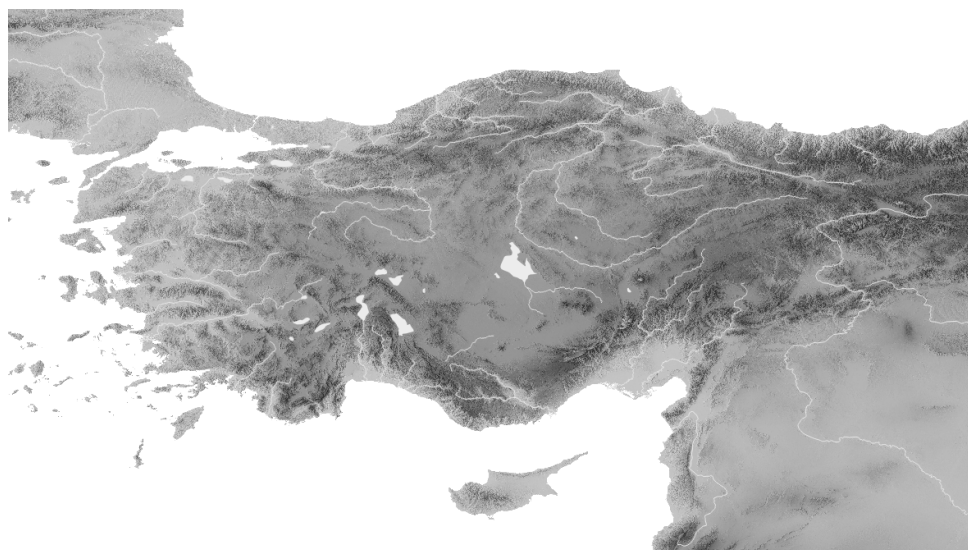


# News from the Lands of the Hittites

*Scientific Journal for Anatolian Research*

Proceedings of the conference Languages and Cultures in  
Contact in the Ancient Mediterranean

Verona 11-12 May 2023



Edited by

FEDERICO GIUSFREDI, ELENA MARTÍNEZ RODRÍGUEZ, ALVISE MATESSI,  
STELLA MERLIN AND VALERIO PISANIELLO

Volume 7

2023

News from the Land of the Hittites  
*Scientific journal for Anatolian research*  
by



Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa



Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino per il Medio Oriente e l'Asia

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Direzione e Redazione della rivista hanno sede presso l'Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa

via Suor Orsola 10 - 80132 Napoli (Italy)

Phone: +39 081 2522296 / +39 081 2522213

[www.unisob.na.it](http://www.unisob.na.it)

[cem.info@unisob.na.it](mailto:cem.info@unisob.na.it)

ISSN: 2611-0555

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# Phraseology and literary *topoi* between Anatolia, the Aegean and the ancient Near East\*

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## ABSTRACT

*This paper deals with the topic of phraseological correspondences between the Hittite corpus and the corpora of neighboring cultures, most notably the Greek and the Mesopotamian ones. More specifically it will propose a methodological framework, a reassessment of a putative case of phraseological translation, and a possible new case identified based on the outlined framework of analysis.*

## KEYWORDS

*Phraseology; ancient Indo-European languages; Ancient Near East; common inheritance; monogenetic/polygenetic features; language contact; cultural contact.*

## 1. PHRASEOLOGIES AND PHRASEOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCES

The problem of phraseological correspondences in ancient literatures involves the study of the interferences between language corpora which is part, in turn, of what we label cultural contact. Still, a more precise distinction should be made. Given the regularity of change in some levels of the languages (most notably historical phonology), which makes it possible to quickly and safely identify features shared by inheritance and those produced by interference, we suggest the division of the possible patterns of cultural contact into two main groups: on one hand, the interference between generic cultural traits, including social praxes, behaviours, cults and ritual practices, styles, cultural constructs, and of course literatures; on the other, the evidence pertaining to structural or lexical contact and the interference between languages.<sup>1</sup> Literary interference is, of course, of

relevance for the assessment of interculturality, but it lies between the two dimensions, because it is made evident by, and analyzable through, the written record of language.

To begin with, since there are different approaches to the topic we are dealing with,<sup>2</sup> it is

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GIUSFREDI authored section 4 and 6, and Valerio PISANIELLO authored section 5. Abbreviations follow the conventions of the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*. This article was presented at the first edition of the PALaC workshop and originally written in March 2019.

1 According to the classical framework by Weinreich (see WEINREICH 1953) we keep the two concepts separate, meaning by ‘contact’ the context and the condition for which the ‘interference’ occurs, at systemic or non-systemic level. As for the distinction, among cultural contact, between cultural traits and languages, we suggest that the two dimensions, even though strictly related *in the facts* (a literary *topos* is easily mirrored in a linguistic expression) should also be kept separate *in the theory* to avoid misunderstanding and ambiguities. Further on the classification of contacts and the methodology for its study, see now GIUSFREDI – MATESSI – PISANIELLO (2023, Chapter 2).

2 Among the numerous works on phraseology, a general overview of topics and approaches is provided by COWIE (1998) and GRANGER – MEUNIER (2008). Cf. COWIE (2006) for the particular perspective of the connection between phraseological research and dictionary making. Current research on phraseology in modern languages is carried out by the *European Society of Phraseology*, see <http://www.europhras.org>.

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\* This paper is a product of the project PALaC, which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant Agreement n° 757299). Stella MERLIN authored sections 1, 2, 3, Federico

useful to answer a very general albeit fundamental question: what is phraseology and what is a phraseological correspondence? According to a wide-ranging definition, «A phrase [phraseologismus] is a syntactically complex fixed expression» (Ch. LEHMANN, LiDo, s.v. *phraseologism*). This, and a number of similar definitions, all go back to BALLY's seminal work on stylistics (1951: 66–79).

Different kinds of fixed phrases could belong to such a category, such as idioms, proverbs, poetic formulas and so on, with different degrees of rigidity, or conversely flexibility: in other terms, an idiom (e.g. *spill the beans* with the meaning of 'reveal a secret') is probably less flexible than a collocation (e.g. *give/offer/provide/\*pay/\*assign help*; or *make a (great/wonderful...) discovery*), since in the former, beyond the fact that the words are strictly selected and should follow a definite order, the meaning of the whole expression is non compositional, thus metaphorical in this case, whereas in the latter some of the words can be chosen from a set of possible words and also be more freely positioned within the phrase.

The definition of phraseological correspondence involves the possibility to compare “similar” phrasemes in different languages that may, or may not, be the translation of one another. It has been essentially addressed in two ways, represented by a narrow and a broad perspective. Starting from the narrow definition, a phraseological correspondence is found in two (or more) languages if they show a perfect match between both the form and the meaning of the phraseme itself, namely a perfect coincidence both in phonomorphological shape and semantic content. The famous example of “imperishable fame”, on which will be commented briefly in the next paragraphs, certainly belongs to this first category, representing a case of phraseological isogloss (cf. also SIMON forthcoming).

## 2. COMMON INHERITANCE OF FORMULAIC STRUCTURES

The study of Indo-European poetry started from poetic formulas: Adalbert KUHN in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, as is very well-known, identified the exact parallelism between the expression of ‘imperishable fame’ in Greek and Vedic text, represented by the phrases κλέος ἄφθιτον, and *śrávas ... ákṣitam* or *ákṣiti śrávaḥ*, both being regular diachronic developments of the Proto-Indo-European (reconstructed) formula \**klewos* \**nd<sup>h</sup>g<sup>wh</sup>itom*.<sup>3</sup> What is important at that moment of the history of Indo-European studies is to show that a conceptual and cultural correspondence, such as the idea of the human

3 Other than in Homer, in which the expression κλέος ἄφθιτον is found only once (*Il.* 9.410–416), the same formula is also present in fragments of Hesiod and Sappho; for the textual occurrences of both the Greek and the Vedic text, see SCHMITT (1967: 61–102) and reff. therein. Since the work of KUHN (1853), many other scholars have turned to the study of this specific formula, and more generally of the poetic language, opening a new field in the discipline specifically interested in the poetic language(s): for a critical survey of the previous literature, as well as new insights into the topic, see in particular SCHMITT (1967), CAMPANILE (1977, 1981, 1990), WATKINS (1995), COSTA (1998), WEST (2007), PINAULT – PETIT (2006). This kind of study is particularly directed to the Indo-European poetry, given that formulaic expressions occur more frequently within the poetic literary genre, although examples from other contexts are also available (e.g. in Hittite rituals). Furthermore, it is worth noting that there is no consensus among scholars on what a formula is. As for ‘imperishable fame’ the status and boundaries of the formula have been discussed: FINKELBERG (1986) observed that κλέος ἄφθιτον, which appears only once in Homer, would not be a formula, because it appears in the text in a predicative construction, with the meaning of ‘my fame will be imperishable’, or ‘unwithered’, attributing to the verb the expression of a not-yet-completed process, as for GARCIA (2013), cf. ‘unfading glory’ in WEST (2007: 78); so that, the formula would be rather FAME BE. However, Watkins (1995: 173–178), starting from the assumption that formula must be meaningful (cf. PARRY 1930: 80), rejected such an hypothesis, proposing that FAME BE, correctly singled out by FINKELBERG (1986), would not be the whole formula, but a ‘formulaic constituent’, which can in turn be a formula or not; in that specific case, a syntactic and metric change occurred, but nonetheless the expression still has the status of a formula.

desire to be remembered after passing away, could be reflected at a formal level, involving a precise etymological correspondence. The formal and systematic correspondence between phonemes and morphemes in the same positions of the two formulas, can be projected back at the level of reconstruction of a possible original Indo-European proto-formula, with respect to which the Greek and the Vedic expressions are derived in a genealogical path, namely as daughter poetic languages.

However, a broader perspective could be adopted, including the possibility that, in the case of a phraseological inherited form, individual lexical innovations occur, so that every single language shows a different formal expression of the same phraseological content. Among the first works on the Indo-European culture, CAMPANILE (1977, 1981, 1990) has particularly explored the issue of the content parallelism, in a new methodological perspective, based in part on the DUMÉZIL's research on the Indo-European ideology,<sup>4</sup> taking into account a larger amount of data from Italic, Germanic, and Celtic languages. In a different theoretical framework, similar results have been reached by WATKINS (1995) who applied the idea of deep structure to the phrase: behind, or to better say, under a surface linguistic output there is a deep structure representing the semantic core of a formula, recognizable not only in single words but also in phraseme, or in the phraseological comparison and reconstruction. The same concept is also expressed in WEST (2007: 78) who tells that the etymological correspondence is not a *sine qua non*, because of the possibility of «a phenomenon universal in the history of languages, namely lexical renewal» (see WEST and reff. therein). This concept that, in the facts, shifts the focus from the strict etymological reconstruction to a wider cultural reconstruction is summarized by the concept of *Ersatzkontinuanten* (GARCÍA RAMÓN 2008),

4 Cf. in part. DUMÉZIL (1958).

meant as semantic or meaning substitutes.

According to this hypothesis, DARDANO (2018a) discussed the occurrences of 'to pour the voice' in Hittite, compared with similar expressions in Vedic, Greek, and Latin as a further case of common inheritance. The phraseme could be summarized as follows: \*ǵʰew- VOICE 'pour' + voice/words as direct object, for which a meaning can be reconstructed in the proto Indo-European language, but not a complete formula. This is because the lexemes do not exactly morphologically and phonologically correspond to each other, although the "core" of the phraseme still remains the same, thus being evidence of a common Proto-Indo-European source. Among the examples quoted by DARDANO (2018a: 48), *funditque preces rex pectore ab imō* 'the king pours prayers from the depths of his heart' (*Aen.* 6.55), in which the object is changed in 'prayers'; τοῖσι δὲ Νέστωρ / ἠδυεπὴς ἀνόρουσε λιγύς Πυλίων ἀγορητής, / τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέειν αὐδὴ (*Il.* 1.247–249) 'Then among them arose the sweet-worded Nestor, the clear orator of the Pylians; from his tongue a speech sweeter than honey flowed', using the verb ῥέω instead of the etymological related verbal form χέω. The Hittite examples, as well, show a non-etymologically related term invoked as a *comparandum*: *uttār šunna-* 'to fill the words' (KUB 6.45+ iii 32–44); finally, the Vedic form *mánmāni juhva* (RV 8.39.3) 'to pour thoughts' completes the picture.

However, even though the hypothesis of lexical renewal mentioned above is readily sharable, it is questionable whether the semantic core of such a formula is really the same in the different languages. We should also observe that in some occurrences the verb is referring to words saying among tears: e.g. ἐτοιμότερα γέλωτος ἀνέφερον λίβη, / χέουσα πολύδακρυον γόον κεκρυμμένα (*Aesch. Coeph.* 449–450) 'I shed tears that came more readily than laughter, secretly pouring a tearful lamentation'. In that case, it seems preferable to argue for a metonymic process in the sense that tears

effectively pour, and the voice accordingly. Furthermore, as SILVESTRI (2006: 152) observed, a similar expression is also found in the Sumerian compound verb *gu<sub>3</sub> de<sub>2</sub>* (‘pour the voice’).

The lack of morphological correspondence between lexemes, combined with the metonymic evidence and the Sumerian examples make the hypothesis of a common inheritance very weak. This last point in particular may even hint at a case of contact, were the image of pouring the voice not so simple that it may also emerge independently in different traditions.

### 3. MONOGENESIS AND POLYGENESIS OF FEATURES

Looking at different taxonomies proposed in the scientific literature, it is crucial to make a distinction, as clearly as possible, between inherited forms, areal features and accidental similarities.<sup>5</sup> It goes without saying that, working on written corpora of extinct languages, we are dealing in hypothesis and possible scenarios. Nonetheless, the very issue is to suggest the most effective way to describe and interpret such groups of data that involved possible cases of phraseological correspondences.

For the purposes of our research, we propose a specific taxonomy, in which the distinction is first and foremost that between monogenetic and polygenetic features (Fig. 1). Among monogenetic correspondences, we furthermore distinguish between inherited and areal (and non-inherited) feature, whereas among polygenetic ones, between accidental similarity and universal feature.

<sup>5</sup> Among recent ones, see DARDANO (2018a), SIMON (forthcoming). In particular, the accidental similarity corresponds to the “*somiglianza banale*” in DARDANO’s framework. SIMON (forthcoming) makes a good case for separating banalities (that he refers to “a basic natural experience”) from universal phenomena, although with a reminder that the boundary is blurred.

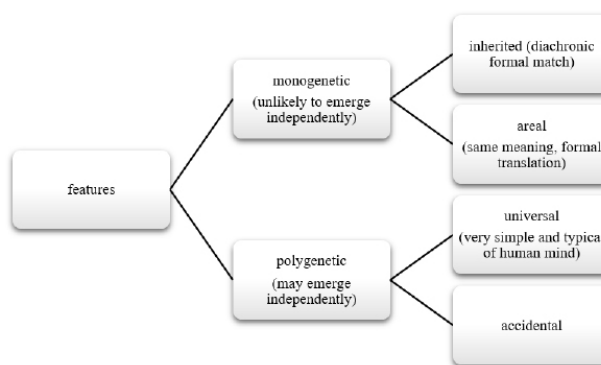


Fig. 1. The classification of phraseological correspondences: a new proposal.

In the case of monogenesis, an inherited feature is found whenever two or more phrasemes show a perfect match both in morphological shape and semantic content over time (also considering the possibility of lexical renewal). As for the identification of areal correspondences, linguistic systems must be in a situation in which they can communicate (the cultures to which they belong must be close in space and time), and the shared features must be peculiar enough to appear monogenetic; also, common inheritance must be excluded.

As for polygenetic features, they are features that are simple and common enough to emerge in a very similar shape in different cultures without a common derivation and without interference or contact. Hints that a pair of features is polygenetic include weak formal similarity, imprecise semantic match and, of course, poor intercommunicability conditions of the cultures involved. In most cases, however, accidental similarities or universal tendencies of the human mind can be identified *ex negativo*, based on the exclusion of common inheritance and contact.

In the following sections, this framework will be exemplified by reassessing a putative areal formula that will turn out to be no proper match and then proposing a new case that in our opinion does represent possible areal



relationship among phrasemes.

#### 4. OVER - INTERPRETATION OF ACCIDENTAL SIMILARITIES: A CASE OF PUTATIVE MESOPOTAMIAN INFLUENCE

While it is possible in some cases to positively identify *topoi* and phraseologies that are translated and migrate from one language and literature to another language and literature, it is also important not to exaggerate the similarity of different constructions just because they occur in literatures that were potentially connected in an areal fashion. What we have labelled as “accidental similarity” is obviously accidental when the two or more historical cultures that share similar features are disconnected from one another; but distinguishing true contact from trivially similar phrases or expressions is trickier when contact is possible. We wish to argue that, as a fundamental methodological principle, *the possibility of contact does not imply that contact was at work*, and we will try to do so by rediscussing a case that has been over-interpreted in the previous literature.

In order to do so, we will move to the interface between Anatolia and the Ancient Near East, and we will examine an alleged migrating *topos* which, in our opinion, represents simply an accidental case of moderate similarity that does not require an areal explanation.

It is a well-known fact that in the Akkadian tradition from Mesopotamia, starting with the age and inscriptions by Sargon I, the ‘sea’ has been used as a symbolically charged element corresponding to the boundary of those kingdoms that claimed to be what the modern historian would (and sometimes does) call “empires”. Sargon’s text E2.1.1.1 famously depicts the king conquering the southern Mesopotamian district of Eninmar and the city of Lagash, thereby reaching the sea and washing his weapons in it (after defeating all his opponents).

*a-am-tim* SAG.GIŠ.RA <sup>GIŠ</sup>TUKUL-*kí-sú i-na ti-a-am-tim* Ì.LUḪ

‘He conquered its (Eninmar’s) district and Lagash up to the Sea, and washed his weapons in the Sea’.<sup>6</sup>

A little later in the same text, the *topos* is completed by the mention of the Upper and Lower Seas, which hints to the universal extension of the kingdom Sargon conquered.

This *topos* had an enormous success and is not limited to Sargon’s inscriptions: it also occurs in other Old Akkadian texts, and the elements and phrasemes employed remain the same. As shown by an excellent contribution by YAMADA (2005), the *topos* eventually survives into the Iron Age, with references to *tâmtu elītu* (Upper Sea) and *tâmtu šaplītu* (Lower Sea) becoming standard formulaic designations. Of course, in spite of the different Mesopotamian traditions, the geographical reference is quite stable in time: the Upper Sea is the Mediterranean, and the Lower Sea is the Persian Gulf (which, beside the rhetorical construction of a successful phraseme, already in the third millennium BCE was not an extreme boundary, representing rather the gateway for communications with the Arabian peninsula and the Indus regions).

While there can be no doubts regarding the local success of the phraseme within the cultures of Mesopotamia, it is highly debatable to what extent the *topos* of the king reaching the extreme seas by conquering all possible lands was a circulating phraseme in the peripheral areas of the Ancient Near East cultural *koinè*. In particular, we will now concentrate on Anatolia. Recently, in a series of contributions, Paola DARDANO (2012, 2018b) proposed that the image of the ‘sea’ as the extreme ‘boundary’ was in fact a travelling phraseme and that it entered the Hittite literary (and linguistic) tradition. This is, of course, historically credible, as it is a known

ṛù<sup>1</sup> KALAM.MA.KI-*sú ù lagas*<sup>KI</sup> *a-dì-ma ti-*

<sup>6</sup> Edition in FRAYNE 1993: 9–12; also discussed in DARDANO 2018b: 360–362.

fact that the Old Akkadian literature did enter the Anatolian archives in a rather early phase;<sup>7</sup> it is however difficult to establish to what extent this literary tradition emerged from the dimension of school material and actually influenced the literary production of the Hittite world. The very idea that Akkadian was a prestige language and that the Akkadian literature was a always and exclusively a prestige tradition in the Hittite kingdom is often put forward as obvious, on the basis of an adherence to a “colonial” model of interculturality.<sup>8</sup> While the characterization is, in this specific case, mostly correct, it risks leading to overgeneralizations and oversimplifications.

According to DARDANO (2018b: 358–362), the Akkadian *topos* of the ‘sea’ indicating the ‘extreme boundary’ should be compared to some occurrences found in the Hittite corpus. They seem to be generally found in the texts from the late Old Hittite phase.

In the annals of a ruler that is usually identified with Telipinu, KUB 26.71 iv 14, we read:

[I-NA MU 3<sup>KA</sup>]<sup>M</sup> LUGAL-uš a-ru-na-an ar-ḫa-an IŠ-BAT

7 For instance, the reference to Sargon in the Annals of Hattusili I (CTH 4), which were certainly composed very early, but also the *šar tamḫāri* fragments (CTH 310) and the Naram-Sin legend (CTH 311). These texts are generally available in Late Hittite copies, which may indicate an uninterrupted tradition (but may also indicate a later introduction of some literary elements, which should perhaps dictate some caution).

8 Any close observation of the different type of Mesopotamian materials coming from the Hittite archives will easily demonstrate that there were different types of Akkadian, which differed from each other depending not only on diachronic factors, but also on the types of texts, also with reflexes on the type of cuneiform involved. The Akkadian employed as a lingua franca, for instance, is different from the Akkadian used for the historical texts, which is different from the one used for the *pabilili*-ritual (cf. BECKMAN 2014), which, in turn, is not the same Akkadian employed for the ritual texts written with an Assyro-Mittanian cuneiform inventory and ductus. Despite the number of studies dedicated to these several phenomena, a detailed survey is still a *desideratum*.

‘On the third year the King took the sea as the boundary’.<sup>9</sup>

In Telipinu’s edict, after describing how the king defeated and controlled the foreign countries, the reader encounters a recurring formula:

*nu-uš a-ru-na-aš ir-ḫu-uš i-e-et*  
‘and made them the boundaries of the sea’.<sup>10</sup>

Should this evidence be described as indicating the existence of a proper translation phraseme? A first, trivial observation is that it is unclear what the form of the alleged original phraseme would be, because the annals occurrence and the edict occurrences are very different, to the point that, in our opinion, if we are indeed dealing with “phrasemes”, there is not one, but two (neither of which is a direct “translation” or “transposition” of the Akkadian formula).

In more detail, the expression ‘take the sea (as) the boundary’ in the annals clearly means that the king reaches the coast during a campaign. This is only superficially similar to the Akkadian texts. Several elements that carry the symbolic charge are missing (to mention one: the two seas). Furthermore, since there is no evidence of a formulaic repetition of the Hittite expression in this or other texts, there is also no evidence that it was indeed a formula, and that it was not just a factual description of a stage of a campaign. Even if this *una tantum* expression was symbolically charged and derived from a re-elaboration and simplification of an Akkadian *topos*, however, the instance would remain almost entirely isolated.

9 DE MARTINO 2003: 82–83. Also VIGO 2012: 278, for an allegedly comparable passage of a fragmentary invocation (KBo 25.112 ii 5f., integrated basing on the duplicate(?) KBo 25.114 obv. 3 that, however, has a different line subdivision and may be a partial parallel rather than a duplicate); here, a kingdom seems to be delimited by two seas, but the text is heavily reconstructed. On Hitt. *aruna*-‘sea’ cf. also HED 1, s.v.; HW<sup>2</sup> A, s.v.

10 Text in HOFFMANN 1984: 13–19.

The phrase in the edict, on the other hand, is certainly formulaic, but is only text-specifically so, as it occurs a few times referring to different Old Hittite kings in the edict text only. The problem, here, is establishing whether or not this very strange really clause meant that the sea was taken as the frontier of the kingdom.

This is the repeated formulaic context of the occurrences contained in the edict:

‘(When X was king in Hattusa, his sons, brothers and relatives and troops were united. He kept the enemy lands subjugated with the force, took away their power) and made them the boundaries of the sea’.

Given the context, the phrase ‘make the enemy’s land the border of the sea’ is referred to the enemy’s land, not to the Hittite kingdom, and it is much more likely to mean something entirely different: ‘to make them desolate like a shore’, or ‘to arm them as border fortresses on the sea’, or, most likely, ‘to confine, isolate them on the border of the sea’, a proposal advanced by REVERE (1957) that was perhaps a bit too hastily dismissed in literature,<sup>11</sup> especially if one consider that ‘border of the sea’, *arunas irḫa-*, certainly means ‘seashore’, and, while it does occur several times in the corpus, its exact symbolic significance, if any, is still elusive, as proven e.g. by the rather denotative occurrence in the ritual KBo 15.19 i 4.<sup>12</sup>

Other cases that are quoted in literature to prove the translation of a Mesopotamian formula are interesting but also problematic. Referring to an insightful list published by VIGO (2022), one may be tempted to consider for instance a passage in KBo 25.112+114: 5-6, which, may contain the phrase “may the Sea be the boundary”, but the passage is integrated and we could actually be dealing, once again, with the simple genitival chain

11 E.g. by VIGO (2012).

12 F. FUSCAGNI (ed.), *hethiter.net*: CTH 436 (INTR 2016-08-05).

“boundary of the sea” (= seashore), which also occurs in the late version of the festival KUB 11.23 vi 8-11 (VIGO 2022: 71-72).<sup>13</sup>

All in all, while in some cases the sea seems to be employed with a symbolic value, none of the occurrences can and should be described as a proper *translation* of a Mesopotamian formula. Influence was likely and should not be excluded, but polygenesis is, to some degree, also possible. As the degree of formal similarity decreases, one may easily show that the sea acts as the extreme boundary in many unrelated literary traditions (e.g. the Qin/Han Chinese literature where kings used to conquer ‘everything within the Four Seas’).

Accidental similarities can emerge even in cultures that were in close contact to one another, and, if one wants to assume that contact and interference were at work and an areal diffusion (let alone a case of proper phraseological translation) took place, the burden of proof is on the proponent. In the next section, we will propose a case in which, possibly, some degree of interference was indeed at work, and we will try to produce arguments in support of our interpretation.

## 5. ‘HORSES AND MEN’, ‘INFANTRY AND CHARIOTRY’ BETWEEN INDO-EUROPEAN INHERITANCE AND LANGUAGE CONTACT

In the final section of this paper, we would like to discuss an interesting parallel between Hittite and ancient Greek involving horses and chariots in battle context, in order to establish whether the close similarity that can be observed should be ascribed to a common Indo-European origin or

13 As for the occurrence from the Anitta’s text quoted by VIGO (2022: 71), which follows an integration by CARRUBA (2003) and proposes a grammatically unusual translation, we prefer to maintain some caution, as the word “sea” in KBo 3.22 does not seem to occur in formulae that can also be found in the Mesopotamian traditions.

rather should be considered to be the result of a later convergence, possibly due to language and cultural contacts in the Anatolian milieu.

As first pointed out by BENVENISTE (1936: 406), followed by other scholars,<sup>14</sup> the formulaic association between men and horses can be possibly traced back to the Proto-Indo-European, since we find the pair ‘horses and men’, often in this order, in several ancient Indo-European languages. Thus, ancient Persia was a land ‘of good horses, of good men’ (*uvaspā umartiyā*),<sup>15</sup> while, in Avestan, Mithra is ‘the smiter of horses and men’ (*aspa. vīraja*);<sup>16</sup> according to Homer, the plains around Troy were filled with the noise ‘of horses and men’ (ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν),<sup>17</sup> and, in the battle against the Aequi and Volsci, Servius Sulpicius stated the necessity to destroy their ‘horses and men’ (*equos virosque*).<sup>18</sup>

In Hittite, as is well-known, the army is often logographically referred to as ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HIA/MEŠ</sup>, literally ‘troops (and) horses’, namely ‘infantry (and) chariotry’,<sup>19</sup> which is clearly not a compound, but consists of two

14 Cf. especially WACKERNAGEL 1938: 162–163, SCHMITT 1967: 216, and WEST 2007: 465.

15 <u-v-s-p-a : u-m-r-t-i-y-a> in AmHa 6 and DPd 8-9; also <u-v-s-m : u-m-r-t-i-y-m> *uvasam umartiyam* in DSf 11-12 and DZc 4 (editions by SCHMITT 2009).

16 Yt. 10.101. See other Avestan occurrences in WATKINS 1995: 318–319 and WEST 2007: 465

17 For Homeric Greek data, see below.

18 Liv. 3.70.6. Similar Latin phrases are quoted by WEST 2007: 465.

19 That ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HIA/MEŠ</sup>, in this phrase, cannot mean ‘horses’ is guaranteed by several examples in which it is clearly referred to people, such as *nu-wa-an-na-aš-za ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HIA</sup> i-ya*: ‘make us infantrymen (and) charioteers!’ (KBo 4.4+ iii 49). By the way, BEAL (1992: 6 with fn. 24) and other scholars prefer not to understand ‘horses’ as specifically referred to the ‘chariot(eer)s’, opting for a more neutral translation as ‘mounted troops’, which does not exclude cavalry. However, Hittite data on horse-riding in battle are far from conclusive (cf. WEEDEN 2011: 157–158), and, as will be shown, there is no need to be cautious in this case, since we have strong evidence that ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR. RA<sup>HIA/MEŠ</sup> actually means ‘infantry (and) chariotry’.

words,<sup>20</sup> despite the lack of a conjunction, as shown by the position of the clitic chain after the first element and by rare cases of double phonetic complementation.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, it could be easy to also include the Hittite data in this Indo-European framework, considering the phrase ‘troops (and) horses’ as a case of common inheritance, were it not for the fact that a close look to the Hittite texts reveals some serious problems.

Indeed, when one takes into account the earliest Hittite documentation, it seems that the phrase ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HIA/MEŠ</sup> never occurs, while only the variant ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> (Ú) GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>, ‘troops and chariots’, is found.<sup>22</sup> More generally, in Old Hittite it is possible to observe that the chariot is usually referred to simply as GIŠGIGIR ‘chariot’; sometimes, the hendiadys GIŠGIGIR ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HIA</sup> ‘chariot (and) horses’ is attested, while the only metonymic use of the horses to mean the chariot concerns the phrase ‘team of horses’, *ŠIMTI ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HIA</sup>*.

However, since some scholars have suggested that traces of the metonymic use of the plural ‘horses’ (without *ŠIMTI*) to mean ‘chariot(ry)’ could possibly occur already in Old Hittite, it is necessary to have a close look at the data and reassess the issue.

In the Old Hittite manuscript of the Anitta text (CTH 1.A), it is possible to read, following NEU’s (1974: 14) restoration, *nu 40 ŠÍ[-IM-TI*

20 It is not entirely clear which Hittite nouns are hidden behind this logographic writing: it is generally assumed that ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> corresponds to Hittite *tuzzi-* or *tuzziyant-*, but also Luwian *kuwalan(a)-* is possible; as to ANŠE.KUR.RA, it should correspond to the so far unattested Hittite name of the horse, virtually *\*ekku-*, but a Luwian reading *azzu-* cannot be completely excluded (on this topic, cf. WEEDEN 2011: 157–159 and 218–220 with references; see also RIA 10: 482 s.v. Pferd (und weitere Equiden). A. II. In Anatolien).

21 Cf. e.g. ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ma-aš-ši-kán* ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> in KBo 14.7 i 5’, ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*it* ANŠE.KUR.R[A<sup>HII</sup>].<sup>FA1</sup>-*it* in KBo 5.3+ ii 28). See also BEAL 1992: 5 and WEEDEN 2011: 220.

22 Cf. STARKE 1995: 120 with fn. 244.

(ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HL.A</sup>) (KBo 3.22 rev. 71),<sup>23</sup> while the New Hittite copy, KUB 26.71 i 14' (CTH 1.B), has a slightly different text, recording 1 *LI-IM* 4' ME ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HL.A</sup>, '1400 troops, chariots (and) horses', thus linking the chariotry to the preceding troops and replacing *ŠIMTI* ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HL.A</sup> with the hendiadys GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HL.A</sup>.

In other Old Hittite documents, the army is often referred to as ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> (Ú) GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>, although we cannot entirely exclude an interpretation as 'troops on chariots' when the Akkadian conjunction Ú is lacking. The phrase occurs in the text concerning Anum-Hirbi and the city of Zalpa,<sup>24</sup> in the *Res Gestae* of Ḫattušili I,<sup>25</sup> as well as in two documents probably dated to reign of Muršili I, CTH 12<sup>26</sup> and CTH 13,<sup>27</sup> the latter also attesting the phrase *ŠÍ-IM-DI* ANŠE'.KUR.RA<sup>(MEŠ)</sup> to indicate the chariot.<sup>28</sup>

However, as mentioned, it has been suggested that an occurrence of ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HL.A/MEŠ</sup> meaning 'chariot' could be possibly found in the *Res Gestae* of Ḫattušili I: in KBo 7.14+ iii 14' (CTH 14.IV.A, OS<sup>2</sup>/MS<sup>2</sup>) it is possible to read ]x-LI ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> GÌR Ú 2 ME ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> x[, i.e. '... foot-soldiers and 200 troops x[...]'], and the sign before

23 See the full text: (69) nu URU<sup>DIDL</sup>-ŠU [(lu-uk-ki-it a-pu-u-uš-ša an)-da' hu-la-li-ya-at'] (70) URU-ri-ya-[an h(u-la-le-eš-šar-še-et 1 *LI-IM* 4' ME ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>)] (71) nu 40 ŠÍ[-*IM-TI* (ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HL.A</sup> KÙ.)BABBAR<sup>2</sup> KÙ.SIG<sub>17</sub> ...]: 'he sets his cities on fire and [encircled?] them. Its encirclement (consisted of) 1400<sup>2</sup> troops. 40 te[ams] of horses, sil[ver?], gold ...]'. For a summary of different interpretations of this passage cf. BEAL 1992: 143 with fn. 514.

24 KBo 12.3 iii 7', 9' (CTH 2.A, LNS).

25 ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-iš-ši GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> in KUB 31.5 ii 9 (CTH 14.I.A, LNS); ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> Ú GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>(-m)[i in KBo 22.3+, 4' (CTH 14.II.A, NS); [ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>] Ú GIŠGIGIR in KUB 23.28+ ii 3' (CTH 14.III.A, LNS); [ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>] Ú GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> in the copy KBo 12.13+ ii 2' (CTH 14.III.B, NS); *QADU* ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠU Ú GIŠGIGIR<sup>HL.A</sup>-ŠU in KBo 7.14+ ii 15' (CTH 14.IV.A, OS<sup>2</sup>/MS<sup>2</sup>).

26 É]RIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> in KUB 31.64+ i 21' (CTH 12.A, NS), probably also in ii 6, 9.

27 ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠU Ú GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠU in KBo 3.46+ ii 6' (CTH 13.I.A, NS).

28 KBo 3.46+ iii 21'', 41''.

the break is usually regarded as GIŠ, suggesting the restoration G<sup>r</sup>ISGIGIR.<sup>29</sup> Conversely, according to WEEDEN (2011: 221 fn. 982), the reading GIŠ is not supported by the traces visible on the photos published on the *Hethitologie Portal Mainz*, and, based on the collation of a photo in Mainz, he suggests the restoration A[NŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HL.A/MEŠ</sup>] (although he does not exclude L[Ú]). Be this correct, we would have a clear Old Hittite attestation of the metonymic use of 'horses' meaning 'chariot(s)'. However, although this solution is not impossible, it is in our view very unlikely, both because the traces on the photos, as far as we can see, are fully compatible with GIŠ<sup>30</sup> and because in the NS copy KUB 36.126 l.c. 5' (CTH 14.IV.D) clear traces of the sign GIGIR can be seen.

There is perhaps a different argument supporting the possibility that the plural noun 'horses' could be used to denote the chariot in Old Hittite. Indeed, a dative plural ANŠE.KUR.RA-aš possibly meaning, according to some scholars, 'on the chariots' seems to occur in a passage of the so-called "Palace Chronicle". The text, only preserved in the New Hittite manuscript KBo 3.34 ii 27-28 (CTH 8.A), runs as follows: (27) ... *da-i-iš-ša-an* ANŠE.KUR.RA-aš *ku-i-da* LÚ.MEŠIŠ (28) *a-am-mi-ya-an-tu-uš-mu-uš*. However, despite the fact that the manuscript is late and may not preserve the original text, we should observe that the interpretations and, consequently, the translations proposed for this passage are very different from one another,<sup>31</sup> and nothing, in this

29 Cf. HOUWINK TEN CATE 1984: 57, BEAL 1992: 141, DE MARTINO 2003: 120.

30 Cf. the photo hethiter.net/: PhotArch Phb03825, where, after ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>, a horizontal wedge followed by a vertical one is clearly visible and can well represent the lower portion of the sign GIŠ.

31 Cf. e.g. SOYSAL 1989: 85: «Nachdem er meine jungen Wagenlenker auf die Pferde aufsitzen ließ»; BEAL 1992: 536: «because he places/placed their young Chariot Fighters for?/on? horses»; DARDANO 1997: 53: «Dopo aver disposto sui carri i conducenti, in particolare gli inesperti tra di loro» (followed by MARAZZI 2002: 509); WEEDEN 2011: 159: «because he put (assigned?) their immature LÚ.MEŠIŠ on (to?) horses». Furthermore, *ku-i-da* could be regarded as quite problematic: according to a recent analysis by

context, prevents ANŠE.KUR.RA-*aš* from actually being ‘horses’.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, as will be discussed, ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HIA/MEŠ)</sup> is rarely used in the later documentation to indicate the chariot as object; rather, it generally denotes the chariotry as a military unit, i.e. the whole complex consisting of horses, chariot, and people on it, so that a different use in this passage would be unusual.

In another passage of the Palace Chronicle, KBo 3.34 ii 36, we read  $\text{Jx x } \text{A-BI} \text{ LUGAL } e-e\check{s}-ta \text{ ANŠE.KUR.RA-}u\check{s} \text{ URUx-x-x-x}^1-i \text{ ar-ta}$ , ‘the father of the king was ...; the horse stood in the city of ...’.<sup>33</sup> In this passage, although the context may be military,<sup>34</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA-*uš* is a nominative singular (see also the singular verbal form *arta*), and, as far as we can see, the metonymic use of ANŠE.KUR.RA seems to be restricted to the plural. Furthermore, the context is broken, and it is not very clear what is happening here. Therefore, in our view, there is no compelling reason to state that chariotry is meant here.<sup>35</sup>

Otherwise, if we wanted to take the evidence of the Palace Chronicle for good, we could imagine that it really witnesses an Old Hittite metonymic use of the noun for ‘horse(s)’, which does not occur elsewhere in the Old Hittite documentation because it was obscured by a stronger model, namely that of Akkadian, where the war chariot is never referred to as ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HIA/MEŠ)</sup>, but it is consistently expressed through the logogram

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GOEDEGEBUURE (forthcoming), it should be explained as *kuid=a*, introducing a new sentence with a contrastive topic, ‘But as for their young chariot-fighters, ...’.

32 We could also add that the official designated by the logogram  $\text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{I}\check{\text{S}}$  (or  $\text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{KU}\check{\text{S}}$ ,  $\text{L}^{\text{U}}\check{\text{S}}\check{\text{U}}\check{\text{S}}$ ), attested in this passage, usually occurs with horses rather than with chariots (cf. PECCHIOLI DADDI 1977: 189 with fn. 93), but there is also enough evidence that he was actually a chariot fighter (cf. BEAL 1992: 162–172).

33 Cf. DARDANO 1997: 54–55. See also HOUWINK TEN CATE 1984: 77 fn. 29, who read the city name as  $\text{URUHu-pi-ih-}\check{\text{S}}u-i$ .

34 In ii 37 there is a  $\text{L}^{\text{U}}\check{\text{S}}\text{UKUR.K}\check{\text{U}}.\text{SIG}_{17}$ , ‘golden spear man’, who goes into the camp (*tuzziya*), and the camp also occurs in ii 42.

35 *Contra* HOUWINK TEN CATE 1984: 60, DARDANO 1997: 54–55, and WEEDEN 2011: 157 fn. 702. Conversely, SOYSAL 1989: 85 translates «Das Pferd ist in der Stadt Hapihsuwa stationiert».

$\text{GI}\check{\text{S}}\text{GIGIR}$  (Akk. *narkabtu*),<sup>36</sup> although we should note that the phrase  $\text{ÉRIN}^{\text{MEŠ}} \check{\text{U}} \text{GI}\check{\text{S}}\text{GIGIR}^{\text{MEŠ}}$  seems to be rarely attested before the Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian documentation.<sup>37</sup>

Therefore, not only is the phrase  $\text{ÉRIN}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{ANŠE.KUR.RA}^{\text{HIA/MEŠ}}$  not attested in Old Hittite, but also positive evidence of the metonymic use of ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HIA/MEŠ)</sup> for the chariot, which is the necessary prerequisite for this phrase, is currently lacking.

The earliest occurrences of the phrase  $\text{ÉRIN}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{ANŠE.KUR.RA}^{\text{HIA/MEŠ}}$  date to the Middle Hittite period, specifically to the reign of Tuthaliya I,<sup>38</sup> and the first text showing it is the treaty between this Hittite king and Šunaššura of Kizzuwatna, both in the Hittite

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36 Cf. RIA 5: 336–344 s.v. Kampfwagen (Streitwagen). A. Philologisch. Although the data are scarce, this can be seen also in the Akkadian texts from Boğazköy: in the Siege of Uršu text (CTH 7, cf. BECKMAN 1995) as well as in the Akkadian version of the Annals of Hattušili I (CTH 4.I, cf. DEVECCHI 2005), the chariot is consistently  $\text{GI}\check{\text{S}}\text{GIGIR}$ , while in the letter of Hattušili I to Tunip-Teššub of Tikunani (cf. SALVINI 1994), ANŠE.KUR.RA simply means ‘horse’. The metonymic use of ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(MEŠ)</sup> for ‘cavalry’ as well as the phrase  $\text{ÉRIN}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{ANŠE.KUR.RA}^{\text{MEŠ}}$  are later attested in Neo-Assyrian (cf. CAD S: 331–332), but the chariotry is indicated through  $\text{GI}\check{\text{S}}\text{GIGIR}^{\text{MEŠ}}$ .

37 The earliest occurrences we know are found in Old Babylonian letters and administrative texts. The closest example to the Hittite ones occurs in a letter, AbB 14 53 (= TCL 1 53), 19 *šum-ma ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ū GI<sup>MEŠ</sup>GIGIR (20) a-ṭa-ra-da-ak-ki*, ‘when I will send you troops and a chariot’, while in an administrative text, CUSAS 29 55, 7, we find *qá-du ÉRIN pi-ih-ri-im ū GI<sup>MEŠ</sup>GIGIR<sup>HIA1</sup>*, ‘with an elite troop and chariots’. Otherwise,  $\text{ÉRIN}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{GI}\check{\text{S}}\text{GIGIR}$ , without conjunction, denotes the chariot soldier, Akk. *šāb narkabti* (cf. CUSAS 29 25, 4, 8; CUSAS 29 27, 4; CUSAS 29 56, 7; CUSAS 29 145, 21; Sem 1278, 2), and it is sometimes paired to  $\text{ÉRIN}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{GIR}$  ‘foot soldier’ (CUSAS 29 16, 1; see also  $\text{GI}\check{\text{S}}\text{GIGIR}^{\text{HIA}} \check{\text{U}} \text{ÉRIN}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{GIR}$  in AbB 10 150, 11). This may support HOUWINK TEN CATE’s (1984: 57) suggestion that  $\text{ÉRIN}^{\text{MEŠ}} \check{\text{U}} \text{GI}\check{\text{S}}\text{GIGIR}^{\text{MEŠ}}$  represents the abbreviation of the longer phrase  $\text{ÉRIN}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{GIR} \check{\text{U}} \text{ÉRIN}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{GI}\check{\text{S}}\text{GIGIR}^{\text{MEŠ}}$ , which is also sporadically found in Hittite (cf. KBo 7.14+ iii 14’, KBo 28.108+, 14’). Also compare later attested analogous titles, such as *bēl narkabti* ‘lord of the chariot’ (cf. CAD N/1: 359), *rākib narkabti* ‘charioteer’ (Nuzi, cf. Zaccagnini 1977: 26), and  $\text{L}^{\text{U}}\text{GAL}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{GI}\check{\text{S}}\text{GIGIR}^{\text{MEŠ}}$  ‘great one of the chariots’ (Emar, cf. VITA 2002: 126–127).

38 In the preceding Akkadian treaty between Taḥurwaili and Eheya of Kizzuwatna (CTH 29.A), we only find  $\text{ÉRIN}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{GI}\check{\text{S}}\text{GIGIR}^{\text{HIA}}$ , but with the meaning ‘chariot troops’, beside  $\text{ÉRIN}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{GIR}^{\text{HIA}}$  ‘foot troops’ (KBo 28.108+, 14’).

and Akkadian versions.<sup>39</sup> The phrase is then attested in the so-called Indictment of Madduwatta (CTH 147),<sup>40</sup> as well as in several letters from the Middle Hittite archive of Maşat Höyük (ancient Tapikka).<sup>41</sup> Sporadically, in these texts, the chariot is also referred to as <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR, but usually when it is meant as an object, not as a military unit,<sup>42</sup> and the phrase <sup>ÉRIN</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> is never attested.

The distribution between ANŞE.KUR.RA<sup>HI.A/MEŠ</sup> and <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR seems to find a balance during the Imperial period. If previously, under Tuḫaliya I, the phrase <sup>ÉRIN</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŞE.KUR.RA<sup>HI.A</sup> seems to be the only one employed, both in Hittite and Akkadian texts, since at least Šuppiluliuma I onwards a clear

complementary distribution can be observed: the phrase <sup>ÉRIN</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŞE.KUR.RA<sup>HI.A</sup> only occurs in Hittite texts, while in the Akkadian ones only <sup>ÉRIN</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup> (*ù*) <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> is found.<sup>43</sup> Thus, in the Hittite treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Ḫukkana of Ḫayaša,<sup>44</sup> the Hittite version of the treaty with Aziru of Amurru,<sup>45</sup> the Hittite version of the oath of Šattiwaza of Mittani,<sup>46</sup> and the instructions CTH 253,<sup>47</sup> <sup>ÉRIN</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŞE.KUR.RA<sup>HI.A</sup> is consistently found,<sup>48</sup> while in Akkadian documents – namely the Akkadian version of the treaty with Aziru,<sup>49</sup> the treaty with Šattiwaza,<sup>50</sup> the Akkadian version of the oath of Šattiwaza,<sup>51</sup> the treaty with Tette of

39 Akkadian version: KBo 28.110+ rev. 49'-51', 54' (CTH 41.I.1, MS), KBo 1.5 i 20-21 (CTH 41.I.2, MS); Hittite version: KUB 36.127 obv. 5', 6', 9' (CTH 41.II.2, MS). <sup>ÉRIN</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŞE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> also occur in the small fragment KUB 23.16(+) iii 4' (currently CTH 211.6, NS), which, according to CARRUBA (2007: 17–21), belongs to the Annals of Tuḫaliya I. The phrase is not found so far in the other fragments of the Annals of the king (CTH 142, cf. CARRUBA 1977), where we find a more extensive designation: KUB 23.11 ii 34' ... 1 SIG, <sup>ÉRIN</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>Ù</sup> 6 ME ANŞE.KUR.RA <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> (35') [<sup>LÚ</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup> *i*]š-me-ri-ya-aš BE-LU<sup>HI.A</sup>-uš: '10.000 soldiers and 600 horse chariots, [cha]rioteers, lords' (similarly in ii 11'–12' and iii 5, the latter without ANŞE.KUR.RA <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>).

40 KUB 14.1+ obv. 7, 11, 53, 61, rev. 38 (cf. BECKMAN – BRYCE – CLINE 2011: 69–100). Note also <sup>ŠIMDI</sup> ANŞE.KUR.RA<sup>HI.A</sup> in rev. 51.

41 Cf. HKM 15, 6-8; HKM 19, 11; HKM 26, 11-15; HKM 45 l.e. 1; HKM 50, 28. As expected, ANŞE.KUR.RA<sup>HI.A</sup> can mean 'chariotry' also by itself (cf. HKM 1, 8-10; HKM 2, 4-8; HKM 9, 6-8; HKM 19, 14-17; HKM 30, 8-10). Other designations for the chariot(ry) found in these letters are <sup>ŠIMDI</sup> ANŞE.KUR.RA<sup>HI.A</sup> (cf. HKM 26, 5; HKM 19, 21) and the hendiadys <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR ANŞE.KUR.RA<sup>HI.A</sup> or ANŞE.KUR.RA <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR (cf. HKM 27b, 13-14; HKM 52, 42).

42 Cf. e.g. HKM 60, 22 <sup>Lu-ši-wa-li-iš-wa-za</sup> <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR (23) *tu-u-ri-ya-az-zi nam-ma-wa-ra-at* (24) *ar-ḫa [d]u-wa-ar-ni-iz-zi* (25) *nu-uš-ši a-pa-a-at-ta* <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR (26) *EGIR-pa SIG<sub>5</sub>-in i-ya-ad-du*: "Lušiwali hitched up a chariot (of mine) and then wrecked it." So let (Lušiwali) repair that chariot for him' (transl. according to HOFFNER 2009: 212).

43 Note that such a distribution makes it clear that ANŞE.KUR.RA<sup>HI.A/MEŠ</sup> only referred to chariotry and did not include cavalry.

44 KBo 5.3+ ii 28 (CTH 42.A, NS).

45 KBo 10.12+ ii 22', 30', 40', 54', iii 2', 6' (CTH 49.II, NS). Note however <sup>MJEŠ</sup> <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-<sup>ŠÚ</sup> in ii 26', which, however, can be easily explained. Indeed, DEL MONTE (1980: 105–107; 1986: 65–66, 69) pointed out a number of uncommon structures in the Hittite text, which make it likely that this version of the treaty with Aziru was probably a (back-)translation from an Akkadian version. Therefore, the unique occurrence of the unexpected <sup>ÉRIN</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> could depend on the Akkadian model, where that specific phrase was regular (for the opposite phenomenon of interference – the "Hittite" phrase in an Akkadian text – see the discussion on the treaty with Tette of Nuḫašše below).

46 KBo 50.18+ ii 9', 14' (CTH 52.II, NS).

47 KUB 21.41 iv? 6' (MS; cf. MILLER 2013: 270–273).

48 A counterexample is found in a treaty from Oylum Höyük, perhaps issued by Šuppiluliuma I, in which <sup>ÉRIN</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> is found despite the text is in Hittite language: Oy. 12-401 obv. 9 [... *na*]-*aš-kán* <sup>ÉRIN</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> [...] (CTH 212, NS, cf. ÜNAL 2015). However, the fragmentary status of the tablet does not allow for any assessment.

49 KUB 3.7+ obv. 23', 26', 29' (CTH 49.I.A); Bo 9200, 1' (CTH 49.I.D; cf. KLENGEL 1977: 259).

50 KBo 1.1+ obv. 33 (CTH 51.I.A), KBo 1.2 obv. 14' (CTH 51.I.B), KUB 3.1a+ obv. 17'-18' (CTH 51.I.C).

51 KBo 1.3+ bv. 35–36, 42, 43, 51, 53, 55 (CTH 52.I).

Nuḫašše,<sup>52</sup> as well as the Amarna letter EA 41<sup>53</sup> – the army is consistently referred to as ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>, and ANŠE.KUR.RA only means ‘horse’.<sup>54</sup>

This complementary distribution between ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>/KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HILA/MEŠ</sup> in Hittite texts and ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>/KARAŠ (ù) GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> in the Akkadian ones is fully confirmed by the documentation dated to the reign of Muršili II<sup>55</sup>

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52 KBo 1.4+ i 4–5, ii 20, 23–24, 51, 55, iii 10 (CTH 53.A); KBo 1.16+ ii 6’ (CTH 53.B). However, ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HILA</sup> is found in KBo 1.4+ i 9, but it probably represents an oversight of the scribe, which may also shed lights on the composition process of the Akkadian text (we could perhaps imagine that the Akkadian text was drafted by a Hittite scribe, or that a Hittite version of the treaty existed, from which the Akkadian one was translated). Incidentally, also the consistent lack of the conjunction ù in the phrase ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>, unlike the Old Hittite occurrences, could be perhaps regarded as a case of interference of the Hittite variant ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HILA/MEŠ</sup>, which almost never shows a conjunction (see however ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ma ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ya in KUB 6.41+ iv 4’ and ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> KARAŠ-ya-at-ta in Bo 86/299 iii 32).

53 ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ka GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-k[a] in the greeting formula, EA 41, 5 (CTH 153; cf. HOFFNER 2009: 277–279).

54 Cf. e.g. GUD<sup>MEŠ</sup> UDU<sup>MEŠ</sup> ù ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> ‘oxen, sheep, and horses’ in KBo 1.1+ obv. 28, 53 (CTH 51.I.A).

55 For Hittite texts, cf. the *Res Gestae* of his father Šuppiluliuma I (CTH 40; see the edition by DEL MONTE 2009 for the occurrences), the Annals of the king (CTH 61; cf. GOETZE 1933), the Hittite version of the treaty with Tuppi-Teššub of Amurru (CTH 62.II; cf. WILHELM – FUSCAGNI (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 62 (INTR 2013-08-07)), the treaty with Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira and Kuwaliya (CTH 68), and the treaty with Manapa-Tarḫunta of the Šeḫa-river land (CTH 69; cf. WILHELM – FUSCAGNI (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 69 (INTR 2014-02-17)). As to Akkadian documents, ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> often occurs in the treaty with Niqmepa of Ugarit (CTH 66; cf. DEL MONTE 1986). Unfortunately, in the Akkadian version of the treaty with Tuppi-Teššub of Amurru (CTH 62.AA; cf. DEL MONTE 1986: 156–159), KUB 3.14 obv. 17, we only read ]x<sup>MEŠ</sup>, and the traces visible in the photo on the *Hethitologie Portal Mainz* (hethiter.net/: PhotArch BoFN00056) can be compatible both with GIGIR and RA (although GIGIR is perhaps more likely, because a *Winkelhaken* seems to precede the vertical wedge).

and Ḫattušili III,<sup>56</sup> while we do not have complete data for the other kings.<sup>57</sup>

Before summing up the Hittite data, we should briefly address the issue of the metonymic use of ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HILA/MEŠ)</sup> to denote the chariot as object, for which, as mentioned above, very limited evidence is currently found in Hittite texts. Generally, the metonymic use of ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HILA/MEŠ</sup> specifically refers to the chariot as a military unit, not to the chariot as object, for which GIŠGIGIR is consistently employed, as emerges e.g. from a lot of examples in which the actions of getting on and off the chariot, set someone on the chariot, as well as standing on

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56 For the Hittite use cf. e.g. the so-called “Apology” of the king (CTH 81.A, cf. OTTEN 1981), where we find both ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> (KUB 1.1+ ii 21, 50) and KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> (i 63, 64–65, ii 70, 73, iii 45’–46’). ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> also occurs in the Hittite military instructions CTH 254 (KUB 21.46 i 3; cf. MILLER 2013: 274–275). Turning to the Akkadian texts, in the treaty with Ramses II of Egypt (CTH 91.A; KBo 1.7+ obv. 30, 33, 36, 39) as well as in the treaty with Bentešina of Amurru (CTH 92; KBo 1.8+ rev. 12’, 13’–14’) ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> occurs, while in the letter to Kadašman-Enlil II (CTH 172; KBo 1.10+ obv. 45, 63, cf. HAGENBUCHNER 1989: 281–300) we find KARAŠ<sup>HILA</sup> ù GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> (note also that ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> and ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> are regularly followed by GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> in the greeting formula, obv. 3, 5–6).

57 As for Muwattalli II, ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> is regularly found in the Hittite treaty with Alakšandu of Wiluša (CTH 76.A, KUB 21.1+ ii 72, iii 6, 14, 15, 56, 58), but the phrase never occurs in the preserved fragments of the Akkadian treaty with Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo (CTH 75), which is anyway a copy of the original treaty issued by Muršili II. Likewise, as to Tuḫaliya IV, we can only evaluate the Hittite data, which are not surprising: in the treaty with Šaušgamuwa of Amurru (CTH 105.A; cf. KÜHNE – OTTEN 1971) we find ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-KA ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup>-KA (KUB 23.1+ ii 34) as well as KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA (iv 19, 21), while in the treaty with Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša (CTH 106.I.1, the so-called “Bronze Tablet”; cf. OTTEN 1988) ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> KARAŠ-ya (Bo 86/299 iii 32, unexpectedly with the conjunction -ya) and ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ... ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> (iii 37–38) occur. KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.[RA<sup>HILA/MEŠ</sup>] also occurs in the Hittite draft (or copy) of a letter sent by a Hittite king (possibly Tuḫaliya IV himself) to Tukulti-Ninurta I (KUB 23.109(+) obv. 5; cf. MORA – GIORGIERI 2004: 195–197), while in the letter sent by the Assyrian kings to the Hittite ones the chariotry is consistently referred to as GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>.



the chariot are involved.<sup>58</sup> However, in a small number of late festival texts, one seemingly finds ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HIA/MEŠ)</sup> in these kind of contexts, although often in competition with GIŠGIGIR.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, it is likely that such an

58 Cf. e.g. the so-called Tawagalawa letter (CTH 181, NS, cf. BECKMAN – BRYCE – CLINE 2011: 101–122), KUB 14.3 i 9 ... *i-it-wa-ra-an-za-an-ḡkán* A-ḡNA<sup>1</sup> GIŠGIGIR (10) GAM-an *ti-it-ta-nu-[u]t* ‘go set him on the chariot with you’; i 69 *nu-wa-ra-an-za-an-kán* A-NA GIŠGIGIR (70) [GAM-*a*]n *ti-it-ta-nu-ut* ‘set him on the chariot [wit]h you’; ii 60 DUMU-an-na-aš-mu<sup>LÚ</sup> KAR-TAP-PU<sup>U</sup> A-NA GIŠGIGIR (61) GAM-an *ti-iš-ke-ez-zi* ‘during (my) childhood he used to mount the chariot with me as charioteer’. See also *na-an-kán* A-NA GIŠGIGIR *wa-aq-qa-ri-ya-nu-un*, ‘I revolted against him on the chariot’, in the “Apology” of Hattušili III (cf. OTTEN 1981: 22); <sup>LÚ</sup>KAR-TAP-PU-*ma-an-kán* GIŠGIGIR-za GAM *pít-ta-a-iz-z[i]*, ‘the charioteer might flee down from the chariot’, in a treaty issued by Šuppiluliuma II (KBo 4.14 iii 47–48, LNS); *ma-a-aḡ-ḡa-an* LUGAL-uš GIŠGIGIR-za *kat-ta ti-ya-[zi]*, ‘when the king step[s] down from the chariot’, in IBoT 1.36 iv 24, the Protocol for the Royal Body Guard (CTH 262, MS, although it is perhaps a copy of an Old Hittite text, where we would not expect ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HIA/MEŠ)</sup> for the chariot anyway), LUGAL-uš-kán GIŠḡu-u-lu-ga-an-na-az *kat-ta ú-ez-zi ta-aš-kán* GIŠGIGIR-ni *ti-ya-zi*, ‘the king comes down from the wagon and steps on the chariot’ in the festival text KUB 20.96 iii 19’-20’ (CTH 635, NS), and *na-aš-ša-an* GIŠGIGIR-ya *ti-i-e-ez-zi*, ‘he mounts on the chariot’, in the festival KUB 9.17, 20’ (CTH 685, NS).

59 Cf. KUB 10.3 i 11 [...]x ANŠE.KUR.RA-it *ša-ra+a pé-en-na-i*, ‘[...] he drives up with the horse(s)’ (CTH 606.1.A, LNS) and its NS dupl. KBo 8.119 obv. 2’ [...] ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup>-it [...]. Some lines below in the same text one can read LUGAL-uš-kán GIŠGIGIR-az *kat-ta ti-ya-zi*, ‘the king steps down from the chariot’ (KUB 10.3 i 18-19), which clearly shows that the ‘horse(s)’ found in i 11 should be regarded as a metonymical expression for ‘chariot’. Other examples include KUB 30.41+ i.e., 1.col. 2 [LUGA]L-uš-kán <sup>1</sup>*e<sup>1</sup>-ku-zi na-aš-kán* A-NA ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ti-ya-zi*, ‘[the kin]g drinks and he steps on the horses’ (CTH 669.19, NS, cf. PORTZ 2011: 94), and a couple of passages in two tablets belonging to the textual tradition of the Spring festival celebrated at Šarišša (for a complete edition of the festival, see Pisaniello forthcoming): KUB 20.99+ i 12 [... *IŠ-TU A*]NŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HIA</sup> (13) [*kat-ta ti-ya-zi*], ‘[he steps down from the h]orses’ (CTH 636.2, NS; 2<sup>nd</sup> tablet of the festival), and KUB 7.25 i 6 *ta-aš-ša-an* A-NA ANŠE.KUR.RA *ti-ya-az-zi*, ‘he steps on the horse’, and i 8 *nu-kán* LUGAL-uš <sup>ḡ</sup>*ḡi-lam-ni an-da IŠ-TU* ANŠE.KUR.RA (9) *kat-ta ti-ya-zi*, ‘the king steps down from the horse in the gate building’ (CTH 636.1, NS; 4<sup>th</sup> tablet of the festival). Note that parallel passages in other tablets of the same textual tradition regularly display GIŠGIGIR: KuSa 1/1.1 i 19 [... *IŠ-TU* GIŠ]GIGIR-za (20) [*kat-ta ti-ya-zi*], ‘[he steps down] from the

use should be regarded as a later innovation, an extension of the metonymic use of ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HIA/MEŠ)</sup> from ‘chariotry’ to ‘chariot’.<sup>60</sup>

Summing up the Hittite evidence, the phrase ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HIA/MEŠ)</sup> does not occur in the earliest documentation, as well as the metonymic use of ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HIA/MEŠ)</sup> for ‘chariotry’, which should be regarded as a later innovation, since all the alleged Old Hittite evidence is not compelling. In Old Hittite sources, the phrase ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> (Ú) GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> is consistently found, which is later replaced by ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HIA/MEŠ)</sup> during the reign of Tuthaliya I, both in Akkadian and Hittite texts. Finally, after Tuthaliya I, a clear complementary distribution can be observed: ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HIA/MEŠ)</sup> (and later KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HIA/MEŠ)</sup>) specifically occurs in Hittite texts, while ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> (ù) GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> (and later KARAŠ (ù) GIŠGIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>) is typical of the Akkadian ones. In some later festival texts, the use of ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HIA/MEŠ)</sup> to denote the chariot as object is found, but only sporadically, GIŠGIGIR being the far more common strategy for this.

Now, if we look at the Homeric Greek data, we can observe a very close similarity in the metonymic use of the horses to denote the chariotry,

chariot’ (CTH 636, LNS; 1<sup>st</sup> tablet of the festival), and KuSa 1/1.2 i 9 <sup>1</sup>LUGAL-uš<sup>1</sup>-kán GIŠGIGIR-ni *ti-ḡya-zi<sup>1</sup>*, ‘the king steps on the chariot’ (CTH 636, LNS; 3<sup>rd</sup> tablet of the festival). Based on these parallel passages, it is likely that ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HIA)</sup> in KUB 20.99+ and KUB 7.25 means ‘chariot’ (see also BEAL 1992: 190–191; STARKE 1995: 120–121 fn. 244; NEU 1998; WEEDEN 2011: 158 fn. 707), although one may still cast some doubts at least on the unexpected singular form ANŠE.KUR.RA occurring twice in KUB 7.25.

60 A possible older occurrence can be found in HKM 65 (CTH 190, MS), but it is not compelling, because the meaning of ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HIA</sup> can be ‘horses’ as well: HKM 65 obv. 4 *I-NA* URU<sup>U</sup> *Ga-ši-pu-u-ra ku-i-uš* (5) 2 LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> URU<sup>U</sup> *Ma-la-az-zi-ya* (6) [<sup>m</sup>P]i-š[i]i-š[i]i-š[i]i-ḡ[h]-li-in (7) [<sup>m</sup>N]a-iš-tu-u-wa-ar-ri-in-na (8) *ap-pa-an-te-eš na-aš-ša-an* ŠU<sup>HIA</sup>-ŠU<sup>U</sup> GÌR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ŠU<sup>U</sup>-ya SIG<sup>2</sup>-at-tén *nam-ma-aš-ká[n]* (9) A-NA ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HIA</sup> *ti-it-ta-nu-ut-tén* (10) ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ya-aš-ma-aš *šar-dī-ya ti-ya-ad-du*, ‘As for the two men of Malazziya, Pišišiḡli and Naištuwari, who are held captive in Kašepura: secure them hand and foot, then mount them on horses, and let a troop stand by to assist you’ (transl. by HOFFNER 2009: 217).

as well as in the phraseology used for the army. Let us have a brief look at a selection of Homeric passages.

Beside various terms such as ἄρμα, δίφρος, or ὄχρα, the chariot can be also denoted by the noun ἵππος ‘horse’, both in the dual and, more often, in the plural, as shown by the following passages:

... ὃ δὲ μάστιγα φαεινήν  
χειρὶ λαβῶν ἀραρυῖαν ἔφ’ ἵπποιιν ἀνόρουσεν  
Αὐτομέδων· ὄπιθεν δὲ κορυσσάμενος βῆ  
Ἀχιλλεὺς  
‘And Automedon, grasping in the hand  
the well-fitting bright whip, leapt upon the  
*two horses*; and behind stepped Achilles  
armed’. (*Il.* 19.395–397)

᾽ὼς ἄρ’ ἔφη, Σθένηςλος δὲ καθ’ ἵππων ἄλτο  
χαμᾶζε,  
‘So he spoke, and Sthenelus leapt from the  
*horses* to the ground’. (*Il.* 5.111)

τὸν μὲν Ἀχαιῶν ἵπποι ἐπισσώτροις δατέοντο  
‘the *horses* of the Achaeans tore him  
asunder with the tires’. (*Il.* 20.394)

In several other examples, we also find the chariot referred to with a hendiadys, i.e. ‘chariot and horses’ (where the noun ‘chariot’ is often a plural):

ἀλλὰ σύ γ’ αὐτὸς ἔλαυνε τέ’ ἄρματα καὶ  
τεὼ ἵππο  
‘come on, drive yourself your chariot and  
your *two horses*’. (*Il.* 5.237)

ἀλλ’ αὐτοῖς ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασιν ἄσσον ἰόντες  
‘but going nearer with *horses and chariots*’.  
(*Il.* 23.8)

ἼΗ καὶ ἀναΐξας ἐριούνιος ἄρμα καὶ ἵππους  
‘The Eriounios spoke, and leaping upon the  
chariot and *horses*’. (*Il.* 24.440)

Finally, as mentioned before, the army is often referred to as ‘horses and men’, ‘infantrymen and horses’, and similar hendiadyc pairs:

αὐτίς γὰρ δὴ τόν γε κίχον λαός τε καὶ ἵπποι  
‘again the soldiers and the *horses* reached  
him’. (*Il.* 18.153)

πλήτο ῥόος κελάδων ἐπιμίξ ἵππων τε καὶ  
ἀνδρῶν  
‘the stream confusedly filled with the  
clamour of *horses and men*’. (*Il.* 21.16)

... πλήτο δὲ πᾶν πεδίον πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππων  
‘the whole plain filled with footmen and  
*horses*’. (*Od.* 14.267)

As can be seen, the similarities with the Hittite data are striking: in both languages, the plural (also dual in Homeric Greek) noun ‘horses’ is used to denote the ‘chariotry’, either by itself and in hendiadyc combinations with the noun ‘chariot’ (<sup>GIS</sup>GIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HI.A</sup> in Hittite, ἄρμα καὶ ἵπποι in Homeric Greek); furthermore, the army is often referred to with a hendiadys combining a word for ‘men’, ‘infantrymen’, or ‘troops’ (ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> or KARAS in Hittite, ἄνδρες, πεζοί, λαός, etc. in Homeric Greek) and the horses.<sup>61</sup> Finally, Homeric Greek passages in which ἵπποι often occurs when the chariot is clearly meant as object (ἐξ ἵππων ἄλτο, καθ’ ἵππων ἄλτο, etc.), are matched by sporadic passages in Hittite – possibly attesting for a later innovation – that show the same metonymic extension of ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>(HI.A/MEŠ)</sup> to denote the chariot.

Turning to Mycenaean Greek, the metonymic use of the plural/dual noun ‘horses’ is not attested so far, and the chariot is designated either by *woka* /wok<sup>hā</sup>/ (related to Hom. τὰ ὄχρα) or by *i-qi-ja* /ikk<sup>wija</sup>/, a substantivized adjective derived from

61 Possibly, also the use of the dual ἵππο in Homeric Greek may find a parallel in the Hittite phrase *ŠIMTI ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>HI.A</sup>* ‘team of horses’.

the noun *i-ḡo* /ikk<sup>w</sup>os/ ‘horse’, which does not occur in Homer.<sup>62</sup> Based on this, we could imagine that either the metonymic extension ‘horses’ > ‘chariot’ was a later innovation in Greek or – most likely – it belonged to a literary register, which was different from the one of Mycenaean documentation, only consisting of administrative texts that usually did not employ tropes.

Given the above discussion on the Hittite data, we are able to state that the close correspondence between Homeric Greek and Hittite can hardly be explained as a case of common inheritance, but should be regarded as either an accidental similarity or a contact phenomenon. Currently, data does not allow us to speculate about the origin – specifically Hittite or foreign – and spread of this metonymic use of horses to denote the war chariot.<sup>63</sup> However, although

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62 On horses and chariots in Mycenaean and Homeric Greek, see PLATH 1994. In Mycenaean, also *a-mo* /armo/ is attested, meaning ‘wheel’, which later undergoes metonymic extension, becoming one of the most common designations for the chariot, ἄρμα. Note that also the logographic writing EQU(us) ZE (= ζεῦχος ‘yoke’), ‘team of horses’, is found in the tablets of the series Sc from Knossos, but, as far as we can see, it does not undergo metonymic extension, since it is often paired to the BIG(ae) logogram, denoting the ‘chariot’.

63 A Mesopotamian origin is almost certainly to be excluded, because this use seems to be only later attested in Mesopotamia and, as mentioned, does not even affect the Akkadian texts drafted by the Hittites, where the chariotry is consistently referred to as <sup>GIS</sup>GIGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>. Luwian and Hurrian may be two possible foreign candidates, although data supporting a Luwian or Hurrian explanation are very scarce, if not completely absent. Considering the possibility of contact with Greek, we may perhaps imagine a western Anatolian (Luwian?) source for this use, which would fit well with the earliest Hittite occurrences dating to the reign of Tuthaliya I. Indeed, it may be tempting to link the appearance of this expression in Hittite to the military campaigns of Tuthaliya I in western Anatolia immediately after his accession to the throne: note that, according to the Annals of the king, 10,000 infantrymen and 600 charioteers were brought to Ḫattuša by Tuthaliya after the war against the Aššuwa coalition, and we have also information on the massive use of chariotry by the Aḫḫiyawa in western Anatolia, as shown by KELDER

the possibility of a parallel and independent development in Hittite and Greek cannot be entirely excluded, when one considers the strong resemblance between the expressions employed, as well as the historically established interactions, both diplomatic and, above all, military, between Hittites and Greeks in western Anatolia, an explanation in terms of contact or areal diffusion seems to be the most economical one.

## 6. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have tried, on one hand, to discuss the methodology one should employ when studying contact between literary traditions; on the other, to apply our methodological framework to specific examples pertaining to the peri-Anatolian world, including the Ancient Near Eastern and Aegean interface areas. We argued that diffusion by cultural and linguistic contact is a valid model, but its application should be carefully evaluated by examining and excluding other explanations, including accidental similarity, typological prevalence, and common inheritance. As a means to disambiguate the different scenarios, we proposed a methodological model based on the distinction of different degrees of formal similarity and on the identification of monogenetic and polygenetic features.

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2004–2005 (see also GIRELLA 2011 for a tentative link between the Aḫḫiyawan force described in the Indictment of Madduwatta and the Mycenaean records of chariots in the so-called Room of the Chariot Tablets from Knossos). Unfortunately, direct textual evidence attesting to this metonymic use in western Anatolian sources is currently lacking. As to Hurrian, evidence for ‘horses’ used for ‘chariotry’ is equally lacking, both in Hurrian language documents and in Akkadian ones from Mittani (especially the letters found in the Amarna archive) and Nuzi (cf. ZACCAGNINI 1977, LION 2008), nor it is attested in the Hittite Kikkuli text.

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