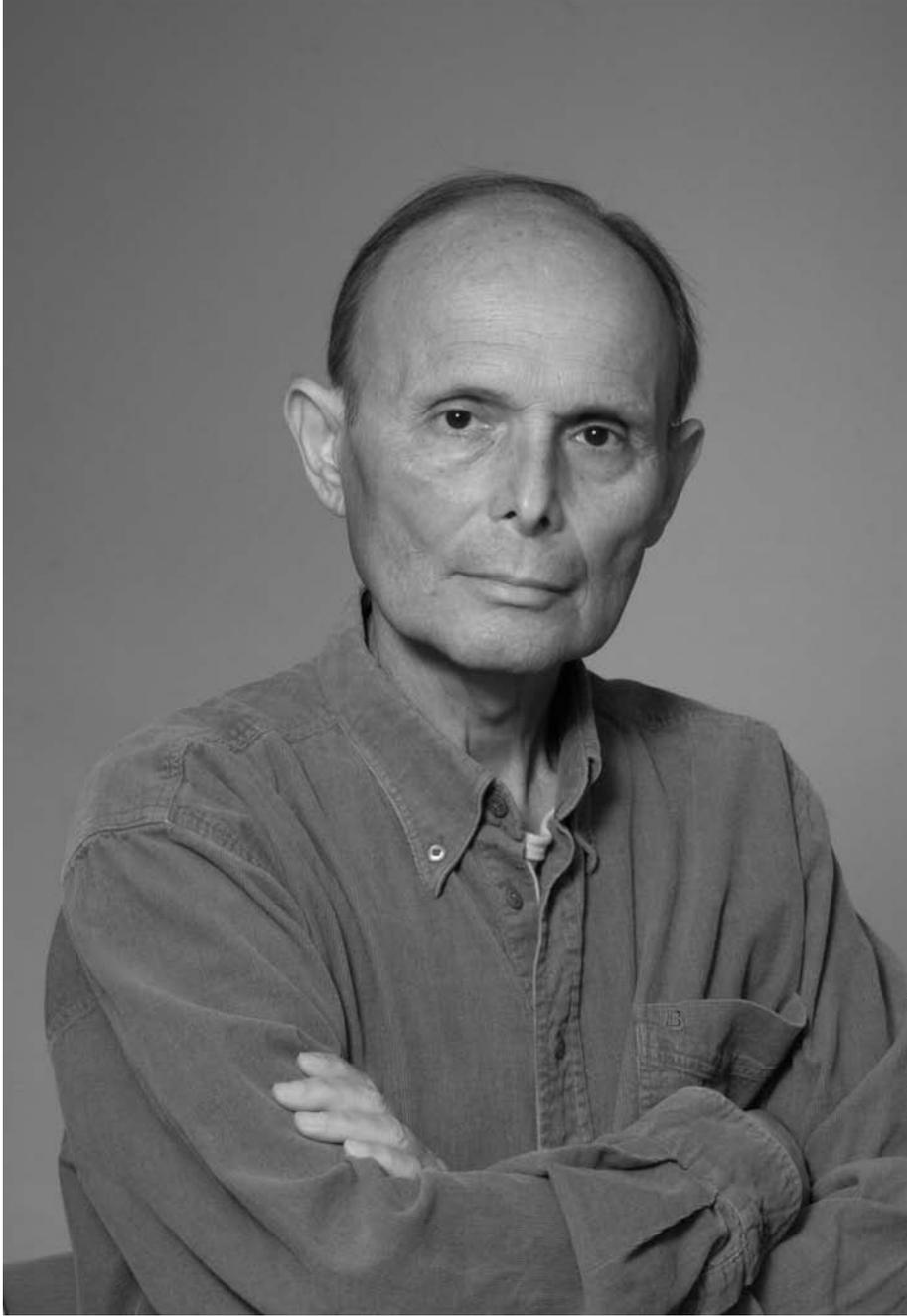


PAX HETHITICA
STUDIES ON THE HITTITES AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS
IN HONOUR OF ITAMAR SINGER



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Hittite *talliye/a-* ‘to draw, allure’

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It is an honour and great pleasure to take part in this tribute to Itamar Singer, whose many contributions to Hittitology include a definitive edition of Muwattalli’s prayer and an outstanding volume of translations of the entire corpus of Hittite prayers. In friendship and admiration I offer him the following reconsideration of one of the many Hittite lexemes connected with prayer.

The Hittite transitive verb *talliye/a-* typically takes deities or the spirits of the dead as its direct object and is generally interpreted as a verb of speech meaning ‘to evoke, implore’; see e.g., HW: 206: ‘(Götter) anrufen, anflehen’, Lebrun (1980: 415, 436) ‘évoquer’, Singer (2002: 76) ‘implored’, HED M: 184 ‘summon, elicit’, Kloekhorst (2008: 819) ‘to pray to, to evoke (a deity)’. However, there have been dissenting opinions. Laroche (1964: 27) concludes that *talliye/a-* is a transitive verb of movement (like *hūittiyē/a-* and *mūgā(i)-*, with which it is often paired), and Hoffner (1987: 277, 285) follows him in rendering the verb as ‘to draw’. Oettinger (1979: 251) suggests rather ‘milde machen, beruhigen’, an interpretation close to that of Goetze *apud* Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935: 125), ‘propitiate’. I will argue in what follows that only the interpretation of Laroche and Hoffner can be correct.

Deciding between the alternatives that have been suggested is made difficult by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the examples of *talliye/a-* occur in the context of the Hittite evocation (*mugawar*) rituals which seek to induce the return of deities who have ceased to perform their crucial functions or of alienated spirits of the dead. Therefore ‘evoke, implore’, ‘draw, allure’, or ‘propitiate’ are all suitable interpretations, as illustrated by the following:

- (1) KUB 36.89 rev. 10–11 (evocation for the Storm-god of Nerik, NS)

[*n=an?*] *talliyadu* ^d10 ^{URU}*Nerik* ^{ID}*Nakiliyatas*...9-*za=an wappuwaza* GAM-*an arḫa*
uwateddu

‘Let the River N. allure [him?], the Storm-god of Nerik...let him bring him away from the nine river-banks.’

Compare Haas (1970: 152–153): ‘rufen soll’.

- (2) KUB 14.4 iii 27–29 (Mursili’s Accusations against the Tawananna, NH)

[*nu=z*] *a ammuk* ^d*Ḫebat* ^{URU}*Kumman*[*ni ANA S*]A[G.D]U=*YA*...*talliskēnun mukiskēnun*

‘I repeatedly allured and *incited* Ḫebat of Kummani for myself...’¹

Compare Singer (2002: 76): ‘I constantly implored and invoked...’

¹ I also follow Laroche (1964: 20–24) against all others in analyzing *mūgā(i)-* as ‘to incite, rouse, bestir’. I hope soon to justify this interpretation elsewhere.

(3) KUB 7.5 i 23 (Ritual of Paskuwatti, pre-NH/NS)

nu=ddu=za kāsa mukiske<mi> tallieskemi

‘I am hereby *inciting* and alluring you.’

Compare Hoffner (1987: 275): ‘I am just now entreating and drawing you.’

A weak argument can be made for *talliye/a-* as expressing the notion of ‘to draw, allure’ based on its use with *arḥa* and *-kan* to mean ‘to lure away’, thus with Laroche (1964: 27).² The need to induce deities to return is often explicitly said to be due to the fact that someone else has drawn them away:

(4) KUB 15.32 i 46–54 (evocation ritual, NH)

kissann=a memai man=wa=za sāntes nasma=wa=smas=kan arḥa kuiski ḥuittiyān talliyān mugān ḥarzi nu=wa=smas apās idālus ḥuwappas ḥarwasiya pedi mukisket kinuna=wa=smas kāsa anzās parā ḥandanni ^dUTU-i kattan assuli ḥuittiyānneskeuwani talleskeuwani mukisgaueni SISKUR=ya=smas sanizzi parkui pesgaueni

‘And he also speaks as follows: “Should you be angry, or (if) someone has drawn away, allured and *incited* you, and that evil wicked one has been *inciting* you in a secret place, now we are in providence under the Sun-god drawing, alluring and *inciting* you for well-being. We are also giving you pleasant pure rituals.’

Similar are KUB 15.34 iv 30–31 and 13.29: 4ff. (in the latter *ŠAPAL* ^d[UTU] for ^dUTU-i kattan).

(5) KUB 10.72 ii 4–15 (evocation ritual, NH)

nu=tta=kkan IŠ[TU...arḥa]talliyat nu=tta=k[an...]tamēda nāis...nu=tta ANA É.DINGIR-LI=KA nasma ANA EN SISKUR awan arḥa tittanut kinuna=tta k[ā]sa ḥūmandaza [EG]IR-pa ḥuittiyānneskemi

‘He has lured you [away] from [...] and has led you [...] elsewhere...He has caused you to step away from your temple or from the ritual client. Now I hereby am drawing you back from every(where).’

(6) KUB 7.47 obv. 1–2 (ritual fragment, NS)

mān=kan DINGIR.MEŠ kuedani[kki arḥa] talliyantes

‘If the gods have been lured [away] from someone...’

(7) KUB 30.65 ii 7–8 (tablet catalogue, NH)

mān=kan ^dLAMMA ^{KUŠ}kursas [kuedani]kki arḥa talliyanza n=an mugāmi

‘If the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting Bag has been lured away from someone, I *incite* him.’³

² The fact that *-kan* occurs with *talliye/a-* only when it is accompanied by *arḥa* assures the restoration of the preverb in (5) and (6) on the basis of (7).

³ The parallels confirm this meaning, against CHD L-N: 321 ‘called away from somewhere’, and HED M: 177 ‘summoned off for something’.

The same expression is used for alienation of the spirits of the dead:

(8) KBo 14.70 i 15–16 (tablet catalogue, NH)

[DUB.x.KAM QĀ]TI mān=kan akkanza kuedanikki [arḫa tal]liyanza mugauwas

‘[xth tablet. (The text) is comp]lete. Of the (ritual of) *incitement* when/if a dead person is lured [away] from someone.’ (i.e., ‘is alienated from’)⁴

(9) KBo 41.1 obv. 1–2 (ritual, MH/MS)

UMMA^{MUNUS}Za[r...]x mān=kan akkanza kuedanikki arḫa talliya[nza n=an EG]IR-pa
mugāmmi uiyammi

‘Thus speaks Za[r-]: ‘If a dead person has been lured away from someone, I *incite* and send [him] back.’

Compare the same text, rev. 30–32 (colophon):

[-s]ali [m]ān=asta /[]x arḫa [t]alliyanza /[...m]ugāmi QĀTI.

The crucial evidence for *talliye/a-* as a transitive motion verb and against its being a verb of speech comes from an evocation ritual designed to persuade the gods of an enemy city to vacate and yield it to the Hittite king. As is typical, the ritual combines the use of offerings (including some strewn as paths) and a verbal invocation. The words of the ritual practitioner are preceded by (10) and immediately followed by (11):

(10) KUB 7.60 ii 19–21 (evocation ritual for the gods of an enemy city)

nu DINGIR.MEŠ U[RU-LÌ LÚ KÚR] talliyazi n=asta anda kissan memiskezzi

‘She allures/exhorts the gods of the [enemy cit]y and interjects as follows.’

(11) KUB 7.60 iii 5–6

[nu GI]M-an DINGIR.MEŠ URU-LÌ LÚ KÚR KASKAL-az talliauwanzi zinnai

‘When she finishes alluring the gods of the enemy city on the paths...’ (lit. ‘with the paths’)

As correctly emphasized by Güterbock and Hoffner in CHD L-N: 261, the expression *-asta/-kan...anda mema-* means to speak **concurrently with an action**, typically a ritual action. Here the ritual action consists of enticing the gods of the enemy city with various offerings, including paths covered with coloured cloth, to vacate their country, as stated in the accompanying speech of the practitioner. Since Güterbock and Hoffner cite very few examples, I offer a larger (but by no means exhaustive) selection here, in order to underscore that *-asta/-kan...anda mema-* always refers to inserting words into the course of a non-verbal activity: Cf. *-asta/-kan...anda mema-* after ‘they place their hands on the rams’ (KUB 9.32 i 22); ‘I break (list of various breads) for the Sun-god of Heaven’ (KBo 15.25 obv. 35); ‘they let (their offerings go) across to the male deities’ (KBo 4.11:18); ‘she digs up the ground...puts in copper, then fastens it down all around with nails and strikes (it) with a hammer’ (KBo 4.1 obv. 7; likewise

4 Quite impossible is the translation of HED M: 179 ‘if a revenant has been revoked by someone’.

ibid. obv. 27 after placing multiple *kurakki*’s); ‘I take the spindle and distaff away from him and give him a bow’ (KUB 9.27 i 25); ‘he pours (groats) from above onto the *mulati*-bread’ (KBo 5.2 ii 21, with *-asta*); ‘he treats the deity with the *gangati*-plant...’; ‘pours water from a small silver vessel’ (KUB 29.7 obv. 10 and rev. 53; see also obv. 30 and rev. 27, 34, 59); ‘he carries them (various breads) to a cross-roads and crumbles them and libates beer’ (KUB 17.12 ii 5; similar ii 11 and 25).

One may contrast the usage above with that of a true verb of speech like *halzai-* ‘to call’, where *mema-* takes neither *anda* nor a local particle:

(12) KBo 5.9 rev. 26 (Treaty with Targasnalli, NH)

nasma=an apāsila halziyatti nu kissan mematt[i]

‘or (if) you yourself call him and speak as follows...’

If *talliye/a-* were a verb of speech meaning ‘invoke, pray, implore’, it would make no sense to say that someone performs that action and speaks concurrently with it. Rather *talliye/a-* describes the overall ritual act of attracting the deity, **of which the verbal action is a part**. Since the latter is an integral component, there is no contradiction in the expression ‘words of allurement’: INIM.MEŠ *andan halziyauas talliy[uas]* ‘the words of calling in (and) alluring’ or INIM.MEŠ *talliyauas* ‘Zaḫal[iqqa]’ ‘the words of alluring (the deity) Zaḫal[iqqa]’ (KUB 28.92 i 6, 9, NS).

The following passage again makes very clear that the ‘words of allurement’ are inserted into the overall ritual action described by *talliye/a-*:

(13) KUB 58.11 obv. 5–6 (Cult of Nerik, NS; Haas 1970: 214–215)

INA ^{GIS}*daḫanki=ma=at=kan anda nāwi pānzi nu* INIM.ḪI.A *talliyauwas* GIM-*an*
sekkanzi n=at=kan QATAMMA anda memanzi

‘But before they go into the cult sanctuary, they interject the words of allurement as they know them.’

The following lines then describe the ritual offerings.

There is also undeniably a verbal component in the two instances of *talliye/a-* that refer to other than deities or a dead person, but the contexts show that the sense remains that of rousing to action, thus ‘to exhort’:

(14) KUB 29.3 i 7 (‘*Bauritual*’, OH/OS)

nu anku GIŠ.HI.A LUGAL-*us tall[iyezzi?]*

‘The king truly exho[rts] the trees.’

(15) KUB 19.49+ i 10–13 (Treaty of Mursili with Manapa-Tarḫunta, NH)

ANA LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Kar[kisa...A-BU=YA/ŠEŠ=YA=ya ANA]*

LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}*Kark[isa upp]essar uppe[sket n=as=ta]*

ser tal[l]isket nu=tta LÚ.M[EŠ ^{URU}*Karkisa]*

anzed[a]z memiyanaz PAB-*nu[er]*

‘[I, My Majesty, commended you, Manapa-Tarḫunta], to the men of Karkisa. [My father/brother also repeatedly se]nt gifts [to] the men of Karkisa and repeatedly exhorted [them] on [your] behalf. Because of our words the men [of Karkisa] protected you.’

The sentence cited as (14) is followed by direct speech, but this in no way requires that *talliye/a-* be a verb of speech, since such usage is well attested after various action verbs (see GrHL: 355, §28.8). In the following speech the Hittite king summarily informs the trees that the Sun-god and Storm-god have allocated them to him to cut down and use to build a temple. There can be no question here of a sense ‘implore’, contra e.g., Neu (1983: 187). The king exhorts the trees to move: *kinun=a=kan kēz KUR-eaz sarā itten* ^d10-as=smas LUGAL-i *maniyaḫta* ‘Now go up from this country! The Storm-god has allocated you to the king!’ (KUB 29.1 i 39–40).

Even the incomplete context of example (15) is enough to assure that the action described by *talliye/a-* includes both the sending of gifts and a verbal representation. Once again, however, I cannot follow Beckman (1996: 78), who renders *tallisket* as ‘pleaded with’. The subject is either the brother or father of the Hittite king Mursili II.⁵ It is quite unthinkable that he would describe either of those individuals as having **pleaded** with the men of a minor western Anatolian country. The men of Karkisa were (successfully) exhorted to the action desired by both the words and deeds of Mursili and his brother or father. I certainly do not exclude that in these two instances Hittite *talliye/a-* has like English ‘to exhort’ come effectively to mean ‘to induce to action with words’, but examples like (11) and (13) cited above show that this is, as in the case of the English verb, a secondary development.

The fundamental sense of *talliye/a-*, as already seen by Laroche, is ‘to draw, allure, lure, attract’. There is thus no basis for the popular derivation of the verb from a PIE root **del-* that is the source of Old English *talian* and Old Icelandic *telja* ‘to tell’ in, e.g., Tischler (1979: 265) and HED M: 184. The latter verb is in any case itself not a primary verb of speech, since its original sense clearly is ‘to count’: compare German *zählen* ‘to count’ and English expressions such as ‘all told’ and ‘tell one’s beads (i.e., rosary)’. One may compare for the shift from ‘to count’ to ‘to tell’ French *conter* ‘to tell’ beside *compter* ‘count’, both from Latin *computāre* ‘to calculate’.

The derivation of *talliye/a-* by Oettinger (1979: 346) < as **ruhig machen* < PIE **tʰh₁-ye/o-* is excluded by the usage of *-kan/-asta* with *arḫa talliya-* plus the ‘dative of disadvantage’. By his account the *arḫa* of *arḫa talliya-* would need to show the ‘privative’ use of *arḫa* that reverses the sense of the base verb: in effect ‘dis-quiet’ (like *arḫa ḫapāi-* ‘un-wet, dry off’ and *arḫa tarranu-* ‘un-strengthen, weaken’), but *arḫa* in this usage never takes a local particle. The consistent co-occurrence with *-kan/-asta* shows that *arḫa* in *arḫa talliya-* must have the sense of ‘away from’. We are again led with Laroche to a transitive motion verb ‘to draw, lure’.⁶

English and Old Icelandic do provide genuine cognates of the Hittite verb as properly defined, although these have been hopelessly muddled together with the family of ‘to tell’ in

5 My restoration of ll. i 10–11 differs from Beckman’s in that I assume due to the limited space in l. 11 a third-person subject for the sentence ‘repeatedly sent gifts’, but the subject of the verb *tallisket* is the king’s brother or father in any case.

6 On Hittite *talliyē(ss)-* ‘be(come) calm, quiescent’, cf. Oettinger (1979: 251) and see Melchert (forthcoming).

most handbooks.⁷ Old English attests a verb *-tyllan* in the compounds *for-tyllan* ‘seduce’ (*Dona us se swearta gaest forteáh and fortylde* ‘Whence the dark spirit drew away and seduced us’) and *be-tyllan* ‘lure, decoy’ (*Ðâ geliccetton hi fleám for him and hine betylton on nearo fasten* ‘Then they feigned flight before him and lured him into a narrow fastness’). See respectively Bosworth & Toller (1898: 325) and Toller & Campbell (1921: 87). The simple verb appears in Middle English as *tillen*, usually with the pejorative sense ‘lure, entice’: ‘What arte þou, Andrew..þat has..drawen men to þi fals Godde & tilled my wyfe away?’ or ‘With gold and silver thow schal thaym tyllle’. However, it also means merely ‘to draw’: ‘Þus doiþ Ihesu Crist...to till us to his loue’. See Kurath (1952) under *tillen* v. (3). The neutral sense ‘to draw, pull’ survives in the Modern English noun ‘till’ = ‘cash drawer’.

In Middle English there also appears a verb *tollen/tullen*, likewise meaning ‘to draw, attract’: ‘Hou many virgins shal she tolle and drawe to þe Lord’, ‘It may nat drawen or tollen [L *allicere*] swiche hertes as ben ibrought to the ful perfeccioun of vertue’. See Kurath (1952) under *tollen* v. (1). The verb continued to be used in this meaning and in the special use of luring fish and game until 1900 in the United States (see the *Oxford English Dictionary* under the verb *toll/tole*). A reflex of the neutral sense ‘to pull’ survives in Modern English ‘to toll a bell’. The verb is also attested in an intransitive sense ‘to move’: ‘ha tolliþ togederes’ = ‘they draw together’; see Bosworth & Toller (1898) under *tyllan*.

Given the frequent though by no means obligatory negative sense of the English reflexes and the use for luring animals, Old Icelandic *tál* ‘trap, deceit, allurement’ (NB *draga á tálar* ‘draw into a trap’) and its derivatives surely are also cognate. We may likely also add Greek *δόλος* ‘deceit, guile’ (used also of ‘bait’ for fish in *Odyssey* 12, 252) and Latin *dolus* and Oscan *dolom, dolud*. I must again stress that there is no basis whatsoever for relating either the English or the Icelandic words, which clearly refer to a physical action of attracting, to the family of ‘to tell’, either in the sense ‘to count’ or ‘to relate, speak about’.

The geminate *-ll-* of Hittite *talliye/a-* and English *-tyllan* and *tollen/tullen* are each susceptible to multiple explanations, and since they belong to highly productive formations they are more likely to be independent derivatives than reflexes of a common PIE verbal stem. Old Icelandic *tál* ‘trap, deceit’ is one of a set of Germanic feminine nouns with prehistoric long **ē* in the root whose origins are quite unclear; see on the problem Darms (1978: 91–102). I forgo any discussion of these formal problems here. I am confident that Hittite *talliye/a-* and the English verbs meaning ‘to draw, allure’ are derived from a PIE root **del(H)-* of the same meaning.

⁷ Partridge (1958: 720, 725) does keep the source of the English verbs distinct from that of ‘to tell’, but his own comparisons within Germanic are both phonologically and semantically unacceptable.

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