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The Epithet "Celestial" in the Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions

This paper is dedicated to one of the most common Hieroglyphic Luwian epithets. tipasasi "celestial". At the present point of investigation nothing can be added to the morphology of tipasasi. It is clear that the epithet represents the -asi/-isi adjective (the so-called genitival adjectives)? from the basic word tipas "sky". However, the ideographic or semi-ideographic writings of this epithet leave undecided whether we may take it as an -asi/-isi adjective or as the normal gen. sing, of the basic tipas (i.e. tipasi), or even if we have to suppose the existence of two parallel forms.

The main purpose of our investigation is to show how the epithet *tipasasi* functions in the HL texts. Except four cases⁵ it occurs to be the epithet of the Storm-god Tarhuntas⁶. Usually it is used prepositionally, e.g., ${}_{3}TIPAS_{c}$ -si-i-sa

- ¹ See Meriggi HHG 130 (under tipassa-).—Abbreviations used in this article: AnSt = Anatolian Studies; HH = E. Laroche, Les hiéroglyphes hittites I, Paris 1960; HHG = P. Meriggi, Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar, Wiesbaden ²1962; HHL = J. D. Hawkins A. Morpurgo-Davies G. Neumann, Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: New Evidence for the Connection, Göttingen 1974 (Nachrichten der Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1973, Nr. 6); KUB = Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi; MEG II: 1 = P. Meriggi, Manuale di eteo geroglifico, II: Testi 1^a serie, Roma 1967 (Incunabula graeca XIV); MEG II: 2—3 = P. Meriggi, Manuale di eteo geroglifico, II: Testi 2^a e 3^a serie, Roma 1975 (Incunabula graeca XV). Transliterations are given according to P. Meriggi's system (HHG). In the cited passages recent interpretations of some HL signs offered in HHL and also in the later works of J. D. Hawkins are taken into consideration.
- ² HHL 169; A. Morpurgo-Davies, Analogy and the an-Datives in Hieroglyphic Luwian, in: AnSt 30 [1980], 123-137.
- ³ Meriggi HHG 129. The Cuneiform Luwian equivalent of tipas is tappaš(a)-(E. Laroche, Dictionnaire de la langue louvite, Paris 1959, 91f.) and in Hittite nepiš.
- ⁴ One of the various epithets of the Storm-god (tuwarsasi "of the vine") is attested in the two inscriptions from Tabal: ${}^{d}TRH$ -hu-zá-na tu-wa/i+ra/i-sà-si-i-na (SULTANHAN, stele, D 1 and A 3+B 3); in the second inscription the basic word is written) ${}^{160}(tu-wa/i+ra/i-si-na) {}^{d}TRH$ -hu-za-na, (Bor, A3).
- ⁵ The only other god being combined with the epithet *tipasasi* is Tiwat in KARATEPE, LXIX: *TIPAS* dUTU-za-sa "the Celestial Tiwat (the Sun-god); on further three examples see below.
- ⁶ The HL inscriptions record this name in different ways. Except the main form ${}^{d}TRH$ -hu-ta-sa, there is also the form ${}^{d}TRH$ -hu-ta-sa, where z must be recognized as a later formation created by the combination of t and $s {}^{d}TRH$ - $hunt + s > {}^{d}TRH$ - $hunz > {}^{d}TRH$ -hunz + s (here s is the nom. sing. ending). In addition to the extended stem (by means of -nt-) the simple stem is also attested: ${}^{d}TRH$ -hu-sa (TELL AHMAR I, 1), ${}^{d}TRH$ -hu-si-sa (gen. adj.) (KÜRTÜL, 1) etc. On the god Tarhuntas see E. Laroche, Études de vocabulaire.

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 ${}^{\rm d}TRH$ -hu-sa (Tell AHMAR I, 1). ${}_{\rm J}TIPAS_{\rm (}$ -sa-na ${}^{\rm d}TRH$ -hu-ti (ibid., 6, in dat. sing.)⁷.

At the same time we can point out almost three cases where the functions of *tipasasi* seem difficult to ascertain. For convenience we should speak of some peculiarities here rather than of differences in the use of *tipasasi*.

The HL inscription A 1a, composed by the Kargamisean king Suhis II (second half of the tenth century B. C.), contains the examples of *tipasasi*⁸ used in an irregular way:

- 1) \grave{a} -wa/i [$^{\mathrm{m}}H$]a-ta-ni-ma-sa TIPAS- $s\grave{a}$ (-) $P\acute{a}$? + ra/i-ka-wa/i-ni-na $^{\mathrm{URU}}$ $^{\mathrm{d}}TRH$ -za-na ar + ha ^{281}ka + ra/i-ma-li-ta (A 1 a, 1) "And Hatanimas axed away(?) (i.e. "cut" or the like-A.K.) T
 - "And Hatanimas axed away(?) (i.e. "cut" or the like-A.K.) Tarhuntas (the statue or image of the god-A.K.) of the Celestial city of Parka".
- 2) TIPAS \acute{A} -la-ta-ha-na-ha-wa/i^{URU} ar + ha $\acute{\mathbf{E}} + RA/I$ -nu-wa/i-ha (A 1 a. 2) "The Celestial city of Alatah(an)¹⁰ I remove(?)" ¹¹.
- 3) à-wa/i ^mHa-ta-ma-na-ia REL-à-za TIPAS-sà(-)Pá[?] + ra/i-ka-wa/iní-sa^{URU} ^dTRH-za-sa à-tá za-ha-nú-wa/i-ta (A 1 a, 6) "And Tarhuntas of the Celestial city of Parka struck Hatanimas".

As we can see, the epithet is used twice before the name of the city of Parka, and once before Alatah(an)¹². Here we may consider that tipasasi, undoubtedly, cannot belong to the toponyms. In our sense, only two arguments will confirm the former suggestion that tipasasi should be taken as an epithet of city-names.

Firstly, the position of the word before the city-name, instead of before the god-name, must be taken into account. This argument is of great importance since most of the HL epithets are used prepositionally immediately before the subject, and only in some cases postpositionally. But it is to be noted that three cases are

VII, in: RHA 16, fasc. 63 [1958], 88-99.—Here and elsewhere we are using the form Tarhuntas in order to reach uniformity.

- ⁷ Here the gen. adj. form tipasan is attested (see Morpurgo-Davies AnSt 30, 123-137).
- ⁸ See the edition of A 1a in: J. D. Hawkins, Building Inscriptions of Carchemish, in: AnSt 22 [1972], 88-94; see also Meriggi MEG II: 1, Nr. 29, p. 112-116, XII.
- ⁹ The negative meaning of the verb ²⁸¹karmali- ("to cut, break" or the like) is drawn from two considerations: 1) the verb indicates a hostile action of Hatanimas against Suhis II, the author of A 1a, 2) the determinative Nr. 281 "axe" points out the character of the action.
- The interpretation of the form Alatah(an) seems problematic owing to the peculiarities of the HL script in which the nasal element n usually is not written before dentals. Therefore the form $A-la-ta-ha-na-ha-wa/i^{\text{URU}}$ must indicate $Alatahan-(n)-hawa^{\text{URU}}$ (= Alata-han), as well as $Alatah(a)-(n)-hawa^{\text{URU}}$ (= Alatah(a)).
- ¹¹ The translation of the causative verb $arha \to +RA/I \cdot nu(wa)$ cannot fit all the passages where it occurs. E. Laroche compares the verb with Hitt. $arha \ parhnu$ and translates it as "to banish, drive, remove" (HH 133). Meriggi (HHG 95) and Hawkins (AnSt 22, 89) agree in the main, but in a further article Hawkins proposes a somewhat different translation for the simple verb $\to +RA/I$ "to move, displace" (J. D. Hawkins, The Negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian, in: AnSt 25 [1975], 130).
- ¹² Though Laroche (HH Nr. 462) and Meriggi (MEG II: 2-3, 112-116) are inclined to see in *TIPAS-sà* the epithet of the Storm-god, the later editor of the inscription is of different opinion (Hawkins AnSt 22, 109). As Hawkins believes the sign for sà after *TIPAS* should be attached to the ethnicon (i.e. Sà-pá?+ra/i-ka-wa/i-ni-na^{URU}).

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attested among the HL data in which the double epithets of gods are used prepositionally, moreover, one of them is *tipasasi*. Here another epithet is placed between *tipasasi* and the god-name:

- 1) \grave{a} -wa/i za-na TIPAS-sa-si-na i+ra/i-ní-li-za-na $[{}^{\rm d}TRH\dots]^{13}$ (ADIYAMAN
 - "And (to) this Celestial irniliza-[Tarhuntas . . .]".
- 2) za-pa-[wa/i] TIPAS i + ra/i-ni-li-za-na ${}^{d}TRH$ -na REL-i-sa 368-ta_4-ti ARHA 280 (ADIYAMAN I, 2)

"If any(body) destroys this Celestial *irniliza*- Tarhuntas (the statue-A.K.) with malice".

3) [. . .] APA-ni TIPAS UR ${}^{d}TRH$ ${}^{d}[.$. .] (ANCOZ I, 2) [. . .] the Celestial great Tarhuntas (and the god [. . .]".

The second argument is the absence of the name of Tarhuntas in the second example, where *tipasasi* stands before Alatah(an). In order to understand the role of our epithet it seems necessary to analyse the textual material of A 1a.

The inscription appears to be a dedication to the Storm-god Tarhuntas. Immediately after the broken initial part of the inscription the text tells about the hostile action of a certain Hatanimas¹⁴:

- 1) [...](-)ara/i(-)[...]x-273-ta
- 2) wa/i-sa-à há-ha-ta-ia-ta
- 3) à-wa/i [$^{\mathrm{m}}H$]a-ta-ni-ma-sa TIPAS-sà(-) $P\acute{a}$? + ra/i-ka-wa/i-ni-na^{URU} $^{\mathrm{d}}TRH$ -za-na ar+ha $^{284}ka+ra/i$ -ma-li-ta
- 4) mu-pa-wa/i-à za-à-zi DINGIR-ní-zi-i 402 sá-na-i-ta
- 1) $\dots \dots 1^{5}$
- 2) He cut.
- 3) And Hatanimas cut away(?) Tarhuntas (the statue-A.K.) of the Celestial city of Parka.
- 4) He drew (took away-A.K.) these gods from me.

Further on the text tells about the reaction of Suhis II on the hostile action:

- 5) $[\grave{a}]$ -wa/i- \grave{a} REL-i-ta ${}^{93}t\grave{a}$ -wa/i-i
- 6) [x]-pa-wa/i-mu za- \grave{a} -zi DINGIR-ni-zi $[\ldots]$

The translation of the first sentence brings about some difficulties connected with the verb ${}^{93}ta$ - still unattested elsewhere. In any case the Kargamisean king

¹³ The epithet irniliza- is derived from an unknown irnila-.

¹⁴ In the final curse-formula the name is attested in a different form—^mHa-ta-ma-na-ia (dat. sing.), which, as proposed by Hawkins, is a scribal error. But even if we accept the opposite direction of reading (-ma-na instead of -na-ma), the resulting form ^mHa-ta-na-ma-ia (=Hatanamas) is not identical with ^mHa-ta-ni-ma-sa. The probable solution is that the personal name *Hatanmas is attested here, i.e. a and i after n are merely graphical (the HL script has only syllabic signs of the types CV, V and CVC(V)).

¹⁵ From the first sentence only the incompletely interpreted verb in the Prt. III sg. is preserved.

started a campaign¹⁶ against a certain country. Although the verb is lacking in the following sentence, the preserved part of the context ("me/for me these gods") points out the main purpose of the campaign—to restore "these gods" ¹⁷ from the hostile country¹⁸. This may be assumed since no return of Tarhuntas and "these gods" is mentioned further on in the text.

The following six sentences tell about the construction of a cultic object and about the establishment of sacrifices in honour of a single god or some gods. It is interesting to note that this passage is separated into two identical parts: at first the king describes his action as performed in the cultic sphere, then he talks about the capture of two cities:

- 7) wa/i-tú-à pa+ra/i-ha-à $^{268.43}u$ -pa-ní-na ^{43}u -pa-ha
- 8) IX-za-ha-wa/i-tú pi-ia-ha
- 9) $TIPAS \acute{A}$ -la-ta-ha-na-ha-wa/ $i^{URU}ar + ha \acute{E} + RA$ /I-nu-wa/i-ha
- 10) wa/i- $t\acute{u}$ - \grave{a} pa+ra/i-i-ha- \grave{a} $^{268.43}$ u-pa- $n\acute{t}$ -na ^{43}u -pa-ha
- 11) IX-za-ha-wa/i-tú pi-ia-ha
- 12) \dot{a} -wa/i Ha-za-u-na-na^{URU} $ar + ha^{-248}h\acute{a}$ -ha-ta-ha
- 7) and before him I established an altar(?),
- 8) and to him I gave the ninth share(?),
- 9) the Celestial city of Alatah(an) I remove(?),
- 10) and before him I established an altar(?),
- 11) and to him I gave the ninth share(?),
- 12) and the city of Haza I cut away.

Apparently, when interpreting the sentences 9 and 12, the scholars were considering the identical character of the two parts of the quoted passage. Thus, if the sentence 12 shows the normal construction with the acc. sing. ($Hazaunan^{\text{URU}}$) as the direct object of the verb $hahata^{-19}$, an identical translation will be necessary for sentence 9. At first sight the transitive verb $arha \, \dot{\mathbf{E}} + RA/I - nu(wa)$ - is governing the acc. sing. (Alatah(an)- $hawa^{\text{URU}}$). So tipasasi may only be attached to the toponym²⁰. tipasasi being treated like this it is of great interest that nowhere in the HL inscriptions the causative verb $arha \, \dot{\mathbf{E}} + RA/I - nu(wa)$ - (as well as the simple $\dot{\mathbf{E}} + RA/I$ -) is used with a toponym, but only with words such as "name", "head" and "man" as its direct objects. Further on, having been used only in curse-formulas, it is indicating the gods' but not man's action²¹. This verb indi-

¹⁶ The ideogram Nr. 93 indicates or determines verbs of motion (Meriggi HHG 195-197), but the Prs. I sing. is somewhat confusing.

¹⁷ According to Hawkins the expression "these gods" implies the gods represented on the "Great Staircase", i.e. Kubaba, Karhuhas and two unknown gods (AnSt 22, 95).

¹⁸ Probably, not only Tarhuntas' statue was taken away by the enemy but also the statues of some other Kargamisean gods.

¹⁹ This verb is attested three times in the HL inscriptions (twice in A 1a and once in KARABURUN); it presents the reduplicated form of the simple hata- and is identical with Hitt. hattāi- "to cut" (Hawkins AnSt 22, 109).

²⁰ Apparently, such an interpretation is influenced by tipasasi being used twice before Parkawani^{URU}, though it seems certain to be the epithet of Tarhuntas there.

²¹ See the inscriptions MEHARDE, C1 + C2; ALEPPO II, 5; BABYLON, 6-7; EMIR-GAZI, B 3; BOLKARMADEN, 5; A 4a + A 18d 2,3; A 4b, 5(?).

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cates an action in order to remove, displace (or the like) the concrete object (most frequently a person); objects like cities, fortresses or countries are not attested.

The identical character of the above-mentioned passages apparently excludes Alatah(an)-hawa^{URU} being interpreted as the direct object of arha $\acute{\mathbf{E}} + RA/I$ -nu-(wa)-. If in both passages Suhis II acts in a similar way, we should expect one of the well-known verbs of "hostile action" ²², if not the same one as in the second case, i.e. hahata-.

These objections indicate how difficult it is to assume *tipasasi* as being the epithet of the city of Alatah(an).

In order to solve the problem we should turn to Late Hittite religious terms (i.e. epithets), and particularly to those concerning the Storm-god Tarhuntas²³. The grouping of Tarhuntas' epithets makes clear that this god is attested with three different classes of epithets:

- 1) territorial—e.g.: $Karkamisizas^{\text{URU-d}} T$. 'the Kargamisean T.'', $Ilapazi^{\text{URU-d}} T$. "the Halapean T.'', $109.125^{\text{URU-d}} T$. "the Melidean T.''.
- 2) functional—e.g.: upatitasi ${}^{\rm d}T$. "T. of the upatit" ${}^{\rm 2d}$, tuwarsasi ${}^{\rm d}T$. and ${}^{\rm d}T$. tuwarsi "T. of the vine", artalasi ${}^{\rm d}T$. "T. of the artali-", tipasasi ${}^{\rm d}T$. "Celestial T.".
- 3) qualitative-e.g.: 28/muwatali dT. "strong T.", UR dT. "Great T.".

As mentioned above the various epithets of these categories may turn up in combinations before the names of a god. Here also we should suppose a similar use of two various epithets in the form TIPAS-sà(-) $P\acute{a}$? +ra/i-ka-wa/i-ni-na^{URU d}TRH-za-na. This interpretation will enable us to translate the first passage in this way: "And Hatanimas axed away(?) the Celestial Parkaean (god) Tarhuntas", and the third passage as: "And the Celestial Parkaean (god) Tarhuntas struck Hatanimas".

Accordingly, the second passage can be translated as follows: "I remove (or the like)²⁵ the Celestial (the god Tarhuntas–A. K.) of the city of Alatah(an)". It should be noted that the HL inscriptions give some more examples of god-names being replaced by one of the epithets; i.e. here we may suppose the substantivation of the epithet. E.g. twice in the KARABURUN inscription the name of the Moon-god Armas is replaced by the god's epithet *Haranawanis*^{URU} "the Harranean" ²⁶.

Resuming this paper we can say that in the HL inscriptions the epithet *tipasasi* was used only with the names of gods, i.e. with the Storm-god Tarhuntas, except one passage with the Sun-god Tiwat²⁷.

- ²² E.g., hatali- "to capture, conquer(?)", hata- and hahata- "to break, cut" etc., arha ta-/la- "to capture, take" etc.
- ²³ See the list of Late Hittite gods with textual references in M. Kalaç, Das Pantheon der hieroglyphenluwischen Inschriften, in: Or 34 [1965], 401-427.
- ²⁴ For upatit- the translation "demesne" was suggested (J. D. Hawkins, in: AnSt 30 [1980], 147).
- ²⁵ On the other probable translations see n. 11.
- ²⁶ For the KARABURUN passages see J. D. Hawkins, Kubaba at Karkamiš and Elsewhere, in: AnSt 31 [1981], 174.
- ²⁷ In Hittite texts the epithet "Celestial" is attested with the names of various gods of the Anatolian pantheon: ne-pi-ša-aš dKAL "Inara of the Sky" (i.e. "Celestial Inara") (KUB II 1 Vs. I 43), dA-a-la-aš ŠA ŠA-ME-E "Aalas of the Sky" (i.e. "Celestial Aalas") (KUB II 1 Vs. III 29), etc.