

only category A material in these lists - and only certain specific genres of that category, at that -, points to the existence of separate spaces for the storage of "library" and "archive" material. Since archival material was also among the thousands of tablets in Building A, this would mean that, although stored in the same building, there must at least have been a distinction between shelves, rooms and/or floors.

11. Let us return to our initial question of how to define "literature" in the combination "Hittite literature". Above, we rejected literature in our modern sense of "high literature". On the other hand, this traditional "high literature" is what survived the ages: we still read Homer, Cervantes, Mann and Proust. Their works were preserved for us by previous generations and we do the same. If we apply that criterion to the categories A and B, category A might deserve the label "literature".

SOME INDO-EUROPEAN LOGS

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In the course of preparation of a recent communication delivered at Oxford, Harvard, and Paris (C.R.A.I. 2000.3, 1143-1158 [2001]) I had occasion to bring together the Anatolian vanishing god myths, like those of Telipinus or the Storm God of Kuliwisna, and the Greek tale of Meleager. The themes of *Wrath*, *Fire*, and *Fate* are singularly prominent in both these cultural manifestations, Anatolian and Greek, and I argued there that the details were such as to suggest diffusion from Anatolia into Greece as the explanation of the similarity. Among these details is the manipulation of *Fire* in each tradition, Anatolian and Greek: a burning log, stick of wood, or firebrand is first extinguished, then brought away, and finally burnt up.

In the "Vanishing God" myth and ritual of the Storm God of Kuliwisna¹ the action is particularly clearly set forth. Indeed, the dramatic climax of the ritual is formed by the thrice-repeated (KUB 51.22 = I.C vo. 1-4 etc.)

GIŠwaršamušš=a kištanuzi n=aš=kán parā parni pedāi
n=aš=šan ḥašši išḫuwāi n=aš arḫa warnuzi

and he extinguishes the kindling (GIŠwaršamaš, as translated by Hoffner²),

and brings it home,

and then he shakes it on the fire altar, and burns it up.

This manipulation of *Fire* is the magical means by which the *Wrath* of the Vanishing God is *stopped*: the formula is *karpin* (*kartimmiyattan*, *šāuwar*) *arai-*, with numerous syntactical and lexical variants, presented as litanies in the Telipinu myth.

Now in the Greek tale of Meleager, as narrated by Bacchylides and Aeschylus, the hero's life was linked at birth by the *Fate* (Μοῖρα) to a

¹ See the exemplary edition of Jürgen Glocker, *Das Ritual für den Wettergott von Kuliwisna*, Eothen 6 (Firenze 1997: LoGisma).

² *Hittite Myths*, translated by Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. and edited by Gary M. Beckman (Atlanta 1990¹, 1998²: Scholars Press).

burning log (φιτρός), a stick of firewood which his mother Althaia snatched from the fire and extinguished, then saved at home in a chest. Subsequently in rage at Meleager's killing of her two brothers she took out the fateful log and burned it up. His ensuing death brought with it the *stoppage* of the *Wrath* (παύειν χόλον in Bacchylides); the burning log which is extinguished and then burnt again is the link between *Wrath* and *Fate* in the Meleager tale. 'That unflinching woman' (ἄτάρβακτος γυνά) in Bacchylides 5.139ff. 'planned my destruction', and

καῖε τε δαιδαλέας
ἐκ λάρνακος ὠκύμορον
φιτρὸν ἐξάύσασα· τὸν δὴ
μοῖρ' ἐπέκλωσεν τότε
ζῶας ὄρον ἀμετέρας ἔμμεν.

Fetching it out of the cunningly made chest
she set fire to the log of swift doom,
which the Fate had ordained would then mark the endpoint of my life.

The conjectured verb ἐξάύω (with Wackernagel and Schulze, surely correctly) is the inherited verb for fetching fire or water, and the framing of the clause and the object φιτρός by the initial καῖε and final ἐξάύσασα serves to underline the burning twice. Aeschylus briefly but forcefully narrates the same climax of the myth in *Choeph.* 602-12. In a grim prolepsis, Althaia is not just an 'unflinching woman' but a πυρδαῆς γυνά 'incendiary woman': καταίθουσα παιδὸς δαφονίνον / δαλὸν ἥλικ' . . . ξύμμετρόν τε διαί βίου μοιρόκραντον ἐς ἡμᾶρ 'burning up the bloody brand like-aged with her child . . . and keeping pace with him throughout his life till the day foredoomed by fate'. Again the fire is focussed on twice (πυρδαῆς, καταίθουσα), just as in Bacchylides. We may view it as symbolically presenting the sequence burning - extinguishing - burning again.

Each of these traditions, the Anatolian and the Greek, - in my view ultimately two versions in two languages of a single original Anatolian tale - thus focuses on and indexically highlights the central theme of *Fire*, in the words in each for the *burning log*, stick of firewood, or kindling, which is successively extinguished and then burnt up entirely: Hittite ^{GIŠ}waršamaš and Greek φιτρός. The two words for 'log, stick of wood' are obviously unconnected and unrelated, yet each independently attests

old and non-trivial derivational processes, and in the case of φιτρός formulaic properties, of Indo-European date. In what follows I treat first the Hittite word, and then the Greek.

Beside the usual spelling (^{GIŠ})wa-ar-ša(-am)-ma-aš/an/uš (KUB 17.10 iii 14; 33.51, 4, 9; 33.21 iv 9; 33.45+ iii 8; 33.49 iii 6, 8, 9; single -m- predominates, but the -mm- is real), we find at least once the spelling (^{GIŠ})wa-ar-aš-ma-aš (KUB 32.138 ii 5'). Such variation is typically diagnostic for a three-consonant cluster with -s- between two other consonants, i.e. a form warsma-s. As Melchert states³, Proto-Anatolian /s/ was geminated [or tensed, CW] both as the first and second member of clusters, e.g. rS (rss) and Sm (ssm). The three-fold variation in spelling ar-ša-am-m-, ar-ša-m-, and ar-aš-m- could point to an assimilation in tenseness (gemination) rSm → rSM. Proto-Anatolian /m/ is geminated before consonants, including /s/ (AHP 152-3), which would imply with AHP 150 that ms was realized as MS ("mms").

The form of the suffix and the semantics immediately invite comparison with (Old and) Younger Avestan aēśma- 'firewood', from Indo-Iranian *aidh-sma-. Vedic idhmá- with the same meaning is doubtless the same lexical item, but with the vocalism perhaps influenced by the cognate verb indhē 'kindles, burns'. Cf. Bartholomae *AirWb* and Mayrhofer *EWA* s.vv. aēśma- and edhate, and Frisk and Chantraine for the Greek cognate αἶθω, -ομαι, Pok. *IEW**aidh-⁴.

The semantics of the Iranian and Indic word for 'firewood', BURN + *-smo- invite us to see an etymological figure in the recurrent similes in the vanishing god myths like (KUB 17.10 iii 14ff.) kūš warš[am(m)uš] māhhan warnūr^d Telipinuwašš=a karp[īš] . . . warā[nu] 'Just as they burn up these sticks of wood, so may the wrath of ^dTelipinus burn up', to the verb war- 'burn'. The original vocalism is ambiguous, either *uer- or *uor-, as *ur- would give ūr- (cf. AHP 127). The semantics of the Hittite, like those of the Indic and Iranian, are BURN + *-smo-.

The rarity of the suffix⁵ in both Anatolian and Indo-Iranian would appear to indicate an old and isolated formation in both of these branches. Melchert (AHP 158) states that all cases of internal /-sm-/ in Hittite are secondary (našma < naššu-ma), but observes that "the

³ *Anatolian Historical Phonology* 150 (Amsterdam - Atlanta 1994: Rodopi).

⁴ *LIV* has *h₂ejdh- with a query, comparing *h₁ai- 'be warm' in Hittite aari, aanta.

⁵ On which see Brugmann, *Grdr.* II, 1, 251, Schwyzler, *Gr.Gr.* 1.493, 5, Wackernagel-Debrunner, *AiGr.* III, 2, 931.

absence of inherited examples is suspect.” I believe that *waršam(m)a-* provides just such an inherited example.

Greek *φιτρός* was already regarded by Chantraine (DELG, rédaction J. Taillardat) as an ancient word belonging to the 'Achaean' level of the vocabulary. But it is clear from Erbse, *Scholía graeca in Il.* ad. loc. that the ancient scholiasts and exegetes were referring to the *entire formula* *φιτρῶν καὶ λάων*: Eust. 890.62 τὸ δὲ «φιτρῶν καὶ λάων» Ἀμαθουσίων γλώσσης ἐστίν, ὥς φασιν οἱ παλαιοί. Κύπριοι δὲ οἱ Ἀμαθ.

This formula, 'logs and stones', as construction materials, is found only in *Il.* 12.29 and 21.314. Both passages are thematically and metrically very similar. They refer to the destructive power of water, and both are enjambed constituents of a noun phrase object of a verb in final position of the preceding line, with subjects Poseidon and the river Simois respectively:

M 26-7 ἐκ . . . θεμείλια . . . πέμπε ||
φαιτρῶν καὶ λάων, | τὰ θέσαν μογέοντες Ἀχαιοί.

... sent forth the foundations of logs and stones, which the Achaeans had toiled
in fashioning

Φ 314 ὀρυμαγδὸν ὄρινε ||
 φιτρῶν καὶ λάων, |

... raise the din of logs and stones

The formula merits our attention for being another and early instance of the ‘tree and rock’ collocation, the enigmatic Greek phrase ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ’ ἀπὸ πέτρης (*Il.* 22.126), περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην (*Hes. Theog.* 35) or the equally enigmatic Avestan *draoca pauruuṇca* (*Yt.* 13.99, 19.85) ‘in tree and in rock’.⁶

⁶ On this formula see Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon* 161-64 (Oxford - New York 1995: OUP). For the etymology of πέτρα < *πέρ-τρα M. Meier-Brügger, KZ (ZVS) 94, 1980, 122-24. For the connection *πέρ-τρα and *paur-uqan* and the (quasi-)universal figure M. Janda, *Über "Stock und Stein"* (Dettelbach 1997: Röhl) *passim*. See now on all of these the thoughtful discussion in J. T. Katz, "The Indo-European Background of Homeric Formula", forthcoming in the proceedings of the Colloquium *Les Enjeux théoriques des débats sur la formule homérique*, Université de Lille III, avril 2000.

Now this TREE (**dru-*) and ROCK (**per-uēn-/ -trah₂*) formula of Greek and Iranian clearly belongs to the domain of NATURE: WOOD and ROCK as the original substance or material, ‘la matière brute’ like Sanskrit *prakṛti*.⁷ By contrast the Homeric formula LOG (φιτρῶν) and STONE (λάων) equally clearly belongs to the domain of CULTURE: the original substance transformed, ‘finished’, like Sanskrit *samśkāra*. Both φιτρῶν and λάων in context are building materials (note the etymological figure in M 26-7 θεμεΐλια τὰ θέσαν μογέοντες Ἀχαιοί).⁸ Saussure (v. infra) already pointed out that φιτρός designates a stick of wood cut or worked with an axe, as is clear from its other Homeric attestations (*Il.* 23.123, *Od.* 12.11), and λάας in the *Iliad* is primarily a stone used as a weapon. The process of cutting transforms trees or wood into logs; language may focus on either end of the process: English *woodcutter* and *logger* and Greek δρυτόμοι, ὕλοτόμοι and φιτροὺς . . . ταμόντες, λατόμος but no *φιτροτόμοι. In later Greek lyric Corinna graphically figures this process of transformation in the Contest of the mountains of Helicon and Cithaeron (*PMG* 654.31-4), when the defeated mountain tears out a smooth ROCK (πέτραν) from himself and dashes it from on high into 10,000 STONES (λάυς = λάοις). Perhaps this new figuration as

NATURE	δρυ- and	πετρα-
CULTURE	φιτρο- and	λα[h]-(o-) Cypr. λαο(ς) ‘tombstone’ Mycen. <i>ra-e-ja</i> ‘inlaid with stones’

may shed some further light on the vexed question of the real meaning of the former phrase in its context.

Φιτρός in Bacchylides as the firebrand or burning log transformed by the manipulation of fire is thus a particularly apt designation in the Meleager tale. The word is not attested in Mycenaean. For the DELG the etymology is obscure. Taillardat cites only to reject it - as “impossible” - the analysis as **bhid-tró-* > **bhi-tró-* ‘splitter’ (Indo-European **bheid-*) due to Ferdinand de Saussure, *MSL* 6, 1886 [1889], 249 = *Recueil* 423. We have already seen that Saussure insisted on the semantics, that Φιτρός was wood transformed by the axe. And recent work in Greek and Indo-European phonology has tended to rehabilitate Saussure’s

⁷ Cf. L. Renou, *Histoire de la langue sanskrite* 5 (Lyon 1956: Editions IAC).

“μέτρον-rule” (< *μέδ-τρον). See especially J. Schindler apud M. Mayrhofer, *Idg. Gr.* I.111 (1986).

Schindler's gifted and influential pupil Martin Peters in his contribution to his Gedenkschrift⁸ observes that Schindler would refer to his “Wetter”-rule -VHTR/WV- → -VTR/WV-, as in **h₂ueh₁-tró-m* → Gmc. **wedra-*, German *Wetter*, or **meh₁-tró-m* → Greek μέτρον.⁹) But Peters is careful to point out that Schindler also considered a derivation **méd-tro-m* possible, citing the Mayrhofer passage, and I may note that in discussions Schindler was also aware of the possible derivation of *Wetter* and *weather* from **uéd-tro-m*. (Bad) weather being both wet and blowy, a choice is scarcely to be made. Note also Rigvedic *dátram* ‘gift’ < **dad-tram*; the spelling *dátram* given by the Petersburg dictionary and Grassmann is perhaps still to be preferred over Mayrhofer's *dáttram* (*KEWA*, *EWA*).

A derivation of φειρός from **bhid-tró-* is thus not to be rejected out of hand, and is semantically satisfying. The conditions governing this and the putative alternative development *φιστρο- from **bhidstro-* remain to be determined. Those who prefer a laryngeal explanation could posit a preform **bhih₂-tró-* giving **bhi-tró-* from the root **bheih₂-* ‘hit, strike, beat’ by the “Wetter-rule”. It is in this sense and only in this explanation that we must understand the etymology of J. Taillardat in the DELG.

⁸ “Ein tiefes Problem”, *Compositiones Indogermanicae in Memoriam Jochem Schindler*, edd. H. Eichner, H. C. Luschützky, unter redaktioneller Mitwirkung von V. Sadowski 447-56 (Praha: enigma, 1999).

⁹ On the more restricted “Lubotsky's Law” see Peters, n.1 with references, to which add now Ch. de Lamberterie, “Latin *pignus* et la théorie glottalique”, *Aspects of Latin. Papers from the Seventh International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Jerusalem, April 1993*, ed. Hannah Rosén, 135-52 (Innsbruck 1996). Note also S. Scarlata, *Die Wurrel-Komposita im Rgveda* 91n., 205n. (Wiesbaden 1999).

NOCH EINMAL ZUR LAGE VON ŠAMUḤA

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Die Lage von Šamuḥa und damit die der Hauptstadt des Oberen Landes ist wieder und wieder diskutiert worden. Die für die Lokalisierung vorgebrachten Argumente und die wichtigste Literatur bis zur Mitte der 70er Jahre hat R. Lebrun in seiner Monographie über die Stadt und ihre Kulte zusammengetragen.¹ Lebrun schloß sich der bis dahin vielfach vertretenen Annahme einer Lage am oberen Euphrat an.² Nachdem schon S. Alp 1956 den oberen Euphrat (Kara Su) zwischen Pertek und der Stelle des Zusammenflusses mit dem Murat Su in Betracht gezogen hatte,³ wies H.Z. Koşay 1972 auf einen Ort namens Samuka in jener Gegend (bei Kemaliye) hin,⁴ ein Vorschlag, der jedoch von E. Laroche (der selbst eine Lage am Euphrat für sicher hielt) mit Skepsis aufgenommen wurde.⁵

Die neuere Forschung favorisiert demgegenüber überwiegend eine Lage am oberen Kızılırmak. Neben anderen Überlegungen spielen dabei die in der Kārum-Zeit bezeugte Verbindung von Šamuḥa und Kušara (TC 1,10:6)⁶ und Übereinstimmungen zwischen dem Kult von Šamuḥa und dem von Karaḥna eine Rolle, da Karaḥna wiederum im engeren Horizont von Tapikka, dem heutigen Maşat Höyük, zu suchen ist.⁷ Die Identifikation der ca. 50 km südlich von Sivas gelegenen Stadtruine Kuşaklı mit dem hethitischen Šari/ešša,⁸ dessen Wettergott in den Schwurgötterlisten stets

¹ R. Lebrun, *Samuha. Foyer religieux de l'empire hittite* (PIOL 11), Louvain-la-Neuve 1976, 3-9.

² Für die wichtigste Literatur bis 1975 s. G.F. del Monte / J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte* (RGTC 6), Wiesbaden 1978, 339 f., für weitere Literatur bis 1991 das von del Monte 1992 vorgelegte Supplement (RGTC 6/2, 137).

³ S. Alp, “Die Lage von Šamuḥa”, *«Anadolu»* 1 (1956) 77-80.

⁴ H.Z. Koşay, “Hitit Tapınağı Samuha Nerededir?”, *«Belleten»* 36/144 (1972) 463-468; s. auch Lebrun, *Samuha*, 9 (“très séduisant”).

⁵ E. Laroche, “Toponymes hittites ou pré-hittites dans la Turquie moderne”, *«Hethitica»* 6 (1985) 91 f.

⁶ J. Garstang / O.R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, London 1959, 35 f.

⁷ M. Forlanini, “Appunti di geografia etea”, in: *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata I*, Pavia 1979, 180 f.; S. Alp, “Die Lage der hethitischen Kultstadt Karaḥna im Lichte der Maşat-Texte”, in: *Festschrift Kurt Bittel*, Mainz 1983, 45 f.

⁸ G. Wilhelm, “Die Tontafelfunde der 2. Ausgrabungskampagne 1994 in Kuşaklı”,