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Annemarie Etter

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Anna Morpurgo Davies

Fighting, Ploughing and the Karkamiš Kings

1. In Ernst Risch’s own work analysis of texts and comparative and historical study of languages have never been separated. I do not need to apologize if this paper, which is dedicated to him with affection for what he is and admiration for what he has done and is doing, analyses texts rather than reconstructions. Yet I have no excuse if I have extracted from my texts more than they could legitimately yield. Professor Risch’s analyses of his data have often been daring—and successfully so; they have never been extreme.

2. KARKAMIŠ A 6 and A 7 are eighth century B.C. inscriptions from Karkamiš in Syria; they are written in Hieroglyphic Luwian and the text is accompanied by numerous reliefs. In these the regent Yararis appears leading by the hand the future king Kamanis; he is followed by eight children in two registers; in the upper register four standing children follow each other, in the lower register two couples of children seem to play games. At the rear a woman holds a baby and leads an animal. We know who is represented in the individual pictures because of the inscriptions which accompany the reliefs, though for the eight children in the two registers we have only seven names. In addition to the short phrases of the type: “This is Kamanis, and these are his younger brothers,” which accompany the sculptures of A 7, in the longer text (A 6) Yararis himself boasts about his glory, his achievements and, above all, the magnanimity with which he behaved towards the royal children, first and foremost Kamanis. He built a seat for Kamanis, and “set him up on high” when he was still a

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1 Text and reliefs are printed in D.G. Hogarth, Carchemisch, Part I, London 1914, Plates A6, A7 and B6-8. For the general interpretation of A 6 and of the statue of Yararis cf. J.D. Hawkins, An. St. 29 (1969), p.157 ff. Once again I am deeply indebted to Mr. Hawkins who has allowed me to use large parts of his forthcoming Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions and has discussed with me a number of problems. Obviously the responsibility for what follows is mine.
child. The text continues with a passage traditionally read and interpreted as follows: 2

1. KARKAMIŠ A 6, 4–5
5. (iv) REL-zi-pa-wa-li-ma-zá- | (“*382*) tara-li-pu-na-sá | i-zí-i-sa-ta + RA/I

"And with him I made his brothers
and (those) whom the KATUNI pleases/pleased
to then I put KATUNI’s in the hand.
But (those) whom (for them) the TARAPUNA pleases/pleased,
to then I put TARAPUNA’s in the hand.”

This interpretation causes some grammatical difficulties which have been discussed elsewhere. 3 First, if ka-tú-na-sá of (ii) is a nominative singular we expect a nominative plural ka-tú-ni-zí instead of the ka-tú-ni-zí we actually find; all would be well, on the other hand, if ka-tú-na-sá was a genitive with the normal -sa termination of the genitive singular. Secondly the verb translated ‘pleases/pleased’ is mostly found in the third person singular, i-zí-i-sa-ta-i with an -i ending; yet the verbs which have -i endings, as we now know, do not have -ti or -ri endings in the present singular; in the past they have -ta endings but not -ra endings. 4 Consequently, it does not seem possible to assume that i-zí-i-sa-ta-i and i-zí-i-sa-tara-i are forms of the same verb. But if so, what does the text mean?

We find a way out of the impasse if we notice that neither in (iii) nor in (v) there is a word divider between wa-li-ma-zá and the preceding i-zí-i-sa-tara-i. If so, a different word division and sentence division is possible. We can read and translate the clauses ii–v as follows:

2 I modernize the transliteration according to the principles stated in J. D. Hawkins, A. Morpugo Davies and G. Neumann, Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: new evidence for the connection, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., Nr. 6 (1973) [HIHL] and in J. D. Hawkins, An. St. 25 (1975), p. 119 ff. and especially 153–55. The abbreviations are as in these two publications. The translation of (1) printed above is based on Bosser, SCO 1 (1951), p. 46 and on Meriggi, Manuale II/1, p. 264.

3. If this interpretation is correct the serious problem concerns the actual meaning of the passage. There is no doubt that in the inscription Yararis refers to two orders of facts, the events of his past and future career, and the setting up of the monument with the reliefs. "I made his brothers" (in (1) (i) above) presumably refers to the reliefs but the description of Yararis’s fame is not related to the sculptures. To what does our passage refer? In the reliefs the children in the lower register hold objects which may probably be identified with knucklebones (traditionally used in ancient games) and with whips and tops. 5 We may take the objects as toys and interpret the passage which we are considering accordingly, assuming that ii–v in (1') were simply meant as a gloss on the reliefs. The text would then state that those children who liked knucklebones were given knucklebones by the benevolent regent, while those who liked tops were given tops. This interpretation is grammatically possible and may be supported by the reliefs but the question arises whether it is plausible that the four clauses quoted can be meant to say this and only this. Can a statement which simply refers to a gift of toys without further implications be suitable for a monumental inscription such as A 6? Meriggi who raised the

5 Cf. e. g. Bosser, SCO 1 (1951), p. 53 ff.; Meriggi, Manuale II/1, p. 19 and p. 27. I am grateful to professor Gütterbock who from his deep knowledge of the monument has confirmed the identification of the toys.
question (loc. cit.) answered negatively but maintained that the passage can only be interpreted with reference to the reliefs; for him the children in the upper register were deliberately shown as taking part in the ceremony and as holding ceremonial objects with symbolic value (KATUNI); the implication was that they would also share in the royal power. On the other hand the children in the lower register were given toys (TARAPUNA), were excluded from the ceremony, and were probably excluded from government too. Doubt is at least possible. Why should the magnanimous regent imply that some of Kamanis’ brothers were to be treated in a less dignified fashion than the others? If this was the case, would we not expect to find an explanation in the texts? Obviously the questions asked above will only be answered if we succeed in finding out what the words KATUNI and TARAPUNA mean.

4. Some help may come from the logograms. The value of *314 which precedes KATUNI is not clear, but in TELL AHMAR 1,7–8 the logogram appears before the word ka-pi-la-li-(:j) , which means ‘enemy.’6 In the same text (line 4) *314 also determines the abstract ha-CRUS-sá-tara-i-ti i.e. hat-atra-ti, ‘violence, frightfulness.’7 In KARKAMIŠ A11 a,5 the same logogram determines a word -ha-sa-ti, possibly ‘force’. We are told that the ruler Katsuwas took away a city from Uratruncha’s grandsons (obviously his enemies) by *314(-)ha-sa-a.8 A third, more obscure, occurrence is in CEKKE v.1, where it is stated that Kamanis and his servant bought a city from the Kanapuweans with their *314(-)sa-lá-na-ti.9 Whatever the meaning of this phrase and of the obscure *314(-)sa-pa-sa in KARKAMIŠ A11 a,2, elsewhere *314 seems to accompany words which refer to hostility or unpleasantness. This suggests that we would do well to compare (*314) ka-tá-na- with the shorter noun ka-ti-i repeated four times (three times in the dative ka-ti-i and once in the nominative ka-ti-sa) in the following text:

(2) SULTANHAN F-G:
   (i) "ni-pa-xa'i"-ta | URBS + MI-ni | REL₂-sa-ha- | ka-ti-i | CRUS-i
   (ii) ni-pa-xa-ti-ta | "TERRA")ta-ka-mi-i | REL₂-sa-ha | ka-ti-i | ta-i ||
   (iii) ni-pa-xa-ti | xa/i-ni | REL₁-sa-ha | ka-ti-i | CRUS-i
   (iv) á-pi-i-ta-i-sa-ta- | REX-ti-ia-rí+i | LEPUS+RA/I-ia-ti-i | i-zi-ta-mi-na.-'

5. I shall return to ka-tá-na- later on but first we must take a further step. The phrase “stand/come for KATUNI” is a syntagm formed by the dative of the (abstract) noun KATI and the verb CRUS-/-wa- which can be shown to be the equivalent of Luw. ta-, Hitt. tiya-.10 In the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus, there are only two parallel constructions to KATI ta:- one is often repeated and reads tara/i-pi (or tara/i-pu) ta-; the other occurs in a very broken and obscure context in KARKAMIŠ A5 a and consists of the dative of a -hi abstract noun tara/i-pu(-na')-la-hi-rí+i-i and the verb ta-. This second instance could be extremely important, but we cannot use it because the difficulties in interpretation are too great.11 If we concentrate

10 Morpurgo Davies, KZ 94 (1980), p.96; see also the article quoted in note 11. The word wa/-i-na must be a dative/directive; J.D. Hawkins points out that there are two reasons to assume that ‘steal’ is a dental stem with a dative wa/-i-rí+i (cf. quotations 4, 5, 7) and consequently it may be better to follow Merigg (Manuale II/1, p.120) and see in wa/-i-na a form of un-ni-ina- ‘vines.’


12 Readings and emendation by J.D. Hawkins. The text, in which Hawkins recognizes a funerary inscription of Zahananis, has the dead man speaking in first person, and possibly referring to his father and mother who were the subject of tara/i-pu (-na')-la-hi-rí+i-i CRUS-ta (line 2). The dead man then refers to á-mi-xi tara/i-pu-na-la-xi- ("my T.") who in future shall be … before the divine Lady of the Earth and
against him may Celestial Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kupapa, the Good God and Ea, the Moon, the Sun come fatally).\textsuperscript{13}

(5) TILSEYET, 3
za-i-pa-\textit{wa}-\textit{li} (STELE)\textit{wa}-\textit{li}-\textit{ni}-\textit{ri} + i REL-s\=a ("CORNU")\textit{ta}-\textit{ri}-\textit{pi}\textit{-wa}-\textit{li} CRUS-i

"(He) who comes to stand for TARAPI to this stele"

(against him may the gods be angry).\textsuperscript{13}

(6) KARKAMI\=S A18h
CORNU + RA/i (\?)\-\textit{pi}-\textit{wa}-\textit{li} REL-s\=a CRUS-i

"(He) who comes to stand for TARAPI [scil. against this stele]"

(against him may the gods be angry).\textsuperscript{13}

(7) KARKAMI\=S A5a,4
[za]-\textit{ti}-\textit{-pa}-\textit{wa}-\textit{li} STELE-ni-\textit{ri} + i REL-\textit{-[ta]} \textit{ta}-\textit{ri}-\textit{pi} [...] CRUS-i...

\textit{wa}-\textit{li}-\textit{tu}-\textit{nu}\textsuperscript{13} TERRA.DEUS.DOMINA \textit{ta}-\textit{ri}-\textit{wa}-\textit{li} CRUS

"But (he) who comes to stand for TARAPI to this stele,
to him may the divine lady of the earth come to stand for TA-
RAPI."\textsuperscript{17}

(8) SULTANHAN, 5
\textit{wa}-\textit{li}-\textit{tu}-\textit{u} | DEUS-ni-i-\textit{zi} | MALUS-t\=a-t\=i-i | \textit{ta}-\textit{ri}-\textit{pi}-\textit{wa}-\textit{li} | CRUS-i-\textit{z}

"the gods shall come to stand for TARAPI to him [viz. the evil-doer] in badness."\textsuperscript{18}

The general meaning is clear, even if the specific meaning of TARAPI is not. There is one unsolved problem caused by the optional \textit{wa}-\textit{li} element which occurs after TARAPI; on the other hand the alternation between TARAPI (5 times) and TARAPA (once), if it is not due to scribal error, can be explained, since Hier. Luwian still preserves traces of the old -\textit{a} directive used in alternation with the -\textit{i} dative. It is clear that TARAPI/A \textit{ta}- is a sort of damaging activity against individuals or monuments.


\textsuperscript{15} Kaša, Belleten 32 (1968), p. 315 ff.; Meriggi, Manuale II/2, p. 105 ff.

\textsuperscript{16} Readings by J.D. Hawkins after Meriggi, Manuale II/1, p. 42 ff.

\textsuperscript{17} Readings and restorations by J.D. Hawkins; cf. Meriggi, Manuale II/2, p. 114.

\textsuperscript{18} Morpurgo Davies, Fs. Szemerényi, op.cit., p. 589.
5.2. We find similar contexts for the verb TARAPI, but here it is useful to make a sharper distinction between TARAPI and TARAPA; that the two verbs have similar meanings is shown by the fact they are the only verbs marked by the reversed foot + foot (PES₂,PES) logogram and by the contexts in which they occur; that they both have the same value as TARAPI ta- is shown once again by the similarity of contexts. The verbs refer to damaging actions performed by human beings or by gods against individuals or houses or cities. On the other hand there may well be a morphological distinction between TARAPI and TARAPA; in theory TARAPA could be read TARAP and the various forms interpreted as atathmic, while TARAPI may be a denominative or deverbal in -ye/o- from the same root. From this point of view it would make sense to have the TARAPA form, i.e. the supposed athematic form, in KARAHÖYUK, which is the oldest of the inscriptions considered. On the other hand the isolated PES₁,PES-PES-pa-i-tu-u (quotation 13), which in a somewhat cavalier fashion I have listed in 5.2.1. because of its context, is almost certain to be an example of -ye/o- derivative, probably a third person plural. The lists that follow include all instances of the verbs TARAPI and TARAPA which are not too fragmentary.

5.2.1. (PES₁,PES)tarat-i-pi- (and PES₂,PES-pa-i-tu-u)

(9) KARKAMIŠ A 2,6

wašlili-ta- 'pa-sa- ' | ša-ti-ia-za | DOMUS-ni-za
| kar-ka-mi-zi-za-za (URBS) | (DEUS)TONTRUS-za | (CORN)kii-pu-ta-ti-i-d-ti-u | (PES₂,PES)taraš-pi-tu-u

18 Cf. Morpugo Davies, KZ 96 (1982/83), p. 267 f., and note 46—but note that in fact Hier. Lawian has more than one or two examples of -a-ga-i verbal forms.

22 Cf. in addition KARKAMIŠ A 27 co-1: | maša-pa-wošl PES₁,PES-PES-pi-išl; ANKARA 1, D3: (DEUS)ša-pa-pa-(sa) | *464 [ ... ] | PES₁,PES₁. (cf. Meriggi, Manuale II/2, p. 202 f.); KARKAMIŠ A 16 a, 1.3: šaša-[ša]-ma (PES₁,PES) tarat-i-pi; KARKAMIŠ A 13 c+a+b: šaša-[ša]-ma-za | *464 [ ... ] | PES₁,... (Hawkins' reading). At the end of a new KULULU stèle to be published by M. Kalač the clause wašlili-ta-za-zi DEUS-ni-zi tarat-i-pat may be restored to include a form of the verb TARAPA (constructed with the dative) or to include an instance of the phrase TARAPA Ša-. There are also some similar forms (participial?) which might be related, though the context does not help us to reach a decision: 1) a personal name tarat-i-pa-ši-ša in KULULU lead fragment 2-2 + strip 3, side ii regular i (Hawkins' numeration; cf. Meriggi and Poette, Gedenkschrift Kronasser, Wiesbaden 1982, p. 100) which may perhaps be compared with tarat-i-pa-ši-ša of ASSUR a 2, 2; 2) a very obscure ("PES₁,PES") tarat-i-pa-ši-ša in JISR EL. HADID fragm. 3, 2 (HMM 32, Meriggi, Manuale II/2, p. 224); 3) an even more obscure i-pašl PES₁,PES₁-[mi]-na / PES₁,PES₁-[pa]-mi[-na (ŠIRIZ, 1 and 4) which probably refers to something 'made' by the lord of Malizi and protected by the god i-pašl Runitis (cf. note 24).

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(in future who shall ANTÀ TAPA these temples, whether he (be) a king, or he (be) a country-lord, or he (be) a *355-IJ)

"May Tarhunzas of Karkamiš anda TARAPI to his paternal houses with his KIPUTI."²¹

(10) KAYSERI, 5

| haš-rati-[na-w]ášlili-sa-pa-wošl-i-tu-ša | LUNA+MI-ma-ša | á-pa-sa- | ("CORNU")ša-[i-pu] + ratio | á-ta- | ("PES₂,PES")tarat-i-pu-ša-ut-

(context illegible, but part of a curse)

"and to him may the Moon-God of Harran anda TARAPI (with?) his KIPUTI."²²

(11) KARKAMIŠ A 2,4-5

pa-ša-pa-pa-ša-ša | za-d-ša kar-ka-mi-zi-za-za (URBS) | DEUS)TONTRUS-ša | *464["haš-ta-ša (PES₁,PES)tarat-i-pu-ša-

(But (he) who erases my name)

"to him may this Tarhunzas of Karkamiš TARAPI (the) HATAMA" (or "in the HATAMA manner").²³

(12) ŠIRIZ, 4

á-pa-ša-pa-ši-ša + ratio-ša | i-pašl-sa (DEUS)CEVRUS-ši-ša- | *464 | haš-rati-ša | PES₁,PES-pi-tu-

²¹ Meriggi, Glossar, p. 74 and Manuale II/1, p. 55 understands KIPUTI as 'hoof', a meaning which may be right here, but does not suit so well the context of SULTAN-HAN base, b-c, where the Moon God seems to put the evil-doer on/in his KIPUTI. The horn logogram is also found before the noun TARAPAI (above). See below para. 6. The forms tatΝνηςα parnisiai are taken as dative plurals because an accusative neuter singular parnisiai (rather than parnisia) seems impossible (the adjective tatΝνηςα could be dat. plur. or acc. sing.); yet for the dat. plural too a form parnisia would be more normal.

²² For this and the previous passage cf. Hawkins, An. St. 31 (1981), 173 with the suggestion that KIPURI may be emended into an instrumental instead of a dative.

²³ This construction is frequently found (cf. quotations 11–13) and the fragments of note 20). HATAMA could be connected with the identical word (no logogram) of KULULU 1, I and the verb ARHA haš-ta-rati (7) of KARKABRUN, 1. It is not clear whether here HATAMA is to be taken as the object of the verb TARAPI or as a form of acc. plural used adverbially (cf. Mitelberger, Die Sprache 8 (1962), p. 285 who translates 'in Vermachtung'), but see note below. A verb with a meaning such as 'ruin' would be possible and is hinted at by Hawkins, RHA 29 (1971), 129; in any case HATAMA has the form of the nom.-acc. neuter plural of a partisan.
(part of a curse)
"to him may (the god) Runitis of the IPA TARAPI it/them,
(the) HARAMA" (or "in the HARAMA manner").

(13) KARKAMIŠ A 16 a 2, 3–4
| ha | (**464**) | ha-t-ta | ma | PES₂.PES-pa-i-ta-u|
"... let them (?) TARAPI/I (the) HATAMA" (or "in the H.
manner").

(14) TŪNP, 3–4
| PES₂ | tarai-pi | ra-i-pa-wa-li | REL | á-
(They bought the land ...)
"(He) who TARAPI's"
(one mina of silver and one ... (is) the WASHA)

The verb TARAPI is restored by Hawkins (Kadmos 19 (1980), 131), following Meriggi, in the following passage which would be the only certain case of TARAPI (or TARAPA) used transitively:

(15) CEKKE, 11–12
| d-wa-li | "CAELUM"-s-t | CORNU | RA/í-na | ni | LITUUS | na-ti |
| TERRA-pa-wa-li | CORNU | RA/L-na | ni | (PES₂.PES) [tarai-pi-ti] |
(He who shall approach this city with malevolence ...
against him may ... (the gods) come fatally)
"Let him not behold the abundance of the Sky,
let him not TARAPI the abundance of the Earth"

5.2.2. [PES₂.PES] TARAPA

(16) KARAHOYUK, left side
| REL | Í-ta-sa-pa-wa-li | Í-ta-ma | REL | Í-ta-sa | á-mi-í-ta |
| DOMUS | Í-ta-sa | REL | ra-i-ta-pa | URBS | Í-ta-sa | tarai-pa-á-ti |

As pointed out by Meriggi, Manuale 11/2, p. 61, the initial particle chain of this clause, in addition to the usual final ta (Hitt. ka-at), contains an ata pronoun (nom.-acc., neut. sing. or nom.-acc., plural MF or neuter); this ought to be the object of the verb and may either be proleptic with reference to HATAMA or pick up something previously mentioned. The difficulty for the latter hypothesis is that in the previous clause the object is i-pa₂ PES₂.PES(-pa-mi-na) which ought to be MF, though we fail to understand the grammatical status of i-pa₂.

As above para. 5.2 and note 19.

The last clause quoted probably refers to a fine. Cf. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, Serta Indogermanica. F. Neumann, Innsbruck 1982, p. 99 (and p. 93 for the first clause), who, however, translate the sentence quoted above as "he who infringes (this document)", though there is no clear reference to the document in the preserved text. It is also possible that the verb refers to something done to the piece of land mentioned in the first line.

5.3. From the data above it emerges that it is impossible to dissociate the phrase TARAPI/A ta- and the verb(s) TARAPI/A-; they occur in the same type of curses. However, while the phrase always has unpleasant connotations, the verbs seem to have a broader range of meanings. In KARKAMIŠ A 6 (quotation 17) the young prince Kamanis is seated high up by the regent and then TARAPA's above everyone: it is unlikely that this is a destructive activity; if the restoration of CEKKE (quotation 15) is correct, it is clear that to TARAPI the abundance of the earth is something desirable which the evil-doer will never be granted. The standard interpretation of the verbs is partly determined by the logogram PES₂.PES, a reversed foot followed by a foot: a translation 'trample', 'piétiner' (Laroche HH, no. 96) would fit all the 'unpleasant' passages. Yet Meriggi (Glossar, 123) correctly observed that this value would not fit quotation 18 (Kamanis who TARAPA over all) for which he preferred a meaning such as 'verbar'. Quotation 15 (if the restoration is correct) would also cause problems. We could think in terms of a neutral 'tread' vs. an unpleasant 'trample' but even this would not solve all problems.

28 Hawkins restores pa rather than pi on the ground of space. In our context the name hi-ri + i-ka- (which G. Neumann, Studia Meriggi, Pavia 1979, p. 431 has identified with Hilakku/Cilicia) may be in the dative or in the accusative with -n not written before a consonant.
29 For the ending of the verb (which is a preterite and not a present) cf. Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies, JRAS 1975, p. 131.
First, it is not clear why the noun TARAPI, if it is associated with ‘trampling’ or treading, should be determined by CORNU and SCALPRUM. A foot logogram would be more appropriate. Secondly, if I am right in linking TARAPI and TARAPUNA on the model of KAT1 and KATUNA, it is obscure what ‘trampling’ or ‘trampling objects’ would have to do with the royal children.

6. It may be best to return now to the royal children to see if they could put us on the right path. Morphologically words like KATUNAS and TARAPUNAS could be genitives not of a normal noun but of a verbal noun or an infinitive: cf. in Hier. Luwian e.g. ("CORNU")ši + rati-ni BIBERE(-)nuna-su, literally ‘horns of drinking’, i.e. ‘drinking horns’. The formation is functionally equivalent to that of the genitive of the -yar verbal noun in Hittite and indeed we find in Hittite phrases like SI ar-nu-unna-su ‘Waschhörner’. In our case a verbal stem TARAP- (probably also TARAPA- or TARAPI-) would yield TARAPUNAS and we would have to reconstruct a verbal root KAT- to account for KATUNAS. The plural accusatives KATUNIZI and TARAPUNAZI would then be nouns derived from the verbal noun. If so, on the basis of the arguments produced above for the meaning of KAT- we could conclude that the children of KATUNAS were ‘children of fighting’ vel simm. who were given KATUNI. In this context what is a suitable meaning for TARAPUNAS? It is difficult to imagine another hostile activity simply because of the passages (quotations 18, 15 [?]) which would not fit this interpretation of the TARAP- stem. ‘Children of trampling’, as we have seen, makes little sense.

We should return to the logogram PES₂.PES. In Hieroglyphic Luwian PES, the foot which points to the beginning of the line, normally determines the verb awi- which means ‘to come’; PES₂, the foot which points in the opposite direction, normally determines verbs of going like i-‘go’; the combination of the two signs ought to refer to some activity which involves coming and going, moving up and down, going backward and forward. If we look for an activity which in the ancient world almost by definition involves this type of movement we must think of one of the most traditional agricultural activities, ploughing.

Would it be possible to assume that TARAP- refers to ploughing, in origin at least? A real demonstration is out of the question but the suggestion can at least be supported with some further arguments. First, ‘children of ploughing’ would be a suitable meaning for the phrase from which we started. On this interpretation the royal children would be distinguished into two groups: the first group meant for war activities, the second for agricultural activities. Ploughing can certainly symbolize agriculture in general and in the Anatolian world at least a case has been made for the importance of agricultural work.\(^{30}\)

Secondly, some of the determinatives or logograms which we have found puzzling may start to make sense. For the ‘horn’ logogram which in three instances (quotations 3, 5, 6) determines TARAPI, one may compare the passage in the Akkadian Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon which refers to the horn (SI or qaratu) (of the plough) which cuts a furrow; ‘horn’ must be another name for the share of the plough.\(^{31}\) In a unique passage (quotation 4) TARAPI is determined by SCALPRUM, which, as has been argued elsewhere, is used to determine stone objects.\(^{32}\) If this is not a mistake we may think of the stone plough shares found e.g. at Hama in Syria.\(^{33}\) In A6 (quotation 1) TARAPUNA is determined by the logogram *3BAPIN‘plough’, also marked by the wood determinative.

The question then becomes whether the range of meanings which one can attribute to a root which refers (mainly or also) to ploughing can account for the various texts which we have considered. Obviously if the restoration is correct we have no difficulties with the ‘desirable’ connotation of CEKKE: “let him not plough (TARAPI) the abundance of the earth” is a perfect interpretation for the passage. But what about the far more numerous hostile connotations of the noun TARAPI and the related verbs? Ploughing on monuments or cities is bound to be an undesirable activity and one may quote parallels from the same area and period. Again in the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon (545; cf. note 31) we find as part of a curse: “May Shamash plough up your cities and districts with an iron plough.”\(^{34}\) Somewhat more remotely one may think of the idiomatic value of English ‘plough’ in phrases like “the car ploughed into four people.” Finally, what did the prince Kamanis do when as a child he was seated on high by the Regent and then did TARAPA over all? There are two possi-

\(^{32}\) Laroche, HII p.139f. with earlier references.
\(^{33}\) Cf. A. Steenbergen, Aretusa 15 (1964), pp.111-139 pl. XXIII-XXIX. Dr. Roger Moo- rey, to whom I owe this quotation, also refers me to a more conventional stone plough share (not a ‘stone pick!”) from Ur in C.L. Woolley, Ur Excavations VI (1974), p.14 fig. 4. Stone implements at some stage tended to be replaced by iron implements (not bronze or copper) but still survive in some communities (Steenbergen, op.cit., p.137).
\(^{34}\) Translation from A.N.E.T. loc.cit.; the verb is uncertain but the reference to the iron plough is not.
ilities: either Kamanis did indeed plough over all or everything (a way of indicating his power) or we have here too an example of the connection between ‘ploughing’ and ‘being/moving round in an area’ which, with different etymological backgrounds, is well attested in a number of Indo-European languages (Latin terram vertere/versare ‘to plough’, verti, versari ‘to dwell, to be (active) in . . .’; O. Irish trebail ‘ploughs, cultivates, dwells’, Sanskrit karyati ‘ploughs’ but also kṛṣṭi ‘people, dwellers’).

6.1. So far I have refrained from introducing in the discussion data from other languages, Anatolian or otherwise. We now ought now to turn to this aspect of the question, and we ought to see whether the two roots we have been considering are also found elsewhere in Anatolian.

The answer is certainly positive for KAT. Hitittic has a noun kattawatar which has often been discussed. It is normally translated ‘revenge, vengeance’ and Laroché has connected it with Gr. κοτός. More recently Melchert has argued for a somewhat different value: ‘cause of, grounds of, object of, vengeance’, for an original value ‘hostility’ and for the derivation from an adjectival *kattu- ‘hostile, bellicose’. He also supports a connection with an IE root *kát- attested in Celtic and Germanic (and possibly Sanskrit) with a basic meaning connected to fighting and hostility. Still closer is the Cun. Luwian word kattawatällinza, which immediately follows the word for enemies in a Luwian text: “Lord ... you gave us the enemies, the kattawatällinza, the lords of the land, the binding, the duration of the tanaras, of the curse, of the oath” (KUB XXXV 45 i 18). We must certainly reconstruct a basic adjectival kattu; in its turn this could be built on a root kat.36

It is far more difficult to provide evidence for TARAP. First we are not certain how to read the word: tarp, trap, tarp are all possible. Secondly there is a wealth of formally similar roots in Hitittic and Luwian and the meaning is mostly obscure. Here it is impossible to go through them all; we do not know, for instance, whether the relatively clear tarpalli- ‘substitute’ (Laroché, DLL s.v.) is related to the word tarpanalli- ‘usurer’ (ibid., s.v.); nor do we know whether both or either of these roots are connected with the numerous tarp- words which appear in obscure contexts in Luwian.36 For the Glossenkeil word tarpí Otten and

von Soden (loc.cit.) distinguish three different meanings: a) an “Abstraktum, etwas Ungutes”, b) šedu, c) part of a building. In the third value tarpí corresponds to Akk. ganišu and refers to storage rooms filled with grain (KBo XII 70 ii 13). The only clear conclusion is that we are unlikely to learn much from a study of the Luwian evidence unless we first establish what the meaning of our nouns and verbs is.

The same principle must of course apply to all comparison with Hitittic. Yet it is impossible not to mention the existence of Hitittic teripp- ‘plough’, which, may well have an anaptyctic -e- in the first syllable and an -i- < -e- in the second. This is an athematic verb and formally there would be no objection to a comparison with our root. The etymology of teripp- is disputed though the consensus seems to favour a connection with Gr. τρῆσσω ‘turn, overturn’, in spite of some difficulties.37

If TARAP was indeed related to Hit. teripp- and this, in its turn, was related to Greek τρῆσσω, some of the uses of TARAP may reflect not a change from a basic meaning ‘to plough’ but a survival of the original meaning of the root: ‘turn (upside down)’ or the like. The question remains open; is it possible that a verb with the original meaning ‘to turn’ or the like, on the one hand acquired a specialized meaning such as ‘plough’ while retaining the earlier value(s), on the other hand yielded derivatives and derivatives of derivatives which had more specialized and more technical meanings?38

7. I can now summarize. In my view the traditional interpretation of the passage from which I started is not satisfactory. It is unlikely that an


37 Cf. Hoffner, op.cit., p.43 who oscillates between a connection with Gr. τρῆσσω and one with the root of the cardinal ‘three’. See also Puhvel, Technology and Culture 5 (1964), p.183 ff., reprinted in Analytica Indo-europaea, Innsbruck 1981, p.117 ff. Semantically there cannot be any objections to the etymology, but doubt may arise if we want to connect Gr. τρῆσσω with Myc. τωρειοτημαι to με- < *trep-: - *k* would not yield Hitittic p. On the other hand the Mycenaean verb may well have different descendants than τρῆσσω. For the form teripp- see H.C. Melchert, Studies in Hitittic Historical Phonology, KZ Suppl. 32, Göttingen 1982, 130 ff. who starts from *trep- and reconstructs a development *trep- > *tērēp- > /tērēp-/ Jacques’ suggestion in RHA 22 (1974), p.91 that we should link teripp- with O.Ir. trebail etc. hits against the -sp- spelling of the Hitittic word.

38 It may just be coincidence but it is striking that in an Hitittic birth ritual (KBo XII 112, rev. 8 ff.) the child is asked to turn in the mother’s womb like the plant called tarpatarpa (which we cannot identify) does in the field (cf. Beckmann, StBoT 29, 1983, p.69 and 71). Is it conceivable that the plant is a sort of heliotrope, i.e. a plant which turns to the sun? If so, the name could be built on a root tarp- ‘to turn’.
inscription as important as A6 refers at length to gifts of different toys to the royal children—or rather this is possible if the toys have a greater significance than normally assumed. I have argued that the gifts refer to fighting activities and agricultural activities. In A6 the heir to the throne is put in charge of the temples and introduced to the gods, but among the younger children some are meant to become warriors, others to become farmers; what they are given symbolizes this aim. If so A6 gives evidence for two roots KAT and TARAP which refer to ‘fight, hostility’ and ‘ploughing’ respectively; the evidence of the other inscriptions does not contradict this conclusion. I have deliberately avoided mentioning here the Dumêzîlian three functions; any interpretation of texts must make use of more directly relevant evidence. However, it is permissible to remember at this stage that the plough plays a part in the royal funerary rituals of the Hittites and that in Hittite mythology the father of the God Telepinu says of his son: “This son of mine is noble; he breaks up the sod, ploughs it, waters it and produces grain.”

7.1. A query remains: what, if any, is the connection between the text and the reliefs? Do knucklebones and tops have any connection with fighting and ploughing? Caution ought to prevail: we do not know nor do we know that in this instance there is a connection between text and reliefs. But what if we let speculation run riot? A line of attack—which is indeed too speculative to be trusted—could be the following. The royal children play with knucklebones and tops; could it be that there is a verbal and graphic link between *314 KAT and *382 TARAP—on the one hand, and knucklebones and tops on the other? Tops are normally made of wood (just like ploughs) and we have seen that *382 probably determines wood objects. There may be more: the root tarpa, as we have seen, may be related to Hitt. teripp and in the last resource to a root which means ‘turn’: if so, it may well be that the verb was somehow used to indicate the movement given to tops; Lat. versare ‘turn’ can have turbo ‘top’ as object (Tibull., 1.5.3); in Greek an equivalent verb is στρέφω which also may have yielded words for ‘top’ (στροφαίς, στροφίμος etc.: see PWRE s.v. turbo). What can one say about kat? How does fighting fit with knucklebones? Here again speculation is possible. The logogram *314 normally refers to hostility, enmity. In one instance we have *314(-)ha-sa-ti for which a meaning such as ‘force, hostility’ is guaranteed by the context. If the word is com-

plete, we may think of a ha-as stem and Starke has suggested (ap. Hawkins forthcoming) that we recognize here the root of Cun. Luw. hassa, the counterpart of Hitt. hastai, which means ‘bone’, but also ‘Widerstandskraft’. Could it be that *314 is in fact a ‘bone’ logogram which, because of the double meaning of the word for ‘bone’, has also acquired the ‘hostility’ connotation described above? If so, *314 katas could be linked to the knucklebones by the logogram ‘bone’ just as *382 tarpanas is linked to tops by the logogram ‘wood’. On this view whoever gave instructions for the making of the reliefs knew what the texts said and how they said it. He was also clever enough to give a symbolic representation of his meaning in a manner which was both realistic and subtle. The real problem is: in assuming such a level of subtlety are we being sufficiently realistic?

Addendum

The list of occurrences of the phrase TARAPA/I ta- given above omits a very fragmentary but important example found in a text recently published by M. Poetto (M. Poetto, S. Salvatori, La Collezione Anatolica di E. Borsowski, Pavia 1981, p.49ff., line 2): ||(PES3_PES) tar/i-pa 1 (CRUS) ta-ti (Hawkins’ transliteration, to be contrasted with Poetto’s ta-ati-ta). As pointed out by Poetto ad loc., the logogram of the first word speaks for the connection of the phrase TARAPA/I ta- and the verb tar(a)pt-. Poetto also compares the Hittite (cuneiform) phrase tar-pi-ati-zi of KBo XXII 55 Vs 1 24 and 26; the cuneiform passage does not immediately lead to a solution of the problems discussed above but gives further evidence for the functional identity of Hier. Luw. ta- and Hitt. tiya- and speaks in favour of a reading tarp (rather than taraipi-); the chances of a connection with the name of the plant tarpatarpa- and with a verb which originally meant ‘to turn’ are somewhat increased.

39 VBoT 58 i 29-31; cf. Hoffner, op. cit., p.42. 40 I do not follow Bostert, op.cit., p.54f. in finding an etymological connection between tarpa- and Lat. turbo. The Latin form is of doubtful etymology and the root may even be a borrowing from Greek.