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For Professor C. H. Gordon on the
occasion of his 60th birthday.
šiuneš-ta huišwatar haddulatar
dalugauš-a wettuš piyandu

A HITTITE TEXT IN EPIC STYLE ABOUT MERCHANTS

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In 1963 Heinrich Otten published in *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, volume XII a fragmentary text (number 42) in the inventory of the seasons 1960 and 1961 assigned the number 35/s. According to Otten's *Vorwort* to *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, volume XII the tablet was recovered from the debris of the earlier excavations. This new text was recognized by R. Werner to be a duplicate of another tablet published in hand copy of K. Balkan as text number 49 in the volume *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri* (abbreviated as ABoT).¹ The two texts, when combined, yield portions of nineteen lines of cuneiform Hittite from what Otten believes to have been a large epic narrative.² Because this type of text is relatively rare at Boğazköy³ and because it offers many interesting bits of information, it is being published here in transliteration with all textual variants. The main exemplar, which serves as the basis for the line count, is KBo XII 42. For the sake of brevity KBo XII 42 will be referred to in the remainder of this discussion as copy A. ABoT 49, which will be designated by the letter B, will be used to fill out the lacunae in A and to provide variant spellings in the apparatus.

1. Credit for recognizing ABoT 49 as the duplicate of KBo XII 42 is given to R. Werner on the second (un-numbered) page of the Inhaltsübersicht of *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, vol. 12.

2. *Ibid.* Otten does not claim that the ductus is old. On the basis of a photo of 35/s H. G. Güterbock has informed me that the text does not exhibit the kind of handwriting which he and Otten have been calling "old." And since a photo of ABoT 49 was not available to Prof. Güterbock or me, it is not possible solely on the basis of Balkan's hand copy for us to decide whether or not it has the old ductus.

3. For a survey of historical and quasi-historical literature among the Hittites see A. Kammenhuber, *Saeculum* 9 (1958) 136-155.

Transliteration of KBo XII 42 rev. col. III with
duplicate ABoT 49⁴

1 *a-pé-e-m[(a-ká)n (É-r)i? an?-da?⁵. .]x-e[- . . .]*
2 *nam-ma x[ú⁶-(e)]-eš-wa-z[(a)]*

4. K. Balkan (ABoT, p. IX under no. 49) provisionally identified ABoT 49 as a protocol, and identified a fragment which joined ABoT 49, which he called "1160/c." This fragment he had found among the Boğazköy tablets in the Ankara museum which had been uncovered during the excavations between 1931 and 1939. At the time Balkan composed the foreword to ABoT (1945) these tablets, marked . . /a through . . /i, had still not been returned to Ankara from Niğde, whence they had been taken for safekeeping during the war years, so he remarked that this fragment was "z(ur) Z(eit) unzugänglich." For the inventory number "1160/c" Balkan was totally dependent upon his notes. When Otten was preparing his review of ABoT for BiOr VIII, he was able to check the real 1160/c from both Ehelolf's hand transliteration and a photo in Berlin. This 1160/c did not fit ABoT 49. Therefore what cannot be identified is the text meant by Balkan and quoted by him with the (obviously wrong) number "1160/c." This explanation of the circumstances surrounding the unidentifiable "1160/c" I owe to Professor Güterbock. The first four visible lines of ABoT 49 precede the first visible line of KBo XII 42 rev col III. Although the editorial "Rs." above the copy does not indicate column number, Otten's hatched vertical line on the lefthand margin is the convention for "broken on the vertical ruling line bordering the intercolumnium." Thus the preserved column must be the right-hand one. Since the sequence of inscribed columns is (1) obverse left, (2) obverse right, (3) reverse right, and (4) reverse left, the column preserved in 35/s must be column III, and therefore the beginning of the reverse. ABoT 49's columns are narrower than KBo XII 42's, so that the lines contain fewer words. It is probable that ABoT 49 preserves the left-hand column (col. I) of the obverse. Although ABoT 49's lines are shorter than KBo XII 42's and thus would require more lines to accommodate the same text, the reverse of the former was uninscribed, whereas the latter required both obverse and reverse (four columns in all) for the inscribing of its contents. Was ABoT 49's text a much more abbreviated one than KBo XII 42's? Or was KBo XII

3 LÚ.MEŠ DAM.GĀR.Ī.A
 URU Ū-[ra²-a² UR]U Za-al-l[a-ra²?]
 4 ú-wa-ú-e-ni⁷ nu-wa i-ya-ta [t]a-me-e-[a]⁸
 5 pé-e ħar-ú-e-ni

42 a "Sammeltafel," which contained another short composition on the first portion of the obverse?

While neither KBo XII 42 nor ABoT 49 is inscribed with the old handwriting, certain features of their paleography should be noted here. Of the two ABoT 49 may be slightly older, for the *e* sign in ABoT 49 is drawn so that the left-hand vertical wedge does not cross the upper horizontal wedge. This is the shape which Friedrich draws second in his entry for *e* (§158) in HKL II 33. This drawing of *e* is the one employed in copy A (the earliest) of the Hittite laws (KBo VI 2 obv i 3, 7, etc.), whereas the form with two short horizontal wedges meeting (but not crossing) the left-hand vertical wedge is that which is commonly employed in the later copy C of the laws (KBo VI 5 ii 5, 6, iii 1, iv 4, 12, etc.). Both KBo XII 42 and ABoT 49 employ the older version of the DAM sign in LÚ.MEŠ DAM.GĀR. This shape of DAM is that which can be found in copies A (KBo VI 2) and B (KBo VI 3) of the laws and in the old Kantuzzili text (XXX 10 rev 12). One can contrast this drawing of the DAM sign in KBo XII 42 iii 3 with the shape of *dam* in *dam-me-el* in KBo VI 4 i 11, the late parallel series of laws. This late shape of DAM is found in the writings of LÚ DAM.GĀR in much later texts such as KBo X 12 i 11 (the Aziru treaty), XIII 1 iv 14-15 (treaty of Tudḫaliya IV with Šaušgamuwa of Amurru), and KBo XII 51 rev 2. Similarly the drawing of ANŠE in ABoT 49 exhibits the same old shape as is found in copy A of the laws, while KBo XII 42 has the shape corresponding to the drawings in copy B of the laws but not quite so developed as the drawing in the late parallel series of laws (KBo VI 4 iv 4). There are doubtless other characteristics of handwriting which would appear to the trained eye of a copyist who had before him the photos. But the few mentioned in the preceding lines suffice to indicate that, although neither KBo XII 42 nor ABoT 49 is an old copy, the latter is the older of the two. Other age criteria which relate to orthography (i.e., spellings) rather than paleography will be discussed in footnotes 5 through 11.

5. Restoration of *an-da* suggested by Professor Goetze on the basis of the preceding *kán*.

6. Restoration of *ú-e-eš-wa-za* is Professor Goetze's suggestion. Professor Güterbock had proposed *ku-i-e-eš-wa-za*. The latter restoration is less probable, since the verb *uwaweni* would have to be in the relative clause, and the main clause would have to be *nu-wa iyata tameta pe ħarweni*. Goetze points out the difficulty of *-za* with *uwa-*, but see XIV 1 obv 13 and 62, XXXIV 45 + KBo XVI 63, i 15.

7. ABoT 49 7 reads *ú-wa-u-e-ni*. The spelling of the first person plural verbal ending *-weni* as *-ú-e-ni* with the *ú* sign is employed elsewhere in KBo XII 42 and ABoT 49 only for verbal stems ending in a consonant: *ħar-ú-e-ni* (KBo XII 42 iii 5, 9, 14). Other verbs in these two tablets whose stems end in *a* utilize *u*: *ú-e-da-u-e-ni* (KBo

6 NAM.RA.Ī.A-wa⁹ me-ek-ki ú-e-da-u-e-ni¹⁰
 7 GUD.Ī.A-wa UDU.Ī.A ANŠE.KUR.RA.-
 Ī.A ANŠE.GĪR.NUN.NA.Ī.A¹¹
 8 [(ANŠ)]E.MEŠ¹² me-ek-ki na-an-ni-ya-u-e-ni
 9 [y]al-ki-ya-aš-ša GEŠTIN.Ī.A-aš¹³ me-ek-ki
 pé-e [ħar-ú-e-ni]

XII 42 iii 6), *ú-e-ta-u-e[-ni]* (ABoT 49 8), *na-an-ni-ya-u-e-ni* (KBo XII 42 iii 8). Other spellings of *uwaweni* or *uwawen* do not employ *ú* in the ending: *ú-wa-u-en* (*Deeds of Šuppiluliuma*, frag. 28, E₃ iv 16; JCS 10 (1956) 87 and 98), *ú-wa-u-e-ni* (XXIII 72 obv 28; XXXIV 45 + KBo XVI 63, i 15; XXI 27 ii 3, 10). KBo XII 42's spelling (*ú-wa-u-e-ni*) is consequently a rare spelling, but not demonstrably an archaism.

8. ABoT 49 7 has *ša(sic)-[me-e-ta]*. That this *ša* is not just this scribe's peculiar way of writing *ta* with only one inscribed vertical wedge is clear from line 8, which has the normal *ta*.

9. ABoT 49 8 has NAM.RA.Ī.A-*ya* with substitution of *-ya* for the particle of direct discourse *-wa*. On the other hand ABoT 49 10 correctly includes a *-wa* in [ħal-ki-ya-aš-w]a GEŠTIN-aš, while KBo XII 42 iii 9 omits the particle and reads only [ħ]al-ki-ya-aš-ša GEŠTIN.Ī.A-aš.

10. ABoT 49 8 has *ú-e-ta-u-e[-ni]*. The spellings of *uda-* ("to bring") as *weda-* or *wete-* do not seem to be particularly characteristic of Old Hittite. Of the examples which I have been able to assemble hastily, most seem to be on the contrary from the later periods: *ú-e-ta-an-te-eš* in the First Plague Prayer of Muršili (KIF 1, 168f.) 5:1; *ú-e-da-an-zi* in the Ritual of Puliša (KBo XV 1) obv i 10; *ú-e-da-iz-zi* and *ú-e-da-an-zi* in XXX 15 (*Totenrituale*, p. 68f.) obv 30-32.

11. ABoT 49 9 has ANŠE.GĪR.NUN.NA without the plural marker.

12. ABoT 49 9 has ANŠE.Ī.A with a different plural marker. The writing ANŠE.MEŠ is rare, but not unique (IX 32 i 30). On the Hittite reading of ANŠE see Hoffner, Or NS 35 (1966) 398-9.

13. ABoT 49 10 has GEŠTIN-aš with no plural marker. The writing of "wine" with GEŠTIN.Ī.A is very unusual. GEŠTIN.Ī.A occurs in the Telepinu Proclamation, 2BoTU 23A i 71, with the phonetic complement *-uš* of the acc. pl. and probably meaning "grapes," in XXI 8 obv ii 9 in context with fields, crops, hence probably "vineyards" or "grapes," and in XXXIII 77 rev iv 4, a fragment of an incantation. KBo XII 42's spelling (GEŠTIN.Ī.A) and pairing with *ħalki-* (*ħal-ke-e-eš* GEŠTIN.Ī.A-eš-ša *ħar-ke-[er]*) occur also in an Old Hittite fragment mentioning Alluwamna (XXVI 77 obv i 5 and 8). The plural marker Ī.A must be taken seriously ("grapes" rather than "wine") in XXVII 77 because of the phonetic complement *-eš* of the nom.-acc. pl. It seems likely that it is to be taken seriously here too, in which case the ending *-aš* on *ħalkiyaš* and GEŠTIN.Ī.A-aš must be an acc. pl. ending. In connection with our attempt to date this text (i.e., KBo XII 42 and ABoT 49) linguistically, it should be pointed out here that acc. pl. in *-aš* is highly unusual for Old Hittite, but would suit a later date.

- 10 *a-aš-šu-u-ya-wa* KÛ.BABBAR GUŠKI[N]
NA₄.ZA.GÎN [NA₄.GUG¹⁴]
11 NA₄.KĀ.DINGIR.RA NA₄.DU₈.ŠŪ.A AN-
BAR UR[UDU ZABAR¹⁵]
12 [A]N.NA.ĪIA *ku-it ku-it im-ma* [Ū-NU-
TU¹⁶]
13 [š]a-ak-la-a-iš *nu-wa hu-u-m[a-an me-ek-ki¹⁷]*
14 [pé]-e *har-ú-e-ni*

15 [.]Ē-TIM-ya x[.]

16 (only traces of a few signs)

Translation

- 1 But they [in] the house(?)[.]
- 2 Furthermore [. w]e(?)
- 3 the merchants of U[ra] (and) Zall[ara,]
- 4 will come, and plenty and abundan[ce]
- 5 we will keep at hand.
- 6 We will bring many NAM.RA people;
- 7 cattle, sheep, horses, mules,
- 8 (and) asses in large numbers we will drive;
- 9 barley and grapes(?) in large amounts we will keep at hand.
- 10 And valuables: silver, gol[d], lapis lazuli, [carnelian,]
- 11 Babylonian stone, *dušú*-stone, iron, cop[per, bronze,]
- 12 [t]in (items¹⁸) — whatever [commodity]
- 13 (is) the custom — al[l in large amounts]
- 14 we will keep at hand.
- 15 [.] the house [.]

14. Restoration suggested by Professor Güterbock. Seems probable in view of the usual sequence of stone names in lists such as those studied in RHA 79 (1966) 172f. KBo XII 42 is transliterated but without restorations in RHA 79 (1966) 173.

15. Restoration based on the usual sequence of metal names in lists such as those studied in RHA 79 (1966) 172ff.

16. The noun which stood here must have been neuter in agreement with *kuit kuit imma*. *Aššu* "goods" has already been used in line 10 and would not likely have been repeated so soon here. An appropriate candidate for the restoration is the Akkadogram *unūtu*, which was also neuter, as demonstrated by XIII 2 ii 40-41: *našma-kan tamedaš DINGIR-LIM kuedani UNŪTU harkan n-at LŪ.MEŠ SANGA . . . appa iyandu* (note the neuter participle *harkan* and the enclitic pronoun *-at*). The word which stood in the break at the end of KBo XII 42 iii 12 must have denoted "commodity, ware, item." On *UNŪTU* and *aššu* see further von Schuler, *Die Kašköer* 78 and Hoffner, JAOS 87 (1967) 183.

17. Restoration of *me-ek-ki* suggested by Professor Güterbock. Note that *mekki* appears before *pe harweni* also in line 9.

18. The translation "(items)" attempts to render the plural marker on AN.NA.ĪIA.

Commentary¹⁹

3: LŪ.MEŠ DAM.GĀR (Akkad. *tamkārū*) "merchants." The Hittite reading of LŪ DAM.-GĀR is *unattallaš*, attested only in Hitt. Laws §5 in the form *ú-na-at-tal-la-an* (KBo VI 3 i 13; accus. sg.), where it seems to be identified by the *-pat* which is suffixed to it with the LŪ DAM.-GĀR of line 10. The etymology of the word *unattallaš* is obscure. The single writing of the *n* weakens the case for a derivation from the verb *unna-*, which the *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* of J. Friedrich defines as "to drive here, send here; to travel here, come here in haste."²⁰ The word has the appearance of a *nomen actoris* in *-talla-*.²¹ Although the phonetic spelling of the Hittite word for "merchant" occurs only in the copies of Hitt. Laws §5, the ideographic writing LŪ DAM.GĀR occurs quite frequently in Hittite texts.²² A useful review of most of the evidence was included by Otten in his 1959 study of Bo 181.²³

The earliest datable reference to merchants in a Hittite text is found in a Hittite fragment of the Epic of the King of Battle (Akkad. *šar tamhāri*), which was studied by Güterbock in the second half of his dissertation "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern" published in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 44 (1938), 45ff. This text had been transliterated earlier by E. Forrer as the first text in the second part of his two volume work *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift* (Zweiter Band, 1926), page 1. The Akkadian version of this text was published in 1915 by Otto Schroeder as text number 193 in his *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna* (*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Heft XII, Seite 3). The text was subsequently studied by Weidner in 1922,²⁴ Albright,²⁵ and Güterbock.²⁶ Another El-Amarna tablet published in 1947 by C. H. Gordon may belong to the same text.²⁷ The merchants mentioned in this text are those of Sargon of Akkad. The second earliest reference to merchants in Hittite texts would be the passage from the laws

19. The italicized Arabic numerals which begin paragraphs in the body of the commentary refer to the lines of KBo XII 42.

20. *HWb* 234.

21. J. Friedrich, *Heth. Elementarbuch* 39, §46b.

22. To Otten, ZA 53 (1959) 182-3 add Werner, SBT 4 30-1, 38-9.

23. ZA 53 (1959) 182-3.

24. *Boghazköi-Studien* 6 57ff. 25. JSOR 7 1ff.

26. ZA 42 21ff. and 86ff. 27. Or NS 16 (1947) 13f.

cited above. If KBo XII 42 and ABoT 49 should prove to be later copies of an old tradition the merchants whose speech is recorded therein would also belong to the period of the Old Kingdom. In view of the conservative tendency of toponyms one will not be in error to assume that the place name A.ḪI.A LÚ.MEŠ DAM.GĀR in Bo 5607 iii 6²⁸ preserves a tradition about merchant activities from an early period, perhaps Old Kingdom.

Aside from the many other references cited by Otten²⁹ let us only add here the following: (1) the merchant plays a speaking role in the myth of Kumarbi and Ocean (XXXIII 117 obv. i 12, 17; cf. *memiškiwan daiš* in 12 and 18); (2) merchants figure in the state treaties of Aziru (KBo X 12 i 11) and Šaušgamuwa (XXIII 1 rev. iv 14–15); and (3) are included in the newly published personnel list KBo XIV 142 rev. iv 7 (cited by inventory number 230/p IV 7 in Otten's review of the evidence cited above). Merchants had played a prominent role in the life of Asia Minor at least since the period of the Old Assyrian merchant colonies.³⁰ Familiarity with the merchant's practices left its mark on the literature. Otten mentions the *topos* "the merchant falsifies the balance."³¹ The justice of the gods was also symbolized by the balance, for in Hittite Law §169 a petitioner addresses the sun-god as follows: ^{GIŠ}*elzi-mit-wa takna aršikkīt*, "you have planted my balance in the earth." There is also the interesting passage in which the infernal deity ^d*A-a-bi* uses a balance (^{GIŠ}.RĪN *ZI-BA-NA*).³²

Of the first of the toponyms in this line (KBo XII 42 iii 3) only the first sign is preserved. Any

restoration can therefore only be tentative. There is, however, room in the lacuna for only three signs at the most. We may exclude at the outset all toponyms in which the *u* is followed by a doubled consonant or a cluster of two consonants, since at Boğazköy such names would be spelled without initial *ú* or *u*.³³ Toponyms in which the consonant following the *u* is *ḫ* constitute an exception in this respect, since writings with initial *u* are the rule.³⁴ Thus limiting ourselves to toponyms beginning with *ú* followed by either another vowel, a doubled *ḫ*, or a single consonant, and containing only four signs at the most, we can choose from the following: ^{URU}*ú-na-li-ya*,³⁵ ^{URU}*ú-ri-ki-na*,³⁶ ^{URU}*ú-ri-iš-ša*,³⁷ ^{URU}*ú-ri-iš-ta*,³⁸ ^{URU}*ú-ru-ru-wa*,³⁹ ^{URU}*ú-i-lu-ša*,⁴⁰ ^{URU}*ú-ru-uš-ša*,⁴¹ and ^{URU}*ú-ra*.⁴² It is even permissible to include ^{URU}*šam-lu-uš-na* here, since *ú* can be read *šam* at Boğazköy in at least one case.⁴³ Of the above candidates certainly the most intriguing is ^{URU}*ú-ra*, since the merchants from this Cilician city are known to have engaged in a lucrative trade in North Syria in the days of Ḫattušiliš III.⁴⁴ Furthermore, if the restoration [^{UR}] *uZa-al-l[a-ra]*

33. ^{URU}*Uk-ki-ya* (VII 20 rev 7), ^{URU}*Uk-šu-ú* (XXXI 55 obv 2), ^{URU}*Uk-ku-e-ri-ya* (XXXI 44 il).

34. ^{URU}*U-uh-bi-u-wa* (KBo XII 53 obv i 14).

35. XXIII 11 obv ii 14.

36. KBo IV 10 rev 28; KBo XI 69 obv 3; VI 6 i 7, 12, 16; etc.

37. HT 14 16; XXV 23 obv i 9; see H. Klengel, *Gesch. Syriens* I 268⁴⁵.

38. XXV 23 obv i 34, 35, 39, 42, etc.

39. XXXIV 43 obv 5.

40. XXIII 11 obv ii 19; XXI 2 obv i 4, 6, 10, 15, etc.

41. XXVI 43 obv 40.

42. KBo II 9 obv i 12; also spelled ^{URU}*U-ra-a* (XXXI 55 obv 6; XXVI 29 9). On this city see E. Laroche, *Syria* 35 (1958) 270f. and A. Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962) 487. Its name in the Greco-Roman period was Olba.

43. J. Friedrich's *Heth Keilschriftlesebuch* II 33, sign 159 does not acknowledge this phonetic value for the sign at Boğazköy. It is proven by the alternation of spellings ^{URU}*šam-lu-uš-na-aš* (2 BoTU 23A iii 24) and ^{URU}*šam-lu-uš-na* (KBo II 12 obv ii 40, rev vi 9; KBo X 10 obv iv 12; etc.). In view of ^{URU}[*š*]*a-am-lu-ta-aš* (2 BoTU 23A iii 40) it is tempting to read also ^{URU}*šam-lu-wa-an-ta-aš* (KBo V 7 rev 18) and to consider ^{UR}.SAG *šam-lu-wa-an-da-aš* (II 1 obv i 45, ii 13, etc.) and ^{KUR}*šam-lu-wa-an-ti-ya-aš* (XXXVIII 10 rev iii 15) as containing nasalized *a*-vowels in their first syllables.

44. C. H. Gordon, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," *JNES* 17 (1958) 28–31; E. Laroche, *Syria* 35 (1958) 270f.; W. F. Albright, "Abraham and the Caravan Trade," *BASOR* 163 (1961) 44–54.

28. Cited by E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* 78⁸⁹. See also Klengel, *MIO* 8 16 and 21²⁹.

29. ZA 53 (1959) 182–3.

30. On these see A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*² 64–81; P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*; and H. Lewy in *CAH*², vol. 1, ch. 24.

31. ZA 53 (1959) 183⁴⁹.

32. Otten, ZA 54 (1961) 130–1 (iii 19–20): "scrutinize silver (and) gold, iron (and) tin, lapis lazuli (and) carnelian by means of the balances!" This request is made to the deity^d *A-a-bi*, who is at this juncture being invoked through a ritual pit. For the deity and a discussion of such pits and their use see Hoffner, *JBL* 86 (1967) 385–401. The reading ^{GIŠ}.RĪN instead of ^{GIŠ}NUNUZ (more commonly used by Hittitologists) was suggested to me by Professor Goetze. It is justified by the manner in which this word appears as a loanword in Akkadian, *gišrinnu* (CAD G 107a), as well as by the syllabic spellings of the Sumerian in the vocabularies (*giš-ri-in* in Diri, *mé-eš-ri-in* in Proto-Diri 168).

be accepted for the other toponym in this line, we would be confronted with two cities localized by several scholars in the southern or south-central portion of Asia Minor.⁴⁵ If the first city mentioned in this line is Ura, the attempt to date this text (KBo XII 42 and its duplicate) becomes important for the determination of how much earlier than the time of Hattušiliš III the merchant colony operated out of that Cilician city.

4. The terms *iyata* (HWb, p. 81 under *iyatar*) and *tameta* (HWb, p. 208) are virtually synonymous. The HWb gives "Fülle, Überfluss" for the former and "Üppigkeit" for the latter. *iyata(r)* is found in the following texts: [...]-tar *i-ya-tar i-da-a-lu*[...] (XXIII 40 obv 3, a historical fragment); *ut-ne-ya*[...] *i-ya-ta ta-mi-e-ta ki-i-ša* (VIII 22 iii 2-3; space to accommodate perhaps three signs before *i* in the lacuna at the left end of the column); *nu* ^{DUG} *pal-ḥa-aš an-[da]-an i-ya-a-da i-[e-et]* (KBo III 7 i 17-18; Illuyankaš myth); *nu-za SĠG.BABBAR ki-iš-ri-in da-a-aš nu-za TUG x*[.....]⁴⁶ *EGIR-an-da i-ya-an-ni-iš nu-za-pa i-ya-da*[.....]⁴⁶ *nu-za EM-ŠA GA-KIN.AG Ġ-an GA da-a-aš nu-za* [.....]⁴⁶ *nu-za* ^{GIŠ} *ti-i-pa-an* ^{GIŠ} *SU.NAG.NAG da-a-aš* [.....]⁴⁶ (XII 63 rev 15-18; ritual of Zuwi); *i-ya-da dam-me-d[a]* (IV 4 obv 14; in trilingual hymn to the storm-god, of which the Sumerian version reads at this point *an-ta ḥi-in-gal* "abundance from heaven").⁴⁷ The spellings without the final *r* (i.e., *i-ya-ta*, *i-ya-a-da*, *i-ya-da*)⁴⁸ seem to be old, for they occur in texts which contain other orthographic and grammatical features which have been considered by many scholars as characteristic of Old Hittite. KBo III 7 (Illuyankaš myth) and its duplicate, XVII 5, for instance, contain several of these old features of spelling and morphology. The third person singular forms of verbs with stems in *-iya-* exhibit the *-ie-* graphic, as against the later spellings with *-iyaz(z)i* and *-iyat: i-e-et* (KBo III 7 i 14, 18), *ú-e-mi-et* (KBo III 7 i 20), *ka-le-e-li-e-et* (XVII 5 i 16).⁴⁹ The enclitic pro-

noun *-e* "they"⁵⁰ occurs twice (XVII 5 i 12, 13). The enclitic local particle *-(a)pa*, which occurs frequently in texts of the earliest historical periods (bilingual edict of Hattušiliš I [I 16], the "Menschenfresser" text KBo III 60, the Telepinuš proclamation [2 BoTU 23], historical report of reign of Telepinuš [KBo XII 8 i 9, 11], and several mythological and ritual texts not easily datable by criteria other than strictly linguistic ones) but only rarely in texts of the empire period,⁵¹ is found in KBo III 7 i 13 (*an-da-ma-pa ti-i-ya[-at?]-te-en*).⁵² The particle *-apa* is also found in close conjunction with the spelling *i-ya-da* in the ritual of Zuwi (XII 63 rev 16). The spelling *i-ya-da dam-me-d[a]* in IV 4 obv 14 without final *r* is not matched, however, by the spelling *dam-me-tar-wa-an-za* in line two of the same text, because in the latter the *r* is not final.

5. Each of the three preserved divisions of KBo XII 42, as marked off by the single horizontal lines which occur after lines 5, 9, and 14, closes with the expression *pe ḥarweni*. It would appear that this repetition is no accident, but that the text wishes to emphasize that the merchants keep at hand a large variety of goods which are thus made available to their clients. The verbal construction *pe ḥar-* has been variously rendered by different Hittitologists. Friedrich (HWb, p. 56) translates it as "hinhalten; behalten." In his translations of the fragments of the "Deeds of Šuppiluliuma" H. G. Güterbock renders the expression twice as "held"⁵³ and twice as "kept."⁵⁴ O. R. Gurney, on the other hand, suggests a translation "bring" in his discussion of the oracle text from Alalakh.⁵⁵ The latter's argument is not

50. Friedrich, ZA NF 2 239ff.; *Heth. Elementarbuch*² 63, §102b.

51. Carruba, Or NS 33 (1964) 418¹.

52. This reading, which was already suggested by the translation of A. Goetze in ANET² 125b ("Come ye to my aid!") in 1955 and is adopted also by Carruba (Or NS 33, 1964, 420), is rejected by E. Laroche (RHA 77, 1965, 66) in favor of *an-da-ma 'PA'-ti-i-ya-[x-x]-x-te-en* but with no explanation for the new reading. There may be a problem in justifying the *-at?*- (no question mark or brackets in Carruba's transliteration!) with the traces, but the joining of the *pa* with the preceding *an-da-ma* is much to be preferred to Laroche's *'PA'-ti-i-ya-[x-x]-x-te-en*.

53. JCS 10 (1956) 67 and 80.

54. *Ibid.* 60 and 76.

55. D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* 117¹.

45. E. Laroche, *Syria* 35 (1958) 270f.; J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *Geogr. of the Hittite Empire* 63-4.

46. Space in the lacuna to accommodate about 10 more signs.

47. E. Laroche, RA 58 (1964) 72-3 with brief comment on meanings of *dammeda* ("abundance") and *iyata* "fertility" on the bottom of page 77.

48. Friedrich, *Heth. Elementarbuch*² 33, §30.

49. Otten and Souček, AfO 21 (1966) 7.

convincing. "To have ready/at hand," "to hold in readiness" or "to have in one's possession" seem to be the most satisfactory renderings of this construction. Particularly instructive for the present context in KBo XII 42 is Hittite Law §III, in which the construction *pe harzi* — for the purposes of the formulation negated here — describes the merchant as having in his possession his *aššu* ("goods"), for *aššu* is one of the expressed objects of *pe harweni* in KBo XII 42 iii 10.

6: NAM.RA in Sumerian means "that which is seized" (from the Sumerian verb RI "to seize").⁵⁶ The Akkadian translation of NAM.RA was *šallatu*.⁵⁷ This Akkadian noun denotes that group of persons, animals, and items of moveable property which comes under the control of a conquering army and its leaders. Since all members of this group are transportable, they may at the bidding of the leader(s) of the conquering force be relocated in some other geographical area under the control of that army. As has been recognized long ago,⁵⁸ the Hittite texts include in the NAM.RA classification no livestock or non-living items, for these are often specified alongside of NAM.RA with the terms *šaru* ("booty"), GUD ("cattle"), and UDU ("sheep"). Thus in Hittite texts the NAM.RA.MEŠ or NAM.RA.ḪIA are living persons some of whom may have been among the soldiers in the defeated army, but most of whom are civilian elements such as wives, children, the elderly and infirm, and the servants of the conquered people.⁵⁹ Such colonies of resettled persons are attached by the king to a particular locality, from which, as semi-free persons, they are not permitted to depart. If they flee or are kidnapped from their assigned location, the king orders that they be returned from the country where they have found refuge. Since it does not appear that such persons become the slaves of individual Hittites but constitute a class of persons under restrictions imposed by the crown, we must not consider them to be slaves whom the merchants intend to market in KBo XII 42. Yet

some explanation must be advanced for the employment of the term in the context of this description of merchant activity. The boastful tone of the entire text is evident from the repeated use of the adverb *mekki* (lines 6, 8, 9, 13). An examination of the verbs in the context reveals that *pe harweni* takes as its objects the non-living (or better, inanimate) items *iyata*, *tameta*, *ḫalkiyaš*, GEŠTIN.ḪIA-*aš*, *aššu*, KÛ.BABBAR, GUŠKIN, etc. *Nanniyaweni* (line 8), on the other hand, governs the terms for livestock, while *wedaweni* describes the action performed on the NAM.RA.ḪIA. The merchants have in their possession and keep at hand the various items of food and valuables; they drive along in their caravan numbers of cattle and sheep; and they bring along with them a large company of NAM.RA people. If this company of semi-free persons is not a pool from which individual slaves can be removed and sold, then why do the merchants bring them along on the expedition? It has been claimed that such colonies of NAM.RA people were bound to a locality and could not be removed on pain of royal action against the responsible agent who removes them. Yet it was within the normal prerogatives of the king himself to decide to relocate such a colony. And since merchants often operated under royal orders, especially when they engaged in the ancient equivalent of what we would call "interstate commerce" today, it is possible that this colony of NAM.RA was being transported to a new home under royal command in the company of the merchants of Ura and Zallara.

Mekki (see also line 8) has been translated above as "in large numbers" or "in large amounts." Although the *HWb* recognizes an adverb *mekki*, it attributes to it only the meaning "sehr."⁶⁰ The corresponding adjective, *mekki-*, is defective in its declined forms.⁶¹ The Hittite noun represented by the logogram NAM.RA.ḪIA is *arnuwaluš* (acc. pl. of *arnuwala-*).⁶² If *mekki* is to be understood as an attributive adjective modifying *arnuwaluš*, one might expect the form **meggauš*. In order to express the notion of large quantity the Hittite scribes utilized other expressions in addition to *mekki-*. A large amount of grain was often

56. Delitzsch, SG1. s. v. ri, Deimel, ŠL II 580ff., sign #328 (RA).

57. *Ibid.* Most of the discussion of NAM.RA in the Hittite texts which follows is summarized from the fundamental discussion by Götze in AM 217ff. Other contributions to the subject have been made by Laroche, RA 43 72ff. and S. Alp, JKF 1 113-5.

58. See Götze, AM 218. 59. *Ibid.*

60. *HWb* 140.

61. *Heth. Elementarbuch*² 49-50, 128.

62. Alp, JKF 1 113-135; *HWb* 32.

described as *ishuešni* "in a heap."⁶³ Large numbers of soldiers were said to either attack the enemy or be killed *pangarit* "in hordes."⁶⁴

8: The verb *nanna-* (HWb, pp. 148–9) commonly portrays the driving of livestock. Compare Götze-Pedersen, *Muršilis Sprachlähmung*, pp. 14–5 as well as XII 8 obv i 3, where the object is GU₄.MAḪ.

9: *Ḫalki-* is attested with at least⁶⁵ two significations: (1) often it denotes nothing more specific than "cereal, grain" (HWb, p. 47); but (2) in some contexts it must be defined as a particular variety of cereal, namely the main staple, "barley." In this respect *Ḫalki-* merely duplicates the semantic range of the corresponding Akkadian term *še'u* "cereal, barley."⁶⁶ A. Kammenhuber has already indicated this restricted usage of *Ḫalki-* for "barley" in her discussion of the Hittite hippological texts,⁶⁷ but the same usage is found in other texts as well. In the Telepinuš myth, first version, A I 14, *ḫal-ki-iš* is grouped with ZÍZ-tar ("emmer").⁶⁸ *Ḫalkiš* is also paired with *kar-aš* ("wheat"?; HWb Erg. 1, p. 9)⁶⁹ in XVII 10 obv i 14; XXIV 9 ii 44; and XXVII 67 obv ii 4.

63. Götze, *Madd.* 62–4. for the formation compare *tapešni* "formerly" from **tapeššar* HWb 211.

64. HWb 157.

65. I was aware of the two "meanings" given above before the composition of this article. In this comments on the present section of this manuscript Professor Goetze wrote: "My Dictionary article '*Ḫalki*' sets up the following major 'meanings': (1) 'barley (the main staple)'; (2) 'grain (like German Korn) (general term for any cereal)'; (3) 'crop'." Because I have not seen his Dictionary manuscript, I cannot, of course, assess the third "meaning."

66. Only "Getreide" in Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch* (1896) 631a; but already "Getreidekorn, Getreide; Gerste; Kost" in Bezold, BAG 260a (1926); "Gerste, Korn, Getreide" in Deimel, ŠL II 688, entry 367:14.

67. *Hippologia Hethitica* (1961) 312. Even earlier see Laroche, RHA 53 (1951) 68²⁴.

68. That ZÍZ-tar in Hittite texts should be rendered "emmer" rather than "spelt" has not been recognized by Friedrich (HWb 301), although this identification of Sumerian ZÍZ, Akkadian *kunāšu*, Aramaic *kunnātā* and other cognates was demonstrated long ago by Hrozný (*Getreide* 58ff.).

69. That the signs *kar-aš* are to be read phonetically, as Laroche has claimed (RHA 53, 1951, 68; RA 48, 1954, 49), may be correct. What is not clear is the morphological significance of the final *š*. Some evidence seems to suggest that the word is a neuter *š*-stem. For example, in XXIV 14 i 10 *nu 1 UP-NU kar-aš ma-al-la-an* the participle *malla*n is a neuter nom-acc. sg., and the

GEŠTIN.ḪI.A-aš (B: GEŠTIN-aš) probably refers to grapes, the harvest of the vine, as *ḫalkiš* denotes the harvest of the grain fields. The fruits of the grape vine were sometimes transported as raisins (GIŠ.GEŠTIN.ḪĀD.DU.A)⁷⁰ or as wine (GEŠTIN or *wiyanaš*). Among the qualitative terms for wine in the Hittite texts are: "good wine" (SIG₅-antan GEŠTIN-an),⁷¹ "new wine" (GEŠTIN.GIBIL),⁷² "sour wine" (GEŠTIN EM-ŠA),⁷³ "sweet wine" (GEŠTIN.KU₇),⁷⁴ and "honeyed wine" (GEŠTIN.LĀL).⁷⁵ Honeyed beer (KAŠ.LĀL) was also prepared by the Hit-

text continues with *na-at šal-ga-mi*, the *-at* being the neuter enclitic pronoun resuming *kar-aš*.

70. HWb 273. The Akkadian equivalent is *mu(n)-ziqū* (AHw 692a) which is found only in Middle and Late Babylonian texts. If the *n* is secondary in this Akkadian word, there is a remote chance that the root is the same as West Semitic *šmq* "raisins," with a metathesis. See also MSL 5 93 and ZA 8 198 rev 8.

71. KBo III 36 obv 12. See also Hoffner, RHA 80 (1967) 21–2 and fn. 7. For *karānum ṭābum* in Old Babylonian see VS 16 52 14 and 17 and ARM 9 17 9 and 12. In the latter passage it is contrasted with *karānum UŠ* ("second quality wine(?)"); see AHw 446–7. The same use of contrasting terms, *yn ṭb* versus *yn d l ṭb* may be found in Ugaritic (UT text 1084: 1–2). C. H. Gordon comments that "it is possible . . . that *yn ṭb* is resinated, while *yn d l ṭb* is unresinated wine; Greeks still prefer the resinated" (UT 406 s.v. *ṭb*). See also AfO 18 330 and 340 for types of wine in Neo-Assyrian texts.

72. X 48 obv i 4; XXV 14 obv iii 2, 4, 9, 11. For GIŠ.GEŠTIN *eššu* and GEŠTIN *ellu eššu* in Akkadian texts see CAD E 375b. For the contrasting of GIBIL with LIBIR.RA in Hittite texts and examples of the usage of both with foodstuffs see Hoffner, RHA 80 (1967) 17¹. It would appear that Ugaritic *ḫdl* (like Akkadian *eššu*, but unlike Hebrew *ḥādāš*) was employed to designate "fresh" fruits as opposed to aged or stale ones.

73. KBo XV 37 obv i 61, iii 65; ABoT 7 obv i 11 and FHG 9 i 5. See RHA 80 (1967) 21⁶ and CAD E 153a s.v. *emšu* A. Note that A.BIL.LĀ and GEŠTIN.BIL.LĀ are to be read *ṭābāti*, which may be relevant to the remarks about resinated wine being *karānum ṭābum* and *yn ṭb* in fn. 71 above. See also AHw 215a and 447a. In Ugaritic *ḫmš* = "vinegar" (UT 397, entry 878).

74. KBo II 4 obv ii 15, rev iii 18; X 13 rev iv 11; see Goetze, JCS 5 (1951) 67f. Since wine which has been mixed with honey (LĀL) is called GEŠTIN.KU₇ in XII 5 obv i 21, it is likely that GEŠTIN.KU₇ elsewhere also designates honeyed wine. See Hoffner, RHA 80 (1967) 22⁷. That GA.KU₇ in some contexts might also (like Homeric *melikrēton*) denote honeyed milk is suggested in JBL 86 (1967) 394.

75. VBoT 58 iv 21 (RHA 77, 1965, 85f.), XXVII 49 rev iii 37.

tites.⁷⁶ The sweetening of wine with honey is also suggested by the lines in the Ugaritic epic of KRT (C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* 250–1, lines 71–2, 164–5) in which the *yn* (“wine”) of the first line is in poetic parallelism with *nbt* (“honey”) of the second line. C. H. Gordon has compared the KRT passage with the Homeric use of *meliēdēs* to describe wine (*Iliad* IV 346, VI 258, X 579, etc.) and the noun *melikrēton* (“honeyed beverage”) which usually denotes a mixture of milk and honey.⁷⁷ Undiluted honey was often used as a libation to the gods along with beer and wine.⁷⁸ “Fresh honey” (LĀL.GIBIL) is mentioned in X 48 obv i 4 and IX 16 obv i 20.

10: One reading for the logogram KÛ.BABBAR at Boğazköy is certainly suggested by the rebus writing ^{URU}KÛ.BABBAR-ša (^{URU}*Hattuša*): **hattuš*.⁷⁹ But was there any other term for silver in use among the Hittites? E. Laroche has recently proposed on the basis of a trilingual text found at Ras Shamra that the Hittite adjective *dankuli-* (reduced from **dankuili-*) means “made of tin.”⁸⁰ He also proposed that at the base of this adjective is the term **dankui-* “tin” (literally, “the dark one”).⁸¹ The text from which he draws this equation (RŠ 25.421, line 21) is still unpublished, so that we must provisionally accept this identification on Laroche’s authority until such time as hand copies of the text allow others of us to check and control the passage. Admittedly, the etymology sounds queer, for one thinks of tin as being a bright metal, not a dark one. If, however, Professor Laroche has correctly interpreted this text and no mistake was committed by the scribe responsible for the Hittite version, we are in possession of unmistakable evidence that at least one metal was called by a name which denoted “color” (one feels uncomfortable using the term *color* for white and black). If tin (or some other metal?) can be called “the dark (one),” it also is to be expected that other metals may be called “the white (one),” “the red (one),”

etc. It is worthy of note that in many of the languages of the Mediterranean basin the word for silver is either identical with or derived from a word meaning “white” or “bright.” In Egyptian the word is *ḥd*;⁸² in Greek *arguros*;⁸³ in Latin *argentum*;⁸⁴ in Semitic *kaspu*;⁸⁵ and in Sumerian KÛ.BABBAR.⁸⁶ The form which Laroche adduces for tin, **dankui-*, is a neuter substantivized adjective. The corresponding form of the adjective “white” would be **ḥargi* or **ḥarki*. Now Laroche has also shown that phonetic complements for the logogram KÛ.BABBAR in Hittite texts suggest at least three possible underlying forms: (1) an extension in *-ant-* of the proper name of a personage “Silver,” (2) the Hurrianism *ušḫuni-*, and (3) another non-Hurrian neuter noun with a stem in *-i*.⁸⁷ One passage which he cites, although in a broken context, is of interest because of the similarity to the lexical entry to be discussed below. It is: KÛ.BABBAR-*i* GUŠKIN-*an* š_i-ú-na-aš (IBoT II 121 obv 16). Both metal names may govern the following genitive, since in Hittite the genitive, which normally precedes its governing noun, often does follow that noun when the latter is a logogram. Thus the above passage might be translated “the silver (and) gold of the deity.” At least it does not seem likely that KÛ.BABBAR-*i* is here a dative-locative, but rather a neuter nom.-acc. of an *i*-stem substantive. The lexical text to which reference was made above is KBo I 42 rev iv 9. This text is part of a Boğazköy copy (if not a separate Boğazköy version) of the lexical series IZI = *išātu*.⁸⁸ Unfortunately the Sumerian and Akkadian columns have not been preserved for line 9. The Hittite column reads DINGIR-LIM-aš KÛ.BABBAR-*i*, which in my opinion makes no sense when interpreted as “to/for the silver of the deity.” Rather I would normalize the Hittite column as **šiunaš*

82. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³ 583b.

83. Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* 236b; for the etymology of *arguros* see H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 134.

84. Cassell’s *New Latin Dictionary* 57a.

85. Akkadian *kaspu(m)* (AHw 454a), Ugaritic *ksp*, Hebrew *kesep* (**kasp*). For etymological remarks see Eilers, WdO 2 (1957) 322–337.

86. See Eilers, *op. cit.* 87. RHA 79 (1966) 175.

88. RHA 60 (1957) 84, entry 561. Landsberger considers the material listed under this entry to be a Boğazköy version of the series IZI = *išātu*. See H. Schuster, ZA 44 (1938) 268⁵.

76. VBoT 58 iv 21; XXX 32 rev iv 8. RHA 80 (1967) 21⁷, JBL 86 (1967) 394–5.

77. Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* 1097b.

78. For an example see myth of the Disappearance of the Sun (RHA 77, 1965, 87f.), A iv 9–10, “he libates unto the sun god and unto Telepinu *marnuwan*, beer, honey, (and) wine.”

79. O. Schroeder, OLZ 1915 5; F. Sommer, IF 55 172ff.; J. Friedrich, ZDMG 96 490–2.

80. RHA 79 (1966) 180. 81. *Ibid.*

hargi and translate it as a nominative: "the silver of the deity." To summarize, it is my opinion that the Indo-European appellative which was in use among the Hittites for silver was **hargi*, but that since a Hurrian term *uṣḫuni* and possibly a Hattic term **hattuš* were also known to the Hittites, these latter two terms (especially the former) might have been employed on occasion to designate the metal. This is only an opinion, but I believe that the several lines of circumstantial evidence adduced above make it as plausible as one can expect short of a bilingual text or a correspondence between KÜ.BABBAR and **har-gi/ha-ar-gi* in duplicates of the same text.

The principal known source of lapis lazuli (NA₄.ZA.GIN; Akkad. *uqnû*) was far to the east in Afghanistan.⁸⁹ Yet at least one Hittite text⁹⁰ mentions a Mt. Takniyara as a source of lapis lazuli. Now the location of Mt. Takniyara has not been determined, but the name itself certainly bears a striking resemblance to Anatolian toponyms in *-iyara* and *-ara*: Zunnahara, Hara-hara, ^{1D}Daḫara, Iṣṭahara, Zithara, Šaḫḫiyara, Tuḫmiyara, ^{HUR.SAG}Šummiyara, Manaziyara, Hatkara, Zallara, Gazzimara, etc. In fact, it is possible that the name Takniyara contains the Hittite noun *tekan* (gen. *taknaš*) "earth, nether-world." Therefore, a source of lapis lazuli in Asia Minor itself is still at least possible.

11: "Babylonian stone" (NA₄.KĀ.DINGIR.-RA) seems to be found only in Hittite texts to date.⁹¹ Previously unlisted citations are XXVII 67 obv ii 60, rev iii 61, rev iv 34; XXIX 4 obv i 10,

89. Thus the Egyptians purchased the stone through intermediaries from *Tfrr*, a land which Lucas and Harris believe to be a trading station situated somewhere on the route to Afghanistan, the mountains of which contained mines for lapis lazuli (A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Minerals and Industries*⁴ 400). See also Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* I 60-1. The stone was known in Akkadian by a number of names: *uqnû*, *zaginduru*, *zagingišdīlû*, *zagingutukku*, *zaginnu*. Because lapis lazuli was commonly imported by Mesopotamian peoples from the Iranian plateau, the Kerkha River, which flows from thence, was called *Uqnû* by the natives (E. A. Speiser, *Oriental and Biblical Studies* 31-33; article originally published in *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich* 473-485). Speiser believes that the Hebrew term for lapis lazuli was *šōham*. See also J. M. Sasson, *JESHO* 9 (1966) 167.

90. KBo IV 1 obv i 36 and duplicate II 2 obv i 45. See J. M. Sasson, *JESHO* 9 (1966) 167³ and E. Laroche, *RHA* 79 (1966) 171 and 176-7.

91. HWb 279; E. Laroche, *RHA* 79 (1966) 178.

14, 17; XXXIX 45 obv 9; KBo XI 14 obv i 10, ii 11; and here (KBo XII 42 rev 11). It is not unusual that these merchants dealt in iron, copper, and tin (lines 10-11), since trade in metals such as these was lively between Asia Minor and the lands to the south and east. No tin was mined in Asia Minor, but it was imported by the Assyrian merchants of Kanish.⁹²

The *dušû* stone (NA₄.DU₈.ŠŪ.A) is not identified by the CAD with any specific variety of mineral,⁹³ but its color is described as "either yellow or orange."⁹⁴ The Boğazköy passages which contain this stone name are not cited. The word is used outside of Boğazköy to describe tanned goat or sheep hides. Von Soden⁹⁵ defines *dušû* as "Quartz, Bergkristall," but likewise utilizes no Boğazköy passages. Götze cites KBo IV 1 obv 21 and VII 48 obv 11 in the *Nachträge* of A. Deimel's *Šumerisches Lexikon* II 1136. In addition NA₄.DU₈.ŠŪ.A occurs in the following texts: II 2 obv i 23, 30, 46, ii 17, 21, 28; IX 33 obv 14; XXIX 4 obv i 10, 17; KBo IX 91 obv 9; 146 obv 25; and here (KBo XII 42 iii 11). The color suggested by the CAD (orange-yellow) is everywhere appropriate. As studding for the image of the night goddess in XXIX 4 obv i 10, 17, it represents the yellow luminaries in the night sky. In KBo IX 91 obv 9 it is the material from which the pommel (literally "head" = SAĜ.DU) of a golden dagger is made.

The signs UR[UDU ZABAR] in KBo XII 42 iii 11 are restored on the basis of the expected sequence (e.g., in II 2 obv ii 17, 21, 28). The native term (probably Hattic) for iron, which would have been read for AN.BAR in line 11, was *ḫapalki*- according to E. Laroche.⁹⁶ This term found its way into the western (Levantine) dialects of Akkadian as *ḫabalginnu*.⁹⁷ Since the *H* volume of the CAD was published (1956) before

92. Although Cassiodor ascribed the discovery of tin and lead to King Midas of Phrygia and small deposits of cassiterite may be found near Darmanlar, Eskişehir, in Central Anatolia, and near Uşak in the Murad Dağ, and although stream tin vein ore can be found near Kastamuni, Sivas, and Tillek, there is no reason to believe that these tinfields were exploited in antiquity (R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* IX 130f.). Certainly the Assyrian merchants of Kanish brought tin (*annukum*) from Ashur to Asia Minor and not vice versa (H. Lewy, *CAH*², vol. I, ch. 24, 19ff.).

93. CAD D 200f. 94. *Ibid.* 95. AHw 179b.

96. RHA 60 (1957) 10. 97. CAD H 3a.

the equation of AN.BAR with Hittite *ḥapalki*- was adduced by Laroche,⁹⁸ *ḥabalginnu* is not defined as "iron."⁹⁹ von Soden too is reluctant to define *ḥabalg/kinnu* as iron in the El Amarna texts and prefers "eine Eisenlegierung?"¹⁰⁰ Doubtless one reason for the hesitancy is the knowledge that there was already available to the scribes both in Akkadian and in West Semitic languages a word for iron, *b/parzillu*, itself a word of unknown linguistic origin. Still all references to iron in the El Amarna tablets employ AN.BAR, there are no phonetic spellings there for *parzillu*. The term *ḥapalki*- is found at Boğazköy not only in Nesite texts, but in Hattic and Hurrian ones as well. What has not been noticed yet is that, just as other metal names appear in Anatolian toponyms (^{URU}KÜ.BABBAR-ša,¹⁰¹ ^{URU}Kurupzina¹⁰² and perhaps also ^{URU}Wašḥaniya¹⁰³), so also this Hattic(?) word *ḥapalki*- may also occur in the toponym ^{URU}Ha-wa-al-ki-na (VII 24 rev 9) also spelled ^{URU}Ha-wa-ar-ki-na (*Hatt.* III 9; KBo II 4 rev iv 36).¹⁰⁴

12: AN.NA (Akkad. *anaku*) "tin" (*HWB*, p. 287; Güterbock, *Orientalia* NS 12, 1943, pp. 149ff.; B. Landsberger, *JNES* 24, 1965, pp. 285-296). The ore was not mined in Asia Minor but is already attested in the Cappadocian texts and in the earliest Hittite texts (Anitta: XXXVI 98b rev 14).¹⁰⁵ AN.NA/*an(n)aku* occurs often in lists of metals such as KÜ.BABBAR GUŠKIN AN.BAR AN.BAR GE₆ AN.NA (XV 9 rev iii 34, etc.). Because of its bright beauty AN.NA was used to plate scepters (XXXVIII 10 iii 9) and other objects, including statues (XXXVIII 1 iv

3-4). From the practice of constructing statues of several different metals arose the symbolic language of the prayers and eulogies, in which the king is said to have a frame made of AN.NA, a head of iron, etc. (XXIX 1 ii 52).¹⁰⁶ Tin is not a strong metal. It was used, therefore, only for plating the surfaces of statues. Yet in XXIX 1 i 49 the king figuratively puts AN.NA and iron into the hearts of the timbers to be used in the building of his palace in order to increase their strength.

The particle *imma*, found here (KBo XII 42 iii 12) in the construction *kuit kit imma*, was originally studied and defined by Sommer, Götze, and Friedrich (see literature cited in *HWB*, p. 82). Recently Otten (in L. Rost, *MIO* 4, pp. 332f.) has concluded that in some of its usages *imma* indicates the rhetorical question. It seems to this writer that such a usage is merely an extension of the more customary meaning "even, actually," regularly attributed to this particle by other Hittitologists. Nonetheless, in the constructions *kuiš(-aš) imma* (XIV 3 iii 43-4; XII 27 rev 19-20; XXX 10 obv 11; IV 47 i 9; XXIV 14 i 8; etc.), *kuiš(-aš) imma kuiš* (XIII 4 i 45; XV 31 i 38; KBo V 11 i 26; etc.); *kuiš(-aš) kuiš imma* (XIII 4 iii 52); *imma kuiš* (XXXIV 39 + 80/e + 1213/c, obv ii 25); *kuwapi imma kuwapi* (XV 31 i 38); and *kuwapit imma kuwapit* (IX 27 i 42) the previously determined generalizing force of *imma* ("ever" in "whoever," "wherever," etc.) remains valid.

13: *Šaklai*- (*HWB*, p. 176) "custom, usage; rite." In KBo XII 42 iii 13 the thought is probably "customary (wares)." The basic concept behind the word is that which is customary, usual, or normal. In XXVI 1 iii 29 (von Schuler, *Heth. Dienstanweisungen*, p. 13) it signifies death as the normal lot of man. In Paškuwatti's ritual against impotence (IX 27 i 28-9) the practitioner says to the client who has removed women's clothes and donned men's: "See! I have taken womanliness away from you and given you manliness in its stead. You have cast off the *šaklin* (customary behaviour?) of a woman; now show the *šaklin* of a man!" In such a context the

98. CAD I/J 321b (1960) simply calls it "*ḥabalkinnu* metal;" CAD S (1962) 203b s.v. *šippatu* first takes notice of Laroche's equation of *ḥapalki* with iron.

99. CAD H (1956) 3a simply calls it "a metal or alloy used for weapons."

100. AHw 301b.

101. Götze, AM 324-5.; see above on fn. 79.

102. Hoffner, JAOS 87 (1967) 184a.

103. Called to my attention by Professor Goetze; see Götze, RHA 36 (1939) 105. The toponym would be based upon the Hurrian word for silver, *uškū(ni)*- (see also E. Laroche, PRU 3 314⁵).

104. The *r/l* alternation in Hattic is well known. See also Hoffner, JAOS 87 (1967) 184.

105. See above fn. 92. On the tin vs. lead debate over AN.NA/*an(n)aku* see also J. Laessle, *Acta Orientalia* 24 (1959) 83-95; H. Limet, *Travail du métal* (1960) 66ff.; T. Jones, JCS 15 (1961), 114f. fn. 2-3; Hallo, BiOr 20 (1963) 137.

106. A. Goetze's rendering 'steel' (with footnote "Literally: tin") in ANET² 358a is, of course, only an attempt to accommodate the literal meaning of AN.NA ("tin") to the apparent requirements of the context (the frame is to be made of something strong).

symbolic manipulations of garments reflects the closeness of meaning between "customary attire" and "customary behavior." Our English word "habit" shares this same ambiguity. In the enthronement ritual (XVII 31 obv i 21; studied recently by H. M. Kümmel¹⁰⁷) for the substitute king the text states: "then to the new king the 'habit' of kingship is given."¹⁰⁸ In KBo XII 42 iii 13 *ša-ak-la-a-iš* (nom. sg.) occurs in clause final position as a predicate noun without the verb "to be" (*ešzi*) expressed. The suppression of forms of the verb "to be" is a regular feature of clauses consisting of subject and predicate nominative, when such clauses are subordinate (i.e., governed by *mān* "if, when," *takku* "if," *mahhan* "when," etc.). Another example of *šaklaiš* used in just this fashion is provided by XIII 4 iv 35-6: *nu ma-a-an ha-aš-ša-an-na-aš me-e-ḫu-u-ni DINGIR-LIM-ni ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki ša-ak-la-a-iš*, "if at the time of giving birth (there is) a customary rite for any god, . . ."

Unfortunately we do not possess the entire text of this composition. It is, therefore, impossible to determine the overall character and purpose of the piece. Yet within the portion which remains a certain organization is detectable. Each of the three consecutive sections preserved in KBo XII 42, whose limits are marked by the scribe himself by means of the single horizontal dividing lines on the tablet, conclude with the same verb form, *pe ḫarweni*. All verbs in the preserved portion of the text are present tense, first person plural forms in *-weni*. The entire preserved portion in fact constitutes direct discourse, the speakers being the merchants themselves. In the first of the three sections (lines 1-5) the merchants identify themselves by the towns from which they hail. Two towns, possibly even three, are mentioned by name in line 3. If the first is to be restored as ^{URU}*Ū-[ra-a]* and the second as [^{UR}]^U*Za-al-l[a-ra]*, then both towns would have been located in those parts of Asia Minor which were called Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, and western

Cilicia in Roman times.¹⁰⁹ Lines 4 and 5, which conclude this first section, contain the merchants' boast that they will have ready at hand, when they come to their markets, "plenty and abundance" (*iyata tameta*). The second section (lines 6-9) describes the persons brought along in the caravan of the merchants, the animals which are to be found in their herds, and the types of foodstuffs kept. The NAM.RA colony is "brought" (*uda-/weda-*) along, the livestock is "driven" (*nanniya-*), while the foodstuffs are "kept" (*pe ḫar-*). The third section (lines 10-14) contains a listing of the valuables kept in the possession of the merchants: metals, precious stones, and other appropriate wares. It is probable that the word *aššu*, which begins the list, is not a designation of some particular type of valuable item, but rather a general characterization of the specific metal and jewel names which follow it.

It was Otten's provisional estimate in the *Inhaltsübersicht* of KBo XII that KBo XII 42 and its duplicate, ABoT 49, were "probably part of a fairly large epic narrative (of the Old Hittite period?)."¹¹⁰ It is not my claim that the study of the paleography, orthography, and grammar of these two tablets presented in the preceding pages has conclusively proved that either the present copies (KBo XII 42 and ABoT 49) or their fore-runners were produced in the Old Hittite period. I do not know what considerations prompted Professor Otten to suggest a possible Old Hittite origin for the text. The linguistic evidence of these two tablets is not such as to permit one to claim that the texts are either definitely old or definitely late. As has been pointed out above, the ductus of KBo XII 42 is not that which Professors Güterbock and Otten have been calling Old Hittite. The conjunctions are not those which we regard as distinctive of Old Hittite texts (*šu* and *ta*), but are *nu* (KBo XII 42 iii 4 and 13) and enclitic *-a* (lines 9 and 10). Neither KBo XII 42 nor ABoT 49 contain any forms which are third person sg. of verbs in *-iya-*. It is therefore impossible for us to judge the age of the texts by the criterion of spellings such as *ti-i-iz-zi* or *ti-i-e-ez-zi* as opposed to the latter writing

109. See above in fn. 45.

110. Second page (unnumbered) of the *Inhaltsübersicht* of KBo XII under the brief comment describing text number 42.

107. H. M. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König* (SBOT 3) 62, line 20.

108. Kümmel reads *ša-ak-la-uš* (acc. pl.) and wishes to restore a transitive verb such as *iyanzi* ("they perform the customary rites"). XVII 31 obv i 21 shows *ša-ak-la-uš* or *ša-ak-la-iš*. I have simply chosen the latter in my translation and preferred to restore a verb such as *piyanza* ("is given").

ti-ya-zi. Nor does KBo XII 42 contain any of the other "test cases" for the Old Hittite orthography, such as *pé-e-ra-an* (for *piran*),¹¹¹ *uš-tu-la-aš* (for *waštulaš*),¹¹¹ *ku-e-en-zi* (for *kuenzi*),¹¹² enclitic dative pronoun *-še* (for later *-ši*),¹¹³ *a-ap-pa* (instead of EGIR-*pa*),¹¹⁴ temporal *ma-a-an*,¹¹⁴ conditional *ták-ku*,¹¹⁴ and many others. I have suggested above that the spelling of *iyata* and *tameta* without the final *r*, while not proving the early date of composition, is certainly compatible therewith. Unfortunately, neither can the spelling of the demonstrative *a-pé-e-ma-kán* aid us in determining the age of the text. For, of the forms of this pronoun only *a-pé-el* (KBo IV 10 obv 4; treaty with Ulmitesub of Dattassa), *a-pé-el-la* (*Taw.* II 12), *a-pé-ez* (*Taw.* IV 40), *a-pé-ez-zi-ya* (KBo IV 10 obv 13), and *a-pé-en-za-an* (IV 1+ i 17) show any regular tendency toward spellings without the extra vowel sign in the second syllable in either early or late texts. Aside from freak spellings like *a-pu-uš-ša* (XIII 33 iv 4) and *a-pa-aš-ša* (XVII 6 i 26; compare *a-pa-a-ša* in line 23), all other forms of *apa-* are always spelled

with the extra vowel in the second syllable: *a-pa-a-aš*, *a-pu-u-un*, *a-pa-a-at*, *a-pé-e-da-aš*, *a-pé-e-da-ni*, *a-pé-e*, in late texts as well as early ones.¹¹⁵

However much we might wish to be able to resolve the question of the dating of KBo XII 42 and ABoT 49 on the basis of orthography and morphology, we are forced by the limited number of significant forms available to us in these 19 lines of text to yield a negative verdict. It is impossible apart from the recovery of more of the text to determine its age on linguistic grounds. The paleography would indicate that the copies in our possession (KBo XII 42 and ABoT 49) are not old. Whether or not the text itself was composed in the early period we cannot at present know.

115. Early (= Old Hittite) texts: KUB I 16 ii 14, 38, 69, iii 23, 24, 39; KBo III 34+ ii 8; Hitt. Laws §§ 10, 23, 25, 43, 45, 50, 57, 58, etc.; and late texts: Hatt. III 63; KBo VI 29+ ii 33; XXXIII 11 obv ii 37, 39 alike give full spellings (with the extra vowel sign) of the second syllable of all forms of *apa-* except *a-pé-el*, *a-pé-el-la*, *a-pé-ez*, and *a-pé-ez-za*, which regularly lack the extra vowel sign in late texts. In the early texts one finds some "short" spellings like *a-pé-el* (KUB I 16 iii 4) and *a-pé-el-la* (2 BoTU 17A = KBo III 46, rev 35), but others which are "long" such as *a-pé-e-el-la* (2 BoTU 23A i 13, 19, Hitt. Laws § 65, 142) and *a-pé-e-el* (2 BoTU 23A i 67; Hitt. Laws § 50, 113, 162). The pl. form *a-pé-e* is spelled the same in all periods.

111. A. Kammenhuber, BiOr 18 127.

112. F. Sommer, HAB 206; Carruba, ArOr 33 (1965) 8.

113. Güterbock, ZA NF 10 (1938) 109; Carruba, ArOr 33 (1965) 16.

114. A. Kammenhuber, BiOr 18 (1961) 79f., 125; Carruba, *Die Sprache* 12 (1966) 84¹³.