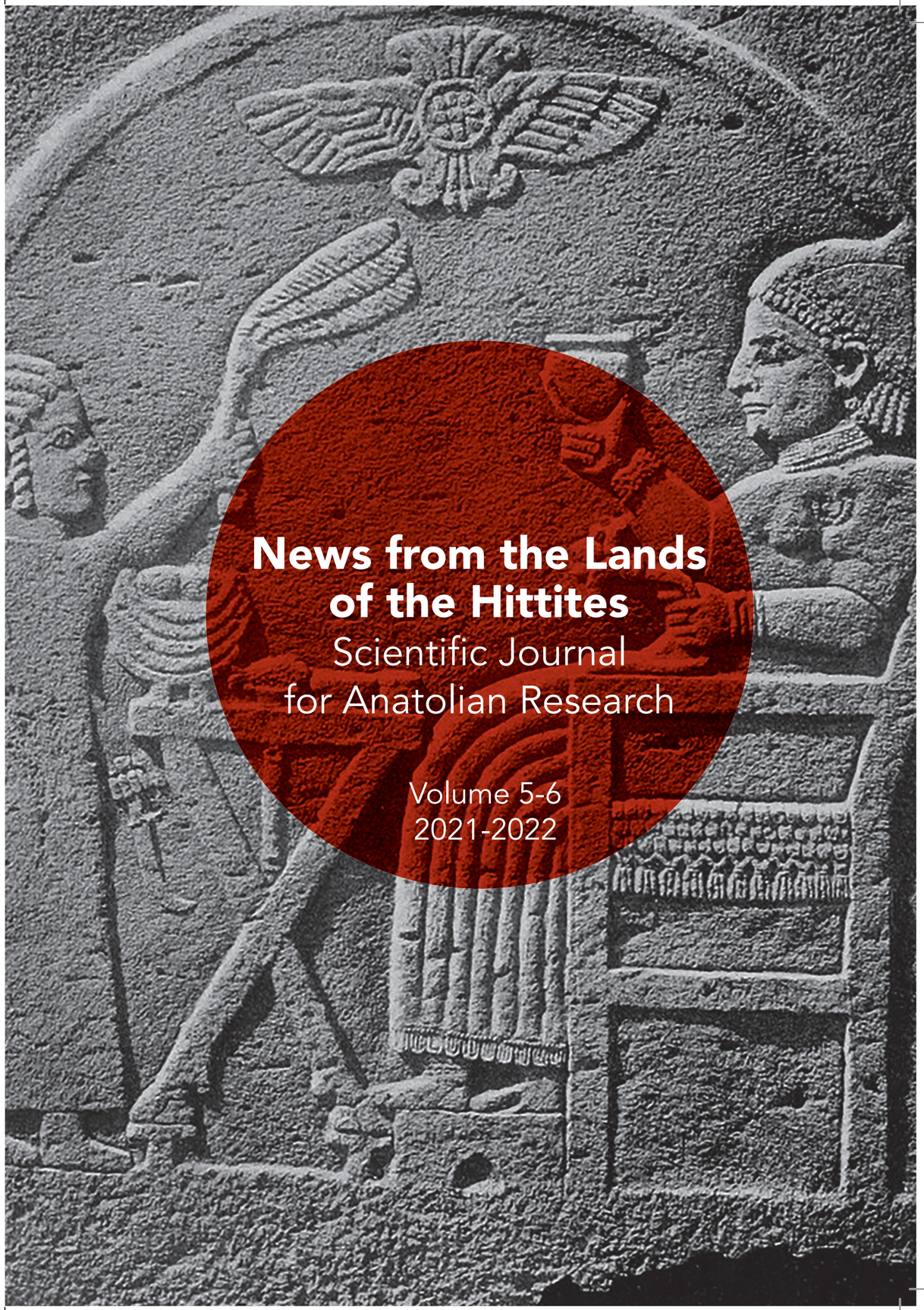
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A Myth of Pirwa

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In memoria dell'imparagonabile Fiorella Imparati

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

Otten (1952: 69) offered an autograph of the one-sided fragment Bo 6483, as part of a reassessment of the nature and status of the theretofore rather ill-defined deity Pirwa. The text, likely the right column of an obverse, was formally published as *KUB* 48.99 (Berman and Klengel 1977). A transliteration without translation was published by Laroche (1965: 174–5) and also by Starke (1985: 253–4), due to his belief (in my view erroneous) that the text contains Luvianisms. It was treated in some detail by Carruba (1969: 65–7), further elucidated by Imparati (1998), and E. Rieken et al. (2009) have presented an online edition. I will cite below further relevant comments by others on individual points.

The most insightful interpretation of the text as a whole is that of Imparati (1998), but in my view she still did not fully perceive its true structure.[2] Furthermore, her analysis seems to have been forgotten and ignored in more recent treatments of the text. A thorough reexamination thus seems called for. I first present below a new transliteration of the text, followed by translation and philological commentary, an analysis of the content and structure of the myth, and finally some thoughts on its position within the myths attested in Hattusha.

2. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

KUB 48.99 (OH/NS)

x+1 [ ]x-*ma*ʔ-*a*[*š*ʔ]

2' ^{d}MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš=wa-r=a-at a-uš-* [*-ta*]
3' *a=aš* ŠA$^{!}$ ^{d}*Pí-ir-wa kar-ta ša-a-* [*-li-ga-aš*ʔ]

4' ^{d}MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš=za* ^{d}*Pí-ir-wa-aš ma-a-ya-* [*-aš*]
5' *me-mi-iš-ke-u-wa-an* [*da-iš*]

6' *ku-iš=wa-r=a-an ḫa-ra-an* ^{d}*Pí-ir-wa-* [*i*]
7' [^{U}]^{RU}*Ḫa-aš-šu-wa-za ú-wa-te-ez-* [*-zi*]

8' *a-a=š-ši me-ek-ki a-aš-šu pí-ya-ú-e-ni* LUGAL- [*-uš/š=a-an*]
9' ^{d}*Pí-ír-wa-aš ḫa-ap-pí-na-aḫ-* [*-ḫi*]

10' KASKAL-*an=z=*(*s*)*an* ^{d}*Pí-ír-wa-aš ma-a-ḗ*$^{!}$*-eš da-a-* [*-ir*]
11' *tu-li-ya-* *-a*[*n*]

12' *da-a-ir=wa tu-li-ya-an a-a=z-* *-z*[*a*]
13' *wa-*<*al*>*-lu-us-ke-u-wa-an ti-i-e-* *-er*

14'^{d}*I-la-li-iš=wa=za wa-*<*al*>*-lu-ut-ta-* *-a*[*t*]
15' *ú-uk=wa-r=a-an ú-wa-te-* [*-mi*]

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1 I am much indebted to Norbert Oettinger, Alfredo Rizza, and Ilya Yakubovich for helpful comments, criticisms, and suggestions, but I am solely responsible for what follows except views expressly attributed.

2 I should in the interests of full disclosure indicate that Professor Imparati consulted with me about the text. As is to be expected, she adopted some of my suggestions, but not all. My own thinking on several points has also inevitably evolved over the last two decades.

16’ [^{d}]*x-ḫu$^{?}$-up-pí-ya-aš=za w*[*a*]-<*al*>-*l*[*u-ut-ta- -at*]
17’ [*ú-uk=w*]*a-r=a-an ú-wa-t*[*e- -mi*]
18’ [^{d}x-x-x]-x-*iš=za* [*wa-*<*al*>*-lu-ut-ta- -at*]

(the text breaks off)

2’-3’ “The Divine Queen sa[w] it/them (neuter sg./pl.), and she pene[trated$^{?}$] Pirwa’s heart.

4’-5’ The Divine Queen [began] to speak to the young men of Pirwa:

6’-7’ ‘Whoever will bring it, the/an eagle, to Pirwa from Hassu(wa),

8’-9’ we will give him much wealth. King Pirwa will make [(him)] rich.’

10’-11’ The young men of Pirwa set a journey/path for themselves. An assembly,

12’-13’ they held an assembly, and they began to boast.

14’-15’ (The god) Ilali boasted: ‘I will bring him!’

16’-17’ [(The god) ...]huppiya boas[ted]: ‘[I] will b[ring] him!’

18’ [(The god)]i [boasted...]”

3. COMMENTARY

Otten (1952:70) already called attention to the “strophic-like” division of the text into paragraphs of only two lines and raised the possibility of a bilingual text. One need only look at the autographs of the Hattian-Hittite bilingual texts collected in *KUB* 28 to understand his suggestion. One may add a second feature: as is clear from the autographs of Otten (1952: 69) and Berman and Klengel (1977: 32), the scribe of *KUB* 48.99 consistently postpones the last sign(s) (or entire last words) to the end of the line not just in the final line of each paragraph, but in every line. For this feature in bilingual texts see for example the autograph of *KUB* 28.6, which shows it in both the Hattian and Hittite columns.[3] As we shall see, there are at least two linguistic features supporting the idea that the text is a translation.

line 3’: despite the space after *a-aš-ša*, such a sequence makes no sense. The reading *a=ašš=a* ‘and he’ (Puhvel 1984: 3) is quite impossible, since the additive focus particle *=a* is never attached to enclitic pronouns. One must with Carruba (1969: 67), followed by Starke (1985: 253), Imparati (1998: 128), and Rieken *et al*. (2009) read rather *a=aš* ŠA$^{!}$ ^{d}*Pí-ir-wa* (*karta*) ‘And she into the heart of Pirwa…’.[4]

But once one reads *a=aš* ŠA$^{!}$ ^{d}*Pí-ir-wa*¸ one cannot then with Rieken *et al*. follow the *CHD* restoration *ša-a-*[*iš*] and assignment to *šāi-*/*šiye-*. By the “Watkins-Garrett rule” (see Garrett 1990), a transitive verb cannot take a clitic subject pronoun, so the contextually possible interpretation “Und sie (scil. die Gotteskönigin) na[hm] sich (die Angelegenheit) des Pirwa zu Herzen” is syntactically impossible. The verb *šā(i)-*^{mi} ‘to become sullen’ *is* an unaccusative intransitive verb and takes a clitic subject. But as per Carruba (loc. cit.), this verb almost unfailingly takes *=za* (see *CHD* Š: 15–16); furthermore, the Divine Queen could hardly be sullen ‘towards the heart of Pirwa’.

I suggest with due reserve rather a preterite third singular of *šālik-* ‘to penetrate’, which also is an unaccusative verb, and since the following

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3 One peculiarity of our text not shown by Otten but by Berman and Klengel is the almost total lack of space between words in some lines (e.g., 4’ and 9’) and quite narrow spacing in others

4 There is no justification for emending ^{d}*Pirwa*<*š*> with the *CHD* Š: 17b, in order to try to make Pirwa the subject. This leaves *aššša* totally unaccounted for and the putative verb *ša-a-*[*iš*] ‘sealed’ with no direct object. It is also a non sequitur for the Queen to see something and then have Pirwa press it into his heart.

context makes clear that the Divine Queen saw what was in Pirwa's heart, 'penetrated the heart of Pirwa' would also fit the context well.[5] The one difficulty with this solution is that the scribe regularly postpones only the very last sign of a line-final word to the end. However, in line 5' he postpones the entire last word, which has parallels (see the bilingual text *KUB* 28.6 Ro 6b and 8b, where *ar-ta* is thus postponed). I have tentatively restored the older form [*da-iš*], but in view of the use of *ti-i-e-er* with the supine in line 13', the copyist could also have written [*ti-i-e-et*] or [*ti-ya-at*]. We also cannot be sure whether the end of line 8' had merely LUGAL-[*-uš*], with omission of the quite obvious 'him' or had the grammatically expected LUGAL-[*-š=a-an*]. Examination of the bilingual *KUB* 28.6 (and others like it) shows that there is considerable variation in just how many signs are postponed to line end, in both the Hattian and Hittite versions.

I see no other way to make sense of the line as preserved, in view of the preceding and following context: Pirwa's consort perceived what his concern or desire was and responded to it.

line 4': the word $^{(LÚ)}$*māya-* does not mean 'horse' (contra Carruba 1969: 65–6, with note 47), nor is it a Luvian word for 'great' (pace Starke 1990: 506, note 1866, wrongly followed by Rieken *et al*. 2009). As per the *CHD* L-M: 116a, it is a *Hittite* word meaning 'adult male' (although the *CHD* fails to realize that nom. pl. *māēš* and dat.-loc. pl. *māya*[*š*] are the same word). Imparati (1998: 129) crucially does see the connection and that $^{(LÚ)}$*māya-* is the base of the more common $^{(LÚ)}$*mayant-* 'adult male', especially young man in the prime of life, which as often in instances of the so-called"individualizing" suffix, has mostly replaced the base word (see Melchert 1986: 108).[6] While one should be duly skeptical of labeling the young gods here a "Männerbund" (Melchert, loc. cit.), it is clear that the Divine Queen is issuing them a challenge.[7]

line 6': a sure sign that we are dealing with translation literature is the "proleptic" or "cataphoric" use of the enclitic pronoun *=an*, which copies the nominal direct object *ḫaran* 'eagle': see on this feature of Hittite "translationese" not only in Hattian-Hittite bilinguals, but also Hurro-Hittite bilinguals and elsewhere, the extensive and excellent treatment by Rizza 2007: 93–173.

line 6': since we find the Hittite word order of genitive plus head noun in lines 3' and 4', one should restore here a dative ^{d}*Pé-er-wa-*[*i*], with Goedegebuure (2008: 148 and 2009: 107–8), not a genitive, with Rieken *et al.* (2009), following Laroche (1965: 174).[8] The other suggestion of Laroche (loc. cit.), to restore an accusative ^{d}*Pí-ír-wa-*[*an*], adopted by Puhvel (1991: 137) and entertained as a possibility by Imparati (1998: 129–30), must be rejected. Pirwa is portrayed as a *man* on a horse (see Otten 1952: 64–5, citing *KBo* 44.209 iv 8–11) and is the master of horses (Oettinger 2020). On his true relationship to the eagle see below.

lines 6'–7': as often, particularly but not exclusively in copies, distribution of the quotative particle *=wa* in this text does not follow any logic. Understanding the clause of line 6' as an interrogative (Goedegebuure, loc. cit., and Rieken *et al*. 2009) is thus entirely reasonable, but for one fact. Neither Hittite nor Luwian uses a sentence connective after a direct quotation, because *nu*, *šu*, *ta* and *ā-* all mark sequentiality, temporal or logical, which is lacking after a quotation.

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5 The suggestion of Imparati (1998: 128) to restore *ša-a-*[*ku-wa-it*] 'looked' would be excellent, but unfortunately *šākuwaye/a-* 'to look' is securely an unergative verb: see *KUB* 24.8 iv 22–3 (*CHD* Š: 56a). This restoration may be saved only by assuming that *a-aš-ša* is an error for *a-(a) ŠA*$^{!}$, which is not entirely out of the question.

6 It emphatically is not a peculiar participle of *mai-/mi-* 'to grow', which is only the expected *mi(y)ant-*, pace Kloekhorst (2008: 542).

7 Better is the characterization 'escort, bodyguards' of Imparati (1998: 129).

8 For dative singulars in *-ai*, including in divine names, see Hoffner - Melchert 2008: 74 (§3.24).

Therefore one must take the clause of line 6' as a preposed relative clause, whose main clause is that of line 7' (thus correctly Imparati 1998: 127). As already indicated, one would expect a resumptive anaphoric pronoun *=an* in the main clause, but resumption in Hittite is often omitted when the referent is self-evident, so it may also have been omitted here.

line 9': against Rieken et al. (2009) Hittite *ḫappinaḫḫ-* is transitive, and that is what is demanded by the context: whoever successfully meets the challenge will be amply rewarded (thus correctly Carruba 1969: 66). That the Divine Queen effectively says this twice, first with 'we' and then in the name of Pirwa is merely rhetorical emphasis.[9]

line 10': Rieken et al. (2009) assign *dā*[*ir*] to 'to take' and render 'nahm[en] den [W]eg', but this leaves the sequence *=za-an* unaccounted for. One must take this as *=z=(s)an*, the reflexive particle plus the local particle *=šš̆an*, which suggests rather that the verb is *dāi-* 'to place'.[10] The basic sense is clear however one understands the syntax: the young gods accepted the Divine Queen's challenge and set out for Hassu to fetch a/the eagle for Pirwa. The very use of *=šš̆an*, but more strongly the spelling of the combination with the reflexive, is one sign that the composition is older than New Hittite, where *-za-an for =z=(s)an* is never attested in assured NH compositions.

lines 11'–12': to my knowledge we do not know how Hittite said 'to hold an assembly' (usually the divine or human participants are 'called (in)to an assembly'). Rieken *et al*. (2009) assume that *dāir* means 'took', and the absence of any local particle tends to support this. In any case, 'they held an assembly/meeting' is certain. The sequence *tuliyan dāir=wa tuliyan* with a noun phrase, verb marked with *=wa*, and repetition of the same noun phrase is unparalleled in native Hittite and cannot reflect Hittite syntax. Hittite has both "left dislocated" topicalization and rightward "extraposition" of nominal expressions, but in neither case is there a copy of the noun phrase.[11] As already sensed by Otten (1952: 70), this aberrant word order—as well as the placement of the paragraph divider—is a sure sign of "translationese." We will take up below the issue of from just which language the Hittite was translated.

lines 12'-18': in the assembly each of the young male gods in turn boasts that *he* will be the one to fetch the eagle for Pirwa from Hassu (and naturally receive the promised reward). Carruba (1969: 66) correctly understood this portion of the text and the sense of *=za wallu(ške/a)-* (likewise Imparati 1998: 127–8 and 133), against Rieken *et al.* (2009) and Kloekhorst (2008: 951–2), who strangely fails to recognize the force of *=za* with *wallu-* while doing so for the parallel *=za walla-* (2008: 944).[12]

9 We have solid evidence for the status of Pirwa as a king (see below). I thus see no merit in Imparati's alternative restoration (1998: 131) LUGAL-[*un*], referring to the Hittite king. The latter has no place in our narrative, which is definitely *not* a version of the "disappearing deity" myth, pace Imparati.

10 However, in *KBo* 3.7 iii 17–8 (Myth of Illuyanka, text in Laroche 1965: 70) we do find *nu=z=(s)an* ^{d}IŠKUR-*aš* ^{UZU}ŠÀ *šakuwa=šš̆et<t>=a* EGIR-*pa dāš* 'The Storm-god took back on himself (his) heart and his eyes'. Thus one must also take seriously the alternative of Imparati (1998: 132): 'They took on themselves the road' (or 'journey'). The unusual collocation of *=šš̆an* with *=z(a)* and *dā-* would be conditioned in both cases by the sense 'take on one's person'.

11 As noted by Imparati (1998: 132), Hittite also has a rhetorical feature A B A expressing some kind of emphasis: *kuit iyanun kuit* 'What *did* I do?" (*KUB* 31.4+*KBo* 3.41 i 3). However, all known examples obey the rules of Hittite syntax. In this instance we would expect †*tuliyan=wa dāir tuliyan.*

12 However, Kloekhorst (loc. cit.) is quite right to reject my account (Melchert 1994: 81–2) of the relationship of *wallu-*, *walla-*, and *walliye/a-*. Only the derivation of the first as a Hittite stem **wl̥-néu-* (via **walnu-*) may be retained, and it does not reflect an intransitive root **wel-*, but is a prehistoric instance of the tendency of Hittite to mark transitivity with the overt suffix *-nu-* (on which see Luraghi 2012: 7–8 and *passim*): cp. *paḫšnu-* beside *paḫš-* 'to protect' and *lagnu-* beside *lag-* 'to topple'. Native Hittite *wallu-* gave way (likely by MH) to the *ḫi*-verb *walla-* and *mi*-verb *walliye/a-*, which are Luvianisms, and the Luvian source verbs show that the sense 'to praise (oneself)' derives not from 'to make strong', but from 'to lift, raise' and thus 'to exalt'. See respectively Goedegebuure 2019: 297–9 (for 'to remove' < 'to lift, raise' cp. Latin *tollere*) and Sasseville 2020: 129 and 138.

The rendering 'promote oneself' (Goedegebuure 2009: 109) captures the gist, but tends to obscure the match with (=*za*) *walla*-. The reflexive use of the mediopassive in *wallutat* is a sign of an OH composition, renewed as usual in the NS copy by adding =*za*.[13]

4. CONTENT AND STRUCTURE OF THE MYTH

However one is to restore line 3' of the preserved fragment, it is clear that the Divine Queen senses Pirwa's concern about or desire for an eagle (or a specific eagle). From the challenge and promise of a reward that she then issues to the young men in his entourage we may infer that the eagle in question is in Hassu and also that fetching it from there will be no easy task. The young male gods readily accept the challenge, prepare to set out (or perhaps do set out) on the journey, holding an assembly in which each in turn boasts that he will be the one to succeed in fetching the eagle (and thus receive the reward). Everything beyond this is a matter of inference and conjecture.

Carruba (1969: 65) characterizes our myth as of the "so-called Anatolian" type: something disappears (the eagle?), and disorder ensues. But every known version of the "disappearing deity" myth is just that: what disappears is always a deity, and I know of no instance in Hittite where the eagle is identified as divine. Its role in the disappearance myth is limited to searching—in vain despite its vaunted strength—for the missing deity, versus the bee, who is the one who succeeds in finding at least Telipinu in the best-preserved version.

Imparati (1998: 134–5) also takes our myth as another example of the god who disappears in anger. She tries to make Pirwa the angry deity who disappears, but as per above there is simply no basis for supposing that Pirwa himself is an eagle. Furthermore, no one is lost and needs to be searched for: the Divine Queen already knows that the eagle is in Hassu.

As Norbert Oettinger has brought to my attention, our myth belongs to another cross-culturally well-known type: someone, human or divine, mostly but by no means always a male, is presented a challenging task or tasks to perform. A competition is not always involved, but may be.

One is first reminded of Heracles/Hercules or Theseus, but the "test of prowess" theme is known in myriad varieties from myths and folktales from around the world: see Thompson (1956: 3.446–79, H. 900–1199). For the theme in North American mythology see Lowie (1908: 134–9) with some further examples from elsewhere (ibid. 144–6). But we need not go so far: we have clear traces of such in Hittite. There is the well-known passage from the Ritual of Zuwi (*KUB* 12.63+36.70 Ro 22–27, OH/MS), where the house of the Storm-god sets difficult and impossible tasks for the *ḫurkil*-men: '"What I say to you, do it! I will also give you this one, and you may carry him off." Thus (say) the *h*.-men: "Say it to us, and we will do it."—"Make sh[ort] the long roads, but make long [the short ones]! Make the tall mountains short, but [make tall] the short ones! Take the wolf by the paw, take the lion by the knee, […], catch the snake by the tail(?) and bring it to the king's gate."' There is also the mixed Luvian-Hittite passage in *KUB* 44.4+*KBo* 13.241 Vo 22–24 (?/NS): '"Tongues, tongues, where are you going?"—"We are going to flatten the rock/crag, we are going to break the obsidian, we are going to fetter the lion, we are going to

13 Imparati (1998: 133) tentatively suggests reading the divine name ^{d}*Šanḫup(p)iyaš* in line 16'. Unfortunately, once one restores the necessary sign <an> for the divine determinative, there simply is not enough space to restore another full sign before the broken sign before <ḫu>: neither the autograph nor the photo permits [^{d}*Ša-a*]*n-ḫu-up-pí-ya-aš*. We can only read [^{d}] x-*ḫu-up-pí-ya-aš*. There does appear to be enough space for her suggested [^{d}*Du-ú-i-n*]*i-iš* in line 18' (1998: 34). Certainty naturally is not possible.

clog the wolf, we are going to seize the cursed (?) male child."' (text in Beckman 1983: 178, but for the sense cp. Giorgieri 2004: 410).[14] On the basis of these examples I assert that our myth likewise involves a "test of prowess."

We know that Pirwa in at least some contexts had the status of a king (see further below). It is thus likely that the relevance of the eagle for him was the eagle's important status as a symbol of kingship, not only in Bronze Age Anatolia but more widely in the Ancient Near East and subsequently in the Near East and Europe into the twentieth century: see Katz 2001: 229–32, more extensively Chariton 2011, and most recently Serangeli 2021, with particular focus on reflexes in Ancient Greek contexts (on the medieval and modern continuation see also Çağaptay 2018). We may reasonably infer that somehow his royal eagle has been separated from Pirwa, is now in Hassu, and that he wants it back.

We also have some independent basis for supposing that retrieving the eagle from Hassu might have been a formidable task at some period (perhaps in more than one) during the Hittite Old Kingdom and before. As often in the case of ancient Anatolia, the exact location of the city remains debated, but there is a consensus that it lay far to the southeast of Hattusha and that it was a Hurrian kingdom: see among others Dardano 1997: 89, Wilhelm 2008: 485–90, and in most detail Miller 2001: 77–81 et passim, who locates Hassu near modern Gaziantep, well over four hundred kilometers from Hattusha. Hattusili I describes conquering, destroying and looting Hassu early in his annals (*KBo* 10.2 ii 18–40) and destroying and burning it a second time (ibid. iii 37–42). While the "Palace Chronicle" reports the stationing of Hittite officials there, the episode described suggests that it was subject to Hurrian incursions (see Dardano loc. cit.). That Telipinu describes conquering it yet again upon his accession (*KBo* 3.1 ii 7) confirms that the Hittites' definitive subduing of the city required repeated efforts. We have no way to date the composition of our myth, much less the imagined time of the events in it, beyond the likelihood that it is no later than Old Hittite,[15] but it is reasonable that King Pirwa and his queen might have preferred to leave the difficult task of retrieving the eagle to the young gods of his court/entourage.

We have far too little of the myth to say more about its content. I decline to speculate on how the eagle came to be in Hassu or on the outcome of the young gods' quest for it. There are simply too many possible scenarios.

5. POSITION OF THE MYTH AMONG THE MYTHS RECORDED IN HATTUSHA

The inclusion of Pirwa in the "gods of Kanish" who receive offerings in festival texts accompanied by singing by the "singer of Kanish" (e.g. *KBo* 4.13 vi 9–12) assures us of his presence in Old Hittite contexts,[16] but this does not settle the matter of his origin or linguistic/"ethnic" affiliations (cp. Otten 1952: 66). In this and other instances he is associated with Kamrusepa, Askasepa, Maliya, and the "divine queen." Carruba (1969: 65) identifies the last with Kat(t)-ahha without comment (likewise Laroche 1965: 174), and since the theonym is manifestly derived

14 There is also the challenge of the Storm-god to someone's wife in the myth of the disappearance of the Sun-god (*VBoT* 58 i 5–7, OH/NS): "'If a man is killed, [can they make him live again? If a c]ow (or) sheep is killed, can they make it li[ve] again? What miracle will your sons perform?"' (*CHD* Š: 35a, after Hoffner).

15 In addition to the reflexive use of *wallutat* already cited one may note the use of *ūk* as the subject form of the first-person singular accented pronoun. The sequence *-z=(s)an* is also attested in MH compositions, so it carries less weight. An OH dating for the composition rests more on the associations of Pirwa (see below).

16 Despite the remarks of Otten (1971: 52) there are far too many OH features in texts like *KBo* 19.128 and 4.13 for there to be the slightest doubt that they reflect OH archetypes.

from the Hattian word for 'queen' (see Soysal 2003: 540–1), this is surely correct for Old Hittite (cp. Haas 1994: 474–5).[17] However, Maliya has now been shown to be Hittite or Luvian in origin (Serangeli 2016: 191–4). The *names* Kamrusepa and Askasepa are Hittite, but the fact that they are compounds with the element *-šepa* suggests that they are new creations with no Indo-European background.[18] Finally, Oettinger (2020) argues that the name of Pirwa himself, a god associated with horses, is Indo-European, probably Hittite. In sum, the unequivocal statement by Haas (1994: 614) that the deities of Kanish "sind altkleinasiatisch-kappadokischen Ursprungs" must be seriously relativized. That Pirwa is associated with deities of Anatolian origin remains undeniable. In Kp 13/67 Ro 16' (text in Rieken, *MDOG* 146 (2014) 52–3) Pirwa occurs following Išduštaya and Pāpaya in Ro 13'&14', on whose affiliations see Haas 1994: 300, 475, *et passim*.

To further complicate matters, as recognized by Otten (1952: 68–9) and Haas (1994: 414), Pirwa together with Askasepa receives an offering accompanied by a singer singing in Luvian (*KUB* 35.2 i 8–11, text in Starke 1985: 356). Pirwa also appears in one Luvian passage (*KUB* 35.123 iv[?] 5 and 7; Starke 1985: 251). The second occurrence is of particular interest, because it shows that Pirwa was in at least some contexts definitely regarded as a king: ^{d}*P*]*í-ir-wa-*<*aš*>*-ša ḫa-an-ta-wa-*<*ad*>*-da-ḫi-ša* 'the kingship of Pirwa'. It is therefore entirely in order that he would have a 'queen' as consort, as in our myth. Further confirmation comes from *KUB* 60.59 i 9–12, a text recognized by several scholars as sharing several features in with our myth:[19] LUGAL-*ett=a mayantili* § LUGAL-*ett=a mayantil*[*i*] ^{d}*Pirwaš=w*[*a*] 'He also reigned vigorously, Pirwa also reigned vigorously'. Against Starke (1985: 255) and Melchert (1993: 293), the verb cannot be analyzed as Luvian: HLuvian shows that the Luvian verb was /hantawatta-^{ti}/ (see Sasseville 2020: 38–9), and that CLuvian had a verb †*ḫantawatti-*^{tti} is not credible. We are facing an Old Hittite preterite third singular *ḫašš(u)wet* plus additive focus *-a*.[20] Imparati (1998: 138) notes the unusual position of *-wa*, comparing it with that in line 12' of our myth (cp. also *KUB* 60.59 iv 6'). She tentatively attributes the clausal repetition and position of *-wa* to the text's "poetic structure," but again the word order and here the entirely ungrammatical position of *-wa* argue decisively for a translation text. We will return to this point.

Also worthy of mention is the ritual recorded in *KBo* 3.8+*KUB* 7.1 iii 1–62, where in lines iii 14–16 Pirwa is found in the company of Ishtar, Maliya, and Kamrusepa (see the online edition by Fuscagni 2017). Since this ritual shows no OH features but several Luvianisms, it can hardly have any direct associations with the festival texts of the "gods of Kanish." See further Warbinek 2022, for arguments that bring into serious question the notion of "circles" of deities based on a particular deity such as Pirwa or a particular city like Kanish.

Hutter (2003: 230–31) duly stresses that the appearance of Pirwa, Kamrusepa and Maliya in

17 ^{d}MUNUS.LUGAL may also stand for Hittite *Ḫaššuššara-* (Haas 1994: 413 and 614): ^{d}MUNUS.LUGAL-*ri* (*KBo* 4.13 vi 10 et alibi). But this *interpretatio hethitica* is clearly secondary in NS copies or recensions.

18 Mouton - Yakubovich (2021: 40) argue that Kamrusepa in Luvian texts is an avatar of the Hattian goddess Katahzifuri.

19 It shows a "strophic" structure and also use of the sentence connective *a=* in a text where every other grammatical morpheme is Hittite (pace Starke, loc. cit.).

20 While LUGAL-*ett=a* cannot be Luvian, I must stress that unlike our myth, *KUB* 60.59 does show in column iv several undeniable Luvianisms. Those that are wholly preserved may be inflected as Hittite, but those whose endings are lacking could well have shown Luvian inflection. *KUB* 60.59 has clear Luvian associations, but Pirwa's appearance in Luvian contexts is not in doubt in any case.

Luvian contexts does not establish them as "Luvian" deities in origin. Oettinger (2020) argues on linguistic grounds, plus the appearance of the name Pirwa already in texts of the colony period, and his status as one of the "gods of Kanish" that his name is probably Hittite, but concedes that a Luvian origin cannot be excluded. The central role of Pirwa in our myth thus does not per se help us in trying to position it within the Hattusha corpus of myths.

We have already seen that there is strong evidence that our myth is a translation: is it possible to identity the source language? The answer is a qualified yes, but the evidence is circumstantial, not ironclad, so the conclusion offered below must be regarded as tentative.

The first feature of "translationese" cited above, the "proleptic" or "cataphoric" use of an enclitic anaphoric pronoun in line 6', *kuiš=war=an ḫaran*… 'Whoever will bring it, the eagle to Pirwa…', definitely is not decisive. As recognized by Rizza, this feature is attested in Luvian (2007: 78–9), as well as Hittite translations from Hattian (95–136) and Hurrian (136–168). Whether this feature is native Luvian, as implied by Melchert (2006: 295–7) or itself the result of "translationese" (Rieken 2011: 502–3, note 10) may be left open.[21] Although the version of the Mastigga Ritual in *KBo* 39.8 is in Middle Script, it is not only a copy, but a very bad one, in which the scribe misunderstands the content repeatedly, to the extent that the New Script copies often reflect the archetype more faithfully. It is therefore unjustified to try to rationalize his use or non-use of cataphoric pronouns (contra Rieken 2011: 501–2). There is no reason to doubt, however, that their very use is based on Luvian. So such a feature is as possible in a translation from Luvian to Hittite as in one from Hattian or Hurrian.

As to the entirely ungrammatical structure of *tuliyan dāir=wa tuliyan*, I am not aware of anything directly comparable in any of the extant translation literature. *If* we may take seriously the attachment of *=wa* to the verb as evidence that somehow the verb is clause-initial (however the preceding *tuliyan* is to be explained), then this could be taken as weak evidence favoring a translation from Hattian.

A reexamination of the Cuneiform Luvian corpus shows that in the only archaic text naming the *ašušaleš* with any usable Luvian text (*KBo* 45.199(+)*KUB* 35.133, OH/NS) the word order is predominantly verb final, even in imperative clauses (see *KUB* 35.133 ii 24'–30' and iii 14–17, text in Starke 1985: 280–81). The same is true for texts of the "Taurisa tradition" (for which see Mouton and Yakubovich 2021: 38–45): see the narrative text of *KUB* 35.107 iii 6–23 (Starke 1985: 238–9) and the incantations of *KBo* 13.260 ii 1–34 and iii 5–20.[22] On the other hand, Rizza (2007: 74) concludes that the exceptionally frequent verb-initial structures in Hittite translations of Hattian texts are with a few possible exceptions calqued on Hattian word order. For an example with a finite verb and the quotative particle see the Myth of the Disappearance of the Sun-god (*VBoT* 58 i 42): [*ḫaḫḫimaš*] ^{d}IŠKUR-*ni taraškezzi autti=wa* DUMU.MEŠ-*aš=maš* […] '[Frost] says to the Storm-god: "You will see [ ]of my children"'.[23]

Imparati (1998: 133) calls attention to Starke's cautious suggestion (1985: 216–7) that *KUB* 35.111, whose preserved lines contain only Luvian, could be a join with *KUB* 48.99, raising the possibility of a Luvian-

21 See Yakubovich forthcoming for arguments that clitic doubling with verb fronting *is* inherited in Luvian, but since our sentence actually has Hittite SOV word order, the origin of the feature in Luvian is irrelevant for the issue of the putative target language of our text.

22 The clause-initial *iyandu* of *KBo* 13.260 ii 5 is not an exception, but an example of the Luvian version of the "serial construction": cp. *KUB* 35.103 ii 11'–14'.

23 The following break and the ambiguity of the possessive pronoun has led to various interpretations, but this does not affect the point being made here.

Hittite bilingual.[24] However, what evidence we have for likely Hittite translations from Luvian argue against this for both *KUB* 48.99 and the almost certainly associated *KUB* 60.59.

First, since the syntactic position of the quotative particle is the same in Luvian as in Hittite (first in the clitic chain following a sentence connective or the first full accented word in the clause), it is hard to understand how a Hittite scribe translating from Luvian could or would produce the entirely ungrammatical instances of *-wa* in *KUB* 60.59: LUGAL-*ett=a mayantil*[*i*] ^{d}*Pirwaš=w*[*a*] in i 11–12 cited above and the equally peculiar iterated *kī=ma=wa x-ēl* ^{d}MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš=wa* [ ] in iv 6'.[25] The passages to be cited immediately below with their absolutely regular use of *-wa*(*r*) heighten the force of this anomaly. Second, the V X S word order of three successive clauses in *KUB* 60.59 i 8–12 with no use of a sentence connective, focus particle, or cataphoric pronoun has no credible model in the extant CLuvian corpus, but for such order based on Hattian see the Telipinu Myth (*KUB* 17.10 iv 14): *ḫašta* ^{LÚ}NI.DUH 7 ^{GIŠ}IG *āppa ḫuettiyat* 7 ^{GIŠ}*ḫattalu* 'The gate-keeper opened the seven doors; he drew back the seven door-bolts' (see Rieken 2011: 505).

Both of these features are, of course, strictly speaking attested only in *KUB* 60.59, not in our myth *KUB* 48.99. The same is not true, however, for the shared peculiarity of using the sentence connective *ā-* in combination with otherwise strictly Hittite syntax, including all particles (contrastive focus *-ma*, reflexive *-z(a)*, and local particles *-kan* and *-šša*n) as well as all pronouns (enclitic *-šši* and *ūk, uni,* and *zik*).

Carruba (1969: 65) concedes that our text is entirely in idiomatic Hittite with the sole exception of the sentence connective *ā-*. He nevertheless somewhat paradoxically concludes (ibid. 67) that the use of *ā-* must be due to Luvian influence, rejecting the tentative suggestion of Otten (1952: 68–70) that it might be a feature of texts connected with Kanish. Carruba is followed by Eichner (1976: 81), also tentatively by Puhvel (1984: 3), and implicitly by Starke (1985: 253–4).

However, one must share the skepticism of the *HW*^{2}: 1.369 towards a borrowing of Luvian *ā-* into Hittite—unless we are in fact facing a translation from Luvian into Hittite or at least a Hittite text modeled on a Luvian original. The problem then becomes that the surest examples we have of such Hittite adaptations show no such pattern of the use of just *ā-* alone. Rather we find only Hittite syntax in the use of sentence connectives (and the rest of the functional morphemes in the clause-initial clitic chain). Where there is less than a complete translation into Hittite, the Luvianisms consist of short discrete passages in Luvian and of Luvian lexemes, with either Hittite or Luvian inflection. Luvian influence on Hittite syntax is limited to configurational features (see above on the use of cataphoric pronouns and Luvian-based word order).

A complete treatment of all relevant texts is not possible here, but we may begin our partial survey with three different but manifestly related mythological passages about problematic divine feasts and their aftermath. Two are found in *KBo* 43.223+9.127+*KUB* 36.41+35.107 (for the texts see Steitler 2017: 388–92): the first is in i 2'–37' and is in its preserved portion entirely in Hittite, but the Luvian epithet of heaven *wandaniya* in line 18' betrays that the Hittite version is based on a Luvian model, as do other features shared with the similar but not identical tale in iii 8'–

24 While the very small size of *KUB* 35.111 precludes certainty, one may note that in addition to the qualities of the clay and the writing cited by Starke, the online photo of the verso confirms the lack of word space in Vo 7 and narrower spacing in Vo 2 than the autograph suggests. This would add another shared feature with our text (see note 2 above). The wide spacing in Vo 5 and 10 may reflect merely the practice of "postponing" whole words to line end.

25 The contexts preclude trying to take either ^{d}*Pirwaš=w*[*a*] or ^{d}MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš=wa* as the start of a new clause.

16' of the same tablet, entirely in Luvian. The third description of a feast gone awry is found in *KBo* 12.89 ii[!] 2'–20' (for the text see Starke 1985: 243, but thanks to the other two stories we can now restore far more of the contents). This passage is almost entirely in Hittite, but that it is based on a Luvian version is shown by the Luvianism *zuwāizzi* 'serves as food' in line 8' and the repeated asyndetic pair *ārraḫḫani- tiwadani-* 'to curse and swear' inflected in Luvian (lines 9', 17'–18', and 19', which are mutually restoring).

The relevance of these texts for our purposes is twofold. First, as already intimated above, the Hittite versions are entirely regular in their use of *-wa(r)*, which is only to be expected, since the Luvian passage shows the same syntax of *-wa*. Second, the Luvian passage naturally uses the sentence connective *ā-* repeatedly, while the two Hittite renderings of what are securely quite similar Luvian passages replace it consistently with *nu*.[26]

Paradoxical as it may seem, I must therefore insist that the usage of *ā-* in *KUB* 48.99 and 60.59 is incompatible with the premise that these texts represent translations from Luvian, and no other credible motivation has been presented for its use in what is in at least the former case an entirely Hittite text.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the resistance to taking its appearance in a Hittite context at face value—i.e., as evidence for its being a native Hittite morpheme—has rested largely on the longstanding and widespread but quite outdated prejudice that the Old Hittite system of sentence connectives with *šu*, *nu*, and *ta* is a deep archaism.[27] In fact, however, there is no trace of either *šu* or *ta* in Anatolian outside Hittite. Palaic *nū/nu* is in the majority of occurrences still a full adverb, meaning 'now' (mostly in a presentational context), which is only beginning to develop into a sentence connective (thus correctly Carruba 1970: 65–6). That its latter use in Hittite is a PA or PIE archaism is thus unlikely.

On the other hand, *ā-* is attested in both forms of Luvian, Palaic, and Lydian (in the enlarged form *ak-*). It is in fact the only sentence connective that may be safely reconstructed for Proto-Anatolian. The vocalism of Palaic *ā-* precludes its derivation from PIE **é-* and any connection with the so-called "augment" of other Indo-European languages (pace Watkins 1963: 15). Since the Palaic and Luvian (as well as the Lydian) usage matches entirely, including in main clauses after preposed relative clauses, there is no basis for deriving the Luvian from $*éh_1$ and the Palaic from $*óh_1$ (pace Dunkel 2014: 2.208–9). The common preform is $*óh_1$, entirely parallel to $*tóh_1$ seen only in Hittite.

We may be sure then that Hittite inherited $*óh_1$, and I therefore see no reason to deny the possibility that its appearance in a clearly Old Hittite composition is an archaism. This does raise

26 It seems unnecessary to go into detail, but a reading of the Ritual of Tunnawi(ya), for which see Goetze and Sturtevant (1938), confirms that it shows all the same features. All incantations have been fully translated into Hittite, with the single exception of one short discrete example in column i 58–9. Elsewhere we find only lexical Luvianisms, all inflected as Hittite, except for *tiyaneššui* in ii 12. The translated incantations use only *nu* as sentence connective. There is no trace of Luvian *ā-*. Mouton and Yakubovich (forthcoming) also argue cogently that the Hittite passage in the Ritual of the Ox in *KUB* 9.4 ii 18–21(text in Beckman 1990: 37) is modeled directly on the Luvian formula attested in *KUB* 35.43 ii 16-18 (text in Starke 1985: 144). Here too *ā-* has been entirely replaced with *nu*.

27 On the synchronic function of *šu* see the *CHD* Š: 519a, under 2', including for the rare uses outside a past context. This account confirms the claim of Weitenberg (1992) of the effectively complementary distribution of *šu* and *ta* with respect to tense (cf. Hoffner - Melchert 2008: 390) and supports the etymology of the former as an affirmative particle $*h_1su$ (Dunkel 2014: 2.299). Pace Dunkel (2014: 2.775) the usage of ta is entirely compatible with the derivation from an instrumental $*toh_1$ (Rieken 1999: 86), as shown by her cited parallels. In any case, the differing use of *šu* and *ta* precludes their derivation from **so* and **to* and an inherited PIE triad **nu, *so, *to* allegedly matching Old Irish *no, se,* and *to* (Watkins 1963: 13–16 after Dillon, Kloekhorst 2008: 772 and 801, *et al*.).

the legitimate question of why it is nevertheless so isolated within Old Hittite. Otten (1952: 68–70) tentatively suggests the possibility of a "Kaneshite" dialect. However, his implication that *kanišumnili* (*KUB* 41.14:8') refers to a different idiom than the variants *našili*, *nišili* etc. can hardly be upheld (see the *CHD* Š: 454 with refs. and Kloekhorst 2008: 605). Kloekhorst (2019) has now dedicated an entire monograph to sustaining the premise that "Kanišite Hittite" reflects a different dialect from that of Hattusha, but the arguments on which this claim is based are dubious. See the review by Yakubovich (2020: 283–7), who more reasonably concludes that the Hittite of Hattusha is merely an evolved version of the language reflected in the earlier texts of Kanish (see already Carruba 1983: 92 on "Canishite" as archaic form of Hittite).

As already indicated, the time and place of the creation of our fragmentary myth are indeterminate, but there are good reasons to think that it is no later in origin than Old Hittite, and its contents—including its protagonists and its diction—are entirely compatible with composition in a place other than Hattusha and at a time before it became the Hittite capital. I therefore see no obstacle to taking preservation of the Proto-Anatolian sentence connective *ā-* as an archaism. Whether "Kanishite Hittite" is an appropriate label for its idiom must be left open. We cannot exclude that there were other early venues where the later undeniable amalgam of "Hittite," Luvian, Hattian, and other "Anatolian" traditions took place.

I hope to have further elucidated the content and general structure of our tantalizing mythological fragment and confirmed that it is a "test of prowess" myth and translation literature. My arguments for the source language being Hattian are merely suggestive, and my conclusion in that regard thus tentative and subject to refutation, revision, or confirmation. The position of the myth within the overall corpus of the myths from Hattusha must remain a question for future research.

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