Oğuz Soysal'a Armağan

Agade'den Šamuḫa'ya / From Agade to Šamuḫa

Studies in Honour of Oğuz Soysal
on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday

Yayına Hazırlayanlar / Editors

Zekiye Nihan Kırçıl
Tolga Pelvanoğlu
Burcu Özer

Ankara - 2026

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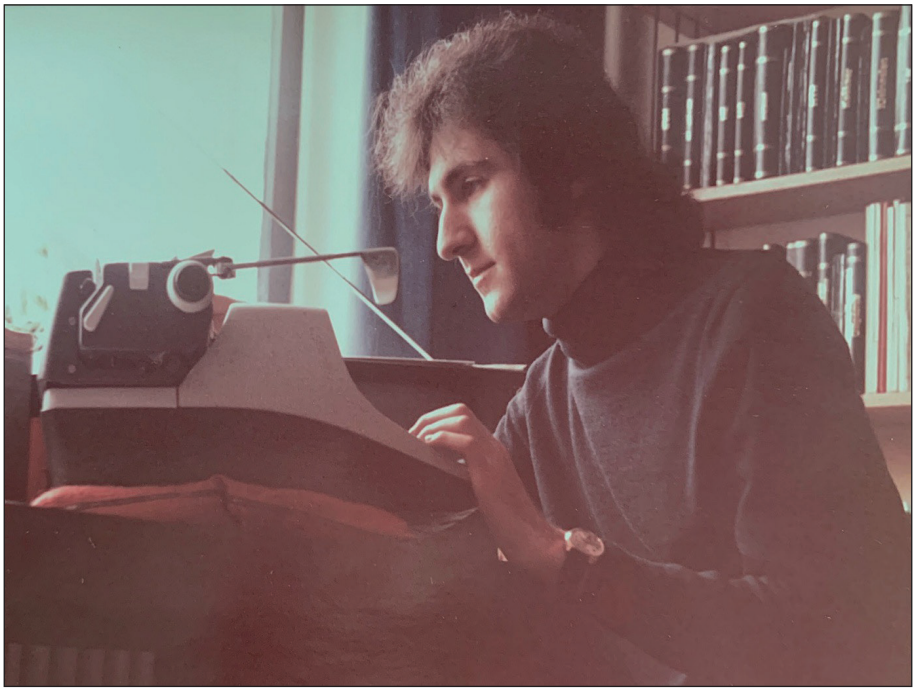
Bu armağan kitabını, alanımızın özverili ve seçkin bilim insanlarından, uzun yıllar Hititoloji alanında eşsiz katkılar sunmuş ve özelikle Türkiye'de bu bilimin görünürlüğünü arttırmak için büyük emek vermiş olan Oğuz Soysal'a takdim etmekten büyük mutluluk duyuyoruz.

Oğuz Soysal'ın Hititolojiye ilgisi, ortaokul yıllarına kadar uzanır. On yaşlarında *Heredot Tarihi*'yle tanışması ve ardından C. W. Ceram'ın *Tanrılar, Mezarlar ve Bilginler* kitabıyla İlkçağ Önasya Tarihi'ne yönelmesi, onu henüz çocuk yaşta Hititçe öğrenmeye ve eski Anadolu uygarlıklarını araştırmaya yönlendirmiştir. Bu erken yaşta başlayan tutkusu, onu Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi'nin Hititoloji Bölümü'ne taşımış, oradan Almanya'da Marburg ve Würzburg üniversitelerinde doktora çalışmalarını sürdürmesine vesile olmuştur. 1989'da tamamladığı doktora tezi, Hitit Kralı I. Muršili'nin hayatını konu alarak alanında özgün bir katkı sunmuştur.

Oğuz Soysal, özellikle Chicago Üniversitesi Oriental Institute bünyesinde yürütülen Büyük Hitit Sözlüğü Projesi'nde 23 yıl boyunca aktif rol almış ve Hititçe kelimelerin anlam, gramer ve metin bağlamlarını detaylı biçimde derlemiştir. Ayrıca Hattice üzerine yaptığı kapsamlı sözlük-gramer çalışması, alanında bir ilk niteliği taşımakta ve günümüz araştırmalarına temel oluşturmaktadır. Türkiye'deki Sivas/Kayalıpınar kazılarında yürüttüğü filolojik çalışmalar, arkeoloji ile dilbilimini birleştiren disiplinler arası bir yaklaşımı gözler önüne sermektedir.

Oğuz Soysal'ın bilimsel katkıları sadece yayınlarıyla sınırlı kalmamış, aynı zamanda Türkiye'de Hititoloji'nin tanınırlığını arttırmak ve öğrencilerin yetişmesini desteklemek için büyük çaba göstermiştir. Onun önerisi ve vizyonu, bağımsız araştırma inisiyatiflerinin önünü açmayı hedeflemiş, öğrenciler ve meslektaşları için ilham verici bir örnek oluşturmuştur.

Bu bağlamda, Oğuz Soysal'a bu armağan kitabını sunmak, sadece onun bilimsel başarılarını onurlandırmakla kalmayıp, aynı zamanda Hititoloji ve Eski Anadolu Tarihi'ne adanmış bir yaşamın takdir edilmesidir. Kitaba katkıda bulunan tüm akademisyenlere teşekkür eder, Oğuz Soysal'ın araştırmalarının önümüzdeki kuşaklar için de yol gösterici olmasını dileriz.



Oğuz Soysal Puḫanu-Kronik'i yazarken, Marburg 1983

/

Oğuz Soysal typing the Puḫanu-Chronicle, Marburg 1983

HITTITE ^{GIŠ}*ḫUIMPA-*

H. Craig MELCHERT*

I am most grateful to the editors for inviting me to take part in this well-deserved tribute to Oğuz Soysal, a friend of long standing who has made so many contributions to our field, in myriad ways.[1] Prominent among his recent services to Hittitology is his significant role in the much-appreciated efforts of our Turkish colleagues to publish the remaining unpublished Bo texts. Their generally small size and fragmentary state make the task challenging and surely at times less than gratifying. It is, however, not only a necessary but also very important undertaking, because even a very small fragment can sometimes tell us something new: see the just remark of Alparslan (2017: Vorwort 3). Those published in Soysal 2024 in characteristically exemplary form are no exception. I offer him as a modest token of esteem the following reconsideration of a poorly attested and misunderstood word. The newly published Bo 6200 plus an independent insight of Oğuz into a monolingual Hattian passage permit a plausible, if not yet certain, interpretation.

As first seen by Schuster (1974: 105-106), one key to understanding ^{GIŠ}*ḫuimpa-* lies in the intersection of the following two passages:

(1) KUB 7.41 i 19-21 (CTH 446, Purification of a House from the Infernal Deities;
MH/MSorNS)

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[1] I thank Birgit Christiansen for extensive and helpful comments beyond that on example (4) and Jared Miller for his input on the reading of the final signs in the last line of example (5). However, since I have not entirely followed their suggestions, the usual disclaimer applies. Neither should be inferred to approve my analysis.

tagā[*nzipaš*] *ḫuimpaš* É.ŠÀ-*nanza* GUNNI-*anza* 4 *ḫalḫalduma*[*ri-*] ^{É}*ḫīlaš* KÁ.ḪI.A-*eš arḫa tarn*[*andu*]

"Let the floor, the *ḫ.*, the inner chamber, the hearth, the four corners, the courtyard (and) the gate let (them, the evils) go!"

(2) KBo 24.45 i 21*'*-22*'* (CTH 479, Ritual of Kizzuwatna; MH/MS[?])
nu É.DINGIR-*LIM apāš aniyazi tiyazi=ma=aš=kan* ŠÀ-*BI* É DIN[GIR-*LIM*] *namma* É.DINGIR-LIM *šer katta* ^{GIŠ}*ḫuimpaz ḫarnuwanzi* UD.1.KAM *QATI*

"And he (the AZU-priest) ritually treats the temple. He enters the temple. Then they sprinkle the temple down from above from the *ḫ.*. The first day is finished."

As per Schuster, text (2) by itself as a NS copy would permit the alternative of taking ^{GIŠ}*ḫuimpaz* as expressing means, referring to a container holding the liquid with which the sprinkling is done. However, (1) shows that the *ḫuimpa-* is part of the building, and the expression "down from above from the *ḫ.*" forces the conclusion with him that the latter refers to part of the roof structure or an upper room. It cannot possibly have anything to do with the floor (against Otten 1961: 117, 143 and Collins 2003: 168). The implication that the *ḫuimpa-* is located 'above' also excludes 'wood paneling' (Archi 1975: 77).[2]

All other subsequent treatments of the word known to me choose the first of Schuster's suggestions, that the *ḫuimpa-* is part of the roof structure. Some choose 'ceiling': Lebrun 1983: 110, Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 36 (with unjustified hesitation), Christiansen 2006: 289, and Miller 2008: 209. Others tentatively opt for 'ceiling beams': HW[2] Ḫ: 329a and Strauß 2006: 320. Some prefer to leave the word untranslated, while acknowledging that it is somewhere in the upper part of a building, part of the ceiling or the roof: thus explicitly HW[2] Ḫ: 648a, implicitly Ünal 2017: §5' with note 2. One potential difficulty with the specific sense 'ceiling beam' is that in one text *ḫuimpa-* cooccurs with GIŠ.ÚR, which is itself supposed to have that sense:

(3) KUB 2.2+ ii 61-iii 2 (CTH 725, Hattian Ritual for Installation of a New Door-bolt in a Palace; OH/NS; restorations after iii 7–12)
INA $^{ḪUR.SAG}$*Šakdunuwa* [*idalu* GIŠ-*ru*] *idalun* GIŠ.ÚR *idalun* [^{GIŠ}*ḫittaššan*]

[2] Nor is there any basis for a comitative reading of ^{GIŠ}*ḫuimpaz* (pace Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 35), since it clearly is a part of the temple.

idalu<n> ḫuimpan mun[*nandu*]

"[Let them] (the gods) hide the [evil wood], the evil beam/rafter, the evil [*ḫittašša-*] (and) the evil *ḫuimpa-* in Mt. Sakdunuwa!"

However, GIŠ.ÚR (= Hitt. ^{GIŠ}*innašša-*) means fundamentally 'beam', and its function as a ceiling beam/rafter may be dependent on context: see Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 25 with refs.[3] Schuster (1974: 69) translates simply 'Balken'. If *ḫuimpa-* means 'ceiling', the underside of the roof, one may wonder just how it was sprinkled. The Hittites had various means of aspersing liquid (see CHD P: 95 sub b.), likely including in an upward arc, but could they have effectively reached that height?

The foregoing are mere cavils and hardly preclude either 'ceiling beam' or 'ceiling'. A far more serious problem is presented by the following passage, which strangely has been ignored in all discussions of $^{(GIŠ)}$*ḫuimpa-* except that in HED 3: 359-360:

(4) KUB 5.6 iv 3-5 (CTH 570, Hepatoscopic Oracular Inquiry; NH)

^{d}10 NIR.GÁL *kuit ITTI* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* SI×SÁ-*at nu karū kuiēš* (eras.) *waškuiēš ŠA* MUN

ŠA GIŠ.RÍN *ZIBANITI ḫuimpaš namma≠ya kuiēš wa*[*šku*]*iēš IŠTU tuppi aniyanteš*

NU.SIG$_5$ *zilaš≠ma* SIG$_5$

"(Seeing) that the mighty Storm-god was determined/identified with respect to His Majesty, is it (due to) the errors in (lit. of) the scales for salt that have already occurred (lit. are) in the *ḫ.*'s, and the further errors that are written on a tablet? (Let it be) unfavorable. The oracular sign is favorable."

One must first read the text correctly with Puhvel 1991: 360. The online photo (hethiter.net/: fotarch N00697) clearly shows <GIŠ.RÍN> (not <GIŠ-wa>!) against the autograph, which all others have wrongly followed. This reading is confirmed by the following <ZI-BÁ-NI-TI>, which can only be the genitive of Akkadian *zibānītu* 'scales', equivalent of the more common Sumerographic GIŠ.ÉRIN/ GIŠ.RÍN ZA.BA.NA (see AHw: 1523 and

[3] In the passage cited from KUB 29.1 iii 27 *mān≠šan* ^{GIŠ}*innaššuš≠ma ḫuettianzi* "when they draw (i.e. extend) the *i.*" the use of the simple verb does suggest a horizontal action. If the beams in question were vertical, we would expect *šarā ḫuett(iya)-* 'pull up/raise'.

Rüster and Neu 1989: 254 respectively).

While the genitives written with *ŠA* may as often follow their head noun, this is quite impossible for Hittite *ḫuimpaš*.[4] Its clause-final position leaves little choice but to take it as predicatival and hence surely dative-locative plural. We have no basis for thinking that a single building has more than one *ḫuimpa-*, but this in no way precludes that the oracular inquiry concerns multiple incidents.[5] Puhvel, loc. cit., interprets *waškuiēš* as 'deficits', but Hittite *waškuu(i)-* is a loanword from Luwian *:waškuit-*. The latter means 'offense, delict, sin' (thus correctly Giorgieri 1995: 302 and Miller 2013: 313), and so does the Hittite: cf. *mān kūš=pat maršaštarraš waškuš* 'if just these sins of desecration' in KUB 5.9 obv. 29 (thus with CHD L-N: 198). However, the more common rendering 'failing, error' is likely equally valid, since the Hittites clearly believed that one can sin unintentionally, and any error that caused divine anger would be regarded as a sin.

The major point for present purposes is that the possibility of errors in the use of scales for weighing salt implies the presence of salt. This in turn suggests that we should follow Schuster's second suggestion that *ḫuimpa-* refers to an upper room— specifically, one that could inter alia be used for storage purposes. I assert that the newly published Bo 6200 (Soysal 2024: 173-174) offers further reason for this interpretation:[6]

(5) Bo 6200 iii 3'-7' (CTH 451; ?/NS)
[x-x-(x)]-x-*zi nu me-ma-i* ^{GIŠ}SAG.KUL *pé-ẹ*[…]
[x-x-(x) Z]I$^{?}$-*it ḫal-ki-in* É-*ri* EGIR-*pa an-da* [*u-da*$^{?}$]
[*nu me-m*]*a-i* SIG$_5$-*wa* É-*ni* EGIR-*pa šu-wa-an e-eš-d*[*u*]
[EGIR-*pa*$^{?}$-*wa*$^{?}$-*ká*]*n*$^{?}$ NINDA.KAŠ-*an pa-aš-ki nu-kán ḫu-im-pa-an* [--]

[4] I am indebted to B. Christiansen (pers. comm.) for reminding me of this fact, but I stress that this in no way implies her endorsement of my parsing of *ḫuimpaš*.

[5] An accusative plural *ḫūimpuš* is attested in KBo 19.148:7, in a hopelessly broken context. Likewise *šer ḫuimpuš=šmuš* "their *ḫ.*'s above" in Bo 3081 Vo 13' cited in Soysal 2023: 49, despite the possible mention of 'fat, oil' in Vo 14' (the sequence [ ]x-*ti-i-du* cannot be restored with Soysal 2023: 50 as a form of *šart-*^{ḫḫi,} *šartā(i)-* or *šartiya-* 'to wipe'). See on the inflection of this verb Melchert 2002: 326.

[6] While the commonalities with KBo 25.184 suggest a funerary ritual (Soysal 2024: 173), I see no basis for attributing it to the royal funeral rites. The reference merely to 'the house' and the actions of lines iii 10'-11' describing throwing vessels of wine and oil from the roof recall rather the diction of KUB 30.28+ rev. 1-12 (for which see Otten 1958: 96-97). My restorations and readings thus diverge from those of Soysal, loc. cit.

[*aš*$^{?}$-*ša*$^{?}$-*nu*$^{?}$-*z*]*i nu me-ma-i ḫu-im-pa-aš-wa-za* KAŠ *kur-qa-*[*an*$^{?}$ *ḫar-ak*$^{?}$]

Since we find only *nu memai* in lines 3*'* and 7*'*, I do not think we are authorized to restore [*ki-iš-ša-an*] in line 5*'*. While estimating how many signs one can restore in one line based on another is far from an exact science, the likely restoration in 5*'* leaves at most space for three full signs in all the lines cited. I cannot follow Soysal in restoring a form of *šunna/i-* in line 4*'*, because even in its late form *šunni-*^{mi} (due to interference from *šūniye/a-* 'to insert, immerse' but also 'pour out') *šunna-*^{hi} 'to fill' is always construed with *ḫalki-* in the instrumental (or its NH replacement the ablative). Whatever the object of [*š*]*unnizzi* is in KBo 25.184 iii 59*'* (definitely part of the royal funeral rites), it cannot be *ḫalkin*. It also seems quite hyperbolic to suppose that one would speak of filling a house with grain with a shovel.

Soysal reads in line 4*'* NINDA KAŠ-*an paški*, but for a collocation 'bread (and) beer' the phonetic complement on 'beer' is patently false. In any case, the putative support for such a collocation in KUB 53.15 i$^{!}$ 16*'* (thus CHD P: 208b) has vanished. The join with KUB 41.15 shows that we must construe the passage very differently (CHD Š: 632ab after Beckman):

(6) KUB 53.15 + 41.15 i$^{!}$ 16*'*-17*'* (Ritual; ?/NS)[7]

[2 ^{URUDU}*š*]*epikušteš n=aš=šan šuppianti* NINDA.KAŠ *paškanteš* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*ṇ* [*dā*]*ṇ*

"There are [two] copper pins. He places them on a table, stuck into consecrated beer bread."

The singular attributive adjective argues that we have a single word for a type of bread, of which beer is an ingredient. That does explain the complement in our passage,[8] but it suggests that the KAŠ of line 4*'* and line 5*'* are not coreferential. There is also no longer any basis for the claim (CHD P: 208b) that *paške-* ever means 'to set up'. All clear instances mean 'to stick, fasten' or 'fix (in position), plant'. The unusual use with a type of bread as object suggests that the addressee is to assure that the bread is *securely* deposited somewhere. Given the preceding two clauses and the

[7] I follow the CHD in leaving open the attribution of this text to a particular ritual/cult tradition. The basis for assigning it to Ištanuwa by the online Konkordanz is entirely unclear to me.

[8] In either a compound or a nominal phrase the head noun 'bread' would come last in Hittite.

available space, I suggest with due reserve we should restore EGIR-*pa* and understand the order to mean: "Restore (securely) the beer bread!"

My suggested restoration of *aš(ša)nuzi* 'he finishes with' as the verb of the next clause is merely a guess, based on the limited space. I would have expected rather 'to close, shut', but that would require assuming an impersonal [*ḫa-at-kán-z*]*i* when all other clauses appear to have as subject the individual giving the orders. The space would also hardly be sufficient. In any case, I believe the overall context leaves little alternative but the *ḫuimpa-* as the place the beer bread is to be secured. I concede that my restoration of the last clause requires that the text run over onto the edge, but note that precisely *ḫar-ak* is written on the edge at the end of line ii 1*'*.[9] My admittedly tentative understanding is that in reward for restoring the supply of beer bread the addressee is allowed to retain whatever beer is in the *ḫuimpa-*: "Keep held back/reserved for yourself the beer of the *ḫ.*!"

Even if some details of my restoration are wrong, I believe the context argues that the *ḫuimpa-* was an upper room used inter alia for storage. That items like salt, bread, and beer would be stored in an upper room makes sense, in that it would reduce their vulnerability to vermin or to theft. One may well ask: but could they efficiently move even modest quantities of such supplies between stories/floors? At least passages (2), (3) and (4) involve major structures that could have, might even be expected to have, stairs. Whether the houses in (1) and (5) had such is certainly more arguable.[10]

Fortunately, thanks to our honorand we do not need to depend entirely

[9] While we admittedly have very few examples, the spelling of word-final liquid plus stop in imperatives of verbs ending in such a sequence is consistently CVC-VC: *ḫar-ak* 'hold!', *kar-ap* 'lift!'. We would thus expect *kur-ak* for 'retain, preserve!'. I therefore assume a stative construction with participle plus *ḫar(k)-*. In view of the spelling *ki-iš-šar-ta* for /kis:ard/ 'by the hand', certainty is not possible, and *kur-qa* 'retain/hold back!' for /kurk/ is conceivable.

[10] The few other examples of $^{(GIŠ)}$*ḫuimpa-* merely confirm that it is part of a building. See Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 31-36, who (against Puhvel 1991: 360) correctly concludes that the use of *k(a)rip-* 'devour' in KBo 24.93 iii 15ff. extended even to walls and windows refers to the stripping of a building prior to renovation. We therefore cannot use *šer katta* ^{GIŠ}*ḫuimbaza karipanzi* (iii 17-18) to prove that the *ḫuimpa-* contained comestibles. However, there is nothing problematic or diagnostic about KBo 25.184 iii 67*'* (Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 35-36): […]*ḫuimpanza pēdan ḫardu* "let the *ḫ.* hold its place!". Aside from doors, one would not want *any* building part to move from its position! The missing verb in KUB 53.50 i 5–6 makes it uninformative for determining the precise sense of ^{GIŠ}*ḫuimpa-* (context in Christiansen 2006: 288–89).

on my interpretation of Bo 6200 for the conclusion that *ḫuimpa-* was an upper room (a garret or attic). We know from the passage cited in (3) that the Hattian equivalent of $^{(GIŠ)}$*ḫuimpa-* is *ta-al-wi$_i$-i-it* (see Schuster 1974: 104). A monolingual passage from an Ortaköy text provides welcome illumination:

(7) Or. 90/325 iv 3'-6' (CTH 726, Hattian-Hittite Foundation Ritual; OH/NS)

[(*i*)]*š-taḫ-ḫi-i-el le-e zu-ú-wa-ši-ni* x̣[…] *ma-ne-e*]

[*w*]*a$_a$-tu-ú-un-wa$_a$-at zi-wa$_a$-a-ra-ak* [

[*i*(*š-t*)]*aḫ-ḫe-el le-e ta-al-wi$_i$-i-it ma-ne-e* [*wa$_a$-a*$^?$-(*at*$^?$-*ta-ú-i-il*)]

[(*z*)]*i-wa$_a$-ra-* [*ak*$^?$]

"We floored (i.e. made the floor for) his wooden *zuwašini*-part, [so that/then$^?$] I sat under the *wa$_a$rak*-structure.

[W]e floored his wooden *talwi$_i$t*-part, so that/then [I] dwelled under the *wa$_a$ra*[*k*-structure."

For the text and the basis of the restorations see Soysal and Süel 2016: 347, whose translation I also follow. For the crucial interpretation of the verb *ḫe/il* 'to pour out (building material) > 'lay a floor' and the equations *zuwašini* = ^{GIŠ}*ḫittašša-* and *talwi$_i$t* = $^{(GIŠ)}$*ḫuimpa-* see Soysal 2018: 161-162 (and for the verb *ḫel* = *išḫuwai-* already HWHT: 279). On the likely position of the passage in the overall ritual see Soysal and Süel 2016: 359—unfortunately, this passage is not extant in the NS Hittite version KBo 37.1.

This passage decides several issues. Since it is provided with a floor, $^{(GIŠ)}$*ḫuimpa-* itself can hardly be either the floor or a ceiling (or part thereof). Since we find two structures given a floor, the palace must have (at least) two stories, but the other evidence for $^{(GIŠ)}$*ḫuimpa-* as being *šer* 'above' precludes that it is a basement or cellar and argues for an upper room. What awaits elucidation is the relative position of the $^{(GIŠ)}$*ḫuimpa-* and the other presumptive room, the ^{GIŠ}*ḫittašša-* (Hattian *zuwašini*). This may remain indeterminate for some time, since to my knowledge ^{GIŠ}*ḫittašša-* occurs only in CTH 725. As a layperson, I am prepared to entertain that a palace could have more than one story above the ground floor, but I must leave

entirely to others to judge the plausibility of this or to decide which might be the higher one.[11]

I close with a few inconclusive remarks on the possible origin of $^{(GIŠ)}$*ḫuimpa-*. The suggestion of Schuster (1974: 104, note 228) that the hapax spelling ^{GIŠ}*ḫu-in-pa-* is likely original and may point to a foreign origin is unlikely. Rather, like the hapax spelling *ge-em-zu* for the clearly native Hittite word *genzu-* 'lap', the spelling *ḫu-in-pa-* with a vowel-nasal sign non-homorganic with the following stop indicates so-called "nasal reduction," whose first step is definitely deocclusion of the nasal. We thus have [x^{w}īpa-] and [kẽt^{s}u-]. See Hoffner and Melchert 2024: 70-71 with note 211.

What is far less clear is the status and proper interpretation of the alternation ^{GIŠ}*ḫuimma-/ḫuimpa-*. There is no doubt of ^{GIŠ}*ḫu-im-ma-an*$^{!}$ (text has falsely *-aš*) in KUB 33. 36 iii 4 being the same word or of its reading. Unless one wishes arbitrarily to suppose a copyist's sight error due to misreading <BA> as <MA> (cf. ^{GIŠ}*ḫu-im-ba-za* in KBo 24.93 iii 18), we face an alternation that recalls that in ^{GIŠ}*eripi-/iri(m)pi-* 'cedar(wood)', definitely a loanword from Akkadian via Hurrian (Hoffner and Melchert 2024: 40 with refs., et al.). Much less certain is whether one may with Hoffner 1977: 155–156 suppose an interpretation 'to bereave' for the verb *kuripaḫḫ-/kuripāi-* and its derivation from *kurimma-* 'bereft, orphaned'. Miller (2014: 534-535) tentatively accepts this. While this *implies* an intervening variant **kurimpa-*, Hoffner himself nowhere says this, much less claims an identification with *kurimpa-* 'dregs, lees', despite the egregious misrepresentation by Puhvel (1997: 264-265). In purely semantic terms, an original adjective *kurimma-/kurimpa-* *'left behind' could easily have been substantivized to 'the person left behind', whence 'orphan, widow', and 'the thing left behind', whence 'dregs, lees'. However, no obvious etymon for an adjective with that meaning presents itself. This putative parallel is thus of no help in elucidating ^{GIŠ}*ḫuimma-/ḫuimpa-*. In both cases we are left with a nondum liquet.

[11] Or are we to think of one upper story with the *ḫittašša-* and *ḫuimpa-* beside each other? The fact that someone has 'sat' under the *wa$_a$rak*-structure of the *ḫittašša-*, and 'dwelled' under that of the *ḫuimpa-* does make one wonder whether *wa$_a$rak-* is the Hattian term for 'ceiling'.

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