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CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN HITTITE ANATOLIA: A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE VERB ŠAKU(ŲA)-/ŠAKUŲAI- (with an etymological contribution by Alwin Kloekhorst)

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Abstract

In Hittite, various verbs with a stem *šaku(Ųa)-/šakuŲai-* have been identified. These include the verb *šakuŲai-* “to see,” as well as three verbs of which the meaning is less evident: one (*CHD šaku(Ųa)-/šakuŲai-* A) referring to a type of penalty, one (*CHD šaku(Ųa)-/šakuŲai-* B) which is usually taken to mean “to moisten (?)” or “to soak (?)”, and one (*CHD šakuŲai-* D) of which the meaning is unknown. In this article, it will be argued that the verbs *šaku(Ųa)-/šakuŲai-* A and B are actually one and the same verb with the meaning “to plant,” “to stab,” or “to impale.” This new interpretation not only elucidates some thus far opaque attestations of the verb *šaku(Ųa)-/šakuŲai-*, but also improves our understanding of Hittite corporal punishments.

1. Introduction

The *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (*CHD*) distinguishes no fewer than four different verbs with a stem *šaku(Ųa)-/šakuŲai-*.¹

1. *šaku(Ųa)-/šakuŲai-* A (*CHD* Š: 52–53)
 1. (meaning unclear; a form of punishment)
 2. (meaning unclear)
2. *šaku(Ųa)-/šakuŲai-* B (*CHD* Š: 53–54)

“to moisten (?), wet (?), soak (?), drench (?)”
3. *šakuŲai-/šakuŲaya-* C (*CHD* Š: 55–56)
 1. “to see”
 2. “to look”
 3. “to see, regard, look upon”

I am very grateful to the anonymous reviewer for their extremely valuable remarks and suggestions. Needless to say, I alone remain responsible for the views expressed here and any errors that may remain.

1. For these verbs, see also *HEG* Š1: 743–47; and *HED* 10: 57–59. For the sake of convenience, the verbal stems are quoted here as they are listed by the *CHD*. As will be argued below by Alwin Kloekhorst, however, the stem of this verb is in fact to be analyzed differently.

4. *šakuu_uai*- D (CHD Š: 56–57)
(meaning unclear)

2. *šaku(ua)-/šakuu_uai-*

The verb *šakuu_uai-/šakuuaya-* C, “to see,” is amply attested and there is no cause to question its meaning. The interpretation of the verbs *šaku(ua)-/šakuu_uai-* A, B and D, however, is less self-evident. In this article, I will propose that *šaku(ua)-/šakuu_uai-* A and B are in fact the same verb, of which the primary meaning is “to plant,” “to stab,” or “to impale.” This idea was prompted by the attestation of *šaku(ua)-/šakuu_uai-* in the ritual text *KBo* 4.2:

1. *KBo* 4.2 obv. i 3–4 (CTH 398)
([Thus speaks *Ḫu*]warlu, the augur: when [terrible bir]ds, all the birds which [...] whatever they see)
3. [*na-at* ŠA] IM^{HLA} *i-en-zi*
4. [*na-at* ŠA T]I₈ MUŠEN *pár-ta-a-u-ni-it an-da 'ša'-ku-i-iš-kán-zi*
they fashion [them/it of] clay and they š. [them/it] with feather(s) [of an ea]gle. (They put them in an oil-vessel and they [clo]se the oil-vessel above)

In this passage, *šaku(ua)-/šakuu_uai-* is generally translated as “to moisten.” The CHD (Š: 53), for example, translates: “They moisten (?) [them] using (lit. by means of) a bird’s (or: an ...[ea]gle’s) feather/wing.”² In support of this interpretation they adduce a ritual passage in which a feather is used for the sprinkling of water (*KBo* 4.2 obv. i 4). Though this translation is not impossible, there is another interpretation that fits this context much better. The practitioners of the ritual are fashioning birds for the purpose of analogical magic, and they do so with the aid of clay and feathers. If you have these two materials at your disposal and it is your aim to create naturalistic looking birds, the most obvious outcome is that the clay is modeled into the shape of a bird’s body and then the feathers are stuck into (Hittite *anda*) it, representing its wings and tail (see fig. 1). It is therefore attractive to translate *šakuu_uai-* here as “to stab” or “to perforate”:



Fig. 1. Clay bird with feathers. Artist: Anne Jebbink. Photograph \ by Martijn Jebbink.

they fashion them of clay and they *stab/perforate* (into) [them] with feathers [of an ea]gle.

In the following, it will be shown that this translation also fits most, if not all, other attestations of *šakuu_uai-* A and B. Let us first turn to the expression ^{GIS}SUKUR *šakuuannaš*.

2. Thus also Bawanyepeck 2016: “[Und] mit der Feder [eines Adl]ers’ befeuchtet’ man (die Tonvögel).”

3. *šakuṽannaš* ^{GIŠ}SUKUR/*tūri*-

The verbal substantive **šakuṽatar* only occurs in combination with a spear or lance (expressed by the Sumerogram ^{GIŠ}SUKUR or Hittite *tūri*-). The expression *šakuṽannaš* ^{GIŠ}SUKUR/*tūri*- occurs a number of times in texts relating to the KILLAM festival (for attestations, see *CHD* Š: 64–65 **šakuwatar*). The *šakuṽannaš* ^{GIŠ}SUKUR/*tūri*- is used during ceremonies and sometimes said to be made of iron. It is held either by the king, or the overseer of smiths, see, for example, the following passage:

2. *KBo* 10.51 8–9 and 13–14 (CTH 627)³
 8'. UGULA ^{LU.MEŠ}SIMUG.A
 9'. ANBAR-aš⁴ *ša-ku-ṽa-an-na-aš* ^{GIŠ}SUKUR [(*har-zi*)]
 (...)

 13'. *nu pa-iz-zi* UGULA⁵ ^{LU.MEŠ}SIMUG.A
 14'. LUGAL-*i ša-ku-ṽa-an-na-aš* ^{GIŠ}SUKUR [*pa-(a-i)*]⁶
 The overseer of the smiths holds an iron š. spear (...).
 The overseer of the smiths goes and [gi]ves the š. spear to the king.

The noun **šakuṽatar* is usually connected to the verb *šakuṽai-/šakuṽaya-* C, “to see.” The *CHD* (Š: 64–65) proposes a translation “viewing, display(ing).” They suggest that the spear was used in ceremonial functions and was only intended for public display and not for ordinary use. However, the fact that **šakuṽatar* occurs *only* in combination with a spear and never with other objects that are used in ceremonies, makes this interpretation unattractive. Considering its close connection with spears, it is more likely that **šakuṽatar* refers to a characteristic that is typical for this instrument; namely its capacity to stab or pierce objects, and people. The *šakuṽannaš* ^{GIŠ}SUKUR/*tūri*- may well have been used to execute the cruel punishment expressed with the verb *šaku(ṽa)-/šakuṽai-*, which—as will be argued below—refers to death by impalement.⁷

4. *šaku(ṽa)-/šakuṽa-*: “To Pierce, Impale”

As mentioned above, the verb *šaku(ṽa)-/šakuṽai-* A is used to refer to a type of punishment. It is attested three times, twice in the royal edict *KUB* 13.9 and once in the instruction text *KUB* 13.2:

3. *KUB* 13.9 rev. iii 11' (CTH 258)
 (Let no one open a royal grain storage pit on his own authority. Whoever does open (it), you, the men of the town must seize him and bring him to the king's gate. But if you do not bring (him), the men of the town shall make compensation for the grain storage pit)⁸
 11'. *gi-nu-ut-ma-an ku-⁷iš⁷ na-an ša-ku-ṽa-an-zi*
 and they shall š. the one who opened it.

3. With duplicate dupl. *KBo* 10.23 obv. i 22–24 and 29–31. For this text passage, see Singer 1984: 9.

4. Duplicate *KBo* 10.23 obv. i 23' omits -aš.

5. Duplicate *KBo* 10.23 obv. i 29' reads GAL instead of UGULA.

6. Cf. *KUB* 20.4 obv. i 22': UGULA ^{LU.MEŠ}SIMUG.A-iš [LUGAL-*i* AN.BAR-aš] *ša-ku-ṽa-an-na-aš tu-u-ri pa-a-i*.

7. Needless to say, this interpretation does not exclude a ceremonial use of these spears during festivals. On such occasions, the *šakuṽannaš* spear could have served as a symbolic reminder of the power of the king, who decided over matters of life and death.

8. Translation following Miller 2013: 139. For an online edition of this text, see the *Hethitologie Portal Mainz*; hethiter.net/: CTH 258.1 (INTR 2012-07-16)

The text then continues to describe what will happen if no action is taken in this matter and the guilty one is hidden, or someone is bribed:

4. *KUB 13.9 rev. iii 17'–18'*

(He who remains inactive in these royal affairs, (i.e.,) he or his associate, (and) you (sg.) conceal (it), then he gives him a bribe, and he or the associate of the administrator does not hand (him) over, so that following the affair it is not (al)together finished,⁹

17. *ap-pé-ez-zi-ia-an-na ut-tar i-ši-ia-aḫ-ta-ri*

18. *nu-uš 2-i-la-pát ša-ku-ua-an-zi*

and afterwards the matter is made known, then they will š. the both of them.

The instruction text *KUB 13.2* discusses the banishment of someone who has committed a sexual offense:

5. *KUB 13.2 rev. iii 15–16 (CTH 261)*

(And how the law regarding sexual offense [*hurkel*] was formerly handled in the lands, in a town in which they used to execute them, let them execute them, but in a town in which they used to banish them, let them banish them. The town must cleanse itself afterward. Let it further be decreed:

15. *na-aš-ša-an EGIR-pa le-e*

16 *ku-iš-ki 'tar'-na-i ku-i-ša-an-ša-an EGIR-pa tar-na-i na-an ša-ku-ua-an-za*¹⁰

No one shall allow him/her back. Whoever allows him/her back, they shall š. him.

The verb clearly refers to a type of punishment, but what kind has long been the object of debate.¹¹ Albrecht Goetze (1933: 203), for instance, suggested “to imprison” or “to depose” (“gefangen setzen, absetzen”).¹² Hans Güterbock (1983: 79–80) made a connection with the verb *šakuṽai*- C, “to see,” translating “ansehen, d.h. für den ihnen entstehenden Schaden verantwortlich machen” or “zur Rechenschaft ziehen.” Differently, Raymond Westbrook and Roger Woodard (1990: 643) proposed a meaning “to pursue, to track down.”¹³ The *CHD* (Š: 52) cautiously suggests that if the verb with *šaku(ua)*-/*šakuṽai*- B, “to drench,” could be extended to “to drown,” this might provide a kind of punishment.

Except for the latter suggestion of the *CHD*, the proposed punishments are relatively mild, and the life of the culprits is spared. Considering the gravity of the three above-discussed offenses, however, one would rather expect a capital punishment. Stefano de Martino and Elena Devecchi (2012: 192) distinguish four kinds of acts that required the death penalty according to Hittite sources. These include:

1. crimes against the king and the institution of the state;
2. acts that compromise the purity of the king or more generally cause a serious condition of impurity;
3. sorcery;
4. homicide.

Examples 3–4 deal with the unauthorized opening of a royal grain storage pit and the subsequent concealment thereof—acts that can be classified as belonging to the first category of de Martino and Devecchi:

9. Translation following Miller 2013: 139.

10. Translation following Miller 2013: 229. For the third-person pres. act. ending *-anza*, see Melchert 1994: 183.

11. For an overview of earlier proposals with references, see *CHD* Š: 52–53; Westbrook and Woodard 1990: 646–53; and Hoffner 1997: 192.

12. Cf. also Freydank 1970: 266 who suggests “einsperren(?)”

13. Westbrook and Woodard 1990: 646–53 make a forced attempt to connect all attestations of *šaku(ua)*-/*šakuṽai*- to the PIE stem *sekʷ-*, “to follow.” For a different, more convincingly etymology, see the contribution of Kloekhorst below.

crimes against the king and the institution of the state.¹⁴ Such acts were obviously a gross infringement of the king's authority, and therefore needed to be punished with corresponding severity. Example 5, which concerns a sexual offense (*hurkel*), belongs to category 2: acts that cause a serious condition of impurity. *Hurkel*-offenses were regarded as polluting the entire town, which is why they were punished harshly; the offender was either killed or banished.¹⁵ In the latter case, the town had to be purified after the banishment of the sinner. If he or she was to come back, this would again contaminate the purity of the region, exposing its population to divine anger. Their return was to be prevented at all costs, and therefore a strong deterrent to discourage people from helping or enabling the offenders to come home was required.

The verb *šakuṣai-* must thus denote a severe, capital penalty. Considering the newly proposed meaning "to stab," it follows that it must here refer to the practice of impalement. This cruel type of penalty was made famous by Vlad III of Wallachia (ca. 1428–1476 CE), also known as Vlad Dracula or Vlad the Impaler (Vlad Țepeș,) but he was certainly not the first (nor the last) ruler to impose this sentence. The brutal act of impalement has a long history in Europe and the Middle East, as well as in many other parts of the world; in the Ottoman Empire, it was in practice until the nineteenth century CE.

In the ancient Near Eastern sources, this painful punishment is amply attested in both textual and iconographic sources.¹⁶ It occurs, for example, in the Codex Hammurabi:

6. Codex Hammurabi §153 (xxxii 61–66)

šum-ma aš-ša-at a-wi-lim aš-šum zi-ka-ri-im ša-ni-im mu-sà uš-di-ik MUNUS šu-a-ti i-na ga-ši-ši-im i-ša-ak-ka-nu-ši

If a man's wife has her husband killed on account of (her relationship with) another man, they shall impale that woman.¹⁷

The practice of impalement was also known in second millennium BCE Mitanni. In the prologue of the treaty of Šattiwaza of Mittanni and Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti, Šattiwaza relates about the evil deeds of Šuttarna, who had noblemen extradited who were subsequently impaled:

7. KBo 1.3 obv. 13

(They were turned over and)

a-na URU ta-i-te a-na GIŠ.MEŠ iz-za-ga-pu-šu-nu-ti

they impaled them in the city of Taite.¹⁸

Likewise, impalement is mentioned and depicted in pharaonic Egypt.¹⁹ During the Nineteenth Dynasty, for example, Pharaoh Merenptah had Libu prisoners of war impaled ("caused to be set upon a stake") to the south of Memphis, following an attempted invasion of Egypt. Other Egyptian kings who have ordered impalements include Seti I, Akhenaten, and Ramesses IX.

Evidence from the first millennium BCE is provided by Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid sources.²⁰ These sources make clear that impalement could serve two purposes: the display of enemies who were already

14. This category is comparable to the crimes of contempt against the crown and state, which were punished by means of impalement in the Neo-Assyrian Empire (see Radner 2015: 118).

15. See the Hittite laws, which stipulate that inappropriate sexual acts (*hurkel*) were to be punished by death (see Hoffner 1997: 224–25).

16. For an overview of the attestations of impalement in ancient Near Eastern sources, see Rollinger 2010: 607.

17. Translation following Roth 1995: 110.

18. For a translation of this text, see Beckman 1996: 44–49.

19. On Egyptian impalement, see Müller-Wollermann 2012: 149–51. Note that the determinative used does not leave much to the imagination: it depicts an individual transfixed through the abdomen (see Müller-Wollermann 2012: 150, fig. 2).

20. For the practice of impalement in the Neo-Assyrian period, see Radner 2015. For the Achaemenid period, see, e.g., the Bisitun in-

dead—in this case the pole was pierced through the abdomen—and the impalement of people who were alive (longitudinal impalement). This type of punishment is most often found in the context of warfare situations, but it was also used in regular Assyrian legal practice (see Radner 2015: 122).

The above brief overview of the practice of impalement in ancient Near Eastern sources is far from exhaustive, and many more examples could be added to the list. The examples given simply serve to show that this punishment was wide-spread and well-known throughout the Near East, and it is therefore hardly surprising that it has now also turned up in Hittite sources. By contrast, it would be highly peculiar if this was the only region that did *not* have this deadly form of torture, all the more because the Hittites were no strangers to the concept of corporal punishments. Though the penalties featuring in the Hittite laws may appear to be relatively gentle compared to those mentioned in, for example, the Laws of Hammurabi, as they are overall more focused on compensation rather than (corporal) punishment, Hittite texts do make mention of numerous cruel punishments, such as cutting off noses, ears, and hands, beheading, blinding, castrating, being hitched behind an ox-wagon/plow, being exposed to bee sting, roasting (?), being torn apart, and more.²¹ Amid all these painful and brutal penalties, the act of impalement would be nothing out of the ordinary. This—in the words of Karen Radner (2015: 104 and *passim*)—“very public and highly visible” execution would have been a powerful and effective instrument to deter people from committing capital offences, such as those described in examples 3–5.²²

5. *šaku(ua)-/šakuuai-*: “To Plant, Fix”

Let us now turn to the other attestations that are listed by the *CHD* under *šaku(ua)-/šakuuai-* A 2 (mng. unclear):

8. *KBo* 20.92 obv. i 3

I-NA ^{GIŠ}KIRI₆SAR[-za² 2² GIŠ]-ru *ša-ku-ua-an-zi*

In a vegetable garden they š. [two(?) tre]es.

The *CHD* (Š: 53a) cautiously suggests with respect to this example (and examples 9 and 14 below) that there might be a meaning like “to plant, to fix, detain” behind it.²³ In the above passage it indeed makes good sense to translate š. as “to fix, plant,” which can be seen as the same type of action as “fixing” someone on a pole. A nice parallel is provided by the Akkadian verb *zaqāpu*. This verb has several meanings, including “to erect, to set up (an object, temple),” “to plant (a tree or orchard),” and “to impale” (*CAD* Z: 51–54 *zaqāpu* A). One may also compare the English verb “to stick” (related to the noun “stick”), which can mean “to stab, impale,” but also “to fix, to put or place in position.”

The translation “to plant” or “to fix” would also fit the following attestation of *šakuuai-* in the Hittite laws:

scription of Darius I, in which the impalement of enemies is mentioned on several occasions (§20 (Babylonian version), §32, §33, §43, §50; see Rollinger 2010: 607; and Kuhrt 2007: 144–47).

21. For Hittite (corporal) punishments, see Hoffner 2011–2013; and Rollinger 2010: 600–619. To what extent and with what frequency the corporal penalties mentioned in texts were actually executed is an intriguing question that cannot be satisfactorily answered based on the available evidence. As correctly observed by Radner (2015: 119), such practices had to be rooted in reality to be effective.

22. For Hittite evidence of public display of dead corpses, see *KBo* 3.27 12' (and 21') *na-an a-aš-ki-iš-ši kán-kán[-du]* “They shall hang him at his gate (after slitting his throat)”; see de Martino 1991: 55–56). Also cf. the Palace Chronicles, where two officials are forced to witness the execution of the brother-in-law of one of them (*KBo* 3.34 obv. i 16–18; see Gilan 2015: 117–18).

23. For an overview of earlier interpretations, see *CHD* Š: 52–53.

9. *KBo* 6.2 obv. ii 61–62 (Hittite law §50)

(When in Arinna the eleventh month arrives)

61. *nu a-pe-e*[*l É-ŠÚ*]

62. *'ku-e-la'* ^{GIS}*e-ia-an aš-ki-iš-ši ša-'ku-ua'-a-an a[-pé-ni-iš-ša-an]*

[the house] of that on[e] (i.e., the man mentioned earlier) (and that) of whom an *eyan* is š.-ed at his gate, is li[kewise] (exempt).²⁴

The much-discussed ^{GIS}*eya(n)-* seems to refer to an (evergreen) tree, or parts thereof, which could serve, among others, as a marker of tax exemption.²⁵ In the above passage, it is unclear whether an entire tree is meant—in which case it was planted at someone's gate—or whether it refers to a twig of the tree that was fixed to the gate, or a construction made of *eya(n)*-wood that was erected at the gate.²⁶

6. The Verb *šaku(ua)-/šakuuai-* in Uncertain or Ambiguous Contexts

In the examples discussed above, the meaning of *šakuuai-* can safely be identified as “to stab, plant, or impale.” With respect to the remaining attestations of *šakuuai-* A and B, this interpretation is also possible, but the context is too uncertain or broken to exclude other meanings.²⁷

6.1. Modifying a Torch

The participle of the verb *šakuuai-* is attested several times modifying the noun ^{GIS}*zuppari-*.²⁸

10. *KUB* 20.10 rev. iii 2–6 (CTH 678)

(He goes to Nerik.)

2. *GAL* ^{LÜ.MEŠ}*ŠU.I-ma-aš-ša-an*

3. ^{GIS}*zu-up-pa-ru KASKAL-ši da-a-i*

4. *ta ta-ma-i* ^{GIS}*zu-up-pa-ru*²⁹

5. *ša-a-ku-ua-an lu-uk-ki-iz-zi*

6. *ta-aš LUGAL-i pé-ra-an hu-u-ua-i*

The chief of the barbers places/takes a torch on/for the road.

He lights another š. torch and goes before the king.

11. *KUB* 58.74 rev. 16' (CTH 780)

(Two times 9 clay figures sta[nd]. [They place] in their hands 2 baskets: [They put] on this side of his shoulders 1 basket)

24. See also Hoffner 1997: 61.

25. For discussion and attestations of ^{GIS}*eya(n)*, see, e.g., *HED* 2 E/I: 253–57; Klengel 1988: 107–10; and now also Waal forthcoming.

26. For the latter interpretation, see Waal forthcoming.

27. Not discussed here is the alleged attestation of *šakuuan* in *KUB* 17.10 obv. ii 15'–16' (*CHD* Š: 53), as this word should be read as *ša-ku-ru-ua-an* rather than *ša-ku-ú-ua-an*.

28. Other attestations include *Bo* 5093 rev. iii 4: (One woolen *kišri-*, one *tarpala-* of red wool, one *tarpala-* of blue wool, one *hanišša-* vessel of wine, two *harzanni's*) *ša-ku-ua-an* ^{GIS}*zu-up-pa-ri* – and a š. torch (see *CHD* Š: 53; Otten 1971: 27); *KUB* 12.55 obv. i 4–5: 1 ^{DUG}*hu-up-pár* KAŠ 1 ME NINDA.GUR₄.RA TUR [...] *ša-ku-ua-an* ^{GIS}*zu-up-pa-ri* [– “1 bowl of beer, small thick breads, [...] and a š. torch” (see *CHD* Š: 53; Westbrook and Woodard 1990: 648); and *KUB* 7.14 obv. i 12: (a little honey, 2 small thick breads, of cheese,) [...] *x-ti-ia-ti-iš tar-na-aš ša-ku-ua-a*[(*n* ^{GIS}*zu-up-pa-ri*)] – [...] ... a *tarna-* measure, a š. torch (see Westbrook and Woodard 1990: 648).

29. The duplicate *KBo* 60.213 4' reads ^{GIS}*zu-up-pa-ri*.

16' [*ke-e-ez-z*]i-ia 1 ^{GIS}*zu-up-pa-ru ša-ku-w[a-an ti-ia-an-zi]*
and [they put] 1 š. torch on the [other sid]e.

12. *KUB* 39.88 obv. 10'–13' (CTH 450)

(But the wine [is poured into] the ^{DUG}GÌR.KÁN-vessel of the deity. The priest stuffs a woolen *kišri-* in (the interstices of) the wicker stand of the deity).

10'. *še-er-ra-[aš-ša-an]*

11' [^{DUG}DÍL]IM.GAL Ì *da-an-na-ra-an-ta-an d[a-a-i]*

12'. [A-N]A ^{DUG}DÍL]IM.GAL Ì *ma-aš-ša-an [an-d]a ša-a-ku-w[a-an]*

13' ^{GIS}*zu-up-pa-ri ḥa-an-da-a-iz-zi ...*

On the top (of the stand) he pl[aces] a large unornamented [bo]wl of oil.

He arranges a š. torch [i]n the [bo]wl of oil.³⁰

The *CHD* (Š: 53) here takes the participle *šakuṽant-* to mean “soaked, drenched, moistened,” referring to a torch using oil-soaked woolen wrappings.³¹ As kindly pointed out to me by the anonymous reviewer, however, this interpretation is not very likely in light of example 12; here, the š. *zuppari-* is placed in a bowl of oil, which would make little sense if it was already “drenched.” In addition, it appears that both a š. *zuppari-* and a “bare” *zuppari-* (see, e.g., *KUB* 30.36 rev. iii 3') can burn, which suggests that the difference between a š. *zuppari-* and a regular *zuppari-* is not that the latter is “dry” and the former “soaked,” but that š. must have another meaning. It is quite possible that š. is used here in the meaning “to fix, plant,” and refers to a type of torch consisting of a bundle of wool or cloth that is fixed on a stick, that could be stuck into the ground—this would certainly make sense in the case of example 10; one could easily imagine a scenario in which the chief of the barbers runs ahead of the king to plant torches on the side of the road, thus illuminating his way.

6.2. Modifying Bread

Further, *šaku(ṽa)-/šakuṽai-* may be used to modify bread:

13. *KUB* 33.70 obv. ii 6' (CTH 403)

(He/she places [NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A] for the deity, libates wine and says):

6'. [^dUTU-i e-ed-za :mi-i]-ú-un a-a-an-ta-an ša-ku-ṽa-an-ta-an [NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A-a(n)]

[“O Sungod, eat the smooth/agree]eable, warm š. [bread/pastry]. (Let your soul be soothed)”.³²

Here, the verb š. is usually translated as “drenched” (with oil and honey).³³ However, a translation “to fix” or “perforate” should not be excluded. One could, for example, think of bread on a stick, bread with pierced holes, or with a hole in the middle, like a donut. Note that the verb is also attested in combination with bread in *KBo* 12.131, but in this case, the context is too broken to give a reliable interpretation:

14. *KBo* 12.131 r. col. 15' (CTH 627)

(1 *ṽageššar* bread on the left before the hearths [...].)

30. See *CHD* Š: 53. Differently Beckman 2014: 51–52, who restores *ša-a-ku-w[a-an-ti]* taking it to belong to [A-N]A ^{DUG}DÍL]IM. GAL (“he arranges a torch [on] the wet oil platter”).

31. For a different interpretation, see Westbrook and Woodard 1990: 648 who translate “search-torch.”

32. *CHD* Š: 54 suggests that NINDA.Ì.E.DÉ.A is “an oily, sweet pastry, perhaps like Turkish *helva*.”

33. Thus *CHD* Š: 54.

14' NINDA *ua-ge-eš-sar 2-e da-a[n-zi*

15'. *da-ga-a-an ša-ku-ua-a-an x*³⁴

They ta[ke] the second *uagesšar* bread. [...] ... š. on/toward the ground.

6.4 Modifying Rains

Finally, the verb *š.* can be used to modify rains:

15. *KUB 51.50 obv. iii' 14' (CTH 448)*

(They put the Sun Goddess of the Earth to bed) [...]

14'. *ša-ku-ua-an-du-uš hē-mu-uš ši-eš-du-[ua-aš IM.MEŠ-uš]*

the *š.* rains and the [winds of?] prosperity

The *CHD* (Š: 54) here translates “the soaking rains,” but, an interpretation “penetrating” is equally possible. Hard rains can feel like stabs (cf., e.g., “stabbing rains” and French *tomber des halberdes*, “falling halberds,” to indicate heavy rainfall), and raindrops can perforate or leak through thatched roofs. Because the rains are here mentioned together with the [winds of] prosperity, one would, however, expect *š.* to have a positive connotation. In that case, it could refer to the fact that the rains pervade or penetrate the ground, making it fertile.³⁵

6.5. *šakuuai- D*

For the sake of completeness, we may mention the highly dubious attestation in the ritual text *KUB 7.1* that is listed under *CHD šakuuai- D*.

16. *KUB 7.1 obv. ii 38–39 (CTH 390)*

38. *ma-a-na-aš SIG₅-ad-da-ma na-at-ši-kán ar-ḫa da-a-i an-da-ma*

39. *ša-ku-ua-a-x-x-i*

But when he gets better, (the practitioner) takes it (i.e., the wrap) away from him and *š...* in(to) (it)?/ (it) (is?) *š...*?

Heinz Kronasser (1961: 150) has proposed to read *ša-ku-ua-a-ru* (thus also *CHD* Š: 56) but this restoration is not possible.³⁶ Since the word appears to have a different stem than *šakuuai-*, it is best left out of consideration.

7. Conclusions

This article has proposed that the primary meaning of verb *šaku(ua)-/šakuuai-* A and B is “to plant,” “stab,” or “impale.” This new interpretation has several advantages. First, it provides a much more satisfying and

34. *CHD* Š: 52 restores *da-ga-a-an ša-ku-ua-a-an ḫ[ar- ... - “k[ee]p] š. -ed on/toward the ground.”*

35. I am grateful to the reviewer for pointing this out to me. They further made the interesting suggestion that the expression *alpuš hemuš*, which occurs in the mythological text *KUB 28.5 rev. iii 7*, might instead refer to less benign icy, piercing rains.

36. The sign traces after the sign *a* could also be read as *el*, and the following sign could be a damaged *la*, yielding *ša-ku-ua-a-el-la-i* or *ša-ku-ua-a-ru-la-i*. See also the online edition of Fuscagni 2017: n. 22, who excludes the reading *ša-ku-ua-a-ru*.

plausible translation for the attestations of *š*. discussed in §§1–4. With respect to the attestations treated in §5, they are too problematic and/or broken to establish the verb’s meaning with certainty. Possibly, *š*. here also refers to stabbing or planting, but other interpretations cannot be excluded. It should be noted, however, that the translations that have thus far been proposed, such as “moistened” or “drenched,” are equally, if not more, speculative.

An additional advantage is that the number of verbs with the stem *šaku(ua)-/šakuuai-* can now be significantly reduced:

šaku(ua)-/šakuuai- I (formerly A and B)

1. “to plant, stab, impale, fix” (nos. 1–5, 8–9)

2. meaning uncertain, possibly the same meaning as 1 above. (nos. 10–15)

šakuuai- II, “to see, look” (formerly C)

Finally, as will be demonstrated below by Alwin Kloekhorst, the interpretation proposed here is supported by compelling etymological arguments.

Appendix: Etymological Analysis by Alwin Kloekhorst (Leiden University)

In order to properly assess the possible etymological origins of the verb “to stick, impale, plant,” we first need to discuss the exact shape of its stem and inflection class. The verb’s oldest attestations, ptc. nom.-acc. sg. n. *ša-ku-ua-a-an* (KBo 6.2 ii 62 [OS], KBo 12.131 r.c. 15 [OS]), show an interesting plene spelling of the *a* of their suffix *-ant-*. This may indicate that these forms belong to a stem *šakuuae-^{zi}* (according to the *ḫatrae*-class, e.g., *ḫa-at-ra-a-an*, “written”), but this is not the only possibility: in OS texts the participle forms belonging to root formations sometimes show plene spelling in their suffix (e.g. *ap-pa-a-an-t°*, “seized,” *ḫu-ga-a-an-t°*, “butchered”; see Kloekhorst 2014: 275). It is therefore equally possible that the attestations *ša-ku-ua-a-an* belong to a root verb *šaku-*. Other interesting attestations of this verb are the ptc. nom.-acc. sg. n. forms *ša-a-ku-ua-an* (KUB 20.10 iii 5 [OH/NS], KUB 39.88 i 12, *ša-a-ku-ū[a-...]* [NS]), which show plene spelling of the *a* of their root. This implies that this verb may originally have shown root ablaut, *šāku-/šaku-*. This would not fit a *ḫatrae*-class verb, but rather points to an original root formation, and more specifically to a *ḫi*-inflected verb *šāku-ⁱ/šaku-* (comparable to, e.g., *lāḫu-ⁱ/laḫu-*, “to pour”). The imperfective form *ša-ku-i-iš-kán-zi* (KBo 4.2 i 6 [OH/NS]) does not really match a root formation *šāku-ⁱ/šaku-*, however: compare, for instance, the fact that the original imperfective of *lāḫu-ⁱ/laḫu-* “to pour” is attested as *la-ḫu-uš-ke/a-* (MH/MS). Instead, the spelling *ša-ku-i-iš-ke/a-* rather points either to a stem *šakuje/a-^{zi}* (compare impf. *u-i-iš-ke/a-* from *uje/a-^{zi}*, “to send”) or to a stem *šakuuae-^{zi}* (compare NH *la-ḫu-iš-ke/a-*, formed on the basis of the NH secondary stem *laḫuuae-^{zi}*, “to pour”). However, since both the *-je/a-* inflection and the *ḫatrae*-inflection are productive categories in Neo-Hittite, the OH/NS form *ša-ku-i-iš-kán-zi* does not have enough force to overrule the evidence from the forms *ša-ku-ua-a-an* and *ša-a-ku-ua-an*, which point to an original *ḫi*-conjugating root formation *šāku-ⁱ/šaku-*.

All in all, we should therefore set up the original stem of this verb as *šāku-ⁱ/šaku-*, “to stick, impale, plant,” which in the NH period was analogically changed to either *šakuje/a-^{zi}* or *šakuuae-^{zi}*, in line with the fact that in this period both the *-je/a-* inflection and *ḫatrae*-inflection become enormously productive (Kloekhorst 2008: 129, 132). Note that *šāku-ⁱ/šaku-*, “to stick, to impale,” is thus, at least originally, formally clearly distinct from the verb *šākuuāje/a-^{zi}*, “to see, look” (Kloekhorst 2008: 706).³⁷

37. Note, however that “to see, look” in NH times also shows forms inflecting according to a *ḫatrae*-class inflected stem *šakuuae-^{zi}*,

Etymologically, I would like to propose to connect Hitt. *šaku*-/*šaku*-, “to stick, impale, plant,” with Lat. *figō* (OLat. *fiuō*), “to fix, fasten, pierce, transfix, establish,” Lith. *diegti*, “to sting, stick,” and TochB *tsāk*-, “to bite, pierce,” which point to a PIE root **d^heiHg^w-* or **d^hieHg^w-* (LIV²: 142). Semantically, the connection is convincing: Lat. *figō* means “to fix, fasten,” especially by sticking something into an object, or by piercing an object with something, but also “to plant plants”;³⁸ Lith. *diegti* means “to sting,” but also “to stick in the ground for planting, to plant, to sow”; and TochB *tsāk*- means “to pierce” (attested with eyes as object) and “to bite,” said of snakes and vipers (which implies “to pierce” as well; Adams 1999: 731). Hence LIV²’s (142) translation of the PIE root **d^heiHg^w-*/**d^hieHg^w-* as “hineinstecken, stechen.” This fully matches the meaning “to stick, impale, plant” as now proposed by Willemijn Waal for Hitt. *šaku*-/*šaku*-.

Formally, this etymology indicates that the PIE root was **d^hieHg^w-*, not **d^heiHg^w-*.³⁹ Moreover, we must assume that its initial sequence **d^hi-* regularly yielded Hitt. *š-*, which is fully parallel to the development of PIE **d_i-* > Hitt. *š-* as found in, for example, **d_ieu-* > Hitt. *šiu-*, “deity,” **d_ieuot-* > Hitt. *šūatt-*, “day” (but distinct from PIE **t_i-* > Hitt. *z-*). Given the fact that PIE **d* and **d^h* merged into a single, lenis series already in pre-Proto-Anatolian, and the assibilation of PIE **d_i-* is a post-Proto-Anatolian, specifically Hittite development, it has always been *a priori* likely that the etymological sequence **d^hi-* would behave identically to the sequence **d_i-*, and thus would have yielded Hittite *š-*. Nevertheless, it is comforting to now possess an etymon that directly shows this development: **d^hie/oHg^w-* > Hitt. *šaku*.

If the Hittite verb reflects an original *hi*-conjugated formation (i.e., goes back to the PIE perfect), its strong stem would have contained an **o*-grade, **d^hioHg^w-*, which would regularly yield Hitt. *šaku*-/*šák^w-*/, regardless of which laryngeal the root contained: PIE 3 sg. **d^hioHg^w-e+i* > Hitt. **šakui* /*šák^wi*/. It is also possible that the verb was originally *mi*-conjugated (i.e., goes back to a PIE present or aorist) and that its strong stem would contain an **e*-grade. This would require that the laryngeal in the root was either **h₂* or **h₃* (but not **h₁*) since a stem **d^hieh_{2/3}g^w-* would yield Hitt. *šaku*-/*šák^w-*/, as well, with which it would be transferred from the *mi*-conjugation to the *hi*-conjugation: PIE 3 sg. **d^hieh_{2/3}g^w-ti* > pre-Hitt. **šakuzzi* /*šák^wtsi*/ >> Hitt. **šakui* /*šák^wi*/.⁴⁰ The weak stem of this root, whether it originally belonged to the *hi*- or the *mi*-conjugation, would have had zero-grade, **d^hiHg^w-*, which should probably have regularly given Hitt. **šiku*-. It is, however, only a trivial step to postulate that this stem was secondarily changed to attested *šaku*- (*/sək^w-*/), in analogy to the regular ablaut *ā/a* (i.e., */-ā-*, */-ə-*) of *hi*-verbs like *išpānt*-/*išpant*- / *ispānt*:/, *ispānt*:/, “to libate,” *hāši*/*haššanzi* / *χāsi*, *χəsāntsi*/, “to give birth,” etc.

All in all, I propose that Hitt. *šaku*-/*šaku*- /*šák^w-*, *sək^w-*/, “to stick, impale, plant,” reflects either an originally *hi*-conjugated verb **d^hioHg^w-ei* / **d^hiHg^w-ér* or an originally *mi*-conjugated verb **d^hieh_{2/3}g^w-ti* / **d^hih_{2/3}g^w-énti*, from the PIE root **d^hieHg^w-*, “to stick (into), sting,” that is found in Lat. *figō*, Lith. *diegti*, and TochB *tsāk*-, as well. For Hittite historical phonology, this etymology is important because it shows that the regular outcome of a PIE sequence **d^hi-* was Hitt. *š-*, parallel to the well-known development **d_i-* > Hitt. *š-*.

with which it would have become formally identical to the NH stem *šaku^wae⁻ⁱ*, “to stick, impale,” if this is indeed the stem underlying the imperfective stem *ša-ku-i-iš-ke/a-*.

38. For piercing something, cf. also *fibula*, “brooch, clasp,” which reflects **d^hiHg^w-e-d^hleh₂*, lit. “piercer.” For planting, see, e.g., Vergilius, *Georgica* IV.114–115 *ipse feracis figat humo plantas*, “let him plant/set/stick fruitful plants in the earth himself.”

39. See LIV²: 142, which cites this root in its lemma as **d^heiHg^w-*, but remarks that **d^hieHg^w-* is possible too, if the Baltic full grade I is secondary. This implies that the Lith. root *dieg-* has been secondarily created based on the zero-grade root *dýg-* < **d^hiHg^w-* as found in, e.g., *dýgūs*, “prickly.”

40. See Norbruis 2021: 151–92, for the mechanism that original *mi*-verbs with a **h₂* or **h₃* adjacent to its *e*-grade yields a pre-Hittite full grade root with the vowel */ā/*, which triggers a transfer to the *hi*-conjugation.

Abbreviations

<i>HED</i>	Puhvel 1984–
<i>HEG</i>	Tischler 1983–2010
<i>LIV</i> ²	Rix 2001

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