CITTÀ E PAROLE ARGILLA E PIETRA

**Studi offerti a Clelia Mora
da allievi, colleghi e amici**

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E S T R A T T O

SOMMARIO

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THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONCEPTION OF THE HITTITES

1. *Introduction*

Our study [1] deals with some aspects of the Hittite anthropological conception, like the human being as «mortal»; the human being as «*inflatus*»; the human body; the human soul/spirit, and their comparison with cognates in other Indo-European languages. We explore this world combining etymologies and textual evidence. Further, we present some texts dealing with cultural aspects concerning the relevant moments of the human life: the ritual passages of the death and the birth, the departure of the soul from the body, and the descent into the underworld.

We are happy to dedicate our contribution to Clelia and share with her these thoughts about cultures and traditions.

Approaching the reconstruction of the IE culture many scholars have applied taxonomical schemes, like that of describing cultural phenomena through binary oppositions (vd., e.g., Lazzeroni 1990; Gamkrelidze - Ivanov 1995), or through an onomasiological approach (Mallory - Adams 1997) [2]. Other perspectives in the IE cultural reconstruction focused on the analysis of textual data, language structures and socio-historical institutions (Campanile 1990; Watkins 1995).

In a wider project, we will critically reconsider all these approaches, but in this essay we will briefly touch upon binary opposition and then move more in depth into the onomasiological and textual approach.

According especially to Gamkrelidze - Ivanov 1995, the binary opposition of phenomena was the way Indo-Europeans understood the nature and the world as a whole. It was preserved well in later religions like Zoroastrianism, but it is seen even more clearly in the light of the linguistic data. Two linguistic genders symbolized the opposition of two classes of entities: animate (people, animals, gods and divine powers) and inanimate (trees, materials) [3]. Within the category of animate, the authors

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[1] Both authors have discussed together about the various topics of this article. Single sections of the final version are however to be attributed as follows: §1, §2.1, §§2.3-4, §§3-4 to Paola Cotticelli, the rest to both authors.

[2] For reasons connected to the organization of our work and of the space available in this publication, we do not consider here other schemes such as the ones elaborated by Dumezil or Benveniste.

[3] Gamkrelidze - Ivanov 1995, p. 387: «The animacy characteristic of the animal world is evident in tells that

apply a further taxonomical feature, namely [±wild]: the human being, which we will especially focus on, belongs to the group of the [-wild] together with the domesticated animals. The main anthropological distinction between human beings and the domesticated animals is the ability in speaking and thinking:

> KUB 31.127+ i 42-46
> *(42) nu* UR.GI₇*-aš* ŠAḪ*-aš-ša ḫa-an-ni-eš-ša*[*r*] (43) *ḫa-an-na-at-ta-ri šu-up-pa-la-an-na ḫa-an-ni-eš-šar iš-ši-it* (44) *ku-i-e-eš Ú-UL me-mi-iš-kan-zi a-pa-a-at-ta ḫa-an-ni-at-ta-ri* (45) *i-da-la-u-wa-aš-ša ḫu-u-wa-ap-pa-aš-ša an-tu-uḫ-ša-aš ḫa-an-ni-eš-šar zi-ik-pát ḫa-an-na-at-ta-ri*

> and you judge over the dog and pig; and the judgment over domestic animals who do not speak with their mouth, that [judgment] you judge; and you judge the bad man (transl. Gamkrelidze - Ivanov 1995, p. 393).

The following scheme (Gamkrelidze - Ivanov 1995, pp. 392-393) illustrates the frame:
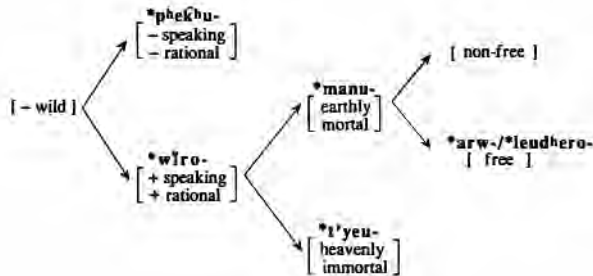
The taxonomical classification of the human beings divides them into two major groups: people and gods, mortal and immortal creatures.

In several Indo-European languages, the words for «man» and «mortal» are the same (they can be used for both meanings): cf. Greek βροτός (opp. ἄμβροτς), Sanskrit *mṛta-* (both from the same root), Hittite *danduki-*, and Tocharian *on-uwan'n'e* (im-mortal). The people - gods distinctions can be seen also in the belief in two languages on Earth: that of men and that of gods. This mythological conception is attested in Old Icelandic, Old Irish, Hittite and Greek. One example could be the Homeric word for «blood of the gods», ἰχώρ («the juice that flows in the vein of gods»[4]), while in Greek the common word is αἷμα. In fact, ἰχώρ has no clear IE etymology,

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link the meanings «breathe», «spirit», «soul» with words for animals, people, and gods, while plant names lack such elements».

[4] LSJ, *s.v.*

while Hittite *ešḫar* has many cognates[5]. Hitt. *ešḫar*, as we can state now, was used in context of religious beliefs going back to the Proto-Indo-European culture.

Our investigation will focus on the semantic field(s) of «human being» (§2.1), «mortality» (§2.2), «body» (§2.3), «soul», (§2.4) and their interactions starting from the Hittite culture (§§3-4).

2. *Some etymologies for «human being»*

2.1. *Hittite* antuḫšaš, antuwaḫḫaš- / antuḫš- *(c.) «man, human being, person»*
One possible morphological analysis allows us to interpret *antuḫšaš* as an ἔνθεος compound, that is an exocentric compound in the meaning «having god inside». «According to Eichner (1979b, p. 77), this word shows a similar formation as e.g. Gr. ἔνθεος 'having god inside', and is to be connected with the root *d^huH- (Skt. *dhūmá*- 'smoke', Gr. 'spirited'), so literally 'having breath inside'» (EDHIL, *s.v.*).

The PIE reconstruction is (nom.)*h_1n-$d^huéh_2$-*ōs*, with the genitive form *h_1n-d^huh_2-s-ós*.

Other derivatives from this root are the lexemes: *antuḫšātar / antuḫšann*- (n.) «mankind; population» (nom.sg. *an-tu-uḫ-ša-tar*, *an-tu-uḫ-ša-a-tar*, gen.sg. *an-tu-uḫ-ša-an-na-aš*, dat.-loc.sg. *an-tu-uḫ-ša-an-ni*, *an-tu-uḫ-ša-ni*, -*ant*- formation, nom. sg. *an-tu-uḫ-ša-an-na-an-za*), characterized by the neutral collective morpheme.

Further, the root *d^huh_2- could be continued in the derivative *tuḫḫima*-, «lack of breath» with a suffix -*ima*, building *nomina actionis*, as in Oettinger 2001. Barsacchi (2017, p. 7) remarks that this suffix builds nouns with a semantic negative meaning[6].

2.2. danduki-, dandukešnaš DUMU-aš *«mortal», «(son of) mortality»*
The etymology of this word is still discussed. Some opinions are here collected: *dandu*- «death», according to Djahukian 1990, p. 27 is the base for Hittite *danduki*- «mortal, human being, evanescent, transitory». Looking in IEW it should take the root 2. *d^heu-, d^hu-*ēi*- «to die, faint, vanish», while LIV[2] (p. 147) gives the main meaning «laufen, eilen» and reconstructs only the Old Norse form from the *o*-causative degree *d^hou-*ēi*- in the meaning «to die»[7].

Other proposals include Oettinger 1979, p. 550: *danduki*- <*$d^hn̥h_2$-tu*- (cf. Gr. θάνατος).

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[5] Hitt. *ešḫar* is cognate with Greek ἔαρ, Skt. *ásr̥k* etc. (vd. EDHIL, *s.v.*). Greek ἰχώρ has been considered by some scholar a loan from Hittite (skeptical Beekes EDG, *s.v.* [pp. 607-608]).

[6] Barsacchi (2017, p. 7): «… sembri caratterizzato da una particolare affettività linguistica e crei sostantivi che in qualche modo hanno una connotazione negativa, indicando condizioni di malessere fisico o psicologico, o fenomeni fisici associati a timore e pericolo (ex. *lelḫuwartima*-, 'inondazione', *wantema*-, 'lampo', 'bagliore'). L'affisso -*ima* sarebbe derivato da un originale ie. *-*mo*, un suffisso derivazionale usato per la formazione di nomi e aggettivi».

[7] Cf. also Gamkrelidze - Ivanov 1995, p. 396 for further cognates with reduplication and prenasalization of the root.

We cite and comment now some texts, which describe the roles of the human beings in rituals or testify their characteristics.

KUB 6.45 iii 13
(13) D[(UT)]U *ŠA-ME-E* EN-*YA ŠA* DUMU.LU.U₁₉.LU LÚSIPA-*aš*

Sun-god of Heaven, my lord, shepherd of humanity

KBo 12.126+ i 23-26
(23) [MUNUS]ŠU.GI *A-NA* ALAM.ḪI.A *te-ez-zi u-wa-at-ti-en-wa iš-šu-u-en-wa ku-e nu-wa-na-ša-*[*at*] (24) [EGIR]-*pa pe-eš-ti-en* UM-MA DUMU.LU.U₁₉.LU-*MA Ú-UL-wa nam-ma ma-az-zu-u-e-ni* (25) [(*kat-t*)]*a-an-wa da-a-ri-ya-u-en nu-wa i-na-*[*an*] *a-ni-ya-u-e-en nu-wa-ra-at-za* EGIR-*pa* (26) [*na*]*m-ma da-a-at-ten ne-ez pe-e-da-at-te-en*

The Old Woman says to the figurines: «Come, that which we made, give it back to us!». Then the man speaks: «We do not dare anymore. We *dārya*-ed; we treated the illness: take it back and carry them away!».

KBo 23.4+ ii 16'-22'

(16') *A-NA* DUMU.LU.U₁₉.LU-*ma tu-ek-ki-iš-ši* [*a*]*n-da-an* (17') *la-lu-uk-ki-it ḫar-ša-ni-iš‹-ši›* KI.MIN *ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-aš* KI.MIN (18') *wa-a-lu-la-aš-ša-aš* KI.MIN IGI.ḪI.A-*aš ḫar-ki-*[*a*]*š da-an-ku-wa-ya-aš* (19') KI.MIN *ḫa-an-ti-*[*i*]*š-ši* KI.MIN *e-ne-ra-aš-ša-aš* (20') KI.MIN *la-ap-li-pa-aš-ša‹-aš›* KI.MIN (21') *ka-ru-ú ma-a-an na-aš a-ap-pa* (22') QA-TAM-MA *ki-ša-ru*

On the human body there was light. *Ditto* on his head. *Ditto* on his eyes. *Ditto* on his pupils. *Ditto* on the white parts (and) black parts of (his) eyes. *Ditto* on his forehead. *Ditto* on his eyebrows. *Ditto* on his eyelashes. Like (he was) before, let him become again likewise!

The human being has therefore been modeled (the term is used to indicate the work of a craftsman) with the river sand by the goddess Mothers, who in fact receive the epithet of «divinity of the river bank», and the Fates-Goddesses called *Gulšeš*. They fixed (*gulš*- «engrave») the destiny of each individual. The Fates-Goddesses, Ištuštaya and Papaya spun the years hidden in the forest on the shores of the sea, that is at the edge of the world (according to the Hattic conception received by the Hittites).

The original Hittite conception is thus expressed in a ritual in which the lord of the magic ritual places the existential condition of the human being in a cosmic context.

Bo. 3617 obv. 7'-17' (Fuscagni 2016b).
(7') *ku-wa-pí ne-pí-i*[*š* (*te-e-kán da-a-ir nu-za*)] (9') [(DINGIR.MEŠ)] *ar-ḫa šar-ri-ir nu-za š*[*a-*(*ra-a-az-zi-uš*) DINGIR.MEŠ] (10') [*n*]*e-*⌜*pí-iš*⌝ *da-a-ir kat-te-ri-eš-ma-a*[*z* (DINGIR.MEŠ)] (11') [*d*]*a-g*[*a-an*]-⌜*zi*⌝-*pa-an kat-te-er-ra* KUR-⌜*e*⌝ [(*da-a-ir*)] (12') [*nu*]-⌜*za*⌝ *k*[*u-*(*iš-š*)*a k*]*u-*⌜*it*⌝-*ta da-a-aš* § […] (15') *na-aš* EGIR-*pa tu-uk*

A-N[(*A* ÍD)] 16' [*wa*]-⌈*ap*⌉-*wa-aš-ša* ᴰ*Gul-ša-aš-ša* DINGIR.MAḪ.MEŠ *pa-iz-*[*zi*] (17') [*an-t*]*u-*⌈*uḫ-ša*⌉*-an ku-i-e-eš ša-am-ni-eš-kán-z*[*i*]

When (*scil.* the gods) took heaven and earth, the gods separated, the upper Gods took heaven, while the lower gods took earth and the underworld. Everything was distributed among each of them. [...] then he goes back to you, o river, to the Fate-Goddesses of the shore and to the Mother-Goddesses who shaped the human being.

2.3. *The body:* tuekk-/tukk-/tuekka- *«body, person, self; (pl.) body parts, limbs»* (*Sum.* NÍ.TE)*: nom.sg.c.* NÍ.TE-*aš*
EDHIL, s.v. *tuekk-/tukk-/tuekka-* distinguishes the meaning of the singular from that of the plural: in the singular means «body», and also «self», while in the plural it means «body parts, limbs».
    The body is the counterpart of the spirit, as we know from the Hittite rituals for the dead kings: after the death, the soul (*ištanzan-* / ZI) is leaving the body (*tuekka-* / NÍ.TE), and going into the world of the Sun-goddess of the earth, the «black earth» (*dankuiš taganzipaš*).
    The etymology according to EDHIL, p. 885 is going back to the root PIE **tuek-*, **tuek-m*, **tuk-os*; some IE cognates are e.g. Skt. *tvac-* (f.) «skin», while other Anatolian cognates are found in Lycian *tukedri-* «statue», which testifies a semantic shift (acc.sg. *tukedri*, acc.pl. *tukedris*).
    It has been already recognized that the description of the soul leaving the body is linguistically very old[8]. Watkins (1995, p. 499) compared this aspect with two passages of the *Iliad* 16.856-857 (death of Patroklos) and again *Iliad* 22.362-363 (death of Hector): «his soul flying from his limbs was gone to Hades, bemoaning her fate, leaving manhood and youth». Watkins notes the similarity with the description of the departing soul in *Beowulf* at 2819-2820: *him of hræðre gewád/ sáwol sécean sóðfæstra dóm* «from his bosom went his soul to seek the glory of the true».
    Even in Hittite birth rituals as well as on the occasion on someone's death, the *Gulšeš* play an important role. They are the goddesses of fate in the Hittite world. The same divinities armed with the spindle and the distaff are said to spin the years of the king in a foundation ritual.
    In the context of the funerary ritual for the royal couple it is therefore evident that from the third day onwards the attention of the officiants moves from the body of the dead to his/her «spirit». As for other cultures, even for the Hittites it is extremely important to persuade the «soul» of the deceased to abandon the body (i.e. the kingdom of the living) in order to reach the otherworld[9]. This is clear from the rite of passage already carried out on the third day. It is at this moment that there is the sad

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[8] Vd. Watkins 1995 referring to Wackernagel 1953, pp. 1116 nt. l, 1170 nt. 1, originally published in 1909; Leumann 1950, p. 221 nt. 16; West 1982, p. 15.
    [9] Archi 2007 (with references).

acceptance that the king or queen has left the world of the living and that their human remains without the spirit of life are ready to be taken to their final resting-place where they will rest forever:

> KUB 39.11+ obv. 46-48
> (46) [… *ḫ*]*a-aš-ta-i ša-ra-a da-a-an-zi na-at-kán uk-tu-ri-ya-az* […] (47) [*na-at*] ⌜*I*⌝-*NA* É.NA₄-*ŠU pé-e-da-an-zi nu-kán I-NA* É.NA₄ É.[ŠÀ …] (48) [ᴳᴵˢN]Á *iš-pár-ra-an-zi*

> They then collect the bones and [take them off] from the pyre. [They] bring in his (of the deceased) tomb. Spread a b[ed] inside [of the chamber] of the grave.

The rite of passage described in the *šalliš waštaiš* ritual contains at least two of the three topical moments present in the classical distinction that Van Gennep proposes in relation to the ways in which rites of passage can be realized: separation and liminality / transition (reintegration is the third) [10].

2.4. *The concept of soul, spirit,* animus, anima*, the non-material part of the body,* ištanza(na)-/ ZI *«soul» (pl. living things, chattels, persons, people)*

The etymology of the Hittite word for soul, spirit *ištanza(na)* is according to HED, *s.v.* from the IE root **s(t)ent-to*, lat. *sensus*, < **sent-tu*. EDHIL, *s.v.*, reconstructed PIE **sth₂-ent-i-on-*, and adds: «For a semantic parallel, compare ModDu. *verstand* 'mind, intellect, intelligence', lit. 'understanding'». The lexeme is also described with some recurrences in HW², Lfg. 25, pp. 255 ff.

From an onomasiological viewpoint, Weeks 1985 lists *istanza(na)-* /ZI under the section 16.11 «soul, spirit», which we quote in the following:

> – SOUL, SPIRIT – For *istanza*(*n*)- (ZI), a reconstructed IE **s(t)ent-to-*, similar to **sent-no-* in OHG *sin(n)* «sense, mind», Lith. *sintěti* «think» and **sent-tu-* in Lat. *sensus* (IEW 908), provides the best available etymology (P 471), a comparison compelling enough to overcome the phonological peculiarity of **st-* vs. **s-* (P 471) and supersede previous suggestions (as in T 431-32). The range of meanings is wide; besides «soul, spirit; mind; will», i.e. the seat of both emotions and intellect, it is also used in pl. for «living things, persons» (like Russ. *dúši* and NE *souls*).

Weeks booked the lexeme also in section 17.11 under MIND, with back reference to 16.11.

According to Buck's dictionary (1933, pp. 1198 ff., 1087 f.) most of the terms for mind are etymologically related to the verbs for «think, understand, and know». Most are used to denote «intelligence; reason».

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[10] van Gennep 2012; Archi 2007, pp. 181 f.; recently, about rites of passage in Hittite culture, Marazzi 2016, with references.

The functional fields of *ištanza*(*n*)- range from the seat of certain soul properties to an organ of certain emotional impulses (e.g. satisfaction, anger, fear, desire, will, being strong).

ZI-*nit* (*ištanzanit*) in instrumental case functions as adverb in the meaning of «self-willed», «willfully». In the meaning of «desire» it competes with the word for «heart», ŠÀ (*ker/ kardiyaš*), «to do someone's soul's (desire)» *kuedani* ZI-*aš iya-*, and «to do for someone's soul» *kuelqa* ZI-*ni iya-*.

According to the Hittite views, gods, humans, perhaps also animals possess an *ištanza*(*n*)-, as some formulas testify: «Take the soul of an animal»: SILÁ-*aš iš-ta-na-an-za-na-an da-a* (KUB 41.23 ii 15) «Take the *ištanza*(*na*)- of the lamb» [11].

Other properties of *ištanza*(*n*) are that it remains after death, according to the expectations of an afterlife which belong to a Hittite tradition. About its physical nature, the texts say that it may be liquid: «His *ištanza(na)-*, o gods, pour out like water!» *nu-wa-kán a-pí-e-el* ZI-*an* DINGIR^MEŠ *ú-wi_5-te-na-aš* (2) *i-wa-ar ar-ḫa la-a-aḫ-ḫu-wa-tin* (KUB 13.3 iii 1-2); or «my *ištanza(na)-* drops away for fear to another place» *nu-mu pít-tu-li-ya-i pí-ra-an iš-ta-an-za-aš-mi-iš ta-ma-at-ta pé-e-di za-ap-pí-iš-ki-iz-zi* (KUB 30.10 rev. 14' ff.).

Finally, *ištanza(na)-* is also a kind of life principle, whereby the head changes as a symbol of life. As for the Hittite, also in other IE languages the term «heart» is frequently – and figuratively – used instead of *ištanza*(*n*)- parallel occurrences.

We will highlight only the meanings and phrases, which are relevant to our presentation.

Collocations have been collected by Kammenhuber (1964), later by Puhvel (1984) and Cotticelli-Kurras (1994). HW² Lfg. 25 *s.v.* gives an overview about meaning, semantic fields and collocations with *ištanza(n)-/* ZI:

- after the birth, the humans receive an *i.* from the god: *nu-mu-kán* DINGIR-*YA a-ap-pa a-pu-un* ZI-*an an-da ta-a-i* (KUB 31.127 + iv 25). «(After I was born of the womb) then you, my God, set to me that *ištanza(na)*»;

- after the death, the dead person should pacify the soul *ma-a-an-ma* GIDIM ZI-*an* DU_8-*ši* (KUB 22.35 ii 7). «If you, spirit of the dead, mitigate your ZI»;

- the god(s) choose the servant of their body and *ištanza*(*n*)-: [*nu-mu-za*] *am-me-el* DINGIR-*YA* ^m*Kán-tu-zi-li-in tu-ug-ga-aš-ta iš-ta-an-za-na-aš-ta-aš* ÌR-*KA ḫal-za-it* (KUB 30.10 obv. 8'ff.). «You, my God, have called me, Kantuzzili, the servant of your body and your *ištanza*(*n*)-;

- the god's ZI should be the manes' *ištanza(na)-* for the worshipper;

- the mortal *ištanza(na)-* from the ritual of the journey of the soul KUB 43.60 i 4, i 27 f. we read the question: *ku-el-wa-kán* ZI-*an-za u-ri-iš da-an-du-ki-eš-*[*n*]*a-aš-kán* ZI-*an-za u-ri-iš* «Whose soul is great?» «The mortal's soul is great!».

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[11] Cf. *etiam* Archi 2007 (with references).

According to HW² Lfg. 25, p. 257, Otten (1958, pp. 122 ff.), and Kammenhuber (1964, pp. 160 ff.), we state different conceptions of the relation between GIDIM/ *akkant-* as notion for the essence of the dead person and his ZI as one of his parts, contra van Bremer et al. (1994, p. 44) who highlight that the distribution of the terms *ištanza(na)-* and GIDIM (*akkant-*) is arbitrary, and they are not used as synonymous.

3. *The soul's journey*

The incantation in KUB 43.60 [12] i 21 contains an episode interpreted as the soul's journey. The whole text group is probably to be interpreted as the journey of the human soul into the underworld (Archi 2007, p. 170). Although the text is fragmentary in some respects, it is clear that it contains a report of the disappearance of the soul, for which, however, no further reasons can be found in the text.

> KBo 22.178+ iii 1-7 [13]
> (1) [*ša-ni-i*]*z-zi-ia-a*[*z-ká*]*n* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*az* [_ _ _] (2) [*Ú-U*]*L a-da-an-⌈zi⌉* [*ša-n*] *i-iz-zi-ia-az-kán ḫa-ap-š*[*a-* …] (3) [*Ú-U*]*L a-da-an-zi* [*ša-n*]*i-iz-zi-ia-az-kán* GAL-*az* [_ _ _] (4)⌈*Ú*⌉-*UL a-ku-an-⌈zi⌉* [_ _ -*š*]*u a-da-tar Ú-UL a-da-an-z*[*i*] (5)⌈*a*⌉ -*aš-šu a-ku-wa-tar-mi-*[*it Ú-U*]*L a-ku-wa-an-zi* (6) *šal-ú-i-nu-uš az-*[*zi-kán-z*]*i* (7) *mi-ir-mi- ir-ru-uš* [_ _ _ -*ká*]*n-zi*

> From a fi[ne] table they do [no]t eat. From a [fi]ne stool they do [n]ot eat. From a [f] ine cup they do not drink. They do not eat [goo]d food. They do not drink my good drink. They eat bits of mud. They [dri]nk drainage waters (translation by Hoffner 1988, p. 192).

The souls of the dead ones must eat clay and drink muddied water [14].

However, the «soul» of the woman [15] does not seem to be ready to leave the *limen* that separates the living from the dead (we accept Watkins 1995, p. 285 tentative restoration and interpretation) [16]:

> KUB 43.60 i 5
> *d*]*a-an-du-ki-iš* ZI-*an-za* (5) [*ku-wa-pí-i*]*t-še-pa ú-it-ta*

> [...] the mortal soul (i.e. the soul of the mortal). (5) [Wher]e did it come for it?

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[12] CTH 457.7. *Die Reise der Seele in die Unterwelt*, vd. Fuscagni 2012a; 2012b; 2016a.

[13] See now the edition Fuscagni 2012a.

[14] Vd. Hoffner 1988; 1993; Biggs 1993; Malul 1993; Archi 2007a, pp. 175-176 (with references) for comparison with Classical and Mesopotamian sources.

[15] «Two factors indicate that this ritual was destined for a woman: the distaff together with the spindle and the headdress *kureššar*, a piece of female clothing» (Archi 2007, p. 171).

[16] Watkins 1995, p. 285, followed by Archi 2007.

Subsequently, some symbolic animals are asked (i.e. often linked to funeral rituals) to look for the «soul» [17] in every part of the earth and to push it towards the land of the dead.

Meanwhile the Mother goddess cries, as in the *šalliš waštaiš* ritual, the women accompanying the bones of the dead king (or queen) cry and complain in their final seat. Here the third stage of the rite of passage is realized. The description of the last day of the «royal funeral ritual» is unfortunately not preserved, but it is clearly highlighted in this fragmentary ritual in which the «soul» finds its way back.

KUB 43.60 i 21-25
(21) *an-na-aš* DINGIR*LIM-aš iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru-an-za na-aš iš-ḫa-aḫ-ru-it wa-al-ḫa-an-za nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an ku-e a-aš-šu-u* (23) ⌜9⌝*-an-da-aš ḫa-ap-pí-eš-na-aš še-er ḫa-a-aš-ša-an ne* [*wa-*]*al-ḫa-an-za e-eš-du* ZI*-an-za-ma i-ya-at-ni-ya-an-za* (25) [*ḫa-ap-p*]*í-eš-ni-an-za nu-uš-ši-kán li-e a-ri-eš-kat-ta*

The Mother-goddess is tearful. She is struck with tears. Whatever good things (23) are opened over the nine body parts, let her be struck (with regard to) them. The soul is thriving, (25) with (all) its parts [18]. Let no oracle be taken for it. (Archi 2007, p. 173, after Watkins 1995).

KUB 43.60 i 28-32
(28)... *nu ku-in* KASKAL*-an ḫar-zi* (29) *u-ra-an* KASKAL*-an ḫar-zi mar-nu-wa-la-an* KASKAL*-an ḫar-zi* (30) *ša-an-za-pa* LÚ.KASKAL*-la-aš ḫa-an-da-a-it* (31) *šuᵎ-up-pí* ᴰUTU*-aš* ZI*-an-za* DINGIR*-na-an* ZI*-an-za* (32) *da-an-du-ki-iš-na-aš ku-wa-at a-ru-ša-an pa-i-mi*

(28-32) «What road does it have?» (29) «It has the great road. It has the road that makes things disappear». The man of the road (i.e. the psychopompos?) has got it ready for the road. (31) A holy thing of the Sun-goddess (of the Earth) is the soul. To the gods belongs the soul. «Why should I go the perdition of the mortal?» (Archi 2007, p. 173).

Only one's mother can indicate this path:

KUB 30.28+ rev. 9-12 (CTH 488)
(10) *ku-wa-pí-wa-ra-aš* p[*a-it na-*]*aš-ši-kán* (11) *kat-ta-an ša-ra-a me-mi-ya-an-zi an-na-aš-wa-aš-ši-*x[…]*i?-ya?-an-za* (12) ŠU.ḪI.A*-it* IŠ-BAT *nu-wa-ra-an pé-e-ḫu-te-eš* …

«Where did he go?» They answer him up from the bottom (*scil.* from the inside, towards the roof): «For him [the day] of the mother has arrived, (she) took (him) with the hand and carried him away».

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[17] So Watkins 1995, p. 258; slightly differently Archi 2007, p. 177: «The soul's situation is enigmatic. Something indefinite is missing, expressed by the inanimate case (*-at*). It is not known where that which has disappeared is now to be found, and it must be returned to its place (*pédi-šši dau*)».

[18] Fuscagni 2016a «Die Seele aber (ist) üppig (und) in (ihre) Körperteile [zer]legt».

The Hittites described the moment of transition between life and death as the «day of the (proper) mother» [19], even if one of the last Hittite sovereigns, Tuthaliya IV, is represented on a wall of the Chamber B of Yazılıkaya as it moves towards the boundary of the Underworld accompanied by its tutelary deity, Šarruma. Thus the ruler of Hatti who in the *šalliš waštaiš* abandons the world of the living, does so to be reborn to new life, no longer as a mortal being, but as a god, because death is a sort of rebirth. The same does not apply to ordinary human beings.

Going back to KUB 43.60, we quote the talk of the Mother-goddess, which is represented in tears and certainly plays an important role in the overall interpretation of the texts. KUB 43.60 i 21-22. (see Archi, 2007, pp. 172 f.) [20] *annaš* DINGIR*LIM-aš išḫaḫruanza n=aš išḫaḫruit* (22) *walḫanza, «*The Mother-goddess is tearful. She is struck with tears».

The presence of the Mother-goddess allows an interpretation that brings a connection with a birth process. Both Watkins (1995) and Polvani (2005) commented on this. According to Watkins (1995, pp. 284-285), the text describes «the scene for an epiphany or birth of the human soul» in the beginning, while the following part (vs. i 21-25) alludes to the true birth of the soul, as evidenced by the presence of the Mother goddess. Archi (2007) compared the text with passages from Italic texts, the Golden Plate from the Hipponion-Necropolis in Vibo Valentia (Calabria, South-Italy), which contains some indications for a dead person in accordance with the Orphic eschatology [21].

Polvani (2005, pp. 617-618) has a different opinion. She interprets the text not as a journey into the underworld, but as a mythical representation of the birth of the soul (as also mentioned above by Watkins 1995). It has been evidenced by the presence of the bee and of the three birds, each associated with part of the world, as Polvani notes, «probably in a dead type relationship».

4. *Mortality and the underworld in comparative perspective*

4.1. *Etymologies*

Lazzeroni (1998) and Benedetti (1989) proposed the double root for mortal, the one connected with Greek νέκ-ταρ < *neḱ-* «death» + *ter-* «go through», indicating the marked term for a violent death, while *mer-/mor-* is the generical lexeme for the

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[19] See also van den Hout 1994, p. 42.

[20] See also Fuscagni 2016a. Further references: Watkins 1995, pp. 284 ff.; Katz 2001; Polvani 2005; Bernabé 2006; Haas 2006; Archi 2007; Cotticelli-Kurras 2015, all provided with transcriptions and translations of the text KUB 43.60.

[21] Fuscagni 2016a further notes: «Im folgenden Teil seines Aufsatzes vertieft Archi die Konzeption des Lebens nach dem Tod und des Schicksals der Seele bei den Hethitern und zitiert dazu weitere Ritualtexte. Sein Schluss ist, dass der Tod 'did not mean a dissolution into the unknown and that the soul could enjoy an undefined but favourable fate', was natürlich nur durch besondere Ritualhandlungen und Opfer zu erhalten ist. Andererseits würde der Ausdruck in Vs. I 31 beweisen, dass die Seele als Teil des Göttlichen empfunden wurde».

natural death. The same root *mer-/mor- is also attested in Hittite in the verb *mer-/mar-*, generically meaning, however, «to disappear», which, according to Kloekhorst (EDHIL, p. 8 and *s.v.*), should be the original meaning, which later underwent a semantic development to «to die» in the other IE languages. See also Schrijver (2004, pp. 292 ff.), who traces it back to a root *smer- with 's mobile', with the following outcomes: μόρος «fate, destiny, doom, death, corpse» < *smór-o-; μοῖρα «part, portion; lot, destiny; proper destiny, propriety, doom» < *smór-ih; μέρος «part, portion, destiny, share, turn» < *smér-es.

Schrijver (2004, p. 297) adds:

> Brittonic and Irish presuppose a noun *marto- and/or *marti- with two distinguishable semantic specializations:
> (1) «impending or premature death» (Irish and Welsh), with a specialized development to a *nomen concretum* «(animal) characterized by impending death», whence «cow that is to be slaughtered», whence «slaughtered cow» (Irish);
> (2) «unnatural or supernatural action (with potentially fatal consequences)», whence «wonder, marvel» and «miracle, marvel» (Old Welsh, Cornish, and Breton).

4.2. *Inhumation*

About inhumation an interesting comparison would be with material coming from Rigvedic hymns.

In this respect it is particularly relevant the following observation by West (2007, p. 180):

> The Indo-Europeans in all probability disposed of their dead by inhumation. This was the normal practice in the fourth millennium, which is when the latest phase of undivided Indo-European has to be dated, in all the lands that come into serious question as the original habitat. The deceased terrestrial returned to his Mother Earth. She had therefore a connection with the dead as well as with life and growth. In a famous funeral hymn in the Rigveda, in verses used in later funerary ritual, the dead man is advised:
>
> *úpa sarpa mātáram bʰū́mim etā́m | uruvyácasam pṛtʰivī́m suśévām* (10.18. 10 f.)
> Slip in to this Mother Earth, the wide-extending Broad One, the friendly.
>
> And she is asked
>
> *mātā́ putráṃ yátʰā sicā́ | abʰy ènam bʰū́ma ūrṇuhi* (10. 18. 11)
> As a mother her son with her hem, wrap him round, o Earth.

4.3. *The underworld*

According to Haas (1976), the topography of the underworld in the Hittite culture remains obscure. Natural cavities constituted the entrance; in its depths rivers and nine seas can be found. The Storm god of Nerik, who had taken refuge there, abandoning humans, is invoked «from beneath the waves of the sea and from beneath the

nine banks» [22]. Bronze cauldrons contained what was unfavorable on earth, and lead lids prevented its exit [23]. The kingdom of the dead, which the soul of the deceased reached by traveling «an invisible road» [24], was a place of affliction, where even close relatives did not recognize themselves, (cf. Hoffner 1988). It is uncertain whether this concept is autochthonous or has Mesopotamian origins. From the point of view of the Indo-European cultural comparison, a general presence of water as a boundary to be crossed to reach the underworld is well attested, but with peculiarities and differences for each group (see, for examples West 2007, pp. 389-390). A common IE view of the underworld seems to be difficult to reconstruct. Further research is needed, for the time being we can remember Mallory - Adams 2006, p. 439:

> There is an abundance of evidence for various beliefs concerning death and the afterlife in the different Indo-European traditions but ferreting out an original belief is difficult […] The actual afterlife is attested in so many different ways – as a pleasant meadow, a place of darkness, island, house, walled enclosure – that it is difficult to ascribe any particular belief to Proto-Indo-European.

5. *Conclusion*

This paper is a first contribution of a large project on the reconsideration of the IE cultural reconstruction in the light of the Hittite evidence. The Hittite documentation offers material joining to the IE terminology, which is fitting to the onomasiological categories of the anthropological conceptions taken into consideration.

Further analysis shall be done in order to investigate possible circulation of cultural topics both in contact environment and in heritage.

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[22] KUB 36.89 rev. 21-22 (Haas 1976, p. 199; Hoffner 1998, p. 24).

[23] Telipinu's myth: KUB 17.10+ IV 15-19; cf. Haas 1976, p. 199.

[24] According to Hoffner 1998, p. 34. Archi 2007 translates differently: «the road that makes things disappear». The Hittite expression is *mar-nu-wa-la-an* KASKAL-*an*, (KUB 43.60 I 29). CHD, s.v. *marnuwala-*, offers, as basic meaning, «invisible», but with question mark. In the discussion other possibilities are put forward: the one accepted by Archi 2007, and «the road which has been made invisible».

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