

A Song of Release from Hattic Tradition

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In this paper I wish to draw the attention to a text belonging to the corpus of Hattic texts which I believe to be of particular interest. It is a small fragment of the right-hand part of a tablet (part of edge remains) on which 18 lines are legible on one side (probably the Obverse) and only a few signs on the other (note the mention in Rev² 2" of the "house of the poor man":]É LÚMÁŠDA).

KBo XXXVII 68 (623/u) Obv²

x + 1	sì]R ^{RU}
2'] ¹ ta ¹ -ba-ar-na li-e-wu _u -u-ur
3'] ¹ ta-wa-an-na-na ¹ li-e-wu _u -u-ur
4'	ma-] ¹ a ¹ -an-kán EGIR-an-da ki-iš-ša-an SÌR ^{RU} 1-iš ḫal-za-a-i
5']x ar-ku-wa-an-zi
6'	LÚ ^{MEŠ} GI ^Š]TUKUL-uš-ma-aš-ši kat-ta-an QA-TAM-MA-pát mi-iz-zu-u mi-iz[-z]u-u zi-i-eš- ¹ ta ¹
7'	LÚ ^{MEŠ} G ¹]TUKUL-uš-ma-aš-ši GAM-an mi-iz-zu-u mi-iz-zu-u zi-i-eš-ta ar-ku-wa-an-z[i
8'	LÚ ^{MEŠ} GI ^Š]TUKUL-uš-ma-aš-ši GAM-an mi-iz-zu-u mi-iz-zu-u zi-i-eš-ta ar-ku-wa-an-z[i
9'	LÚ ^{MEŠ} GI ^Š]TUKUL-]uš-ma-aš-ši GAM-an mi-iz-zu-u mi-iz-zu-u zi-i-eš-ta ar-ku-wa-an-z[i
10'	LÚ ^{MEŠ} GI ^Š]TUKUL-uš-ma-aš-ši GAM-an mi-iz-zu-u mi-iz-zu-u zi-i-eš-ta ar-ku-wa-an-z[i
11'	kar / ḫa]r[-a]p-ta-at ki-nu-nu-uš nam-ma Ú-UL a-še-eš-kán-zi [
12']x GI ^Š zu-up-pa-ri BAL-an-ti nu LÚ ^{MEŠ} NAR GI ^Š D ^{INANNA} H ^{I.A} ka-ri-nu-wa-an-zi
13']x a-ri-e iš-ta-an-na-a-an i-pí-u-ḫi ar-ku-wa-an-zi
14'] i-pí-u-uh ar-ku-wa-an-zi
15'	i-wa-]ru ú-e-eš pí-eš- ¹ ki ¹ -u-en kar-šu-wa-ni-ma-at wa-aš-ši-ya-aš GI ^Š KIR[I ₆
16'	-]wa-an-zi ša-ḫa-a-ni lu-uz-zi-ya a-ra-u-e-eš ú-e-eš

17' ^{NA4}AR]A₅^{HI.A}-NI NA₄-i Ū^{HI.A}-NI ^{URU}Tu-uk-ki-iš-du-wa ^{GIŠ}KI[RI₆
 18' -w]a-¹ar-ga-u-e-ni iš-¹hi-ya-u-e-ni-ya-at ú-e-eš¹[

H. Otten and Ch. Rüster¹, who have published it in autography, and J. Klinger² in his catalogue of Hattic texts identify it as a *Wechselgesang* and attributed it to the texts of CTH 743 ("Chants choraux"). The first part of the text (Obv⁷ 2'-10') does in fact have the structure typical of this type of composition: a lengthy song in the Hattic language marking the entry on stage of the chorus (similar in a certain sense to the parodo of Greek tragedy) – Obv⁷ 2'-3'; an intervention by the chorus-leader who with his spoken exclamations guides the exhibition of the choristers – Obv⁷ 4'; a verse, again in the Hattic language, which is repeated as a sort of refrain by the choristers themselves in response to the cue of the chorus-leader – Obv⁷ 6'-10'.

Only the final cues of the entry song remain which are dedicated to the exaltation of the *tabarna* and the *tawananna* lords of the country (for this see lines 2'-3' of the Obverse in which the nouns *tabarna* and *tawananna* are both followed by the term *le-wu_nr*, with the prefix *le-* used in this case in reference to both a masculine possessor and a feminine possessor, both lacking the indirect case sign *-n*).

The lacuna at the beginning of line 5' prevents us from knowing whether the intervention of the chorus-leader – here one of the choristers who breaks away from the others and not their *ḫantezziyaš-šmiš*/GAL-ŠUNU – was in this case a precise cue (as usually happens in choral songs³) or whether it was just a simple shout to the chorus (as is often the case in descriptions of the great state festivals). Lacking indications in the edition about the size of the fragment and therefore about the possible extent of the lacuna it is impossible for me to advance any hypothesis.

The verse sung by the chorus and repeated five times as a refrain is very short: it consists of only two words, *mizzu* and *ziešta*, the first of which is repeated.

mizzu, other than in this text, also appears, again repeated, only in the festival fragment KBo XIV 116 (CTH 743) i 2', where it marks the beginning of the spoken intervention of the chorus leader⁴; the interpretation of

¹ Cf. H. Otten / Ch. Rüster, KBo XXXVII, Inhaltsverz., V.

² J. Klinger, *Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der hattischen Kultschicht* (StBoT 37), Wiesbaden 1996, 58.

³ See, for example, KUB XXVIII 107 i, ii, iii *passim*; KUB XXVIII 109 *passim*; KBo XXIV 104 l. 8'; KBo XXXVII 72 ll. 3', 6'.

⁴]x ¹GAL-ŠU¹-NU ḫal-za-a-i mi-¹iz¹-zu mi-iz-zu ḫu zi¹-it-ta[.

this term either as a noun or as a verb is not for the moment possible.

For *ziešta*, on the other hand, we can compare the forms *zi-ya-aš-te*⁵; *ḫa-wa_a-ne-(e)šta*⁶; *ḫu-wa_a-nešta*⁷; and also the derived form, with the suffix for the feminine *-it*, *ḫa-ne-(e)št(a)-it*⁸. These attestations seem to document the existence of the Hattic noun *(e)šta*, whose meaning is still unknown; we could thus analyze the term *ziešta* as a noun-form composed of *(e)šta* and by the locative prefix *zi-* "in, near, between"⁹.

The text then continues with a description of the stages of the ceremony following this choral interlude.

According to the notation of Obv⁷ 11' "Now, again, they don't let them sit", we see that the participation of the choristers does not end with the singing of the refrain and the return of the soloist into the ranks (this being the case if at beginning of this line the completion *ḫa|r-[a]p-ta-at*, "he joined up"¹⁰, is correct, completion which corresponds with the cuneiform signs; alternatively we might think of *kar-a|p-ta-at*, "it is finished"¹¹, referring to the song).

There follows a libation ceremony in connection with a torch; being a type of ceremony not otherwise attested to (for this see H. Otten, StBoT 15 [1971] 6-10, where, however, the fragment in question is missing) and appearing here, moreover, in a fragmentary context, it is unclear whether, with the expression ^{GIS}*zuppari* BAL-*anti* of the Obv⁷ 12', reference is made to a libation that takes place by the light of a torch or to a libation dedicated to a torch – in this case probably the torch of a divinity (a "torch of the divinity"¹² and torches of various divinities belonging to the *ḫešta* house and to other temples¹³ are documented) – or whether instead it is a liba-

⁵ KUB XLVIII 38 (CTH *745) Rev 1.

⁶ KUB XXVIII 82 + IBoT III 98 + KUB IX 11 + KUB XXVIII 63 (CTH 732.1.B) ii 25' – completion on the basis of the analogous passage KBo XXXVII 13 Obv⁷ 4'; KBo XXI 82 (CTH 734.9) iii 16'.

⁷ KUB XXVIII 37 (CTH 745) Obv rCol 2'.

⁸ KBo XXXVII 23 (CTH *734.10) ii 3'.

⁹ While *ḫawanešta* with the variant *ḫuwanešta* could be analyzed as formed by the locative prefix *ḫa-* "inside" (*ḫu-* in *ḫuwanešta* through assimilation of the vowel to the successive *wa_a-*) + the prefix of the collective *wa_a-* + the first person plural prefix *ne-* + the noun *(e)šta*, something like "in our *(e)šta*".

¹⁰ For the verb *ḫar(a)p-* see J. Puhvel, HED 3 (1991) 176-183.

¹¹ For the verb *kar(a)p-* see J. Puhvel, HED 4 (1997) 91-98.

¹² KBo XXV 187 (CTH *670) ii 3': *šiunaš* ^{GIS}*zuppari*; transliteration of Obv ii 2'-10' by H. Otten, *Materialien zum hethitischen Lexikon* (StBoT 15), Wiesbaden 1971, 33. For this text see also S. Košak, StBoT 42 (1998) 82, n. 6: "mh. Schrift".

¹³ 41/g *passim*: transliteration of Obv i 4'-20' by Otten, StBoT 15, 40.

tion to a specific divinity carrying the appellation "of the torch"¹⁴. The reference to a torch, however, suggests that the ceremony described here takes place after dusk.

The chorus then resumes its singing, although this time without a musical accompaniment (in Obv⁷ 12' it is said that "the singers silence the instruments of INANNA"), and performs first in a refrain in the Hattic language, repeated twice, though different from the previous one (Obv⁷ 13'-14'), and then in a lengthy song in the Hittite language (Obv⁷ 15'-18').

Only three words of the Hattic song remain:

– *a-ri-e*, of which other attestations¹⁵ and the variants *a-ri-i*¹⁶, *a-ri-ya*¹⁷, *a-ri-e-u*¹⁸ are known, and which Ch. Girbal¹⁹ considers to be a verbal root. In my view it is more probably a noun root, given the existence of the "accusative" form *a-ri-e-eš*²⁰ and the "adjectival" derivatives *a-ri-il*²¹, *a-ri-el-la*²² and, perhaps, *wa_a-a-ri-ul(-li)*²³.

– *iš-ta-an-na-a-an*, in which we recognize probably the plural prefix *iš-* (= *eš-*) and the indirect case suffix *-(a)n* (for a similar formation see, for example, *iš-kat-te-e-[en]*, "of the kings", in KBo XXXVII 94 Ro 8', CTH *744) – and which can therefore be interpreted as a noun.

– *i-pí-u-uh*, variant *i-pí-u-ḫi*: if it is correct to analyze it as *ip-* (= *iwa_a*-first person plural prefix) + *iuh*, this term would confirm the existence in Hattic of a verbal form *i-u-uh*, already attested to in the bilingual myth of the moon falling from the sky (CTH 727)²⁴, though believed by Ch. Girbal, *op. cit.*, 35, to be a scribal error.

As regards the passage in Hittite, that it is a song is in my view apparent from its syntactic structure: the matching of the verbal forms at lines

¹⁴ See, for example, ^{DU} ^{Giš} *zuppari*: KUB XXVII 13 i 3; KUB XL 33 Rev 5' (*apud* Otten, StBoT 15, 9).

¹⁵ KBo XXV 125 + KUB XXVIII 36 (CTH 742.1) i 7 = StBoT 25 Nr. 125.

¹⁶ KUB XXVIII 52 (CTH 735) Rev 35'.

¹⁷ HFAC 92 (CTH *745) l. 10'.

¹⁸ KUB XXVIII 75 (CTH 733.I.1.A) ii 10 = StBoT 25 Nr. 113.

¹⁹ Ch. Girbal, *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Hattischen*, Frankfurt a. M. / Bern / New York 1986, 86, n. 16.

²⁰ KUB XXVIII 28 (CTH 745) Obv rCol 8.

²¹ KUB XXVIII 15 (CTH 735) Obv 34b.

²² KUB XXXVIII 112 (CTH 743) ll. 7', 10', 13'; KBo XXXVII 71 (CTH *743) l. 10'; KBo XIV 122 (CTH *743, from CTH 831) l. 2' (*a-ri-el-la*).

²³ KUB I 17 (CTH 591) II 24 = KBo XXXVII 4 obv. 1 (*wa_a-a-ri-ul-li wa_a-a-ri-i-u[l]*).

²⁴ KUB XXVIII 5 Obv 25a: *i-u-uh*, with the variants *pí-i-iḫ-a-an* (in Obv 17a and in the duplicates KUB XXVIII 3 Obv 15a and *pí-i-iḫ-an* in KUB XXVIII 4 Obv 13a) and *pí-i-u-wa!* (KUB XXVIII 4 Obv 20a).

15' and 18' and the position of the personal pronoun at lines 16' and 18' reveal a clear search for rhythm and expressive emphasis; but also show that the Hittite passage is with great probability the re-adaptation of a song or of several songs originally composed in the Hattic language.

In fact, from an analysis of Hattic-Hittite bilingual texts, in which the Hittite versions, clearly copying the construction of the Hattic phrase, have a decidedly anomalous syntactic structure for this language, it emerges that in the sentences placed at the beginning of these compositions the verb of finite form is placed – usually – in a final position in the first clause and in an initial position in the successive coordinate clauses (sometimes after conjunctions)²⁵.

Furthermore, in the Hittite versions, the verbs of the clauses coordinate to the introductory one, which in this type of construction are found in a, so to speak, irregular position, are very often joined with enclytic pronouns with a proleptic function²⁶.

In the passage in Hittite of KBo XXXVII 68 Obv⁷ 15'-18' we find precisely these characteristics, typical of a text of translation, and that is, as we have said, the placing of the verbal forms at l. 15' (*peškiwen* at the end of the first phrase of the sentence and *karšuwani* at the beginning of the following phrase) and at l. 18' (*-w|argaweni* at the end and *išḫiyaweni* at the beginning) and the proleptic enclytic pronouns *-at* at l. 15', which comes before the successive direct object *waššiyaš* ^{GIŠ}KIR[*I*], and another *-at* at l. 18', which comes before a direct object that is missing (perhaps, given the context, *šeban* "sheaves").

Another element supporting this hypothesis is, in my view, the patina of antiquity given to this clearly imperial text²⁷ by the first person plural ending *-wani* (l. 15'), extremely rare in tablets of this period, and by the first plural tonic pronoun *weš* (ll. 16', 18').

However, the elements that make this text particularly interesting, distinguishing it from the other texts containing choral songs, are the identity of the choristers and the content of the Hittite song which confirms this identity: according to my interpretation, the authors of the song are the

²⁵ Cf., now, F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Studi e testi* 2 (Eothen 10), Firenze 1999, 163.

²⁶ These pronouns thus come before the nouns that are related to the verb, although placed after it (the subject in the case of intransitive verbs or the direct object in the case of transitive verbs): cf. Pecchioli Daddi, *Eothen* 10, 151-152.

²⁷ Klinger, StBoT 37, 58, defines it Jh B; see in particular the form of the sign LI at ll. 2' and 3'.

LÚ^{MEŠ} GIŠ^{TUKUL}, "the workers", a unique case in Hittite literature²⁸.

The term designating the choristers is not conserved in any line in a complete form: at ll. 6', 7', 8' and 10', after the lacuna marking the left-hand limit of fragment, we can read clearly the sign KU; the previous marks are certainly compatible with the shape of the sign IZ / GIŠ used by the scribe of this tablet²⁹: therefore, on the basis of the cuneiform edition the reading GIŠ^{TUKUL} at ll. 6'-10' appears acceptable. The completion LÚ^{MEŠ} GIŠ^{TUKUL}-*uš-ma-aš-ši*, in itself reasonable, is rendered, so to speak, obligatory by the content of the song executed by these persons, which finds precise parallels in the paragraphs of the text of the Hittite laws relating to the services and duties for which workers and landowners are liable.

They sing like this (Obv³ 15'-18'): "[...] the (or: for / as) inheritance share we have given, but we shall cut the plantation (lit.: the garden) of medicinal herb (or similar); [...] from being subject (or: from presenting oneself) to the *šahhan*-services and the *luzzi*-services we are free / exempt! [...] to the / for the stone of our grinders (are) our herbs, at Tukkišduwa the plantation(s) [...] we shall [re]ap (?) and we shall tie them, [the sheaves (?)]"

Various notations on the text:

ll. 6'-10': the phonetic complement *-uš* of LÚ^{MEŠ} GIŠ^{TUKUL} confirms that the corresponding Hittite of this ideogram is a noun with theme in *-u-* as already attested by KBo VI 2 ii 21 (§ 40 of the Laws) — although one must bear in mind that the phonetic complement *-uš* of the latter attestation is usually considered to be a scribal error probably to be corrected into *-ša*³⁰.

At l. 15', taking account of the autography, according to which the sign immediately after the lacuna is certainly RU (the marks reproduced exclude the possibility of reading EL), and of the context, the completion into *iwa/ru* appears certain.

In the same line, the expression *waššiyaš* GIŠ^{KIR}[I₆ confirms Cornelia Burde's interpretation of *wašši(ya)*- as of the term indicating the herb used for the preparation of drugs, corresponding, in Hittite medical texts and — we can now add — also in this text, to the ideogram Ú³¹ (for this see fur-

²⁸ The chorus are formed — usually — a) by men or women coming from specific villages, b) by specific cult personnel, c) by people defined, in generic terms, "the singers".

²⁹ At ll. 6' and 8' we can clearly see the final vertical and at l. 7' also part of the second horizontal cuneus.

³⁰ Cf. H.A. Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites*, Leiden / New York / Köln 1997, 47, n. 142.

³¹ C. Burde, *Hethitische medizinische Texte* (StBoT 19), Wiesbaden 1974, 4, n. 10.

ther on at l. 17' the insertion of the ideogram $\dot{U}^{H.A.}-NI$ "our herbs").

At l. 16' $-]wanzi$ is certainly the ending of an infinitive dependent on *araweš* (infinitives supported by this noun are common; see also the text of the Laws § 56); the translation "from being subject to the *šahḫan* and the *luzzi*" is a proposal that obviously does not exclude other possibilities - for example "from presenting oneself for the *šahḫan* and the *luzzi*" or similar.

For the verb of l. 18', of which the final part remains $-w]argaweni$, the translation "we shall reap" (possibly a form of the verb *kuwakuwark-* "to cut") is suggested by the context.

It is evident therefore that the terminology and the content of the passage discussed here derives from the text of the Laws, from Hittite legal texts and from various documents containing royal provisions concerning the management of land and the organization of work.

However, the most precise reference for this song is, in my view, in paragraph 46 (and in § XXXVIII of the parallel text) of the Laws, which reads (according to the translation of Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites*, 56, of the parallel text): "If in a village someone holds land and obligation to perform *šahḫan*-services as an inheritance share, if the lands was given to him in its entirety, he shall render the *luzzi*-services. If the land was not given to him in its entirety, but only a small portion was given to him, he shall not render the *luzzi*-services. They shall render them from his father's estate; ... et cetera".

That is, those who have given as *iwaru*, "inheritance share; dowry (if assigned to a woman)"³², all the land subject to the obligation of the *šahḫan*-services transfer to the new owners also the *luzzi*-services and may therefore declare themselves legitimately free / exempt from such obligations.

The song of the $L\dot{U}^{MES} G\dot{I}Š$ TUKUL of this text reflects precisely this situation; the inclusion of their declaration of freedom from services and duties in a religious celebration - in the presence therefore of the whole community and, probably, of the religious and political authorities of the country - confers great solemnity to the proclamation itself.

The fragment is unfortunately too small to allow an identification of the festival to which it belongs; it is also difficult to understand whether the ceremony recorded in this text is part of a local festival or part of one of the great state festivals (significant elements for a possible identification, such as names of divinities or specific ceremonies or officiants, are lack-

³² Cf. now Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites*, 55, with n. 177, and 190.

ing; with the exception of the LÚ^{MEŠ} GIŠ-TUKUL and the LÚ^{MEŠ} NAR, other participants in the rite are not mentioned).

Some indication might come from the name of the village where the ceremony takes place (Obv⁷ 17'), ^{URU}Tukkišduwa, but other mentions of it are unknown.

Nevertheless, in a fragment of a festive itinerary, which describes a journey from Ḫattuša to Tamelḫa, KBo XI 34 (CTH 670) Obv i 3, a very similar name is mentioned, ^{URU}Tuggaštuwa, which is probably simply a variant spelling — with an *a* instead of an *i* — of the name appearing in our text; in this tablet it is said that a stop is made at this village to slaughter a pig (the text Obv i 1-6 reads: "When they go from Ḫattuša to Dammelḫa, at Tuggaštuwa they slaughter a pig; but if it is not available to them, they do not slaughter it"³³).

Unfortunately this tablet, of which very little remains, is also far from explanatory (it is unclear what kind of people would undertake such a journey, and the city of Tamelḫa, the destination, is in turn a *hapax*); however, a reading of it enables us to assert that the village of Tugga/ištuwa is included in a cultural itinerary certainly of ancient tradition (KBo XI 34 draws in fact on an old-Hittite original, given the use in it of the hypothetic conjunction *takku*(-šmaš) i 4 and of the negation *natta* i 5); we can also state that this village must have been situated near the capital, since the first and only stop of the itinerary in question is made there.

However, as we have seen, KBo XXXVII 68, although having survived as a document of the imperial age, almost certainly dates back to an original composed in the ancient Hittite period and shows clearly that it belongs to the north-Anatolian cultural tradition.

These considerations and the lack of any element of comparison prevents us from attributing it — as would at first sight seem logical to suppose — to the EZEN *šahḫanaš* as we know it (for which see the edition of Jin Jie³⁴); the surviving manuscripts of this festival belong in fact to the cult of the goddess Ḫuwaššanna of Ḫupišna — therefore to a different cultural tradition far removed from the Hattic one which our text draws on.

It is interesting to note what Jin Jie observes in connection with the festival she has analyzed and, if her opinion is correct, it may in some way contribute to an understanding of the ceremony described in our text: Jin

³³ I 1 [ma-]a-an ^{URU}Ḫa-at-tu-ša-az (2) [^{UR}]U Dam-mi-el-ḫa pa-a-an-zi (3) [^l]-NA ^{URU}Tu-ug-ga-aš-tu-wa 1 ŠAḪ (4) ḫa-az-zi-an-zi ták-ku-uš-ma-aš (5) Ū-UL-ma ḫa-ap-zi ta na-at-ta (6) ḫa-az-zi-an-zi.

³⁴ Jin Jie, "The *Šahhan*-Festival", *JAC* 5 (1990), 49-75.

Jie (*op. cit.*, 75) claims in fact that "the *šahḥan* festival is ... a festival to celebrate the creation of a new household".

In this regard we should in fact recall that the LÚ^{MEŠ} GIŠ^{TUKUL} of our text seem (*peškiwen* of Obv⁷ 15' is the only verb of the song in the past tense) to make their liberation from the *šahḥan* and from the *luzzi* depend on the fact of having given the *iwaru*, that is the share of property or dowry which when transferred to a son or daughter allows the latter to set up a new household.

It is possible, therefore, to assume that in various areas of the kingdom of Ḫatti events concerning the relationship between the citizens — to use a term that is clear though anachronistic — and the state (and therefore first of all the payment of taxes and the fulfilment of obligatory services or exemption from them), were publicly and solemnly sanctioned in the course of festive ceremonies which, while celebrated in respect of local traditions, were carried out in a variety of different ways.

In conclusion, we may say that even this text appears as a "song of release", intoned in this case by the beneficiaries themselves who, with the words "we are free from being subject to the *šahḥan* and the *luzzi*", "our herbs are for the stone of our grinders", proclaim their liberation not from debts, but from the services and from the duties *šahḥan* and *luzzi* exemplified by the phrases "we shall cut the plantation of medicinal herb" (l. 15') and "we shall reap the plantation at Tukkišduwa and we shall tie the sheaves" (ll. 17'-18').

Songs of liberation, therefore, belong also to the north-Anatolian cultural tradition and to the Hattic tradition in particular.