

Where all the Killed Dragons graze: Luw. *āla/i- wiluš(a)-*,
Ἠλύσιος λειμών and the PIE concept of the Netherworld.

I. KBo 4.11 rev. 45-46:

EGIR-ŠU^DŠuwašunan ekuzi
aḥḥa≠(a)ta-<a≠t>ta alati auienta uilušati

- Translation by Watkins 1986: 58-62 and 1995: 144-148: ‘When they came from steep Wiluša’.

āla/i- as ‘**high, steep**’ and the combination *alati ... wilušati* as a *poetic* collocation corresponding to Greek (F)Ἴλιον αἰπεινή ‘high/lofty Ilion’.

Accepted by: Melchert 1993, s.v.v. *āla/i-* ‘high; deep (of the sea)’, Wiluša- (toponym); Eichner 1993: 106-114; Hajnal 2003, 48-54; cf. also Yakubovich 2010, 125;

Modification: *āla/i-* still as an adjective, but now ‘**remote, far away**’ < PIE root **al-* ‘not belonging to the sphere of the speaker’ (I. Yakubovich – E. Rieken, talk at the 15. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft (13.–16. September 2016)).

- *āla/i-* as ‘**sea, water(s)**’ and *wilušati* as ‘**from Wilusa**’, cf. Meriggi 1957, 215; Laroche 1959, s.v. *ali-* and 1979, 114; Carruba 1962: 65-66, cf. 1982, 47-48; Eichner 1983, 62-64; Starke 1997: 473 n. 78. On the other hand, Neumann 1999: 20 skeptical about both interpretations.
- The interpretation of *uilušati* as ‘from Wiluša’ is highly problematic in view of at least three factors: 1) no city determinative (URU) which is used **very consistently** by the Hittite scribes; 2) parallelism with KUB 35.102+103 (see below) in which one finds only *ālati*, but no *uilušati*; 3) Existence of a ‘Wilusiad’ in the Bronze Age Anatolia is **extremely dubious**: the Hittite/Luwian perspective on Wiluša was **fundamentally** different from the Greek one and, crucially, the Iliad itself reflects probably the **post-Bronze Age** realities.

II. KUB 35.102+103 III 11-14:

ālati≠ta aḥḥa LÚ-iš auita[‘When the Man came from *āla/i-*
GİR^{MES}-ta≠du tarueya iššara≠d[*u* His legs (were) fastened/blocked (or stiff/rigid); his hands
*dūwazan tiyammin dūpit[*a* stroke the Black Earth;*
šarra i[(a)š/t]ala taršīta [he ... stood up...’

Colophons: rev. III 10: II *ḥukmaiš armauwaš QAT[I]* ‘**pregnancy conjuration**’ –

rev. IV 10: [III *ḥukmaiš*] *armauw[aš QATT]* or rather ‘**birth conjuration**’

1) tarueya. *Earlier suggestions:* ‘twisted, wrenched’ (‘verdreht/verrenkt’) by Carruba 1982: 47 and Eichner 1993: 110 fn. 57) < Hitt. *tar(k)u-* ‘dance < twist, circle’; ‘planted firm’ by Watkins 1986: 60-61 with fn. 33 < Hitt. *tarru-* ‘solid, strong’; ‘sprawling’ (tentatively) by Melchert 1993, s.v. *tarwi(ya)-*, cf. *paritarwali(ya)-* ‘of the supine’ (in the long run, again with Hitt. *tarru*).

New suggestion: *tarueya* = Hitt. *tar(u)wai-* ‘to fix (magically), to fasten’ (Tischler 1991-1994, s.v. *tarwai-*); describes ‘binding’ of living creatures, as ‘lion’ and ‘man’. Probably < *tāru-* ‘wood’, cf. frequent spelling GİŠ-*ru-*. Then literary ‘block’.

2) *tarši(ya)-*. Earlier suggestions: ‘charged up/assaulted’ by Watkins 1986: 60-61 with fn. 33 (*ad hoc* assumption); ‘vomit, belch’ by Melchert (1993, s.v. *tarši(ya)-*), cf. Hitt. *tar(a)šganiyawant-* (a hapax in KBo 10.37 I 61 and III 38: ‘vomiting’ or ‘smeared with slime’(?)); ‘drive (in a carriage)’ (‘kutschieren, fahren’) by Tischler 1991-1994, s.v. *tarsi-*, suggested by Güterbock; ‘trample (upon)’ by van den Hout 1994, 316, cf. Mouton 2008: 276;

New suggestion: ‘rise, stand up’, cf. :*taršiyai* in KUB 37.193+ obv. 2 (a medical omen written in Akkadian) which seems to correspond to Akkadian *iteb<bi>* ‘he stood up/rose’ (s. Wilhelm 1994: 26) >>>

a. KUB 31.71+ III 9’-10’ :*taršitta=ya=wa=mu ŪL kuiški* ‘nobody raised/lifted me’, cf. *ibid.* III 3’-4’: *nu’=za MUNUS.LUGAL katta išḫaḫat* ‘the Queen sat down (on the ground)’ and III 10’-11’: *šarā=ya=mu=kan [Ū]L kuiški šēḫuriy[a]t* ‘Nobody urinated on me *from above*’.

b. KUB 35.107+ rev. III 7: DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*inzi pūnatinza III-šu taršiya[nta]* ‘For the third time all the gods rose to/ascended (to the heaven)’ (context of a feast by the Sun-God).

As a result: the passage seems to describe some **strange** or **unnatural** state of the man who appears to be **out of control of both his feet and hands**.

- Cf. two closely related Luwian texts KUB 35.88 and KUB 35.89 (cf. Beckman 1983: 229-230). The better preserved part of KUB 35.88 (rev. III 7-17), largely parallel to the preserved text of KUB 35.89, describes a sort of purification ritual of (nine) body parts of a new-born child performed with nine combs. Crucially, obv. II 1: *ādd[uwāl[i]š DU[MU.L]Ú.ŪLU^{LU}-iš auita*, after which follows (ll. 5-8) a list of **body parts**.

Cf. further colophon of KUB 35.89 (l. 19): [*kī ŠI*]PAT *mān DUMU-an aršakanzi* ‘[This (is) conjuration “When they fetch a child” > *aršakanzi* ‘make/help to **come**’ > ‘fetch’.

=> In the context of a Birth Conjuration ‘**coming**’ (*awi-*) is a reference to ‘**birth**’.

- Clues for this interpretation also in KBo 4.11 rev. 45-46? The name of the deity: Šuwašunna < *šuwa-* + *šunna-* both ‘fill’. Probably not just a ‘(Ful)filler’, but a *fertility or pregnancy* deity, cf. Hitt. *šumreške/a-* < *šuwa-* (via **šumar-* < **šumar-* ‘fullness’) ‘to grow fuller/thicker (when pregnant)’. A structural parallel to the name is parallel is *Hannahanna*, who is the Goddess of Birth. => **Šuwašunna the ‘Goddess of Pregnancy’**.

III. Meaning of *āla/i-*.

1) **KUB 35.107+KBo 43.223+KBo 9.127+KUB 36.41:**

- 10 ^{URU}*Taurišizzaš wašḫazzaš* ^DLAMMA-*aš* ^DUTU-*tī dātī tarkummī[ta]*
 11 ^DUTU-*wa=ti EZEN-in āta a=wa=ti zare[yanza* ^{ÍD}HL.A-*inza ...-ta*
 12 *a=wa=ti alinza* ^{HUR.SAG}HL.A-*tinza* KI.MIN [...]
 13 [*a=wa=ti alin alaššammin* KI.MIN *a=wa=ti*
 14 [-] *ultaganan* KI.MIN *a=wa=ti KASKALHL.A-*wanza ḫar[uwanninza* KI.MIN]
 15 [*a=wa=ti*] ^{ÍD}HL.A-*inza ḫapinninza* KI.MIN
 16 [SAG.D]U-*aššan=za* ^{IGI}HL.A-*waššan=za* GIG-*an=za nāwa* [KI.MIN]*

‘The Trustworthy Stag-God reported to the Sun-God, (his) father: ‘The Sun-God made a feast [and invited] *Zare[ya-* (pl.)(.) Rivers], *Āla/i-* (pl.)(.) Mountains as well. *Āla/i-* (and) *Alašamma/i-* as well; [...] *ultakana-* as well; Roads (and) [Little] Roa[ds as well]; Rivers and Rivulets as well; (but) the Sickness-of-the-Head-and-Eyes he did not [invited]’.

Ú.SAL *uwaniya-* is ‘rocky/stony meadow’

- The textual parallelism: *āla/i-* *uwaniya-*
 :*lapani* :*waniya*
 Ú.SAL *uwaniya-*

suggests that *āla/i-* designates a sort of **flat terrain**, similar to ‘summer-pasture’ or ‘meadow’.

3) KBo 4.11 rev. 45-46: [EG]IR-ŠÚ^DUTU^D *Ištanuwa ekuzi=pat*
 šuwatra wāšu ala waddati[≠t]ta
 zanta huwalpanati ār

- Goedegebuure 2010: 311: ‘The storage-jars (are) good (and) deep’. Come down from the hump-backed mountains’. Apples and oranges.
- Alternative suggestion: *šuwatra*: ‘fullness, abundance’ and *ala*: dat.-loc. of *āla/i-*

=> One single clause: ‘Bring (*ār*) good fulness/abundance to *āla/i-* from the hump-backed mountains’.

=> *āla/i-* is ‘plain/meadow’, probably simply Luwian reading of Ú.SAL and thus closely corresponds to Hitt. *wēllu-* ‘meadow (of the Netherworld)’.

IV. Clues for the infernal aspect of *āla/i-*.

- Lexically corresponds to Hittite *wēllu-* which is a word for ‘Netherworld’ (cf. Puhvel 1969). Thus, the Human Soul ‘comes’ into the body of a new-born from the same place where it goes after death: the ‘Plain/Meadow’.
- ‘Ritual for Purification of a House’ (CTH 446), KUB 41.8 III 6 (dupl. KUB 10.45 III 15), cf. Miller in TUATNF, 2006, 213), a prayer to the ‘Deities of Blood’ (*ešhanaš* DINGIR^{LIM}):

nu kišan memai āliš mammaš ^{DA.NUN.NA.KE₄} *kēdani=šmaš uddanī ḫalziḫhun*

‘And he speaks thus: *āliš mammaš* Infernal Deities, on this occasion I invoked you...’

=> Infernal Deities of the Meadow (of) *mamma-*. May be *mamma-* is simply ‘mom/mama’? Cf. ŠA AMA-KA UD-*az* ‘Day of your Mother’ = ‘Day of Death’

- KBo 13.260 III 5-9:

<i>kwinzi zinza</i>	‘These (ones) who
<i>ušanta alaššinzi</i>	brought (up): <i>alašša/i-</i> ean,
<i>nahḫuwaššinzi inaššinzi</i>	terrifying, disease-causing(?),
<i>pariyan šarḫam(m)inzi</i>	exceedingly aggressive
<i>annarumminzi</i>	<i>Annaruma/i-</i> deities ...

*Annarumma/i-*deities = *Innarawanteš* ‘the Powerful Ones’, demon-like deities associated with Šanda, cf. also *maruwainzi* ‘the Black ones’ (cf. Haas 1994, 408, 468, Taracha 2009, 113f.)

=> *alašša/i-*ean = ‘Otherworldly’ or ‘Infernal’

V. Interpretation of *wiluš(a)-*.

āla/i- *wiluš(a)-* = Ἠλύσιον πεδίων or Ἠλύσιος λειμών ‘Elysian plain/meadow’

(later also Ἠλύσιος χῶρος): *āla/i-* = πεδίων/λειμών and *wiluš(a)-* = Ἠλύσιον

- The question is what is the exact relationship between *wiluš(a)-* and Ἠλύσιον? Two explanatory scenarios:
 - 1) **Borrowing**: **A.** Greek > Anatolian or **B.** Anatolian > Greek or **C.** Third source > Greek and Anatolian
 - 2) **Common PIE heritage**

1. Greek side:

Three main lines of interpretation Ἠλύσιον (for older proposals cf. GEW, s.v. or Beekes 1998):

- 1) Burkert 1961 (building on earlier suggestions): < ἐν-ηλύσιος ‘struck by lightning’ (finally to ἐλευθ-/ἐλυθ- ‘come (into)’. ‘Leumannsche Missverständnis’: *ἐνηλυσίω > ἐν Ἠλυσίω.
- 2) Puhvel 1969: compares with Hitt. *wēllu-* ‘meadow (of the Netherworld)’ reconstructing **wl̥-nu-tiyo-*. Ἠλύσιον πεδίων is then ‘meadowy field’.
- 3) Beekes 1998: rejects both IE etymologies, suggesting that Ἠλύσιος is based on a place-name (of a pre-Greek origin), i.e. Ἠλύσιον πεδίων is ‘Plain of **Elusos*’.

⇒ Neither etymology is convincing: the connection with ‘lightning’ is non-existent; Puhvel’s idea is in general attractive semantically, but difficult from a formal point of view; Beekes’ **Elusos* explains nothing.

2. Anatolian side:

- Luw. *wiluš(a)-* cannot be identical with Hitt. *wēllu-*, as the latter corresponds to *āla/i-* and there are a number of formal discrepancies. This further undermines Puhvel’s idea.
- **New Suggestion**:

Semantics: one may connect *wiluš(a)-* with PIE **wel-* ‘die’. The root is preserved in **Luwic**: HLuw. (CRUX)*wa/i-la-* ‘die’, CLuw. *walant(i)-/ulant(i)-* ‘dead’, Lyc. *la-* ‘die’ < **wla-*. Besides that it is attested in **Germanic**: OIc. *valr* m. ‘the slain’ (cf. also *Val-höll* ‘hall of the slain’ and *valkyrja* ‘chooser of the slain’) and OE *wæl* ‘the slain’; **Baltic**: Lith. *velė* and Latv. *velis* ‘soul, ghost of the dead person’; Lith. *vélnias* (Dial. *velnīs*) and Latv. *velns* ‘devil, demon’; **Possibly in Slavic**: East Slavic god *Veles/Volos* (‘the cattle god’) and Czech *veles* ‘evil spirit, demon’; **Tocharian A**: *walu* ‘dead’, *wällästar* ‘dies’ (pres.), *wlatär* ‘(will) die’ (conj.), *wläs* ‘died’ (aor.) [contra LIV **wel-* has to be separated from the root *wel_{h3-}* ‘strike’, which gave Hittite *walḫ-* and probably Greek ἀλίσκομαι/ἀλῶναι < ‘make a quick movement with the hand’].

Phonetics: for raising **e* > *i* and **e*: > *i*: in Luwian see Melchert AHP: 262-263: (1) **y*_–, cf., e.g. CLuw. *iš(ša)ra/i-* (HLuw. *istra/i-*) ‘hand’ < **yesr-* < PA **gesr-* < PIE **ǵhes-r*. (2) pretonically, cf. e.g., negation prefix *ni-* (as in *ni-waralla-*) < PA *ne-*. (3) *w*_T: **Hwes/d-* > CLuw. *huitwal(i)-* ‘living’ and HLuw. *huitar-* ‘animals, wild game’. (4) **e*: > *i* (unconditioned?): HLuw. *tipas-* ‘sky’ < PA **nēbes-* < PIE **nébh^hes-*. In general, raising *e* > *i* is a rather trivial phenomenon in an unaccented position.

Morphology: < **wel-u-s-*: *s*-stem neuter noun, based on an old *u*-stem **welu-* (for which cf. esp. Toch. A *walu* ‘dead’). For the derivational pattern cf. Hitt. *šāru-* vs. CLuw. *šaruš-* ‘booty’, Hitt. *tāru-* ‘wood’ vs. CLuw. *tāruš-* ‘statue’, Hitt. *tapu-* ‘flank’ vs. *tapuš-* ‘side’. But especially *nakkus-* < *nakku(wa)-* ‘spirit(s) of the dead’ < PIE **nek-* ‘disappear’ (cf. Lat. *nex* ‘killing’, Gk. *vékōs* ‘dead’ etc., see Melchert 2014, cf. Malzahn 2014). However, *nakkus-* is not just ‘damage, loss’ but rather ‘dead stuff’ (or simply ‘death’/‘perdition’).

=> Thus, the original meaning of Luw. *wiluš-* must be ‘place/realm of the dead (**wel-*)’. A ‘place-name’ used in apposition with *āla/i-*.

3. So, what about Greek Ἠλύσιος – inherited or borrowed?

- On the one hand, formally not impossible: **wēl-u-t-i-o-*. *Φηλως ‘dead’ would closely correspond to νέκως (but why the extended grade?) For pattern cf. (τα) νεκύσια ‘festival of the dead’, θαλύσια ‘offerings of the first-fruits’, γενέσια ‘day kept in the memory of the dead’; cf. for γενέσια Schwyzer 1953: 466: γενέσιος < γενετῆς ‘ancestor’. Then, *Φηλυ-τ-ῆς ‘member of the class of the dead’, cf. Luwian *wala-nt-?* Hardly *Φηλυ-τ- ‘place for the dead’, as suff. -τ- is not attested as a typical toponymic suffix. In Greek the word structure of Ἠλύσιος looks at least *unusual*, but lexical parallels from the sphere of the cult of the dead (νεκύσια, γενέσια) are striking. Then, an old analogical creation: *ἡλύ-σια ‘(time/space) connected with *ἡλύ-’?
- On the other hand, a hypothesis of a borrowing from Anatolian – which would be basically a modification of Beekes’ idea – would rather naturally explain the unusual phonetic structure of Ἠλύσιος, a change *Ἰλύσ- > Ἠλύσ- triggered by a secondary association with ἐλευθ-/έλυθ-. However, no special indications that Ἠλύσιος has some Anatolian associations. Hom. Od. 4.561-565 associates it with Rhadamanthus, which is, however, quite irrelevant for any cultural (Minoan or any other) associations of Ἠλύσιος. The name was known not only to Homer, but also to Archaic Lyricists (Ibykus, fr. 10 and Simonides fr. 54). Difficult to believe that the Greeks could just ‘pick up’ the name in Asia Minor, without profound acquaintance with Anatolian Netherworld ideas, for which, however, there is no evidence.

=> Neither variant can be excluded, but the hypothesis of PIE heritage, as a simpler one, is probably preferable.

VI. A wider IE outlook.

- In any case, the idea of the ‘plain/meadow of the Netherworld’ goes back probably to PIE time, as it has direct or indirect reflexes in several different IE traditions (cf. in general Velasco López 2001), cf.

Anatolian: Hitt. *wēllu-*, Luw. *āla/i- wiluš(a)-*

Greek: Ἠλύσιον πεδίων (-ιος λειμών), but also ἀσφόδελος λειμών in Hades (e.g., Hom. Od.11.539 and 24.13)

Indo-Iranian: Cow-pasture (*gavyūti-*) of Yama (RV 10.14.2) and the epithet of Avestan Yima *hvaθwa-* ‘having good herds’ (e.g. Y. 9.4, 5 or V. 2.20).

Irish: *Mag Mell* ‘Plain of Joy’, the name of an Otherworld, not unlike Ἠλύσιον πεδίων.

Old North (?): cf. *lða-vøllr* poss. ‘Eddying Plain/Meadow’ (Dronke) attested only in *Vølusþá* (7/2 and 57/2), a primordial plain, a meeting place of Gods at the time of the world creation and after Ragnarök.

- Moreover, it seems probable that there is a conscious semantic interplay between **wel-* ‘die’ and **wel-* ‘meadow, pasture’ on which Hitt. *wēllu-* (poss. **wel-nu-*) and ON *vøllr* (rather **wal-nu-* than **wal-þu-*, cf. Kloekhorst 2008: s.v. *uellu-*).
- This would explain the otherwise strange association between ‘cattle’ and the ‘dead’ which can be glimpsed in the Baltic and Slavic traditions, cf. Baltic: Lith. *vėlė* and Latv. *velis* ‘soul, ghost of the dead person’; Lith. *vėlnias* and Latv. *velns* ‘devil, demon’ and Czech *veles* ‘evil spirit, demon’ vs. *Veles/Volos*, ‘the cattle god’ (for material see Jakobson 1969 and Ivanov-Toporov 1973 (NB: connection with PIE **wel-* ‘see’ and the whole reconstruction of a PIE myth is quite arbitrary!)).

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