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LINGUISTIC STRUCTURES OF HITTITE AND LUVIAN CURSE FORMULAE

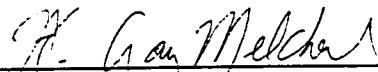
By Kirsten Maria Reichardt

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Linguistics.

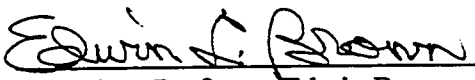
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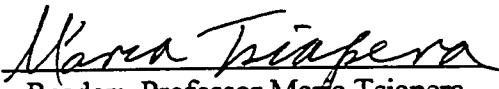
Approved by



Advisor: Professor H. Craig Melchert




Reader: Professor Edwin Brown



Reader: Professor Maria Tsiapera



Reader: Professor Gert Webelhuth



Reader: Professor Michael Weiss

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ABSTRACT

Curses occurring in Hittite and Hieroglyphic Luvian are exhaustively classified within a framework under which all relevant linguistic features may be optimally subsumed. The Hittite noun and verb for ‘curse,’ *hurta-* and *hu(wa)rt-*, respectively, are first discussed from an etymological perspective; subsequent discussion of their distribution in Hittite texts suggests the first crucial question which emerges from the classification: in which functional context did the Hittites consider *hurta-/hu(wa)rt-* to be used? Three possibilities are suggested.

The other two issues the classificatory scheme raised were the historical development of curse formulae and agency, and a possible linguistic influence from Akkadian to Hittite, as part of well-known cultural diffusion from Mesopotamia to the rest of the ancient Near East. Evidence, in the form of structural features of the curses, is cited at various points throughout the study to address these issues.

The majority of the study is devoted to an analysis of the linguistic features of the curses. Hittite and Hieroglyphic Luvian contingency curses, as well as Hittite retributive and spontaneous curses, are described according to how the following features are expressed: clause type of the protases and apodoses, curse participants (initiator, agent, and target),

morphology, lexical items, and phonology. Correlations, as well as the implications thereof, between curse genre and these structural features are identified throughout. A brief comparison with curses from the classical world concludes the study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

From “Indo-European Phonology” in the fall of 1994, to hours spent searching for “descriptive generalizations,” to putting the finishing touches on this dissertation, graduate study in linguistics has been an intensely rewarding experience for me. I am at once grateful for the past four years and happy to be returning home to San Diego for the last time.

As a successful dissertation is always a collaborative product, I would first like to acknowledge the thoughtful comments and suggestions on the part of my committee members. I would particularly like to express my gratitude to my adviser, Dr. Craig Melchert, who was always unfailing in guidance, patience, and in maintaining impeccable standards of scholarship. In short, and in all ways, no student could have asked for a more ideal advisor. I am also fortunate to have enjoyed the friendship and support of my colleagues: Hans Boas, Patrick Murphy, Donna Salisbury, Julie St. John, and not to be forgotten, Tenney Deane, who I could always count on to answer a Russian, German, or Hittite question, to offer a political opinion, or, most importantly, to enjoy a lunch at “35.” I will miss you all! Thank you to Dr. Bill Bayliff, who enabled my first tentative step toward a PhD. by affording me the opportunity to enroll in linguistics classes at UCSD. Finally, endless thanks to my parents, Dianne and the late Bob Reichardt, for an adventurous childhood and a love of language, first fostered long ago by word games while driving through Mexico and our Scrabble-filled afternoons in Tehran!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	ix
 Chapter	
I. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.....	1
1.1 The Nature of the Study.....	1
1.2 The Working Definition of “Curse”.....	7
1.3 Hittite <i>hurtai-/hu(wa)rt-</i>	11
1.3.1 <i>hurtai-/hu(wa)rt-</i> as Verbal Act.....	13
1.3.2 As Wish, Will, and Fact.....	15
1.3.3 Competing Lexemes.....	16
II. HITTITE CONTINGENCY CURSES.....	21
2.1 Clause Type.....	24
2.1.1 Protases.....	24
2.1.2 Apodoses.....	30
2.1.3 Complex Clauses.....	36
2.2 Participants.....	39
2.2.1 Initiator(s).....	39
2.2.2 Agency.....	42
2.2.2.1 Standard Agents.....	42
2.2.2.2 Agentless Curses.....	52
2.2.2.3 Military Oaths.....	59
2.2.3 Target(s).....	64
2.3 Morphology.....	69
2.4 Lexical Items.....	76
2.4.1 Verbs.....	77
2.4.1.1 Transitives.....	77
2.4.1.2 Intransitives.....	83
2.4.2 Nouns.....	85
2.4.3 Adjectives.....	91

2.4.4	Adverbs.....	92
2.5	Phonology.....	94
2.6	Uncertain Contingencies.....	95
2.7	Conclusion.....	98
III.	HIEROGLYPHIC LUVIAN CONTINGENCY CURSES.....	102
3.1	Clause Type.....	103
3.1.1	Protases.....	103
3.1.2	Apodoses.....	108
3.2	Participants.....	109
3.2.1	Initiator(s).....	109
3.2.2	Agency.....	110
3.2.2.1	Deities as Agents.....	110
3.2.2.2	Other Agents.....	112
3.2.2.3	Agentless Curses.....	113
3.2.3	Target(s).....	116
3.3	Morphology.....	117
3.4	Lexical Items.....	118
3.4.1	Verbs.....	119
3.4.1.1	Transitives.....	119
3.4.1.2	Intransitives.....	122
3.4.2	Nouns.....	124
3.4.3	Adjectives.....	127
3.4.4	Adverbs.....	127
3.5	Conclusion.....	128
IV.	RETRIBUTIVE CURSES.....	132
4.1	Clause Type.....	132
4.2	Participants.....	139
4.2.1	Initiator(s).....	139
4.2.2	Agency.....	139
4.2.3	Target(s).....	142
4.3	Morphology.....	143
4.4	Lexical Items.....	147
4.4.1	Verbs.....	147
4.4.1.1	Transitives.....	147
4.4.1.2	Intransitives.....	148
4.4.2	Nouns.....	149
4.5	Phonology.....	152
4.6	Conclusion.....	153

V.	SPONTANEOUS CURSES.....	156
5.1	Clause Type.....	158
5.2	Participants.....	161
5.2.1	Initiator(s).....	161
5.2.2	Agency.....	161
5.2.3	Target(s).....	161
5.3	Morphology.....	162
5.4	Lexical Items.....	163
5.4.1	Verbs.....	163
5.4.1.1	Transitives.....	163
5.4.2	Nouns.....	164
5.5	Conclusion.....	165
VI.	CONCLUSION.....	167
6.1	Comparison with the Classical World.....	167
6.2	Summary and Implications of Findings.....	169
	REFERENCES.....	175

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AHw</i>	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden, 1959-1981.
<i>Bo</i>	Inventory number of Bogazköy tablets, Excavations 1906ff.
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago, 1956ff.
<i>CHD</i>	<i>The Hittite Dictionary of the University of Chicago</i> , vol. 3, Chicago, 1980ff.
CLuvian	Cuneiform Luvian
<i>CTH</i>	E. Laroche, <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris, 1971.
<i>DLL</i>	E. Laroche, <i>Dictionnaire de la langue louvite</i> . Paris, 1959.
HLuvian	Hieroglyphic Luvian
<i>KBo</i>	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Bogazköy</i> . Leipzig, Berlin, 1916ff.
<i>KUB</i>	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Bogazköy</i> . Berlin, 1921ff.
MH	Middle Hittite
MS	Middle Script
NH	Neo-Hittite
NS	New Script
OH	Old Hittite
OS	Old Script
<i>RS</i>	Inventory number of Ras Shamra tablets.
<i>StBoT</i>	<i>Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten</i> . Wiesbaden, 1965ff.
<i>VAT</i>	Inventory number of <i>Vorderasiatische Abteilung</i> . Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

CHAPTER 1

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

1.1 The Nature of the Study

Nowhere else is the compelling force of the word and the tremendous influence of the spiritual universe better reflected than in curse formulas, present throughout the ancient world. If executed in a certain way, perhaps using a certain structure, curses in the ancient world were believed to produce real results. Among the Indo-European family of languages, the Anatolian group of Hittite, Luvian, Lycian, and Lydian shows a wide and colorful variety of curse formulas. The primary goal of this dissertation will be to provide the first linguistic classification of curse formulas occurring in texts from the Hittite culture of the first and second millennia B.C.E. Since almost all attested Hittite rituals involve some verbal component, this work should also help to illuminate the relationship between cursing, ritual, and black magic.

The present century introduced the first significant contributions to Anatolian studies, a previously unknown subfield of Indo-European studies. In the realm of culture and society, for example, systematic studies of Hittite law codes, rituals, and other aspects of

civilization have been well documented and described by scholars such as Hrozný and Götze. Two of the pioneers of Hittite linguistics, Sturtevant and Friedrich, helped to establish the first comprehensive descriptive grammar of the language; since then, contributions to Anatolian phonology, syntax, and historical linguistics have been varied and many. Regarding cursing, however, although Falco (1992) examined general themes in the Indo-European tradition, including curses from Sanskrit, Greek, Anatolian, Latin, Old Norse, and Old Irish, no definitive structural categorization of Hittite curses has yet been undertaken.

The sociolinguistic situation of the Hittite Empire was complex. Most Hittite evidence is from the state capital at Hattusa, attested from the 16th-13th centuries B.C.E. Such evidence includes not only Hittite, but also the closely related languages of Palaic and Cuneiform Luvian, as well as the non-Indo-European languages of Hattic and Hurrian. The Hittite Empire was therefore multi-ethnic as well as multi-linguistic. The status of each of the above as spoken languages remains an open question. Furthermore, there is also evidence of another form of Luvian, which employed hieroglyphics. A few Hieroglyphic Luvian texts are preserved from the second millennium B.C.E., and are thus contemporary with Hittite. Most, however, are from the 10th to the 8th centuries B.C.E., from southwestern Anatolia and Syria after the fall of the Hittite Empire. While at the time the Luvians considered themselves to be the heirs of the Empire, culturally they were more Syrian than Anatolian. Finally, while a number of tomb inscriptions containing curses, dated from the middle of the first millennium B.C.E., are preserved in Lycian and Luvian (two other members of the Anatolian family, from the west coast of Anatolia), I have decided not to include these in the present study due a possible Greek influence.

In the private sphere, cursing enables one to employ what is often vigilante justice. The existence of formalized curses is apparent even in the 19th and 18th centuries B.C.E., in fragments of Egyptian pots and figurines inscribed with the names of hated foreigners; the pots were then smashed in order to “break the power of their enemies” (Pritchard 1955: 347, translation by John A. Wilson). Curses are also used in the public sphere to enforce provisions of treaties and contracts.

To understand the significance of curses, one must first understand the dynamics which existed between humans and gods. As even a cursory examination of Anatolian society shows, such interaction pervaded many aspects of religious as well as secular life. As with other Indo-European cultures, the Anatolians recognized that while the gods could be difficult, they could also be manipulated. As a type of verbal behavior which was assumed to produce results, cursing was thus a mechanism for manipulating one’s own fate by influencing the actions of the gods. Given this knowledge of the power of the spoken word in society, it is clear that any full understanding of the Anatolian civilization should include a detailed knowledge of how these people cursed.

The analysis proposed in these pages is based on a tripartite system of classifying curses, with one exhaustive linguistic analysis to be applied to each type. The types may be defined as follows. First are the contingency curses: those which are to be effected upon the commission of some wrongdoing. Common throughout Hittite as well as Hieroglyphic Luvian, this type ranges from the formally conditional (‘If you do *x*, then may *y* happen’) to a phraseology which, while not formally conditional, expresses the same prophylactic intent (‘Whoever does *x*, then may *y* happen’). Next are those curses which are executed in

retribution. These tend to be more personal, since the offense has already been committed by a particular individual. Last come the spontaneous curses: the unprovoked wish for harm to be visited upon someone. These curses, unlike those in the preceding two categories, lack any immediately apparent motivation.

Several alternative curse typologies are present in the general literature. For example, Falco (1992) presents a classification based on general themes of Indo-European curses, such as bodily harm, food and hunger, and ineffectual sacrifices, to name a few. Such a theme-based classification, however, is not conducive to the kind of exhaustive linguistic study intended here, since it essentially involves an open set potentially including almost every aspect of human existence. Another typology, suggested by Faraone (*in* Gager, 1992: 13) divides curses into performative utterances, prayer formulas, and the so-called *similia similibus*, or “persuasive analogy.” This model, however, is also not favorable for a linguistic analysis, as the categories Faraone proposes are already partially based on linguistic factors. The model I have devised for this study allows for a uniquely exhaustive classification based on situation: it encompasses all types of Hittite curses, and, since the focus of the study will be primarily linguistic, it provides the optimal schema under which all relevant linguistic factors, namely those presented in the following section, may best be weighed against non-linguistic criteria. I do not mean to claim that this is the only viable classification for such a purpose.

The linguistic focus of the study certainly does not preclude consideration of other characteristics of curses. In fact, genre and context, for example, will be useful in identifying correlations between the typology and the linguistic formulations.

Throughout this framework, the aim will be to identify patterns which exist for each type of curse. All linguistic factors which may be relevant to cursing have been considered and presented here. The starting point will be to analyze the clause type: is it complex, with a subordinate and main clause (*e.g.* conditional, generalizing relatives, or comparatives with the form ‘as...thus’), or simple?

Next, the participants in the curse will be identified. The following series of questions is to be asked about these participants:

1. Who are the initiator and target of the curse?
2. Who is the agent of retribution? Are the initiator and agent the same? Is there an agent at all, or is something simply to happen to the target?
3. How are the roles of initiator, target, and agent (or lack thereof) expressed syntactically?

Morphology will be the next category presented. Verbal features such as mood (*i.e.* imperative, voluntative, indicative), tense, and voice will be considered to determine to what extent such features correlate to the three types of curses. Morphological features of the curse participants will be identified for the same purpose.

Analysis of lexical items will comprise the broadest linguistic category of this study. Any unusual vocabulary beyond the standard curse formulas will be noted and discussed. Also, metaphor and simile are common literary devices in the cursing genre. A relevant question for our purposes may be whether or not the simile or metaphor is tied to a performed ritual act; that is, does the curse simply consist of ‘may you die like a dog,’ or is there an actual ritual performed? Another stylistic device in curses is redundancy, or quite

literally, ‘overkill’ (e.g. ‘may he be killed, butchered, slaughtered’) in which the initiator of the curse takes special precautions to ensure that the target has no loophole from which to escape from the curse. This thoroughness may extend not only to the target of the curse, but also to his/her fertility, immediate and/or extended family, or livestock.

Finally, any distinguishing phonological factors will be identified. Some of these factors may include alliteration, phonetic deformation (so that the target of the curse is beset with the same type of fate as the jumbled sounds), iconicity, and any other types of sound symbolism.

Regarding the sources of evidence for my study, I will take curses from wherever they occur in the corpora. The Hittite curses will typically be concentrated in official treaties, counter-rituals, and literary texts. It is to be expected that the bureaucratic nature of the treaties typically produces curses which are more of the contingent sort. In the higher literature, however, the curses become more personal, along the lines of “since you did x, may evil befall you.” Such is the case with a set of Hittite curses in the form of parables, to be analyzed later in the study.

In the official archives of Hittite, there is no surviving equivalent to the Greek and Latin *defixiones*, or to curses placed in tombs to ward off tomb-violators. To compensate for this gap, evidence from Hieroglyphic Luvian will be useful. Although the HLuvian data does not include tomb inscriptions per se, the curses all occur as warnings in the form of public displays, so that their content is nearly identical to that of the tomb inscriptions. Curses such as these from the private sector are crucial to this study, as they may show systematic

differences from those employed in official matters. However, care will be taken not to conflate the Luvian with the Hittite evidence.

1.2 The Working Definition of “Curse”

Throughout this work, “curse” will be defined as follows: it is any verbal expression for harm to befall someone, with the crucial implication that the mere utterance of the cursing words will effect this harm. It is this implication which places this speech act in the domain of magic, distinguishing it from the aforementioned traditional legal, social, and political spheres. Falco (1992: 3ff) eliminates four categories which “border on the curse either in intent or formal structure”: warnings, threats, prophecies, and supplications. Although Falco is successful in arguing against the first three categories as being true curses, his distinction of a supplication (as a direct prayer to a god) from a curse (as an indirect appeal) is ultimately not a useful one. And, as we shall see, Falco in fact fails to maintain his own distinction by twice citing a Hittite self-curse whose structure is that of a direct prayer to a god.

Falco begins by citing a Lycian tomb inscription which might be erroneously interpreted as a curse, but in fact is merely a warning:

(1)

*ebeñne:prñna[w]ā:me ti:prnawate:hurtuw[e]ti:hrppi ladi:m[e] ne
ñtepi hrzzi prnnawi:se lada:ehbi:se hakhana:se [iy]e ne:hrppi
tāti:tik[e]h[rpp]i[y]e m[eī]:tadi [t]ike:me ne:itlehi:qañti:trñmili:
‘This building Hurttuweti has built (it) for his wife. And they will
place him and his wife and Hakhana within the upper building, and
they will not place anyone (else) upon them. If (someone) places
anyone (else) upon them, the Lycian itlehi will pass judgement upon
him’ (Bryce, *The Lycians* 1: 80, in Falco 1992).*

The *itlehi* are probably earthly administrative officials and not higher supernatural powers, hence marking this act as merely a legal advisory or warning, not an appeal to the gods (and thus magic).

The second category to be differentiated from the curse, that of the threat, is relatively easy to eliminate, as threats are not wishes for harm or appeals to a god or gods, but rather statements of what harm the speaker will impart to another if the offending behavior is continued. Consider the following passage:

(2)

*mān ŪL=m[a iya]att[eni] parā tarnumar^{UR[U]Eb}lai^{GIŠŠÚ.A-aš URU-}
 ri nu namma UD VII^{KAM}[-az nu=]ššan ammuk šumaš
 tu[eggas=(š)m]aš uwami^{URU}Eblan^{U[RU]-an h}]arnikmi n=aš mān U[L
 kuššang]a ašanza n=an apinišš[uwan iyam]i^{URU}Eblaš URU-aš
 [katteraš w]aḥnueššar arha^{DUG}te[ššumm(iyaš iwa)]r duwarnahḫi
 šarrazziyaš=a waḥnuešša)]r arḫa ḫu[(ššiliyaš iw(a)]r šakkur[(iemi)]
 ‘But if you do not conduct the release in Ebla, in the city of the
 throne, then on the 7th day I will come to you (pl.) personally (lit.
 ‘to your bodies’) and destroy the city of Ebla and I will make (it) like
 a city which never was. I will destroy the circumvallation of the
 lower city of Ebla like a cup (?). I will do violence to/crush the
 circumvallation of the upper city of Ebla like a junk heap.’ (StBoT
 32.381ff; KBo 32.19 ii 20-31; OH/MS)*

At first glance, this appears to be a curse: the initiator is a divinity, probably the Storm-god.

Yet the surrounding context is a statement of what will definitely transpire, as indicated by the indicative rather than imperative forms of the verbs, with the indicative presumably assuming the function of the future tense, as is common in Hittite. As we shall see in the following chapter, the imperative is the overwhelmingly preferred mood expressed in Hittite curses, making the above passage look like a threat: it is an affirmation, rather than an optative expression that something happen. This conclusion is further supported by the

surrounding context, a set of blessings which the Storm-god will bestow upon the targets if they behave properly; these verbs are also in the indicative. Note that both the warning and the threat also do not qualify as curses under the working definition proposed for this study, as the spoken words of warnings and threats do not presuppose harm accomplished, whereas a true curse is the spoken word, with harm accomplished upon the mere utterance of words.

The third category, the prophecy, is somewhat more difficult to distinguish from a curse, but is still not particularly problematic. Falco defines the prophecy, common to Old Irish texts, as a statement (usually made by some kind of seer) of what will definitely come to pass. Since the examples Falco cites are all followed by “and so it occurred,” he assumes that these are prophecies of what is to happen in the next instant of the future. This again contrasts, then, with the *fiat* that is a curse: wish, will, and fact in one. Furthermore, the fact that these acts are uttered by a seer suggests that these are premonitions, and not wishes, that harm will befall the offender.

Falco cites three apparent distinctions between the fourth category, the supplication, and curses: the direct vs. indirect appeal to a god, the lack of “immediacy, indignation, outrage, anger, or revenge” (p. 7) in the supplication, and the fact that a supplication can simultaneously entreat some power for divine favor toward oneself while wishing harm to an enemy, whereas a curse never entails any benefit for the imprecator. Yet these distinctions prove to be unmotivated. Whether an appeal to the power is direct or indirect, or if blessings for oneself are requested alongside harm to an enemy has no bearing on the core meaning of a curse. The definition of “curse” in the Oxford English Dictionary (p. 153) paraphrases most other definitions in the literature: “An utterance consigning, or intended to consign, (a person

or thing) to spiritual and temporal evil...It may be uttered by the deity, or by persons supposed to speak in his name, or to be listened to by him.”

Secondly, the words themselves in the so-called “supplication” in Livy 8.9.6, (in Falco 1992: 14f), argue against his second distinction:

(3)

Iane Iuppiter Mars pater Quirine Bellona Lares Divi Novensiles Di Indigetes Divi quorum est potestas nostrorum hostium que Dique Manes, vos precor veneror veniam peto oroque uti populo Romano Quiritium vim victoriam prosperetis, hostesque populi Romani Quiritium terrore formidine morieque adficiatis ‘Janus, Jupiter, Father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, divine Novensiles, divine Indigites, you gods who have power over both us and our enemies, and you divine Manes, I entreat and worship you, I beg and implore your favor, that you advance the power and victory of the Roman people, the Quirites, and that you afflict the enemies of the Roman people, the Quirites, with fear, dread, and death.’

If the verbs ‘entreat,’ ‘beg,’ and ‘implore’ do not impart a sense of immediacy, likewise the nouns ‘fear, dread, and death’ a sense of indignation, outrage, anger or revenge toward one’s enemy, one might well ask which words would convey these sentiments. Finally, in two chapters of Falco’s work, those discussing curses of pursuit and curses of sacrificing, the following is cited as a Hittite self-curse, and concerns officials depriving the gods of the tastiest tidbits:

(4)

mān=wa=kan DINGIR.MEŠ-aš *šaneizzin zuwan* KA+U-az *parā anzaš*
ḫuittiyawen nu=war=an=naš=šan anziel ZI-ni *piyawen*
našma=wa=naš=šan uššaniyawen našma=war=an=kan
waḫnummen nu=wa=naš ḫappar dawen pidi=šši=ma=wa
maklandan tarnu[m]men nu=wa=naš zik DINGIR^{LUM} *tuel* ZI-aš
zuwa šer QADU DAM.MEŠ-NI DUMU.MEŠ-NI parḫeški ‘If we have
snatched tasty food from the mouths of the gods and given it to
ourselves, or else have sold it or exchanged it and made a trade for
ourselves and in its place we have left a scanty meal, then, O god,
pursue us together with our wives and children on account of your
desired food’ (CTH 264, Instructions for Temple Servants, KUB 13.4

This is clearly a contingency self-curse, to be effected if gods were in fact deprived of the morsels. Substituting ‘may the god’ for ‘O god’ does not affect the intent or outcome of the malediction.

In summary, Falco's system of distinguishing curses from warnings, threats, and prophecies is useful in that it reminds us of three critical features of curses: that they belong to the realm of magic, are optative (in function, if not form) rather than events which are to transpire in the future, and are acts realized simultaneously upon utterance. However, there is no need for an additional functional distinction between those utterances appealing directly and indirectly to a divinity.

1.3 Hittite *hurtai-/hu(wa)rt-*

Now that a working definition of curse has been established, it is necessary to describe the usage of its Hittite term, *hurtai-*, and its corresponding verb, *hu(wa)rt-*. First, a brief discussion of the etymology is in order. Puhvel (1991: 436) notes that the meaning of this stem must have been more specific than the traditional definition of ‘feierlich sprechen,’ and connects Hittite *hu(wa)rt-* with Old Church Slavonic *rota* ‘oath,’ Old Prussian *wertemmai* ‘we swear,’ Sanskrit *vratá-* ‘oath, religious duty’ and Russian *vrar’* ‘lie’ (in the last-named, of course, the *-t-* is not part of the stem). As Puhvel makes clear, this would

require separation of these words from the root **werh₁-* ‘say, designate,’ since the latter appears in Hittite *wēr(i)ye-* ‘cry out, call, designate.’ His connection is formally possible: for Hittite *hu(wa)rt-* < **h₂wert-* beside Skt. *vratá-* < **h₂wret-ó-* (with “Schwebeablaut”), compare Greek *eérgō* ‘enclose’ < **h₁werg-* vs. Skt. *vrája-* ‘pen, corral’ < **h₁wreg-*. However, if the meaning of Sanskrit *vratá-* is not originally ‘oath’ (Schmidt 1958: esp. 8ff, 146), but rather ‘commandment’ (Brereton 1981: 68ff, 126), then it more likely belongs with *wēr(i)ye-* etc. Puhvel’s comparison of *hu(wa)rt-* with the Balto-Slavic forms would remain attractive semantically and formally.

That some cognates such as Skt. *vratá-* and OCS *rota* show positive connotations of fidelity, while others like *hu(wa)rt-* and Russian *vrat’* show negative connotations associated with harmful speech is not a problem for Puhvel’s claim. There are two possible paths of semantic change from a positive to a negative connotation. First, consider that cursing and swearing are really two sides of one coin: Crawley (1911: 373) reminds us that an oath may be regarded as “essentially a conditional self-imprecation, a curse by which a person calls down upon himself some evil in the event of what he says not being true.” Indeed, this semantic polarization of a single verb may be relevant to the Hittite practice of cursing, to be discussed in subsequent chapters of this work. Secondly, Hittite *lingai-* ‘oath’ can in fact also mean ‘false oath’ (> ‘perjury, lie’) as shown by its appearance in lists of evils to be purged.¹

¹ CHD p. 69, sub *lingai-*.

The distribution of *hurtaí-/hu(wa)rt-* does not immediately appear to be restricted to certain genres. As seen below, both noun and verb occur in literary, ritual, as well as historical texts. The remainder of this section will describe how the meaning of these terms is self-evident from their usage in the Hittite texts.

1.3.1 *hurtaí-/ hu(wa)rt- as Verbal Act*

The contexts in which *hurtaí-/ hu(wa)rt-* occur reinforce the crucial features of our definition of a curse: it is a specifically verbal act, and one whose force lies in the mere utterance of the cursing words. Consider the following attestations:

(5)

mān ^D*A-aš* INIM?HI.A?-a[r *ištamašt*]a n=at=ši=kan ŠÀ-ni anda
 HUL-uešta ^D*A-aš* [] x-x-x ^Dx-uri EGIR-pa *memiškiwan daiš*
hurdauš=mu lie memiškiši hurzakit=mu kuiš [nu]=mu []
hurzakizzi nu=mu zik kuiš EGIR-pa [] nu=mu zik hurzakiši
 ‘When Ea heard the words, he became sad in (his) heart. And he began to speak words back to the god Tauri(?): “Do not speak curses to me! He who cursed me curses me [at great risk to himself(?)] You who repeat to me [those curses(?)] are yourself cursing me!”’ (CTH 344, Song of Kumarbi/Theogony, KUB 33.120+ iii 67 ff; pre-NH/NS) (Translation with Hoffner 1990: 43)

In line 17 of letter no. 305 (Hagenbuchner 1989: 406) is the following nominal sentence:

[*halziss*]ai SAḪAR-aš=za ‘Somebody calls ____: “You are dust.”² But consider how

² Translation of SAḪAR as ‘dust’ as per Hagenbuchner, p. 412.

this action is described eleven lines earlier:

(6)

[z]ik=ma=mu ANA P[ANI] DUMU^{KIN}-YA *hurzakit nu ku* [-. . . .]
'You cursed me in front of my messenger...' (CTH 186, KBo 18.28
Vs. 6; ?/NS)

Line 17 is not a curse, but rather an insult: the context of the preceding ten lines is people calling each other SAḪAR. The exact details are not clear, but *hurdauš* 'curses' also appears in line 9. The semantic scope of *hu(w)art*, then, must have extended to the verbal act of malicious name-calling as well as wishing harm upon someone.

In (5), the occurrence of *hurtai-* as the object of *memiški* 'speak' strongly suggests that this is a verbal act.³ Moreover, in (6), the action takes place in front of someone, again linking the verb to an act of speaking. These attestations provide additional support to show that unlike some forms of black magic which utilize objects (such as an icon of the target) to accomplish their goal, the act of cursing requires words alone. The following section describes the degree of potency of these harmful words.

³ Another property of cursing, that of a possible reflex action, is suggested by the reference of a "great risk" to the imprecator, if the translation by Hoffner is correct.

1.3.2 As Wish, Will, and Fact

The attestation below again demonstrates *hu(wa)rt-* as an action occurring in front of others, as well as effectively illustrating the “*fiat*” property of cursing:

(7)

UD-ti G[E₆]-ti=ya DINGIR.MEŠ-aš *pe[r]an artari nu* DAM:YA
 DINGIR.MEŠ-aš *peran hurzakezzi n=an=kan x-x [nu= š]ši [hi]nkan*
w<e>wakezzi aku=wa!r=aš nu DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ:YA HUL-un
memian kuwat ištamašten DAM:YA MUNUS.LUGAL *idalawahta*
kuitki n=an tepnuttat kuitki nu=kan tawannannaš DAM:YA *kuen[t]a*
 ‘Day and night she stood before the gods, she cursed my wife before
 the gods and []ed her and she demanded death for her: “Let her die!”
 My gods, my lords, why did you listen to this evil word? Did my wife
 harm the queen in some way? Did she humiliate her in some way?
 The *tawannanna* killed my wife.’ (CTH 70; KUB 14.4 iii 18-22;
 NH/NS)

The implication is that once the queen spoke the cursing words, the man’s wife died.

Crawley (1911: 367) initiates discussion of the origin of the curse’s power by asserting how the curse (or blessing) is the spoken word, in contrast with situations in which desire is on one hand and actualization is on the other. He notes the psycholinguistic significance of the development of the “super-verbal potency” of a curse:

“(such a development) coincides with a period of mental evolution, and of linguistic evolution, when man became at last completely *conscious* of the ‘power of speech,’ of the faculty which he had so laboriously acquired. Then the word was *res*, not *nomen*.”

Therefore, whether curses are tremendously efficacious or are merely believed to be so makes no difference. Driven by an emotional force ascribing power to the word, they in effect guarantee harmful results upon their emergence from thought to word.

1.3.3 Competing Lexemes

To complete our efforts in defining *hurtai-/hu(wa)rt-* in as precise a manner as possible, we can consider how these terms are distinguished from semantically related lexemes. No semantic equivalents exist for the verb *hu(wa)rt-*, and the only lexemes which could be considered as competing with *hurtai-* are *idalu uttar* ‘evil word/matter,’ *idalu papratar* ‘evil impurity,’ and *idalu- lala-* ‘malicious gossip.’ It might be expected that all four terms could be interchangeable with each other, as they share a common denominator of having taboo connotations. But in the following two examples,⁴ *hurtai-* is included in the same canonical list as *idalu uttar*, suggesting that the two are distinct concepts:

(8)

nu=kan anda kiššan memiyanzi kuit=kan [k]uedani idalu uttar
 KA+U-az *uwan kinuna* DINGIR.MEŠ [*ap*]ez *idāluwaz uddanaz*
linkiaz hurtiyaz [iṣḥan]az iṣḥaḥruwaz parkuwāeš ašandu ‘They insert the following words: “Whatever evil word comes from whoever’s mouth, now may the gods be pure of these evil words, oaths, curses, blood, and tears”’ (CTH 479; KUB 30.31 i 14-17; ?/NS)

(9)

kuit kuit idālu uttar NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM} hūrtaiš papratar PANI DINGIR^{LIM}
iyān n=at kē nakkuššēš ANA DINGIR^{LIM} peran arḥa pēdandu
 ‘Whatever evil word, oath, curse, impurity has been done before the god, let these ritual substitutes carry it away from before the god!’
 (CTH 480; Ritual of Samuḥa, KUB 29.7 Vo 59-61; MH/MS)

⁴ Similar examples of the position of *hurtai-* in such a list (Puhvel 1991: 434ff): *idala[ui hurtai ēṣḥani iṣḥaḥrui* ‘for evil curse, bloodshed, tears’ (KBo 11.1 Ro. 45); *parkunuddu šuppiš A-anza ḤUL-lun EME-an papratar ēṣḥar waštul hurtain* ‘may the holy water cleanse evil tongue, defilement, blood, despoliation, and curse’ (KUB 41.8 ii 14-15)

Here, *idalu uttar* is simply ‘evil word’ (Puhvel 1991: 435 translates it in (8) as ‘evil business’), of which ‘curse’ is only one possibility. The juxtaposition of *idalu uttar* with *hurtai-* shows that the two cannot be synonyms.⁵ Note that in (8), *kuit...idalu uttar* ‘whatever evil word’ clearly subsumes *lingai-* ‘(false) oath’ as well as *hurtai-* ‘curse.’ This distinction will be crucial to claims presented later in the study. Hittite *idalu uttar*, like English ‘evil word,’ appears to be a generic term.

Two more phrases, *idalu- lala*-⁶ and *pangauwaš lala-* ‘common gossip,’ are the final candidates to be eliminated as synonyms of *hurtai-*. The former appears to be problematic, as it is first defined by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (pp. 23-24) as ‘harmful speech,’ certainly a property of curses. But its attestations show that the harmful speech refers to blasphemy and defamation, not to wishing evil upon another, as in the following: *nu=mu=* [

] *ANA PANI DINGIR*^{LIM} *ḪUL-luš UKU-aš memieški[t]* ‘an evil person talked about me before the god.’⁷ It is clear that the presence of ‘evil tongue’ in the surrounding lines refers to just such a defamation. Furthermore, *ḪUL-lun EME-an* appears in another canonical list of evils including *hurtai-*: *parkunuddu šuppiš A-anza ḪUL-lun EME-an papratar ešhar waštul hurtain* (a variation adds *kurkurain pan[g]auwa<š> EME-an*) ‘may

⁵ Notice too that (8) is further support for the curse as a purely verbal act: the evil word, under which ‘curse’ is subsumed, ‘comes from whoever’s mouth.’

⁶ This phrase is possibly a calque on a Semitic original: cf. Hebrew /ləšōn hara/ ‘evil tongue, gossip’; also Akkadian *lišānu* ‘gossip, slander’ (see *CAD* p. 212 sub *lišānu*). I owe this reference to Michael Weiss.

⁷ *CTH* 429, Ritual against Anathema; *KBo* 10.37 iii 22.

the holy water cleanse evil tongue, defilement, blood, despoliation, curse, (damage(?). tongue of the multitude!))’⁸

This attestation is also useful for eliminating the final contender, *pangauwaš* EME, as a synonym for ‘curse.’ Beckman (1982: 437) notes that this phrase is “frequently mentioned in ritual texts among the evils to be exorcised” and translates it as ‘the tongue of the totality/community,’ *i.e.* ‘common gossip.’ Again, *pangauwaš* EME simply occurs in lists of evils along with *hurtai-*, and thus does not refer to a malediction.

Finally, we can cite another passage to demonstrate that the *hu(wa)rt-* verb means precisely what we have defined for ‘curse.’ Following is clear evidence for the general meaning of the cursing verb:

(10)

n=an lienkiaš DINGIR.MEŠ HUL-lu *hurtandu nu=šši=ššan welluš*
hali=šši ašauni=šši šuplie=šši lē luluwaitta IŠTU A.ŠÀ-ŠU-
ma=šši=kan aggalit welkuwan lē uezzi ‘...and may the gods of the
 oath curse him in an evil manner (so that) the meadow for his
 livestock corral, sheepfold, and livestock may not thrive, and no
 plant shall come from his field, his furrow.’ (CTH 427; First Military
 Oath, KBo 6.34+ iv 11-17; MH?/NS)

Here, *hurtandu* is the operative verb in this passage; the curse which follows is an explicit detailing of the harm that the verb encompasses.

To conclude the discussion on *hurtai-* and *hu(wa)rt-*, it is fitting to cite what is perhaps the single most illustrative example of their usage, specifically in a formula repeated in a series of parables. Here, an object, either animate or inanimate, receives some benefit

⁸ KUB 41.8 ii 14-15

from another party and then inexplicably begins to curse back at its benefactor, at which point the benefactor issues a curse of destruction at the ungrateful object. Consider the following excerpt concerning an ungrateful copper cup:

(11)

teššummin ^{LÜ}SIMUG walliyanni *lāhuš lāhuš=an tiššāit n=an*
šuppišduwarit daiš n=an gulašta nu=šši=šta maišti anda lālukkišnut
lāhuš=ma=an kuiš n=an āppa marlānza URUDU-aš hūrzakiwan
dai[š] mān=wa=mu lāhuš kuiš man=wa=šši=kan kiššaraš arḫa
duwarnattari kunnaš=man=wa=šši=kan iṣḥunauš arḫa wišūriyattari
maḥḥan ^{LÜ}SIMUG *ištamašta nu=šši=šta ŠÀ-SU anda ištarakkiat*
nu=za ^{LÜ}SIMUG *PANI ŠÀ-SU memiškiwan daiš kuwat=wa URUDU-*
an kuin lāhun nu=wa=mu appa hūrzakizi nu teššummi=ya ^{LÜ}SIMUG
hūrtāin tet walaḥdu=ya=an ^PİŠKUR-aš *teššummin nu=šši*
šuppišduwariuš arḫa šakkuriēd<du> teššummiš=kan anda amiyari
maušdu šuppišduwariēš=ma=kan anda ÍD-i muwāntaru ŪL
teššummiš nu antuwahḥaš apāš DUMU-ŠU ANA ABI-ŠU kuiš
menahḥanta kūrur šallešta=aš n=aš mēani āraš n=ašta namma
atta=ššan anda ŪL aušzi ŠA ABI-ŠU DINGIR.MEŠ kuin hūwartan
ḥarkanzi ‘A smith cast a goblet for glory. He cast it, made it ready,
he set it with appliques, engraved it, and caused it to shine in its
splendor. Then the foolish copper began to curse back at the one
who cast him: “May the hand of the one who cast me be broken
completely. May his right arm be twisted.” When the smith heard
(this) his insides became sick within. The smith began to speak to
himself: “Why is this copper which I cast cursing me back?” And the
smith spoke a curse to the cup: “May the Storm-god in turn strike
down the cup and knock the appliques off and may the cup fall into
the canal and may the appliques fall into the river.” But it is not a
cup, it is a man. The son who (was) hostile against his father grew
and reached full growth. Then he looks at his father no more and his
father’s gods hold him cursed.’ (*StBoT* 32.81ff; *KBo* 32.14 ii 42- iii
5; OH/MS)

Again, *hūrtai-* appears as the object of *memiški* ‘speak,’ illustrating its verbal component.

The rest of the passage is simply a realization of this action -- namely, the curse itself.

It is thus clear that *hu(wa)rt-* and *hurtai-*, conventionally interpreted as ‘curse,’ do in fact refer to the type of verbal act we have defined above. We now turn to the analysis of the attested examples of this behavior.

CHAPTER 2

HITTITE CONTINGENCY CURSES

The majority of Hittite curses fall into the contingency category: those which damn the unknown persons who dare trespass against certain stipulations. The great majority of the contingency curses, in turn, are concentrated in official documents, most frequently in treaties between the Hittite king and either a treaty-partner (usually a vassal) or other subordinate official.¹ This contractual system between the two parties reflects the permeation of mutual obligations which was present throughout Indo-European society, reflected in such transactions as the worship of gods in return for blessings, or the trading of goods for services.

In a description of how these treaties were referred to by a pair of terms meaning literally “binding and oath” (Hittite *išhiul* and *lingai-*), Beckman approaches the first of three main questions to be discussed throughout this chapter which the categorization of Hittite contingency curses has provoked:

“This designation refers to the two most important constituent elements of the agreements: the stipulations (“binding”), and the

¹ The distinction between external vassals and internal subordinate officials is not significant in Hittite, *išhiul* ‘binding, contract’ being used for both.

curses and blessings (“oath”) by which the contracting parties invoked the gods as witnesses and guarantors of these provisions.”

As the contingency curse is thus very closely tied to the idea of a breach of contract regarding the stipulations of the treaty, the question is raised of whether the Hittites considered the contingency type in treaties and instructions (*išhiul*) as true *hurta*-. Contingency curses, as the evidence will suggest, may have instead been considered as merely one more provision in the system of reciprocity between the king and official, with the king as initiator but the divinities as agents of the curse. We will return to this question at several points throughout this chapter.

A crucial focus of this study is to identify correlations between structural features and curse type. Historical developments in typology, particularly with regard to clause structure and agency, may offer some insight. A diachronic consideration of the contingency curse genre will thus be the second issue raised here.

The third main issue will examine the relationship between Akkadian and Hittite contingency curses. To determine a possible influence of Akkadian upon Hittite, any structural and/or lexical parallels will be discussed and evaluated as to whether or not they serve as compelling evidence to suggest a borrowing relationship.

The content of contingency curses typically reflects the bureaucratic nature of treaties. Many of these curses are therefore highly formulaic with little linguistic or thematic variation. This chapter will largely focus on the exceptions to the linguistic formulas. Before presenting the linguistic analysis, a brief background about these treaties is in order. The vassal, who was the potential target of these curses, was obliged to swear in the presence of

numerous deities to observe the provisions of the treaty. Beckman (ibid: 3) describes these vassal treaties as “the ideological glue which held the Hittite empire together,” but notes that “some Hittite vassals were willing to risk the wrath of the gods and the might of the Hittite armies in order to achieve independence.” As described by Beckman, most of the vassal treaties followed a similar pattern: the preamble was presented first, followed by the historical introduction, provisions, the deposition, list of divine witnesses, and finally, the curses and blessings. Thus, while the treaty text was a binding by the Great King (LUGAL.GAL), it also constituted the oath of the vassal, which the Great King obliged him to take (see *CHD* sub *ling(a)nu-*).

This chapter will account for all contingency curses in Hittite, using the linguistic analysis described in Chapter 1. Since many Hittite treaties were written in the Akkadian language, contingency curses in Akkadian will also be cited.² Evidence from Cuneiform Luvian will be included here, since this material comes from the Hittite capital and is contemporary with the Hittite. The chapter will be organized as follows: first, the standard clause types, which comprise the vast majority of Hittite contingency curses, will be identified and discussed. The roles and corresponding linguistic features of all participants in the curse (namely, initiator, agent, and target) will be examined. Morphological features, and those curses with unusual lexical items will then be similarly analyzed, as will any outstanding phonological features present in the curses. The final part of the chapter will be devoted to summarizing the correlations identified between the contingency curse and its

² Beckman (1996: 2) notes: “As a general rule, diplomatic partners within Anatolia received Hittite language treaties; while those in Syria and beyond were dealt with in Akkadian.”

linguistic structures, as well as addressing the conclusions about the three main issues delineated above.

2.1 Clause Type

2.1.1 Protases

The contingency portion of Hittite curses appears in one of two variations. One uses an ‘if’ clause (*nu măn...*), the other a ‘whoever’ clause (*nu kuiš...*). Following is a typical example of the first type:

(12)

nu măn kē AWATE.MEŠ ŪL paḥḥašti nu=kan NIEŠ DINGIR^{LIM}
šarratti nu=tta NIEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ parḥiškandu ‘If you do not
 protect these words and you transgress the oaths, may the gods of the
 oaths pursue you’ (CTH 68.B, Treaty of Muṣili with Kupanta-
^dLamma, KBo 5.13 iii 20-21=KBo 4.3 ii 15-16=KUB 6.41 iii 39-40;
 NH/NS)

This may be said to represent a “minimal” type of such a curse. I cite next the fullest form I know of the typical most expansive type. It is concerned with loyalty to the Hittite king, a common theme in Hittite texts:

(13)

nu=šmaš kāša kē k[ue u]ddār ŠAPAL NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM}teḥḥun n=at
măn [šumeš LU.MEŠ^{URU}Ḫ]ayaša Mariyašš=a ŪL paḥḥašteni
nu=šma[š kē] NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM}šumenzan SAG.DU.MEŠ-KU.NU QA.DU
DAM.MEŠ-KU.NU DUMU.MEŠ [-KU.NU ŠEŠ].MEŠ-KU.NU
NIN.MEŠ-KU.NU MĀS.ḪI.A-KU.NU É.MEŠ-KU.NU A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A-
KU.NU U[RU.AŠ.AŠ.ḪI.A-KU.N]U^{GIŠ}SAR.GEŠTIN-KU.NU
KISLAḪ.ḪI.A-KU.NU GU₄.ḪI.A-KU.NU UDU.ḪI.A-KU.NU [QA.DU

MIMMU.KUNU-ya] *kattan arḥa* <*ḥarganuwandu*³>
dankuwayaz=ma=aš=k[an tagn]az šer arḥa nininkandu nu=ššan
a[mmuk] ANA LU.MEŠ KUR ^{URU}*Ḥayaša Mariya KUR*
^{URU}*Ḥayaša=y[a] idālu ŪL taggaš[ḥi]* ‘These words which I have just
placed under oath for you--if you, men of Hayasa and Maria, do not
keep them, may these oaths destroy your persons along with your
wives, [your] sons, your brothers, your sisters, your families, your
houses, your fields, [your cities], your vineyards, your threshing floor,
your cows, your sheep [and together with your property]--and may
they remove them from the dark earth. And I will do no evil unto
the people of Hayasa, to Maria and to [the land] of Hayasa’ (CTH
42, Treaty of Suppiluliuma I with Hukkana of Hayasa, KBo 5.3+ iv,
50-59; MH/NS)

Throughout most of the treaty, the formula of ‘if you do this, if you do that...’ is repeated, without giving an explicit curse. It is only at the end of the treaty that the actual curse is stated. This curse is most remarkable in its inclusiveness: all persons and possessions associated with the perpetrator are included as targets, so there is no room for escape from harm. Crawley (1911: 369) cites parallels of this genealogical descent and ascent among curses as far-flung as the Old Testament and among Maori peoples.

Below is an example of an ‘if’ clause from a curse which is probably genuine Hittite translated into Akkadian:

(14)

[]x-e awate^{MEŠ} ša riksi u ša mameti [i]uppi anniti šatrat^(at)
šumma ^mDuppi-^dUp [] ša rikši u ša mameti []x u niš
DINGIR.MEŠ annuti ^mDuppi-^dUp [qadu :šu qadu DAM]:šu
DUMU:šu DUMU.DUMU.šu É:ti:šu []x GEME:šu
luḥalliqušu ‘All the words of the treaty and oath [which] are written
[on] this tablet. If Duppi-Tešub [does not observe these words] of the
treaty and of the oath, then these oaths shall destroy Duppi-Tešub,

³ Motivation for the restoration of *ḥarganu-*, following Friedrich, is KUB 21.8.25 *kattan arḥa ḥarganut*. To my knowledge, *ḥarnink-* is never attested with *kattan arḥa*, only *arḥa*. However, since in this case *kattan* is probably the Hittite expression for ‘with’ (redundantly with *QADU*), and only *arḥa* goes with the verb, *ḥarnink-* could just as well have been restored.

his person], his [wife], his son, his grandson, [his city, his land], his household, his subjects, [and together with his possessions].’ (CTH 62.II.A, Treaty of Muršili with Duppi-Tešub, *KBo* 5.9 iv 21-26; NH/NS)

When compared to the Hukkana Treaty above, it is apparent that this curse follows the same pattern of destruction. Here, *luhalliqu* is the equivalent of Hittite *ḫarninkandu* ‘may they destroy,’ and the inclusive list of targets is similar to that of the Hukkana Treaty above.

Following are all other attestations of the ‘if...then’ clause type:

(15)

[CTH 6 (*KUB* 1.16 iii 36-40)]⁴, CTH 42 (*KBo* 5.3+ ii 3-6ff), CTH 62.II.A (*KBo* 5.9 iv 21-26), CTH 62.II.B (*KUB* 3.119 Vo. 10-17), CTH 62.II.C (*KUB* 19.49 Vo. 5-10), CTH 68.A (*KBo* 4.7+ iii 25-30), CTH 68.B (*KBo* 5.13 ii 13-25, iii 20-21 (=KBo 4.3 ii 15-16, *KUB* 6.41 iii 39-40), *KBo* 5.13 iv (=KBo 4.3 iii 2.12.19, *KUB* 6.44 iv 32-33, *KUB* 6.41+ ii 24-25, iii 9-11, iv 7-8, 14-15), *KUB* 19.49+ iv 29-39, CTH 76.A (*KUB* 21.1 iii 26-30, 46-56 = *KBo* 19.74 iii 59-60, iv 3-4), *KUB* 21.5 iii 16-17, iii 44-45, *KUB* 21.1 iv 31-37, CTH 76.C.2 (*KUB* 21.4 i 20-22), *Bo* 86/299 iv 5-11, CTH 106 (*KBo* 4.10 Vo. 15-17, 118-120), [CTH 123 (*KBo* 4.14 ii 30-36)], CTH 126.2 (*KUB* 36.25 8-14), CTH 139.A (*KBo* 8.35 ii 16-24), CTH 255.2.A (*KUB* 26.1+ iii 42-44), CTH 264 (*KUB* 13.4 iv 71-77)

Now for the second variant within the standard category, the ‘whoever’ clause. Hittite distinguishes indefinite from definite relative pronouns by their position as either clause-initial or non-clause initial, respectively, and this is reflected consistently throughout the contingency curses: *kuiš* always appears in clause-initial position. An example of the ‘whoever’ type is the following, the only expressed curse in this text as preserved:

(16)

nu kuiš INA EGA[^{LIM} *kī mem*]*ai kuiš apāt iyazi n=[a]n=kan kūš*
DINGIR^{MES} *ḫarganua[ndu]* ‘Whoever speaks this in the palace,
whoever does that may these gods destroy them’ (CTH 255.1.A,
“Instructions” of Tuthaliya IV, *KUB* 26.12 ii 9-11; NH/NS)

⁴ Brackets indicate that the cited lines cannot be securely classified as a contingency curse; see section 2.6.

The following, from the Anitta Text, is Old Hittite:

(17)

URRAM ŠER[AM] k[i tuppī l]ē kuiški hul[(lēzzi)] kuiš=at hull[ēzzi]
^U[^{RU}Nēš]aš ^{LÜ}KÚR:ŠU ē[šru] ‘In the future, do not let anyone
 contest⁵ this tablet. Let whoever does contest it be an enemy of the
 city of Nesa.’ (CTH 1A, Anitta Text, KBo 3.22 Ro. 34-35; OH/OS)

From a Hittite birth ritual:

(18)

kuiš=wa=kan kēdani DUMU-l[i] HUL-lu [ta]kkišizzi AN-iš
 palḥamma aušdu KI-an ginuwanda<n> aušd[u] DINGIR.GAL
 DINGIR^L[^{IM}] palpadamin KI.MIN (=aušdu) ⁴IŠTAR-an papartama
 aušdu UŠ-an zappia[n] KI.MIN UR.MAH₂-an GIŠ-ruandan KI.MIN
 UR.BAR.RA patalḥandan KI.MIN MUŠ-[aš] GİR.MEŠ KI.MIN
 kuiš=wa kün DUMU-an dawallitti kuiš=wa=šši=kan HUL-lu
 takkiešizzi nu kī EGIR-pa waḥnuzi “Whoever should prepare evil for
 this chil[d], let him see the heaven (spread out?)! Let him see the
 earth gaping(?)! The great deity, the deity blazing(?)⁶ likewise!
 Ishtar papartama’ed let him see! Death ___ed likewise! A lion
 petrified(?) likewise! The wolf fettered likewise! The feet [of] the
 snake likewise! (Let him see these things), whoever gives the evil eye
 to this child, whoever prepares evil for him!” Then she turns these
 (tongues) back.’ (CTH 767, Birth Ritual, KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241
 Vo. 30-34; MH?/NS) (Translation after Beckman 1983: 179)⁷

Here, the *kuiš* clause is repeated at the end of the curse, which is not seen in any other curse of this type. However, as this text is clearly a reuse of other material (see the main text in (57), we can question whether the repetition is stylistic or due to confusion in the textual transmission. Various of the epithets suggest that these were taken from Luvian; there is also a pure Luvian version (see (58) in section 2.2.2.2).

⁵ Puhvel (1984-: 364) translates *hullezzi* as ‘quash,’ but I follow Hoffner (1997: 218) in that *hulla-* in legal usages refers to a refusal to respect or comply with authority.

⁶ For *palpadami-* as ‘blazing’ see F. Starke, *StBoT* 31 (1990: 290f.), with note 987.

⁷ Revisions to Beckman’s original translation will be discussed in section 2.2.2.2.

All other clauses of the ‘whoever’ type occur in the following texts:

(19)

*CTH 3 (KBo 3.38 Ro. 26-36), [CTH 19 (KBo 3.1+ iii 48-49)], CTH 251 (KBo 16.102 =A i 46-50), CTH 57 (KBo 1.28 Vo. 8-12), CTH 68.C (KBo 4.3+ i 32-34), CTH 81.A (KUB 1.1+ iv 81-84), Bo 86/299 iii 7-9, 71-77; CTH 106 (KBo 4.10 Vo. 12-14, 25-27), CTH 225.A (KUB 26.43+ Vo. 16-19, 36-39), CTH 225.B (KUB 26.50 Vo. 7-11), CTH 251 (KBo 16.24(+))25 i 4.12.21.39 etc.), CTH 255.1.A (KUB 26.12 i 20-21, ii 9-11 + 21.42 i and *passim*), CTH 265 (KUB 13.3 ii 29), CTH 427 (KBo 6.34+ i 21ff and *passim*), KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 Vo. 30-34*

There is limited evidence for an expanded form of the ‘whoever’ clause, with a structure of ‘whoever...whether x or y.’ Below, this structure is used in two consecutive curses:

(20)

kuiš=kan...[mān=aš t]uzziaz hūwāi našma=an=za hantezzi[aš=siš tar]nai n=at akkandu=pat kuišš=an munnaiz[zi ar]nuzzi=ma=an UL [mān=aš] ^{LÚ}UGULA LIM mān=aš LÚ DUGUD=pat nu ap[ūn kē NI]Š DINGIR.MEŠ [appand]u n=an QADU DAM-ŠU DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU [harninkand]u ‘Whoever..., whether he flees from the army or his superior lets him go, let them die! Also whoever hides him, and does not deliver him, whether he is a captain of a thousand or even a high dignitary, let these oaths seize him and destroy him along with his wife [and] his children’ (CTH 251, Protocol, KBo 16.25 i 10-16, MH/MH)

In addition to these variants, the Treaty of Arnuwanda with the Gasgeans shows a rare third way of expressing contingency:

(21)

[
]iyawen nu LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}Šāttupp[a...]
[?ANA KUR ^{URU}Hat]ti likten DINGIR.MEŠ ^{URU}Qašga=ma itt[en?...
[...kued]ani=ma=kan UD-ti LÚ.[MEŠ] ^{URU}Šādduppa l[inganuwanteš?]
[?ANA KUR ^{URU}Hatt]i menahhanda NIŠ DINGIR ^{LIM}šarranz[i] ¶
[...]DINGIR.MEŠ ^{URU}Qašga ANA DINGIR.MEŠ KUR ^{URU}Hatti
menahhan[da...]
[... n]u=ššan DINGIR.MEŠ ^{URU}Hatti ANA DINGIR.MEŠ KUR
^{URU}Qa<š>qa=m[a?...]

[...]-pandu n=at=šamaš peran papranteš [...]
 [nu NINDA-an? pap]randan azzikkandu nu GEŠTIN šieššar [papranta?]
 [akkuškand]u kuedani=ma=kan UD-ti NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM} šarranz[i] ¶
 [...]x=at=kan anda ANA LÚ.MEŠ^{URU} Qašga=pat šanḫa[ndu...]
 [... Q]ADU DAM.MEŠ=SUNU DUMU.MEŠ=ŠUNU QADU
 GU₄.HI.A=ŠUNU UDU.[HI.A=ŠUNU ...]
 [...]^{GI}ŠAR.GEŠTIN.HI.A=ŠUNU ḫarninkandu
 ‘We have made []. You men of Sadduppa swore [...to the land of Hatti?]. But (you) gods of Gasga go (inv.)[...], on whatever day the men of Sadduppa [who are bound by oath?] break the oaths [towards the land of Hatti?]. []the gods of Gasga [] against the gods of the land of Hatti, let the gods of Hatti [] to/against/from the gods of the land of Gasga. Let them [] before them unclean. Let them eat unclean [food/bread]. Let them [drink unclean] wine and beer, on whatever day they break the oaths. [...]let them seek it from the very people of Gasga. Let them destroy [them?] along with their wives and children, along with their cattle and sheep, [along with their fields and] vineyards.’ (CTH 137, Treaty of Arnuwanda with the Gasgeans, KBo 16.27 ii 4-15; MH/MS)

Notice that this contingency is expressed using a ‘whenever’ clause rather than a ‘whoever’ clause. To my knowledge, it does not appear elsewhere in contingencies containing curses.

The following text provides the first evidence which brings into question whether the Hittites perceived these contingency curses as true *ḫurtai*-. Here, in a pattern not infrequent among Hittite treaties, breaches of contract are paired with curses, and obedience to the treaty is paired with blessings. The blessing may follow the curse, as is done in the following, or precede it:

(22)

nu=kan mān zi[k^m Alakšand]uš kī tuppiyaš AWATE.MEŠ] šarrat[ti...
 kē]dani ANA tuppi kittari nu=tta kū[š LIM DINGIR.MEŠ] IŠTU
 SAG.DU:KA DAM:KA DUMU.MEŠ:KA KUR.KUR.MEŠ:K[A
^{GI}ŠAR.GEŠTIN:KA KISLAḫ:KA A.ŠÀ A.GÀR:KA GU₄.HI.A:K[A]
 UDU.HI.[A:K]A QAD[U M]IMMU:GA=ya arḫa ḫarninkandu
 nu=ta=kkan NUMUN:KA dankuyaz taknaz arḫa ḫarninkandu

mān=ma kē *AWATE.MEŠ pahḥašti nu kūš kuiēš* LIM DINGIR.MEŠ
^dUTU^{šl} *Labarna* ^mNIR.GAL LUGAL.GAL *tuliya ḥalziḥhun*
 DINGIR.MEŠ ^{URU}*Hatti* DINGIR.ME[Š ^{U]}^{RU}*W< i> luša* ^dU
^{URU}*piḥaššaššiš ŠA* SAG.DU ^[d]UTU^{šl} *nu=ita=kan QADU* DAM:KA
 DUMU.MEŠ:KA [...] GU₄.HI.A:KA UDU.HI.A:KA *QADU*
 [MIM]MU:KA=*ya aššu[li pah]šantaru* ‘If you Alaksandu, break
 these words of the tablet [which] stand on this tablet, may these
 Thousand Gods destroy you completely along with your person, your
 wife, your sons, your lands, your vineyard, your threshing floor, your
 field, your cattle, your sheep, along with your possessions and may
 they banish your progeny from the dark earth--but if you do observe
 these words, then these Thousand Gods whom I, my Majesty,
 Labarna, Muwattalli, Great King, have summoned to assembly--the
 deities of Hatti, the deities of Wilusa, and the personal Storm-god of
 Lightning of My Majesty--shall benevolently protect you, together
 with your wife, your sons, [your grandsons, your cities, your threshing
 floor, your vineyard, your field,] your cattle, your sheep, together
 with your possessions.’ (CTH 76.A, Treaty of Muwattalli with
 Alakšandu, KUB 21.1 iv 31-44; NH/NS)

This passage is illustrative in suggesting that this type of conditional verbal act was
 considered to be simply the consequence of violating the stipulations of a sworn oath, and
 not as a curse as we understand such things, as the curses are on a par with the blessings.

2.1.2 Apodoses

As seen above, the actual curse is typically expressed in Hittite contingency curses by
 a single clause giving the punishment. We do rarely find curses with a double predicate, in
 which two separate punishments are expressed. I cite again the Hukkana Treaty:

(23) = (13)

nu=šmaš kāša kē k[ue u]ddār ŠAPAL NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM}teḥhun n=at
mān [šumeš LU.MEŠ^{URU}H]ayaša Mariyašša=a ŪL pahḥašteni
nu=šma[š kē] NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM}šumenzan SAG.DU.MEŠ-KU.NU QA.DU
DAM.MEŠ-KU.NU DUMU.MEŠ [-KU.NU ŠEŠ].MEŠ-KU.NU
NIN.MEŠ-KU.NU MĀS.HI.A-KU.NU É.MEŠ-KU.NU A.ŠÀ.HI.A-

KU.NU U[RU.AŠ.AŠ.ĤI.A-KU.N]U^{Giš} SAR.GEŠTIN-KU.NU
 KISLAĤ.ĤI.A-KU.NU GU₄.ĤI.A-KU.NU UDU.ĤI.A-KU.NU [QA.DU
 MIMMU.KUNU-ya] *kattan arĥa* <*ĥarganuwandu*⁸>
dankuwayaz=ma=aš=k[an tagn]az šer arĥa nininkandu nu=ššan
a[mmuk] ANA LU.MEŠ KUR ^{URU} *Ĥayaša Mariya KUR*
^{URU} *Ĥayaša=y[a] idālu ŪL taggaš[ĥi]* ‘These words which I have just
 placed under oath for you--if you, men of Hayasa and Maria, do not
 keep them, may these oaths destroy your persons along with your
 wives, [your] sons, your brothers, your sisters, your families, your
 houses, your fields, [your cities], your vineyards, your threshing floor,
 your cows, your sheep [and together with your property]--and may
 they remove them from the dark earth. And I will do no evil unto
 the people of Hayasa, to Maria and to [the land] of Hayasa’ (CTH
 42, Treaty of Suppiluliuma I with Hukkana of Hayasa, KBo 5.3+ iv,
 50-59; MH/NS)

The ‘if’ clause is standard, but the double predicate is somewhat unusual: *nu=šmaš kē NIŠ*

DINGIR^{LIM}...*kattan arĥa* <*ĥarganuwandu*> *dankuwayaz=ma=aš=k[an tagn]az šer arĥa*
*nininkandu*⁹ ‘may these oaths destroy you...and may they remove them from the dark earth.’

The existence of both an extended and a shorter version raises the question of whether
 one is an expansion of the normal, “default” one, or whether the normal one is not rather a
 conflation of the extended version. Below are examples of the more typical, shorter version
 from the Treaty with Ulmi-Tešub and the Treaty of Muwattalli with Alakšandu,
 respectively:

(24)
mān URU^{LUM} kuiš našma AŠRU kuitki ANA ^m *Ulmi-^dUp LUGAL KUR*
^{URU.D} *Utašša piyanna ŪL ZI-anza apaš=ma=an GEŠPU-aḥzi*

⁸ Motivation for the restoration of *ĥarganu-*, following Friedrich, is KUB 21.8.25 *kattan arĥa ĥarganut*. To
 my knowledge, *ĥarnink-* is never attested with *kattan arĥa*, only *arĥa*. However, since in this case *kattan* is
 probably the Hittite expression for ‘with’ (redundantly with *QADU*), and only *arĥa* goes with the verb,
ĥarnink- could just as well have been restored.

⁹ With *nininkandu* compare Umbrian *ninctu* in the Iguvine Tables VIb 60 and VIIa 49, also in a curse context.
 For a comparison with Hittite, see Meiser 1986, with slightly different semantic implications.

n=at=ši=kan GEŠPU-za dāi n=an=kan kūš NIES DINGIR.MEŠ
dankui takni šer arḥa ḥarninkandu ‘If Ulmi-Tesub is not of a mind
to...may these oaths destroy him from the dark earth.’ (CTH 106,
Treaty with Ulmi-Tešub, KBo 4.10 Vo. 18-20; NH/NS)

(25)

nu=ta=kkā NUMUN:KA dankuyaz taknaz arḥa ḥarninkandu ‘may
they destroy your progeny from the dark earth’ (CTH 76.A, Treaty
of Muwatalli with Alakšandu, KUB 21.1 iv 31-44; NH/NS)

At first glance, we feel more comfortable with the expanded version. Although it is risky to generalize, standard European languages do not use constructions which pair the transitive verb ‘destroy’ with an ablative phrase such as ‘from the dark earth.’ Also, the Hukkana example, the fuller version, is the oldest attested. Therefore, we will tentatively say that the expanded version appears to be the original, and the shorter one a conflation of it. Fensham (1962: 6) discusses parallels of short and long formulas in the Old Testament, specifically in Deuteronomy 8 and 28, but does not offer an opinion on which must be the standard; he merely notes the presence of these two forms of malediction throughout the ancient Near East, even in the same treaty.

Another double-predicate Hittite curse, from the Military Oaths:

(26)

nu=ššan pahḫueni wātar papparašzi nu=šmaš kišan tezzi kī(y)=ašta
warān pahḫur GIM-an kištati n=ašta kuiš kūš NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ
šarrizzi n=an kē NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ appandu n=ašta apell=a TI-
tar=šet^{LÜ} GURUŠ-tar=šet lulu=ššet INA EGIR UD^{MI} QADU DAM.
MEŠ-ŠÚ DUMU.MEŠ-ŠÚ QATAMMA kištaru n=an linkiaš DINGIR.
MEŠ ḫUL-lu ḫurtandu nu=šši=ššan wēlluš ḫālī=šši ašauni=šši
šuplie=šši lē luluwaitta IŠTU A.ŠÀ-ŠU=ma=šši=kan aggalit
welkuwan lē uezzi ‘And he sprinkles water on the fire and he speaks
to them thus: “Just as this burning fire expired, whoever breaks these
oaths, may the oaths seize him and may also his life, his manhood, his
prosperity for the future, along with his wives, his children expire thus

and may the oath-gods curse him in an evil manner (so that) the meadow for his corral, sheepfold, and livestock may not thrive, and no plant shall come from his field, his furrow.” (CTH 427, First Military Oath, *KBo* 6.34+ iv 4-17; MH?¹⁰/NS)

This curse may appear to have multiple predicates, but I view it as having essentially two operative clauses, by which the oaths are to seize those who break the oath, so as to assure that the other evil consequences befall them.¹⁰

The one genuine example of a curse containing multiple predicates occurs in the Treaty of Suppiluliuma with Šattiwaza, which begins with the standard punishment of the oath-gods destroying the target and those associated with him. What follows appears to be merely a prophecy, and not a curse, of what else they will do (note that the ‘drawing out like malt from a husk’ is not an imperative). The phrase ‘the ground shall be of ice’ is unique: while colorful, it is not nearly as destructive as many of the other curses in our corpus and one wonders if the punishment could have been more severe. The same is true for ‘the ground shall be a marsh.’

Fragments of a Hittite version of this treaty (CTH 51) also exist, and it is coincidental that only the Akkadian version, as presented below, is preserved. Beckman (1993: 55f) notes that structurally, CTH 51 is a typical Hittite treaty, and is the “edition” of the Great King, composed entirely by his chancellery. There is no positive evidence of an Akkadian influence here; nevertheless, it may or may not be coincidental that this is the only multiple-predicate

¹⁰ Another noteworthy structural feature in (26) is the clause *n=an kē NIŠ DINGIR MEŠ appandu* ‘may the oaths seize him.’ The clause appears frequently throughout this genre, and will be discussed in section 2.2.2.2.

curse in a Hittite treaty:

(27)

*šumma [att]a ṡattiwaza DUMU.LUGAL u LÚ.MEŠ Hurri amate^{MEŠ}
ša riksi anni lā tanaššara atta ṡattiwaza [u LÚ].MEŠ Hurri qadu
KUR-ti=kunu qadu DAM.MEŠ=kunu u qadu mimmu=kunu
DINGIR.MEŠ EN mamiti lihalliq=(k)unu kima bu[ql]i ištu elte=šu
išaddaddu=kunuši kima ištu ŠÀ pu[pu]waḫi Ú lā išu u atta
ṡattiwaza qadu [DA]M-ti šaniti ša taḫazzu u LÚ.MEŠ Hurri qadu
DAM.MEŠ=kunu DUMU.MEŠ=kunu u qadu KUR-ti=kunu akanna
NUMUN lā išu u DINGIR.MEŠ annutum(!) ša EN mamiti
muškenutta u ērrišutta liddin=kunuši u atta ṡattiwaza^{GIŠ}GU.ZA=ka
lišbalkittu u atta ṡattiwaza niš DINGIR.MEŠ annuti qadu KUR-ti=ka
ki GI liḫašišu=ka šum=ka u NUMUN=ka ša MUNUS-ti šaniti ša
taḫazzu ištu KI-ti NUMUN=ka lihalliqa u atta ṡattiwaza qadu
KUR=ka ṡubba pašaḫa lā šapara ina ŠÀ-bi DUMU.MEŠ Hurri
šu(!)=ma liḫliq eršetum lū šuripu=ma teḫliṡša eršetum ša KUR-
ti=kunu lū sāḫu ša nipḫū lū tašala=ma lā tebbira atta ṡattiwaza u
LÚ.MEŠ Hurri ana lim DINGIR.MEŠ lū^{LÚ}KUR.MEŠ attumu
likaššid=kunuši ‘If you, Prince Šattiwaza, and you Hurrians do not
observe the words of the treaty, the gods, lords of the oath, shall
destroy you [and] you Hurrians, together with your land, your wives,
and your possessions. They will draw you out like malt from its husk.
As one does not get a plant from the midst of..., so you, together with
any other wife whom you might take (in place of my daughter), and
you Hurrians, together with your wives, your sons, and your land, shall
thus have no progeny. And these gods, who are lords of the oath,
shall allot you poverty and destitution. And you, Šattiwaza--they
shall overthrow your throne. And you, Šattiwaza --these oath gods
shall snap you off like a reed, together with your land. Your name
and your progeny by another wife whom you might take shall be
eradicated from the earth. And you, Šattiwaza, together with your
land, because of not delivering goodness and recovery (?) among the
Hurrians--you (!) shall be eradicated. The ground shall be ice, so that
you will slip. The ground of your land shall be a marsh of _____, so
that you will certainly sink and be unable to cross. You, Šattiwaza,
and the Hurrians shall be the enemies of the Thousand Gods. They
shall defeat you.’ (CTH 51, Treaty of Suppiluliuma with Šattiwaza;
KBo 1.1 Vo. 59ff)¹¹ (Translation with Beckman 1996: 43f)*

¹¹ The text is contemporary with Middle Hittite. I avoid extending the usual sigla for composition and manuscript from Hittite to Akkadian.

The figure of ‘snap off like reed’ has a counterpart in Cuneiform Luvian:¹²

(28)

ŠA GI=ma II ^{GIŠ}PISAN.ĤI.A ANA EN S[ISKUR *par*]ā ēpzi nu II
^{GIŠ}PISAN.ĤI.A ŠA GI *appizz*[iya]z ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI *harzi* EN
 SISKUR=ma= ššiy=aš *mena*[h_h]anda IŠTU QATI-ŠU ēpzi n=uš anda
wešuriyanzi n=uš *arha duwarnanzi* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI=ma *kiššan memai*
kuiš=tar malhaššaššanzan EN-ya ādduwala ānniti a=an
 DINGIR.MEŠ-inzi āhha nātatta tatarhandu witpanim=pa=an
widāindu a=duw=an *annān pātanza dūwandu nu* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI
 GI.ĤI.A ANA EN SISKUR ŠAPAL ĠIR.MEŠ-ŠU dāi ‘She [the Old
 Woman] proffers two reed tubes to the celebrant. Opposite her, the
 celebrant also takes them in his hands. They crush them by twisting.
 They break them apart. The Old Woman speaks as follows:
 “Whoever does evil to the celebrant, may the gods crush him like
 reeds, and may they smash him *witpanim*, may they put him under his
 [the celebrant’s] feet.” The Old Woman places the reeds under the
 celebrant’s feet...’ (CTH 759, *dupaduparsa* Ritual, KUB 9.6 +[his
 I.2]iii 19” ff; ?/NS)

However, the quasi-universality of this particular curse (it also occurs in a Vedic Sanskrit hymn, for example) rules out this match as conclusive evidence for an Akkadian-to-Hittite influence. Similarly, Falco (1992: 180) cites the fact that both the Šattiwaza treaty and the Hittite Military Oaths are metaphorically bound as evidence of an “extra-Indo-European comparison and possible influence on (the Hittite Military Oaths).” Falco offers no other evidence to support this claim, and there seems at least an equal chance that some of the similes of the Šattiwaza treaty reflect borrowings from the (native) Hittite practices of the Military Oath. In fact, it is likely that in the phrase ‘poverty and destitution,’ the Akkadian *ērrišutta* ‘nakedness’ was created on the spot for this passage to translate Hittite *nekmuntatar*: While it is true that the suffix *-uttu* was very productive in Akkadian, this is

¹² See also Watkins (1994: 335ff) for further discussion.

the only place in Akkadian where *ērrišutta* occurs as ‘nakedness.’¹³ Neither is Falco’s claim of an Akkadian-to-Hittite evidence supported by the way in which these curses were executed: while ‘ground shall be of ice’ and ‘ground of your land being marsh’ are metaphors like those in the Military Oaths, they are not easily done by ritual manipulation. Such manipulation is seen extensively in the Military Oaths, to be discussed next.

2.1.3 Complex Clauses

As with nearly all other linguistic criteria, the Military Oaths, all of which are unusually complex, are exceptional in their clause type. The structure of this series is consistent: officials put matter into soldiers’ hands, they manipulate it, recite the evil which is to visit whoever breaks the oaths, and the soldiers then solemnly affirm their acceptance of this condition. Not only do all curses in the Military Oath employ simile, some do so with the metaphor graphically played out in a ritual, using physical evidence to intimidate the soldiers into complying with the oaths.

Syntactically, these curses are outstanding in that they combine two types of clauses. Following are two curses from the Military Oaths which illustrate the complexity of clause structure:

(29)

ḫarnammar INA QATI-ŠUNU dāi n=at lipānzi nu KI.MIN kī=wa kuit
ŪL=wa ḫarnammar nu kī ḫarnammar maḥḥan tepu danzi n=at
išnūri immiyanzi nu išnūran UD I.KAM tianzi n=aš putkiēta
kuiš=kan kūšš=a NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ šarrizzi n=ašta LUGAL KUR
URU ḪATTI appāli dāi nu=z=(š)an ANA KUR URU ḪATTI LÚ KÚR-li

¹³ von Soden, *AHw* 1.241

IGI.ĪI.A-wa dāi n=an kē NIEŠ DINGIR^{LIM} appandu n=aš=kan
 inanaš šer arḫa paršiyaddaru nu idālu ḫinkan pēdau apē=ma
 daranzi apāt ēšdu ‘One puts the yeast in their hands (and) they (the
 soldiers) lick it. One says as follows: “What is this? Is this not yeast?
 Just as they take a small amount of this yeast and they mix it in the
 dough container, and they let it stand for a day and it swells up -- may
 also whoever breaks these oaths and entraps the Hittite king and puts
 his eyes on the country of Hatti in a hostile way, may these oaths
 seize him -- and may he break out in sores (?) and may he carry off an
 evil fate (?). And they (the soldiers) say “so be it.”’ (CTH 427; First
 Military Oath, KBo 6.34+ i 35-46; MH?^{NS})

(30)

nu=šmaš BULUG BAPPIR INA QATI-ŠUNU dāi n=at lippanzi
 nu=šmaš kišan tezzi kī=wa BAPPIR GIM-an IŠTU^{NA4} ARÀ mallanzi
 n=at wetenit imiyanzi n=at zanuani n=at ḫarranuškanzi kuiš=a=kan
 kē NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ šarradda nu=šsan ANA LUGAL
 MUNUS.LUGAL ANA DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL ANA KÚR^{URU} ḪATTI
 ḪUL-lu takkizzi n=an kē NIEŠ DINGIR^{LIM} appandu nu
 ḫaštai=ši<<ti>>t QATAMMA mallandu n=an QATAMMA inuškidu
 n=an QATAMMA ḫarra<nu>škitta nu ḪUL-lu ŪŠ-kan pēdau
 apē=ma daranzi apāt ēšdu ‘One puts the malt and beer spice in their
 hands and they lick it. One says to them as follows: “Just as they
 grind this beer spice with the millstone, and mix it with water, and
 cook it and crush it, may whoever also breaks these oaths and inflicts
 evil against the Hittite king, the queen and the king’s children may
 these oaths seize him and may they grind his bones thus and roast
 (him) and may he thus be crushed and may he carry off an evil fate.”
 And they say “so be it.”’ (ibid., ii 19-41)

In the first example, the generalizing relative clause *kuiš=kan kūšš=a...n=an kē NIEŠ*

DINGIR^{LIM} appandu ‘may also whoever breaks these oaths...may these oaths seize him’ is

inserted into a basic ‘as...thus’ complex comparison clause: *maḫḫan tepu danzi...putkietta*

‘As they take (the yeast)...and it swells up,’ resumed by *n=aš=kan...paršiyaddaru* ‘may he

(thus) break out in sores.’ In Hittite sympathetic magic, comparisons of the ‘as...thus’ type

(*maḫḫan...apeniššan=QATAMMA*) are plentiful if not routine; in the Military Oaths this

construction is combined with the ‘whoever...’ variant of a contingency curse. It appears that the complex clause structure is tied to the accompanying ritual performed.

Regarding historical development of clause structure, the available evidence offers no secure ‘if’ clause within an assured curse in Old Hittite. The ‘whoever’ clause, though, is securely OH, appearing in the Anitta and Zalpa texts. The lack of ‘if’ clauses may not be significant, however, due to the lack of treaties in OH: *CTH* 27 is the only OH treaty, and the protasis of the curse is missing. In Middle Hittite, *KBo* 16.24 (+) 25 i 71 has what could be an ‘if’ clause, but the text is unfortunately too broken. One MH text, a protocol (*CTH* 251), seems to be dominated by ‘whoever’ clauses, but again the broken nature of the text calls for caution. On the other hand, it is clear that the ‘if’ clauses come to be standard in treaties, with the ‘whoever’ clause beginning to fade in Neo-Hittite. The ‘if’ clause spreads at the expense of the ‘whoever’ clause, but the latter is not eliminated.

To conclude, the clause structure of Hittite contingency curses shows only slight variation. As mentioned above, the vast majority of contingency curses show one of two variants of a basic simple clause structure, with the indefiniteness of the perpetrator reflected in the ‘if anyone’ and ‘whoever’ structures. Double predicates were shown to be a somewhat more sophisticated phraseology. The only example of a curse containing true multiple predicates was the Treaty of Suppiluliuma with Šattiwaza, which contains an elaborate list of curses, each expressed as a separate clause. The only complex clause structures used in contingency curses were seen in the Military Oaths. Admittedly, the nature of cursing, that is, appealing to a divinity for evil to befall someone in the case of wrongdoing might seem by

design to limit the number of clause structures, but the overall consistency in such a large corpus of data is still remarkable.

2.2 Participants

As expected with curses dealing with a mutual obligation, the king and subordinate official typically play the roles of initiator and potential target, respectively, with either the personified oaths (*NĪŠ DINGIR^{LIM} = linkiyanteš*) themselves or, less frequently, the gods of the oath (*linkiyaš DINGIR.MEŠ*) typically serving as the agents.¹⁴ This section first briefly reviews the standard participants, then turns to the unique way in which the Military Oaths treat agency, as well as the motivations and possible historical developments behind this pattern.

2.2.1 Initiator(s)

Predictably, due to the aforementioned bureaucratic context in which contingency curses appear, there is fairly little variation, linguistic or otherwise, in the identity of the actual instigator of the curse. In most cases, the initiator is not expressed overtly, but is

¹⁴ The authors of the *CHD*, vol. L-M pp. 67ff, equate the personified oaths (ergative *linkiyanteš*) and the gods of the oath (*linkiyaš DINGIR.MEŠ*), based on their alternation in duplicates, but originally at least the ‘gods of the oath’ are surely the various deities (named or unnamed) who are called as witnesses to the oath, and are thus not identical with the personified oaths themselves, even if the writing *NĪŠ DINGIR MEŠ* came to stand for both. See further 2.2.2.1 below.

assumed to be the Hittite king:

(31) = (12)

*nu măn kē AWATE.MEŠ ŪL paḥḥašti nu=kan NIEŠ DINGIR^{LIM}
šarratti nu=ita NIEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ parḥiškandu* ‘If you do not
protect these words and you transgress the oaths, may the gods of the
oaths pursue you’ (CTH 68.B, Treaty of Muṣili with Kupanta
^dLAMMA, KBo 4.3 ii 15-16; NH/NS)

We know that the Hittites considered cursing (*ḥurtai-*) to be criminal and a taboo act; recall (5) in Chapter 1 in which Ea asserts that ‘he who cursed me curses me [at great risk to himself]’; see also (7). As we will see in Chapter 4, there are also rituals against curses. It is therefore possible that the stigma against cursing precluded an overt mention of the initiator. But recall also the standard lists in which *ḥurtai/ ḥu(wa)rt* occur (see p. 15, fn 4): nowhere is an official act by a ruler described using these terms.¹⁵ Given the distribution of these lexemes, then, as well as the juxtaposition of cursing with blessing in official treaties, the claim that cursing was a taboo act becomes irrelevant to the present genre, as this type must not have been considered willful, selfish cursing, but rather simply an enforcement of the contract. A better explanation for the lack of an overt initiator may therefore be that since the Hittites assumed that it was the king who instigated this type of curse, mentioning the initiator by name was simply not necessary.

Excepting the self-curses presented below, the Military Oaths are the only contingency curses in which the initiator is expressed at all; that role being fulfilled by the military officials. Even here, however, the only overt indicator thereof is a third person

¹⁵ I follow the restoration [(*ḥuwar*)*naḥḥun*] ‘I went hunting’ (CHD vol L-M, p. 133f, with reference) rather than that of Neu (1974: 14) ‘I cursed.’

singular verb marker: *ḫarnammar INA QATI-ŠUNU dāi* ‘one puts the yeast in their hands...one says as follows’; *nu=ššan pahḫueni watar papparašzi nu=šmaš kišan tezzi* ‘one sprinkles water on the fire and speaks to them thus,’ et al. Closer examination of the Military Oaths, however, reveals that there is in fact more than one initiator involved: while the officials recite the main curse, it is the soldiers who affirm the curse by saying ‘so be it.’ These are then in effect self-curses, with the soldiers serving along with the officials as co-initiators. Regarding the parallels between oaths and self-curses, we are again reminded of Crawley’s quote, presented on p. 11 of this study.

There are very few true self-curses, (*i.e.* cases in which the initiator is expressed in the first person) other than the Military Oaths. Self-curses occur only in internal documents which are not official treaties, arguably because the structure and intent of treaties typically did not favor first-person testimonies. One self-curse occurs in the Treaty with an Unknown Party, a private oath by individual officials:

(32)

mānn=a=ta=kkan ^{LÜ}KÚR ^{URU}Ḫatti kuiški apēdani [*meḫuni*] EGIR-
panda tiyazi...nu=tta kišan memai ki=[y]a=wa meḫur zig=a=mān
 LUGAL-*i par[ā]* BAL-*nuši n[u-x] zik šakuwaššaraš ki[šān mema]tti*
uda=wa [mān] DU-*mi namma=wa aggalu [nu=mu]* ⁴UTU
^{URU}[*Arin*]na ŠA UD.1.KAM TI-*tar lē pāi* ‘Also if some enemy of
 Hatti comes up to you at that time and says to you: “This is the
 time, why don’t you start a rebellion?” and you reply š. as follows:
 “if I do this, may I die and may the Sun-goddess of Arinna not give
 me one more day of life.’ (CTH 123, Treaty with an Unknown
 Party, KBo 4.14 ii 30-36; NH/NS)

In the protasis, I follow Stefanini (1965: 41) in restoring ‘if’ (*mān*), and take *uda-* as an otherwise poorly attested demonstrative (‘this’). This interpretation surely captures the gist

of the meaning, whether or not the grammatical analysis is correct. It is controversial whether the whole text is external or an internal vassal treaty. Self-curses would not be practical for vassal treaties, but it is not clear why such a “hypothetical” structure couldn’t be in an external document, as other kinds of hypotheticals occur in vassal treaties.

A curse which Falco categorizes as a “supplication” (on this point see p. 9) in fact bears all the of the hallmarks of a contingency self-curse: a standard ‘if’ clause and a common verb of punishment (*parḥ-*) in the imperative:

(33)

mān=wa=kan DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš šaneizzin zuwan* KA+U-*az parā anzaš*
huittiyawen nu=war=an=naš=šan anziel ZI-*ni piyawen*
našma=wa=nnāš=šan uššaniyawen našma=war=an=kan
waḥnummen nu=wa=nnāš ḥappar dawen pidi=šši=ma=wa
maklandan tarnu[m]men nu=wa=nnāš zik DINGIR^{LUM} *tuel* ZI-*aš*
zuwa šer QADU DAM.MEŠ-*NI DUMU.MEŠ-NI parḥeški* ‘If we have
 snatched tasty food from the mouths of the gods and given it to
 ourselves, or else have sold it or exchanged it and made a trade for
 ourselves and in its place we have left a scanty meal, then, O god,
 pursue us together with our wives and children on account of your
 desired food’ (CTH 264, Instructions for Temple Servants, KUB 13.4
 71-77 iv; MH?/NS)

2.2.2 Agency

2.2.2.1 Standard Agents

Agents of Hittite curses can be cleanly divided into animate and inanimate agents, as all but four curses contain animate agents, and the only animate agents specified are the personified oaths¹⁶ and various deities. One serious problem is the distribution between the

¹⁶ I concur with the CHD (vol L-M, p. 67) that *linkiyanza*, *linkiyanteš* are ergative forms of *lingai-* (NIEŠ DINGIR^{MEŠ}): when the oaths were considered to be sentient beings, an ergative of *lingai-* was formed. The above seems to be one of those cases where the ergative had not merely grammatical, but also personifying force; see also Güterbock & Hoffner (1980ff: 3.67-69, following Laroche) and concurrence by Garrett (1997: 288)

personified oaths and the other deities who are summoned as witnesses and potential enforcers. As intimated above (footnote 14), some scholars have not distinguished the two, but I believe they should be. We have the OH example of the personified oaths below:

(34)

tu]ppiaš uttar šarriet [n=an] linkiyanteš appantu n=aš ḫaraktu ‘He broke the word of the tablet. May the oaths seize [him]. May he perish.’ (CTH 27, Treaty of Habiru, KUB 36.106 Vo. 15-17; OH/OH)

To my knowledge, in all MH texts both the personified oaths and the other gods who have been summoned are involved. The personified oaths have the specific task of seizing the violator so that the other gods carry out the rest of the punishments. See for example the Soldiers’ Oath in (62) where *kē NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM}* is specified, and as is noted by Oettinger, the duplicate in KUB 40.13 Vo. 4 has *NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ*. However, note a few lines later that it is the gods of the oaths who do the binding. This happens again in (66), where the *linkiyanteš* and *kē NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ* are doing the seizing in parallel structures, which argues that they are equivalent. Also in (26), (29), and (30), where the *NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ* are violated (*n.b.* not *NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM}*) and likewise the *NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ* do the seizing. In (26), it is the *NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ* who do the seizing, and the oaths gods are to curse the perpetrator. Similarly, in the Hukkana Treaty ((13) above), note that it says that *kē NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM}* do the destroying. The writing makes it clear that these are the personified oaths. I see no reason why the agents in (94) below, the MH Gasgean Treaty, cannot be

interpreted in the same way: *NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ* are the oaths, in contrast to the *linkiyaš* *DINGIR.MEŠ-eš*.

No later than Muršili (and the treaty with Kupanta-^dLAMMA), there was a shift for *NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ* to stand for ‘gods of the oath’:

(35)

*nu kašma zik^m Kupanta-^dLAMMA-aš ANA PANI NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ
waštaši nu=kan NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM} šarratti nu=ita NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ
paraḥḥeškandu* ‘If you sin before the gods of the oath and break the
oaths may the gods of the oath pursue you.’ (CTH 68.B, Treaty with
Kupanta-^dLAMMA, KBo 5.13 ii 23-25; NH/NS)

The phrase ‘sin before the *NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ*’ alongside transgressing the oaths tends to suggest that the *NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ* are the gods of the oath who have been summoned as witnesses. This new usage is confirmed by the Treaty of Muwattalli with Alakšandu, in which ‘sin before the *NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ*’ also appears. That this means the summoned gods of the oath is confirmed by the alternate phrase in the same text, *KUB 21.1* iv 39-40, ‘these 1000 gods whom I his Majesty Labarna, Muwattalli, have called to assembly.’ The gods of the oath are the only named agents. It is not clear that the personified oaths still have a role. In the Bronze Tablet, *Bo 86/299* iv 10-11, a text of Tuthaliya IV, *NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ* appears immediately after the list of deities. The protases contain various delicts, but never refer to violating the oaths. In *CTH 106* (Treaty with Ulmi-Tešub) Vo. 5-6, we find again ‘these 1000 gods,’ followed by *kūš NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ* in Vo. 13-14, and in Vo. 25-27 by ‘the 1000

gods of this tablet.’ All three references are surely to the same deities, namely those summoned as witnesses.

In sum, I take all Middle Hittite references to *NĪŠ DINGIR.MEŠ* to be the personified oaths. The evidence shows that at this time, the personified oaths and the gods of the oaths were two distinct entities. It appears that over time (no later than Muršili), the personified oaths lost their role, and the writing *NĪŠ DINGIR.MEŠ* came to be used for the gods of the oath; *i.e.*, the various deities summoned as witnesses.

The Treaty of Muwattalli with Alaksandu (CTH 76.A, KUB 21.1 iii 55-56; NH/NS) is also insightful regarding the question of the semantic scope of *hurta-*. Lines 55-56 read as follows: *nu apadda=ya NĪŠ DINGIR^{LIM} GAM-an kittaru nu=ita NĪŠ DINGIR.MEŠ parḥeškandu* ‘May that too be placed under oath for you and may the oaths pursue you.’ But later in the same text (line 72), the variant *[nu] apadda ŠAPAL NIE[Š DINGIR^{LIM} k]ittaru* ‘may that be placed under oath for you’ occurs as just a threat (with *ištamaškandu* ‘may they (the gods) hear’ in line 83), followed by a call of the gods as witnesses. The curse itself is not stated. The resumption of the curse can be omitted presumably because the act in itself of placing something under oath implies a curse, and the whole transaction has been witnessed by the gods. This implicit association between oath and curse is further evidence that the type of cursing seen throughout this chapter may not have been *hurta-*; the contingency curse might well in fact be subsumed within the oath (*lingai-*) as just a stipulation thereof.

Oaths appear as curse agents in the following texts:

(36)

NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ/linkiyanteš: CTH 27 (KUB 36.106 Ro. 9-10, Vo. 5-7), CTH 42 (KBo 5.3+ ii 7-9ff, iv 32f), CTH 139.A (KBo 8.35 ii 16-24), CTH 251 (KBo 16.24(+)25 10-16 ff), CTH 427 (KBo 6.34+ i 21-24, 40-43, ii 10-14, 23-26, 34-35, iii 5-6, 15-17, 19-21, iv 1-3, 7-8), Bo 6881 i 5-7, 12-15; KUB 43.38 Rs. 18-20, 26-28; CTH 447 (KBo 11.72 ii 39-40)

The gods of the oath are cited with far less frequency; following are the texts in which they are curse agents:

(37)

linkiyaš DINGIR.MEŠ: CTH 51 (KBo 1.1 Vo. 59ff), CTH 62.II.A (KBo 5.9 iv 21-26), [CTH 123 (KBo 4.14 iii 51-52)]¹⁷, CTH 139.A (KBo 8.35 ii 16), CTH 225.A (KUB 26.43+Vo. 18-19), CTH 225.B (KUB 26.50 Vo. 7-11), CTH 427 (KBo 6.34+ i 31-34, 11-12)

NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ = linkiyaš DINGIR.MEŠ: CTH 62.II.B (KUB 3.119 Vo. 10-17), CTH 62.II.C (KUB 19.49 Vo. 5-10), CTH 68.A (KBo 4.7+ iii 25-30), CTH 68.B (KBo 5.13 ii 24-25), CTH 68.B (KBo 5.13 iii 20-21= KBo 4.3 ii 15-16 = KUB 6.41 iii 39-40), CTH 68.C (KBo 4.3+ i 20-21, 32-34) CTH 68.C (KBo 5.13 iv 5-7, cf. KBo 4.3 iii 2.12.19 cf. KUB 6.44 iv 32-33 cf. KUB 6.41+ ii 24-25, iii 9-11, iv 7-8, 14-15), KUB 19.49+ iv 40-46, CTH 76.A (KUB 21.1 iii 26-30 (same formula KUB 21.5 iii 16-17, iii 44-45), KUB 21.1 iii 55-56 (=KBo 19.74 iv 3-4, cf. ibid iii 59-60), KUB 21.1 iv 31-36, CTH 76.C.2 (KUB 21.4 i 20-22), Bo 86/299 iv 10-11, 16-20, 28-29, CTH 106 (KBo 4.10 13-14, 19-20), CTH 225.A (KUB 26.43+ Vo. 18-19).

Other deities sometimes serve as agents, including the Sun-god (^dUTU) and the Storm-god,

^dIŠKUR (also known as ^dU). From the Anitta text:

(38)

kuiš ammel āppan LUGAL-uš kišar[i] nu ^{URU}Hattušan āppa ašāš[i] n=an nepišaš ^dIŠKUR-aš hazziē[ttu] ‘Whoever becomes king after me and resettles Hattusa, may the Storm-god of heaven strike him.’ (CTH 1.A, Anitta Text, KBo 3.22 Vo. 49-51; OH/OH)

¹⁷ Cannot securely be classified as a contingency curse; see section 2.6.

Below is an exhaustive list of all deities named as curse agents:

(39)

- ^dU (Storm-god): *CTH* 427 (*KBo* 6.34+ iii 39-41), *KUB* 19.49+ iv 29-39
 Storm-god of Hatti: *Bo* 86/299 iii 8-9, 76-77; *CTH* 225 (*KUB* 26.43+ Vo. 15-21, 35-37), *CTH* 64 (*RS* 17.237 10-15)
 “all the gods”: *CTH* 225.A (*KUB* 26.43+ Vo. 39), *KUB* 32.8+ Rs. iv 21
 “these/the gods” *CTH* 255.1.A (*KUB* 26.12 ii 9-11, 27-28), *CTH* 255.2.A (*KUB* 26.1+iii 43-44), *KUB* 9.6 iii 19”ff; *KUB* 43.38 Vo. 4-7
 Storm-god of Kubabbar: *CTH* 225.A (*KUB* 26.43+ Vo. 18-19)
 Storm-god of Mt. Hazzi: *CTH* 64 (*RS* 17.237 10-15)
 Storm-god of heaven: *CTH* 1.A (*KBo* 3.22 Vo. 49-51), *CTH* 64 (*RS* 17.237 10-15)
 Moon-god: *KUB* 43.38 Vs. 4’-16’, Vo. 21-24
 Sarruma (^dSIN): *KUB* 43.38 Vs. 4’-16’, *CTH* 126.2 (*KUB* 26.25 ii 11-14), *CTH* 225.B (*KUB* 26.50 Vo 7-11)
 Gods of Hatti: *CTH* 137 (*KBo* 16.27 ii 4-15), *CTH* 225.B (*KUB* 26.50 Vo. 7-11), *CTH* 427 (*KBo* 6.34+ iii 27-29)
 Gods of Gasga: *CTH* 137 (*KBo* 16.27 ii 4-15)
 Ishara: *CTH* 139.A (*KBo* 8.35 ii 9-12), *CTH* 225.A (*KUB* 26.43+ Vo. 19, 36-39), (‘sons of’ I. in *CTH* 427 (*KBo* 6.34 iii 22-23))
^dIshtar: *CTH* 81.A (*KUB* 1.1+ iv 81-84), *CTH* 64 (*RS* 17.237 10-15)
 Sun-goddess of Arinna: *CTH* 123 (*KBo* 4.14 ii 35-36), *CTH* 225.A (*KUB* 26.43+ Vo. 18-19, 38-39), *CTH* 64 (*RS* 17.237 10-15), *Bo* 86/299 iii 8-9, 76-77
 1000 gods: *CTH* 76.A (*KUB* 21.1 iv 38), *CTH* 88 (*KBo* 6.28 Vo. 39-42), *CTH* 139.A (*KBo* 4.10 Vo 5-6)
^dUTU: *CTH* 126.2 (*KUB* 26.25 ii 10-14)
^dUTU-*ši šamê* (Sun-god of heaven): *CTH* 64 (*RS* 17.237 10-15)
 Hebat of Kizzuwatna: *CTH* 64 (*RS* 17.237 10-15)
 Nikkal: *CTH* 64 (*RS* 17.237 10-15)
 Zababa: *CTH* 139.A (*KBo* 8.35 ii 16-24)

Preceding a curse in the Treaty with the Gasgeans (*CTH* 139.A, *KBo* 8.35 ii 9-12) is the calling of specific deities to witness and blessings of compliance: the Sun-god, the Storm-god, Zababa, the god of protection, Zithariya, Ishtar, Ishara, the gods of the oath, the “age-long” gods, the gods of Hatti, the gods of Gasga, heaven, earth, rivers, and mountains. The

summary is typical of a ‘gods as witnesses’ list. This is the earliest complete list; the witness lists become more elaborate over time.

Several gods are also named as agents in the Declaration of Tuthaliya in favor of

Šahrunuwa:

(40)

kuiš=ma AMAT *tabarna* ^m*Hattuši*-DINGIR^{LIM} x[] *hu*[*l(lai)*]...
n=an=kan ^DU ^{URU}KUBABBAR-*ti* ^DUTU ^{URU}A[*rinna*] LIM
DINGIR.MEŠ ŠA ^U[(^{RU})KUBABB(AR-*ti*)] [(DINGIR.MEŠ)] MAMETI
^DSIN EN MAMETI ^D*Išharaš* MUNUS.LUGAL MAMETI É.GAL
MUNUS.LUGAL É-ŠU (ŠUM-ŠU NUMUN-ŠU *ha*)] *rninkandu*
[(*n=a*)š*ta kēdani ANA NIEŠ* DINGIR^{LIM} ^DSIN ^D*Išharaš* É.G[AL
MUNUS.LUGAL *anda* (we)] *riyanteš a*[(*šandu*)] [(*kūn*)] NIEŠ
DINGIR^{LIM} EGIR-*an kūš* DINGIR.MEŠ *arantaru* ‘Whoever contests
the word of *tabarna* Hattusi, may the Storm-god of Hatti, the Sun-
goddess of Arinna, and the thousand gods of Hatti, the gods of the
oath, the Moon-god, the lord of the oaths, *Ishara*, the queen of the
oaths of the palace of the queen destroy his house, his name, his
progeny, may the Moon-god and *Ishara* of the palace of the queen be
summoned for this oath, and may these gods stand behind this oath’
(CTH 225.A, Declaration of Tuthaliya in favor of Šahrunuwa, KUB
26.43+ Vo. 15-21; NH/NS)

Lines 36-39 of the same text repeat the names of the gods.

Given our knowledge of the power of the gods in Hittite society, it is conceivable that merely making the gods aware of a trespass is sufficient to be considered a curse. For example, consider the following:

(41)

[*u*] *mannumē ša abate*^{MEŠ} *tuppa*^{MEŠ} *annuti* [*u*] *šašna* 1 *lim*
DINGIR.MEŠ *lu idū=šu* ^dU *šamē* ^dUTU- *ši šamē* ^dU ^{URU}*Hatti* ^dUTU
^{URU}*Arinna* ^d*Hebat* ^{URU}*Kizzuwatna* [^dIS]TAR? ^{URU}*Alalah* ^dNIN.GAL ^dx[
] ^dU ^{HURSAG}*Hazi* *lu idū=[šu]* ‘And the Thousand Gods shall be aware
of whoever alters the words of this tablet. The Storm-god of Heaven,
the Sun-god of Heaven, the Storm-god of Hatti, the Sun-goddess of
Arinna, Hebat of Kizzuwatna, Ishtar of Alalah, Nikkal [of Nubanni],

and the Storm-god of Mount Hazzi shall be aware [of him].’ (CTH 64, Edict of Mursili II of Hatti Concerning the Frontiers of Ugarit, RS 17.237 10-15)

This ominous pronouncement needs no further elaboration by the Hittites; we can safely assume that the position in which this perpetrator finds himself is just as unenviable as that of those who experience more graphic punishments. This curse is also relevant to the Akkadian influence discussion, and contrasts with the situation as found in the Landgrant of Arnuwanda and Asmunikal, seen in (43). Here, the standard Akkadian words for ‘alter’ and ‘know,’ *šanû* and *idû* respectively, are used. This indicates that this text was in fact genuine Akkadian, and reflects Beckman’s statement that the Akkadian language was used when conducting affairs in Syria.

Finally, the morphology of a curse in the Instructions for Palace Servants suggests that the agents are deities:

(42)

*kuiš=ma....LUGAL-i ḥarran wātar pāi nu=wa=kan apēl ZI-an
witenas iwar arḥa lahḫuwaten* ‘Whoever...gives the king spoiled
water, pour away his soul (=life) like water.’ (CTH 265, Instructions
for Palace Servants, KUB 13.3 ii 29; MH/NS)

As the verb is a second plural imperative, the agents must be the gods, whether they are overtly stated or not.

As will be discussed in section 2.6, the following may or may not be an actual curse.

Nevertheless, it is presented here as it too pertains to the Akkadian influence discussion:

(43)

AWAT *tabarna* ^m*arnuwanta* LUGAL.GAL *ašmunikal*
MUNUS.LUGAL GAL U ^m*duthaliya* DUMU.LUGAL *tuḫukantiš ŠA*
AN.BAR ŠA LA NADLAM ŠA LA ŠEBERIM ŠA UŠPAḪḪU SAG.DU-

SÚ INAKISÚ ‘The words of Tabarna Arnuwanda, the King, of Asmunikal, the Queen, and of Tuthaliya, the king’s son. the *tuhukanti*, are of iron; they are not to be rejected, not to be broken. whoever changes them one shall cut off his head’ (CTH 221, Landgrant of Arnuwanda and Asmunikal, VAT 7436 Vo. 49-50; OH/OH)

Although the first part is in Akkadian, several lexical items suggest that this is a literal translation from Hittite. This is the only instance in Akkadian, for example, in which *puhhu* refers to ‘alter’ in the negative sense;¹⁸ this usage parallels that of the Hittite verb *wahnu-* ‘alter.’¹⁹ This is also the only place where *šeberu* occurs as ‘break’ in the sense of breaking an edict,²⁰ similar to the literal and figurative usage of Hittite *hulla-*. By contrast, the curse in (41) from the Edict of Muršili II used the standard Akkadian verbs *šanû* and *idû* for ‘alter’ and ‘know’ respectively. In addition, although the cutting off of body parts is standard (in Hammurabi’s code, for example), I have found no examples of specifically severing the head.

Following is one of four curses containing inanimate agents; below, the agent is a dagger:

(44)

mān ^{ma} *Ḫakkarpiliš* ^{URU} *Zalpa pa-[x] nu=šmaš memišta kī=mu*
LUGAL-uš pai[š] nu []ḪUL-lu ḫarzi nu kurur ēpten nu=za x[]
šūnizzi nu katta ḫašša ḫanzašš[a] GÍR-anza karašdu ‘When
 Ḫakkarpili we[nt] to Zalpa he said to them: “The king gave me this.
 [Whoever/if someone?] has evil [for me?] may you take up enmity!
 And [if he/whoever] sows [] for himself, may the dagger cut [...] down to the 1st or 2nd generation.’ (CTH 3, Fragments Naming the City of Zalpa, KBo 3.38, Ro. 26-36; OH/NS)

¹⁸ von Soden, AHW 2.876

¹⁹ Sommer (1938: 184): “Oft bloßes *wahnu-* ‘umkehren’ mit ‘Wort’ als Objekt= ‘ändern, fälschen’ (und damit gleichfalls ‘ungültig, wirkungslos machen’).”

²⁰ von Soden, AHW 3.1206. Another pair may be the verb *NADIAM* ‘reject’ and Hittite *attaš uttar pieššiat* ‘throw away the words of his father’ (CTH 5, Edict of Hatušili I, KBo 3.27, Ro. 28)

This is a rare example of a personal curse. It is unfortunately incomplete, but it appears to have all of the features of a contingency curse. The sudden appearance (in a past narrative) of a present followed by an imperative verb which describe the act of wrongdoing and the curse, respectively, seem *prima facie* evidence of a conditional curse.

Two curses from the Second Military Oath creatively employ inanimate agents:

(45)

kī=wa wātar maḥḥan taganzipa[š katta pašta] [nu=wa]=šši ūrkiš
EGIR-an ŪL tekkušši[zzi] [tag]anzipaš katta QATAMMA pāšu
nu=wa=<š>maš [ūrkiš] [wet]enaš iwar EGIR-an lē tekkišši[zzi] “Just
 as the earth [swallowed] this water [and] then not a trace shows from
 it afterwards, so also may the earth swallow [you] and from you as
 (from) the water may not a trace show afterwards!” (Second
 Military Oath, *KUB* 43.38 Vo. 8-12; MH?/NS)

The following four lines contain a similar curse in a ritual in which blood, meant to symbolize the soldiers’ blood, is poured onto the earth and is similarly “swallowed.”

At first glance, the following Hittite birth ritual appears to contain animate agents, the unspecified ‘they’:

(46)

ḫūwandaza ^{NA4}KI-in x [d]āi? ... *šīwal ḥarzi...* ^{NA4}KA-š=aš=kan EME-
an kuērdu šīwalaza=an IGI.ḪI.A=wa *tašwahḥandu* ^{GIS}ḪAŠḪUR-
luwanza=ma=aš=kan KAxUD-uš *dandu wahnut* ḪUL-luš EME-aš
MUNUS-za EN-ŠU arḥa ēzza ‘She takes’ the flint from/with *h.* ...
 she holds a dagger... “May the flint cut off (his) tongue! May they
 blind his eyes with the dagger! And with the apple-wood (branch)
 may they take (away his) teeth! Turn, o evil tongue, o woman! May
 you eat up its lord!’ (CTH 767, Birth Ritual, *KUB* 44.4 + *KBo* 13.241
 Vo. 27-29; MH?/NS) (Translation with Beckman 1983: 179)

Note first that this curse does not contain an explicit contingency of ‘if’ or ‘whoever’ contingency clause: Falco (1992: 131) presumably describes how the ritual is “cursing

anyone who might bring evil against a newborn child” because of its context: the following line is ‘whoever should prepare evil for this child, let him see the broad heaven!’ (see also (57)).

The text as it stands is hopelessly corrupt. There is no grammatical way to construe the apparent enclitics in *-aš*. According to Soysal (1989: 183ff), the agents are actually ergatives, misunderstood as instrumental ablatives. For example, *šamaluwanza* ‘apple’ was originally an ergative with the apple as an inanimate agent; it was then misunderstood as an ablative, and human agents were supplied. Furthermore, as per Soysal (ibid: 181ff), since *šiwal* (meaning uncertain, but probably ‘dagger’) was a Luvian singular neuter noun, *šiwalaza* was also originally an ergative, falsely interpreted as an ablative. The original version of this curse would thus read as follows:

- (47) ‘May he see a *duški* (rock made into something sharp (flint?). May he see a *šiḫwal*. May the apple take his teeth and may the *duški* cut his tongue and may the *šeḫwal* blind his eyes.’

2.2.2.2 *Agentless Curses*

Several contingency curses contain no overt agent. These form a second and much smaller subcategory of curses in which evil things are just supposed to happen to the target. Yet even within this subcategory there is a division: between those curses which completely lack an agent, and those in which an agent is implied within the punishment.

Both the First and Second Military Oaths provide the best examples of completely

agentless curses, four of which are presented below:

(48)

n=ašta GAB.LÀL ^{UZU}*Ì.UDU-ya INA QATI-ŠU-NU dāi n=ašta*
ḥappina peššiyazzi nu tezzi ki GAB.LÀL mahḥan šalliaitta
Ì.UDU=ma=wa GIM-an marritta n=ašta kuišš=a NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM}
šarriēzzi n=ašta ANA [LU(GAL KUR^U)]^{RU}ḤATTI appāli dāi n=aš
GAB.LÀL-[aš iwar šallittaru ^{UZU}*Ì.UDU=m[a=w]a iwar marriētta<ru>*
apē=ma daranzi apāt ēšdu ‘He takes the wax and sheep fat from
 their hands, throws it on an open flame, and says, “Just as this wax
 dissipates and the sheep fat dissolves, so also whoever breaks these
 oaths, and entraps the Hittite king, may he dissipate like wax and may
 he also dissolve like sheep fat. And they say “so be it.”’ (CTH 427,
 First Military Oath, KBo 6.34+ i 47-ii 4; MH?/NS)

(49)

wāl]ūlan pariyanzi n=an GÌR-it [išpar]ranzi n=ašta parāš parā
[tar]nattari nu tezzi kāš mahḥan šannapilešta n=ašta kuiš kūš NIŠ
DINGIR.MEŠ šarrizzi nu apel É-SU IŠTU DUMU.LÚ.ULÚ.LU
GU₄.ḪI.A-ŠU UDU.ḪI.A-ŠU QATAMMA šannapilešdu ‘They inflate
 a bladder and they trample it with their feet and air (breath) escapes.
 And he speaks: “Just as this became empty, whoever breaks these
 oaths, may his house become empty of people, cows, and sheep.’
 (ibid., iii 30-35)

(50)

ki NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM} *ina[nn=a] <INA> RAMANI.MEŠ-[KU]NU*
[QATAMMA]A immeataru ‘...may this oath [and] (this) sickness
 become mixed <in> your bodies!’ (Second Military Oath, KUB 43.38
 Vo. 19-20; ?/NH)

(51)

ki NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM} *inann=a INA [ŠÀ-KUNU] [QATAMMA] daššišdu*
 ‘...may this oath and this sickness become heavy in your insides!’
 (ibid., 26-28)

The lack of agents here is due to the specification of the preceding ritual; no agent is needed. As we shall see in section 2.2.2.3, these four Military Oaths are the only ones which completely lack agents; the divinities have at least some role in the others, often serving as the catalysts in a series of punishments.

I now present the second category of agentless curses, those in which agency is somehow implied. The Treaty with an Unknown Party contains such an example:

(52) = (32)

mānn=a=ta=kkān ^{LÚ}KÚR ^{URU}Hatti kuiški apēdani [meḥuni] EGIR-
panda tiyazi...nu=tta kišan memai ki=[y]a=wa meḥur zig=a=mān
 LUGAL-i par[a] BAL-nuši n[u-x] zik šakuwaššaraš ki[šaṇ mema]tti
uda=wa [mān] DU-mi namma=wa aggalu [nu=mu] ^dUTU
^{URU}[Arin]na ŠA UD.1.KAM TI-tar lē pāi ‘Also if some enemy of
 Hatti comes up to you at that time...and says to you: “This is the
 time, why don’t you start a rebellion against the king?” and you reply
 š. as follows: “if I do this, may I die and may the Sun-goddess of
 Arinna not give me one more day of life.’ (CTH 123, Treaty with an
 Unknown Party, KBo 4.14 ii 30-36; NH/NS)

Curiously, though, the agentless portion of ‘may I die’ occurs before the portion containing the agent of Arinna; the reverse order is expected.

Below, the first in a series of curses is agentless and also contains the verb *ak(k)-*

‘die’:

(53) = (20)

kuiš=kan...[mān=aš t]uzziaz ḥūwāi našma=an=za ḥantezzi[aš=siš
tar]nai n=at akkandu=pat kuišš=an munnaiz[zi ar]nuzzi=ma=an ŪL
[mān=aš] ^{LÚ}UGULA LIM mān=aš ^{LÚ}DUGUD=pat nu ap[un kē N]Š
 DINGIR.MEŠ [appand]u n=an QADU DAM-ŠU DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU
 [ḥarninkand]u ‘Whoever..., whether he flees from the army or his
 superior lets him go, let them die! Also whoever hides him, and does
 not deliver him, whether he is a captain of a thousand or even a high
 dignitary, let these oaths seize him and destroy him along with his
 wife [and] his children’ (CTH 251, Protocol, KBo 16.25 i 10-16,
 MH/MH)

Although the oaths are not specified until the second target is named, namely he who harbors the fugitive, they seem implied throughout. Note the presence of *akkandu* with the emphasizing particle *par*: ‘let them die!’.

From the Anitta Text:

(54)

URRAM ŠER[AM] k[i tuppi l]ē kuiški hul[(lezzi)] kuiš=at hull[ezzi]
^U[^{RU}Nes]aš ^{LÜ}KÚR:ŠU e[štu] ‘In the future, do not let anyone contest
 this tablet. Let whoever does contest this clay tablet be an enemy of
 the city of Nesa.’ (CTH 1A, Anitta Text, KBo 3.22 Ro. 34-35;
 OH/OS)

The lack of an overt agent here is arguably due to the implications beyond the immediate punishment; further harm is presumably entailed within being an enemy of an entire city. The following agentless contingency curse contains another punishment which immediately strikes us as being peculiar:

(55)

[(kui)]š=ma=kan ziladuwa NUMUN ^mHattušili ^fPuduhepa [(AN)]A
^dISTAR ARAD-anni arha dāi ŠA <É>garupaḫiaš=za [(ēz)]zan GIŠ-
 ru KISLAḪ ŠA ^dISTAR ^{URU}Šamuḫa ilaliyaz[i] [(n=)]aš ANA ^dISTAR
^{URU}Šamuḫa EN DINI:ŠU ēšdu ‘Whoever in the future takes the
 seed of Hattušili and Puduhepa away from the service of Ishtar (or)
 covets (even) the chaff and wood of the storehouse of Ishtar, let him
 be an opponent at law to Ishtar.’ (CTH 81.A, “Apology” of
 Hattušili III, KUB 1.1+ iv 81-84; NH/NS)

Initially, this doesn’t sound like much of a curse. But to the Hittite understanding, the legal formulation contains an implicit curse; we are once again reminded that these are all under a reciprocal agreement. Ishtar, who is the potentially wronged party, can be safely assumed to “win the case” and assume punishment of the wrongdoer. This evidence leads us again to the question of how the Hittites perceived curses, and suggests that it may be misleading to perceive the contingency category as *ḫurtai-*, purely magical and exclusively private wishes for harm.

The Hittite Birth Ritual was cited in (47) as an example of a curse containing inanimate agents (following Soysal's interpretation of the nouns as ergatives). The lines immediately following that series are an unusual sequence of structurally agentless curses:

(56) = (18)

*kuiš=wa=kan kēdani DUMU-l[i] HUL-lu [ta]kkišizzi AN-iš
 palḥamma aušdu KI-an ginuwanda<n> aušd[u] DINGIR.GAL
 DINGIR^L[^{IM}] palpadamin KI.MIN (=aušdu) ^dIŠTAR-an papartama
 aušdu UŠ-an zappia[n] KI.MIN UR.MAḤ-an GIŠ-ruandan KI.MIN
 UR.BAR.RA patalḥandan KI.MIN MUŠ-[aš] GİR.MEŠ KI.MIN
 kuiš=wa kūn DUMU-an dawallitti kuiš=wa=šši=kan HUL-lu
 takkiešizzi nu kī EGIR-pa waḥnuzi “Whoever should prepare evil for
 this chil[d], let him see the heaven (spread out?)! Let him see the
 earth gaping(?)! The great deity, the deity blazing(?)²¹ likewise!
 Ishtar papartama'ed let him see! Death ___ed likewise! A lion
 petrified(?) likewise! The wolf fettered likewise! The feet [of] the
 snake likewise! (Let him see these things), whoever gives the evil eye
 to this child, whoever prepares evil for him!” Then she turns these
 (tongues) back.’ (Birth Ritual, KUB 44.4 + KBo 13.241 Vo. 30-34;
 MH?/NS) (Translation after Beckman 1983: 179)*

Consider also the main text of this curse, in which much of the imagery is reordered, followed by its Cuneiform Luvian counterpart in (58)²²:

(57)

*[kuiš]=mu=kan DINGIR.MEŠ-aš parranta idalauwanni memai
 [kui]š=mu alwanzah[hi] nepiš palḥamanza aušdu [pa]rkuwīn=ma
 daganzipan ginuwantan aušdu [] x ginuššariyantān aušdu
 [daganz]ipan āḥḥuwāḥḥuwāmin aušdu [()] [i]n
 dundumamin aušdu ^dU.GUR palp[adamin] [aušdu ^d]AMAR.UTU-an
 šiyantan aušdu ^dZA.BA₄.B[A₄] []tan
 aušdu ^dPirwan parḥand[an aušdu] [ḥinga]n zappiyan aušdu
 UR.MAḤ kišā-x[] [aušdu] UR.BAR.RA patalḥiyama
 aušdu [()] [MUŠ] GİR^{MEŠ}-ŠU aušdu zaltin parāma au[šdu]
 [] x aušdu ^{NA4}duškin aušdu [()] [si(w)]al aušdu
 ‘Whoever defames me to the gods (lit. speaks of me in evil across to*

²¹ For *palpadami-* as ‘blazing’ see F. Starke, *StBoT* 31 (1990: 290f.), with note 987.

²² The transmitted Luvian is faulty, having confused verbal nouns as accusatives of respect with attributive participles. I freely interpret the Luvian forms in *-ama* as if they agreed with the preceding nouns.

the gods) whoever bewitches me, may he see the (spread out?)
 heaven. May he see the pure earth gaping. May he see the --
 kneeling. May he see the earth *a*. May he see the [] *d*. May he
 see Nirgal blazing(?). May he see Marduk taken down. [May he see]
 Zababa []. May he see Pirwa chased. May he see [dea]th *z*.
 Then may he see a lion mutilated(?)²³, a wolf fettered. May he see a
 [snake] with feet (?); may he see a *z. p.*, may he see a flint, may he
 see a dagger(?).’ (CTH 767, KUB 35.145 Vo. 6-20; MH?/NS)

(58)

kuiš=wa=tar zat[i] DUMU-ni āddurwāl ānnit[i] [] dūpšamma
manadu x[[i] n manādu MUŠ-in KU[N-in manādu] [UR.MAḪ-in
]lin kišamma [manādu] ‘Whoever does evil to this child let him see
a [] dupšamma, let him see a snake with a tail, a lion “cut”(?)’
 (CTH 765, KUB 35.88 ii 11; MH/NS)

Notice how the rituals in (47), (56), and (57) are constructed: the target is to first see three objects which do harmful things: an apple, flint, and a dagger. Then he is to witness first heaven and earth, and finally a series of important deities in an unnatural, damaged, defeated state. Then, the curse switches to a series of deformed animals (also in an unnatural state).

It is clear that no agents are specified here. But given that Hittite *auš-* ‘see’ can also be translated as ‘experience,’²⁴ it seems far likelier that there is more in store for the target than merely “laying eyes on” these objects and deities. Michael Weiss (pers. comm) suggests that the target witness the end of the world, when the heavens open up, the earth gapes, and mighty creatures are laid low. Such a description of unnatural states recalls the *adunaton*, a

²³ Puhvel (1984-: 157ff) associates *kišā(i)-* with a meaning of ‘dismantle’ in addition to ‘comb,’ as the verb is also used to describe what is done to a plow. But Michael Weiss (pers. comm.) suggests instead a meaning of ‘cut,’ so that perhaps the lion is mutilated in some way (perhaps castrated), while the plow is ‘chopped up’ or has a piece cut off. The PIE root would be that of Sanskrit *śas* ‘cut,’ Latin *castrāre* etc. CLuvian *kišā(i)* would require a velar **k* vs. the **k̂* in Sanskrit, for which compare OCS *kosa* ‘sickle.’

²⁴ See CHD vol L-M p. 84 sub (:)*lulu(t)-* 1a. *lulu auš-*: *mu=ta kē=ma NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ aššuli paḥšandaru n=ašta ANA QAT* ⁴UTU-ŠI *anda āššu lulu uški* ‘...let these oaths keep you in well-being. May you experience good *l*. in the hand of (i.e., may you be sustained by) My Majesty’ (KBo 5.3 ii 11-13)

rhetorical figure of classical Greek and Latin poetry which embodies concrete illustrations of the impossible.²⁵

Beckman's (1983: 179) translation of (56) takes *tarwai-* as 'spring; jump,' so that the lion is to be seen as 'pouncing.' This translation is based on the passage *KUB* 12.62 Ro. 10-12: KASKALši *karipuwān[zi pāimi]* UR.MAH tarwananzi pāimi alili waršuwānzi pāimi DUMU.<LÚ>.ULŪ^{LU} *lalaūwānzi pāimi*. Beckman misunderstands the syntax and assumes that the dative nouns must be goals of the verb 'go.' In reality, we have here the so-called 'double dative' construction (see Melchert 1997: 713), in which the logical object of an infinitive appears in the dative. As confirmed by *alili waršuwānzi*, which surely means 'to pluck the flower,' all the phrases are to be understood as 'to X Y': 'I am going to devour the road, I'm going to *tarwai-* the lion, I'm going to pluck the flower, I'm going to release mankind.' Therefore *tarwa(i)-* must refer to some violent or unnatural thing that is done to the lion, like the other epithets. C. Melchert suggests tentatively a denominative from *tāru-* 'wood', either 'petrified' (*i.e.* turned into wood) or 'fettered' (with wooden fetters).

Below is an agentless curse from the Treaty of Habiru. The outstanding morphological features will be discussed in the next section:

(59) = (34)

tu]ppiaš uttar šarriet [n=an] linkiyanteš appantu n=aš ḥaraktu 'He broke the word of the tablet. May the oaths seize [him]. May he perish.' (CTH 27, Treaty of Habiru, *KUB* 36.106 Vo. 15-17; OH/OH)

²⁵ For further reading, see H. V. Canter, "The Figure *Adunaton* in Greek and Latin Poetry," in *American Journal of Philology* 51, 1930, 32-41, and H. Coon, "The Reversal of Nature as a Rhetorical Figure," in *Indiana University Studies* 15, 1928, 3-20. These sources, however, do not cite instances in which the perversion of the natural implies harm to someone.

Again, the agentless *ḥaraktu* ‘perish’ may follow from the previous punishment of the oaths seizing the perpetrator. It would therefore not be necessary to overtly state an agent in this case.

Also of note is the ‘seizing’ clause (*linkiyanteš appantu*), frequent throughout the contingency curses. Its initial position in the apodosis, together with the consistent pairing of this agent and verb, seems to indicate that the oaths, acting as good policemen, are responsible for making sure the malefactor is caught. The exact mode and agency of punishment, however, are often left open. This will be discussed further in the following section.

2.2.2.3 *Military Oaths*

This set of curses exhibits the most striking features regarding agency, and thus merits separate discussion. Several of the Military Oaths consist of a series of two or more punishments in which the first specifies an agent, while the remainder do not. Consider again (29) above: while the first punishment clearly shows the oaths as the agents (*NIEŠ* DINGIR^{LIM} *appandu* ‘may the oaths seize him’), the intended agents are not at all specified in the second and third punishments (*arḥa paršiyaddaru* and *idālu ḥinkan pēdau* ‘may he break out in sores (?)’ and ‘may he carry off an evil fate (?)’, respectively). This pattern is shown in 7 of the 13 curses from the Military Oaths. Following is another example:

(60)

nu=šmaš KUŠ.SA₅ paitti nu tezzi kī KUŠ.SA₅ m[a]ḥḥan išḥarnuwanzi
nu=šši=kan i[šḥa]rwātar arḥa ŪL paizzi šumāš=a linkiyanteš anda

QATAMMA appandu nu=šmaš=at=kan arḥa lē paizzi ‘And you (!) give them a red pelt and one speaks thus: “Just as they make this pelt bloody, just as this bloody redness does not go away from it, may the oaths seize you thus and let it not go away from you.”’ (CTH 427; First Military Oath, *KBo* 6.34+ iii 46-iv 3; MH?/NS)

This example seems to be a non-sequitur, as ‘may the oaths seize you’ interrupts the comparison between the manipulated object and the curse which is directly tied to the ritual.

In the next example, three agentless curses follow the initial agent curse:

(61)

nu=šmaš^{UZU} SA MUN-an INA QATI-ŠU-NU dāi n=at ḥappina
pešši-yazi nu kiššan tezzi ki=wa=kan^{UZU} SA mahḥan ḥašši anda
ḥursaknietta MUN-aš=ma=kan GIM-an ḥašši anda paršittari n=ašta
kuiš kūš NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM} šarradda n=ašta ANA LUGAL KUR
^{URU} ḤATTI appāli dai nu=ṣ= (š)an ANA KUR ^{URU} ḤATTI ^{LÚ} KÚR-li
<sup>IGI.ḪI.A-wa dai n=an kē NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM} appandu n=aš^{UZU} SA-aš
iwar ḥuršakniyaddaru MUN-aš=ma iwar paršittaru MUN=ya GIM-
an NUMUN-ŠU NU.GAL apedani=ya=kan UKU-ši ŠUM-ŠU
^{NUMUN.ḪI.A-ŠU É-ŠU GU₄ḪI.A-ŠU UDU.ḪI.A-ŠU QATAMMA}
ḥarakdu ‘And one takes the tendons and salt from their hands, throws it on an open flame, and one says as follows: as the tendon bursts open on the hearth and as the salt crackles, may whoever breaks these oaths and entraps the Hittite king and puts his eyes on the country of Hatti in a hostile way, may these oaths seize him and may he burst open like a tendon and may he also crackle like salt, and as salt has no progeny may that man’s name, his seed, his house, his cows, his sheep perish thus.’ (ibid., ii 5-18)</sup>

This pattern of the oaths first serving as agents followed by one or more agentless curses may be explained thus: the oaths, as the required members present at the swearing of obligations, instigate the process of destruction; what follows is a natural consequence of the played-out ritual. The required presence of the personified oaths explains the somewhat awkward construction in (60). In (61) above, after the oaths do their typical duty of seizing,

what befalls the potential target is simply a parallel of what happens to the manipulated object. The same process occurs in the following example:

(62)

n=ašta kuiš kūš NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM} šarr[izzi] n=ašta ANA LUGAL KUR
^{URU}*HATTI appāli d[āi] nu=z(s)an ANA KUR* ^{URU}*HATTI* ^{LÚ}*KÚR-li*
<sup>IGI.HI.A-wa[] dāi n=an kē NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM} appan[d(u)] nu apell=a
^{tuzzin dašuw}*ahhandu] namma=aš duddumiyahh[a]ndu nu* ^{LÚ}*ar[aš]*
^{LÚ}*aran lē aušzi kāsš=a lē [kūn] išdammašzi nu=šmaš HUL-lu hinkan]*
<sup>piandu n=uš kattan ĠİR.MEŠ-ŠU-NU pata[(llit)] patalliandu
<sup>šerr=a=aš ŠU.MEŠ-ŠU-NU išhiandu nu GIM-an ŠA KUR
^{URU}*ARZAWA tuziuš linkiyaš DINGIR.MEŠ ŠU.ME.EŠ-ŠU ĠİR.MEŠ -*
<sup>ŠU išhier n=uš harpuš daiēr apell=a tuziuš QATAMMA išhiandu n=uš
harpuš tiandu ‘Whoever breaks these oaths and sets a trap for the
king of the country of Hatti and puts their eyes on the country of
Hatti in a bad way, may these oaths seize him and also blind his army-
-further may they make them deaf! Now let one not see the other
and let one not hear the other and let them give them an evil fate.
Let them fether their feet with foot fetters below and bind their hands
above. And as the gods of the oaths bound the hands and feet of the
troops of Arzawa and piled them in heaps, may they also bind his
army and pile them into heaps!’ (ibid., i 17-34)</sup></sup></sup></sup>

Below, what befalls the potential target after the Storm-god’s actions is tied to the properties of an oven:

(63)

nu=šmaš IM. ŠU.NÍG.NIGÍN.NA peran katta daitti ^{GIŠ}*APIN-ya*
^{GIŠ}*MAR.ĠÍD.DA* ^{GIŠ}*GIGIR himmaš peran katta daitti n=at arha*
<sup>duwarnanzi nu kišan tezzi kuiš=wa=kan kē lingauš šarrizzi nu=šši
^đ*IŠKUR-aš* ^{GIŠ}*APIN arha duwarnāu [n]=ašta IŠTU IM.*
<sup>ŠU.NÍG.NIGÍN.NA GIM-an=ma welku šar[ā] ŪL uezzi n=ašta
<sup>apell=a IŠTU A.ŠÀ-ŠU ZÍZ-tar ŠE^{AM} šarā lē uezzi n=ašta UGU
^{zahheli iyataru} ‘And you put an oven down before them, and also
you put down replicas of a plow, a freight wagon, and a chariot before
them and they destroy them completely and he speaks thus:
“Whoever breaks these oaths may the Storm-god destroy his plow
completely and moreover just as no grass comes up from the oven, so
also may wheat and barley not come up from his fields and may weeds
spread over them.”’ (ibid., iii 36-45)</sup></sup></sup>

Finally, a comparison between the barrenness of malt and the barrenness of the potential malefactor:

(64)

kēdani=ma ANA BULÙG GIM-an ḥaššatar=šet NU.GÁL ŪL -an
A.ŠÀ-ni pēdanzi n=an NUMUN-an ienzi ŪL =ma=an NINDA-an
ienzi n=an INA É^{NA4}KIŠIB tianzi kuiš=kan kē=ya NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM}
šarrizzi nu=ššan ANA LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL ANA DUMU.MEŠ
LUGAL ḤUL-lu takkišzi nu apēdani=ya NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ EGIR
UD^{MI}-ŠÚ QATAMMA ḥarninkandu nu=za DAM.MEŠ-ŠÚ
DUMU.NITA DUMU.MUNUS [lē ḥ(a)]ši LÍL=ma=šši A.ŠÀ
ḥaršauna[š] wel[(lu)]waš anda welkuw<a>n lē ḥuwāi GU₄.ḤI.A-ŠU
UDU.ḤI.A-ŠÚ AMAR SILÁ lē ḥāši ‘Just as this malt has no progeny
and they do not carry it to the field and make it into seed and they do
not make it into bread and put it in the storehouse--so also whoever
breaks the oaths and brings evil to the king, queen and the sons of the
king--may the oaths likewise destroy his future. May his wives not
give birth to sons and daughters. May no grass grow in his pasture, his
fields, his meadows. May his cows and sheep bear no calves and
lambs.’ (ibid., ii 31-41)

While not all of the Military Oaths exhibit this pattern of agency, the number which do is indeed significant. The choice of the verb *app-/epp-* ‘seize’ in many of these Military Oaths may not be coincidental: as discussed above, the chief duty of the oaths or oath-gods was to ensure that the perpetrator not escape; hence the initial ‘seize.’ It appears that in cases in which expressing the gods as agents would be linguistically awkward, the agent is omitted, and the evil punishments simply “happen” as the result of the oaths’ initial action. The oaths, in a sense, are the catalysts for the rest of the destruction, but what happens to the objects in the ritual creates a ready-made curse.

Below are two final ‘seize’ clauses within curses containing punishments which are not compatible with agency, due to the intransitivity of the verbs in the comparison:

(65) = (26)

*nu=ššan pahhueni wātar papparašzi nu=šmaš kišan tezzi kī(y)=ašta
warān pahhur GIM-an kištati n=ašta kuiš kūš NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ
šarrizzi n=an kē NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ appandu n=ašta apell=a TI-
tar=šet^{LÜ} GURUŠ-tar=šet lulu=ššet INA EGIR UD^{MI} QADU DAM.
MEŠ-ŠÚ DUMU.MEŠ-ŠÚ QATAMMA kištaru n=an linkiaš DINGIR.
MEŠ HUL-lu hurtandu nu=šši=ššan welluš hāli=šši ašauni=šši
šuplie=šši lē luluwaitta IŠTU A.ŠÀ-ŠU=ma=šši=kan aggalit
welkuwan lē uezzi ‘And he sprinkles water on the fire and he speaks
to them thus: “Just as this burning fire expired, whoever breaks these
oaths, may the oaths seize him and may also his life, his manhood, his
prosperity for the future, along with his wives, his children expire thus
and may the oath-gods curse him in an evil manner (so that) the
meadow for his corral, sheepfold, and livestock may not thrive, and
no plant shall come from his field, his furrow.”’ (ibid., iv 4-17)*

(66)

*n[u=šm]aš=kan AL[AM...Š]À-ŠÚ widan<da> šū [INA Q]ATI-ŠU-NU
dā[i] nu kišan tezzi [kā]š=wa kuiš U[L=wa] linkiškut [nu]
DINGIR.MEŠ-aš peran [link]atta namma=kan NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM}
šar[radda] n=an linkianteš ēppir n=aš=šan ŠÀ-ŠU šuttati nu=za
šarhuwandan QATI-ŠÚ peran UGU-a karpan harzi n=ašta kuiš kūš
NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM} šarrizzi n=an kē NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ appandu
n=[a]š=šan ŠÀ-ŠU šuttaru andurza=ma=[]=kan INA ŠÀ-ŠÚ
DUMU^d Išhara [d]u n=an karipandu ‘And he places
in their hands a figure of a man/woman full in its insides of water and
he speaks thus: “Who is this here? Did he not swear? He swore
before the gods and then broke the oaths: And the oaths seized him,
and he swelled up in his insides, and his hand holds his swollen belly up
in front of him. Whoever breaks these oaths, may these oaths seize
him, and may his insides swell up and inside him may the son(s) of
Ishara [seize] him and devour him!”’ (ibid., iii 12-23)*

Again, once the oaths are duly mentioned, the threatened physical harm follows from the ritual. In both of these, the verbs in the comparison are in the preterite, to be discussed in section 2.3.

2.2.3 Target(s)

That contingencies are directed against unknown persons precludes naming an overt target. The basic clause structures of ‘if anyone...’ and ‘whoever...’ typically require that the target be expressed in the apodosis only by means of the enclitic *-an* or *-uš/aš*. The target is, as expected, most commonly expressed in the accusative case, in either the second or third person singular or the third person plural, excepting, of course, the two self-curses mentioned above. The unique case in which the target appears in the dative is discussed below.

The following is a case of an “expanded” target beyond the typical inclusion: in most cases, as in (13) for one, if the target is not the perpetrator, it is his wife, children, livestock, or ‘seed’ (NUMUN), a metaphor for ‘progeny’:

(67) = (62)

*n=an kē NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM} appan[d(u)] nu apell=a tuzzin
dašuw]aḥḥandu]... n=uš ḥarpuš daiēr apell=a tuziuš QATAMMA
iṣḥiandu n=uš ḥarpuš tiandu ‘may these oaths seize him and also
blind his army...may they also bind his army and pile them into
heaps!’ (ibid., i 17-34)*

The target named below is unusual in that it is inanimate:

(68) = (49)

*wāl]ūlan pariyanzi n=an GİR-it [iṣpar]ranzi n=ašta parāš parā
[tar]nattari nu tezzi kāš maḥḥan šannapilešta n=ašta kuiš kūš NIŠ
DINGIR.MEŠ šarrizzi nu apel É-SU IŠTU DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.LU
GU₄.ḪI.A-ŠU UDU.ḪI.A-ŠU QATAMMA šannapilešdu ‘They inflate
a bladder and they trample it with their feet and air (breath) escapes.
And he speaks: “Just as this became empty, whoever breaks these
oaths, may his house become empty of people, cows, and sheep.”
(ibid., iii 30-35)*

Admittedly, although the target is formally inanimate, the intention is for ‘house’ to be read

as ‘household.’ The same applies for the following curse from the Military Oaths:

(69)

*n[u-]x parā ēpzi n=an IGI.ĤI.A-wa katt[a ĥuwapp]āi n=an GÌR-it
išparranzi nu=šma[š kī]šan tezzi kuiš=wa=kan kūš NIS [DINGIR^{LIM}]
šarrizzi nu uwandu apel URU-a[n DINGIR.M[EŠ^{URU}ĤATTI
QATAMMA GÌR-it išparrandu n=[an da]nnatta URU-yašeššar iyandu
‘And he holds (the figurine) out to them and he throws it face down
and they trample it with their feet and he speaks to them thus:
“Whoever breaks these oaths may the gods of Hatti come and
trample (his) city thus with their feet and may they make it an empty
settlement!”’ (ibid., iii 24-29)*

Again, the city is the target, not the perpetrator himself. But the intended targets of the curse are, of course, the people within the city. On the other hand, in (93) cited below, the curse specifies that the perpetrator (along with his wife and children) is to be snatched out individually from his clan. Since his wife and children were probably viewed as possessions, this curse seems to reject the notion of collective guilt.

This issue of collective guilt is also relevant to the mention of ‘lands’ and ‘cities’ in the Gasga example in (94). Lebrun (1980: 238f) cites the Second Plague Prayer, in which Muršili recognizes the sins of the fathers but argues in favor of individual responsibility, so that the punishment should not also reach the son.²⁶ This recognition together with the curse presented in (94), as well as the insistence elsewhere on punishment only of the perpetrator suggests that punishments were often extended (see also example (100) cited below).

In the following curse, the target (*apēdani*) is in the dative and thus is indirect. Also worth mentioning is the fact that in this curse, the potential punishment fits the crime

²⁶ See Lebrun p. 209, lines 29ff; translation p. 213, lines 25 ff.

exactly, which probably explains the unusual syntax of the target:

(70)

kuiš=ma=kan ANA NUMUN^{m.d} LAMMA ŠA KUR^{URU.d} Utašša
LUGAL-eznatar arḫa dāi...apēdani=ma=kan^d UTU^{URU} Arinna^d U
URU^{URU} Ḫatti=ya ŠA KUR^{URU} Ḫatti LUGAL-eznatar arḫa dandu
 ‘Whoever takes away the kingdom...May they take away the
 kingdom from that one.’ (Treaty of Tuthaliya with Kurunta, *Bo*
 86/299 iii 71-77; NH/NS)

Since the delict in the protasis expresses the victim as an indirect object (a “dative of disadvantage”), the syntax of the apodosis is made parallel, with the target of the curse in the dative.

As I noted in Chapter 1, interactions with the gods were thought to be a mutually beneficial relationship: by worshipping them the Hittites obligated the gods to offer protection in return. But in two contingency curses, the Hittites seem to take this symbiotic system a step further. In (71), after describing a series of blessings that the Sun-goddess has bestowed upon the king and queen, an unspecified initiator threatens the Sun-goddess with what harm will come to her if she betrays the king and queen (note the dative of disadvantage in LUGAL-*i*, which conveys a meaning of ‘goes away from’):

(71)

n=ašta KI-aš^D UTU-aš [(kī uttar ašnut n)]=at SIG₅-in iya
[(mān=at=kan taknaš^D U)]TU-uš šarratta=ma [(nu=ššan LUGAL-i
MUNUS.LUGAL-y)]a harapši [(nu=tta wettu₄ kēl)] ŠA
SISKUR.SISKUR [(linkiyanza ēpdu)] ‘O Sun-goddess of earth, carry
 out this word and do it well. If you “break” it and change sides on the
 king and queen, may the oath of this ritual come and seize you.’
 (CTH 447, Ritual for Underworld Deities, *KBo* 11.10 ii 35-38; pre-
 NH/NS)

Then, in the following treaty:

(72) = (21)

[]iyawen nu LÚ.MEŠ^{URU}Šāttupp[a...]
 [?ANA KUR^{URU}Hat]ti likten DINGIR.MEŠ^{URU}Qašga=ma itt[en?...
 [...kued]ani=ma=kan UD-ti LÚ.[MEŠ]^{URU}Šādduppa l[inganuwanēš?]
 [?ANA KUR^{URU}Hat]i menahḫanda NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM}šarranz[i] ¶
 [...]DINGIR.MEŠ^{URU}Qašga ANA DINGIR.MEŠ KUR^{URU}Hatti
 menahḫan[da...]
 [... n]u=ššan DINGIR.MEŠ^{URU}Hatti ANA DINGIR.MEŠ KUR^{URU}
 Qa<š>qa=m[a?...]
 [...]-pandu n=at=šamaš peran papranteš [...]
 [nu NINDA-an? pap]randan azzikkandu nu GEŠTIN šieššar [papranta?]
 [akkuškand]u kuedani=ma=kan UD-ti NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM}šarranz[i] ¶
 [...]x=at=kan anda ANA LÚ.MEŠ^{URU}Qašga=pat šanḫa[ndu...]
 [... Q]ADU DAM.MEŠ=SUNU DUMU.MEŠ=ŠUNU QADU
 GU₄.ḪI.A=ŠUNU UDU.[ḪI.A=ŠUNU ...]
 [... ^{GI}ŠAR.GEŠTIN.ḪI.A=ŠUNU ḫarninkandu
 ‘We have made []. You men of Sadduppa swore [...to the land of
 Hatti?]. But (you) gods of Gasga go (inv.)[...], on whatever day the
 men of Sadduppa [who are bound by oath?] break the oaths [towards
 the land of Hatti?]. []the gods of Gasga [] against the gods of
 the land of Hatti, let the gods of Hatti [] to/against/from the gods of
 the land of Gasga. Let them [] before them unclean. Let them eat
 unclean [food/bread]. Let them [drink unclean] wine and beer, on
 whatever day they break the oaths. [...]let them seek it from the
 very people of Gasga. Let them destroy [them?] along with their
 wives and children, along with their cattle and sheep, [along with their
 fields and] vineyards.’ (CTH 137, Treaty of Arnuwanda with the
 Gasgeans, KBo 16.27 ii 4-15; MH/MS)

These two are the only examples of contingency curses directed toward other divinities, a highly unusual target regardless of curse type. Given the lofty position of gods over mortals, it seems striking that the Hittites would curse deities. But it is probably not accidental that these targets are, respectively, an infernal deity and foreign deities, rather than the more exalted Storm-god of Hatti or even the Sun-goddess of Arinna. The explanation for these seemingly unusual targets may lie in the fact that the Hittites didn’t consider these as true

curses (*hurta-*), but rather as just further provisions in an oath (*lingai-*); mechanisms to ensure that the Sun-goddess of earth and the gods of Gasga uphold their end of the bargain (note the use of the term *šarra-* ‘transgress,’ usually used of oaths, to refer to the deity’s failure to carry out what really is a request on the part of the royal couple).

These deities, then, are being treated like human vassals. If we assume that this distinction between *hurta-* and *lingai-* was as meaningful to the Hittites as is our current distinction between legal provisions and a curse, they would not have considered the above passage as any more striking than any others in this chapter, as the provisions would all fall into the category of *lingai-*.

The Gasga curse, in addition to its remarkable status as a curse directed toward a deity, also deserves mention for its embedding of multiple targets, seen nowhere else in the Hittite corpus. Note that the men of Saddupa are first sworn to an oath; what follows may be a reciprocal action between the gods of Hatti and the gods of Gasga. It is more likely, however, that the gods of Gasga are the target, in that if they do something bad to the gods of Hatti, namely fail to protect the oath, they will be punished (by receiving profaned offerings). They are then told to seek retribution in turn on the men of Saddupa. The “ultimate” agents are thus the gods of Hatti, with the gods of Gasga serving as agents to punish the men of Saddupa, who are the “ultimate” targets.

We now summarize the observations made regarding participants in contingency curses from the Hittite culture. If the Military Oaths are excluded from the analysis, the roles of the participants are quite consistent; remember that the Military Oaths are tied to personal

participation in the accompanying ritual. As mentioned, the fact that the initiator is not overtly expressed by name could be due to the Hittites' perception of cursing (*hurtaí-/hu(wa)rt-*) as a taboo act, with the initiator thus understandably reluctant to identify him/herself. But another scenario was also raised: curse-initiators were typically assumed to be the Hittite king, and therefore need not be mentioned. This explanation is tied to the tentative hypothesis that all contingency curses were merely seen as part of the swearing of an oath, as contrasted to the more personal, malicious type of curse, to be seen in Chapter 5.

2.3 Morphology

There is relatively little morphological variation within the corpus of Hittite contingency curses. To review the standard morphological features of the participants: the curse initiator, when specified (infrequently), is expressed by the third person singular verb marker. The agent, usually cited by name, is in the nominative case and is usually plural, but occasionally singular. The operative verb of punishment is normally imperative, either third plural or third singular. The principal targets are in the accusative case, with associated persons and property in the dative + *kattan* or ablative/instrumental. All of the verbs of wrongdoing are in the present indicative, as Hittite lacks a conditional mood. They are usually in the third person singular, but sometimes occur in the second person, depending on the target. Verbs are overwhelmingly in the active voice, with a few verbs in the apoduses occurring in the middle voice. Exceptions to the above will be presented here.

There is one isolated curse in which the verb of punishment appears in the indicative rather than the imperative:

(73)

[] *zik*^m *Alakšan* [*duš* [*AN*] *A PANI NIEŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ *waštati nu=ta NIEŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ *parḥhiškanz* [*i* ‘[If] you Alaksandu sin before the gods of the oath, the gods of the oath (shall) pursue you.’ (CTH 76.C.2, Treaty of Muwatalli with Alaksandu, KUB 21.4 i 20-22; NH/NS)

As this curse bears all of the crucial features of a contingency curse (an ‘if’ clause, the oath-gods as agents, *parḥ-* as a frequent verb of punishment among contingency curses), the presence of this verb form may be due to scribal error. However, in the Hittite Laws and instructions for officials, we also regularly find a “prescriptive” use of the present indicative for the apodosis of contingency constructions.²⁷ This construction is also found in Lycian tomb curses. Therefore, this example may also represent a perfectly grammatical variant. Following is a unique and more problematic example from the Treaty of Habiru, in which the verb of wrongdoing, *šarra-*, is in the preterite:

(74) = (34)

nu kuiš [] *yazzi n=an kē daššaw* [*eš* [] *NIŠ*
DINGIR.MEŠ *appantu...tu*] *ppiaš uttar šarriet* [] *linkiyanteš*
appantu n=aš ḥaraktu ‘Whoever []s, may these mighty oaths seize him...He broke the word of the tablet. May the oaths seize him. May he perish.’ (CTH 27, Treaty of Habiru, KUB 36.106 Vo. 15-17; OH/OH)

Again, the context in which *šarriet* occurs strongly favors the interpretation of this curse as a contingency: a standard contingency formula (*nu kuiš* [] *yazzi n=an kē daššaw* [*eš*

²⁷ Hoffner (1997: 17): Laws, paragraph 1: *pāi* ‘shall give,’ and *passim*.

[] *NIŠ DINGIR^{MEŠ} appantu*) appears six lines before the curse in question. We must explain, however, why the verb is in the preterite. One possibility is that this curse refers to some particular instance. Yet there is no other instance of a historical event within a curse anywhere else in the treaties (in the Military Oaths, where preterite verbs are tied to a historical event, these serve as examples of punishment, rather than refer to the potential crime). If it is in fact a contingency, the choice of a preterite form is remarkable, and must be given the force of a future perfect to make sense: ‘whoever will have broken...’ That use of the preterite, however, is quite unparalleled. Unfortunately, emending the form to *šarriet<ta>* is not a viable solution, since the middle form is always attested as *šarra-*. The only other alternative is to assume that the preserved preterite phrase is a quotation that forms part of a complex “hypothetical” (‘if someone tells me/if I find out he has transgressed the oath’).

From the Instructions for Temple Servants, there is a curse whose verbs of wrongdoing are in the preterite (interpreted by Sturtevant (1934: 371) as present perfects), but the surrounding context supports its interpretation as a contingency curse:

(75)

IŠTU NINDA KAŠ GEŠTIN INA É DINGIR^{LIM} hūman šarā pē hartē
NINDA.KUR₄.RA DINGIR^{LIM}=za=kan NINDA.SIG lē kuiški dāliyazi
KAŠ=ma=kan GEŠTIN IŠTU GAL=ya šer arha lē kuiški lāhūi
hūman=pat DINGIR^{LIM}-ni EGIR-pa maniyahten namma=šmaš PANI
DINGIR^{LIM} memian [me]mieštin kuiš=wa=kan tuēl DINGIR^{LIM}-az
NINDA haršiyaz [^{DUG}i]šp[a]nduzziāz dāš nu=war=an=kan DINGIR^{LIM}
EN-YA [E]GIR-an [harnikd]u nu=wa=za=kan apel É-ir kattan šarā
ēpdu ‘From the bread, beer, (and) wine carry everything up with you
 into the temple. Let no one leave the god’s ordinary bread (or) thin
 bread behind for himself. But let no one skim beer (or) wine from off
 the top of the libation bowl; devote every bit to the god.
 Furthermore, in the presence of the god say for yourselves (this)

saying: “Whoever has taken (anything) from thy divine leavened bread, god, (or) from the libation bowl, may the god, my lord, afterwards [destroy] him, and take his house from bottom to top (=completely)’ (CTH 264, Instructions for Temple Servants, KUB 13.4 i 60-66; pre-NH/NS)

Since the instructions are in the present, the theft has not occurred yet; the context suggests that this is merely a warning contingency.

In the same text, Sturtevant also translates the following verbs of wrongdoing as present perfects:

(76) = (4)

mān=wa=kan DINGIR.MEŠ -aš šanezzin zūwan KA+U-az parā anzāš
ḫuittiyawen nu=war=an=naš=šan anziel ZI-ni piyawen
našma=wa=naš=šan uššaniyawen našma=war=an=kan
waḫnummen nu=wa=naš ḫappar dāwen pedi=šši=ma=wa
maklandan tarnu[m]men nu=wa=naš zik DINGIR^{LIM} tuel ZI-aš zūwa
šer QADU DAM.MEŠ-NI DUMU.MEŠ-NI parḫeški ‘If we have
 snatched tasty food from the mouths of the gods and given it to
 ourselves, or else have sold it or exchanged it and made a trade for
 ourselves and in its place we have left a scanty meal, then, O god,
 pursue us together with our wives and children on account of your
 desired food’ (ibid., iv 71-77)

The preceding context shows that this self-curse is in effect a blanket confession for the case where the individual perpetrator is unknown (see line iv 68 *mān=at ŪL=ma išduwāri* ‘But if it doesn’t become known’). Although the form is that of a conditional, this is not a true contingency, but a call for the punishment of the curse to fall on whichever of the speakers actually committed the crime. The preceding two curses are the only instances of the verbs of wrongdoing occurring in a tense other than the present indicative.

There are isolated instances in which the verb of punishment occurs in the iterative.

From the Decree of Hattušili Regarding the Rock Sanctuary Pirwa:

(77)

*nu]=za? kuiš kē tuppiyaš uddār EGIR-pa ḫul[lai] kēdaš ANA LIM
DINGIR.MEŠ EN DINI-ŠU [ē]šdu n=an=kan ? NUMUN-ann=a
dankuwayaza taknaza ḫarganuwandu ANA ^dU=ma=aš GU₄.MAḪ
ēšdu n=an parḫeškeddu* ‘Whoever contests these words of the tablet
may he be an opponent-at-law to these thousand gods. May they
destroy him and his progeny from the dark earth. Let him be a plow-
ox for the Storm-god. Let him continue to pursue him!’ (CTH 88,
Decree of Hattušili Regarding the Rock Sanctuary Pirwa, KBo 6.28
Vo. 39-42; NH/NS)

The iterative here clearly is conditioned by the imagery of the malefactor as a plow-ox, whom
the Storm-god is to habitually chase (undoubtedly with a whip). Another example of an
iterative occurs in a Military Oath in (30), repeated here as (78):

(78) = (30)

*nu=šmaš BULUG BAPPIR INA QATI-ŠU-NU dai n=at lippanzi
nu=šmaš kišan tezzi kī=wa BAPPIR GIM-an IŠTU^{NA4} ARÀ mallanzi
n=at wetenit imiyanzi n=at zanuani n=at ḫarranuškanzi kuiš=a=kan
kē NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ šarradda nu=šsan ANA LUGAL
MUNUS.LUGAL ANA DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL ANA KÚR^{URU} ḪATTI
ḪUL-lu takkizzi n=an kē NIEŠ DINGIR^{LIM} appandu nu
ḫaštai=ši<<ti>>t QATAMMA mallandu n=an QATAMMA inuškidu
n=an QATAMMA ḫarra<nu>škitta nu ḪUL-lu ÚŠ-kan pēdau
apē=ma daranzi apāt ēsdu* ‘One puts the malt and beer spice in their
hands and they lick it. One says to them as follows: “Just as they
grind this beer spice with the millstone, and mix it with water, and
cook it and crush it, may whoever also breaks these oaths and inflicts
evil against the Hittite king, the queen and the king’s children may
these oaths seize him and may they grind his bones thus and roast
(him) and may he thus be crushed and may he carry off an evil fate.”
And they say “so be it.”’ (CTH 427, First Military Oath, KBo 6.34+ ii
19-41; MH/NS)

The verb *inuškidu* must mean ‘heat up,’ but it is unclear why it appears in the iterative. In the next line, Oettinger restores *harra<nu>škitta*, another iterative.²⁸ We would expect this to be an active instead of a middle imperative. My translation assumes an emendation to *n=aš*, but one should perhaps rather emend the verb to an active. The number of the verb is impossible to determine as the form is corrupt.

The following four examples from the Military Oaths merit some discussion as the verbs in the comparison portion of the curse occur in the preterite instead of the usual present tense:

(79) = (62)

*nu GIM-an ŠA KUR^{URU} ARZAWA tuziuš linkiyaš DINGIR.MEŠ
ŠU.ME.EŠ-ŠU GİR.MEŠ -ŠU išhier n=uš harpuš daiēr apell=a tuziuš
QATAMMA išhiandu n=uš harpuš tiandu* ‘...And as the gods of the
oaths bound the hands and feet of the troops of Arzawa and piled
them in heaps, may they also bind his army and pile them into
heaps!’ (ibid., i 17-34)

(80) = (49)

*wāl]ūlan pariyanzi n=an GİR-it [išpar]ranzi n=ašta parāš parā
[tar]nattari nu tezzi kās mahḥan šannapilešta n=ašta kuiš kūš NIŠ
DINGIR.MEŠ šarrizzi nu apel É-SU IŠTU DUMU.LÚ.ULÚ.LU
GU₄.ḪI.A-ŠU UDU.ḪI.A-ŠU QATAMMA šannapilešdu* ‘They inflate
a bladder and they trample it with their feet and air (breath) escapes.
And he speaks: “Just as this became empty, whoever breaks these
oaths, may his house become empty of people, cows, and sheep.”
(ibid., iii 30-35)

(81) = (26)

*nu=ššan pahḥueni wātar papparašzi nu=šmaš kišan tezzi kī(y)=ašta
warān pahḥur GIM-an kištati n=ašta kuiš kūš NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ
šarrizzi n=an kē NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ appandu n=ašta apell=a TI-
tar=šet^{LÚ} GURUŠ-tar=šet lulu=ššet INA EGIR UD^{MI} QADU*

²⁸ *harra-* ‘press’ refers to the pressing stage of beer-making (Kimball 1987: 175). The unusual *ške-* form of the verb may have been chosen here to impart a sense of violence, e.g. ‘squish’ the perpetrator. Oettinger (1976: 33) indeed translates *harranuški-* as ‘schließlich zerquetscht.’

DAM.MEŠ-ŠÚ DUMU.MEŠ-ŠÚ QATAMMA kištaru n=an linkiaš
 DINGIR.MEŠ HUL-lu hurtandu nu=šši=ššan wēlluš hāli=šši
 ašauni=šši šuplie=šši lē luluwaitta IŠTU A.ŠÀ-ŠU=ma=šši=kan
 aggalit welkuwan lē uezzi ‘And he sprinkles water on the fire and he
 speaks to them thus: “Just as this burning fire expired, whoever
 breaks these oaths, may the oaths seize him and may also his life, his
 manhood, his prosperity for the future, along with his wives, his
 children expire thus and may the oath-gods curse him in an evil
 manner (so that) the meadow for his corral, sheepfold, and livestock
 may not thrive, and no plant shall come from his field, his furrow.”’
 (ibid., iv 4-17)

(82) = (66)

n[u=šm]aš=kan AL[AM...Š]À-ŠÚ widan<da> šu [INA Q]ATI-ŠU-NU
 dā[i] nu kišan tezzi [kā]š=wa kuiš U[L=wa] linkiškit [nu]
 DINGIR.MEŠ-aš peran [link]atta namma=kan NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM}
 šar]radda n=an linkianteš ēppir n=aš=šan ŠÀ-ŠU šuttati nu=za
 šarhuwandan QATI-ŠÚ peran UGU-a karpan harzi n=ašta kuiš kūš
 NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM} šarrizzi n=an kē NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ appandu
 n=[a]š=šan ŠÀ-ŠU šuttaru andurza=ma=[]=kan INA ŠÀ-ŠÚ
 DUMU ^dIšhara [d]u n=an karipandu ‘And he places
 in their hands a figure of a man/woman full in its insides of water and
 he speaks thus: “Who is this here? Did he not swear? He swore
 before the gods and then broke the oaths. And the oaths seized him,
 and he swelled up in his insides, and his hand holds his swollen belly up
 in front of him. Whoever breaks these oaths, may these oaths seize
 him, and may his insides swell up and inside him may the son(s) of
 Ishara [seize] him and devour him!” (ibid., iii 12-23)

In the first example, the comparison is expressed in the past tense (*išhier* ‘bound’ and *daier* ‘piled’) presumably because this was a real historical event. For all four of the examples, to impress the severity of the punishments upon the soldiers, the officials show them instances where the punishment has already taken place.

Finally, as for morphological variation in voice, five Hittite contingency curses contain middle verbs: *šalliya-*, *paršiya-*, *huršakniya-*, *immiya-*, and *putk-*. All are intransitives (with

our interpretation of *paršiya-*), and, as is seen in section 2.4.1.2, all occur in the context of the target experiencing a negative change of state.

Morphology remains quite consistent throughout the entire corpus of contingency curses. Most of the morphological variation that occurs is directly tied to the variation in agency, which as we have seen is fairly considerable. When the participants are the usual ones, morphological variation is minimal.

2.4 Lexical Items

Most linguistic variation in Hittite contingency curses occurs in the lexicon, particularly in the apodoses. The protases of the curses within treaties contain various words and phrases to convey the sense of a broken promise, most frequently *šarra-* ‘transgress, violate,’ the semantics of which are discussed by Gurney.²⁹ Other common phrases in the ‘if’ or ‘whoever’ clause expressing a breach of treaty in Hittite are *UL paḥš-* ‘do not protect,’ *wašta-* ‘sin,’ *memian wahnu-* ‘alter the words,’ and *hulla-* ‘contest, reject.’³⁰ Again, these lexical items are to be expected in such official matters as the swearing of an oath. The phrases ‘does evil to’ and ‘prepares evil for/inflicts evil on’ are also common, with slightly more personal implications than the verbs above. An odd metaphorical pair of wrongdoings appears several times throughout the Military Oaths: *n=ašta LUGAL KUR*

²⁹ Gurney (1940: 83) notes the literal and figurative meanings, respectively, of *šarra-* ‘transgress’: ‘cross a border’ as well as ‘violate (a pledge).’

³⁰ I follow Hoffner (1997: 218) in that *hulla-* in military contexts means ‘to strike’ but in legal usages, as here, refers to a refusal to respect or comply with authority.

URU *HATTI* *appāli dāi nu=za=(š)an ANA KUR* URU *HATTI* LÚ *KÚR-li IGI^{HI.A}-wa dāi* ‘entraps the Hittite king and puts his eyes on the country of Hatti in a hostile way.’

As this study is primarily concerned with the linguistic expression of the actual curses, this section will largely be devoted to an exhaustive description of the lexical items in the apodoses. The curse lexicon is thus divided below into verbs, nouns, and adjectives, which are in turn subcategorized in terms of their syntactic and semantic features.

2.4.1 Verbs

The verbs within Hittite contingency curses appear in all varieties, syntactic as well as semantic. In terms of frequency, the most common verbs of cursing are transitives: *parḫ-* ‘pursue,’ *ḫarnink-* ‘destroy,’ *arḫa ḫarnink-*, ‘destroy completely’ (also in *dankuyaz taknaz arḫa ḫarninkandu* ‘destroy from the dark earth’). Yet there also are a number of frequently cited intransitive verbs. Presented below are the syntactic subcategories of verbs used in Hittite curses, under which their major semantic categories are subsumed.

2.4.1.1 Transitives

Control. While the first of the five verbs below appears extensively throughout the Hittite contingency curses, ‘bind’ and ‘fetter’ are found only in the Military Oaths:

<i>ep(p)/ap(p)-</i>	‘seize’	(20)(26)(29)(30), etc.
<i>idû</i> (Akk.)	‘be aware [of him]’	(41)
<i>išḫi-</i>	‘bind’	(62)

<i>āppa nāi-</i>	‘turn back’	(94)
<i>pataliya-</i>	‘fetter’	(62)

Usually the target of ‘seize’ is the perpetrator, but in (75) it is his house. Only in the genuine Akkadian curse in (41) do we find simply *idû* ‘know, be aware of.’

Physical Violence. Verbs expressing violent physical harm are the most common punishments cited throughout Hittite contingency curses. ‘Destroy’ (*ḫarnink-*) is in fact the most common verb throughout Hittite curses, showing no restriction on its distribution. In the final curse of the oath in (93), *ḫarninkandu* is modified with ‘as a person,’ i.e. ‘as an individual.’ This is the only occurrence, at least within the contingency corpus, of this pairing. The following example may stand for all:

(83) = (20)

kuišš=an munnaiz[zi ar]nuzzi=ma=an ŪL [mān=aš] LÚUGULA LIM mān=aš LÚ DUGUD=pat nu ap[un kē NI]Š DINGIR^{MEŠ} [appand]u n=an QADU DAM-ŠU DUMU^{MEŠ}-ŠU [ḫarninkand]u³¹ ‘Also whoever hides him, and does not deliver him, whether he is a captain of a thousand or even a high dignitary, let these oaths seize him and destroy him along with his wife [and] his children’ (CTH 251, Protocol, KBo 16.25 i 10-16, MH/MH)

<i>ḫarganu-</i>	‘destroy’	(29)
<i>arha ḫarnink- (=Akk. ḫullūqu)</i>	‘destroy (completely)’	(14)(20)(21)(24), etc.
<i>ḫarra-</i>	‘crush’	(30)
<i>ḫasāsu (Akk.)</i>	‘snap off’	(27)
<i>ḫazziya-</i>	‘strike’	(38)(94?)
<i>inu-</i>	‘roast’	(30)
<i>išgar-</i>	‘pierce’	(94)
<i>išparr-</i>	‘trample’	(49)(69)
<i>karip-</i>	‘devour’	(82)

³¹ Lines 29ff and 38ff support the reconstruction of the second part of the curse.

<i>karš-</i>	‘cut’	(44)
<i>kuer-</i>	‘cut’	(46)
<i>malla-</i>	‘grind’	(30)
<i>nakāsu</i> (Akk.)	‘cut off’	(43)
<i>dā-</i>	‘take (his teeth)’	(46)
<i>dašuwahh-</i>	‘blind’	(46)(62)
<i>tatarh-</i> (Luvian)	‘crush’	(28)
<i>duddumiyahh-</i>	‘deafen’	(62)
<i>(arha) duwarnāi-</i>	‘destroy (completely)’	(28)(63)
<i>dundu-</i> (Luvian)	‘?’	(57)
<i>wida(i)-</i> (Luvian)	‘smash’	(28)

Note that except for the verbs *harganu-* and *arha harnink-*, which occur in NH texts, the verbs expressing the most colorfully graphic physical harm occur in MH or older texts, suggesting a development into a more generic formula by the time of NH.

The CLuvian curse cited in (28) may be among the most graphic of the contingencies:

(84) = (28)

ŠA GI=ma II ^{GIŠ}PISAN.ĤI.A ANA EN S[ISKUR *par*]ā ēpzi nu II
^{GIŠ}PISAN.ĤI.A ŠA GI *appizz*[iya]z ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI *harzi* EN
SISKUR=ma= ššiy=aš *mena*[hh] *anda* IŠTU QATI-ŠU ēpzi n=uš *anda*
wešuriyanzi n=uš *arha duwarnanzi* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI=ma *kiššan memai*
kuiš=tar malhaššaššan EN-ya ādduwala ānniti a=an
DINGIR.MEŠ-inzi āhha nātatta *tatarhandu witpanim*=pa=an
widāindu a=duw=an *annān pātanza dūwandu nu* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI
GI.ĤI.A ANA EN SISKUR ŠAPAL GİR.MEŠ-ŠU dāi ‘She [the Old
Woman] proffers two reed tubes to the celebrant. Opposite her, the
celebrant also takes them in his hands. They crush them by twisting.
They break them apart. The Old Woman speaks as follows:
“Whoever does evil to the celebrant, may the gods crush him like
reeds, and may they smash him *witpanim*, may they put him under his
[the celebrant’s] feet.” The Old Woman places the reeds under the
celebrant’s feet...’ (CTH 759, *dupaduparsa* Ritual, KUB 9.6 +[his
I.2]iii 19” ff; ?/NS)

Garrett (1997: 76ff) interprets *witpanim=pa=an widaindu* as an example of the σχῆμα καὶ ὅλον καὶ μέρος construction: in a sentence with two objects, one is semantically inanimate and syntactically the direct object, while the second is a body part of the first. As the plea is for the gods to twist and crush something resembling the pair of reed tubes, Garrett proposes that *witpana/i* must be the grammatically singular word for ‘testicles,’ as this is the only body part which fits this description. Garrett’s revised version thus reads as follows:

- (85) ‘...and may they smash his testicles, may they put them [literally ‘it,’ sg. *witpanim*] under his [the celebrant’s] feet.’³²

Following is another CLuvian curse:

- (86) [kui]š=du=r a<d>duwa -x[]pa-ya a=du=ta [ta]h̄iminzi
DINGIR.MEŠ-z[i]x šarra zati [(pu)]wandu ‘Whoever []s evil,
may all the gods [] for him (on this account).’ (KUB 32.8+ Rs.
iv 21)

Although incomplete, we know that the agents are all the gods, and they do something with respect to the perpetrator. Note that the dative here may function as a possessive (‘with respect to him’). As for *puwa-*, some scholars have attempted to relate it to *puššai-*, assigning it a meaning of ‘stomp, crush.’ However, if this connection were valid, we would expect an accusative ‘him’ here instead of a dative (see the immediately preceding example).

³² Garrett cites Vedic Sanskrit comparanda as support for this interpretation but ultimately acknowledges that the present proposal must remain tentative, as the Cuneiform Luvian corpus is quite limited.

Other Harm. The verb *parḫ-* ‘pursue’ is the second most common verb in Hittite curses, as seen in the number of citations below. Another verb which fits into the present category is

ḫu(wa)rt-

(87)= (26)

n=an linkiaš DINGIR.MEŠ ḪUL-lu ḫurtandu ‘...may the oath-gods curse him in an evil manner...’ (CTH 427, First Military Oath, KBo 6.34+ iv 4-17; MH?/NS)

This is in fact the only instance of gods cursing in Hittite, except in the translation literature from Hurrian.

<i>ḫu(wa)rt-</i>	‘curse’	(26)
<i>immiya-</i>	‘be mixed’	(50)
<i>kašādu</i> (Akk.)	‘defeat’	(27)
<i>nabalkutu</i> (Akk.)	‘overthrow’	(27)
<i>šer arḫa ninink-</i>	‘remove’	(13)
<i>parḫ-</i>	‘pursue’	(12)(29)(31)(33), etc.
<i>paš-</i>	‘swallow’	(45)
<i>šanḫ-</i>	‘seek’	(21)
<i>ḫarpus tiya-</i>	‘pile into heaps’	(62)

Deprivation. There are surprisingly few verbs in this category:

<i>arḫa dā-</i>	‘take away’	(70)
<i>lē pāi-</i>	‘not give’	(32)

***iya-* + predicate.** The following curse, not yet presented in this chapter, contains two of the three *iya-* ‘make’ + predicate constructions in Hittite curses:

(88)

nu TÚG ŠÁ MUNUS ^{GIŠ}*ḫulāli* ^{GIŠ}*ḫuešann=a udanzi nu GI-an*
duwarnanzi nu=šmaš kišan teši kī=wa kuit ÚL=wa ŠÁ MUNUS
^{TÚG}*NIG.LÁM.MEŠ nu=war=aš linkiya ḫarweni n=ašta kuiš kūš NIS*

DINGIR^{LIM} šarri^{zi} nu=wa=kan ANA LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL
DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL ĤUL-lu takkiš^{zi} n=an kē NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ-
an MUNUS-an iendu tuz<zi>uš=šuš MUNUS.MEŠ-uš iendu n=uš
MUNUS-li waššandu nu=šma<š>=šan^{TUG} kureššar šiandu
GIŠBAN.ĤI.A GI.ĤI.A GIŠTUKUL.ĤI.A INA QATI-ŠÚ-NU
duwarnandu nu=šmaš=kan^{GIŠ} ĥulāli^{GIŠ} ĥuešann=a <INA> QATI-ŠU-
NU ti[(andu)] ‘They bring a dress, a woman’s distaff and a spindle
forth and break an arrow to pieces and you speak to them thus:
“‘What is this?’” Is this not a woman’s magnificent robe? We hold
them for an oath. Whoever breaks these oaths and inflicts evil on
the king, the queen, and the king’s children, may the oaths make him
a man, a woman and may they make his armies into women and may
they dress them like women and may they also put a kerchief on
them and may they break the bows, arrows, and weapons in their
hands and may they also put a distaff and spindle in their hands!’
(CTH 427, First Military Oath, KBo 6.34+ ii 42 - iii 1)

LÚ-an MUNUS-an iya-	‘make him a man, a woman’	(88)
tuz<zi>uš=šuš MUNUS ^{MEŠ} -uš iya-	‘make his armies into women’	(88)
dannatta URU-yašeššar iya-	‘make it an empty settlement’	(69)

Experience. This final category of transitive verbs is the only one in which the target is the subject of the clause; in the examples seen so far in this section, the agents are the subjects.

aku-	‘drink’	(21)(99?)
auš-	‘see’	(18)(47)(57)(58)
ed-	‘eat’	(21)
išū (Akk.)	‘(not) have’	(27)
lē auš-	‘not see’	(62)
lē istamaš(š)-	‘not hear’	(62)
pāi (=Akk. nadānu)	‘give, allot’	(62)(99)(27)
pēda-	‘carry off(?)’	(78)

Notice that for ‘give,’ the agents are to give something bad to the target: ‘excrement and urine’ in one curse, ‘poverty and destitution’ in another.

2.4.1.2 Intransitives

‘Die,’ etc. Three verbs express the general sense of ‘die,’ with *ak(k)-* ‘die’ the standard Hittite verb, which can only refer to people and animals. In a curse, it is only attested in the two examples below; in the second example it is intensified with the *-pat* particle:

(89) = (32)

aggalu [nu=mu] ^dUTU ^{URU}[Arin]na ŠA UD.1.KAM TI-tar lē pāi
 ‘...may I die and may the Sun-goddess of Arinna not give me one more day of life.’ (CTH 123, Treaty with an Unknown Party, KBo 4.14 ii 35-36; NH/NS)

(90) = (20)

kuiš=kan...[mān=aš t]uzziaz hūwāi našma=an=za hantezzi[aš=sīš tar]nai n=at akkandu=pat ‘Whoever..., whether he flees from the army or his superior lets him go, let them die! (CTH 251, Protocol, KBo 16.25 10-16; MH/MH)

Elsewhere, the verbs *hark-* ‘perish’ and *kišt-* ‘expire’ are used. *hark-* is generally used to refer to both animate and inanimate objects (cf. Puhvel 1991: 157ff), but *kišt-* ‘expire’ occurs only as part of a direct comparison with ‘fire.’ In one instance, the target’s perpetual non-existence is expressed negatively.

<i>ak(k)-</i>	‘die’	(89)(90)
<i>hark-</i> (Akk. <i>halāqu</i>)	‘perish, be eradicated’	(27)(61)
<i>kišt-</i>	‘expire’	(65)
<i>(lē) tekkušša(i)-</i>	‘not show up’	(45)

***lē* + (semantically positive) verb.** This appears to be the standard way Hittite expresses ‘barrenness’ in curses: four contingency curses with the expression ‘not ____’ convey this punishment. In one other instance *lē* is used to indicate the persistence of a punishment.

<i>lē haš(š)-</i>	‘not procreate, give birth’	(64)(94)
<i>lē hūwāi-</i>	‘not grow’	(64)

<i>lē luluwāi-</i>	‘not thrive’	(26)
<i>lē pāi</i> (+ <i>arḥa</i>)	‘not go away’	(60)
(<i>la</i>) <i>tebbira</i> (Akk.)	‘be unable (to cross)’	(27)
<i>lē uwa-</i>	‘not come (up)’	(26)(63)

(Negative) Change of State. Although there is some semantic overlap with the following category (‘be/become x’), the punishments effected in the curses here, all from the Military Oaths, affect only the target, whereas some of the ‘be/become x’ constructions involve agents. The negative change of state curses in Hittite are all found in the Military Oaths; the Akkadian version of the Šattiwaza Treaty also contains two such verbs:

<i>huršakniya-</i>	‘burst open’	(61)
<i>marriya-</i>	‘dissolve’	(48)
<i>neḥelsu</i> (Akk.)	‘slip’	(27)
<i>paršiya-</i>	‘break out (in sores), crackle’ ³³	(29)(61)
<i>šalliya-</i>	‘dissipate’	(48)
<i>šalû</i> (Akk.)	‘sink’	(27)
<i>šannapileš-</i>	‘become empty’	(49)

In (29), the verbs *putkietta* ‘swell up’ in the comparison and *paršiyaddaru* ‘break out in sores (?)’ in the curse are striking in that not only do they occur in the comparatively rarer middle voice, but both are also exceptionally expressive verbs. They are also unusual in regard to their limited distribution, with the *putk-* root attested only twice in all of Hittite, once here and once in a medicinal text:

[*mā*]n *antuḥšan* SAG.DU-ŠU *ištara*[*kzi*] [*n*]=an *naššu apeniššan*
ištarakzi [*na*]šma=šši *putkiškitta* [(-)]] ‘If a man gets sick in his

³³ Since the active verb *parš(iya)-* is used only of bread, cheese, and by extension boundaries, it seems clearly to mean specifically ‘break into pieces’ (see *CHD* p. 181f). It therefore appears unlikely that the middle form can really refer to a person “being broken” by disease or to grains of salt being broken in a fire, as usually assumed. C. Melchert suggests the possibility that the middle forms in (29) and (61) are to a separate root *paršiya-* that means ‘burst’ < PIE **bhres-* and cognate with German *bersten* etc.

head, and he either gets sick in the aforementioned way or if he/it swells up...' (CTH 188, KUB 8.36 Vs. ii 12-14; ?/NS)

Since the comparison in (29) is between the swollen-up yeast and *paršiya-*, the question is whether the target is to swell up and burst, or whether he is to break out in sores, which then themselves burst. A possible typological parallel with Sanskrit *phuṭ* 'make a bubbling noise' is briefly discussed in the 'Phonology' section below.

'Be/Become x.'

<i>šuripu</i> (Akk.)	'be ice'	(27)
<i>saḥu, saḥḥu</i> (Akk.)	'be a marsh'	(27)
<i>daššeš-</i>	'become heavy'	(51)
EN <i>DINI eš-</i>	'be an opponent'	(29)(55)
GU ₄ .MAḤ ₃ <i>eš-</i>	'be a plow-ox'	(29)
LÚ.KÚR.ŠU <i>eš-</i>	'be an enemy'	(17)(27)

Activities of Agents Expressed Intransitively.

<i>āppan uwa-</i>	'come after' (= 'pursue')	(98?)
<i>immiya-</i>	'become mixed'	(50)
<i>iya-</i>	'spread over' (lit. 'walk')	(63)

2.4.2 Nouns

Deities. The appearance of specific deities in Hittite curses has been described in section 2.2.2.1.

People. Although the list of "people" below looks fairly extensive, most individuals cited can be included in a general theme of "family members." People are most often cited in the context of the target; that is, the target's family members are guilty by association and are

thus included as “extended” targets. As indicated below; this extension can go as far as ‘grandson.’ In the Soldiers’ Oath and (17), the references to people are to what the targets are to become.

<i>antuḥšeš</i>	‘people’	(94)
<i>ḥašša ḥanzašš[a]</i>	‘first and second generation’	(44)
DAM	‘wife’	(13)(14)(20)(21) etc.
DUMU/DUMU.MEŠ (=Akk. <i>māru</i>)	‘son, child/sons, children’	(13)(14)(20)(21) etc.
DUMU.DUMU	‘grandson’	(14)
DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.LU	‘person’	(49)
GE ME	‘servants’	(14)
LÚ	‘man’	(88)
LÚ ₁ GINU.GAL	‘blind person’	(93)
LÚKÚR	‘enemy’	(17)
LÚ.MEŠ <i>Hurri</i>	‘Hurrians’	(27)
LÚ ₂ Ú.HÚB	‘deaf person’	(93)
MAŠ	‘family’	(13)(100?)
MUNUS	‘woman’	(88)
NIN	‘sister’	(13)
NUMUN	‘progeny (metaphorical)’	(13)(22)(40)(61) etc.
ŠAG.DU	‘(your/his) person’	(13)(22)(14)(92)
ŠEŠ	‘brother’	(13)

While “people” are most often mentioned along with the ancillary target, one example from the Military Oaths shows that the extension to family members also applies to those affected by the original transgression:

(91) = (30)

kuiš=a=kan kē NÍŠ DINGIR.MEŠ šarradda nu=šsan ANA LUGAL

MUNUS.LUGAL ANA DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL ANA KÚR^{URU} ḪATTI

ḪUL-lu takkizzi ‘...may whoever also breaks these oaths and inflicts evil against the Hittite king, the queen and the king’s children...’
(CTH 427, First Military Oath, *KBo* 6.34+ ii 19-41; MH?/NS)

These are the curses which mention people as individuals; other appearances of “people” will be subsumed under “Social Units.”

Body Parts.

<i>ḥaštai-</i>	‘bones’	(30)
<i>kard-</i>	‘heart’	(94)
<i>witpana/i</i> (Luvian)	‘testicles’(?)	(28)
GIR	‘foot’	(18)(28)(62)(69)
IGI	‘eye’	(46)
KAXUD	‘teeth’	(46)
ŠÀ	‘insides’	(51)(66)
ŠU	‘hand’	(88)
UZUṭ	‘flesh’	(94)

We will see slightly more variation concerning body parts in the Hieroglyphic Luvian data in the next chapter. Body parts are most often named in the Military Oaths, but occasionally occur elsewhere, as seen by the citations above.

Animals. With the exception of the curse in (77) in which the perpetrator was to become a plow-ox, and in the birth ritual as in (18), (57) and (58) where they are prodigies to be seen by the target, animals occur as targets: much like the family members, they are guilty by association with the perpetrator. They are either ‘destroyed,’ they ‘perish,’ or they are to bear no young. Below, a typical example of the livestock mentioned:

(92) = (13)

nu=šma[š ke] NIŠ DINGIR^{LIM}šumenzan...GU₄.ḪI.A=KUNU

UDU.ḪI.A=KUNU...< ḥarganuwandu>... ‘may these oaths destroy your persons along with...your cows and sheep...’ (CTH 42, Treaty of Suppiluliuma I with Hukkana of Hayasa, KBo 5.3+, 50-59; MH/NS)

<i>šupla-</i>	‘livestock’	(26)
AMAR	‘calf’	(64)
GU ₄	‘cow’	(13)(49)(61)(64)
MUŠ	‘snake’	(58)
SILÁ	‘lamb’	(64)
UDU	‘sheep’	(13)(49)(64)
UR.BAR.RA	‘wolf’	(18)(57)
UR.MAH	‘lion’	(18)(57)(58)

Plants. These are frequently cited in Hittite contingency curses in the context of something the perpetrator will not be able to cultivate, but also occur as a simile for how the target is to be ‘snapped off’ (‘reed’) or as something which is to extend over one’s fields (‘weeds’). NUMUN is placed in this category as it is formally ‘seed,’ but is also placed in the ‘people’ category as in the curses, it is always used as a metaphor for ‘progeny.’

<i>welku/welkuwant-</i>	‘plant. grass’	(26)(64)
<i>zahheli-</i>	‘weeds’	(63)
GI	‘reed’	(27) (28)
NUMUN	‘seed’	see above
ŠE ^{AM}	‘wheat’	(63)
ZiZ-tar	‘barley’	(63)

Weapons/Tools. These are mentioned in a few curses in Hittite and Cuneiform Luvian, but not as often as might be expected.

Weapons occur in two curses from the Military Oaths: the colorful “feminizing” curse from the Military Oaths, in which the officials are replacing some very stereotypical “masculine” symbols (weapons) with very stereotypical “feminine” symbols (domestic objects typically pertaining to women), and the curse which alludes to the binding of the troops of Arzawa.

<i>patalha-</i>	‘foot fetters’	(18)(57)(58)(62)
<i>šiwai-</i>	‘dagger’(?)	(46)(47)
<i>duški-</i>	‘flint’(?)	(47)
GI ^{HIA}	‘arrows’	(88)(94)
GIR	‘dagger’	(44)
GIŠ ^{HIA} BAN	‘bows’	(88)
GIŠ ^{HIA} TUKUL	‘weapons’	(88)(94)

Elements.

<i>šuripu</i> (Akk.)	‘ice’	(27)
<i>witen-</i>	‘water’	(42)
GAB.LÀL	‘wax’	(48)
MUN	‘salt’	(61)
UZU ¹ .UDU	‘(sheep) fat’	(48)

Edibles.

<i>zūwa-</i>	‘food’	(33)
GEŠTIN	‘wine’	(72)
GIŠ ² HAŠHUR	‘apple’	(46)(47)
KAŠ	‘beer’	(72)
NINDA	‘bread’	(72)

Social Units. These objects fall somewhere between the “places” and “people” categories:

<i>tuzziyant-</i>	‘army’	(62)(88)
É	‘house, household’	(13)(14)(40)(49) etc.
LUGAL- <i>eznatar</i>	‘kingdom’	(70)
URU	‘city’	(14)(17)(24)(94) etc.
URU- <i>yašeššar</i>	‘settlement’	(69)

Places. Most places other than the social units show an overwhelmingly pastoral theme:

they occur in the same environment as that of the animals, and fulfill the same role as

extended targets. A few others occur in the cases where the target is to ‘experience’ various

bad or unnatural things.

<i>aggala-</i>	‘furrow’	(26)
<i>ašawar</i>	‘sheepfold’	(26)
<i>ḥali-</i>	‘corral’	(26)
<i>ḥaršawar</i>	‘pasture’	(64)
<i>mātu</i> (Akk.)	‘land’	(27)
<i>sāḥu, saḥḥu</i>	‘marsh’	(27)
<i>pupuwahī</i> (?)	‘?’	(27)
<i>tagn-, daganzipa-</i>	‘earth’	(13)(22)(24)(29) etc.

<i>wellu-</i>	‘meadow’	(26) (64)
AN	‘heaven’	(18) (57)
A.ŠÀ	‘field’	(13)(26)(63)(72) etc.
É.GAL	‘palace’	(40)
GIŠSAR.GEŠTIN	‘vineyards’	(13)(22)(72)
KI	‘earth’	(18)
KISLAḤ	‘threshing floor’	(13)(22)
LÍL	‘field’	(64)

As for the Akkadian *pupuwaḥi*, this non-Akkadian word must refer to some place having a negative connotation, a wasteland where plants cannot grow.

Objects.

GIŠ <i>ḡulāli</i>	‘distaff’	(88)
GIŠ <i>ḡueša-</i>	‘spindle’	(88)
GIŠ APIN	‘plow’	(63)
MIMMU	‘property, possessions’	(13)

Abstract.

<i>ērrišutta</i> (Akk.) (= <i>nekmuntatar</i>)	‘destitution’	(27)
<i>ḡinkan</i>	‘fate’	(18)(29)(30)(62) etc.
<i>išḡarwatar</i>	‘(bloody) redness’	(60)
<i>lūlu-</i>	‘prosperity’	(26)
<i>muškenutta</i> (= <i>ašiwantatar</i>)	‘poverty’	(27)
<i>ūrki-</i>	‘trace’	(45)
EGIR UD ^{MI}	‘future’	(26)(64)
LÚ GURUŠ- <i>tar</i>	‘manhood’	(26)
ŠUM	‘name’	(27)(40)(61)
TI- <i>tar</i>	‘life’	(26)(32)
ZI	‘soul (=life); desire, will’	(42)(33)

2.4.3 Adjectives

Adjectives mostly occur either in the Military Oaths or the birth ritual cited in (18)

and (57):

<i>aḥḥuwahḥuwami-</i> (Luvian)	‘?’	(57)
<i>ginuwant-</i>	‘gaping’(?)	(18)(57)
<i>ginuššariyant-</i>	‘kneeling’	(57)
<i>kišant/kišamma-</i>	‘cut’(?)	(57)(58)
<i>palḥamma-</i>	‘spread out’(?)	(18)(57)
<i>palpadami-</i>	‘blazing’(?)	(18)(57)
<i>papartami-</i>	‘?’	(18)
<i>paprant-</i>	‘unclean’	(72)
<i>šiyant-</i>	‘taken down’	(57)
<i>dankui-</i>	‘dark’	(13)(22)(24)(29) etc.
<i>dannatta-</i>	‘empty’	(69)
<i>zappiya-</i>	‘?’	(18)
GAL	‘great’	(18)
GIŠ- <i>ruwant-</i>	‘petrified’(?) or ‘fettered’(?)	(18)
HUL- <i>lu</i>	‘evil’	(26)(29)(62)(30)
ZI- <i>aš</i>	‘desired’ (lit. ‘of the soul’)	(18)

Notice that different roots were used for ‘empty’ and ‘become empty’; the adjective uses *dannatta-* while the verbal form uses *šannapilieš-*.

The distribution of *dankuwa(ya)z taknaz* ‘from the dark earth’ has implications for the historical development of the curse formula: the phrase first occurs in the Treaty of Suppiluliuma I with Hukkana of Hayasa, also in the Treaty of Muwattalli with Alakšandu, the Treaty with Ulmi-Tešub, and the Decree of Hattušili Regarding the Rock Sanctuary Pirwa. Since all of these, with the exception of the Hukkana Treaty, are Neo-Hittite texts, it appears that the phrase ‘destroy/remove from the dark earth’ entered the language in MH and became standardized as a generic curse formula by NH. On the history of the expression ‘dark earth’ and its status as a loan from Hurrian see Oettinger (1989/90).

2.4.4 Adverbs

The most cited adverbial constructions in this genre are *QATAMMA* ‘thus’ and *arḥa* as a telicizing preverb ‘utterly’ with *ḥarnink-* and a few other verbs. There are only two other adverbial constructions among all contingency apodoses:

(<i>arḥa duwarna-</i>), (<i>arḥa ḥarnink-</i>)	‘destroy (completely)	(22)(63)(93) etc.
<i>kattan šara</i>	‘from bottom to top (=completely)	(75)
<i>ḤUL-lu (ḥurtandu)</i>	‘(curse) in an evil manner’	(26)
<i>QATAMMA</i>	‘thus’	(30) and <i>passim</i>

As for outstanding prepositional phrases, the curse below contains a unique punishment with a unique modifying construction:

(93)

nu=šmaš=kan MUNU[(S^{LÜ}IGI.NU.))GÁL^{LÜ}Ú.HÚB peran arḥa
[(pē)]ḥudanzi nu=šmaš kišan [(tesī)] kāša MUNUS^{LÜ}IGI.NU.GÁL
^{LÜ}Ú.HÚB nu=wa=kan [(k)]uiš ANA LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL HUL-
lu takkišz[i n]=an NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ appandu n=an LÚ-an M[UNUS-
an iya]ndu n=an^{LÜ}IGI.NU.GÁ[L-aš] iwar da[šuwahḥa]ndu ŠA
^{LÜ}Ú.HÚB=ma=an iwar [duddumiy]andu n=an=kan
DUMU.LÚ.ULÙ.LU QADU D[AM.MEŠ-ŠÚ DUMU.MEŠ-ŠÚ
pankur=šit ištarn[a arḥa ḥarni]nkandu ‘And now they lead a blind
 and deaf woman past in front of them and you speak to them thus:
 “Behold! A blind and deaf woman. Whoever inflicts evil on the king
 and queen may the oaths seize him and may they make him, a man, a
 woman and may they make him blind like a blind person and deaf like
 a deaf person and may they (pluck him) out from the middle of his
 clan along with his wives and children and destroy him completely as
 a person.”’ (CTH 427, First Military Oath, KBo 6.34+ iii 2-11)

The comparison produces the two unusual punishments of making one blind and deaf.

Notice too the “plucking one out from the middle of his clan,” relevant to the “collective guilt” issue; see discussion in section 2.2.3.

To conclude this section, it is fitting to present the following curse:

(94)

mān=ašta kūš lingāuš šarradduma šumāš=a=kan linkiyaš
 DINGIR.MEŠ-*eš hūmanteš* KUR.ḪI.A=*KUNU* URU.ḪI.A=*KUNU*
 DAM.MEŠ=*KUNU* DUMU.MEŠ=*KUNU* A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A=*KUNU*
 GiŠSAR.GEŠTIN.ḪI.A=*KUNU* GU₄.ḪI.A=*KUNU* UDU.ḪI.A=*KUNU*
ḫarninkandu ¶ *nu mān ANA KUR* ^{URU}*Ḫatti parḫuwanzi uwatteni*
nu=šmaš=kan ^d*ZA.BA.BA-aš* GiŠTUKUL.ḪI.A=*KUN[U]* *appa nāu*
nu šumenzan=pat ^{UZU}*ḫēzzašdu* GI.ḪI.A=*KUNU*=*ma=kan* *appa [n]āu*
nu šumenzan=pat *ker=šemet iškarranian[du]* ¶ *nu=kan mān*
ling[āu]š šarradduma nu=za GU₄.ḪI.A=*KUNU* UDU.ḪI.A=*KUNU*
anduhšeš lē ḫaš[šanz]i nu=š [m]aš=kan NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ
 DUMU.ḪI.A=*KUNU* *andan kardi=šmi=pat [ḫ?]azzikandu* ‘If you
 (pl.) break these oaths, may all the gods of the oath destroy you along
 with your lands, cities, wives, children, fields, vineyards, cattle, and
 sheep. If you come to attack the land of Hatti, may Zababa turn your
 weapons back and may he eat your own flesh. May he turn back your
 arrows, and may they pierce your own hearts. If you break these
 oaths, may your cattle, sheep, and people not procreate. May these
 oaths strike(?) your children in their hearts.’ (CTH 139.A, Treaty
 with the Gasgeans, KBo 8.35 ii 16-24; MH/MS)

This curse is extremely thorough in terms of Hittite cursing, and contains a representative from nearly every lexical category presented here: verbs of control and violent physical harm, the construction of *lē* + verb, and nouns referring to places, people, animals, weapons, and body parts. Note, however, the uncertain restoration of *[ḫ]azzikkandu* ‘strike’; without the initial *ḫ* this verb would be *azzikandu* ‘devour.’

This section has exhaustively categorized the lexical features of the contingency curses. The standard verbs and phrases in the protases most frequently express a breach of treaty, either by transgressing the oath, the most common trespass cited, or by altering the

words of a treaty. In the apodoses, ‘destroy,’ semantically rather generic, is the verb most frequently used, with some variants occurring as variations thereof.

2.5 Phonology

Stylistic phonological devices, such as alliteration, are sometimes employed by languages to mirror the fate of the curse target. Italic curses, for example, utilize phonetic deformation, in which sounds are jumbled so as to impress the target’s sorry fate upon the reader. In the contingency curses, at least, it appears that Hittite did not exploit such devices. In Chapter 4, we shall see if the counter-curses employ another stylistic tool, that of iconicity, as seen in sympathetic magic incantations: for example, when the client gets away from the evil, *arḥa* ‘away’ may be positioned as far away from the verb as possible. The lack here of such stylistic phonological devices is again not particularly surprising, given a corpus which deals with official treaties.

One candidate for a curse containing several examples of sound symbolism is the birth ritual cited in (57). It does not seem to be merely coincidental that the forms of *aḥḥuwahḥuwamin*, *dundumamin*, and *palpadamin* ‘blazing(?)’ all show reduplication (*padpad* dissimilated to *palpad*). Indeed, all show “heavy” or complete reduplication. Further, the repeated guttural fricatives of the first suggest an evil condition. The repeated *dum...dum* may express the hollow sound of beating/striking something hollow, and the sequence of stops in *palpad-* may iconically represent flickering of a flame.

The verb *putkietta* as seen in (29) may be another example of sound symbolism. It appears that it has a typological parallel in the Sanskrit verb root *phuṭ-* ‘puffs, blows, shrieks’ (Mayrhofer 1953-80: 398). Finally, the reduplicated shape of the negatively connotated noun *pupuwaḥi*, which must describe some barren terrain, is also suggestive of this stylistic device.

2.6 Uncertain Contingencies

There are several remaining curses which must properly be categorized separately from the other contingency curses, as they either lack one or more crucial features thereof, or else are simply too fragmentary to securely classify them as such.

One such curse occurs in the Edict of Hattušili I:

(95)

takk[u ì]R.MEŠ-am=man ištarna ŠUM-ŠU-[NU] kuiški tezzi ÌR-miš lē
kapru=[ššet] hattandaru n=an aški=šši kankandu ‘If among my
servants someone mentions their name, he is not my servant! Let
them slit his throat and hang him in his gate.’ (CTH 5, Edict of
Hattusili I, KBo 3.27 10-12; OH/NS)

The preceding sentence of the text has the same structure. It is context which casts doubt upon the qualifications of the above as a contingency curse: the phrase ‘my servants’ strongly suggests that the initiator is the king, which is usual, but if the agents are not specified, they might very well be officials instead of divinities. This differs from the example of (42), where the agents were also not specified: ‘pour away his soul’ sounds too metaphorical to be expressed by an official, who would probably be likelier to declare the

punishment literally. Thus, although the contents are interesting, (95) is likely not a curse but rather instructions for punishment.

Written in Akkadian, from the Landgrant of Arnuwanda and Asmunikal, is the following; the indicative form of the verb combined with the surrounding context and the lack of agents specified call its contingency status into question. Recall from p. 45 that if this is in fact a curse, it is probably genuine Hittite translated into Akkadian:

(96) = (43)

AWAT *tabarna* ^m*arnuwanta* LUGAL.GAL *ašmunikal*
MUNUS.LUGAL GAL *U* ^m*duthaliya* DUMU.LUGAL *tuḫukantiš ŠA*
AN.BAR *ŠA LA NADIAM ŠA LA ŠEBERIM ŠA UŠPAHḪU* SAG.DU-
SÚ INAKISÚ ‘The words of Tabarna Arnuwanda, the King, of
Asmunikal, the Queen, and of Tuthaliya, the king’s son, the
tuḫukanti, are of iron; they are not to be rejected, not to be broken,
whoever changes them, one shall cut off his head’ (CTH 221,
Landgrant of Arnuwanda and Asmunikal, VAT 7436 Vo. 49-50;
OH/OH)

The following from the Edict of Telipinu is so incomplete as to render it uncertain as a contingency:

(97)

ku[(*iš=at iyazi nu=šši*)] *ḪUL-lu ḫinkan* [] ‘...whoever does it,
to him an evil fate ____’ (CTH 19, Edict of Telipinu, KBo 3.1+ iii 48-
49; OH/NS)

The first restoration to come to mind of the verb is likely semantically akin to ‘give.’³⁴

Unfortunately, the agent of this curse is unknown, as the text is incomplete.

³⁴ Compare (62) for another attestation of *ḪUL-lu ḫinkan* in the context of ‘give an evil fate.’

Also uncertain:

(98)

*mān LUGAL-i QATAMMA=ya [nakk]ešzi...tuk=ma 10-ŠU parā
kuwayatallu kēdani memiyani DINGIR.MEŠ MAMIT tiyandu n=i=ita
EGIR-an uwandu* ‘And also if it weighs upon the king thus...may I be
an object of concern to you tenfold more. May the gods of the oath
intervene in this matter. May they follow you.’³⁵ (CTH 123, KBo
4.14 iii 51-52; NH/NS)

The contingency here is presumably implied by context. Firstly, ‘oath-gods intervene in this matter’ is another way of saying ‘may it be placed under oath.’ Between ‘may I be an object of concern to you tenfold more’ and ‘may they follow you,’ we should understand a preceding ‘if’ clause; that is, ‘if I am not 10 times an object of concern...’ This curse is thus noteworthy for two reasons. We cannot firmly establish it as a contingency as there is nothing at all resembling an ‘if’ or ‘whoever’ clause. Secondly, the expressions of “be an object of concern” and “follow you” are unusual, and reminiscent of (41), in which it is sufficient for the gods simply to be “aware” of you. In any case, this curse is functionally equivalent to the other contingencies.

The clause structure of the following looks like a true contingency. But its verbs are presents (to be taken in the future tense), rather than imperatives. Again, future tense verbs nullify the purpose of a curse, as the words and action completed are not simultaneous:

(99)

*nu apāš DINGIR.MEŠ-aš paprandaza adanna pāi apēdani=ma
DINGIR.MEŠ-eš zakkar dūr adanna akuwanna pianzi* ‘(If) he gives
the gods to eat from a polluted thing, to him the gods will give
excrement (and) urine to eat (and) drink!’ (CTH 264, Instructions for
Palace Servants, KUB 13.4 iii 66-68; pre-NH/NS)

³⁵ I follow Stefanini (1965: 47) on the translation of EGIR-an uwandu as ‘may they follow’; the possibility of ‘look after you’ is excluded by the presence of the subject pronoun.

The following is unique as the curse is asked as a rhetorical question, as shown by the fronted

UL ‘not’:

(100)

[*m*]ān=ma=ašta ZI-tum DINGIR^{LJ^M} kui]š TUKU.TUKU-yanuzi
 n=at=kan DINGIR^{LIM} apēdani=pat [1-e]dani anda š[anah]zi *UL*
 =at=kan ANA DAM-ŠU [DUMU-ŠU N]UMUN-ŠU MAŠ-ŠU
 [AR]AD.MEŠ-Š[U GE]ME.MEŠ-ŠU [GU₄]^{HI}.A.-ŠU UDU.MEŠ-ŠU
 halkitt=a an[da=ši ša]nahzi n=an=kan h[ūm]andaz h[ar]nikzi ‘If
 then on the other hand, [anyone] vexes the feelings of a god, does the
 god punish him alone for it? Does he not punish his wife, [his
 children], his descendants, his family, his slaves male (and) female, his
 cattle, his sheep, along with his harvest for it, and destroy him
 utterly?’ (CTH 264, Instructions for Palace Servants, KUB 13.4 i 34-
 38; pre-NH/NS)

Again, though, although the clause type would suggest a contingency, this cannot be considered a curse, by my own definition, as a rhetorical question is again not a *fiat*: the action is not completed upon utterance.

2.7 Conclusion

The linguistic structures of contingency curses were shown to be remarkably consistent, with the exception of the Military Oaths, which exhibited unusual patterns for nearly all linguistic features. Clause structure showed the most linguistic consistency, and was shown to be either simple, with two variants, or complex, as in the Military Oaths. As explained, the uniqueness of the Military Oaths is probably due, at least in part, to the curses being linked to the performance of a ritual. All roles of the participants were examined; the lack of an overt initiator was tentatively attributed to the assumption that the initiator was

the king. Regarding agency, curses were divided between agented and agentless curses. Morphologically, there were relatively few exceptions to the expected correlations, considering the number of curses in the corpus. Lexically, there were few exceptions to the verbs normally used to express acts of wrongdoing.

The Hittites considered everything, from treaties to protocols to edicts, to be an *išḫiul* (contract) between the king and a vassal. Throughout the chapter, evidence was presented that the Hittites may have considered contingency-type curses as nothing more than provisions of an oath. Firstly, the frequency of curses juxtaposed with blessings within official treaties indicates that we may indeed convincingly argue that this was the case.

Furthermore, the Hittites did not seem to see anything peculiar in directing a “curse” to a divinity, an act that would appear blasphemous if this “curse” was really *ḫurtai-*. But perhaps the most compelling evidence is that, to my knowledge, there is no sure case in which *ḫurtai-* refers to a sanctioned act. The operative verb to describe all curses in this chapter would therefore be *link-* ‘swear an oath.’

This is a likely possibility. But as Edwin Brown (pers. comm.) has suggested, another possibility is that cursing may have been a privileged act, sanctioned for officials and deities, but was also presumably taboo, and therefore unsanctioned for unauthorized persons. This scenario shows the dual nature of taboo acts: rather than being inherently evil, the act of cursing may have held social stigma only for the general public. As noted, nowhere have we found an instance of *ḫu(wa)rt-* as a sanctioned act. In example (26) above, the only attestation of this verb in contingency curses, the agents who do the cursing are deities, the oath-gods.

Then, C. Melchert (pers. comm) has called my attention to a just-published text.³⁶ In lines 2 and 3 of this text, we find: [] *n=an=ši kiššan [..._{huw}]artanzi kuit=wa=ššan [...]* KUR ^{URU}*Hatti šer HUL-lu [...]*. This is followed by references to Suppiluliuma and Mursili and a request for blessings upon the latter. The broken context makes any interpretation tentative, but the phrase ‘they curse him for him as follows’ followed by direct speech referring to ‘evil for the land of Hatti’ suggests that some officials are cursing a malefactor (=an) on behalf of the Hittite king (=ši). If this is correct, it would argue that the action expressed by *hu(wa)rt-* was sanctioned for the privileged.

The second main issue raised was the historical development in typology; specifically in clause structure, expressiveness, and agency. For clause structure, comparison among the three ages of Hittite revealed that the ‘whoever’ clause is securely OH. As for the ‘if’ clause, we know that it became the standard clause used in treaties, somewhat displacing the ‘whoever’ clause, but may also have been present in OH; the lack of OH treaties precludes a secure conclusion. Examination of the lexicon of the apodoses suggests that curses may have been more expressive in Old and Middle Hittite, with a fairly generic set of formulae becoming standardized by Neo-Hittite, with ‘may the oaths destroy...’ being a typical formula. This later pattern of a boilerplate formula suggests a development from a longer to a shorter form of the curse, to arrive at a linguistic register more appropriate for legalistic domains. As for the roles of agents, I have also argued that there was an apparent shift from allowing both the personified oaths and other gods as agents to allowing only the other gods.

³⁶ Text 7 of Liane Jakob-Rost, *Keilschrifttexte aus Bogazköy im Vorderasiatisches Museum* (=Heft 28 of

Thirdly, a possible influence between Akkadian and Hittite was discussed. To summarize, we recall Beckman's quote, presented on p. 21, that diplomatic partners within Anatolia received Hittite language treaties, while those in Syria and beyond were dealt with in Akkadian. The evidence shows that the same was true for curse formulas: in the Treaty of Muṣṣili with Duppi-Tešub and the Landgrant of Arnuwanda and Asmunikal, the Akkadian language expressions look like translations of Hittite, as shown by the unique usage of words. By contrast, the Ras Shamra text in (41) is probably genuine Akkadian, as the words used are standard Akkadian. The open question was the Šattiwaza treaty, an Akkadian language treaty in Anatolia. Some of the colorful similes in the curse have no parallels in Hittite curses, which could suggest an Akkadian influence. However, the expressiveness of the Šattiwaza treaty and the two Gasga treaties, all MH texts, may again be due to the fact that pre-NH curses were simply more colorful. If the complete Hittite version of the former treaty were intact, the issue could be settled conclusively, and we would be able to determine that in fact, the Akkadian here was probably influenced by Hittite as well.

CHAPTER 3

HIEROGLYPHIC LUVIAN CONTINGENCY CURSES

It is fitting at this point to examine the curses found in Hieroglyphic Luvian, to compare them structurally and lexically with those just examined from Hittite, its sister language within the Anatolian branch of Indo-European. The cultural continuity between the two corpora is arguable, however, since most of the HLuvian texts from which these curses are taken are attested from about the 11th to the 8th century B.C.E., after the fall of the Hittite Empire.

All curses found in HLuvian are contingency curses, but unlike the Hittite contingencies, they occur as public displays in the form of orthostats or statues instead of in the official context of treaties. The HLuvian corpus differs from the private curses found in other ancient languages (the Italic group immediately comes to mind) in including relatively few tomb inscriptions, directed toward potential trespassers. This chapter will exhaustively account for all curses found in HLuvian texts, using the same linguistic model as the previous chapter. Furthermore, as most of these inscriptions are found in southern Anatolia and north Syria, the possibility of linguistic influence from Akkadian to Luvian is raised and will therefore also be briefly discussed.

3.1 Clause Type

3.1.1 Protases

Like the Hittite contingency curses, Hieroglyphic Luvian contingencies show the two basic clause types of ‘whoever...’ and ‘if...,’ although attestation of the latter pattern is limited to only three HLuvian curses.

The following is a standard example of a HLuvian ‘if’ clause from Karaburun, a quasi-treaty:

- (101) *Si-pi-sa-pa-wa/i ni-ya-sa REL-ti Si-pi-ya REX-ti MALUS-za CUM-ni
za+ra/i-ti-ti ni-mu-wa/i-zi ni-pa-wa/i ha-ma-si Si-pi-ya-pa-wa/i-ta ni-
ya-sá-na hà+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa-’(URBS) (DEUS)Ku+ AVIS-ya ku-ma-
pi ta-wa/i INFRA-ta á-za-tu za-ya-pa-wa/i-ta REL-za-ma-ya REL-sa
ARHA “MALLEUS”-ya á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i REX ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sá
(DEUS)LUNA+MI-sá ki-hà+ra/i-ni za+ra/i-ti INFRA sá-tu
SUPER+RA/I² -pa-wa/i-tu-ta ni-i ma-nu-ha sa₅+ra/i-²tu ‘If Sipí
son of Ni plots (?) evil against King Sipí, his son or his grandson, may
the Haranean (Moon-god) together with (?) Kupapa swallow down the
eyes of Sipí son of Ni. But the one who erases this inscription, may
the Moon-god, King of Haran, be for him down in the heart of *k*. (?)
But may he not rise(?) up at all for him’ (Karaburun, 9-13)*

The Karatepe Bilingual shows an unusual variant of the ‘if’ clause, in which the curse initiator hypothesizes a proclamation by the potential perpetrator:

- (102) *REX-ta-ti-i-pa-wa/i REL+ra/i REL-sa-há ní-pa-wa/i-sa ¹CAPUT-ti-sá
CAPUT-ti-ya-za-ha-wa/i-tu-ta á-ta₄-ma-za za á-sa₅-za-ya ARHA-
wa/i-ta “69”-i-ti-wa/i (LITUUS+)Á-za-ti-wa/i-tà-sà á-ta₅-ma-za*

PORTA-*la-na-ri+i zi-na wa/i-mu-ta á-ma-za á-ta₄-ma-za à-ta tu-pi-wa/i...wa/i-ta ARHA MANUS i-ti-tu* (CAELUM.DEUS) TONITRUS-*hu-za-sá* (CAELUM.DEUS) SOL-*za-sá* (DEUS) I-*ya-sá* OMNIS+*MI-zi-ha* DEUS-*ni-zi á-pa* REX-*hi-sá á-pa-há* “REX”-*na á-pa-há-wa/i* CAPUT-*ti-na* ‘If anyone from among kings -- or (if) he is a man, and to him [there is] a manly name, proclaims this: “I shall delete the name of Azatiwatas from the gates on this stele(?) and I shall incise my name”...., may Tarhunzas of Heaven, the Sun of heaven, Ea and all the Gods delete that kingdom and that king and that man!’ (Karatepe LIX-LXXV [331-407]) (Translation with Hawkins 1975: 121ff)

This is the only case where the wrongdoing is expressed in the first person. The statement is placed within an otherwise standard ‘if’ clause. The only other ‘if’ clause seen in HLuvian occurs in the Topada text, which is in fact remarkable as it shows a pattern of ‘be he x, be he y,’ to be discussed further with the ‘whoever’ clauses:

(103)

.../ /...] REL-*i ARHA ha+ra/i-ri+i wa/i-sa* REL-*i REX-ti-sa wa/i-ta á-pa-sa-na* VAS-*tara/i-i-na á-pa-sa₇-[ha]* TERRA-REL<÷ *ra/i>-na* (DEUS)TONITR[US]-*h[u-sa]* (DEUS)SARMA-*ma-sa* [(DEUS)]198-*sa₆* (DEUS)BOS.2[06]-*pa_x-sa ARHA ha+ra/i-tú-u* REL-*i-pa-wa/i-[sa_x]* POST+*RA/I-sa* CAPUT-*ti-[sa]* *wa/i-[t]à á-pa-sa-na* VAS-*tara/i-na á-pa-sa-ha* DOMUS-*na-za/i* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-sa* (DEUS)SARMA-*ma-sa* (DEUS)198-*[sa_x]*(DEUS)BOS.206-*pas-[sa_x]*AR[HA *ha+ra/i-[tu-u]* ‘If ____ destroys [these words/this inscription], if he is a king, may the Storm-god, Sarruma, the ____-god (and) the ____-god destroy his body and his country. If he is a lesser person, may the Storm-god, Sarruma, the ____-god (and) the ____-god destroy his body and his house.’ (Topada, 34-38)

Unlike the variant present in the ‘whoever’ clauses, this version actually expresses separate curses for the two hypothesized perpetrators.

Many of the relative clauses in the Carchemish A 6 and Kululu 2 texts are similar to (62) of the Military Oaths, in that a transpired historical event is described before presenting the curse. As will be discussed in section 3.2.1, this narrative style also has implications for how participants in the curse are expressed. In the Sultanhan text below, the first and second ‘whoever’ clauses are similar to those seen in Hittite contingencies, but the third differs in two respects:

(104)

*à-wa/i REL-sá MAGNUS+RA/I-ya-ri+ i ma-sa-ti-tà-ya-ri+ i-ha wa/i-
ti-i REL-sa za-na DEUS-ni-na REL-sà-i wa/i-ta á-pa-sa-ha á-pa-sa-
za sa-na-wa/i-ya-za za-ri+ i à-ta LITUUS.LITUUS-na-i REL-sa-pa-
wa/i-ta SUPER+RA/I-ha- PUGNUS-ri+ i-ti-i' ni-pa-wa/i-ta ARHA pa-
sà-REL-i wa/i-tu-u DEUS-ni-i-zi MALUS-tà-ti-i tara/i-pi-wa/i CRUS-
i- '...za-pa-wa/i à+ra/i-ma-za REL-sa-' za+ra/i-ti-ti-i- ' ni-pa-wa/i-ta-'
“FEMINA”-na-ti-i-sa ta-132-li-i-sa pa+ra/i-sa₅+ra/i u-pa-i ni-pa-
wa/i-sa-' LEPUS+RA/I-ya-li-sa ni-pa-wa/i REX-[] á-pa-[] ha-[...]
“LUNA”-ma-sá-pa-wa/i-na ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sá á-pa-sá
“CORNU” ki-pu-tà- ' à-ta tu-wa/i-ti²-i REL-i-pa-wa/i-na ka+ra/i-
<ka>-mi-si-za-sa (DEUS) ku-AVIS-pa-pa-sa á-pa-na mu-wa/i-i á-ta-
ha-si-zi-pa-wa/i-na DEUS-ni-i-zi ARHA á-tà-tu-u (“CAELUM”) ti-
pa-sa-si-zi-pa-wa/i-na DEUS-ni-zi (“TERRA”) ta-sà-REL+ra/i-si-zi-
ha VIR-ti-zi FEMINA-ti-zi-ha [] ‘Whoever enlarges and ____ (it),
whoever fears this god, he too shall see his (the god’s) good(ness)
here. But whoever uproots(?) it or neglects(?) it, him the gods shall
stand against(?) with malice...The one who covets(?) this arma-, or
(if) a t. woman upa-s p., or (if) it is a ruler, or (if) a king...the moon-
god of Haran shall place him on his horn or Kupapa of Carchemish*

shall unman him. The *a.* gods shall devour him. The male and female gods of heaven and earth shall ____ him' (Sultanhan, 16-21: 40-49)

Notice that the third relative clause in this passage embeds several 'if' clauses within the relative clause to specify the target. What is also interesting, however, is that unlike Hittite, the 'whoever does *x*' formula, as shown in the first two protases in Sultanhan, is not the standard expression of the relative clause in HLuvian. Instead, the expression of the target is more definite, as is seen in the the third case and in the curses below from Karaburun and Sirzi:

Sirzi:

(105)

*za-ya-pa-wa/i-ta REL-za-ma-ya REL-sa ARHA "MALLEUS"-ya á-
pa-ti-pa-wa/i REX ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sá (DEUS)LUNA+MI-sá ki-
hà+ra/i-ni za+ra/i-ti INFRA sá-tu* 'But the one who erases this
inscription, may the Moon-god, king of Haran, be for him down in
the heart of *k.*(?) but may he not rise(?) up at all for him.'
(Karaburun, 11-13)

(106)

*za-pa-wa/i i-pa' 96-pa-na REL-sa ARHA la-ta-ti á-pa-ti-pa-
wa/i+ra/i-ta i-pa'-sa (DEUS)CERVUS-ti-sa *464(-)ha+ra/i-ma 96-pi-
tu* 'The one who scatters(?) this ____, may ____Runtiyas rest his
feet on his ruins(?)' (Sirzi, 5-6)

This "determinate" type is more prevalent within HLuvian than the 'whoever' type, appearing also in Kululu 2, Kululu 13, Carchemish A 6, and the Emirgazi altars, to name just a few. It appears that HLuvian exhibits the same pattern as does Hittite regarding relative pronouns: in generalizing relative clauses the relative pronouns are clause initial, while in determinate relative clauses they are in second position. It is interesting, however, that

HLuvian, unlike Hittite, seems to have some definite violator in mind for the contingency curses. This may be rooted in the fact that unlike the Hittite contingencies, the potential violation here has to do with concrete, physical damage to the inscriptions, trespasses with which the Luvians were already familiar. Their fatalistic assumption that these violations would occur anyway may have influenced the syntactic construction of the curse protases.

A “determinate” relative clause is also used where the punishment is tied to a previous historical event. Another remarkable feature about this passage, from Carchemish A 1a, is its pronouncement of the curse. Here, there is a comparison of ‘as x, so may y’:

(107) *à-wa/i* ¹*ha-ta-ma-na-ya* REL-*à-za* (CAELUM)*sà-pá-ra/i-ka-wa/i-ni-sa*(URBS) (DEUS)TONITRUS-*za-sa à-tá za-ha-nú-wa/i-ta pa-ti-ha-wa/i pa-*’ *za-à-zi* DEUS-*ní-zi à-tá za-ha-nú-wa/i-tú* ‘What the Storm-god of Sapar(i)ka *anda zahanu*-ed to Hatamana, may these gods also *anda zahanu*- to him.’ (Carchemish A 1a, 36-37)

While many HLuvian curses present a historical narrative before the curse, this is the only instance in which the curse is expressly tied to the aforementioned event.

Within both the ‘if’ and the relative clause types, HLuvian also shows a slightly more sophisticated version found only once in Hittite ((20) in Chapter 2), consisting of ‘if/the one who/whoever...be he x, y, or z....’. This appears to be one more compositional device to assure that justice is served by applying the punishment(s) to all possible perpetrators.

Following is from Kululu 13:

(108) B4 *za-ti-za-pa-<wa>* DOMUS-*na-zá* REL-*sá à+ra-na* CUM-*ni i-zi-i-r+i* ... *wa-sá ni-i* A5 [REX]-*ti-sa ni-pa-wa* [...] FEMINA *ha-su-*

*s[a₅+ra]-s[a] [wa-sa ni-i] B5 MAGNUS+RA [-za]-sa ni-pa-[wa ...]
 sa₄-ti-i+ri-sa wa-sá ni-i VIR-ti-sa ni-pa-wa FEMINA-ti-sa B6 wa-tu-
 ta za-zí DEUS-ni-zi wa/i-la “PES”-tu wa-na tu-pa-tu wa-tu-u A6 [a-
 ta₄-ma-za arha] DELERE-nú-tu-u á-ta-ha-si-zí-pa-wa-ru A7 DEUS-
 ni-zi za+ra/i-za arha à+ra-tu ‘The one who does ARANA against
 these houses..., if he is a king, or (she) is a queen, if he is a big or a
 small, if he is a lord or she is a lady, may these gods come to him
 WALA and may they strike him and may they destroy his [name] and
 may the *Atahasi*-gods devour his heart!’ (Kululu 13, 4-9)*

This elaboration of the relative clause is also seen in Aleppo 2, Carchemish A 3, Kululu 2 and Sultanhan; Sultanhan’s version is of course in the form of ‘whoever...’.

3.1.2 *Apodoses*

In the actual curses, we also see in (109) another structural variant not seen in Hittite, a formula of ‘may they come x-wise to someone.’ This construction is composed of an intransitive verb, followed by an adverb, followed by the target expressed in the dative. It is also seen in Carchemish A4d:

- (109) *[wa/i]-tú-tá-pa-’ (DEUS)Á-tara/i-su-ha-sa “CRUX”(-)wa/i-lá/i PES-
 wa/i-tú ‘May the god Atarsuha come WALA toward him.’
 (Carchemish A 4d, 2)*

Note also that as in the Hittite treaties, curses are paired with blessings in HLUvian, as in (104) from Sultanhan. The pattern of cursing followed by blessing, or vice versa, is also seen in Carchemish A 1a and Kululu 13.

3.2 Participants

3.2.1 Initiator(s)

The public displays which contain curses in HLuvian were composed mostly by minor kings and their subordinates. As the curses are in a sense weapons to guard against desecration of orthostats or statues, and as they were erected in the name of an individual, the initiator of the curse is usually given at the beginning of the inscription and sometimes appears in the protasis of the curse.

In fact, in almost all of the curses, the initiator is the person for whom the tablet was created, instead of a third party. In Kululu 2, for example, the initiator speaks in the first person: EGO-*mi*¹*pa-nu-ni-i-sa* (DEUS) SOL-*wa-tà-mi-i-sa* CAPUT-*ti-sá* ‘I am Panunis, a person of the Sun-god.’ Four lines later, the curse reads:

(110)

(“SA₄”) *sa-ni-ti-pa-wa/i mu-u [R]EL-sà-’ ni-pa-wa/i-sa*
MAGNUS+RA/I-*za-sa [] ni-pa-wa/i-sa [x-x]-sa-ti-[sa] ni-pa-wa/i-sa*
REL-sà-*pa RE[L]-sà-’ CAPUT-ti-sà wa/i-ru-ta []* (DEUS) *sà-ta-si-i-*
zi (DEUS) *ma_x+ra/i-wa/i-i-zi-i* (“256”) *tà-sá-za à-ta* “CRUS”-*tu wa/i-*
ru-ta á-pa-sá-’ (SCALPRUM.SIGILLUM) *sa-s[a]-za-’ tu-wa/i-tu-u á-*
pa-sa-na DOMUS-ni-i ‘But the one who overturns me, (whether) he
is great, or he is ____, or whatever person he is, may the dark gods of
Santa stand on his stelae(?), and may they place their/his seal on his
house.’ (Kululu 2, 5-10)

This first-person narrative preceding the curse is also present in Aleppo 2, Carchemish A 1a, A 2, A 6, A 11a, 11b +c, Bolkarmaden, and Cekke.

3.2.2 Agency

Agency is expressed in one of three ways in Hieroglyphic Luvian. The agents are either one or several deities; they are dogs (!); or they are not overtly mentioned at all. As was done with the Hittite corpus, the HLuvian contingencies are here divided into agent vs. non-agent curses.

3.2.2.1 Deities as Agents

Once again, the acts of punishments are most often effected by deities. Which of the deities are specified varies throughout the corpus, although Karhuha and Kupapa are the deities most frequently mentioned: one or the other or both are specified as agents in Aleppo 2, Bolkarmaden, Carchemish A3, A11a, b, + c, A14a + b, Cekke, and Sultanhan. From Carchemish A 11 a:

(111)

wa/i-tú-ta-’ (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* (DEUS)*Kar-hu-ha-sa*

(DEUS)*Ku+* AVIS-*pa-sa-ha* IRA-*lá/i-za-tú wa/i-tú-ta-*’ (PANIS)

tú+ra/i-pi-na (LIBARE) *sa₅+ra/i-la-ta-za-ha* NEG₃-*sa* ARHA *tà-ti-i*

‘...With him may the Storm-god, Karhuha and Kupapa be angry, and from him may they not accept *turpi*-bread and libation.’ (Carchemish A11a, 26-27)

One of the most inclusive specifications of deities as agents occurs in Carchemish A 11c:

(112)

[REL]-*sa z[a-ti]-ya-za [x-x]-za* MALUS-*ta₄-ti-i-*’ VERSUS-*ya-ni* PES-

wa/i-ti NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-sa za-ti-ya-za* (DOMUS.SUPER)*ha+ra/i-sà-tá-*

na-za MALUS-*ta₄-ti-i-*’ VERSUS-*ya-ni* [PES]-*wa/i-ti* NEG₂-[*pa*]-*wa/i-*

tà CRUS.CRUS-*ya-za-i* REL-*à-ti* PRAE-*ni [wa/i]-tà-*’

[SCRIBA+RA/I](-)*tà-i* REL-*i-sa za-à-zi-pa-wa/i-tá* ([SCA]LPRUM)

ku-ta-sa₅+ra/i-zi-i LOCUS-ta₄-za [(SA₄) sá-ni-]-i-ti NEG₂-pa-wa/i-tá
za-à-ti-ya-za (“SCALPRUM”)ku-ta-sa₅+ra/i-za á-ma-za á-ta₅-ma-za
ARHA “MALLEUS”-lá/i-i pa-ti-pa-wa/i-tá-’ (CAELUM.DEUS)
TONITRUS-sa (DEUS)kar-hu-ha-sá (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-pa-sá-ha
(MONS)à+ra/i-pu-tá-wa/i-ni-sá-ha (DEUS)TONITRUS-sa
(AQUA+RA/I’’)sà-ku+ra/i-wa/i-ni-i-zi-ha (AQUA.REGIO)ha-pa-tá-si
DEUS-ni-zi IRA-lá/i-sa-tú wa/i-tú-’ VIR-ti-ya-ti-ya-za-ha
(“CULTER”) pa+ra/i-tú-ni-tú-u FEMINA-ti-ya-ti-ya-za-ha-wa/i-tú-u
(“CULTER”) pa+ra/i-tú-ni-i-tú wa/i-tú-’ VIR-ti-ya-ti-i-na (462)mu-
wa/i-i-tà-na NEG₃-sa tà-ti-i FEMINA-ti-ya-ti-pa-wa/i-tú (FEMINA.
 462) 4-tà-<na>? ni-i tà-ti-i ‘[Whoever] approaches these _____

with malice, of (if) he approaches these chambers with malice, or (if) the one to whom they pass down ____s them, or overturns these orthostats from (their) places, or erases my name from these orthostats, let the Storm-god of heaven, Karhuha and Kupapa, and also the Storm-god of Mount Arputa, and also the gods of the valley of the River Sakura be angry at him. Let them both cut away/off male(ness) from him, and let them cut away/off femaleness from her. Let them not accept male potency(?) from him, and let them not accept female vitality (?) from her.’ (Carchemish A 11c, 25-35)

Other deities mentioned in HLuvian curses include the Haranean Moon-god, Nikarwa, Hebat, Ea, Tarhunzas, Kuparma, the dark gods of Santa, Sarruma, and Storm-gods of various places.

There is therefore significantly more variation in the number of deities in HLuvian contingencies as compared to Hittite contingencies, in which the oath-gods were by far the deities most frequently cited. As expected, these deities are also those associated with southwest Anatolia and northern Syria, and only the Storm-god, Hebat, and Ea are shared with the Hittite state treaties. The one exception is taken from the Emirgazi altars, a curse

from main empire Hittite:

(113)

REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i* REX *zi/a-i(a)* STELE *sà-ka-tà-la-i(a)* REL+*ra/i-*
pa-wa/i *tà-na* NEG-*wa/i á wa/i-tu-tá-* ' (DEUS)SOL SOL+*RA/I*
(DEUS).TONITRUS.CAELUM.CERVUS₂.DEUS.*463-*ti*
(DEUS)MONS.MENSA *Á.FEMINA?.DEUS.*461* REX*398-*zi/a*
*303-*zi/a* INFRA *tara/i-zi/a-nú-wa/i-tu* 'But whatever king will
damage these stelae, or not make them TANA, for him may the Sun
goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of heaven, the Stag-god, the god
Table-Mountain (and) the god...TARZANU-down the royal(?)
*303('s)(?!)' (Emirgazi, 24-26) (Translation with Hawkins 1995:
89)

The significance of this curse from a historical perspective will be discussed in section

3.2.2.3.

3.2.2.2 Other Agents

One immediate distinction in agency from the Hittite curses is the presence of animals as agents, as in Carchemish A 6 with dogs¹:

(114)

ni-pa-wa/i-ta á-ma-za á-ta₅-ma-za- ' REL-*i-sá* ARHA "MALLEUS"-
la-<ì> *ni-pa-wa/i* INFANS-*ni-na-ti-i zi-i-na ni-pa-wa/i* ("474")*wa/i-*
si-na-sa-ti zi-na REL-*sa* CUM-*ni* ARHA *tà-ya á-pa-pa-wa/i-* '
(DEUS)*Ni-ka-ra/i-wa/i-sá* CANIS-*ni-i-zi á-pa-si-na* CAPUT-*hi-na*
ARHA EDERE-*tú* '...or the one who erases my name, or the one who
takes away from the children on the one hand or from the attendants
on the other hand, may the dogs of Nikarwa devour his head!'
(Carchemish A 6, 29-31)

¹ The Greek Furies are expressed as 'dogs' in Sophocles, *Electra*, line 1388.

Dogs are also specified as agents in the following:

- (115) *á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i à+ra/i-ta-la-si-sá [] (DEUS) TONITRUS-hu-u-za-sá á-pa-si-na à+ra/i-ta-li-na INFRA-ni-na(?) ha-pa-za-nu-wa/i-tu-u^ltu-wa/i-ti-sà-pa-wa/i-tu-u-ta á-mu+ra/i-sá (DEUS) ku-AVIS-pa-pa-sa ha-sa-mi-sa zú-wa/i-ni-i-sá á-pa-na-^li-zi-ya-tu à-wa/i á-pa-si-na ha-sa-mi-na ma_x-ra/i-ta-mi-i-na ARHA á-za-tu á-pa-si-ha á-tara/i-i-na ‘...let the Storm-god of the *artali-hapazu*- his lower(?) *artali*-on/against him. Let the *amura*- of Tuwati(?), the canine clan of Kupapa, make after(?) him. Let it devour his accursed clan and person’ (Kululu 1, 9-11)*

The only instance of a curse in which neither deities nor dogs are mentioned as agents occurs in Kōrkūn, in which ‘heaven and earth’ are angry at the violator. However, although they are not named, we should assume that the deities are implied here as agents. At any rate, regarding the punishment mentioned here, we shall see in section 3.4.2 that ‘being angry’ is in fact the most common punishment expressed in HLuvian curses.

3.2.2.3 Agentless Curses

Curses lacking overt agents are by no means rare in Hieroglyphic Luvian. The second curse which appears in the Aleppo 2 text is agentless:

- (116) *ARHA-pa-wa/i-ta REL-sa tà-i pa-pa-wa/i-^l(CAELUM.DEUS) TONITRUS ha+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa(URBS)-ha (DEUS)LUNA+MI-sa (LOQUI)ta-tara/i-ia-tú wa/i-tú-^lCAELUM [...] ni-i INFRA-tá PES-wa/i-ti-i (“TERRA”)ta-sà-REL+ra/i-ti-pa-wa/i-ta (“471”)mu-ru-wa/i-tà-za ní-i SUPER+RA/I-^lPES-wa/i-ti...pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta-^lza-á-zi*

DEUS-ni-zi IRA-lá/i-sa-tú wa/i-tú- ' á-ta₅-ma-za ARHA "DELERE"-tú
 ha+ ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-pa-w[a/i...VIR-ti-]-ia-ti FEMINA-ti-ia-ti X-zi á-
 pa-si-z[i] AR[HA] (FLAMMAE(?))ki-n[ú]-sà-tú 'But the one who
 takes (it/them) away, him may celestial Tarhunzas and the Haranean
 Moon-god curse! For him let not [...] come down from the sky, let
 not *muruwata(n)za* come up from the earth!...against him may the
 gods be angry, may they get rid of his name! For the Haranean
 [Moon-god...] for every [ma]le (and) female [(god)] let their hearths
 burn [him(?)] up!' (Aleppo 2, 13-16; 21-23)

And the penultimate curse from Carchemish A 3:

- (117) *pa-pa-wa/i- ' za-à-sa* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* (LOQUI)*tá-tara/i-ya-tu*
wa/i-sa- ku-ma-na sa-ti- ' pa-la-sa-ti-i à-wa/i (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa*
 (DEUS)*Ku+ AVIS-pa-sa* ("FRONS")*ha-tá NEG₃-sa* (LITUUS+)*na-ti-i*
wa/i-sa- ' DEUS-na-za CAPUT-tá-za-ha 336-na-na
 (DEUS)TONITRUS-*tá-ti-i* (LOQUI)*ta-tara/i-ya-mi-sa i-zi-ya-ru*
 '...let this Storm-god curse him. When he is 'off the path,'² may he
 not see the face of the Storm-god and of Kupapa. Let him be cursed
 by the Storm-god among gods and men' (Carchemish A 3, 4-7)

Excerpted from the Cekke text are three agentless curses following the initial curse in which
 the deities are the agents:

- (118) *á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i* (CAELUM.DEUS)TONITRUS (DEUS)*Ka-ra/i-hu-ha-*
sá (DEUS)*Ku-AVIS-ha* (DEUS)BONUS (DEUS)*I-sa-ha*
 (DEUS)LUNA+ *MI-sa* (DEUS)SOL (CRUX)*wa/i-la "PES"-wa/i-tú à-*
wa/i "CAELUM"-sa CORNU+ RA/I-na ní LITUUS+ na-ti TERRA-
pa-wa/i CORNU+ RA/I-na ní (96)[*tara/i-pi-ti*] (DEUS)*Ku-pa-AVIS-*
pa-si-pa-wa/i (476)*wá/i-sa-ha-na CORNU+ RA/I-na ní LITUUS+ na-*

² Hawkins (1989: 190) interprets the HLuvian phrase *sa-ti- pa-la-sa-ti-i* as 'dead,' comparing HLuvian /palsa-/ to Hittite *palši-* 'way, path' thus 'off the path (of life)= 'dead.'

ti wa/i-tú-ta za-zi DEUS-ni-zi “TERRA”-sa “BONUS₂” (-)hu-sa-za

SCALPRUM-nu-na [?] ARHA i-zi-ya-tú ‘May the Storm-god.

Karhuha and Kupapa, Kuparma and Ea, the Moon (and) the Sun come to him WALA. Let him not see the abundance of heaven, and let him not [rest his feet] on the abundance of the earth. Let him not see the ____ abundance of Kupapa. Let these gods remove from him (the ability) to reap(?) the ____ of the earth’ (Cekke, 32-36)

We see here as in Hittite the theme of ‘may he not see’ (=experience), as well as the pattern of a deity initiating the curse, after which agentless harm occurs, presumably as a result. To conclude, there is somewhat less variance in agency than in Hittite; recall that some of the Hittite contingencies contained inanimate as well as animate agents . The only real variance in HLuvian agency lies in which of the deities is specified.

In terms of historical development of agency in Hieroglyphic Luvian, a comparison with curses from the second millenium for the purposes of determining structural or thematic developments is largely hindered as most of the curses from the second millenium are unfortunately unreadable. The Emirgazi altars contains the only legible curse (presented in (113)) from the second millenium: we do see here that there has been a change as to the deities involved. Karhuha and Kubaba, the deities usually invoked in HLuvian, are not mentioned in this curse. They are from northern Syria, whereas the deities invoked in (113) are from main empire Hittite, as to be expected, since the initiator is King Tuthaliya IV. It is also worth noting in terms of clause structure that the curse formula from Emirgazi in (113) shows a generalizing relative like Hittite, not the determinate structure so common later.

3.2.3 *Target(s)*

Whereas in the Hittite contingencies, targets were most frequently expressed by an accusative particle for ‘him,’ the target in HLuvian is more narrowly specified. The “target(s)” category will therefore be closely linked to that of “morphology,” as most of these atypical targets seen in HLuvian curses have ramifications for the morphology. Body parts are proportionally specified more often here: ‘head,’ and ‘body and country,’ for example, appear as targets of the verb ‘destroy,’ instead of the individual in general. ‘Eyes’ and ‘heart’ are also specified as targets, in (101) and (108) respectively. An example from Carchemish A 4a:

- (119) *à-wa/i á-pa-sá* (CAPUT) [*ha+ra/i*]-*ma*-[*hi-na*] *AR[HA]*
 “DELERE+x”-*na-nu-tu* ‘...may (they) destroy his head’
 (Carchemish A 4a, 9)

Objects are also named as targets, as in Carchemish A 2:

- (120) *á-ma-za-pa-wa/i-ta á-ta₅-ma-za REL-i-sa ARHA MALLEUS-i pa-ti-*
pa-wa/i-ta za-à-sa Kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa(URBS) (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa*
 (“464”) *ha-tà-ma* (96) *tara/i-pi-i-tu wa/i-tu-ta-*’ LOCUS-*ta₅-wa/i-za-*
ha NEG₃-sa CUM-i wa/i-sa-la-li-ti-i POST+RA/I-wa/i-sà-ti-pa-wa/i
REL-sa za-à-ya(TEMPLUM) *ha-tà à-tá* 261(-) *ta-pa-i wa/i-sa-*’ *ma-*
na REX-ti-sa ma-pa-sa REGIO.DOMINUS-sa ma-pa-sa 355-li-sa
wa/i-ta-’ *pa-sa-*’ *tá-ti-ya-za DOMUS-ni-za Kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa*
 (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* (CORNU) *ki-pu-tà-ti-i à-tá* (96) *tara/i-pi-tu-u*
 ‘The one who erases my name, may this Storm-god of Carchemish

rest his feet on his ruins, and may he also not be kind to his tenants(?). The one who in the future blocks up/closes in this temple-front, whether he be a king, or a lord of a land, or a ____, may the Storm-god of Carchemish rest his feet on that one's paternal house with his pointed shoes (?).' (Carchemish A 2, 10-15)

It is not clear who the plunderers were for whom these curses were intended. We have seen, however, how comprehensive the protases were, again allowing little room for escape from punishment: notice the explicit mention of other/later kings. This concern that later rulers might violate/destroy the inscription and the object bearing it supports the idea that the definite relative clauses reflect a fatalistic assumption that the crimes will occur.

3.3 Morphology

Cases in which the target appears in the dative instead of the usual accusative typically occur in curses other than the standard “destroy him” formula; that is, most of the curses seen in section 3.4.1.2 contain targets in the dative. The frequent HLuvian curse of “angry at,” for example, takes the dative. Targets are also in the dative after punishments such as “not to accept offerings from” and “not to see.” For example, in Kayseri:

(121)

“DEUS”(-)*ma_x-ru-wá/i-wá/i-ni-sa-pa-wá/i-tu-ta* “DEUS”(-)*ni-tu-[..]sa [...]-ru...[...]-wá/i-tá-*’ (DEUS)*Ku+* AVIS-*pa-pa-sa-*’ POST-*na* FORTIS-*wa/i-i... á-ta-há-si-za]-pa-wá/i-na* DEUS-*ni-zì-*’ *á-ta-[x]-i-zì [AR]HA-*’ *á-tà<-tu>-u.* [*H*]*α+ra/i-* [*na-w*]*á/i-ni-sa-pa-wa/i-tu-u-ta* LUNA+ *MI-ma-sa á-pa-sa* (“CORNU”) *ki-pu+ra/i à-ta*
 (“96”) *tara/i-pi-ru-u-*’ May the dark deity become [] to

him...May Kupapa “unman”(?) him...‘May the *Atahasi*-gods devour
him...On him may the Haranean Moon-god rest his horned shoes!’
(Kayseri 7, 10, 11, 13)

Note the accusative construction in the third curse, which may also be interpreted as a double accusative (‘may they devour him with respect to his []’), with *á-ta-[x]-i-zì* possibly an accusative of respect.

3.4 Lexical Items

The discussion of the cursing lexicon is divided into an analysis of the protases and apodoses. For both parts of the curse, it should be noted that a complete lexical analysis is somewhat hindered by the broken nature of some texts, or else a lack of understanding of some vocabulary, as in the curse in (107) above: ‘...let these gods also *anda zahanu-* to him.’

The protases focus on a limited number of items. Major concerns as expressed in the protases consist of the following: overturning orthostats or statues, defacing or erasing names or words, approaching things with malice, obviously the major concerns of the curse initiators because of prior experiences. Following are the occurrences of each wrongdoing:

Erasing the name: Carchemish A2, A6, A11a, A11b + c, A14 a + b,
Boybeypinari 1, Tell Ahmar 2

Erasing the words: Carchemish A14b, A25b, Cekke, Karaburun, Sirzi
(likely), Topada

Approaching objects, the god, or the city with malice: Aleppo 2,
Carchemish A 1a, A11b + c, A30b, A32, Cekke

Overturning orthostats or stele: Adiyaman 1, Carchemish A11a,
A11b + c, Babylon Stele, Boybeypinari 2, Kululu 2

Standing *tarpi*³: Carchemish A 18h, Cekke 11, Tilsevet

Chiseling away items: Adiyaman 1 ('with malice'), Boybeypinari 1, 2
(2 is modified by 'with malice')

Putting in his own name: Boybeypinari 2, Karatepe

Taking things away from someone: Aleppo 2, Carchemish A3, A6

As is apparent above, the adverbial phrase "with malice" is a common theme in HLuvian; it occurs in the protases as well as in apodoses. The remainder of the wrongdoings in the HLuvian corpus are the following: blocking up the front of the temple (Carchemish A 2), resting one's feet on a stele (we will see in the apodoses that "resting one's feet" is in fact also a common punishment), and finally, a general theme of coveting another's property, variously expressed as "setting one's sights" on a house (Kayseri 2), coveting (?) an *arma-* (Sultanhan), and demanding a house and its attachments for oneself (Kululu 1).

Below is a categorization of all lexical items as they appear in Hieroglyphic Luvian, together with their English glosses as well as where they appear throughout this chapter. Texts which are not otherwise cited here are also included, and are specified by name.

3.4.1 *Verbs*

3.4.1.1 *Transitives*

Physical Violence. We begin with this category as there are no verbs of "control" in HLuvian. The verb 'destroy' is relatively common in this corpus, as it was in Hittite. In

³ Melchert (pers. comm) suggests a meaning of 'against' for *tarpi* (cf. Lydian *trbbi*).

terms of frequency, however, ‘devour’ is the most common verb in the apodoses. The

Bolkarmaden text contains attestations of both:

(122)

za-pa-wa/i-ta- ‘CAPERE-*ma-z[a]* [RE]L-*sa ARHA-*’ []-*ri+ i a-pa-*
...

CAPUT-*ti-na* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*z[a]* DEUS-*ni-zi-ha ARHA*

DELERE⁴-*nú-tu* (DEUS)*Ni-ka-ru-ha-sa-pa-wa/i-na ARHA* EDERE-*tu*

‘The one who _____s this document(?), may the Storm-god and the gods destroy that person! May the Moon-god curse(?) him! May Nikaruha devour him! (Bolkarmaden 13-17)

<i>at-~ar-</i>	‘devour’	(101)(104)(114)(122) etc.
<i>har(r)a-</i> (+ARHA) (?)	‘destroy’	(103)
<i>tupi-/tupai-</i>	‘strike’	(108)(121 ‘with his axe’)
<i>AR[HA]</i> (FLAMMAE(?)) <i>kinusa-</i>	‘burn up(?)’	(116)
(CULTER) <i>partuni-</i>	‘cut away/off’	(112)
DELERE- <i>nu-(wa)-</i>	‘destroy’	Adiyaman, (108) ⁵ (119)
INFRA <i>tarzanu-</i>	‘t. down’	(113)

Whether the two citations for ‘cut away/off’ fall into this category at all depends on whether the punishment is to be taken literally, as in an act of castration, or as instead a more vague “demasculinization.” As for the ‘burn’ verb, this appears to be an act of physical harm, as the perpetrator, and not his possessions, is the target.

Other Harm.

tatariya- ‘curse’ Tell Ahmar 2, Carchemish A 12, (117)(122)

The Tell Ahmar attestation also includes the prepositional phrase ‘from heaven(?)’.

⁴ Melchert (1988: 35) proposes to read sign 248 as a logogram DELERE ‘destroy, obliterate.’

⁵ Hawkins (1970: 104) in fact translates as ‘his name may he *make to vanish*,’ instead of ‘destroy.’

Again, although these are structurally similar to the Hittite contingencies, there was no instance in the official Hittite treaties in which the gods cursed someone. Committing any of the trespasses seen in this chapter such as defacing a statue, a malicious act, demands a malicious act in return, namely cursing.

MANUS(-)iti- (+ARHA) ‘delete’ (102)(116)

Here the punishment is made to match the crime.

A formula of ‘x-ing his y on/against z,’ composed of a transitive plus a prepositional phrase, appears with unusual frequency throughout the corpus:

(96) <i>tarp(a)i-</i>	‘rest one’s feet/heels on x’	(106)(118)(120)
‘ <i>hapazu-</i> his lower(?) <i>artali-</i> on/against him’		(115)
<i>kipura a(n)ta tarp(a)i-</i>	‘rest his pointed shoes on him’	(121)
<i>kiputa a(n)ta tuwa-</i>	‘place him on his horn’	(104)
<i>sasa(n)=za tuwa-</i>	‘place their/his seal on x’	(110)
<i>a(n)ta zahanu-</i>	‘?’	(107)

As *tarp(a)i-* appears in both protases and apodoses of HLuvian curses, some discussion is in order regarding its possible meaning. Its logogram is represented by two feet “facing” each other. Morpurgo Davies (1986: 134ff) proposes a meaning of ‘ploughing’ for the verb, assuming that *kiputa*, the logogram which determines ‘horn,’ must refer to the share of the plough. Melchert (pers. comm.), on the other hand, suggests a meaning of ‘rest one’s heels on,’ usually in the sense of humiliation or control, but in (118), where ‘plow’ seems inappropriate, it would mean simply ‘enjoy’ the abundance of the earth. The word *kiputa*, usually ‘horn,’ may also mean ‘pointed shoes’ (in (121)).

This is thus an especially common curse formula in HLuvian, with “resting one’s feet” on something a particularly popular variation; this phrase and slight variations thereof are also present in the citations above. Interestingly, no such formula with the structure ‘x-ing his y on/against z’ was found in Hittite.

Deprivation. There are two curses which clearly fall into the category of depriving the target of something as a form of punishment:

<i>arha iziya-</i>	‘remove from him (the ability to reap/?the fruits/?of the earth)’	(118)
<i>ap(p)an muwa(i)-</i>	‘unman’ ⁶	(104)(121)
<i>nis (ARHA) ta-</i>	‘not accept (an offering)’	Babylon Stele, (111)(112)

Experience. Two curses contain the verb ‘see,’ as in Chapter 2, only in HLuvian the curse is not to see bad things, as in Hittite, but rather to not see good things. The assumption is the same here, that there is presumably more at hand here than merely seeing; that is, we assume that these are more “experiential” events on the part of the target:

(LITUUS) <i>m(a)na-</i>	‘let him not see’	(117)(118)
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3.4.1.2 *Intransitives*

***ni* + (semantically positive) verb.** This is the Hieroglyphic Luvian equivalent to Hittite *lē* + _____ ‘may x not...’ Unlike Hittite, there are no intransitive verbs in HLuvian conveying a negative change of state, nor are there any verbs with the general sense of ‘die’ or

⁶ Hawkins (1985: 173) favors the interpretation of ‘unman’ as the denominative verb *muwa(i)-* must mean ‘endow with *muwa-* (‘potency’ (Laroche, *Noms*, 322f))’; the *apan* would supply the negative connotation by

the like. Like the Hittite examples, notice that the curse is for a good thing not to come to the perpetrator:

<i>katta/sara awi-</i>	'let not x come up/down'	(116)
<i>sara/i- (+sarri) (?)</i>	'let him not rise(?) up at all for him'	(101)

'Be/Become x.' Intransitive verbs appear most frequently in HLuvian in a construction of 'be/become x,' but they behave very differently from the same category in Hittite. With one exception, 'be/become x' constructions in HLuvian pertain to agents, not targets, and are all equivalent to a linking verb plus adjective.

<i>tatariyamis iziya-</i>	'become cursed'	(113)
<i>wasala/i- (+ kattan)</i>	'be kind to'	(120)
INFRA + (a)s-	'be down for him'	(101)
IRA-laza-/IRA-lasa-	'be angry at'	(116)(112) ⁷

Notice that the first example is functionally equivalent to a passive.

The most frequent curse seen in this corpus is simply for the gods to be angry at the perpetrator, with no elaboration of the consequences of this anger. As in the specification of agents, there is variation as to which of the gods are to be angry.

means of reversing the sense of the verb.

⁷ Other HLuvian texts not cited elsewhere in this chapter but which contain this curse are Babylon Stele, Carchemish A 14a + b, A 25b, Gürün, and as mentioned earlier Korkün, which shows a slight variant with 'may heaven and earth be angry with him.'

Two of the other curses containing intransitive verbs are those with the adverbial construction noted in section 3.1.2:

<i>a(n)ta ta-</i>	‘stand on’ (?)	(110)
<i>appan izi(ya)</i>	‘make after (?) (=‘pursue’?)	(115)
<i>tarpi ta-</i>	‘stand <i>tarpi</i> (stand against)(?)’	(118)
<i>wala awi-</i>	‘come to him WALA’	(108)(109)

3.4.2 Nouns

Deities. The expression of the individual deities within Hieroglyphic Luvian curses has been described in section 3.2.2.1. Also we find the global ‘gods’: etc.

<i>massana/i-</i>	‘gods’	(102)(104)(107)(108), etc.
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People. Contrasting with the Hittite evidence, people are not often specified in the HLuvian curses: we do not see the extended lists of family members here. ‘Tenants’ is a lexeme not seen in Hittite:

<i>zita/i-</i>	‘man/men’	(102)(117)
LOCUS- <i>tawa-</i>	‘tenants’(?)	(120)

In (117) ‘among men and gods’ expresses the idea that the target is to be universally cursed.

Body Parts. As the reader may have noticed, body parts are frequently mentioned in HLuvian curses, more so than in the Hittite corpus, given the relative sizes of the corpora.

The following body parts are cited in HLuvian:

<i>at(a)ra/i-</i>	‘body’	(115)
<i>ata[]i-</i>	‘?’	(121)

<i>ha(n)ta</i>	‘face’	(117)
<i>harmahi-</i>	‘head’	(114)(119)
<i>tawa</i>	‘eyes’	(101)
<i>zitiyatiya(n)=za,</i> FEMINA- <i>tiyatiyan=za</i>	‘genitalia’ (possibly)	(104)(112)(121) ⁸
<i>zart-</i>	‘heart’	(101)(108)

Animals. These are expressed much differently than they are in Hittite. As we have seen, animals (specifically dogs) occur as agents in HLuvian, while in Hittite they are mostly specified as targets, usually in the context of being possessions of the intended target:

<i>zuwani-</i>	‘dogs’	(114)(115)
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Plants. The one likely occurrence of plants here is again placed in the context of something the target will be unable to cultivate.⁹

<i>muruwata(n)za</i>	‘(a plant or more generally ‘abundance’?)’	(116)
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Weapons/Tools.

<i>kiputa-</i>	‘pointed shoes(?), horn(?)’	(104)(120)(121)
ASCIA- <i>napa-</i>	‘axe’ (or similar)	(121)
INFRA- <i>ni artali-</i>	‘lower <i>artali-</i> ’ (probably)	(115)

Edibles. Food and drink, specifically *turpi*-bread and libation, is mentioned once in HLuvian in Carchemish A 11a. Here in HLuvian, the curse is for the gods not to accept the food/drink offerings:

(LIBARE) <i>sarlatta(n)=za</i>	‘libation’	(111)
(PANIS) <i>turpi-</i>	‘ <i>turpi-</i> bread’	(111)

⁸ Kayseri may also specify additional body parts in ‘may he eat him with respect to his x.’

⁹ Since *muruwatanza* is something that is not to come forth from the ground, it is likely a plant. M. Weiss (1996: 205) suggests that it is a further derivative of *muri-* in its original meaning, which he posits as ‘abundance.’

Social Units. There is none of the lengthy description of the destruction of ‘meadows,’

‘sheepfolds,’ etc. as in Hittite:

<i>hasami-</i>	‘clan’	(115)
(*464) <i>har(r)ama-(?)</i>	‘ruins’	(106)
<i>parn-</i>	‘house’	(103)(110)(120)
<i>tas(a)kura/i-</i>	‘country’	(103)
REX- <i>hi(t)-</i>	‘kingdom’	(102)

Notice that ‘clan,’ attested only in Kululu 1, appears twice in the curse, both as agents (dogs) and as the target.

Places.

<i>hapati-</i>	‘valley’	(112)
<i>tas(a)kura/i-</i>	‘earth’	Körkün, (116)(118)
<i>tipas-</i>	‘sky, heaven’	Körkün, (107)(118)
(AQUA +RA/I) <i>Sakura-</i>	‘river Sakura’	(112)
(MONS) <i>Arputa-</i>	‘Mount Arputa’	(112)

Also oddly in Karaburun (101) ‘be down for him in the heart of the *kihara(a/i)ni*’ with unidentified locale.

Objects.

(under logogram)	‘hearth(?)’	(116)
<i>tas(a)n)=za</i>	‘stelae’	(110)
<i>sasa(n)=za</i>	‘seal’	(110)
*303- <i>zi</i>	‘(royal)____’	(113)

‘Seal’ is placed in this category as it is probably meant as a ‘sign’ of being cursed; also of note

is that *303-*zi* may refer to a place rather than an object

Abstract. The categorization of ‘male(ness)’ and ‘femaleness’ below again depends on whether or not the punishment is to be taken literally:

<i>atama(n)=za</i>	‘name’	(102)(108)(118)
<i>muwita-</i>	‘potency’	(112)
<i>zitiyatiya(n)=za</i>	‘male(ness)’	(112)
(CORNU) <i>sura-</i>	‘abundance’	(118)
FEMINA- <i>tiyatiya(n)=za</i>	‘femaleness’	(112)
MALUS- <i>ta-</i>	‘malice’	(104)

(CORNU)*sura-* appears once with the epithet (*476)*washa-*, which Morpurgo Davies (1986: 138) refers to as a ‘fine.’

3.4.3 Adjectives

The adjectives chosen in Hieroglyphic Luvian curses do not at all correspond with those from Hittite. Following are the adjectives in HLuvian curses:

<i>tati(ya)-</i>	‘paternal’	(120)
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In other cases where we might expect predicate adjectives we find derived intransitive verbs (see 3.4.1.2)

3.4.4 Adverbs

As for adverbial constructions, there were the following:

<i>tarpi ta-</i>	‘stand <i>tarpi</i> (stand against?)’	(104)
<i>wala/i awi-</i>	‘come WALA toward’	(108)(109)

There are also various directional adverbs with verbs of motion.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter exhaustively categorized the linguistic features found in curses occurring in Hieroglyphic Luvian texts, which were in the form of public displays. Although all HLuvian curses were contingencies, several differences were noted between these and the Hittite contingencies. Firstly, while Hittite and HLuvian shared the same ‘if’ and ‘whoever’ clause structures, HLuvian permitted more variation within these two types, with an elaboration of the potential perpetrator, in the form of ‘be he x, be he y,’ common among both protasis structures. Not only was the scope of the perpetrator’s identity extended, but this individual could also be expressed with a more definite variant of the relative clause, with the form ‘the one who’ predominating over the ‘whoever’ specification. This definiteness was not seen in the Hittite corpus. Also unique to HLuvian was the adverbial construction of ‘may they come x-wise to him’ in the apodosis. Note, however, that as in Hittite, curses could also be juxtaposed with blessings.

Regarding the participants of the curse, the initiator was not a third party, as he was in Hittite, in which the king frequently occupied this role, but rather was the person for whom the inscription was created. As for agency, while both Hittite and HLuvian permitted both agented and agentless curses, with deities frequently appearing as agents, HLuvian limited the role of agents to two groups: a variety of deities, and dogs. The deities mentioned in this corpus were mostly those associated with southwestern Anatolia and northern Syria. In fact, a change in the deities specified was noted, from main empire Hittite deities (in the second millenium text from the Emirgazi altars, presented in (113)), to those from northern

Syria. For the final group of participants, although Hittite and HLuvian both included animate and inanimate targets, the curses in HLuvian contained proportionally more body parts cited than did the Hittite contingencies, and virtually no family members.

Morphologically, the only systematic difference from Hittite was that HLuvian targets appear to occur more often in the dative, relatively speaking, than the accusative; this pattern may correlate with the frequency of the ‘may *x* be angry at him’ curse, in which the target always appears in the dative, and the use of prepositional constructions.

This leads us to a summary of the observations made regarding the lexical items in this corpus. The concerns of the curse initiator here were vastly different from the Hittite initiators; the major preoccupations in the protases were enumerated in section 3.4. The apodoses shared some lexical similarities with Hittite, as shown by the repetition of many of the semantic categories from Chapter 2; however, the differences again outweigh the similarities. In terms of formulae, HLuvian showed three patterns either infrequent in or absent from Hittite: a formula of ‘*x*-ing his *y* on/against *z*’; the adverbial construction of ‘come WALA toward,’ also noted above as a unique syntactic structure; and the ubiquitous ‘be angry at.’ In terms of frequency, ‘devour’ and not ‘destroy’ was the most common transitive verb cited, which also had ramifications for the categorization of nouns; as mentioned, body parts were more frequent here than in Hittite, relative to the sizes of the corpora. Significant to the larger conclusions of this study was that the verb ‘curse’ occurred in the apodoses four times in this corpus and was only seen once in Hittite in the Military Oaths; it never occurred in official treaties. Finally, while the construction of *ni* + (semantically positive) verb paralleled Hittite *lē*, the categories of ‘experience’ and ‘be/become *x*’ were expressed

differently. For the former, while the Hittite curses were for the target to ‘see’ bad things, the HLuvian target was not to see good things. For the latter, all constructions were of the agents taking on some quality, whereas in Hittite, many of the Hittite ‘be/become x’ constructions involved the target turning into something else.

Just as in the preceding chapter, we must also consider the possibility of an influence between Akkadian and HLuvian. There are three curses in Akkadian which are in fact semantic matches to curses in HLuvian. Firstly, while HLuvian contains several curses with the form of ‘may they *get rid of* his name!’ as in the Aleppo 2 text and elsewhere, the Akkadian Treaty of Esarhaddon (Wiseman 1958: 57ff) shows the following curse: ‘May Nabu, bearer of the tablet of Fates, ...erase your name...’ (line 664). Yet this curse, as well as a matching ‘...may they curse you angrily’ (line 475) are not convincing evidence of an influence in either direction, due to the quasi-universality of such curses.

Neither is the third semantic match compelling evidence, that of Akkadian ‘may dogs and swine eat your flesh’ (line 451) and ‘may you be food in the belly of a dog or pig’ (line 484) to the HLuvian ‘may the dogs of Nikarwa devour his head!’ (Carchemish A 6, 29-31, and elsewhere). Although this curse is admittedly more distinct than the other two, the fact that Akkadian pairs dogs with pigs, while HLuvian does not, may be telling: dogs and pigs are the two animals which are known for their tendency to eat nearly anything, and so are deliberately paired in one language. The fact that biologically speaking, these two animals do not actually feast on carrion would be insignificant to folk wisdom, of which curses are a part.

On the other hand, although I do not see a compelling match between Akkadian and Hieroglyphic Luvian, this does not exclude the possibility of an influence between the two.

As most of the inscriptions in Hittite are found in southwestern Anatolia and northern Syria, it would not be surprising that they would pertain more to the Syrian than to the Hittite sphere of influence.

CHAPTER 4

RETRIBUTIVE CURSES

Throughout classical times, private cursing and blessing preponderate over public, and unofficial over official. In the case of Hittite, however, there are far fewer personal curses, effected either spontaneously or in retribution for some trespass, than the official curses examined in Chapter 2. This is surely due to the nature of our Hittite corpus, which includes few private documents. There are two subtypes of retribution curses in Hittite, based on motivation: those which punish some wrongdoing committed, and counter-curses, those which serve to banish or ward off evil. Correlations between linguistic features and the genre of curse will again be identified here, and the linguistic schema is therefore again presented below.

4.1 Clause Type

Immediately apparent is the greater variation in clause type among retribution curses. As seen in Chapter 2, the structure and intent of the contingency curses limited the number of possible structures; the conditional nature of the curse mandated a particular clause type of

either ‘if...then’ or ‘whoever...then.’ The same basic limitations were seen in the Hieroglyphic Luvian contingency curses, although their non-official nature permitted some clausal as well as lexical variation within. Presented below is a structure not seen in the contingency curses, from an unfortunately incomplete text. The curse contains a justifying clause with *kuit* ‘because’:

(123)

kinuna=kan lingauš kuit šarrišker [nu kišša]n AQBI linkiyaš=war=aš
DINGIR.MEŠ []x=pat ēššandu nu=wa=za=kan DUMU-ŠU
ABU-ŠU kuendu []x ŠEŠ-an kuendu nu=war=aš apēl=pat []
(arha)] zinnāu ‘But now because they kept breaking the
oaths I said as follows: “May the gods of the oath make them
[(enemies?)] May the son kill the father. May [the brother] kill the
brother. May their own [] finish them off.”’ (CTH 61.II5.B,
Mursili’s Annals, KBo 4.4 ii 9-13, NH/NS)

The structure of the apodosis remains the same.

Following is a curse found in a Hittite letter (No. 78, in Hagenbuchner 1989). The curse is expressed by an ‘as...thus’ clause structure, seen in the contingency curses only when a ‘whoever’ clause was inserted into it. Here, the structure produces a truly unique curse:

(124)

[zik=m]a=mu kuit ŠA ^fKupāpa DAM ^mDu[da]umi [ha]trāeš ^fKupāpaš
māḥḥan I[N]A ^{URU}Uda [idalu u]ttar iēzzi [kā tup]pi [nu m]āḥḥan
tuppi ūḥḥun nu=za ammuk māḥḥan kišḥat nu DINGIR.MEŠ
^mDuddumin=pat QADU DAM-ŠU [DUM]U.MEŠ-ŠU QATAMMA
ḥarninkandu ‘As to the fact that you wrote me about Kubaba, the
wife of Duddumi, how Kubaba does an evil thing in the city of Uda,
the tabl[et is here]. As I became when I saw the tablet, may the gods
destroy Duddumi thusly along with his wife, his children.’ (CTH 209,
Letter, KBo 12.62 Vo. 6-12; NH/NS)

Nowhere else in the Hittite corpus, or in the HLuvian corpus, for that matter, do we find a comparison quite like this one, where the manner (QATAMMA) in which the gods destroy

Duddumi is compared to the repugnance (alluded to in ‘as I became’) the initiator felt upon seeing the tablet describing the offense.

The following Cuneiform Luvian curse is a unique example in which the ‘whoever’ clause is followed by an ‘if’ clause which expresses a further contingency:

(125)

kuiš=an šahḫaniššatta kuiš=an ippatarri<š>šatta EN SISKUR-aššin
ALAM-ša mišanza ḫašša ḫalḫalzanin warannaḫi=ša iunaḫi=ša
lalpan kuwannanin maššanallin KASKAL-an măn=aš ḫuiduwališ
šarri(y)=an ^DUTU-za darauiddu măn=aš ulantiš a=an tiyammaššiš
^DUTU-za darauiddu tatariyammanaššin ḫirutaššin EN-an ‘Whoever
 has imposed *sahhan* on him, whoever has distrained him -- the “lord”
 of the sacrifice -- (as to) his figure, flesh(?), bone, ____, ____, ability
 to walk, eyelash, eyebrow, and “divine path,” if he is living, let the
 Sun-god above hand him over! If he is dead, let the Sun-goddess of
 earth hand him over -- the lord of malediction and perjury!’ (CTH
 760, Third Ritual of Kuwatalla, KUB 35.45 Ro. ii 18-27, see also KUB
 35.48 ii 15ff; MH/NS)

The relative clause is thus still present in this genre, as it is applicable for both contingency and retribution curses. However, since the malefactors are specific persons, even if they can’t be identified, we find the determinate small clause with *kui-* in second position:

(126)

kūn antuḫšan kuiēš papraḫḫiškir kinun kāša alwazenuš 2 šēnuš ḫarmi
nu kāša kūn tiyanieškimi elanieškimi namma=aš arḫa šallanuzzi nu
memai idalauešš=a=an kuiēš antuḫšiš papraḫḫiškir n=at arḫa
QATAMMA šallantaru ‘Those who were making this person unclean,
 now lo! two magic figures I hold, and lo! this one I am besetting and
 plaguing.’ Then she flattens them and says: ‘The evil persons who
 were making him unclean, let them also be flattened in the same way.’
 (CTH 409, Ritual of Tunnawi, KUB 7.53 ii 15-20; NH?/NS)

(127)

Ḫ[U]L-lun UD.KAM-an ḪUL-lu[n m]emian kuiš ANA T[UR^{RI}]
me[mī]šta n=at=šan [(E)]GIR-pa apēdani p[ēdatten] ANA
TUR^{RI}=ma EGIR-pa ā[(ššu)] Tī-tar ḫaddulatar EGIR.UD^{MI}
mayand[(a)]tar UR.SAG-tar ḫaštaliyat[ar] [in]na[r]auwā[tar]

pešk]atten ‘The one who spoke an evil day (or an evil word) against the child, send it back to that one but give back to the child life, health, future, adulthood, heroiness, valor, vigor.’ (CTH 429, Ritual Against a Curse, *KBo* 10.37 iii 12ff; pre-NH/NS)

What is therefore significant in the otherwise structurally unremarkable clauses of both (126) and (127) is the non-clause-initial position of *kuiš*. In Hittite, whether the relative pronoun is definite or indefinite is determined by its position: clause-initially, *kuiš* is indefinite (‘whoever’); in second position, it is definite (‘the one who’). Recall that *kuiš* only appears clause-initially in the Hittite contingencies, as these are directed toward unknown persons, while the HLuvian contingencies not only permitted but in fact favored the definite construction. In the retribution curses, both structures are permitted, as the target may or may not be known.

Also falling under the domain of structural characteristics is the striking number of “parallel” constructions in retributive curses, where either the punishment equals the crime, as in some of the Hieroglyphic Luvian curses; evil people effect punishment on other evil people; or, as seen in (124), the manner in which the punishment is executed is tied to the detriment experienced by the victim via the original transgression. These parallel structures will be discussed in greater detail in section 4.4.

Spanning both the retribution and spontaneous genres are a set of parables, originally composed in Hurrian and later translated into Hittite. Some are heavily legalistic and therefore do not qualify as curses, such as one parable about a thieving dog who snatches baked goods from an oven; this is a reference to a man who flagrantly spends tax money, but it does not contain a curse. Like the Military Oaths, the structure of this series is also

consistent: some entity, either inanimate or animate, receives a benefit from another, at which point the entity then begins to spontaneously and inexplicably curse its benefactor (this portion will be covered in the following chapter). The benefactor then begins to thoroughly curse the ungrateful being. Suddenly, the reader is notified that the being is in fact a man, who has either been unfaithful or has otherwise betrayed another. Like the Military Oaths, an anecdote is recounted to serve as a warning, but in this case the cursing action has already taken place. Below are the the parables which contain curses:

(128)

*aliyan[an]=za apel tuēgga[z=šet] HUR.SAG-aš awan arḥa šuwēt
 nu=šš[an] aliyaš parā tamēdani HUR.SAG-i pa[it] n=aš warkešta
 n=aš nu āppa HUR.SAG-an hurzakiwan daiš wešiyaḥḥari kuedani
 HUR.SAG-i mān=an paḥḥuenanza arḥa warnuzi ^DIŠKUR-
 aš=man=an walahzi paḥḥuenanza=man=an arḥa warnuzi
 HUR.SAG-ašša mahḥan ištamašta nu=šši=kan ŠÀ-ŠU anda
 ištarakkiat nu HUR.SAG-aš aliyanan āppa huwarzašta aliyanan kuin
 warganunun kinuna=mu āppa hurzakizi peššiandu=ya=an aliyanan
 LÚ.MEŠ ŠĀIDUTIM dandu=ma=an LÚ.MEŠ MUŠEN.DÙ^{TIM} UZU ĩ
 LÚ.MEŠ ŠĀIDUTIM dandu KUŠ=ma LÚ.MEŠ MUŠEN.DÙ^{TIM} dandu
 ŪL=ma aliyanāš nu antuwahḥaš apāš LÚ-aš apel=kan URU-az kuiš
 arḥa huwaiš n=aš tamēdani KUR-ya araš man=aš šulliet nu=ššan
 EGIR-pa URU-ri idālu takkiškiwan daiš URU-yaš=an DINGIR.MEŠ
 huwartan ḥarkanzi ‘A mountain drove away a deer from its body and
 the deer went forth to another mountain, and he became fat and
 sought a fight, and began to curse the mountain back: “The mountain
 on which I graze, may fire burn it up and may the Storm-god strike it
 down and may fire burn it up.” And when the mountain heard (this)
 its insides became sick within and the mountain cursed the deer back:
 “The deer which I fattened now is cursing me back? May the hunters
 throw the deer down and may the bird-catchers seize it. May the
 hunters take its (flesh)! And may the bird-catchers take its hide!”
 But it is not a deer, it is a man. (It is) that man who ran away from
 his own city and reached another land and he wanted to start a fight
 and (as a result) began to inflict evil on his former city. And the gods
 (of the city) hold him cursed.’ (StBoT 32.75ff; KBo 32.14 ii 1-22;
 OH/MS)*

(129)

teššummin^{LÜ} SIMUG walliyanni lāḫuš lāḫuš=an tiššāit n=an
šuppišduwarit daiš n=an gulašta nu=šši=šta maišti anda lālukkīšnut
lāḫuš=ma=an kuiš n=an āppa marlānza URUDU-aš ḫurzakiwan
dai[š] mān=wa=mu lāḫuš kuiš man=wa=šši=kan kiššaraš arḫa
duwarnattari kunnaš=man=wa=šši=kan iṣḫunāuš arḫa wišūriyattari
mahḫan^{LÜ} SIMUG ištamašta nu=šši=šta ŠÀ-SU anda ištarakkiat
nu=za^{LÜ} SIMUG PANI ŠÀ-SU memiškiwan daiš kuwat=wa URUDU-
an kuin lāḫun nu=wa=mu appa ḫurzakizi nu teššummi=ya^{LÜ} SIMUG
ḫūrtāin tet walaḫdu=ya=an^D IŠKUR-aš teššummin nu=šši
šuppišduwariuš arḫa šakkuriēd<du> teššummiš=kan anda amiyari
maušdu šuppišduwariēš=ma=kan anda ID-i muwāntaru UL
teššummiš nu antuwahḫaš apāš DUMU-ŠU ANA ABI-ŠU kuiš
menahḫanta kūrur šallešta=aš n=aš mēani āraš n=ašta namma
atta=ššan anda UL aušzi ŠA ABI-ŠU DINGIR.MEŠ kuin ḫuwartan
ḫarkanzi ‘A smith cast a goblet for glory. He cast it, made it ready,
he set it with appliques, engraved it, and caused it to shine in its
splendor. Then the foolish copper began to curse back at the one
who cast him: “May the hand of the one who cast me be broken
completely. May his right arm be twisted.” When the smith heard
(this) his insides became sick within. The smith began to speak to
himself: “Why is this copper which I cast cursing me back?” And the
smith spoke a curse to the cup: “May the Storm-god in turn strike
down the cup and knock the appliques off and may the cup fall into
the canal and may the appliques fall into the river.” But it is not a
cup, it is a man. The son who (was) hostile against his father grew
and reached full growth. Then he looks at his father no more and his
father’s gods hold him cursed.’ (StBoT 32.81ff; KBo 32.14 ii 42- iii
5; OH/MS)

(130)

[^{LÜ}NAGAR] AN.ZA.GAR-an walliy[a]nni wetet nu=šši=kan ḫūt[a]nuš
kattanta taknāš^D UTU-i katt[a a]rnut [o o o] ulludd[u]š=ma šarā
nepiši maninkuahḫaš wetet=ma=an kuiš n=an marlā[nza] [kuzza]
āppa ḫurzakiwan daiš wetet=wa=mu kuiš man=wa=šši=kan kiššaraš
arḫa duwarn[att]ari [kunnaš=m]an=ši=kan iṣḫunāuš arḫa
wišūriyattari IŠME^{LÜ} NAGAR nu=šši=kan ŠÀ-SU anda i[da]l[ae]šta
[nu=za^{LÜ} NAGAR] PANI ZI-ŠU memiškizi kuwat wetenun kuin kuttan
nu=mu ḫurzakizi nu^{LÜ} NAGAR [ANA AN.ZÀ.GAR] ḫūrtain tet
walaḫdu=ya=an^D IŠKUR-aš AN.ZÀ.GAR nu=šši šamanuš šer
ḫuinuddu []ar=ši=kan kattanta amiyari maušdu SIG₄=ma=kan

kattanta ÍD-i maušdu [UL] AN.ZÀ.GAR nu antuwahḫaš apāš
DUMU-aš atti=šši kuiš menahḫanta ^{LÜ}KÚR-aš n=aš šallešta [n=aš
e]lašna āraš n=ašta namma atta=ššan anda UL aušzi ŠA ABI-
ŠU=ma=an DINGIR.MEŠ ḫuwartan ḫarkanzi ‘A master builder built
a tower for glory. He caused the pilings (?) to go downward to the
Sun-goddess of Earth. But he brought the pinnacles up near to
heaven. The foolish [wall] began to curse back at the one who built
it: “May the hand of the one who built me be broken completely.
May his right arm be twisted.” The master builder heard (this) and
(worsened in his insides). The master builder speaks to himself
(before his soul): “Why is the masonry which I built cursing me
back?” The master builder spoke a curse to the tower: “May the
Storm-god strike the tower. May he lift up its foundations. May its [
] fall into the canal, may the brick ornamentation fall into
the river.” But it is not a tower, it is a man. (It is) the son who (was)
hostile against his father. He grew up and reached a high station.
Then he looks at his father no more and his father’s gods hold him
cursed.’ (*StBoT* 32.89ff; *KBo* 32.14 41-56)

Notice the unusual word order here: *kuwat* is completely outside the clause, when we would expect it before the next *ḫurzakizi*.

Although the final parable is unfortunately incomplete, the general structure and theme are clear enough:

(131)

[...titnut=ma=a]n k[ui]š nu marlānza GIŠ-ruwanza [...] titnut=mu
kuiš [man=wa]=š[šī]=kan [k]i[ššaras arḫa] duwarnattat
kunnaš=man=šši=kan išḫunāuš arḫa [wišuriyattari IŠME ḫandānza
nu=šši=kan ŠÀ-ŠU anda]n idālauešta nu=za ḫandānza PANI Z[I-ŠU
memiškizi kuwat titnunun kuit GIŠ-ru nu=mu ḫurzakizi nu GIŠ-]i
ḫandānza ḫūrtain tet walaḫdu=ya=a[^DIŠKUR-aš GIŠ-ru...]ANA PA₅
muwantaru ^{GIŠ}paraštuēš=ma=kan anda weteni išḫu[wāntaru...]x
zazgai n=aš GAL-lešta n=aš elašni āraš nu=za UMMIAN=ŠU zazgai[
]x x[]x ḫaḫranni aki UR.GI₇-š=aš=kan iwa[r]x[ŠAPAL [^{GIŠ}Š]Ú.A
aki[]x[‘The cowardly wood [cursed] that person who [piled him
up]: “May the hand of the person who piled me up break into pieces.
May his right arm be twisted.” The woodpiler heard this, and
worsened in his insides. The woodpiler spoke before his soul: “Why
is the wood that I stacked cursing me? And the woodpiler spoke a
curse to the wood: “May the Storm-god break the wood into pieces.

May they fall into the canal. May the shoots be thrown into the water. []x He grew up, and he gained prestige. He []ed his master. He comes to death on the threshing floor. Like a dog he dies under the chair.' (*StBoT* 32.95ff; *KBo* 32.14 u.Rd. 66-Ik.Rd.7)

This parable is unique in that the expected declaration of 'But it is not wood, it is a man...' is missing.

4.2 Participants

4.2.1 Initiator(s)

For curses of punishment, the initiator, while not named, is the speaker. In the parables, the initiator is the target of the first spontaneous curse. In counter-curses, found in rituals, while the initiator is still not usually explicitly named within the curse, she is often specified at the beginning of the ritual. She is a "medical" practitioner (i.e. ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI '(wise) old woman').

4.2.2 Agency

We saw in Chapter 2 that the divinities most frequently specified were the oath-gods, summoned in cases of the potential breaking of an oath. There does not appear to be a pattern of agency in the retribution curses; if a divinity is specified, it may be the Storm-god, as in (129), (130), and (131) of the parables, the gods of the oath, as in (123), or the Sun-god, as in (125); notice that in this curse, the agents were chosen to match the contingency. There seems to be no correlation between contingency and retributive curses and the respective

deities employed as agents, as all deities mentioned in this genre also serve as agents in the contingencies.

The initiator of the curse below is most likely a “medical” practitioner, as described in the preceding section:

(132) = (126)

*kūn antuḥšan kuiēš papraḥḥiškir kinun kāša alwazenuš 2 šēnuš ḥarmi
nu kāša kūn tiyanieškimi elanieškimi namma=aš arḥa šallanuzzi nu
memai idalauešš=a=an kuiēš antuḥšiš papraḥḥiškir n=at arḥa
QATAMMA šallantaru* ‘Those who were making this person unclean,
now lo! two magic figures I hold, and lo! this one I am besetting and
plaguing.’ Then she flattens them and says: ‘The evil persons who
were making him unclean, let them also be flattened in the same way.’
(CTH 409, Ritual of Tunnawi, KUB 7.53 ii 15-20; NH?/NS)

Here we have an instance of sympathetic magic, in which a ritual is tied to a curse; this practice was seen extensively in the Military Oaths. Although the ^{MUNUS}SU.GI is the agent in the ritual with the figures, notice that there is no agent mentioned in the actual curse; how the “flattening” is to occur is not specified. Instead, some unspecified natural agency is to replicate what the practitioner does to the images of the malefactor, or to some inanimate object.

Let us now consider an example of a more direct kind of transformative, rather than sympathetic magic. The following, from the Ritual of Ālli, is a counter-curse against a spell, directed toward a sorceress. Melchert (to appear) translates as follows:

(133)

*[n=a]t^{TUG} kureššar ēšdu n=at=šan INA SAG.DU-ŠU šīyan ḥardu
[n=a]t=za EGIR-pa dāu išḥuziṣ=a=šī ēšdu [n=a]t išḥuziddu
^{KUŠ}ESIR=ma=a=at=šī ēšdu n=at=za šarkuddu () [nu a]lwanzata*

dukanzi x[] *ēšdu* n=an *haššanit dāu* [(ŠA)]H-ma=aš=kan ^{Giš}GAG-az
išparzašdu n=at EGIR-pa BELI-ŠU *paiddu* ‘Let it (the sorcery) be a
 scarf, and let her hold it placed on her head, and let her take it back to
 herself. Let it be a belt for her, and let her gird herself with it. Let it
 be a shoe, and let her put it on herself. Let the sorcery be a *t.* [],
 and let her take it with her birth organ. Let it escape from the peg of
 a pig and go back to its owner.’ (CTH 402, Ritual of Ālfi, KBo 12.126
 i 17-21; pre-NH/NS)

The sorcery is thus first transformed into various articles of clothing which then become intimately in contact with the sorceress before she receives it in her birth organ. If this is the case, though, two questions arise. If ‘it’ refers to sorcery, how did it end up in this particular body part? Secondly, what is the referent of ‘the peg of the pig’? Melchert cites parallels from German and Italian to suggest that ^{Giš}GAG, whose underlying Hittite word is *tarma-*, is used here as a vulgarism for ‘penis.’ The hapless sorceress, by this interpretation, is thus in effect raped by the sorcery in the form of, or at least in the manner of, a stud animal.

In this genre, there are proportionally more curses which lack an agent; that is, things just happen to the target. We also see a new variant in the parables with the appearance of the first human agents, namely hunters and bird-catchers. We might first assume that the choice of human agents is dependent on the fact that these parables are intended to warn potential transgressors of the punishments they will receive from some official. With the other parables, however, we again see the pattern of the Storm-god initiating the punishments followed by evil befalling the target. Therefore, the presence of human agents just looks like a permissible variation among at least retribution curses, based on the use of animals as symbols of people. Hunters, if not bird-catchers, are immediately recognizable as a potential enemy of deer, and so serve as ideal agents in a curse.

The following is an excerpt from a CLuvian ritual but cannot be securely classified as

a curse:

(134)

[] *itātaš pahḫittaru* [] *ādduwāliš iššaris...ta*] *ruittaru* []-
attaš šašlattaru...[]-*taru tarpatarpa= ita= pa= aš ḫalat*[*taru*
[*ādduwa*] *liš EME-iš ādduwāli*[š...[*ādduwa*] *liš dāuiš ādduwal*[*iš*
‘May it (evil hand, evil eye, evil tongue) *pahḫia* into _____. May it
turn into wood. May it *šašla* into _____. May it *ḫalla* into
tarpatarpa’ (CTH 760, KUB 35.49 iv 3-9; ?/NS)

It is uncertain whether this a curse or simply a ritual to render evil ineffectual. Evidence suggesting the latter include the lack of agency combined with the inanimacy of the target: it is not directly a person, but rather the nebulous ‘evil.’ All verbs here are middles, with lines 8, 9 and 10 as the transposed subject.

Given this conclusion, neither would the following CLuvian passage be categorized as

a curse:

(135)

NA₄ *uwanītaimman āšdu tapāru* ‘Let it be petrified, the t...’ (CTH 762, KUB 35.70 ii 6; ?/NS)

Since the *taparu* is known to be a standard evil in Luvian lists, this ritual in all likelihood is just to banish evil.

4.2.3 Target(s)

Targets are often more explicitly specified in the retribution curses, as the target for punishment may be known to the initiator. If target is known, he will be specified, otherwise he is just referred to as ‘whoever’ or ‘the one who,’ as in (125) or (126). Note that in (124),

the primary target, interestingly enough, is the man, even though it is his wife who committed the bad deed.

One correlation between participant roles and curse genre may be that in retributive curses, agent and target are the same type of being (as in ‘may *šeḫwa* eat *šeḫwa*’: this occurs in two curses here, (136) below and (123), which may be significant given the limited number of curses in this genre:

(136)

*kuinzi zinza ušanda alaššinzi nahḫuwaššien<zi> inaššienzi pariyan
šarḫaminzi annarummenzi ḫattainzi ḫatta adandu šieḫuwaenzi šēwa
adandu pariyan=ša=ta tarzandu a=ta ādduwanza pariyan
adduwaliyan wattaniyan uppannandu* ‘Whichever (nom.pl) [
]s and powerful somebodies *uša*’ed these (people), may the
violent eat violent and may the *šiehuwa* eat *šewa* and may they *tarz*
[something]...and may they bring an evil *wattaniya* over to the evil
ones’ (CTH 765, Birth Ritual, KBo 13.260 iii 7; ?/NS)

Although the fragmentary text prohibits any full understanding, it is clear that whoever the perpetrators are, everyone gets their just deserts. This ‘like-for like’ type of curse is not common in Hittite or Luvian.

4.3 Morphology

The most immediate morphological distinction between retribution and contingency curses is that for the former, the verb of wrongdoing occurs in the preterite rather than the present indicative; the evidence shows that this is still a strong correlation in terms of

linguistic feature and curse genre. Below is an example which exhibits many of the standard morphological features of a retribution curse:

(137) = (127)

Ḫ[U]L-*lun* UD.KAM-*an* ḪUL-*lu*[*n m*]emian *kuiš ANA T[UR^{Rl}]*
me[*mi*]*šta n=at=šan [(E)]GIR-pa apēdani p[ēdatten] ANA*
TUR^{Rl}=ma EGIR-pa ā[(ššu)] TI-tar ḫaddulatar EGIR.UD^{Ml}
mayand[(a)]tar UR.SAG-tar ḫaštaliyat[ar] [in]na[r]auwā[ar
pešk]atten ‘The one who spoke an evil day (or an evil word) against
the child, send it back to that one but give back to the child life,
health, future, adulthood, heroicness, valor, vigor.’ (CTH 429, Ritual
Against a Curse, KBo 10.37 iii 12ff; pre-NH/NS)

Following is another example of a verb of wrongdoing, *šarrišker*, in the iterative preterite indicative; we saw this variation in the contingency curses as well:

(138) = (123)

kinuna=kan lingauš kuit šarrišker [nu kišša]n AQBI linkiyaš=war=aš
DINGIR.MEŠ []*x=pat ēššandu nu=wa=za=kan DUMU-ŠU*
ABU-ŠU *kuendu []x ŠEŠ-an kuendu nu=war=aš apēl=pat [*
(arha)] zinnāu ‘But now because they kept breaking the
oaths I said as follows: “May the gods of the oath make them
[(enemies?)] May the son kill the father. May [the brother] kill the
brother. May their own [] finish them off.”’ (CTH 61.II5.B,
Mursili’s Annals, KBo 4.4 ii 9-13, NH/NS)

Following is from a counter-curse:

(139) = (126)

kūn antuḫšan kuiēš papraḫḫiškir kinun kāša alwazenuš 2 šēnuš ḫarmi
nu kāša kūn tiyanieškimi elanieškimi namma=aš arḫa šallanuzzi nu
memai idalauešš=a=an kuiēš antuḫšiš papraḫḫiškir n=at arḫa
QATAMMA šallantaru ‘Those who were making this person unclean,
now lo! two magic figures I hold, and lo! this one I am besetting and
plaguing.’ Then she flattens them and says: ‘The evil persons who
were making him unclean, let them also be flattened in the same way.’
(CTH 409, Ritual of Tunnawi, KUB 7.53 ii 15-20; NH?/NS)

Notice that the verb morphology here is standard for retribution curses, with the verb of wrongdoing formally a preterite and the verb of punishment in the imperative.

The one attested curse with a verb in the second plural imperative is that in (127). Notice that this again refutes Falco's distinction between supplications and curses; the imperative verb and appeal to the supernatural clearly suggests a curse.

One pattern recurs in the parables that is worth mentioning: the pairing of transitive verbs with intransitives or passive constructions. This pattern is reminiscent of that in the Military Oaths, where the deities or oaths were first summoned, and the rest of the punishments fell into place as a result. In the parables, we see a pattern of 'let *x* do *y* to *z*, and (then) let *z* be *w*'ed/become *w*,' as in (129), (130), and (131). In the first two, the Storm-god is to execute two punishments, expressed by the transitives *walḥ-* 'strike' and *šakuriya-* 'knock off,' and *walḥ-* and *šer ḥuinu-* 'lift up,' respectively, followed by two appearances of *mauṣ-* 'fall,' in which the object and its ornamentations are to fall in the river and fall off. In (131), after the woodpile is to fall into the canal, its shoots are to be 'thrown into the water' (*anda weteni išḫu[wantaru]*).

In (128) and (133), we see the phrasal use of *ḥar(k)* 'hold' plus the past participle: 'hold *x*'ed.' This seems to express the permanence of the punishment.

The curse presented in (125) is noteworthy in several respects. The portion quoted there is preceded by a direct appeal to the Sun-god in the second person: []EN-*ya*

tiwaliya piya=aš ^{LÜ}KÚR.MEŠ-inz[(i)!] *kattawatnallinza utnaššinza ḥišḫišaššinza*

taparuwaššinza tatariyammanaššinza ħirutaššinza. Melchert (to appear) notes the clear presence of a vocative, followed by a form of the verb *piya*- ‘give’ and a series of direct objects which name enemies of various sorts. Laroche (1959: 82 and 147) conjectures *piyaš* as a second singular preterite ‘you gave.’ The preceding vocative demands a second person, but the following context (ibid. ii 25-27) speaks of what the gods should do to the enemies. This argues against the idea that the god has already delivered up the enemies in the preceding passage. Therefore, Melchert proposes that we should rather read *piya=aš*, second singular imperative plus *-aš* ‘them’ (proleptic, as after; see the very next sentence, *ibid.* ii 21ff): ‘Oh [], *tiwali*- lord, deliver them, the enemies, the opponents at law, the ‘lords’ of the spells, the *ħišħiš*-, the *taparu*-, the curses and the oaths.’ This thoroughness in naming of targets is continued in the rest of the curse itself (125), which includes a unique specification that the target may be dead or alive. We know from oracular texts that the Hittites believed that the dead could harm the living.

Melchert (1992: 53) argues for a meaning of ‘hand over, deliver’ for (*para*) *tara:wi(ya)*, contra Laroche, *DLL.92* (translation here was ‘strike him down’). Also related are Cuneiform Luvian *tara:wiya* ‘control’ (noun) and the measure *tara:war/tara:ur*, which surely means ‘hand/fistful.’ The theme of ‘control’ is present throughout the entire curse; note, however, that the punishment is never stated. The delivery by the deities is expressed first by a 2 sg. imperative, followed by a 3 sg. imperative; these two forms of address again suggest that Falco’s distinction of a “supplication” from a curse is an artificial one.

4.4 Lexical Items

The semantic categorization of lexical items in the retributive curses reveals how distinct this genre is from either the Hittite or Hieroglyphic Luvian contingency curses. Most apparent is the presence of a striking number of parallel structures, more so than in the Hittite contingencies where the parallel structures resulted from the ritual manipulation of some object. The structures in this genre result from either a direct relationship between the retributive “curse” and the act which precipitated it, as seen in (124), (127), and (133), or else a ‘may *x* harm *x*’-type structure, where the agent is the same as the target, as in (123) and (136). The presence of these structures has consequences for the lexicon, in that even given the fact that there are far fewer curses in this genre, the lexicon is more limited in terms of semantic expressiveness than it has been for the Hittite and HLuvian data.

4.4.1 Verbs

4.4.1.1 Transitive

Control.

<i>dā-</i>	‘seize’	(128)
<i>tarawi-</i>	‘hand (him) over’	(125)

Physical Violence.

<i>ad-</i>	‘eat’	(136)
<i>ḫarnink-</i>	‘destroy’	(124)
<i>šer ḫuinu-</i>	‘lift up’	(130)
<i>išḫuwa-</i>	‘be thrown’	(131)

<i>kuen-</i>	‘kill’	(123)
<i>peššiya-</i>	‘throw (down)’	(128)
<i>arḥa šakuriya-</i>	‘knock off’	(129)
<i>šalla-</i>	‘be flattened’	(126)
<i>dā-</i>	‘take (its flesh/hide)’	(128)
<i>walḥ-</i>	‘strike (down), break’	(128)(129)(130) (131)
<i>arḥa zinna-</i>	‘finish off’	(123)

Other Harm.

<i>hu(wa)rt-</i>	‘curse’	(128)
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Delivery of Harm to Perpetrator.

<i>išḥuzziya-</i>	‘gird’	(133)
<i>pāi-</i>	‘give’	(127)
<i>dā-</i>	‘take’	(133)
<i>dāi</i>	‘put’	(133)
<i>šāi-</i>	‘put on (headgear)’	(133)

In (128) and (133) the phrasal construction with *ḥark-* ‘hold’ plus the past participle is used to underline the lasting effect of the harm delivered.

‘make’ + predicate. There is one instance of this construction in this genre:

[]x= <i>pat ešša-</i>	‘make them (enemies?)’	(123)
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4.4.1.2 Intransitive

(Negative) Change of State. There is only one intransitive verb seen in Hittite retributive acts; objects are to fall into water and thus be ruined:

<i>mauš-</i>	‘fall’	(129)(130)(131)
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‘**Be/Become x.**’ There are no verbs expressing ‘die’ or ‘expire’ or the like, nor are there any ‘*lē* ÷ ‘prosper, thrive’ seen in both Hittite and HLuvian. As in the Hittite contingencies, the constructions of ‘be x’ refer to an object becoming a noun: note that half of the curse in (133) is comprised of the intransitives ‘let x be y,’ and the other half the verbs ‘take/put,’ referring to where the transformed object will go. The negative meaning of *kiš-* in (124) is given by the context:

<i>kiš-</i>	‘become’	(124)
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Delivery of Evil to Perpetrator. Two verbs which cannot be placed in the other semantic categories are from the curse cited in (133) and refer to ‘the sorcery’:

<i>išpart-</i>	‘escape’	(133)
<i>pāi-</i>	‘go’	(133)

4.4.2 Nouns

Deities. The only mention of deities in this corpus occurs in the context of agency, where the Storm-god, ‘the gods,’ gods of the oath, and the Sun-god are the deities who serve as agents.

People. Hunters and bird-catchers are agents ‘unto’ a target. Interestingly, many of the others occur as both agents and targets.

<i>ABU</i>	‘father’	(123)
<i>DAM</i>	‘wife’	(124)
<i>DUMU/DUMU.MEŠ</i>	‘son, child/sons/children’	(123)(124)
<i>LÚ.MEŠ.SAIDUTIM</i>	‘hunters’	(128)
<i>LÚ.MEŠ.MUŠEN.DUTM</i>	‘bird-catchers’	(128)
<i>ŠEŠ</i>	‘brother’	(123)

Body Parts. These are only mentioned in three secure curses: two retributive acts and one counter-curse. As with the some of the other semantic gaps, we can safely assume that this is a consequence of the limited data, and not some stylistic constraint which would preclude the mention of body parts in such a genre.

<i>halḫalzani-</i> (Luv.)	‘?’	(125)
<i>ḫaš=ša</i> (Luv.)	‘bone’	(125)
<i>ḫaššatar</i>	‘birth organ’	(133)
<i>iš(ša)ra/i-</i> (Luv.)	‘hand’	(134?)
<i>kuwannanni</i> (Luv.)	‘eyebrow’	(125)
<i>lāla/i-</i> (Luv.)	‘tongue’	(134?)
<i>lalpa-</i> (Luv.)	‘eyelash’	(125)
<i>mīšan=za</i> (Luv.)	‘flesh’	(125)
<i>tāruš=ša</i> (Luv.)	‘body’	(125)
<i>tāwa-</i> (Luv.)	‘eye’	(134?)
^{GIS} GAG	‘peg (of a pig)’	(133)
UZU ḫ	‘flesh’	(128)
KUŠ	‘hide’	(128)
SAG.DU	‘head’	(133)

Animals. These are mentioned only twice, as the target of a curse and as the vehicle by which sorcery is to return to its owner, respectively:

<i>aliya(n)-</i>	‘deer’	(128)
ŠAH	‘pig’	(133)

Plants. These occur once, as a part of a target:

<i>parštu-</i>	‘shoots’	(131)
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Craft Objects. Retribution curses require a new semantic category of targets, as all of the objects not otherwise categorized are fashioned by human hands:

<i>šamana-</i>	‘foundation’	(130)
<i>šuppišduwarieš</i>	‘appliques’	(129)

<i>teššummi-</i>	‘cup’	(129)
AN.ZA.GAR	‘tower’	(130)
GIŠ	‘woodpile’	(131)
SIG ₄	‘brick ornamentation’	(130)

Clothing. All are mentioned within one curse, as vehicles of how the sorcery is to be attached to the target:

<i>išhuzzi-</i>	‘belt’	(133)
TUG ₇ <i>kureššar</i>	‘scarf’	(133)
KUŠ ₅ ESIR	‘shoe’	(133)

Places. Likewise, all places are mentioned within the parables, as places where the target is to end up:

<i>amiyar(a?)-</i>	‘canal’	(129)(130)(131)
<i>weten-</i>	‘water’	(131)
ÍD	‘river’	(129)(130)

Abstract. Of those securely categorized as curses, (124) is the only one which could be considered to be semantically abstract; although it does not contain any abstract nouns, an emotion of revulsion is implied in the expression of ‘Just as I became when...’ Although ‘life, health, adulthood,’ etc. are mentioned in (127), this is in fact part of a following blessing and not part of the curse.

The following epithets pertaining to the target in (125) are included here:

<i>iunaḫit-</i> (Luv.)	‘ability to walk’	(125)
<i>maššanalli-palši-</i> (Luv.)	‘divine path (prob. ‘life’)	(125)
<i>warannaḫit-</i> (Luv.)	‘?’	(125)
<i>wattaniya-</i> (Luv.)	‘?’	(136)

Adjectives. The following adjectives appear in the apodoses of the retributive acts. The majority qualify the targets:

<i>hirutašši-</i>	‘of perjury’	(125)
<i>huitwal(i)-</i> (Luv.)	‘alive’	(125)
<i>idālu-</i>	‘evil’	(126)
<i>šewa-</i>	‘?’	(136)
<i>tatariyammanašši-</i> (Luv.)	‘of malediction’	(125)
<i>tiyamašša/i-</i>	‘earthly’	(125)
<i>ulanti-</i> (Luv.)	‘dead’	(126)

Adverbs. The only other adverb other than ‘thusly’ is *arḥa* ‘completely,’ included with the verbs.

<i>QATAMMA</i>	‘thusly’	(124)(126)
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4.5 Phonology

In Chapter 2 the possibility of iconicity in curses was raised; this genre would be the most likely to utilize this device. Some Italic curses do so in counter-curses, whereby the victim is positioned as far away from the evil mentioned in the composition as possible. One might expect this pattern in the Hittite retribution curses, but unfortunately there is too little evidence to determine whether there are phonological correlates to curse formulas, as only a few rituals contain curses. The only suggestive examples (the reduplicated *tarpatarpa* and *šašlattaru* in (134)) occur in what may not be a true curse. An examination of rituals which banish or ward off evil may provide better evidence, but such an investigation falls outside the scope of the present study.

4.6 Conclusion

The counter-curses again raise the question of how the Hittites lexically subcategorized what we consider to be one inclusive group. Speiser (1960: 198) in fact comments upon the inadequacy of our modern vocabulary for reproducing the rich variety of ancient words for “curse,” each of which had a particular shade of meaning. That is, it may be that these counter-curses were not perceived as either *lingai-* or *hurtai-*. They certainly aren’t oaths, and they are malicious only because a prior evildoing, the *hurtai-*, necessitated a reaction against it. It is therefore possible that the counter-curses may represent a different third category representing the *hukmai-*, or the ritual treating of a person due to evil or to ward off evil. Evidence that the Hittites considered this a valid distinction is found in line 17, which immediately precedes (126) above: the action of this pronouncement is described as *hukkiškizzi=ma kiššan*¹ ‘she conjures thusly.’

The use of the term *hurtai-* consistently throughout the parables initially appears to contradict these conclusions. The final exigesis of all the parables is *huwartan harkanzi* ‘the gods hold him cursed,’ suggesting that the Hittites considered the action of the gods here as *hurtai-*, when it is merely a retributive action against an initial spontaneous curse. But recall that these are in fact Hurrian compositions, and it seems that the Hurrians did consider

¹ ...48 ii 10: *hukzi=ma kiššan*

“curse” inclusively, using *šid* for the initial spontaneous curse, retributive act, and in the exigesis. In translating the text, the Hittites simply used *hurtai-* for all instances of *šid*.

Further evidence for a distinction between *hurtai-* and *hukmai-* is the assumption that in the case of the rituals, the perpetrator has conjured *alwanzatar* ‘black magic.’ In counter-curses, someone has unjustifiably done something to the client, and so the immediate purpose of the conjuration is to remove the evil; harming the perpetrator by turning the evil back on him is an accessory consideration. In the parables, the point of the story is that it is the deer who suffers: the gods hold him cursed. As for the acts of punishment which are not counter-curses, it remains to be seen if these would be considered as *hurtai-*; the limited data set precludes a firm conclusion.

This chapter has analyzed all curses within the Hittite culture which are associated with retributive action, be it punishment for a trespass committed or as deflection of sorcery. The structural differences in clause type and morphology between these and contingencies were not unexpected, as they resulted from the design and intent of this genre of curse.

The unexpected discoveries of this chapter began with the observation that the initiator in so-called “counter-curses” was in fact specified at the beginning of the text, which is somewhat surprising given the taboo and in fact the criminality of cursing. An explanation for this absence was offered by acknowledging that counter-curses by definition do not originate out of evil intent, and are therefore less inherently malicious than the spontaneous curses. It was then concluded that counter-curses may in fact not have been considered to be *hurtai-* by the Hittites, but rather as *hukmai-*. In fact, *hurtai-* is never used to describe these

counter-curses, except in the parables, which would initially seem to contradict our conclusion. However, the presence of *hurta-*/*hu(wa)rt-* in the parables was attributed to a word-for-word translation from Hurrian to Hittite.

CHAPTER 5

SPONTANEOUS CURSES

The preceding four chapters have accounted for most of what would typically be subsumed under the English word “curse.” We have not yet examined, however, a crucial subset of this group, namely what the Hittites may have considered to be the only true curses, the *hurtai*-. Thus far, we have suggested that Hittite contingency curses may be nothing more than a part of the *lingai*-, with counter-curses, in turn, as *hukmai*-. The real *hurtai*-, then, might only have referred to spontaneous cursing, born purely out of malice. In fact, there is evidence of only one explicitly elaborated spontaneous curse which is natively Hittite. Nevertheless, to account for linguistic features which may differ from the other corpora, the schema as in the previous chapters is again presented.

Below is the only native Hittite evidence of a true *hurtai*-; the verb *hurzakezzi* clearly refers to a spontaneous act by the queen:

(140) = (7)

UD-ti G[E₆]-ti=ya DINGIR.MEŠ-aš pe[r]an artari nu DAM:YA
DINGIR.MEŠ-aš peran hurzakezzi n=an=kan x-x [nu= š]ši [hi]nkan
w<e>wakezzi aku=wa!r=aš nu DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ:YA HUL-un
memian kuwat ištamašten DAM:YA MUNUS.LUGAL idalawahta

kuitki n=an tepnuttat kuitki nu=kan ʿtawannannaš DAM:YA kuen[t]a
 ‘Day and night she stood before the gods, she cursed my wife before
 the gods and []ed her and she demanded death for her: “Let her die!”
 My gods, my lords, why did you listen to this evil word? Did my wife
 harm the queen in some way? Did she humiliate her in some way?
 The *tawannanna* killed my wife.’ (CTH 70; KUB 14.4 iii 18-22;
 NH/NS)

Although *aku=war=aš* ‘Let her die!’ is the only evidence of explicit cursing effected by the queen, the ‘day and night’ reference, as well as the appearance of *hurzakizzi* and another missing verb suggests that the queen did much more than just wish the woman dead. While attestations of *hurtai-/hu(wa)rt-* are not infrequent, explicit quotations of the actions they refer to are thus restricted to one appearance in all of Hittite literature. One explanation for the lack of explicit spontaneous curses in Hittite is that these only would have been reported in order to justify punishing someone for cursing, as it was considered a criminal act. Note again the use of *hurtai-/hu(wa)rt-* in the following:

(141) = (5)

mān ʰA-aš INIM?HI.A?-a[r ištamašt]a n=at=ši=kan ŠÀ-ni anda
ḪUL-uešta ʰA-aš [] x-x-x ʰx-uri EGIR-pa memiškiwan daiš
ḫurdauš=mu lie memiškiši ḫurzakit=mu kuiš [nu]=mu []
ḫurzakizzi nu=mu zik kuiš EGIR-pa [] nu=mu zik ḫurzakiši
 ‘When Ea heard the words, he became sad in (his) heart. And he
 began to speak words back to the god Tauri(?): “Do not speak curses
 to me! He who cursed me curses me [at great risk to himself(?)] You
 who repeat to me [those curses(?)] are yourself cursing me!” (CTH
 344, Song of Kumarbi/Theogony, KUB 33.120+ iii 67 ff; pre-NH/NS)
 (Translation with Hoffner 1990: 43)

(142)

[z]ik=ma=mu ANA P[ANI] DUMU.KIN-YA ḫurzakit nu ku [-. . .]
[n]u kišan TAQBI ʰLIŠ-w[a š]akdu mān=wa=mu=za=kan [] ‘You
 cursed me in front of my messenger and you said as follows: “May
 the god know if [you] – me.” (CTH 186, KBo 18.28 Ro. 6-7;
 NH/NS) (Hagenbuchner 1989, Letter No. 305)

In other personal rituals similar to (142), the original spontaneous curse is not specified presumably because it was unknown. As mentioned earlier, in many of its attestations, *hurta-* is just listed among evils, with no further details given; even in (140) above the description of the cursing is extremely brief.

5.1 Clause Type

Unlike any other curse genres seen so far, the nature of the spontaneous curses eliminates the need for a protasis; there is only the clause expressing the actual curse. The Hurrian parables, as introduced in Chapter 4, are the only other truly spontaneous curses written in Hittite. The structure of these spontaneous curses is quite consistent: some entity, either inanimate or animate, receives a benefit from another. Spontaneously and inexplicably, the entity then begins to curse (*hurzakiwan daiš*) its benefactor, who then thoroughly curses the ungrateful being. Below, the spontaneous portions of the parables are repeated:

(143) = (11)

teššummin ^{LÜ}SIMUG walliyanni *lāhuš lāhuš=an tiššāit n=an*
šuppišduwarit daiš n=an gulašta nu=šši=šta maišti anda lālukkišnut
lāhuš=ma=an kuiš n=an āppa marlānza URUDU-aš hurzakiwan dai[š]
mān=wa=mu lāhuš kuiš man=wa=šši=kan kiššaraš arḫa duwarnattari
kunnaš=man=wa=šši=kan iṣhunāuš arḫa wišūriyattari ‘A smith cast a
goblet for glory. He cast it, made it ready, he set it with appliques,
engraved it, and caused it to shine in its splendor. Then the foolish
copper began to curse back at the one who cast him: “May the hand of
the one who cast me be broken completely. May his right arm be
twisted.”’ (*StBoT* 32.81ff, *ibid.* ii 42-49)

(144) = (130)

[^{LÜ}NAGAR] AN.ZA.GÀR-an walliy[a]nni wetet nu=šši=kan hūt[a]nuš
kattanta taknāš ^DUTU-i katt[a a]rnut [o o o] ulludd[u]š=ma šarā
nepiši maninkuahḫaš wetet=ma=an kuiš n=an marlā[nza] [kuzza]
āppa hurzakiwan daiš wetet=wa=mu kuiš man=wa=šši=kan kiššaraš
arḫa duwarn[att]ari [kunnaš=m]an=ši=kan iṣḫunāuš arḫa
wišūriyattari ‘A master builder built a tower for glory. He caused the
pilings (?) to go downward to the Sun-goddess of Earth. But he
brought the pinnacles up near to heaven. The foolish [wall] began to
curse back at the one who built it: “May the hand of the one who
built me be broken completely. May his right arm be twisted.”
(StBoT 32.89ff; ibid. Rs. 41-44)

(145) = (131)

[...titnut=ma=a]n k[ui]š nu marlānza GIŠ-ruwanza [...] titnut=mu
kuiš [man=wa]=š[ši]=kan [k]i[ššaras arḫa] duwarnattat kunnaš
=man=šši=kan iṣḫunāuš arḫa [wišūriyattari ‘The cowardly wood
[cursed] that person who [piled him up]: “May the hand of the
person who piled me up break into pieces. May his right arm be
twisted.” (StBoT 32.95ff; KBo 32.14 u.Rd. 66-Ik.Rd.7)

(146) = (128)

aliyan[an]=za apel tuēgga[z=šet] HUR.SAG-aš awan arḫa šuwēt
nu=šš[an] aliyaš parā tamēdani HUR.SAG-i pa[it] n=aš warkešta
n=aš nu āppa HUR.SAG-an hurzakiwan daiš wešiyahḫari kuedani
HUR.SAG-i mān=an paḫḫuenanza arḫa warnuzi ^DIŠKUR-
aš=man=an walaḫzi paḫḫuenanza=man=an arḫa warnuzi ‘A
mountain drove away a deer from its body and the deer went forth to
another mountain, and he became fat and sought a fight, and began to
curse the mountain back: “The mountain on which I graze, may fire
burn it up and may the Storm-god strike it down and may fire burn it
up.” (StBoT 32.75ff; KBo 32.14 ii 1-22)

Spontaneous cursing is also present in the Song of Ullikummi, a Hittite version of a Hurrian epic¹ in which the Hurrian god Kumarbi plays a central role. Below, Kumarbi decides what

¹ “That this is natively Hurrian is due to the fact that some still unpublished Hurrian fragments were found in Bogasköy, and also becomes clear from the Hurrian names of gods and places mentioned in the texts.” (Güterbock 1951: 135)

sort of havoc his newborn monster-son Ullikummi shall wreak upon the god Tešub and his companions:

(147)

*paid[du=wa=š(ši?=)ša]n^D Ullikummi ŠUM-an ēšdu nu=war=aš=kan
 nepiši [LUGAL-iz-na]nni UGU paiddu nu=wa=kan^{URU} Kummiyan
 URU[-an šan]ezzin GAM tamašdu^D U-an=ma=wa GUL-aḥdu
 nu=war[=an e]zzan GIM-an arḥa puššaidu
 lalakuešan=ma=war=an[=kan GIM-an] GİR-it anda pašiḥaiddu
^DTašmišun=ma=wa ḥaḥḥa[rin G]I-an mān arḥa zahreškiddu
 DINGIR.MEŠ=ma=wa=kan ḥūmanduṣ [nepiš]az GAM MUŠEN.ḪI.A
 GIM-an išḫuwāu nu=war=aš dannaruṣ DUG.UTÚL.ḪI.A-uš [GIM-
 an] arḥa duwarneškiddu ‘Ullikummi shall be his name! Up to
 heaven to kingship he shall go, and Kummiya, the dear town, he shall
 press down! But the Storm-god he shall hit, and like chaff he shall
 pound him, and like an ant with (his) foot he shall crush him! But
 Tasmisu like a.....reed he shall break off! All the gods down from
 heaven like birds he shall scatter, and like empty vessels he shall break
 them!’ (CTH 345, Song of Ullikummi, KUB 33.106 iii 18-25;
 MH/NS) (Translation with Güterbock 1951: 153)*

All of the indications of a curse are present here: a pronouncement by a deity, imperative verbs (*paiddu*, *tamašdu*, etc.) and the comparison-containing punishments, much like the Military Oath curses in Chapter 2. Yet a caveat is in order: throughout this text, there is a pattern in which Kumarbi utters the harm which will befall his enemies, and the harm is in fact realized at a later point. One wonders with Hoffner and Güterbock² if these are not therefore predictions rather than curses. In fact, there are several other instances throughout the text in which Kumarbi makes a proclamation, and it comes true.³

² Hoffner (1990: 60, fn 21) refers to Kumarbi’s proclamation as a “prophecy,” and Güterbock (1951:138) describes the scene as Kumarbi directing the actions of Ullikummi.

³ A IV 6’, lines 25-29: ‘In one day a yard he shall grow! but in one month a furlong he shall grow! But the stone which is thrown at his head, (his) eyes shall cover.’ Then, A IV 6, lines 22-24: ‘In one day one yard he grew, but in one month one furlong he grew. But the stone which was thrown at his head, his eyes [cover]ed.’

5.2 Participants

5.2.1 Initiator(s)

The sparse evidence permits two observations about who initiated these *hurtai*-, regarding animacy and the overt specification of initiators. Firstly, in the spontaneous curses there are both animate and inanimate initiators, such as the parables with the deer and the woodpile, respectively. Secondly, in both of the Hittite texts containing spontaneous curses, the initiator is specified. Naming the initiators may serve to justify the eventual punishment they receive for executing such a taboo act, as in (140).

5.2.2 Agency

The only deity specified as an agent is the Storm-god, in (146), summoned to strike down the mountain. Of course, Ullikummi, the son of Kumarbi is also specified as an agent.

There is only one instance of an inanimate agent in these curses; the parable in (146) is in fact the only known case of fire being an agent anywhere in Hittite curses. In the rest of the parables, the punishments are agentless and expressed in the passive.

5.2.3 Target(s)

That targets are overtly named in spontaneous curses follows, of course, from their personal nature. Targets are animate (a smith) as well as inanimate (a mountain). More interestingly, deities are also targets in the spontaneous curses, but with an important

distinction from this role in the other genres: here, the deities are only targets when the agent is another deity, as in the Ullikummi text. Here, the Storm-god and Tasmisu, as well as “all the gods down from heaven” are the targets of Ullikummi’s wrath.

5.3 Morphology

While targets are sometimes again marked in the accusative (^PIŠKUR-*aš*=*man*=*an* *walahzi* ‘may the Storm-god strike it down’) as in (146), in the parables the owner of the afflicted body parts is in the dative (*kunnaš*=*man*=*wa*=*šši*=*kan išhunauš arḥa wišuriyattari* ‘may his right arm be twisted’), as in (143).

The parables are somewhat remarkable in that the imperative is expressed uniquely in the first three episodes, by pairing a clause-initial *man* “wish particle” with clause-final present indicative verbs of punishment. This construction of the imperative is seen nowhere else among curses written in Hittite, and can surely be attributed to the fact that these texts were translated from Hurrian. As per Neu (1996: 105f, fn. 19) the modal *man* translates some modal form in the Hurrian verb. Contra Neu, however, sentence-initial *man* and *mān* can be the same.⁴

It is also worth noting that the most common curse throughout the parables, the damage which is to occur to the target’s arm or hand is expressed in the passive. Finally, the

⁴ As per *CHD*, vol. L-M, p. 141, c’.

unique inanimate agent *paḥhur* ‘fire,’ being grammatically neuter, naturally must occur in the ergative form *paḥḥuenanza*, as per the rule of Garrett (1990).

5.4 Lexical Items

Although the spontaneous curses constitute an extremely limited data set, the punishments expressed are unparalleled elsewhere in Hittite texts. Three of the parables are consistent in that the curses all involve some strangulation of the arm or hands. Below is a list of the lexical items in the spontaneous curses and the texts in which they occur.

5.4.1 Verbs

5.4.1.1 Transitive

Physical Violence. Given our limited corpus, the variety of violent verbs is perhaps surprising; on the other hand, considering that this is the truly evil genre of curses, perhaps it is not so surprising after all. Below are the Hittite verbs of physical violence and the citations of where they appear in this chapter:

<i>iṣḥuwa-</i>	‘scatter’	(147)
<i>paṣiḥāi-</i>	‘crush’	(147)
<i>puššai-</i>	‘pound’	(147)
<i>damaš-</i>	‘press down’	(147)
<i>duwarni/a-</i>	‘break’	(143)(144)(145)(147)
<i>walḥ-</i>	‘strike’	(146)
<i>arḥa warnu-</i>	‘burn (up)’	(146)
<i>wešuriya-</i>	‘twist’	(143)(144)(145)
<i>arḥa zaḥrāi-</i>	‘break off (?)’	(147)

The only intransitive verb found in this genre is *a(k)k-* ‘die’ as in (140). The paucity of intransitives is again not surprising considering the limited data; there appears to be no stylistic reason why the Hurrians would not have used intransitive verbs in spontaneous curses. In fact, the agentless passives used in the parables (e.g. ‘twist’ and ‘break’) are the virtual equivalent of intransitives.

5.4.2 Nouns

Body Parts.

<i>kiššara-</i>	‘hand’	(143)(144)(145)
<i>kunna- išhunau-</i>	‘right arm’	(143)(144)(145)
<i>GİR</i>	‘foot’	(147)

While the first two body parts always occur as targets in the parables, ‘foot’ appears as an agent, as it is the foot of Ullikummi.

Animals. The spontaneous curses round out the roles played by animals in curses of the Hittite culture. While in the Hittite contingencies they served as extensions of the targets and in the Hieroglyphic Luvian they served as agents, here the animals serve as curse initiators, as in (146) in which the deer curses the mountain. This reflects, of course, the genre of the parable, with animals standing for humans.

<i>aliya(n)-</i>	‘deer’	(146)
<i>lalakueša-</i>	‘ant’	(147)
<i>MUŠEN^{HLA}</i>	‘birds’	(147)

People. Notice that in the expression of the curse, the craftsmen who are targets are paraphrased as ‘the one who x’ed me.’

LÚ ¹ NAGAR	‘master builder’	(144)
LÚ ¹ SIMUG	‘smith’	(143)

Other.

<i>ezza-</i>	‘chaff’	(147)
<i>pahhur</i>	‘fire’	(146)
DUG ¹ UTÚL ¹ H1.A	‘empty vessels’	(147)
GI	‘reed’	(147)
HUR.SAG	‘mountain’	(146)
URU	‘town’	(147)

Throughout this chapter, we see that the lexical items, not surprisingly, do not closely parallel those identified in Chapter 2; the extremely limited evidence as well as the distinct genre of cursing would seem to predict this. They are, of course, closely related to those found in Chapter 4, as the retributive acts immediately follow the spontaneous curses.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter an explanation for the lack of native Hittite spontaneous curses was offered: that spontaneous curses would have only been recorded to justify meting out a punishment, and that the original spontaneous curses are not specified because they were already lost by then. But another possibility should also be acknowledged: perhaps the

Hittite mentality was that one would not want to repeat the original curse, as the gods would hear it again. This hypothesis follows the “power of the word” argument, in that simply uttering words of black magic would cause their action to be realized.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Comparison with the Classical World

As there is some chronological overlap between the curses examined in this study and those from classical times, a comparison between the two may prove insightful to issues of typology. It should be noted that this chapter does not intend to thoroughly describe classical curse formulae; I have selected only those classical curses which are most immediately relevant to the themes already covered in this study.¹ The most extensive evidence of curses from Greek and Latin consists of those written on gravestones. Given this distribution, a caveat is in order: since Hittite lacks tomb curses, any subsequent lack of parallel between these and the classical curses may not be significant; there is no reason why the Hittite tomb curses would not resemble those from the classical realm. In fact, considering the usual purpose of tomb curses, that is to ward off desecrators, it would be surprising if the Hittite and classical formulae radically deviated from one another.

¹ For further reading on the subject of curses in the classical world, see among others D.R. Jordan, "A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 26 (1985), 151-97, and "Defixiones from a Well near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 54 (1985), 198-252.

Regarding parallels with participants, specifically agents, divinities occupy this role in classical curses in much the same way as they do in Hittite: all divinities in Greek and Latin are mentioned, not only those connected with the sky. The gods of heaven and earth may be invoked together, and sometimes all the gods are involved. Although this particular specification of agency is most immediately reminiscent of the curses seen in the HLUvian displays, we recall that it also occurs in Hittite to some extent.

As for targets, classical curses, like those seen throughout this study, can descend genealogically, threatening the potential violator's children:

ἔσονται αὐτῷ κατάραὶ ὅσα ἀναγεγραμμένα[ι ἰ]σὶν εἰς ὄρασιν
καὶ εἰς ὅλον τὸ σῶμα αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τέκνα καὶ εἰς βίον 'The
curses however written above shall be for him against his whole body
and against his children and his life.' (Ramsay 564 (Ushak)) (Cited in
Lattimore 1962: 114)

Predictably, many common themes are shared between the Asia Minor and classical curses, such as that of "barrenness":

καὶ μηδὲ γῆ μηδὲ θάλασσα καρπὸν [α]ὐτῷ ἐνίνκατω 'May
neither land nor sea bear him any produce.' (*TAM* 2, 488 (Patara))
(Cited in Lattimore 1962: 114)

They can also be very comprehensive in terms of multiple punishments, such as those presented in (13), (21), and (27) of Chapter 2.

As for the Latin curses, Lattimore (1962: 18ff) points out the distinction in tone between these and the Greek inscriptions:

"...the Latin group offers far more examples of a simple command or request not to meddle, unaccompanied by any fine or threat, good wishes to the wayfarer who spares the tomb are more frequent and the maledictions when they occur are less violent and less comprehensive."

Latin inscriptions are also more likely to request the favor of not disturbing the tomb rather than demand it. Again, though the Greek curses share more formulae in common with the Hieroglyphic Luvian than with the Hittite contingencies, it must be remembered that Hittite has no tomb curses for the purposes of comparison; if we did have such evidence, it is likely that they would also resemble the Greek formulae.

6.2 Summary and Implications of Findings

The primary goal of this study was to provide the first linguistically-based classification of curses from the Hittite culture. The correlations between structural features and curse genre resulted from a classification scheme which I chose because it provided the optimal framework under which the relevant linguistic features could be subsumed.

In addition to exhaustively classifying curses in the Hittite culture from a linguistic perspective, this study was able to provide some insight on three central issues which naturally emerged from this focus. The first concerned the precise semantic scope of *hurta-*: how did the Hittites conceive of these verbal acts? Next, the stylistic development of these curses over time was examined by means of a comparison of the three ages of Hittite. Finally, the cultural contact which existed between the Akkadians and Hittites necessitated an examination of a possible linguistic influence between the two languages.

In Chapter 1, it was affirmed that for English speakers, a curse is any verbal act in which the mere utterance of words causes harm to befall another. Lattimore (1962: 108) also

unintentionally confirms the inclusiveness of this English word by describing the provisions attached to oaths of allegiance and treaties as “curse-formulae.” But for the Hittites, one must ask in what larger functional context did the verbal act of what we consider to be a “curse” take place? One such context was the oath (*lingai-*), as seen in Chapter 2. The second was the response on the part of those who have suffered or might suffer some evil (*hukmai-*), which might include a counter-curse. Finally, we traced one kind of malicious act, the verbal component of which is *hurtai-*.

The distribution of *hurtai-*, specifically that it never occurs to describe such a verbal act within official treaties, suggests one possibility: that the Hittites did not consider these as “curses” at all. This is congruent with its definition as an explicitly malicious act. There is evidence to support the claim that in fact, in the context of treaties, these provisions were merely a part of *lingai-*, as shown by the fact that they were contrasted with blessings. It may be in fact that imperative verbs in the curses within treaties were seen to be virtually the same as other provisions, perhaps no different than ‘if an enemy approaches you, may you send troops,’ for example.

The second possibility was that perhaps the Hittites did consider the contingency curses in official treaties *hurtai*, if only in the sense that they were self-curses, something that the king made them *lingnu-* ‘swear to.’ This situation was seen in the curses occurring in the Soldiers’ Oaths. This issue may also be relevant for the debate concerning the etymology of *link-*: Sturtevant (*in* Tischler 1986: 61) proposes a connection between this verb and Greek

ἐλέγχω ‘put to shame,’ an etymology which would be strengthened on semantic grounds if one assumed that *link-* underwent a semantic development to ‘swear an oath’ due to the fact that shaming oneself with a self-curse was how Hittite oaths originated.

The third possibility centered around the dual nature of taboo acts: that is, perhaps the action of *hu(wa)rt-* was sanctioned for certain individuals, such as deities and officials, but remained an illicit act for those not authorized to execute it. This is consistent with the evidence in example (26), in which the oath-gods curse a target ‘in an evil manner’ (the only instance in which *hu(wa)rt-* is paired with the actions of a deity), as well as with the newly published text presented on pp. 101-102, which may describe how officials are cursing a malefactor on behalf of the Hittite king. Further evidence of *hurtai-/hu(wa)rt-* appearing in an official context would affirm this third possibility.

To provide for the most comprehensive study of curses, it was also necessary to consider the question of historical development of the formulae by examining the different linguistic structures employed. Firstly, for the Hittite protases, distribution of the ‘if’ and ‘whoever’ clauses suggested that the former came to be the preferred, standard structure. The Hieroglyphic Luvian curses, on the other hand, showed limited attestation of the ‘if’ clauses to specify the basic contingency. They do use ‘if’ or ‘whether’ clauses to specify various potential perpetrators, an elaboration not often seen in Hittite. Furthermore, in using relative clauses to express the contingency, HLuvian often employs a determinate form that actually takes the violation for granted.

Secondly, comparison between curses from Old, Middle, and Neo-Hittite suggested a development from a more colorful, expressive, and lengthy formula to one which was more standardized and generic. This development not only involved the evolution of a legal contract for diplomatic purposes, but also the creation of a “formal” register for bureaucratic use. Inevitably in this process, the free expression of more colloquial speech was lost. Though to the contemporary reader it may seem as though this formal nature loses some of the visceral impact delivered by more colorful curses (such as the one in (94), for example), there is no evidence that the Hittites shared this sentiment.

To appreciate the progression from a more creative to a more standardized form, consider the chronology of Hittite cursing. It is no accident that MH shows more stylistically creative curses; recall (21) from *CTH* 137, which was unique in its expression of ‘on whatever day...’; also, the gods appeared as targets in a complex embedding of the targets named. Furthermore, (94) from *CTH* 139 was an unusually colorful curse with a named divine agent. The Šattiwaza Treaty in (27) was also particularly expressive and contained multiple predicates, while the Hukkana Treaty in (13), a late MH text, was most complete in its ‘destroy and remove from the dark earth’ formula as well as in its inclusive list of targets.² The Hukkana Treaty was therefore also illustrative in favoring a hypothesis that the Hittites gradually progressed from an expanded to a conflated curse formula.

² Also in the Hukkana Treaty is an anecdote about a certain Marija, who committed a misdemeanor and was subsequently punished; similar anecdotes about miscreant individuals and their punishments are also presented. This kind of colorful detail recalls the OH “Palace Chronicle,” and not the NH treaties.

Finally, the question of the historical development of agency was examined. Although we lack OH treaties, there was shown to be a clear development in agency from MH to NH. Originally, both the personified oaths and other summoned deities were permitted as agents; the oaths performing the action of seizing, with the other deities carrying out the remainder of the punishments. However, no later than Muršili (and the treaty with Kupanta-^dLAMMA), writing *NIS DINGIR.MEŠ* seems to have shifted from ‘personified oaths’ to ‘gods of the oath’: there is no evidence of *NIS DINGIR.MEŠ* standing for ‘personified oaths’ in late Hittite.

The third main issue covered by this dissertation concerned the possible influence of Akkadian on Hittite and Hieroglyphic Luvian curses, an issue provoked by the fact that Akkadian was a widely used diplomatic *lingua franca*. Evidence in examples (14), (27), and (43) argued against such an influence for the Hittite state treaties from Anatolia, as shown by the unique usage of Akkadian words which, in fact, suggested a translation from Hittite. This is confirmed by the use of standard Akkadian phraseology in the few examples from Hittite Empire documents in Akkadian from Syria. As for the HLuvian treaties, this possibility remains an open question. It does appear, however, that Hittite was influenced by Hurrian, as seen in the parables in Chapters 4 and 5, where the Hittites translated *šid* as *hurtaí-/hu(wa)rt-* throughout, and also used *man/mān* to translate some modal form of the Hurrian verb, instead of the imperative.

The classification of Hittite and Luvian curse formulae has therefore provoked larger issues for the linguist as well as for the linguistic anthropologist. Threaded throughout this

study was the question of how the world-view of an ancient people concerning cursing differed from or resembled our own; it became apparent that this topic has implications for other social concepts, such as that of “collective guilt.” Issues which might be addressed in future studies include the employment of phonological devices in rituals; whether ancient languages utilized performative verbs (and if so, how); and further cross-linguistic comparison between curse formulae.

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