

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE LITERARY EFFECTS OF DISCOURSE PATTERNS IN HITTITE TEXTS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2020

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This work is dedicated to Diane,
my ever joyful, loving, and stalwart companion in this life.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express appreciation to my academic advisor and committee chair, Prof. Petra Goedegebuure, who provided constant support and guidance throughout my program and dissertation process. No one can remove the stress of these things, but she made the process stimulating and exciting. It was truly a wonderful experience. I am also grateful for my other Hittitology professor and committee member, Prof. Theo van den Hout, who similarly provided constant support and encouragement throughout my program and writing process and who generously made himself available for many drop-in conversations about random questions covering the breadth of Hittitology as well as academic research in general. I also thank my two other committee members, Profs. John Wee and Simeon Chavel for their support and guidance during the writing process.

I also thank Prof. Dr. Daniel Schwemer for hosting me at the Institut für Altertumswissenschaften, Lehrstuhl für Altorientalistik, Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg for just over half a year as I began research for this dissertation. The Institut, under the leadership of Prof. Schwemer, was both a vibrant academic community as well as a place where everything I needed was practically within grasp from where I sat at my desk. Prof. Schwemer enabled me to take advantage of the irreplaceable resources of the Hethitologie Archiv at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Germany where Prof. Dr. Gerfrid G. W. Müller, Dr. Silvan Košak, and especially Dr. Charles Steitler guided me in the use of the resources there and were personally generous with their individual expertise on all manner of Hittitological and cuneiform matters.

I also thank Prof. Christopher Woods of the University of Chicago and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago both for his support on a personal level as well as in his role as the overseer of the Adolph Leo Oppenheim Fund. I received financial support from this fund for attending numerous conferences, for my research stay in Würzburg, Germany, as well as the Oppenheim Dissertation Completion Fellowship. The latter supported me during my final year as a student at the University of Chicago and enabled me to focus exclusively on completing this dissertation.

I also wish to thank the many student colleagues I have had over the years whose encouragement, help, friendship, and camaraderie has made this dissertation possible and my years of study a true pleasure. While there are too many to enumerate, I would like to mention the following from my years in Chicago: Ami Huang, Emily Smith, Thalia Lysen, James Burgin, Josh Cannon, Naomi Harris, David Ridge, Madadh Richey, and Andrew Zulker.

Mentors from previous institutions deserve mention as well since many of the concepts discussed in this dissertation were introduced to me by them. Furthermore, these teachers and professors have maintained their interest in my research and support of me personally, even after having left their institutions eight years ago or more: Richard Halloran, Gordon Johnston, Robert Chisholm, John Hilber, and Dorian Coover-Cox. Their encouragement over the years has been invaluable.

Especially, I thank God for my supportive and loving wife, Diane Marineau, without whom I could not have made it through these last seven years! I have been a student for fifteen of our sixteen years of marriage. None of my accomplishments could have happened without her support and dedication and the many instances when she encouraged me or gave me wise

perspective on countless situations and challenges over so many years of school. This dissertation is dedicated to her.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CAD – *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (1956-2010)

CHD – *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (1989-)

CTH – Catalogue des textes hittites/Catalog der Texte der Hethiter; current version: S. Košak – G. G. W. Müller – S. Görke – Ch. Steitler, hethiter.net/: Catalog (2020-01-27)

HED – *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* by Jaan Puhvel (1984-)

HEG – *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar* by Johann Tischler (1983-2016)

HW₂ – *Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Zweite* (1975-2017)

HZL – *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon* by Erich Neu and Christel Rüster. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz (1989)

KUB – Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (vols. 1-60)

KBo – Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (1-71)

GrHL – Grammar of the Hittite Language Part 1: Reference Grammar. By Harry A. Hoffner and H. Craig Melchert (2008)

SMEA – Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici

NS – New Script

MS – Middle Script

OS – Old Script

NH – New Hittite

MH – Middle Hittite

OH – Old Hittite

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“Poetics deals with problems of verbal structure, just as the analysis of painting is concerned with pictorial structure. Since linguistics is the global science of verbal structure, poetics may be regarded as an integral part of linguistics.”¹ This quote is from the introduction to Roman Jakobson’s 1960 article that is now described as “one of the most important documents in the entire history of literary theory.”² The linguistic analysis of literary features was launched in the early part of the 20th century by the Russian Formalists, Jakobson was among the founding members. Some of the core ideas of what makes literature literary were formulated during this time and remain influential today.

The application of linguistic literary analysis to ancient Near Eastern texts has been slow, especially so for Hittitology. This is not surprising given that the work on Hittite texts, beginning in 1906 when the first tablets were excavated, was almost entirely philological.³ Texts needed to be edited. Fragmented tablets needed to be pieced back together. The grammar had to be figured out. While many glossaries have been created, an encyclopedic dictionary with fully cited attestations with contexts and usages has yet to be completed.⁴ As a result, a thorough study of literary features has not been possible until the last few decades, though various small scale

¹ Roman Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” in *Style in Language*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1960), p. 350.

² Paul H. Fry, *Theory of Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 83.

³ For an overview of the history and development of the field of Hittitology, see Piotr Taracha, “Hittitology Up to Date: Issues and New Approaches,” *Orientalistyczny* 65 (2012), pp. 212-223.

⁴ The two main ones currently in progress are HW² and the CHD. The former has an uncertain future beyond the letter K. The latter is many decades away from completion. Etymological dictionaries have also been underway, but these do not cite full contexts, nor do they discuss non-Indo-European words: Jaan Puhvel’s multi-volume *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* (HED) 1984- is not yet complete; Johann Tischler’s multi-volume *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar* 1983-2016 has recently been completed; also Alwin Kloekhorst’s single-volume *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon* 2008.

studies have been put forward. Now that the body of Hittite texts has increasingly become reconstructed and the language better understood, study of their literary features should begin in earnest. As the above quotation of Jakobson states, the literary features of a language are a necessary component to the study of that language.

1.1 Short Overview

Among the possible literary features that a study in poetics could include, such as rhyme, metaphor, or narrativity, the present study will focus on a single type of feature: discourse patterns and the ways that they can have what Jakobson describes as a “set towards the message,” which is the definition of what he calls the poetic function of language.⁵ This study will begin by utilizing the results of linguistic discourse analysis, especially the concept of discourse cohesion. It will be shown that methods for constructing cohesion in and across discourse units create patterns. These patterns can be of any size, whether two sentences, ten sentences, or more in length. Also, these patterns can be of varying density; larger or smaller proportions of the words and grammar of a text can be integrated into the formation of the pattern. Once patterns have been discovered and described, the presence of various techniques for creating literary effects will be assessed. The linguistic techniques for creating literary effects are derived from literary theory as developed during the 20th and early 21st centuries. These techniques are based upon core principles such as literariness, defamiliarization, the poetic function of language, and foregrounding. In the case studies of this dissertation, I combine the theoretical frameworks of linguistic discourse analysis and literary theory and then apply them to Hittite texts.

⁵ A description and discussion of Jakobson’s understanding of the poetic function of language and its linguistic criterion appears below in chapter 2 section 2.2.3.

1.2 History of Poetics in Hittitology

1.2.1 Metrical Poetry

The search for literary and poetic features in Hittite texts began with Hans Gustav Güterbock's critical edition of the Song of Ullikummi in two articles from 1951 and 1952.⁶ On the basis of its self-designation as a "song" (written with the Sumerogram SÌR⁷), Güterbock attempted to discover its poetic verse patterns, particularly looking for regularity in rhythm. In the introductory sections of his edition, he states that there is a low level of regularity. After noting the several difficulties to counting either stresses or syllables, he says,

"...it can be stated that there is a majority of verses that may be called 'normal' length, with usually four stresses and about 12-17 syllables. Besides these, there are short verses with only 4-10 syllables and two to three stresses, and long clauses with around 22 syllables. Verses of different length appear rather freely mixed... we may state that our epic is not written in very good verse."⁸

In spite of this skeptical assessment of the possible metrical structure of Hittite verse, others attempted to refine the method of investigation. In 1963, Ian McNeill looked to repeated formulae, especially the speech-introduction formula,⁹ to determine what is the "irreducible minimum" of the formula and, based on this minimum, to determine what is the standard

⁶ Hans Gustav Güterbock, "The Song of Ullikummi Revised Text of the Hittite Version of a Hurrian Myth," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 5 (1951), pp. 135-161; Hans Gustav Güterbock, "The Song of Ullikummi Revised Text of the Hittite Version of a Hurrian Myth (Continued)," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 6 (1952), pp. 8-42.

⁷ For the tablets of this text that have preserved colophons with the designation SÌR, see Willemijn J.I. Waal, *Hittite Diplomatics: Studies in Ancient Document Format and Record Management* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), pp. 275-276.

⁸ Güterbock, "The Song of Ullikummi," pp. 142 and 144.

⁹ In CTH 345, the Song of Ullikummi, the speech introduction formula contains various combinations of a subject, indirect object(s), direct object(s), various local adverbs, and a form of the verb *memai*- "to speak" (usually in the supinum construction with the verb *dai-/tiya*- "to put, place"; e.g., *memiškiwan daiš* "s/he began to speak"). Examples are given below in the present discussion.

metrical structure of a verse.¹⁰ He concluded that Hittite meter contains “four stresses and is divided into two cola of two stresses each.”¹¹ McNeill’s “irreducible minimum” of the formula is as follows: “X = subj. Y = ind. obj. *memiškiwan daiš*”¹² = ‘X began to speak to Y.’ A problem that he did not discuss is the extent of the variation of this formula and how few times the “irreducible minimum” actually occurs. In fact, only five of the thirty-two examples of the speech introduction formula in the Song of Ullikummi show this “irreducible minimum.” Several examples include the addition of local adverbs (e.g., *EGIR-pa* “back,” as in example (1)) or prepositional phrases (e.g., *PANI ZI=ŠU* “before his mind/soul,” as in example (2)) while others include additional stressed words (e.g., *uddar* “word, matter,” or adnominal words, as in examples (3) and (4), respectively) and still other examples exclude elements of the “irreducible minimum” (as in examples (5) and (6)). The following examples reveal the kinds of variations of the speech introduction formula as it occurs in the Song of Ullikummi.¹³ The underlined words are those determined to be stressed and those that are not underlined are determined to be not stressed according to McNeill’s 2+2 metrical structure, while those in bold are additions or variations that disrupt this scheme. The slashes (/ and //) mark the pauses in the middle and at the end of each metrical line, indicating the cola boundaries for the 2+2 metrical structure as McNeill has proposed.

(1) *EGIR-pa*: [n]aš dU-aš dUTU-i / **EGIR-pa** memiškiuwan dāiš //
The Storm-god began to speak back to the Sun-god
KUB 33.96 iv 55a' (Tablet 1)

(2) *PANI*: nuza dElliluš **PANI** Z[I=Š]U / memiškiuwan dāiš //

¹⁰ Ian McNeill, “The Metre of the Hittite Epic,” *Anatolian Studies* 13 (1963), p. 240.

¹¹ McNeill, “The Metre of the Hittite Epic,” p. 240.

¹² McNeill, “The Metre of the Hittite Epic,” p. 240.

¹³ All examples come from the edition by Güterbock. See note 6 for bibliography.

Ellilu began to speak before his mind/soul

KUB 33.95+KUB 36.7b+KUB 33.93 iv 13' (Tablet 1)

- (3) INIM^{MEŠ}:¹⁴ [(*nu* ^d*Impaluriš*)] INIM^{MEŠ}-*ar aruni* / EGIR-*pa* [(*memiškiuw*)*an* (*d*)]*āiš* //
Impaluri began to speak words back to the Sea.

KUB 17.7 ii 9-10a (Tablet 1)

- (4) Adnominal: [^dÉ.A-*aš karūiliyaš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš* / EGIR-*pa memiškiuan dāiš* //
Ea began to speak back to the Primeval Gods

KUB 33.106 iii 48a' (Tablet 3)

- (5) Non-Supinum:¹⁵ [(*nu=za* ^d*I*)]Š*STAR-iš* *ZI-ni* / EGIR-*pa memiškizzi* //
Ištar speaks back to her mind/soul

KUB 33.113+KUB 36.12 2.B i 18'-19a' (Tablet 2)

- (6) 1+2, not 2+2: *nu* ^d*Tašmišuš* / [*memiškiuwa*(*n dāi*)]*š* //
Tašmišu began to speak.

KUB 33.96+KUB 33.93 iv 44a' (Tablet 1)

Since the publication of McNeill's article, others have added refinements to the method that attempt to mitigate the problem posed by these kinds of variation. Scholars such as Stephen Durnford and Craig Melchert have argued that certain word types must either always be taken as unstressed or sometimes stressed and sometimes not stressed.¹⁶ For example, all clause initial connectives (*nu*, *ta*, and *š(u)-*) are always considered unstressed. Postpositions like EGIR-*pa/āppa*, adnominals like genitives or attributive adjectives, the supinum verb form, and others are sometimes taken as stressed and sometimes taken as unstressed depending on whether or not

¹⁴ INIM is the Sumerographic writing of Hittite *uddar* "word, matter." INIM^{MEŠ} is the plural form.

¹⁵ In this case, because the supinum is not used, the adverb EGIR-*pa* must be considered stressed in order to be interpreted as constituting the 2+2 metrical structure in contrast to when the supinum is used and EGIR-*pa* cannot be considered stressed, as in examples (1) and (3).

¹⁶ Stephen P. B. Durnford, "Some Evidence for Syntactic Stress in Hittite," *Anatolian Studies* 21 (1971), pp. 69-75; H. Craig Melchert, "Poetic Meter and Phrase Stress in Hittite," in *Mir Curad: Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, ed. Jay H. Jasanoff, H. Craig Melchert, and Lisi Oliver (Innsbruck, 1998), pp. 483-495; H. Craig Melchert, "New Light on Hittite Verse and Meter?," in *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, November 3-4, 2006*, ed. K. Jones-Bley and et al. (Washington: 2007), pp. 117-128.

there are already four words in the sentence that are required to be understood as stressed. In other words, if there are three words in a sentence that must be regarded as stressed, if there is also a postposition, an adnominal noun, or a supinum verb form in the sentence, then one of them will be understood as stressed so that the sentence can be interpreted as an example of the 4-stress metrical structure proposed by McNeill. That is to say, the decision to interpret a given word or word-type as stressed or unstressed is based on the assumption that Hittite meter contains 4 stresses and that the sentences must be able to fit into this paradigm, a paradigm that ignores the great deal of variation of the formula used to establish it.

Another scholar to study this topic is Alwin Kloekhorst. His work has brought an added level of sophistication to the endeavor because he has sought to understand how words are marked for stress using plene vs. non-plene vowel writing as the basis for identifying accented syllables in words.¹⁷ In spite of his valuable work on understanding word stress, its application to understanding meter in Hittite has not solved the *ad-hoc* nature of previous attempts in accounting for sentences that differ from the “irreducible minimum” formula.¹⁸

The results of searching for metrical poetry in Hittite has produced little results. The culmination of all this work is to identify just three texts (or text portions) as poetry: “the Song of Ullikummi, the Song of Neša, and the recitation part of the Ritual of Irija.”¹⁹

¹⁷ Alwin Kloekhorst, *Accent in Hittite: A Study in Plene Spelling, Consonant Gradation, Clitics, and Metrics* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014).

¹⁸ While this short critique points to what are, in my view, problematic issues with a search for metrical poetry in Hittite, it does not fully address all the details. These will be taken up in a future article.

¹⁹ Kloekhorst, *Accent in Hittite*, p. 621, see pp. 619-621 for an overview of history of research on the identification of poetry in Hittite texts. Mary Bachvarova has argued that the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual Song of Release (CTH 789) is metrical poetry as well. See Mary R. Bachvarova, “The Meter of Hurrian Narrative Song,” *Altoriental Forschungen* 38, no. 2 (2011), pp. 285-308. See also the suggested metrical analyses of various texts with military contexts in Mark Weeden,

1.2.2 Literary Features

Aside from meter, there have been a number of studies on various other kinds of literary features in Hittite texts.²⁰ They have discussed occurrences of metaphor,²¹ rhyme,²² parallelistic

“Poetry and War among the Hittites,” in *Warfare and Poetry in the Middle East*, ed. Hugh Kennedy (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), pp. 73-98.

²⁰ Perhaps the largest such study is Bert De Vries, “The Style of Hittite Epic and Mythology,” (Waltham: PhD Dissertation, Brandeis University, 1967).

²¹ Billie Jean Collins, “Ḫattušili I, the Lion King,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 50 (1998), pp. 15-20; Rita Francia, “Storia degli studi sulla poesia ittita e una nuova chiave di lettura di un testo ‘classico’: CTH 414,” in *Atti della giornata di studio “La ricerca nel Vicino Oriente antico: Storia degli studi e nuovi orizzonti d’indagine”*, Roma, 22/02/2012, ed. Rita Francia and S. Seminara (Rome: De Boccard, 2012), p. 79-105; Giulia Torri, “Common Literary Patterns in Hittite Magical Rituals and Prayers,” *Orientalia, Nova Series* 72 (2003), pp. 216-222; Mary R. Bachvarova, “Manly Deeds: Hittite Admonitory History and Eastern Mediterranean Didactic Epic,” in *Epic and History*, ed. David Constan and Kurt A. Raaflaub (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 66-85; Alfonso Archi, “Hittite Imageries,” in *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 22-26 Eylül 1986)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih kurumu Basimevi, 1990), pp. 589-595; Johan de Roos, “Rhetoric in the S.C. Testament of Hattusili I,” in *Veenhof Anniversary Volume: Studies Presented to Klaas R. Veenhof on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 2001), pp. 401-406.

²² Francia, “Storia degli studi sulla poesia ittita e una nuova chiave di lettura di un testo ‘classico’: CTH 414,” pp. 65-71; Rita Francia, “The Grammar of Hittite Poetry,” in *100 Jahre Entzifferung des Hethitischen: Morphosyntaktische Kategorien in Sprachgeschichte und Forschung. Akten der Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 21. bis 23. September 2015 in Marburg*, ed. Elisabeth Rieken (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2018), pp. 83-90; Rita Francia, “Differences Between Prose and Poetic Style in the Hittite Language,” in *Acts of the IXth International Congress of Hititology: Çorum, September 08-14, 2014*, ed. Aygül Süel (Ankara: Dumat Ofset, 2019), pp. 261-272; Calvert Watkins, “Toward a Hittite Stylistics: Remarks on Some Phonetic and Grammatical Figures,” in *Ex Anatolia Lux: Anatolian and Indo-European Studies in Honor of H. Craig Melchert on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Ronald Kim et al. (Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press, 2010), pp. 356-362.

structures,²³ as well as literary tropes.²⁴ One article asserts that the *historiola* section of the Temple Building Ritual (CTH 414) in KUB 29.1 i 10-49 is a poem.²⁵ A collection of all such features appeared in the 2006 book by Volkert Haas: *Die hethitische Literatur: Texte, Stilistik, Motive*. This book, however, by its own admission, offers merely “einen ersten Einblick.”²⁶ Furthermore, most of the features described in his chapter dedicated to “literary elements” (chapter 19) are features like word play, alliteration, hendiadys, onomatopoeia, and others, rather than discourse structural features. Haas does mention the presence of some structural features like parallelism, chiasm, and word order variation. However, all of these are in one and two

²³ Francia, “Storia degli studi sulla poesia ittita e una nuova chiave di lettura di un testo ‘classico’: CTH 414,” pp. 79-105; Francia, “The Grammar of Hittite Poetry,” pp. 83-90; Francia, “Differences Between Prose and Poetic Style in the Hittite Language,” pp. 270-271; Calvert Watkins, “An Indo-European Stylistic Figure in Hittite: The *a a b* Triad and the Climactic Formula ... $V_i \dots V_i \dots V_j$,” in *Investigationes Anatolicae: Gedenkschrift für Erich Neu*, ed. Jörg Klinger, Elisabeth Rieken, and Christel Rüster (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), pp. 329-335; Calvert Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 247-251.

²⁴ Calvert Watkins, “The Third Donkey: Origin Legends and Some Hidden Indo-European Themes,” in *Indo-European Perspectives: Studies in Honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies*, ed. J. H. W. Penney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 65-80; Gary Beckman, “Proverbs and Proverbial Allusions in Hittite,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45 (1986), pp. 19-30; Bachvarova, “Manly Deeds: Hittite Admonitory History and Eastern Mediterranean Didactic Epic,” pp. 66-85; Amir Gilan, “Epic and History in Hittite Anatolia: In Search of a Local Hero,” in *Epic and History*, ed. David Constan and Kurt A. Raaflaub (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 51-65; Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon*, pp. 321-324.

²⁵ “Per queste caratteristiche non ci sembra azzardato né improprio usare il termine *poemetto*, almeno per la sezione relativa al testo che riporta il dialogo tra il re e il Trono (righe I 10-49),” Francia, “Storia degli studi sulla poesia ittita e una nuova chiave di lettura di un testo ‘classico’: CTH 414,” p. 86, emphasis added.

²⁶ “Um die poetische Qualität eines literarischen Werkes beurteilen zu können, bedarf es vor allem der Kenntnis stilistischer Figuren und der Strukturen rhythmischer Gliederungen. Zwar ist die Hethitologie von einer Poetologie ihrer Literatur noch weit entfernt, doch sollen die folgenden Beispiele einen ersten Einblick in die kunstvolle Rhetorik hethitischer Literatur geben,” Volkert Haas, *Die hethitische Literatur: Texte, Stilistik, Motive* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), p. 288.

paragraph descriptions with only a few examples that are, in my opinion, not only too brief, but they also scarcely point to the richness of the structural devices in Hittite texts.²⁷

A common thread through all of the studies cited above, is the minimal use of modern literary theory, if it appears at all. As a result of this general lack of theoretical foundation, the analyses of literary features are of mixed quality and show little attention to whether the features are coincidental or meet theoretically rigorous criteria for constituting a true literary device.

A notable exception is a recent in-depth study on literary style in Hittite prayers conducted by Alexandra Daues and Elisabeth Rieken.²⁸ Chapters 2-4 of their book begin with a focus on the prayer texts from the broadest perspective, the “Gesamttexte,” showing how the texts are structured into larger chunks with specific functions as well as how those larger structures are internally structured. In chapter 5 (written by Daues), literary style is analyzed. This latter chapter contains an analysis that is most similar to that conducted in the present study. Daues takes as her starting point that prayers are highly structured (as demonstrated by chapters 3 and 4) and therefore interprets them as “Dramaturgie.”²⁹ By “Dramaturgie,” Daues refers to the resulting effect of linguistic choice in composition that draws attention to *how* something is communicated.³⁰ “Die Analyse hat danach zum Ziel festzustellen, welcher Effekt durch den

²⁷ See Haas, *Die hethitische Literatur: Texte, Stilistik, Motive*, pp. 291-294.

²⁸ Alexandra Daues, Elisabeth Rieken, and with Jürgen Lorenz, *Das persönliche Gebet bei den Hethitern: Eine textlinguistische Untersuchung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2018).

²⁹ Daues, Rieken, and Lorenz, *Das persönliche Gebet bei den Hethitern: Eine textlinguistische Untersuchung*, p. 177.

³⁰ Daues, Rieken, and Lorenz, *Das persönliche Gebet bei den Hethitern: Eine textlinguistische Untersuchung*, p. 179. For the concept of choice and style, Daues utilizes the modern field of Stylistics as articulated in Lesley Jeffries and Dan McIntyre, *Stylistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). For more discussion of this field, see chapter 2, especially beginning on page 42, below.

Einsatz spezifischer stylistischer Mittel in einem spezifischen Text hervorgerufen wird.”³¹ For Daues, her approach to analyzing style contributes to understanding the purpose of the text as a whole.³²

In the synthesis of her chapter, Daues lists out many different stylistic devices, with a summary of each.³³ She also provides a table indicating which prayers, organized by petitioner, utilize the various devices.³⁴ She concludes that the devices contribute to the purpose of the prayers, that they are meant to be rhetorically convincing in order to move the gods to comply with the petition.³⁵

These methodological and theoretical assumptions also undergird the present study with two differences. In comparison to Daues’ work, the present study goes more in-depth into the theoretical background for how a stylistic device is constructed to meet the criteria for constituting aesthetic in written form.³⁶ Second, since Daues and Rieken have provided an excellent study of the prayers, no prayers are included in the present study. In the case studies of this dissertation, which include a formulaic annals text, a mythological text, as well as a narrative text, the purpose of the texts is less clear than it is in the Hittite prayers. Nevertheless, this study

³¹ Daues, Rieken, and Lorenz, *Das persönliche Gebet bei den Hethitern: Eine textlinguistische Untersuchung*, p. 179.

³² “Daraus können wiederum präzisierende Informationen über die Intention des Textes abgeleitet werden,” Daues, Rieken, and Lorenz, *Das persönliche Gebet bei den Hethitern: Eine textlinguistische Untersuchung*, p. 179.

³³ Daues, Rieken, and Lorenz, *Das persönliche Gebet bei den Hethitern: Eine textlinguistische Untersuchung*, pp. 297-300.

³⁴ Daues, Rieken, and Lorenz, *Das persönliche Gebet bei den Hethitern: Eine textlinguistische Untersuchung*, p. 300.

³⁵ Daues, Rieken, and Lorenz, *Das persönliche Gebet bei den Hethitern: Eine textlinguistische Untersuchung*, see pp. 300-302.

³⁶ See especially chapter 2 of the present study.

will assume, with Daues, that the stylistic devices used in a text can contribute to understanding the purpose of a text as a whole.

1.3 Outline of the Study

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the theoretical frameworks of linguistic discourse analysis and literary theory as well as the way they complement each other and are combined in this study. Chapters 3-5 are three case studies where I apply the combination of frameworks, as developed in chapter 2, to a selection of Hittite texts. Each chapter focuses on a single text. The three texts were chosen since they each present a different style of communication. Because of this diversity, I demonstrate how my combination of linguistics and literary theory is applicable to multiple styles and can arguably be used in the analysis of texts beyond the selection of this study.

Chapter 3 is an analysis of a historiographical/political text, the Annals of Ḫattušili I (CTH 4). This text is formulaic with multiple discourse units that follow a highly regular pattern, though with notable exceptions including lengthy elaborations on certain aspects of Ḫattušili's conquests. In spite of the formulaic pattern of the conquest descriptions, a stylistic shift is observable at one point in the text. Most of the exceptions and elaborations occur after this shift.

Chapter 4 contains analysis of selected parts of a mythological text, the Disappearance of Telipinu (CTH 324). This text does contain a narrative arc, but it moves very slowly, with many lines of text focusing on individual situations. In this chapter I argue that portions of the text are written in poetry. The basis of this assessment is the concentrated presence of parallelism composed in such a way that they conform to the core concepts of modern literary theory. Further, the patterns of parallelism in this text show deep integration of both words and grammar in the formation of the patterns.

Chapter 5 is an analysis of the so-called Zalpa Text (CTH 3). Focus is upon the older copy of this text, KBo 22.2, but utilizes the main duplicate KBo 3.38 where appropriate. The style of this text is a non-formulaic story organized as a series of events. While the tablet is broken in the middle and in fact appears to have two stories on it, one on the obverse side and one on the reverse, there are enough preserved lines of text to enable analysis of several complete discourse units. On the obverse side, there are discourse patterns that create various literary effects, but the patterns show lower proportions of integration of word and grammar choices in the creation of the patterns. On the reverse side, the integration is of an even lower proportion to the point where it is difficult to identify any patterns at all. Instead, there are isolated instances of discourse cohesion that point to instances of irony as well as particular portrayals of certain characters.

Chapter 6 contains a summary of the results of the study as well as prospects for future research.

CHAPTER 2: DISCOURSE PATTERNS AND LITERARY EFFECTS

In this chapter I discuss theoretical frameworks from two separate fields: discourse analysis and literary theory. Discourse analysis is relevant to the concept of a discourse pattern. The identification of a discourse pattern is heavily dependent upon an understanding of how written discourses are constructed and made cohesive. Within the field of Discourse Analysis relevant sub-disciplines to this study include Information Structure, Reference, and Cohesion. These fields investigate how a discourse unit is structured and organized, and what makes it a holistic thing. In the analysis of discourse units that will be illustrated in this study, the parameters for discussing literary effects within a given unit are set by the linguistic techniques of internal unit construction and unit transition.

After an overview (in 2.1) of salient aspects of discourse analysis as it pertains to identifying patterns in discourse, this chapter will then turn to the separate, though complementary field of literary theory (in 2.2). From at least the early 20th century, among the Russian Formalists, there has been a concerted effort to quantify aesthetic in literature and other written genres. Over the course of the 20th and early 21st centuries, literary theory has undergone much development and change, whether in the area of focus or in vocabulary. At the same time, many of the underlying ideas have remained the same regarding what makes a literary effect literary. The focus of this section will be on linguistic techniques for creating a literary effect. The last part of this chapter (in 2.3) lays out the guiding principles for how the ideas and concepts of linguistic discourse analysis can be productively combined with literary theory to identify and describe the literary effects of discourse patterns in Hittite texts.

2.1 Discourse Patterns

As noted, the first part of this chapter will provide the basics of what is discourse and a discourse unit as well as how discourse units take shape. Attention will also be given both to how patterns are formed and to the principles for differentiating rule-based patterns from non-rule-based patterns.

2.1.1 Discourse and Discourse Analysis

According to Andrej Kibrik, “linguistic discourse analysis deals with linguistic constituents of the maximal, unlimited size, that is whole discourses.”¹ This kind of analysis has three main areas of focus: “taxonomy: what kinds of this phenomenon are found,” “internal organization of a phenomenon: what is its structure,” and “influence of discourse factors upon more local, small-scale linguistic constituents: grammatical, lexical, and phonetic.”² In this study, primary attention is given to the second area of focus, internal organization, in conjunction with the third area of focus, influence of discourse factors on more local constituents. An articulation of the first area of focus within Hittite texts—a full taxonomy of discourse types—is beyond the scope of this study. While one such study has been conducted for the genre of Prayers in Hittite,³ the present work will focus on the variety of ways that discourse units are structured and what factors influence that structure.

For a definition of *discourse* and *discourse structure*, Kibrik is again helpful. In defining “discourse,” he first differentiates between “global” and “local” discourse structure. “Global

¹ Andrej A. Kibrik, *Reference in Discourse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 11.

² Kibrik, *Reference in Discourse*, pp. 11 and 11-15.

³ Daues, Rieken, and Lorenz, *Das persönliche Gebet bei den Hethitern: Eine textlinguistische Untersuchung*.

discourse structure is the segmentation of discourse into its immediate constituents or large chunks, such as paragraphs in an article or groups of adjacent and interrelated turns in a conversation.” In defining “local” discourse structure, he uses the term “elementary discourse units (EDUs)”: “EDUs are minimal steps in which discourse progresses ahead. They prototypically coincide with clauses.”⁴ With this understanding of especially “local” discourse structure, he offers the following definition of “discourse”: “In this respect discourse can properly be understood as a network of clauses.”⁵ The differentiation of “global” and “local” discourse structure is not meant as a binary opposition, but rather as “two poles in a continuum. Thinking top-down, global discourse structure is gradually broken into smaller and smaller units that eventually lead to the local structure,”⁶ namely, the clause. In the analysis of ancient texts, I suggest looking at it in the opposite direction, the smallest unit of a discourse is the clause. Following his definition of discourse, the smallest network of clauses—for example, two clauses—is combined with other clause networks, strung together until the global discourse structure is complete within a composition.

Regarding the third area of focus of linguistic discourse analysis (“influence of discourse factors upon smaller linguistic constituents”), Kibrik lists several phenomena that fall under the three categories mentioned above—grammatical, lexical, and phonetic—that are influenced by discourse factors: “word order, choice between finite and non-finite verb forms, use of articles, use of connectors and other cohesion devices, discourse markers, location of pitch accents,

⁴ Kibrik, *Reference in Discourse*, p. 14. Cf. the identification of the basic unit of measure within Hebrew poetry as “the line” by F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *On Biblical Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 69. For further discussion of this concept in Hebrew poetry, see chapter 4.3.2 Patterns of Parallelism beginning on page 119, below.

⁵ Kibrik, *Reference in Discourse*, p. 14.

⁶ Kibrik, *Reference in Discourse*, p. 14.

location and length of pauses, etc.”⁷ Kibrik identifies two basic “discourse factors” that influence the use or manifestation of these kinds of smaller linguistic constituents. The first is discourse structure. He argues, “hierarchical and linear discourse structure has a critical impact upon referential choice.”⁸ By “referential choice,” Kibrik here refers to “the choice of referential expression for a referent in question,” pointing to the fact that there is more than one way to refer to a referent.⁹ The second factor is “discourse type.” By “type” he means things like written versus spoken discourse, or even differences in genre. For Kibrik, the effect of these kinds of discourse “types” on how reference occurs is minimal: “In this book, possible effects of discourse type upon reference will be kept in mind. However, I will assume that, for a given language, the core patterns of the referential system are fundamentally the same in all kinds of language use, whereas discourse type may somewhat modify these basic patterns.”¹⁰ In the present study, I will investigate the use of smaller linguistic constituents in addition to reference, yet, following Kibrik, I will assume that the same possibilities are available in the creation of patterns in, for example, different text genres.¹¹ Instead, I will approach the use of smaller linguistic constituents as influenced more so by the factor of global discourse structure. It will be shown that this is a productive approach in the analysis of ancient texts.

⁷ Kibrik, *Reference in Discourse*, pp. 14-15.

⁸ Kibrik, *Reference in Discourse*, p. 15.

⁹ Kibrik, *Reference in Discourse*, p. 15. In his study, he confines his attention to “reduced referential devices” which include “free pronouns, bound (affixal) pronouns, and zero reference,” Kibrik, *Reference in Discourse*, see especially his summary on pp. 284-285. For his in-depth study of these referential devices across multiple languages, see part II of his book covering chapters 3-7.

¹⁰ Kibrik, *Reference in Discourse*, p. 15.

¹¹ This correlates with a central point of scholars who study poetics and stylistics. Roman Jakobson, for example, points out that the “Poetic Function” of language occurs not only in poetry, but in genres of all types. See Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 356.

A final aspect of the analysis of discourse that will follow Kibrik—especially in regards to how discourse structure influences smaller linguistic constituents—is how the influence of discourse structure “can be described with the help of the theoretical notion of choice.” His elaboration on this point is extremely helpful and coincides with work done in the field of Stylistics, which will be discussed directly below.

When a speaker is using language, grammar cues him/her to particular choices: which word order to use, where to place a discourse marker and which one, etc. Thus grammar is actually a system that guides a speaker’s choices. Some choices are relatively rule-based, whereas other choices are rather probabilistic. Discourse-related choices mostly belong to the latter kind: a certain option is not strictly required or strictly ruled out, and more than one option is to a certain extent permissible.¹²

“Discourse-related choices” and differentiating them from “rule-based” choices is of primary interest in the present study. Focus will be placed on probabilistic word, grammar, and syntax choices that create patterns that span multiple sentences that form and give structure to discourse units. While some choices are motivated by a desire for clarity in information conveyance, others reveal more in-depth dynamics that meet criteria defined by modern scholars as constituting an aesthetic or poetic quality.¹³

2.1.2 Discourse Cohesion and Its Patterns

The basics of discourse, discourse analysis, discourse structure, and choice in the construction of discourse as Kibrik articulates them, as summarized above, constitute the fundamental starting point for the analysis of discourse patterns and their literary effects in the

¹² Kibrik, *Reference in Discourse*, p. 15. In brief, among Stylisticians, the most agreed upon definition of “style” is “choice.” See Katie Wales, *A Dictionary of Stylistics* (New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 390. See also Jeffries and McIntyre, *Stylistics*, pp. 25-26; Rosemary Winslow, “Stylistics,” in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry & Poetics*, ed. Roland Greene and Stephen Cushman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 1370.

¹³ These criteria will be discussed below in the section on “Literary Effects.”

case studies in the following chapters. The question of how a pattern in discourse is formed and held together must now be addressed.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* contains a lengthy entry on the English word “Pattern.” Section II of this entry is broadly defined as “a regular or decorative arrangement.”¹⁴ Its sub-section on linguistics has the following definition: “a discernible order or arrangement in some branch of language.”¹⁵ A discourse pattern is formed through the use or recurrence of a variety of linguistic features, particularly discourse markers, grammar, and semantics. The result of such a pattern is that a discourse unit is held together while also drawing attention to the linguistic items creating the pattern. The notion of a discourse unit held together by a variety of linguistic features is best described by the concept of Discourse Cohesion.

The first major articulation of Discourse Cohesion, its definition, techniques, and effects was by Michael Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan in their 1976 book, *Cohesion in English*.¹⁶ According to them, “the concept of cohesion is a semantic one; it refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text.”¹⁷ They further describe how cohesion manifests within a discourse unit: “cohesion occurs where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other, in the sense that it

¹⁴ *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), s.v., “pattern” section II.

¹⁵ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v., “pattern” section II 11 d.

¹⁶ Stéphanie Bakker and Gerry Wakker observe, “Most scholars working on discourse cohesion, however, will more or less accept the ideas of Halliday and Hasan (1976), the fathers of the concept of cohesion,” Stéphanie J. Bakker and Gerry C. Wakker, “Introduction,” in *Discourse Cohesion in Ancient Greek*, ed. Stéphanie J. Bakker and Gerry C. Wakker (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p. xii. For a summary with examples of Halliday and Hasan’s model of cohesion, see Jeffries and McIntyre, *Stylistics*, pp. 84-87.

¹⁷ Michael A. K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan, *Cohesion in English* (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1976), p. 4.

cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. When this happens, a relation of cohesion is set up, and the two elements, the presupposing and the presupposed, are thereby at least potentially integrated into the text.”¹⁸ The term they use to describe the connection between “the presupposing and the presupposed” elements is “tie.” A “tie” indicates “one occurrence of a pair of cohesively related items,” that is, “a single instance of cohesion.”¹⁹

Halliday and Hasan outline multiple linguistic features that can be used to create cohesive ties that hold a discourse together. The following table reveals the two main types of cohesion along with their corresponding sub-types.²⁰

Grammatical Cohesion	Lexical Cohesion
Reference	Reiteration
Substitution	Collocation
Ellipsis	
Conjunction	

Table 1: Halliday and Hasan Cohesion Types

A method of cohesion that Halliday and Hasan do not discuss directly, but nevertheless describe, is the role of reiteration of grammatical structure. In some cases this kind of reiteration can be identified as grammatical parallelism: “it is a common feature not only of poetry but of many other kinds of discourse as well.”²¹ Reiteration of grammatical structure as a cohesion device occurs in all three texts in the cases studies of the present study.

¹⁸ Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, p. 4.

¹⁹ See Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, pp. 3-4.

²⁰ “Cohesion is expressed partly through the grammar and partly through the vocabulary. We can refer therefore to Grammatical Cohesion and Lexical Cohesion,” Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, pp. 5-6. Each of the four sub-types of grammatical cohesion have whole chapters dedicated to them (chapters 2-5, respectively); the two sub-types of lexical cohesion are discussed in chapter 6 of their book.

²¹ Halliday and Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, see pp. 19-20, §1.3.2.

2.1.3 Discourse Pattern Analysis in Practice

In this section, I will demonstrate how the concepts of discourse cohesion create patterns in a three-sentence discourse-unit from a Hittite text. The unit comes from the Hittite hymn and prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal (CTH 375). It is an instance of parallelism with cohesive ties of both main types that are easy to observe: it includes uses of substitution, a referential pronoun, and several instances of reiteration that create very strong ties among the three sentences.²²

(7)

^{1'} *nu šumāš* DINGIR^{MEŠ} -*aš* ^{URU} *Ḫattušaš-pat ḫandān parkui* ^{2'} KUR-*e*
SÍSKUR^{HLA} -*aš-maš* parkui šalli šanezzi ^{3'} ^{URU} *Ḫattušaš-pat* KUR-*ya pišgaueni*
nu-ššan ^{4'} *šumāš* DINGIR^{MEŠ} -*aš naḫšarattan* ^{URU} *Ḫattušaš-pat* ^{5'} KUR-*ya zikkiuwani*

^{1'} For you, O gods, only Ḫattuša (is) a true, pure ^{2'} land.

As for pure, great, (and) fine rituals, ^{3'} only in the land of Ḫattuša do we continue to perform (them) for you.

^{4'} For you, O gods, only in the land of Ḫattuša ^{5'} do we continue to establish reverence.

KUB 17.21+KBo 51.16 obv. i 1'-5' (CTH 375)²³

That these three sentences are a single discourse unit is indicated by the fact that they are marked off as their own section on the tablet; horizontally inscribed section dividing lines occur before and after them.²⁴ As for cohesive ties, several reiterations immediately stand out:

^{URU} *Ḫattušaš-pat* “only Ḫattuša” and KUR “land” occurs in each sentence; a form of the second person pronoun occurs in each sentence (an independent form [*šumāš*] in the first and third sentence, a clitic form [*šmaš*] in the second sentence); the adjective *parkui* “pure” occurs in the

²² This exemplifies Kibrik’s definition of discourse discussed above: “discourse can properly be understood as a network of clauses,” Kibrik, *Reference in Discourse*, p. 14.

²³ For edition, see Elisabeth Rieken, et al., ed. *Hethiter.net/: CTH 375.1 (TX 2016-01-15, TRde 2017-08-09)* (Würzburg: University of Würzburg, 2016), §2’.

²⁴ For more on the role of section dividing lines to demarcate discourse units on Hittite tablets, see below.

first and second sentences; the plural noun DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš* “gods” occurs in the first and third sentences. The clitic pronoun *šmaš* “for you” is a referential tie to the phrase the *šumāš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš* “for you, O gods.” There is also reiteration of grammatical form: the verbs in the second and third sentences are both *-ške-* imperfective verb forms. According to the lexical files of the CHD, this text is the only instance in which the *-ške-* imperfective of *dai-/tiya-* “to place, establish” is used to refer to *naḥšaratt-* “fear, reverence, awe,” even for an ongoing situation, as here; ordinarily a participle (e.g., *tiyanza*) or a periphrastic participle (*tiyan ḥarta/ēšdu*) is used.²⁵

Another aspect of reiteration, which points to substitution, is the clustering of adjectives. In the first sentence there are the attributive adjectives *ḥandān parkui*, “true, pure” in predicate position; in the second sentence the number is increased to three attributive adjectives modifying the direct object, with just one of them from the first sentence carried over, *parkui šalli šanezzi*, “pure, great, (and) fine”; in the third sentence, the attributive adjectives of the direct object are replaced by a single noun functioning as the direct object, *naḥšarattan*, “fear, reverence.” The occurrence of *parkui* in the first two sentences ties those sentences together and also implies a similarity of some sort. The substitution of two attributive adjectives in the second sentence, *šalli šanezzi* “great, fine,” for one in the first sentence, *ḥandān* “true,” is additive to the semantic meaning. The change from attributive adjectives to a noun could be considered a shift away from the other two sentences. Yet, reiterations and substitutions of the third with the second and first sentences show they are all tied together.

²⁵ Also the verb *ki-* “to lie, be laid, be set” occurs. For attestations, see also CHD L-N, p. 344, s.v., *naḥšaratt-* 2. In the lexical files of the CHD, a form was found that uses the supinum of the cognate verb *naḥšariya-* with the indicative *tiyanzi* “they placed” to refer to an ongoing situation in the future: “in the future... [they] will always show respect for the Stormgod *p.*, my lord.” This sentence from the prayer of Muwattali II (CTH 381) is cited in CHD L-N, p. 346, s.v., *naḥšariya-* 2.

The cohesive ties, especially the reiteration ties, point to patterns within the discourse unit. While the exact reiteration of various linguistic elements ties them all together, the variation in pattern points to differing interpretations on the developmental structure of the unit. So, the reiteration of *šumāš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš* “for you, O gods,” and even the use of connective *nu* “and,” in the first and third sentence may point to an inverted, chiastic ABA’ pattern.²⁶ The alternation between abstract description and concrete action supports the ABA’ pattern: the concept of a land being “true and pure” in the first sentence is abstract, raising the question, “*in what way* is the land ‘true and pure’?” Similarly, the concept of “establishing reverence” in the third sentence is abstract, raising the question, “*how* have they ‘established reverence’?” The second sentence, however, is more concrete than the first and third sentences: “we perform rituals.”

On the other hand, the great degree of cohesive ties between the second and third sentences—the use of the dative phrase ^{URU}*Ḫattušaš-pat* KUR-*ya* “only in the land of Ḫattuša” and the use of the *-ške-* imperfective verbs in the second and third sentences versus the verbless nominal clause ^{URU}*Ḫattušaš-pat ḫandān parkui* ²⁷ KUR-*e* “only Ḫattuša (is) a true, pure land” in the first sentence—points to an ABB’ pattern. A third option also suggests itself when focusing on the adjectives. The use of *parkui* “pure” in the first and second sentences, in addition to the

²⁶ The use of this nomenclature is intended to imply degrees of similarity and difference among sentences. Thus, the A and A’ sentences are interpreted as more tightly similar on the basis of semantics and/or syntax whereas the B sentence is interpreted as less similar to the A sentences again on the basis of semantics and/or syntax. The structure of a two sentence parallelism may be interpreted as either AB or AA’ depending on the level of similarity and dissimilarity in semantics and/or syntax. For the most part, in this study, parallel sentences with high degrees of similarity in syntax will be labeled with the AA’ designation. A shift from this tendency occurs on a case by case basis.

use of other adjectives, versus the third sentence having no adjectives, points to an AA'B pattern. Various sets of cohesive ties point to any one of these three options.²⁷

In sum, this example has revealed that discourse cohesion refers to the ways that a text is held together by “ties” that can, at times, produce differing patterns within a discourse unit. These patterns combine to communicate and elaborate concepts, ideas, or assertions. Not all patterns integrate so many aspects of the communication as in example (7). Example (7) utilizes every single aspect of its grammar and word choice to establish cohesive ties that point to a variety of patterns. As will be seen in the case-studies in the following chapters, cohesive ties of various kind and with varying degrees of language integration occur. All the permutations result in varying effects.

2.1.4 Discourse Grammar

While cohesive ties create patterns within a discourse unit, sometimes the ties are necessary components within the grammar of the discourse.²⁸ The use of referential pronouns, for example, is important for tracking discourse topics as a unit unfolds. Within the field of linguistic discourse analysis, the domain of tracking topics is partly an aspect of Information Structure. Knud Lambrecht explains information structure within a cognitive framework, pointing out the challenges to such study: “The difficulties encountered in the study of information structure are in part due to the fact that grammatical analysis at this level is concerned with the relationship

²⁷ The reality of this situation—that multiple interpretations of the structure of a given discourse unit suggest themselves on the basis of different combinations of cohesive ties—will be important in the discussion below of what are “literary effects.”

²⁸ Cf. the comments by Kibrik regarding the “theoretical notion of choice,” as discussed above on page 17, where he differentiates choices in composition that are “relatively rule-based” versus “discourse-related choices mostly belong to the latter kind [i.e., ‘probabilistic].”

between linguistic form and the mental states of speakers and hearers.”²⁹ He explains that the intention of a study in Information Structure “is not concerned with lexical and propositional content in the abstract but with the way such content is transmitted.”³⁰ For him, Information Structure is not concerned, strictly speaking, with discourse units as much as it is with single-sentence grammatical structure and what pragmatic influences affect that structure. However, as illustrated by Petra Goedegebuure, the notion of “topic,” as expressed by Lambrecht, has relevance for understanding the tracking of topics across multiple sentences and how those sentences are thereby connected. Her comments on “topic” are best understood in light of Lambrecht’s articulation of his use of “topic,” so his will be given first: “a referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if IN A GIVEN DISCOURSE the proposition is construed as being ABOUT this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is RELEVANT TO and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent.”³¹ Goedegebuure comments on this understanding of “topic” as follows: “Only referring expressions can be topics. Referents of discourse topics must be *discourse* referents.”³² In other words, the structure of a sentence is affected by pragmatic factors, that is, the way a sentence is communicated is influenced by a desire to draw attention to one linguistic item or another within the discourse. One way this is accomplished in English is by word stress.³³ The way a sentence is communicated is dependent upon, and in reference to, the

²⁹ Knud Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1994), p. 1.

³⁰ Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents*, p. 3.

³¹ Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents*, p. 127.

³² Petra M. Goedegebuure, *The Hittite Demonstratives: Studies in Deixis, Topic and Focus* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), p. 55.

³³ See the convenient introduction of Information Structure, including examples in English where word stress can influence what a sentence is “about,” in Goedegebuure, *The Hittite*

discourse preceding it. All this is to say, analysis of *how* a sentence is structured is constrained by the fact that it is constructed to be *about* something within the discourse. As a result, any patterns that may arise out of a basic conveyance of information may or may not have a literary effect. Further methodological considerations on this latter point will be discussed in section 2.2, below. At this point, however, it is sufficient to say that patterns discovered in Hittite indeed may be based on rule-based choices that are not necessarily intended to have a literary effect, rather than on probabilistic ones.

2.1.5 Delineating a Discourse Unit

In the analysis of a pattern within a discourse unit, it is also necessary to know when a unit ends and a new one begins. The way this takes place in Hittite is analogous to other languages, especially in the use of certain discourse markers, but also by the use of inscribed horizontal lines. Discourse markers fulfill a wide range of functions, including “discourse connectors, turn-takers, confirmation-seekers, intimacy signals, topic-switchers, hesitation markers, boundary markers, fillers, prompters, repair markers, attitude markers, and hedging devices.”³⁴ While several of these are confined to oral discourse, others, especially “connectors,” “topic-switchers,” and “boundary markers,” occur in written Hittite texts.

Demonstratives: Studies in Deixis, Topic and Focus, pp. 54-55.

³⁴ Andreas H. Jucker and Yael Ziv, “Discourse Markers: Introduction,” in *Discourse Markers: Descriptions and Theory*, ed. Andreas H. Jucker and Yael Ziv (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1998), p. 1. Jucker and Ziv also note that various other terms are used to refer to the linguistic items that “discourse marker” typically refers to. Also, the definition of the term “discourse marker” is not settled due to the wide variety of functions these items fulfill. See discussion in Jucker and Ziv, “Discourse Markers: Introduction,” pp. 1-5. See also Laurel J. Brinton, “The Development of Discourse Markers in English,” in *Historical Linguistics and Philology*, ed. Jacek Fisiak (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990), pp. 46-48.

There is a variety of linguistic discourse markers in Hittite. The most obvious are the conjunctions. They fulfill different kinds of connecting functions within a discourse unit (e.g., *nu*, *š(u)-*, *ta*, *-a/-ya*³⁵), they serve as topic-switchers within a discourse (especially enclitic *-a/-ma* and its Akkadographic writing *U*³⁶), and boundary markers for the beginning of a discourse unit (especially asyndeton and temporal conjunctions such as *mān* “when” and *mahḥan* “when,”³⁷ also, while *-a/-ma* is often a topic-switcher within a discourse unit, it sometimes functions to signal the end of one series of events about one character in order to switch to a new series of events that follow a different character³⁸).

A non-linguistic way that discourse units are marked in Hittite texts is through the aforementioned inscribed horizontal lines, also referred to as paragraph dividing lines. Willemijn Waal describes these lines as a method “to apply an internal structure to their compositions. These lines can best be described as paragraph lines: their presence is ruled by content and serves

³⁵ See, for example, Harry A. Hoffner and H. Craig Melchert, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), pp. 390-395, 399-401 for these conjunctions. For conjunction *š(u)-*, see especially CHD Š, pp. 517-530 for in-depth discussion of this conjunction, its distribution, usages, and overlap in function with other conjunctions.

³⁶ See, for example, Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, pp. 395-399 and 401-405. For discussion of *-a/-ma* and *U*, see especially Elisabeth Rieken, “Die Partikeln *-a*, *-ja*, *-ma* im Althethitischen und das Akkadogramm *U*,” in *125 Jahre Indogermanistik in Graz: Festband anlässlich des 125jährigen Bestehens der Forschungsrichtung “Indogermanistik” an der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz*, ed. Michaela Ofitsch and Christian Zinko (Graz: Leykam, 2000), pp. 411-419. There are other linguistic items that serve as topic switching devices and other discourse unit internal functions. Demonstrative pronouns, for example, are discourse markers that are referential cohesive markers as well markers for information structure. See especially the study of the Goedegebuure, *The Hittite Demonstratives: Studies in Deixis, Topic and Focus*, for a short overview of the functions of demonstrative pronouns including those in Hittite, see pp. 1-3.

³⁷ See, for example, CHD L-N, p. 143, s.v., *mān* 5 and p. 100, s.v., *mahḥan* 5; and Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, pp. 401-405 for asyndeton and pp. 416-418 for temporal clauses.

³⁸ For two examples of *-a/-ma* marking the beginning of a new discourse unit, see discussion around example (48) from the Annals of Hattušili I as well as the discussion of KBo 22.2 rev. 7a' of the Zalpa text on page 205, below.

to divide the text in distinct logical units.”³⁹ The placement of these dividing lines, then, will contribute to the analysis of discourse structure in identifying the boundaries of discourse units in the texts of this study. These lines, however, are not consistently used for all scene- and discourse-unit divisions. Some texts use very few of these lines while others use many. This is further complicated by the fact that in some cases a duplicate manuscript will not have the same number of lines and sometimes also have them in different places creating situations where one manuscript divides a unit where the other does not.⁴⁰ This situation is not always the case, but the placement of each line in the texts of the case studies will be discussed in the contexts in which they appear.

2.1.6 Summary: Analysis of Discourse Patterns

Analysis of discourse patterns is a multi-faceted endeavor. Discourse patterns are those that occur within and across a network of clauses. Discourse patterns arise out of the occurrence of ties that create cohesion within a discourse unit. A frequently used tie in Hittite is reiteration, whether of lexeme or of grammar. While some of the patterns are based on rules of grammar and topic-tracking necessities, most discourse-related choices are more probabilistic where “a certain

³⁹ Waal, *Hittite Diplomatics: Studies in Ancient Document Format and Record Management*, p. 107 and for her full study on all inscribed vertical and horizontal lines on Hittite tablets, see pp. 85-118.

⁴⁰ For example, in KUB 14.8 between lines obv. 34' and 35' (CTH 378.2) there is a paragraph dividing line, but in the corresponding portions of two duplicates (KUB 14.11+KBo 55.25 lines obv. ii 41-42 and KUB 14.10+ABOT 2.22+KUB 26.86 lines obv. ii 39'-40') there is no dividing line. In this case, it is likely that the dividing line in KUB 14.8 incorrectly divides a unit that is otherwise cohesive. See edition of this text Elisabeth Rieken, et al., ed. *Hethiter.net/: CTH 378.2 (TX 2017-09-07, TRde 2017-10-18)* (Würzburg: University of Würzburg, 2017), §6 clause 74. See also discussion of this section and her treatment of KUB 14.8 obv. 31'-38' as a single unit in Goedegebuure, *The Hittite Demonstratives: Studies in Deixis, Topic and Focus*, pp. 157-158 and note 173.

option is not strictly required or strictly ruled out, and more than one option is to a certain extent permissible.”⁴¹ In the following section, discourse-related choices of the probabilistic kind are of particular interest.

2.2 Literary Effects

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, throughout the last approximately 120 years, literary theorists have attempted to quantify and describe what makes a literary effect literary.⁴² In this section, I provide a historical overview of the developments that have taken place within this field, with particular emphasis on not only the ways theorists describe how a literary effect occurs in a written text, but also how there is a degree of similarity among their descriptions. The following survey will be necessarily selective. Focus will be upon formulations of what makes poetry poetic, what makes literature literary, or in the words of Roman Jakobson, how a linguistic expression makes the language “focus on the message for its own sake.”⁴³

Regarding terminology, most terms will be discussed and defined as they are used or referred to. Already, however, a small group of terms have been used and will appear throughout the rest of this chapter so a preliminary understanding of how I am using them is necessary. A fuller discussion of these terms is interspersed throughout the remainder of this chapter. A frequently used term throughout this study is *literary effect*, others that appear include *poetic (effect)*, and *aesthetic*. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), an “effect” is “the

⁴¹ Kibrik, *Reference in Discourse*, p. 15. Cf. also page 17, above.

⁴² In discussing the 20th century literary critic William Empson, Paul Fry summarizes Empson’s approach to interpreting poetry and the “atmosphere” one senses when reading poetry, “It’s not just something you feel on your pulse. It’s something that can be described and analyzed,” Fry, *Theory of Literature*, p. 76, for broader discussion of Empson and his approach, see pp. 74-78.

⁴³ Jakobson’s theory is discussed in section 2.2.3, below.

state or fact of being operative or in force.”⁴⁴ The relevant definitions the OED offers of “literary” include “of or relating to the writing, study, or content of literature, esp. of the kind valued for quality of form; of the nature of literature” and “of language: having characteristics associated with works of literature or other formal writing; refined, elegant.”⁴⁵ Putting these together produces a meaning of *literary effect* such as *the quality of the form of language, refined or elegant, is operative or in force*. Essentially, along these lines, the way I use the term *literary effect* is in line with Roman Jakobson’s articulation of the *poetic function* of language where the language itself, in a given act of communication, is made prominent (see section 2.2.3 for detailed discussion); *literary effect* and *poetic (effect)* are treated interchangeably in this chapter.

As for the term *aesthetic*, the relevant definitions the OED offers include “of or relating to the perception, appreciation, or criticism of that which is beautiful” and “of a thing: in accordance with principles of artistic beauty or taste; giving or designed to give pleasure through beauty; of pleasing appearance.”⁴⁶ Among the theorists discussed in the following section, *aesthetic* in written form is something that is experienced by a reader. This is particularly true of Viktor Shklovsky (see section 2.2.1.2) and Nigel Fabb (see section 2.2.4 beginning on page 45). As will be seen in the following overview, the way that the terms *aesthetic*, *literary effect*, and *poetic (effect)* relate to each other is that a *literary* or *poetic effect* is produced by specific kinds of language combinations that are experienced by a reader as *aesthetic*. Focus within the overview is placed on identifying which kinds of combinations of language and their circumstances are capable of enabling a reader to experience aesthetic.

⁴⁴ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v., effect 1a.

⁴⁵ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v., literary A.1. and A.5., respectively.

⁴⁶ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v., aesthetic B.2. and B.4., respectively.

2.2.1 The Russian Formalists of the Early 20th Century

Russian Formalism will be the first phase of this historical sketch. While there were several key figures in this school of thought, two of the most famous were Viktor Shklovsky and Roman Jakobson. From this school of thought are two concepts that are pivotal to their understanding of literature: “literariness” and “defamiliarization.”

2.2.1.1 Literariness

One of the key issues that the Russian Formalists were concerned with was differentiating literature from non-literature, where, for them, the quintessential type of literature is poetry. Roman Jakobson said it this way: “The object of the science of literature is not literature, but literariness — that is, that which makes a given work a work of literature.”⁴⁷ A contemporary of Jakobson, Boris Eichenbaum summarized the direction the Formalists took as a departure from previous approaches to the study and use of literature as one redirected toward language:

The Formalists did not look, as literary students usually had, toward history, culture, sociology, psychology, or aesthetics, etc., but toward linguistics ... Linguistics, for its part, was also interested in the formal method in that what was discovered by comparing poetic and practical language could be studied as a purely linguistic problem, as part of the general phenomena of language.⁴⁸

More recently, Galin Tihanov describes the way this manifested in their analyses of literature: “Uncontrolled by, and irreducible to, ethics, religion, or politics, literature was now shaped not by individual imagination and authorial will but by a repertoire of devices, motifs,

⁴⁷ Boris Eichenbaum, “The Theory of the ‘Formal Method’,” in *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays*, ed. Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), quoted on p. 70.

⁴⁸ Eichenbaum, “The Theory of the ‘Formal Method’,” p. 70.

and rules, the exploration of which stimulated the formalists' interest in rhyme, rhythm, sound patterns and repetition, plot structure, and narrative frames."⁴⁹

This interest in language in the pursuit of describing literary effects persisted throughout the 20th century and into the 21st century and is at the core of what the present study will focus on. The focus on differentiating literature from non-literature, however, is problematic and was eventually abandoned. As study of the various linguistic characteristics of "literature" continued, it became clear that many of these characteristics were present in "non-literature" as well. This dichotomy between "literature" and "non-literature" in terms of literariness was abandoned by at least the mid-20th century, even by one of the founders of Russian Formalism, Roman Jakobson.⁵⁰ Yet the methods and theories of literariness nevertheless persisted, even if they were no longer deployed as a criterion for classification of a piece of writing as "literature."

2.2.1.2 Defamiliarization

Another key concept developed by the Russian Formalists was the concept of "defamiliarization." Jeffries and McIntyre explain that for the Formalists, they sought "to explore how the concept of defamiliarization in both art and literature was at the root of the intrinsic aesthetic value of the work in question," and that the "purpose of all art was to defamiliarize the familiar in order to generate for the viewer or reader a new perspective on the topic of the piece of work under consideration."⁵¹ Or, in the language of the Formalist who coined the term, Victor

⁴⁹ Galin Tihanov, "Russian Formalism," in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Roland Greene and Stephen Cushman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 1239.

⁵⁰ See Jakobson, "Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics," pp. 356-357. That this is a given within literary theory today, see, for example, Geoffrey Leech, "Stylistics," in *Discourse and Literature: New Approaches to the Analysis of Literary Genres*, ed. Teun A. van Dijk (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1985), p. 41; Jonathan Culler, *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 19-20.

⁵¹ Jeffries and McIntyre, *Stylistics*, pp. 1-2. See also, Yelena Lorman, "Defamiliarization," in *The*

Shklovsky: “the technique of art is to make objects ‘unfamiliar,’ to make forms difficult, to increase the difficulty and length of perception because the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself and must be prolonged. Art is a way of experiencing the artfulness of an object; the object is not important.”⁵²

2.2.2 William Empson

Of the theorists within the school of thought referred to as New Criticism, the one I will focus on here is William Empson and his book, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*.⁵³ The reason for this is that his book picks up on an idea that correlates with the Russian Formalist idea of defamiliarization.

He begins his book by defining the word “ambiguity” as follows: “An ambiguity, in ordinary speech, means something very pronounced, and as a rule witty or deceitful.”⁵⁴ He proposes “to use the word in an extended sense, and shall think relevant to my subject any verbal nuance, however slight, which *gives room for alternative reactions to the same piece of language*.”⁵⁵ Among all seven types that he discusses, one each in the first seven chapters of his book, he labels the first type as the most simple, and it has to do with how metaphor works.⁵⁶ He describes metaphor as: “one thing is said to be like another, and they have several different

Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics, ed. Roland Greene and Stephen Cushman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 343.

⁵² Viktor Shklovsky, “Art as Technique,” in *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays*, ed. Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), p. 12. That the concept of defamiliarization is still held to be valid today is clear in the work of Jeffries and McIntyre, *Stylistics*, see especially p. 31.

⁵³ Originally published in 1930, the present discussion is based on a later edition, William Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (New York: New Directions, 1966).

⁵⁴ Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, p. 1.

⁵⁵ Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, p. 1, emphasis added.

⁵⁶ See Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, p. 2.

properties in virtue of which they are alike.”⁵⁷ He also relates this to grammar when he sums up the concept he focuses on: “the fundamental situation, whether it deserves to be called ambiguous or not, is that a word or a grammatical structure is effective in several ways at once.”⁵⁸ In other words, Empson’s first type of ambiguity has to do with a single linguistic item—a word, phrase, or sentence, for example—having many possible interpretations.⁵⁹

In discussing a single line from one of Shakespeare’s Sonnets, he lists several “alternative reactions” to the line and concludes, “these reasons, and many more relating the simile to its place in the Sonnet, must all combine to give the line its beauty, and there is a sort of ambiguity in not knowing which of them to hold most clearly in mind. Clearly this is involved in all such richness and heightening of effect, and the machinations of ambiguity are among the very roots of poetry.”⁶⁰ In this way, Empson draws a straight line from “alternative reactions” → “ambiguity” in cognitive perception → “poetry.” While “poetry” is not the primary concern in

⁵⁷ Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, p. 2.

⁵⁹ This is in contrast to his second type, for example, that has to do with when “two or more meanings [in a context] are resolved into one,” Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, p. 48. In addition to Empson’s type one and two ambiguities, the other forms of ambiguity in his book have similar results in terms of how they prolong the process of perception. Type three “occurs when two ideas, which are connected only by being both relevant in the context, can be given one word simultaneously. This is often done by reference to derivation” (p. 102). Type four “occurs when two or more meanings of a statement do not agree among themselves, but combine to make clear a more complicated state of mind in the author” (p. 133). Type five “occurs when the author is discovering his idea in the act of writing, or not holding it all in his mind at once, so that, for instances, there is a simile which applies to nothing exactly, but lies half-way between two things when the author is moving from one to the other” (p. 155). Type six “occurs when a statement says nothing, by tautology, by contradiction, or by irrelevant statements; so that the reader is forced to invent statements of his own and they are liable to conflict with one another” (p. 176). Type seven “occurs when the two meanings of the word, the two values of the ambiguity, are the two opposite meanings defined by the context, so that the total effect is to show a fundamental division in the writer’s mind” (p. 192).

⁶⁰ Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, p. 3.

this dissertation, what makes poetry ‘poetic’ is. Ambiguity, for Empson, is a technique for poetic, or literary, effect.⁶¹

Furthermore, the way Empson describes the experience of ambiguity—“not knowing which of them [that is, the alternative reactions] to hold most clearly in mind”—correlates with Shklovsky’s definition of “defamiliarization,” as summarized above. The very process of considering the possible options of interpretation of an instance of ambiguity is to experience defamiliarization: “... to make forms difficult, to increase the difficulty and length of perception because the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself and must be prolonged.”⁶²

2.2.3 Roman Jakobson

When one traces literary theory through some of the most important schools of thought in the 20th century, from Russian Formalism, to the Prague School, to French Structuralism, it becomes apparent that these movements are semi-biographical of the work (and physical movement!) of Roman Jakobson, who was either a founding or influential member of each.⁶³ In this way, the focus of this section—his 1960 article “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics” (delivered to a linguistics conference in 1958)—should be understood as the

⁶¹ So also according to Herman L. J. Vanstiphout, “Ambiguity as a Generative Force in Standard Sumerian Literature, or Empson in Nippur,” in *Mesopotamian Poetic Language: Sumerian and Akkadian: Proceedings of the Groningen Group for the Study of Mesopotamian Literature*, ed. Marianna E. Vogelzang and Herman L. J. Vanstiphout (Groningen: Styx Publications, 1996), p. 155.

⁶² For full quotation with citation, see page 32 and note 52, above.

⁶³ For concise overviews of these schools and Jakobson’s involvement in them, see Tihanov, “Russian Formalism,” pp. 1239-1242; Peter Steiner et al., “Structuralism,” in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Roland Greene and Stephen Cushman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 1361-1366. See also Fry, *Theory of Literature*, pp. 82-83.

culmination and distillation of a nearly half-century of work and theory on the topic of what makes poetry poetic.⁶⁴

In his article, Jakobson outlines a system for understanding language that attempts to cover the scope and functions that language encompasses and performs. He succinctly portrays how the six language factors (in small caps, original) relate to each other, forming the totality of a single instance of language, in this way:

The ADDRESSER sends a MESSAGE to the ADDRESSEE. To be operative the message requires a CONTEXT referred to, seizable by the addressee, and either verbal or capable of being verbalized; a CODE fully, or at least partially, common to the addresser and addressee (or in other words, to the encoder and decoder of the message); and, finally, a CONTACT, a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling both of them to enter and stay in communication.⁶⁵

Each of these six factors have corresponding language functions. The Addresser factor corresponds with the emotive function. What this means is that when an addresser sends a message, the emotive function “aims a direct expression of the speaker’s attitude toward what he is speaking about.”⁶⁶ This is in contrast to the Addressee factor which corresponds to the conative function. Since the conative function “finds its purest grammatical expression in the vocative and imperative,”⁶⁷ this function aims to express a desire for the addressee to do, know, or feel something. The Context factor corresponds to the referential function. The referential function is

⁶⁴ That this is the case, see also Kristin Hanson, “Linguistics and Poetics,” in *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Roland Greene and Stephen Cushman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 804-805; Edward J. Brown, “Roman Jakobson: The Unity of His Thought on Verbal Art,” in *Language, Poetry and Poetics: The Generation of the 1890s: Jakobson, Tsubetzkoy, Majakovskij: Proceedings of the First Roman Jakobson Colloquium, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology October 5 – 6, 1984*, ed. Krystyna Pomorska et al. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1987), p. 233.

⁶⁵ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 353.

⁶⁶ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 354.

⁶⁷ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 355.

simply “supposed to convey information” about a “real-world context.”⁶⁸ The Code factor corresponds to the metalingual function. Jakobson points out that, for the most part, “we practice metalanguage without realizing the metalingual character of our operations” except when a speaker wishes to verify with his/her interlocutor “whether they use the same code.”⁶⁹ When this happens, the speech “performs a metalingual (i.e., glossing) function.”⁷⁰ One of the several examples of the metalingual function Jakobson provides is “equational sentences”: “equational sentences convey information merely about the lexical code...; their function is strictly metalingual.”⁷¹ The Contact factor corresponds to the phatic function. This factor and function is most obvious in messages that intend “to establish, to prolong, or to discontinue communication, to check whether the channel works (‘hello, do you hear me?’), to attract the attention of the interlocutor or to confirm his continued attention (‘are you listening?’ or in Shakespearean diction, ‘Lend me your ears!’).”⁷²

In outlining this system, Jakobson sets the stage for the language factor and function he focuses on in the rest of his article: the message factor and its corresponding poetic function. He articulates the poetic function and its relation to the message factor as follows: “the set (*Einstellung*) toward the message as such, focus on the message for its own sake, is the poetic function of language.”⁷³ Following his roots in Russian Formalism and its reactions against non-

⁶⁸ Fry, *Theory of Literature*, p. 118. Jakobson does not comment on this factor and function other than to say, “the Context—briefly the so-called referential, ‘denotative,’ ‘cognitive’ function—is the leading task of numerous messages,” Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 353.

⁶⁹ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 356.

⁷⁰ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 356.

⁷¹ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 356. Ancient lexical lists may perhaps be said to have a predominantly metalingual function.

⁷² Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 355.

⁷³ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 356.

linguistic accounts of literature, he immediately asserts the place an analysis of the poetic function has within linguistics in general: “This function cannot be productively studied out of touch with the general problems of language, and, on the other hand, the scrutiny of language requires a thorough consideration of its poetic function.”⁷⁴

If the poetic function is a “set,” or perhaps *focus*, toward the message and it is also a fundamental aspect of language itself, then how is it differentiated and identified? In other words, if it is a part of language, then what aspect of language evinces it? Jakobson argues that to answer this question, attention must be paid to “the two basic modes of arrangement used in verbal behavior,” which are “*selection* and *combination*.”⁷⁵ His illustration of how this works is helpful:

If “child” is the topic of the message, the speaker selects one among the extant, more or less similar nouns like child, kid, youngster, tot, all of them equivalent in a certain respect, and then, to comment on this topic, he may select one of the semantically cognate verbs—sleeps, dozes, nods, naps. Both chosen words combine in the speech chain. The selection is produced on the base of equivalence, similarity and dissimilarity, synonymy and antonymy, while the combination, the build up of the sequence, is based on contiguity.⁷⁶

In other words, while the poetic function of language is not readily apparent in “the child sleeps,” it is so in “the tot nods.” That the poetic function is apparent in the latter formulation is primarily because of rhyme, which is based on the repetition of the dental consonants (which may include that of the word “the”) as well as the repetition of the O-vowel + dental in the two main words of the phrase: tot nods. The selection of a word, then, is in part motivated by the concept to which it refers in the context (here, a young human in an unconscious state = referential function of

⁷⁴ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 356.

⁷⁵ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 358, italics original.

⁷⁶ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 358.

language), but when done so with respect to its combination with other words, the poetic function can become more apparent.

With this concept of selection and combination in mind, Jakobson succinctly provides what is for him “the empirical linguistic criterion of the poetic function”: “*The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination.* Equivalence is promoted to the constitutive device of the sequence.”⁷⁷ In other words, selection of words—and the syllables and phonemes they contain—is made in collaboration with the selection of other words to create sequences. When words are chosen without respect to the words they will be combined with, then the poetic function is not readily apparent, or, at minimum, not the dominant function of the language, as in “the child sleeps.” However, when one word is selected in collaboration with a word it will be combined with, then the poetic function becomes apparent and may become the dominant function, as in “the tot nods.”

Along similar lines to the “the child sleeps” vs. “the tot nods” example, but to a much fuller extent, Paul Fry illustrates the identification of all six language factors and their corresponding functions⁷⁸ regarding the single simple sentence, “It is raining.” In his explanation, he imagines a variety of different circumstances where one or the other factor and its function are the dominant function. He asserts, “*any* function in any utterance *could* be the dominant if the

⁷⁷ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 358, italics original. Kristin Hanson calls this first sentence “one of the most famous sentences in literary theory,” Hanson, “Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 804.

⁷⁸ The Addresser factor with its Emotive function, the Message factor with its Poetic function, the Addressee factor with the Conative function, the Context factor with the Referential function, the Contact factor with the Phatic function, and the Code factor with the Metalingual function

right situation were found for it.”⁷⁹ In other words, discourse context is a factor in the identification of the dominant function of an instance of communication.

A few times already the concept of the “dominant function” has been mentioned. This also comes from Jakobson. He has explained that no one factor or function rules out the attendant role of the other factors and functions. Rather, “the diversity lies not in a monopoly of some one of these several functions but in a different hierarchical order of functions. The verbal structure of a message depends primarily on the predominant function. ... the accessory participation of the other functions in such messages must be taken into account by the observant linguist.”⁸⁰ While determining which language function is the most dominant in a given section of Hittite text is a challenge, Jakobson does provide some easily identifiable markers for some of the functions. For example, the Emotive function, which corresponds to the Addresser factor, is most readily apparent in interjections and tone of voice in delivery and the Conative function, related to the Addressee factor, is epitomized in the vocative and the imperative mood.⁸¹ Following with the priority of the present study, discourse context also plays a role in the determination of dominance.⁸²

In Jakobson’s article, there are several kinds of linguistic techniques that are identified as pointing to the poetic function of language. Working mostly in texts of living languages,

⁷⁹ See Fry, *Theory of Literature*, pp. 118-120, italics original.

⁸⁰ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 353. For further discussion on this concept, see chapter 4 “The Dominant” in Roman Jakobson, *Language in Literature* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 41-46. See also Geoffrey Leech, *Language in Literature: Style and Foregrounding* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 106.

⁸¹ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” pp. 354-355.

⁸² As noted by Paul Fry above, on page 38.

Jakobson deals a lot with sound patterns, rhyme, and rhythm.⁸³ In working with texts in dead languages where the sounds of the language are lost—though reconstructable to one degree or another—it is extremely difficult to identify these kinds of language features. For this reason, in the present study, attention is directed to other linguistic features. At the same time, in his description and discussion of sound patterns, rhyme, and rhythm (including meter), Jakobson does provide methodological controls for evaluating whether these language features activate the poetic function, controls that are appropriate to apply to other features as well. Regarding sound patterns or rhyme, he asserts, “In poetry, any conspicuous similarity in sound is evaluated in respect to similarity and/or dissimilarity in meaning.”⁸⁴ To put it differently, when a pattern is observed—in this case through the sounds of the language, but also, I argue, through grammar or lexeme within a discourse unit—the assessment of it takes into account the accumulated semantic meaning suggested by the pattern. While Jakobson claims that “rhyme necessarily involves the semantic relationship between rhyming units,”⁸⁵ this also applies to language features other than just rhyme: various kinds of patterns in a text selection “necessarily involve the semantic relationship between” and among the constituent parts of the pattern. While not a major part of his 1960 article, Jakobson does note and discuss the way that grammatical parallelism is a multi-clause method for creating instances of “semantic equivalence,” which, citing the 19th century scholar Gerard Manley Hopkins, creates a sequence that “prompts one of

⁸³ See Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” especially beginning on p. 359 and following.

⁸⁴ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 372.

⁸⁵ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 367.

the two correlative experiences which Hopkins neatly defines as ‘comparison for likeness’ sake’ and ‘comparison for unlikeness’ sake.’”⁸⁶

In his evaluation of Jakobson, of both his 1960 article as well as other works, Jonathan Culler notes problematic aspects of Jakobson’s analysis of entire texts, arguing that repetitions or patterns on larger scales can be discernible in any text and that they “cannot in [themselves] serve as the distinguishing feature of the poetic function.”⁸⁷ On the other hand, Culler confirms Jakobson’s analysis of smaller units, especially individual lines and phrases, since, “he does not simply note distributional patterns but explains the poetic function *with respect to the effect* of these patterns.”⁸⁸ Culler’s illustration based on Jakobson’s article and discussion of this point are worth repeating:

The slogan “I like Ike” deploys a high degree of phonetic repetition, and this repetition also has a function: it presents “a paronomastic image of feeling which totally envelops its object ... a paronomastic image of the loving subject enveloped by the beloved object” (“Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 357). The indissoluble relation between *I*, *like* and *Ike* suggests that it is perfectly natural, even inevitable that I like Ike. One might say, using Jakobson’s own example as a guide, that one has an instance of the poetic function only when one can *point to effects* [emphasis added] which might be explained as the result of particular projections of the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” pp. 368-369. Jakobson discusses the principles of parallelism in poetry as well as parallelism in various languages at length in chapter 9 “Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry” (originally published in 1960) and chapter 10 “Grammatical Parallelism and Its Russian Facet” (originally published in 1966) of Jakobson, *Language in Literature*, pp. 121-144 and 145-179, respectively.

⁸⁷ Jonathan Culler, *Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics and the Study of Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 77.

⁸⁸ Culler, *Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics and the Study of Literature*, p. 77, emphasis added.

⁸⁹ Culler, *Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics and the Study of Literature*, p. 77, for more discussion of Jakobson on this point, see pp. 77-79. For the “I like Ike” example from Jakobson, see also Brown, “Roman Jakobson: The Unity of His Thought on Verbal Art,” p. 234.

In other words, it is not enough to have a pattern in language if it does not also correlate with and draw attention to the meaning of the language. In this way, the poetic function of language, when it is the dominant function in a given instance of communication, is the function that focuses on the language of the communication (=message) itself when the language is selected and combined in order to create patterns that have effects.

In Jakobson's article he focused mostly on the way that word selections, when combined, created patterns of rhyme, rhythm, and meter, but this is applicable to other techniques of pattern creation. The work of Empson on ambiguity can also be included. The various types of ambiguities he discussed mostly did not involve words in isolation, but words as they were combined with other words, whether rhyme was involved or not. Ambiguity can be created by word selection based on the combination of semantic concepts that allowed for "alternative reactions."⁹⁰ In this way, Jakobson's poetic function of language exemplifies Shklovsky's concept of defamiliarization.⁹¹

2.2.4 Stylistics

In the years following Jakobson's 1960 article, the developments on the analysis of what makes poetry poetic, or what makes literary texts literary, pushed forward until the end of the 20th century and into the 21st century within the burgeoning field of "Stylistics," even though within the broader world of literary theory, other movements were more influential.⁹²

⁹⁰ See full citation on page 32, above.

⁹¹ See section 2.2.1.2 on page 31, above.

⁹² This is the period which saw the rise of the Post-Structuralism and Deconstruction schools of thought beginning with the essays of Jacques Derrida in the 1950s. These schools of thought, however, were not so much concerned with the detailed analysis of the traditions of Russian Formalism, the Prague School, New Criticism, or even Structuralism. Instead, focus shifted to criticizing the broader systematizing mindset of Structuralism and how detailed analyses were

While the field of linguistic Stylistics includes literary effects within its range of interests, it is also broader to include all manner of verbal expression. Within this field, the most broadly accepted definition of style is “choice.”⁹³ As noted above, this corresponds to choice in discourse. Whereas some aspects of composition are dictated by rules, others are, as Kibrik described, “more probabilistic” and influenced by discourse factors.⁹⁴ With this understanding of discourse composition being dictated by choice, the effects of these choices can be discussed. Within Stylistics, one of the discussed effects is the literary effect.

At the core of how stylistics describes literary effects is the theory from Russian Formalism on defamiliarization, as discussed above.⁹⁵ The way Jeffries and McIntyre describe how defamiliarization could take place is through the notion of “foregrounding” in discourse. They summarize “foregrounding theory” as follows, “in any text some sounds, words, phrases and/or clauses may be so different from what surrounds them, or from some perceived ‘norm’ in the language generally, that they are set into relief by this difference and made more prominent as a result. ... The foregrounded features of text are often seen as both memorable and highly interpretable.”⁹⁶ According to them, there are two ways that foregrounding can be identified: “foregrounding is achieved by either deviation or linguistic parallelism.”⁹⁷ By “deviation” they mean, “the occurrence of unexpected irregularity in language and results in foregrounding on the

used to determine the scope of a system, be it literary expression, linguistic rules, cultural norms, or philosophical systems. For overviews of how this took place and what the major concerns were, see Claire Colebrook, “Poststructuralism,” in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Roland Greene and Stephen Cushman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), especially pp. 1097-1098; Fry, *Theory of Literature*, especially pp. 123-136.

⁹³ For bibliography, see note 12 on page 17, above.

⁹⁴ See above on page 17.

⁹⁵ See above on pages 31f.

⁹⁶ Jeffries and McIntyre, *Stylistics*, p. 31.

⁹⁷ Jeffries and McIntyre, *Stylistics*, p. 31.

basis that the irregularity is surprising to the reader.”⁹⁸ Among the examples cited as containing foregrounding by deviation,⁹⁹ deviation takes the form of unexpected uses of semantics, grammar, or even capital and lower case letters. In Hittite, deviation can be difficult to detect due in large part to the uncertainty of whether a perceived deviation was caused by scribal error or deliberate intention. Additionally, it is not always clear whether or not the perceived deviation is actually a deviation and not simply a formulation of language that was considered common in spoken discourse, but now, by chance of preservation, appears to modern scholars as rare or unique.

What is much easier to identify and analyze in Hittite is foregrounding by parallelism. “If deviation is unexpected *irregularity* in language, then parallelism is unexpected *regularity*. ... Essentially, we are invited to look for a connection between each of the lines that are parallel.”¹⁰⁰ Leech has used the language of Jakobson’s poetic function to describe how parallelism works: “Every parallelism sets up a *relationship of equivalence* between two or more elements: the elements which are singled out by the pattern as being parallel. Interpreting the parallelism involves appreciating some external connection between these elements.”¹⁰¹ Leech describes elsewhere the resulting effects of parallelism setting up relationships of equivalence, that they can present a challenge to the reader: “the significance lies not in the structural equivalences themselves... but in the fact that *these equivalences challenge us to find some common factor* of

⁹⁸ Jeffries and McIntyre, *Stylistics*, p. 31.

⁹⁹ See examples in Jeffries and McIntyre, *Stylistics*, pp. 31-32. For further examples as well as discussion on foregrounding by deviation, see also Leech, *Language in Literature: Style and Foregrounding*, pp. 59-60.

¹⁰⁰ Jeffries and McIntyre, *Stylistics*, pp. 32-33, italics original.

¹⁰¹ Geoffrey Leech, *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry* (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1969), p. 67, emphasis added. Cited also by Jeffries and McIntyre, *Stylistics*, p. 33.

meaning linking apparently unconnected phenomena.”¹⁰² While the principles of parallelism and history of research on it in ancient Near Eastern languages will be explored more fully in chapter 4, this understanding of parallelism and its relation to defamiliarization, Jakobson’s poetic function, and discourse patterns will undergird much of the analyses throughout the present study.

A final concept that is highly relevant to the present study of discourse patterns and their literary effects comes from Nigel Fabb. The concept he observes and elaborates on is what he calls “formal multiplicity” in discourse units and it is one criterion for identifying the poetic function in a discourse unit. With this term, he refers to aspects of a discourse unit where different understandings of the structure or organization of the unit suggest themselves to the reader.¹⁰³ As an example, he cites a fourteen line poem and points out that on the basis of rhyme, the lines are grouped as 8+6 with a rhyme scheme of ABBAABBA+CDCDCD, whereas on the basis of punctuation and meaning, they are grouped as 6+8. He assesses this situation as follows:

The two divisions are incompatible and yet both hold to some extent of the text [emphasis added]; this is possible because both groupings hold as interpretations of the text rather than as observer-independent facts¹⁰⁴ about the text. In this way, literary form is seen to be a kind of meaning, a description of itself which the text communicates to its reader,

¹⁰² Leech, *Language in Literature: Style and Foregrounding*, p. 114, emphasis added. Jeffries and McIntyre come to this same conclusion, but with softer language, “Essentially, *we are invited to look for a connection* between each of the lines that are parallel,” Jeffries and McIntyre, *Stylistics*, p. 33, emphasis added. Cf. also Jakobson’s comment on parallelism discussed on page 40, above, as well as Culler’s elaboration of Jakobson regarding the importance of pointing to effects of equivalences on page 41, above.

¹⁰³ This correlates exactly with Empson’s notion of ambiguity where ambiguities “give room for alternative reactions to the same piece of language.” For full quotation and bibliography, see page 32, above.

¹⁰⁴ What he means by “observer-independent facts” is, for example, his sample poem “is divided into lines... it is in iambic pentameter.” See Nigel Fabb, *Language and Literary Structure: The Linguistic Analysis of Form in Verse and Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1-2.

and has all the complex characteristics associated with meaning: uncertainties, ambiguities and contradictions.¹⁰⁵

Fabb explicitly connects formal multiplicity with Shklovsky's articulation of defamiliarization as discussed above.¹⁰⁶ He claims, "I suggest that we experience the inherent complexities and multiplicities of literary form as aesthetic."¹⁰⁷

2.2.5 Summary

This selective overview of literary theory from the 20th and early 21st centuries has attempted to track the developments and refinements of what theorists say makes a literary effect literary. There is a great deal of continuity among those surveyed both in their explicit focus on language with an emphasis on linguistic rigor and in their general formulation that unique interactions between words and phrases create situations that can be experienced as aesthetic. The way unique interactions were described varied somewhat; this depended upon the scope of study for the given person (e.g., Empson's focus on ambiguity). In light of the fact that all approaches were based in some degree on how words interacted with words, Roman Jakobson's articulation of the poetic function remains the best foundational explanation for how this process happens. While the field of Stylistics has a wider purview than just the poetic function in its analysis of style, the literary effects of certain kinds of choices in composition can be assessed as "foregrounding" of language, especially through deviation and parallelism, which, for those who do stylistics, is a way that defamiliarization takes place.

¹⁰⁵ Fabb, *Language and Literary Structure*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ See section 2.2.1.2 beginning on page 31, above.

¹⁰⁷ Fabb, *Language and Literary Structure*, p. 2, see also the reiteration of this thesis on pp. 47, 215-216, and elsewhere. The pertinent part of Shklovsky's definition is, "...the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself..." and is cited on page 2 of his book.

2.3 Intersection of Discourse Patterns and Literary Effects in this Study

2.3.1 Guiding Principles

In this study, I will investigate the way discourse patterns are formed in three separate texts, each with different overarching styles. One is organized broadly as a year-by-year annalistic report. One is a mythological text that moves slowly through its plot, dedicating much attention to the fallout of the actions of a deity as well as the many attempts to reverse this fallout. And one is a non-formulaic story organized as a series of events.

The principles outlined in this chapter regarding how a discourse pattern takes shape through cohesive ties and probabilistic choice in composition are applied in the analysis of these texts and their discourse units. The differences in styles of each text will reveal how different amounts of the language in the texts are employed in the formation of a pattern. Some texts, or portions within them, incorporate all or nearly all words and grammatical constructions in the formation of patterns. Other examples incorporate very few words or grammatical constructions to form patterns. And there are still other examples that represent a middle ground, utilizing a substantial portion of the language of the communication, but not every aspect is incorporated. This diversity in the proportion of incorporated features of the language in forming discourse patterns demonstrates that there is a continuum of discourse pattern density.

Once patterns are identified and described in terms of the integration of the language (words and grammar) used to form them, the criteria for identifying literary effects as outlined above will be applied. The suitability of this approach of literary analysis to discourse patterns is made clear in two ways. For one, parallelism itself is a multi-clause discourse pattern that has consistently been analyzed for defamiliarization or Jakobson's poetic function for many decades.

For another, Jakobson's principles of selection and combination, while focused on inner-clause examples in his article, are easily applied to multi-sentence patterns (parallelism¹⁰⁸ or otherwise) that can be similarly constructed on the basis of selection and combination of linguistic elements just as his inner-clause examples are (cf. also Fabb's observations on formal multiplicity).

The way this will unfold will generally follow this sequence of assessment: in a discourse pattern, one or more sentences (which are constituted by a selection of words) are combined with and tied to one or more sentences (another selection of words). In cases where the words and patterns of one sentence are selected in collaboration with the selection of words and patterns of another sentence next to it or near it, the resulting overarching pattern may reveal a set towards the message. When this is the case, the reader is challenged or invited to consider the common factor of meaning that the linguistically tied pieces of language communicate. On a case by case basis, the process of consideration of the common factor may be of varying lengths of time due to the amount of ambiguity inherent in the semantics that have been combined or due to conflicting possibilities of how the pattern is structured. This process of consideration of the common factor constitutes an elongation of the process of perception from a 'straightforward' discourse sequence. This elongation of perception is a criterion for experiencing aesthetic.

2.3.2 Principles in Practice

As an example for how this kind of analysis works out in practice, I will use example (7) on page 20, above. For convenience it will be given again below as example (8). As noted in my

¹⁰⁸ In fact, Jakobson does this himself in other articles including "Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry," and "Grammatical Parallelism and Its Russian Facet" republished as chapters 9 and 10, respectively, in Jakobson, *Language in Literature*, pp. 121-144, 145-179.

discussion on pages 20-23, all the words and grammar structures of each sentence were selected in order to “tie” them to the other sentences of this unit, resulting in various possible patterns.¹⁰⁹

(8)

^{1'} *nu šumāš DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš^{URU} Ḫattušaš=pat ḫandān parkui^{2'} KUR-e*
SÍSKUR^{HLA} a=šmaš parkui šalli šanezzi^{3'} URU Ḫattušaš=pat KUR-ya pišgaueni
nu=ššan^{4'} šumāš DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš naḫšarattan^{URU} Ḫattušaš=pat^{5'} KUR-ya zikkiuwani

^{1'} For you, O gods, only Ḫattuša (is) a true, pure ^{2'} land.

As for pure, great, (and) fine rituals, ^{3'} only in the land of Ḫattuša do we continue to perform (them) for you.

^{4'} For you, O gods, only in the land of Ḫattuša ^{5'} do we continue to establish reverence.

KUB 17.21+KBo 51.16 obv. i 1'-5' (CTH 375)¹¹⁰

The parallel patterns in this example set up relationships of equivalence. In each sentence, something is happening “for you, O gods” and “only (in) Ḫattuša” does it happen. These repetitions tie the three sentences together. So what about the differences? What does Ḫattuša being a “true, pure land” have to do with performing rituals and establishing reverence? The parallelism suggests that they are related and that each sentence, to one degree or another, should be interpreted in light of the sentences to which is tied. Given that the first sentence is an equative, declarative non-verbal sentence, as opposed to the syntactically similar second and third sentences, the cohesive ties may suggest that the ABB' pattern is the dominant pattern. With this understanding of the structure, it can be inferred that the way the statement in the first sentence is true is by virtue of the reality of the two sentences tied to it. In other words, only Ḫattuša is a true and pure land, *because* only Ḫattuša performs “pure, great, and fine” rituals and *because* only Ḫattuša establishes reverence for the gods. This interpretation of the causal relationship of the sentences must be inferred on the basis of cohesion since an overt marker of

¹⁰⁹ For discussion of the possible patterns, see pages 21-23.

¹¹⁰ For edition, see Rieken, *Hethiter.net*: CTH 375.1 (TX 2016-01-15, TRde 2017-08-09), §2'.

causal relationship is lacking.¹¹¹ This lack of overtness leaves the relationship of the sentences ambiguous.

As noted in the discussion of this text in example (7), the abstract nature of the first and third sentences in contrast to the concrete nature of the second sentence, supports the chiasmic ABA' interpretation of the unit.¹¹² This alternate understanding of the structure has an effect on answering the question, "what is the common factor among these sentences?" As noted on page 22, the abstract adjectives of the first sentence and the abstract noun of the third sentence suggest questions that beg to be answered. In this case, the focal point of the chiasm, the second sentence, answers these questions. The *reason that* the land of Hattuša is true and pure for the gods (sentence 1) is the fact that the people perform sacrifices for them (sentence 2). The *manner by which* the people establish reverence for the gods (sentences 3) is by the people performing sacrifices for them (sentence 2).

Which interpretation of this unit is correct, the ABB' or chiasmic ABA' pattern? That both of these interpretations of the formal structure of this unit suggest themselves, and that they do so based on observable features of the language, reveals that this is an instance of what Fabb would call "formal multiplicity," which for him is one way that aesthetic is experienced.¹¹³ Or, to use the words of Empson, "there is a sort of ambiguity in not knowing which of them to hold most clearly in mind."¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ For the way that overt causal relationships are constructed in Hittite, see Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, pp. 418-419, §§30.41-45. See also CHD Š, 519, s.v., š(u)- a 2'.

¹¹² For discussion of the concreteness and abstractness of these sentences and some of the implications this has on their interpretation, see page 22, above.

¹¹³ See discussion of Fabb and his thesis on formal multiplicity beginning on page 45, above.

¹¹⁴ Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, p. 3.

2.3.3 Summary

In the following chapters, the method of analyzing discourse patterns and the literary effects they may create will follow the model demonstrated in section 2.1.3 in conjunction with section 2.3.2. Discourse units will be analyzed for patterns created by cohesive ties (grammatical and/or lexical). The cohesive ties, assessed on a case-by-case basis, may create relations of equivalence that will be evaluated for their literary effects. This evaluation will be based on the degree to which the relations of equivalence match criteria for creating an aesthetic effect. These criteria include ambiguity, formal multiplicity, and foregrounding. These are techniques identified by theorists to constitute the Russian formalist theory of defamiliarization and Jakobson's poetic function. It is also assumed, in advance, that not every discourse unit will have patterns that have a literary effect. The reasons they do not do so will be important as contrasting examples to those that do. Additionally, it is assumed in advance that patterns of cohesion will form through a variety of means with a variety of degree of language integration; some patterns will utilize higher or lower proportions of the language than other patterns. The goal for this analysis will be to identify techniques that the ancient Hittites used to produce literary effects in their written texts.

CHAPTER 3: THE ANNALS OF ḪATTUŠILI I (CTH 4)

3.1 Introduction

KBo 10.2, and its Akkadian version KBo 10.1, is traditionally referred to as the “annals” of Ḫattušili I.¹ Accordingly, most treatments of this text organize its structure around its temporal markers. There are four occurrences of the phrase “in the following year” (MU.IM.MA-*anni*) indicating that this text describes the exploits of Ḫattušili over a five year period.² This lead Hans Güterbock to imply that the stylistic quality of the text is different from, even less interesting than, that of other texts: “the text of Ḫattušili is an annalistic report, in contrast to the literary compositions known so far.”³ In spite of this assessment and the seemingly pedestrian style of

¹ The edition of the Hittite version is Stefano de Martino, *Annali e Res Gestae antico Ittiti* (Pavia: Italian University Press, 2003). A recent edition of the Akkadian version is Elena Devecchi, *Gli Annali di Ḫattušili I nella versione accadica* (Pavia: Italian University Press, 2005). See also H. Craig Melchert, “The Acts of Ḫattušili I,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37 (1978); Jared L. Miller, “The Expeditions of Ḫattušili I to the Eastern Frontiers: A Study in the Historical Geography and Internal Chronology of the Great King’s Campaigns,” (Tel Aviv: Master’s Thesis, Tel Aviv University, 1999).

² Scholars typically follow this pattern to structure their translations and analyses of this text. See Gary Beckman, “Historical Texts I: Annals of Ḫattušili I,” in *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation*, ed. Mark W. Chavalas (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006), pp. 219-222; Amir Gilan, *Formen und Inhalte althethitischer historischer Literatur* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2015), pp. 215-226. The Akkadian version includes a fifth occurrence of the phrase “in the following year” (*ina balat*). Most seem to believe that the fifth occurrence of this phrase (in KBo 10.1 obv. 29) is a misunderstanding of the corresponding Hittite phrase [*apedani*] *me-mi-e-ni* (in KBo 10.2 obv. ii 7-8), which could have been written as *me-mi-an-ni* in a previous version, which could in turn be misinterpreted as MU.KAM-*an-ni* or MU.IM-*an-ni* and then translated into Akkadian as *ina balat*. See most recently Devecchi, *Gli Annali di Ḫattušili I nella versione accadica*, pp. 71-72. So also Miller, “The Expeditions of Ḫattušili I to the Eastern Frontiers: A Study in the Historical Geography and Internal Chronology of the Great King’s Campaigns,” p. 36; Melchert, “The Acts of Ḫattušili I,” p. 15. Philo H.J. Houwink ten Cate, on the other hand, asserts, “The reasoning can be reversed in such a manner” and that “I see no reason at all why the Akkadian text should be corrupt,” Philo Houwink ten Cate, “History of Warfare According to Hittite Sources: The Annals of Hattusilis I (Part II),” *Anatolica* 11 (1984), p. 63.

³ Hans Gustav Güterbock, “Sargon of Akkad Mentioned by Ḫattušili I of Ḫatti,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 18 (1964), p. 5.

reporting events, this text has a number of stylistic features revealing a range of discourse patterns and literary choices pointing to a higher level of linguistic and literary sophistication than usually ascribed to it. Indeed, it will be shown that the literary shaping that takes place in the text reveals that this text had a rhetorical purpose beyond simply listing events in chronological order.⁴

3.2 Summary of Metaphors and the Reference to Sargon

The literary style of this text stands out for multiple reasons. For example, it contains a variety of literary flourishes such as the use of several metaphors. Ḫattušili compares himself to a lion (twice: Hittite KBo 10.2 obv. ii 17-19, Akkadian KBo 10.1 obv. 34-35 and Hittite KBo 10.2 obv. ii 54-rev. iii 3, Akkadian KBo 10.1 rev. 1b-3a).⁵ He compares the destruction of a city to burning a sacrifice, the smoke of which is intended to be pleasing to the Storm-god (Hittite KBo 10.2 rev. iv 32-40, Akkadian 10.1 rev. 20-24).⁶ He uses the verb “to fill” (Hittite *šunna-*) to

⁴ As will be seen in the the next section and in the notes to that section, others have already observed some of the literary qualities of this text. Also, Craig Melchert has described this text as one that contains a “historical narrative culminating in a particular triumph of the Hittite king,” Melchert, “The Acts of Ḫattušili I,” p. 5. This description, very broadly speaking, supports an interpretation of this text that I will argue for in detail throughout this chapter.

⁵ For discussion, see Collins, “Ḫattušili I, the Lion King.”

⁶ Charles Steitler observes that this literary topos is similar, though not the same, as that known from Mesopotamia. He notes, “the Akkadian phrase *šamšam kullu(m)* ‘to show (to) the Sun-god’ typically means ‘to desecrate,’ referring, for example, to buildings or other structures whose (normally unseen) foundations were ‘exposed’ through destruction.” The use of this topos in CTH 4, however, “communicates the fact that Ḫattušili’s military accomplishments trumped those of the legendary Sargon, of whom it is stated that he neither destroyed the city of Ḫaḫḫu nor burned smoke for the Storm-god,” Charles W. Steitler, *The Solar Deities of Bronze Age Anatolia: Studies in Texts of the Early Hittite Kingdom* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017), p. 161. Similarly, Melchert notes that the use of the “show smoke” topos in this text is not portrayed the same way it is in Mesopotamia and says that appears nowhere else in Hittite texts and then comments along the lines suggested here, “there is, however, evidence for the idea of offering smoke of a sacrifice to a god.” See Melchert, “The Acts of Ḫattušili I,” p. 5 and note 10, cf. also p. 21.

metaphorically and hyperbolically describe the taking in of riches (*nu É-ir=mit āššauīt šarā šunnahhun* “I filled up my house with goods” Hittite KBo 10.2 obv. i 20-21). He uses the verb “to sow” (Hittite *šunniya/e-*), which is phonologically similar to the verb “to fill” (Hittite *šunna-*), to describe his destruction of a city by means of an agricultural metaphor (*nu=šši=kan pedi=šši [ZÀ.AḪ.L]I^{SAR} šunniyanun* “I sowed [cre]ss in its place” Hittite KBo 10.2 obv. i 36-37). He describes the support of the Sun-goddess of Arinna in a common way by saying that she “[pl]ac[ed] me on her [lap, she took] me [by] the hand” (Hittite obv. i 28-29).⁷ In addition, there is an explicit reference to traditions about the exploits of Sargon: Ḫattušili claims to have accomplished what Sargon could not.⁸

3.3 Text Structure, Narration, and Discourse Patterns

In addition to metaphors and stereo-typical themes, the second reason that the literary style of this text is distinctive is that from the stand point of text structure, narration, and discourse patterns, much more can be said beyond noting the four temporal markers indicating the transition of years. This text is comprised of multiple sub-units that, at their base, all contain a very similar pattern. This repetition of structure creates a sense of cohesion and a predictable pattern. For a text that is traditionally called “annals,” this observation is not necessarily remarkable. Furthermore, that an “annals” text would narrate multiple different conquests in

⁷ *nu=mu=za=kan an[da ginuwašš]a'[š d]ā'[i]š' / ḫal[i]š[t]a' nu=mu kešša[rta DIB-ta/IŠBAT/ḫarta]*. See edition in de Martino, *Annali e Res Gestae antico Ittiti*, p. 38. The Akkadian version is better preserved here and supports these restorations: KBo 10.1 obv. 13b-14a *ana sūnīšu iškunšu u qassu iṣbatma* “She placed (him) on her lap. She seized his hand.”

⁸ For discussion, see Güterbock, “Sargon of Akkad Mentioned by Ḫattušili I of Ḫatti”; Gary Beckman, “Sargon and Naram-Sin in Ḫatti: Reflections of Mesopotamian Antiquity among the Hittites,” in *Die Gegenwart des Altertums: Formen und Funktionen des Altertumsbezugs in den Hochkulturen der Alten Welt*, ed. Dieter Kuhn and Helga Stahl (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 2001).

similar ways is almost entirely unremarkable. However, in addition to a similar sub-structure of the discourse units throughout, there are also notable variations. Some of the variations are necessary for the given situation, and yet many others are not. I will argue that variations in this latter category constitute stylistic choices; choices that enhance the dramatic effect of the narration and thereby shed light on the rhetoric of the text.⁹ Furthermore, I will show that there is a progression in the use of variations in the formula that culminate in a dramatic finish at the end of the text.

In the following discussion, I will first describe the basic structure of what I am calling, the conquest vignette.¹⁰ The conquest vignette occurs 15 times in this text and its basic formulaic elements are “to go” (to location X [and Y, Z, etc]), “to destroy” (location X [and Y, Z, etc]), “to take” (plunder), and “to give” (the plunder to temple A [and B, C, etc.]).¹¹ While all the conquest vignettes share the same basic structure, there are many differences among them. Furthermore, as one reads through the text, a shift is discernible from simple uses of the conquest vignette pattern, to slightly enhanced versions with added detail, and then to extended embellishments containing whole discourse units surrounding just one element of the conquest vignette sub-structure. Thus, after describing the basic structure of the conquest vignette, I will discuss the

⁹ In the field of Stylistics, the most widely accepted definition of “style” is “choice.” After discussing the various usages and contexts for the word “style,” Katie Wales notes, “Clearly each author draws upon the general stock of the language in any given period; what makes styles distinctive is the choice of items, and their distribution and patterning. A definition of style in terms of choice is very popular,” Wales, *A Dictionary of Stylistics*, p. 398. See also Winslow, “Stylistics,” p. 1370; Jeffries and McIntyre, *Stylistics*, p. 26. For the notion of “choice” within the field of linguistics, see section 2.1.1 beginning on page 17, above.

¹⁰ “Vignette. Any brief composition or self-contained passage, usually a descriptive prose sketch, essay, or short story,” Chris Baldick, *Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 379.

¹¹ For a list of the 15 conquest vignettes, see Table 2: Conquest Vignettes on p. 59, below.

kinds of added details and embellishments that occur. These changes and additions to the basic conquest vignette formula fall into two main categories: (1) added detail to one or more of the formulaic elements and (2) agency of action within the vignette is given to cities, persons, or armies attacked by Ḫattušili. As mentioned above, while many differences among the vignettes are necessary (for example different towns have different kinds of moveable wealth that are captured), I will argue that the changes and additions of these two types are unnecessary for the delivery of a basic account of how Ḫattušili conquered a given town or region. That they are unnecessary is clear from their inclusion in some vignettes and their exclusion in others. For example, in some vignettes there are added details regarding the actual battle sequence, while in other vignettes these *kinds* of details are completely left out. Furthermore, I will argue that these two kinds of unnecessary changes constitute a stylistic choice within the process of composition and contribute to the literary shaping of the text revealing stages of development from the beginning to the end.

3.4 Discourse Pattern of the Conquest Vignette

As mentioned above, the primary repeated sub-unit in this text is the conquest vignette. Its principal components are “to go” (to location X), “to destroy” (location X), “to take” (plunder), and “to give” (the plunder to temple A [and B, C, etc.]). Vignette 2, example (9), contains this basic pattern without embellishment.

(9)
 §2⁹ [EGIR-and]a=ma INA^{URU} Zalpa **pāu[n]**
¹⁰ [n=a]n **ḫarninkun**
 nu=šši DINGIR^{MEŠ} ŠU šarā **dahḫun**
¹¹ Ū 3 GIŠGIGIR^{MEŠ} MADNANU ANA^{dUTU} URUPÚ-na **peḫḫun**
 §3¹² 1 GU₄ KÙ.BABBAR 1 GÉŠPU KÙ.BABBAR INA É^{dIM} **peḫḫun**
¹³ āššer=ma=kan kuiēš
 n=aš INA É^d Mezzulla¹⁴ **peḫḫun**

⁹ [Afterwar]ds, I **went** to Zalpa. ¹⁰ I **destroyed** [i]t. I **took** up its gods. ¹¹ and I **gave** three wagons to the Sun-goddess of Arinna. ¹² I **gave** 1 silver ox, 1 silver fist to the temple of the Storm-god ¹³ As for what things remained, ¹⁴ I **gave** them to the temple of Mezzula
KBo 10.2 obv. i 9-14 §§2-3

The conquest vignette occurs 15 times in the text and encompasses the vast majority of the text. There are three exceptions where the conquest vignette does not occur: (1) the incipit,¹² (2) the colophon,¹³ and (3) lines KBo 10.2 obv. i 24-30a.¹⁴

The vignettes themselves display a wide range of internal variability. In some, as in example (9), different sets of plunder are given to different temples. In others, multiple locations are contained within a single vignette, as in vignette 3, example (10). In others, the vignette is simplified and contains fewer than all four of the principal components, as in vignette 12, example (11).

(10)
¹⁵ MU.IM.MA-*anni=ma* INA ^{URU}Alalḫa **pāun**
¹⁶ *n=an* **ḫarninkun**
EGIR-*anda[=m]*a INA ^{URU}Waršuwa ¹⁷ **pāun**
^{URU}Waršuwaz=*ma* INA ^{URU}Ikakali ¹⁸ **pāun**
^{URU}Ikakalaz=*ma* INA ^{URU}Tašḫiya ¹⁹ **pāun**
nu kē KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} **ḫarninkun**
āššū=ma=šši ²⁰ *šarā* **daḫḫun**
nu É-ir=mit āššauīt ²¹ *šarā* **šunnaḫḫun**

¹⁵ In the following year, I **went** to Alalḫa. ¹⁶ I **destroyed** it. Afterwards I **went** to Waršuwa. ¹⁷ (Then?) I **went** from Waršuwa to Ikakali. ¹⁸ (Then) I **went** from Ikakali to Tašḫiya. ¹⁹ I **destroyed** these lands. As for its goods, ²⁰ I **took** (them) up. ²¹ I **filled** up my palace with the goods.

¹² KBo 10.2 obv. i 1-3a ¹ [tabar]na ^mḪattušili LUGAL.GAL ² [LUGAL KUR ^{URU}Ḫat]ti LÚ ^{URU}Kuššar KUR ^{URU}Ḫatti 3 [LUGAL-(ēzz)ia]t “⁴¹ [Tabar]na, Ḫattušili, great king ² [king of the land of Ḫat]ti, man of Kuššar, ³ became [king] of the land of Ḫatti.”

¹³ KBo 10.2 rev. iv 1-2 ¹ D[UB 1^{KAM}] ² LÚ-nannaš ŠA ^mḪattušili [QATI(?)/NU.GÁL(?)] “⁴¹1 tablet.

² The manly deeds of Ḫattušili, [(in?)complete?]”

¹⁴ The third exception will be discussed after the two main types of changes and additions are discussed.

(11)

¹¹ *nu* MU^{KAM} -*anni=ma* INA KUR^{URU} [Zar]un[a *pā*]*un*

¹² *nu* URU^{URU} Zarunan *ḫarninkun*

¹¹ In the following year, I [**went**] to the land of [Zar]un[a]. ¹² I **destroyed** Zaruna.

KBo 10.2 obv. ii 11-12 §10

The following table lists out all the conquest vignettes and indicates which vignettes contain all or some of the main formulaic elements. The table also indicates whether the vignette contains stylistically significant changes of either category 1 (expansions on a formulaic element) or category 2 (agency of attacked city or people group), or if it is straightforward and simple.

Conquest Vignettes	§ and Line Numbers	# of Lines	Plunder Lines	Attacked City	Principal Components	Verbal Variations	Stylistic Character
Vignette 1	§1 obv. i 3b-8	5.5	1	Šanauitta	go, destroy, take, give		simple
Vignette 2	§2 obv. i 9-§3 obv. i 14	5.5	4	Zalpa	go, destroy, take, give		simple
Vignette 3	§4 obv. i 15-21	6.5	2	Alalḫa, Waršuwa, Ikakali, Tašḫiya	go, destroy, take, give	“fill” instead of “give”	simple
Vignette 4	§5 obv. i 22-23	2	1	Arzawa	go, take		simple
Exception	§5 obv. i 24-29	6	–	–	–	–	–
Vignette 5	§5 obv. i 30b-32	2.5	0	Nenašša	go	the city “saw” and “opened”	Cat. 2
Vignette 6	§6 obv. i 33-40	8	3.5	Ulma	go, destroy, take, give	“carried off” instead of “take”; ‘sowed cress’	Cat. 1 and 2
Vignette 7	§6 obv. i 41-45	4.5	0	Šallahšuwa	go	citizens burned down their own city for him	Cat. 2
Vignette 8	§7 obv. i 46-52	6.5	2	Šanaḫḫuitta	go, destroy, take/give	“carried to” instead of “take” followed by “give”	Cat. 1
Vignette 9	§8 obv. i 53-ii 1	3	1	Appaya	destroy, take		simple
Vignette 10	§8 obv. ii 2-§9 obv. ii 8	7	0	Parmanna	go	the city “saw” and “opened”	Cat. 2
Vignette 11	§9 obv. ii 9-10	1.5	0	Alḫa	destroy		Cat. 2
Vignette 12	§10 obv. ii 11-12	1.5	0	Zaruna	go, destroy		simple
Vignette 13	§10 obv. ii 13-§14 obv. ii 48a	34.5	17.5	Ḫaššuwa	go, destroy, take, give	“fill,” “carried to” instead of “give”	Cat. 1 and 2
Vignette 14	§14 obv. ii 48b-§16 rev. iii 5	10.5	1	Zippašna	go, destroy, take, give	“carried to” instead of “give”	Cat. 1
Vignette 15	§17 rev. iii 6-§21 rev. iii 42	36	14	Ḫaḫḫa (and Ḫaššuwa)	go, destroy, take, give	“carried to” instead of “give”	Cat. 1

Table 2: Conquest Vignettes

3.4.1 Stylistic Shift in the Conquest Vignettes: Category 1

Considering the consistency as well as the variety of the internal structures of the conquest vignettes, as just summarized, a stylistic shift is perceivable. In the first four conquest vignettes the style is simple. The syntactic structure of the clauses within each of these vignettes is plain and straightforward. There are very few adjuncts and virtually zero uses of metaphorical language. The first three vignettes are unembellished in indicating that Ḫattušili “went” (*pāun*) to a city or cities, “destroyed” (*ḫarninkun*) the city, cities, or country side, “took” (*daḫḫun*) plunder, and “gave” (*peḫḫun*) the plunder to various temples. Vignette 4 is an abbreviated version of the vignette, containing only the “go” and “take” elements, but is similarly straightforward in its grammar and lack of metaphorical language, example (12).

(12)
²² MU.IM.MA-*anni=ma* INA ^{URU}Arzauwa ***pāun***
²³ *nu=šmaš=kan* GU₄^{MES}-un UDU^{HIA}-un *arḫa* ***daḫḫun***

²² In the following year **I went** to Arzawa. ²³ **I took** away their cattle and sheep.

KBo 10.2 obv. i 22-23 §5

However, as one reads the conquest vignettes in the rest of the text, they are far more intricate. In other words, the first four conquest vignettes are simple and straightforward, with almost no literary flourishes, whereas the majority of the other eleven vignettes are far more complex. Five of the remaining eleven vignettes contain variations of the category 1 type: expansions on one or more of the four principal formulaic elements of the conquest vignette. For instance, vignette 6 contains embellishments (bolded) on the “go” and the “destroy” elements, example (13). The normal, principal elements are underlined.

(13)
³³ [EGI]R-*anda=ma* INA KUR ^{URU}Ulma *zaḫḫiya* ***pāun***
³⁴ *nu=mu* LÚ^{MES} ^{URU}Ulma ***MÈ***-ya *menahḫanda* ³⁵ ***2-ŠU*** *auir*
n=aš 2-ŠU=pat ḫulliyanun

³⁶ *nu KUR^{URU} Ulman ħarninkun*
nu=šši=kan pedi=šši ³⁷ [ZĀ.AĤ.L]I^{SAR} *šunniyanun*

³³ [After]wards, I went to the land of Ulma for battle. ³⁴ **The people of Ulma saw me coming for battle** ³⁵ **two times. The same two times I defeated them.** ³⁶ I destroyed the land of Ulma. **In its place** ³⁷ **I sowed [cres]s.**

KBo 10.2 obv. i 33-37a §6

The second clause, which also gives agency to the people of the city of Ulma, expands on the “go” element by describing how many times Ḫattušili came against Ulma for battle. The third clause provides preliminary information for the “destroy” element by indicating that Ḫattušili defeated Ulma twice in battle, which also enables one to visualize and imagine how the defeat took place. The fifth clause in this vignette provides detailed information about the manner and extent of the destruction: plants were planted amidst the ruins so that all traces of the city would be covered. Melchert compares this act in Ulma with the same act that occurs in the Anitta text where it is “clear that the purpose of the act is to make the site *sacrum* in the double sense of this word: ‘sacred’ to the gods, but ‘accursed’ (off limits) to men.” Melchert concludes, “the sense of [the same act in CTH 4] is thus quite clear.”¹⁵

Vignette 8 adds details on the duration of the battle as well as indicating the chronological point at which Ḫattušili finally defeated the city of Šanahḫuitta. It even adds a comment about Ḫattušili’s emotional state following this conquest, example (14).

(14)
⁴⁶ [MU-*anni=ma* IN]A^{URU} *Šanahḫuitta MÈ-ya pāun*

¹⁵ Melchert, “The Acts of Ḫattušili I,” p. 10. The relevant section of the Anitta text reads as follows: *pēdišši=ma ZĀ.AĤ.LI-an anie[nun]* § ⁴⁹ *kuiš ammel āppan LUGAL-uš kīšar[i]* ⁵⁰ *nu* ^{URU} *Ḫattušan āppa ašāš[i]* ⁵¹ *n=an nepišaš dIM-aš ħazziē[ttu]* “In its place, [I] worked cress seed. § Whoever becomes king after me, and settles Ḫattuša again. [Let] the Storm-god of heaven strike him!” KBo 3.22 rev. 48-51. For an edition of this portion of the Anitta text, see Erich Neu, *Der Anitta-Text* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974), pp. 12-13.

⁴⁷ [(nu^{UR})^U Šanahhuit]tan **INA** ITU **5**^{KAM} zahheškinun
⁴⁸ [n=an **INA** I(TU **6**^{KAM})] harninkun
nu=za LUGAL.GAL ⁴⁹ [**ZI-an** waršiy]anunun¹⁶

⁴⁶ [But in the following year] I went [t]o Šanahhuitta **for battle**. ⁴⁷ I fought [Šanahhuit]ta **for five months**. ⁴⁸ [**In the**] **sixth** [m]onth I destroyed [it]. **I, the great king**, ⁴⁹ [sett]led my [soul].

KBo 10.2 obv. i 46-49a §7

The last three vignettes of the text, vignettes 13-15, include more details than all of the earlier vignettes combined. These vignettes fill 81 full lines, from obv. ii 13 until rev. iii 42 of KBo 10.2, which is 56.4% of the text (excluding the colophon).¹⁷ The text leading up to these vignettes, including the incipit, fills only 62.5 full lines, or 43.6% of the text. Both of the occurrences of the lion metaphor as well as the comparison with Sargon occur in these last three vignettes. As indicated in Table 2 (see page 59, above), vignette 13 contains changes of both category 1 and category 2 types and vignettes 14-15 contain changes of only the category 1 type.

3.4.1.1 Vignette 13: KBo 10.2 §10 obv. ii 13–§14 obv. ii 48a

Vignette 13 adds information about the circumstances of the attacked city, especially that the city had military support from an ally: Aleppo. In spite of the coalition, Hattušili prevailed, example (15). Following line ii 16 there is further information, particularly about the destruction of Haššuwa. The defeat of the coalition appears to have taken place in a particular area within the

¹⁶ For restoration, see the preserved Akkadian version obv. 24b: šarrum rabum libbašu utappiš “The great king treated his heart.” This restoration is argued for by Melchert, “The Acts of Hattušili I,” p. 13. For an edition of this vignette, see de Martino, *Annali e Res Gestae antice Ittiti*, pp. 44-46.

¹⁷ Cf. Alexander Uchitel, “Local Versus General History in Old Hittite Historiography,” in *The Limits of Historiography: Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts*, ed. Christina Shuttleworth Kraus (Leiden: Brill, 1999), p. 58; Gilan, *Formen und Inhalte althethitischer historischer Literatur*, p. 225.

region of Ḫaššuwa. In lines ii 17-21, the text says that after a period of time,¹⁸ Hattušili crossed the Euphrates and then, through the use of the lion metaphor, describes the conquest of the “land of the city Ḫaššuwa” as “overpowering,” example (16).

(15)

nu INA ^{UR}[^UḪaššuwa] ¹³ *pāun*
nu=mu ^{LÚ}^{MEŠ}[^Š ^{URU}Ḫaššuwa *zahḫiya* [] ¹⁴ *menahḫand*[a u] *ēr*
^{ÉRIN}^{MEŠ} *yašmaš* [] ¹⁵ *ŠA KUR* ^{URU}[*Ḫalap šardi*] *anni kattan ēšta* []
¹⁶ *n=aš=mu* ^M[*È-ya*] *uit*
n=an *ḫulliy*[*anun*]

I went to the cit[y Ḫaššuwa]. ¹³ The men of Ḫaššuwa came towards me for battle. ¹⁴ Also the troops ¹⁵ of the land of [Ḫalap] were with them in [alli]ance. ¹⁶ It came to me [for bat]tle. [I] defeated it.

KBo 10.2 obv. ii 12b-16 §10

(16)

¹⁷ *nu kapp*[(*ū*)] *wanda* ^{UD.KAM}^{HLA}-*aš* ^{ID}*Pūran*[*an*] ¹⁸ *ziḫḫ*[*un*]
nu KUR ^{URU}Ḫaššuwa ^{UR.MAH} ^{GIM}-*an* [] ¹⁹ ^{GIR}^{HLA}-*i*[*t a*] *rḫa šakkuriyanun* []
²⁰ *nu=z*[*(š)an ma*] *ḫḫan walḫun* []
²¹ [*nu=šši* ^{SAḪAR}^{HLA}-*u*] *š šer arnunun* []

¹⁷ The counting of days, [I] crossed the Euphrates river. ¹⁸⁻¹⁹ I overpowered the land of Ḫaššuwa like a lion with paws, ²⁰ [Wh]en I attacked¹⁹ [], ²¹ I brought [dust] over [him/it].

KBo 10.2 obv. ii 17-21 §10

The CHD distinguishes two main circumstances for when to translate *šakkuriya*- as “overpower” versus “to knock down flat”: “The prey of an animal, a house or a woman can be overpowered, subdued or mauled. A house, land and comet can be knocked flat or prostrate. But finding a uniform translation for all objects of this verb is very difficult” (Š1, p. 80). This situation makes the verb in this context quite difficult because it can fit into both circumstances: on the one hand, this context has a city as the object of the verb implying that the “knock down

¹⁸ Melchert argues that the text of the Hittite and Akkadian versions indicates the period of time is just a few days rather than a long period of time. See Melchert, “The Acts of Hattušili I,” p. 16.

¹⁹ For the verb *walḫ-* with the particle *šan* as “to attack,” see CHD Š, p. 149-150, s.v., *-šan* B 2 h 11’.

flat” meaning is preferred, but, on the other hand, this object is portrayed as the prey of an animal in which case the “overpower” meaning is preferred.²⁰ It is likely that this mixing of meanings is intentional, that by using the verb *šakkuriya-* with the lion metaphor for the agent and the city as the object, two different, though compatible, meanings would be implied.

While “overpowering” (*šakkuriya-*) in line 19 relates to the lion metaphor, the following two lines seem to shift away from the metaphor by describing the means of destruction, or perhaps better the completion of destruction, as a “covering” with “[dust]” (SAḪAR^{HIA} *šer arnunun*).²¹ In contrast, the Akkadian version does not seem to use the lion metaphor in quite the same way as the Hittite version. Instead of using a verb that more clearly refers to “overpowering” or “knocking down flat,” the Akkadian version uses a verb with the opposite meaning: “to heap up” (*šapāku*), example (17).

²⁰ The range of ways this clause is translated is quite wide: Beckman has “I scattered the land of Ḫaššuwa like a lion with its paws,” Beckman, “Historical Texts I: Annals of Ḫattušili I,” p. 221. Miller has “I trampled Ḫaššuwa like a lion with its paws” Miller, “The Expeditions of Ḫattušili I to the Eastern Frontiers: A Study in the Historical Geography and Internal Chronology of the Great King’s Campaigns,” p. 31. Similarly also van den Hout who has “and like a lion I trampled the city of Ḫaššuwa underfoot,” Theo van den Hout, *The Purity of Kingship: An Edition of CTH 569 and Related Hittite Oracle Inquires of Tuthaliya IV* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 226. And differently still, Kempinski has “und das Land Ḫaššu, wie ein Löwe zerriß ich (es) mit meinem Pranken,” Aharon Kempinski, *Syrien und Palästina (Kanaan) in der letzten Phase der Mittelbronze IIB-Zeit (1650-1570 v Chr.)* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), p. 26-27. More in line with the CHD meanings are the translations by de Martino who has “come un leone, schiacciai sotto (lett. con) le zampe il paese di Ḫaššu” (de Martino, *Annali e Res Gestae antico Ittiti*, p. 53), Gilan with “ich... überwältigte das Land Ḫaššuwa wie ein Löwe m[it] den Pranken” (Gilan, *Formen und Inhalte althethitischer historischer Literatur*, p. 221), similarly, also Tischler translates with “ich überwältigte” (HEG II, p. 741 and HEG IV, p. 618), and Hoffner with “I knocked flat ... like a lion with its paws” in a context arguing that *šakkuriya-* “must mean ‘flatten’,” (Harry A. Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites: A Critical Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 201).

²¹ The restoration of [*nu-šši SAḪAR^{HIA}-u*]š *šer* is based on the Akkadian version: *epram ana muḫīšu* “dust/earth on him.” See the following example. Cf. also obv. ii 51-52 in example (22). For discussion, see Melchert, “The Acts of Ḫattušili I,” p. 16.

(17)

³⁴ *ina ubatima irt[i¹]Puran kīma nēšim šarrum rabum itetiḳ*

³⁵ URU *Ḫaššuwa kīma nēš[im i]na rittīšu išša'pakšu*

epram ³⁶ *ana muḫīšu išša'pakšu*

³⁴ But within days the great king crossed over the Puran river like a lion. ³⁵ **He heaped up** Ḫaššuwa like a lion with its paws. ³⁶ **He heaped** earth on him.

KBo 10.1 obv. 34-36a

The Akkadian verb *šapāku* does not mean “knock down” but rather, “to heap up, pile up, construct” (CAD, Š1, p. 412).²² While this verb works well with the third clause (“he heaped earth on him”), and thereby corresponds exactly with the Hittite version (“I brought [dust] over [him/it]”), its use in the second clause has a different meaning than its Hittite counterpart: “He heaped up Ḫaššuwa like a lion with its paws” (Akkadian) versus “I overpowered the land of

²² This situation of the seemingly inappropriate use of this Akkadian verb was already noted by Kempinski: “Die Verwendung des Verbums *šapāku* paßt nicht zu seiner gewöhnlichen akkadischen Bedeutung,” Kempinski, *Syrien und Palästina (Kanaan) in der letzten Phase der Mittelbronze IIB-Zeit (1650-1570 v Chr.)*, p. 20. The CAD cites these lines for this Akkadian verb, but oddly translates the first occurrence differently than the second one. The CAD translates the first occurrence against the normal meaning, but similar to Hittite *šakkuriya*- “to overpower, lay low” while translating the second occurrence according to the Hittite verb *šer arnu*- “to bring [something] over [something/someone]” (see CHD Š3, p. 418, s.v., *šer* 2 c 2' b'), which is what the Hittite version has and is consistent with the base meaning of the Akkadian verb: “and like a lion with its claws *cast down* Ḫaššuwa and *heaped* earth *upon* it” (CAD Š1, p. 415 emphasis added; note that Miller calls this translation in CAD a “free translation” Miller, “The Expeditions of Ḫattušili I to the Eastern Frontiers: A Study in the Historical Geography and Internal Chronology of the Great King’s Campaigns,” p. 36). Devecchi also translates the two verbs differently, similar to the CAD: “Ḫaššu, come un leone, con la sua zampa *ha sopraffatto*. Di polvere *l'ha ricoperta*,” Devecchi, *Gli Annali di Ḫattušili I nella versione accadica*, p. 47 emphasis added. The CHD takes a different approach to the Akkadian verb. It suggests following CAD meaning 3 of *šapāku* instead: “to render limp(?), powerless(?)” (CHD Š1, 79; this approach was already noted by van den Hout, *The Purity of Kingship*, p. 225). However, none of the citations in CAD meaning 3 fit the lion metaphor. Although, there is one text citation that has to do with a battle situation: an Akkadian text from Ugarit. The translation in CAD implies that the verb *šapāku* has to do with downward motion: *i-ib-bu-ku-šu-nu* LÚ.MEŠ-ia ù *iš-pu-ku-šu-nu* *unūtešunu* “my men defeated them and *made them drop* their equipment Ugaritica 5 20 r. 8 (let.)” (CAD Š1, p. 419, emphasis added). However, this passage could just as easily be translated following the majority meaning of other occurrences of *šapāku*: “my men defeated them and *made them pile up* their equipment” (emphasis added).

Ḫaššuwa like a lion with paws” (Hittite). One could argue that this was a scribal error by dittography given its appropriate use in the following clause.²³ However, there may be another possibility where the use of *šapāku* “to heap up, pile up, construct” in the second clause is not incorrect. It has been observed that at least one species of lion, the North American mountain lion, will cover a kill with debris between feedings: “After they’ve eaten their fill, mountain lions generally cover the remainder of the carcass with grass, leaves, dirt and other debris. They return to the kill for subsequent feedings as long as it lasts, or until they make another kill.”²⁴ In this way, the first use of *šapāku* in clause two of example (17) is a metonymy of effect for cause. In other words, the text uses an action of a lion near the end of its process for killing and consuming prey to stand in for the entire process of the killing and consumption. This entire process, then, would be a metaphor for Ḫattušili’s destruction of Ḫaššuwa. If this interpretation is correct, then the double use of *šapāku* is not incorrect and the Akkadian version is simply using the lion metaphor differently than the Hittite version. It can further be noted that in expressing the metaphor in this way, the second and third clauses are in fact an instance of parallelism. The second clause explicitly contains the metaphor of the lion with its paws and the third assumes the same metaphor but replaces *kīma nēš[im i]na rittišu* “like a lion with its paws” with the item moved with the paws: *epram* “earth.” Also, the third clause replaces the name of the city—

²³ So Kempinski, who, while observing the problem, suggests what might be expected instead: “Die Verwendung des Verbums *šapāku* ... ist wohl im Zusammenhang mit seinem Vorkommen in der nächsten Zeile zu erklären. Wahrscheinlich sollte an seiner Stelle ein Verb von ähnlichem Klang, jedoch mit der Bedeutung ‘zerreißen, schneiden’ erscheinen” (Kempinski, *Syrien und Palästina (Kanaan) in der letzten Phase der Mittelbronze IIB-Zeit (1650-1570 v Chr.)*, p. 20). See also Collins who places the first instance of the verb in double brackets: “*«iš-ta(!)-pá-ak-šu»*” (Collins, “Ḫattušili I, the Lion King,” p. 15 note 4).

²⁴ <https://nature.mdc.mo.gov/discover-nature/report-wildlife-sightings/mountain-lion-reports/mountain-lion-signs> accessed 1 December 2018.

Ḫaššuwa, mentioned in the second clause—with a prepositional phrase making explicit where the “earth” ended up, a phrase that literally means “on his skull/head” (*ana muḫīšu* translated idiomatically above as “on him”²⁵). In this way, the two clauses refer to the same action. While the second clause is concerned with the simile and the city name, the third clause focuses on materials (“earth”) and the way those materials are used (“heaped on him”).

A second difference in the Akkadian version of the lion metaphor in vignette 13 is its use in line 34 (the first clause of example (17)) where Ḫattušili’s action of crossing a river is compared to a lion. This is wholly absent in the Hittite version.²⁶ Also missing in the Hittite version is the royal title “great king” (*šarrum rabbum*) that does occur in the Akkadian version. These different details in this clause, combined with the comments above on the second and third clauses, suggest the Akkadian version of these three clauses were written to be a three clause parallel construction, otherwise known as a tricolon. The first clause introduces the lion metaphor and is heavily agentive with the title “great king.” The second clause expands the lion metaphor (by adding “with paws” [*i]na rittišu*) and changes its verb, drops the royal title, and names the patient of the new verb. In spite of dropping the word “lion,” the third clause maintains the lion metaphor by repeating the verb of clause two and providing the telos of the verbal action introduced in clause two: “he heaped earth on him.” Example (18) highlights these features with various formatting styles for corresponding elements; features unique to each sentence are in all caps.²⁷

²⁵ Cf. Jeremy Black, Andrew George, and Nicholas Postgate, eds. *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), p. 215 s.v., *muḫḫu(m)*.

²⁶ Noted, but not commented on, by Houwink ten Cate, “History of Warfare According to Hittite Sources: The Annals of Hattusilis I (Part II),” p. 51.

²⁷ A detail not marked with a special formatting style is the initial temporal clause. The temporal clause is understood here as a discourse marker separating these lines off from the preceding

(18)

³⁴ *ina ubatima irt[iⁱ]^DPURAN **kīma nēšim** ŠARRUM RABBUM iteti^q*
³⁵ ^{URU}ḤAŠŠUWA **kīma nēš[im i]***na rittišu iššaⁱpakšu*
EP^{RAM} ³⁶ *ana muḥišu iššaⁱpakšu*

³⁴ But within days the GREAT KING crossed over the PURAN river **like a lion**. ³⁵ **He heaped up** ḤAŠŠUWA **like a lion** *with its paws*. ³⁶ **He heaped** EARTH *on him*.

KBo 10.1 obv. 34-36a

Comparing this structure with the Hittite version reveals how this structural pattern in the Akkadian version is completely absent in the Hittite version. For ease of comparison, the Hittite version of this portion is provided again as example (19).

(19)

¹⁷ *nu kapp[(ū)]wanda UD.KAM^{HI.A}-aš^{iD}Pūran[an]¹⁸ zihḫ[un]*
nu KUR^{URU}Ḥaššuwa UR.MAḤ GIM-an []¹⁹ GİR^{HI.A}-i[t a]rḫa šakkuriyanun []
²⁰ *nu-z[=š)an ma]ḫḫan walḫun []*
²¹ *[nu-šši SAḤAR^{HI.A}-u]š šer arnunun []*

¹⁷ The counting of days, [I] crossed the Euphrates river. ¹⁸⁻¹⁹ I overpowered the land of Ḥaššuwa like a lion with paws, ²⁰ [Wh]en I attacked [], ²¹ I brought [dust] over [him/it].

KBo 10.2 obv. ii 17-21 §10

As noted, the clause for crossing the river in the Hittite version contains neither the lion metaphor nor the title of the king. The second clauses of both versions are virtually the same except for the difference in meaning of the verbs, as discussed above. The third clause in the Hittite version is completely absent from the Akkadian version: *nu-z[=š)an ma]ḫḫan walḫun* “[wh]en I attacked []” (KBo 10.2 ii 20). The broken fourth clause in the Hittite version, partly restored by the Akkadian version, is nevertheless the same in meaning.

The effect of these differences reveals that the Akkadian version contains tighter interconnections amongst all three of its clauses whereas the Hittite version is less tightly cohesive. The Akkadian version ties its three sentences together by repetition of lexemes (*kīma*

nēšim “like a lion” in the first and second sentences, *išša'pakšu* “he heaped him up” in the second and third sentences) and syntactical construction (accusative noun + prepositional phrase + *išša'pakšu* “he heaped him up” in the second and third sentences²⁸). In this way, the second sentence is tied closely to the first and third sentences by means of different linguist methods. Also, these ties in the Akkadian version show that the lion metaphor occurs in all three of its sentences, explicitly in the first two sentences and implicitly in the third through its use of *šapāku* “to heap up.”

The Hittite version, on the other hand, contains no cohesive ties of a similar sort to the Akkadian version. Also, the lion metaphor is not as prominent. As a result, the literary effect of the style of the Hittite version is not the same as the Akkadian version. It is difficult to assign priority to one or the other version. Did the Akkadian version make the Hittite version more interesting? Or if translation went the other way, did the Hittite scribe not understand the Akkadian? Or, are the two versions independent compositions based on a common predecessor where the scribes were allowed some freedom to shape the text as they desired? Given the differences, I am currently inclined towards this third option, but this is not assured.

The next notable embellishment of vignette 13 is the expansive list of plunder covering 18.5 lines. The largest portion of plunder was given to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (KBo 10.2 ii 26-37) and smaller portions were given to the temple of the deity Mezzulla (KBo 10.2 obv. ii 38-40) and the temple of the Storm-god (KBo 10.2 obv. ii 41-44).

²⁸ Of course the second sentence also contains the simile “like a lion,” which ties the second sentence with the first.

The beginning of §14 of KBo 10.2 is strange. First, the opening line of the section contains a summary statement of vignette 13, example (20). In principle, this is not a problem, even though this is the only time where the verb *taruḥ-* “to conquer” occurs in this text about conquests. What is odd is that this summary begins a new text section which also contains the start of a new conquest vignette just a few lines later (vignette 14 begins in KBo 10.2 obv. ii 48b §14).

(20)
⁴⁵ *nu=za* KUR ^{URU} *Ḫaššuwa* INA MU.1^{KAM} *taruḥḫun*

I conquered the land of Ḫaššuwa in one year.

KBo 10.2 obv. ii 45 §14

Second, the next two and a half lines seem to add some final details about the conquest of Ḫaššuwa, example (21). These lines would have fit well at the end of the “destroy” portion of this vignette rather than occurring after the “take” and “give” portions or even after the anomalous summary of conquest in example (20).

(21)
⁴⁶ *AYALU* GUŠKIN *nu* ^m *Tawannagaš māri[n]* ⁴⁷ *arḫa peššer*
 LUGAL.GAL-*ma=an=kan* SAG.DU=*SÚ* ⁴⁸ *kuēršun*

⁴⁶ (There is) a golden deer. They threw away the spear of Tawannaga. ⁴⁷ As for the great king, ⁴⁸ I cut off his head.

KBo 10.2 obv. ii 46-48a §14

In addition to the strange placement of these lines, the beginning of example (21) is unexpected since it is simply a noun phrase: “golden deer.”²⁹ Melchert does not comment on it

²⁹ Due to the presence of the word *AYALU* “deer” and its syntactical use, one is reminded of the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual parables where, in parable 2, we find: *aliyanaš n=ašta ÍD-an tapuša kuiēš uešeš nu apūš uešiyattari* (There was) a deer. As for what pastures are alongside the river, it was pasturing them (KBo 32.14 ii 26-27).

beyond placing it in double brackets (“«*AYALU* GUŠKIN»”) believing that its inclusion in the text is a mistake.³⁰

It is difficult to know how these three and a half lines (45-48a, examples (20) and (21)) fit in stylistically in vignette 13. Their placement may very well be a scribal mistake or, alternatively, evidence that this copy of the Hittite version was one draft within an unknown number of drafts. Unfortunately, the Akkadian version provides no help since the passage occurs at the bottom edge of the obverse and is mostly broken away.

3.4.1.2 Vignette 14: KBo 10.2 §14 obv. ii 48b–§16 rev. iii 5

Vignette 14 is shorter than vignettes 13 and 15, filling 12 lines instead of 36 and 37 lines (respectively), but with 12 lines, it is still longer than any of the other 12 conquest vignettes in the text. The added material to this vignette provides embellishing details to the “go” and “destroy” elements.

The “go” elements are quite expansive and include travel circumstances including the close approach to the city, example (22).

(22)
nu *INA*^{URU} *Zippašna* *pāun*
⁴⁹ *nu=kan*^{URU} *Zippašnan* **GE₆-az=pat**⁵⁰ *šarā* *pāun*³¹
nu=šmaš **MĒ-ya**⁵¹ *anda* *tiyanun*
nu=šmaš **SAḪAR**^{HLA} **-iš**⁵² *šer* *arnunun*
n=ašta **ŠÀ** **KUR.KUR**^{MEŠ}⁵³ *anda* ^d**UTU**-*uš* *tiyat*

³⁰ Melchert, “The Acts of Hattušili I,” pp. 18-20. See similarly de Martino, *Annali e Res Gestae antico Ittiti*, p. 62. Contrast with Miller who reads: *A-YA-LU* GUŠKIN <<*nu*>> ^m*Ta-wa-an-na-ga-aš* and translates “They discarded⁷ the silver(sic!) stag and the *māri*(-spear) of Tawannaga,” Miller, “The Expeditions of Hattušili I to the Eastern Frontiers: A Study in the Historical Geography and Internal Chronology of the Great King’s Campaigns,” pp. 30-31

³¹ For a discussion of the use of the accusative ^{URU}*Zippašnan* with the verb *šarā* *pāun*, see Melchert, “The Acts of Hattušili I,” pp. 19-20.

I went to Zippašna.⁴⁹ **In fact, it was at night** that⁵⁰ I went up to Zippašna.⁵¹ **I stepped to them for battle.**⁵² **I brought dust over them.**³² Into the midst of the lands⁵³ the Sun-god stepped.

KBo 10.2 obv. ii 48b-53 §14

The final clause about the solar deity stepping into the midst of the lands should probably be considered an expression of divine support otherwise described as the deity “running before in battle.”³³ This is further supported by observing the clustering of words and themes that occurs three times in this text. In KBo 10.2 obv. i 27-30a (the exception to the conquest vignette), KBo 10.2 obv. i 48-50 (vignette 8), KBo 10.2 rev. iii 15b-20 (vignette 15), and in the present vignette, KBo 10.2 obv. ii 48b-rev. iii 5, the title LUGAL.GAL *Tabarna*³⁴ occurs in close proximity to mentions of the solar deity. In obv. i 27-30a, the collocation is explicit in claiming the deity’s support of Ḫattušili. I suggest that the other two occurrences of the collocation of the royal title with the solar deity, in spite of their different mode of expression, also claim the deity’s support. The reason for claiming the deity’s support in these latter two occurrences, as opposed to other vignettes, is unclear, but what does stand out is that claims of divine support do not occur until the exception to the conquest vignette.

The “destroy” element starts with a reiterative “go” element, which includes the honorific title of Ḫattušili, LUGAL.GAL *Tabarna* (as noted above). This is followed by the second use of the lion metaphor, which is not used for the sense of power, but for that of intimidation, example (23).

³² While the covering with dust could be a metonymy for the destruction of the city, due to the “destroy” element explicitly occurring 5 lines later in rev. iii 3, the covering with dust here seems to refer not to part of the destruction as it does in KBo 10.2 obv. ii 21, but to the dust that is stirred up during the march of an army which then, apparently, drifts onto the city.

³³ As the Sun-goddess of Arinna does earlier in the text in KBo 10.2 obv. i 29-30 §5: [*n*]=*aš=mu* MÈ-*ya peran*³⁰ *ḫūwāiš* “she ran before me in battle.”

³⁴ In vignette 8 the title LUGAL.GAL occurs without the title *Tabarna*.

(23)

⁵⁴ LUGAL.GAL *tabarnaš INA* ^{URU} *Zippašna* ⁵⁵ :[p]āun
¹ ^{URU} *Ḫaḫḫan=ma=za=kan* UR.MAḪ *maḫḫan* ² *arḫa tarkuwalliškinun*
³ *nu* ^{URU} *Zippaššan* *ḫarninkun*

⁵⁴⁻⁵⁵ I, great king, Tabarna, went to Zippašna. § ¹ As for Ḫaḫḫa, like a lion, ² I stared it off.
³ I destroyed Zippaššana.

KBo 10.2 obv. ii 54-rev. iii 3 §§15-16

The “take” and “give” elements are straightforward, example (24).

(24)

⁴ DINGIR^{MES} *-ma=šši šarā dahḫun*
⁵ *n=aš ANA* ^dUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na *pēdahḫun*

⁴ As for its gods, I took (them) up. ⁵ I carried them to the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

KBo 10.2 rev. iii 4-5 §16

3.4.1.3 Vignette 15: KBo 10.2 §17 rev. iii 6–§21 rev. iii 42

As noted earlier, the final vignette, vignette 15, is very long: it fills 37 lines. Similar to vignette 13, the section on plunder redistribution fills 18 lines; vignette 13 devotes 19 lines to plunder redistribution. This vignette is divided into four parts and each part is self contained in separate paragraphs in the text, except that the final part encompasses the final two paragraphs (in §§20-21). The first part seems to function as an overview of the entire vignette, containing all four of the principal elements of the conquest vignette. The second part is an expansion on the “take” and “give” elements, with some unique lexical and literary features. The third part appears to give background information in preparation for the “destruction” element along with collection of further plunder that is portrayed as a voluntary gift to Ḫattušili, thereby constituting an expansion on the “give” element. The fourth part is the climax of the text with an expansion on the “destroy” element.

Vignette 15.1: The Overview

The first part, in §17, contains all four principal elements of the conquest vignette, example (25).

(25)

⁶ *nu* *INA* ^{URU} *Ḫaḫḫa* *pāun*
nu=kan *INA* ^{URU} *Ḫaḫḫa* ⁷ *KÁ.GAL* ^{HIA} *-aš 3-ŠU* *anda* *MÈ-in* *teḫḫun*
⁸ *nu* ^{URU} *Ḫaḫḫan* *ḫarninkun*
āššu=ma=šši ⁹ *šarā* *daḫḫun*
n=at ^{URU} *Ḫattuši* ¹⁰ *URU-ri=mit* *arḫa* *udaḫḫun*
¹¹ *2 TAPAL* ^{GIS} *MAR.GÍD.DA* ^{MES} *IŠTU* *KU.BABBAR* ¹² *tāištiyan* *ēšta*

⁶ I went to Ḫaḫḫa. In Ḫaḫḫa, ⁷ I placed battle in the gates three times. ⁸ I destroyed Ḫatta. As for its goods, ⁹ I took (them) up. ¹⁰ I brought them out to my city Ḫattuša. ¹¹⁻¹² Two wagons were loaded with silver.

KBo 10.2 rev. iii 6-12 §17

There are two small embellishments to the vignette in this paragraph: a detail about the battle (in line 7) and a detail about the plunder (in lines 11-12). The detail about the plunder ends up serving a transitioning role to the next paragraph, which is entirely devoted to listing out the plunder as well as to adding a unique dimension to the “take” and “give” elements of the conquest vignette.

Vignette 15.2: The “Take” and “Give” Elements

The second part, §18, can be divided into three sub-sections. The first contains an ordinary list of plunder. The second and third sub-sections are completely unique in this text. The second has an expansion on the “take” and “give” elements that have to do with humans rather than inanimate wealth. The third sub-section expands on the “give” element by indicating that Ḫattušili devoted something to the temple that was not simply a piece of plunder, but something that he constructed.

Vignette 15.2.1. The first sub-section of part two contains an expanded list of goods and deities that appear to be loaded onto the wagons mentioned at the end of §17,³⁵ example (26).

(26)
¹³ 1 ^{GIŠ}GIGIR *MADNANU* 1 *AYALU* KÙ.BABBAR 1 ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR GUŠKIN ¹⁴ 1
^{GIŠ}BANŠUR KÙ.BABBAR *kūš* DINGIR^{MEŠ URU} *Ḫaḫḫa* 1 GU₄ MAḪ KÙ.BABBAR ¹⁵ 1
^{GIŠ}MÁ SAG=*SÚ* GUŠKIN GAR.RA

¹³ 1 bed wagon, 1 silver deer, 1 gold table, ¹⁴ 1 silver table, these deities of Ḫaḫḫa: 1 silver bull, ¹⁵ 1 boat with prow inlaid gold.

KBo 10.2 rev. iii 13-15a §18

Vignette 15.2.2. The second sub-section expands on the “take” element, but instead of inanimate or animal plunder, the plunder is human. Also, the language used for this “take” element—and the corresponding “give” element—combines the capture-of-plunder-and-deposit-into-a-temple language, as the “take” and “give” elements do in every other vignette, with language that includes the notion of freeing people from servitude, example (27).

(27)
LUGAL.GAL *Tabarnaš* ¹⁶ ŠA GÉME^{MEŠ} ŠU ŠU^{MEŠ} -*uš* IŠTU^{NA4} ARA₅ *dahḫun*
¹⁷ ŠA ARAD^{MEŠ} *ya* ŠU^{MEŠ} ŠUNU IŠTU KIN *dahḫun*
¹⁸ *n=aš=kan šaḫḫanit luzzit* ¹⁹ *arawaḫḫun*
n=aš QABLI=ŠUNU arḫa lānun
²⁰ *n=aš ANA dUTU URU PÚ-na GAŠAN=YA EGIR-an tarnaḫḫun*

I, the Great King, Tabarna, ¹⁶ I took the hands of its slave women from the grindstone. ¹⁷ I took their hands of the slave men from the sickle.³⁶ ¹⁸ I freed them from obligation (and)

³⁵ Beckman assumes this in his use of a colon in his translation: “I took its goods and brought them to my city Ḫattuša (two pairs of wagons were loaded with silver): §17 one palanquin, one silver stag, ...” Beckman, “Historical Texts I: Annals of Ḫattšili I,” p. 221.

³⁶ The meaning of KIN here is a little ambiguous. On its own, it can simply mean “work,” but with or without the determinative URUDU, it can also mean “sickle” (see HZL, pp. 114-115, #47). Given the syntactical parallelism between this sentence with the preceding (KIN is paralleled with ^{NA4}ARA₅), it is more likely that the interpretation of KIN as “sickle” is correct. Beckman translates as “sickle” (Beckman, “Historical Texts I: Annals of Ḫattšili I,” p. 221). Cf. also Miller, “The Expeditions of Ḫattušili I to the Eastern Frontiers: A Study in the Historical Geography and Internal Chronology of the Great King’s Campaigns,” p. 40.

corvée service.¹⁹ I ungirded their loins.³⁷ ²⁰ I relinquished them to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady.

KBo 10.2 rev. iii 15b-20 §18

The way this sub-section portrays Ḫattušili's actions is that of a liberator. The use of the verbs "to take" (*dahḫun* x2) tie it to the "take" element of the conquest vignette pattern. Then the following two clauses use verbs that basically mean "to free" or "to liberate"; verbs that do not occur elsewhere in this text. Finally, while the last clause initially reads like a third "liberate" sentence with the verb *tarna-*, normally translated as "to release, let go," it is best understood as "relinquish" indicating that Ḫattušili is letting go of any legal claim on the liberated slaves so that they are available to be claimed by the temple of the Sun-goddess of Arinna.³⁸ So, this second sub-section of §18 initially portrays Ḫattušili as a great liberator, but the final sentence

³⁷ This translation follows Beckman, "Historical Texts I: Annals of Ḫattušili I," p. 221. Miller translates as follows, "I loosed their bonds (lit. unbelted their waists)," Miller, "The Expeditions of Ḫattušili I to the Eastern Frontiers: A Study in the Historical Geography and Internal Chronology of the Great King's Campaigns," p. 33. He bases it on meaning 1b of *lā-* in CHD L-N, p. 2 (see Miller, "The Expeditions of Ḫattušili I to the Eastern Frontiers: A Study in the Historical Geography and Internal Chronology of the Great King's Campaigns," p. 40). CHD L-N translates *lā-* in s.v., 1b as "detach" and bases it on the meaning of the Akkadian verb *paṭārum*, which is exactly how the Akkadian version reads: *qablišunu ipturma*. However, the meaning of *qablu* as "bonds" is difficult. CAD Q does not list "bonds" or anything related as a meaning for this word (see p. 6). Furthermore, the CAD P does not offer such a translation of *qablu* with the verb *paṭārum* (CAD P, pp. 286-303).

³⁸ This interpretation of *appan tarna-* as neither a generic "release" nor specifically a 'handing over,' even though in English "release" is often the best translation, is convincingly argued by Theo van den Hout, "Imprimatur *Avant La Lettre*: Editing in the Hittite Kingdom," in *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Hittitology, 28 August-1 September 2017* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Forthcoming), pp. 4-7. Van den Hout summarizes, "As the texts show, the combination *appan tarna-* denotes the unconditional letting go by the subject of something that formerly belonged to him or her. Now, he or she 'lets it back/re-releases it' into the world. By doing so the subject renounces all claims to the object that he or she releases to another party," van den Hout, "Imprimatur *Avant La Lettre*: Editing in the Hittite Kingdom," p. 6.

ironically creates the reverse situation of the slaves going back into servitude. The details of this sub-section support the interpretation that the portrayal is ironic.

The first thing to note is the noun phrases. This text is the only occurrence of the association between the Sumerogram GÉME “slave woman” and ^{NA4}ARA₅ “grindstone” in Hittite texts.³⁹ What occurs in several places is MUNUS ^{NA4}ARA₅ “(free) woman of the grindstone.”⁴⁰ Most of the occurrences of this association or term are within a context not well enough preserved to make a determination of their function in society. The two contexts that are well enough preserved are in prayers and these are illuminating for the present context.

Before looking at these two prayer texts, it must also be noted that the association of ARAD with KIN “slave man of the sickle,” is also entirely unique within Hittite texts.⁴¹ There

³⁹ According to the CHD lexical files. The Akkadian version, in KBo 10.1 rev. 11, has the same reading, but instead of the the verb “to take,” it uses the verb *duppurum* “to move”: *šarrum rabum Tabarna ša amūtīšu* [wr. ṚGÉME^{TMES}-šú] *qātīšina ina erī* [wr. ^{NA4}ARA₅] *uddappir* “The great king Tabarna, I/he moved the hands of his female slaves from the millstone.” This topos of women or slave women working at millstones also occurs in the Hebrew Bible as the “female servant of the two millstones” in Exodus 11:5:

“ומת פֶּלִי־בְכוֹר בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם מִבְּכוֹר פַּרְעֹה הַיֹּשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּאוֹ עַד בְּכוֹר הַשְּׂפֹכָה אֲשֶׁר אַחֲרֵי הָרָחִים וְכָל בְּכוֹר בְּהֵמָה:” And all the firstborn in the land of Egypt will die, from the first born of Pharaoh who sits upon his throne unto the firstborn maid-servant who is behind the two millstones and all the firstborn cattle.” There is also the Egyptian text, “Maxims of Ptahhotep,” that refers to women at grindstones as a foil for where wisdom can be found: “Good advice is rarer than emeralds, but yet it may be found even among women at the grindstones,” translation from William Kelly Simpson, ed. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 131. In light of this topos appearing in various parts of the ANE, the presence of this topos in CTH 4 could be interpreted as purely literary without any reference to what happened in the course of the conquest. Instead, it could simply be a portrayal of a common or expected characteristic for presenting the image of the king as one who cares about people in lowly stations of society that nevertheless are important to that society.

⁴⁰ This title or description occurs in 8 texts: KUB 24.3 ii 9’; KUB 24.2 rev. 9’; KBo 15.35+33 i 11, 13; KUB 48.117 obv. 4, 7, 11; KBo 30.54 obv. ii 5’, 10’; IBoT 1.29 rev 28; KBo 41.28 8’; KBo 59.104 obv. 8.

⁴¹ According to the CHD lexical files.

are many examples of LÚ^(MEŠ) KIN, often translated as “workman(/men),” but none with ARAD “slave man.”

While these two terms or associations—GÉME^{NA4}ARA₅ “slave woman of the grindstone” and ARAD KIN “slave man of the sickle”—are unique to this text, the semantic concepts are not. The two prayer texts referred to above combine MUNUS^{NA4}ARA₅ “(free) woman of the grindstone” (semantically similar to GÉME^{NA4}ARA₅ “slave woman of the grindstone”) with LÚ.MEŠ APIN.LÁ “plow men” (semantically similar to ARAD KIN “slave man of the sickle”). The first example comes from CTH 376.1 Hymn and Prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna by Muršili II. The petitioner is bemoaning the presence of a plague that is killing large portions of the people of Ḫatti. What is worse is that the result of all the death is that the daily rations for the gods are stopping because not one person is left to prepare them. In this context the “plow men” and the “women of the grindstone” are included in the list of people dying, example (28).

(28)
^{6'} LÚ.M^[EŠ] APIN.L]Á A.GÀR^{HLA} DINGIR-LIM kuiē[š] ^{7'} annešker
 n=a[t] eker
 nu namma A.ŠÀ A.G[À(R^{MEŠ} DINGIR-LIM)...?] ^{8'} aniyanzi w[a]raššanzi ŪL
 kui[ški] ^{9'} MUNUS^{MEŠ} NA₄ARA₅ ŠA DINGIR^{MEŠ} NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{HLA} kuiē[(š mallešker)]
^{10'} n=at eker
 nu namma NINDA.GUR₄.RA ŪL [(kuiški mal<le>zi)]

^{6'} The [plo]w men who used to work the fields of the gods ^{7'} have died. No one is any longer ^{8'} working or harvesting the field and fields of the gods. ^{9'} The women of the grindstone who grind the thick-breads of the gods ^{10'} have died. No one grinds thick-bread any longer.

KUB 24.3+ obv. ii 6'-10' §6 CTH 376.1⁴²

⁴² Edition in Elisabeth Rieken, et al., ed. *Hethiter.net*/: CTH 376.1 (TX 2017-12-02, TRde 2017-10-04) (Würzburg: University of Würzburg, 2017), §6".

The second example comes from CTH 377 Hymn and Prayer of Muršili II to the God Telipinu. This prayer beseeches the God Telipinu to assist in protecting Ḫatti from foreign enemies that would seek to steal the cultic objects and personnel that support Telipinu's temple. Several types of support personnel are listed including the “plow men” and the “women of the grindstone,” example (29).

(29)
⁵ *kuiēš=š)maš=za* LÚ.MEŠ APIN.LÁ LÚ.M[^{EŠ}NU.GIŠ KIRI₆.GEŠTIN] ⁶ LÚ.MEŠ NU.GIŠ MÚ.SAR
MUNUS^{MEŠ} N[(^{A4}ARA₅ *danna šanḫiškanzi*)]
⁷ *nu idalun tapašan [ḫink(an kāštann=a)]* ⁸ BURU₅^{HLA} *ya apēdaš ANA [(KUR.KUR)*
^L(^ÚKÚR *pāi*)]

⁵ As for those who seek to take your plowmen, [vineyardm]en, ⁶ gardeners, (and) grinding women. ⁷ Give evil fever, [plag]ue, and hunger, ⁸ and locusts to those enemy lands!
KUB 24.1+ rev. iv 5-8 §16' CTH 377⁴³

These two examples provide useful information for the interpretation of the functions of GÉME ^{NA4}ARA₅ “slave woman of the grindstone” and ARAD KIN “slave man of the sickle” within the discourse unit of conquest vignette 15 in KBo 10.2 rev. iii 15b-20. In both examples, both kinds of people work in service to the temples especially in providing the food for the gods. Both examples are about the work of these people ceasing (because of death by plague or because of being captured by enemies). The supplications of the petitioners of these prayers are appealing to the self-interests of the deities: ‘if you want to be provided for, o gods, stop the plague or send trouble to my enemies!’ In vignette 15 of KBo 10.2, the text places Ḫattušili as the aggressor capturing support personnel from a foreign temple. The irony is that while Ḫattušili portrays himself as the liberator of these people, both by removing “their hands” from their primary work implements and by ungirding “their bonds” (*QABLI=ŠUNU*), he then

⁴³ Elisabeth Rieken, et al., ed. *Hethiter.net/*: CTH 377 (TX 2017-10-04, TRde 2017-10-04) (Würzburg: University of Würzburg, 2017), §16'.

“relinquishes” (*appan tarnahhun*) them to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, which in reality is just putting them right back into servitude. They will not be any more free than they were in Ḫaḫḫa. The only difference is that they will now serve and support the temple of Ḫattušili’s personal deity, the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

As mentioned, this second sub-section of §18 is an elaborate expansion on the “take” and “give” elements of the conquest vignette. More can be said, however, about its internal structure. The five sentences in this sub-section are organized as two instances of parallelism. The first contains two sentences and the second contains three. The two-sentence parallelism is highly similar using the same verb (*dahhun* “I take”) in both as well as a virtually identical sentence structure, example (30).⁴⁴

(30)
 LUGAL.GAL *Tabarnaš* ¹⁶ *ŠA GÉME*^{MEŠ} *ŠU ŠU*^{MEŠ} *-uš IŠTU* ^{NA4} *ARA*₅ *dahhun*
¹⁷ *ŠA ARAD*^{MEŠ} *ya ŠU*^{MEŠ} *ŠUNU IŠTU KIN dahhun*

I, the Great King, Tabarna, ¹⁶ took the hands of its slave women from the grindstone.
¹⁷ Also I took the hands of the slave men from the sickle.

KBo 10.2 rev. iii 15b-17 §18

The three-sentence parallelism has more variety within it. All three sentences use different verbs that have varying levels of semantic overlap with each other: *arawahhun* “I freed,” *lānun* “I ungirded,” and *tarnahhun* “I relinquished.” These verbs tie this parallelism together, example (31).

(31)
¹⁸ *n=aš=kan šahhanit luzzit* ¹⁹ *arawahhun*
n=aš QABLI=ŠUNU arḫa lānun
²⁰ *n=aš ANA* ^d *UTU* ^{URU} *PÚ-na GAŠAN=YA EGIR-an tarnahhun*

¹⁸ I freed them from obligation (and) corvée service.

⁴⁴ Note the title and name “Great King Tabarna” is elided in the second sentence.

¹⁹ I ungirded their waist.

²⁰ I relinquished them to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady.

KBo 10.2 rev. iii 18-20 §18

While the verbs in these sentences are near-synonyms, the semantics of these sentences diverge. The first sentence uses technical terms to indicate what they are released from.⁴⁵ The second sentence uses human body parts to refer to release. This second sentence can either be interpreted literally, that physical bonds are untied from their waists, or metaphorically, indicating they have been freed from a master. So these first two sentences can be understood as complementary, where one is perhaps more abstract and the other is a vivid representation of being freed. Furthermore, it is possible to interpret the first two sentences as not separate actions, but two depictions of the same action: by ungirding their loins, he frees them from service obligations. The third sentence, while still using a “release”-type verb, as noted above, refers to almost the complete opposite by indicating that these freed people are ready to be claimed for service to Hattušili’s patroness deity.

In terms of outlining these two instances of parallelism, the first may be understood as AA’ due to the high degree of similarity between the two sentences, grammatically and semantically. The second instance of three sentences can be understood as AA’B: the first two sentences portray actions that may in fact be a single act, whereas the action of the third sentence is clearly subsequent to that of the first two and while having a verb that is semantically near to the first two, it results in a very different situation.

⁴⁵ The nouns *šaḥḥan* “obligation” and *luzzi* “corvée service” are commonly joined in sentences with the verb *arawaḥ-* “to free”: KBo 53.10 ii 7 (CTH 375.1), KBo 6.4 iv 13, 30 (CTH 291), KUB 26.43+ rev. 13 (CTH 225); or they are in separate sentences but nevertheless tied to the verb: KUB 26.58 obv. 12 (CTH 224), KBo 6.28+ rev. 22 (CTH 88), KBo 6.29+ ii 24 (CTH 85), Bronze tablet (Bo 86/299) iii 56, 69 (CTH 106).

The Akkadian version of these five sentences diverges from the Hittite version, revealing an alternate structure. While the first two sentences of the Akkadian version mirror the Hittite version pretty closely, example (32), the final three do not, example (33).

(32)

¹¹ *šarrum rabum Tabarna ša amūtīšu qātīšina ina erī uddappir*

¹² *ù ša wardīšu qatam[m]a ina qātīšunu uddappir*

¹¹ The great king Tabarna, he moved the hands of his female slaves from the millstone ¹²
In the same way, he moved from the hands of his slaves.

KBo 10.1 rev. 11-12a

(33)

qablišunu ¹³ *ipṭurma*

ina bīt ^dUTU ^{URU}Arin[na] *ištakanšunu*

ina šapal šamē ¹⁴ *andurārīšunu aštakan*⁴⁶

He ungirded ¹³ their loins.

He has set them in the temple of the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

Under heaven, ¹⁴ I have set their release.

KBo 10.1 rev. 12b-14a

The manner of the first two sentences (in example (32)), while they mirror the Hittite version closely, is slightly different in one way. The second sentence in the Hittite version includes the type of work of the slave, ARAD KIN “slave of the sickle,” whereas in the Akkadian version, the type of work is left out having just *wardīšu* (written ARAD^{MEŠ}-*šu*) “his slaves” (cf. example (30), above). In this way, the second sentence in the Akkadian version elides a modifier to “his slaves” as well as the title of the king “great king Tabarna.” This kind of difference from the Hittite version is minor, however, since this kind of elision is not uncommon in parallelism.

⁴⁶ The AŠ sign, indicating first person singular in contrast to the preceding instance if *šakānum* in the third singular, is written over an erasure of what looks like the beginning of an IŠ sign. Collation of photo (hethiter.net/: fotarch Phb00258_3) confirms line drawing.

The bigger differences between the Hittite and Akkadian versions begin in the third sentence with a change in sentence order. Instead of being the fourth sentence, the *qablišunu* “their loins” sentence is the third one. Instead of being the third sentence, the sentence with a technical term for release from service obligations—*andurārīšunu*, written Sumerographically as AMA.AR.GI-*šu-nu*,⁴⁷ corresponding as opposites to Hittite *šaḥḥanit luzzit*—becomes the fifth sentence. The sentence with the dedication to service of the deity becomes the fourth sentence. Along with this reorganization of sentences, instead of verbs for “release, free,” this version uses the verb *šakānum* “to place, set” in the final two sentences, evoking the “give” element of the conquest vignette.⁴⁸

These changes in sentence order create a different structure in the parallelism. As already noted, the first two sentences are an instance of parallelism where the two use the same verb and have nearly identical syntax and noun phrases all within the same semantic range indicating a complementary relationship between the sentences. The final two sentences are likewise an instance of a two-sentence parallelism by (1) using the same verb (even though one is third person and the other is first person), (2) evoking the divine (one with an explicit mention of a deity, the other implying divine involvement [*ina šapal šamê* “under heaven”]), as well as (3) using locative phrases at the beginning of each. This leaves the third sentence, *qablišunu ipturma* “he ungirded their loins,” the odd sentence out. While being shorter and having a different sentence structure than the other four sentences around it, due to the semantic topic of a body

⁴⁷ See CAD A2, pp. 115-117, for translation of this section, see p. 116, s.v., f).

⁴⁸ The verb used in this text for the “give” element of the conquest vignette is the D stem of *šalûm*, literally, “to throw, toss” (CAD Š1, p. 272) idiomatically in this text, “to devote.”

part, *qablu* “hip, loins, waist” (CAD Q, p. 6, s.v., *qablu* A 2), this sentence has stronger ties with the first two, with their use of body parts, where both refer to the release of “hands” *qātān*.

With this understanding of the Akkadian version, the structure of the two groups of parallelism may be represented as AA'B for the first three sentences and as AA' for the last two. This stands in contrast to the parallelistic structure of the Hittite version with AA' + AA'B.

While differing in structure, the parallelism of these two versions in this section draws greater attention to the accomplishments of Ḫattušili. The basic meaning of these five sentences could have easily been economized into fewer sentences. The repetitions in syntax and semantics, however, are a way of prolonging the experience of the account, creating a literary effect, which likewise is a technique of the rhetoric of this text, drawing attention to the accomplishments of Ḫattušili.

Vignette 15.2.3. The third sub-section of §18—containing further expansions on the “take” and “give” elements of vignette 15—shifts back to inanimate goods for the plunder. While the subject matter, a “statue of gold” is not particularly remarkable, what is unique is that Ḫattušili made this statue of himself (34).

(34)

²¹ *nu=za kī ALAM=YA ŠA GUŠKIN iyanun*

²² *n=at ANA dUTU URU PÚ-na GAŠAN=YA titta[(nunun)]*

²³ *kuttann=a kattan šarazi'ya* ²⁴ *IŠTU KÙ.BABBAR ḫališšiyanun*

²¹ I made this, my statue of gold. ²² I set it up to/before the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady. ²³⁻²⁴ Also, I decorated the wall, above and below with silver.

KBo 10.2 rev. iii 21-24 §18

Vignette 15.3: Background and Further Plunder

The third part of conquest vignette 15 is in §19. A new city is in focus and the king of this city seems to give a gift to Ḫattušili (35).

(35)

²⁵ 1 ^{GIŠ}GIGIR KÙ.BABBAR LUGAL ^{URU}Tiku¹na⁴⁹ ANA LUGAL.GAL [] ²⁶ [pa/āiš/pešta[?]]
[n]at ANA ^dUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na pē[dah(hun)]
²⁷ [(2 ALA)M Š]A ^{NA4}AŠ.NU₁₁.GAL ²⁸ ANA ^dUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na pēdahhu[n]

²⁵ The king of Tikuna [gave]⁵⁰ 1 chariot of silver to the great king. ²⁶ I car[ried] it to the Sun-goddess of Arinna. ²⁷⁻²⁸ I carried 2 statues of alabaster to the sun-goddess of Arinna.
KBo 10.2 rev. iii 25-28 §19

Initially, this insertion seems strange since it does not use the typical language of the one of the four principal elements of the conquest vignette formula. However, evidence from elsewhere suggests that this city, Tikuna, became an ally of Ḫattušili I against the city of Ḫaḫḫa, the city under attack in the vignette under discussion.⁵¹ So while Tikuna was not under attack, the placement of their gift at this point within vignette 15 seems to suggest that the text presents it as captured plunder acquired during the campaign against Ḫaḫḫa.

⁴⁹ For discussion of the mistakes in writing the KU sign here and the IT instead of TI in the Akkadian version, see discussion by Miller, “The Expeditions of Ḫattušili I to the Eastern Frontiers: A Study in the Historical Geography and Internal Chronology of the Great King’s Campaigns,” p. 40. He argues that on the basis of the versions, duplicates, and discovering of the Tikuna letter, the place name should be read as Tikuna(ya).

⁵⁰ The Akkadian version has *ušeḫilam* “sent/dedicated” (KBo 10.1 rev. 16).

⁵¹ See the so-called “Tikuna Letter” as published by Mirjo Salvini which includes a transliteration, line drawing, Italian translation, commentary and photos, Mirjo Salvini, “Una lettera di Ḫattušili I relativa alla spedizione contro Ḫaḫḫum,” *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 34 (1994), pp. 61-80, and 4 plates. See also his partial reproduction in English in Mirjo Salvini, *The Ḫabiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani* (Roma: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 1996), pp. 107-116. A transliteration, translation, commentary, and discussion is also available in Miller, “The Expeditions of Ḫattušili I to the Eastern Frontiers: A Study in the Historical Geography and Internal Chronology of the Great King’s Campaigns,” pp. 16-23. For discussion of the temporal relationship of the Tikunani letter to the campaign against Ḫaḫḫa as described here in CTH 4, see especially Stefano de Martino, “The Military Exploits of the Hittite King Ḫattušili I in Lands Situated Between the Upper Euphrates and the Upper Tigris,” in *Silva Anatolica: Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Piotr Taracha (Warsaw: Agade, 2002), pp. 80-81. Cf. also, Miller, “The Expeditions of Ḫattušili I to the Eastern Frontiers: A Study in the Historical Geography and Internal Chronology of the Great King’s Campaigns,” pp. 19-22; Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites: New Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 78-80.

Vignette 15.4: The Destruction of Ḫaḫḫa

The fourth and final part of conquest vignette 15 fills the final two paragraphs of this text, §§20-21, and constitutes the end of the text before the colophon. This final climactic part contains Ḫattušili's comparison, and especially contrast, of himself to Sargon. The similarity to Sargon is that both of these kings have apparently crossed the Euphrates River and successfully attacked Ḫaḫḫa. The contrast is in the result. While Ḫattušili acknowledges Sargon's encounter of fighting the troops of Ḫaḫḫa, he points out that Sargon did not destroy the city. This is in contrast to his own success in destroying the city (36).⁵²

(36)
 §20 ²⁹ ID *Mālann=a* Ū[(*L kuiški*) *karū zāiš*]
³⁰ *n=an ūk* LUGAL.GAL *t[abarnaš GİR-it]* ³¹ *ziḫhun*
 KARAS³² [(¹)^A *YA=mu EGIR-an*'] ³² GİR^{MEŠ} *-it zāiš*
 LUGAL-g[*inaš=an zāi(š)*]
³³ ÉRIN^{MEŠ URU} *Ḫaḫḫiaš ḫul[li(ya')t]*
 [(^{URU})*Ḫaḫḫi=ma*] ³⁴ ŪL *kuitki iya[t]*
 [ŪL-a(n) IZI-it] ³⁵ *arḫa warnuzzi*
 [*tuhḫuwaiš=ya'*] ³⁶ *nepišaš* ^dU-ni Ū[L *tekkuššanut'*]
 §21 ³⁷ LUGAL.GAL *tabarnaš* ^{URU} [(*H*)*aššuwan*] ³⁸ ^{URU} *Ḫaḫḫanna ḫarni[nkun]*
³⁹ *n=aš IZI-az kattan [lukkun / arḫa warnunun]*
⁴⁰ *tuhḫuwain=ma nepi[šaš* ^dUTU ^dU^{ya'} *tekkuššanunun']*
⁴¹ *nu [(LUGAL)]* ^{URU} *Ḫaššuwa* LUGAL ^{URU} *Ḫa[ḫḫa=ya]* ⁴² ANA ^{GIŠ} MAR.GÍD.DA
tūri[yanun]

²⁹ Also, no one [formerly crossed] the Māla river. ³⁰ I, the great king, T[abarna] crossed it [by foot]. ³¹ [My] armies crossed by foot [behind me]. ³² Sarg[on crossed it] ³³ He fought the troops of Ḫaḫḫa. [But in Ḫaḫḫa], ³⁴ [he] did nothing. ³⁵ He did [not] burn [it with fire]. [And] ³⁶ [he did] no[t show smoke] to the Storm-god of heaven.
 §21 ³⁷ The great king, Tabarna, ³⁸ [I d]estroyed Ḫ[aššuwa] and Ḫaḫḫa. ³⁹ [I burned] them down with fire. ⁴⁰ As for Smoke, [I showed it to the Sun-god of] hea[ven and the Storm-god]. ⁴¹⁻⁴² [I h]itched the king of Ḫaššuwa [and] the king of Ḫa[ḫḫa] to a wagon.

KBo 10.2 rev. iii 29-42 §§20-21⁵³

⁵² The Akkadian version is better preserved and, with only minor variations, supports the Hittite restorations (see KBo 10.1 rev. 18b-25).

⁵³ For an edition, see de Martino, *Annali e Res Gestae antico Ittiti*, pp. 72-76.

Beyond the comparison and contrast with Sargon, a few stylistic observations can be noted about this final part of vignette 15. First, there appears to be a contradiction in the text. Line 29 says “no one (*ŪL kuiški*) [formerly crossed] the Euphrates river”⁵⁴ while line 32b says “Sargon [crossed it].”⁵⁵ On the surface, Ḫattušili is saying that prior to himself, no one had crossed the Euphrates river, but then says that Sargon *had* crossed it. How can both of these statements be true? It must also be noted that there is an additional oddity about this apparent contradiction: the possibility that both of these kings *actually crossed* the Euphrates. If the city of Ḫaḫḫa was located on the west side of the Euphrates, then logistically, Sargon would have had to cross the Euphrates to get to it, but Ḫattušili, coming from the west, would not have had to. Or, conversely, if Ḫaḫḫa was on the east side of the Euphrates then Ḫattušili would have had to cross it, but Sargon, coming from the east would not have had to. Regardless of which side of the river Ḫaḫḫa was located on, this is a problem from the standpoint of reporting what actually happened.

These two contradictions are not necessarily a problem here. First, a contradiction draws attention to itself and challenges an audience to consider how it might be true. This function of contradiction is therefore a means of producing an literary effect, or to put it another way, is an instance of the “poetic function” of language.⁵⁶ Second, the contradiction regarding the location of Ḫaḫḫa and crossing a river to get there, seems to suggest that “crossing the Euphrates” may be

⁵⁴ This is fully preserved, sans “formerly,” in the Akkadian version: ¹⁰*Puratta mamma ūl ibiršu* “no one crossed the Euphrates” (KBo 10.1 rev. 18b).

⁵⁵ Again, this is fully preserved in the Akkadian version: *LUGAL-kinišu ibiršu* “Sargon crossed it” (KBo 10.1 rev. 20b).

⁵⁶ For discussion of the “poetic function” of language, see chapter 2 section 2.2.3 beginning on page 35. This kind of contradiction could possibly be understood as foregrounding by deviation, which is unexpected irregularity (for this kind of foregrounding, see chapter 2 page 44). Contradiction of this sort also occurs in the story of Appu where a similar contradiction occurs where Appu is said to “lack nothing” and then immediately it says “he lacks one thing, he has no son or daughter” (see KUB 24.8 obv. i 15-17a).

more of a motif than a historical report. It can be argued that over the course of history, after the time of Ḫattušili I, this in fact became the case. Bryce notes that crossing the Euphrates in conquest was “an achievement unprecedented in Hittite history.”⁵⁷ Bryce further observes that in following Ḫattušili’s lead, several kings had some of “their most illustrious victories and gained their richest spoils” in the east of the Hittite core-land, most of them crossing the Euphrates to do so.⁵⁸ In other words, the ability of a king to successfully cross the Euphrates for conquest seems to have been a way to demonstrate the king’s power and military prowess.

A second observation has to do with the primary point of contrast in the results of Ḫattušili’s military campaign versus Sargon’s conquest. The result is binary: one destroyed the city and the other did not. What stands out is that this destruction is portrayed as an offering to a deity. Up until vignette 15, plunder had always been inanimate items or animals that are delivered into temples of various deities. In vignette 15, plunder also includes human beings (in §18, as discussed above) and now it includes a burnt sacrifice to a deity. Ḫattušili portrays the destruction of the city of Ḫaḫḫa with fire similar to a sacrifice where he “[shows] the smoke [to the Sun-god of] hea[ven and the Storm-god].”⁵⁹

In addition to the use of contradiction and metaphor as stylistic devices in describing the destruction of a city, the organization of this section reveals patterns formed by repetition of

⁵⁷ Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites: New Edition*, pp. 77-78.

⁵⁸ Trevor Bryce, *Life and Society in the Hittite World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 103. See *ibid.* for a list of these campaigns.

⁵⁹ This is fully preserved in the Akkadian version: *u qutra* ²⁴ *ana* ^dUTU *šamê u* ^dU *ukallim* “he showed smoke to the Sun-god of heaven and the Storm-god” (KBo 10.1 rev. 23b-24a). In Mesopotamia, the motif “to show to the solar deity” has a different connotation. Steitler notes that it “typically means ‘to desecrate’, referring, for example, to buildings or other structures whose (normally unseen) foundations were ‘exposed’... Although in the Annals of Ḫattušili I, the same phrase does not carry this exact meaning...” Steitler, *The Solar Deities of Bronze Age Anatolia*, p. 161.

words as well as of sequences of clauses that highlight the various ways that the actions of Ḫattušili contrast with those of Sargon. Due to the poor state of preservation of the Hittite version, the following comments will be focused on the Akkadian version. The two versions on this section, appear to be essentially identical insofar as the broken Hittite version allows for comparison with the Akkadian version. There appear to be the same number of sentences of the same topics and in the same order.⁶⁰

As already noted, there are no paragraph dividing lines on the Akkadian version. The paragraph dividing line placement of the Hittite version (located after KBo 10.2 rev. iv 36) in this final section in both versions corresponds with a division in the discourse and will be treated so in the following discussion of the Akkadian version.

The section begins with a topic sentence that sets up the entire final section of the text. The verb in this sentence is repeated in each of the following three sentences. In spite of the repetition of verb (four occurrences), the sentences are grouped differently on semantic grounds. Yet, the repetitions and variations of verbs as well as noun phrases draw attention to the contrast between Sargon and Ḫattušili in multiple ways. For the sake of seeing the structure as a whole, the following example will present the entire text of the final section. Also, each sentence will be numbered for ease of reference within the discussion, example (37).

(37)

(1) ^{1D}*Puratta mamma ūl ībiršu*

(2) ¹⁹ [*šarrum ra*]bum *Tabarna ina šēpīšu itabbiršu*⁶¹

⁶⁰ In the Akkadian version there are a couple places where the text is corrupt and requires emendation. These will be noted where appropriate.

⁶¹ The form as written (a Gt Durative of *erēbum* “to cross (over)”) is unexpected. First, a Gt Durative of *erēbum* should be *itebbir* (so also with the G perfect *itabru* instead of correct *itebru* in the next sentence). Second, the Durative tense is not expected, especially because of the clearly perfect tense verb in the next sentence. It is likely, then, that the doubling of the B root

- (3) *u ummānū=šu warkašu*²⁰ [*in*]a šēpāti itabru
 (4) LUGAL-kini=šu ibiršu
 (5) *ummānū ša*^{URU}*Ḫaḫḫi*²¹ [*ita*]bak
 (6) ^{URU}*Ḫaḫḫi mimma ūl ip[u]š*
 (7) *išātam ūl ittadi*
 (8)²² [*qu*]tra ana ^dU ūl ukallim⁶²
 (9 §21) *šarrum rabum Tabarna šarram*^{URU}*Ḫašši*²³ *šarram*^{URU}*Ḫaḫḫi* «^{URU}*Ḫaḫḫi*»⁶³ *kī*
uḫalliqqi
 (10) *išātam ittadi*
 (11) *u qutra*²⁴ ana ^dUTU *šamē u*^dU *ukallim*
 (12) *u šarram ša*^{URU}*Ḫaḫḫi*²⁵ *ana šumbim aššammid*

consonant and the A instead of E vowel in the second syllable, were mistakes.

⁶² The present emendation of the unintelligible *ú-li-ka-al-li* was suggested by Albrecht Goetze, “Review: *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, Zehntes Heft* by H. G. Güterbock and H. Otten,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 16 (1962), p. 26. This suggestion was followed by Kempinski, *Syrien und Palästina (Kanaan) in der letzten Phase der Mittelbronze IIB-Zeit (1650-1570 v Chr.)*, p. 22. Melchert tentatively suggested a different emendation: *ul iqalli* and translates the sentence as “he did not burn smoke for the Storm-god,” Melchert, “The Acts of Hattušili I,” p. 22. Miller, without discussion, follows Melchert, see Miller, “The Expeditions of Hattušili I to the Eastern Frontiers: A Study in the Historical Geography and Internal Chronology of the Great King’s Campaigns,” pp. 27 and 36. Melchert argues for this emendation in two ways. On the basis of the writing of the signs themselves, he deems that it is more plausible since it assumes no error in the signs themselves, that is, the *-i-* was not a mistake for *-u-* as the verbal prefix, and the sign IM was not accidentally left off. The other argument he offers in favor of this reading stands on less firm ground. He argues that because the Hittite version has different verbs in the two ‘smoke to the deity(ies)’ sentences, then it is perfectly plausible that the Akkadian version also used two different sentences. The problem with this second argument is that both verbs in the Hittite version for these sentences are *entirely* broken away so whether or not the Hittite version had the same verb or different verbs for the two ‘smoke to the deity(ies)’ sentences is dubious in either direction. Melchert also notes other potential problems with his suggested emendation: “I readily admit that the spelling with *-qā-* is unusual, and *iqalli* would be a present (durative), while A[kkadian version] uses consistently preterite and perfect forms (of the G conjugation),” Melchert, “The Acts of Hattušili I.” I have found Devecchi’s argument more convincing in favor of the suggestion by Goetze, “Entrambe le ipotesi sono possibili, ma la prima mi sembra preferibile per una migliore corrispondenza con *ukallim* a Va. 24. Inoltre né CAD né AHW attestano esempi di *qalû(m)* con *qutru(m)* e per di più un tempo durativo non avrebbe molto senso in un passo chiaramente riferito ad un evento passato. Si noti che nel dialetto di Nuzi sono attestati vari casi in cui la negazione *ul* è fusa con il verbo che la segue,” Devecchi, *Gli Annali di Hattušili I nella versione accadica*, 81.

⁶³ The second instance of ^{URU}*Ḫaḫḫi* is an error in dittography. Cf. Devecchi, *Gli Annali di Hattušili I nella versione accadica*, pp. 56-57.

No one crossed the Euphrates. ¹⁹ The Gre[at King], Tabarna, has crossed it on his feet. His troops ²⁰ crossed [o]n feet after him. Sargon crossed it. The troops of Ḫaḫḫa ²¹ ran away. He did nothing to Ḫaḫḫa. He did not set (it) on fire. ²² Nor did he show [sm]oke to the Storm-god.

(§21) When the great king Tabarna defeated the king of Ḫaššu ²³ and the king of Ḫaḫḫa, he set (the cities?) on fire. And ²⁴ he showed smoke to the Sun-god of heaven and to the Storm-god. And the king of Ḫaḫḫa ²⁵ I tied to a wagon.

KBo 10.1 rev. 18b-25

In spite of the repeated verbs in the first four sentences of this section, the first four sentences are not an instance of four sentence parallelism. Instead, the structure of this section is sub-grouped as follows. Sentences (1)-(3) establish the topic as well as the contradiction as discussed above. These sentences are structured as an ABB' instance of parallelism. Both sentences (2) and (3) are syntactically parallel and semantically parallel. Next, sentences (4) and (5) are an instance of AB parallelism. They are syntactically not parallel, but there is an implied causal relationship: because Sargon crossed the river, the troops of Ḫaḫḫa ran away. This simultaneously indicates initial success of Sargon as well as a progression past Ḫattušili's crossing in that the people of Ḫaḫḫa respond to Sargon's crossing, though no such response is yet given to Ḫattušili's crossing. Sentence (4) also contradicts with the statement in sentence (1).

A further dynamic between the parallelism in sentences (4) and (5) with that in sentences (1) through (3) is the occurrences of the word for "troops": *ummānū ša* "the troops of" and *ummānū-šu* "his troops," respectively.⁶⁴ In this way, sentence (2) corresponds with sentence (4) while sentence (3) corresponds with sentence (5), revealing an integrated sequence of two instances of parallelism.

⁶⁴ Perhaps oddly for a text about conquests, this is only the second time that the troops of the aggressor, Ḫattušili, are referred to in this text. The first time is at the beginning of the text in KBo 10.1 obv. 3.

Sentences (6)-(8) form the next instance of parallelism; the sentences are in an ABB' pattern. While all three sentences contain negations, sentence (6) is the topic sentence and the following two sentences are two semantically related actions giving further definition to the topic sentence: 'Sargon did nothing. What did he not do? He did not set anything on fire and he did not show smoke to the Storm-god.'⁶⁵ Additionally, it can be noted that sentence (6) is also tied to sentence (1) with *mimma ūl* "nothing" corresponding to *mamma ūl* "no one," respectively; a further way that while the instances of parallelism are internally cohesive, they also reveal integration with the other parallelisms in this section.

The final portion of this text is an instance of four sentence parallelism, sentences (9)-(12). All four of these sentences are syntactically and topically dissimilar, except for the topically related sentences (10) and (11). However, sentences (9)-(11) correspond with the same structural pattern as the parallelism in sentences (6)-(8): sentence (9) corresponds to, and contrasts with, sentence (6), and likewise sentence (10) with (7), and (11) with (8). The things that Sargon could not do, Ḫattušili did do. But one more thing is added: sentence (12). If it was not clear that Ḫattušili was superseding what Sargon had done, Ḫattušili adds one last detail to seal it. This sentence corresponds to nothing in the preceding context and functions as a final assertion of supreme superiority: he captured the kings and carried *them* away just like he carries away plunder—on a wagon.

In summary, the final section of vignette 15 contains many literary stylistic features including the use of contradiction as a literary foil, metaphor, and multiple instances of parallelism that are internally cohesive and also integrated with each other. While the referential

⁶⁵ Compare this pattern of general topic followed by two sentences focusing on specifics of that general topic in example (72) in chapter 4, below, about the bronze vessels in the underworld.

function is certainly important in this section—Ḫattušili defeated Ḫaḫḫa and Ḫaššu—the poetic function is arguably the most dominant function given the various and integrated ways the conquest was portrayed in these twelve sentences.

Summary of Category 1 Embellishments to the Conquest Vignettes

As this analysis has shown, there are not only multiple added details to the conquest vignettes after vignette 4, but each added detail is focused on elaborating one particular principal element of the conquest vignette formula, whether the “go,” “destroy,” “take,” or “give” element, or, as in some cases, two or more of these elements. On the basis of comparison with the first four vignettes, these added details must be considered unnecessary to the basic recording of the individual conquests. The additional details serve to highlight different aspects of the conquest that the narrator deemed desirable to include for purposes other than a straight-forward retelling of a conquest event. Certainly, one purpose for adding more detail was to create accounts that were both interesting and had rhetorical power. The progressively longer accounts constitute a rhetorical argument for the prowess of Ḫattušili in conjunction with divine support he enjoys from the solar deity.

3.4.2 Stylistic Shift in the Conquest Vignettes: Category 2

In addition to the embellishments to the vignettes noted above, another way that the style of the conquest vignettes changes after the fourth vignette is in the agency of the attacked cities. Whereas the agent of all the actions in the first four vignettes is Ḫattušili,⁶⁶ after the exception in §5, the attacked cities are allowed to be agents within their respective vignettes. In some of the vignettes where the cities are portrayed as agents rather than only as passive recipients of action,

⁶⁶Or his nephew acting on Ḫattušili’s behalf, as in vignette 1.

the agency of the cities does not seem stylistically relevant since the action that they take is surrender. In other words, narrating a city surrendering to an attacker seems to naturally require the city to be portrayed as the actor of the action of surrender. The normal sequence for surrender in this text is that the city “sees” Hattušili approaching and they respond by “opening” their city to him. This is the case in vignette 5, example (38).

(38)
nu INA^{URU} Nenašša MÈ-ya pāun
³¹ *nu=mu mahḥan LÚ^{MES} URU Nenašša menahḥanda* ³² *auer*
nu EGIR-pa ḥeššir

³⁰ I came to the city Nenašša in battle. ³¹ When **the people of Nenašša** ³² **saw** me coming (for battle). **They opened.**

KBo 10.2 obv. i 30b-32 §5

These actions also occur in vignette 10 (39).

(39)
² *nu INA^{URU} Parmanna andan pāun*
³ *URU Parmanaš=ma=kan apēdaš ANA LUGAL^[MES]* ⁴ *SAG.DU-aš ēšta*
KASKAL^{HLA} -aš=š(a)maš apāš [] ⁵ *piran takšanniškit*
^{§9} ⁶ *[nu]=mu=kan mahḥan menahḥanda a[uir]*
⁷ *nu KÁ.GAL^{HLA} EGIR-pa ḥešer*
n=aš=z[a apedani] ⁸ *memini nepišaš* ^dU[TU-uš[?] ŠU-az/-it_epta]

² I entered inside Parmanna. ³ As for Parmana, ⁴ it was the head to those king[s]. That one ⁵ used to smooth out the roads before them. ^{§9} ⁶ When **they saw** me approaching, ⁷ **they opened** the gates. ⁸ The Su[ngod] of heaven [took] them [by the hand in that] matter.

KBo 10.2 obv. ii 2-10 §§8-9

There is one more vignette in this text, vignette 7, where the city surrenders to Hattušili, but the manner of surrender is quite different (40).

(40)
⁴¹ *[m]ahḥan=ma KUR^{URU} Ulmaza EGIR-pa uwanun*
⁴² *nu INA KUR^{URU} Šallahšuwa pāun*
nu=za KUR^{URU} Šallahšuwaš ⁴³ *IZI-it apašila kattan tarnaš*
apūš=ma=mu ⁴⁴ *İR^{MES} -ni waḥnuir*
nu^{URU} Hattuši ⁴⁵ *URU-ri=mit EGIR-pa uwanun*

⁴¹ When I came back from the land of Ulma ⁴² I went to the land of Šallahšuwa. **The land of Šallahšuwa** ⁴³ released itself with fire. As for **those ones**, ⁴⁴ **they turned** to me in service. ⁴⁵ I came back to my city Ḫattuša.

KBo 10.2 obv. i 41-45 §6

In other vignettes where the threatened city is given agency, the city does not surrender.

In vignette 6, the people of the city are confined to “seeing,” while Ḫattušili is the agent in all other clauses (41).⁶⁷

(41)

³³ [EGI]R-anda=ma INA KUR^{URU} Ulma zaḫḫiya pāun
³⁴ nu=mu LÚ^{MES URU} **Ulma** MÈ-ya menaḫḫanda ³⁵ 2-ŠU **auir**
 n=aš 2-ŠU=pat ḫullīyanun
³⁶ nu KUR^{URU} Ulman ḫarninkun
 nu=šši=kan pedi=šši ³⁷ [ZÀ.AḪ.L]I^{SAR} šunniyanun

³³ [After]wards, I went to the land of Ulma for battle. ³⁴ The **people of Ulma saw** me coming for battle ³⁵ two times. Surely two times I defeated them. ³⁶ I destroyed the land of Ulma. ³⁷ I filled its place with [cres]s.

KBo 10.2 obv. i 33-37a §6

Vignette 10 includes background details about the regional leadership of the city

Parmanna before narrating their surrender prior to battle. Additionally, Ḫattušili indicates that the Sun-god guided or supported them in their surrender, example (42).

(42)

² nu INA^{URU} Parmanna andan pāun
³ URU **Parmanaš=ma=kan apēdaš ANA LUGAL**[^{MES}] ⁴ **SAG.DU-aš ēšta**
KASKAL^{HLA} -aš=š(a)maš apāš [] ⁵ **piran takšanniškit**
 § ⁶ [nu]=mu=kan maḫḫan menaḫḫanda a[uir]
⁷ nu KÁ.GAL^{HLA} EGIR-pa ḫešer

⁶⁷ This vignette was also discussed above since it also contains embellishments. See example (13) above.

n=aš-z[a apedani]⁶⁸ ⁸ memini nepišaš ^dU[TU-uš? ŠU-az/-it epta]⁶⁹

² I entered inside Parmanna. ³ As for Parmana, ⁴ it was the leader to those king[s].
That one ⁵ used to level off the roads before them. § ⁶ When they saw me
approaching, ⁷ They opened the gates. ⁸ The Su[ngod] of heaven [took] them [by the
hand in that] matter.

KBo 10.2 obv. ii 2-10 §§8-9

This vignette is shorter in the Akkadian version. The information about Parmanna's regional leadership is abbreviated, and the surrender portion does not include the comment about the city seeing Hattušili's approach, example (43).⁷⁰

(43)

²⁸ [ù] ^{URU} Parmanna qaqqad awīlī šunū<ti> irṭup itabbula

²⁹ ^{URU} Par[ma]nna abullīšu ana panīya iptate
ana balaṭ ³⁰ ^dUTU qa[ss]u išṣabat

²⁸ Parmanna, the leader of those rulers, continued to govern. ²⁹ Par[ma]nna opened its gate before me. In the following year, ³⁰ the Sun-god(dess) seized [h]is han[d].

KBo 10.1 obv. 28-30a

In vignette 11, which is an abbreviated form of the vignette with only one of the four principal elements of the conquest vignette, says that the region “became hostile” (44).

(44)

⁹ anda=ma=mu KUR ^{URU} Alḥaš kur[uriya'ḥta]

¹⁰ nu ^{URU} Alḥan ḥarninku[n]

⁶⁸ Melchert notes, “The restoration of [apedani], “that” in H II 7 is uncertain. A simple *memianni/memieni*, “in the affair” seems abrupt, but the absence of the demonstrative in the original would help account for the error in translation,” Melchert, “The Acts of Hattušili I,” p. 15. The “error” Melchert refers to is the use of an adverbial expression suggesting that the guidance or support by the Solar deity occurred “in the following year,” obv. 29b-30a: *ana balaṭ* ³⁰ ^dUTU qa[ss]u išṣabat “In the following year, the solar deity seized [hi]s han[d].” However, it must be noted that Melchert argues, “The *ana balaṭ* of A obv. 30 must, with Goetze, be taken as a misunderstanding of a *me-mi-an-ni* as MU.IM-an-ni. A reference at this point to “in the next year” makes no sense. We are still dealing with Parmanna and its surrender” Melchert, “The Acts of Hattušili I,” p. 15. Cf. discussion in note 2 on page 52, above.

⁶⁹ For restoration, see the better preserved Akkadian version obv. 29 (see previous note).

⁷⁰ For discussion of the Akkadian forms in this example, see Melchert, “The Acts of Hattušili I,” pp. 14-16.

⁹ As for **the land of Alḫa**, it [became] **hos[ile]** to me. ¹⁰ I destroyed Alḫa.

KBo 10.2 obv. ii 9-10 §9

Interestingly, the Akkadian version contains two of the four principal elements and also contains a sense of the chronological development (45).

(45)

^{URU}Alaḫḫa ikkir~~ma~~ **allik~~ma~~** ^{URU}Alaḫḫa uḫalliq~~šu~~

Alaḫḫa became hostile, so **I went**, and then I destroyed Alaḫḫa

KBo 10.1 obv. 30b

In vignette 13, the city of Ḫaššuwa and its ally Aleppo are given agency. Instead of merely “seeing” or the vague “became hostile” sort of agency of some of the other cities, Ḫaššuwa and Aleppo actually approach Ḫattušili for battle (46).⁷¹

(46)

nu INA ^{UR}[^UḪaššuwa] ¹³ pāun
nu~~mu~~ L^U^{mE}[^S ^{URU}Ḫaššuwa zahḫiya [] ¹⁴ menaḫḫand[a u]ēr
ÉRIN^{MES}-ya~~šmaš~~ [] ¹⁵ ŠA KUR ^{URU}[Ḫalap šardi]anni kattan ēšta []
¹⁶ n~~aš~~mu M[È-ya] uit
n~~an~~ ḫulliy[anun]

I went to the cit[y Ḫaššuwa]. ¹³ The **men of Ḫaššuwa** [c]ame against me for battle. ¹⁴ Also, the **troops** ¹⁵ **of the land of [Ḫalap]** were with them in [alli]ance. ¹⁶ **It came** to me [for bat]tle. [I] defeated it.

KBo 10.2 obv. ii 12b-16 §10

Lastly, in vignette 15 agency is primarily confined to Ḫattušili while the attacked city, Ḫaḫḫa, is never given agency. However, in the embellishment of the “destroy” element of the vignette, Ḫattušili compares himself to Sargon and in the process Sargon is portrayed as an actor (47).⁷²

⁷¹ This vignette was also discussed above since it contains various kinds of embellishments, see examples (15) through (21).

⁷² This vignette was also discussed above since it contains various kinds of embellishments. For the portions that mention Sargon, see discussion of example (36).

(47)
 §20 ²⁹ ^{ÍD} *Mālan-na* Ū[(*L* *kuiški*) *karū zāiš*]
³⁰ *n=an ūk* LUGAL.GAL *t[abarnaš GÌR-it]* ³¹ *ziḥhun*
 KARAS^{ŠH}[(¹)^A *YA=mu EGIR-an*?] ³² *GÌR^{MES}-it zāiš*
 LUGAL-g[*inaš=an zāi(š)*]
³³ *ÉRIN^{MES} URU* *Ḥaḥḥiaš ḥul[li(ya?)t]*
 [(^{URU})*Ḥaḥḥi=ma*] ³⁴ *ŪL* *kuitki iya[t]*
 [*ŪL-a(n) IZI-it*] ³⁵ *arḥa warnuzzi*
 [*tuhḥuwaiš=ya?*] ³⁶ *nepišaš* ^dU-ni *Ū[L šamenta?]*
 §21 ³⁷ LUGAL.GAL *tabarnaš* ^{URU}[(*H*)*aššuwan*] ³⁸ ^{URU} *Ḥaḥḥanna ḥarni[nkun]*
³⁹ *n=aš IZI-az kattan* [*lukkun / arḥa warnunun*]
⁴⁰ *tuhḥuwain=ma nepi[šaš* ^dUTU ^dU=*ya? tekkuššanun?*]
⁴¹ *nu [(LUGAL)]* ^{URU} *Ḥaššuwa* LUGAL ^{URU} *Ḥa[ḥḥa=ya]* ⁴² *ANA* ^{GIŠ} MAR.GÍD.DA
tūri[yanun]

²⁹ Also, no one [formerly crossed] the Māla river. ³⁰ I, the great king, T[abarna] crossed it [by foot]. ³¹ [My] armies crossed by foot [behind me]. ³² **Sarg[on crossed it]** ³³ **He defeated** the troops in Ḥaḥḥa. [But in Ḥaḥḥa], ³⁴ [he] **did** nothing. ³⁵ **He did** [not] **burn** [it with fire]. [And smoke] ³⁶ did no[t pass by] the Storm-god of heaven.
 §21 ³⁷ The great king, Tabarna, ³⁸ [I d]estroyed Ḥ[aššuwa] and Ḥaḥḥa. ³⁹ [I burned] them down with fire. ⁴⁰ As for Smoke, [I showed it to the Sun-god of] hea[ven and the Storm-god]. ⁴¹⁻⁴² [I h]itched the king of Ḥaššuwa [and] the king of Ḥa[ḥḥa] on a wagon.

KBo 10.2 rev. iii 29-42 §§20-21

Similar to the embellishments discussed above, giving agency to the threatened cities was not required. The cities conquered by Ḥattušili in vignettes 1-4 were not given agency even though it is perfectly reasonable to assume these cities both saw Ḥattušili coming and that they militarily resisted him. And yet, the narrator chose to not portray any of these kinds of actions. In addition to allowing the attacked cities to have agency in vignettes 5-15, the narrator also included added information about the circumstances, manner, and duration of the conquests that were not included in vignettes 1-4. Why the shift?

3.4.3 The Exception to the Conquest Vignette

Before the reason for the stylistic shift can be determined, one more feature of the text must be considered: the contents and structure of the lone text-internal exception to the conquest

vignette.⁷³ What is interesting is that this exception occurs at the dividing point between the first four conquest vignettes and the remaining eleven. This exception is therefore a turning point in the narrative of the “manly deeds” of Ḫattušili I.

The contents of the exception, in KBo 10.2 obv. i 24-29, in the midst of §5⁷⁴, are two-fold: (1) the encroachment of the Hurrians into Ḫatti-land and (2) Ḫattušili’s claim of divine support from the Sun-goddess of Arinna. According to the temporal markers, these events occurred during the third of the five years represented by this text. The shift from the conquest vignette is heavily marked by both the adverbial expression “from my rear” (EGIR-azyaza=ma=mu=kan) and the topic shift marker in this same clause initial clitic chain, the clitic *=ma=* (48).

(48)

²⁴ **EGIR-azyaza=ma=mu=kan** ^{LÚ}KÚR ŠA ^{URU}Ḫurri KUR-e anda uit
²⁵ *nu=mu* KUR.KUR ^{MES}ḫūmanda menaḫḫanda kururiaḫḫir
²⁶ *n=ašta* ^{URU}Ḫattušaš=pat URU-riaš 1-aš āšta
²⁷ LUGAL.GAL tabarnaš NARAM ^dUTU ^{URU}Arinna
²⁸ *nu=mu=za=kan an[da ginuwašš]a’[š d]ā’[i]š’ / ḫal[i]št]a’*
²⁹ *nu=mu kešša[rta DIB-ta/IŠ-BAT/ḫarta]*
³⁰ *[n]=aš=mu MÈ-ya peran ḫūwāiš*

²⁴ **As for from my rear**, the enemy of Ḫurri came into the land. ²⁵ All the lands became hostile to me. ²⁶ One city, only Ḫattuša, remained. ²⁷ The great king, Tabarna, is the favorite of the Sun-goddess of Arinna. ²⁸ She [pla]c[ed] me on her [lap]. ²⁹ [She took] me [by] the hand. She ran before me in battle.

KBo 10.2 obv. i 24-29 §5

The better preserved Akkadian version supports the Hittite restorations and shows no significant differences (49).⁷⁵

⁷³ As noted above, the other exceptions are the incipit and colophon. So this exception is the only point after the incipit and before the colophon where the conquest vignette was not utilized.

⁷⁴ Before the exception, paragraph 5 contains the two line conquest vignette 4. After the exception, but still in paragraph, is the three line conquest vignette 5.

⁷⁵ On the Hittite restorations, see comments by Melchert, “The Acts of Ḫattušili I,” pp. 8-9.

(49)

^{11b} *u warkīya ana māīya nakrum* ^{KUR} *Ḫanikalbat īterub*

¹² *mātū kalūšunu ittīya ittakrū*

alum ^{URU} *Ḫatti 1-en irteḫa*

¹³ *šarrum rabum Tabarna naram* ^d *Šamaš*⁷⁶

ana sūnīšu iškunšu

¹⁴ *u qassu iṣbatma*

ina panīšu irṭup alakam

^{11b} And to my rear, the enemy of Ḫanikalbat, entered my land ¹² The lands, all of them, became hostile with me. One city, Ḫatti, was left (to me) ¹³ The great king Tabarna, is favorite of the Sun-goddess. She placed him on her lap ¹⁴ And she seized his hand. And she began to go before him.

KBo 10.1 obv. 11b-14a

From the standpoint of semantics, it is odd that this section is not structured, at least partially, as a conquest vignette in that it seems an attack is taking place by the Hurrians entering Ḫatti-land. However, it almost seems that the narrator deliberately avoids the language of the conquest vignette by saying that the enemy Hurrians “came into” (*anda uit*) the land, but took no direct violent actions against the land.⁷⁷ Instead, the text indicates that the result of the Hurrians

⁷⁶ Neither KBo 10.1 (Akkadian version) nor KBo 10.2 (Hittite version) consistently use either ^dUTU (Akkadian ^dŠamaš) or ^dUTU *Arinna* for the solar deity; both versions use both forms. For discussion, see Steitler, *The Solar Deities of Bronze Age Anatolia*, pp. 161-162. Steitler also says that the designation ^dUTU *Arinna* is known only from middle script texts and is not attested on any old script texts and is therefore an anachronism, indicating that the preserved versions are likely redacted, later versions and the date of the original composition is unknown. See Steitler, *The Solar Deities of Bronze Age Anatolia*, pp. 159-162.

⁷⁷ The use of the verb *uwa-* “to come” can be used to refer to initiating battle, as it does in vignette 13: *nu=mu LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{URU}Ḫaššuwa zahḫiya []* ¹⁴ *menahḫand[a u]ēr* “the men of Ḫaššuwa [c]ame against me for battle” (KBo 10.2 obv. ii 13b-14a). However, in this case, the violent intention is made clear by the use of both *zahḫiya* “for battle” and the preverb *menahḫanda* which indicates not just movement from point A to point B, but to approach another party, often (though not always) with hostile intentions. This is the use of *menahḫanda* in vignette 5: ³¹ *nu=mu mahḫan LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{URU}Nenašša menahḫanda* ³² *auer nu EGIR-pa ḫeššir* “When the people of Nenašša saw me *approaching*, they opened (the city)” (KBo 10.2 obv. i 31-32, emphasis added). Compare also the many uses of *menahḫanda* in referring to military or otherwise negative contexts in meaning 1 in CHD L-N, pp. 275-278, cf. also meaning 4a, p. 282.

(in the singular) coming into the land (example (48) line 24; example (49) line 11b) is that “all the lands” (in the plural) “became hostile against me” (example (48) line 25; example (49) line 12a). Therefore, the nature of the action of the Hurrians as well as the reason that their action had such an effect is unclear. It is certainly plausible that the Hurrians did take violent action, but the narrator chose to not portray their actions in a way that might, perhaps, be comparable to the conquests of Ḫattušili recounted in this text. In this way, Ḫattušili is able to claim that he lost all but one city without ever having lost a battle.⁷⁸

After the summary of the major set-back to his military campaign, the text turns to the solution: divine support. This support is expressed in four ways: (1) Ḫattušili is the “favorite” of the Sun-goddess of Arinna (KBo 10.2 obv. i 27), (2) she has placed him on her lap (KBo 10.2 obv. i 28), (3) she has seized him by the hand (KBo 10.2 obv. i 29a), and (4) she runs before him in battle (KBo 10.2 obv. i 29b-30a). Each of these four ways occurs in a number of places in other Hittite texts.

The expression “favorite” (with Akkadogram *NA-RA-AM*) occurs several times in treaties in the self-aggrandizing incipits. For example, in his treaty with Šaušgamuwa, Tudḫaliya IV claims to be the “favorite” of the Sun-goddess of Arinna (KUB 23.1 obv. i 1-2).⁷⁹

The second expression of divine support occurs in various contexts where the meaning of familial bonding and/or parental approval of child is intended. In the following examples (50)

⁷⁸ Whether the Hittites considered this as better or worse than losing cities by battle is unknown.

⁷⁹ Similarly, in various other treaties, Šuppiluliuma I claims to be the “favorite” of the Storm-god (KBo 1.1 obv. 25–Akkadian version); Muršili II also claims to be the “favorite” of the Storm-god (KBo 50.28 obv. 2); Muwattali II claims to be the “favorite” of the Storm-god of Piḫaššaši (KUB 21.5 obv. i 1 also preserved in KUB 21.2 obv. i 2; repeated later in the treaty as well: KBo 19.74 + CHDS 2.2 rev. iv 29).

and (51),⁸⁰ the Hittite form *ginuwaš*, translated as “lap” in KBo 10.2 (following the Akkadian word *sūnum* “lap, loin”), is translated as “knees.”

(50)
²⁰ [*nu* ^{MUNUS} *hāš*] *a*¹⁷ *uwaš* SAG.DU=ZU *warapmi nu=šši* MUNUS.LUGAL ²¹ [...w] *aššizzi*
apēl=ma=šši=kan arḫa dāḫḫi ²² [*nu=šši=šš*] *an DUMU-an ginuwaš=šaš tehḫi*

²⁰ [And] I, the [Old] Woman[?], wash his head, and for him the queen ²¹ [in ...] dresses. But from that one I take away her own (clothes). ²² [And] I place the child on her[?] knees.
 KBo 17.61 obv. 20-22 CTH 76.B⁸¹

(51)
^{11'} *nu* ^d *Gulšuš* ^d M[^{HLA} *AH*-*uš* DUMU-*an karpir*]
 [*n=an=kan ANA* ^d *K*] *um[arbi]* ^{12'} [*g*] *inuwaš ḫalāi[r]*
 [^d *Kumar*] *biš=za a[ši]* DUMU.NITA-*a[n]* ^{13'} *duškiškiuwan dā[iš]*
 [*n*] *=an kunkeškiuwan d[āiš]*
^{14'} *nu šanezzi ŠUM-an[=šet/DUMU-li p]* *eškiuwan dāiš*

^{11'} The Fate-goddesses and Mo[ther-goddesses lifted the child]. ^{11'-12'} [T]hey set [him on K]um[arbi]'s [k]nees. ^{12'-13'} [Kumar]bi beg[an] to play with th[is] child. And he began to sway him. ^{14'} And he began to [g]ive [him[?]] a fine name.

KUB 33.93 rev. iii 11'-14' CTH 345⁸²

The third expression of divine support occurs between deities and humans as well as between humans and humans. It tends to express a bond of loyalty in the direction of the more powerful party to the weaker party, that is, for example, deity to person or suzerain to vassal. In the Šaušgamuwa treaty, mentioned above, Tudḫaliya IV also uses this expression of “seizing by the hand,” but not to refer to the support he receives from a deity. Rather, he uses it to express the support he has given to his new vassal and brother-in-law, example (52).

⁸⁰ Cf. also KUB 50.84 obv.[?] ii 10' where apparently the human king “embraces” the knees of the deity seeking divine approval. For text and translation, see Adam Kryszewski, *A Historical Geography of the Hittite Heartland* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2016), p. 302.

⁸¹ Text and translation from Gary Beckman, *Hittite Birth Rituals* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), pp. 42-43.

⁸² For edition, see Elisabeth Rieken, et al., ed. *Hethiter.net/: CTH 345.I.1 (TX 2009-08-31, TRde 2009-08-29)* (Würzburg: University of Würzburg, 2009), §8”.

(52)

¹ [nu=tt]a ^dUTU ^{ŠI} LUGAL.GAL tuk ^dIŠTAR-A.A-an ŠU-ta AŠBA[T]

² [nu=]ddu=za ^{LÚ}ḪADĀNU DÙ-nun

nu=ttā NIN=YA DAM-an[ni] ³ piḫḫun

nu=ttā INA KUR ^{URU}Amurri LUGAL-un DÙ-nun

¹ I, my majesty, took you, Šaušga-muwa, by the hand. ² I made you my brother-in-law. My sister, ³ I gave to you for a wife. I made you king in the land of Amurru.

KUB 23.1 obv. ii 1-3

The final expression of divine support occurs frequently in historical texts, especially in annals recounting conquests, like the present text. Muršili II claims this in his Ten-Year Annals (53).

(53)

^{38b} nu=mu ^dUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na GAŠAN=YA ^dU NÍR.GÁL BEL=YA ^dMezzullaš ³⁹

DINGIR^{MES}ya ḫūmanteš piran ḫūiēr

^{38b} The Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, the victorious Storm-God, My Lord, Mezzulla, ³⁹ and all the gods ran before me.

KBo 3.4 rev. iv 38b-39⁸³

All four of these expressions of divine support are not uncommon and therefore none are particularly more noteworthy than any of the others. However, what is unique is that, to my knowledge, there is no other text from Ḫattuša that utilizes all four in the same text. Even where more than one occurs in a single text, it does not necessarily refer to the same relationship, whether person-to-person, deity-to-person, or deity-to-deity.⁸⁴

⁸³ Edition: Albrecht Götze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), p. 134. English translation: Richard H. Beal, “The Ten Year Annals of Great King Muršili II of Hatti (2.16),” in *Context of Scripture Volume 2: Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World*, ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 90. Muršili used this expression in several of the other sections of the annals as well.

⁸⁴ Compare the divine support of Tudḫaliya being “favorite” on page 101 with example (52), both from the Šaušga-muwa treaty. The functions and implications of each of the claims and expressions of support deserve more attention and will be explored in a future publication.

It may be suggested that the four-fold claim of divine support was intended to correspond to the severity of the set-back precipitated by the incursion of the Hurrians. The sudden hostility of all cities in Anatolia except for Ḫattuša was likely to cast doubt upon Ḫattušili's ability to rule and dominate his kingdom. Therefore, divine support followed by renewed success served to demonstrate the legitimacy of his rule.

Alternatively, as retrospective annals, the significance of the four-fold claim may be somewhat different. By the time of the composition of this text, the successful conquests of the later years were known. From this perspective, the four-fold claim is less about demonstrating legitimacy and more about explaining the reason for his success after such a severe set-back.

In sum, the sole text-internal exception to the conquest vignette has two parts: summary of a major set-back to the expansion of the Hittite kingdom and a four-fold claim of divine support to explain how Ḫattušili was able to recover from the set-back and have success in future conquests. This exception is imbedded in paragraph 5, which also contains two short conquest vignettes. Embedding the exception with two vignettes in the same paragraph, the narrator gathered all in one place the tactical situation of the set-back (KBo 10.2 obv. i 22-23), the description of the set-back (KBo 10.2 obv. i 24-26), the reason for his following years of success (KBo 10.2 obv. i 27-30a), as well as one an example of success that is the polar opposite of the set-back (conquest vignette 5: KBo 10.2 obv. i 30b-32). The tactical reason the set-back was able to take place was that Ḫattušili was in the far west of Anatolia plundering Arzawa. With this power vacuum in the east, the Hurrians entered Anatolia and thereby instigated widespread revolt. This revolt would not last. Ḫattušili traveled back to the east, to Nenašša. This is conquest vignette 5. In this vignette, Ḫattušili did not even have to fight, instead, the city surrendered! This success is directly attributed to the Sun-goddess' support. The fourth claim of divine support

argues that the Sun-goddess provides support for Ḫattušili's battles and then in the very next sentence he goes to Nenašša for battle (54).

(54)
[n]ašmu MÈ-ya peran³⁰ ḫūwāiš
nu INA^{URU} Nenašša MÈ-ya pāun
³¹ nu=mu mahḫan LU^{MES} URU Nenašša menahḫanda³² auer
nu EGIR-pa ḫeššir

She ran before me in battle.³⁰ I went to the city Nenašša for battle.³¹ When the people of Nenašša³² saw me coming (for battle). They opened.

KBo 10.2 obv. i 29b-32 §5

In this way, the fourth claim of divine support is tied to the start of vignette 5 by the repetition of the word “for battle” (MÈ-ya, Hittite *zahḫiya*). While this observation about MÈ-ya (Hittite *zahḫiya*) “for battle” may be interpreted as being of minor significance, it is not insignificant. As was noted on page 60 and illustrated in example (13) above, this word is one of the embellishments that never occurs in the conquest vignettes prior to vignette 5. Therefore, its occurrence in two back-to-back sentences, along with the fact that this is the first time it has been used in this text, is relevant. So, the connection of the fourth claim of divine support to the start of vignette 5 creates the impression that Ḫattušili believed his success in Nenašša was influenced by the support of the Sun-goddess. Furthermore, given the situation that Ḫattušili had virtually no support from other cities, it perhaps can be suggested that Nenašša should not have been intimidated by his approach at all. This would make their surrender even more surprising. While this interpretation is possible, it is also possible that Nenašša simply did not have the military resources to resist an attack by Ḫattušili, regardless of the severity of his weakened state.

To return to the question of not only the contents and structure of the sole text-internal exception to the conquest vignette, but also its placement, in the context of paragraph 5, the

exception stands at the transition point of the stylistic shift in the Annals of Hattušili. Prior to this exception, the conquest vignettes were, as noted above, much more pedestrian, lacking complex syntax, embellishment of detail, or agency of the enemies. After the exception, this all changed. As noted above, each vignette added different kinds and different amounts of information to the conquest vignette, often highlighting one or more of the principal elements of the vignette. While simple vignettes were occasionally mixed in,⁸⁵ the amount of information generally increased toward the end of the text, culminating in vignettes 13-15 which fill over half of the entire text.

3.5 Summary: Stylistic Choices in the Annals of Hattušili I

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the label given to this text, that it is a king's "annals," has led some to assume it is a report with little interest beyond the facts reported and therefore its only use to modern scholars is as a source for reconstructing Hittite and Anatolian history. However, I have argued that stylistic choices were made to the point that a shift is discernible in the text. This shift provides valuable internal comparative data showing how similar events (here, conquests of cities) could be portrayed in different ways with different amounts of details. Some were summarized with minimal detail or flourish, others were explicated with great detail focusing on one or more central elements of the event. The elaborations take any number of forms: adding descriptive detail (such as the number of battles, time of day, or regional situation of a city, as in vignettes 6, 8, 10, 14, 15), portraying attacked cities as agents of various actions (as in vignettes 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 15), using metaphors (such as the lion metaphor, as in vignettes 13 and 14), or invoking elaborate motifs (such as the freeing

⁸⁵ Specifically, vignettes 9 and 12 are both two clause vignettes, the former has only the "destroy" and "take" elements and the latter has only the "go" and "destroy" elements. It must also be noted that in vignette 9, the city is not destroyed, only its chariots.

of slaves structured as instances of parallelism, as in vignette 15). As made clear by the simplistic conquest vignettes, all of these kinds of added details are completely optional and therefore their inclusion constitutes stylistic choice on the part of the narrator. In other words, since any conquest by necessity requires a series of actions in order to actually conquer (e.g., drawing close for battle, fighting, destruction of property, capture of plunder, etc.), and since this act of conquering can be summarized in as little as two sentences (indicating an attack and destruction or otherwise winning the battle), the mere presence of any amount of detail regarding a given battle is by definition unnecessary and is included by choice. The various *types* of details that are included in the different vignettes of this text could have been included in *every* vignette. For example, each vignette could have indicated how many times the Hittites approached a town for battle, whether one time (unattested) or two times or three times. However, the narrator was selective regarding which conquests to elaborate on and which ones to portray succinctly. Regardless of the portrayal, the results were almost always the same: the town was conquered and plunder was taken.

Other differences in detail among the vignettes, on the surface, appear to reflect the referential function of language to simply convey what happened rather than being illustrative of stylistic variation. For example, different kinds and amounts of plunder were taken from the various conquered areas. This seems reasonable since it can be taken as a given that some towns are more wealthy or simply have different kinds of wealth than other towns. At the same time, the descriptions of the *amount* of captured plunder is longest in the final vignettes (especially vignettes 13 and 15). While this may be coincidental based on, perhaps, the relative size of the towns conquered, given the elaborateness and literariness of the description of the conquests in these vignettes, it may be reasonable to assume that the lists of plunder were made longer in

order to further highlight just how successful Ḫattušili was in his conquests of these towns.

While this cannot be proven, a comparison of the number of lines devoted to listing plunder among all the conquest vignettes reveals the plunder lists in vignettes 13 and 15 are wildly larger, filling 17.5 and 14 lines, respectively, compared with the next longest list of plunder that fills just 4 lines.⁸⁶

Based purely on the amount of lines dedicated to vignettes 13 and 15, it is easy to assume that these conquests were the focal point of the entire text. However, this study on the way the discourse units are structured around a four-part formulaic pattern, reveals how the entire text contributes as lead-up to the long and climactic final vignettes. The consistency and simplicity of the first several vignettes represent a base-line minimum of how to recount a successful conquest. After these four vignettes, Ḫattušili experienced a drastic set-back and was then reinvigorated by renewed support from his patron(ness) deity, the solar deity. Following this emphatic description of renewed divine support, Ḫattušili set out on campaign again, and the vignette pattern describing his exploits became increasingly more elaborate, either with added details to one or more parts of the four-part formulaic pattern, or with active agency ascribed to his opponents. The additions to the vignette stand out in contrast to the basic pattern in the initial four vignettes. By the time one arrives at vignette 13, the variety of ways that Ḫattušili has “went, destroyed, taken, and given” in the course of conquest is wide, setting the text up for a strong climactic, and “manly”(!), finish in vignettes 13 and 15.

⁸⁶ See Table 2: Conquest Vignettes on page 59, above for a tally of the number of lines dedicated to listing plunder for all the conquest vignettes.

CHAPTER 4: DISAPPEARANCE OF TELIPINU (CTH 324)

4.1 Introduction

Among the series of mythological texts known as the ‘disappearing deity myths,’¹ the best preserved is the the Disappearance of Telipinu. Myths in this series recount how a deity related to some aspect of the natural order disappears and stops fulfilling his or her duties. In the present text, Telipinu is a male fertility deity whose disappearance causes all kinds of fertility to cease; whether human or animal reproduction, or agricultural produce. The effects of his disappearance extend not only to the natural world, but to the entire divine pantheon as well. While it seems that the deities have food and drink, they are incapable of becoming satisfied from eating and drinking (see KUB 17.10 i 19'-20'). As a result, the deities are thrown into chaos as they frantically begin searching for Telipinu and, after finding him, begin to appease his anger in order to return fertility to the earth and harmony for themselves.

There is some debate about the origins of the disappearing deity myths and their themes. At the same time, there seems to be a consensus that they come from a predominantly Luwian milieu, though with distinctive Hattian markers.² Regardless of the original source of the myth and its themes, the mode of expression is of primary concern in the present study. Pending the discovery of written sources in Luwian or Hattian bearing witness to an earlier stage of this text, I will assume that the literary style of the text represents Hittite literary style. In other words, if

¹ Bryce refers to these as the “Vanishing God” mythological tradition, Bryce, *Life and Society in the Hittite World*, pp. 211-12. Others in the series include the Disappearance of the Storm-God (CTH 325), the Disappearance of the Sun-God (CTH 323), among others in the range of CTH 322-338. For the updated *Catalog*, see <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>.

² For a recent overview of the relevant issues, with citations, regarding the disappearing deity myths in general as well as the Disappearance of Telipinu in particular, see Steitler, *The Solar Deities of Bronze Age Anatolia*, pp. 192-207.

the myth was preserved orally for an indeterminable number of years and then a Hittite scribe recorded it, it is safe to assume that the Hittite scribe employed his/her own literary prowess in the expression of the myth, even if the contents and themes were from an earlier source.³

This chapter will analyze several selections of the Disappearance of Telipinu in order to illustrate (1) the structure of various individual discourse patterns and their literary effects, and (2) that the mode of expression in many of these patterns is most aptly described as “poetry.” As a result of this narrower focus, this chapter will differ from the preceding and following chapters in that the entire text will not be treated.

4.2 Poetry: Its Meaning and Application to Ancient Texts

There are numerous theoretical, methodological, and even definitional challenges to applying the term *poetry* to any ancient text, challenges that cannot all be solved here. My focus will be narrow, without being exclusionary, in defining *poetry*, as will my method for applying it to CTH 324. Therefore, the following articulation of how I am understanding the term and the reasons I apply it to CTH 324 are, by necessity, preliminary and exploratory, and will be heavily dependent on work done in other fields of ancient Near Eastern studies in connection with modern literary theory.

³ As should be clear, this assumption is not assured, but, in my estimation, is reasonable. Along similar lines, Rita Francia has suggested this assumption even for texts that are known to be imports and translated from foreign languages. She asserts, “Anche nell’opera di traduzione, però, è opportuno sottolinearlo, gli Ittiti andarono alla ricerca di uno stile proprio, non limitandosi a riportare pedissequamente il testo di partenza, ma andando alla ricerca di espedienti stilistici tali da conferire alla traduzione una struttura poetica e un’originalità propria,” Francia, “Storia degli studi sulla poesia ittita e una nuova chiave di lettura di un testo ‘classico’: CTH 414,” p. 82.

The history of the term *poetry* is rooted in the Greek word ποιεῖω “to make” and its derivatives. However, the link between this Greek word to what is generally meant by the term *poetry*, both now and in the past, is slight.⁴

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), in its definition of the term *poetry*, explains, “Composition in verse or some comparable patterned arrangement of language in which the expression of feelings and ideas is given intensity by the use of distinctive style and rhythm... Traditionally associated with explicit formal departure from the patterns of ordinary speech or prose; e.g., in the use of elevated diction, figurative language, and syntactical reordering.”⁵ The search for poetry within the various fields of ancient Near Eastern studies has been fraught with difficulty as understanding of the languages under consideration has always been, and continues to be, in various stages of clarity and uncertainty: writing systems, grammar, and lexemes continue to be investigated. The question is, then, to what extent can modern scholars describe an instance of language as being “given intensity by the use of distinctive style and rhythm”⁶ when what may be called “normal” style and rhythm are as yet not fully known? The answer to this question is allowed for in the question: scholars know more about some languages and their styles than about others. Ancient Hebrew poetry, for example, enjoys much consensus as regards its identification and basic structure due in no small part to the many centuries devoted to its study, whereas other languages have been rediscovered *and understood* for less than a single century.

⁴ For a concise history of the term and concept of “poetry,” see Stephen Owen, “Poetry,” in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Roland Greene and Stephen Cushman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 1065-1068.

⁵ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v., “poetry” definition 2, www.oed.com.

⁶ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v., “poetry.”

Given this situation, the possibility of applying the term *poetry* to a Hittite text is a debated topic in Hittitology. To begin with, the field has identified just three texts (or portions of them) as poetry. In his monumental study of accent in Hittite and how accent is marked (particularly by plene spellings of Hittite words), Alwin Kloekhorst includes a chapter on “Poetic Meter.” After recounting the history of research on poetry in Hittite, which began with Güterbock’s comment that the Song of Ullikummi (CTH 345) is “written in verse or at least in a form that comes close to verse,”⁷ Kloekhorst summarizes the accepted corpus of texts that are poetry: “the Song of Ullikummi, the Song of Neša, and the recitation part of the Ritual of Irija.”⁸ While these three texts certainly seem like poetry, Kloekhorst and the scholars whom he cites regarding the criteria for identifying poetry make an assumption that has severely inhibited the identification of poetry in other texts, as well as, likely, the nature of the poetry in the three accepted texts. The assumption is signaled in his chapter title, “Poetic Meter.” He and all others who have worked on this topic assume that for a text (or a portion of it) to be poetry, it must be metrical.⁹

⁷ Güterbock, “The Song of Ullikummi,” p. 142.

⁸ Kloekhorst, *Accent in Hittite*, p. 621, see pp. 619-621 for an overview of the history of research on the identification of poetry in Hittite texts.

⁹ This assumption is woven into Kloekhorst’s discussion at the beginning of his chapter by a seeming interchangeability of words like “verse,” “poetry,” “poetic,” “meter,” and “metrical structure.” For example, in referring to Güterbock’s 1951 edition of the Song of Ullikummi, he says, “Güterbock mentions the fact that after his discovery that this text may be *written in verse*, he tested whether other Hittite mythical texts show a *metrical structure* as well” (p. 620, emphasis added). Later, regarding the corpus of poetry in Hittite, he criticizes McNeill’s assessment of Güterbock: “Despite the fact that Güterbock, besides the Song of Ullikummi, only mentions the hymn to Ištar as a possible *metrical text*, McNeill claims that ‘Güterbock has argued that [the Song of Ullikummi] and all the other compositions in the [cycle dealing with the Hurrian god Kumarbi] are *poetic works*’ (1963: 237). This is incorrect as we have seen...” (p. 621, emphasis added). See loc. cit. for other examples of this assumption and the way these kinds of terms are interchangeable for Kloekhorst. Kloekhorst, *Accent in Hittite*, pp. 619-621. Kloekhorst is not the only scholar to make this assumption; it can be traced back to all who have

The problem with this assumption is that not all poetry is metrical. Some modern Western poetic styles are referred to as “free verse,” and this style “generally avoids strict rhyme schemes... and strict alliteration patterns.”¹⁰ One can also appeal to poetries of other regions of the ancient world to see how meter is indeed not a common manifestation of poetry, and may in fact be wholly absent. For example, there is an overwhelming consensus that the poetry of the Hebrew Bible is not metrical.¹¹ Ugaritic poetry, due in part to its similarity with Hebrew poetry, is also not taken to be metrical.¹² Within the field of Assyriology, regarding Akkadian poetry, there is not yet a consensus, but, as Wasserman notes, the hypothesis that Akkadian poetry is metrical is a view that “is now fading gloomily to a somewhat less exacting view of the issue.”¹³ Piotr Michałowski has commented, “The search for rhyme and meter in Mesopotamian poetry –

worked on poetry in Hittite, see Güterbock, “The Song of Ullikummi”; McNeill, “The Metre of the Hittite Epic”; Durnford, “Some Evidence for Syntactic Stress in Hittite”; Melchert, “Poetic Meter and Phrase Stress in Hittite”; Melchert, “New Light on Hittite Verse and Meter?” While noting this trend in Hittite scholarship of research into poetry and poetic language to look primarily at imported texts and for meter, Francia suggests the motivation for this line of inquiry is based on a search for something that is indisputably poetry. She says, “le ragioni di ricercare uno schema metrico, sia esso accentuativo o quantitativo, sono facilmente intuibili (testo in metrica = testo poetico),” Francia, “Storia degli studi sulla poesia ittita e una nuova chiave di lettura di un testo ‘classico’: CTH 414,” p. 82.

¹⁰ See G. Burns Cooper, “Free Verse,” in *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Roland Greene and Stephen Cushman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 524, §D. Rhyme and Meter.

¹¹ See Dobbs-Allsopp, *On Biblical Poetry*, pp. 9, 99-103; Michael P. O’Connor and Edward L. Greenstein, “Parallelism,” in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Roland Greene and Stephen Cushman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 998; Alan Cooper, “Two Recent Works on the Structure of Biblical Hebrew Poetry,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110, no. 4 (1990), p. 687-688; Benjamin Hrushovski-Harshav, “Prosody, Hebrew,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), p. 599.

¹² Dennis G. Pardee, *Ugaritic and Hebrew Poetic Parallelism: A Trial Cut* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), especially p. 4 note 7, also p. 45 with note 59.

¹³ Nathan Wasserman, *Style and Form in Old-Babylonian Literary Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), especially pp. 159-162.

particularly Akkadian – is a curious gesture...” and that “We should know better...”¹⁴ More recently, Sophus Helle has reiterated this state of the field and argues that an analysis that focuses only on rigid rules of meter is not helpful for appreciating the full range of the poetic qualities of Akkadian poetry.¹⁵ While there still appears to be much work to do for understanding Sumerian poetry, Michałowski once characterized a study of rhyme and meter in Sumerian as “bizarre,” though he does note that Sumerian poetry was likely performed to music.¹⁶ In the analysis of ancient Egyptian “poetry,” Gerhard Fecht is the most famous in the analysis of Egyptian “elevated” language and articulating the metrical stress patterns that he argues is its organizing principle.¹⁷ An alternative has been argued for by John Foster. He argues that “a pair of verse lines,” which he calls the “thought couplet,” “provides a principle of order... for structuring and organizing ancient Egyptian verse.”¹⁸ However, neither view appears to represent a consensus among Egyptologists.¹⁹

¹⁴ Piotr Michałowski, “Ancient Poetics,” in *Mesopotamian Poetic Language: Sumerian and Akkadian*, ed. Marianna E. Vogelzang and Herman L. J. Vanstiphout (Groningen: Styx, 1996), p. 143.

¹⁵ Sophus Helle, “Rhythm and Expression in Akkadian Poetry,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 104, no. 1 (2014).

¹⁶ Michałowski, “Ancient Poetics,” especially pp. 141, 143, and 144.

¹⁷ For an overview of the results of his several published books and articles on this topic, see Gerhard Fecht, “The Structural Principle of Ancient Egyptian Elevated Language,” in *Verses in Ancient Near Eastern Prose*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor and Wilfred G. E. Watson (Darmstadt: Neukirchener Verlag, 1993), pp. 69-94.

¹⁸ John L. Foster, “Thought Couplets and the Standard Theory: A Brief Overview,” *Lingua Aegyptia* 4 (1994), p. 140.

¹⁹ See especially Günter Burkard, “Metrik, Prosodie und formaler Aufbau ägyptischer literarischer Texte,” in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. Antonio Loprieno (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 447-463. For a measured critique of Fecht’s approach and the limits to metrical analysis, see especially pp. 449-451. For a discussion of Foster’s approach, see especially pp. 451-456.

Given this general lack of consensus that meter is the primary underlying structural feature of ancient texts generally considered to be “poetry,” Hittitologists must expand their definition of poetry to include structures and styles that are not metrical.²⁰ The defining features of other ancient poetries should be considered when assessing Hittite poetry, especially, for example, parallelism.²¹ The presence of parallelism in Hittite has already been noted²² and was one among several stylistic techniques recently analyzed in the Hittite Hymns and Prayers.²³ However, parallelism has not yet been a technique associated with *poetry* in Hittite.

So, what is poetry? In this study I will assume the definition in the *OED* (cited on page 111, above). Particularly operative in this definition is the characteristic that poetry exhibits an “explicit formal departure from the patterns of ordinary speech or prose” that constitutes a “distinctive style and rhythm.” In chapters 3 and 5 of this dissertation, the styles and rhythms of two prose texts are analyzed. Both contain narratives, but are portrayed in different manners. The Annals of Hattušili I, while a historical narrative, is structured around a recurring four-part formulaic pattern that expands in size throughout the text, culminating in the climax at the end of the tablet. Alternatively, the Tale of Zalpa presents a sequential non-formulaic story. The

²⁰ While not dismissing a search for meter in Hittite, Francia believes that there are aspects of poetic expression other than meter that can constitute poetic style. For a succinct expression of her perspective, see the abstract of her article, Francia, “Storia degli studi sulla poesia ittita e una nuova chiave di lettura di un testo ‘classico’: CTH 414,” p. 105.

²¹ See, for example, O’Connor and Greenstein, “Parallelism,” pp. 997-999. Further, in one of his critiques of the search for meter in Egyptian, Burkard says, “Das Übergewicht des numerativen Elements zuungunsten anderer stilistischer Kriterien. Besonders schwerwiegend erscheint hierbei, daß dies fallweise auch den *parallelismus membrorum* betrifft, dessen Bedeutung als wichtigstes formales Element u.a. im gesamten Alten Orient unbestritten sein sollte,” Burkard, “Metrik, Prosodie und formaler Aufbau ägyptischer literarischer Texte,” p. 450.

²² Briefly in Haas, *Die hethitische Literatur: Texte, Stilistik, Motive*, p. 292.

²³ Daues, Rieken, and Lorenz, *Das persönliche Gebet bei den Hethitern: Eine textlinguistische Untersuchung*, see especially chapter 5 by Daues.

Disappearance of Telipinu, while containing a narrative arc—of Telipinu going away and, after he is discovered and appeased, returned—is expressed differently. The story moves more slowly and the text at various points devotes several sentences and lines to describe single circumstances or processes that could otherwise be sufficiently summarized with a single sentence. These instances of elaborated descriptions are all structured by way of various forms of parallelism. I therefore suggest assigning the label *poetry* to at least some portions of CTH 324 based on its use of parallelism for vivid or dramatic descriptions of a situation or process.

4.3 Parallelism: Status Questionis

The majority of work done on investigating poetic parallelism in the ancient Near East has focused on Northwest Semitic (NWS) poetry, especially that of the Hebrew Bible.²⁴ The following overview will therefore focus on developments within NWS sub-fields.²⁵ This overview of the way parallelism works is organized into three parts: the basics of parallelism (section 4.3.1), patterns of parallelism (section 4.3.2), and the relationship of parallelism to poetry (section 4.3.3).

²⁴ Parallelism as a feature of poetry occurs in a variety of cultures and textual traditions outside the ancient Near East, but these will not be incorporated in the following discussion. For examples of parallelism in other cultures, see O'Connor and Greenstein, "Parallelism," p. 997-999. See also Roman Jakobson as he discusses work done on parallelism in Chinese poetry vis-à-vis parallelism in NWS poetry, Jakobson, *Language in Literature*, pp. 147-149.

²⁵ Of course, work has been done on parallelism in Akkadian as well, but not as much as in NWS. For example, see Scott B. Noegel, "A Janus Parallelism in the Gilgamesh Flood Story," *Acta Sumerologica* 13 (1991), pp. 419-421; Scott B. Noegel, "An Asymmetrical Janus Parallelism in the Gilgamesh Flood Story," *Acta Sumerologica* 16 (1994), pp. 306-308; Scott B. Noegel, "Another Janus Parallelism in the Atrahasis Epic," *Acta Sumerologica* 17 (1995), pp. 342-344; Scott B. Noegel, "Janus Parallelism Clusters in Akkadian Literature," *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2 (1995), pp. 33-34; Wilfred G. E. Watson, "Number Parallelism in Mesopotamian Texts," *Maarav* 7 (1991), pp. 241-253; Wilfred G. E. Watson, "Verse-Patterns in Ugaritic, Akkadian and Hebrew Poetry," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 7 (1975), pp. 483-492.

4.3.1 Basics of Parallelism

O'Connor and Greenstein state, "Parallelism is widely understood as a repetition of structure or pattern in adjacent phrases, clauses, or sentences within discourse in general and poetry in particular."²⁶ One example they give in their discussion comes from the Ugaritic *Kirta* epic:

Ascend to the top of the lookout; / Mount the city-wall's shoulder
Raise your hands toward the sky. / Sacrifice to Bull El, your Father²⁷

They briefly explain that in each of these two instances of parallelism [the "/" refers to the division between the first and second lines of this instance of two-clause parallelism], "the second line essentially elaborates the content of the first. ... the second line in parallelism often intensifies or extends the sense of the first."²⁸

Research on the nature and patterns of parallelism within the Hebrew Bible poetry goes back to the 18th century scholar, Robert Lowth, who defined what he called "parallelismus membrorum" as follows, "the poetical conformation of the sentences consists chiefly in a certain equality, resemblance, or parallelism between the members of each period; so that in two lines (or members of the same period), things for the most part shall answer to things, and words to

²⁶ O'Connor and Greenstein, "Parallelism," p. 997. Cf. Hrushovski-Harshav, "Prosody, Hebrew," pp. 598-599; Dobbs-Allsopp, *On Biblical Poetry*, p. 69; Edward L. Greenstein, "How Does Parallelism Mean?," in *A Sense of Text: The Art of Language in the Study of Biblical Literature: Papers from a Symposium at the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning May 11, 1982*, ed. Stephen A. Geller (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1982), pp. 43-46.

²⁷ O'Connor and Greenstein, "Parallelism," p. 998. This is a translation of KTU 1.14 ii 21-24: ²¹ w 'l l zṛ . mgdl . rkb ²² tḵmm . ḥmt š 'a . ydk ²³ šmm . dbḥ . l tr ²⁴ 'abk . 'il. For an alternate translation, see Dennis G. Pardee, "The Kirta Epic (1.102)," in *The Context of Scripture Volume 1: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 334.

²⁸ O'Connor and Greenstein, "Parallelism," p. 998.

words, as if fitted to each by a kind of rule or measure.”²⁹ In the development of his theories and definitions, Lowth saw parallelism as occurring in three types: synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic.³⁰ This tripartite understanding of parallelism was subsequently rejected for at least two reasons: first, it was incapable of accounting for the great diversity of ways parallelism takes shape and second, the definitions of each type fell through as essentially inaccurate.³¹ Indeed, James Kugel has asserted, “All parallelism is really ‘synthetic’: it consists of A [that is, the first line of an instance of parallelism], a pause, and A’s continuation B [that is, the second line of an instance of parallelism] (or B + C),”³² or to cite his more famous expression, “A is so, and *what’s more*, B is so.”³³ Kugel further explained the meaning of this expression saying, “That is, B was connected to A, had something in common with it, but was not expected to be (nor regarded as) mere restatement.”³⁴

This basic understanding, particularly from the standpoint of semantics, is generally accepted and followed here. However, in the next section it will be unpacked and delineated more fully.

²⁹ Quoted in Dobbs-Allsopp, *On Biblical Poetry*, p. 3.

³⁰ See James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), p. 12.

³¹ See Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History*, p. 12.

³² Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History*, pp. 57-58.

³³ Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History*, pp. 8, 42, emphasis original. Cf. Dobbs-Allsopp, *On Biblical Poetry*, p. 70.

³⁴ Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History*, p. 8. While Kugel’s view of parallelism may be accepted, some may believe that it does not apply when the second line is identical to the first line, that is, exact repetition of words and syntax. However, in support of Kugel’s view, Krystyna Mazur has stated, “exact repetition is impossible: the simple fact of temporal discontinuity between repeated elements leads to a difference in their functions, via the accumulation of significance and recontextualization,” Krystyna Mazur, “Repetition,” in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Roland Greene and Stephen Cushman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 1169.

4.3.2 Patterns of Parallelism

In his recent book, *On Biblical Poetry*, F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp readily acknowledges that at a basic level, parallelism is the most dominant multi-clausal structure in ancient Hebrew poetry. However, picking up on specific aspects of its fundamental principles, as articulated by Lowth, Dobbs-Allsopp proposed analyzing the single poetic line as the most basic, structural unit of measure in Biblical poetry.³⁵ In other words, while parallelism is a multi-sentence, -clause, or -phrase structure, it does not exist and cannot take shape apart from the individual line. He argues, “The logic governing parallelism is, at heart, a logic of repetition... That which is repeated ... is singular, its very iterability constituting an identity.”³⁶ He further notes that Biblical parallelism is often looked at the other way around, from the perspective of the entire parallel entity. Adele Berlin, in her book, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, provides an example of the latter perspective when she asserts in reaction to Kugel, “in a certain sense parallelism *is* the essence of poetry.”³⁷ In response to this perspective, Dobbs-Allsopp asserts, “But this is mistaken insofar as it misjudges or obscures the central force of the iteration of the singular that is made manifest in the fact that parallelism occurs not only in pairs but also in threes, fours, and fives.”³⁸ In other words, he is asserting that focus must be placed upon the individual poetic line as the

³⁵ This correlates with Kibrik’s description of the basic unit of measure of a discourse unit being the single sentence. See chapter 2 page 15, above.

³⁶ Dobbs-Allsopp, *On Biblical Poetry*, p. 69. See similarly Krystyna Mazur’s comments on repetition that correlate with this comment about repetition and parallelism, “The structure of repetition underlies the majority of poetic devices, and it is possible to argue that repetition defines the poetic use of language. The effects of repetition are, however, multivalent and range from lending unity and coherence to exposing the fundamental difference between the repeated elements,” Mazur, “Repetition,” pp. 1168-1169.

³⁷ Adele Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), p. 4, emphasis original.

³⁸ Dobbs-Allsopp, *On Biblical Poetry*, p. 69.

basic building block of Hebrew poetry, and parallelism in particular. It is the individual line that sets forth the parameters of how the parallelism will unfold.

The question of how parallelism unfolds can be quite complex. While the basic understanding of parallelism, as summarized above (in section 4.3.1 Basics of Parallelism), is generally accepted, it scarcely captures all the permutations in pattern an instance of parallelism may take. Berlin explicitly states that her reason for writing is to point to the variety of permutations: “The purpose of this book has not been to reduce parallelism to a simple linguistic formula, but rather to show the enormous linguistic complexity of parallelism.”³⁹ Her book is structured around four aspects of language which all combine to produce a seemingly infinite number of possible varieties for how parallelism can take shape. These aspects of language include grammar, lexicon, semantics, and phonology.⁴⁰ She points out that not only can any one

³⁹ Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, p. 129. Along these same lines, Benjamin Hrushovski-Harshav has described the patterns and varieties of parallelism as follows, “The parallelism may be either complete or partial; either of the verset as a whole or of each word in it; of words in the same order or reversed. It may be a parallelism of semantic, syntactic, prosodic, morphological, or sound elements, or of a combination of such elements. In most cases there is an overlapping of several such heterogeneous parallelisms with a mutual reinforcement so that no single element – meaning, syntax, or stress – may be considered as completely dominant or as purely concomitant. The parts of the parallelism may be equal or unequal in their size or form; they may be related to each other in a variety of ways: synonymous, antithetic, hierarchic, belonging to a category of some kind, etc. The principles of the parallelism used may change from verse to verse. The basis of this type of rhythm may be described as semantic-syntactic-accentual. It is basically a free rhythm, i.e., a rhythm based on a cluster of changing principles,” Hrushovski-Harshav, “Prosody, Hebrew,” p. 599. Due to this amount of complexity and variation, regarding Kugel’s summation of parallelism as cited on page 118 above, Berlin further comments, “‘A, what’s more B’ is so nebulous as to be useless as a definition. Parallelism is, rather, a matter of intertwining a number of linguistic equivalences and contrasts,” Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, p. 130. Kugel does not seem to fully disagree with this assessment, however, for, in criticizing Lowth’s tripartate delineation of parallelism, he states, “Biblical parallelism is of one sort, ‘A, and what’s more, B,’ or a hundred sorts; but it is not three,” Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History*, p. 58. In a different context, Berlin cites this statement: Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, p. 64.

⁴⁰ Her chapters are organized around these aspects of language, but for a succinct description, see

of these aspects be activated in an instance of parallelism, but also that “these aspects usually occur in combination” and that while often they are combined in a complementary fashion, there are also many instances “that show tension among the aspects such that grammatical equivalences may be patterned in one way while lexical or phonologic equivalences may be arranged in a different pattern.”⁴¹ This kind of tension by collocation is subsumed by the assertion of Viktor Shklovsky: “the perception of disharmony in a harmonious context is important in parallelism. The purpose of parallelism, like the general purpose of imagery, is to transfer the usual perception of an object into the sphere of a new perception—that is, to make a unique semantic modification.”⁴² Robert Alter cites this quotation and applies it to the range of parallelism seen in the Hebrew Bible. On the basis of what will be seen in the following discussion on the manifestations of parallelism in the Disappearance of Telipinu, I suggest Alter’s comment applies to Hittite parallelism as well, “What I should like to suggest in the case of the semantic parallelism on which so many lines of biblical verse are constructed is that, with all the evident and at times almost extravagant repetition of elements of meaning from one verset to the next, ‘semantic modifications’ of the sort Shklovsky has in mind are continually

Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, p. 127. Cf. O’Connor and Greenstein, “Parallelism,” p. 997; Cooper, “Two Recent Works on the Structure of Biblical Hebrew Poetry,” p. 687; Hrushovski-Harshav, “Prosody, Hebrew,” pp. 598-600.

⁴¹ Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, p. 127. This kind of tension appears to be very similar to what Nigel Fabb refers to as “formal multiplicity” where “two fundamentally different kinds of literary form... can hold of a text.” Fabb further suggests, “we experience the inherent complexities and multiplicities of literary form as aesthetic,” Fabb, *Language and Literary Structure*, p. 2. At the end of his book, he rightfully includes meaning as a contributing factor for “why literary formal complexity is experienced as aesthetic,” Fabb, *Language and Literary Structure*, p. 216. For further discussion of patterns in parallelism and Hebrew verse, see Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), see especially chapters 6-8.

⁴² Shklovsky, “Art as Technique,” p. 21.

occurring.”⁴³ This is also in line with the discussion on parallelism in chapter 2, beginning on page 44 above, that parallelism sets up relationships of equivalence that present challenges to the reader to consider how the two paralleled elements relate to each other.

These ideas about parallelism and the patterning of its instances are foundational in the following discussions of parallelism in CTH 324.

4.3.3 Parallelism and Poetry

Embedded within O’Connor and Greenstein’s basic articulation of parallelism is that parallelism occurs not just in poetry, but also outside of poetry in all forms of discourse.⁴⁴ An extreme reaction to this reality is Kugel who concludes that because parallelism occurs in all genres of text in the Hebrew Bible, parallelism cannot equal poetry and that it is potentially problematic to apply the term “poetry” to the Hebrew Bible at all.⁴⁵ He first notes that the terms “poetry” and “parallelism” are entirely etic and therefore, “to speak of ‘poetry’ at all in the Bible will be in some measure to impose a concept foreign to the biblical world.”⁴⁶ He concedes that modern words can and should be used in the description of ancient texts, but cautions that there are pitfalls to doing so. One such pitfall, and its implications, he describes as follows,

the equation parallelism = poetry has led critics both to overlook parallelism in ‘unpoetic’ places—in laws, cultic procedures, and so forth, and especially in *single lines* that come to punctuate, emphasize, or sum up less formally organized discourse; and, on the other hand to attribute to biblical parallelism a consistency it lacks.⁴⁷

⁴³ Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), p. 10.

⁴⁴ The pertinent portion says, “... within discourse in general and poetry in particular.” For full citation, see page 117, above.

⁴⁵ Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History*, see pp. 59, 63, and especially 69-70.

⁴⁶ Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History*, p. 69.

⁴⁷ Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History*, p. 70.

First, he is certainly correct that in the Hebrew Bible, and likely also in other ancient texts, parallelism occurs in discourse environments that are not considered “poetry.”⁴⁸ Second, in the preceding context of this quote, he makes an assumption that “poetry” has a very high degree of consistency and regularity; this is also seen in the final clause of this quote. The problem with this assumption is that it no longer holds true. As discussed in section 4.2 above, especially pages 113ff, modern and ancient poetries do not always have highly regular patterns, such as in metrical poetry. In other words, the scope of the term “poetry” is broader than he assumes.

While Kugel likely goes too far in arguing against using the term “poetry” at all for any portion of the Hebrew Bible, he is right to question the automatic equivalence of ‘parallelism equals poetry’. So the question remains, if parallelism can occur in non-poetry contexts, then how can parallelism be used as a criterion for the presence of poetry, as I suggest for CTH 324?

In line with Berlin and others, the question of what is poetry and what is prose should not be a binary prose vs. poetry question. Rather, in Berlin’s words, it is a “continuum of elevated style.”⁴⁹ This characterization was based on Kugel’s description of the occurrence of parallelism in all kinds of texts: “a high degree of semantic parallelism characterize some sections; less consistent (and less consistently semantic) parallelism is found in other parts; ... This represents a continuum of organization or formality, with parallelism of different intensity and consistency characterizing a great span of texts.”⁵⁰ In this way, even though Kugel ended up concluding that

⁴⁸ So also Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, p. 4.

⁴⁹ Berlin observes that, in spite of the problems with Kugel’s argument, he had helpfully shifted the conversation away from the binary question to the continuum perspective. For Berlin’s elaboration on this point, see Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁰ Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History*, p. 85.

“poetry” as a modern construct should not be applied to ancient texts, he nevertheless observed differences in style in different kinds of texts within the Hebrew Bible.

This concept of a “continuum of organization or formality” in the varying degrees of usage of parallelism in non-poetry contexts is observed in chapters 3 and 5 of this dissertation. In CTH 4, the Annals of Ḫattušili I, parallelism was used in its description of freeing slaves⁵¹ as well as in comparing the actions of Ḫattušili in attacking and destroying a city with the power and behavior of a lion.⁵² In CTH 3, in addition to the paneled structure (a type of parallelism) of the conversation between the thirty sons and the people of Tamarmara,⁵³ it was observed that the elements of the two speeches were chiastically organized (another type of parallelism).⁵⁴ The instances of parallelism in these non-poetry texts easily fit the notion of poetic style being present in non-poetry contexts, but they are far less frequent and less dominant within those contexts.

This concept of a continuum is also consistent with Roman Jakobson’s framework of six language factors and their corresponding six language functions where, in any given instance of language, one or another language factor along with its corresponding function is the dominant function, and at the same time the other factors and functions are of lesser prominence.⁵⁵ In one of Jakobson’s essays, he points to this continuum directly as it relates to poetry; some of his wording correlates with the *OED* definition of poetry (as given on page 111, above). The

⁵¹ See chapter 3, pages 80-84, above.

⁵² Full discussion of this section of CTH 4 begins on page 62. Discussion of the parallelism in this section is on page 66.

⁵³ See chapter 5, pages 183-188

⁵⁴ See chapter 5, pages 184-185.

⁵⁵ For discussion of Jakobson’s framework, see chapter 2, section 2.2.3 beginning on page 34, above.

following quotation also refers to the relationship of the poetic function of language to the referential, or cognitive, function of language, which refers to the simple conveyance of information: “It is quite evident that grammatical concepts find their widest applications in poetry as the most formalized manifestation of language. There, where the poetic function dominates over the strictly cognitive function, the latter is more or less dimmed.”⁵⁶ In other words, in a “formalized manifestation of language,” the selection of any and all aspects of language is based on a desire to create equivalences that draw attention to the language of the message itself. This does not mean that the basic information conveyed by the language is irrelevant or not important, just that the language of the message itself is made more prominent. This prominence of the language of the message is made to be experienced on a level other than just the cognition of the reader/audience. It is made to be experienced as aesthetic by the reader/audience.

After further discussion of the ways that all categories of language—syntax, morphology, and lexemes—are capable of being utilized in the selection and combination process to create equivalences, Jakobson sums up a principle of the distinctiveness of poetry. “One may state that in poetry similarity is superimposed on contiguity, and hence ‘equivalence is promoted to the constitutive device of the sequence.’”⁵⁷ “Similarity superimposed on contiguity” is epitomized in parallelism where the linguistic or semantic ties connecting paralleled clauses are made prominent by the immediate or near proximity of the clauses. As discussed in chapter 2, scholars working in the field of Stylistics connect parallelism to the Russian Formalist understanding of

⁵⁶ From chapter 9, “Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of poetry” (originally published in 1960) in Jakobson, *Language in Literature*, p. 124.

⁵⁷ Jakobson, *Language in Literature*, p. 127.

Defamiliarization: Defamiliarization is evidenced through Foregrounding of language, Foregrounding occurs by either deviation or parallelism where parallelism is “unexpected *regularity*.”⁵⁸ Defamiliarization, for the Russian Formalists, is experienced as aesthetic.⁵⁹

In the following analysis of discourse patterns in CTH 324, it will be shown that there are many instances of parallelism, and that many of these are strung together one after another. These sequences of parallelism create chunks of various length where the poetic function of language is the dominant function. I therefore argue that these chunks of instances of parallelism are best understood as poetry. By way of contrast, the parallelisms that occurred sporadically in texts such as CTH 4 and 3, were brief moments of more formalized language in contexts where other functions of language were more dominant. In CTH 324, on the other hand, the chunks of instances of parallelism are prolonged sections of formalized language.

At the same time, the referential, or cognitive, function is still discernible in these chunks of parallelism. Each instance of parallelism still conveys information. Yet, the core information conveyed by the parallelisms could easily have been simplified and made more economical in the manner of expression, but this would have dimmed the poetic function of the language.

As for the inner workings and effects of the instances of parallelism in CTH 324, they suggest interpretations and nuances of meaning that are sometimes explicit and sometimes not; they sometimes are clear and sometimes suggest different, even seemingly incompatible, understandings of the structure or the basic meaning of the sentences. These conceivable interpretations and nuances of meaning reflect linguistic techniques for making the poetic

⁵⁸ See section 2.2.4 beginning on page 42 of chapter 2 for discussion and definition of these terms. For the understanding parallelism as “unexpected *regularity*,” see Jeffries and McIntyre, *Stylistics*, pp. 32-33.

⁵⁹ See discussion of this concept in chapter 2 in section 2.2.1.2 beginning on page 31.

function of language dominant, thereby creating an aesthetic effect. As observed in the writings of literary and linguistic theorists, as discussed in chapter 2, these techniques include ambiguity, formal multiplicity, and foregrounding.⁶⁰

While it may be inappropriate to refer to the whole of CTH 324 as a “poem,” based on the occurrence of several chunks of parallelism throughout this text, I argue that it is appropriate to call these chunks examples of Hittite “poetry.”

4.4 The Poetry and Parallelism of CTH 324

The beginning of the best preserved fragment of CTH 324, KUB 17.10, is broken.⁶¹ This tablet, however, is otherwise very well preserved with many completely preserved paragraphs that enable the kind of analysis to be conducted here.

The style of this text, in terms of its discourse patterns, oscillates between sequential narration using descriptive prose and parallelism that either slows down the pace of the narration further or that completely stops it to focus on a given situation. Some of these slow-downs or stops are written as chunks of instances of parallelism. The straightforward descriptive prose, on the other hand, gives little attention to coordinating grammar, syntax, or semantics among sentences beyond developing the essential aspects of the narrative. This kind of style is characteristic of language functions other than the poetic function, especially of the referential function.⁶²

⁶⁰ For example, see the summary of chapter 2 in section 2.3.3 on page 51.

⁶¹ The main editions of this text are Ali Naci Asan, *Der Mythos vom erzürnten Gott: Ein philologischer Beitrag zum religionshistorischen Verständnis des Telipinu-Mythos und verwandter Texte* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014); Elisabeth Rieken, et al., ed. *Hethiter.net/: CTH 324.1 (TX 2012-06-08, TRde 2012-06-08)* (Würzburg: University of Würzburg, 2012).

⁶² For discussion of Jakobson’s language functions, see chapter 2, especially section 2.2.3 beginning on page 34.

The following sections will focus primarily on whole paragraphs since, as observed in chapters 3 and 5 of this study, this is the main way that a discourse unit is demarcated and its contents are unified in its themes as well as the style of its composition. There is at least one instance, however, where the themes and poetic style of one paragraph bleeds into the following. This will be discussed below.

4.4.1 KUB 17.10 i 5'-9'

The first mostly preserved paragraph occurs in the first column and contains eight sentences in five lines; these sentences are the first adequately preserved instances of parallelism on the tablet. What is known from the broken paragraph before it is that the deity Telipinu seems to give some commands, becomes angry, somebody (Telipinu?) makes something (animals, deities, or humans?) run, then, most importantly for this paragraph, and indeed the text as a whole, “he (Telipinu) went away from the house.”⁶³ The very next paragraph begins with a house in a troubling situation implying that Telipinu’s departure is its cause. This paragraph contains the first instance of adequately preserved parallelism of two clauses that are syntactically identical and semantically very similar: inanimate patient + inanimate agent + transitive verb. All paralleled elements are either near synonyms (“mist” and “smoke”) or within the same or similar semantic range (“windows” and “house”; “seize” and “suffocate”), example (55).

(55)

^{GIŠ}*luttāuš kammarāš IŠBAT*

⁶³ 0' [...] *nakkīš* ^{1'} ^{Γd}*Telipinuš* ^Γ[...]-*iš penništen=wa* [...] ^{2'} *lē=wa kurkuriške* [*ttumma n=aš š*]*āiet nu=za kunna* ^{3'} *GÜB-lit ħuinut* *GÜB-l* [*a=ma ZAG-nit*] *ħuinut É-er'za=aš=kan* ^{4'} *p[āi]t* ^{0'} [...] weighty ^{1'} Telipinu [...] “Drive [the cattle? ...], ^{2'} [do] not [be] afraid!” [He] became angry. The (ones of the) right (side), ^{3'} he made run with the left (hand?). The (ones of the) left (side), he made run [with the right (hand)]. ^{4'} He w[en]t from the house. KUB 17.10 1'-4'+KBo 55.8 i 11'-15'. Edition and differing translation in Rieken, *Hethiter.net*/: CTH 324.1 (TX 2012-06-08, TRde 2012-06-08).

É-ir tuḫhuiš [wiš]uriyatati⁶⁴

Mist seized the windows
Smoke [op]pressed the house

KUB 17.10 i 5'

Instead of just being synonyms, each set of paralleled elements can also be understood as metaphorically related. The windows are a component of the house, so either can be interpreted as a metonymy of the other. “Mist” has a wider semantic range than “smoke” and, in fact, encompasses it. The verb “to seize” (here written with the Akkadogram *IŠBAT*) is an ordinary verb that can indicate violent “seizing” as well as innocuous “seizing.” The verb “to oppress” (*wišuriye/a-*), on the other hand, is quite a bit more vivid. At a minimum, the verb always indicates an increase of pressure on something. While it sometimes does not imply violence,⁶⁵ nevertheless it most often does.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Melchert was apparently not aware of the join with KBo 55.8 and so restores [*IŠBAT*] to match the previous sentence (H. Craig Melchert, “Marginalia to the Myth of Telipinu,” in *Audias fabulas veteres. Anatolian Studies in Honor of Jana Součková-Siegelová*, ed. Šárka Velhartická (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 215). However, as indicated by Rieken et al., the join preserves the middle and end of the verb and they provide the following comment on its middle form as well as its difference from a parallel text, “In den Paralleltexen wird an dieser Stelle statt *wišuriya-* „ersticken“ (intransitiv) eine transitive Verbalform *ēpta* bzw. *IŠBAT* „ergriff“ verwendet. Intransitives *wišuriya-* „ersticken“ führt syntaktisch zu Problemen,” Rieken, *Hethiter.net*/: CTH 324.1 (TX 2012-06-08, TRde 2012-06-08), §4' note 1.

⁶⁵ For example, certain elements used within some rituals are “pressed together” as in KBo 27.136 ii 3-4 *nu* ^{siG}*pittulan* ZA.GÌN ^{siG}*pittulan* S[A₅] *anda wišuriyaizzi* “und eine blaue Schlinge (und) eine rote Schlinge presst er zusammen” (text and translation [emphasis added] from Johann Tischler, *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar* (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 2016), pp. 528-529).

⁶⁶ For attestations, see Tischler, *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*, pp. 527-531. For discussion, see especially Craig Melchert who argues against the traditional translation of “suffocate” as is most common for its occurrences in this text. Melchert, “Marginalia to the Myth of Telipinu,” pp. 214-219. His interpretation of this verb is followed here. Cf. also discussion in Onofrio Carruba, *Das Beschwörungsritual für die Göttin Wišurijanša* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966), pp. 50-54.

While semantic similarities exist between the two lines, the subtle differences between them mark a shift from the first to the second line. The semantic meaning of the first line potentially envisions an innocuous situation. One reasonable interpretation of the line is as follows: while looking out a window from inside a house, a morning mist might block or otherwise inhibit the view. If this ordinary situation is possible for the first line, such is not possible in the second line which indicates a violent situation and invites one to imagine a worst case scenario: perhaps not only is there smoke outside the house, as a morning mist might be, but smoke can easily be seen as pressing inside the house. This latter scenario, regarding the smoke, is in fact supported by the next grouping of parallel lines with the same verb, *wišuriya-* “to press, oppress,” occurring mostly with locative phrases (*INA... wišūriyantati*). The shift from a potentially innocuous situation to an overtly violent one is consistent with how parallelism works in other languages.⁶⁷

The next instance of parallelism is comprised of the following four sentences. These four sentences all use the same verb in exactly the same form: preterite, passive, and third person plural.⁶⁸ Three of the four begin with a locative clause before the subject of the sentence.⁶⁹ In

⁶⁷ For example, regarding parallelism in Biblical Hebrew, James Kugel states, “B [the second line of a two sentence structure of parallelism] is clearly a continuation of A [the first line of the parallelism], or a going-beyond A in force or specificity” Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History*, p. 8. Cf. discussion on the patterns of parallelism in section 4.3.2 beginning on page 119, above.

⁶⁸ The verb in the third sentence is omitted and uses the reiterative KI.MIN “ditto” instead.

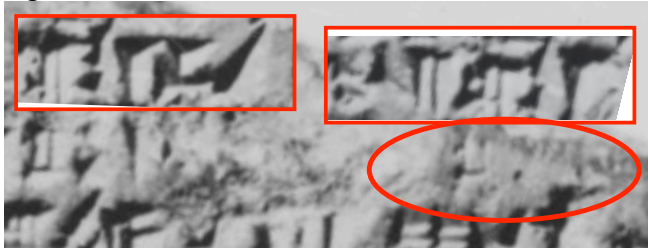
⁶⁹ This order can be considered “marked,” though perhaps not as hierarchically so as other word orders in this text. Hoffner and Melchert state, “The functionally neutral or ‘unmarked’ word order in Hittite is S(ubject) O(bject) V(erb)” and they clarify in note 1, “As is usual in this formula, ‘O(bject)’ actually represents any constituent of the predicate except the finite verb, not only the direct object of transitive verbs but also such things as adverbs, negations, postpositional phrases, and infinitives,” Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, p. 406.

other words, all four sentences are grammatically, syntactically, and semantically parallel, example (56).

(56)
 6' INA GUNNI^{ma} *kalmišeniš uišūriyantat*[i]
 [iš]⁷⁰ta⁷[*naniš*⁷⁰ ŠA]⁷ DINGIR^{MES} *uišūriyantati*
 INA TÜR *anda* UDU^{HLA} KI.MIN
 INA É.GU⁴ ⁸*andan* GU⁴^{HLA} *uišūriyantati*

As for in the oven, the firewood was oppressed.
 [The al]t[ars of] the gods were oppressed.
 In the stockyard, the sheep likewise (were oppressed).

⁷⁰ Restoration of the nominative *ištananiš* follows Melchert, “Marginalia to the Myth of Telipinu,” p. 215. As Melchert notes, most studies follow Laroche’s 1965 restoration of the dative-locative plural form *ištananaš* thereby making the gods the subject of the sentence rather than the altar(s) (see Emmanuel Laroche, “Textes mythologiques hittites en transcription. I. Mythologie anatolienne,” *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* XXIII/77 (1965), p. 90). While such a restoration makes the sentence syntactically parallel with the sentences before and after it, Melchert argues against this interpretation on the basis of the end of the text when the present items and animals that were thrown into chaos when Telipinu disappeared are brought back into harmony when Telipinu returns. At the end of the text it is not the “gods” who are brought back into harmony, but the altars: *ištananiš* DINGIR^{MES}-*naš ḫandantati* “the altars of the gods were put in order/alignment” (KUB 17.10 iv 22; see Melchert, “Marginalia to the Myth of Telipinu,” p. 215). It would make no sense for the altars to be brought back into harmony if they were never affected by the smoke to begin with. Therefore Melchert’s restoration of the nominative plural form is preferred. Regarding my transcription of [iš]⁷⁰ta⁷[*naniš*], unnoted by Melchert or the other editions, I argue that sign traces are visible in the photo that can confirm the presence of the TA sign in this restoration (the traces are present, but unclear on the line drawing): the beginning of the horizontals are fairly clear, the two intersecting verticals are faint but present, the initial corner of the lower Winkelhaken is visible, and a trace of the lower portion of the final vertical can be seen converging with the NA sign below it. The photo below has the TA sign traces circled. The boxed signs are copied from elsewhere on the tablet for comparison to illustrate how the placement of the traces would fit a restoration of ... -ta-t[i iš]-⁷ta⁷-[*na*-...] in line 6’ as well as how the TA sign traces match the wedge shapes and their placements in the preserved TA in the box above it. Given the space between the TA sign and the preceding traces of the TI sign, the IŠ sign would fit here.



Inside the cattle-stall, the cattle were oppressed.

KUB 17.10 obv. i 6'-8a'

While all four sentences share similarities, there are also sub-groupings. The subjects of the verbs in the first two sentences are inanimate objects whose relationship is unknown. What does firewood in an oven have to do with the altars of the gods? This question is in fact illustrative of the very purpose of parallelism and the poetic function of language: to collocate two seemingly unrelated things or actions to “establish a meaningful connection.”⁷¹ As is clear from the rest of the text, particularly lines iv 20-26, the household and all its features and contents which include the firewood in an oven, altars of the gods, sheep, cattle, windows, and mothers, are some of the major things affected by the disappearance of Telipinu. So here, at least, the connection between the firewood and altars is two items in a list of things that are constitutive of a house: its features, contents, and associated items.

The subjects of the third and fourth sentences while different, are animate and within the same semantic range: livestock. The use of both the Akkadogram *INA* “in” along with the Hittite post-positions *anda* “in” and *andan* “inside” also tie the last two sentences together. While the first two and last two sentences are subgroups, they are all tied together as a single unit by the use of the same verb throughout and also by the use of *KI.MIN* “ditto, likewise” in the third sentence, explicitly invoking the verb in the second sentence.

The final instance of parallelism in this paragraph contains two sentences and they continue the subjects of the previous two sentences: the sheep and the cattle, example (57).

⁷¹ O'Connor and Greenstein, “Parallelism,” p. 998. Berlin elaborates on this concept, “A and B are not independent lines; we read one in terms of the other.” After more discussion she concludes about a particular example of parallelism saying that parallelism “superimposes two slightly different views of the same object and from their convergence it produces a sense of depth,” Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, pp. 98-99.

(57)
 UDU-*ušz*za SILA₄ŠÚ *mimmaš*
 9' GU₄ma AMARŠÚ *mimmaš*

The sheep rejected its lamb
 And the cow rejected its calf.

KUB 17.10 obv. i 8b'-9'

Once again, this parallelism is identical in its grammar and syntax.⁷² While continuing the subjects of the verbs from the previous two sentences, the verb changes both in semantics and voice: “rejected” vs. “oppressed,” active agency vs. passive recipient. These changes suggest that the action is a reaction or otherwise some sort of result to the oppression that took place in the previous two sentences. A further observation on the structure of this section is that the “reject” verb is opposite to the “seized” verb in the first line of the section, drawing further attention to the progression and transition that took place.

In sum, the structural pattern of the section in lines i 5'-9' consists of a chunk of three instances of parallelism (two sentences, then four, then two again), each with their own linguistic structures and semantic contents that tie them together.⁷³ Half of the sentences are about inanimate objects that are affected by inanimate mist and/or smoke. Half of the sentences are about animals, evenly divided between sheep and cattle. The final two-sentence parallelism is therefore tied to the four-sentence parallelism and reveals a progression that suggests a causal

⁷² That these two sentences are intentionally constructed as an instance of parallelism, compare it with an attested alternative where all the nouns in this example occur in a single sentence: GU₄^{HL.A}-ŠÚ UDU^{HL.A}-ŠÚ AMAR SILA₄ *lē hāši* “let his cattle and his sheep not bear a calf (or) a lamb” (KBo 6.34 ii 41, The Military Oath – CTH 427). For edition, see Birgit Christiansen, *Schicksalsbestimmende Kommunikation: Sprachliche, gesellschaftliche und religiöse Aspekte hethitischer Fluch-, Segens- und Eidesformeln* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), p. 363.

⁷³ This structural pattern has already been observed by Francia, “Differences Between Prose and Poetic Style in the Hittite Language,” pp. 270-271.

relationship without overtly asserting so: *because* the sheep and cattle are oppressed by the smoke, the sheep and cattle have rejected their young.⁷⁴

4.4.2 KUB 17.10 i 10'-15'

After the section with a chunk of three instances of parallelism, the style of expression in the next section is far less formalized in its language and not as obviously formalized as it can be in an instance of parallelism. This section, then, serves as a useful comparison between language in parallelism versus language in narration that nevertheless contains cohesive ties where the poetic function of language is discernible, though not dominant.

While the section in i 5'-9' focused on the effects of Telipinu leaving the house, this section brings the focus back to Telipinu and recounts first what has happened to him (lines i 10'-13a') and then provides further details on the effects of his disappearance (lines i 13b'-15'). In this way, this section contains a mixture in subject matter.

The first sentence of the section is resumptive of the action of the story preceding the lines i 5'-9', where Telipinu was said to have left the house. When he left, he took several items that benefit humanity and then went out to hide amongst the reeds and weeds, example (58).

(58)
^{10'} *Telipinuš=a arḥa iyanniš*

⁷⁴ This lack of overt assertion of relationship between clauses reveals that the dynamics of the two dichotomies described by Linda Waugh are present here: "In any linguistic discourse, there is a constant interplay of two major dichotomies: explicitness vs. ellipsis on the one hand and redundancy vs. ambiguity on the other hand. Moreover, these two dichotomies share the common property of posing the problem of the amount of information conveyed by the given discourse. ... Now, the poem, which is focussed upon itself and upon the sign as sign, plays with both of these dichotomies, and while on the one hand poetic expression may be elliptic, on the other hand it extracts from the reduced expressions a multiplicity of meaning (ambiguity)," Linda R. Waugh, "The Poetic Function in the Theory of Roman Jakobson," *Poetics Today* 2, no. 1a (1980), p. 65.

ḫalkin ^d*Immarnin* ^{11'} *šalḫiantien mannittien išpiyatarr=a pēdaš gimri* ^{12'} *uēllui marmaraš andan*

^d*Telipinuš=a pait marmarri andan* ^{13'} *ulišta šēr=ašši=ššan ḫalenzu ḫuwašš*

Telipinu went away.

He carried away grain, ^dImmarni, growth⁷⁵, *mannittien*, and satiety to the countryside, to the meadow, inside the *marmaraš* terrain.

Thereupon, Telipinu proceeded to hide inside the *marmaraš* terrain.

Over him (the) *ḫalenzu* plant(s) spread.

KUB 17.10 i 10'-13a'

As can be seen, there is no instance of parallelism in this portion of the paragraph. No two sentences contain the same syntactical construction. The only exact repetition has to do with the *marmaraš* terrain⁷⁶ in the second and third sentences. But this repetition seems to be purely of the referential function, rather than poetic function, to explain where Telipinu was going and what he intended to do there (i.e., to hide).

The second and longest sentence in the section contains a few features that stand in contrast both to most of the other sentences in this text as well as with the parallelism in the preceding section (lines i 5'-9'). First, this sentence has extraposed locative phrases after the verb *pēdaš* "carried away."⁷⁷ This is not common in Hittite.⁷⁸ Second, this single sentence list of items Telipinu carried away stands in contrast to the multi-sentence list of "oppressed" items in the

⁷⁵ So, tentatively, CHD Š, p. 92.

⁷⁶ Theo van den Hout (personal communication) has suggested that *marmara-* may be a pun on the verb *mer-/mar-* "to disappear."

⁷⁷ There are three other instances of post-posed elements in this text are KUB 17.10 i 28a'-29a' (this is "right dislocation," see Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, p. 409.); ii 36'-iii 2a; and iv 14b. The following five sentences have fronted verbs: KUB 17.10 iii 6b; iv 8-9a; iv 9c-10a; iv 10c-11a; and iv 14a. Hoffner and Melchert note that the most common deviation from the neutral SOV word order is "fronting," "by which any constituent can be moved either to absolute initial position in the clause or to the position immediately following clause-initial conjunctions and any clitics dependent upon them," Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, p. 407.

⁷⁸ So Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, p. 408.

previous paragraph. Theoretically, instead of the four sentence parallelism in lines i 6'-8a', all of the subject elements could have been combined into a single sentence, example (59).

(59)

**nu kalmīšeniš ištananiš ŠA DINGIR^{MEŠ}-naš UDU^{HIA} GU₄^{HIA}ya uišūriyantati*

*The firewood, altars of the gods, sheep, and cattle are oppressed.

Hypothetical KUB 17.10 i 6'-8a'

While this hypothetical way to list the oppressed items in lines i 6'-8a' is one way it could have been expressed, it lacks the locative phrases for the three elements that the parallelism does include; although the choice to include those locative phrases to begin with was optional as well. The parallelism in the previous section, then, enabled an expansive and thereby more dramatic description of the effects of Telipinu's disappearance whereas the list in the long sentence in i 10b'-12a' is less dramatic in its concision, and intentionally so.⁷⁹

The final sentence of the narrative description of Telipinu fleeing to the wild is somewhat strange. The main difficulty for understanding the sentence is the meaning of the subject, *ḫalenzu*, example (60).

(60)

šēr-a-šši-ššan ḫalenzu ḫuwašš

Over him (the) *ḫalenzu* plant(s) spread.

KUB 17.10 i 13b'

The lexica generally agree that the word indicates some sort of plant or part of a plant, but which plant, or which of its parts, is uncertain.⁸⁰ Due to the verb in the sentence, it seems

⁷⁹ KUB 17.10 has other instances of a list in either a single sentence or expanded to where each element in the list has its own verb. Examples of fairly well preserved lists expanded into multiple sentences can be found in the following lines i 6'-8a', 8b'-9', 16'-17a', 25'-26'; ii 36'-iii 2; iii 9b-12; iv 9b-12a, 21-24a, 24b-25, and 9-31. Examples of fairly well preserved lists that are confined to a single sentence can be found in lines i 10b'-12a'; iii 15b-16, 19b-20; iv 6-7, 8-9a, and 18-19.

⁸⁰ HW², III: Ḫ, pp. 26-27; Jaan Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary Vol. 3: Words Beginning*

more likely that the *halenzu* is an entire plant and not just “leaves” or “foliage,” as the HW² III: H tentatively suggests (German “Laub(?)”). The verb *huwai-* means “to run, to hurry; to spread (of vegetation).”⁸¹ The HW² cites just two attestations with the meaning “spread” (German: “sich ausbreiten”):⁸² the present sentence and a sentence in the military oath KBo 6.34+ ii 39-41, which refers to grass that *huwai-* (spreads?, grows?) in a meadow.⁸³ In spite of the meaning “to spread” with plants, the verb *huwai-* meaning “to run” is a synonym to the verb at the beginning of the paragraph *iyanniš* “he went, marched.”⁸⁴ Whether this connection represents the poetic function of language is difficult to say. Due to the lack of further attestations of the verb *huwai-* with a plant, it cannot be determined whether or not other verbs or syntactical constructions were available. It can be noted that the verb in the next sentence is *mai-* “to grow.” Perhaps this verb could have been used here. Alternatively, it is conceivable that a passive verb could have been used to indicate that Telipinu had been covered by the plant. All this is to say that there may be a play on verbs meaning to “go, march, or run” in this description of Telipinu’s disappearance: while ‘running’ was how Telipinu went away, ‘running’ was also how Telipinu was hidden by plants.

The second part of this section contains more poetic features than the first part, while still not containing parallelism of the same formality or uniformity as that in lines i 5'-9'. While certain words are repeated, the sentences’ cohesive ties are neither as numerous, nor do they

with *H* (New York: de Gruyter, 1991), pp. 19-20.

⁸¹ Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, 366; HW², III: H, p. 796.

⁸² HW², III: H, p. 801.

⁸³ HW² translates as “sprießen” in this context: “Auf der Flur aber, auf den urbar gemachten Feldern (und) den Wiesen soll ihm kein Gras/Kraut sprießen” (III: H, p. 801). For an edition of this text, see Christiansen, *Schicksalsbestimmende Kommunikation: Sprachliche, gesellschaftliche und religiöse Aspekte hethitischer Fluch-, Segens- und Eidesformeln*, p. 363.

⁸⁴ Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, p. 375.

reflect the three main types of linguistic techniques for the poetic function. As noted above, the remaining sentences provide further results of Telipinu's disappearance and not about the disappearance itself, example (61).

(61)

nu namma ^{14'} *ħalkiš ZÍZ-tar ŪL māi*
nu=za namma GU₄^{HLA} UDU^{HLA} DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU^{MEŠ} *ŪL* ^{15'} *armahħanzi*
armauwanteš=a kuieš
nu=za apiya ŪL ħaššanzi

Grain (and) barley no longer grow. Cattle, sheep, (and) people no longer become pregnant. As for those who are pregnant, they are then not giving birth.

KUB 17.10 i 13b'-15'

The first thing to note in this section is that the verbal tenses have all switched to the present tense. Combined with the *namma*, “now, henceforth” or with negation as here, “no longer,” this indicates the ongoing reality of the results of Telipinu's disappearance and not just past isolated incidents. This switch constitutes a progression in the drama of the situation making it seem more dire. Second, regarding the style of this section, a few observations can be made. The first sentence stands out as ironic in light of the preceding sentence: *šēr=ašši=ššan ħalenzu ħuwaĩš* “Over him (the) *ħalenzu* plant(s) spread.” While the *ħalenzu* plant can still grow, grain and barley apparently cannot. In contrast with line i 5'-9', the list of subjects in the second sentence are all combined into one sentence instead of expanded into multiple parallel sentences, which seems to downplay the poetic function. On the other hand, from the second to the third sentence is an instance of tail-head linkage with the verb *armahħ-* (with *=za*) “to become pregnant” immediately followed by the participle of *armae-* “to be pregnant.”

In sum, the poetic function is not the dominant function in lines i 10'-15'. The language use and mode of expression in these lines does not invite alternative interpretations of its structure or meaning. Instead, the referential function is more dominant, describing some of the

details of Telipinu's disappearance as he experienced it as well as further consequences of this disappearance for human and animal reproduction. As noted, though, there are instances where the poetic function reveals itself even if it is not the dominant function: possible word play (the 'running' of the *ḫalenzu* plant and the 'running away' of Telipinu in lines 13' and 10', respectively), the use of grammar (specifically verb tense) to heighten the drama, and the use of tail-head linkage to prolong attention on the gestation processes—and their being brought to an abrupt halt—of animals and people.

4.4.3 KUB 17.10 i 16'-20'

In the next section, there are several short sub-units, most of them with very short sentences. For example, another list of items occurs where all the items take the same verb.⁸⁵ Instead of all being combined into a single sentence, they are expanded into four sentences and are organized in a particular pattern that simultaneously suggests a possible progression while also alternating grammatical forms. At the end of the paragraph, there is a description of how a feast was unsatisfying to the gods, but does so with several short sentences that invite an audience to visualize the circumstance and experience. So, in spite of this paragraph containing just five lines on the tablet, there are thirteen sentences that can be divided into four sub-units, all constructed as units of parallelism. Two of these units can be characterized as more formalized instances of parallelism: one contains five very short sentences reflecting grammatical and semantic parallelism, the other has two sentences that are semantically but not grammatically parallel. In this way, this section exemplifies a range in how parallelism in Hittite can take shape.

⁸⁵ For other examples of this kind of construction, see footnote 79, above.

The following discussion will analyze these units of parallelism and the effect their construction has on what is communicated by them.

The first sub-unit of parallelism has five sentences that contain a possible progression while using alternating grammatical structure and also drawing attention to a result of the actions of the verbs, example (62).

(62)
^{16'} [⁸⁶ H]UR.SAG^{DIDL.HI.A} *hāter*
 GIŠ^{HI.A}-*ru hāzta*
n=āšta parašduš ŪL ^{17'} *uēzzi*
uešaeš hāter
 PŪ^{HI.A} *hāzta*

The mountains dried up. The trees dried up. The foliage is not coming out. The pastures dried up. The springs/water sources dried up.

KUB 17.10 i 16'-17a'

Due to the use of the same verb for all four of the non-negated sentences, four of these five sentences could easily have been collapsed into a single sentence with a plural verb. Instead they were separated out and given their own clause. As is clear, the order of the elements creates an alternation between the use of common gender plural nouns taking plural verbs (*hāter* “they dried up”) versus neuter gender plural nouns taking singular verbs (*hāzta* “it dried up”; in this order, for sentences 1 and 2, 4 and 5, respectively). Regarding the order of the elements on semantic grounds, the structure is less clear: mountains, trees, pastures, and springs/water sources. Do these imply a progression of high elevation items transitioning to low elevation and

⁸⁶ Mazoyer suggested restory [*nu*?] before [H]UR.SAG, Michel Mazoyer, *Télipinu, le Dieu au Marécage: Essai sur les mythes fondateurs du Royaume Hittite* (Paris: Association KUBABA, 2003), p. 44. Rieken et al. follows him, see §6' and note 4 in Rieken, *Hethiter.net/: CTH 324.1 (TX 2012-06-08, TRde 2012-06-08)*. However, the photo shows no more space before the damaged HUR sign than any of the other lines above or below it; there is no space for a NU sign nor is there a need for one.

small items? Or, on the other hand, are there non-progression correspondences such that a spring or water source begins in a mountain and runs down to water trees and pastures, indicating that the first and last elements correspond with each other and the second and second-to-last elements correspond with each other? This latter option is supported by the fact that the second and second-to-last elements, the trees and pastures, are, or are characterized by, growing plants (trees, grass, bushes, flowers, etc), whereas the mountains and water sources are natural elements that do not increase in size the way a plant does.⁸⁷ In this way, the order of the first two and last two sentences of this unit can be understood as an ABB'A' pattern of parallel sentences.

So, regarding the four sentences with the verb *hat-* “to dry up,” there are three different ways to interpret the structure of their interrelated features. First, on the level of grammar, they alternate: ABA'B'. Second, regarding semantics, there could either be a progression in ABCD, or perhaps because of the similar semantic range of “trees” and “pastures,” the progression is ABB'C. A third way to interpret the structure is that it is an inverted, chiasmic pattern, where the spring/water source sentence corresponds with the mountain sentence: ABB'A'. These patterns result in various prompts in associating one linguistic item with another. For the alternating structure, what do mountains drying up have to do with pastures drying up? Or what do trees drying up have to do with springs/water sources drying up? In the progression pattern, is there an elevation factor or a size factor or is there a cultural or pragmatic association with the drying up elements where their order is increasingly more problematic or disturbing? It can easily be assumed that if a spring or water source dries up, then everything else will dry up too. For the inverted, chiasmic pattern, the mountains and springs/water sources are associated but the central

⁸⁷ Obviously, a spring or water source can increase in size, but only by adding to it since it is not characterized by an inherent growth process like a plant.

points, the association of the trees and pastures receives the attention as primary recipients and beneficiaries of water sources that often start in mountains and their water flows down them. This focus on the second and third *hat*- “to dry up” sentences, draws attention to the sentence inserted between them. Asking which of these patterns (along with the semantic associations they create) is correct, is not the right question because elements of each pattern are observable and can be argued for.⁸⁸ Rather, that each of the patterns are implied in the text, creates a sense of ambiguity in their purpose. This ambiguity draws attention to the language of the sentences themselves. These patterns, which are not entirely complementary, prompt an audience to consider all of them. This elongation in perception is a criterion for the dominance of the poetic function of language.⁸⁹

The third sentence, placed in the middle of the patterns of the four *hat*- “to dry up” sentences uses completely different grammar and syntax: the present tense versus the preterite, a negation, the use of a connective, and the use of a sentence particle. The present tense, similar to its use in the previous paragraph (see discussion of example (61) on page 138, above), points to ongoing effects and not just to past events. As such, the semantics of the sentence—that leaves or foliage is not coming out—are more closely associated with the two *hat*- “to dry up” sentences immediately before and after it. Because of this placement, it must participate in the patterns

⁸⁸ Nigel Fabb identifies a structural evaluation of a text or text portion as an “implied form.” When there are multiple “implied forms,” whether they are compatible or incompatible with each other, he calls that situation “formal multiplicity”: “I suggest that we experience the inherent complexities and multiplicities of literary form as aesthetic,” Fabb, *Language and Literary Structure*, p. 2.

⁸⁹ For example, one Russian Formalist argued, “The technique of art is to make objects ‘unfamiliar,’ to make forms difficult, to increase the difficulty and length of perception because the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself and must be prolonged,” Shklovsky, “Art as Technique,” p. 12. See also chapter 2 beginning on page 30 for further discussion of Russian Formalism and Shklovsky.

discussed above. From the perspective of grammar (of the *ḥat*- sentences and of the third sentence), the pattern is AB C A'B'. From the perspective of semantics, the pattern is ABB'B"C. Or, taking into account both grammar and an alternate view of the semantics (as discussed above), the structure is a chiasm: ABCB'A'. In a chiasm, the central element is often the focal point of the structure. The grammar of the central element in this section is indeed significant because it draws attention to the product of the trees and pastures: when water ceases to come down from the mountains, trees and pastures dry up with the result that foliage is not produced. These five sentences, then, and especially the central statement that foliage is not coming out can be understood as semantically similar to and perhaps an oblique reference to the single sentence in lines 13c'-14a' above: *nu namma ḥalkiš ZÍZ-tar ŪL māi* "now grain (and) barley no longer grow."⁹⁰

In sum, these first five sentences of this paragraph are an elaborate instance of parallelism with more formalized language. These sentences utilize repetition and variation in grammar and semantics to create various patterns. These patterns suggest a variety of semantic associations that all combine to expound upon the reality that plant growth has ceased. While the plants that it refers to (trees, pastures, and seemingly natural foliage) are not direct references to agricultural produce, domestic animals such as cattle and sheep were likely affected by this lack of plant growth since pasture lands could no longer be relied upon as food sources.

The fact that these five sentences themselves could have been combined into just one or two sentences and that the information communicated is merely an expansion on a reality that is

⁹⁰ Cf. discussion page 138, above.

already known from the preceding context, support the conclusion that the poetic function of language is dominant in these sentences.

The second sub-unit of parallelism in this section is shorter, being comprised of just two sentences. This instance of parallelism is formalized in its language than that in lines 16'-17a', though still utilizing aspects of language to tie the individual sentences together, especially repetition of word and sound, example (63).

(63)

nu KUR-ya andan ^{18'} *kāšza kīšati*
DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU^{MEŠ} DINGIR^{MEŠ} -*ešš-a kištantit ḥarkianzi*

Hunger occurred in the land.
People and Deities are perishing with hunger.

KUB 17.10 i 17b'-18'

The grammar of these sentences is different: the first contains a singular subject and verb as well as a locative clause whereas the second contains two plural subjects, a plural verb, and a noun in the instrumental case. Based on the repetition of the noun for “hunger” in the two clauses (the nominative *kāšza* and its derivative form *kištant-* in the instrumental case⁹¹) as well as the repetitions in sound between *kāšza kīšati* and *kištantit ḥarkianzi*, the two sentences are tied together as an instance of parallelism.

While the basic meaning of these two sentences seems reasonably clear, upon reflection, there are elements that stand out as implying more than the surface meaning of the words, in addition to added layers in the second sentence as following the first. What can be noted about the first sentence is that the locative phrase “in(side) the land” is pregnant with meaning and

⁹¹ Cf. Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, pp. 461-463.

what exactly is “in the land” that is experiencing this occurrence of hunger is left unstated. In this way, the obliqueness of the first five sentences of this paragraph is continued in this sentence.

In the second sentence there is far more clarity as well as a dramatic progression. Instead of being unstated, the audience now knows that it is humans and deities that are experiencing the hunger, and for some reason the animals have been left out. The verb in this sentence is a dramatic increase in severity than what might have been interpreted in the first sentence. While “hunger occurred” could conceivably be interpreted as a mild famine, “perishing with hunger” is not mild at all, but extremely severe.

At this point in the text, these two sentences function like a summary statement of everything that was said before it, both in this section and in the preceding two sections. The effect of Telipinu’s disappearance is that the land, human beings, and deities are all suffering from hunger. All the previous sections expand on what the effects looked like in detail (e.g., that grain does not grow or that humans and animals are incapable of reproducing) or dramatic language to metaphorically or metonymically portray the experience of the effects of Telipinu’s disappearance (e.g., the mist and smoke oppressing the house, firewood, altars, cattle, and sheep). The only details in lines 5’-17a’ that are not subsumed by the two sentences in lines 17b’-18’ are those that recount what happened to Telipinu after he left the house (lines 10’-13a’).

Up until this summary, the effects of Telipinu’s disappearance have focused on the natural world. After this summary, and in the remainder of this paragraph, the text provides an illustration for how deities experience the effects of the disappearance. In this way, the summary statement is nestled between the longer description of the effects of the disappearance on the natural world and the shorter description of the effects on the divine world. While the illustration

of the divine world experiences is shorter, the remainder of the text after this section focuses entirely on the divine actions to find, appease, and bring Telipinu back from hiding.

The motif that the text uses to illustrate how deities experienced the disappearance of Telipinu is one that is often used to present a situation that should be good and joyous but here has been marred by outside circumstances. This motif is a feast scene. In a feast scene, there is eating and drinking and celebration and worship of deities. Positive religious and communal results come from participation in feasts in Hittite society.⁹² However, this feast scene motif is sometimes used in various texts to show the negative effect of a reality in a person's life,⁹³ or as in this case, the effect of a missing deity on the other deities.

The illustration is begun with the background summarized in two short sentences, naming the feast initiator and the invitees, example (64).

(64)

^{19'} GAL-*iš-za* ^dUTU-*uš* EZEN-*an iēt*
nu-za 1 LIM DINGIR^{MEŠ} *hal-za-iš*

The great sun-god himself made a feast.
He called the one thousand deities.

KUB 17.10 i 19'

While these two sentences can be understood as an instance of parallelism, the linguistic connections between the two are virtually non-existent. The sentences are sequential, but one wonders if they are so in the order they appear, or in reverse. In other words, does one organize a feast and then invite the guests or the other way around? Regardless, the purpose of these sentences is to introduce the feast scene where the deities are portrayed as experiencing the

⁹² See, for example, Michele Cammarosano, *Hittite Local Cults* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018), pp. 103-105.

⁹³ One example of this in a Hittite text is the feast scene in the Story of Appu (CTH 360) that is used to illustrate the experience of being materially rich, but childless (KUB 24.8 i 15'-21').

effects of the hunger in the land as well as how they are “perishing with hunger.” The feast scene itself is written in very concise parallelism comprised of two instances of two sentence parallelism, example (65).

(65)

eter

^{20'} *n=ē ŪL išpiyēr*

ekuiēr=ma

n=ē=za ŪL ḥaššikkir

They ate. They were not filled.

They drank. They were not satiated.

KUB 17.10 i 20'

This parallel of eating and drinking with their corresponding verbs of being satisfied as a result is common in Hittite texts. The verb *išpai-* “to be filled” most commonly, as here, is paired with the verb *ed-* “to eat.” The verb *ḥaššikk-* “to be satisfied” is one of two verbs typically used with *eku-* “to drink” when paralleled by *išpai-* “to be filled” with *ed-* “to eat.” The other verb commonly paired with *eku-* “to drink” is *ni(n)k-* “to quench one’s thirst, to drink one’s fill; to get drunk.”⁹⁴

In terms of the structure of this instance of parallelism, it is an alternating ABA'B' pattern, which is the most common (though not exclusively so) for this idiomatic expression. For example, in CTH 483 (Evokationsrituale) the following four sentence parallelism has an AA'BB' pattern of this idiomatic expression, example (66).

(66)

⁴⁸ DINGIR^{MEŠ} LÚ^{MEŠ} GIŠ^{ERIN}-aš innarauwanteš KASKAL^{MEŠ} ad[and]u

⁴⁹ akuwandu

⁹⁴ Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, p. 607. For examples of *išpai-* combined with either *ḥaššikk-* or *ni(n)k-*, see Jaan Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary Vol. 2: Words Beginning with E and I* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 429-430; HW² IV: I, pp. 205-207; see also CHD L-N, pp. 443-445, s.v., *nink-*, *nik-*.

n=at=za išpiyandu
ninkandu

Let the vigorous Cedar gods e[at] the paths (and) drink! Let them be filled (and) let them drink their fill!

KUB 15.34 i 48-49⁹⁵

What holds the parallelism together in example (65), then, is primarily the formulaic nature of the language, where the alternation pattern, the more common of the two options, was chosen. The effect of this unit, in combination with its introduction in example (64) above, is a highly succinct description of how the divine world is suffering.

A feature that stands out from the description of the divine experience of famine is that it appears that the deities actually have food and drink (water from a spring?). This stands in contrast to the previous sections of the myth where there is a lack of food, which is the ordinary way that hunger is experienced. Given the context up to this point in the myth, the fact that the solar deity apparently has food and drink enough to throw a party is surprising. This surprise is then heightened by the alternating parallelism indicating their lack of satisfaction: how can one eat food and drink beer, wine, or water and yet have their hunger not satisfied and their thirst not quenched? In this case, the parallelism itself has enough in it to evoke surprise, but within the context, even more so. The deities respond predictably. As the following sections of the text make clear, lack of satisfaction throws the deities, particularly Telipinu's father the Storm-god, into dismay and disarray.

As noted at the beginning of discussion on this paragraph, the manifestations and purposes of parallelism in this section are varied. Each instance has different degrees of

⁹⁵ For edition, see José Virgilio García Trabazo, *Textos religiosos hititas. Mitos, plegarias y rituales* (Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 2002), p. 582. For translation, cf. CHD L-N, p. 444.

formalized language. Each instance serves a different role both within the section, but also within the text as a whole. For example, there is an implied relationship between various natural features and plants drying up (the first instance of parallelism) with the occurrence of hunger in the land being experienced by humans and deities (the second instance of parallelism). At the same time, the parallelism about hunger in the land where humans and deities are affected, serves as a summary statement for the effect of how Telipinu's disappearance has affected everyone and everything, as portrayed in twenty-two other sentences (in lines i 5'-9', i 13b'-17a', and i 19'-20'). The section is capped off with a brief, but vivid description of how Telipinu's disappearance has affected the deities. The effect on the deities seems to have been saved till the very end of the twenty-two sentence portrayal because right afterward, in the section beginning in line i 21', the narrative arc of the text resumes, focusing purely on the actions of the other deities to find, pacify, and bring back Telipinu from his hiding place to restore order to the world.

4.4.4 KUB 17.10 ii 22'-27'

The section I will discuss next is in column ii and within the section where the deities are attempting to ritually pacify Telipinu in order to bring him back to the house and thereby restore order. After the first instance of parallelism which introduces a new element that is being called upon to positively affect Telipinu, the remaining three sets of parallel sentences are all constructed as *mahhan ... QATAMMA* "just as... likewise also" analogical incantations, as is common in ritual texts. In spite of this common sub-structure, while two sets are constructed the same, the third is expanded in a syntactically and semantically more complex way.

To begin with, the first instance of parallelism is similar to a *mahhan ... QATAMMA* analogical incantation, just without the analogy, example (67).

(67)

^{22'} *kāša* ^{GIŠ} *līti kitta*
nu ŠA ^d *Telipinu [(ZI=)KA⁹⁶] ^{23'} *iškiddu**

Look! here lies a *liti*-oil plant.
May it anoint [your (soul)] Telipinu!

KUB 17.10 ii 22'-23a'

This instance of parallelism introduces a new item within the attempts for ritual appeasement and calls for it to affect Telipinu. The use of the imperative *iškiddu* “may it anoint” makes the conative function of language the dominant function.⁹⁷ There is little in terms of linguistic interplay between the two sentences. The collocation of the two sentences, however, indicates that the call for the soul of Telipinu to be anointed is based on the presence of the *liti*-oil plant.

As noted above, the remaining three sets of parallelism in this section are all structured as *mahḥan* ... *QATAMMA* “just as... likewise also” analogical incantations. The structure of the first two are single *mahḥan* sentences followed by single *QATAMMA* sentences, examples (68) and (69).

⁹⁶ The restoration, ZI, is from the duplicate fragment KBo 38.162 line 3', see edition in Rieken, *Hethiter.net/*: CTH 324.1 (TX 2012-06-08, TRde 2012-06-08), §22". The restoration KA “your” is based on parallels from other sections of the attempts to ritually appease Telipinu, e.g., line ii 10' or ii 25' (which will be discussed below). The edition in Rieken et al., includes the indication that there is perhaps more room after the KA sign for more signs (using the traditional “[...]” markers), but based on the width of the broken away portion of the column (in comparison with the lines lower in this same paragraph that are fully preserved), there is no need for such an indication. The signs ZI-KA could easily bring the end of the line close enough to the edge of the column where no more signs would necessarily be expected. Of course, more signs (=words) theoretically could have been written past the end of the column and onto the edge of the tablet, but there is nothing to indicate that this is required (for example, if the first sentence had *mahḥan* in it, then a *QATAMMA* could be restored along the edge, but this is not the case).

⁹⁷ The conative function has an “orientation toward the addressee” and is embodied most clearly by imperative verbs. It expresses a desire for the addressee to do or be something. For a description of this function of language and the way a third person verb can operate this way, see Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 355.

(68)

DIM₄ BAPPIR-*iš* ZI-*it māḥḥan takšanta*

[Ú ŠA ^dTelipinu] ^{24'} ZI=KA ŠA DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU^{MEŠ} *uddanāš QATAMMA takšanza ē[šdu]*

As malt and beer bread are united in spirit.

Also, may your soul, Telipinu, likewise be united with the affairs of people.

KUB 17.10 ii 23b'-24a'

(69)

[ZÍZ-*tar māḥḥ(an)*] ^{25'} *parkui*

^dTelipinuš ZI=ŠU QATAMMA *parkuēštu*

A[s emmer] is pure,

Let the soul of Telipinu likewise be pure!

KUB 17.10 ii 24b'-25a'

Both of these *māḥḥan ...QATAMMA* incantations feature the repetition of a verb, drawing an analogy between something that is true and good in nature, and calling for that condition to be true of Telipinu himself (example (69)) or of Telipinu's relationship to something (example (68)). The third instance of the *māḥḥan ...QATAMMA* incantation is more similar to that of example (69), with a simple status of the compared item: "pure" in example (69) and "sweet" and "pleasant" in the following lines. But instead of containing a single *māḥḥan* sentence and single *QATAMMA* sentence, it contains two of each and both kinds are grouped together, example (70).

(70)

LÀL-*i[t māḥḥan]* ^{26'} *maliddu*

Ì.NUN *māḥḥan miu*

^dTelipinuwašš=a ZI'=[ŠU] ^{27'} QATAMMA *militišdu*

n=aš QATAMMA mīēštu

[As] honey is sweet,

as ghee is pleasant,

May the soul of Telipinu also likewise be sweet!

May it likewise be pleasant!

KUB 17.10 ii 25b'-27'

In this way, the two *māḥḥan ...QATAMMA* incantations are patterned as AA'BB'.

However, when considering the predicates, the incantations are in an alternation pattern

(ABA'B') with the adjective *maliddu* “sweet” in the first sentence corresponding with the derivative stative imperative verb *milit(t)ešš-* “to be sweet” in the third sentence; and similarly the adjective *miu-* “pleasant” in the second sentence corresponding with the derivative stative imperative verb *miešš-* “to be pleasant” in the fourth sentence. So, several choices in composition took place in this unit: (1) to combine two *mahḥan ...QATAMMA* incantations into a single sub-unit, (2) alternate the order of the predicates instead of, for example, placing the *miešš-* “to be pleasant” verb as the third sentence to create a chiastic pattern (in ABB'A'), and (3) the decision to elide the noun phrase *Telipinu ZI* from the final clause.⁹⁸

In terms of word play and repetition, the poetic function of language does not seem dominant in this paragraph. Rather, the conative function within the ritual act and incantations is the dominant function. However, the instances of parallelism and variations in pattern, show that it is precisely these patterns and variations that point to the discernibility of the other functions of language, especially the poetic function. The variations are choices in composition that do not reflect differences in the referential function or even the conative function. In this section, the conative function of language resides solely within the use of the third person imperatives so the variation in organization is reflective of the poetic function of language. The poetic function, however, likely serves to support the conative function by adding an aesthetic quality to the language of the incantations.

⁹⁸ This is also in contrast to the fact that this noun phrase is repeated in each of the other *mahḥan ...QATAMMA* incantations in this section.

4.4.5 KUB 17.10 iv 14-19

The next section to be discussed is among the final preserved sections on this tablet in the fourth column. This section is the last of the ritual incantations before Telipinu finally relents from his anger and comes back to his house.

The topic of this section in lines iv 14-19 does not actually begin in line 14, but at the end of the immediately preceding section. In that section (in lines iv 8-13), the incantation calls for the wrath, cause of anger, sin, and sullenness of Telipinu to go away (without indicating direction or destination) and thereby to release the house and six component parts of the house.⁹⁹ In the final sentence of the section, the incantation calls for the negative dispositions (wrath, cause of anger, etc.) of Telipinu to go away once more and then gives a specific direction, “let them go the road of the Sun-deity of the earth!”¹⁰⁰ The section immediately following, in lines iv 14-19, describes in some detail where this road leads and what effect this road could have on the negative dispositions of Telipinu.

It is immediately clear that the road of the Sun-deity leads to the underworld, beneath the earth.¹⁰¹ The section begins with the entrance to the underworld as having seven doors and that inside are bronze vessels that can trap things inside so that they are never able to escape.¹⁰² The

⁹⁹ The house and the list of house component parts are divided up into separate sentences all with the same verb form, *tarnau* “let it release,” repeated seven times; this list is included in note 79.

¹⁰⁰ *taknaš-at* ^dUTU-*aš* KASKAL-*an* *paiddu* KUB 17.10 iv 13b.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Harry A. Hoffner, “Hittite Tarpis and Hebrew Teraphim,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 27, no. 1 (1968), pp. 65-66.

¹⁰² The themes in this paragraph, including that things get trapped in the underworld and that there are seven gates barring the way to the underworld, are prevalent in ANE and other mythologies. For an overview of this mythological theme in a variety of cultures, see Richard Bauckham, “Descent to the Underworld,” in *Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 2:145-159.

incantation, similar to a *mahḥan ...QATAMMA* “just as... so also” incantation but without the *mahḥan ...QATAMMA* words, calls for the negative dispositions of Telipinu to go down to these vessels and become trapped and indeed perish inside. By way of syntax, semantics, and patterning of sentences, the paragraph contains sub-units, interconnections, and details that create a dramatic depiction of transition from the living natural world to death and destruction in the underworld.

The depiction of the transition begins at the nexus point of the natural world and the underworld: a gatekeeper who opens the doors to the underworld,¹⁰³ example (71).

(71)

¹⁴ *ḥāšta* LÚ.NI.DUH 7 ^{GIŠ}IG
āppa ḥuittiyat 7 ^{GIŠ}*ḥattalu*

The gatekeeper opened the seven doors
 He pulled back the seven bars.

KUB 17.10 iv 14

The structure of this instance of parallelism stands out for three reasons: (1) both sentences are structured with fronted verbs (VSO word order), (2) the actions of the sentences are not sequential, and (3) because the sentences are not sequential, it is likely that the second sentence serves no purpose from the standpoint of the referential function of language. Regarding the word order of these sentences, what can be noted first is that the uniformity in syntax between the two sentences along with the coordination of seven doors with seven bars ties them together as an instance of parallelism. Secondly, the degree to which verb-first word order

¹⁰³ For the theme of seven gates to enter the underworld, compare the Mesopotamian myth, Ištar’s descent into the underworld. For a convenient edition of the text see Pirjo Lapinkivi, *The Neo-Assyrian Myth of Ištar’s Descent and Resurrection* (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2010). For an alternate translation, see Stephanie Dalley, “The Descent of Ishtar to the Underworld (1.108),” in *The Context of Scripture Volume 1: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 381-384.

is uncommon, makes these sentences stand out.¹⁰⁴ The reason this section begins with this kind of word order, from a discourse perspective, is perhaps up for speculation. I suggest that one possible reason for this kind of beginning is a discourse signal marking a section with a theme otherwise not yet introduced in this text. The marked word order, then, draws attention to the differentness of theme that requires several sentences to adequately develop before it is utilized in the incantation at the end of the paragraph. If this is the case, then this function would correspond to the metalingual function of language, where the focus is on making sure there is basic understanding between the addressee and the addressor.¹⁰⁵

Regarding reason (2) that this instance of parallelism stands out (i.e., sequentiality of the sentences), assuming that the pulling back of the bars is part of the locking mechanism on the doors, then one cannot open a gate without first pulling back the bars. This points to questioning the purpose of the second sentence, that is, reason (3). Semantically, the second sentence is subsumed within the action of the first sentence.

These three reasons for why this instance of parallelism stands out, point to the predominance of language functions other than the referential function, especially the poetic function. The three reasons just discussed point to features of the language that defy the straightforward referentiality of the language. The language and patterns of the unit are designed to draw attention to the language and the patterns themselves. The language is designed to make more vivid the thing and process that are referred to.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, pp. 406ff.

¹⁰⁵ See Jakobson, "Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics," p. 356. Cf. also chapter 2 beginning page 35 for an overview of Jakobson's system of language functions, including the metalingual function.

The next sub-unit within this section is an instance of three sentence parallelism. This sub-unit describes the physical features of certain vessels residing in the underworld. The physical description is divided into three separate sentences where the first is verbal, setting the circumstance of the vessel as well as indicating its basic material construction.¹⁰⁶ The other two sentences are verbless, detailing the materials of specific parts of the vessels, example (72).

(72)

¹⁵ *kattan dankui taknī ZABAR palhi arta*
ištappulli-šmet ¹⁶ *A.BÁR-aš*
zakkiš-(š)meš AN.BAR-aš

Down in the dark earth stand bronze vessels
 Their lids (are) of lead.
 Their bolt(s) (are) of iron.

KUB 17.10 iv 15-16a

Based on grammar, syntax, and semantics, the pattern of this sub-unit is ABB'. The clitic possessive plural pronouns in the second and third sentences simultaneously make the two syntactically parallel while also tying them grammatically to the neuter plural form *palhi* “vessels”¹⁰⁷ in the first sentence. This unit appears to be purely referential in function, although the mere presence of the details about the lids and bolts of the vessels seems excessive. As is clear in the remainder of this section, these vessels trap things inside them so the information is certainly relevant. However, it is conceivable that a detailed description of the vessels is not necessary to assert that things that go into them are trapped. Furthermore, the manner of the description (divided into two separate verbless sentences instead of, for example, a single verbal sentence), does not seem required either. What is certain, however, is that the delineation of the

¹⁰⁶ The use of the present tense, *arta* “it stands,” is understood as a continuous reality.

¹⁰⁷ That this form is neuter plural, see CHD P, 66 and Rieken, *Hethiter.net*/: CTH 324.1 (TX 2012-06-08, TRde 2012-06-08), §37''' note 71.

components made of strong or heavy metals certainly sets up and makes more convincing the following instance of parallelism that reveals the true strength of these heavy, metallic vessels, example (73).

(73)

kuit andan paizzi
n=ašta¹⁷ namma šarā ŪL uizzi
anda=ad=an ḥarakzi

What goes inside, no longer comes out. It perishes inside.

KUB 17.10 iv 16b-17

This instance of three sentence parallelism can initially be understood as having an AA'B pattern. The grammar of the first sentence makes it dependent upon the second.¹⁰⁸ The third sentence is an evaluative conclusion based on something becoming stuck inside, thus tying it to the previous two sentences. Alternatively, however, the use of *anda* “inside” in the third sentence does create a tie with *andan* in the first sentence. This suggests a connection where the second sentence can be left out: “what goes inside, perishes inside.” The simplicity of the grammar and syntax of the first and last sentences, including their lack of a negation, draws attention to the uniqueness of the second sentence, which contains the sentence particle *ašta*, the adverb *namma* “then, again” (with negation “no longer”), the preverb *šarā* (opposite to *anda* “in, inside”), and the negation *ŪL*.¹⁰⁹ This would imply a chiastic pattern of ABA'. These two ways of looking at the pattern of these sentences—AA'B or ABA'—draw attention to what is happening and it is

¹⁰⁸ This is an indeterminate preposed relative clause. See Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, pp. 424-425, §§30.59-61.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. also the grammatically similar sentence at the middle point of the five sentence parallelism in line i 16b'-17a' in example (62) on page 140, above. In that instance of parallelism, the central sentence similarly refers to death and lifelessness: *n=ašta parašduš ŪL¹⁷ uēzzi* The foliage is not coming out.

uncertain which is the predominant pattern since both ways “hold” of the text.¹¹⁰ The AA'B is supported by the grammar of the dependent *kuit* indefinite relative clause, though this clause may perhaps be reasonably interpreted with the third sentence (supporting the ABA' pattern). The grammar of the second sentence stands out as quite different from the first and third sentence, which supports the ABA' pattern. As noted in chapter 2, this kind of formal multiplicity is one way that aesthetic is experienced in written text.¹¹¹

Within the section as a whole, these three sentences (in example (73)) are the set-up for the final instance of parallelism in the section. All the details of the entrance to the underworld—the gates and their bars, the vessels that stand there, their construction, and what happens to things that go inside them—are an elaborate preamble for the final appeasement ritual incantation of the text, example (74).

(74)

¹⁸ *U ŠA* ^d*Telipinu karpin kardimiyattan* ¹⁹ *wašdul šāuar anda ēpdu*
n=at āppa lē uizzi

Let them (i.e., the vessels) hold in the wrath, cause of anger, sin, (and) sullenness of
Telipinu!

Let them not come back!

KUB 17.10 iv 18-19

Once again, the first sentence contains a list of Telipinu's dispositions; they are not separated and given their own sentence.¹¹² The second sentence is tied to it via the referential third person plural neuter clitic pronoun *=at*. While this instance of parallelism is unbalanced in

¹¹⁰ This use of the word “hold” to refer to opposing interpretations of a text portion is from Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*. See, for example, pages 2-3 of his book, where he refers to this as ambiguity and that this forms part of the basis for the beauty of a text portion.

¹¹¹ So Fabb, *Language and Literary Structure*, pp. 1-2, 215-216.

¹¹² Contrast this single sentence list with the same items separated out into their own sentences in KUB 17.10 iii 9b'-12'; each uses the verb *dāḥḥun* “I took.” Cf. also note 79, above.

terms of the length of each sentence, in light of the previous instance of parallelism about what generally happens when things go into one of the vessels (in example (73)), both of these sentences map on to the first two of its sentences. The first sentence calling for vessels to “hold in” the dispositions of Telipinu corresponds in some ways to the first sentence of example (73) and in one way to the second sentence. The indefinite relative sentence “what goes inside” is replaced with the definite dispositions of Telipinu. In other words, while the general principle is explained with an undefined element in example (73), it is applied to defined things in a particular case in example (74). Another correspondence between the first sentence of example (73) and the first sentence in example (74) is the use the adverbial *andan/anda* “inside/in.” The difference in the first sentence in example (74) from that in example (73), however, is the verb. The verb at the beginning of example (73) is an innocuous *andan paizzi* “goes in” whereas in example (74) is the more assertive and agentive *anda ēpdu* “let it hold in.” This verb communicates something more similar to the verbal phrase *šarā ŪL uizzi* “it does not come out” of the second sentence of example (73). And yet, the second sentence of example (74) is the sentence that corresponds more closely to the second sentence in example (73): *n=at āppa lē uizzi* “let it not come back” and *n=ašta namma šarā ŪL uizzi* “it no longer comes out,” respectively.

The correlation of these two instances of parallelism sets up an implied version of the *mahhan ... QATAMMA* incantation “just as... so also...”: ‘*just as* something goes into any of the bronze vessels with lead lids and iron bolts and never comes out and actually perishes inside... *so also*, let these vessels hold in the dispositions of Telipinu and let them not come back.’ Notice here, the final sentence of example (73), *anda=ad=an ḥarakzi* “it perishes inside,” is not repeated at the end of example (74). In other words, in example (73), the pattern of parallelism is AA'B (or ABA', cf. discussion above) and the pattern in example (74) is AA' without the B. However,

due to the similarity in structure of the two instances of parallelism, in terms of patterns and of semantics, the B element in example (73) is elided (a feature common in parallelism) in example (74) and though left unstated, it is nevertheless implied.

In sum, this section contains an eight sentence depiction of going along the “road of the Sun-deity” to set up the final ritual incantation of the text. This depiction is organized in three sub-units of parallelism that build to the conclusion that the underworld is where things perish and that that is where the negative dispositions of Telipinu should go and perish. The varieties of parallelism that are used give details of various items, but the manner of description is either not linear (as in example (71)) or is excessive in order to serve the circumstances they anticipate (as in example (72)). They also describe a general condition ascribed to the detailed items (example (73)). All these details contribute to the forcefulness and desired fate for the negative dispositions of Telipinu as expressed in the final instance of parallelism in the section: a ritual incantation (example (74)) constructed as an implied *mahhan ... QATAMMA* “just as... so also...” incantation (when combining example (73) with example (74)). The patterns of repeated words and phrases, as well as their variations, point to the perceptibility of the poetic function of language which contributes to the correlation of the general condition of the underworld and its vessels to the specific circumstance described by the incantation about Telipinu’s negative dispositions. For these reasons, I suggest that the manner of composition of this section can be described as poetry.

4.5 Summary: Poetry in the Disappearance of Telipinu

In this chapter, I have discussed several sections from the Disappearance of Telipinu in order to demonstrate the ways that individual sections are structured to create various discourse patterns that utilize different aspects of language to form what I argue is poetry. Broadly speaking, the dominant pattern in the poetry portions is parallelism. It was shown that there was

a great deal of variety in which instances of parallelism were constructed and the ways the poetic function of language was made dominant.

There were instances of two sentence parallelisms as well as up to five sentence structures. There were examples where the parallel sentences were restating very similar concepts and some that were very different. The use of grammar and semantics tied the sentences together while simultaneously drawing attention to certain aspects of the sentences to suggest different ways to interpret either the pattern or the meaning. This multiplicity or ambiguity is a fundamental part of what makes poetry poetry.¹¹³

By means of contrast, it was also shown that this text incorporates sections where the poetic function of language is less dominant than other functions, where, for example, the referential function is the dominant function. For instance, the account of Telipinu going away, taking good things of the world with him and hiding in the wilderness was expressed in a very straight-forward, sequential manner with very little poetic embellishment or ambiguity and should not be considered “poetry” the way other sections should.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Cf. the definition of poetry in the *OED*, as cited and discussed at the beginning of this chapter on pages 111ff. See also chapter 2.2, beginning on page 28, above for discussion of formal multiplicity and ambiguity as techniques for constructing aesthetic in structure.

¹¹⁴ The poetic function of language was not wholly absent in that section, even though it was not dominant. See discussion of example (58), beginning on page 134.

CHAPTER 5: THE ZALPA TEXT (CTH 3)

5.1 Introduction

The Zalpa Text is one that has long been known to have literary qualities.¹ The text begins with a queen who seems to give birth twice: once to thirty sons and then a second time to thirty daughters.² She raises only the daughters of the second birth while the sons of the first are sent down the river and raised by the gods, apparently in Zalpa.³ In addition to the motifs of multiple birth and children raised by gods, there is also an apparent use of the Indo-European literary motifs of donkeys being symbols of sexuality and incest between brothers and sisters for the challenging of social structures.⁴ It is easy, then, to expect the text to employ a variety of literary devices to accentuate a story line containing such motifs. And yet, as will be seen, on the

¹ The edition for this text is Heinrich Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973). See also Gary B. Holland and Marina Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative* (Pavia: Italian University Press, 2007).

² For a short list of other occurrences of this motif, see Marina Zorman, “CTH 3: The Conquest of Zalpa Justified,” in *VI Congresso Internazionale di Ittitologia Roma, 5-9 Settembre 2005*, ed. Alfonso Archi and Rita Francia (Roma: Istituto di Studi Sulle Civiltà dell’egeio e del vicino oriente, 2008), p. 861 note 3. See also Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon*, p. 53.

³ For the motif of “exposing a child” in such a way, see Zorman, “CTH 3: The Conquest of Zalpa Justified,” p. 861 note 4; Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, pp. 96-97.

⁴ See Watkins, “The Third Donkey: Origin Legends and Some Hidden Indo-European Themes”; Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, pp. 94-99. Watkins has also suggested, “This extraordinary prose text of prodigious multiple birth and incest as an origin tale may very well lay claim to Indo-European antiquity,” Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon*, p. 53. Gilan, on the other hand, notes that origin tales in Hittite are rare and instead points to the significance of the cities of Zalpa and Kaneš/Neša that suggests that this text might be an origin tale, Amir Gilan, “How Many Princes Can the Land Bear? – Some Thoughts on the Zalpa Text (CTH 3),” in *VI Congresso Internazionale di Ittitologia Roma, 5-9 Settembre 2005*, ed. Alfonso Archi and Rita Francia (Roma: CNR - Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà dell’Egeo e del Vicino Oriente, 2007), pp. 307-308. For an overview of the various themes and motifs in this text, see Haas, *Die hethitische Literatur: Texte, Stilistik, Motive*, pp. 20-26.

level of discourse patterns, the literary effects are minimal in comparison with, for example, the Disappearance of Telipinu.⁵

While the obverse of the primary exemplar, KBo 22.2, contains the story of the thirty sons and thirty daughters, the reverse side of the tablet tells a different story. It seems to report how a king of Ḫattuša subjugated the town of Zalpa and a character named Ḫappi; it does so apparently without the use of Indo-European motifs or the portrayal of divine involvement. However, even in this seemingly straightforward account, there are features that reveal the presence of lexical and grammatical choices that have the effect of focusing attention on the language itself; that is, the poetic function of language becomes discernible.⁶

Thus, one side of KBo 22.2 drips of Indo-European literary motifs while the other side uses none of them. While scholars have spent much time exploring the Indo-European motifs of the obverse and the possible relationship of the reverse to events and people in Anatolian history,⁷ less attention has been given to questions of *how* the motifs and portrayals of events are communicated in ways that draw attention to the language of the text itself.

This chapter will attempt to fill this gap. Focus will be placed on discourse patterns and modes of expression to make more clear that choices in grammar and of words were made in collaboration with other choices in grammar and of words to create literary effects. It will be

⁵ For discussion the literary effects of its discourse patterns, see chapter 4.

⁶ For discussion of the “poetic function of language, see chapter 2 beginning on page 34.

⁷ For a discussion of possible historical referents of the persons in the duplicate KBo 3.38 and the reverse of KBo 22.2, see Richard H. Beal, “The Predecessors of Ḫattušili I,” in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Gary Beckman, Richard H. Beal, and Gregory McMahon (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), pp. 21-24.

shown that each side of KBo 22.2 reveals choices at the beginning of their accounts that set up topics that later parts of each story refer back to and sometimes ironically reverse.⁸

5.2 KBo 22.2 Obverse: Thirty Sons and a Donkey

Similar to other texts included in this study, the Zalpa text is divided into discrete discourse units. While the discourse units in, for example, the Annals of Ḫattušili I (CTH 4) were self-contained and predominantly independent units, the units in the Zalpa text share a closer relationship since they all combine to portray the events of a single story. As such, in the course of the narrated events, characters undergo change.⁹ In the Zalpa text these changes are communicated incrementally across multiple discourse units. Since the tablet breaks off before the end of the story, a full analysis of the development of this story is impossible to complete. Focus will be placed on the cohesive ties and the patterns they create within and among the preserved discourse units.

Before discussing the ties and patterns that occur within this story, a short overview of the story is necessary as various parts of the story will be referred to throughout. The story begins with the queen of Kaneš/Neša giving birth to 30 sons. She sent them down the river where they were found by the gods and the gods pulled them out of the river; the gods raised the 30 sons. After some time passes, the queen gave birth again, but this time to 30 daughters and she raised them herself. At some undetermined point, the 30 sons set out back to Kaneš/Neša. They arrived at the town of Tamarmara where they have a conversation with the people of the town. During

⁸ For discussion of the notion of choice in discourse and as a definition of “style,” see chapter 2, especially sections 2.1.1 and 2.2.4.

⁹ For the concept of at least a single “change of state” of at least one character as the minimum requirement for a text to be a narrative, see Wolf Schmid, *Narratology: An Introduction*, trans. Alexander Starritt (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 2-3.

the conversation, they learn from the town's people that the queen of Kaneš/Neša had given birth to 30 daughters and that her sons had disappeared. The sons realize that they must have found their mother whom they had been searching for, so they set off for Kaneš/Neša from Tarmarmara in order to reunite with their mother, the queen. After they set out for Kaneš/Neša, the gods placed something in the sons with the result that they did not recognize their mother or sisters, thereby disrupting what could have been a joyous family reunion. Their mother had also not recognized them, so she gave her daughters to her sons for marriage. In spite of the gods' actions, the youngest son realized what was going on and called on his brothers to not touch their sisters because that is "not right." It is at this point that the tablet breaks off so that it is unknown what happened from that point on.

Throughout the following discussion, various parts of this story will be referred to when there are patterns or cohesive ties between those parts of the story and the discourse units under discussion.

5.2.1 Differentiating Discourse Units

A total of five discourse units can be identified before the text breaks. After the start of the text, these units are marked in one of two ways: (1) a lack of connecting particle (such as *nu*, *-a/-ma*, *š(u)-*, or *ta*) in a clause with a verb of motion (see bolded clause in example (75)¹⁰) or (2) method (1) plus a temporal marker (such as *mān* "when, while"; see bolded clause in example

¹⁰ On the obverse, this example contains the only marker of discourse division that does not have a temporal clause.

(76)¹¹; the relevant formulaic elements are bolded). Some of these units are very short and some are long.¹²

(75)
⁶ *mān* MU^{HLA} *ištarna pāir*
nu [MUNUS.LUGAL] *namma* 30 MUNUS.DUMU *ḥāšta*
⁷ *š=uš apašila šallanuškit*
DUMU.NITA^{MES} ***ā[ppa]***^{URU} ***Nēša yanzi*** (no connective particle)
⁸ *nu* ANŠE-in *nannianzi*

⁶ While the years passed, the [queen] again birthed 30 daughters. ⁷ She raised them herself. **The sons set out back to Neša.** ⁸ They were driving a donkey.

KBo 22.2 obv. 6-8 §2

(76)
^{4b} [DING]IR^{DIDL} -*š=a* DUMU^{MES} -*uš* A.AB.BA-*az* ⁵ *šarā dāir*
š=uš šallanuškir
 §2 ⁶ ***mān MU***^{HLA} ***ištarna pāir*** (no connective particle)
nu [MUNUS.LUGAL] *namma* 30 MUNUS.DUMU *ḥāšta*
⁷ *š=uš apašila šallanuškit*

^{4b-5} As for the gods, they took up the sons from the sea and they raised them. §2 ⁶ **While the years passed**, the [queen] again birthed 30 daughters. ⁷ She raised them herself.

KBo 22.2 obv. 4b-7 §1-2

The non-use of a connecting particle is also used within discourse units. These usages are predominantly at the beginning of reported speech¹³ as well as one of the markers of topic switch in the conversation between the thirty sons and the people of the city of Tamarmara: first the thirty sons speak and then the people of the city reply. This latter use of asyndeton may still be understood as marking a discourse unit division, but not a major division. Rather, it functions as

¹¹ Note that this example of this formula co-occurs with the only horizontal dividing line on the obverse of KBo 22.2. For the other occurrences of this discourse marking formula, see also KBo 22.2 obv. 8b, and 15b.

¹² The shortest is two clauses long; the longest is nineteen clauses long.

¹³ As described by Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, pp. 402-403, §29.48.

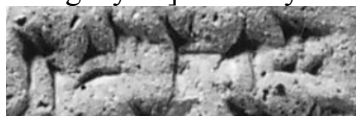
a “turn-taker”¹⁴ marker within a single discourse unit (see example (77), inner-discourse unit sub-divisions, sans connective particle, are justified left and the direct speech is indented).

(77)
¹¹ *UMMA DUMU*^{MES} (no connective particle)¹⁵
*ueš=a kuwapit aumen*¹⁶

¹⁴ See Jucker and Ziv, “Discourse Markers: Introduction,” p. 1.

¹⁵ Hoffner and Melchert identify the *-MA* in *UMMA* as the Akkadian clitic conjunction *-ma*, Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, §31.35, p. 440. However, from the standpoint of Akkadian grammar, *umma* is an adverbial particle used to introduce direct speech. See John Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), §15.4, pp. 135-136 and CAD U-W, p. 101, s.v., *umma*. Cf. also the second sentence of this text that introduces the queen’s speech in using *UMMA* and also a separate Akkadian conjunction *-MA*: *UMMA ŠI=MA* “And so she (said) thus” (KBo 22.2 obv. 1b).

¹⁶ The correction from *a-ru-me-en* (per copy) to *a-ú-me-en* here and in line 10 follows Heiner Eichner, “Indogermanische Chronik 20b: Anatolisch,” *Die Sprache: Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 20 (1974), p. 185; Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, p. 50 against Otten’s copy in KBo 22 and in his edition: Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa*, p. 30. Based on collation of the photo, the sign Otten reads as RU, does have characteristics of a typical RU sign: especially that the three vertical wedges do not penetrate the lower horizontal (photos of *a-ú-me-en* in lines 10 and 11 are at the bottom of this note). However, in the majority of occurrences of the Ú sign in KBo 22.2, where they must be the Ú sign, the verticals likewise do not penetrate the lower horizontal. See especially the Ú in *ú-e-ša* in line 11, which has only very faint traces of the tails of the verticals below the lower horizontal (photo below). For a further comparison, see the Ú sign near the end of line 14 (photos below). Another aspect of the Ú in *a-ú-me-en* in line 11 that can lead one to read RU is that the upper horizontal could be interpreted as the initial Winkelhaken of the RU sign. However, this need not necessarily be the case. Due to the pillowing of the clay, angle of the photo, as well as the fact that the heads of horizontals are often at such a slant on this tablet, this wedge shape need not be interpreted as a Winkelhaken. Nevertheless, at least one scholar still follows Otten’s reading. Both of Hoffner’s translations do so: “Where we came, a donkey [never(?)] climbs(?)” The sons said: “Where we came, a woman gives birth to [one or two] sons (at one time). Yet (our mother) begot us at one time!” Harry A. Hoffner, “The Queen of Kanesh and the Tale of Zalpa (1.71),” in *The Context of Scripture Volume 1: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 181 and note 7. His earlier translation is more idiomatic and interpretive while still assuming the verb *ar-*: “‘What have we come to, that a donkey can climb up (a staircase)?’ The boys countered: ‘What have we come to, that a woman can give birth to [thirty] children [in a single year]?’” Harry A. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2007), p. 82.



– Photo of *a-ú-me-en* in line 10

nu MUNUS[-za⁷] DUMU[.NITA h]āšī
¹² $nu=zza$ anzaš 1-ŠU h āšta
 UMMA LÚ^{MES} URU^{LIM} (no connective particle)
 ā[šm]a anze[l MUNUS.]LUGAL^{URU} Kaniš
¹³ 30 MUNUS.DUMU 1-ŠU h āšta
 Ú DUMU.NITA^{MES} merir

¹¹ Thus the sons, “As for we, wherever we looked, a woman [be]ars [one⁷] son(s) [...] ¹² She gave birth to us at 1 time. Then the men of the town (said), “yo[nder]¹⁷ is ou[r qu]een of Kaneš. ¹³ She gave birth to 30 daughters at one time. As for the sons, they disappeared.”

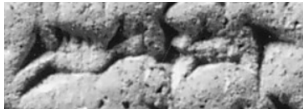
KBo 22.2 obv. 11-13 §2

5.2.2 The First Two Units

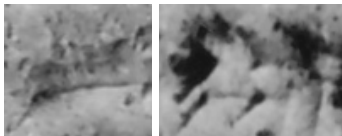
The first two units introduce the characters of the story. The first unit contains information about the birth of the 30 sons of the queen; the gods are also introduced. The second unit is about the 30 daughters. The first unit begins almost immediately with a speech, example (78).



– Photo of *a-ú-me-en* in line 11.



– Photo of *ú-e-ša* in line 11.



– Photos from different angles of the Ú in *ú-e-mi-ya-u-en* in line 14.

¹⁷ For āšma as “yonder,” see Harry A. Hoffner, “Hittite *a-aš-ma*,” *Die Sprache: Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 43, no. 1 (2002). See also Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, p. 146, §7.16. Also, the separation of line 12c from 13a as interpreted here, interprets āšma as more of a nominative demonstrative in a verbless clause than as the disassociative adverb. Cf. Hoffner’s final assessment in his article, “Goedegebuure and I see in *aši* and *āšma* a disassociation growing out of a distal demonstrative, which continues to function as a demonstrative,” Hoffner, “Hittite *a-aš-ma*,” p. 86, emphasis original. In contrast, most editions interpret 12c-13a as a single sentence, see Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, p. 39; Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa*, p. 7; Hoffner, “The Queen of Kanesh and the Tale of Zalpa (1.71),” p. 181.

(78)

¹ [MUNUS.LUGAL ^{URU}]Kaniš 30 DUMU^{MEŠ} 1^{EN} MU-anti ḫāšta
UMMA ŠI=MA

² [kī]ṣwa kuit walkuan ḫāšḫun

tuppuš šakanda šunnaš

³ nu DUMU^{MEŠ} ṣŠU andan zikēt

[š]ṣuš ID-a tar-naš

ID-š=a⁴ ANA A.AB.BA KUR ^{URU}Zalpuwa pēda[š]

[DING]IR^{DIDL}-š=a DUMU^{MEŠ}-uš A.AB.BA-az⁵ šarā dāir

šṣuš šallanuškir

¹ [The Queen of] Kaneš bore 30 sons in one year. And so she (said) thus, ² “What is [this] walkuan I bore?” She filled a container with grease. ³ She placed her sons inside. [And] she released them into the river. As for the river, ⁴ it carri[ed] (them) to the sea of the land of Zalpa. [The go]ds ⁵ took the sons up from the sea. They began to raise them.

KBo 22.2 obv. 1-5 §1

The whole unit is a straightforward sequential ordering of clauses.¹⁸ What is perhaps notable, however, is the amount of detail: the choices to report the queen’s speech, her preparations and actions of placing her sons inside the container, as well as the step-by-step details for how the sons ended up in Zalpa and what became of them. In light of how some other Hittite texts can be extremely minimal in the amount of detail reported in a portrayal of a series of events, the amount of detail here stands out. For example, in the Illuyanka myth (CTH 321), after the incipit, the first reported action has a major role in the story yet it is portrayed with just two sentences, example (79).

(79)

⁹ mān dIM-aš^{MUŠ} Illuyankašš=a¹⁰ INA ^{URU}Kiškilišša argatīēr

¹¹ nu=za^{MUŠ} Illuyankaš dIM-an [(tara)]ḫta

⁹ When the Storm-God and the serpent ¹⁰ fought in Kiškilišša. ¹¹ The serpent [(conqu)]ered the Storm-God.

¹⁸ Cf. Mieke Bal who notes that a story is encountered as a linear thing: “one word or image follows another; one sentence or sequence follows another,” Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), p. 68.

Other examples of minimal detail can be found in chapter 3 of this study where various conquest vignettes were given very little detail whereas others included great amounts of different kinds of detail. The amount of detail included in these other examples as well as at the beginning of the Zalpa text, constitute stylistic choices. The cohesive ties in this first unit of the Zalpa text, however, are minimal and do not match criteria for producing literary effects, whether ambiguity, formal multiplicity, or foregrounding.

One pattern that presents itself in this first unit that also contributes to increasing attention on the amount of detail in the unit is two correlated instances of repeated nouns. The repetition of nouns creates a rolling-forward pattern that resembles tail-head linkage without precisely constituting tail-head linkage. “Tail-head linkage is a discourse pattern which consists in repeating, at the beginning of a new sentence, the main verb of the preceding sentence for discourse cohesion.”²⁰ Instead of verbs being repeated, in lines 3b through 5a, two nouns are repeated: ÍD “river” and A.AB.BA “sea” in the sentences “she released the into the *river*. The *river* carri[ed] (them) to the *sea* of the land of Zalpa. [The go]ds took the sons up from the *sea*.” The connection between the two occurrences of ÍD is especially salient since the second occurrence is topicalized via the clitic conjunction *sa/ma*.

¹⁹ For edition, see Gary Beckman, “The Anatolian Myth of Illuyanka,” *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 14 (1982), pp. 12 and 18.

²⁰ Antoine Guillaume, “Subordinate Clauses, Switch-Reference, and Tail-Head Linkage in Cavineña Narratives,” in *Subordination in Native South-American Languages*, ed. Rik van Gijn, Katharina Haude, and Pieter Muysken (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2011), p. 109. Tail-head linkage can occur in Hittite texts, one instance can be found in the Disappearance of Telipinu, see example (61), beginning on page 138.

The second discourse unit has language that is parallel to the first even though it is one-third its length. After the marker of discourse unit shift (no connective particle plus a temporal clause with a verb of motion), the second and third clauses of this unit are highly similar and contain several repeated words of the first and last clause of unit one (example (80), compare with example (78) above).

(80)

⁶ *mān* MU^{HLA} *ištarna pāir*
nu [MUNUS.LUGAL] *namma* 30 MUNUS.DUMU *hāšta*
^{7a} *š-uš apašila šallanuškit*

⁶ While the years passed, the queen then bore 30 daughters. ^{7a} She raised them herself.
 KBo 22.2 obv. 6-7 §2

The second and third clauses in this unit are tied to the first and final clauses of the preceding unit. The effect of these ties is a focus on the contrasting elements. The second clause points to the birth of 30 daughters (MUNUS.DUMU in line 6b) instead of 30 sons (DUMU line 1a). The third clause points to the difference in who did the raising: while the gods raised the 30 sons (line 5b), the emphatic independent pronoun, *apašila* “herself,”²¹ highlights the contrast that the queen herself raised the 30 daughters (line 7a).

While the first clause is a dependent temporal clause that functions as a discourse marker for the transition to a new unit, it nevertheless also contains a cohesive tie with the first unit, that is perhaps of minor significance. The mention of “years” (MU^{HLA}) is a repetition of MU in 1^{EN} MU-*anti* “in one year” at the beginning of unit one.

The primary effect of the ties between the first two units is the contrasts that are set up by the ties. Aside from that, there are no indicators as articulated in chapter 2 of literary effects of

²¹ See Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, p. 279, §18.7.

discourse patterns within or between these two units. But with that said, there are also ties between these first two units and the final preserved discourse unit of the text; these ties do have literary effects.²²

In the final unit, in which the sons have arrived in Kaneš/Neša where their mother and sisters live, the gods have placed something in the sons thereby creating a situation where the sons can easily end up entering an incestuous marriage with their sisters. There are at least three cohesive ties between that final unit and the first two units of the text. For the sake of convenience, the final unit is supplied here as example (81).

(81)
^{15b} *mān* ^{URU} *Nēša pāir*
¹⁶ *nušmaš* DINGIR^{DIDL} *-eš tamaīn karātan daīr*
nu AMAŠŠUNU ¹⁷ [DUMU^{MEŠ} *-u*][?] *natta ganešzi*
nuzza DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} *ŠA ANA DUMU.NITA*^{MEŠ} *ŠA paiš*
¹⁸ [Ū IGI-] *ziaš* DUMU^{MEŠ} *nikuš(š)muš natta ganeššir*
appizziyaš-aššan ¹⁹ [ŠÀšši]
 [k] *ūšza nēkuš(š)ummuš daškēueni*
 [n] *u lē šaliktumari*
²⁰ [*natta-at*] *āra*
nu k[att]i-šmi šeš[teni lē...]

^{15b} When they went to Neša, ¹⁶ the gods put in them (an)other *karāt*. Their mother ¹⁷ does not recognize [the sons?]. She gave her daughters to her sons.

¹⁸ The older (lit. first) sons did not recognize their sisters, but the youngest (lit. last) ¹⁹ [in his heart]: These are our sisters we are taking! [] Do not go near [them]! ²⁰ [It is not?] right! [Do not?] sl[ee]p with them! [...]

KBo 22.2 obv. 15b-20 §2

This final preserved unit contains three cohesive ties to the beginning of the text. The mode of these ties is through the use of repetition in words as well as an instance of two words

²² The following will highlight cohesive ties between the final preserved unit and the first two units of this story and discuss the literary effects they produce. The discourse patterns *within* the final preserved unit, as well as the most pertinent aspects of the philological issues of this unit, will be discussed further below.

that, I argue, rhyme with each other. The effects of these three ties are somewhat different from one another, but they all combine to point to ironic reversals.

The repetitions include uses of the common verbs *dai-/tiya-* “to place, put (on)” and *dā-* “to take.” In the beginning of the text, the queen mother “placed her sons inside” (*andan zikēt*, line 3²³) the container that carried them down the river to the sea where “the gods took the sons up” (*šarā dāir*, lines 4b-5). These clauses correspond with the final section of the obverse in the following phrases: “the gods placed another *karāt*²⁴ in them (i.e., the sons)” (*šmaš ... dāir*, line 16a) and with the youngest son realizing, “these are our sisters we are taking” (*daškēueni*, line 19b).

For the verb *dai-/tiya-*, “to place,” the result of the queen’s action of *placing inside* is that the sons become separated from their mother. At the end of the story, the gods do a bit of *placing in* of their own and thereby disrupt the process of the sons reuniting with their mother: when the gods *place* “another *karāt*” in the sons, the sons forget that they are reuniting with their mother. In other words, both acts of *placing* result in separation of sons from their mother; the first separation was physical, the second, psychological. While the result is the same, the flow of the story reveals that the gods’ act of *placing* disrupts a wholesome reunion of the sons with their mother, a kind of reunion the sons were likely hoping would take place.²⁵

Furthermore, that the gods take action that appears to have a negative impact on the sons is perhaps surprising, at least to a modern reader, given that the gods had rescued the sons and

²³ The form *zikēt* is the imperfective form of the verb *dai-/tiya-* “to place, put.”

²⁴ For discussion of this word, see note 53 on page 190, below.

²⁵ That they, at a minimum, hoped to reunite with their mother, and be cognitively aware of it, is clear in lines 13c-15a: ^{13c} *nu=zza DUMU.NITA* ^{MEŠ} *karti=šmi* ¹⁴ *piran mēmīr kuin=wa šanḫiškiueni UMMA=NI š=an uemiyauen* ¹⁵ *uwatten* ^{URU} *Nēša paiwani* “And the boys said to themselves, ‘Whom are we seeking? Our mother! We found her. Come! We will go to Neša!’”

raised them to adulthood, as indicated in the first unit of the story. This raises questions about the motivations the gods might have had in both sets of their actions—rescuing and raising the sons as well as disrupting the reunion of the sons with their mother—, questions that can only be answered with speculation given the state of preservation of the text.

For the verb *dā-*, “to take,” its use in the beginning of the text is about the gods *taking* the sons out of the water in order to raise and nurture them. At the end of the story, the sons are the ones about to *take* women with the intention of marriage and therefore also, sexual intimacy. The problem is that this kind of *taking* is completely inappropriate since these women are their sisters.²⁶ Thus, the action of *taking* at the beginning of the text appears appropriate and even life saving whereas the *taking* at the end is incestuous, which one of the sons evaluates as [*natta=at*] *āra* “[it is not] right!”²⁷

²⁶ In the Hittite Laws, various forms of incestuous sexual relationships are forbidden and bear a consequence of death. For example, sexual relations with ones biological parents or children is not permissible (law §189). Also, it is not permissible for a man to have sexual relations with two free women who are sisters, though if the sexual relations with each happen in different locations so that the man is unaware that the two women are in fact sisters, then it is not an offense (law §191). See Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites: A Critical Edition*, pp. 149-151. However, brother-sister incest is not explicitly addressed in the Laws. Another source regarding regulation of sexual ethics, which does treat brother-sister incest as something customarily not practiced in Hittite society (among other scenarios of sexual activity), is the Treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Ḫuqqana of Ḫayaša, see transliteration, translation, and discussion of the relevant portions of this text in Cohen, *Taboos and Prohibitions in Hittite Society: A Study of the Hittite Expression natta āra* (‘not permitted’), pp. 79-88. One section of this text appears in example (82) on page 178, below. At the same time, it is not clear that the laws in the corpus of Hittite laws or the customs referred to in the Ḫuqqana treaty were followed—whether broadly in society or narrowly in the royal family—, or even invented at the time the present story was created.

²⁷ For a study of this evaluation in Hittite texts as well as its occurrence in the Zalpa text, see Cohen, *Taboos and Prohibitions in Hittite Society: A Study of the Hittite Expression natta āra* (‘not permitted’), and pp. 74-79 for discussion of the Zalpa text.

The third tie between the beginning of the story and the end of the preserved obverse is, as will I argue, an instance of rhyme that draws attention to a semantic reversal.²⁸ At the beginning of the text, the gods “raised”—*šallanuškir*—the sons and the queen “raised”—*šallanuškit*—the daughters. In the last unit of the preserved obverse, the sons command their brothers, “Do not touch”—*lē šaliktumari*—their sisters. While these verbs are different, the forms have a variety of phonological similarities. All begin with the syllable *šal*, they contain a K-consonant (a root consonant in one, part of the imperfective morpheme *-ške-* in the other), the third plural form *šallanuškir* along with the second plural form *šaliktumari* both contain an R-consonant and I-vowel in their respective verbal endings (*-ir* and *-ri*, respectively), and similarly, the endings of both the third singular form *šallanuškit* and the second plural form *šaliktumari* contain a T-consonant.

Since, as Jakobson asserts of rhyme, “any conspicuous similarity in sound is evaluated in respect to similarity and/or dissimilarity in meaning,”²⁹ it is necessary to investigate the meaning of these two verbs, especially one in light of the other. The semantic meaning of the *šallanu-* “to

²⁸ With the term “rhyme,” the present discussion follows the definition in Brogan and Cushman, when they say “that *rhyme* is the phonological correlation (see EQUIVALENCE) of differing semantic units” T.V.F. Brogan and Stephen Cushman, “Rhyme,” in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Roland Greene and Stephen Cushman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 1184. They discuss “12 criteria for the analysis and categorization of rhyme types” (p. 1186). They state that the sixth criterion is “By the *relationship between the sonal figuration created in the rhyme and the semantic fields* of the words” (p. 1188). They explain this criterion, saying, “Rhyme is a figure of sound; but, of course, words in poetry, as in language, bear sense, and both levels of information are delivered to the auditor or reader not separately but simultaneously: rhyme, therefore, figures meaning” (p. 1188). They build upon this explanation regarding the effect of rhyme by explaining the ways that rhyme relates to meaning: “of such semantic figuration, there are two possibilities: either sound similarity can imply semantic similarity in words otherwise so unrelated that, in prose, no relation would have ever been noticed; or sound similarity can emphasize contrast in two words that echo” (p. 1188).

²⁹ Jakobson, “Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,” p. 372. Cf. Brogan and Cushman, “Rhyme,” as summarized in note 28, above.

raise” verbs at the beginning of the text may be considered to have some semantic overlap with the verb *šalik*- “to touch” at the end of the text. The verb *šallanu*- “to raise” has to do with maintaining close proximity to children providing for their needs as they become adults; this process would include appropriate, wholesome contact.³⁰

The other word, *šalik*- “to touch,” similarly involves both touching as well as indicating close proximity. However, in many, though not all, of the examples cited in CHD, it refers either to actions that are violent or to actions that ‘move inward’ that result in some sort of pollution. CHD places the occurrence in KBo 22.2 obv. 19 within meaning 3—“to violate (a woman), to have (illicit?) sexual intercourse with, (lit. illicitly enter/penetrate)” (Š, p. 103, s.v., *šalik*- 3 c)—and cites it along with a usage in the Hittite Laws that is about inappropriate sexual contact. Thus, wholesome, appropriate contact occurs between the gods and sons as well as between the queen and her daughters at the beginning of the text, but at the end of the text, inappropriate contact was about to take place between the sons and the daughters, so the youngest son uses the prohibitive *lē šaliktumari* “do not touch (them)” in an attempt to block it from happening. Furthermore, the context of the two occurrences of the verb *šallanu*- “to raise” at the beginning of the text draws attention to the separation of the sons from not only their mother, but also from their sisters. The command of the youngest son, then, is calling for this separation, at least from their sisters, to be maintained. I argue, then, that the use of the verb *šaliktumari* “to touch” in the final preserved unit, in rhyming with the two occurrences of the verb *šallanu*- “to raise” in the beginning of the text, contribute to the literary effect of reversing the notion of wholesome

³⁰ For the definition of examples of, see CHD Š, pp. 86-88.

contact to unwholesome contact, along with the verbs *dai-/tiya-* “to place” and *dā-* “to take,” as discussed above.

So, I have suggested that the verb *šaliktumari* “to touch” was used as a cohesive tie in order to make this discourse unit (that is, KBo 22.2 obv. 15b-20) take part in drawing attention to and contrasting with the first two discourse units of this text: KBo 22.2 obv. 1-5 and obv. 6-7. However, the choice of this verb can also be understood as completely appropriate and perhaps even expected given the semantic context of its use. If this is the case, it would undermine the validity of my suggestion that this verb functions as a tie to the beginning of the text to contribute to highlighting an ironic reversal. In other words, if this word ordinarily occurs and is expected by the semantics of the context, then its occurrence here may not be tied to the verb *šallanu-* at the beginning of the text.

A reason to believe my suggestion that the verb *šalik-* “to touch” does constitute a tie with the verb *šallanu-* has to do with certain kinds of ‘sexual-contact-as-wrong’ formulaic evaluations in Hittite texts. The CHD cites an occurrence of the verb *šalik-* from the Hittite Laws to refer to inappropriate sexual contact. This law deals with a similar, though not an exact, situation as that in the Zalpa text. But more importantly, the law does not use the evaluative phrase *natta(=at) āra* “(it is) not right” with the verb *šalik-* as the Zalpa text does. Instead, it uses the noun *hūrkil*, which Hoffner translated as “it is an unpermitted sexual pairing”; a noun that occurs several times in the laws.³¹

³¹ Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites: A Critical Edition*, p. 154, see also the discussion of this noun on p. 224. Cohen observes that this noun occurs seven times in the laws and that *āra-* is not used (Cohen, *Taboos and Prohibitions in Hittite Society: A Study of the Hittite Expression natta āra* (‘not permitted’), pp. 88-93).

While the verb *šalik-* does not co-occur with *natta(=at) āra* in the corpus of Laws, they also never occur together in any other preserved Hittite text.³² What does occur is the evaluation *natta(=at) āra* “(it is) not right” with the verb “to take” (*dā-*) in the sexual sense. For example, in the Hūqqana Treaty (CTH 42), Šuppiluliuma imposes restrictions on his vassal and new brother-in-law, Hūqqana, on the basis of a custom in Hatti-land, example (82). He is prohibited from brother-sister incest.

(82)
^{28'} ANA KUR ^{URU} Hatti=ma=kan šāk[*l*]aiš duq[*qa*]ri
^{29'} ŠEŠ-aš[*z*]a NIN=ŠU ^{MUNUS} ānninniyamin ŪL d[*ā*]i
^{30'} ŪL=at āra
kuiš=ma=at iezi apeniš[ūw]anaš uttar
^{31'} n=aš ^{URU} Hattuši ŪL hūiššūizzi
aki=pa¹⁹[(t)šš]an³³
^{32'} šumenzan KUR-e dampūpi kuit
anda=at za[hḫ]an
^{33'} ŠA ŠEŠ=ŠU=za DAM=ŠU ^{MUNUS} ānninniyamin da[š]kan[*zi*]
^{34'} ^{URU} Hattuši=ma=at Ū[L] āra

^{28'} As for in the land of Hatti the custom is observed: ^{29'} a brother does not **take** his sister as consort[?]. ^{30'} **It is not right**. Now the one who does such a thing, ^{31'} will not stay alive in Hattuša. Rather he will die there. ^{32'} Because your land is barbaric, in it, there is conflict, ^{33'} they regularly **take** the wife of his brother as consort[?]. ^{34'} But in Hatti, **it is not right**.

KBo 5.3 rev. iii 28'-34' §29'

The evaluation *ŪL(=at)* (= *natta(=at)*) *āra* regarding the ‘taking’ (*dā-*) of a woman inappropriately occurs twice in this section. In the following sections of this text, Šuppiluliuma further discusses a variety of situations that Hūqqana might attempt to exploit in order ‘to take’ (*dā-*) other women sexually and each time Šuppiluliuma declares “(it is) not right” (*natta(=at) āra*). In none of those contexts does the word *šalik-* occur. Therefore, from the standpoint of semantics and formulaic language, in a context where the verb *dā-* “to take” is used to refer to a sexual encounter and is

³² According to a search of the files of the Hittite Dictionary project of the University of Chicago.

³³ Text and translation follows CHD Š, p. 140, s.v., -šān B 2 d 1'.

then evaluated as ‘bad,’ via *natta(=at) āra* “(it is) not right,” the inclusion of *šalik-* “to touch” between the verb *dā-* “to take” and the evaluative *natta(=at) āra*, “(it is) not right,” in the Zalpa text (in example (89) above) is entirely unnecessary to communicate a negative evaluation. From the perspective of formulaic ways of giving a negative evaluation, the use of *šalik-* “to touch” is therefore unexpected. I suggest, then, that my observation is valid; namely, that the verb *šalik-* “to touch” was deliberately included to function as a cohesive tie in order to contribute to connecting the final preserved unit to the first two discourse units of the Zalpa text by means of rhyme and semantic contrast (via the negation *lē*) with the two occurrences of the verbs *šallanu-* “to raise” (both occurring within the first seven lines of the Zalpa Text).³⁴

5.2.3 Units Three and Four

The third discourse unit is marked with a lack of connective particle, a verb of motion, and a topic shift. The text transitions from the actions of the queen and the gods to the first actions performed by the 30 sons (example (83)).

(83)
^{7b} DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} *ā[ppa]* ^{URU} *Nēša yanzi*
^{8a} *nu ANŠE-in nannianzi*

^{7b} The sons are going b[ack] to Neša. ^{8a} And they are driving a donkey.

KBo 22.2 obv. 7b-8a §2

³⁴ This line of argumentation regarding the evaluation of rhyme as salient to the poetics of the text follows Jakobson and Culler. See discussion of this point in chapter 2, especially pp. 39-42. Along these lines, also applicable is Shklovsky’s comment on parallelism regarding the association of concepts that are not identical: “the perception of disharmony in a harmonious context is important in parallelism. The purpose of parallelism, like the general purpose of imagery, is to transfer the usual perception of an object into the sphere of a new perception—that is, to make a unique semantic modification,” Shklovsky, “Art as Technique,” p. 21. While the rhyme of the forms of *šallanu-* and *šalik-* are not, strictly speaking, an instance of parallelism, nevertheless the rhyme establishes an association that “transfers the usual perception” of these verbs individually “into the sphere of a new perception” in their combination.

In this short section, the only repeated element is the use of the present tense in both clauses. An unusual feature of this unit is the inclusion of the mode of transportation (in line 8a). In most narrations of movement of people in Hittite texts, the mode of transportation is not mentioned.³⁵ The first clause in this unit would have been completely sufficient to not only signal a discourse unit change, but also to subsume the entirety of the sons' travel. As will be seen in the following unit, the donkey becomes the initial topic of conversation, which likely explains its mention in this unit: to introduce a topic before it is discussed in a more in-depth manner.

The fourth discourse unit begins with a lack of connective particle, a temporal marker, and a verb of motion, without a topic shift (example (84)). The remainder of the unit contains five speeches, the first four are a conversation between the people of Tamarmara and the sons, the last is either a speech by the sons to each other or, for the most part, an inner-monologue (example (85)). Each of these speeches may be considered their own sub-discourse units within the larger discourse unit of the dialogue.

(84)

^{8b} *mān* ^{URU} *Tamar[mara]* *arir*

^{8b} When they arrived at the city of Tamar[mara].

KBo 22.2 obv. 8b §2

(85)

^{8c} *nu taršikanzi*

⁹ *kāni-wa tunnakkiš inutten*

nu-wa [ANŠE]-iš arkatta

¹⁰ *UMMA LÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{LIM}*

kuwapit aumen

nu ANŠE-iš [ark]atta [_ _]

³⁵ No mode of transportation for Hattušili is mentioned in CTH 4, the Annals of Hattušili I. The only type of transportation mentioned are the wagons captured as plunder and used to transport plunder. Similarly, in the Ten Year Annals of Muršili II, Muršili says many times that he “went” to a place and attacked it, but never mentions the mode of his going. See the translation of this text by Beal, “The Ten Year Annals of Great King Murshili II of Hatti (2.16),” pp. 82-90.

¹¹ *UMMA DUMU*^{MEŠ}
ueš=a kuwapit aumen
nu MUNUS[-za² 1] DUMU[NITA 1-ŠU² h]āši
¹² *nu=zza anzaš 1-ŠU hāšta*
UMMA LÚ^{MEŠ} *URU*^{LIM}
ā[š=ma] anze[l MUNUS.]LUGAL^{URU} *Kaniš*
¹³ *30 MUNUS.DUMU 1-ŠU hāšta*
Ú DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} *merir*
nu=zza DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} *karti=šmi*¹⁴ *piran mēmīr*
kuin=wa šanḫiškiueni UMMANI
ša=an uemiyauen
^{15a} *uwatten*^{URU} *Nēša paiwani*

^{8c} And they began to speak, ⁹ “Look here, heat up the inner chamber, the [donkey] copulates.” ¹⁰ Thus the men of the town (replied), “Where(ever) we look, a donkey [cop]ulates” [...] ¹¹ Thus the sons, “As for us, wherever we looked, a woman [be]ars [one²] son [at one time²].” ¹² She gave birth to us at one time. Then the men of the town (said), “Yo[nder] is ou[r qu]een of Kaneš. ¹³ She gave birth to 30 daughters at one time. As for the sons, they disappeared.” And the boys to themselves, ¹⁴ said, “For whom are we seeking? Our mother! We found her! ¹⁵ Come!, we will go to Neša.”

KBo 22.2 obv. 8c-15a §2

It must be noted that this passage is heavily debated by Hittitologists. The main point of contention is the meaning of the verb *arkatta* (in lines 9 and 10) as well as its relationship to the preceding clause in line 9 (*kāni=wa tunnakkiš inutten*), the meaning and implication of which is also not entirely clear.³⁶ Otten left *arkatta* untranslated.³⁷ Many assume the meaning of the middle voice of *ark-* which is understood to mean “to mount, to cover, to copulate”³⁸ as opposed

³⁶ The form of *tunnakkiš* is unusual and its meaning is not entirely certain. For discussion of this word, see Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa*, p. 28; Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, pp. 47-49. Cohen characterizes the semantics of this clause in the context as “baffling,” Yoram Cohen, *Taboos and Prohibitions in Hittite Society: A Study of the Hittite Expression natta āra* (‘not permitted’) (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2002), p. 74 note 327.

³⁷ “Hier die Halle habt ihr eingeheizt und (auch) die Esel ... sich,” Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa*, p. 7. So also Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, p. 39. Cf. Holland and Zorman’s commentary on this word in Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, pp. 49-50.

³⁸ Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, p. 203; Jaan Puhvel,

to the homonym *ark-*, only in the active, which means “to cut off, to divide.”³⁹ Calvert Watkins has argued that the donkey and this action of *arkatta* is consistent with similar themes of horses and donkeys in other Indo-European cultures and therefore should be taken as a symbol of sexuality.⁴⁰

I will proceed under the assumption that *arkatta* in the Zalpa text refers specifically to the act of sexual intercourse by the donkey. This does not necessarily solve any logistical problems regarding the circumstances of the *arkatta*, nor its relationship to the preceding clause: *kāni-wa tunnakkiš inutten* “heat up the inner chamber.” Whatever the meaning of this clause as well as the relationship it has to the donkey having sex, the function of the donkey in this discourse unit is clear: the donkey is the catalyst for, or at a minimum the first topic of, the conversation between the 30 sons and the town’s people.⁴¹

Therefore, we will turn to consider the structure of the conversation between the sons and the people of Tamarmara as well as what is actually happening in it. The conversation quickly

Hittite Etymological Dictionary Vol. 1: Words Beginning with A (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 142-143. So Gilan, who translates line 9 as follows: “Heizt hier im Innengemach, un der E[sel] wird besprungen,” Gilan, *Formen und Inhalte althethitischer historischer Literatur*, p. 182. This word in this text has also been understood to include the meaning “climb” (see translation by Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, p. 82. and commentary by Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, pp. 49-50).

³⁹ Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, p. 204.

⁴⁰ Watkins, “The Third Donkey: Origin Legends and Some Hidden Indo-European Themes,” p. 71. Zorman states that this theme is more broadly present than just in Indo-European; it also occurs in ancient Egypt, Marina Zorman, “That Donkey Was Lame!,” in *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Hittitology, 28 August-1 September 2017* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Forthcoming), p. 4*.

⁴¹ Possibly the best solution is that the donkey having sex is tying it to—at an early, perhaps undeveloped, stage—the Indo-European theme of a donkey as a symbol of sexuality. See Watkins, “The Third Donkey: Origin Legends and Some Hidden Indo-European Themes,” pp. 71, 76-77.

transitions from topic to topic, with each group speaking only up to three sentences before the other takes over.

As noted above, the discourse unit containing the dialogue is marked by asyndeton, a temporal clause, and a verb of motion.⁴² Following this discourse marker, the dialogue begins. The direct speeches of the dialogue are organized in a paneled structure with three panels. A paneled structure is a structure in which a block of text is organized into smaller blocks of text that correspond to each other.⁴³ In essence, paneling may be understood as form of parallelism where instead of single words, clauses, or sentences being paralleled to other adjacent single words, clauses, or sentences, a discourse chunk of two or more sentences may be paralleled to adjacent discourse chunks of two or more sentences.⁴⁴ The first two (of three) panels of the dialogue contain one speech from each of the two parties. The third panel contains a shift from the pattern of the first two by excluding the people of Tamarmara, among other distinctive features that will be discussed below. In this way, similar to how parallelism can be analyzed, the paneled structure of this unit is AA'B where panels 1 and 2 are closely connected and panel 3 contains a shift, just as an instance of three clause parallelism might.⁴⁵ The first panel is from lines 8c-10 and the second is from lines 11-13b, example (86).

(86)

Panel 1

^{8c} *nu taršikanzi*

⁹ *kāni~~z~~wa tunnakkiš inutten*

⁴² As noted above regarding example (84).

⁴³ According to Henry Parunak, the term “panel” is used “to indicate a section of text that has two or more correspondents to another section,” Henry Parunak, “Structural Studies in Ezekiel,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1978), p. 62.

⁴⁴ Cf. the definition of parallelism in O’Connor and Greenstein, “Parallelism,” p. 997.

⁴⁵ For an example of three clause parallelism where the pattern AA'B is one way to interpret its structure, see discussion of example (73) beginning on page 157 of chapter 4.

nu=wa [ANŠE]-iš *arkatta*
¹⁰ *UMMA* LÚ^{MES} URU^{LIM}
kuwapit aumen
nu ANŠE-iš [*ark*]atta [_ _]

Panel 2

¹¹ *UMMA* DUMU^{MES}
ueš=a kuwapit aumen
nu MUNUS[-za[?] 1] DUMU[.NITA 1-ŠU[?] *h*]āši
¹² *nu=zza anzaš 1-ŠU hāšta*
UMMA LÚ^{MES} URU^{LIM}
ā[š=ma] anze[l MUNUS.]LUGAL^{URU} Kaniš
¹³ 30 MUNUS.DUMU 1-ŠU *hāšta*
Ù DUMU.NITA^{MES} merir

Panel 1

^{8c} And they began to speak, ⁹ “Look here, heat up the inner chamber, the [donkey] is copulating.” ¹⁰ Thus the men of the town (replied), “Where(ever) we look, a donkey [cop]ulates.” [...]

Panel 2

¹¹ Thus the sons, “As for us, wherever we look, a woman [be]ars [one[?]] son [at one time[?]].”
¹² She gave birth to us at one time.” Then the men of the town (said), “Yo[nder] is ou[r qu]een of Kaneš. ¹³ She gave birth to 30 daughters at one time. As for the sons, they disappeared.”

KBo 22.2 obv. 8c-13b §2

These two panels are unique in that both are about different topics: the first about the donkey copulating and the second about women giving birth. The first panel is internally cohesive by means of the twice repeated clause ANŠE-iš *arkatta* “the donkey is copulating.”

The second panel is more complex, but similarly cohesive, particularly with the three uses of the verb *haš-* “to give birth.” In fact, within the second panel there are multiple linguistic correspondences between the speech of the sons and that of the people of the city that show a deep connection between the two. First, there is a conceptual contrast of the first statement of the sons—*ueš=a kuwapit aumen* “as for us, where(ver) we look”—with the last statement of the people of the city—*Ù DUMU.NITA^{MES} merir* “as for the sons, they disappeared.” The verbs *au-*

“to see” and *merr-* “to disappear” should be thought of as antonyms since they both have to do with visual perception. Second, the second statements of each party similarly contrast with each other: *nu* MUNUS[-*za*⁷ 1] DUMU[.NITA 1-ŠU⁷ *h*]āš*i* “a woman [be]ars [one⁷] son [at one time⁷]” contrasts with 30 MUNUS.DUMU 1-ŠU *h*āš*ta* “she gave birth to 30 daughters at one time.” Finally, the third statement of the sons corresponds with the first statement of the people of the city by their uses of the independent first person pronoun: *nu=zza* *anzaš* 1-ŠU *h*āš*ta* “She gave birth to us at one time” and *ā[š=ma]* *anze[l* MUNUS.]LUGAL^{URU} *Kaniš* “Yo[nder] is ou[r] queen of Kaneš.”⁴⁶ These linguistic and conceptual correspondences within the second panel reveal a chiasmic internal structure of the speeches: A, B, and C, respectively, for each statement of the sons’ speech; C’, B’, and A’, respectively, for each statement of the speech by the people of the city. The C and C’ statements are most prominent given the way the similar sounding first person independent pronouns, *anzaš* and *anze[l*, respectively, make the topic of the statements more immediate to the speakers.

In addition to internal cohesion, the first two panels are connected to each other by means of a repeated clause with a contrastive topic as well as by the conceptual inference of the repeated clause. The repeated clause is *kuwapit aumen* “where(ever) we look.” The first occurrence of this clause was spoken by the people of the city (Panel 1, in line 10b) and the second occurrence by the sons (Panel 2, in line 11b). The switch in topic, as noted above, is marked by the first person plural independent pronoun *ueš* with clitic *=a* (*ueš=a kuwapit aumen*

⁴⁶ It must be noted that the third statement of the sons also corresponds with the second statement of the people of the city: both clauses have the verbal phrase 1-ŠU *h*āš*ta* “she gave birth at one time.” This correspondence, while true and relevant, has less saliency than the connection between the third statement of the sons with the first statement of the people of the city. The contrastive topic marked by the use of the independent pronoun, in my view, is hierarchically more prominent to the flow and interconnectedness of the speeches.

“as for us, where(ver) we look”). The conceptual inference of the two instances of this clause is that the content of what is seen is considered by the speakers to be normal and/or frequently occurring. In this way, while the topics of the first two panels are different—one about donkeys copulating and one about women giving birth to one child at a time—the use of the phrase “where(ver) we look” in both panels implies a conceptual similarity in the content of what is seen: namely, that both are occurrences in life that normally or frequently happen. This mode of conversation sets up a conceptual foundation with which the sons can contrast by bringing up their *not* normal situation: that there are 30 of them, born at the same time.

After the people of the city’s final response reveals enough information to convince the sons that their search has been successful, the final panel of the dialogue changes completely in its style from the first two. This shift is marked in the discourse by how the next speech is introduced: from Akkadian *UMMA* “thus (says)” in the first two panels, to Hittite *zza* ... *kartišmi piran mēmīr* “they said to themselves” (lit., “they spoke before their hearts”) in the third panel. I suggest the latter expression indicates that the beginning of the speech is an inner monologue, example (87).

(87)

Panel 3

^{13c} *nuzza* DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} *kartišmi* ¹⁴ *piran mēmīr*
kuin=wa šanḫiškiueni
UMMA=NI
š=an uemiyauen
¹⁵ *uwatten*
^{URU} *Nēša paiwani*

Panel 3

And the boys said to themselves, ¹⁴ said, “Whom are we seeking? Our mother! And so we found her. ¹⁵ Come! Let us go to Neša!”

KBo 22.2 obv. 13c-15a §2

I suggest that the first sentence introduces an inner monologue that each of the sons has with himself⁴⁷ and then, in the final two sentences, they speak out-loud to each other as indicated by the second person plural imperative *uwatten* “come!” plus the cohortative *paiwani* “let us go!” Regardless of whether this suggestion is correct, the use of *ker* “heart” in the speech introduction formula was also included as a way to set up the final preserved section of the obverse. In the final preserved section, nouns and verbs in the same semantic range as the noun *ker/ŠÀ* “heart” occur a total of four times in ten sentences.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ There are a few reasons motivating this interpretation. First, the speech introduction formula *zza ... kartišmi piran mēmīr* “said before their hearts” lends itself to this interpretation. While this construction in this text appears to be entirely unique within the Hittite texts discovered to date, there is an analogous construction that is clearly indicating inner monologue using the noun *ZI* “mind, soul” instead of *ker* (*ŠÀ*) “heart”: *zza ... (PANI) ZI-ni EGIR-pa mema-* “says to (before) his/her mind.” See examples in CHD L-N s.v., *mema-* 9b and 9c, along with the present construction (which is cited in s.v., *mema-* 9a):

nu=za dElleluš PANI Z[I-Š]U memiškiuwan dāiš

“And Enlil began to speak to himself”

(CHD L-N p. 260, s.v., *mema-* 9b; lit. “to/before his mind”).

[(nu=za dI)]ŠTAR-iš ZI-ni EGIR-pa memiškizzi

“Then Ishtar said to herself”

(CHD L-N p. 260, s.v., *mema-* 9c).

nu=za mahḥan kūn memian ZI-ni EGIR-pa kiššan AQBI

“And when I had recalled this word thus to myself”

(CHD L-Np. 260, s.v., *mema-* 9c).

As things that can be spoken to and from, *ker/ŠÀ* “heart” and *ZI* “mind, soul” semantically overlap. For example:

[kinun]a=mu=za ammel DINGIR-YA ŠÀ-ŠU ZI-ŠU ḥūmantet kardit kīnuddu nu=mu

wašdul=mit ^{25'} *[tēd]du n=e=zz(š)an ganešmi*

“[No]w let my god open his **heart** and **mind** to me with all (his) heart and tell me my sin (so that) I may recognize them”

(CHD L-N, p. 258, s.v., *mema-* 4 g).

⁴⁸ These words include the somewhat obscure noun *karāt* “innards; inner being?” (for discussion, see note 53 on page 190, below), the cognitive awareness verb *ganešš-* “to recognize” (see final example in note 47 above for how this verb is in the same semantic range as *ker* “heart”), and the noun *ker/ŠÀ* “heart,” that I argue should be restored in line 19 (for discussion see the Philological Excursus beginning on page 190, below). The use of *ker/ŠÀ* “heart” in line 19 similarly refers to inner monologue of the youngest son followed by a first person plural indicative verb, which is then followed by volitive verbs as here.

As for the internal structure of Panel 3, the first person plural occurs in all but one clause tying the unit together: three verbs and one Akkadogram with a first person plural clitic pronoun. The verb *uwatten* is a second plural imperative whose function is to indicate that the following verb, formally a present indicative, should be interpreted as a cohortative.⁴⁹ Aside from the climactic content of the unit, there are no patterns that have a literary effect. The final clause of the panel also marks the ending the dialogue scene to preview the action of the following scene: the sons are traveling to the town where their mother is queen in order to reunite with her.

5.2.4 The Final Preserved Unit

The next sentence in the text contains the final (preserved) discourse marker introducing the last unit on the obverse side of KBo 22.2: no connective particle, a temporal clause with a verb of motion, example (88).

(88)
^{15b} *mān* ^{URU} *Nēša pāir*

When they went to Neša.

KBo 22.2 obv. 15b §2

Following this discourse marker, the final unit recounts how the trajectory towards a wholesome, joyous reunion is disrupted by divine action leading to the potential for an incestuous brother-sister marriage. In this section there are several different repetitions that tie it together, the most prominent of which is the reiteration of lexemes and synonyms referring to mental perception, example (89).

(89)
¹⁶ *nu-šmaš* DINGIR^{DIDL} *-eš tamaīn karātan daīr*

⁴⁹ The cohortative in Hittite is the same morphological form as the present tense form. See Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, p. 314, §23.5 for explanation.

nu AMAŠUNU¹⁷ [DUMU^{MEŠ}-u]š⁵⁰ natta ganešzi
 nu=zza DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ}ŠA ANA DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ}ŠA paiš
¹⁸ [Û IGI-]ziaš⁵¹ DUMU^{MEŠ} nikuš(š)muš natta ganeššir
 appezziyaš=aššan¹⁹ [ŠÀšši]
 [k]ūš=za nēkuš(š)ummuš daškēuen[i]
 [n]u lē šaliktumari
²⁰ [natta=at²] āra
 nu k[att]i=šmi šeš[teni lē²...] ⁵²

⁵⁰ This restoration is likely, based both on semantic expectations as well as on comparison of the preserved sign traces with the writing of DUMU^{MEŠ}-uš in obv. line 4 (for the text and translation, see example (76) on page 166, above).

⁵¹ Otten, followed by Holland and Zorman, restores [ḫa-an-te-ez-]zi-aš, making this clause asyndetic (Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa*, p. 6; Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, p. 31). There are two reasons to favor the proposed restoration of [Û IGI-]zi-aš: (1) the gap is too small to fit the signs [ḫa-an-te-ez] and (2) asyndeton is not expected here. Asyndeton is most usually used to mark the start of a new discourse unit or is used in direct speech. This clause is not part of a speech. Also, this clause continues with the narrative sequence begun in the preceding lines, lines 15b-17b, and develops it in this and the following lines until the tablet breaks off a couple of lines later. Thus, a discourse division is not expected. Rather, the semantics of these lines (lines 16-19) suggest a topic shift has taken place: first the mother did not recognize the sons (lines 16-17) and then the older sons did not recognize their sisters (line 18a), but the younger ones did (lines 18b-19a). Topic shift is normally marked either with clitic =a/=ma or the free-standing Akkadogram Û, (Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, p. 396-397, §29.28-30). There are two options to change Otten's restoration to include one of these markers: [Û IGI-]zi-aš or [ḫa-an-te-ez-]zi-ša'. Since the AŠ sign is clear and there seems, as noted above, to be limited space in the break before the mostly preserved ZI sign, the former restoration is preferable. However, it must still be noted that the latter option would make the parallelism with the form at the beginning of the following sentence more overt by using the same clitic =a (beginning at the end of line 18), which also contains a topic switch: ap-pé-ez-zi-ya-ša-aš-ša-an (appezziyaš=aššan) "As for the younger (lit. last)..."

⁵² Not noted by others, on the photos available on the *Konkordanz*, upper traces of the EŠ sign appear to be preserved. The rest of the restoration follows CHD, Š, p. 103, s.v., šalik(i)-. Gilan does not restore the negation nor the second person ending and has instead: š[e-eš-ker² ...] "aber [sie] schl[iefen] mit ihnen," Gilan, *Formen und Inhalte althethitischer historischer Literatur*, pp. 182-183. Similarly, Holland and Zorman translate "yet they sle[ep] with them," Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, p. 39. However, Gilan's translation "aber" does not fit well with the conjunction nu nor with the sense of the sentences before it.

¹⁶ The gods put in them (an)other *karāt*.⁵³ Their mother ¹⁷ does not recognize [the sons?]. She gave her daughters to her sons. ¹⁸ As for the older (lit. ‘first’) sons, they did not recognize their sisters. As for the youngest (lit. ‘last’), ¹⁹ [in his heart?]: [Th]ese are our sisters we are taking! Do not touch (them)! ²⁰ [It is not?] right! [Do not?] sl[eepe?] with them![...]

KBo 22.2 obv. 16-20 §2

Philological Excursus: [ŠÀ-iš-ši] in KBo 22.2 obv. 19. Before analyzing the discourse patterns in this final unit, my suggested restoration at the beginning of line 19 should be discussed. It deserves special attention for two reasons: first, it is a new suggested restoration and second, if correct, contributes to the pattern of cohesive ties within this unit as well as between this unit and the dialogue unit before it.

The beginning of line 19 is broken away and restoration has proven difficult by all who have worked on this passage. Otten suggests no Hittite restoration, but in translation assumes a verb for “to speak” and a negative particle: “[sprach: Nicht] wollen wir uns unsere Schwestern

⁵³ The meaning of *karāt*- in this context is difficult. Kloekhorst glosses this word as follows: “entrails, innards; inner being, character,” Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, p. 445. He furthermore discusses its similarity to and difference from the word *kardi*- “heart.” He notes that Laroche was the first to demonstrate that *karāt*- and *karti*- are different from one another, in spite of the fact that the Sumerogram ŠÀ is used for each of these Hittite nouns, which he says is consistent with the Sumerogram being less specific in referring generically to “intérieur des choses,” Emmanuel Laroche, “Correspondances lexicales hittites, latines et Grecques,” *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d’histoire anciennes*, 3e série 42 (1968), pp. 244-245. The difficulty of this word in this context resides in how an internal change of the sons is capable of making them unrecognizable. Otten translated generically according to the above understanding of this word with “ein anderes Inneres,” Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa*, p. 7. Alternatively, Hoffner initially left this word untranslated, “the gods put another ... in them” but later tentatively suggested “the gods made them look different(?),” Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, p. 82; Hoffner, “The Queen of Kanesh and the Tale of Zalpa (1.71),” p. 181. Similarly, Yoram Cohen tentatively translated in scare-quotes as “countenance,” Cohen, *Taboos and Prohibitions in Hittite Society: A Study of the Hittite Expression natta āra* (‘not permitted’), p. 75. Holland and Zorman commit to this translation: “the gods put another appearance on them,” Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, p. 39.

nehmen!”⁵⁴ All translations follow Otten in assuming a verb ‘to speak’ in the break.⁵⁵ Regarding the first preserved word after the break, CHD L-N notes the presence of sign traces before the UŠ sign and restores: [o o ku]-¹u¹-uš-za (pp. 425-426). This restoration is followed by Amir Gilan.⁵⁶ I follow the reading of CHD L-N, but in my view the top right corner of the final vertical of the KU sign is also preserved (based on collation from the photo) and so read:

[o o k]u-¹u¹-uš-za.

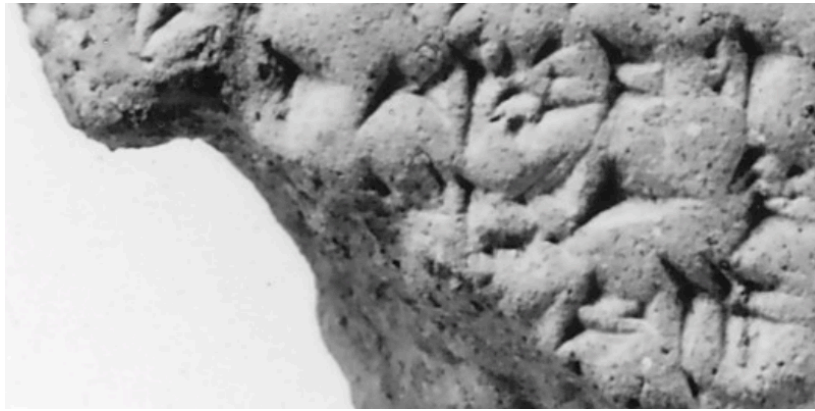


IMAGE 1: KBo 22.2 obv. 17-19

The reading [k]ūš-za “these,” however, presents a multi-faceted problem in restoring what comes before it. First, there is enough space between the [k]u and where the left edge of the tablet would be to require some signs, at least two, but as many as four, depending on which signs were written (vis-à-vis, their sizes). Second, the reading of [k]ūš-za assumes that this is the start of a new sentence and that whatever occurred at the beginning of the line was the end of the

⁵⁴ Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa*, p. 7.

⁵⁵ Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, p. 39; Gilan, *Formen und Inhalte althethitischer historischer Literatur*, p. 183; Hoffner, “The Queen of Kanesh and the Tale of Zalpa (1.71),” p. 181; previously, Hoffner used “[objected]” (Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, p. 82); CHD L-N has “[asked],” p. 426.

⁵⁶ Gilan, *Formen und Inhalte althethitischer historischer Literatur*, pp. 182-183.

previous sentence, ordinarily a verb. Third, this previous sentence begins with a single word, *appezziyaš* “youngest” (lit. “last”), with clitic chain; the chain includes the particle *šān*, which further restricts the number of possible words that are lexically possible. Based on these three factors, whatever was in the break must be a word form that (1) consists of only two to four signs, (2) must be able to complete a clause, and also (3) must be lexically compatible with the particle *šān*. In the CHD entry on the particle *šān* (CHD Š, pp. 126-129), the verb “to speak” (*memai-*) is not listed, neither is the verb “to ask” (*punuš-*). It does include examples of *šān* with the verbs “to quarrel” (*šullai-*) and “to contest” (*hanna-* middle), but their third person singular preterite forms would not fit in the gap (the shortest attested spellings are *šu-ul-le-et* and *ha-an-na-ta-at*, respectively): the length of these words combined with the size of their signs are too large for the gap. The restoration chosen here, [*ŠÀ-iš-ši*] “[in his heart],” has sufficiently small signs and allows for a verbless clause with an implied verb “to be.” A restoration of [*ŠÀ-ši*] is also possible. Another possibility is the Hittite spelling of this word, [*kar-ti-iš-ši*], but I deem the space not large enough for it to fit.⁵⁷ The form *ŠÀ-iš-ši* is attested two other times: in KBo 57.81 rt. col. 4 (script phase unknown) and in KUB 40.82 rev. 6 (NS). The form *ŠÀ-ši* is attested three times: in KUB 36.89 obv. 26 (NS), KBo 47.230 line 4 (LNS), and KUB 29.1 ii 44 (NS). The attestation in KUB 29.1 ii 44 is especially informative because it occurs in a column where this word is also written in syllabic Hittite. In fact, in the very next line, in line ii 45, is the form *kar-di-iš-ši-ya*. Also, the genitive form *kar-di-ya-aš* occurs above it in line ii 35. In other words, logographic and syllabic writings can and do occur on a single tablet.

⁵⁷ The size of the KAR sign, as it is written in line 13, combined with three more signs, however small they may be, is simply too long to fit in the break. Note that line 13 has a comparably long form of the word under consideration: *kar-ti-[†]iš-mi[†]*.

As for the grammar of this restoration, the CHD contains a separate section for a nominal clause construction containing the particle *šan* and *ker* “heart”: s.v., *-šan B 2 g 3'* (CHD Š, p. 147). In section *B 2 g 3' b'*, CHD has examples and discussion of the use of *-šan*: “metaphorically ‘in’ one’s heart or mind” (CHD Š, p. 147). While a verb of expression might be preferable, this restoration allows for a spoken sentence to follow, though it is probably better to consider the following sentence something that was thought rather than spoken. This would create a compatible contrast with the older brothers ‘not recognizing’ their sisters: the youngest brother’s heart does recognize his sisters. Assuming this restoration is correct, it would then stand in direct contrast not only with the previous clause about the older sons not recognizing their sisters, but also with the second sentence of this unit that “the gods placed in them another *karāt*” (for the similarities and differences of *karāt*- and *kardi*-, see note 53, above). Also, the use of *kardi*- “heart” occurs earlier in the text to indicate, as I suggested there, an inner monologue followed by out-loud speech. In that context (lines 13c-15a⁵⁸), I argue that the brothers did not actually speak out loud to each other, but that the phrase *nu-zza ... karti-šmi peran* “before their hearts” indicates that each of them thought the same thing at the moment that the people of the city were describing the queen of Kaneš to them (in lines 12b-13b).⁵⁹ They did also talk with each other in the final clauses of that section, as indicated by the switch to the second person imperative, but the speech introduction phrase indicates that the following speech in lines 14b-14d was thought and not spoken. Regardless of whether or not *karti* indicates the following clauses are inner thoughts or out-loud speech, the uses of the words *ker* “heart” (Sumerographically as ŠÀ) and *karāt* “entrails, innards; inner being, character” (also

⁵⁸ For text and translation, see example (87) on page 186, above.

⁵⁹ For discussion, see note 47 beginning on page 187, above.

Sumerographically as ŠÀ), tie the sections together and point to the role of the mental perception in both units.⁶⁰ The mental perceptions of the sons shift from realization where their mother is located to ignorance that their mother is right in front of them and then back to realization.

5.2.4.1 Cohesion in the Final Unit

Returning to the contents and patterns of the final preserved discourse unit, it was noted that the primary means of cohesion within the unit is the reiteration of words and synonyms related to mental perception. In the dialogue unit before this unit, the concept of visual perception was prominent with several verbs occurring related to sight: *au*- “to see, look” (lines 10b and 11b), *merr*- “to disappear” (line 13b), *šanḥ*- “to search” (line 14b), and *uemiya*- “to find” (line 14c). In the third and final panel of the dialogue unit, the concept of mental perception was introduced when the sons “spoke to their hearts” (*ezza ... kartišmi piran mēmīr*). In the next and final unit, visual perception is combined with mental perception in the use of the negated verb *natta ganešš*- “to not recognize” (which occurs twice), which involves looking at something and then having (or as here, not having) a mental connection about what is seen with what is known previously.⁶¹ Other words in the final unit that have to do with mental perception include *karāt*,

⁶⁰ For the connection of the “heart” with the “mind” and mental perception, KUB 30.10 obv. 24'-25' (CTH 373) is illustrative: [*kinun*]a₂-mu₂-za ammel DINGIR-YA ŠÀ-ŠU ZI-ŠU ḫūmantet kardit kīnuddu nu₂-mu wašdul₂-mit²⁵ [tēd]du n₂-e₂-z₂-(š)an ganešmi “[No]w let my god open his heart and mind to me with all (his) heart and tell me my sin (so that) I may recognize them” (translation from CHD L-N, p. 258, s.v., *mema*- 4 g).

⁶¹ Cf. definitions of “recognize” in the *Oxford English Dictionary* such as, “to acknowledge, consider, or accept (a person or thing) as or to be something” (s.v., “recognize” 2 c); “To acknowledge the existence or truth of” (s.v., “recognize” 3 a); “To perceive to be the same as something or someone previously known or encountered; to identify (something that has been known before)” (s.v., “recognize” 5 a); and “To identify from knowledge of appearance or character, esp. by means of some distinctive feature” (s.v., “recognize” 5 b).

which the gods place in the sons, as well as my suggested restoration of ŠÀ “heart” referring to the youngest son’s mental assessment of the 30 women as his sisters.

In addition to reiteration of nouns and verbs having to do with mental perception, other cohesive ties include reiteration of the nouns *nekuš* “sister” and DUMU(.MUNUS or .NITA) “son (daughter or son).” Semantically correlated words functioning as ties include the contrastive word pair IGI-*zi* “older” and *appezziya* “youngest” as well as the formulaic relationship between the verb *dā-* “to take” with its evaluation of [*natta=at*] *āra* “it is not right.”⁶² In terms of grammar, clitic referential pronouns occur in six of nine sentences, there is one instance of a referential demonstrative pronoun (*kūš* “these” in line 19), and the topic switching conjunction *ša/ma* (as well as *ū*, if my restoration is correct in line 18) occurs twice. All of these features constitute cohesive ties that hold the unit together.

5.2.4.2 Patterns of Cohesion in the Final Unit

In terms of patterns that arise from the organization of these ties, it is a multi-faceted situation. For one thing, the unit contains actions and speech that is presented and experienced sequentially,⁶³ so varieties of different patterns are not necessarily expected. However, as one tracks the semantics from sentence to sentence, the ties create connections with the sentences

⁶² For the formulaic nature of these words, see discussion beginning on page 178.

⁶³ This is expected in a narrative, though it does not necessarily presume that the sequence is presented chronologically. Bal notes that a story is encountered as a linear thing: “one word or image follows another; one sentence or sequence follows another,” Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, p. 68. This does not assume that the elements of the story are chronologically sequential, only that the elements are encountered in the order in which they are presented. For discussion of “deviations in sequential ordering” in narrative texts, see Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, pp. 68ff.

around them, but also to sentences that are separated from them. For the sake of convenience, the unit is reproduced here as example (90) with the sentences numbered to facilitate discussion.

(90)

- (1) ¹⁶ *nu=šmaš DINGIR^{DIDL}-eš tamaīn karātan daīr*
- (2) *nu AMA=ŠUNU¹⁷ [DUMU^{MEŠ}-u]š[?] natta ganešzi*
- (3) *nu=zza DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} ŠA ANA DUMU.NITA^{MEŠ} ŠA paiš*
- (4) ¹⁸ *[Ū IGI-]ziaš DUMU^{MEŠ} nekuš=(š)muš natta ganeššir*
- (5) *appezziyaš=a=ššan¹⁹ [ŠA=šši]*
- (6) *[k]uš=za nēkuš=(š)ummuš daškēuen[i]*
- (7) *[n]u lē šaliktumari*
- (8) ²⁰ *[natta=at[?]] āra*
- (9) *nu k[att]i=šmi šeš[teni lē[?]...]*

- (1) ¹⁶ The gods put in them (an)other *karāt*.
- (2) Their mother ¹⁷ does not recognize [the sons[?]].
- (3) She gave her daughters to her sons.
- (4) ¹⁸ As for the older (lit. ‘first’) sons, they did not recognize their sisters.
- (5) As for the youngest (lit. ‘last’), ¹⁹ [in his heart[?]]:
- (6) [Th]ese are our sisters we are taking!
- (7) Do not touch (them)!
- (8) ²⁰ [It is not[?]] right!
- (9) [Do not[?]] sl[eepe[?]] with them![...]

KBo 22.2 obv. 16-20 §2

Sentence (1), in one way, stands on its own since the subject of the verb is the gods. The gods had a minimal, though significant, role at the beginning of the text and similarly at the end; they do not show up again in what remains of the preserved text. With that said, it is clear that this action forms the reason why the sons in sentence (4) do not recognize their sisters. As is clear from the dialogue unit, the sons were aware that the queen of Kaneš/Neša was their mother and that their 30 sisters were in Kaneš/Neša also. So the statement that the (older) sons saw the 30 women and were not able to recognize that all them as their sisters indicates that the gods’ action directly impacted the sons’ cognitive ability. Due to this causal relationship, sentence (4) is tied to sentence (1).

Sentence (4), however, is also strongly tied to sentence (2) through the repetition of the negation *natta* with the verb *ganešš-* “to recognize.” This tie raises questions regarding its interpretation. In what way should sentence (4) be interpreted in light of sentence (2)? Sentence (2) is about the mother not recognizing her sons, but sentence (4) is about the sons not recognizing their sisters. Does this mean the sons *do* recognize their mother, even though she does not recognize them? Why does the text not include a comment that the sons do not, or do, recognize their mother? This seems to be left to the reader to assume or not assume.

While a tie exists between sentence (4) and (2), at the same time, the noun phrase “their sisters” *nekuš-(š)muš* ties sentence (4) to sentence (3) since this phrase refers to DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ} *ŠA* “her daughters.” These two sentences are also tied by way of the three times DUMU is used among them to refer to the sons and the daughters.

In addition to these correspondences between sentence (4) and sentences (1)-(3), sentences (2) and (3) are closely tied together. Both sentences have the queen mother as the subject/agent. Given the use of the preterite tense and the topics of the two sentences, it may be best to interpret sentence (3) as the logical result of sentence (2): *because* the mother did not recognize her sons, she gave her daughters to her sons for marriage.

Given these strong connections among the first four sentences, as well as the various causal relationships—especially sentence (1) to (4) and (2) to (3)—, the effect of the order of these sentences fronts the action of the mother to coincide with the action of the gods even though it will be the sons who are the ones who end up in danger of doing something considered “not right.” In other words, the order of sentences could have been changed in order to, for example, more quickly show the results of the gods’ actions on the sons by placing a modified version of sentence (4) including, perhaps, the queen as someone they did not recognize, right

after sentence (1). This could easily be followed by sentences (2) and (3) as sentences (3*) and (4*). Sentence (5) would still work with its topic switch to the youngest son being the only one realizing what is happening. So, separating the sentence indicating the result of sentence (1) to the position of sentence (4) enables a fronting of the role of the mother in conjunction with the role of the gods.

In addition to fronting the action of the mother with the action of the gods, the current order of clauses also enables a second clustering of clauses that centers on the sons with reference to their sisters. Sentences (4)-(6) are tied together strongly. Sentence (4) is tied to sentence (5) by way of the contrasting topic marked by the clitic conjunction *ša* in sentence (5). The contrast is between the “older” (IGI-*zi*) sons in sentence (4) with the “youngest” (*appezziya*) son in sentence (5). An additional tie between sentence (4) and (5) is that both have words related to mental perception: *ganešš-* “to recognize” and [ŠÀ-*šši*] “[in his heart].” This also is a point of contrast between sentences (4) and (5), since sentence (4) has a negation, but sentence (5) does not. Sentence (6) also plays a role in this cluster primarily by means of the repeated noun phrase *nekuš-(š)muš* “their sisters” and *nēkuš-(š)ummuš* “our sisters” in sentence (4) and (6), respectively.

Up to this point there are two clusterings of sentences: sentences (1)-(3) and (4)-(6). These clusterings are character driven in organization: first the gods and mother, then the sons and sisters. At the same time, these clusterings are interconnected by way of repeated words and concepts as well as the cause and effect relationship of sentence (1) and (4). As noted above, sentence (2) and (4) are tied together by the repetition of the negation *natta* and the verb *ganešš-* “to recognize.” A tie can also be observed between sentence (6) and sentence (3) in the semantics of the verbs as a conceptual pair: *pai-* “to give” and *dā-* “to take.” Finally, there is a tie between

sentence (3) and sentence (4) by the reference to the queen's daughters, DUMU.MUNUS^{MEŠ}, in sentence (3) with the noun *nekuš* "sisters" in sentence (4). While in certain conceivable contexts these two words would not refer to the same people, they do so here.

What stands out in the foregoing discussion of this unit is the major role that sentence (4) fills in the first part of the unit (sentences (1)-(3)) as well as in the second part (sentences (4)-(6)). As discussed, sentence (4) is strongly tied to all the sentences in both of these subsections in ways that the other sentences are not. In various ways, sentence (4) is strongly tied to sentences (1), (2), and (3). However, the cohesion between sentences (1) and (2)-(3) seems slight: the main linguistic tie is that sentences (1) and (2) both contain similar kinds of reference to the sons; namely, through the use of the clitic pronouns: *šmaš* "in them" and *šUNU* "their," respectively.

At the same time, some have interpreted sentence (2) as the result of the action in sentence (1), which would indicate a strong cohesive tie.⁶⁴ This may be defensible purely on the basis of their juxtaposition. However, it may be best to interpret the present tense of *natta ganešš-*, of the mother not recognizing her sons, as a "statement of general validity"⁶⁵ that, in this instance, is outside the chronological sequence of the unit. In other words, the mother not recognizing her sons is background information to explain why she gives her daughters to her sons. Given that the queen has not seen her sons since they were infants, it is not surprising that

⁶⁴ Holland and Zorman do treat it this way: "The shift from preterite to present tense and the presence of conjunction *nu* encourage the reading of the second clause as a *Konsekutivsatz*; the fact that their mother does not recognize them is a result of the gods' action," Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, p. 52. To indicate a result clause, however, the conjunction *ta-* would have marked this more clearly than the *nu* conjunction, which, while it can express result, it also expresses temporal sequentiality or concurrent action. See Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, pp. 393-394, §§29.15, 17 and CHD Š, p. 519, s.v., *š(u)-* a 4'. Another way to express result more explicitly is with the conjunction *š(u)-* with a preterite verb. See CHD Š, p. 519, s.v., *š(u)-* a 1'-4'.

⁶⁵ For this use of the present tense in Hittite, see Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, p. 307, §22.5.

she would not recognize them as adults. The sons, on the other hand, as is clear from the dialogue unit, were aware that the queen of Kaneš/Neša was their mother and that their 30 sisters were in Kaneš/Neša also. But again, due to collocation with sentence (1), it may yet be appropriate to interpret the gods' act as having some effect on the mother. This may be an instance of ambiguity in discourse structure that could be intended to produce a literary effect.

As for sentences (4)-(6), sentence (4) was shown to be strongly tied to each of the other two sentences as well. At the same time, sentences (5)-(6) are not tied closely or at all with sentences (1)-(3). Sentences (5)-(6) do not have cohesive ties to sentences (1)-(3) in the ways that sentence (4) does, aside from the connection of sentence (6) with sentence (3) through the word pairing of *dā*- "to take" and *pai*- "to give," respectively, as noted above. Sentence (4) is also tied to sentences (7)-(9) since the older sons are the addressees of the direct speech of the youngest son. All this reveals that sentence (4) has a major role in this section. In terms of the trajectory of possible incest, it is not until sentence (4) that the danger of incest becomes imminent. Sentences (1)-(3) set the stage for the incest while sentences (5)-(9) react to the imminence of the danger.

The final three preserved sentences, sentences (7)-(9), can also be understood as their own subsection. The switch to the second person plural clearly indicates that these sentences are an out-loud speech of the youngest son addressed to his brothers. The order of the clauses, if the restorations are correct (which is not certain), is prohibitive → evaluation → prohibitive. Due to the state of preservation of these sentences, it is difficult to assess the patterns within this subsection.

In sum, while the patterns of cohesion in the final preserved unit do not form instances of parallelism, nevertheless, there are many cohesive ties that hold it together and reveal patterns

and clusterings of clauses. It was shown that the organization of the unit revealed a stylistic choice to front the actions of the queen mother with that of the gods (in sentences (1)-(3)). This enables the remainder of the preserved sentences to focus exclusively on the thoughts, actions, and speech of the sons. It was also shown how sentence (4) has a major role in this unit through its strong ties to all the sentences before and after it.

As for techniques to produce a literary effect, as noted, there are no instances of parallelism, strictly speaking. And yet, it may be possible to argue for formal multiplicity on the basis of how integrated sentence (4) is with what is before and after it. Is sentence (4) best interpreted in light of sentence (1) since the sons are the ones effected by the gods' action? Or should sentence (4) be interpreted in light of sentence (2) because of the verbal repetition *natta ganešš* "to not recognize." Or, since sentence (4) mentions their sisters, but *not* their mother, should it be interpreted in conjunction with sentence (3)? Every single aspect of sentence (4) has a cohesive tie to different sentences, both before and after it; some of the ties are lexical, some are grammatical, and some are logical. On this basis, it may be best to understand the final preserved unit of the obverse as producing a literary effect through formal multiplicity. The structure and interrelationships among the sentences, all centered around sentence (4), suggest different defensible interpretations of how the unit is composed. This creates an ambiguity in not knowing which sentential context is the correct or better one for interpreting the sentences in the unit. Instead, the sentential context for interpreting sentence (4) seems to change as the unit unfolds. This constitutes formal multiplicity which, as Fabb argues, creates a literary effect that a reader experiences as aesthetic.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ For discussion of Fabb and his understanding of formal multiplicity, see chapter 2, page 45.

5.2.5 Summary: Literary Effects in KBo 22.2 Obverse

The obverse of KBo 22.2 contains discourse patterns of varying densities. The patterns at the beginning units of the text have the least density. The patterns in units one and two exist primarily in the interconnections between the two units. At the same time, as discussed above, there is one pattern that is akin to tail-head linkage. These patterns have the effects of accentuating the contrast of actors, that is, queen vs. gods, as well as drawing attention to the amount of detail recounted in the units. These effects, however, do not match criteria for having a literary effect as delineated in chapter 2.

It was also observed that there are three cohesive ties between the first two units and the final unit that had the effect of reversal. The queen *placed* her sons *inside* a container which separated her from her sons physically. While the gods had rescued the sons and raised them in the beginning of the text, they seemingly acted in an opposite way at the end of the text when they *placed* “another *karāt*” in the sons so that the sons became separated from their mother psychologically. At the beginning of the text the gods *took* the sons out of the sea, thereby rescuing them, but at the end of the text, the sons are in the process of *taking* their sisters sexually. The third connection between the sections is established through rhyme. At the beginning of the text the gods *raise* (*šallanuškir*) the sons whereas the queen *raised* (*šallanuškat*) the daughters herself. These verbs, as I argued above, rhyme with the verb *šaliktumari* “to touch” when it occurs in the prohibitive “do not touch (them)!” (*nu lē šaliktumari*).

The effect of these three ties is to draw attention to the drastic changes that have taken place in the kinds of actions the characters are performing. The queen performed a arguably questionable act in *placing* her sons in a container and sending them down the river. However,

the gods act of *taking* the sons up, rescued the sons, after which they proceeded to *raise* them to adulthood. Also, the queen *raised* her daughters to adulthood. At the end of the text all the actions are questionable or “not right”: the gods *placed* something in the sons thereby disrupting the family reunion, the sons were *taking* their sisters as wives, and the youngest son commanded them *do not touch*. While, perhaps, these changes could have been communicated in some other way, the use of these three sets of verbal ties draws attention to specific aspects of reversal that are taking place at the end of the story. For this reason, I argue that the word choices in both sections were made in collaboration with one another to draw attention to the words and the concepts they communicate. Therefore the poetic function is, at a minimum, discernible, if not one of the most dominant functions of these pieces of language.

Following the first two units, the third and fourth unit contain an elaborate pattern in a dialogue scene. The dialogue was set up in the third unit through the introduction of the donkey. The fourth unit, containing the dialogue which began by talking about the donkey, was organized as a paneled structure, which is a kind of parallelism of chunks of text rather than of individual clauses. Each of the three panels were constructed in order to be internally cohesive as well as show integration with the other panels in the structure. With this section being an elaborate form of parallelism, by definition, it meets the criterion of having a literary effect through foregrounding by parallelism, as discussed in chapter 2 section 2.2.4.

The final preserved unit was shown to have many cohesive ties among the final nine sentences of the text. The sentence that had connections with the most sentences around it was sentence (4). The varieties of tie between this sentence and the others is wide: it is connected

- to sentence (1) by having a cause and effect relationship and a reference to mental perception or cognition with *karāt* in (1) and with *ganešš*- “to recognize” in (4);
- to sentence (2) by the repetition of *natta ganešš*- “not recognize”;

- to sentence (3) by juxtaposition, referentiality of “their sisters” to “her daughters,” and repetition of DUMU in reference to the sons and sisters;
- to sentence (5) by way of the contrastive topic clitic conjunction *ma* in (5), the opposition of “older” vs. “younger,” and the reference to mental perception with *ganešš-* “to recognize” in (4) and with the restored ŠÀ “heart” in (5);
- to sentence (6) by means of the repeated noun phrase *nekuš(š)muš* “their sisters” in (4) and *nēkuš(š)ummuš* “our sisters” in (6);
- and to sentence (7)-(9) as the older brothers are the primary addressee of this speech by the youngest son.

Since sentence (4) has connections with each of the other sentences in this unit (in its current state of preservation), as well as the interconnections among sentences (1)-(3), it is not entirely clear what context or contexts sentence (4) should be interpreted in. With each context, different meanings are suggested or made possible. This ambiguity in meaning and structure meets the criterion for constituting formal multiplicity.

5.3 KBo 22.2 Reverse: The Destruction of Zalpa

In contrast to the obverse, the cohesive ties and the patterns they create on the preserved portion of the reverse are far less dense and, similarly, or as a result, the literary effects of the patterns that do exist are minimal, if not totally absent. It will be shown that certain concepts are introduced in the initial unit of the preserved reverse that later units are tied to through the repetition of lexeme or of conceptual similarity. These ties create portrayals of the characters about they describe or are performed by.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the end of the obverse is completely broken away and therefore the beginning of the reverse is likewise completely broken away. Some aspects of the context can be reconstructed through the duplicate manuscript KBo 3.38, but this manuscript is not well enough preserved itself to give a clear picture of what is happening in it, much less enough to conduct the kind of analysis proposed in this study. Therefore, it is not

possible to fully understand all the events and implications of the story, so the following discussion will confine itself to the language that is preserved on this side of KBo 22.2.

5.3.1 Differentiating Discourse Units

The story picks up with the speech of a character named Ḫappi. The speech is the first of five fully preserved discourse units before the final word on the tablet: TIL.LA “complete.” The start of the discourse units are mostly consistent in how they are marked, with one transition that diverges. The first unit is marked by a horizontal dividing line, asyndeton, and a speech introduction formula, example (91).

(91)
^{4a'} [(^mḪappi)]š⁶⁷ ANA LU^{MEŠ} URU *Zalpa taršikizzi*

Ḫappi began speaking to the people of Zalpa.

KBo 22.2 rev. 4a'

The second unit starts differently since it has the topic shifting conjunction *-a/-ma* (KBo 22.2 rev. 7a'). While this conjunction does not ordinarily indicate a new discourse unit, it does so here because it occurs in the first clause after a horizontal dividing line and because a new character and a new series of events is introduced.

The third discourse unit begins shortly after the second began: two clauses later. It is marked with asyndeton and a verb of motion, example (92).

(92)
^{URU}Ḫarahšua=aš⁶⁸ ārša

He arrived at Ḫarahšu

⁶⁷ Restoration based on duplicate KBo 3.38 rev. 20a'.

⁶⁸ Parsing of this form follows CHD Š, p. 520, š(u)- b 1' a' 1". For overview of how others have interpreted this form, see Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, p. 54.

The fourth unit is marked by a horizontal dividing line, asyndeton, and a verb of motion (KBo 22.2 rev. 10'). In fact, the fourth unit starts with three sentences that are all asyndetic (example (93)). The first two contain temporal constructions. The third asyndetic sentence reports that the king made a demand. The function of asyndeton here is not clear. It may be best to interpret each of these three clauses as background statements to the action that the people of the city are about to take.

(93)

§ ^{10'} *INA MU III^{KAM} LUGAL-uš pait^{URU} Zalpan arahzanda uetet*
^{11'} *MU II^{KAM} kattan ēšta*
^m*Tabarnan^m Ḫappinn=a^{12'} katta uikta*

§ ^{10'} In the third year, the king subsequently surrounded Zalpa. ^{11'} He was down there two years. ^{12'} He demanded Tabarna and Ḫappi.

KBo 22.2 rev. 10'-12a'

The final discourse unit is marked by asyndeton, a verb of motion, but no horizontal dividing line, example (94).

(94)

^{13b'} *LUGAL-uš^{URU} Ḫattuša DINGIR^{DIDL}-aš aruwanzi uēt*

The king came to Ḫattuša to bow to the gods.

KBo 22.2 rev. 13b'

5.3.2 The Text and Its Patterns

As mentioned above, this side of KBo 22.2 does not contain dense or deeply integrated discourse patterns. As will be shown, there are a few cohesive ties that span the entire preserved text.

The preserved portion of the text begins with a speech by a person named Ḫappi. In the five sentences of his speech are words and concepts that will be taken up in the remaining units.

The two main topics of his speech are his negative status before his father and the fact that he went to Ḫattuša for death along with one hundred troops, but no one died. The fallout of this speech suggests that his speech was looked upon negatively by the king of Ḫattuša. This king sets out to capture Ḫappi, but ultimately Ḫappi is killed by the people of Zalpa. After his death, the king of Ḫattuša (re?)instates the “old king” over Ḫattuša who, upon taking leadership of Zalpa, destroys the city.

In order to facilitate discussion of the scattered ties that appear throughout the text, the entire text of KBo 22.2 reverse 4'-16' will be provided in a single example and the sentences will all be numbered, example (95), (see next page). Discourse units are separated by spaces; horizontal dividing lines are marked by the § symbol; direct speech is indented for clarity.

- (95)
- (1) § 4' [(^mHappi)]š ANA LÚ^{MEŠ} URU⁷ Zalpa taršikizzi
- (2) ūk=wa a[(tti=)]m[(i)] 5' [(natt)]a āššuš
- (3) šu=wa URU⁷ Hattuša hengani pāun
- (4) 6' Û DUMU^{MEŠ} URU⁷ Zalpa katti=mmi
- (5) I ME ÉRIN^{MEŠ} -za ea⁶⁹ natta
- (6) šu=wa kuit natta akir
- (7) § 7' LUGAL-š=za IŠME
- (8) š=aš yanniš
- (9) URU⁷ Haraḥšua=aš ārša
- (10) Û ERIN^{MEŠ} URU⁷ Zalpa 8' menaḥḥanda uit
- (11) š=an LUGAL-uš ḥullit
- (12) ^mHāppiš=a išparzašta
- (13) 9' ^mTamnaššun=a ḥušuwantan IŠBATU
- (14) š=an URU⁷ Hattuša uwatet⁷⁰
- (15) § 10' INA MU.3^{KAM} LUGAL-uš pait URU⁷ Zalpan arahzanda uetet
- (16) 11' MU.2^{KAM} kattan ēšta
- (17) ^mTabarnan ^mHappinn=a 12' katta uikta
- (18) Û LÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{LIM} natta pianzi
- (19) š=uš tameššir
- (20) 13' š=e akir
- (21) 13b' LUGAL-uš URU⁷ Hattuša DINGIR^{DIDL} -aš aruwanzi uēt
- (22) 14' Û LUGAL ŠU.GI apiya tāliš
- (23) š=aš šarā URU-ya pait
- (24) 15' ūk=wa LUGAL-u(š)=šmiš kišḥa
- (25) Û ERIN^{MEŠ} katti=šmi
- (26) nu URU-an ḥarnikta
- (27) § 16' TIL.LA

⁶⁹ For analysis of this word form, see Goedegebuure, *The Hittite Demonstratives: Studies in Deixis, Topic and Focus*, pp. 109, 128-130 and the discussion in CHD Š, p. 520, š(u)- b 1' a' 1". Separately, while not discussing this sentence, see Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, pp. 348-350 for discussion of the formulations of yes-no questions in Hittite. For negated rhetorical questions, see Hoffner and Melchert, *GrHL*, pp. 342-343.

⁷⁰ Translation of this sentence follows CHD in interpreting this instance of the conjunction š(u)- as “introducing... a fulfilled purposed clause” (CHD Š, p. 522, s.v., š(u)- b 1' b'): “Tamnaššu, however, they caught alive, so that he (i.e., the king) was able to bring him to Hattuša” (CHD Š, p. 523, s.v., š(u)- b 1' b' 1").

- (1) ^{4'} Ḫappiṣ is/begins speaking to the men of Zalpa,
 (2) "I am ^{5'} [no]t good to m[y] f[ather].⁷¹
 (3) So I went to Ḫattuša for death.
 (4) ^{6'} And the sons of Zalpa (were) with me.
 (5) (Were there) not a hundred troops there?
 (6) So why did they not die?"⁷²
- (7) § ^{7'} The king heard (about it).
 (8) So he set out.
- (9) He arrived at the town of Ḫaraḫšu.
 (10) The troops of Zalpa ^{8'} went against (him).
 (11) So the king fought them.
 (12) As for Ḫappi, he escaped.
 (13) ^{9'} But Tamnaššu they captured alive,
 (14) so he was able to bring him to Ḫattuša.
- (15) § ^{10'} In the third year, the king subsequently surrounded Zalpa.
 (16) ^{11'} He was down there two years.
 (17) ^{12'} He demanded Tabarna and Ḫappi.
 (18) As for the people of the city, they are not giving (them),
 (19) and yet they oppressed them.
 (20) ^{13'} As a result they died.
- (21) ^{13b'} The king went to Ḫattuša to bow to the gods.
 (22) ^{14'} As for the old king, he left him there,
 (23) so that he could go up to the city.
 (24) ^{15'} "I will become your king.
 (25) Also, the troops are with you."
 (26) And he destroyed the city.
- (27) § ^{16'} The end.

KBo 22.2 rev. 4'-16'

All the ties that take place in this text are between Ḫappi's speech and the rest of the units. The features of Ḫappi's speech that are referred to include following three concepts or

⁷¹ This sentence has the idiomatic meaning, following CHD Š4, "I am not in good standing with my father" (p. 520, s.v., *š(u)-b 1' a' 1''*), other translations include, "My father does not like me" (Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, p. 39), and "I am not loved by my father" (Goedegebuure, *The Hittite Demonstratives: Studies in Deixis, Topic and Focus*, p. 129).

⁷² Translation of lines 4'-6' is dependent on CHD Š, p. 520, s.v., *š(u)-b 1' a' 1''*.

words: the concept that Ḫappi and many sons of Zalpa went to Ḫattuša for, apparently, a death sentence, but none of them died (see sentences (3)-(6)); that the sons of Zalpa were “with me” (i.e., Ḫappi; sentence (4)); and that the “troops” were there.

The first reference to one of these three concepts or words occurs in sentence (10). The tie should probably be considered incidental, though not irrelevant. When the king arrives in Ḫarahšu, the *troops* that come against him for battle are the *troops* that Ḫappi mentions in his speech. In the speech, their fate was survival. Their fate in this unit is unclear beyond their ultimate defeat.

The next reference to the speech occurs in sentence (13). In the aftermath of the battle between the troops of Zalpa and the king of Ḫattuša was that Ḫappi escaped, but a person named Tamnaššu was captured. What particularly stands out is that the text says that he was seized “alive” and taken back to Ḫattuša. That the explicit statement about the manner of capture—that they captured him *alive*—can be understood as intentional, is clear for two reasons: (1) this kind of statement is entirely unique within Hittite texts⁷³ and, in fact, unnecessary and (2) this indication constitutes a tie to sentences (3) and (6) regarding the concepts of death and not dying. The effect of this tie is somewhat difficult to describe. Ḫappi claims in his speech that he had

⁷³ So CHD Š, p. 523, s.v., *š(u)*- b 1' b' 1". An example of the normal way of referring to capturing a person is in Muršili II's 10 year annals, he says, *nu=za KUR URU Tipiya* ⁸⁸ *human tarahhun n=at arḫa warnunun* ⁸⁹ *mPihhuniyann=za ASBAT n=an URU KÜ.BABBAR-ši arḫa uwatenun* “I conquered all the land of Tipia, I burned it up. Also, I captured Pihhunia, and I brought him away to Ḫattuša” (KBo 3.4 iii 87-89). CHD adds an explanation for the manner of capture in the Zalpa text saying, “Since people are usually caught alive, the addition of the adjective means that they did not only catch Tamnaššu alive but also decided to keep him alive. Rather than paraphrasing ‘Why did he bring him to Ḫattuša? — Because they caught him alive,’ the paraphrase ‘why did they catch Tamnaššu alive? — In order to bring him to Ḫattuša’ allows for emphasis on the intentionality of catching and keeping Tamnaššu alive, with the reason expressed in the *š*-clause,” CHD Š, p. 523, s.v., *š(u)*- b 1' b' 1".

gone to Ḫattuša for death and did not die. The king of Ḫattuša heard of this speech and set out to capture (and kill?) Ḫappi. The person that ended up being captured was stated to have been captured “alive.” Is this irony? Certainly the indication of “alive” was intentional. The indication seems to point to the fact that the king of Ḫattuša is not killing anyone. If subjects from a far away town are seditious, then this seems surprising, at least to a modern reader.

The next tie to the speech similarly connects with the concepts of death and not dying in sentences (3) and (6). In sentence (20), Tabarna and Ḫappi finally die. What stands out here is that they die not at the hands of the Hittite king, but at the hands of the people of Zalpa. The effect of this tie is certainly ironic and once again, people are not dying at the hands of the king of Ḫattuša.

Philological Excursus: Who Died and Who Killed Them. Before proceeding to the next tie in the text to Ḫappi’s speech, my interpretation that it was Ḫappi and Tabarna that died and it was the people of Zalpa who killed them must be defended. This view is not held by any other Hittitologist, as far as I am aware.

The report in sentences (15)-(20) is elliptical, requiring an interpretation of the identity of the subjects and objects of the verbs. My translation assumes the following: the subjects of the verb *tameššir*, “they oppressed” (in sentence (19)) are the people of the city mentioned in sentence (18) and its objects are Tabarna and Ḫappi; the subjects of the verb *akir*, “they died” (in sentence (20)) are Tabarna and Ḫappi. This translation and interpretation departs from that of Holland and Zorman, particularly in the final three clauses, which they translate as follows: “and

they (the king's army) defeated them (the men of Zalpa) and they died.”⁷⁴ CHD translates similarly, but its translation is based on more up-to-date research on the conjunction *š(u)-*: “The inhabitants of the city, however, would not surrender (them), so they (the Hittites) besieged them, and as a result they died” (CHD Š, p. 521, s.v., *š(u)-* b 1' a' 1”).⁷⁵ Thus, most interpret the subject of the verb *tameššir*, “they oppressed,” to be the besieging Hittites and the object of this verb to be (the inhabitants of) the city. Most do not make explicitly clear the identity of the subject of the final clause, “they died,” but, given the general trend of translation and interpretation of sentence (19), it seems safe to assume that the “inhabitants of the city” are the assumed subject of sentence (20).

My translation rejects this interpretation for three reasons. First, the subject of sentence (19) (*š=uš tameššir* “and yet they oppressed them”) must be the people of the town, as introduced in sentence (18). There is no indication of subject shift from sentence (18) to sentence (19). While it is not impossible for there to be a change in subject from one clause to the next when the verbs in each are the same person and number (both are third person plural),⁷⁶ it is nevertheless suggestive of continuity in subject. Second, while the verb in sentence (19), *tamešš-*

⁷⁴ Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, p. 39. See also Gilan, “How Many Princes Can the Land Bear? – Some Thoughts on the Zalpa Text (CTH 3),” p. 313.

⁷⁵ Cf. also Hoffner's translation: “but the men of the city would not give them up. So (the Hittite troops) besieged them until they all died,” Hoffner, “The Queen of Kanesh and the Tale of Zalpa (1.71),” p. 182. Neither in his translation nor in his commentary, does Otten address or make clear his interpretation of who does the oppressing, killing, or dying. See Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa*, pp. 13, 50-53. Otten translates this section as follows, “Den Tabarna und den Ḫappi forderte er heraus(zugeben), aber die Leute von Zalpa geben (sie) nicht. Da bedrängte man sie und sie starben,” p. 13.

⁷⁶ For example, the immediately following clause, *š=e akir* “so that they died” has an unmarked subject shift even though that verb is also third person plural.

, has been interpreted as “to besiege” by Hoffner and the CHD,⁷⁷ the word ordinarily means “to oppress.”⁷⁸ The meaning of “besiege” fits if the object of the verb is a city, but this is not at all clear based on syntax and discourse structure. Also, the translation “besiege” with the Hittites as the subject does not make a lot of sense. A siege is already in place as indicated by sentence (15), the first sentence of this discourse unit: what does it mean to have a siege in place and then impose a further siege later on?⁷⁹

The third reason my translation rejects the interpretation of Holland and Zorman, as well as the CHD, has to do with the final clause in the discourse unit: *še akir* “as a result they died.” This clause seems to present a problem for my view since it must contain an unmarked subject change (cf. reason one discussed in the previous paragraph). That there is an unmarked subject change here is completely clear: the oppression or siege in sentence (19) somehow causes the death of some group of people in sentence (20). Therefore, the group of people who are doing the oppression/siege (*tameššir*) must be different from the group of people dying (*akir*). While clear,

⁷⁷ Hoffner, “The Queen of Kanesh and the Tale of Zalpa (1.71),” p. 182; CHD Š, p. 521, s.v., *š(u)- b 1’ a’ 1’*. For the possibility of “besiege” as a translation of *tamešš-*, see Tischler who offers the gloss “bedrängen,” which can mean ‘besiege, corner’, but more generally means ‘to press in, harass’, Johann Tischler, *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar* (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1991), p. 72. Indeed, Otten translated this sentence this way: “Da bedrängte man sie und sie starben,” Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa*, p. 13. Holland and Zorman’s translation “they (the king’s army) defeated them” is highly interpretive and is based on the view that the king’s army is the subject of the verb and is nevertheless unlikely. See Holland and Zorman, *The Tale of Zalpa: Myth, Morality, and Coherence in a Hittite Narrative*, p. 39.

⁷⁸ So Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, p. 822; Tischler, *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*, p. 72.

⁷⁹ One could conceive of a discourse situation where sentences (19) and (20) are not meant to be logically flowing out of the preceding clauses, but are instead meant to summarize the events as a whole, thus recapitulating the preceding actions and their results in two short clauses. However, given the CHD’s classification of uses of the conjunction *š(u)-*, this is not a possible scenario here (cf. the outline of uses at the beginning of the entry, Š, p. 517, s.v., *š(u)-*): sentence (19) stands in some sort of logical relationship with sentence (18).

it still has to be inferred since there is no noun phrase or other discourse marker, like the clitic *ṣa/ṣma*, to indicate a subject change. So, one may logically conclude, if the subject change must be inferred from sentence (19) to sentence (20), why not also from sentence (18) to sentence (19)?

The only way to untie this seeming logical circularity is to answer the question, “who are the ones dying in sentence (20)?” The translations by Holland and Zorman and CHD seem to assume that it is the inhabitants of the city of Zalpa that are dying. The problem is, this interpretation creates a reality that does not seem to be true given the following context. In the final discourse unit, the one immediately after this one, an arguably large portion of the population of Zalpa is still alive. For one thing, the “Old King” (of Zalpa?) is still alive (KBo 22.2 rev. 14a’). Secondly, some portion of the citizens of Zalpa are alive because the Old King speaks to them and asserts, *ūkṣwa LUGAL-uṣmiš kišḫa* “I will become your king!” (KBo 22.2 rev. 15a’). Thirdly, some number of even the troops of Zalpa are alive, also indicated by the Old King’s speech: *Ṭ ERIN^{MES} kattiṣmi* “also the troops are with you!” (KBo 22.2 rev. 15b’).⁸⁰ This speech, and the reality it assumes, does not seem possible if the Hittites are the ones who “oppressed/sieged” the city and the inhabitants of the city are the ones who “died.” The more likely scenario, in my view, is that Tabarna and Ḫappi are the ones who “died” in sentence (20). They died as a result of the inhabitants of the city “oppressing” (torturing?) them. So, while the inhabitants of the city did not hand Ḫappi over to the king of Ḫattuša when he demanded them to, they nevertheless showed repentance and renewed loyalty to the king of Ḫattuša by putting

⁸⁰ While having no bearing on the present discussion, Otten and Hoffner do not take this phrase as part of the king’s speech and they interpret the *ṣmi* clitic pronoun as dative-locative third person plural, Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa*, p. 13; Hoffner, “The Queen of Kanesh and the Tale of Zalpa (1.71),” p. 182.

Ḫappi and his remaining compatriot, Tabarna, to death and seemingly also surrendering to the Hittite besiegers.

From a literary perspective, this interpretation creates an ironic situation. For one thing, the use of the verb *akir* “they died” is an explicit reference to Ḫappi’s speech.⁸¹ Second, it was perhaps some of the very people he delivered his speech to, at the beginning of the preserved reverse, that ended up being the ones putting him to death. Third, in his speech, he said he went to Ḫattuša for death and he did not die, instead he died in his own town.

The next tie between Ḫappi’s speech and the rest of the text occurs in sentence (24), though it is perhaps of minor significance given the minimal means of connection as well as the very different meanings of the two sentences. In both sentence 24) and sentence (2), is the occurrence of the independent pronoun *ūk* “I” with the quotative particle *ṣwar*. It is difficult, in my opinion, to see how these sentences play off each other in spite of the import of the contents of each of them independently.

A more significant tie in the final unit of the text is between sentence (25) and sentences (4)-(5). In sentence (25) there is a tie to sentences (4) and (5) by conflating the “sons of Zalpa” and the “troops” into just the “troops.” While Ḫappi had claimed, “the *sons of Zalpa* (were) with me. (Were there) not a hundred troops there?,” the new king of Zalpa says to the people of Zalpa, “the troops (are) with you.” This latter statement is meant to assert the changing of loyalty, or, at a minimum, mere physical presence, of the troops from being with Ḫappi to being with the people of Zalpa.

⁸¹ As noted above.

A final tie may be interpreted between the final unit and Ḫappi's speech in sentence (26). The concept of destroying a city could be considered a parallel notion to death and dying in sentences (3) and (6).

Aside from the possible conceptual tie to Ḫappi's speech, sentence (26) indicates that the newly (re?)instated king of Zalpa has himself destroyed the town of Zalpa. This is remarkable, and, potentially, confusing. If the king of Ḫattuša has withdrawn from Zalpa with his troops and allowed the town's people, the town's military, and a Zalpan king to remain and rule, why did the Zalpan king destroy the city? While this initially seems non-sensical, in reality, this kind of act is not unprecedented for rebellious cities that resubmit to their overlord, as Zalpa has done here. In the Annals of Ḫattušili I, after experiencing a loss in loyalty of most of his subject cities, he went on campaign to (re)subjugate them. Some cities resisted and fought him. Others resubmitted themselves to him as he approached.⁸² One way they resubmitted to him was by simply opening their gates as he approached.⁸³ One submitting city, however, went a step further. Upon seeing the approach of Ḫattušili, they abandoned their town, set it on fire, and presented themselves as slaves to him: *nu=za KUR^{URU} Šallaḫšuwaš IZI-it apašila kattan tarnaš apūš=ma=mu ÌR^{MES}-ni wahnuir* "The land of Šallaḫšuwa⁴³ released itself with fire. As for those ones,⁴⁴ they turned to me in service" (KBo 10.2 obv. i 42-44).⁸⁴ Understood in light of the actions of Šallaḫšuwa, the destruction of the town of Zalpa at the hands of the citizens of Zalpa, while still remarkable, is nevertheless conceivable.

⁸² See chapter 3 for text and discussion.

⁸³ For example, see KBo 10.2 obv. ii 6-10. For text and translation, see example (39) on page 94, above.

⁸⁴ For fuller context of these lines, see example (40) on page 94, above.

5.3.3 Summary: Literary Effects in KBo 22.2 Reverse

The effects of the ties in the reverse to various elements in Ḫappi's speech do not strongly meet criteria for producing a literary effect. The tie between the manner of capture of Tamnaššu in sentence (13) may be considered ironic given that the king of Ḫattuša had reacted strongly to Ḫappi's speech that he had not died. Another point of irony may be in the fact that while Ḫappi had escaped death at the hands of the king of Ḫattuša, he ended up being killed by his own people (sentence (20)). Aside from these points, it is difficult to argue that other particularly choices in word or grammar were made in direct collaboration with other choices in word or grammar to produce a literary effect.

5.4 Summary: Patterns in the Tale of Zalpa

In contrast to the discourse patterns in the Annals of Ḫattušili (chapter 3) and the Disappearance of Telipinu (chapter 4), the patterns in the Tale of Zalpa were less dense. While certain patterns in those other texts have high degrees of integration of all words and grammatical construction in the creation of the given pattern, patterns in the Tale of Zalpa are more loose. Patterns of cohesion are established by isolated or low numbers of words or grammatical construction. In individual discourse units, there were often low levels of integration of words, but across discourse units there were connections revealing how one discourse unit would develop or reshape the words and concepts of a previous unit.

While the density of discourse patterns in this text is lower than that of other texts, it was shown that the obverse side of KBo 22.2 had higher degrees of word and grammar integration in the construction of discourse patterns than the reverse side. Especially representative of more integrated discourse patterns is the dialogue scene between the thirty sons and the people of

Tamarmara as well as the final preserved unit dominated by the theme of mental perception. The reverse side of KBo 22.2, on the other hand, was far less dense in its patterns. In fact, it is difficult to talk about “patterns” at all. Rather, the integration of word choice, while not absent, was sparse. Some of the cohesive ties that do exist create ironic situations or portray the king of Ḫattuša as a king that subdues, but does not kill, those who rebel against him.

Correlating with the lower density of discourse patterns, the literary effects of the patterns were similarly less overt in comparison to more densely integrated patterns, as in, especially, the Disappearance of Telipinu (CTH 324, as discussed in chapter 4). At the same time, especially in the obverse side of KBo 22.2, literary effects and features are produced not so much by discourse pattern as they are by the presence, use, and portrayal of various literary motifs. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, motifs such as multiple birth, children set adrift on rivers in containers, donkeys as symbols of sexuality, and incestuous marriages are all motifs known from a variety of cultures and times used in a variety of ways to illustrate or imagine a variety of situations, ideas, values, world-views, and cultural identities. While the analysis of discourse patterns in KBo 22.2 has surfaced different degrees of density of literary effect than in other texts, literary effects in this text are also produced by other means.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND RESULTS

The aim of this study was to analyze and assess the literary effects of discourse patterns in Hittite texts. To achieve this aim, linguistic discourse analysis was combined with the results of literary theory regarding how language can be expressed in such a way that a reader or audience experiences it as aesthetic. Focus was placed on aesthetic experienced in patterns within multi-clause discourse units. This combination of theoretical approaches was applied to three Hittite texts, each with a different style of expression.

6.1 Theory and Method

Chapter 2 laid out the relevant aspects of linguistic discourse analysis and literary theory and how these can be combined to achieve the aim. The relevant aspects of discourse analysis included how the basic unit of a discourse—typically a single clause—relates to other basic units around it to create a network of clauses. The concept of discourse cohesion points to the way that various connections can be made and observed within a network of clauses. The connections, or “ties,” are established by either grammatical factors, such as referential pronouns, or by lexical factors, such as repetition or collocation of words.¹ It was noted that any cohesive tie is capable of reflecting a technique for producing a literary effect, but that is not always the case. Other factors, such as topic-tracking within a discourse unit, may be the underlying cause for a cohesive tie. Information Structure, a sub-discipline of discourse analysis, is particularly important for distinguishing this difference in the function of a cohesive tie.²

¹ For discussion of the concept of cohesion and its role in creating patterns in discourse, see chapter 2 section 2.1.2.

² For discussion of Information Structure, see chapter 2 section 2.1.4.

By analyzing a discourse unit for cohesive ties within a network of clauses, patterns begin to emerge. As just noted, some patterns are based on rules of grammar or topic-tracking necessities, other patterns reflect discourse-related choices that are more probabilistic, where, as Andrej Kibrik has said, “a certain option is not strictly required or strictly ruled out, and more than one option is to a certain extent permissible.”³ These cases of discourse-related choices where more than one option of expression was permissible, are especially pertinent to the application of literary theory to test whether a literary effect is produced.

The middle third of chapter 2, section 2.2, presented an overview of the theoretical framework of literary theory regarding ideas such as literariness, defamiliarization, and the poetic function and how these ideas developed over the last approximately 120 years. The framework consisted of two aspects: (1) a literary or poetic effect is experienced as aesthetic by a reader and (2) there are three main linguistic techniques for producing a literary effect and these all arise out of the core concept of the poetic function of language.

Regarding aspect (1), a literary or poetic effect in this study is understood as follows: *the quality of the form of language, refined or elegant, is operative or in force*. Literary or poetic effects are experienced as aesthetic; aesthetic, following the OED, is understood as “of or relating to the perception, appreciation, or criticism of that which is beautiful.”⁴

Most of section 2.2 was focused on aspect (2) of the framework on literary theory. While various scholars referred to different techniques in different ways and with different terms, there

³ Kibrik, *Reference in Discourse*, p. 15. For discussion, see chapter 2 section 2.1.1 beginning on page 14.

⁴ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v., aesthetic B.2. Discussion of these terms and how they relate to each other is in chapter 2 beginning on page 28. For discussion of the ways literary effects are experienced as aesthetic, see discussion of Viktor Shklovsky (in section 2.2.1.2 beginning on page 31) and Nigel Fabb (in section 2.2.4 beginning on page 45) in chapter 2.

was overlap in description revealing a continuity across many decades of development. The three main linguistic techniques for producing a literary effect, as delineated in chapter 2, are ambiguity, formal multiplicity, and foregrounding (by deviation and parallelism). These three techniques can all be subsumed within Roman Jakobson's concept of the poetic function of language where choices in the selection of words and grammar are made in collaboration with the selection of other words and grammar, which, when combined, produce ambiguity, formal multiplicity, or foregrounding. Jakobson says these combinations create "equivalences" which have the effect of making the language of the message become noticeable and even the most dominant feature of the message. When the language of the message is dominant, it stands out more prominently than, for example, the information the message may convey or what the message might communicate about the addresser's feelings about the information conveyed. The language itself becomes the object of perception.

Section 2.3 of chapter 2 laid out and illustrated guiding principles for the analysis of literary effects in discourse patterns that would be used for the case studies. The principles, in brief, included first identifying discourse patterns through observing cohesive ties, whether grammatical or lexical. Then one evaluates whether the given pattern reveals a set towards the message (=poetic function of language). The goal for following these principles is to identify the linguistic techniques that Hittite scribes used to create literary effects in their written texts and whether the manner of these techniques coincides with the techniques observed by literary theorists.

6.2 Results from Case Studies

In each of the three case studies, the poetic function of language was identified using the methods as set out in chapter 2. The linguistic techniques used in the Hittite language varied among the texts.

The formula-driven composition in the Annals of Ḫattušili I (CTH 4) enabled the concept of discourse-related choice to be fully on display.⁵ The four-part formula of the text displayed two different types of elaborations that were shown to be unnecessary from a purely referential, conveyance of information standpoint. The conquest vignettes that were expressed simply, with no elaborations or added details, showed that added details in other conquest vignettes were unnecessary for the expression of the basic information that a king “went” to a town, “destroyed” the town, “took” plunder, and “gave” that plunder to deity. Some of the optional elaborations were expressed in ways that moved towards the more formalized end of the continuum of the prose—poetry continuum.⁶ Combined uses of metaphor with grammatical and semantic parallelism made the poetic function of the language more prominent if not the dominant function in those sections of the text.

The second case study was on the Disappearance of Telipinu (CTH 324). While a narrative arc is discernible in this text, the story moves slowly, dedicating many sentences and lines to describing and elaborating on various events or situations. These sections of text are structured as connected instances of parallelism. In the analysis of the inner-workings of these

⁵ For this notion of “discourse-related choices” that are more “probablistic” choices vs. “rule-based” choices that dictate a single option, see discussion of Kibrik in chapter 2 section 2.1.1 beginning on page 14.

⁶ For discussion of this continuum between prose and poetry, see chapter 4 section 4.3.3 beginning on page 122.

instances of parallelism, it was shown how intricately they were constructed. Various instances displayed all three linguistic techniques for producing a literary effect where the poetic function is the dominant function: ambiguity, formal multiplicity, and foregrounding by parallelism. These techniques occurred either in isolation or in combination with one or both of the other techniques. Because of the intricacy in composition, I argued that many extended sections of the text contained language on the more formalized end of the prose–poetry continuum and that those sections are best understood as examples of Hittite poetry.

The third case-study was on the Zalpa Text (CTH 3). The style of this text is a non-formulaic story organized as a series of events. It was shown that each side of the primary manuscript, KBo 22.2, contained different amounts of cohesive ties within and across their preserved discourse units. The obverse side contain many more cohesive ties than the reverse and they created discernible patterns that produced literary effects. The reverse side had far fewer cohesive ties and it was difficult to detect any pattern to their placement. Nevertheless, the ties that did exist did have effects, though they were not as clearly literary effects as those on the obverse side.

Taken together, one of the results of the three case-studies is the reality that discourse patterns are formed by the use of lexemes or grammar or both in a wide variety of ways and combinations. Further, the amount of the language of the sentence that participate in the structure of a pattern varied from pattern to pattern. The patterns varied on the Zalpa text where those on the obverse integrated a higher proportion of the words and grammar in sentences to form patterns than the reverse did. And yet, the patterns in the obverse of the Zalpa text were not integrated as deeply as many of the patterns in the Disappearance of Telipinu. But at the same time, the Disappearance of Telipinu also have units whose patterns are not as densely integrated

as other units in the text. Discourse patterns exist on a spectrum: some patterns integrate higher proportions of the language used to create the pattern while others integrated lower proportions.

6.3 Avenues for Future Research

As a foray into the capabilities of the Hittite language for producing a literary effect, the groundwork is perhaps now better laid for much more extensive work into the poetics of Hittite and the texts found at Ḫattuša. Future research directions should include a more thoroughgoing and systematic study of each of the individual techniques for producing a literary effect as they appear in more Hittite texts than could be included in the present study.

Many questions remain. Which techniques are used more often, and why? What are the variety of ways that each technique may be expressed? Due to the linguistically mixed nature of the body of texts found in Ḫattuša, do the stylistic techniques in the imported texts influence Hittite literary style? If so, how? The Hurrian textual material is most pertinent in this regard since this material was imported into Ḫattuša at a more-or-less single point in Hittite history, sometime during the second half of the 15th century BCE. Another question has to do with diachronic change. As there is observable change in the Hittite language over time, are there also shifts in literary style?

Another avenue for research would be testing the methodology developed in this study on ancient texts from other places and in different languages. In the case study on the Annals of Ḫattušili I, it was demonstrated that the method could work for an Akkadian version of a Hittite text. Would this method work in a study of texts in the variety of other languages in the ANE?

6.4 Literary Effects and Aesthetic Experiences

Literary effects in texts, and the aesthetic experiences they produce, do not shed light on historical events. They do not shed light on religion. They do not shed light on science. They do

not shed light on the basic patterns of human behavior in any definable way. And yet, a people group living over three thousand years ago wrote texts that contain linguistic expressions that conform to modern theorists' articulation of the construction of a literary effect, an effect that produces an aesthetic experience in a reader or audience. At a minimum, such features of these texts deserve to be studied since they are, according to Roman Jakobson, "an integral part" of an understanding of language.⁷ Beyond a fuller understanding of language, they also should be studied because the mere presence of these features reveals that the ancient Hittites had within them a desire both to express and to experience beauty.

⁷For the full quote with citation, see page 1 of this study.

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