

nimmt. Da die 2. Tafel des Rituals laut Kolophon nicht vollständig ist<sup>33</sup>, darf es als legitim gelten, für die inhaltliche Analyse die Fortsetzung des Textes in IX 4 IV 22-31 heranzuziehen. Darin war wohl von weiteren Opfern die Rede (vgl. IV 22; <sup>GIS</sup>BANŠUR). Auch das mehrmalige kinun (IV 20.23.27) könnte vielleicht darauf hindeuten, daß in diesem Abschnitt ein Gegensatz zwischen dem früheren Unheilszustand (vgl. IV 25 i-d[a-a-lu?]; IV 26 na-ak-ki-wa-aš) und dem jetzigen Heilszustand zum Ausdruck gebracht wird.

Aus den hier kurz skizzierten strukturellen Zusammenhängen läßt sich folgendes über das Verhältnis von Magie und Religion erkennen: "Magische" Rituale sind keineswegs nur dem magischen Bereich verhaftet, sondern sie gehören m.E. in gleicher Weise und mit gleicher Gewichtung auch dem kultischen Bereich an, was im Prinzip die Ergebnisse bestätigt, die bereits Szabó<sup>34</sup> bei der Untersuchung von KBo XV 10 + erzielt hat. In der 2. Tafel, die durch den fortlaufenden Text für diese Analyse am aussagekräftigsten ist, kann sogar ein regelmäßiger Wechsel zwischen magischen und kultischen Abschnitten beobachtet werden, wobei der kultische Abschnitt jeweils den magischen noch verstärkt. Weiters scheint sich — zumindest für die 2. Tafel — eine gewisse Steigerung der "Intensität" der Reinigung/Heilung feststellen zu lassen<sup>35</sup>, wobei sich der Gedankengang vom negativ über den positiv formulierten Segenswunsch bis zur tatsächlichen Heilung/Reinigung entwickelt. magie steht somit im Ritual der Tunnawiya keineswegs im Gegensatz zu den religiösen Vorstellungen, sondern sie ist ein integraler Bestandteil der Religion, was sich in der "hethitischen" Religionsgeschichte immer wieder beobachten läßt<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> IX 34 IV 23-25: DUB. 2. KAM Ū-U/L QA-TI/ma-a-an-kán LUGAL SAL. [LUGAL] <sup>SAL</sup>ŠU.GI ták-na-az [da-a-i].

<sup>34</sup> SZABÓ Anm. 19), 84.

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. dazu HAAS/THIEL (Anm. 8), 89, die Ähnliches postuliert haben: Der Opfermandant erlangt "gewissermaßen Stufen von Reinheitsgraden ...", was bedeuten dürfte, daß der Aufbau eines Rituals nach dem Kriterium der sich steigernden Intensität der jeweiligen magischen Handlungen erfolgt.

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. dazu KAPELRUD, A.S.: The Interrelationship between Religion and Magic in Hittite Religion, in: Numen 6(1959)32-50 sowie V. HAAS, Art. Magie, §§ 2-3, in: RIA 7, Lfg. 3-4 [im Druck].

## SOME ASPECTS RELATED TO HITTITE-ACCADIAN BILINGUISM IN ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

JOZEF de KUYPER\*

The bilingual inscription of Hattušili I, extensively studied by Sommer and Falkenstein<sup>1</sup>, is a very rich source for comparative studies concerning syntactical problems. A case however that didn't get very much attention in this field, is the accusative.

The accusative is well represented in our text, both in the Hittite version and in the Accadian columns. We must not forget to include in our research the pronominal accusative suffixes. The Accadian version hooks this suffix to the verbal body, a quite normal phenomenon. The hittite text normally prefers an initial place in the sentence with an attachment to the subject (e.g. a substantive). A Long chain of all kinds of suffixes can be the result. Phonetic obscurity and orthographic confusion may thus create some problems of syntactical interpretation<sup>2</sup>.

Most accusatives naturally represent the function of direct object without any special problem. Only some rare difficulties related to translation techniques may occur: a verb in Hittite or Accadian to be seen as transitive, is in other languages intransitive. Generally, the only thing to do is to replace the translation by another one.

An item which needs more of our attention is the use of two accusatives related to a verb. Two types are represented:

— verbs with one accusative for the person and one for the thing. In the Hittite text:

\* Dr. Josep de KUYPER, Sint-Denijslaan 79 B-9000 GENT, BELGIKA

<sup>1</sup> Sommer, F. and Falkenstein, A., Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattušili I. (Labarna II). in: Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Abteilung, nF Heft 16, München, 1938.

(— HAB)

A new study is about to appear or is ready yet. But the references were not at our disposal when the redaction of our paper was finished.

<sup>2</sup> See Kammenhuber, A., Zwischenbilanz zu den hethitischen Enklitia ketten. in: Festschrift E. Laroche, p. 185-196 (passim), Paris, 1979.

II, 16: LUGAL-ša-an, *i-da-a-lu* *k/u<sup>2</sup>-it-ki* i-ja-nu-un Ú.UL-an SANGA i-ja-nu-un]

III, 23: [šu-me-eš-ma-an *i-da-a-lu* li-]e i-ja-at-te-ni

These patterns are very common in Hittite grammar and are to compare with the Greek "χαχὸν ποιεῖν τινα"<sup>3</sup>.

In the Accadian version of II, 16 we read: LUGAL *le-mu-ut-tam* *mi-im-ma* e-pu-uš.

In this case only the casual object is expressed. The personal object is omitted. Sommer-Falkenstein assert that the addition of a second accusative (a pronominal suffix) would be - at least - striking. However, they can agree with the possibility of a confusion, by the translator, between a LUGAL-ša-an containing a pronominal suffix and an "-š" as a characteristic of the nominative and a form LUGAL-ša-an containing a particle "lokaler Bedeutung", i.e. "šan"<sup>4</sup>. A double accusative construction is however possible in this case<sup>5</sup>.

— verbs with an accusative of the direct object and a related predicate accusative.

For the Hittite version:

II, 3-4: LUGAL-ša-an-za DUMU-la-ma-an ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫu-un.

II, 16: Ú-UL-an <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA i-ja-nu-un

II, 42-43: ki-[nu-]n[a<sup>2</sup>-an UR?SAG-in LUGAL-un [i-iš-ša-aḫ-ḫi

II, 44: na-an-za-an UR.SA [G<sup>2</sup>-in LUGAL-un s] a-al-la-nu-ut-te-en.

II, 63-64: LUGAL-ša-an A.NA <sup>URU</sup>tap-pa-aš-ša-an-da [iš-ḫa-a-an i-ja nu-un.

III, 24-25: a-pa-a-as-mu-za at-ta-an [Ú.UL ḫal-za-iš] ú-ga-an-za DUMU.SAL<sup>TI</sup> Ú.UL ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫi.

<sup>3</sup> See HAB, p. 45 and Kammenhuber, A., Hethitisch, Palaisch Luwisch und Hieroglyphen luwisch.

in: Altkleinasiatische Sprachen, Leiden, 1969, p. 200. (= Handbuch der Orientalistik, I. Abt. 2. Bd. 1. und 2. Abschnitt, Lieferung 2.)

<sup>4</sup> See HAB, p. 45-46 and 243.

<sup>5</sup> See Von Soden, W., Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik, Roma, 1969, p. 99 + 145 sq.

(= GAG)

Only the first two cases are also represented in the Accadian text:

I, 3-4: LUGAL-ru [al-]zi-šu-ma DUMU(?)am.

I, 16-17: ú-ul a-na <sup>LÚ</sup>SANGA-ti [ab-bi-šū].

In I, 16-17 only one accusative occurs. A prepositional construction has been used for the predicate accusative. The situation of I, 3-4 is not so clear. Sommer-Falkenstein<sup>6</sup> offer the following explanation: "alzisuma" is a form of the verb "šasû", G pret. 1 p. sgl. with the suffix of the accusative "-su" and the conjunctive particle "-ma". The use of this "-ma" may, in their opinion, indicate a relation between DUMU-am and a following verb. They do affirm however that the use of a double accusative was possible if the translator gave a well constructed pattern in general<sup>7</sup>.

But the use of "-ma" is a problem in our text. Normally it is related to a verbal form (I, 8, 12, 21, 24) with rather a connecting than an emphasizing function. One exception may be I, 21: ù i-te-eḫ-ḫi-ma<sup>8</sup>. However we are still reckoning with the possibility of an Accadian pattern equalling the Hittite construction by using two accusatives.

For the other text (I, 16-17) it was possible for the "translator" to choose epēšu with two accusatives or one accusative and "ana"<sup>9</sup>. As the translator preferred the abstractum it has been inevitable to use a prepositional pattern or didn't he believe in a "nabû" with a double accusative? The choice of the word "nabû" may be considered as excellent<sup>10</sup>.

Another typical item of the Hittite grammar is the possible ellipsis of the direct object if it is a pronominal suffix<sup>11</sup>. Two elements may hamper the search for such cases: the existence of chains of particles and suffixes, and the syllabic writing, e.g. X — ša-an — 1. Xš-an 2. x - šan

<sup>6</sup> HAB, p. 33.

<sup>7</sup> HAB, p. 33 and Von Soden, W., Akkadisches Handwörterbuch

(= AHw), III, p. 1196 (šasû).

<sup>8</sup> GAG, p. 170-171 + 117 (u) and p. 177 + 123 (ma). See also AHw 11, p. 569-570 (ma) and III, p. 1397-1398 (u).

<sup>9</sup> AHw I, p. 227 G/7 s.v. epēšu.

<sup>10</sup> AHw 11, p. 700, s.v. "nabû".

<sup>11</sup> See Kammenhuber, A., Hethitisch, Palaisch, Luwisch und Hieroglyphenluwisch (o.c.), p. 200.

We like to cite 3 examples:

III, 48-49 : *ma-a-an*[Ú.UL-m]a pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-du-ma ...

III, 51-52 : *nu-uš-ša-an* pa-ra-ja [li-e] na-it-ti

III, 52-53 *ma-a-an-ga-an* [pa-ra-a]...

In none of the 3 texts any deduction of a pronominal suffix is possible : in III, 48-49 the entire "ma-an" is necessary as a conjunction (when or if). In III, 51-52 we need an entire "sa-an". In III, 52 a splitting of the entire "gan" is needed. So, we should have to accept 3 improvable haplographies between 48 and 53!

In III, 27 the suffix is used : [zi-ig-ma DUMU. I]A 'Mu-ur-ši-li na-an-za zi-ig da-a...

A rather easy explanation can be given. III, 48, 51 and 52 contain verbs with a strong sense (to respect, to omit, to neglect) which is not harmed by an absolutistic use. In II, 27 however a colourless "da" (to do) needs an object to state precisely its application.

Another well-known Hittite construction is the figura etymologica<sup>12</sup>. An example possibly was to be found in II, 13 (but the Hittite text isn't available anymore). The Accadian text runs as follows:

"a-na še-e-le a-še-li".

Sommer-Falkenstein propose to reconstruct in the Hittite column: "šu-ul-la-tar šu-ul-li-ia-mi"<sup>13</sup>. The Accadian text however uses clearly the preposition "ana". This "ana" — also in Hattuša — "exprime le but d'un mouvement concret ... avec nuance d'hostilité ... exprime le but d'un mouvement logique..."<sup>14</sup>. The text doesn't give any adjectival or equivalent adjunct. Such an adjunct is desirable to make the figura etymologica significant. Therefore I'd like to suggest the following interpretation: "I fought against the struggle in my family"<sup>15</sup>. According to this interpretation the text of II, 13 cannot be considered as an example of a figura etymologica

<sup>12</sup> See Friedrich, J., Hethitisches Elementarbuch I, Heidelberg, 1960, p. 119, n. 199 and Kammenhuber, A., Hethitisch (o.c.), p. 200.

<sup>13</sup> HAB, p. 41.

<sup>14</sup> Labat, R., L'Akkadien de Boghaz-Köi, Etude sur la langue des lettres, traités et vocabulaires akkadiens trouvés à Boghaz-Köi, Bordeaux, 1932, p. 97 sqq.

<sup>15</sup> HAB, p. 41.

anymore : there is no more "*obiectum effectum*" but an "*obiectum affectum*" by which the expression has lost its tautological value. It is clear however that the frequent use of figurae etymologicae could foster the construction of II, 13.

By mentioning the terms "*effectum*" and "*affectum*" we enter the field of case-grammar, famous by the names of Fillmore, Finke and Anderson<sup>16</sup>. The point is : do the notions "*effectum*" and "*affectum*" only get their sense as a result of their mutual confrontation before the predicate? The identification of both objects with each other could bring us to see the "*affectum*" aspect not only before the predicate but also before the "*effectum*" with - eventually - a total identification. This can enlarge the field of the predicate as the (new) predicate may be considered as the original predicate including the *effectum*. The multiplicity of possible effecta, however will be a well functioning brake.

Some examples :

- to appoint someone as : complete identification of *affectum* and *effectum*;
- to ask something from someone : *effectum* has an influence on the *affectum*.

So it can be easier, when diatheses are changing, to use in a passive pattern the most touched *obiectum* as subject.

<sup>16</sup> Some of the most remarkable publications are:

Anderson, J:

— The grammar of case. Towards a localistic theory. Cambridge, 1971.

— On case-grammar. Prolegomena to a theory of grammatical relations. London, 1977.

Fillmore, C.:

— The case for case. in :Bach, E. and Harms, R. (eds.) Universals in linguistic theory. New-York, 1968, p. 1-88.

— the case for case reopened. in :Cole, P. and Sadock, J.M. (eds.) Syntax and semantics 8 : Grammatical Relations. New-York, 1977, p. 59-81.

Finke, P.: Theoretische Probleme der Kasusgrammatik. Kronberg, 1974.

Abbreviations in the text:

"A" — the Accadian version of the inscription.

"H" — the Hittite version of the inscription.

Finally, reconsidering the text of I, 16 // II, 16 - while applying the rules of case-grammar - we notice a significant difference as for the predicative accusative. H has two accusatives and A one accusative and "ana". For H a complete identification between both accusatives is possible. This is an example of a juxtapositional *affectum/effectum* - *obiectum*. A however prefers an abstractum. In my opinion the construction can be defined as follows : *agens* - *predicate* - *obiectum affectum* - *terminus*. While analyzing syntactical structures at the deep level, a parallel purpose or intention in the meaning of the text does not allow the statement of an equality and similarity of deep level structures between translations. Most important is to view syntactical upbuilding.

Much more research on the accusative in Hittite as in Accadian is still required. We hope to be able to do so for Hittite and we intend to use all possible techniques gain a better view not only on this case but also on syntax in general.

## ON SOME ASSERTIONS IN THE 'HISTORICAL PROLOGUE' OF THE ŠAUŠGAMUWA VASSAL TREATY AND THEIR ASSUMED LEGAL MEANING

AMMON ALTMAN\*

### I

The aim of this paper is to draw attention to the potential of the so-called "historical prologues" of the ancient Near Eastern vassal-treaties as a rich source for the study of the international law of the ancient Near East, a source which as such has so far almost entirely been ignored<sup>1</sup>.

The reason for this negligence of the potentialities of this source for legal studies rests in the fact that its legal aspect was almost entirely denied or ignored<sup>2</sup>. Ever since V. Korošec's analysis of the Hittite state treaties<sup>3</sup> the historical prologue has been commonly viewed as an address to the vassal king and his court. The purpose of this address was considered to be either a reminder to the vassal of his moral obligations toward his overlord in return for benefits conferred on him, his people or land, or a veiled warning intended to convince him that it was in his own best interest to remain faithful to his overlord<sup>4</sup>. Such an approach raises, however, some difficulties.

\* Dr. Amnon Altman, Department of General History, Bar Ilan University, 52100 Ramat-Gan, Israel.

<sup>1</sup> Exceptional is Guy Kestemont, *Diplomatique et droit internationale en Asie occidentale (1600-1200 av. J.C.)*, Louvain-La-Neuve 1974, pp. 277-340.

<sup>2</sup> V. Korošec, in his *Helhitische Staatsverträge (Leipziger Rechtswissenschaftliche Studien*, H. 60), Leipzig 1931, p. 32f., pointed to the possibility that these "prologues" have also legal aspects. Later, H.B. Huffmon, in *CBQ* 27 (1965), p. 105, and K. Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary*<sup>2</sup>, Eng. Tr. Oxford 1971 (1964), pp. 19-21 and passim, expressed the view that the "prologue" was intended to provide a legal basis for the covenant. None of them, however, have proceeded beyond this general express of the view.

<sup>3</sup> See in previous note.

<sup>4</sup> See the summing up of the current opinions by D.J. McCarthy, S.J., *Treaty and Covenant*<sup>2</sup>, Rome 1978, p. 53f.