Contacts in Pre-Hellenistic Anatolia and Ancient Near East:
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Book of abstracts

Ignasi-Xavier Adiego Lajara

Luwian Tarhunazzas, Cilician Τροκοναζας and other related Luwic names

This paper addresses the Luwic name *Tarhunazzas,* attested both in Hieroglyphic Luwian and, many centuries later, in two Greek inscriptions from Cilicia (as Τροκοναζας, Τρικοναζας). An interpretation of the name as a *Satzname,* coming from a Vocative + Imperative structure, will be suggested, exploring some consequences of this proposal, with particular reference to the possible existence of other Luwic imperative *Satznamen* (following a way opened by I. Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics of the Luvian language,* Leiden-Boston, 2009, p. 92, n. 20) and to the analysis of the *Kurzformen* of the name *Tarhunt-* that appear in Luwic anthroponymy.

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Juan Antonio Álvarez-Pedrosa

Iranian Re-reading of a Greek text: The Delphic Maxims of Ai Khanum

The purpose of this paper is to understand why an inscription containing five Delphic Maxims was placed in a very symbolic place in the city of Ai Khanum, specifically, in the funerary chapel of Cineas, the founder of the city. The Delphic Maxims come from the very religious center of Greece and are a Greek cultural and identity element of the highest level. The question I raise is that just five Maxims have been selected that are consistent with a lively cultural aspect in the Iranian tradition, the education of the ideal aristocratic individual. On the other hand, the interest of several Greek philosophical schools for Eastern wisdom has been known to us since the Achaemenid period. My proposal is that the inscription I will study reflects a way of addressing a population of Greek-Iranian dual culture, understanding that dual culture does not mean mixed. The place chosen expresses a great cultural respect of the Greek segment of the population with regard to the Iranian one.

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Anna Bauer

Loanwords in Hieroglyphic Luwian

It is a matter of common knowledge that the Anatolian languages borrowed words from each other and also incorporated loanwords from many non-Indo-European languages from the region (and vice versa), first and foremost from those playing important roles in the spheres of trade and culture. A host of studies have addressed this issue for various languages and periods, more recently e.g. Dercksen 2007 on Anatolian words borrowed into Akkadian, and Goedegebuure 2008 on the loans between Hittite, Luwian, and Hattian in the second millennium BCE. However, the smaller corpus languages of Anatolia in particular are still underexplored in this respect.

Thus, the Hieroglyphic Luwian lexicon has been investigated for loanwords only superficially so far, although scholars have made comments on various possible borrowings, see e.g. Hawkins 2000: 349 on Akkadian *ša rēši*, which gave rise to HLuwian /sariyas(i)-/ 'eunuch', and Giusfredi 2012, who collects and treats several known and some new loans from Akkadian and Urartian into HLuwian. Still, considering the scrope of linguistic and cultural interaction, it stands to reason that the HLuwian lexicon contains more such words, perhaps even many more, and the systematic lexicographic investigation in the course of the EDIANA dictionary project (U Marburg, LMU Munich) has facilitated the identification of loans from several languages. The present paper will discuss a number of recent finds, among them the nouns /mizinalla-/ and /katrihhi-/, both of which were previously without semantic interpretation.

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Michele Bianconi

The etymology of Gerga and the Carian word for 'white'

In this paper, I propose a new etymology for the toponym Γέργα, the name of a sanctuary in Caria. I argue that Γέργα is the Greek adaptation of a Carian place name going back to the Anatolian lexeme for 'white' (cf. Hittite *ḫarki-*), and that this etymology finds independent support in a much-debated Herodotean passage. This gives us the chance to reconstruct a hitherto unattested Carian lexeme, to isolate a specific sound change, and to reflect upon the Greek adaptation of Anatolian names.

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Birgit Christiansen

Why do they differ? A reinvestigation into the production of Hittite ritual texts

In the past two decades, several studies have been centered on the "*Sitz im Leben*" of Hittite ritual texts. While the focus of research previously was on their content and thus the underlying rituals, attention has now turned to text production and the relationship between ritual practice and the written records. Particular interest was given to the differences between the various manuscripts of ritual texts and their reasons. Three models of text production were discussed: 1) copying from a written source with varying degrees of editing; 2) writing by dictation; 3) recording by memorization.

Although research has made great progress, many questions remain unanswered so far. A crucial reason for this is that studies to date have confined themselves largely to the evidence within the ritual texts, disregarding information from other textual genres.

Another shortcoming is that the hypotheses of former studies (esp. the ones by Miller 2004 and Christiansen 2006) have often been misconceived or distorted in later research. The paper will therefore revisit the key models and discuss their strengths and weaknesses. In addition, the production of Hittite ritual texts will be examined from a broader perspective, drawing on evidence from other textual genres such as oracular and festival texts, and prayers. Based on this approach, it will be argued that discrepancies between manuscripts are in many cases not due to errors in memorization, as has been claimed by Marcuson & van den Hout 2015. Instead, the findings suggest that the modifications were often intended by the scholars and practitioners.

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Paola Cotticelli-Kurras

Linguistic and extra-linguistic taxonomies as mirror of knowledge in Ancient Indo-European cultures: the case of the Hittites

The paper deals with different forms of catalogues and taxonomies generally taken from different textual genres (myths, rituals, purifications, laws, prayers), with particular reference to the structure of specific rhetorical figures, metaphors and, again, to lexical fields, aiming at collecting new material and analyse the underlying cosmological and cosmogonic conceptions of the Hittite culture. Further, we'll try to compare the collected materials, as well their collocations, semantic fields, usages and degrees of phraseological consistency with the corresponding structures from other Indo-European traditions (Greek, Indo-Iranian, Latin e.g.), aiming at reconstructing relicts and testimonies of the Ancient common Indo-European culture based on the textual evidence.

Paola Dardano

Accusative of respect in Homeric Greek: an areal feature?

One of the most famous features of Homeric Greek is the use of a construction including an intransitive predicate and a noun in the accusative case that restricts the force of the predicate to a part or attribute of the subject. This accusative is mainly used to express an inalienable possession as is the case with body parts:

ὃ δὲ **φρένα** τέρπετ᾽ ἀκούων. (Il. 1.474)
"and his heart was glad, as he heard"

The accusative of respect may have originated in the double accusative construction of the whole and the part (σχῆμα καθ᾽ ὅλον καὶ μέρος). When the double accusative construction undergoes passivization, the whole (the person) becomes the subject, while the part (the body part) remains in the accusative, producing the accusative of respect. Once the category was established, it was extended beyond the passive construction and it was added also to adjectives.
In Homer the double accusative construction of the whole and the part is limited to inalienable possession (mostly body parts):

Τρῶας δ᾽ ἄχος ἔλλαβε **θυμόν.** (Il. 14.475)
"and sorrow seized the hearts of the Trojans"

Also in Hittite the accusative of respect arises through the passivization of the double accusative construction and occurs with predicates denoting a state or a change of state (middle verbs, participles and adjectives):

VBoT 24 III 11-13
11   *namma ANA* UDU^HI.A *ištarna paimi nu=kan kui*[*š*]
12   ^UDU*iyanza* **IGI^[ḪI].A-*wa*** ^dUTU-*i* <u>*neanza*</u>
13   *nu=šši=kan* ^SÍG*ḫuttulli ḫūittiyami*
 "Then I go among the sheep and I pluck a tuft of wool from what sheep is turned with its eyes toward the sun"

The construction with the accusative of respect NOM. *šakuwa nai-* (middle) 'to be turned as far as the eyes' can be compared with the double accusative construction ACC. *šakuwa nai-* (active) 'to turn someone, (his) eyes':

KUB 23.72 rev. 62
[*n=**an**=kan* **IGI]^ḪI.A-*ŠU*** ḪUR.SAG-*i le* <u>*naištani*</u>
"Do no turn his eyes to the mountain!"

Based on the evidence of Hittite, Luvian and Homeric Greek, the aim of this paper is to suggest that that the accusative of respect was an areal feature of some languages spoken in the area of eastern Anatolia in the second and first millenia B.C.E.

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José Virgilio García Trabazo

Über den Fluch auf KARKAMIŠ A6 § 31: Die Gottheit Nik(k)arawa *und die Lektüre von hluw.* ARHA *EDERE*

KARKAKMIŠ A6 § 31 lautet: *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* 'but afterwards may Nikarawa's dogs eat up his head!' (vgl. Hawkins 2000: 125). Der Name *Nik(k)arawa* (vgl. auch *Nik(k)aruha* in BULGARMADEN § 16) wurde von Gelb (1938) mit der Mesopotamischen Göttin *Ninkarrak* identifiziert, und vor kurzem von Hutter-Braunsar (2020) als eine 'alte syrische Gottheit' beschrieben, dessen Name z.B. in der Kuttamuwa-Stele belegt ist. Ein Vergleich mit dem idg. Dichter- und Sakralkontext (siehe Calin 2017: 130) würde, trotzdem, Raum für eine idg. Deutung des Theonyms lassen. Nicht nur die Erwähnung der 'Hunde' und der 'Köpfe' (vgl. gr. Κέρβερος und seine drei Köpfe, lat. *canem tricepitem* CIL I2 2520.12f.) sondern die Alliteration der Gutturale würden eine Rolle im Fluch spielen. Am altnord. *Skirnismál* (11-12) liest man: "Skirnir rode to Jötunheim until he reached Gymir's enclosed yard (*til **G**ymis**g**arða*). There he found furious hounds (*hundar*)... and said... 'how shall I pass before Gymir's dogs (*fyr **g**reyjum **G**ymis*)'". Wenn man aber daran denkt, daß im heth. das Verb *ed-ᶻⁱ / ad-* 'essen' das normale bei Menschen od. Götter ist, aber *karāp-ⁱ / kare/ip-* "has as natural subjects wolf, dog, horse, ruinous insect(s) or demonic deity" (Puhvel HED 4: 73), dann wird es vorstellbar, das Verb *ARHA* EDERE in KARKAMIŠ A6 § 31 als ein luw. Pendant des Verbs auf KBo 14.98 i 13: [*n*]*a-aš-ma-at-ta* UR.GI₇ GE₆ *ga-ra-a-pí* 'but the black dog shall devour you!' zu lesen, also *(ahha*?) + *karāp-ⁱ / kare/ip-* 'fressen, verzehren' (< idg. *$*g^h róbh_1-$* / *$*g^h r̥bh_1-$* 'ergreifen' nach Kloekhorst, *EDHIL* 442). Damit würde die hypothetische Alliteration restauriert (etwa *Ni**kar**(a)was zuwāninzi ... ahha ***karibandu*). Wenn die Konstellation ererbt wäre (mit *$*g^h r̥-$* quasi als *figura etymologica*) hätten wir auch ein Stützpunkt um eine (rein hypothetische) idg. Etymologie des Namens *Nikar(a)wa* als Unterweltsgottheit zu riskieren: etwa *$*ni-g^h r̥-u̯ó-$* 'die (Gottheit) des Nieder- oder Hinab- (*$*ní$*) -greifens (*$*g^h or-$* / *$*g^h r̥-$*)', zu vergleichen mit 'Fechten, Zaun, Gehege', idg. *$*g^h ór-d^h o-$* / *$*g^h r̥-tó-$*, gerade der Ursprung des anord. *-garða*.

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Federico Giusfredi

Some observations on the so-called 'Boğazköy Akkadian'

The studies on the Akkadian of Boğazköy began only a few years after the attention of the scholars was first drawn to the existence of the first "peripheral" Akkadian archives (such as those from Nuzi and Ugarit, and before those of Mari and Alalakh were discovered). R. Labat (1932) famously devoted his doctoral dissertation to the Akkadian texts coming from the Hittite archives, as did J.W. Durham almost half a century later (1976). While works were written on several specific topics and aspects, Durham's thesis is the last publicly available systematic effort to assess the general features and status of the Akkadian language in the Hittite world.

In this presentation, I will offer some preliminary observations deriving from the work performed on the Akkadian of Bronze Age Anatolia by the project PALaC, that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement n° 757299).

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Robert Hawley

The place of Ugaritic lyric and epic song in the context of other Eastern Mediterranean lyric and epic traditions

The half-millennium spanning the end of the Late Bronze age and the beginning of the Iron age is now generally recognized as a crucial period of intense and sustained cultural contacts and exchanges between various populations in the Eastern Mediterranean: Myceneans and proto-Greek "Aḫḫiyawans" ("Achaeans") of the Aegean world, Hittites and other groups in Anatolia, Hurrian-speaking populations and cultural tradition in northern Syro-Mesopotamia, West Semitic speakers on the coast, Egyptian traditions in the south, age-old Babylonian literary tradition cultivated artificially in scholastic contexts, the nascent military and cultural presence of the Assyrian kings, etc., etc.

One particularly exciting window for studying and evaluating such a diverse and complex network of contacts may be found in that particular literary genre that might be usefully labelled "lyric and epic song". The comparative study of this literary genre in the Late Bronze Age has intensified over the last decade, and the time seems now right for a sober evaluation of the advances in our understanding made thus far, alongside a survey of those problems which still persist. This paper approaches these questions through the particular prism of the Ugaritic mythological corpus, with particular attention to innovative aspects to be found therein.

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Laura Massetti

'Hermes Has Joined the Company': On the Tracks of Divine Messengers in Greece, Anatolia, Indo-European

Among the Greek gods Hermes holds a very special position: He is the messenger of the immortals, but is allowed to cross the inaccessible realm of the dead; he is the thieves' patron and the best helper of mortal men. These and many other contradictory characteristics have long puzzled historians of religion, who have been swinging between naturalistic and structuralistic/functional interpretations of this deity. Jean-Pierre Vernant (1963) interpreted him as the movable god par excellence. Differently, Walter Burkert (1977) considered him the god of "boundaries and transgression of boundaries" (p. 244). More recently, Michael Janda (2005:19–127) has proposed to interpret him as the god of '(magic) binding', whereas Allen & Woodard (2013) argued for an overlap with the Sanskrit Wind-geniuses Gandharvas.

I claim that, like many other Greek gods, Hermes has a complex, syncretic nature. Several features of different origin *layered up* and merged in this divine figure. Indeed, some of his prerogatives can be considered as aspects, which developed within a Greek state of affairs; others may be regarded as being inherited from the Indo-European tradition. Finally, a part of Hermes's divine attributes might have been borrowed in Greece from a neighbor tradition. A comparative standpoint may be extremely profitable to locate Hermes's strata and clear up how they came to blend.

Here, I make the case that the comparative analysis allows us to identify at least two 'layers' of Hermes's divine personality: **(a) the 'fire-layer'** and **(b) the 'wind-layer.**' More specifically, I will try to show that

(a) **Hermes's fire-layer** may be recognized as an Indo-European inheritance (cf. Hocart 1936, van Berg 2001, Massetti 2019). As the comparison between Hermes and Agni makes evident, the Graeco-Aryan fire-god was both a guest-master and the god, who crossed the boundaries of the netherworld, cf. *Rigveda* 10.16.9ab *kravyā́dam agním prá hiṇomi dūrám, yamárājño gachatu* "flesh-eating Agni I send off in the distance. let him go to those who have Yama as king" (Jamison & Brereton 2014); εἰς Ἀΐδην τετελεσμένον ἄγγελον "(Hermes:) the appointed messenger to Hades" (HH. 4.572).

(b) **Hermes's wind-layer** should not be necessarily considered as an Indo-European heritage. It may have been borrowed from a neighbor tradition, which is likely to be identified as the

Anatolian one. As pointed out by Paola Dardano (2012), the literary and iconographic attributes of Greek divine messengers match those of the Anatolian gods, who undertake the role of divine messengers by putting the 'winds as their shoes', e.g.

KUB 17.7 + 33.93 + 33.95 + 33.96 + 36.7a + 36.7b III 40–44 (CTH 345.I.1.A)

40´ **ŠU- za** ^{GIŠ}**GIDRU-*an da-a I*[*-N*]*A* [GÌR^{MEŠ}*-K*]*A! -ma-za* ^{KUŠ}**E.SIR**$^{ḪI.A}$***-uš li-li-u̯a-an-du-uš***

41´ IM^{MEŠ}*-uš šar-ku*[*-i nu*] ^{D}*Ir-ši-ir-ra-aš* GAM*-an i-it*

42´ *nu ki-i da-aš-ša*[*-u-u̯a*] INIM^{MEŠ}*-ar* ^{D}*Ir-ši-ra-aš pí-ra-an me-mi*

"**Prendi con la mano il bastone, indossa sui tuoi piedi come calzari i venti veloci**, va giù dagli dei Irširra e pronuncia queste parole forti davanti agli dei Irširra" (trans. P. Dardano)

In this regard, I will make the case that Hermes's winged shoes are not an 'exclusive' prerogative of the god. Conversely, a survey of the iconographical and literary evidence will make clear that the 'winged shoes' originally belonged to all Greek gods and geniuses, who were imagined to be *swift like the winds*.

The ultimate task of the paper is thus to try to reconstruct the merging process, which gave shape to Hermes's divine personality.

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Stella Merlin & Valerio Pisaniello

How to cope with loanwords in the ancient Anatolia

Borrowing processes always involve some strategies of adaptation, more or less intentional and evident in the linguistic output. In fact, different loanwords show different degrees of adaptation that should be observed and analysed at different levels of linguistic analysis.

On the one hand, there is the phonological adaptation, interwoven with the morphological integration into the linguistic system of the target language; on the other hand, the integration into the lexicon is also important, which concerns the production of derivatives through the word-formation rules of the target language.

Such an issue has been addressed through various theoretical approaches (e.g. Weinreich 1953, Gusmani 1986, Thomason / Kaufmann 1988, Cotticelli Kurras 2007, Matras 2009), starting from different general assumptions and using different terminologies in describing particular linguistic facts.

In this paper we will consider the phenomena of loanwords and borrowings from the point of view of the general linguistics: we will first discuss on the criteria according to which a loanword can be identified; secondly, we will try to establish which parameters should be considered as relevant for establishing a classification of loanwords that can also fit with corpus languages, exemplifying some remarkable cases from the languages of the ancient Mediterranean and Near East, particularly those interacting with each other in the ancient Anatolia during the 2nd and 1st millennium BC.

Furthermore, some metalinguistic points will be also analysed, such as the meaning of "integration" and "adaptation".

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Alice Mouton

Tunnawiya vs. Kuwattalla: Similarities and Differences between the Two Groups of Hittite-Luwian Ritual Texts

Since Emmanuel Laroche's observations in 1955 ("Études de vocabulaire V", *RHA* XIII/57, 78-81), the ritual texts of Tunnawiya (CTH 409) and those of Kuwattalla (CTH 759-762) have been compared for their closely resembling Luwian/Hittite incantations (see, for instance, Marcuson, *'Word of the Old Woman': Studies in Female Ritual Practice in Hittite Anatolia*, doctoral dissertation of Chicago University, 2016, 299ff.). Among other things, it will be argued that both ritual traditions probably come from the Luwian Lower Land (southern part of the Central Anatolian Plateau), although scholar-scribes might have intervened here and there on the content of the texts. The connection between Tunnawiya's rituals and the Lower Land has already been analyzed by A. Mouton in 2015 ("Les rituels de la Vieille Femme Tunnawiya: témoignages du Bas Pays hittite?", in: D. Beyer, O. Henry and A. Tibet (eds), *La Cappadoce méridionale de la préhistoire à la période byzantine*, 3ᵉ Rencontres d'Archéologie de l'IFEA, IFEA, Istanbul, 79-89). The proposed paper will examine in detail the incantations contained both in the ritual texts of Tunnawiya and in those of Kuwattalla, as well as the ritual acts accompanying them. Through the study of these passages, it will be argued that Kuwattalla's ritual texts first reflected the same ritual tradition as those of Tunnawiya before undergoing a certain "Hurrianization".

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Bartomeu Obrador Cursach

Hypotheses of interference between Greek and the languages of Ancient Anatolia: the case of patronymics.

After offering an overview of how the different languages attested in Anatolia during the Iron Age express the patronymics, the communication explores the alleged interferences among the strategies found in these languages. A special focus is put on the possible interactions between Greek and the Anatolian languages in the use of the genitive patronymics with or without a noun for 'son' or 'daughter' (following prior studies by Merlin and Pisaniello 2019 and Rutherford 2002) and on the claimed Lydian origin for Greek patronymics in -ίδας / -ίδης (Dardano 2011), for which an inner-Greek development is suggested after considering relevant data from Phrygian. All in all, very few interactions are sustained as being valid.

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Elisabeth Rieken

Luwian /w/ and <p>: Second Thoughts

Starting from a paper by Günter Neumann (Berlin 1997), in which he suggested a South Anatolian change -w- > -p-, several new etymologies will be suggested and old ones re-examined, i.e. for ḫašnupalla-, kadupa(i)-, kašdupa(i)-, wizzapant-, walip-, Ḫupišna- and ulipna-. Finally, an attempt is made at contextualizing the putative sound change within the geographic and dialectal map of Ancient Anatolia. Specifically, the question is asked whether the change under discussion is due to phonetic interference with Palaic, Hattian, or Luwian.

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Velizar Sadovski

Ontologies and taxonomies in lists and catalogues in Indo-European text traditions from the Aegeo-Anatolian up to the Indo-Iranian language domains

This talk consists of three major sections. After a short introduction about aspects of visualization in sacred poetry and cosmology and the specific value of the poetic lists, catalogues and taxonomies as cognitive and literary structures attested in cultures of the Ancient Near East – Sumeric, Eblaite, Babylonian, Aramaic, Hebrew –, Part I of the paper deals with ritual taxonomies as basic form in various Indo-European traditions of religious poetry and pragmatics. The analysis will start from theogony and cosmogony, with the so-called 'creation lists' as poetical (meta-)forms of classification and systematic (re)presentation of the Universe by ekphrasis of the various sacred components of macrocosm, to go then through genealogical lists as mytho-poetical pattern of vertical, cause-oriented, 'etymo-logical' presentation of theological ideas and cosmological processes; via catalogues of divine epithets and/or lists of hypostatic appearances ('avatars') as forms of ekphrasis of unity-in-diversity of the deity concerned, to continue with ritual as mediator between god and humans – on the example of various forms of poetic visualization in the genre of 'body-part lists' (both in ritual descriptions of a deity and in rites of body-part-by-body-part cursing, blessing or healing) –, and to end up with the social and anthropological dimensions of micro-cosm. The discussion of examples of such textual structures of Ancient Greek, Anatolian, Armenian and Indo-Iranian (Vedic, Avestan, even Old Persian) origin will provide a unique insight in the system of values of poets and priests of different ancient Indo-European traditions. The relevant excerpts are taken from texts of medical rituals, rites of divination, magic spells and further specific genres of ritual poetry, performative speech acts which are believed to have the force – by means of pronunciation of litanic mantras and of fulfilling lit-urgic activities according to ritually established rules of right-thinking-talking-and-doing –, to exercise a demiurgic, (re)creative influence on the Universe.

The second part of the talk presents such ritual litanies in the languages in question from basic to increasingly complex structures – cosmological taxonomies in myth and ritual as 'hyper-linked' catalogues of universe. The analysis of textual structures runs in correspondence with the research interests of the PALaC research team. Some of the hermeneutic keys to the understanding of such complex taxonomic systems are exemplified on the material of ritually evoked lists of cosmological concepts linked to procedures of ritual modification (purification) of the macro- and microcosm by means of sacred words. The third section introduces some new parallels of multi-partite litanies from India up to the Mediterranean that have a good chance to go back to inherited Indo-European genre forms characterized by establishing a cultic link between groups of macro- and microcosmical elements and by explicit 'ritual articulation' of time and space (ritual topography and chronology): It is illustrated by sacrificial formulae of the concluding part of liturgies and sacrificial litanies and structurally (and even largely lexically!) parallel rituals, intertextual links between hymns-and-practices that have not been described so far.

☐

Diether Schürr

Von Naram-Sin bis Erbbina: Ein altakkadischer Topos und seine Wandlungen im Laufe der Zeiten

Boasting with so and so many warlike deeds in one year is first attested in inscriptions of Naram-Sin, inaugurating a mainly Mesopotamian tradition, but recurring in the trilingual inscriptions of Darius I. at Bisitun too. In an Old Hittite tale there is some sort of a female counterpart: The queen of Zalpa gives birth to 30 sons in one year. Much later also an Urartian king uses the warlike topos, and the more or less contemporary new Late Luwian inscription of ‚Hartapus' has it almost certainly too. A similar topos – not treated here – are deeds in one day, mainly attested before 2000 BC and later in Urartu. Last came two Greek examples in Lycia, deeds in one day and in one month, most probably triggered by the example of Darius. Treated are also a few pictorial representations from Anubanini around 2000 BC to the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos in the late 5th century BC.

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Matilde Serangeli

Contact and Innovation in the Ancient Mediterranean: The Double-Headed Eagle and Aeschylus' Agamemnon

The Mesopotamian image of the double-headed eagle or bird of prey as a symbol of divine power reached Anatolia possibly through Assyria (Bittel et al. 1941: 126, Alexander 1989: 157).

It is well-known that this image has been re-analyzed within the Anatolian tradition so that two new aspects may be identified:

1. The double-headed eagle is mostly found either supporting deities and the royal couple and/or grasping two dead hares or snakes in its talons (Canby 1972-1975: 131); see Hitt. *tapakaliya-* 'hare-grabbing' (hapax, CHT 457.6, 16, NH copy of an OH text) said of an eagle (Katz 2001). A famous example of double-headed eagle with a neckband and grasping two hares in its talons while supporting the royal (or divine) couple is to find on the Alaça Hüyük Gate (ca. 14th cent. BC). This innovated image may reflect the practice of falconry that was known in Anatolia but not in Mesopotamia (Canby 2002, pace Reiter 1988).

2. The double-headed eagle may be interpreted as a symbol of not only the king but the royal couple, which is seen as a unity formed by the queen and the king, as testified by the Ritual of the Royal Couple (CTH 416), in which the joint actions of the couple are expressed by a verb in the singular (Otten - Souček 1969: 26–31, 106).

It may be argued that this image reached Greece from Anatolia in pre-Classical times. It underwent a process of reshaping which is later visible in Aeschylus (*Ag.* 40–138) and possibly in Pindar (*Ol.* 13,21). In this talk I will show how Aeschylus' rendering of the figures of the two kings Agamemnon and Menelaos may have taken inspiration from the Anatolian image of the double-headed eagle. Innovative Aeschylean elements will be addressed too, as for example the double kinship of Agamemnon and Menelaos and the role of Artemis, who plans revenge for the hares killed by the two eagles.

The analysis of these elements from the Mesopotamian, Anatolian, and Greek traditions will help elucidate the complex chain of contact phenomena and re-elaboration process that revolve around the figure of the double-headed eagle in the ancient Mediterranean.

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Zsolt Simon

Hittite and Luwian loanwords in Armenian: an Update

Simon 2013 provided a critical overview of the long-standing problem of Hittite and Luwian loanwords in Armenian. I concluded that contrary to earlier assumptions their number is extremely few (three or four) and they are all Luwian. In a follow-up paper H. Martirosyan (2017) argued for the validity of two of the rejected etymologies and suggested some further loanwords. He concluded that Armenian has not only Luwian but also Hittite loanwords.

The first part of this talk provides a critical assessment of these proposals. It will be argued that these etymologies (*akaws* 'furrow' from Hitt. *akkušša-* 'pit-trap'; *astowac* 'god' from **Aššu-Tiwaz* 'good Sun-god/day/dawn/deity/lord [sic]'; *hasteay* 'a kind of pastry' from Hitt. *ḫaz(z)ita-* 'a kind of cake' [sic, *recte ḫazizit-*]; *hazar* 'lettuce' from Hitt. *ḫašuššarā-* 'a garden vegetable'; *karž* 'skein' from Hitt. *karzan-* 'spool'; *kaši* 'skin, hide' from Hitt. *kurša-*; as well as Martirosyan's attempt to save the etymology of *šełj* 'heap (of corn, etc.)' from Hitt. *šēli-* 'heap of grain') are formally not possible or at least problematic (*lełi* 'gall' from Hitt. *liššiyala-* 'pertaining to liver' and *targal* 'spoon' from Hittite *tarwāli-* 'pestle *vel sim.*'). Nevertheless, Martirosyan's phonologically renewed derivation of the personal name *Mušeł* from *Muršiliš* is convincing. This does not prove, however, the presence of Hittite loans in Armenian, since a Luwian transmission cannot be excluded: the name Muršiliš is attested in the Iron Age, too.

The second part of the talk will be devoted to the analysis of Housepian 2017: 119-320, who also provided a detailed overview of the history of the research of Hittite and Luwian loanwords in Armenian. While she maintained some of the proposals rightly refuted in the earlier research, she revived a couple of suggestions published previously only in Armenian and Russian and thus, not analysed in Western scholarship until now. It will be argued that also these proposals can be excluded since, setting aside the demonstrably inherited words, they are phonologically impossible or at least semantically dubious.

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Oğuz Soysal

Ein religiöses Motto und seine übermittlung zwischen zwei Sprachen Altanatoliens

Die Textgruppe des „*bilingualen Rituals der Tempel- oder Palasterrichtung* (CTH 726)", die auch eine der wichtigsten Quellen für die Entzifferung des Hattischen darstellt, wurde durch die neuen mittelhethitischen Exemplare aus Ortaköy/Šapinuwa inhaltlich erweitert. Obwohl die

mythologische Erzählung zwischen den Paragraphen 2 und 9 im Haupttext KBo 37.1 aus Boğazköy die Bautätigkeiten des Sonnengottes für seinen Tempel in der Stadt Laḫzan/Liḫzina behandelt, ist das Hauptthema der Gesamtkomposition eigentlich der Tempel des Sonnengottes in Ḫattuša, wie aus den Angaben im Paragraphen 10 eindeutig hervorgeht. Um das Konzept von CTH 726 besser zu verstehen und die Leitgedanken in der Erzählung zu bestimmen, besteht der erste Schritt darin, die Textpassagen mit diversen Charakterzügen (mythologisch, zeremoniell, magisch und sogar historisch) voneinander klar zu trennen und deuten. Zwei hattische Passagen sollen mittels einiger nicht immer vollständiger, aber doch prägnanter Sätze den Schlüssel zum Verständnis der Hauptidee dieser Komposition bieten, obwohl diese bei den Lesern zunächst unauffällig wirken. In den Paragraphen 4 und 8 werden im Zusammenhang mit dem Gott Ḫašamil(i) und dann der Zaubergöttin Kataḫzipuri/Kamrušepa vergleichend von einigen Taten der Sterblichen und der Götter erzählt, die in der *Wir*-Form gestaltet sind. Zwei einfache hattische Sätze in beiden Paragraphen, die trotz geringfügiger Unterschiede bei den Prädikatsformen parallel verlaufen, haben schwer verständliche Entsprechungen bzw. freie übersetzungen im hethitischen Text. Die betreffenden zwei hattischen Sätze lauten schlicht "*Wir* (= *die Menschen*) *machen es, die Götter haben es gemacht*", das man auf verschiedene Weise modifizieren kann, um dem Kontext eine Klarheit zu verleihen, wie etwa: "*Wir machen es*, (*weil / wie*) *die Götter es machten*", oder "*Was wir jetzt machen, pflegten damals die Götter zu machen*". Es wäre nicht abwegig zu vermuten, dass diese Sätze das eigentliche Motto der Komposition von CTH 726 wiedergeben. In diesem Sinne ist die folgende Aussage aus dem Mund von Menschen in einer anderen Bauritualkomposition zur Grundsteinlegung neuer Tempel oder Häuser (CTH 413.1) vom Belang, da sie die traditionelle Beziehung zwischen Sterblichen und Göttern um die "Tempelbauaktivitäten" aufzeigt: "*Wir* (= *die Menschen*) *haben ihn* (= *den Tempel*) *nicht gebaut*, (*sondern*) *alle Götter haben ihn gebaut* (KUB 2.2 I 35'-37'// KBo 4.1 Vs. 29-30).

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Giulia Torri

On analogic similes in Hittite texts

In my presentation I am going to analyze the use of similes, their formal features, and their metaphoric value in the Hittite magical rituals, as well as compare them with the ones inserted in other texts, like prayers and political treaties. Such formulas are believed to be the relic of an oral continuum which spread through Anatolia among the local communities and was at some stage adopted in magical texts. They certainly represent cultural layers reworked in written standardized forms. However I am also going to look at the other side of the process: By studying the occurrence of similar or different analogic concepts within texts of various genres, I will try to explain how the composition of written texts contributed to the creation of a common culture in Anatolia.

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Lorenzo Verderame

The socio-cultural dimension of the Assyrian-Babylonian contact

The relationship between Assyrian and Babylonian is complicated in nature. Considering that both are related and have been classified as Akkadian dialects, and bearing in mind the fact that "Akkadian" is a general term that groups together the Mesopotamian / East Semitic languages, the relationship between the two languages along two millennia goes beyond the linguistic contact and involves political, religious, and socio-cultural aspects. In this paper I aim at offering a general overview on non-linguistic aspects of language contact, starting from the earliest epigraphic evidence from third millennium North Mesopotamia to the first millennium so-called "Library" of Assurbanipal.

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Maurizio Viano

Babylonian hermeneutics and Early Greek Thought

Babylonian hermeneutics has been the subject of several studies in recent years (Frahm, Rochberg, Crisostomo, van de Mieroop) that have showed that speculative thought exploited the potentiality of the cuneiform system through analogical reasoning in order to find and create new meanings according to phonetic, semantic and graphic similarities. Analogical hermeneutics was prompted by the polysemic and homophonic nature of cuneiform writing and was intended as an inquiry into the cuneiform system itself. Analogical reasoning is also well known in ancient Greece particularly in Heraclitus producing semantic proliferation and ambiguity. A comparison between Mesopotamian and Greek sources shows that Heraclitus' fragments share with cuneiform scholarship a similar epistemic reasoning based on analogy.

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Livio Warbinek

A Comparison among KIN Oracles: The Transmission and the Reception of a Hittite Divination System from the Centre to the Periphery

The aim of this study is to compare some features of the Hittite KIN oracle texts. The KIN oracle was a symbolic divination technique developed only in the Hittite cultural milieu. The oracular investigation was based on symbolic operations which were dependent upon the grammatical positions of the oracular symbols.
According to the epigraphic sources found in Ḫattuša/Boğazköy (the capital city of the Hittite kingdom in the central Anatolian Plateau between 16th and 13th century BCE), Šamuḫa/Kayalıpınar (a cultic city east of Ḫattuša) and Alalaḫ/Tell Açana (an important Syrian centre on the Orontes River), it is possible to analyse the convergence, interference or divergence of the same Hittite divination system performed in different contexts.

The fields of research may concern different elements both on the macro-level (comparison among divine, local and proper names), and on the micro-level (comparison among the KIN oracles with reference to their languages and structures). All of these analyses may shed further light both on the way to perform the KIN between central Anatolia and its neighbouring areas.

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Mark Weeden

Historical narratives in Royal inscriptions from Babylon to Hattusa

A major genre innovation of Hittite literature is the military campaign narrative in annalistic style. Since Güterbock it has been thought that the primary break with Syro-Babylonian narrative traditions achieved by Hattusili I could be identified as the departure from the framework form of the building inscription, into which historical narrative was inserted. The annalistic narrative style that develops in Assyria during the second half of the 2nd millennium BC could theoretically also be seen as coming under influence of Hittite forerunners, although this is a hypothesis that is rarely articulated. The converse influence of Assyrian annalistic style in the context of a building text on at least one hieroglyphic narrative composition (the SÜDBURG inscription) has been posited, and advances in the progressive publication of the NIŞANTAŞ inscription further complicate the account. Furthermore, recent years have seen the publication of a number of texts which challenge the regular assumptions about the genre expectations of narrative in Old Babylonian inscriptions, in particular the statue-inscription of Samsuiluna. There is thus a need for a re-evaluation of the relationships between all these types of texts during the 2nd millennium BC. Although an intensive project would be needed to give an effective insight into these intersecting networks of narrative practice, the current contribution will offer some initial observations from someone who works with Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite and Luwian texts.

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Ilya Yakubovich

Structural Coherence of the Kuwattalla tradition

According to the reconstruction of Starke 1985, the Hittite-Luwian fragments belonging to the Kuwattalla tradition (CTH 759-763) should be subdivided into three rituals corresponding to three distinct performances, namely the Great Ritual, the *dupaduparša*-ritual, and the "third ritual". Yet the majority of those fragments share a number of peculiarities, namely the restricted circle of the assumed authors (Kuwattalla and Šilalluhi), the same performer (MUNUSŠU.GI), the same triad of the principal targeted malign phenomena (namely, /tabaru-/ tentatively translated as 'judgment', /tadariyamman-/ 'curse' and /hiru(n/d)-/ 'perjury'), and a number of formulaic expressions. In addition, a number of recent joins falsified some of Starke's claims, pleading for the connection between fragments that have been attributed to different rituals. Recently, Hutter

(2019) and Sasseville (2020) expressed well-founded doubts about various aspects of Starke's approach, yet neither of the two papers offers a comprehensive alternative to the proposed tripartite division.

In my talk I shall endeavour to demonstrate how the philological discoveries of the last several years, including those made within the framework of the *luwili* project, undermine the attempts to dissect the Kuwattalla tradition into thematically unrelated units. A large number of its fragments, including those attributable to different rituals on the basis of their colophons, turn out to represent parallel versions. This prompts me to advance the hypothesis that the driving force behind the development of the tradition was structure-preserving adaptation and compilation of pre-existing written texts, accomplished in scribal circles. This hypothesis is conducive to studying the Kuwattalla tradition within the same framework as was adopted, for example, for the Maštigga tradition in Miller 2004, or for the Ambazzi tradition in Christiansen 2006.

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