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beschriebenen Formen des Kußtauchs bzw. des einseitigen Küssens unter Kultgenossen sind Relikte eines ursprünglichen, soziale Schranken vernachlässigenden Ausdrucks der Solidarität, bewirkt durch eine innere Bewegung, welche die Kultgemeinde bei der im Opfer bzw. beim Opfermahl gefeierten Begegnung mit dem Göttlichen einte. Die liturgisch-schichtliche Reduktion des Motivs wurde bedingt durch ästhetische und Standesrücksichten sowie durch magische Vorstellungen. Das (freilich auch nur selten bezeugte) Küsselfiger Gegenstände, zu denen aufgrund seiner Weihung offenbar auch Opferfleisch gerechnet werden konnte, ist Gestus der Verehrung des Göttlichen und Zeichen der namentlich durch Mahlgemeinschaft gewonnenen nahen Beziehung zur Gottheit. Fallweise mag er auch den Glauben an den Gewinn von Kraft anzeigen, den man sich, in entsprechend reinem Zustand, durch die innige Berührungen der Dinge erhoffte, die als Eigentum der Gottheit oder gar als deren virtueller Aufenthalt als machtgeladen betrachtet werden konnten.

HITTITE KARZAN 'BASKET OF WOOL'¹

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The rare Hittite word *karzan-* is attested no more than half a dozen times. It is clear even from the limited contexts that the word has to do with the plying or plaiting of wood thread.² Eichner (1973: 98), to whom we owe an Indo-European etymology for the word (see below), defines *karzan-* merely as 'ein Werkzeug des Webers zum Zwingmachen'. Rößle (1998), who argues that the textile *GADkazzannu*- is a derivative of *karzan-*, also contents himself with a meaning 'Gerät des Webens' for the latter. Puhvel (1997: 117) suggests far more specifically 'bobbin, spool'.

Puhvel's interpretation initially seems quite plausible for the three examples in a more or less complete context.³ The first is *IBoTII* 96 v 5-20 (OH/NS):⁴ *nu PANI MUNUS.LUGAL 2 DUMU É.GAL [kattu]* *pašnan harkanzi [-] ta karza kattan harkanzi § GAL* *lúMEŠUŠ.BAR SÍG BABBAR taruppanda[n]* *ANA GAL DUMU.MEŠ.E.GAL pāi GAL*

¹ I am most grateful to William Darden and Elizabeth Barber for invaluable criticism which has saved me from grievous errors. I alone, however, am responsible for the analysis that follows.

² In Melchert (1999), I interpreted Hittite *tarrup-* as 'plait'. This seems appropriate for cases where the product of the action is something designated as being of cloth (e.g. *(tu)e kureššer*, a woman's scarf or other head-covering). E. Barber (pers. comm.) has suggested to me that in ritual contexts such as those under discussion here the reference may be rather to the simpler act of plying or twisting individual threads together (see Barber 1991:42, note, for a definition).

³ The remaining examples in fragmentary contexts merely confirm the connection with (spun) wool and do not help in determining the exact meaning. *KUB X* 87, 3-4; sic *kunži(-)...* *t=aš=za ka[r]za(-)...*; ibid. 8-9 *nu PANI MUNUS. LUGAL[... 4a karza x[-]...* (cf. Beckman 1983: 130 and Starke 1990: 216). *Bo* 990+999, 9-10 (Gülerbock and Hoffner 1994:89; 132); *karza harkanzi...t=aš paizzi [...] nulkesšur hanzi* 'they are holding a *k...*he goes [...]holds spun wool'.

⁴ Although it is of little consequence for the present topic, I follow the conventions of Güterbock and Hoffner (1984:89) in designating the date of a composition of a text as OH, MI, or NH, and the date of a particular manuscript (tablet) as OS, MS, or NS.

DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL 1-šu tarupzi t=an GAL DUMU.É.GAL LUGAL-i
 pāi UGAL-u²-an¹ ta karzanaš nāi ‘Two palace officials are squatting before the queen. They are holding a *karzan* (from) below. The chief of the weavers gives plied white wool to the chief of the palace officials. The chief of the palace officials plies it once. The chief of the palace officials gives it to the king. The king (plies it) twice and winds (it) around the *karzan*.’ For the sense ‘wind’ for *nāi*- I follow Güterbock and Hoffner (1984:89; 360): ‘the king (braids) it twice and winds it on *k*.’ A bobbin or spool obviously is a suitable object on which to wind the plied wool thread.

The second passage is *IBoT II* 94 vi 4.15 (OH/NS): [GAL DJUB.SAR.MEŠ.GIŠ=kam] UGULA ^{10.MEŠ}SIMUG.A=yu [m]alkes̪ar anda pēdanzi GUNNI-an=kam pēran danzi § nu UGULA ^{10.MEŠ}SIMUG.A ANA GAL DUB.SAR.GIŠ pīškezzi GAL ^{10.MEŠ}DUB.SAR.GIŠ=ma ANA UGULA LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR pēškezzi ta gisBANŠUR-az gankikkezzi § LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL SÍG BABBAR SIG SA, karzanaz daskanzi ta tarupanzi t=u pīttubuš ²ʃ̪janzi (tablet breaks off) ‘The chief of the wooden tablet scribes and the chief of the smiths bring in spun wool. They pass in front of the hearth (*lit.* take the hearth in front). The chief of the smiths gives (it) to the chief of the wooden tablet scribes. The chief of the wooden tablet scribes in turn gives (it) to the chief of the table-men, and he hangs (it) from a table. The king and queen take white and red wool from/with (a/the) *karzan*, ply (it), and make it into nooses/loops.’ Here a bobbin or spool is a plausible source from which the king and queen take the wool thread they use.

The last occurrence of *karzan*- in a reasonably full context is *KUB* 11.20 i 5-21 = 11.25 iii 2-14 (OH/NS): GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL sig *kunzan* dāi ta GIŠ-i *hamanki* § ta GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-az *ganki* § GAL ^{10.MEŠ}U.S.BAR SÍG BABBAR SÍG SA, anda immiyazi ta išhuzzin ANA GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL pāi n=am=za=an=kam antaki=šši dāi (dupl. *antakini*) § GAL ^{10.MEŠ}U.S.BAR=āšta parā [([p])ēbuttezzi [([U]A)]LAN.ZU, abž̪ balzāi [(GAL)].MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL=kan [(GAL ^{10.MEŠ}U.S.BAR)PA.UDU anda ([uvad])anzi karza dāi [(t=ašta p)ara] pēdāi (dupl. has GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL=kam GAL ^{10.MEŠ}U.S.BAR] anda uwatezz̪) ‘The chief of the palace officials takes a (wool) *kunzan* and ties (it) (on)to (a piece of) wood. The chief of the table-men hangs (it) from a table.

‘he chief of the weavers “mingles” white and red wool. He gives the belt to the chief of the palace officials, and he puts it in/on his *antaka*. One escorts out the chief of the weavers. The acrobat cries “ahat!”. The chief(s) of the palace officials escort(s) in a shepherd. He takes the/a *karzan* and carries it out.’ Here the only question is: what does the bobbin that is removed have to do with the preceding action? We are dealing with a fragment, however. There are other instances in Hittite rituals where an object is suddenly mentioned that has not been referred to for some time. So this instance presents no insuperable problem for Puhvel’s interpretation.

Nevertheless, I think that there are difficulties. First, it is surprising that a word for ‘bobbin, spool’ is never marked by a determinative indicating the material from which it is made. One would expect GIŠ ‘wood’ or GIR₄ ‘fired clay’. This objection is admittedly weak. The word *karzan-* is rare, and use of determinatives is not always obligatory. A more serious problem is that all available evidence suggests that *karzan-* is a collective plurale tantum. The nominative-accusative is consistently *karza*, which is the regular form for an *n*-stem plural (see Gertz 1982: 28ff. & 298), and in the first instance above this is resumed by the clearly plural dative-locative *karzanaš*. A true plural ‘bobbins’ is not impossible in the context, but it seems unlikely that the word would just happen to be attested only in the plural.⁵ On the other hand, a collective plurale tantum for a word meaning ‘bobbin, spool’ makes no sense to me.

Finally, and most seriously, the assigned meaning ‘bobbin, spool’ leads to a complete non-sequitur in the second and third passages cited. In *IBoT II.94*, spun wool (*malkešar*) is brought in, and with the elaborate protocol typical of Hittite state rituals is passed from one person to another, and then to another, who finally puts it in its carefully assigned place. After all this elaborate ceremony, however, by Puhvel’s interpretation the king and queen then take the wool needed for the central ritual action from somewhere else - from a spool presumably already on the scene. I find this quite implausible, even by the standards of the often rococo complexity of Hittite state

⁵ Since the collective plural is a living productive category in Hittite, I would also contend that *karza* cannot refer to a distributive plural ‘bobbins’. I will soon discuss elsewhere the topic of collective vs. distributive plural in Hittite.

rituals. It surely makes far better sense to assume that the referent in context of *malkesšar* and *karzanaz* are the same: the king and queen take white and red wool from the spun wool that has been ceremoniously brought in and hung from the table.

Likewise in the last example cited, a wool object called a *kunza-* is tied to a stick and hung from a table. This surely is the source for the red and white wool thread that the chief of the weavers uses to braid a belt, which he then gives to a palace official for further manipulation - the central act of this part of the ritual. The chief of the weavers is then escorted out, while the chief of the shepherds is escorted in for the sole purpose of removing the/a *karza*. As noted above, nothing precludes that the *karzan-* has been sitting in the scene throughout. I find it far more plausible, however, to suppose that the chief shepherd has been brought in to remove the wool used in the immediately preceding ritual action. That is, he is carrying out the wool (here called *karza*) that was previously displayed as a *kunza-*. Beckman (1983: 130) suggests 'wool cord' for *sic kunza-*, surely on the basis of the verb *hamank-* 'tie', which almost always is used of materials that are themselves pliable and capable of being intertwined (thread, cord, sinew). This may well be correct, but other possibilities can hardly be excluded. A clew or skein of wool yarn can easily be attached to a stick by running the latter through a few loops of the coiled thread. And a stick can even be worked into a loosely plaited or woven cloth.

The above considerations led me to conclude initially that *karzan-* is a (not necessarily *the*) Hittite word for a 'clew' or 'skein' of wool thread. This meaning would account naturally for the fact that the word is a collective plural tantum. Whereas *malkesšar* and (*sic*) *kunza-* would refer to the wool thread in question as a material, *karzan-* would refer to its form or shape.⁶

However, William Darden, who heard an oral presentation of this idea, justly raised a far more serious objection: in two of the three passages cited the *karzan-* would by my interpretation be the source

of both red and white wool. A skein or clew of wool thread containing a mixture of two different colors seems quite unlikely. Additional evidence from an unexpected source suggests an alternative. As discussed in detail in an appendix below, it seems possible that the Hieroglyphic Luvian sign *314 represents a basket of wool and that the value /ka/ indirectly assured for this sign reflects by the well-known principle of acrophony a Luvian cognate **kunzan-* matching the Hittite.

Evidence for this interpretation of the Luvian sign is circumstantial, and I do not insist upon it. Be that as it may, a meaning 'basket of wool' fits the occurrences of Hittite *karzan-* extremely well. The focus at the beginning of our second and third passages is understandably on the material to be used in the ritual. In the one case it is designated simply as *malkesšar*, the ordinary word for 'spun wool'. In the other, ^{sic} *kunza-* evidently refers to some special kind of wool in terms of shape, color, or other feature. In each case wool is taken from the respective source for ritual manipulation. Why then do we not find simply ablatives *malkesšar* and ^{sic} *kunza-* (or alternatively the respective genitives) expressing this? I submit that the reason is that Hittite does not regularly use either the genitive or ablative to express a partitive sense with 'take' or similar verbs.⁷ It would therefore have been difficult to say directly 'took (some) from/of the spun wool/*kunza-*'. It was more convenient to describe the taking of the wool by the king and queen in the one passage as *karzanaz* 'from the basket of wool'. In the other passage one must simply infer that the wool thread used to make the belt is taken from the just-mentioned *kunza*. It also seems natural to me that the description of the removal of the wool after its ritual use would make global reference to the wool and its container: hence it is the *karzan*, the basket of wool, that is ceremoniously taken out. Obviously, there is no difficulty in assuming that a single wool-basket

⁷ On the extremely limited use of the partitive genitive see Yoshida (1987: 89f.). The one example with a verb (*eku-* 'drink') that I cited in my review of Yoshida, *Kratzlos* 34 (1989: 182) is clearly exceptional. Of the examples cited by Ciantelli (1978: 134) for the partitive use of the ablative, only one (*KUB* 13.4 i 64f. = her no. 146, not 147!) is genuine: i.e., only here do we find the ablative of the material or object functioning as the object of the verb. In all other cases the ablative merely expresses the source from which something is taken, as often.

⁶ The lack of a determinative for 'wool' would be mildly surprising, but as noted above the word is quite rare. Compare (*sic*) *širria-*, which appears to be a loanword of similar meaning (see Starke 1990: 209 with refs.) and which occurs with and without SfG.

contained more than one color of wool.

If, as is likely, wool was normally or at least routinely carried about in a wool-basket, nothing about the phrasing of either passage would have been strange from the Hittite point of view. It would have been self-evident that the wool was in a *karzan*, a wool-basket. It seems to me that this assumption also makes it easier to understand what is meant by the wool being ‘hung’ from a table. It is hard to visualize how a clew or skein of spun wool thread is to be hung directly from an ordinary table with a flat top and legs. Nor is it clear how tying the ^{sic} *kunza-* to a stick would help with this process. I certainly concede that one can imagine any number of ways of managing this task, but they all involve additional assumptions for which there is no positive evidence. I find it easier to suppose that the spun wool (*malkšsar*) was brought in in a wool-basket, placed on a table (see again the illustration referred to in the appendix), and then the ends of several strands of thread were hung down for easy access by the king and queen. In the case of the *kunza*, it was tied to a stick, perhaps to provide the tension needed for the plaiting of the belt by the palace official, again with the ends of thread left hanging down for easy grasping. I would assume, however, that it likewise lay in a wool-basket that lay on the table. In both cases, then, the wool was in a wool-basket, not directly on the surface of the table, and no attachment to the table was necessary to prevent the wool sliding off.⁸ One may interpret the proposed meaning ‘basket of wool, wool-basket’ for *karzan-* in one of two ways. First, it is possible that the word was used to designate the particular type of basket used to carry wool. The absence of a determinative for ‘reed’ (G1) does not disprove this: cf. *pattar*, the ordinary Hittite word for ‘basket’, which occurs as often without a determinative as with. The collective plural tantum would also not be particularly strange.

I find it more likely, however, that *karzan-* as attested referred globally to the basket and the wool in it. The word would have

originally meant collectively ‘spun wool’ (see below). Replaced as the ordinary word for the material alone by *malkšsar*, a synchronically transparent derivative of *malk-* ‘to spin’, *karzan-* lived on as the word for spun wool in one of its canonical forms, as gathered together and presented in a wool-basket. The synchronic global reference to the wool and the basket containing it would explain the lack of a determinative, since there would have been no single determinative appropriate for something consisting of more than one material.

This interpretation fits well with both the Indo-European etymology proposed by Eichner (1973: 98) and the derivation from *karzan-* of the textile ^{GAD}*kazzarnul-* as argued by Rößle (1998). Eichner derives *karzan-* from a PIE heteroclite noun **kért-sōr*, **kṛt-sn-és* with “amphikinetic” inflection, an inflectional type well-established in the function of forming collective plurals to heteroclite neuter nouns.⁹ The root **kert-* means ‘spin’, particularly of thread: cf. Sanskrit *kṛtīti* ‘spins’. As per Melchert (1988: 227) and Yoshida (1990: 112ff.), final **-r* is regularly lost in Proto-Anatolian after unaccented vowel. The nominative-accusative **kért-sōr* thus becomes regularly *kanza*, while **kṛt-sn-* leads to *karz(a)n-*. Since the word was a collective plural tantum, there was no basis for restoration of *r*-inflection from the old nominative-accusative singular (**karzar* < **kört-sr̥*) which presumably once existed. The word became in Hittite an effective *n*-stem plural tantum (see again Gertz 1982: 28ff. 1 298; the alternatives considered by Rößle 1998: 122 are superfluous). The original meaning of the collective plural would have been ‘(mass of) spun stuff’. This seems a suitable starting point not only for the claimed synchronic meaning ‘basket of spun wool’ for *karzan-* itself, but also for ^{GAD}*kazzarnul-*, a textile neatly derived from *karzan-* by Rößle (1998) via a metathesis attested elsewhere in Hittite. As per the parallels he cites, the name of the textile would be based on the type of material from which it was made.¹⁰

⁹ For a definition of the “amphikinetic” type and its function in forming collective plurals see Schindler (1975: 3). Another example in Hittite is *widār*, collective plural to *wātar, weten-* ‘water’.

¹⁰ The alternative interpretation by which *karzan-* referred primarily to the basket itself is also compatible with both Eichner’s etymology and Rößle’s derivation of *kazzarnul-*. As shown by examples such as Greek καλαθός ‘basket’ beside κλύθος ‘spin’, the various PIE roots for ‘spin’ also covered the action by which baskets were

Appendix

the sign itself may thus stand for ‘bone’, though she is not explicit about how the shape of the sign represents ‘bone’ pictorially.

While one may concede that a general sense of ‘violence, hostility’ fits most of the words marked by sign 314 whose sense can be determined, it is very hard to see how this works for the passage from CEKKE, rev. 1-2: *ka-ma-ni-sa* IUDEX-*sa...sa-sú-tú+rd/sa* *ka-ma-ni-sa* FRONS-*lát/u-sa* *mí-ta₄* *ka-ma-na-na*(URBS) URBS+*MI-ni-na ka-na-pu-wal/na-zd*(URBS) CUM-*ni* (“*344”) *i-sa-ta* *á-pa-sa-tí* *314(-) *sa-tá-na-tí wali-ma-za* 600 ASINUS(ANIMAL)-*i-za* DARE-*tá* ‘Kamanis, the ruler...(and) Sasturas, prime minister of Kamanis, bought the city Kamana from the Kanapueans / apasati *314(-)satanati/. They gave them 600 mules.’ Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies (1982: 93) take /apasati *314(-)satanati/ as an instrumental phrase expressing the means by which the purchase was made. Since the next sentence appears to give the actual price paid, the meaning of the preceding would have to be of a general sort ‘with their wealth’ or the like. One should also consider the possibility that the phrase is an ablative of cause referring to the city: ‘on account of its ____’. In either case the expected sense is positive and certainly with no trace of violence.¹¹

Although Laroche (1960: 161) gives *kálgá* as a phonetic reading for sign 314, I know of no direct evidence for this value. A phonetic value /ka/ nevertheless seems assured indirectly by the fact that sign 315, which is sign 314 plus the “thorn” or “tang” indicating presence of /r/, is used for /kar/. One cannot help but notice further that all words marked by sign 314 whose complete phonetic reading is assured begin with either /ka/ or /ha/. I therefore suggest that sign 314 may be functioning here not as a semantic determinative but as a redundant phonetic indicator, as in the spelling (SA₄)*sa-ni/sa-na-i-for/san(a)i/-/ overturn’.*

Sign 314 consists of a vertical bar divided in two by a stroke down the middle, with three loops on one side (see figure 1). Barber

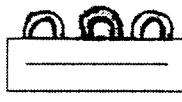


Figure 1

In the most complete discussion of sign 314 and related problems, Morpurgo Davies (1986: 132), in arguing for the sense ‘of fighting’ for *ka-tú-na-sa*, notes that sign 314 ‘seems to accompany words which refer to hostility or unpleasantness.’ She concedes, however, that the sense of the examples from CEKKE and CARCHEMISH A11a is obscure. In an analysis she herself terms ‘speculative’, she later argues (1986: 144f.) that the starting point for the usage of sign 314 was the word /has-/ ‘might, force’, which she identifies with the attested Cluvian word *ħas-* ‘bone’. For the semantic development she compares the use of Hittite *ħastā-* ‘bone’ to mean ‘steadfastness, defensive strength’. She suggests finally that

woven. In that case, *kazzarnul-* would likely have designated a cloth whose mode of manufacture produced something coarse enough in appearance to be reminiscent of the interlacing of reeds in a basket. Finally, since it is possible that *karzam-* originally referred to a basket of wool *to be spun*, we must also allow for an original meaning ‘*combed, carded wool’ and a derivation from PIE **kars*, as delineated by Röhl (1998: 126).

¹¹ It is also questionable whether “*314” *ħaz-ħat-tí* means ‘force, violence’. Hittite *ħašai-* ‘bone’ always refers to ‘steadfastness, defensive resistance’ and is contrasted with GÉŠPU ‘fist’ > ‘aggressive force, violence’ (see Puhvel 1991: 223ff.). The further derivative *ħaztalli* ‘staunch, brave, heroic’ also shows only positive connotations. Since Katuwās in CARCHEMISH A11c,5 is self-reporting his own action, it is also far from certain that he would use a word that refers to ‘hostility or unpleasantness’.

(1994: 177) cites a relief from Maras (ca. 800 BCE) showing a woman spinning, attended by a scribe who is keeping her accounts.¹²

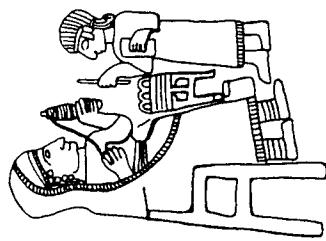


Figure 2

In the background between the figures is an object consisting of a stand or table topped by a further object consisting of horizontal bands topped by three loops. In response to a query of mine, Elizabeth Barber indicated she had always thought the object was the woman's wool basket. I submit that this object looks strikingly like hieroglyphic sign 314 except for its differing horizontal orientation. The latter difference does not preclude identification of two. Compare sign 57, the logogram for 'down, below'. It is clear that this sign is simply sign 56 (now attested in the meaning 'down' in the SÜDBURG inscription from Hattusa - see Hawkins 1995), rotated ninety degrees. This change takes place between the first and second millennia despite the fact that this shift obviously destroys the representational value of the sign. Sign 314, attested only in the first millennium, may have undergone the same shift. I thus suggest that sign 314 originally represented a wool basket, for which the Luvian word was a direct cognate of Hittite *karzan*. By the well-established principle of acrophony, the sign was used for the phonetic value /ka/, reflected in its use with words beginning with /ka/ or /ha/ and in the compound sign 315 *kar*.

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¹² Reproduced here as Figure 2. A photograph is available in H. T. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (pl. 814). Berlin: 1942.

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LE DOSSIER ÉBLAÏTE SUR L'AFFAIRE DE 'ADU

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1. Le texte TM.75.G.2561

Parmi les textes des archives d'Ébla du III^e millénaire, le petit groupe des “textes de chancellerie” (selon la définition donnée par P. Fronzaroli) est un des plus intéressants du point de vue historique, bien qu'il s'agisse de documents très difficiles à comprendre. Les difficultés concernent surtout les aspects philologiques et linguistiques, mais très souvent il est aussi question de problèmes de classement des textes par rapport au *genre*, c'est-à-dire de la compréhension de leur structure, de leur fonction et de leur finalité. À ce propos, il suffit de rappeler le cas bien connu de la ‘Lettre de Enna-Dagan’ - un document qui a servi comme point de repère pour la reconstruction des rapports entre Mari et Ébla - qu'on ne saurait pourtant classer d'une façon satisfaisante dans le cadre du répertoire établi pour les textes narratifs du III^e millénaire. Du moment qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une lettre, au sens courant du mot, de quoi donc s'agit-il? D'une chronique?, d'une sorte tout à fait particulière d'inscription royale, ou bien d'un texte littéraire?

Par conséquent, on comprendra l'hésitation à étiqueter d'une manière précise et inconfutable d'autres textes d'Ébla qui relatent des événements historiques ou politiques sous la même formule épistolographique - introduite par l'expression *en-ma* - dont il est question dans la “Lettre d'Enna-Dagan”¹. Le problème se pose, en particulier, pour un document qui a été publié par G. Pettinato en 1987 (TM.75.G.2561)² et qui mérite, il me semble, d'être reconsideré

¹ *en-ma En-na-Da-gan en Ma-ri^{lu} a-na en Eb-la^{ki}* (f. 11-7).

² G. Pettinato, *Dieci anni di studi epigrafici su Eb-la*, dans L. Cagni (ed.), *Ebla 1975-1985. Dieci anni di studi linguistici e filologici* (Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Napoli, 9-11 ottobre 1985), Napoli 1987, pp. 28-35. La photo du texte est aux