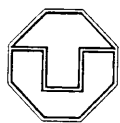


ŠARNIKZEL

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^DUTU^{AS} in Hittite Texts

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The aim of this paper is to prove the existence of a complex heterogram ^DUTU^{AS} (i.e. Akkadian ^DŠamaš) for the Hittite Sun-god.¹ The examples we are going to cite in support of our interpretation all come from the published texts found in Hattuša. Most of these texts have been identified and some even edited in transliteration,² but the heterogram ^DUTU^{AS} remained unnoticed by the scholarly world. It was consistently transliterated as ^DUTU-aš, as if it were a Hittite genitive *Ištanu^uaš.

Van Gessel (Onomastikon, p. 853) was probably the first one to set aside a group of examples where the would-be ^DUTU-aš do not succumb to syntactic analysis as genitives. He listed them under a label „nom. ^DUTU-aš“, ignoring the fact that the majority of them cannot be analysed as nominatives either. Not all of his examples stand a close scrutiny: several likely genitives ^DUTU-aš have been classified as his „nominatives“³, while some syntactically aberrant „genitives“ have been retained as „gen. ^DUTU-aš“⁴, and in one case the reading ^DUTU-aš is probably a mere error⁵. But these are quibbles.

- 1 Subject to usual disclaimers. The authors are grateful to Prof. Th. van den Hout (Chicago) for his advice on the subject matter and to Th. Wier (Chicago), who took pains to correct their style. Special thanks go to the Chicago Hittite Dictionary Project, sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the files of which have been used in the present research for dating purposes (these cases have been specially noted).
- 2 Some recent editions are cited in footnotes under respective passages. Most of our bibliographic abbreviations are those of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (CHD).
- 3 Thus e.g. KUB 45.55 +, II 1-3 ... *lu-uk-ka[t] Ḫ ÉSAG^{H1.A} [a]r[?]-ḫa[?]! pád-da-an-zi I ÉSAG ták-na-aš ^DUTU-aš I ÉSAG-ma ták-na-aš ^DUTU-aš DINGIRMES LÚMES-ia pád-da-an-zi* is plausibly translated in the CHD (with reference to Taracha, Hethitica 10, 171ff.) as "The following morning they dig out two storage pits: one pit of the Sun-god of the earth and one pit of the Sun-god of the Earth and <his> male gods", implying the genitive ^DUTU-aš whose head noun was topicalized.
- 4 Thus (4), (9)-(12). The context (1) is listed by van Gessel twice under „nom. ^DUTU-aš“ and „gen. ^DUTU-aš“ without additional comments.
- 5 KUB 43.23, Rs. 15': *nu še-ir kat-t[a] ne-e-pi-iš-za ^Dx-aš LUGAL-i [a-aš-šu] (16') ḫu-iš-ya-tar mi-ia-tar tar-ḫu-i-li GIŠtu-u-ri pi-iš-ki-i[d-du]* „Down from the sky above let the x-god give to the king [goods,] life, growth, <and> a victorious weapon“. The common reading here is ^DU[T]U-aš (thus e.g. CHD, L-N: 237b), but

Building up on van Gessel's work (as well as new KBo 42, 43), the authors of this article have been able to collect a solid array of instances where the postulation of the heterogram ${}^D\text{UTU}^{\text{Aš}}$ seems to be the only logical solution.

What follows is a list of our examples grouped by grammatical cases. It begins with the instances where ${}^D\text{UTU}^{\text{Aš}}$ stands for the nom. **Ištanuš*, followed by voc. **Ištanu(u)e*, dat. **Ištanu(u)i*, and acc. **Ištanun*. There is obviously no way to segregate the instances where the genitive **Ištanu(u)aš* is hidden under ${}^D\text{UTU}^{\text{Aš}}$.

1. „Nominative“ ${}^D\text{UTU}^{\text{Aš}}$

We have found only two cases where ${}^D\text{UTU}^{\text{Aš}}$ is a subject of a clause.

(1) KUB 23.11, CTH 142 (Annals of Tudḫalia II/I), MH/NS⁶.

Rs. III 19: *na-an-mu* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *pa-ra-a pí-i-e-ir* ${}^D\text{UTU}^{\text{Aš}}$ URU^{A-r} [*i-in-na* ${}^D\text{U}$ UR]^U HA-AT-TI (20) ${}^D\text{ZA-BA}_4\text{-BA}_4$ ${}^D\text{IŠTAR}$ ${}^D\text{SĪN}$ ${}^D\text{Li-el-ua-ni-eš}$ x[- ...

"The <following> deities handed it over to me: the Sun-goddess of Ar[inna, the Storm-god of H]atti, Zababa, Ištar, the Moon-god, Lelwani".

In this example Tudḫalia II/I boasts about his destruction of the Kaškaean army. The syntactic role of ${}^D\text{UTU}^{\text{Aš}}$ is assured by its juxtaposition with the unambiguous nom. ${}^D\text{Lelwaniēš}$.

(2) CTH 780 (Ritual of Allaiturahi)⁷

A: VS NF 12.57⁸,

Rs. IV 16': [*n*]u-uš-ši-iš-ša-an ^{SĪG} šu-i-el ku-it A-NA K[(AxU-Š)]U ḫa-ma-aṇ[(-ká)]n (17') *na-at-<(kán PA₅-aš-ša)>* *ták-na-aš* ${}^D\text{UTU-uš}$ *ki-eš-š[(ar-t)]a ḫar-zi*

(as was rightly admarginated by Prof. A. Korolëv in his copy of CHD, L-N) the restoration ${}^D\text{I}[M]\text{-aš}$, also fitting the traces of the sign, is the only one possible on the ground of textological analysis. Collation, of course, is needed in any case.

⁶ Edited by O. Carruba in SMEA 18 (1977), 158-162.

⁷ Edited by Haas in ChS I/5. Copies A, B and E correspond to Nr. 7, 8 and 10 of his edition. Haas gives the reading ${}^D\text{UTU-u}[\text{š}]$ in B, but according to both the photo (S. Košak, e-mail of 20.11.2002) and the IBoT autography ${}^D\text{UTU-u}[\text{š}]$ is impossible, we should read it as ${}^D\text{UTU}^{\text{Aš}}$. Haas did not consult the cuneiform original of B.

⁸ Formally known as Weidner 1911. See van den Hout, BiOr 56 (1999), 149 ff. and Groddek, OLZ 94 (1999), 198 for details.

B: IBoT 2.126 (+) KUB 58.109

Rs. IV 32': *nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an* ^{sfG}*šu-i-el* (33') [(*ku-it A-NA KA_xU-ŠU ḥa-m*)]*a-an-kán na-at ták-na-aš* ^DUTU^{AŠ} [*(ki-eš-šar-ta ḥar-zi)*]

E: Bo 2860

Rs. IV 9': *nu-uš-ši-eš-ša-an* ^{sfG}*šu-i-el ku-it A-NA KA_xU-ŠU* (10') [(*ḥa-m*)]*a-an-kán na-at{-kán PA₅-aš-ša}* *ták-na-aš* ^DUTU-*uš ki-eš-šar-ta ḥar-z[(i)]*

"The thread that is bound to his mouth, the Sun-goddess of the Earth holds it with <her> hand".

This passage is available in three copies, two of which have ^DUTU-*uš*, while one has ^DUTU^{AŠ}.

2. „Vocative“ ^DUTU^{AS}

The only attested case of a „vocative“ ^DUTU^{AS} is especially instructive since the parallel text has an unambiguous phonetic writing ^DUTU-*u-e*.

(3) CTH 395.1-2 (Ritual of Ḥantitaššu)

1. KBo 11.14, NS

Vs. II 4: ^DUTU-*u-e* EN-*mi*<<-it>> EGIR-*pa-ma-a*[*n pa-a-i*] (5) AMAR-*un-ma-an DUMU-la-ma-an pa-a-i*

2. KBo 17.104, NS

Vs. II 3: ... (^D)UTU^{AS} EN-*mi* (4) [(EGIR-*pa ma-a*)*n pa-a-i* (AMAR-*un-ma-an DUMU-)*]*la-ma-an pa-a-i*

"Oh the Sun-god, my Lord! Give him back to me! Give <me> my calf, my baby".

3. „Dative“ ^DUTU^{AS}

We have six examples where ^DUTU^{AS} is the beneficiary of a ritual offering and is accordingly expressed by a dative. More exactly; ^DUTU^{AS} is governed by the verbs *dai-/tiā-* 'to set (for smb.)' (4), *pai-/piā-* 'to give' (5), *ḥenk-* 'to offer, consign' (7), and by the postposition *menahḥanda* (6).

(4) KBo 13.217, CTH 750.8.A (Cult of Ziparwa), NS

Vs. III 5': ŠÀ.BA I GAL GIR₄ A-NA ^DZi-*pár-ua_a-a* (6') [I] G[AL GI]R₄ A-NA ^DKa-*taḥ-zi-uu_u-u-ri* (7') [I GAL GI]R₄ A-NA ^DUTU^{AS} *da-a-i*

"Including one vessel of baked clay for Ziparwa, [one vessel of baked clay] for Kātahzifuri, [one vessel of baked clay] for the Sun-deity, he sets <them>".

If the deities' names were gen., we should expect Akk. ŠA, not ANA.

- (5) KBo 20.92 ++, CTH 447.B (Cult of chthonic deities), MS⁹

Rs. IV¹ 2: *ki-i-ma A-NA DUTU^{AS} pí-an[-zi]*

"They giv[e] this to the Sun-goddess".

- (6) KBo 23.1 + ABoT 29, CTH 472.A (Ritual of Ammiḫatna), NS

Vs. I 12: *na-aš-ša-an KASKAL-ši ti-i-ia-zi nu NINDA KU₇ A-NA DUTU^{AS}¹⁰ (13)*
me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da pá-r-ši-ia

"(S)he steps on the road and breaks the sweet loaf facing the Sun(-deity)".¹¹

- (7) KUB 25.20, CTH 618.5 (AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival)

Rs.² IV² 6': *LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL-kán INA Ê DUT[U ...] (7') LUGAL MUNUS.*
LUGAL A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} UŠ-K[E-EN-NU] (8') I UDU A-NA DUTU^{AS} ḫi-in-k[án-zi]

"The king <and> the queen [...] in<to> the temple of the Sun-deity. The king and the queen prostrate themselves before the deity. They consign one sheep to the Sun-deity".

- (8) HFAC 54 + KBo 29.213 (+), CTH 641.2 (Cult of Išḫara), NS

Vs. 10: *nu EN.SISKUR pa-iz-zi nu-uš-ši ŠU^{HI.A}-aš ya-tar pí-an-zi nu EN.SISKUR*
A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} UŠ-KE-EN nu-kán kiš-an (11) ti-an-ti III UDU^{HI.A} ŠÀ.BA I^{EN}
UDU ŠA IGI.DU₈.A na-an-kán A-NA D Iš-ḫa-ra D BE-EL-TÛ-ma D SĪN (12) DUTU^{AS}
D Ḫal-ma D Ša-an-ga-ra D Tu-uḫ-ḫi-it-ra šu-up-pa-ia nu-kán UDU^{HI.A} A-NA PA-NI
DINGIR^{LIM} (13) ku-na-an-zi ...

"(10) The offerant goes. They give him hand-water. The offerant prostrates himself to the deity. They set thus (i.e. they prepare the following offerings): (11) three sheep including one sheep of the first quality⁹. <They set> it (i.e. this sheep) for Išḫara, Beltu, the Moon-god, (12-13) the Sun-god, Ḫalma, Šangara, Tuḫḫitra in a ritually pure way. They slaughter the sheep (pl.) before the deity".

9 Edited by Popko, Das hethitische Ritual CTH 447, Warszawa 2003; cf. also Popko's contribution in this volume.

10 The AŠ sign is provided with an exclamation mark in the autography.

11 Dupl. KBo 40.307, 4' reads: ... A-N)A DUTU {x} me-n[(a-aḫ- ...

- (9) KUB 43.23, CTH 820 (Incantation ritual for the royal vineyard), MS¹²

Rs. 35': II NINDA GUR₄.RA GÍD.DA (36') I GAL GEŠTIN I SILA₄ (37') A-NA
^DUTU^{AŠ} ^DKam-ru-še-pa

"<An offering:> two long thick loaves, one cup of wine <and> one lamb to/for the Sun-god <and> Kamrušeba".

4. „Accusative“ ^DUTU^{AŠ}

In six cases below ^DUTU^{AŠ} is best regarded as a clause direct object. In five of them we are dealing with an extremely frequent idiomatic expression ^Dx *eku-* „to drink the god x“. Scrutiny of examples collected by A. Archi in Kammenhuber, Materialien, Nr. 5 (2) proves that this construction normally requires a divine name in the accusative, sometimes (in the later language) in the dative, but never in the genitive. Thus, quite aside from the theological interpretation of this ritual act¹³, one can safely claim that **^DUTU-aš *eku-* would be a syntactically aberrant construction, while ^DUTU^{AŠ} (acc.) *eku-* „to drink a god“ in (10)-(14) is a regular one.

- (10-11) KUB 30.41 ++, CTH 669.19 (Unidentified festival), NS¹⁴

Rs. V 1: LUGAL-uš a-aš-ka-az G[UB-aš] (2) ^DUTU^{AŠ} ^DMe-iz-zu-ul-la-an e-ku-zi

"The king drinks the Sun-goddess <and> Mezzulla outside, st[anding]".

Rs. V 12: LUGAL-uš an-dur-za TUŠ-a[š] (13) ^DUTU^{AŠ} ^DMe-iz-z[u]-u[l-l]a-a-qn?
e-ku-zi

„The king drinks the Sun-goddess <and> Mezz[ul]la inside, sittin[g]“.

- (12) KUB 39.5 +, CTH 450 (Royal funerary ritual), NS¹⁵

Rs. 15: [nu] ^DUTU^{AŠ} KI.MIN ^{LÚ}NAR IŠ-TU ^{GIŠ}TIBULA ŠÎR^{RU} I NINDA.GUR₄.RA
pár-ši-ja na-a[n-kán pa-ra-a pí-e-da-(i)]

¹² Edited by Haas in Fs. Otten² 131ff., where line 37' is transliterated A-NA ^DUTU-aš¹ ^DKam-ru-še-pa and translated as in the present article.

¹³ For various understandings of this expression see H.G. Güterbock, CRRAI XXIV (1987), 122-129 with references. It seems that, depending on place and time, this can refer to drinking a god as a magical act, to drinking from the special cup of a deity, or, later, to drinking to a god (i.e. toasting a god).

¹⁴ Cf. Kammenhuber, Materialien Nr. 5, 146 (53).

¹⁵ Edited in Kassian et al., Hittite Funerary Ritual (AOAT 288), 350. Normally in Hittite the use of KI.MIN instead of a verb did not change the case-marking of nouns. The makeshift supposition that ^DUTU-aš can be a free genitive (ibid., 339, fn. 10) is now unnecessary.

„The Sun[-de]ity ditto. The singers sing (accompanying themselves) on the T.-instruments. He breaks a <(sour)> thick loaf and [bring(s)] i[t out.]”.

This is an abbreviation for ^DUTU^{AS} *ekuzi* „He drinks the Sun-god“. Cf. the parallel contexts „DN *ekuzi*“ with acc. *taknaš* ^DUTU-un (Rs. 4, 18) and *apel* ZI-an (Rs. 9, 20, 23).

(13) KUB 51.57, CTH 633.B (Festival of procreation)¹⁶

Vs. 32: (III-ŠU *e-ku-z*)i ^DKa-taḥ-ḥa ^DUTU^{AS} [(^DLAMMA LUGAL)

„He drinks thrice: Kataḥḥa, the Sun-deity <and> the Tutelary Deity of the King“.

The unambiguous accusative ^DKa-taḥ-ḥa-an ^DUTU ^DLAMMA LUGAL is attested in a duplicate IBoT 1.29, Vs. 27.

(14) KUB 58.11, CTH 678 (Unidentified festival of Nerik)¹⁷

Rs. 1': ^DUTU^{AS} ^DMe-iz-zu-u[l-la-an GUB-aš *a-ku-ua-an-zi* I NINDA GUR₄.RA *pár-ši-ia*]

[They drink] the Sun-god<dess?[?]> <and> Mezzu[lla, standing. He breaks one thick loaf.]

The line is securely restored from the following ones. The fact that ^DUTU^{AS} is acc. is supported by unambiguous acc. sg. ^DZa-li-ia-[nu-u]n (l. 3') and ^DUD^{AM} (l. 5') occurring in parallel contexts.

(15) KUB 41.3 +, CTH 408.B (Ritual of Pupuwanni), NS¹⁸

Vs. I 19': [(EGIR-ŠÚ-ma)] (20') ^DU ^DUTU^{AS} ^DLAMMA ^DGul-šu-uš ^DDa-ra-u-u[(š-ša)] (21') ŠA IM-pát *i-e-en-zi*

„[(Then)] they make of clay <images of> the Storm-god, the Sun-deity, the Tutelary Deity, the G.-deities [and] the D.-deities”.¹⁹

The fact that ^DUTU^{AS} is acc. is supported by unambiguous acc. pl. ^DGulšuš and ^DDarauuš.

¹⁶ NS according to the CHD files.

¹⁷ Edited in Haas, KN, 214 ff. (as Bo 2710). Haas translates Rs. 1' as „[They drink] to the Sun-deity <and> Mezzu[lla, standing“.

¹⁸ Cf. D. Prechel, „Betrachtungen zum Ritual der Pupuwanni“, *Silva Anatolica* (Fs. Popko), Warsaw: Agade, 2002, pp. 283-5.

¹⁹ The duplicate A (KUB 7.2) Vs. I 15 reads ... ^DU ^DUTU ^DLAMMA ... without any complements.

5. „Accusative“ ^DUTU^{AS} before adverbial participles

All the eight examples discussed in this group are similar to those discussed in § 4 in that one again is „drinking a god“ and thus we expect that ^DUTU-„aš“ stands for the accusative *Ištanun*. The only peculiarity of this group is the presence of adverbial participles GUB-aš (*arandaš*) and TUŠ-aš (*ašandaš*) immediately after a direct object. Since adverbial participles have become non-productive morphological archaisms already in Middle Hittite²⁰, and since there is independent evidence that they were misunderstood by some scribes or scribal traditions²¹, one can hypothesize that in some cases ^DUTU-aš TUŠ-aš/ GUB-aš represents a scribal error for the expected *^DUTU-un TUŠ-aš/ GUB-aš. This explanation, in fact suggested in (McMahon, Diss.) for (18), could account for the disproportionately high number of ungrammatical ^DUTU-„aš“ in front of adverbial participles. Yet, since we do not have a way to know in which cases ^DUTU-„aš“ / — (TUŠ-aš/ GUB-aš) represents a scribal error, as opposed to a complex heterogram ^DUTU^{AS}, Occam's razor dictates the transliteration ^DUTU^{AS} for all the doubtful instances. In addition, the claim about the anticipatory scribal error (i.e. gen. ^DUTU-aš) cannot be substantiated before one finds probative examples with deities others than ^DUTU-u-, standing in gen. in contexts with TUŠ-aš/ GUB-aš.

(16) KBo 24.26, CTH 694 (Cult of ̪uwaššana), MS

Rs. III 21: EGIR-pa-ma ^DUTU^{AS} TUŠ-aš e-k[u-u]z-zi

„(S)he drinks the Sun-deity, sitting“.

(17) KBo 38.74, CTH 670 (Unidentified ritual), NS

9': NINDA.K]U₇ ? p̪ar-ši-ia ^DUTU^{AS} TUŠ-aš e[-ku-zi

„(S)he breaks [the swe]et ? [loaf] <and> drinks the Sun-deity, sitting“.

20 No adverbial participles have been formed from the verbs other than *ar-* ‚to stand‘ and *aš-* ‚to sit‘ in MH+. For the OH *ga-ne-na-an-da/ta-aš* ‚in a squatting position‘ (KBo 17.18, II 10' and KBo 17.43, I 9') see Neu, KZ 86 (1972), 292.

21 Cf. KBo 19.161 I 17' LUGAL-ya-aš GUB-aš e-ku-zi for the expected *LUGAL-uš GUB-aš e-ku-zi and parallel cases discussed by F. Pecchioli-Daddi in Gs. Moerschini, 305-7. We disagree with Pecchioli-Daddi's treatment of LUGAL-ya-aš GUB-aš e-ku-zi as an archaic absolute genitive from which the construction LUGAL-uš GUB-aš e-ku-zi had developed (Pecchioli-Daddi informed one of the authors in Çorum in September 2002 that she does not insist on this theory anymore). Yet, since the construction LUGAL-ya-aš GUB-aš e-ku-zi occurs several times in the texts related to the cult of Tetešh̪abi of the city Tawiniya, one can plausibly conjecture that it reflects a local scribal tradition. Maybe the Tawiniya scribes, being unaware of the function of GUB-aš, tried to put a subject in an ungrammatical agreement with it.

Cf. ibid. 12', ^DZA-BA₄-BA₄ in a similar context without any declensional ending.

- (18) KUB 10.93, CTH 685 (Cult of the Tutelary Deity), NS (archaic)²²

Vs. I 15': ^DUTU^{AS} TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi GIŠ ^DINANNA SÎR^{RU} I NINDA GUR₄.RA
pár-ši-ia

„He drinks the Sun-deity, sitting. <The singers> sing <accompanying themselves> on the instruments of the goddess Ištar. He breaks one thick loaf“.

Cf. ibid. 13' & 16' ^DIŠKUR in the identical contexts without any declensional ending.

- (19) KUB 27.66, CTH 692.5 (Cult of Huwaššanna)²³

Vs. II 19': [EG]IR-pa-ma ^DUTU^{AS} TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi LU^UNAR SÎR^{RU} NINDA_{ta}-kar-mu-un *pár-ši[-ia]*

„Then he drinks the Sun-deity, sitting. The singer<s> sing. He break[s] the t.-loaf“.

Cf. ibid. (in the identical contexts) unambiguous acc. ^DLAMMA šar-la-i-me-en (l. 22') and ^DLa-la-ri-ia-an (l. 24').

- (20) KUB 32.125 + KBo 29.100, CTH 692 (Cult of Huwaššanna), MS²⁴

Vs. I 13': ...]x-an ^DUTU^{AS} GUB-aš e-ku-zi

„... he drinks the Sun-deity, standing“.

Cf. ibid. Rs. IV 16': ^DUTU TUŠ-aš a-[k]u-an-zi without any complement.

- (21) KUB 34.102, CTH 704 (Cultic text of Hurrian inspiration), NS²⁵

Rs. III 25': EGIR-an-da-ma ^DUTU^{AS} GUB-aš e-ku-zi I NINDA KU₇ *pár-[š]i-ia*

„Then he drinks the Sun-deity, standing. He bre[a]k[s] one sweet loaf“.

Cf. ibid. (in the identical contexts) dat.-loc. ^DŠu-ya-li-ia-at-ti (l. 17') and acc. (without declensional endings) ^DNISABA (l. 19'), ^DÉ-A (l. 21'), ^DEN.ZU (l. 23'), ^DUTU^{URU} A-ri-in-na (l. 26').

- (22) KUB 46.18, CTH 692 (Cult of Huwaššanna)

Vs. [?] 4': nu ^DUTU^{AS} TUŠ-aš IŠ-TU GAL a-ku-an-zi ...

22 Edited in McMahon, Diss., 224-227. Cf. Kammenhuber, Materialien Nr. 5, 166 (12).

23 NS according to the CHD files. Cf. Kammenhuber, Materialien Nr. 5, 193 (13).

24 Cf. Kammenhuber, Materialien Nr. 5, 194 (15).

25 Cf. Kammenhuber, Materialien Nr. 5, 185 (29).

„He drinks the Sun-deity from the cup, sitting“.

Cf. *ibid.* (in the identical contexts) unambiguous acc. ^DHu-u-ua-aš-ša-an-na-an (Vs.[?] 3'), [^DH]u-ua-aš-ša-an-na-an (Rs.[?] 3'), ^DPi-u-li-i-in (Vs.[?] 7'), ^DIm-ra-al-li-in (Vs.[?] 9'), ^DLAMMA šar-la-im-mi-in (Rs.[?] 6') and also acc. pl. h]i-iš-ša-la-an-du-uš (Vs.[?] 17').

(23) KUB 54.9, CTH 692.3.C (Cult of Huwaššanna)²⁶

Vs. II 7': [nu] ^DUTU^{AŠ} TUŠ-aš a-ku-ua-an-zi ^{LÜ}.MEŠ NAR SİR^R[^U]

„They drink the Sun-[de]ity, sitting. The singers sin[g.]“

Cf. *ibid.* 14': nu ^DIM TUŠ-aš a-ku-ua-an-zi without any complement.

6. Discussion

We have seen that in a number of instances the ungrammatical ^DUTU-„aš“ can be successfully explained by assuming the indeclinable Akkadographic complement ^DUTU^{AŠ}. It remains to see, first, whether or not the alternative explanations of the indeclinable ^DUTU-„aš“ are possible and, second, what was the motivation behind introducing the complement AŠ in Hittite writing system.

It is easy to dispense with the potential claim that Akk. Šamas, 'Sun-god' was borrowed in the Hittite language and became a rare synonym of Hitt. *Ištanu-* (likewise borrowed from Hattic). In this case, one would expect that ^DUTU-„aš“ would most frequently occur in the texts of Akkadian inspiration. Yet none of the examples discussed above comes from such a text, whereas, e.g., the Hittite hymn to the Sun-god (CTH 372), demonstrably influenced by Mesopotamian tradition²⁷, consistently uses ^DUTU-u- = *Ištanu-*. In Luwian, which, unlike Hittite, was an immediate neighbour of the Semitic languages, the Sun-god retained its indigenous name *Tiyat-*.

A theory that would have a bit more to recommend itself could operate with the free-standing genitive *Ištanu_uaš*, '(god/goddess) of the Sun'. The omission of the head noun in a possessive construction is nothing strange in Hittite: one can compare, e.g., the free-standing genitive *paršnā_uaš*, '(one) of squatting' that could function the same way as *paršnā_uaš* ^{LÜ}SAGI, 'a cup-bearer of squatting'²⁸. The awkwardness of the unisex usage of *Ištanu-* for, e.g., the Mesopotamian Sun-god and the Hattic/Hittite Sun-goddess of

²⁶ Cf. Yoshida, THeth 22, 247.

²⁷ Güterbock, JAOS 78 (1958), 241-242.

²⁸ Neu, Gs. Kronasser, 118-120.

Arinna²⁹ would provide a semantic motivation for its replacement with the periphrastic **Ištanuṽaš* <*šiuš*> , (god/goddess) of the Sun'.

All these arguments, however, are doomed to remain speculations in the face of textual evidence. If gen. **Ištanuṽaš* was a new formation replacing the old *Ištanu-*, one would expect to find some spatial or temporal distribution in their usage. But this is not the case. The indeclinable ^DUTU-„aš“ appears already in the Middle Hittite texts, but remains a rare phenomenon up to the end of the Hittite scribal tradition. It is equally impossible to link ^DUTU-„aš“ with a particular group of texts: even in the description of the cult of *Huwaššana*, where this form occurs most frequently, ^DUTU-*uš* is by far more common. This fact can be explained only if we assume that the alternation ^DUTU-*uš*/^DUTU-„aš“ was not that of archaism vs. innovation, and this precludes the interpretation of ^DUTU-„aš“ as the free-standing genitive **Ištanuṽaš*. In the same way, the distributional arguments militate against the otherwise ad hoc assumption that ^DUTU-„aš“ is an obscure local deity, which never appears phonetically written.

A specific explanation was advanced by van Gessel for ^DUTU-„aš“ in (9) and can be applied by extension to (10)-(11) and (13)-(15). These contexts contain combinations ^DUTU-„aš“ ^D*Kamrušeba*, ^DUTU-„aš“ ^D*Mezzulla* and ^DUTU-„aš“ ^DLAMMA. In theory, one can try to interpret them as free-standing genitives ,*Kamrušeba* <, wife> of the Sun-god', ,Protective god <, son> of the Sun-god' and ,*Mezzulla* <, daughter> of the Sun-goddess of Arinna'. Even though these interpretations can be supported by (certain) Anatolian mythological traditions, they are precluded by a number of formal considerations.

1. The construction „X-aš Y“ with the meaning ,Y, the son of X' does not seem to occur in Hittite. The normal expression is „Y X-aš DUMU“. In Luwian, where the omission of the word for ,son' is common, the normal construction is „Y X-aš“ not „X-aš Y“. The omission of the words for ,wife' and ,daughter' does not belong to the standard features of any Anatolian language.

2. The unmotivated mentioning of a deity's parent or husband is not expected in standardized ritual/festival contexts.

3. In (10)-(11) and (14), one should assume the omission of ^{URU}*Arinna* after ^DUTU-aš.

29 The one-to-one correspondence between the sign sequence ^DUTU-u- and the reading **Ištanu*, implicitly presumed by many scholars, was recently argued for in the habilitation thesis of Irene Tatishvili, *Hittite religion: genesis, formation, and structure of the pantheon* (in Georgian), defended in the Tbilisi State University in 2002.

4. KUB 43.23, Rs. 23'-61' (see (9) above) contains a list of offerings to various deities, such as long thick loaves, „GUL“ thick loaves, wine, oxen, sheep, pigs, etc. The deities (and/or their priests) are grouped as follows:

(23'-25') two long thick loaves, ... to the men (i.e. to the male gods?) of the Storm-god (^DIM-na-aš LÜ^{MEŠ}-aš) §

(26'-30') ... to the Storm-god <and> Mamma (A-NA ^DIM ^DMa-a-am-ma) §

(31'-34') ... to the waters of the Storm-god and the Canal ([A-NA] ú-i-te-na-aš [^DIM-n]a-aš Û PA₅) §

(35'-37') ... to the Sun-god <and> Kamrušeba (A-NA ^DUTU^{AS} ^DKam-ru-še-pa) §

(38'-42') ... to the men (i.e. to the male gods?) of the Tutelary Deity, to the Tutelary Deity <and> Aala (A-NA LÜ^{MEŠ} ŠA ^DLAMMA ^DLAMMA ^DA-a-la) §

(43'-46') ... to the gods of the <king's> house and the thousand gods <of Hatti> (A-NA DINGIR^{MEŠ} ŠA Ê^{TIM} Û LI-IM DINGIR^{MEŠ}) §

(47'-51') ... to Telibinu <and> Malija of the Garden, the Mother of vine and grain (A-NA ^DTe-li-pi-nu ŠA ^{GIŠ}KIRI₆ ^DMa-a-li-ja GEŠTIN-aš ħal-ki-<aš> AMA-ni) §

(52'-55') ... to the Mountain of k.-tree<s> (A-NA HUR.SAG ŠA ^{GIŠ}kar-pi-ni) §

(56'-58') ... to the Nurturing[?] Earth <and[?]> the Sun-goddess of the Earth (A-NA KI šu-uḫ-mi-li ták-na-aš ^DUTU-i).

We see here the paired deities: the Storm-god and Mamma, the Tutelary Deity and Aala, Telibinu and Malija (at least for the Tutelary Deity and Aala we know that they were consorts). The only possibility is to analyse the pair in question (^DUTU-„aš“ ^DKamrušeba) in the same way as these ones, i.e., „the Sun-god <and his wife> Kamrušeba“, not *,Kamrušeba <, the wife> of the Sun-god“.³⁰

Thus the postulation of a complex heterogram ^DUTU^{AS} that could replace ^DUTU(-u-) at the whim of a scribe is the only solution available. A separate question is why the Hittite scribes occasionally used this heterogram. To start with the situation in Akkadian, the Mesopotamian Sun-god could be written either as Akk. Šamšu-, which is properly a common word for the sun and the sun-disk, or, more frequently, in an indeclinable form Šamaš.³¹ When written ideographically, Šamšu- could appear as ^DUTU-šu(m) / ^DUTU-ši(m) / ^DUTU-ša(m), depending on the case form, while Šamaš could be repre-

30 The same solution is accepted by Haas (Fs. Otten², 137) and Yoshida (THeth. 22, 182 with fn. 123).

31 CAD 17(1), 337 (sub f). AHW, 1154, 1158.

sented as ${}^D\text{UTU}-aš$ ³². In both cases, ${}^D\text{UTU}$ could also appear in Akkadian without a phonetic complement.

In Hittite, the Sumerogram ${}^D\text{UTU}$ acquired a new technical meaning. The winged sun-disk being one of the most important Hittite royal symbols, it was also chosen as an official metaphorical self-designation of Hittite kings. The image of the winged disk standing at the top of many Imperial Hieroglyphic inscriptions (HH 190 = SOL₂) can be directly compared with the complex heterogram Hitt. ${}^D\text{UTU}^{šI}$ that is usually translated as 'My Majesty'. Since this heterogram is mainly used when the king is referring to himself, it is normally understood as an equivalent to Akk. *šamšī* 'my sun'.

Another peculiarity of Hittite is that the Sumerogram HZL 316 is used not only for ${}^D\text{UTU}$ = Hitt. *Ištanu-* 'Sun-god(dess)', but also for ${}^D\text{UD}^{AM}$ = Hitt. *Šiyatt-*, lit. '(god of the) Day', who can function similarly to ${}^D\text{UD}.\text{SIG}_5$ '(god of the) Good Day'.³³ Many scholars believe that the function of ${}^D\text{UD}$, at least in some texts, is that of the deified Day of Death³⁴. We know that the complement of ${}^D\text{UD}^{AM}$ is taken from Akk. acc. *ūmam* 'the day (acc.)', because this ominous deity can be occasionally written as ${}^D\text{UD}^{MI}$ (can be read as ${}^DU_4-MI$) and ${}^D\text{UD}^{MA-AM}$ (can be read as ${}^DU_4-MA-AM$). In some cases, however, the Akkadian complement is absent, and our reading ${}^D\text{UD}$ (as opposed to ${}^D\text{UTU}$) is based exclusively on contextual analysis³⁵.

Based on the evidence presented above, we should like to suggest that the Akkadian writing ${}^D\text{UTU}-aš$ was retained in Hittite as a complex heterogram ${}^D\text{UTU}^{Aš}$ in order to distinguish the Sun-god from the deified Day ${}^D\text{UD}^{AM}$ and, secondarily, from the title ${}^D\text{UTU}^{šI}$. This usage could originate in contexts like (14) above, where one drinks both ${}^D\text{UTU}^{Aš}$ and ${}^D\text{UD}^{AM}$. Hittite normally retains Akkadian complements in order to signal grammatical features, such as possessive relations and case distinctions; in this case their use serves the aim of lexical differentiation.

Eštan was originally the name of the Hattic Sun-goddess; being borrowed in Hittite as *Ištanu-* it was secondarily extended to the Babylonian Sun-god (Akk. ${}^D\text{Šamaš}$) and to the Hurrian chthonic goddess (Hurr. ${}^D\text{Allani}$). ${}^D\text{UTU}-aš$ was a heterogram for the Babylonian

32 E.g. in Amarna letters: *lu tīdi inūma šalim šarru kīma* ${}^D\text{UTU}-aš$ *ina šamē* 'know that the king is well, like the Sun(-god) in the sky' (cf. CAD 17(1), 336). ${}^D\text{UTU}-aš$ is also attested in the Akkadian of Hattuša, see e.g. KUB 3.68, Vs. 4.

33 For the interchangeable usage of ${}^D\text{UD}^{AM}$ and ${}^D\text{UD}.\text{SIG}_5$ see Kassian et al., Hittite Funerary Ritual (AOAT 288), 538 (under III 40-44) with references.

34 Haas, *Gesch. Relig.*, 245.

35 See van Gessel, *Onomastikon* II, 841.

Sun god; being borrowed in Hittite as ^DUTU^{AS}, it came to be used also for the erst-while Hattic Sun goddess *^DIštanu-^{URU}Arinna (1) and for the original Hurrian chthonic deity *taknaš ^DIštanu- (2). We believe that any deity called *Ištanu-* in Hittite could be written as ^DUTU^{AS}.