

Notes on the Hittite Funerary Ritual for a Prince or a Princess

Calvert Watkins

1. In the Hittite Funerary Ritual for a Prince or Princess KUB 39.6¹ (CTH 450 II 1

A) we read

rev 18 nu ku-it-ma-an ALAN a-aš-ša-an /-NA UD 4 KAM

19 e-eš-zi nu ši-pa-an-tu-u-wa-an- zi

20 UD-at UD-at ki-iš-ša-an da-aš-kán-zi

21 I UDU ták-na-aš ^DUTU-i I UDU ^DUTU AN-E

...

Otten translated the passage as follows:

18 Und solange das Sitzbild für 4 Tage

19 bleibt, nehmen sie um zu opfern

¹ H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* (1958), 50-51; A. Kassian – A. Korolëv – A. Sidel'tsev *Hittite Funerary Ritual šalliš waštaiš* (2002), pp. 607-25. My attention was drawn to the passage on reading Valentina Cambi's 2006 dissertation (Scuola Normale Superiore Pisa) *Tempo e aspetto in ittito, con particolare riferimento al suffisso -ske/a-*, pp. 118-20, where the imperfective aspectual value of *daskanzi* with the distributive adverb UD-at UD-at 'day by day, every day, daily' is correctly asserted and explained.

20 Tag für Tag wie folgt:

21 1 Schaf der Sonnengöttin der Erde, 1 Schaf dem Sonnengott des Himmels,

...

2. In translating ALAM *aššan* as 'Sitzbild' he follows KUB 30.25 + 39.4 + KBo 41.117

Vs. 1-2 (HTR 320-21, restored after Kassian-Korolëv-Sidel'tsev 320) *nu A-NA ALAM a-*

ša-a[-an-ti ŠU].MEŠ-aš wja-a-tar p[é]-an-zi 'to the seated statue they give hand-water',

with a footnote comparing the well-attested ALAM *aššan* in Von Brandenstein, *Heth.*

Götter 24f.²

3. Kassian-Korolëv-Sidel'tsev:

(English) 18 While the seated statue remains for four days,

19 they begin/prepare to sacrifice

20 daily as follows:

21 one sheep to the Sun goddess of the Earth...

(Russian) 18 I v to vremja kak statuja sidjaščaja v tečenii cetyrëx dnej

19 ostaëtsja, to žertvoprinoženje soveršat'

20 každyj den' sledujuščim obrazom načinajut:

21 odnu ovcu Zemli bogyne Solnca ...

² C.-G. Freiherr von Brandenstein, *Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten*, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft 46.2 [1943].

4. Cambi:

18 E finché l'immagine resta seduta per 4 giorni,

19 prendono ad offrire regolarmente

20 così giorno per giorno:

5. ALAM/ALAN *aššan* 'seated image' (?) = ALAM *ašan* 'seated image'?

6. Our instance shows scriptio plena in the root, *a-aš-ša-an*, while we have one and perhaps two examples of the participle of 'sit' with scriptio plena in the suffix, *a-ša-a-an* and *a-ša-a-[an-ti]* (supra).

7. The solution is clear. We have two separate words, both participles: *ašant-* is from *aš-* 'sit' (and *aš-* 'be') while *aššan-* is from *ašš-* 'remain, stay'. The latter verb always shows *-šš-* between vowels, and very frequently initial *a-aš-*.

8. The verb *ašš-* moreover is an unaccusative intransitive³, and can take suffixed subject pronouns and the auxiliary 'be' in periphrastic tenses like *pai-* 'go'. So just as *pānt- ešzi* is 'has gone', so our *aššan ... ešzi* must be 'has remained', agreeing in gender and number with the neuter subject ALAN (*ešri*) 'image, statue'.

9. Maṣat MKT 68: 4-6:

ammuk *UL* kuitki kuit dammishān harmi *UL*=ma=kan dān kuedanikki kuitki harmi

³ See Andrew Garrett, Wackernagel's Law and Unaccusativity in Hittite, in A.L. Halpern and A.M. Zwicky (eds.), *Approaching Second: Second Position Clitics and Related Phenomena*, 85-133. Stanford, California: CSLI Publications, 1996.

Since I have not done any oppressing, and have not taken anything from anyone
(why are they oppressing me thus?),

where *dān ... harmi* "straddles" *kuedanikki kuitki*.

10. Note that in the first clause of the Maṣat letter the (wh-)conjunction *kuit* follows two accented elements, itself a rarity: both the emphatic subject pronoun *ammuk* and object *UL kuitki* have been fronted to TOP(icalization slot). The same is found in a parable in the Hurrian-Middle Hittite bilingual, KBo 32.14 ii 53-4: *kuwat=wa URUDU-an kuin lāhun nu=wa=mu appa hūzakizi* 'Why is the copper which I cast cursing me back?' The interrogative is extracted from the "downstairs" matrix-clause and fronted to the "upstairs" relative clause, thus with two topicalized elements, *kuwat=wa* and *URUDU-an*.

11. UGULA NIMGIR.ERÍN.MEŠ 'Army Inspector General'

12. Instructions for the *bel madgalti*, CTH 261, a likewise Middle Hittite composition. F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Il Vincolo per i governanti di provincia* 176-9 (her sigla B: KUB 13.2 [MH/NS]; A: KUB 13.1 [MH/MS]; L: KUB 13.24 [MH/NS]). B alone offers a complete text, but L and the older A can be restored to an almost identical text. B iv 13-17:

[m]aniyahhiya=ta=kkan kue E.GAL-LIMHI.A-TIM? E.HI.A BELUTI- ya

(A: É.HI.A BELUTIM É.GAL-LIM; L: Éha]lentuwa=ya=ta=kkan É.GAL.HI[A)

[and]a n=asta EGIR-an arha punuski [A: para. line] nassu dammishān

kuiski kuitki harzi nasma=za dān kuiski kuitki harzi

nasma=za happiran kuiski kuitki harzi nasma

ÉSAG kuiski [A adds ZI-it] kinuwan [A: kīnuan] harzi ...

"The palaces and residences which are in your jurisdiction
investigate thoroughly. (If) someone either has done any oppressing,
or has taken something for himself, or has sold something for himself,
or has [A: intentionally] broken open a granary ..."

13. If we didn't have *alati awinta Wilusati* "they came from steep Wilusa" in the
Cuneiform Luvian *Istanuwa* songs we would not have predicted the grammaticality of
distraction of Adjective plus Noun around the finite verb, a figure of Indo-European
poetic grammar.

14. _____

14 But if a male child or a female child becomes

15 a god, and if he/she is already grown,

16 they set up for him/her all

17 the figurines. There is no wood.

18 And until the image has remained for 4

19 days they continue taking for sacrifice

20 every day the following:

21 1 sheep to the Sun goddess of the Netherworld, 1 sheep to the Sun god of
Heaven,

- 22 1 sheep to the grandfathers and grandmothers, but they sacrifice 1 ox,
23 either a fatted ox or (?) a fatted sheep to the soul of the dead person,
24 and 1 sheep to the Favorable Day.