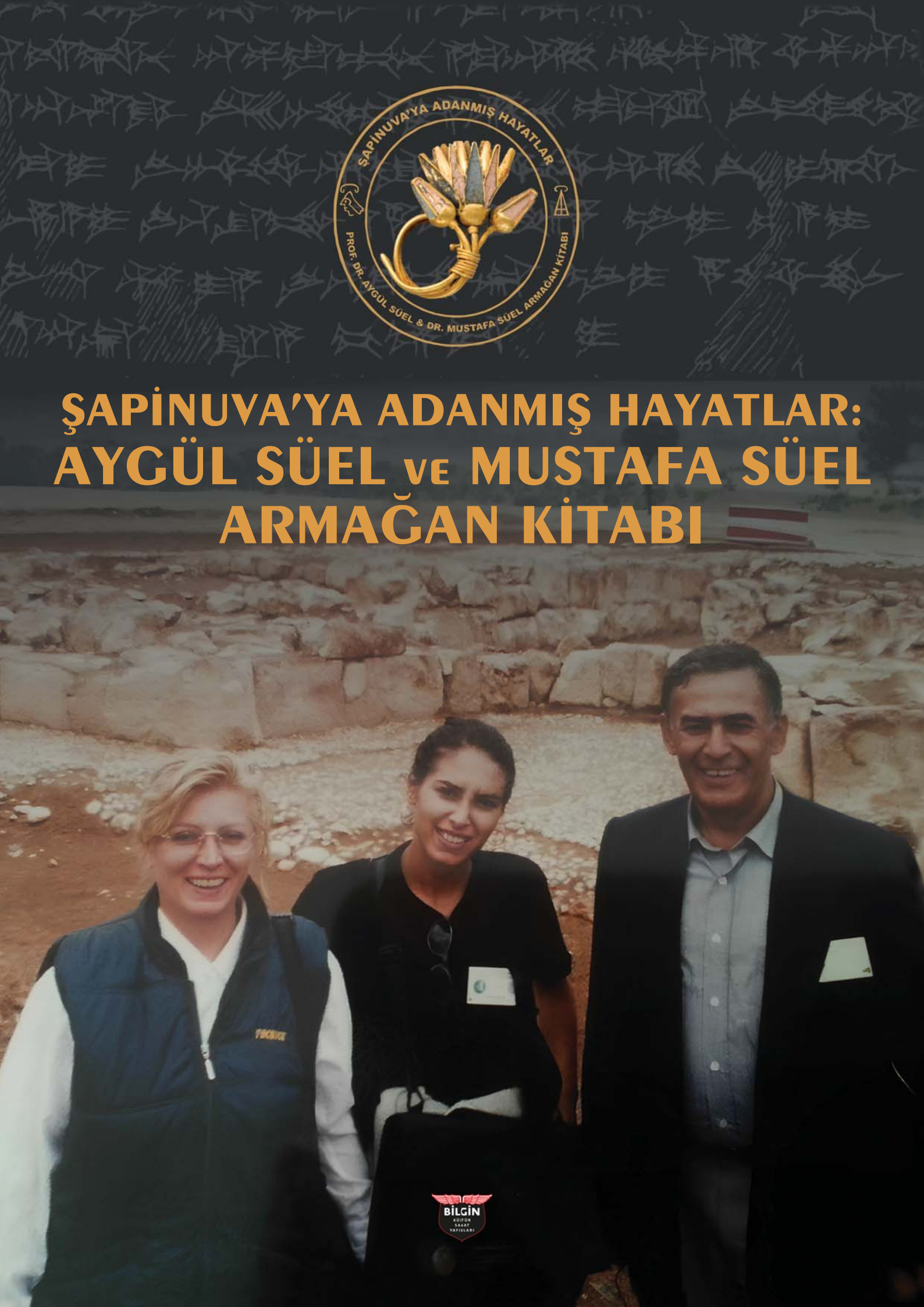
# ŞAPİNUVA'YA ADANMIŞ HAYATLAR: AYGÜL SÜEL VE MUSTAFA SÜEL ARMAĞAN KİTABI






# ŞAPİNUVA'YA ADANMIŞ HAYATLAR: AYGÜL SÜEL VE MUSTAFA SÜEL ARMAĞAN KİTABI

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# LUVO-HITTITE *latti-*

**H. Craig MELCHERT***

The excavations at Ortaköy (Hittite Šapinuwa) directed by Aygül and Mustafa Süel have enriched our knowledge of the Hittite world in many ways, including new items of vocabulary or illuminating new attestations of words already known. These include certain or likely Luvianisms: see e.g. Süel 2002: 682 for *dumnanza altannanza* and Soysal and Süel 2003: 353–6 on *tawati-*$^{SAR}$. I am pleased to offer in honor of the Professors Süel the following modest contribution to the elucidation of a misunderstood Luvo-Hittite word.[1]

The common gender noun *latti-* is most often attested in Hittite in military contexts, and it has been universally equated with (ÉRIN.MEŠ) *ŠU-TI* (sic!) and mostly interpreted as 'tribal troops, tribe': see Güterbock, 1956: 62, Güterbock and Hoffner 1980: 47–9, and Tischler 1990: 46–7; similarly Puhvel 2001: 64–7 ('nomad population, nomad military unit'). There is also a secondary use as part of the exta, designated 'left' or 'right'. Götze (Götze, 1933: 242) already compared ÉRIN.MEŠ *ŠU-TI/SU-TI* with the Sutaeans, bedouin troops hired as mercenaries, suggesting that this ethnic designation had perhaps then become the generic term for 'light troops'. However, a fundamental sense 'tribal troops' was reinforced by von Schuler (Schuler, 1965: 71–5) and Hoffner (Hoffner, 1979), based on the typical reference of ÉRIN.MEŠ *ŠU-TI* to the Kaskaeans. Hoffner affirmed the equation with *latti-*, assuming that 'tribe' is the primary meaning, and the military use secondary, following von Schuler. The only exceptions are Alp (Alp, 1979: 30 with note), who read ŠU 'hand, arm', based on his interpretation of the military use as 'arm', hence a 'column' or 'contingent' (of troops) and Beal (Beal, 1992: 107) who rejected the interpretation of 'tribe' and 'tribal troops', concluding that we know only that *latti-* and the logographic equivalent referred to a type of troops differentiated from others by some feature.

Appearance in a *ritual* context was assured by Bo 4171 + KUB 46.46 i 3-4 = 1550/u (now KBo 53.36) 3-4 (see Otten, Rüster, 1978: 271 with note 3), but the received meaning 'tribe, Stamm' was implausibly still assigned (Güterbock, Hoffner, 1980: 48b; Tischler, 1990: 46; Görke, 2016a). This interpretation is now disproven by the following example:

(1) KBo 62.38:3-8 (CTH 500; Kizzuwatna ritual; pre-NH/NS)

[...]x-*UTTI* 2 DU[G *šeḫe*]*lliyaš wedā*[*r danzi* / *nu* 1]-*NUTIM widār ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ 1-*NUTIM=ma ANA* DINGIR.M[EŠ MUNUS.MEŠ / *tianzi*?] *šeḫelliyaš=ma wetenaš* GIM-*an lattiš* [/*n=an* $^{LÚ.}$]$^{MEŠ}$AZU *šekkanzi n=an QATAMMA danzi* § [... *l*]*attin kišan danzi* 3

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[1] This article represents a heavily revised version of part of a lecture presented in the Dipartimento di Culture e Cività, Università di Verona, February 20, 2019, at the invitation of Federico Giusfredi, in connection with the project PALaC (Pre-Classical Anatolian Languages in Contact). I am deeply indebted to Walter Sallaberger, who attended the lecture, and to Jaan Puhvel, with whom I shared the handout, for invaluable criticism that has allowed me to correct grievous errors regarding the logographic expressions of *latti-*. Responsibility for any remaining infelicities naturally is solely mine.

NINDA *āan ŠA* ½ BÁN /[...]*UPNI* 1 NINDA KU$_7$ *ŠA UPNI* 1 DUG KAŠ 1 DUG GEŠTIN 1 DUG KA.GAG / etc.

"They [take] two vessels of waters of purification for/of [ ]. One set of waters they [place?] for the male gods, one set for the [female] gods. How the portion of the waters of purification is, the ritualists know, and they take it accordingly. § They take the portion [...] as follows: three warm breads of a half measure, [ ] of a handful, one sweet bread of a handful, one vessel of beer, one vessel of wine, one KA.GAG vessel..."

Further items follow, then the specification that if the ritual client is a great lord, they take in a great fashion, if it is a person of second rank, then they take in a second rank fashion. There can be no doubt that *latti-* refers to the ritual portion or allotment prescribed for particular deities, first of the 'waters of purification' and then of food and drink. A meaning 'tribe' is quite impossible. Given this incontrovertible example, it is clear that the sense is the same in:

(2) Bo 4171 + KUB 46.46 i 3–4 (CTH 448.2.2.1; *taknaz dā*-ritual; pre-NH/NS)

[...]x *apēl* ŠU-*TUM peran* /[*tianzi*...*ap*]*ēl* ŠU-*TUM peran tianzi*

"Before [...] they [place] his/her portion, and before [...] they place his/her portion."

The duplicate KBo 53.36:3–4 has rather *la-at-ti-i*[*n*]. Against Hoffner (Hoffner, 1979: 265), Güterbock and Hoffner (Güterbock, Hoffner, 1980: 48b), and Görke (Görke, 2016b) the new evidence also confirms a further example of the sense '(ritual) portion':

(3) KUB 17.18 iii 13-15 (CTH 448.2.1.1.A; *taknaz dā*-ritual; pre-NH/NS)

[*lukkatt*]*a=ma INA* UD.3.KAM *QATAMMA=pat* [*INA*] UD.4.KAM=*ya QATAMMA=pat* / [*aniya*]*nzi* GIM-*an=ma zennanzi namma lattien=š*[*in* / *INA* 2 GIŠ.ḪUR *gu*]*lšanzi*

"[At daw]n on the third and (at dawn) on the fourth day they perform ritually just the same. When they finish, then they inscribe his/her portion on [two wooden tablets]." (They then tie one tablet to a sheep and one tablet to a he-goat and bury the animals live in the pits of the Sun-goddess of Earth and the male deities.)

There is no reference to any tribe. Rather, the portions for the deities are inscribed on wooden tablets which are then attached to the respective sacrificial animals that are buried in the respective pits of the Sun-goddess of Earth and of the male deities.

All military uses are also easily analyzable as 'portion, detachment (of troops)'. One finds this usage par excellence of the Kaskaeans due to their general hit-and-run tactics, as in:

(4) HKM 46 (Ro) 3-7 (Maşat Letter; MH/MS)

*kāša=kan* LÚ.KÚR *pangarit 2 AŠRA zāiš nu=kan* 1-*iš lattiš INA* $^{URU}$*Išteruwa zāiš* 1-*iš=ma=kan lattiš INA* $^{URU}$*Zišpa zaiš*

"The enemy has just crossed over (at) two places in large numbers: one detachment crossed at I., while one detachment crossed at Z."

(5) KBo 14.3 iii 15-19 (DŠ 14; NS)

*nu=kan* ABU=*YA kuin* LÚ.KÚR $^{URU}$*Gašgan INA* ŠÀ KUR-*TI IKŠUD n=aš* 12 ŠU-*TI kišat nu ANA* ABU=*YA* [DI]NGIR.MEŠ *peran ḫūyēr nu=kan uni* LÚ.KÚR $^{URU}$*Gašgan* ÉRIN.MEŠ ŠU-*TI kuin kuwapi damašket* [*n*]=*an=kan kuwašket*

"The Kaskaean enemy that my father found in its country became twelve detachments. And the gods went before my father, and he slew that detachment of the Kaskaean enemy which he caught anywhere." (lit. "which K. enemy troop detachment he caught wherever")

The passage is treated by Güterbock (Güterbock, 1956: 67), but with an entirely ad hoc translation of *kišat* as "consisted of". Likewise unjustified for *kiš-* 'to become' is the otherwise completely unattested sense given by Güterbock and Hoffner (Güterbock, Hoffner, 1980: 48a) "turned out to be". Rather, the Kaskaeans intentionally split up into separate units, which the Hittite king then had to fight and defeat separately one after the other, as underscored by the iterative-durative verb forms.

However, the term is also employed to describe the Hittite king's own use of troops (there is *no* basis for assuming that the reference is to mercenary "tribal" troops):

(6) KUB 19.37 iii 26-29 (Annals of Muršili, NS)

*namma=ššan INA* $^{URU}$*Timmuḫala šer šākuwantariyanun nu=kan* ÉRIN.MEŠ ŠU-*TI*$^{ḪI.A}$ *parā neḫḫun nu=za* KUR $^{URU}$*Tapāpanuwa kuit dān* EGIR-*pa ešat nu* KUR $^{URU}$*Tapāpanuwa arḫa warnuer*

"Then I tarried up in Timmuhala. I sent troop detachments, and they burned down the land of Tapapanuwa that one had occupied a second time."

(7) KUB 5.1 ii 47-48 (Oracular inquiry about a royal campaign, NS)

GIM-*an=ma=aš=kan* $^{ḪUR.SAG}$*Ḫaḫarwaza* GAM *uezzi nu ANA* $^{m}$Temeti ÉRIN.MEŠ ŠU-*TI* SUM-*zi nu* $^{URU}$*Ununiyan arnuanzi* EGIR-*pa=ma* $^{d}$UTU-*ŠI anda* KAR-*zi*

"But when he comes down from Mt. Haharwa, he will give Temeti a troop contingent, and they will carry off (the inhabitants of) Ununiya. Afterwards, he will catch up with/rejoin His Majesty."

Here the king, the commander in chief, *allots* a contingent of troops to a subordinate commander, making clear how *latti-* 'portion, allotment' came to mean in a military context 'detachment, contingent'. While dividing into smaller units was an integral part of the guerrilla tactics of the Kaskaeans, the Hittite king also found it useful on occasion to divide his large standing army.

Due to the interpretation of the logographic spelling (ÉRIN.MEŠ) ŠU-TI(ḪI.A) as referring originally to the Sutaeans, it has usually been read as an Akkadogram *ŠU-TI* (e.g., Hoffner, 1979: 262–3 and Güterbock and Hoffner, 1980: 47–9). As cited above, an exception is Alp (Alp, 1979: 30 with note), reading ŠU 'hand, arm' based on his interpretation of the military use as 'arm', hence 'column'. Hoffner emphasizes the rare alternate spellings in the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma: ÉRIN.MEŠ *SU-TE-I* (KBo 5.6 ii 4) and *SÚ-TE-E* (KUB 19.12 iii 8) as showing adaptation of a foreign word.

However, now that we know that *latti-* means fundamentally 'portion, allotment', we must read in all occurrences ŠU-*TUM* and ŠU-*TI*, standing for Akkadian *qātu(m)* 'hand' in its well-attested sense of 'share, portion' (see Reiner, 1982: 195–7).[2] The writing ÉRIN.MEŠ ŠU-*TI*$^{(ḪI.A)}$

[2] Given the frequent use by the Hittites of the same logogram for more than one word, it is hardly surprising that ŠU-*TUM* also stands occasionally for the broader term *aniyatt-* 'ritual materials', as in KUB 39.102 i 3

must be taken as a genitival expression 'troops of an allotment, contingent, detachment' like LÚ **Ṭ***E*$_4$*-MI* 'man of the message, messenger'. This explains the overwhelming spelling with ŠU-*TI* (more than fifteen times). The rare ÉRIN.MEŠ ŠU-*TUM* (KUB 49.11 ii 21 and 50.30 Ro 1) represents a misinterpretation or reinterpretation by a Hittite scribe just like LÚ Ṭ*E*$_4$*-MU*. One also finds several times the elliptical writing ŠU-*TI* (e.g., KBo 14.3 iii 16). It is noteworthy that *latti-* itself in military contexts is never preceded by ÉRIN.MEŠ.[3]

As seen by Güterbock (apud Beal, 1992: 107, note 394), the only instances of ÉRIN.MEŠ *SU-TE-I* (KBo 5.6 ii 4), ÉRIN.MEŠ *SU-TE*$^{MEŠ}$ (KBo 5.6 ii 5)[4] and ÉRIN.MEŠ *SÚ-TE-E* (KUB 19.12 iii 8) all are found in the account of Šuppiluliuma I's Syrian campaigns. They do thus surely refer to Sutaeans and have nothing to do with the word *latti-* = (ÉRIN.MEŠ) ŠU-*TI* '(troop) detachment, contingent'. It is surely also no coincidence that the unique spelling ÉRIN.MEŠ *ŠU-TE* (NB with TE, not TI!) appears in KBo 5.6 ii 1, just before ÉRIN.MEŠ *SU-TE-I*/*SU-TE*$^{MEŠ}$, with the same referent. I follow the suggestion of Güterbock that this is merely an error of the scribe, who initially was influenced by the more familiar ÉRIN.MEŠ ŠU-*TI* and then corrected the spelling to that with *SU*.

Given that Akkadian *kiṣirtu* and *kiṣru* are used to refer to a contingent of soldiers and to a feature of the exta (Oppenheim 1971: 436–7 and 439), I see no reason to doubt the suggestion of Güterbock and Hoffner (Güterbock, Hoffner, 1980: 49a) that the use of *latti-* for a part of the exta is based on the military sense of the Hittite word.

The newly established fundamental meaning 'allotment, portion (received)' makes the etymology of the word transparent: *latti-* is a Luvian loanword into Hittite. Its first attestation thus far in Middle Hittite may reflect borrowing at that period or an earlier prehistoric loan, since evidence from Old Hittite for detailed descriptions of military campaigns is sparse. The ritual attestations tend to favor a Middle Hittite loan, but are less than fully conclusive. Luvian *latti-* reflects a regular verbal noun in **-ti-* '(a) taking, receiving', concretized to 'thing received, portion, allotment' < Luvian *lā-* 'to take, receive', cognate with Hittite *dā-* 'to take' < PIE **deh*$_3$- 'to give/receive'. Both the *l*-consonantism and the lack of assibiliation of **-ti-* betray its Luvian origin. The Luvian word almost surely was synchronically *latt(i)-* with "*i*-mutation" (compare *ḫāw(i)-* 'sheep' < **h*$_2$*ówi-* or **h*$_3$*éwi-*), but as far as we can determine it was treated as an ordinary common gender *i*-stem in Hittite.

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(= *aniyattan* in KUB 30.35 i 3), as per Laroche (1964: 321) and Otten-Rüster (1978: 217, note 3). One may add KUB 9.8 Ro 3 and 39.61 i 8 and IBoT 2.130:6, as cited by Laroche, but $^{d}$UTU-*aš* ŠU-*TUM* in KUB 39.56 Ro 18 surely stands for *latti-*. See further ŠU-*TUM ḫandauwar* 'determination of the ritual materials' (thus at KUB 41.21 iv 17, against Waal 2015: 530). Note the same use ŠU-*TI* in KUB 32.133 i 17 cited by Laroche and by Hoffner (1979: 264).

[3] The EN.MEŠ ŠU-*TI* appearing in Bo 86/299 i 85 between ÉRIN.MEŠ *šarikuwaš* and LÚ.MEŠ $^{GIŠ}$TUKUL GÍD.DA are also likely 'commanders of detachments' (in a military role or as landholders), not 'Handwerker', against Otten (1988: 15), while the context does suggest 'craftsman' for EN ŠU-*TI* in KUB 19.54 i 5.

[4] Thus with Güterbock (1956: 92) against Güterbock and Hoffner (1980:47b)!

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