḫu-u-um e-ep-ḫé-e-ni by Hittite *piran arḫa pit-tenut / parā-an-kan ḫuittiat*. But examples such as the latter do not go so far as to introduce expressions which are in no way synonymous. For this reason we must reject the interpretation of *ša-ak-ni* in the bilingual as a form of *šakkar* "dung". The first possibility which comes to mind is that *ša-ak-ni* is simply another writing of *l̄-i*, and that this provides us with valuable evidence for the Hittite reading of *l̄*. The failure to write *\*l̄-ni* should not be allowed as an objection, since other words ignore the consonantal element regularly in the phonetic complement for the locative singular (e.g. *ŠU-i* not *\*ŠU-ri* for *kiššari*), and because scribes may have wished to avoid writing

scil. *NI-NI*.

Supporting evidence of a very strong sort is found in the phrase *šaknāš paršur* which describes a dish set before the king and queen in the course of religious ceremonies. This phrase, sometimes abbreviated as *šaknāš* "(stew/soup) of (i.e., containing) oil/fat" is certainly simply the syllabic equivalent of the exceedingly common logogram *TU<sub>7</sub>.l̄* "stew/soup of oil", which is likewise presented to the royal couple. The examples of the syllabic writing are: [...] / *TU<sub>7</sub>.l̄* *ša-ak-na-a-aš tianzi* "[...] they set out a stew/soup made with oil" KBo 21.107 ii 8-9 (fest.), although Otten (StBoT 17:17 n.11) considers this passage unclear, it does seem to exclude his taking the genitive *šaknaš* in the following examples with what precedes it, "men of the table of impurity"; Puhvel, Fs Laroche 302 shares Otten's incorrect interpretation; *LÚ.MEŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup>BANSUR ša-ak-na-aš paršur* LUGAL-*i tianzi* "The table-men place the stew made of oil in front of the king" KUB 10.60:1-2; similarly [*ANA?*] <sup>IM</sup>*U* <sup>Wašezzi</sup>*li* *LÚ.MEŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup>BANSUR ša-ak-na-a-aš* (scil. *paršur*) *tianzi* KBo 20.33 obv. 7

(fest., OH<sup>?</sup>/MS); KBo 22.195 ii! 5 (KI.LAM fest., OH/MS); KBo 25.20 obv. 6 (fest., OS). Compare *LÚ.MEŠ<sup>GIŠ</sup>BANSUR TU<sub>7</sub>.l̄ tianzi* passim, e.g., KBo 17.88 + KBo 24.116 ii 14, KUB 1.17 iii 28 (both EZEN *l̄IU*), KUB 2.5 ii 18 (*ANDAHŠUM*), KBo 17.75 iii 18 (EZEN *teḫešnaš*), KUB 25.3 iv 17 and KUB 25.9 iv 18 (both Great Festival of Arinna), KUB 10.21 iii 15 (fest.).

A second line of support for the reading of *l̄-i* as *šakni* is the word *šaknuwant-*. Of the occurrences of forms of *šaknuwant-* some clearly mean something like "defiled", but others have always seemed incongruent with this meaning and now seem to me emphatically different. And, although the verbal substantive *šaknumar* points to the existence of a verb *\*šaknu-*, it seems more likely to me that all occurrences of *šaknuwant-* known from published texts can be better explained as adjectival derivatives in *-want-* from a nominal base, in some cases *šakn-* from *šakkar* "dung", and in the rest *šakn-* from *\*šakna-* "fat". Thus I would posit *šaknuwant-* A "defiled" (literally, "having dung") and *šaknuwant-* B "oily, fatty" (literally "having oil/fat").

The following are examples of *šaknuwant-* A "defiled": (1) modifying persons: *nāš DINGIR.MEŠ-aš NINDA ḫarši<sup>DUG</sup> išpantuzzi maninkurwan ša-ak-nu-wa-an-za šaliga* "(If) he as an unclean person approaches the thick bread (and) libation bowl of the gods" KUB 13.4 iii 79-80 (instr., MS/NS), ed. Suel, Direktif Metni 70ff.; *MUNUS-T[UM-y]aš waškan ša-ak-nu-w[a-a]n-za ŠA É.DINGIR-LIM pait* "A woman (who was) impure (through menstruation?) went into the temple" KUB 16.42 obv. 32 (oracle question, NH); (They take cheeses and hurl them at each other,) *nu GA.KIN.AG EMŠU šuppaš<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup> SANGA(?) / [az] zikanzi ša-ak-nu-wa-an-te-eš-ma [U]L adanzi UL a-a-ra* "The consecrated/pure [priests(?)] eat the cheese (and) rennet; but the impure ones do not eat; it isn't allowed" KUB 45.49 rev. iv 8-9, ed. StBoT 15:29; *UN.MEŠ-tar-pat-kan kuit ša-ak-nu-wa-an-te-eš<sub>17</sub> anda šalikiškir* "Because the above mentioned impure people intruded upon (the utensils of the deity)" KUB 22.70 rev. 51-52 (oracle question, NH), ed. THeth. 6:94f.; similar *UN.MEŠ-tar-pat-kan kuit ša-ak-nu-wa-an anda šalikiškir* ibid. rev. 54-55; [...] *apedani GE<sub>6</sub>-anti šaknuwanza<sup>LÚ</sup> šankunnīšša<sup>a</sup> kuit<sup>MUNUS</sup> katrišša<sup>a</sup> ANA EN.SISKUR.SISKUR anda weriyanteš ešir* "Both the impure priest and the *katra-* women who have been summoned in that night to the client, (go off to their houses.)" KUB 32.133 rev. iv 1-2 (transfer of DINGIR-GE<sub>6</sub>), cf. Kronasser, Schw. Gottheit 59f. (tr. "der Unreine und der Priester").

(2) modifying gods, i.e., their images: [...] *ša-ak-nu-wa-an-ti-ya-*

*wa-kán ANA DINGIR-LIM* [...] "and to the defiled (statue of the deity" KUB 18.24:17 (oracle).

(3) modifying objects: <sup>DUG</sup>*tiššallin-wa ŠA MU.3.KAM ša-ak-nu-wa-an-da-an/* [I]GI?(or: ME)-*uen nu-wa-kan DUG anda :ti(š)šainta* "We saw/took a *tiššalli*-vessel which had been impure for three years, and they *tiššai*-ed the vessel in" KUB 5.9 obv.4-5 (oracle, NH), cf. Hoffmann, KZ 98:206 ff. [reading <sup>DUG</sup>*tiššalli*- according to Güterbock, orally]. [But if this is read <sup>GUD</sup>*tiššallin*, it might mean "we saw/took a *tiššalli*-ox which had been fattened for three years"!]

(4) in a merism with *parkui*:- *namma* <sup>4</sup>UTU-ŠI *ša-ak-nu-wa-an-ta-aš ANA* <sup>GIS</sup>BANSUR(ĤIA) *parkuwayašša ANA* <sup>GIS</sup>BANSUR.ĤIA EGIR-an *hinikzi* "Then His Majesty will bow behind impure and pure tables (and make offerings in the Hittite manner)" KUB 5.6 ii 53-54 (oracle question, NH), similarly *ibid.* ii 61-62; *šarnikzel ANA GIDIM SUM-anzi ANA DINGIR-MEŠ* <sup>URU</sup>*Halpa-ya šarnikzel ša-ak-nu-wa-an-da-za parkuwayaza SUM-anzi* "They will give compensation to the deceased, and they will give compensation from pure things and impure (things) to the deities of Aleppo" KUB 22.35 rev. iii 12-14 (oracle).

With these passages contrast the following, which illustrate *šaknuwant*- B "oily, fatty": (After someone has placed NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A on the ground and libated beer [and *limma*?] on the ground, s/he says: O male deities of the Stormgod of Kuliwišna, eat and satisfy your hunger! Drink and satisfy your thirst!) *nušmaš ŠĀ-KUNU ša-ak-nu-an ēštu ZI-KUNU-mašmaš* [*li?-i*] *m-mu-an-za ēštu* "Let your stomach (lit. interior) be filled with fat/oil (i.e., with the NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A, on this foodstuff see AlHeth 196 f.) and your mind be filled with [*l*] *imma*-beer!" KUB 33.62 iii 12 (rit., MH/MS); restoring on the basis of space and the word *limma* (an alcoholic beverage); the form would be *limm(a)* + *-want*- "having *limma*". Both *šaknu(w)an* and *limmuwanza* are adjectival derivatives in *want*-. In both cases a stem vowel of the noun has been elided before the suffix.

[...] × *LÚ-tar* <sup>UZU</sup>SA.DU.ĤIA <sup>UZU</sup>SA.ĤI.[A...]/[...] *š* *a-ak-nu-wa-an-za* KUB 36.37 iii 8-9 (Ašertu myth); perhaps here rather than in *šaknuwant*- A, because of the presence of <sup>UZU</sup>SA in the near context; cf. sub *huršakniye*-.

To these two occurrences written syllabically I would also add three others, all from CTH 433.4, a ritual for <sup>4</sup>LAMMA <sup>KUŠ</sup>*kuršaš*, in which the word is written semilogographically: (The Old Woman says to the god:) <sup>4</sup>LAMMA <sup>KUŠ</sup>*kuršaš BELIYA galankanza-za / namma ēš kāša tuel LÚ TEMI SÚR.DÚ.A* (<sup>MUŠEN</sup>) / *appandan antuḥšan ANA*

*MUŠEN.ĤIA hūmandāš / ḫaluki piyewen nu aruta mannaïminzi /* <sup>UZU</sup>GAB.ĤIA *Ĭ-anteš* (i.e., *šaknuwanteš*) *MUŠEN.ĤIA* *u[w]andu* "O Patron Deity of the Hunting Bag, my lord, be appeased again! We have hereby sent your messenger, the falcon, (as?) a captured person to all the birds with a message. So let the birds *mannaïminzi* with respect to (their) wings, oily with respect to (their) breasts, come!" KBo 20.107+23.50 ii 20-24. Later in the ritual, they bring in *TU, hur-ti-in NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A TU, GÚ.TUR taršanta UL taršanta-ya* "*hur*ti-soup, mutton-fat cake, lentil soup, dried and undried (grains)" and place them on the foliage. Whereupon the Old Woman says: *BELIYA* <sup>4</sup>LAMMA <sup>KUŠ</sup>*kuršaš anda-kan miuwaš Ĭ-nu-an-ta-aš TU, hurtaš NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A šeš ki-i! ma taršanta kar-aš nu EGIR-pa parna neyanza EGIR-pa / neya* "My lord, Patron Deity of the Hunting Bag! Spend the night (*šeš*-) on the pleasant, oily *hur*ti-soup and mutton-fat cake, but 'cut' these toasted (grains)! And as one who turns back home, turn back!" *ibid.* iii 19-20, cf. CHD sub *miu*- A section a 3'. This passage makes it clear that the Hittite word underlying *Ĭ-ant*- was *Ĭ-nuant*-, i.e. in my opinion *šaknuwant*- B "oily, fatty". As in KUB 33.62 iii 12 above, NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A is present in the context, and it is this food which supplies the oil or fat which makes the use of *šaknuwant*- = *Ĭ-nuant*- appropriate.

Two paragraphs later in the same ritual text, the deity is urged to come with his brothers, the other gods of the king, and to bring with them: *MUŠEN.ĤIA* [...] / *SIG*[...] *hūm]anduš aruta mannaïminz[a]* / <sup>U</sup>[<sup>UZU</sup>GAB.ĤIA] *Ĭ-antešša* "all the propitious birds, a. m., and oily with respect to [(their) breasts]" *ibid.* iii 31-33.

In the CHD *miu*- A article in section a 2' we restored this word also in another ritual fragment: (The celebrant deposits NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A for the god and pours KAŠ.GEŠTIN and says:) <sup>4</sup>UTU-*i ēt-za :mūin ā[(ntan ša-ku-wa-an-ta-an) Ĭ-nuanta]n nu ZI-KA mēšdu* "O Sungod, eat the pleasant, warm *šakuwantan*, [oil]y(?) (food), and may your mood become pleasant!" KUB 46.52:4-5 with dupl. KUB 33.70 ii 5-6, where we also admitted the possible alternative restoration of [NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A-a]n. Our preferred restoration was based upon the expectation of a word for "oily" in the description of NINDA.Ĭ.E.DÉ.A. But it now seems to me rather that the difficult *šakuwantan* itself is a nearly synonymous word derived from the same root, \**šak*-. Some other examples of *šakuwant*- might belong to this root. A *šakuwan* <sup>GIS</sup>*zuppari* ("torch having oil") might be a torch made of staves wrapped in wool soaked in oil. Cf. KUB 20.10 iii 1-6 (fest., OH/NS), Bo 5093 iii 2-5 (StBoT 15:27); KUB

*šakuwant-*

39.88 i 12-13 (rit. for Istar-Pirinkir), KUB 12.55 i 5, on the basis of which we restore KUB 12.57 iv 9 (same tablet as KUB 12.55), cf. KUB 7.14 i 12, w. dupl. IBoT 3.96 i! 6 (ingredients list to Puriyanni's rit., KBo 12.124 iii 18 (rit.); 512/s:1 (StBoT 15:43); Bo 3348 i 7 (StBoT 15:24). A <sup>G15</sup>*šammamma* nut, which is an obvious source of oil, is called *šakurwan* in KUB 17.10 ii 15-16 (myth in Tel. myth, OH/OS or MS), translit. Myth. 32. This word has been connected with either the verb *šakuwaye*- "to took, see" or with a verb *šakuwai*- which has finite forms *ša-ku-wa-anzi* and *ša-ku-wa-a-ru* and no certain translation.<sup>6</sup>) What has not been considered until now is the good possibility that what looks like the participle of a verb *šakuwai*- is in fact an adjective in *-want*- based upon *\*šak(a)*- "oil, fat".

*šaknumar* (verbal substantive) shows that a verb *šakn(a/i/u)*- existed. Verbal substantives of the type *dalumar* (< *dala*-) prove that forms in *-umar* do not necessarily indicate the verbal stem ended in *u*. Puhvel (Fs Laroche [1979] 302 f.) has shown that, if the presumed verb were *\*šaknu*-, such a *\*šakn-nu*- could have been formed analogously to *ešharnu*- "to make bloody". He derives *šaknuwant*- from *\*šakn-want*- "having *šakkar*". This is certainly the case with *šaknuwant*- A, but since the meaning of KUB 33.62 iii 12 implies that the *\*šakn*- is associated with NINDA.Ī.E.DÉ.A and certainly does not mean "defiled", "filthy" or the like, but rather "filled with (sweet) oil", we posit a *šaknuwant*- B which means "having *\*šakna*- 'fat, oil'".

Verbs such as *šakniš*- and *šakniya*-, difficult as they are, probably do belong to *šakkar/šakn*- "dung, filth". But one compound verb whose context has a possible association with fat must be considered here, the verb *huršakniye*-. The one passage which clearly has this verb is from the so-called Soldiers' Oath, edited Oettinger 1976 8 f. with comments on page 30. The ritual practitioner places <sup>UZU</sup>SA ("tendon") and salt into the hands of the oath-takers and then throws them into an open flame(?),<sup>7</sup> saying: *kī-wa-kan* <sup>UZU</sup>SA / *maḥḥan ḥašši anda hu-ur-ša-ak-ni-e-et-ta* / *MUN-aš-ma-kan* GIM-an *ḥašši anda* / *paršietari* "As this tendon ...s on the brazier, and as the salt (lump) breaks apart on the brazier" KBo 6.34 ii 7-10. Oettinger translates "verschmoren" on page

<sup>6</sup>) Güterbock, Kum. (1946) 68 f.; Goetze, JAOS 69 (1949) 182.; Friedrich, HW (1952) 177 f.; Stefanini, Pud. (1964) 52 n.2; Kronasser, EHS (1966) 503; Hoffner, JAOS 93 (1973) 524 (use of *-za*); Oettinger, Stammbildung (1979) 394 f.; Woodard, JAOS 110 (1990) 646-653 ("track down pursue"), Güterbock, Fs Kammenhuber 79.

<sup>7</sup>) The precise meaning of *ḥappina*- is still undetermined.

9, and comments on page 30: "Die Wortbedeutung ist 'zerschmören' und nicht, wie bisher angenommen, 'bersten' oder 'entzweigerissen werden(?)', denn Sehnen reagieren auf dem Herd nur durch Verschmören bzw. Verkohlen." He translates *paršietari* "zerprasseln", taking it as a verb denoting sound production rather than one denoting a breaking up. But in analogous Akkadian magic rituals it is the behavior of a lump (*kirbānu*) of salt which is described. And the same Akkadian expression (Sum. LAG = *kirbānu*) is used in the Akkadian-drafted treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Šattiwaza of Mittanni: *akī LAG tābtī ana ašrini la niturra* "just like a (dissolved) lump of salt, we shall not return to our places" KBo 1.3 rev. 34 (PD page 54, line 51).<sup>8</sup>) This suggests that *paršietari* in the Soldiers' Oath too describes the breaking up or dissolving of a lump of salt. And if this is the case with the salt, then the word describing the tendons might also describe the melting of what solid fat might still adhere to the tendon. In any event, it is tempting to see in *huršakniye*- a compound the second element of which is based upon the same root as *šakna*- "oil, fat". Since I am not a specialist in Indo-European linguistics, I will leave it to more qualified persons to decide the etymology.

Finally, one must set the semantic limits of this word within Hittite itself. Does it denote only vegetable oil, or both vegetable and animal oils? The existence of the word *appuzzi* cautions us against expanding the semantic range of *\*šak(a)*-/*šakna*- from the vegetable to the animal sphere without convincing evidence. The Hurro-Hittite bilingual passage requires nothing more than vegetable oil. Likewise the *šaknāš paršur* (TU<sub>7</sub>.1). In KUB 33.62 iii 12 the stomach (literally, interior) of the god who eats NINDA.Ī.E.DÉ.A would contain Ī, but since Ehelolf once adduced a passage showing that one of the ingredients of NINDA.Ī.E.DÉ.A was mutton fat, would that mean that *šakna*- was also animal fat? I personally think this pushes the evidence too far. The birds of KBo 20.107 + 23.50 ii 20-24 which are Ī-(*nu*)*anteš* (*šaknuwanteš*) with respect to their <sup>UZU</sup>GAB.ḪIA might be birds having lots of self-produced oils on their feathers. But although this is not vegetable oil, it is also not "fat" in the narrow sense of fatty tissue. Rather it is body oils. When the passages containing *šaknuwant*- are added, we have vegetable oil (perhaps olive oil) used to soak the woolen rags wrapped around a staff to make a *šakurwan zuppari*, we have the natural oil produced by the *šammamma* nut, and we have the oil in NINDA.Ī.E.DÉ.A.

<sup>8</sup>) See CAD K 403 sub *kirbānu* 2a.

ie. 'oil' - sic!  
'butter' - X

In summary, the Indo-European inherited word based upon the root \**sak* which appears in the noun \**šakna-* and in the two *-want-* derived adjectives *šaknuwant-* and *šakuwant-* "oily, having oil" and possibly also in the compound verb *huršakniye-* "to dissolve into oil(?)" denoted (in Anatolia at least) "oil" rather than solid adipose tissue, regardless of whether the oil was derived from plants or animals.

oil - sic  
butter -  
fat tissue -?

#### Author's addendum

The phonetic complements of *ḫ* allow the nom.-acc. to be either \**šakan* (declined like *laman* "name") or \**šaknan*. Regarding the question of whether \**šagan* or \**šakna-* (= *ḫ*) can denote solid animal fat, i.e., adipose tissue, the following passage is relevant: *takku UR.GI, ḫ ŠAH karāpi BEL ḫ wimiya(zi) n-an-kan kuenzi/n-ašta ḫ-an šarḫuwantaz-šet [KAR]-ezzi* "If a dog eats up lard (and) the owner of the oil/fat finds (it) and kills it, he shall retrieve the oil/fat from its stomach" KBo 6.3 iv 27-28 (laws § 90) - both the interchangeability of *ḫ ŠAH* and *ḫ* and the ability to retrieve the *ḫ* from the dog's stomach indicate that a solid animal fat is meant. If simple waterproofing of the *tuppiš* containers, rather than a magical or cursing procedure, is indicated by *tuppiš ša-kán-da šunnaš* "She (i.e., the queen) filled (i.e., caulked) baskets with oil/fat/grease, (placed her sons in them, and launched them into the river)" KBo 22.2 obv. 2 (Zalpa text, OS), ed. StBoT 17:6 f., comments p. 16-18; for oil/resin used to caulk boats see CAD Š sub *šamnu* c 1', then a more solid form is also indicated instead of "dung".

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#### Der epische Personennamen *Ἰτυμονεύς*

1.1 Der nur innerhalb der epischen Dichtung bezeugte Männername *Ἰτυμονεύς* wurde zwar nicht häufig verwendet, erwies sich aber als langlebig; der erste Beleg findet sich bei Homer (Il. 11, 672):

(Nestor erinnert sich in Patroklos' Gegenwart an seine früheren Heldentaten, um diesen dadurch zur Verteidigung der griechischen Schiffe zu veranlassen:)

εἴθ' ὥς ἡβώοιμι βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη,  
 ὥς ὀπότε 'Ηλείοισι καὶ ἡμῖν νεῖκος ἐτύχθη  
 ἀμφὶ βοηλασίῃ, ὅτ' ἐγὼ κτάνον Ἰτυμονῆα,  
 ἐσθλὸν Ὑπειροχίδην, ὃς ἐν 'Ηλίδι ναιετάασκε,  
 ῥύσι' ἐλαυνόμενος· ὁ δ' ἀμύνων ἦσι βόεσσιν  
 ἔβλητ' ἐν πρώτοισιν ἐμῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἄκοντι,  
 καὶ δ' ἔπεσεν, λαοὶ δὲ περὶ τρεσάν ἀγροῖωται<sup>1</sup>). (Il. 11, 670-676)

„Wäre ich doch noch so jung, und wäre mir die Kraft dauerhaft,  
 wie damals, als zwischen den Fleern und uns eine Auseinandersetzung  
 entstanden war

wegen eines Rinderraubes, als ich den Itymoneus tötete,  
 den trefflichen Sohn des Hypeirokhos, der in Elis wohnte,  
 als ich Ersatzvieh mir eintreiben wollte; der aber wurde bei der Ver-  
 teidigung seiner Kühe  
 getroffen unter den ersten vom Wurfspieß aus meiner Hand:  
 er fiel nieder, die Männer aber flohen ringsum, die Landbewohner.“

Der Name *Ἰτυμονεύς* findet sich hier somit mit einer Gestalt aus dem nicht- bzw. vortroischen Sagengut verknüpft. Eine Parallele dazu liegt, wie B. Hainsworth richtig gesehen hat, bei *Ἐρεσθαλίῳ* (Il. 7, 136 ὁ, 200, 2) vor, der bei Homer ebenfalls nur in einer Erzählung des Nestor erscheint<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>1</sup>) Zum Gesamtzusammenhang dieser Stelle: G. S. Kirk (General Editor), *The Iliad: A Commentary*. Volume III: books 9-12 (B. Hainsworth). Cambridge 1993, 296-299. - Vgl. hierzu auch: V. Pedrick, *The Paradigmatic Nature of Nestor's Speech in Iliad 11*. *TAPhA* 113 (1983) 55-68.

<sup>2</sup>) Hainsworth 299. Zu *Ἐρεσθαλίῳ*: LfgrE s. v. *Ἐρεσθαλίῳ*.