

Luwian in Cuneiform
A RAI workshop organized by Alice Mouton and Ilya Yakubovich

Luwian is an Indo-European language closely related to Hittite. The cuneiform tablets found in Hattusa contain a considerable number of Luwian incantations, usually embedded into Hittite texts. These compositions continue to pose serious interpretation problems, and this is why the majority of them still lack full philological editions.

The last few years, however, saw the intensification of research work on Luwian in cuneiform. The project *Luwili / Luwian Religious Discourse between Anatolia and Syria* (co-directed by Alice Mouton and Ilya Yakubovich), has the publication of Hittite texts with Luwian passages as its principal goal, while the projects *eDiAna / Digital Philological/Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Anatolian Corpus Languages* (co-directed by Elisabeth Rieken, Olav Hackstein, and Jared Miller) and *PALaC / Preclassical Anatolian Languages in Contact* (directed by Federico Giusfredi) contribute to the interpretation of the relevant texts and use them in turn for achieving their specific objectives.

The purpose of the proposed panel is presenting and comparing the results of the above-mentioned projects and individual researchers in as much as they contribute to the understanding of the Luwian cuneiform corpus. The methodological approaches of individual presentations may include work on decipherment relying on philological methods, etymological analysis, or the combination of both, comparison between Luwian passages and their counterparts available in other traditions, as well as the new insights into the classification and attribution of the texts under discussion.

Résumés (dans l'ordre alphabétique des contributeurs) :

Adaptation strategies in the Luwian loans in Cuneiform Hittite

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As is well known, the Hittite language displays a great amount of Luwian loanwords, that increases in the Empire period, from Mursili II's reign on (cf. Rosenkranz 1952, Melchert 2005, van den Hout 2007); at the same time, some structural changes occur in the Hittite language itself, as a product of the contact with Luwian (see especially Rieken 2006 and Yakubovich 2010). Some of these Luwian loanwords, both nouns and verbs, enter Hittite as foreign words, thus preserving their original Luwian endings, whereas other are assimilated to the Hittite linguistic system. This presentation, also based on the theoretical and metalinguistic framework established by Cotticelli Kurras 2012, will focus on Luwian adapted loanwords in Hittite, considering the different strategies and degrees of assimilation to the linguistic system of the recipient/replica language.

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Luvian Ritual Texts and Scribal Hands

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Although their full corpus was published in transliteration more than thirty years ago (Starke, StBoT 30, 1985), the vast majority of the Luvian ritual texts uncovered in the Hittite capital city Hattuša (archaeological site of Boğazkale in modern Turkey) still lack full edition with translation and comments. In the framework of the *Luwili* ANR-DFG Project I am currently leading together with Ilya Yakubovich (<https://luwili.wordpress.com/>), all the tablet fragments numbered Catalogue des Textes Hittites (= CTH) 758 to 763 (rituals of Puriyanni, Kuwattalla and related compositions) are being collated and reexamined. In order to provide, for the first time, a complete edition of these texts, a closer look not only at their content, but also at their physical features (format and script) is undertaken. In this paper, I will present my preliminary thoughts on the latter aspect, focusing on the various scribal hands one can observe. Through this palaeographic inquiry, my goal is to improve the identification of these tablet fragments within the ritual corpus in Cuneiform Luvian. This research is meant to be combined with Ilya Yakubovich's inquiry on the orthographic features of the same texts.

“May They Wash Their Mouths!”: The Purification of the Mouth in Luvian Anti-Witchcraft Incantations

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In rituals against curses and evil words, the purification of the mouth is often involved. This is also the case in the text of the *dupaduparša* ritual. In many Luvian incantations of this composition, the ritual expert called Old Woman exhorts the deities to wash their mouths with oil and honey. According to the text, the main function of this action is to neutralize a list of evils among which curses stand out. Nevertheless, many aspects of this “washing of the mouth” deserve a close examination. The objective of this paper is to analyze in depth the connotations of this gesture in Luvian anti-witchcraft rituals, particularly in the *dupaduparša* ritual. Thus, the role played by the mouth as a link between ritual action and ritual discourse will be addressed, as well as the kind of implication that the deities have in the ritual process. To do so, a comparative perspective will be applied. Hittite texts describing the purification of the mouth in similar contexts will be used to elucidate the ritual gestures alluded to in Luvian incantations. The comparison will highlight not only the parallels, but also the specificities of

each religious tradition. Therefore, it will contribute to our understanding of Luwian anti-witchcraft practices.

On several old and new etymologies and the alleged breaking of $\bar{e} > iya$ in Hittite and Luwian
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In 2003, Oettinger proposed a new sound law $*\bar{e}, ei, oi, ai > *i > iya$ for Hittite and Luwian, based on a few Hittite and a single Luwian example. He compares the phenomenon with the breaking rules („Brechung“) seen in Germanic languages. The idea seems to have gained a certain amount of support, and is considered possible in NIL: 486–88. However, close scrutiny of the alleged examples raises serious doubts regarding its validity, since counter-examples exist and new etymologies and morphological explanations provide attractive alternatives. Luw. *mi(ya)sa-* ‚flesh‘ said to go back to PIE $*m\bar{e}(m)s-o-$ and Hitt. *aliyan-* ‚roebuck‘ derived from PIE $*(h_1)ol-\bar{e}n-$ are two cases in point, but also the stem final diphthong in *wantiyašta* 3sg. prt. ‚shone‘. It will be demonstrated that no such „Brechung“ exists in Hittite and Luwian.

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Nouveaux joints relatifs au grand rituel louvite de Kuwattalla et Šilalluḫi
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Dans son édition des textes louvites, F. Starke répartit les rituels de la hiérodoule Kuwattalla en trois ensembles distincts, à savoir : le grand rituel (CTH 761), le rituel *dupaduparša* (CTH 759) et le rituel de la Vieille Femme (CTH 760). Bien que plusieurs colophons soient préservés pour les deux premiers rituels, ce qui confirme leur identification, l’existence du troisième suggéré par Starke repose principalement sur le colophon KBo 10.42. Celui-ci diffère des colophons du grand rituel. Starke voit dans KBo 10.42 une analogie de contenu avec un passage du fragment KUB 35.43+ iii 38-40, ce qui l’amène à attribuer ce dernier et tous les fragments additionnels qui y sont reliés contextuellement à ce troisième rituel, c’est-à-dire celui de la Vieille Femme. Dans sa présentation à Çorum en 2014, M. Hutter suggère à partir d’analyses contextuelles plus détaillées que KUB 35.43+ appartient plutôt au grand rituel. De plus, il suggère que ce fragment est relié au sous-rituel louvite *ḫalliyattanza* mentionné dans le colophon KUB 35.33. De nouveaux joints, récemment réalisés par mes soins, de fragments en louvite cunéiforme appartenant au grand rituel auront cependant des répercussions importantes sur la classification de Starke et sur l’hypothèse de Hutter. De plus, certains de ces joints éclaireront le rôle que le sous-rituel *ḫalliyattanza* joue au sein du grand rituel de la hiérodoule Kuwattalla et de la Vieille Femme Šilalluḫi.

A goddess and a city or how to read the Hieroglyphic Luwian sign MANUS+MANUS

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The name of the goddess Pahalati is well-attested in Hama. Her name is almost always written regularly, i.e. with the determinative DEUS. However, in HAMA 8 §2 we find MANUS+MANUS instead of DEUS. Hawkins 2000: 410 explains it as the ideographical representation of the protective character of the gods, but this is ad hoc and incompatible with the structure of the Hieroglyphic Luwian writing system. The recently found ARSUZ stelae have delivered the second attestation of this sign, in the name of the Cilician city MANUS+MANUS-sax-na(URBS) (1 & 2 §14, Dinçol et al. 2015: 67, Dillo 2016: 46-50). Dillo suggests reading MANUS+MANUS as MAGNUS, but this is not possible paleographically and does not explain the spelling of the divine name. It is proposed here that the Cilician city name Pahara known e.g. from KARATEPE 1 Hu./Ho. §7 provides a fitting solution for both problems, since due to the Luwian rhotacism the pronunciation of the divine name and of the city name was almost identical. Moreover, due to the spelling of the toponym both names must have been homo(io)phonous with a Luwian notion depicted by the sign MAGNUS+MAGNUS (in this case *pahara-). This explains how the scribe could have used this sign to spell the city name logographically (adding only the possessive adjective suffix and the ending) and as a determinative for Pahalati (homo(io)phonous connection between the determinative and the host is well attested).

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Orthographic Variation and Relative Dating of Hittite-Luwian Texts

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A well-known tendency characterizing the development of Hittite manuscripts is the ongoing introduction of more economical spellings, i.e. variants consisting of fewer signs. Thus, the spelling BAL-an-ti tends to be innovative vis-à-vis ši-pa-an-ti ‘(s)he sacrifices, libates’, while kiš-an has the same status vis-à-vis ki-iš-ša-an ‘thus’ (cf. already Neu and Rüster, Fs. Otten (1973): 227). The goal of this talk is to explore the consequences of the same tendency for the relative dating of Hittite-Luwian fragments belonging to the ritual traditions of Puriyanni and Kuwattalla-Šilalluhi (CTH 758-763). The item with the most salient orthographic variation within our corpus is the heterographic designation of the ritual patron, which does not seem to have at all been used for relative dating within Hittitology thus far. The correlation with palaeographic dating and other orthographic features suggests the hierarchy BE-EL SÍSKUR > EN SÍSKUR > EN SISKUR. This means in practice that if copies or parallel versions replace the designations of the ritual patron, this is done according to the proposed hierarchy. For example, one finds BE-EL SÍSKUR in CTH 761.1, attributed to Kuwattalla, vs. EN

SÍSKUR in the younger parallel version CTH 761.2, attributed to both Šilalluhi and Kuwattalla, or EN SÍSKUR in KUB 35.45 vs. EN SISKUR in the younger copy KUB 35.48. At the same time, the proposed chronology is not absolute, and archaic variants can be retained in later copies, including instances of synchronic variation on the same tablet.

Since the sign <SÍSKUR> = <SISKUR.SISKUR>, the proposed line of simplification within manuscript history is governed by the familiar principle of economy. On the other hand, the systematic absence of the variant **BE-EL SISKUR suggests that this process was not sporadic but rather mediated by the tradition of scribal education. In my presentation, I intend to argue based on corpus analysis that the study of orthographic variation under discussion has non-trivial consequences for tracing the development of the Kuwattalla / Šilalluhi tradition. If validated, the same procedure can subsequently complement the methodology of relative dating of other Hittite ritual texts with complex redactional history.