

words are distinct, then all *tarna-* forms are neuter and all *tarašna-* forms common gender. This would mean restoring the KUB 3 103 rev. 9 vocabulary passage as [*mu-u*]*h-hu* = *tar-na-a*-[*an*].

A further argument for keeping *tarašna-* separate as "throat" is the adjectival form *tar-aš-ga-ni-ia-u-wa-an-za*, which occurs twice (KBo 10 37 ii 24, iii 49) in conjunction with *šeḫuganiyawanza* "defiled with urine" and *šakki[ganiyawanza]* "defiled with feces" (see Goetze, JCS 16 30 and 22 20). Since both *šakkar* and *šeḫur* are r/n-stems, an *n* has been lost in composition in these adjectives. The bodily issue *tar-aš*, which here, like urine and feces contaminates, seems to have given the name to the *tarašna-* "throat, gullet." Since it is the anus region (*arrišmet*) which is defiled with urine and feces, while it is the mouth (*aišmit*) which is *tarašganiyawanza*, it would seem that the contaminating bodily issue is phlegm/mucus from the throat. Certainly it can be nothing from the skull/cranium (*tarna-*), and "spittle" is *iššalli* in Hittite. The *taraša-* (common gender) of KBo 17 61 obv. 5 and 18 may be an animal of some kind and surely need not be related to *tar-aš* "mucus." The *taraššawala* of the Targašnalli treaty is also unrelated. The *tar(r)aškanza Mī-za* in KUB 33 86++ iii 13 (StBoT 14 56ff.), KUB 33 120 ii 34f., and possibly in Song of Ullik., 1st Tabl. A iii 34, is (in KUB 33 120 ii 34f.) a source of defilement (*aḫ-hu-iš-ki-iz-zi*), and *might* be the woman who by menstruation sheds the mucus lining of her uterus. But this last is *quite uncertain*.

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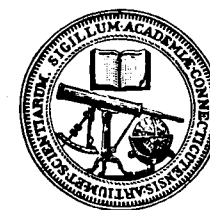
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When I learned over a year ago that a volume was planned in memory of the late J. J. Finkelstein, I had hoped to contribute a study of an Akkadian literary text from Boğazköy which he and I had several times discussed and even planned to edit together. A heavy work load has not permitted me to finish that project in time for the memorial volume. Instead I offer several short studies of Hittite terms until now not correctly understood. Finkelstein took a lively interest in Hittite lexicography and for a time assisted the late A. Goetze in the preparation of materials for a Hittite Dictionary, which unfortunately never reached publication. I hope that these lines will prove adequate to express my own deep admiration for Jack Finkelstein and my acute sense of loss at his untimely death.

ekt- "(hunting) net"

S. Alp (apud H. G. Güterbock, Kumarbi p. 43) first proposed "Fuss(?)" for this word, and subsequently (Anatolia 2 27ff.) "Bein, Unterbein, Unterschenkel." Alp's translation was influenced by his, as it proves, incorrect assumption that *ekt-* and *UZU.ekdu-* represent the same word. These translations were listed by Friedrich in HWb 81 and HWb Suppl. 2 13, and have been accepted by Hittitologists up to the present. My re-examination of older occurrences led me to separate these two words and to translate *ekt-* "net." After this article was almost complete, H. Berman in looking through transliterations of unpublished /t and /u fragments in the possession of Prof. Güterbock came upon two further occurrences, (6) and (7), of which (6) provided a vivid confirmation of my new interpretation.

Documentation: (1) [...-a]n^p a-pit-ta pé-da-ah-*hi* GIŠ.kur-ta-al-li.ĪI.A ki-it-ta [...-x e-ek-za iš-pár-ra-an-za na-aš-ta DUMU-an GIŠ.kur-ta-li-aš [...-x pá-r-ku-nu-mi (KBo 17 61 obv. 16-18). (2) li-li-wa-an-za ma-aš-ša-an ek-za-te-eš KUR-e kat-ta hu-u-up-pa-an har-zi ek-ta-aš-ma-ad-du-uš-ša-an ir-*ha*-az Ū-UL na-ah-ša-ri-ia-wa-an-za ar-*ha* Ū-UL ú-iz-zi Ū-UL pit-tu-li-an-ta-an-ma an-da wa-ar-pi-iš-ki-ši, "But your swift net holds the earth...-ed. Even he who is unafraid will not go forth (i.e., escape) from the circle of your net; you constantly enclose (therein) him who is un intimidated (by you)" (KBo 3 21 = BoTU 6 ii 15-19; cf. different translation by Alp, Anatolia 2 31); (3) 1 GA.KIN.AG 1 EM-ŠÚ 1 UDU.ÁŠ.SAL.GAR 9 NINDA.ERIN.MEŠ 2-ŠÚ 7 NINDA.SIG 1 UZU.ÚR.UDU Ē.A e-ek-za dam?-me?-ku-ul te-pu [...-ku-un-ku-ma-a-an ha-ah-*ha*-al kar-aš HAR.GIR AN.B[AR...] (list of items in a ritual fragment; KUB 39 61 i 10'-12'). (4) [...-]ŠU-NU da-a-i [...-]an-zi nu e-ek-ta-an [...-]x?-nu-zi nu-uš-ma-aš te-ez-zi (KUB 48 76 i 1-3; communicated to me prior to publication by the courtesy of Prof. H. Klengel through the hands of Dr. H. Berman); (5) [na]m-ma-wa ku-in :e-ek-ta-an ha-ma-x[...] (KUB 31 68 27; reading u-e-ek-ta-an is also possible, although it yields no known word). (6) [...-GIM-an e-ek-ta-an...] -nu-wa-an-zi nu AR-NA-BU e-ek-te-et [ap-pa-an-zi GIM-an-ma MU]Š?-an kal-mu-ši-it iš-*hi*-eš-ni-it [ap-pa-an-zi nu... QA-TA]M-MA ap-pa-an-du na-at har-ni-in-kán-du (473/t obv.?^p left 13'-15'; passage noted by H. Berman and publication right granted by H. G. Güterbock; readings and restorations mine); (7) [...-ME]Š?-aš kat-ta-an KUŠ?.BABBAR x[...] KUR URU.Ha-at-ti?i?-ma-kán e-ek-za hu-u[p?-pa-an har-zi...] (1067/u 4'-5'; passage noted by H. Berman and publication right granted by Güterbock; readings and restorations mine).

Discussion of documentation: Of the six passages certainly the key ones are (6) and (2). The *ekza* is a kind of weapon of the storm god, by which (or in which) he encloses his opponent, and from which even the fearless enemy cannot escape. It forms a circle or enclosure (*irha-*) about the trapped person. It is called "swift" (*lilwant-*) because it is cast suddenly over the victim. Passage (2) is, of course, a Hittite translation of an Akkadian hymn to the storm god. It reflects ancient Mesopotamian concepts of divine combat. Perhaps the best single artistic representation of just such a scene is the "Stele of the Vultures" of Eannatum, which shows the god Ningirsu triumphant over the enemies of Lagash. His right hand holds a club, his left hand a net which encloses a large group of naked and defeated enemies. This interpretation of (2) also leads to suggestions for translating two somewhat difficult verbs: *katta hupp-* and *anda warpišk-*. Friedrich listed E. Sturtevant's translation "to assemble, heap up" in HWb 75, and A. Goetze's "toss, fling, throw" (JAOS 74 189) in HWb Erg. 1 7, but rejected both in favor of a unifying of this *hup(p)-* with *huwap(p)-* and a translation

"mistreat, injure" for both (HWb Erg. 1 7). Friedrich made a generous use of question marks in proposing the unification and never gives specific textual evidence to show that the two writings denote the same verb. In fact, one can cite KUB 7 46 iv 9'-12' (with restorations from B = IBoT 3 114 iv 1-3): *ku-iš-wa* [(A-NA LUGAL SAL)].LUGAL a-ra-ah-zé-na-aš UN-aš [(ĪUL-lu ša-an-ah-zi n)]a-an har-zi nu-wa-ra-a-an DINGIR.MEŠ QA-TAM-MA [(IGI.ĪI.A-wa kat)]-ta hu-u-wa-ap-pa-an-du, "whatever foreigner seeks to harm the king (and) queen, he will hold him, and let the gods... him (on) the eyes!" The duplicate IBoT 3 114 iv 3 reads *hu-u-up*-[pa-an-du], which seems to confirm Friedrich's thesis that the two writings express the same verb. It is not evident, however, that a general translation "injure, damage" is to be expected here rather than something more specific. With respect to *katta huppan* it is formally possible that the verb is *huppa(i)-*, for the participles of *hupp-* and *huppa(i)-* would be identical. A *hupai-* with one *p* is known from VBoT 58 iv 33 (cf. Laroche in RHA f.77, 86 with note 11). There it expresses an action performed upon various vessels (DUG's and GAL's). Its form, *hu-u-pa-i*[-z-zi], marks it as a *mi*-verb. Possibly the same verb is found in *ki-nu-un-za hu-u-up-am-mi* (KUB 33 67 iv 18), which forms the third action in the sequence: "I will now eat and drink, I will now...". This action, however, is not necessarily transitive. Similarly open to intransitive interpretation is the form in *nam-ma LÚ.MEŠ BALAG.DI hu-u-pi-is-kán-zi* (KBo 15 69 i 11). With a double writing of the *p* but showing the -a(i)- stem ending is the verb in the phrase: *nu EN.SISKUR 7-ŠU hu-u-up-pa-a-iz-zi nu* [...] *ša-ra-pi nu pa-a-ši* (KUB 27 29++ iii 8-9). Despite the single and double writings of the *p*, I am inclined to agree with Laroche (RHA f. 77 86 note 11) that the three forms belong to the same verb. The form *katta huppan*, however, in my opinion should be kept apart from this *hup(p)a(i)-*, and should be considered as belonging to the stem *hupp-/huwapp-*. This does not mean, however, that all *huwapp-* and *hupp-* forms must belong to one verb with a unified meaning. Many can be subsumed under a general translation "to injure, harm, damage," as already assumed in the dictionaries and translations (HWb 79). Other passages do not lend themselves to such a translation. Without undertaking here an exhaustive study of all *huwapp-* forms, I should like to merely sketch the outlines of the case for keeping some *huwapp-* forms distinct.

All forms of *huwapp-* without preverb can be explained and translated as "to be hostile or ill-willed toward, do evil against." These forms always take the logical object in the dative-locative rather than accusative case: -šmaš rather than -uš or -aš (KUB 26 43 obv. 62), -ši rather than -an (KUB 26 1++ iii 43; von Schuler, Dienstanw. 13-14), A-NA "Am-mi-ŠEŠ-ma[-ká]n (KUB 13 34++ i 13f.; Werner, StBoT 4 38f.), [KU]R-e hu-u-wa-ap-pi-iš (KUB 43 75 obv. 19'; *utne* as dative-locative rather than nominative-accusative), -mu can be either accusative or dative-locative in Hatt. i 34, KUB 21 17 i 9. The absence of clear accusative forms and the presence of clear dative-locative ones leads us to the conclusion that *huwapp-* "to be/do evil towards" always governs the dative-locative case. *kuitki* in KUB 26 1++ iii 43 is adverbial, as recognized by von Schuler. Several passages (KUB 13 34++ i 13f., KUB 26 1++ iii 37-44) suggest a translation "to seek to incriminate, cast aspersions on," fitting also for Hatt. i 34 and KUB 21 17 i 9.

On the other hand, the forms of *hupp-* and *huwapp-* with preverbs govern objects in the accusative case: KUB 7 46 iv 9'-12' (see transliteration, translation, and discussion above), *nu ku-wa-bi an-da hu-u-up-pa-an-du-uš* NA₄.ĪI.A ú-e-mi-ia-an-zi (VBoT 24 ii 20, passive participle modifying NA₄.ĪI.A). These latter verb forms resemble syntactically the forms of *hupp-* without preverb which likewise take an object in the accusative: *še pa-a-ir* HUR.SAG-i[...] *pa-ah-hu-ur pa-ri-ir še* LÚ.NINDA.DÜ.DÜ *hu-u-up-pi-ir ku-i-da*[-... *pa-aš-ši*]-la-an šal-li-in ša-an ha-at-ta-an-ni-ir ša-an ša-mi[-nu-ir] (KBo 3 34:2ff. = BoTU 12A §1), where I construe *hupp-ir* with [*pašši*]lan šallin. Since there seems to be a noun *huppa-* (stem vowel uncertain) which designates an object into (or onto) which items can be poured or heaped up (*hu-u-up-pi-iš-ši šu-uh-ha-an-z[i]*) (KUB 43 30 iii 15' and 17', cf. also KUB 27 29++ iii 7-8), which could be something like a "pile(?)," or "heap(?)," both *hupp-* and *huppai-* (for the latter KUB 27 29++ iii 8 immediately after *huppešš[i šuhhai]*) could denote piling, heaping up, stacking, or gathering into a pile. *anda huppanzi* also occurs in KBo 10 27 iv 32', but the context is not decisive for determining meaning. *katta huwapp-* occurs in three passages in which there is insufficient context to determine meaning (KUB 10 63 ii 8', KUB 35 148 iii 42, and KUB 7 57 i 7). In a fourth (KUB 7 46 iv 9-12 transliterated and discussed above) the gods are to perform this action on a person's eyes. *katta hupp-* occurs finally in the passage from which our discussion departed, KBo 3 21 ii 14-16, in which a translation "your swift net holds the (inhabitants of the) land heaped up" is certainly possible. The scene from the Stele of the Vultures shows the god's net enclosing a heap of enemy soldiers. If the verb *hupp-* does mean "to gather together into a pile," one might connect it with the glossed word *hupala-*, "fishing net" (KBo 6 29+ ii 34; Güterbock, Oriens 10 353, 362).

KBo 3 21 ii 15-19 also contains the verb *anda warpiškiši*, which I translated "you constantly enclose." For this translation I must make some justification, since the HWb gives for *anda warp-* "drinnen baden" (p. 246 s.v. *warp-*). There simply is no evidence (contra HWb 246) for preverbs with the verb *warp-* "to wash." *appanda warp-* is based upon passages such as KUB 13 2++ iii 14 (for which see H. Hoffner, AOAT 22 85 n. 23), where EGIR-*anda* is adverbial ("furthermore afterwards let the city bathe itself"). *piran para* in KUB 29 4 i 53-54 is also clearly adverbial and not preverbial. *katta warappiškizi* in KUB 45 5 ii 19' could be a preverb construction, but the broken context does not make it possible to reconstruct the action being described. Is it really "washing" here? As for *anda warp-*, I am inclined to connect the verbal element with the root underlying the expression *warpa dai-/tiya-* "to surround, enclose" (Goetze AM 237f., HWb 246). *anda warp-* occurs in two other passages: (1) *tu-zi-ma-aš-kán iš-pa-ta-za an-da* [...-k]a²-li GIM-an ĞIR-it an-da wa-ar-pa-nu-un (KBo 3 13 = BoTU 3 rev. 3'f.; ZA 44 70f.), which may describe a military maneuver in which a foe is surrounded, and (2) ("various colored wools she takes and") *na-at EGIR-pa pá-r-za ma-la-ak-zi nam-ma-at pa-ra-a ha-an-da-a-an an-da tar-na-i na-x-x an-da ŠA GI ha-pu-ú-še-eš-šar Ū* [(ŠA GIŠ.TÚG pa-an-za-ki-i)]t-ti-in wa-ra-ap-zi na-an an-da [(na-a-i na-)]at ša-an A-NA NINDA.KUR₄.RA da-a-i (KUB 7 1+ ii 14f. restored from duplicate KBo 22 145 ii), a very difficult passage to be treated in detail below. It is my opinion that this verb is based on the same proto-Indo-European root as Lithuanian *verpti*, Greek *raptō*, and Anglo-Saxon *wearp*, a verb used to describe actions of spinning, weaving, etc. In Hittite it describes winding cord about something or enclosing as in a net or snare.

Returning to the discussion of the *ekt-* documentation, the trace before the *nu* in the verb of (4) is the same as in the first verb of (6). I assume it is the same verb. Because of *išparranza* in (1), I had once thought of restoring the verb *išparnu-* in both passages. But *išparnu-* takes *watar* as its most usual object and should be translated "sprinkle," and once persons are "besprinkled" (KUB 7 57 i 8). It does not mean "veranlassen hinzubreiten; (Brücke) anlegen lassen" (HWb 90)—the object of the verb in KUB 19 9 iv 10-12 is not the bridge! Therefore *išparnu-* does not mean "to spread out" and is inappropriate as the verb taking "net" as its object. The trace in both (4) and (6) shows the extreme righthand margin of the sign had a single horizontal wedge: *ši*, *wa*, *aš*, *nu*, and even *ni* are possible.

The unpublished fragment (6) offers welcome evidence that the *ekt-* was used in hunting, for here someone catches a hare with it. Here the net would not be thrown but rather concealed under leaves, soil, or other cover and used as a snare or trap. One cannot translate "[they catch] a hare by (its) leg," for the following lines show the instrumentals are really the implements used to catch the prey (*kalmušit*, *išhešnit*). Passage (7) is less helpful because of its fragmentary state. It is barely possible that the word following *ek-za* is the verb *hup-* discussed above and describing the action of the *ekt-* in (2).

In (5) the verb may be some form of *hamenk-/hamank-* "to bind," perfectly appropriate for a net. In fact Alp (Anatolia 2 29) restored *hamank-* here. The presence of the single Glossenkeil might indicate that the word *ektan* is Luwian. But, as Berman has reminded me, the *e* vocalization is not expected in Luwian, since Nesite *e* regularly has *a* as its Luwian counterpart (cf. Laroche, DLL 134, §16). Berman and I jointly recalled the glossed *aggati-* from the Hittite translation of the Gilgamesh Epic (cf. Hoffner, Al. Heth. 125 with note 191, and now Kammenhuber, HW² 53; not in Laroche, DLL). *aggati-* translates Akkadian *nuballu*, which von Soden (AHw 2 799b s.v. "als Fangnetze") indicates can denote a net for trapping. The Luwian word is based upon the same Indo-European root (perhaps the verb **yē-* with *-k-* enlargement; cf. Latin *iaciō*, *iēcī*, and A. Walde and J. Pokorny, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen 1 199), and has nominalized with the same dental suffix, but with a vocalic insert *a*. The Luwian noun is thematic (i-stem), while the Nesite noun is consonantal stem. All of these features are regular for the two languages respectively. Since not all glossed words in Nesite texts are necessarily non-Nesite (*šakuwa* "eyes" and *šanheškimi* "I keep seeking" cited in HWb 332-3), we would prefer to consider *ekt-* as a genuinely Nesite word, and *aggati-* its Luwian counterpart. Proto-Indo-European **ye-* seems always to appear as *-e* in Nesite; cf. *ega-* "ice" from Proto-Indo-European **yeg-* (Walde-Pokorny 1 206).

Since S. Alp's 1957 study in Anatolia 2 27-31, it has been customary to regard *ekt-* and UZU.*ekdu-* as virtually synonymous. I do not agree. *ekt-* never bears the UZU determinative. Furthermore, the addition of the u-stem vowel has never been explained. At present, I have no objections to Alp's rendering of UZU.*ekdu-* as "Bein, Unterbein, Unterschenkel" (p. 28); for now I only maintain that *ekt-* be recognized as a different word, whose meaning seems quite remote from that of UZU.*ekdu-*.

(GIŠ).*hueša-* "distaff"

Based upon its occurrence in passages describing typical women's utensils, Heinrich Zimmern (ZA 35 [1924] 183 n. 1) suggested that the *hueša-* was a mirror. Hans Ehelolf (foreword to KUB 29, p. iii note 2) accepted the translation and added a semantic parallel from ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics, where the same triconsonantal root denoted both "to live" and "mirror." My discovery of a duplicate to text (6) discussed below allowed me to make the equation GIŠ.*hueša-* = GIŠ.TÚG, "distaff," and led to a thorough reassessment of the existing documentary evidence for the word.

Documentation: (1) *nu TÚG.NÍG.MÍ GIŠ.hu-la-a-li GIŠ.hu-e-ša-an-na ú-da-an-zi* "they bring women's attire, spindle and distaff (and they break the arrow and you speak thus to them: 'What is this? Is it not women's attire?')" (KBo 6 34 ii 42ff.; Soldier's Oath); (2) *a-pé-da-aš-ma-kán ŠU-i ŠA MÍ-TI GIŠ.hu-u-la-li GIŠ.hu-i-ša-an-na da-a-i nu-uš MÍ-ni-li ú-e-eš-ši-ia* "put into their hands a woman's spindle and distaff and dress them like women!" (KBo 2 9 i 27ff.; ritual and prayer to Ishtar of Nineveh); (3) EN.SISKUR.SISKUR GIŠ.hu-u-i-ša-an GIŠ.hu-u-la-li-ia [ŠU-i] an-da te-eš-ši... nu-uš-ši-š-ša-an GIŠ.hu-u-e-ša[-an GIŠ.]hu-u-la-li-ia ar-ša pé-eš-ši (mistake for *da-aš-ši*?) "I put into the hand of the patient distaff and spindle... I take the distaff and spindle away from him" (KUB 9 27+ i 20-24; ritual of Paškuwatti); (4) [...] PA-NI DINGIR-LIM-ia ku-it TÚG.ku-re-eš[-šar... GIŠ.hu-u-la-li]i GIŠ.hu-u-i-ša-an Ū-NU-UT AD.KID [...] (ABoT 26 8ff.); (5) EGIR-pa!-ma te-ez-zi nu ku-it iš-ša-an-zi a-pa-ša-aš-ši EGIR-pa te-ez-zi GIŠ.hu-u-la-li har-zi GIŠ.hu-u-šu-uš šu-u-wa-du-uš har-kán-zi nu LUGAL-wa-aš MU.KAM.ĦI.A-uš ma-al-ki-ia-an-zi "he replies: 'What are they doing?' He to him replies: 'One holds the spindle; (others) hold full distaffs. They are spinning the years of the king.'" (KUB 29 1 ii 5-8); (6) *ki-i-ma hu-u-ga-an-da¹-aš da-a-i ŠIG.GE₆ ŠIG.SIG₇ ŠIG.SA₅ ŠIG.ZA.GIN da-a-i na-at EGIR-pa² pá-r-za ma-la-ak-zi nam-ma-at pa-ra-a ha-an-da-a-an an-da tar-na-i na-x-x an-da ŠA GI ha-pu-ú-še-eš-šar Ū* [(ŠA GIŠ.TÚG pa-an-za-ki-i)]t-ti-in wa-ra-ap-zi na-an an-da [(na-a-i na-)]at ša-an A-NA NINDA.KUR₄.RA da-a-i "He takes these (items) of the enchanted person. He takes black, green, red, and blue wool and unravels(?) them and lays them together stretched out straight. The *h*. of reed and the roping of the distaff he intertwines(?). He turns them together and puts them upon the thick bread." (KUB 7 1+ ii 13-18 restored from duplicate KBo 22 145 ii); (7) *hu-i-ša-aš-wa pa-an-za-ki-it-ti-iš GIM-an ú-e-ha-at-ta DUMU-li-ia i-da-a-la-u-eš ka-ra-a-te-eš kat-ta-an ar-ša a-pé-ni-eš-ša-an wa-ha-an-du* "As the skein(?) of the distaff turns, so in the same way let the evil *karateš* turn down away from the child!" (KUB 7 1+ ii 32ff.); (8) [GIŠ.hu-u-la-li]i GIŠ.hu-e-ša-aš GIŠ.GA.ZUM (164/d rev. 10 as cited by Ehelolf in KUB 29 p. iii).

Discussion of documentation: As is already well known, the *hueša-* is paired with the *hulali-* and other characteristic female attire (passages (1), (2), (3), (4), especially). At least once (164/d rev. 10 as cited by Ehelolf in KUB 29 p. iii) it is also grouped with the comb (GIŠ.GA.ZUM). In (5), several deities are engaged in spinning the king's years. One of them holds the *hulali*, which all agree is the spindle. Others (note the plural verb) hold GIŠ.*hušuš šuwaduš*. Goetze (ANET 357) translated "mirrors (and) combs." But mirrors and combs are not used in spinning, and the following *malkiyanzi* indicates that all persons being described are cooperating in spinning the king's years. Güterbock (in RHA 14 [fasc. 58; 1956] 25 note 6, and in S. N. Kramer, Mythologies of the Ancient World, p. 149) hit upon the correct understanding of *šuwaduš*, when he translated "filled." *šuwaduš* is simply the denasalized form of *šuwanduš*. The scene can best be understood in the light of pictorial representations of spinning from ancient Egypt. These show strands of roping drawn from several distaffs being spun onto a single spindle (A. Linder, Spinnen und Weben Einst und Jetzt [Verlag C. J. Bucher, Luzern und Frankfurt/M., 1967] p. 7). Several wool sources (i.e., distaffs) are supplying the raw material for the strong yarn of the king's life. Because as the text proceeds to say there is no end of the yarn, it is also necessary to observe that the distaffs are full. Supporting this interpretation is the observation that in Latin the distaff is occasionally characterized as "full" (*colus plena*). Because of the pairing of the *hapušeššar* of reed and the *panzakitti-* of GIŠ.TÚG in (6) and the juxtaposition of paragraphs discussing the *huišaš panzakitti-* (7) and the *hapušaššan* of reed later in the same column of the same text, it is safe to make the equation ŠA GIŠ.TÚG = *huišaš*. Thus we may dispense with E. Neu's objection (StBoT 5 196, 198-9) that the form lacks the GIŠ determinative. Neu's own translation "Wie des rohen (Fleisches)(?) *panzakittiš*..." would require *huišawaš*, since the adjective is a u-stem. I have not yet seen N. Oettinger's discussion of *hueša-* in StBoT 22, on which E. Neu's rendering

1. Dupl. KBo 22 145 II 5': -ta-.

2. Dupl. a-a[p-pa].

"Wirtel" (StBoT 18 94) is based. But from the evidence which I have adduced I cannot accept the explanation of (GIŠ).*hueša*- as a "spindle whorl." As for *panzakitti*-, it is known to me only from the two passages cited here, (6) and (7). Neu cited "Bruchstückhaftes *pa-an-za-ki-id-d[u(-)]* 259/i, 3" in StBoT 5 199, but this unpublished fragment has not been available to me. The Sumerogram GIŠ.TÚG normally denotes the "boxwood tree" or its wood (Akkadian *taskarinnu*), on which see MSL 5 92 (Hh III 1) and R. C. Thompson (1949) 348 (reading *taskarinnu* instead of older *urkarinnu* established by B. Landsberger in WO 5 368ff.). On the basis of this equation one ought to regard GIŠ.*hueša*- in the first instance as the name of a tree and its wood, most likely the box (*buxus longifolia*), and secondly as the name for the distaff as an item customarily made from that wood. In Latin *buxum* denotes first the wood of the box tree, and second "flute," "pipe," or "comb," as made from boxwood. Any connection between GIŠ.*hueša*- and the verb *huiš*- "to live" would probably concern the box tree's status as an evergreen, and therefore as a perennial symbol of life.

hupp- and *huwapp*-

See above in discussion of *ekt*- "(hunting) net."

SĠG.*maišta*- "strand of yarn"

Documentation: (1) [*ma*]-*a-an* SĠG.*ma-iš-ta-an-na ma-ši-wa-an-ta-an wa-aš-ta-an-zi* "If they offend in respect to so much as a strand of yarn, (I, His Majesty, will make war from this side and you [the treaty partner] make war from the other side!" (KBo 16 47:8ff.; Otten, Ist.Mitt. 17 [1967] 56-57 and note 8); (2) [SĠG.*ma-iš-ta-an ma-ši-wa-an-ta-an le-e ap-te-ni* "Ye shall not seize so much as a [strand of yarn]" (1684/u + KUB 23 72 obv. 42; join and restoration after Hoffner JCS 28 [1976] 60f.); (3) *a-ap-pa* SĠG.*ma-iš-t[a-a]n ma-ši-wa-an-ta-an Ū-UL ap[-pa-an-zi]* "and they do not seize so much as a strand of ya[r]n." (KUB 23 72 rev. 8); (4) *a-ap-pa* SĠG.*[ma-iš-ta-an Ū-UL ap-pa-an-zi]* (KUB 23 72 rev. 15).

The identification of the SĠG sign is clear from texts (3) and (4). On the basis of the expression SĠG.*maištan mašiwantan* it is unlikely that the determinative should be read otherwise in (1), as Otten proposed in Ist.Mitt. 17. The use of *mašiwant*- suggests that the item is one of nugatory value, much as in the expression ŠA KISLAḤ *ezzan taru*. To be compared is the biblical passage in Gen. 14:23 (Hebrew *hūt*); see also M. Tsevat, JBL 87 (1968) 460, and Hoffner, Al. Heth. 33ff. The Luwian passive participle *maštaimi*- may be related, as suggested by E. Laroche (DLL p. 70 s.v.).

panzakitti- "roping(?)"

See above in discussion of GIŠ.*hueša*- "distaff."

šemeḥuna- (a foodstuff)

Documentation: (1) *še-me-e-na-aš hu-u-up-pa-ra-aš šu-u-uš* [. . .] *še-me-ḥu-ni-it šu-u-uš* (KBo 20 8 rev. 4'-6'; typical old ductus); (2) A-NA LÜ.MEŠ *a-šu-ša-a-la-aš ša-me-ḥu-na-a[n . . .] še-e-ek-ḥi-iš-mi iš-ḥi-iš-kán[-zi]* . . . *nu-uk-kán ša-me-ḥu-na-an še-e-[ek-ta-az-mi-it] la-a-an-zi* (KBo 17 37 rev. right 4'-8'); (3) [*še-me-ḥu*]-*u-na-an* BAR NINDA *ḥar-ši-in kat-ta-an ar-ḥa* [. . .] *me-ma-al še-me-ḥu-na-an* UZU.NIG.GI[G . . . A-NA L]Ü.MEŠ Ū.ḤUB *hu-u-up-pi-iš-ši šu-uh-ḥa-an-z[i]* (KUB 43 30 iii 14'-17'); (4) 10 PA ZĪ.DA *še-ep-pi-it ḥa-a-ta-an-ta-aš ša-me-e-ḥu-ni* 3 PA ZĪ.DA ZĪZ *ḥa-a-ta-an-ta-aš* (KUB 42 107 iii 8-9); (5) 1 DUG.LIŠ.GAL TU₇ *še-me-ḥu-na-aš ḥa-az-zi-la-aš* (KBo 16 49 iv 6'); (6) KUŠ UR.MAH *ša-me-ḥu-u-wa-an* [. . .] (KUB 17 34 iv 5; only remotely possible!); (7) [. . . P]A *še-me-e-ḥu-na-aš ḥa-az-zi-l[a-aš]* (KBo 16 78 iv 20).

That this is a foodstuff is clear from (5), where a soup or stew (TU₇) is made from it, and from (3) and (4), where it is grouped with meal and grains. The writings taken all together eliminate the possibilities that one read ŠE *me-ḥu-na-aš* (5) as "grain of the season" (so Kammenhuber in Or NS 39 [1970] 558), or ŠA *me-e-ḥu-na-an* as some form of the genitive. Rather the various writings suggest a vowel of indistinct quality in the initial syllable. Perhaps the word even began with a cluster *hm*, although for this one might expect a prothetic vowel, *išmeḥuna*-.

anda šekuwa-

Cornelia Burde in her monograph on the Hittite "medical" rituals (StBoT 19 [1974] 20 and 72) notes a verb *anda šikuwa*- in a broken context, for which she knew only one further, unpublished occurrence (Bo 69/556; StBoT 19 72 note t). She left the verb untranslated, but several further occurrences in published texts allow us to propose a translation for it.

Documentation: (1) [. . .] *nu tar-na-aš-še-et TUG-an ma-a-an* [. . .] *an-da-še-e-ku-e-er tar-na-aš-ša!* (KUB: *ta*)-*an* ⁴*Ku-mar-bi-in* [. . . *pé*]-*e-da-az* UR.SAG-iš ⁴*IM-aš pa-ra-a ú-it* "His skull like a garment [. . .] they sewed up (i.e., closed up the hole made in ii 36ff.). He left him, Kumarbi, [and from the 'good place' the valiant storm god came forth." (KUB 33 120 ii 73-75; cf. Goetze in ANET 121a, "they made Kumarbi's [tarnassas] secure"; P. Meriggi, Athenaeum NS 31 120ff. with note 47: "dilatere"); (2) *nu-uš-ši-kán ŠU-UR-ŠA-ŠU ar-ḥa da-a[-i . . .] an-da ši-ku-wa-iz-zi A-NA KUŠ.MA-ADP[- . . .] PIRIG.TUR ku-it ku-na-an ḥar-zi* "He takes from it (a plant?) its roots [. . . and the cavity (from which the plant was removed?)] he repairs (i.e., fills in again?). To the [. . .] because he has killed a panther . . ." (KUB 44 61 rev. 12'ff.; StBoT 19 20); (3) 1 GIŠ.*pa-aḥ-ḥi-ša* 3 GIŠ.x [. . .] *še-e-ku-wa-an-za na-aš x* [. . .] (KBo 22 135 i 3'-4').

Discussion: None of the three passages in which this verb appears is without difficulties. In some ways (1) is the clearest. As Meriggi noted (Athenaeum NS 31 121 note 47), the "birth" of the previous god ⁴KA.ZAL, in col. ii 36ff., gives light on ii 73ff. In the former place someone split open (*paršanu*-) Kumarbi's skull (*tarna*-) like a stone, and the god KA.ZAL came forth. Since in ii 73ff., it is desired to prevent the storm god from exiting from the same orifice, certain persons *anda šekuer* the skull, i.e., "mend" or "seal it up." Thus Goetze's "they made . . . secure" was quite appropriate, and Meriggi's "dilatere" was wide of the mark. (2) is difficult, and my interpretation open to many questions. But I would suggest that the hole left by the removal of the "root(s)" was closed or filled in, and that such a closing of the orifice is what is connoted by the *anda šekuwa*-. (3) is simply too broken; it seems that we have a passive participle there. I am reluctant to follow Meriggi's proposal that the verb is a variant of the verb *šakuwai*-, since the spellings with both *e* and *i* should not go with verb forms showing *a*. I do not think we have an ablauting verb here. Until one can show a closeness of meaning between the *šekuwa*-/šikuwa- verb and the *šakuwa(i)*- verb, they must remain separate.

tarna- "skull"; *tarašna*- "throat"

The problem of *tarna*- and *tar(a)šna*- is quite complicated and has most recently been discussed by E. Laroche (RHA f. 79 162). The nominative singular form *tar-na-aš* in KUB 9 34 ii 38 is to my knowledge the only form of the body-part noun *tarna*- (as opposed to the unit of measure *tarna*-) which is clearly common gender. On the basis of this *tarnaš*, common gender nominative singular, Laroche restored the vocabulary passage as [*mu-u*]*ḥ-hu* = *tar-na-a-[aš]* (KUB 3 103 rev. 9). Laroche himself acknowledged, however, (RHA f. 79 162) that since the parallel passage in KUB 9 4 i 23 has *tar-aš-na-aš*, the scribe of KUB 9 34 may have made a mistake, writing *tar-na-aš tar-na-aš-ša* GIG-an instead of the correct *tar-aš-na-aš tar-aš-na-aš-ša* GIG-an. If Meriggi's suggested reading (Athenaeum 31 [1953] 104 and note 11) [*tar*]-*na-aš-ša-an a-aḥ-ra-ma-an* in KUB 9 34 i 22 is correct, the KUB 9 34 scribe consistently wrote *tarna*- for KUB 9 4 scribe's *tarašna*-. There is no reason to assume that the two writings are the same word. Aside from the obvious correspondences between the parallel passages in KUB 9 4 and 9 34 just noted, all occurrences of *tarašna*- point to the throat or esophagus or larynx: *tar-aš-na-aš ta-aš-ku-pi-ma-an* (KUB 9 4 iii 36) and *tar-aš-ša-na-aš!* (KBo: -ni) *ta-a-aš-ku-pi-ma-an* (KBo 17 54 i 9'-10' = 165/d cited in RHA f. 79), "the wailing of the throat/larynx(?)." Those of *tarna*-, on the contrary, point to the skull or cranium. Laroche (RHA f. 79 162) admits this, but he overlooks a strong argument in favor of keeping the two words apart: the word *tarnašset* in KUB 33 120 ii 73f. (unlike the *tar-na-aš-ši-ta* in ii 38) has to be accusative singular and thus a neuter! The verb *anda šekuer* governs it directly. I would translate the context: "They closed up his skull (which had been opened—*paršanu*t (ii 36-37)—to allow the god KA.ZAL to come out) like a (torn) garment (reading: TUG-an *ma-a-an*). He left him (namely left) Kumarbi, [and] from [the good] place valiant storm god came forth" (KUB 33 120 ii 73-75). Güterbock suggested analyzing *tarnaššan* ⁴*Kumarbin* as "he left him [*tarnaš-an*] (namely) Kumarbi," a very satisfying solution, which works also in ii 37, and which eliminates a senseless vacillation in the gender of *tarna*- within the same column of the same tablet. He also suggests that *tar-na-aš-ši-ta ú-it* (ii 38) is an assimilated *tarna(z)-šit-a* "and from his t." If the few *tarna*- forms of KUB 9 34 are mistakes for the *tarašna*- of KUB 9 4, and the two

words are distinct, then all *tarna-* forms are neuter and all *tarašna-* forms common gender. This would mean restoring the KUB 3 103 rev. 9 vocabulary passage as [*mu-u*]*h-hu* = *tar-na-a-[an]*.

A further argument for keeping *tarašna-* separate as "throat" is the adjectival form *tar-aš-ga-ni-ia-u-wa-an-za*, which occurs twice (KBo 10 37 ii 24, iii 49) in conjunction with *šeḫuganiyawanza* "defiled with urine" and *šakki[ganiyawanza]* "defiled with feces" (see Goetze, JCS 16 30 and 22 20). Since both *šakkar* and *šeḫur* are r/n-stems, an *n* has been lost in composition in these adjectives. The bodily issue *tar-aš*, which here, like urine and feces contaminates, seems to have given the name to the *tarašna-* "throat, gullet." Since it is the anus region (*arrišmet*) which is defiled with urine and feces, while it is the mouth (*aišmit*) which is *tarašganiyawanza*, it would seem that the contaminating bodily issue is phlegm/mucus from the throat. Certainly it can be nothing from the skull/cranium (*tarna-*), and "spittle" is *iššalli* in Hittite. The *taraša-* (common gender) of KBo 17 61 obv. 5 and 18 may be an animal of some kind and surely need not be related to *tar-aš* "mucus." The *taraššawala* of the Targašnalli treaty is also unrelated. The *tar(r)aškanza Mī-za* in KUB 33 86++ iii 13 (StBoT 14 56ff.), KUB 33 120 ii 34f., and possibly in Song of Ullik., 1st Tabl. A iii 34, is (in KUB 33 120 ii 34f.) a source of defilement (*aḫ-hu-iš-ki-iz-zi*), and *might* be the woman who by menstruation sheds the mucus lining of her uterus. But this last is *quite uncertain*.